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PUBLISHERS' NOTES TO VOLUME FOUR

With this volume the process of revising the *ISBE* comes to a close. We are grateful to the editors and to the hundreds of authors who have helped us achieve our goals.

A new name on the title page is that of Gerald H. Wilson, who has served as Consulting Editor for Old Testament in the work on this volume, while Lawrence T. Geraty, now a college president, relinquished similar duties.

The publishers' staff has seen a few more changes. For Volume IV, Trudy Weicker Luke has done the work with photographs and proofreading formerly done by Rollins-Page and Adams, and John W. Simpson, Jr. served as Editorial Associate during the latter stages. The work of others mentioned in previous volumes — Smith, Lee, Opperwall, Knapp, Prus, Barney, Bauer and Beversluis — has continued. THE PUBLISHERS

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

A	Codex Alexandrinus (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT I.B)
abbr.	abbreviated, abbreviation
act.	active
Akk.	Akkadian
Amer. Tr.	J. M. P. Smith and E. J. Goodspeed, *The Complete Bible: An American Translation*
Am.Tab.	el-Amarna Letters (*See* AMARNA TABLETS)
Apoc.	Apocrypha
Apost. Const.	Apostolic Constitutions
Aq.	Aquila's Greek version of the OT (*See* SEPTUAGINT)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
art.	article
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASV	American Standard Version
AT	Altes (or Ancien) Testament
AV	Authorized (King James) Version
b.	born
B	Codex Vaticanus (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT I.B)
Bab.	Babylonian
bk.	book
Boh.	Bohairic (dialect of Coptic)
ca.	*circa*, about
Can.	Canaanite
cent., cents.	century, centuries
CG	Coptic Gnostic (*See* NAG HAMMADI LITERATURE)
ch., chs.	chapter(s)
Chald.	Chaldean, Chaldaic
col., cols.	column(s)
comm., comms.	commentary, commentaries
Copt.	Coptic
d.	died
D	Deuteronomist (*See* CRITICISM II.D.4); also Codex Bezae (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT I.B)
diss.	dissertation
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
E	Elohist (*See* CRITICISM II.D.4); east
E.B.	Early Bronze (Age)
ed., eds.	editor, edition, edited (by), editors, editions
Egyp.	Egyptian
E.I.	Early Iron (Age)
Einl.	*Einleitung* (Introduction)
Eng. tr.	English translation
ERV	English Revised Version (1881-1885)
esp.	especially
et al.	and others
Eth.	Ethiopic, Ethiopian
f., ff.	following
fem.	feminine
fig.	figuratively
ft.	foot, feet
gal., gals.	gallon(s)
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek
gm.	gram(s)
H	Law of Holiness (Lev. 17–26; *See* CRITICISM II.D.5)
ha.	hectare(s)
Heb.	Hebrew
Hist.	History
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homily
impf.	imperfect (tense)
in.	inch(es)
in loc.	at/on this passage
inscr.	inscription
intrans.	intransitive
intro., intros.	introduction(s)
J	Yahwist (*See* CRITICISM II.D.4)
JB	Jerusalem Bible
K	*kethibh* (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT)
km.	kilometer(s)
l.	liter(s)
L	Lukan source (*See* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC V)
Lat.	Latin
L.B.	Late Bronze (Age)
lit.	literally
loc. cit.	in the place cited
LXX	Septuagint
m.	meter(s)
M	Matthaean source (*See* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC V)
masc.	masculine
M.B.	Middle Bronze (Age)
mg.	margin
mi.	mile(s)
mid.	middle voice

Midr.	Midrash
Mish.	Mishnah (*See* TALMUD I)
Moff.	J. Moffatt, *A New Translation of the Bible* (1926)
MS, MSS	manuscript(s)
MT	Mas(s)oretic Text (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT)
N	north
n., nn.	note(s)
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
n.d.	no date
NEB	New English Bible
neut.	neuter
N.F.	*Neue Folge* (New Series)
NIV	New International Version
NJV	New Jewish Version
no., nos.	number(s)
N.S.	New Series
NT	New (Neues, Nouveau) Testament
Onk.	Onkelos (Targum)
op. cit.	in the work quoted
OT	Old Testament
Oxy. P.	Oxyrhynchus papyrus
p	papyrus (used only with superscript number of the papyrus)
P	Priestly Code (*See* CRITICISM II.D.5)
par.	(and) parallel passage(s)
para.	paragraph
part.	participle
pass.	passive
Pent.	Pentateuch
Pers.	Persian
Pesh.	Peshito, Peshitta (*See* VERSIONS)
pf.	perfect (tense)
Phoen.	Phoenician
pl.	plural
prob.	probably
pt., pts.	part(s)
Q	*Quelle* (*See* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC V)
Q	*qere* (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT)
repr.	reprinted
rev.	revised (by)
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version (ERV or ASV)
S	south
Sah.	Sahidic (dialect of Coptic)
Sam.	Samaritan
Sem.	Semitic
sing.	singular
sq.	square
subst.	substantive
Sum.	Sumerian
supp.	supplement(ary)
s.v.	*sub voce* (*vocibus*), under the word(s)
Symm.	Symmachus' Greek version of the OT (*See* SEPTUAGINT)
Syr.	Syriac
Talm.	Talmud
T.B.	Babylonian Talmud
Tg., Tgs.	Targum(s)
Th.	Theodotion's revision of the LXX (*See* SEPTUAGINT)
T.P.	Palestinian (Jerusalem) Talmud
TR	Textus Receptus (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT IV)
tr.	translation, translated (by)
trans.	transitive
Ugar.	Ugaritic
v., vv.	verse(s)
v.	*versus*
var.	variant
vb., vbs.	verb(s)
viz.	namely
vol., vols.	volume(s)
Vulg.	Vulgate (*See* VERSIONS)
W	west
yd., yds.	yard(s)

SYMBOLS

ℵ	Codex Sinaiticus (*See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT I.B)
<	derived from (etymological)
=	is equivalent to
*	theoretical or unidentified form
§	section

PUBLICATIONS

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AB	*Anchor Bible*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Alf.	Henry Alford, *Greek Testament* (4 vols., 1857-1861)
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (1954; 2nd ed. 1969)
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1950; 3rd ed. 1969)
ANT	M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1924; repr. 1953)
AOTS	D. W. Thomas, ed., *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (1967)
AP	W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949; rev. 1960)
APC	L. Morris, *Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (3rd ed. 1965)
APOT	R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols., 1913; repr. 1963)
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, ed., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (2 vols., 1926-1927)
ARI	W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (4th ed. 1956)
ARM	*Archives Royales de Mari* (1941–)
ATD	*Das Alte Testament Deutsch*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
BANE	G. E. Wright, ed., *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (1961; repr. 1965, 1979)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Bauer	W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, tr. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (1957; rev. ed.

	[tr. F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker from 5th Ger. ed.] 1979)
BC	F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity* (5 vols., 1920-1933)
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1907)
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, tr. and rev. R. W. Funk (1961)
BDTh	*Baker's Dictionary of Theology* (1960)
BH	R. Kittel, ed., *Biblia Hebraica* (3rd ed. 1937)
BHS	K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1967-1977)
BhHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch* (1962–)
BHI	J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (1959; 2nd ed. 1972; 3rd ed. 1981)
Bibl.	*Biblica*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BKAT	*Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament*
Bousset-Gressmann	W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, rev. H. Gressmann (*HNT*, 21, 1926)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
BZNW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CAD	I. J. Gelb, *et al.*, eds., *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History* (12 vols., rev. ed. 1962; 1970)
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible*
CBP	W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (1895-1897)
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	*Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*
CCK	D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (1956)
CD	K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Eng. tr., 4 vols., 1936-1962)
CD	See Biblical and Extrabiblical Literature: Dead Sea Scrolls
CERP	A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937)
CG	P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd ed. 1959)
CGT	*Cambridge Greek Testament* (20 vols., 1881-1933)
CHAL	W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1971)
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1825-1859; index 1877)
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1862–)
ConNT	*Coniectanea Neotestamentica*
CRE	W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170* (1903)
DBSup.	L. Pirot, *et al.*, eds., *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplement* (1928–)
DCG	J. Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (2 vols., 1906, 1908)
Deiss.*LAE*	G. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Eng. tr., 2nd ed. 1927 [from German 4th ed.]; repr. 1978)
Dessau	H. Dessau, ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (3 vols., 2nd ed. 1954-1955)
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert*
DNTT	C. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (3 vols., Eng. tr. 1975-1978)
DOTT	D. W. Thomas, ed., *Documents from Old Testament Times* (1958)
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (15 vols., 1903-1950)
EAEHL	M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, eds., *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (4 vols., Eng. tr. 1975-1978)
EB	T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, eds., *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols., 1899)
Enc.Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
EQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ERE	J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (12 vols., 1908-1926)
EtB	*Études Bibliques*
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*
Expos.	*The Expositor*
Expos.B.	*The Expositor's Bible* (3rd ed. 1903; rev. 1956)
Expos.G.T.	*The Expositor's Greek Testament*
Expos.T.	*Expository Times*
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
FSAC	W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2nd ed. 1957)
GAB	L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* (1956)
GB	D. Baly, *Geography of the Bible* (1957; 2nd ed. 1974)
GJV	E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (3 vols., 4th ed. 1901-1909) (Converted to *HJP* when possible; but Eng. tr. not complete)
GKC	W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (2nd ed. 1910)
GP	F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (2 vols., 2nd ed. 1933-1938)
GTTOT	J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (1959)
HAT	*Handbuch zum Alten Testament*
HBD	M. S. Miller and J. L. Miller, eds., *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (1952; 2nd ed. 1961; 8th ed. [rev.] 1973)
HDB	J. Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols., 1898-1902, extra vol., 1904; rev. one-vol. ed. 1963)
HGHL	G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (rev. ed. 1932)
HibJ	*The Hibbert Journal*
HJP	E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (Eng. tr. [of Ger. *3rd* ed.] 1892-1901)
HJP^2	E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar (Eng. tr. and rev. 1973–)
HNT	*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*
HNTC	*Harper's New Testament Commentaries = Black's New Testament Commentaries*

HNTT	R. H. Pfeiffer, *A History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (1949)
HR	E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint* (1897)
H-S	E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols., Eng. tr. 1963, 1965)
HST	R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Eng. tr., 2nd ed. 1968)
HTK	*Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible* (12 vols., 1952-1957)
ICC	*International Critical Commentary*
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols., 1962; Supplementary Volume, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (vols. I-II, Eng. tr. 1926; III-IV, Eng. tr. 1940)
Interp.	*Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology*
IOTG	H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (1902)
IP	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen in Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (1928)
ISBE	J. Orr, *et al.*, eds., *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (2nd ed. 1929)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols., 1950)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
Jew.Enc.	*Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., 1901-1906)
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (3 vols., 2nd ed. 1966-1968)
KAT	E. Schrader, ed., *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd ed. 1903)
KD	K. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament* (Eng. tr. 1864-1901; repr. 1973)
KEK	*Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*
KoB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (1953)
KS	A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (3 vols., 1953-1959)

KZAT	*Kommentar zum Alten Testament*
KZNT	*Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*
Lange	Lange Commentaries
LAP	J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (1946; rev. 1959)
LBHG	Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Eng. tr. 1967)
LCC	*Library of Christian Classics*
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*
LSC	W. M. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* (1905)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. 1940)
LTJM	A. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (8th ed., rev., 1904; repr. 1977)
LTK	Herder, *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* (2nd ed. 1957–)
MM	J. M. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* (1930)
MNHK	E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (1965 ed.)
MNTC	*Moffatt New Testament Commentary*
MPB	H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952)
MSt	J. McClintock and J. Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* (1891)
NBC	F. Davidson, ed., *New Bible Commentary* (1953; 2nd ed. 1954; 3rd ed. [ed. D. Guthrie, *et al.*] 1970
NBD	J. D. Douglas, ed., *New Bible Dictionary* (1962)
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary*
NHI	M. Noth, *History of Israel* (Eng. tr. 1958; 2nd ed. 1960)
NICNT	*New International Commentary on the New Testament*
NICOT	*New International Commentary on the Old Testament*
NIGTC	*New International Greek Testament Commentary*
Nov.Test.	*Novum Testamentum: An International Quarterly*
NTD	*Das Neue Testament Deutsch*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1957; 2nd ed. 1974)
ORHI	W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *History of Israel* (2 vols., 1932)
OTG	H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* (4th ed. 1912)
OTL	*Old Testament Library*
OTMS	H. H. Rowley, ed., *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951)
Pauly-Wissowa	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, eds., *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
PEF	*Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca* (162 vols., 1857-1866)
PIOT	R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1952 [1957] ed.)
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*
PL	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* (221 vols., 1844-1864)

PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
QHJ	A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906; Eng. tr., 2nd ed. 1936)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (5 vols., 3rd ed. 1957-1965)
RGJ	K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919)
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RRAM	D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (2 vols., 1950)
RTWB	A. Richardson, ed., *A Theological Word Book of the Bible* (1950)
SB	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (5 vols., 1922-1961)
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*
Sch.-Herz.	*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (2nd ed. 1949-1952)
SE	*Studia Evangelica*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SPT	W. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* (1920)
SQE	K. Aland, ed., *Synopsis Quattor Evangeliorum* (2nd ed. 1964)
SSW	G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (Eng. tr. 1935)
ST	*Studia Theologica*
SVT	*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*
SWP	C. R. Conder, *et al.*, eds., *Survey of Western Palestine* (9 vols., 1881-1888)
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (10 vols., Eng. tr. 1964-1976)
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (1974–)
THAT	E. Jenni and C. Westermann, eds., *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (2 vols., 1971-1976)
Thayer	Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
ThHK	*Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament mit Text und Paraphrase* (7 vols., 1928-1939; rev. 1957–)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
Torch	*Torch Bible Commentaries*
TR	*Theologische Rundschau*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
TWOT	R. L. Harris, *et al.*, eds., *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (2 vols., 1980)
UT	C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (*Analecta Orientalia*, 38, 1965)
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VE	*Vox Evangelica*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WA	Luther's *Werke*, Weimar Ausgabe (1883–)
Wace	H. Wace, ed., *Apocrypha* (*Speaker's Commentary*, 1888)
WBA	G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (rev. ed. 1962)
WC	*Westminster Commentaries*
WHAB	G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson, eds., *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (1956)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

ANCIENT AUTHORS AND DOCUMENTS

Appian *Syr.*	*Syrian Wars*
Aquinas *Summa Theol.*	*Summa Theologica*
Aristotle *De an.*	*De anima* (*On the Soul*)
Eth. Nic.	*Nicomachaean Ethics*
Eth. Eud.	*Eudemaean Ethics*
Meta.	*Metaphysics*
Phys.	*Physics*
Pol.	*Politics*
Anal. post.	*Posterior Analytics*
Anal. pr.	*Prior Analytics*
Rhet.	*Rhetoric*
Poet.	*Poetics*
Augustine *Civ. Dei*	*De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*)
Conf.	*Confessiones*
De trin.	*De trinitate*
Ench.	*Enchiridion*
Ep.	*Epistulae*
Retr.	*Retractiones*
Calvin *Inst.*	*Institutes of the Christian Religion*
Chrysostom	
Hom. in Gen.	Homily on Genesis
Hom. in Heb.	Homily on Hebrews
Hom. in Jn.	Homily on John
Hom. in Mt.	Homily on Matthew
Clement of Alexandria	
Misc.	*Miscellanies* (*Stromateis*)
Paed.	*Paedagogus*
Curtius Rufus	Quintus Curtius Rufus
Digest	*See* ROMAN LAW II.G
Dio Cassius *Hist.*	*Roman History*
Hist. Epit.	Epitome of the *History*
Diodorus	Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*
Diogenes	Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*
Epiphanius *Haer.*	*Adversus lxxx haereses* (*Panarion*)
Eusebius *HE*	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Onom.	*Onomasticon*
Praep. ev.	*Praeparatio evangelica*
HE	*Historia ecclesiastica* (*Church History*)
Herodotus	Herodotus *History*

Hippolytus *Ref.*	*Refutatio omnium haeresium (Philosophoumena)*
Homer *Il.*	*Iliad*
Od.	*Odyssey*
Irenaeus *Adv. haer.*	*Adversus omnes haereses*
Jerome *Ep.*	*Epistula(e)*
De vir. ill.	*De viris illustribus*
Adv. Pelag.	*Dialogi adversus Pelagianos*
Josephus *Ant.*	*Antiquities of the Jews*
BJ	*Bellum Judaicum (The Jewish War)*
CAp	*Contra Apionem*
Vita	*Life*
Justin Martyr *Apol.*	*Apologia*
Dial.	*Dialogus contra Tryphonem*
Livy *Epit.*	Epitomes of *Annals of the Roman People*
Origen *De prin.*	*De principiis*
Orosius	Orosius *Historiae*
Pliny (the Elder) *Nat. hist.*	*Naturalis historia*
Pliny (the Younger) *Ep.*	*Epistulae*
Ptolemy *Geog.*	*Geography*
Sallust	*Bellum Catilinae*
Strabo *Geog.*	*Geography*
Sulpicius Severus *Chronicorum*	*Historia sacra*
Tacitus *Ann.*	*Annals (Annales ab excessu divi Augusti)*
Hist.	*Histories*
Tertullian *Adv. Judaeos*	*Adversus Judaeos*
Adv. Marc.	*Adversus Marcionem*
Adv. Prax.	*Adversus Praxeam*
Apol.	*Apologeticum*
De orat.	*De oratione*
De praescr. haer.	*De praescriptione haereticorum*
De res.	*De resurrectione carnis*
Vergil *Aen.*	*Aeneid*

BIBLICAL AND EXTRABIBLICAL LITERATURE

OLD TESTAMENT

Gen.	Genesis
Ex.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Nu.	Numbers
Dt.	Deuteronomy
Josh.	Joshua
Jgs.	Judges
	Ruth
1, 2 S.	1, 2 Samuel
1, 2 K.	1, 2 Kings
1, 2 Ch.	1, 2 Chronicles
Ezr.	Ezra
Neh.	Nehemiah
Est.	Esther
Job	Job
Ps.	Psalm(s)
Prov.	Proverbs
Eccl.	Ecclesiastes
Cant.	Canticles (Song of Songs)
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Lam.	Lamentations
Ezk.	Ezekiel
Dnl.	Daniel
Hos.	Hosea
	Joel
Am.	Amos
Ob.	Obadiah
	Jonah
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Hag.	Haggai
Zec.	Zechariah
Mal.	Malachi

NEW TESTAMENT

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

APOCRYPHA

1, 2 Esd.	1, 2 Esdras
Tob.	Tobit
Jth.	Judith
Ad. Est.	Additions to Esther
Wisd.	Wisdom of Solomon
Sir.	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Bar.	Baruch
Ep. Jer.	Epistle (Letter) of Jeremiah
Song Three	Song of the Three Young Men
Sus.	Susanna
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Pr. Man.	Prayer of Manasseh
1, 2 Macc.	1, 2 Maccabees

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Asc. Isa.	Ascension of Isaiah
Asm. M.	Assumption of Moses
2 Bar.	2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch
3 Bar.	3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch
1, 2 En.	1, 2 Enoch
Jub.	Jubilees
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
XII P.	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
T. Reub.	Testament of Reuben
T. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Jud.	Testament of Judah
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun
T. Dan	Testament of Dan
T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
T. Gad	Testament of Gad
T. Ash.	Testament of Asher
T. Jos.	Testament of Joseph
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin

APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
1 Clem.	1 Clement
2 Clem.	2 Clement
Did.	Didache
Ign.	Ignatius of Antioch
Eph.	Epistle to the Ephesians
Magn.	Epistle to the Magnesians
Trall.	Epistle to the Trallians
Rom.	Epistle to the Romans
Philad.	Epistle to the Philadelphians
Smyrn.	Epistle to the Smyrnaeans
Polyc.	Epistle to Polycarp
Polyc. Phil.	Polycarp of Smyrna, Epistle to the Philippians

M. Polyc.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
Shep. Herm.	Shepherd of Hermas
Vis.	Visions
Mand.	Mandates
Sim.	Similitudes
Diogn.	Epistle to Diognetus

DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Initial arabic numeral indicates cave number; Q = Qumrân; p = pesher (commentary).

CD	Damascus Document (Zadokite Fragment)
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
1QH	Thanksgiving Hymns
1QIsa^{a}	First copy of Isaiah from Qumrân Cave 1
1QIsa^{b}	Second copy of Isaiah
1QM	War Scroll
1QpHab	Pesher (Commentary) on Habakkuk
1QpMic	Pesher on Micah
1QpPs	Pesher on Psalms
1QS	Manual of Discipline
1Q*34*^{bis}	Prayer for the Feast of Weeks (Fragment of Liturgical Prayer Scroll = 1Q Prayers)
1QDM (or 1Q*22*)	Sayings of Moses
3QInv (or 3Q*15*)	Copper (Treasure) Scroll
4QFlor	Florilegium (eschatological midrashim) from Cave 4
4QPBless	Patriarchal Blessings
4QpIsa^{a,b,c,d}	Copies of Isaiah pesher from Cave 4
4QpNah	Pesher on Nahum
4QpPs37	Pesher on Ps. 37
4QSam^{a,b,c}	Copies of Samuel
4QTestim	Testimonia text from Cave 4
6QD (or 6Q*15*)	Fragments of the Damascus Document

Q.

I. Definition
II. Data
  A. Arguments For Postulating Q
  B. Arguments Against Postulating Q
III. Provenance and Purpose
IV. Theology

I. Definition.–A close inspection of the Synoptic Gospels shows that some material is common to Matthew and Luke but does not appear in Mark. Q (from Ger. *Quelle*, "spring, source") is the name given to the hypothetical body of teaching from which this common material was derived. (On the origin of the siglum Q see W. F. Howard, *Expos.T.*, 50 [1938/39], 379f.; supplemented and corrected by H. K. McArthur, *Expos.T.*, 88 [1976/77], 119f.; L. H. Silberman, *JBL*, 98 [1979], 287f.; J. J. Schmitt, *JBL*, 100 [1981], 609-611.) Q also stands for the theory of Gospel origins that combines the notion that Mark was the first Synoptic Gospel to be written (so C. H. Weisse, in 1838) with the hypothesis that Matthew and Luke each drew on both Mark and non-Markan material.

The supposition of Q has, however, come under close and critical scrutiny beginning in the 1950's. Some opponents of the theory have become so emotionally stirred as to register their disavowal of the hypothesis in terms like "unnecessary and vicious" (B. C. Butler, *Originality of Matthew* [1957], p. 170). C. S. Petrie (*Nov.Test.*, 3 [1959], 28-33) commented, "'Q' stands for 'quirk' and should be wholly forgotten and promptly dispatched to the limbo of forlorn hypotheses," on the ground that the number of hypotheses about Q have predisposed scholars to doubt its existence. J. Moffatt (*Intro. to the Literature of the NT* [3rd ed. 1918], pp. 194-204) listed no fewer than sixteen attempts to reconstruct the scope of Q. Other doubts regarding Q's inferred existence will be discussed later.

II. Data.–A. Arguments for Postulating Q. 1. Matthaean and Lukan Diction. Over two hundred verses (225 is the number usually assigned in recent criticism) in Matthew and Luke have similar content and diction. In several the agreement is verbally exact. Mt. 3:7-10 par. Lk. 3:7-9 have a precise agreement of 61 out of 63 words in the Greek, with only minor variations within the text. Two of the differences are clearly Luke's stylistic improvements, such as *árxēsthe* ("begin") for *dóxēte* ("presume"), and an adverbial *kaí*. Other instances of such parallel reporting — and in some cases verbatim correspondences — are Mt. 6:24 par. Lk. 16:13 (27 out of 28 words identical); Mt. 7:7-11 par. Lk. 11:9-13; Mt. 11:21-23 par. Lk. 10:13-15 (in the woes on the Galilean towns 43 words out of 49 are the same); Mt. 12:43-45 par. Lk. 11:24-26; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, p. 151.

But the two Gospels sometimes diverge in what is ostensibly the same account of Jesus' teaching. V. Taylor (*JTS*, 4 [1953], 27-31) examined these passages and suggested four reasons for the divergence in seven of them (Lk. 10:25-28 par. Mt. 22:34-40; Lk. 12:54-56 par. Mt. 16:2f.; Lk. 13:23f. par. Mt. 7:13f.; Lk. 13:25-27 par. Mt. 25:10-12; Lk. 14:15-24 par. Mt. 22:1-10; Lk. 15:4-7 par. Mt. 18:12-14; Lk. 19:12-27 par. Mt. 25:14-30). (1) Each evangelist had the liberty of making minor editorial alterations when transmitting the text. (2) There may be different recensions. One may cite here a few cases not in Taylor's list: Mt. 5:3f. par. Lk. 6:20f.; the two versions of the Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6:9-15; Lk. 11:2-4). G. Bornkamm (*Jesus of Nazareth* [Eng. tr. 1960], p. 218) used this flexibility to argue, "Q is still relatively close to the oral tradition, and remained exposed to its continuing influence." (3) Differing diction in two parallel accounts may have been caused by overlap of Q and Matthew's special source, his *Sondergut* (sometimes called M). In these cases Luke would have followed Q (and it is generally conceded that Luke presents the original *order* of Q), and Matthew M. Thus the verbal disagreements are ascribed to Matthew's conflating of M and Q, as V. Taylor argued (*Expos.T.*, 46 [1934/35], 68-74). J. P. Brown similarly thought that Matthew's version of Q blended material from Mark to produce "a larger sayings-document Q^{mt}" (*NTS*, 8 [1961/62], 27-42; see Fitzmyer, p. 169). (4) The idea of a composite Q document has been proposed to account for the discrepancies between Matthew and Luke. The theory is that there were two editions of Q, the Aramaic source R (showing variations between Matthew and Luke) and the Greek source T (showing close agreement). This view has been criticized severely (T. W. Manson, pp. 20f.), although C. K. Barrett defended it (*Expos.T.*, 54 [1942/43], 320-23). In a modified form, however, it has been refurbished in the more recent idea that Matthew's Q is a Greek production, whereas Luke's Q is a primitive translation from Aramaic (so M. Black, *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* [3rd ed. 1968], pp. 270ff.). But this translation hypothesis is weak in view of N. Turner's strictures (*Expos.T.*, 80 [1969], 324-332).

2. Matthaean and Lukan Sequences. The two Gospels record common teachings in basically the same order, but there are divergences, which have raised the question of

which order is preferable. The chief evidence shows that Luke's sequence is the more compact and unified, while Matthew's teaching is scattered throughout his Gospel. Some have tried to show that Matthew's version of Q is contained in the blocks of his teaching, and that each Q section ends with the same formula ("When Jesus had completed all these sayings"). But the insertions of Q in Luke seem to have preserved the order better, since Luke's editorial procedure is less open to obvious influence (e.g., ecclesiastical and liturgical) than Matthew's (so V. Taylor, "The Original Order of Q," pp. 246-269).

Matthew's and Luke's reproduction of their common matter in a common sequence but in different contexts suggests that Q was a written, not simply an oral, source. Fitzmyer (pp. 15f.) drew attention to an interesting fact: Matthew placed the sayings material in Markan contexts, but Luke generally grouped it in separate, interpolated blocks (this is the foundation of the proto-Luke theory). With these diverse and idiosyncratic methods, a common sequence is hardly to be expected, but V. Taylor convincingly showed (in the essays cited) that the peculiarity of distribution is Matthew's. Matthew inserted material not in a sequence established by Luke but into the framework set by M, and he sought a topical arrangement — a trait pervading his entire Gospel. This topicality is a clear sign of the "original" Lukan order of common material (see O. E. Evans, *Expos.T.*, 72 [1960/61], 298).

3. Doublets. W. G. Kümmel regarded "doublets" as "the decisive proof" for Q's existence. Doublets are the sayings that occur twice in the Synoptics, first in Mark and the double tradition of Matthew and Luke, and again only in Matthew and Luke. Hence it is concluded that the second saying must come from a source that contains an independent tradition — i.e., Q (*Intro. to the NT* [Eng. tr., 2nd ed. 1975], p. 67). The data can best be appreciated in a table. The left column shows the texts in the triple tradition (Mark, Matthew, and Luke); the right column indicates the same saying found elsewhere in the double tradition of Matthew and Luke.

Triple Tradition	Double Tradition
Mt. 13:12; Mk. 4:25; Lk. 8:18	Mt. 25:29; Lk. 19:26
Mt. 16:24f.; Mk. 8:34f.; Lk. 9:23f.	Mt. 10:38f.; Lk. 14:27; 17:33
Mt. 16:27; Mk. 8:38; Lk. 9:23f.	Mt. 10:32f.; Lk. 12:8f.
Mt. 24:9, 13; Mk. 13:9, 13; Lk. 21:12, 17	Mt. 10:19f., 22; Lk. 12:11f.

B. Arguments Against Postulating Q. Since the case for Q's existence falls short of positive proof, some counterarguments should be considered.

1. Heterogeneous Content. There are no accepted precise limits to the Q material, and critics have alleged difficulty in finding an inner coherent structure in its proposed contents. Its looking like a ragbag of "odds and ends" has been offered as an argument against it.

R. A. Edwards, however, in treating the theological emphases of the community that produced Q, saw a coherent pattern of beliefs and practices. He sought to build up an imaginative picture of the church that assembled the Q teaching. It was a community with a keen expectation of the Lord's imminent return, "standing on its tiptoes in anticipation of the parousia," yet cherishing a "clan wisdom" that ordered its affairs in the material world. A ministry of prophets drew its authority from Jesus the prophetic Son of man, but each member had the responsibility of proclaiming the message. This vivid picture probably takes the evidence to an unwarranted limit, but at least it shows an inner coherence of the Q material.

2. Uncertain Order. The sequence of Q's sections is undetermined. Luke's order is usually accepted as more reliable (i.e., better preserved) than Matthew's (as observed above), but there is a case for the superiority of the Matthaean sequence. If the latter case is correct, it would stultify the case for Q, for Luke would then have drawn on Matthew (on this thesis, see W. R. Farmer, "A Fresh Approach to Q," in J. Neusner, ed., *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, II [1975], 39-50; cf. earlier studies noted by J. A. Fitzmyer, p. 167).

Fitzmyer offered five reasons for denying Luke's dependence on Matthew's material. (1) The stories in M are original (e.g., Jesus' promise to Peter, Mt. 16:16b-19) and can hardly be regarded as examples of Mark's deletions, and so they cannot be Lukan omissions. (2) It has not been explained why Luke would have chosen to break up Matthew's sermons (e.g., Mt. 5–7) in order to scatter such material across his pages. (3) With minor exceptions Luke never inserted the material of the double tradition into the same Markan context as Matthew — a surprising fact if he had derived such material from Matthew, since the Matthaean framework was already appropriate to receive such inserted material. (4) It is simply not true that Matthew has exclusive rights to preserving the original setting of a Gospel episode; sometimes Luke retains the more natural setting, as L. Vaganay showed (*Le Problème synoptique* [1954], pp. 295-99). This retention is hard to explain if Luke simply depended on Matthew, but it is understandable if both evangelists followed and edited a common source. (5) Divergences in the Birth and Infancy narratives cannot be explained if Luke was indebted to Matthew. Fitzmyer (pp. 149f.) cogently refuted the leading objection to the Q theory (voiced by A. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in D. E. Nineham, ed., *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* [1957], pp. 55-88), namely, that it is "unnecessary" if Luke used Matthew. (See also, contra Farrer, F. G. Downing, *NTS*, 11 [1964/65], 169-181; E. L. Bradby, *Expos.T.*, 68 [1956/57], 315-18.)

3. Absence of Contemporary Parallels. Farrer also argued that there are no precise contemporary parallels to the hypothetical Q document. The nearest extant one is the Gospel of Thomas, part of the Nag Hammadi library, yet there are still differences, not least in the *Gattungen* or literary forms and usages of the two "documents." J. M. Robinson ("*Logoi Sophōn:* On the *Gattung* of Q," J. M. Robinson and H. Koester, eds., *Trajectories through Early Christianity* [1971], pp. 71-113) proposed that Q belongs to a literary pattern made up of collections of sayings of wise men found in canonical Proverbs, Mish. *Aboth*, and the Enoch literature. There was a line of development that began in Jewish writings and eventually included Gnostic compositions like the Gospel of Thomas. In this view Q is a book of the acts of Wisdom (a personified figure, identified with the Gnostic revealer in Gnosticism). Robinson's chief contribution is his frank admission that the *Gattung* of Q differs from that of the canonical Gospels (see C. H. Talbert, *What Is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* [1977], esp. p. 116), and his inference that Q's presentation of Jesus is distinct from that of the Church's Gospels, even though two Gospels have incorporated the Q material. The difficulty with this proposition is that Thomas puts situationless *logia* (114 of them) into the mouth of the risen Lord, whereas Matthew and Luke fit Jesus' teaching into the historical contexts of His earthly, Palestinian ministry.

4. Unexplained Disappearance. If Q did exist, why did it disappear? T. W. Manson (pp. 19f.) replied that the early Christians had no interest in preserving archives. But, scholars have countered, Q is supposed to have been an indispensable collection of *logia* of Jesus, and thus it may well have had antiquarian interest and would hardly have been allowed to perish.

One suggestion is that after the substance of Q had been

incorporated into the Church's Gospels there would have been no further need to perpetuate Q's independent existence. But one cannot tell this, and arguments that rest on "lost" books are notoriously weak. For this reason, as will be observed, there is less talk today of Q as a literary unit and more recognition that Q is a cipher to denote the rule that "stuff in Matthew and Luke but not in Mark goes into Q" (H. Palmer, *Logic of Gospel Criticism* [1968], pp. 170f.). But this limitation has not prevented many modern scholars from insisting that Q — however delineated — possesses a recognizable theology and *Tendenz*.

5. Unusual Synoptic Handling. An argument partly from evidence and partly from logic is elaborated by T. R. Rosché (*JBL*, 79 [1960], 210-220). On the basis of statistical analysis of the triple- and double-tradition data, he showed that Matthew and Luke's handling of the Q sayings of Jesus seems to differ from their handling of the Markan sayings of Jesus. But Rosché's statistical data have been questioned by C. E. Carlston and D. Norlin (*HTR*, 64 [1971], 59-78).

One may conclude that many scholars now speak less confidently of Q as a document, preferring to call it a "layer of tradition" or "stratum," or even simply a cipher for oral material found in Matthew and Luke. Perhaps the best cautious summary is that of W. L. Knox: "It is necessary to insist that Q is simply a hypothetical document; its claim to have existed rests on its being the best hypothesis to explain the fact that there is much material in these two Gospels [Matthew and Luke] which shows so close a resemblance of wording (sometimes amounting to complete identity) that it must have been derived by both of them from a common written source, or at least an oral source which was regarded as authoritative and [was] memorized by Christian teachers" (*Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, II [1975], 3).

III. Provenance and Purpose.–It has been asserted that Q has an early provenance, in a Palestinian setting, that takes one back to the earliest type of Christianity. Support for this assertion is found in Q's picture of Jesus' ministry, which vividly portrays the Jewish people, with their organized life in Palestine (see G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* [Eng. tr. 1978]).

Furthermore, the Q version of the mission charge (Lk. 10:2-12) still restricts this mission to Israel (as in Matthew's archaic source, 10:5f.; 15:21-28), though there are hints of an expansion (esp. in Lk. 13:28-30). Also, Q's kerygma has links with the preaching immediately following Pentecost (Acts 2–3), preaching that does not yet use Isa. 53 as a Passion text and that, on the basis of Psalm 118:22f., sees the Resurrection as a vindication of Jesus' claim. But Q's kerygma is not necessarily a rival kerygma, as Edwards suggested (p. 149).

The early Christians' desire to preserve the Lord's words is evidenced by Q, though they did not intend to codify His teaching or produce a verbally correct and rigid compendium. The purpose of Q has been actively debated. The older interpretations built on a firm distinction between the Church's public proclamation (kerygma) and its ministry of instruction (didache). The most suitable *Sitz im Leben* of Q is in the latter category, since it seems clearly to reflect a concern to preserve the Lord's words for the education and training of new converts (so A. Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* [Eng. tr. 1908], pp. 243ff.; M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* [Eng. tr. 1934], p. 235; R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* [Eng. tr. 1963]; esp. T. W. Manson, pp. 15ff., who classified Q as a manual of pastoral care). This interpretation was later defended by M. Hengel, who called Q "a record of the teaching of Jesus" (*Son of God* [Eng. tr. 1976], p. 75), and by G. N. Stanton, who described Q as "authoritative words and actions [of Jesus], being used in instruction of those within the community and also in an evangelistic context" (p. 42).

The description of Q as catechesis needs modifying in the light of W. D. Davies's discussion (*Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* [1964], pp. 366-386). He insisted that Q's chief emphases all relate to the note of crisis that sounds throughout the material. This crisis is precipitated by Jesus' announcement of the new age of grace and centers in His person and claim. Davies's position is well argued, although some doubts may be entertained over his comparison of Q's so-called catechesis with the exhortations in the Pauline and Petrine Epistles. It could be that the former material belongs to the Palestinian church life, whereas the latter represents Christian ethical patterns adapted to life in Greco-Roman society.

The classification of Q as a repository of Jesus' words for pastoral instruction has been attacked, notably by H.-E. Tödt (pp. 241ff.). Tödt concluded from the absence of a Passion story in Q that Q's theology belongs to a different world from that of Mark and Paul — not parallel with that world nor geographically removed from it (as B. H. Streeter once proposed; cf. *The Four Gospels* [1924], p. 292). In Q one confronts a rival Christology in which Jesus is the exalted Son rather than a savior (who fulfils Isa. 53). According to Q, the Son of man will be vindicated in a future parousia (as in Acts 3:20ff.), and the words of Jesus carry weight as ordering the community's life in preparation for that event, when the Son of man will resume relations with His followers. But W. G. Kümmel (*Intro. to the NT*, p. 73) denied such a conclusion, maintaining that the only early Palestinian church that is known was already confessing Christ crucified for human sins (1 Cor. 15:3-5). M. Hengel (*Son of God*, p. 75) also denied the existence of any special "Q group" of Christians in whose theology the cross of Jesus does not atone for sin. In particular, Hengel opposed S. Schulz, who in the interests of a complex diversity within pre-Pauline Christianity attributed the Q sayings to the exalted Lord. Q, Hengel averred, contains what was said by the earthly Jesus.

Some have attempted to discover the historical Jesus through Q. For example, H. Schürmann ("Die vorösterlichen Anfänge der Logientradition," in H. Ristow and K. Matthiae, eds., *Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus* [1960], pp. 342-370) argued that some of Q was collected during Jesus' ministry and used by the disciples in their preaching mission (Mk. 6:7-13; Lk. 10:1-12). Q establishes a link between the pre-Easter and apostolic church communities.

An unsolved question is the extent of Q's knowledge of Jesus' mission. Some scholars have been content to describe Q as a digest of the sayings of Jesus, much like the prophetic books of the OT, which present the prophets' oracles with a minimum of narrative framework. These oracles are often introduced with an account of the prophet's call, but they do not include any account of his death. Thus Q might be designated "The Book of the Prophet Jesus" (F. F. Bruce, *St. Matthew* [1970], p. 3). E. Bammel, however, argued on the basis of Luke 22:29f. that Q is parallel with the testamentary literature of later Judaism (e.g., Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) and that it contains a story of a rejected son of man and a martyred teacher of wisdom, with the message of the cross conveyed as an "example to be imitated" ("Das Ende von Q," in O. Böcher and K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veritas* [1970], pp. 39-50).

IV. Theology of Q.–The issues of tradition and redaction have been raised in reference to Q (see R. D. Worden). The most elaborate attempt to detect several layers of

tradition in Q was made by S. Schulz. He contended that from the perspective of tradition history Q has no unity, but that various strata — Palestinian, Jewish-Hellenistic, and Hellenistic — may be uncovered (p. 42). Other studies have sought to locate the Q source in a suitable *Sitz im Leben* by means of its theological motifs, which would have developed in response to and in interaction with the needs and challenges of the community that preserved Q.

P. Meyer (*Community of Q* [1967]) saw Q's theology as that of a community being vigorously persecuted by Jews. The Q community would have likened itself to the OT prophets, who also were rejected. The motifs of the document are consolation for the faithful and judgment on the Church's enemies.

A. P. Polag (*SE*, 4 [1968], 72-74; *Die Christologie der Logienquelle* [1968]) distinguished three phases in Q's Christology. The earliest phase is the setting of the Q material in Jesus' own lifetime (specifically Lk. 7:18-23 par.; 11:14-23 par.); this is similar to Meyer's view. Here the emphasis falls on Jesus' activity and authority as heralding God's saving action. Jesus' ministry shows signs of God's saving power in the present; He overcomes Satan by announcing a kingdom at hand. The call is to follow Jesus, and the judgment on Israel as a disobedient people is sounded. But no christological titles are found at this stage, and there is no interest in Jesus' person or His teaching about the future. The message is ethical in the sense that it enshrines Jesus' call to discipleship, which in turn is based on His authority.

At the Resurrection, according to Polag, a new era opens. Here he corrected Tödt, for whom the Resurrection meant simply a resumption in relations between Jesus and His followers. Polag argued that a new situation was created in the Resurrection, marked by a more profound call to decision that was based on a renewed interest of the community in scriptural exegesis. This interest led to a renewal of the preaching to Israel and produced more interest in Jesus' enigmatic person and His relationship to God. Scriptural proofs were added, and to this second redaction the introductory pericopes (the Baptist's preaching and Jesus' temptations) were added, as were the final christological elements, such as the titles of sonship and the work of the Holy Spirit.

The third redaction of Q indicates a change of *Sitz im Leben* from a post-Easter setting to one that enlarges the circle of the Christian mission (though it is still within Palestine) and takes in elements from the Church's liturgy.

D. Lührmann (*Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* [1969]) saw eschatology as a deciding factor in Q's redaction. Prominent features are the teaching of Israel's opposition and of the impending salvation of the Church as Jesus comes as Son of man to save His people and to judge Israel. Lührmann dated this eschatological perspective after the Palestinian period of the Church's life, and he maintained that Q picks up Hellenistic traditions, which are evident in the "hellenized" theology of the christological confession (Lk. 10:21f. par. Mt. 11:25-27) and in the Gentile opposition to Israel, a theme frequent in Q. Interestingly, this interpretation is exactly the opposite of T. W. Manson's. Manson thought that Q has "a friendly attitude towards Gentiles" (p. 20) and that its teaching contains a tacit invitation to them. The Hellenistic origin of the final formulation of Q (A.D. 50-60) was opposed by P. Hoffmann (*Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* [1968]; *BZ*, 13 [1969], 207-223), who argued that Q comes out of a nonviolent, nonrevolutionary Christian group, motivated by love for enemies and averse to the messianic struggle against Rome.

Another treatment of Q and its setting in early Christianity is that of G. N. Stanton. His chief contribution is an attack on Tödt's supposition that Q was composed with *one* specific purpose in mind. Stanton agreed with Tödt that Q has a firm conviction regarding Jesus' role as "the coming one" and "the herald of good news to the poor" (Mt. 3:11f. par. Lk. 3:16f.; Mt. 11:2-6 par. Lk. 7:18-23), and announces Jesus, in the temptation story (Mt. 4:1-11 par. Lk. 4:1-13), as entering on His mission as God's son and servant, anointed with the Spirit. But this picture is not incongruous with the possibility that the Q community cherished materials explaining Jesus' rejection and passion. Stanton thus opposed the idea that Q's Christology was a Passionless kerygma and argued that Q's lack of a specific Passion narrative does not mean that the community was uninterested in the significance of Jesus' death and vindication. On the contrary, Q's interest in His resurrection and continuing presence as Son of man requires that Q's community must have asked itself why Jesus had died.

The upshot of this discussion is to postulate a much wider purpose for Q than Tödt, Lührmann, and others have granted and to submit that Q may well have helped the community to instruct its members as well as to evangelize.

See also GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC.

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R. P. MARTIN

QESITAH. *See* MONEY.

QOHELETH kō-hel'əth. *See* ECCLESIASTES.

QOPH kōf [ק]. The nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encyclopedia as *q*. It also came to be used for the number one hundred. *See* WRITING.

QUAIL [Heb. *śᵉlāw* (Ex. 16:13; Nu. 11:31f.; Ps. 105:40); Gk. *ortygométra* (Wisd. 16:2; 19:12); Lat. *Coturnix* (2 Esd. 1:15)]. The old world quail *(Coturnix coturnix)*, a small, mottled brown game bird about 18 cm. (7 in.) long, is the only member of the subfamily *Phasianinae* (including quails, partridges, and pheasants) that is migratory. The routes of migration run from southern Europe, along the eastern Mediterranean coast, through the Sinai Peninsula, to Arabia or West Africa. The quails travel southward in late summer and northward in early spring (the time of the Israelite exodus from Egypt). These birds are powerful fliers over short distances, but migration over long distances is almost impossible without the aid of winds (cf. Nu. 11:31). Since they normally fly low (cf. NEB "three feet above the ground"), a change of wind may force them to land. Because of exhaustion they sometimes need to rest on the ground for a day or two, making them easy prey for hunters. Herodotus (ii.77) described how the Egyptians spread out the quails to dry in the

A quail painted on the outside of an Egyptian coffin. This Middle Kingdom (*ca.* 2100-2000 B.C.) hieroglyph represents the letter *w* (Cairo Museum; photo Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

sun (cf. Nu. 11:32). Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* referred to quails landing on a ship in such numbers that they sank it (Ferguson, p. 57). As recently as the early decades of the 20th cent. migrating quails were killed by Egyptians at the rate of two million annually; in 1920 a kill of three million was recorded (Cansdale, p. 168).

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G. WYPER

QUAKE [Heb. hithpael of *gā'aš* (2 S. 22:8 par. Ps. 18:7 [MT 8]), *zālal* (Jgs. 5:5; Isa. 64:1 [MT 63:19b], 3 [MT 2]), *ḥāraḏ* (Ex. 19:18), *nûṭ* (Ps. 99:1), *rāgaz* (1 S. 14:15; Isa. 5:25; Joel 2:10), *rā'aš* (Ps. 60:2 [MT 4]; 68:8 [MT 9]; Jer. 4:24; 8:16; 10:10; Ezk. 12:18; 31:16; 38:20; Nah. 1:5); AV also SHAKE, TREMBLE, BE MOVED, "flow down," "melt"; NEB also HEAVE, REEL, SHAKE, SHUDDER, TREMBLE. In Ex. 19:18 the NEB ("all the people were terrified") follows the LXX and nine Hebrew MSS in making the people (Heb. *hā'ām*) rather than the mountains (Heb. *hāhār*) the subject of the quaking (see *BHS*).

Every occurrence of "quake" is related to God. Some references are to the earth, mountains, etc. quaking at His presence (the theophany at Sinai, Ex. 19:18; Jgs. 5:5 [cf. v. 4]; Ps. 68:8; cf. Isa. 64:3). A number of texts refer to earthquakes being a result of God's wrath and judgment (1 S. 14:15 [cf. v. 23]; 2 S. 22:8 par. Ps. 18:7; Ps. 60:2; Isa. 5:25; 64:1, 3; Nah. 1:5). The personification of nature in such texts is clear from several other texts that parallel the quaking of the earth with the trembling of human beings (Ps. 99:1; Isa. 5:25; Jer. 10:10). Jer. 4:24; Ezk. 38:20; and Joel 2:10 seem to relate such earth-shaking judgment to a reversal of creation (see W. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I [*Hermeneia*, 1986], 163-65; note esp. the listing of creatures in Ezk. 38:20 that parallels Gen. 1). In Ezk. 12:18 God tells Ezekiel to quake when eating and tremble when drinking in order to dramatize the coming judgment, when the inhabitants of Jerusalem will do likewise. In Jer. 8:16 the foe from the north threatens Judah, and the sound of the enemy horses makes the land quake. But even here God is the indirect cause, since, as the rest of the chapter makes clear, He has sent this judgment.

Though most scholars agree that the root *zll* II (meaning "quake, shake"), rather than *nzl* (meaning "flow"; hence AV), is used in Jgs. 5:5; Isa. 64:1, 3, the evidence is ambiguous. As R. N. Whybray pointed out (*Isaiah 40–66* [*NCBC*, repr. 1981], p. 262), in Jgs. 5:5 the MT has the qal of *nāzal* but the LXX presupposes the niphal of *zālal*, and in Isa. 64:1 the MT has the niphal of *zālal* but the LXX presupposes the qal of *nāzal;* either interpretation makes sense, though the frequency of the image of mountains quaking perhaps makes this interpretation preferable (cf. G. F. Moore, *ICC* on Judges [1895], pp. 141f.).

The verb *nûṭ* (Ps. 99:1) is a hapax legomenon, but its meaning is clear not only from the context but also from the Ugaritic cognate *nṭṭ*, which occurs in a similar context (*UT*, 51:VII:34f.), as M. Dahood pointed out (*Psalms*, II [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1973], 368; see also F. E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew* [1984], pp. 14f.; cf. also pp. 48f.). Thus there is no need to emend the text (contra, e.g., KoB, p. 602).

See also EARTHQUAKE; SHAKE; TREMBLE. G. A. L.

QUARREL (noun) [Heb. *rîḇ* (Prov. 17:14; 26:17), hithpael part. of *'ānâ*–'happen,' 'meet' ("seek a quarrel," 2 K. 5:7); Gk. *machē* (2 Tim. 2:23; Tit. 3:9)]; AV also CONTENTION, STRIFE, STRIVING; NEB also DISPUTE, CONTROVERSY; (verb) [Heb. *rîḇ* (Gen. 26:20-22; Ex. 21:18; Isa. 58:4), *rāgaz*–'shake, tremble' (Gen. 45:24), niphal of *nāṣâ* (Lev. 24:10; 2 S. 14:6), hithpael of *qāla'* (Prov. 20:3), *dîn*–'judge' (Prov. 22:10), *māḏôn* (Prov. 18:19; 19:13; 26:20); Gk. *máchomai* (Acts 7:26), *éris* (Rom. 13:13; 1 Cor. 1:11; 2 Cor. 12:20), *dialogismós* (1 Tim. 2:8), *ámachos* ("avoid quarreling," Tit. 3:2)]; AV STRIVE, MEDDLE, CONTENTION, etc.; NEB also WRANGLE, "become involved in a brawl," etc.; **QUARRELSOME** [pl. of Heb. *māḏôn* (Prov. 26:21); Gk. *máchomai* (2 Tim. 2:24), *ámachos* (1 Tim. 3:3)]; AV CONTENTIOUS, STRIVE, "brawler."

Quarreling generally refers to verbal arguments (cf. *nṣh* in Lev. 24:10 and 2 S. 14:6, with its usual meaning of a physical struggle [see BDB, p. 663; KoB, p. 629]), though such verbal disputes can be the prelude to physical violence. The Bible mentions international political quarrels (2 K. 5:7) and local quarrels over land (Gen. 26:20-22), as well as individual, personal quarrels. Quarrels between individuals are the most common and the most frequently condemned, whether they are of a theological or personal nature. The biblical perspective on quarreling is clear: it is to be avoided.

In the OT several terms for quarrel have legal connotations. Heb. *rîḇ* means to strive or dispute; in many prophetic contexts it refers to a LAWSUIT. *Rîḇ* denotes a verbal argument (Gen. 26:10-22), which can, however, lead to physical violence (Ex. 21:18; cf. Isa. 58:4). The meaning of Prov. 17:14 is clear: one should halt strife as soon as one becomes aware of it (see Mt. 5:21-48). McKane (p. 505) suggests a legal context (note *māḏôn*, "strife"). Heb. *dîn* and its derived noun *māḏôn*, which occurs almost exclusively in Proverbs, also often have juridical connotations; thus in Prov. 22:10 McKane (p. 245; cf. pp. 566f.) translated *dîn* "litigation." Here again the meaning is clear: scoffing causes strife (cf. Jude 18f.).

Several texts are problematic. In Isa. 58:4 the syntax is ambiguous, and interpreters are divided about whether quarreling is the purpose or the result of fasting. Commentators like R. N. Whybray (*NCBC*, repr. 1981, p. 214), G. A. F. Knight (*International Theological Comm.*, 1985, pp. 24f.), E. J. Young (1972, p. 418), and KD understand it as the result of fasting, i.e., when one fasts, one becomes irritable. Others (e.g., C. Westermann [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1969], pp. 335f.; Calvin, *in loc.*) interpret it as the purpose

of fasting, i.e., these people fast in order to have time to argue and scheme (about business).

In Gen. 45 24 most translations seem to have slightly misconstrued Heb. *rāgaz,* which nowhere else has the sense of "quarrel"; rather, it means "tremble, shake," and by extension, "be angry" (cf. LXX *orgizō*; cf. also Ps. 4:4 [MT 5]; Prov. 29:9; Isa. 28:21). Hence JB "be upset" seems more accurate and sensible in the context (see v. 5), though one could conclude that Joseph was concerned that his brothers would now be jealous of Benjamin, to whom Joseph had given more gifts (v. 22), just as they had been jealous of him (Gen. 37; cf. Luther, *in loc.*).

Similarly, in 2 K. 5:7 most translations offer an interpretative rendering of Heb. *'nh* (which occurs only here in the hithpael); nowhere else does this root in any other stem or related form mean "quarrel." It is perhaps best to appeal to rabbinical Hebrew *'ny, 'nh, 'nn,* "to oppress." Thus the fearful (and faithless) Israelite king sees the Syrian king's request for Naaman's healing as a pretext for war. See J. Ellul, *Politics of God and the Politics of Man* (Eng. tr. 1972), p. 29.

The meaning of Heb. *gl'* (which is used only in the hithpael and only in Prov. 17:14; 18:1; 20:3) is uncertain (note that LXX translates it differently in each text). According to Jastrow (p. 251) in rabbinical Hebrew *gl'* in the hithpael means "be scratched open, laid bare," and by extension, "be argued." In 20:3 *gl'* is antithetically parallel to "keep aloof from strife [*rîḇ*]," and thus the context seems to require a meaning that matches the rabbinical use (which also fits the other OT occurrences).

In the NT most references to quarreling occur in Pauline exhortations, which are reminiscent of the OT wisdom admonitions. The six references to quarreling in the Pastorals reflect the difficulties the church was facing. False teachers spawned various heresies, perhaps Gnostic or some form of Hellenistic Judaizing with ascetic elements. According to Fee (e.g., pp. xx-xxvi, 34, 44) the exhortations reflect antitheses to the false teachers' behavior or character. Thus in 2 Tim. 2:23f. and Tit. 3:2, 9 Paul exhorts his readers to avoid quarreling (in these texts he uses the related terms *máchē, máchomai,* and *ámachos,* all of which in classical Greek and in the LXX refer frequently to a physical battle, as in Acts 7:26, but which in the rest of the NT refer to verbal disputes; see *TDNT,* IV, 527f.). Instead, they should be kindly and gentle (see 1 Tim. 3:3, where Paul describes the character of a bishop as "not violent but gentle, not quarrelsome"). Some of the quarrels seem to be primarily theological in nature (Tit. 3:9; cf. *logomachía* in 1 Tim. 6:4; 2 Tim. 2:14: "disputes about words"); Paul's repeated admonitions to avoid quarreling about theological points are as relevant for modern readers as they were in the 1st century.

Éris refers to verbal argument and often is included in lists of vices (Rom. 13:13; 2 Cor. 12:20; etc.). In 1 Cor. 1:11ff. Paul mentions a specific quarrel that threatened to divide the church: apparently members were boasting (vv. 29-31) that they followed or belonged to various leaders (Paul, Apollos, Cephas, Christ). Paul dismisses such party spirit as focusing too much on human beings and forgetting God and the gospel. See K. Barth, *Resurrection of the Dead* (Eng. tr. 1933), pp. 17-26.

Finally, in 1 Tim. 2:8 the meaning of *dialogismós* is uncertain. According to some (see *TDNT,* II, 97f.) it means doubting (so AV) or questioning, a meaning more in line with its usual sense of "thought, opinion." But others (e.g., D. Guthrie, p. 74; M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles* [Eng. tr. *Hermeneia,* 1972], p. 45) take it as strife, which seems to fit the context better (see MM, p. 151; cf. Eng. "dialogue").

Bibliography.—G. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* (*Good News Comm.,* 1984); D. Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles* (*Tyndale NT Comms.,* repr. 1983); W. McKane, *Proverbs* (*OTL,* 1970). G. A. LEE

QUARRY [Heb. hiphil of *ns'*] (1 K. 5:17 [MT 31]; Eccl. 10:9); AV BRING, REMOVE; [*massā'*] (1 K. 6:7); AV BRING; [part. of *ḥāṣaḇ*] 2 Ch. 2:2, 18 [MT 1, 17]); AV HEW, BE HEWERS; [*maqqeḇeṯ bôr*] (Isa. 51:1); AV "hole of the pit"; **QUARRIED** [Heb. *maḥṣēḇ*] (2 K. 12:12 [MT 13]; 22:6; 2 Ch. 34:11); AV HEWED, HEWN; NEB HEWN.

Three Hebrew roots are used for "quarry": *ns'*, *ḥṣb,* and *nqb. Nāsa'*, "tear out," in the hiphil can refer to removing rocks (cf. AV, lit., "bring," "remove"), i.e., quarrying (1 K. 5:17; "he who quarries," Eccl. 10:9). *Massā'* (1 K. 6:7) is a noun formed from *nāsa',* hence the AV again translates "bring." *Ḥāṣaḇ* is another verb meaning "hew" or "dig," and the noun *maḥṣēḇ* is derived from this root (cf. AV, NEB). The verb also occurs in the Siloam inscription (lines 1, 4, 6; see *KAI,* II, 186-88). Finally, Heb. *meqqeḇeṯ bôr* (Isa. 51:1), literally "piercing of a pit" (cf. AV), clearly from the context refers to quarrying; the verb *nqb* also occurs in the Siloam inscription (lines 1f., 4).

A quarry is a rocky site from which stone is excavated, and sometimes, dressed, for building purposes. The ancient Palestinian quarries were never very deep, since an adequate amount of satisfactory stone occurred near the surface. The stonemasons normally sought cracks running along the grain of the rock and enlarged them by driving in wedges, often of wood, at regularly spaced intervals until a length of stone broke away. Once such a block had been dislodged, it was subdivided by the drilling of holes in a straight line and then split by other wedges. Freshly quarried rock is softer than rock that

A close-up of Cheops's pyramid at Gîzeh showing massive quarried and shaped stones. This structure was a notable achievement since stone was first used as a building material during this period (2590-2470 B.C.) (B. K. Condit)

has been exposed to the air for some time and is therefore not as difficult for the stonemasons to remove and shape.

The AV rendering "quarries" (Heb. *pᵉsîlîm*) in Jgs. 3:19, 26 is unfortunate, since the word comes from a verb *pāsal*, "carve." The RSV translation "sculptured stones" is preferable. R. K. H.

QUART. *See* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

QUARTER. Literally, one of four parts (cf. AV Dt. 22:12; Heb. *kānāp*, lit. "wing"; RSV, NEB, "corner"); used by the RSV to designate (1) a district of a city (*see* SECOND QUARTER) or (2) a region lying in any of the four cardinal directions on the compass, as in Jer. 49:36 (Heb. *qāṣâ*, lit. "border, extremity"); 50:26 (*qēṣ*, lit. "end, extremity"; AV "border"; NEB "harvest-time"); Est. 4:14 (*māqôm*, lit. "place" [so AV]; probably a veiled reference to God); Mk. 1:45 (Gk. *pantachóthen*, lit. "every direction"). The AV also uses it in this latter sense to render a variety of terms, e.g., Heb. *gᵉḇûl* (lit. "border," Ex. 13:7; RSV, NEB, "territory"), *yᵉrēḵâ* (lit. "far portion," Ezk. 38:6; RSV "uttermost part"), *pē'â* (lit. "side" [so RSV], Nu. 34:3; Josh. 15:5; etc.), *rû(a)ḥ* (lit. "wind," hence "direction"; 1 Ch. 9:24; RSV, NEB, "side"); Gk. *tópos* (lit. "place" [so RSV], Acts 16:3; 28:7), *gōnía* (lit. "corner" [so RSV], Rev. 20:8). N. J. O.

QUARTERMASTER [Heb. *śar mᵉnûḥâ*] (Jer. 51:59); AV QUIET PRINCE. An officer in charge of supplies for the troops. A literal translation of the MT would be "officer of the resting place," i.e., the officer in charge of securing arrangements for overnight stops. The LXX and Targum emend to *śar mᵉnāḥôṭ*, "officer of tribute." The RSV and NEB apparently emend to *śar maḥᵃneh* (lit. "officer of the camp"), following the Syriac.

QUARTUS kwôr'təs [Gk. *Kouartos*]. An otherwise unknown Christian who sends greetings to the Christian community in Rome through Paul, who calls him a "brother" (Rom. 16:23).

QUATERNION (Acts 12:4, AV). *See* SQUAD.

QUEEN [Heb. *malkâ*, *gᵉḇîrâ* (1 K. 11:19), *šēgāl* (Neh. 2:6; Ps. 45:9 [MT 10]), *śārâ* (Isa. 49:23); Aram. *malkâ* (Dnl. 5:10); Gk. *basílissa*]; NEB also PRINCESS. Either a woman who reigns by her own power, or the consort of a king.

The OT uses Heb. *malkâ* (fem. of *meleḵ*, "king") only once in reference to Israel: in Cant. 6:8 the king is said to have sixty "queens" in his harem (cf. v. 9). The singular form is used only in reference to foreign queens. The QUEEN OF SHEBA who visited Solomon (1 K. 10; cf. Mt. 12:42 par. Lk. 11:31) apparently ruled her country as a sovereign. Queen Vashti, the consort of King Ahasuerus of Persia, held a position of special honor within the king's harem and wore a royal crown (Est. 1:11). Nevertheless, she was required to show absolute obedience to the king; when she disobeyed him she was removed from her "royal position" (1:19), and Esther was crowned queen in her place (2:17). Esther risked her life by appearing before Ahasuerus without having been summoned (4:11-16; 5:1f.; etc.) and pleading for the life of her people (7:3f.). Her courageous action preserved the Jews from annihilation, and consequently Queen Esther became a Jewish heroine.

The consort of King Artaxerxes, who is identified by the rare term *šēgāl* (Neh. 2:6), also appears to have held a position of honor. In its only other OT use, *šēgāl* designates the bride-consort of the Israelite king (Ps. 45:9 [MT 10]).

The goddess Isis conducts Queen Nefretere, consort of Ramses II, to her tomb. The hieroglyphs read: "Words spoken by Isis: Come, great royal wife Nefretere, beloved of Mut, justified, that I may give thee a place in the sacred Land." Facsimile of a tomb painting from the Valley of the Queens, Thebes (no. 66), 1295-1225 B.C. (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

In 1 K. 11:19 the title *gᵉḇîrâ* (lit. "great lady") is used of Tahpenes the consort of Pharaoh. In all other OT uses (where the term refers to Hebrew women) *gᵉḇîrâ* designates the queen mother rather than the king's consort. Most scholars agree that Aram. *malkâ* in Dnl. 5:10 refers to the Queen Mother rather than Belshazzar's consort. Likewise, "Candace" (Acts 8:27) is the title of the queen mother of Ethiopia, the ruling sovereign of that country (see comms.).

In Israel and Judah, as in surrounding countries, one of the wives in the royal harem held the king's preference (e.g., Bathsheba under David, Jezebel under Ahab; cf. Ps. 45:9). There is no evidence that the king's favorite wife was ever given an official title or position in the court, as the queen mother was. The only Hebrew woman who ever ruled by her own power was Athaliah, whose position as queen mother enabled her to seize the throne after the death of her son Ahaziah (2 K. 11:1-3). The influence exercised by some of the queen consorts (e.g., Jezebel; cf. 1 K. 19:1f.; 21:5-16) was probably due to the political power of their families.

On Rev. 18:7, *see* BABYLON IN THE NT.

See also QUEEN MOTHER; QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

N. J. O.

QUEEN MOTHER [Heb. *gᵉḇîrâ*]; AV QUEEN. The mother of the ruling king. The title *gᵉḇîrâ* (lit. "great lady")

designated an official position in the court. Although in 1 K. 11:19 the title is applied to Tahpenes the wife of Pharaoh, in Judah it is never used of the king's wife. Generally it was the king's mother who held the position of first lady in the realm.

The queen mother's importance is illustrated by the change in Bathsheba's position after her son became king. When her husband David was king she did obeisance to him like any other subject (1 K. 1:16, 31); but after her son Solomon became king, he did obeisance to her and had her sit at his right hand (2:19). The queen mother apparently wore a crown (Jer. 13:18). Often she is mentioned with the king (e.g., 2 K. 24:12, 15; Jer. 13:18; 29:2); the books of Kings almost always mention her name along with that of each Judean king) e.g., 1 K. 14:21, 31; 15:2; 22:42; 2 K. 8:26). Apparently it was possible for the queen mother to retain her position after her son's death: Maacah was queen mother under her son Abijam (1 K. 15:1f.) and also under Abijam's son (her grandson) Asa (vv. 8-10; cf. NEB). The *gᵉḇîrâ* could also be deposed by the king: Asa removed Maacah from the position because she had abused her authority by having an "abominable image" made for Asherah (v. 13). The extensive power of the queen mother explains why it was possible for Athaliah to seize the throne and reign over Judah for seven years after the death of her son Ahaziah (2 K. 11:1-3).

There is scant evidence that the queen mother held the same powerful position in the northern kingdom of Israel. Apart from Zeruah the mother of Jeroboam (1 K. 11:26), the mothers of the kings of Israel are not named. In 2 K. 10:13 the term *gᵉḇîrâ* is applied to Jezebel, but the word is spoken by a prince of Judah. Perhaps the dynastic instability of the northern kingdom did not allow this institution to develop there to the extent that it did in Judah.

In other ancient Near Eastern countries, as well as in Judah, the queen mother played a very influential role. For example, most scholars agree that in Dnl. 5:10 Aram. *malkâ* ("queen") refers not to Belshazzar's consort but to his mother (or possibly grandmother), Nebuchadnezzar's widow. The manner of her entry (without being summoned), the authoritative tone of her counsel, and her knowledge of Daniel's accomplishments during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (vv. 11f.), all suggest that she held the important position of queen mother (see comms.). "Candace" ("the queen of the Ethiopians," Acts 8:27) was a hereditary title given to the queen mother of Ethiopia, who was traditionally the effective ruler of that country (see comms.).

Bibliography.—*ILC*, III-IV (1959), 72; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, I (Eng. tr. 1961), 117-19. N. J. O.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN [Heb. *mᵉleḵeṯ haššāmayim*] (Jer. 7:18; 44:17-19, 25). A female astral deity worshiped by Jewish women in Judah and Egypt in the time of Jeremiah.

The veneration of astral bodies has been a part of human religion from very early times. In Mesopotamia the pantheon was liberally represented by deities connected with planets, stars, and celestial phenomena, while in Egypt the chief deity was the sun-god Re. Hadad, god of wind and storm, was a powerful member of the Canaanite pantheon, as was the fertility goddess Astarte, an astral deity usually identified with the Assyrian-Babylonian Ishtar, who was connected with the planet Venus. While the Sumerians thought of the deities merely as natural forces experienced personally, later generations attributed personality and extraordinary powers to the gods and venerated them superstitiously.

The Israelites were warned against participating in the cults of these pagan deities as early as the time of Moses (Dt. 4:19; 17:2-5) on pain of incurring the wrath of the one and only true God. Nevertheless, astral religion was a powerful competitor for the affections of the covenant people because of its wide popularity throughout the Near East, and by the time of Jeremiah it had established itself firmly, if perhaps surreptitiously, in Judah (*see* ASTROLOGY IV). Thus the prophet denounced the Jewish families who had violated the covenant faith by burning incense to *mᵉleḵeṯ haššāmayim*, baking cakes impressed with her image (or possibly in the shape of a crescent or star, symbols of Ishtar; *see also* RAISINS), and pouring libations to her. This goddess, who was venerated particularly by women (but with the support of their husbands), is probably to be identified with Ishtar/Astarte (*see* ASHTORETH), or possibly with the Canaanite goddess Anath, who on an Egyptian stele from Beth-shean is called "the queen of heaven, the mistress of the gods" (Ringgren, *Religions*, p. 142).

The Jews of Pathros in Egypt responded to Jeremiah's denunciation by declaring that they intended to continue to venerate the queen of heaven (Jer. 44:15-19, 35). Their interpretation of history was the opposite of Jeremiah's: they viewed the fall of Jerusalem (587 B.C.) and the other disasters that had befallen them as consequences of their neglect (probably due to Josiah's reforms) of the cult of the queen of heaven. The ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI give clear evidence of religious syncretism in the Jewish settlement in Egypt in the 5th cent. B.C.

Bibliography.—H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. tr. 1966), pp. 96f.; *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. tr. 1973), pp. 141f.; J. A. Thompson, *Book of Jeremiah* (*NICOT*, 1980), pp. 284f., 678-680. R. K. H.

QUEEN OF SHEBA shē'bə.

I. Biblical References
  A. OT
  B. NT
II. Traditional Elaborations
  A. Jewish
  B. Islamic
  C. Ethiopian

I. Biblical References.—Both Testaments chronicle a remarkable journey of an unnamed queen of Sheba (1 K. 10:1-10, 13; 2 Ch. 9:1-9, 12) or queen of the South (Mt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31), who traveled to Jerusalem with high curiosity and full retinue to confirm reports of Solomon's glory.

A. OT. 1. Literary Form and Purpose. The *genre* is an honorific narrative, part of a larger description of Solomonic splendor (1 K. 9:26–10:29; 2 Ch. 8:17–9:28). This literary form (sometimes called "legend"; see B. Long, p. 119) focuses not so much on the details or drama of the plot — neither the journey's date nor the queen's name is mentioned — as on the hero's remarkable attributes. The queen is the foil radiating the king's brilliance: she engages in a contest and loses (1 K. 10:2f.); disheartened (vv. 4f.), she affirms Solomon's grandeur (vv. 6f.), toasts the happiness of his household (v. 8), and blesses his God (v. 9); she bestows beneficence on him (v. 10), receives gifts from him (v. 13a), and returns home (v. 13b).

The *context* of the narrative in 1 Kings prompts comment on the literary purpose. The preceding verses (1 K. 9:26-28) describe Solomon's stepped-up commercial activities in the southern part of the Red Sea, which caught the queen's attention, and account for the placement of the queen's visit in the overall flow of 1 Kings. Note the repeated mention of "gold" which serves to stitch the materials

together (9:11, 14, 28; 10:2, 10f., 14, 16f., 18, 21f., 25).

If one purpose of the story is to glorify Solomon's wisdom, fame, and wealth, another may be to contrast Solomon's impeccable treatment of the queen and her appreciation of his God, Yahweh (10:9), with the shameful way that Solomon ultimately succumbs to the wiles of foreign women (probably of royal rank) and blatantly breaches Yahweh's covenant (1 K. 11; the Chronicler's celebration of David's household allows no mention of Solomon's apostasy).

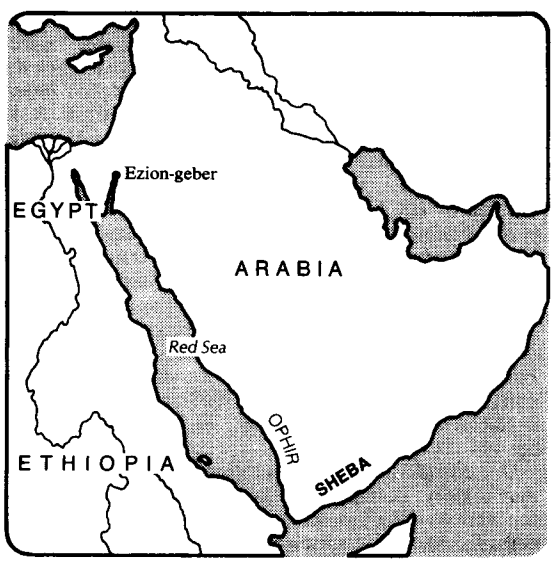
2. Historical Background. The first purpose of the queen's visit is stated plainly, "she came to test him with hard questions" (lit. "riddles"; 1 K. 10:2); such games or contests were apparently standard exercises among people of power, e.g., Samson [Jgs. 14:10-18]; *see* PROVERB); a similar use of a wisdom-saying in royal contest is Jehoash's fable against Amaziah of Judah (2 K. 14:9f.). That Solomon smartly passed all the tests (1 K. 10:3) contributed both to his glory and to the queen's dismay.

The second purpose has to do with the negotiation of commerical agreements and treaties regulating trade routes. The context, recounting the growth of Solomon's fleet and the enterprising actions of Hiram, the Phoenician ruler who managed it for him, points to this (1 K. 9:26-28; 10:11f.). Opening new sea lanes would decrease use of overland routes and various oases from which Sheba's court derived revenue.

The story yields cryptic clues that the chief motivations were political and economic: (1) the spices, gold, and gems of the queen's cargo (10:2, 10) were probably tribute paid for commercial favors and treaty concessions; (2) Solomon's answers (10:3) may not have been restricted to solving her puzzles but may have dealt with wider concerns (10:3); (3) the "all that she desired" (10:13) may include satisfactory political agreements.

Sheba is variously located (*see* SABEANS). Northern Arabia, NE of Medina, where a Wādī' eš-šeba may echo the name, was the home of a number of queens mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions as early as the 8th cent. B.C. (see N. Abbott, *AJSL*, 58 [1941], 1-22). If the queen ruled this northern area, the spices, gold, and gems carried to Jerusalem must have been acquired in trade, not procured in her homeland.

More likely, Sheba is Saba on the southwest coast of the Arabian peninsula (modern Yemen), S of Ma'in and W of Qataban and Hadramaut, South Arabian states. Although the several expeditions that excavated Sabean cities have not reached levels assignable to the 10th cent. B.C. when Solomon's empire flourished, the developed cultures that appear in the 8th cent. may well have roots from as early as the 12th century. This southwestern location better suits the references to Solomon's fleet based at Ezion-geber and also the queen's precious cargo. So far, however, Sabean inscriptions have revealed no record of female rulers.



The third possible site is in the Horn of east Africa across the Red Sea from Saba, near present day Djibouti. Arguments for this location include: (1) traditions extant in Ethiopia, Josephus, and Gregory of Nyssa that connect the queen of Sheba with Ethiopia and Egypt (see below); (2) the evidence that both Punt and Ophir were names used from antiquity for territories on both the west and east coasts of the Red Sea; the freedom from foreign incursion coupled with the narrowness of the Bab el-Mandeb — the gate (approximately 40 km. [24 mi.]) at the south end of the Red Sea — promoted a vast amount of commercial and social intercourse between Africa and Asia; notable examples of this are the common crops of frankincense and myrrh, the contribution of Jewish traders and settlers to Ethiopia's religious life (which shares many pre-talmudic features), and the linguistic affinities between epigraphic South Arabian and the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, especially the classical Ge'ez (see E. Ullendorff, *Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* [1955]; *The Ethiopians: An Intro. to Country and People* [1960], pp. 47-57); (3) "almug wood" (1 K. 10:11f.; *see* ALGUM) may hint at East Africa's lavish forests (E. Ullendorff, *BJRL*, 45 [1963], 488). This interpretation hinges partly on our understanding of the verses (10:11f. par. 2 Ch. 9:10f.) that further describe Hiram's merchant marine and its cargo from Ophir: is this passage a parenthesis (so DeVries, Gray, Long) or an integral part of the story describing other gifts which the queen had dispatched by sea? The context suggests the latter: "It scarcely matters very greatly whether we have to seek the queen's home in South-West Arabia or in the horn of Africa . . ., for the connections between the two shores of the southern Red Sea have at all times been close" (Ullendorff, *loc. cit.*).

This evidence leaves much room to affirm the basic reliability and antiquity of the story while acknowledging that some of the argument is inferential, since no specific external record from Solomon's time has yet been found to confirm the identity and homeland of the queen.

B. NT. The Gospels call Solomon's admirer "queen of the South" (Mt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31), where the Greek (*basilissa nótou*) reflects a Semitic idiom (cf. M. Black, *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, p. 68) like *malkaṯ šᵉḇā'*. Using "south" for "Sheba" highlights the length of the journey, whose rigor contrasts with the ready access of Jesus' audiences, rather than its place of origin. Luke's version, chiastic in form, begins with Jonah's sign to Nineveh (Lk. 11:30), proceeds to the queen's witness against Jesus' unheeding contemporaries (v. 31), and finally returns to the Ninevites' condemning presence (v. 32). The structure underscores the message: like Jonah's preaching, her adulation of Solomon served as a sign of God's truth and blessing; with the men of Nineveh she changed her attitude to God's providence and call. Luke's major point is that Jesus' preaching both continued and outshone Jonah's prophetic ministry and Solomon's wisdom teaching. The greater Prophet, the heaven-sent Sage, was in their midst. What could they expect but condemnation if they failed to hear Him? (See J. A. Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke*, II [*AB*, 1985],

933f.; I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, [*NIGTC*, 1978], pp. 482-87.)

Matthew mentions Jonah's three days and nights in the whale's belly (12:40), thus focusing more on Jesus' resurrection as the sign than on Jonah's preaching or Solomon's teaching (see F. W. Beare, *Gospel According to Matthew* [1981], pp. 281f.). This may have been prompted by the verbs which signal the presence of the queen (*egerthēsetai* v. 42) and the Ninevites (*anastēsontai*, v. 41) at the final judgment. Both may connote either resurrection or standing forth as prosecution witnesses. Was part of Jesus' intention to sharpen his denunciation by summoning a *woman* as a key witness?

In both Testaments we are dealing with an honorific narrative: the OT uses the queen's story to laud Solomon's glory; the NT, to affirm Jesus' centrality. But the NT sharpens the continuity by the contrast: the ancient queen bowed to Solomon's wisdom and Solomon's Lord; Gospel evidence indicates that Jesus' hearers did otherwise.

II. Traditional Elaborations.–The faiths that stem from the OT and share a home in the parts of Asia and Africa which front on the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden have embellished the story of the queen's visit, reflecting its impact on the consciousness of Jews, Moslems, and Christians.

A. Jewish. Josephus (*Ant.* viii.6.5f. [165-175]) contains the earliest post-biblical account of the queen's journey. He identified her as "Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia," thus bearing early witness to an African, not Arabian, locale (cf. also Gregory of Nyssa [ca. A.D. 330-395], *In Cantic. Cant. Hom.* vii; *PG* XLIV, 908A).

The Talmud mentions the queen just twice (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 15b) -- in discussing Job's date (Job 1:15). The rabbis debated whether the reference to Sheba could be interpreted as making Job contemporary with the queen. Major Jewish commentators erased from Job any allusion to the queen: Rashi read "kingdom of Sheba"; Ibn Ezra, "the encampment of Sheba"; Meṣudat David, "the people of Sheba." Rabbi Jonathan (see S. Schechter, ed., *Midrash Haggadol* [1902], col. 379) tried to remove her record not only from Job 1:15 but from 1 K. 10:1, where he suggested the reading "kingdom" (*malkût*) for "queen." Though some (e.g., G. Salzberger, *Die Salomosage* [1907], p. 14) have read Rabbi Jonathan as attempting to shield Solomon from possible impropriety with the queen, talmudic debate probably centers not in the king's conduct but in Job's date (see L. H. Silberman, "The Queen of Sheba in Judaic Tradition," in J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Solomon and Sheba* [1974], pp. 69f.). While Midrash *Rabbah* relayed the basic story, later embellishment listed the queen's riddles and the king's answers (cf. L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* [Eng. tr. 1936-47], IV, 145-49; VI, 145-49; VI, 290f.; cf. M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* [1893], pp. 220f. for material from *Yalkut* [1085] and Midrash *Mishley* [ed. Buber; 1893], pp. 40-44).

The Targum Sheni to Est. 1:2 (*ca.* A.D. 1200) contains the fullest rabbinic form of the story (see M. David, *Das Targum Scheni* [1898] for text, and Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 142-46, 148f., for translation). It describes how Solomon heard about the queen, whose realm it locates near the Garden of Eden, and how Solomon pressured her to visit him. She arrived with an entourage of 6000 youths and was tricked by Solomon to expose her limbs and reveal disfiguring hair on her feet. Posing her riddles and accepting Solomon's answers, she blessed God and eschewed her pagan worship.

The first rabbinic account of sexual intercourse between Solomon and Sheba is recorded in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* (see M. Steinschneider, [1858], fol. 21b). Nebuchadnezzar was the fruit of this union.

B. Islamic. Koranic accounts (27:15-45) attest to the antiquity of the traditions in *Targum Sheni*, which they closely resemble. Commentaries of Zamakhshari and Al-Baidawi name the queen Bilqis (possibly derived from Gk. *pallakis*, "concubine"; Heb. *pʿlegeš*; or a corruption of Nikaulis, Josephus's name for her). *Stories of the Prophets*, compiled by al-Kisa'i and ath-Tha'abi (11th cent.), integrates Solomon and Sheba into Islamic traditions, while imputing to Bilqis demonic power, probably because of her hairy feet; cf. Tg. Job 1:15, where Sheba is called Lilith, the night demon. (For surveys of the Islamic traditions, see W. M. Watt, "The Queen of Sheba in Islamic Tradition," in *Solomon and Sheba*, pp. 85-103; G. Rosch, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 6 [1880], 524-572.) Though some accounts assume that Solomon married Sheba after removing her unsightly hair, they mention no offspring.

In the interplay between rabbinic and Islamic sources, intrinsic probability argues that the Jewish were earlier than the Islamic, though they may have taken written form much later (see A. Katsh, *Judaism in Islam* [1954]).

C. Ethiopian. These records of the story embrace it with a fervor that pales the rabbinic and Islamic uses. At stake for the Ethiopians are (1) their claim to succeed the Jews as God's chosen people, and (2) their conviction that their royal line stemmed from Menelik I, purportedly Solomon's son by their queen.

The *Kebra Nagast* ("glory of the kings") composed *ca.* A.D. 1320 with pre-Christian and early Christian materials, captures what Ethiopians have classically believed about their spiritual history. Key components in the *Kebra Nagast's* version include (1) the queen learned about Solomon's splendor from her merchant, Tamrin (the name may be a corruption of Hiram; cf. 1 K. 10:11f.), who contracted to supply wood, gold, and sapphires for the temple; (2) she ventured from Ethiopia at her discretion, not at Solomon's command; (3) she was converted from sun-worship to Solomon's religion; (4) called Makeda, a name of unknown origin, she was seduced by Solomon who tricked her into promising not to steal anything and fed her salty food so that she could not resist stealing water; she had broken her promise, thus freeing him of his promise not to touch her; (5) this intercourse produced Menelik, founder of the new Israel, who, with the ark of the covenant, was spirited home to Ethiopia. (For the entire text of the *Kebra Nagast* see C. Bezold, "Kebra Nagast. Die Herrlichkeit der Könige," *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 23/1 [1905]; E. A. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek* (1) [1922]; see also a Tigre version which adapts *Kebra Nagast* material, while using the NT name "queen of the South" (cf. Littmann, *Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum* [1904]; cf. C. Bezold, "Kebra Nagast," pp. LXIV-LI, for an Arabic version, stamped as late by its Christian elaborations; cf. also a 10th-11th-century Coptic fragment apparently dependent on the *Kebra Nagast*; A. Erman, *Abhandlungen der königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* [1897], pp. 24f.). For discussion of these Ethiopian versions see E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (1968), and "The Queen of Sheba in Ethiopian Tradition," in *Solomon and Sheba*, pp. 104-114.

One aim of Kings and Chronicles was to celebrate Solomon's glory; that aim was accomplished remarkably as the various religious and national traditions cherished, embellished, and disseminated the story. And the ecu-

menism implied in the bond between the king and the queen, reinforced by Jesus' words, helped to account for the fruitful planting of the Church in Egyptian and Ethiopian soil.

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D. A. HUBBARD

QUENCH [Heb. qal and piel of *kāḇâ*, also *šāḇar* (Ps. 104:11; emended to *śāḇaʿ*–'be sated'), *šôqēq*–'dried out' (Isa. 29:8); Gk. *sbénnymi*]; AV also "have appetite" (Isa. 29:8); NEB also STAMP OUT, EXTINGUISH, etc. To "put out" (e.g., a flame) or "satisfy" (e.g., a thirst), usually with a liquid.

The word is used literally in Ps. 104:11 of animals slaking their thirst, and in He. 11:34 of putting out a fire. Most often, however, it is used figuratively. To "quench my coal" (2 S. 14:7) is a figure for putting to death a family's last remaining heir. Near the end of David's life he was dissuaded by his men from going into battle lest he be killed, an event that would "quench the lamp of Israel" (21:17). God promised in Isa. 42:3 that His Servant would not quench a dimly burning wick, i.e., He would gently nurture those whose hope was dim. Jesus fulfilled this prophecy by refraining from denouncing or dismissing those who were weak in faith (Mt. 12:20).

A fire that nothing can extinguish can serve as a figure for true love (Cant. 8:7). It can also describe the wrath of God (e.g., 2 K. 22:17; 2 Ch. 34:25; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 21:12; Am. 5:6). In the NT Jesus described hell in terms of an unquenchable fire (Mk. 9:44-48; Mt. 3:12; Lk. 3:17; cf. Isa. 66:24).

Paul counseled his readers to extinguish the "flaming darts of the evil one" by means of the shield of faith (Eph. 6:16). He also warned them not to "quench the Spirit" (1 Thess. 5:19), i.e., that they should not suppress the Spirit's manifestations in the area of prophesying (v. 20).

E. F. H.

QUESTION [nouns: Heb. *ḥîḏâ*–'riddle' ("hard question," 1 K. 10:1; 2 Ch. 9:1), *dāḇār*–'word' (Gen. 43:7; 1 K. 10:3; 2 Ch. 9:2; Jer. 38:14), *tôrâ*–'instruction, law' (Hag. 2:11); Gk. *lógos*–'word' (Mt. 21:24; Mk. 11:29; Lk. 20:3), *zḗtēma*–'question' (Acts 15:2; 18:15; 23:29), *zḗtēsis*–'controversy,' 'investigation' (Acts 25:20)]; AV also WORD, THING, LAW (*tôrâ*); NEB also RULING (*tôrâ*), BICKERING, DISCUSSION, etc.; [verbs: Heb. *šāʾal*–'ask' (Gen. 43:7; Jgs. 8:14; Job 38:3; 40:7; 42:4; Isa. 45:11; Jer. 37:17), *dāraš*–'inquire, demand' (2 Ch. 31:9); Gk. *dialogízomai*–'consider, argue' (Mk. 2:6, 8; Lk. 3:15; 5:21f.), *erōtáō*–'ask' (Jn. 16:30; 18:19), *eperōtáō*–'ask, put a question' (Lk. 23:9; Acts 5:27), *syzētéō*–'discuss, argue' (Mk. 1:27; 9:10; Lk. 22:23), *anakríno*–'question, examine' ("raise a question," 1 Cor. 10:25, 27)]; AV also DEMAND, ASK, ENQUIRE, REASON, MUSE; NEB also CONSULT, THINK, etc.; **ASK A QUESTION** [Gk. *eperōtáō*] (Mt. 22:23, etc.; Mk. 11:29; 12:18, 34; Lk. 2:46; 20:28, 40); AV also ASK; **QUESTIONING** [Gk. *dialogismós*–'doubt,' 'thought,' 'dispute'] (Lk. 5:22; 24:38; Phil. 2:14); AV THOUGHT, DISPUTE; NEB also "what they were thinking," WRANGLING.

1 Kings 10:1-5 par. 2 Ch. 9:1-4 relates a contest of wits between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Practical wisdom, demonstrated by the ability to answer riddles and solve problems, was highly valued and cultivated in the royal courts of the ancient Near East. (*See* RIDDLE.)

The scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, and lawyers attempted to trap Jesus with cunning questions (e.g., Mt. 22:15-46 par. Mk. 12:13-34; Lk. 20:19-40). But Jesus demonstrated His superior wisdom by His answers (e.g., Lk. 20:26 par.) and counter-questions (e.g., Mt. 21:24 par. Mk. 11:29; Lk. 20:3), so that His opponents no longer dared to debate with Him (Mt. 22:46 par.).

See also DISCUSSION; DISPUTE.

N. J. O.

QUICK; QUICKEN. Terms used by the AV in the archaic sense of "alive, living" and "revive, make alive" (cf. RSV). "Quick" translates Heb. *ḥay*, "living, alive" (Nu. 16:30; Ps. 55:15 [MT 16]; 124:3), the cognate *miḥyâ*, "preservation of life" (Lev. 13:10 [RSV also "quick"], 24; *see* chart in LEPER), and Gk. part. of *záō*, "live, have life" (Acts 10:42; 2 Tim. 4:1; etc.). "Quicken" translates Heb. piel of *ḥāyâ*, "keep alive," "revive" (Ps. 71:20; 80:18 [MT 19]; etc.), Gk. *zōopoiéō*, "give or preserve life" (Jn. 5:21; 6:63; Rom. 4:17; etc.), and *syzōopoiéō*, "give or preserve life together" (Eph. 2:5; Col. 2:13). *See* LIFE.

QUICKSANDS (Acts 27:17, AV). *See* SYRTIS.

QUIET; BE QUIET; QUIETNESS [(verbs) usually Heb. qal or hiphil of *šāqaṭ*, also hiphil and hithpael of *ḥāraš*–'keep still' (Jgs. 16:2; 18:19), hiphil of *ḥāšâ*–'delay' (1 K. 22:3), hiphil of *hāsâ*–'hush' (Nu. 13:30), *has*–'hush!' (Neh. 8:11), *šāṭaq*–'be calm' (Ps. 107:30; Jonah 1:11f.), palal of *šāʾan*–'be at rest' (Jer. 30:10), polel of *dāmam* (Ps. 131:2), *gāmal*–'wean' (131:2); Gk. *katastéllō* (Acts 19:35f.)]; AV also "hold [one's] peace" (Jgs. 18:19; Neh. 8:11), WEANED (Ps. 131:2), CALM, STILL, REST, APPEASE; NEB also TAKE NO ACTION, DO NOTHING, BE TRANQUIL, etc.; [(nouns and adjectives) Heb. *tām*–'ordered, peaceful' (Gen. 25:27), *šeqeṭ*–'tranquillity' (1 Ch. 22:9), *rāgē(a)*–'resting' (Ps. 35:20), *šalwâ*–'ease' (Prov. 17:1), *naḥaṭ*–'calmness' (Prov. 29:9; Eccl. 4:6; 9:17), *šaʾᵃnān*–'untroubled' (Isa. 32:18; 33:20); Gk. *hēsychía* (Acts 22:2; 2 Thess. 3:12), *hēsýchios* (1 Pet. 3:4), *érēmos* (1 Tim. 2:2)]; AV also PLAIN (Gen. 25:27), REST, SILENCE; NEB also SETTLED, PEACEABLE, CONCORD, etc.

Hebrew *šāqaṭ* (qal and hiphil) occurs forty-one times in the MT and is eighteen times rendered "be quiet," "keep quiet," etc., by the RSV. The root denotes a state of tranquillity that is free from trouble and strife (e.g., 2 K. 11:20 par. 2 Ch. 23:21; 1 Ch. 4:40; 22:9; 2 Ch. 20:30; Prov. 15:18, Jer. 47:6f.) or from fear and anxiety (e.g., Jgs. 18:7, 27; Isa. 7:4; 30:15; Jer. 49:23; Ezk. 38:11). The prophets looked forward to a time of peace and quietness after the restoration from exile (e.g., Isa. 14:7; 32:17f.; 33:20; Jer. 30:10; 46:27). Job (3:26) complained that his continual torment allowed him no "ease" (*šālâ*; AV "safety"), "quiet" (*šāqaṭ*; AV "rest"), nor "rest" (*nû[a]ḥ*; AV "quiet").

Sometimes "to quiet" means "to silence talking or commotion" (Nu. 13:30; Acts 19:35; cf. Jgs. 18:19; Neh. 8:11; Acts 19:36; 22:2). Wisdom literature values highly the quietness that comes from inner peace and security (e.g., Eccl. 4:6; 9:17; cf. Prov. 29:9). Ps. 131 compares the calmness of one who has found security in God to the contentment of a child who rests on its mother's breast after receiving nourishment.

A calm, peaceable spirit was also prized by the early Christian community. The Gk. *hēsychía* ("silence"), *hēsýchios* ("quiet"), and *hēsycházō* ("be quiet"; RSV "live quietly") refer to a tranquil disposition free from the inner turmoil that causes disturbances in the community (e.g., 1 Thess. 4:11; 2 Thess. 3:12; 1 Pet. 3:4; cf. 1 Tim. 2:2 [RSV "peaceable"]; *see also* SILENCE), while *érēmos*

("quiet," 2:2) refers to freedom from outward disturbance.

For the AV's use of "quiet" in Jgs. 8:28 (Heb. *šāqaṭ*); Job 3:26 (*nû[a]ḥ*); 20:20 (*šalwâ*); Zec. 6:8 (hiphil of *nû[a]ḥ*); *see* REST. On "quiet prince" (Jer. 51:59, AV), *see* QUARTERMASTER. N. J. O.

QUINTUS MEMMIUS. *See* MEMMIUS, QUINTUS.

QUIRINIUS kwi-rin'ē-əs [Gk. *Kyrēnios*] (Lk. 2:2); AV CYRENIUS. A governor of Syria when Jesus was born.

I. In Extrabiblical Sources.–From various ancient historians emerges the following outline of Quirinius's life (cf. esp. Josephus *Ant.* xvii.13.5 [355]-xviii.1.1 [3]; xviii.2.1 [26]; Tacitus *Ann.* iii.22-24, 48; Dio Cassius *Hist.* liv.28.2; Suetonius *Tiberius* 49; Florus *Epit. of Rom. Hist.* ii.31). Publius Sulpicius Quirinius was born *ca.* 51 B.C. into a family of no particular distinction in the Roman municipality of Lanuvium. He became a soldier, and during his fourth decade (perhaps in 16-15 B.C.) he distinguished himself in the Gaetulian war in North Africa. In 12 B.C. he received a consulship in Rome. Sometime during the next fourteen years, probably before 6 B.C., he gained further military honors after successfully subduing the Homonadensian tribes in the central and southeastern regions of Asia (skirmishes probably ranged from Galatia to Cilicia). In 3 B.C. he was named proconsul in Asia.

The date of Quirinius's first marriage, to Claudia Appia, is unknown, as are all further details about her. In *ca.* A.D. 3 Quirinius divorced her and married Aemilia Lepida, the woman who had been set aside to be the bride of Lucius Caesar, heir-apparent to the Roman throne until his untimely death the previous year. Quirinius's access to imperial circles had been facilitated by his recent appointment as adviser to Lucius's brother Gaius, during Gaius's command in Armenia. (Gaius also died prematurely, in A.D. 4.)

From A.D. 6 to 9 Quirinius ruled as imperial legate in Syria-Cilicia. At the beginning of his term of office he was commanded by Caesar to take a census of Syrian property and to sell the estate of the deposed Archelaus. At this time Judea was under Syrian jurisdiction, and at first the Judeans rebelled against the idea of such a census. Eventually, however, Joazar the high priest convinced most of them to participate. Those who remained rebellious rallied around a certain Judas, who became the instigator of the Zealot movement (cf. Acts 5:37).

After these years abroad Quirinius returned to Rome, where he lived until his death in A.D. 21. He apparently had no children. At some point he divorced Lepida. Shortly before his death he instituted legal proceedings against her on the charges of attempted murder by poison (years earlier) and (more recently) of adultery. His malicious behavior during the trial aroused much public sympathy for her and hatred toward him. These feelings probably account for the fact that Tiberius's eulogy at Quirinius's funeral elicited no acclaim from the Roman senate. Perhaps it was because Quirinius had deliberately courted his favor by visiting him during his exile in Rhodes that Tiberius was nonetheless willing to eulogize him, emphasizing his skill and faithfulness as a military officer. Other Romans chose instead to remember "the combination of meanness with exorbitant power which had marked his later days" (Tacitus *Ann.* iii.48).

II. In the NT.–The sole biblical reference to Quirinius is Lk. 2:2. Here the Gospel of Luke ascribes to him a governorship (Gk. *hēgemoneúō* can refer to several types of administrative command) of Syria at the time of an empire-wide census under Augustus. Luke calls it "the first enrollment," which suggests that it is being distinguished from one or more later censuses. But since Christ was born at least by 4 B.C. (the year of Herod's death), Luke cannot be referring to the census of A.D. 6. Thus, either Luke's Gospel is referring to an event otherwise unattested by ancient historians, or else it has confused the historical data, dating the census of A.D. 6 to Herod's reign.

Many scholars have found the former possibility improbable and have opted for the latter (see the classic treatment in *HJP*², I, 399-427). Their arguments are based primarily on the lack of mention in other historical sources of a census during Herod's reign. But the only full treatment of this period is provided by Josephus, who focused primarily on events dealing with the Herodian family. That Josephus would fail to mention a census less directly related to the Herods than the one of A.D. 6 is not at all implausible. And since Luke's historical integrity has been repeatedly vindicated in numerous places, it is fairer to give Luke the benefit of the doubt here. Related objections to the historicity of Lk. 2:1f. (cf. esp. R. E. Brown, *Birth of the Messiah* [1977], pp. 547-556) have all been successfully answered (see, e.g., I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* [*NIGTC*, 1978], pp. 97-104).

Those who defend Luke's accuracy generally proceed along one of two lines. Some prefer to translate v. 2 as "this was the census before Quirinius was governor of Syria." This solution avoids the problem of having to fit Quirinius's name into a list of earlier governors, where seemingly there is no room for it. It also fits in with Tertullian's reference to Jesus' birth occurring in connection with a census taken by Sentius Saturninus, who governed Syria from 9 to 6 B.C. (*Adv. Marc.* iv.19). But the Greek of Lk. 2:2 can be translated this way only with some awkwardness.

A better solution, therefore, is to reexamine the evidence for an earlier rule of Quirinius in Syria. It is not clear that the names of previous governors cover the entire two decades prior to A.D. 6; possible gaps include 12-10, 11-8, and 3-2 B.C. The two earlier periods would permit a brief first term for Quirinius and the beginning of a census that may have taken a considerable time to complete. More plausibly, Quirinius may have held some type of "extraordinary command" during the term of Saturninus. His military maneuvers in Cilicia would have occurred most naturally had he held some official position in Syria; this proposal would therefore explain Tertullian's testimony. An attractive reconstruction of the chronology would place the census in 8 B.C. (by analogy with Egyptian practice, in which censuses were taken every fourteen years, and in the light of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which attests to a census of Italy by Augustus in that year) and Christ's birth in 7 or 6 B.C. (since censuses seldom took much more than a year to complete, and Mt. 2:16 may imply that Jesus was nearly two years old when Herod ordered the massacre of the innocents). But the existence of many rival hypotheses prevents certainty about any one scheme of dating.

Two Latin inscriptions have often been cited in support of an early administration of Quirinius. The *Lapis Venetus* (*CIL*, III, 6687) describes a census ordered by Quirinius of the Syrian city of Apamea. Some evidence suggests a date of 10-6 B.C. for this inscription, although many take it to refer to the A.D. 6 census. The *Lapis Tiburtinus* (*CIL*, XIV, 3613) speaks of a person (unspecified, due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription) who had earlier been proconsul of Cyrene (in North Africa) and Crete, and who had later effectively put down the Homonadensians, finally to be rewarded by receiving "again" (Lat. *iterum*) the legateship of Syria and Phoenicia. The parallels with Quirinius's career make it natural to associate the inscription with him, but there is no way of

proving this; moreover, *iterum* could simply mean that this person again received a legateship, rather than that he served twice in the same locale. E. J. Vardaman has claimed that "micrographic" evidence conclusively associates this inscription with Quirinius (*Archeology and the Living Word* [rev. ed. 1981], p. 138), but until that evidence is published and evaluated, no certain assessments can be made.

In any event, several plausible possibilities exist for explaining the evidence without the assumption that Luke erred.

See also CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT I.A.2.

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C. L. BLOMBERG

QUIT. A term used by the RSV to render Heb. *ḥāḏal* (lit. "cease") in Jgs. 15:7, *nāṭaš* (lit. "'leave off, desist from") in Prov. 17:14, and *šāḇaṭ min* (lit. "cease from, stay away from") in Lam. 5:14. The AV used "be quit" several times in the sense of "be free of responsibility, be without guilt" (niphal of *nāqâ* in Ex. 21:9; *nāqî* in Ex. 21:28; Josh. 2:20). "Quit" means "behave, conduct" in the expression "quit you(rselves) like men" (*hāyû la'ᵃnāšîm* in AV 1 S. 4:9; Gk. *andrízomai* in AV 1 Cor. 16:13).

QUIVER [Heb. *'ašpâ*] (Job 39:23; Ps. 127:5; Isa. 22:6; 49:2; Jer. 5:16; Lam. 3:13); NEB also "jaws" (Jer. 5:16); [*ᵗᵉlî*] (Gen. 27:3); [Gk. *pharétra*] (Sir. 26:12). An important piece of archery tackle used to hold arrows.

Quivers with shoulder straps as shown in a wall painting at Thebes; quivers were elaborately decorated during this period as seen in the stylized ornamentation and feathers. From the tomb of Kenamun, *ca.* 1436-1411 B.C. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The earliest pictorial evidence suggests that quivers were used first for holding javelins rather than arrows. Mesopotamian art from *ca.* 2500 B.C. depicts quivers containing javelins attached to chariots (Y. Yadin, *Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands,* I [1963], 130, 132-35). From the 6th Dynasty in Egypt (*ca.* 2250) comes a battle scene in which a soldier is carrying a large quiver, probably for javelins (Yadin, p. 147).

Quivers containing arrows began to appear in representations shortly after 2000 B.C. (Yadin, pp. 155, 167); but such quivers did not become a regular piece of archery tackle until a few centuries later. In battle scenes from 2000-1700 B.C. arrows are generally shown carried in the hand by archers or lying on the ground (Yadin, pp. 158-163). From the 15th cent. B.C. onward the quiver is a regular feature of hunt and battle scenes where archers are portrayed (Yadin, pp. 186f., 192-200). These quivers, made of wood, leather, metal, and cloth, were either carried by the warrior or fixed to the body of a chariot.

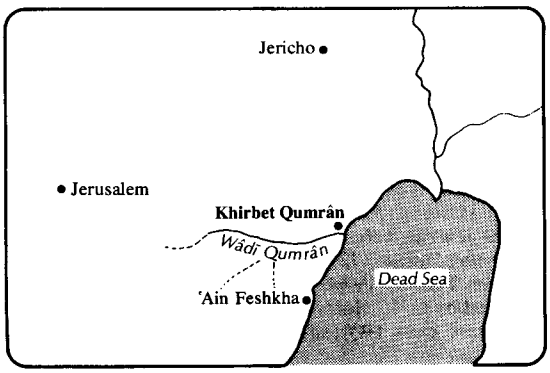
The quiver is used figuratively in several passages. Just as the warrior with a quiver full of arrows will not be defenseless in battle, so the man with many sons will not be defenseless in judicial matters when he reaches old age (Ps. 127:4f.). In Isa. 49:2 the bearer of Yahweh's penetrating word is described as an arrow that is hidden in a quiver until it is employed. The unusual figure in Jer. 5:16 ("their quiver is like an open tomb") is lacking in the LXX, and the MT may be corrupt (cf. emendation of NEB; see comms.).

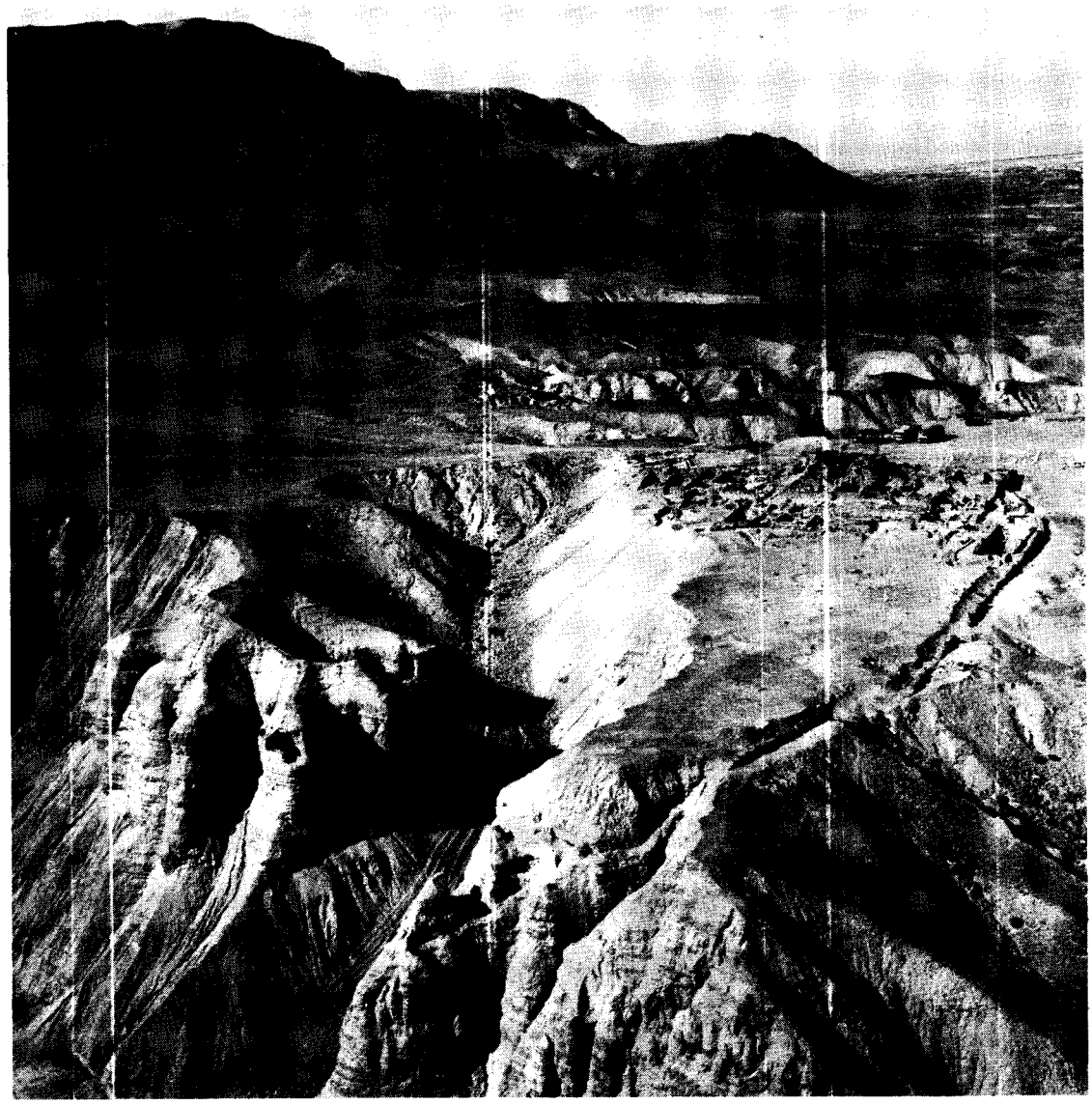
J. K. HOFFMEIER

QUMRÂN kōōm-rän' (Arabic). A wadi emptying into the northwest end of the Dead Sea and the area around this wadi, specifically the area where the DEAD SEA SCROLLS were found.

I. Caves
II. Khirbet Qumrân
  A. Israelite Period
  B. Period Ia
  C. Period Ib
  D. Period II
  E. Period III
III. Cemeteries
IV. 'Ain Feshkha
  A. Central Building
  B. Southwest Enclosure
  C. Northeast Enclosure
V. Historical Conclusions

I. Caves.–The first positive notices of the sensational discovery of the Qumrân MSS go back to Nov. 25, 1947, when E. L. Sukenik was informed of their existence. His account and extracts from his personal diary are published in Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (1955), pp. 13-17, and in Yigael Yadin, *Message of the Scrolls* (1957), pp. 16-29. On the basis of information





Aerial view (facing northwest) of the Qumrân community and the surrounding land. Across the ravine (which leads to Wâdī Qumrân) are four of the caves where Dead Sea Scrolls were found (W. Braun)

reported by the American scholars M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee, W. F. Albright announced (in *BASOR* 110 [Apr. 1948], 2f.) "the greatest manuscript find of modern times" and gave a first and astonishingly accurate interpretation.

After a difficult search, conducted particularly by a Belgian officer, Philippe Lippens, the cave from which the MSS came was identified on Jan. 28, 1949, by Col. Ashton and Capt. Akkash ez-Zebn in the rocky cliff that dominates the western shore of the Dead Sea for about 300 m. (330 yds.), some 11 km. (7 mi.) S of Jericho (see G. L. Harding, *PEQ*, 81 [1949], 112-16; G. Lambert, *La Revue générale belge* [Jan. 1950], pp. 405-425; *La nouvelle revue théologique*, 72 [1950], 53-65).

From Feb. 15 to Mar. 5, 1949, a scientific expedition directed by G. L. Harding and Père R. de Vaux recovered from this cave (1Q) some cloth (dated by radioactive carbon to A.D. 33 ± 200 years), a large quantity of pottery (in particular fragments of jars), and above all, fragments of parchment, some of which belonged to the same MSS that had been put on sale in Jerusalem (see G. L. Harding, *Qumran Cave I* [*DJD*, I; 1955], pp. 5-7; R. de Vaux, *RB*, 56 [1949], 234-37, 568-609).

At the end of February, 1952, some bedouin discovered a second cave (2Q), and from Mar. 10 to 29, 1952, a new scientific expedition, directed by W. L. Reed and R. de Vaux, explored the rocky cliff for 8 km. (5 mi.) from Ḥajar el-Aṣbah to S of Râs Feshkha. Of the soundings, 230 yielded nothing, forty contained traces of pottery or human occupation, and a single cave (3Q) contained MSS, including the famous Copper Scroll (see R. de Vaux, *RB*, 60 [1953], 540--561; or, better, his *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* [*DJD*, III; 1962], pp. 3-25).

At the beginning of September, 1952, the same bedouin

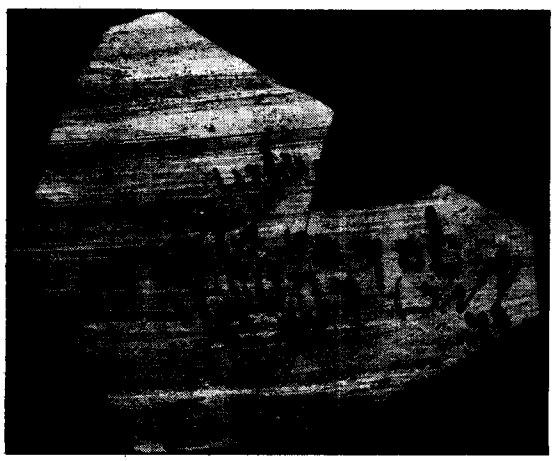
discovered another cave (4Q), very rich in MSS, that was not in the rocky cliff but in the marly terrace carved out by the bed of Wâdī Qumrân, quite near the ruins called Khirbet Qumrân. A scientific expedition from Sept. 22 to 29 completed the excavation of this cave, discovered another cave (5Q), and located a cave previously visited by the bedouin (6Q). In February-March, 1955, during the excavation of Khirbet Qumrân, the archeologists discovered in the immediate vicinity of the building four other caves (7Q, 8Q, 9Q, 10Q), with some written documents. In January, 1956, the bedouin discovered yet another cave (11Q) 2.1 km. (1.3 mi.) farther north, which had been inhabited in the Chalcolithic era (4000-3000 B.C.) and in Iron II (*ca.* 7th cent. B.C.). It also contained an important group of MSS. (On caves 4Q to 11Q see R. de Vaux, *RB,* 63 [1956], 572-74; *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran,* pp. 26-31; *L'Archéologie,* pp. 40-46).

II. Khirbet Qumrân.–The presence of ancient ruins partly buried under sand about 900 m. (1000 yds.) SE of the first cave could not help but attract the attention of the archeologists. From Nov. 24 to Dec. 12, 1951, R. de Vaux directed the first campaign of excavation, followed by four others (Feb. 2 to Apr. 24, 1953; Feb. 13 to Apr. 14, 1954; Feb. 2 to Apr. 6, 1955; Feb. 18 to Mar. 28, 1956). Since the official report is not yet published the brief notices furnished by preliminary reports will be discussed here.

A. Israelite Period. Discovered among the ashes under a part of the present ruins were the foundations of a building of considerable size from the 8th-7th cents. B.C. It was flanked on the west by a smaller building containing a large round cistern. Also recovered were a number of sherds of this period and an ostracon in Paleo-Hebrew.

About 900 m. (1000 yds.) farther S was another building, perhaps slightly older. It was rectangular, 64.3 by 60.4 m. (211 by 198 ft.), comprising a large court surrounded by a number of rooms. These remains accord with 2 Ch. 26:10; "[Uzziah] built towers in the wilderness, and hewed out many cisterns, for he had large herds." Perhaps these buildings constituted the CITY OF SALT of Josh. 15:62. The Copper Scroll (4:13; 5:2, 5, 13) allows the supposition that the Hebrew name of Wâdī Qumrân was *s^eḵāḵâ* (Josh. 15:61; *see* SECACAH).

Ostracon from Period I containing the Hebrew alphabet with the letters י and כ omitted. ש and ת would presumably be in the missing section. This was the exercise of a student scribe—several letters are repeated and some are awkwardly written (Israel Museum, courtesy of Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)



Period Ib assembly hall; this building was also used as a refectory (W. S. LaSor)

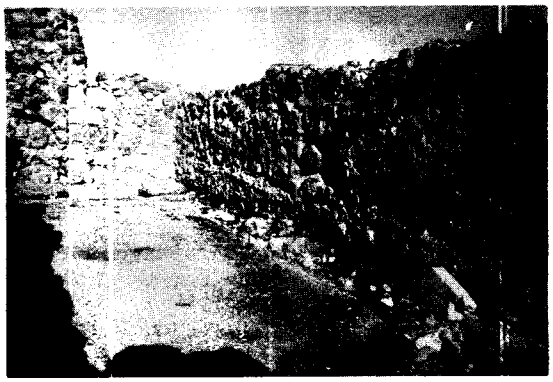
B. Period Ia. About the time of the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.) other buildings were erected on the existing foundations and were fitted with a number of supplementary rooms, two pottery kilns, and two new cisterns.

C. Period Ib. Under Alexander Janneus (103-76 B.C.) these buildings were enlarged and adapted to the life of a community. A solid tower protected the entrance. A kitchen, a laundry, an assembly hall, a library, numerous storage rooms, and several workshops were laid out, with a new pottery kiln and particularly with a very complete water system. The water was collected in the cascade of Wâdī Qumrân in the midst of the rocky cliff and brought by canals to several decantation basins, to a bath, and to seven cisterns (three old and four new, very large ones; *see* MIKVAH). One of the pantries contained 708 bowls, 210 plates, 75 goblets, 38 earthenware dishes (pans), 21 jars, and 11 pitchers when the building compound was destroyed by a violent earthquake that dropped one part of the ground and caused a fire (*see* picture of damaged staircase in EARTHQUAKE). This was doubtless the terrible earthquake of the spring of 31 B.C., which Josephus described (*BJ* i.19.3f. [369-379]; *Ant.* xv.5.2f. [121-146]).

From this period and the preceding (which are sometimes very difficult to distinguish) eleven coins of the Seleucids were found. They comprise three from the period 132-129 B.C., one of John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.), one of Aristobulus I (104-103), 143 of Alexander Janneus (103-76), one of Alexandra (76-67), five of Hyrcanus II (67, 63-40), and four of Antigonus Mattathias (40-37).

D. Period II. After a brief interruption, the buildings were reoccupied and repaired near the beginning of the Christian era. The tower was covered with a glacis (a

QUMRÂN

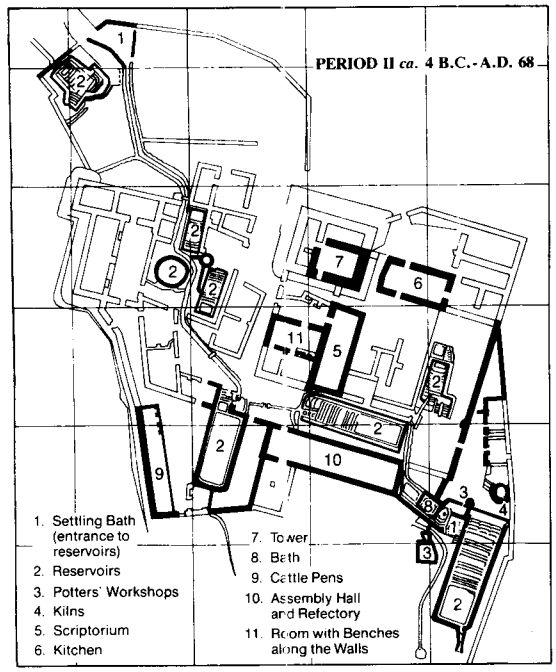


The scriptorium (Period Ib-II) where benches, tables, and inkwells were found (W. S. LaSor)

sloping bank), several walls were propped up, and several rooms were subdivided. Two cracked cisterns and several rooms that could not be repaired were abandoned. But the use of the building compound remained almost exactly the same. In the artisan's quarter several ovens as well as a mill formed by two basalt millstones were still used. A stairway ascended to the upper floor, which constituted the scriptorium; with the debris that had fallen to the floor it was possible to reconstitute three tables that had been covered over with plaster, one of which was more than 4.8 m. (16 ft.) long. Even the benches and inkwells of the scribes were discovered (cf. B. M. Metzger, *RQ*, 1/4 [1958], 509-515; K. Greenleaf-Pedley, *RQ*, 2/1 [1959], 21-41; *see* picture in INK).

Among the coins that could be attributed to this period, ten have been identified as belonging to Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.), sixteen to Herod Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6), ninety-one to the procurators, and seventy-eight to Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44). In addition, buried under the ground were three jars containing a treasure of 561 pieces of silver struck almost entirely at Tyre, of which the most recent is from 9/8 B.C. Without doubt this treasure had been hidden a little after this date, at the time of the reoccupation of the site, therefore toward the reign of Archelaus. The date of the destruction is indicated by another treasure of thirty-nine pieces in bronze, of which thirty-seven are from Year 2 of the First Jewish Revolt (A.D. 67/68) and two from Year 3 (68/69). The material removed after the destruction by the new occupants contained one coin of the procurators, one of Agrippa I, one of Nero dated to 62/63, thirty-one of Year 2 of the First Revolt, and two of Year 3.

The archeologists were surprised to discover, either between the buildings or in the immediate environs, more than fifty deposits of bones buried almost at ground level in new or damaged jars and coming from different kinds of animals: at least five sheep, five goats, twenty-six sheep or goats, ten lambs or kids, four bulls or cows, six calves (see F. E. Zeuner, *PEQ*, 92 [1960], 28-30). Most of these deposits had been made during Period Ib, but others certainly during Period II. These bones have no connection with the Passover lamb, since they include those of calves or of bulls; neither is there any reason to attribute them to victims offered as sacrifices, of which there is no evidence at Qumrân (and which would violate Dt. 12:4-14 and contradict 1QM 2:3-6; CD 11:17–12:2). E. M. Laperrousaz (*Numen*, 7 [1960], 60-68, 75f.; *RHR*, 160 [1960], 1-9) supposed that they are the remains of meals interrupted in Period Ib by the earthquake and



Period Ib-II (*ca.* 135 B.C.–A.D. 68). Plan of Khirbet Qumrân at its height. During Period II, the basic structures of Ib were retained except for buttressing the buildings that were damaged by an earthquake (after a plan by R. de Vaux, *L'Archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* [1961])

in Period II by the arrival of the aggressors; but to consume in two meals or even in two days so many animals would require a community much larger than the one gathered in the buildings of Qumrân. H. Bardtke ("Die Tierknochenfunde aus chirbet Qumrân," in *Lehre, Forschung, Praxis: Die Karl-Marx-Universität zum zehnten Jahrestag ihrer Namensgebung am 5. Mai 1963* [1963], pp. 328-349) suggested that the care with which these bones were preserved resulted from belief in the resurrection of animals, but this belief is attested neither in the Bible nor in the documents of Qumrân — which are not even very explicit about the resurrection of the human body. Thus no explanation has yet been completely satisfactory.

Period II was terminated by a violent destruction, attested by iron arrowheads and a new layer of ashes. Coins indicate a date of this destruction in Year 3 of the First Revolt. It is known from Josephus that the 10th Legion occupied Jericho on June 21, A.D. 68 (*BJ* iv.8.1 [440-450]), and encamped there until the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This conclusion is confirmed by carbon-14 dating: a piece of palm tree burned at the time of the final fire is dated to A.D. 66, with a margin of error of 80 years.

E. Period III. After this destruction a military post was installed for some time to keep watch over the vicinity of the Dead Sea. But the occupants, doubtless fewer in number, were content with repairing the approaches to the tower and using a cistern. They left behind one coin of Claudia and Poppaea (A.D. 65), one coin of Antiochus under Nero (before 68), nine coins of Caesarea and four of Dora (all from 67/68), another of Antiochus under Vespasian and Titus (69/70), two of Ascalon (72/73), four of Titus inscribed "Judaea Capta," and one of Agrippa II (87).

During the Second Jewish Revolt (132-135) some partisans took refuge in the ruins of the tower and hid ten coins in a bowl, six of which were of the Second Revolt.

III. Cemeteries.–A cemetery of about 1100 tombs, well aligned and marked by heaps of pebbles, extended 50 m. (165 ft.) E of the buildings on the same marly terrace. Twenty-six tombs have been excavated. Each yielded a man's skeleton without any other item. On the western edge of the cemetery are four tombs of a different type; three contained a man in a coffin and the fourth a woman. Farther east, on the knolls that rise gradually between the shore of the Dead Sea and the marly terrace, are other tombs arranged without any order. Seven graves were excavated. One held a man, one a child, four held women, and one body was of indeterminable sex. Two other small cemeteries, one of about a dozen and the other of about thirty graves, are located some distance N of the building and S of the wadi. Six tombs were excavated: one of a man, three of children, and two of women. The majority of the dead were under forty years of age.

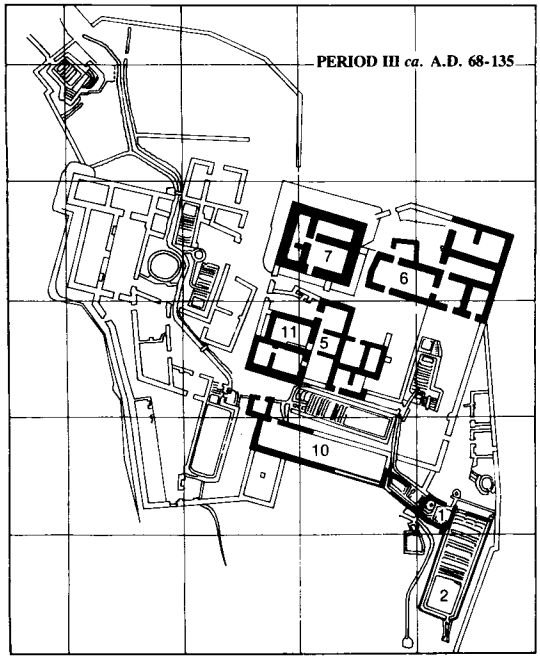
Such are the results of the excavations carried out by R. de Vaux in 1951, 1955, and 1956. In 1964 and 1966, however, S. H. Steckoll excavated ten other graves, all in the main cemetery, and found the remains of six men (one of whom had been seriously injured in the forehead), three women, and a child.

IV. 'Ain Feshkha.–Near a spring called 'Ain Feshkha, about 3 km. (2 mi.) S of Khirbet Qumrân, de Vaux undertook from Jan. 25 to Mar. 21, 1958, the excavation of a structure. He discovered a central building surrounded at the southwest and the northeast by two large enclosures

A. Central Building. This structure measures 24 by 18 m. (80 by 60 ft.) and consists of a court surrounded by storehouses and rooms. Its history exactly parallels that of Qumrân.

Period I is represented by pottery analagous to Period Ib at Qumrân and by some coins: four of Alexander Janneus (103-76 B.C.), one of Antigonus Mattathias (40-37), one of Year 3 of Herod the Great (37)), and a fortuitously discovered coin of Ptolemy II (285-247 B.C.). No trace of violent destruction has been revealed.

Period III (A.D. 68-135). The Romans occupied only the main block and used a simplified water system with one reservoir (from R. de Vaux, *L'Archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* [1961])



After a period of abandonment, this building had been put back into condition in Period II. Certain rooms were remodeled, and an upper floor was constructed with a stairway leading to it. The pottery was like that of Period II of Qumrân, and the decipherable coins were distributed as follows: four of Herod Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6), thirty-two of the procurators, forty-five of Agrippa (A.D. 41-44), one of Tyre (36/37), and one of Year 2 of the First Revolt (67/68). The building was destroyed by a fire, during which its walls and ceilings collapsed.

The northern part of the building was partially cleared and summarily arranged at the time of Period III. At this level was found a stone weight with the three Latin letters *LEB* (possibly for *libra*, "scales"), one coin of Antiochus under Domitian (A.D. 81-96), seventeen coins of Agrippa II (between 78 and 95), and another not identified. (All eighteen were contained in the same small bag.) There were three coins of the Second Revolt (132-135) together with one coin of Aelia Capitolina under Antoninus Pius (138-161). This evidence might imply the temporary presence of the Roman military post or, more likely, of a group of refugees at the time of the Second Revolt.

B. Southwest Enclosure. Although belonging to Period II the enclosure succeeded another of Period I that left very little trace. A shed (for drying dates?) with a room (for the attendant?) adjoin the wall on the north. The rest of the space was empty (for a cattle pen?). In the Byzantine era (6th cent.) a hermitage was installed in this room, doubtless mentioned in the *Spiritual Ground* of John Moschos (p. 158) as a dependency of the monastery of MIRD.

C. Northeast Enclosure. This enclosure, 23 by 40 m. (76 by 132 ft.), was built during Period II. All of the western part remained empty, while the eastern part included a water system with several basins and conduits to fill or empty them. The dimensions are too small for the basins to have been tanks for cultivations of fish, and chemical analysis of the residue does not permit consideration of them as a tannery. No positive hypotheses have been established.

On 'Ain Feshkha, see R. de Vaux, *RB*, 66 (1959), 225-255; *L'Archéologie*, pp. 49-70; F. E. Zeuner, *PEQ*, 92 (1960), 33-36.

V. Historical Conclusions.–These archeological excavations have made some deductions probable or even certain.

(1) The MSS have a direct relationship with the excavated buildings, for several caves (4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10) are in the immediate vicinity of the buildings, and exactly the same pottery has been found in the buildings, in all the MS caves, and in many other caves.

(2) These MSS do not come from a genizah (a kind of depository for documents removed from use), for then they would not have been scattered in so many different places and certainly would not have been so carefully wrapped in cloth and stored in jars.

(3) The buildings were not constructed to provide a room for each individual or family. Rather, they were built to house the collective services of a community, with a common kitchen, a common refectory, a common scriptorium, a common artisan's quarter, and common farms. The "personal" life of each member was passed outside the common buildings, doubtless in tents or in the caves.

(4) The location of the buildings — the northwest shore of the Dead Sea — seems to correspond to the statements

of Pliny the Elder about the Essenes (see, however, the objection of J. P. Audet in *RB*, 68 [1961], 346-387, and the reply of C. Burchard, *RB*, 69 [1962], 533-569). But the excavations of S. H. Steckoll in the cemetery seem to prove the presence of women in the Qumrân community, which does not accord with Pliny's statements.

(5) During the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.; Period Ia) this community envisaged only a limited installation, but under Alexander Janneus (103-76) B.C.) it grew to more than a hundred members and organized a true center. This enlargement corresponds entirely with Josephus's account (*BJ* i.3.2, 5 [72-74, 78-80]; *Ant.* xiii.11.1f. [301-313]) of a venerated Essene prophet who was still teaching in the temple at Jerusalem in 103 B.C. but then took a political attitude that set him at variance with Alexander Janneus, who became king some weeks later. Forced to go into exile, the group of Essenes took refuge in the buildings of Qumrân; it then would have been adapted to the needs of a community so numerous.

(6) The MSS discovered in the caves are the remains of the library of this community, which removed its precious documents from grave danger (the arrival of the Romans) by hiding them carefully in the caves of the rocky cliff. When danger became more imminent they crammed documents hastily in the excavations quite near the marly terrace (esp. 4Q).

(7) The buildings were destroyed by an attack of the Roman legions, near the end of June, 68. The conquerors left a guard there for some years thereafter.

(8) At the time of the Second Jewish Revolt (132-135) some fugitives sought temporary shelter in the ruins, but without organizing any real seat of resistance.

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Good Scholarly Popularizations: F. F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1956); Y. Yadin, *Message of the Scrolls* (1957); M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (1955); *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1958) (these two works are particularly recommended; repr. in one vol. 1978); F. M. Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumran* (1958; rev. ed. 1961; repr. 1980); J. van der Ploeg, *Excavations at Qumran* (1958); J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (Eng. tr., *SBT*, 1/26, 1959); E. F. Sutcliffe, *Monks of Qumran* (1960); A. N. Gilkes, *Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1962); J. C. Trever, *Untold Story of Qumran* (1965).

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See also the bibliography of DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

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tr. W. S. L. S.

QUOTATIONS IN THE NT.

I. Introduction
II. History of Research
  A. Patristic Church
  B. Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries
  C. Eighteenth Century
  D. Nineteenth Century
  E. Twentieth Century
    1. Hypotheses of a Testimony Book and of Greek Targums
    2. Typological Exegesis
  F. Current Issues
    1. Relation of NT Quotations to Midrash
    2. Use of OT Testimonia
    3. Nature of NT Typology
III. Nature and Presuppositions of NT Usage
  A. Introductory Formulas
  B. Combined Quotations
  C. Testimonies
  D. Quotations and Midrash
    1. Wordplay
    2. Midrashic Exposition
    3. Midrash Pesher
    4. Disassembled Midrash
  E. Textual Sources
  F. Typological Interpretation
  G. Presuppositions of NT Use of the OT

I. Introduction.–Quotations appear in the NT from the OT, from other Jewish writings (e.g., in Jude 14f.), and from Christian and classical sources (e.g., respectively, in Acts 15:23-29; 1 Cor. 15:33). OT texts appear 250 times in explicit quotations (cf. E. Nestle and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* [25th ed. 1960], pp. 658-671); if allusions are included, the number is over 2500 (cf. K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* [26th ed. 1979], pp. 739-769). The number of OT passages cited is somewhat less than the number of quotations because many texts appear more than once, although a citation may merge two or more OT texts but be counted as a quotation of only one. H. B. Swete (*Intro.*, p. 386) counted about 160 references, largely from the Pentateuch (51), Isaiah (38), and Psalms (40). Swete and L. Venard (*DBSup.*, II, 24-28), whose analyses are the most helpful, respectively classified them as follows: Synoptic Gospels, 46 (46); John, 12 (14); Acts, 23 (24); Paul, 78 (88); Hebrews, 28 (30). Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, 1, 2, and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation contain no explicit quotations from the OT. The remaining Epistles contain very few.

See Turpie, Toy, and Dittmar for a columnar comparison with the LXX and MT; although textually dated, these studies remain usable tools. Similar studies are provided by Archer and by Ellis (*Paul's Use*) on the Pauline letters, by Clarke on Acts (LXX and NT), and by Freed on John (LXX, MT, Tg., DSS).

Of the many OT allusions or parallels, comparatively few include an explicit OT reference. Sometimes one NT writer will quote a reference omitted or overlooked by others (e.g., Mt. 21:4f.; cf. Mk. 11:3; Lk. 19:31). Sometimes the OT allusion is made explicit by a copyist (e.g., Lk. 9:54b, AV; cf. RSV mg.).

II. History of Research.–*A. Patristic Church.* In the patristic Church the NT applications of the OT were already a matter of concern, e.g., in the theological schools of Antioch and Alexandria (cf. F. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* [1886], p. 218; R. M. Grant and D. Tracy, *Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible* [rev. ed. 1984], pp. 63-72). The textual background of the quotation also was an issue. Most, like Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* iii.21.3), regarded the LXX as inspired and believed that the NT quoted in accordance with it. Jerome rejected its inspiration and supposed, "Wherever the Seventy agree with the Hebrew, the apostles took their quotations from that translation; but, where they disagree, they set down in Greek what they had found in the Hebrew" (*Apologia contra Rufinum* ii.34). Augustine recognized the secondary, though inspired, character of the LXX and reconciled its differences with the Hebrew: "[The LXX at Jonah 3:4 is] not saying something against the sense, but . . . in another signification. . . . It is as if the LXX intended to stir the reader to look further into the matter than the mere history . . ." (*Civ. Dei* xviii.42-44). Similarly, Irenaeus regarded the LXX reading *parthénos*, "virgin," in Isa. 7:14 as a "just interpretation of what had been truly prophesied" (*Adv. haer.* iii.21.4). Thus the problems of the text and of the application, ever the two crucial issues in NT quotations, were brought together very early. After the Reformation both received intensive consideration.

B. Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries. R. Stephanus gave

an abbreviated list of quotations in his edition of the Greek NT (Paris, 1550). Forty years later J. Drusius set out, in a four-column arrangement, OT (Hebrew, Latin) and NT (Latin, Greek) parallels with critical notes on variant readings. In the following century L. Cappellus (*Critica sacra* [Paris, 1650], pp. 53-67) and J. Alting (on Mt. 1–12) pursued similar studies and disclosed textual variants that posed a considerable problem.

C. Eighteenth Century. W. Whiston sought to justify the text of NT quotations by arguing that they were identical with OT Greek and Hebrew texts of the 1st cent. but that the Jews, because of opposition to Christianity, soon altered their MSS and produced the present textual problems (*Essay Toward Restoring the True Text of the OT* [London, 1722], pp. 220-280). In support of his thesis he pointed to the different biblical texts displayed by Philo, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Josephus, who probably had official texts from the temple in Jerusalem (cf. Josephus *Vita* 75 [414-421]). Wondering "why so pernicious a book has escaped so long without an answer," M. Marcus, a converted Jew, translated J. G. Carpzov's reply. The reply was that textual variants from the Hebrew were "sometimes the application of a testimony to the present purpose which might be properly made by changing the words of the prophecy a little; sometimes a synonymous expression wanted to be unfolded and explained" (J. G. Carpzov, *Defense of the Hebrew Bible* [Eng. tr., London, 1729], p. 111; so also J. Major).

Whiston's notation of several variant first-century textual traditions, apart from the LXX and the MT (*Essay*), and Carpzov's observation that texts might have been altered for hermeneutical purposes or contemporary applications, were important for subsequent research, e.g., that of the later eighteenth-century writers T. Randolph and H. Owen. According to Owen NT writers generally followed the LXX but "might assume the liberty of altering some words the better to express the sense of the original. . . . For it is the *sense* and *meaning* and not the *words* of it that is truly and properly Scripture" (p. 10). Randolph allowed that some quotations varying from the Hebrew might have been taken from "other translations or paraphrases" (pp. 26f.).

In 1713 G. Surenhusius published in Amsterdam perhaps the most significant contribution of the period (*Sepher hamashuah sive biblos katallagēs*). Besides extensively discussing the problems of textual variants and the applications of the quotations (pp. 113-712), he examined the introductory formulas and the practices of combining quotations and of citing seriatim from the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. In all he demonstrated widespread agreements of methodology with the rabbinic writings. This broader approach continued in J. Major and in Owen.

A. A. Sykes addressed the problems of typology and the meaning of the formula *hína plērōthē̆*, concluding that typology represents "only an analogy of things of a general likeness" (*Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion* [London, 1725], p. 194). He rejected any "double completion" of prophecy (p. 211) and regarded many "fulfillments" in the Gospels and Acts as "an accommodation of Scriptural language to a present occasion" (p. 249). T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent of Prophecy in the Several Ages of the World* [London, 1725], pp. 127-172), with better insight, tied the twofold sense of OT prophecies to the two covenants (Gal. 3:17).

D. Nineteenth Century. A brief review of German research by F. A. G. Tholuck stated the exegetical problem: to establish the propriety of the NT usage, one must show either that the NT application of the text was the original sense or that there was a double sense, a *hypónoia* (p. 569). Of course, *plēróō*, "fulfil" (Mt. 2:15), might mean only "illustrate," unidentifiable quotations (e.g., 2:23) might refer to the general sense of Scripture, and variations of sense (e.g., cf. 2 Cor. 6:17f. with Isa. 52:11; 2 S. 7:14; cf. He. 12:6 with Prov. 3:11f.) might represent a generalizing application (so L. Woods, *Objection to the Inspiration of the Evangelists and Apostles* [1824], following A. A. Sykes). But these expedients were generally found to be inadequate.

Typological exegesis was not necessarily based on a "double-sense": "the scripture fulfilled [e.g., in Mt. 2:15; Jn. 19:36] was prophetical, simply because the circumstance it recorded was typical" (Fairbairn, I, 110; cf. Gardiner, pp. 262-273; Johnson, pp. 186-198; Hartmann, pp. 731-768). In the 20th cent. this distinction was to be sharpened.

The recognition of the LXX as the principal source of NT quotations (so Swete, *Intro.*, p. 392; F. H. Woods, *HDB*, IV, 186f.) did not resolve the problem of the textual variants. Like Whiston, some sought to locate their origin in a first-century text no longer extant. The text was conceived variously as an Aramaic "Bible of the people" (*Volksbibel*, E. Böhl [1873]), as oral Targums (Toy, pp. xvi ff.), or as "manuals . . . of extracts from the OT" (Hatch, pp. 136f., 203-214). Also like Whiston, Hatch suspected that some OT variants were the alterations of Jewish scribes who wanted to avoid Christian interpretations. J. Scott and F. Johnson, however, justified the variants as the product of literary license. Johnson found that the NT phenomena of exegetical paraphrase, of pointer quotations "designed to bring to mind the longer passages" (p. 64), of summary and combined (i.e., merged) quotations, and of a typological or double reference (not double sense) of a text have parallels in Greco-Roman literature and are the legitimate tools of any writer.

E. Twentieth Century. In the first half of the 20th cent. scholars continued the work of Clemen, Haupt, and Massebieau by studying quotations in specific NT books, especially in the Pauline letters (Michel), in Acts (Cerfaux, Clarke), in Hebrews (Harder; van der Ploeg, *RB*, 54 [1947], 187-228; Vis; cf. M. Barth, p. 264), as well as in the sayings of Jesus (Kähler, Oepke; cf. T. W. Manson, *BJRL*, 34 [1952], 312-332).

1. Hypotheses of a Testimony Book and of Greek Targums. The investigation of textual variations continued (e.g., B. F. C. Atkinson, *Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 79 [1947], 39-70; Howard). But it found new directions through two independent developments — the hypothesis of a "testimony book," and the supposition that Greek (as well as Aramaic) Targums were the literary form of the earliest Bible translations (cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp. 16-20, 98-107). Some recurring NT and patristic quotations agree with one another in contrast to any extant OT texts. At times they represent a combination of the same OT texts, grouped around some key word (e.g., "stone" in 1 Pet. 2:6-8) and supporting the same argument. It is not always feasible that the documents in which the quotations occurred had a direct relationship (e.g., Rom. 9:25, 33 and 1 Pet. 2:6-10). Building upon these data and the suggestion of Hatch, J. R. Harris concluded that the source of such quotations was a precanonical Christian collection of anti-Judaic OT texts, a "testimony book." T. W. Manson (*JTS*, 46 [1945], 132) and C. H. Dodd (p. 26) cast doubt upon Harris's idea of a full-scale book of purely anti-Jewish polemic. The presence, however, of testimonies among the Dead Sea Scrolls (4QTestim; cf. 4QFlor) gave striking support to his thesis of primitive written testimonia.

The earliest translations of the OT appear to have been the Targums. These interpretative and sometimes contemporizing paraphrases in Aramaic, the common lan-

QUOTATIONS IN THE NT

guage in postexilic Judaism, were rendered orally in the synagogue services (Mish. *Megillah* iv.4; cf. M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament* [1972], pp. 48ff.). The Palestinian Targum in many sections developed from simple translation and paraphrase to more elaborate paraphrase and commentary; but midrashic (i.e., commentary-type) elaboration sometimes was more extensive in its earlier than in its later recensions (A. Diez Macho, "The recently discovered Palestinian Targum," in *SVT*, 7 [1960], 237, 244; *CG*, p. 197).

In a radical revision of traditional opinion P. Kahle argued that the variant LXX textual traditions also did not derive from one archtype but instead originated from a number of written Greek Targums used in the synagogues of the Diaspora (pp. 236, 247). The later LXX, then, was an imperfect unity that was imposed upon an original diversity of texts. Although disputed (e.g., by F. M. Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumran* [rev. ed. 1961], pp. 169-181; cf. E. Ulrich, *CBQ*, 46 [1984], 619-624), the targumic character of at least some Greek OT textual traditions is probable. If so, the phenomena of textual variation and theological application were from earliest times aspects of one "targumizing" process. Both Greek and Aramaic textual variations, then, represented not only scribal errors or different text-types but sometimes, more significantly, theological design. The interpretative function is elaborated in the early Bible commentaries, the midrashim. The relationship of midrash and Targum and its bearing on the nature of NT quotations thus became important questions that subsequent research could not avoid (cf. Ellis, *Prophecy*, pp. 188-197).

2. Typological Exegesis. "The Scripture is not a textbook of conceptual truths but a document of an historical process." Building upon this salvation-history principle of J. C. K. von Hofmann (*Interpreting the Bible* [Eng. tr. 1959], p. 204), L. Goppelt sought to establish the definitive marks of typological exegesis. (1) Viewing the words or concepts of Scripture as metaphors hiding a "deeper" meaning (*hypónoia*), allegorical exegesis regards the historicity and literal sense as matters of indifference. But for typological exegesis historicity and literal sense are the foundation of the meaning of the text (pp. 12, 17f., 201ff.). (2) In contrast to the history-of-religions school, typology seeks to understand NT situations through a particular history, the salvation-history of Israel. Thus the NT writer viewed his time situation as a midline segment in the continuing historical unfolding of God's purpose. From OT events he discovered the meaning of the contemporary time of salvation, his primary interest. Similarly, present events became a typological prophecy of the future development and consummation of salvation-history (pp. 195-97, 200, 205; cf. von Hofmann, pp. 169-180; 223-236). (3) Like typology, haggadic midrash (see II.F below) also brings the text into the present, but it does so by symbolic and homiletic explanations and lacks the prophetic and representational character of typology (pp. 30f.). Typology is not a systematic hermeneutical method but a "spiritual approach" (*Betrachtungsweise;* pp. 152, 201f.). As the predominant manner of NT biblical interpretation it appears not only in OT citations but in the Christian community's total representation of itself and of its mission (p. 198). Each typology is constituted by two characteristics — historical correspondence and escalation or "heightening" (*Steigerung;* p. 202) — by which the divinely ordered prefigurement finds a complement in the subsequent and greater event.

In a masterful essay R. Bultmann distinguished the origin of typology in a cyclical-repetition view of history (cf. Barn. 6:13) from the salvation-history, promise-fulfillment foundation of OT prophecy. The two already were combined in Judaism. But some NT typology, e.g., Adam/Christ, was not, according to Bultmann, a heightening of salvation-history but cyclical repetitions, parallels and contrasts between the primal time and the end time. Bultmann therefore rejected Goppelt's conclusion that salvation-history is constitutive for NT typology. Contra Bultmann, however, the recapitulation element in NT typology never is mere repetition and always is combined with a change of key in which some aspects of the type are not carried over and some are intensified (see III.F below). Exegetically Goppelt made the better case and provided an important frame of reference for the subsequent interpretation of many NT quotations.

F. Current Issues. Since the middle of the 20th cent. studies in general (Dodd; Ellis, "Conception"; Longenecker; H. M. Shires, *Finding the OT in the New* [1974]) and in specific books have continued (e.g., Gospels [Doeve, France], Matthew [Gundry, Prabhu, Sigal, Stendahl], Mark [Kee, Suhl], Luke [Holtz], John [Reim], Paulines [Ellis, *Paul's Use*; Hanson], Hebrews [Howard, McCullough, Schröeger], 1 Peter [Schutter]). Research has concentrated on three topics: the relation of NT quotations to midrash, the use of OT testimonia, and the nature of NT typology. Each topic has contributed to the solution of the two perennial problems of NT quotations — their textual nature and their exegetical application — by revealing that in many instances the two problems really are one: the textual question becomes itself a hermeneutical question.

1. Relation of NT Quotations to Midrash. A. Robert (*DBSup.*, V, 411-421) noted that OT writers utilized the language of prior Scriptures in citations and allusions (Pss. 78, 105–106; cf. Hos. 12; Mal. 2:10-17) and also in the successive employment of the same themes, e.g., Israel as the unfaithful wife, the unproductive vine, and the rescued flock. Sometimes biblical phraseology (cf. Jer. 32:18 with Ex. 20:5f.; Dnl. 11:30 with Nu. 24:24) or ideas (cf. Jer. 7:21f. with Am. 5:25f.) were updated for or reapplied to a current situation (cf. Jer. 48:45 and Nu. 21:28; 24:17).

Incorporating his insights, R. Bloch argued that the two traits, reference to Scripture and contemporization, were the very soul of the midrashic procedure (*DBSup.*, V, 1266; cf. Doeve, p. 116). Such contemporizing and interpretative glossing appear in OT writers' (and later writers') employment of earlier Scriptures as well as in the LXX, in the Targums, and in the successive redactions of the Hebrew text. Thus in Isa. 9:12 (LXX 11) "Aramaeans and Philistines" became in the LXX the contemporary "Syrians and Greeks." In Ex. 4:24-26 "Lord" became in the LXX and Tg. Onk. "angel of the Lord," and "the blood" was given an explicit sacrificial merit. G. Vermes, elaborating Bloch's thesis, characterized the LXX and Targums as a "re-writing of the Bible," because they introduced contemporary exegetical traditions into the translations (p. 179).

M. Gertner (*JSS*, 7 [1962], 268-271) distinguished such implicit or "covert" midrash, i.e., interpretative paraphrase of the OT text, from explicit midrash, i.e., the cited OT text plus commentary. Implicit midrash also resulted when an explicit midrash was disassembled in transmission, leaving only the commentary. Like G. Klein (*ZNW*, 5 [1904], 144-153), Gertner sought examples of this procedure in the NT, e.g., Lk. 1:76-79 on Nu. 6:24-26. L. Hartman (pp. 172-77, 235-242) and H. Sahlin (*ST*, 18 [1964], 159-172), posited, respectively, similar developments behind Mk. 13 (on Dnl. 7–9, 11–12) and Mk. 5:1-20 (on Isa. 65:1-5). (Cf. Bowman, pp. 172f.; Doeve, pp. 98f.) P. Borgen investigated an explicit midrashic pattern: (1) an OT lemma

QUOTATIONS IN THE NT

text followed by a paraphrastic exposition, (2) a subordinate quotation with exposition, and (3) a concluding repetition of the lemma (pp. 33ff., 51-54). This sequence, e.g., in Jn. 6:31-58; Rom. 4:3-22, has parallels in Philo, e.g., in *Legum allegoriae* iii.162-68, and in Palestinian midrashim. Ellis found explicit midrash patterns in most NT books (*Prophecy,* pp. 154-59; 213-236; 247-253; cf. also He. 10:5-39; Jas. 2:21-26; 1 Pet. 1:14–2:10; see III.D.3, 4 below). Subsuming explicit and implicit types under her definition, Bloch detected midrashic procedures in most NT quotations and allusions (pp. 1279f.).

In an instructive summary of recent developments A. G. Wright argued against such a broad definition (*CBQ,* 28 [1966], 105-138, 417-457). As a literary genre, the midrash, whether explicit or implicit, should not be identified solely from the presence of midrashic procedures (contra Vermes, p. 176). Identification as a midrash requires also a textually manifest intention to illumine the cited text, as in, e.g., Jn. 6:30-58; Rom. 4; and the Dead Sea Scrolls pesher. Reapplications of biblical language, e.g., Lk. 1–2, and contemporizing redactions, e.g., the LXX, are not midrashic (pp. 451f.). As Wright admitted, however, the term midrash designates an activity as well as a genre (p. 456; cf. W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* [repr. 1965], I, 103; Sir. 51:23; CD 20:6; 4QFlor 1:14). And his restricted definition of the genre may reflect more a current and practical interest than a historical distinction present in prerabbinic usage (cf. Ellis, *Prophecy,* pp. 188-192).

Much attention has been given to biblical exegesis in the DSS and to its relationship to the NT. Cf. Betz, *Offenbarung*; Bruce; J. A. Fitzmyer (*NTS,* 7 [1960/61], 297-333); B. J. Roberts (*BJRL,* 36 [1953/54], 77ff.); Yadin; J. Carmignac (*RB,* 63 [1956], 234ff.; *RQ,* 2 [1959/60], 357-394). In CD 4:14; 4QpNah; 4QpPs37; 1QpHab, etc., the explanation of an OT text is preceded by the phrase "its interpretation [Heb. *pišrô*] concerns. . . ." The term *pēšer* is used in conjunction with *miḏraš* (4QFlor 1:14, 19), and the literary structure has formal parallels with some rabbinic midrashim (e.g., *Eccl. Rabbah* xii.1; cf. L. H. Silberman, *RQ,* 3 [1961/62], 328), with the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* (e.g., 120a; cf. J. Carmignac, *RQ,* 4 [1963/64], 497-522) and more loosely with the lemma-plus-commentary pattern in Jn. 6:31-58; He. 2:5-10; 10:5-10, etc. (cf. Borgen; Ellis, *Prophecy,* pp. 201-205 *passim*; Gärtner, *ST,* 8 [1954], 13f.).

In the OT Heb. *pēšer* (Aram. *pᵉšar*) introduces the explanation of a revelatory dream or writing (Dnl. 2–7) and of any difficult matter (Eccl. 8:1). Following the clue in Daniel, Elliger (p. 157) and Silberman defined pesher etymologically, i.e., as an interpretative procedure that seeks to explain the (original) meaning of dreams and visions. The DSS also, however, use this term of Moses' interpretation of the law (1Q22 1:3f.; cf. Nu. 12:6-8; Betz, *Offenbarung,* pp. 40-45, 80ff.). Probably one should define pesher not in terms of structure (or of specific subject matter) but, more usefully, in terms of methodology and of eschatological perspective. Thus Stendahl (pp. 183-202), following Brownlee (*Midrash,* p. 25), noted that DSS pesher texts reflect procedures in which the OT text undergoes an interpretative molding, *ad hoc* or with reference to selected OT textual traditions, so that present events are an eschatological fulfillment of the text. He saw similar procedures in Matthew, Ellis (*Paul's Use,* pp. 139-147) in Paul, and Freed (pp. 129f.) in John.

Contemporizing and interpretative alterations are a general characteristic of haggadic, i.e., nonlegal, midrash. In distinction from rabbinic midrash, the DSS and the NT have a common eschatological perspective. For the writers of both (cf. 1QpHab 7:1-13; Mt. 4:14-17; Lk. 16:16) the end time is impending. Their time is the "last generation" to which the OT prophecies referred (CD 1:12; 1QpHab 2:7; 7:2; Mk. 13:30; Acts 2:17; 3:24; 1 Cor. 10:11; 1 Jn. 2:18). Their groups are the elect company out of which God's final redemptive and judging action was now proceeding. It is therefore justifiable to define pesher as a kind of haggadic midrash in which the midrashic procedures are coupled to this perspective of eschatological fulfillment (cf. Betz, *Offenbarung,* pp. 79, 169; Grelot, in A. Robert, ed., *Intro. to the OT* [Eng. tr. 1968], pp. 590, 596f.; A. G. Wright, *CBQ,* 28 [1966], 422). Such pesher-type exegesis is rather widespread in NT quotations (cf. Smits, IV, 599; Lindars, p. 16).

2. Use of OT Testimonia. J. R. Harris (e.g., II, 16f., 21-28, on Rom. 4, 9–11) and L. Cerfaux (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 27 [1931], 525ff., on 1 Cor. 1:18–3:23) derived citations in midrashic NT contexts from testimony collections. J. W. Doeve (p. 116) suggested that on the contrary testimony collections arose out of Christian midrashim; "Words lifted from their scriptural context can never be a *testimonium* to the Jewish mind." For gentile Christians unschooled in midrashic techniques, however, lemma (and subordinate) quotations may have been extracted from the fuller midrashim to form testimonia. The results of the midrashic alterations remained in the testimonia (e.g., Mk. 1:2f.), although the methodology by which they were obtained no longer was apparent.

This view may serve at times to define Dodd's hypothesis that before testimonia collections were formed, citations from selected OT "text-plots" were contextually interpreted and sometimes textually altered (pp. 57ff., 108f.; cf. B. Lindars, *Expos.T.,* 75 [1963/64], 174; Ellis, *Paul's Use,* pp. 98-107). In any case, the collecting of testimonia was already a practice of first-century Judaism (e.g., 4QTestim) and of pre-Pauline Christianity (cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use,* pp. 89-91, 106) even if not on the scale that J. R. Harris supposed. Where testimonies are derivative from Christian misrashim, therefore, they must be regarded as virtually immediate complements to them and the continuation of a midrashim-to-testimonia process already being used in Judaism. Of course, testimonia achieved greater variety in the patristic period.

Observing that the same OT testimonia were used to refer to the Messiah's resurrection, to His passion, and to His origins (cf. Acts 13:33 with Mk. 1:11; Acts 2:34 with Mk. 12:36; He. 1:13), B. Lindars (pp. 252-59) sought to establish their use in that sequence in the developing Christian apologetic. But in all likelihood some of these issues already were present in Jesus' preresurrection mission and, indeed, in pre-Christian Judaism (cf. CD 7:16f.; 4QFlor 1:12f. with Acts 15:16; 4QTestim 7f. with Acts 3:20ff.; 4QFlor 1:10f. with He. 1:5; 2 Cor. 6:18). The resurrection of Jesus did not begin a controversy but rather shifted the focus of a number of long-standing controversies. The Christian apologetic use of the OT therefore must have been many faceted from the beginning, and, as Lindars admitted (p. 29), its development is hardly subject to chronological reconstruction by stages.

3. Nature of NT Typology. The historical and eschatological dimension of NT typology sets it apart from the philosophical framework of Philonic allegory (cf. Lampe and Woolcombe, pp. 26-30, 50-60; for Paul, see Ellis, *Paul's Use,* pp. 126-135; for Hebrews, Barrett, pp. 388-393; M. Barth, pp. 65-71; G. B. Caird, *Canadian Journal of Theology,* 5 [1959], 44-51; S. G. Sowers, *Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews* [1965], pp. 92-97, 139f.). This dimension determines "the fuller sense" given to OT passages by the NT (so Grelot, pp. 180f.; Smits, IV, 658-677)

and finds parallels in the DSS (CD 4:10f.; cf. T. Levi 15:1f.; 17:8f.; T. Jud. 23:5; B. Gärtner, *ST*, 8 [1954], 8). Alternative approaches, however, have been argued by some Roman Catholic scholars in *sensus plenior* ("fuller sense") studies (see R. E. Brown, *Sensus Plenior of Sacred Scripture* [1955]; cf. W. S. LaSor, "*Sensus Plenior* and Biblical Interpretation," in W. W. Gasque and W. S. LaSor, eds., *Scripture, Tradition, and Interpretation* [1978], pp. 260-277), by existentialist theologians (H. Braun, *ZTK*, 59 [1962], 30f.; Suhl), and by A. T. Hanson (*Jesus Christ and the OT* [1965], pp. 6f.), who believed that "the real presence of the pre-existent Jesus" best explains this area of NT exegesis.

As defined by R. E. Brown, *sensus plenior*, unlike typology, "deals on the plane of the abstract values of language and the typical sense with concrete realities of person, thing, and event" (*CBQ*, 25 [1963], 269; cf. *Sensus Plenior*, p. 149). For example, in its "fuller sense" the language of Gen. 1:26; 3:22; Isa. 6:3 refers to the trinity; Gen. 1:2 to the Holy Spirit; Pss. 8, 69, 98 to the Messiah; Canticles to Christ and the Church. B. Vawter (*CBQ*, 26 [1964], 89) objected that such a verbal approach "may have implications for abstract semantics or for depth psychology; it can hardly shed any light on the art of communication." The location of the fuller sense in the language is reminiscent of wordplay in rabbinic exegesis, which has a few counterparts in the NT (e.g., Mt. 2:23; cf. He. 7:2). It also appears to have affinities with the *hypónoia* of older hermeneutics and, as J. M. Robinson noted (*CBQ*, 27 [1965], 18f.), with "the new hermeneutic" of some Protestant theologians. Whether *sensus plenior* shades off into a new form of allegorical interpretation (so J. L. McKenzie, *JBL*, 77 [1958], 202f.) depends upon the criteria established for determining it (cf. R. E. Brown, *CBQ*, 25 [1963], 274ff.; J. Schmid, *BZ*, 3 [1959], 161-173). A historical-eschatological framework governs the "fuller sense" of NT quotations, including the occasional wordplay and "allegory" (Gal. 4:24; see III.F, G below).

III. Nature and Presuppositions of NT Usage.–*A. Introductory Formulas.* The introductory formulas were classified by Turpie (*NT View*) according to the NT speaker, the book or writer cited, and the verb used (most often forms of Gk. *graphō*, "write"; *légō*, "say"; *plēróō*, "fulfil"). Generally the NT formulas correspond to those in the OT (e.g., 1 K. 2:27; 2 Ch. 35:12; cf. R. Gordis, *HUCA*, 22 [1949], 157-219), to those — mainly "sayings formulas" — in the rabbinical writings (e.g., Mish. *Aboth* iii.7; T.B. *Pesahim* 81b) and the Philonic writings (e.g., *De migratione Abrahami* 118), and to those in the DSS (e.g., 1QS 5:15; 8:14; 4QFlor 1:2, 15f.; cf. Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture* [1895], p. xlv; Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp. 48f.; J. A. Fitzmyer, *NTS*, 7 [1960/61], 299-305; de Waard, pp. 16, 31ff., 72).

Many quotations have no formula of introduction, and a few formulas occur without an explicit quotation (e.g., Mt. 26:56; Lk. 24:46). The prophetic agency presumably is indicated by the terms "through" or "by" — e.g., messages were sent "through" Isaiah (Acts 28:25), "by" the prophets (Mt. 2:23; Acts 3:18), and "by" Jeremiah (Mt. 2:17). Occasionally an introductory formula is important for the teaching involved (Mk. 12:36; Acts 2:25, 30f.). Ordinarily the OT writer, the book, or other details are mentioned to locate the passage; cf. "the passage about the bush" (Mk. 12:26) and references to Elijah (Rom. 11:2), David (He. 4:7), and Hosea (Rom. 9:25). "The law," however, may specify the Decalogue (Rom. 7:7), the Pentateuch (1 Cor. 9:9), or the OT generally (Jn. 10:34; 1 Cor. 14:21).

Sometimes one OT book is named and another cited. Zec. 11:12f. might have been regarded by Matthew (27:9, "spoken by Jeremiah") or by his (testimonia?) source as an elaboration or interpretation of Jeremiah (18:2-12; 19:1-15). Mal. 3:1 was perhaps seen by Mark (1:2, "written in Isaiah") as an elaboration of Isa. 40:3 (cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use*, p. 40 n.2). In 4QTestim 21-24, Josh. 6:26 plus (apparently) 4QPssJosh are cited under the latter title.

Greek *graphḗ* ("scripture") may refer to an individual OT passage or to the OT viewed as a whole (2 Tim. 3:16; 2 Pet. 1:20; cf. Warfield, pp. 237f.). More significantly, it may include a Christian summation (Jn. 7:38) or elaboration of OT passages (Gal. 4:30; 1 Cor. 15:54f.; cf. 2:9), words of Jesus (1 Tim. 5:18b), or Christian prophetic writings (2 Pet. 3:16; cf. Eph. 5:14). The citation as Scripture of the OT plus a Christian writing (1 Tim. 5:18; Jas. 5:4f.; cf. 1 Cor. 15:45; 2 Tim. 2:19) reflects a procedure similar to that noted above in Mt. 27:9; Mk. 1:2. It also has implications for the concept of the canon in early Christian circles.

In such usages *graphḗ* represents an appeal to an interpreted divine authority, distinct from traditional interpretations (cf. Mt. 5:21f.; 22:29; Mk. 7:9-13). As was the case in some elements of rabbinic Judaism (SB, II, 127ff., 135ff.; Doeve, p. 56 n.), the revelational character of Scripture is bound together with the presence of the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:6, 15ff.). This revelational character is present and alive in the current interpretation ("Scripture *says*") as much as in the original proclamation of the prophecy (cf. Gal. 3:8; Ellis, *EQ*, 39 [1967], 201; contrast Kaiser, pp. 27f.).

These observations apply equally well to other formulas. "Scripture says," "God said," "Moses said" (Mt. 15:4 par. Mk. 7:10), and "it is written" are different ways of expressing the same thing. Unlike the rabbis, the NT authors often equate what "is written" with the right interpretation (Rom. 2:24; 9:33; 11:26f.; 12:19; but cf. Lk. 4:17, 21f. with Acts 8:32, 35). Like them, however, the exceptional formula "have you not read," found only on the lips of Jesus and usually in His midrashic exposition (cf. Doeve, pp. 105f., 163f.), reflects a distinction between reading Scripture and knowing or hearing it (cf., e.g., Mt. 12:3, 5; 22:29, 31; cf. Mk. 8:18; 13:14; Acts 8:30; 13:27; 2 Cor. 3:14; Rev. 1:3; Daube, *Judaism*, pp. 422-436).

Greek *légei kýrios* ("says the Lord"), embedded in nine quotations, none in the Gospels, probably marks the activity of Christian prophets who reshaped OT passages for testimonia purposes (Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp. 107-112). It and Gk. *hína plērōthḗ* ("that it might be fulfilled") usually (but not in Jas. 2:23) signal an altered text-form and an eschatological reapplication of the cited texts in the manner of Qumrân pesher (see III.D below). *Hína plērōthḗ*, found especially in Matthew and John, is also used of sayings of Jesus (Jn. 18:9) and of direct prediction (Mt. 21:4; cf. 2 Ch. 36:21).

B. Combined Quotations. Combined quotations of two or more OT texts are widespread. They occur as a chain coupled, e.g., by Gk. *kaí* (Mk. 7:10; 12:32f.; Acts 1:20; Rom. 9:33; 15:10ff.; He. 1; cf. Mk. 12:29ff.; Rom. 12:19f.; Philo *De migratione Abrahami* 157) or by longer midrashic interjection (Jn. 12:38-40; Rom. 9–11; He. 4:3ff.). Less frequently, combined quotations are merged texts (Acts 13:22; 15:16-18; Rom. 3:10-18; 2 Cor. 6:16ff.; He. 10:37f.; cf. Mt. 21:13; Mk. 12:32f.; 4QTestim 3-7). They may illustrate a theme, sometimes gathered around a catchword (Gk. *hodón*, Mk. 1:2f.; *hósia*, Acts 13:34f.; *líthos, eklektós*, 1 Pet. 2:6-9; *éthnē*, Rom. 15:9-12). They are in general use in classical (cf. Johnson, pp. 92-102), rabbinic (cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp. 50f.), and Qumrân literature (cf. H. Bardtke, *RB*, 63 [1956], 220ff.; J. Carmignac, *RB*, 63 [1956], 234ff.).

Chain quotations sometimes join, in rabbinic fashion, citations from the Law, the Prophets, and/or the Hagio-

QUOTATIONS IN THE NT

grapha (Jn. 19:36f.; Rom. 10:18-21). This linkage may reflect the principle of twofold witness (Dt. 19:15; cf. van Vliet, *No Single Testimony* [1958]). More likely it is reiteration, which Hatch (p. 203) thought represented the "relics" of testimonia collections (cf. Cerfaux, pp. 50f.).

C. Testimonies. Some writers have continued to discern anti-Jewish or anticultic testimonies behind patristic citations (on Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* iv.17.1-5 [Ps. 50:19 plus (?) Apoc. Adam], cf. P. Benoit, *TU,* 79 [1961], 20-27; on Barnabas, cf. Prigent [1961], pp. 29-83; Daniélou, pp. 99-107; L. W. Barnard, *Apostolic Fathers and Their Background* [1967], pp. 109-135). Despite its (later?) title, however, Cyprian's third-century *Ad Quirinius* or *Testimonies Against the Jews* (*Works,* ed. N. Marshall [London, 1717], pp. 18-81) appears to have an instructive rather than apologetic intent. It represents a thematic (although not always a catchword) collection of OT and NT texts on, e.g., the messianic stone, Christ the King, the Judge, the Exalted One (2:16-30; cf. J. P. Audet, *RB,* 70 [1963], 382-396, 404f.). J. R. Harris's view (II, 1f.) that earlier Christian testimonia were primarily or solely anti-Jewish apologies probably is too strictly conceived. Like later rabbinic midrashim, the DSS reveal thematic combinations for instructional purposes. In 4QTestim several messianic OT texts are followed by a pesher midrash on the final text; the form is like Rom. 15:9b-13. In 4QFlor each of the collected texts is followed by a pesher elaboration (cf. Rom. 9:6-18).

Some NT testimonia may derive from Jesus' own OT usage (Lk. 4:18f.; cf. Mt. 5:3; Lk. 7:21f.; Acts 10:38; Dodd, pp. 52f.). Compare (1) the "unseeing eyes" testimonium in Mt. 13:14f.; Jn. 12:40; Acts 28:26f. with Lk. 8:10; Mk. 8:18; (2) the stone-temple testimonia in Acts 4:11; 15:16-18; Rom. 9:33; 2 Cor. 6:16; 1 Pet. 2:4-8 (Eph. 2:19-22; He. 9:11; Rev. 21:3) with Mk. 12:10-12 (*anégnōte*); 14:58; 15:29; Jn. 2:19; (3) the "third day" testimonium in 1 Cor. 15:4; Mt. 12:40 with Mt. 12:39; Mk. 14:58; 15:29; Lk. 13:32; 18:33; 24:6f., 46 (but see Lindars, pp. 59-72).

It is not always easy to determine whether the midrash or the testimony collection was prior. Thus the common source behind Rom. 9:33; 10:11; 1 Pet. 2:6ff. may have been a testimony (so Dodd, p. 43; Ellis, *Paul's Use,* p. 89; cf. Longenecker, p. 203), or an earlier midrash similarly reemployed in Romans and 1 Peter (cf. also Lindars, p. 37, on Acts 2:16ff., 25ff.). Some independent quotations, e.g., Mt. 27:9f.; 4:15f., also may have been extracted from earlier midrashic contexts (cf. Ellis, "Conception").

D. Quotations and Midrash. 1. Wordplay. The midrashic play on words, found in rabbinic and in Qumrân writings (e.g., CD 7:9-20; 1QpHab; cf. J. G. Harris, pp. 28-35), appears occasionally in the NT. Mt. 2:23 may reflect a play on Heb. *nēṣer,* "branch" (Isa. 11:1) and/or *nāzîr,* "Nazirite" (Jgs. 13:5; cf. Black, pp. 82f.). Possibly the double meaning of "lift up" in Jn. 3:14; 12:32ff., i.e., "exalt" and "hang," alludes to an Aramaic text of Isa. 52:13 using *z^{e}qap,* which carries both meanings. In Mk. 8:31 ("be killed and . . . rise") both meanings are made explicit (cf. M. Black, *BJRL,* 45 [1963], 315ff.; cf. *anairéō,* Acts 2:23f.; 10:39f.). Behind Jn. 12:32ff. M. McNamara (*NT,* pp. 147ff.) suggested Aram. *s^{e}lēq.* There may be a similar double entendre in Acts 3:22, 26 ("raise up"). Doeve (p. 99) supposed that "turns to" (2 Cor. 3:16) is the result of reading Heb. *bō'* in Ex. 34:34 as *šûḇ* in analogy with their equivalent usage in 1 K. 22:27f.

2. Midrashic Exposition. In midrashic synagogue homilies OT passages are sometimes selected on the basis of a catchword (J. Mann, *Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue,* I [1940, repr. 1971], 12f., 23-26; cf. A. Guilding, *Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship* [1960], pp. 36f., 39ff.). This pattern may be observed in NT expositions. For example, Gk. *prosphorán, perí hamartías,* and *eudókēsas* in He. 10:5f. (Ps. 40:6-8 [MT 7-9]) not only are taken up in the exposition (10:8, 26) but appear in the subsequent citations (vv. 18, 38). The LXX variant *sṓma* (v. 5) is important for the exposition (v. 10), as is *ho erchómenos* (v. 37; cf. v. 30). The (created?) variant *eudókēsas* (v. 6) is important for a verbal tally with Hab. 2:4 (v. 38). Compare also in Acts 2:14-36 *ekchéō* (vv. 17, 33), *ek dexiṓn* (vv. 25, 34), and *kathízō* (v. 30; cf. v. 35); in Acts 13:16-41 *Dauid* (vv. 22, 34ff.), *egeírō* (vv. 22f., 30, 37), and perhaps *hypsóō* (v. 17), which might have equalled *anístēmi* (vv. 33f.) in an underlying Semitic text form.

Acts 2 and 13 illustrate other features of midrashic exposition. The midrash at Acts 2:14-36 begins with the Pentecost event, which is interpreted as a fulfillment of Joel 2:28-32 (vv. 16-21; *toútó estin = pēšer*). The commentary is furthered by citations of Ps. 16:8-11 (vv. 25-28) and Ps. 132:11 (v. 30), allusions to Ps. 116:3 (v. 24) and Ps. 68:19 (v. 33), and is concluded by a citation of Ps. 110:1 (vv. 34f.). The texts and commentary are bound together by a number of recurring catchwords. Somewhat differently, a synagogue midrash at Acts 13:16-41 opens with an allusion to Dt. 4:34, 37f. (vv. 17ff.) and is furthered by allusions to 1 S. 13:14 and Jer. 30:9 (v. 22). The application of these texts to the mission and resurrection of Jesus (vv. 23-39) is supported by citations of Ps. 2:7; 16:10; Isa. 53:3 (vv. 33f.) and an allusion to 2 S. 7:6-16 (vv. 22f.). The commentary is concluded by a citation of Hab. 1:5 (v. 41). Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy,* pp. 133ff., 194, 199, 204f.

Both in the catchword arrangement and in the techniques, Doeve (pp. 168-176) and J. W. Bowker (*NTS,* 14 [1967/68], 96-111) found in Acts 2:14-36; 13:16-41 common features of the rabbinic exegesis. Bowker compared the form with that of the "proem" and "yelammedenu-rabbenu" midrashim. Following the freely chosen proem ("opening") text the exposition cites or alludes to other texts and couples the proem to the set readings from the Law (the Seder) and from the Prophets (the Haphtarah; cf. W. Bacher, *Proöemium der alten jüdischen Homilie* [repr. 1970], p. 7; Borgen, p. 52; Guilding, *Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship,* pp. 20-78; Mann, *Bible as Read and Preached,* I, 12). In Acts 13 Bowker took the Seder and Haphtarah readings to be Dt. 4:37f. and 2 S. 7:6-16 (on 2 S. 7 see Doeve, p. 172; cf. "Egypt" [v. 17], "judges" [v. 20], "Saul" [v. 21], "David" [v. 22], "raise up" [v. 22], "my son" [v. 33]). Similarly, in 1 Cor. 1:18–3:23 and other texts cf. V. P. Branick, *JBL,* 101 (1982), 251-269; Ellis, *Prophecy,* pp. 154-162 *passim*.

3. Midrash Pesher. In such passages as these the OT text-form sometimes was shaped for the sake of exposition. Cf. *sēmeía,* Acts 2:19-22; *kathízō,* vv. 30, 35; *dídōmi,* 13:34f.; Dt. 4:38. Elsewhere cf. *proskyneín, Babylōnos,* Acts 7:43; *eleuthéras,* Gal. 4:30, cf. vv. 22f.; *pás,* Rom. 10:11f., cf. 9:33; *ánthrōpos,* 1 Cor. 2:9, 11; *sophón,* 1 Cor. 3:20 (cf. v. 19); *paideúei,* He. 12:6 (cf. vv. 7-10); *allá kaí tón ouranón,* He. 12:26 (cf. vv. 22f.); cf. also Gal. 3:6-29; He. 2:5-18; 3:7–4:13; 12:5-29. In the DSS cf. the omission of "Jericho" in 4QTestim 22, 29f.; in 1QpHab the interpretative variants depend largely on wordplay; cf. Stendahl, p. 189; B. Gärtner, *ST,* 8 (1954), 1-5. At times the writer accomplished his exegetical purpose by using his customary LXX text (e.g., He. 2:7: "angels" interpreting Heb. *'ĕlōhîm;* Acts 2:27: "corruption" interpreting *šaḥaṯ*) or by changing word order (He. 10:38; cf. T. W. Manson, *JTS,* 46 [1945], 135). At times he selected a different textual source (He. 10:30; Rom. 12:19).

The NT is more radically creative in shaping the text than either Qumrânian or rabbinic midrash. But its special

QUOTATIONS IN THE NT

affinity with the DSS pesher midrash (see II.F above) is further illustrated by its eschatological use of a common introductory formula. In the NT *houtós estin* or *toút' éstin* ("this is") introduces a current event that explains a biblical passage (cf. Jn. 6:31, 50; Rom. 9:7f.; 10:6, 8; He. 13:15 with 1QpHab 12:3ff., 7-9; 4QpIsa^b 2:6f., 10; 4QpNah 1:11; 4QPBless 2; 4QFlor 1:2f.; CD 6:4, 7; 7:16ff., 20; contrast Philo *De migratione Abrahami* 67). Or the usage is reversed: the formula introduces a biblical passage that explains a current event (cf. Mt. 3:3; 11:10; Acts 2:16 with 1QpHab 3:2, 4; 4QpIsa^b 2:7). Equivalent terms, e.g., *hû', zeh, dēn* ("that," "this" = LXX *houtos*) are used in the OT, especially in the later strata. They introduce explanations of divine revelation through prophetic oracle (Isa. 9:14f.), parable (Ezk. 5:5), vision (Zec. 1:10, 19; 5:3, 6), dream (Dnl. 4:24 [MT 21]), and strange writing (Dnl. 5:25f.). In Daniel and in the DSS (4QFlor 1:1, 11, 14) the expressions are used in conjunction with or as an equivalent of pesher (for rabbinic usage cf. Bonsirven, pp. 42-46).

Similar alterations appear in NT passages that are not formally expositions of Scripture. They adapt the OT citation to the NT narrative or situation and, as above, they may represent a change by the author (e.g., *basileús*, Lk. 19:38; cf. vv. 11, 15; *kathémenos*, Jn. 12:15; cf. v. 14; *hón*, Jn. 19:37) or by his selected source (e.g., *parthénos*, Mt. 1:22f.; *hymín, hymeís*, 2 Cor. 6:18).

4. Disassembled Midrash. Luke 20:9; 21:20 (cf. 12:53) when compared with the Markan parallels illustrate how OT allusions may fade in transmission. If some NT testimonia represent excerpted lemma texts of original midrashim, possibly the complementary midrashic commentary with or without its OT allusions is similarly employed. But to establish this use is more difficult. M. Gertner (*JSS*, 7 [1962], 267-292) and others identified as such commentary Mk. 4:1-22 (on Jer. 4:3); 7:31-37 (on Isa. 35:5); Jn. 10 (on Ezk. 34); Jn. 15 (on Ezk. 19:10-14); 2 Cor. 3 (on Ex. 34); James (on Ps. 12; cf. also Mt. 10:35 [on Mic. 7:6?]; Mk. 12:1f. [on Isa. 5:1?]; see II.F above).

E. Textual Sources. Variations from the OT text may reflect only the NT writers' textual source and not their interpretative intention (cf. Bratcher; Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp. 150ff.; Swete, pp. 391-404). The use of the LXX has long been noted, and minor departures from it may derive from a Hebrew text underlying the LXX (Brownlee, *Meaning*, p. 89). Less frequently the Targums may explain the variation (cf. McNamara, *NT*, pp. 254-59). Textual solutions, however, no longer can be assumed and must be established in the light of the proven midrashic character of many NT quotations.

F. Typological Interpretation. NT typological interpretation presupposes a two-stage division of Israel's history, the old and new covenants, and of universal history, this age and the age to come. The new covenant includes an escalated recurrence of events in the old (see II.E.2 above). Thus the Scriptures were "written for" and "serve" Jesus and His messianic community. Upon them the "end of the ages," the "fulness of time," and "the last days" had come (Rom. 15:4; 1 Cor. 9:10, 14; 10:11; Gal. 4:4; He. 1:1f.; 1 Pet. 1:12).

Since Israel viewed all God's redemptive acts according to the pattern of the Exodus (Daube, *Exodus;* cf. von Rad, *OT Theology*, II [Eng. tr. 1965], 272); it is not surprising that Jesus and the NT understood the decisive messianic redemption in the same way. More broadly, covenant typology envisions the whole OT history as prophetic. Its institutions were a shadow of the good things to come, or of the "true" (He. 9:9; 10:1; Col. 2:17; cf. Mt. 7:11; Jn. 6:32). Its events were a "type" or "parable" of corresponding events in the messianic time (1 Cor. 10:6, 11; He. 9:9; 11:19; cf. Gal. 4:21-31).

Reflecting on Ex. 25:40, He. 8:5 (cf. 9:24; Acts 7:44) reverses the imagery, though not the meaning, and identifies "type" with the heavenly model to which the OT institutions were "antitypes." Like John (6:31-39; 14:1-3) and contra Philo, Hebrews converts the vertical typology to the horizontal, eschatological schema by identifying the heavenly with the new age, i.e., with the ascended and coming Jesus (cf. He. 9:24-28; 10:37; *TDNT*, VIII, pp. 257f. [Goppelt]).

The new not only corresponds with but also supersedes the old and is, therefore, truly a new thing. Jesus, the prophet like Moses (Dt. 18:15; Acts 3:22f.; 7:37; cf. Jn. 7:40), fulfills the new covenant of Jer. 31 in the events of His infancy (Mt. 2:18), passion (Lk. 22:20, 29), and exaltation (He. 8:8-12; 10:16f.; cf. Isa. 61:1-8; Mal. 3:1; 4:5 [MT 3:23] with Mt. 11:2-15). In Jesus, the son of David (= the Son of God), the promises and ascriptions to the Davidic kings in 2 S. 7:12ff.; Pss. 2, 16, 110; Am. 9:11f. find their eschatological actualization (cf. Jn. 7:42; Acts 3:25-36; 13:33ff.; 15:16ff.; 1 Cor. 15:25; He. 1:5).

Because the new covenant is the occasion of the new creation, a cosmic or creation typology can be distinguished. Jesus is the "eschatological Adam" and the Son of man or son of Adam (Ps. 8; 1 Cor. 15:27, 45; Eph. 1:21f.; He. 2:5-10; cf. Lk. 3:38; Acts 6:14; 7:44, 48). The combination of covenant and creation typology in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews has its immediate background in the resurrection of Jesus (cf. also 1 Pet. 3:21f.; Rev. 2:7, 26f.). But the linkage is implicit in Jesus' temple saying (Mk. 14:58; 15:29; *acheiropoiētos*), His promise to the robber (Lk. 23:42f.), His divorce saying (Mt. 19:4-9; cf. Lk. 16:16-18), and probably His self-designation as Son of man (cf. "dominion," "glory" in Ps. 8:5f. [MT 6f.]; Dnl. 7:13f.; cf. Mk. 13:26; 14:62). Indeed, the OT and pre-Christian apocalyptic Judaism already had associated Israel with Adam, and the new covenant with a renewed creation (Dnl. 7:13f., 27; T. Levi 18; 2 Bar. 72–74; 1QS 4:22f.; CD 3:13-20; 4:20; 1QH 6:7f., 15f.; 17:12-15; 1Q34; cf. Isa. 43; 65:22; M. Hooker, *Son of Man in Mark* [1967], pp. 17, 24-30, 71, but see S. Kim, *"The 'Son of Man'" as the Son of God* [1983], pp. 36f., 99f.). Jesus and His followers shared these convictions and explained them in terms of His mission and person.

In a judgment typology the flood and the destruction of Sodom become types of the eschatological destruction (Lk. 17:26-30; 2 Pet. 2:6; *deígma*, Jude 7). Similarly, the faithless Israelite typifies the faithless participant in the new covenant (1 Cor. 10:6-11; He. 4:5f., 11), and the enemies of Israel typify the (Jewish) enemies of the Church (Rev. 11:8; 17:5; 18:9-19; cf. Rom. 2:24; Gal. 4:29) and perhaps antichrist (cf. B. Rigaux, *L'Antichrist* [1932]; 2 Thess. 2:3f.; Rev. 13:1-10). More problematic is a future typology (see II.E.2 above) that treats current NT events as types of future events, e.g., Nero as a type of a Nero *redivivus*, and the destruction of Jerusalem as a type of final judgment.

G. Presuppositions of NT Use of the OT. These presuppositions are important for both the rationale and problems of NT exegesis (cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp. 135-149). Most often they must be inferred or indirectly derived.

(1) A large proportion of NT quotations are apologetic in origin and reveal the concerted effort of the earliest community (and of Jesus) to establish its legitimacy and continuity with the prophets in accordance with the principle of Dt. 13:1-5. The NT, therefore, never puts in opposition Jesus and the OT (not even in Mt. 5), but rather Jesus' interpretation of the OT and alternative interpretations. The hermeneutical question arises especially in the debates of Jesus and certain Jewish leaders (Mt. 19:3-9;

Mk. 12:10, 26, 35ff.; Lk. 10:25-37; 20:9-17; cf. Jn. 5:46), the Evangelists' commentary (e.g., Mt. 12:18-21; Mk. 1:2), the speeches in Acts, and the exegesis of Paul and the author of Hebrews (e.g., Rom. 2–4; 9–11; He. 1–2; 8–10).

(2) This question underlies the unswerving NT conviction that Jesus' followers constitute the true Israel (cf. Lk. 19:9; Acts 3:23; 15:14ff.; Rom. 9:6; Gal. 6:16; Phil. 3:3; He. 4:9; Rev. 2:14; cf. 1 Cor. 10:18, AV). Thus the NT can apply to unbelieving Jews OT passages originally directed at the Gentiles (Acts 4:25ff.; Rom. 8:36; 9:25; 10:13) and to the Church OT passages originally directed at the Jewish nation (2 Cor. 6:16ff.; He. 8:8-12; 1 Pet. 2:9f.). For the similar self-estimate of the Qumrân community, see 1QM 1:2, which lists Jewish blasphemers with Israel's pagan enemies; 1QpHab 2:1-4, which equates faithless Israelites with current Jewish rejecters of the "new covenant" (cf. Acts 13:41); 4QTestim 22; 29f., where faithless Jerusalem fulfils the OT role of pagan Jericho.

(3) The Church is not just the true Israel but the new Israel, the Israel of the new covenant. This eschatological understanding of history is fundamental to NT exegesis (see III.F above). Its exegetical application is often facilitated by a pesher methodology (see III.D above) and by the concept of corporate personality, in which the group is viewed as an extension of the leader's person. Thus equally applicable to Messiah and to His body (i.e., the Christian community) are the royal son of 2 S. 7 (cf. He. 1:5 with 2 Cor. 6:18); the seed of Abraham in Gen. 12:7; 22:18, AV (cf. Acts 3:25f.; Gal. 3:16, 29); the tent (Am. 9:11; cf. Acts 15:16f. with He. 9:11), house (1 K. 6:1; cf. 2 Cor. 5:1 with Acts 7:44, 47ff.; He. 3:6; 1 Pet. 2:5), or temple (Lev. 26:11f.; cf. Ps. 118:22; Isa. 8:14; 28:16; cf. Mk. 14:58; Jn. 2:19ff.; 1 Cor. 6:19 with Lk. 22:17; 1 Cor. 3:9, 16; 2 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21; 1 Pet. 2:6ff.), all three of which are "not made with hands"; the Son of man of Ps. 8:4 (MT 5); Dnl. 7:13, 27 (cf. Eph. 1:22f.; He. 2:6, 8f.; Mk. 2:27f.; see Manson), and the servant of Isa. 40–55 (cf. Jn. 12:38 with Rom. 10:16; Lk. 2:32 with Acts 13:47; Lk. 1:54 = Isa. 41:8 with Mt. 8:17; 12:18-21; Lk. 22:37; Acts 8:32f.).

(4) Finally, the NT views its understanding of the OT as resting on a charismatic exegesis or, in the words of L. Cerfaux (in Auvray, pp. 132-148), on a "spiritual interpretation." The Word-of-God aspect of the OT never can be comprehended by human reason alone. The contemporary Jewish theologians failed to "know" the Scripture not because their rules or methods were inadequate but because it was not revealed (Mt. 22:29; 2 Cor. 3:14-16). Conversely, the disciples grasped the truth of the OT because it was revealed to them (cf. Mk. 4:11f.; 8:17f.; Mt. 16:17). The choice of a NT interpretation of Scripture over against, e.g., a Jewish interpretation will, then, rest ultimately on the conviction of the NT's prophetic character rather than on its superior exegetical methods. Thus modern scientific tools of exegesis also are not competent to master the message of Scripture, i.e., the Word of God. They can only help one to listen better.

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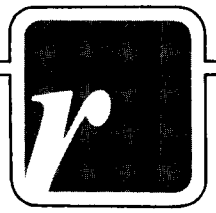
E. E. ELLIS



RAAMA rā'ə-mə [Heb. *raʿmâ*'] (1 Ch. 1:9); AV RAAMAH; **RAAMAH** [Heb. *raʿmâ*] (Gen. 10:7; 1 Ch. 1:9; Ezk. 27:22); NEB also RAAMA. Son of Cush and father of Sheba and Dedan (Gen. 10:7; 1 Ch. 1:9). In Ezk. 27:22 Raamah is mentioned along with Sheba as a tribe or country whose merchants brought spices, precious stones, and gold to Tyre in exchange for the latter's merchandise. The location of Raamah is disputed. Based on the LXX rendering *Rhegma,* some have identified the place with the city of that name mentioned by Ptolemy, located in east Arabia on the Persian Gulf. (The LXX *gamma* often indicates *ghayin* [*ġ*], represented by *ʿayin* in Hebrew.) A second alternative, proposed by von Wissmann, associates the name with Ragmat (*rgmt*), a city appearing in South Arabian inscriptions from the 5th-4th cents. B.C. (*Répertoire d'epigraphie sémitique,* §§ 3022, 3943). This was a central town of the Nejran region in northern Yemen whose ruins may be near Uhdud, S of Wâdī Nejran. The problem with this identification is that South Arabic *g* does not correspond to Heb. *ʿayin* (either palatal or guttural), so that the two names do not appear to be related. More likely is a connection with Sabean *rġm,* located near Maʿîn in southwest Arabia. Another possibility is that Raamah was in northern Arabia, which appears to be the location of two places named in association with Raama: Dedan may be identified with el-ʿUla in northern Arabia, and the people of Sheba were located in northern Arabia according to eighth- and seventh-century B.C. Assyrian sources (*See also* DEDAN; SABEANS).

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D. A. DORSEY

RAAMIAH rā-ə-mī'ə [Heb. *raʿamyâ*–'Yahweh has thundered' (?); Gk. B *Naamia,* A *Rheelma*]. A leading Israelite who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. 7:7). The name appears as "Reelaiah" in Ezr. 2:2 and as Resaiah in 1 Esd. 5:8. The correct spelling of the name is uncertain.

RAAMSES rā-am'sēz (Ex. 1:11, AV, RSV). *See* RAMESES.

RABBAH rab'ə.

1. [Heb. *rabbâ*; LXX usually *Rhabba* or *Rhabbath*] (Josh. 13:25; 2 S. 11:1; 12:27, 29; 1 Ch. 20:1; Jer. 49:3; Ezk. 25:5; Am. 1:4); **RABBAH OF THE AMMONITES** [Heb. *rabbaṯ bᵉnê ʿammôn*; LXX usually *Rhabbath huiōn Ammōn*–'Rabbah of the sons of Ammon'] (Dt. 3:11; 2 S. 12:26; 17:27; Jer. 49:2; Ezk. 21:25); AV RABBAH (RABBATH) OF THE CHILDREN OF AMMON; NEB also AMMONITE CITY (TOWN) OF RABBAH, RABBATH AMMON. The capital of Ammon.

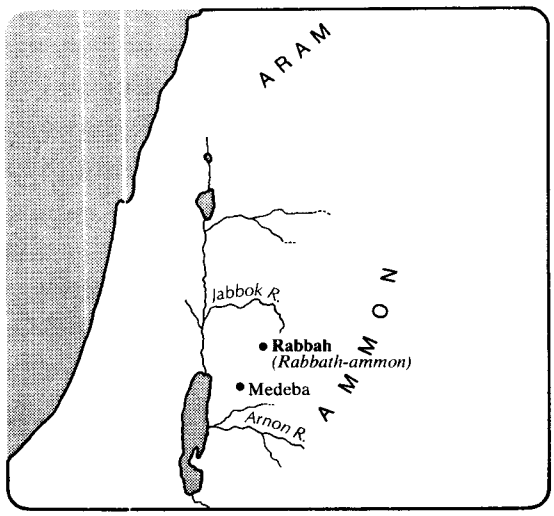
I. Name and Identification
II. OT Period
III. Greco-Roman Period
IV. Archeological Investigations

I. Name and Identification.–*Rabbah* in Hebrew means "great" (fem.). Although it can be used attributively to describe a town, e.g., Heb. *ḥᵃmaṯ rabbâ,* "great Hamath" (Am. 6:2), it is used substantively with regard to the capital of the Ammonites and should most likely be taken as a divine epithet, "the Lady," in accordance with widespread northwest Semitic practice. The city was evidently named after the chief female deity of the Ammonite pantheon.

Rabbah was located on the same site as modern ʿAmmân (see IV below). In the 3rd cent. B.C. the place was hellenized and named (Gk.) *Philadelpheia* after Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.), although Zenon, a Ptolemaic agent, still referred to it in his official records as Rhabbatamana. Eusebius (*Onom.* 16.15; 24.1f.) knew the Semitic name as simply (Gk.) *Amman* but was aware of its former name, *Rhabbath* (146.6f.). Moslem writers all referred to the town as *ʿAmmân* (*Ahamant* in Crusader sources), which is its name today.

II. OT Period.–The allusion in Dt. 3:11 to the iron bedstead of Og, Amorite king of Bashan, which was evidently preserved as a trophy (dedicated to a temple?) at Rabbah of the Ammonites, suggests some connection of the city with the pre-Israelite (and pre-Ammonite?) culture of the 2nd millennium B.C. As capital of the Ammonite territory Rabbah controlled a considerable surrounding area, whose boundaries were recognized by the Israelites (cf. Josh. 13:25, where the proper rendering should be "Aroer, which is in front of [facing] Rabbah," contra RSV "east of"). The history of the city can be deduced to some degree from what is known about the people of AMMON.

If the text of 2 S. 10:6-8 is taken alone, it appears that the first open clash between David's forces and the Ammonite-Aramean alliance took place near the Ammonite capital (cf. v. 3), but v. 8 with its reference to a city gate is quite abrupt. 1 Ch. 19:7b supplies the additional detail that the allies encamped initially near Medeba;



this remark can hardly be an attempt to smooth out the text because a later editor would have had no reason to move the battlefield SW of Rabbah to a site really not part of its territory. Thus the Israelites' siege of Rabbah (2 S. 11:1) actually began after David's decisive victory over the Arameans at Helam (10:15-19). During the fighting at Rabbah, Uriah the Hittite was sent to his death (11:14-25). Eventually the siege was sucessful, and Joab invited David to come and accept the final surrender of Rabbah. David placed the Ammonite crown on his own head, took great spoil, and set the populace to various kinds of forced labor (12:26-31; 1 Ch. 20:1-3). But he treated the Ammonites well enough that when he was later forced to reside in Transjordan, Shobi son of Nahash from Rabbah was among those who gave him supplies (2 S. 17:27-29).

During this period Rabbah appears to have comprised two or more parts, including the "royal city" (Heb. *'îr hamm^{e}lûḵâ*; 2 S. 12:26; NEB "King's Pool"), perhaps the main fortress or citadel, and the "city of waters" (Heb. *'îr hammayim*; v. 27; NEB "pool"), apparently the settlement s fortified water source in the Jabbok Valley.

Although the Ammonites continued to play a role in regional affairs, their capital is not mentioned specifically again until the mid-8th cent. B.C., when Amos proclaimed an oracle against it (Am. 1:14f.). Toward the end of the Judean monarchy, the Ammonites and their city were the object of further prophetic condemnations because of their rivalry with Judah and evident satisfaction over the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. 49:2f.; Ezk. 21:20 [MT 25]; 25:5).

III. Greco-Roman Period.–Rabbah came under Ptolemaic rule in the 3rd cent. B.C. and was transformed into a Hellenistic city, Philadelphia (Gk. *Philadelpheia*; see I above). As a subject province it was visited by the Egyptian official Zenon (*ca.* 259-258 B.C.). Antiochus III captured it in 218 B.C. (Polybius v. 71), but did not firmly control the entire area until his final victory over the Ptolemaic forces at Panion (198). By 135 B.C. Philadelphia was ruled by a "tyrant" (local dynast) named Zenon Cotylus (Josephus *BJ* i.2.4 [60]; *Ant.* xiii.8.1 [235]). Thus it remained outside the sphere of Hasmonean rule, and in the territorial arrangements made by Pompey and Gabinius it was assigned to the Decapolis (Pliny *Nat. hist.* v. 15 [74]). Herod decisively defeated the Nabateans in 31 B.C. near Philadelphia (*BJ* i.19.5f. [380-385]; *Ant.* xv.5.4f. [147-160]). The Jews of Perea and the Philadelphians clashed bitterly (*Ant.* xx.1.1 [1-5]) in the reign of Claudius, while Fadus was procurator (A.D. 43-44). During the first revolt of the Jews, Philadelphia was hostile to the rebels (*BJ* ii.18.1 [458]).

In A.D. 106 Rabbah was detached from Syria and assigned to the new Roman province of Arabia; henceforth it benefited from extensive Roman construction. It became the seat of a Christian bishop subject to Bosra. In the reign of Diocletian (284-305) several Christian martyrs suffered there: Theodore, Julian, Eubulus, Malkamon, Mokimos, and Salomon. Various churches later preserved their memory as well as that of other martyrs. With the ascendance of Christianity, Philadelphia was represented by its bishops at various councils of the Church: Nicea (325), the Synod of Antioch (341), and Chalcedon (451). In A.D. 635 the city was taken by Yezid and thus came under Moslem rule. It became the leading city of the district known as Belqā, from the Arnon to the Jabbok. Jewish sources testify to a community of Jews there during the 11th and 12th centuries. Its position on the fringe of the desert made it a prominent trade center, but the gradual weakening of central control left it open to bedouin depredations that finally reduced it to an insignificant village. In 1878 the Turkish government settled a colony of Circassians there to serve as a local constabulary. Under the British Mandate 'Ammân became the capital of the Emirate of Transjordan, and in April, 1950, it was made the capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Today it has a population of over 250,000.

IV. Archeological Investigations.–The focal point of the ancient site was the imposing citadel that rises above three terraces beside the Wâdī 'Ammân. The Roman city was in the valley below, as is the modern town (which has spread to the surrounding hills). Ancient cemeteries were especially concentrated on the south side of the wadi. Archeological research has been conducted mainly by an Italian expedition under the leadership of G. Guidi (1927) and R. Bartocinni (1929-1933) followed by occasional excavations by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, particularly under the direction of G. L. Harding; these have usually been prompted by the extensive building operations as the city expanded after 1945.

Though Rabbath-ammon has not been found in the historical texts from the 2nd millennium B.C., there is archeological evidence of the town's existence. Middle Bronze tombs have been discovered on Jebel Qal'ah and beside the summit of the acropolis. The Italian archeologists dated the upper walls of the acropolis to the mid-17th cent. B.C. Expansion work on the 'Ammân airfield in 1955 led to the discovery of a Late Bronze temple, which was probably built in the latter half of the 15th cent. B.C. and went out of use in the 13th cent. B.C. The fill under the floor included many pockets of ash and the bones of offerings. A rich hoard of votive objects was

The citadel walls of ancient Rabbah, overlooking modern 'Ammân (L. K. Smith)

also found: gold ornaments, cylinder seals, scarabs, and other objects of Egyptian and Mesopotamian origin. Cypriot and Aegean pottery was especially abundant.

The temple seems to have stood in an isolated position, 275 m. (300 yds.) from the settlement. It has been aptly compared with a very similar shrine on the lower slopes of Mt. Gerizim, that was about the same distance from the nearest settlement. Recent attempts to interpret both temples as amphictyonic cult centers lack documentary support. They stem from the indefensible assumption that evidence from surface surveys in Transjordan precludes M.B. and L.B. settlement at ʿAmmân. On the contrary, an urban center at such a well-watered and easily fortified site as ʿAmmân is highly likely, and the material evidence of broad international contacts cannot be credited to nomads.

Evidence for the Iron Age is extensive, particularly from 8th and 7th cents. B.C. Structures of that age are concentrated on the upper terrace of the acropolis. Two tombs from *ca.* 800 B.C. produced, besides typical pottery, some pins and a red-faced androgynous figurine that may, as Harding suggested, represent the deity Ashtar-Chemosh. Another tomb contained 150 pottery vessels, and two other seventh-century burials yielded pottery with strong affinities to types known from Edom. Some stone figurines and fragments have also been found, among them the statue of "Yeraḥ-ʿezer" (*ANEP,* no. 64). On the middle terrace of the upper city (in the foundations of the Hadrianic temple) the Italians found an outcrop of rock with traces of a canal and steps on one side, which they interpreted to be a high place of Milcom.

Undoubtedly the most important Iron Age discovery from ʿAmmân is the fragment of a major building inscription written in the Ammonite language (very similar to Hebrew) in a script of Aramaic origin. Found in 1961 and published in 1969, the text's fragmentary contents have been interpreted in various ways (cf. Horn, Cross [1969]).

The Hellenistic remains include the citadel wall built of multiribbed blocks of dry masonry and an underground water reservoir at the northern end of the citadel. The marketplace yielded two reliefs (of Osiris and Bastet) that dated to the 4th-3rd cents. B.C. and had been reused. In one Nabatean tomb were Late Hellenistic lamps, one Herodian lamp, small egg-shaped jars, Eastern terra-sigillata ware, glass bottles, and two decorated Nabatean bowls.

Most of the remains date to the later Roman — especially the Antonine — period. They include the Nympheon, the Odeon, and the theater in Wâdī ʿAmmân (*see* picture in AMMON), the propylea and the steps to the citadel, the temple to Zeus on the second terrace of the citadel, another shrine on its summit, and the marketplace. Tombs from the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D. have also come to light, some with rich finds. Four ancient churches have been excavated.

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2. [Heb. *hārabbâ*; LXX A *Arebba,* B *Sōthēba*] (Josh. 15:60). A town in Judah.

I. Name.–The MT prefixes the definite article and is supported by LXX A, which gives the same reading as that preserved by Eusebius (*Onom.* 26.17). The place names in LXX B are generally somewhat garbled in Josh. 15:59 and 59a, providing no reason to take *Sōthēba* as anything but a corruption; it is certainly not an error for *Sōba(tha)* and does not represent a later name for the same site (contra F. M. Abel, *GP*). The Hebrew form means "the Great One" (fem.) and is probably the epithet of a goddess (see above **1.** I).

II. Location.–This Rabbah is coupled with Kiriath-baal (= Kiriath-jearim) to form the last district in the roster of Judean settlements. There is no need to enlarge this district by adding the towns from Benjamin in Josh. 18:25 (contra Alt, Noth, Cross, and Wright). Rabbah and Kiriath-baal with their village settlements evidently guarded the opposite ends of a western approach to Jerusalem. A reference in the Taanach letters (1:26) is probably to another town, perhaps Rabbith (Josh. 19:20; not Arubboth, contra Albright). Two Amarna letters (14th cent. B.C.) indicate that **Robbôtu* was the cause of a dispute between the ruler of Jerusalem and his coastal rivals Gezer, Gath, and Keilah, which had taken **Robbôtu* by force (Am.Tab., 289:13; 290:11). Since this town follows Gezer in the topographical lists of Thutmose III and Shishak (Sheshonq), it probably lay between Kiriath-jearim and Gezer. If Mazar is correct in reading the Shishak list *boustrophedon,* then **Robbôtu* is followed by Aijalon (no. 26).

Aharoni gave up his earlier suggestion that *Rabbâ/*Robbôt* was another name for Beth-shemesh in favor of an identification with Khirbet Ḥamîdeh (which he had called provisionally Khirbet Bîr el-Ḥilū, after the nearby well). This site occupies a low spur on the north side of the Lāṭrûn-Jerusalem road (in Wâdī ʿAlī = Naḥal Naḥshon), 3.5 km. (2.3 mi.) W of Bâb el-Wâd (Shaʿar Ha-Gai). The surface of the tell is a rectangle about 119 by 91 m. (130 by 100 yds.). M.B. II, L.B., E.I. and L.I., and Persian-age sherds have been collected from the surface, suggesting that this mound was inhabited during the very periods in which *Rabbâ/*Robbôt* is mentioned in written sources.

The records of the Shishak campaign provide valuable evidence for comparing the significance of the two northern approaches from the coast to Jerusalem. From Gezer (Shishak no. 12) one unit may have pushed west via *Rabbâ/*Robbôt* (no. 13) and up Wâdī ʿAlī to Kir(!)iathaim (no. 25, apparently for Kiriath-jearim according to Mazar and Grdseloff), while the main body of troops took Aijalon (no. 26) and ascended via Beth-horon (no. 24) to Gibeon (no. 23). From this position Shishak was poised to attack Jerusalem if necessary but was evidently dissuaded by the large indemnity paid by Rehoboam (1 K. 14:25-28; 2 Ch. 12:2-12).

An objection to Aharoni's new identification is that Khirbet Ḥamîdeh is not quite in the hill country as suggested by the place of Rabbah in Josh. 15. Until the area N of Bâb el-Wâd and W of Abū Ghôsh is thoroughly surveyed, however, Khirbet Ḥamîdeh is a reasonable candidate.

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(2nd ed. 1953), p. 99; F. M. Cross and G. E. Wright, *JBL*, 75 (1956), 221f.; B. Mazar, *SVT*, 4 (1957), 57-60; Z. Kallai and H. Tadmor, *Ereiz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 143-47; Y. Aharoni, *VT*, 19 (1969), 137-145. A. F. RAINEY

RABBI rab bī, **RABBONI** rab-bō'nī, rə-bō'nī [Gk. *rhabbí* and *rhabbouní* < Heb. *rabbî*, "my lord," "my master," "my great one"; cf. Heb. *raḇ*, "great," hence one in a "high" or "distinguished" position]; AV also MASTER; NEB also RABBUNI, MASTER. In OT times *raḇ* was used as a term of respect for an officer, captain, or chief by those under his authority (e.g., Jer. 39:13; Dnl. 1:3; Jonah 1:6). In Mishnaic Hebrew *raḇ* was used by a servant of his master and especially by a student (*talmîd*) of his MASTER or teacher. Variant spellings in early Hebrew literature include *rabbān, rabbôn,* and *ribbôn*. Gradually the Hebrew pronominal suffix *-î* (meaning "my") on *rabbí* lost its possessive meaning (see G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* [1973], p. 115).

"Rabbi" developed from a popular term of honor into a more formal title. After the NT era it was used of one officially recognized as an authoritative teacher and judge in the realm of Jewish law (see G. Moore, *Judaism*, III [1930], 15-17). Today the title "Rabbi" is properly reserved for one who has received ordination (*s*ᵉ*mîḵâ*) from the hands of other recognized scholar-teachers.

In a variety of contexts the Gospels use "Rabbi" as an esteemed form of address rather than an official title. John uses the Greek term *didáskalos*, "teacher," to explain the meaning of *rhabbí* (Jn. 1:38; cf. 20:16; Mt. 23:8). Teachers of Jewish law were customarily addressed as "Rabbi," though Jesus is critical of their desire to be greeted as such (Mt. 23:7f.). John the Baptist is also called "Rabbi" by his disciples (Jn. 3:26). The remaining NT uses of the term refer to Jesus (see RSV mg. in Mt. 26:25, 49; Mk. 9:5; 11:21; 14:45; inexplicably the RSV uses 'Master" in the Synoptics, but "Rabbi" in Jn. 1:49; 3:2; 4:31; 6:25; 9:2; 11:8). Furthermore, on two occasions Jesus is called "Rabboni," a heightened form of "Rabbi" (Mk. 10:51 [cf. RSV mg.]; Jn. 20:16). Luke avoids both of the above Hebraic titles, however, since they may have been unfamiliar to his Hellenistic readership (thus Luke uses *epistátēs*, "Master," in 9:33 par. Mk. 9:5, and *Kýrios*, "Lord," in 18:41 par. Mk. 10:51).

See also DISCIPLE; SCRIBES; TALMUD; TEACH.

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RABBITH rab'ith [Heb. *rabbîṯ*; LXX B *Dabeirōn*, A *Rhabbōth*]. A border town in Issachar (Josh. 19:20). The term is possibly an error for DABERATH, mentioned in Josh. 21:28 and 1 Ch. 6:72 [MT 57], since the latter does not appear in the list in Josh. 19:17-23. LXX B also supports this reading. B. R. AND P. C. PATTEN

RABBLE [Heb. *ʾᵃsapsup*] (Nu. 11:4); AV MIXT MULTITUDE; NEB MIXED COMPANY OF STRANGERS; [*pirḥaḥ*] (Job 30:12); AV YOUTH; NEB MOB; [Gk. *agoraíoi*] (Acts 17:5); AV BASER SORT; NEB DREGS OF THE POPULACE. In Nu. 11:4 the Hebrew noun, a hapax legomenon, comes from the root *ʾsp*, "gather, assemble," and might refer either to the non-Israelite people who came out of Egypt with the Israelites (cf. Ex. 12:38; *see* MIXED MULTITUDE) or simply to an "assembling" of Israelites against Moses. Heb. *pirḥaḥ* referring to Job's enemies, is also a hapax legomenon, and its meaning is disputed. It may be related to the root *prḥ*, "sprout, bud, break out," with a resultant meaning of "a breaking out in opposition" (cf. comms.). In Acts 17:5 Gk. *agoraíoi* refers to the "market crowd" (cf. *agorá*, "market place") from which the envious Jews secured some evil men to oppose Paul. D. A. DORSEY

RABMAG rab'mag [Heb. *raḇ-māg*]; NEB "commander of the frontier troops." The official title ascribed to Nergal-sharezer, one of the Babylonian officers present at the sack of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (Jer. 39:3, 13). While the precise nature of this court office is unknown, it is likely the same as the Assyrian and Bab. *rab mu(n)gi*, used of a high military official who occasionally served as a special envoy to foreign rulers (*CAD*, X/2 [1977], 171). The title is used in Jeremiah to distinguish this Nergal-sharezer (Akk. *Nergal-šarra-uṣur*) from another of the same name heading the list. D. J. WISEMAN

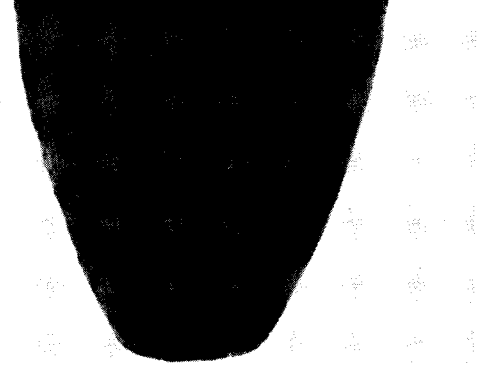
RABSARIS rab'sâr-is [Heb. *raḇ-sārîs*]; NEB "chief eunuch." An official title often left untranslated (but cf. NEB; cf. also NIV "chief officer"). It is used of one of the three Assyrian officials sent by Sennacherib to challenge Hezekiah to surrender Jerusalem (2 K. 18:17; omitted in Isa. 36:3) and of the Babylonian Nabushazban who took Jeremiah from prison (Jer. 39:13). It is almost certainly the official position of the Babylonian senior official (Nebo) Sarsechim, who sat as a judge in Jerusalem after its capture in 586 B.C. (v 3).

Hebrew *raḇ-sārîs* is an accurate representation of Bab. *rab ša rēš* (*šarri*), "chief of the (royal) attendants," used in Assyrian and Babylonian texts of a senior administrative and court official close to the king. This official was not necessarily a eunuch, as was long supposed. The same title occurs in the Aramaic gloss *rbsrs* on the title of an Assyrian district governor and eponym and also on a docket from Nineveh dated 682 B.C.

Bibliography.–R. A. Henshaw, *JAOS*, 87 (1967), 523; A. L. Oppenheim, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, 5 (1973), 325-334. D. J. WISEMAN

RABSHAKEH rab'shə-kə, rab-shā'kə [Heb. *raḇ-šāqēh*]; NEB "chief officer." The title of a high Assyrian official. He came to Jerusalem from Sennacherib at Lachish with two other high officials (the Tartan and the Rabsaris) to

A clay docket inscribed in alphabetic Aramaic (and cuneiform Assyrian on the reverse) describing a grain transaction, and ending with "Eponymy of the Rabsaris Nabu-shar-uṣur" (*l'm rbsrs nbsrṣr*) and the date. From Nineveh, 682 B.C (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



demand the surrender of Judah in 701 B.C. (2 K. 18:17, 19, 26-28, 37; 19:4-8; Isa. 36:2, 4, 11:13, 22; 37:4, 8). His prominence as spokesman was due to his ability to speak both Judean Hebrew and Aramaic, and from this some surmise that he was a former exile from Israel. The well-attested Assyr. *rab šāqē* was the title of a senior court official and provincial governor, though its precise meaning (possibly "chief cupbearer") is uncertain.

D. J. WISEMAN

RACA rā'kä (Mt. 5:22, AV). *See* INSULT II.

RACAL rā'kal, rā'käl [Heb. *rāḵāl*; LXX B *Karmēlos*, A *Rhachēl*; Eusebius (*Onom.* 146.2) *Rhachel*]; AV, NEB, RACHAL. According to the MT, one of the towns in southern Judah to which David sent booty taken from the Amalekites (1 S. 30:29). Most scholars agree that the LXX B reading, "Carmel," is to be preferred for several reasons: (1) a town in Judah named Racal is otherwise unknown; (2) the omission of the important Judean town of Carmel in this list would be surprising; and (3) the mention of "Racal" (*rkl*) with Eshtemoa, a town near Carmel, suggests that the original reading was in fact "Carmel" (*krml*).

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RACE [verb Heb. *rûṣ*] (Jer. 12:5); AV RUN; [noun *mērôṣ*] (Eccl. 9:11); [Gk. *stádion*] (1 Cor. 9:24); NEB SPORTS; [*drómos*] (2 Tim. 4:7); AV, NEB, COURSE; [*agṓn*] (He. 12:1). *See* GAMES I.B; II.

RACES. *See* TABLE OF NATIONS.

RACHAB rā'kab (Mt. 1:5, AV). *See* RAHAB 1.

RACHAL rā'kal (AV, NEB, 1 S. 30:29). *See* RACAL.

RACHEL rā'chəl [Heb. *rāḥēl*–'ewe'; Gk. *Rhachel*]. The daughter of Laban, wife of Jacob, and mother of Joseph and Benjamin. Rachel's father Laban and Jacob's mother Rebekah were brother and sister (Gen. 29:10); thus Rachel was Jacob's cousin (*see* JACOB II). By marrying Rachel and her sister Leah, Jacob followed the practice of Abraham and Isaac, who also took wives from their extended family.

Jacob loved Rachel, but there were several obstacles to overcome before they could marry. Jacob came to Haran as a fugitive from Canaan (Gen. 27:42-45) with no home and no gifts to offer as a bride-price (cf. Isaac's situation in ch. 24). LABAN welcomed Jacob into his household and accepted Jacob's offer to work for him for seven years in order to gain Rachel as his wife (29:15-20). Because Jacob loved her so much, the seven years passed very quickly (v. 20). On the wedding night, however, Laban gave him Leah, Rachel's older, lackluster sister, instead of Rachel. When the deception was discovered the next morning, Jacob had to negotiate for Rachel again. Laban allowed Jacob to marry Rachel after the week of celebrating Leah's wedding, but he required him to serve seven more years in return for her (vv. 21-35).

Leah was the first wife and fertile while Rachel was the secondary wife and barren, but Jacob continued to prefer Rachel. Leah hoped in vain that her sons would win Jacob's love for her (29:32). Rachel, for her part, despaired because of her barrenness (30:1). Unable to conceive herself, she gave her personal maid Bilhah to Jacob, just as Sarah had earlier given Hagar to Abraham (Gen. 16). According to law and custom the children born to Jacob and Bilhah could be counted as Rachel's offspring (30:3). By the act of naming Bilhah's two sons, Dan and Naphtali, Rachel declared her acceptance of them as her own children (vv. 5-8). Leah, who had stopped having children, also gave her maid Zilpah to Jacob in order to have more sons. On one occasion Rachel offered Leah a night with Jacob in return for some mandrakes collected by Leah's oldest son (vv. 14-16). Leah conceived again, but the mandrakes failed to cure Rachel's infertility. At last, however, God cured Rachel's barrenness (v. 22) and removed from her the stigma of childlessness (v. 23). The name she gave to her first son, Joseph, expressed her wish for another (v. 24). Even Jacob's preferential love had not made up for her lack of children.

The rivalry between Leah and Rachel, described in terms of personal need in Gen. 29–30, had broader implications for Jacob's family and for God's plan. The women's individual needs for affection and security, and the necessity of fulfilling the only role available to them in the family and in society, created tension between them and was expressed in the names given to their sons (e.g., 29:32; 30:6, 8, 18, 20, 24). Through their competition to bear children, Rachel and Leah made Jacob the father of a large, powerful family. The man who had arrived in Haran empty-handed was able to leave as the head of a prosperous household. In the previous generations of Israel's ancestors, only one man and one wife had been chosen to receive the Lord's promises and to produce the elect son: Sarah and Abraham's son Isaac was chosen, while Hagar and Ishmael were excluded from the line of promise; Rebekah and Isaac had twins, but only Jacob was chosen. But all of Jacob's sons, born of four different mothers, belonged to the chosen people of Israel. In them God's promise of innumerable descendants, made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (15:5; 17:16, 19; 22:17; 28:14), began to be fulfilled.

Jacob's special love for Rachel and his preference for her sons provide the necessary setting for the events described in chs. 37, 39–50. The brothers' attempt to eliminate Joseph, their father's favorite, put him in a position to save the whole family. Joseph was not chosen to carry on the family line alone but to preserve the nation that God had begun to create (50:20f.).

After twenty years of service to Laban, Jacob decided to return to Canaan. Laban and his sons had turned against Jacob (Gen. 31:1f.), and God had commanded him to go (v. 3). Rachel and Leah were willing to go with Jacob because they felt that by cheating their husband their father had cheated them. They considered the wealth that Jacob had earned from Laban's flocks to be their rightful dowries and the inheritance that they could pass on to their children (vv. 14-16). When Laban caught up with Jacob's fleeing entourage, he reproached Jacob for cheating him, kidnapping his daughters, and stealing his household gods (vv. 17-30). Rachel had taken the gods, perhaps to compensate for the fact that nothing had been given to her; but Jacob did not know this, and he unwittingly put Rachel's life in jeopardy by promising to have the thief executed (v. 32). Rachel saved herself by hiding the gods in a camel saddle, sitting on it, and telling her father that she could not get up because she was menstruating (vv. 33-35). By the theft of the gods Rachel accomplished symbolically what Jacob effected in actuality — the break-up and weakening of Laban's household.

Rachel died in childbirth in the land of Canaan (Gen. 35:16-21). The caravan paused only long enough for her to deliver, die, and be buried. Rachel named her son

Ben-oni ("son of my sorrow"), but Jacob changed his name to Benjamin ("son of the right hand"). Jacob buried Rachel where she had died and set up a stone as a grave marker (either near Bethlehem [vv. 19f.] or near Ramah [1 S. 10:2]).

At the time of the Exile Jer. 31:15 states that Rachel's voice was heard mourning her "children," i.e., the dead and exiled inhabitants of the northern kingdom. Because the most prominent of the northern tribes were the tribes of Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48:8-20), and that of Benjamin, Rachel was in a special sense the mother of that kingdom. Mt. 2:16-18 interprets Jer. 31:15 as a prophecy of Herod's slaughter of male infants in Bethlehem following Jesus' birth.

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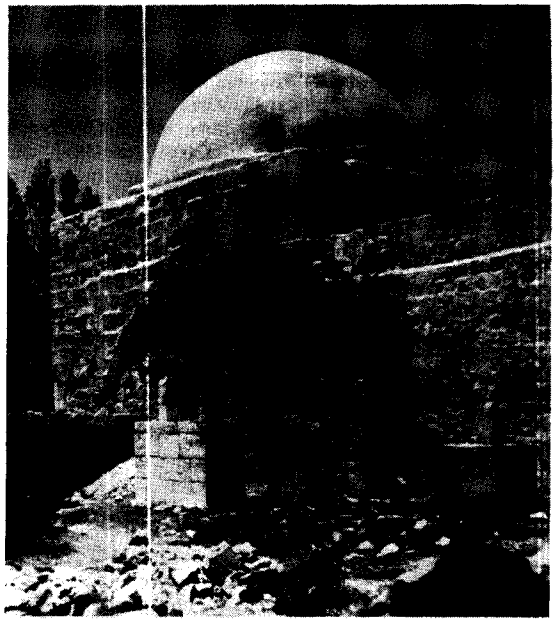
P. J. SCALISE

RACHEL'S TOMB [Heb. *maṣṣeḇeṯ qᵉḇuraṯ rāḥēl*]; AV, NEB, RACHEL'S GRAVE. The tomb mentioned in Gen. 35:20: "Jacob set up a pillar upon her grave; it is the pillar of Rachel's grave, which is there to this day." It is identified with the tomb, not older than the 12th cent. A.D., that is located about 1½ km. (1 mi.) N of Bethlehem on the west side of the Jerusalem road. The mosquelike structure has four walls, each about 7 m. (23 ft.) long and 6 m. (20 ft.) high, and a dome rising about 3 m. (10 ft.) higher. The dome is used by the Moslems for prayer; its holy character has hindered them from removing the Hebrew letters from its walls.

Whether this is the actual burial place of Rachel remains open to question. According to the biblical account Jacob and his household were traveling from Bethel to Ephrath when his wife Rachel gave birth to Benjamin and died. Jacob buried her "on the way to Ephrath (that is, Bethlehem)" and put a pillar on her grave (Gen. 35:16-20; cf. 48:7). Some commentators have suggested that the phrase "that is, Bethlehem" is an incorrect gloss.

A tomb erected by twelfth-century Crusaders at the traditional site of Rachel's burial place near Bethlehem (J. DeCaro)



Another tradition, based on 1 S. 10:2, is that Rachel was buried in Benjamin at Zelzah, near Bethel and about 16 km. (10 mi.) N of Jerusalem. This location is corroborated by Jer. 31:15, where the people of Ramah, which is in the district of Benjamin, are said to hear the voice of Rachel as she weeps over the destiny of her descendants.

Matthew obviously favored the first tradition, for in reporting the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem he represented Rachel as weeping for her children from her neighboring grave (2:18). Interestingly, the bedouin use the area around the tomb as a burial place for their children. The pseudepigraphical Book of Jubilees indicates that Ephrath, where Rachel was buried, is the same as Bethlehem (32:34). Although these references do not determine the original location of the grave, they do point out that the Church very early accepted the present tomb as authentic.

K. G. JUNG

RADDAI rad'ī [Heb. *radday*] (1 Ch. 2:14). The fifth son of Jesse; an elder brother of David.

RADIANCE [Gk. *phōstḗr*] (Rev. 21:11); AV LIGHT; **RADIANT** [Heb. *nāhar* (Ps. 34:5 [MT 6]; Isa. 60:5; Jer. 31:12), *ṣaḥ* < *ṣāḥaḥ*–'be white, clear' (Cant. 5:10), *hôḏ*–'splendor' (Dnl. 10:8)]; AV BE LIGHTENED, BE WHITE, "flow together," NEB also SHINE, "fair."

Several of these texts and terms are problematic. Heb. *nāhar* (root II), which occurs only in the above texts, apparently refers to the positive reaction reflected in the appearance of one who experiences the salvation of the Lord. Although some scholars still translate *nāhar* in these passages (esp. in Jer. 31:12) as deriving from the other root, which means "flow, stream" (so NAB "come streaming"; JB "throng"; cf. AV; KD), most scholars now agree that there are two different roots, the second related to *nwr*, "light" (see W. Vischer, *Etudes théologiques et religieuses*, 41 [1969], 251). Thus in Ps. 34:5 the psalmist encourages his listeners to rejoice because the Lord saves (cf. vv. 4, 6); in Isa. 60:5 the prophet exhorts his audience to rejoice at their eschatological rewards (note the context of light in vv. 1, 4); and in Jer. 31:12 the prophet proclaims redemption as the cause for rejoicing (see vv. 10-14).

In Cant. 5:10 the meaning of *ṣaḥ* is unclear. The poet begins the description of the beloved with "(he) is all radiant [*ṣaḥ*] and ruddy." In its other three occurrences *ṣaḥ* describes "hot" wind (Jer. 4:11), "clear" heat (Isa. 18:4), and "distinct" speech (Isa. 32:4). The related verb *ṣḥḥ* means "be white, clear," and although such a meaning hardly seems to fit the context here, since *ṣaḥ* is paired with *'āḏôm*, "ruddy," M. Pope (*Song of Songs* [*AB*, 1977], pp. 531-34) has pointed out that many Jewish and Christian scholars have argued for just such a meaning. Apparently the predominance of jewel imagery in vv. 11-16 has colored the RSV translation.

In Dnl. 10:8 the visionary, exhausted by his experience, apparently lost his "radiant" appearance. According to *TDOT*, III, 353, 355, *hôḏ* here refers to "a person's complexion" or appearance; cf. commentators, e.g., J. Montgomery (*ICC*, 1927, p. 409), who says it "means the natural beauty of a living thing, its appropriate strength and grace," and S. R. Driver (*CBSC*, repr. 1905, p. 155), who describes it as "dignity of countenance. Majesty, glory, is the idea."

Finally, Rev. 21:11 describes the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem, which shines like a jewel. According to Bauer, rev., p. 872, Gk. *phōstḗr* means a "light-giving body"; its only other NT occurrence is Phil. 2:15, where Paul says that the Philippians shine as "lights" in the world (several times in the LXX it refers to stars).

See also SHINE.

G. A. L.

RAFTER A translation used by the RSV in four places. In Cant. 1:17 it renders Heb. (*Q*) *rāhîṭ* (NEB "ceilings"), which is of uncertain meaning but from the context appears to refer to the woodwork of a roof. The RSV and NEB also read "rafters" in three texts where the MT is believed to have suffered corruption from an original *qôrôṭ*, "beams," "rafters" (cf. RSV "roof," Gen. 19:8; "log" 2 K. 6:2, 5; "beams," Cant. 1:17). In 1 K. 6:15f. the MT reads *qîrôṭ* (lit. "walls"; so AV), but the emended text is supported by the LXX; the reference is to the ceiling of Solomon's temple in v. 15 and, more specifically, of its inner sanctuary in v. 16. In 7:7 the MT reads *qarqaʿ* (lit. "floor"; AV), but the emendation is supported by the Syr. and Vulg. texts; here the ceiling of Solomon's "Hall of Judgment" is meant. S. WESTERHOLM

RAFTS [Heb. *dōḇᵉrôṭ* < *dbr*–'follow behind' (1 K. 5:9 [MT 23]), *rapsōḏôṭ* (2 Ch. 2:16 [MT 15])]; AV FLOATS. The method used by HIRAM (1) to transport cedar and cypress timber by sea from Lebanon to Joppa. The logs were apparently fastened together into rafts that were towed behind boats.

RAGAU rā'gô (Lk. 3:35, AV). *See* REU.

RAGES rā'jēz [Gk. *Rhagai, Rhaga, Rhagē*]; **RAGAE** rā'jē [Gk. *Rhagau*] (Jth. 1:5, 15; AV, NEB, RAGAU. An ancient city in northeastern Media, now identified with the modern Ray (Rai, Rhay, Rhey), about 8 km. (5 mi.) S of modern Teheran. Rages is mentioned six times in Tobit (1:14; 4:1, 20; 5:5; 6:12; 9:2), generally as Rages in Media. Ragae, mentioned twice in Judith (1:5, 15), is probably a territory, as in Darius's Behistun Inscription; (cf. also *Avesta* Vendidad 1.15). Commanding the approach to the Caspian Gates (which were at a distance of one forced march), Rages was a strongly fortified site on an important route that ran from Sardis through Ecbatana to Rages and E to Bactria.

Archeological evidence shows that the site was one of the oldest centers of civilization in Iran, dating from *ca.* 5000 B.C. An old tradition makes it the birthplace of Zoroaster. A large colony of captive Israelites was settled there. Its strategic location gave it an important role in the wars of Media and Alexander the Great. The city was apparently destroyed in Alexander's time but rebuilt or enlarged by Seleucus I Nicator (*ca.* 300 B.C.), who renamed it Europus. After the Parthian invasion, Arsaces restored it and called it Arsacia. In the time of Isidorus it was still "the greatest city in Media."

The city continued to flourish, with a few interruptions, down to the end of the 14th cent. A.D. It became known as a center of Zoroastrianism. It was plundered by Sultan Maḥmūd (A.D. 1029) and by the Mongols (A.D. 1220), and was destroyed under Ghāzān Khān *ca.* 1295. The present ruins cover an area of about 13 sq. km. (5 sq. mi.). R. E. HAYDEN

RAGS [Heb. *qᵉrāʿîm* (Prov. 23:21), *bᵉlôyē* (*bᵉlôʾê*) *hassᵉḥāḇôṭ* (Jer. e8:12; "old rags," v. 11)]; AV also OLD CAST CLOUTS; NEB also TATTERED, OLD. Hebrew *qᵉrāʿîm* is derived from *qāraʿ* ("tear") and thus denotes torn pieces of clothing. *Bᵉlôy* (from *bālâ*, "be worn out") represents something worn out, while *sᵉḥāḇôṭ* (from *sāḥaḇ*, "drag about") signifies garments that have been dragged about (see KoB, pp. 128f., 654). The terms rendered "old rotten rags" by the AV (Jer. 38:11) are *bᵉlôyē mᵉlāḥîm* (lit. "worn-out, torn clothing"; RSV "worn-out clothes"; NEB "cast-off clothes"). In Isa. 64:6 (MT 5) the AV and NEB use "filthy rag(s)" to render *beged ʿiddîm*, which denotes clothing stained during menstruation (RSV "polluted garment"; cf. Ad. Est. 14:16; *see* CLEAN AND UNCLEAN II.B).

RAGUEL rə-gū'əl, rag'ū-əl [Heb. *rᵉʿûʾēl*; Gk. *Rhagouēl*].

1. (Nu. 10:29, AV). *See* REUEL 2.

2. A Jew who lived in Ecbatana in Media; husband of Edna; father of Sarah; cousin of TOBIT; father-in-law of Tobias (Tob. 3:7, 17; 6:10, 12; 7:1-3, 6, 9, 12, 16; etc.).

3. An archangel "who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries" (1 En. 20:4; cf. 23:4).

RAHAB rā'hab.

1. [Heb. *rāḥāḇ*; Gk. *Rhaab, Rhachab*] (Josh. 2:1, 3; 6:17, 23, 25; Mt. 1:5; He. 11:31; Jas. 2:25); AV also RACHAB (Mt. 1:5). The prostitute in Jericho who sheltered Israelite spies.

Rahab is featured in the initial episode of Israel's conquest of Jericho (Josh. 2–6). In this story (2:1-24) Joshua dispatches to Jericho two spies who spend the night at Rahab's establishment. When the king of Jericho demands that she hand them over, Rahab lies about their whereabouts and sends the posse on a false trail (2:1-7). Then, showing an awareness of Yahweh's previous demonstrations of power, she asks the spies to show mercy to her family when Jericho is besieged (vv. 8-13). They accede on condition of her continuing silence, and instruct her to mark her house with the scarlet cord she used to lower them through the window as they were escaping (vv. 14-21). Joshua later accepts the deal the spies had made, so that Rahab and her family are spared (Josh. 6:17, 22f., 25).

The narrative does not say how Rahab learned of Israel's and Yahweh's earlier victories (2:9-11), but clearly this knowledge was behind her fear of the Israelites. More than fright was involved, however, for Rahab actually made a confession of faith (v. 11). (Whether this was original to the narrative is less important than the fact that it is included in the final canonical form; cf. Soggin, pp. 37f.; Polzin, pp. 1-24; Butler, p. 31). Perhaps most striking is that her conviction appears to exceed Joshua's, whose sending of the spies seems inappropriate in the light of God's promises and encouragement (cf. Josh. 1:2-9; see Polzin, p. 86). Also, the fact that the spies were forced to promise mercy to Rahab necessitated that they compromise God's commandment against sparing inhabitants of the Promised Land (Dt. 20:15-18). In this instance Israel clearly subordinated strict adherence to Torah to their commitment to the agreement with Rahab.

It is unclear whether Rahab afterward merely lived in Israelite territory as a sojourner or actually converted, but the prominence of her confession, as well as NT and extrabiblical references, suggest that she became a proselyte. Jas. 2:25 states that she was justified by works, and He. 11:31 says that she was saved by faith. A positive valuation is also suggested by her inclusion in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt. 1:5). Although there is no way to be sure that this is the OT Rahab, the presence in this genealogy of other "questionable" or non-Israelite personnel (e.g., Tamar [Gen. 38] and Ruth; cf. Mt. 1:3, 5) strengthens the likelihood of this possibility.

Jewish tradition also viewed Rahab as more than a sojourner. She was believed to have married Joshua himself, thereby becoming the ancestress of priests and prophets, including Jeremiah and Huldah. Some tried to change her image by depicting her as simply an innkeeper rather than a prostitute (T. B. Megillah 14b, 15a; Rashi on Josh. 2:1). But others glorified even her secular virtues: the Haggadah mentions her as one of the four most beautiful

women in the world, who had slept with most of the great men of her day (*Encyclopedia Judaica,* XIII, 1515); this is what made her so well informed and the best potential source of information for the spies.

In fact, there was no insurmountable obstacle to Rahab's joining Israel, for Israel's ethnic homogeneity was perhaps more of a theological construct, underscoring its socio-religious unity, than a biological reality. Judah, Joseph, and Moses all married "outsiders" without divine censure (Gen. 38:2; 41:45; Ex. 2:21). Solomon was condemned for marrying foreign wives, but this may have had more to do with his erecting shrines to their gods than with miscegenation *per se* (1 K. 11:1-8); David apparently married Jebusite wives without condemnation (cf. 2 S. 5:13-16). Rehab's profession of faith apparently outweighed her status as an "outsider."

The detail about the scarlet cord (*tiqwaṭ ḥûṭ haššānî,* v. 18) is intriguing. Elsewhere this item seems to have erotic connotations. In Cant. 4:3 the bride is said to have lips like a "scarlet thread" (*ḥûṭ haššānî*); Jeremiah associated scarlet with Israel's vain beautification (Jer. 4:30); the midwife of Tamar (who had conceived while pretending to be a prostitute; cf. Gen. 38:12-26) used a scarlet thread (*[haš]šānî,*38:28, 30) to distinguish the newborn twins; and Isaiah linked the color with sin (Isa. 1:18). S. D. Walters has suggested that the scarlet rope may have been the mark of a prostitute — i.e., that she lived in the "red rope" district! Also, since *tiqwâh* more commonly means "hope" than "rope," there may be a conscious pun here: the "rope" is the prostitute's "hope" (i.e., for customers); but now, having confessed Yahweh as God, her "rope" betokens a new kind of "hope." Of course, many early exegetes interpreted the cord typologically (see M. H. Woudstra, p. 75).

Various scholars have raised questions about the historical basis of this story. They have observed that the sending of spies seems more appropriate as preparation for a pitched battle, echoes of which may occur in Josh. 2:18 (LXX); 24:11. In the light of Israel's cultic behavior before the destruction (ch. 3–5) and the miraculous way the destruction was carried out (ch. 6), however, spying appears to have been superfluous. Some have therefore suggested that there were originally two accounts of Jericho's defeat, one that was completely miraculous and another that emphasized the sort of military campaign that is found in the rest of Joshua (see Soggin, p. 38). On the other hand, it should be noted that Israelite soldiers did enter the city and attack the exposed citizens *after* the walls were felled supernaturally (Josh. 6:20f.).

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2. [Heb. *raḥaḇ* (Job 9:13; 26:12; Ps. 87:4; 89:10 [MT 11]; Isa. 30:7; 51:9); AV also "(the) proud," "strength"; NEB also EGYPT. An OT poetic name for a powerful enemy of Yahweh; in some passages it refers to a historical empire hostile to Israel, in others to a demonic monster of some kind.

In three passages (Ps. 87:4; Isa. 30:7; 51:9) Rahab refers to Egypt, one of Israel's traditional enemies. Although the reference is not explicit in Ps. 87:4, Egypt is the most likely candidate in the light of the clear identification in the Isaiah passages; also, since the psalm mentions the less well-known Ethiopia (Heb. *kûš*) as well as Babylon, Philistia, and Tyre, it would seem strange for Egypt to be omitted. In Isa. 30:7 Egypt's bankruptcy as a political ally (cf. vv. 1-5) occasions Yahweh's characterization of the country as "the silenced Rahab" (reading *raḥaḇ hammošbāṯ* for MT *raḥaḇ hēm šāḇeṯ* [RSV "Rahab who sits still"]; see Day, p. 89). The allusion to the Exodus in Isa. 51:10 — Yahweh's drying up the sea and making in its depths a way for the redeemed to pass through — makes the identification of Rahab with Egypt unmistakable in v. 9.

Elsewhere the term indicates a demonic monster. Even in Isa. 51:9, where a historical entity is in view, Rahab seems to be more than an epithet for a foreign nation, since *raḥaḇ* here parallels *tannîn* (RSV "dragon"), a sea creature of such extraordinary capability that Yahweh's victory over it is noteworthy. Likewise, in Ps. 89:10 [MT 11]) Rahab (LXX *hyperḗphanon,* "arrogant one") appears to be a beast that is subdued in the creative process (cf. Gen. 1:2) along with other "natural" forces like the sea (*yām*; cf. Isa. 51:10 where both *yām* and *mê ṯ^ehôm rabbâ* ["waters of the great deep"] appear). In Job 9:13 Yahweh's quelling of the helpers of Rahab (LXX *kḗtos,* "sea monster") underscores His absolute sovereignty (cf. vv. 1-13). Similarly, 26:12 emphasizes Yahweh's power by noting His subjugation of Rahab (LXX *kḗtos*). Here again *raḥaḇ* parallels *yām* ("sea") and, in v. 13, *nāḥāš bārî[a]ḥ* (RSV "fleeing serpent"; for the possible translation "twisting serpent," see Day, p. 5 n. 8). Based on these descriptions, scholars have concluded that Rahab is another name for the better-known monster LEVIATHAN; but others think that separate beings are involved.

Scholars once tended to view Rahab, Leviathan, Behemoth, and personified natural forces as deities that Yahweh had to overcome to bring about the created order, analagous to the role played by such deities in certain Mesopotamian creation myths (see Gunkel). More recently scholars have concluded that if indeed these creatures reflect extrabiblical sources, the parallels are to be sought in Canaanite (Ugaritic) literature. Attempts to view these creatures as ordinary animals have been less than convincing, primarily because that theory would blunt the contention that only Yahweh can conquer them (see Day, pp. 62-87). The name Rahab has not been attested with certainty in any extrabiblical source. But even if it does have its conceptual roots in Canaanite mythology, the OT has completely "demythologized" it, for it always refers either to a historical enemy or to a demonic being that Yahweh easily overcomes. Never is Rahab a full-fledged deity on a par with Yahweh.

See also DRAGON; SEA MONSTER.

Bibliography.—B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the OT* (*SBT,* 1/27; 1960); F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973); J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (1985); H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895).

F. A. SPINA

RAHAM rā'həm [Heb. *raḥam*–'compassion, love']. A descendant of Judah; son of Shema and father of Jorkeam (1 Ch. 2:44).

RAHEL rā'hel (Jer. 31:15, AV). *See* RACHEL.

RAID; RAIDER; RAIDING [Heb. *g^eḏûḏ* (2 S. 3:22; 4:2; 2 K. 5:2; 16:23), *mašḥîṯ*–'destroyer' (1 S. 13:17; 14:15)]; AV TROOP, BAND, SPOILER, "go out by companies"; (verb) [*gûḏ* (Gen. 49:19), *lāqaḥ*–'take' (1 Ch. 7:21), *pāšaṭ* (Hos. 7:1), *yāṣā'*–'go out' (Jgs. 11:3)]; AV also OVERCOME, SPOIL, "take away"; NEB also STRIP, "to lift"; **MAKE A RAID** [Heb. *pāšaṭ* (1 S. 23:37; 27:8, 10;

30:1, 14, etc.), niphal of *nāṭaš*–'abandon,' 'fail' (Jgs. 15:9)]; AV INVADE, MAKE AN INVASION, FALL, etc.; NEB also OVERRUN, STRIP, etc.

In the OT raids could be either military or criminal, i.e., nations at war frequently made raids on their enemies (1 S. 23:27; 27:8, 10; etc.), and bandits raided travelers and farmers (Jgs. 11:3; 1 Ch. 7:21; Job 1:17; Hos. 7:1; cf. Ezr. 8:22; Hos. 6:9). Sometimes the distinction between military and criminal raids was blurred (Jgs. 15:9; 1 S. 30:1, 14).

The ancient poem in Gen. 49:19 is dominated by wordplay on the name Gad, as the RSV brings out: "Raiders [*gᵉḏûḏ*] shall raid [*yᵉgûḏennû*] Gad [*gāḏ*], but he shall raid [*yāguḏ*] . . . ." As commentators note, Gad's location in east Jordan S of the Jabbok made it easy prey for marauding bands of bedouin or other neighboring folk. Thus the Gadites had to be skilled fighters (cf. 1 Ch. 5:18-26; 12:8-15). G. A. L.

RAIL. To use insolent or abusive language toward someone. It is the RSV translation of Heb. *'îṭ* (lit. "rush upon shrieking"; NEB "fly at") in 1 S. 25:14, of *pāṣâ peh* (lit. "open the mouth" [so AV]; NEB "make mouths") in Lam. 2:16; 3:46; and of Gk. *blasphēméō* (lit. "revile"; NEB "taunt") in Lk. 23:39 (cf. also Mk. 15:29, AV). The AV also translates "rail" for Heb. piel of *ḥārap* (2 Ch. 32:17; RSV "cast contempt"); "railing" for Gk. *blasphēmía* (1 Tim. 6:4; Jude 9), *blásphēmos* (2 Pet. 2:11), and *loidoría* (1 Pet. 3:9); and "railer" for *loídoros* (1 Cor. 5:11); *see* REVILE.

RAIMENT. An RSV translation of several general terms for clothing: Heb. *beged* (Gen. 24:53), *lᵉḇûš* (Ps. 22:18 [MT 19]; 102:26 [MT 27]; Dnl. 7:9), *malbûš* (Isa. 63:3; Ezk. 16:13); Gk. *éndyma* (Mt. 28:3), and *himatismós* (Lk. 9:29). The AV uses "raiment" more frequently as a translation of these terms and also of Heb. *śalmâ* (e.g., Ex. 22:9 [MT 8]), *śimlâ* (e.g., Gen. 41:14), etc.; Gk. *himátion* (e.g., Mt. 17:2), etc. *See* GARMENTS II.B; III.B.

RAIMENT, SOFT. The RSV translation of Gk. *malakoí* (pl. substantive, lit. "soft things") in Mt. 11:8 par. (in some editions) Lk. 7:25. The contrast between John the Baptist's austere garb of camel's hair and the luxurious clothing worn by King Herod's courtiers pointed to John's vocation as a prophet who answered to God rather than to an earthly king.

RAIN [(nouns) Heb. *gešem* (Gen. 7:12; 8:2; Ps. 68:9 [MT 10]; 105:32; Jer. 5:24; etc.), *māṭār*–'rain, downpour' (Ex. 9:33f.; Dt. 11:11, 14, 17; 32:2; 1 K. 8:35f.; Isa. 5:6; 30:23; etc.), *malqôš* ("latter rain," Dt. 11:14; "spring rain," Job 29:23; Jer. 3:3; 5:24; Zec. 10:1; etc.), *môreh* ("early rain," Ps. 84:6 [MT 7]; Joel 2:23), *delep*–'roof letting in water' ("dripping of rain," Prov. 19:13), *zerem*–'heavy shower' (Job 24:8), *yôreh* ("early rain," Dt. 11:14; "autumn rain," Jer. 5:24), *mayim*–'waters' (2 S. 21:10), *šᵉʿîrîm*–'showers of rain' (Dt. 32:2), *rᵉḇîḇîm* (Dt. 32:2), *šeṭep*–'flood' ("torrents of rain," Job 38:25); Gk. *hyetós* (Acts 14:17; 28:2; He. 6:7; Jas. 5:18), *brochḗ* (Mt. 7:25, 27), *próïmos*–'early rain' ("early . . rain," Jas. 5:7), *ópsimos*–'late rain' ("late rain," Jas. 5:7)]; AV also SHOWER, GREAT RAIN, LATTER RAIN, FORMER RAIN, DROPPING, etc.; NEB also DOWNPOUR, AUTUMN RAIN, SPRING RAIN, RAINSTORM, WATER DRIPPING, etc.; [(verbs) Heb. hiphil of *māṭar* (Gen. 2:5; 19:4; Ex. 9:23; Isa. 5:6; Am. 4:7; etc.), niphal of *māṭar* (Am. 4:7), hiphil part. of *gāšam*–'send rain' ("bring rain," Jer. 14:22), pual of *gāšam*–'be rained upon' (Ezk. 22:24), hiphil of *yārâ*–'cause to rain' (Hos. 10:12), *nāzal*–'trickle, flow' ("rain down," Isa. 45:8), *nāṭap*–'drop, drip' ("poured down rain," Ps. 68:8 [MT 9]); Gk. *bréchō*–'send rain' ("send rain," Mt. 5:45; Lk. 17:29; Jas. 5:17)]; AV also POUR DOWN, DROPPED, etc.; NEB also RAIN DOWN, POUR DOWN, etc.; **RAINY** [Heb. *sagrîr*–'heavy shower' (Prov. 27:15)]. In Rev. 11:6 the phrase *hyetós bréchō* literally means to "rain rain" (RSV, NEB, "rain may fall').

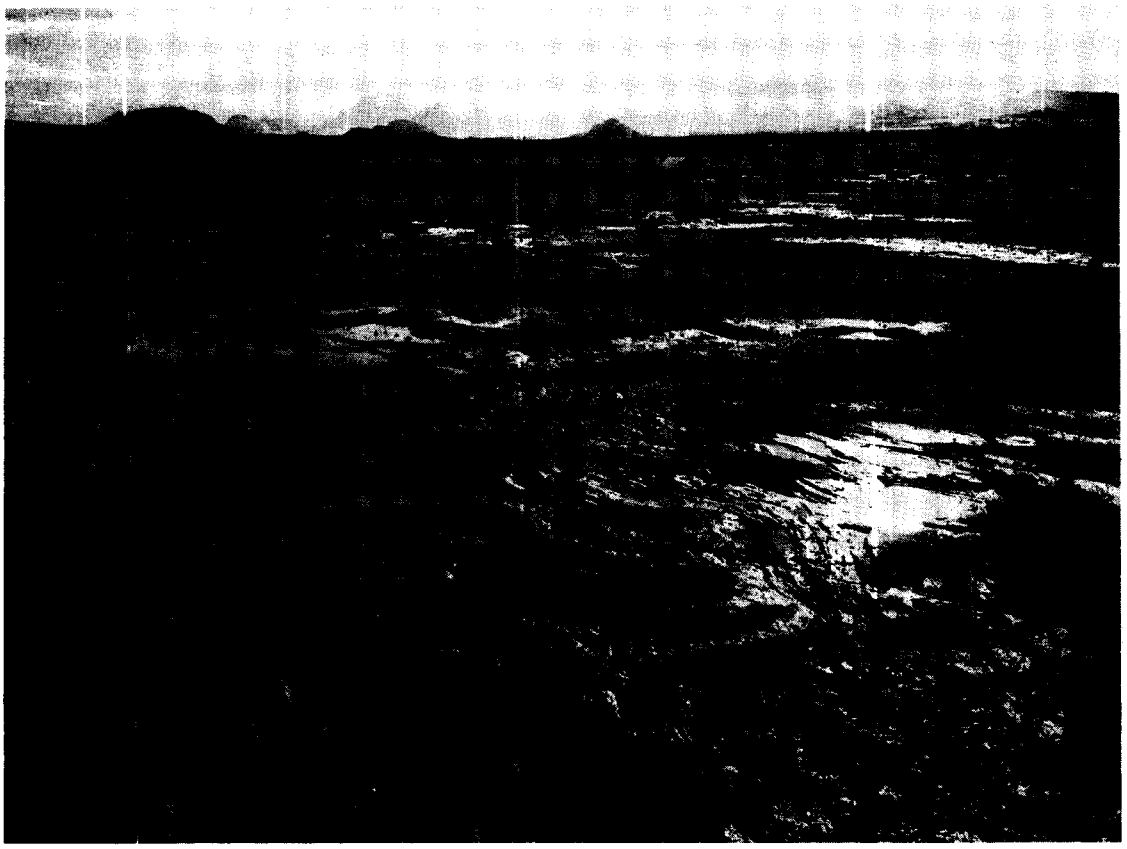
I. Biblical Terms.–By far the most common Hebrew words are *gešem* and *māṭār,* both of which are used in a very general sense. *Môreh* and *yôreh* seem to indicate the essential first rainfall of the season, and *malqôš* the often lighter, but also important, April rainfall that helps to swell the grain (AV "former" and "latter rain"; RSV "early" and "later rain"; NEB "autumn" and "spring rains"). Both Gk. *brochḗ* and *hyetós* mean "rain" in general, which is sometimes torrential (Mt. 7:25, 27); but Jas. 5:7 has *próïmos* and *ópsimos* for the early (fall) and latter (spring) rains.

II. Figurative Uses.–Since the Bible understands God to "give" (Heb. *nāṯan*; NEB "send") the rain to His people on earth (Dt. 11:14; 1 S. 12:17; 1 K. 8:36; Job 5:10), it can also refer to other gifts as having "rained down" from heaven, e.g., bread (Ex. 16:4), manna (Ps. 78:24) and meat (Ps. 28:7). But disaster could also "rain down" from heaven, e.g., the fire and brimstone upon Sodom (Gen. 19:24); a similar fate is said to be stored up for the wicked of later times (cf. Ps. 11:6; Lk. 17:19).

III. Patterns of Rainfall in Palestine.–Palestine lies on the edge of the Mediterranean rain system, with rain generally decreasing from north to south and west to east. Further south and east lies the desert. The rain-bearing winds come from the west, rise over the central mountains of Palestine, descend suddenly into the deep rift valley, and then climb the precipitous slopes of the Transjordan plateau. Ascending air is cooled and deposits its moisture, but descending air is warmed and consequently dry. This effect is intensified by evaporation from the heat of the sun; therefore, the western and northern slopes of even a small hill in Palestine are always greener and more productive than the eastern and southern slopes.

Rain is confined to the winter months and is exceedingly erratic. In an unusually good year it starts early in October and continues regularly until April, so that "the valleys deck themselves with grain, they shout and sing together for joy" (Ps. 65:13 [MT 14]). But in a very bad year the desired rain may not come until after Christmas and may even then be insufficient, so that men "are ashamed and confounded and cover their heads, because of the ground which is dismayed, since there is no rain on the land" (Jer. 14:3f.). In other years, however, even a very late start of the rainy season may be redeemed by plentiful rainfall between January and April, leading to an excellent harvest.

At the beginning of October people look longingly to the west in hope of rain, but the signs are often deceptive: "nlouds and wind without rain" (Prov. 25:14), mere "waterless clouds, carried along by winds" (Jude 12). Sometimes the October rains are plentiful and widespread, but frequently they occur in scattered showers and thunderstorms, causing "rain upon one city and . . . no rain upon another city" (Am. 4:7). In such cases unhappy villagers, whose cisterns are dry and fields are barren, may see others ploughing only two or three miles away and may have to go and beg for water. Even more serious is heavy early rain followed by many weeks of drought, for then the planted seed dies and the farmer has no more grain to plant, except that which he has kept to feed his family. This situation can lead to starvation.



The Sinai Desert after heavy winter rains (W. Braun)

Occasionally the utterly unexpected happens, e.g., a heavy thunderstorm in May (1 S. 12:16-18), or snow in Jericho, or a savage flash flood caused by a fierce thunderstorm in the distant eastern desert (2 K. 3:20-22).

Whether the climate, and consequently the nature of the rainy season, has changed over the centuries is a matter of much dispute. Climate does in fact fluctuate, but the evidence for the nature of such fluctuation in Palestine is still scanty. It seems at present that throughout the biblical period the rainfall pattern was very similar to that of today, although there were probably periods of more assured, and perhaps more extended, rainfall, and periods when the average rainfall was somewhat less.

IV. Average Rainfall–The average annual rainfall varies from north to south as follows: along the Palestinian coast, 650 mm. (26 in.) in Haifa and 400 mm. (16 in.) in Gaza; in the Palestinian hills, 650 mm. (26 in.) in Nazareth, 555 mm. (22.5 in.) in Jerusalem, and 487.5 mm. (19.5 in.) in Hebron; along the central rift valley, 600 mm. (24 in.) in Dan, 400 mm. (16 in.) in Tiberias, 300 mm. (12 in.) in Beth-shean, 125 mm. (5 in.) in Jericho, and 50 mm. (2 in.) from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea; along the edge of the Transjordanian plateau: 600 mm. (24 in.) in Ajlun, 500 mm. (20 in.) in Salt, 300 mm. (12 in.) in Amman, 350 mm. (13 in.) in Kerak, and 100 mm. (4 in.) in southern Edom. Rainfed agriculture requires a minimum rainfall of 100 mm. (4 in.).

V. Significance in the Bible.–Since all Israelites were conscious that the precarious rain was the basis of life, and that without rain they would die, they understood it to be a gift entirely under the control of God, who is Himself the source of all life. "He draws up the drops of water, he distills his mist in which the skies pour down, and drop upon man abundantly" (Job 36:26f.). God could grant or withhold this precious gift according to whether people were obedient or disobedient to His will (Dt. 11:13-17). To attempt to comprehend the process and distribution of the life-giving rain was to "darken counsel by words without knowledge" (Job 38:1f., 25-28).

See also SHOWER; STORM; NATURAL FEATURES VII; PALESTINE V.B. D. BALY

RAINBOW [Gk. *íris*] (Rev. 4:3; 10:1); **BOW** [Heb. *qešeṯ*] (Gen. 9:13f., 16; Ezk. 1:28). An arch of the prismatic colors (violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange, red) caused by the reflection and refraction of sunlight through raindrops, as seen by persons facing away from the sun. This phenomenon occurs most often as a rainstorm gives way to sunshine. Hence in Gen. 9:13-16 it signifies the end of the torrential rain that brought about the flood, and it is a sign of God's promise to Noah that He would never again destroy all life on earth. Elsewhere it symbolizes the majesty of God (Ezk. 1:28; Rev. 4:3; cf. Sir. 43:11) or the glory of the divine messengers (Rev. 10:1).

See *TDNT*, *s.v.* Ἶρις (Rengstorf). D. BALY

RAISE; RAISE UP; BE RAISED [Heb. usually hiphil of *qûm*–'set up, raise up, provide' (e.g., Gen. 38:8; Ex. 40:18; Dt. 18:15, 18; Josh. 5:7; 7:26; 1 S. 2:8), also *nāśā'*– 'lift' (e.g., Gen. 33:5; Nu. 14:1; 2 S. 18:28; Job 2:12; Ps. 83:2

[MT 3]; 106:26; Isa. 5:26; Jer. 4:6; Ezk. 26:17), hiphil of *rûm* (2 K. 19:22; 2 Ch. 5:13; Ps. 148:14; Isa. 37:23; 49:22; Dnl. 5:19), pilel of *qûm* (Isa. 44:26; 58:12; 61:4), hiphil of *'ālâ*–'bring up,' 'make high' (1 K. 5:13 [MT 27]; 2 Ch. 32:5; Ezk. 37:13), hiphil of *'āmaḏ*–'set, station' (Ps. 107:25; Dnl. 11:11, 13), etc.; Gk. usually *egeírō* (e.g., Mt. 3:9; 10:8; 11:5; Mk. 6:14, 16; Lk. 1:69; Jn. 2:19f.), also *amístēmi* (Mt. 17:9; 20:19; 22:24; Jn. 6:39f., 44, 54; Acts 2:24, 32; 3:22, 26; 7:37; 13:34), *exanístēmi* (Mk. 12:19; Lk. 20:28), *synegeírō* (Eph. 2:6; Col. 2:12; 3:1), *exegeírō* (Rom. 9:17), *epaírō*–'lift up' (Lk. 11:27; 21:28); *karpós* ("what has been raised," Rom. 15:28)]; AV also RISE, BE RISEN, LIFT UP, SET UP, EXALT, TAKE UP, FRUIT (Rom. 15:28), etc.; NEB also SET UP, BRING, APPOINT, MAKE, HOLD HIGH, etc.

"Raise" is used by the RSV in several different senses. Depending on the context, it may mean: (1) to LIFT something, e.g., one's hand(s) (e.g., 2 S. 18:28; Job 31:21; Ps. 106:26; Dnl. 12:7; *see* GESTURE I) or one's head (e.g., Ps. 83:2 [MT 3]; Zec. 1:21 [MT 2:4]; Lk. 21:28; *see* GESTURE V); (2) to look upward (e.g., Gen. 33:5; Dnl. 8:3); (3) to use the voice in shouting (e.g., Josh. 6:20), weeping (e.g., 1 S. 30:4), song (e.g., 2 Ch. 5:13), lamentation (e.g., Jer. 7:29; Ezk. 26:17), etc.; (4) to set something up, e.g., a signal (e.g., Isa. 5:26; 13:2; 49:22), pillars of the tabernacle (Ex. 40:18); (5) to erect or build something, e.g., a mound of stones (e.g., Josh. 7:26; 8:29; 2 S. 18:17), walls and towers (2 Ch. 32:5; 33:14), siege works (Isa. 29:3); (6) to collect money (Rom. 15:28).

The term occurs in three additional senses that are used only of God and demonstrate His sovereignty: (7) God elevates to a position of honor the humble, the poor, and the oppressed (1 S. 2:8; 2 S. 23:1; Ps. 113:7; cf. Jer. 50:32; Am. 5:2); (8) God can "raise up" (i.e., cause to appear in history) offspring (e.g., Gen. 38:8; 1 Ch. 17:11; Mt. 3:9 par.), judges (Jgs. 2:16, 18; cf. 3:9, 15), a prophet (e.g., Dt. 18:15, 18; cf. Acts 7:37), a king (e.g., 1 K. 14:14; cf. Jer. 23:5), an adversary (1 K. 11:14, 23; cf. Isa. 9:11; Am. 6:14), etc.; (9) and only God has the power to restore life to those who have died (1 S. 2:6; Ezk. 37:12f.; very frequently in the NT, e.g., Jn. 6:39f., 44, 54; 1 Cor. 15:4, 12ff.). *See also* RESURRECTION II.A; RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST. N. J. O.

RAISINS [Heb. *ṣimûqîm* (1 S. 25:18; etc.), *'ᵃšîšôṯ* (Cant. 2:5)]; **CAKE OF RAISINS**; **RAISIN-CAKE** [Heb. *'ᵃšîšâ*] (2 S. 6:19; 1 Ch. 16:3; Isa. 16:7; Hos. 3:1); AV FLAGON (OF WINE), FOUNDATION (Isa. 16:7); NEB also "prosperous farmers" (Isa. 16:7).

Grapes were dried in the sun in order to provide portable food for a journey or march (1 S. 25:18; 30:12; 2 S. 16:1; 1 Ch. 12:40 [MT 41]). Sometimes dried grapes were pressed together to form a "raisin-cake" (*'ᵃšîšâ*, perhaps from *'āšaš*, "become firm" — i.e., solid from being pressed together; AV "flagon" is based on a rabbinical explanation of the term). Such "cakes" were among the foods distributed to the people for the cultic meal celebrating the return of the ark (2 S. 6:19; 1 Ch. 16:3). In Hos. 3:1 the Israelites are said to "love cakes of raisins" in connection with their turning to other gods. Very likely these were the same type of "cakes" (called *kawwānîm* in Jer. 7:18; 44:19) that Israelite women offered to the QUEEN OF HEAVEN as part of a fertility cult. On this basis, M. Pope (*Song of Songs* [*AB*, 1977], pp. 378-380) has suggested that raisins were believed to be effective as aphrodisiacs (Cant. 2:5; see also *IB*, V, 114).

The MT *'ᵃšîšê* in Isa. 16:7 has been interpreted in various ways. Most scholars have rendered it "raisin-cakes" (e.g., RSV); This is supported by the use of the same term in other passages and also by the mention of Moab's famous vineyards in vv. 8-10. The AV interprets it as a reference to the devastated "foundations" (from *'āšaš*) of Kir-hareseth, the chief fortress of Moab. On the other hand, the NEB's translation ("prosperous farmers") finds strong support in other early versions (Symm., Vulg., LXX; cf. also Jer. 48:31; see G. R. Driver, "Notes on Isaiah," in J. Hempel, *et al.*, eds., *Von Ugarit nach Qumran* [*BZAW*, 77, 1961], p. 43]).

R. K. H. N. J. O.

RAKEM rā'kəm [Heb. *rāqem*, the pausal form of *reqem* (Rekem)]. Son of Sheresh and great-grandson of Manasseh (1 Ch. 7:16).

RAKKATH rāk'əth [Heb. *raqqaṯ*; Gk. B *Ōmathadaketh*, A *Rhekkath*]. One of the fortified cities in Naphtali (Josh. 19:35), named between Hammath and Chinnereth. The Greek is probably the result of confusing the two names Rakkath and Hammath, with the *r* in the former taken for a *d*. The Talmud suggests that Tiberias was built on the site of Rakkath, although current scholarship tends to identify the town with modern Tell Eqlāṭîyeh, a small site near the Sea of Galilee about 2.5 km. (1½ mi.) N of Tiberias. W. W. BUEHLER

RAKKON rak'on (Josh. 19:46). *See* ME-JARKON.

RAM ram [Heb. *rām*–'lofty, exalted'; Gk. *Aram*]; AV NT ARAM.

1. Son of Hezron and brother of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2:9); an ancestor of King David (Ruth 4:19) and of Jesus (Mt. 1:3f.; but called Arni in Lk. 3:33).

2. Firstborn son of Jerahmeel and grandson of Hezron (1 Ch. 2:25, 27; cf. **1** above).

3. Head of the family of Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite (Job 32:2). Like the names Elihu and Barachel, Ram is Hebrew in origin (see **1** and **2** above; Buz may be Aramean; cf. Gen. 22:21). By contrast, no genealogies are given for Job's three friends (Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar), whose names appear to be of Edomite or South Semitic origin. (See R. Gordis, *Book of God and Man: A Study of Job* [repr. 1978], p. 115.)

RAM. A mature male sheep. Heb. *'ayil* occurs more than 150 times, while Aram. *dᵉḵar* occurs only in Ezr. 6:9, 17; 7:17. In Gen. 31:10, 12 Heb. *'attûḏ* is a male goat rather than a ram as the AV translates.

Rams had various uses. They were used for meat (Gen. 31:38) and for wool (2 K. 3:4). Rams' skins were part of the offerings that were used to cover the tabernacle (e.g., Ex. 25:5; *see* SHEEPSKIN). Their horns were used as trumpets (e.g., Josh. 6:4-13; *see* MUSIC II.A). But the majority of references are in ritual contexts. Male animals were more valuable for sacrifice than females according to OT law. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

In several passages the term "ram" is used to create vivid imagery. In Ps. 114:4, 6 the psalmist describes the mountains as jumping like rams (in terror) at the presence of God; the reference is probably to the quaking of Mt. Sinai (cf. Ex. 19:18) when Yahweh made covenant with Israel there (see comms.). Several prophets condemned the sacrifice of rams as part of the hypocritical use of rituals in place of obedience, justice, and righteousness (1 S. 15:22; Isa. 1:11; Mic. 6:7). Ezekiel condemned the "rams" and "he-goats" who pushed the weaker sheep

Three standing rams in a statuette from Larsa (2nd millennium B.C.) made of bronze with gold and silver plating (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

aside in order to gain the best pasture and water for themselves (Ezk. 34:17; cf. vv. 18-22); the reference is apparently to the rich and powerful in society who took care of themselves but oppressed the weak and poor. Finally, in Dnl. 8:3-7, 20 the ram with two horns symbolizes the kings of Media and Persia, who captured the whole Near East but were in turn vanquished by Greece (symbolized by the male goat).

See also SHEEP. J. C. MOYER

RAM, BATTERING. *See* SIEGE; WEAPONS OF WAR.

RAMA rā'mə (Mt. 2:18, AV, NEB). *See* RAMAH **1.**

RAMAH rā'mə [Heb. *rāmâ*–'height'; Gk. *Rhama, Kiramas* (1 Esd. 5:20)]; AV also RAMA, CIRAMA (1 Esd. 5:20); NEB also RAMA, KIRAMA (1 Esd. 5:20).

1. A Benjaminite city at the border of Judah and Israel near Gibeah, Geba, and Bethel (Josh. 18:25; Jgs. 4:5; 19:13f.; Isa. 10:29).

Ramah was a stopping-place on the road to the north from Jerusalem. Near it was the palm under which the prophetess Deborah sat to judge the people (Jgs. 4:5). King Baasha of Israel fortified Ramah to prevent the people of Judah from making raids to the north; when Syrian forces invaded Israel, King Asa of Judah destroyed the city and built (fortified?) Geba and Mizpah with its stones and timber (1 K. 15:17, 21f.; 2 Ch. 16:1, 5f.). Near Ramah Nebuzaradan gathered the Jews and transported them to Babylon but freed Jeremiah (Jer. 40:1-4). Among the returning exiles were families from Ramah, who reoccupied their town (Ezr. 2:1, 26; Neh. 7:6, 30; 11:33; 1 Esd. 5:7f., 20). Proclamations of some of the prophets mention Ramah (Hos. 5:8; Isa. 10:29; Jer. 31:15; cf. Mt. 2:18).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii.12.3 [303]) Ramah was 40 stadia (8 km., 5 mi.) N of Jerusalem. It is identified with the small Arab village of er-Râm on a hill 790 m. (2600 ft.) high. In er-Râm are columns and other ruins of ancient buildings.

2. The hometown of Samuel's parents, where Samuel was born, lived, and was buried (1 S. 1:19; 2:11; 7:17; 8:4; 15:34; 16:13; 20:1; 25:1; 28:3). To differentiate this town from others it is also called Ramathaim-zophim (1 S. 1:1; but *see* ZUPH [place]). From Ramah Samuel made his annual tour to inspect the towns and sit for judgment (7:16f.). The elders of Israel came there to ask for a king over the country (8:4f.); Saul, whom he would anoint as king, met him there (9:6, 10). David fled from Saul to Ramah and then went with Samuel to Naioth (19:18; 20:1).

This Ramah may be identified with NT Arimathea, the hometown of Joseph, whom Pilate permitted to bury Jesus (Mt. 27:57-60; Mk. 15:43-46; Lk. 23:50-53; Jn. 19:38).

The Bible (Jgs. 4:5) says that Ramah was situated in Mt. Ephraim, but the actual place has not been identified. Four places have been suggested: Ramallah, about 13 or 14 km. (8 or 9 mi.) N of Jerusalem; Beth-ramah, about 21 or 22 km. (13 or 14 mi.) NW of Bethel; er-Râm, the Ramah of Benjamin; and Nebi Samwil.

3. A city on the border of the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19:24, 29). The place is possibly er-Râmeh, about 21 or 22 km. (13 or 14 mi.) SE of Tyre.

4. A city in Naphtali, fortified by walls (Josh. 19:32, 36), a different place from that of v. 29; cf. 3 above). The modern village is er-Râmeh, some 8 or 9 km. (5 or 6 mi.) SW of Safed and 29 km. (18 mi.) E of Acco.

5. RAMAH OF THE NEGEB [Heb. *rā'mat negeb*] (Josh. 19:8); AV RAMATH OF THE SOUTH; NEB RAMATH-NEGEB; also **RAMOTH OF THE NEGEB** [Heb. *rāmôṯ-negeb*] (1 S. 30:27); AV SOUTH RAMOTH; NEB RAMOTH-NEGEB. A city of the tribe of Simeon, possibly the same place as BAALATH-BEER, near Rehoboth in the Negeb.

6. A short form of RAMOTH-GILEAD (2 K. 8:28f.; 2 Ch. 22:6). A. A. SAARISALO

RAMATH OF THE SOUTH (Josh. 19:8, AV). *See* RAMAH 5.

RAMATHAIM rā-mə-thā'əm (1 Macc. 11:34, NEB); **RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM** rā-mə-thā'əm zō'fəm [Heb. *rāmāthayim ṣôphîm*] (1 S. 1:1); NEB RAMATHAIM . . . ZUPHITE; **RAMATHEM** ram'ə-them (1 Macc. 11:34, AV). *See* RAMAH **2.**

RAMATHITE ra'mə-thīt [Heb. *hārāmāṯî*; LXX A *ho rhamathaíos*, B *ho ek rhaēl*, a few MSS, *ek rhamath*]; NEB OF RAMAH. One who resides in Ramath; a designation of a certain Shimei (1 Ch. 27:27; *see* SHIMEI **13**). Which Ramath he was from cannot be determined from the context.

RAMATH-LEHI rā'math-lē'hī [Heb. *rāmaṯ leḥî*–'the high place of Lehi'; Gk. *Anairesis siagonos*–'the hill of the jawbone' (cf. *BDB* p. 534]. A town in the Shephelah named in the story of Samson's killing of a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass because of a dispute with his father-in-law (Jgs. 15:17; called simply Lehi in vv. 9, 14, and 19; 2 S. 23:11). During this period the

Philistines and the Israelites fought for control of the towns in the Shephelah. The Samson story indicates that Lehi belonged to the tribe of Judah (Jgs. 15:9) and was located near the hill country.

Modern efforts to identify the site are inconclusive. It may be connected with Wâdī es-Ṣarâr, not far from Philistine Timnah and Zorah, in the northern Shephelah (cf. *LBHG* p. 274). It has been suggested that Khirbet es-Ṣuyag, 2.5 km. (1.5 mi.) S of Eshtaol, may preserve the Gk. *Siagōn*; but this suggestion is weak (cf. *GTTOT*, § 610).

J. E. MCKENNA

RAMATH-MIZPEH rā'məth-miz-pə [Heb. *rāmaṯ hammiṣpeh*; Gk. B *Arabōth katá tḗn Massēpha*, A *Rhamōth . . . Maspha*]. A border town in Gad, named between Heshbon and Betonim (Josh. 13:24, 26). P. W. Lapp has identified it with 'Iraq el-Emir, 29 km. (18 mi.) E of Jericho and 17 km. (10.5 mi.) W of 'Ammân (*EAEHL*, II, *s.v.* "'Iraq el-Emir").

See MIZPAH 2.

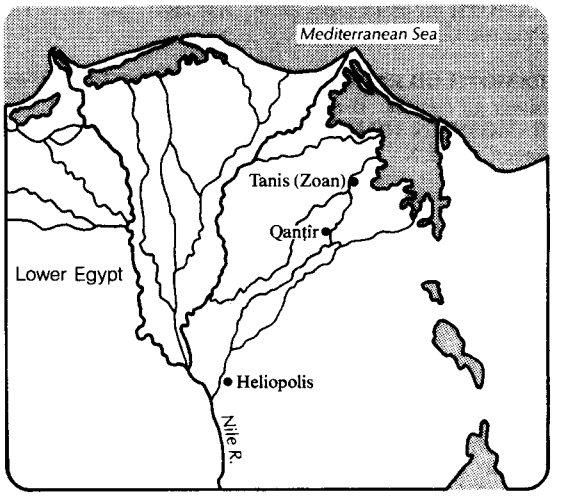
RAMESES ram'ə-sēz [Heb. *ra'm^{e}sēs*; Gk. *Rhamessē* < Egyp. *ri'amses*–'Re created him/it'; called *(pr)-r'-ms-sw*–'domain of Rameses'] (Gen. 47:11; Ex. 12:37; Nu. 33:3, 5); **RAAMSES** ram'sēz [Heb. *ra'amsēs*] (Ex. 1:11); NEB RAMESES. The royal residence city of the Ramesside kings in the Egyptian Delta.

I. Biblical References.–The name occurs four times in the OT in reference to a famous treasury city of the Pharaohs at the time of the Hebrews' enslavement in Egypt. In Gen. 47:11 it is a synonym for Goshen, the land where Joseph settled his father and brothers when they migrated to Egypt to escape the famine in Canaan. Because this event occurred several hundred years before the Ramesside kings of the 19th Dynasty made the city the center of royal activities (during the Late New Kingdom period, *ca.* 1300-1100 B.C.; *see* RAMSES), most scholars have concluded that the writer of Genesis used a name given to the city at a later date (one that would have been familiar to his contemporaries) instead of the original name. It is not impossible, however, that the city bore the name before the time of the Ramesside Dynasty, its name thus being interpreted "Re has created it."

The name is also mentioned in Ex. 1:11 with Pithom, the other of the two "store-cities" (Heb. *misk^{e}nôṯ*) that Pharaoh forced the Hebrews to build. The LXX adds here a third, Heliopolis (a city just N of Cairo). The name also occurs in Ex. 12:37 and Nu. 33:3, 5, with Succoth, as the place of departure for the Exodus.

II. Location.–Although it is generally agreed that Rameses is located in the northeastern Nile Delta region of Lower Egypt, identification of the site has long been a subject of debate among archeologists and Egyptologists. Current discussions have focused on two sites: (1) Tanis (modern Ṣân el-Ḥagar; biblical Zoan [cf. Nu. 13:22]), and (2) Qanṭîr (also referred to as Tell el-Dab'a, about 20 km. [12 mi.] S of Tanis and 100 km. [62 mi.] NE of Heliopolis and modern Cairo).

The present debate began in 1918 with Gardiner's mistaken association of Rameses with Pelusium (*JEA*, 5). In 1933 he retracted this view (*JEA*, 19) in favor of an identification with Tanis. In this he concurred with Montet, who followed the earlier work of Brugsch. In 1930 at the same time that Montet had proposed his theory, Hamza published a response suggesting Qanṭîr as the site of biblical Rameses. This theory was later supported by Habachi, and more recently by Kitchen (*Bible in Its World*, pp. 76-79), Baines and Málek (pp. 166, 175f.), and Aling (p. 129). Although no conclusive evidence for either site



has yet been produced, the weight of scholarship clearly favors an identification with the Qanṭîr site. For a comparison of the main arguments, see van Seters (pp. 127-51) and Uphill (*JNES*, 27).

See also WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL III.A.

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R. W. PIERCE

RAMIAH rə-mī'ə [Heb. *ramyâ*–'Yahweh is high'; Gk. *Hiermas*]; AV Apoc. HIERMAS; NEB Apoc. JERMAS. A son of Parosh; one of the Israelites who had married foreign women (Ezr. 10:25; 1 Esd. 9:26).

RAMOTH rā'moth [Heb. *rā'môṯ*].

1. A Levitical town in the tribal territory of Issachar (1 Ch. 6:73 [MT 58]). It appears to be the same as JARMUTH (2.), which occupies the same position in the list of Levitical cities in Josh. 21:29, and is also possibly a variation of REMETH (19:21). The LXX readings support the probability that "Ramoth" is the preferred reading.

The exact location of Ramoth is uncertain, but W. F. Albright suggested a connection with Kawkab el-Hawa, located 11 km. (7 mi.) N of Beth-shean, an attractive region of springs situated on a plateau about 305 m. (1000 ft.) above sea level. An archeological find supports a location near Beth-shean. A stele of Seti I (date uncertain) relates several incidents that took place on a Mt. Yarumta near Beth-shean; Mt. Yarumta is most reasonably to be associated with the Jarmuth-Ramoth of Issachar (see *LBHG*).

Bibliography.–W. F. Albright, *ZAW*, 44 (1926), 231; *LBHG*, p. 179.

B. R. AND P. C. PATTEN

2. Ramoth in Gilead (Dt. 4:23; Josh. 20:8; 21:38; 1 Ch. 6:80 [MT 65]). *See* RAMOTH-GILEAD.

3. Ramoth of the Negeb (1 S. 30:27). *See* RAMAH 5.

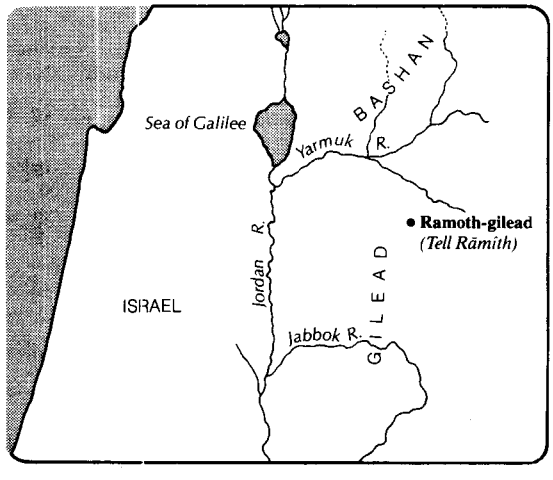
RAMOTH rā'moth (Job 28:18, AV mg.). *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

RAMOTH-GILEAD rā'məth gil'ē-əd [Heb. *rāmōṯ gil'āḏ rāmôṯ gil'āḏ*; Gk. B *Rhemmath Galaad,* A *Rhammoth*]; **RAMOTH IN GILEAD** [Heb. *rā'mōṯ baggil'āḏ, rāmōṯ baggil'āḏ*; LXX *Rhamōth en Galaad, Arēmōth en tē Galaad,* etc.]. One of the cities of refuge established by Moses for the tribe of Gad (Dt. 4:43); later an important fortified city on the Israelite-Syrian border (2 K. 9:14).

I. Name.–Hebrew *rāmōṯ* (pl. of *rāmâ*) means "heights, high places," and modified by "Gilead" the name indicates prominent or well-known heights in the region of GILEAD. The name appears without the modifier as "Ramah" in 2 K. 8:29; 2 Ch. 22:6. The form "Ramoth in the Gilead" occurs in Dt. 4:43; Josh. 20:8; 21:38; 1 Ch. 6:80.

II. Location.–Since "Gilead" is used in the OT to represent both a smaller and a larger region, the location of Ramoth-gilead has been disputed. In the smaller — supposedly earlier — sense, Gilead lay S of the Jabbok, and Ramoth-gilead has been variously identified with es-Salṭ, Qal'at er-Rabaḍ, etc., all S of the Jabbok. G. A. Smith, referring to these identifications, added with unerring instinct, "though I feel it necessary, from what the OT says of the frequency with which Ramoth-gilead was contested by Aram and Israel, to put it further north on or near the Yarmuk" (*HGHL,* p. 394). For the same reason, F.-M. Abel sought a location in the north of 'Ajlûn and suggested that Ḥoṣn 'Ajlûn, 676 m. (2217 ft.) in altitude, 16 km. (10 mi.) SW of Ramtha, met the required conditions (*GP,* II, 430). Following N. Glueck, scholarly consensus has identified Ramoth-gilead with Tell Rāmîth (Tell er-Rumeith), 7 km. (4½ mi.) S of Ramtha, near the present border between Syria and Jordan. The location was almost certainly on the main road S from Damascus (the King's Highway), where it was joined by a road leading to Jezreel (cf. 2 K. 8:28f.; 9:1f., 14-16), in an area where battles could be fought with chariots (cf. 1 K. 22:29-36; 2 Ch. 18:28-34), near a landmark that could be identified as "heights."

III. History.–The first reference in the Bible is in connection with three cities of refuge that Moses set apart "in the east beyond Jordan": "Bezer . . . for the Reubenites, and Ramoth in Gilead for the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan for the Manassites" (Dt. 4:43; cf. Nu. 35:6, 14; Josh. 20:7f.). Ramoth-gilead was also one of the forty-eight cities set aside for the Levites, who had no tribal allotment (Josh. 21:38; 1 Ch. 6:80 [MT 65]; *see* LEVITICAL CITIES). Whether the allocation of these cities to the Levites actually took place at the time indicated in the scriptural accounts has been questioned (cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [Eng. tr. 1961], pp. 366f.). A comparison of the passages cited raises questions concerning the origin of cities of refuge and Levitical cities, their number, their purpose, etc. (cf. Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, p. 70 and map 108); in general, however, it appears that the provision for both cities of refuge and for Levitical cities goes back to early Israelite times.



When Solomon divided his kingdom into twelve administrative districts (1 K. 4:7-19), Ben-geber was the official in Ramoth-gilead (v. 13). His district included "the villages of Jair the son of Manasseh . . . in Gilead, and . . . the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, sixty great cities with walls and bronze bars." This district stretched N of the Yarmuk. (See Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, map 113.)

When the kingdom divided, the northern kingdom included the portions that had been given to Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, i.e., the Transjordanian regions (cf. 1 K. 11:31-35). That these regions experienced turmoil cannot be doubted: Israel had problems with the Midianites, Moabites, Ammonites, Syrians, and Edomites, as well as intermittent war with the southern kingdom of Judah. Early in the 9th cent. B.C. Asa of Judah (910-870) made a league with the Syrian king, Ben-hadad I of Damascus (900-860?), against Baasha of Israel (900-886). Ben-hadad conquered much of Naphtali in northern Galilee (1 K. 15:20). The formation of a federation of Aramean city-states under Damascus (cf 1 K. 20:1; Josephus *Ant.* viii.14.1 [363]) prompted Assyria to increase its pressure on the Arameans. Ben-hadad (perhaps II, *ca.* 860-843) besieged Samaria but was turned back (1 K. 20:1-21). Later he fought Israel near Aphek, on the Golan heights E of the Sea of Galilee (vv. 26-30). At some time during this period the Syrians took control of Ramoth-gilead.

Israel and Judah made peace through a marriage alliance between Jehoram (Joram) the son of Jehoshaphat of Judah and Athaliah the daughter of Ahab of Israel (2 K. 8:18), and when Jehoshaphat visited Ahab (*ca.* 853), the latter suggested that they combine forces and retake Ramoth-gilead (1 K. 22:3). Despite the prophecy of Micaiah (v. 17) they advanced on the city. Ahab was fatally wounded and was taken to Samaria for burial (v. 37).

Ben-hadad was succeeded by HAZAEL (*ca.* 843). In 841 Joram the son of Ahab of Israel and Ahaziah the son of Jehoram of Judah united in war against Hazael, who was in Ramoth-gilead (2 K. 8:28). Joram was wounded and returned to Jezreel to be healed. Elisha, who at the Lord's command had anointed Hazael to be king of Damascus (v. 13), now sent a prophet to anoint Jehu, commander of Joram's army at Ramoth-gilead, to be king of Israel (9:1-6). Jehu raced to Jezreel, where Ahaziah was visiting Joram (v. 16); he killed Joram and gave orders that Ahaziah also be killed (vv. 24, 27). The scriptural account adds this summary: "In those days the Lord began to cut off parts of Israel. Hazael defeated them throughout the territory of Israel: from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of the Arnon, that is, Gilead and Bashan" (10:32f.). Later in 841 Shalmaneser III and his forces swept from Hermon to Hauran to Carmel and forced Jehu to pay tribute, but apparently Assyria was not strong enough to control the area.

Hazael and his son Ben-hadad (III or II; 796-770 B.C.) continually oppressed Israel during the reign of Jehu's son Jehoahaz (13:3), and the cities that Hazael had taken (presumably including Ramoth-gilead) changed hands sev-

eral times during the reign of Jehoahaz's son Jehoash (Joash, vv. 24f.). Amos referred to the Syrian attacks against this region in his prophecy against Damascus: "they threshed Gilead with threshing sledges of iron" (Am. 1:3; cf. 2 K. 13:7). Under Joash's son Jereboam II (*ca.* 786-746) Israel temporarily regained control of the Transjordan, including even Damascus (14:25, 28). Damascus fell to Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C. Ramoth-gilead is not mentioned again.

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W. S. LASOR

RAMPART [Heb. *ḥēl, ḥêl*] (2 S. 20:15; Ps. 48:13 [MT 14]; Lam. 2:8; Nah. 3:8); AV also TRENCH, BULWARKS; NEB also SIEGE-RAMP; [*māṣôr*] (Zec. 9:3); AV STRONG HOLD; [*mᵉṣûrâ*] (Nah. 2:1); AV MUNITION; NEB BASTIONS. A steep, thick embankment raised as an outer fortification around a city.

Hebrew *ḥēl* (lit. "something that encircles") probably denotes an outer wall surrounding the main city wall (*ḥômâ*); cf. the use of *ḥēl* in association with *ḥômâ* in 2 S. 20:15; Isa. 26:1 (RSV "bulwarks" for *ḥēl*); Lam. 2:8; Nah. 3:8 (see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, I [Eng. tr. 1961, repr. 1965], 232f.; for illustrations, see Y. Yadin, *Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, II [1963], 418-425, 436f.; for another interpretation of *ḥēl*, *see* FORTIFICATION I.B). Thebes (Nah. 3:8) was protected not by walls but by the Nile and possibly also by moats and canals (*IB*, VI, 966f.). *Māṣôr* can denote a SIEGE itself, offensive siegeworks (cf. Dt. 20:20), or (like *mᵉṣûrâ*) general fortifications. Tyre was famous for its fortifications (cf. Josh. 19:29), which proved impregnable until the time of Alexander the Great (Zec. 9:3).

See also FORTIFICATION.

N. J. O.

RAM'S HORN [Heb. *(qeren) yôḇēl*] (Josh. 6:4-6, 8, 13). *See* HORN; MUSIC.

Relief of an Assyrian attack on a city protected by a rampart and probably a moat (the gap between the rampart and the wall). From the central palace at Nimrûd, 745-727 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

RAMSES ram'zēz; **RAMESES; RAMESSES** ram'sēz [Egyp. *rᶜ ms.sw*,–'Re begat him'; to be distinguished from the city Raamses (Ex. 1:12) and the land of Rameses (Gen. 47:11; Ex. 12:37; Nu. 33:3, 5)]. The name of eleven kings of Egypt in the 19th and 20th Dynasties.

I. Background and Name.–The name occurs for the first time in Egyptian texts in the 19th Dynasty. Reᶜ (or Raᶜ; cf. Copt. *ra*), or Amon-Reᶜ, was the solar-disc deity, whose cult-center was at Thebes. But a religious revolution was led by Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) who exalted the solar deity under the name Aten, turned against the Amon priesthood, and moved the capital to Akhetaten ([Tell] el-Amarna). The Amon priesthood, however, had not been destroyed, and it became strong enough to cause Tutankhaten to change his name to Tutankhamen and relocate the capital at Thebes. The dynasty had grown feeble, and power gradually shifted to the military commander Haremhab, later to become the Great Commander of the Army. When Ay (Eye) died without leaving progeny Haremhab became king. He was a strong ruler, who reigned twenty-seven years (disputed by some). He did not found a dynasty, and his reign should be considered more as an interregnum than as the end of the 18th Dynasty.

Haremhab had elevated to the rank of vizier one of his military men, Pe-raᶜmesse, whose father's name was Seti. Subsequently Haremhab named Pe-raᶜmesse to succeed him, and when the latter became king he dropped the definite article *(p-)* and called himself Raᶜmesse, inaugurating the 19th Dynasty. Two kings of the dynasty would bear the name Ramses, and the name would become so eminent that nine kings of the 20th Dynasty would adopt it as part of their *nomina* and *praenomina*. Two other kings of the 19th Dynasty would take the name Seti.

II. Dates.–The dates for the Ramesside period are somewhat uncertain. The "high" dates for Ramses I are 1320-1318; the "low" dates are 1303-1302. According to Gardiner, Seti I came to the throne shortly after the new Sothic Cycle began ca. 1321-1317 B.C. (p. 249; cf. EGYPT VI). Partly on this basis the dates adopted here for Seti I are ca. 1317-1304 (*ISBE*, II [1982], 43), and other dates are adjusted accordingly. Synchronisms with Hittite kings must be taken into consideration, but Hittite chronology is largely dependent on Egyptian records, hence an element of circular reasoning may easily be introduced.

***III. Ramses I* (1318-1317).**–Pe-raᶜmesse was one of the generals instrumental in the overthrow of the Atenist movement established by Akhenaten. He came originally from the northeastern Delta, where Seth (Egyp. *sth*, read by some as Sutekh, but *h* probably was not pronounced like *ḫ*) was the honored deity. The family devotion to Seth is seen in the name Seti (or Sethos; Greek *sethōsis*, Egyp. *sthy*, "Sethian"). His loyalty to Amon and Thebes was not compromised, however. When Ramses came to the throne he was already an old man, and his reign was very short. According to Josephus, Manetho credited him with but 1 year 4 months (*CAp* 1.15 [97]), closely agreeing with a stele erected by his son Seti I at Buhen (Wādî Halfa) which mentions Ramses' second year. Seti I may have become co-regent at that time (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 157ff.; *CAH*, II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 217); however, the events recorded are apparently the same as those of Seti's first year. In such a short period of time Ramses could not have done much, but he apparently planned the Hypostyle Hall and perhaps the Avenue of the Sphinxes at Karnak as well as an elaborate tomb complex in the Valley of the Kings. The reopening of the turquoise mines at Serābîṭ el-Khādim in the Sinai is indicated by the presence of two stelae of Ramses I at that site.

***IV. Ramses II* (ca. 1304-1227).**–Since Ramses I was old

when he came to the throne, we may assume that his son Seti I was in his middle years at his accession. This assumption may be confirmed by the fact that his son, Ramses II, became co-regent for an undisclosed number of years (K. C. Seele, *Coregency of Ramses II and Seti I* [1940]). Since Ramses' sixty-seven-year reign does not include the years of his co-regency, the co-regency must have begun at an early age. The statement that Ramses was but a babe in his father's lap when he was proclaimed king (wall inscription on temple of Seti I at Abydos; cf. Gardiner, p. 257), however, is quite incredible.

This dynasty preferred northern Egypt for its home. Ramses I had his administrative capital at Memphis, and Seti I had his at Avaris. Both, however, continued to use Thebes as the center of state and cultic activity. Ramses II followed this practice, building his capital at Per-Ra'messe ("House of Ramses") in the eastern Delta (cf. Ex. 1:11). (The location of Per-Ra'messe is disputed; *see* RAMESES.) His first recorded act, however, was to travel over 700 km. (450 mi.) south to Thebes for a religious festival.

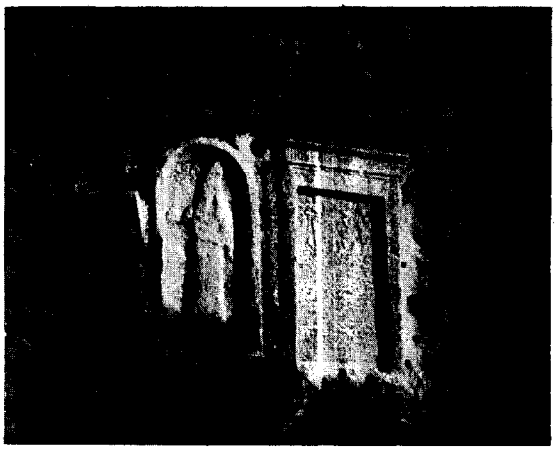
Ramses II is widely acclaimed as a builder. His monuments, buildings, inscriptions, etc., are found throughout Egypt and beyond its borders. Among the most impressive are the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (begun by Seti I on plans made by Ramses I); the Ramesseum; the temple complex at Abu Simbel; and colossal statues at Tanis, Memphis, Karnak, the Ramasseum, and Abu Simbel. Not everything with Ramses' cartouche can be attributed to him, however. Like many other pharaohs, Ramses frequently carved his cartouche on a building or a monument which had been erected by a predecessor, often obliterating the original name. Cf. W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958), pp. 216-226; I. Woldering, *Art of Egypt* (1963), pp. 189-209, plates 41, 42, 44.

Ramses II in full regalia. This depiction is unusual because he is red-faced and needs a shave. Wall painting from the tomb of Nakht-amun (no. 341) at Thebes, 1292-1225 B.C. (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

Of importance for biblical studies are Ramses' wars with the Hittites. In year 4 of his reign he advanced at least to Nahr el-Kelb (Dog River), N of Beirut, where he set up an inscription marking his first campaign in Asia. In year 5 he made a major move against the Hittites. The story is recorded in both Hittite and Egyptian records (at Boghazköy and Karnak, respectively), with somewhat differing details. The overall account, however, is the same: the Hittites under Muwatallis ambushed the Egyptians near Qadesh-on-the-Orontes; by sheer heroism Ramses broke out of the ambush; he retreated to Egypt claiming victory, and the Hittites did not pursue him; they also claimed victory. The story is told in eight accounts (cf. *ANET*, pp. 255f., 319; cf. also the extensive bibliography in *CAH*, II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 952f.). A graphic battle-scene is carved on a wall of the Ramasseum, showing many details of the battle.

Ramses continued to invade Palestine and Syria, with campaigns in years 6-8 in Palestine, in year 10 in Syria (another inscription at the Dog River), and in year 11 as far as Tunip and Qatna. But there were not any recorded campaigns with the Hittites, so it seems that both powers had suffered from the battle at Qadesh and were not anxious to repeat the act. In year 21 Ramses II concluded a treaty with Ḫattusilis king of the Hittites which defined

A stone inscription at Nahr el-Kelb (Dog River) in Phoenicia describing the first Asian campaign of Ramses II (W. S. LaSor)



The eastern gateway of the great temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu; this is the last monumental temple to have been built in the New Kingdom (20th Dynasty, 1198-1167 B.C.). Although it resembles a fortress, its primary purpose was to house the royal harem. The small temple of Ramses III is also visible at right (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

their respective spheres of influence. The Hittite territory included northern Syria and the kingdom of the Amurru; the Egyptian territory, southern Syria and all Palestine. Copies are extant in both Egyptian and Hittite (cf. *ANET,* pp. 199-203). In year 34 Ramses arranged a marriage alliance with the daughter of Ḫattusilis (cf. *ANET,* pp. 257f.). The peace treaty was observed as long as the Hittite empire continued to exist. During this period Israel lived in the power vacuum between Egypt and the Hittites, which gave the young tribal federation an opportunity to become more firmly established.

Ramses' building activities in the eastern Delta are also of significance for biblical studies. From the available records we may conclude that from ca. 1700 to 1318 B.C. no Egyptian pharaoh was located in the eastern Delta. Ramses I and Seti I had residences there, but Ramses II appears to have been the first to build his palace at a place he called Ramsesburg (Per-raʿmesse). The account of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt, told briefly at the beginning of Exodus, would seem to fit best into this period. For this reason Ramses II is considered by some Bible students to have been the pharaoh of the oppression, and his successor Merneptah the pharaoh of the Exodus. The theory, however, is not without its difficulties. *See* EXODUS, DATE OF THE.

Ramses celebrated a Sed-Festival in year 30, then eleven or twelve more, approximately at intervals of three years (his fifth Heb-Śed was celebrated in year 42). In year 55 Ramses named his thirteenth son MERNEPTAH (Mer-en-ptaḥ) as co-regent (the other heirs presumptive had predeceased the king); in year 67 Ramses died and Merneptah became king at an advaned age. For Merneptah's Hymn of Victory (the Israel stele), cf. *ANET,* pp. 376-78.

V. Ramses III **(ca. 1194-1163).**–The first king of the 20th Dynasty, Sethnakhte, reigned but two years and was succeeded by his son, who took the name Ramses (III). The rest of the kings of this dynasty also took the name Ramses (IV-XI). Of these, only Ramses III can be considered as noteworthy for this article. Merneptah had driven off an attack of the sea-peoples, but the great thrust was still under way. Ramses III had three major wars in his fifth to eleventh years, principally against the Libyans and other peoples from the west, and then from the sea-peoples — a name which obscures the fact that the migration included also a movement by land through Syria with women, children, ox-carts, and other elements of a population shift (cf. *ANET,* pp. 262f.; Breasted, IV §§ 59-82).

Of importance for the Bible student is that this vast movement of peoples included the *Prst (Plst)* or PHILISTINES, who occupied the coastal region of Palestine (cf. *CAH,* II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 359-378, and bibliography, pp. 968-972). After year 11 Ramses III entered a period of peace during which he built his great funerary temple at Medinet Habu, conducted an expedition to Punt, and repaired many temples throughout the land. Ramses III celebrated a Śed-Festival at the beginning of year 30 and died the following year. He has been described as "the last of the great warrior kings of Egypt" (*CAH,* II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 241). "With the death of Ramesses III the glory departed, and Egypt was never again an imperial power" (*CAH,* II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 247).

Many details of the Ramesside period can be found in the Great Harris Papyrus, which dates from the end of the reign of Ramses III, described in *ANET* (p. 260) as "a kind of last will and testament for him" (cf. Gardiner,

pp. 292-94). Glimpses of life in Syro-Palestine in the 11th cent. B.C. can be found in the Journey of Wen-Amon (cf. *ANET,* pp. 25-29; Gardiner, pp. 306-313).

See also EGYPT VIII.G.

Bibliography.–J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (2nd ed. 1919), pp. 399-512; *Ancient Records of Egypt* (1906ff.), III, IV; *CAH,* II/2 (3rd ed 1975), chs. 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 33; A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), pp. 212-315, 443-46; G. Steindorff and K. C. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East* (1942), ch. 16; J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (1980), *passim* for maps and illustrations; P. Lemaire and D. Baldi, *Atlante storico della Bibbia* (1955), chs. 5, 6; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Time of Ramesses II* (1982). W. S. LASOR

RAM'S SKINS. *See* SHEEPSKIN.

RANGE. For AV 2 K. 11:8, 15; 2 Ch. 23:14, *see* RANK. For Lev. 11:35, AV, *see* STOVE.

RANK; RANKS.

(1) [Heb. *ma'ᵃrāḵâ*–'row, battle line'] (1 S. 17:8, 10, 22f.); AV ARMIES; NEB also LINE; [*śᵉḏērôṯ*] (2 K. 11:8, 15; 2 Ch. 23:14); AV RANGES; NEB also PRECINCTS; [part. of *ḥāṣaṣ*–'divided in groups'] (Prov. 30:27); AV BANDS; NEB DETACHMENTS; [*mô'āḏ*] (Isa. 14:31); AV APPOINTED TIMES; [Gk. *diatássō*] ("form ranks, Jth. 1:4); AV "set in array"; NEB "in formation"; [*táxis*] (2 Macc. 13:21); AV HOST. Soldiers arranged in battle formation. The meaning of Heb. *śᵉḏērôṯ* is uncertain. For the view that it is an architectural term, see KoB, p. 916; for the interpretation of the AV, RSV, and NEB (2 K. 11:8) that the term refers to the ranks of the guardsmen, see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (*OTL,* rev. ed. 1972), p. 572.

(2) [Heb. *mišneh*–'second'] ("next in rank," Est. 10:3); AV NEXT; NEB SECOND; [pass. part. of *nāśā'* + *pānîm* –'one whose face is lifted up,' i.e., 'esteemed, distinguished'] ("man of rank," Isa. 3:3); AV HONOURABLE MAN; [Gk. *gínomai*] (Jn. 1:15, 30); AV BE PREFERRED; [*axíōma*] (2 Macc. 4:31); AV AUTHORITY; NEB MINISTER. A grade of official standing; to take a position in relation to others. In Jn. 1:15, 30 *emprosthén gégonen* (lit. "who existed in front of me") refers first to Jesus' temporal precedence (i.e., His pre-existence) and second — based on the belief that priority indicates superiority — to His precedence in rank (see R. E. Brown, *Gospel According to John,* I [*AB,* 1966], 63-65).

(3) [Gk. *perisseía*] ("rank growth," Jas. 1:21); AV SUPERFLUITY; NEB "that hurries to excess." An adjective denoting excessive growth. Gk. *perisseía* generally means "abundance"; cf. its use in a positive sense in Rom. 5:17; 2 Cor. 8:2. N. J. O.

RANSOM [Heb. *kōp̱er, pāḏâ, piḏyôn, gā'al*; Gk. *lýtron, antílytron, lytróō, agorázō*]; AV also REDEEM, REDEMPTION, RESCUE, SATISFACTION; NEB also PAYMENT, "price of release," etc. Ransom is the price paid to redeem someone or something. Thus, though the word does not occur very frequently, it is reinforced by all the words for redemption and introduces a concept of great biblical importance, particularly for understanding the work of Christ.

I. In the OT.–Hebrew *kōp̱er* in the OT is the price paid for release from a death sentence. Ex. 21:29 stipulates that if a man owning a dangerous ox lets the animal get out and it kills someone, "the ox shall be stoned, and its owner also shall be put to death." But the killing was not wilful murder and provision is made for the man to escape execution: "If a ransom [*kōp̱er*] is laid on him, then he shall give for the redemption of his life whatever is laid upon him" (v. 30). The *kōp̱er* is thus the price paid to redeem a forfeited life.

The same idea is in the provision that when a census is taken, "then each shall give a ransom for himself to the Lord . . . that there be no plague among them . . ." (Ex. 30:12). On this basis a man's riches can be the "ransom" of his life (Prov. 13:8), and the wicked may be called "a ransom for the righteous" (21:18). It is a mark of the seriousness of some crimes, e.g., murder (Nu. 35:31) and adultery (Prov. 6:32-35), that no ransom can be paid. In the light of all this, the two passages in which *kōp̱er* is rendered "bribe" (1 S. 12:3; Am. 5:12) probably indicate not bribery in general but the acceptance of bribes from one whose life is forfeit.

Sometimes ransom refers to human dealings with God. Thus the psalmist says that no matter how rich people may be, "Truly no man can ransom himself, or give to God the price of his life" (Ps. 49:7). There are mysteries about "the greatness of the ransom" that Job must not allow to turn him aside (Job 36:18). Perhaps this verse means that the patriarch is not to be repelled because a ransom in God's sight is so vast. When a ransom is found, it is due to God who can say, "Deliver him from going down into the Pit, I have found a ransom" (Job 33:24; cf. also Ps. 49:15 [MT 16], which asserts that God will find the ransom that men cannot find [49:7 (MT 8)]). The essentially substitutionary connotation of *kōp̱er* is seen very clearly in Isa. 43:3: "I give Egypt as your ransom, Ethiopia and Seba in exchange for you."

Kōp̱er is cognate with Heb. *kipper,* the usual word for "atone." It is generally held that *kipper* basically means "to cover" and that it is used of covering sin and thus atoning; the derivative *kōp̱er* then denotes primarily a "covering" of the particular offense and leads to the idea of a ransom. But this connection does not seem particularly obvious, and it is at least possible that the dependence is the other way around. If *kōp̱er* is the primary word, then the derivative *kipper* basically signifies "to ransom." The thought is that sinners are subject to the wrath and condemnation of God. Their lives are forfeit. But God graciously gives them the rite of sacrifice as a means of atonement, of ransom (Lev. 17:11). Whether or not *kipper* derives from *kōp̱er,* the connection of the two terms is not to be overlooked. Sinners must be delivered by a divine action, whether this be interpreted in terms of sacrifice (as Lev. 17:11) or more generally (as Job 33:24).

Hebrew *piḏyôn* adds little new information, for it occurs only twice and in connection with *kōp̱er* (Ex. 21:30; Ps. 49:8). It simply refers to the whole process of redemption, in which *kōp̱er* denotes the price paid. These passages do, however, introduce us to the word-group, of which the Hebrew verb *pāḏâ* is the most prominent member, that refers to redemption over a wide range and not simply to a death sentence, as does *kōp̱er.* Goods or slaves can be redeemed, but there is no compulsion to do so (e.g, the firstling of an ass may or may not be redeemed, Ex. 34:20). If the redemption is carried out for others, it is a sheer act of grace. All this is important for an understanding of passages where the verb is applied to God's gracious dealings with His people. They are called "the ransomed of the Lord" (Isa. 35:10). Hosea looks to the Lord to ransom them "from the power of Sheol" (Hos. 13:14). Redemption in the last resort is something that one must look to the Lord to carry out.

In the third word-group represented, the Hebrew verb *gā'al* is the most important word. Isaiah knew a God who made "the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed (AV "ransomed") to pass over" (Isa. 51:10). Similarly

Jeremiah spoke of God as having redeemed and ransomed Jacob (Jer. 31:11). Since *gā'al* is a "term of (civil) family-law" (KoB, p. 162), passages that use it have at base the thought of Yahweh as Israel's great Kinsman. He is to them a Father and acts to maintain their rights. So He delivers them and brings them salvation.

From all this it is plain that ransom is a many-sided concept in the OT. Basic to all its uses, though, is the idea that ransom is a price paid for release from something or someone. The most significant passages speak of ransom from death or of Yahweh as the ransomer. They prepare the way for the NT application of the concept to the work of Christ.

II. In the NT.–The important NT word for ransom is Gk. *lýtron,* which occurs only in Mt. 20:28 and Mk. 10:45, but is the basic word in the family that includes "redeem," "redeemer," and "redemption. The very formation of *lýtron* shows its connection with payment of a price. The verb *lýō,* generally "to loose," could from early times also mean "release." The suffix *-tron* denotes the means of performing an action. It is thus used for implements (as *métron,* an implement for measuring) and for places (e.g., *théatron,* a place for seeing). But in late times the common use was for a price, as *tá thréptra,* "the wages for rearing." The late word *lýtron* comes under this head, basically meaning the price of releasing. Another verb formed from it *lytróō,* essentially means not simply "release" but "release on payment of a price." The price-paying idea is built into the *lýtron* word-group.

The words were commonly used in the Greek world of the 1st cent. A.D. for the release of those in captivity, e.g., prisoners of war or slaves. The ransoming of prisoners of war is a well-known process. Slaves, too, sometimes bought their freedom by saving the considerable sum required and then paying it into the temple treasury of some god. The owner sold the slaves to the god "for freedom." Sometimes it was provided that they might never henceforth be enslaved. Technically the slaves became slaves of the god and could have some religious duties. But in actual fact they were free and moved in society as free persons. The price that was paid for the release of prisoners of war and the price that the slaves paid into the temple treasury for their release were both called *lýtron* or (pl.) *lýtra,* "ransom."

Thus NT writers, whether they were thinking of the OT meaning of release from a death sentence or of the contemporary meaning of release from captivity, used "ransom" to indicate a price paid to secure release. The occasional metaphorical usages only serve to underline the recognized meaning of the word-group.

Greek *lýtron* occurs in Mt. 20:28 par. Mk. 10:45, "The Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." This is a key passage for understanding the Atonement. Its genuineness has sometimes been assailed on the grounds that the words do not fit the context and thus are no part of Jesus' teaching, and that they have all the appearance of being a Paulinist's doctrinal gloss.

The first point of this argument is that the context is lowly service. Jesus rebukes the disciples for self-seeking and tells them that the highest place is for the lowliest person. He then says that His death is a piece of service and not of self-assertion; His followers must heed His example. But even if all this is granted, it does not follow that the words must be rejected. If Jesus is speaking of His death as an act of service, it is reasonable that He states, even if very briefly, in what the service consists. His was not to be the aimless, tragic death of One who was rejected and misunderstood. It was to be a ransom, a price paid to release people. So far from seeking His own comfort or eminence, the Ransomer of His people took the way that led to the cross.

The objection that the verse is a piece of Paulinism is likewise difficult to sustain. Paul never used the word *lýtron.* Although he did use the concept of redemption, it is by no means all-pervasive. It was not a favorite concept of his, like justification. Moreover, it is a concept that he shared with other writers (cf. He. 9:15; 1 Pet. 1:18f.; Rev. 5:9).

It remains to ask what the saying signifies as part of Jesus' discourse. Gk. *lýtron,* as has been shown, points to the payment of a price, and in this case the price is specified, namely the giving of Christ's life in place of the lives of sinners. Christ liberates people from sin and its penalty by dying in their stead. The saying points to substitution. Also significant in Mt. 20:28 is the preposition *anti,* which signifies "in the stead of, in the place of." A number of scholars have also pointed out that the passage contains several echoes of Isa. 53 (e.g., W. F. Howard, *Expos.T.,* 1 [1889], 107-110). If it is thus intended to evoke memories of the Suffering Servant, then the view that the words mean substitution is reinforced, for the Servant clearly suffered in the place of others.

The remaining passage is 1 Tim. 2:6, in which Christ Jesus "gave himself as a ransom [*antílytron*] for all." If *lýtron* signifies substitution, how much more will the compound noun *antílytron*! Paul is saying that Christ gave Himself in the place of all people and so ransomed them from death.

Ransom, then, is a way of understanding the death of Christ. Sinners are the slaves of sin and are condemned to death. But Christ the Savior paid the price of release by taking their place. He suffered, and they go free.

See also REDEEMER, REDEMPTION; ATONE, ATONEMENT.

Bibliography.–*BDTh; DCG; RTWB; TDNT,* IV, *s.v.* λύω, κτλ. (Procksch, Büchsel); Deiss. *LAE,* pp. 319-330; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings* (1967), ch. 3; L. Morris, *APC,* ch. 1; *The Atonement* (1983), ch. 5. L. MORRIS

RAPE. *See* CRIME; HUMBLE I.A.1; RAVISH.

RAPHA rā'fə.

1. [Heb. *rāpā'*–'he has healed']. The fifth son of Benjamin (1 Ch. 8:2; but not mentioned in Gen. 46:21).

2. (1 Ch. 8:37, AV). *See* RAPHAH.

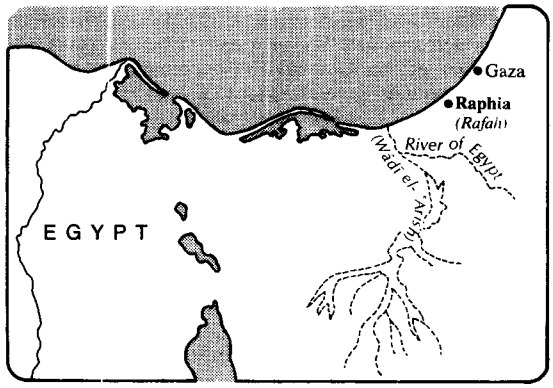
RAPHAEL raf'i-el, rā'fi-el [Gk. *Raphaël,* prob. < Heb./Aram. *rᵉpā'ēl*–'God heals/has healed' or 'God is fearsome']. An archangel in apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature (e.g., 3 Bar. 4:7; Sib. Or. 2:215). He is not mentioned in the canonical Scriptures. In the fanciful apocryphal book of Tobit, Raphael takes the form of Azariah (Tob. 5:1-21), traveling companion to Tobit's son Tobias, and teaches him how to free his betrothed, Sarah, from a haunting demon (ch. 6), and how to heal his father, Tobit, of blindness (6:8; 11:1-15). The book states that he was sent from God "to heal the two of them" (3:17; cf. 12:14), an apparent reference to one of the meanings of his name. *See* TOBIT.

In 1 Enoch, a pseudepigraphic work composed in Greek, Raphael is named second among the seven archangels (cf. Tob. 12:15) and is "over the spirits of men" (20:3, *APOT*), and "set over all disease and every wound of the children of the people" (40:9). In 9:3f. (Greek recension) he is described as helping relay to God in heaven the cries of human beings; and in 10:4-6 God tells him to bind

and blindfold the demon Azazel in a dark desert pit until the judgment. Raphael teaches Enoch about Sheol (22:3-13) and the tree of wisdom (32:6). As a leader of the countless angels (71:9) he punishes those who follow Satan by destruction in the valley of fire (54:1-6; cf. 68:1-5). These latter passages may reflect the "fearsome" aspect of his name. D. K. STUART

RAPHAH rā'fə [Heb. *rāpâ*]; AV RAPHA. Son of Binea and father of Eleasah; a descendant of Saul (1 Ch. 8:37). He is called Rephaiah in 9:43.

RAPHAIM rə-fā'əm [Gk. *Rhaphain*; Lat. *Raphaim*]; NEB omits, following B. An ancestor of Judith, listed in her genealogy as the son of Ahitub and father of Gideon (Jth. 8:1).



RAPHIA rə-fē'ə, rə-fī-ə [Gk. *Rhaphia, Rhapheia*]. A location on the "ways of Horus," the route of the Pharaohs to Palestine and beyond, 48 km. (30 mi.) N of the river of Egypt (Wâdī el-'Arish). The name does not occur in the Hebrew Bible but is mentioned in 3 Macc. 1:1 (*APOT*, 2, 163) as the location of the battle between Antiochus III the Great and Ptolemy IV Philopator. According to some interpreters this battle is referred to in Dnl. 11:11f., but this depends on the date of Daniel.

Seti I listed the stations on the "ways of Horus" between Sile and Gaza (the southern end of the *Via Maris*); no. 20 is "the town of [. . .]," following "*N-ḫ-s*." In the parallel list in Papyrus Anastasi I, "*r-pḥ*" (Raphia) follows "*N-ḫ-s*" and precedes Gaza (cf. *LBHG*, pp. 46f.) In a topographical list, Seti named *r-p-ḥ* after Hazor, obviously a place further north (*LBHG*, p. 178). Ramses II mentions Raphia before Sharu[hen] (Tell el-Far'ah), S of Gaza. A. Alt identified it tentatively with Sheikh Zuweid (F.-M. Abel, *GP*, 2, 172).

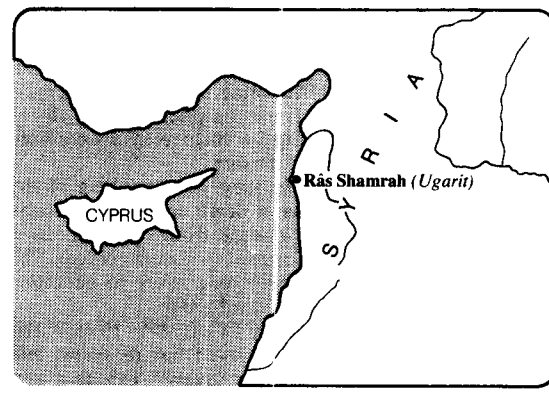
In his second year (721 B.C.) Sargon II was faced with a revolt of his western provinces. One of the rebels was Hanno of Gaza, who apparently had sought the aid of Egypt and Sib'u sent his *turtan* (second in command) to go to Hanno's aid. Sargon records the defeat of Sib'u (obviously meaning his *turtan; see* TARTAN), and adds: "Ḫanûni [Hanno] I seized with my own hand and took him to my city, Assur, in chains. The city of Rapiḫu I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire; 9,033 people, together with their many possessions, I carried off" (*ARAB*, II, § 5; see also §§ 55, 80, 92, 118). Esarhaddon passed through Raphia ("the city of Rapiki by the side of the Brook of Egypt, where there is no river") on his invasion of Egypt in 671 B.C. (cf. *ARAB*, II, § 557), although he put this event on his way from Egypt to Meluḫḫa (Nubia). In addition to the battle between Antiochus III and Ptolemy IV (217 B.C.), Raphia was the scene of a battle in which Alexander Janneus captured the city (97 B.C.; cf. Josephus *Ant.* xiii.13.3 [357]). Gabinius rebuilt Raphia and several other cities (Josephus *Ant.* xiv.5.3 [88]; *War* i.8.4 [166]). Describing the advance of Titus and his army from Nicopolis to Jerusalem, Josephus named the fourth station as Raphia, "at which city Syria begins" (*War* iv.11.5 [662]). In the Talmud (Tosephta), Raphiah deHagra (Aram. *d'ḥagrâ*, "of the wall, boundary," name of a province in the desert of Shur) was located on the frontiers between Israel and Egypt. On the modern road from Israel to Egypt, Raphia (mod. Rafeh) is the border control.

See *GP*, II, 431f. W. S. LASOR

RAPHON rā'fən [Gk. *Rhapheiōn*] (1 Macc. 5:37). A town in Gilead, near Carnaim (Ashteroth-karnaim or Karnaim), where Judas Maccabeus defeated Timothy the leader of the Ammonite forces (1 Macc. 5:37-43; cf. Josephus *Ant.* xii.8.4 [342], Romphon). Raphon is probably to be identified with er-Râfeh, about 13 km. (8 mi.) NE of Sheikh Sa'd (thought to be the site of Ashteroth-karnaim), and possibly with *nw-r-p-ỉ* in the list of Thutmose III (*LBHG*, p. 148). See Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *Macmillan Bible Atlas* (rev. ed. 1977), map 189. W. S. L. S.

RAPHU rā'fū [Heb. *rāpû'*–'one healed']. A Benjaminite; father of Palti, one of those sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan (Nu. 13:9).

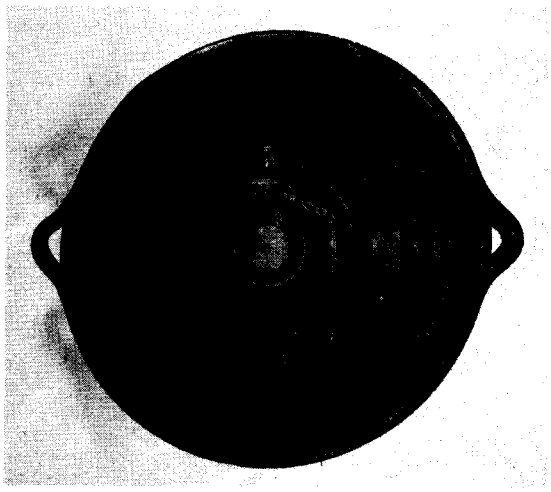
RÂS SHAMRAH rās shām'rə [Arab. *ra's eš-šamra*–'cape (head) of fennel']. A promontory on the Syrian coast, 10 km. (6 mi.) N of Latakiya, on a bay now called *Mînet el-Beiḍâ* ("White Bay," very probably the ancient *Leukas Limēn* of the Greeks), site of the ancient city-state of Ugarit.



The port city, possibly ancient *Ma'ḥāzu*, and the tell, about 36 hectares (90 acres) in size, located 1 km. (0.6 mi.) from the sea, were intensively excavated beginning in 1929 by the French mission directed by C. F. A. Schaeffer, and continuing (with interruption during World War II) until the time of writing (1984). Thanks to its position as a Mediterranean terminus of Asiatic commerical routes it was an important port and the meeting-point of diverse cultures.

The exploration of the deepest strata, so far completed in limited measure, revealed the occupation of the site from the 7th millennium B.C. (Prepottery Neolithic), and preserved remains of dwellings and ceramic materials of various phases of Neolithic (Stratum V), of Chalcolithic (Stratum IV, contemporary with the Mesopotamian cul-

RÂS SHAMRAH



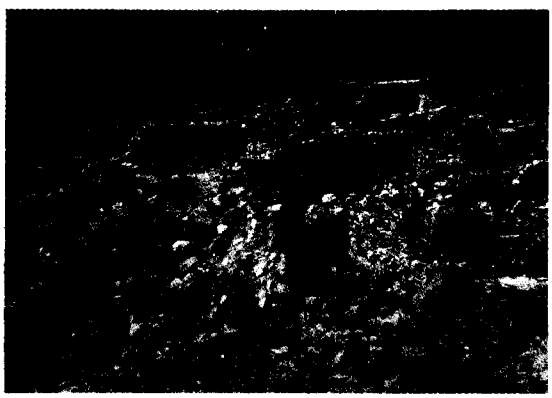
Two examples of Mycenaean pottery (Late Bronze Age) found in tombs at Râs Shamrah. The tombs were possibly those of Mycenaean merchants living in Ugarit (Louvre photo M. Chuzeville)

The library of Stratum I, Râs Shamrah (Late Bronze Age) (W. S. LaSor)

ture of Tell Ḫalaf; Stratum IIIb, contemporary with that of el-'Ubaid), and of Early Bronze (Stratum IIIa; pottery of Khirbet Kerak). This phase was abruptly interrupted by an invasion (from the north?) of the *porteurs de torques* — as Schaeffer described them, from a peculiar twisted collar or torc — skillful workers in bronze, who were rapidly absorbed into the local population, certainly speaking Semitic languages for a considerable period of time. With the beginning of the 2nd millennium, the remains were more consistent. The second stratum of the city (Middle Bronze, *ca.* 2000-1500) preserved among other things monuments which show strong relationship with Middle Kingdom Egypt.

But it was with Stratum I (Late Bronze, *ca.* 1500-1200) that the excavations, conducted extensively, have made possible the reconstruction of the topography and the life of the city, and furnished (together with the monuments and the texts) the most detailed picture available for the knowledge of "Canaanite" culture (i.e., Syro-Palestinian of Late Bronze) at the time of the formation of the Israelite federation. In the port city tombs and ceramic of imported or imitation Cypriot and Mycenaean style and texts in Cypro-Minoan script indicate strong commercial contacts with the Mediterranean. In the city proper the royal palace (and two other minor palaces), temples, private houses, tombs, and part of the fortifications were excavated. The two temples (of Baal and Dagan), whose establishment can be traced perhaps to Middle Bronze, had a ground plan of two parts arranged along the axis, with a courtyard in front where part of the cultic ceremonies took place. Near the temples rich furnishings were recovered (two gold cups) and mythological texts belonging to the library of the priests. The palace was vast (one hectare, 2½ acres) and of a complex plan that revealed phases and additions, with two columns at the entrance, a large courtyard (with well) near the entrance and other smaller courtyards about which appeared to be rooms, divided into different functional groups: a guard post, archives (five different), artisans' shops and stores, living quarters, surroundings for official activity, etc. Noteworthy is the architectural care (with copious use of stone and wood-panelled walls, and the canalization of drainage waters). Most notable was the furnishing: remains of furniture with inlaid ivory, of plates of bronze, stone, and terra-cotta (also imported), utensils, etc., give the impression of a quite luxurious living, into which flowed substantial resources both of internal taxation and of international commerce. The contacts with Egypt (for the

The palace at Râs Shamrah. Its extensive size and luxurious furnishings attest to the status and wealth of the king during this period (Late Bronze Age) (W. S. LaSor)



A hunter shoots at wild bulls (lower left) in a detail from a gold patera found at Râs Shamrah (ca 1400 B.C.). He rides in a two-horsed chariot and is accompanied by a mastiff (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

most part commercial) and with the Hittites (mostly political), well documented by the texts, have also left notable archeological tracks (imported or imitated objects). Private houses, two-story with tombs underneath, demonstrate by their size, architectural stability, accuracy of planning, and wealth of furnishing that around the king gravitated a rich class of palace functionaries, merchants, and priests. The agreement of the texts of various kinds (administrative and juridic, literary and epistolary) and of the rich archeological material makes it possible to reconstruct in a satisfactory manner the life of Ugarit in the 14th and 13th cents. B.C. (but unfortunately the publication of the archeological material is delayed and faulty).

Shortly after 1200 the city was destroyed forever. Few remains of the 1st millennium have been recovered from installations of poor durability. For the history, language, writing, literature, and mythology, *see* UGARIT.

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M. LIVERANI
tr. W. S. L. S.

RASH [Heb. *bāṭā'*–'speak rashly'] (Lev. 5:4; Ps. 106:33; Prov. 12:18); AV "speak unadvisedly," SPEAK, omits in Lev. 5:4; NEB also GOSSIP; [*lā'a'*–'speak wildly'] (Job 6:3; Prov. 20:25); AV SWALLOW UP, DEVOUR; NEB also WILD; [*bāhal*–'be hasty'] (Eccl. 5:2 [MT 1]); NEB RUSH INTO; [*māhar*–'hasten'] (Isa. 32:4); NEB ANXIOUS; [Gk. *propetés*] (Acts 19:36). The AV renders *lā'a'* in Job and Proverbs in its other sense of "swallow," but the RSV and NEB rendering is more likely, warning that a person should consider carefully before he makes a vow. G. WYPER

RASSIS ras'is [Gk. *Rhassis*]; AV RASSES ras'ēz. A city or region whose inhabitants were defeated by Holofernes on his march from Nineveh to Cilicia (Jth. 2:23). The place was apparently located in northern Mesopotamia or eastern Asia Minor. Some have considered the name a corruption of "Tarsus" (cf. Vulg. *Tharsis*; Old Lat. *Thiras*). Others, following Strabo and Ptolemy, have identified it with Rossos (modern Arsus), a mountain range and city in Cilicia near Issus, where Alexander the Great defeated the Persians in 333 B.C. (see Stummer).

Bibliography.–Strabo *Geog.* xiv.5.19; xvi.2.8; Ptolemy *Geog.* v.14; F. Stummer, *Tobias, Judith, Esther* (1956), pp. 24f.; C. A. Moore, *Judith* (*AB*, 1985), p. 138. D. A. DORSEY

RATHAMIN rath'ə-min (1 Macc. 11:34). *See* RAMAH 2.

RATHUMUS rə-thōō'məs (1 Esd. 2:16f., 25, 30, AV). *See* REHUM 2.

RAVEN [Heb. *'ōrēḇ*] (e.g., Gen. 8:7); NEB also CROW, MAGPIE, omits (Cant. 5:11); [*ḥōreḇ* (emended to *'ōrēḇ*)] (Zeph. 2:14); AV DESOLATION; NEB BUSTARD; [Gk. *kórax*] (Lk. 12:24). The largest and most powerful member of the crow family (Corvidae), other birds of the group being the jay, rook, jackdaw, fantailed raven, and hooded crow. Biblical citations may refer to the raven (*Corvus*

corax) in particular (Cant. 5:11) or to the crow family in general ("every raven according to its kind," Lev. 11:15; also Dt. 14:14).

The raven is first mentioned in the Flood narrative, where Noah releases one from the ark (Gen. 8:7), presumably to determine the extent to which the flood waters had receded. Being a scavenger, the raven could survive without returning to the ark for food. Many scholars have cited the raven's eating habits (as a scavenger and bird of prey) as the reason for its inclusion on the list of unclean birds (Lev. 11:15; Dt. 14:14), although this does not sufficiently explain the inclusion of non-predatory animals on the list of those that were unclean. *See* ABOMINATION, BIRDS OF; BIRDS OF PREY; BIRDS, UNCLEAN.

Both the OT and Jesus Himself found in the raven an example of God's providential care for His creation (Job 38:41; Ps. 147:9; Lk. 12:24). The raven's impressive size (about 55-65 cm. [22-25 in.] in length) and strength (including a powerful 8-cm. [3-in.] beak) were well known in the ancient world. The bird became a symbol of judgment and desolation: "The eye that mocks a father and scorns to obey a mother will be picked out by the ravens" (Prov. 30:17); "From generation to generation it [Edom] shall lie waste; . . . the owl and the raven shall dwell in it" (Isa. 34:10f.); "the vulture and the hedgehog shall lodge in her [Nineveh's] capitals . . . the raven croak on the threshold" (Zeph. 2:14). In the last passage the RSV follows the LXX (*kórax*) and Vulgate (*corvus*) in reading "raven"; the AV follows the MT (*ḥōreḇ*, "desolation"), while the NEB follows Driver (p. 137), who reads Heb. *ḥaraḇ* ("male bustard").

Some commentators have proposed that *ʿōrᵉḇîm* in 1 K. 17:4, 6 be emended to read *ʿᵃrāḇîm*, "Arabs." Gray (pp. 378-380) defended this emendation despite its lack of versional support, as more congruous with the following episode in which Elijah is fed by the widow of Sidonian Zarephath (vv. 8-24). More recently, Jones (p. 304) has defended the traditional reading on the grounds that it better suits the overall "high miraculous content" of the narratives (cf. also the earlier discussion in Tristram [p. 200] and *EB* [col. 4017]).

Bibliography.–H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible* (10th ed. 1911); G. R. Driver, *PEQ*, 87 (1955), 5-20, 129-140; J. Gray, *I and II Kings* (*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970); G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (1970); G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (*NCBC*, 1984). J. HUDDLESTUN

RAVEN; RAVENING; RAVENOUS; RAVIN. The verb "raven" and noun "ravin" (both < Middle French *raviner*, "to rush, seize by force") do not occur in the RSV. But the RSV does use the part. "ravening" to render Heb. *ṭōrēp* (part. of *ṭārap*, "tear in pieces") in Ps. 22:13 (MT 14; cf. Ezk. 22:25, 27, AV) and *maśḥîṯ* ("destroyer") in Jer. 2:30; and it uses the adj. "ravenous" to render *ṭārap* in Gen. 49:27 (the AV incorrectly uses "ravin" as a verb), *pārîṣ* ("robber," "rapacious one") in Isa. 35:9, and Gk. *hárpax* ("robbing") in Mt. 7:15. The AV also uses "ravenous bird" for Heb. *ʿayiṭ* ("bird of prey") in Isa. 46:11; Ezk. 39:4 and "ravening" as a noun for Gk. *harpagḗ* ("robbery," "greediness"; cf. RSV "extortion") in Lk. 11:35. The noun "ravin" (object ravened) occurs in the AV of Nah. 2:12, representing Heb. *ṭᵉrēpâ* ("prey torn in pieces"; cf. RSV "torn flesh").

The Scriptures frequently use the imagery of predatory animals to describe persons who are wantonly destructive of human lives. *See also* PREY. N. J. O.

RAVINE [Heb. *gay*'] (Josh. 8:11); AV, NEB, VALLEY; [*nāḥal*] (Isa. 7:19); AV VALLEY; [*ʾāpîq*] (Ezk. 6:3; 35:8; 36:4, 6); AV RIVERS; NEB WATER COURSES, VALLEYS, STREAMS. Ravines or wadis are often torrent beds for seasonal streams in Palestine.

RAVISH [Heb. piel of *ʿānâ*] (Jgs. 19:24; 20:5; Lam. 5:11); AV also HUMBLE, FORCE; NEB RAPE; [niphal of *šāḵaḇ*–'be lain with'] (Isa. 13:16; Zec. 14:2); NEB also RAPE; [piel of *lāḥaḇ*] (Cant. 4:9); NEB STEAL. A verb used by the AV and RSV in two different senses: (1) to rape, violate; (2) to overcome with delight.

The general meaning of the Heb. piel of *ʿānâ* is "humble" or "force into submission." In other passages where it denotes forcing sexual relations upon a woman the RSV renders it "humble" (Gen. 34:2; Ezk. 22:10), "humiliate" (Dt. 21:14), "violate" (22:24, 29), or "force" (2 S. 13:12, 14, 22, 32). Dt. 22:25-29 prescribes the punishment for rape: if a man raped a betrothed woman he was put to death; but if he raped an unbetrothed virgin he was required to marry her and prohibited from ever divorcing her. The rape of a Levite's concubine (Jgs. 19:24; 20:5) and the ensuing civil war (cf. also its resolution: the rape of the virgins of Shiloh, 21:16-23) illustrate a chaotic period in Israel's history (cf. v. 25). An inevitable part of war is the widespread raping of women by the invading army (Isa. 13:16; Lam. 5:11; Zec. 14:2).

The piel of *lāḥāḇ*, (cf. *lēḇāḇ*, "heart") has been interpreted in two different ways: privatively ("steal or ravish the heart") and causatively ("hearten") (see comms.). N. J. O.

RAZIS rā'zis [Gk. *Razis*]. An elder of Jerusalem of esteemed reputation, called "father of the Jews" because of his good will toward his fellow Jews (2 Macc. 14:37). A martyrology in 2 Macc. 14:37-46 (cf. 6:18–7:42) relates how Nicanor, a Syrian general hostile toward the Jews, denounced the Jewish patriot Razis and attempted to arrest him. Trapped by Nicanor's troops but determined to avoid ignominious treatment, Razis committed suicide by falling on his own sword, leaping from a wall, and eviscerating himself.

RAZOR [Heb. *taʿar môrâ*]; AV also RASOR, SHAVE (Nu. 8:7); NEB also SHAVE. A sharp implement used for shaving or cutting HAIR.

There seems to be no semantic difference between the two Hebrew words translated "razor." Both are used in contexts describing the Nazirite vow (*taʿar*, Nu. 6:5; *môrâ*, Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11); it was commanded that no razor should touch a Nazirite's head. *Taʿar* is also used figuratively by the prophets to signify destruction (Isa. 7:20; Ezk. 5:1), and by the psalmist to indicate the destructive power of an evil tongue (Ps. 52:2 [MT 4]). Ancient razors seem to have been shaped like knives, usually made of bronze, with a rounded, sometimes decorated, end.

See also BALDNESS; SHAVE.

Bibliography.–W. M. F. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (1917), pp. 49f., plates 60f.; W. F. Albright, *Tell Beit Mirsim, AASOR*, 21-22 (1941-43), 78, plate 61.17. L. G. HERR

READ [Heb. *qārāʾ*–'call,' 'proclaim,' 'read aloud,' also *lēʾmōr* (2 K. 5:6), *lōʾ yāḏaʿ sēper* ("cannot read," Isa. 29:12); Aram. *qᵉraʿ* (Ezr. 4:18, 23; Dnl. 5:7f., 15-17); Gk. *anaginṓskō*–'recognize again,' also pass. of *gráphō* (Mt. 27:37; Jn. 19:19), pass. of *epigráphō* (Mk. 15:26)]; AV also SAYING (2 K. 5:6), BE UNLEARNED (Isa. 29:12), BE WRITTEN (Mt. 27:37; Mk. 15:26), WRITING (Jn. 19:19); NEB also READ ALOUD, READ PUBLICLY,

etc., **READING** [Heb. *migrā'* (Neh. 8:8); Gk. *anágnōsis* (Acts 13:15; 1 Tim. 4:13)]; NEB also WHAT IS READ.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of literacy in the ancient world. Professional scribes passed on their knowledge within their families, and their services were available to those who were illiterate. A peasant's grievance letter from the 7th cent. B.C. uncovered at Meṣad Ḥashavyahu indicates that he made use of a scribe to write his complaint. Most officials were probably literate. One of the LACHISH LETTERS (no. 3) has an official angrily respond to the question, "Can't you read a letter?" with "as Yahweh lives, no man has dared to read a letter for me ever before." At the time of Christ literacy was widespread. With its educational institutions designed to prepare persons for citizenship, Hellenism significantly increased interest in the ability to read. The literacy of Jesus' opponents can be assumed from His frequent counter question to clinch an argument: "Have you not read . . . ?" (Mt. 12:3, 5; 19:4; 21:16, 42; 22:31; Mk. 2:25; 12:10, 26; Lk. 6:3; cf. Lk. 10:26). This question implied that they had a thorough knowledge of the Scripture but had not interpreted it correctly.

The rabbis deemed it a primary duty to teach a son Hebrew so that he might study Torah (Tos. *Hagigah* i.2), and the synagogue developed into an education-centered institution. It was considered shameful for a man to have to be prompted by a slave, woman, or minor in the saying of the Hallel because he had not learned to read (Mish. *Sukkah* iii.10). The Babylonian Talmud claims that schools existed in nearly every town for the education of children (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 21a). If the Talmudic claim may be applied to first-century Palestine, most men would have been able to read the inscription on the cross (Jn. 19:20). Nevertheless, the Dead Sea Scrolls indicate that some persons required a scribe to sign for them.

As a religion of the book, Judaism placed considerable importance on private reading and study (2 Tim. 4:13). Philip was able to overhear the Ethiopian eunuch reading (Acts 8:28, 30) because in ancient times people read to themselves aloud rather than silently. Since the words were not separated from each other in an ancient MS, reading aloud helped to distinguish the words. Some rabbis strongly recommended studying (reading) with a loud voice (T.B. *Erubin* 54a). Augustine thought it noteworthy that Ambrose read to himself silently (*Conf.* vi.3).

Israel had a long history of publicly reading their sacred writings (Ex. 24:7; Dt. 31:11; Josh. 8:34f.; 2 K. 23:2; 2 Ch. 34:30; Neh. 8:3, 18; 9:3; Jer. 36:6, 10, etc.; cf. 2 Macc. 8:23). At the center of synagogue worship was the reading of the Scriptures; lessons were read from the Law, possibly according to some fixed scheme of lections, and from the prophets (Acts 13:15, 27; 15:21; 2 Cor. 3:15). The reading was done by ordinary members of the congregation who were chosen beforehand (Lk. 4:16). An Aramaic paraphrase followed the reading (cf. Neh. 8:3, 8). This custom of reading Scripture aloud in public worship was adopted by the Church (1 Tim. 4:13). In addition to the OT, specifically Christian documents such as the letters of Paul (Col. 4:16; 1 Thess. 5:27; 2 Cor. 1:13; Eph. 3:4) or the work of a prophet (Rev. 1:3) were read in worship so that they came to be equally revered. In the 2nd cent. A.D. this function was delegated to an official reader (Tertullian *De praescr. haer.* xli).

See also EDUCATION; WRITING. D. E. GARLAND

REAIAH rē-ā'yə [Heb. *rᵉ'āyá*–'Yahweh has seen'; Gk. Apoc. *Iaïros*]; AV also REAIA (1 Ch. 5:5), AIRUS (1 Esd. 5:31); RSV Apoc. mg., NEB Apoc., JAIRUS (1 Esd. 5:31).

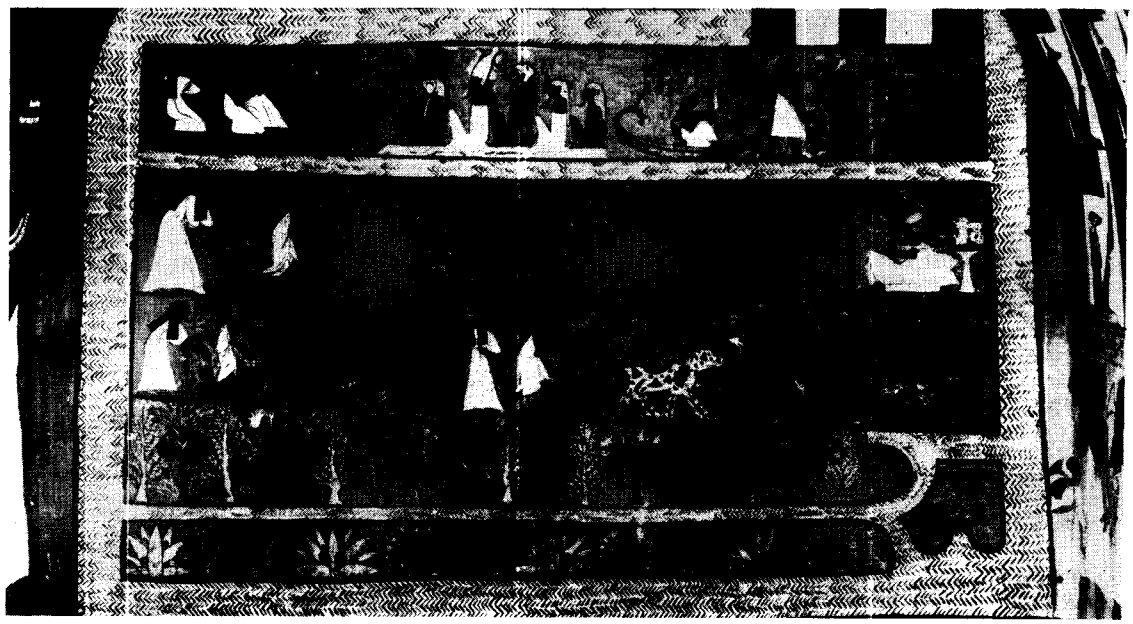
1. A Judahite; son of Shobal and father of Jahath (1 Ch. 4:2; called Haroeh in 2:52).

2. A Reubenite; son of Micah and father of Baal (1 Ch. 5:5).

3. The head of a family of temple servants who returned from Babylonia with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:47 par. Neh. 7:50; 1 Esd. 5:31).

REAP [Heb. *qāṣar*] (e.g., Lev. 19:9; 23:10, 22; Dt. 24:19; Ruth 2:9; 1 S. 8:12; Prov. 22:8); AV also CUT DOWN, HARVEST, MOW; NEB also MOW; [*kālâ*–'finish'] (Lev. 19:9); [Gk. *therízō*] (e.g., Mt. 6:26; Jn. 4:36; 1 Cor. 9:11;

Well painting from the tomb of Sennedjem (no. 1) at Thebes (19th Dynasty). He and his wife are doing various tasks in the afterlife, including reaping in the Yaru Fields (second panel) (Service des Musées, Cairo)



Rev. 14:15); NEB also HARVEST; [*échō*–'have'] (Rom. 1:13); AV HAVE; NEB ACHIEVE. To harvest crops, usually by hand.

Reaping processes in modern villages of the Middle East probably illustrate well the methods used during the biblical period: the harvesters draw a handful of grain stalks together with their SICKLE (sometimes made of flint blades set in wood or bone hafts), grasp the stalks in the other hand, and cut them with the sickle. The handfuls of grain are dropped and picked up by others who gather them into sheaves for transport to the threshing floor. In biblical times GLEANING took place after the removal of the sheaves. Reaping occurred when the grain harvest was ripe, usually in May for barley and June/July for wheat.

The word most frequently translated "reap" in the RSV OT is the verb *qāṣar*. The part. *qôṣēr* is usually rendered "reaper" (Ruth 2:3-7, 14; 2 K. 4:18; Ps. 129:7; etc.). Although *qāṣar* most often refers literally to the harvesting of a crop, in several passages it is used figuratively to express the idea that what one sows one will reap, i.e., there is a correlation between one's deeds and the rewards or punishments that one receives in life (Job 4:8; Prov. 22:8; Hos. 8:7; 10:12f.; cf. Ps. 126:5). In Jer. 9:22 (MT 21) the prophet compares unburied corpses of those slain in war to sheaves left in the fields by reapers.

Harvest imagery is plentiful in the NT. Gk. *therízō*, translated "reap" in all instances except Jas. 5:4 (RSV "harvest"), is seldom used to indicate a literal harvesting of crops (cf. Mt. 6:26 par. Lk. 12:26). It is used frequently, however, in the figurative sense of enjoying the fruits of one's own (or someone else's) labor (e.g., reaping what one has sown, Gal. 6:7-9; 2 Cor. 9:6; cf. Mt. 25:24, 26 par.; Jn. 4:36-38; 1 Cor. 9:11). In Rev. 14:15f. reaping is a metaphor for divine judgment.

See also AGRICULTURE III.A.2; HARVEST.

L. G. HERR

REAR GUARD [Heb. piel of *'āsap*] (Nu. 10:25; Josh. 6:9, 13; Isa. 52:12; 58:8); AV REREWARD; [*'āqēḇ*] (Josh. 8:13); AV "liers in wait"; NEB omits. A military detachment assigned to protect the rear of the main body. The tribe of Dan acted as rear guard for all the tribes of Israel on their journey through the wilderness (Nu. 10:25; *see* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL). "Deutero-Isaiah" envisions the return of the exiles from Babylonia in language that recalls the first Exodus, when Yahweh protected Israel from the Egyptians by a pillar of cloud (Isa. 52:12; cf. Nu. 14:19f.).

REASON; REASONING; REASONABLE. Terms used by the English versions with a variety of meanings.

(1) The most common meaning of the noun "reason" is "cause," i.e., something that explains a fact or event. In the RSV OT "by reason of" translates Heb. *lipnê* (Gen. 41:31; Ex. 8:24), *mipp^{e}nê* (Gen. 47:13), and various prepositions (e.g., *'al, min, b^{e}*). "The reason why" represents *dāḇār* ("matter"; AV "cause") in Josh. 5:4; 1 K. 11:27 (cf. 9:15, AV). In the RSV NT "for this reason" and "the reason why" render Greek expressions such as *diá toúto* (e.g., Jn. 8:47; 10:17; 12:18; Rom. 1:26; Eph. 1:15; etc.), *héneken toútou* (Mt. 19:5; Mk. 10:7; Acts 26:21), *toútou chárin* (Eph. 3:1, 14), and *antí toútou* (5:31). "Reason" has the sense of "motive" in Acts 10:21; 28:20 (Gk. *aitía*; AV "cause"), while in 22:30 "the real reason" represents *tó asphalés* (lit. "certainty" [so AV], "truth").

(2) Another meaning is "sufficient ground (for something)." "Reason" in this sense translates Heb. *ḥinnām* (lit. "undeservedly"; RSV "for no reason," Prov. 3:30); Gk. *aitía* (used as a legal term in Acts 28:18; cf. RSV "charge" in 23:28; "crime" in Jn. 18:38; 19:4, 6), *eikḗ* (lit. "without basis"; RSV "without reason," Col. 2:18), *lógos* (1 Pet. 3:15, AV; RSV, NEB, "to account"), *katá lógon* (Acts 18:14), *arestós* (Acts 6:2, AV; lit. "desirable"; RSV "right"), *kaúchēsis* (lit. "boasting"; RSV "reason to be proud," Rom. 15:17), *kaúchēma* (lit. "object of boasting"; RSV "reason to boast," Gal. 6:4), and *pepoíthēsis* (lit. "confidence, trust"; RSV "reason for confidence," Phil. 3:4).

(3) In the RSV and NEB of Jas. 3:17, "open to reason" (Gk. *eupeithḗs*) means "capable of being persuaded" (cf. AV "easy to be intreated"). True wisdom from above is not obstinate and opinionated but tractable; thus it promotes peace rather than discord (vv. 13-18).

(4) In the RSV of Dnl. 4:34, 36 (MT 31, 33), "reason" renders Aram. *manda^{ʿ}* (lit. "understanding" [so AV v. 34]) and denotes the power to think rationally (cf. NEB "right mind"). It has a similar sense in Wisd. 17:12 (Gk. *logismós*), while in Sir. 37:16 it denotes an abstract quality (*lógos*).

(5) As a verb "reason" can mean simply "think" (e.g., 1 Cor. 13:11, RSV; Gk. *logízomai*, lit. "think" [so AV], "consider"), but more often it means "argue." In the latter sense it is the RSV translation of various forms of Heb. *yāḵaḥ*: the hiphil in Lev. 19:17 (lit. "go to law with," "reprove" [so NEB]; cf. AV Job 13:3; 15:3), the niphal in Job 23:7; Isa. 1:18 (lit. "argue in a legal dispute"; NEB "be vindicated," "argue it out"), and the cognate noun *tôḵaḥaṯ* in Job 13:6 (lit. "protest," "contradiction"; AV, RSV, "reasoning"; NEB "arguments"); *see also* REBUKE. The AV renders "reason" for the niphal of *šāp̄aṭ* in 1 S. 12:7 (RSV "plead"; NEB "put the case") and "reasoning" for Gk. *dialogismós* in Lk. 9:46 (RSV "argument"; NEB "dispute"). In the AV "reason" also renders *dialogízomai, dialégomai, syzētéō*, and *syllogízomai* (Lk. 20:5); *see* ARGUE; DISCUSSION; DISPUTE; QUESTION.

(6) In Rom. 12:1, AV, the phrase "reasonable service" renders Gk. *logikḗ latreía*. *Logikós*, a familiar term in Greek philosophy and mysticism, means "that which conforms to the *lógos*." It is more correctly rendered "spiritual" by the RSV (cf. 1 Pet. 2:2, where *logikós* [AV "of the word"; RSV "spiritual"] parallels *pneumatikós*, "spiritual," in v. 5). *See TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* λέγω; λογικός G. Kittel); E. Käsemann, *Comm. on Romans* (Eng. tr. 1980), pp. 326-29. *See also* SPIRITUAL.

N. J. O.

REBA rē'bə [Heb. *reḇa^{ʿ}*–'fourth part']. One of the five Midianite chieftains slain by the Israelites under Moses. In Nu. 31:8 the five are called "kings" (Heb. *m^{e}lāḵîm*); in Josh. 13:21 they are called "leaders" (*n^{e}śî'îm*, "tribal chiefs") and are associated with Sihon king of the Amorites, who was slain at a different time.

REBECCA rə-bek'ə. *See* REBEKAH.

REBEKAH rə-bek'ə [Heb. *riḇqâ*] (Gen. 22:23; 24:15, etc.); NEB REBECCA; **REBECCA** [Gk. *Rhebekka*] (Rom. 9:10); NEB REBEKAH. The daughter of Bethuel, wife of Isaac, and mother of Jacob and Esau. The meaning of her name is uncertain. It may derive from the root *rbq*, "bind," or, with the consonants reversed, from *bqr*, "cattle."

Rebekah's grandfather Nahor was Abraham's brother (Gen. 22:23; 24:15). When Abraham commissioned his chief servant to find a wife for Isaac, he sent him to his family in upper Mesopotamia (24:1-9). The servant took a solemn oath not to arrange a marriage with a Canaanite woman, nor to bring Isaac back to Abraham's

former home. Isaac's wife, like the other mothers of Israel, was to be a relative rather than a foreigner.

Through prayer Abraham's servant was guided to discover Rebekah among the many women at the well of Nahor's city (24:11-15). He had prayed for a sign, and Rebekah performed the sign. When the servant asked her for a sip of water for himself, she generously offered to water his ten camels as well (vv. 17-21). Her genealogy and her hospitality provided further assurance of the Lord's guidance (vv. 24-27). Furthermore, Rebekah was willing to leave for her new home without delay (vv. 54-61). Her graceful and proper behavior upon meeting Isaac, and his love for her, confirmed the choice (vv. 64-67).

When famine drove Isaac and Rebekah from their own land, they settled in Gerar (26:1, 6). Because of Rebekah's beauty (26:7; cf. 24:16), Isaac feared that the men of Gerar would kill him in order to take her. Thus he adopted Abraham's stratagem and introduced Rebekah as his sister (v. 7; cf. 12:10-20; 20:1-18). This plan exposed Rebekah to the possibility of adultery with the men of Gerar, who would treat her as an unattached maiden (26:10; cf. Ex. 22:16f.); nevertheless, she remained unmolested. The ruse was finally exposed by King Abimelech, who happened to observe Isaac fondling Rebekah (Gen. 26:8). Abimelech reproached Isaac for endangering his subjects through the possibility of inadvertent adultery, but he issued an edict protecting Rebekah and Isaac from all physical attacks (vv. 9-11).

Rebekah was barren for twenty years (cf. 25:20f., 26), but in answer to Isaac's prayer for her she finally conceived (v. 21). The usual discomforts of pregnancy were compounded by the apparent struggle of the twins in her womb, causing her to cry to God in anguish (v. 22). The Lord revealed to her that both of her sons would become ancestors of great nations, but that the descendants of the older son would serve the descendants of the younger (v. 23). This was the first declaration of Jacob's election as the father of God's people Israel (cf. 28:13f.; Rom. 9:10-13). Jacob grew up to be Rebekah's favorite, while Isaac preferred Esau (Gen. 25:28).

As Isaac, dying, prepared to bless the firstborn Esau, Rebekah produced a plan and the means by which Jacob could obtain the blessing for himself by impersonating his brother (27:1-29). She then acted to save Jacob's life and preserve the family by arranging Jacob's flight to her brother Laban in order to escape Esau's murderous hatred (vv. 41-46). She persuaded Isaac that this journey was necessary to prevent Jacob from making the same mistake that Esau had in taking Hittite wives from Canaan (28:15). Jacob, the third generation in the line of God's promise, was to marry within the extended family as Abraham and Isaac had done.

Rebekah was buried in the cave of Machpelah with Sarah and Abraham (49:31; cf. 23:17-20; 25:8-10).

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P. J. SCALISE

REBUKE [vbs.: Heb. *gāʿar*, hiphil of *yāḵaḥ*; Gk. *epitimáō*, *elénchō* (1 Tim. 5:20; Tit. 1:13), *échō élenxin* (2 Pet. 2:16), *epiplḗssō* (1 Tim. 5:1)]; AV, NEB, also REPROVE, etc.; [nouns: Heb. *gᵉʿārâ*, *tôḵēḥâ* (2 K. 19:3; Ps. 39:11 [MT 12]; Isa. 37:3), *tôḵaḥaṯ* (Ps. 38:14 [MT 15]; Prov. 27:5)]; AV, NEB, also REPROOF, etc.

In the RSV "rebuke" is nineteen times the translation of the Hebrew hiphil of *yaḵaḥ* ("decide," "judge," "reprove," "correct") or one of the cognate nouns, *tôḵēḥâ* ("correction") and *tôḵaḥaṯ* ("argument," "reproof"). The terms frequently have a juridical significance (e.g., Gen. 31:42 [cf. v. 37, RSV "decide"]; 1 Ch. 12:17 [MT 18]; Prov. 24:25). This significance is especially clear in figurative descriptions of Yahweh bringing a lawsuit against His covenant-breaking people (e.g., Ps. 50:21 [cf. v. 8, RSV "reprove"]; cf. also Isa. 1:18, niphal of *yāḵaḥ* [RSV "reason"; NEB "argue it out"]; Mic. 6:2, hithpael of *yāḵaḥ* [RSV "contend"]). But because He is Lord and Judge of creation, all of His rebukes — including His corrective discipline — have judicial overtones (cf. Job 13:10; Ps. 6:1 [MT 2]; 38:1 [MT 2]; 39:11 [MT 12]; Prov. 30:6). *See also* DISCIPLINE I.

All fourteen occurrences of Heb. *gāʿar* and most instances of the cognate noun *gᵉʿārâ* are rendered "rebuke" by the RSV. Where the subject is human, rebuking is generally shown to be unjustified (cf. Gen. 37:10; Ruth 2:16; Jer. 29:27) except when it is given by the wise as correction (cf. Prov. 13:1; 17:10; 28:23; Eccl. 7:5). Most often, however, the subject is God, who always has the prerogative to rebuke. In OT poetic and prophetic literature these terms frequently represent His efficacious word of threat or rebuke, through which He displays His power over nature (e.g., shaking the heavens [Job 26:11], drying up the sea [Isa. 50:2; Nah. 1:4], bringing order from watery chaos [Ps. 18:15 (MT 16) par. 2 S. 22:16; Ps. 104:6f.], driving back the locusts [Mal. 3:11]) and over the disobedient (Ps. 119:21; Isa. 51:20; Mal. 2:3), the enemies of Israel (e.g., Ps. 9:5 [MT 6]; 76:6 [MT 7]; 80:16 [MT 17]), and Satan the accuser (Zec. 3:2; cf. Jude 9 [Gk. *epitimáō*]; cf. also Heb. *gāʿar* and Aram. *gᵉʿar* in exorcism formulas in the Qumrân texts, e.g., 1QM 14:10; 1QH 9:11; 1QapGen 20:28).

In the NT "rebuke" is usually the translation of Gk. *epitimáō* (which is a common LXX rendering of Heb. *gāʿar*). As in the OT, most instances of humans rebuking one another are shown to be unjustified (e.g., Mk. 10:13 par., 48 par.; Lk. 19:39), although brotherly correction and congregational discipline are sometimes necessary (Lk. 17:3; 2 Tim. 4:2; cf. 1 Tim. 5:1, 20; Tit. 1:13). Jesus, however, has the divine prerogative to rebuke (cf. Mk. 8:32f. par., where Peter presumptuously rebukes Jesus and is rebuked by Him) and manifests His lordship through His efficacious rebuking of nature (stilling the storm, Mt. 8:26f. par.), sickness (e.g., Lk. 4:39), and evil spirits (e.g., Mt. 17:18 par.; Mk. 1:25-27 par.; cf. Jude 9).

See also REPROOF.

Bibliography.–BDB, pp. 406f.; *DNTT*, I, 572 (G. T. D. Angel); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* ἐπιτιμάω (E. Stauffer); *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "gāʿar" (A. Caquot); *TWOT*, I, 376f. (P. R. Gilchrist). N. J. O.

RECAH rē′kə [Heb. *rēḵâ*; Gk. B *Rhēchab*, A *Rhēpha*] (1 Ch. 4:12); AV, NEB, RECHAH. A place in Judah that has not yet been identified. Some have suggested that it should be read "Rechab" with LXX B, which would provide a link with 2:55; but the suggestion remains very uncertain.

RECEIPT OF CUSTOM (Lk. 5:27, AV). *See* TAX OFFICE.

RECEIVER. The AV translation of Heb. *šōqēl* (part. of *šāqal*, "weigh" in Isa. 33:18 (cf. RSV "he who weighed the tribute"; NEB "he that weighed").

RECHAB rē′kab [Heb. *rēḵāḇ*; Gk. *Rēchab*].

1. A son of Rimmon the Beerothite (2 S. 4:2). Rechab and his brother Baanah were officers in the army of Saul's son Ishbaal (Ishbosheth), who ruled Israel briefly after his father's death (cf. 2:8f.). At this time David was king

of Judah, and the royal houses of the two kingdoms were engaged in a protracted conflict (cf. 3:1). Hoping to ingratiate themselves with David, Rechab and Baanah stole into Ishbaal's house and murdered him in his bed (4:5-8). When presented with his rival's head, however, David expressed outrage at the crime. He ordered Rechab and Baanah executed and had their bodies publicly displayed (vv. 9-12).

2. The ancestor of a group of zealous worshipers of Yahweh known as the RECHABITES, who were committed to a nomadic way of life. According to Jer. 35:11 they sought refuge in Jerusalem during Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah. They claimed descent from Jehonadab (or Jonadab, vv. 6, 8, 10), a fervent supporter of Jehu's revolt against the Omride dynasty in the mid-9th cent. B.C. (2 K. 10:15, 23). Jehonadab is called "the son of Rechab" in 2 K. 10 and Jer. 35, but it is not certain whether this means that Rechab was his father or that he was a more distant ancestor. In the Chronicler's genealogy of Judah, Rechab is associated with the Kenites, a group whose life-style was similar to that of the Rechabites. Thus in 1 Ch. 2:55 three Kenite families from Jabez are identified as being "from Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab." If Hammath is here a personal name, it was most likely derived from the name of the city assigned to Naphtali in Josh. 19:35. Kedesh, another Naphtalite town in the same general vicinity (cf. v. 37), was the home of the Kenite family of Heber (Jgs. 4:11). It has been suggested, however, that *ḥammaṭ* in 1 Ch. 2:55 belongs to a group of kinship terms denoting relationship by marriage (cf. NEB; see S. Talmon, *IEJ, 10* [1960], 410-16). If this is correct, the statement that the three Kenite families were "frtm the *ḥammaṭ*-group of the father of the house of Rechab" indicates that they were among those related to Rechab's father by marriage.

3. Father or ancestor of Malchijah (Neh. 3:14). It is possible that "Malchijah the son of Rechab," who helped Nehemiah rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, was a Rechabite (see **2** above). But it is also possible that he was a non-zrechabite whose father coincidentally had the name Rechab. P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

RECHABITES rek'ə-bīts [Heb. *rēḵāḇîm*] (Jer. 35:2f., 5, 18); **HOUSE OF RECHAB** rē'kab [Heb. *bêṯ rēḵāḇ*] (1 Ch. 2:55); NEB RECHABITES. A clan of Israelites known for their devotion to Yahweh, expressed through adherence to a vow to abstain from wine and maintain a nomadic way of life (Jer. 35:5-10).

In 1 Ch. 2:55 the Chronicler traces the origins of the "house of Rechab" to the KENITES who joined with Israel duringthe wilderness wanderings (cf. Nu. 10:29-32; Jgs. 1:16; 4:17). The interpretation of 1 Ch. 2:55 involves several difficulties, however. First, it is not altogether certain that MT *bêṯ rēḵāḇ* refers to a clan called "Rechabites" (cf. AV, RSV); possibly it should be translated as a place name, "Beth-rechab." Similar expressions in the preceding context suggest this possibility (cf. Beth-zur [v. 45] and Beth-gader [v. 51]). Nevertheless, the translation "Rechabites" cannot be entirely excluded, for the Judahite genealogy of 2:1–4:23 contains several place names that suggest persons as well. Second, in the same verse "Hammath" may also be a place, person, or both (cf. NEB "connected by marriage with"; *see* RECHAB **2**). Elsewhere in the OT, however, the name is used only for a location. The use of the preposition "from" also suggests that it was to be understood as a place. If it refers to the geographical site, it is interesting that in Jgs. 4:11 Heber the Kenite is said to have dwelt in Kedesh of Naphtali, which is in the general vicinity of Hammath (cf. Josh. 19:35-37). Third, the term "father" does not necessarily imply a familial relationship in the strictest sense of the term. It may indicate a guild or professional association, as in other ancient Near Eastern sources (cf., e.g., "son" in 1 K. 20:35; 1 Ch. 9:30; Ezr. 2:42). This interpretation would fit well with the meaning of "Rechab" ("rider" or "charioteer"). Familial connotations cannot, however, be ruled out entirely. The Chronicler's enigmatic statement is best understood as a reference to a group of people who were largely descendants of the Kenites living in Hammath.

Two texts associate the Rechabites with Jehonadab (2 K. 10:15-23; Jer. 35:1-19). In both passages the latter is identified as the "son of Rechab," but this may simply imply membership in the group rather than strict ancestry. Jehonadab belonged to the nobility in Israel (the element *n-d-b* added to the theophoric portion of his name was common for the ruling class during the monarchical period); accordingly, he joined with Jehu in the latter's bloody reform (2 K. 10:15-23). The description of this alliance emphasizes chariotry, subtly conforming to the etymology of "Rechab." Jer. 35 mentions Jehonadab in connection with the Rechabites who had remained faithful to a vow of abstinence from alcohol and from owning permanent dwellings. The prophet Jeremiah commended them for their fidelity and set them in sharp contrast with the rest of the nation (v. 16): the Israelites' disobedience condemned them to exile, but the Rechabites' obedience secured them a permanent place of service (vv. 18f.).

Jeremiah's prophecy does not lack confirmation. The superscription of Ps. 71 in the LXX refers to the descendants of Jehonadab. Moreover, Neh. 3:14 lists one "Malchijah the son of Rechab" as one of the returnees who played a significant role in rebuilding Jerusalem.

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RECHAH rē'kə (1 Ch. 4:12, AV, NEB). *See* RECAH.

RECITE [Heb. *śûm*] (Ex. 17:14); AV REHEARSE; NEB TELL [*dāḇar*] (Dt. 32:44); AV SPEAK; [*sāpar*] (Ps. 50:16); AV DECLARE. In the RSV "recite" refers to recounting in great detail the acts and laws of God. Heb. *śûm* in Ex. 17:14 literally means "put" or "set" the account of the war with Amalek in the ears of Joshua. G. WYPER

RECKLESS [Heb. *pāḥaz*] (Jgs. 9:4); AV "light"; [Gk. *thrasýs*–'arrogant'] (Sir. 4:29); AV HASTY; NEB FORWARD; [*propetés*–'rash'] (Sir. 9:18; 2 Tim. 3:4; AV ILL, HEADY; NEB ADVENTURER, "gossip"; [*tolmērós*–'bold, audacious'] (Sir. 19:3); AV BOLD; [*tolmēpóteros*–'boldly, audaciously'] (Sir. 19:2); AV IMPUDENT; **RECKLESSNESS** [Heb. *paḥᵃzûṯ*] (Jer. 23:32); AV "lightness."

All the RSV uses of "reckless(ness)" describe evil behavior. In Jgs. 9:4 Abimelech hired "worthless and reckless fellows" to help him kill his "brothers" (all seventy of them!), who were his rivals for the "kingship" of Shechem. Jer. 23:32 condemns false prophets who lead the people astray (the only other occurrence of *pāḥaz* is in Zeph. 3:4 [RSV "wanton"], where it is also used of prophets). Both Sir. 4:29 and 9:18 focus on "reckless speech"; the former is an admonition (notice that the second part of the verse concerns deeds) and the latter relates the consequences of such speech — such a one "will be hated." Sir. 19:2f. describe the consequences of consorting with harlots: "Decay and worms will inherit

him, and the reckless soul will be snatched away." Finally, 2 Tim. 3:4 is part of a list of the evil behaviors that will characterize the last times. G. A. L.

RECKON [Heb. *ḥāšaḇ* (qal, Gen. 15:6; niphal, Lev. 25:31; Nu. 18:27, 30; etc.; piel, Lev. 25:27, 50; hithpael, Nu. 23:9), hiphil of *tāmam* ("reckon the amount," 2 K. 22:4), hithpael of *yāḥaš*–'have oneself registered by descent' (1 Ch. 5:7); Gk. *logízomai* (Lk. 22:37; etc.), *psēphízō* (Rev. 13:18)]; AV also COUNT, SUM (2 K. 22:4), IMPUTE, ACCOUNT, etc.; NEB also COUNT, "take into account," TREAT, NUMBER, etc. In Nu. 3:47, 50 the RSV uses "reckon by" to render the Hebrew preposition *bᵉ*, while in Prov. 23:7 it offers the conjectural translation "he is like one who is inwardly reckoning" for Heb. *libbô bal-ʾinmāḵ* (lit. "his heart is not with you"; so AV, NEB).

Hebrew *ḥāšaḇ* denotes thinking that involves both the will and feeling. It can mean "think out," "devise," "invent," or it can refer to making a subjective judgment about something. Only rarely does the OT use it in the commercial sense of counting, valuing (e.g., Nu. 3:50), or settling accounts (e.g., Lev. 25:27, 50; Nu. 18:27, 30).

Secular Greek used *logízomai* in a commercial sense ("put something down to one's account") and also for rational thought ("consider," "draw a logical conclusion"). Thirty-four of the forty NT uses of the verb are in Paul's letters. It occurs eleven times in Rom. 4, where Paul begins his argument in v. 3 by quoting Gen. 15:6: "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness" (cf. Gal. 3:6). Here Paul is using the commercial aspect of the verb to portray a kind of divine bookkeeping whereby faith is entered into the heavenly ledger as righteousness. Abraham is credited, however, for something that he did not actually possess. Paul emphasizes the paradox that God does not credit Abraham for something done (works), but for trust without any accomplishments. Paul equates this with forgiving sins (Rom. 4:6-8). In His grace, God chooses to treat faith as righteousness and so save Abraham and others who believe as he did (vv. 22:25). Jas. 2:23 uses Gen. 15:6 to make a different point, namely, that both faith and works were credited by God to Abraham's account. *See also* IMPUTATION.

In Lk. 22:37 Jesus states that Isa. 53:12, "he was reckoned with transgressors," must be fulfilled in Him. This statement has been interpreted in various ways: as an ironic reference to the disciples with their smuggled swords at the last supper, or as a prediction of the human judgment to be passed on Jesus and His disciples in the near future, or as an allusion to His crucifixion between two brigands (cf. Lk. 23:33; see comms.).

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* λογίζομαι (H. W. Heidland); G. von Rad, "Faith Reckoned as Righteousness," in *Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. tr. 1966), pp. 125-130.

D. E. GARLAND

RECLINE [Gk. *anákeimai*] (Mt. 9:10 mg.; Jn. 13:23, NEB, ASV). *See* MEAL I; TABLE.

RECOMPENSE [Heb. *gāmal*] (2 S. 19:36 [MT 37]); NEB REWARD; [*gᵉmûl*] (Isa. 35:4; 66:6; Jer. 51:56); NEB RETRIBUTION; [*pᵉʿullâ*] (Isa. 40:10; 49:4; 61:8; Ezk. 29:20); AV REWARD, WORK, LABOR; NEB REWARD, WAGES; [*pallēṭ*–'deliverance'] (Ps. 56:7 [MT 8]); AV, NEB, ESCAPE; [*šûḇ*–'turn'] (2 S. 22:21, 25; Ps. 18:20, 24 [MT 21, 25]); NEB REWARD; [*šālēm*–'be complete'] (piel, Ruth 2:12; Job 21:19; Jer. 16:18; 25:14; pual, 18:20); AV REWARD; NEB REPAY, PAY; [*šillēm*] (Dt. 32:35); NEB VENGEANCE; [*šillûm*] (Isa. 34:8; Hos. 9:7); NEB VENGEANCE; [*šillumâ*] (Ps. 91:8); NEB PUNISHMENT; [*tᵉmûrâ*] (Job 15:31); [Gk. *misthós*] (Rev. 22:12). Thus *diallássō* means "change, exchange," also "surpass," connection between deeds and the consequences that flow from them, that deeds carry the seed of their own outcome.

At times recompense is expressed as the wages one has earned. Jer. 18:20 states this view clearly: "Is evil a recompense [i.e., earned wage] for good?" The implied answer is negative; Jeremiah feels unfairly treated by his enemies, who have tried to kill him for preaching God's message. In Ezk. 29:20 God says that He has given Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar as his wages, so the Babylonians would capture and despoil Egypt. In 2 S. 22 (par. Ps. 18) Heb. *šûḇ*, which basically means "turn (around)" or "return," refers to the wages one's deeds will "return," namely, deliverance from one's enemies.

Several texts view recompense negatively (Hos. 9:7; Job 21:19; Ps. 56:7; 91:10; Jer. 16:18; 25:4). Hos. 9:7 parallels Heb. *šillûm* with *piqquḏâ* ("punishment"), interpreting an attack of the Assyrians as God's punishment upon northern Israel for its iniquity. The force of *šillûm* shows that the punishment was not arbitrary, but the outcome of Israel's own deeds. Similarly, Dt. 32:35; Isa. 34:8; and 35:4 parallel recompense (*šillēm, šillûm, gᵉmûl*) with vengeance (*nāqām*). In Dt. 32:35 the connection between Israel's deeds and its coming destruction is clear; God's role is to facilitate the consequences inherent in Israel's wayward, destructive behavior. Jer. 51:56 calls the Lord a God of recompense, in that case the one who would see to it that Babylon was punished for its wanton destructiveness. Both Isa. 34:8 and 35:4 speak of God's vengeance upon Edom, but here the misdeeds of the enemy are less emphasized than the devastation of its land and the concomitant salvation of Israel. God's recompense involves the earned destruction of the wicked and the salvation of the righteous.

These texts suggest that consequences lie inherent in deeds, and God's role was to initiate or facilitate the deserved consequences. The Bible moved beyond this starting point through two developments: a growing awareness of the nature of God and a rising skepticism about the old idea of recompense. Hosea had already distinguished between divine and human nature with regard to covenant fidelity and love (11:1-11), and text such as Isa. 43:10-13 depicted pure monotheism. Mic. 6:8, if not the Decalogue, had already defined ethical behavior in theological terms, and Hab. 2:4 had introduced the faith or faithfulness of the individual into the relationship with God: "The righteous shall live by his faith." The consequence of this development was a growing sense of both the justice and mercy of God.

The books of Ecclesiastes and Job challenged the notion that good deeds result in good fortune for oneself or for one's descendants. In Job 15:31 Eliphaz the Temanite repeats the old wisdom that evil persons will receive bad recompense in this life, and implies that since Job was suffering he must have been guilty. But the book of Job shows that Eliphaz was mistaken. Job was guilty of nothing that would justify his reversals of fortune, his loss of family, and his failing health. The old idea of recompense did not fit his situation.

These two developments came together in the NT, which advanced the doctrine of the afterlife, where one would receive retribution not received in one's lifetime. In Rev. 22:12 *misthós* refers to an everlasting "recompense" one receives from God, which ultimately settles accounts justly. The NT goes even farther by lifting God above the constraints of mere recompense and seeing that He can

move in grace to forgive the penitent sinner. Thus the NT does not surrender the justice of God but allows for His mercy to interact with it.

See also RETRIBUTION; REWARD; VENGEANCE.

Bibliography.–*TDOT,* III, *s.v.* "gāmal" (Seybold); *TDNT,* IV, *s.v.* μισθός κτλ. B.2 (Würthwein), B.3-4 (Preisker); K. Koch, "Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?" in J. Crenshaw, ed., *Theodicy in the OT (Issues in Religion and Theology,* 4; 1983), pp. 57-87. P. L. REDDITT

RECONCILE; RECONCILIATION.

I. Terms
II. OT Background
III. NT Usage
  A. Human Relations
  B. Divine-human Relations
  C. Cosmic Relations
IV. Historical Note

I. Terms.–To the extent that one distinguishes it from atonement, reconciliation is predominantly a NT concept. Four Greek verbs and one Greek noun are used for it: *diallássō, synallássō, katallássō, apokatallássō,* and *katallagḗ.* The first of these occurs in Mt. 5:24, which urges reconciliation with one's brother before one makes an offering on an altar. The second term, found in Acts 7:26, refers to Moses's attempt to resolve a dispute between two Hebrews (cf. Ex. 2:11-15). The third term is a more important word, occurring in crucial passages such as Rom. 5:10 and 2 Cor. 5:18-20, as well as in 1 Cor. 7:11. The strengthened form *apokatallássō* occurs in Eph. 2:16 and Col. 1:20, 22. The Greek noun *katallagḗ* occurs in the great reconciliation passages in Rom. 5 (v. 11) and 2 Cor. (vv. 18f.). Romans 11:15 also uses this noun for the reconciliation of the world effected by the divine rejection of Paul's fellow Jews.

Common to the *allássō* word-group is the sense of "change," "alter," or "exchange" (< *állos,* "another"). Thus *diallássō* means "change, exchange," also "surpass," and then "reconcile". The idea of change or exchange predominates for *katallássō* and *katallagḗ,* although "reconcile (oneself)" and "reconciliation" also occur. The form *apokatallássō* carries no essential difference of sense. Examples of the use of these terms for the concept of reconciliation may be found in classical Greek and the papyri (see *DNTT,* III, 166). These terms can have here a religious bearing (e.g., Sophocles, *Ajax* 744), but play no essential role in the accounts of sacrificial rites (*TDNT,* I, 254), since ancient paganism did not conceive the relation between human beings and deity to be a deeply personal thing, as is the case in the Bible (C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans,* I [*ICC,* 1975], 267). Occasionally the LXX uses the word-group to refer to God's renunciation of wrath or becoming gracious again, as, e.g., *katallássō* in 2 Macc. 1:5; 7:33 (cf. Josephus *Ant.* vi.7.4 [143]; cf. also vii.7.3 [153]; for rabbinic terminology, see SB, III, 519f.). On the other hand, *apokatallássō* is never found prior to Paul, who possibly coined the term and who alone uses *katallagḗ* in the NT.

II. OT Background.–The OT concepts corresponding to reconciliation are discussed under ATONE; thus, a brief summary will suffice here. The problem of a broken relationship between God and the human race raises the need for reconciliation. This is not presented merely as a psychological difficulty, either on the divine side or the human. All that the Bible describes by its many expressions for sin — transgressing the divine command, breaking the covenant, missing the mark, falling away from God — has brought about an objective guilt and alienation which must be covered or removed if fellowship is to be restored. The initiative in this removal and restoration belongs to God. Insofar as persons are the objects of reconciliation, God Himself does not need to be reconciled. Instead those who have revolted against Him and who are thus responsible for their hostility and estrangement must be reconciled to Him. God's wrath may indeed give way to His grace, as 2 Macc. 1:5 suggests, yet this may happen only because His grace does persist. For God Himself in His persistent grace sets aside the cause of alienation, makes provision for forgiveness of the offence, wins the grateful love of those who have broken the relationship, and enables sinners who were at odds with Him to become "at one" with Him again.

III. NT Usage.–A. Human Relations. Three times in the NT reconciliation refers to interpersonal relations. The first is in Mt. 5:24, which imposes upon the guilty party a responsibility to restore the broken relationship with another before coming to God with an offering — something which guilty sinners cannot do in relation to God. The message of 1 Cor. 7:10f. contains a similar obligation, which enjoins wives not to separate from their husbands, but, if they do, to remain single or else to be reconciled to their husbands. In this case, even though the wife may not be guilty, she must take the initiative toward reconciliation; Paul was not merely suggesting that there be a passive readiness for reconciliation. In Acts 7:26 Stephen recounts Moses's attempt to reconcile two quarreling Hebrews (see Ex. 2:11-15). Finally, in Eph. 2:14-16 a person's reconciliation with God carries with it, by implication, the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles, for the dividing wall of hostility between them has been broken down; consequently, one new person has been created in place of the two persons, and both are now reconciled to God in one body through the cross. The lesson in all these passages is that in virtue of God's own reconciling work in Christ, we sinners who accept God's reconciliation should realize that this implies reconciliation with one another in all the estrangements of human life. We are thus to devote ourselves actively to the task of mutual reconciliation.

B. Divine-human Relations. The first and primary reconciliation, however, takes place between humans and God, and in this respect the word-group finds its most important use. Five points come out strongly in the classical passages in Rom. 5 and 2 Cor. 5.

1. God Himself as the Reconciler. God is neither reconciled to the world, nor does He reconcile Himself to it. He reconciles the world to Himself (2 Cor. 5:19). He loves us even while we are sinners, offering His Son so that we might be forgiven and saved from His wrath (Rom. 5:8-10). But God Himself does not change. While He remains implacably opposed to sin, nevertheless, He does not abandon His love for sinners. Instead, He acts to bring about their reconciliation according to an eternal purpose.

2. Restoration of Fellowship with God. The divine work of reconciliation removes a real obstacle and thus causes a real change in the situation. Like the OT, the NT shows that the problem is more than psychological. Sin has incurred guilt and exposed us to judgment. It produces an alienation that cannot be set aside by mere sentiment. The reconciling grace of God is thus an active grace, which remedies the situation by bearing the judgment and setting aside the guilt, by no longer counting the trespasses, and thus by changing the hostility into fellowship (Rom. 5:6-11; 2 Cor. 5:18-21).

3. Reconciliation to God through Jesus Christ. God performed this work of reconciliation particularly through Christ's vicarious sin-bearing on the cross. Christ died

for us and we are now justified by His blood (Rom. 8:5f.). The link with justification is important here, for what takes place is an exchange whereby our sins are imputed to Christ and His righteousness is imputed to us (*see* IMPUTATION). By this exchange the ground of alienation is set aside. That Paul had the meaning "exchange" in mind seems more evident in 2 Cor. 5:18-21, where he says not merely that God reconciled us to Himself through Christ, but quite expressly that God "made him [Christ] to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (v. 20). This vicarious operation lies at the very heart of biblical reconciliation.

4. Change within the Reconciled Person. The work of reconciliation is not just an external transaction whereby sin is pardoned and the reason for hostility removed. For by this action God simultaneously effects a change in sinners so that they no longer desire alienation from God but, rather, reconciliation with God. This aspect comes out in Rom. 5:11, where Paul says, "we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received our reconciliation." 2 Cor. 5:14-21 expresses this even more clearly when it states that those for whom Christ died can no longer live for themselves, for they are a new creation, controlled now by the love of God.

This gospel of reconciliation has a double thrust. First, God has already made reconciliation for us (2 Cor. 5:18). Second, as we receive this message and respond to it, we are reconciled to God (2 Cor. 5:20). Obviously this implies neither that we must make reconciliation for ourselves, nor that the final initiative lies with us. Only on the basis of what God has done, and in entrance into it, can we answer the evangelical summons. Nevertheless, God treats us as persons, not as passive objects. Activating us by the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom. 5:5), He calls for our acceptance of reconciliation. Hence the person is changed as well as the situation, and a personal relationship is again established. Since we are thus made active in reconciliation we can now initiate reconciliation in our relations with others, either seeking forgiveness or extending it.

5. Ministry of Reconciliation. Believers who respond to the call for reconciliation are enlisted into God's reconciling work in what Paul regards as the divinely given "ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:18). He does not imply, of course, that we can in any sense continue, let alone augment, God's own reconciling work through Christ. Paul's use of the aorist tense to describe this work in Rom. 5 and 2 Cor. brings out strongly its character as a once-for-all and finished work. "Reconciling" (aorist part. of *katallássō* in 2 Cor. 5:18) does not mean that reconciliation as the divine exchange, or the divine changing of a hostile situation, is an incomplete and ongoing work to which we can add or in which we can share. Nevertheless, at the personal level, where it involves the changing of sinners into believers through God's word and Spirit, reconciliation does still continue as a divine ministry — the ministry of the Holy Spirit — in which believers themselves both can and should participate. At this point God Himself gives to those who receive His work the ambassadorial privilege (v. 20) of representing Him as He appeals everywhere to sinners to enter into His reconciliation. The ministry is ultimately God's, discharged by the Holy Spirit, who alone can pour God's love into the heart and make us new creatures. Yet God chooses and calls the reconciled to be His agents in this ministry. Thus believers work not only for reconciliation in interpersonal relations, but they also bear responsibility as subsidiary "reconcilers" — through the ministry of the gospel — in the divine-human relationship.

C. Cosmic Relations. A question arises whether reconciliation does not have a wider than human reach, especially in Col. 1:20. While *apokatallássō* bears essentially the same sense as *katallássō*, its use in Ephesians and Colossians does have distinctive features. Thus Christ, as well as God or the fulness of God, is the subject of reconciliation (Eph. 2:14, 16; Col. 1:22). Eph. 2:12-16 demonstrates more clearly than any other NT passage the human implications of reconciliation by applying it to the Gentile alienation from Israel and estrangement from the promise. It concludes that reconciliation in Christ has ended the hostility between Jews and Gentiles. Perhaps a special use of "all things" in Col. 1:20 goes beyond the (human) world of 2 Cor. 5:19 and Rom. 11:15 and embraces all creation, thus exhibiting God's reconciliation as a total cosmic restoration. Many commentators suggest this because of the cosmic position assigned to Christ in Col. 1:15-17, 20, the cosmological expectation of Rom. 8:19-23, the promise in 1 Cor. 15:24-28 of God's universal reign, and the visions in Rev. 21 of a new heaven and a new earth; however, equating reconciliation with the making of peace through the blood of Christ and the reconciling to God of those "who once were estranged and hostile in mind" (vv. 21f.), should prevent a hasty identifying of reconciliation (at least in the narrow sense) with God's certain establishment of order or harmony throughout the cosmos. At the most, Col. 1:20 seems to imply not that Christ's vicarious work has accomplished universal reconciliation, but that because of His work harmony will be restored to the whole creation, with Christ, the One for and to whom it was created, being its firstborn. The key to this restoration is the reconciliation of sinners by Christ's substitutionary, vicarious death.

IV. Historical Note.—For a full discussion of the history of the doctrine of reconciliation *see* ATONE III. The discussion below focuses upon the concept of "change" or "exchange" in reconciliation.

A. Early Church. In the first Christian writings the plainest exposition of reconciliation as an exchange occurs in the apologetic *Epistle to Diognetus*. This work points out that we merited only punishment and death, but God Himself took the burden of our sins and gave His Son as a ransom — "the holy for the unholy, the innocent for the guilty, the righteous for the unrighteous, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal" — in the "sweet exchange," so that our sinfulness might be hidden in Him, and His righteousness might justify us (9:1-5). Toward the end of the 2nd cent. Irenaeus developed a similar thought under the rubric of recapitulation. Having described Christ as a ransom wherewith God justly rescues us from alien bondage, he showed that Christ representatively reversed Adam's disobedience: "the sin of the first-formed" being "amended by the chastisement of the First-begotten" (*Adv. haer.* i.20.2f.). Informing this presentation was a concept of incarnational exchange: the Mediator, being God and man, established concord by presenting man to God while revealing God to man (iii.18.7).

An important line of patristic thinking was thus established which is readily summarized in the thesis that God became human so that we might become divine. Athanasius, e.g., viewed reconciliation in this way when he showed how God, fulfilling His original purpose in spite of human sin, met the apparently conflicting claims of His justice and goodness by sending the incarnate Word to identify Himself with us, and us with Him, and hence vicariously to carry our sin on the cross and with His resurrection to restore to us the forfeited incorruption (*De Incarnatione Verbi Dei* 5-9). Augustine in the West repeated the common slogan "God became man that man might become God"

(*Sermon* 13), but he also brought out a different aspect when he considered the exchange in relation to justification, in which "God's righteousness is that wherewith he clothes man when he justifies him" (*De Spiritu et Littera* 15). Augustine also had a keen sense of God's power to change sinners: "The gift of the Holy Spirit confers a delight in God's law which makes its fulfillment possible" (22ff.).

B. Middle Ages. In general, medieval theology retained a strong sense of the element of exchange in reconciliation in virtue of Christ's mediatorial office. This thought underlay Anselm's careful study of the rationale of the atonement in *Cur deus homo?* It also came to expression in the discussions of Aquinas, who based his whole interpretation of Christ's work as merit, satisfaction, sacrifice, and redemption on the fact that Christ as both God and man could and did take our place in vicarious death and resurrection (*Summa Theol.* 3 qu.1 art.2; qu.48 art.1-4). Duns Scotus provided a useful summary of what took place when he referred to a "real exchange" consisting of the expulsion of sin and the infusion of grace (*Sententiarum* 4 dist. 16 qu.2 n.6).

The change in sinners, of course, found an ardent advocate in Abelard. Other theologians made a place for this aspect, e.g., Aquinas, who quoted Augustine to the effect that one aim of the incarnation was to arouse our love in the highest degree (*Summa Theol.* 3 qu.1 art.2). Abelard, however, argued that this change to grateful love in us, stimulated by the display of God's love in the work of Christ, constitutes the heart of reconciliation. The hostility of sinners, rather than Satan's rule or God's justice, was for him the real obstacle to fellowship with God. Expectation of the gift of grace in Christ had already removed this obstacle in OT believers, and the reality of the grace kindled a love in believers which in and of itself meant reconciliation (*On Romans* 3:19ff.).

C. Reformation. The emergence of justification by faith as a basic principle of the Reformation necessarily carried with it an emphasis upon the element of exchange in reconciliation. The very word "imputation" suggests exchange, e.g., the imputing of our sins to Christ and of Christ's righteousness to us. The idea of exchange also influenced Luther's conviction that believers are both righteous and sinful simultaneously, sinful in their own actuality but righteous by the imputation of a merciful God (*Luther's Works* (55 vols., 1955-), XXV, 258). This imputation is not merely verbal, of course, for it rests on Christ's vicarious work whereby sin is covered and all of our good is "outside us" in Christ (p. 267). Not surprisingly, then, Luther could quote with approval Scotus's reference to "one exchange" (p. 284). Elsewhere in his discussion of the Lord's Supper Luther used similar terminology when he spoke about the "interchange of Christ's blessings and our misfortunes" (*Luther's Works*, XXXV, 58), and the "exchange or blending of our sin and suffering with the righteousness of Christ and His saints" (p. 60).

Calvin displayed a similar appreciation of the element of exchange when he equated the righteousness of faith with our reconciliation to God. Sin constituted a division between us and God, but Christ's expiatory life and death restored us to grace, and reunited us to God through the imputation of Christ's righteousness to us (*Inst.* 2, 11, 21ff.). Commenting on 2 Cor. 5:18ff., Calvin stressed God's merciful removal through Christ's mediation of the hostility between God and us. The idea of a change of place influenced the confessional statements in the Belgic Confession Art. 20 and Scots Confession Art. 17f.

D. Modern Period. During the post-reformation era five trends may be discerned relative to the concept of reconciliatory change or exchange.

1. Traditional View. The established view of Christ's vicarious work continued to be taught in both Protestant and Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The exchange element came to clear expression in a statement like that of Bernard of Clairvaux (in the hymn "O Sacred Head, Now Wounded"): "Mine, mine was the transgression, But thine the deadly pain."

2. Placation View. A tendency developed in some circles to see a change in God. Already the Thirty-Nine Articles had spoken rather loosely of Christ dying to reconcile His Father to us (Art.2) (cf. Augsburg Confession Art.3; Second Helvetic Art. 11). In the 17th cent. Heidegger noted, "from a condemning Judge God has become a Judge who pardons" (*Corp Theol.* XIX,22). The idea thus crept in that the angry Father is placated by the merciful Son according to an intertrinitarian pact. In general, however, a strong sense remained that the initiative in reconciliation lay with the whole trinity and not just with a single person.

3. Arminian View. Arminian theology severed the objective side of rconciliation (the exchange) from its psychological side (the change in us). In this view the former, as God's work, forms the necessary precondition, but reconciliation itself comes only with the latter, which is our own work in response to the gospel ministry. G. Thomasius took a similar line in his *Christi Person und Werk* (III, p. 206) when he differentiated the restoration of fellowship in Christ, which creates the possibility, from the ongoing mediation, which effects the actuality.

4. Abelard's View Reconsidered. The theory of Abelard found new champions, notably H. Rashdall in *Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology* (1920). Rashdall sternly rejected the whole concept of exchange and argued for a loving and exemplary obedience in life and death.

5. Barth's View. In contrast, Karl Barth offered perhaps the most sustained and systematic exposition in all theological history for reconciliation as exchange (*CD*, IV, 1-3). Christ as Son of God and Priest took our place: the just Judge judged for us, securing our justification (IV, 1). Christ as Son of Man and King, the Royal Man, lived a holy life for us awakening us in Himself to santification (IV, 2). Christ as God-man and Prophet pursues the ministry of reconciliation by the Holy Spirit, the true Witness, summoning us to our vocation (IV, 3). By this comprehensive vicarious work our relationship to God undergoes a great change — a change within us — our conversion. As Barth said in *Learning Christ through the Heidelberg Catechism* (Eng. tr., repr. 1981), p. 68: "The *work of Jesus Christ* [is] redemption through righteousness . . ., reconciliation, *katallagē*, exchange." Similarly he said in exposition of 2 Cor. 5:19-21 (*CD*, IV, 1, 75): "I do not see how in this context we can avoid going back to the basic meaning of *katallassein*. The conversion of the world to God . . . took place in the form of an exchange, a substitution . . . This exchange is what happened in Christ (v. 21)."

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 145-176; *IDB*; *LCC* I; III; VIII; X; XX; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀλλάσσω κτλ. (Büchsel).

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RECORD [(verbs) Heb. *kāṯaḇ*–'write' (Dt. 28:61; 1 Ch. 24:6; Neh. 12:22; Est. 9:20; Isa. 4:3), niphal of *kāṯaḇ*– 'be written' (Ezr. 8:34; Est. 2:23; 9:32; Ps. 102:18 [MT 19]), hithpael infinitive of *yāḥaś*–'be enrolled, have oneself enrolled in a genealogy' (1 Ch. 4:33), hophal of *ʿālâ*–'be inserted in a book' (2 Ch. 20:34), *sāpar*–'write up' (Ps. 87:6)]; AV also WRITE, GENEALOGY (1 Ch. 4:33), MENTION (2 Ch. 20:34), COUNT (Ps. 87:6), etc.; NEB also REGISTER (1 Ch. 4:33), WRITE, INCLUDE (2 Ch.

20:34), PRESERVE (Est. 9:32), ENROLL (Isa. 4:3), etc.; [(nouns) Heb. *dāḇār* (1 Ch. 4:22); Aram. *diḵrôn* (Ezr. 6:2), *doḵān* (Ezr. 4:15)]; AV also THING (1 Ch. 4:22); NEB also MEMORANDUM (Ezr. 6:2), etc.

The recording and preserving of documents — political, economic, religious, etc. — was basic to all ancient Near Eastern cultures (*see* LIBRARY; SCRIBES). Among the records kept by the Israelites were the important OT accounts of Yahweh's covenant dealings with His people (Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 10:4; 28:61; 31:9; etc.). Other documents or memoranda include the annals or chronicles of the kings (1 Ch. 24:6; 2 Ch. 20:34; Ezr. 2:23), genealogical lists (1 Ch. 4:22, 33; Ezr. 4:15; 6:2), inventories of temple treasure (Ezr. 8:34), and historical traditions giving rise to religious practice (Est. 9:20, 32).

The use of the phrase "now the records are ancient" in 1 Ch. 4:22 calls attention to the antiquity of the genealogical traditions. This particular catalog of names proves interesting because it provides background information about the vocation and geographical locations of the descendants of Shelah (4:22f.). The translation "genealogical record" is appropriate in 4:33, since the verse conveys the idea that the descendants of Simeon preserved an official genealogy (cf. J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles* [*AB*, 1965], p. 25). Elsewhere the RSV often translates this hithpael infinitive of *yāḥaś* as "enrolled by [or in the] genealogy" (cf. 1 Ch. 5:1; 7:5, 7, 9, 40; 9:22; etc.).

According to Ps. 87:6 Yahweh's interest in Zion is such that He keeps a careful register of all its inhabitants, enrolling all those who profess Him (see A. Weiser, *Psalms* [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1962], p. 582). This verse calls to mind several OT passages that mention the "book of life" in which Yahweh has recorded the living or righteous ones (cf. Ex. 32:32f.; Ps. 69:28; 139:16; Isa. 4:3; Dnl. 12:1).

The "book of the records of your fathers" (Ezr. 4:15) probably refers to official archival memoranda from the Babylonian kings that contained the history of Jerusalem (although records of a Judahite rebellion against Persia cannot be ruled out here; cf. J. Morgenstern, *HUCA*, 27 [1956], 101-179). Since the Persian kings considered themselves the legitimate heirs of the Babylonian regime, they would have had access to these records in tablet or scroll form in the royal archives (see D. J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* [*NCBC*, 1984], p. 81). In Ezr. 6:2 Aram. *diḵrôn* (cf. 4:15) is regarded by many scholars as the first word of the document itself and is often translated "memorandum" (so NEB) because of its connection with Heb. *zkr*, "remember," although the nature of the document is more official than the term suggests (cf. F. C. Fensham, *Ezra and Nehemiah* [*NICOT*, 1982], p. 86).

See also RECORDER. A. E. HILL

RECORDER [Heb. *mazkîr* (2 S. 8:16; 20:24; etc.)]; NEB SECRETARY OF STATE; [Gk. *(ho) tá prospíptonta*–'one (with) the news' (1 Esd. 2:17 [LXX 13]), *(ho) gráphōn tá prospíptonta*–'one who writes the news' (2:25 [LXX 19])]; AV STORYWRITER. A high-ranking official in the royal court or satrap's office.

Various suggestions have been made about the meaning of Heb. *mazkîr* (e.g., see *TDOT*, IV, 75f.). The term is the hiphil part. of *zāḵar*, which in the causative can mean "call to mind." "report," or "proclaim." Most likely *mazkîr* does not denote the king's archivist, since most of the passages in which it occurs mention also a *sōpēr* ("scribe"). Some scholars have suggested "herald" as a better translation than "recorder." De Vaux observed that an exact equivalent of the Hebrew term is found in the Egyptian title *whm.w* ("he who repeats, calls, announces"), which designated the pharaoh's official spokesman or herald, i.e., the officer who reported to the pharaoh on the people's concerns, communicated the pharaoh's commands to the people, was in charge of palace ceremonies, etc. In Israel, likewise, the *mazkîr* was one of the king's highest ranking officials. The office was held by Jehoshaphat during the reigns of David and Solomon (2 S. 8:16; 20:24; 1 K. 4:3; 1 Ch. 18:15). Joah the son of Asaph, *mazkîr* under King Hezekiah, was one of three officials who represented the king in meetings with the envoys of King Sennacherib of Assyria (2 K. 18:18, 37; Isa. 36:3, 22). And Joah the son of Joahaz was one of three officials sent by King Josiah to supervise payment of those who repaired the temple (2 Ch. 34:8).

In 1 Esd. 2:17, 25 (LXX 13, 19) Gk. *ho (gráphōn) tá prospíptonta* is the LXX translation of Aram. *bᵉʿēl-ṭᵉʿēm* (Ezr. 4:8f., 17), which is rendered "commander" by the RSV (but cf. AV "chancellor" and NEB "high commissioner"). The Greek rendering (followed by Josephus in *Ant.* xi.2.1f. [22, 26]) seems to indicate one who chronicles events. Rehum appears to have been a high official who was responsible for the correspondence of the satrapy.

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RED. *See* COLOR.

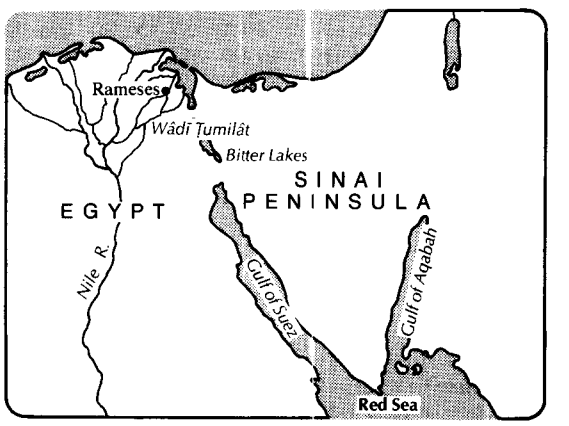
RED DRAGON. *See* DRAGON; REVELATION, BOOK OF IV.B.

RED HEIFER. *See* HEIFER, RED.

RED HORSE. *See* HORSE, RED; REVELATION, BOOK OF IV.A.

RED SEA [Heb. *yam sûp*; Gk. *hē erythrá thálassa* or *thálassa erythrá*, also *eschátē thálassa*–'farthest sea' (1 K. 9:26)]; NEB also SEA (Ps. 136:15), NEB mg. SEA OF REEDS. The body of salt water between Northeast Africa and the Arabian peninsula whose northern end, according to the OT, the Israelites crossed en route from Egypt to Mt. Sinai.

I. Meaning of the Designation
  A. Three Locations
  B. Two Problems
II. Crossing of the Sea
  A. Its Location: "Red" or "Reed" Sea?
  B. Its Nature
III. In Extra-Biblical History
IV. Description



I. Meaning of the Designation.–A. Three Locations. In the OT the name "Red Sea" is applied to three bodies of water. First, it refers to the Gulf of Aqabah, the northeast arm of the modern Red Sea, which separates the Sinei peninsula from Saudi Arabia. In antiquity this gulf formed the southeast border of Israel (Ex. 23:31) and the southwest border of Edom (Jer. 49:21). The "route of the Red Sea" evidently was a well-known highway that passed just N of the gulf en route from Kadesh-barnea to Edom (Nu. 14:25; 21:4; Dt. 1:40; 2:1). From the gulf port of Ezion-geber (modern Elat) Solomon, with the help of King Hiram of Tyre, launched a fleet of merchant ships whose three-year voyages along the African and Arabian coasts brought back gold, silver, ivory, almug wood, precious stones, and even apes and peacocks (1 K. 9:26ff.; 10:11f., 22).

The term also describes the Gulf of Suez, the northwest arm of the Red Sea between the Sinai peninsula and Egypt. Into its waters Yahweh swept the locust plague from Egypt (Ex. 10:19), and along its eastern shore Israel traveled toward Mt. Sinai after leaving Egypt (Nu. 33:10f.). The Biblical writers probably used the same term for both these gulfs because they knew them to be branches of the same body of water.

Most importantly, the term designates the body of water that the Israelites miraculously crossed on dry land and in which the pursuing Egyptians drowned (Ex. 13:18; 15:4, 22; Dt. 11:4; Josh. 2:10; 4:23; 24:6; Neh. 9:9; Ps. 106:7, 9, 22; 136:13, 15; Acts 7:36; He. 11:29). The precise location of this body of water is disputed and requires some discussion below (II.A). For a description of the possible route followed by the Israelites after the crossing, *see* EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE.

B. Two Problems. 1. Terminology. Since the Bible uses the same term for all three locations, one might conclude that the Israelites crossed one of the two gulfs. The Gulf of Aqabah is excluded from consideration, however, because the biblical data clearly locate the crossing somewhere between Egypt and the Sinai peninsula. The traditional site was the north end of the Gulf of the Suez, despite the great distance from Israel's starting point and the likelihood, therefore, of its being overtaken by Pharaoh. The LXX implies acceptance of this view by its choice of *erythrá thálassa,* the same term that classical writers like Herodotus used for the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. English translations apparently base their rendering of Heb. *yam sûp* on the LXX and Latin versions.

In the last century, however, Heb. *yam sûp* has been understood literally as "sea of reeds" ("sea" connoting any body of water, e.g., lake, river, marsh; *see* SEA). This view became popular with the discovery among Egyptian papyri of a word *twf* ("papyrus"), thought to be cognate to Heb. *sûp* (cf. "reed" in Ex. 2:3, 5; Isa. 19:6), and the term *pa-twf* ("land of marshes"), used in reference to the northeast Nile Delta. Many scholars concluded that the writer of Exodus borrowed a well-known Egyptian geographical term to describe the crossing point and that a location at the Gulf of Suez was automatically excluded since reeds grow only in fresh water. Scholars have therefore sought to locate the "Sea of Reeds" among one of the several lakes that dot the Isthmus of Suez from the gulf to the Mediterranean.

This view, however, is not as certain as its popularity would indicate. First, the Egyptian term has the linguistic determinative sign for "land" or "region" but not "lake" or "sea." This casts grave doubt on the assumption that the Egyptian "*land* of marshes" equals the Hebrew "*Sea* of Reeds," and it eliminates the necessity of locating *yam sûp* in the northeast Delta. Second, *sûp* seems to mean "seaweed" in Jonah 2:5 (MT 6) (cf. most recent translations), and this suggests the possibility that *sûp* is a generic term ("underwater plant growth") including both marine and freshwater vegetation. This removes the necessity of limiting *yam sûp* to bodies of fresh water. Third, the use of *yam sûp* to refer to three bodies of water seems to imply a geographical connection between them. Nothing could account for the transference of the name *yam sûp* from a lake to the Red Sea unless that lake originally joined the latter.

Two recent alternative explanations take *sûp* to mean "extinction" (Batto, appealing to Jonah 2:5 [MT 6]) or "end" (Snaith, repointing it to *sôp*). In the former case the term would signify "sea of extinction" (i.e., the distant sea fraught with mythological connotations of chaos), in the latter, "sea of unknown extent" (cf. LXX of 1 K. 9:26, "farthest sea"). There is, however, no certain Hebrew use of *sûp* as "end," although the cognate verb does mean "come to an end, cease" (*BDB,* p. 692f.). Further, *sôp* is an Aramaic word introduced into Hebrew at a very late date and hence is unlikely to have been used in the Exodus passages. Also, it probably means "seaweed" (not "extinction") in Jonah 2:5 (MT 6), whatever the mythological background of the passage.

In sum, the meaning and location of *yam sûp* are unclear. The term may mean "sea of reeds," "farthest sea," or another meaning unknown to us. It may refer to different branches of a single, connected body of water or to two separate bodies. Only the consideration of other biblical geographical information below will clarify the matter.

2. Literary Sources. Scholars have long observed that the prose account of the Red Sea episode (Ex. 14) consistently speaks only of the "sea," while "Red Sea" occurs only in an alleged editorial addition (13:18), the poetic Song of Moses (15:4), and a prose postscript to the Song of Miriam (15:22). Although they disagree about details, many scholars agree that Ex. 13–15 may be divided up among the J, E, and P sources. Using this source division in an approach called "tradition history," some scholars have claimed that the escape from Egypt and the sea crossing were originally independent traditions that were brought together later to form the present text. The motive for joining them was either the popular influence of the postexilic passover service (Childs; cf. Coats) or the desire to attribute to Yahweh the same mastery over the sea (i.e., mythological chaos) that the Canaanite myth attributed to Baal (Eakin). This approach implies that the present text reflects not real historical events but editorial activity that either combined different reports of the same event or arbitrarily linked unrelated theological traditions. Such an approach places in doubt the accuracy of the geographical terms in Ex. 13–15, making futile any attempt to locate the Red Sea.

Such views, however, have weaknesses that render them unnecessary. First, the escape from Egypt and the sea crossing are so inextricably dependent upon each other (i.e., each must presuppose the other's existence to make any sense) as to make any assumption of independent circulation improbable (see Patrick). Second, the lack of a consensus concerning the literary sources behind the present text calls into question the validity of the whole attempt to isolate sources. Finally, to imply, as these views do, that the biblical writers suffered from geographical ignorance and a somewhat cavalier disregard for accuracy is open to serious question. It seems better to reckon with the biblical data under the assumption that the writers knew their geography.

II. Crossing of the Sea. A. Its Location: "Red" or "Reed" Sea? Exodus 13:17f. provides the first clue to the sea's location. It quickly eliminates one alternative by reporting that God did not lead Israel by "the way of the land of the Philistines," despite its nearness (v. 17). This road, no doubt, was the heavily traveled and highly fortified highway that ran from the Egyptian border fortress at Sile (near modern Qantarah) along the southern shore of Lake Sirbonis and the Mediterranean coast to Gaza. God purposely forbade that route to avoid an almost certain military skirmish that might send the fearful Israelites scurrying back to Egypt. Instead God chose a more roundabout route, "the way of the wilderness, the *yam sûp*" (v. 18). The last two words are appositional; rather than being an editorial addition, they probably specify which direction the people were to head once they reached the wilderness (i.e., south rather than north).

According to Ex. 12:37 the Israelites first went "from Rameses to Succoth." Scholarly consensus identifies Rameses with Qanṭîr in the northeast Delta, although Tanis is also a possibility. Scholars also agree that SUCCOTH (Heb. "booths"?) lies somewhere in the region of Wâdī Ṭumilât SE of Qanṭîr, perhaps modern Tell el-Maskhûṭah since its ancient Egyptian name *tkw* resembles Succoth. This was, indeed, the doorway to the desert through which, according to Egyptian sources, slaves escaped (*ANET*, p. 259). Jacob and his sons may have originally entered Egypt this way also. From here the people camped at ETHAM "on the edge of the wilderness" (13:20), a place of unknown location but no doubt at the east end of the Wâdī Ṭumilât near Lake Timsâḥ.

Finally, God surprisingly ordered Israel to "turn back" and camp "in front of Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, in front of Baal-zephon" (Ex. 14:2). The purpose was to deceive Pharaoh into thinking that they were either lost or unknowingly on a dead-end course and thereby to entice him to meet defeat in chasing them (vv. 3f.). The question is, did the Israelites turn N or S? Some scholars favor a turn N, identifying Migdol (Heb. "tower") with modern Tell el-Ḥeir 13 km. (8 mi.) S of Pelusium near the Mediterranean (cf. the same site in Jer. 44:1; 46:14; Ezk. 29:10; 30:6), and identifying Baal-zephon with Tell Defneh near the southwest side of Lake Menzaleh (since Baal was worshiped there in antiquity). This results in a northern location of the crossing, somewhere along the southern end of Lake Menzaleh or a marshy extension of it (Hyatt). A more extreme form of this "northern theory" identifies Baal-zephon with Ras Kasrun, *ca.* 40 km. (25 mi.) E of modern Mohammediyeh and places the crossing on the slender sandy strip that separates Lake Sirbonis from the Mediterranean (Eissfeldt, Cazelles).

Though an attractive possibility, this theory suffers from several weaknesses. First, to head this far N would take the Israelites not only close to the "way of the land of the Philistines" but also into the most heavily fortified area of Egypt's eastern border — in conflict with the biblical statement that both that way and warfare were to be avoided. Further, the distances from Succoth to the other sites are too great to accord with the picture of reasonable proximity in Ex. 14:2 and Nu. 33:7. Finally, the fact that Baal was also worshiped at Memphis, further S along the Nile, suggests that he may have been worshiped elsewhere in Egypt and undercuts the argument that a site bearing his name must have been located near the sea.

The "central theory" offered by other scholars (Cole, Haran) locates the crossing at some part of either Lake Timsâḥ, just NE of the eastern mouth of Wâdī Ṭumilât, or *ca.* 24 km. (15 mi.) N at Lake Balaḥ. This theory is certainly a possibility, since it avoids the drawbacks of the northern one, but it suffers from an imprecise identification of Migdol, PI-HAHIROTH, and Baal-zephon.

On the other hand, several things favor the probability of the "southern theory," that Israel turned S from Etham. First, an Egyptian papyrus mentions "Migdol of Seti-Merneptah" S of Wâdī Ṭumilât, and this may be the Migdol of Ex. 14:2. Second, another papyrus lists four places called Migdol near the same wadi (not the Mediterranean coast) and possibly calls one "of Baal-zaphon." Third, a model letter from *ca.* 1200 B.C. written probably by a border official at *Ṯeku* (i.e., Succoth) for the instruction of schoolboys, tells of his pursuit of two runaway slaves in a southerly direction past places with names similar to and in the same order as Succoth, Etham, and Migdol. Finally, since the Bitter Lakes (*ca.* 48 km. [30 mi.] S of Wâdī Ṭumilât) were in antiquity joined to the Gulf of Suez (i.e., the Red Sea), they also could rightly be called Red Sea. This would resolve the terminological difficulty discussed above. In sum, it is likely that the Israelites crossed not the "Reed" Sea but the "Red" Sea, specifically the southern end of the Bitter Lakes or the northern end of the Gulf of Suez. To the objection that such locations are too far S for the Israelites to have avoided Egyptian pursuit successfully, it can be pointed out that the biblical account gives no time frame between Pharaoh's granting them permission to leave and his attempt to recapture them.

B. Its Nature. According to the OT, Yahweh drove the sea back with a strong east wind so that the Israelites walked through a dry strip lined with walls of water (Ex. 14:21f.). Panicked somehow by Yahweh and having difficulty maneuvering their chariots, the Egyptians fled, only to be drowned when Yahweh returned the waters to their original state (vv. 23-28). The problem this account poses is two-fold: first, to determine how the waters separated, and second, to explain how the spot was deep enough to drown the Egyptians yet shallow enough to be easily parted.

Some scholars believe the miraculous sea crossing to be an embellishment of an Israelite military victory won by tricking the Egyptians into a muddy flat at night and then mowing down the bogged-down charioteers with arrows (Hay). The biblical account knows nothing of such archers, however, and it seems unlikely that the experienced Egyptians would fall for such a ruse in territory well-known to them. Others who retain the sea crossing as original attribute it to a tidal wave caused either by the eruption of a volcano or the impact of a comet hitting the earth. While certainty eludes us, God likely used natural means — perhaps a combination of tidal activity and the well-known phenomenon of strong winds temporarily rearranging bodies of water (Dayan, Horn) — but with miraculous timing and intensity.

III. In Extra-Biblical History.-The Red Sea played a significant role in history long before the Exodus. From *ca.* 2800 B.C. onward an Egyptian fleet, homeported along its western shores, sailed its waters to the land of Punt, an area probably along the Somali coast at the sea's south end. One such voyage is recalled in a popular Egyptian tale, "Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor" (*ca.* 1900 B.C.). Normally trade passed between the sea and inland cities overland through the Wâdī Ḥammâmât to Coptos, a five-day trip, then by boat on the Nile. As early as *ca.* 1900 B.C. a canal may have connected the Bitter Lakes (and hence, the Red Sea) with the Nile through the Wâdī Ṭumilât. It had fallen into disuse by *ca.* 1150 B.C., and Neco's failed attempt to reopen it (*ca.* 600 B.C.) was completed by Darius more than a century later.

The Red Sea also offered Egypt nautical access to her

turquoise and copper mines in southern Sinai — access that avoided the sweltering heat of the desert route. About 600 B.C. the Phoenicians explored the Red Sea during a voyage around Africa from the Mediterranean.

IV. Description.–The sea extends S *ca.* 2100 km. (1300 mi.) from the two gulfs to the Straits of Bâb el-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden. It is 210 km. (130 mi.) wide at the tip of Sinai. The Gulf of Suez measures 210 km. (130 mi.) in length, 29 km. (18 mi.) in width, and about 55 m.-64 m. (180-210 ft.) in depth. The Gulf of Aqabah is smaller (*ca.* 145 km. [90 mi.] by 24 km. [15 mi.]) but much deeper (*ca.* 1675 m. [5500 ft.]), giving modern Israel and Jordan an excellent deep-water port. The Red Sea lies along a large rift valley that extends S from Sinai 3500 km. (2200 mi.) to Tanzania, and N 450 km. (280 mi.) through the Dead Sea-Jordan Rift Valley.

The Red Sea has some distinctive features. It contains some of the earth's hottest (*ca.* 25° C [77° F] in the two gulfs) and saltiest waters (40 parts per 1000). Despite scant rain-fall, no replenishment from rivers, and extreme evaporation loss, the sea maintains its level by a remarkable circulatory system. The denser, saltier water of the north sinks and flows S along the bottom while winds drive less dense water above it N from the Straits, thus replacing the sea's water every twenty years. The sea's high temperature and purity are very favorable to all kinds of marine life.

How a normally blue-green sea came to be called "red" is a matter of dispute. Some trace the name to the color of the reflections on the water of the scorched mountains along its banks, others to the reddish skin-color of the peoples living beside it. Still others derive the name from the reddish cast that certain organisms, present in abundance, give its waters.

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REDEEMER; REDEMPTION.

I. In the OT.–The main OT terms associated with redemption include Heb. *gā'al* ("redeem," "act as kinsman), *pādâ* ("buy [off], ransom," "redeem"), and their cognates. Both terms occur frequently; hence, the evidence bearing upon their meaning is copious.

Although both verbs may be used in the sense of deliverance without any necessary reference to the mode (cf. for *gā'al*, Gen. 48:16; for *pāḏhâ*, 1 K. 1:29; Isa. 29:22), yet each, pervasively, has the differentiated meaning "release by the payment of a price" or "buy back". In Exodus and Leviticus this meaning becomes patent.

One aspect of redemption pertained to the sanctifying of the firstborn males of humans and animals (Ex. 13:2, 12; 22:29f.; cf. Lk. 2:23). The firstborn male was to be devoted or set apart to the Lord. Firstborn clean animals were to be sacrificed on the altar; however, the firstborn of humans and of unclean animals could not be sacrificed. A clean lamb, e.g., redeemed (i.e., was substituted for) an ass, which was an unclean animal (Ex. 13:13; 34:20). If the ass was not redeemed its neck was broken, rendering it useless to its owner. Likewise the firstborn of humans was to be redeemed (Ex. 13:13b, 15). The specified price was five shekels, which was given to the priests (Nu. 18:15f.; cf. 3:44-51). In both cases, therefore, there was the provision of redemption. The idea expressed by these provisions is that a person or an animal set apart to the Lord, and therefore withdrawn from ordinary activity or use because of that consecration, may be recovered or restored by the payment of compensation. In the case of the redemption of the Israelite children whose numbers exceeded that of the Levites, the monetary compensation was called "redemption money" (Heb. *kesep happᵉḏuyyim*, Nu. 3:51).

Another aspect of redemption pertained to special provisions for the redemption of land or other property. The background of these laws was the prohibition against selling the land in perpetuity (Lev. 25:23). Hence a redemption (Heb. *gᵉ'ullâ*, "redemption," < *gā'al*) was to be granted for the land that might pass out of the possession of its owner (v. 24). If a man by reason of poverty sold part of his possession, there were three ways of restoration: (1) a kinsman (*gō'ēl*, qal act. part. of *gā'al*) could redeem or buy back (*gā'al*) what had been sold (v. 25; cf. *gō'ēl* in Ruth 2:20; 3:9, 12f.; 4:1, 3, 6, 8, 14; *see* KIN I.C); (2) if there was no kinsman to redeem it, the seller himself could redeem the land, provided he was financially able to do so (Lev. 25:26f.); (3) if neither of these options was possible, then the land remained the buyer's possession until the Year of Jubilee, when it was returned to the original owner's possession (vv. 10, 28).

There were also provisions for the redemption of a dwelling. For homes within the walls of a city this right extended for only one year from the date of sale; for a house outside the city walls redemption was possible at any time, and the home was to be returned in the Year of Jubilee. Levites could redeem their houses at any time (Lev. 25:29-34). A house or land that had been set apart to the Lord could be redeemed as well (27:14-25).

Several conclusions derive from this usage. (1) Redemption refers to the recovery of persons or things. (2) A redemption price was necessary for this recovery or restoration. (3) A human intermediary, the *gō'ēl*, acted to secure the redemption. Summarily speaking, redemption involved the securing of release or recovery by the payment of a price.

In the OT the concept of redemption occurs frequently in reference to the salvation wrought by God for His people. Both Heb. *gā'al* and *pāḏâ* appear in this connection (cf. *gā'al* in Ex. 6:6; 15:13; Ps. 107:2; 130:8; Isa. 43:1; 44:22; 63:9; Jer. 31:11; Mic. 4:10; and *pāḏâ* in Dt. 7:8; 9:26; 13:5 [MT 6]; 15:15; 24:18; 2 S. 7:23; Ps. 49:7, 15 [MT 8, 16]; Hos. 13:14; Mic. 6:4). These references show that the redemption from Egypt occupies a central place; therefore, the import of OT redemption must be derived from this event.

But "redemption" is not merely deliverance; it also reflects on the mode of deliverance. The Exodus was deliverance from foreign bondage. The OT emphasizes

this repeatedly. This deliverance was wrought by God's great power and outstretched arm. It is not feasible to suppress the thought of the price paid for this deliverance. The idea of recovery by purchase, which is integral to the Mosaic legislation for the redemption of persons and things, must have influenced the soteric uses of the terms. The stress frequently falls upon the power exerted by God in accomplishing deliverance and on the gratitude and devotion consequently owed by Israel (cf. Ex. 6:6f.; 10:1f.; 13:3, 14f.; 19:4-6; 20:22; Dt. 5:6). On several occasions the thought of purchase appears in contexts that are either reminiscent of redemption or expressly allude to it (cf. Ex. 15:16; Dt. 32:6; Ps. 74:2; Isa. 11:11). Isa. 43:3f. states that Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba have been the substitutionary ransom (Heb. *kōper,* "ransom"; cf. Ps. 49:7 [MT 8]) for Israel. Thus the salvation of the Lord, when conceived of as redemption, is release from bondage by ransom and reflects not merely upon the result but also upon the mode by which the deliverance is wrought.

As observed above, the intermediary who secures the redemption is called the *gō'ēl.* This title is frequently ascribed to the Lord in the OT, especially in Isaiah (cf. Job 19:25; Ps. 19:14 [MT 15]; Isa. 41:14; 43:14; 44:6, 24; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7, 26; 54:5, 8; 60:16; 63:16; Jer. 50:34). The merciful provisions associated with the term in the ordinary life of Israel are here carried to the highest level in the relation of God to His people, and the kinsman's action in recovering possession is likened to God's action in salvation. The Isaianic contexts are replete with references to God's tender care for His heritage, to the almighty power by which He has wrought salvation, and to the security against all adversaries guaranteed by the redemptive relation. Messianic prophecy takes the form of the promise that a Redeemer will come to Zion (Isa. 59:20; cf. Rom. 11:26); thus the coming salvation mentioned repeatedly in redemptive terms, is conjoined with the coming of One whose specific role is that of Redeemer.

II. In the NT.–The NT terms related to redemption include Gk. *lýtron,* "price of release, ransom," (Mt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45), *lytróō,* "set free, redeem," "free by paying a ransom," (Lk. 24:21; Tit. 2:14; 1 Pet. 1:18), *lýtrōsis,* "ransoming, releasing, redemption," (Lk. 1:68; 2:38; He. 9:12), *lytrōtḗs,* "redeemer," (Acts 7:35), *apolýtrōsis,* "release, redemption," "state of being redeemed," (Lk. 21:28; Rom. 3:24; 8 23; 1 Cor. 1:30; Eph. 1:7, 14; 4:30; Col. 1:14; He. 9:15; 11:35), *exagorázō,* "buy, buy up, redeem," (Gal. 3:13; 4:5), *agorázō,* "buy, purchase," (1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23; 2 Pet. 2:1; Rev. 5:9; 14:3f.). The central notion of ransom is apparent in *lýtron* and its derivatives, and that of purchase in *agorázō* and *exagorázō.*

The NT language of redemption, with few exceptions (cf. Acts 7:35; Eph. 5:16; Col. 4:5), refers to the salvific work of Christ and to its effect for humanity. The word of Our Lord places beyond question three facts: (1) the work He came to accomplish was one of ransom, (2) the giving of His life was the ransom price, and (3) the ransom was substitutionary in character. As B. B. Warfield said, "This could not fail to determine for His followers their whole conception of the nature of His redemptive work. We cannot be surprised, therefore, to find one of them, echoing His very words, describing His work as a giving of Himself as a ransom (ἀντιλύτρον) for all (1 Tim. ii.6)" (*Biblical Doctrines* [1929], p. 361). Tit. 2:14 similarly represents Christ's self-giving as having the twofold design of ransom from all iniquity and the sanctification of the ransomed possession. Peter, with perhaps clearer allusion to the specific character of redemption as ransom by price, writes, "You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot" (1 Pet. 1:18f.). The redemptive price here is plainly the blood of Christ. When Paul spoke of redemption through Jesus' blood (Eph. 1:7), the same concept was without doubt in his mind. When he spoke of being "justified . . . through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3:24) and then specified the propitiation in Jesus' blood (v. 25), the associations of ransom must be regarded as defining the contemplated redemption.

Although the terminology changes in Gal. 3:13; 4:5, the notion of purchase from bondage by the humiliation of Christ is patent, and the redemptive signification is not toned down. Gal. 3:13 states that the enslavement that supplies the need for redemption is "the curse of the law," and in Gal. 4:5 the tutelary bondage of the ceremonial law is in view. The cost to Christ of deliverance is "having become a curse for us" and "made under the law," respectively. The effect is deliverance from both aspects of bondage into the liberty of adoption.

In 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23 the thought is the simple one of purchase by price without mention of the specific price itself. But the context of Paul's teaching leaves no doubt that the price in view is the blood of the Savior. Rev. 5:9 expressly states this, and in order to bring out the verse's full force, Gk. *agorázō* must be rendered "redeem." The clarity with which redemption by Jesus' blood appears in 5:9 determines the import of the same term in 14:3f. Greek *despótēs* in 2 Pet. 2:1 causes denotative difficulties, but if this title refers to Christ, as the evidence suggests, then the concept of deliverance by purchase is again present. Hebrews 9:12, 15 have the associations that are present in other NT passages, namely, the blood of Christ as the way of securing redemption, and the efficacy of redemption for the forgiveness of sins; thus "redemption" here conveys the same meaning.

It is significant that the earliest NT expression of the redemptive hope (Lk. 1:68; 2:38) is construed as deliverance from oppression by alien powers. The faith in Jesus that these earliest witnesses reflect is framed in terms of what was central in OT religion. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the death of Christ comes to be presented as the ransom price by which redemption is secured, this death should be presented as the way of deliverance from the power of the archenemy of God and His people (cf. Jn. 12:31-33; He. 2:14f.).

Redemption is redemption from sin, in each of its various aspects. At times one aspect of sin may be in the forefront, coloring the grace of redemption in that instance, but redemption contemplates all phases of the bondage to which sin consigns people. It means deliverance from sin in its guilt, defilement, power, and liability. The comprehensiveness of the deliverance that redemption procures and bestows comes to expression in the eschatological use of the term to designate the consummation of the saving process (Lk. 21:28; Rom. 8:23; Eph. 1:14; 4:30; perhaps 1 Cor. 1:30). The basic idea of ransom is not, however, lost in this eschatological use, which serves only to show how closely related to redemption by Jesus' blood is the final fruition of redeeming grace. The glory that awaits the redeemed, the adoption in the consummation of its privileges, and the liberty of the glory of the children of God are ever reminiscent of the purchase price by which they were procured. The efficacy of Christ's precious blood is ever certified in that the attainment of this glory is the day of redemption.

See also RANSOM; ATONE.

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L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice* (*Analecta Biblica*, 48; 1970); I. H. Marshall, "The Development of the Concept of Redemption in the NT," in R. Banks, *Reconciliation and Hope* (1974), pp. 153-169; J. Murray, *Redemption — Accomplished and Applied* (1955); *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* λύω κτλ. (Procksch, Büchsel); *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "ga'al" (Ringgren); B. B. Warfield, "The NT Terminology of 'Redemption'" and "'Redeemer' and 'Redemption'", in *Biblical Doctrines* (1929; repr. 1981), pp. 327-398.

J. MURRAY

REDNESS OF EYES. *See* COLOR V.G; DRUNKENNESS II.

REDOUND. An English verb derived from Lat. *redundo*, "overflow" (from *re-*, "back," and *undo*, "surge as a wave"). It has the archaic sense of "overflow" in the AV of 2 Cor. 4:15, where it renders Gk. *perisseúō* (lit. "cause to abound"; RSV "increase"). In modern English it generally means "lead inevitably to an (often unplanned) end." For example, in Ezk. 39:13, RSV, "it will redound to their honor" renders Heb. *hāyâ lāhem l*^{e}*šēm* (cf. AV, lit., "it shall be to them a renown"); i.e., the people's zeal to cleanse the land will in the end bring them honor. In 1 Pet. 1:7, RSV, "may redound" renders the aorist pass. subjunctive of Gk. *heurískō* (cf. AV, lit., "might be found"; NEB "may prove itself worthy"). Those whose faith has proved genuine will receive the reward of sharing in the divine "praise and glory and honor" on the day of Christ's final revelation.

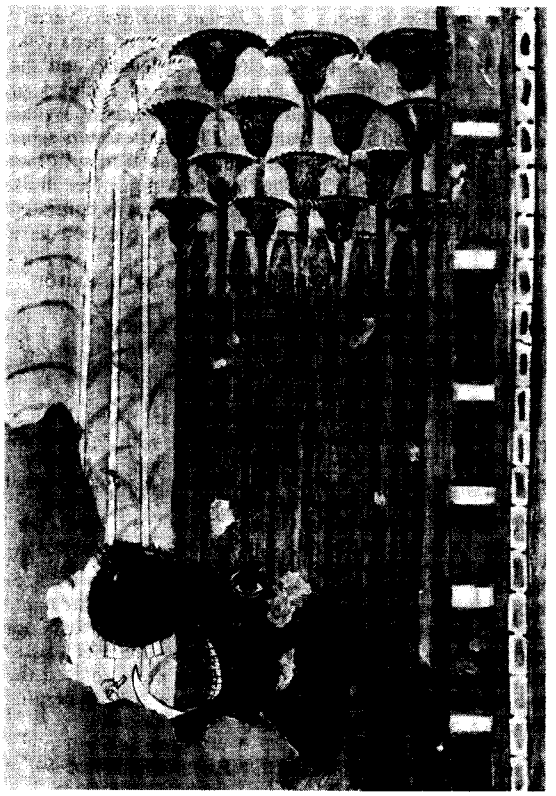
N. J. O.

REED [Heb. *qāneh*, *'ēḇeh*, *'āgmôn*, *'āḥû*, *sûp*; Gk. *kálamos*]; AV also RUSH (*'āgmôn*, Isa. 9:14; 19:15), FLAG (*'āḥû*, *Job 8:11*; *sûp*, Ex. 2:3, 5), "brethren" (Hos. 13:15), "spearmen" (Ps. 68:30 [MT 31]), "swift" (*'ēḇeh*, Job 9:26); NEB also RUSH (Isa. 19:15), MEASURING-ROD, ROD (Ezk. 40–42), CANE (Mt. 27:29 par.), REED-BED (Mt. 11:7 par.). Any of various tall grasses, often with segmented stalks, that grow especially in marshy areas.

The most common term is Heb. *qāneh* (1 K. 14:15; 2 K. 18:21; Job 40:21; Ps. 68:30 [MT 31]; Isa. 19:6; 35:7; 36:6; 42:3; Ezk. 29:6; 40–42). The term came originally from Sum. GI-NA, which signified a reed (cf. Job 40:21). Other Near Eastern languages borrowed the term and put it to numerous additional uses, e.g., to designate the measuring rod used by builders and carpenters (*see* MEASURING LINE, MEASURING REED).

Qāneh could denote any of several varieties of reed that grow in the Levant. The most imposing is the common *Arundo donax* L., which flourishes in the dense thickets of the Jordan Valley and attains a maximum height of 6 m. (20 ft.). It maintains a fresh, green appearance when all other vegetation has dried up, and in spring its massive blooms are very impressive. At its base the stem can be as much as 7 cm. (3 in.) thick, and hence these sturdy canes were used in construction and also as walking-sticks (cf. 2 K. 18:21; Ezk. 29:6f.). The reed can sometimes break under pressure, however, and if slivers penetrate the skin they can be painful and a potential source of infection. Such a "covert of the reeds" (Job 40:21) can shelter much small animal and bird life. In Ps. 68:30 (MT 31) *ḥayyaṯ qāneh* is correctly rendered "beasts of reeds" in most modern English versions (cf. AV "company of spearmen").

Hebrew *'āḥû* occurs in Gen. 41:2, 18 (RSV "reed grass"; AV "meadow"); Job 8:11. The RSV and NEB read *'āḥû* also in Hos. 13:15, by emendation of MT *'aḥîm* (AV "brethren"). Several species of rush and bulrush may be implied, possibly including *Scirpus lacustris* L., an inland species sometimes known as clubrush; a related sedge grass, *S. maritimus* L., which grows on the seacoast; and *Juncus maritimus* L., which grows in damp places.



A hippopotamus at bay in papyrus reeds and flowering rushes. Wall painting from the tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82) at Thebes (1448 B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

While the RSV has "reeds" for Heb. *sûp* in Ex. 2:3, 5, it renders it elsewhere as "rushes" (Isa. 19:6) and "weeds" (Jonah 2:5). This plant has been identified with the cattail *Typha angustata* Bory et Choub, a tall grassy perennial that is still used in wickerwork; but probably other plants were also included under the designation *sûp*, e.g., the *Phragmites communis* Trin., a common reed that can grow as high as 3.6 m. (12 ft.). The Red Sea (as well as some other bodies of water) was known as *yam sûp*, "reed sea" (e.g., Ex. 10:19).

Hebrew *'ēḇeh* occurs only in Job 9:26 in connection with *'oniyyâ*, a small ship. The RSV translates the phrase "skiffs of reed" (cf. AV "swift ships"; NEB "reed-built skiffs"). It apparently denotes the very light skiff built of papyrus that was used on the Nile (cf. Isa. 18:2; *see* illustration in PAPYRUS).

The rare plural *'agammîm* (Jer. 51:32) may refer to swamp reeds that have been set ablaze (so AV; cf. RSV Job 41:20 [MT 12]), but the RSV (with "bulwarks") and NEB ("guard-towers") follow the LXX. The singular fom *'agmôn* in Job 41:2 (MT 40:26) may describe a "rope" made from a reed such as the *Scirpus* or *Juncus*.

The LXX and NT terms is Gk. *kálamos* (Mt. 11:7; 12:20; 27:29f., 48; Mk. 15:19, 36; Lk. 7:24). In Rev. 11:1; 21:15f. "measuring rod" translates the same term. The rod is unlikely to have been of standard length, but it may have been either 3 or 6 cubits long for normal construction purposes. The rod of Ezk. 40:3, 5 was "six long cubits," i.e., a little over 3 m. (10 ft.). The length of the rod used to administer vinegar to the crucified Christ (Mt. 27:48 par.) would depend upon the height of the cross from the ground; it need not have required the lengthy *Arundo donax*, as some writers have maintained.

In ancient Egypt reeds of the *Juncus maritimus* variety were used for writing on papyrus. Such reed pens (Gk. *kálamos*) were up to 40 cm. (16 in.) in length, and the writing edge was trimmed in the shape of a chisel so that narrow or broad strokes could be made easily. By the Hellenistic period reeds from the *Phragmites communis* were cut with a narrow point, which was then split like a quill pen (cf. 3 Jn. 13). The "scribe's pen" (Jer. 8:8), used for writing in ink on papyrus or potsherds consisted of a rush feathered at one end so as to function as a brush. *See* PEN.

See also RUSH. R. K. HARRISON

REED, MEASURING. *See* MEASURING LINE.

REEDS, SEA OF. *See* RED SEA.

REELAIAH rē-ə-lī'ə [Heb. *r'ēlyâ*]. One of the leading men of Israel who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:2). The name appears as Raamiah in Neh. 7:7 and as Resaiah in 1 Esd. 5:8. The correct spelling of the name is uncertain.

REELIAH rē-ə-lī'ə [Gk. A *Rheelias*, B *Boroleias*]; AV REELIUS; NEB REELIAS. One of the leaders who returned from exile with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 5:8). The name appears to have been inserted into the text, for it is not paralleled in Ezr. 2:2 and Neh. 7:7. Its similarity to REELAIAH (Ezr. 2:2) suggests that it may have entered the text through a copyist's attempt to correct the preceding form Resaiah.

REELIAS rē-ə-lī'əs (1 Esd. 5:8, NEB); **REELIUS** rē-ə-lī'əs (AV). *See* REELIAH.

REESAIAS rē-ə-sī'əs (1 Esd. 5:8, AV). *See* RESAIAH.

REFINE [Heb. qal, piel, and pual of *zāqaq*, qal and niphal of *ṣārap*; Gk. *pyróō* (Rev. 1:15; 3:18)]; AV also FINE, MELT, TRY, PURGE, etc.; NEB also FINE, STRAIN, etc.; **REFINER** [Heb. piel part. of *ṣārap*] (Mal. 3:2f.); NEB also REFINING.

I. Definitions.–The term refers to a large number of processes from historical periods of varying technological skill. In general it means removing impurities or altering the composition of a material such as a metallic ore, in order to obtain a desired product in a reasonably pure form. In short, it means bringing to a fine or pure state.

II. Biblical Terms.–Several Hebrew and Greek roots refer to purification, either by filtering or washing, or by burning or smelting.

Hebrew *zāqaq* is used variously to refer to refined gold (1 Ch. 28:18) or silver (29:4), the washing of gold (Job 28:1), or the straining of wine (Isa. 25:6). The term is also used for the process of melting a solid metal in order to remove the dross (Mal. 3:3).

The root *ṣārap* mainly refers to the use of fire to enhance chemical reactions in the extraction of metal from ore (Ps. 12:6 [MT 7]; Isa. 48:10; Jer. 6:29; 9:7 [MT 6]; Zec. 13:9). Jer. 6:29f. reflects the practice of refining silver with lead: silver and lead were placed in a crucible and heated, and as the lead oxidized it carried off the alloy, leaving the pure silver. The words for CRUCIBLE (Heb. *maṣrēp*, used only in Prov. 17:3; 27:2) and GOLDSMITH (*ṣōrēp*, Isa. 40:19; 41:7; 46:6; Jer. 10:9, 14; 51:17; cf. Jgs. 17:4; Prov. 25:4) come from the same root. *See also* SMITH; SILVERSMITH.

Several other terms are used with reference to the refining process, although they are not rendered "refine" by the RSV. As Van Leeuwen has demonstrated, the verb *yāṣā'* bears a technical metallurgical meaning in Prov. 25:4b, where it describes the refined product of a smelting process (pp. 112f.).

Most often "refine" is used figuratively to refer to the purifying of God's people, as Zec. 13:9 illustrates: "I will . . . refine them as one refines silver" (cf. Mal. 3:2f.; Ps. 12:6 [MT 7]); or it is used oppositely but with the same figurative force: "Behold, I have refined you, but not like silver; I have tried you in the furnace of affliction" (Isa. 48:10).

The verb *bāḥan*, "test," is used in parallel to *ṣārap* in several passages (e.g., Isa. 48:10, as emended by the RSV ["try"; MT *bāḥar*, "choose"]; cf. Jer. 9:7 [MT 6]; Zec. 13:9; Ps. 17:3; 26:2; 66:10); and *ḥāqar*, "search" (the heart), occasionally parallels *bāḥan* (e.g., Jer. 17:10; Ps. 139:2f.).

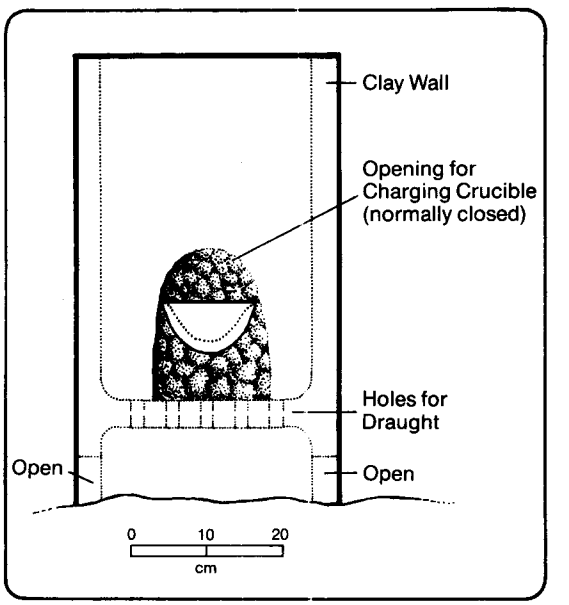
III. A Refining Process.–Selecting from the multitude of possible processes and historical periods, we will describe iron-making in the Early Iron Age in order to illustrate in some detail (but still with obvious simplification) the way that a mined ore was refined.

How did the smith, the metalworker (*ṣōrēp*), go about turning iron ore into metallic iron and then into a usable product? He first had to concentrate the ore by separating it from the gangue; i.e., using his knowledge of the specific gravity of certain elements, he separated the non-valuable materials from the raw ore, probably by washing. Later he roasted the ore in an oven not unlike an ancient bread oven to burn off some of the less important materials. Some gangue remained to be removed in the smelting process.

He now had to remove the oxygen from the mineral compound (iron ore is an oxide of iron and oxygen) by chemical reduction, commonly known as SMELTING, the second stage of the refining process.

Since iron and oxygen have an affinity for each other, the smelting process requires an agent that has an even stronger affinity for oxygen. When iron ore is treated with carbon in a suitable environment, the carbon unites with the oxygen and exits in the form of a gas, leaving

A reconstruction of a Chalcolithic crucible furnace from remains found at Abu Mater in Palestine (after R. F. Tylecote, *History of Metallurgy*)



the iron behind in a purer state; thus iron ore is reduced by reaction with carbon to a metal and a gas. In simple chemical terms the reactions in smelting a hematite ore are: $Fe_2O_3 + 3C \rightarrow 2Fe + 3CO$; i.e., iron ore plus carbon yields metallic iron plus carbon monoxide gas.

As the verb *ṣārap* indicates, "burning" is associated with iron-making, for in practice the chemical reaction takes place hot. A furnace is required, and the heat is supplied by the very chemical agent necessary for the reduction process, i.e., carbon in the form of charcoal.

The most primitive type of FURNACE used for iron-making was the "bowl" furnace, simply a hole in the ground or in rock Later a more developed bowl was used, with a hole for the removal of slag and gangue. (Ores have major and minor mineral components that must be separated in the smelting process, and slag is the material formed by the fusing together of some of the components of a charge, or by reactions with the materials of the furnace, or in later periods by reaction with material added to aid the reduction [a flux].) Another early furnace was the shaft furnace, simply a mud or stone enclosure less than a meter wide and just a bit over a meter high. It was used in much the same way as the early bowl type of furnace.

The metalworker "charged" the furnace with charcoal, set it alight, kept it burning with a bellows (probably of goatskin) perhaps attached to a tuyere (a ceramic or clay tube between the bellows and the fire pit), and then fed it with a little iron ore at a time. The temperature had to be 1150° C for the best smelting (i.e., resulting in the fewest possible impurities in the product). The furnaces of antiquity were hardly more than 50 cm. (20 in.) in diameter and less than that in depth. The amounts of iron made at one time were small indeed. The iron-worker had to learn through trial and error how much time to allow for the process. Waiting too long or using too much charcoal or too little ore resulted in an inferior product, i.e., cast iron rather than the more pure wrought iron. Cast iron is iron that has been reduced but has absorbed some of the carbon in the process, producing a brittle, porous metal that is not as usable for tools or weapons. The product of the smelting process, called the "bloom," settled at the bottom of the bowl, a relatively pure iron that needed further handling.

The third stage of the refining process involved the use of a smithing furnace. Not much was required beyond a charcoal fire, a bellows to enhance the burning, sufficiently long tuyeres to keep the bellows from burning and to direct the blast of air, and the tools to handle hot metal. The smith took a piece of the bloom, placed it in the charcoal fire near the air source, and made the fire hot enough (i.e., 700° C) to work the piece by hammering.

See also METAL.

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R. A. COUGHENOUR

REFORM; REFORMATION. "Be reformed" is once the AV rendering of the Hebrew niphal of *yāsar,* literally "let oneself be instructed" (Lev. 26:23; RSV "be turned"; NEB "learn discipline"; *see* DISCIPLINE I). The noun "reform" (Gk. *diórthōma*) refers to administrative improvements in Acts 24:2, RSV (cf. NEB "improvement"; the AV "very worthy deeds" is based on the TR, which reads *katórthōma* in place of *diórthōma*). "The time of reformation" (AV, RSV, NEB, He. 9:10) translates *kairós diorthṓseōs.* A better translation of *diórthōsis* may be "the new order" (cf. NIV; Bauer, rev., p. 199), since "the coming of Christ involved a complete reshaping of the structure of Israel's religion" (F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews* [*NICNT,* repr. 1981], p. 197). The AV also uses "reform(ed)" for the cognate verb *diorthóō* (RSV, lit., "be set right") in Wisd. 9:18 and for Lat. *corripio* (RSV, lit., "reprove") in 2 Esd. 8:12.

In church history the Reformation designates a series of reform movements that began in the late 14th cent. to criticize certain aspects of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice and culminated in the 16th cent. with the establishment of the Protestant Churches. The term "Reformed" is applied to churches and doctrines that have come out of the Calvinist Reformation. N. J. O.

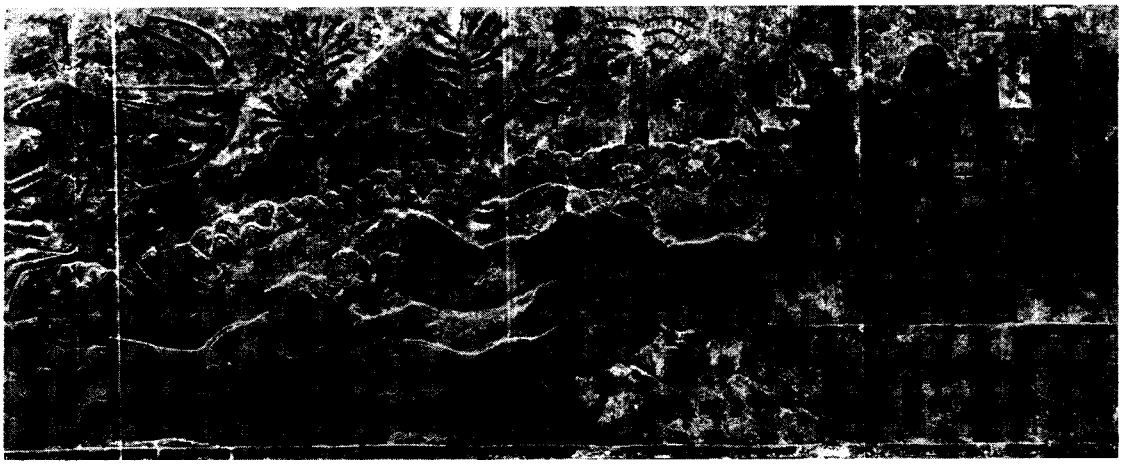
REFRESH [Heb. *sā'aḏ*–'strengthen' (Gen. 18:5; 1 K. 13:7), niphal of *nāpaš*–'catch one's breath' (Ex. 23:12; 31:17; 2 S. 16:14), piel of *rāpaḏ*–'support' (Cant. 2:5), *rāwaḥ*–'be wide,' 'find relief' (1 S. 16:23), piel of *dāšēn*–'make fat' (Prov. 15:30), hiphil of *šûḇ*–'bring back, restore' (25:13); Gk. *anapaúō*–'give rest' (1 Cor. 16:18; Philem. 7, 20), *synanapaúomai*–'find rest with (someone)' (Rom. 15:32), *anapsýchō*–'give a breathing space,' 'revive' (2 Tim. 1:16)]; AV also COMFORT; AV, RSV mg., MAKE FAT (Prov. 15:30); NEB also FIND RELIEF, WARM, etc.; **REFRESHING** [Gk. *anápsyxis*–'breathing space,' 'relief'] (Acts 3:19); NEB RECOVERY; **REFRESHMENT** [Heb. *šiqqûy*–'drink'] (Prov. 3:8); AV MARROW; RSV mg. MEDICINE; NEB LINIMENT. To restore strength and vitality.

Sometimes the reference is primarily to physical refreshment obtained through food and drink (Gen. 18:5; 1 K. 13:7; Cant. 2:5) or rest from work or travel (Ex. 23:12; 31:17; 2 S. 16:14). Other passages refer to emotional or spiritual refreshment, which can be achieved through relief from evil spirits (1 S. 16:23; cf. use of *rāwaḥ* [RSV "find relief"] in Job 32:20, where Job seeks relief from pent-up emotions), through a faithful messenger (Prov. 25:13), or through the loving encouragement of other believers (e.g., Rom. 15:32; 1 Cor. 16:18; Philem. 7, 20). In general, however, physical and spiritual refreshment are not separable; thus trusting in God (Prov. 3:8) and receiving good news (15:30) strengthen both spirit and body (cf. the parallelism in Sir. 26:13; *see also* BONE). The refreshment Paul received from Onesiphorus may have included material support as well as fellowship (2 Tim. 1:16).

Greek *anápsyxis* occurs once in the LXX (RSV "respite," Ex. 8:15 [MT, LXX, 11]) as a translation of Heb. *rᵉwāḥâ* (substantive form of *rāwaḥ*). Its meaning in Acts 3:19 (*kairós anapsýxeōs*; RSV "times of refreshing"), its only NT occurrence, is disputed. Peter may be referring to the physical and spiritual restoration that the Jewish people will enjoy at the consummation of the messianic age if they will repent and acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah (cf. comms.; *TDNT,* IX, *s.v.* ψυχή κτλ.: ἀνάψυξις [E. Schweizer]; *see also* REGENERATION; cf. ESCHATOLOGY III.D).

See also REST; REVIVE. N. J. O.

REFUGE [(nouns) Heb. *maḥseh* or *maḥᵃseh* (Ps. 14:6; 46:1 [MT 2]; 104:18; Prov. 14:26; Isa. 4:6; 28:15, 17; Jer. 17:17; Joel 3:16 [MT 4:16]; etc.), *mā'ôz*–'place of safety,' 'mountain fort' (2 S. 22:33; Ps. 28:8; 37:39; 43:2; Isa. 17:10; Nah. 3:11), *mānôs*–'place of escape' (2 S. 22:3; Ps. 59:16



An alabaster relief from Nimrûd showing Elamites fleeing for refuge in a fortress. They are swimming with the aid of skin floats. From the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, ca. 883-859 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

[MT 17]; 142:4 [MT 5]; Jer. 16:19; 25:35), *sēṯer*–'hiding place' (Isa. 16:4), *māʿôn* (Ps. 71:3), *miśgāḇ* (Ps. 46:7, 11 [MT 8, 12])]; AV also SHELTER, TRUST, HOPE, HABITATION, etc.; NEB also SHELTER, STRONGHOLD, etc.; [(verbs) Heb. *ḥāsâ* ("take refuge," Dt. 32:37; Jgs. 9:15; Ruth 2:12; 2 S. 22:3, 31; Ps. 2:12; 16:1; etc.; "seek refuge," Ps. 17:7; 31:1 [MT 2]; 141:8; Zeph. 3:12; "find refuge," Ps. 91:4; Isa. 14:32), *ôz* ("seek refuge," Ps. 52:7 [MT 9]), piel of *kāsâ*–'cover' ("flee for refuge," Ps. 143:9; Gk. *katapheúgō* ("flee for refuge," He. 6:18)]; AV also (PUT) TRUST (IN), HIDE, etc.; NEB also SEEK SHELTER, FIND SAFETY, SEEK SANCTUARY; CLAIM PROTECTION. *See also* REFUGE, CITIES OF.

The most common words for "refuge" are the Hebrew verb *ḥāsâ* and the derived noun *maḥseh*, which together occur thirty-four times in the Psalms. The AV appropriately translates the verb as "trust," which certainly is its underlying sense in the prayers of the Psalms. Because both the verb and the noun occur so often in poetry, it is hard to tell if they have such a concrete referent as, e.g., *miśgāḇ*, which literally means "fortified tower." *Ḥāsâ* may be no more restricted than our words "protection" and "security." The psalmists often simply reiterate their need to commit their destiny to God and to allow the divine will to govern them, confident that God's love and justice will determine every outcome. The sheer repetition of this need indicates that they knew such trust to be difficult. Repeatedly their prayer is that God will not abandon or shame those who do make Him their refuge (e.g., Ps. 25:20).

The other terms, which are far rarer, are metaphors whose underlying image can be identified. In addition to *miśgāḇ*, "tower," *sēṯer* is related to a verb meaning "hide, conceal," *māʿôz* implies strength or power, *kāsâ* means "cover, clothe," and *mānôs* is derived from a verb that means "flee" (prob. similar in basic concept to Eng. "refugee"). Gk. *katapheúgō* also literally means "flee" (Acts 14:6) and is used metaphorically in He. 6:18.

Hebrew *māʿôn* does not mean "refuge," but "den, lair," or, more generally, "dwelling place." At Ps. 71:3 the RSV follows the LXX, Targum, and other ancient versions, which apparently were based on Hebrew texts that read *māʿôz*; Heb. *z* is nearly identical to final *n*, which accounts for the variants.

See also FORTIFICATION IV.

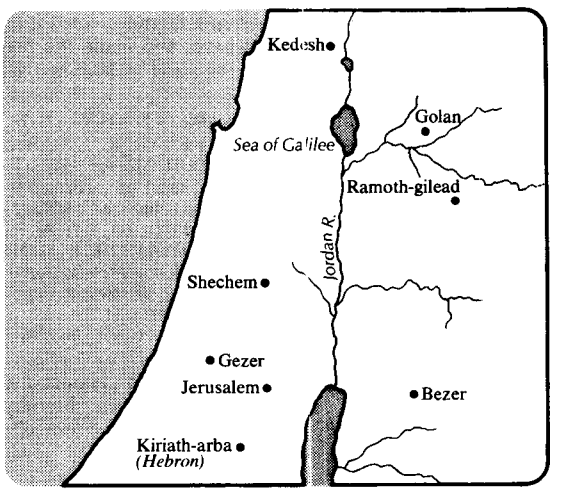
Bibliography.–*TDOT*, V, *s.v.* "ḥāsâ" (Gamberoni).

G. CHAMBERLAIN

REFUGE, CITIES OF [Heb. *ʿārê hammiqlāṭ*]. Certain of the LEVITICAL CITIES (Nu. 35:6; Josh. 21:13, 21, 27, 32, 38; 1 Ch. 6:57, 67 [MT 42, 52]) that were set apart to serve as places of asylum for the accidental manslayer; mentioned principally in Nu. 35:9-34; and Josh. 20:1-9 (cf. Ex. 21:12-14; Dt. 4:41-43; 19:1-10). According to Josh. 20:7f., the six cities designated for this purpose in Joshua's lifetime were Kedesh, Shechem, Kiriath-arba (Hebron), Bezer, Ramoth-gilead, and Golan.

After each tribe had been assigned its territorial allotment (Josh. 13–19), Joshua, at the command of God, designated the cities of refuge. They were fairly evenly distributed throughout Israel. West of the Jordan were Kedesh (Tell Qades), about 24 km. (15 mi.) N of the Sea of Galilee in the land of Naphtali; Shechem (Tell Balâṭah), 32 km. (20 mi.) W of the Jordan in the range called the hills of Ephraim (tribe of Ephraim); and Hebron (el-Khalîl), about 30 km. (19 mi.) S of Jerusalem (tribe of Judah). East of the Jordan were Bezer (Umm el-ʿAmad?), 13 km. (8 mi) NE of Medeba (tribe of Reuben); Ramoth-gilead (Tell Rāmîth), 40 km. (25 mi.) ESE of the Sea of Galilee (tribe of Gad); and Golan (Saḥem el-Jōlân?) in the highlands 32 km. (20 mi) E of the Sea of Galilee (tribe of Manasseh).

Many peoples of the ancient Near East maintained certain places as asylums for fugitives accused of crimes;



once the fugitive was within the sanctuary he could not be apprehended or punished, whether guilty or innocent. Israel also had places of asylum, but in the strict laws of the Pentateuch (cf. esp. Ex. 21:23-25) murder had to be punished by the death of the murderer (vv. 12, 14; Nu. 35:16-21). One who intentionally killed another person was to be put to death by the "avenger of blood" (*see* AVENGER), the nearest male relative of the deceased. Such retribution could not be negated by the payment of "blood money" to the relatives of the deceased in compensation for the murder (v. 31). A distinction was made, however, between the person who killed someone accidentally and the one who did so wilfully. The cities of refuge were established for unintentional manslayers. To prevent the "avenger of blood" from taking vengeance upon the accused before the nature of the homicide could be established, the Israelites were commanded to give every assistance to the fugitive in his flight to one of the designated cities (v. 25). Roads to these cities were to be properly maintained and signposted, and the location of each city was such that none was more than one day's journey from any point in the land of Israel (Dt. 19:3; cf. v. 6).

Apparently the altar of Yahweh was a place of asylum even before the establishment of the cities of refuge (Ex. 21:13f.). Cities were needed, however, as permanent places of refuge. In later times it appears that the fugitive was permitted to grasp the horns of the altar, and if the homicide was accidental he was granted safe passage to the nearest city of refuge (cf. 1 K. 1:50; 2:28-30). According to Nu. 35:24 the manslayer was then judged by the "congregation"; i.e., he was returned, under a protective escort provided by the city, to the place from which he came, and tribal elders unrelated to either the deceased or the accused were to set up an investigative tribunal to establish the nature of the homicide. The intentional murderer was to be delivered into the hands of the "avenger of blood," even from the altar itself (Ex. 21:14; cf. 1 K. 2:28-34), but if the death was accidental, the accused was to be returned to one of the cities of refuge (Nu. 35:25). The manslayer had to reside in that city until the natural death of the high priest (v. 28; it is unclear whether this refers to the leading priest of Israel or merely of the city), which was possibly viewed as expiation for the accidental death (cf. T.B. *Makkoth* 11b). If the manslayer went beyond the city's boundary before the high priest's death, the avenger of blood could kill him without being guilty of murder (vv. 26f.). (*See also* PRIEST, HIGH III.)

This system was designed to avoid the possiblity of an endless "blood feud" between families after someone was killed. It was only during the united kingdom period that all six cities were under Israelite control. Only Shechem and Hebron had continuous Hebrew control until their destruction in 722 and 587 B.C. respectively.

See also MANSLAYER; MURDER.

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S. G. DECLAISSÉ-WALFORD

REFUSE. A term used by the RSV as both a verb and a noun. In the OT the verb usually translates the Hebrew piel of *mā'an*, "refuse" (e.g., Gen. 37:35; Ex. 4:23; Prov. 21:7, 25). Other terms include *mā'as*, "reject" (Isa. 7:15f.; 8:6; cf. AV 1 S. 16:7; Job 34:33; Ps. 78:67; 118:22; Ezk. 5:6; *see also* REJECT), *ḥādal*, "cease" (Ezk. 2:5, 7; 3:11, 27), *hēšîḇ* (hiphil of *šûḇ*) *pānîm*, "turn away from" (1 K. 2:16f., 20), and the hiphil of *qāšâ*, "make hard" (RSV "stubbornly refuse," Ex. 13:15; AV "would hardly"). In the NT the verb represents a variety of terms, including Gk. *arnéomai*, "deny" (Acts 7:35; He. 11:24), *aposteréō*, "rob," "defraud" (1 Cor. 7:5), *apostréphō*, "turn away" (Mt. 5:42), *paraitéomai*, "decline" (1 Tim. 5:11; He. 12:25), and *parakoúō*, "take no heed of" (RSV "refuse to listen," Mt. 18:17). Frequently it represents the negative particle (*ou* or *mē*) either alone or with a verb such as *thélō*, "wish"(e.g., Mt. 2:18), *aphíēmi*, "let go" (Mk. 5:19), *boúlomai*, "wish" (Acts 18:15), or *déchomai*, "accept" (2 Thess. 2:10).

As a noun (or adjective, Jer. 6:30) "refuse" is the RSV translation of the Hebrew infinitive (Lam. 3:45) or niphal part. (Jer. 6:30) of *mā'as* (see above), *sûḥâ*, "trash, garbage" (Isa. 5:25), *mappāl*, "waste" (Am. 8:6); Gk. *perikátharma*, "off-scouring," "what is removed in cleansing" (1 Cor. 4:13), and *skýbalon*, "dung" (Phil. 3:8).

N. J. O.

REGEM rē'gəm [Heb. *regem*–'friend' (?)]. Son of Jahdai; head of a Calebite family (1 Ch. 2:47).

REGEM-MELECH rē'gəm-mel'ək [Heb. *regem meleḵ*]. A member of the deputation sent by the people of Bethel to ask the priests about the propriety of continuing to observe a fast in commemoration of the destruction of the temple (Zec. 7:2). The MT of the passage is badly preserved. Heb. *wᵉregem meleḵ* should probably be emended to read *raḇ-mag hammeleḵ* (supported by the Syr.), which would produce the following translation: "Now the people of Bethel had sent Sharezer the Rab-mag [i.e., chief officer] of the king and his men . . . ." The title RAB-MAG may be a gloss that was introduced because of its application to Nergal-sharezer in Jer. 39:3, 13.

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N. J. O.

REGENERATION rē-jen-er-ā'shən [Gk. *palingenesía*–'rebirth, regeneration'] (Tit. 3:5); NEB REBIRTH. The AV also has "regeneration" for the same Greek term in Mt. 19:28 (RSV "new world"; NEB "the world that is to be").

I. Definition
  A. Eschatological
  B. Spiritual
II. Biblical Doctrine
  A. In the OT
  B. In the Teaching of Jesus
  C. In Apostolic Teaching
III. Later Development of the Doctrine

I. Definition.–A. Eschatological. In Mt. 19:28 the RSV translates Gk. *palingenesía* by "new world", which is synonymous with *apokatastásis pántōn*, "establishing all" (Acts 3:21; the vb. occurs in Mt. 17:11, *apokatastḗsei pánta*, "is to restore all things"), and with *anápsyxis*, "refreshing" (Acts 3:19; Gk. text, v. 20). It is supposed that regeneration in this sense denotes the final stage of development of all creation, when God's purposes are fully realized and "all things are put in subjection under him" (1 Cor. 15:27). This is a regeneration in the proper meaning of the word, for it signifies a renovation of all visible things; the old has passed away, and heaven and earth have become new (cf. Rev. 21:1). To the Jew the regeneration thus prophesied was inseparably connected with the reign of the messiah.

Palingenesía occurs in the same or very similar senses in nonbiblical literature. In Stoic philosophy it is used of the renewal of the world (Chrysippus, *Stoic.* 2.191; Boethus Sidonius, *Stoic.* 3.265). Josephus (*Ant.* xi.3.9

66], however, spoke of Israel's *anákatēsis kaí palingenesía tḗs patrídos*, "recovery and rebirth of their native land," after their return from Babylonian captivity. Philo (*De Vita Mosis* i.12) used the word in referring to the post-diluvial epoch of the earth as a new world (cf. 1 Clem. 9:4). Marcus Aurelius (xi.1) spoke of a periodic restoration of all things, stressing the constant recurrence and uniformity of all happenings (cf. Eccl. 1:9). But usually philosophical writings use the term of the reincarnation or subsequent birth of the individual, as in the Buddhist and Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls (Plutarch, *De Ei apud Delphos* 9; *De Iside et Osiride* 35; Clement of Alexandria, ed. Potter, 539) or else of a revival of life (e.g., Philo. *De Cherubim* 114; *De Posteritate Caini* 124; *De Legatione ad Gaium* 325). Cicero in his letters to Atticus (*Ad Atticum* vi.6) called his return from exile a regeneration, a grant of a new lease on life.

B. Spiritual. The full biblical conception of eschatological regeneration undoubtedly includes a spiritual sense, for it is unthinkable that the eschatological regeneration can exist without a spiritual regeneration of humanity or the individual. An analysis of eschatological regeneration shows, however, that the spiritual conception arose rather late. *Palingenesía* is found in Tit. 3:5, and although its meaning is not absolutely certain, it is generally interpreted in agreement with the numerous nouns and verbs that have given the dogmatic setting to the doctrine of regeneration in Christian theology. Clement of Alexandria was the first to differentiate this meaning from the eschatological one by adding the adjective *pneumatikḗ*, "spiritual" (cf. *anápsyxis*, Acts 3:20 [AV, RSV, v. 19]; *see* REFRESH). In this spiritual sense the word regeneration is typically Christian, although the OT contains many adumbrations of the spiritual process.

II. Biblical Doctrine.–A. In the OT. It is well known that in the earlier portions of the OT, and to a certain degree throughout it, religion is generally understood as a national possession whose blessings are largely visible and tangible. Thus regeneration — although no technical expression had yet been coined for the process — is an eschatological idea in the OT. Whether the divine promises refer to the messianic age or are to be realized earlier, they all refer to the nation of Israel as such and to individuals only so far as they partake of the nation's blessings. This is true even where the prophesied blessings are only spiritual (e.g., Isa. 60:21f.). Most people of Israel therefore were scarcely aware that the conditions for attaining these divine promises were more than ceremonial and ritual. Soon, however, great disasters, which threatened to overthrow the national entity, and the captivity and dispersion, which caused national functions to be almost if not altogether discontinued, assisted in the growth of a sense of individual or personal responsibility before God. The sin of Israel was recognized as the sin of the individual, which could be removed only by individual repentance and cleansing. This is best seen in the stirring appeals ofthe exilic prophets, who frequently preached that a change of attitude toward God is necessary for such regeneration. This attitudinal change can only be understood as a turning of the individual to the Lord.

Here, too, no ceremony or sacrifice is sufficient, but only an interposition of divine grace, which is described as a washing and sprinkling from all iniquity and sin (Isa. 1:16; Jer. 13:23). Already in Isa. 52:15, AV, RV (but cf. RSV, NEB) the sprinkling of many nations is mentioned; it was soon understood as the "baptism" that proselytes had to undergo before their reception into the covenant of Israel. It was the symbol of a radical cleansing like that of a "new-born babe," which was one of the designations of the proselyte (cf. Ps. 87:5; see also the tractate *Yebamoth* 62a). Would it be surprising that Israel, which had been guilty of many sins of the Gentiles, needed a similar baptism and sprinkling? This is what Ezk. 36:25 suggests: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you." Other passages allude to the cleansing and refining power of fire (e.g., Mal. 3:2f.); there is little doubt that John the Baptist found in such passages the ground for his practice of baptizing the Jews who came to him (Mt. 3:1-12; Lk. 3:2-9; Jn. 1:25-28).

Israel's turning to God was meant to be an inward change of attitude toward Him. Isaiah and Jeremiah drew attention to this (Isa. 57:15; Jer. 24:7; 31:33-35; 32:38-40). Here again reference is made to individuals, not just to the people in general (Jer. 31:34). The promised regeneration lovingly offered by God is to be the token of a new covenant between Him and His people (Jer. 31:31; Ezk. 11:9-21; 18:31f.; 37:23f.).

Such a renewing and cleansing are actuallz what Dt. 30:6 promises, a circumcision of the heart rather than of the flesh, the token of the former (Abrahamic) covenant (Jer. 4:4). As God takes the initiative in making the covenant, the conviction takes root that human sin and depravity can be effectually eliminated only by His act of renewing and transforming the human heart (Hos. 14:4). The classical expression of this conviction is found in the prayer of David: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me. Restore to me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with a willing spirit" (Ps. 51:10-12 [MT 12-14]). Jeremiah put the following words into the mouth of Ephraim: "Thou hast chastened me, and I was chastened" (Jer. 31:18). Speaking more clearly than any OT passages, John the Baptist, forerunner of Christ and last flaming torch of the time of the earlier covenant, told of a baptism not of water but of the Holy Spirit and of fire (Mt. 3:11; Lk. 3:16; Jn. 1:33), leading thus to the realization of OT foreshadowings that became possible by faith in Christ.

B. In the Teaching of Jesus. In the teaching of Jesus the need of regeneration has a prominent place. The OT had succeeded — and even the gentile conscience agreed with it — in convincing the people of this need. The clearest assertion of this need and the explanation of the doctrine of regeneration are found in Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus (Jn. 3). The need is based upon (1) the observation that people, even the most punctilious observers of the law, are dead and therefore unable to meet the demands of God. Only He who gave life at the beginning can give the (spiritual) life necessary to do His will. (2) Humanity has fallen from its divinely appointed sphere, the realm of the spiit, the Kingdom of God, and now lives the perishing earthly life. People can live the spiritual life that God requires only by having a new spiritual nature imparted to them, by being "born anew" (Jn. 3:3, RSV mg. "from above"; Gk. *ánōthen*), "of the Spirit" (vv. 6, 8).

These words are a NT exegesis of Ezekiel's vision of the dead bones (37:1-10). The "breath" or "spirit" of God alone can give life to the the spiritually dead.

But regeneration, according to Jesus, is more than life; it is also purity. Since God is pure and sinless, none but the pure in heart can see Him (Mt. 5:8). This was always recognized as impossible to mere human endeavor.

Bildad the Shuhite and each of his friends expressed such thoughts: "Can mortal man be righteous before God? Can a man be pure before his Maker?" (Job 4:17). "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" (14:4). "Behold, even the moon is not bright and the stars are not clean in his sight; how much less man, who is a maggot, and the son of man, who is a worm!" (25:5f.).

To change this lost condition and to impart this new life were what Jesus claimed as His God-appointed task: "For the Son of man came to seek and to save the lost" (Lk. 19:10); "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly" (Jn. 10:10). This new life is eternal and imperishable (v. 10:28) and is imparted by Jesus Himself: "It is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail; the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life" (6:63). This life can be received by believing in Christ or by coming to Him (14:6). By faith sinners receive power that enables them to overcome sin (8:11).

The parables of Jesus further illustrate this doctrine. The prodigal son is declared to have been "dead" and to be "alive again" (Lk. 15:24). The new life from God is compared to a wedding garment, the gift of the inviting king to a guest, who refused it and in consequence is "cast into the outer darkness" (Mt. 22:11-13).

Finally this regeneration, this new life, is explained as the knowledge of God and His Christ: "And this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (Jn. 17:3). This seems to be an allusion to Hos. 4:6: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge; because you have rejected knowledge, I reject you from being a priest to me."

C. In Apostolic Teaching. In general the apostles' teaching on regeneration is a development of Jesus' teaching on the lines of the OT adumbrations. Since the personal character of these OT writers differed considerably, it is remarkable that their views show such concord. Although Paul put more emphasis on the specific facts of santification and justification by faith than on the more comprehensive head of regeneration, he did plainly state the need for the latter. Regeneration is necessary to salvation for all mankind. The body is dead because of sin (Rom. 8:3-11; Eph. 2:1); the flesh is at enmity with God (Eph. 2:15). Paul thus distinctly taught that a new life is in store for those who have been spiritually dead. To the Ephesians he wrote, "And you he made alive, when you were dead through the trespasses and sins in which you once walked" (2:1f.), and later, "God, who is rich in mercy, . . . made us alive together with Christ" (vv. 4f.). A spiritual resurrection has taken place. This regeneration causes a complete revolution in the believers, by which they pass from under the law of sin and death to come under "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:2). The change is so radical that it is possible to speak of a "new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), of a "new nature created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness" (Eph. 4:24), "which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator" (Col. 3:10).

Paul was equally explicit regarding the agent of this change: the "Spirit of God" or "of Christ" (Rom. 8). By Him believers are assured of their new status (Gal. 4:6), and are adopted into the family of God (*huiothesía*, Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:5). Thus Paul contrasted the "first man Adam," who became the leader in transgression, with the "last Adam," the giver of the life of righteousness (1 Cor. 15:45). Paul himself experienced this change and henceforth exhibited the powers of the unseen world in his life of service. "It is no longer I who live," he exclaimed, "but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20).

Regeneration for Paul, no less than for Jesus, is connected with the conception of purity and knowledge. Paul stated in Tit. 3:5, "He saved us . . . by the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit." 1 Cor. 12:13 calls such cleansing the baptism by the Holy Spirit in agreement with the oft-repeated promise (Joel 2:28 [MT 3:1]; Mt. 3:11; Mk. 1:8; Lk. 3:16; Acts 1:5; 11:16). Of course these passages do not refer to mere water baptism any more than Ezk. 36:25 does. As water cleanses the outer body, so the spirit purifies the inner person (cf. 1 Cor. 6:11; 1 Pet. 3:21).

The doctrine that regeneration results in true knowledge of Christ is seen in Eph. 3:15-19 and 4:17-24, where the darkened understanding and ignorance of natural man are placed in contradistinction to the enlightenment of the new life (see also Col. 3:10). The Church redeemed and regenerated is to be an "inheritance," a special "possession" of the Lord (Eph. 1:11-14), and the whole creation is to participate in the final redemption and adoption (Rom. 8:21-23).

James found less occasion to touch this subject than the other NT writers. His Epistle is more ethical than dogmatic; yet his ethics are based on dogmatic presuppositions that fully agree with the teaching of other apostles. Faith to him is the human response to God's desire to impart His nature to humanity, and therefore the indispensable means of securing the full benefits of the new life, i.e., the sin-conquering power (1:2-4), spiritual enlightenment (v. 5), and purity (v. 27). But James doubtlessly referred to regeneration in v. 18: "Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures." Some have supposed that these words, which are addressed "to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion" (v. 1), refer not to individual regeneration but to an election of Israel as a nation and so to a Christian Israel. In this case the aftermath would be the redemption of the Gentiles. One may understand the expression "first fruits" in the sense of Rom. 8:21-32, where Paul saw the regeneration of the believing people of God (regardless of nationality) as the first stage in the restoration of all creation. The "implanted word" (Jas. 1:21; cf. 1 Pet.1:23) parallels the Pauline expression "law of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:2).

Peter in his Pentecost sermon used the words "refreshing" (Acts 3:19) and "establishing all that God spoke . . ." (v. 21) of the completion of His plans for the whole creation. Peter accordingly looked here at God's people as a whole. In a similar sense he said in 2 Pet. 3:13, after mentioning "the day of God" (v. 12): "we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells." He also alluded very plainly to the regeneration of individuals (1 Pet. 1:3, 23). The idea of a second birth of the believers is clearly suggested in the expression "newborn babes" (1 Pet. 2:2) and in the explicit statement of 1:23: "You have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of God." It is in this sense that the apostle calls God "Father" (v. 17) and the believers "obedient children" (v. 14). As shown above, the agent of regeneration, the incorruptible seed of the word of God, finds a parallel in Paul's and James's theology. All these expressions probably go back to a word of the Master in Jn. 15:3, that His disciples are made partakers of the word by having received the

spirit. This spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 15:45, "life-giving spirit") is the power of the resurrected Christ active in the life of the believer. By regeneration believers become "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" (1 Pet. 2:9). Here the apostle used well-known OT expressions foreshadowing NT graces (Ex. 19:6; Dt. 7:6; Isa. 61:6; 66:21), but he individualized the process of regeneration in full agreement with the increased light that the teaching of Jesus brings.

The theology of Peter also points out the contact of regeneration with purity and holiness (1 Pet. 1:15f.) and true knowledge or obedience (v.. 14; 3:16). It is not surprising that the idea of purity invites the OT parallel of "cleansing by water." The flood washed away the iniquity of the world "in the days of Noah," when "eight persons were saved through water. Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a clear conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (3:20f.).

The teaching of John is very closely allied with that of Jesus, as already shown by the multitude of quotations selected from John's Gospel to illustrate the teaching of the Master. It is especially interesting to note the cases where the apostle didactically elucidated pronouncements of Jesus. In Jn. 7:38f., e.g., Jesus had told how faith in Him would change the lives of His disciples and how "rivers of living water" would issue from their hearts." The evangelist continued in explanation, "Now this he said about the Spirit, which those who believed in him were to receive; for as yet the Spirit had not been given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." This recognition of a special manifestation of divine power, transcending the experience of OT believers, was based on Christ's declaration that He would send "another Counselor [Gk. *paráklētos*], to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth" (14:16f.).

In his Epistles John showed that this Spirit bestows a godlike character, which makes "children of God" of those who before were "children of the devil" (1 Jn. 3:10, 24; 4:13, etc.). This regeneration is "eternal life" (5:13) and moral similarity with God, the very character of God in mankind. Since "God is love," the children of God will love (v. 2). Regeneration is also the life of God in mankind, also called fellowship with Christ, victorious life that overcomes the world (v. 4); it is purity (3:3-6) and knowledge (2:20).

The subject of regeneration lies outside the scope of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the dogma is nowhere contradicted in this Epistle and indeed underlies many of its statements. Christ, the mediator of a better covenant which is "enacted on better promises" (8:6), has made "purification for sins" (1:3). In contradistinction to the first covenant, in which the people approached God by outward forms and ordinances, the "new covenant" (8:13) brings "eternal redemption" (9:12) by a divine purification (4. 14). Christ brings "many sons to glory" and is "the pioneer of their salvation" (2:10). Immature Christians are spoken of (as were the proselytes of the OT) as children, who are to attain the stature, character, and knowledge of the mature. (5:13f.).

J. L. NUELSEN

III. Later Development of the Doctrine.–In the fathers there is no very precise discussion of regeneration, and at a time when conversion from paganism meant a drastic reorientation of life the tendency was natural to see it in close connection with baptism (cf. Jn. 3:5; Tit. 3:5). One does not find here the developed sacramentalism of a later period but rather the sacramental theology that speaks indiscriminately of sign and thing signified. Yet pagan conceptions had a certain influence, so that the fathers may have tended to equate regeneration not merely with the inner grace of baptism but also with its operation.

Examples of patristic language may be found in such varied documents as the Didache, the *Oratio* of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem. Gregory, e.g., speaks of three births: the natural, the baptismal, and the final birth of resurrection. If Gregory was thinking in terms of inward signification, as seems likely, there is nothing basically wrong in his comparison. In the light of later teachings, however, it has a dangerous implication. Cyril similarly described baptism as an absolution from sin and endowment with heavenly virtues. The thought is surely falsified if it is interpreted along the lines of sacramental mediation. Yet pressure in this direction can hardly be denied.

It is of interest that in Western theology from the time of Augustine baptismal regeneration seems to become increasingly negative as compared with the great NT signification. It meant little more than remission of original and all previous sin, and a new start in life with the help of habitual grace. Yet if the regeneration meant less, the baptismal operation became increasingly important, especially in infants. Augustine did not deny that martyrdom or a perfect conversion could bring regeneration. But neither of these is likely in infants, who thus have absolute need of baptismal mediation. Leo's comparison of the Spirit-filled water of baptism with the Spirit-filled womb of the Virgin helped to foster a more pagan conception of regeneration through the actual water, although the analogy between the Virgin Birth and regeneration is not invalid in itself (cf. Jn. 1:13f.). In medieval Christendom the infant became the normal recipient of baptism; it was thus assumed that baptism confers regeneration, which, however, is simply the cleansng and new beginning. To claim more is to claim too much. It should be noted, however, that there was hesitation to make a clear connection between the Spirit and the water, and that in adults the possibility of regeneration without baptism, or baptism without regeneration, was still accepted (cf. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* iv; Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theol.* iii).

Reformation theology rejected sacramentalist conceptions, and Calvin in particular gave to regeneration a new fulness, equating it with the total renewal of the person by the work of the Spirit through the means of grace. Yet not all non-Roman Catholic theologians followed this understanding. High Church Anglicans of the Waterland tradition inclined to make regeneration a beginning that might or might not be followed by full renovation. The 17th cent. Reformed scholars also equated regeneration with the implanting of a seed from which repentance and faith would spring; they described this process as the effectual calling of the person. In Arminianism a subjective trend manifested itself, regeneration being understood synergistically as the result of faith cooperating with the Spirit in His gracious operation. This might be cautiously stated as follows: Conversion is the human response to God's offer of salvation. This response gives occasion to and is synchronous with the divine act of renewal (regeneration).

In the modern period liberalism has increasingly stressed the subjective element, as though regeneration were no more than a moral (or intellectual) change or religious experience largely explicable in psychological categories. Evangelicalism of the more Arminian type has not basically

resisted this undersanding but even welcomed and adopted it, as though the human movement of repentance and faith were identical with the work of regeneration, the difference being that a supernatural origin in the work of the Spirit has been steadfastly upheld. Thus the distorted objectivism of medieval sacramentalism has been brought almost to its complete opposite. It is interesting to note, however, that the final result is very much the same, namely, a naturalizing of the work of the Spirit and a restricting or psychologizing of its miraculous content.

Four points are necessary to a satisfactory understanding and statement of the biblical doctrine. First, regeneration is to be seen as indeed the work of the Holy Spirit, who is sovereign in His operation and whose initiative need not wait on human response. Second, the Holy Spirit does indeed use the means of grace in His operation, yet not in such a way that an automatic efficacy on the one side or a naturalistic explanation on the other may be assumed. Third, regeneration is not necessarily the same as repentance, faith, and practical conversion, although these are its inseparable manifestations in those who are capable of them. Fourth, regeneration as a birth is obviously initiation to the new life in Christ, but also supremely positive, carrying with it the implication of the whole.

Insofar as regeneration takes place in mankind and finds expression in human forms and consequences, it is naturally open to investigation in human categories and may be compared with analogous phenomena. Nevertheless, like the Virgin Birth (Lk. 1:35), the new birth of the Christian is first and finally the miracle and mystery of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 3:1-8).

Bibliography.–L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (1953); Calvin *Inst.*, III; *DCG*, II, *s.v.* "Regeneration"; M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles* (*HNT*, 1966; Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1972), pp. 148-150; *DNTT*, I, 184-86; *HDB*, IV, *s.v.* "Regeneration"; C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology* (1952), III, 3-40; J. B. Mayor, *Epistle of St. John* (1913; repr. 1977), pp. 200-203; L. Morris, *Gospel According to John* (*NICNT*, repr. 1981), pp. 208-250; E. G. Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter* (2nd ed. 1947; repr. 1977), pp. 306f.; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* γίνομαι κτλ.: παλιγγενεσία (Büchsel).

G. W. BROMILEY

REGENERATION, BAPTISMAL. *See* BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

REGION. The RSV translation of a variety of OT and NT terms, including Heb. *śāḏeh*, "open country, field" (Nu. 21:20; Jgs. 5:4; Neh. 12:29), *ḥeḇel*, "region, land" (Dt. 3:4, 13f.; 1 K. 4:13), *gᵉḇûl*, "boundary" (Josh. 13:11, 30), *gᵉlîlâ*, "district" (Josh. 13:2; 22:10f.; Ezk. 47:8; Joel 3:4); Gk. *chóra*, "district, place" (Mt. 4:16; Lk. 2:8; etc.), pl. of *hórion*, "boundaries, district" (Mt. 2:16; 15:22; etc.), *klíma*, "district, region" (Rom. 15:23; 2 Cor. 11:10; Gal. 1:21), and *perichōros*, "neighboring region" (RSV "region about," "surrounding region," etc.; Mt. 3:5; 14:35; etc.). The RSV has frequently substituted "region" for AV "country," "border," "coast," "field," etc. *See also* BORDER; COUNTRY; DISTRICT.

N. J. O.

REGISTER; REGISTRATION [Heb. *yālaḏ*] (Nu. 1:18); AV "declare their pedigrees"; [*kāṯaḇ*] (Nu. 11:26; 1 Ch. 4:41; Ezr. 2:62; Neh. 7:64; Ps. 87:6; Ezk. 13:9); AV also WRITE; NEB ENROL, ENTER, NAMES, ROLL; [*pāqaḏ*] (1 Ch. 23:24); AV COUNT; NEB ENTER; [*yāḥaś*] (Ezr. 8:3); AV "reckon by genealogy." An official record of tribes, families, or individuals for genealogical purposes or for a particular situation (1 Ch. 4:41). In Ps. 87:6 (cf. 69:28) the Lord registers His worshipers in a metaphor.

See also CENSUS; GENEALOGY.

G. WYPER

REGULATIONS [Heb. *dāṯ*] (Est. 2:12); AV MANNER; NEB PRESCRIBED; [Gk. *dogmatízomai*] ("submit to regulations," Col. 2:20); AV ORDINANCES; NEB DICTATE; [*dikaíōma*] (He. 9:1, 10); AV, NEB, ORDINANCES. Authoritative rules governing conduct or procedures of one sort or another, e.g., the beautification regimen of the Persian harem (Est. 2:12), the cultic legislation of the old covenant (He. 9:1, 10), and legalistic prohibitions imposed on the Christians at Colossae by the "elemental spirits of the universe" (Col. 2:20; *see* ELEMENT).

REHABIAH rē-hə-bī′ə [Heb. *rᵉḥaḇyâ*, *rᵉḥaḇyāhû*–'Yahweh has made wide']. Son of Eliezer and grandson of Moses; head of a Levitical family (1 Ch. 23:17; 24:21; 26:25).

REHEARSE. As used by the AV the term usually means "tell aloud, narrate" (on Ex. 17:14, *see* RECITE) or "repeat" (so RSV in Jgs. 5:11; 1 S. 8:21; 17:31; Sir. 19:7). In Acts 11:4, AV, "rehearsed from the beginning" renders the aorist part. of Gk. *árchomai*, "begin" (cf. RSV, NEB), here used pleonastically with the imperfect of *ektíthēmi*, "explain" (see BDF § 419 [3]; *see also* BEGIN).

REHOB rē′hob [Heb. *rᵉḥôḇ*–'broad place'; Gk. *Roōb*, *Raab*]. The name of at least three different places in northern Palestine.

1. A city "near the entrance of Hamath" (Nu. 13:21). It is probably to be identified with BETH-REHOB (2 S. 10:6, 8), the location of Syrians hired by the Ammonites in their struggle against David. Laish (Dan) was located "in the valley which belongs to Beth-rehob" (Jgs. 18:28). Y. Aharoni identified the *rḥb* in Thutmose III's list as Rehob (Tell el-Balâṭ) (*LBHG*, rev., p. 162). But according to the coordinates he listed (p. 441), this site is in the mountainous region just N of the present Israel-Lebanon border, 16.5 km. (10 mi.) E of Râs en-Nakûrah and about 30 km. (19 mi.) W of the Huleh valley, and this can hardly be described as the valley in which Dan was located.

2. A place mentioned in the Execration Texts (*LBHG*, rev., p. 96; Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, p. 27, map 23), identified with Tell eṣ-Ṣârem, 5.5 km. (3 mi.) SSW of Beth-shean. Aharoni identified this site with the "Valley" in Thutmose III's list (*LBHG*, rev., p. 157 and map 9; cf. Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, map 34) and with the Rehob of Shishak's list (*LBHG*, rev., p. 325 and map 24). This location does not fit the description of any of the biblical villages named Rehob (see *GP*, II, 20).

3. A village of Asher (Josh. 19:28, 30) granted to the Levites (21:31). This Rehob has been identified with Tell el-Gharbī (Tel Bîrâ) in the plain of Acco, about 9 km. (5½ mi.) ESE of Acco. Lying on the eastern edge of the plain, near the Shephelah of Galilee, Tell el-Gharbī could be described by the phrase "with its pasture lands" (21:31). Rehob is also named among the cities from which Asher "did not drive out the [Canaanite] inhabitants" (Jgs. 1:31). This list groups Rehob with other cities that stretch from Aphek (about 10 km. [6 mi.] SSE of Acco) to Sidon; Y. Aharoni noted that the mention of Rehob beside Dor in a list of Ramses II would favor a location in the southern plain of Acco (*LBHG*, rev., pp. 235, 281 n. 135). In the description of the territory allotted to Asher (Josh. 19:24-31) the name Rehob appears twice: once grouped with Cabul, Ebron, Hammon, and Kanah (v. 28), and once grouped with Mahalab, Achzib, Ummah, and

Aphek (v. 30). The identifiable locations in these groups make it difficult to conclude that there were two different villages in Asher named Rehob. But if there were two cities of this name in Asher, possibly the one named in v. 28 is the same as 1 above, since Hammon, Kanah, and Sidon are all in the northern part of Asher (see *WHAB*, plate IV; *GP*, II, 65-67).

Bibliography.–Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *Macmillan Bible Atlas* (rev. ed. 1977), maps 34, 70, 71; *Student Map Manual*, section 6-5. W. S. L. S.

REHOBOAMrē-ə-bō′əm [Heb. *rᵉḥaḇʿām*–possibly 'the divine kinsman has enlarged,' but more probably < *yirḥaḇ ʿām*–'may the people expand'; Gk. *Rhoboam* (Mt. 1:7)]; AV NT ROBOAM. The son and successor of Solomon, the last king to claim the throne of old Israel and the first king of Judah after the division of the kingdom. His mother was Naamah, an Ammonitess. The account of his reign is contained in 1 K. 12:1-24; 14:21-31; 2 Ch. 10–12.

I. Length of His Reign.–According to 1 K. 14:21 par. 2 Ch. 12:13 Rehoboam was forty-nine years old when he began to reign, and his reign lasted for seventeen years; but the LXX states in 1 K. 12:24a (in an extended passage not found in the MT) that he was sixteen years of age at the start of his reign, which lasted twelve years. W. F. Albright (*BASOR*, 100 [Dec. 1945], 20 n.4) gave his dates as 922-915 B.C., E. R. Thiele (*MNHK*, pp. 55f.) as 931-913 B.C. He ascended the throne at Jerusalem immediately upon his father's death, apparently with no opposition -- even from the northern tribes — at first.

II. Disruption of the Kingdom.–Rehoboam went to Shechem, where the northern tribes assembled to ratify his royal position. There is no record of such a ceremony for David or Solomon; but Saul's right to the throne had been ratified at Gilgal after he had defeated the Ammonites (1 S. 11:14f.), so such a ceremony may well have become the normal pattern. At Shechem JEROBOAM, who had previously tried to rebel against Solomon and had fled to the Egyptian court, returned and acted as adviser to the tribesmen. They accordingly agreed to accept Rehoboam as their king if he would lighten the harsh forced service and burdensome taxes of his father. Rehoboam asked for three days to consider the request. He disregarded the advice of men of riper judgment, to win the people by becoming their servant, and followed the counsel of the men of his own age, to rule by sternness rather than by kindness. Thus he told the people, "My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (1 K. 12:14 par.).

Rehoboam, however, had misjudged the temper of the people as well as his own ability. They were ready for rebellion and met his threat with their own slogan: "What portion have we in David? We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel! Look now to your own house, David" (1 K. 12:16 par.). Thus the ten tribes rejected Rehoboam and chose Jeroboam, their spokesman and able leader, as their king.

Rehoboam, believing in his ability to carry out his threat, sent Adoram his taskmaster (Hadoram, 2 Ch. 10:18), who no doubt had quelled other disturbances, to subdue the people. They, however, enraged by Rehoboam's renewed insolence, stoned this messenger to death (1 K. 12:18). Realizing for the first time the seriousness of the revolt, Rehoboam fled ignominiously back to Jerusalem, king only of Judah and of the adjacent territory of Benjamin, which, 1 K. 12:20 suggests, did not adhere to him very willingly. A small tribe bordering on Jerusalem itself, Benjamin was virtually forced to be loyal to Judah.

III. Underlying Causes of Disruption.–It is a mistake, however, to see in this disruption the shattering of a harmoniously unified kingdom. From the earliest times the confederation of tribes was imperfectly cemented. They seldom united against a common foe. A chain of cities held by the Canaanites, stretching across the country from E to W, kept the north and the south apart. Different geographical characteristics produced different types of life in the two sections. Old jealousies, repeatedly fanned into new flame, intensified the divisions due to natural and artificial causes. David labored hard to break down the old antagonisms, but even in his reign there were two rebellions. Northern Israel had produced many of the strongest leaders of the nation and did not easily submit to a ruler from a Judean dynasty. Solomon, following David's policy of unification, drew the tribes more closely together through the centralization of worship at Jerusalem and through the general splendor of his reign. But he finally widened the gulf between the north and the south through his unjust discriminations, heavy taxes, forced labor, and the general extravagance of his reign. The religion of Yahweh was the only bond capable of holding the nation together, and Solomon's apostasy severed this bond. The prophets, with their profound knowledge of religious and political values, saw less danger to the true worship of Yahweh in a divided kingdom than in a united nation ruled by Rehoboam, who had neither political sagacity nor an adequate conception of the greatness of the religion of Yahweh. Accordingly, Ahijah openly encouraged the revolution (1 K. 11:29-39), while Shemaiah gave it passive support.

IV. Shemaiah Forbids Civil War.–As soon as Rehoboam returned to Jerusalem he collected a large army of 180,000 men (120,000 in LXX B) to bring against Israel. Shemaiah the prophet forbade the expedition, however, on the ground that they should not fight against their brethren and that the division of the kingdom was from God (1 K. 12:22-24 par. 2 Ch. 11:2-4). The army dispersed; nevertheless, "there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually (1 K. 14:30 par. 2 Ch. 12:15). Many scholars have therefore tended to reject the historicity of 1 K. 12:22-24 par., but there is no necessity to see a discrepancy. This passage clearly speaks of a large campaign, whereas the continual warfare mentioned in 14:30 par. may signify nothing more than border skirmishes that persisted through the reigns of Abijah and Asa, the successors of Rehoboam.

V. Rehoboam's Prosperity.–Rehoboam next strengthened his remaining territory by fortifying a number of cities, doubtless against Egyptian attack, since they were on the roads to Egypt or on the western hills of the Judean Shephelah (2 Ch. 11:5-12). According to vv. 13-17 Rehoboam's kingdom was strengthened by the immigration to Jerusalem of priests and Levites from Israel, who were opposed to the idolatrous worship instituted by Jeroboam. All who were loyal to Yahweh in the northern kingdom followed their priests and Levites to Jerusalem to sacrifice, further strengthening Rehoboam's kingdom. But inasmuch as Rehoboam added to the innovations of his father, erecting pillars of Baal in Jerusalem long before they were common in Israel and permitting other heathen abominations and immoralities (cf. 1 K. 14:21-24), it seems that the true worship of Yahweh received little encouragement from the king himself. A further evidence of Rehoboam's luxurious habits is his possession of a considerable harem, like his father's (2 Ch. 11:18-23).

VI. Sheshonq's Invasion.–The disruption of the monarchy

meant the immediate loss of the empire built up by David and Solomon, although Rehoboam kept control of Edom. Both Hebrew states were much weakened and totally unable to withstand the invasion of Shishak king of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam. Shishak is Sheshonq I, the first king of the 22nd or Bubastite Dynasty, who doubtless hoped to recreate an Asiatic empire for Egypt. According to 2 Ch. 12:3 he had a force of 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen, to which Josephus (*Ant.* viii.x.2 [253f.]) added 400,000 foot soldiers, composed of Libyans, Ethiopians, and Sukkiim.

Sheshonq had granted asylum to Jeroboam when he had fled from Solomon (1 K. 11:40; cf. 2 Ch. 10:2, where no Egyptian ruler is named , The LXX (in its addition at 1 K. 12:24e) states that Jeroboam married Ano, the sister of Shishak's wife, thus becoming brother-in-law to the king of Egypt. It is therefore easy to suppose that Jeroboam, finding difficulty in holding his own against his rival Rehoboam, called in the aid of his former protector. But the more than 150 captured towns that are inscribed on the temple at Karnak in Upper Egypt include some belonging to Israel as well as Judah; thus Sheshonq could hardly have invaded Palestine as Jeroboam's ally. It is more probable that Sheshonq found Jeroboam to be a rebellious vassal rather than an ally, and that the historicity of the LXX details may be doubted. T. H. Robinson's suggestion (Robinson and W. O. E. Oesterley, *History of Israel* [1932], I, 275) that Rehoboam had conquered all the northern cities named and that Sheshonq restored them to Jeroboam is most improbable; it flatly contradicts 1 K. 12:22-24 par., and in any case it is extremely unlikely that Rehoboam could have penetrated as far N as Megiddo (where Sheshonq left a triumphal stele).

The Chronicler saw Sheshonq as God's instrument for punishing Rehoboam and the people for national apostasy. Jerusalem was not likely captured (neither the Bible nor Sheshonq claims that it was), but Rehoboam had to yield a vast tribute: all the palace and temple treasures, including the shields of gold made by Solomon. For these Rehoboam later substituted shields of brass (1 K. 14:26f. par.).

Fortunately the Egyptians soon withdrew, and Judah gradually recovered before the death of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 12:12). His son Abijah succeeded him as king of Judah.

Bibliography.—*BHI* (3rd ed. 1981), pp. 230-34; J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller, eds., *Israelite and Judaean History* (*OTL*, 1977), pp. 383-85, 388-391; D. Payne, *Kingdoms of the Lord* (1981), pp. 66-72; *MNHK* (rev. ed. 1965), pp. 53-55; comms. on Kings by S. J. DeVries (*Word*, 1985), J. Gray (*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970), G. R. Jones (*NCBC*, 1984), J. Montgomery (*ICC*, 1951); comms. on Chronicles by P. Ackroyd (*Torch*, 1973), J. Myers (*AB*, 1965), H. Williamson (*NCBC*, 1982).

S. K. MOSIMAN
D. F. PAYNE

REHOBOTH rə-hō'bəth [Heb. *rᵉḥôḇôṯ*–'broad places']. A well mentioned in Gen. 26:22, dug by Isaac's servants after two previous sites had been abandoned to the shepherds of Gerar, who laid claim to the waters (vv. 19-22). The LXX translates the Hebrew word with Gk. *eurychōría*, "open spaces." The name signifies God's having provided "room" for Abraham's descendants among the inhabitants of Canaan.

The location seems to be in the valley of Gerar, in the vicinity of Esek and Sitnah and probably not far from Beer-sheba (Gen. 26:19-23). A suggested site is Ruḥaibeh, which appears to preserve the name, on Wâdī Ruḥaibeh about 35 km. (22 mi.) SW of Beer-sheba (Palmer, cited in BDB, p. 932). Simons (*GTTOT*, § 174, p. 66) located Raḥeibah, probably the same site, on a Nabatean trade route in the Negeb.

W. S. L. S. G. H. WILSON

REHOBOTH ON THE EUPHRATES [Heb. *rᵉ hōḇôṯ hannāhār*–'Rehoboth by the river'; Gk. *Rhoōbōth* or *Rhōbōth hē pará potamón*]; AV REHOBOTH BY THE RIVER; NEB REHOBOTH ON THE RIVER. A city, the home of Shaul king of Edom (Gen. 36:37; 1 Ch. 1:48). The RSV translation reflects the general use of Heb. *nāhār* for large rivers, specifically the Euphrates and the Nile. But *nāhār* is also used of smaller streams and canals (see BDB, pp. 625f.), and the king of Edom almost certainly had his residence in Edom and not on the Euphrates; thus the RSV rendering is to be rejected.

The river has been identified as Wâdī er-Riḥāb, a tributary of Seil el-Qeraḥi, just S of Wâdī el-Ḥesā (Brook Zered), the boundary between Edom and Moab. Rehoboth has been identified as Khirbet ʿAin Riḥāb, by the source of Wâdī er-Riḥāb, but Abel suggested as possibly preferable Khirbet Musrab, 5 km. (3 mi.) farther W (*GP*, II, 434f.). Simons thought "the River" here refers to Wâdī el-Ḥesā, which was the border river (*GTTOT*, § 391).

W. S. L. S.

REHOBOTH-IR rə-hō'bəth-ēr' [Heb. *rᵉḥōḇōṯ-ʿîr*; LXX *hē Rhoōbōs (Rhoōbōth) pólis*]. The second of the places named in connection with Nimrod in Gen. 10:11, mentioned between Nineveh and Calah. No such place is known from extrabiblical sources. The Hebrew literally means "the wide spaces of the city." The name has been connected with a suburb of Nineveh known from Neo-Assyrian times (Esarhaddon) as *Rêbīt Ninua*, literally, "the squares and environs of Nineveh" (cf. *rêbīt āli*, a collective term for the "open spaces" or "unbuilt areas" on the outskirts of a city). Rehoboth-Ir may therefore refer to a suburb on the outskirts of the great city of Nineveh (cf. Jonah 3:3).

F. W. BUSH

REHUM rē'həm [Heb. *rᵉḥûm*, *rᵉḥum*–'(the deity) has been merciful'; Gk. *Rheoum*].

1. One of the twelve leaders of the Jewish community returning with Zerubbabel from exile (Ezr. 2:2). See also 1 Esd. 5:8 (Gk. *Rhoïmos*) and Neh. 7:7, which reads (Heb. *nᵉḥûm*) by orthographic confusion in transmission.

2. An official of high rank in the Persian government who co-authored a letter to King Artaxerxes opposing and eventually halting the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Ezr. 4:8f., 17, 23). See also 1 Esd. 2:16-30 (LXX 12-26; Gk. *Rhaoumos*).

3. A Levite, a son of Bani, who served under Nehemiah during the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:17).

4. One of the "leaders of the people" who signed the covenant of Ezra (Neh. 10:25). His identity is uncertain. He may have been the same man as **3** above or related to **1** above.

5. Possibly another priest who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:3). This passage is problematic (the name is omitted in LXX), however. A comparison with Neh. 12:15 and 1 Ch. 24:8 makes it likely that the text originally read Harim (Heb. *ḥārim*) which was corrupted in transmission (see *BHS*).

See *IP*, pp. 38, 187.

R. L. PRATT, JR.

REI rē, rē'ī [Heb. *rēʿî*–'friendly'; LXX *Rhēsei*]. A royal officer listed among those who did not support Adonijah in his bid for succession to the throne of David (1 K. 1:8). The lack of reference to the function of Shimei and Rei

(cf. Zadok and Nathan, mentioned earlier) has raised doubts about the text, and some ancient versions offer variant readings. Instead of "Shimei and Rei," Lucian reads "Shimei and his friends," and Josephus has "Shimei the friend of David." J. Gray (*I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], p. 79 note a) followed Josephus, suggesting that Shimei held the office of "friend of the king" referred to in 4:5. This reading is doubtful, however, because it involves too wide a variant from the MT (reading *wᵉšimᵉʿî rēʿeh dāwîḏ* in place of *šimᵉʿî wᵉrēʿî*). It is probably best to read "Shimei and Rei" with the MT. N. J. O.

REIGN [(verbs) Heb. *mālaḵ*–'be king, reign' (Gen. 37:8; 1 S. 11:12; Ps. 146:10; Prov. 8:15; etc.), *yāšaḇ*–'sit (enthroned)' (Lam. 5:19); Gk. *basileúō*–'be king, rule' (Mt. 2:22; Lk. 1:33; Rom. 5:14, 17, 21; Rev. 5:10; etc.), *symbasileúō*–'rule with' ("reign with," 2 Tim. 2:12)]; AV also REMAIN (Lam. 5:19); NEB also ENTHRONED (Lam. 5:19), RULE, SUCCEED, COME TO (USURP, etc.) THE THRONE, BE KING, GOVERN, etc.; [(nouns) Heb. *malḵûṯ*–'royal power, dominion' (1 Ch. 26:31; 2 Ch. 3:2; Ezr. 4:5f.; Neh. 12:22; etc.), *mamlāḵâ*–'royal sovereignty' (Jer. 27:1; 28:1), *mamlāḵûṯ*–'royal dominion' (Jer. 26:1); Aram. *malḵû* (Ezr. 4:24; 6:15; Dnl. 6:28 [MT 29]); Gk. *hēgemonía*–'chief command' (Lk. 3:1)]; NEB also EMPEROR (Lk. 3:1). In several passages the RSV supplies "reign" from the context (1 K. 15:33; 16:8, 23; 2 K. 13:1, 10; 14:23; 15:17, 23, 27; 17:1; in 1 S. 10:1 it follows the LXX). Likewise, in 1 Tim. 5:21 the RSV and NEB supply "rule" (Gk. *taúta*, lit. "things"; so AV) from the context.

In the RSV OT "reign" as a verb occurs over 280 times, in all instances but one representing Heb. *mālaḵ*, derived from *melek*, "king." It refers most frequently to the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel. The term also appears in the angry question of Joseph's brothers, "Are you indeed to reign over us?" and in the fable of Jgs. 9:8-15, as well as in references to the reigning of Yahweh (Ex. 15:18; 1 Ch. 16:31; Ps. 146:10) and the Messiah (Isa. 32:1; Jer. 23:5).

The noun "reign" occurs nearly forty times, almost always in a date-formula, e.g., "in the fourth year of Solomon's reign" (1 K. 6:1), or "in the second month of the fourth year of his reign" (2 Ch. 3:2). Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Daniel refer to the reigns of pagan rulers, namely, Darius, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Belshazzar. The nine uses of the noun not found in date-formulas all refer to an undesignated period of time when a particular king was in power, e.g., "Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius" (Dnl. 6:28; cf. 2 Ch. 29:19; Ezr. 4:5f.; 7:1; 8:1; Neh. 12:22). The OT nouns for "reign" are also frequently rendered "kingdom."

In the NT the verb "reign" represents Gk. *basileúō* nineteen times and *symbasileúō* once. It is used most frequently in the literal sense, e.g., in reference to the civil rule of Archelaus (Mt. 2:22), to the sovereign power of God (Rev. 11:17; 19:6), to the messianic kingship of Christ (Lk. 1:33; 1 Cor. 15:25), and to the reign of God and Christ together (Rev. 11:15). In several passages it refers to the future glorious state of believers (2 Tim. 2:12; Rev. 5:10; 20:4, 6; 22:5); cf. 1 Cor. 4:8, where Paul with great irony expresses the wish that the Corinthian Christians were already reigning as some seemed to think they were. In Romans Paul uses the word six times in a figurative sense to emphasize the power of death (Rom. 5:14, 17), sin (5:21; 6:12), and grace (5:21). The Roman Christians are urged to cooperate with grace in refusing to allow sin to have any continuing dominance over them (6:12-14).

See also KING, KINGDOM; RULE. D. B. PECOTA

REINS. An AV term derived from Lat. *renes*, "kidneys." *See* HEART; KIDNEYS (Job 16:13); SOUL (Prov. 23:16); LOINS (Isa. 11:5); MIND (Rev. 2:23).

REJECT [Heb. *māʾas* (Nu. 11:20; 1 S. 8:7; 10:19; 2 K. 17:20; Job 8:20; Ps. 118:22; Isa. 5:24; Jer. 33:24, 26; Hos. 4:6; etc.), *zānaḥ* (Ps. 60:1, 10 [MT 3, 12]; 108:11 [MT 12]; Zec. 10:6), *nāṭaš*–'leave unheeded,' 'abandon' (Prov. 1:8; Isa. 2:6; Jer. 15:6), *ʿāzaḇ*–'leave, abandon, forsake' (Prov. 10:17), *ḥāḏēl*–'inconsequential, rejected' (Isa. 53:3), hiphil of *sûr*– 'deflect, turn aside, repudiate' (Ps. 66:20); Gk. *apodokimázō*–'declare useless' (Mt. 21:42; Mk. 8:31; 12:10; Lk. 9:22; He. 12:17; 1 Pet. 2:4, 7; etc.), *athetéō*–'declare invalid, nullify,' 'reject, not recognize' (Mk. 7:9; Lk. 7:30; 10:16; Jude 8), *apostréphō*–'repudiate' (Tit. 1:14; He. 12:25), *exouthenéō*–'reject with contempt' (Acts 4:11), *apōthéō*–'push aside' (Rom. 11:1f.; 1 Tim. 1:19), *apóblētos*–'rejected' (1 Tim. 4:4)]; AV also DESPISE, REFUSE, ABHOR, FORSAKE, CAST OFF, etc.; NEB also CAST OFF, ABANDON, REPUDIATE, SET ASIDE, etc.; **REJECTION** [Gk. *apobolḗ* (Rom. 11:15)]; AV CASTING AWAY.

Most of the OT instances reflect Heb. *māʾas*, which seems to carry a connotation of treating something with disdain. Outside of its use in Ps. 118:22, it occurs primarily in the historical and the prophetical books. In 1 S. 8:7 and 10:19 it refers to the rejection of God implied by Israel's demand for a king. It occurs four more times (1 S. 15:23, 26; 16:1, 7) in reference to God's rejection of Saul, the king that Israel desired. Finally, it appears in 2 K. 17:20, a Deuteronomic summary of the theological reasons for Israel's destruction by Assyria in 722 B.C. Thus the word constitutes a leitmotif that ties together the whole history of Israel's incomprehensible self-destruction (cf. also Ps. 78:59, 67). In the prophets the word predominantly refers either to Israel's rejection of God and His teaching (e.g., Jer. 6:19) or, correspondingly, to God's rejection of a disobedient people (e.g., 7:29).

Isaiah 53:3 is the well-known verse describing the Suffering Servant as one who is "despised and rejected [*ḥāḏēl*] of men." *Ḥdl* the verbal root of *ḥāḏēl*, is not rare, but has a variety of meanings, ranging from "cease (doing something)" to "ignore." The derived adjective can mean "transitory" or "insubstantial" (RSV "fleeting" [Ps. 39:4 (MT 5)]), and in Isaiah might simply mean "inconsequential, easily overlooked." The NEB "shrink from sight" is most unlikely.

In the NT several occurrences of "reject" appear in references made to Ps. 118:22 -- "the very stone which the builders rejected" (Gk. *apodokimázō* in Mt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17; 1 Pet. 2:7; cf. Acts 4:11). Just as God's rejection of Israel and its king is the mystery that pervades the theme of rejection in the OT (cf. also Rom. 11:1f.), so the mystery of the disgraceful death of the Messiah dominates the NT. Several NT texts refer to the attempts Jesus made to teach His disciples that the Son of man must be rejected (Mk. 8:31; Lk. 9:22; 17:25). Other NT instances are largely warnings against the rejection of God's wisdom and grace. Thus for both testaments "rejection" is a most mysterious and troubling theme — our rejection of God, and the apparent divine rejection of those chosen to bring salvation.

Bibliography.–*CD*, II/2; *TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "zānach" (Ringgren); "chādhal" (Freedman, Lundbom); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δόκιμος κτλ. (Grundmann); VIII, *s.v.* τίθημι κτλ.: ἀθετέω (Maurer).

G. CHAMBERLAIN

REKEM rē'kəm [Heb. *reqem*–'friendship'].

1. One of the five Midianite chieftains slain by the

Israelites under Moses. In Nu. 31:8 they are called "kings" (Heb. *mᵉlāḵîm*); in Josh. 13:21 they are called "leaders" (*nᵉśî'îm*, "tribal chiefs") and are associated with Sihon king of the Amorites, who was slain at a different time.

2. Head of a Calebite family; son of Hebron and father of Shammai (1 Ch. 2:43f.).

REKEM rē'kəm [Heb. *reqem*–'friendship']. A city within the territory allotted to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. 18:27); its location is unknown.

RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY.

I. Consanguinity
  A. In General
  B. Parents and Children
  C. Brothers and Sisters
  D. Uncles, Aunts, Cousins, Kinsmen
II. Affinity
  A. Husband and Wife
  B. Parents-in-law and Children-in-law
  C. Brother-in-law
III. Other Domestic Relations
  A. Foster Parents
  B. Servants
  C. Guests
  D. Sojourners

The family or domestic relations of the Bible include those of (1) consanguinity or blood relationship, (2) affinity or marriage relationship, and (3) legal convention. Those of consanguinity may be divided into lineal and collateral groups; the former are those of parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, and ancestors and descendants in general; the latter are those of brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts in relation to nephews and nieces, cousins of various degrees, including mere tribesmen and even remoter kinsfolk. The relations of affinity include, besides that of husband and wife or concubine, the relations among wives of the same husband and their children, those of father-in-law and mother-in-law in relation to son-in-law and daughter-in-law, and those of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. The domestic relations based on legal convention are either legal fictions or the results of agreement. Among the former we must include those of foster-father or -mother and foster-children; among the latter the relations between master and the various classes of servants and slaves held by the ancient Hebrews, those between host and guest, especially where they became covenant brothers, and those between the citizen and the stranger who had attached himself to him for protection. *See also* HOUSEHOLD.

I. Consanguinity. A. In General.–Genealogies were carefully kept by the ancient Hebrews (cf. those of Genesis, Numbers, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Matthew, Luke, not only because they formed the basis of a person's title to property (Nu. 27:8-11; cf. 36:1-12), but also because the right of one's family to intermarry with the priestly caste depended on one's pedigree. Descent was traced through the father; a person's closest association was therefore with the father's family and one was ordinarily referred to as the son or daughter of one's father, e.g., Rebekah the daughter of Bethuel (Gen. 24:24), Isaac the son of Abraham (25:19), Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh (Nu. 14:6). Still, there are instances of persons named for their mothers (e.g., Bethuel the son of Milcah [Gen. 24:24], Joab the son of Zeruiah [2 S. 2:13]), and one's relation with one's mother's family was fully recognized in the laws forbidding incest. No lineal relatives were permitted to intermarry (Lev. 18:7, 10). The relations of ancestors and descendants were considered so close that the ordinary terms of relationship between children and parents were also used consistently in relation to grandparents and remoter ancestors. The wishes of a great-grandfather were respected long after his death as the wishes of a father (Jer. 35:16).

B. Parents and Children. The FATHER (Heb. *'āḇ*; Gk. *patḗr*) was the head of the family (Heb. *mišpāḥâ*) or household (*bayiṯ*), which was a religious (1 S. 20:6, 29; Ex. 12:3; Job 1:5) as well as a social and political unit, consisting usually of more than one nuclear family in the modern sense. As long as polygamy prevailed, a family would include at least the several groups of children of the wives and concubines. The Bible represents the Hebrew father as commanding (Gen. 50:16; Jer. 35:6f.; Prov. 6:20), instructing (Prov. 1:8; 4:1), and rebuking (Gen. 37:10; Nu. 12:14), but at the same time as loving (Gen. 25:28; 37:4; 44:20), pitying (Ps. 103:13), and blessing his household (Gen. 27:41), rejoicing over its triumphs (Prov. 10:1; 15:20) or grieving over its misfortunes (Gen. 37:35).

The MOTHER (Heb. *'ēm*; Gk. *mḗtēr*), too, is represented as displaying love and care (Gen. 25:23; Prov. 4:3; Isa. 49:15; 66:13). To the Hebrew woman childlessness was considered the greatest of misfortunes (e.g., 1 S. 1:2-11,

A family scene from an Egyptian wall painting. At left the priest Nakht and his wife survey the estate. At right they hunt birds and fish in the rushes: Nakht's son hands him sticks for fowling; his daughter draws his attention to a cat (now removed from the picture) that was after birds' eggs or fish (Tomb 52, Thebes, 18th Dynasty) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

of Hannah; Gen. 30:1, 23, of Rachel). Children were looked upon as a blessing from God (Ps. 127:3) and as the defenders of the home (vv. 4f.).

In early life a CHILD (Gk. *paidíon, téknon*) was more directly under the control of the mother than of the father; the mother was its first teacher (e.g., Prov. 1:8; 31:1). Thereafter the father was expected to direct the training of the son (Heb. *bēn*; Gk. *huiós*) (Gen. 18:19; Ex. 12:26; 13:8, 14f.; Dt. 6:7), while the daughter (Heb. *baṯ*; Gk. *thygátēr*) probably remained with the mother until her marriage (cf. Mic. 7:6). (*See also* EDUCATION.) The Law required that both parents be treated with honor (Ex. 20:12 par. Dt. 5:16 [the Fifth Commandment]; Ex. 21:15; Lev. 20:9; Dt. 27:16; Prov. 20:20; Ezk. 22:7; Mic. 7:6), obedience (Gen. 28:7; Lev. 19:3; Dt. 21:18-21; Prov. 1:8; 30:17), and love (1 K. 19:20; Prov. 28:24; 30:11). The parents had the right to sell daughters in marriage or into a restricted form of slavery (Ex. 21:7-11; cf. 22:16f.; Neh. 5:5), but never into a life of shame (Lev. 19:29). They were expected to discipline their children (Dt. 8:5; 21:18; Prov. 13:24; cf. Sir. 30:1-13), and in the early days they even exerted the power of life and death over them (Gen. 22; Jgs. 11:39; cf. Mt. 15:4). The Law, however, denied the parents the right to sacrifice their children to Molech (Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5; 2 K. 23:10), and it limited the parents' rights in the case of a rebellious son to a mere right of complaint to the proper authorities (Dt. 21:18-21), who were to put him to death. Infanticide by exposure, such as was common among other ancient peoples, seems never to have been practiced by the Hebrews. That the children were nevertheless considered chattels of the parents seems to be attested from the fact that they could be seized for the debts of the father (2 K. 4:1).

The father could annul the vows of his daughter (Nu. 30:3-5). He was entitled to a bridal sum from the man who married his daughter (Gen. 34:11f.; Dt. 22:29); if his daughter was raped and he did not wish to give her in marriage to the man who raped her, the father was to be compensated by an amount equivalent to the bridal sum (Ex. 22:16f.). A widowed or divorced daughter could return to her father (Gen. 38:11; Lev. 22:13; Ruth 1:15).

At the father's death the mother would become the actual, if not the legal, head of the household (e.g., 2 K. 8:1-6; Tob. 1:8; *see* WIDOW). This was especially true of the queen mother (Heb. *gᵉḇîrâ*), whose name is usually given in the accounts of the kings of Judah (see 1 K. 1:11; 2:19; 11:26; 14:21, 31; 15:2, 10, 13; 22:42; 2 K. 8:26; 10:13; 14:2; 15:2, 33; 18:2; 21:1, 19; 22:1; 23:31, 36; 24:8, 12, 15, 18; 2 Ch. 22:2; Jer. 13:18; 22:26; *see* QUEEN MOTHER). While it is true that the position of the widowed mother depended to some extent on the will of her son (cf. 1 K. 2:18-25), it must be remembered that the sense of filial duty was highly developed among all the classes in Palestine (Josh. 2:13, 18; 6:23; 1 S. 22:3; 2 S. 19:37; 1 K. 19:20). The rebellion of children marked the acme of social degeneration (Mic. 7:6; Prov. 30:11); on the other hand, the "great day of the Lord," according to Malachi (4:5f. [MT 3:23f.]), is one of conciliation of parents and children.

C. Brothers and Sisters. The terms "brother" (Heb. *'āḥ*; Gk. *adelphós*) and "sister" (Heb. *'āḥôṯ*; Gk. *adelphḗ*) apply to children of the same father and mother (Gen. 4:2) and also to children of one father (Gen. 20:12) or of one mother (Gen. 43:7; Lev. 18:9; 20:17). The brother as well as the father had the duty to protect the honor of his sister; thus the sons of Jacob spoke of Dinah as "our daughter" (Gen. 34:17), and Absalom felt more deeply aggrieved over the crime against Tamar than did David himself (2 S. 13:21). The brother's other duties toward a sister were very much like those of a father (cf. Gen. 24:50f.; Cant. 8:8). The Law strictly forbade the intermarriage of brother and sister, whether of the same father and mother or not, whether born at home or born abroad, as a "shameful thing" (Heb. *ḥeseḏ*, to be distinguished from *ḥeseḏ*, "kindness"; Lev. 18:9, 11; 20:17). In earlier times marriage between half-brother and sister had apparently been allowed (Gen. 20:12; cf. 2 S. 13:13). In fact, the OT states that the laws against incest were not obeyed by the Egyptians or the Canaanites (Lev. 18:3; 20:23).

Relationships between full brothers were generally very strong (cf. Gen. 43:34; 45:13; Prov. 17:17); the dwelling of brothers together in unity was considered good and pleasant (Ps. 133:1). Brothers were always ready to protect or avenge each other (2 S. 3:27); indeed the brother or next of kin (the *gō'ēl*) was expected to avenge a death (Nu. 35:19-21; Dt. 19:6; Josh. 20:3; 2 S. 14:11; *see* AVENGER). A brother was also expected to ransom a captive or slave (Lev. 25:48; cf. Ps. 49:7, RSV mg., AV). Half-brothers were of course not as close as full brothers (cf. Joseph and his brothers), and it is not surprising to find the sons of a wife despising and driving out the son of a harlot (Jgs. 11:1, Jephthah).

The words "brother" and "sister" are also used frequently of more distant relationships (see D below; *see also* BROTHER; SISTER).

D. Uncles, Aunts, Cousins, Kinsmen. Hebrew *dôḏ* means both "uncle" and "beloved" (cf. "uncle" in Lev. 10:4; 1 S. 14:50; 2 K. 24:17). It is used of the father's and also of the mother's brother, and the corresponding feminine form (*dôḏâ*) is used of the father's sister (Ex. 6:20) and even of the father's brother's wife (Lev. 18:14; 20:20). Intermarriage between nephew and aunt (i.e., father's sister, mother's sister, or father's brother's wife, or, in general, uncle's wife) was prohibited (Lev. 18:12-14; 20:19f.), although intermarriage between uncle and niece or between cousins was permitted (cf. Nu. 36:11). On the relations between uncle and nephew, compare the biblical accounts of Jacob and Laban, Abraham and Lot, David and Joab, etc. In a more general sense *dôḏ* can denote a "kinsman" (cf. Am. 6:10; see comms.). *Ben dôḏ* is used of a cousin and *baṯ dôḏ* of a female cousin. For other relations of this and remoter degrees, the word for "brother" (Heb. *'āḥ*) is loosely used (e.g., of uncle and nephew, Gen. 13:8; 14:14; etc.; of tribesmen, Lev. 21:10; and of more distant relatives, Dt. 2:4, 8; 23:7). *See also* KIN.

II. Affinity.–A. Husband and Wife. The husband (Heb. *'îš*; cf. *baʿal*, Hos. 2:16; Gk. *anḗr*), though in a sense leaving father and mother for his wife (Heb. *'iššâ*; Gk. *gynḗ*) (Gen. 2:24), under normal conditions remained a member of his father's family. If such passages as Gen. 2:24; 24:5, 67; 30:3; 31:31; Jgs. 8:19; 9:3; etc., indicate the existence in prebiblical times of a matriarchate, the allusions are certainly too vague to justify the predication of its persistence in biblical times. The wife was "taken" by her husband or "given" by her father or, in the case of a servant, by her master or mistress (Gen. 2:22; 16:3; 34:9, 21; etc.), and although the contract was between the men (Gen. 29; 34:16; Ex. 22:16; Dt. 22:29; Ruth 4:10) or the parents (e.g., Gen. 21:21), it is probable that the girl's consent was usually asked (24:58). Love between the young people was given due consideration (cf. the examples of Samson, Shechem, Jacob and Rachel [Gen. 29:18], David and Michal [1 S. 18:20]); in any case, it was known to develop among married people, so that Hosea could compare the attitude of husband toward his wife to that of Yahweh toward Israel.

As a matter of legal right, it is probable that throughout

RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY

the ancient Near East, long before the events narrated in the book of Esther, every man was "lord in his own house" (Est. 1:22). In fact a precedent for the Persian decree can be traced as far back as the curse that followed the fall (Gen. 3:16). Nevertheless, the biblical record contains many instances in which the wife seems to take the lead in the affairs of the household, as in the case of Samson's parents (Jgs. 13:23), of the Shunammite woman (2 K. 4), of Jael (Jgs. 4:18-22; 5:24-27), of Achsah (Josh. 15:18f.; Jgs. 1:12-15), of Jezebel (1 K. 18:4; ch. 21), of Sapphira (Acts 5:2), and of Zeresh (Est. 5:14), who were at least consulted in the affairs of their several households. Abraham was even commanded by God, "whatever Sarah says to you, do as she tells you" (Gen. 21:12). That most women were not so fortunate is probably best attested by the fact that at least in the earlier times the best of them had to resort to stratagem to accomplish their purposes (as in the cases of Rebekah [Gen. 27:6-17], Rachel [31:34], Leah [30:16], and Abigail [1 S. 25:18-35]) or even to get information as to their husband's affairs (Sarah, Gen. 18:10; Rebekah, 27:5). Perhaps their sisters in later days accomplished their ends by being so contentious as to attract the notice of proverb-collectors (Prov. 21:9; 25:24).

Although there is no evidence that the Hebrew husband exercised the right of life and death or the power of sale over his wife (cf. Ex. 21:8), it is frequently pointed out that the Hebrew wife ordinarily occupied a very subordinate position in the home. This generalization is based on the one-sided divorce doctrine of the OT (Dt. 24:1), on analogy with other ancient laws, on the fact that the wife is often spoken of in conjunction with property (e.g., Ex. 20:17), and on the husband's right to annul the wife's vows (Nu. 30:6). It must not be forgotten, however, that the husband also owed duties to the wife (Ex. 21:10). It must also be kept in mind that great divergence existed at different times and places and in different stations of society. Most of the OT evidence pertains to the wealthier classes. The two extremes of the women who are "at ease" (Isa. 32:9-20; cf. Am. 4:1 6:1-10) and the enterprising "good wife" described in Prov. 31:10-31 are hardly exceeded in the most complex society today. The latter probably gives the fairer picture of the functions of the Hebrew wife in the home, and it is significant that her husband and sons are expected to call her blessed (v. 28). *See also* WOMAN.

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which POLYGAMY and concubinage (*see* CONCUBINE) were practiced in ancient Palestine; probably they were largely confined to the wealthier classes. Polygamy was discouraged even among kings (Dt. 17:17), and concubinage, an outgrowth of slavery, seems not to have been held in high repute (cf. 21:10-14). The position of a less-favored wife (21:15) was naturally unpleasant, and her relations with her husband's "rival" wife were decidedly bitter (Lev. 18:18; 1 S. 1:6; cf. Sir. 37:11) — even when they were sisters (cf. Rachel and Leah, Gen. 30:1). Hence the Law forbade the marrying of two sisters (Lev. 18:18). On the other hand, so strong was the Hebrew woman's desire for children that the childless wife welcomed as her own the children of a maidservant born to her husband (Gen. 30:1-12; etc.). *See also* MARRIAGE; SEX.

B. Parents-in-law and Children-in-law. In Hebrew society, for reasons already explained, a family generally had closer relations with the husband's parents (Heb. masc. *ḥām*, fem. *ḥāmôṯ*) than with the wife's parents (masc. *ḥōṯēn*, fem. *ḥōṯenet*; Gk. *pentherós, pentherá*). Where under special conditions a man remained with his wife's tribe after marriage, as in the case of Jacob serving out his bridal sum (Heb. *mōhar*), or Moses fleeing from the wrath of Pharaoh, or the sons of Elimelech sojourning in Moab because of the famine in Palestine, he maintained his identity with his own tribe and at the first opportunity returned to his own country. The bride, on the other hand, left her people and became a member of her husband's family, with all the rights and duties of a daughter (cf. Mic. 7:6). Thus Judah could order Tamar burned for violation of the obligations of a widow (Gen. 38:24). No doubt the position of the daughter-in-law varied in the Hebrew home. Some, like Esau's foreign wives, were extremely vexing to their parents-in-law (Gen. 26:35; 27:46; 28:8); others were very devoted to them, like Ruth, who said to her mother-in-law, "May the Lord do so to me and more also if even death parts me from you" (Ruth 1:17). Parents-in-law and children-in-law were considered too closely related to intermarry (Lev. 18:15; 20:12, 14).

C. Brother-in-law. A woman's brother, acting *in loco parentis*, might perform all the offices of a father-in-law (Gen. 24:50, 55; 34:11-17). Under normal circumstances brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were considered too closely related to intermarry (Lev. 18:16, 18; 20:21). But if a man died without a male heir, his brother (Heb. *yāḇām*; *see* HUSBAND'S BROTHER) was expected to marry the childless widow to establish the name of the deceased on his inheritance (Dt. 25:5-10; cf. Gen. 38:8; Ruth 4:1-12). In practice the levirate was probably considered more in the nature of a moral duty than a privilege (Dt. 25:7; Ruth 4:6), and it devolved not only on the brother but on other members of a deceased husband's family in the order of the nearness of their relationship to him (Ruth 3:12; *see also* BROTHER'S WIFE; MARRIAGE IV.A.2). In the Hebrew family brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law would form part of the same household. This relationship, like others, could be characterized by either ideal friendship (e.g., David and Jonathan, 1 S. 18:3; 2 S. 1:26) or petty jealousies (e.g., in the matter of Moses' wife, Nu. 12:1).

III. Other Domestic Relations.–A. Foster Parents. Although the custom of legal adoption was known among the Hurrians (*see* ABRAHAM III), Greeks, Romans, and other ancient peoples, Hebrew law does not mention it. Usually the purpose for legal adoption lay in a childless man's desire to perpetuate his lineage, and in a polygamous society like that of the Hebrews a childless man could remarry instead of resorting to adoption. Nevertheless, examples of adoption do appear in the OT. While still childless, Abraham adopted Eliezer as his heir (Gen. 15:2; according to Josephus *Ant.* i.7.1 [154], Abraham adopted Lot); Jacob adopted his grandsons Manasseh and Ephraim, thereby making them the fathers of tribes (Gen. 48:5); the daughter of Pharaoh adopted Moses (Ex. 2:10; cf. *Ant.* ii.9.7 [232]); and Mordecai adopted his niece Esther (Est. 2:17, 15).

The OT also refers to persons who filled the role of foster parents. The qal part. of Heb. *'āman* (masc. *'ōmēn*, fem. *'ōmenet*) is used of men and women entrusted with the responsibility of caring for dependent children (see *TDOT*, I, 294), e.g., Naomi the "nurse" of Obed (Ruth 4:16), the "nurse" of Mephibosheth (2 S. 4:4), the "guardians" of Ahab's orphaned sons (2 K. 10:1, 5), and Mordecai who "brought up" Esther (Est. 2:7); the term is also used figuratively in Nu. 11:12 ("nurse") and Isa. 49:23 ("foster fathers," "nursing mothers"). Under such conditions foster children obeyed their foster parents as they would their natural parents (Est. 2:20).

In NT times the notion of adoption (Gk. *huiothesía*) was so familiar that Paul used the term figuratively of conversion (Rom. 8:15; 9:4; Gal. 4:5; Eph. 1:5); *see* ADOPTION.

B. Servants. The "family," as the word is used of

ancient peoples, included servants. Heb. *šipḥâ*, "maid-servant," is related to the term *mišpāḥâ*, "family," as Lat. *famulus*, "servant," is related to *familia*, "family." For a discussion of the various classes of servants and slaves in Hebrew society, *see* SERVANT; SLAVE.

C. Guests. When Lot protested against betraying his visitors to the men of Sodom and preferred even to give his daughters to the mob rather than fail in his duties as a host (Gen. 19:8), he was acting on the ancient principle of guest-friendship (cf. Gk. *xenía*), which bound host and guest by sacred ties. In the light of this principle the act of Jael, who received Sisera as a guest and then betrayed him, becomes capable of explanation only on the basis of the intense hatred existing at the time, and justifiable — if at all — only on the theory that all is fair in war (Jgs. 4:18-21; 5:24-27). The nomads of ancient times and even the postexilic Hebrews, like the Arabs of today, were bound by a temporary covenant whenever there was "salt between them," i.e., in the relation of host and guest (Ezr. 4:14; cf. the expression "covenant of salt," 2 Ch. 13:5; Nu. 18:19). In the early Christian Church breaking bread together served as a sort of a *bᵉrîṯ 'aḥîm*, or of covenant brothers. In large households such as that of a king, those who ate at the table were considered members of the household (2 S. 9:11; cf. also 9:7, 10, 13; 19:28; 1 K. 2:7; 4:27; 18:19). *See* ENTERTAIN; GUEST.

D. Sojourners. The Heb. *gēr* ("sojourner" or "alien") was a person who was attached to the household of an influential Hebrew for protection; often he was an employee of the household (Ex. 20:10; Lev. 25:6; Dt. 5:14; 29:11; 31:12). In many respects he was a dependent, but he was distinguished from a slave (Lev. 22:10f.; 25:6). The Mosaic law commands that such aliens be treated with consideration (Ex. 12:49; 20:10; 22:21; 23:9; Lev. 19:33; Dt. 10:18; etc.; cf. Ps. 146:9) and even with love (Lev. 19:34; Dt. 16:14). *See* SOJOURNER.

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N. ISAACS E. D. ISAACS

RELAYS [Heb. *ḥᵃlîpâ*] (1 K. 5:14 [MT 28]); AV COURSES. Solomon supplied thirty thousand laborers for Hiram in companies of ten thousand each month. The Israelites spent one month in Lebanon and two months at home.

RELEASE [nouns: Heb. *šᵉmiṭṭâ*–'remission (of a debt)' (Dt. 15:1f., 9; 31:10), *mimkār*–'selling' (Lev. 25:50), *ḥᵃlîpâ*–'change, relief' (Job 14:14); Gk. *áphesis*–'release' (Lk. 4:18), *apolýtrōsis*–'redemption, deliverance' (He. 11:35)]; AV also SALE, CHANGE, DELIVERANCE; NEB also REMISSION, RELIEF, etc.; [verbs: Heb. *yāṣā'*–'go out, become free, revert' (Lev. 25:28, 30f., 33, 54; 27:21; hiphil, Jer. 20:3), *šāmaṭ*–'let fall,' 'remit' (Dt. 15:2; hiphil, v. 3), *pāṭaḥ*–'open, loose' (niphal, Isa. 51:14; piel, Jer. 40:4), hiphil of *nāṭar*–'cause to leap' (Ps. 105:20); Gk. *lýō*–'loose, untie' (Mk. 7:35; Rev. 9:14f.), *apolýō*–'set free, pardon' (Mt. 18:27; 27:15, etc. par.; Acts 3:13; 4:23; He. 13:23)]; AV also GO OUT, LOOSE, LET GO, etc.; NEB also REVERT, REMIT, SET FREE, etc.

Old Testament law provided that every fiftieth year was to be a Year of Jubilee (*see* JUBILEE, YEAR OF) during which every Jewish person was free to return to his own family and his family's property (Lev. 25:10). At this time all Jews who had sold themselves into slavery to fellow Jews were to be set free (vv. 39-55), and all property that had been sold was to revert to its original owner (vv. 13-34). Deuteronomic legislation provided further for a "year of release" (Dt. 15:1-3, 9; lit. "year of remission") every seven years, at which time Jewish creditors were to forgive all debts owed to them by fellow Jews (*see* SABBATICAL YEAR).

The Gospels of Matthew (27:15), Mark (15:6), and John (18:39; the MS support for Lk. 23:17 is weak) all witness to a Roman custom of granting amnesty to a Jewish prisoner on the eve of Passover. The lack of corroborating testimony to this practice in extrabiblical sources has led to a hot debate regarding its historicity (see comms.). Accounts of historical parallels do, however, support the probability that such a custom existed (e.g., cf. Josephus *Ant.* xx.9.3 [208-210]; see C. B. Cheval, *JBL*, 60 [1941], 273-78; W. L. Lane, comm. on Mark [*NICNT*, 1974], pp. 552f.).

See also LIBERTY; SLAVE. N. J. O.

RELIGION [Gk. *eusébeia* (1 Tim. 3:16; 2 Tim. 3:5), *theosébeia* (1 Tim. 2:10), *thrēskeía* (Acts 26:5; Jas. 1:26f.)]; AV also GODLINESS; **RELIGIOUS** [*thrēskós*] (Jas. 1:26); **VERY RELIGIOUS** [comparative of *deisidaímōn*] (Acts 17:22); AV TOO SUPERSTITIOUS; NEB "[in everything] that concerns religion . . . uncommonly scrupulous"; **RELIGIOUS DUTY** [infinitive of *eusebéō*] (1 Tim. 5:4); AV "to show piety"; NEB "to show loyalty."

Although Gk. *eusébeia* (and cognates) and *thrēskeía* (and cognates) are common in Greek literature, they occur only rarely in the LXX and NT (almost exclusively in wisdom literature, the Apocrypha, and later NT Epistles — all of which show Hellenistic influence). This is not surprising, since the Greek concept of religion, with its emphasis on intellectual understanding and cultic duties, is basically foreign to the biblical focus on God's calling humanity to live in a personal relationship of wholehearted faith and obedience to Him, the Creator and Lord of history (*see also* PIETY). Early Christians may have used *eusébeia* and its cognates first for pagan or Jewish religion (cf. Acts 3:12 [RSV "piety"]; 10:2, 7 ["devout"]; 17:23 ["worship"]) and only later in reference to Christian faith (*see* GODLINESS). Showing respect to one's parents was considered a religious duty not only by the Greeks but also by the early Church (1 Tim. 5:4; cf. Ex. 20:12).

As used by Herodotus (ii.37) and other Greek writers, *thrēskeía* means "'religious conduct or practice' in general, with particular emphasis on the zealousness of such practice" (*TDNT*, III, 156). In Jas. 1:26f. it denotes "the scrupulous observance of religious exercises — in action or words" (Adamson, p. 85); cf. Acts 26:5; Col. 2:18 (RSV "worship"; cf. *ethelothrēskeía*, v. 23; RSV "rigor of devotion").

Deisidaimonía (from *deídō*, "fear," + *daímōn*, "supernatural power"), another Greek term for religion, can be used in a positive, neutral, or pejorative sense. The noun in Acts 25:19 (NEB "religion"; cf. AV, RSV, "superstition") and adjective in 17:22 (see heading) are probably employed in a neutral rather than disrespectful sense (see Bruce; Haenchen; *TDNT*, II, 20; *see also* SUPERSTITION).

"Jews' religion" (Gal. 1:13f., AV) is a translation of Gk. *Ioudaïmós* (cf. RSV "Judaism"; NEB "practising Jew," "our national religion"), which denotes the Jewish faith and way of life (cf. 2 Macc. 2:21; 8:1; 14:38). *See* JUDAISM. In 2 Macc. 6:24 "an alien religion" (RSV; cf. AV "a strange religion"; NEB "apostate") renders *allophylismós* (lit. "foreign").

On Acts 13:43, AV, *see* DEVOUT.

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335, 436; *DNTT*, II, 91-95; E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. tr. 1971), pp. 520, 672f.; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δαίμων: δεισιδαίμων (W. Foerster); III, *s.v.* θρησκεία (K. L. Schmidt); VII, *s.v.* σέβομαι: εὐσεβής κτλ. (W. Foerster). N. J. O.

RELIGION OF ISRAEL. *See* ISRAEL, RELIGION OF.

RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD. Religion may be defined as a relationship to the holy. To one who has been influenced by the Judeo-Christian belief system, religion is specifically the relationship of the human being to the God of the Bible: the Yahweh of the Hebrew Bible and the God and Father of Jesus Christ in the NT. But there are polytheistic religions with many gods, and there are atheistic religions with no god (e.g., Buddhism — although the intrusion of Hindu thought into Buddhism often creates the impression that Buddhists worship many gods). Animistic religions likewise are difficult to categorize, since everything in nature is seen as the manifestation — or perhaps the actual presence — of deity.

The etymology of "religion" has come into question. Previously it was commonly taken as a derivative of Lat. *religare*, "to bind," thus referring to the beliefs, actions, and emotions that bind a person to his or her god. But others have suggested a derivation (less likely, in my opinion) from Lat. *relegere*, "to read again," placing more stress on the repetition of prayers, hymns, and scriptures.

Because of the ambiguity of the term, there is a basic question whether the Judeo-Christian system is properly a religion. According to the strictest view, either it is the only religion or it is no religion at all. Such a position, of course, immediately ends all discussion. If, on the other hand, religion is defined to include one's beliefs about God and His revelation to mankind, one's ways and means of worshiping that God, and one's moral and ethical behavior as derived from that faith, then Judaism and Christianity can certainly be described as religion(s). A Jew or a Christian may indeed declare that the God of Abraham, the God of Jesus, is the only God, and that the gods of the Gentiles are nothing; that is a statement of faith. The Jew or Christian may also accept as fact that the Moslem believes that Allah is the only God (even if denying that Allah and Yahweh are the same God). Accordingly, the Jew or Christian may profitably study other religious systems, whether from simple curiosity or from a belief that the one true God has not left Himself without witness anywhere. The practice of studying comparative religions over the past several centuries, however, has introduced complicating elements into the faith of Jews and Christians. Some have attempted to see an evolutionary development from animism to polytheism to henotheism to monotheism. Some have stressed the similarities of the various religious systems, ignoring those elements that others would claim to be important distinctives of biblical religion.

More recently, the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, and sociology have become significant — sometimes even dominant — in the study of religion. Thus a scholar may present a psychoanalytical study of Jeremiah or a sociological study of Amos. Or the religious system of a people living in the Paleolithic era might be reconstructed from a few drawings on the wall of a cave. The result has sometimes been a further blurring of the concept of religion.

Turning to the Bible itself, one notices two important facts. (1) The term "religion" does not occur in the English versions of the OT, and it occurs but rarely in the NT. Gk. *thrēskeía* is religion in the sense of religious service (Acts 26:5; Jas. 1:26f.; cf. 4 Macc. 5:7; Josephus *Ant.* xii.5.4 [253]). But if this is "pure" religion (cf. Jas. 1:27), it is certainly found in the OT (cf. Mic. 6:6-8). If one looks for a Hebrew word for "religion," perhaps *'ĕmûnâ*, "faithfulness," comes closest.

(2) The Bible contains a considerable amount of material concerning the religions of the nations (Heb. *gôyîm*; Gk. *éthnoi*). Various pagan deities are mentioned by name (Marduk [Heb. *mᵉrōḏāḵ*, Jer. 50:2], Baal [Jgs. 2:13; 2 K. 10:18-28], Molech [23:10], Artemis [Acts 19:24], etc.). Pagan religious practices are described (and condemned), e.g., worshiping on high hills, under trees (cf. 2 K. 16:4; Hos. 4:13), or causing a child to pass through fire (2 K. 16:3). There are references to the "other gods" that the ancestors of Abraham worshiped "beyond the river" (Josh. 24:2) and to "all the gods of Egypt" (Ex. 12:12), as well as to the "idols" that the Thessalonians once worshiped (1 Thess. 1:10).

It is therefore proper, and even incumbent upon all who study the Bible, to know something about the religions of the various peoples of the biblical world. The following articles under the general heading RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD are intended to sketch this material.

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RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: ASIA MINOR. This article will deal with Hittite and Hurrian religion (*ca.* 2000-1150 B.C.).

I. Pantheon
II. Mythology
III. Visual Representation of the Gods
IV. Cult Personnel
V. Sacred Buildings and Architecture
VI. Sacred Times and Seasons
VII. Offerings to the Gods
VIII. Prayers and Hymns
IX. Divination
X. Ethics
XI. Death and Afterlife

I. Pantheon.—*A. Old Hittite Period.* During this period the pantheon of the Hittites was a mixture of Hattian and Anatolian deities. Names of deities in the original Old Hittite festival descriptions can be found in the indexes of Neu. The Old Hittite laws (see Friedrich) allude to religious matters, but mention by name only the sun-god (Ištanu) and storm-god (law 169). In the Old Hittite historical text by Anitta(s), king of Kuššara (see Neu), the goddess Halmašuit, the sun-god (Ištanu), and the storm-god are named. Although original Old Hittite sources are scarce, later copies exist in sufficient numbers to provide a large list of divine names. But there is always the possibility that in the process of recopying Old Hittite texts scribes inserted later divine names or used them to replace earlier names. No original Old Hittite mythological texts have been recovered to date. Of Old Hittite myths whose earliest copies are post-Old Hittite we may mention the Vanishing Deity type (often called "Telipinu [or Telepinus] Myth"; see *ANET*, pp. 126-28), the Storm-god and the Serpent (often called "Illuyanka[s]"; see *ANET*, pp. 125f.), and the bilingual Hattic-Hittite "Moon that Fell from Heaven" (see *ANET*, p. 120). The only deities mentioned in the narrative portions of the Illuyanka Myth are the storm-god and the goddess Inara. In a cultic appendix concerning the Purulli Festival other deities are mentioned: Zalanu(iša[s]), his wife Zašhapuna(s), his concubine Tazzuwaši(s), and the storm-god of Nerik. Their relationship to the story of the serpent is not specified.

The best attested of the Vanishing Deity myths is that

RELIGIONS: ASIA MINOR

Basalt stele relief of the storm-god Teshub from upper Syria. He wears Hittite clothing and carries lightning and an axe (end of the 2nd millennium B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

whose central character is the god Telipinu. Although his role in promoting the proliferation of vegetation and livestock is clear from the narrative, he is not a special "vegetation-god" but rather one of a large number of Hittite "storm-gods." Other vanishing deities in myths of this type are: the principal storm-god (the father of Telipinu in these tales), the sun-god, ZABABA, the mother-goddess NIN.TU (= Hannahanna), also called DINGIR.MAḪ, the goddess of magic Kamrušepa (= Hattic Katahziwuri), Papaya, Ištuštaya, the fate deities (Gulšeš), the DINGIR.MAḪ deities, the grain-goddess Halki (= Hattic Kait), Miyatanzipa, Hapantaliya, the goddess Inara (sometimes written ^{d}LAMMA), Anzili, and Zukki. Related to the "Telipinu Myth" type are fragments of myths telling of the abduction of the sun-god by the sea-god (Hitt. *arunaš*) (Laroche, *Catalogue*, no. 323; *Textes mythologiques*, pp. 21ff.).

B. Middle and New Hittite Periods. In addition to deities of the Hattian and Asianic strata, Hurrian deities begin to appear first in the Middle Hittite period. Among these the main deities are the storm-god Tešup and his consort Hebat. Both written and nonwritten sources from the New Hittite period reveal a mix of deities from the Hattic, Asianic, and Hurrian spheres, often showing a sophisticated syncretism by which gods of similar nature are identified. Deities are often portrayed on monumental *rock reliefs* (examples in Bittel, *Hethiter*, pp. 173-234). The best and most comprehensive of these is the outdoor sanctuary of Yazilikaya N of Hattuša (Hattusas). Its reliefs depict the state pantheon of the Hittites during the reign of King Tudḫaliya(s) IV. Although all deities bear Hurrian names, the deities represented are the product of a syncretism by which older Hattian and Asianic deities were equated with and viewed under the names of their closest Hurrian equivalents. Thus the storm-god is Tarhunta and Tešub; his consort is both the sun-goddess of Arinna and Hebat. The "vegetation-deity" is equally Telipinu and Kumarbi. The male sun-god is at once Ištanu and Šimike. And so forth. Yazilikaya serves to supplement what can be gathered from the idol description texts as to the appearance and iconography of individual deities. Its pantheon represents the point of view of the Hittite court during the last fifty to seventy-five years of the empire.

II. Mythology.–A. Old Hittite. *1. The Storm-god and the Serpent.* The narrator of the two versions of this tale was a certain Kella, a GUDU priest (see IV below) of the storm-god of Nerik. Goetze's (*ANET*, p. 125) interpretation of the opening lines (that the first of the two versions narrated was that "which they no longer tell") has been refuted by Güterbock and Hoffner. It is still possible, of course, that the existence of two versions indicates that one was an earlier, discontinued one. But without the supposed statement that the first one was "no longer told" we cannot claim this as certain. Perhaps the two stories circulated simultaneously in different regions. Both stories share a single theme: the storm-god has been defeated by the serpent and needs help to trick and disable his opponent. Like the more widely used Old Hittite story of the Vanishing Deity, the Storm-god and the Serpent story stresses the following points: (1) The deity most responsible for the welfare of the human community (in this case the storm-god) can be disabled and rendered incapable of performing his essential duties. (2) In such cases mortals must assist in restoring him. In the Serpent stories the mortal helps in a non-ritualistic way; in the Vanishing Deity stories he helps by performing a ritual. In this sense the Serpent stories offer no concrete way apparent to us for members of the worshiping community to effect the storm-god's recovery, unless it is by acting out the narrative in a sacred drama. Perhaps the bas-relief from Malatya (see Gurney, *Hittites*, p. 183) represents a scene from such a reenactment of the serpent killing. But since the Serpent stories, unlike the Vanishing Deity stories, do not claim that the defeat and disabling of the storm-god has evil effects upon nature or the human community, it is by no means clear that the stories were used to counter disasters in nature such as drought, famine, etc. On the contrary, the Serpent stories are connected with the Purulli Festival performed annually at the same time. We have no evidence that Purulli was a New Year Festival, but since it was performed at the same time each year it was not designed to counter unexpected natural catastrophes. The appendix to the Serpent stories refers to a casting of lots during this festival. Because the appendix mentions the ranking of certain deities, it is possible that the lot-casting established a new hierarchy in the Hattian pantheon for the coming year. Although one cannot assume that in all cultures the serpent is a symbol of evil, we can see from these stories that among the Hattians and Hittites (as in ancient Israel) it had precisely that function.

2. The Vanishing Deity. a. Sources. More examples of texts containing variants of this story are known than for the Storm-god and Serpent. In addition to the "Telipinu Myth" proper, of which parts of three distinct versions are known (Laroche, *Catalogue*, no. 324), the Disappearance and Return of the Sun-god (no. 323), the Disappearance of

the Storm-god (no. 325), the God of Queen Ašmunikal (no. 326), the God of Harapšili (no. 327), the God of the Scribe Pirwa (no. 328), the Storm-god of the City of Kuliwišna (no. 329), the Storm-god at the City of Lihzina (no. 331), Anzili and Zukki (no. 333), DINGIR.MAḪ (no. 334), Inara (no. 336), and other large fragments tell of the disappearance of some deity, who must then be brought back by the performing of the appropriate ritual. This kind of ritual is called a *mugawar* in Hittite. A similar Canaanite ritual is described in the account of the contest of the Israelite prophet with the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 K. 18). The deity whose return is desired may be sleeping, may have gone away on a journey, may have rejected his land and people, or may have been abducted. While the Canaanite sacrifice on Mt. Carmel to bring back the god Baal was a bloody animal sacrifice, those of the Hattian-Hittite *mugawar*s were both meat and vegetable offerings. The presentation of offerings was accompanied by the recitation of appropriate spells. For example, the presentation of figs was accompanied by the words: "Here are figs! Just as a fig is sweet, let your soul, Telipinu, in the same way be sweet!" When olives and wine were presented: "Just as the olive holds its oil in its heart, and the grape holds wine in its heart, you, Telipinu, hold goodness in your soul and heart!"

b. The Telipinu Version. The myth tells how Telipinu becomes irritated and flies into an uncontrollable rage, which brings about disastrous effects on nature. Fog and smoke envelop the houses, so that no fresh air can enter through the windows to allow living beings to breathe or fire to burn in the fireplaces. Among the livestock the mothers reject their young. Angry Telipinu runs away to hide in the wild country. With him he takes the fertility of the land's crops. Behind him he leaves the land in complete economic collapse. Plants do not grow, livestock and human beings do not breed, the water sources dry up. A famine arises that is so severe that both gods and men are starving. Greatly concerned, the gods organize a search for Telipinu. Although the great and powerful gods fail, and the sharp-eyed eagle as well, a tiny bee sent forth by the mother-goddess finds Telipinu and stings him awake. The angry god is pacified by a ritual performed by Kamrušepa, the goddess of magic, and brought back. Kamrušepa's effective magic consists of a series of analogic spells: "When Telipinu was angry, his heart and soul were a burning fire. Just as this fire is quenched, even so let his rage, anger and fury be quenched also!" A final section describes how the god's return restores nature to harmony and productiveness. It appears that the role played by Telipinu in this version could be filled by any other deity, as the occasion required.

B. Middle Hittite and New Hittite. 1. The Kumarbi Cycle. A number of the best-known myths circulating during the New Hittite period belong to a cycle of stories whose central character was the god Kumarbi (Güterbock, "Kumarbi"; "Hethitische Literatur"). Among these were the Song of Kumarbi (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 344, often called "Kingship in Heaven" [so *ANET,* pp. 120f.] or "The Theogony"), the Kingship of the God KAL (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 343), the Song of Ullikummi (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 345; *ANET,* pp. 21-25), the Myth of the Dragon Hedammu (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 348), and the Song of Silver (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 364; cf. Hoffner, "Song of Silver"). It is not yet possible to set the various mythological "events" of these stories in sequence, but it is usually thought that the Song of Kumarbi starts the series and sets the stage for the episodes which follow in the other "songs."

a. The Song of Kumarbi. This myth tells how kingship over the gods descended from the god Alalu through the god Anu to Kumarbi. Both Alalu and Anu are driven from their thrones by their successors. As he puts Anu to flight, Kumarbi emasculates Anu and swallows his semen, thus attempting symbolically to leave his rival childless. But instead he makes himself the womb of his foe's offspring, who will eventually displace him. Our Hittite text is a translation and perhaps adaptation of a Hurrian myth, which could have been based upon a Mesopotamian prototype. The story strikingly resembles parts of Hesiod's *Theogony,* and various theories have been advanced to explain how Mesopotamian antecedents, the Hurro-Hittite myth, Canaanite echoes, and Hesiod's material relate to each other (Hoffner, "Survey"). In Hesiod's version the members of the chain of divine rulers are father, son, grandson, i.e., descendants of each other, while in the Hurro-Hittite myth Alalu (no. 1) and Kumarbi (no. 3) are father and son, as are Anu (no. 2) and Tešub (no. 4) (Hoffner, "Survey"). This arrangement means that two family lines are in competition for the kingship and hold it alternately. The rivalry continues into the Song of Ullikummi, where Kumarbi's son Ullikummi seeks to wrest the kingship of his father from Tešub, the son of Anu. Other myths in the cycle are too poorly preserved to determine if the two-family struggle is alive in them.

b. The Song of Ullikummi. This myth concerns the struggle of Tešub, son of Anu, to retain kingship over the gods against the threat of Ullikummi, son of Kumarbi. Ullikummi is a stone monster whose mother is a huge cliff with which Kumarbi has intercourse. His name resembles the Hurrian word for "enemy" and Kummiya, the name of Tešub's home city. The name incorporates the prediction made at his name-giving that he would defeat Tešub and destroy his city Kummiya (Hoffner, "Birth"). Placed as an infant for protection under the sea on the shoulder of Ubelluri, a Hurrian Atlas, Ullikummi grows until his head reaches the sky and threatens the gods in heaven. In their first encounter Ullikummi defeats Tešub and sends him into exile, where he plans a counterattack. The myth's end is not preserved. Because during the historical period Tešub is the chief male deity of the Hurrian pantheon, it is likely that Tešub finally defeats his enemy. But because we do not know if the Song of Ullikummi was the final myth in the cycle, we cannot assume that matters were finally resolved in it instead of being carried over to the next myth, as was the case in the Song of Kumarbi.

c. The Kingship of the God KAL (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 343; Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology," pp. 161-64). This fragmentarily preserved myth describes a period when a rather unruly and evil male deity is king of the gods. Although Güterbock ("Hittite Mythology") tentatively placed the myth between the Song of Kumarbi and the Song of Ullikummi, Laroche placed it in his *Catalogue* sequence and in his transliteration ahead of both of them (*Textes mythologiques,* pp. 145ff.). There is no way at present to determine its place.

d. The Song of Silver (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 364). For a long time it was not recognized that this myth formed a part of the cycle of "songs" about Kumarbi. Its central character is a young man named Silver. He grows to young manhood believing himself to be an orphan, since he has never known his father. During his adolescence he is quite a bully, picking on other children. On one occasion when he is about to strike an orphan child, the child reminds him that he too is an orphan. Disturbed, Silver goes home and begs his mother to reveal his father's identity. She discloses that his father was Kumarbi, and that his (step-?) brother is Tešub and his (step-?) sister Ishtar. Silver determines to find his father and so sets out

RELIGIONS: ASIA MINOR

for Kumarbi's city of Urkiš, but he does not find Kumarbi there. The story's continuation is not preserved intact. The opening lines of the myth reveal that it was a "song," and the prominent role played by Kumarbi makes it indisputable that it belongs to his cycle. In the other Kumarbi myths Tešub is the son of Anu, but since Kumarbi's body served as the womb from which he emerged, it might be possible to consider him also to be the "son" of Kumarbi. This would make Silver a step-brother to Tešub.

e. The Hedammu Myth (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 348). To judge from its contents this myth also formed a part of the Kumarbi cycle. Kumarbi contracts with the sea-god to take his daughter Šertapšuruḫi in marriage. From this union is apparently born the sea serpent Hedammu. With its voracious appetite Hedammu threatens all of the animals even of the dry land: cattle, sheep, goats, horses, as well as frogs, lizards, and the like. Thus the whole world of living things is threatened. Ea, the wise king of the subterranean waters, calls Kumarbi to his throne and asks him why he is behind an attempt to destroy mankind, since the human beings have not neglected to sacrifice to and serve the gods. The text breaks off before we can hear Kumarbi's reply. The world-ruler Tešub must find a way to cope with this monster. One attempt is made through exposing the male Hedammu to the erotic charms of Tešub's sister Ishtar. At first this seems to fail, but in a second attempt Ishtar apparently changes the water Hedammu lives in to a sleeping potion which confuses him. Ishtar lures him erotically from his throne and from the sea. The continuation of the story is lost. The similarities to the Song of Ullikummi are obvious: Kumarbi works through his monstrous progeny to dethrone Tešub, who together with his sister must thwart the attempt. The physical dimensions of Hedammu's mother, like those of Ullikummi's, are enormous, given in DANNAs (miles).

2. The Appu Story. Although the geographical setting of the story is eastern Mesopotamia, it is not accompanied by the same Hurrian divine and personal names as the myths of the Kumarbi cycle or the Kešši story. It is impossible to reconstruct with certainty the chronological sequence of the events related in the various fragments of text. But the usual arrangement of the story runs as follows. Appu is a very rich man who has a wife but no son. The all-knowing sun-god advises him how to impregnate his wife successfully. Appu names the first son Idalu, "evil one." Shortly afterward he sires a second son, whom he names Handanza, "just one." When the boys reach adulthood, they acquire their father's inheritance, and Idalu persuades Handanza to divide the estate, so that they can live separately. During the division Idalu seeks to cheat Handanza, but the sun-god, the god of justice, thwarts Idalu's plan by causing the apparently inferior livestock of Handanza to thrive. There follows a gap in the narrative, after which Idalu seems to take Handanza to court before the sun-god at Sippar. When the sun-god rules in favor of Handanza, Idalu curses, so that the sun-god refuses to conclude the case and requires them both to proceed to Nineveh where Ishtar will continue the judgment. Here the fragments give out. On the basis of a short prologue to the story, which seems to state the theme that someone (perhaps the sun-god) will repeatedly exonerate just men but will repeatedly strike evil men on the head until he has destroyed them, it seems that the case is referred to further deities until Idalu's suit has been struck down many times.

3. The Gilgamesh Epic. Fragments of stories about the Mesopotamian hero-king Gilgamesh have been known since the earliest days of Hittitology and were edited and organized as best as could be with the aid of the Akkadian exemplars (J. Friedrich, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* 39 [1930], 3-5; H. Otten, "Zur Überlieferung des Gilgames-Epos nach den Bogazköy-Texten," in P. Garelli, ed., *Gilgames et sa légende* [1960], pp. 139-143; A. Kammenhuber, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft,* 21 [1966], 45-58). The Gilgamesh myths are examples of foreign literature in Hittite translation. Unlike myths about Telipinu, Inara, Kamrušepa, or Kumarbi, the Gilgamesh materials do not seem to have any relevance to the Hittite cult.

4. The Elkunirša and Ashertu Myth. These fragments of a Canaanite myth in Hittite translation contribute more to West Semitic studies than to Hittite. The *dramatis personae* are El (= Elkunirša, "El, Creator/Owner of the Earth"; cf. Gen. 14:22), Elkunirša's wife and consort Asherah/Ashertu, Baal/Haddu (written with the storm-god logogram), and Baal's sister-ally ʿAnat (Anath) (written with the Ishtar logogram). Since none of these deities occurs by name in the Hittite cult records, we conclude that like the Gilgamesh fragments they are foreign literature and contribute nothing to our understanding of Hittite religion. See *ANET,* p. 519.

III. Visual Representation of the Gods.—*A. Types of Representation and Their Appearance. 1. Cult Statues or Idols.* Photographs of many cult statues of Hittite and Hurrian deities can be consulted in Bittel (*Die Hethiter,* pp. 146ff., 159, 161-66) and in Akurgal. Although these examples are suggestive of the variety which once existed, it must be understood that the finest examples, being made of precious materials, undoubtedly fell prey to the looters of Hattuša and other Hittite cult centers when they were captured or destroyed *ca.* 1150 B.C. What remains for us is a mere afterglow. Even so, there are preserved examples of sculpture in the round ranging in size from portable household miniatures to lifesize. In addition we find representations in gold (Akurgal, plates 21 [above], 53), statuettes of lead and carved ivory (Akurgal, plate 35 [above]), of bronze (Akurgal, plates 43f., 50f.), lapis lazuli, steatite, and rock crystal (Akurgal, plate 53). These statue(tte)s were used for private devotions in the temples, palaces, and homes.

2. Rock Reliefs. Adapted to public display were the representations of deities, kings, queens, and princes on rock reliefs (Akurgal, plates 64f., 71, 75-88, 92f., 98-102). Additional reliefs depicted humans in cultic activities, such as in the reliefs from Alaca Hüyük (Akurgal, plates 92f.). The most important single group of rock reliefs depicting Hittite and Hurrian gods is the group on the walls of the outdoor sanctuary of Yazilikaya (Laroche, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique,* 27 [1969], 61-109; Bittel, *Boğazköy-Hattuša;* Masson).

3. Ḫuwaši Stones. The texts mention a kind of stone that figures in the worship of the gods and that may have borne a representation in relief of the deity (Goetze, pp. 163, 168; Gurney, *Hittites,* pp. 149, 153, 155; *Aspects,* pp. 25ff., 36ff.). Following this interpretation Goetze and Gurney have compared it with the biblical *maṣṣēḇâ,* which was a standing stone or stele. Such a stele bearing a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription and found with a trough for offerings in front of it was excavated in 1947 by T. Özgüç at Karahöyük in Elbistan (Gurney, *Aspects,* pp. 37f.).

B. The Treatment of the Cult Statue. The Hittites did not confuse these statues with the deities they represented, but they treated them with respect and awe befitting these deities. Cult statues were housed in the temples and served by priests and temple servants much as the

RELIGIONS: ASIA MINOR

Gold Hittite god found in Anatolia, mid-2nd millennium B.C. This statuette is only about 3 cm. (1¼ in.) high (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

master of a grand manor might be served by his domestics. The image could be put in bed at night, awakened in the morning, served meals, bathed, dressed, entertained with music, dancing, acrobatics, and occasional athletic contests. It could be placed on a litter and carried in procession to some quiet grove for outdoor entertainment and to be seen by worshipers as the procession passed. In prayers and compendiums of instructions for priests the relationship of god and worshiper is compared to that of master and slave and conclusions about conduct are drawn from it. If the clothing of the image became threadbare or its plating of precious metal wore off, the god showed his displeasure to his temple and its community. Discovering the problem through divination (see IX below), the priests would inform the king or his local representative and secure personnel and materials to repair the image.

IV. Cult Personnel.–Among the personnel of the Hittite temple were priests (Hitt. *šankunniš*), LÚ.MES GUDU$_4$, "anointed ones," *šiwanzannis* ("god's mothers"), as well as a variety of skilled persons who provided entertainment (musicians, singers, acrobats) or food and drink (kitchen personnel, food servers, table attendants) for the god, artisans (smiths, weavers, carpenters, potters), and temple guards. Small temples in the outlying areas had much smaller staffs. The minimum was the priest, the "anointed one," and the "god's mother." The king served as the honorary chief priest of the realm, and the queen at some periods was the chief "god's mother."

The Hittite priest (*šankunniš*) could be male or female, although males predominated. He could be married, but his wife and family lived away from the temple premises. Strict purity rules regulated his life. Nothing was allowed to defile the temple or food of the gods. The commission of certain particularly defiling acts such as sexual concourse with animals disqualified persons from ever serving as priests (law 200). There seems to have been no age limit for priestly service. Like the boy Samuel (1 S. 1–2) the young prince Hattušili III served the goddess Šauška of Šamuha as a priest. Kings exercised their priestly roles until they died.

The king in his role as high priest wore a special skull cap like the sun-god, a long flowing robe reaching to the ankles, and carried a crooked staff resembling the Roman *lituus*. Kings in priestly dress (Akurgal, plates 53 [top], 71, 78, 84f., 92 [top]) and ordinary priests (Akurgal, plate 92 [below]) are depicted on Hittite reliefs, from which it is possible to determine their dress.

V. Sacred Buildings and Architecture.–*A. Temples.* The Hittites called the temple "the house of the god." They employed no special term for "temple." Before 1983 only five temples had been found in the excavations of Hattuša. The discussions of Goetze (pp. 166f.), Gurney (*Hittites,* pp. 145-150), Güterbock ("Hittite temple"), and S. Alp (*Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* [1983]) are based on that state of knowledge. The excavations since 1983 have revealed that from *ca.* 1250-1150 B.C. the upper city to the S of the acropolis area was thickly settled with temples. All Hittite temples found to date seem to share a similar ground plan. All have a cella in the rear for the deity's statue, and storage rooms surrounding a central courtyard. The largest temple in Hattuša, Temple I in the lower city, was dedicated to the great storm-god and his consort. Temples not only served as the residence of the deity and his personnel but as the repository of clay tablets containing documents that must be watched over and enforced by the deity.

The temple was guarded twenty-four hours a day against defilement and fire damage. Detachments of priests and temple guards observed a regular rotation of night guard duty. If a fire broke out and did damage, the persons in whose watch it occurred were put to death. No ordinary foreigner was allowed to enter the temples. But certain privileged foreigners (ambassadors and the like) could enter accompanied by an escort. Cows, sheep, and goats were brought into the temple area to be sacrificed, but impure animals such as dogs and pigs were excluded. Worshipers washed themselves at the entrance to the temple area. Several texts preserve for us the ritual procedure for the dedication of a new temple (Laroche, *Catalogue,* nos. 413-15; *ANET,* pp. 356-58). Other texts describe the procedure for transferring a deity to a new temple (Laroche, *Catalogue,* nos. 481f.).

B. Outdoor Shrines. As the Canaanites worshiped on the "high places" under green trees, so too the Hittites regarded certain springs, groves, mountains, and rivers as sacred and erected stelae there. Each such place was to be regularly visited and supplied with offerings (*ANET,* pp. 210f.). Unlike the temples, the outdoor shrines had no priestly staff in residence, so far as we know. But if they were neglected, the gods would become angry with the country and bring disaster. Not only were the divine beings who inhabited the spring or grove worshiped there

RELIGIONS: ASIA MINOR

with sacrifices, but the cult statues kept in the temples were occasionally taken to such places for outdoor entertainment and worship.

VI. Sacred Times and Seasons.–The Hittites observed a wide variety of festivals. For some of them texts are preserved that describe the proceedings. For a few of these we possess outline texts that summarize the activities of each day. No text has been recovered that contains a formal calendar for the Hittite festivals, as Lev. 23 provides for the Israelite festivals. But the cult inventories (Laroche. *Catalogue,* nos. 501-530) enumerated for each temple its deity, personnel, cult image, and whether a fall and/or spring festival is celebrated there. Festivals seem to have been of two types: those with a fixed time for celebration (*ukturi-,* "regular") and those without.

The Instructions for Temple Officials (Laroche, *Catalogue,* no. 264) mentions "the monthly festival, the festival of the year," and "the festivals of fall and spring" among the important cult dates. The monthly festival would have been something like the festival of the new moon in ancient Israel. It is not yet clear whether the "festival of the year" in Ḫatti marked the New Year, but it is generally thought unlikely.

Laroche (*Catalogue,* nos. 591-724) lists texts describing the activities of festivals. The major ones were the Monthly Festival, the spring, fall, and winter festivals at various cities, the New Year Festival (no. 600), the ANTAḪŠUM festival, the Festival of Haste (*nuntarriyašḫaš*), the KI.LAM festival and the *ḫišuwaš* festival. Some of these lasted for many days. The ANTAḪŠUM festival lasted for at least 38 days, with activities in different cities on different days.

The festivals served to honor and entertain the deity or deities involved, to express the worshipers' thanksgiving for the harvest, to mark the transition points in the yearly cycle, to provide entertainment for the people, and to allow the king to travel among the cities of his land and be recognized as their ruler and highest priest. Festivals that were not regularly scheduled could be performed by a wealthy individual in fulfillment of a vow to a deity.

VII. Offerings to the Gods.–Most offerings in Hittite worship were simple gifts to the gods: food, drink, and valuable objects. Food offerings consisted primarily of types of bread or cake. Supplementing the bread offerings were fruits, honey, cheese, and the meat of sacrificial animals (usually cooked, but occasionally raw). Stews could be with or without meat. Drink was offered in the form of libations poured from a pitcher into a receptacle in the immediate presence of the cult image of the deity. See the depictions of this act on the reliefs in Akurgal (plates 100f., 104f.).

Some offerings were propitiatory, but these were not a part of the regular scheduled cult calendar, as the Day of Atonement was in ancient Israel. Rather such sacrifices arose in the course of the discovery of some great sin or negligence on the part of the king. An example is the ritual of propitiation performed to relieve the speech loss of Muršili II. On such occasions an animal would serve as the king's substitute. There is a distinction to be drawn between the animal that is truly a substitute (*tarpali-*) and a scapegoat that carries away contamination and guilt (*nakkušša/i-*) (Gurney, *Aspects*).

Human sacrifice is rarely mentioned. In the detailed Annals of Muršili it is described how Aitakkama, king of Kadesh, under siege and threatened with defeat and death, sacrificed his son "Gift-of-the-storm-god." But this was an act performed by a non-Hittite. In a few Hittite rituals to remove defilement from a defeated army they "cut through" a man, a goat, a puppy, and a little pig (Gurney, *Hittites,* pp. 154, 155). But human sacrifice played no significant role in Hittite worship.

VIII. Prayers and Hymns.–All prayer compositions are royal, composed for the king, the queen, or a prince or princess. The occasions and purposes of these prayers vary. Some were for the daily praise of the god (*ANET,* pp. 396f.). Others were penitential, confessing some sin discovered by divination in order to induce the deity to remove the punishment being suffered (*ANET,* pp. 394-96).

IX. Divination.–The Hittite gods "spoke" to their worshipers in a variety of ways: through dreams, omens, answers to oracle inquiry, and rarely through persons called *šiuniyanza,* "god-possessed(?)" (translated "prophet" in *ANET,* p. 396). Some examples of Hittite message dreams are examined by Oppenheim (pp. 193, 195, 197ff., 227, 254f.). Types of oracles included the examination of the entrails of sacrificed animals (extispicy), the flight of birds observed under controlled conditions (augury), the behavior of snakes in a basin, and the behavior of tokens (sometimes called "lots," Sumerogram KIN) bearing symbolic names.

A rare funerary stele from Marash, Syria, commemorating a boy's death. The young Tarhunpiyas (spelled in Hittite above) stands on his mother's lap. He could write, as the stylus in his right hand indicates, and apparently liked to catch birds (8th cent. B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

X. Ethics.–Like other peoples the Hittites conceived of "sin" (*waštul*) as an offense against a deity, a disregard of his wishes. But Hittite deities' desires for their worshipers were largely unconcerned for what in the Bible is termed "righteousness" or "justice." The sun-god was indeed the patron of justice. But there is no evidence that other deities were offended by a worshiper who lied, stole, murdered, or raped. These were matters for the human legal system, not the concerns of religion. When a Hittite king confessed sin in prayer, he had in mind the failure to give an offering, fulfil a vow, or keep a treaty oath sworn by that deity (*ANET*, pp. 395, 400). In this respect the Hittites differed sharply from the Israelites, whose sins often consisted of observing the ritual forms without showing obedience to the ethical norms of the law.

XI. Death and Afterlife.–The Hittites believed in a conscious existence after physical death, but the happiness of the individual in his afterlife did not depend upon his religious behavior prior to death. The deceased (*akkanza*, Sumerogram GIDIM) received offerings from family members in a domestic cult. The cult of dead kings was much more elaborate, involving a mortuary temple ("stone house") with a large permanent staff. The spirits of deceased persons wronged during their lifetime might haunt their offenders. Rituals were designed to settle these matters and pacify the dead.

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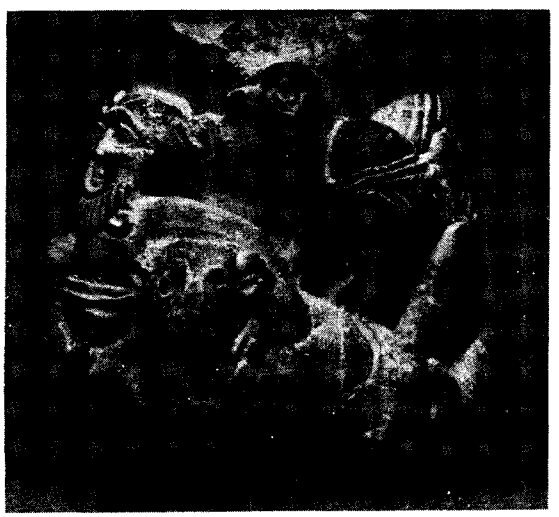
RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. Assyro-Babylonian religion developed in ancient Mesopotamia. It was essentially Semitic, overlaid on a substratum of Sumerian religion. Some argue that Sumerian culture and religion hint of a prehistoric, non-Semitic, non-Sumerian, Asianic religious stratum. The Asianic stratum need not concern us here. This article will concentrate on Babylonian religion, referring to Sumerian religion when appropriate to elucidate Babylonian religion (*see also* SUMER VIII). Since Assyrian religion shares much with Babylonian religion, its special features will be dealt with against the background of Babylonian religion.

I. Sources
II. Pantheon
III. Cult
  A. Priesthood
  B. Sacral Kingship
  C. Sacred Places
  D. Sacred Times and Festivals
  E. Other Rituals
  F. Divination
  G. Magic
IV. World View: Cosmogony, Theogony, Anthropology
  A. World View
  B. Cosmology: Cosmogony, Theogony
    1. Origin and Ordering of the Universe
    2. Paradise Themes
  C. Mankind: Origin, Nature, Destiny
    1. Origin
    2. Nature
    3. Destiny
V. Comparative Religion: Israelite and Ancient Mesopotamian Religion

I. Sources.–Prior to the mid-nineteenth cent. the principal sources of information about Assyrian and Babylonian religion were the ancient writings of the Babylonian priest Berossus (ca. 340-275 B.C., who wrote in Greek a treatise preserved only in fragments quoted by other ancient authors) and the Greek historian Herodotus (484-425 B.C. [?]), supplemented by a few OT references. Modern archeology has unearthed numerous cuneiform inscriptions and tablets, many of which have significance for understanding Mesopotamian religion. These materials include:

A limestone libation vase from Uruk showing a bearded man (represented twice) wrestling with two bulls. He may represent the Sumerian mythic hero Gilgamesh (3rd millennium B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



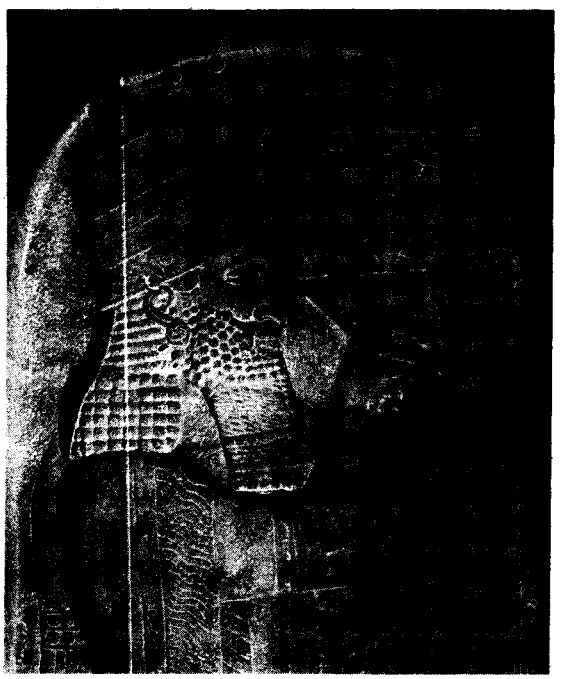
myths (e.g., of Creation and the Flood, epics (e.g., the Epic of Gi gamesh), psalms (including hymns and prayers of lament), incantations, ritual texts, descriptions of festivals, omen texts, astrological tablets, lists of deities, and wisdom literature.

Besides specifically religious texts there are lists of personal names containing theophoric elements, thousands of legal documents, business texts, and letters containing theophoric personal names, oaths sworn in the name of deities, and references to religious matters. In fact, all Mesopotamian written materials are a potential source of religious information since the ancient Mesopotamians perceived the whole of life as religious.

Other important sources of religious information are architecture, especially temples; sculpture in the round; figurines; amulets; stelae; reliefs; boundary stones (*kudurrū*); and numerous cylinder seals. A number of these works of art bear inscriptions as well as religious scenes.

II. Pantheon.–The Assyro-Babylonian religion adopted the Sumerian pantheon with modifications and often with new names. But the essential character of the deities remained the same. Among the most important were three cosmic deities (Anu, Enlil, and Ea) and three astral deities (Sin, Šamaš, and Ishtar). Anu (Sumerian An), meaning "heaven," was the father and king of the gods. In theory he was the highest deity, but practically he was rather passive. His consort was variously Antu or Ishtar, and his city was Uruk. Enlil (same name as Sumerian counterpart; also called Ellil), meaning "lord wind," represented the atmosphere, wind, and storm. Practically he often functioned as the principal deity and as executor of the divine assembly. He could be both beneficent and terrifying. He posessed the tablets of destiny, which determined the world's destiny. His consort was Ninlil (a Sumerian name) and his city was NIPPUR. Ea (Sumerian Enki, meaning "lord earth," or, according to Saggs, possibly "lord of the subterranean region") was lord of the subterranean sweet-water ocean (Sum. ab-zu; Akk. *apsû*). Ea may be Sumerian for "house of water," although Kramer considered it Semitic. Ea was god of wisdom, sorcery, arts, crafts, and culture. His consort was Ninki, also called Damgalnunna or Damkina (all Sumerian names), and his city was Eridu. Sin (Sumerian Nanna; however, the name Sin appears to have a Sumerian etymology, su-en) represented the moon. His sphere of activity seemed to overlap that of other deities, such as wisdom (Ea), judgment (Šamaš), and determination of destinies (Enlil). This tendency toward henotheism was unsuccessfully promoted in the 6th cent. B.C. by Nabonidus, last king of the Neo-Babylonian empire, who attempted to make Sin the highest god. Sin's consort was Ningal (a Sumerian name; cf. West Semitic Nikkal). His principal city was UR, but he was also worshiped at Harran in northern Mesopotamia. Šamaš (Sumerian Utu) represented the sun (cf. Heb. *šemeš*, Akk. *šamšu*). He was god of justice and equity, as well as judge of the gods. He appears carved in relief at the top of King Hammurabi's law-code stele presenting a sceptre to Hammurabi (*see* picture in HAMMURABI). His consort was Aia and his cities were Sippar and Larsa.

A stele showing the Assyrian King Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) next to some symbols of the Assyrian pantheon. Some of the representations include: Ishtar sitting on a throne and riding on a lion; Adad, holding lightning and standing on a bull; Sin and Ashur, shown by the crescent and winged disk, respectively; Marduk, symbolized by the spear-point (below left); and Ea, symbolized by the ram-headed scepter (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 2135)



Ishtar (Sumerian Inanna) was the most important female deity, assimilating functions and characteristics of many other goddesses. Her name, in the form *ištaru*, came to mean "goddess." She was the morning and evening star (Venus), goddess of sexual love and fertility, and, surprisingly, also of war (esp. in Assyria). The latter is understandable if she is viewed as goddess of passions. Her city was Uruk; thus she is sometimes seen as the consort of Anu. She was also worshiped under local manifestations as Ishtar of Nineveh, of Arbela, and of Bitkitmuri. Tammuz or Ta'ūzu (Sumerian Dumuzi) was also considered her spouse.

Other prominent deities were Adad, Dagan, Ninurta, Nergal, Marduk, and Ashur. Adad (associated with the less important Sumerian Ishkur), whose prominent West Semitic counterpart was Hadad, was god of thunder and rainstorm. He could be both beneficent, enabling vegetation and life to flourish, and destructive through flooding. Adad functioned as a god of high rank at Mari. Another West Semitic god also prominent at Mari was Dagan, apparently a fertility-god (*see* DAGON). Ninurta (a Sumerian name) was another storm-god, as well as god of war and hunting. He functioned as the key figure in a cycle of myths. He had no special city, although in the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1370-910 B.C.) he was worshiped as god of hunting at CALAH (modern Nimrud; cf. Gen. 10:8f.). Ninurta's spouse was Gula, goddess of healing. A hymn praising Ninurta associates a number of deities with parts of his body, i.e., a henotheistic attempt to see Ninurta embodying many divine powers. Nergal (a Sumerian name) was god of plague and lord of the underworld, where his consort was Ereshkigal (a Sumerian name; called Allatu in Akkadian). He was worshiped in many places, but especially at the city of Cutha (cf. 2 K. 17:30), where his spouse was Laz.

Tammuz or Ta'ūzu was the counterpart of the Sumerian Dumuzi, the fertility-god associated with shepherding and vegetation. In Assyro-Babylonian religion Tammuz was not as prominent as Dumuzi was in earlier Sumerian religion. In the Assyro-Babylonian sacred marriage rite the two national gods, Marduk and Ashur, usurped the role of

Dumuzi/Tammuz. The Tammuz cult annually mourned the seasonal death of Tammuz and the cessation of the natural powers of fertility. Some have argued that in mythical and ritual celebration Tammuz was perceived to die with the heat of summer but to rise to life with the autumn rains. Kramer has denied that Tammuz was seen as returning to life. Ringgren suggested caution on this matter since there are hints that the Sumerian Dumuzi not only died and went to the underworld but was allowed to live for half of the year. But the Tammuz cult emphasized the god's death and the consequent mourning, rather than his renewal of life.

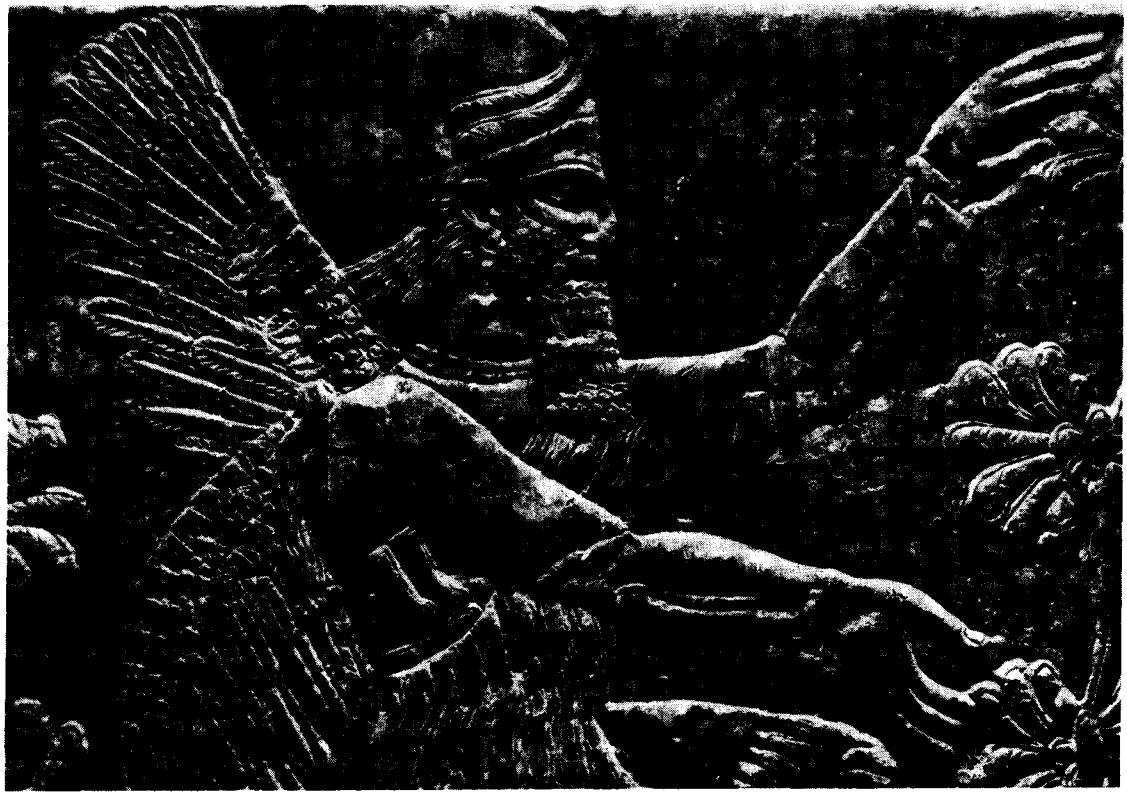
During the latter half of the 1st millennium, following the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Hammurabi's dynasty) in 1595 B.C., Marduk and Ashur became the national gods of Babylonia and Assyria respectively, occupying a supreme place in the respective pantheons. Marduk's origin is unclear. His name appears to have a Sumerian etymology (amar-utu-k) and may mean "young calf of the sun." Some have suggested Marduk was originally a sun-god. As national god of Babylonia, however, solar features do not constitute his identity. As son of Ea he was god of magic and incantation. Marduk's city was BABYLON and his temple there was called Esagila. His consort was Ṣarpanitu. His original city may have been Eridu since (1) he was the son of Ea (Enki) whose city was Eridu, (2) Esagila was originally the name of a temple in Eridu, and (3) the Eridu cosmogony is reflected in the Babylonian creation myth, *Enuma Elish* (see IV.6.1 below).

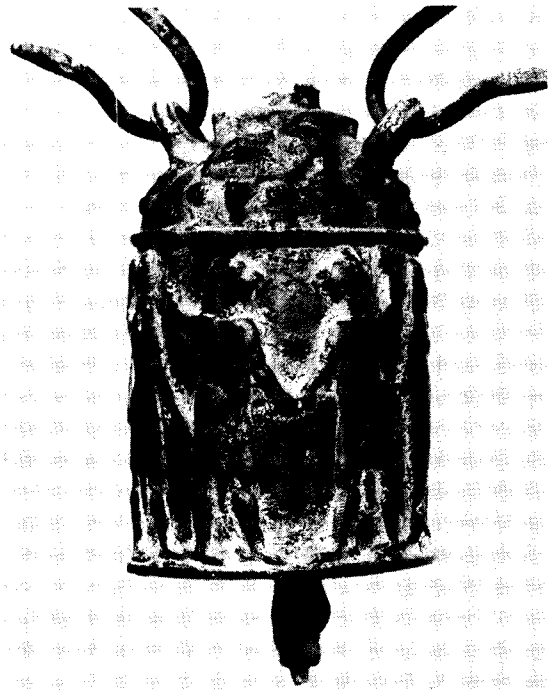
Ashur was the name of the national god of the capital city and of the land of Assyria (though the latter is spelled Asshur in this encyclopedia). As the city of Asshur's imperial power grew in importance so did the god Ashur. Like Marduk in Babylonia, Ashur in Assyria took over the functions of many other deities. Ashur functioned for Šamaš as judge and god of justice. As giver of kingship he functioned for Anu and Enlil. He was father of the gods, their creator and begetter. He was also god of war, providing victory to the Assyrian armies. This henotheistic tendency is reflected in the preserved fragments of the Assyrian version of *Enuma Elish* in which Ashur replaces Marduk. His temple in the city of Asshur was called Esharra and his consort was Ninlil (originally the spouse of Enlil).

Over three thousand deities are known altogether, many only by name from god-lists or from theophoric personal names. Most are of minor importance compared to the ones outlined above. We should mention, however, the fire-gods Gibil and Girra, destroyers of black magic, and Nusku, overseer of the sacrificial flame.

The Assyrians and Babylonians, as well as the Sumerians, believed that numerous demons attacked people with distress and diseases. They also believed in good, protective spirits, among whom were the personal tutelary deities of individuals and families. With the development of universal, political imperialism in the Babylonian and Assyrian periods and the consequent distancing from the people of the major deities of the pantheon, who were largely reserved for the official cult and seen only on official festival occasions, personal tutelary deities and daily, private, family, cultic activities became more important.

A winged, human-headed spirit, wearing a miter with two pairs of horns, raises his hands toward a stylized tree of life. Detail from an alabaster palace relief at Calah (Ashurbanipal II, 883-859 B.C.) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 8857)





A bronze bell probably used to drive out evil spirits by sound. It depicts two lion-headed demons and a priest wearing a fish skin (far right) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 2517)

III. The Cult.*—*A. Priesthood. The ruler of the local city-state (Sum. ensí; Akk. *iššakku*) or, when many local states were combined into kingdoms and empires, the king (Sum. lugal; Akk. *šarru*) was head of the cult. In practice the various functions of the cult were obviously delegated to others. The terms *ēnu* and *šangu* were often borne by the priest-king. Oppenheim has suggested that the *ēnu* was a high-priestly figure who functioned to relate temple and community to the deity, whereas the *šangu* was chief administrator of the temple. *Ērib bīti*, "one entering a temple," was at times used as a general term for any priest but later came to refer to lower classes of priests. Another priest, the *šeš̄gallu*, was a supervisor in the priesthood. The *āšipu-*, *mašmaššu-*, and *kalû-* priests were exorcists concerned with incantations and purification rituals (see G below). The *kalû*-priest had special functions in appeasing the deity's wrath through music and lamentations. The *bārû*-priest, whose name means "observer," and the *šā'ilu*-priest whose name means "one who asks, questions, ascertains," were engaged in the arts of divination (see F below). Their functions overlapped, although the *šā'ilu*-priest seems to have had a special interest in dream interpretation. The *nāš paṭri*, "sword bearer," was involved in slaughtering animal sacrifices. The *mārī ummāni* were craftsmen, one of whose tasks was crafting images. The *ramku*-priest functioned in washing rituals and the *pašīšu*-priest in anointing ceremonies.

Several terms for female functionaries are known but their exact functions are not always clear. Some were priestesses; others were temple prostitutes. The highest class of priestess was the *entu* (Sum. nin-dingir), "high priestess"; another class was the *nadītu*; a lower class was the *ugbabtu*; these three classes were usually unmarried and expected to live in chastity. Other terms referring to women of special status and devoted to a deity include: *ištarītu*, "one belonging to Ishtar"; *ḫarimtu*, "prostitute"; *šamḫatu*, "prostitute"; *qadištu* and *kulmašītu*. Some were clearly cult prostitutes (*ḫarimtu* and *šamḫatu*); some could marry and have children; that the others were cult prostitutes is not clear (but cf. Dt. 23:17 [MT 18] where *qᵉḏēšâ*, the Hebrew cognate of *qadištu*, is rendered "cult prostitute" apparently due to the context, which uses *zônâ*, "prostitute" in v. 18 [MT 19]).

Three classes of male functionaries associated with the cult of Ishtar were the *assinnu*, the *kurgarrû*, and the *kulu'u*; they were involved in cultic games, plays, dances, singing, and music as part of the great festivals. A few texts suggest that they played the role of women in female attire, but there is no evidence they were eunuchs or homosexuals (*CAD*, I/2, 341f.; VIII, 558f.).

Another religious functionary was the *maḫḫû* (also *muḫḫû*; fem. *muḫḫūtu*, also *maḫḫūtu*/*maḫḫītu*), an ecstatic, prophet-like figure who declared oracles received from the deity while in a trance. They were prominent at Mari and had influence at the royal court in state affairs. Study of the *maḫḫû*/*maḫḫūtu* has often been used for elucidating the ancient Near Eastern background of ecstatic and court prophecy in Israel. *See* PROPHET II.C.

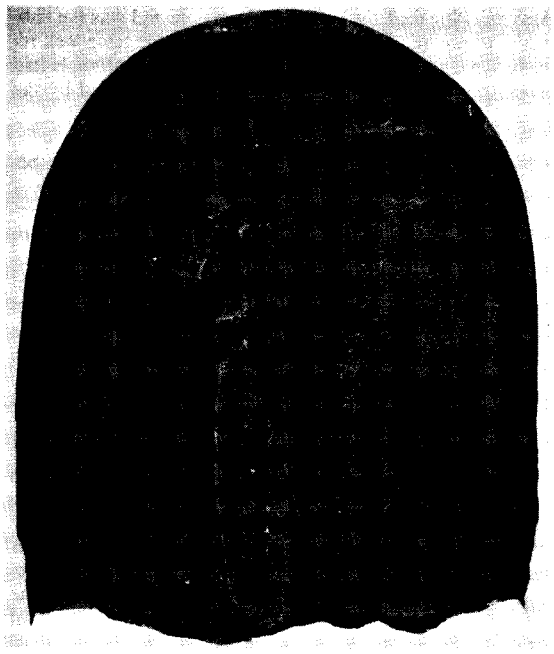
Singers and musicians also functioned in the cult.

B. Sacral Kingship. The ancient Babylonians believed that kingship came down from heaven and was bestowed by the gods. Thus the king ruled by divine sanction. In Sumerian times the king was viewed as divine (indicated by his titles and by the use of the divine determinative with his name), but he was not worshiped as a god. In Babylonian times he ceased to be viewed as divine, though he was considered symbolically son of a god or goddess. He was the head of the cult, the foremost servant of the gods, bearing the ultimate responsibility for correctly perpetuating the cult and for building and restoring the temples of his realm. He was commander of his army with military functions on behalf of the gods. He was shepherd of his people and as such a channel through whom justice, righteousness, prosperity, blessing, and fertility flowed from the gods to his people and land. He was maintainer of harmony between society and nature, between society and the gods. The New Year *akītu* Festival, especially in the sacred marriage ritual in which he played the role of the deity, constituted an annual demonstration of the sacred nature of the king's person as supreme representative of the gods on behalf of his people and land (see D below).

Similar views were held in Assyria, but there the king was even more closely tied to the cult, playing a more prominent priestly role (cf. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient World*, pp. 88, 105f.). Probably the Assyrian king's military functions were emphasized, since Ashur was the god of war. Thus it may also be that Assyrian military campaigns, which became an annual enterprise, were thought of as wars on behalf of the god Ashur to subjugate all peoples under Ashur's sovereignty.

C. Sacred Places. The ordinary person could worship the gods and goddesses at various places in ancient Mesopotamia: open-air sanctuaries, chapels in private homes, and small chapels in residential parts of town. Temples were the most important places of worship, which focused almost entirely on the official cults of the most important deities on behalf of city or nation. General public involvement was limited to access to the large outer-temple courtyard, public events, situations of crisis, and annual festivals, when the god's image and the priesthood moved outside the usual isolation of the temple. A city often had more than one temple, honoring different deities, of which one was the city's tutelary deity. A temple estate could

RELIGIONS: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA



King Nabonidus of Babylon (556-539 B.C.) standing before symbols of the moon-god Sin, the sun-god Šamaš, and the war- and love-goddess Ishtar (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

amount to thousands of acres involving thousands of personnel and workers.

Typical of a major temple complex was the ziggurat, a great, man-made, multistaged mountain of earth and brick up to 90 m. (300 ft.) square and 45 m. (150 ft.) high (cf. Gen. 11:1-11, "the tower of Babel"). On its top, approached by long stairways (cf. the ladder in Jacob's dream in Gen. 28:12), was the "high temple." At the bottom was the "low temple." The significance of the ziggurat is unclear but it may have been perceived as a giant altar that provided a link between earth and heaven (cf. Ezk. 43:13-17, which describes an altar like a miniature stepped ziggurat). Others have seen it as the throne of the deity (cf. Isa. 14:13).

A major temple had a large outer courtyard (*kisalmāḫu*) surrounded by rooms used as storerooms, workshops, kitchens, lodgings, libraries, stables, and scribal school. Another, smaller courtyard lay beyond the *kisalmāḫu* and contained an altar. Here also was the temple (Akk. *bītim,* "house," or *aširtu,* "sanctuary") itself. The temple comprised a cella ("holy of holies"), with a niche for the statue of the deity, separated by a curtain from an ante-cella. In Babylonia the latter was entered through one of the long walls but in later Assyria through the short wall opposite the cella. *See also* TEMPLES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.

The temple was the deity's dwelling place, where he was present on earth to provide blessing for city and people and to be approached by the priesthood and rulers. Here many of the cultic rituals, and especially the daily service (Akk. *dullu*), were carried out. The temple estate played a prominent economic role in the city's life but vied with private and royal estates. The temple estate also had a sociological function, absorbing many otherwise destitute elements of society, such as widows, the homeless, and captives.

D. Sacred Times and Festivals. The daily service (Akk. *dullu*) of the deity, who was represented by an image, provided for his material needs. The deity was bathed, suitably attired, and ornamented. At night the deity was escorted to bed. Meals were provided twice a day, morning and evening, and at some places three or four times. Provisions were placed before the deity on a table, and a curtain drawn for privacy as he ate. The various foods could be animals (bulls, goats, deer, sheep), fish, poultry, vegetables, fruit, dates, figs, cereals, bread, cakes, oil, milk, honey, wine, or beer. Some foods, such as birds, sheep, beef, and poultry, were taboo for different deities (cf. Lev. 11; Dt. 13:3-21). Dishes of food from the deity's table may on occasion have been sent to the king so that he could share in the blessing of the deity.

The priests and temple staff shared in many other daily offerings and animal sacrifices that were rendered. Oppenheim believed that the blood of the animal sacrifices had no ritual significance. It is generally assumed, however, that the slaughtered animal's blood was poured out as a libation before the deity. There is no evidence that animal sacrifices were burnt, as they were in Hebrew religion.

On special days of the month extra service was accorded the deity (cf. Nu. 28:9f.). The seventh, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days were considered dangerous and unlucky (Ringgren, *Religions,* p. 82), and so special rituals were carried out to appease the evil powers. Some have suggested that we see here the beginning of the seven-day week. The first and fifteenth days (new moon and full moon) were also days of special service (Ringgren, *Religions,* p. 83; cf. *CAD,* IV, 373). The new moon was called *bubbulu* (cf. Nu. 10:10; 28:11-16), the full moon *šapattu* (Heb. *šabbāṯ*; cf. 2 K. 4:23 and Isa. 1:13, where "new moon" and "sabbath" are mentioned together, suggesting *šabbāṯ* may originally have meant "full moon"; but cf. Akk. *šbt,* Arab. *sbt,* "rest"). Also, every local sanctuary had its own special days of service.

In the hot midsummer month of Tammuz the festival of the god Tammuz (Sumerian Dumuzi) was held. On the second day there was lamentation. On the ninth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days there were torch-lit processions. During the three last days an image of Tammuz was buried. In this festival Tammuz's death was lamented and possibly his return to life celebrated. (See also above.)

The most important Assyro-Babylonian festival was the New Year Festival, which is attested from early Sumerian to late Babylonian and Assyrian times and was celebrated in various cities. The form of this festival most notably attested (from a fairly detailed, but incompletely preserved, text of Seleucid times) was the *akītu* (Sum. zà-muuk, "beginning of the year," or á-ki-ti) festival celebrated annually at Babylon in the spring, during the first eleven days of the month Nisan. The first day's ritual is unpreserved. On the second day the *šešgallu*-priest prayed to Marduk, extolling the god's victories and seeking his favor for Babylon, its people, and the temple Esagila. On the third day two images were made of wood, gold, and precious stones, and clothed in red, to be used in the sixth day's rituals. On the fourth day the *šešgallu*-priest greeted the early morning rising of a particular constellation of stars. In the evening the epic of creation, *Enuma Elish,* was recited. On the fifth day Marduk's temple Esagila was purified. A sacrificial sheep was decapitated, its bleeding body rubbed around the temple walls to take upon itself all uncleanness, and finally the head and body cast into the river which carried away the uncleanness (cf. the scapegoat ceremony performed on the Israelite Day of Atonement, Lev. 16:15-22). The god Nabû, Marduk's son, arrived from neighboring Borsippa. The king of

Statue of Nabû son of the god Marduk. Nabû statues were carried in procession during the *akītu* festival (Calah, 810-782 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Babylon entered before Marduk and was subjected to a ritual humiliation in which the *šešgallu*-priest removed his royal insignia and placed them before Marduk. The priest struck the king's face and pulled his ears. The king knelt before Marduk declaring he was innocent of neglecting his duties. The priest struck the king again; it was considered a favorable omen for the future if this brought tears to his eyes. His insignia were now returned. The significance of this ceremony was to show that the king was responsible to Marduk, who renewed his kingship each year. The text does not preserve the ceremonies for the remaining days; these have been reconstructed from allusions in other texts. On the sixth day deities from other cities arrived in procession at Esagila. Marduk made two determinations of destinies, one on the eighth and one on the eleventh day. On the tenth day the king, "taking the hand of Marduk," led a procession from Esagila, through Babylon, across the Euphrates on boats, to the *bīt akīti*, "house of *akītu*," where Marduk's victory over Tiâmat, the primordial chaos monster, was celebrated in cultic drama, the king playing the role of Marduk. A banquet followed. The king and Marduk hastened from the *akītu*-house back to Esagila, where a sacred marriage ritual was consummated, with the king representing Marduk and a high priestess the god's consort, Ṣarpanitu. On the twelfth day the festival ended as the various deities returned to their own cities.

The Assyrian *akītu*-festival is not so well attested. It differed from the festival at Babylon in various ways. At Asshur it also occurred in Nisan but lasted twenty-one days. The Assyrian king took the lead the whole time and was not subjected to a cultic humiliation. Instead, his kingship was renewed in a coronation ceremony at which his officials laid down their insignia of office to have them restored by the king.

See also NEW YEAR I.B, C.

E. Other Rituals. There were also periodic rituals for special occasions. Rituals for purifying the king were carried out when he was endangered by omens. If the situation was serious enough a substitute king could be ritually installed to undergo the dangers. Other substitution rituals were used in expiation incantations. An animal could be put in the place of a human being and an incantation used calling for the anger of the gods or demons to fall on the animal rather than the person. At times the king or others could have an audience with the deity, to present offerings and make supplications. There were rituals for restoration of temples and for purification of temples.

F. Divination. It was important to know the will of the gods and the destinies they had determined for people. Divination developed to determine these often mysterious things in order to avoid disasters and choose more favorable circumstances. Although divination existed in Sumerian times its systematic development came about only in Assyro-Babylonian times. Numerous manuals were compiled to assist the divination specialists. Various methods of divining the will of the gods and the fate of individuals and social groups existed, as follows:

(1) The throwing of lots or dice These were rare and had no cultic status (cf. Nu. 26:55; 33:54; 34:13; etc.; Josh. 7:16-18; 1 S. 10:20f.; Est. 3:7; Ezk. 21:21f.; Acts 1:26).

(2) Libanomancy, the observation of the movement and shape of smoke arising from burning incense.

(3) Lecanomancy (cup divination; cf. Gen. 44:4f.), observation of the shape of drops of oil allowed to fall into a cup of water.

(4) Extispicy, the observation of the form and shape of the entrails, most often of the liver (hepatoscopy), of a sacrificial animal (cf. Ezk. 21:21 [MT 26]).

(5) Dream divination, interpreting the content of dreams. A special kind was incubation, known from Sumerian times, in which an individual slept in a temple and received an enlightening dream from the deity (cf. Gen. 20:3, 6f.; 28:12-15; 31:11-13; Nu. 12:6; Dt. 13:1, 3, 5; 1 K. 3:5ff.; Dnl. 1:17; 2:19; 7:1ff.; 8:1ff.; 9:21ff.).

(6) Unusual happenings. For instance, a desert plant growing in a city could indicate that the city would be laid waste. Augury involved the observation of birds. Animals and even malformed children could be observed for their behavior or malformation.

(7) Physiognomic divination, in which the form and features of a person's body were interpreted as omens of his fate. Sometimes, as in the case of a pregnant woman, the bodily omens could refer to the fate of another, i.e., the unborn child.

(8) Astrology, the observation of celestial phenomena. Usually these were interpreted as omens affecting the nation, but by the end of the 5th cent. B.C. horoscopes for individuals are known to have existed.

(9) Oracle divination, in which a "prophet" delivered an oracle received from a deity to the ruler; known in Mari and in late Assyria.

Of the above methods only three (lots, dreams, and oracles) were accepted practice in ancient Israel. *See* DIVINATION.

G. Magic. Magic and divination were closely related. Divination sought to know the will of the gods and the fate of people through the interpretation of omens, while the art of magic (conjuration or exorcism) sought to ward off

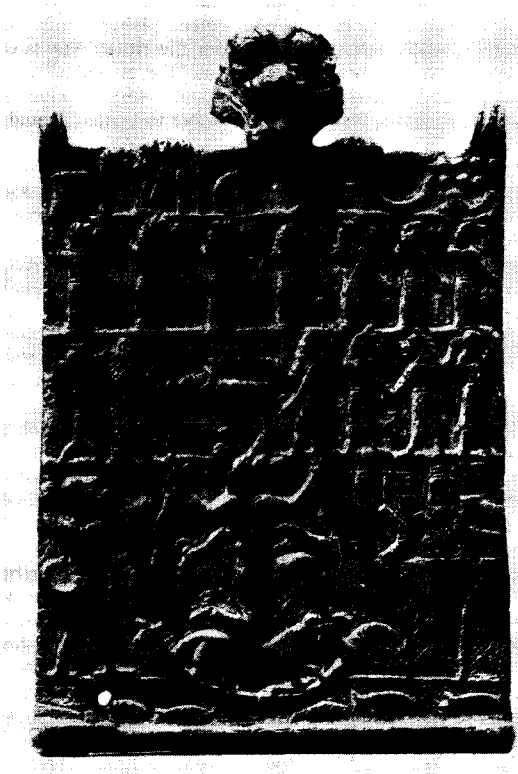
evil forces that unfavorable omens indicated were about to invade people's lives with sickness and disasters. The evil forces might be due to: (1) the invasion of demons; (2) the invasion of spirits of human beings who had died violently or as a result of transgressing a taboo, or who had received improper burial; (3) the anger of the gods resulting from offenses against ethical standards or taboos; (4) black magic, in which a person's enemies unleashed evil against him through magic. Black magic usually entailed the death penalty; nevertheless, it was widespread and feared by the average person.

Exorcisms involved rituals (acts) and incantations (words). Handbooks of exorcisms assisted the specialists in their conjurations. Both the *šurpu* and *maqlû* compilations mean "burning." *Šurpu* incantations were used against black magic. *Maqlû* incantations were used to expiate offenses against the gods. The *utukkī lemnūti* ("evil spirits") series was used to exorcise particular evil spirits. The *bīt rimki* ("house of washing") series contained exorcisms for the king in repelling demons and disasters, apparently in a special sanctuary, "the house of washing." The *namburbi* rituals were used to repel evil predicted by various omens. Many other series were compiled.

In theory an incantation could appeal to any deity for assistance in making the exorcism effective. In practice the chief deities appealed to were Marduk, Ea, and the fire-gods, Gibil, Girra, and Nusku.

Specialists in exorcism were the *āšipu-*, *mašmaššu-*, and *kalû*-priests. Exorcisms could be performed in a special sanctuary (cf. *bīt rimki* above), in a private home, by a river, in the open country, or in any place needed.

A demon plaque depicting an exorcism. A sick man lies on a bed between two priests, surrounded by demons (above) and three contending genii (right). Below is the winged demon Pazuzu, the demon Lamashtu riding an ass in a boat, and ritual objects used in the incantation (right) (8th [?] cent. B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



Prophylactic amulets were worn as protection against evil powers. An amulet would contain a religious scene, or a representation of the demon concerned, and an inscribed incantation against the threatened evil. If, in spite of the amulet, the evil power came upon a person, then one of the various methods of exorcisms was used:

(1) Sympathetic (symbolic) magic. A symbolic ritual was performed, analogous to the exorcism needed. For example, a text describes a man cursed by a *gallu*-demon, which resulted in him suffering from "dazed silence, . . . an evil curse, a spell, a headache" as well as in his being abandoned by his god and his goddess. The ritual involved the peeling of an onion, the wrenching apart of a date, and the untwining of a wick. The incantation reads: "Let the curse be peeled off like this onion,/Let it be wrenched apart like this date,/Let it be untwined like this wick" (cf. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon,* pp. 306f.).

(2) Substitution. For example, a text describes a man wanted by the goddess of death (Saggs, *Greatness,* pp. 307f.). A young goat is made to lie with him in bed from sunset to dawn. At dawn he carries the kid to a special house. They both lie down on the ground and a priest touches the sick man's throat with a dagger and then cuts the kid's throat. The kid is dressed and laid out like a dead man. The sick man leaves and the kid is buried with mourning. The kid is thus given to the goddess of death as a substitute for the man.

(3) Entrapment. The demon was trapped in an object and the object disposed of. Special rituals were performed to trap the demon.

Medicine, magic, and prayers were not kept separate. Sometimes a sick person was treated by rational medicine, including medications and even surgery. At other times magic and prayer were used, often along with medications.

Magic was probably widespread in ancient Israel but it was usually strongly disapproved of. The OT has one example of exorcism (1 S. 16:14-23). Jesus, His disciples, and other followers function as exorcists in the Synoptic Gospels and in Acts. *See* MAGIC; EXORCISM.

IV. World View: Cosmogony, Theogony, Anthropology.–*A. World View.* To the Sumerians, the original prime mover, which was eternal, was the primeval ocean in the midst of which was engendered the universe (an-ki, "heaven-earth"). Earth (ki) was a flat disk enclosed above by a hemispherical vault, the heaven (an). The atmosphere (líl) separated earth and heaven. Below the earth was the realm of the dead, the underworld (kur-nu-gi_4-a, "the land of no return"; Akk. *erṣet lā târi*). The primeval waters surrounded heaven, atmosphere, earth, and underworld. The astral bodies (sun, moon, planets, stars, etc.) were formed from the atmosphere and provided with luminosity.

The Sumerians viewed the universe as analogous to human society; the cosmic state comprised a divine state (or society) and a human state (or society). The divine state consisted of a pantheon of deities (personifications of natural forces and entities), which functioned as a divine assembly, organized democratically as the highest authority in the cosmos. In the assembly the deities made decisions concerning the affairs of the universe and the destinies of human beings. The deities also had charge of particular entities and functions in the universe. For example, Utu was the sun personified, judge of the gods, and god of justice and equity. The major deities were like a landed nobility, each owning a temple estate, through which he/she owned and controlled the city-state where

RELIGIONS: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

A Babylonian cylinder seal and impression showing a mythological scene. The sun-god Šamaš rises between two mountains with his sword of judgment raised. The two gods nearest him are probably Ishtar and Ea (surrounded by water and holding the Anzû-bird). In the field are Ninurta-Nimrod, god of the hunt (left), and the two-faced god. The inscription reads: "Adda, the scribe" (*ca.* 2300 B.C.) (Trustees of the British Museum, photo D. J. Wiseman)

the temple was located. Since humanity was created to serve the gods, the citizens of the city-state had to maintain the temple estate and serve the deity through the cult, thereby gratifying the deity so that his/her blessing flowed to the city-state and its people. By Babylonian and Assyrian times a more complex situation developed in which a city contained more than one temple estate.

Mesopotamian religion was animistic, i.e., the entire universe pulsated with life and every phenomenon was imbued with living power, its numen (Sum. me; Akk. *parṣu*). Various numena were worshiped as divine and eventually personified as anthropomorphic, superhuman, immortal beings, resulting in a naturalistic polytheism. Certain personified numena were accorded supreme status, especially those associated with the cosmos, the astral bodies, and fertility. Beneficial but lesser numena were personified as good protective spirits. Harmful numena were personified as demons against which one had to be constantly on guard.

Assyro-Babylonian culture adopted the Sumerian world view with minor changes and superimposed Semitic concepts on it. A major development in Assyro-Babylonian religion was the strong tendency to henotheism in which Marduk and Ashur finally became the supreme gods of Babylonia and Assyria respectively, the other gods being subsumed under them as aspects of them or as their agents.

One of the chief forms through which the Mesopotamians expressed their world view was mythology. Mythology was an instrument of intuitive thought that transcended rational thought and sought to proclaim truth about existence. It was rooted in experience rather than intellect: through a direct intuitive experience of the numinous it sought to represent truth and reality concerning cosmic forces and entities, and to do so in picturesque symbols. *See* MYTH, MYTHOLOGY.

B. Cosmology: Cosmogony and Theogony. Since Mesopotamian thought had no concept of a distinction between an inanimate physical realm and a living realm of deities, we shall discuss cosmogony and theogony together as cosmology.

Mesopotamian thought provides no uniform concept concerning the origin and organization of the cosmos or of the gods. The diversity of views is best understood by considering a number of Assyro-Babylonian myths, supplemented by some allusions in other literature, as well as by considering some earlier Sumerian myths.

1. Origin and Ordering of the Universe. In a "Ritual for the Repair of a Temple" (*ANET*, p. 344; Heidel, pp. 65f.) Anu is creator of the heaven and Nudimmud (an epithet of Ea) creator of the primordial *apsû*-ocean. Clay apparently existed within the *apsû* since Ea pinched off a piece from which to create the brick-god Kulla. The ritual describes Ea as creator of the various phenomena (deities, building materials, and workers) required for the ritual. The text breaks off as Ea creates the king as "the provider" and humanity as "the makers"; i.e., humanity, with the king as its representative, was created to serve the gods through the cult.

An "Incantation to the Tooth-Worm" (*ANET*, pp. 100f.; Beyerlin, pp. 77f.; Heidel, pp. 72f.), intended as a cure for toothache, contains a mythological introduction with cosmological material. As reconstructed, the text describes a process of cause and effect in which Anu created heaven, heaven created earth, earth created rivers, rivers created canals, canals created marsh, and marsh created the worm which the gods permitted to inhabit the teeth and gums. The creation of humanity is assumed. The incantation petitions Ea to destroy the worm, but Ea plays no role in creation.

"The Chaldaean Cosmology" (Gressman, pp. 130f.; Heidel, pp. 61-63) speaks of a time when no temple, reed, tree, brick, house, city, human being, or *apsû* had been made and all the lands were sea. Then in the middle of *apsû* the Anunnaki-gods created the city Eridu and its temple Esagila, as well as Marduk and Babylon. Marduk created earth and then humanity so that the gods might live in ease and delight, clearly implying that humanity was created to serve the gods. Aruru (a goddess) created seed of men with him. Marduk proceeded to create cattle and other animals, the Tigris and Euphrates, meadows and fields, woods and forests, reeds and trees. The badly preserved text appears to have then described Marduk as making the various cities and temples of ancient Sumer.

Enuma Elish, the "Babylonian Creation Epic" (*ANET*, pp. 60-72, 501-503; Beyerlin, pp. 80-84; Heidel, pp. 1-60),

An impression from a Neo-Assyrian seal that may depict a section of the *Enuma Elish*. Marduk (or Ashur) battles with the goddess Tiâmat, whose body he will split to form the heaven and the earth (*ca.* 8th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

of which an Assyrian version also existed, is the most important cosmological text. It was compiled from earlier sources during the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. as propaganda for use in the New Year *akītu*-Festival at Babylon to demonstrate Marduk's henotheistic superiority. The myth describes how in the beginning there was nothing but primordial masculine Apsû (fresh waters) and feminine Tiâmat (salt waters), who stand for inertia and rest (Jacobsen, *Enc. Brit.*, XI, 1004) and whose waters commingled (with sexual overtones). (Alongside Apsû and Tiâmat was Mummu, a secondary figure; Mummu may be an epithet of Tiâmat meaning "mother" [*ANET*, p. 61 n. 2], or he may represent the mist arising from Apsû and Tiâmat [Heidel, p. 3]). Then the gods were engendered in their midst. The first pair formed was Laḫmu and Laḫamu, the powers in silt (Jacobsen, *Enc.Brit.*, XI, 1003). The next pair was Anshar and Kishar, the powers in the horizon (Jacobsen, *Enc.Brit.*, XI, 1003) or "heaven's totality" (*an-šár*) and "earth's totality" (*ki-šár*). Anshar and Kishar engendered Anu, who begat the wise and strong Nudimmud (epithet of Ea, lord of fresh water). Ea was supreme among the other gods who by implication had by now been engendered, most likely by Laḫmu and Laḫamu. This younger generation of gods was dynamic in contrast to the staticity of the older generation, especially Apsû and Tiâmat. Conflict resulted since the younger gods disturbed Apsû and Tiâmat with their commotion. Against Tiâmat's protest but encouraged by Mummu, Apsû, decided to destroy them. However, Ea killed Apsû and bound Mummu. Then he established his abode on the slain Apsû and dwelt there in peace with his spouse, Damkina, as lord of fresh waters.

Marduk was born in the heart of Apsû as the offspring of Ea and Damkina. He is described superlatively as surpassing all the deities. Tiâmat decided to avenge Apsû's death and planned for battle. Eventually, Ea and Anu having failed to defeat Tiâmat, Anshar commissioned Marduk to carry out the task. He agreed on condition he

RELIGIONS: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

mankind "for the service of the gods that they might be at ease." As instigator of Tiâmat's rebellion, Kingu was slain and Ea (not Marduk) fashioned mankind from Kingu's blood. Marduk organized the gods into those above and those below. The gods built Babylon and Marduk's temple, Esagila, with its ziggurat as a thanksgiving to Marduk for their release from servitude. A banquet followed at which Marduk was again proclaimed supreme and his fifty names were declared by all the gods present. The epic closes by exhorting that the names of Marduk be remembered (recited) and explained by the leader. They are to be discussed and the father is to recite them to his son, so that fertility and prosperity may ensue (cf. Ex. 13:14f.; Dt. 11:18-21; 26:5-10).

A bilingual Sumero-Akkadian myth concerning the "Creation of Mankind" (Heidel, pp. 68-71) describes how, after heaven and earth had been separated, the mother of the goddesses had been brought into being and the earth brought forth, the destinies of heaven and earth fixed, and the Tigris and Euphrates established, then Anu, Enlil, Šamaš, Ea, and the great gods, the Anunnaki, wondered what else to create. They decided to slay two gods and create mankind from their blood to serve the gods, work the land, and raise livestock. The first two human beings were thus brought forth and named Ulligarra and Zalgarra.

In ancient Sumerian literature the idea that heaven and earth were once close together and then separated occurs a few times. The myth "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Underworld" (Beyerlin, p. 74) tells of the separation of heaven from earth and of earth from heaven, of the establishing of the seed of mankind, of Anu choosing heaven and Enlil earth as their realms of authority, and of the underworld being assigned to the goddess Ereshkigal. In a poem concerning "The Creation of the First Mattock" (Beyerlin, pp. 75f.) Enlil separated heaven from earth. He then created the mattock with which he struck something called the *uzu-e* ("bringer forth of the flesh") and from the hollow the first human beings grew up from the earth.

In the myth "Enki and the World Order" (Beyerlin, pp. 78-80) Enlil functions as ruler and creator-god. He provided Enki with the *mes* (divine powers) enabling Enki to organize the world, construct human civilization, and found its various occupations, putting each into the charge of a particular deity.

The Sumerian "Deluge Myth" (*ANET*, pp. 42-44; Beyerlin, pp. 89f.; Heidel, pp. 71f.) opens with a cosmological section, the first part of which is not preserved. The preserved part speaks of the creation of mankind by Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag, the bringing into being of veg-

A fragment of the Assyrian account of the Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet XI. In this section Utnapishtim tells Gilgamesh the gods' secret of the coming deluge and warns him to build a ship. (7th cent. B.C., from Nineveh) (Trustees of the British Museum, photo W. S. LaSor)

RELIGIONS: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

etation and animals, the lowering of kingship from heaven, and the founding of five antediluvian cities, namely, Eridu, Badtibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak.

2. *Paradise Themes.* Two Sumerian paradise myths are worth mentioning. First, "Enki and Ninhursag" (*ANET,* pp. 37-41; Beyerlin, pp. 85f.) which begins with a description of Dilmun, both a "land" and a "city," the setting for the subsequent story. Dilmun was a pure, clean, and bright place, without violence, suffering, sickness, or death, a place of peace, blessing, and fertility. Here Enki impregnated the goddess Ninhursag, who bore Ninmu. Enki impregnated Ninmu, who bore Ninkurra. In the same way Ninkurra bore Uttu. Enki cohabited with Uttu but no new goddess was produced. Instead his semen was used to cause eight different plants to grow. Enki ate them one by one and Ninhursag angrily cursed him and he began to die. The fox intervened; Ninhursag recanted and healed Enki, causing eight deities to be born from different parts of his body that pained him. The eight deities were assigned functions; the last, Enshag, was to be the lord of Dilmun.

A second Sumerian paradise myth is "Enmerka and the Lord of Aratta" (Beyerlin, pp. 86f.). Aratta was a rich land in Iran with gold, silver, and precious stones. Enmerka of Uruk quarreled with the ruler of Aratta. Enmerka sent a message to the ruler of Aratta describing a paradisaical future with no harmful wild animals, no fear or anxiety, and no more enemies, if he submitted to Enmerka.

C. Mankind: Origin, Nature, Destiny. 1. Origin. As indicated in the previous section the ancient Mesopotamians had various ideas concerning the origin of mankind. A few other texts should be mentioned. The "Myth of the Creation of Man by the Mother-goddess" (*ANET,* pp. 99f.; Heidel, pp. 66f.) tells how the goddess Mami (Ninhursag) created mankind (from clay mixed with the flesh and blood of a slain god) in order to bear the yoke of creation and serve the gods.

The "Myth of Atra-ḫasis" (*ANET,* pp. 104-106; Beyerlin, pp. 90-93; p. 77, n. k; Lambert and Millard, pp. 43-65) tells how the gods complained of the work they had to do and asked the mother-goddess Mami (Nintu) to create mankind (*lullû*) to bear their toil. Enki advised killing one god with whose flesh and blood Nintu should mix clay, "that god and man may be thoroughly mixed in the clay" (Lambert and Millard, p. 59). Nintu pinched off fourteen pieces of this clay mixture and fourteen birth-goddesses gestated them, producing seven male and seven female human beings.

The Sumerian myth "Enki and Ninmah" (Beyerlin, pp. 76f.) tells how clay above the apsû-ocean was shaped into a model and life given to it by the mother-goddess Ninmah (cf. Gen. 2:7). The result was mankind, which was to serve the gods.

2. Nature. In Babylonian mythological thought human nature contained an element of the divine. In *Enuma Elish* and in the bilingual myth of the "Creation of Mankind" mankind was made from the blood of a slain god or gods. In the "*Atra-ḫasis* Myth" mankind was made from a mixture of clay (the earthly part) and the flesh and blood of a god (the divine part); also, the *eṭemmu* ("spirit, ghost") of the slain god remained as the part of man that survived death and had a shadowy existence in the underworld. Mankind was not on a par with the gods, since the divine part was that of a slain god, not a living god. Furthermore, it had not been granted immortality.

The biblical concepts of mankind made in the image and likeness of God (Gen. 1:26f.) and of mankind formed from the dust of the ground into which God breathed the breath of life (Gen. 2:7) may be tenuously compared with the Babylonian ideas of a divine part in humanity as well as an earthly part. But neither the biblical nor the Babylonian concepts presents mankind as divine in the sense of being a god. For both religions mankind is powerless before the divine realm.

3. Destiny. Mankind was to maintain the comfort and ease of the gods through cultic worship and through toil to keep the earth fertile. Mankind's ultimate destiny was death, for it was mortal, and beyond death lay the netherworld (*erṣet lā târi,* "land of no return"). The god Nergal and his consort Ereshkigal ruled the netherworld, which was inhabited by the disembodied spirits or ghosts (*eṭemmū*) of dead persons. Each *eṭemmu* experienced a shadowy, dismal, unpleasant existence. Various myths speak of the netherworld as dark and as a place where dust and clay are food. The twelfth tablet of the Gilgamesh epic suggests differing fates for different people, but none of these fates is desirable. There was no concept of an afterlife of bliss and happiness.

The OT also conceives the underworld as a subterranean region (Prov. 2:18; Jonah 2:6), as an unpleasant place of gloom and darkness (Job 10:21f.; Ps. 23:4; 143:3; Lam. 3:6) associated with dust (Job 17:16; 21:26; Ps. 7:5). Alongside such pessimistic concepts, however, are more positive views (Gen. 15:15; 25:8; Ps. 49:14f. [MT 15f.]; 73:24; 139:8), and the concept of resurrection to eternal life eventually arose (Dnl. 12:1-3).

V. Comparative Religion: Israelite and Ancient Mesopotamian Religion.—Assyro-Babylonian religion and ancient Israelite religion have many parallels. Generally these parallels result from a common cultural milieu. But, only a few instances of direct contact can be adduced. Alongside the parallels are many important differences. The parallels and differences indicate that Israelite religion arose out of an ancient Near Eastern milieu by a twofold process of adaptation and rejection. This is not to deny God's involvement but to assert that in His providential ordering of Israelite religion He worked in and through the religious cultural forms that existed at the time.

The radically different theology of Yahwistic faith transformed ancient Near Eastern religious forms and concepts. (1) Nature was not experienced as personal; it was inanimate. (2) Yahwistic faith was strongly opposed to polytheistic and fertility religion. (3) Yahwistic faith maintained a strong antimythological tendency. (4) Yahwistic faith had a high view of deity. (a) Its strong monolatrous and monotheistic tendency contrasts to the polytheism and henotheism of the ancient Near East. (b) Yahweh was transcendent; He was not tied to the forces of nature and fertility. (c) Yahweh had a high moral character; His judgments were not arbitrary or capricious. (d) He was a God of grace who acted with a view to human redemption and reconciliation.

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RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: CANAANITE (SYRIA AND PALESTINE). The general geographical limitations of the area covered in this article are the territories of the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan. For further perspectives on this region, see ARCHEOLOGY OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE. The region is approximately contiguous with that described by the ancient term CANAAN, though it extends further northward, including most of northern Syria, which would not have been encompassed by the designation *Canaan.*

I. General Remarks
  A. The Geographical Region
  B. Commonality and Diversity
  C. Limitations of the Evidence
II. The Gods and Theology
  A. Principal Deities
  B. Minor Deities
  C. Regional Deities
  D. Theology
III. Religious Texts
  A. Texts from Ugarit
  B. Secondary Texts
IV. Worship and Practice
  A. Open-air Sites
  B. Religious Buildings
  C. Religious Functionaries
  D. Music and Song
  E. Sacrifices and Worship
V. Interaction with the Hebrews
  A. General Relationships
  B. Hebrew Reactions
  C. Positive Areas of Relationship

I. General Remarks.–*A. The Geographical Region.* The region of Syria and Palestine is determined principally by virtue of its location at the center of various other distinct regions and cultures in the ancient world. To the south lay Egypt, with its own original culture and religious traditions. To the northeast lay Mesopotamia, with its successive empires (Sumer, Akkad, Assyria and Babylonia) and their respective religious traditions. To the north lay the Hittite empire, until the Late Bronze Age (ca. 11th cent. B.C.). And to the west lay the Mycenaean, and later the Greek, regions with their own civilization and culture. While each of the surrounding regions had a degree of cultural homogeneity and its own indigenous religious traditions, the region of Syria and Palestine, while not without its indigenous elements, was to a large extent a melting pot in which the various traditions of the other regions were fused together. Thus in the Late Bronze Age archives of Ugarit, located at Râs Shamrah in modern Syria, may be found dedicatory inscriptions to Egyptian deities, Akkadian wisdom texts, Hurrian and Hittite texts, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, all set alongside native Ugaritic (Semitic) religious texts. This example of international and intercultural archives is typical of a general situation of "internationalism" in Syria and Palestine, although it was most dominant in large cosmopolitan cities. Throughout the OT period the region of Palestine and Syria provided the battlefields for international power struggles of the age, particularly those between Egypt and the successive Mesopotamian regions; these international struggles exerted an influence on the religions of the region, for each religion was related to a local state or kingdom, which in turn became involved in the international conflicts. Thus any detailed study of the religions of Syria and Palestine presupposes some knowledge of the religions of the surrounding regions. In the analysis of religions in Syria and Palestine three general categories may be recognized: (1) indigenous religious traditions; (2) syncretistic forms of religion, in which foreign and native elements have fused to create a new entity, and (3) foreign religions, adopted for use by people in the region, often concurrently with a form of indigenous religion.

B. Commonality and Diversity. The principal ethnic population of the region comprised Semitic peoples, whose religion, along with language and culture, was a distinctive and indigenous form of the Northwest Semitic traditions. The commonality of the native Semitic religions extends to such matters as deities, temple types, and emphases in belief and worship. The diversity is provided both by regional, chronological, and ethnic variations.

(1) Regional variations have produced a great variety of religious traditions, though with a common Semitic substratum. Thus the varieties of religion in coastal locations (with an emphasis on seagoing activities) differ markedly from the agricultural emphases of religious traditions located inland. Again, the identification of a religion with a particular state often meant that a superficial commonality would in practice have been markedly different. The city states of Tyre and Sidon each had their own religions, not unsimilar, but distinguished by national and political boundaries. Again, the religions of the Transjordanian states of Ammon and Moab, though not well known, had a degree of similarity that was overshadowed by national and political differences.

(2) Chronological variations introduce a further difficulty in the study of the religions of Syria and Palestine. Thus we are currently learning more and more about the religion of the northern part of the region in the 3rd millennium B.C. from the study of Eblaite texts and physical remains excavated at Tell Mardikh. From the 2nd-millennium texts and physical remains we can learn a good deal about religion at Ugarit and Byblos on the western coast of the region. From the 1st millennium B.C., physical and textual evidence becomes more abundant, providing some information on Phoenician religion, Aramean religion, Moabite religion, and other regional religions. But when the variety of religions associated with different regions is conjoined with the further variety associated with differ-

RELIGIONS: CANAANITE

ent chronological periods, the difficulty of reconstructing the character of religion in Syria and Palestine can be appreciated.

(3) A final difficulty is that posed by the variety of ethnic groups in the regions. In general terms the principal group is that of the Semitic peoples, whose religions have an underlying commonality of theme and character. From the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. we must also account for the Arameans and their religion; while still in the Semitic tradition, these people do not appear to be indigenous to the area. Of the many non-Semitic foreign groups that became influential in the area, the two most important are the Hurrians and the Philistines. The Hurrians are known to have been present in the region from the 2nd millennium B.C. and continued into the 1st millennium B.C.; while their original religion appears to have had Indo-Aryan characteristics, it was a highly syncretistic system and absorbed many features of the native Semitic religions. The religion of the Philistines, also a non-Semitic people, is less well known; their location on Israel's southern borders created a degree of interaction in common with the other areas of interchange.

C. Limitations of the Evidence. Ideally, in order to reconstruct the religion of a given people in a particular place, one would require extensive evidence: written texts of various kinds, iconographic evidence, physical evidence (objects, buildings, tombs, etc.), together with other data that would provide the cultural and chronological framework within which to reconstruct the ancient religion. Unfortunately the evidence for religion in Syria and Palestine is fairly limited and may be summarized as follows. (1) Religious texts (see further III below). Here the evidence is good from two archeological sites: UGARIT (late 2nd millennium B.C.) and Ebla (TELL MARDIKH; 3rd millennium B.C.). Other archives produce at best indirect evidence, either because the texts are principally Mesopotamian in substance (e.g., Mari) or because the substance is not specifically religious (e.g., the letters from Palestine in the Egyptian Amarna archives). (2) Iconographic evidence is fairly extensive from most regions and periods, though the interpretation of the evidence is often difficult in the absence of textual records. (3) Extensive physical evidence has survived from numerous excavations: the remains of shrines and temples, altars, cult lamps and related objects, stelae, etc. Again, this type of evidence has limited value for understanding religion when not accompanied by written texts. (4) A vital category of evidence, which was frequently the only evidence prior to the birth of modern archeology, is the biblical text as such. Frequent references are made to the religions of Israel's neighbors; they are given usually in the context of religious polemic, but are invaluable nevertheless in trying to patch together a picture of the religions of Syria and Palestine.

II. The Gods and Theology.–A. Principal Deities. So far as we can determine, all the religions in the regions were *theistic*, and all, to a greater or lesser extent, were *polytheistic*. The coexistence of a variety of religions in one location may imply either religious pluralism or more commonly syncretism, sometimes in theory but more commonly simply in practice (viz., a citizen of a particular state might worship [a] the principal deity of that state, [b] a fertility deity, [c] a deity associated with the dead, and [d] a personal or familial deity). Although in theory separate beliefs and distinct cults or forms of worship might be associated with each of these deities, in practice there must have been a degree of syncretism in the faith and worship of the ordinary person. In this general context the principal deities of Syria and Palestine (excluding local variations) can be summarized as follows: El (*see* GOD, NAMES OF II.A.1), BAAL, Dagan (biblical DAGON), Anat (ANATH), ASHTORETH (Astarte). The Bible refers to all these deities.

A bronze figurine of a standing male deity, either Baal or Resheph, found at Shechem. Silver foil once overlaid the tunic and silver filet covered the forehead. He probably once held a staff, dagger, or spear (Joint Expedition to Shechem; photo L. Ellenberger)

B. Minor Deities. The deities referred to here are "minor" in the context of Syria and Palestine as a whole, though some are important deities in particular regions and particular cults. Knowledge of these deities comes from the Ugaritic texts (which include "pantheon lists"), Phoenician, Aramaic, and Canaanite inscriptions; in addition to explicit mention of the deities in the texts, additional information is provided by the theophoric elements in personal and place names referred to in the texts. The following list is selective.

(1) *Ilib.* A notable god in Ugarit, whose name apparently means "god of the father," Ilib was patron of ancestor worship, for which ample physical evidence has survived at Râs Shamrah, Tell Mardikh, and other sites. There may be an allusion to this deity in Isa. 14:9, with its reference to the "shades" of Sheol.

(2) *Hadd* (or Hadad). A god of storm (sometimes associated with Baal), referred to frequently in Ugaritic and in later Aramaic texts. The name survives in the biblical texts in various names, e.g., Hadad (Gen. 25:15), Hadadrimmon (Zec. 12:11).

(3) *Yam.* The god's name means "sea"; in Ugarit he is a

son of El. There are frequent allusions to this deity in biblical texts, where the Hebrew word *yam* ("sea") is employed to indicate "sea's" subservience to the Lord (e.g., Ex. 15:4-10; Ezk. 28:1-8, where the prince of Tyre, thinking himself to be a god like Baal, would die "in the heart of the *sea*," an allusion to *Yam*, who in Ugaritic mythology engaged in conflict with Baal.)

(4) *Mot*, in the Ugaritic texts, is "Death." Biblical allusions in Hab. 2:5 ("like *Death* he has never enough"); Ps. 49:14 (MT 15); and elsewhere.

(5) *Resheph*, essentially a god of pestilence, but paradoxically associated with health, is referred to in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Egyptian, and other inscriptions. A local variation of Resheph (Mekal) was god of Beth-shean in the biblical area, of which evidence survives on an excavated stele. A possible biblical allusion may be seen in Hab. 3:5 ("Pestilence").

(6) *Šapaš* (sometimes Šemeš). Known at Ebla, Ugarit, and elsewhere, Šapaš was a Canaanite form of the sun-god. Biblical references to this god survive in place names (e.g., En-shemesh, Josh. 15:7) and in references to sun-images and the like (e.g., 2 Ch. 14:5; Isa. 27:9).

The above is only a brief sample of the multiplicity of deities worshiped in Syria and Palestine. What is notable about the majority of such deities is the fluidity of their attributes; a particular god with specific attributes and functions in one location may have quite different attributes and functions in another place.

C. Regional Deities. In addition to the major and minor deities mentioned above, there is evidence that certain other gods served as more limited regional deities. In some instances the regional deity may be the local manifestation of one of the more widely recognized deities (e.g., *Baal* has many regional manifestations). In other cases the regional deity is truly local, peculiar to a particular place or people. It is not always easy to determine which of these circumstances applies in a particular case. CHEMOSH of Moab and Milkom of Ammon are often considered independent, local deities. But some interpreters have suggested that Milkom is not a divine name, but a title of the Ammonite god meaning "the King" (from *melek* + *-m*, the definite article in South Arabian dialects). According to Fohrer (p. 53) the term *mōlek*, often taken as a divine name (MOLECH, Moloch), is in reality another epithet from *melek*, "king," which has been vocalized following the pattern of *bōšet*, "shame," as a sign of disapproval. Others reject the likelihood of such a hybrid form (known as *dysphemism*) and trace *mōlek* to the divine name *mālik* "king," "ruler") known at Ebla (Heider, p. 401). It remains likely that a single deity lies behind both epithets, while the presumption in Judges (11:24) that Chemosh is the god of Ammon indicates the probable identification of Chemosh, Milkom, and Molech. Further evidence — that human sacrifice is associated with the worship of Chemosh (2 K. 3:26f.) and Milkom/Molech (Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35) along with the appearance in the Mesha inscription from Moab (line 17) of the conflated divine name Ashtar-Chemosh — suggests Chemosh/Milkom/Molech may be local manifestations of the more widely disseminated Ashtar (known at Ugarit) to whom human sacrifice is also thought to have been offered (Fohrer, p. 50; but see also Heider).

Melqart (of Tyre) is another divine epithet, meaning "King of the city" (from *melek* + *qeret*), for the local manifestation of Baal. Eshmun of Sidon is perhaps an independent local god although there is some indication of syncretism with other deities, at least in certain periods (Albright, pp. 150, 227f.).

D. Theology. The Canaanite texts have almost no overt discussion of theology. A brief resume of what can be inferred, primarily from the Ugaritic religious texts, follows. The gods are called *qdš*, "holy," stressing their "otherness" in relation to human beings. They are both terrible and fascinating. The gods together make up the "assembly of the gods" (*phr 'ilm*) and are thought to dwell in the north on Mt. Ṣaphon (Mt. Cassios). Possessing the gift of long life, the gods give it to whom they will. But, as Aqhat knows in his contest with Anath (*UT*, 1-3 Aqht), only the gods are immortal, all human beings die. Mankind serves the gods through the temple sacrificial system. In return they trust in divine retribution in which righteousness receives reward and sin involves punishment. While the gods are exalted lords of life, personal names link human beings and gods together in familial relationships (Abibaal, "my father is Baal"; Aḥibaal, "my brother is Baal"). Prayer to the gods is common, with long life a priority request. Guidance for the future is provided through various forms of divination, including liver extispicy, oracles, ritual incubation, astrology, and direct prophecy. While worship of the dead among the Canaanites indicates some concept of life after death, the extent and nature of that belief remains unclear.

III. Religious Texts.—Religious texts recovered through archeological excavation are an invaluable source of information concerning the religions of Syria and Palestine. Some texts are explicitly religious; others may be administrative or political and contain only indirect religious information.

A tablet (reverse side) from Ugarit that tells of the Canaanite myth of Shaḥar and Shalim, the twins "Dawn" and "Dusk." Part of this section (lines 52-59) reads, "Word was carried to El: 'Two have been born, Shaḥar and Shalim. . . .' Both of them travailed and gave birth, they gave birth to the gracious [gods], 'cleavers' of the sea, children of the sea" (tr. J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* [2nd ed. 1978], p. 126) (Louvre, photo M. Chuzeville)

A. Texts from Ugarit (Râs Shamrah). The greatest variety of religious texts comes from the archives of Ugarit. These texts include: (1) *mythological texts* important for their testimony to the substance of Canaanite belief. Certainly the chief of these is the cycle of fertility texts revolving around the exploits of Baal and Anath (see IV.E below). While interpretation of these texts remains obscure at points due to the fragmentary nature of the tablets and the lack of agreement regarding their arrangement, scholars generally agree on the structure of the myth and its relation to the fertility cycle. The myth affords a brief but contemporary glance at the fertility cult known otherwise only from biblical polemic or late texts of limited value. The myth of the "Gracious and Beautiful Gods" (*UT*, 52) recounts the birth of the gods Shaḥr ("Dawn") and Shalim ("Dusk") following the sexual encounter of 'El with two female consorts. M. Pope suggests a connection between this text and the cult of the dead ("Cult," p. 165).

(2) *Ritual texts* describing religious rites, the offering of sacrifices, etc.

(3) *Pantheon lists* enumerating the gods.

(4) *Literary texts (legends)* providing indirect religious information. Among these pride of place belongs to the legend of King Krt (sometimes Keret), which describes his campaign against Pabil of Udum (identified by some with Edom) to secure the hand of Lady Hurai in marriage following the tragic deaths of his first wife and progeny. Of special interest are the sections detailing Krt's vision of 'El that sets him on his journey and the description of Krt's sacrifice that follows. The Aqhat text shows distinct connections with the common structure of the fertility myth (see IV.E below). The legend begins with the plea of Danel (perhaps to be identified with the figure mentioned in Ezek. 14:14) for a son. His request is answered through the intercession of Baal and Aqhat is born. As a gift from the craftsman deity Kothar-wa-Ḥasis Aqhat receives a composite bow, which incites the envy of Anath. When Aqhat refuses all Anath's offers (including immortality), she plots and accomplishes his murder. At this point the fertility connections become obvious, since vegetation withers as a consequence of Aqhat's demise. His sister Pughat searches for her brother and vows to avenge him. The text ends abruptly and fragmentarily just as Anath's assassin, in a state of inebriation, reveals his role to the vengeful Pughat.

(5) *Political texts (treaties)* specifying names of gods.

(6) *Administrative texts* listing various classes of religious personnel (see IV.B below). Scholars have drawn extensively on these Ugaritic texts to illuminate the background of biblical literature (see G. D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect* [1981]). Certain limitations in the use of these texts for comparative biblical studies must be recognized, partly because of their geographical distance from Israel (they come from the Mediterranean coast in northern Syria), and partly because of the temporal distance between their date in the Late Bronze Age (*ca.* 1400-1200 B.C.) and that of the central OT period.

B. Secondary Texts. Numerous Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions have survived from the 1st millennium B.C. For the most part, however, these INSCRIPTIONS are not primarily religious and contain only incidental information of value to the study of the religions of Syria and Palestine. (For the texts see J. C. L. Gibson, *Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [3 vols., 1971, 1975, 1982]).

IV. Worship and Practice. *–A. Open-air Sites.* One of the most important cultic installations among the Canaanites is the *bāmâ* or "HIGH PLACE" frequently mentioned in the OT. The name designates the normal setting for these sites on a high hill. Usually associated with the *bāmâ* are the cult objects known as *maṣṣēḇâ* and *'ᵃšērâ*. The former (*maṣṣēḇâ*) is a stone pillar erected as a symbol of the male deity. Sacrifices of oil and blood were apparently smeared on the stones as part of worship. The *'ᵃšērâ*, representing the female counterpart, was some sort of wooden pole or image of the goddess. It is unclear whether the gods were thought to indwell these objects or whether they were symbolic representations of the deity. In addition to these items, a sacrificial altar completed the cultic facilities. Open-air *bāmôṯ* (pl. of *bāmâ*) were legitimate places of Israelite worship in the periods of the patriarchs and judges (Gen. 28:18-22; 1 S. 9:11-14). It is not until the monarchy that worship at *bāmôṯ* became suspect, partly because of growing tensions between Yahwism and the Canaanite fertility cults associated with the sites, partly because of the desire of later Judahite monarchs to centralize Yahweh worship in Jerusalem. In the books of Kings and Chronicles, positive or negative evaluation of individual monarchs is often connected with whether they permitted or attempted to eradicate these open-air shrines (cf. 2 K. 18:1-4; 2 Ch. 33:1-3). *Bāmâ* worship remained a continuing problem for the Israelites as late as the reign of Josiah (*ca.* 621 B.C.), who is said to have torn down the *bāmôṯ* throughout Judah (2 K. 22–23).

B. Religious Buildings. The principal religious buildings in the religions of Syria and Palestine were TEMPLES. Although the temples that have been excavated reveal varieties of architectural form, there appears to have been a general similarity of function. A temple was usually dedicated to the cult of a particular deity, normally a high god in the city or state. The worship at the temple was a regular and large undertaking, involving sacrifices and offerings. The temple may also have served as the focal point of a local religious cult, having numerous regional shrines reporting to it and belonging to its organizational structure. Many cities in the region had several temples, sometimes situated alongside each other, indicating the co-existence or integration of the worship of various deities. The general structure and function of the Jerusalem temple had many parallels to other temples in Syria and Palestine (see C. J. Davey, *Tyndale Bulletin*, 31 [1980], 107-146), though of course the focus of worship was entirely different.

Other buildings and structures with a religious function include the following. (1) Sanctuaries: various kinds are known, some being public buildings for the gathering of people to worship in a city, but without the religious establishment of the temples, others being smaller outdoor shrines situated in the countryside. (2) Mortuary palaces (e.g., at Râs Shamrah and Tell Mardikh), associated with the cult of dead kings, but perhaps also locations of worship. (3) Fertility shrines (e.g., at Minet el-Beida, near Râs Shamrah), with numerous small rooms for the undertaking of sexual practices associated with the fertility cult. (4) Family tombs, located in Râs Shamrah underneath private dwellings, for the care and worship of deceased ancestors.

C. Religious Functionaries. The principal evidence for religious functionaries comes from Ugaritic administrative and economic texts; the parallel evidence from the OT, however, suggests that the information may be considered typical for the region as a whole. In ancient Ugarit the following categories are known (though the list is not comprehensive). (1) *Chief priest (rb Khnm)*: he served as head of the temple establishment, which might also include a library, scribal school, and various other divisions. He was a leading citizen in the community as a whole (*see* PRIEST, HIGH). (2) *Priests (Khnm)*: the staff, often large, of the temple establishment (*see* PRIESTS AND LEVITES). (3) *Scribes (sprm)*: perhaps priests, but persons

RELIGIONS: CANAANITE

to whom had been delegated not only secretarial matters but also the preservation and continuation of the great religious texts (*see* SCRIBES). (4) "*Holy ones*" (*qdšm*), apparently the so-called sacred prostitutes who participated in the fertility rites at the shrines. (5) *Temple servitors* (*ytnm*): the general support staff of the temple establishment, to whom general work and maintenance duties were assigned (*see* SERVANT).

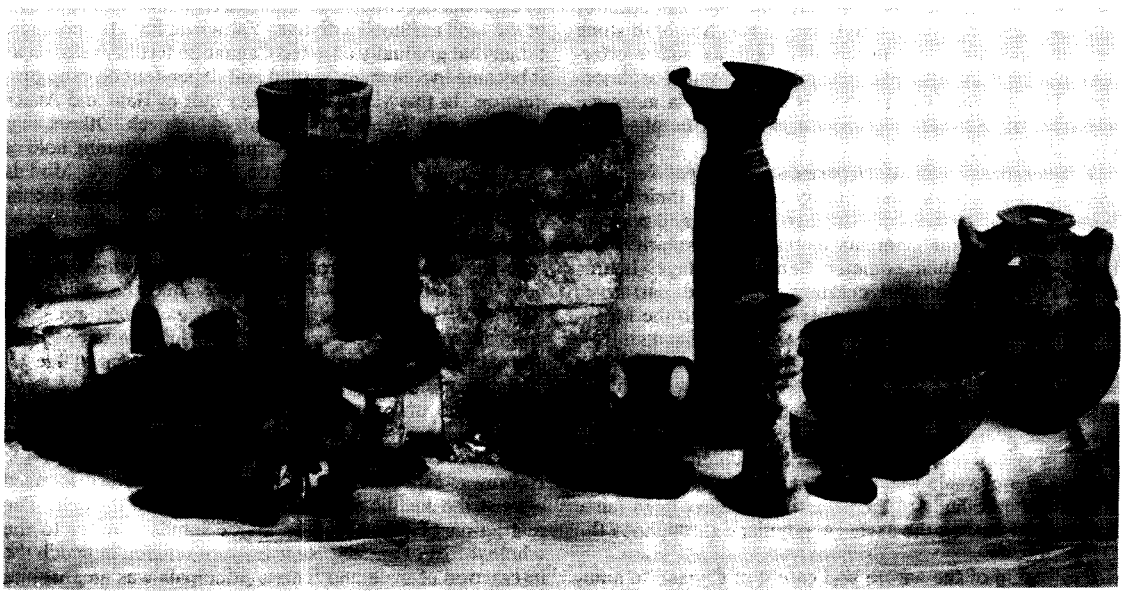
D. Music and Song. The Ugaritic texts also indicate the temple was served by musicians, both singers and instrumentalists; the worship of the temple thus included some form of liturgical music. One Hurrian text was found at Râs Shamrah which contained the words of a hymn, together with a musical score, and a colophon containing the kind of information that may be found in Psalms which have titles. (See/hear, A. D. Kilmer, R. L. Crocker, R. R. Brown, *Sounds from Silence: Recent Discoveries in Ancient Near Eastern Music* [record and booklet; 1977]; *see also* MUSIC.)

E. Sacrifices and Worship. The religious texts from Ugarit, containing lists of offerings and animals, indicate that large quantities of material were contributed to the temples and indeed provided the basis of the temple's economy. The discovery of numerous stone altars at various temple sites throughout the region confirms the sacrifice of various animals and other objects. In some instances sacrificial terms show a marked similarity to those employed in Israel (*dbḥ, ʿlh, šlmm, mnḥh*) although observance may have diverged. The two major types of sacrifices among the Canaanites — the holocaust (*šrp*), offered exclusively to the god, and the communion offering (*šlmm*), with its characteristic shared meal — are important parts of Israel's cult as well. Human sacrifice was clearly practiced among the Canaanites, though it may have been irregular in nature (the late evidence from Punic Carthage notwithstanding), for the most part restricted to times of extreme peril or need (2 K. 3:26f.). Libations were poured out to various deities: at several sites, vessels have been found, set in the ground with their base knocked out, through which libations have been poured "into" the earth in the hope of securing the fertility of the soil. *See also* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

Despite the diversity in the various religions of Syria and Palestine, some general and common themes of worship may be determined. (1) *Fertility.* The chief religious concern is to maintain the fertility of crops and animals as well as that of the human beings who both cultivated and depended upon them. The rather limited arable land, reliant on such natural water sources as rivers and rainfall (both of a seasonal nature), were under constant attack by the hostile elements, drought and desert. Such crops as survived to maturity must then face the locust. The development among the Canaanites of the extended city-state depending on the produce of the surrounding area to support the nonagricultural city populace heightened the role of agricultural fertility in the stability of society. The importance of human fertility is well attested in the biblical narratives. Infertility (barrenness), miscarriage, high infant mortality, and the decimation of war reduced the average life expectancy in good times to around thirty-five years of age. During times of famine and plague, this average may have dipped as low as eighteen (Myers). The desire for offspring is not limited to the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, but plays an important role in the KRT text from Ugarit as well.

Religious concerns with fertility found expression in myths of dying and rising deities related to the seasonal agricultural cycle. These myths are widely distributed in the ancient Near East and conform to a similar structure in most cases. The fertility-deity comes into conflict with the power(s) of infertility and death and is overpowered with the resultant subjection of the human world to infertility. A search for the missing deity (usually by a female counterpart) results ultimately in the revivication of the god and the restoration of fertility to the world. This motif is clearly present in the Canaanite myth of Baal and Anath from Ugarit. Following victorious combat with the chaotic water-god Yamm Nahar, Baal (the storm-god) is granted a house as indication of his preeminent role among the gods of Ugarit. At a banquet in his honor, Baal refuses to submit to the demands of the god Mot (Death),

Ritual accessories including offering vessels and incense stands used in Canaanite worship at Megiddo (ca. 11th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



RELIGIONS: CANAANITE

and in the resulting struggle he goes down to death through the gullet of his opponent. The goddess Anath searches for the deceased Baal and finally attacks Mot himself to secure his release. The restored Baal is then able to confront and defeat Mot decisively, thereby ensuring the stability of the fertility cycle. Similar myths are known in Greece (Persephone), Egypt (Osiris), and Mesopotamia (Inanna/Ishtar; Dumuzi/Tammuz). Ritual reenactment of the conflict and resolution of the fertility myth, involving sexual intercourse between the king and the high priestess of the fertility-goddess, occupied a prominent place in the New Year Festival in Mesopotamia and is thought to have occurred in Canaan as well (Ringgren, pp. 163-65).

Also characteristic of Canaanite fertility ritual is the association of male (*qᵉḏēšîm*) and female (*qᵉḏēšôṯ*) "holy ones" (cult prostitutes) with the temples and shrines of the fertility deities. By joining in the activities of cultic sexuality, common people could participate in "stockpiling" fertility energy, which ensured the continuing stability of agricultural as well as human and animal productivity. Archeological excavations in Canaanite locations have uncovered temples with chambers where sexual activity took place. Also, many iconographic representations of the fertility-goddess with exaggerated sexual features have been discovered. The influence of the fertility cult was widespread; it was combatted fiercely in Israel as alien to the covenant faith (e.g., Hos. 1–3).

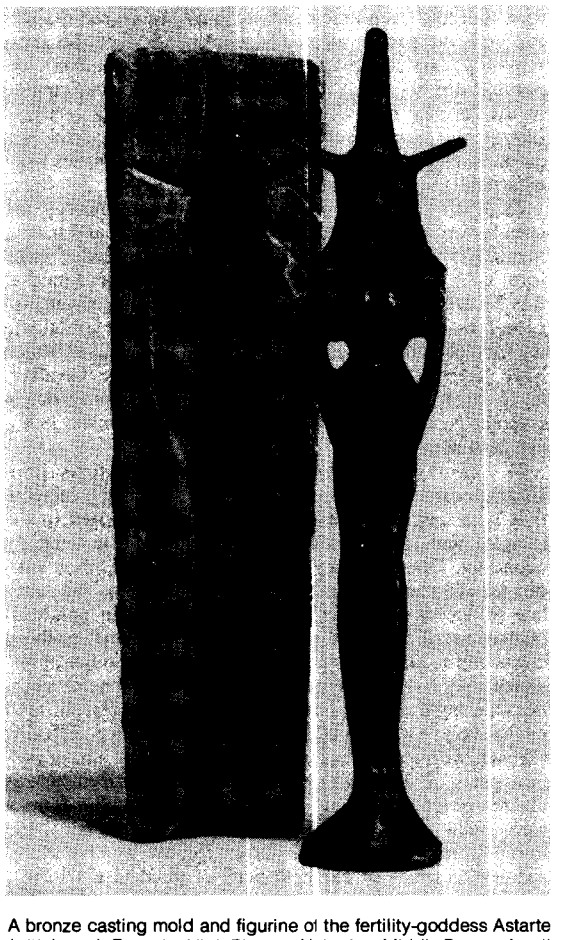
(2) *Death.* The theme of death reflected in worship represents partly a concern for the welfare of the departed (illustrated by tomb deposits, the provision of food and drink for the dead, etc.) and partly a form of ancestor cult in which the shades of the departed become the objects of worship. Cultic feasts (sg. *marzē[a]ḥ*) were celebrated in the family tomb or at burial mounds with ritual drunkenness and sexuality (possibly involving incest) in which the deceased were thought to participate. Some suggest the biblical injunction against swines' flesh is related to the use of this animal in the cult of the dead (Pope, "Cult").

(3) *Nationalism.* The identification of particular deities with particular places (see II.C above) indicates the role of certain gods as national gods, providing protection for the city or state.

(4) *Ocean.* At some sites (e.g., Byblos and Râs Shamrah) the ocean or sea was in some sense a focal point of religious activity. At both Byblos and Râs Shamrah stone ship-anchors are found in temples, both as votive offerings and built into the symbolism of the temple architecture. This emphasis in religion is essentially a maritime variation of the more common agricultural emphasis of the fertility cult.

V. Interactions with the Hebrews. *–A. General Relationships.* The Hebrews were closely related to their neighbors by ties of geography, language, culture, and political environment. Some elements of religious similarity may be the result of their common Semitic heritage. In this category would fall the creation and flood narratives (which at points bear remarkable similarity to the Mesopotamian account of Atra-ḫasis *see* FLOOD [GENESIS] VI) as well as references to struggle with chaotic waters or the sea beasts RAHAB and LEVIATHAN. From time to time in OT history direct contacts between Israel and Canaan (including war, treaties, and various colonial relationships) provided ample opportunity for influence and reaction. It is inevitable that a knowledge of the religions of Syria, and especially of Palestine, would have been fairly widespread among the Hebrew populace throughout the OT period.

Evaluation of the nature and extent of Canaanite influence on Israel is dependent in part on one's reconstruction of the circumstances of Israel's entry into the land. Traditional acceptance of a unified and complete conquest of the land assumed a distinct Yahwistic faith for nomadic Israel that gradually adopted Canaanite fertility religion as it became increasingly settled and dependent on crop production. In this view, the fertility cult of Baal and Anath was intrinsically alien to the cult of Yahweh. Others suggest that such a view fails to explain the continuing hold of fertility religion on Israel throughout its history. Models of Israelite origins relying heavily on sociological theory suggest that Israel is a complex combination of disaffected Canaanite peasants and social outcasts (*'apiru*) who joined together with a small group of invading Yahwists to form a potent coalition that was able to topple the ruling Canaanite aristocracy (Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible,* pp. 261-288). As a result fertility religion would have been firmly entrenched in the formerly Canaanite segment of the Israelite population while faith in Yahweh would have formed the unifying element of society at the national level.



A bronze casting mold and figurine of the fertility-goddess Astarte (with horns). From the High Place at Nahariya, Middle Bronze Age II (Collection Israel Dept. of Antiquities, photo D. Harris)

B. Hebrew Reactions. The principal reactions of the Hebrews, especially the Major Prophets, were focused against the insidious influences of the fertility cult. The restriction of priesthood to males stands counter to the whole thrust of ancient Near Eastern religion in which the interaction of male and female principals was an absolute

necessity. The rejection of cult prostitution shifted hopes for productivity to the gracious will of Yahweh rather than the manipulation of fertility powers. Confrontation of syncretistic movements to worship Baal alongside Yahweh or to conflate the two was a chief priority of the prophets and led them into conflict with the royal establishment on numerous occasions (e.g., Elijah's conflict with Jezebel and the 400 priests of Baal on Mt. Carmel in 1 K. 18–19). Following the division of the kingdom, charges of Baal worship at Dan and Bethel were leveled against Jeroboam (1 K. 12). Even Solomon, who saw Yahweh's temple through to completion, was not immune as evidenced by the condemnation of his worship of Ashtoreth and Milkom under the inducement of his foreign wives (1 K. 11:1-8). The eradication of the open-air *bāmôṯ* fertility shrines was still incomplete at the conclusion of the monarchical period and human sacrifice to Molek continued to plague Israel up to the Exile and beyond (see II.C above). The very vehemence of the prophetic reaction, in both the northern (e.g., Hosea) and southern (e.g., Jeremiah) kingdoms, indicates how strongly the Hebrew population as a whole embraced the appealing and comforting aspects of fertility worship (esp. of Baal). Apart from its appeal at the level of human sexuality, the fertility cult, by virtue of its focus on the fertility of land and beasts, must always have had an attraction in a society such as ancient Israel where economy was based primarily on agriculture.

C. Positive Areas of Relationship. Some suggest that important structures in Israelite religion owe much to Canaanite agricultural temple religion. Chief among these are the sacrificial system and the dominant religious festivals of the year. We have already noted similarities in the form and substance of Israelite sacrifice as compared with Canaanite (see IV.E above). A number of the important festivals (e.g., Unleavened Bread, Weeks, Tabernacles; *see* FEASTS) reflect settled agricultural celebrations that have been associated with important religious events in the historical life of Israel. Influence of a different kind may be seen in Hebrew literature, where some of the great themes of the mythology of neighboring religions (notably the mythology of Baal) have been adapted and "demythologized" to give expression to the Hebrew faith. Yahweh is occasionally depicted as storm-god (Ps. 18:7-15 [MT 8-16]; 29:1-11; 144:5f.). Elsewhere Yahweh defeats the chaotic sea beasts Leviathan (Ps. 74:14; Job 3:8; 40:25; Isa. 27:1) and Rahab (Job 9:13; 26:12; Ps. 89:10 [MT 11]). By the adaptation of themes pertaining to Baal and in the attribution of Baal's characteristics to the Lord of Israel, the Hebrew poets engaged in a fruitful critique of Canaanite religion.

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RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: EGYPT. This article is concerned with the religion of Egypt from earliest known times until the beginning of the Christian era.

I. Introduction
II. Sources
  A. Literary
    1. Pyramid and Coffin Texts
    2. The Book of the Dead
  B. Nonliterary
    1. Funerary Items
    2. Paintings
    3. Temples, Images
III. History
  A. Predynastic
  B. To the Amarna Age
    1. Indigenes and Invaders
    2. Theological Centers
    3. Cosmogonies
      a. Heliopolitan
      b. Memphite
      c. Hermopolitan
      d. Theban
      e. Elephantine
    4. Pairing of Deities
  C. The Aten Revolution
  D. Post-Amarna
  E. Later Developments
IV. Religious Beliefs
  A. Divine Kingship
  B. Embalming and Burial
  C. Afterlife
  D. Temple Cult
  E. Festivals
  F. Magic
  G. Ethics

I. Introduction.–The religion of Egypt, like its culture, was of long duration and relatively little influenced by outside elements. It did, however, undergo changes, for the most part gradual, while at the same time maintaining many of the original features. The observation that "Egypt could learn but it could not forget" (cf. H. Frankfort, *Before Philosophy*, p. 41; cf. also J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 87) pertains to its religious as well as to its other cultural elements. The one break in this continuity occurred in the Amarna Age (*ca.* 1379-1300; *see* EGYPT VIII.G), when Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) tried to suppress the religious system which was largely dominated by the Amon priesthood (see II.C below). The religious revolution, however, was short-lived, and the Amon priesthood regained control under Tutankhamen (*ca.* 1330) or even earlier.

The first observation of a person coming to the study of Egyptian religion is the large number of deities, many of them in animal form, or human form with animal heads. (For representations, cf. J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 212-14.) It is possible to list at least thirty-nine gods and goddesses (see tables in *Enc.Brit.*, VI [15th ed. 1983], 505, 507), although there is considerable overlapping of their individual offices and attributes, as well as the use of two or more names apparently representing the same deity. Some of the gods or goddesses are natural elements, e.g., the sun (Aten, Re), the sky (Nut), the earth (Geb), the Nile (Hapi); others are abstractions, e.g., the dynamic force of air in motion (Amon), the com-

The god Horus brings a soul into the judgment hall of Osiris in this depiction from the "Ani Papyrus" of the Book of the Dead. The man in front of the throne kneels with offerings (*ca.* 1300 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

plete one (Aten), the throne (Isis), fertility (Osiris), the goddess of war (Sekhmet), the god of mathematics, speech, etc. (Thoth or Djehuty).

The Egyptians tended to regard all nature about them as basically personal rather than impersonal. Behind all the powers of wind, rain, fire, and plague there were numinous agents with whom the human beings had to reckon. Even the fiercest and most deadly of animals, e.g., the cobra, the scorpion, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus, were creatures connected with some king or god, and therefore they had to be respected as individuals in their own right and not simply as brute beasts.

II. Sources.–A. Literary. Knowledge about the religion of Egypt is based on literary and nonliterary sources. For each of these categories there are quantities of material, but there are no theological works to help with the synthesis of the data until late in the New Kingdom, and these are of limited help.

1. Pyramid and Coffin Texts. Literary sources include the Pyramid Texts for the Old Kingdom (cf. K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*), inscriptions on the walls of rooms under the pyramids of the kings and queens of the late 5th and the 6th Dynasties. Similar are the Coffin Texts, writings on papyrus placed in the coffins or inscriptions on coffins of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom (cf. A. de Buck, *Egyptian Coffin Texts,* for the Middle Kingdom).

2. The Book of the Dead. The so-called Book of the Dead is an assortment of texts from various times, beginning with portions of Coffin Texts of the Old Kingdom, to which the Egyptians of a later time gave the name "The Chapters of Going Forth by Day" (cf. K. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* 58 [1923] 1ff.; 59 [1924], 73ff.; E. A. W. Budge, ed., *Papyrus of Ani* [1913], iii, sheet 29; *Book of the Dead* [1898]; and numerous inscriptional references to various deities. For selections, cf. *ANET,* pp. 3-18. For a large-scale reproduction of a portion of the Book of the Dead, cf. Baines and Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt,* pp. 218f. *See also* pictures in DEATH; EGYPT.

For the large part the literary materials consist of spells for funerary rites, magical texts, and texts concerning the afterlife existence of the king. Some texts throw light on the temple cult, and there are hymns and prayers on temple walls and on papyri, mostly from the 18th Dynasty and later.

B. Nonliterary. 1. Funerary Items. Because of the importance to the Egyptian of belief in the continuity of life after death, elaborate burials were customary, especially for the kings and the nobles. Here can be seen the relationship of the life after death to this life. Since the dead have the same appetites, needs, and hopes as the living, many of the items of this life, either full-size or in miniature representations, were buried with the dead. (*See* Vol. I, plate 8). Most of these items are more useful in giving a picture of every-day life in ancient Egypt, but some (perhaps many, depending on the interpretation placed on them) preserve details of religious beliefs. Cf. P. Montet, *Eternal Egypt,* pp. 136-199; A. Erman and H. Ranke, *La civilisation égyptienne,* pp. 385-418.

2. Paintings. From the 4th Dynasty on, the walls of tombs were covered with paintings depicting various deities or symbolic representations, burial rites, and pictorial and symbolic representations of various theological concepts. Since the interpretation of such presentations has a considerable degree of subjectivity, scholars differ in explaining the meaning of these paintings. For discussion and a selection of places, cf. W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958); W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt,* pp. 128-164; R. Patrick, *All Color Book of Egyptian Mythology* (1972).

3. Temples, Images. Temples of the gods from the 18th Dynasty to the Roman period have been found. The image of the god was kept in a chamber of the cultic image, and was carried in certain processions either for the public or to visit other temples. Images of certain gods date back to Predynastic times. *See also* TEMPLES.

III. History.–A. Predynastic. Egypt is often considered as a monolithic entity, but this was a later development. In its Predynastic stage it consisted of nomes, small city-states or tribal groups, which later associated to form Lower Egypt (the Delta region), composed of twenty

A wall painting from the tomb of Ra'Mose (Thebes, no. 55) showing a procession to the tomb. Servants carry furniture, clothing, and food for the vizier's afterlife (1411-1375 B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

nomes, and Upper Egypt (the region S of Memphis), composed of twenty-two (cf. Baines and Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt,* pp. 34f. with maps and ensigns of the individual nomes). These nomes at their earliest stage must be thought of as separate regions, probably with local dialects such as are reflected in the dialects of Coptic. Indeed, it is quite likely that Egyptians from the Delta could not understand the speech of those from Elephantine. The apparent homogeneity of early hieroglyphic inscriptions (like modern Chinese) is due to the orthography; we do not know how the various words were pronounced in the different regions.

At least four racial types have been identified in the tomb paintings of the New Kingdom (cf. Erman and Ranke, *La civilisation égyptienne,* pp. 45-49; Montet, *Eternal Egypt,* pp. 20f.). In addition to the indigenous people, there were migrations at various times. The obvious places of entrance were: (a) from the western Delta (Libyans), (b) from the eastern Delta (Asiatics), (c) from Arabia, via Wâdī Ḥammâmât (Semites), (d) from the Blue Nile (Abyssinian or Ethiopic peoples), and (e) from the White Nile (sub-Saharan Africans). Likewise, the religion was diverse, with local deities and local pantheons. Elements of animism are probably to be traced to a Nilotic or sub-Saharan source.

According to one theory, the god of the indigenes was Seth (Sutekh), later considered an evil son of Geb and Nut. He was represented by a figure having a body like a wolf and a head described either as pig-like or with a long snout like an anteater. His cult center was at Ombos in Upper Egypt.

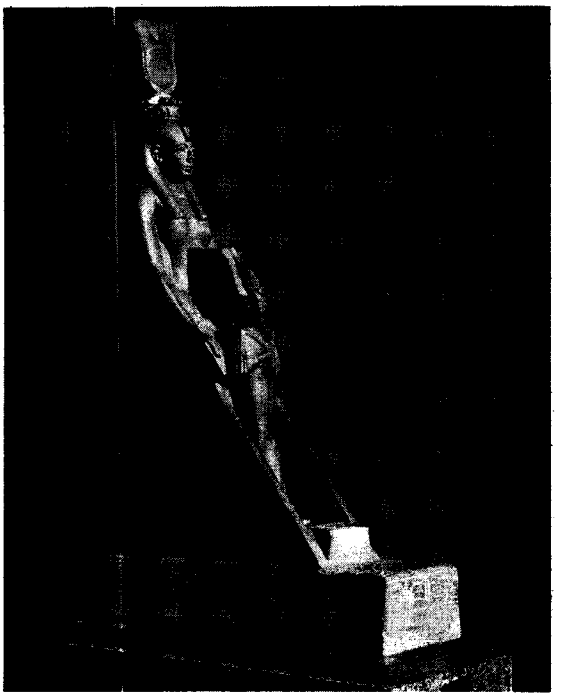
The unification of the nomes into the two larger regions, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, took place probably in the early Chalcolithic. At that time there were local deities: "He of Ombos," "He of Edfu," "She of Bast," etc. Aten was the god of Heliopolis, Horus the god of Edfu, Amon the god of Thebes; the goddess Hathor was worshiped at Dendera, Bastet at Bubastis (whence its name), Neith at Sais (Erman and Ranke, pp. 329f.). As nomes grew powerful or important, so did their deities, sometimes being joined in a kind of hierarchy, sometimes being merged. One might find a suggestion of conquests and alliances in the myths that developed concerning the struggles and the marriages of the several deities.

B. To the Amarna Age. 1. Indigenes and Invaders. The unification of Egypt took place *ca.* 3400-3200 B.C. (cf. Emery, *Archaic Egypt,* pp. 29f.). This probably resulted from the influx of a people of superior civilization, as attested by the sudden cultural advance. According to one theory, they entered by Wâdī Ḥammâmât, the trade route that connects the Red Sea with Coptos on the bend of the Nile between Thebes and Thinis (Abydos), and their principal deity was Horus. More likely would be the route via Wâdī Ṭumilât in the eastern Delta. The mythological struggle between Horus and Seth (cf. *ANET,* pp. 14-17) may reflect this early conquest, first of Lower Egypt, and then Upper Egypt in the unification; the myth, however, is of a later time.

Since kings of the 1st Dynasty used the Horus name, it has been conjectured that the idea that the king was an embodiment of Horus was predynastic. Horus was a solar deity, possibly imported by the early invaders of the Nile valley, but the concept was enlarged (he was called "Horus the lord of the Two Lands") and he was considered to be the son of Aten or Re, or even Re himself (Re-Harakhty, "Horus of the two horizons"). To varying degrees the king was ever after considered to be either a god or an incarnation of a god. When Alexander the Great invaded Egypt (332 B.C.), his expedition to the oracle of Amon (Amon-Re ?) at the oasis of Siwah was probably his way of laying claim to the kingship of Egypt by becoming a son of the god.

2. Theological Centers. If they may indeed be called such, these centers developed in several locations, notably Heliopolis and Memphis in Lower Egypt, Hermopolis in central Egypt (not a generally recognized but a convenient division of Egypt), and Thebes and Elephantine in Upper Egypt. Actually these were strongholds of various priesthoods, dedicated to the gods and goddesses of those centers. As political power shifted from one region to

RELIGIONS: EGYPT



The goddess Isis with a circular crown and sun disk with horns protects Horus (in mummy-form wearing the Atef-crown) with her wings. The statue was dedicated by Sheshonq, a high official at Thebes, to the goddess Isis. From the temple of Osiris at Karnak, ca. 590-580 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

another, the priestly power did also, with the result that there was considerable religious syncretism. It would be a mistake, however, to think of these priestly centers as producing a theology. A systematized theology, to the best of our knowledge, never existed in Egyptian religion.

3. Cosmogonies. a. Heliopolitan. At Heliopolis (now a suburb of Cairo), the primal god Aten emerged out of the waters of Nun the primeval ocean. Whether begotten by Nun or self-begotten is a matter of conflicting statements in the literature. By spitting he produced Shu the god of atmosphere, and by masturbation he produced Tefnut, goddess of moisture and dew. Shu and Tefnut produced Geb the earth-god and Nut the sky-goddess, and they in turn produced Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. These nine gods are sometimes referred to as the *Ennead*. A characteristic that continued for generations was the marrige of brother and sister.

b. Memphite. According to the Memphites, Ptah was the creator, who operated through thought and will (or word). In the form of Nun, Ptah had the goddess Naunet (fem. of Nun) for his consort.

c. Hermopolitan. The creator-god at Hermopolis, 260 km. (160 mi.) S of Memphis, was Thoth, who first created himself and then the *Ogdoad* (eight gods), consisting of four pairs: Nun and Naunet, Huh and Hauhet, Kuk and Kauket, Amon and Amaunet. There are variant traditions about the creative process: (1) The world originated from a great egg laid by a huge bird, the "Great Cackler." Within the egg was Re who, after hatching, proceeded to create the world. (2) Thoth created himself and produced the cosmic egg as the primeval Ibis; later he was thought to have created the entire Ogdoad. (3) A lotus flower gave rise to Re from its petals, and he continued the creative process.

d. Theban. At Thebes, Amon, an unseen dynamic force, was regarded as the original author of creation. Self-created, he is said to have created all the gods and mankind and to have organized the Ennead and the Ogdoad of the Heliopolitan pantheons as manifestations of his own nature. Then he ascended to heaven and became associated with Re as Amon-Re, the main deity of the 18th and 19th Dynasties. In this system Osiris was believed to have been born at Thebes, and with his wife-sister Isis he begot Horus, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy.

e. Elephantine. A variation is found at Elephantine, although there is no evidence of a fully worked-out system. Khnum, the god of fertility and of ceramic arts, fashioned human beings on his potter's wheel. He presided over the First Cataract, where, according to a popular legend, the Nile arose from a subterranean channel and divided into two parts, the one going north to the Mediterranean, and the other south to the borders of Ethiopia.

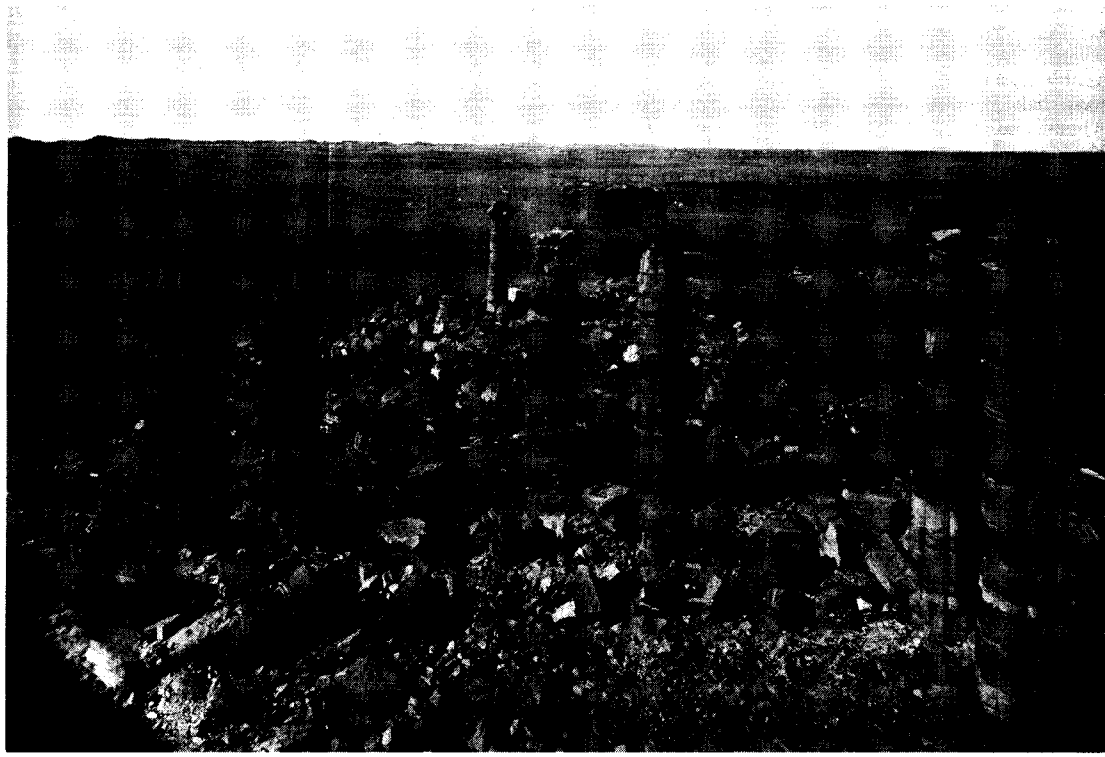
4. Pairing of Deities. A characteristic of Egyptian religion is the pairing of deities, sometimes obvious in the use of masculine and feminine forms of the same word for their names. It is to be noted, however, that a pair does not always consist of the same two members. Thus Bastet may be the wife of Ptah in one text, and in another text Sekhet may be the wife of Ptah. This is partly to be explained by the fact that the original deities of some nomes were incorporated to those of other nomes, or were given the same attributes as the other deities.

C. The Aten Revolution. According to Černý the Egyptians had arrived at the idea of a universal god but were unable to rid themselves of the multitude of deities that they had inherited (*Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 61). This statement is subject to interpretation, for the universality that Černý finds is, according to his description, achieved by combining other deities with the deity of a dominant capital (pp. 59f.).

Amenhotep IV (2nd quarter of the 14th cent.) is recognized as a religious reformer, sometimes looked upon as the first monotheist — but this again is a matter of interpretation, since he spoke of himself as divine. The dominant god at that time was Amon-Re, who combined the concept of Amen, the local god of Thebes, with the Heliopolitan sun-god Re. Amenhotep IV introduced or stressed the god Aten (Aton), the solar disk, and omitted the element Amon from the deity's name. To the Amon priesthood who dominated Thebes, this was, of course, a source of irritation. When Amenhotep began preparations for his Sed-Festival (in his fifth or sixth year, not his thirtieth, which is the general meaning of the *Heb-Sed*), he celebrated it with the name Aten, then built a new royal residence near what is now the village of Amarna, called it Akhetaten, and took the name Akhenaten for himself.

The religious revolution hardly outlived Akhenaten's seventeen-year reign. His second successor, Tutankhaten, changed his name to Tutankhamen, and returned to Thebes. The Theban Amon priesthood returned to power, and the religion of Egypt was essentially where it had been prior to Amenhotep IV.

D. Post-Amarna. With the establishment of the empire (18th Dynasty) Egypt became acquainted with numerous Semitic deities, and with the importing of prisoners came their gods and goddesses. Mikal, Resheph, Astarte, Anath, and others were now Egyptianized. Ramses II named his favorite daughter Bint-Anat ("daughter of Anath") and introduced the worship of Anath in his new capital at Tanis, erecting a temple to the goddess. But there is no evidence that Egyptian deities were exported to Syria and Palestine except to the Egyptians who were officials or soldiers in those lands. When the empire disintegrated,



The ruins of a temple of Amon built by Amenhotep III (1416-1379 B.C.) in Soleb. Tutankhamen restored the monuments to Amon even as far south as this Nubian city after Akhenaten's reforms (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

the Semitic influence all but disappeared in Egyptian religion. With the shifting fortunes of the various political centers — the vestiges of the ancient nomes — the various local deities would come into dominant positions and later fall again after the Greek conquest.

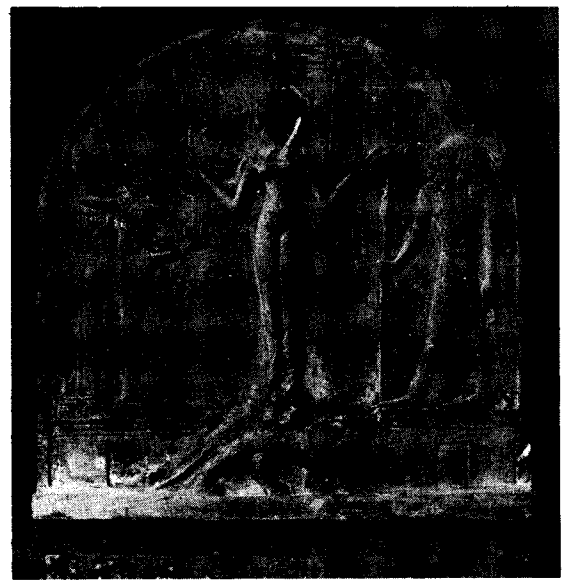
E. Later Developments. The Jewish colony at Elephantine was permitted to build a temple to Yahweh in the Persian period, but it was destroyed in 410 B.C. and probably not rebuilt, although permission had been given by the Persian authorities (*see* ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI). Likewise the Greeks built temples for their deities in Egypt. The Greeks also imported Egyptian deities to areas held by them. Under the Romans, all of Greece came under the influence of the cult of Serapis and Isis, and after the time of Caligula, this cult was found in Rome.

With the spread of Christianity, Christian centers developed in Egypt; the language used, a late form of Egyptian, is known as Coptic, and the church as the Coptic Church. When Islam spread across Africa, Egypt became almost totally Moslem, and only islands of Coptic Christianity were left. The ancient religion of Egypt had disappeared.

IV. Religious Beliefs.–A. Divine Kingship. The use of the Horus name by kings of the earliest dynastic or even predynastic time (see III.A above) suggests that the king was already considered to be an embodiment of Horus. From the 4th Dynasty on, it is clear that the king considered himself to be either a son of Re or even the sun-god Re himself. With the spread of the cult of Osiris, toward the end of the 5th Dynasty, the dead king was considered to be Osiris and the new, living king, Horus (cf. *ANET*, pp. 32f.).

B. Embalming and Burial. The divinity of the king required that his body be given proper care for entering into

On this limestone stele, the Syrian goddess Kadesh stands on a lion and holds snakes in one hand and lotus blossoms in the other. The ithyphallic god Min, wearing the feathered headdress of Amon, stands on a pylon on her right, and the (Canaanite) god Resheph, carrying a spear and the ankh symbol, faces her left. These gods were probably brought to Egypt by Syrian workmen (New Kingdom, 1350-1200 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

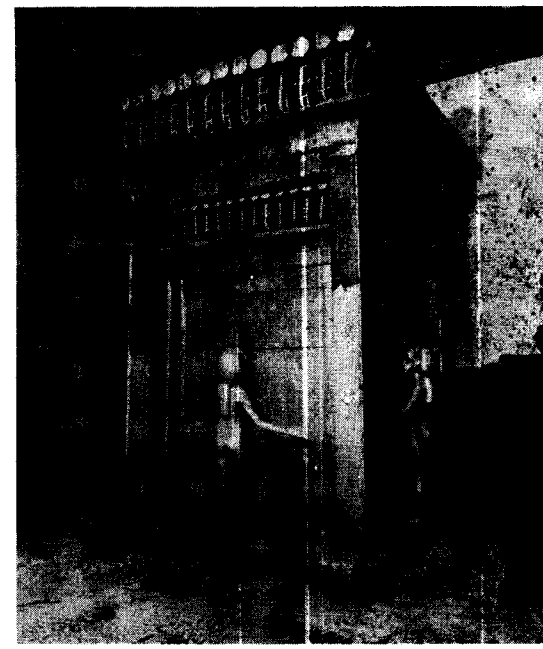


RELIGIONS: EGYPT

the afterlife. The body was washed and given treatment like that which, according to legend, Osiris himself received. The chief embalmer was dressed as the god Anubis. The intestines of the dead king were removed, the body soaked in salt, covered with oils and resins, wrapped in linen, and placed in a coffin. The organs which had been taken out of the body (except the heart) were placed in four "canopic" jars (*see* picture in JAR). The process usually lasted seventy days. The deceased made journeys to Busiris in Lower Egypt and to Abydos in Upper Egypt (the pictorial representations may be only symbolic).

The coffin was placed in a bark which was towed to the burial place. The body was placed underground, over which was at first a tumulus of sand or stones. Later this gave place to the mastaba, then the step Pyramid of Djoser, the pyramids of the kings of the 4th to 18th Dynasties, then to underground tombs in the Valley of the Kings. The living and the dead were all of a kind, as were the gods (cf. *ANET*, pp. 33f.). What the living needed or enjoyed, the same should be provided for the gods and for the dead. Accordingly, many items of daily life were buried with the dead king. For service in the afterlife, *Shawabti* (servant-substitute) figures, in some cases as many as 365 of them, were placed with the dead king.

C. Afterlife. As the sun dies each evening and comes to life again in the morning, so the king as an embodiment of the sun must have an afterlife. Later this belief was extended to nobles and probably to all human beings. Theological explanations are, of course, nonexistent. There is no word in Egyptian for "immortality"; the word "life" is used for existence in this life and after death. At death the "soul" (to use our term) flew away from the body (Egyp. *ht*) like a bird (Egyp. *ikh*, "ibis," or *ba*, "stork"). Some scholars therefore hold that the Egyptian considered the human being to consist of body, soul (*ba*), and spirit or the essential person (*ka*); cf. Erman and Ranke, *La civilisation égyptienne*, p. 386. But this is to impose a Western theology; Egyptians do not seem to have systematized their beliefs to this extent. After death the *ka* continues to exist as the true person. There is no suggestion of resurrection of the body; yet the body was preserved carefully and buried with things that would be needed in the afterlife (cf. Montet, *Eternal Egypt*, pp. 168-170; Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, pp. 79-83). The Egyptians seemed to think that, if the proper incantations were recited, there could be a spiritual counterpart in the world beyond for any three-dimensional object in this life.



The guardian goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selkin keeping watch over a gold-plated shrine as it was found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. Inside the chest is the canopic box with the king's viscera (New Kingdom, *ca.* 1340 B.C.) (The Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

The kneeling figure of Montuemhat holding a stele inscribed with a hymn to the setting sun (*ca.* 600 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

D. Temple Cult. Temples in ancient Egypt were more houses for the gods than places of worship for the people. In an inner chamber — called "Holy of Holies" by imposing biblical terminology (Erman and Ranke, p. 350) — the god dwelt in darkness. He was awakened daily at sunrise by the "high priest," who had first purified himself and then incensed the temple, then bathed the god, dressed him, and provided food and drink. On certain festivals the god was taken in his bark on a procession or even across the Nile. Otherwise the god was returned to his holy place and the door sealed until the next morning (Černý, p. 101; Montet, pp. 143-150; Erman and Ranke, pp. 349-358).

E. Festivals. There were numerous festivals, held on birthdays of gods, on New Year's Day and the first days of the months, at harvest, coronations, victory celebra-

tions, etc. On such occasions the god or gods were taken out of the temple(s) and appeared to the people. There were musicians, dancers, and a large priestly caste. The welfare of the state (including the people) was thought to be dependent on proper performance of the ritual.

F. Magic. The line between ritual and magic is never very clear. Knowledge of the divine name, use of amulets, and other means were supposed to gain desired ends. Oracles were used from the earliest known period for political decisions (choice of the king) and for personal (favorable days for beginning certain projects). Images of the gods or kings, certain places or objects, and certain actions were part of the popular religion to achieve desired ends.

G. Ethics. At the basis of life was the concept of *ma'at*, a term almost impossible to define. It is commonly translated "truth," but this is not limited to the avoiding of falsehood; rather it suggests the ideal order that should obtain throughout the land, in political, economic, religious, and personal life. *Ma'at* was the goddess of justice, the personification of the idea — but justice is probably to be thought of as similar to "righteousness" in the Bible: it is the "right" or correct behavior in every circumstance. The word *nfr* means both "good" and "beautiful." In the Book of the Dead, the judgment of the dead is portrayed as taking place before Osiris and his forty-two assessors (cf. *ANET*, pp. 34-37). In front of Osiris is a balance with the dead man's heart on one pan and the goddess *Ma'at* with an ostrich feather in the other. If the weighing of the heart was satisfactory, the dead person was declared "true of voice" and entitled to life in Osiris's realm.

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RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: GRECO-ROMAN.

I. Greek Religion
  A. Pantheon
    1. Gods on Olympus
    2. City-State Religion
    3. Oracles
    4. Athletic Games and Festivals
  B. Hellenistic Developments
    1. Stoicism
    2. Epicureanism
    3. Ruler Cult
    4. Trends of the Times
II. Roman Religion
  A. Beginnings
    1. Spirit Worship
    2. Anthropomorphic Gods
  B. State Cult
    1. Establishment of Official Religion
    2. Decline of Official Religion
    3. Domestic Religion
    4. Local Cults
    5. Secularism
    6. Augustus's Restoration Efforts
    7. Cult of the Emperor
  C. Philosophy
    1. Epicureanism
    2. Stoicism
  D. Mystery Religions
    1. Cybele-Attis
    2. Egyptian Cults
    3. Eleusinian Mysteries
    4. Dionysus
    5. Cabeiri or Cabiri
    6. Aphrodite-Adonis
    7. Mithras
    8. Astrology and Magic
  E. Conclusion

I. Greek Religion.–*A. Pantheon.* The Greeks evidently conceived of the gods as much like themselves. Although superhuman, the gods were not all-powerful, all-knowing, or everywhere present. Humans could hide themselves, their motives, and their plans from the gods. The will of one god could be frustrated by the other gods, and all of them had very limited perceptions of the future.

Like other ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean peoples, the Greeks considered natural forces external to themselves to be divine. But, unlike many of those peoples, they came to conceive of natural powers in human form, with passions and experiences much like their own. They reduced their gods to a manageable number and pictured them as an extended family living on Mt. Olympus in northeastern Greece. Like the inhabitants of a Greek city-state, the gods engaged in interminable petty quarrels and infidelities. Although they had no real concern for humanity, occasionally some came down from their lofty home because of jealousy or fear of what human beings were doing or because of a petition expressed by someone on earth.

1. Gods on Olympus. Twelve gods made up the main divine family on Olympus. Zeus was the king of the gods and god of the sky, the rain-god, cloud-gatherer, and lord of thunder. Hera, his wife and sister, especially provided aid to married women in their need (her daughter Ilithyia helped women in childbirth). Poseidon, brother of Zeus, was god of the sea, the controller of both storm and calm on the waters. A third brother was Hades, god of the underworld; he was also known as Pluto, god of wealth. He spent most of his time in the underworld and rarely

RELIGIONS: GRECO-ROMAN

A bone carving depicting the Greek mythical character Prometheus, who gave fire to man and was punished by having vultures eternally peck at his liver. Found on the steps leading to the acropolis at Roman Heshbon (A.D. 283-363) (Andrews University, Heshbon Expedition)

visited Olympus. Athena, who sprang full-grown from the head of Zeus, was a battle-goddess especially concerned with defending the city and civilized life; in time she became known as the goddess of wisdom and reason.

Apollo, the son of Zeus and Leto, was the master musician who played the lyre; he was lord of the bow, the healer, and god of light and truth. Though he was born on the island of Delos, his oracle was located at Delphi, where he killed the serpent Python in a fierce contest. Artemis, Apollo's twin sister, was goddess of the hunt and the moon goddess. In later poets she was identified with Hecate in the lower world — the goddess of the black nights when the moon is hidden. Thus she became an awful divinity associated with ghostly places and evil magic.

Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, was commonly viewed as born at sea and blown ashore on Cyprus; a great temple to her honor was built at Paphos near her landing site. In many of the myths she appears as wife of the lame Hephaestus.

Hephaestus, son of Zeus and Hera, or of Hera alone, was the god of fire and the forge. Along with Athena he was a patron of handicrafts and the arts.

Zeus' sister Hestia was goddess of the hearth and symbol of the home. Each city had a public hearth sacred to Hestia, where an eternal fire was maintained.

The battle between the gods and the giants on the north frieze of the Syphnian Treasury at Delphi (*ca.* 525 B.C.). In this section, Apollo and Artemis stride together in the forefront; Cybele (protectress in war) rides in a chariot drawn by lions; and at far left is a god (possibly Herakles) wearing an animal skin (Delphi Museum, photo D. Baly)

Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, was the messenger of Zeus; he is pictured with winged sandals, with wings on his hat, and with a magic wand. He was the god of commerce and protector of traders (*see* HERMES 1).

Ares, god of war, was a son of Zeus and Hera. The Greeks tended to detest him and even to view him as a coward. They never gave him the great honor that the Romans did.

There were, of course, lesser gods on Olympus, such as Eros, the god of love, and there were important gods on earth, especially Demeter, the grain goddess, and Dionysus, god of wine. Drama originated in honor of Dionysus, and around him a belief in immortality especially developed.

Human dealings with the gods primarily concerned special needs: protection for a soldier going off to battle, rain for drought-stricken crops, fertility for a barren wife, success in a business venture. People would sacrifice to the gods and promise votive offerings if such needs were met.

Belief in the gods and service to them usually did not

Two young men sacrifice a pig on this Attic red-figured bowl inscribed with the name of Epidromos. Beginning of the 5th cent. B.C., found in Italy (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

RELIGIONS: GRECO-ROMAN

Athena Parthenos constructed in gold and ivory by the sculptor Phidias and dedicated in the Parthenon in 438 B.C. Reconstruction by Neda Leipen (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto)

greatly affect daily conduct. Occasionally the gods seemed to demand improvement in lifestyle; e.g., the Greek army at Troy was told, "Father Zeus never helps liars." But normally, clan or community mores, rather than gods, seem to have dictated ethics, and in later times at least some elements in society took their ethical cues from the philosophers.

The truth is that the myths present Greek gods in many immoral or compromising situations. Zeus, e.g., is portrayed falling in love with numerous women and then resorting to a variety of tricks to hide his extramarital activities from his wife. Scholars commonly have explained such involvements by the fragmentation and fusion of Greek polytheism. Geographical and economic conditions tended to divide the Greeks into divergent cultural and religious groupings with slightly variant myths. When the worship of Zeus spread to a town where there was a well-entrenched divine ruler, the two cults eventually fused into one. The wife of the local god became the wife of Zeus. The variant myths were combined into one account, so that eventually Zeus was linked with a number of women (see Guthrie, pp. 53-65).

The result proved to be an embarrassment to later Greek philosophers and poets. As early as the 6th cent. B.C. philosophers began to repudiate the gods as the myths represented them and to become atheists. The dramatists and other poets tended to remove or forget what they did not like in the myths and use the rest creatively.

2. City-State Religion. Religion was bound up with the life of the city-states early in Greek history. Although each city-state worshiped the whole pantheon, each tended to venerate a particular patron deity. Thus Argos worshiped Hera (Guthrie, p. 72), Miletus and Delos especially revered Apollo, and Athens was devoted to Athena. State cults were established, so that religion became a social cement that bound the community together. Public officials led the ceremonies honoring the patron deity. The atheism of the philosophers and similar threats to the established religion were not tolerated because if they became widespread, they would break the bond that held society together.

3. Oracles. Oracles were an important feature of Greek religion; about 250 oracular seats have been identified. The most ancient was that of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus, where priests interpreted the rustling of the oak leaves in the god's sacred grove. But the most universally significant was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. There a priestess sat on the great cauldron of the oracular tripod in an underground chamber of the temple of Apollo and was in some way thrown into a trance. The incomprehensible jargon she uttered was rendered by canny listening priests into poetic form.

Often the reply was deliberately ambiguous. When King Croesus of Lydia consulted the oracle in 546 B.C. during his war with the Persians, he was told that if he advanced across the Halys River (central Asia Minor) he would destroy a great power. He went confidently to battle believing the Persians would be defeated; but he was the one who lost. Early in the 3rd cent. B.C. the oracle declared to Pyrrhus of Epirus, "I declare that you the Romans may conquer," leaving the petitioner to decide who was the object and who the subject in the sentence. When the Persians threatened Athens early in the 5th cent. B.C., the Athenians were counseled to trust in the "wooden walls." They interpreted this to mean the fleet, and the population was evacuated to other friendly states on board ship.

Generally the oracle at Delphi was impartial or neutral. But at times it seemed to favor the Peloponnesus over Athens, and during the Persian wars the priests were accused of having been bribed by the Persians to deliver oracles unfavorable to the Greeks in order to demoralize them. But the oracle acquired a spiritual dominion of sorts over all Greece. Prospective bands of colonists regularly consulted the oracle, and Apollo's blessing was viewed as bestowing possession of the land to which they were going. The oracle also arbitrated moral questions that perplexed the Greek world. Thus it was a unifying bond among the diverse Greek states.

4. Athletic Games and Festivals. Another religious bond among the early Greeks was the athletic games and festivals in honor of the gods. Pride of place went to the games at Olympia in the western Peloponnesus. Held every four years in honor of Zeus, these games included sacrifices to Zeus, sports events for men and boys, and victory banquets. The Pythian games at Delphi were held in honor of Apollo every four years, in the year before each Olympiad. In addition to the expected athletic and equestrian events, musical events were always prominent; and during the 5th cent. B.C. there was even a competition in painting. The Isthmian games were convened at the Isthmus of Corinth in honor of Poseidon every two years, in the first and third years of each Olympiad (see 1 Cor. 9:24-27). Here too there were musical contests in addition to gymnastic and equestrian competitions. The Nemean games in honor of Zeus took place every two years near Argos; there were athletic events similar to those conducted elsewhere but probably no chariot race.

B. Hellenistic Developments. The Greek world could never be quite the same after Alexander and his successors. In the classical period the city-state was predominant; individuals were expected to devote their energies to serving their community. During the Hellenistic era an autocratic king of a large nation state — first Philip of Macedon, and then the Ptolemies and Seleucids — demanded an allegiance that transcended local loyalties. In-

The second-century athletic stadium in Aphrodisias, Asia Minor, has survived nearly intact. One of the most impressive of the ancient world, it seated 20,000 to 30,000 people (B. K. Condit)

dividuals were no longer so closely tied to the obligations of the city-state, and their energies were allowed freer range. Increasingly the established cult of the city-state held less attraction for them, and they sought a more personalized religion with a greater emotional content. In the first Christian centuries when Rome ruled the east, many were attracted to the mystery religions (see II.D.3 below).

Others sought the answer to their needs in philosophy. Earlier philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle believed that humans could manipulate their environment; Hellenistic philosophers were not as confident. Their attitude seemed to be, "Make the best of your environment, or withdraw" — an individualistic solution to the challenge of life. Two major philosophic schools, the Stoic and the Epicurean, came to the fore in the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C. and continued in modified form under the Roman empire.

1. Stoicism. Zeno came to Athens from Cyprus in the late 4th cent. B.C. and set up his own school initially in the Stoa ("porch" or "hall") Poecile at the north end of the Agora — hence the name Stoics. The general thrust of Stoicism was that one could best obtain happiness by discovering and then living according to the laws of nature. Stoics believed in an impersonal deity, inherent in all matter, which guides the universe with a kindly providence. All that befalls human beings is intended for their education. Thus one can be happy if one wants what one gets; the Stoics exhorted, "Play your allotted part like a good actor." The system drew out the moral reserves of persons with innate strength of character as did no other philosophy. Stoicism encouraged active citizenship as good moral discipline and taught a universal kinship of humanity, but it often failed to attack major social evils. The buffeting of the world could never quite destroy the true Stoic; he could self-sufficiently withdraw into his soul and there find peace. *See* STOICS.

2. Epicureanism. About the same time that Zeno arrived in Athens, Epicurus came from Samos. He taught that the supreme good in life is pleasure or happiness, which would not come from physical pleasure, however, but essentially in freedom from pain and fear. Thus Epicureans were largely characterized by abstemiousness and commonly did not seek greater pleasure if it led to greater pain. They did not deny the existence of the gods but taught that they live in a remote heaven and are not concerned with human affairs; therefore people need not fear them. To emancipate people from the fear of death, Epicurus utilized the atomic theory of Democritus: birth results from a combination of atoms and death results from their separation. Thus death merely brings the end of sensation and involves no succeeding pain. *See* EPICUREANS.

3. Ruler Cult. The deification of kings was the chief innovation in public worship during the decades after the death of Alexander. Behind this institution were the hero cults in which Greeks from early times had enrolled men of great merit after their death — e.g., Theseus, Asclepius, and Herakles — and the Egyptian practice of attributing divinity to pharaohs. Native priests had thus honored Alexander when he conquered Egypt. After his death his general Ptolemy stole his remains and by A.D. 285 had set up a cult of the divine Alexander at Alexandria. Ptolemy II instituted a joint cult of his father and mother, raising them to the status of deity; his successors enrolled all the later Ptolemies in the cult when they died. In 273 he started a Greek cult of the living Ptolemy. Beginning with Ptolemy IV all Greek kings of Egypt sought the trappings of divinity for the benefit of their native subjects.

The rulers of Syria (Seleucids) and of Pergamum (Attalids) followed the lead of Ptolemy in deifying their predecessors; the kings of Macedonia did not. Ptolemy's con-

temporary Antiochus II of Syria initiated the living-ruler cult for the benefit of his Greek subjects. Thereafter new settlements in the Near East regularly established a cult of the monarch to whom they owed their existence. In the 2nd cent. B.C., as Rome extended its influence, eastern cities spontaneously began to introduce the cult of the goddess Roma. Sometimes they attached to that cult the worship of some great Roman who was their benefactor.

The ruler cult did provide some additional sanction for the ruler and further unified the society, but it may easily be overrated. It was not much more than a polite convention and demonstrates how rapidly religion had been reduced to a mere formality.

4. Trends of the Times. As people were exposed to the turmoil of new ideas in art, religion, philosophy, and other fields during the Hellenistic era, they were threatened with mental confusion. To avoid such an experience, they turned to syncretism: a search for common denominators for seemingly diverse things and the resultant combination or reconciliation of ideas and materials. For example, they recognized the Egyptian god Amon-Re, Hebrew Yahweh, Persian Ahuramazda,and Roman Jupiter as counterparts of the Greek Zeus. Greeks living in Egypt made numerous equations of gods: e.g., Horus with Apollo and Thoth with Hermes. When syncretism proved to be inadequate, some turned to eclecticism: the selection and combination of desirable elements from several systems into a new pattern of beliefs.

In spite of the internationalism of the Hellenistic period with its syncretism and eclecticism, the official religion survived in the city-states of Greece. The Greeks were only partly conscious of the political decline of the cities and clung to local traditions and worship of patron deities.

An example of Hellenistic syncretism was the representation in Baalbek of the god Jupiter Heliopolitanus, originally the Syrian god Baal Shamem (2nd cent. B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

The Panhellenic sanctuaries at Delos, Corinth, Olympia, Delphi, and elsewhere continued to draw substantial crowds. Cities of Asia Minor such as Miletus (and nearby Didyma with its temple of Apollo), Ephesus, and Magnesia on the Maeander also sought to maintain the prestige of their great sanctuaries. New Greek cities of the Near East set up municipal cults modeled on those of the old country; e.g., Apollo became the patron deity of Syrian Antioch, and Dionysus of Alexandria. But many people of the eastern Mediterranean sought a more individual religious experience in the mystery religions, magic, or astrology (see II.D below).

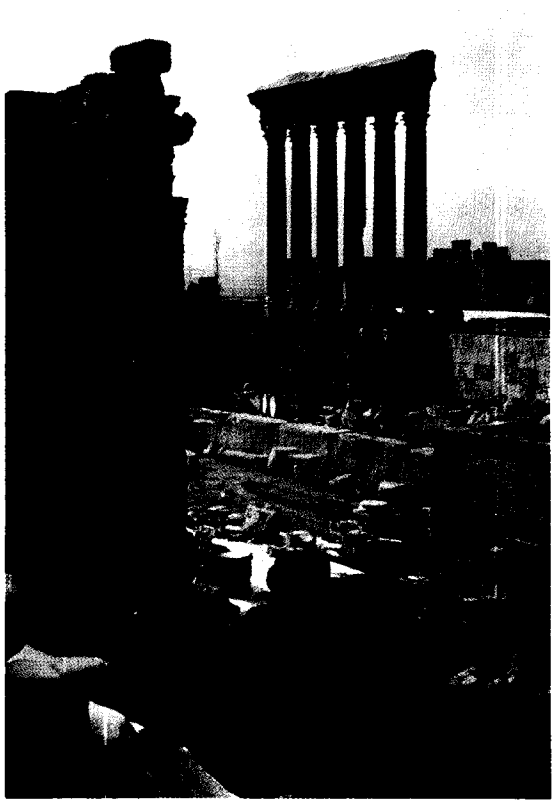
II. Roman Religion.–A. Beginnings. *1. Spirit Worship.* The earliest Roman religion was little more than magic or spirit worship. Believers in magic attributed to certain objects or actions the power to control nature or the actions of others. For example, they might wear amulets to protect against the evil eye. Spirit worship or animism involved the effort to placate evil spirits or, more often, to obtain the aid of friendly or neutral spirits that supposedly could influence a variety of personal and social functions. The approach to these spirits was commonly contractual. Good will was obtained by prayers and offerings. Proper ritual was especially important in worship, for it obligated the god to act favorably. If he responded as asked, the worshiper had to reciprocate with an offering or risk punishment by the god. If the god did not perform, the person was not bound to continue to worship him. Among the spirits frequently worshiped were Vesta, spirit of the fire on the hearth; the Penates, spirits of the pantry; the Lares, protecting spirits of the household; and the Genius, guardian spirit of the life of the family. Many other spirits were thought to control aspects of the life of the household, including birth, marriage, death, and farming operations.

2. Anthropomorphic Gods. With the passage of time, personal attributes became attached to the many spirits, and a few anthropomorphic gods emerged. The Etruscans evidently were the first to teach the Romans to envision their gods in human form. Chief place among the gods during Etruscan domination of Rome (6th cent. B.C.) was held by the triad of Jupiter (chief protecting deity), Juno (patron goddess of women), and Minerva (patroness of craftsmen). Since humanized gods required houses, the Etruscans built temples, normally on high platforms with deep porches.

But the Greeks were more responsible for this anthropomorphizing process. Some of their influence came indirectly from cities near Rome that had adopted gods of Greek origin. But some of it came directly from Greek cities of southern Italy; e.g., the worship of Apollo as god of healing spread from Cumae in the 5th cent. B.C. Apparently during the same century Rome acquired from Cumae a collection of oracles of its Sibyl. These oracles did not predict the future but showed how to avert the anger of the gods. Since they commonly advised special devotion to some Greek divinities, they helped to advance Greek influences.

Over the centuries Roman deities were changed to resemble corresponding Greek gods and were represented by Greek cult statues; Greek mythology was grafted onto Roman religion. The date at which this process was complete is uncertain, but surely it had occurred before 200 B.C. Thus Jupiter became Zeus; Juno, Hera; Neptune, Poseidon; Pluto, Hades; Vesta, Hestia; Mars, Ares; Minerva, Athena; Venus, Aphrodite; Mercury, Hermes; Diana, Artemis; Vulcan, Hephaestus; and Ceres, Demeter. But the equation was not always exact or complete. For example, Mars was not merely a god of war but also a

RELIGIONS: GRECO-ROMAN



The first-century temples of Jupiter and Bacchus (foreground) in Roman Baalbek, Lebanon (R. H. Smith)

god of agriculture; thus he protected the whole people, both in farming and in fighting.

B. State Cult. 1. Establishment of Official Religion. At an early date, when Rome was still an agricultural community, official religious observances began to develop. These were usually festivals of sowing, harvest, and the like. With urbanization and industrialization, worship of these agricultural deities was adapted to city life and gradually lost all meaning. But new gods were introduced from neighboring Italian cities and from Greek contacts. Thus Minerva, goddess of handicraft, became patroness of the nascent industry of the city; Hercules became the god of trade and travel; Mars was renowned more as the patron deity of warlike activities then as the god of agriculture. Jupiter Capitolinus, thus named from his chief place of worship on the Capitoline Hill, was worshiped as the chief protecting god of Rome.

Since the welfare of the state became one of the chief objects of worship, the state had to ensure that worship was properly maintained. In the early days the king was the chief religious as well as political functionary. But after 500 B.C. the consul took over political leadership, and the *rex sacrorum* (the king during the republic) retained religious power in the state. But priests of the temples of Jupiter, Mars, and other gods wielded considerable power. During the latter centuries of the republic, the college of pontiffs, led by the pontifex maximus, gained control of official religion at the expense of the *rex sacrorum*. The college drew up regulations governing all acts of public worship.

Augurs were also important during the republic. These persons interpreted signs reported by the magistrates; signs of ill omen could result in temporary termination of a variety of designated activites. When greatly abused by the opposition during the days of Julius Caesar, augury fell into disrepute.

2. Decline of Official Religion. Ancient Roman priesthoods were neither highly organized nor numerous. The college of pontiffs, who controlled the state religion, tended to use their position for personal advancement. The priests conducted the state cult on the state's behalf, while the public had no part in it. Agricultural cults lost all real meaning for urban dwellers. Religion offered little emotional satisfaction; it lacked moral teaching, and its hope in a life after death was vague and impersonal. For these and other reasons Roman religion lost its grip on the populace. The religious sense of duty to state and one's family that had earlier unified society was being lost in the variegated and individualistic life of the large and populous city. People no longer could believe that their conduct mattered much or could change the welfare of the body politic.

In the dark days of the Second Punic War (late 3rd cent. B.C.) the strength of the official cult was especially low. The forces noted above had considerable impact, and Rome suffered recurrent defeat at the hands of Hannibal. Destruction was extensive; life in Italy would never be quite the same. Many believed that the Roman gods had deserted them. Two opposing tendencies developed: skeptics refused to believe in any divine power, and the superstitious were willing to believe anything. The skeptics tended to turn to Greek philosophies, and the superstitious to oriental religion or to magic and astrology.

3. Domestic Religion. But one must not assume that the average Roman, especially in the smaller towns and rural areas, felt compelled to abandon or change religious beliefs. Presumably the domestic cult continued to play a considerable part in daily life, as it had for centuries and as it would continue to do under the empire. Vesta, the Lar of the family, the Genius of the head of the family, and the gods of the fields were worshiped daily, often at meals. The average citizen valued the spirits thought to control fertility, prosperity, and good fortune more than any of the gods of the official cult. Each family had its god shelf, and the head of the family (*pater familias*) was the family priest. Piety within the family continued not only among the poor but even among the more wealthy and sophisticated, who were thought to be heavily tainted with skepticism. The god shelf was a normal feature of even the most wealthy homes at Pompeii during the 1st cent. A.D.

4. Local Cults. In addition to relatively private religious exercises, Italians also continued to participate in numerous local cults that had been maintained for hundreds of years. The field brethren, e.g., at their sacred grove 8 km. (5 mi.) from Rome on the road to Campania, celebrated a three-day festival every May in honor of Dea Dia, an earth goddess who gave her blessing to the grain. The cult of Nortia, goddess of destiny, was maintained at Volsinii (Bolsena). She was the patron goddess of Sejanus, the leading figure in the administration of Tiberius Caesar. The cult of Delventinus was maintained at Casinum, of Numiternus at Atina, of Visidianus at Narnia, of Ancharia at Asculum, and of Hostia at Sutrium. Local cult worship also continued in Greece during the imperial period.

5. Secularism. One should not claim too much for the religiosity of the city of Rome, however. Individuals from Italy and the empire were lost in the city mob, cut off from the traditions and inhibitions of family and clan, and an increasing percentage of the population consisted of freed slaves who were not adherents of the Roman cults. Rome

RELIGIONS: GRECO-ROMAN

was thus a purely secular society with ever-declining moral restraints.

6. Augustus's Restoration Efforts. Augustus Caesar, the inaugurator of the Roman imperial period, became quite concerned about the religious and moral decline of Rome. He sought to reinstitute morality as a basis of his new era of peace and prosperity. Thus he revived rites, ceremonies, and priestly colleges that had ceased or fallen into decline; he himself was elected pontifex maximus, head of the state religion, in 12 B.C. He also set about to repair over eighty-five temples and shrines and to build several new ones.

7. Cult of the Emperor. Augustus had an ulterior motive for this religious refurbishing: to use religion as a political prop. Julius Caesar was deified and a temple built to him in the Forum where his funeral pyre had been. Augustus did not seek full deity for himself in Rome, but he called himself *divi filius,* son of the deified one. In each of the 265 precincts of Rome he established a shrine to the Genius of Augustus, the divine spirit that watched over his fortunes.

In the empire the cult of Roma and Augustus sprang up voluntarily and rapidly. The worship of the goddess Roma, the personification of the Roman state, voluntarily began in Greece and Asia Minor early in the 2nd cent. B.C. as the Romans took over territory previously held by the Hellenistic monarchies. Subsequently individual Romans (e.g., Julius Caesar and Mark Antony) had been deified and joined to the imperial cult. In 29 B.C. Pergamum and Nicomedia in Asia Minor built temples dedicated to Roma and Augustus. Other cities followed suit until shrines to Augustus stood in all the Eastern provinces. Not to be outdone by his gentile neighbors, Herod the Great erected temples to Augustus at his new port of Caesarea and at Sebaste, his rebuilt Samaria (both named in honor of Augustus). In the West an altar of Roma and Augustus was built near modern Lyons (12 B.C.) and at modern Cologne a few years later. The imperial cult symbolized the unity of the empire and the loyalty of its subjects.

After Augustus the Senate deified posthumously the emperors that it had liked and added them to the imperial cult. Generally emperors of the first Christian centuries did not demand worship while they were alive. Exceptions were Gaius Caligula (37-41), who ordered that all inhabitants of the empire acknowledge his divinity, and Domitian (81-96), who required that his household officials address him as "Lord and God" but did not make official use of the title for the populace.

Of course Judaism and Christianity were the two faiths of the empire that were most likely to incur displeasure for failure to worship the emperor or Roma. Judaism had a favored status that generally made it immune from requirements to participate in the imperial cult. Brief scuffles with Gaius and Domitian do not reflect a termination of that privileged position. Although Christianity initially enjoyed freedom from Roman proscription because it grew up in the cradle of Judaism, it lost that protection when it came of age. Thus Christians could be charged with atheism because of their refusal to accept the imperial cult. Roman officials also persecuted Christians for fear that they would engage in some insurrectionary action to set up the kingdom of Christ. Christians were persecuted periodically until Constantine became ruler of the entire Mediterranean world in 324.

C. Philosophy. 1. Epicureanism. Augustus's effort to restore the old state worship and his institution of a new imperial cult proved no more satisfying than previous official efforts. Many among the upper classes turned to philosophy — Epicureanism and Stoicism — as a guide to life. Epicurus's teaching was essentially and initially lofty: only the virtuous person can find happiness, and then only in the pursuit of intellectual rather than sensual pleasure. But Epicureanism became a selfish and easily perverted creed due to its emphasis on withdrawal from the annoyances of political life and a search for personal satisfaction. The Romans commonly used it as an excuse for a life of sensual self-indulgence and debased Epicurus's teaching on pleasure to the familiar "eat, drink, and be merry" formula (*see* EPICUREANS).

2. Stoicism. Stoicism found ready acceptance among Rome's noblest families during the first Christian centuries and made a great impact on Roman life. The Stoics believed that there is a divine mind, a god, which is coextensive with nature. Human souls as parts of nature are parts of this pantheistic god; thus human souls are divine, and all men are brothers. The Stoics also taught that the state cult gods were special forms of the pantheistic god, and in worshiping them people could worship the true god. Thus they provided a bulwark for the official religion and reconciled their practices with their beliefs. Roman Stoics were unconcerned with the doctrines and metaphysics of earlier Stoics and concentrated on ethics instead. Seneca, Lucan, Epictetus, and the emperor Marcus Aurelius are among the great Stoic writers of the first and second centuries. Seneca's philosophical works are really moral essays on practical conduct with some similarities to Pauline ethics. In fact, the so-called "Letters of Paul and Seneca" (forgeries of the 3rd or 4th cent.) were long accepted as genuine correspondence between the two. The ideal Stoic resembled the Roman heroes. Stoicism demands fulfillment of duty to one's fellows and to the state, and many of the most patriotic Romans of the early empire based their conduct on Stoic teachings (*see* STOICS).

D. Mystery Religions. The official cults, Epicureanism, and Stoicism touched only a minority of Romans or Italians. Oriental religions had a much wider appeal, initially to the lower classes of the cities, which were increasingly Greek and Oriental in composition, but ultimately to all strata of society. These religions are commonly known as mystery religions because they had a secret initiatory ritual into the cult (*mystérion* comes from a root meaning "initiate") and because in some mysterious way the initiate established communion with a god or goddess and obtained a promise of living in bliss with the deity beyond the grave. The special appeal of the mystery religions was a threefold provision: a personal involvement, an emotional stimulation, and a promise of a future life — none of which the official cults could offer (*see* MYSTERY II).

Members of these secret societies are commonly called "Orphics," named for the bard Orpheus, who was believed to have visited the underworld and to have introduced the rites of initiation. These rites began to appear as early as *ca.* 600 B.C. and became common throughout the Greek world, including Greek settlements of southern Italy. Mystery religions were even adopted in the official calendar of the state festivals, e.g., the Eleusinian Mysteries at Eleusis, 22.5 km. (14 mi.) W of Athens. After initial success during the 6th cent. B.C. mystery religions declined in importance in the next two centuries, when the city-states were stronger and devotion to their gods was highest. But in the 3rd cent. B.C. and following, the decline of the city-state and local patriotism opened the door for a new emphasis on personal religion, especially the mysteries. Mysteries that gained numerous devotees in the Greek East during the last cents. B.C. spread to the Roman West during the first three Christian centuries.

Although some of the mystery religions had Oriental and some Greek origins, they had many similarities.

RELIGIONS: GRECO-ROMAN

The ruins at Eleusis, center of the mystery cult that worshiped Demeter and Persephone. The Telestrion (shown) or large sanctuary hall (5th cent. B.C.) was used for initiation ceremonies (B. K. Condit)

These, scholars have agreed, resulted from their long sojourn in Greece or at least under Hellenistic tutelage before they passed to Rome and the West. Rome readily adopted them because it had been greatly influenced by the Hellenistic civilization that had molded these religions of the East.

The mystery religions all had at their base a divinity whose annual death and resurrection corresponded to the rhythm of the seasons. As plants died in the fall and were reborn in the spring, the vegetation spirits were thought to have gone to the underworld and to have returned from it. Raised from death, they could bestow immortality on mankind. The initiate believed that communion or even union with the god or goddess was established in an emotional and sometimes orgiastic way; this assured the initiate of eternal bliss in companionship with the deity. Initiates commonly grouped themselves together into local organizations or fellowships, which had great social and psychological value for the individual in an increasingly uncertain world.

Because Christianity shares some of these elements, at least to one viewing it superficially, many have classified Christianity as a mystery religion. But the differences greatly exceed the similarities. Christianity is based on a historical rather than a mythological person, on a being who died and rose once purposefully in a substitutionary atonement for mankind, rather than repeatedly in some rhythm of the seasons. Normally the mystery religions did not put specific demands on an individual to live a new life-style; nor did they offer a supernatural enablement for living, as Christianity did. While the rites of initiation in the mystery religions were secret and were never fully revealed even by initiates who defected, the means of becoming a Christian have been almost literally shouted from the housetops and have been published in detail in the Scriptures — available in over a thousand languages.

1. Cybele-Attis. From Phrygia in central Asia Minor came the worship of Cybele or the Great Mother (Magna Mater). It was the first Oriental religion to come to Rome, introduced in obedience to the Sibylline Oracles during the dark days of the Second Punic War in 204 B.C. Though greatly restricted during the republic, this religion was freed from all controls under the empire. Cybele was associated with a young male deity, Attis. The mother, the nature-goddess of life and fertility, mourned the death (or mutilation) of Attis until he rose to life (or was restored) in the spring. Cult members celebrated his triumph over death in a spring festival. Initiates evidently believed that attachment to the resurrected deity would guarantee them a similar triumph. The initiate partook of a sacramental meal that early Christians viewed as a counterfeit of the Eucharist. Though particularly popular in Asia Minor, the Cybele-Attis cult spread extensively in the Mediterranean world.

2. Egyptian Cults. Egyptian traders brought the Isis-Osiris cult to Campania about 150 B.C., but Rome excluded it until the last decades before Christ. Tiberius banished the Egyptian cults early in the 1st cent. A.D. But later in the century Domitian lavished great wealth on the Temple of Isis in Rome, and thereafter the cult was firmly

established. The Egyptian mysteries spread widely in the Greco-Roman world.

According to this mystery, Isis the mother-goddess suffered the loss of her consort Osiris, whose body was dismembered by Typhon. Ultimately she recovered the parts of his dismembered body, restored him to life, and installed him as king of the netherworld. An annual festival commemorated the goddess's quest for Osiris; there was passionate mourning for the dead god and great joy over his restoration. Initiates into this cult celebrated their achievement of eternal life at a banquet. In addition to being the giver of immortality, Isis became a great mother-goddess who was a tender and sympathetic friend, especially to women. When Christianity became the religion of the empire, many of its adherents passed over quietly to the worship of the Virgin Mary; in a few places Isis statues were used as images of the Madonna.

Similar to the Isis-Osiris cult was that of Sarapis or Serapis, produced artificially by Ptolemy I of Egypt *ca.* 300 B.C. Serapis was the spirit that supposedly animated the Apis bulls of Memphis. He was fused with Osiris to produce Osorapis. Ptolemy brought a great statue for this cult from Sinope on the Black Sea and allegedly imported a religious leader from Athens to inaugurate Serapis's mysteries on the order of those at Eleusis. Serapis was sometimes identified with Zeus, Asclepius (the god of healing), or Osiris. He was viewed as the master of fertility, like Dionysus and Osiris, and as the god who received souls after death and promised them immortality, like Pluto. The cult became popular in the Greek world before Christ and spread widely in the Roman world during the first Christian centuries. As protector of seamen, Serapis had a missionary force that readily spread his worship. As protector of the poor, he had wide appeal.

3. Eleusinian Mysteries. The Eleusinian Mysteries were the most famous among the Greeks. Essentially an Athenian cult, they attracted devotees from all parts of Greece and later from Rome and the West. Outstanding Romans initiated into them included Sulla, Cicero, Mark Antony, Augustus, Hadrian, and Gallienus.

The cult taught that Hades, god of the underworld, had snatched away Persephone (Kore). Her sorrowing mother, Demeter, goddess of agriculture and sister of Zeus, searched for her daughter. In return for the special hospitality received at Eleusis during her search, she revealed her secret rites to its inhabitants. In her grief Demeter had neglected the maintenance of crops, and faced humanity with starvation. Zeus intervened and arranged that Persephone should be restored to her mother eight months of the year; Demeter thereafter mourned for only the four months of winter.

Initiation (an autumnal event) included a type of passion play, probably centering on the sufferings of the goddess, a revelation of sacred cult objects, and a communion celebration consisting of a barley drink and certain foods. In this service the initiate supposedly established mystic contact with the mother and daughter. By an act of faith the initiate believed in the certainty of blessing from Demeter and Persephone in the next life because of the establishment of a friendship with the pair in this life. The main part of the initiation ceremony took place in the Telesterion, the large sanctuary hall, 51.2 by 53.9 m. (168 by 177 ft.), which has been excavated at Eleusis.

4. Dionysus. Although originally from Thrace, the cult of Dionysus was perhaps the most important of the Hellenistic world. He was identified with many deities, e.g., in Egypt with Serapis, and in Phrygia with Sabazios. A fertility god, who attracted many female devotees, the vine was his emblem and the phallus significant to his cult.

RELIGIONS: GRECO-ROMAN

A painting from the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii showing initiation rights into the cult of Dionysus (1st cent. A.D.) (Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

The ritual dramas held in his honor gave rise to the golden age of classical drama in fifth-century Athens, to the tragedies of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aeschylus, and the comedies of Aristophanes. Dionysus thus was the god of theater; all performances of tragedy and comedy were dedicated to him. Initiates into the Dionysian cult received a promise of immortality and passwords that would secure a happy entrance into Hades. According to one tradition, Dionysus while a child had been torn apart by the Titans, and his body had been reconstituted by Zeus. Thus the beliefs and practices surrounding the other gods who had died and resurrected were attached to him.

Originally Dionysian ceremonies were highly orgiastic in nature. After initiates drank the sacred wine, ate the raw flesh of the sacrificial animal, and drank its blood, they went into a frenzy inspired, they believed, by the presence of the deity within them. In the 2nd cent. B.C., the Roman senate tried to restrain Dionysian orgies, as they threatened public order and decency. Later the mysteries seem to have taken on a more subdued character. The cult was apparently most popular in the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D. The best portrayal of a Dionysiac initiation is found in the wall paintings in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii; they date to the early part of the 1st cent. A.D. and comprise twenty-nine figures.

5. Cabeiri or Cabiri. A lesser-known mystery religion is the Cabeiri, thought to be the oldest of the mysteries after those of Eleusis. It apparently originated in Samothrace and maintained its greatest center there. But the cult had centers in Pergamum, Thebes, and elsewhere. It evidently was a religion of a dead and resurrected divinity that had been fused with the cult of the mother. Initiates, largely sailors and other travelers, claimed protection against shipwreck and other dangers of journeys by wearing iron ring and purple scarf charms. This cult was very popular in the Hellenistic period and remained important until the 3rd cent. A.D.

6. Aphrodite-Adonis. The spread of the Aphrodite-Adonis cult is indebted in part to Syrian influence, but it had as many devotees in Alexandria and Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period and was widespread in the Roman empire. Aphrodite personified mother-life in nature; Adonis, her lover, represented the dying and awakening vitality in vegetation. Adonis was killed by a boar sent against him by Ares. When Adonis descended into Hades, Persephone fell in love with him. Subsequently Aphrodite won her plea that Adonis be restored to her, but Persephone retained some right to his presence. Thus the cycle of death and rebirth of Adonis parallels the rhythm of nature. In mystic drama Adonis's devotees lamented his decease and rejoiced over his return to life. They expected to enjoy the favor of the risen god in life on earth and evidently in the hereafter.

7. Mithras. The last mystery religion to become popular in the Roman empire, and the most widespread of the mystery religions, was Persian Mithraism, a cult that forbade female participation in its mysteries. During the 2nd and 3rd cents. it became Christianity's most popular rival. In the Zoroastrianism of ancient Persia, Mithras was the chief agent of the supreme god of light, Ormuzd, in his struggle against the god of darkness; people obtained immortality through Mithras. Under Babylonian influence Mithraism took on elements of astrology, and Mithras was identified with the sun-god; he appeared in Rome with the title Unconquered Sun-god Mithras. As god of battles and as god of light waging constant war with the spirit of darkness, Mithras was a patron deity of the soldiers, who spread his worship everywhere from the Euphrates to Hadrian's wall in distant Britain.

Mithraism had an influence on Christianity. December 25 was the birthday of Mithras; Sunday, the first day of the week, was his holy day. Mithraics practiced baptism, confirmation, and a eucharistic supper. Mithraic ethics were ascetic. The priests were set apart from common worshipers by special knowledge and consecration, and worshipers entered different grades by ceremonial initiation.

Mithraic chapels, whether in Britain, in Rome, or in Palestinian Caesarea, were oblong caves with a vault representing the sky and a relief at one end of Mithras slaying a bull. The initiates sat on benches in costumes depicting their several grades, which were seven — associated with the seven planets. Initiation involved real or symbolic tests of endurance. The well-known slaying of the bull in Mithraism perhaps represents the struggle of the human soul against the powers of darkness and evil, a struggle in which the followers of Mithras could expect the help of their god.

The central teaching of Mithraism is the descent of the immortal soul at birth from the home of light through the seven planetary spheres, being tainted by each one. On earth the initiate may eliminate these impurities by moral effort and spiritual knowledge obtained in the mysteries. At death the soul of the faithful and good initiate rises through the planetary spheres, gradually shedding all taint of impurity.

8. Astrology and Magic. The Greeks attained knowledge of Babylonian astrology by the 3rd cent. B.C., but it became especially widespread in the Hellenistic East in the 2nd cent. B.C. Alexandria was its great center. The details of astrology evidently were further elaborated throughout the Roman period, and aspects became enmeshed in various religious cults, e.g., Mithraism. More than one astrological system existed, but planetary astrology was dominant. The seven planets — sun, moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn — were the interpreters of fate. The zodiac signs were thought to govern the destinies of peoples, cities, and individuals. Throughout the first two or three centuries A.D. all classes were deeply impressed with the efficacy of astrology. Although emperors frequently banished the Chaldean and Egyptian astrologers from Rome, the decrees never remained in force very long, and the emperors themselves kept astrologers in their service (*see* ASTROLOGY).

Of course many did not accept the determinism or fate said to order all lives. Two of the main ways of escaping from the stars were magic and the mystery religions. In the 2nd cent. B.C. a new influx of magic poured from Asia into the Greek world and continued to engulf the Greco-Roman world for several centuries. Again Egypt was a main center. Although some saw magic as freeing them from the determinism of the stars, many merely used it to obtain some personal advantage, e.g., economic prosperity, physical health, or defeat of demons. All kinds of potions, charms, and formulas were employed to achieve such ends. *See* MAGIC.

People often sought to influence demons in order to destroy their opponents or to prevent misfortune. The way to control a demon was to utter his true name. To ensure that the right name was uttered, people would string together many names, including a host of meaningless vocables, as some Egyptian papyri attest. Exorcism of demons occurred in Ephesus during Paul's ministry there (Acts 19:13-16), and the quantity of magical books possessed by the gullible public is illustrated by the value of the scrolls burned by Ephesians after their conversion: 50,000 pieces of silver (v. 19).

But more important than magic for conquering the stars were the mystery religions. Magic might alter fate, but an initiate into a cult might some day soar above the spheres and dwell with the gods and thus be guaranteed salvation.

E. Conclusion. As the centuries of the Roman empire passed, the pagan world presented a great turmoil of religious beliefs and practices. Many of the unsophisticated sincerely followed the old established worship of the official cults or quietly continued to venerate the more personal divinities of hearth and home. Others who lost their faith in the old ways followed the secular paths of philosophy, astrology, or magic, or they sought the ways of faith and "conversion" offered by the mystery religions. While these various pagan cults and practices generally tolerated one another, adherents of Judaism and Christianity refused to recognize the pagan gods and therefore stood in irreconcilable opposition to the whole pagan world. But when Christianity ultimately became the official faith of the Roman empire, it had, by a strange irony, absorbed numerous elements of paganism.

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RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: JUDAISM. The religious system of the Jews, based on the precepts of the OT (the Hebrew Bible, sometimes called the *tᵉnaḵ*, an acronym from *tôrâ* [Law], *nᵉḇîʾîm* [Prophets], and *kᵉṯûḇîm* [Writings]), and the traditions of the rabbis preserved in the Talmud.

I. Background
  A. Abraham and His Faith
  B. Torah of Moses
  C. Religion of the Prophets
  D. Exile
II. Rise of Judaism
  A. Nomenclature
  B. Ezra and the Great Synagogue
  C. Rabbinic Tradition
  D. Struggle Against Hellenism
    1. The Sects
      a. Pharisees
      b. Sadducees
      c. Essenes
      d. Qumrânians
      e. Other Jewish Sects
    2. Christianity as a Sect
  E. After the Fall of Jerusalem
    1. End of the Temple Cultus
    2. Predominance of the Synagogue
    3. Preservation of the Scriptures
    4. Halakah, Haggadah, Midrash, and Other Terms
III. "Normative" Judaism
  A. Formation of the Talmud
    1. Mishnah
    2. Gemara
    3. Talmud
  B. Religious Ideas
    1. God
    2. Mankind
    3. Sin
    4. Kingdom
  C. Cultus
    1. Prayer
    2. Study of the Law
    3. Charity
    4. Social Conscience
  D. Home and Dietary Laws
IV. Modern Developments
  A. Geographical
  B. Religious

I. Background.–A. Abraham and His Faith. The Jews trace their faith (as do Christians) to Abraham. They believe that Abraham and his descendants were called by God to be a blessing to all the nations of the earth (Gen. 12:3). This call involved (1) the promise of a land (2:1), (2) the establishment of a people (v. 2), and (3) a universal purpose (v. 3). This revelation from God to Abraham is regarded as an everlasting covenant (15:18), i.e., an agreement between God on the one part and Abraham and his descendants "throughout all generations" (17:7) on the other, and which the Jews believe is still in effect. The sign of this covenant is circumcision (17:9-13). Abraham's response to this call was to act in faith (12:4; 15:6) and

A panel from the Beth Alpha synagogue floor (6th cent. A.D.) depicting the sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham stands near an altar of fire holding the bound Isaac in his left hand and a long knife in his right. The hand of God appears at left above Abraham's head, and the inscription reads "Thou shalt not stretch forth." A ram is tied to a tree, and the inscription above it reads "And behold . . . a ram." To the right is an attendant with a donkey (D. Harris)

RELIGIONS: JUDAISM

obedience (22:2, 12, 16-20), hence he is called "our father" (*'abînû*).

The election of Abraham continued through Isaac his son (Gen. 21:12) and Jacob his grandson (26:3, 24; 28:13-15; 35:12). At Peniel Jacob's name was changed by God to Israel (32:28), hence his sons were called "sons of Israel" or "Israelites" (32:32). The other descendants of Abraham through Ishmael and of Isaac through Esau were not forgotten by God, but they received promises distinct from the covenant promises that the Lord made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (cf. 21:13; 27:39-40).

B. Torah of Moses. The stories of Joseph and his brothers, of the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt, and of the Exodus are well known (Gen. 37:1–Ex. 1:7). The exodus from Egypt is a central point in the Jewish faith, being commemorated annually in the Passover (*pesaḥ*). The existential reality of the event is stressed in the words of the Passover Seder: "*We* were slaves in Egypt, and with an outstretched hand and a strong arm, the Lord brought *us* out." A nation was born in that event, though it would be centuries before it was recognized as such. The Jew believes that this great event, the exodus from Egypt, was a demonstration that Israel was indeed the people of God (Ex. 7:14), whose name YHWH was too holy to be spoken (3:13-15).

Fifty days later the Torah was revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai, commemorated by the Feast of Weeks (*šābûʿôṯ*, Pentecost). The basic meaning of the Heb. *tôrâ* is not "law," as that term is usually understood, but rather "instruction." To the Jew, God's Torah is His revealed will concerning how His people are to live (cf. Ps. 119:1-8). He is a holy God, and His people are to be holy (Lev. 19:1). The cultic system incorporated in the tabernacle ritual (Ex. 25–30) and explained more fully in Leviticus was the basis for the Jewish sacrificial system as long as the temple stood. The Jews also believe that God revealed an oral law, an explanation of the written Torah, at Sinai (see III.A below).

C. Religion of the Prophets. The Torah is the basis of the Jewish religion, but the Prophets (*nᵉḇîʾîm*) are also considered to speak for God, and selections of the Prophets (*haptārôṯ*) are read along with the readings of the Law. In essence the prophetic writings may be looked upon as applications of the Law (*halākôṯ*).

D. Exile. In 722 B.C. the northern kingdom (Israel) was taken into captivity by Sargon II. The prophets saw this as a warning from God because of Israel's apostate and sinful behavior (cf. 2 K. 17:7-18; Ezk. 23:4-35). The warning went unheeded, however, and after a series of exiles (608-586) the southern kingdom (Judah) was no more. The temple that Solomon had built was destroyed by the Babylonians (for a detailed chronology, *see* JERUSALEM III.E). The nation, except for the poorest and weakest persons (2 K. 25:12), was taken into exile (although some have challenged the historical accuracy of this statement, it accords well with what we know of Assyrian and Babylonian policies concerning conquered lands).

II. Rise of Judaism. *–A. Nomenclature.* Correctly speaking, Abraham and the patriarchs were Semites, or more specifically Hebrews, and the tribes in Egypt were called Hebrews (Ex. 1:15, 22). The descendants of Jacob were called the people of Israel (1:9) or Israelites (9:7). After the division of the monarchy following the reign of Solomon (931 B.C.), the people of the northern kingdom were called by the name Israel (Am. 2:4; 7:9) while the people of the southern kingdom were called Judeans (2:6; Mic. 1:9). The name Israel was also used, however, for both peoples (Ezk. 37:22; Isa. 54:5; Ezr. 5:1).

B. Ezra and the Great Synagogue. The exiles of Judah, who were now called Jews (for *yᵉhûḏîm*, "Judeans"), were allowed by Cyrus the Great (*ca.* 538 B.C.) to return to their land and to rebuild the temple (Ezr. 1:1-4); this postexilic temple was known as "the second temple," a name also applied by Jews to the temple that Herod beautified and enlarged. Ezra was responsible also for a new emphasis on the Law (Neh. 8:1-8). According to Jewish tradition, Neh. 8:8 refers to an Aramaic translation or Targum. Tradition also records that Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue were responsible for writing the Law "in Assyrian letters" (T. P. *Sanhedrin* 21b-22a), probably meaning that the ancient Torah was copied in the Aramaic system of writing, or the square letters with which we are familiar today. Although recent scholars have questioned whether there was a "Great Synagogue" (*see* SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT), Jewish tradition states that "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue" (Mish. *Aboth* i.1). This reference is to the *oral* law, which later became the basis of the Talmud.

C. Rabbinic Tradition. Scribes and rabbinic scholars are credited with handing down the oral law, or ordinances (*taqqānôṯ*) and decrees (*gᵉzērôṯ*), which are always considered distinct from the biblical Torah. Many of the sayings can be found in C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, eds., *Rabbinic Anthology* (1974); see also G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (1927), I, 29-36. Simeon the Righteous is named as one of the last survivors of the Great Synagogue; he is possibly to be identified with Simeon the son of Onias, a contemporary of Jesus Ben Sira (*ca.* 200 B.C.) and the first of a new succession of teachers who are known by name. The earlier period (*ca.* 200 B.C.-A.D. 10) ended with five "pairs" (*zûgôṯ*) of teachers, the last of which were Hillel and Shammai. The grandson of Hillel was Gamaliel I (Acts 5:34), and the sixth descendant of Hillel was Judah the Prince. Emphasis on the law, beginning with Ezra, is often viewed by Christians as the beginnings of a legalistic system. In reality it was this emphasis that preserved the Jews as a people of the Torah.

D. Struggle Against Hellenism. When the Ptolemies were succeeded by the Seleucids in Palestine, an enthusiasm for things Hellenistic swept the nation. Jason, who was made high priest in 175 B.C., had worked his way into favor with Antiochus III (cf. 1 Macc. 1:1-40). The crisis came when Antiochus IV converted the temple into a place of worship for Olympian Zeus. This was followed by the Macabbean (Hasmonean) revolt, which won for the Jews about a century of limited freedom.

1. The Sects. a. Pharisees. There is uncertainty about the origin of the PHARISEES and even about their name. According to Josephus (*Vita* 1.2 [10]; *Ant.* xiii.5.9 [171-73]), there were three sects (Gk. *haíreseis*) — the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes — in existence *ca.* 139 B.C.; but the Pharisees probably antedate that time as the successors of the Hasidim (the HASIDEANS described in 1 Macc. 2:29-38; cf. v. 42). The name Pharisee is probably derived from the Hebrew root *pršʿ*, which primarily means "separate" (i.e., "the separated"), with a secondary meaning "distinguish, express, interpret" (i.e., "the interpreter, exegete"). The Pharisees were the interpreters of the Law (*BJ* ii.8.24 [162]), the guardians of the faith. Judging from His teachings, Jesus was likely a Pharisee, and Paul certainly was (Acts 22:3; 26:5; Phil. 3:5). If Jesus was a Pharisee Himself, why was He so critical of them? The answer must lie in the fact that some Pharisees were overly zealous for the (oral) law, i.e., the traditions that

RELIGIONS: JUDAISM

A silver menorah used in the celebration of Hanukkah, which commemorates the rededication of the Jerusalem temple after its defilement by Antiochus of Syria (German, 1759) (Israel Museum)

made the Torah (of Moses) of no effect (Mt. 23:23-26; 15:2-6); see Moore, I, 56-71; R. T. Herford, *The Pharisees* [1924]; J. Neusner, *Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* [3 vols., 1971]; *The Pharisees: Rabbinic Perspectives* [1985]). That there were such zealous Pharisees is indicated in Acts 15:1-3; Gal. 2:4. It is also a psychological reality that one is most demanding of those with whom one has the most in common.

b. Sadducees. Still less is known of the SADDUCEES. One theory is that they were descendants of Zadok (cf. Sir. 51:12, Hebrew text), the chief priest in the days of David (1 K. 1:34; 2:35), whence their name. It seems likely, however, that the Sadducees came into being at the time of the Macabbees, starting a new high-priestly line in reaction against the appointment of Jason. In terms of belief they differed from the Pharisees in one main area: the Sadducees believed only in the Torah (possibly meaning just the five books of Moses, but perhaps including the Prophets also); they rejected the traditions or the concept of the oral law (*Ant.* xiii.10.6 [297]). According to the NT they did not believe in resurrection (Mk. 12:12) or angels or demons (Acts 23:8). According to Josephus, who was himself of a Sadducean family (Vita i.1 [1-5]), they were the rich and powerful priestly aristocracy, rather boorish in their behavior (*BJ* ii.8.14 [166]; *Ant.* xiii.10.6 [298]). With the destruction of Herod's temple the Sadducees disappeared from history, many of them doubtless killed in the carnage.

c. Essenes. The third sect mentioned by Josephus was the ESSENES (*Ant.* xviii.1.5 [18-22]), an ascetic, communal group, possibly an offshoot of the Hasidim. The meaning of the name is uncertain. They are often identified with the Qumrânians (but see W. S. LaSor, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the NT* [1972], pp. 131-141), and they stressed details of the Law in a manner akin to Pharisee teachings. The view that Jesus was an Essene was thoroughly discussed and rejected by J. B. Lightfoot (*St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1875], pp. 82-95, 114-179), and more recent works have not refuted his conclusion.

d. Qumrânians. With the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS a new window on Jewish sectarian movements was opened. This group repudiated the Jerusalem priesthood and the cultic place of the temple and relocated "in the desert" at a site located about 12 km. (7 mi.) S of Jericho on the west shore of the Dead Sea. They studied the Scriptures day and night, and their library contained copies of all the books of the Hebrew Bible except Esther. They were an apocalyptic sect that believed they were the last generation. *See also* QUMRÂN.

e. Other Jewish Sects. Epiphanius (*ca.* A.D. 375) listed seven Jewish sects and added four Samaritan sects to this list (R. H. Pfeiffer, *HNTT*, p. 53 n. 8; cf. *ERE*, V, 139-145, 267f.). The *Zealots* are mentioned in the NT (Lk. 6:15). Attempts to identify them with the Boethusians have not succeeded. Their origin may be traced to the time of the Macabbees (1 Macc. 2:27). They are identified with the last defenders of Masada (cf. Y. Yadin, *Masada* [1966]). *See* ZEALOT.

The *Ebionites*, also known as Nazarenes, arose in the late 1st or early 2nd cent. A.D. Mentioned by Irenaeus and described more fully by Epiphanius, they were a Jewish-Christian sect (*see* EBIONITES). The *Dositheans*, followers of a self-styled messiah Dositheus, appeared in the 1st cent. A.D. and continued into the 6th cent.; like the Samaritans they accepted only the five books of Moses as canonical. The *Therapeutae* were an Egyptian sect with colonies in other places. The *Disciples of John the Baptist*, later known as *Sabeans* and *Mandeans*, had penetrated as far as Ephesus in NT times (Acts 19:1-7) and can be found in Iraq and elsewhere at the present time.

The *Samaritans* are usually traced to the Israelites who were left in the northern kingdom at the time of the Assyrian invasion (2 K. 17:24-34), and who intermarried with the exiles imported by the Assyrians. Hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans is alluded to in Nehemiah (Neh. 4–6). Holding that Mt. Gerizim was the place chosen by God, they built a temple overlooking the ancient city of Shechem, probably in the 4th cent. B.C. This was desecrated by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and subsequently destroyed by John Hyrcanus (128 B.C.). In A.D. 70 the Romans massacred 11,600 Samaritans (*BJ* iii.7.32 [307, 315]). A small number of Samaritans continue to live in Nâblus and to hold a Passover service, with animal sacrifices, annually on Mt. Gerizim. *See* GERIZIM, MOUNT; SAMARITANS.

The *Herodians* (Mt. 14:3-12) may have been a Jewish sect, identified with the Boethusians and similar to the Sadducees. On the other hand, they may have been largely a political movement. *See* HERODIANS.

2. Christianity as a Sect. In Acts (24:5; 28:22) the followers of Jesus are described as a "sect" (Gk. *haíresis*), the same word used for the Sadducees (5:17) and the Pharisees (15:5) and used by Josephus in his descriptions of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (*Ant.* xiii.5.9 [171]).

At its outset the Christian movement was entirely Jewish. Jesus was a Jewish rabbi (Jn. 1:38; 3:2), although He spoke against using the title, which literally means "my great [one]" (Mt. 23:7f.). John the Baptist was a Jew who proclaimed the coming of the Jewish Messiah (Jn. 1:19-34). Jesus' first disciples were disciples of John who had been brought to Jesus by John (1:35-42). The first Gentiles to become followers of Jesus, to the best of our knowledge, were those in the house of Cornelius (Acts 10:1-45), and news of this event caused consternation among the Jewish followers of Jesus (11:1-3). When Paul, a strict

RELIGIONS: JUDAISM

Pharisee, became a follower of Jesus and went into Asia Minor preaching the good news that Messiah had come, many Gentiles came into the young Church. This led to the great debate at Jerusalem, described in Acts 15. Conflict between the young Church and the Judaizers continued for decades (cf. Rev. 2:9).

Because the Christian movement was considered a Jewish sect it received the same treatment as Judaism at the hand of Rome, namely, it was tolerated and not banned as a new religion would have been. Later, when it became obvious that Christianity had become a separate religion, Christians underwent a series of persecutions by the Romans. The question as to when Christianity became an independent religion is moot; some trace it to the action of a council called by Rabbi Gamaliel II (*ca.* A.D. 90; cf. Moore, I, 90f.). It is certain that Christians met on the temple mount to worship (Acts 5:12; "Solomon's Portico" was the colonnade along the eastern side of the temple area). James the brother of Jesus, who was probably the person mentioned in Acts 15:13 sometimes referred to as the "bishop of Jerusalem," was held in high repute by some of the leading Jews as late as the time of Josephus, as indicated by the reference to James's death at the hands of the Sanhedrin in *Ant.* xx.9.1 (200f.). After the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70) there was, of course, no further opportunity for Christians to gather on the temple mount; but by this time the Church was widely spread over much of the Roman empire.

It must be added that as the Christian movement became increasingly gentile and hellenized, many of the doctrines — and indeed the very terms used (terms originally found in the LXX) — took on meanings that were foreign to the Jews. Even the term "Christ," which is a translation of Heb. *māšî(a)ḥ*, "Messiah," incorporated several ideas that were never part of the Jewish concept of "Messiah." To the Jew the Messiah was a king of David's line who was to come and rule from Jerusalem. The Christ of the Christians included also the concepts of a high priest, an atoning Savior, sonship in a special sense that included deity, and other doctrines. As a result, the Christ of the Christians is no longer accepted by the majority of Jews as the Jewish Messiah.

A Jew blowing the shofar at the Western Wall of the temple ruin in Jerusalem. He wears the *tallît* (four-cornered prayer shawl) with *ṣîṣît* (fringes), which are to remind the wearer of the commandments (W. Braun)

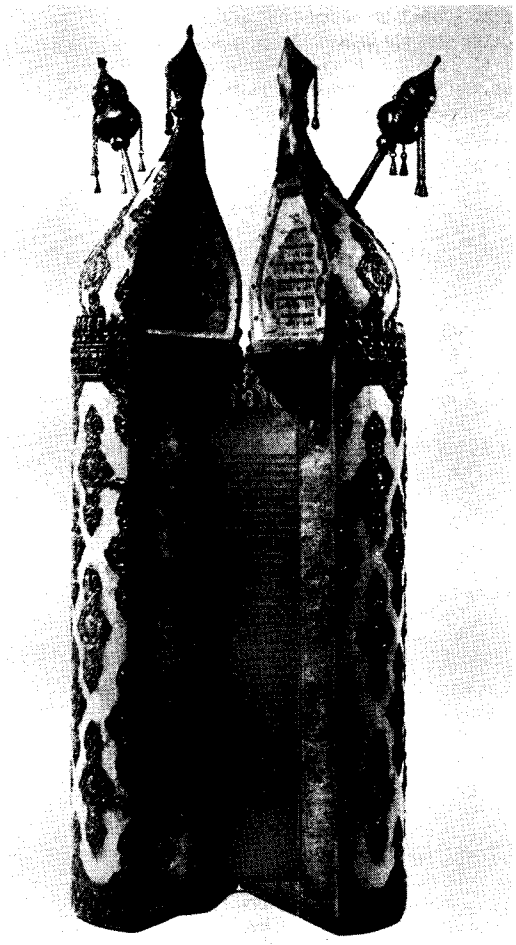
D. After the Fall of Jerusalem. 1. End of the Temple Cultus. With the destruction of the temple by the Romans in A.D. 70 the sacrificial system, which was limited to the altar in the temple complex, ceased. The structure of the cultus, with the orders of priestly service, likewise ended. If the exile to Babylon led the Israelites to lament, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" (Ps. 137:4), if the profaning of the temple by Antiochus IV led to revolt, what would the destruction of the temple lead to? It could have been the end of Judaism. That it was not was due to several factors, one of the most important being the realization that good deeds are as valuable as sacrifice. This thought was expressed by Johanan ben Zakkai after the destruction of the temple: "Grieve not, we have an atonement equal to the Temple, the doing of loving deeds" (*Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* iv.11a).

2. Predominance of the Synagogue. When and where the synagogue first appeared is not known. G. F. Moore wrote, "it may be reasonably surmised that it had its antecedents in spontaneous gatherings of Jews in Babylonia and other lands of their exile on the sabbaths and at the times of the old seasonal feasts or on fast days" (I, 283; cf. Zec. 7:5, which refers to the time of the Exile). According to one tradition there were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem when the city fell (A.D. 70; cf. T. P. *Megillah* 73d). Some were doubtless intended for Jews who had returned from the Diaspora (e.g., the synagogue of the Freedmen, Acts 6:9). Synagogues are also mentioned in the accounts of Jesus (at Nazareth, Lk. 4:16, and at Capernaum, 4:31), as well as in the accounts of Paul's activities (Antioch, Acts 13:14; Iconium, 14:1; Thessalonica, 17:1; Beroea, 17:10; Corinth, 18:4; Ephesus, 18:26). As few as ten male Jews over the age of thirteen could form a minyan or quorum for a synagogue. The synagogue was not only a house of assembly (Heb. *bêṯ kᵉneseṯ*, of which Gk. *synagōgē* is a translation), but it was more especially a house of prayer (Heb. *bêṯ tᵉpillîn*) and a house of study (*bêṯ miḏrāš*). It served not only to hold the Jewish people together but also to preserve their sense of union with their God and their Scriptures.

3. Preservation of the Scriptures. A rabbi named Johanan ben Zakkai, foreseeing the destruction of Jerusalem, had himself carried out of Jerusalem in a coffin and taken to the camp of Vespasian the Roman general. When his prediction that Vespasian would become emperor came true, Johanan was granted the town of Jamnia (Yavne) and given permission to take to that place the academy that he had headed in Jerusalem (*Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* iv.11b-12a; for the text, see Montefiore and Loewe, p. 266); parts of the story are questioned by some, however (cf. Moore, II, 116 n. 1). The sacred scrolls were saved from destruction. There is confusion over the extent of the activities of the *Bêṯ Dîn* at Jamnia, but the canonization of the Scriptures and the editing of the text from at least three recensions are often attributed to this period.

4. Halakah, Haggadah, Midrash, and Other Terms. Among the rabbinic sayings are many that are described by these terms. Discussions of canon law, particularly as it has to do with behavior, constitute Halakah. C. G. Montefiore, in his introduction to *Rabbinic Anthology* (p. xvi), explains the reason for the almost total exclusion of Halakah from this work. Such matters can be found in H. Danby, *Mishnah* (1933). On the other hand, Haggadah is more homiletical. If Halakah is likened to the disputes

RELIGIONS: JUDAISM



An ornately decorated Persian case with Torah scroll, 19th cent. (Israel Museum, photo D. Harris)

of scholars over the precise interpretation of passages of Scripture, Haggadah can be likened to the free and often unscholarly way in which the preacher may use the text for illustration and application. Midrash is interpretation of Scripture; to the modern exegete, however, rabbinic midrashim are sometimes fanciful. Midrash is based more on a biblical passage; Mishnah is based on a particular subject. The term is also used as a title for specific works, e.g., Midrash Rabbah.

The Midrash to Exodus is called *Mekilta* ("measure"), that to Leviticus is called *Siphra* ("the book"), and that to Numbers and Deuteronomy is called *Siphre* ("the books"). A collection of homilies is known as *Pesikta* "section, chapter") or *Tanhuma* (after Rabbi Tanhuma). The Great Midrash (Midrash *Rabbah*) is largely composed of haggadic material on certain books (e.g., *Gen. Rabbah* (See S. Sandmel, pp. 121-26).

III. "Normative" Judaism.–The phrase "normative Judaism" is attributed to G. F. Moore (I, 3) and is objectionable to some more recent scholars (e.g., M. Smith and J. Neusner), who contend that the term better describes Judaism after the 3rd cent. A.D. The phrase is used here to describe nascent Judaism from the time of the rabbis to the conclusion of the Talmud.

A. Formation of the Talmud. The Talmud is a collection of sayings of rabbis dating from *ca.* 200 B.C. to *ca.* the mid-6th cent. A.D. It is concerned with the oral law, i.e., the instruction that (according to tradition) was given to Moses on Sinai and transmitted orally until the time of the Mishnah. The Talmud is composed of two bodies of tradition: the Mishnah and the Gemara. (*See also* TALMUD).

1. Mishnah. Hebrew *mišnâ* means "repetition" (from *šānâ*, "repeat"). After the Great Synagogue and prior to the Tannaim ("teachers"), *ca.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 10, the oral law was transmitted by learned men (not yet called "rabbis"), beginning with Simeon the Just and ending with the "pairs," the last being Hillel and Shammai. The Tannaitic period is divided into five stages extending from A.D. 10 to 220 (see Moore, II, 481-83; J. Neusner, *Essentials; Description*), during the first of which Johanan ben Zakkai founded his academy at Jamnia. After the defeat of Bar Cochba (A.D. 135) the academy moved north, finally settling in Galilee. By careful study the *Bêṯ Dîn* went through the written and unwritten law. Rabbi Akiba had begun the codification of the oral law (at the end of the 1st cent. A.D.), and this was completed by Rabbi Meir. When no authority is specified in the Mishnah, it is understood to be Rabbi Meir (see A. L. Sachar, *History of the Jews* [5th ed. 1965], pp. 146f.). Judah ha-Naśi', president of the *Bêṯ Dîn*, and his disciples, working from the redaction of Meir, succeeded in collecting the decisions and opinions of 148 tannaim into six Orders (*sᵉḏārîm*), each of which contains several Tractates (*massᵉḵtôṯ*). (For a convenient resumé, see A. Cohen, pp. xxvii-xxx; the best-known English translation of the Mishnah is H. Danby, *Mishnah* [1933]).

2. Gemara. The Aramaic word *gᵉmārā'* means "completion." The Mishnah (not yet in written form) was not intended to be definitive — that would have been contrary to the spirit of the rabbis. So scholars, the Amoraim ("expounders") who succeeded the Tannaim, studied the Mishnah and recalled other sayings that were in their oral tradition. This continued for three centuries at centers in Jerusalem and in Babylon. The additional teachings were the Gemara.

3. Talmud. The Talmud (Heb. *talmûḏ*, "study") consists of Mishnah and Gemara. There are two Talmuds, the Palestinian Talmud (often called *Yerushalmi*, "Jerusalem"), completed *ca.* 499, and the Babylonian Talmud, completed about a half-century later. Both were committed to written form.

Neither Talmud is complete. The Palestinian, written in Palestinian Aramaic, covers thirty-nine tractates; the Babylonian, written in Eastern Aramaic, covers thirty-seven but is seven to eight times the size of the Palestinian. Traditional material was still being collected, and the *Tosefta* ("addition"), which is about four times the size of the Mishnah, is a parallel work, divided into the same orders and tractates. There are also apocryphal tractates (see A. Cohen, p. xxx).

The Talmud is designed to guide people in their daily life; therefore it contains many things having to do with home, work, festivals, legal rights, and the like. It is to be understood not as replacing God's revelation but as interpreting it. Its peculiar genius is the ability to hold different opinions, sometimes conflicting, without being self-destructive.

B. Religious Ideas. The religion of the Jews is based on the revelation of God in the Hebrew Bible and in the oral law. In many respects therefore, Judaism is quite similar to basic Christianity.

1. God. Judaism is vigorously monotheistic. The Shema (so called from Heb. *šᵉmaʿ*, "hear," the first word of Dt. 6:4f.) is the basic creed. Early conflict with Christianity

RELIGIONS: JUDAISM

(possibly defined at Jamnia) stressed Christianity's polytheism, since the Jews saw the notion of trinity as tritheism (three gods). To the Jews, God is eternal, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-seeing. He is a God of justice and requires justice of His people. He is also a God of mercy. Above all, He has entered into a covenant with His people, a covenant that requires trust and obedience on their part.

2. Mankind. The human race is both human and divine, being so created. Human beings are "made for two worlds: the world that is now, and the world to come" (Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* viii). Mankind was born into this world basically good, but with both an inclination to do good (*yēṣer haṭṭôḇ*) and an inclination to do evil (*yēṣer hāraʿ*), hence with freedom of will.

3. Sin. Sin is a violation of the revealed will of God, whether by omission or by commission. Yet the grace of God is dominant. In modern Judaism the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur, is the time when each person takes account of what he or she has done in the past year, genuinely repents of the sin, and believes that God is also taking such accounting. But the scales that for every person tip to the sinful side are balanced by the grace of God, so that the Jew can continue for another year to walk in the way that God has ordained.

4. Kingdom. The God of the Jew is the creator of this world and its ruler. He rules in the lives of those who trust in Him, and He wills, through their actions, to rule over all mankind. His kingdom eventually will extend to the ends of the earth. God is made known through deeds of righteousness (Heb. *ṣᵉḏāqôṯ*) — a view that is often misunderstood by Christians as a legalistic way of earning salvation. The Jew does not look for salvation, as understood by the Christian, for he or she is already one of God's people. Still there is need of repentance. "Rabbi Levi said: If the Israelites would but repent for one day, they would be redeemed, and the son of David would come straight away" (Midr. *Cant. Rabbah* v.2.2).

The Rabbi, a painting by the Jewish artist Marc Chagall. He depicts a man praying in the traditional fringed prayer shawl and wearing *tefillin*—small black boxes on the forehead and arm containing scrolls with brief Torah passages (oil on canvas, 1914) (SCALA/Art Resource, NY/ARS, NY/ADAGP)

C. Cultus. 1. Prayer. With the destruction of the temple animal sacrifice ceased. Prayer was considered a suitable substitute. Therefore prayer is part of daily life and part of public worship. There are prayer books (*sîḏûrîm*) with prayers for all occasions.

2. Study of the Law. This includes both the Torah and the Talmud. In formal worship a passage from the Torah (*pārāša* or *sēḏer*), based on a division that covers the Torah in a year, and a passage from the Prophets (*haṗṭārâ*) are read. On feast days the five Megilloth are read: Canticles on the eighth day of Passover, Ruth on the second day of The Feast of Weeks (*šāḇûʿôṯ*) or Pentecost, Lamentations on the ninth day of Ab commemorating the destruction of both the first temple and Herod's temple, Ecclesiastes on the third day of the Feast of Tabernacles (*sûkkôṯ*) and Esther on Purim.

3. Charity. "Almsgiving and loving deeds weigh as heavily as all the other commandments of the law" (T. P. *Peah* 1.1). Deeds of righteousness (*ṣᵉḏāqôṯ*; cf Gk. *dikaiosyńē,* Mt. 6:1) are of great importance to the Jew. One example of this may be seen in the protest that was raised by pious Jews when the state of Israel tried to abolish begging; this, they protested, would deprive them of opportunities to do deeds of charity.

4. Social Conscience. The efforts of Jews on behalf of the underprivileged, the minorities, and the persecuted are also an important expression of their faith. Their example should spur Christians, Moslems, and others to greater efforts in these problem areas.

E. Home and Dietary Laws. The word "kosher" (Heb. *kāšēr,* "fit, proper") applies to anything that is proper according to Halakah, including the Torah, the tallit, even a person who is correct or proper. More commonly it applies to food that accords with Jewish religious law. To the strict Jew, this means that it has been prepared in strict observance of the law, i.e., slaughtered, dressed, cooked, and eaten on dishes and utensils that are kosher (there is no such thing as "kosher style" or "mostly kosher"). According to the Talmud the table has replaced the temple altar (T. B. *Hagigah* 27a).

When God chose Israel, He declared that they were to be a "separate" people ("holy" means "separated, set apart"). The dietary laws were part of the means by which this separation was effected. According to Rabbi H. H. Donin, kash-rut (the Jewish dietary laws) is not an ethnic menu. There are no such things as "Jewish" foods; most Jewish dishes have been appropriated from nations among whom Jews have dwelt. Proscribed foods were not forbidden because they were unhealthy, although that factor might have been part of the divine proscription. They were forbidden because Israel was a people set apart from the secular, the unholy, from everything which did not conform to God's revealed will (*To Be a Jew* [1972], pp. 97-126). The difference between man and beast, between living like one of God's people and living like an animal, is made clear in kashrut, not only as it applies to food but as it applies to all of life.

IV. Modern Developments.—*A. Geographical.* Jews who settled in Spain and those who were driven from there to other regions as a result of the Inquisition are known as Sephardic Jews (< Heb. *sᵉp̄āraḏ,* "Spain"). Those who settled in Eastern Europe are known as Ashkenazic Jews (< Heb. *ʾašᵏᵉnaz,* "Germany"). Sephardic Jews spoke a dialect of Spanish, written in Hebrew characters, called Ladino. Ashkenazic Jews spoke a dialect of German, also written in Hebrew characters, known as Yiddish. Both dialects were strongly invaded by Hebrew, Aramaic, and

other elements. There are also other groups, such as those in North Africa who spoke a dialect of Arabic written in Hebrew characters ("Judeo-Arabic"). Each of these geographical groups developed an individual liturgy, including the cantillation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

B. Religious. Modern Jews are sometimes described in three categories, depending on their adherence to the law. (1) Orthodox Jews observe the law rather strictly, including the regulations concerning sabbath observance, dietary laws, mingling with Gentiles, etc. The more extreme Orthodox Jews, called "religious" (*dāṯîm*) or "Hasidic," preserve the sixteenth-century Eastern European style of dress. (2) Conservative Jews observe the law but with some latitude. They do not always insist on strict kashrut (i.e., kosher foods prepared according to strict rabbinic regulation) and are more liberal in their interpretation of sabbath observance. (3) Reform Judaism is a product of the Enlightenment and the impact of modern science on the Bible. The German scholar A. Geiger held that Judaism was not fixed and unchangeable but continuously developing. The stress was put on the ethical rather than the ritualistic, on social justice rather than dietary laws. Reform Jews may be deeply religious, or they may be Jews only in their decision to hold on to the name (cf. S. Wine, *Judaism beyond God* [1986]), but they are Jews nevertheless, and are considered as such by all except the most extreme Orthodox.

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RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: PERSIA.

I. Sources
II. Zoroastrian Sacred Texts
III. Pre-Zoroastrian Religion
IV. Zoroaster
V. Medes and the Magi
VI. Achaemenids
VII. Zoroastrian Doctrines and Practices
VIII. Relations with Judaism and Christianity

I. Sources.–A. Sanskrit. Comparative linguistic studies reveal that the earliest Iranians must have held beliefs and customs similar to those contained in the *Rig-Veda,* the earliest of the Hindu Scriptures. This includes traditions of the Indo-Aryan invaders who migrated into the Indus River Valley from southern Russia *ca.* 1500 B.C.

B. Old Persian. We have some important royal inscriptions in three cuneiform versions (Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian) from the Achaemenids. The most extensive text is Darius's famous inscription carved on a cliff at Behistun (modern Bisitun; see photo in PERSIA). Also significant is the *Daiva* inscription of Xerxes. (See Kent.)

C. Elamite. Tablets from the "Treasury" and the "Fortification" of PERSEPOLIS, the capital built by Darius and Xerxes, deal mainly with provisions for workers but include some incidental information on religion. These texts are dated from the thirtieth year of Darius I to the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (492-458 B.C.).

D. Greek. Our main Greek source is Herodotus. Though he does not mention Zoroaster, he does tell about the customs of the Persians and especially of the Magi (see V below). The Persians offered sacrifices to Zeus (Ahura-Mazda), the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, winds, and a goddess called Mitra (i.131). Herodotus confused the god Mithra with the goddess Anahita. The Persians denounced lying and would not pollute water (i.138).

Later Greek sources do mention Zoroaster, but many of their traditions are unhistorical (e.g., they date the prophet 6,000 years before Plato).

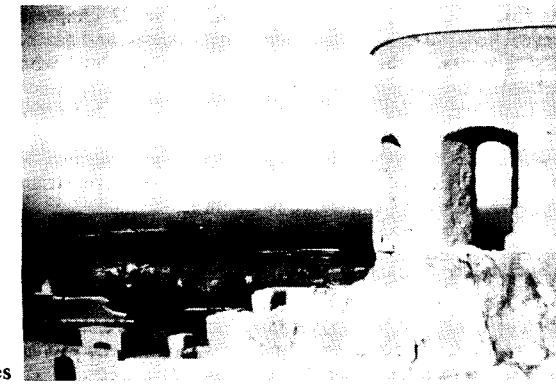
E. Other Texts. Parthian ostraca found at Nisa in southern Turkmenistan (100-29 B.C.) document the use of the Zoroastrian calendar. Armenian sources inform us about Zurvanism, the Zoroastrian heresy. Arabic sources preserve various traditions about Zoroaster.

F. Archeological. Until the 1960s we had no archeological information on the Medes except for a few rock-cut tombs (see Von Gall). Excavations by D. Stronach, begun in 1967 at Tepe Nush-i Jan, 64 km. (40 mi.) S of Hamadan, revealed a Median temple with a fire altar. As the ash indicates that the fire consumed more than fat or special woods, this altar was not similar to that used by the Zoroastrians (see Boyce, I [1975], 191).

Excavations have been conducted at SUSA since the late 19th cent., at Persepolis by the University of Chicago from 1931 to 1939, and at Pasargadae by Stronach from 1961 to 1963. Objects of religious significance include altars, tombs, reliefs, and pestles and mortars.

In 1962-65 U. Scerrato excavated an extraordinary Achaemenian temple at Dahan-i Ghulman (ancient Zarin) in the province of Drangiana of eastern Iran near its borders with Afghanistan and Pakistan. He found a square

The remains of a Zoroastrian fire temple at Isfahan, Iran (D. H. Condit)



RELIGIONS: PERSIA

building (53 by 54 m., 175 by 178 ft.) equipped with ovens and in its second phase with three central altars. There was evidence of animal sacrifices. Scerrato believed that the altars were dedicated to the triad of gods — Ahura-Mazda, Mithra, and Anahita — honored by Artaxerxes II.

See also ARCHEOLOGY OF IRAN.

II. Zoroastrian Sacred Texts.–A. Gathas. Our oldest and most important texts are the sixteen Gathas of Zoroaster himself now incorporated in the *Yasna* (chs. 28–34, 43–51), the main Zoroastrian liturgy (see Duchesne-Guillemin [1963]; Insler). One other text, the *Yasna Haptanghati,* "Yasna of Seven Chapters," (chs. 35–41), is nearly as old.

B. Younger Avesta. The main body of Zoroastrian Scriptures is known as the Avesta (Middle Pers. *awastag,* "tradition"). These texts have come to be known as the Younger Avesta since they were composed a long time after Zoroaster, probably in eastern Iran. This collection of numerous works was never combined in a single book. Of the 21 *naskas* or volumes known from the Denkard (see II. C. 2 below), we have but one entire *naska,* the Vendidad, and portions of others preserved, i.e., no more than one-fourth of the original Avesta. No doubt much was destroyed with the Islamic conquest of Iran in A.D. 651.

From the Achaemenian era the various traditions of the Avesta circulated orally for centuries. Some have suggested that the texts the Magi recited (see V below) were parts of the Avesta. We are not sure when these texts were put into writing. It is possible that the Avesta was not written down until as late as the reign of Khusrau I (531-579).

The Avesta was translated into a Middle Iranian dialect in a script known as Book Pahlavi (= Parthian). This was a very confusing script, which reduced the 22 letters of the Aramaic alphabet to 14 resulting in many ambiguous readings, particularly of ligatures. This was replaced by a special alphabet with 48 signs developed from the Pahlavi script of the late Sassanid era under Khusrau I. By the Sassanid era Avestan was known only imperfectly as a learned language. Commentaries on the Avesta known as the *Zend* were composed in the 9th cent. A.D. Our oldest manuscript of the Avesta, which comes from India, is dated to 1323.

1. Yasna. These comprise in 72 chapters the texts which priests recite in the ritual of the pressing of the *haoma* plant (Pahlavi *hom*; cf. Vedic *soma*). Zoroaster denounced the abuse of the haoma. The original plant may have had intoxicating or hallucinogenic effects but was later replaced by the ephedra.

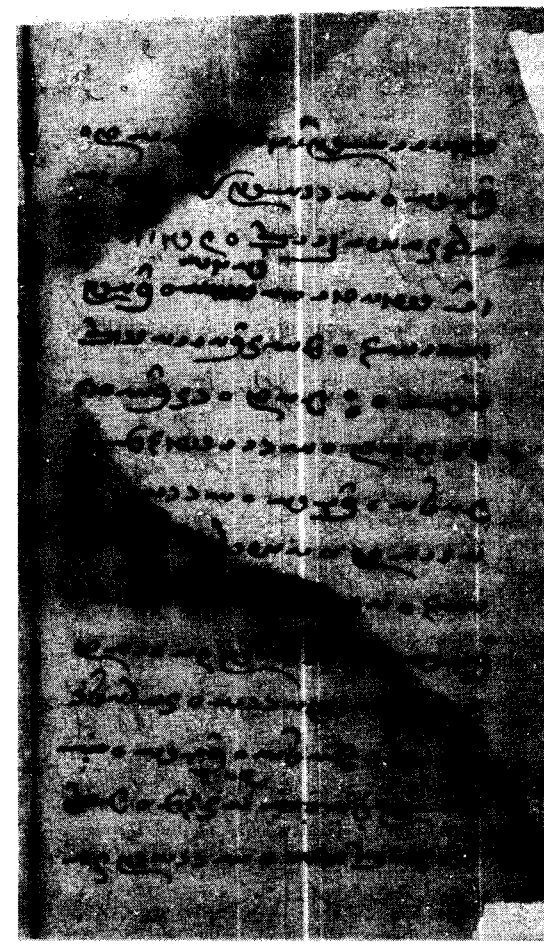
2. Visparad. "All Protective Powers" are a collection of invocations to protectors of various classes of living beings that are recited at the end of the Yasna especially during the feasts for the various seasons.

3. Vendidad (< Avestan *vidaevo data,* "the law directed against demons"; Pahlavi *Videvdad*). The 22 chapters reveal how the Evil Spirit created sins, plagues, and death. Ch. 2 contains the myth of Yima, the good lord who sinned. Ceremonies and formulae deal with repentance and purification for sins and protection against the 99,999 diseases created by the Evil Spirit.

4. Yashts (Avestan *Yashti,* "prayer" or "sacrifice"). These are 21 ritual hymns in honor of the pre-Zoroastrian *yazatas,* beings who deserve reverence.

5. Khorda Avesta ("little Avesta"). This collection of hymns was compiled by Aderpad Marespand in the reign of Shapur II (309-379).

C. Pahlavi Texts. In addition to translations and commentaries on the Avesta, we have Zoroastrian texts dealing with such important themes as cosmology and eschatology which were not composed until the 9th-10th cent. A.D. The two most important Pahlavi texts are:



A manuscript page of the Pahlavi V spered (xi.19) that says in part: "we make that known which is lifted up in offering, and which is the Avesta as the holy Ahura-Mazda directed that it should be said" (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, K7)

1. Bundahishn ("creation"). This important treatise relates how Ormazd and Ahriman, the Good and Evil Spirits, came into being and narrates their 9,000-year long conflict.

2. Denkard ("acts of religion"). This is an encyclopedia of nine books, which include summaries of the Avestan books and a biography of Zoroaster. Some authorities place its composition at the end of the Sassanid era, others in the post-Islamic period.

III. Pre-Zoroastrian Religion.–Though the Medes and Persians are not mentioned until Assyrian texts of the 9th cent. B.C. and though we have no Persian texts prior to the 6th cent. B.C., we can reconstruct the earliest Iranian religion through an analysis of the parallel Vedic texts from India and from pre-Zoroastrian elements preserved especially in the Yashts.

Early Iranian religion was very similar to Indo-Aryan religion. Both were polytheistic. The earliest written attestation of the Indo-Aryan gods is found in a treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma and Mattiwaza of Mitanni (1380 B.C.). This text mentions the important Vedic gods Indra and Nasatya, who were demoted to the demons

Indra and Naghathya in the Vendidad. Mitra (Avestan Mithra), who also appears in this text, was worshiped by both the Iranians and Indians.

From the Yashts we learn that the Iranians honored the following yazatas: Anahita, the goddess of water and fertility (Yasht 5); the star Tishtrya Sirius (8); Mithra (10); the Fravashis, protective spirits of the pious (13); Verethraghna, the god of victory (14); Vayu, the wind god (15); Ashi, the goddess of luck (17); Khvarenah, the godly charisma (19); the sun and moon (6–7); Sraosha, obedience to divine law (11); and the haoma plant (20). This list corresponds in part with Herodotus i.131. With the exception of Mithra and Anahita most of these deities played a minor role after the appearance of Zoroaster. They are insignificant in the late Pahlavi texts.

Mithra is absent from the Gathas and from the published Persepolis tablets except in the onomastica, i.e., in names like *Data-Mithra* (cf. Mithradates), "the gift of Mithra." Both he and Anahita appear prominently in the texts of Artaxerxes II. Later in the Roman empire (2nd cent. A.D.) Mithra became the center of a mystery religion (*see* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: GRECO-ROMAN).

IV. Zoroaster.–The English spelling, Zoroaster, is derived from the Greek spelling, which incorporates the word *astér,* "star," probably because of the later association of the prophet as the source of astrological knowledge. His original name, Zarathuštra, may have meant "camel driver." The Sassanian form of his name was Zarduš.

A. Date and Place of Birth. Avestan and Arabic traditions (Mas'udi and al-Biruni), which place Zoroaster 258 years before Alexander, have yielded a rather precise date for Zoroaster in the Achaemenid era (569-492 B.C.). Numerous scholars (e.g., Herzfeld, Hinz, Tisdall) have adopted this "late" date, identifying Vishtaspa, the ruler Zoroaster converted, with Hystaspes, the father of Darius I.

Other scholars (e.g., Gnoli) argue for a date not later than *ca.* 1000 B.C. (see also Shahbazi [1977]). Boyce has adopted the earliest possible date of *ca.* 1400 B.C. on the basis of linguistic and sociological data. This would place the prophet in Turkestan even before the migration of the Iranian tribes into northeastern Iran.

The evidence of the Avestan dialect of the Gathas places the prophet in the area of Afghanistan, Chorasmia, Hilmand, and Seistan. The late Arabic traditions which placed the prophet in Azerbaijan in northwestern Iran were probably due to the magi, who "adopted" the prophet.

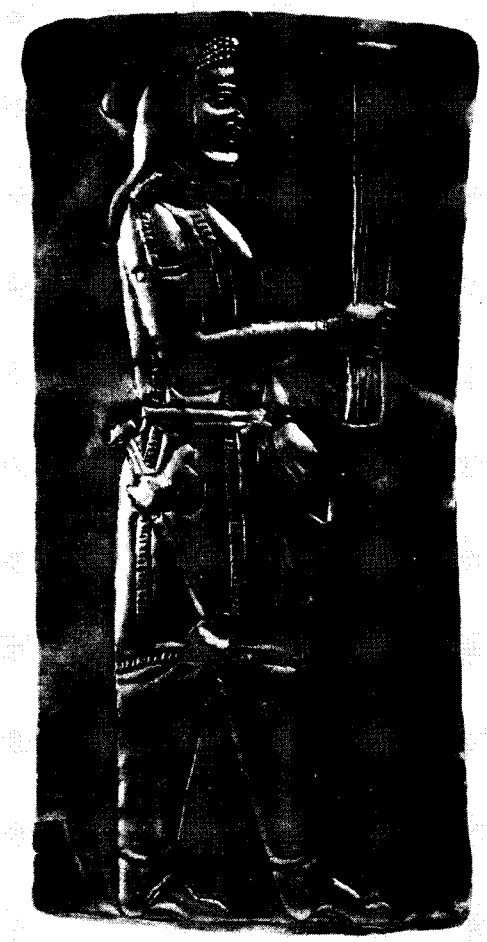
B. Family and Converts. According to the Denkard at the age of thirty Zoroaster converted to the sole worship of the god Ahura-Mazda ("the wise Lord," esp. in opposition to Angra Mainyu, "the Evil Spirit"). For ten years he had no converts, but two years after his first convert he gained his most notable one, the ruler Vishtaspa.

C. Teachings. Whether Zoroaster's theology was dualistic (two co-eternal spirits), henotheistic (the exaltation of one god over all the others), or truly monotheistic is disputed (see Boyd and Crosby).

Scholars disagree also about how to interpret the numerous references to reverence for the *gav,* "cow," in the Gathas. Are these to be taken literally as an indication of the pastoral concerns of Zoroaster against raiding nomads (so Duchesne-Guillemin, Herzfeld, Moulton)? Or, as a number of scholars (Cameron, Hinz, Insler, Schmidt [1975]) have argued, as metaphors for the righteous vision of the prophet?

D. Death. According to the Arabic writer al-Biruni (A.D. 973-1048) Zoroaster was killed at the age of 77 by invading Turanians (see the Persian national epic, *Shah Namah* [*ca.* A.D. 1000], which describes the event).

RELIGIONS: PERSIA



One of a number of gold plaquettes (possibly votive offerings) from the Oxus Treasure. It represents a Mede with a barsom or bundle of rods used in Zoroastrian ritual (Achaemenid period) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

V. Medes and the Magi.–According to Herodotus the Magi (sing. *mágos*) were originally a priestly tribe of the MEDES (i.101). The Magi chanted a sacred text (i.132), killed noxious creatures like ants and snakes, and exposed their corpses to be mangled by "bird or dog" (i.140). Many of these practices correspond to those found in later Zoroastrian texts (see Molé, p. 78.).

Their relationship to Zoroaster and his doctrines is not entirely clear. There is some reason to believe that they may have initially resisted these teachings as they came from the east, perhaps as early as the 7th cent. B.C. (so Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism II,* pp. 21, 40). But eventually the Magi seem to have adapted (some would say corrupted) Zoroaster's teachings. Later Greek traditions even went so far as to identify Zoroaster as a *mágos*.

The Greeks were fascinated with the Magi, who traveled to Turkey with the Persian conquest of that region under Cyrus in 546 B.C. (see Benveniste). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods those called Magi were associated with astrology and with "magic." A number of rock-cut tombs and reliefs depict the Magi. Among these is a relief

RELIGIONS: PERSIA

of a tomb at Dukkan-i Daud, which depicts a *mágos* holding the *barsom*, a bundle of sacred twigs. Ghirshman dated these as pre-Achaemenid, i.e., to the 7th-6th cent. B.C., but Von Gall would date them to the reign of Darius I at the earliest. A relief at Eshqavand depicts a man in a Persian garment praying before an incense vessel and a smaller figure in a Median garment, perhaps a *mágos*, before a fire altar.

The small size of tombs such as the one at Eshqavand led Von Gall to interpret them as repositories for the bones of the corpses of Magi. A Lycian rock-cut tomb (*ca.* 400 B.C.) was made apparently for a Persian, who followed the magian custom of excarnation. The Aramaic inscription indicates that it was an *astodana*, "ossuary," meant to preserve the disarticulated bones after the corpse had been exposed.

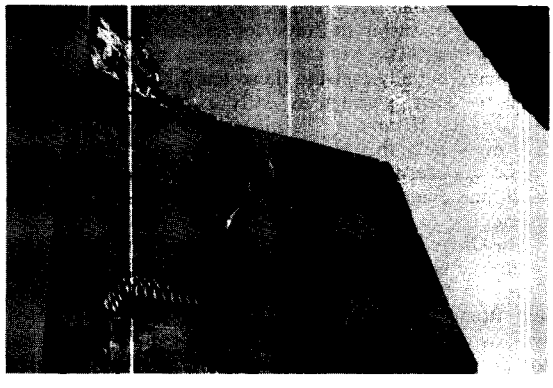
VI. Achaemenids. Whether the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians is much debated (see Dandamaev, Duchesne-Guillemin [1971], Herrenschmidt, Nigosian, Strouve). The Achaemenid texts do not mention Zoroaster but do exalt Ahura-Mazda. They have no reference to the *Amesha Spentas* or "Bounteous Immortals" associated with Zoroaster. On the other hand, the Zoroastrian texts do not seem to recall the Achaemenids except in a most garbled fashion. Different vocabularies are used: e.g., Darius uses the word *baga* for "god" instead of the Avestan *yazata*, the word *magu* for "priest" instead of the Avestan *aethrapiti*. The Achaemenids buried their kings instead of exposing them as did the ancient magi (and the modern Parsees). Therefore some scholars point to discrepancies between the Achaemenid inscriptions and later Zoroastrian traditions (e.g., Benveniste, Duchesne-Guillemin).

Other scholars, however, find echoes of Zoroastrian teachings and practices in these inscriptions and in the descriptions of Herodotus. Boyce believed that the custom of exposure was adopted only gradually and that in any case the Achaemenid kings sought to avoid contaminating the sacred elements in their burials. See also Koch, Molé, and Wiesehöfer.

A. Cyrus. While we have no certain Old Persian texts from Cyrus (those from Pasargadae his capital are attributed by some scholars to Darius I), Akkadian and Hebrew texts indicate that he acknowledged non-Persian deities such as Marduk and Yahweh.

Door jambs of the Audience Palace at Pasargadae have varied reliefs including a man clad in a fish garment of an Assyrian type. Barnett suggested that these reliefs may represent iconographically Cyrus's religious toleration. On the jamb from the Gatehouse is a winged figure with an Egyptian crown, whom Barnett identified with the Phoenician Baal. Classical sources inform us that Cyrus's tomb was surrounded by a wooded paradise and that the magi offered daily sacrifices of sheep and monthly sacrifices of horses. A faint rosette on Cyrus's tomb at Pasargadae has been interpreted by Stronach as the symbol of Ahura-Mazda; others take it to be a symbol of Mithra. Dandamaev and Duchesne-Guillemin believed that Mithra was Cyrus's god.

The winged figure on the eastern doorway in the main hall of the Tripylon at Persepolis, in this case carved above King Darius and his son Xerxes (not shown). It is commonly believed that this figure represents Ahura-Mazda, although the crown variations have provoked controversy (W. S. LaSor)



B. Cambyses. In contradiction to Herodotus's account of Cambyses's desecration of the Egyptian Apis bull, Egyptian texts themselves reveal that Cambyses honored the Apis, the incarnation of the god Ptah, and also the god Neith of Sais. (See A. Klasens, *Ex Oriente Lux*, 10 [1945-48], 339-349.)

C. Darius. In his own extensive inscriptions Darius mentions by name only Ahura-Mazda (e.g., the Behistun Inscription mentions the god 69 times in 420 lines). He does not mention the great adversary Angra Mainyu but condemns *Drauga* ("the Lie"). In his tomb relief the king is shown before the sacred fire.

The Elamite tablets from Persepolis develop a view of religion which differs from that presented in the royal inscriptions. These texts mention Elamite gods, e.g., Ḫumban, served by Elamite priests, but do not exalt Ahura-Mazda. Nor do they shed much light on the worship of Anahita and Mithra or the role of the magi (see Koch).

D. Xerxes. In his famous "Daiva" text Xerxes condemned the daivas, who were associated with the Lie. Exactly who these daivas were is a matter of controversy. In the Gathas the word daiva can designate gods as opposed to human beings, or it can mean spirits who incite people to violence and oppose prosperity. Duchesne-Guillemin suggested that Xerxes was referring to the gods of Babylon, who were punished after the revolt of Babylonia. Herzfeld thought that these were the gods of rebellious Media. Bianchi believed that the daivas were the gods displaced by the rise of Ahura-Mazda to supreme prominence.

E. Artaxerxes I. Some 80 pestles and 97 mortars found at Persepolis bear Aramaic inscriptions which date them from the 7th year of Xerxes to the 29th of Artaxerxes I. Bowman's translations of these inscriptions attempted to interpret them as directions for the haoma ritual in a Mithraic cult. Almost all other scholars who have translated the texts interpret them as simple dedications (P. Bernard, *Studia Iranica*, 1 [1972], 165-176; B. Levine, *JAOS*, 92 [1972], 70-79; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Orientalia*, 42 [1973], 445-457). It has been argued that the so-called Zoroastrian calendar was adopted in 441 B.C. during the reign of this king.

F. Artaxerxes II. This king adopted the Zoroastrian calendar according to other scholars. He was the first to mention gods other than Ahura-Mazda, setting up divine statues of Aphrodite (i.e., Anahita) at Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Bactra, Damascus, and Sardis. Gnoli has argued that the Iranian triad of Ahura-Mazda, Anahita, and Mithra has been influenced by the Mesopotamian triad of Anu, Ishtar, and Nebo.

G. The Winged Figure. Hovering over the king in many Achaemenid reliefs is a winged figure inside a circle (*see* picture in PERSIA). Though many have identified this figure as Ahura-Mazda, Shahbazi and Calmeyer by noting the variations on the figure's crown argue that it cannot represent Ahura-Mazda. Shahbazi thinks that it represents the divine *Khvarenah* (Median *Farnah*), the grace granted

to the king, and Calmyer his *Fravashi* or his "soul."

VII. Zoroastrian Doctrines and Practices.–*A. Monotheism and Dualism.* Some interpreters and modern Parsees maintain that Zoroastrianism preached the monotheistic worship of Ahura-Mazda, citing, e.g., Yasna 32:3-5, "But you gods all are a manifestation of evil thinking, and he who so much as worships you (is a manifestation) of falsehood and dissent." That is, in this view the *daevas* or other gods have no ontological reality. On the other hand, the Achaemenian kings refer to "great Ahura-Mazda, the greatest of the gods," i.e., not a monotheistic but a henotheistic view of a supreme god over all other gods.

Associated with Ahura-Mazda were six *Amesha Spentas*, "bounty immortals," who are conceived as semi-personal manifestations of the supreme god: (1) *Asha* = Righteousness, (2) *Vohu Manah* = Good Mind, (3) *Khshathra* = Power, (4) *Armaiti* = Suitable Disposition, (5) *Haurvatat* = Health, and (6) *Ameretat* = Immortality.

Some scholars believe that Zoroaster preached an original dualism, between a primordial *Spenta Mainyu*, "Good Spirit," and *Angra Mainyu*, "Evil Spirit." This later became a conflict between *Ahura-Mazda* (Pahlavi *Ohrmazd*, Greek *Oromasdes*) and *Angra Mainyu* (Pahlavi *Ahriman*, Gk. *Areimanios*). This was also a conflict between *Arta*, "Truth," and *Drug*, "Lie." A key text is Yasna 30:3: "Now these two spirits, which are twins, revealed themselves at first in a vision." All things in creation belong either to one sphere or another: aligned with the Good Spirit are light, fire, summer, water, fertile land, domestic animals (esp. the dog), health, and growth. Aligned with the Evil Spirit are darkness, night, winter, drought, infertile land, vermin, sickness, and death. Zoroastrians also distinguish between a *menog* ("spiritual") world and a *getig* ("physical") world. Only the Good Spirit has a menog and getig nature; the Evil Spirit parasitically attacks the getig world. (See Boyd and Crosby.)

Zurvanism, a monotheistic heresy which flourished in the Sassanian era, exalted *Zurvan*, impersonal "Infinite Time," as the supreme god from whom the twin spirits of good and evil were born. The nature of this movement is controverted since we are dependent upon late foreign sources such as the 5th-cent. Armenian writer Eznik and the 12th-cent. Moslem Shahristani (see Boyce [1957], Frye [1959], Zaehner [1955]). It was probably an intellectual movement rather than a separate sect. In contrast to orthodox Zoroastrianism it was fatalistic.

B. Soteriology, Ritual, and Ethics. Human beings have free will and have to make a choice between good and evil. They are their own saviors. Ahura-Mazda's eventual victory is aided by faithful Zoroastrians. They are to propagate everything which is good (e.g., agriculture) and destroy everything which is evil (e.g., noxious insects).

A strong emphasis on carefully observing various rituals developed in the centuries after Zoroaster. As fire is considered the symbol of Ahura-Mazda it is protected from even the rays of the sun and from the gaze of unbelievers. *Atharvans*, "fire priests," reciting from memory verses of the Avesta, carefully feed the perpetual fire with sandalwood. They have their mouths covered with the *paitidhana*, a cloth to prevent polluting the fire. They carefully press the haoma (ephedra) plant. As young Parsees come of age they are invested in a *naojote* or initiation rite with the *sudreh*, a special shirt, and the *kushti*, a sacred thread. The latter is to be tied and retied several times a day during prayers, before meals, etc.

Ritual pollutions are purified by the application of *gomez* or urine from a sacred white bull. Part of this *bareshnum* ritual involves the touching of a dog, the creature considered closest to human beings. The Parsee dead are neither buried nor cremated but are exposed in *dakhmas*, "towers of silence," where vultures strip the flesh from the bones in an hour or two. The bones are then deposited in a well.

C. Eschatology. The dead have to cross the *Chinvat Peretu* or Bridge of the Separator, which spans the abyss of Hell to reach Paradise. The bridge expands for the righteous but contracts to a razor's edge for the wicked. According to the Denkard the righteous are met by a beautiful female figure, the wicked by a hideous hag. An intermediate place called *Misvana Gatu*, "place of the mixed," is reserved for those whose merits and demerits balance.

An eschatological periodization of twelve millennia was projected in the Bundahishn. The first three millennia were the period of the original creation, the next three millennia were associated with the primeval Gayomard, the seventh millennium was marked by the appearance of humanity and the assault of Ahriman. The reception of Zoroaster's vision came at the beginning of the tenth millennium. The final three millennia will see the defeat of evil and the triumph of Ahura-Mazda.

Zoroaster taught that a *saošyant* or "benefactor" would come after him. Much later (perhaps in the 3rd cent. B.C., according to Boyce [1984]), the coming of three saviors was predicted, alternating with periods of evil. These were to be born of virgins from the seed of Zoroaster preserved in Lake Kasaoya. The first savior was named Aushedar, the second Aushedarmah, the third Asvatereta. The last would accomplish the final overthrow of evil, the resurrection of the dead, and the coming of God's kingdom on earth.

VIII. Relations with Judaism and Christianity.–*A. Relations with Judaism.* Since the late 18th cent. many scholars have concluded from certain biblical parallels that Judaism was indebted to Zoroastrianism. M. Smith (*JAOS*, 83 [1963], 415-421) compared Isa. 45:7, "I form the light and create the darkness, I make peace and create evil," with Zoroastrian texts. Many have attributed the development of Satan and demons to Iranian influence (e.g., Masani, Widengren, Winston, Zaehner). The one indisputable derivation is that of the demon Asmodeus (in Tobit) from the Iranian demon Aeshma (see W. Davies and L. Finkelstein, eds., *Cambridge History of Judaism, I: Persian Period* [1984]).

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls a number of scholars have compared the dualism of these documents with that of Iran, especially with Zurvanism. (See Shaked [1972], but note the reservations of Frye [1962].)

On the other hand, the lack of evidence from the Parthian era and the late nature of the cosmological and demonological texts raise doubts about any such alleged borrowings (see Frye [1967, 1975], Moulton [1913], J. Neusner, *History of Religions*, 8 [1968], 159-177).

B. Relations with Christianity. Not many scholars since C. Autran (*Mithra, Zoroastre et la préhistoire aryenne du Christianisme* [1935]) have attempted to derive Christian doctrines directly from Zoroastrianism rather than indirectly through a Judaism which had been influenced by Zoroastrianism. Hinnells has argued for such a connection by attempting to show that certain Iranian concepts existed prior to Christianity.

Mithraism, a mystery religion centered on Mithra, became very popular especially among Roman soldiers in the 2nd cent. A.D. His cult was later associated with *sol invictus*, "the unconquerable sun." In the 4th cent. the church's appropriation of December 25, the day cele-

A painting of the god Mithra hunting, from the "Mithraeum" (or Mithraic "cave") at Dura-Europos (ca. 240 B.C.) (Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection)

brated by this cult, as the birthday of Christ was no doubt an action designed to counteract this movement. (See F. Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra* [1903, repr. 1956]; J. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies* [2 vols., 1975]; M. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* [1963].)

C. Relations with Gnosticism. The history of religions scholars W. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* [1907]; "Gnosticism," *Enc. Brit.* [1910], XII, 155) and R. Reitzenstein (*Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* [1921]) derived the myth of the Gnostic "redeemed redeemer" from Iranian sources, e.g., Manichaeism, which they felt preserved pre-Christian traditions. With the exception of G. Widengren, scholars have abandoned this view especially in the light of the publication of the Mani Cologne Codex in 1970, which has confirmed Arabic reports that Mani came out of Jewish-Christian Elchasaite circles. Unlike GNOSTICISM Zoroastrianism taught that the material world as the creation of Ahura-Mazda was good and not evil. (See E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism* [2nd ed. 1983].)

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REMAIN. *See* REMNANT.

REMALIAH rem-ə-lī'ə [Heb. *rᵉmalyāhû*]. The father of Pekah (2 K. 15:25, etc.; 2 Ch. 28:6; Isa. 7:1, 4f., 9; 8:6). The reference to Pekah as "the son of Remaliah" in Isa. 7:4f., 9; 8:6 may be a contemptuous allusion to Pekah's ignoble descent — i.e., his lack of the rightful claim to the throne that the descendant of David (Ahaz) possessed (see E. J. Young, *Book of Isaiah,* I [2nd ed. 1972], 273).

REMEMBER; REMEMBRANCE. A discussion of this group of words may conveniently be considered in terms of those usages where both God and human beings are the subjects.

I. Terminology.–A. In the OT. In the RSV the words "remember," "remembrance," and "reminder" translate verbal forms of Heb. *zāḵar,* "remember" (e.g., Gen. 8:1; 40:23; Dt. 5:15; 7:18; Isa. 47:7; etc.) and its cognates, including *zēḵer,* "mention" (e.g., Ex. 17:14; Dt. 25:19; 32:26; Ps. 34:16 [MT 17]; 111:4; Isa. 26:14; etc., and *zikkārôn,* "mention, remembrance" (e.g., Ex. 28:12, 29; Nu. 5:15, 18; 10:10; Eccl. 1:11; 2:16; Zec. 6:14; Mal. 3:16; etc.).

B. In the NT. In the RSV the words "remember," "remembrance," "remind," and "reminder" translate the following Greek terms: (1) *mimnḗskomai,* "remind oneself" (e.g., Mt. 5:23; 26:75; Lk. 24:8; 1 Cor. 11:2; 2 Tim. 1:4; He. 13:3; etc.), or "be called to remembrance" (Acts 10:31; Rev. 16:19); (2) *mnēmoneúō,* "remember, keep in mind, mention" (e.g., Mt. 16:9; Lk. 17:32; Jn. 15:20; Acts 20:35; Col. 4:18; 2 Tim. 2:8; etc.); (3) *anamimnḗskō,* "remind" (Mk. 11:21; 14:72; 1 Cor. 4:17; 2 Cor. 7:15; 2 Tim. 1:6); (4) *hypomimnḗskō,* "remind" (Lk. 22:61; 2 Tim. 2:14; Tit. 3:1; 2 Pet. 1:12; Jude 5); (5) *mneía,* "mention, remembrance" (Eph. 1:16; Phil. 1:3; 1 Thess. 3:6; 2 Tim. 1:3; Philem. 4); (5) *anámnēsis,* "calling to mind" (Lk. 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24f.; He. 10:3); (6) *hypómnēsis,* "recollection" (2 Pet. 1:13; 3:1).

See also MEMORIAL; MIND I.A.

II. God Remembers.–God remembers or is asked in prayer to remember His covenant (Gen. 9:15f.; Ex. 2:24; 6:5; Ps. 105:8; 106:45; Ezk. 16:60; Lk. 1:72) or His promise (Ps. 105:42). The covenant closely relates to "the fundamental bond of mutual remembrance that unites God and man" (*TDOT,* IV, 70). In prayer Jeremiah calls upon God to remember and not to break the covenant (14:21). God will remember the land in this covenant context (Lev. 26:42).

God remembers individuals: He remembered Noah (Gen. 8:1) and Abraham (19:29) by making His covenant with them. He remembered Rachel (30:22) and Hanna (1 S. 1:19) in their barrenness by giving them a child.

God remembers sin and iniquity (Hos. 7:2; 8:13; 9:9), but He also remembers His mercy and truth (Ps. 98:3).

Since to remember is to act, prayers often ask God to remember. In fact, Eising (p. 66) noted that verbs used in parallel with *zāḵar* do not refer to the past only; thus remembering is not merely a recalling of the past but is also a call to action (see also Schottroff, pp. 4, 339). When God remembered Samson, his strength returned (Jgs. 16:28). Hanna prayed that God would remember her (1 S. 1:11), and He did when she conceived a son (1:19). In 2 Ch. 6:42 Solomon asked God to remember His steadfast love. Nehemiah prayed that God would remember His word to Moses that He would gather His scattered people (Neh. 1:8f.). Job prayed for God to remember him (Job 14:13; cf. Ps. 106:4; Isa. 38:3). God is asked to remember how the petitioner is scorned (Ps. 89:50 [MT 51]) and persecuted by enemies (74:2, 18, 22). Some prayers remind God that human life is short (Ps. 89:47 [MT 48]) and human beings are frail (Job 10:9; Ps. 78:39). Jer. 14:10 says that God will remember (i.e., punish) the sins of the people. In other passages the petitioner asks God not to remember the sins of the petitioner (Ps. 25:7; 79:8; Hab. 3:2; cf. Isa. 43:25), since not to remember sins is to forgive them (Jer. 31:34 [a mark of the new covenant]; cf. He. 8:12; 10:17). Cornelius's prayers and alms were remembered before God (Acts 10:3; cf. v. 4). Thus for God to "remember" may be positive (to remember His covenant is to show His steadfast love) or negative (to remember sins is to punish them).

III. People of God Remember God and His Works.–God commanded Israel to remember the day of the Exodus (Ex. 13:3; Dt. 5:15; 15:15; 16:3), their condition in Egypt (16:12), what He did to Pharaoh (7:18), His leading for forty years (8:2), and His provision for prosperity (Dt. 8:18). Both tassels on their garments (Nu. 15:39f.) and phylacteries (Ex. 13:1-16) reminded God's people to keep His commandments. The people were to remember how they provoked God to wrath by their rebelliousness (Dt. 9:7) and thereby to know that they possessed the good land not because of their righteousness (9:4f.). The eastern tribes were to remember Moses' words about the settlement of the land and so to assist the other tribes in the conquest (Josh. 1:13). Belief in God sometimes meant remembering (e.g., how God rescued them under Gideon. Jgs. 8:34; "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth," Eccl. 12:1; "Remember the former things", Isa. 46:8f.). But sometimes it meant not remembering (had they believed God they would not have remembered the fish of Egypt, Nu. 11:5; cf. Ezk. 23:27; "remember not the former things" because God will do a new thing, Isa. 43:18f.). Remembering God's character encourages trust in Him when in danger (Neh. 4:14). God comforts His people by assuring them that they will not remember their former reproaches (Isa. 54:4), and that He will meet those who remember His ways (64:5).

Remembering is an important act of worship. God's works and wonders are remembered in song (Ps. 42:4, 6 [MT 5, 7]; 77:11 [MT 12]; 105:5; etc.). Even to pronounce God's name is an act of worship (Childs, pp. 12f.). All the ends of the earth are to remember God (Ps. 22:27 [MT 28]) and the psalmist remembers His name (119:55).

Remembering is also proclamation in the NT. In 2 Pet. 1:12 the author states his intention of reminding readers of the gospel truth they already know. This remembering proclamation is the work of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 14:26). Proclamation may be by a symbolic act of remembering, even unwittingly as in the case of the woman who remembered Jesus' death by anointing Him (Mk. 14:9). Furthermore, remembering can mean believing, as expressed in credal form (2 Tim. 2:8).

IV. Remembering Jesus.–An important but small group of passages refers to remembering Jesus' words, e.g., His predictions about His death and resurrection (Lk. 24:6), His words of comfort in persecution (Jn. 15:20; (Jn. 15:20; 16:4), and His words of inspiration (Acts 20:35; cf. v. 31). In remembering Jesus' miracle of the loaves,

the troubled disciples were to gain trust in Jesus' ability to provide for them (Mt. 16:9).

V. The Lord's Supper–The accounts of the LORD'S SUPPER in Luke and Paul include the word "remembrance" in reference to this act of worship. One tradition of understanding Gk. *anámnēsis*, "reminder, remembrance," in the words of the institution (Lk. 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24f.) holds that Jesus ordained the Supper as the means whereby He might be present in the hearts and minds of believers. Zwingli saw the remembering more as an act of mental recollection of Jesus' atonement (*DNTT*, III, 244). But other traditions (mutatis mutandis Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Orthodox) interpret the eucharistic remembering in terms of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements (and some hold in the rite as a whole; cf. the discussion of these views in *TDNT*). Studies by both Dix (Roman Catholic) and Thurian (Protestant) have emphasized the godward reference of the act "which recalls as a memorial before the Father the unique sacrifice of the Son, and this makes Him present in His memorial" (Thurian, quoted in *DNTT*, III, 244). Jeremias's view sees the Godward reference but without suggesting a doctrine of the real presence: the memorial is that God may remember Jesus the Messiah and usher in the Kingdom by the Second Coming. The contribution of Chenderlin emphasizes the memorial as actualization: this involves a type of prayer, often associated with physical gestures, which is "a linguistic person to person expression of reminding-God memorial thinking" (p. 264). Like OT memorials such as the showbread (for which the LXX uses the relatively rare Gk. *anámnēsis*) the memorial of the Lord's Supper combines ideas of feast and sacrifice (p. 217). As cult the Supper combines both linguistic and gesticulatory elements of reminding-man (proclamation) and reminding-God (memorial) (p. 265).

VI. Non-religious Uses of the Word-group.–Abigail asked David to remember her, which he did by marrying her (1 S. 25:31)! For persons (or their names) not to be remembered was a punishment (Job 24:20) or a terrible fate (Jer. 11:19).

Occasionally remembering denotes thinking or pondering. In Job 4:7 Eliphaz posed a rhetorical question for Job to "think" on (so RSV; AV "remember". In Job 21:6 Job thinks about (AV "remembers") the prosperity of the wicked. In Job 41:8 God asked Job to imagine catching Leviathan with a fish hook: "think of [AV "remember"] the battle; you will not do it again!" According to Bartels (*DNTT*, III, 240) about three-fourths of the NT uses of words for remembering reflect normal Greek usage (i.e., non-religious), contrasting sharply with the OT situation. These NT usages include (1) recall, as Peter recalled Jesus' prediction of his denial (Mk. 14:72 par.), (2) consider (e.g., Lk. 17:32), (3) remember for good (e.g., Lk. 23:42; 1 Cor. 2:10; He. 13:3, cf. 1 Cor. 11:2; Col. 4:8), (4) be mindful of (2 Pet. 3:2; Jude 17), and (5) mention (2 Cor. 7:15). Also remembering may signify obedience: the Corinthians are commended for remembering and keeping the traditions (1 Cor. 11:2); the recipients of Hebrews are to remember those who rule over them (He. 13:7); the church at Sardis is to remember and keep what it has received (Rev. 3:3); and the church at Ephesus is to remember from where it has fallen and return to its first love (Rev. 2:5). But one may question to what extent these uses are "non-religious."

VII. Scholarly Discussions.–J. Barr (pp. 41ff. *et passim*) has criticized Pedersen's theory of memory (*ILC*, I-II, 106f.) for confusing semantic problems with a theory of differing mentalities, a critique shared by Childs (pp. 18-30). B. Gerhardsson (*Memory and Manuscript*) dealt with the role of memory in the transmission of tradition: in Judaism written Torah (Scripture which is read) is committed to memory, learned by heart, whereas with oral Torah (oral tradition which is repeated) written notes assist the transmission process (p. 29). Childs sees remembering as interaction with the past, something like an encounter: "The biblical events have the dynamic characteristic of refusing to be relegated to the past" (p. 88).

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REMETH rē'məth [Heb. *remet*]. A city in the territory that Joshua allotted to the tribe of Issachar (Josh. 19:21). It may be identifiable with a city in Issachar, called Ramoth in 1 Ch. 6:73 and Jarmuth in Josh. 21:29, that was given to the Gershonite Levites. The location of Remeth is unknown; one suggestion locates it E of Jezreel on the heights overlooking the Jordan Valley. Such a site is favored by the name's probable meaning, "a height." D. H. MADVIG

REMISSION OF SINS. *See* FORGIVENESS; PASS.

REMMON rem'ən (Josh. 19:7, AV). *See* RIMMON 2.

REMMON-METHOAR rem'ən-mə-thō'är. The AV translation of Heb. *rimmôn hamm^etō'ār* in Josh. 19:13. The RSV correctly renders "Rimmon it bends toward." *See* RIMMON 3.

REMNANT. An important concept in biblical theology; applied to three types of groups. The first is simply a *historical* remnant made up of survivors of a catastrophe. The second consists of the *faithful* remnant, distinguished from the former group by their genuine spirituality and true faith relationship with God; this remnant is the carrier of all divine election promises. The third is most appropriately designated the *eschatological* remnant, consisting of those of the faithful remnant who go through the cleansing judgments and apocalyptic woes of the end time and emerge victoriously after the Day of Yahweh as the recipients of the everlasting kingdom.

I. Terminology
  A. Hebrew and Aramaic Terms
  B. Greek Terms
II. Origin
  A. Ancient Near Eastern Literature
  B. Hebrew Literature
III. History and Theology
  A. In the OT
  B. In Late Judaism
  C. In the NT

I. Terminology.–The remnant idea is expressed explicitly by a significant number of terms. In addition, some passages that lack specific remnant terminology reveal remnant theology through related concepts. The explicit remnant terminology clusters around several Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek terms.

A. Hebrew and Aramaic Terms. The OT remnant idea is represented by numerous derivatives of six different stems.

1. The Stem š'r. The most prominent of all these stems is *š'r*. Its Semitic cognates indicate that it is of common West Semitic origin. Derivatives of this root appear 226 times in Hebrew and ten times in Aramaic. In verbal forms *š'r* means "remain, be left over" (qal and niphal) and "leave (over, behind), have left" (hiphil). The masculine noun *še'ār* and feminine noun *še'ērîṯ* both denote "remnant, remainder"; these are especially prominent in the prophetic writings.

The verbal forms of *š'r* (usually translated "be left," "remain," etc.) appear first in the OT flood account (Gen. 7:23) and thereafter in connection with other human survivors (Gen. 14:10; 42:38; Dt. 3:11; Josh. 13:12). Verbal forms can designate a single person (2 S. 14:7), two men (Nu. 11:26), the poor (2 K. 25:12), a tribe (17:18), an army (13:7; cf. Ex. 14:28), inhabitants of a city (Jer. 39:9; Am. 5:3, etc.). The noun *še'ār* (RSV often "rest") is employed only for a group (e.g., 1 Ch. 16:41), usually for the remaining portion of Israel (Isa. 10:20-22; 11:11, 16; etc.) or another nation (14:22; 16:14; etc.). *Še'ērîṯ* denotes a group (Jer. 39:3), the remaining part of a foreign nation or its territory (e.g., Isa. 15:9; Jer. 25:20; Ezk. 25:16), or the persons returning from exile (Hag. 1:12, 14; 2:2; Zec. 8:6, 11f.).

Derivatives of *š'r* may emphasize the remnant's insignificance (Dt. 3:11; Josh. 13:12), smallness (Isa. 17:6), meaninglessness (Gen. 47:18), or total loss (Ex. 8:31). Most of the usages, however, have a positive, forward-looking emphasis: the escape of a remnant from a mortal threat reveals the immense future potentiality for life and continued existence, regardless of the size of that surviving remnant.

2. The Stem plṭ. The stem *plṭ*, which appears eighty times in the OT, is of common Semitic origin and is attested in several Semitic languages. Verbal Hebrew derivatives occur twenty-seven times and denote "escape, get away" (qal only in Ezk. 7:16), "bring to safety" (hiphil), and "bring to safety, deliver" (piel). The masculine nouns *pālîṭ* and *pālêt* refer to one who escapes: a fugitive from war (e.g., Gen. 14:13) and from announced doom (e.g., Isa. 45:20). In parallel with *śārîḏ* these nouns may refer to the fugitive who is now safe, i.e., a refugee (e.g., Jer. 42:17; 44:14). The feminine noun *pᵉlêṭâ* often appears parallel to a noun from the stem *š'r*. It commonly refers to a remnant that has escaped (Gen. 32:8 [MT 9]; 2 K. 19:30; Isa. 4:2f.; 15:9; etc.).

Plṭ is used sometimes to indicate decimation or total loss (Jer. 42:17; Joel 2:3; Am. 9:1; etc.), but more frequently it stresses survival and salvation. An "escaped remnant" that has survived a mortal threat from sword or famine (cf. Gen. 45:7) may be pronounced holy (Isa. 4:2f.; cf. Ob. 17). It is called to turn to Yahweh (2 Ch. 30:6; Jer. 51:50; Ezk. 6:8f.), to have a fruitful destiny (Isa. 37:32), and to be a nucleus of life (Ezr. 9:8).

3. The Stem mlṭ. The stem *mlṭ*, which developed from *plṭ*, appears eighty-nine times with verbal derivatives that express aspects of the OT remnant theme. Over two-thirds of these verbal forms mean "escape, make for safety" (niphal); the rest mean "deliver, save, let escape" (piel). Again, safety is reached by escaping a mortal threat. Sometimes it is impossible to escape (cf. Isa. 20:6), and the result is total destruction (e.g., Jgs. 3:29; 1 K. 18:40; 19:17). But those who do escape have saved their lives (e.g., 1 K. 1:12; Jer. 48:6; 51:6, 45). Given to the remnant is the eschatological promise (cf. Isa. 49:14-20): Yahweh will be the savior and redeemer of those who have escaped (vv. 24-26) and who call upon His name (Joel 2:32 [MT 3:5]). At the apocalyptic time of trouble God's faithful people will be rescued by Michael (Dnl. 12:1).

4. The Stem ytr. The remnant idea is clearly present in about 110 of the 248 derivatives of the stem *ytr*, which is attested in Amorite, Akkadian, Yaudian, and Imperial Aramaic in the forms *wtr* and *ytr*. Verbal forms in Hebrew mean "be left over, remain" (niphal) and "leave (over, behind), have remaining, have left" (hiphil). The noun *yeṯer* sometimes denotes the "remainder, rest" of progressively smaller parts (Joel 1:4; cf. Ex. 10:5; 23:11). *Yeṯer* is often used synonymously and interchangeably with *še'ērîṯ* (e.g., Zeph. 2:7, 9; Hag. 1:12, 14) and *še'ār* (e.g., Neh. 4:14, 19 [MT 8, 13]).

Referring to persons, verbal forms of *ytr* can be applied to one individual (e.g., Gen. 44:20 [cf. 42:38 with a form of *š'r*]; 1 K. 18:22) or to several (Lev. 10:12). Substantival participles refer to Israelite (Jgs. 21:16) or gentile survivors (1 K. 20:30). *Yeṯer* may refer to a remnant of other nations; (e.g., Josh. 12:4; 13:12; 23:12 [cf. Ezk. 36:3 with *še'ērîṯ*]). In the phrase *yeṯer hā'ām* it may refer to the undeported Jerusalemites (Zec. 14:2; cf. Jer. 39:9 par. 2 K. 25:11) as well as to the prophetic "remnant" that is victorious over its enemies.

5. The Noun śārîḏ. *Śārîḏ*, which has Semitic cognates in Arabic and Syriac, means "survivor" in its twenty-eight OT occurrences. The "survivor" is one who was able to "run away" (*śrd* only in Josh. 10:20) from mortal threat of war (e.g., Josh 10:20; Jgs. 5:13). Sometimes in warfare there are no survivors (e.g., Dt. 3:3; Josh. 8:22; 10:28-40; cf. Jer. 42:17; 44:14). At the eschatological Day of Yahweh the "survivors" will be those called by Yahweh (Joel 2:32 [MT 3:5]).

6. The Noun 'āḥᵃrîṯ. Hebrew *'āḥᵃrîṯ*, a derivative of *'ḥr*, has a frequently used Akkadian cognate *aḫirtu*, "rest, remainder, balance" (*CAD*, I/1, 188). In some OT passages this noun clearly means "remnant" (Nu. 24:20; Am. 4:2; 9:1; Ezk. 23:25) — in each text a remnant that is without future hope or experiences total destruction (with the possible exception of Jer. 31:17).

B. Greek Terms. The verb *leípō* in classical Greek forms the basic stem of a constellation of terms that express the concept of remnant. In Greek literature this stem never reveals a religious tendency.

1. In the LXX. In translating forms and derivatives of the Hebrew stems *š'r* and *ytr* (also, rarely, *plṭ* and *śrd*), the LXX primarily employs the Greek verb *leípō* and a variety of derivatives: verbs *kataloípō, hypoleípō, perileípō,* and *epileípō,* and cognate nouns and adjectives. But in translating derivatives of the stems *plṭ* and *mlṭ*, as well as the noun *śariḏ* (and *yeṯer* five times), the LXX most often employs the Greek stem *sṓzō* or the noun *sōtería*, indicating that the LXX translators frequently associated the remnant theme with the idea of salvation.

2. In the NT. The verb *leípō*, which is infrequent in the NT, means "fall short, lack, be in need" (e.g., Lk. 18:22; Tit. 1:5); but the adjective *loipós* designates "the rest" (e.g., Lk. 24:9; Rom. 1:13) or negatively "the others" (e.g., Lk. 8:10; Rom. 11:7). The "remnant" are the *katáloipoi* (RSV "rest," Acts 15:17; cf. Am. 9:12), the *leímma* (Rom. 11:5), and the *hypoleímma* (Rom. 9:27, quoting Isa. 10:22). For other NT terms related to the remnant idea, see III.C.1 below.

II. Origin.–Scholarly opinion has fluctuated regarding the origin of the biblical concept of the remnant. J. Meinhold (1903) linked the origin of the remnant idea to the rise of ethical monotheism. H. Gressmann (1905) was the first to suggest an extra-Israelite origin, namely, a Babylonian nature myth. S. Mowinckel (1922) demonstrated the inadequacy of these hypotheses, however, and suggested that the remnant idea arose from the Babylonian enthronement myth, which was supposedly the nexus of Israelite eschatology. V. Herntrich (1942) rejected a Babylonian

origin, arguing that the remnant motif was grounded in the activity of God. W. E. Müller (1939) suggested that in the OT the idea had a socio-political origin, namely, the breakdown of the Assyrian principle of warfare. S. Garofalo (1942) and O. Schilling (1942) argued for an Israelite origin arising from the idea of God's choice of His people. The problem with the last suggestion is that the remnant idea is older than the biblical election traditions. D. M. Warne (1958) connected the origin of the remnant motif with the rise of eschatology. The question of the origin of this idea can be resolved only by a careful analysis of extra-biblical and biblical materials.

A. Ancient Near Eastern Literature. The idea that the future of the human race (or of a nation, tribe, dynasty, etc.) resides in a small surviving remnant appears throughout the ancient Near East.

1. Mesopotamia. In the earliest documented reference to the motif, the Sumerian flood story (late 3rd millennium B.C.) tells of a flood that destroys mankind but leaves a remnant; this theme recurs in the Sumerian King List (*ANET,* pp. 265f.), "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" (*ANET,* pp. 455-463), "Hymn to Enlil," and historical texts. The remnant motif occurs also in several Akkadian texts: *Enuma Elish* (*ANET,* pp. 66-68), the Atraḫasis Epic (III. vi. 9f.; viii. 9f.; etc.), Gilgamesh Epic (XI), Erra Epic (I and IV-V), prophecy texts (Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Thontafsammlung, Staatliches Museum, Berlin, no. 10179), diplomatic letters, and annalistic records.

2. Anatolia. In Hittite literature the idea of a surviving remnant is present in "The Song of Ullikummi," the "Plague Prayers of Mursili II," and various preserved parts of Hittite royal annals.

3. Syria-Palestine. In Ugaritic literature the theme appears in the "Legend of King Keret" (the sole surviving ruler preserves the future of his dynasty; *ANET,* pp. 142-49), the Baal and Anath cycle (a remnant of mankind is saved through life-giving rain), and a fragmentary flood story.

4. Egypt. The remnant idea is prominent in texts of various genres from Egypt; e.g., in the "Book of the Divine Cow" a small remnant of the human race survives to replenish the world, and in several "prophetic" texts a remnant of Egypt survives and guarantees further national existence.

The fact that many of these documents antedate biblical texts shows that the basic remnant idea is older than the written documents of the OT. These Egyptian texts also seem to indicate that the motif did not originate in the socio-political sphere of warfare. The large variety of mortal threats, both natural (flood, famine, drought, plague, pestilence, natural death) and socio-political (rebellion and war), accounts for the diffusion of the idea. The remnant idea is also connected with various human communities such as family, clan, tribe, army, city, nation, and humanity. All these considerations must be taken into account, but to complete the search for the origin of the remnant idea one must investigate the idea's oldest appearances in biblical texts.

B. Hebrew Literature. Many of the earliest Hebrew traditions are expressed in Genesis. The first *implicit* reference to the remnant is in the narrative of Cain's murder of Abel, which left only Cain as the progenitor of the human race (4:1-15) until Adam and Eve had other "sons and daughters" (5:4). The earliest *explicit* reference appears in the Flood story: "Only Noah was left [*yiššā'ēr*], and those that were with him in the ark" (Gen. 7:23). As survivors of the Flood, Noah and his family represented a righteous remnant (Gen. 6:8f.; 7:1) and were the nucleus of a new, postdiluvian humanity.

Other Genesis texts relate how God preserved a remnant of His people through various threats to their existence: the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (18:22-33; 19:15-29), the feud between Esau and Jacob (32:8-32), and the famine in Egypt (45:7).

Common to biblical and extra-biblical appearances of the remnant idea is the concern with the problem of life and death. This constant emphasis provides the clue to the origin of the idea. Any mortal threat raises the immediate question of whether life will be wiped out or whether a remnant will survive to preserve human existence. While the remnant idea is as old as threats to human life and humanity's concern to survive, the earliest biblical remnant texts also place it in the theological framework of salvation-history. Biblical thought presents an overarching correlation between the salvation of a remnant and the nucleus of the true people of God. God's saving activity in creating faith and preparing a faithful remnant succeeds in defiance of all mortal threats and human fears.

III. History and Theology.–The biblical remnant idea has a long history reaching from the fall to the eschatological return of Jesus Christ.

A. In the OT. Only the highlights of the OT remnant idea can be outlined because the remnant terminology is used no less than 540 times (see I.A above).

1. Pentateuch. The five books of Moses contain many aspects of the remnant idea. The appearance of the motif in Genesis has been summarized above (II.B). Yahweh's great saving act occurred at the Exodus, when Pharaoh's entire army was drowned in the sea so that "not so much as one of them remained" (Ex. 14:28). But God did not guarantee Israel's protection unconditionally; Israel's rejection of the Sinai covenant would arouse Yahweh to send national disasters, reducing His people to an insignificant minority among the nations (Dt. 4:27) or destroying them completely (Lev. 26:36, 39; Dt. 28:54f., 62). The survival of only two Israelites from the entire wilderness generation witnessed to the disasters that would result from disbelief and disobedience (Nu. 26:65).

In response to God's command to exterminate the whole Canaanite population, lest a remnant should become a source of constant trouble later (Nu. 33:5; cf. Jgs. 3:1), Israel destroyed the inhabitants of the Transjordanian kingdoms of Sihon the Amorite (Nu. 21:35; Dt. 2:34) and Og of Bashan (Dt. 3:3, 11; cf. Josh. 12:1-5; 13:10-13), leaving no survivor.

2. Historical Writings. The defeated Canaanites were not always totally destroyed, however. Accounts mentioning remnants of the Amalekites (Jgs. 6:1-6; cf. 1 S. 15; 30:17; 1 Ch. 4:43) and the Anakim (Josh. 11:21f.; cf. 1 S. 17:4-58) indicate the potential influence that these nations could have over Israel. The book of Judges explains that the nations left in Canaan after Joshua's death were used to test whether the Israelites would walk in the way of Yahweh (Jgs. 2:21-23; 3:1-7; etc.). In a lengthy narrative of intertribal warfare, Judges reports the near extinction of the tribe of Benjamin (chs. 20–21) and actions taken by the victorious Israelite tribes to ensure the survival of a remnant of that tribe (21:16-18).

The mid 9th cent. B.C. witnessed one of the great crises in Israel, a life-and-death struggle between Yahwism and the religion of Canaan (1 K. 16:30–18:19). Following his valiant confrontation with this paganism on Mt. Carmel (18:20-40), Elijah despairingly concluded that he was the only prophet loyal to Yahweh within an apostate Israel (19:14). But in a majestic theophany Yahweh assured him that seven thousand in Israel were still loyal to the covenant (v. 18). The Elijah narrative introduces for the first time the promise of a faithful remnant from Israel, a remnant loyal to Yahwistic covenant faith. This theme is further developed in the prophetic writings.

The Chronicler employs remnant terminology to designate both the repatriated exiles (Ezr. 9:8-15) and those remaining in the land who were not exiled (Neh. 1:2f.). The terms here designate all the Israelites who survived national catastrophe — i.e., a historical remnant — without distinguishing between faithful and faithless escapees.

3. Prophets. The remnant idea is most pronounced among the prophets of the 8th cent. B.C. The earliest writing prophet with a fully developed remnant theology is Amos. Rejecting the false security built on the popular identification of remnant hopes with Israel as a whole, Amos proclaimed that only a small historical remnant — meaningless for Israel's national existence — would remain from the Assyrian crisis (Am. 3:2, 12; 4:1-3; 5:3; 6:9f.; 9:1, 9f.). The "remnant of Joseph," on the other hand, would be a faithful remnant from Israel (5:15).

The remnant idea is central in the theology of Isaiah. The call vision clearly shows the connection between the remnant idea and the themes of judgment, salvation, and holiness. The judgment aspect is expressed in the survival of only a small historical remnant (Isa. 6:11-13; cf. 1:4-9; 10:22f.), but it is a remnant that has positive future possibilities (11:11-16; 37:30-32). A "holy seed" (6:13), a "holy" remnant "recorded for life" (4:3), will emerge from the divine fire of purification in Zion (4:2-4; cf. 1:24-26). This remnant will inherit the election promises and form the nucleus of a new faith community (10:20f.; 28:5f.; 30:15-17).

The notions of remnant and faith are inseparable in Isaiah. The confrontation of Isaiah and his son Shear-jashub ("A-Remnant-Shall-Return,") with King Ahaz (7:3) is intended to teach that an attitude of faith, confidence, and trust in Yahweh is essential to the emergence of a remnant (7:2-9). The prophet, his children, and his disciples (8:16-18) are proleptic representatives of the future remnant of faith. Immanuel is part of the holy remnant, if not its actual ruler (7:10-17).

The second part of Isaiah gives a saving message to "all the remnant of the house of Israel" (46:3) who are left from the political catastrophe. They are promised that God will still "carry and save" them (46:4). The eschatological hope includes a remnant of the non-Israelites, "the survivors of the nations" (45:20) who recognize Yahweh as the true God. During the end-time gathering God "will send survivors [from them] to the nations" in order to "declare my glory among the nations" (66:19). Here universal missionary activity is linked with the eschatological remnant of faith (cf. 66:18; Dnl. 3:4, 7, 29; 6:25; Zec. 8:23; Rev. 14:6).

The book of Micah speaks of a historical remnant of Israel that is helplessly scattered among the nations (cf. 5:7f. [MT 6f.]). Israel's only hope is with Yahweh, who will be their leader (2:13; 4:7), "gather the remnant of Israel" (2:12; cf. 4:6f.), and make them into a new "strong nation" (4:7). Remnant here means the nucleus of a new people of God whose transgressions have been graciously forgiven (7:18) and who will be a source of life ("like dew") and strength ("like a lion") among the nations (5:7f. [MT 6f.]). The rest of Israel will return to the Israel of faith when the Messiah is born (5:2 [MT 1f.]). Here the concepts of the remnant, the new people of God, and the Messiah are joined.

Other Minor Prophets dwell on the idea of an eschatological remnant. In Joel the escapees from the Day of Yahweh are those who call on the name of the Lord (2:32). The idea that life and salvation are with God alone is expressed also in Ob. 17. God promises in Zeph. 3:12f. to leave a humble remnant that will "do no wrong" and will take refuge in the name of the Lord.

Jeremiah speaks frequently of a historical remnant of Israel that will be insignificant or totally destroyed (Jer. 6:9, 29f.; 8:3; 21:8-10; 24:8-10). The Israelites who have not been exiled but flee to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah are not the carriers of the promise (42:13-22). But the Lord will gather from the remote parts of the earth (31:7-9; cf. 23:3) a remnant comprising those with a "new heart," who live on the basis of the "new covenant" (31:31-34).

Ezekiel pleads with God to mix mercy with well-deserved judgment so that some Israelites might survive (Ezk. 9:8; 17:13). Indeed, a historical remnant will survive national destruction (6:7-9; 7:16; 14:22f.; 24:26f.) and be scattered among the nations (5:10-12; 12:15f.; 17:21). From these Yahweh will gather those who by His grace will receive a "new heart" and a "new spirit" (11:16-21; cf. 36:26) so that He can call them "my people" (11:20). This faithful remnant will constitute the nucleus of a religious rather than political community.

In postexilic prophecy "the remnant of the people" is the samll group of repatriated Jews who obey Yahweh, work on rebuilding the temple, and receive the divine promise, "I am with you" (Hag. 1:12-14; cf. Isa. 43:5). Since they "fear before Yahweh" (Hag. 1:12), they are the carriers of the ancient covenant blessings (Zec. 8:12; cf. Lev. 26:3-13; Dt. 28:11). The metaphor of shepherd and sheep appears in the second part of Zechariah, where the remnant goes through a cleansing judgment to emerge as "my [Yahweh's] people" (13:7-9).

Prophetic literature also speaks repeatedly of the remnant of the nations (Ezk. 36:3-5). There will be no remnant of the Philistines (Isa. 14:30; Jer. 47:4f.; Ezk. 25:16) or of Babylon (Isa. 14:22; Jer, 50:26-32; cf. Hab. 2:8). An insignificant remnant is all that will remain of Moab (Isa. 15:9; 16:13f.; Jer. 48:45-47), Amon (Jer. 49:36), Edom (49:7-11), Elam (49:35-39), the Arabian Kedarites (Isa. 21:16f.), and Syria (17:1-3), but some are promised a share in certain aspects of salvation history. Survivors from pagan nations will "worship the King, the Lord of hosts" (Zec. 14:16), and declare God's glory among the nations (Isa. 66:19). The faithful remnant of the end time will be God's instrument for gathering others into the community of faithful worshipers.

The remnant idea is significantly developed in Daniel. Chs. 7 and 12 describe the persecution of "the saints of the Most High" (7:25, 27; i.e., "the holy people," 12:7), and the final consummation of all things. The persecuting power, symbolized by the little horn (7:8), wages war against these "saints" (v. 21), wearing them out (v. 25) and shattering them (12:7), thus showing that only a decimated remnant will survive the period of persecution. All the "saints" whose names are written in the book (12:1) — including the faithful dead, who will be raised (12:2) — will receive the everlasting kingdom (7:18, 27) through the Son of man (v. 14). This apocalyptic vision brings together the concepts of a "holy people" of the Mosaic age (Ex. 19:6; Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:19) and the "holy remnant" of the end time (Isa. 4:2f.; 6:13).

B. In Early Judaism. The remnant idea gained in intensity among Palestinian Jews but developed along eccentric lines.

1. Apocryphal Apocalypses. These sources contain references to a remnant consisting of the faithful "few" (cf. 2 Esd. 7:47; cf. 8:26-28) who have earned their salvation through faith and good works (9:7f.). During the woes of the end time (cf. 1 En. 83:8) the Messiah will save the faithful remnant (12:34; 2 Bar. 40:2f.; Apocalypse of Abraham 29:17-20).

2. Qumrân. The Qumrân community developed a strongly particularist remnant theology in which they viewed themselves alone as the "remnant" (Heb. *še'ērîṯ*) of God's

people (1QM 14:8; cf. CD 2:11; 1QH 6:8). Their salvation is based on God's promise to their forefathers (1QM 14:9; CD 1:4), which they have inherited by keeping the whole law of God (CD 3:12; 4QFlor 2:2). By preserving this remnant God keeps His covenant with Israel (1QM 13:8) and establishes it forever (CD 3:13). God is a constant help to this remnant of the "poor" (1QH 5:18; 1QM 11:9), but those who depart from God's way and abhor His ordinances will be without remnant (*šᵉʾērîṯ*) or escape (*pᵉlêṭâ*) (CD 2:6f.; cf. 1QS 5:13; 1QH 6:32), sharing the fate of "the sons of darkness" (1QM 1:6; cf. 4:2; 1QS 4:14).

3. Rabbinic Tradition. The Pharisees (Heb. *pᵉrûšîm*) considered themselves "holy ones" (*Siehra* on Lev. 11:44f. and claimed to be the "remnant" (SB II, 170, 469, 617; IV, 1075). They attempted to realize the OT promise of the "holy remnant" (Isa. 6:13; 4:2f.) by faithful adherence to the *torâ* (cf. Tg. Isa. 4:3; 10:22f.) and by meticulous separation from the unclean "people of the land" (*ʿamhāʾāreṣ*).

In later rabbinic thought the remnant idea recedes, and all Israel is said to have a part in the future world (Mish. *Sanhedrin* X.1).

C. In the NT. 1. Gospels. John the Baptist's message of judgment and repentance, resembling that of the OT prophets, resulted in the gathering of a penitent remnant (Mt. 3:1-12; par.). Contrary to the separatist and particularist groups of his time, however, John spoke a universalistic message: all who would "bear fruit that befits repentance" (Mt. 3:8) were invited to be baptized. Yet John prophesied that a greater one would come after him, who would clear the threshing floor and separate the chaff from the wheat (Mt. 3:12).

Jesus' mission was universalistic in that His appeal went to the whole of Israel (Mt. 22:14; Mk. 14:24) and to the entire world (Mt. 28:18-20; cf. Acts 1:8). He called for a decision of repentance and faith to enter the kingdom of God (Mk. 1:15), the new community of faith. Jesus wished to gather all into the community of faith (Mt. 23:37-39; Lk. 13:34f.), but only a *few* responded and formed the faithful remnant. Contrary to the claims of the Pharisees, the Qumrân covenanters, and other separatist groups who identified themselves with the holy remnant, Jesus taught that even the remnant of faith will be sifted at the last day, when the wheat and the tares will be separated (Mt. 13:24-30; cf. vv. 47-50). At that time the holy remnant will emerge from the community of faith, whose feigned confessors will be purged in the eschatological judgment (Mt. 7:21-27; 22:11-14; 25:1-13).

Though the noun "remnant" is absent from the Gospels, the concept has a prominent place. Gk. *loipoí* is used in the sense of "the others" to distinguish from the disciples those who have hardened their hearts (Lk. 8:10; cf. Rom. 11:7) or do not believe (Mk. 16:13; cf. 1 Thess. 4:3). Especially significant is the frequent use of imagery associated with OT remnant terminology, e.g., metaphors using "shepherd" (Mt. 26:31; Jn. 10:16), "sheep" (Mt. 10:6; 15:24; Lk. 12:32; cf. Acts 20:28f.; 1 Pet. 5:3), and "sheep" and "goats" (Mt. 25:32). The constant emphasis on the "few" (*olígoi*, Mt. 7:14; 22:14; Lk. 13:23) the "chosen" (*eklektoí*, Mt. 20:16; 22:14; 24:22; etc.), the "poor" (*ptōchoí*, Mt. 11:5; Lk. 4:18; 7:22), and the "little ones" (*mikroí*, Mt. 10:42; Mk. 9:42; Lk. 17:2) also shows that the idea of the remnant of faith was present in Jesus' preaching. He may have avoided the use of explicit remnant terms because they had become overloaded with false particularistic connotations (see III.B.2-3 above).

2. Epistles. Paul interweaves the remnant theme into his arguments in Rom. 9–11, where he deals with the problem that the literal, physical Israel has not as a whole manifested faith in Christ, but many Gentiles have. Citing Isa. 10:22f. and 1:9, Paul insists that only a "remnant" (*hypóleimma*) of Israel will be saved (Rom. 9:27). He develops a sharp distinction between the Israel of the "flesh" (9:8; cf. 1 Cor. 10:18) and the Israel of the "promise," namely, the spiritual, faithful Israel that is not restricted to physical lineage (Rom. 9:6-27). The new community of faith (the Church), made up of all who have faith in Christ (10:4, 9-13), includes Gentiles as well as Jews (9:24; 10:12).

Paul's metaphor of the olive tree draws attention to this true Israel (Rom. 11:17-24). From the trunk of (physical) Israel branches of unbelieving Jews are broken off, and wild branches of believing Gentiles are grafted in, leaving a tree of believers in Jesus Christ. God has not rejected His people Israel (v. 1): "at the present time there is a remnant [*leímma*], chosen by grace" (v. 5); and the natural branches that have been cut off can again "be grafted back into their own olive tree" (v. 24). The final goal is readoption of physical Israelites into the new community of faith, so that "all Israel" will be saved (v. 26).

3. Revelation. The book of Revelation employs the adjective *loipoí* eight times. The "remnant" in the church of Thyatira are those who have remained faithful (2:19) and have not fallen into "the deep things of Satan" (v. 24). The church in Sardis is virtually dead, but "what remains" is to be strengthened (3:2) because there are still a "few" (v. 4) who are unsoiled. Rev. 11:13 speaks of the destruction of a tenth of the city but also of the "rest" who survive the earthquake and glorify God.

In apocalyptic imagery the dragon (called the devil and Satan) makes war against the "rest" of the woman's offspring (12:17). This faithful remnant of the end time manifests preserving faith through fierce persecution (13:11-18) and is saved at last through Christ, while the "rest" of mankind is destroyed (19:21). Thus final, apocalyptic victory belongs to the last remnant of faith who keep God's commandments and have the testimony of Jesus (12:17; 14:12; 19:10).

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G. F. HASEL

REMPHAN rem'fan (Acts 7:43, AV). *See* REPHAN.

RENDING OF GARMENTS. *See* CLOTHES, RENDING OF; GARMENTS X; GESTURE VI.

RENEW [Heb. piel and hithpael of *ḥāḏaš*–'make new,' 'give again' (1 S. 11:14; Job 10:17; Ps. 103:5; 104:30; Lam.

5:21), qal and hiphil of *ḥālap*–'pass on,' 'replace,' 'regain' (Ps. 90:5f.; Isa. 40:31; 41:1), piel of *ḥāyâ*–'bring to life' (Hab. 3:2), hiphil of *ḥāraš*–'be silent' (Zeph. 3:17; emended by the RSV and NEB to the piel of *ḥāḏaš*, following LXX *kainízō*–'make new'); Gk. *amakainóō*–'make new' 2 Cor. 4:16; Col. 3:10), pass. of *ananeóō*–'make new (again)' (Eph. 4:23)]; AV also GROW UP, REVIVE, REST (Zeph. 3:17); NEB also SPRING UP, GIVE NEW LIFE, etc., sometimes omits; **RENEWAL** [Gk. *anakaínōsis*–'renewal'] (Rom. 12:2; Tit. 3:5); AV RENEWING; NEB BE REMADE, RENEWING POWER. To make like new.

Various kinds of restoration or rejuvenation are depicted: reinstatement of Saul's kingship (1 S. 11:14), a fresh supply of witnesses (i.e., hardships; Job 10:17), restoration of the nation's prosperity (Lam. 5:21), reinvigoration of the feeble (Ps. 103:5; Isa. 40:31; 41:1), repetition of God's mighty saving acts (Hab. 3:2), restoration of a love relationship (Zeph. 3:17), the giving of fresh life and growth to nature (Ps. 90:5f.; 104:30), the transformation brought by a new birth in the Spirit (Rom. 12:2; 2 Cor. 4:16; Eph. 4:23; Col. 3:10; Tit. 3:5; *see* REGENERATION II.C).

N. J. O.

REPAIR [Heb. piel of *ḥāzaq*–'make strong' (2 K. 12:5-8 [MT 6-9], 12 [13], 14 [15]; 22:5f.; 2 Ch. 24:5; 29:3; 34:8), hiphil of *ḥāzaq* (Neh. 3:4-32), piel of *ḥāḏaš*–'make new' (2 Ch. 15:8; 24:12; Isa. 61:4), qal and piel of *rāpâ*'–'heal' (1 K. 18:30; Ps. 60:2 [MT 4]), piel of *ḥāyâ*–'bring to life' (1 Ch. 11:8), *ʿărûḵâ*–'healing, repair' (2 Ch. 24:13; Neh. 4:7 [MT 1]), hiphil of *ʿāmaḏ*–'cause to stand' (Ezr. 9:9), *bāḏaq*–'mend' (2 Ch. 34:10), *gāḏar*–'build a wall' (Am. 9:11; "repairer," Isa. 58:12)]; AV also HEAL, RENEW, CLOSE UP, etc.; NEB also RESTORATION, RECONSTRUCT, etc. The MT of Ezr. 4:12 (Heb. *yaḥîṭû*) is corrupt and its meaning is uncertain.

See BUILD; JERUSALEM III.F.1-2.

REPENT [Heb. niphal of *nāḥam* (hithpael in Nu. 23:19)]; NEB also CHANGE ONE'S MIND, THINK BETTER, etc.; [*šûḇ*] (1 K. 8:47f. par. 2 Ch. 6:37f.; Ps. 7:12 [MT 13]; 78:34; Isa. 1:27; Jer. 5:3; 9:5 [MT 4]; 34:15; Ezk. 14:6; 18:30; Zec. 1:6); NEB also TURN (BACK, AWAY), LEARN ONE'S LESSON, COME BACK, etc.; [Gk. *metanoéō, metamélomai* (Mt. 21:29, 32; 27:3), *metánoia* (2 Tim. 2:25; He. 12:17)]; AV also REPENTANCE (*metánoia*); NEB also BE SORRY, CHANGE ONE'S MIND, BE SEIZED WITH REMORSE, etc.; **REPENTANCE; REPENTING** [Gk. *metánoia*]; NEB also CHANGE OF HEART.

"Repent" in contemporary English means either (1) to regret (a thought, attitude, or act) or, (2) much more frequently, to regret and change from one attitude or allegiance to another. To get an accurate idea of the precise meaning of this highly important word in the Bible, it is necessary to consider the original Hebrew and Greek terms that it translates. The psychological elements of repentance should be considered in the light of the general teaching of Scripture.

I. OT Terms
II. NT Terms
III. Psychological Elements
  A. Intellect
  B. Emotions
  C. Will
IV. Relation to Salvation

I. OT Terms.–All uses of "repent" in the RSV OT except the thirteen verses listed above after *šûḇ* represent Heb. *nāḥam*, an onomatopoeic term that implies difficulty in breathing, hence "pant," "sigh," "groan." Naturally it came to signify "lament" or "grieve"; when the emotion was produced by the desire of good for others it merged into compassion and sympathy, and when incited by a consideration of one's own character and deeds it came to mean "rue," "repent." This word is translated "repent" about twenty-seven times in the RSV OT (about forty times in the AV OT; the RSV sometimes substitutes "be sorry" [Gen. 6:6f.], "be moved to pity" [Jgs. 2:18], "have compassion" [21:6, 15], "relent" [e.g., Ps. 106:45; Jer. 4:28], "change one's mind" [Ps. 110:4], etc.). In nearly all cases the subject of *nāḥam* is God; conversely, wherever God is the subject of "repent" in the RSV OT, the Hebrew term thus translated is *nāḥam* (a possible exception is Jonah 3:9, where both *šûḇ* [twice] and *nāḥam* occur). The verb indicates the aroused emotions of God, which prompt Him to a different course of dealing with the people. Most such uses refer to God's change of mind about intended punishment ("evil"). Jer. 18:10, however, refers to His change of mind about intended good, and 1 S. 15:11, 39 report His change of mind about making Saul king (cf. Gen. 6:6).

The idea that God will change His mind about intended punishment occurs especially in the prophetic books. It is first mentioned, however, in Ex. 32:11-14, which narrates a prayer in which Moses reasons with God about destroying the people for making a golden calf. It occurs also in 2 S. 24:16 par. 1 Ch. 21:15, where God stays the hand of the destroying angel before the punishment affects Jerusalem. Am. 7:3, 6 tell of two punishments about which God "repents," apparently in response to Amos's plea for the people. According to Jer. 18:8; 26:3, 13, 19, it is the people's changing of their evil ways that leads God to "repent" of intended punishment (cf. Joel 2:13f.; Jonah 3:9f.; 4:2). In Jer. 42:10 God says "I repent" of evil that He had already inflicted, probably meaning that the process of punishment had ended. The idea that the people's evil ways have continued so long that God is past the point of changing His mind about punishment is expressed in Ezk. 24:14. The idea that God changes His mind does not fit easily with concepts of His perfection and power, and Nu. 23:19 and 1 S. 15:29 reflect an awareness that, in spite of appearances and the anthropomorphic manner in which the divine will must sometimes be communicated to human beings, God is true to Himself and does not change His mind in the way that people do.

When human beings are its subject in the RSV OT, "repent" represents *nāḥam* only in Ex. 13:17; Job 42:6; Jer. 8:6; 31:19. In Ex. 13:17 the meaning is non-religious, simply "regret" or "have second thoughts." In the other passages, however, it clearly indicates a consciousness of personal sin.

All other uses of "repent" in the RSV OT represent Heb. *šûḇ*, a common verb with the basic meaning "(re)turn." Along with its several non-religious meanings, *šûḇ* came to have a religious sense, indicating a (re)turn to God, or to His ways, will, law, etc. (most often the RSV translates it "turn [again]" or "return"; *see* RETURN). In this sense, *šûḇ* expresses the scriptural idea of genuine repentance. The prophets use it extensively to make prominent the idea of a radical change in one's attitude toward sin and God. The term implies a conscious, moral separation and a personal decision to forsake sin and enter into fellowship with God. Very frequently it is employed to describe a turning away from sin to righteousness (e.g., Dt. 4:30; Neh. 1:9; Ps. 7:12 [MT 13]; Jer. 3:14), the thorough spiritual change that God alone can effect (Ps. 85:4 [MT 5]). But it also refers quite often to God in His relation to people (Ex. 32:12; Josh. 7:26). When the term is translated "return" it has reference either to human

beings, to God, or to God and human beings (1 S. 7:3; Ps. 90:13 [both terms, *nāḥam* and *šûḇ*]; Isa. 21:12; 55:7). Both terms are also sometimes employed when the twofold idea of grief and altered relation is expressed, and are translated by "repent" and "(re)turn" (Ezk. 14:6; Hos. 12:6 [MT 7]; Jonah 3:9).

II. NT Terms.–In secular Greek the terms *metánoia* and *metanoéō* originally referred to knowledge acquired later, then to the change of mind to which such knowledge could lead. Since a change of mind implies a recognition that an earlier opinion was wrong, the terms acquired the sense of regret or remorse. Thus the terms came to have an emotional as well as an intellectual sense, although not necessarily an ethical sense. Even when used in ethical contexts, they tended to refer to individual acts or thoughts, not to the course of a person's whole life (cf. *TDNT*, IV, 976-980). With the development of meaning of this word-group, it was eventually seen as similar in meaning to the *metamel-* word-group, or even synonymous with it.

In the LXX both *metanoéō* and the *metamel-* word-group are used to translate Heb. *nāḥam* (e.g., 1 S. 15:35). They are never used, however, to translate Heb. *šûḇ* (which is always rendered by Gk. *epistréphō* or *apostréphō*). Thus it appears that in the LXX these two word-groups continue to be associated with the idea of "regret" or "remorse." Nonetheless, just as Heb. *nāḥam* and *šûḇ* can be used in apparent parallelism in some texts, so *metanoéō* and *epi/apostréphō* can be used together in apparent synonymity. In fact, in LXX Jer. 8:6; 38:19 (MT 31:19); Isa. 46:8 *metanoéō* refers to a complete change of attitude, not just a change of mind about specific acts, thus taking on a meaning that is not found in secular Greek and anticipating its use in the NT. Such usage appears to have increased in other Greek translations of the OT (see *TDNT*, IV, 990).

The writings in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha also make frequent use of *metanoéō* and *metánoia* in the sense of a complete change of one's way of life, a complete turning from sin and to (the ways or laws of) God. In other Hellenistic Jewish literature (e.g., Philo *De virtutibus* 175-186; Joseph and Asenath 15) *metánoia* is used for the conversion of Gentiles to the ways of God.

In the NT itself *metánoia* and *metanoéō* occur fifty-six times, most frequently in the Lukan literature (twenty-four times in Luke, eleven times in Acts) and Revelation (twelve times, eight of them in the letters to the seven churches, chs. 2–3). The terms are rare in the Pauline literature (five times) and do not occur at all in the Gospel or Epistles of John. Usually these terms express repentance in the full sense of a complete change of one's way of life (although the sense of regret is operative in Lk. 17:3f.), the spiritual change implied in a sinner's return to God. Thus *metanoéō* is used as an equivalent to Heb. *šûḇ*, "turn," in the OT. It is employed in this sense by John the Baptist, Jesus, and the apostles (Mt. 3:2; Mk. 1:15; Acts 2:38). The idea of repentance expressed by this word-group is intimately associated with different aspects of spiritual transformation and Christian life. It is associated with processes in which human agency is prominent, such as conversion (Acts 3:19) and faith (20:21), and also with those experiences and blessings of which God alone is the author, such as remission and forgiveness of sin (Lk. 24:47; Acts 5:31). It is sometimes conjoined with baptism, an overt public act that proclaims a changed relation to sin and to God (Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3; Acts 13:24; 19:4). Repentance manifests its reality by producing good fruits appropriate to the new spiritual life (Mt. 3:8).

The NT sometimes uses the verb *epistréphō* (usually translated "turn" in the AV and RSV NT) to bring out more clearly the distinct change wrought in repentance. In Acts this verb is used frequently to express the positive side of the change involved in repentance, i.e., to indicate the return to God of which the turning from sin is the negative aspect (e.g., Acts 9:35; 11:21; 26:20; cf. 1 Thess. 1:9).

The true NT idea of repentance is very difficult to express in other languages. The Latin version renders *metanoéō* by *poenitentiam agere* ("exercise penitence"). But "penitence" etymologically signifies "pain, grief, distress," rather than a change of thought and purpose. Thus there developed in Latin Christianity a tendency to present grief over sin rather than abandonment of sin as the primary idea of NT repentance. Since it was easy to make the transition from penitence to penance, Jesus and the apostles were represented as urging people to "do penance" (Lat. *poenitentiam agite*). Eng. "repent" is derived from Lat. *repoenitere* and inherits the problem of the Latin, making grief the principal idea and keeping in the background the fundamental NT conception of a change of mind (i.e., purpose) with reference to sin. But the exhortations of the ancient prophets, of Jesus, and of the apostles show that the change of mind is the dominant idea of the words employed, while the accompanying grief and reform of life are necessary consequences.

III. Psychological Elements.–Psychology shows repentance to be profound, personal, and all-pervasive. The change wrought in repentance is so deep and radical as to affect the whole spiritual nature and involve the entire personality, including the intellect, the emotions, and the will.

A. Intellect. Repentance is that change of a sinner's mind that leads him or her to turn from evil ways and live. Intellectually, human beings must apprehend sin as unutterably heinous, the divine law as perfect and binding, and themselves as falling short of the requirements of a holy God (cf. Job 42:5f.; Ps. 51:3f. [MT 5f.]; Rom. 3:20).

B. Emotions. It is possible to have a knowledge of sin without abhorring it as something that dishonors God and ruins humanity: the change of view may lead only to a dread of punishment and not to the hatred and abandonment of sin (cf. Ex. 9:27; Nu. 22:34; 1 S. 15:24f.; Mt. 27:4). A change in emotional attitude is necessarily involved in genuine repentance. A penitent cannot be emotionally indifferent to sin. Before there can be a hearty turning away from unrighteousness, there must be a consciousness of sin's effect on humanity and its offensiveness to God. While sorrow for sin is not the equivalent of repentance, it may be a powerful impulse to a genuine turning from sin. But the type of grief that issues in repentance must be distinguished from that which simply plunges into remorse. There is a godly sorrow and a worldly sorrow: the former brings life, the latter death (cf. Mt. 27:3-5; Lk. 18:23; 2 Cor. 7:9f.). True repentance involves not only a conviction of personal sinfulness but also an earnest appeal to God to forgive according to His mercy (Ps. 51:1f., 10-14 [MT 3f., 12-16]).

C. Will. The most prominent element in the psychology of repentance is the volitional. This aspect of the penitent's experience is expressed in the OT by Heb. *šûḇ* (usually translated "turn" or "return") and in the NT by Gk. *metanoéō* ("repent") or *epistréphō* ("turn"). These terms chiefly emphasize the will, the change of mind or of purpose (cf. Jer. 25:5; Mk. 1:15, Acts 2:38; 2 Cor. 7:9f.). The demand for repentance clearly implies human free will and individual responsibility, but it is equally clear that God is represented as taking the initiative in repentance. This paradox reflects the mysterious relationship between the human and the divine personalities. God will

accept no external substitute for the necessary internal change. Sackcloth for the body and remorse for the soul are not to be confused with a determined abandonment of sin and a return to God. Not material sacrifice, but a spiritual change, is the inexorable demand of God (cf. Ps. 51:17 [MT 19]; Isa. 1:11; Jer. 6:20; Hos. 6:6).

IV. Relation to Salvation.–Repentance is only a condition of salvation and not its meritorious ground. The motives for repentance are found chiefly in the sinner's experience of God's kindness (Rom. 2:4), love (Jn. 3:16), and earnest desire that sinners be saved (Ezk. 33:11; 1 Tim. 2:4), of the inevitable consequences of sin (Lk. 13:1-5), of the universal demands of the gospel (Acts 17:30), and of the hope of spiritual life (Jn. 3:16) and membership in the kingdom of heaven (Mk. 1:15). The first four Beatitudes (Mt. 5:3-6) describe the steps by which penitent souls pass from the dominion of Satan into the kingdom of God. A consciousness of spiritual poverty dethroning pride, a sense of personal unworthiness producing grief, a willingness to surrender to God in genuine humility, and a strong desire developing into spiritual hunger and thirst, are all part of the experience of one who wholly abandons sin and heartily turns to the God who is able to grant eternal life.

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B. H. DEMENT
E. W. S.

REPETITIONS, VAIN (Mt. 6:7, AV). *See* EMPTY; HEAP; PRAYER.

REPHAEL ref'ə-el [Heb. *rᵉpā'ēl*–'God has restored'; Gk. *Rhaphaēl*]. Son of Shemaiah; a gatekeeper in the temple (1 Ch. 26:7), described as a man "of great ability" (v. 6).

REPHAH rē'fə [Heb. *repaḥ*–'rich']. An Ephraimite (1 Ch. 7:25). His father's name is uncertain, due to apparent dislocations in the Hebrew text.

REPHAIAH rə-fā'ə [Heb. *rᵉpāyâ*–'Yahweh has restored'].

1. Son of Jeshaiah and father of Arnan; a descendant of David (1 Ch. 3:21).

2. One of the leaders of five hundred Simeonites who settled in the region of Mt. Seir after destroying the Amalekites who lived there (1 Ch. 4:42).

3. A son of Tola and grandson of Issachar; head of a family of mighty warriors (1 Ch. 7:2).

4. Son of Binea and father of Eleasah; a descendant of Saul (1 Ch. 9:43). He is called Raphah in 8:37.

5. Son of Hur; one who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:9). He is called "ruler of half the district of Jerusalem"; this probably means that he was the foreman responsible for half the assignment of the city (see *IB*, III, 687f.).

N. J. O.

REPHAIM re'fā-im, ref'i-əm [Heb. *rᵉp̄ā'îm*]; AV also GIANTS. A part of the original population of the Promised Land (Gen. 15:20). Most precisely, Rephaim seems to be a designation for the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the "the whole of that Bashan," the northernmost part of Transjordan, which was known as "the land of Rephaim" in biblical times (Dt. 3:13). In particular this included the early inhabitants of the district later called Havvoth-jair (3:14), S of the land of Geshur and the region known today as the Golan Heights. By extension the name is applied to the whole aboriginal population of Transjordan. Thus the pre-Moabite inhabitants of Moab and the pre-Ammonite inhabitants of Ammon are said to have been Rephaim (2:10f.). Yet these peoples were also called EMIM by the Moabites (2:11) and ZAMZUMMIM by the Ammonites (2:20).

According to Gen. 14:5 Chedorlaomer of Elam and four other eastern kings invaded Transjordan in the time of Abraham to suppress a revolt against their sovereignty there. The peoples they subdued included the Rephaim, the Zuzim (Zamzummim), the Emim, and the Horites of Mt. Seir — in short, the primordial inhabitants of Transjordan according to Israelite tradition. The city mentioned in connection with the Rephaim in this account is Ashteroth-karnaim, which lay about 32 km. (20 mi.) E of the Sea of Galilee. This city, now called Ashtaroth, and nearby Edrei were the royal cities of Og, the king of Bashan defeated by Joshua (Josh. 12:4; 13:12). Og himself descended from the Rephaim (Dt. 3:11; Josh. 12:4; 13:12); according to Dt. 3:11 he was their only surviving descendant at the time of the arrival of the Israelites. After the conquest Joshua assigned the land of the Rephaim to the tribe of Joseph (Josh. 17:15), and, more specifically, to the half-tribe of Manasseh (cf. 13:11f., 29f.).

The Rephaim seem to have been the Transjordanian equivalent of the Anakim of Cisjordan (*see* ANAK). Israelite tradition held that both peoples had been giants (Dt. 2:10, 20f.). Thus Og's bedstead (or perhaps sarcophagus), which could still be seen in Rabbah of the Ammonites in biblical times, was nine cubits long and four cubits wide — about 4 m. (13 ft.) long and 2 m. (6 ft.) wide (Dt. 3:11)! The gigantic Philistine warriors of the time of David were perhaps the "descendants of the Rephaim" (Heb. *yᵉlîḏê hārāpā'*; cf. 2 S. 21:16, 18, 20, 22; 1 Ch. 20:4, 6, 8; RSV "descendants of the giants," "descended from the giants"). But their relationship to the Rephaim of Transjordan is unclear. It has been suggested that they were members of an aristocratic military guild. Thus they were not "the descendants of the Rephaim," but "the votaries of Rapha," a god worshiped in the Philistine city of Gath (cf. 2 S. 21:22) and probably elsewhere, or even "the corps of the scimitar," an association of warriors that traced its origin to the Philistines' ancestry among the sea-peoples of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean (see P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* [*AB*, 1984], pp. 449f.).

For *rᵉp̄ā'îm* as a designation for the inhabitants of the netherworld, *see* SHADES.

See also GIANTS.

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P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

REPHAIM, VALLEY OF ref'ə-im [Heb. *ʿēmeq rᵉp̄ā'îm*; Gk. *gḗ Rhaphaín, koilás Rhaphaéim, koilás tṓn titánōn*–'valley of the Titans,' *koilás tṓn gigántōn*–'valley of the giants']. A plain immediately SW of Jerusalem, called Baqa' by the Arabs; now a quarter of modern Jerusalem, where a street leading from the railway station to the south perpetuates the ancient name. The plain, which narrows to the valley used by the railway to reach Jerusalem (Wâdī Ṣarâr), measures about 3 km. (2 mi.) E-W and 5 km. (3 mi.) N-S. The name REPHAIM alludes to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine, who according to tradition were of gigantic stature. Paleolithic instruments have been found in great numbers here, as well as a few Neolithic dolmens, now destroyed or disappeared.

Rephaim was the main agricultural region of Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 17:5). At one time it belonged to the Jebusites (Josh. 15:8; 18:16). On several occasions the Philistines approached the highlands through the wadi and encamped or staged an attack in the valley of Rephaim (2 S. 5:18, 22 par. 1 Ch. 14:9, 13; 2 S. 23:13 par. 1 Ch. 11:15). In this way they could cut off communication between Judah and the other tribes.

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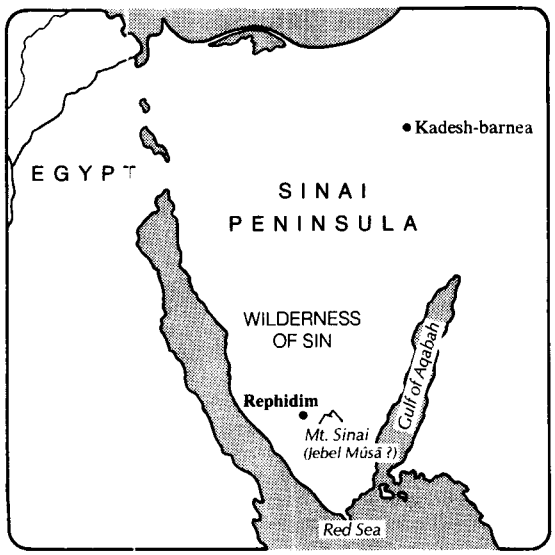
A. VAN SELMS

REPHAN rē'fan [Gk. *Rhaiphan, Rhemphan, Rhompha,* etc.; Lat. *Rempham*] (Acts 7:43); AV REMPHAN. The Babylonian name for the god of the planet Saturn. Acts 7:42f. quotes from the LXX of Am. 5:25-27, which erroneously renders MT *kîyûn* by Gk. *Rhaiphan* (see comms.). *See* KAIWAN.

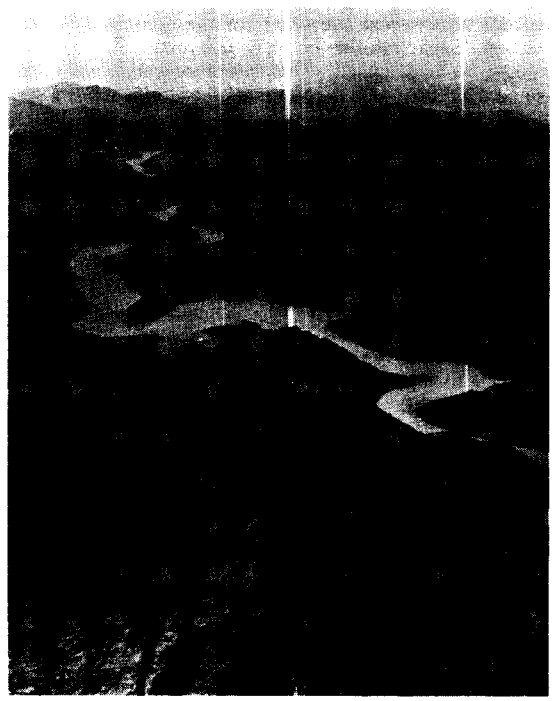
REPHIDIM ref'ə-dim [Heb. *rᵉpîḏîm*; Gk. *Rhaphidin*]. A stopping-place in the Israelite wanderings, located between the Wilderness of Sin and the Wilderness of Sinai (Ex. 17:1, 8; 19:2; Nu. 33:14). Nu. 33:12-15 mentions two additional encampments, Dophkah and Alush, made between Sin and Rephidim.



At Rephidim the Israelites complained about the inability of Moses to provide water; thus they put God to the test (Ex. 17:1f.). These events gave to the location the commemorative names of Massah, "testing," and Meribah, "contention" (*see* MASSAH AND MERIBAH). Whereas Massah seems to refer only to events at Rephidim, the name Meribah is also associated with an incident at Kadesh-barnea (Nu. 20:13, 24; 27:14; etc.) and might have been applied to any locality where the people expressed dissatisfaction with God or Moses.

At Rephidim Joshua was able to defeat Amalek because of the prolonged intercession of Moses and Aaron (Ex. 17:8-13). An altar was subsequently erected and dedicated to Yahweh-nissi.

Shortly thereafter Moses heeded the counsel of his father-in-law Jethro to delegate his authority as judge of the people to deputies appointed for that purpose (Ex. 18:5, 13-26). From the position of the visit in the narrative, it most probably occurred at Rephidim, although some scholars have placed it at Mt. Sinai.



Aerial of Wâdī Feiran in the Sinai Peninsula, a possible location of Rephidim (W. Braun)

The location of the last-named event determines that of Rephidim. Mt. Sinai has been associated variously with the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula, with Kadesh-barnea, and with Midian. The latter two sites present difficult problems; although they favor the account of Ex. 17:8-13, since the Amalekites are not known to have penetrated into southern Sinai or Arabia, they conflict with fifteen centuries of tradition that located Mt. Sinai in the peninsula proper. Moreover, the limestone of the Sinai Peninsula manifests water-bearing properties equal to those of Kadesh limestone. The traditional southern route of the Exodus is eminently feasible, although few stopping-places have been identified with absolute certainty (*see* EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE). It seems best to locate Rephidim in the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula, in the general area of the modern Jebel Mûsā at either Wâdī Feiran or Wâdī Refâyid. *See* Vol. II, Plate 7.

See also WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL III.B. R. K. H.

REPRESENT. The Hebrew preposition *lᵉ*, "for," sometimes conveys the notion of a person's being a representative. In Ex. 18:19, e.g., Heb. *hᵉyēh 'attâ lā'ām* is rendered by the RSV "you shall represent the people" (AV "be thou for the people"). Following the advice of his father-in-law, Moses remained the intermediary between God and the Israelites in settling major disputes, but he appointed other men to handle the less serious cases. In Nu. 1:44 *lᵉḇêṯ-'ᵃḇōṯāyw* is rendered by the RSV "representing his fathers' house" (AV "for the house of his fathers"); it refers to tribal leaders.

In Acts 17:29 Gk. *charagma* is translated "representation" (AV "graven"; NEB "image"). It denotes something that is engraved, etched, or stamped, in this case an idol produced by human artwork. The same word is used in Rev. 13:16; 14:9; 20:4, etc., for the "mark" of the antichrist.

REPROACH [(nouns and adj.) Heb. *ḥerpâ, kᵉlimmâ, ḥeseḏ*; Gk. *óneidos*–'disgrace, insult,' *oneidismós*–'reviling, disgrace, insult' (Rom. 15:3; 1 Tim. 3:7), *anepílēmptos*]; AV also REBUKE, SHAME, BLAMELESS, etc.; NEB also HUMILIATION, DISGRACE, TAUNT, FAULT (1 Tim. 6:14), etc.; [(verbs) Heb. *ḥārap*–'say sharp things, taunt,' hiphil of *kālam*–'insult' (Ruth 2:15; Job 19:3), hiphil of *ḥāpēr*–'act shamefully' (Prov. 19:26); Gk. *oneidízō*–'revile, heap insults upon' (Rom. 15:3; etc.), *embrimáomai*–'scold, censure' (Mk. 14:5), *hybrízō*–'insult' (Lk. 11:45)]; AV also MURMUR AGAINST (Mk. 14:5), UPBRAID (Jas. 1:5); NEB also SCOLD, INSULT, DISGRACE, etc.

In the RSV OT "reproach" usually translates Heb. *ḥerpâ* or the cognate verb *ḥārap* (Job 27:6; Prov. 27:11). *Ḥerpâ* has various senses, including (1) "slander" (Isa. 51:7), or disgrace that rests upon a person (Gen. 30:23; Ps. 69:7 [MT 8]; Jer. 15:15), a group (Isa. 4:1), or a nation (1 S. 17:26; Isa. 25:8; Zeph. 3:18); (2) reproachful behavior (Hos. 12:14 [MT 15]); (3) the state of being scorned (Jer. 20:8; 24:9; 29:18; Ezk. 5:15f.; 22:4; Joel 2:17). Situations considered a reproach included childlessness (Gen. 30:23; cf. Lk. 1:25), Israel's slavery in Egypt (Josh. 5:9), celibacy (Isa. 4:1), and widowhood (Isa. 54:5; *TDOT*, V, 213f.). In Prov. 14:34 *ḥeseḏ*, "shame" (< *ḥāsaḏ*, "be ashamed"), is not the common word *ḥeseḏ*, "steadfast love" (or "covenant loyalty"), but a rare homograph from a different root. The verb *kālam* denotes "the sense of disgrace that attends public humiliation" (*TWOT*, I, 443). Thus in Ruth 2:15 Boaz told his workers not to "reproach" Ruth for her gleaning — she was entitled to what she gathered on account of both her need as a poor person and the explicit permission of the landowner. Ezekiel uses the cognate noun *kᵉlimmâ*, "reproach," in Ezk. 36:6f., 15 to describe the fate that awaits the nations that reproached Israel (cf. 34:29). Prov. 19:26 applies *ḥāper* to a son who does not heed his parents' guidance but leaves them with a sense of inner humiliation and shame.

The RSV NT frequently uses "reproach" for Gk. *óneidos* and the related terms *oneidismós* and *oneidízō*. *Óneidos* occurs in the NT only in Lk. 1:25, where Elizabeth felt her barrenness to be a disgrace. According to 1 Tim. 3:7 a bishop must receive a good report from those outside the Christian community lest he fall victim to slander or reviling (*oneidismós*). Jas. 1:5 states that God generously gives His gifts without criticizing or scolding (*oneidízō*). Yet Christians who separate themselves from the world and seek to live the will of God can expect to be insulted and reviled (*oneidízō*) by the world (1 Pet. 4:14; cf. *TDNT*, V, 240). To encourage an attitude of selflessness among the Roman Christians, Paul reminded them of the life of Jesus Christ, who bore incalculable insults and revilings from contemptuous, hateful people (Rom. 15:3).

In 1 Timothy Gk. *anepílēmptos* (lit. "unable to take hold of, grasp, catch") describes a requisite characteristic of bishops (3:2), widows (5:7), and Timothy himself (6:14). Their character and demeanor must be free from defects that might give others reason to question their integrity. In Mk. 14:5 some individuals expressed strong feelings (Gk. *embrimáomai*) toward a woman for lavishing expensive ointment on Jesus, but He defended her generous act of love. In Lk. 11:45 Jesus' piercing remarks prompted the religious authorities to accuse Jesus of acting arrogantly or insultingly (Gk. *hybrízō*) toward them.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, V, *s.v.* "ḥāpar" (Gamberoni, Botterweck), "ḥrp" II (Kutsch); *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* 'óνειδος κτλ. (J. Schneider).

G. CHAMBERLAIN G. L. KNAPP

REPROBATE [Heb. niphal part. of *mā'as*] (Ps. 15:4); AV VILE PERSON; NEB WORTHLESS. A noun or adjective used in the AV and RSV to describe a person or thing that is rejected because of not having stood the test. In Ps. 15:4, the only RSV use, the word refers to a person who is morally depraved (cf. Jer. 6:30, where the same Hebrew term is applied to silver [AV "reprobate"; RSV "refuse"]). Heb. *mā'as* is used elsewhere in the OT in the sense of "spurn" (Lev. 26:43f.), "reject" (Nu. 11:20; 1 S. 10:19, Ps. 118:22), "refuse" (Isa. 7:15f.), and "despise" (Nu. 14:31).

In the NT the AV uses "reprobate" six times to translate Gk. *adókimos* (RSV "base," "counterfeit," "fail to meet the test," "unfit," etc.). The root meaning of *adókimos* is to have been tested and found wanting. Paul urges the Corinthians to examine and test (*dokimázō*) themselves to see if they are still in the faith (2 Cor. 13:5): Christ is no longer in them if they have abandoned their faith and thus "fail to meet the test" (*adókimos*). Paul also realizes that they have been testing him in comparison to the "false apostles" (cf. 11:13); therefore he hopes the Corinthians will discover that he has not "failed" (*adókimos*, 13:6) but "met the test" (*dókimos*, v. 7). Yet, as long as the Corinthians do what is right, Paul is even willing to appear "to have failed" (*adókimos*).

In Rom. 1:28, at the end of a passage documenting human ungodliness (vv. 18-27), Paul uses a wordplay to sum up his indictment. Since humanity tested and rejected (*ou dokimázō*, lit. "not accept as proved" the knowledge of God, God gave them over to an *adókimos* mind, i.e., a way of thinking that, having been tested and found wanting, is rejected as base and worthless.

In 2 Tim. 3:8 Paul warns against corrupt people who, with respect to the faith, fail to meet the test of genuineness and so are "counterfeit" (*adókimos*). In Tit. 1:16 he issues a similar warning, but this time it is the test of good works that counterfeit Chrisitans fail to meet. They deny God by their deeds and prove themselves "unfit" (*adókimos*) for any good work.

Greek *adókimos* occurs in two other passages. In 1 Cor. 9:24-27, a paragraph abounding with athletic imagery, Paul compares himself to a runner, a boxer, and an announcer. He says he practices rigorous self-discipline lest, having called others to the games (*kērýssō*, the same word used for preaching the gospel), he himself should be 'disqualified" (*adókimos*, v. 27; AV "castaway"). The writer of He. 6:7f. compares professing Christians to well-watered land. If it brings forth useful vegetation it is blessed by God (v. 7); but if it fails the test of genuine productivity and bears weeds instead, it is "worthless" (*adókimos*; AV "rejected") and is near to being cursed and burned (v. 8).

Bibliography.–*HDB*, IV, *s.v.* (J. Denney); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δόκιμος, κτλ. (Grundmann).

T. F. JOHNSON

REPROOF; REPROVE [Heb. hiphil of *yāḵaḥ*, *tôḵaḥaṯ*; Gk. *elénchō*]; AV, NEB also REBUKE, CORRECT, etc. To reprove is to correct or criticize someone with the intent of amending some fault. God as the one who reproves is portrayed as being in a parental role in relation to His people, as one who reproves because He loves (Prov. 3:12; Rev. 3:19). The withdrawal of God's reproof from His people is an indication that the extent of their sin has become grave (Ezk. 3:26). Reproof is a basic function of the Scriptures (2 Tim. 3:16; NEB "refuting error") and is expected to be one of the functions of a person who proclaims the word of God (Lk. 3:19; Tit. 2:15).

Much of what is said about reproof is concerned with the human response to it. In Proverbs Heb. *tôḵaḥaṯ* is linked with *mûsār* (RSV "discipline, instruction," 3:11; 5:12; 6:23; 10:17; 12:1; 13:18; 15:10; cf. 9:7; Rev. 3:19); much is said to hinge on the decision to accept or to reject

these two things (cf. Job 5:17; Prov. 1:24-31; 29:1). In Proverbs a line is not always drawn between divine reproof and reproof from parents, teachers, and society's leaders, and the latter is always considered of value to those who receive it (9:7f.; 10:10 [RSV and some other modern translations follow LXX *elénchō*; MT differs]; 15:12; 19:25; 25:12; 29:15; personified Wisdom gives reproof in 1:23). On the other hand, Job's rejection of the reproof of his "friends" (Job 6:25f.) is part of the critical attitude toward conventional human wisdom found in the book of Job.

"He who reproves in the gate" (Isa. 29:21; Am. 5:10) is a respected member of a community who publicly rebukes disorderly members of the community. Here the judicial use (as opposed to the pedagogical use) of *yāḵaḥ* is reflected (see *TDOT*, VI, *s.v.* "yāḵaḥ"[Mayer]).

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

REPTILE [Heb. *remeś* (1 K. 4:33 [MT 5:13]); Gk. *herpetón* (Acts 10:12; 11:6; Rom. 1:23; Jas. 3:7)]; AV CREEPING THING, SERPENT (Jas. 3:7); NEB also THING THAT CRAWLS, CREEPING THING. Both *remeś* and *herpetón* derive from cognate verbs with the general sense of "creep" or "crawl" (Heb. *rāmaś* [e.g., Gen. 1:26, 30; Dt. 4:18; Ezk. 38:20]; Gk. *hérpō*, "move slowly"); thus more recent translations have retained the older "creeping things" (but cf. the NIV, which follows the RSV in the above passages). While these terms may include members of the reptile family, they are probably not limited to members of this family; cf. the RSV elsewhere (*see* CREEPING THINGS; CRAWLING THINGS).

In the NT the threefold division of birds, beasts, and creeping things (with the addition of sea creatures in Jas. 3:7, reflecting Gen. 1) represents for the ancient authors the whole of the created animal world. (The AV rendering "serpents" in Jas. 3:7 may derive from the Vulgate's use of *serpentium*; cf. vb. *serpo*, "creep," "crawl.") Paul's description of the wicked as those who worship "images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles" reflects the subdivisions of creation (Gen. 1:26). This type of worship was also prohibited by Moses (Dt. 4:16-18).

See G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (1970).

J. HUDDLESTUN

REPUTATION; REPUTE. The AV employs "reputation" to connote "prominence" or "esteem," where modern English would use "repute." Thus "had in reputation" (Acts 5:34) renders Gk. *tímios* ("held in honor" [so RSV]; NEB "held in high regard") and "hold in reputation" (Phil. 2:29) renders *échō éntimon* (lit. "hold in esteem"; RSV, NEB, "honor"). In 2:7 "made himself of no reputation" is the AV interpretation of *heautōn ekénōsen* (lit. "emptied himself" [so RSV]; NEB "made himself nothing"; *see* KENOSIS). In Eccl. 10:1, AV, "him that is in reputation for" is a mistranslation of Heb. *yāqār min* (lit. "more weighty than"); the sense of the proverb is better conveyed by the RSV ("outweigh") and NEB ("make lose its worth").

The RSV does not use the term "reputation." It substitutes "repute" for AV "reputation" in Gal. 2:2 (Gk. part. of *dokéō*, "seem" [so AV in vv. 6, 9]) and elsewhere uses "repute" to translate Heb. *śeḵel* ("understanding" [so AV, RSV mg.], Prov. 3:4; cf. NEB "success") and the piel of *gāḏal* ("make greater"; RSV "give repute," 1 Ch. 29:25; cf. AV "magnify"; NEB "make stand high"). "Good repute" translates Gk. *euphēmía* (lit. "good report" [so AV], 2 Cor. 6:8; cf. NEB "praise") and the pass. part. of *martyréō* ("well spoken of," Acts 6:3; cf. 10:22; Prov. 25:10; cf. AV "infamy"; NEB "indiscretion") and Gk. *dysphēmía* ("slander," 2 Cor. 6:8; cf. AV "evil report"; NEB "blame"); "of no repute" represents the Heb. niphal part. of *qālâ* ("lightly esteemed" [so AV], 1 S. 18:23; cf. NEB "of no consequence"). *See also* DISREPUTE.

A good reputation is valued highly by wisdom literature (e.g., Prov. 3:4; cf. 22:1; Eccl. 7:1), and the prospect of its loss (being brought into disrepute) is dreadful (Prov. 25:10; cf. Acts 19:27). A reputation for integrity and spiritual maturity is an important qualification for those who hold office in the church (Acts 6:3; cf. 1 Tim. 3:7, Gk. *martyrían kalén échein*; RSV "be well thought of"; NEB "have a good reputation"). But although the ESTEEM of others can be a great gift from God (1 Ch. 29:25), it does not necessarily coincide with God's estimation of a person (cf. 1 S. 16:7). Valuing human approval more than God's is a serious temptation for religious people as well as irreligious (Jn. 12:43, NEB; cf. Gal. 1:10). Being defamed is a form of suffering that Christians, following their Master, must be prepared to endure (cf. 1 Cor. 4:10; 2 Cor. 6:8; etc.).

There seems to be an ironic twist in Paul's reference in Gal. 2:2, 6, 9 to the leaders of the Jerusalem church (James, Peter, and John, v. 9) as *hoi dokoúntes*, "those who are of repute." Most likely Paul is borrowing the phrase from his opponents, the "false brethren" (v. 4). His intention is not to disparage the Jerusalem leaders but to criticize his opponents' attempts to play off these leaders' status against him (see comms., esp. H. Ridderbos, comm. on Galatians [*NICNT*, repr. 1981], pp. 80-90).

See also HONOR; NAME.

N. J. O.

REQUIRE. A term used by the RSV in two different senses. (1) In the OT it frequently means "demand or claim by authority," usually translating Heb. *biqqēš* (piel of *bāqaš*, "seek"), *dāraš* ("seek"), or *šā'al* ("ask"). Yahweh has the supreme right and power to set requirements for His people (e.g., Dt. 10:12; Mic. 6:8); earthly rulers and authorities also have some of this power (e.g., Gen. 43:9; 1 Ch. 21:3; 2 Ch. 24:6; Ps. 137:3). In juridical contexts *biqqēš* and *dāraš* often mean "make a legal claim" (e.g., Gen. 9:5; Dt. 18:19; 23:21; Ezk. 3:18, 20; 33:6, 8; see *TDOT*, II, 235f.; III, 296-98; *see also* AVENGE I; VENGEANCE). For the RSV NT use of "require" in this sense, cf. Gk. *zētéō* ("seek") in Lk. 12:48; 1 Cor. 4:2; *ekzētéō* ("seek out") in Lk. 11:50f.; *apaitéō* ("demand back") in Lk. 12:20. The AV occasionally uses "require" in the archaic sense of "ask" where the petitioner lacks authority (e.g., Ezr. 8:22; Lk. 23:23f.).

(2) A second meaning is "have a compelling need of something." The terms rendered in this sense include Heb. *bᵉyômô* (lit. "in its day"; RSV "as each day requires," 1 Ch. 16:37; 2 Ch. 8:14; etc.); Aram. *ḥašḥâ* ("what is needed"; Ezr. 6:9); Gk. *chrḗzō* ("have need of"; Rom. 16:2) and *chreía* ("need, necessity"; 1 Cor. 12:24).

Bibliography.—*TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "biqqēš" (S. Wagner); III, *s.v.* "dārash" (S. Wagner).

N. J. O.

REREWARD rēr'wôrd. An obsolete term meaning REAR GUARD.

RESAIAH rə-sā'yə [Gk. *Rhēsaias*]; AV REESAIAS; NEB RESAEAS. One of the leading men of Israel who returned from exile with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 5:8). He is called Reelaiah in Ezr. 2:2 and Raamiah in Neh. 7:7.

RESCUE [Heb. hiphil of *nāṣal* (Gen. 37:22; Nu. 35:25; Dt. 25:11; Jgs. 8:34; 9:17; 1 S. 7:14; 30:8, 18; etc.), niphal of *nāṣal* (Am. 3:12; Mic. 4:10), hiphil of *yāšaʿ* (Dt. 22:27;

2 K. 16:7), piel of *ḥālaṣ* (Ps. 91:15), niphal of *mālaṭ* (Isa. 49:24f.), piel of *pālaṭ* (Ps. 71:2, 4; 82:4), *pāḏâ* (71:23), *pāṣâ* (144:7, 10f.), *pāraq* (136:24), hiphil of *šûḇ* (35:17), hophal of *yāḇal* (Job 21:30); Aram. haphel of *nᵉṣal* (Dnl. 6:14, 27 [MT 15, 28]; 8:4, 7); Gk. *exairéō* (Acts 7:10; 12:11; 23:27), *rhýomai* (2 Tim. 3:11; 4:17f.; 2 Pet. 2:7, 9)]; AV also DELIVER, RID, SAVE, RECOVER, TAKE OUT, etc.; NEB also SAVE, DELIVER PROTECT, KEEP SAFE, SNATCH, etc.

See DELIVER.

RESEN rē'zən [Heb. *resen*; Gk. *Dasem*]. A city mentioned in Gen. 10:12 in connection with Nimrod. The RSV translates vv. 11f.: "From that land he went into Assyria, and built Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; that is the great city."

Several things are ambiguous in the passage. The main problem is that the subject of *yāṣā'*, "came (or went) forth," in v. 11 is not fully clear. The transition from the previous clause is much smoother as the RSV translates it, but the most natural reading of the Hebrew is "from that land Assyria came forth." If Nimrod is the subject of "came [or went] forth" in v. 11a, then he is also patently the subject of the verb *wayyiḇen*, "and he built," in v. 11b. If, however, Assyria is the subject of "came forth" in v. 11a, then the subject of "he built" in v. 11b is ambiguous, although Nimrod is most likely meant. The text probably does not intend to personify Assyria as it does Nimrod. Thus it clearly indicates Assyria's origin from and indebtedness to southern Mesopotamia, a fact now well known from cultural history.

Another problem is identifying "the great city" of v. 12. The phrase has been thought to refer to Resen (so, e.g., NEB, Smith-Goodspeed). This view, however, requires that the phrase be understood as misplaced, properly coming immediately after Resen. Resen then would need to be obviously larger and more important than both Nineveh and Calah. Archeological and textural evidence points to exactly the opposite, however. Thus the phrase must refer to either Nineveh or Calah, the latter being more likely both because of word order and because Calah clearly outranked Nineveh in political importance in the earlier centuries of Assyrian history.

The site of Resen is unknown. The only plausible suggestion has been to interpret Heb. *resen* as a rendering of Assyr. *rēš ēni*, "fountain head," referring to a location established to provide water. Several such places were so named in Assyria, e.g., the one established by Sennacherib from which he cut a canal to the Khoser River, a tributary of the Tigris flowing through the heart of Nineveh. The site probably formed part of the water supply of the city (see E. Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT*, I [1885], 83f.). No such site is known between Nineveh and Calah, where the biblical text places Resen. It is plausible and entirely possible, however, that the text refers to a large water installation (see E. Speiser, *Genesis* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1978], p. 68).

Another proposal, that the site be identified with Selamiyeh, about 5 km (3 mi.) N of Calah, is based upon the equation of Selamiyeh with the Larissa of Xenophon (*Anabasis* iii.4). It is now known, however, that Larissa was the Greek name of Calah itself (see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* [1966], I, 322 n.6).

F. W. BUSH

RESERVOIR [Heb. *miqwâ* <*qāwâ*–'collect'] (Isa. 22:11); AV DITCH; NEB CISTERN. A CISTERN or POOL used for collecting and storing water. *See* JERUSALEM III.C.2.g; D.2.e-f; SILOAM.

RESH resh, rāsh [ר]. The twentieth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encyclopedia as *r*. It came also to be used for the number two hundred. It is used to designate the twentieth section of Ps. 119 (cf. AV). *See* WRITING.

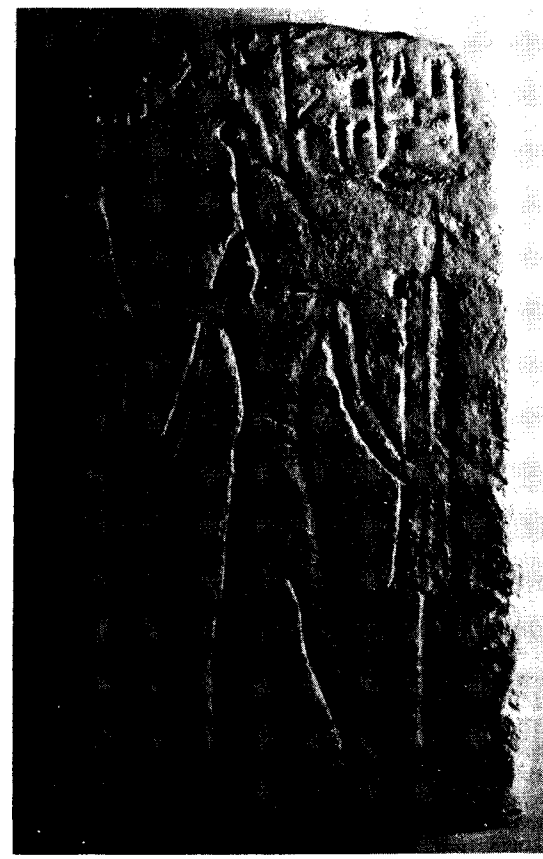
RESHEPH re'shef [Heb. *rešep*–'flame, firebolt,' 'pestilence'].

1. An Ephraimite; son of Rephah and father of Telah (1 Ch. 7:25).

2. A god worshiped by the Northwestern Semites. The name appears for the first time in discovered texts at Ebla in 2400 B.C. Resheph was worshipped up to Roman times, e.g., at Carthage. He was also worshiped in Egypt, where the only iconographic representations of him have been discovered.

The etymology of the name is still an enigma. Meanings like "pestilence," "flame," etc., are derived from the name of the god (see below). Available texts and iconographic material clearly show that he was regarded in Egypt as a warrior god but was also seen in a benevolent role. In Northwest Semitic material he is associated, as Albright and Fulco have pointed out, with the underworld. In the Ugaritic texts he is equated with the Mesopotamian Nergal, the god of the underworld. In the Ugaritic epic of Keret *ršp* is associated with the death of part of Keret's offspring. In this epic a process of demythologizing the

A relief on a limestone stele of the war-god Resheph with a Hittite-style crown. He holds a spear in his upraised right hand and a spear and shield in his left; next to him hangs a club with straps. The inscription reads: "a royal offering to Resheph, the great god, who gives a favorable hearing to petitioners." Nile Delta (Horbet), *ca.* 1350-1205 B.C. (Hildesheim, Pelizäus Museum)



name may have set in, so that *rŝp* may simply mean "pestilence." Another Ugarit text mentions the sungoddess Šapš and Resheph in connection with a total eclipse of the sun. This might have Mesopotamian roots, because in Mesopotamian mythology the sungod Šamaš descends at night to the underworld to feed the shades of the dead, and Nergal is in command of the underworld. A total eclipse points, thus, to an untimely visit of Šapš to the realm of Resheph.

The name Resheph is connected to certain concepts, e.g., *rŝp ṣbi* "Resheph of the army." Most of these connections we now know are to be associated with place names, e.g., *rŝp bbt,* "Resheph at the city *bbt,*" *rŝp ṣpr,* "Resheph of Ṣipiru," and even *rŝp gn* (according to the Ebla texts), "Resheph of Gunu." An interesting combination is *rŝp ḥṣ,* "Resheph of the arrow." His association with war is well attested in inscriptions and in the Egyptian iconography, where he wears a quiver full of arrows. There is no indication that he was worshiped as a fertility god among the Northwestern Semites.

In the OT *rešeṗ* is to some degree demythologized. It occurs seven times in the OT, mostly in the sense of "pestilence" or "plague." In Dt. 32:24 *rešeṗ* (RSV "burning heat") is associated with an enigmatic *qeṭeḇ* (RSV "pestilence"), and in Hab. 3:5 *rešeṗ* (RSV "plague") is associated with *deḇer* (RSV "pestilence"). In Ps. 78:48 *rešeṗ* (RSV "thunderbolt") is used in parallelism with another enigmatic term *brd* (RSV "hail"; possibly a scribal error for *dbr*). In Cant. 8:6, the clearest example of demythologizing, the stem *rŝp* denotes "the spark of love." Clearly, in each case *rešeṗ* is used in a poetic context that makes mythological allusion to Resheph's destructive nature.

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F. C. FENSHAM

RESIDUE [Heb. *šᵉʾērîṯ* (Ps. 76:10 [MT 11]), *yeṯer* (Isa. 44:19); Aram. *šᵉʾār* (Dnl. 7:7, 19)]; AV also REMAINDER; NEB REMNANT, REST, "what was left." *See* REMNANT.

RESPECT; RESPECTFUL. In the RSV "respect" usually refers to the deference that one owes to those in authority. To "respect" (Heb. *yārēʾ,* lit. "fear," Prov. 13:13) God's commandment means to obey it (*see* FEAR II.B.1-2). An appalling lack of respect (niphal of *hāḏar,* lit. "honor") for Judah's princes and elders is a sign of the havoc wrought on the fabric of that society by the Babylonians (Lam. 5:12). Jesus' parable about the wicked tenants who lacked respect (Gk. *entrépomai,* mid. "have respect to"; cf. pass. "be ashamed") for their master's son points to the ultimate rejection of God's authority enacted in the crucifixion of His Son (Mt. 21:37 par.). (Cf. the use of *entrépomai* in Lk. 18:2, 4 [RSV "regard"]; Wisd. 2:10 [RSV "regard"]; 6:7 [RSV "show deference to"].)

The authors of the NT Epistles have no patience with the enthusiasts who are contemptuous of structures of earthly authority and whose demands for personal freedom threaten the fledgling community's unity and witness (see E. Käsemann, *Comm. on Romans* [Eng. tr. 1980], pp. 350-59). They exhort their readers to be SUBJECT to authority, showing REVERENCE not only to God (cf. He. 12:9; Gk. *entrépomai*) but also to those who occupy positions of authority in the existing social order, including rulers (*phóbos,* lit. "fear," Rom. 13:7; cf. vv. 1-6), husbands (*phobéomai,* lit. "fear," Eph. 5:33; cf. vv. 21-24), and masters (*phóbos,* 1 Pet. 2:18; cf. 1 Tim. 6:2). Likewise, Christians are to "give recognition to" (*oída,* lit. "know" [so AV], 1 Thess. 5:12) those who minister on their behalf.

Some of the Epistles impress on their readers the importance of living in a dignified manner that will earn the respect of others, both outside of and within the community of believers. Paul exhorts the Thessalonian Christians to conduct themselves honorably so that they may "command the respect of outsiders" (Gk. *peripatéō euschēmónōs prós toús éxō,* lit. "walk becomingly toward them that are without" [so AV mg., ASV], 1 Thess. 4:12). In 1 Tim. 2:2 "respectful" represents *semnótēs,* a common Hellenistic term denoting "an ethical and aesthetic outlook resulting in decency and orderliness" (*DNTT,* II, 93; cf. AV "honesty"; NEB "high standards of morality"). In 3:4 the same term probably refers not to the children's behavior but to the father's (cf. AV "with all gravity"; NEB "a man of the highest principles"; see comms.).

In Nu. 16:15 "respect" renders Heb. *pānâ* (lit. "turn toward," i.e., "pay attention to"); thus Moses intreats Yahweh to reject the offerings of those who have opposed him (cf. AV "respect" in Lev. 26:9; 1 K. 8:28; 2 K. 13:23; 2 Ch. 6:19; Ps. 40:4; RSV "have regard for," etc.). The AV also translates "respect" for several verbs with the literal meaning "look at": the hiphil of *nāḇaṭ* (Ps. 74:20; 119:6, 15), *rāʾâ* (Job 37:24; etc.), *šāʿâ* (Gen. 4:4f.; Ps. 119:117); Gk. *apoblépō* (He. 11:26) and *epiblépō* (Jas. 2:3). In Ex. 2:25, AV, "respect" represents Heb. *yādāʿ* (lit. "know" [so RSV]). N. J. O.

RESPECT OF PERSONS. *See* PARTIALITY.

RESPONSIVE SINGING [Heb. *ʿānâ*–'respond'] ("sing responsively," Ezr. 3:11); AV "sing together by course"; NEB CHANT. The NEB rendering probably more closely approximates the activity of praise in the postexilic temple. The manner of chanting or singing is, however, not certain.

REST; RESTING PLACE [Heb. *dᵉmî* (Isa. 62:6f.), *dûmîyâ* (Ps. 22:2 [MT 3]), *yāšaḇ*–'sit down' (Ruth 2:7; Ps. 127:2), *kāḇēḏ* ("rest heavily," Jgs. 1:35), niphal of *kûn*–'stand firm' (Jgs. 16:29), *māqôm*–'(resting) place' (Job 16:18), *nû(a)ḥ* (qal, e.g., Gen. 8:4; hiphil, e.g., Ex. 33:14), *mᵉnûḥâ* (Gen. 49:15), *mānô(a)ḥ* (Dt. 28:65; 1 Ch. 6:31 [MT 16]; Lam. 1:3), *naḥaṭ* (Eccl. 6:5; Isa. 30:15), *pûgâ*–'relaxation' (Lam. 2:18), hiphil part. of *rāḇaṣ*–'let lie down' (Jer. 33:12), hiphil of *rāgaʿ* (Isa. 34:14; Jer. 31:2; 50:34), *margô(a)ʿ* (Jer. 6:16), *šāḇaṭ*–'cease,' 'stop working' (Gen. 2:2f.; etc.); *šabbāṯôn*–'sabbath rest' ("solemn rest," Ex. 16:23; etc.), hiphil of *šûḇ*–'turn back' (Ex. 5:5), *šāḵaḇ*–'lie down' (2 K. 4:11; Job 30:17; Prov. 6:10; Eccl. 2:23), *šāḵan*–'stay, settle' (Nu. 9:18; Ps. 55:6 [MT 7]), *šālôm* ("rest assured," Gen. 43:23); *šālēw*–'ease' (Job 20:20), *šāmaṭ*–'leave untilled, remit' (Ex. 23:11), niphal of *šāʾan* (Gen. 18:4; Jgs. 16:26), *šāqaṭ*–'be at peace' (qal, e.g., Josh. 11:23; Jgs. 3:11, 30; hiphil, Isa. 57:20); Gk. *ánesis*–'relief' (2 Cor. 2:13; 7:5; 2 Thess. 1:7), *eimí*–'be' (1 Cor. 2:5; Gal. 3:12), *hēsycházō*–'be quiet' (Lk. 23:56), *hístēmi*–'stand' (Mt. 2:9), *episkēnóō*–'dwell upon' (2 Cor. 12:9), *kathízō*–'sit down' (Acts 2:3), *koímēsis*–'lying down to sleep' (Jn. 11:13), *anapaúō*–'cause to rest' (Mt. 11:28; mid., Mk. 6:31; etc.), *anápausis* (Mt. 11:29; 12:43 par. Lk. 11:24; Rev. 14:11), *epanapaúomai* (Lk. 10:6), *katapaúō* (He. 4:4, 8), *katápausis* (Acts 7:49; He. 3:11, 18), *sabbatismós* ("sab-

bath rest," He. 4:9), *ménō*–'stay' (Jn. 3:36)]; AV also SABBATH (Lev. 23:24, 39), (BE) QUIET, QUIETNESS, SLEEP, SILENT, STAND, PEACE (Gen. 43:23), PREVAIL (Jgs. 1:35), etc; NEB also PEACE, SECURITY, RESPITE, etc. In Rom. 4:16 the RSV uses "rest on" to translate the preposition *katá* (AV "be by"; NEB "be a matter of"); cf. Gal. 3:12. In Ps. 37:7 (Heb. *dôm lyhwh*) the RSV "Be still before the Lord" is to be preferred to the AV "Rest in the Lord." For "rest" in the sense of "remaining," *see* REMNANT.

I. General.–In both Testaments the noun "rest" most often connotes a physical location free from strife and anxiety. This is sometimes extended to refer to the state of body and/or mind that one experiences in such a place. Rarely (perhaps only in Mt. 11:28-30) does "rest" connote inward peace in either testament. The various verbs for "rest" tend to be either intransitive ("rest, come to rest") or stative ("be at rest"). The causative constructions take one of two forms: "cause (someone/something) to rest" (e.g., Zec. 6:8) and "give rest (to someone/something)" (Ex. 33:14; Dt. 3:20; Josh. 1:15).

II. In the OT.–A. Rest as Settlement in the Promised Land. The root *nwḥ* in both its nominal and verbal forms plays an important role in the historical literature of the OT, especially in Deuteronomy and Joshua–2 Kings. In these writings *nû(a)ḥ/mᵉnûḥâ* generally refers to Israel's successful conquest of and settlement in Palestine. As such, it is also related to the promises to the patriarchs. It is to be noted that the view that "*Deuteronomy* understands the oath to the patriarchs only as a promise of the land" (von Rad, p. 80) is not correct. The phrase "and to their descendants" (11:9; cf. 34:4) brings the promise of progeny explicitly into view (cf. also 1:9-11), and Israel is pictured as a great nation at Mt. Horeb/Sinai. Thus the only part of the promise that remained to be fulfilled was the possession of the land. (*See* LAND II.)

According to one plausible interpretation of the canonical shape of Deuteronomy and Joshua–2 Kings, Deuteronomy represents the prophecy that receives its exact fulfillment in Joshua–2 Kings (Polzin, pp. 18-24). This is analogous to the prophecy/fulfillment motif of 1-2 Kings (von Rad, pp. 205-221). The theological equation of "rest" with the secured settlement of the Promised Land is first introduced in Deuteronomy (3:20; 12:9f.; 25:19; 28:65; cf. also the numerous references to "the land" in Deuteronomy). In Joshua–2 Kings one finds the narrative of the completion of the settlement and the subsequent history of Israel in Palestine. Josh. 21:43-45 asserts that Yahweh had completely fulfilled the promised giving of the land to Israel (cf. also 1:13, 15; 22:4; 23:1, 15), though Josh. 13:1 and Jgs. 1:1–2:5 present a conflicting tradition (see R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [Eng. tr. 1978], pp. 475-680; J. A. Soggin, *History of Ancient Israel* [Eng. tr. 1984], pp. 138-171, 357-367).

"Rest" is also said to have been given by Yahweh to David (2 S. 7:1, 11), but v. 1 fits badly into the context and may be a later insertion; cf. 1 Ch. 17:1 (see P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* [*AB*, 1984], p. 191). "Rest" is also associated with the reign of Solomon (1 K. 5:4 [MT 18]; 8:56). The Chronicler attributes rest to Abijah (2 Ch. 16:4 [MT 5]), Asa (15:15), Jehoshaphat (20:30), Hezekiah (32:22), and — perhaps — Solomon (1 Ch. 22:9). In all these places "rest" refers to the safe, secure existence of Israel in Palestine. Echoes of this concept appear also in the prophetic literature; cf. Isa. 14:3; 32:9-20; 63:14; Jer. 31:2; 50:34.

B. The Land's Rest. Characteristic of the redactional framework of the book of Judges is the Hebrew formula *wattišqōṭ hā'āreṣ*, "and the land had rest [for X years]" (3:11, 30; 5:31; 8:28; cf. S. R. Driver, *Intro. to Literature of the OT* [repr. 1972], pp. 163-65). "Rest" here means something different from the *nû(a)ḥ/mᵉnûḥâ* of Josh. 21:43-45; 2 S. 7:1, 11; 1 K. 8:56. Heb. *šāqaṭ* connotes temporary peace and security in this context; cf. also Josh. 11:23; 14:15; 2 Ch. 14:1, 5f. (MT 13:23; 14:4f.).

C. Sabbath Rest. According to Gen. 1:1–2:3 (thought by many to belong to "P"), God "rested" (*šāḇaṭ*, 2:2f.; lit. "celebrate a sabbath") on the seventh day of creation. This tradition is also reflected in certain of the sabbath laws. The Decalogue of Ex. 20 (thought by many to reflect "P" editing) uses this tradition as the motivation for "remembering" (*zāḵôr*, v. 8) the sabbath; cf. also 31:12-17. In contrast, the Decalogue of Dt. 5 (thought by many to reflect "D" editing) uses the tradition of the Exodus as the motivation for "keeping" (*šāmôr*, v. 12) the sabbath. (The other sabbath prescriptions [Ex. 23:12; 34:21; 35:2f.; Lev. 19:3, 30; 23:3] are not formulated with motive clauses.) Israel's sabbath rest is then extended to include resting on special festival days (Lev. 16:31; 23:23-43). Finally, Israel's sabbath rest becomes the analogue for the land's sabbath rest (Ex. 23:10-12; Lev. 25:1-7; cf. Neh. 10:31; 1 Macc. 6:49, 53), the year of release (Dt. 15:1-11), and the year of jubilee (Lev. 25:8-55; cf. Isa. 61:1-3 [par. Lk. 4:16-30]; Jer. 34:8-22; Ezk. 46:17; cf. also Jer. 25:9-12 and its subsequent interpretation in 2 Ch. 36:21 and Dnl. 9:1-27). *See also* JUBILEE; SABBATH; SABBATICAL YEAR.

D. Rest as Death. In Job 3:13, 17 "rest" is used as a metaphor for death (N. Habel, *Book of Job* [*OTL*, 1985], pp. 110-12). This can be compared with other Hebrew formulas that are circumlocutions for death, e.g., "be gathered [niphal of *'āsap*] to one's people/father/grave" (e.g., Gen. 25:8, and 15 times in the OT) and "sleep [*šāḵaḇ*] with one's fathers" (1 K. 2:10; etc. [41 times in the OT]).

E. The Resting of the Holy Spirit. In Nu. 11:24-31 the "resting" (*nû[a]ḥ*) of the Spirit of Yahweh (vv. 25f.) upon seventy of Israel's elders results in ecstatic prophetic utterances. Similarly, Isa. 11:2 predicts that the Spirit of Yahweh will "rest" (*nû[a]ḥ*) upon "a shoot from the stump of Jesse"; here the reference is to the charismatic empowering by Yahweh of an individual Israelite for the purpose of liberating captive Israel. This use of *nû(a)ḥ* should be compared with other verbs used similarly, namely, *hāyâ* (Nu. 24:2; RSV "come upon"; cf. the verbless construction *rû[a]ḥ 'al* [Isa. 61:1; RSV "be upon"]), *lāḇaš* (Jgs. 6:34; RSV "take possession of"), *nāpal* (Ezk. 11:5; RSV "fall [upon]"), and *ṣālaḥ* (Jgs. 14:6; RSV "come mightily [upon]").

III. In the NT.–Few of the references to "rest" in the NT diverge significantly from the OT picture.

A. Hebrews 3:7–4:12 and Psalm 95:7b-11. Psalm 95 is viewed by many scholars as a call to worship or an entrance liturgy connected with the Jerusalem temple (G. H. Davies, *ZAW*, 85 [1973], 183-195). It has two parts. Vv. 1-7a contain the call to worship proper, perhaps spoken responsively by the priest and the congregation. Vv. 7b-11 constitute a "prophetic" admonition, probably spoken by either the priest or a cultic prophet, who introduces in v. 7b a direct quotation from Yahweh (vv. 8-11). It is significant that Heb. *hayyôm*, "today," refers to the day on which this liturgy is spoken. The quotation combines the originally separate traditions of the murmuring in the wilderness (cf. Ex. 17:1-7; Nu. 13–14; Dt. 1:19-46) with the forty years of wandering in the wilderness, which in the Pentateuch results from the Israelites' failure to capture Palestine due to their fear, rather than from the testing of Yahweh at Meribah and Massah. In this context

the phrase "my rest" (Heb. *mᵉnûḥāṯî*) refers to the theological equation of "rest" with secure settlement in the Promised Land.

Hebrews 3:7-11 quotes closely, though not exactly, the LXX version of Ps. 95:7b-11. It is uncertain whether these differences reflect variant textual traditions or deliberate alteration. The quotation is followed by an exhortation in He. 3:12–4:13. 3:12-15 turns the cultic "today" of the psalm into the present historical existence of the Church (Hebrews was written approximately thirty-five years after Jesus' death and resurrection). 3:16-19 establishes the issue at hand as that of belief versus unbelief. 4:1-10 argues that the promise of rest is still available (v. 1) to the Christian community (v. 3). Here the author equates "my rest" (Gk. *tḗn katápausín mou* [LXX Ps. 94:11]) with God's resting (*katépausen,* LXX Gen. 2:2f.) at the end of creation. Consequently, "rest" becomes something spiritual and eschatological. This becomes explicit with the use of *sabbatismós,* "sabbath rest," in He. 4:9. The pericope concludes with an exhortation to enter this rest (vv. 11-13). (*See also* LAND III.)

B. Matthew 11:28-30. In this text Jesus is quoted as promising "rest" (*anápausis*) to those who come to Him (v. 28; cf. Jer. 6:16; Sir. 51:23-27). This "rest" is different from the eschatological "rest" of He. 3–4. It begins immediately after an individual comes to Jesus, and it refers to the Christian's subsequent experience of "peace, contentment and security in God" (*DNTT,* III, 257).

C. 1 Peter 4:14. The "resting" of the Spirit of Yahweh as charismatic empowering (see II. E above) is alluded to in this verse. Although the syntax of the text is disputed, v. 14 does mention the "resting" (*anapaúetai*) of the Spirit of God upon the "beloved" (v. 12), i.e., the Christian community. Cf. also Acts 2:3, where the tongues of fire "rest" (*ekáthisen*) upon the twelve apostles.

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Sabbath Rest: Comms. on Gen. 1:1–2:3; N.-E. Andreasen, *OT Sabbaths* (1973); F. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog* (1982).

Hebrews 3:7–4:12 and Psalm 95:7b-11: Comms. on Psalms and Hebrews; D. Hagner, "Interpreting the Epistle to the Hebrews," in M. A. Inch and C. H. Bullock, eds., *Literature and Meaning of Scripture* (1981), pp. 217-242; O. Loretz, *Ugarit-Forschungen,* 6 (1974), 175-210; K. J. Thomas, *NTS,* 11 (1965), 303-325.

Matthew 11:28-30: Comms. on Matthew; *DNTT,* III, 254-58 (R. Hensel and C. Brown), 1160-65 (H.-G. Link and C. Brown), and the literature cited therein. H. T. C. SUN

RESTITUTION, MAKE [Heb. piel of *šālam*–'make whole, complete'] (Ex. 22:1, 5f., 11-15 [MT 21:37; 22:4f., 10-14]; Lev. 5:16); AV also RESTORE, MAKE GOOD, MAKE AMENDS; NEB also REPAY, MAKE GOOD; [hiphil and hophal of *šûḇ*–'give(n) back, restore(d)'] (Nu. 5:7f.); AV RECOMPENSE; NEB also PAY COMPENSATION. Certain crimes, including theft and negligence that results in loss to a neighbor, were punishable by paying compensation to the wronged party. On Lev. 5:16, *see* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT V.H.

See PUNISHMENTS.

RESTORE [Heb. usually hiphil or (less often) qal of *šûḇ,* also hiphil of *ḥāyâ* ("restore to life," 2 K. 8:1, 5), piel of *šālam*–'repay, make amends' (Lev. 6:5; 2 S. 12:6), etc.; Gk. usually *apokathístēmi*–'reestablish, restore,' also *anakaínō*–'renew' (He. 6:6), *apodídōmi*–'give back' (Lk. 19:8), *halízō*–'salt, make salty' ("saltness be restored," Mt. 5:13), *artýō*–'season' ("saltness be restored," Lk. 14:34), *katartízō*–'restore,' 'make complete' (Gal. 6:1; 1 Pet. 5:10)]; AV also DELIVER, BRING AGAIN, BRING BACK, CAUSE TO RETURN, etc.; NEB also GIVE BACK, SEND BACK, RETURN, REPAY, BE MADE SOUND AGAIN, etc. A term used more than 120 times in the RSV. Nearly 90 percent of these occurrences are in the OT, where it translates the hiphil of *šûḇ* (lit. "cause to return") in the vast majority of cases.

The principal meanings in the OT are: (1) to renew the fortunes of God's people Israel after the experiences of devastation and exile (see below); (2) to give back a possession (e.g. Gen. 20:7; Ex. 22:26 [MT 25]; Lev. 6:4f. [MT 5:23f.]; Dt. 22:2; Jgs. 11:13; 2 S. 9:7; 1 K. 20:34; 2 K. 8:6; Ezk. 18:7, 12); (3) to rebuild something, e.g., the house of the Lord (2 Ch. 24:4, 12f.; 29:35; 34:10), an altar (2 Ch. 33:16), a wall (Neh. 3:8), a city (Neh. 4:2 [MT 3:33]; Dnl. 9:25), a border (2 K. 14:25), streets (Isa. 58:12); (4) to recoup one's life or health (Ex. 4:7; Ruth 4:15; 1 K. 13:6; 2 K. 5:10, 14; 8:1, 5; Ps. 30:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 38:16; Jer. 15:19); (5) to regain one's spiritual well-being (Ps. 23:3; 51:12 [MT 14]; Lam. 5:21); (6) to recover one's previous office (Gen. 40:13, 21; 41:13; Isa. 1:26).

Four of the fourteen RSV NT uses of "restore" refer to physical healing (Mk. 8:25; Mt. 12:13 par. Mk. 3:5; Lk. 6:10), three to spiritual renewal (Gal. 6:1; 1 Pet. 5:10 [AV "make perfect"]; He. 6:4), two to restoring saltness (Mt. 5:13; Lk. 14:34), two to "restoring all things" (Mt. 17:11 par. Mk. 9:12), and one each to returning something owed (Lk. 19:8), restoring the kingdom to Israel (Acts 1:6), and renewing a personal acquaintance (He. 13:19).

Theological interest focuses on the OT passages that promised the restoration of Israel's fortunes (e.g., Dt. 30:3; Ps. 85:1, 4 [MT 2, 5]; Jer. 29:14; 30:3; 31:23; 32:44; 33:7; Ezk. 39:25; Hos. 6:11; Joel 3:1 [MT 2:28]; Am. 9:14; Zeph. 2:7). The ideal terms in which these prophecies were expressed led many to hope for a glorious, national messianic age in which the prophets' glowing hopes would be realized. During the intertestamental period such hopes became attached to the return of the prophet Elijah. In Mal. 4:6 (MT 3:24) it had been prophesied that Elijah would come before the day of the Lord and "restore" (LXX *apokathístēmi*; RSV "turn") the hearts of the fathers and children to each other, symbolizing a spiritual and moral restoration of the nation.

In Mt. 17:11 par. Mk. 9:12 the disciples asked Jesus about this coming of Elijah, and He responded that "Elijah does come first to restore all things" (9:12); indeed Elijah had come in the person of John the Baptist (v. 13; Mt. 17:12f.). John was rejected, just as Jesus would be. Nevertheless, John's work began the promised messianic restoration, the foundation for which was completed in Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. The consummation of this hope is yet future.

In Acts 1:6 the disciples, still thinking in limited national, ethnic, and material terms, asked Jesus if the immediate postresurrection period would witness the restoration (*apokathístēmi*) of the Kingdom to Israel. Jesus did not deny that such a time would come for God's people, but He set before them a task of worldwide witness that would greatly enlarge their vision of the Kingdom's nature and participants.

In Acts 3:21 the NEB uses the phrase "the time of universal restoration [*apokatástasis*]" (RSV "the time for establishing all"; AV "the times of restitution of all things"). The hope that Peter here expresses looks forward to "times of refreshing . . . from the presence of the Lord" (Acts 3:19), when Christ returns to reign in power. Then the hopes of the prophets will receive their final fulfill-

ment in the kingdom of God. For the content of this "restoration," *see* ESCHATOLOGY. T. F. JOHNSON

RESTRAINT [Heb. *resen*–'bridle'] (Job 30:11); AV BRIDLE; [*'āḇar*] ("throw off restraint," Prov. 14:16); AV RAGE; NEB HEEDLESS; [*pāra'*] ("cast off restraint," Prov. 29:18); AV PERISH; NEB BREAK LOOSE; [*mēzaḥ*–'girdle'] (Isa. 23:10); AV STRENGTH; NEB MARKET; [Gk. *bróchos*] (1 Cor. 7:35); AV SNARE; NEB TIGHT REIN; [*synkleiō*] (Gal. 3:23); AV SHUT UP; NEB CLOSE PRISONERS. The restraining influence of the Lord is for the benefit of His creatures, and they cast if off to their own peril (Prov. 29:18). For example, His law controlled people to bring them to Christ (Gal. 3:23). The MT of Isa. 23:10 should probably be emended to read *māḥōz,* "harbor," "market-place," as in the NEB.

RESURRECTION.

The doctrine of resurrection from the dead as an eschatological phenomenon appeared late in the history of Israelite religion and developed fully in NT times. But the OT provides the context of belief from which the idea of resurrection comes and according to which it must be understood. The roots of the concept are there, both positively and negatively, although the terminological apparatus is not. Upon subsequent reflection various OT texts have provided a basis for the concept, although the texts in their original settings did not necessarily indicate resurrection.

I. In the OT
  A. Absence of a Doctrine of Resurrection
  B. Sheol and the Fate of the Individual
  C. Resurrection and National Hope
II. In the Intertestamental Literature
III. In the NT
  A. Terms
  B. In the Gospels
  C. In Apostolic Teaching
IV. In the Early Church

I. In the OT.–A. Absence of a Doctrine of Resurrection. Israelite religion had two profound ethical foci: individual and corporate. Individuals lived out their lives under the law, in faith, seeking the guidance and protection of Yahweh, conducting their households and rearing their children with the promise and the law of Yahweh closely in view (Dt. 6:4-15). Promises that referred to the future were generally applied to the descendants of the righteous (threats were applied to the descendants of the wicked) or to the corporate destiny of the Israelite nation. The profound emphasis upon Yahweh as the God of life and upon the perishing existence of the wicked before the power of Yahweh (Pss. 1, 73; Prov. 14–15) tended to make Judaism a this-worldly religion and to suppress speculation concerning the realm of the dead. The future was interpreted as a national future, under the guidance of Yahweh.

Even from preexilic times there are occasional biblical references to revivification. Three occur in Kings (1 K. 17:17-24; 2 K. 4:18-37; 13:20f.). The "Song of Hannah" (1 S. 2:1-10) contains the statement "The Lord kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and rises up" (v. 6). Moreover, two OT figures experienced translation (i.e., assumption into heaven before death): Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (2 K. 2:9–11). But the paucity of statements and the lack of theological reflection indicate an absence of doctrine: translation from this life to another realm is an exception, not applicable to people in general, and revivification implies no more than a temporary release from the inevitable. The "Song of Hannah," according to R. Martin-Achard (*From Death to Life* [1960], p. 57), only indicates Yahweh's power to intervene victoriously, and it should not be seen as an adumbration of resurrection.

In addition, the repugnance of Israel to religious syncretism made virtually impossible an easy acceptance of the beliefs concerning an afterlife that were found in other ancient Near Eastern religions. Egyptian religion centered on the passage from this life to the next, and Zoroastrianism, the religion of ancient Persia, taught a doctrine of resurrection (*see* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: EGYPT; PERSIA). When the OT indicates a conception of immortality, it studiously avoids the Egyptian doctrine. Death is not celebrated, and the occasional OT references to offerings made to the dead (Dt. 26:14; Ps. 106:28f.) and to oracular consultation of the dead (1 S. 28:3-19; Isa. 8:19) are entirely negative. Israel probably encountered the Persian belief in resurrection during the Exile, when national hopes were lowest and the eschatological dimension of prophecy was strong. Yet even then there was no wholesale appropriation of foreign belief, only a reinforcement of elements already in Israelite religion that pointed toward an eschatological culmination of the divine plan in a renewed Israel.

Neither does OT religion derive a doctrine of the afterlife from a theory of rewards and punishments. The Kantian notion of eternal life as a hypothesis that gives a ground to morality and coherence to ethical norms is not supported by Scripture. Ethics, for Israel, related to this life. Promises of blessing to the righteous and punishment to the wicked almost invariably relate to the present. This is true both in the wisdom literature (Prov. 3:5-8; 10:2f., 22-25, 27f. 30; 13:6-9, 21; etc.) and in the prophets (Isa. 10:1-4, 18-31; Hos. 6:1-6; Mic. 2:1-13; etc.). Future reward or restoration of the nation is expressed in this-worldly language, even when the thrust is eschatological. Moreover, when the ethic of reward and punishment begins to break down for lack of evidence, and the ethic itself is treated with skepticism, the result is not a hope of ethical resolution in an afterlife but an admission of the weakness of human perception and of the unfathomable will of God (cf. Job 40:1-9; 42:1-6; Eccl. 3:16–4:4).

B. Sheol and the Fate of the Individual. OT religion, nevertheless, does not teach an extinction of the human being at death but a passage from this life into a shadowy, underworld existence in *šᵉ'ôl,* the place of the dead. In Ecclesiastes the gloomy portrait of Sheol states the problem well: "For there is no work or thought or knowledge or wisdom in Sheol, to which you are going" (9:10). Such a place is viewed with terror: it represents a severance not only from life but also from the praise of Yahweh (Ps. 6:5; 115:17; Isa. 38:18f.). Sheol is, then, virtually synonymous with the grave.

Although the OT affirms that the dead go down to Sheol, it has little discussion about the nature of existence there. Heb. *nepeš,* "breath," frequently understood as the life-principle and translated as "soul," can also indicate the corpse (Lev. 19:28; Nu. 5:2; Hag. 2:13); thus one is not dealing with a doctrine of disembodied souls descending to the underworld. The dead are described as "shades," *rᵉp̄ā'im* (e.g., Job 26:5; Ps. 88:11 [MT 12]; Isa. 26:14), and their existence is at best a half-life, a shadowlike silent drifting totally unlike life in the world. For the most part, OT religion took little interest in the SHADES: they had passed beyond ethics, covenant, and promise.

Against this fate, the psalmist protests to Yahweh: may his enemies go down to Sheol in terror (Ps. 55:15 [MT 16]),

and may the Lord preserve him from the same end (16:10; 86:13). In these prayers lies a first hope of life in the divine presence beyond the grave. The Psalms do not speculate in such a way that Sheol is turned into a place of life and hope; instead, the strength of God stands proof against death itself. Even Sheol is not hidden from Yahweh (139:8; cf. Prov. 15:11). God does have the power to vindicate the faithful in the face of death (Job 19:25-27; 33:18-28; Ps. 30:3 [MT 4]; 49:14f. [MT 15f.]; 55:15f. [MT 16f.]; Prov. 15:24-26; Jonah 2:1-9 [MT 2-10]). Still, this expectation is not a doctrine of resurrection: in most cases (cf. Ps. 68:20 [MT 21]) it merely suggests a temporary deliverance from death and offers a direction in thought upon which later doctrine will build.

See HADES; SHEOL.

C. Resurrection and National Hope. The psalmist's struggle with the great tension between the doctrine of the underworld and the belief in the life-giving presence of Yahweh yields a primary OT basis for later doctrines of the resurrection. The hope for deliverance expressed in Ps. 16:10 is associated in the NT with the resurrection of Christ (Acts 2:27, 30f.). The stronger impulse in the OT, however, is to interpret Yahweh's power over death in national rather than in individual terms. The promise made by God to the descendants of the righteous, the covenant with the nation, would stand. As the dire prophecies of doom to unrighteous Israel began to be fulfilled, the prophets viewed the promises as a future renewal beyond the present disaster. The return to the true worship of Yahweh by faithful survivors of the national disaster would fulfil, on the human side, the conditions necessary for renewal of the covenant and rebirth of the Israelite nation.

Several passages radically state this hope of national rebirth as a resurrection from the dead: "Come, let us return to the Lord. . . . After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, that we may live before him" (Hos. 6:1f.). Ezk. 37:1-14 also belongs to this category: into the valley of dry bones the breath of the Lord comes with new life. The prophecy does not deal with a literal resurrection but with the national hopes of Israel. Some scholars have found similar implications in the last Isaianic "Servant Song" (53:10-12), where the personified nation is offered unto death and subsequently rewarded. Here in particular the theme of national suffering leading toward future reward and new life moves easily toward a theme of an individual representative of the nation who suffers and is resurrected.

At a later stage of the development of OT prophecy, the hope of national renewal becomes a fully eschatological hope, associated with the "Last Day" (*see* DAY, LAST) or DAY OF THE LORD, when the Lord will wreak vengeance upon the idolatrous world and vindicate His people. Isa. 26 is usually viewed as belonging to this category: here the prophet contrasts the shades of departed idolaters, who have passed out of memory (vv. 13f.), with the dead of chastened Israel, who "shall live, their bodies shall rise" (v. 19). The life-giving power of Yahweh is like "the dew" which will fall "on the land of the shades" (v. 19). Probably this refers to the resurrection of individuals and begins the association of resurrection with right worship, if not with a theory of ethical reward. The one undisputed reference to a final resurrection of individuals in the eschatological revivification of the nation is Dnl. 12:1f. The great prince Michael will lead the nation, the people will be delivered, "and many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." This reference, however, remains bound to the national hope and does not yet refer to a final ethical separation of all the righteous from all the unrighteous.

II. In the Intertestamental Literature–The theme of life after death, only vaguely present in the OT, comes to full expression in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Moreover, both aspects of OT meditation are elaborated: the problem of the individual's communion with God beyond the threat of Sheol, and the association between national and individual resurrection. Also, it is in this literature that the ethical issue of reward and punishment begins to coalesce with the teaching concerning resurrection, not as a cause but as a natural corollary. Sirach (*ca.* 180 B.C.), which might be of earlier origin than Daniel and which predates both Wisdom and 2 Maccabees, is ambivalent on the question of immortality. Like the psalmist, Sirach states that the shades no longer praise the Lord; this teaching, in turn, relates to an explicit denial of individual immortality (17:28-30). What remains of the individual after death is the memory of a good name and honorable life (37:26; 46:11; 49:13). Nevertheless, Sirach can speak of a national immortality (37:25) and, in poetic language, of the revival of the bones of dead judges and patriarchs (46:11f.; 49:10). There is also a promise of immortality to those who please God by obeying the law (19:19), but this is probably an interpolation.

The issue of individual immortality finds positive treatment in the Wisdom of Solomon. There are two probable sources for the doctrine: Hellenistic teaching concerning the preexistence and immortality of souls (cf. Wisd. 8:19f.; 9:15), and the ethical quandary of earlier wisdom literature over the common fate of the righteous and the wicked after death (Eccl. 9:3-6, 9f.). The theological basis for Wisdom's doctrine, moreover, is the doctrine of creation in the divine image: human beings were made for incorruptibility (Wisd. 2:23). God "did not make death" but "created all things that they might exist" (1:13f.). It is therefore an error to think that the souls of the righteous die and go to affliction and destruction: they suffer in this life but after death have peace with God (3:1-9). This doctrine appears subsequently in the thought of Philo, in Jubilees (23:31), and in 4 Maccabees (5:37; 9:8; 13:17), and it was attributed by Josephus to the Essenes (*BJ* ii.8.11 [154-58]).

In 2 Maccabees one encounters a fully developed doctrine of bodily resurrection. This is no longer a theological speculation but a firmly held belief sufficient to support allegiance to the law under the threat of painful death. The martyrs tell the tyrant Antiochus of their hoped-for resurrection and pronounce him liable to divine punishment (7:9, 11, 14); thus resurrection is viewed as a reward for obedience under the life-giving covenant of God (v. 36). Prayers and sin offerings are offered for the dead in the hope of resurrection (12:43-45). This resurrection, moreover, is physical and implies the restoration of the mutilated bodies of the righteous (14:46). In these passages (7:14; 12:43) Gk. *anástasis* first appears as a term for resurrection of the dead, but it is applied only to the righteous. Since 2 Maccabees does not contain an eschatological statement, the relation of its doctrine of resurrection to national hopes can only be assumed. The historical situation is, of course, analogous to that of Daniel.

As the above discussion of 2 Maccabees indicates, there is disagreement in the intertestamental literature over the extent of the resurrection. The "Ethiopic Enoch" (1 Enoch) contains virtually all the options in its collection of prophecies. Its "Similitudes" (chs. 37–71), which comprise a separate document, teach the resurrection of all Israel. The first section (chs. 1–36) of the remainder of Enoch indicates a resurrection of the righteous only, while

a later section (chs. 91–104) indicates a future immortality for the soul only (cf. 103:3f.). Another section (chs. 83–90) mirrors the theology of Daniel in its vision of a final defeat of unrighteousness, and the reestablishment of Israel. The resurrection is of the righteous only (90:33); the wicked and apostate, however, are cast into an eternal fire, which implies some doctrine of eternal torment (vv. 20-25). This picture of the end time significantly includes the conversion of the Gentiles (90:30) and their participation in the kingdom.

The idea of a resurrection of all humanity to a double judgment and double recompense occurs in three of the pseudepigraphal books. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (*ca.* 135-100 B.C.) mentions the resurrection of the patriarchs and heroes of the OT and a subsequent double resurrection, with the righteous going to the right hand of God and the wicked to the left (T. Benj. 10:6-8; cf. T. Jud. 25:4). The other two works, the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (early 2nd cent. A.D.) and 4 Ezra. (*ca.* 100 A.D.) are Jewish works, but the latter has strong theological affinities with Christian teaching and was preserved and used by the Church.

Baruch contains an extremely important description of the final resurrection that sheds some light on Paul's very difficult statements in 1 Cor. 15. Baruch the scribe inquires of God whether the resurrected will again receive their corruptible bodies which have been involved in evil or whether their bodies will be changed in the same manner that God will change the world (49:2f.). God answers that the earth will give back the dead just as it received them, so that they may recognize one another. The righteous will then be glorified and "receive the world which does not die." They will be unaffected by time and age and made more glorious than the angels (51:2-12). The wicked (probably without any transformation) will be consigned to the fires of Gehenna (85:13).

4 Ezra details even more clearly the separation of the righteous from the wicked (7:32-38), but it adds two unique features to the doctrine of resurrection. First, the time between the death of an individual and the final resurrection is explained by an elaborate doctrine of an intermediate state of torment for wicked souls and joy for the righteous (7:75-101). Second, the final resurrection of all mankind occurs after the death of "all who draw human breath," including the Messiah, and after seven days of "primeval silence" (7:29-31).

It may be observed that the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha contain no single doctrine of resurrection but manifest several distinct tendencies. The general development must be explained as an increasing desire to answer the great question of individual and national destiny and, if one assumes that the question is answered in an eschatological manner, the question of the relation of ethical religion to the final judgment. It is also apparent, from late developments in Jewish teaching (Syriac Apocalypse Baruch and 4 Ezra), that the NT expectation is not unique but fits into the broader context of late Jewish meditation on the last things. Josephus testified (*BJ* ii.8.14 [763]) to the pharisaic belief that the righteous will rise from the intermediate state and receive other bodies.

III. In the NT.–A. Terms. The NT employs two pairs of Greek terms with reference to Christ's resurrection: the verb *anístēmi* and the derivative noun, *anástasis*; and the verb *egeírō* with its noun form, *égersis*. Of the two verbs, *anístēmi* has a more general significance. It can refer to rising up in rebellion (Mk. 3:26; Acts 5:36), to rising or standing to read, pray, or speak (Lk. 4:16; Lk. 22:45), and even to raising children (Mt. 22:24). In fact, in the NT *anístēmi* usually does not refer to the Resurrection. *Egeírō* can also have the general sense of stand (Mt. 2:13f.), appear (24:11, 24), or awaken (Lk. 13:25) but Paul uses *egeírō*, with only one exception (Phil. 1:17), for the divine work of raising Christ from the dead (Rom. 4:24f.; 6:4, 9; 7:4; 8:11; 10:9; 1 Cor. 15:4, 12, 15; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:20; etc.), for the raising of other believers (1 Cor. 6:14; 2 Cor. 4:14; Eph. 5:14; Col. 2:12), or for the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15 passim; 2 Cor. 1:9).

The noun *égersis* occurs only once, in a reference to the Resurrection (Mt. 27:53). *Anástasis* is used, almost universally, as the noun for "resurrection of the dead." Coenen (*DNTT*, III, 276) may be correct in the contention that *egeírō* indicates "the action of God on and through Christ," while *anístēmi* generally refers to "that which happens in the realm of human experience." This certainly could be the implication of 1 Cor. 15:12-21, where Paul used *egeírō* exclusively in reference to Christ and the dead being raised by God, but employed *anístēmi*, not *égersis* (which might have been expected), for the resurrection of the dead. *See* RAISE.

B. In the Gospels. Jesus' preaching as recorded by the Gospel writers presupposes a doctrine of resurrection. In this belief the NT stands on the side of Jewish religion as found in the more apocalyptic of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings, in the teachings of the Pharisees, and, indeed, in the development of the OT hope. The most bitter opponents of a doctrine of resurrection were the Sadducees, who chose to accept only the literal view of the OT canon and go no farther.

This opposition provided Jesus with the opportunity to propound His own view of resurrection explicitly (Mk. 12:18-27 par. Mt. 22:23-33; Lk. 20:27-38). The Sadducees argued that by law a man must marry the wife of a deceased brother (Dt. 25:5-10); if seven brothers die in succession, each marrying in turn the widow of the first, to whom does the wife belong in the resurrection? Jesus refused to answer the question on the mocking level on which it was posed. Instead, He spoke of the difference between this life and the resurrected life: here marriage exists, but not there. The primary purpose for the levirate marriage described by the Sadducees was that a former brother's hope for children by his wife might be realized by a latter brother (*see* HUSBAND'S BROTHER). But in the resurrection, Jesus argued, "They cannot die any more, because they are equal to angels and are sons of God" (Lk. 20:36). The primary reason for marriage ceases because human nature has changed. Jesus' doctrine has affinity with that of 1 Enoch, and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch in its assertion of an angelic, spiritualized nature.

Following this basic refutation, Jesus added a second, theological consideration: the Sadducees, who held fast to Torah, confessed the "the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" and also believed this God to be the "God . . . of the living" (Lk. 20:37f. par.). They, not Jesus, were in contradiction, for the resurrection teaching alone can show the patriarchs to be alive, "for all live to him" (20:38; cf. Mt. 22:32 par. Mk. 12:26f.). The resurrection of the patriarchs is taught in Sirach, 4 Maccabees, and the Testament of Benjamin (see II above); again Jesus stands in remarkable continuity with earlier meditation. It is impossible to say, however, if His teaching implies an intermediate state in which the souls of the patriarchs await final resurrection. The Lukan conclusion, "for all live to him," extrapolates from the life of the patriarchs to the resurrection of all. In the immediate context this might imply a resurrection of the righteous only, but the teaching of Jesus elsewhere indicates a full resurrection of the righteous to bliss and of the wicked to torment (Mt. 8:11f.; 25:31-46; Lk. 13:28f.;

14:14; cf. Acts 24:15). The idea of a final judgment also implies the resurrection of all (Mt. 25:31-46; cf. 11:22-24).

In John's Gospel the theological implications of Jesus' teaching are further elaborated. Jesus' discourses in John manifest Him, the Son of man, as the agent in resurrection who bestows upon His people the life given Him by the Father (Jn. 6:53-58). Not only did John, like 1 Enoch, connect the coming of the Son of man with the resurrection (cf. 1 En. 51:1; 61:5), but he also emphasized the ethical ground for the resurrection in and through Christ: one must believe, hear the voice of the Son, and experience spiritual renewal (Jn. 5:25f.; 6:40, 52-58). In this Gospel Jesus' miraculous acts of raising the dead (acts that are not in themselves factors in the doctrine of the resurrection, except insofar as they have eschatological significance) manifest the power of life in Him, the power of resurrection, which even in this life defeats death. Jesus Himself is the resurrection and the life (Jn. 11:24-26). Moreover, the Johannine narrative of Jesus' postresurrection appearances evinces that Jesus' postresurrection body had both a spiritual nature (20:19, 26) and a physical nature (20:20, 27; 21:13, 15).

C. In Apostolic Teaching. The most obvious differences between Jesus' and the apostles' teaching on the resurrection are that the latter rests not only on earlier doctrine (including Jesus') but also and primarily upon the fact of Jesus' resurrection as it defines the life of faith and the preaching of the Gospel. In addition, the attempt to find the roots even of Paul's thought in Greek ideas of the soul and its immortality ought to be rejected (cf. Salmond, pp. 405f.; also note Charles, pp. 80, 155f.; Russell, pp. 19f., 387f.). This rejection does not mean that Greek language had no impact on the transmission of Jewish thought or that the entire NT did not arise out of a Hellenistic-Jewish milieu, but only that Hebrew religion was the origin for NT views on resurrection, not Platonism, and that the apostolic witness gives no inkling of real "body-soul dualism." In the NT the soul is not by nature immortal, but immortal only by the will of God; nor is soul a pure intelligence almost accidentally united with body (as in Platonism), but rather the center of individual identity and moral consciousness (cf. Ridderbos, pp. 544-49).

1. Non-Pauline. The few references to resurrection in non-Pauline apostolic writings occur in 1 Peter, Hebrews, and Revelation. Hebrews considers the resurrection of the dead to be one of the most basic doctrines for the new convert (6:1f.). The author views Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac as an act of faith resting on Abraham's belief in God's power to raise the dead (11:19). Even more significant as a development in doctrine and a utilization of tradition is the interpretation of the two OT revivifications as resurrections grounded in faith (11:35; cf. 1 K. 17:17-23; 2 K. 4:18-36)). Although Hebrews does not discuss the final resurrection, it has a well-developed teaching concerning Christ's second coming to save His people at the final judgment (9:27f.; 10:37). They will be brought to glory through Christ and will have the vision of God (2:10; 12:14).

First Peter sets forth even more briefly the promise of a heavenly inheritance, "imperishable, undefiled, and unfading," (1:4). It is given to those born again "to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (1:3). The fact of Christ's resurrection gives confidence to believers (1:21) who have been born again "of imperishable seed" (1:23). Jewish eschatology and its view of the resurrected life accord with this view very closely. In addition, two extremely difficult passages in 1 Peter (3:19f.; 4:5-6f.; cf. 2 Pet. 3:4) may refer to an intermediate state during which moral progress may take place — as adumbrated in 2 Macc. 12:43-45.

Likewise Revelation speaks cryptically of the "first resurrection" (20:5f.) that precedes the final resurrection to judgment. This "first resurrection" may refer to a populating of the millennial kingdom or it may refer to the new birth of believers during the age of the Church preceding the end.

2. Pauline. For the sake of convenience, the Pauline doctrine of resurrection can be divided into two sections: teaching about the future resurrection of believers to salvation, which is intimately related to Paul's expectation of the coming kingdom and the eschatological appearance of Christ; and the elaborate representation of the resurrection itself as a transformation of the individual believer.

In portraying resurrection as a future event, Paul contrasted the lowly, crucified existence of Christians in the present age with the glory that will be bestowed upon them in the second coming of Christ (Phil. 3:20f.). Christians know the power of Christ's resurrection and share in Christ's sufferings in the hope of the future resurrection from the dead (vv. 10f.). Faith in the past event of Christ's resurrection as the basis of future hope is the foundation of Paul's preaching (1 Cor. 15:12-20). Christ's victory over death is the first fruit, to be followed by the new life of those who belong to Him (v. 23); destruction awaits those who do not follow Christ (Phil 3:18f.). This latter point seems to refer to a future resurrection of the wicked to judgment, but Paul only hinted at that event (2 Cor. 5:10). Like John, he so intimately linked resurrection with life in Christ that the resurrection of the wicked is left undescribed, as of a different order (cf. Jn. 5:25-29).

The doctrine of a double resurrection — of the righteous and of the wicked — leads naturally to the question whether an interval of time separates the two. Support for this view is frequently drawn from 1 Cor. 15:23-26 and 1 Thess. 4:16f. Such an interpretation of the first passage rests upon the assumption of a final battle involving Christ (1 Cor. 15:25), after believers are resurrected at His second coming (v. 23). But this assumption is negated by the identification of the final enemy as death (v. 26), which is defeated in the fact of the resurrection of the dead. The resurrection of the wicked is not mentioned at all here. A similar view results from careful examination of 1 Thess. 4:16f. Here the statement that the dead in Christ will rise first simply places this resurrection before the reunion of the resurrected believers with those alive at the time of the second coming (v. 17). In order for this text to indicate a resurrection of believers before the final resurrection, the text must refer to events before the end time and to Christ's coming from heaven prior to His final coming. But the text will not bear such interpretation. The most likely reading of these texts, in the light of resurrection in the Gospels, suggests one final resurrection at the time of the second coming, judgment, and dawn of the kingdom. This reading accords with the teachings of 2 Tim. 4:1 and the doctrine of Paul as recorded in Acts 24:15. (For a presentation of the two-resurrection interpretation see W. S. LaSor, *The Truth about Armageddon* [1972], pp. 171-175.)

Paul's discussion of the nature of the resurrected body is bound up with the development of NT doctrine away from the older assumption that resurrection belongs to the restoration of Israel toward the wider sense of resurrection's cosmic significance Those who live not for themselves but for the sake of Christ, who died and rose for them, are in Christ and belong to "the new creation" (2 Cor. 5:15, 17). "The redemption of our bodies" belongs to "the revealing of the sons of God," the event for

which the entire creation waits and in which it will be freed from "bondage to decay" (Rom. 8:19-23). The event toward which Paul pointed is a transformation of all things, a reconcilliation made possible by the blood of the Christ by whom and for whom all things have been created (Col. 1:15-20). At the center of this creative work is the ultimate future of those who have been set free from sin and death in Christ. The transformation of humanity in the resurrection is the focal point of the transformation of all things — much as humanity, created in the image of God, is the focal point of the Genesis creation narratives.

In Paul's vision of the resurrected body, conquered death plays a role. The body's death and burial is like a seed planted in the earth. Death becomes not a terror but a transition (1 Cor. 15:35f.). For Paul the transition itself and the seed image imply a difference as well as a continuity between the present body and the resurrected body. The "sown" body is only the "kernel" of what will be. God bestows the new body and determines its character (vv. 38-41). The thought here may be similar to that in 2 Cor. 5:1-4, where Paul spoke more radically of the destruction of the present human body and viewed the resurrected body as a "heavenly dwelling" which is "put on," as new clothing that brings life. The present body is "terrestrial," the future body "celestial" (1 Cor. 15:40).

In the resurrection of the dead the perishable becomes imperishable, the weak and the dishonored become powerful and glorious: "It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:44). Here Paul gave a clue to his meaning. The present body is *psychikón,* animated by *psyché,* whereas the resurrected body is *pneumatikón,* animated by *pneúma.* Since it is God's power in Christ that raises up the dead, a power quite beyond the natural capabilities of humanity, it is also the divine and heavenly power of spirit, *pneúma* that continues to vivify the renewed body. There is a new life but a continuity of human identity; those made in the image of the first Adam, "the man of dust," are drawn toward the image of the last Adam, the Christ. This is a new creation, but it depends on the first which necessarily preceded it (vv. 45-49). Since perishable flesh and blood do not inherit the kingdom, the perishable must "put on" the imperishable, the mortal must "put on" the immortal (vv. 50-53; cf. 2 Cor. 5:1-4). Paul's doctrine has much in common with the Apocalypse of Baruch and probably with the pharisaic doctrine in which he had been trained, but it also accords with the Gospel accounts of the resurrection body of Jesus and must be seen as dependent on the earliest Christian community's sense of the reality of the risen Lord.

3. Conclusion. The apostolic teaching, as a whole, represents a development of teaching in strong continuity with the OT faith as mediated through the intertestamental literature. On the one hand, the incipient universalism of OT monotheism, together with the growing belief of the prophets that the final kingdom would encompass all the earth (Hag. 2:6f.; Zec. 14:16f. Dnl. 7:14, 27; etc.), reaches fruition in the doctrine of a general resurrection for the establishment of God's kingdom. On the other hand, the OT concern over the relation of Yahweh, the giver of life, to the shades in Sheol develops in the direction seen in the Psalms, toward a doctrine of God's power over Hades itself (cf. Acts 2:27, 31 with Ps. 16:8-11). Even Hades must give up its dead before the power of God (Rev. 20:13f.). In this teaching the individual and the corporate elements of OT teaching conjoin: the general resurrection implies a corporate destiny that encompasses all human beings, that pays just recompense to all the righteous and to all the wicked (Acts 24:15; Rev. 20:11-15), and that establishes the kingdom of God for the resurrected righteous, although this kingdom, in contrast to Israel, is spiritual and incorruptible, as are its human inhabitants (cf. Rev. 21:1-4).

IV. In the Early Church.–The early Church's doctrine of the resurrection maintains the balance of the NT doctrine by emphasizing both individual and corporate resurrection. Among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius gave the clearest statement of the hope in individual resurrection. Just as in the Pauline corpus, individual resurrection is seen as intimately related to the resurrection of Christ and the believer's present life in Christ. What is distinctive in Ignatius's teaching is the relationship established between present cross-bearing under persecution, in imitation of Christ, and the hope of resurrection as the reward given those who persevere in Christ (cf. Ign. Rom. 5:3–6:3; Smyrn. 4:2).

A less personal and more broadly eschatological view appears in the Didache and Epistle of Barnabas. The Didache (ch. 16) describes the impending tribulation, the rise of false prophets, and then Parousia, when the general resurrection of the dead will occur. The Epistle of Barnabas sees the course of history mirrored in the six days of creation and expects the final judgment, the resurrection of the righteous to bliss and of the wicked to torment, to inaugurate the millennial seventh day (15:1-9; 21:1). All the Apostolic Fathers placed a strong emphasis on the Christ-like ethical righteousness of believers, so that they inherit the resurrection instead of the judgment inherited by the world.

The Apologists added a theoretical dimension to the doctrine of resurrection. Several separate treatises, one attributed to Justin and one that unquestionably comes from Athenagoras, address this doctrine. Both writers assumed that the resurrection assures the eternal integrity of the person. Athenagoras argued that soul and body are a unity: the soul does not do good apart from the body, nor is the body sinful without the will of the soul. If the soul deserves punishment for sin, so does the body — but if the soul is worthy of preservation by God, the body also receives the gift (*De resurrectione mortuorum* xviii-xxiii). Death, which severs body and soul, appears as unnatural, the result of sin, whereas resurrection affirms the purpose of humanity, which is eternal life with God (xii-xvii). This doctrine stands in harmony with the power of God (i-x). While desiring to present Christianity in a manner intelligible to classical culture, the Apologists demonstrated, however, that they were intent upon preserving a biblical view of human nature and human destiny against Platonism and Gnostic dualism.

These teachings carried over into the next generation, as shown by the centrality of the doctrine of resurrection of the dead in the earliest credal statements of the Church and by the almost strident anti-Gnostic statements of Irenaeus and Tertullian affirming the resurrection of the body. Like the book of Hebrews, the Church of the 2nd and 3rd cents. viewed resurrection as a basic teaching and included it, as of equal weight with forgiveness of sins and the Last Judgment, in the baptismal formulas (cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.9.3f.; see also the Apostle's Creed). Tertullian in polemics strongly linked the reality of Christ's body to the hope of salvation, insisted upon Christ's resurrection, and viewed it as the paradigm for the resurrection of believers (*De carne Christi* 3, 5, 11-13; *De res.* 38).

Throughout patristic teaching the identity of the resurrected body with the earthly body is affirmed. Indeed, most of the biblical teaching is reproduced and developed in a broad synthesis: the dignity of the human being as

a creature of God, the ethical end of humanity under the divine pledge of reward for obedience, the unity of the human being in body and soul, and above all the power of God that is as capable of resurrecting the body as it was capable of creating the world out of nothing (cf. Tertullian *De res.* 11-15; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* v. 4.1–7.2).

Although the Fathers' millennial interpretations differed, they uniformly taught a general resurrection to life and glory for the righteous and to eternal death and punishment for the wicked. Their source of doctrine was both the NT and the OT, including such texts as Isa. 26:19 and Ezk. 37, the latter having become in the history of interpretation a prophecy of resurrection (cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* v. 15.1-4; 27. 1–28.4; Tertullian *De res.* 14, 17. 29).

See IMMORTAL; QUICKEN; RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

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RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST [(nouns) Gk. *anástasis* (Acts 1:22; 2:31; 4:33; Phil. 3:10; 1 Pet. 1:3; 3:21; etc.), *égersis* (Mt. 27:53); (verbs) *anístēmi* (Acts 2:24, 32; 17:3, 31; 1 Thess. 4:14; etc.), *egeírō* (Mk. 14:28; 16:6; Lk. 24:34; Jn. 2:22; 21:14; Acts 3:15; 1 Cor. 15:4, 12-17; 1 Pet. 1:21; etc.)].

I. Importance of the Resurrection
II. Resurrection Proofs
  A. Empty Tomb
  B. Post-resurrection Appearances
  C. Experience of the Christian Church
  D. Absence of Satisfactory Alternative Explanations
III. Modern Understandings
IV. Theological Significance

I. The Importance of the Resurrection.–Jesus' resurrection has always been understood as something unique; it was the defeat of death, not a return to life like Lazarus's raising. It followed a unique life and an atoning death, and thus it means more to say that Jesus rose from the dead than it would to say that anyone else did so. Significantly Jesus predicted several times that He would rise (Gk. *egeírō* in Mt. 16:21; 17:9, 23; 20:19; 26:32; 27:63f.; 28:6f.; Mk. 14:28; Lk. 9:22; Gk. *anístēmi* in Mk. 8:31; 9:9, 31; 10:34; Lk. 18:33; 24:7, 46; etc.). To see all these repeated and confident predictions as the creation of the early Church is difficult. If the Gospel records are trustworthy, then Jesus did predict that He would rise. His veracity is involved.

Also the Christians emphasized the Resurrection when they first set about preaching in Jerusalem (Acts 1:22; 2:24, 32; 3:15; etc.). That Jesus rose from the dead after He had been killed gripped them and became the main point in their proclamation. Certainly the early Church was built on the preaching of the Resurrection. If there had been no Resurrection there could have been no preaching; the Resurrection was central for the believers and gave them their message. If there was no Resurrection Christianity was built on a foundation of sand. Paul in particular saw the Resurrection as fundamentally important; without it Christian preaching and faith were vain and empty (1 Cor. 15:14). He affirmed confidently that Christ had risen and that this is the assurance that redemption has been accomplished and that believers will one day rise. He saw the Resurrection as closely linked to the divine power in the believer's life (Rom. 6:9-11; Eph. 1:19f.; Phil. 3:10).

II. Resurrection Proofs.–Matthew Arnold called Jesus' resurrection "the best-attested fact in human history," and judged by traditional historical criteria it certainly comes out well. Some historians object since the Resurrection is unique: we have nothing with which to compare it, no class in which to put it. Traditionally three main lines of evidence attest it.

A. Empty Tomb. The four Gospels agree that Jesus' body was placed in a tomb after His crucifixion and that two days later the tomb was empty. There are differences in the accounts but impressive agreement on the main fact. K. Lake suggested that the women came to the wrong tomb and when they were told "He is not here" (Mk. 16:6), meaning "He is in another tomb," they misunderstood and spread the story of a resurrection. Such an explanation raises more questions than it answers. Why did the women experience "trembling and astonishment" and fear (Mk. 16:8)? These are not normal responses to the suggestion that one is looking in the wrong place. And did no one ever find the right tomb? Improbabilities abound, so that Lake's idea is seldom advanced today.

Significantly no one in NT times seems to have disputed the point. W. Pannenberg points out that Jewish polemic "shared the conviction with its Christian opponents that Jesus' grave was empty" (*Jesus—God and Man* [Eng. tr. 1968], p. 101). All known traditions agree that the tomb was empty (though disagreement exists as to whether the body was raised or removed). Paul does not specifically say that the tomb was empty. Consequently some scholars have argued that he knew nothing of the empty grave, but relied wholly on the appearances. But the vanished body is clearly in mind when Paul says that Jesus "was buried, that he was raised on the third day . . . "(1 Cor. 15:4); these words mean that if a physical body was buried, then a physical body was raised. In fact Paul's treatment of the resurrection of believers clearly implies this. "We shall all be changed," he writes, and then explains that "this perishable nature must put on the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on immortality" (1 Cor. 15:52f.). Paul does not refer to the survival of an immortal soul but to a change in this mortal body, and integral to his whole argument is that Jesus has undergone this change. The speeches in Acts also imply an empty tomb. For example, "he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption" (Acts 2:31), and "they . . . laid him in a tomb. But God raised him from the dead" (Acts 13:29f.).

Some argue that the earliest resurrection stories concern appearances of the Risen One and that the empty tomb is a later invention. But this thesis overlooks the Pauline evidence and fails to notice that the initial emphasis upon the appearances does not preclude knowledge of the empty tomb. Perhaps the empty tomb, though known from the beginning, was not talked about much while people preferred the exciting stories of personal meetings with Jesus. Attention was drawn to the tomb when it was seen to be important.

Now if the tomb was empty the question of how this came about confronts us. Apart from the Resurrection itself the only explanation is that friends or foes removed the body. But friends would not have done this. Although

citing no evidence Joseph Klausner held Joseph of Arimathea responsible for the deed. Klausner's reasoning has convinced few. The disciples did not expect a resurrection and no evidence exists of a conspiracy to steal the body as the chief priests and Pharisees feared (Mt. 27:64). Moreover, these enemies of Jesus secured a guard over the tomb to prevent any grave robbing (27:65f.). The conclusive objection, however, is that the early disciples suffered for preaching the Resurrection, as the early chapters of Acts clearly show. If they had stolen the body they would not have been ready to suffer for saying that Jesus rose. And if the sect was troublesome enough to be persecuted, the Jewish leaders would have been eager to purchase information about the theft and the location of the body. The whole suggestion is improbable.

The idea that Jesus' enemies removed the body is no better. They would have had even less motive than His friends. By taking the body Jesus' enemies would have ironically encouraged resurrection stories to arise. And, of course, the guard would have presented as big a difficulty to them as to the Christians. But what is conclusive is the enemies' failure to produce the body when Jesus' followers began to make converts. Producing the body would have disproven the Resurrection once and for all. It would have dealt a death blow to the new sect. That the Jewish leaders did not do so evinces that they did not have the body. W. H. Griffith Thomas, quoting Fairbairn, stated, "The silence of the Jews is as significant as the speech of the Christians" (*ISBE* [1929], IV, 2566).

Significantly the grave clothes were undisturbed (Lk. 24:12; Jn. 20:6f.). Long ago Chrysostom pointed out that grave robbers would not have stolen the body naked because of time restraints and other difficulties ("it was buried with much myrrh, which glues linen to the body not less firmly than lead" [*Hom. 85 on Jn. 4*]). The Gospels describe an orderly scene, not one of confusion that would have resulted had the grave clothes been torn from the body. That something extraordinary had taken place is shown by the fact that the beloved disciple "saw and believed" (Jn. 20:8).

B. Post-resurrection Appearances. The five written accounts (the four Gospels and 1 Cor. 15) tell of ten different appearances by Jesus after the Resurrection, five on the first day, five more spread over forty days, then an abrupt cessation. Although it is not easy to fit together the events of the first Easter morning, it is not impossible. Westcott (see *Gospel According to St. John* [1954], pp. 335f.) and others have done it. Knowing which, if any, is the correct reconstruction is impossible, but each certainly shows a possible arrangement of the information in a credible sequence. Moreover, the problem of varying accounts is not confined to the Resurrection; problems arising from differences in details in the sources attend almost every event in history, but this does not shake our certainty about the main events. Differences in the scriptural records only indicate accounts from independent witnesses, not the repetition of an official tale.

Significantly great variety exists among the witnesses. The first to see Jesus were women, which is an incidental note of veracity. A manufactured story would have indicated only men, for the Jews did not accept the testimony of women (Josephus gave the rule, "From women let no evidence be accepted, because of the levity and temerity of their sex;" *Ant.* iv.8.15 [219]). But Jesus also appeared to one person (e.g., Cephas, 1 Cor. 15:5), to two on the way to Emmaus (Lk. 24:13–15), to the Eleven (Jn. 20:24-28), and on one occasion to more than five hundred (1 Cor. 15:6). Especially important is Paul, an intelligent and well-educated man and one with a bias against the Christians. But he is emphatic that he saw the risen Jesus, and this certainty altered the whole course of his subsequent life. This must have occurred within a very few years of the crucifixion (cf. the time notes in Gal. 1:18; 2:1), and perhaps as little as one year as H. C. Kee and F. W. Young suggested (*Living World of the NT* [1971], p. 215). Importantly Paul made the claim early, for his letters, the oldest available documents that record this claim, were written within twenty or thirty years of Jesus' death. Paul says that "most" of the five hundred to whom Jesus appeared were still alive (1 Cor. 15:6); thus they could be interrogated. That there is no evidence of any serious attempt to refute the testimony to the Resurrection is significant.

Objections raised in regard to the appearance narratives include that they are not coherent, and that they give contradictory accounts for the locations of the appearances; e.g., Matthew, Mark, and Jn. 21 point to Galilee as the location, while Luke and Jn. 20 indicate Jerusalem as the place. But appearances in one locality do not rule out appearances in another. Moreover there may well be a quite natural explanation; C. F. D. Moule suggested that the movements of pilgrims to Jerusalem for the great feasts and their homeward return accounted for the difference (*NTS*, 4 [1957-58], 58-61). Also, "Galilee" might be a name applied to a place on the Mt. of Olives (*see* JERUSALEM III.H.16).

C. Experience of the Christian Church. The conviction that Jesus had risen from the dead transformed the first disciples. Belief in the Resurrection took place in spite of them rather than because of them. At the time of the crucifixion "they all forsook him, and fled" (Mk. 14:50). When the women told the eleven that they had seen Jesus alive "these words seemed to them an idle tale, and they did not believe them" (Lk. 24:11). The two on the way to Emmaus were clearly without hope, even though they had heard the women's report (24:13-24). Yet these same people shortly afterward risked imprisonment and even death as they preached "Jesus and the resurrection." What caused this astounding transformation? It must have taken hard evidence to convince people like Peter, Thomas, and Paul. Yet they were convinced that Jesus had risen. That people were imprisoned and that Stephen and James suffered death is significant. People do not usually run such risks unless they are very sure of themselves. When confronted with such great perils they are apt to look for an alternative explanation of that for which they may be put to death. But the disciples were quite firm. They were sure of the Resurrection.

It is important to realize the depths out of which faith came. The crucifixion had crushed the disciples. One may argue that the appearances engendered a contagious and growing enthusiasm. But how did it start? Apparently no follower of Jesus retained faith and optimism after the crucifixion. Only gloom and emptiness prevailed, and these elements did not produce a contagious faith. But what happened on Easter morning made the difference.

Enshrined at the heart of Christian worship is this Resurrection certainty, and people do not put what is uncertain or unimportant in the forefront of their approach to God. The first believers were all Jews, and the Jews held tenaciously to their ancient customs. But these new believers replaced the Sabbath as the day of worship with the Lord's day, a weekly reminder of the Resurrection. Regarding their rite of initiation it could be said, "you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him" (Col. 2:12). Similarly the Lord's Supper was a thanksgiving for the presence and blessings

of the living Lord, not a commemoration of a dead martyr. The believer's whole worshiping life revolved around the Resurrection.

Further, the Christian Church is not an obscure sect that made a brief appearance on the stage of history and quickly passed away. Instead, it is a living body that is a reality after more than nineteen centuries, marked by diverse troubles, by opposition from different enemies, and by frequent, internal unspirituality and sloth. Its enemies have always been prophesying its speedy demise, but this has not occurred. Indeed, the Church has never had as many adherents as today, and, despite coldness in some of its members, there is still an astonishing vitality about the Church. And the Church's risen and ascended Lord supplies the spiritual power that makes all this possible. If Christ did not rise then the Church's continuing existence is a first-class enigma.

C. F. D. Moule argued this convincingly. He pointed to the fact that the Church was created by the preaching that the Messiah Jesus had been crucified but had risen from the dead. Moule asked, "If the coming into existence of the Nazarenes, a phenomenon undeniably attested by the NT, rips a great hole in history, a hole of the size and shape of Resurrection, what does the secular historian propose to stop it up with?" (*Phenomenon of the NT* [1967], p. 3). Moule did not, of course, argue that the existence of any movement proves the veracity of its teachings. He argued that any great movement flourishes not because its errors but despite them; the dynamic of a movement is the element of truth in it. Moule also said that the one factor characteristic of the Christians, which was the reason for their existence, one which separated them from the Jews, was their conviction that Jesus had risen from the dead. If that was mistaken, how can one account for the appearance and the continuing existence of the Church?

D. Absence of Satisfactory Alternative Explanations. The empty tomb is a fact, as is the continuing existence of the Church that preaches the Resurrection. But are there other explanations than the traditional doctrine of the Resurrection?

Some have suggested that the facts are better explained if one holds that Jesus did not die on the cross. The argument runs that Jesus, overcome by pain and physical exhaustion, fainted and was mistakenly taken down as dead. In the coolness of the tomb He revived and later the women found it empty. They concluded that He was alive and wonderful stories began to circulate. But such an explanation bristles with difficulties. The skilled Roman executioners were not likely to have allowed burial before Jesus was really dead. And how did He get out of the tomb? How could this weak, wounded person stimulate the disciples into the vigorous life of the early chapters of Acts? What became of Jesus? Where did He live and how and where did He finally die? Questions multiply and answers do not appear. Theories like this are untenable and are seldom advanced today.

Others think the explanation is to be found in hallucinations. The disciples were in earnest and really believed that Jesus had risen, but it was all illusion; there was nothing real to correspond to their "visions." At first sight plausible, all such theories ignore what is known about hallucinations. These happen to people more or less expecting them, but the disciples (especially Thomas) never imagined seeing Jesus again. Hallucinations tend to continue once started, but the appearances were mostly on the first day and they ceased abruptly after forty days. Hallucinations are personal, but Paul said that more than five hundred people saw the risen Jesus at one time. The resurrection appearances simply do not conform to the best knowledge about hallucinations.

III. Modern Understanding.—Since the resurrection of Jesus best explains a solid body of evidence, most Christians have always accepted it. But in recent times much discussion has questioned the meaning of "resurrection."

Some draw attention to the problem that attends the meanings of "history" and "historical," which makes the use of these terms with respect to the Resurrection a dubious procedure. By definition, the historical limits historians. They proceed by studying documents, artifacts, etc., and by applying human reasoning to their interpretation. They cannot arrive at any conclusion that does not accord with human precedents and human reason. But no parallels exist for the resurrection of Jesus, and it does not result from a chain of human reasoning. So historians may say that the Resurrection is not to be included among "historical facts."

This often leads to a reverent agnosticism. Thus Günther Bornkamm sees the Resurrection as one of the things "removed from historical scholarship. History cannot ascertain and establish conclusively the facts about" it. Indeed, "The last historical fact available . . . is the Easter faith of the first disciples" (*Jesus of Nazareth* [Eng. tr. 1960], p. 180). He cannot say what did happen on that Easter day, although he sees it as very important. It is "above all else God's acknowledgment of this Jesus," and it is an "event *in* this time and this world, and yet at the same time an event which puts an end and a limit to this time and this world" (p. 184).

Sometimes this kind of agnosticism about the event on Easter day leads to radical conclusions. Thus Rudolph Bultmann accepted the proposition that "Jesus has risen in the kerygma" (see his essay in C. E. Braaten and R. A. Harrisville, eds., *Historical Jesus and the Kerygmatic Christ* [1964], pp. 15-42). "To believe in the Christ present in the kerygma is the meaning of the Easter faith" (p. 42). Similarly Paul van Buren prefers "not to speak of the Easter event as a 'fact' at all . . . We can say something about the situation before Easter, and we can say other things about the consequences of the Easter event, but the resurrection does not lend itself to being spoken of as a 'fact,' for it cannot be described" (*Secular Meaning of the Gospel* [1963], p. 128). Jesus was "a free man" put to death because his freedom was a threat to "insecure and bound men." At Easter Peter and others "experienced a discernment situation;" they then told the story of Jesus "as the story of the free man who had set them free" (p. 134).

W. Marxsen has also found it hard to believe the resurrection stories. He finds Paul the "only direct witness to whom we could appeal" (p. 112), and even Paul must be interpreted very carefully. In the end for Marxsen, "'Jesus is risen' simply means: today the crucified Jesus is calling us to believe" (p. 128). Yet another radical way of viewing Easter is to say with J. A. T. Robinson, that the only way of making the Resurrection intelligible is to see it cosmically, "primarily as a statement about the world;" "The gospel of the Resurrection is the gospel of a new world" (*Christian Freedom in a Permissive Society* [1970], p. 137).

One must always remember that nowhere does the NT say that anyone saw Jesus rise, and nowhere does it describe precisely what happened. There is room for reverent reserve. But certainly the historian can say more than the aforementioned theologians will allow. For although they seem to deny the possibility of a miracle on the physical level, they are prepared to settle for a change in the disciples. They do not seem to reckon with

RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST

the fact that this does not get rid of the miracle. It does not even get rid of the physical, for such a "change" means a mental process and this involves the brain. As F. G. Downing put it, "it would have to have been a 'physical' event of some order to have been an *event* at all. A human 'mental' change is as physical as resurrection" (*Has Christianity a Revelation?* [1964], p. 81 n.1). One is left inquiring what it was that caused the mental change. Little point exists in exchanging the question, "What happened to the body of Jesus?" for "What happened to the brains of the disciples?" If Jesus was not raised in the way the disciples said He was, then a miracle caused them to think that it had happened. But whatever God did on that Easter convinced the disciples of Jesus' resurrection and this formed the basis of their preaching. This, of course, introduces a moral question. Must one believe that God made the disciples believe something that was not true?

Historians agree that the early disciples believed that a resurrection had taken place, but find themselves unable to say more. A. Richardson quotes Bornkamm's words about "the Easter faith" as being "the last historical fact," and says, "But such an attitude involves the abandoning of historical method altogether, for the historian cannot admit that there are any 'last facts' in history, for they would be causeless events" (*History, Sacred and Profane* [1964], p. 196). Something caused the faith of the disciples and a refusal to discover the cause is poor historical procedure. Was it possibly caused by Jesus' resurrection from the dead, or were the disciples mistaken or deluded? Few today would espouse either of the last two options, for "historical research has not produced any convincing evidence that the event of Jesus' resurrection fits the model of myth, pure legend or delusion" (T. Peters, *CBQ*, 35 [1973], 481). The idea that God intervened and raised Jesus at least covers the facts; nothing else suggested so far does. Admittedly the strict application of the historical method does not "prove" the Resurrection. Yet the facts do point to this.

Those who make a somewhat more cautious assessment of the evidence often suggest keeping open the possibility that Jesus' bones still rest in the soil of Palestine. But is this being fair to the evidence? In the end it means that Jesus' body remained dead; all that happened in the Resurrection was that the disciples somehow received the assurance that Jesus still lived. But, as S. Neill says, "the disciples were *not* stating that Jesus continued somehow to survive in the unseen world. They affirmed that death had been conquered; that by a tremendous manifestation of his power God had raised Jesus out of Sheôl." They did not say simply that God had vindicated Jesus, but that "the whole universe had become a new place" *Interpretation of the NT: 1861-1961* [1964], p. 288). These cautious people do well to remind us not to make too much of the evidence. But they must be reminded not to make too little of it either. Specifically that aspect of the NT that emphasizes the defeat of death must receive serious attention. This has always been an important part of the authentic Christian message, and the defeat of death does not mean the decaying of a dead body in the grave.

IV. Theological Significance.–Certainly the NT writers attach theological importance to the Resurrection. They keep returning to it and find in it a rich mine of spiritual truth. It is a vindication of Jesus. People had rejected Him and had cruelly put Him to death, but God reversed this. Christ died for our sins and the Resurrection is the assurance that His death is effective (1 Cor. 15:14-17, 22). "God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:36; cf. 2:23f.; 3:15; Rom. 1:4; 4:24f.; He. 13:20; etc.). While the NT writers occasionally say that Jesus rose from the dead, mostly they say that God raised Him (or similarly that He "was raised"). This resurrection triumph includes a victory over "the principalities and powers," a victory God won in Christ (Col. 2:13-15).

The Resurrection means the union of believers with Christ; His people are no longer separated from Him. Christ explicitly promised "I am with you always, to the close of the age" (Mt. 28:20; cf. "I go away, and I will come to you," Jn. 14:28). He has opened up for us "the new and living way" whereby we approach God (He. 10:20). God has "made us alive together with Christ . . . and raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 2:5f.). The Resurrection has released a new power for Christian living (Phil. 3:10). For the early Christians the Resurrection was not simply a fact of past history. It affected their daily living and a "walk with Christ" was for them a vital reality.

But the Resurrection means more than individual salvation for it inaugurated the new age. Christ has delivered us from "the present evil age" (Gal. 1:4; cf. Eph. 2:2). In Him there is a "new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come" (2 Cor. 5:17). The Jews looked forward to the resurrection of the dead at the end of this age. God would raise the dead and the new order would appear. The Christians held that Jesus' resurrection had already inaugurated the new age, so that believers experience now a foretaste of the age to come. Christ is "the beginning, the firstborn from the dead" (Col. 1:18; cf. Rev. 1:5); He is "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20); "we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (1 Pet. 1:3). Believers can proclaim "in Jesus the resurrection from the dead" (Acts 4:2). This is linked with the gift of the Spirit (Rom. 8:11).

This does not mean that the coming age has arrived in all its fulness. In Christ is the assurance of our future resurrection. Paul is confident that "God raised the Lord" and that He "will also raise us up by his power" (1 Cor. 6:14). The Savior "will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body" (Phil. 3:21). Since "we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his" (Rom. 6:5). Christ's resurrection assures us that we have received much here and now. But it also points to a glorious future.

Further it gives us a place at the Parousia, Christ's return at the end of the age. For "God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep" (1 Thess 4:14), and "he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also with Jesus" (2 Cor. 4:14).

The resurrection of Jesus Christ is thus the decisive happening. It set the seal of God on the atoning work of the Savior, it inaugurated the new age, it sent the early preachers out with renewed vitality and a message worth taking to the ends of the earth. It is the hope of God's people still.

See also RAISE; RESURRECTION.

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L. MORRIS

RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST, BOOK OF THE, BY BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE. An apocryphal work that purports to have been written by Bartholomew and given to his son Thaddeus. The work was probably composed in Egypt during the 5th or 6th cent. and is extant only in Coptic. See *ANT,* pp. 181-87; H-S, I, 485, 503-508.

See also APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS V.D.

RETAIN. The RSV translation of several OT verbs: Heb. *kālā'* (lit. "restrain" [so NEB], "keep back") in Eccl. 8:8; *'āṣar* (lit. "keep") in Dnl. 10:8, 16; 11:6; the piel of *'āmaṣ* (lit. "strengthen" [so AV]) in Am. 2:14; and the hiphil of *ḥāzaq* (lit. "keep hold of") in Jgs. 7:8; Mic. 7:18 (cf. also AV Jgs. 19:4; Job 2:9). On Jn. 20:23, *see* RETENTION OF SINS.

The AV also uses "retain" to render Heb. *tāmaḵ* (lit. "lay hold of," "hold fast") in Prov. 3:18; 4:4; 11:16 (RSV "hold fast," "get"); Gk. *échō* (in the phrase *échein en epignōsei,* lit. "have in knowledge"; RSV "acknowledge") in Rom. 1:28; and *katéchō* (lit. "hold back, keep") in Philem. 13 (RSV "keep").

N. J. O.

RETENTION OF SINS. The opposite of forgiveness of sins. In Jn. 20:23b the RSV twice renders Gk. *kratéō* ("hold fast, keep hold of") by "retain" in the phrase, "if you retain the sins of any, they are retained" (cf. NEB "if you pronounce them unforgiven, unforgiven they remain"). This contrasts with the preceding clause, in which Jesus says, "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven" (v. 23a). In the Gospel and Epistles of John, forgiveness (or remaining unforgiven) is directly connected with one's believing (or unbelieving) response to Jesus and the confession (or denial) of one's sin (Jn. 1:29; 8:24; 9:41; 15:22, 24; 16:8f.; 1 Jn. 1:9f.; 2:12). Apart from repentance and faith, one's sins are retained. Thus as Jesus' disciples proclaim the gospel, the sins of those who hear it are either forgiven or retained, depending on their response.

See also KEY; KEYS, POWER OF THE.

T. F. JOHNSON

RETRIBUTION [Gk. *antapódoma*–'repayment, reward, recompense'] (Rom. 11:9); AV RECOMPENCE; [*misthapodosía*–'reward'] (He. 2:2); AV RECOMPENCE OF REWARD. Deserved punishment for evil, but also deserved reward for good.

It is impossible to document in detail the biblical idea of retribution since it underlies countless passages in both Testaments. Only a brief treatment is attempted here, and the reader is encouraged to consult the bibliography.

I. Terms and Concepts
  A. Modern
  B. Biblical
II. Human Retribution
  A. Personal Retribution
    1. Private Dealings with Dependents
    2. Private Dealings with Others
      a. Positive Retribution
      b. Negative Retribution
  B. Civil Retribution
    1. Prescribed by Civil Law
    2. Ordained by God
      a. For Punishing the Wicked
      b. For Benefiting the Good
III. Divine Retribution
  A. Retribution in History
    1. OT Views
      a. The Mosaic Covenant and the Origins of the OT View
      b. Prophetic View
      c. The View in Proverbs
      d. The Deuteronomistic View
      e. The Davidic Covenant and the Modification of the OT View
      f. The View in Psalms
    2. NT Views
      a. Gospels
      b. Epistles
    3. Summary: God's Punitive Retribution in History
      a. Theological Significance
      b. Pastoral Application
      c. Inequity, Caprice, and Unpredictability
  B. Eschatological Retribution
IV. Retribution, Salvation, and Love

I. Terms and Concepts.–A. Modern. Many people view the concepts of retribution and vengeance negatively as a petty returning of injury for injury. Even some Christians since the days of Marcion have had trouble reconciling the God of the OT — a "God of vengeance" (Ps. 94) whose law occasionally commands a primitive and pitiless returning of injury for injury (Lev. 24:17-21; Dt. 19:21) — with the God of the NT, who is merciful and forgiving (Rom. 3:25). Indeed, the notion of retribution has become increasingly unacceptable to dogmatic theology (see Martin). The typical way of resolving the tension is to emphasize one of God's attributes at the expense of the other, either to view God uncompromisingly as a wrathful God who condemns the reprobate or apologetically as a gracious God who ultimately pardons all. The disposition of believers often colors their choice of approach.

B. Biblical. Nevertheless, the idea of retribution cannot be viewed apart from the idea of grace. Indeed, the Hebrew and Greek words for "vengeance" generally refer to a legitimate exercise of sovereignty that simultaneously overpowers the guilty offender (punishment) and rescues the innocent victim (mercy). *See* VENGEANCE; VINDICATE. Thus the Hebrew roots *ysr,* "reprimand," and *ykḥ,* "rebuke," refer to retributive acts that are simultaneously punitive and salvific. The crucial issue is how God's retribution and wrath relate to His grace and mercy (see IV below).

II. Human Retribution.–The most common experiences of retribution are those of rewards and punishments meted out by fellow human beings. These play important roles in inducing conformity to expected norms, whether personal or civil.

A. Personal Retribution. 1. Private Dealings with Dependents. In the most basic of all private spheres, the family, parental retribution is essential to child-rearing (cf. Prov. 13:24; 22:15; 29:15). Similarly, employers can promote or demote employees (this idea surely lies behind many of Jesus' parables, e.g., Mt. 20:1-16; 25:14-30), and masters can reward and punish slaves (Eph. 6:5-9; Col. 3:22-25).

Of course, abuse of such retributive power pressures the community to intervene. The Bible consistently maintains that God's people are to exercise love, justice, and

fairness in all their private dealings with others, especially dependents (cf. Ex. 22:21-27; 23:9). They should never provoke the legitimate indignation of the larger community (Rom. 13:3).

2. Private Dealings with Others. a. Positive Retribution. Since the receipt of a reward or benefit places the recipient under obligation to the donor, reciprocity has always been an effective way of securing friendships and interdependencies. But in the kingdom of God all benefits are seen to come from God; thus, no believers who benefit others can claim obligations due, since in God's kingdom they are merely acting as agents of the King, i.e., God (Lk. 14:12-14; cf. also 17:7-10).

b. Negative Retribution. Private individuals (or groups) taking it upon themselves to punish non-dependents (e.g., taking revenge against others for wrongs done) is almost never viewed favorably. Even in ancient Israel those who acted as "avengers of blood" had to defer to some expression of public sentiment. *See* AVENGER; REFUGE, CITIES OF. Private blood feuds, vendettas, and vigilantism herald uncontrolled and escalating violence, until one party is either destroyed or grows weary of violence. Significantly the first clear biblical reference to such vendettas appears only twenty-three verses after the expulsion from Eden (Gen. 4:23f.), for they are an expression of the fall.

God's people are to repudiate the desire for private revenge and self-vindication (Prov. 24:29). Instead of responding to others destructively, they are commanded to take constructive initiatives (Mt. 5:38ff.; Rom. 12:14ff.). For them, the *lex talionis* ("What people do to you, do back to them") is inverted into the "Golden rule" ("Do to people what you desire them to do back to you"). While the value of this rule on earth is obvious, too often its reward is not.

B. Civil Retribution. 1. Prescribed by Civil Law. Given the fallen nature of humanity, collective bodies must go to great lengths to delineate contexts where private redress through force is permitted (e.g., self-defense against an unprovoked attack). Community life is possible only when some operative ethical values limit the use of personal force and satisfactorily substitute other mechanisms for resolving grievances (e.g., adjudication, arbitration, reconciliation) in the hope that offenders can be led to conform to the accepted moral virtues.

Inducing such conformity is the purpose of law. Law is the political monopoly of force that rewards good citizens and punishes criminals. Even OT "Israel," as a political state, must be viewed in this context, inasmuch as the dissolution of private virtue — the rejection of God's direct rule — led to the collective desire (and need) for a political state to govern the Israelites (cf. 1 S. 8:7).

2. Ordained by God. Martin Luther noted that while the Church and the gospel it preaches are God's spiritual instruments for saving souls, the state and the legal power it wields are His physical instruments for preserving the world (*On Temporal Authority* [1523]). (Since the NT understands "Israel" now in terms of its ruling Messiah [Jesus], the Christian naturally views God's "Israel" not as another political state ruled through coercive laws but as a unique religious community ruled by Christ through the uncoerced acceptance of the gospel [Jn. 18:36ff.].)

a. For Punishing the Wicked. Scripture declares that secular authorities are ordained precisely to control private vice and self-centeredness, as well as the chaos they would bring (Rom. 13:1ff.; 1 Pet. 2:13ff.). Thus, there is nothing wrong per se when a community, to preserve civil order by means of the political monopoly of force, punishes those who violate civil norms. But God's people, while working and praying for the welfare of their community (Jer. 29:7), must not appeal to the civil authority for personal restitution when unlawfully wronged. Following Christ's example, they are to suffer the wrong (Mt. 5:38-42; 1 Cor. 6:1-8). Nevertheless, God works beneath the human manipulation of civil power, for without the coercive power of law restraining the wicked, creation would turn into chaos.

b. For Benefiting the Good. Also, there is nothing wrong per se when a community enhances social solidarity by rewarding those who conform to the expected norm. The most common rewards are those of prestige (e.g., the reputation of being a "good citizen"). In the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:46–6:18) Christ does not condemn this; He merely states that conformity motivated by a desire for these things is self-rewarding and therefore has nothing to do with God's kingdom and reward (cf. also Jer. 9:23f. and Lk. 6:26).

Thus, while the civil authority is ordained (i.e., "established") by God for His specific purposes (Rom. 13:1), it is not sanctified by God (i.e., made sinless). Our fallen nature means that human norms and expectations, whether individual or collective, are fallible. Therefore even the retributive acts of civil governments are always finally self-serving and often unjust. Once they have ceased to be responsible either to God or to those who most need protection, civil governments inevitably die. Rev. 18 gives apocalyptic significance to this fact.

III. Divine Retribution.—The realization that human retribution (personal and civil) is imperfect and unjust leads believers to hope for a "supreme court," which can overturn human injustices (cf. the biblical references to "innocent blood" and to "blood crying out from the ground" for justice). Scripture, of course, declares God to be such a court (Dt. 32:35). Since His retributive justice is reflected partially in concrete historical experiences, it will be definitively revealed at the close of history.

A. Retribution in History. 1. OT Views. The Bible portrays historical events and persons as instruments for God's retribution (cf. Isa. 10:5-11). It is not that God manipulates events like a puppeteer to reward or to punish petty individuals for their petty conduct. The real point is that in some way events underscore God's fundamental moral concerns. Thus believers must discern and identify those concerns instead of making judgments about whether the affected individuals receive what they deserved. (Even 1 Cor. 11:29f. must be read in this light, since the sickness and death of some in Corinth points to the sanctity of the sacrament, not to the personal enmity of God.) See III.A.3 below.

a. The Mosaic Covenant and the Origins of the OT View. An earlier view was that the OT concept of historical retribution originated in primitive superstition (*TDNT,* IV, 706f.). But later studies confirm that Israel's origins at the time of Moses were not primitive. The well-known similarities between the "Mosaic" type of covenant in early Israel (e.g., Josh. 24:1-28) and Late Bronze Age suzerainty treaties suggest that from the outset Israel had a fairly sophisticated sense of divine activity. These treaties contain (1) a historical prologue recounting the grace and favor of a lord on behalf of an undeserving vassal; (2) a list of obligations the vassal is expected to meet in gratitude for the favor received; and (3) a list of blessings and curses that will befall the vassal as a consequence of obedience or disobedience. *See* COVENANT (OT). These blessings and curses will happen in history, and the Israelite view that God acts retributively in history probably has its origins here.

In this context, OT law is analogous to the obligations imposed on the vassal. Thus the three great law codes of

the OT (Covenant, Priestly, Deuteronomic) all appear in the Pentateuch right after the Exodus narrative recounting God's paramount OT act of favor. Significantly, two collections of blessings and curses also appear in the Pentateuch: one appended to the Priestly Code (Lev. 26), the other to the Deuteronomic (Dt. 28). Undoubtedly these lists anticipate the historical experiences associated with God's retribution (cf. Lev. 26:3, 14; Dt. 28:1, 15). The blessings tend to be brief and the curses lengthy; indeed, the OT (and the NT) place much more emphasis on God's punitive than on His benevolent retribution in history. This seems to indicate not that God delights in cursing, but that the Israelites (and the early Church) had more difficulty identifying God's "rewards" in history than locating His "punishments." Priestly tradition appended a ritual scheme wherein the covenant curse (of death) could be diverted from the sinner and transferred to a substitute (usually a lamb; Lev. 1–6). *See* ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

b. Prophetic View. (1) On Present Adversity. The warnings of the OT prophets to the sinful Israelites drew upon the covenant curses. The prophets viewed the historical adversities that afflicted the covenant people (the conquests by the Assyrians and Babylonians) as God's punitive retribution, which sacrifice alone could not assuage (Isa. 28:14-22; Jer. 7:1-20; Am. 2:4f.; Mic. 3:9-12). The positive purpose of this retribution was to draw the people back to faithful obedience to God (Am. 4:6-11). As J. Levenson observed, "The curses and blessings of the covenant formulary enables [sic] the prophets of Israel to provide a theology of history. Adversity — drought, famine, epidemic, defeat or whatever — could be accounted for by reference to a violation of covenant obligations. Conversely, the prosperity of either the past or the coming age could be seen as a consequence of faithful partnership with God (prophets did not see the present as blessed)" (p. 55).

(2) On Past Benevolence. Levenson's suggestion that past prosperity could be seen as a reward for past faithful partnership with God has some merit (cf. Jer. 22:15), but we must not press this too far. Most prophetic references to God's past benevolence seem to point, not to deserved rewards but to undeserved good fortune (Jer. 2:6f.; Hos. 11:1; Am. 2:9-11; Mic. 6:4f; cf. also Dt. 32:7-14; Isa. 5:2). This suggests that past prosperity is not to be linked with covenant *blessings* (whereby the faithful vassal is rewarded) but rather with covenant *prologue* (where the receipt of an undeserved favor is recounted). Thus the basic thrust of the prophetic appeal to the past is to entice obedience, not by dangling the precedent (and incentive) of historical reward, but by reminding the Israelites of the debt they owe to God for so much undeserved favor.

(3) On Future Benevolence. Similarly, the prosperity of the future is rarely tied to the idea of reward. It is rather something unearned that God graciously showers on an undeserving people, usually after a time of hardship. Sometimes it is even portrayed as a fresh exodus, a new prologue to a new (or renewed) covenant (Isa. 40; 43; Jer. 31:31-34; Ezk. 36:22-32). While future prosperity is often depicted in concrete historical images (e.g., Am. 9:11-15), the future world is also portrayed in terms contrary to "natural" historical experience (e.g., Isa. 2:2-4; 11:6-9). Thus the ubiquitous prophetic phrase "on that day" has a strongly eschatological ring that points the hearer away from the idea that God rewards faithfulness in history. (All these references can be viewed as typological intimations of the resurrection of the dead [cf. Ezk. 37:1-14], which is not "earned" by faithful obedience but is God's free gift to His people [Rom. 6:20-23].)

(4) The Meaning of Present Benevolence. Just as past and future prosperity should be linked to the covenant prologue, so should present prosperity; in no way can it be viewed as a deserved reward for righteousness since, (a) it is God's free gift soliciting a grateful response, and (b) no one is truly righteous (Job 4:17-19; 15:14f.; Eccl. 7:20; Rom. 3:10, 23). The prophets did not view the present as a time to enjoy reward ("Woe to those who are at ease"); they viciously ridiculed the "triumphalism" that interpreted the prosperity and comfort of the moment as God's reward for righteousness (Jer. 7:4; Mic. 2:6; 3:11). For them the present was always the time to respond dutifully in grateful obedience (cf. Lk. 17:7-10). This involved a call for social justice. Those who have been blessed with the means must care for the less fortunate (cf. 12:48). Hence much of the prophetic word was addressed to the wealthy, and one need hardly be reminded of Christ's injunctions to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, etc. If God is benevolent in giving good things to His people, they also ought to be benevolent in giving good things to those in need (1 Pet. 4:10).

A life without adversity must be viewed, then, not as a summary statement about a person's status in God's eyes, but as an introductory statement soliciting a grateful response to the favor received. Good fortune in history is not God's reward for righteousness, it is God's invitation to serve Him. It is to be associated not with the blessings that conclude the covenant, but with the prologue of grace that initiates it.

c. The View in Proverbs. In some respects, the view of God's historical retribution in Proverbs (Prov. 10:1ff.; 25:1ff.) differs from that of the prophets. God is more closely tied to principles of retribution. Human actions determine the future. Historical reward for obedience is a clear possibility. These proverbs seem inordinately concerned with how to secure a prosperous life, and, while the view of retribution is not triumphalistic, it does suggest (contrary to the prophets) that history is preprogrammed to favor the wise and righteous (cf. 11:31; 13:21). The wisdom tradition behind Job (ch. 21) and Ecclesiastes (chs. 3–7) is not so optimistic. Nevertheless, proverbial wisdom states that "a good way will lead to a good end," and this is typologically meaningful to Christians only in the light of the gospel, where Christ (not etiquette) is seen as the way and God's kingdom (not social status) is the end (Jn. 14:6).

d. The Deuteronomistic View. The Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–2 Kings) seems to blend prophetic and proverbial views of divine retribution. On the one hand, it consciously drew upon the idea of covenant blessings and curses (esp. Dt. 28); on the other hand, it viewed God's punitive and benevolent retribution in history as being almost mechanical. The Israelites can guarantee adversity for themselves by sinning or benefit themselves by repenting. In fact, scholars commonly refer to this as the "Deuteronomistic theme," since all the vagaries and uncertainties of history are reduced to this simple pattern (cf. Jgs. 2:11-23; 2 K. 17; 21:10-15).

On the one hand, then, the Mosaic covenant and its emphasis on obedience to God's law reminded the Israelites of their dependence on the grace of God and the moral dimension of their relationship with Him. On the other hand, it presented them with the harsh reality that, being sinful by nature, they could neither evade the covenant's curses nor earn for themselves its blessings.

e. The Davidic Covenant and the Modification of the OT View. The rise of human kingship in Israel brought a new and different type of covenant idea. God no longer judged His people solely by their common obedience to the law. Instead, He judged the anointed kings' obedience

(2 S. 7:14; Ps. 89:30-32). Thus, the fortunes of God's people rested in large part on their king's obedience to God. If the king sinned, his punishment (the curse) would befall him and his people in history, as the Deuteronomistic historian noted (2 K. 21:10-15; 23:26f.). If the king was righteous, his due reward (the blessing) would also be shared by his subjects.

f. The View in Psalms. Many of the Psalms presuppose the idea of God's covenant with David. Yet some of the most disturbing references to divine retribution are found in that corpus. In the so-called individual laments (or imprecatory Psalms; e.g., Pss. 7, 28, 35, 69, 109) a persecuted psalmist prays for God to destroy his oppressors. Indeed, the whole community has a stake in the welfare of the psalmist (28:8f.; 35:27; 69:6 [MT 7]; etc.), who must be a royal figure (80% of these Psalms have a superscript relating them to "David"). One may suspect that here the psalmist dares to ask God to honor his human desire for revenge. Historically, these Psalms of vengeance may well have been composed as prayers that God would assist the Davidic ruler against his political foes. But theologically they lay bare the soul of Christ — the only truly righteous Davidic king (cf. Ps. 22:1 with Mt. 27:46). Thus the Psalms of vengeance become, not the petty request of one imperfect mortal that God destroy other imperfect mortals in punitive retribution, but the deep yearnings of the truest Christian spirit that God will demonstrate in a definitive way His support of righteousness and His opposition to evil.

2. NT Views. a. Gospels. Jesus' teachings stand in the Mosaic covenant tradition of the OT. He seems to have tied divine retribution to covenant obligation (Mt. 24:45-51; Mk. 12:1-9). Like the prophets, He apparently used the notion of covenant obligations, curses and blessings, but with a more clearly eschatological ring. Preisker notes: "If Jesus still retains the concept of reward (and punishment), this is to express the obligation of man to the holy will of God. In relation to God, man stands in responsibility and obedience, and God recognizes this attitude and action to be either good or bad" (*TDNT,* IV, 717). The covenant blessing of life depends upon obedience to the law (Mt. 19:17), but Jesus interpreted the Mosaic law so stringently that no mortal could possibly obey it (Mt. 19:26, and Sermon on the Mount), implying that under such law God can only recognize human attitude and action to be bad, warranting punishment (Paul developed this implication more fully than Jesus did; see below).

Thus Jesus accepted the view that God's punitive retribution for sin is experienced in history. But He was careful to qualify this. For example, when some sought to attribute a man's blindness to his (or his parents') sin, Jesus disagreed, preferring to view it as part of God's mysterious way of working (Jn. 9:2f.). The real issue for Jesus seems to have been whether the sin warranting punishment is defined as overt act (specific disobedience to the law) or latent condition (general inability to obey it). Thus, when reminded of some Galileans who had been butchered by Pilate, and of eighteen persons who were killed accidentally when the tower of Siloam collapsed, Jesus said these were no worse sinners than anyone else; then He went on to pronounce to His audience, "Unless you repent you will all likewise perish" (Lk. 13:5). This can make sense only if Jesus viewed sin not as overt act but as the latent human condition that His audience, the Galileans, and the eighteen of Siloam all had in common, and that made all of them liable in history to the curse of death.

Like the OT writers, Jesus discounted the idea that God's benevolent retribution (reward for righteousness) is experienced in history. Instead He focused on a future benevolence that is unmerited (Lk. 17:7-10), emphasizing the surprise that results from grace. Two of Jesus' most famous parables illustrate this: the laborers in the vineyard (Mt. 20:1-16) and the prodigal son (Lk. 15:11-32). The parables do not focus on what the early workers or the obedient son deserved but on what the late workers and the prodigal son clearly did not. Their reward cannot be tied to their achievement, but only to the grace of the employer and father. Also, Jesus characteristically referred to future "rewards in heaven" (Mt. 5:12) and "treasures in heaven" (Lk. 12:33; Mk. 10:21), which, like the prophetic allusions to the future, deliberately point away from the idea of historical reward on earth. In Mk. 10:29f. Jesus speaks of tangible rewards "now in this time," but they are accompanied by persecution (cf. also the problematic Mt. 6:33). While Christians may pray for a comfortable life in this world (Mt. 6:13), like the Suffering Servant of Isaiah they are to expect suffering ("take up your cross and follow"), and indeed to view it as a sign of an obedience that will be rewarded later (Mt. 5:11f.; also 2 Tim. 3:12).

Thus Jesus' teachings on divine retribution stand clearly in the Mosaic covenant tradition of the OT. This suggests that during much of His career He was more concerned to be a "reformer" of the old (Mosaic) covenant than the (Davidic) "messiah" of the new. Not surprisingly, then, many of His contemporaries regarded Him as a prophet.

b. Epistles. Paul's view of retribution has a clearly Hebraic background (Rom. 2:1-11; 2 Cor. 5:10). Like Jesus, he recognized that God's righteous law is so stringent that no mortal can obey it; therefore the law serves only to condemn humanity, not save it (Rom. 5:13; 7:7-10; Gal. 3:10). Some of Paul's remarks suggest that he too accepted the OT view that God's punitive retribution is experienced in history. He considered the sickness and death of some members of the Corinthian church to be God's punishment for profaning the sacrament (1 Cor. 11:27-30). (Similarly the stories of the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira [Acts 5:1-11], of Herod Agrippa [12:20-23], and of the blindness of Elymas the magician [13:8ff.] all reflect the OT view that sin is punished in history.) Paul's statement that "the wages of sin is death" (Rom. 6:23) demonstrates that he too regarded sin as general human condition, not specific human act (3:23).

Paul (and the Evangelists), writing in the light of Christ's resurrection, circumvented the dilemma posed by the covenant law of Moses by focusing upon the Davidic covenant tradition. Here the welfare of God's people was no longer seen to be contingent upon their own obedience to the law but upon their Messiah's righteousness (see above). In demonstrating complete righteousness, Christ truly earned the covenant blessing of life that, as Messiah, He shares with His subjects (Rom. 5:18f; 6:4; Eph. 1:3-8). The paradox was His death on the cross, which is a covenant curse (Dt. 21:23). Paul (and other NT writers) resolved this by appealing to the OT priestly notion of vicarious atonement: Christ, like the sacrificial lamb, died for the sinfulness of others, assuming the curse that they justly deserved (cf. Rom. 3:25; Gal. 3:13; 1 Tim. 2:6; Tit. 3:5-7; He. 9).

In Rom. 11:9 "retribution" occurs in an OT citation (Ps. 69:22 [MT 23] = LXX 68:23) applied by Paul to unbelieving Israel; the psalmist had applied the words to his own enemies. C. E. B. Cranfield has stated that the general sense of Rom. 11:9 constitutes a wish that "even the good things which these enemies enjoy may prove to be a cause of disaster to them" (*Epistle to the Romans* [*ICC,* 1979], II, 551).

In He. 2:2 the author warns his readers that while transgressors of the law incurred penalties (RSV "just retribution") for their infractions of the message mediated by angels, far more serious consequences await those who neglect the gospel proclaimed by the Son.

3. Summary: God's Punitive Retribution in History.

a. Theological Significance. Since all humanity is sinful in God's eyes, there is good reason to understand historical adversity in terms of God's punitive retribution. The point of such adversity is not to torment human beings but to lead them to an awareness of their mortal frailty and their consequent need for God's healing assistance (cf. "repentance" in the OT prophets). Adversity is a painful reminder that all people stand before God as miserable sinners. God's righteous law must be obeyed, but no one is capable of obeying it; therefore, by definition, everyone lives under the curse of death (Gal. 3:10-14). Death is the guilty sentence our human condition deserves (Gen. 3:19; 1 Cor. 15:22); indeed, it is the only thing certain about mortal life. Thus the expected norm in history must not be the experience of good fortune but rather the experience of adversity, since we are born and entitled to adversity (Job 14:1f.). Adversity does not disrupt a naturally carefree life; rather, good fortune intrudes into a naturally troubled life (cf. Ecclesiastes).

b. Pastoral Application. This perspective is difficult to grasp, since many people assume it their "right" either to avoid adversity or to triumph over it. Hence many familiar problems result when the concept of God's historical retribution is applied pastorally to individual suffering. Undoubtedly psychological and spiritual damage may occur when suffering comes to be viewed, not as endemic to human existence but as personally meted out by God. Instead of leading sufferers to an awareness of general mortal frailty and liability (which can be spiritually constructive), this leads to an agonizing and fruitless search for specific explanations (which can be spiritually destructive). It also leads to the mistaken view that sin is overt act instead of human condition. Historical adversity is then understood not in terms of its transcendent revelation and meaning, but in the mistaken terms of God's manipulation of events to inflict pain upon weaker mortals. Grief-stricken persons agonize like Job, over why God has punished them; "What did I (or someone else) do to deserve this?" The answer may be quite simply, "Nothing, other than being born into the sinful human condition" (Job 5:7; 14:1ff.).

c. Inequity, Caprice, and Unpredictability. But the notion of God's retribution in history is not without problems. The most obvious of these is its apparent inequity: all of us, though equally born into sin, do not equally suffer (e.g., Am. 4:7), although no one can avoid the grave. Thus no apparent justice exists in the seemingly arbitrary dispensing of suffering in history (cf. Job 21). This sometimes leads to the cynical conclusion that God is capricious, weak, or even "dead." But a common purpose underlies both good fortune and adversity, ruling out caprice. Good fortune (as covenant prologue) invites those who experience it to enter into a covenant relationship with the God who bestows it; adversity (as covenant curse) is a summons to repudiate a life alienated from God and His covenant blessings. The purpose of both is ultimately to lead us to repentance and salvation (cf. Am. 4:6-13). Of course, if the choice were ours, we would all choose good fortune, believing ourselves to be the best judge of what our truest needs are. But faith declares God to be a far better judge of this than we are. Faith is undoubtedly tested whenever history presents us with adversities not of our choosing. The consequent unpredictability in history is indeed frustrating, but it is also a necessary safeguard against the human temptation to believe that God's retributive acts in history are final verdicts that either justify or condemn us irrevocably.

In this life, sin and righteousness are so entangled (Rom. 7:13-20; Gal. 5:17) that it is impossible justly to condemn to death the indwelling sin without simultaneously punishing whatever good may also dwell within (Mk. 9:43-48). It is equally impossible justly to reward that righteousness without simultaneously rewarding the sin (Ezk. 33:10-20). A God who desires absolute justice cannot finally punish righteousness nor reward sin in history. Hence history, with all its vagaries, cannot be the stage for God's ultimate retributive acts.

B. Eschatological Retribution. Significantly, God's eschatological retribution is often depicted as a "disentangling" of sin and righteousness. The former is to be discarded, the latter preserved. God will "refine" His people, separating what is precious and desirable in them from what is not (Dnl. 11:35; Zec. 13:9; Mal. 3:3). As John the Baptist said of the coming Messiah, "His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and gather his wheat into the granary, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire" (Mt. 3:12). Jesus' parable of the dragnet also depicts an eschatological "sorting" of the good from the bad (13:47), as does His famous description of the final judgment wherein the coming Son of Man will separate the nations "as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats" (Mt. 25:32). *See* APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; ESCHATOLOGY; JUDGMENT, LAST.

Superficially, such a separation is easily made. Christ, who alone was righteous, received the covenant blessings of everlasting life; all the rest of us, being sinful, must accept the covenant curse of death. But the matter cannot be that simple. In such a scheme sin would succeed in thwarting God's creative plan. But God did not in abstract justice create us to die. He lovingly created us in His own image to have dominion over creation (Gen. 1). God's justice might be fulfilled with all but Christ buried in the grave, but His love is not.

Christ, the second and sinless Adam (1 Cor. 15:45ff.), fulfilled God's plan. Claiming His rightful dominion over creation, He reconciled all of it — even us sinners — with God (Col. 1:15-20). Therefore, all who are claimed by Christ — all in whom His Spirit dwells — have hope beyond the grave (Rom. 8:10f.). Death merely becomes the necessary verdict on the old Adam. Only those who do not possess the indwelling Spirit of Christ have no hope beyond the grave (cf. Rom. 8:9). God's final retributive act awaits the end of history when righteousness will be rewarded in the resurrection and sin will lie buried forever.

IV. Retribution, Salvation, and Love.—The fundamental character of God is LOVE (1 Jn. 4:8). This love, manifested first at creation, is endless. Significantly, there was no need either for God's retributive justice or for His merciful salvation until after the fall; with creation's redemption that need no longer exists, and God's love again rules exclusively.

God's retribution, then, is part and parcel of His salvation, so that *as such* its value should be neither discounted in favor of a benign God who tolerates sin nor inflated to promote the image of a petty and vindictive God. For sin, God's retribution is the verdict of "guilty" and the sentence of death; for righteousness, it is the verdict of "innocent" and acquittal to life. The unifying *theme* is salvation, for nothing can be saved as long as it is in the grip of sin. The OT provides a wealth of analogies:

God's people are not delivered until Pharaoh's hosts are drowned; the Promised Land is not possessed until the heathen nations are driven out; the Jews are not restored until Babylon is defeated. Thus the prophetic DAY OF THE LORD simultaneously signals the destruction of all ungodly powers and the deliverance of God's holy people (Mal. 4:1-3 [MT 3:19-21]; Joel). Similarly, in the NT the grave clearly becomes the place where the grip of sin and death is broken, so that it is simultaneously a conclusive punishment for sin and a portal to salvation and endless life (Rom. 6:7; 8:28-39). As Martin Luther said, "even death itself is compelled to serve the faithful and to work for their salvation" (*The Freedom of a Christian* [1520]).

God in His love seeks to save and redeem His fallen creation. To do so He must destroy the sin that stands opposed to salvation. His retribution is His definitive rejection and destruction of sin. As such, it is an integral part of His love.

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G. A. HERION

RETURN [Heb. *šûḇ* (Gen. 3:19; Dt. 3:20; 1 S. 5:11; Job 1:21; Ps. 51:13 [MT 15]; Isa. 10:21; etc.; hiphil, Dt. 17:16; 1 S. 6:3f.; 25:39; etc.), also piel of *šālam*–'repay' (Gen. 44:4), niphal of *'āsap*–'be gathered' (Nu. 11:30), *sûr*–'turn aside' (Jgs. 20:8), *hālaḵ*–'go' (1 S. 2:20); Aram. *tûḇ* (Dnl. 4:34, 36 [MT 31, 33]; haphel, Ezr. 5:5); Gk. *anastréphō*–'come back, return' (Acts 5:22; 15:16), *epistréphō*–'turn around' (Mt. 10:13; 12:44; Lk. 2:39; 8:55; Acts 15:36; 1 Pet. 2:25), *hypostréphō*–'turn away' (Lk. 1:56; 2:20, 43, 45; 4:1, 14; etc.), *anakámptō*–'bend back' (Mt. 2:12; Lk. 10:6; Acts 18:21; He. 11:15), *apodídōmi*–'give back' (1 Pet. 3:9), *epanágō*–'turn back' (Mt. 21:18), *érchomai*–'come,' 'go' (Rom. 9:9; 1 Cor. 16:11), *epanérchomai*–'go back' (Lk. 19:15), *eisérchomai pálin*–'go in again' (Mk. 2:1), *pálin exérchomai*–'go out again' (Mk. 7:31), *synágomai*–'bring together' (Mk. 6:30), *apelpízō*–'hope to receive back' ("expect in return," Lk. 6:35), *antikaléō* ("invite in return," Lk. 14:12), *antiloidoréō* ("revile in return," 1 Pet. 2:23), *karpós*– 'fruit' (Rom. 6:21f.), *antallágma* ("What . . . [is given] in return," Mt. 16:26; Mk. 8:37), *tḗn dé autḗn antimisthían* ("in return," 2 Cor. 6:13), pl. of *amoibḗ*–'recompense' ("some return," 1 Tim. 5:4)]; AV also COME AGAIN, TURN, REWARD, BE CONVERTED, TURN AGAIN, RENDER, etc.; NEB also GO BACK, TURN BACK, COME BACK, REPAY, REJOIN, etc.; **RETURNED EXILES** [Heb. *bᵉnê haggôlâ* = Aram. *bᵉnê gālûṯā*'–'offspring of the exile'] (Ezr. 4:1; 6:16, 19f.; 8:35; 9:4; 10:7, 16); AV CHILDREN OF THE CAPTIVITY, THOSE THAT HAD BEEN CARRIED AWAY; NEB also EXILES. The RSV also used the phrase "in return for" to render Hebrew prepositions such as *bᵉ* (Gen. 29:27), *ḥēlep* (Nu. 18:21, 31), *lᵉ* (Jgs. 8:35), and *taḥaṯ* (Ps. 109:4; Isa. 43:4; Zeph. 2:10). In several passages the RSV follows the versions, reading Heb. *šûḇ* in place of *yāšaḇ* (e.g., 1 K. 12:2 [NEB "remain"]; Hos. 11:11 [NEB "settle"]).

In the RSV OT the verb "return" most often represents a form of Heb. *šûḇ*. In the qal stem *šûḇ* is intransitive, expressing motion back toward a previous location (e.g., the dove returning to the ark in Gen. 8:12) or transition back toward a previous condition (e.g., humanity reverting to dust, 3:19). In the hiphil it is transitive, with a subject causing a direct object to move or revert (e.g., 1 S. 6:3; Neh. 5:11; Ps. 79:12); this construction is more often translated "bring back" or "restore" (*see* RESTORE).

A theologically significant use of *šûḇ* occurs in references to the process of repentance, i.e., the turning of God's sinful people away from evil (e.g., Jer. 18:11; Zec. 1:4; cf. Jer. 25:5; 35:15 [RSV "turn"]; Ezk. 14:6; 18:30 ["repent," "turn (away)"]; 33:11 ["turn back"]) and back to the Lord (Dt. 4:30; 30:2; Job 22:23; Ps. 51:13 [MT 15]; Isa. 55:7; Jer. 4:1; 24:7; Lam. 3:40; Hos. 3:5; 14:1ff. [MT 2f.]; Am. 4:6, 8-11; Zec. 1:3; etc.). The OT prophets repeatedly called on Yahweh's people to turn back to their God, assuring them of His mercy and faithfulness despite their own unfaithfulness (e.g., Joel 2:12f.). Clearly, the OT views repentance not merely as feelings of regret for past sins but as a fundamental reorientation to God, a concrete change in one's allegiance and conduct.

Šuḇ can also be used to denote apostasy, i.e., a turning away from God and toward evil (e.g., Jer. 11:10; RSV "turn back"). In Jer. 3:12, 14, 22 Yahweh calls His apostate people to come back to Him, using a wordplay on two forms of *šûḇ*. The RSV renders the imperative by "return" (in the sense of turning away from evil and back to God) and the participle by "faithless" (a better translation might be "apostate" or "backslidden"; see J. Bright, p. 22).

The verb also occurs in appeals to Yahweh to return to His people (and to the city of Zion) at times when it appears that He has abandoned them (e.g., Ps. 6:4 [MT 5; RSV "turn"]; 80:14 [MT 15; RSV "turn again"]; 90:13; Isa. 63:17; cf. 52:8; Zec. 8:3). Zec. 1:3 and Mal. 3:7 state clearly that Yahweh's return to His people depends on their return to Him.

In several passages *šûḇ* means "return from exile" Ezr. 2:1; Neh. 7:6; Isa. 10:22; 30:10; 31:8, 21; Zec. 10:9; etc.). The prophet Isaiah had a son whom he named Shear-jashub (*šᵉ'ār-yašûḇ*, "a remnant shall return"). The phrase clearly implies both the judgment of exile (only a "remnant" will survive) and the promise of restoration (they "shall return"). *See* REMNANT.

The most common NT verbs for "return" are the compounds with Gk. *stréphō* ("turn, bend") — *anastréphō, epistréphō,* and *hypostréphō* — which are used in the LXX as translations of Heb. *šûḇ*. Where the RSV has rendered "return," these verbs generally refer simply to physical movement back toward a previous location (but cf. RSV "turn" for Gk. *epistréphō* in Mt. 13:15; Lk. 1:16f.; Acts 9:35; etc.).

Two Greek nouns also merit comment. In Rom. 6:21f. "return" represents *karpós,* lit. "fruit"; a better translation here might be "outcome." In Mt. 16:26 "in return for" translates *antallágma,* which means "compensation, something given in exchange."

See also CONVERSION; REPENT.

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G. CHAMBERLAIN N. J. O.

REU rē'ū, rōō [Heb. *rᵉ'û*; Gk. *Rhagau*]; AV NT RAGAU. A descendant of Shem; son of Peleg and father of Serug (Gen. 11:18-21; 1 Ch. 1:25; Lk. 3:35).

REUBEN rōō'bən [Heb. *rᵉ'ûbēn*]. The eldest son of Jacob, born to him by Leah in Paddan-aram (Gen. 29:32; 35:23, 26; 46:8f.; Ex. 1:2; 1 Ch. 2:1); and the tribe named for him. Gen. 29:32 seems to suggest two derivations of the name. In the MT it means "behold a son," but the reason given for so calling him is "the Lord has

looked upon my affliction" (Heb. *rā'â bᵉ'onyî*, lit. "he has seen my affliction").

Of Reuben's boyhood there is only the story of his discovery of the mandrakes (Gen. 30:14-17). As the firstborn he should have been leader among his father's sons, but he forfeited his birthright by lying with his father's concubine (35:22). Therefore his tribe apparently never took the lead in Israel; it is named first in Nu. 1:5, 20, but thereafter it falls to the fourth place, Judah taking the first (2:3-9; etc.; cf. 1 Ch. 5:1f.).

Reuben does, however, play a role of leader in the story of Joseph. To Reuben's intervention Joseph owed his escape from the fate of death proposed by his other brothers (Gen. 37:19-22). Although it may be suggested that Reuben's intention to free Joseph was motivated by a desire to rehabilitate himself with his father, there is no need to deny to Reuben certain noble qualities. Jacob seems to have appreciated these and perhaps, therefore, lamented all the more deeply the lapse that spoiled his son's life (49:3f.). It was Reuben who stated that the brothers' trials in Egypt were a fit punishment for their treatment of Joseph (42:22). To assure his father of Benjamin's safe return from Egypt, Reuben was ready to pledge his own two sons (v. 37). Four sons born to Reuben in Canaan went down with him to Egypt (46:8f.).

At the first census in the wilderness Reuben numbered 46,500 men of war (Nu. 1:21; 2:11); at the second they had fallen to 43,730 (26:7). The standard of the camp of Reuben was on the south side of the tabernacle, along with Simeon's and Gad's. With Reuben as leader, these three tribes formed the second division on the march (2:10-16). The leader of the Reubenites was Elizur son of Shedeur (v. 10), whose offering is described in 7:30-35. The Reubenite among the spies was Shammua son of Zaccur (13:4). The revolt against Moses organized by the Reubenites Dathan and Abiram, with the assistance of Korah the Levite (Nu. 16), may have been a Reubenite attempt to assert the rights of the firstborn.

When the Israelite invaders took control of the high plateau E of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, Reuben and Gad requested that they be given this land as their tribal possessions. Moses granted their request, subject to one condition: their men of war must join in the campaign of conquest W of the Jordan until all the Israelites had gained their inheritance in Canaan (Nu. 32:1-31). There is no record of the part that Reuben and Gad actually took in that warfare, but perhaps "the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben," located on the northern boundary of Judah's territory (Josh. 15:6), marked some memorable deed of valor by a Reubenite.

Along with Gad and half of Manasseh, Reuben felt the dangers of being cut off from the rest of their people by the great cleft of the Jordan Valley. Therefore they built a massive altar in the valley, so that in the very gorge that separated them there might be a perpetual witness to the essential unity of Israel. The western tribes misunderstood this action as apostasy and gathered in force to eradicate it. But the explanations of the eastern tribes were entirely satisfactory, and war was averted (Josh. 22:10-34).

The land given by Moses to the tribe of Reuben reached from the Arnon (Wâdī el-Môjib) in the south to the border of Gad in the north. The Dead Sea formed the western boundary and the desert the eastern. The attempt to describe the tribe's boundaries is based on two lists of cities, Nu. 32:37f. and Josh. 13:15-23. Nu. 32:34 lists cities of Gad that lay far S, Aroer being on the very lip of the Arnon; but these may have been an enclave in the territory of Reuben. Josh. 13:15-23 makes clear that the northern border ran from some point N of the Dead Sea ENE and passed to the north of Heshbon. Many scholars (e.g., see *LBHG*, p. 89) have concluded that the list in Nu. 32:37f. is earlier than that in Josh. 13:15-23, which is more detailed. J. Simons regarded the Joshua list as taken out of a context that included a large part of the plateau (the Mishor). Some scholars have maintained that the territories of GAD and Reuben cannot be clearly differentiated, since it seems probable that the cities changed hands when Gad was powerful and Reuben declined, or that Reuben from the beginning settled within the territory of Gad. The most important Reubenite settlements in the lists are Heshbon (identified with Tell Ḥesbân), Elealeh (el-'Al), Baal-meon (Ma'în), and Mephaath (Khirbet Nefa'a S of 'Ammân), and Beth-jeshimoth (Tell el-'Azeimeh in the Jordan Valley N of the Dead Sea). 1 Ch. 5:6-9 states that at the invasion of Tiglath-pileser (Pul) of Assyria, the Reubenites possessed Aroer, and their territory extended "east as far as the entrance of the desert this side of the Euphrates."

Reuben and Gad, occupying contiruous and even to some extent overlapping districts, are closely associated in the history of Israel. Neither took part in the struggle against Sisera led by Deborah and Barak (Jgs. 5:15-17); the text suggests that Reuben may have been absorbed by anxieties concerning its relations with neighboring peoples. Reubenites and Gadites were included, however, among "all the tribes of Israel" who sent contingents for the war against Benjamin (Jgs. 20:10; 21:5).

The need to guard their numerous flocks against attacks from the south and from the desert caused these eastern tribes to develop a warlike spirit and martial prowess. They were "valiant men, who carried shield and sword, and drew the bow, expert in war" (1 Ch. 5:18). Reuben, Gad, and the eastern half of Manasseh overwhelmed the Hagrites, Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab, and greatly enriched themselves with the spoil (vv. 19-22). The Chronicler attributes their victory to their strong trust in God: "they cried to God in the battle, and he granted their entreaty because they trusted in him" (v. 20). These tribes were supporters of David's kingship. David's mighty men included Adina, "a leader of the Reubenites, and thirty with him" (11:42). The eastern tribes sent a contingent of 120,000 men "armed with all the weapons of war" to Hebron in order to make David king (12:37f.). David set overseers over these tribes "for everything pertaining to God and for the affairs of the king" (26:32). Despite their loyalty to David, however, these tribes were among the ten that joined the northern kingdom when disruption came (cf. 1 K. 11:31).

The subsequent history of Reuben is very obscure. Exposed as the eastern tribes were to the hostile influences of Moab and the east, and cut off from worshiping with the other tribes, they probably found the descent into idolatry all too easy. The once powerful tribe of Reuben apparently sank into comparative insignificance; the immediate causes of this decline are unknown. Moab established its authority over the land that had belonged to Reuben. The Moabite Stone (*ca.* 830 B.C.) speaks of Gad but does not even mention Reuben, which had probably become largely absorbed in the northern tribe. Reubenites are named as having suffered in the invasion of Hazael during the reign of Jehu (2 K. 10:32f.). Along with Gad and Manasseh, Reuben "trespassed against the God of their fathers, and played the harlot after the gods of the peoples of the land" (1 Ch. 5:25). This is given as the reason for their being taken into exile by Pul king of Assyria, who "brought them to Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river of Gozan" (v. 26).

The fate of Reuben bears striking resemblance to that of Simeon, for Simeon appears to have been practically absorbed by the tribe of Judah. The prestige that should have been Reuben's in virtue of his birthright is said to have passed to Joseph (1 Ch. 5:1). And Gen. 48:5 refers to Reuben and Simeon being replaced in Israel by the sons of Joseph. Ezekiel finds a place for Reuben in his picture of restored Israel (48:6), however. And Reuben appears also — in this case preceded only by Judah — in Rev. 7:5.

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REUBENITES rōō'bən-īts [Heb. *hār^{e}'ûḇēnî*; Gk. *dḗmoi* Rhoubēn]. Members of the tribe of Reuben (Nu. 26:7; Dt. 3:12, 16; 29:8 [MT 7]; Josh. 1:12; 12:6; etc.).

REUEL rōō'əl [Heb. *r^{e}'û'ēl*–'friend of God'; Gk. *Rhagouēl*].

1. Son of Esau and Basemath (Gen. 36:4, 10; 1 Ch. 1:35); the father of four Edomite clan chiefs: Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah (Gen. 36:13, 17; 1 Ch. 1:37).

2. AV also RAGUEL (Nu. 10:29). According to Ex. 2:18, a priest of Midian (vv. 15f.) who became the father-in-law of Moses. Other passages, however, read JETHRO (3:1; 4:18; 18:1-12) or HOBAB (Nu. 10:29; Jgs. 4:11) as the name of Moses' father-in-law. Nu. 10:29 refers to Reuel as the father of Hobab the father-in-law (*ḥōṯēn*) of Moses. W. F. Albright (*CBQ,* 25 [1963], 1-11) attempted to resolve these textual difficulties by proposing that Reuel is the name of the clan to which both Jethro and Hobab (Moses' "son-in-law," emending Heb. *ḥōṯēn* to *ḥāṯān*; cf. NEB "brother-in-law," another translation of *ḥāṯān*) belonged; other scholars have argued that the diversity of names has resulted from a variety of traditions (see comms.).

3. Father of the Gadite leader Eliasaph (Nu. 2:14); called DEUEL in 1:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20.

4. A Benjaminite; son of Ibnijah and father of Shephatiah (1 Ch. 9:8). N. J. O.

REUMAH rōō'mə [Heb. *r^{e}'ûmâ*]. Concubine of Nahor the brother of Abraham; mother of the eponymous ancestors of four Aramean tribes: Tebah, Gaham, Tahash, and Maacah (Gen. 22:24).

REVEAL; REVELATION [Heb. *gālâ*–'uncovered'; Gk. *apokalýptō*–'reveal, disclose,' *apokálypsis*–'revelation, disclosure'].

I. Terminology
II. General Concept
III. OT
  A. Nature
  B. History
  C. Eschatology
  D. Authenticity
IV. Judaism
  A. Scripture
  B. Apocalyptic
  C. Hellenism
V. NT
  A. Synoptists
  B. Acts
  C. Epistles
  D. John
  E. Criteria
VI. Historical Survey
  A. Early Church
  B. Middle Ages
  C. Reformation
  D. Modern Period

I. Terminology.–The Hebrew term denoting revelation is the verb *gālâ,* which means "uncover." This word often has a literal and purely secular sense, as in Ex. 20:26. It takes on theological significance when God is the subject, as in 1 S. 2:27, or when the object uncovered is religious or moral, as in 3:7. The OT has no fixed term embracing all that revelation involves. The various verbs for showing, seeing, and appearing, along with the nouns for word and vision, all help to convey the fuller OT understanding. In the NT the verb *apokalýptō* and the noun *apokálypsis* carry the main sense. Here again, however, many materially associated words round out the picture. These include *dēlóō* "declare," *exēgéomai* "expound," *chrēmatízō* "impart," *gnōrízō* "make known," *deíknymi* "point out," or *phaneróō* "show," along with the nouns for manifestation and, of course, word. Naturally these terms find a mixed secular and religious use, and their distribution varies in different parts of the NT. The primary word *apokalýptō,* however, is more exclusively theological in the NT, and, in contrast to some of the other concepts, e.g., "make known" or "declare," it has more of an intuitive than a narrower intellectual emphasis. Corresponding more closely to what the NT means by revelation, it tends to absorb the synonyms and provides the context in which we are to understand their theological use.

II. General Concept.–In a general sense the concept of revelation occurs in many cultures and religions. Its presupposition is an awareness of suprasensory reality. Whether this reality be that of deity, of the future, or of a secret wisdom, it lies outside the normal possibilities of cognition. Nevertheless, confidence exists that there either is or may be a definite knowledge of this concealed reality. The knowledge may come in different ways, but in every case it entails a disclosure of what is at first hidden or secret. The fact that this knowledge arises means necessarily that some type of revelation, whether initiated from the far side, or induced from this side, has had to take place. In more primitive societies, sacred objects and persons held out the possibility of experiencing revelation. In the Greek sphere, dreams formed a common mode for the receiving of supposed revelations, and oracles, astrology, and mantic prophecy promised information, however cryptic, on matters otherwise hidden and unknowable. In the mystery religions, which held out the hope of revelation to initiates, the cultus and its formulas and mystagogues claimed a revelatory function. Mysticism followed the path of revelation by outward or inward vision, often assisted by specific rites, e.g., of purification. Even ancient philosophy, although it might have rejected the idea of transcendent revelation, could discern in the world of phenomena a manifestation of the higher world of ideas. It thus offered a metaphysical version of what religion might describe as natural revelation. Revelation could be sought, then, in many different ways. It might presuppose some outside initiative, it might depend on the proper use of techniques, or it might involve a discerning or disclosure of the hidden meaning of things. For all the differences, however, a common factor exists, namely, that reality embraces a hidden component or components, inaccessible to ordinary cognition, which may be known by a lifting of the concealing veil.

III. OT.–A. Nature. The OT plainly assumes that, in

spite of the sharp distinction between Creator and creature, humanity originally enjoyed an intimate knowledge of God, and fellowship with Him, in virtue of its creation in the divine image (Gen. 1:26; 2:7-25). This experience might still come within the category of knowledge and fellowship by revelation, since God obviously took the initiative in giving the possibility of knowledge and establishing the fellowship. Indeed, an element of command entered into the relationship, i.e., a disclosure of the divine will (cf. 3:3). All the same, the element of human disobedience and sin had not yet had the disruptive effect that would later make necessary the special process of revelation that constitutes the main subject of both OT and NT. What the OT says about the declaration of God in nature and its providential ordering might well be a reflection of the primal revelation. Even if natural revelation forms only a secondary theme in the OT, it obviously has its own importance, especially as we find it in the so-called Nature Psalms. Thus in Ps. 19:1 (MT 2), "the heavens are telling the glory of God; and the firmament proclaims his handiwork." A graphic description of the voice of the Lord in the storm occurs in Ps. 29, and Ps. 104 traces the majesty of God in the heavens and His loving care for all His creatures, animal as well as human. Along similar lines, God's startling reply to Job in Job 38–41 deduces His transcendent power from the mysteries of creation, so that even what is hidden from human eyes points plainly to the sovereign wisdom of the Creator. Similarly, Isa. 40:26 finds abundant evidence of the divine lordship through contemplation of the starry heavens: "Lift up your eyes on high and see: who created these? He who brings out their host by number, calling them all by name." The OT does not draw any particular conclusions from these references to God's manifestation in nature. It does not argue that, by reason of this revelation, all peoples have some knowledge of God, or that many gentile religions contain relics of an original knowledge of God from nature, or even that all human beings ought to know God because He shows Himself so plainly in the wonders of creation (although there are perhaps hints of this in Isa. 40). Nor does the OT specifically try to integrate this aspect of revelation with its primary motif, the special revelation of God as the covenant God of Israel. It neither fashions an independent theology out of natural revelation nor makes this revelation a foundation on which it may erect the theology of special revelation. Instead, it very simply accepts as obvious and incontestable the fact that the works of creation and providence bear witness to the Creator God whom Israel comes to know by His special revelation. It thus finds in natural revelation, not so much the starting-point for an argument in proof of God, but rather an occasion for the praise of God (Ps. 104), for humble self-abasement before Him (Job 42), and for confidence in His sovereign sway over all events and processes as the Creator of the cosmos who is also the Lord of its history (Isa. 40:25-31).

B. History. The reason why God's revelation in nature forms only a subsidiary theme in the OT is that the fall brought with it a more drastic differentiation of humanity from God than that of Creator and creature. In the Bible the problem of knowing God goes far beyond the epistemological difficulty that the Creator does not fall among sensory phenomena as His creatures do. Had it not been for human rebellion, this technical problem would have found an easy solution, as God made Himself known through His handiwork in the world of sense. The fall, however, brought a failure of spiritual perception, which turned the revealing of God in creaturely objects into a concealing. Fallen humanity neither recognized nor acknowledged God in His works but substituted creaturely divinities of its own imagining. It is not that people do not know God at all or have no inkling of His will and commandment. They see God, but they do not really see Him. They know His will, but they pervert it or blatantly defy it. What Isa. 6:10 says about eyes that see not, ears that hear not, and hearts that do not understand might well serve as a commentary on the whole predicament of sinful humanity. Those who put their own imaginings for God and their own codes for His commandments can neither discern God in His works nor His movement in natural and historical processes. He is for them the God of Isa. 45:15: "Truly, thou art a God who hidest thyself." He is the God whose footprints are unseen even though His "way was through the sea" and His "path through the great waters" (Ps. 77:19). As Eccl. 3:11 realistically observes, even though God "has put eternity into man's mind," nevertheless "he canot find out what God has done from the beginning to the end." The problem finds succinct expression in Eccl. 7:29: "God made man upright, but they have sought out many devices."

God's answer to the human plight takes the form of new revelation in His history with Israel. In its many aspects and phases, this revelation covers the whole of the OT. A comprehensive presentation of it is thus impossible in this article. Certain general features, however, call for special attention. The first is that God Himself takes the initiative in this revelatory history. To be sure, the OT carries a frequent summons to people to seek God (1 Ch. 28:9; Isa. 55:6; Jer. 29:13), but it also shows plainly that this seeking is possible only because of God's prior seeking. When human beings go astray, it is God who seeks the lost (Ezk. 34:16). At the very beginning, when Adam and Eve were hiding from God, God "called to the man" in the garden and thereby initiated His revealing and reconciling work (Gen. 3:8f.). Similarly, God called Abram from Haran (12:1-3), made Himself known to Moses at the bush (Ex. 3:1-6), gave Samuel his commission in the temple (1 S. 3:1-14), had David anointed king (16:12f.), and gave the prophets their specific tasks (Isa. 6; Jer. 1:4-19; Hos. 1:1f.; Am. 7:14f.). Authentic knowledge of God and observing of His command do not derive from human effort to think about God and His will but from God's own action in declaring Himself and His will and purpose.

Second, God's revelation has primarily and intrinsically a personal character. God does, of course, reveal many things about Himself. One cannot isolate the person of God from His perfections, works, ways, and will. On the other hand, one cannot make the perfections, works, ways, and will into abstract facts or truths divorced from God's living person. Revelation could not attain its true end if it did no more than convey facts or truths about God as the basis of corresponding beliefs, if it did not bring its recipients into a relationship with God Himself in person. The facts and truths and related beliefs are all important. They undoubtedly come within the sphere of revelation. God would not be known at all did we not also know things about Him. Nevertheless, the goal of God's revealing word and work is not just the imparting of correct information. It is the reconstitution of the fellowship with God that human sin disrupted. For this reason, God's revelation is His personal self-revelation. He Himself came to Abram, spoke to him (Gen. 12:1-3), and made him His friend (Jas. 2:23). He "used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend" (Ex. 33:11). He knew Moses by name and gave him His own

covenant name (Ex. 33:17; 3:13-15). Here was no impersonal disclosing of new facts or teachings, but the self-revealing of God in person.

Third, God's revelation is a reconciling revelation. God deals not merely with the ignorance of the fallen creature but at the same time with its sin and guilt. The living God makes Himself known as the merciful covenant God who purposes blessing for His people and for all peoples (Gen. 17:1-7). Indeed, at the very point when Israel resists His purpose (Ex. 32), the God of the thunderings of Sinai displays Himself the more fully as the God of grace and pardon: "The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious . . . keeping steadfast love for thousands, forgiving iniquity" (Ex. 34:6f.; cf. Ps. 103:8-14; Jonah 4:2). The divine words and acts comprise both revelation and reconciliation. Taking away the veil that hides Creator from creature, God removes the obstacle of sin that blocks their fellowship. Related to this aspect are two important factors in God's dealings with His people: (1) the very real but also richly symbolical deliverance from Egypt, and (2) the establishment of the sacrificial cultus as an integral part of what God wills from His people both in the desert and in the land of promise.

Fourth, God's revelation, precisely as the revelation of His person, is a revelation of His will for His people. God reveals Himself as the holy and righteous God (Lev. 19:2; Ps. 11:7; Isa. 6:3). He demands that those made in His image be also holy (Lev. 11:44). He loves righteous deeds (Ps. 11:7). No one, of course, can claim to be fully righteous before God (Ps. 143:2). Hence arises the need for reconciliation. Nevertheless, God's revelation carries with it the revealing of His holy and righteous will that sinful humanity distorts and resists. It is the revelation of the law, of what it means to live a godly life, to "let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream" (Am. 5:24). Self-revealed as the covenant God, God is the God of command as well as promise: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (Jer. 31:33; Ezk. 36:28). He is the God who Himself has given the law, written first on tablets of stone (Ex. 31:18), and finally to be written on His people's hearts (Jer. 31:33; cf. Ezk. 36:26f.).

Fifth, the revelation of God takes written form by God's own self-revealing action. While revelation consists first of living words and acts of God, the words and acts themselves include the inscribing of what God says and does in the permanent record, which becomes the OT. As already noted, God issued the Ten Commandments in written form (Ex. 24:12; 32:15f.; 34:1). All the words of the law are written in the book (Dt. 28:58). Joshua wrote the words of the Shechem covenant in "the book of the law of God" (Josh. 24:26). The Lord told Jeremiah: "Write in a book all the words that I have spoken to you" (Jer. 30:2), and again: "Take a scroll, and write on it all the words that I have spoken to you" (36:2; cf. v. 28). Committed to writing, the story of God's revealing words and works takes the propositional form of transmitted facts and teachings. Yet in this form the story is still the ongoing revelation of the living God. The OT does not support the common antithesis perceived between the propositional and the personal. Later ages know the personal revelation by way of the propositional. The propositional revelation — the record of God's word and work — serves the personal. Merely to know the facts and teachings, of course, is not to know God, but God continually makes Himself known by way of the facts and teachings that record His word and work. God included the composition of the OT in His original self-revealing in order that He might constantly make Himself known in person through this record. To set proposition and person in opposition is just as misleading and unnecessary as to set divine word and act in opposition, as though God's saving revelation could consist only of the one without the other, as though God's word were not also act and His act word. In His revelatory dealings with Israel God both said things and did things, and He caused a record of His words and deeds to be compiled in order that by its statements He might reveal Himself in person to all future generations.

C. Eschatology. Like the wider world outside, the OT recognized that the future, too, falls outside the range of normal possibilities of knowledge. The hiddenness of the future forms a basis for the challenge that Isa. 41:22 issues to the nations and their gods: "Let them . . . tell us what is to happen . . . or declare to us the things to come." Only by revelation can we know the future, and only the true God, the Lord of time, who knows things from the beginning (v. 26), can give this revelation. The revelation, of course, is not just a revelation of the future. It is a revelation of God's sovereign deity: "I am the first and I am the last . . . have I not told you from of old and declared it? . . . Is there a God besides me?" (44:6-8). But the revelation of His sovereign deity is also a revelation of the future. As such it has an eschatological dimension.

In many cases, of course, the reference might be to the more immediate future. Thus God told Moses at the bush that He would use him to bring His people out of bondage (Ex. 3:1-10). He gave Gideon an implicit assurance that through him Israel would find deliverance from Midian (Jgs. 6:14). He used a man of God to announce to Eli the fall of his house and the death of his sons (1 S. 2:27-36). He intimated through Elijah the grisly end of Jezebel at Jezreel (1 K. 21:23). He enabled Isaiah to proclaim the unlikely deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians (Isa. 37:21-35), the future subjugation of Judah to Babylon (39:5-7), and the final overthrow of Babylon itself (14:22f.). As Amos put it in a famous saying: "Surely the Lord does nothing, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets" (Am. 3:7). This revealing of the future did not mean, of course, that prophecy was mere prediction or that the events foretold constituted an ineluctable destiny. If God revealed things to come, He did so in the exercise of His moral sovereignty as the God of grace and judgment. He did so, therefore, with an accompanying summons to repentance, faith, and obedient action. The prophets did not act merely as oracles or soothsayers. In and through the revelation of the future they revealed the character of God, and as a result even the imminent future that they disclosed carried with it some indication of the ultimate future when God would bring His overriding purpose to fulfillment in judgment and salvation.

In other cases the reference might be a more direct one to the salvation and judgment that God would bring in that fulfillment of His purpose. Castigating sin and summoning the people to repentance, the prophets could proclaim with all severity the wrath and judgment of God, and they perceived and proclaimed plainly that the rule of God meant the ultimate exclusion of all sin and sinners from God's kingdom. Yet even prophets like Hosea, Micah, and Amos, who announced a revealing of corruption (Hos. 7:1), saw no hope for Samaria and Judah (Mic. 1:6; 3:12), and painted a dark picture of the day of the Lord (Am. 5:18), could still find a place for the declaration of final restoration (cf. Hos. 14:4-7; Mic. 4:1-13; Am. 9:11-15).

Similarly Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for whom the time had come when nothing could arrest the merited overthrow of Jerusalem and Judah (Jer. 25:8f.; Ezk. 9), looked beyond the catastrophe of judgment to a future of renewal, grace, and glory (Jer. 31:23-34; Ezk. 11:16-21; 36:22-32). These declarations had nothing whatever to do with optimistic or utopian hopes predicated on human progress or perfectibility. They came within the revelation of the future because eschatological deliverance, prefigured in temporal deliverances, belonged to the sovereign purpose of God that He Himself would fulfil in spite of human revolt and resistance. Here again the revelation of the future, which increasingly took messianic shape (cf. Isa. 9:1-7; 11:1-9. Jer. 23:5-8; Ezk. 34:23f.; Mic. 5:2), comprised much more than a mere lifting of the veil that lies over things to come. It was a revelation of the God who, knowing the end from the beginning, would not let His will be frustrated but would intervene Himself to bring it to fulfillment in an age of salvation and peace. "My counsel shall stand . . . I have purposed, and I will do it" (Isa. 46:10f.). On this basis and with this confidence, prophetic revelation had an integral eschatological component.

In keeping with its rootage in the divine purpose, the final deliverance has a universal and not just a national reference. God's revelation of the future is the revelation of a saving knowledge of God among all peoples according to the covenant promise to Abraham that in his offspring all nations would find blessing (Gen. 22:18). The prophetic vision of the future sees many peoples going up to the mountain of the Lord to learn His ways and walk in His paths (Isa. 2:2f.). It looks ahead to a time when peace shall reign and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. 11:9). The various aspects of OT revelation converge here. Revelation of the future is revelation of the day when all nations have the knowledge of God that comes only by divine self-revealing. Yet it is also itself a self-revealing of God, for with the insight that it gives into God's purpose and its fulfillment, it reveals the God of sovereign goodness and love who wills to establish the fellowship of Creator and creature that the fall might disrupt but could not finally impede or negate. The fulfillment of God's purpose certainly has to mean the condemnation and exclusion of evil. The God of eschatological revelation is the God of omnipotent justice and judgment. Yet even as the God of omnipotent justice and judgment, He is also the God of omnipotent love and salvation whose goal is the positive one of blessing for people of any age, race, or class. The OT, of course, reveals the fulfillment of the divine purpose only as future and not yet as present. To that extent it points beyond itself. Even as a revelation of the future, however, it is a revelation of the God of the last things who, as the God of final judgment that salvation entails, is also and primarily the God of grace and glory (Ps. 86:8-10; Isa. 40:5f.).

D. Authenticity. A problem that troubled the general world of antiquity arose unavoidably in the OT sphere as well. How can there be any real assurance that God does in fact reveal Himself, or, even if He does, that this or that supposed revelation from God is indeed authentic when the ordinary criteria of verifiability do not apply? The OT prophets constantly ran up against this question, especially when, as so often, they had to deliver an unpopular message as God's word. At various points, then, the OT found it necessary to suggest criteria whereby to adjudge the truth or falsity of any given claim to revelation.

An extraordinary mode of revelation could be a partial help. God did at times reveal Himself and His purposes in dreams and visions. Jacob's dream at Bethel is an example (Gen. 28:10-17; cf. 35:7). One might also cite Joseph's dreams (37:5-11), or Daniel's dreams and visions (Dnl. 7–12), or the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel (Isa. 6; Ezk. 1; cf. also Joel 2:28). Nevertheless, dreams as such are commonplace, and reading divine messages into them requires only a little ingenuity, as the dream-books of the ancient world plainly show. Mere appeal to a dream offers no binding guarantee of authentic revelation. For "when dreams increase, empty words grow many" (Eccl. 5:7). Prophets can "speak visions of their own minds, not from the mouth of the Lord" (Jer. 23:16).

In the same way prophetic signs are no infallible mark of true revelation. Signs are common enough in the OT. Gideon requested and received a sign in Jgs. 6:17-22. The earlier and later prophets made considerable use of signs to support their proclamation. Ahijah tore his garment into twelve pieces in 1 K. 11:29-39. The man of God gave the sign of the shattered altar in 1 K. 13:1-5. Isaiah offered the sign of the child in Isa. 8:1-4. Jeremiah used the sign of the yoke in Jer. 27:2-11 and Ezekiel the sign of siege diet in Ezk. 4:9-17. Yet who was to say that Gideon's sign was not a mere coincidence, or that the prophets were not just imagining or inventing signs instead of receiving them from God? False prophets could also use signs, as did the prophets who gave Jehoshaphat the sign of iron horns (1 K. 22:11) or Hananiah when he broke Jeremiah's yoke (Jer. 28:10). Only if true signs could be differentiated with certainty from false signs could signs alone serve as a mark of genuine revelation.

Again, the mere claim to have a word from God did not suffice to establish true revelation. The prophets undoubtedly made this claim. They could tell about God and the things of God only as God told them about Himself. The most common form of revelation involved a word that God spoke to His servants and that they would then speak to others in His name. God "said" something to Noah (Gen. 6:13), and then again to Abram (12:1) and Moses (Ex. 3:4). He revealed His word to Samuel (1 S. 3:1-11). His word came to Elijah (1 K. 21:17), to Jeremiah (Jer. 1:2-4, 11, 13), to Ezekiel (Ezk. 6:1), and to Joel (Joel 1:1). Yet false prophets could also claim to have a word from God. Hananiah did so when he used the common prophetic formula: "Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel" (Jer. 28:2). So did the prophets of whom Jeremiah complained that they "use their tongues and say, 'Says the Lord'" (23:31). When both true and false prophets assert that they have a word from God, who can say where real revelation lies?

When the future is at issue, the test of fulfillment can often be useful. Jeremiah advanced this criterion in Jer. 28:9: "When the word of that prophet comes to pass, then it will be known that the Lord has truly sent the prophet." Micaiah had already made a similar appeal to the test of events in 1 K. 22:25: "Behold, you shall see on that day." The same principle seems to lie behind the statement about Samuel in 1 S. 3:19 that the Lord "let none of his words fall to the ground." Nevertheless, this criterion cannot have absolute validity. Skeptics might dismiss any fulfillment as coincidence, and in any case many prophetic judgments depend on whether the people repent. Should the people repent, no one can tell whether the disaster would have come had they not repented, and those who had prophesied smooth things would seem to be justified.

The final criterion, and the most dependable, is ethical. Taking a twofold form, it relates first to the motivation of those who claim revelation. Are they simply telling princes and people what they want to know, speaking for acclaim or reward (Mic. 3:5)? Or are they risking

unpopularity, persecution, and even martyrdom for their message (cf. Am. 7:10-17)? Are they professionals, or do they prophesy under the constraint of God's word (cf. Jer. 20:7-18; Ezk. 2:2-7)? It then relates to the message itself. Thus in Dt. 13:1-5 a prophet or dreamer who advocates idolatry cannot be a bearer of true revelation. Similarly, the prophet who simply grants reassurance irrespective of the moral condition of the hearers does not bring authentic revelation from God. True revelation of the future must also be revelation of the will and character of the God of revelation, of the God who loves righteousness and requires it from His elect people (Dt. 10:12f.; Am. 5:24; Mic. 6:8). Many may prophesy even though God has not spoken to them, but if they had truly stood in God's council and proclaimed His word to the people "they would have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings" (Jer. 23:22). Mere appeal to a dream or word or burden does not suffice if the net result is to strengthen the hearts of evildoers and fill them with vain hopes. Where there is true revelation, even the righteous may have to suffer temporary affliction at God's hand, for they do not serve God simply for the blessings this service may bring (cf. Hab. 3:17f.). Nevertheless, authentic revelation is always revelation of the righteous God. It will thus be the revelation of judgment on impenitent sinners who resist the divine summons. In and through the judgment, however, it will also be the revelation of grace that welcomes the penitent and establishes the righteous. For the ultimate purpose of God is the positive one of salvation that does not let human rebellion prevail. The final vision will always be a vision of the reconciliation of righteousness and peace (Ps. 85:10). The ethical way that leads to righteous judgment leads on through judgment or affliction to the salvation that God Himself accomplishes by the power of His pardoning and renewing grace (cf. Jer. 23:5-8; Am. 9:11-15; Mic. 4:1-8; Zeph. 3:11-13).

IV. Judaism.–A. Scripture. The intertestamental period brought an end to the first stage of saving revelation. It thus saw an increasing focus on the past revelation in its ongoing form as Scripture. The books of the OT, which themselves belonged to the initial process, preserved the record of God's revealing words and works for all generations. For this reason they became the subject of codification and intensive study. New revelation might be expected with the coming of the Messiah, the giving of the new law, and the public manifestation of the divine rule. In the present, however, canonized Scripture served as the main locus of revelation. As a result, revelation came to be viewed in a more legal and intellectual way. Tradition also developed with biblical study. It made no claim itself to be revelation, but it attempted a more specific application of the will of God revealed already in the Law and the Prophets. In so doing, of course, it might easily usurp the function of revelation by imposing an interpretative shackle. Fortunately expository differences helped to safeguard against the obvious tendency in this direction.

B. Apocalyptic. In the post-OT age a certain substitute arose for ongoing revelation in the works that take their name from the NT apocalypse (Rev. 1:1). The authors of these writings tried to give authenticity to their productions by attributing them pseudonymously to great figures of the past. These past heroes of the faith had supposedly received sealed revelations that they were now disclosing in the last days. The revelations entailed glimpses of the upper world and took the form of powerful visions and apocalyptic calculations. Apocalyptic added nothing essentially new to the prophetic revelation of the canonical OT. But at least it reinforced the message of the divine sovereignty over history, it gave a cosmic sweep to the understanding of God's purpose and work, and it provided encouragement to the servants of God in times of considerable pressure, conflict and persecution.

C. Hellenism. With the Dispersion, educated Jews came into closer contact with the thinkers of pagan antiquity. This contact led in some circles to a greater stress on natural revelation, not in opposition to the historical revelation of the OT, but in concert with it. For example, Philo appealed to the general principle that anything that is made points clearly to its maker. Thus the order and design that one sees so plainly in the universe bear witness to a Creator of supreme wisdom and power (*De praemiis et poenis* 41f.). Wisd. 13:3-5 argues similarly that from creation pagans ought to have been led, not to idolatry, but to worship of the true God. This development does not represent a complete divergence from the OT, for the OT, too, finds the God of Israel in the works of creation (Ps. 19:1). Nevertheless, it does mark a certain shift of emphasis. Evident now is a movement more from below (i.e., from creation to the unknown God), than from above (i.e., from the known God of Israel to creation). Thus natural revelation tends to become the basis of a natural theology whereby thoughtful people may find their way to the true God without any prior need for His special self-revelation according to the OT record. Josephus made a parallel move in the moral sphere when he equated the revealed law of the OT with the natural law of the Stoics (*CAp* ii.17ff. [173ff.]). On this view, all people have by nature some knowledge of the will of God. God's special revelation of the law simply confirms, purifies, and amplifies this basic knowledge.

V. NT.–A. Synoptists. The declaration of John the Baptist (Mt. 3:2) implies that God is now about to manifest His kingdom in fulfillment of the eschatological expectation of the OT. Jesus then brings this kingdom in a disclosure of its mystery. Indeed, He is Himself the kingdom, present already within the world as an eschatological reality (Lk. 17:21). With Jesus, however, an integral feature of divine revelation becomes particularly evident. God's self-unveiling in creaturely form, whether as word, act, sign, or now as person, entails at the same time a measure of veiling. As God makes Himself known through creaturely phenomena, thus achieving accessibility to the senses, the recipients may perceive only the creaturely phenomena and miss the divine reality. When God speaks His word in the OT, they may hear only the opinions of the prophets and not the message from God. When revelation comes by way of the biblical record, they may accept the record only as a human writing and not as God's written word. When Jesus Himself comes as God's kingdom, as the King Himself in person, they may see only a human teacher, a prophet, or even an impostor, not the messianic Son of God. The disclosure of God in human form demands, therefore, a revealing to the recipient, i.e., an inward enlightenment to the true meaning of what is perceived with the instruments of human cognition.

These aspects of revelation, which surely lie behind the mystery of the kingdom, the ambivalence of the parables, and the so-called messianic secret, come plainly into view in two sayings of Jesus. In Mt. 11:27 Jesus tells His disciples that knowledge of the Father lies with the Son, but then only with those to whom the Son chooses to reveal it. Similarly in 16:16, when Peter rises above inadequate views of Jesus to the confession that He is the Christ, the Son of the living God, Jesus tells him that he could not have reached this conclusion by a simple

contemplation of Jesus along ordinary epistemological lines. The heavenly Father revealed it to him. Objectively, indeed, Jesus is Himself the full revelation of God. But He is so in veiled form. A further act of divine revealing is needed if the revelation is to be a subjective reality. The making known of revelation is an intrinsic part of revelation.

This subjective revealing stands in no necessary correlation to human qualifications, e.g., ability or learning. In Mt. 11:25 Jesus thanks God for hiding these things from the wise and understanding and revealing them to babes. The gospel is not a difficult philosophy that only the highly gifted or educated can grasp. Human wisdom avails neither to reach God without revelation nor to penetrate the mystery of revelation when God gives it. Indeed, it may prove to be an obstacle by complicating divine simplicities, taking offense at divine wisdom, or substituting pride for humble receptivity. This does not mean, of course, that revelation has no intellectual content or that entry into it is a mystical, esoteric or irrational experience. Revelation has to do with ultimate reality. With great simplicity, if also with great profundity, Jesus represents this reality when human ingenuity obscures it. Jesus teaches and exemplifies with refreshing directness both God's fatherly rule (Mt. 6:26-33) and His commanding will (Mk. 12:28-34). By means of illustrations from everyday life He presents the truths of the kingdom (Mt. 13). Yet He does this, not in order to instruct in a human system, but in order to set forth the living God whom He represents in His own person, expectant that God will in fact reveal Himself thereby to all who humbly and penitently seek Him (Mt. 6:7-13). To see God in Jesus is to see Him in the fulness of His being and work and all that this implies for His will and purpose.

If the revelation of God in Jesus has already an eschatological dimension, this does not exclude a future component. Jesus had for the moment a hidden glory (Mk. 9:2f.), that only enlightened eyes could perceive. At the end of the age, however, He will come in direct manifestation with all the Father's glory (Mk. 8:38). This will be the day of the direct revelation of the Son when He visibly takes up His rule as King and Judge. It will also be the day of the revelation of all secrets when the thoughts of many hearts shall be revealed (Lk. 2:35), when nothing that is covered will not be revealed and nothing hidden will not be made known (Mt. 10:26). The final manifestation of Jesus does not imply that He is any less the revelation of God when He comes in servant form. In His self-identification with fallen humanity even to the point of vicarious sin-bearing on the cross, Jesus displays the fulness of God's purposeful and powerful love. Nor does the present concealment mean any inadequacy in God's ability to make Himself known. Christ has indeed been given as a light for revelation to the Gentiles (Lk. 2:32). The eyes of seekers like Simeon will always see in Him the salvation of God. In its veiled form the revelation of God in Christ effects already the sifting of humanity that the last judgment will finally disclose. The proud, the ungodly, and the obstinately wicked have God's revelation before them but do not see it. Only at the end of the age, when Christ returns in a direct appearing to judge and rule, will they see things as they really are. Those who are ready to receive Christ, and to learn from Him, already see Him in faith through the servant veil. But then they will see Him in His manifest glory, and will enter with Him into the visible consummation of His kingdom of salvation and peace.

B. Acts. With the ascension of Jesus and the outpouring of the Spirit, the emphasis in the primitive church tended to fall on the work of revelation in the apostolic mission and on the future revelation at Christ's return in glory. God had undoubtedly manifested Himself in the life and death and especially the rising again of Christ (Acts 2:22-32). He had specifically manifested Jesus to the disciples with the resurrection appearances and the commissioning for apostolic ministry (10:40, 42). He had manifested Himself, too, in the descent of the Spirit and the associated dreams, visions, and prophesyings (2:17-21). The present age, then, is the age of revelatory proclamation when "whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (2:21) and the Lord daily increases the number of those whose hearts the Spirit opens to receive the word (2:41, 47). The revelation that took place in Jesus continued in the ongoing form of the apostolic message about Him, available as yet only orally, but later receiving a more enduring written expression. The Spirit uses this message to do the work of inner revealing whereby individuals come to a saving knowledge of God in Christ. For the moment Christ Himself is concealed at the right hand of the Father. At the end, however, will come the "great and manifest day" of the Lord's coming in glory (2:20). God will then establish all that He spoke by the prophets (3:21). He has ordained Jesus "to be judge of the living and the dead" (10:42) in a visible declaration of His sovereign rule. Penitent believers will then enjoy the fulness of salvation, and wickedness will suffer definitive expulsion. Revelation always focuses on Christ, whether in His incarnate person and work, His proclamation by the apostles, or His final, open manifestation. The Spirit gives the apostolic word its revealing force. The same Spirit also gives special revelations in the process of apostolic ministry, whether by dreams and visions (9:3; 10:3, 10-16; 16:9; 18:9f.), deliverances (5:19), direction (15:28), guidance (8:29; 16:6f.), or prophecy (21:10ff.). Nevertheless, revelation never becomes a purely subjective or ecstatic phenomenon divorced from the solid reality of Christ's own work, of the ministry of the apostles, or indeed of the preceding OT revelation (cf. 2:17-21, 25-28, 34f.; 3:20-26; 4:11, 25f.; 13:33-35, 47; 17:2ff.). The Spirit came upon the disciples, not to make them the agents of new revelation, but to empower them as witnesses of Jesus (1:8), and by their witness to open blind eyes to the light of God's reconciling revelation in Him.

C. Epistles. The NT Epistles develop the various aspects of revelation that feature already in the Synoptists and Acts. The first and focal concept is christological. God has brought His revealing and reconciling activity to a climax in the person and work of Christ (He. 1:1-4). This revelation did not take place without an element of concealment. Christ was "manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim. 3:16). In solidarity with the sinful race He took a servant form (Phil. 2:7). He came "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3). He was made like His brethen in every respect (He. 2:17) apart from sin (4:15). Nevertheless, "through faith for faith" God has revealed His righteousness in Him (Rom. 1:17). Implicitly He has also revealed His wrath, which finds expression in the abandoning of the wicked to their evil desires and courses. Yet where sin increased, God's grace in Christ "abounded all the more" (Rom. 5:20). In Christ, therefore, the emphasis falls on the righteousness of God, not in condemning the wicked, but in justly justifying believers for whom Christ bore the condemnation.

Second, the revelation that God has given in Christ comes to individuals through the apostolic ministry of the gospel. In this ministry one sees two facets of revelation. The first is that Christ manifests Himself to the apostles, disclosing to them the mystery of the divine

purpose in the gospel, and enabling them to proclaim it in exposition of the prophetic writings (Rom. 16:25f.). Thus Paul could specifically attribute his apostleship to "a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:12), to God's good pleasure "to reveal his Son to me" (v. 16). He could also derive his whole understanding of the gospel, and especially its universality, from the revealing ministry of the Spirit (Eph. 3:5; cf. Col. 1:25, 27). The second facet is that the Spirit uses the apostolic word to make Christ known as hearers respond in faith. Because of the blindness due to sin, human intelligence alone cannot penetrate God's secret in Christ. But "what no eye has seen, nor ear heard . . . God has revealed to us through the Spirit . . . that we might understand the gifts bestowed on us by God" (1 Cor. 2:9-12). This revelation relates, of course, to the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Christ as the apostles proclaim it (15:1-4). It always has, then, an objective component. Yet people cannot learn it as they learn things belonging to the created world. The Spirit reveals the facts of revelation to those to whom they would otherwise be offense or folly (1:18). In so doing, He enlists them, too, in the ministry of revelation, so that the work of proclamation will continue by which He then does a revealing work in others.

Third, the fact that many who now live in unbelief have not yet heard God's revelation in the OT and Christ does not excuse them, for "what can be known about God" is really plain; God has shown it to them in creation (Rom. 1:19f.) and conscience (2:14-16). Paul obviously did not advance this truth as a basis for natural theology, as though there had been no fall. (It is interesting and possibly important that he did not use the terms "reveal" or "revelation" in this context.) Similarly, he did not engage in a rational argument that would lead by logical steps to the truths of special revelation (see Acts 14:15-17; 17:22). In Romans the point is that sinners pervert the knowledge of God from creation into an idolatrous worship of the creature, and distort the knowledge of His will by conscience into guilty disobedience. The statements in Acts 14 and 17 occur in a similar context of ignorance and idolatry (14:11-18; 17:22-34); Paul boldly proclaimed the God who ought to be known (14:17) and who may now be known again through the crucified and risen Lord of the gospel (14:7; 17:31). If an ambivalent perception of God remains from the primal revelation of the Creator and His will, it constitutes a crushing indictment of what the human race has made of the revelation: "They are without excuse" (Rom. 1:20).

Fourth, particular revelations accompany the ministry of the Spirit. Paul went to Jerusalem by revelation in Gal. 2:2 (cf. Acts 16:6, 9). He quoted "visions and revelations of the Lord" that God had given him (2 Cor. 12:1-7). Among spiritual gifts he mentioned revelations along with knowledge, prophecy, and teaching (1 Cor. 14:6; cf. vv. 26, 30). He desired that the Philippians might, if necessary, be corrected by revelation (Phil. 3:15; cf. Eph. 1:17). The precise nature of the various revelations is uncertain. Sometimes they are plainly visionary or ecstatic, but sometimes they seem closer to NT prophecy and have more of the character of biblical insights or directions for particular needs or situations. They obviously form a special category of revelation, not wholly unlike the visions or instructions given to OT leaders and prophets, yet in many cases lacking their definitive nature.

Fifth, revelation has a teleological dimension. In Christ God has worked out His saving purpose. Christ was already active in the OT (1 Cor. 10:4; 1 Pet. 1:11f.). But His coming in the incarnation brought the decisive revealing of faith, i.e., the disclosure that faith, not the law, is the way of justification (Gal. 3:28). This is why the gospel reveals the righteousness of God. It shows that God is both just and the justifier, the executor of righteousness and also its giver. Revealed along with faith, then, is the mystery of reconciliation in Christ. Believers are reconciled to God, and therewith also to one another. By their common faith the Gentiles are now fellow heirs and members of the same body (Eph. 3:5-7). The mystery that previous ages did not understand is now made known to the saints, to whom "God chose to make known how great among the Gentiles are the riches of the glory of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col. 1:26f.).

Finally, the teleology carries an element of future eschatology. Christ has come as God's revelation, yet concealment lies over His incarnate person and work and over His church and its ministry apart from the Spirit's revealing. One day, however, Christ who is now our life shall appear (Col. 3:4). At this appearing sin and its judgment will also reach an open climax with the revelation and destruction of the man of lawlessness (2 Thess. 2:3-8). God's righteous judgment will then be revealed (Rom. 2:5) in a revealing of human works by fire (1 Cor. 3:13). Yet the day of Christ's appearing will primarily be a day of the revealing of divine glory (1 Pet. 5:1). The glory is Christ's, but with the revelation of their salvation in Him (1 Pet. 1:5) believers will share this glory: "You also will appear with him in glory" (Col. 3:4). The last day reveals the true status both of Christ and of His people. As Christ suffered, so His people now suffer, but "the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us" (Rom. 8:18). Creation too, which suffers under concealment of the divine rule, moves towards this day, waiting "with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God" (v. 19). The manifesting of the chief Shepherd will fulfil the promise of an "unfading crown of glory" for those who, suffering a little while, are called to "eternal glory in Christ" (1 Pet. 5:4, 10). When the day dawns, the Lord Jesus will be "revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire, inflicting vengeance upon those who do not know God and upon those who do not obey the gospel," and coming "to be glorified in his saints, and to be marveled at in all who have believed" (2 Thess. 1:7f., 10). Present resistance to Christ will then give place to subjection (1 Cor. 15:24), present affliction with Him to rejoicing at the revealing of His glory (1 Pet. 4:13), and the present concealment of His kingdom to the full manifestation of the all-embracing rule of the Father (1 Cor. 15:24-28).

D. John. 1. Gospel and Epistles. The terms "reveal" and "revelation" are not Johannine, yet the theology of the Gospel and Epistles "is a theology of revelation to the supreme degree, though in a different sense" (*TDNT*, III, 587; *see* JOHANNINE THEOLOGY III). The equation of Jesus with the Logos, i.e., the understanding of the Logos in terms of Jesus, attributes to Jesus a unique absoluteness as God's revelation both historically and cosmically (Jn. 1:3). Jesus, however, does not merge into a principle of revelation. On the contrary, revelation finds personal focus in the incarnate Word, Jesus of Nazareth (1:14; 1 Jn. 1:1). Nor does Jesus function only as the revealer. At once He is both the revealer who makes known the Father (Jn. 1:18) and the revelation whom to know is to know the Father (14:7). As the incarnate Logos, the manifested life (1 Jn. 1:2) that is the true light shining in the darkness (Jn. 1:4-6), Jesus brings fulfillment both to the messianic hopes of Judaism (4:25f.) and to the desires and longings of the Gentiles (12:20ff.). He does so, not as the climax of natural revelation, but as

the incarnate Son who by a ministry of teaching, living, loving, dying, and rising again achieves not only illumination but also forgiveness and renewal for those who, believing and receiving, find the person and work of God in Him and become God's children themselves (1:12).

The reality of Jesus is both concealed and revealed. The world knew Him not (Jn. 1:10). Many did not confess Him (1 Jn. 4:3). He constantly ran into misunderstanding (Jn. 3:4, 9; 5:41ff., 52f.). Opponents accused Him of illegitimacy (8:41) and of being a Samaritan and having a demon (8:48). His Galilean origins aroused objections (7:27, 41). His signs provoked controversy (ch. 9), and even open hostility (11:46-53). Nevertheless, the unveiling of His glory does not have to await His return. He manifested His name already to those whom God gave Him (17:6). They "beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father" (1:14). The Son had given them understanding "to know him who is true" (1 Jn. 5:20). As He glorified the Father by doing His work (17:3f.), He could pray that the Father would glorify Him with His preexistent glory (v. 5). Paradoxically, glorifying came with His passion (13:31ff.), with His lifting up (12:32), as the glory of the resurrection would plainly demonstrate (20:26-29). His glorifying meant glory for His disciples too: "The glory which thou hast given me I have given to them" (17:22). This again would be a glory unperceived by the world, for it would not have the form of outward glory. But believers themselves may know it, for they have the witness that God has given them the eternal life that is in His Son (1 Jn. 5:10f.).

The present revealing of Christ does not rule out a future revealing in John. If the light of Christ shines already in the sinful world, both saving and judging (Jn. 3:19, 21), the open manifesting of salvation and judgment has yet to come (5:19-29, esp. 25-29). A day of judgment will dawn. Believers may have confidence on that day (1 Jn. 4:17), for they are not condemned (Jn. 3:18). Having already seen Christ's glory, they move toward the consummation when they shall see Him as He is (1 Jn. 3:2). They shall then behold the glory that God gave the Son in His love for Him before the foundation of the world (Jn. 17:24). At the same time, the reality of their own new being as God's children will come to full manifestation: "We know that when he appears we shall be like him" (1 Jn. 3:2). With the strong emphasis on the present eschatological significance of Christ in John, the future element does not play so important a role as in some other parts of the NT. The present tension of revealing and concealing, however, gives it a necessary place. In His revelation as the incarnate Son, Jesus has inaugurated the age of judgment and salvation that is now the age of eschatological decision when people either see Him in faith or fail to do so in unbelief. The time must come, however, when the reality will be open to all eyes, the decision will be manifested, and God will bring His purpose to the fulfillment of eternal judgment and salvation.

2. Revelation. Unlike the Gospel and Epistles, the Apocalypse focuses on the future. The opening verse states its point: Jesus is giving the author a revelation of "what must soon take place" (1:1). The upshot of the revelation is the glorifying of God, whose "judgments have been revealed" (15:4), but whose definitive salvation is similarly manifested with the imminent coming of the glorified Lord (1:7; 20:12; 21:7). Revelatory visions convey the substance of the author's message. Notwithstanding their resemblance to what one finds in apocalyptic literature, these visions approximate more closely to the prophetic visions of the OT and may perhaps be compared to the visions granted to Paul in 2 Cor. 12:1. They are a representation of the prophetic expectation of the OT along christological lines. As such they carry to the church an authentic message, to which the author attaches solemn importance when he gives it its written form (1:3; 22:18; cf. Jn. 20:31; 21:24).

As regards the concept of revelation, the largely symbolical details are secondary to the larger lesson that they help to convey with vividness and force. This is the lesson that Christ will shortly come in the glory and majesty of the Father, that He will definitively execute the divine judgment that rests already on secular powers, and that He will manifest the reality of salvation for His persecuted people, who with eager expectation may thus endure transitory affliction, confident that with the Lord God as their light, they, too "shall reign for ever and ever" (22:3, 5). Revelation, then, is not primarily an unveiling of the detailed future but a revelation of the God of the future who has achieved His purpose for creation in the death and resurrection of the Lamb and who will bring it to a mighty consummation of judgment and salvation with the coming of the Lord Jesus and the establishment of the new heaven, the new earth, and the new Jerusalem, where God dwells with those whom He names His people. Revelation, then, takes up the eschatological revelation of the OT and gives it the added NT element of christological fulfillment.

E. Criteria. The problem of false revelation arises in the NT as well as the OT, and distinguishing between true and false revelation can often be difficult. Miracles and signs undoubtedly give some evidence of authenticity (Mt. 11:5f.), but Jesus refused to provide signs on demand (16:4; cf. 4:3-11) and false christs and false prophets could also "show signs and wonders, to lead astray, if possible, the elect" (Mk. 13:22; cf. Rev. 13:13-17). Again, revelations often came through angels (Mt. 1:20; Lk. 1:11, 26; Rev. 22:8), but supposed angelic revelation necessitated cautious treatment, for "even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14; cf. Gal. 1:8). Fruits offer another important test: "You will know them by their fruits" (Mt. 7:20). Yet even here caution is needed, e.g., in distinguishing between a true doing of God's will and rendering a service of what seem to be mighty works but without the crucial element of obedience to the words of Jesus (cf. 11:21ff., 24ff.). Among the fruits, love has a place of preeminence (cf. Gal. 5:22). It thus ranks as one of the essential criteria of valid revelation. Without it those who might excel in tongues or prophecies or knowledge or faith or liberality or self-sacrifice are nothing and gain nothing (1 Cor. 13:1-3). In the exercise of spiritual gifts, the distinguishing of spirits is obviously important (1 Cor. 12:10; cf. 14:26ff.; 1 Jn. 4:1). In summary form, the confession of Jesus as the incarnate Lord (1 Cor. 12:3; 1 Jn. 4:2ff.) will be a distinguishing mark of the Holy Spirit, for it is the Spirit who enables a person to say that Jesus is Lord. Jesus Himself is the heart and center of all authentic revelation. As the NT sees it, the prophetic OT revelation focuses on Jesus no less than the apostolic NT revelation, and individual revelations must all have a biblically christological orientation. In the ongoing discernment of spirits, conformity to the prophetic and apostolic revelation offers a permanent criterion whereby to decide whether a supposed message comes from God. In this regard the NT itself endorses the role of the OT (2 Tim. 3:16; 2 Pet. 1:21). It also ascribes a similar authority to the apostolic writings (cf. 2 Pet. 3:15f.; Rev. 22:18f.), not least of all by the authority both claimed and exercised in their composition (Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 1:1; etc.). All authentic revelation will set forth the Christ of the normative OT and NT testimony.

VI. Historical Survey.–A. Early Church. In the first Christian centuries the words "reveal" and "revelation" are common in the Shepherd of Hermas. The author used them to denote visions and their interpretation rather along the lines of 1 Cor. 14. The visions have their own interest but the church judged rightly (cf. the Muratorian Canon) when it found in them no valid addition to the essential deposit of revelation. Montanism took up this visionary aspect with its distinctive style of prophesying, which to its critics seemed to be claiming an ongoing process of divine disclosure. The rejection of Montanism helped to restrict revelation as a spiritual charism in orthodox circles, but it did not squeeze it out entirely (cf. Cyprian).

Among the Apologists Justin Martyr related revelation to the special revelations given to Joseph and the Magi in Mt. 1–2 (*Dial.* 78.2ff.). He came closer to the central NT use when he quoted Mt. 11:27, though he gave it a more intellectualized sense (*Apol.* i.63.3ff.). This intellectualizing accorded well with Justin's broader equating of Jesus with the Hellenistic *logos* in a general attempt to harmonize biblical revelation with philosophy (though not without presupposing philosophical borrowing from the OT). The Alexandrians Clement and Origen moved in a similar direction in their desire to win the more highly educated to Christ. For Clement, Jesus took a body so as to make the necessary contact with a race that suffers from the infirmity of the flesh (*Misc.* vii.2.8). The goal of revelation by incarnation is a knowledge that builds on faith and issues in a love that is the friendship of knower and known (vii.10.55ff.). Plain proof from Scripture will coincide with a rational training controlled by faith and fear (vii.16.102). Origen, too, found in the incarnation a solution to the epistemological gulf between the corruptible and the transcendent. By taking a corruptible body, the Son of God made the impossible possible (*On Prayer* 9.2). In Origen, as in Clement, revealed truth formed the necessary basis for knowledge, although when Origen moved on from faith his theology often took a highly speculative turn with only the slenderest support in the original revelation.

For a more centrally biblical view of revelation one must turn to Ignatius of Antioch, who related revelation to the divine economy in Christ (Ign. Eph. 20.1). The Epistle to Diognetus (7–10) offered an even fuller understanding of God's work of revelation and reconciliation. By sending the Word, God gave a true knowledge of Himself in place of the nonsense of plausible philosophers. He graciously manifested Himself through His Son to faith, and in so doing He gave His Son as a ransom, the righteous for the unrighteous, in a "sweet exchange" (9.1-5). Irenaeus gave fuller and more systematic form to this concept, and it then found classical expression in Athanasius's *Incarnation of the Word* in which the revelation that culminates in the Word provided God's answer to human ignorance, and the reconciliation simultaneously effected in the crucifixion and resurrection provided His answer to human sin and guilt. With His mighty deeds in the body Christ manifested the invisible God and thus brought a new possibility of knowledge to those who failed to see Him in creation (18). Athanasius did not achieve total clarity on revelation. He seemed to see in natural revelation only a first remedy for the loss of knowledge of God from the divine image. He also seemed to put OT revelation in much the same category as natural revelation apart from its christological references (33-40). Nevertheless, he grasped firmly the revelatory significance of the incarnation and avoided the mistake of isolating the work of revelation from the equally necessary work of reconciliation. He also incorporated both into a fulfillment of the eternal purpose of God that human disobedience might hamper but could not finally overthrow.

B. Middle Ages. With Scholastic theology, more directly biblical aspects of revelation became less important and the relation between reason and revelation took a central position. Revelation might be defined as that which believers know about God from God's own supernatural impartation, specifically in Scripture and church dogma. In contrast, the knowledge of reason covers what any people may know by ordinary cognitive processes. Anselm made a valuable contribution to the discussion when he adopted and applied Augustine's concept of faith seeking understanding. On this view revelation supplies the matter of Christian knowledge, faith accepts it, and reason tries to grasp and show its rationality (*Proslogion* 1). Revelation thus retains its primacy, but reason finds a valid function in its service. Unsatisfied with this solution, the rebel Abelard gave reason a more elevated position as an autonomous authority that questions traditional verities and impartially considers the arguments and counterarguments. He thus tended to give reason the final priority in the relation.

Aquinas found Anselm too conservative and Abelard too radical. He attempted a balanced assessment which would reserve the full rights of revelation and yet allow reason its own autonomy. With some difficulty, he thought even unaided reason might find its way to preliminary truths about God. Yet only the few could achieve these, and even they not without errors. True knowledge comes more fittingly and certainly by revelation, which alone can unfold the most important things about God and His nature and work. A theology based on Scripture has its place alongside a theology that is part of philosophy (*Summa Theol.* i.1.1). In this theology the task of reason will be to give it rational form, expounding truth by way of thesis and antithesis.

What exactly the view of Aquinas entails has engendered much debate. Did he mean that reason provides a foundation on which the superstructure of revelation rests, e.g., the doctrine of the trinity on God's demonstrated existence, or the theological virtues on the generally accepted cardinal virtues? Or did he mean that the ways of reason and revelation run parallel at first, but then the former breaks off, and those who follow it must take to the latter, which they might have traveled from the outset? However that may be, later theologians like Scotus and Occam, with their stress on God's sovereign and inscrutable will, tended to reduce the role of reason, except as a scholarly tool. Revealed truths, belonging to the transcendent world, defy rational attainment or explanation, and thus demand acceptance in faith.

In medieval theology, revelation took on a strongly intellectual character. It consisted predominantly of revealed truth. It thus came to be equated, first with the propositional content of Scripture, then with creedal affirmations, and finally with the defined dogmas of the church. In the definition of dogmas the tradition of apostolic churches like Rome increasingly secured recognition as an additional source of revelation. A more dynamic but no less hazardous concept underlay the rising authority of the teaching office, which claimed the guidance of the Spirit in the correct exposition of Scripture and the normative defining of dogma. It may be noted, too, that notwithstanding the strong intellectualizing of revelation the Middle Ages never abandoned the possibility of direct revelations of the Spirit along more mystical lines. The authenticity of such revelations might come into question

(as with Joan of Arc) but they could also achieve a favorable assessment (as in the case of Catherine of Sienna). Revelations of this kind did not add to the ongoing deposit of the faith but applied only to particular situations and had only a relative or transitory validity.

C. Reformation. The early days of the Reformation brought a new christological emphasis. Luther did not deny a knowledge of divinity in the human heart (*Luther's Works,* 25 [1972], 157), but this simply left people without excuse for their ignorance. To fallen humanity God in Himself is now the hidden God (*Deus absconditus*; cf. *WA,* XLII, 11, 19ff.). But in His grace He has become in Christ the revealed God (*Deus revelatus*). To know God, to know Him as the gracious God, one must turn always to Christ. Zwingli thought similarly. Creation in God's image gave humanity a natural desire for fellowship with God. The fall made fulfillment of this desire impossible apart from divine renewing by the word, which in its final manifestation is Christ Himself, the incarnate Son (*LCC,* XXIV, 59ff.). For both Luther and Zwingli the Bible had a significant revelatory role, for only through the Bible does one know Christ. First and last the Bible is a christological book. The Spirit, too, has an essential revelatory function, for it is in the Spirit's power that the biblical word shines with its true light, opening up the true meaning which unaided and arrogant human reason or wisdom can only pervert or reject.

In a difficult initial discussion in his *Institutes,* Calvin considered the possibility of a philosophical knowledge of God. In itself, God's divinity escapes human perception. Yet God has engraved the marks of His glory on creation, so that even the most ignorant ought to see Him (*Inst.* i.5.1ff.). If people conceal these marks, substituting nature for God, ingratitude is the cause (i.5.4f.). Speculative reason is more of a hindrance than a help at this point (i.5.9). It leads philosophers into stupidity and silliness (i.5.11). Human eyes cannot see God's invisible divinity in His works unless they be illumined by God's inner revelation through faith (i.5.14). This illumination comes through the "better help" (or spectacles) that God has given in Scripture, which gives focus to the confused knowledge of God, dispels human dullness, and clearly displays the true God (vi.1). Does Calvin mean that Scripture first gives us a knowledge of God the Creator and only then leads on to God the Mediator? If this be true, reason could have a place, not apart from natural or biblical revelation, but prior to the fulness of saving revelation in Christ. If not, Calvin's contention is that God's revelation in Christ takes precedence of all demonstrations of God in creation. One cannot move by way of the biblically illumined evidence to the full knowledge of God in the gospel. One must know God in the gospel if one is to know Him at all.

Like Luther and Zwingli, Calvin attached high importance to Scripture as the normative written form of revelation whereby one may know the original forms both in nature and in the history of God's words and works that came to fulfillment in Christ. In this respect, both Roman Catholics and the more influential radical reformers agreed. In answer to Reformation criticisms, however, Roman Catholics cautiously continued to promote tradition as another source of revelation alongside Scripture. Like the mainline reformers, Roman Catholics and radicals also perceived a revealing ministry of the Spirit. The former identified this ministry more closely with the teaching hierarchy, the latter related it to the illumination that the Spirit brings to all believers in the reading and hearing of Scripture. Roman Catholics still found a place for private revelations, but not to the extent of the wilder radicals, who claimed that their revelations, e.g., the prophesyings of the Zwickau and Münster groups or the mystical reflections of the Schwenkfeldians, either supplemented or superseded Scripture. To this conception the main reformers and the more sober radicals maintained the staunchest opposition. As Calvin put it, the Spirit does not invent new revelations but seals our minds with the doctrine commended by the gospel (*Inst.* i.9.1). He is always the same as He once revealed Himself to be in Scripture (i.9.2).

D. Modern Period. After the Reformation the systematized theology of Protestant orthodoxy, while recognizing that revelation covers more than the Bible, tended toward a closer equation inasmuch as it is only by Scripture that revelation may be known. The reduction to intellectual propositions almost necessarily followed, although not to the exclusions of the illuminating function of the Spirit and the demand for personal faith. With the strong academic thrust of this theology it is no surprise to find at times a fresh resort to natural preambles to revelation in the form either of classical philosophy or of Cartesian apologetics.

Partly in reaction against dogmatic rigidity, groups like the Quakers took up the theme of the inner light that gives specific revelation to individuals. In Fox the revelations stayed close to Scripture and accompanied a focus on Christ. Much too easily, however, the Bible might seem to be only a lifeless letter compared to the living voice of the Spirit. The detaching of revelation from the Bible could then follow and revelation could take on a highly subjective character in a fusion of revelation and revelations.

Also in reaction against orthodoxy, Deism and the Enlightenment reopened the question of reason and revelation. M. Tindal stated a common conclusion when he called revelation "a republication of the religion of nature" (*Christianity as Old as Creation* [repr. 1978], ch. 12). More sharply, J. Toland argued that the appeal to divine revelation for incomprehensible truth is the source of all the absurdities vented among Christians (*Christianity not Mysterious* [repr. 1978]). Lessing in his important *Education of the Human Race* found in revelation a temporary but necessary crutch to help people to attain to the eternal truth of reason which in the last age of the Spirit everyone will know without such a crutch. Kant attempted a sketch of religion within purely rational limits, although not entirely ruling out the possibility of a very different kind of theology. In the ensuing period mediating theologians who wanted to retain revelation either tried to reinterpret it in rational, moral, social, experiential, or existential forms, or sought an apologetic basis for it in natural revelation or a type of natural theology.

The Princetonian orthodoxy, of course, attempted a defense against reductionist views by a stress on biblical infallibility. At the same time Roman Catholicism strengthened its own position by relating doctrinal development to the ministry of the Spirit through the teaching office and finally an infallible papacy. As Vatican II would show, however, it did not wholly solve the problem of the sources of revelation. Unlike much Protestant orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism continued to recognize private revelations so long as they claim only restricted applicability. Pentecostalism, too, found it easy to talk about special revelations, e.g., the revelations given to Luther, or Wesley, or Pentecostalism itself. One may see some parallel here to the Roman concept of dogmatic development, although with a closer adherence to the biblical base.

Barth's protest on behalf of a theology of revelation gave the issue a new urgency in twentieth-century dis-

cussion. Barth attempted four things: the expulsion of natural theology; a differentiation of revelation and Scripture (the written word as its witness); the closer identifying of revelation with God Himself as Father, Son, and Spirit; and a stress on the Spirit's ministry as revelation's subjective possibility. Positively, this approach regained for revelation its threatened authenticity, protected it against overintellectualizing, restored its personal character as God's self-revealing, retained the focus on Christ, combined the two aspects of revelation as word and act, and opened the door to a fresh treatment of the Bible's own doctrine of revelation. Negatively, it failed to distinguish between natural theology and the natural revelation that many scholars upheld (e.g., Althaus), mounted an exaggerated polemic against propositional revelation, unnecessarily refused for the most part to include Scripture in revelation, and tended to overstress the present revealing of the Spirit at the expense of His past revealing to others, especially the biblical prophets and apostles.

On balance the new discussion that Barth initiated proved helpful. It shifted the focus away from the mere issue of revelation and reason. It showed that the Bible hardly uses natural revelation as a preamble to authentic knowledge of God. It brought out the element of God's personal self-revealing, so that, although the divine revelation comes to us in the form of statements, faith is not just an acceptance of facts or beliefs about God. It helped to bring the two aspects of word and act into a closer relation and hence to defuse the potential rivalry between them. It showed finally that even if a full equation of revelation and Scripture goes too far, a separation of the two also goes too far, for Scripture belongs to the word-act of divine revelation, being itself inspired and used by the Spirit as an ongoing revealing to all generations.

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G. W. BROMILEY

REVEL; REVELING; REVELRY [Heb. *marzē(a)ḥ* (Am. 6:7); Gk. pl. of *kṓmos* (Rom. 13:13; 1 Pet. 4:3), *tryphḗ*, *entrypháō* (2 Pet. 2:13)]; AV also BANQUET, RIOT(ING), SPORTING; NEB also CAROUSE. "Revelry," meaning "wild and noisy partying," is an appropriate translation of Heb. *marzē(a)ḥ* (lit. "loud shouting") in Am. 6:7. The revelers' behavior is described in vv. 4-6: lounging on luxurious furniture, feasting on the finest meats, making music, drinking intemperately, and anointing with perfumes (see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1977], pp. 276f.).

Greek *kṓmoi* ("excessive feasting"; see Bauer, rev., p. 461) occurs in lists of vices in Rom. 13:13, where it is coupled with *méthai* (RSV "drunkenness"); in Gal. 5:21 (RSV "carousing"; cf. AV), where it follows *méthai*; and in 1 Pet. 4:3, where it appears between *oinophlygíai* (RSV "drunkenness") and *pótoi* (RSV "carousing"; lit. "drinking party"). Originally *kṓmos* meant simply "festal gathering." But because of the debauchery associated with the cults of certain gods (especially DIONYSUS), the term had by intertestamental times taken on negative connotations (cf. 2 Macc. 6:4). In Wisd. 14:23 it is named as one of the evils of idolatry. (See E. G. Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter* [2nd ed. 1947], p. 211; *see also* CAROUSING; DRUNKENNESS).

Greek *tryphḗ* (cf. cognate verb *entrypháō*) can be used in a positive sense of "enjoyment, delight" (see Bauer, rev., p. 828), but in the NT it means "sensual indulgence" (cf. RSV "luxury," Lk. 7:25). 2 Pet. 2:13 probably refers to the abuses of the "love feast" (*agapḗ*; cf. Jude 12) by the "false prophets," who made this celebration into an occasion for gluttony (cf. 1 Cor. 11:20-22, 27-34; see *IB*, XII, 192f.).

N. J. O.

REVELATION, BOOK OF [Gk. *Apokálypsis Iōannou*]. The last book of the NT, also known as the Apocalypse; it professes to be the record of prophetic visions given by Jesus Christ to John, who was a prisoner "on account of God and the testimony of Jesus" (1:9) on PATMOS, a small rocky island in the Aegean about 24 km. (15 mi.) W of Ephesus. The book's OT precursor is Daniel, which similarly contains symbolic visions and mystical numbers. The peculiar form of Revelation, its relation to other apocalyptic writings and to the Fourth Gospel (also attributed to John), the ambiquity of its symbols, and the controverted questions of its date, unity, and relation to contemporary history have made it one of the most difficult NT books to explain.

I. Authorship and Date
II. Nature of Apocalyptic

An altarpiece painting by Hans Burgkmair of John on Patmos receiving the Revelation. The imaginative sixteenth-century interpretation includes exotic birds, animals, and plants unknown to the island (SCALA/Art Resource, NY)

III. Approaches
A. Preterist
B. Historical
C. Symbolic or Spiritual
D. Extreme Futurist or Dispensational
E. Moderate Futurist
IV. An Interpretation and Exposition
A. Structure
B. Problem of Evil
C. Visitation of Wrath
D. Coming of the Kingdom

I. Authorship and Date.–The book apparently circulated in Asia Minor shortly after its composition and was widely accepted as the work of the apostle John. The first opposition to its apostolicity came from the Alogi (*ca.* A.D. 170), who opposed the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel and therefore rejected all Johannine literature. The Alogi therefore testify indirectly to the Johannine tradition and to the tradition that the Gospel and Revelation came from the same hand. Caius of Rome (3rd cent.) rejected the book because he opposed the Montanists, for whom Revelation was the prime source of their chiliastic ideas. The first "literary critic" of Revelation, Dionysius of Alexandria (d. *ca.* 267), was offended by its millennial teaching and rejected it, pointing out differences of language, style, and grammar between it and the Gospel. He cited the tradition that there were two monuments to John in Ephesus and therefore probably two Johns (cf. Papias in Eusebius *HE* iii.39.5ff.).

The external tradition places the composition of the book in the time of Domitian (A.D. 81-96). Some scholars, e.g., Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, dated the book earlier, arguing that it reflects the persecution under Nero rather than Domitian. They also point to 11:1, where the temple and Jerusalem appear still to be standing. The earlier date would have allowed time for John's rough Greek in Revelation to become the polished Greek of the Fourth Gospel. Recent criticism has tended toward the later date, appealing to the Nero *redivivus* theory (see M. Rist in *IB*, XII, 461; *see also* NERO).

As Dionysius pointed out, the language of Revelation differs so markedly from the Fourth Gospel's that common authorship is difficult to uphold. In spite of certain distinct resemblances between the two books (see E. F. Harrison, *Intro. to the NT* [1964], pp. 441-43), the Greek of the Gospel is smooth and idiomatic, while the Greek of Revelation is studded with so many irregularities and solecisms that R. H. Charles devoted a chapter of forty-two pages to "A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse." Many scholars, following Westcott, have concluded that the author had not mastered Greek but instead thought in Aramaic. Undoubtedly the book reflects Semitic influences, but some of its solecisms appear to be deliberate, and possibly the writer's emotional state accounts for others. Some later scholars have attributed both the Gospel and Revelation to the apostle John (e.g., Stauffer). But it should be pointed out that while the author designated himself simply as John (1:1, 4, 9; 22:8), he did not claim apostolic authority; and other NT books were written by persons who were not apostles. The question of common authorship cannot be decided with any certainty.

The island of Patmos (L. K. Smith)

II. Nature of Apocalyptic.–The introductory word of the book, Gk. *apokálypsis*, "apocalypse," has been applied by modern scholars to an entire genre of literature, consisting of Daniel and Revelation and also of a group of noncanonical apocalypses produced between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100. The latter were written in imitation of Daniel, and the assumption has usually prevailed that the entire genre must embody certain common characteristics. But Zahn insisted, "common sense and an uncorrupted taste rebel at placing in the same literary group [as that of the Jewish apocalyptic writings] the Revelation of John, although it be the one from which the group has been named" (*Intro. to the NT* [Eng. tr. 1909], III, 387). Revelation therefore must be both compared and contrasted with the noncanonical apocalypses.

Symbolism is the primary characteristic of all apocalypses. It has its roots in OT prophecy (Zec. 6:1-8), but Daniel was the first book to use symbols to represent historical events. The apocalypses (see esp. 1 En. 85–90; 2 Esd. 11; Assumption of Moses) and Revelation similarly use historical symbols, which make purely symbolical or spiritual interpretation difficult.

All apocalypses are revelatory, i.e., they contain real or alleged disclosures from God of the secrets of the heavenly world and of the denouement of history and the coming of the kingdom of God. Determination of the reality of the visions is difficult and involves theological as well as historical judgments. Many OT prophets experienced ecstatic states; in fact, many critics have considered ecstasy to be the prophetic stock-in-trade. Other prophets, however, showed no traces of the ecstatic. They experienced the word of God as an inward power gripping them and compelling them to speak. Most of the noncanonical apocalypses use visions as a literary technique, as a substitute for the living word of God which was no longer experienced in Israel. Scholars generally have recognized that apocalyptic visions are usually imitative and artificial. 2 Esdras is far more sensitive than the other apocalypses, and its author, brooding after A.D. 70 over the fate of Jerusalem, may well have experienced genuine subjective visionary states. John apparently had similar experiences. That God imparted revelation through such experiences is a theological judgment, not a historical one.

At one important point, Revelation stands quite apart from other apocalypses. John styled his work a prophecy (1:3; 22:7, 10, 18f.), thus intending to classify it with the OT prophetic writings. Jewish apocalypses do not regard themselves as prophetic; indeed, they were written because the voice of living prophecy had been stilled (1 Macc. 4:46; 14:41). The NT apocalypse shares the revival of the prophetic spirit in the NT Church. That Revelation stands with the canonical books rather than with the Jewish apocalypses is supported by its frequent allusions to and brief citations of the OT prophets but lack of clear references to the apocalyptic writings.

Jewish apocalypses are pseudonymous, using the names of OT worthies to help authenticate the written message. Revelation bears the name of its author, John, who was

so well known in the churches to which he wrote that he needed no further self-designation. The seven churches were historical communities known to the author; here again Revelation stands apart from the apocalypses, which do not have an explicit historical setting.

All apocalypses are concerned with the end of the age and the coming of God's kingdom. The apocalyptists, however, often traced the course of history from ancient times down to their own day, and the modern interpreter can follow the outline of history until the author's own time, when the narrative becomes confused and the end is immediately expected. John, by contrast, did not reach into the past to retell the story of God's dealings with Israel or the rise of the Church. He took his stand among his contemporaries and without reconstructing history in the guise of prophecy outlined the consummation of God's redemptive purposes — events that are thrown almost exclusively into the future. While employing the symbolism of apocalyptic, John used the prophetic rather than the apocalyptic view of the future.

The theologies of John and of the Jewish apocalypses also show similarities and differences. The most important similarity is the common conviction that the kingdom of God cannot be achieved by powers immanent within history but only by an inbreaking of God. This idea is rooted in the OT prophets. While the catastrophic event of the coming of God to establish His kingdom is described in diverse forms, "there is no eschatology without rupture" (E. Jacob, *Theology of the OT* [Eng. tr. 1958], p. 318).

The basic problem of Jewish eschatology is theodicy. How could a just God allow His people, who were loyal to the law, to suffer evils at the hands of the Seleucids? Why did He not intervene to deliver His people, who were willing to die rather than break the law? Apocalypses have been called "tracts for bad times"; they offer a theological solution to the enigma of the sufferings of a righteous people. The solution is that God is presently no longer active in history; evil is regnant, and suffering must be endured (1 En. 9:11; 42:3; 89:58-75). God, however, will soon intervene to destroy evil and bring the eschatological salvation. The apocalyptists despaired for history; salvation for them was altogether eschatological.

Although Revelation also has the idea of eschatological salvation, it does not imply that God's people suffer because He is no longer redemptively active in history or has abandoned His people to evil. The basic theological motif is instead that eschatological salvation rests directly upon what God has done in history. The lion who will conquer is the lamb who has been slain (5:5f.); i.e., the Christ who comes conquering on His white horse (6:2) is the Jesus who died on the cross. Eschatology is dependent upon history, as is never true in Jewish apocalyptic; thus Revelation is in the stream of redemptive history, while Jewish apocalypses stand outside of it. This is why Revelation belongs in the canon. Furthermore, God has not abandoned history to evil; for if, as seems likely, the white horse (6:2) symbolizes the gospel, God is still active in history, working for both salvation and judgment to further His redemptive purposes. Salvation is both historical and eschatological.

The nature of salvation allows a different explanation for the sufferings of God's people; they share the sufferings of Christ. Behind the scene of history is a spiritual struggle, which involves both the one destined to rule and those who "bear testimony to Jesus" (12:4, 17). Evil, however, is already a defeated foe (vv. 9f.), and God's people are therefore able to conquer this foe, even if their martyrdom is their victory (v. 11; 15:2).

Revelation is not, therefore, a tract for bad times — the reflex of Christian thought to martyrdom and persecution — as were the Jewish apocalypses. Rather, it is the denouement of redemptive history, reflecting the same struggle between the kingdom of God and satanic evil that underlay Jesus' ministry (Mt. 12:29; Lk. 10:18). This theology is supported by the Church's response to severe persecution and martyrdom: it did not produce further apocalypses to explain the fierce evils, as did Judaism. Furthermore, the view that Revelation was evoked by savage persecution of the Church in Asia rests upon inferences drawn from the book itself rather than from extrabiblical sources; and the persecution by Domitian does not appear to have been severe or universal.

III. Approaches.–Out of the history of interpretation have emerged five distinct approaches to the book.

A. Preterist. The prevailing approach in contemporary criticism is the *preterist,* which views Revelation, like the Jewish apocalypses, as a product of its times. It thus should be interpreted in its own historical setting. The Ephesian church faced severe persecution at the hands of Rome; Revelation was written to encourage believers with the hope that God would shortly intervene, destroy the beast (Rome), and bring salvation (see comms. by A. S. Peake, C. A. A. Scott, R. H. Charles, J. Moffatt, I. T. Beckwith, H. B. Swete; see also the conservative writers A. Pieters and R. Summers). This approach contains an element of truth, for Revelation must have had a message for the 1st century. Since historical events reflect the struggle going on in the spiritual world, eschatological events can be anticipated by historical events manifesting the same struggle. Thus the desolating abomination in the Olivet discourse is both Rome (Lk. 21:5-37) and an eschatological antichrist (Mt. 24, esp. v. 15; Mk. 13, esp. v. 14). The beast of Rev. 13 is the eschatological antichrist whose demonic working is foreshadowed in the Roman emperor (Beasley-Murray), both of whom demanded worship of their subjects. The believers of Ephesus would naturally have applied the book to their own historical situation, and the interpreter must try to understand it as they did. But immediately behind these experiences is the eschatological consummation, the ultimate fulfillment of the message of Revelation.

B. Historical. In this view, which originated with Joachim of Floris (d. 1201), Revelation is a symbolically expressed prophecy of the history of the Church. The most commonly held interpretation in this approach is that the beast is the Roman papacy. Some have seen Revelation as a continuous symbolic portrayal of church history (Luther, Hengstenberg); others have used the principle of recapitulation — the retelling of the Church's history from two or more points of view. Some have interpreted Rev. 20 chiliastically (Newton, Whiston, Bengel, Alford); others, with a "postmillennial" perspective, have seen in the millennial reign of Christ the complete triumph of the Church in the world of history (Vitringa, D. Brown). But this view is inadequate because it does not do justice to the eschatological character of Revelation.

C. Symbolic or Spiritual. This method of interpretation finds in the symbolic language not historical events but principles and powers that work themselves out in all of history (W. Milligan, W. Hendriksen, P. Mauro). Attractive as this approach is, it ignores the basic fact that apocalyptic literature is concerned with the events attending the denouement of history and the coming of the kingdom of God.

D. Extreme Futurist or Dispensational. A dispensational scheme of redemptive history posits two different peoples of God — Israel and the Church — and therefore two programs of prophecy. Accordingly, in Revelation the seven

letters to the seven churches (1:10f; etc.) have usually been seen as an outline of a seven-stage church era. Rev. 4:1 is seen as the rapture of the Church (the raising of all believers to heaven before the great tribulation), and the twenty-four elders are the Church raptured, enthroned, and crowned (v. 4). The rest of the book is seen as concerned exclusively with the great tribulation and the fate of Israel (7:1-8) at the hands of the antichrist (J. A. Seiss, W. Kelly, W. Scott). This view is based not on an inductive study of Revelation but on a system of theology drawn largely from the OT, literally interpreted.

E. Moderate Futurist. In this interpretation Revelation is a prophecy of the denouement of history as it concerns the Church in the world. The view has few modern representatives. The remainder of this article will be devoted to an exposition of it. The other approaches are not rejected *in toto,* for the book portrays spiritual principles, particularly the struggle between the kingdom of God and satanic evil (ch. 12), that are reflected not only in the eschatological consummation but also in the 1st cent. and throughout history.

IV. An Interpretation and Exposition.–A. Structure. One should attempt to derive one's method of interpretation from the structure of the book itself. Revelation claims to depict the consummation of God's redemptive purpose, involving both judgment and salvation. A major problem in the interpretation of the book is the relationship of the seals, trumpets, and bowls; in the solution of this problem may lie the key to the interpretation of Revelation. John saw a book in the form of a scroll, sealed with seven seals along its outer edge, resting in the hand of God. Only the Lion of the tribe of Judah, who is the slain Lamb, could open the book. Here is the key note: the conquering Lion, who alone can disclose the hidden purposes of God, is the Jesus who died on the cross.

The little book is in the form of an ancient will, which was usually sealed with the seals of the seven witnesses. It contains God's inheritance for His people, which is founded upon the death of His Son (see He. 9). The saints' inheritance is the kingdom of God; but the blessings of God's kingdom cannot be bestowed apart from the destruction of evil. In fact, the very destruction of all evil powers is one of the blessings of God's kingly rule. Here is the twofold theme of Revelation: the judgment of evil and the coming of the kingdom.

The successive breaking of the seals does not gradually open the book; its contents cannot be disclosed until the last seal is broken. But as each seal is broken, something happens. After the first seal, conquest rides forth over the earth; after the second, war; then famine, death, and martyrdom. The sixth seal brings the end of the age, and the great Day of the Lord, and the wrath of the Lamb (6:16f.). Thus the events attending the breaking of the seals may not constitute the end itself but instead events leading up to the end. This structure is paralleled in Mt. 24, where wars, famines, and other evils are but the "beginning of woes," not the end itself (v. 8). Furthermore, the conquering white horse (Rev. 6:2) parallels Mt. 24 and pictures the victories to be won by the preaching of the gospel in the world. Many commentators have thought that the four horsemen (Rev. 6:1-8) must be alike in kind and that the white horse must therefore represent some evil power. No woe, however, is mentioned as with the other horsemen, and white in Revelation is always associated with Christ or with spiritual victory. The association of the preaching of the gospel with plagues is no more incongruous in ch. 6 than in Mt. 24:1-14. Both the sword (He. 4:12; Rev. 2:12) and the bow (Isa. 49:2f.) are symbols of God's working among mankind (see T. Zahn, H. Alford, J. Schneider). In the breaking of the five seals are disclosed the agencies by which God leads up to the consummation of salvation and judgment: the preaching of the gospel and the evils of war, death, famine, and martyrdom. These are, as it were, anticipations of the consummated salvation and judgment that are contained within the sealed book.

The sixth seal brings one to the end; but when the seventh seal is broken, when the book itself can at last be opened and its contents disclosed, nothing happens (8:1). There is no woe. While it is in accordance with the flexibility of apocalyptic symbolism that the actual book drops out of sight and its contents are never explicitly mentioned, the seventh seal's being given no specific content suggests that all that follows, beginning with the seven trumpets, makes up the contents of the book. Here begins the actual unfolding of the judicial and redemptive events that constitute the consummation.

One may conclude that in a moderate futurist interpretation the seven letters are addressed to seven historical churches that are representative of the entire Church. The seals represent the forces in history, however long it lasts, by which God works out His redemptive and judicial purposes leading up to the end. The events beginning with ch. 7 lie in the future and will attend the final disposition of the divine will for human history.

B. Problem of Evil. Revelation foresees a short period of terrible evil at the end time. Like Mt. 24:15 and 2 Thess. 2:3-10, it tells of an evil personage who will be satanically inspired and empowered, who openly defies God and demands that mankind worship him rather than God. He will be permitted to wage effective war against the Church and will exercise a worldwide rule (Rev. 13:1-10). His purposes will be reinforced by a false prophet who successfully prostitutes religion to direct worship of the beast. The false prophet is able to combine the powers of religion and economic exchange so that he controls the entire social order in the interests of worshiping the beast (13:11-18). Here is a satanically inspired deification of the state, which dictates even the worship of its subjects. The apostate civilization is portrayed as Babylon, the great whore, who has beguiled the kings of the earth by her evil allures of a luxurious but godless materialism (chs. 17–18) so that they too have turned against Christ (17:14) to worship the beast. The number three and one-half (11:2; 12:6, 14; 13:5) is probably symbolic of a very short period of time.

This brief interval will witness terrible martyrdom, for a person will have to choose between denying Christ and dying, and a vast number from many nations will remain loyal to the Lamb (7:9-17). John saw "those who had conquered the beast and its image" standing beside the sea of glass before God's throne (14:6) singing a hymn of victory (15:1-4). Their martyrdom will be their victory.

But this struggle between the beast and the Lamb for the loyalty of mankind is nothing new; nor is the last manifestation of satanic hatred for the Church limited to the end time. The vision in Rev. 12 of the last terrible persecution is one of the most important in the book. John saw the powers that operate in the spiritual world behind the scene of human history. The Church is pictured as a gloriously adorned woman (v. 1). She is not the historical Church on earth but the Church in heaven; as such, she is to be identified with neither Israel nor the Church, but she includes both. As the heavenly people of God, represented on earth first by Israel, then by the Church, she gives birth both to the Messiah (vv. 2, 5) and to the empirical Church in history (v. 17). The idea of a heavenly

people of God is not unique to John. Paul spoke of the Jerusalem above who is the mother of all believers on earth (Gal. 4:26; see also He. 12:22). Furthermore, the last vision in Revelation is of the heavenly Jerusalem descending to earth; but she is the Bride of Christ, the wife of the Lamb, the people of God (Rev. 21:9f.). The efforts of the red dragon (Satan) to destroy the woman represent in vivid terms an agelong battle between Satan and the people of God.

It is important to note that ch. 12 does not purport to represent earthly events in chronological sequence, but the conflict of suprahistorical powers that show themselves in history. The woman gives birth to the male child (Christ), who is immediately caught up into heaven (v. 5). This passage may refer to the birth of Christ and His ascension, but it does not mention His life, ministry, death, and resurrection. It is surrealistic art, a dramatic depiction of Satan's enmity to the kingdom of God and relentless efforts to frustrate the work of God's Messiah. This provides the key to the subsequent efforts of the dragon to destroy the people of God, for the effort is not limited to a single event but is manifested throughout the entire history of the Church. The eschatological persecution is only the final and most intense manifestation of a hostility that the Church has endured throughout its entire history.

Satan's effort to destroy the Messiah is frustrated (12:4f.). Instead, he is himself cast down from his place of power as a result of a spiritual conflict, which is pictured as a battle between the dragon and Michael. The language in which this victory over Satan is described (vv. 10-12) suggests not an eschatological event but rather Christ's victory over satanic evil. When Jesus said, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven" (Lk. 10:18), He was referring in symbolical terms to Satan's defeat, effected by His own presence among men and the powers of the kingdom of God brought to them (Lk. 10:17; cf. Mt. 12:28f.). The dragon because of his defeat is more infuriated and tries even harder to destroy the woman.

In this vision Satan's unrelenting enmity against the people of God bursts out in historical expression. For example, in 12:17 the dragon goes off to make war with "the rest of her offspring," i.e., the Church on earth. This conflict in heaven between the dragon and the woman explains the evil and persecution that the Church has always experienced (v. 11). It is the dragon who stands on the seashore to call for the beast in his last effort to destroy God's people. The beast, the final embodiment of satanic evil (13:2), is a composite of the four beasts of Dnl. 7; this suggests that the persecution has occurred throughout history, not just in the end times. Therefore the final tribulation is unique only in its intensity; Jesus spoke of the same evil (Mt. 24:21f.). The true victory consists of conquering the beast by being loyal to Christ to the death (Rev. 15:2).

C. Visitation of Wrath. Revelation pictures something that is taught nowhere else in the Bible: that at the same time as the great tribulation God will pass anticipatory judgments upon humanity. The seven trumpets and seven bowls are symbolic representations of these divine judgments or woes, which are poured out in the last climactic hour of the struggle between the Lamb and the dragon. These plagues cannot be identified, for the descriptions are highly symbolic. They are an anticipation of the wrath of God (16:1), which will be consummated with the return of Christ.

Three aspects of the woes are to be noted. First, they are directed against those who bear the mark of the beast and worship its image (16:2). In the terrible hour people will have to stand on one side or the other. Martyrdom may await the followers of the Lamb, but the wrath of a holy God awaits those who submit to the beast.

Second, the plagues have a merciful purpose. They are designed to drive people to their knees, as it were, in repentance before it is irrevocably too late. This merciful purpose in God's judgments is clearly suggested in such verses as 9:20; 16:9, 11, which reiterate that sinners, in spite of God's hand falling heavy in wrath upon them, do not repent and give God glory. Even the fearfulness of God's wrath in these last awful moments before the dawn of the new age has a merciful objective.

Third, twelve thousand from each of the twelve tribes of Israel are marked with the protective seal of God (7:1-8). They suffer neither the plagues that He is about to pour out upon the beast and his followers (v. 3; 9:4) nor His wrath. The seal of God or the mark of the beast will distinguish people in this last hour, whether they are on God's side or Satan's.

Many commentators have seen in this sealed host the final salvation of Israel, which Paul anticipated in Rom. 11 (see also Mt. 10:23; 23:29). So it might seem, except for one fact: these twelve tribes cannot be literal Israel, because they are not the twelve tribes of OT Israel. The list here appears nowhere else in the Bible. It has three irregularities: it names Judah first, thus ignoring the OT order of the tribes; it omits Dan with no explanation (see Ezk. 48:1); it mentions Joseph instead of Ephraim. Perhaps John meant by this irregular listing of the twelve tribes to designate the Israel that is not the literal Israel.

That John conceived of a spiritual Israel is shown by other references. Twice he spoke of those "who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan" (2:9; 3:9), meaning that some who are Jews by race are not spiritually Jews, being rather dupes of Satan. A real Jew, then, is not one who is racially or religiously a Jew, but one who acknowledges the claims of Christ and therefore recognizes the Church as the true people of God.

With this clue, one may understand the twelve tribes in Rev. 7 as the true Israel, the elect of God whether Jew or Gentile. The twelve tribes were irregularly listed to show that true Israel is not literal Israel, but the Church. On the threshold of the last day, God's people are sealed on their foreheads so that they do not suffer the wrath poured out upon the beast and his followers. Undoubtedly John recalled the mark of blood over the doors of every Israelite house in Egypt; the plague of death visited every household with an unmarked door. Here is a company who pass through the tribulation but do not suffer the wrath of God.

The two groups in Rev. 7 are the same people of God seen from different perspectives. From the divine perspective the twelve thousand of each of twelve tribes is an ideal number. God's people will be complete and will safely be preserved in this terrible time of wrath. From the human perspective, however, the Church is a great unnumbered throng from all nations, who will suffer martyrdom but will emerge from the tribulation triumphant and stand victorious before the throne of God because they have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb (v. 14).

D. Coming of the Kingdom. The coming of God's kingdom is pictured in two colors: the destruction of evil and the blessing of eternal life. The destruction of evil occurs in several stages. The second coming of Christ, pictured in 19:11-16, has as its primary purpose the destruction of evil. His coming is a scene of ancient warfare: He rides a battle horse and wears garments bloodstained from battle. He is accompanied by the armies of heaven, apparently

angels, but they do not join in the conflict. The one weapon with which He wages war is a sharp sword proceeding out of His mouth — His naked word. No military conquest is this. His victory over evil is in the power of His word. He shall speak and the victory will be His.

He first conquers the beast, the false prophet, and their followers (19:17-21). This victory is pictured as carnage, but the picture is obviously symbolic. The enemy's doom is not to be slain in battle but to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.

Attention is now turned to the dragon, who is the devil and who inspired the beast. The Conqueror surprisingly disappears from the scene, and in His place appears an angel who descends from heaven to overcome the dragon. One would expect the dragon to be thrown at once into the lake of fire, but this doom is delayed. First he is bound and thrown into a "bottomless pit" for a thousand years. Only when he is released and again able to entice rebellion against Christ and the saints is he finally destroyed by being cast into the lake of fire along with the beast and the false prophet.

The positive aspect of the coming of God's kingdom also occurs in stages, not in a single great event. First is a temporal kingdom of a thousand years when the resurrected saints reign with Christ (20:4); it is followed by what may be called the eternal kingdom, with its new heaven and new earth. Each of these aspects of God's kingdom is preceded by a resurrection.

Some commentators have thought that the resurrection before the millennial kingdom, "the first resurrection" (20:5), is limited to the martyrs of the tribulation. These martyrs are indeed given special mention among "the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God" (v. 4b). But the rather rough language of the Greek in v. 4a is well rendered in the RSV: "Then I saw thrones, and seated on them were those to whom judgment was committed"; this distinct group is all the saints of God who are now raised up and share Christ's reign. The promise that the saints will share Christ's rule and judgment is one that occurs often in Scripture (Dnl. 7:9, 22; Mt. 19:28; 1 Cor. 4:8; 6:2f.; 2 Tim. 2:12; Rev. 2:26f.; 3:12, 21; 5:9f.). A third group, mentioned after the martyrs and the saints, consists of those "who had not worshiped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their hands" (v. 4c). Most English translations do not make clear that this is indeed a third group, but the syntax of the Greek sentence does change at this point. In this group are those who have survived the persecution of the tribulation and are living when Christ returns. All three groups "came to life" and reign with Christ during the millennium. If the third group designates the living saints (as Simcox, Beasley-Murray, Rissi and have thought), Gk. *ézēsan* includes both the resurrection of dead saints and the rapture of the living, as in 1 Thess. 4:16f. and 1 Cor. 15:51f.

The interpretation of Rev. 20 given above is the natural exegesis of the passage (see Alford, Beasley-Murray, Bietenhard, Cullmann, LaSor, Rissi). It would be very unnatural for one word, *ézēsan* ("they came to life"), to be used in the same context with completely different meanings unless some hint of wordplay is given. Inasmuch as the NT usually views the parousia of Christ as the consummation and the introduction of the age to come (Mt. 24:3, etc.), however, many scholars have interpreted ch. 20 to agree with the usual NT perspective. In their view the reign of Christ and His saints cannot refer to a millennial period after the Parousia but must designate either the present reign of Christ through His church (so Augustine, Allo, Bonsirven) or, as is more often felt, the martyrs' present blessedness in heaven with Christ (so Warfield, H. B. Swete, W. Hendriksen, Sickenberger). Dispensationalists view the millennium as the time when the Jewish theocracy is restored and the OT prophecies of Israel's future triumph over the Gentiles are literally fulfilled. The Jewish sacrificial system and the law of Moses will be included in the restoration. In any case, the final destiny of God's people is the same; only in the new heaven and the new earth are death abolished and evil destroyed. *See also* MILLENNIUM.

The final state of God's kingdom in the new heaven and new earth (21:1ff.) expresses a theology of creation that runs throughout the Bible. The OT prophets pictured the kingdom of God in terms of a redeemed earth (Isa. 11:6-9; Joel 3:18 [MT 4:18]; Am. 9:13-15), which Isa. 65:17; 66:22 even describe as a new heaven and new earth. But the prophets saw the new order as less than perfect; Isaiah still spoke of sin and death in the new earth (Isa. 65:20). Yet a fundamental theology underlies these expectations, even though they must be clarified by progressive revelation: that mankind's ultimate destiny is an earthly one. Man is a creature, and God created the earth to be the scene of his creaturely existence. Thus even as the redemption of man demands the resurrection of the body, so the redemption of the very physical creation requires a renewed earth as the scene of his perfected existence. Man never ceases to be God's creature. The NT does not outstrip this theology, although the eternal order in the NT vision is much more radically new than in God's revelation to the prophets. Jesus spoke of the regeneration of the world (Mt. 19:28), and Paul spoke of the redemption of the created order (Rom. 8:20f.). The new heavens and new earth, and the resurrection of the body, are correlatives.

The new earth is the final scene of redemption: "Behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself will be with them" (Rev. 21:3). This feature — that God will be God to His people — is the central element of His covenant with His people throughout the entire course of redemptive history. Yahweh's being God to His people was the continuing element in the covenant made with Abraham (Gen. 17:7), with Moses (Ex. 6:7; Dt. 29:13), and with David (2 S. 7:24f.), and it is the abiding feature of the new covenant that God promised to make in the future kingdom (Jer. 31:1, 33; Ezk. 36:28; 37:23). Now at last, this covenant promise is perfectly fulfilled in the new earth of the future age.

The center of the new earth is the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, which is pictured as the Bride of the Lamb, magnificently arrayed (21:9-11). The description of the city is highly symbolic. Its inhabitants include the redeemed from both OT (v. 12) and NT (v. 14) times. It will have no temple, for there will be immediate fellowship between God and His people, unmediated by cult or ritual (v. 22). Death and disease are banished (22:1f.). The most important promise of all, containing every other blessing of the new order, is: "They shall see His face" (22:4). This is the goal of redemption. No one has seen God at any time; the only Son is the sole mediator bringing us the knowledge of God (Jn. 1:18). When Christ's redeeming mission is completed, the redeemed will enjoy the glory of the beatific vision. They will see God's face.

And so the Bible ends, with a redeemed society dwelling on a new earth that has been purged of all evil, with God dwelling in the midst of His people. This is the goal of the long course of redemptive history.

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REVELRY. *See* REVEL.

REVENGE; REVENGEFULLY. *See* VENGEANCE.

REVENUE [Heb. *t^ebû'â*–'yield, increase' (Prov. 16:8; Isa. 23:3), Aram. *'app^etōm*–'treasury'(?) (Ezr. 4:13), *middâ*–'tax' (6:8); Gk. *télos*–'customs duties' (Rom. 13:7; 1 Macc. 10:3), *phóros*–'tribute' (1 Macc. 3:29, 31), *diáphoron*–'sum of money' (2 Macc. 4:28), *prósodos*–'public revenue' (3:3; 4:8; 9:16), *lógos*–'public accounts, treasury' (1 Macc. 10:40, 44f.)]; AV also TRIBUTE, CUSTOM, ACCOUNTS; NEB also GAIN (Prov. 16:8), HARVEST, "in the end" (Ezr. 4:13, mg. "certainly"), FUNDS, TOLL, TRIBUTE, etc. A term designating the money collected by a government (through taxes, tributes, etc.) and deposited in the treasury. In Prov. 16:8, however, it simply denotes the income returned by a private investment.

See TAX.

REVERENCE; REVERE; REVERENT. An attitude of deep respect, honor, and deference. In the RSV OT "revere" and "reverence" usually represent Heb. *yārē'* (lit. "fear"). The truly devout person is typically described as one who "fears the Lord" (*yārē' YHWH*). Implied are not only a reverent attitude but also the obedient actions that naturally flow from it (*see* FEAR II.B). Thus Obadiah's reverence for Yahweh (1 K. 18:3, 12; AV "fear") was demonstrated by his protection of one hundred prophets of Yahweh (v. 4).

Yahweh's HOLINESS demands that His people pay reverence to no other gods (*yārē'*, Jgs. 6:10; cf. 2 K. 17:35-39; RSV "fear") and that they reflect His holiness in a lifestyle obedient to His commandments. This lifestyle includes showing reverence (*yārē'*) toward parents (Lev. 19:3; AV "fear"; cf. Ex. 20:12; Dt. 5:16, which use *kābēḏ,* "honor") and toward the sanctuary, which represents God's holy presence (Lev. 19:30; 26:2). Because of his failure to "revere [Yahweh] as holy" (piel of *qāḏaš,* lit. "treat as holy," "sanctify" [so AV], Dt. 32:51) at Meribath-kadesh (Nu. 20:10-13; cf. RSV "sanctify," v. 12; *qdš* may be a wordplay on the place name *qāḏēš* [Kadesh]), Moses was prohibited from entering the Promised Land.

For the author of Ps. 119, love for God is virtually equated with devotion to His commandments. In v. 48 the RSV uses "revere" to render *nāśā' kappîm 'el* (lit. "lift up palms to"; cf. AV "lift up hands to"; NEB "welcome"). Lifting the hands was a common gesture of prayer and adoration (*see* GESTURE I). Another gesture of reverence was doing OBEISANCE, or prostrating oneself at the feet of a superior (cf. AV "do reverence" for *hištaḥ^awâ,* "bow down," "prostrate oneself," in 2 S. 9:6; 1 K. 1:31; Est. 3:2, 5; *see also* GESTURE IV).

In Eph. 5:21 the common phrase Gk. *phóbos toú kyríou* ("fear of the Lord," Acts 9:31; etc.; cf. also *phóbos théou,* "fear of God," Rom. 13:18; etc.) is replaced by *phóbos Chrístou* (lit. "fear of Christ" [so AV]), indicating how closely the author associates Christ with God. This "reverence for Christ" (RSV, NEB) provides the basis and motive for the mutual subjection of Christians to one another. Reverencing Christ as the holy Lord (*hagiázō,* lit. "treat as holy," "sanctify" [so AV], 1 Pet. 3:15a; cf. RSV "hallow" in Mt. 6:9 par.) can also provide courage in times of persecution (cf. Isa. 8:12f.). The Christian's respectful behavior toward God and others (*phóbos,* vv. 2, 15b; AV "fear"; NEB also "respect") can be a powerful witness to unbelievers; cf. Tit. 3:2, where older women are instructed to be "reverent" (*hieroprepḗs,* lit. "befitting one who is holy," "worthy of respect") in behavior, "that the word of God may not be discredited." *See also* RESPECT.

"Reverence" (*eulábeia*) is closer in meaning to "anxiety" in He. 12:28, where it is linked with AWE (*déos*); cf. the phrase *phóbos kaí trómos* ("fear and trembling," Phil. 2:12; etc.). True and acceptable worship must always be marked by a recognition of God's majesty and holiness, "for our God is a consuming fire" (v. 29; see F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews* [*NICNT,* 1964], pp. 383-85; *TDNT,* II, *s.v.* εὐλαβής κτλ. [R. Bultmann]).

"Reverend" ("worthy of reverence") is the AV translation of the Hebrew niphal part. of *yārē'* in Ps. 111:9 (lit. "to be feared, fearful"; cf. RSV "terrible"; NEB "inspiring awe"), describing the name of Yahweh. In the description of Onias (2 Macc. 15:12, AV) it represents Gk. *aidḗmōn* (lit. "modest" [so RSV, NEB]).

See also FEAR IV. N. J. O.

REVILE [Heb. piel of *qāḏap*–'slander,' 'blaspheme' (Nu. 15:30; 2 K. 19:6, 22; Isa. 37:6, 23; Ps. 44:16 [MT 17]), piel of *qālal*–'declare cursed' (Ex. 22:28; Jgs. 9:27), piel of *nā'aṣ*–'treat disrespectfully' (Ps. 74:10, 18), piel of *ḥārap*–'scoff' (Isa. 65:7); Gk. *blasphēméō*–'slander,' 'blaspheme' (Lk. 22:65; Acts 13:45; 18:6; 2 Pet. 2:2; etc.), *loidoréō*–'insult, abuse' (Jn. 9:28; Acts 23:4; 1 Cor. 4:14; 1 Pet. 2:23), *antiloidoréō* ("revile in return," 1 Pet. 2:23), *loidoría*–'verbal abuse' (1 Tim. 5:14), *oneidízō*–'reproach' (Mt. 5:11; 27:44; Mk. 15:32; Lk. 6:22), *epēreázō*–'abuse' (1 Pet. 3:16)]; AV also BLASPHEME, REPROACH, CURSE, SPEAK EVIL OF, "cast out as evil," etc.; NEB ABUSE, INSULT, DEFY, TAUNT, CURSE, SLANDER, etc.; **REVILER** [Heb. piel part. of *gāḏap* (Ps. 44:16 [MT 17]); Gk. *loídoros* (1 Cor. 5:11; 6:10)]; AV also HE THAT . . . BLASPHEMETH, RAILER; NEB THOSE WHO . . . ABUSE, SLANDERER; **REVILING** [Heb. *giddûp* (Isa. 43:28; 51:7; Zeph. 2:8), *ne'āṣâ* (Ezk. 35:12); Gk. *blasphēmía* (Jude 9), *blásphēmos* (2 Pet. 2:11), *loidoría* (1 Pet. 3:9)] AV also REPROACH, RAILING, BLASPHEMY; NEB EXECRATION, REPROACH, BLASPHEMY, INSULT, etc. To subject to verbal abuse.

The biblical terms convey a range of meanings, but they all have to do with slandering, insulting, or in some other manner showing contempt for an opponent. The object of reviling can be either God or another human being.

Reviling becomes blasphemy when it involves showing contempt for God's name (Ex. 22:28; Ps. 74:10; 18) or injuring God's glory and majesty (Isa. 65:7), e.g., by dishonoring His people (Ezk. 35:12) or wilfully defying His commands (Nu. 15:30). The mocking of Jesus' messianic claims (Lk. 22:65) and the opposition to Paul's preaching about the Messiah (Acts 13:45; 18:6) also constitute blasphemy. Jude 8-10 (par. 2 Pet. 2:10f.) refers to heretics who revile "the glorious ones" (prob. angels who function as mediators of the law and guardians of the moral order) and presume to set themselves up as a law unto themselves. 2 Pet. 2:2 alludes to Isa. 52:5 in a warning against false prophets and teachers whose immoral behavior causes others to revile the truth.

Reviling is rooted in human arrogance (cf. 2 K. 19:22 par. Isa. 37:23), and it is included in lists of vices that characterize those outside of the kingdom of heaven (1 Cor. 5:11; 6:10). But just as Jesus Himself was insulted and mocked (Mt. 27:44 par. Mk. 15:32), so also His followers must not expect to escape slander and defamation (Mt. 5:11; Lk. 6:22; cf. 1 Tim. 5:14). Christians have Jesus' example to follow in responding to such abuse; like Him, they are to respond to reviling with a blessing (1 Pet. 2:23; 3:9, 16; cf. 1 Cor. 4:12).

See also BLASPHEME; REPROACH; SCOFF; SLANDER.

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REVIVE [Heb. qal, piel, and hiphil of *ḥāyâ*, qal and hiphil of *šûḇ*; Gk. *anazáō*–'become alive,' 'spring to life' (Rom. 7:9), *amathállō*–'bloom again' (Phil. 4:10)]; AV also LIVE, QUICKEN, RELIEVE (Lam. 1:11, etc.), CONVERT (Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]), FLOURISH AGAIN, etc.; NEB also GIVE NEW LIFE, RENEW, RESTORE, GIVE AGAIN, SPRING TO LIFE, BLOSSOM AGAIN, etc.; **REVIVING** [Heb. *miḥyâ*] (Ezr. 9:8f.); NEB "chance to renew our lives," "means of renewal." To return to life or vitality; or, transitively, to restore to life or vitality.

In OT thought "life" and "death" are viewed as opposite poles, but not necessarily as totally disparate realities. LIFE in its fullest sense includes health, prosperity, and happiness. On the other hand, to suffer adversity or sickness is to experience the power of death (see Johnson). Thus, while Heb. *ḥāyâ* can mean simply "be alive" (cf. 2 K. 13:21, where a dead man "revives" when his body touches Elisha's bones), it can also mean "recover" (cf. 2 K. 1:2; 8:8-10, 14; etc.) from any form of weakness; and in the piel (*ḥîyâ*) it can mean not only "preserve life" (e.g., Ps. 119:149, 159; 138:7; 143:11) from adversity, but also "restore vitality" (cf. "revive," Hos. 6:2).

Death is thought of as the departure of the *nepeš* ("breath," "soul"; cf. Gen. 35:18) or the absence of *rû(a)ḥ* ("wind," "breath," "spirit"). Thus the restoration of life or vitality can be described as the *nepeš* or *rû(a)ḥ* "returning" (*šûḇ*; cf. hiphil, *hēšîḇ*, "restore") or "reviving" (*ḥāyâ*). 1 K. 17:22 describes a raising from physical death: "the child's soul [*nepeš*] came into him again, and he revived [*ḥāyâ*]" (cf. v. 17, "there was no breath left in him"; for the view that the child was sick but not dead, cf. J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 382f.). The people in famine-stricken Jerusalem sought food and a comforter to "revive" (*hēšîḇ*) their "strength" (*nepeš*, Lam. 1:11, 19) and "courage" (*nepeš*, v. 16). When Samson, almost dying of thirst, was given water to drink, his "spirit returned" (*hēšîḇ rû[a]ḥ*) and "he revived" (*ḥāyâ*, Jgs. 15:19); cf. 1 S. 30:12, where the Egyptian's "spirit revived" (*šûḇ rû[a]ḥ*) after he ate. Gen. 45:27 describes Jacob's recovery from shock as his spirit revived (*ḥāyâ rû[a]ḥ*; cf. v. 26, "his heart fainted").

Devout Israelites recognized Yahweh as the giver of all life and health (cf. Dt. 32:39; 1 S. 2:6). Only God can "revive again" (*šûḇ ḥîyâ*, lit. "return, restore life") those who are in distress (Ps. 71:20; 85:6 [MT 7]). True life is found only in communion with the Holy God, who revives (hiphil of *ḥāyâ*) the "spirit [*rû(a)ḥ*] of the humble" and the "heart of the contrite" (Isa. 57:15). Therefore the psalmists can speak of God's law as a means of "reviving the soul" (*hēšîḇ nepeš*, Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]; cf. *ḥîyâ*, 119:25; rendered "give life" in vv. 37, 40, 93, 107, etc.).

Figuratively, a city in ruins is dead; thus to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem is to restore life to ("revive," *ḥîyâ*) the city (Neh. 4:2 [MT 3:34]; cf. 1 Ch. 11:8; RSV "repair"). In Ezr. 9:8f. "reviving" (*miḥyâ*, subst. of *ḥāyâ*) apparently refers to the restoration of the Jewish people through their return from exile and reestablishment in Jerusalem (cf. NEB interpretation).

In Rom. 7:9 Paul describes his own experience of sin's destructive power. Before he knew the Torah, he was able to live without restraint (v. 9a). But when he became aware of the (tenth) commandment (probably beginning at the age of thirteen, when he was made a *bar-miṣwâ*, "son of the commandment"), sin "sprang to life" (Gk. *anazáō*); i.e., the commandment gave not only an awareness of sin but an impetus to it, on account of the rebellious instinct to desire what is prohibited (see Davies, Dodd).

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REVOLT [Heb. *sārâ*–'revolt, apostasy'] (Isa. 31:6; 59:13); NEB OFFEND, "treacherous words"; [*qešer*–'conspiracy'] (Jer. 11:9); AV, NEB, CONSPIRACY; [*pāšaʿ*–'revolt, rebel'] (2 K. 8:20, 22; 2 Ch. 21:8, 10); [Gk. *anastatóō*–'disturb the peace'] (Acts 21:38); AV "make an uproar." Rebellion against the ruling authority. The Bible describes both spiritual revolt against God and His revealed will (Jer. 11:9; Isa. 31:6; 59:13) and political revolt against human government (2 K. 8:20, 22 par.; Acts 21:38).

Spiritual revolt against Yahweh the God of Israel is a major topic in the OT prophetic literature. Jeremiah lamented the "conspiracy" (AV, NEB; Heb. *qešer*, Jer. 11:9) of Israel, i.e., its continuation of the idolatrous practices of preceding generations. Baal worship was at the center of this open rebellion (vv. 9-13). Isaiah, similarly, in an oracle of national confession, described Israel as "speaking oppression and revolt." This poetic expression is parallel with "denying the Lord" and "turning away from following our God" (Isa. 59:13). Thus "revolt" in the spiritual sense is a refusal to obey the commands of Yahweh, most specifically those in the Decalogue (cf. Ex. 20:1-17; Dt. 5:6-21; cf. 6:4f.). The rebel actively and wilfully does what is prohibited.

Political rebellions are mentioned frequently in the Bible. For example, Moses had to contend with a revolt led by Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Nu. 16). King David's reign was threatened by two revolts, the first by his son Absalom (2 S. 15–18) and the second by Sheba (ch. 20). Rehoboam's foolish, heavy-handed policies provoked the ten northern tribes to revolt and establish Jeroboam as their king (1 K. 12:16-20). The northern kingdom never gained the dynastic stability of Judah, and its kings frequently lost their lives in coups (e.g., 1 K. 15:27f.; 16:8-10,

17f.; 2 K. 9:23f.; 15:10, 13f., 25, 30). 2 K. 11:14 records the cry of Queen Athaliah of Judah when she realized that she was being overthrown: *qešer qešer* (RSV "Treason! Treason!"). Many vassal states also revolted against the nations that ruled over them. The revolts of Edom and Libnah against Israel's rule are noted in 2 K. 8:20-22 par. 2 Ch. 21:8-10.

Various Jewish political and religious groups revolted — with varying degrees of success — against their foreign rulers during the intertestamental and NT periods. Paul was mistakenly identified with an Egyptian false prophet who had gathered a large band of Jewish followers with the intention of overthrowing Jerusalem (Acts 21:38); the revolt was put down and the followers killed or imprisoned, but the Egyptian escaped (Josephus *Ant.* xx.8.6 [169-173]). In his warning to the council that they not execute the apostles, Gamaliel mentioned two revolts that failed because they were not of God: one led by a certain THEUDAS (Acts 5:36) and another led by Judas the Galilean (v. 37; *see* JUDAS 8).

See INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD III; ISRAEL, HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF X.D; XI.D; MACCABEES; ZEALOT.

R. J. WYATT N. J. O.

REWARD [(nouns) Heb. *śāḵār*–'hire, wages' (Gen. 15:1; Nu. 18:31; Ps. 127:3; Eccl. 4:9; 9:5; Isa. 40:10; 62:11), *śeḵer*–'hire' (Prov. 11:18), *ʿēqeḇ*–'result, reward' (Ps. 19:11 [MT 12]; Prov. 22:4), *gᵉmûl*–'recompense' (Ps. 28:4), *gᵉmûlâ*–'recompense' (2 S. 19:36 [MT 37]), *ḥēleq*–'profit' (Eccl. 2:10), *maśkōret*–'wages' (Ruth 2:12), *mattaṯ*–'gift' (1 K. 13:7), *pᵉʿullâ*–'reward (of sin), punishment' (Ps. 109:20), *pᵉrî*–'fruit' (Ps. 58:11 [MT 12]), *šōḥaḏ*–'present' (Isa. 45:13); Aram. *nᵉḫizbâ*–'present' (Dnl. 2:6; 5:17); Gk. *misthós*–'pay, wages' (Mt. 5:12; 6:1f.; Mk. 9:41; Lk. 6:23; Acts 1:18; 1 Cor. 3:14; etc.), *misthapodosía* (He. 10:35; 11:26), *antapódosis*–'repaying, reward' (Col. 3:24)]; AV also DESERT, PORTION, etc.; NEB also PAYMENT, DESERT, PRESENT, BRIBE (Isa. 45:13), etc.; [(verbs) Heb. *gāmal*–'render, do (good, evil) to' (2 S. 22:21; 2 Ch. 20:11; Ps. 18:20 [MT 21]), piel of *šālam*–'recompense,' 'complete,' 'finish' (1 S. 24:19 [MT 20]; Job 8:6; Prov. 13:21; 25:22), pual of *šālam*–'be requited' (Prov. 13:13), *nāṯan*–'give' (1 K. 8:32; 2 Ch. 6:23; Jer. 32:19), *śîm*–'put' (Ps. 109:5), hiphil of *šûḇ*–'cause to return' (1 S. 26:23); Gk. *apodídōmi*–'render, recompense' (Mt. 6:4, 6, 18)]; AV also REPAY, GIVE, RENDER, etc.; NEB also REPAY, etc.; [(adj.) Gk. *áxios*–'worthy' (Lk. 23:41)]; AV DUE REWARD; NEB PRICE. In 2 Ch. 15:7; Jer. 31:16 "rewarded" translates the phrase *yēš śāḵār* (lit. "there is reward"). In 2 S. 4:10; 18:22 the RSV supplies "reward" from the context. In He. 11:6 "rewards" (AV "rewarder") translates Gk. *misthapodótēs gínetai* (lit. "be one who pays wages"), while in Rev. 11:18 "rewarding" (NEB "recompense") renders *doúnai tón misthón* (lit. "to give the reward").

The Hebrew noun *śāḵār* and Greek noun *misthós* are the terms most frequently translated "reward" in the RSV. As the lexical summary indicates, however, several additional Hebrew and Greek words can also carry this meaning. Central to the notion of reward in the Bible is a belief in the inherent relationship between an action and its outcome. Two Hebrew words that can acquire the meaning "reward" illustrate this central idea. First, the noun *pᵉrî* ("fruit"), which literally means the end of a natural growth, can be used to indicate the natural outcome of a certain kind of action. Thus the psalmist confesses in Ps. 127:11 (MT 12): "Men will say, 'Surely there is fruit [*pᵉrî*; RSV "a reward"] for the righteous.'" Second, the verb *šālam*, which frequently indicates the bringing to completion of an action, can convey the idea of a "reward" as part of the wholeness of an action — its natural completion. Thus, when Saul realizes that David did not kill him even though he had the opportunity, he says to David: "So may the Lord bring you to completion [*šālam*; RSV "reward you"] with good for what you have done to me this day" (1 S. 24:19).

I. In Commercial Contexts.–In contexts of commerce "reward" frequently means wages or payment for services rendered. For example, the Levites' reward for their sanctuary service was that they were allowed to eat a portion of the sacrifice (Nu. 18:31). Messengers were rewarded (i.e., paid) for bringing good news (cf. 2 S. 4:10; 18:22). Interpreters of dreams also earned rewards (Dnl. 2:6; cf. 5:17). Acts 1:18 states that Judas Iscariot "bought a field with the reward [i.e., money] of his wickedness." In these and other examples (e.g., Eccl. 2:10; 4:9) the wages received represent the completion of the action itself.

See also HIRE.

II. In Ethical and Theological Contexts.–The most important uses of "reward" in the Bible occur not in commercial but in ethical and theological contexts (cf. the ethical dimension even in Acts 1:18; see I above). One reason for this is that the biblical writers viewed human life itself as inherently ethical; i.e., they saw an intrinsic correspondence between actions and their consequences, whether good or evil. Prov. 13:21 illustrates an ethic of reward: "He who despises the word brings destruction upon himself, but he who respects the commandment will be rewarded"; cf. 11:18: "A wicked man earns deceptive wages, but one who sows righteousness gets a sure reward." These examples illustrate how biblical writers in the wisdom tradition viewed life as a dynamic process in which good actions lead inevitably to happy outcomes and sinful actions lead to evil outcomes. The cessation of this dynamic process is death. According to the author of Ecclesiastes, "the dead have no more reward," since all of their actions — love, hate, envy — have perished (Eccl. 9:5f.).

Israelite belief in the inherently ethical nature of life and in the righteous character of Yahweh provided the basis for a developed theology of rewards. As a righteous God, Yahweh metes out justice, thereby ensuring the appropriate correspondence between conduct and destiny (1 S. 26:23; 1 K. 8:32 par. 2 Ch. 6:23; Jer. 32:19). Thus, e.g., faith (Gen. 15:1), righteousness (2 S. 22:21; Ps. 18:20; 58:11), the study of Torah (19:11), keeping the commandments (Prov. 13:13), humility (22:4), kindness to enemies (25:22), and faithfulness (Ruth 2:12; 2 Ch. 15:7) lead to positive rewards from God, while false accusations (Ps. 109:20) and false piety (Mt. 6:2, 5, 16) lead to negative rewards. Ps. 28:3f. illustrates this theology of rewards: "Take me not off with the wicked, with those who are workers of evil, who speak peace with their neighbors, while mischief is in their hearts. Requite them according to their work, and according to the evil of their deeds; requite them according to the work of their hands; render them their due reward." In this lament the psalmist petitions God not only to distinguish between the righteous and the wicked but also to reward the wicked with an appropriate punishment.

Although a theology of rewards remains a central theme throughout the Bible, several passages discuss problems that result from an overly mechanical view of divine retribution or blessing in this lifetime. The book of Job probes the problem of the righteous sufferer. Bildad, one of Job's friends and comforters, represents an overly mechanical theology of rewards when he confidently encourages Job to repent, using the following logic: "if you are pure and upright, surely then he [God] will rouse himself for you

and reward you with a rightful habitation" (Job 8:6). Job's response is that Bildad is simply wrong, because Job himself is innocent (9:15, 20). Thus the book shows that the world's ethical structure must be more complex than Bildad supposes. Job concludes that neither Bildad nor anyone else is an adequate umpire to referee between himself and God (9:33). Isa. 62:11 (cf. also 40:10) also qualifies an overly mechanical theology of rewards, but from a different perspective than the book of Job. The prophet proclaims: "Behold, your salvation comes; behold, his reward is with him." "Reward" here signifies Yahweh's victory spoils, i.e., His people, whom He has rescued from exile and redeemed from their sin (cf. 62:12). Thus the simple correspondence between human conduct and destiny is also qualified by God's salvation, which carries its own rewards. The passages from Job and Isaiah complement each other in probing a theology of rewards, for they both show that the rewards that a person experiences in this life are not an adequate basis for evaluating the ethical quality of that life. The righteous may suffer in this life, and the sinful may receive reward.

In the Judaism of intertestamental times the concept of reward was combined with eschatological expectation. Where there seemed to be no strict correspondence between conduct and destiny in this life, belief in rewards was transferred to the next life and connected with the ideas of resurrection and judgment. Thus injustices in this life will be reversed in the life to come, in which the righteous will be rewarded with eternal life and the wicked with eternal damnation (e.g., see 2 Esd. 2:35; 7:35f.; cf. Ps. Sol. 3:11f.; 9:5; 13:11; etc.).

In the NT the theology of rewards remains an important theme. In the Synoptics Jesus speaks often of the reward that awaits those who do God's will (e.g., Mt. 5:46; 6:1, 4, 6, 18; 10:41f.; Mk. 9:41; Lk. 6:35). The problem of the righteous sufferer is now viewed in the light of the crucifixion of Jesus, who suffered torture and death though He had done no wrong (cf. Lk. 23:41). Jesus' disciples are also to expect suffering in this life, but they are promised great reward in the life to come (Mt. 5:12 par. Lk. 6:23).

Paul also developed the concept that God rewards those who serve Him faithfully (e.g., 1 Cor. 3:14; 9:17f.). Col. 3:24 urges slaves to serve the Lord rather than their human master, "knowing that from the Lord you will receive the inheritance as your reward." Thus Paul developed the idea expressed in Isa. 40:10; 62:11 — that God's people will receive the reward He has obtained for them by the salvation He has accomplished.

The theology of rewards is also evident in the book of Hebrews, which characterizes proper faith as belief that God rewards those who seek Him (He. 11:6). Christians suffering persecution are exhorted to persevere in order that they may obtain their reward (10:35f.), as Moses did (11:26). The reward awaiting those who endure is mentioned also in 2 Jn. 8 and Rev. 11:18.

See also RECOMPENSE; RETRIBUTION.

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T. B. DOZEMAN

REZEPH rē'zef [Heb. *reṣep*]. A town mentioned in Sennacherib's message to Hezekiah demanding Jerusalem's surrender (2 K. 19:12; Isa. 37:12). It is cited, together with Gozan and Haran, as an example of a city whose local deities were unable to preserve it from Assyrian conquest. It has been identified with the *Ra-ṣap-pa* (the spelling varies) known from Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and tablets (see S. Parpola).

Identifying its location is complicated by the fact that there were at least two sites known as *Raṣappa*: one in the central Syrian plain about 20 km. (13 mi.) S of the Euphrates River near Sura, and a second in the northern Mesopotamian region SW of the Tigris River near Jebel Sinjar. The Syrian *Raṣappa* (modern Risāfe), identified by Ptolemy as *Rhēsapha* (*Geog.* 5:16), was an important caravan center for several centuries; during the Byzantine period its name was changed to Sergiopolis (in honor of St. Sergius). The second *Raṣappa*, mentioned in several Neo-Assyrian texts, was the capital of Assyrian governors during the time of Adadnirari III and Šamši-Adad VI. Its exact location is open to question.

A Syrian identification is suggested by the greater geographical proximity of the Syrian *Raṣappa* to Haran and Gozan; all three were Aramean city-states on the western edge of the Assyrian empire. The cities that can be identified were located in a similarly proximal area in western Syria. On the other hand, Heb. *reṣep* in Isaiah and Kings represents an Assyrian source, and the extant Neo-Assyrian references to *Raṣappa* seem on the whole to signify the Mesopotamian town. Also, Sennacherib's statement that his forefathers (Heb. *'aḥôṭay*) destroyed these cities may be a reference to the campaigns of Shalmaneser III and Adadnirari III, which brought the Mesopotamian *Raṣappa*, as well as Haran and Gozan, under Assyrian rule. The evidence is as yet insufficient to allow an unqualified identification.

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A. J. COUCH

REZIA rə-zī'ə (1 Ch. 7:39, AV, NEB). *See* RIZIA.

REZIN rē'zin, re'zən [Heb. *reṣîn*].

1. Late eighth-century-B.C. king of the Aramean state centered at Damascus. He became king of Damascus probably *ca.* 740 B.C. Chafing under the severe tribute imposed in 738 by the imperialistic Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (2 K. 15:19) on all states in the area, he helped organize an alliance against Assyria that included (northern) Israel, Arab states, Phoenicia, and Philistia. When King Ahaz of Judah refused to join, Rezin and King Pekah of Israel attacked Judah in 734 and besieged Jerusalem with the object of placing a king in Zion who would support them (2 K. 15:37; 16:5; Isa. 7:1-6). This attack and Judah's later successful counterattack (Hos. 5:8-10) constituted the Syro-Ephraimite war. Ahaz responded by appealing to Assyria for help (2 K. 16:7f.), and in 733/32 B.C. Tiglath-pileser's forces defeated the coalition, as Isaiah had prophesied (Isa. 8:3f.). Aram-Damascus and much of Israel were incorporated into the Assyrian empire as provinces, never again to be independent (2 K. 15:29; Isa. 9:1; *ANET*, pp. 283f.).

As a result of Israel's defeat the Assyrian sympathizer Hoshea, who seized power in Samaria, assassinated Pekah (2 K. 15:30). The Assyrians executed Rezin (16:9) after they successfully completed the siege of Damascus in 732 B.C. Much of the population of Damascus was deported and other states in the original anti-Assyrian coalition were treated roughly after their defeat, most being annexed into the Assyrian empire. Rezin thus played an unwitting role in the fulfillment of the anti-Aramean prophecies of Isaiah (Isa. 7–8, 10, 17) and Amos (Am. 1:3-5). Amos had predicted the Damascus exile to Kir (1:5; cf. 2 K. 16:9).

2. The head of a family of temple servants who returned from the exile with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:48 par. Neh. 7:50).

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D. K. STUART

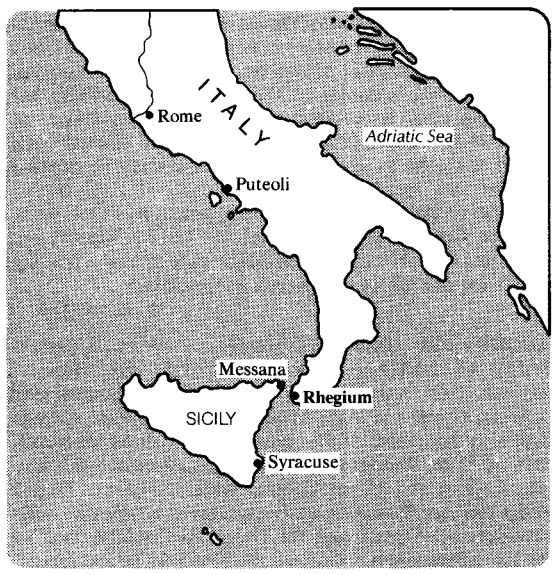
REZON rē′zən, re′zon [Heb. *rᵉzôn*; LXX Esrōm]. An Aramean, son of Eliada, and foe of Solomon (1 K. 11:23). After Aram-zobah had fallen to David, Rezon, an underling of defeated King Hadadezer of Zobah, established himself with a small army in the Aramean city of Damascus (11:24). Rezon is often identified with HEZION, grandfather of Ben-hadad I of Damascus (1 K. 15:18).

The political tension between Israel and Aram-Damascus persisted into the period of the divided monarchy, long after the era of Solomon and Rezon (1 K. 11:25). The dynasty of Rezon was stable and maintained its adversarial disposition toward Israel, the northern kingdom, during the reigns of the Omride and Jehu dynasties. The conflict ceased briefly when Assyria under Shalmaneser III threatened the kingdoms of the western side of the Fertile Crescent (*ca.* 853 B.C.), but later the Aramean-Israelite wars resumed.

See M. F. Unger, *Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus* (repr. 1980), pp. 51-58. G. D. JORDAN

RHEGIUM rē′jē-əm [Gk. *Rhēgion*] (Acts 28:13). A city on the east side of the Sicilian Straits, the modern Reggio di Calabria, where Paul's ship stopped on the way to Rome. Ancient authorities were divided as to whether Rhegium meant "royal [town]" (Lat. *regium*) or "rent [town]" (Gk. *rhēgnymi*, i.e., where Sicily was rent apart from Italy). Rhegium was about 10 km. (6 mi.) S of a point opposite Messina (ancient Messana), near the rock Scylla and the whirlpool Charybdis, long known as hazards to ships.

Originally a colony of Chalcidian Greeks (Strabo *Geog.* vi.1.6), Rhegium enjoyed great prosperity under tyrants in the 5th cent. B.C. (Herodotus vii.165) but was captured and destroyed by Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse in 387 B.C. All the surviving inhabitants were sold into slavery (Diodorus xiv.106-108, 111f.). The city never entirely recovered from this blow, although it was partially restored by the younger Dionysius. When the Greek general Pyrrhus invaded Italy, the people of Rhegium made an alliance with Rome (280 B.C.) and received four thousand Campanian troops within their walls. The Campanians turned out to be very unruly guests, for, in imitation of a band of mercenaries across the strait in Messina, they expelled or massacred the men and enslaved the women and children (Polybius i.7; cf. Orosius iv.3). The mercenaries were not punished by the Romans until 270 B.C., when the town was restored to the former inhabitants who had survived. The people of Rhegium were faithful to their alliance with Rome during the Second Punic War (Livy xxiii.30.5-9; xxiv.1; xxvi.12.1-14; xxix.6.3-10). During the Social War (91-87) Rhegium became a Roman municipality (Cicero *In Verrem* v.61 [158-160]; *Pro Archia poeta* iii.5). Some of Augustus's veterans were settled there.



The ship on which Paul sailed from Melita to Puteoli encountered unfavorable winds after leaving Syracuse, and it reached Rhegium by means of tacking. It waited at Rhegium a day for a south wind, which bore it to Puteoli (Acts 28:13), about 290 km. (180 mi.) away, probably in about twenty-six hours. G. H. ALLEN
B. F. HARRIS

RHEIMS VERSION. *See* ENGLISH VERSIONS IV.C.

RHESA rē′sə [Gk. *Rhesa*] (Lk. 3:27). A son of Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Jesus.

RHETORICAL CRITICISM. The analysis of a text or entire book of the Bible according to the patterns and systems of speaking and writing both in the period in which it was written and according to more modern literary and rhetorical theories. It is an attempt to understand better the author's thinking and message, how he or she intended the text or book to function, and how the readers were likely to perceive and react to its content.

I. Origins.–Rhetorical criticism of the Bible has many precursors. St. Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, Book IV (5th cent.) discusses the rhetorical style of the biblical authors, especially Paul. The Venerable Bede analyzed figures and tropes used in the Bible in his *De schematibus et tropis* (8th cent.). Philip Melancthon relied heavily upon inventional theory in his NT commentaries (16th cent.). It was not until the late 19th cent., however, that the rhetorical features of the Bible were systematically studied. Some of the best representatives of these initial studies are the works of Johannes Weiss ("Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik," in *Theologische Studien Bernhard Weiss dargebracht* [1897] pp. 165-247), E. W. Bullinger (*Figures of Speech Used in the Bible* [1898]), Eduard König (*Stilistik, Rhetorik, und Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur* [1900]), Rudolf Bultmann (*Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* [1910]), and Eduard Norden (*Agnostos Theos* [1913]). These studies concentrated on individual rhetorical features, such as figures of speech and thought, but did not develop a systematic rhetorical analysis.

II. OT Rhetorical Criticism.–The designation "rhetorical criticism" and the proposal to establish rhetorical criticism as a discipline were first made by James Muilenburg in his 1968 Presidential Address to the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (*JBL*, 88 [1969], 1-18). Muilenburg called upon biblical scholars to supplement form criticism and to compensate for its inadequacies. These inadequacies include the assumption that a given genre exhibits similar structural forms, terminology, style, and setting; and a corresponding emphasis upon

what is typical and representative in a given genre. To the contrary, Muilenburg urged that attention fall upon the individual, personal, unique, and unrepeatable features of a given text. The patterns of words, motifs, literary devices, and the structure in part and in whole need careful examination so as "to think the thoughts of the biblical writer after him."

Rhetorical criticism of the OT seeks a knowledge of the forms, genres, structures, stylistic devices, and rhetorical techniques common to the literature of the ancient Near East to understand better how these can contribute to our interpretation of the OT. A basic methodology includes first defining the literary unit, looking for repeated motifs, opening and closure formulas, and *inclusio* (the repetition of exact, very similar, or complementary words and phrases at the beginning and ending of a unit). Second, both the overall structure (macro-structure) and the structure of individual components (micro-structure) of the literary unit are determined and the relationship between all components defined. At every step, close attention is given to repetition, parallelism, strophic structure, motifs, climax, chiasm, and numerous other literary devices. Such close examination of composition is an attempt to achieve a better understanding of the movement of the author's thought, intent, and message, and to determine how the rhetoric would be experienced by the audience.

III. NT Rhetorical Criticism.–Rhetorical criticism of the NT has prominent forerunners in the work of Amos Wilder (*Early Christian Rhetoric: The Language of the Gospel* [1964]) and Robert Funk (*Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God* [1966]). Wilder's work led to the appreciation of the rhetorical quality of biblical forms and their role in determining the social-historical setting, patterns of belief, and the exigence of the author. Funk's work led to the recognition that literary forms, genres, style, and sequence give insights into the author's thought.

Rhetorical criticism of the NT has blossomed since the mid-1970's. Such criticism uses numerous Greco-Roman rhetorical handbooks, which give detailed instruction on the proper procedure to use in order to be persuasive in both oral and written speech. These handbooks include, among others, those of Aristotle (*Rhetorica*), Cicero (*De Oratore, De Inventione*), Cornificius (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*), and Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria*). The rhetorical critic analyzes the NT to determine how the NT authors have used the Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions described in these ancient rhetorical handbooks and other classical sources.

The rhetorical analysis of the NT focuses on three major categories in ancient rhetoric: invention, arrangement, and style. Invention is the construction of proofs and refutations. Arrangement is the ordering of the proofs and the main elements of composition. These compositional elements include the *exordium* (introduction), *narratio* (statement of the case), *probatio* (body), and *peroratio* (conclusion). Style is the use of language to meet the needs of invention and includes such things as word selection, sentence construction, and the use of figures of speech and thought. The rhetorical critic attempts to determine how the biblical author used invention, arrangement, and style to expound the gospel and/or convince his audience of the legitimacy of his interpretation of the gospel.

Rhetorical criticism of the Gospels has taken an approach slightly different from that of the Epistles. Although the method discussed above is applicable to all of the NT, it is especially applicable to the Epistles. For the rhetorical analysis of the Gospels, a slightly different focus has proved fruitful. This focus is upon the ancient *chreiai*. A chreia is a saying, description of an action, or both that is concise, attributed to a person or group, appropriate to the situation it is used to address, and considered to improve life. The chreia was a common feature of oral and written communication in the ancient world for discussing philosophy and the words and deeds of both the famous and ordinary person.

Chreiai and elaborations of chreiai are basic literary units of the Gospels. These chreia naturally pertain in the main to the words and deeds of Jesus (e.g., Mt. 8:18-20). By analyzing the chreiai of the Gospels, rhetorical criticism seeks to understand better the oral and written transmission of Gospel tradition and the manner in which the Gospel writers used this tradition to construct their respective Gospels.

The methodologies described above are the most commonly used and are rooted in the rhetorical conventions of history. Both the rhetorical criticism of the OT and of the NT, however, also use the methodologies and reconceptualization of ancient rhetoric in what is now called the "new rhetoric." They also employ many of the approaches and contributions of literary criticism, hermeneutics, structuralism, semantics, and linguistics in what is a highly fluid and ever-growing interdisciplinary movement whose frontiers have yet to be charted.

It is apparent that rhetorical criticism is a very useful tool for exegesis and for enabling the Bible to speak to ever-changing situations. By providing knowledge of how a text was composed in order to be persuasive in its own period, rhetorical criticism enables the interpreter to understand better how a text functioned in its historical context and how it currently functions in its literary context. By providing knowledge of the role of rhetoric gleaned from linguistics, semantics, and the new rhetoric, rhetorical criticism enables the interpreter better to express the message of a text so that it can be persuasive to its contemporary audience.

Bibliography.–C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric* (1969); J. Jackson and M. Kessler, eds., *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (1974); D. J. A. Clines, *et al.*, eds., *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* (1982); G. Kennedy, *NT Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (1984).

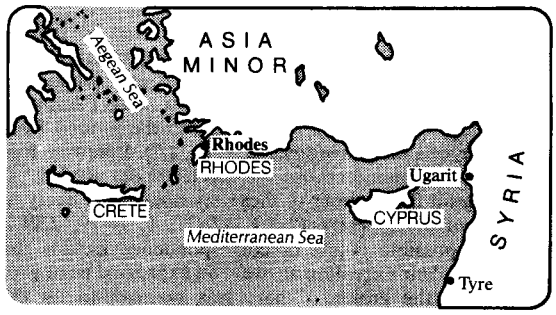
D. F. WATSON

RHODA rō'də [Gk. *Rhodē*–'Rose' (Acts 12:13). Either a slave in the house of John Mark's mother, or a member of the household, or one of the assembly that had gathered there. She had apparently been praying for Peter when he was released from prison by the angel. The account lends a human element to the story by describing her as having been so excited about Peter's appearance at the door that she left the door locked and rushed back to tell the others. The incredulous assembly responded that she was "mad."

Tradition claims that the house in which this took place was the site of the institution of the Lord's Supper, but this lacks corroboration. This house was indeed a leading center for the life of the church in Jerusalem.

B. R. PATTEN

RHODES rōdz [Heb. *dᵉḏān* (emended to *rōḏān*)] (Ezk. 27:15); AV DEDAN; NEB RHODIANS; [Gk. *Rhodos*] (1 Macc. 15:23; Acts 21:1); AV RHODUS. An island located between Crete and Asia Minor in the southeast Aegean Sea; also the capital of the island, a port city on the northeastern shore. Rhodes is a mountainous island about 72 km. (45 mi.) long and 35 km. (22 mi.) wide, the second largest in the Aegean. It was a major commercial center for traffic between the Aegean and the Orient in the latter half of the 1st millennium B.C. Indeed, the island's size and natural



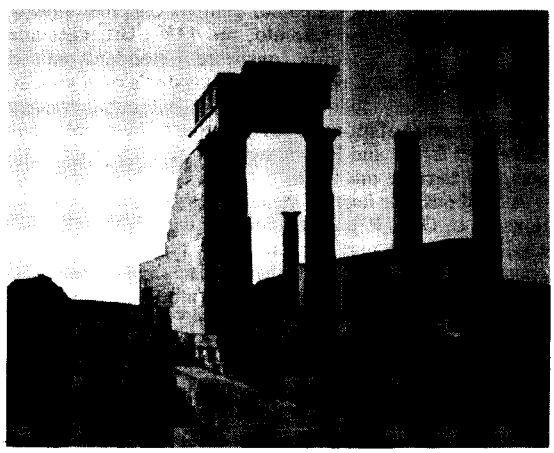
resources are so limited that it was only the extensive trade of products native to other regions that enabled Rhodes to support a large population and attain political significance.

I. History.–Toward the end of the Middle Bronze Age a Minoan merchant colony was established on Rhodes at Ialysus. As early as the 16th cent. B.C. Rhodians engaged in commerce with some of the coastal cities of Syria-Palestine, notably Ugarit. It was primarily the Dorians, however, who developed the island into a commercial center. Lindus, located on the southeast shore, became an important port for traffic from the east.

After the Persian wars the island became a member of the Delian Confederacy and had substantial commercial relationships. Yet it was only after the founding of the city of Rhodes that the island became a formidable commercial and political power. In 408 B.C. the communities of Ialysus, Lindus, and Camirus combined their efforts to construct a new capital city at Rhodes. Trade through this port with Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, and the Aegean states brought great wealth and power. Throughout the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C. Rhodes remained the preeminent center of trade and international banking in the Aegean. Its strong navy protected Rhodian interests abroad and combatted piracy. The renowned symbol of the city's wealth and prestige was the Colossus of Rhodes, a 32-m. (105-ft.) high bronze statue of the sun-god erected at the mouth of the harbor to commemorate a victory over Demetrius, who had attempted to invade Rhodes in 304/3 B.C. The Colossus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, was destroyed by an earthquake *ca.* 227 B.C.

Rome's declaration of Delos as a free harbor in 167 B.C. marked the turning point for the fortunes of Rhodes.

The Doric temple (*ca.* 330 B.C.) that overlooks the sheer seaward drop at Lindus on Rhodes (W. S. LaSor)



Rome's move, in retaliation for Rhodian participation in the Third Macedonian War, caused a marked decline in the commercial volume passing through Rhodes. Rome's reduction of Rhodes's mainland possessions also caused a significant drop in the Rhodian economy. Finally, in 43 B.C. Cassius plundered Rhodes of all its material wealth, reducing the island virtually to destitution. By the beginning of the Christian era Rhodian glory was gone. In the late Roman period Rhodes was known only as a cultural center and a resort city.

II. Biblical References.–Rhodes is mentioned in the OT only in Ezk. 27, a lament concerning Tyre. In a description of Tyre's wealth and extensive influence the prophet names many nations and peoples who trade with Tyre. Verse 15 says that Tyre had a special arrangement with Rhodes regarding trade in ivory and ebony. The MT (followed by the AV) reads *bᵉnê dᵉdān*, "the sons of Dedan" (cf. also Vulg. *filii Dedan*), referring to an important commercial people from northwest Arabia. The RSV's and NEB's textual emendation, suggested by the LXX (*huoí Rhodiōn*) and Syriac (*bny rdn*), is confirmed by the structure of the oracle. As the prophet lists the countries that trade with Tyre, he begins in v. 12 in the extreme west (Tarshish) and moves through Greece and Asia to Palestine and Arabia, finally ending with Tarshish once more. Rhodes occurs in the proper place in the sequence (v. 15), and DEDAN is mentioned later, also in its proper place (v. 20), as a source of saddlecloths.

The capital city of Rhodes is mentioned in Acts 21:1 as one of Paul's stopping places on his final journey to Jerusalem. Though the port city had once been one of the most powerful commercial centers of the Mediterranean, by the time of Paul's visit it was little more than a beautiful city with a glorious past.

In 1 Macc. 15:13 the city is mentioned as the destination of a letter sent by Lucius, the Roman consul, concerning an alliance between the Romans and the Maccabean state.

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RHODOCUS rod′ə-kəs [Gk. *Rhodokos*]. A Jewish traitor who disclosed to Eupator the secret plans of Judas Maccabeus regarding the Jewish defense of Beth-zur (2 Macc. 13:21). His treachery was discovered, and he was imprisoned.

RIB [Heb. *ṣēlāʿ* (Gen. 2:21f.); Aram. *ʿalaʿ* (Dnl. 7:5)].

In Daniel's vision of four beasts coming out of the sea (Dnl. 7), the second beast is a bear, with "three ribs in its mouth." Scholars vary widely in their interpretation of this vision (see comms.).

Scholars have generally explained the significance of the creation of Eve from Adam's rib (Gen. 2:18-25) in one of three ways: as underlying pun, as an aetiology, or as a symbolism related to Adam's affirmation concerning Eve in Gen. 2:23.

Two interpretations relate the rib to a hypothesized pun. Assuming that an earlier Sumerian version underlies the OT account, the first view notes that the Hebrew words for "Eve" and "rib" could be related to each other in terms of an ambiguity in Sumerian (see Gaster, p. 330 n. 1; cf. Pritchard, Kramer).

In the Sumerian paradise myth of Enki and Ninhursag, the goddess Ninhursag created the goddess Nin-ti in order to heal the god Enki's afflicted rib. Reflecting this healing purpose, the name "Nin-ti" can mean both "lady of the rib" and "lady who makes live." Similarly, the Genesis account associates Eve both with a rib and with life (see Gen. 3:20).

This explanation fails to commend itself not only be-

cause of the superficial character of the alleged parallels (cf. Renié Kidner, pp. 65f. n. 3) but also because it commits the genetic fallacy — it is doubtful that "J," or any other presumed editor/author, would have been aware of the mentioned Sumerian ideograms (so Landy, p. 350 n. 135).

Graves and Patai (p. 69) also relate the "rib" to a pun: Eve, Adam's would-be helpmate built from his *ṣēlāʿ*, "rib," proved in fact to be a *ṣelaʿ*, i.e., a "stumbling" or "misfortune." But since the text nowhere uses this latter term, and since the immediate purpose of Gen. 2:21f. is, if anything, to stress the supreme adequacy of woman as a suitable helper, it appears more likely that the existence of this homonym is merely coincidental.

Many modern scholars favor an aetiological explanation for the formation of the woman from a rib — though, unhappily, with no unanimity concerning precisely what aetiology is in view (see Westermann, p. 230).

Von Rad is typical of these scholars in frankly acknowledging that the text as it stands shows little awareness of any aetiological purpose. So von Rad suggested (reflecting a questionable interpretation of Gen. 2:24) that the Yahwist's own purpose in reiterating the older tradition may have been to answer whence comes that "powerful drive of the sexes to each other . . . which does not rest until it becomes one flesh in the child? It comes from the fact that God took woman from man, and they actually were originally one flesh. Therefore they must come together again and thus by destiny they belong to each other."

The symbolical approach sees symbolism behind the creation of Eve without precluding the possibility that the author intends the reader to take this account quite literally. The pervasive use of symbolism elsewhere in Gen. 1–3 and Adam's own reflection on Eve in 2:23 ("This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh") support this view.

The symbolism of Eve's creation specifically from Adam's rib tended most to exercise the imaginations of earlier commentators (cf. Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* xviii.2). Modern commentators tend to be modest in any implications they would derive from the rib (cf. Cahill, p. 54); e.g., S. Clark (p. 18) suggests that it "certainly indicates closeness of relationship, and calls to mind the saying that woman stands at man's side." Clark stresses the rib as an emblem of woman's equality with man: "The clearest point to be drawn from the building of woman from man's rib is not any inferiority on woman's part but quite the contrary. The 'rib' indicates the sameness of nature between man and woman" (p. 85).

As attractive and plausible as these implications seem, it is surprisingly difficult to establish them with any certainty from the biblical text. Clark draws attention to the fact that the Heb. *ṣēlāʿ* can also mean "side" (so Rashi; cf. Trible, p. 140 n. 16). Certainly, had the intention of Gen. 2 been to reaffirm woman's equality with man, it could hardly have done better than to describe Eve's creation as from the "side of Adam." But unhappily for this line of interpretation, the text says that the Lord God took "one of his ribs," *ʾaḥaṯ miṣṣalʿōṯāw*. Such an expression does not favor the rendering "side" for *ṣēlāʿ* (so KD, following LXX and Tg.), and the resulting state of Adam, lacking "one of his sides," rather taxes one's imagination.

While the text may not permit a definitive implication for Eve's creation specifically from Adam's rib, nevertheless it may suggest implications for the more fundamental fact that Eve was created from Adam rather than *ex nihilo* (even if still subsequently). At least three levels of meaning suggest themselves.

The first is based on the observation that Gen. 2–3 offers an extensive parallel between Adam and his derivation from the ground and Eve and her derivation from Adam. This correspondence is perhaps most obvious in the naming of Adam and Eve. Adam's name (*ʾādām*) is related, at least by folk etymology, to the ground from which he was made (*ʾᵃḏāmâ*; cf. Gen. 2:7). Likewise Eve is named "Woman, because she was taken out of Man." It is irrelevant that neither of these etymologies is likely to be "linguistically correct" (cf. *TDOT*, I, 75-79, 222f.).

Other possible points of correspondence include the fact that Adam's creation answers an expressed need with respect to the ground ("there was no man to till the ground," Gen. 2:5), just as Eve's creation answers a prior need in Adam: "The Lord God said, 'It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him'" (Gen. 2:18). A further correspondence is that God specifically places Adam in the garden, thereby underscoring Adam's calling to serve and to guard it, and God likewise placed Eve before Adam, thereby underscoring her wifely calling (Gen. 2:22).

Finally, the curse on Adam in Gen. 3:17-19 revolves entirely around his relationship to the ground, just as God's curse on Eve in Gen. 3:16 focuses exclusively on her wifely role.

Such pervasive parallelism clearly suggests that the meaning of Adam's creation from the ground is analogous to the meaning of Eve's creation from Adam's rib. Most scholars acknowledge that Adam's derivation from the ground implies not that he would be in any way inferior to that from which he derived, but that here was to be the focus of his ministrations. Similarly, that the woman was created from Adam's rib ought to be construed as a vivid reminder to her that here was to be the focus of her wifely ministrations. Not that Eve's calling was exhausted in her ministry to Adam, anymore than Adam's was exhausted in his serving and guarding the garden. The text is exclusively concerned with Eve in her capacity as Adam's wife and simply does not address her as a woman per se. Presumably her calling as a woman would be the same as her calling simply as a person and so in this respect would be no different from Adam's. Perhaps the implication of the text that Eve should have guarded the garden from the serpent supports this inference.

The second level of meaning concerns Adam. Already Calvin observed "something was taken from Adam, in order that he might embrace, with greater benevolence, a part of himself" (*Genesis* [Eng. tr. repr. 1948], p. 133; cf. Eph. 5:28ff.). Certainly Adam says of Eve, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (Gen. 2:23), and it seems clear that this statement finds its concrete antecedent in Gen. 2:21 (so Cassuto, pp. 135f.; Brueggemann notes that Adam's words constitute a standard oath of covenant fidelity; cf. Wifall). The narrator's own conclusion immediately following Adam's statement concurs with this notion of intimate bondedness: "Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh."

A third possible level of meaning concerns Adam's relationship to God. If that relationship was covenantal (so, e.g., Kline), one may explain Eve's creation as the expected "cutting" ceremony that ratified the covenant. As so often with such ratifying ceremonies, not only may there be a symbolic depiction of death (the "deep sleep" that overtakes Adam) that was threatened in the covenant curse, but also a depiction of the covenant blessing. Here, on the other side of Adam's passive consecration to God in the ratifying ceremony of the deep sleep and excision of a rib, is the provision of his bride Eve; and symbolized in

her is a glorious reminder of the blessings of obedience to the covenant, wherein Adam's faithful Lord will meet every need of His vassal.

Since Tertullian (*De anima* xliii.10) typology has drawn parallels between the creation of Eve out of Adam's side following his covenant ratifying death-like experience, and the presentation of the Church to Christ, the second Adam, as a bride following His covenant-ratifying death on the cross (cf. Calvin, *Genesis*, p. 133; Barth, *CD*, III/1, 321; O'Rourke, pp. 427-435; and Gage, p. 90).

Bibliography.–W. Brueggemann, *CBQ*, 32 (1970), 532-542; L. S. Cahill, *Between the Sexes. Foundations for a Christian Ethics of Sexuality* (1985); U. Cassuto, comm. on Genesis, I (Eng. tr. 1978); S. B. Clark, *Man and Woman in Christ* (1980); W. A. Gage, *The Gospel of Genesis* (1984); R. Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths* (1963); D. Kidner, *Genesis* (*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1967); M. G. Kline, *Kingdom Prologue*, I (1981); S. N. Kramer, *Enki and Ninhursag* (*BASOR Supp.*, 1; 1954), p. 9; *History Begins at Sumer* (1958); F. Landy, *Paradoxes of Paradise* (1983); J. J. O'Rourke, *Early and Modern Theologians and Eve's Formation from Adam* (1961); J. B. Pritchard, *Review of Religion*, 13 (1948/49), 5-23; G. von Rad, *Genesis* (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1972); J. Renié, *Melanges de Sciences Religieuses*, 10 (1953), 9-12; P. Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (1978); H. N. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative* (1985); C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. tr. 1984); W. Wifall, *Currents in Theology and Mission*, 10 (1983), 176-183.

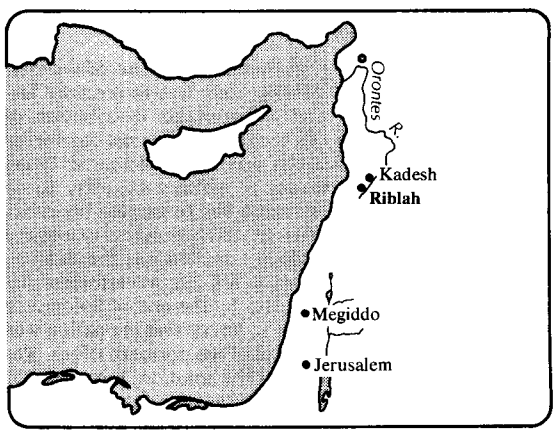
G. P. HUGENBERGER

RIBAI rī'bī [Heb. *rîbay*]. A Benjaminite from Gibeah whose son Ittai (Ithai) was among David's thirty mighty men (2 S. 23:29 par. 1 Ch. 11:31).

RIBBAND. An archaic form of "ribbon" used by the AV in Nu. 15:38. *See* CORD (9).

RIBLAH rib'lə [Heb. *riḇlâ*]. A city on the banks of the Orontes River about 16 km. (10 mi.) S of Kadesh. The ruins of the ancient city have been identified. The modern village of Ribleh is on the west bank of the Orontes 56 km. (35 mi.) NE of Baalbek. Since in Hebrew *d* (ד) and *r* (ר) are easily confused, "Diblah" (AV DIBLATH) in Ezk. 6:14 is probably an error for Riblah. The same confusion of consonants is found in the LXX reading *Deblatha*.

Riblah was strategically located at the crossroads of the military highways to Egypt and Mesopotamia. In 609 B.C. Pharaoh Neco had his military headquarters there. After Josiah's death at Megiddo, his younger son Jehoahaz was made king of Judah, much to the displeasure of Neco. Neco favored the oldest son, Eliakim, who was pro-Egyptian; he therefore made Eliakim king and imprisoned Jehoahaz, first at Riblah and then in Egypt, where he died (2 K. 23:29-34).



In 588 Nebuchadrezzar set up his headquarters at Riblah in his campaign against Egypt and the countries along the Syrian coast. Jerusalem, which under King Zedekiah had revolted against Babylonia, was besieged. As the city began to fall Zedekiah attempted to escape but was captured at Jericho and brought to Riblah. At the command of Nebuchadrezzar, the king was forced to watch as his sons were slain. Then his eyes were put out and he was taken captive to Babylon (25:1-6; Jer. 39:1-7). When Jerusalem was captured the chief priest and the rest of the nobility of Judah were taken to Nebuchadrezzar in Riblah and executed (vv. 18-21; Jer. 39:9f.). An inscription of Nebuchadrezzar at Wâdī Brissa contains an allusion to the time when he directed his operations from Riblah.

Riblah is named in a description of the boundaries of the land of Canaan in Nu. 34:11. The location of the other cities — Hazar-enan, Shepham, and Ain — is uncertain, but the mention of the Sea of Chinnereth and the context point to the area N of that lake. Since this passage is the only one in which Riblah has an article (*hāriḇlâ*), some scholars have suggested that the Hebrew should be read "Harbela" (cf. Gk. *Arbēla*) and the site identified with Hermel in the Beqaʿ at the source of the Orontes.

D. H. MADVIG

RICHES; WEALTH. Terms referring to an abundance of material possessions, but also designating spiritual, psychological, and social qualities. All are gifts of God but are frequently misused by human beings. The proper use of all gifts constitutes an essential aspect of the soteriological message of the Bible.

I. In the OT
  A. Terms
  B. Teaching
    1. Inherent Goodness of Created Things
    2. The Fall and the Misuse of Gifts
    3. Material Goods in the Theocratic Kingdom
    4. Intensified Misuse of Goods under the Monarchy
    5. The Prophetic Protest
    6. Proper Use of Wealth in the Wisdom Literature
II. In the Intertestamental Period
  A. Greek Influences
  B. Apocryphal Literature
  C. Various Political/Religious Groups
    1. Sadducees
    2. Pharisees
    3. Essenes and Qumrân
    4. Zealots
III. In the NT
  A. Terms
  B. Teaching
    1. The Incarnation
    2. Jesus' Concern for Rich and Poor
    3. Apostolic Teaching
    4. The Apocalypse
IV. In Church History

I. In the OT.–A. Terms. The OT uses a variety of terms to describe the rich or wealthy person. Some of these terms may also be used to describe powerful nations and fertile fields. The major Hebrew terms are:

(1) *ʿĀšar* ("be/become rich"), *ʿōšer* ("riches"), *ʿāšîr* ("rich"). These related terms are all used to describe persons gaining or possessing wealth (e.g., Gen. 14:23; 26:13; Ps. 49:2 [MT 3]; Prov. 18:11; 22:7). They sometimes describe wealth that is the result of God's blessing (e.g., Prov. 10:22) or of industrious efforts (e.g., 10:4); in other

instances they are used of riches resulting from ill-gotten gain (e.g., Jer. 17:11; Mic. 6:12).

(2) *Ḥayil* ("power," "capacity," "wealth"). Since power is often related to wealth, *ḥayil* is used about thirty times to refer to the wealth of an individual (e.g., Job 5:5; 31:25) or of a city or nation (e.g., Gen. 34:29; Isa. 8:4; Ezk. 26:12; 28:4f.).

(3) *Hôn* ("wealth," "rich," "riches"). This term is used frequently in poetic passages. Sometimes it designates legitimate wealth (e.g., Ps. 112:3; 119:14; cf. Prov. 8:18), at other times wealth improperly gained (e.g., Prov. 13:11).

(4) *Šāmēn* ("rich"). This term is used often of fields or food; the AV renders it "fat," while the NEB often uses "fertile" (e.g., Gen. 49:20; Nu. 13:20; Neh. 9:25, 35; Isa. 28:1, 4; 30:23). Cf. Ugar. *smn(t)* and Akk. *samanu,* which are frequently used for fertile fields or well-fed cattle.

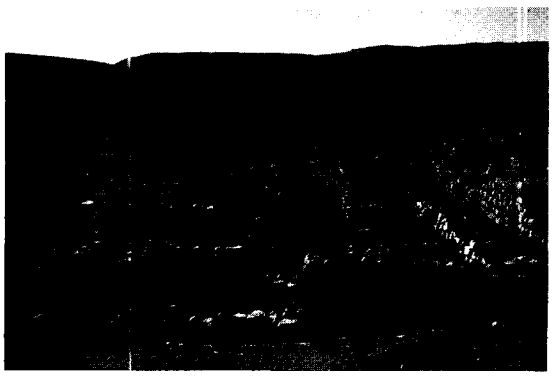
(5) *Gādal* ("become great," "become rich," "become wealthy"), *gādôl* ("great," "rich," "wealthy"). These terms literally mean "(become) great" and are so rendered by the AV (e.g., Gen. 26:13 [NEB "become powerful"]; 1 S. 25:2 [NEB "great influence"]).

B. Teaching. The OT describes God as the creator and giver of all gifts. All His gifts are good (cf. Gen. 1:31), but human beings often pervert their use. After commissioning Adam and Eve as His vassals (1:28), God immediately bestowed on them the things necessary to make vassalhood a rich and meaningful experience. Likewise, God promised Abraham that He would bless him (12:2), and Genesis states that Abraham was "very rich in cattle" (13:2). In turn, Abraham seems to have recognized that the Lord was the source of his riches, for he refused to accept the booty he captured in rescuing Lot and the citizens of Sodom (14:23). The land was a central element in God's covenant promise to Abraham (17:8). The Promised Land was likewise central to the Mosaic covenant. This land was described as being very rich (Ex. 3:8f.). (*See also* LAND II.)

The fair and proper distribution of wealth was an essential feature of the theocratic kingdom established by the Mosaic legal code. Slavery, although not eliminated, was controlled and tempered (Lev. 25:39-46). (*See* SLAVE.) The code prescribed means to curb the accumulation of extreme wealth by some with resulting poverty for others (Lev. 25:35f.). (*See* SABBATICAL YEAR.) An individual's spiritual stature was measured in terms of that person's beneficence to the poor (Prov. 14:31). (*See* POOR I.B.)

1. Inherent Goodness of Created Things. The OT doctrine of creation provides the necessary antidote to the "world denying" or ascetic movements that have arisen in history. God created the human body, and therefore it has valid creaturely needs; moreover, it possesses a vast capacity for enjoying sensations and for achievements with the use of material things. The Bible seems to take for granted and to approve of the building of houses, the herding of cattle, the making of musical instruments, etc. — all of which make use of the material elements of the creation (cf. Gen. 4:17-22). God's blessing makes these materials available so that human life can rise to its fullest potential (cf. 1:26-28).

The ruins of a typical upper-class Hebrew house (ca. 900 B.C.) at Tell el-Fâr'ah (N) (R. H. Smith)



2. The Fall and the Misuse of Gifts. With the advent of sin, human need was changed to lust and the proper provision of food was turned into hoarding at the expense of others. Gen. 6:11, 13 describes the socio-economic conditions prior to the Flood in terms of the earth being "filled with violence." The word rendered "violence" (Heb. *ḥāmās*) was used by the prophets to describe the exploitation of the poor by the rich (Am. 3:10; Mic. 6:12). Thus it appears that exploitation was a major reason for God's destroying the earth with a flood. It is noteworthy that similar exploitation existed in Israel shortly before the Exile.

3. Material Goods in the Theocratic Kingdom. The positive religious importance of material goods is again highlighted in God's promise of the land of Canaan to Abraham. As the bridge to three continents, Canaan was a station through which merchants and armies often passed; thus it was a prize over which the superpowers had battled for centuries. Of particular importance was Megiddo, for here caravans were taxed, and whoever possessed this city controlled the commercial wealth of the ancient Near East (as Pharaoh Thutmose III said in the 15th cent. B.C.: "He who has conquered Megiddo has conquered a thousand towns" [*ANET,* p. 237]). This was the land that God chose as the place for His people to set up a kingdom in which justice would prevail. Thus as soon as God had redeemed the Israelites from Egypt, He gave them a charter at Mt. Sinai instructing them on how to structure a kingdom of peace established on justice. Israel inherited the land with the clear understanding that only the Lord had ultimate ownership of the land (Ps. 24:1). The genius of the kingdom (God's rule through His laws) was that each tribe, each clan, and each family was apportioned a parcel of land (Josh. 13–22), and this parcel was viewed as a trust. Each person was given the opportunity to express faith in God by dealing responsibly and justly with the material goods entrusted to him or her. The laws were designed to prevent the possibility of wealth breeding wealth and poverty breeding poverty. For example, every forty-ninth year was to be a year of Jubilee in which the land was to be returned to the original inheritor (Lev. 25). Israel's challenge was to establish this theocratic kingdom in Canaan, a land whose geography made it a stage for all the world to see.

4. Intensified Misuse of Goods under the Monarchy. While the intent of the Mosaic code was to promote justice through equality and an equitable distribution of goods, the monarchy by its very nature was not conducive to these ends. The monarchy was a human choice: Israel demanded a king for reasons of military security. To be effective, however, the monarch had to surpass his rivals in pomp and power, and this inevitably required extremely heavy taxation. Samuel clearly spelled out the dangers and the price of monarchy (1 S. 8:4-22); nevertheless, Israel insisted on this choice. But by the end of Solomon's reign the burden had become so heavy that the nation was divided through the withdrawal of the northern tribes. Rebellion and secession were not the solution, however, for the prophetic literature seems to indicate that oppression developed in the northern kingdom to an even greater degree than in the southern kingdom.

5. The Prophetic Protest. Elijah's ministry attempted to keep the vision of the Mosaic code alive in northern Israel in opposition to the influences of the fertility cult, which was concerned only with richer harvests, greater fecundity in the flock, and the fertility of the human womb. The Israelite prophets assumed that the king too was under the law, whereas in other countries the king determined the law; this explains Jezebel's impatience with Ahab's indecision in dealing with Naboth's vineyard. Whatever vestiges of the Mosaic tradition remained in northern Israel were steadily eroded. Israel's demise demonstrated the final destiny of a kingdom patterned after the kingdoms of this world.

The prophets proclaimed the mind of Yahweh by promoting a justice that had special concern for the poor. The principle of justice was widely recognized, though obviously not always practiced, in the ancient Near East. Hammurabi (*ca.* 1750 B.C.) claimed that Marduk had appointed him to "promote the welfare of the people . . . to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not oppress the weak" (*ANET,* p. 164). The Ugaritic literature likewise indicates that the king was expected to act as judge on behalf of the widow and plead the cause of the fatherless (*ANET,* pp. 149, 151). But while the call for justice is not unique to Scripture, no literature from the ancient world matches the ire of the OT prophets as they decried the injustice present in Israel and elsewhere.

It is natural that the preexilic prophets spoke more explicitly about justice than the later prophets. Amos, Isaiah, and Micah spoke to a nation that had sufficient automony left to do something about a just distribution of wealth. Amos warned that his people would be destroyed "because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes — they that trample the heads of the poor into the dust of the earth, and turn aside the way of the afflicted" (2:6f.). This passage may be suggesting a causal relationship between oppression and the fertility cult alluded to in v. 7; the implication would then be that in the fertility cult riches had the highest priority, while in the Yahweh faith the highest priority was justice. Micah resonated a similar theme as he described the leaders of Judah as those "who abhor justice and pervert all equity, who build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong.... Therefore because of you Zion shall be plowed as a field" (3:9-12). Micah stated clearly what Yahweh desired: "and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (6:8).

Sadly, neither Israel nor Judah obeyed the prophets' "heavenly vision." Northern Israel disappeared; though Judah survived the Exile and was permitted to return to the land, it remained a puppet state throughout the rest of OT history, with little opportunity to form a nation that would display for all the world to see how God wished material things to be used. The prophetic spirit, however, refused to succumb to defeat. The prophets proclaimed that the messianic kingdom would be realized, for the day was coming when the Lord "will raise up the booth [dynasty] of David that is fallen" (Am. 9:11). Isaiah proclaimed that "righteousness [NEB "justice"] shall be the girdle of [the Messiah's] waist" (Isa. 11:5). The Spirit of the Lord would give Him power to so transform humanity's avaricious heart that "the wolf will lie down with the lamb and . . . they shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain" (vv. 6, 9). The Messiah's uniqueness is accented in His Servant role: "He will bring forth justice to the nations" (42:1).

The importance that the Bible ascribes to material possessions is reaffirmed in Ezekiel's vision of the new temple and a new order in which "[the Lord's] princes shall no more oppress [His] people" (Ezk. 45:8). The ultimate consecration of all physical things comes to climactic expression in Zechariah, which states that the (ill-gotten) silver and gold of the nations will be swept away (14:14, NEB) and no (avaricious) merchant will be found in the house of the Lord (v. 21); yet the bells of the horses will have "Holy to the Lord" inscribed on them, and every vessel will be sacred to the Lord (vv. 20f.).

6. Proper Use of Wealth in the Wisdom Literature. Our main source for Israel's practical wisdom is the book of Proverbs. Many passages exhort the reader to an industrious pursuit of wealth, for wealth diligently achieved brings security (e.g., Prov. 10:15). But wealth is not the highest goal: "A good name is to be chosen rather than great riches" (22:1); nor does wealth change one's basic position before God: "The rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all" (v. 2). Wealth may have grave liabilities if it results in pride and thus deprives one of wisdom (28:11). The ideal according to Wisdom is sufficiency: not too little, not too much (30:8f.). Job, Ecclesiastes, and some of the Psalms warn against assuming that poverty and suffering are a sure indication of one's lack of virtue or of having incurred divine displeasure; conversely, riches are unambiguous evidence neither of a person's virtue nor of divine favor (e.g., Ps. 73).

II. In the Intertestamental Period.—*A. Greek Influences.* Although Persian thought influenced Jewish thinking in other areas (e.g., angelology), there is little or no evidence that it affected Jewish views of wealth. Greek thought, on the other hand, and particularly Platonism, offered a dynamic potentially influential perspective on material things. Plato saw all forms of being as arranged on a scale with pure form at the top (the Good) and formless matter on the bottom (non-being, Evil). This scheme was a serious threat to the biblical doctrine of creation, which accepted the inherent goodness of all created things. The extent to which Greek philosophy influenced Jewish thinking in the early period (under the Ptolemies and Seleucids) is difficult to document. That many Jews resisted Greek culture is demonstrated by the Maccabean revolt; but the revolt did not purge Jewish thought and culture of Hellenic influence.

B. Apocryphal Literature. The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach seems not to be influenced by Platonic thinking. Sirach was faithful to the OT in his ringing testimony to the duty of the rich to give to the poor (e.g., Sir. 4:1-3). He showed a keen sense of how riches erode the character of the wealthy (13:3-5). He also described the rich and poor as mortal enemies (13:18) and delivered a thundering rebuke to those who did not pay proper wages (34:22).

In the book of Tobit the poor and blind Tobit instructs his son that if only he fears God he will be wealthy (Tob. 4:21). It is not clear whether the wealth referred to here is material or spiritual. It is clear, however, that the use of material goods for spiritual and eschatological ends did develop in this period. In v. 9 Tobit says that almsgiving is "laying up a good treasure for yourself against the day of necessity" (cf. 2 Esd. 7:77). This eschatological emphasis is further developed in the NT.

C. Various Political/Religious Groups. 1. Sadducees. The Sadducees were the priestly and aristocratic segment of Jewish society. Wealth was important to them for maintaining their position of power in the Jewish community. Since they believed strongly in free will, they viewed personal successes as the results of diligence and acumen (Josephus *Ant.* xiii.5.9 [173]); and since they believed in no judgment in the hereafter (*Ant.* xviii.1.4 [16]; *BJ* ii.8.14 [165]), it was natural to conclude that wealth was the ultimate good. Some scholars have averred that the Sadducees used their priestly prerogatives for material gain

(see J. Z. Lauterbach, *Rabbinical Essays* [1951], p. 30); this would in part account for their unpopularity with the masses.

2. Pharisees. The Pharisees advocated a simple life and thereby implicitly rejected material luxury (*Ant.* xviii.1.3 [12]), but Jesus' criticism of their use of Corban (Mk. 7:1-13) indicates that they did not escape the sin of avarice. They viewed the material world as temporary and to some extent unreal. The kingdom of God was to be realized by internalizing the law in one's heart. (Ironically, this is precisely what Jesus accused them of failing to do in Mt. 23:25f.). That they were meticulous tithers is borne out by Jesus' words in 23:23. The reason for the Pharisees' tendency to discount material things is not clear: Was it Platonic influence? Or was it the political reality that the Jews were subject to a foreign power and had little hope of establishing a realm of justice?

3. Essenes and Qumrân. The Essenes had their own distinctive life-style: they organized communal societies, many of which were celibate, in which the rich enjoyed no more wealth than the poor. Josephus described them as follows: "Riches they despise, and their community of goods is truly admirable; you will not find one among them distinguished by greater opulence than another. They have a law that new members on admission to the sect shall confiscate their property to the order" (*BJ* ii.8.3[122]). Their negative attitude toward possessions and marriage led some scholars to posit that they of all the groups in Judaism were the most influenced by Greek thought (E. Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy* [1931; repr. 1969], pp. 258f.). In the final analysis, however, the Essenes were more biblical than Hellenic if the hymns of the Qumrân community are an accurate indication of their piety. In these hymns one finds ringing testimony to the doctrine of creation and yet a rejection of trusting in riches. Not the gift but the Giver was the object of their trust (1QH 10:20-23).

4. Zealots. Usually considered an offshoot from the Pharisees, the Zealots were apparently polygenetic (originating in both Egypt and Palestine) and were therefore not uniform in thought or practice. They left no writings describing their stance on riches. They did have one thing in common, however; their zeal to purge the nation and land of foreign rule. Josephus, the main source of information about them, was probably biased and unfair. Nevertheless, the Zealots' concern to bring in the kingdom in the here and now implies that they took this life and its concomitants seriously. It is one of the ironies of history that this group, which took the nation and the land so seriously, was probably a major cause for the Jews being banished from the land in A.D. 135.

III. In the NT. *–A. Terms.* Several Greek terms denote riches, wealth, and prosperity.

(1) *Ploútos* ("riches," "wealth"; e.g., Mt. 13:22; Rom. 11:12; Eph. 2:7; 3:16; 1 Tim. 6:17), *ploúsios* ("rich"; e.g., Mt. 27:57; Jas. 1:10; 5:1), *plousíōs* ("richly"; Col. 3:16; 1 Tim. 6:17; Tit. 3:6; 2 Pet. 1:11), *ploutéō* ("be/become rich," "gain wealth"; e.g., 1 Cor. 4:8; Rev. 18:15), *ploutízō* ("make rich"; 2 Cor. 6:10). This is the most common word-group for riches and wealth. It derives from the root *pel,* "flow," hence "be filled, satiated."

(2) *Chrêma* ("riches"; Mk. 10:23; Lk. 18:24). This term is used in the NT exclusively for material possessions.

(3) *Thesaurós* ("treasure"). This term is used in the sense of a deposit (e.g., Mt. 2:11; 6:19-21; 19:21).

(4) *Mammônás* ("mammon"; Mt. 6:24; Lk. 16:9, 11, 13). *See* MAMMON.

(5) *Euporía* ("wealth"; Acts 19:25). This term denotes prosperity (cf. NEB "high standard of living").

(6) *Piótēs* ("riches"; Rom. 11:17). The term refers to fatness or wealth.

(7) *Dýnamis* ("wealth"; Rev. 18:3). The term literally denotes power.

(8) *Timiótēs* ("wealth"; Rev. 18:19). This term signifies costliness.

(9) *Hypárchō* ("possession"; Mt. 24:47; Lk. 12:15, 33f.), *hýparxis* ("possession"; He. 10:34). Both the substantive part. of *hypárchō* ("exist," "be at one's disposal") and the cognate noun *hýparxis* denote that which belongs to someone, i.e., property.

(10) *Ktêma* ("possession"; Mt. 19:22; Mk. 10:22; Acts 2:45), *ktétōr* ("possesor"; Acts 4:34). *See* POSSESS.

B. Teaching. In interpreting the NT passages on wealth, one must keep in mind that God's people were living at that time under foreign domination. It is assumed that the OT ideals of justice and equality are in no way abrogated in the NT.

1. The Incarnation. The incarnation of Christ, the central theme of the NT, is an implicit reafffirmation of the physical creation. While it is true that the kingdom that Jesus came to establish is spiritual in nature, this does not exlude it from influencing human use of the material world. Jewish expectation concerning the kingdom was wrong not because it was material, but because it was carnal and nationalistic. Furthermore, Jesus' resurrection and ascension indicate that the physical world will have a place in the age to come. The structure and the order of this age will pass away, but not the physical aspect.

2. Jesus' Concern for Rich and Poor. Jesus showed profound concern for both the poor and the wealthy. His teaching on wealth is in harmony with that of the OT, but it is not identical to it. Jesus' emphasis was not on economic reform but on spiritual renewal as the need of the hour. While He never hinted that wealth per se was evil and poverty virtuous, He was emphatic about the danger of wealth for both the rich and the poor. Wealth steals the heart's affection and weans one away from God. One "cannot serve God and Mammon" (Mt. 6:24; Lk. 16:13). "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" (Mt. 19:24 par. Mk. 10:25; Lk. 18:25). Jesus' disciples' response reflects the universality of this trust in riches: "Who then can be saved?" (Mt. 19:25; cf. Mk. 10:26; Lk. 18:26); Jesus in turn made it clear that divine aid is required to free one from the grip of wealth:"With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible" (Mt. 19:26; cf. Mk. 10:27; Lk. 18:27). While Jesus' compassion for the poor is evident throughout the Gospels, these words indicate His concern about the plight of the rich. Although He warned both rich and poor about the dangers of wealth, the story of the rich young man illustrates that the rich found it particularly difficult to surrender their wealth (Mt. 19:16-22). Zacchaeus's ability to renounce his riches was termed "salvation" by Jesus (Lk. 19:9). It must be noted that Jesus did not reject the rich; He accepted persons such as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea.

3. Apostolic Teaching. After Pentecost the apostles established a community of believers who "had all things in common" (Acts 2:44). There is no record that Jesus or any of the apostles explicitly prescribed this economic system; rather it developed spontaneously from the teaching and example of Jesus. In this manner the Christians in Jerusalem demonstrated that they loved the Lord and His people more than their own possessions. Paul instructed believers in Corinth to work to meet not only their own needs but the needs of others as well (2 Cor. 8:13-15). This admonition may have been a conscious rebuttal of the Greek and Roman notion that work was dishonorable (cf.

2 Thess. 3:6-13). In any case, Paul taught that believers must exhibit detachment from possessions, since such things belong to an order that is passing away (1 Cor. 7:30f.). James was upset that the Church was following the standards of the world by honoring the rich and denigrating the poor (Jas. 2:1-7). He cautioned against the arrogance of thinking that prosperity was within one's grasp (4:13-16). He echoed the tone of the eighth-century prophets as he predicted the miseries that would come upon the rich, particularly those who "kept back by fraud" the wages of their laborers (5:4).

While the NT Church was made up primarily of the poor (1 Cor. 1:26f.), it also included some who were of considerable wealth and status in their society, e.g., Erastus the city treasurer (Rom. 16:23); Gaius, whose house appears to have been large enough for him to host a church (16:23); Crispus, who was a ruler of the synagogue (Acts 18:8); and other persons whose influence and support seem to have been accepted and appreciated.

4. The Apocalypse. In the Apocalypse believers are called to forsake the order of a corrupt and persecuting world with all its wealth, so that they as the redeemed may be faithful to God. That corrupt society is described as conforming to the exploitative "beast" that seeks to control people and monopolize commodities "so that no one can buy or sell unless he has the mark of the beast" (Rev. 13:17). God's judgment upon this economic order is depicted as the fall of mercantile Babylon (Rome). Babylon symbolizes debauching wealth, for it so lusted after luxury that it made merchandise of "human souls" (18:13); but "in one hour has all this wealth been laid waste" (v. 17). The old carnal order is replaced by a new one, but this new order is not an ethereal world. John sees a new heaven and a new earth (21:1). In this earth is a city of "pure gold" (21:18). The foundations of its wall were adorned with all kinds of jewels, and its twelve gates were twelve pearls (vv. 18-21). Finally the tension between the inherent goodness of riches and human abuse of them is resolved: in this city riches will come into their own. Riches will not be abused here, for "nothing unclean will enter [the city], nor anyone who practices abomination or falsehood" (v. 27). Thus the Bible closes with the ringing affirmation that the splendor of God's material creation will be perfected as evil is destroyed and the human heart is reborn.

IV. In Church History.–The struggle for a correct understanding and application of Scripture's teaching on wealth emerged early in the Church in two or three schools of thought. There were those who renounced earthly possessions and took the vow of poverty, finding their fellowship in a group of like-minded believers who took their necessities from a common store. While the communal model of Jerusalem (Acts 2) seems not to have been exactly duplicated elsewhere, its influence was not lost on Christians in other areas. Such a communal arrangement was not novel to either the Jews or the Gentiles. The Jews were familiar with Essene communal life; according to Josephus the Essenes had adapted it from the Pythagorean model (*Ant.* xv.10.4 [371]). The Cynics and Stoics also tended to disapprove of private property. These Greek traditions no doubt influenced the way that gentile Christians understood Jesus' teachings on wealth. An anthropocentric perspective on equality is noticeable in the *Sentences of Sextus,* a collection of moral maxims blending Christian and Pythagorean thought. Clement of Alexandria took a more moderating view in his treatise, *Who is the Rich Man Who is Being Saved?* in which he defended wealth by allegorizing Jesus's command "to sell all and give to the poor." But Origen, the prince of allegorizers, insisted that the command must be taken literally. Chrysostom, whose teacher Libanius strongly disapproved of private property, used the Jerusalem model to Christianize the pagan model and pleaded eloquently (if tactlessly) for a return to the Jerusalem pattern. After his conversion Augustine established a monastic community. Although he was taken from this community to become the bishop of Hippo, he remained enthusiastic about monastic life to the end. Yet he did not censure the holding of private property.

The Scholastics opted for private ownership as the most efficient management of material goods, although they thought that some goods were best held as common property. Aquinas believed that the incentive to be industrious and judicious was greater when property was individually owned (*Summa Theol.* ii/2.66.2). Later Roman Catholic thought emphasized the value of private property for enhancing human dignity and avoiding the encroachments of the state; but these principles were held to be relative — not absolute — norms of natural law. More recent Roman Catholic thought has shown concern for abuses of private property by large impersonal institutions that exploit the individual. (See Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* [1961], esp. §§ 30-43, 75-81, 108-121.)

Of the Reformers, Calvin wrote the most explicitly about the nature and purpose of wealth. He not only wrote about it, but he sought to make Geneva a model city demonstrating the principles of the kingdom of God. For Calvin both riches and poverty were an opportunity for service. The wealthy *gave on behalf of God,* and the poor *received on behalf of God.* Deacons were appointed for the sole task of relief. They were to provide relief to the rich by helping them discharge their obligations to God and their neighbors, and to the poor by providing material assistance and the comforting knowledge that God and His people cared for them. Jesus' command to "sell all and give to the poor" was not to be taken literally. Christ's message was that one must not be satisfied with giving to the poor what one can easily spare (Comm. on Mt. 6:20). Incensed as Calvin was at the rich who "eat up the poor," he did not countenance open rebellion. The poor must exercise faith and allow God to be their avenger (Comm. on Jas. 5:4). Calvin saw it as the government's duty to ensure that all persons "breathe, eat, drink, and are kept warm . . . and that humanity be maintained among men" (*Inst.* iv.20.3). Calvin's formula, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need," was later taken up by Marx, who applied it quite differently.

Protestantism has made little if any progress on this subject since Calvin's time. Liberation theology (*see* POVERTY III) has brought an increased awareness of the problems related to inequality in the distribution of wealth. Most proponents support their cause with the story of the Exodus and other passages of Scripture. Frequently, however, this movement has been criticized for being anthropocentric and reducing Christianity to economic reform. However valid these criticisms may be, the fact remains that the Western Church has not produced a convincing "theology of substance" or a "theology of stewardship."

See also OPPRESS; POOR; POSSESS; POVERTY.

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RID; RIDDANCE. "Rid" is used by the AV in the archaic sense of "rescue" or "deliver" to render Heb. *pāṣâ* in Ps. 144:7, 11 and the hiphil of *nāṣal* in Gen. 37:22; Ex. 6:6; Ps. 82:4 (*see* DELIVER). In Lev. 26:6 (AV, NEB) it is used in the usual sense of "remove" (RSV), rendering the hiphil of *šābaṭ*. "Make riddance" is the AV translation of the qal (Zeph. 1:18) and piel (Lev. 23:22) of *kālâ* (lit. "complete, finish").

RIDDLE [Heb. *ḥîḏâ*(Jgs. 14:12-19; Ps. 49:4 [MT 5]; Prov. 1:6; Ezk. 17:2; Dnl. 8:23); Aram. *ʾaḥîḏâ* (Dnl. 5:12)]; AV also DARK SAYING, DARK SENTENCE, HARD SENTENCE; NEB also ALLEGORY (Ezk. 17:2), STRATAGEM (Dnl. 8:23). A puzzling or enigmatic saying whose baffling quality derives from the skillful manipulation of the inherent ambiguity of language. The noun *ḥîḏâ* occurs seventeen times in the MT, and the (denominative) verb *ḥûḏ* occurs four times, always in the cognated accusative construction *ḥûḏ ḥîḏâ* (lit. "riddle a riddle"). In addition to the passages where it is translated "riddle" in the RSV, *ḥîḏâ* also occurs at Nu. 12:8 (RSV "dark speech"); 1 K. 10:1 par. 2 Ch. 9:1 (RSV "hard question"); Ps. 78:2 (RSV "dark saying"); Hab. 2:6 (RSV "derision"). The technical term for solving a riddle is the hiphil of *nāgaḏ*. The hiphil of *bîn* is used for understanding a riddle (Prov. 1:6; Dnl. 8:23).

The classical biblical example of a riddle occurs in Jgs. 14 (*ḥîḏâ* occurs eight times and *ḥûḏ* three times), the narrative of Samson's wedding to a Philistine woman from Timnah. Vv. 5-9 narrate the personal experiences that formed the basis of Samson's riddle. The riddle in narrative form appears in v. 14: "Out of the eater [*hāʾōḵēl*] came something to eat [*maʾaḵāl*]. Out of the strong came something sweet." The riddle thus implies the question: "What is it?" Some have suggested that the narrative preserves an independently existing riddle whose answer is "vomit." Somewhat more likely is the view that at an earlier stage of the riddle the word used for "something sweet" was *ʿrî*, homophonous with the word *ʾaryê*, "lion" (see Porter, Torczyner). According to this view the riddle reflects a popular folk etymology; the verb *yāṣāʾ* (RSV "comes") would then mean "derives from," and the riddle would express the view that *maʾaḵāl* is derived from *ʾāḵal* as *ʾaryê*, "honey," is derived from *ʾaryê*, "lion." Whether this is correct etymologically is beside the point, for the riddle reflects a *folk* etymology.

After a period of time Samson's wife drags the answer to the riddle out of him (Jgs. 14:17). In v. 18 the Philistines answer Samson's riddle with a riddle of their own. V. 18a likely preserves an independent riddle whose answer is "love." Some, e.g., J. A. Soggin (*Judges* [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1981], p. 242) and J. Crenshaw (*Samson*, pp. 118f.), have suggested that v. 18b preserves a third riddle, but this is doubtful for the present form of the text; it is possible, however, that the narrative hides a riddle: "What fertile field is ploughed, but not with oxen?"

The other references to riddles are less explicit. In Nu. 12:6-8 Yahweh contrasts Moses with other prophets and specifies the means of revelation to the latter as "in a vision," "in a dream," and "in *ḥîḏōṯ*" (RSV "dark speech"). (For the textual problem in v. 6, see *BHS*; G. B. Gray, comm. on Numbers [*ICC*, 1903], p. 126; cf. GKC, §124d.) This suggests that certain of the prophets' symbolic dreams and enigmatic oracles were also considered riddles (see Torczyner, pp. 138-141; Müller, pp. 471-77), though only Ezk. 17 is thus labeled.

1 Kings 10:1 (par. 2 Ch. 9:1) tells of Solomon's ability to solve the riddles of the Queen of Sheba (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 6.5f. [165-175]; also 5.3 [143]). Ps. 49:4 (MT 5) places *ḥîḏâ* in parallel with *māšāl*, "proverb" (see on Ezk. 17 below), and Prov. 1:6 places it in parallel with *māšāl*, *mᵉlîṣâ* ("figure") and *diḇrê ḥᵃḵāmîm* ("the words of the wise"); cf. Hab. 2:6 for a similar grouping of wisdom terms. Dnl. 5:12 describes Daniel as one who has the ability to "interpret dreams, explain riddles, and solve problems"; cf. the apocalyptic description of Antiochus IV in 8:23 (see J. Collins, *Daniel* [*Forms of the OT Literature*, 1985], pp. 86-88). It is also possible that the LXX of 12:8 preserves a textual variant containing *ʾᵃḥidôṯ* (Müller, p. 475; cf. J. A. Montgomery, comm. on Daniel [*ICC*, 1927], p. 478). In Wisd. 8:8 the solving of riddles (Gk. *ainígmata*) is attributed to (personified) Wisdom. Sir. 47:15 praises Solomon as one whose riddles (*ainígmata*) have filled the earth (cf. 39:3, where *ainígmata* is translated "obscurities"). It is evident that whatever the original sociological setting of the riddle (wedding, contest, etc.), it came to be above all else a wisdom genre. The relationship between this wisdom setting and the prophetic setting presupposed in Nu. 12:8 is uncertain, however; it is not known whether these were parallel traditio-historical developments, or whether one was secondary to the other in a linear history of tradition. Many attempts have been made to discern older riddles that have been embedded in the wisdom literature in disintegrated form, especially the so-called numerical saying, which Torczyner suggested was the answer to a riddle.

Psalm 78 and Ezk. 17 merit special mention. Ps. 78:1f. places *ḥîḏâ* in parallel with *tôrâ* (RSV "teaching"), *ʾimrê pî* ("words of [my] mouth"), and *māšāl* ("parable"). In the context of the entire psalm, vv. 1f. appear to be a heading for the recital of the history of salvation, which in this psalm culminates with David (vv. 67-72). Neither the genre nor the intention of the psalm is self-evident, but H.-J. Kraus was probably correct to identify it as a didactic poem (*Psalmen* [1970], II, 703; also I, 63-66); see vv. 7f. Ps. 78 appears to provide an example of what *not* to do. Ezk. 17:1-10 is explicitly designated a *ḥîḏâ* and a *māšāl* (v. 2), but *ḥîḏâ* here probably means "fable" rather than "riddle" (W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979], pp. 360f.; cf. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* [*AB*, 1983], pp. 307, 309, 317-323).

Finally, the only extrabiblical attestation of a word for "riddle" in ancient Near Eastern literature is found in Ahikar 99 (*ʾḥdy pmk*, "the riddle/saying of your mouth"). Although the secondary literature has frequently made reference to riddles in ancient Near Eastern literature, to date there has been no comprehensive study of this genre in Egyptian, Mesopotamian, or Northwest Semitic literatures.

See also DARK SAYINGS; FIGURE; PARABLE; PROVERB.

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H. T. C. SUN

RIDGE OF JUDEA [Gk. *ho príōn . . . tḗs Ioudaias*–'the serrated (mountain) of Judea']. A place "on the edge of Esdraelon, near Dothan," where Holofernes camped for "a whole month" (Jth. 3:9). From the description — "near Dothan, fronting the great ridge of Judea . . . between Geba and Scythopolis" (vv. 9f.) — this phrase would appear to refer to the mountains S of the plain of Esdraelon, but the description is faulty. The only Geba known in the vicinity of Esdraelon lies at the western end of the plain (Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *Macmillan Bible Atlas* [rev. ed. 1977], maps 211, 216, 222). There is another Geba 10 km. (6 mi.) S. of Dothan, but this is not near the plain of Esdraelon. A camp "between Geba and Scythopolis" would cover the entire valley of Esdraelon or Jezreel, but "near Dothan" appears to limit it to an area N of the "ascent of Gur" (2 K. 9:27), which leads to Ibleam and Dothan (*GB*, rev., p. 149). The reference then would be to the mountains of Samaria, and the name "ridge of Judea" would be inaccurate and, indeed, of questionable usage by anyone familiar with Palestine. Gk. *príōn* indicates a serrated (saw-like) range, hardly descriptive of the mountains of Samaria. Some have suggested that Heb. *māśôr*, "saw," which supposedly lies behind Gk. *príōn*, was misread for Heb. *mîšôr*, "plain"; but this is open to two objections: the words are completely different in sound (Hebrew was not an entirely dead language at that time), and Esdraelon is always called an *ʿemeq*, not a *mîšôr* (cf. *APOT*, I, 250, note on 3:9).

On the other hand, the Geba located 6.5 km. (4 mi.) N. of Samaria is "near Dothan," and the plain in that region would offer a satisfactory encampment. But Charles's suggestion (*APOT, ibid.*) that Gk. *apénanti*, "over against," is a "vague expression, which may only mean that you can see the ridge [on which Jerusalem stands] from Dothan," makes no sense to anyone who has been to Dothan or the heights of Samaria. Perhaps historical and geographical accuracy should not be expected in a work as highly imaginative and figurative as the book of Judith.

W. S. L. S.

RIE. An archaic spelling of "rye" used by the AV in Ex. 9:32; Isa. 28:25. *See* SPELT.

RIGHT (HAND) [Heb. *yāmîn*–'right side' (Gen. 13:9; 24:49; Ps. 18:35 [MT 36]; 45:4 [MT 5]; 110:1; etc.), *yāḏôl/yāḏām hayᵉmānîṯ*–'his/their hand, the right (one)' (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23f.; 14:14, 17, 25, 28), hiphil of *yāman*–'go to the right' (2 S. 14:19); Gk. *dexiós* (Mt. 6:3; 20:21, 23; Mk. 10:37; Lk. 20:42; Acts 2:25; Rom. 8:34; etc.), *dexiós cheír* (Mt. 5:30; Lk. 6:6; Acts 3:7; Rev. 1:16; 10:5; 13:16)]; NEB also RIGHT ARM, RIGHT FLANK, "to right," DOMINION, POWER, etc.

The right hand is used either purely descriptively or with positive connotations. It is the hand of action, especially in combat; a left-handed soldier was unusual (Jgs. 3:15-21; 20:15f.; 1 Ch. 12:2). Together, the right and left hands may complement one another (Prov. 3:16), contrast one another (Eccl. 10:2), or describe all-inclusiveness (Gen. 24:49). The thumb of the right hand is singled out for special ceremonial gestures: the consecration ritual for Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23f.) and the cleansing ritual for lepers (Lev. 14:14, 17, 25, 28). The right hand is the appropriate hand for gesturing; in fact the Qumranians imposed a ten-day penalty for gesturing with the left hand (1QS 7:15).

Metaphorically the right hand is the hand of power; it is most often the power of God, a patriarch, a king or a warrior. This is exhibited in preferential blessing (Gen. 48:14), support (Ps. 18:35 [MT 36]), victory (20:6 [MT 7]), instruction (45:4 [MT 5]), deliverance (138:7), etc.

Three idioms are of particular note. To sit at the right hand is the place of honor (accorded to the king by Yahweh in Ps. 110:1). Not to turn to the right or left is used to denote obedience to Yahweh (e.g., Josh. 1:7). Standing on the right also indicates the place of the accuser in judicial settings (Ps. 109:6 [RSV mg.]; Zec. 3:1).

Employing the imagery of Ps. 110:1, the NT emphasizes Jesus as sitting, standing, or having been exalted "at the right hand of God," indicating His royal status (e.g., Acts 2:33; Rom. 8:34). The right hand is used as a sign of fellowship (Gal. 2:9), to comfort (Rev. 1:17), in oath-taking (10:5), and bearing marks (13:16). The drastic or hyperbolic character of Jesus' saying concerning cutting off the offending right hand (Mt. 5:30) is made clear by the other passages that emphasize that appendage's importance.

The common Semitic mode of indicating directions is based on orientation to the rising sun in the east; thus the right hand signified the south (*see* SOUTH). Note too that the name Benjamin literally means "son of the right hand" and designates the tribe furthest south among the so-called Joseph tribes.

See also HAND; LEFT (HAND).

Bibliography.–M. Dahood, *Bibl.*, 46 (1965), 315f.; *Psalms III* (*AB*, 1970), 281; *DNTT*, II, 146-48; M. Noth, *Leviticus* (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1977), pp. 71f.; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δεξιός (Grundmann).

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RIGHT; RIGHTS [Heb. *yāšār* (Ex. 15:26; Dt. 6:18; Josh. 9:25; Jgs. 17:6; 1 S. 12:23; 1 K. 11:33, 38; etc.), *yāšar* (1 Ch. 13:4; 2 Ch. 31:20; etc.), *yōšer* ("what is right," Job 33:23), *mêšārîm* ("what is right," Ps. 17:2; Prov. 8:6; 23:16; Isa. 45:19), *ṣeḏeq* (Dt. 33:19; Job 8:3; Ps. 4:1, 5 [MT 2, 6]; etc.), *ṣaddîq* (Ex. 9:27; 23:8; Prov. 18:17; etc.), *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (2 S. 19:28 [MT 29]; Neh. 2:20; etc.), *ṣāḏaq* (Job 27:5; Isa. 43:26; etc.), *mišpāṭ* (Gen. 18:25; 1 K. 3:11; Job 27:2; etc.), niphal part. of *kûn*–'be reliable, true, legitimate' (Ex. 8:26 [MT 22]; Job 42:7f.; Ps. 51:10 [MT 12]), *kēn* (Nu. 27:7; 2 K. 7:9; Jer. 23:10; etc.), *gᵉʾullâ* ("right of redemption," Lev. 25:29; Ruth 4:6), *gāʾal*–'redeem' ("exercise the right of redemption," Lev. 25:33), *nāḳō(a)ḥ* (e.g., Isa. 30:10), *dîn* (Dt. 17:8; etc.), hiphil of *yāḳaḥ* ("maintain the right," Job 16:21), *ʾᵉmeṯ*–'truth,' 'reliability' (Gen. 24:48), *kāšēr*–'please' (Est. 8:5), *ṭôḇ*–'good' (1 S. 29:6; Zec. 11:12), *mahᵃlāḵ*–'passageway' ("right of access," Zec. 3:7), *qōšṭ*–'truth' (Prov. 22:21), etc.; Aram. *qᵉšôṭ*–'truth' (Dnl. 4:37 [MT 34]); Gk. *díkaios* (Jn. 7:24; Acts 4:19; etc.), *dikaiosýnē* (Acts 10:35; Eph. 5:9; 1 Jn. 2:29; etc.), *exousía* (He. 13:10; Rev. 22:14; etc.), *kalós* (e.g., Mk. 7:27), *kalṓs*–'well,' 'correctly' (Mk. 12:32; Jn. 4:17; etc.), *agathós* (1 Pet. 3:11, 13), *agathopoiéō* ("do right," 1 Pet. 2:15, 20; 3:6, 17), *agathopoiía* ("do right," 4:19), *agathopoiós* ("one who does right," 2:14), *euthýs*–'straight' (Acts 8:21; 2 Pet. 2:15), *orthṓs*–'rightly' (Lk. 10:28), *alḗtheia*–'truth' (1 Cor. 13:6), *arestós*–'pleasing' (Acts 6:2), *deí*–'one must' ("have a right," Tit. 1:11), *kairós*–'time,' 'opportunity' ("right time," Rom. 5:6), *sophrōnéō*–'be of sound mind' ("[be] in one's right mind," 2 Cor. 5:13; pass. part., Mk. 5:15; Lk. 8:35), etc.]; AV also RIGHTEOUS, RIGHTEOUSNESS, JUDGMENT, JUSTICE, JUST, UPRIGHT, MEET, WELL, GOOD, TRUTH, etc.; NEB also JUST, TRUE, GOOD, FAVOUR, CLAIM, OUGHT, DUE, JUST JUDGEMENT, STEADFAST, PLAIN, STRAIGHTFORWARD, etc. For the use of "right" in the directional sense, *see* RIGHT HAND.

I. In the OT.–The Hebrew root most commonly rendered "right" is *yšr*. The verb *yāšar* literally means "go straight" but in ethical contexts means "be upright." Derivatives include the adjective *yāšār* ("upright") and the nouns

yōšer and *mêšārîm*, both of which denote "straightness" or "uprightness." *Yāšār* is used to describe God's ways (Dt. 32:4; Hos. 14:9 [MT 10]), His precepts (Ps. 19:8 [MT 9]), His judgments (119:137), and His ordinances (Neh. 9:13). It is also applied to human conduct that is honest and straightforward (e.g., Prov. 16:13; 20:11; 21:8). It occurs most often in the phrase "did what was right in the eyes of the Lord," which is linked with obeying God's commandments (e.g., Ex. 15:26; Dt. 13:18). This expression appears frequently in the summaries of the reigns of the God-fearing kings of Israel and Judah (1 K. 15:5, 11; 22:43; 2 K. 12:2; 14:3; 15:3, 34; etc.; cf. 16:2; 2 Ch. 28:1). Moses warned the Israelites against "every man doing whatever is right in his own eyes" (Dt. 12:8; cf. vv. 25, 28). But the period of the judges, when there was no central ruling authority, is characterized as a time when "every man did what was right in his own eyes" (Jgs. 17:6; 21:25).

The noun *nāḵō(a)ḥ* likewise denotes what is "straight" or "upright" (cf. Prov. 8:8f.: the words of personified Wisdom are not "twisted or crooked"; rather "they are all straight [*nāḵō(a)ḥ*] to him who understands"). The term is sometimes used in forensic contexts. A "right" answer is an honest or straightforward reply (Prov. 24:26). Absalom cunningly assured all who brought legal cases to King David that their claims were "good and right" (2 S. 15:3). Referring to the social injustices of the people of Samaria, the prophet Amos lamented, "They do not know how to do right" (Am. 3:10).

Another common Hebrew root is *ṣdq*. The nouns *ṣeḏeq* ("what is right," "justice") and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* ("righteousness," "justice") and the adjective *ṣaddîq* ("righteous," "just") are derived from the verb *ṣāḏaq* ("be in the right," "be just"). These terms are more often translated "righteous" or "righteousness" in the RSV. Most basically the root *ṣdq* connotes behavior that is in keeping with the covenant relationship between God and His people; thus the righteous person (*ṣaddîq*) fulfils the covenant law in regard to God and others. Yahweh Himself is faithful to the covenant relationship; thus His judgments and commandments are always just (*ṣeḏeq*, Ps. 119:75, 172; cf. Job 8:3; cf. also *ṣaddîq* in Lam. 1:18). God delights in "right sacrifices" (lit. "sacrifices of righteousness [*ṣeḏeq*]," Dt. 33:19; Ps. 4:5 [MT 6]; 51:19 [MT 21]; Mal. 3:3; cf. AV), i.e., sacrifices that are "offered properly, not only in a ritual sense, but also in a spiritual sense . . . accompanied by genuine repentance and true trust" (P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], p. 81). God warned through the prophet Ezekiel that the wicked would die for their sins, but He also promised that those who turned from their wickedness and did what was "lawful and right [*ṣᵉḏāqâ*]" would live (Ezk. 18:5, 19, 21, 27; 33:14, 16, 19). *See also* RIGHTEOUSNESS.

In some passages "right" is used in a juridical sense to denote something to which a person has a just claim (e.g., *māšal*, "have a right," Ex. 21:8; *ṣᵉḏāqâ*, Isa. 5:2; hiphil of *ṣāḏaq*, "maintain the right," Ps. 82:3; hiphil of *yāḵaḥ*, "maintain the right," Job 16:21). This is sometimes the meaning of *mišpāṭ* ("justice"), which is derived from the verb *šāp̄aṭ* ("judge," "govern"). For example, the FIRST-BORN son had certain rights that could not be denied him because of favoritism (Dt. 21:17); God's people looked to Him to defend their rights and complained to Him when they felt that they had been wronged (e.g., Job 27:2; 34:5f.; 35:2; Ps. 35:23; 37:6; Isa. 40:27; 49:4); the prophets castigated those who deprived the poor of their rights (e.g., Isa. 10:2; Jer. 5:28; cf. Lam. 3:35). Likewise, the noun *dîn* often signifies a legal claim (e.g., Dt. 17:8). The righteous person is concerned about the rights of the poor (Prov. 29:7), and it is the responsibility of rulers to see that those rights are maintained (31:5, 8f.). On the "right of redemption" (Lev. 25:29, 33; Ruth 4:6; Jer. 32:7f.), *see* REDEEMER I; KIN I. On Ex. 21:10, *see* MARITAL RIGHTS. On the rights of the poor, *see* POOR I.B.1.

II. In the NT.–In the RSV NT "right" frequently renders Gk. *díkaios* and *dikaiosýnē*, the most common LXX renderings of Heb. *ṣeḏeq* and its cognates. Like *ṣeḏeq*, etc., these Greek terms are usually rendered by "righteousness" in the RSV. In some passages *díkaios* is used in an everyday manner that reflects conventional morality (e.g., Mt. 20:4; Lk. 12:57; Phil. 1:7; 2 Pet. 1:13). In general, however, the NT use of *díkaios* and *dikaiosýnē* is shaped by its OT usage rather than by classical Greek usage. The standard for what is "right" is not simply social obligation or an ideal of virtue but the will of God (cf. Acts 4:19; Eph. 6:1; 1 Jn. 2:29; 3:7, 10; Rev. 22:11). *See also* RIGHTEOUSNESS.

In the NT Gk. *kalós* (lit. "beautiful," "good") signifies not an abstract ideal of beauty (as in Greek classical literature) but that which is pleasing to God (Mk. 7:27; Rom. 14:21; Jas. 4:17; etc.). Paul describes the internal struggle of a Christian who desires to do God's will but continually falls short (Rom. 7:18, 21); nonetheless, through God's help it becomes possible to do "what is right" (2 Cor. 13:7). 1 Peter uses *agathós* (lit. "good") and the compounds *agathopoiéō* ("do good"), *agathopoiós* ("one who does good"), and *agathopoiía* ("good action") in a similar manner. The idea of what is "good" is always connected with the God who is the source of all goodness. Those who have experienced God's saving goodness are called upon to glorify Him (1 Pet. 2:14f.) by practicing goodness wholeheartedly (3:11), even if this brings them persecution, for God blesses those who suffer for righteousness's sake (3:13; 4:19). *See also* GOOD.

Where it translates Gk. *exousía* (lit. "authority," "power"), "right" signifies a divinely given authority and freedom to act. God's own authority is based on His role as Creator and sustainer of the universe. Describing God's absolute freedom to act as He wills with His creatures, Paul uses the figure of a potter who can do what he wants with the clay (Rom. 9:21). In 1 Cor. 9 Paul explains to the Christians at Corinth that his own God-given authority as an apostle gives him a valid claim to be supported by them (and to receive support for a wife as well, vv. 4-6), but that he has freely renounced this right for the sake of the gospel (vv. 12, 15, 18); cf. 2 Thess. 3:9. *See also* AUTHORITY I.

On "conjugal rights" (1 Cor. 7:3), *see* MARITAL RIGHTS.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, II, 98-105, 606-611; III, 351-377; *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "dîn" (V. Hamp, G. J. Botterweck); *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀγαθός κτλ. (W. Grundmann); II, *s.v.* δική κτλ.: δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη (G. Quell, G. Schrenk), ἔξεστιν κτλ.: ἐξουσία (W. Foerster); III, *s.v.* καλός (W. Grundmann, G. Bertram); *TWOT*, I, 417; II, 579, 752-55, 947-49. N. J. OPPERWALL

RIGHTEOUSNESS [Heb. *ṣāḏaq* and cognates; Gk. *díkē* and cognates, esp. *dikaiosýnē*]. (For studies in the biblical terms see *DNTT*, III, 352-377; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δίκη κτλ. [Quell, Kleinknecht, Schrenk]; Bauer, rev., pp. 195-98; E. D. Burton, comm. on Galatians [*ICC*, repr. 1977], pp. 460-474.)

I. In the OT and Judaism
  A. In the OT
  B. In the LXX
  C. In Intertestamental Literature
II. In the NT
  A. Introduction
  B. Secular Greek Background
  C. In the Non-Pauline NT

III. Righteousness of God
A. Introduction
B. Paul's Teaching
C. Luther's Contribution
D. Historical Development

The concept of righteousness, especially the "righteousness of God," is crucial to the understanding of biblical theology and the theology of the Protestant Reformation.

I. In the OT and Judaism.–A. In the OT. In the OT righteousness involves the fulfillment of the demands of a relationship, either with God or with other human beings, although the OT usually has the covenant with Yahweh in view (e.g., Isa. 51:7; Ezk. 18:19, 21). It does not normally indicate behavior in accordance with some norm external to a covenant, nor does it indicate an abstract legal concept of justice. Righteousness is justice within the context of a covenant relationship. When a person fulfils the obligation of a relationship, that person is said to be righteous. Ethical and legal demands are the demands of covenant and community. In general, before the Exile righteousness is seen in corporate or national terms, and after the Exile individual righteousness comes to the fore.

People are said to be righteous when they are deprived of what is due them in a relationship and trust in God for vindication. Thus Israel was righteous over against Egypt because it was forced into Egyptian slavery and then cried to Yahweh for release. Within the nation of Israel the poor, widows, and orphans were righteous over against both the wealthy who oppressed them and the evil rulers who denied them justice. They trusted the Lord to judge in their favor (Ps. 37:12; Isa. 26:2f; Jer. 20:12).

In the latter category the connection of righteousness with faith becomes more evident. Israel's righteousness lies not merely in the oppression, and the nation is certainly not assumed to be sinless. Rather, Israel is righteous when the people repent of their sins and put their hope and trust in Yahweh. The same can generally be said of the poor and the oppressed. In this sense, righteousness is faith, i.e., complete trust in and dependence on the Lord.

A third way in which a peron can be considered righteous in the OT is when that person is declared so by Yahweh (see esp. Isa. 40ff.). The poor are righteous because God judges in their favor. Even after Israel has placed its trust in kings and false gods and can claim no intrinsic righteousness of its own, Yahweh maintains the covenant and declares Israel righteous in order to save and rescue the people from captivity.

In the OT Yahweh's righteousness is based on His covenant with Israel and in His saving acts (Isa. 41:2, 10; 42:6; 45:8; Jer. 50:7). Yahweh is recognized as the source of righteousness because He maintains His covenant with Israel against all odds. He chose this poor people to be His own and, out of His grace, established a covenant with them. Even when they were apostate He was constant; although He sent them into exile, He did not desert them, and He called them back to the land. Finally, He promised a new covenant, in which sins would be remembered no more (Jer. 31:31-34).

Even apart from His specific covenant with Israel, Yahweh is a God who saves. It is in His righteousness that He judges in favor of the poor and against the oppressor (Dt.32:4; Hos. 2:19; Mic. 7:9). Yahweh saves those who trust in Him for deliverance. He preserves those whom He has declared righteous. Yahweh is faithful in all relationships and keeps all promises; thus His people can trust that His word stands and base their own lives on his faithfulness.

B. In the LXX. The LXX primarily translates words from the Hebrew root *ṣdq* with Greek derivatives of *díkē*. Thus Gk. *díkaios* occurs for Heb. *ṣaddîq* and Gk. *dikaiosýne* for Heb. *ṣeḏeq*. Other translations include Gk. *alēthés* (lit. "true," Isa. 41:26) and *pistós* (lit. "faithful," Job 17:9) for Heb. *ṣaddîq* and Gk. *eleēmosýne* (lit. "pity," Ps. 34:24 [MT 35:24]) and *krísis* (lit. "judgment," Isa. 51:7) for Heb. *ṣeḏeq* (see Zeisler, pp. 18-36).

The LXX use of Gk. *díkaios* and *dikaiosýne* to express OT thought patterns marks a change from the terms' prior use for Hellenistic concepts of righteousness (see D. Hill, pp. 108f.). Thus "righteousness" does not label an abstract virtue or collection of virtues (see below), but instead expresses the will of God in relationship. Righteous people are those who fulfil their duties toward God and other people in the context of the covenant.

C. Intertestamental Literature. In Judaism of the Hellenistic period and 1st cent. A.D., "righteousness" generally refers to approved conduct and ethical qualities, with some retention of the OT concern for covenant relationship. The qualities associated with righteousness include mercy, generosity, honesty, moderation, and active concern for the poor and oppressed; qualities of unrighteousness include greed, violence, and oppression. In order to be considered righteous a person must also recognize God's righteousness. Righteous persons generally are those whose merits outweigh their transgressions. Models of righteousness include such OT heroes as Abraham, David, and Elijah. This literature is basically optimistic about human ability to attain righteousness before God.

Although there is some recognition of the trials and persecutions of the righteous, much of the literature of this period takes the view that the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked punished. The rewards are seen first of all in a temporal, and often material, sense; God will reward the righteous with prosperity and success. In addition to earthly rewards, the righteous can also anticipate the eternal rewards of a heavenly paradise. Even if some of the righteous suffer now, the Messiah's advent will bring an end to their oppression. At that time the wicked will be defeated and the righteous vindicated.

God is seen to be righteous because of His mercy and justice. He is merciful in that He chooses and protects Israel, gives His law so that people might learn righteousness, and forgives the sins of the righteous. He is just in that He rewards the good and punishes the evil. The source of all human righteousness is this divine righteousness. Under the influence of the OT (via the LXX in Hellenistic Judaism), the righteous person is one who fulfils duties toward God as stated in His law.

This literature makes a special connection of righteousness with the poor, often using or interpreting the words for "righteousness" to indicate charity toward the poor. The wealthy and powerful who oppress the poor are singled out for special punishments by God, and an important part of His righteousness is His concern for and vindication of the poor and oppressed.

II. In the NT.–A. Introduction. In the NT one finds again the primacy of the relational aspect of righteousness. The righteous are those who participate in and preserve a covenant relationship with God or other persons. God's righteousness is shown in that He has saved humanity in Christ, instituting a "new covenant" with Jew and Gentile alike. Human righteousness is found in faith, i.e., in God's salvation in Christ and participation in the community of faith.

B. Secular Greek Background. The dependence of NT thought on OT antecedents can be seen from an examination of pre-NT Greek uses of the *díkē* word-group. With the personification of legal justice in the goddess Dike, daughter of Zeus and Themis, as background, legal con-

notations dominate the definitions of righteousness, with both ethical and religious use showing the influence of the legal and political. What is right is not a god-given mandate but instead an element of the cosmos, inherent in the nature of being and human life. Thus righteousness is the just will of the community expressed in laws and customs; the righteous person is the one who conforms to them. In ethico-religious thinking, righteousness is the quality of harmony exhibited by one whose spiritual house is in order. Righteousness can be used either as one virtue in a list of virtues or as a summary of all virtues. Because of the legal influence, a connection exists between righteousness and justice, both legal and distributive.

C. In the Non-Pauline NT. In considering the meaning of "righteousness" in any portion of the NT, one must always keep in mind the total NT view of salvation and human relationship with God through and in Christ. God established an exclusive covenant with Israel through Moses for which single-minded loyalty to Yahweh and obedience to His law were crucial; Israel, however, lusted after other gods and broke the covenant. Yet God remained faithful and has established a new covenant in Jesus Christ and reconciled humanity to Himself, thus both superseding and fulfilling the old covenant. People are brought into this new covenant by God's calling and through repentance and faith in Christ, which results in a level of obedience not previously possible.

Within this framework, righteousness in the NT (outside of the Pauline corpus) generally refers to conduct within the new covenant between God and His people, (Mt. 5:20). One continuing and important example of this usage is the view of Christ Himself as righteous. By presenting Himself for baptism, Jesus showed His obedience to the will of God (Mt. 3:15). Jesus' actions were pleasing to God and thus righteous. In Hebrews, Jesus' exaltation is linked to His righteousness. The Johannine literature says that the source of all righteousness is the righteousness of Christ.

Similarly, the discussion of human righteousness generally refers obedience to the will of God and actions that are pleasing to Him. In the Synoptics righteousness is a characteristic of the members of God's kingdom. John (e.g., ch. 15) specifically states that the content of righteousness is love that finds its source in the love of Christ. Whenever human righteousness is mentioned, the NT assumes that God is its source.

Throughout the NT also runs the assumption that God both demands the righteousness of His people and grants them such righteousness as a gift. Like every aspect of His grace, righteousness is a pure gift. The righteous person is one whose life has been freed from the power of sin by the cross of Jesus Christ. Thus true righteousness can only be linked to God's revelation in Christ. Even in the face of the existence of sin, the members of the community of faith can be said to be righteous before God because He has granted them righteousness in Christ. It is in this sense that the NT speaks of human righteousness.

James followed this general sense in his argument against antinomianism, although in a less sophisticated and nontheological fashion. In spite of the problematic statement of 2:23, he apparently did not adopt the idea that righteous behavior produces merit before God. His emphasis seems rather to be that true faith produces the fruit of righteousness. Of all the NT writers, James is probably most influenced by the categories of the intertestamental view of righteousness. In this Epistle, "righteousness" primarily refers to the works of right conduct. God is said to be righteous in that His works are uniquely right. Human righteousness is behavior within the will and command of God (cf. 1:20; 3:18).

III. Righteousness of God.—*A. Introduction.* The most important meanings of righteousness in NT theology and Reformation theology lie in the pregnant phrase "the righteousness of God." This phrase is crucial to the understanding of Paul's doctrine of reconciliation and the renaissance of Pauline theology in Martin Luther's gospel of justification by faith apart from the works of the law. The continuing debate over the meaning of this phrase exemplifies the crucial role that it plays in theology.

B. Paul's Teaching. For Paul the center of any concept of righteousness had to be the cross of Jesus Christ. It is in the cross and Resurrection that God reveals and accomplishes His righteousness, and that human righteousness finds its source. Thus righteousness cannot be a mere property, ethical attribute, or quality. The righteousness of God in the cross is the saving link between God and sinful humanity; no ethical attribute can ever endure the stress of being such a connection. In Pauline thought the righteousness of God is the whole of His salvation of people in Christ.

Paul presupposed the OT view that God is righteous and that righteousness finds its expression within covenant relationship. The distinctive feature of his teaching is that God's righteousness is made available in Christ through the cross by faith. True righteousness, whether divine or human, must be understood as the righteousness of God in Christ. Moral or external goodness cannot be the way of salvation, for it cannot stand before the holiness of God. Only the righteousness of God revealed in the cross and granted to the believer through faith in Christ can defeat death and reconcile a person to God.

It is specifically as God justifies the ungodly through faith in Christ that He demonstrates His righteousness. Because of God's act of justification, He makes righteousness available. In Christ righteousness can be predicated of both God and the person while remaining the righteousness of God: God pronounces and makes sinners righteous, while believers are pronounced and made righteous — note the change from active to passive voice. Lost sinners may be reconciled with God because God proclaims His righteousness in the cross of Christ (*see* RECONCILIATION).

C. Luther's Contribution. Luther's intent in the 16th cent. was to recover the Pauline teaching of the righteousness of God in the cross of Christ from the false teaching of late medieval semi-Pelagianism. Luther himself dated the beginning of the Reformation from the point when he recognized that in Paul the "righteousness of God" does not refer to God's wrathful justice whereby He punishes sinners, but to the righteousness whereby He justifies sinners through faith in Christ.

This realization must have come to him before Oct. 31, 1517, for already in 1515 in his lectures on Rom. 1:17 he contrasted his own teaching with the idea that righteousness rests on human achievement, or that the righteousness of God refers to God's own righteousness. Instead, said Luther, the righteousness of God is that by which He makes people righteous through faith in Christ. This righteousness is revealed only in the gospel and is the sole cause of human salvation.

In 1519 Luther introduced the terms "alien righteousness" and "proper righteousness" in order to clarify his thinking on the matter. Alien righteousness is the righteousness of Christ by which He justifies sinners through faith. In faith Christ's people have community with Him; i.e., all that He has, His people have as a gift of grace. As Christ Himself becomes theirs by faith, His righteous-

ness becomes theirs and swallows up their sin. It is instilled in them by grace daily as Christ wars against the old Adam. This alien righteousness is the basis of all other Christian righteousness.

Proper righteousness results from alien righteousness, not from human efforts. It is life in Christ spent profitably in good works. Luther recognized three categories of good works: those that crucify the old nature, those that express love for one's neighbor, and those that show humility before God. He excluded piety practiced for its own sake. Alien righteousness is Christ saying, "I am for you." Proper righteousness is the believer saying, "I am for you." Because believers are righteous in Christ — both declared righteous and made righteous by Christ's real presence within them — they no longer need to attempt self-justification and can concentrate on the welfare of others.

D. Historical Development. After Luther's death the Osiandrian controversy broke the close connection between alien and proper righteousness and the idea that both were rooted in the cross of Christ. A merely forensic view of justification, the introduction of human achievement into sanctification, and the resultant — and, in the circumstances, necessary — separation of justification and sanctification were introduced as a defense against Osiander's reversion from the concept of Christ's real presence in the believer to a form of late medieval mysticism. The anti-Osiandrian view, rather than Luther's own, became the basis for Protestant thought on the righteousness of God. The burden of modern scholarship has been to restore the relationship broken in the 1550's and to overcome the nineteenth-century view, held in reaction to orthodoxy, that the righteousness of God is a divine quality.

A new discussion of the righteousness of God can be traced to the work of E. Käsemann. In "Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus," a lecture delivered at Oxford in 1961, Käsemann maintained that the righteousness of God must be seen as both the gift of individual justification and the power of God that accomplishes universal salvation (tr. in his *NT Questions of Today* [1969], pp. 167-182). Later, in his Romans commentary, Käsemann stated that the phrase "righteousness of God" indicates God's gift of bringing the fallen world back under His legitimate sovereignty.

These assertions have caused much discussion, both in support and in opposition. Käsemann's students and supporters have downplayed the gift quality of the righteousness of God. Many of their arguments rest on a "history of concepts" method that has been taken to task by J. Barr's reaction to the methodology of certain articles in *TDNT.* Critics such as Bultmann, Lohse, and Klein have attacked the exegesis of specific Pauline passages. It seems that Käsemann had some justification for reminding the Church that the righteousness of God revealed in the cross is a power as well as a gift, but the gift must not be lost, or else the power will fade as well. For Paul, as for Luther, that which we label justification and that which we label sanctification are not to be divided, yet they are not to be confused. The initiative in both belong to God: the source is the crucified and risen Christ, and both gift and power are in faith. This faith is both a gift given through the gospel and new life in the gospel.

In the 1970's attention to the meaning of righteousness was expanded through the contribution of Liberation Theology. Theologians such as J. Segundo, G. Gutierrez, and L. Boff challenged definitions of the gift nature of God's righteousness and extended its power from personal justification to historical liberation. In addition Liberation Theology has reinforced justice as the primary meaning of righteousness, pointing to God's liberation of Israel from Egypt as the paradigm. With these changes of definition, Liberation Theology has raised a significant biblical and theological challenge to traditional concepts of church and morality, including the ideology that connects Christianity and capitalism in North America. While it seems for the moment that Luther remains Paul's best disciple, new and serious questions have been raised in the Third World, which European and North American theology have yet to answer.

See also JUSTIFICATION.

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R. A. KELLY

RIGOR OF DEVOTION [Gk. *ethelothrēskía*] (Col. 2:23); AV "will worship"; NEB "forced piety." A term apparently of Paul's own coinage (MM, p. 181), unless he borrowed it from the sect that he was combatting. It is reminiscent of "self-abasement" (Gk. *thélōn en tapeinophrosýnē,* lit. "willing with humility") in v. 18, a term that seems to originate in Heb. *ḥāpēṣ bᵉ* ("rejoice in"). In the present case the verbal element *ethelo-* governs the noun element *-thrēskía* (BDF, § 118), giving the sense of "worship springing from the will."

Paul's opponents must have delighted in their own peculiar piety, described and refuted in Colossians. It was a proud, self-produced, self-made religion, which Paul believed served only the lower nature (v. 23b). There is an element of sarcasm in the term. (A similar word, *ethelodidáskalos,* means "one who *alleges* to be a teacher.") This devotion was not authorized or commanded by Jesus Christ but was stimulated by the dictates of an unregenerate heart. Cremer called it "voluntarily adopted, unbidden or forbidden worship" (*Biblico-Theological Lexicon of NT Greek* [Eng. tr., 4th ed. 1895]). This worship of angels (v. 18) had only an appearance of genuine piety and had its source in an inflated egotistical will. Paul would have no one strutting in the presence of God and therefore denounced this show of false humility.

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C. H. PINNOCK

RIMMON rim'ən [Heb. *rimmôn*; Gk. *Remman*].

1. A god worshiped in the 10th and 9th cent. B.C. by the Arameans, who probably pronounced his name Ramman. His temple in Damascus is mentioned in 2 K. 5:18, where we are told that Naaman, commander of the army of the king of Syria or Aram (Damascus), after he was cured of leprosy by Elisha, vowed to sacrifice to no god but Yahweh, asking to be forgiven when he would have to prostrate himself in "the house of Rimmon." According to 1 K. 15:18, Ben-hadad, the Syrian king contemporary with Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah, was the son of a

king named Tabrimmon (Aram. *ṭāb rammān*, "Ramman is pleased").

The name Rimmon or Ramman means "thunderer" or "thunder-god" (cf. Akk. *ramāmu*, "to roar," which is used of thunder); it seems to have been an epithet of HADAD, the chief god of the Arameans. The god Rimmon, however, is also known from Mesopotamian sources, in which he is called Rammanu, and it is disputed whether he was Aramean or Mesopotamian in origin.

The coincidence of the divine name Rimmon with the Hebrew noun *rimmôn*, "pomegranate," is accidental. The various biblical place names in which *rimmôn* appears (Rimmon, Rimmon-perez, En-rimmon, Gath-rimmon) refer to the pomegranate, not the Aramean deity. A possible exception is the obscure HADAD-RIMMON of Zec. 12:11.

2. A Benjaminite of Beeroth, whose sons Baanah and Rechab assassinated Ish-baal ("Ish-bosheth," 2 S. 4:2, 5, 9).

P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

RIMMON rim'ən.

1. [Heb. *sela' (hā)rimmôn*; Gk. *hē pétra hē Rhemmōn, hē pétra tou Rhemmōn, hē pétra Rhemmōn*]. The rock of Rimmon; the place of refuge of the six hundred surviving Benjaminites of Gibeah who "fled toward the wilderness" (Jgs. 20:45, 47; 21:13).

Robinson identified this place with the site of the Arabic village Rammûn, 6 km. (4 mi.) E. of Bethel on a high isolated hill, and this proposal is rather generally accepted. But Rammûn, known as Remmon to Eusebius and Jerome, is not situated in the wilderness but in fact has extensive olive groves; moreover, the hill is no rock. Rawnsley and Birch proposed a cave in Wâdī eṣ-Ṣuweinîṭ S of Michmas, but this site belongs to the grazing region of Geba. As some of the LXX renderings make clear, the rock should not be identified with Rimmon itself but as a rock belonging to Rimmon's grazing domain. Although the picture of the battles in Jgs. 20–21 is far from clear, it is obvious that the Benjaminites fled to the east. About 6 km. (4 mi.) E of Rammûn is a small plateau with a steep declivity to the east and unscalable rocks to the south and north; the western access is only about 200 m. (660 ft.) wide and could be easily defended by six hundred men. An ancient track from Rammûn to Jericho passes to the south. This site might be considered as the rock of Rimmon. Saul's pomegranate (Heb. *rimmôn*) mentioned in 1 S. 14:2 has nothing to do with Rimmon; there are no pomegranates in the wilderness.

Bibliography.—E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, I (1841), 440; W. F. Birch, *PEQ*, 3, 137-148; Y. Aharoni, *Carta's Atlas* (1964), map 81.

2. [Heb. *rimmôn*–'pomegranate'; Gk. B *Erōmōth, Eremmōn*, A *Rhemmōn*]; AV also REMMON. A town in Simeon (1 Ch. 4:32; cf. Josh. 19:7) reckoned as part of the kingdom of Judah (Josh. 15:32); Zec. 14:10 locates it S of Jerusalem. Since the place name EN-RIMMON occurs in Neh. 11:29 and (if *'ayin* is emended to the construct form *'ên*) Josh. 19:7, and since in the texts cited the name Ain (*'ayin*, "source") always precedes Rimmon, separated from it by "and" only in Josh. 15:32, it is frequently thought that in all instances we should read En-rimmon. It is possible, however, to distinguish two localities; Rimmon itself, situated at present Khirbet Umm er-Ramāmîn, about 14 km. (9 mi.) NNE from the center of present-day Beersheba; and the water source 3 km. (2 mi.) W of it. Cf. A. Alt, *PJ*, 29 [1933], 14f.

3. [Heb. *rimmôn*; Gk. B *Rhemmōna*, A *Rhemmōn*]; AV REMMON-METHOAR (for RSV "Rimmon it bends toward"). A town in Zebulon (Josh. 19:13), called Rimmono in 1 Ch. 6:77 (MT 62); a Levitical city, the same as Dimnah in Josh. 21:35. It is generally identified with the Arabic village Rummâneh, 10 km. (6 mi.) N of Nazareth at the border of the plain of Beth-netophah. There are numerous rock tombs and cisterns in the neighborhood.

A. VAN SELMS

RIMMONAH rim-mō'nə. *See* RIMMON 3.

RIMMON-PEREZ rim-ən-per'ez [Heb. *rimmōn pereṣ*]; AV, NEB, RIMMON-PAREZ. An Israelite encampment on the wilderness journey, between Rithmah and Libnah (Nu. 33:19f.). The name probably means "pomegranate of the pass (breach)" (perhaps the "pomegranate pass"), which may suggest a place where pomegranates were abundant. The site has been identified with modern Naqb el-Biyar, W of 'Aqabah, but this is uncertain. *See* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

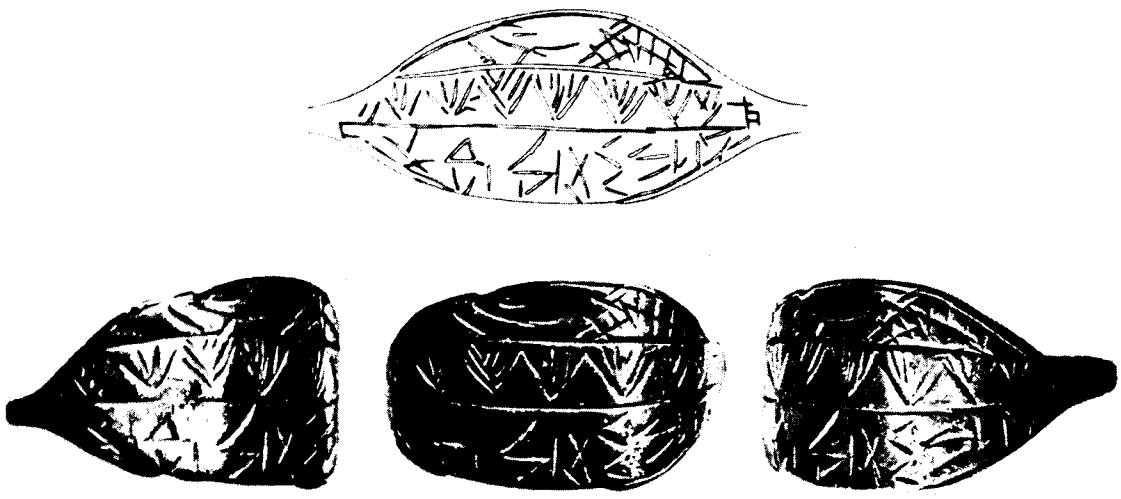
RING [Heb. *ṭabba'aṭ*] (Ex. 25:12, 14f., 26f.; 26:24, 29; 27:4, 7; 28:23-28; etc. Est. 3:12; 8:8, 10); NEB also SIGNET; [*nezem*] (Gen. 24:22, 30, 47; 35:4; Ex. 32:2f.; Job 42:11; Prov. 11:22; etc.); AV EARRING, JEWEL; NEB also NOSE-RING, EARRING; [*gālîl*] (Est. 1:6); [Gk. *daktýlios*] (Lk. 15:22); GOLD RING [Gk. *chrysodaktýlios*] (Jas. 2:2); **SIGNET RING** [Heb. *ṭabba'aṭ*] (Gen. 41:42; Ex. 35:22; Est. 3:10; 8:2; Isa. 3:21); AV RING; NEB also FINGER-RING, SIGNET; [*ḥôṭām*] (Jer. 22:24; Hag. 2:23); AV SIGNET. A circular object worn as jewelry (on the finger, ear, or nose) or used to fasten together pieces of furniture, wall hangings, or clothing.

Of the RSV OT terms translated "ring," *ṭabba'aṭ* seems to be the least specific. Sometimes it refers to a SIGNET ring, which gave the wearer the authority of the seal (e.g., Gen. 41:42; Est. 3:10). *Ṭabba'aṭ* is derived from the root *ṭb'*, "sink," probably because the design of the signet was "sunk" into the wax or clay sealing a document (much as the stone from David's sling "sank" into Goliath's forehead, 1 S. 17:49). Signet rings were worn most frequently by men, but the inscriptions on a few seals indicate that women also owned them. *Ṭabba'aṭ* is also applied to rings that were attached to the ark of the covenant and other tabernacle furniture in order to hold the carrying poles (Ex. 25:12, etc.), to rings on the prefabricated sections of the tabernacle frame that fastened them together (26:24), and to rings that supported the breastpiece on the high priest's ephod (*see* GARMENTS VIII.B). The contexts of all the uses of *ṭabba'aṭ* suggest fine jewelry of luxurious ornamentation, often made of gold.

The term *ḥôṭām*, denoting a "seal" (so, usually, RSV), is translated "signet ring" twice in the RSV in contexts that clearly associate it with hand jewelry. The oldest signet ring found in Palestine has come from Megiddo and dates to the 14th or 13th cent. B.C., but most such rings have come from the time of the Israelite monarchy. These rings were worn by citizens of the nations surrounding Israel. In Egypt the most popular form was the scarab, which contained an inscription of the king's name embedded in a ring. Such a ring was given to Joseph by Pharaoh (Gen. 41:42). *See also* SEAL.

Hebrew *nezem* refers to either a NOSE RING (e.g., Prov. 11:22; Ezk. 16:12) or an EARRING (e.g., Gen. 35:4; Ex. 32:2); these were frequently made of gold. Gk. *daktýlios* and the compound *chrysodaktýlios* (lit. "with a gold ring on one's finger") signified finger rings that indicated wealth or position.

In Est. 1:6 *gālîl* seems to indicate circular decorations or parts of wall hangings (curtain rings?), although the



A gold ring from Megiddo with an Old Canaanite inscription (L.B. II, 14th or 13th cent. B.C.). It may read: "A ring belonging to Nišitrabiya" (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

RSV mg. notes that it could also mean "rod." In its three other occurrences *gālîl* is translated "rounded" (1 K. 6:34) or "folding" (Cant. 5:14).

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RINGLEADER. The AV, RSV, and NEB translation of Gk. *prōtostátēs* (lit. "one who stands first") in Acts 24:5. The term denotes the leader of a group.

RINGSTRAKED. An archaic term meaning "marked with circular stripes," used by the AV to translate Heb. *ʿāqōḏ* (Gen. 30:35, 39f.; 31:8, 10, 12; RSV, NEB, "striped"). The precise meaning of *ʿāqōḏ* is uncertain. The AV translation is based on the assumption that *ʿāqōḏ* comes from the root *ʿāqaḏ*, "bind." Most interpreters agree that it denotes some sort of defective coloring (but cf. KoB [p. 730]: "with twisted tail"). *See* STRIPED.

RINNAH rin'ə [Heb. *rinnâ*–'cry of joy']. A Judahite; one of the sons of Shimon (1 Ch. 4:20). The LXX makes him a "son of Hanan" by translating the next name (MT *ben-ḥānān*) by Gk. *huiós Hanan*.

RIOT; RIOTING; RIOTOUS. In modern English these terms generally connote a violent public disorder; it is in this sense that the RSV and NEB render Gk. *thórybos* by "riot" in Mt. 27:24 (AV "tumult") and *stásis* by "rioting" in Acts 19:40 (AV "uproar"). The AV, however, uses these terms in their original sense of "(any) unrestrained behavior" to render Heb. *zālal* (Prov. 23:20; 28:7; *see* GLUTTON); Gk. *asōtía* (Tit. 1:6; 1 Pet. 4:1; RSV "profligate," "profligacy"), *asṓtōs* (Lk. 15:13; RSV "loose"), *kṓmos* (Rom. 13:13), and *typhḗ* (2 Pet. 2:13); *see also* REVEL.

RIPHATH rī'fəth [Heb. *rîp̱aṯ*]. The second son of Gomer; grandson of Japheth (Gen. 10:3). The RSV and NEB follow the MT in reading "Diphath" in place of "Riphath" in 1 Ch. 1:6; but the LXX, Vulg., and several Hebrew MSS read "Riphath," suggesting that this is the correct form. *See also* TABLE OF NATIONS.

RISING (AV Lev. 13:2, 10, 19, 28, 43; 14:56). *See* SWELL; LEPER III.

RISSAH ris'ə [Heb. *rissâ*–'dew']. An Israelite encampment during the wilderness wanderings, between Libnah and Kehelathah (Nu. 33:21f.). The location has been identified with modern Kuntilet el-Jerafi, but this is uncertain. *See* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

RITHMAH rith'mə [Heb. *riṯmâ*–'broom,' i.e., the white desert broom plant]. An Israelite encampment during the wilderness wanderings, between Hazeroth and Rimmonperez (Nu. 33:18f.). The location is unknown. *See* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

RIVER; BROOK; STREAM; FLOOD, etc.

I. Terms.–The several words for waterways in the Bible are not rendered uniformly in the English versions, partly because of lack of precision in the original terms and partly because of special contexts. Thus Heb. *naḥal* is rendered in the RSV "river," "brook," "stream," "torrent," "valley," "ravine," "channel," and in the AV "river," "brook," "stream," "valley"; *yᵉʿôr* in the RSV is "river," "stream," "Nile," "canal," "channel," in the AV "river," "brook," "stream," "flood"; *ʾāpîq* is RSV "brook," "stream," "ravine," "fountain," "watercourse," "channel," AV "river," "brook," "stream," "channel"; *peleg* is RSV "brook," "stream," AV "river," "stream"; *nāhār* is RSV and AV "river," "stream," "flood," RSV "Nile," "Euphrates," "canal"; *nāzal* is RSV and AV "stream," "flood"; Aram. *nᵉhar* is RSV and AV "river," "stream"; Gk. *potamós* is RSV and AV "river," "stream," "flood," AV "water."

In addition, the RSV uses "stream" to translate Heb. *yuḇāl, yāḇāl, teʿālâ*, "river" for Heb. *ʾûḇāl, pᵉlaggâ, rōʾš* (Gen. 2:10), "brook" for Heb. *miḵāl*, and *mayim*, and "flood" for several Hebrew and Greek words (*see* FLOOD). "Torrent" once renders *šeṭep*, and "channel" translates *teʿālâ*.

The NEB seldom conforms in its renderings with the AV or RSV and more frequently uses such terms as "gorge," "torrent," and "ravine."

II. Designations of the Biblical Waterways.–*A. Kinds.* The Bible mentions numerous waterways; the confusion of terminology outlined above indicates the wider scholarly confusion about the identification and nature of many. It is frequently unclear whether a passage intends a river or its valley or whether the waterway is a large,

Aerial photo of the Jordan River at Kinnereth where it flows into Lake Tiberias (W. Braun)

surging stream, a gorge that is usually dry but fills with water in sudden rainstorms, or a narrow trickle scarcely deserving a name. Even if a waterway can with fair certainty be identified with an extant stream or gulch, it may differ considerably from the waterway of Bible times in course and dimension, seasonal flow, or windings.

The present Arabic names normally distinguish between the *nahr* or river and the *wâdī*, which is usually a valley or gorge that may always be dry or fill with water in rainstorms. The English versions, especially the NEB, often designate wadis by "gorge," "ravine," "torrent," or, for a dry wadi, "valley." But in all the versions the terms are generally more descriptive than precisely technical. For example, it is difficult to distinguish a "brook" from a "stream." Such waterways may be tributaries of the larger waterways (i.e., rivers), they may be spring-fed, or they may derive from snowcapped mountains.

B. Named Rivers. The RSV names the following rivers: Abana, Ahava, Chebar, Euphrates, Gihon, Gozan, Hiddekel (Tigris), Jabbok, Jordan, Kishon, Nile, Pharpar, Pishon, river of Egypt, Ulai.

C. Named Brooks. The RSV names the following brooks: Arabah, Besor, Cherith, Brook of Egypt, Kanah, Kidron, Kishon, Willows, Zered. In addition, 2 S. 23:30 and 1 Ch. 11:32 refer to the "brooks [NEB "ravines"] of Gaash," a mountain (Jgs. 2:9).

D. Other Named Waterways. The Arnon (Nu. 21:13, etc.) is evidently a river (so AV; NEB "gorge"). The Valley (NEB "gorge") of Eshcol is called a "brook" (Nu. 13:23, AV). In Jgs. 5:21 the Kishon is a "torrent" (AV "river"). Me-jarkon seems to be regarded as a city in the AV and RSV, but the NEB renders "the west Jarkon" (Josh. 19:46), and *WHAB* identifies it with Nahr el-ʿAujā, the Yarkon River N of Joppa.

Nahaliel, a stopping place in the Exodus (Nu. 21:19), is considered a stream in *WHAB*. The Shihor (Josh. 13:3; 1 Ch. 13:5) is probably a tributary of the Nile, and Shihor-libnath in Josh. 19:26 also is probably a waterway. In Jer. 2:18 the AV has "Sihor," RSV "the Nile," NEB "the Shihor."

For fuller information on the waterways mentioned above, see separate articles. Waters not named in the Bible are mentioned in the articles on major regions (e.g., ASIA MINOR) and in NEGEB; SHEPHELAH. J. W. D. H.

III. Figurative Uses.–As one would expect in the dry climate of the Near East, a water source is a common image of abundance and blessing, and a lack of water is a common image of curse or devastation.

Most frequent are the positive figurative uses. Thus God's care for His people is depicted as His giving them "drink from the river of thy [God's] delights" (Ps. 36:8 [MT 9]; see also 65:9 [MT 10]), and "a river whose streams make glad the city of God" (46:4 [MT 5]; many commentators see here a comparison of Jerusalem and Eden; see also Ezk. 47). God "turns rivers into a desert, springs of water into thirsty ground" (Ps. 107:33). Similarly, Isaiah recounts God's promise to care for the poor by providing water for them in the dry land (Isa. 41:18; 43:19f.; cf. 30:25). In 48:18 God says that if the people had hearkened to His commandments, then their "peace would have been like a river, and [their] righteousness like the waves of the sea"; and in 66:12 God promises that He "will extend prosperity [Heb. *šālôm*; cf. AV, NEB "peace"] to her [Jerusalem] like a river, and the wealth of the nations like an overflowing stream" (cf. 33:21).

In contexts of judgment the above image is reversed. Thus in Isa. 42:15 and 50:2 God dries up the pools and turns the rivers into deserts (see also 44:27; Joel 1:20; Nah. 1:4). God's "breath" (Heb. *rû[a]ḥ*) is likened to "an overflowing stream," "a stream of brimstone" (Isa. 30:28, 33).

Other negative contexts include passages that speak of being overwhelmed as if by a flood of waters (Job 22:11; 27:20; 38:34; Ps. 69:2, 15 [MT 3, 16]; 88:17; 124:4; Jonah 2:3 [MT 4]).

Various other images also occur in the OT. Prov. 18:4 states that "the fountain of wisdom is a gushing stream." But offerings like "ten thousands of rivers of oil" will not please the Lord (Mic. 6:7; cf. Ezk. 32:14); rather, God says, "let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (Am. 5:24). Zophar states that the evil person "will not look upon the rivers, the streams flowing with honey and curds" (Job 20:17). Prov. 21:1 states God's sovereignty: "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of the Lord; he turns it wherever he will." When he is persecuted, Jeremiah expresses his anguish at feeling God has abandoned him: "Wilt thou be to me as a deceitful brook, like waters that fail?" (Jer. 15:18); but later he conveys God's promise of consolation: "I will make them walk by brooks of water" (31:9). God's (eschatological) coming is likened to "a rushing stream" in Isa. 59:19. In Ps. 119:136 the psalmist laments: "My eyes shed streams of tears, because men do not keep thy law" (see also 6:6; Lam. 2:18; 3:48).

According to many scholars the personification of the rivers as God's enemy in Hab. 3:8f. reflects the ancient Near Eastern myth of a cosmic battle (see, e.g., U. Cassuto, "Chapter III of Habakkuk and the Ras Shamra Texts," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, 2 [Eng. tr. 1975], 3-15; W. F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in H. H. Rowley, ed., *Studies in OT Prophecy* [*Festschrift* T. H. Robinson; repr. 1957], pp. 1-18; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* [1973], pp. 70f., 140; P. D. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel* [1973], pp. 118-121). See also Ps. 89:25 (MT 26).

In the NT perhaps the best-known text using "river" is Jn. 7:38: "He who believes in me, as the scripture has said, 'Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water.'" Unfortunately, this text is problematic, especially because nowhere in the OT may such a text be found, although many texts convey a similar sense (see comms. for extensive discussions). Another well-known text is Lk. 6:48f., the parable contrasting one house built on a rock and another built on sand; the latter fell immediately when the flood came, whereas the former stood firm. Finally, in Rev. 12:15f. the serpent/dragon "poured water like a river out of his mouth" to destroy "the woman" (true Israel? see comms.). That destructive river contrasts vividly with "the river of the water of life" flowing from the throne of God in the New Jerusalem (Rev. 22:1; see J. Ellul, *Apocalypse* [Eng. tr. 1977], pp. 228f.).

See also FLOOD; WATER. G. A. LEE

RIVER OF EGYPT. *See* BROOK OF EGYPT.

RIVER, THE (GREAT). *See* EUPHRATES.

RIVERS OF EDEN. *See* EDEN 1.

RIZIA ri-zi'ə [Heb. *riṣyâ*']; AV, NEB, REZIA. An Asherite warrior; son of Ulla (1 Ch. 7:39).

RIZPAH riz'pə, riz'pä [Heb. *riṣpâ*– 'live coal']. Daughter of Aiah and concubine of King Saul (2 S. 3:7; 21:8, 10f.). After Saul's death his son Ishbosheth established a brief provisional government in Transjordan supported by Saul's military commander, Abner (2:8-10). A conflict over authority surfaced when Ishbosheth accused Abner of taking Rizpah as his wife or concubine (3:7). Taking the king's concubine would constitute a claim to the throne and was considered an act of treason (cf. 16:21; 1 K. 2:17-25). It is unclear whether Abner was actually guilty of this act, but Ishbosheth's accusation led to Abner's defection to David, and this event began the chain of events that eventually brought the entire nation of Israel to recognize David as king.

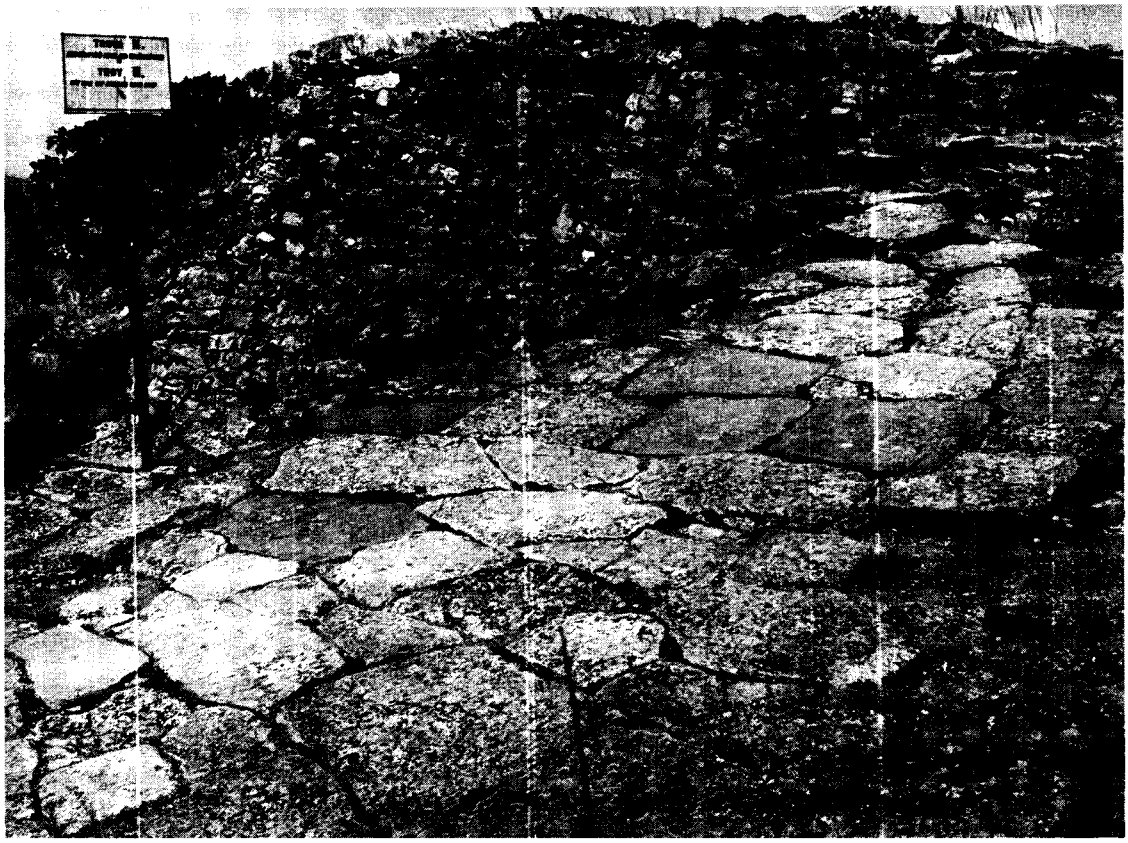
During David's reign there was a three-year famine, and David was informed by the Lord that its cause was Saul's attempted genocide of the Gibeonites (2 S. 21:1f.). In restitution for these slayings, David handed over to the Gibeonites seven of Saul's sons to be executed and exposed, apparently until the Lord responded with rain. Two of Rizpah's sons were among those so executed (v. 8). After the execution, which took place at the beginning of the barley harvest, Rizpah stood guard over the exposed corpses, chasing away scavengers, until the rain fell. She thus procured for her sons, as provided for by David, an honorable burial along with the recovered bones of Saul and Jonathan (vv. 10-14). J. H. WALTON

ROADS; HIGHWAYS [Heb. *dereḵ, m^esillâ, maslûl;* Gk. *hodós*].

I. In the OT.–The general OT term for road is Heb. *dereḵ*, from the root "to tread." It sometimes indicates the usual ungraded roadway, with surface merely packed down by the passing of vehicles, animals, and pedestrians, and sometimes an improved highway.

The regular term for an artificially constructed roadway is Heb. *m^esillâ*, "that which is cast up." To make such a road the center surface was built up, with ditches left at the sides for drainage. Some highways were paved, particularly during the Roman period. The work of preparation included removing stones or other obstructions, leveling rough surfaces, building up low areas, cutting through high places, and at times setting up waymarks or guideposts (Isa. 40:3f.; 57:14; 62:10; Jer. 31:21).

The distinction between *dereḵ* and *m^esillâ* is not always clear in OT usage. Job 19:12 refers to the casting up of a *dereḵ* (RSV "siegeworks" is an interpretative rendering based on the context), Jer. 18:15 to a *derek* (RSV "highway") "not cast up." At the time of the Exodus a *m^esillâ*,



One of the earliest roads discovered was the paved ramp of Troy II (dating to the 3rd millennium B.C.) that led to the city gate (B. K. Condit)

called the *derek* of the king (Nu. 20:17), ran through Edom.

Israel's cities of refuge were to be connected by a system of roads to facilitate the flight of accused slayers (Dt. 19:3). In the period of the judges highways led to the places of worship (Jgs. 20:31; 21:19). The Philistines returned the ark along a highway from Ekron to Beth-shemesh (1 S. 5:10; 6:12).

II. Early Highways.—Evidence of improved roads and extensive systems of highways in the Near East dates from very early times. A number of stone roads were found at Arpachiya, a prehistoric mound of the Chalcolithic age 6.5 km. (4 mi.) from Nineveh. The roads were surfaced with pebbles and were suitable for pedestrian and mule traffic.

Excavations at Troy II revealed a paved ramp leading to the gateway of the city dating from the 3rd millennium B.C. Remains of a road on Crete date to the middle of the 2nd millennium.

The stonemasons of ancient Babylonia before the 2nd millennium laid parallel rows of stones to provide an all-weather track for carts. Geographic texts from this period mention chariot routes with caravansaries from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. Carts and chariots were known in Mesopotamia in the Uruk period (*ca.* 3500-3200 B.C.).

The Assyrians maintained an extensive system of roads to facilitate their widespread trade and military campaigns. Some roads were paved and had milestones. In Babylon paving bricks were found bearing the name of Sennacherib, who did much to beautify the city before he destroyed it in 689 B.C. The famous Processional Way in Babylon was paved with bricks set in asphalt; the upper layers bear the name of Nebuchadrezzar (605-562 B.C.). Herodotus mentioned a bridge across the Euphrates at Babylon, and the piers of such a bridge still exist.

The Persians maintained an extensive system of highways, which enabled them to keep in touch with every part of their empire. Couriers were dispatched by horses, riding day and night and in all kinds of weather. Messages could thus be carried 2500 km. (1500 mi.) in ten days. There were frequent stopping-places for rest and changes of horses. Herodotus mentioned a bridge across the Halys River in Asia Minor.

Although the Romans did not introduce roads in the ancient world, they must be given credit for developing the best system of highways before modern times. This truly remarkable achievement played a vital part in building up the empire and keeping it intact. Many remains of Roman pavements, milestones, and bridges still exist today, not only in Italy but also in Germany, France, Britain, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. These roads served the imperial interests and also helped the rapid and wide promulgation of early Christianity.

Archeological research has revealed that early paved roads were common in Palestine. At Lachish a number of cobblestone roads were uncovered. In Sennacherib's reliefs of his siege of Lachish, soldiers fight on a steep paved roadway (*see* picture in LACHISH). Wheeled battering rams employed in the siege were brought from Assyria,

ROADS

A Hellenistic (*ca.* 2nd cent. B.C.) road to Pergamum (W. S. LaSor)

Excavations of the west end of the Persian Royal Road at Sardis (W. S. LaSor)

probably on the horse-and-chariot road to Lachish that is mentioned in the OT (2 K. 14:19f.; Mic. 1:13). At Libnah an ancient roadway was cut in the rock.

Certain Babylonian tablets show that Nebuchadrezzar repeatedly left Babylon for Palestine in December and did much of his campaigning there in the wet winter months. This implies the existence of all-weather highways.

III. Location of Ancient Roads.—The natural features of the land largely determined the sites of ancient roads. Roads usually ran through level areas but also followed river valleys or highland ridges. Barriers such as marshes, rivers, lakes, deserts, gorges, and precipitous heights were avoided as much as possible. Most modern Near Eastern roads follow the topographically determined courses of the ancient ones.

Because Palestine links the vast landmasses of Eurasia and Africa, some of the most important ancient intercontinental routes passed through it. The material remains left by merchants and soldiers who were constantly crossing this region are important clues to the specific location of ancient highways. The routes traveled by the ancient Egyptians, e.g., can be quite accurately determined by connecting with lines the sites where Egyptian objects have been found.

Egyptian and Assyrian invaders recorded the names of many Palestinian sites. Monuments frequently were erected at sites where ancient armies once made their way. Nowhere else is this so strikingly true as along the rocks lining the Dog River Valley leading from the interior to the Phoenician coast. Here are inscriptions carved by Ramses II of Egypt, by the Assyrians Shalmaneser III, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, by Nebuchadrezzar II of Babylon, and by Napoleon III and General Allenby of modern times. The Roman road through this pass was built A.D. 177-180, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and was located 30 m. (100 ft.) above the modern highway.

No extant ancient maps show the exact location of early Mesopotamian roads, but a number of so-called itineraries from Neo-Assyrian times give the distances between major stopping places. A text from the Old Babylonian period provides the names of stopping-places along a very early route that traversed much of what is now Iraq, northern Syria, and southern Turkey. Most of the places mentioned cannot be located with certainty, but others at strategic places are definitely known, beginning with Larsa, Babilim, and Sippar in southern Babylonia, and up through Asshur and Urkish into Turkey, or through Haran (Harran) and down to Emar in northern Syria.

At the time of Persian supremacy at least two great roads connected the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf. One began at Sardis, near Smyrna, and passed through Lydia and Phrygia past Ankara and Hattusas, the ancient Hittite capital; it traversed Cappadocia by a great loop, crossed the Halys by bridge, and went east from Cilicia across the Euphrates to Nineveh, Babylon, and Susa. Herodotus, who traveled this famous Royal Road of the Persians, vividly described its way stations, fortified hostels, garrison posts, toll gates, and services. A shorter, more southern road led from Smyrna and Ephesus through Laodicea and Colossae, S of the salt desert, through Pisidia and Lycaonia, into Cilicia, and then east by the Euphrates and Tigris valleys. This was the great highway to the East in the Greco-Roman period.

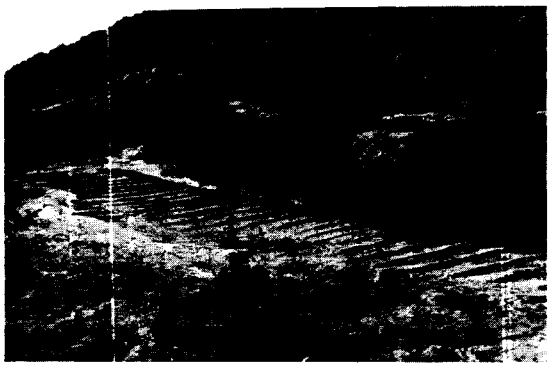
The longest known highway of ancient times was the famous Silk Road, by which the treasures of China were carried to Rome. Its exact location is not known, but the occurrence of Chinese jades and other treasures at various places in central Asia indicates the existence of at least three alternate routes. The two northerly ones traversed Russia; the southern passed through Burma, northern India, Tehran, Baghdad, and Asia Minor and went on to Rome. By such roads the Nestorian Christians made their way to China, the Jews traveled to establish their colony at Kaifengu, and Marco Polo made his way to Peking (Beijing).

The specific roads from Mesopotamia to Palestine and Egypt can be determined with a high degree of accuracy. There were many local variations, but the usual route led NW from the Persian Gulf by the fertile Euphrates Valley to Haran and Carchemish, then SW to Aleppo, and down through Syria along the Orontes. Another road left the Euphrates at Mari, crossed the desert by the oasis of Tadmor (built by Solomon "in the wilderness" according to 2 Ch. 8:4), and then went SW to Damascus. A still more direct route led across the desert from Babylon, touching a series of oases on the way. This was the route taken by Nebuchadrezzar, after his father's death, on his hurried return to his capital in 605 B.C. from his conquest of the "Hatti Land."

The physical features of Palestine as well as the location of the great nations of the Middle East required that Palestine's chief trunk lines run N-S. One went south from Aleppo through Hamath to Kadesh, west to the coast, and south through Acco. Skirting the Carmel ridge, it passed through the Sharon and Philistia to Gaza and then crossed the desert to Egypt. An alternate route went southeast from Kadesh to Damascus.

From Damascus there were a number of alternate routes. One went southwest, crossing the Jordan above

ROADS



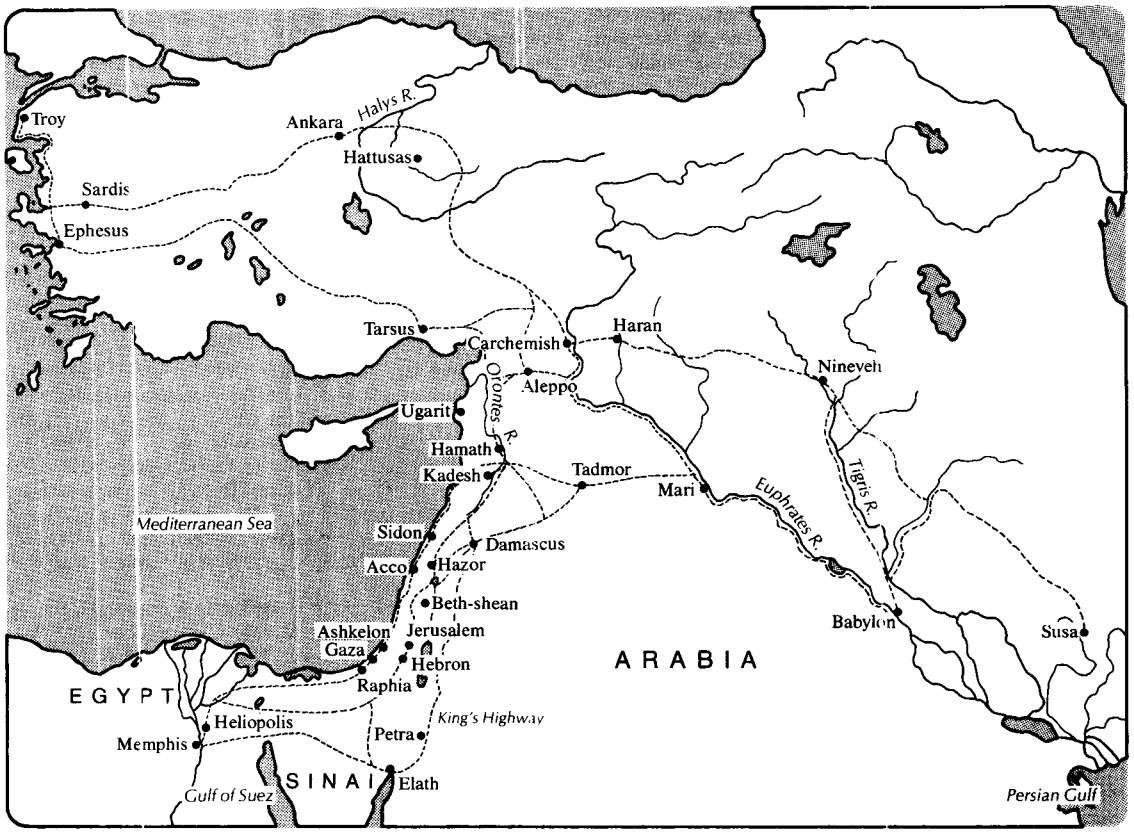
A section of a Roman road between Jerusalem and Gaza. Steps were cut into the rock to provide footing on the steep hillside (R. H. Smith)

the Sea of Galilee, passing through Hazor to Megiddo and eventually joining the coastal road. Another went farther south, crossed the Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, and then went to Beth-shean and Megiddo. These two roads have often been identified as the "way of the sea" (Isa. 9:1), but the identification is not certain. A less frequented road to the south led over the central highlands of Samaria and Judea, touching such well-known places as Shechem, Bethel, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, and Beer-sheba. A main highway might have been expected along the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, but the river was too winding, the heat too intense, and the terrain too difficult.

From Damascus the famous KING'S HIGHWAY went south over the highlands of Transjordan to the Gulf of Aqabah. Along its southern portion Israel had hoped to travel through Edom, Moab, and the country of the Amorites to the Promised Land (Nu. 20:17-19; 21:21f.).

Since the main international trunklines were located along the Palestinian coast or in Transjordan, Judah in its isolated position atop the central ridge was largely spared from the depredations of passing armies and the adverse effects of foreign influences on its distinctive religious culture. But the crossing international highways in Galilee and northern Samaria made Israel a constant prey to foreign invaders and left it always exposed to the cultural influences of all the East. Because Jesus largely centered His ministry in Galilee, His teaching could be carried far and wide without His engaging in extensive foreign travel.

Numerous roads linked the interior eastern areas with the Mediterranean coast and Egypt. The southernmost of these left the Gulf of Aqabah at Elath and struck west across Sinai to the head of the Gulf of Suez and then on to the vicinity of Memphis in Egypt. Another road went northwest from Elath over the plateau of Tih to Gaza. At Succoth a road known as the "way of Shur" (Gen. 16:7; cf. 25:18) left Egypt and went northeast to Beer-sheba and Hebron. This was the route by which Israel left Egypt at the Exodus (Ex. 15:22; cf. Nu. 33:8; *see* Vol. I, map IV). A southeast extension of this road across Sinai to the gulf of Aqabah was known as the "way to the Red Sea" and was followed by Israel on its approach to the Promised Land (Nu. 14:25; 21:4; cf. Ex. 13:18; Dt. 1:40; 2:1). The most direct road from Egypt to Palestine, the "way of the land of the Philistines," lay still farther north, along the Mediterranean coast from the northern delta to Raphia



and Gaza. It was the route usually taken by Egyptian armies on their invasions of Asia and although the most direct, was avoided by Israel at the Exodus since it would have involved the people in almost immediate war (Ex. 13:17).

From Gaza a road went southeast through Beer-sheba to Petra (cf. the "ascent of Akrabbim," Nu. 34:4; Josh. 15:3), and another went northeast to Jerusalem. Farther north a road led from Ashkelon east, via Gath and Hebron, to Engedi on the Dead Sea; it then went either north or south and on to the east. From Joppa an important road went southeast by Lydda and the Valley of Ajalon (the "way of the ascent of Beth-horon," Josh. 10:10) to Jerusalem and Jericho and then across the Jordan. Another road led northeast from Joppa to Shechem, crossed the Jordan at Adam, and ended at Gilead. North of Carmel a road went from Acco, across the plain of Esdraelon, and southeast through "Harrosheth of the Gentiles" (Jgs. 4:2, 13, 16), Jokneam, and Megiddo. At Ibleam it joined the N-S highway to Jezreel, then went east to Beth-shean, and crossed the Jordan. Another road from Acco went southeast, skirting southern Galilee, crossed the Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee, and went northeast to Damascus.

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ROAST; ROASTED [Heb. *ṣālâ* (1 S. 2:15; Isa. 44:16, 19), *ṣālî* (Ex. 12:8f.), piel of *bāšal* (2 Ch. 35:13), *qālâ* (Jer. 29:22)]; NEB also COOK. *See* FOOD IV.

ROB; ROBBERY [Heb. *gāzal*, also *gāzēl* (e.g., Ps. 62:10 [MT 11]), *gᵉzēlâ* (Ezk. 33:15), piel of *šāḵal*–'bereave of children' (Lev. 26:22; Ezk. 5:17), *šākkûl*–'bereaved' (2 S. 17:8; Prov. 17:12; Hos. 13:8), *bāzaz*–'plunder' (Isa. 10:2; 42:22), *šōḏ*–'destruction' (Am. 3:10), *qāḇaʿ*–'deceive,' 'rob' (Mal. 3:8f.), *šāsâ*–'plunder' (1 S. 23:1); Gk. *diaseíō* ("rob by violence," Lk. 3:14), *syláō* (2 Cor. 11:8), *hierosyléō* ("rob temples," Rom. 2:22)]; AV also SPOIL, TAKE AWAY, BEREAVE, etc.; NEB also DEFRAUD, EXTORTION, BULLYING, etc.; **ROBBER** [Heb. part. of *šāḏaḏ* (Job 12:6), *bāzaz* (Isa. 42:24), *ḥeṭep* (Prov. 23:28), piel part. of *hālaḵ* (24:34), *pārîṣ* (Jer. 7:11; Ezk. 7:22; 18:10), *gᵉḏûḏ* (Hos. 6:9); Gk. *lēstēs*, also *hárpax* (1 Cor. 5:10f.; 6:10)]; AV also THIEF, EXTORTIONER, etc.; NEB also BANDIT, SWINDLER, etc. The act of taking something violently from its rightful owner; differing from "stealing" or "theft" in that the latter terms connote a taking by stealth or deception instead of by force.

I. In the OT.–Many OT passages illustrate the basic meaning of robbery. Robbers are described as lying in wait, ready to ambush the innocent and unsuspecting (Hos. 6:9). In this way the Shechemites robbed travelers during the judgeship of Abimelech (Jgs. 9:25). Three passages use the metaphor "a bear robbed of her cubs" to describe anger (2 S. 17:8; Prov. 17:12; Hos. 13:8).

The OT states clearly that God hates robbery (Isa. 61:8) and prohibits it among His people (against neighbors, Lev. 19:13 [cf. 6:2, 4 (MT 5:21, 23), which require restoration and a penalty]; against the poor, Prov. 22:22; against mother and father, 28:24; cf. Ps. 62:10 [MT 11]). Job protests that God allows injustice to continue: "the tents of robbers are at peace" (Job 12:6). In Ezk. 18 robbery is listed as one of the sins characterizing the unrighteous person who deserves to die (18:10, 12, 18; cf. vv. 7, 16). But God will forgive the person who repents and gives back what was taken in robbery (33:14-16; cf. 18:21-23).

The crime of robbery is an important part of God's indictment of His people in the prophets (Ezk. 22:29; Am. 3:10). His people oppress and rob the poor (Isa. 10:2), even though He has commanded them to deliver from their oppressors those who have been robbed (Jer. 21:12; 22:3). They even rob God of tithes and offerings (Mal. 3:8f.). The temple in Jerusalem has become "a den of robbers" (Jer. 7:11). For its many sins Israel will be punished; as one form of that historical judgment, they will now become the victims of robbery (prophesied in Lev. 26:22; Dt. 28:29; Ezk. 5:17; 7:22; fulfilled in Isa. 42:22, 24).

The book of Proverbs sometimes uses robbery as a metaphor. The wicked are "robbed of sleep" unless they have succeeded in harming someone (Prov. 4:16). The harlot lies in wait to rob men of their faithfulness (23:28). If one is lazy and indulges in "a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to rest," "poverty will come upon you like a robber" (24:33f.).

II. In the NT.–Robbery remained a familiar crime in the NT times. When Roman soldiers came to John the Baptist and asked what they should do, he told them, "Rob no one by violence or by false accusations, and be content with your wages" (Lk. 3:14). Some of Jesus' sayings allude to the problem of robbery in everyday life. In the parable of the Good Samaritan the victim is a traveler who "fell among robbers" on the dangerous, lonely road between Jerusalem and Jericho (Lk. 10:30, 36). In Jn. 10 Jesus contrasts Himself as the Good Shepherd with the "thief and robber" who do not enter the sheepfold by the door but sneak in by another way (vv. 1f.). He states that "all who came before me" (probably false messiahs and false religious and political leaders) were "thieves and robbers" (v. 8) whose intentions were to "steal and kill and destroy" (v. 10) rather than to protect and care for those who followed them.

At the end of His ministry Jesus cleansed the temple in Jerusalem because it had become "a den of robbers" (Mt. 21:13 par.; cf. Jer. 7:11); He was probably referring to the dishonest practices of the money-changers and animal-sellers as well as to their usurpation of the court of the Gentiles. When Judas, the Jewish authorities, and an armed crowd came to arrest Jesus by night, He pointed out the irony of their action: "Have you come out as against a robber, with swords and clubs to capture me, when I was with you daily, teaching in the temple, and you did not seize me?" (Mt. 26:55 par.; cf. Jn. 18:20). The irony was heightened by the crowd's request that Barabbas, who actually was a robber (Jn. 18:40) — possibly a Zealot (cf. Mk. 15:7) — be released instead of Jesus. Jesus was finally crucified between two robbers — probably not Zealots, since Luke merely calls them criminals (*kakoúrgoi*) in 23:32f., 39-43 (cf. Mt. 27:38, 44; Mk. 15:27).

During his apostolic travels Paul was often set upon by robbers (2 Cor. 11:26). In 1 Cor. 5 he corrects a misunderstanding that had arisen concerning a previous letter (cf. 5:9) in which he had said that the Corinthian Christians were not to associate with immoral people. Here he explains that he did not mean that they should separate themselves from non-Christians (including robbers, v. 10); rather, they are to disassociate themselves from those who call themselves Christians and yet engage in immoral acts such as robbery (v. 11).

See also STEAL. T. F. JOHNSON

ROBBERS OF CHURCHES. *See* ROBBING OF TEMPLES.

ROBBING OF TEMPLES. The robbery of a temple or a sacred site was considered a particularly heinous crime

in the Greco-Roman world. It was usually thought to be as serious as murder or treason (cf. Philo *De confusione linguarum* 163). Interestingly enough, even though the rabbis did not approve of temple robbery, they did not classify it with murder or treason (cf. T.B. *Sanhedrin* 84a), concluding that it deserved merely a whipping. In Mish. *Abodah Zarah* iv.2 "coins, clothing, or [other] objects" removed from an idol could be used by the Jews. Permission to use such objects is quite surprising because Dt. 7:25f. forbids the removal of silver or gold from an idol. Moreover, the author of Deuteronomy stated that an idol is detestable to God, and that one should not bring it into one's house because the idol was under God's curse.

Although the word for robbing a temple (Gk. *hierosyléō*) can have a figurative meaning (Josephus *Ant.* xvi.2.4 [45]), it is normally used in a literal sense (cf. *syláō* in *Ant.* iv.8.10 [207]; see also viii.10.3 [258]; *CAp* i.1.34 [310]). Menelaus, who had already paid a bribe to become high priest, stole some gold vessels out of the Jerusalem temple, using them to win Andronicus's favor (2 Macc. 4:32). Lysimachus, the brother of Menelaus, enraged the people in Jerusalem by his habitual pilfering (RSV "acts of sacrilege"; AV "sacrileges"; Gk. *hierosylēmátoi*) from the temple (4:39f.). Such behavior finally resulted in a battle in which "the temple robber" (AV "church robber"; NEB "the sacrilegious man"; Gk. *tón hierósylon*), namely Lysimachus, was killed in Jerusalem (4:42). The despicable crimes of Menelaus against the temple were also eventually punished (13:6-8). He died in dishonor and disgrace because he was "guilty of sacrilege" (*tón hierosylías énochon*), i.e., "he had committed many sins against the altar" by taking precious objects from the temple (13:8). Robbing a temple could clearly be a great benefit to one's treasury, and thus it is not surprising that Antiochus IV "attempted to rob the temples" in Persepolis (9:2). Josephus vigorously defended the Jews against charges of temple robbery (*CAp* i.1.26 [249]; i.1.34 [310]), and he ridiculed the charge (*CAp* i.1.34 [311]; i.1.35 [318f.]) that the city of Jerusalem received its name from the word meaning "temple robbery" (*hierósyla*).

In Rom. 2:17-24 Paul charges the Jews with hypocrisy because they do not observe the very law that they proclaim as the truth. For instance, they congratulate themselves for despising idols even though they rob temples (2:22). Some scholars have maintained that Paul is speaking figuratively in this context. He is not accusing the Jews of literal temple robbery, stealing, or adultery (vv. 21f.). Instead, Paul is claiming that even though the Jews keep the law externally, they do not possess genuine righteousness in the heart. The Jews do not actually rob temples, but in the inner recesses of their heart they are not devoted to the one true God. Other scholars understand Paul to be speaking literally. The secular literature shows that the word is usually used literally, and sufficient evidence suggests that some Jews practiced temple robbery (CD 16:13-16; T.Levi 14:5; Ps.Sol. 8:11; see also references to Menelaus above). Thus the latter view seems to be the more convincing. Paul's discussion on circumcision in the same context suggests that he would have made it evident if he were speaking figuratively of robbing temples. But if Paul is speaking literally of robbing temples (and stealing and adultery as well), then another problem arises. Paul's accusations against the Jews seem ludicrous since it is obvious that all Jews (not even most Jews!) do not rob temples. But such an objection misses the point of Paul's polemic. Paul is not charging all Jews with stealing, adultery, and robbing temples. Instead he is using rhetorically colorful examples to illustrate a principle. The principle that lies behind the illustrations is that the Jews are hypocritical, i.e., they violate the very law they treasure and teach. Paul is not indulging in anti-semitism here; after all, he himself was a Jew. He is merely pointing out that even the people who try to live in a morally upright manner find themselves falling short.

Acts 19:37 presents the question of whether the word "sacrilegious" (Gk. *hierósylos*) is figurative or literal. The RSV and the NEB ("sacrilege") take it figuratively, while the AV ("robbers of churches") is plainly anachronistic. The context suggests that the town clerk is not literally speaking of stealing something from the temple of Artemis. Rather the riot started from the fear that Artemis was not getting the honor she deserved (19:26-29, 34). The town clerk rebuked the multitudes because they lacked evidence with which to support their complaint.

In 2 Cor. 11:8 Paul is obviously speaking hyperbolically when he says "I robbed [*esýlēsa*] other churches" (NEB "I took toll of other congregations.") Paul did not want to be a financial burden to the Corinthians. The point is merely that the churches in Macedonia supplied his needs (11:9), stretching their already limited funds.

See *TDNT*, III, *s.v.* ἱερός κτλ.: ἱεροσυλέω, ἱερόσυλος (Schrenk). T. R. SCHREINER

ROBE [Heb. *mᵉʿîl, kuttōnet* (Gen. 37:3, 23, 31f.; 2 S. 13:18f.; Isa. 22:21), *lᵉḇûš* (Est. 6:8-11; 8:15; Ps. 45:13 [MT 14]), *beged* (1 K. 22:10, 30; 2 Ch. 18:9, 29; Ps. 45:8 [MT 9]), *ʾeḏer* (Mic. 2:8), *ʾaddereṯ* (Jonah 3:6), *riqmâ* (Ps. 45:13 [MT 14]), *middâ* (Ps. 133:2), *maḥᵃlāṣâ* (Isa. 3:22), *pᵉṯîgîl* (Isa. 3:24), *šōḇel* (Isa. 47:2), *kānāp* (Ezk. 5:3; Zec. 8:23); Gk. *himátion, stolḗ, chlamýs* (Mt. 27:28, 31), *esthḗs* (Acts 1:10; 12:21), *podērēs* (Rev. 1:13)]; AV also APPAREL, CLOTHES, CLOTHING, COAT, GARMENT, MANTLE, RAIMENT, VESTURE; NEB also CLOAK, GARMENT, MANTLE, ROBES OF STATE, VESTMENT. A garment of various types, generally a long, flowing outer garment.

The *mᵉʿîl*, a sleeveless exterior garment drawn over the head (Ex. 39:23; cf. 28:32;) and worn over the tunic, was worn by people of rank (1 S. 18:4; 24:4, 11 [MT 5, 12]; 2 S. 13:18; Ezk. 26:16). Often of fine linen (1 Ch. 15:27), it apparently could be short (1 S. 2:19) or have a skirt (1 S. 15:27). The high priest's blue robe of the ephod had a skirt decorated alternately with golden bells and blue, purple, and scarlet pomegranates (Ex. 28:31-34; 39:22-26).

The *kuttōnet*, a long, shirtlike tunic, could be a symbol of authority or status. Yahweh endowed Eliakim, as majordomo to Hezekiah, with his predecessor's robe (Isa. 22:21), and strengthened Aaron with emblems of power including the "long robe" (Sir. 45:8). The "long robe with sleeves" (Heb. *kᵉṯōnet happassîm*; AV "coat of many colors"), worn by Joseph (Gen. 37:3, 23, 31f.) and by kings' virgin daughters (2 S. 13:18f.), may have been constructed of variegated pieces of cloth (cf. Heb. *pas*, "piece"; *KoB*, p. 768; AV mg., Gen. 37). Cuneiform inventories list ceremonial robes (Akk. *kitû* [or *kitinnu*] *pišannu*) that were draped around statues of goddesses and bore gold ornaments. E. A. Speiser translated the term "ornamented tunic" (*Genesis* [*AB*, 3rd ed. 1979], pp. 289f.; cf. NIV).

A broad term for many types of clothing, *beged* designates the robes of kings in 1 K. 22:10 (NEB "shining armor"), 30; 2 Ch. 18:9, 29. As the garb of a royal bridegroom (Ps. 45:8 [MT 9]), it was fragrant with myrrh, aloes, and cassia. Another general term, *lᵉḇûš*, represents the Persian royal apparel in Est. 6:8-11 (cf. 5:1); in 8:15 the robes are blue and white (NEB "violet and white"). The royal bride in Ps. 45:13 (MT 14) wears gold-woven robes, as well as those of variegated material (*riqmâ*, v. 14 [MT 15]).

Listed in a catalog of women's clothing and accessories, the *maḥᵃlāṣâ* (Isa. 3:22; AV "changeable suits of apparel"; NEB "fine dresses") may have been wrapped around the tunic for special occasions (*ḥālaṣ* I, "draw off"; cf. *ḥālāṣ*, "loins"; BDB, p. 323); *pᵉṯîgîl*, a probable loanword, indicates a luxurious garment as contrasted with sackcloth (v. 24; AV "stomacher"; NEB "mantle").

Aaron's *middâ* (Ps. 133:2) was a priestly garment with a collar. The robe of state worn by the king of Nineveh (Jonah 3:6) was the *'addereṯ*, probably the same as the *'eḏer* (Mic. 2:8).

A person could bind items in the skirts of the robe (Heb. *kānāp*; Ezk. 5:3; NEB "fold") or grasp another's robe in supplication (Zec. 8:23). Figuratively, Yahweh strips defeated Babylon of the *šōḇel*, a flowing train that covered the legs (Isa. 47:2).

The Gk. *stolḗ* was a long robe of rank worn by the scribes (Mk. 12:38; Lk. 20:46). It was the "best robe" given to the returned prodigal (Lk. 15:22). White robes of this sort were worn by angels (Mk. 16:5), martyrs, and the redeemed (Rev. 6:11; 7:9, 13f.).

The *himátion* was an outer cloak worn over the tunic. The Roman soldiers dressed Jesus in a purple *himátion* when they mocked Him (Jn. 19:2, 5), and He wore such a robe in His victory over the Beast (Rev. 19:13, 16 [AV "vesture"]). Caiaphas tore his *himátion* at Jesus' "blasphemy" (Mt. 26:65). In Matthew's account the Roman soldiers dressed Jesus in a scarlet *chlamýs*, a mantle or cloak worn by travelers and the military (Mt. 27:28, 31). The exalted Christ is depicted as wearing the *podḗrēs* (lit. "reaching to the feet"; Rev. 1:13).

A general word for clothing, *esthḗs*, is used for the white robe worn by angels (Acts 1:10) and for Herod's royal robe (12:21). Herod sends Jesus to Pilate arrayed in "gorgeous robes" (Lk. 23:11, AV, NEB; RSV "apparel").

In figurative use, Job put on justice like a robe (*mᵉʿîl*) and turban (Job 29:14); salvation is the "robe of righteousness" (Isa. 61:10). 1 Pet. 3:3 cautions wives that their behavior not be "outward adornment" like the wearing of robes (*himátion*). Washing the robe (*stolḗ*) could symbolize cleansing from sin (Rev. 22:14; cf. AV "do his commandments").

See also CLOAK; COAT; GARMENTS; MANTLE; TUNIC.

A. C. MYERS

ROBOAM rō-bō'əm (Mt. 1:7, AV). *See* REHOBOAM.

ROCK [Heb. *selaʿ* (Nu. 20:8, 10f.; 24:21; etc.), *ṣûr* (Ex. 17:6; 33:21; etc.), *'eḇen-* 'stone' (Gen. 49:24; Job 8:17), *ḥallāmîš-* 'flint' ("flinty rock," Dt. 8:15; Job 28:9), *kēp* (Job 30:6; Jer. 4:29), *ḥeseḏ*–'faithfulness' (emended to *selaʿ* by RSV, Ps. 144:2)]; AV also STRENGTH, GOD (Isa. 44:8), MIGHTY ONE, STONE, "goodness" (Ps. 144:2), etc.; NEB also CLIFF, CRAG, CREATOR (Dt. 32:4, 18; etc.), STRONGHOLD, etc.; [Gk. *pétra* (Mt. 7:24f.; 16:18; 27:51, 60; Mk. 15:46; Lk. 6:48; etc.), *trachýs tópos*–'rough place' (Acts 27:29), *laxeutós*–'hewn in the rock' ("rock-hewn," Lk. 23:53), *petrṓdēs*–'rocky' ("rocky ground," Mt. 13:5, 20 par. Mk. 4:5, 16)]; AV also HEWN IN STONE, STONY PLACE; NEB also MOUNTAIN CRAG (Rev. 6:15f.), RUGGED COAST (Acts 27:29), CUT OUT OF ROCK (Lk. 23:53).

Hebrew *selaʿ* and *ṣûr*, the two most common OT terms for "rock," generally denote a large solitary rock, a CRAG, or a rocky mountain chain. There is no well-defined distinction between the two terms; they are frequently used as parallels in Hebrew poetry (e.g., Dt. 32:13; Ps. 18:2 [MT 3]; 78:15f.).

The long, complex geological history of Palestine produced four distinct geographic divisions. Three different types of rock are found extensively on the coastal plain of western Palestine: Eocene limestone (a limestone and chalk mixture), Mousterian red sandstone, and Cenomanian limestone. In the central hill country the predominant rock formations are of Eocene and Cenomanian limestone, Senonian chert, and chalk, along with outcroppings of igneous rock in the northern areas near Mt. Hermon. The Jordan rift-valley consists primarily of sand and alluvial deposits. In addition to the ubiquitous limestone, chalk, and chert, one finds in southern Palestine and in the Transjordan Nubian sandstone, granite mountain outcroppings, and volcanic basalt. (For a more detailed geological survey, *see* PALESTINE III.)

Rocks were often named for an event that took place at the site or for a village in the vicinity (e.g., Jgs. 7:25; 15:8, 11; 20:45, 47; 1 S. 23:28; 24:2). Boulders and rocky terrain were used for various purposes. Sometimes a rock served as an appropriate place for sacrifice (Jgs. 6:20; 13:19). Frequently tombs were carved out of the limestone bedrock (cf. 1 S. 13:6), including the borrowed tomb in which Jesus was buried (Lk. 23:53). The rocky wilderness of eastern Palestine was the habitat for certain animals (e.g., the ROCK BADGER, Lev. 11:5; Dt. 14:7; Ps. 104:18). Caves and holes in the porous limestone also provided a refuge for the Israelites fleeing the Philistines (1 S. 13:6) and for David and his band in flight from King Saul (23:25, 28). In the Day of the Lord, however, such hiding places will not provide sufficient shelter for those who attempt to flee from the wrath of the Lamb (Rev. 6:15f.; cf. Isa. 2:10; Jer. 23:29; Nah. 1:6).

During the Israelites' trek through the desert after the Exodus, their thirst was quenched on several occasions when Moses brought forth water from a rock (e.g., Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:8, 10f.; Dt. 8:15; Ps. 78:16, 20; 105:41). The account in Nu. 20:2-13 has prompted considerable debate about the precise nature of Moses' sin (cf. v. 12). Although he struck the rock instead of speaking to it as God had commanded, the important issue was not his striking of the rock (since he had done this in the past, Ex. 17:6; Ps. 78:20) but his anger and disobedience (Nu. 20:8-11; cf. the words, "shall *we* bring forth water . . . ?" [v. 10], implying that Moses and Aaron had the power to provide the water themselves), which compromised Yahweh's holiness before the entire congregation and constituted an intolerable act of insubordination (cf. v. 12; see P. J. Budd, *Numbers* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1984], pp. 218f.).

Rocks furnished images for many figurative uses. The hardness of rock afforded an image for one whose mind was set (Jer. 5:3; cf. Isa. 50:7), and the shattering of rocks exemplified Yahweh's tremendous power (Jer. 23:29; Nah. 1:6). God's power is also shown by His ability to provide refreshment and sustenance from barren rocks (Dt. 32:13; Ps. 81:16 [MT 17]; 114:8; Isa. 48:21; see also above). Its enduring quality (cf. Job 19:24) made rock an apt epithet for Yahweh, depicting the permanence and stability of the Creator God who had made covenant with His people at Sinai (Isa. 26:4; cf. Dt. 32:4, 18; Hab. 1:12). In OT poetry this epithet frequently reflects the common use of crags as places of refuge (cf. Ps. 27:5; 40:2 [MT 3]); Yahweh is a mighty Rock who protects and saves His people (Dt. 32:15, 30; 2 S. 22:2f., 47; Ps. 18:2 [MT 3]; 19:14 [MT 15]; 31:2f. [MT 3f.]; 61:2f. [MT 3f.]; 62:2, 6f. [MT 3, 7f.]; 71:3; 94:22; 95:1; 144:1f.; Isa. 17:10). In His saving power Israel's Rock is unique among all the gods of the nations (Dt. 32:31; 1 S. 2:2; Ps. 18:31 [MT 32]; Isa. 44:8; cf. 30:29).

In the NT Paul identifies the rock that quenched the Israelites' thirst in the desert (cf. Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:8, 10f.)

as a pre-incarnate manifestation of Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 10:4). Elsewhere both Paul (Rom. 9:33) and Peter (1 Pet. 2:8) describe Christ as a stumbling stone to those who do not believe in Him, "a rock that will make them fall" (cf. Isa. 8:14). Because the majority of the Jews rejected faith in Christ as the way to salvation and relied instead on their own righteousness, Jesus — who died the death of a common criminal under the curse of God (cf. Dt. 21:22f.) — became a rock of offense to them.

John 1:42 states that Jesus changed Simon's name to "Cephas," the Aramaic form of "Peter" (Gk. *Petros*, "rock"). After Simon Peter's well-known confession of Jesus as the Christ, Jesus said to him: "And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock will I build my church" (Mt. 16:18). By this Jesus was signifying that the foundation of the Church was to be the affirmation of Him as the Christ. The Church was founded, established, and continues to prevail because of the impelling faith of saints past and present who, like Peter, have confessed Jesus as the Christ.

See also FLINT; STONE.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 381-88; D. N. Freedman, *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* (1980), pp. 77-129; *GB*; *TDNT*, VI, *s.v.* πέτρα (O. Cullmann); *TWOT*, II, 627, 762.

A. E. HILL
N.J.O.

ROCK BADGER; BADGER [Heb. *šāpān*; LXX *choirogrýllios*–'hedgehog,' *lagōós*–'hare' (Ps. 104:18 [LXX 103:18])] (Lev. 11:5; Dt. 14:7; Ps. 104:18; Prov. 30:26); AV CONEY.

The animal referred to in the above passages is probably the traditional "coney" (< Lat. *cuniculus*, "rabbit"), otherwise termed a hyrax (order *Hyracoidea*). Of this particular order no more than ten species are known, with habitats in Southwest Asia and Africa. The hyrax is a small ungulate mammal, similar in size to the rabbit, but more closely resembling the guinea pig in appearance with its smaller ears, shorter legs, and nearly invisible tail. The majority of species live among the rocks; the flat, bare soles of their feet provide secure maneuverability in such terrain (Ps. 104:18; Prov. 30:26). The species of the Bible is the Syrian hyrax (*Heterohyrax*) or *Procavia capensis syriacus*, an animal found in many parts of Palestine and especially plentiful in the Galilee area.

The reason for including the hyrax among the unclean animals that "chew the cud" (lit. "bring up the cud") is not entirely clear, since it does not actually "chew the cud" (i.e., it does not possess a ruminant stomach). It may be (as suggested by Tristram, p. 76) that the animal's constant chewing motion as it sat outside its hole gave the appearance of one with ruminant eating habits.

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J. HUDDLESTUN

ROCK OF AGES. The AV mg. translation of Heb. *ṣûr ʿôlāmîm* (AV "everlasting strength"; RSV, NEB, "everlasting rock") in Isa. 26:4. The prophet uses this image to describe God's enduring solidness as a foundation for trust. (For the imagery of the hymn, cf. also Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:11; Ps. 78:15f.; 1 Cor. 10:4.)

ROCK OF ESCAPE. *See* ESCAPE, ROCK OF.

ROD [Heb. *ḥōṭer*] (Prov. 14:3); [*maṭṭeh*] (Ex. 4:2; Ps. 110:2; Ezk. 7:11; etc.); NEB STAFF, "injustice"; [*maqqēl*] (Gen. 30:37; Jer. 1:11; etc.); NEB also "in early bloom"; [*šēḇeṭ*] (Ex. 21:20; Ps. 2:9; 23:4; Prov. 10:13; Isa. 9:4; Ezk. 20:37;

A Babylonian god or king figure (ceramic) carrying a mace-like rod (ca. 2000 B.C.). Ancient Near Eastern kings were frequently depicted with some type of rod (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1932)

etc.); NEB STAFF, STICK, SCEPTRE, BEATING, GOAD, FLAIL, CLUB; [Gk. *kálamos*] (Rev. 21:16); AV REED; [*rhábdos*] (1 Cor. 4:21; He. 9:4; Rev. 2:27; etc.). A long straight stick, usually made of wood, used for a variety of purposes. Technically "rod" should not be used for a walking stick (i.e., a staff), but usage in the RSV and other versions is not consistent.

In Prov. 14:3 *ḥōṭer* is an instrument of punishment, but the context of its other occurrence in Isa. 11:1 (RSV "shoot") implies a young sprout of a tree. In Proverbs it thus denotes a supple green branch used as a whip.

Maṭṭeh is translated "rod" primarily in references to the miraculous rods of Moses and Aaron in Exodus (4:2, 4, 17, 20; 7:9-20; etc.) and Numbers (17:2-10 [MT 17-25]). It is clear, however, that this implement had in both cases been used as a simple staff or walking stick before it took on its miraculous nature. The word is also used for the staffs of the Egyptian magicians in the story of the ten plagues (Ex. 7:12, etc.). In Ps. 110:2 *maṭṭeh* designates the royal scepter and in Gen. 38:18 the everyday walking stick (RSV "staff"). In Ezk. 7:11 a small plant grows up to a "rod," indicating a small tree. Here the prophet is combining the metaphor of plant growth with the idea of punishment, for which the rod was frequently used. Because Aaron's rod had once blossomed (Nu. 17:8 [MT 23]), this word was ideal for such a *double entendre*. In the majority of its occurrences *maṭṭeh* is correctly translated "tribe," its other major meaning.

"Rod" translates *maqqēl* primarily in references to the peeled sticks that Jacob used to influence the makeup of Laban's herds (Gen. 30:37-41). In other contexts, how-

ever, this word can designate a staff (e.g., Gen. 32:10 [MT 11]).

When *šēḇeṭ* is translated "rod" it usually indicates an instrument of punishment, e.g., in Ex. 21:20 and Job 9:34. It can thereby give wisdom (Prov. 29:15), judgment (Isa. 30:31), or comfort by its protection (Ps. 23:4). It can also be a symbol of economic and political oppression (Isa. 9:4 [MT 3]; 14:29). More mundane uses included threshing herbs (Isa. 28:27) and counting sheep (Ezk. 20:37). Most often, however, *šēḇeṭ* is correctly translated "tribe." Gen. 49:16 uses a specialized type of wordplay (antanaclasis) in which two distinct meanings of one Hebrew word are intended: Dan could judge his people either as one of the "tribes" of Israel or as one of the "rods" (instruments of punishment) of Israel. Although *maṭṭeh* and *šēḇeṭ* occur with apparently the same scope of meanings, the words very rarely occur parallel to each other in Hebrew poetry (Isa. 10:24; 30:31f.).

While *kálamos* is normally translated "reed," in Rev. 21:15f. it is translated "rod" because it was used as a measuring device (*See* REED; MEASURING LINE).

Greek *rhábdos* is used very similarly to the Hebrew words discussed above. It is used in reference to Aaron's rod (He. 9:4) and as a symbol of punishment or judgment (1 Cor. 4:21; Rev. 2:27; 12:5; 19:15).

See also SCEPTER; STAFF.

See P. J. Baldensperger, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1905), 35ff. L. G. HERR

RODANIM rō'də-nim [Heb. *rôḏānîm*; Gk. *Rhodioi*]; AV DODANIM. Descendants or people of Rhodes (1 Ch. 1:7). Gen. 10:4, the parallel passage, reads Heb. *dôḏānîm*, as does a MS of 1 Ch. 1:7. But the LXX of Gen. 10:4 reads *Rhodioi* ("Rhodians"). In other words, there are two choices: DODANIM and Rodanim, each having textual support in Hebrew, but only Rodanim is supported by LXX. In both the ancient (Phoenician) and the later (Aramaic "square letters") forms of Hebrew writing, *d* and *r* are quite similar and sometimes one is mistaken for the other. 1 Ch. 1:7 names the "sons of Javan" (Ionia): Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and R/Dodanim. Elishah is generally identified with a portion of Cyprus (Alašia in cuneiform texts), an exporter of copper (C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia* [1952], pp. 1-10). Kittim is also identified with Cyprus, the name perhaps preserved in Kition (modern Larnaka), although by the time of the DSS the name was used for Rome. Tarshish is more difficult to identify. It was on or near the Mediterranean (cf. Ezk. 27:12). Some locate it at Tartessus in Spain; others on Sardinia; Tarsus has also been suggested. The evidence drawn from these three names seems to require that R/Dodanim also be in the general area, quite likely an island or a seaport, and favors the identification as Rodanim, "Rhodes." But the canon of *lectio difficilior* (the more difficult reading) would support the form Dodanim. W. S. LASOR

ROEBUCK [Heb. *yaḥmûr*] (Dt. 14:5; 1 K. 4:23); AV FALLOW DEER. *See* DEER. For AV ROE and ROEBUCK *see also* GAZELLE; DOE (Prov. 5:19).

ROGELIM rō'gə-lim, rō-gə-lēm' [Heb. *rōgᵉlîm*]. A city in Gilead and home of Barzillai, a wealthy Gileadite who brought provisions to David and his army at Mahanaim during Absalom's re olt (2 S. 17:27; 19:31 [MT 32]). The identification of the city is uncertain. Abel (*GP*, II, 437f.) located it at Tell Bersînyā, *ca.* 7.5 km. (4½ m.) WSW of Irbid, arguing that the ruin's name derives from "Barzillai" and that the name of the nearby Wadi er-Rujaili preserves the city's ancient name. But Glueck (*AASOR*, 25-28 [1951], 176f.) failed to find Iron Age pottery there and tentatively suggested the nearby prominent Iron I-II tell of Dhaharat Soqʿa, 2 km. (1½ mi.) SE of Tell Bersînyā, as the ancient site. D. A. DORSEY

ROHGAH rō'gə [Heb. *K rôhᵃgâ, Q rohgâ*]. An Asherite; first son of Shemer (1 Ch. 7:34).

ROIMUS rō'i-məs (1 Esd. 5:8, AV). *See* REHUM 1.

ROLL. *See* SCROLL.

ROLLER. The AV translation of Heb. *ḥittûl* in Ezk. 30:21. "Roller" was formerly a technical term for a wide BANDAGE.

ROLLING THING. The AV's noncommittal translation of Heb. *galgāl* (lit. "wheel"; cf. Ps. 83:13 [MT 14], AV) in Isa. 17:13. The two most common interpretations are offered by the RSV ("whirling dust") and NEB ("thistledown"). KoB (p. 181) suggests: "the wheel-shaped dryed [sic] calix of the thistle Gundelia Tournefortii which borne by the wind causes the shying of horses." *See also* DUST.

ROMAMTI-EZER rō-mam'ti-ē'zər [Heb. *rōmamtî ʿezer*– 'I will exalt (my) helper' (?)]. Son of Heman, appointed chief of the twenty-fourth division of temple singers in David's time (1 Ch. 25:4, 31). *See* JOSHBEKASHAH.

ROMAN ARMY. *See* ARMY, ROMAN.

ROMAN CITIZEN. *See* CITIZEN.

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY.

I. Survey of the Roman Empire
  A. Julius Caesar
  B. Augustus
  C. Flavian Dynasty
  D. Adoptive or Antonine Emperors
  E. Changing Dynasties (A.D. 193-284)
  F. From Diocletian to Partition
  G. Final Partition
II. Factors Leading to Monarchy
III. Preparation of the Roman Empire for Christianity
  A. *Pax Romana* and Unification of the World
  B. Cosmopolitanism
  C. Eclecticism
  D. Protection for Greek Culture
  E. Language
  F. Travel
  G. Tolerance
  H. Pattern for a Universal Church
  I. Roman Jurisprudence
  J. Negative Preparation
IV. Attitude of the Roman Empire to Religions
  A. Roman or State Religion
  B. Non-Roman Religions
V. Relations Between the Roman Empire and Christianity
  A. Beginning of Christianity to Death of Nero (A.D. 68)
  B. Flavian Period (A.D. 68-96)
  C. Antonine Period (A.D. 96-192)
  D. Changing Dynasties (A.D. 192-284)
  E. Diocletian to First General Edict of Toleration (A.D. 284-311)
  F. First General Edict of Toleration to Extinction of Western Empire (A.D. 311-376)

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

VI. Victory of Christianity and Conversion of the Roman Empire
  A. Negative Causes
  B. Positive Causes

I. Survey of the Roman Empire.—The founding of the Roman Empire was one of the greatest political achievements ever. The conquests of Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, and Napoleon seem small compared with those of Julius Caesar and his successor Augustus. In one sense Julius Caesar was the founder of the empire, and Augustus the founder of the principate. But the empire was the culmination of a long, complex process of political, military, constitutional, cultural, and social development that gives a lasting significance to Roman history.

The Roman empire was the resolution of the seven-hundred-year struggle of various social classes and competing political systems. Roman history recounts the gradual triumph of democracy and popular government over an exclusive governing caste. Against heavy odds the plebeians asserted their rights until they secured a measure of social, political, and legal equality with their superiors (*see* ROME). But in the long conflict both militant democracy and despotic oligarchy degenerated until neither could hold the balance with justice. Democracy had won in the uphill fight but was obliged to accept a common master with aristocracy.

It was no small matter in the history of Christianity that the Roman empire, with its vast dominions, had been converging both from internal and external causes toward a one-man government.

A. Julius Caesar. Because of the growing political degeneracy, leaders had foreseen for several generations the coming of supreme power, and some had tried to seize it. But it was Julius Caesar who best exploited democracy for his own aggrandizement. He proved the potent factor in the first triumvirate, composed of himself, Pompey, and Crassus (60 B.C.), and his consulship (59) was truly kingly. In 49 B.C. he crossed the Rubicon and thus declared war upon his country, but in the same year was appointed dictator, thus securing supreme power. He vanquished the Pompeians — senatorial and republican — at Pharsalia in 48 B.C., at Thapsus in 46, and at Munda in 45 B.C.

Between 46 and his death on the Ides of March, 44, Caesar, although not an emperor, was more imperial than any ruler before Diocletian. He was recognized officially as "demigod"; temples were dedicatd to his "clemency." He encouraged the people to relinquish to him their privileges of self-government and right of election, and he became both chief (*princeps*) of the senate and high priest (*pontifex maximus*), so that he could manipulate even the will of the gods to his own purposes.

His plans were equally great and beneficent. He saw the importance of blending the heterogeneous populations into one people and extending Roman citizenship. His outlook was larger and more favorable to the coming of Christianity than that of his successor Augustus. Caesar's assassination taught Augustus that he should not advance too rapidly along the path to imperial splendor.

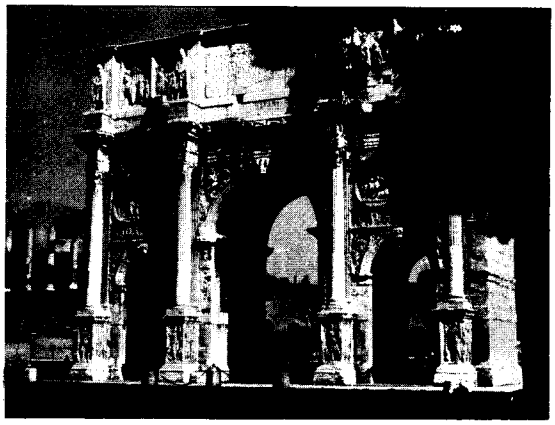
B. Augustus. Octavian (AUGUSTUS) proved the potent factor of the second triumvirate (43 B.C.) — Mark Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus. The battle between Octavian and Antony with Cleopatra of Egypt on the field of Actium on Sept. 2, 31 B.C., decided the fate of the old Roman republic. The commonwealth sank in exhaustion after the protracted civil and internecine strife. Octavian realized that supreme power was the only possible solution for surviving the crisis. On his return to Rome he began to do what Caesar had done — gather the reins of government into his own hands. He succeeded with more caution and shrewdness, and became the founder of the Roman empire, which formally began Jan. 16, 27 B.C., and was signalized by the bestowal of the title Augustus. With a great show of maintaining republican forms, he ruled as virtually an absolute monarch, having complete control of the legislature, the administration, and the armies. The Julio-Claudian line, the last of which was Nero (d. A.D. 68), basically adhered to Augustus's policy.

C. Flavian Dynasty. In A.D. 68 a new "secret of empire" was discovered, namely, that the principate was not necessarily hereditary, and that emperors could be nominated by the armies. After the bloody civil wars of 68, following the death of Nero, Vespasian founded the 2nd Dynasty, and dynastic succession was again adopted. With the Flavians began a new epoch in Roman history, which had pronounced importance for Christianity. The exclusive Roman ideas were on the wane. Vespasian was of plebeian and Sabine rank and thus non-Roman, the first of many non-Roman emperors. His ideas were favorable to the amalgamation of classes, and the leveling process was now steadily in motion. Though he accepted the Augustan "diarchy," he began to curtail the powers of the senate. His son Titus died young (A.D. 81) after a reign of two years. Domitian's reign (81-96) marked a new epoch in imperialism. His autocratic spirit even led him to take the title of Lord and God, thereby approaching the absolute monarchy of Diocletian. He was assassinated, however, and the senate exerted its power and nominated the next series of emperors — on the whole the best that ever wore the purple.

D. Adoptive or Antonine Emperors. Ability, justice, humane government, and recognition of the rights of the provinces marked the Antonines. Under Trajan (A.D. 98-117) the empire was greatly extended to the east — farther than was wise. Under Hadrian (117-138) the Roman armies were withdrawn to the old line of the Euphrates. Henceforth Rome was never aggressive, but always on the defensive against restless barbarians. Signs of weakness and decay manifested themselves under Antoninus Pius (138-161) and Marcus Aurelius (161-180) in spite of their high character. This, the best and happiest period of Roman imperial government (A.D. 98-180), was the beginning of the end. A growing centralization of authority developed in this era. The senate became almost a tool of the emperor. Bureaucracy became marked in the civil service in the reign of Hadrian.

E. Changing Dynasties (A.D. 193-284). On the death of Commodus (180-192), whose reign had been a calamity for the empire, a time of confusion ensued. The military, which had been pampered by Commodus, brought Rome to a state of infamy in which the praetorians put up the post of emperor to public auction. The military basis of the empire was emphasized. A rapid succession of rulers followed. Disintegrating forces set in. The *pax romana* had passed; civil unrest increased the threat of invading barbarians. Plague and famine depopulated rich provinces. Rome itself dropped into the background and the provincial spirit asserted itself proportionately. The year A.D. 212 is memorable for the edict of Caracalla converting all the free population into Roman citizens.

F. From Diocletian to Partition. In the next period Diocletian, an able ruler, established absolute monarchy of pure oriental type. He inaugurated the system of division and subdivision of imperial power, with new courts presided over by two joint emperors and a "Caesar" under each. The inevitable separation of West and East, with the growing predominance of the East, was apparent. Rome and Italy were reduced to the rank of provinces. The division of power led to civil strife until Constantine again



The Arch of Constantine at Rome (R. H. Smith)

united the whole empire under his sway. Constantinople in the East became the capital. The empire was once again parcelled out under the sons of Constantine, but was reunited by Constantius in A.D. 350. In 364 it was again divided, Valentinian receiving the West and Valens the East.

G. Final Partition. On the death of the great ruler Theodosius I (395), the West fell to his son Honorius and the East to Arcadius. The empire was never united again. The western portion rapidly degenerated before barbaric hordes and under weak rulers. Independent barbaric kingdoms were erected in the West. Burgundians settled in Gaul, Visigoths in Gaul and Spain. Under Genseric the Vandals settled first in southern Spain and then in North Africa. The barbarians came into the empire like a flood. Although Alaric and his Goths spared Rome in 408 for a ransom, he finally captured and sacked the city in 410. It was again sacked by Genseric and the Vandals in 462, and fell finally before Odoacer, leader of the Herculians and other Germans, in 476. The rule of Rome, "the mistress of the world," had ceased. The empire of the East continued with checkered experiences and losses until its final capture by the Turks in 1453, when its spiritual and intellectual treasures were scattered about in the West and helped to promote the Renaissance in the 16th century. The East conquered the West intellectually and spiritually.

***II. Factors Leading to Monarchy.**–A. Exhaustion of Parties.* For at least two generations the Roman world had been drifting steadily toward monarchy. Clear minds saw in advance the inevitability of one-man government. The civil wars ceased for a century with the death of Antony, but the struggles of political parties from Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Aemilianus down to Pompey and Caesar had exhausted the state, and this exhaustion of the parties opened the way for monarchy. It became necessary that one should be elevated who could fairly hold the balance between oligarchy and the common people and duly recognize the claims of all parties. Even an earnest republican like Cato admitted it would be better to choose a master than to wait for a tyrant. The free political institutions of Rome could no longer work under the armed oppression of factions. Only supreme power could prove effectual amid an enfeebled, unpopular senate, a corrupt and idle commons, and ambitious individuals.

B. Inability of either aristocracy or democracy to hold equilibrium. Previous events had proved that a narrow, exclusive aristocracy was incapable of good government because of its selfishness and disregard for the rights of lower classes. The heterogeneous population of later

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

Rome was not disciplined to obey or to initiate just government when it seized power. This anarchy in the body politic opened the way to usurpation by individuals. No form of free popular government could live under such conditions. Caesar said of the republic that it was "a name without any substance." The law courts shared in the general corruption. The *judicia* became a prey to party interests. It succumbed to bribery and became the agent of oppression and injustice. Justice for all, and especially for conquered peoples, was impossible. Bribery and candidates in arms prevented the proper functioning of elective assemblies. The whole people had become incapable of self-government and were willing — almost glad — to be relieved of the necessity, even though this favored despotic authority.

C. Precedents. Precedents for the concentration of supreme power had been rapidly multiplying toward the end of the republic. The seven consulships of Marius, the four of Cinna, the three extraordinary commissions of Pompey and his sole consulship, the dictatorship of Sulla without time limit, the two five-year-period military commands of Caesar, the final dictatorship, which was to extend for ten years — all these were pointing directly toward Caesarism.

D. Withdrawal from public life: individualism. The increasing number of noble-minded and intellectual men who withdrew from public life opened the way to supreme power for ambitious demagogues. Philosophy had abandoned the civic, political, or city-state point of view, and had become moral and individual. Stoicism, influenced by Platonism, preached that man must work out his salvation, not publicly in political life, but secretly in his own soul. Stoicism took hold of the noblest Romans who, being conscious of life's weariness, felt the desire for spiritual fellowship and comfort. These people abandoned public life for private speculation and meditation. Those who did remain in public life were too often pure idealists living in the past or in an imaginary ideal Platonic republic. They were unequal to the practical demagogues living very much in the present. Also, many in the moderate party, who normally would have furnished leaders to the state, were so offended with the universal corruption and the hopeless state of social strife that they held aloof and must have welcomed a paramount authority to give stability to social life. Monarchy was in the air; and it was felt that government must be restored and the state reorganized.

E. Industrial. The industrial and middle class also must have welcomed the monarchy. They were supporters neither of aristocracy nor of the idle commonalty. But they did desire stable government under which they could carry on their trades uninterruptedly, instead of civil wars and party strife that greatly hindered their trade and commerce.

F. Military. Military conditions favored supreme power. The old republican safeguards against ambition had been removed. The armies now were full of provincials and non-Romans who had little sentiment for republican forms. Military power was constantly growing. But a monarchy that held all the military, legislative, and administrative functions of the state in due proportion could avert a military despotism.

G. Imperial interests. The conquests of the republic had placed many provinces and heterogeneous populations in East and West under Roman control. The plundering and oppression of these peoples had to cease. The *jus civile* (civil law) of Rome must learn also the *jus naturale* (natural law) and the *jus gentium* (international law). An exclusive, senatorial clique proved incapable of doing justice to

the conquered peoples, and besides, monarchy was more congenial to the provincials than a republic, which they could not comprehend.

H. Influence of the Orient. The Orientals were accustomed to living under imperial and absolutist rulers. Residence in the Orient had given military leaders a thirst for absolute power. Further, when the old city-state system had broken down, and vast and dissimilar masses of people lived in the Roman dominions, no other form was possible, for federal government had not yet been conceived. A king or emperor could hold together the very diverse ethnic elements more easily than ever changing administrations.

III. Preparation of the Roman Empire for Christianity.– About the middle of the reign of Augustus a Jewish child was born who was destined to rule a far more extensive and lasting empire than that of the Caesars. It is striking that Christianity appeared in the world almost simultaneously with the beginning of the Roman empire. Although on a superficial glance the Roman empire may seem the greatest enemy of early Christianity, it was in some ways a grand preparation for, and in some ways the best ally of, Christianity. It ushered in politically "the fulness of the time." The Caesars — whatever they may have been or done — unconsciously prepared the way of the Lord. Among the services rendered by the Roman empire to the kingdom of God were the following.

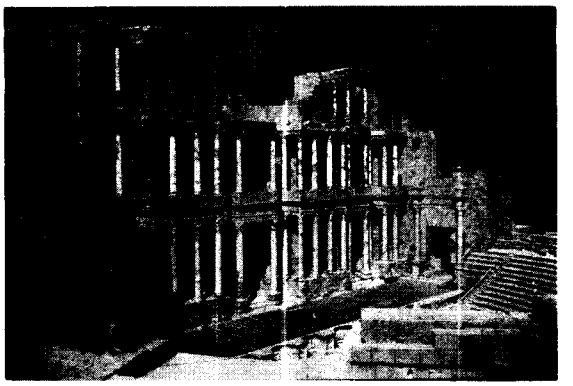
A. Pax Romana *and Unification of the World.* The world had not been at peace since the days of Alexander the Great. The quarrels of the Diadochi (successors of Alexander) and the aggressions of the Roman republic kept the nations in constant turmoil. Universal peace was first established with the beginning of the reign of Augustus. In all the countries around the Mediterranean, and from Britain to the Euphrates, the world was at rest. Rome had ended her internal conflicts, stopped the wars of nations, and cleared the menace of piracy from the Mediterranean. The constant quarrels of the Diadochi in the East were now at an end and their vast territories were under the sway of Rome. The empire united Greeks, Romans, and Jews under one government. This blending of the nations prepared for Christianity.

B. Cosmopolitanism. This state of affairs contributed largely to the spread of cosmopolitanism that had set in with Alexander the Great. All national barriers were now removed. The great cities became meeting places of all races and languages. Romans, Greeks, Orientals, all mingled together in the course of their business. Their ideas, aims, and even their religions were thrown into the melting pot. In the Roman armies soldiers from all quarters of the empire became companions. Many slaves were cultured men and became the teachers of their masters. In every large city, East or West, large bodies of the Jewish Diaspora were settled.

C. Eclecticism. Out of this cosmopolitanism grew eclecticism. Each people sought out the best elements in the thought of the others. This gave a great opportunity to Christianity. Since the 3rd cent. B.C., Stoicism had been preaching a civic and ethical brotherhood of humanity. Their thought was not now of nations and their gods but of human duty. The emphasis had shifted from what was political or national to the moral and human point of view. Formerly the good citizen was automatically regarded as the good man. Now all men were regarded as the good man. Now all men were regarded as equal before the One; only virtue and vice were the differentiating factors. (*See also* STOICS.)

The way was still further prepared for Christianity by the Jewish Diaspora. Large numbers of Jews were settled

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

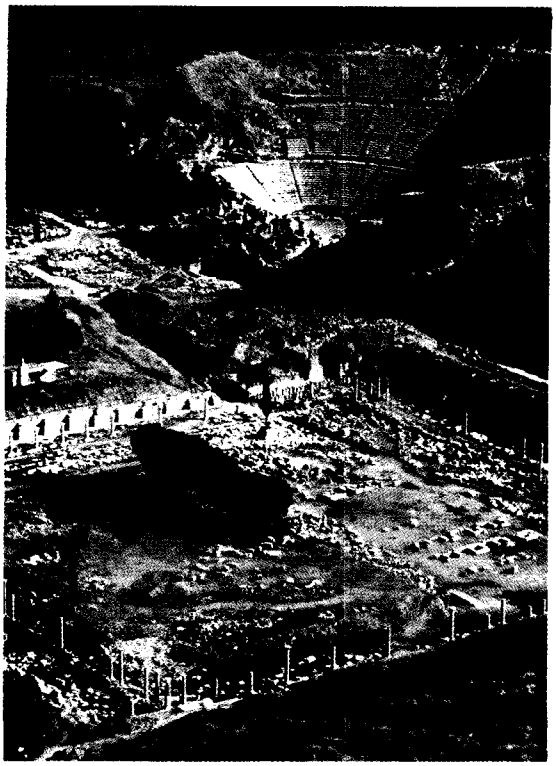


A Roman theater in Sabratha, North Africa, one of the best preserved ground-level theaters (2nd cent. A.D.). The Romans developed this structure after the Greek theaters, which were built into hills (R. H. Smith)

in all the great cities of East and West. With the decay of pagan religion, their spiritual monotheism was welcomed by many. Jews affected Greeks and Romans and Jews themselves were affected by their neighbors. The Holy Scriptures were translated into Greek in Egypt in the 2nd cent. B.C., and this Septuagint version, as it is called, helped prepare the way for the gospel of Christ. Cosmopolitanism strongly affected the Roman mind, hitherto exclusive and narrow. The gods of the conquered peoples were spared and admitted into the pantheon as guardians of Rome. This made for tolerance. The Jewish synagogues throughout the empire proved invaluable to Paul, and to other missionaries, as starting places for reaching the Gentiles with Christian truth, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (*see* DISPERSION).

D. Protection for Greek Culture. The Romans at first were only conquering barbarians who had little respect for culture but idealized power. Already they had wiped out two ancient and superior civilizations — Carthage and Etruria. Had the Roman Mars not been educated by Pallas Athene, the Romans would have proved Vandals and Tartars in blotting out civilization and arresting human progress. The intellectual life of Greece prevailed among the Romans, and in turn Roman power protected Greek culture and speculation and contributed to the uplifting and enlightenment of subsequent ages by both preserving and opening up to the world the spiritual qualities of Greece. The teachings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle went forth on their wide mission. Greek philosophy and theology trained many of the greatest leaders of the Church, and since Greek was the language of scholars, the preachers of the Church used that language very frequently, particularly in the first two centuries.

E. Language. Through the enterprise, superior genius, and commercial ability of the Greek republics, the Greek language spread to the Rhone Valley, Sicily, southern Italy, and the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria, and it became predominant in Egypt. The conquests of Alexander gave Greek an important place in all the great centers of the Middle East, and to some extent it was known in northern India, Parthia, around the Black Sea, and among the Jews of Palestine. There were in Jerusalem itself Hellenistic bodies of devout Jews. Greek was recognized by the Jews as the universal language, as is shown by many ancient inscriptions. A popular form of Greek evolved from the various dialects, the Koine, which is the Greek of the NT. The history of the Maccabean struggle affords ample evidence of the extent to which Greek culture, and

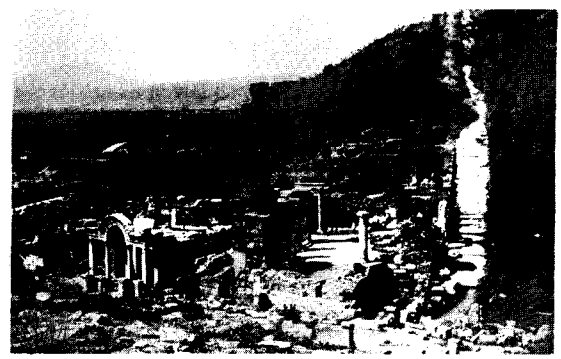


Greek language, were familiar to the Jews. They used it as the language of commerce, of culture, and of religious propaganda. Through the LXX and other Greek versions they commended their Scriptures to the Greco-Roman world. The OT was now beginning to become the Bible not only of the Jews but also of a great many Gentiles as well. When the Romans took over the East they found Greek so widely known they could not supplant it. They gladly accepted it as the one common language among the peoples of their eastern dominions (*see* GREEK LANGUAGE OF THE NT).

Though Latin was, of course, the official language of the conquerors, the decrees of governors generally appeared with a Greek translation. Greek overcame Latin, just as English drove out the French of the Norman invaders. Latin poets and historians often complained that "conquered Greece vanquished its stern conqueror." With the spread of Latin there were two world languages side by side for the empire. But Greek prevailed in the eastern half of the Roman empire, which was the first soil for Christian churches and the first part to be Christianized. Later, Christianity found Latin ready in the West as the common means of communication there and used it. Rome respected Greek, and this had an important influence on Christianity, for Greek was better adapted to express theological and philosophical ideas. The gospel was early circulated in Greek, the early Christain missionaries most frequently preached in Greek, and Greek was the medium of expression even in the Church at Rome for two centuries. Meanwhile, however, the Romans in the West were Romanizing and leveling everywhere in preparation for Latin Christianity.

F. Travel. The marvelous system of Roman roads, which knitted the civilized world together, not only served the legions but was of immense service to the early missionaries. Travel was safer and easier than ever be-

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY



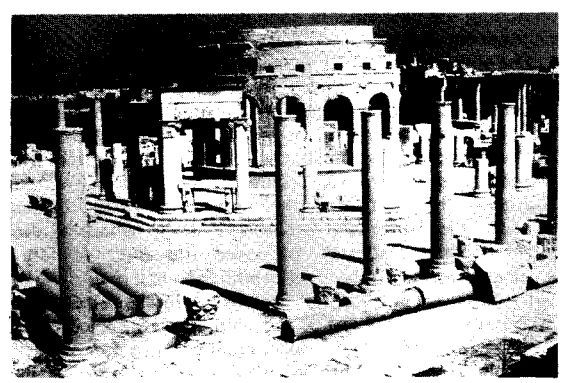
The important port city of Ephesus in Roman Asia. At left is the Hellenistic agora with the theater (where Paul spoke) behind it (L. T. Geraty). Above is a street rising into the hills, the Roman baths, and the temple to Hadrian (R. H. Smith)

fore. The gospel was carried along the trade routes. Many Christian businessmen and artisans used their opportunity to spread their faith. The excellent roads greatly facilitated church organization and brotherhood, strengthening the church to overcome the Roman empire. The sea also was now an important and safe means of communication. With the overthrow of the pirates and the mastery of hostile maritime forces, the Mediterranean was now safer than ever before. Travel by sea was usually regular and easy, and Paul was able to draw up itineraries for his travels according to fixed timetables. In that epoch new ideas, including the truths of the Christian faith, spread with astonishing rapidity from country to country.

G. Tolerance. The Roman authorities granted a large measure of freedom to the religions of all nations, greatly favoring the growth of infant Christianity as long as it was officially viewed as part of Judaism, a licensed religion. The Roman empire was never in principle a persecutor with a permanent court of Inquisition. Even strange cults from the East were allowed to spread unchecked unless they came to be considered a danger to public morality (IV.B below).

H. Pattern for a Universal Church. Some have argued that the Roman empire afforded Christianity an outward symbol for its spiritual ambition and that only a citizen (Paul) of such a world empire could dream of a religion for all humanity. As a matter of fact the Hebrew prophets had repeatedly dreamed of such a religion ages before Paul. God had shown by revelation what His Church ought to be. Doubtless Paul and other apostles felt that if the Ro-

The market place in the forum of Leptis Magna, a Mediterranean port city in Roman Africa (R. H. Smith)



ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

man sword could conquer the known world, the Church could conquer in the religious sphere through the sword of the Spirit.

I. Roman Jurisprudence. Roman law in its origins was characterized by the narrowest exclusiveness; but as province after province was added to the empire a rough average of the customs of the various nations was struck, and this was denoted by the word *equitas,* "leveling." This became the *jus gentium.* It extended gradually into the empire, and the Romans became masters of jurisprudence. The Roman laws were a great boon to the world. People were taught to obey and respect authority and the stern application of justice proved an effective leveling and civilizing influence. The universal law of Rome helped to prepare the way for the universal law of the gospel.

J. Negative Preparation. The Romans could offer their subjects good laws, uniform government, and military protection but not a satisfactory religion. A universal empire called for a universal religion, which Christianity alone could offer. Finally, the way of the Lord was prepared not only by what Rome had accomplished but also by what she proved incapable of accomplishing. The old national religions and systems of belief had proved unable to meet the increasing moral and spiritual demands of man's nature. Moral bankruptcy was imminent. The old Roman religion of abstract virtues had degenerated into pure formalism; it was too cold for human hearts. People were no longer atoms in society performing religious rites, not for their own souls but for the good of the commonwealth. The new schools of philosophy called people away from the state to seek peace with God in the solitude of their own souls first of all. But even the best of these schools felt the need of a positive not a negative religion, the need for a perfect ideal life as a dynamic over ordinary human lives. Thus arose an imperious demand for a new revelation, for a fresh vision or knowledge of God.

In earlier days people believed that God had revealed Himself to primitive wise men or heroes and that subsequent generations must accept with faith what these seers had taught. Later, people lost this attitude; but Plato, after soaring to the greatest heights of philosophy, admitted the need for a daemon or superman to tell us the secrets of eternity. With the early Roman empire began tremendous religious unrest. People sought a sure place of rest in many ways — in philosophy, magic, astrology, foreign rites. This explains the rapid diffusion of oriental mystery religions, promising to the initiated communion with God here and immortality hereafter. This was welcomed by the more serious souls, who would have gladly accepted the consolations of Jesus had they known of them. Others, losing all faith in any form of religion, gave themselves up to blank despair and accepted Epicureanism with its message of annihilation and its doctrine of *carpe diem* — snatching the pleasures of each day. It had a terrible fascination for many.

The sore need of the new gospel of life and immortality can be seen clearly from the Greek and Roman sepulchral inscriptions. Even Seneca, who was much like a Christian in some respects, spoke of immortality as a "beautiful dream." Some of the noblest souls could only cherish the vaguest hope of an immortal life. Sallust records (*Bellum Catilinae* 51f.) that when the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators was discussed, Caesar, who held the Roman high-priesthood, proposed life imprisonment, since death would only bring annihilation and rest to those villains. This was typical of the higher classes. There was no hereafter, no reward or punishment. Even Cicero (*In L. Catilinam oratio* iv.4) was content to leave immortality an open question. The philosophers of Athens at the AREOPAGUS mocked Paul when he spoke of a resurrection. Yet there was a pathetically strong desire for continued existence. The other classes were either perfunctorily performing the rites of a dead national religion, or seeking excitement or aesthetic worship or even scope for their baser passions, or peace or promise for the future, in the eastern mystery religions. "The throne of the human mind" was declared vacant, and Christianity was at hand as the best claimant.

IV. Attitude of the Roman Empire to Religions. *–A. Roman or State Religion.* The long history of Roman religion reveals a continuous penetration by Italian, Etruscan, Greek, Egyptian, and oriental worship and rites. The old Roman religion became almost unrecognizable, and even the antiquarian learning of a Varro could scarcely discover the original meaning or use of many Roman deities. Both the Roman elements and the foreign rites with which they were overloaded retreated until finally overcome by Christianity. During the regal period Roman religion was that of a simple agricultural community. In the period before the Second Punic War Roman religion became more complicated, with large additions to the Roman Pantheon from Etruria, Latium, and Magna Crecia. The mysterious religion of Etruria first impressed the Roman mind, probably giving them the trinity of the Capitol (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva), which had come from Greece, showing that the Romans were not the first in Italy to be influenced by the religion of Greece. The Etruscans provided elements non-Roman in spirit, and Latium contributed the worship of Diana (from Aricia) and a Latin Jupiter. Two Latium cults, Hercules and Castor, penetrated even within the *pomoerium,* the area supposed to be free from buildings.

The Greek influences from southern Italy (Magna Grecia) were strong. From there came the Sibylline Books

The temple to Apollo at Pompeii in southern Italy (ca. 1st cent. A.D. (courtesy of the Italian Government Travel Office [ENIT])

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

(Cumae) as sacred scriptures for the Romans. Soon a multitude of Greek deities entered Rome. In 493 B.C., a time of famine, came the Greek trinity Demeter, Dionysus, and Persephone under the Latin names of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Like some other foreign gods, they came to help in time of distress — revealing a dwindling confidence in the Roman gods. In 433 came Apollo and in the 3rd cent. B.C. followed Mercury, Asclepius, Dis, and Proserpina. A taste for dramatic and more aesthetic forms of worship developed.

During the Second Punic War the faith of the Romans waned seriously before growing unbelief. The educated classes sank into skepticism and the populace into superstition. The educated put philosophy in the place of religion, and the common people followed the more sensuous cults of the Orient. The Romans went abroad again to borrow deities — this time to Greece, Asia, and Egypt. The aim was to satisfy the craving for more sensuous worship. Greek deities entered wholesale and were readily assimilated — in the 2nd cent. B.C. Hebe entered as Juventas, Artemis as Diana, Ares as Mars. It was the Orient, however, that supplied what they really wanted. In 204 B.C. Cybele — known as the Great Mother — came from Pessinus. Her coming gave an impetus to the wilder and more orgiastic cults and the mysterious glamor that captivated the common mind. It struck a fatal blow at the old Roman religion. Bacchus with his gross immorality soon followed. Sulla introduced Mâ from Phrygia as the counterpart of the Roman Bellona, and Egypt gave Isis. In the wars of Pompey against the pirates, Mithra — the greatest rival of Christianity — was brought to Rome. At the close of the republic, religion had become largely an affair of politicians. Worship degenerated first into formalism then into disuse, and yet oriental rites were in high favor.

Under the empire philosophic systems and oriental rites continued to replace the older religion. Augustus attempted to breathe life into the dry bones, but his plan was too political and was lacking in real religious spirit. He aimed at an imperial and popular religion similar to what had long prevailed in the East, where kings were often regarded as divine by their subjects. Alexander the Great and the Diadochian rulers, especially in Egypt and Syria, recognized the value of this system as a bond of union in wide dominions. When Augustus brought peace to the world, the Orient was ready to hail him as a god. Out of this evolved the cult of the reigning emperor and of Roma personified. This worship may have given a semblance of religious unity to the empire, and it magnified the emperor, but it became a deadly engine of persecution when Christians refused to worship the emperor and were treated as traitors. The old Roman religion was now dead, and philosophy took its place along with the mysteries, which promised immortality. The emperor worship itself declined steadily and became a matter of jest even to some of the emperors themselves. In the 3rd and 4th cents. oriental worship became supreme, and the religion of the empire soon became cosmopolitan and eclectic, according to the spirit of the new era.

B. Non-Roman Religions. The non-Roman religions were divided into *religiones licitae* ("licensed worships") and *religiones illicitae* ("unlicensed"). The Romans at different times, on account of earthquakes, famine, or military disasters, introduced non-Roman cults as a means of appeasing the gods. This generally meant that the cults in question could be performed with impunity by their foreign adherents. Generally speaking, any people settling in Rome were permitted the liberty of their own native worship, provided it did not interfere with the peace or corrupt the morals of the state. In 186 B.C. by decree of the senate a severe inquisition was instituted against the Bacchanalian rite, which had caused flagrant immorality among its adherents. But Rome was seldom a systematic persecutor. Even when the adherents of foreign rites and superstitions were driven from the city, they always returned stronger than ever. Roman citizens soon discovered the fascination of oriental and Greek mysteries, and devoted themselves to foreign gods while maintaining the necessary formal observance of the religion of the state. The original moral elements had fallen out of Roman religion, and it had become simply a political and military religion for the welfare of the state, not for the salvation of the individual. All that was required was the performance of certain prescribed rites to avert calamity from the state. This done, the individual could freely seek excitement or aesthetic pleasure in the warm and more sociable foreign mysteries.

Thus, while the Romans retained the distinction of *religiones licitae* and *illicitae,* they seldom used severity against the latter. The very idea of empire rendered toleration of non-Roman religions a necessity. Practically, the empire abandoned the idea of *religiones illicitae* while retaining it upon the statute book to use in case of such an emergency as the Christian religion involved. Not only the government was tolerant, but the different varieties of religions also were tolerant and on good terms with each other. The same person might be initiated into the mysteries of half a dozen pagan divinities and also be a priest of two or more gods. Some had not the slightest objection to worshiping Christ along with Mithra, Isis, and Adonis. People were growing conscious of the oneness of the divine, and credited their neighbors with worshiping the

The triumphal Arch of Titus in Rome that celebrates the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) (R. H. Smith)

One Unknown under different names and forms. Hadrian is said to have considered erecting temples throughout the empire to the Unknown God.

1. Judaism a "religio licita." An interesting and, for the history of Christianity, important example of a *religio licita* is Judaism. No more exclusive and determined a people could have been found upon whom to bestow the favor. Yet from the days of Julius Caesar the imperial policy toward the Jews and their religion was uniformly favorable, with the brief exception of the mad attempt of Gaius. The government often protected them against the hatred of other people. Up to A.D. 70 they were allowed to send freely their contribution to the temple; they were even allowed self-governing privileges and legislative powers among themselves, and thus formed an exclusive community in the midst of Roman society. Even the disastrous war of 68-70 and the fall of Jerusalem did not bring persecution upon the Jews, though most of the self-governing and self-legislating powers were withdrawn and the Jews were compelled to pay a poll tax to the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. Still their religion remained licensed, tolerated, protected. They were excused from duties impossible for their religion, such as military service. This tolerance of the Jewish religion was of incalculable importance to infant Christianity, which at first was taken to be no more than a kind of Judaism.

2. Christianity Alone Proscribed. The question next arises: If it was the universally mild and tolerant policy of the empire to find room for all gods and cults, and to respect the beliefs of all the subject peoples, what explains the anomaly that Christianity alone was proscribed and persecuted? Christianity was indeed an unlicensed religion, but this is no answer. Other *religiones illicitae* grew apace. Neither was it because of Christian agressiveness and proselytism, for Mithraism and Isis worship were militant and aggressive but were tolerated. Nor was it because of popular hatred; the Christians were not hated above the Jews. Other reasons must explain the anomaly.

The fact was that two empires were born at about the same time, so alike and yet so unlike as to render a conflict and struggle to the death inevitable. The Christians were unequivocal in asserting that the society for which they were waiting and laboring was a "kingdom."

a. Confusion of spiritual and temporal. The Romans could not understand a kingdom of God upon earth. They confused Christian ambition with political ambition. It was soon discovered that the Christians were undermining the religion of the state, which was pledged to maintain its ancient worships. The early Christian use of the term "kingdom" was provoking. Many of the Christians were looking for a kingdom on earth to be set up by Christ as king. This did harm even though Christians had no political ambitions. Both the Roman empire and Christianity were aiming at a worldwide social organization. Although the one had done much to help the other, the contrast was too great to allow conciliation. Christianity aimed at universalism along the path of individualism — giving new value to human personality.

b. Unique claims of Christianity. These apparently absurd claims provoked Roman pride — that the world would be destroyed by fire to bring in new heavens and a new earth, that the eternal city (Rome) was destined to fall, that a king would come from heaven and be obeyed.

c. Novelty of Christianity. The sudden emergence of this new and unlicensed religion from Judaism must have surprised the government. This latest and most virile religion came suddenly upon the stage with apparently no past. It was not apparent to the Romans that Christianity had been spreading for a generation under the tolerance granted to Judaism. The Romans were conservative and disliked innovations. The greatest statesman of the Augustan era, Maecenas, advised the emperor to extend no tolerance to new religions, since they would be subversive of monarchy (Dio Cassius lii.36).

d. Intolerance and exclusiveness of Christian religion and society. The Christians contravened the tolerant eclectic spirit of the empire by the absoluteness of their religion and the exclusiveness of their society. Christianity admitted no compromise, and was intolerant to all other systems. The Christians could not deviate from the teachings and commands of their Master, the Lord Jesus. To maintain their own life and mission they had to be intolerant. Many would gladly have accepted Christ along with Mithra and Isis and Serapis, but Christianity demanded complete separation. Christ could have no rival, His religion claimed to be absolute, and worshipers of Jesus had to be separate from the world. This spirit was at enmity with that of the day, which enabled rival cults to coexist with the greatest indifference. Add to this the exclusive state of Christian society. Even the ethically sound and earnest heathen who had practiced severe asceticism and performed many rites could not be admitted unless he renounced many things dear to him. In every sphere of public life this exclusiveness made itself felt. For safety, Christians often met at night in secret assemblies. Their exclusiveness provoked charges of scandalous activities in such gatherings.

e. Obstinatio. The sullen obstinacy with which Christians met the demands of the imperial power was very offensive to Roman authorities. If only they had rendered a purely formal obedience to the religion of the state they would have been left undisturbed, but they would not compromise with another religion. Roman clemency and respect for law were baffled. The martyrs' courage appeared as sheer fanaticism. Even Marcus Aurelius could see nothing in the Christians but "sheer obstinacy" (*see* PERSECUTION).

f. Aggressiveness against pagan faith. Not content with abstaining from other worship, the Christians attacked severely the pagan cults, which to them were based on the doctrines of demons. Emperor worship was blasphemous to the Christians, and they were charged with disloyalty and could be proved guilty of *majestas* (treason). They treated with contempt the claim that the greatness of Rome was due to her reverence for the gods. To the Romans they were atheists, and the politicians feared that this atheism might call down the wrath of the gods.

g. Christians to the lion. Very soon, when disasters began to fall thickly upon the empire, the blame was laid upon the Christians. They were made the scapegoats for every calamity. If famine, drought, pestilence, earthquake, or any other public calamity threatened, the cry was raised "the Christians to the lion." Tertullian with his sardonic invective showed up the absurdity of such accusations (*see also* NERO; PERSECUTION). It was forgotten, as the Apologists showed, that Rome had been visited by the greatest calamities before the Christian era, and that the Christians were the most self-sacrificing in times of distress, giving succor to Christians and pagans alike.

h. Odium generis humani. All prejudices were summed up in the phrase "hatred for the human race," and this was reciprocated by "hatred of the human race toward them." They were in mockery called "Christiani" by the Antiochians (a name they soon accepted as an honor), and "Nazarenes" by the Jews. No nicknames were too vile to attach to them — Asinarii (the sect that worshiped the ass's head), Sarmenticii, or Semaxii. Tacitus reckoned the

Christian faith among the "atrocious and abominable things" that flooded Rome, and further designated it as "baneful superstition" (*Ann.* xv.44). Suetonius regarded it as "novel and malefic" (*Nero* 16), and the gentle Pliny called it "vile and indecent" (*Exp.* x.97). This opprobrium was general and was accentuated by the attacks of philosophers as they scorned this new religion. This attitude of heathen philosophy is best understood by reading Celsus and the Christian apologists.

i. Other Disturbing Factors. Philosophy long maintained its aloofness from the religion of a crucified Galilean; the "wise" were the last to enter the kingdom of God. When later Christianity had established itself as a permanent force in human thought, philosophy deigned to consider its claims. But it was too late; the new faith was already on the offensive. Philosophy discovered its own weakness and began to reform itself by aiming at being both a philosophy and a religion. This is particularly the case in Neoplatonism (in Plotinus), in which reason breaks down before revelation and mysticism.

Another force disturbing the peace of the Christian Church was the enemy within the fold. Large numbers of heathen had entered the church, bringing with them their oriental or Greek ideas, just as Jewish Christians also brought certain misconceptions. This led to grave heresies, each system of thought distorting in its own way the orthodox faith. Later another ally joined the forces against Christianity — reformed paganism led by an injured priesthood. At first the cause of Christianity was greatly aided by the absence of an exclusive and jealous priesthood at the head of the Greek-Roman religion, as in the Jewish and oriental religions. There was thus no dogma and no class interested in maintaining a dogma. Religious persecution is invariably instituted by the priesthood, but in the Roman world it was not till late in the day, when the temples and sacrifices were falling into disuse, that a priesthood constituted a body in opposition. Thus the Roman imperial power stood not alone in antagonism to Christianity, but was whetted and often provoked to action by popular hate, philosophy, a pagan priesthood, and heresies within the Church.

V. Relations Between the Roman Empire and Christianity.– We have here to explain how the attitude of the Roman empire, at first friendly or indifferent, developed into one of fierce conflict, the different stages in the policy — if we can speak of any uniform policy — of the Roman government toward Christianity, the charges or mode of procedure on which Christians were condemned, and when and how the mere profession of Christianity became a crime. We shall see the Roman empire progressively weakening and Christianity gaining ground. For the sake of clearness we shall divide the history of the Roman empire into six periods; the first of these is from the commencement of the Christian era to the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

A. Beginning of Christianity to Death of Nero (A.D. 68). At first the presence of the Christian faith was scarcely noticed by Roman authorities. It appeared first merely as a reformed and more spiritual Judaism; its earliest preachers and adherents alike never dreamed of severing from the synagogue. Christians seemed to be only another of the Jewish sects to which a Jew might belong while adhering to Mosaism and Judaism. But soon this friendly relationship became strained on account of the claims of Christian preachers, and from the introduction of gentile proselytes. The first persecutions for the infant Church came entirely from exclusive Judaism, and it was the Jews who first accused Christians before the Roman courts. Even so, the Roman government refused to turn persecutor, and protected the new faith both against Jewish accusations and against the violence of other members of the populace (Acts 21:31f.). And the Christian missionaries — especially Paul — soon recognized in the Roman empire an ally and a power for good. Writing to the Romans, Paul counseled them to submit in obedience to the governmental powers as "ordained of God." His favorable impression must have been greatly enhanced by his mild captivity at Rome (although it lasted two years). The Roman soldiers had rescued him from the fanaticism of the Jews in Jerusalem to save his life. Toward the accusations of the Jews against their rivals the Romans were either indifferent, like Gallio, or recognized the innocence of the accused, as did Felix and Porcius Festus (cf. Acts 18:12-17; 24-25). But the Jews proceeded to formulate a charge of disloyalty (begun before Pilate) that the new sect was acting "against the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus" (17:7; 25:8). Thus early Christianity was disowned by Judaism and cast upon its own resources. The increasing numbers of Christians would confirm to the Roman government the independence of Christianity, and the trial of a Roman citizen, Paul, at Rome would further enlighten the authorities.

The first heathen persecution of Christianity resulted from no definite policy, and no definite charges, but from an accidental spark that kindled the conflagration of Rome (July, A.D. 64). Till then no emperor had taken much notice of Christianity. Only in the middle of the reign of Augustus was Jesus born. Jesus' public ministry, crucifixion, and resurrection belong to the reign of Tiberius, but this emperor died too early (A.D. 37) to allow any prominence to the new faith, although he was credited by legend with the intention of receiving Christ into the Roman pantheon. At the end of the reign of the mad Gaius (A.D. 37-41) the "new way" was not yet divorced from the parent faith. Gaius caused a diversion in favor of the Christians by his persecution of the Jews and the command to set up his own statue in the temple. In the next reign (Claudius, A.D. 41-45), the Jews were again harshly treated, and thousands were banished from Rome (Suetonius *Claudius* 25). Some hold that it was because of riots between Jews and Christians, but Dio Cassius (lx.6) implies that it was a police regulation to restrain the spread of Jewish worship. It was in the reign of NERO, after the fire of A.D. 64, that the first hostile step was taken by the government against the Christians, the earliest account of which is given by Tacitus (*Ann.* xv.44). Nero's reckless career had given rise to the rumor that he was the incendiary in order that he might build the city on more magnificent plans. Though he did everything possible to arrest the flames, even exposing his own life, though he took every means of alleviating the destitution of the sufferers, and performed religious rites to appease the gods, the suspicion still clung to him. "Accordingly in order to dissipate the rumor, he put forward as guilty (*subdidit reos*) and inflicted the most cruel punishments on those who were hated for their abominations (*flagitia*) and called *Christians*, by the populace. The originator of that name, Christus, had been executed by the procurator Pontius Pilatus in the reign of Tiberius, and the baneful superstition, put down for the time being, broke out again . . . Those, therefore, who confessed (i.e., to being Christians) were first arrested, and then by the information gained from them a large number were implicated, not so much on the charge of incendiarism as for hatred of mankind. The victims perished amid mockery; some clothed in the skins of wild beasts were torn to pieces by dogs. . . . Whence (after these cruelties) commiseration began to be felt for them, though guilty and deserving the severest

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

penalties, for men felt their destruction was not from considerations of public welfare but to gratify the cruelty of one person (Nero)."

This passage — the earliest classical account of the crucifixion and the only mention of Pilate in a heathen author — offers some difficulties that need explanation. It is clear that Tacitus, while he believed the Christians innocent of incendiarism, considered them guilty from the point of view of the populace and deserving of the severest punishment because of their *flagitia* and "hatred of the human race," although not for arson. *Qui fatebantur* means most naturally "those who confessed to being Christians," although Arnold argued against this. Some Christians boldly asserted their religion; others no doubt, as in Bithynia, recanted before tribulation. By *indicio eorum* Ramsay (*CRE*, p. 233) understood "on the information elicited at their trial," i.e., from information gathered by the inquisitors in the course of the proceedings. This incidental information implicated a large number of others, hence Ramsay preferred the MS reading *coniuncti* to the correction *conuicti*. This is in order to explain the difficulty that the noblest Christians who boldly confessed their faith would seek to implicate brethren. Hardy, however, preferred the more usual rendering of *indicio eorum* as "on information received from them" (p. 67). *Some* may have consented to give the names of co-religionists to the Roman courts through torture, or for promised immunity, or through local jealousies. Party strife was not unknown in the early Church, as at Corinth; and in a cosmopolitan church like that at Rome, with converts from Judaism and paganism, a bitter sectarian spirit is easy to understand. Clement of Rome, writing from there a generation after the persecution, said that "a huge multitude" of Christians suffered "through jealousy or strife." The most natural and obvious meaning is "mutual or sectarian jealousy." Some explain this unpleasant fact by saying it was "by the jealousy of the Jews." If it were so, Clement would certainly have said so. A "huge multitude" need not cause us any trouble. It is a relative term; it was a considerable number that were inhumanly butchered.

Some have impugned the veracity of Tacitus in this important passage, alleging that he had read back the feelings and state of affairs in his own time (50 years later) into the days of Nero. They have questioned whether Christianity was then so independent of the Jews and whether there could be "a huge multitude" of Christians. Schiller went so far as to maintain that it was a persecution of the Jews and that the Christians only suffered as a sect of Judaism. Such a position is quite untenable, for Tacitus was too trustworthy a historian to fall into such confusion, and he knew the origin of the Christians. Besides, the influence of Nero's mistress Poppaea, who favored Judaism (Josephus *Ant.* xx.8.11), at that time would have prevented such a slaughter of the Jews.

The next question is, why were the Christians alone selected for persecution? That they were so singled out we know, but exactly for what reason is hard to say with certainty. A number of reasons may be mentioned (see also IV.B.2 above). (1) Farrar (I, ch. 4) and Lightfoot blamed Poppaea and Jewish malice for the first Christian persecution. This reason is inadequate, although the Jews were certainly bitter. (2) Christians were already recognized by the Roman authorities as a distinct sect, either from the reports of eastern provincial governors where Christianity was increasing fast or from the attention focused on Paul's first trial. As the newest sect they would serve as victims to appease deity and the populace. (3) The number of Christians was already considerable at Rome, and their aggressiveness and active proselytism made them even more formidable and produced dislike. (4) They were uncompromising in the expression of their beliefs. They looked for the burning of the earth by fire and were eagerly expecting the return of Christ, their King, to reconstitute society. (5) Trade jealousy produced hatred on the part of the heathen, e.g., Ephesian silversmiths, Bithynian graziers who sold annually many animals for sacrifice, procurers, fortune-tellers. Such people saw their livings affected by Christianity. (6) Family dissensions were caused when Christians forbade their converts to have a plurality of wives or concubines. (7) The Christians were undermining the religion of the state, which was pledged to maintain the ancient forms of worship. (8) The churches seemed to be secret societies and appeared to worship one Jesus as their king. Because they were increasing, this seemed a political danger. (9) Christianity was unpopular because it originated among the unpopular Jews, and in itself it seemed to be worse still. It had no official recognition and appeared to be simply private self-will.

For such reasons the Christians had earned the hatred of the populace, and a sect so detested must have fallen under the surveillance of the city police administration. They were chosen by Nero as scapegoats to serve his purposes. The origin of the first persecution was thus purely accidental — in order to remove suspicion from the emperor. It was not because of any already formulated policy, nor through apprehension of any danger to the state, nor because the Christians were guilty of any crimes. But accidental as this persecution was in origin, its consequences were of far-reaching importance.

There are now only two principal views about the date of the policy of proscription of the new faith by the Roman government: (1) the view of Ramsay (*CRE*, pp. 242ff.), who held that this development from punishment for definite crimes (*flagitia*) to proscription for the mere profession of Christianity took place between 68 and 96; and (2) that of Hardy (p. 77) and also Mommsen (*Expos.* [1893], 1-7) and Sanday (*Expos.* [1894], 406ff.) that the trial of the Christians under Nero resulted in the declaration of the mere profession, *the Name*, as a crime punishable by death. Tacitus apparently represented the persecution of the Christians as accidental, isolated, and of brief duration, while Suetonius (*Nero* 16) mentioned the punishment of Christians in a list of permanent police regulations for the maintenance of good order, into which it would be inconsistent to introduce an isolated case of procedure against the "baneful superstition" (Ramsay, p. 230). The two accounts are not contradictory. Tacitus gave the initial stage and Suetonius "a brief statement of the permanent administrative principle into which Nero's action ultimately resolved itself" (p. 232). But as yet, according to Ramsay, Christians were not condemned *as Christians*, but on account of *flagitia* attaching to the profession, and because the Roman police authorities had learned enough about the Christians to regard them as hostile to society. A trial still had to be held and condemnation pronounced "in respect not of the Name but of serious offences naturally connected with the name," first, incendiarism, a charge that broke down, and second, hostility to civilized society and charges of magic. The others agreed so far with Ramsay, concerning the first stages, but asserted that though initially a trial was needed, soon it could be dispensed with, the Christians being recognized as a society whose principles might be summarized as "hatred to the human race." The religion itself involved the crimes, and as a religion it was henceforth proscribed. The surveillance over Christians and their punishment was left to the police administration, which would step in

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

at any time with severe measures or remain remiss, according to circumstances.

Christianity was henceforth a *religio illicita*. Persecution or its absence depended henceforth on the mood of the reigning emperor, the character of his administration, the activity of provincial governors, the state of popular feeling against the new faith, and other local circumstances. There is no early evidence that the Neronian persecution extended beyond Rome, though, of course, the "example set by the emperor necessarily guided the action of all Roman officials" and soon the trouble spread from the capital to the East, to Africa, and to the West. The stormy close of Nero's reign and the troubled days that followed created a short diversion in favor of Christianity. This Neronian persecution is important for the history of Christianity: Nero commenced the principle of punishing Christians, and thus made a precedent for future rulers. Nero was the first of the Roman persecutors who, like Herod Agrippa, came to a miserable end — a fact much dwelt on by Lactantius and other Christian writers.

B. Flavian Period (A.D. 68-96). In the Flavian period no uniform imperial *policy* against Christianity can be discovered. As we have seen, the Neronian persecution settled the future attitude of the Roman state toward the new faith. The Flavians could not avoid following the precedent set by Nero. Christianity was spreading — especially in the East and at Rome. We have no account of any persecution under Vespasian but it does not follow that none such took place. As the whole matter was left to the police administration, severity would be spasmodic and called forth by local circumstances. The fall of Jerusalem must have had profound influence both on Judaism and on Christianity. For the former it did what the fall of Rome under Goths, Vandals, and Franks did for the old Roman religion — it weakened the idea of a national god bound up with a political religion. The cleft between Judaism and its rival now became greater. Christianity was relieved from the overpowering influence of a national center, and those Jews who now recognized the futility of political dreams would more readily join the Christian faith. Not only the distinction but the opposition and hostility would now be more apparent to outsiders, though Vespasian imposed the poll tax on Jewish Christians and Jews alike. No memory of harshness against Christianity under Vespasian has survived. Ramsay (257) would interpret a mutilated passage of Suetonius (*Vespasian* 15) as implying Vespasian's reluctance to carry out *justa supplicia* against Christians.

Titus, "the darling of the human race," is not recorded as a persecutor, but his opinion of Judaism and Christianity as stated in the council of war before Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and recorded by Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicorum* ii.30.6-8) is interesting as an approval of the policy of Nero. Severus's authority is undoubtedly Tacitus (Bernays and Mommsen). The authenticity of the speech as nullifying the account of Josephus has been impugned; at any rate it represents the point of view of Tacitus. Titus then advocated the destruction of the temple in order that the religion of the Jews and the Christians might be more thoroughly extirpated, since these religions, though opposed to one another, were of the same origin, the Christians having sprung from the Jews. If the root were removed the stem would readily perish. There is no record in the short reign of Titus of any action against either party.

Domitian stands out as the arch persecutor of this period, as Nero was of the first period. His procedure against Christians was not an isolated act, but part of a general policy under which others suffered. His reign was a return to ancient principles. He attempted to reform morals, suppress luxury and vice, and banish immoral oriental rites, actors, astrologers, and philosophers. It was in his attempt to revive the national religion that he came in conflict with Christianity. His own cousin, Flavius Clemens, was condemned apparently for Christianity (atheism), and his wife Domitilla was banished.

The profession of Christianity in itself was not sufficient for the condemnation of Roman citizens of high standing; hence the charges of atheism or *majestas* were put forward. But for ordinary Roman citizens and for provincials the profession of Christianity merited death. No definite edict or general prescription was enacted; only the principle instituted by Nero was allowed to be carried out. There was, as Mommsen remarked, a standing proscription against Christians as against brigands, but harsh procedure against both was spasmodic and depended on the caprice or character of provincial governors.

Domitian took one definite step against Christianity in establishing an easy test by which to detect those who were Christians, namely, the demand to worship the *genius* of the emperor. This too was only part of Domitian's general policy of asserting his own *dominus et deus* (Lord and God) title and emphasizing the imperial cult as a bond of political union. Many Christians were martyred in succeeding reigns because they refused to worship the emperor. The Apocalypse probably reflects the sufferings of the Church in the reign of Domitian.

C. Antonine Period (A.D. 96-192). *1. Nerva and Trajan.* On the death of Domitian, peace prevailed for the Christians during the reign of Nerva and the first thirteen years of Trajan. It is curious that some of the best Roman emperors were harsh to the Christians (e.g., Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Decius, Diocletian), while some of the worst (Commodus, Caracalla, Heliogabalus) left them in peace (*see* PERSECUTION). Pliny became governor of Bithynia in A.D. 111 and found, especially in the eastern part of his province, the temples almost deserted. Some Christians were brought before him and on established precedents were ordered to be executed for their religion. The Roman citizens he sent to Rome for trial; but being a humane man he shrank from carrying out the wholesale execution required by a consistent policy.

Pliny wrote to Trajan asking, Should no distinction be made between old and young? Should pardon not be extended to those who recanted and worshiped the emperor's image? Should mere profession (*nomen ipsum*) be a capital offense if no crimes could be proved? He explained his procedure: he gave those who were accused abundant opportunity to recant; those who persisted in this faith were executed. He considered their "stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy" as in itself deserving punishment. He was troubled by those who, through jealousy or dislike, anonymously handed in lists of Christians who denied belonging to the faith. He gave a most interesting description of Christian worship and Christian character — very creditable to them. Pliny was convinced their meetings were harmless and the Christian faith was nothing but a perverse and extravagant superstition.

On the whole, Trajan approved the lines suggested by Pliny. He replied that no definite or universal rule could be laid down but he ordered that (1) the Christians were not to be sought out by the authorities, but if they were accused and convicted they must be punished; (2) anonymous information against them was not to be accepted; (3) even those suspected in the past were to be pardoned on renouncing Christianity or proving they were not Christians. This rescript of Trajan did not alter the law in regard to Christianity but it made for tolerance and minimized

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

The equestrian statue of the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill in Rome (B. K. Condit)

greatly the dangers to which Christians were exposed from informers. The Christians regarded Trajan as a benefactor, for his lieutenants were encouraged to close their eyes to Christian offenders. The rescript, it is said, "marks the end of the old system of uncompromising hostility."

2. Hadrian. The reign of Hadrian (117-138) was a period of toleration for the Christians. He was greatly interested in all religions and was initiated into several mysteries. In Asia, where Christianity was making most progress, a state of terrorism was imminent; informers brought charges even against non-Christians so that they might receive bribes for withdrawing the accusations. The governor, Granianus, found himself in difficulties and wrote to Hadrian for advice. The emperor's reply was addressed to his successor Minucius Fundanus, *ca.* A.D. 124. Hadrian went much farther than Trajan in granting protection to the Christians. (1) Information is not to be passed over, lest the innocent suffer (as was the case under Trajan) and informers make a trade of lodging accusations; (2) provincials accusing Christians must give proof that the accused have committed something illegal; (3) mere petitions and outcries against the Christians are not to be admitted; (4) a prosecutor on failing to make good his case is to be punished. The Christians were very much helped, as informers became afraid to make charges. The laws against Christians, however, remained on the statute book, basically the same as before.

3. Antoninus Pius. Although a devout follower of the ancient Roman religion, Antoninus (138-161) continued the liberal policy of Trajan and Hadrian, for this just and gentle aristocrat liked to keep things nearly as he found them, although he could be strong and fearless when necessary. In his reign Ptolemaeus and Lucius were executed at Rome, and Polycarp at Smyrna, probably more through the actions of subordinates than his own. He strongly confirmed Hadrian's policy of protecting the uncondemned Christians against mob violence. He also repressed the iniquitous work of anonymous informers. There were cases, however, where public feeling was so high that his rescripts were disregarded.

4. Marcus Aurelius. Under Aurelius (161-180) a strong reaction set in affecting the Christians. This was caused partly by frontier disasters and devastating pestilence — regarded as punishments from the gods because of the growth of Christianity. The policy of Aurelius was to return to ancient principles and revive the Roman national religion. The leniency toward Christians of the last three reigns now ceased, and severe persecution extended to Gaul and to Africa. Aurelius, as a proud Stoic philosopher, could not understand the humility of the Christians nor their loyalty to one who had been crucified. For him their devotion seemed "sheer obstinacy" and this itself deserved punishment. While there was no direct edict for persecution, Christianity itself still constituted a crime. The Christians had a pathetic desire to look upon Aurelius as a friend because of his moral excellence; but, while there was no systematic attempt to extirpate Christianity, and he rebuked too much severity to the Christians at Lugdunum, he was far from being favorable to the Christian faith, which he never really understood.

5. Commodus. Under the rule of the pleasure-loving Commodus (180-192) Christians again enjoyed a respite, for he was too engrossed with his own petty concerns to persecute Christians. Ramsay and Hardy estimated somewhat differently the net results of the collisions between the new faith and the government in this period. Hardy thought that the Christian organization was never suspected as more than an abstract danger during the first two centuries. The danger, however, was a spiritual danger — a danger to the old gods in the main. Wise, broad-minded rulers like the Antonines must have felt that in the highest sense this was not a real danger from a moral point of view. As Christianity went on ever increasing in strength, these rulers must have realized at least partially that here was a potential power which could produce vast effects. When in the 3rd cent. the emperors Severus, Decius, and Valerian sought to stamp it out, Christianity was already too strong to be overcome. In about half a century more the empire had to offer terms and Christianity was triumphant.

D. Changing Dynasties (A.D. 192-284). In this period the insecurity of the throne (twenty emperors in ninety-two years) enabled Christianity to spread practically untroubled. The fierce barbarian wars on the frontiers absorbed attention and caused diversions in favor of Christianity. The Christians' aloofness from political strife helped them in this time of changing dynasties. Many of these emperors were non-Roman provincials, who were eclectic in their sympathies and had no special attachment to the old Roman faith. Some emperors were actually friendly to Christianity. Apart from the persecutions under Decius and Valerian, it was a time of remarkable peace for the Church, which now became strong and united, organized on the principle of the imperial government. In 202 Septimius Severus started a cruel persecution in Africa that claimed many victims, but it was stopped by Caracalla, though he was no pattern of virtue. Helio-

A Roman sarcophagus relief (2nd cent.) depicting Christ before Pilate (Museo Pio Cristiano, Rome)

gabalus, a Syrian priest, indirectly aided Christianity through his degradation of Roman religion and his syncretistic tolerance of other religions.

Alexander Severus had high ideals and was tolerant. In his private chapel he had images of Orpheus, Apollonius, Abraham, and Christ, and the golden rule was engraved on the walls of the palace. The persecution under Decius was serious. The misfortunes on the frontiers were ascribed to the wrath of the gods. To appease them, and to restore the old Roman virtues, Decius decreed in A.D. 250 that all Christians must perform the ceremonies of the state religion. The same policy continued under Valerian (253-260). His efforts were directed especially against the officers of the church. Bishops and all kinds of clergymen were banished or cast into prison. Then the death penalty was imposed, and among those who perished were Bishop Sixtus of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage. Large numbers of fair-weather Christians abjured the faith, causing great problems in regard to discipline in the Church. Then Gallienus issued a decree of toleration and forty years of peace ensued for the Christians.

E. Diocletian to First General Edict of Toleration (A.D. 284-311). As dangers decreased, less desirable converts came into the Church and the flood of worldliness that ensued was stayed only by the persecution under Diocletian, which began in 303. This emperor was one of the wisest and ablest Roman rulers. For almost twenty years he had not persecuted the Christians, being indeed somewhat favorable to them. But, urged on by the evil counsel

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

of his son-in-law Galerius, he gave an edict against Bibles, Christian assemblies, and churches. A second edict attacked church organization, a third sought to compel submission by torture. This was really a confession of failure; and a fourth edict was issued by Maximin, joint emperor ruling the west, which imposed the death penalty and ordered sacrifice to the gods. The persecution thus begun was the last and greatest of all the persecutions. Diocletian, convinced of the uselessness of these measures, abdicated in 305; but the persecution raged until 311 and two years longer in local persecutions. On April 30, 311, Galerius (stricken with a loathsome disease) issued from Nicomedia with Constantine and Licinius the first general edict of toleration. Christianity was now acknowledged as a *religio licita*, and very soon was to have a place superior to paganism in the empire.

F. First General Edict of Toleration to Extinction of Western Empire (A.D. 311-476). Constantine, having defeated Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (Oct. 27, 312), became sole ruler of the West, and, in conjunction with his eastern colleague Licinius, issued the famous edict of toleration from Milan, March 30, 313, by which all religions were granted equal tolerance, and Christianity was thus placed on equal footing with paganism. It was enacted further that all places of worship taken from the Christians should be restored without delay and that all losses suffered in the persecutions be made good. After some years there came a clash between Constantine and Licinius, and the latter was defeated at Hadrianople in

The sculptured head of the first Christian emperor Constantine (A.D. 274-337) from his gigantic statue, about ten times lifesize (R.H. Smith)

ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHRISTIANITY

323, leaving Constantine as sole emperor. His marks of favor and donations to the Church had increased year by year, and with the founding of Constantinople Christianity became practically the state religion, while toleration was still extended to the pagans.

It has been alleged that Constantine became a Christian to be on the winning side and that his assistance to the Church was based on political considerations. This is scarcely fair. He became a Christian before there was any certainty that the faith would triumph over paganism. He had inherited from his father a strong spirit of toleration with considerable admiration for the Christian religion. We consider that he believed strongly in toleration for Christians and pagans alike. In this he was quite unlike his successors on the throne of the empire.

His sons departed almost completely from their father's ideas of toleration and sought to exterminate paganism by violence. When Constantius became sole ruler, after the deaths of his brothers, he proceeded to close down heathen temples and prohibited sacrifices to the gods, on pain of death. It was in vain. The emperor favored Arianism (which denied the true deity of Jesus) and thus heterodoxy tried to banish orthodoxy. Arianism being now in the ascendancy, place-seekers pretended to be Christians. This produced evil consequences. The emperor ignorantly interfered in church affairs. Corruption abounded, and if matters had continued thus the Church might well have perished.

The persecution under Julian the Apostate saved the Church from this. Julian, a near relative, narrowly escaped murder at the hands of Constantine's sons. The abominable treatment received drove him back into paganism. When, on the death of Constantius, he became emperor, he strove with all his might to restore paganism to its place of privilege and power. He proceeded against Christianity with rigor, rescinding the privileges of the clergy, forbidding bequests to the Church, removing Christians from public positions. He sought to establish a reformed paganism and endeavored to increase its splendor as a counterattraction. Paganism, however, was too corrupt to be revived, and the moral power of Christianity prevailed. Dying on a battlefield on the Persian frontier in 363, Julian is supposed to have acknowledged the victory of Christ, but this is not certain.

For a brief period there was religious neutrality, but Gratian, the new emperor, departed from this neutrality at the instigation of Ambrose bishop of Milan. He removed the statue of victory from the senate-house, refused the titles and robes of *pontifex maximus*, prohibited bloody sacrifices, and dealt a severe blow to the old faith by withdrawing some of the treasury grants, thereby making it dependent on the voluntary system.

Theodosius I (the Great) adopted a strenuous religious policy against both heresy and paganism. Under the influence of Ambrose of Milan, a man of strong personality and outstanding spiritual and intellectual power, the emperor began a systematic proscription of paganism. In various edicts between 381 and 392 Theodosius and Ambrose showed themselves intolerant — denying apostates from Christianity the right to make a will and the right of inheritance, interdicting heathen public worship and even some acts of private worship, and imposing heavier penalties for the performance of sacrifice. Christian vandalism became rampant, especially in the East, monks often leading the mobs to commit grave acts of violence.

The sons of Theodosius steadily pursued the suppression of paganism. Honorius in the West excluded pagans from civil and military offices (A.D. 408). That heathenism was still an attraction, however, is proved by the repeated laws against apostasy. Under Valentinian III (423-455) and Theodosius II, laws were enacted for the destruction of temples or their conversion into Christian churches. Valentinian strongly backed up the claims of Pope Leo I to be universal bishop, and made it an offense against the state to resist the dictates of the pontiff. In the Western empire heathenism was persecuted till the end, and its complete overthrow was hastened by the final fall of Rome (476). In the East Justinian closed the heathen schools of philosophy at Athens (529), and even prohibited pagan worship in private under pain of death.

VI. Victory of Christianity and Conversion of the Roman Empire.—Christianity was now acknowledged as the religion of both East and West. It had also grown strong enough to convert the barbarians who overran the West. It restrained and educated them under the lead of the Papacy, so that its conquests now extended beyond the Roman empire.

C. Merivale (preface to *Conversion of Roman Empire* [1864]) attributed the conversion of the Roman empire to four causes: (1) the external evidence of apparent fulfilment of prophecy and the evidence of miracles; (2) internal evidence as satisfying the spiritual wants of the empire and offering a Redeemer; (3) the example of the pure lives and heroic deaths of the early Christians; and (4) the success that attended the Christian cause under Constantine. Gibbon (ch. 15) sought to account for the phenomenal success of Christianity in the empire by (1) the zeal and enthusiasm of the early Christians, (2) the belief of Christianity in immortality with both future rewards and future retributions, (3) miracles, (4) the high ethical code and pure morals of professing Christians, and (5) strong ecclesiastical organization on imperial patterns. But these reasons do not account entirely for the success of the religion of Jesus.

A. Negative Causes. Among these were the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of the old world, the internal rottenness and decay of heathen systems. All ancient national religions had failed. Worship had degenerated into pure formalism that brought no comfort to the heart. Only the revelation contained in the gospel could satisfy the needs of the human heart.

B. Positive Causes. These were the most important causes — zeal, enthusiasm, and moral earnestness. Christianity showed its sterling qualities under persecution. Paganism with all its ancient prestige could not stand persecution. When state aid was withdrawn paganism could not prosper as the Christians did with their ideals of self-sacrifice. The belief in the early second coming of Christ raised Christians to a high pitch of earnestness. The exemplary lives of the Christians provided admirable propaganda. The moral and spiritual power of Christianity could withstand aggression. When once studied, Christian principles were found by thinkers to be in accord with the highest principles of reason and nature. But "the chief cause of its success was the congruity of its teaching with the spiritual nature of mankind" (Lecky). Christianity brought peace, comfort, and strength to earnest seekers in the ancient world.

It was adapted to all classes and conditions and to all changes — an immense advantage over all competitors. It gave the grandest expression to the contemporary ideal of brotherhood. Its respect for womanhood gained it many excellent converts. In this respect it was very superior to Mithraism, its most serious rival. Its ethical code was superior to any other. It could point to the charm and power of an ideal life in Jesus of Nazareth, and this provided a moral dynamic for both the philosopher and the common person, far above any abstract virtue. "It was

because it corresponded with the religious wants, aims and emotions of men, because the whole spiritual being could then expand and expatiate under its influence that it planted its roots so deeply in the hearts of men" (Lecky). Add to this the favorable circumstances of the time (see III above) and we can understand how the Roman empire finally accepted Christianity as the state religion.

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S. ANGUS

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ROMAN LAW.

I. Introduction
II. Roman Private Law
  A. The Twelve Tables
  B. Civil Procedure
  C. *Jus Honorarium*
  D. *Praetor Peregrinus*
  E. Imperial Ordinances
  F. Golden Age of Juristic Literature
  G. Codification in the Later Empire
III. Roman Criminal Law
  A. Jurisdiction in the Royal Period
  B. Right of Appeal
    1. Penalties
    2. Porcian Law
  C. Popular Jurisdiction Curtailed
  D. Jurors
  E. Disappearance of Criminal Courts
  F. Right of Trial at Rome

In this article the discussion of private law is confined to its external history. In the treatment of criminal law attention is directed chiefly to the important constitutional guarantees intended to protect Roman citizens against arbitrary and unjust punishments.

I. Introduction.–The source of Roman law is the family or *gens*. The proprietary rights of the *pater familias* as head of this primitive unit of organization are fundamental in private law, and the scope of the criminal jurisdiction of the state was limited by the power of life and death exercised by the head of the family over those under his authority. Their transgressions were tried before the domestic tribunal.

At one time many different classes of crime must have been punished by the priests as sacrilege, in accordance with the divine law (*fas*); the offender would have been put to death as a sacrifice to the offended deity. Restitution for private violence or injustice would have been left to private initiative. Thus avenging the death of a kinsman was more than a right; it was a religious duty.

The law of the Twelve Tables that allowed the nocturnal thief and the adulterer caught in the act to be killed was a survival of primitive private vengeance. Survivals of the old religious rules demanded condemnation to death for sacrilegious acts. The secular conception of crime as an offense against the welfare of the state gradually superseded the older conception. Private law arose when the community eliminated an individual's or a family's right directly to seek justice, which caused societal disorder. The parties to a disagreement were compelled to submit their claims to an arbitrator.

II. Roman Private Law.–*A. The Twelve Tables.* Roman private law was at first a body of unwritten usages handed down by tradition in the patrician families. The demands of the plebeians to know the laws by which they were governed and taxed resulted in the publication of the famous Twelve Tables (449 B.C.), which were later regarded as the source of all public and private law (Livy iii.34.6). But the code was not scientific or comprehensive. To meet the growing requirements of the republican community, its primitive form was expanded, chiefly by interpretation and the *jus honorarium*.

B. Civil Procedure. The *praetor*, or magistrate, listened to the claims of the litigants and prepared an outline (*formula*) of the disputed issues. He submitted it to a *judex*, or arbitrator, a one-man jury, who decided the questions of fact involved. Neither *praetor* nor *judex* had special legal training. The court therefore had recourse to authorities on the law (*jurisprudentes*), whose opinions (*responsa*) formed a valuable commentary on the legal institutions of the time. The body of rules amassed by such interpretative adaptation would never have been recognized by the authors of the Twelve Tables.

C. Jus Honorarium. *Jus honorarium* was so named because this law rested upon the authority of magistrates (*honor* = magistracy). It was composed of orders that had been issued in cases for which the existing law did not make adequate provision. This second agency for legal expansion may be compared with English equity (chancery-court legal and procedural rulings that enforce common and statute law by supplementing or overriding it). These orders were issued by the praetors and had legal force during only the tenure of their office. But succeeding praetors usually reissued the ones that had proved just and expedient, and in time there arose a large and uniform body of rules which praetors issued in an edict before beginning their term of office. Thus Roman law maintained a proper balance between elasticity and rigidity.

D. Praetor Peregrinus. The institution of the *praetor peregrinus* (241 B.C.) to hear cases in which parties were foreigners led to a series of similar edicts. Since most of the foreigners were Greeks from southern Italy, these edicts formulated principles based on the spirit of Greek law, which became an important means for gradually broadening Roman law.

E. Imperial Ordinances. Under the empire direct legislation superseded the other sources of law — enactments of the senate (*senatus consulta*), imperial ordinances, and occasional bills ratified by the people (*leges*). Imperial ordinances eventually superseded all other types; they consisted of *edicta* (issued by the emperor as orders, similar to those of the republican magistrates), *decreta* (decisions of the imperial tribunal, of force as precedents), and *rescripta* (replies by the emperor to requests for interpretation of the law). All these imperial acts were known as *constitutiones*.

F. Golden Age of Juristic Literature. In the 2nd cent. A.D. Salvius Julianus was commissioned to invest the praetorian edict with definite form. The Institutes of Gaius that appeared around the same time became a model for subsequent textbooks on jurisprudence. This was the Golden Age of juristic literature. A succession of able thinkers, such as Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, Modestinus, and Gaius (cf. Codex Theodosianus ii.4.3), applied to the incoherent mass of legal materials the methods of scien-

tific investigation, developing a system of Roman law and establishing a science of jurisprudence.

G. Codification in the Later Empire. The emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-565) finally codified the immense body of Roman law. The board of eminent jurists engaged in the great work published (1) the *Code* in twelve books, a selection of imperial enactments from Hadrian onward; (2) the *Digest* or *Pandects* in fifty books, extracts from the juristic literature; and (3) the *Institutes,* a textbook in four books. Most Roman private law has come down to modern times in this form. Next to the Christian religion, it is the most plentiful source of the rules governing actual conduct in Western Europe (J. Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* [1901]).

***III. Roman Criminal Law.**–A. Jurisdiction in the Royal Period.* In the royal period criminal jurisdiction, insofar as it was a function of secular administration, was the right of the king. The titles *quaestores parricidii* ("prosecutors of murderers" [lit. "parent-murderers"]) and *duumviri perduellionis* (lit. "two-man commission for treason") indicate the kind of crimes first brought under secular jurisdiction. The republican magistrates inherited the royal right to punish crimes and the power to compel obedience to their own decrees by means of penalties (*coercitio*).

B. Right of Appeal. The right of the people to final jurisdiction in cases involving the life or civil status of citizens was established by an enactment (perhaps 509 B.C.) granting the right of appeal to the assembly (*provocatio*) against a capital or other serious sentence pronounced by a magistrate (Cicero *De re publica* ii.31 [54]; Livy ii.8.2). This right of appeal was extended by subsequent enactments (*leges Valeriae,* Valerian laws) in 449 and 299 B.C. Generally the magistrates made no provisional sentence of their own but brought their charges directly before the people.

1. Penalties. The death penalty was practically abrogated in republican times, for the accused was allowed to go into voluntary exile. The Romans rarely imposed imprisonment and granted the right to appeal heavy fines. A right of appeal was granted *ca.* 300 B.C. against decisions of the dictator, who previously had held the power of life and death over the citizens (Livy xxvii.6.5).

2. Porcian Law. The right of appeal to the people was valid in Rome and as far as the first milestone from the city. The Porcian Law virtually secured this protection for all Roman citizens, wherever they might be, by establishing their right to a trial at Rome. Thus Roman citizens in the provinces, in all serious cases, were sent to Rome for trial; other persons were subject to the criminal jurisdiction of the municipalities unless the governor summoned them before his own tribunal.

C. Popular Jurisdiction Curtailed. The exercise of this popular jurisdiction was gradually curtailed by the establishment of permanent courts. The people delegated their authority to judge certain classes of cases. The first of these courts (149 B.C.) was authorized for the trial of charges of extortion against provincial governors. Compensation was the main purpose of accusers in bringing charges before this and later permanent courts. The procedure was similar to that in civil cases. A praetor presided over the tribunal; a number of *judices* replaced the single juror. Sulla provided seven courts — each dealing exclusively with extortion, treason, embezzlement, corrupt electioneering, murder, fraud, or assault.

D. Jurors. Jurors were originally chosen from the senate, but C. Gracchus transferred membership in all the juries to the equestrian class. Sulla admitted three hundred members of the equestrian class to the senate, to which he then restored the exclusive control of the juries. In 70 B.C. a judicial law gave equal representation in the courts to all three classes of the people; 1080 names were then on the list of jurors (Cicero *In Pisonem* xl). Caesar abolished the plebeian jurors. Augustus restored them but confined their action to civil cases of minor importance (Suetonius *Caesar* 41; *Augustus* 32). He excused senators from service as jurors.

E. Disappearance of Criminal Courts. The system of criminal courts diminished in importance under the empire and disappeared in the 2nd century. They were replaced by the senate, over which a consul presided, then by the emperor, and later by officials delegated by the emperor. At first the senate functioned as had the jurors in the permanent courts to the praetor. Then the emperor and imperial officials decided without a jury, and the judicial competence of the senate was gradually lost. After the 3rd cent. trial by jury ceased to exist.

An important innovation was the right to appeal the decisions of lower courts to higher tribunals. The emperors and eventually their delegates (usually the two prefects) heard appeals from Roman and Italian magistrates and provincial governors.

F. Right of Trial at Rome. Under the early empire provincial governors were generally obligated to grant Roman citizens' demand to be tried at Rome (*Digest* xlviii.6f.), although this rule apparently had exceptions (Pliny *Ep.* ii.11; *Digest* xlviii.8, 16). Lysias, tribune of the cohort at Jerusalem, sent Paul as a prisoner to Caesarea, the capital of the province, so that Felix the procurator might determine what to do since Paul was a Roman citizen (Acts 23:27). Two years later Paul asserted his privilege of being tried at Rome by the emperor (25:11-21). Roman citizens who were sent to Rome might be brought before the senate or the emperor, but usually the imperial tribunal handled these cases and eventually supplanted senatorial jurisdiction over them. The formula of appeal became proverbial: "I am a Roman citizen, I appeal unto Caesar" (cf. 25:11).

As Roman citizenship became more and more widely extended to people throughout the empire, its relative value diminished. Many of its special privileges, such as the right of trial at Rome, must have been gradually lost. It became customary for the emperors to delegate their power of final jurisdiction over the lives of the citizens (*jus gladii,* "right of the sword") to the provincial governors. After Caracalla had conferred Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of the empire generally, the right of appeal to Rome remained the privilege of certain classes, such as senators, municipal decurions (*Digest* xlviii.19, 27), officers of equestrian rank in the army, and centurions (Dio Cassius lii.22, 33).

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ROMAN RELIGION. *See* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: GRECO-ROMAN.

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO.

I. Significance
II. Literary Type
III. Occasion
IV. Date
V. Recipients

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO

VI. Theme
VII. Development of Thought
VIII. Literary Problems

I. Significance.–The Epistle to the Romans is widely regarded as the most significant of Paul's letters. Some passages in his other writings may reach higher emotional heights or contain momentary flashes of deeper intuitive insight into the wonder of the gospel, or even, as Ephesians, set forth the cosmic grandeur of the gospel in more profound terms. In its totality, however, Romans stands alone in the massiveness of its thought and the power it has released in history through its testimony to the gospel as "the power of God for salvation to every one who has faith" (1:16). The Church instinctively testified to this in placing Romans first in the arrangement of the Pauline corpus, though it was not the earliest of Paul's writings.

The letter marks a most decisive moment in Paul's own career. Luke caught the significance of this when he organized the book of the Acts around the shift from the Jews to the Gentiles as a crucial scene of God's action in history. The center of the Church moved from Jerusalem to Rome. This had more a theological than a geographical significance. The overtones of it were heard in almost every local congregation that Paul founded. He first preached in a synagogue. A few Jews believed his gospel, but the majority disbelieved and drove him out. Then came the necessity to create a new Christian community distinct from the synagogue. Four times Luke describes Paul as definitely turning from the Jews to the Gentiles (13:44-47; 18:5-7; 19:8f.; 28:23-28), the last forming the climax of the book of the Acts. The Church is Israel, the people of God, and includes "every one who has faith, ... the Jew first and also . . . the Greek" (Rom. 1:16; cf. also Eph. 2:11-22).

When Paul wrote Romans, it was this decisive turning point that dominated his thinking. He had completed his missionary work in the East. His purpose of proclaiming the gospel to the entire gentile world now made him turn his attention to the West. His goal was Spain (Rom. 15:24). Though he loved his own people ("For I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen by race" — 9:3; cf. also 10:1), his experience with them through years of missionary toil and the fear of what awaited him when he returned to Jerusalem — even that he might not "be acceptable to the saints," the Jerusalem Christians (15:31) — convinced him that Jerusalem could not remain the permanent center of a worldwide missionary movement. Many Jews were succumbing to an apocalyptic frenzy and were headed toward a messianic war which they thought would establish the "sons of light" as victors over the gentile "sons of darkness" (1QM 12:10-15), but which turned out quite the opposite within a decade in the Jewish war of A.D. 66-70. Even the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem may have been patriotically goaded by Jewish rigorists in their midst to look upon Jesus as a Jewish Messiah who was about to destroy all the gentile enemies of God. So Paul sensed that a new center of operations was necessary for a gospel that proclaimed salvation to all people — Jews and Gentiles alike — on the basis of grace through faith. As Antioch had become the point from which the Church's mission spread throughout the East, so Rome must become the heart of the missionary movement of the West. The offering Paul had collected for the Jerusalem Christians in Macedonia and Achaia, and his insistence on delivering it in person, even at the risk of his life (cf. Acts 20:22-24; 23:21), indicate in his thinking both the Gentile Church's indebtedness to the Mother church at Jerusalem and the oneness of the Jewish and Gentile Christians. But the center of gravity had to shift to the capital of the empire, where the Lordship of Christ over the whole world could best be promulgated. With this decisive move in mind, Paul wrote to the Romans to give a full statement of the universal gospel that he preached. Behind the letter lies the living decision of a man "whom Christ had saved and who believed that he would likewise save the world" (E. F. Scott, p. 14).

The significance of the letter to the whole Church is to be seen in the central role it has played in decisive movements of spiritual renewal. The quickening of the Church's life under Augustine, the reforming of the Church under Luther, the burst of new life under Wesley, and the theological revival prompted by Barth, are all intimately related to the Epistle to the Romans. Furthermore, since there has never been any serious questioning of Pauline authorship, and because the letter is not highly polemic, it depicts clearly the essence of the Christian faith according to its greatest exponent in the 6th decade of the 1st century. Since the gospel here written is what Paul had preached earlier, either Paul very early hopelessly distorted the faith promulgated by Jesus and persuaded the majority of the first-century Christian Church to join him in this distortion, or he understood it profoundly and drew out its full significance in the light of the Resurrection. Critical study has increasi ly found not a hiatus but a clear line of connection between Jesus and Paul. Hence, this fullest statement of his gospel stands as a bulwark against all efforts to distort Christianity into just another religion instead of God's unique mighty action of grace in Jesus Christ. From this standpoint, it is one of the most significant writings in the NT canon.

II. Literary Type.–Because Romans is the longest of Paul's letters and the most formal in structure, it has often been considered a formal theological treatise, intended as a compendium of Paul's theology to be preserved for posterity. For this reason, also, it has at times been neglected as a theoretical, impractical work, devoid of any relation to life and, in fact, a diversion from and an impediment to ethical action by reason of its "religious theorizing." A. Deissmann, however, made a strong case for this writing as a nonliterary letter rather than "a compendium of Paulinism." Paul "does not think of the literary public of his time, or of Christians in general, as his readers; he appeals to a little company of men whose very existence, one may say, was unknown to the public at large . . . It is not theological paragraphs which Paul is writing here, but his confessions" (*Bible Studies* [2nd ed., Eng. tr. 1909], pp. 48f.). This judgment seems confirmed by the absence of a discussion of some of the major aspects of the faith, such as the Lord's supper, the Church, and the Resurrection. Furthermore, the personal references, to both writer and readers, indicate that the letter was written to a specific group in a specific situation (1:6; 8-15; esp. 7:1, 4; 8:12; 10:1; 11:13; 15:14f., 22-32).

On the other hand, Deissmann may have overstated the case, inasmuch as Romans is more formal than the other known letters of Paul. "Paul obviously does not wish to give a summary of his whole teaching, as was often thought at the time of the Reformation (P. Melancthon); he does not, however, allow himself simply to be driven by the flow of his thought, although digressions are occasionally possible. The concern is more with a conscious carrying forward of a very definite train of thought, which is characterized by the idea of the eschatological 'righteousness' (Rom. 1:17)" (Michel, pp. 5f.). The plan of the letter, nevertheless, was dictated not by a desire to give a definitive statement of Paul's total theology, but by

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO

the immediate necessities of the situation in Paul's coming relations to the church at Rome.

As for the bearing of the letter on the practical realities of life, if it is devoid of such we are faced with the inexplicable contradiction of a purely theoretical work coming up out of the life of one of the world's most practical men, at a time in his life when he was plotting the most magnificent practical task ever conceived by the human mind — to claim the entire world for Jesus Christ. Paul had just concluded nearly three years of arduous toil in Ephesus, where as a man of action he had founded churches throughout the province of Asia, had induced the superstitious multitude to make a public bonfire of their books of magic, had produced a city-wide riot, and had been thrown to the lions (Acts 19; 1 Cor. 15:32). He was now waiting for three months in Corinth (Acts 20:3), preparing to take a large sum of money raised by his efforts to the underprivileged in Jerusalem (Rom. 15:25ff.). After that, he planned to go via Rome to Spain to complete his magnificent plan to set the banner of the cross in every corner of the then known world (Rom. 15:22-24). The immediate goal of the Roman letter was practical, in that he hoped to solicit the support and cooperation of the Christians at Rome in completing his evangelization of the West. His letter, then, far from being impractical, is less an exposition of doctrine than "an inspiring call to Christian action" (Scott, p. 23).

III. Occasion.–It is almost universally accepted that Romans was written near the close of the so-called third missionary journey, after an extended ministry of between two and three years at Ephesus (Acts 19:8, 10). At the conclusion of this ministry, during which time he had kept in close touch with the church at Corinth by writing and a hurried visit (see 2 Cor. 2:1), he journeyed to Macedonia (Acts 20:1) and spent three months in Greece (Acts 20:2f.) before setting out for Jerusalem to deliver the collection he had gathered for the poor there. This three-month stay in Greece was likely at Corinth (see 1 Cor. 16:5f.).

Romans gives every evidence of belonging to this period in Paul's career. He had been in Macedonia and Achaia collecting contributions for Jerusalem (Rom. 15:25-28). After delivering these, he hoped to visit Rome on his way to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28). He requested the prayers of the Roman Christians that he might escape trouble in Jerusalem (Rom. 15:30f.). These facts square with Paul's situation at the close of his Ephesus ministry. Romans was, therefore, probably written from Corinth during Paul's three-month visit there prior to leaving for Jerusalem.

IV. Date.–The uncertainties of Pauline chronology make it impossible to date the letter with precision. The two limits of a date are provided by the proconsulship of Gallio at Corinth and the replacement of Felix by Festus as procurator in Palestine. An inscription at Delphi indicates that Gallio was proconsul in A.D. 52. Proconsuls in senatorial provinces were appointed for either one or two years. Depending on whether the inscription was made early or late in Gallio's proconsulship, and on whether he was in office for one or two years, the date of his regime must have fallen between 50 and 53. Since Acts 18:11 indicates the total stay of Paul in Corinth as eighteen months, and Acts 18:18 suggests that after his appearance before Gallio he stayed only "many days longer," it is quite likely that Paul left Corinth rather early in Gallio's proconsulship. Events between Paul's departure from Corinth, after his earlier eighteen-month ministry there, and his three-month visit at the conclusion of his Ephesian ministry, would seem to demand an interval of approximately four years between the two visits. If, therefore, Gallio took office in 50/51, Romans may be dated 54/55. On the other hand, if Acts 24:27 means that Paul had been imprisoned for two years when Festus succeeded Felix, and if Felix, as seems likely, was recalled in 55, this would mean that Paul had been arrested in 53, a date inconsistent with the suggestions made above. If, however, the "two years" of Acts 24:27 may be construed to refer solely to the period of Felix's procuratorship rather than to Paul's stay in prison, then a date of 55 would be more plausible. Paul, then, could have written the letter in the early spring of 55, and have been arrested in Jerusalem a few weeks later. On the other hand, the recall of Felix may have been later than 55, and the beginning of the proconsulship of Gallio cannot be precisely fixed, so Romans might have been written as late as 58/59.

The impossibility of giving a precise date to Romans, however, is inconsequential in determining its place in the development of early Christian thought. Whether written in 55 or 58, the letter falls within a period of approximately twenty-five years of the death of Jesus, when the memory of His days on earth was still fresh in the minds of many. Hence the understanding of Jesus' significance set forth in Romans was not a docetic reinterpretation lacking any historic connection with Jesus Himself. Today, "we do not have to choose between Paul and the Gospels . . . the continuity between Jesus and Paul is essentially unbroken." "Paul's view of the gospel . . . has both its origin and its anchor in Jesus' proclamation about the Kingdom of God" (Nygren, pp. 3, 9).

V. Recipients.–A variety of views has surfaced regarding the recipients of this letter. Was it aimed at a specific, concrete situation in the church at Rome, as has been customarily proposed, or was it directed elsewhere? Among those who suggest the latter, Bornkamm (pp. 88ff.) thinks of it as Paul's "last will and testament" written in the light of the danger awaiting him in Jerusalem. Fuchs (p. 191) suggests that it was a "secret letter" written to Jerusalem. Manson (pp. 225ff.) and others argue that it was a circular letter sent to several churches, accompanied in each case by a covering letter. Chs. 1–15, therefore, are the "Roman edition" of the letter, while ch. 16 is the covering letter of the "Ephesian edition." These suggestions raise more problems than they solve. Because Paul's intention to visit Rome shortly after the letter was written (Acts 19:21) would make it perfectly natural for him to want to establish a relationship with believers there before arriving, and because possible reasons for the circulation in the early Church of shorter forms of a larger letter appear plausible (see Gamble), wisdom seems to lie with the judgment that the entire letter was originally intended for the Roman church (see VIII below).

The circumstances of the founding of the church at Rome are unknown. Negatively, it is clear that Paul did not participate in it (1:13; 15:22-24), and there is no evidence connecting Peter with the church at Rome, at least until his martyrdom. Since the name of no outstanding person is connected with it by any objective historical evidence, it seems quite likely that the congregation at Rome came into being "without the agency of a specific missionary" (G. Friedrich, *RGG*, 3rd ed.)

Several conjectures about the origin of the Roman church have been made. It may have arisen through converts among the visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, who were present at Pentecost (Acts 2:10). The close connection between the Jews of Palestine and those of Rome has also been suggested as the historic root from which the church grew (cf. Hort, pp. 8f.). A third suggestion is that the church at Rome may have been the

result of a missionary thrust by the Hellenistic Christians at Antioch (H. Lietzmann, *Beginnings of the Christian Church* [Eng. tr. 1937], pp. 144f.). A more widely held view (and, to this writer, the most probable) is that the church at Rome had its origin in the mixed multitude of travelers to Rome (officials, civil servants, soldiers, merchants) who brought the gospel with them from the East (see Tacitus *Ann.* xv.44).

Were the Roman Christians mainly Jews or Gentiles? Theodore Zahn argued that they were mainly Jewish. The weight of evidence seems, however, to force an opposite conclusion. A part of the congregation was most certainly of Jewish origin (see 2:17-24; 3:1-9; 4:1-22; 7:1); and if, as seems likely, the remark of Suetonius about the Jews being excluded from Rome by Claudius in the year 47 because of strife over one named *Chresto* (*Claudius* 25) refers to conflict over the Messiah (*Christo*), then the Christian church at Rome arose out of the synagogue, as did most of Paul's churches (see Acts 13:14, 43; 14:1; 17:1f., 10; 18:4; etc.). The synagogues themselves, however, contained many gentile proselytes, and Jewish opposition to the gospel progressively drove a wedge between synagogue and church, transforming the Christian fellowship into a predominantly gentile body (see Acts 18:5-7; 28:17-28). Both specific references and the tone of the Roman letter seem to demand a gentile majority in the Roman church (see 1:5f., 13; 9:3-5; 10:1f.; 11:13-32; 15:15f.). Although the Jewish problem looms large in the thought of the letter (see chs. 2–4, 7, 9–11), it is not discussed in the heat of a conflict wherein the church was in danger of capitulating to the Judaizers (as in Galatians), but from the standpoint of the whole theological problem of the relation of Israel to the Church and the relation of the strange fact of the temporary bypassing of Israel to the purpose of God in her election. The saving work of God for humanity — both Jew and Gentile — is the focus of thought throughout.

But, although the church at Rome was made up mainly of Gentiles, with an intermixture of Jewish Christians, what groups were represented in its fellowship? It is difficult to determine this with precision, yet certain clues may be found in the letter itself. Three general groups seem to be in Paul's mind. (Paul Minear [pp. 8ff.] has detected five factions, but some have questioned whether the personnel of the Roman church can be refined that precisely.) There were legalists, or "moralizers," who thought that righteousness was a human achievement attained by keeping the law and ordering life by rules and regulations. There seems to have been no large group of "Judaizers" such as those who plagued Paul so constantly elsewhere, for the characteristic problems of circumcision and table fellowship with non-Jews do not appear. The legalism took the form rather of asceticism, wherein some were vegetarians (14:2) and others observed certain special days for fasting and religious observances (14:5). These became victims of the sins of judging others (14:10) and of spiritual pride, boasting that their asceticism made them stronger than their brothers, whereas they were in reality the "weak" (14:1; 15:1). The whole emphasis of the Epistle against any human effort to attain righteousness before God is directed at this group.

An opposite group were the "libertines" or "antinomians," who sought to exalt the worth of God's grace by deliberately ignoring the demands of the law. They abandoned the law not only as a means of justification, but also as a guide to the response of faith in obedience. They did "evil that good may come" (3:8) and continued "in sin that grace may abound" (6:1). These Paul countered by his doctrines of "death" to sin and "newness of life"

A page from $\mathfrak{p}^{30}$ (3rd cent.) showing Rom. 11:36–12:8 (The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, The University of Michigan Library)

in the risen Christ (ch. 6), which summon believers to "make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires" (13:14).

A third group were the "spiritualists" whose spiritual "gifts" led them into spiritual pride and destroyed the true sense of community in the church (12:3-8), besides making them indifferent to the demands of the civic order (13:1-7). These Paul corrected with his doctrine of the oneness of the body of Christ and the responsibility of all its members to use their gifts for the good of the whole (12:6-8), and with his grand conception of the divine origin of all forms of authority in the universe (13:1).

VI. Theme.–The theme of Romans has been variously stated, with "justification by faith" perhaps leading the field. If this were in fact the theme, the letter might well have ended with ch. 5. Some have argued, therefore, that Romans is a "general treatise on systematic theology." The omission of several of Paul's theological emphases, however, and the tone of the immediacy which ties it to a specific historical situation, make this view highly questionable (see III above).

A theme broader than "justification by faith" and narrower than a total statement of Paul's theology is demanded. It would seem that Paul himself furnishes us with his theme in 1:16f. — the "good news" of God's righteousness by which all people, both Jews and Gentiles, are brought under judgment for their unrighteousness and, even more, for their futile attempts to make themselves righteous, yet at the same time are freely offered in Jesus Christ the gift of a "righteousness from God" which has "power" both to restore them to a right relationship with God and to free them for a life lived by the dynamic of the indwelling Spirit of God. The apostle to all the nations

here sets forth the good news of the gift of God's righteousness to all the nations.

From this center radiate the major emphases of the letter. Christology runs like a golden thread through the entire work, since it is in Christ that God offers His gift of righteousness (3:21-26; 5:1f., 6-11; 8:1-4) and through Him that Paul was commissioned to preach to the nations (1:1-5). In the risen Christ God had confronted all of Paul's efforts at righteousness, condemned them, and offered him the free gift of His own righteousness. God's gift of righteousness in Christ is received through faith rather than as a reward merited by keeping the law (3:20-24; 4:1-25; 5:1f.). The law as the Jews understood it had condemned Jesus as accursed. But the resurrection had vindicated Jesus and demonstrated that the law was not a means of righteousness but a tutor unto Christ (Gal. 3:24f.), in whom people are to believe. An emphasis on providence is dealt with in relation to God's election, the temporary bypassing of the Jewish people, and the offering of His gift of righteousness to the whole world (ch. 9–11). Ethics finds its place in the Epistle as the response of faith in obedience, since, although good works are never the condition of God's gift of righteousness, they are the expected fruit of it.

VII. Development of Thought.–After a prologue (1:1-7) and an initial greeting in which Paul gives thanks for the church at Rome and states his hopes for a visit (1:8-15), he sets forth his theme — the recovery of right relations with God through His gift of Jesus Christ (1:16f.).

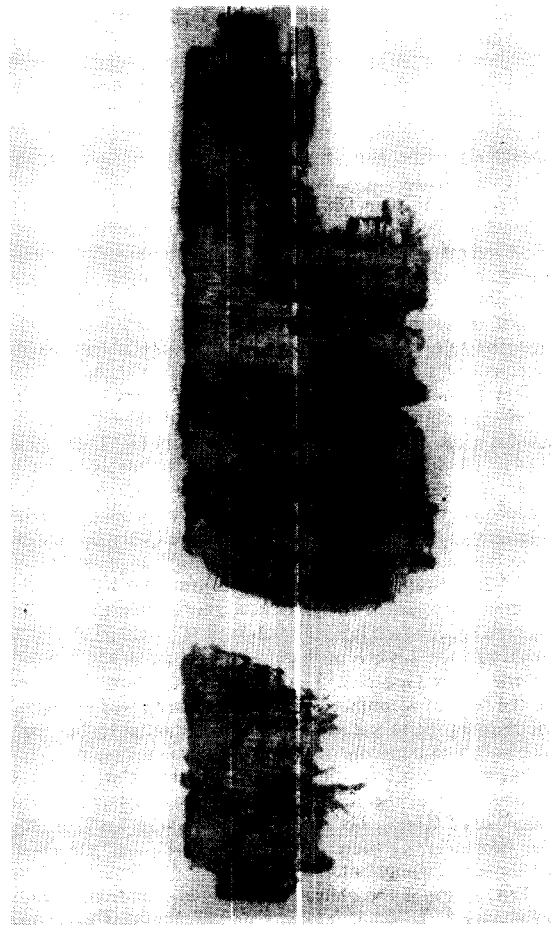
The human predicament making God's gift necessary is that both Gentile (1:18-32) and Jew (2:1–3:20) have forfeited their standing with God and can only appear before His bar of judgment to hear the verdict — guilty!

God can now freely acquit the guilty without violating His own righteousness since He has wrought redemption through His gracious gift of Jesus Christ. This excludes all human boasting about achievment or merit, for God's grace is given only to those who believe, of whom Abraham is the prime example (3:21–4:25).

Believers now experience peace, joy, and hope amid the trials of life, inasmuch as they know that finally the mark of Adam — death — which rests on everyone will be overcome by Christ, whose grace reigns "through righteousness to eternal life" (ch. 5). Grace, however, does not make believers morally or ethically irresponsible, because they have died to sin in Christ and have been raised with Him to a new life of obedience (ch. 6). The failure of the law to achieve righteousness does not suggest that the law is faulty, but that human beings are too weak and sinful to keep it (ch. 7). What the law was powerless to do, however, God has done in Christ by the gift of His Spirit, who makes believers triumphant over the onslaughts of evil from their lower nature and from outer enemies, both historic and cosmic, whether in the present or in the future (ch. 8).

But how is Israel's rejection of God's gift of righteousness to be interpreted? It clearly indicates that they had followed the wrong path in trying to establish their own status before God by keeping the law (chs. 9f.). Yet a remnant of Israel has accepted God's righteousness, and God has used the rejection of the others to bring salvation to the Gentiles. There is, too, the never-dying hope that all Jews will yet accept God's gift of righteousness (ch. 11).

Sharp debate has arisen over the view of K. Stendahl and others that in Rom. 11 Paul drew back from the exclusive claim that the salvation of "all Israel" (11:26) depends on their faith in Christ, and took the position that although Gentiles must be saved by faith in Christ, the Jews will be saved by faith in God apart from Christ.



Fragments of Rom. 8:34–9:3 (top) and 9:6-8 (bottom) from $\mathfrak{p}^{27}$ (3rd cent.) (by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

Others, reflecting the current sensitivity to anti-Semitism, hold that although Paul thought faith in Christ was necessary for Jews as well as Gentiles, we must differ with him in this regard and accept the Jewish covenant as sufficient for the Jew apart from Christ. Bornkamm (pp. 228ff.), Käsemann (*Perspectives*, pp. 60ff.), and others have challenged this view. It would seem difficult to square it with Paul's total thought. On this hypothesis Paul himself, being a Jew, would have found Christ irrelevant to his own salvation — a case difficult, if not impossible, to make. Whether we agree or disagree with Paul on this matter is less a question of anti-Semitism than of one's view of the authority of Scripture and the universal efficacy of Christ's redemptive deed. The "Judaizers" with whom Paul argued had already accepted Christ. The issue was not, then, over whether Jews should accept Christ, which the "Judaizers" had already done, but whether Gentiles, in order to be Christian, must first become Jews. The gospel presented by Paul in Romans, which God "promised beforehand through the prophets in the holy Scriptures," was "the gospel concerning his Son," which is "the power of God for salvation . . . to the Jew first and also to the Greek" (1:2, 3, 16).

The mercy of God in restoring humanity to right relations with Himself lays upon believers the obligation to respond gratefully in ethical behavior in every aspect of personal life as well as in concern for weaker Christians

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO

Fragments from Rom. 8:12-26 from p^{27} (3rd cent.) (by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

and the strengthening of the whole community of faith (12:1–15:13).

The letter closes with Paul's personal plans (15:14-33), a series of greetings to friends (with a brief warning against false teachers), and a doxology (ch. 16).

VIII. Literary Problems.–The letter to the Romans seems to have circulated in three different recensions. One was the longer recension, including the whole of the letter as it now stands. A second was a shorter recension, with chs. 15f. omitted save for the doxology in 16:25-27. The third was the form contained in the Chester Beatty Papyrus p^{46}, in which the doxology is placed at the end of ch. 15. Did the original letter contain only chs. 1–14, to which chs. 15f. were added later? Or, do both shorter forms represent editorial reduction of the original sixteen chapters? The problem is complicated in that some MSS (among them the best) place the doxology at the end of ch. 16, many place it at the end of ch. 14, p^{46} places it at the end of ch. 15, a few place it at the end of both chs. 14 and 16, and two or three omit it altogether. Furthermore, the words "in Rome" are omitted at 1:7 and 1:15 in a few MSS.

It is possible that Paul wrote a general letter to his churches composed of chs. 1–14, then later added special materials to it and directed the enlarged copy to the church at Rome. But this leaves the direct personal address to a specific church in 1:8-13 unexplained, and has the additional disadvantage that 14:23 would be a very unlikely close to the letter. Even with the addition of the doxology, it does not end naturally; furthermore, the thought of ch. 14 runs right on into ch. 15.

A second possibility is that Paul wrote chs. 1–15 to the church at Rome, while ch. 16 represents a brief letter to another church which by editorial accident was bound with the Roman letter. This could account for the recension found in p^{46}. If so, the omission of ch. 15 in the shorter recension may have been due to Marcion, who was offended by its Jewish and OT references, or it could be the result of accidental mutilation of the end of the papyrus roll on which it was written. The longer form of the letter seems the more likely.

Did Romans end, however, with ch. 15? Or was ch. 16 a part of the original letter? Many omit ch. 16 for the following reasons: (1) Paul probably would not have sent so many personal greetings — twenty-six or more — to a church he had never visited. (2) Rom. 16:3-5 greets Prisca and Aquila and speaks of "the church that is in their house," whereas 1 Cor. 16:19 indicates that there was a church "in their house" at Ephesus not many months before Romans was written. Furthermore, 2 Tim. 4:19 suggests that they are residing in Ephesus at a later time. It appears unlikely, therefore, that they would have been dwelling in Rome. (3) The false teachers alluded to in 16:17f. seem to represent a viewpoint nowhere else alluded to in the Epistle, and one that might more naturally be expected in Ephesus. (4) The greeting to Epaenetus, who is described as "the first convert in Asia" (16:5), would be more natural in writing to Ephesus than to Rome. (5) The tone of the exhortation in 16:17-20 seems to be more pastoral than the address of the rest of the letter and more befitting a congregation that Paul had founded.

To attribute ch. 16 to another destination, however, is equally beset with difficulties. A long series of personal greetings in the letters to the churches where Paul was known is without parallel. There is none in the Thessalonian, Corinthian, Galatian, or Philippian letters. The only parallel is to be found in the Epistle to the Colossians, whose church had been indirectly founded by the labors of Paul but among whom he was personally a stranger. He seemed to prefer not to single out individuals for greeting in the churches where he was known, perhaps because he did not want to be accused of favoritism. A letter to Rome, which he had never visited, would permit him the privilege of this sort of personal greeting. Furthermore, he had good reason for establishing all possible personal relationships in Rome in the light of his planned future missionary activity with Rome as its center. Then, too, the greeting of "all the churches of Christ" in 16:16 would be more natural to Rome than to Ephesus. He has just been in touch with the delegates of the gentile churches, whose greetings to the church in the capital city would be most fitting.

We do not know enough about Prisca and Aquila to deny with finality that they may have had a period of residence in Rome between two sojourns in the East. And as for the false teachers of 16:17-20, Paul could well mention them briefly here even though he had given no attention to them earlier in the letter. Finally, it is easy to see how, if ch. 16 were an original part of the letter, it could have been omitted in some copies because the contents, being of a personal nature, would not be relevant when the letter was circulated to other churches. No final judgment is possible. It seems quite likely, however, that some form of the longer recension is preferable to the shorter one. The original letter probably ended

with either ch. 15 or ch. 16 — hardly with ch. 14. Since the reasons proposed for detaching ch. 16 are not convincing, it seems preferable to include it as a part of the original letter.

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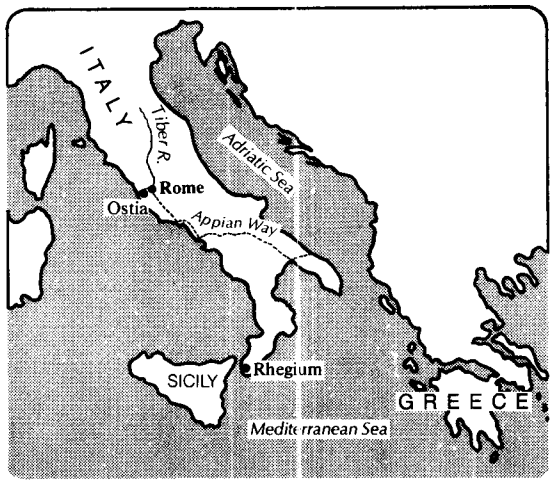
ROME. The city-state in Italy that became an empire ruling much of the western world at the time of the beginnings of Christianity.

I. History
  A. Beginnings
  B. Republic
  C. Empire
II. First-Century Rome
  A. Socio-Economic Aspects
    1. The Rich
    2. The Poor
    3. Economy
    4. Slavery
    5. Jews
    6. Christians
  B. Physical Aspects
    1. Circuses
    2. Palaces
    3. Forum
    4. Temples
    5. Mausoleum
    6. Altar of Peace
    7. Baths and Aqueducts
III. Persecution and the Tombs of Paul and Peter

Rome was built on seven hills — the Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal. Eventually it expanded onto other hills, including the Pincio and Janiculum. None of these exceeded 60 m. (200 ft.) above sea level, but they rose for the most part in steep slopes above the surrounding valleys and at some points formed sheer cliffs towering over these valleys. The Tiber flowed past, and later through, the city as it grew and was navigable for the 24 km. (15 mi.) between the coast and Rome.

The saying "All roads lead to Rome" was almost literally true at the height of imperial glory. The Romans began their famous highway system in 312 B.C. with the construction of the first section of the Appian Way, "Queen of Roads." They continued their road-building until, in the 2nd cent. B.C., they had completed communication arteries to every part of the empire, for a total of 80,000 km. (50,000 mi.) of first-class highways and 320,000 km. (200,000 mi.) of lesser roads.



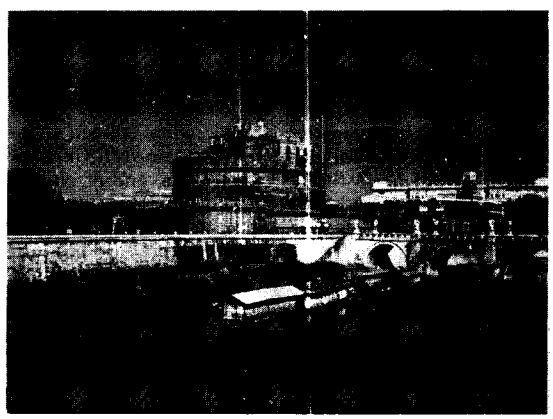
Travel by land was slow and expensive for bulky commodities, so Rome depended on the sea for the transport of most goods. Mediterranean ports were the chief cities of the Roman world. The imperial navy guaranteed the safety of the Mediterranean, which the Romans called Mare Nostrum, "our sea."

Italy is strategically located for control of the Mediterranean and Rome was well located for controlling the peninsula of Italy. Situated at the lowest point on the Tiber River where firm abutments for a bridge could be found, Rome controlled the main line of communication along the western and more populous side of the peninsula.

With a communication network that kept it in touch with every part of the Mediterranean world, Rome also dominated every part of that world and fed off it economically and culturally. Rome did not have native economic resources to maintain its prosperity but depended on income from the empire. When the city's indispensability disappeared in A.D. 330, with Constantine's move of the capital to Constantinople, rapid decline set in.

I. History.—A. Beginnings. The traditional date of the founding of Rome is 753 B.C., a date that became official in the 1st cent., but archeological discoveries on the Palatine hill push Latin origins there back to the 9th cent. B.C. Rome was then governed by kings in conjunction with a council (the Senate) until *ca.* 509 B.C. Apparently these were Latin kings until *ca.* 600 B.C. During the fol-

The Castel Sant' Angelo, built as the mausoleum of Hadrian on the Tiber River at Rome (ca. A.D. 130) (W. S. LaSor)



The forum of the Mediterranean port city of Pompeii, which was destroyed in A.D. 79. The ruined city (near Naples) is one of the best-preserved remnants of the Roman world (B. K. Condit)

lowing century Etruscan monarchs ruled the city and were responsible for its urbanization. The Etruscans seem also to have introduced numerous crafts to the Latins and to have greatly improved their economic posture.

B. Republic. About 509 B.C. the Latins revolted against the Etruscans and established the Republic, which was destined to last until Augustus brought it to an end in 27 B.C. Under the Republic the chief executive officers were the Consuls; two of them were elected annually. These men were supported by an increasing number of officials elected to administrative tasks.

Between 509 and 265 Rome contested with the Etruscans, Italic tribes, Celts or Gauls, and Greek colonists in Italy for domination of the peninsula. When the process was complete Rome had not annexed all of Italy but controlled it through a network of alliances.

Rome next became fearful over possible Carthaginian control of Sicily. Thus it entered rather recklessly upon the Punic Wars (264-241 B.C., 218-202, 149-146). In the first of these wars Rome developed its famous naval power, and by the end of the second war had come to dominate the entire western basin of the Mediterranean. During the third Rome razed the city of Carthage.

With the defeat of Carthage and its great general Hannibal in 202 B.C., Rome turned its attention eastward, for Philip V of Macedonia had allied with Hannibal during the Second Punic War. Rome fought a series of wars with Macedonia and the Seleucids of Syria during the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C. By the end of that time it dominated the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, just as it had asserted authority over the western basin during the previous fifty years.

A century of warfare abroad led to a century of political instability at home, sometimes with open warfare. This began with the reform efforts of the Gracchi in 133 B.C. and ended with the victory of Octavian (Augustus) over Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Revolution came in part for the following reasons: oppression of subjects in the provinces, unfair treatment of allies in Italy, introduction of slavery on a large scale, ruin of many of the operators of small farms in Italy during Hannibal's campaigns, the rise of an army more loyal to generals than to the state, and the failure of the senatorial class to provide good government for the state.

With Octavian (Augustus), savior of the empire, came a bright new day of peace and prosperity and a new political order: the Empire period or the Principate (rule of the princeps — first citizen or emperor).

C. Empire. Augustus took herculean steps to rehabilitate a Rome that for long had been sadly neglected. Though he had risen to power through military action, he chose to implement a civilian government and cooperated with the Senate in the rule of both Rome and the empire. But this outward show of constitutionalism should not obscure the fact that the princeps (with his military support) was the real ruler of the state, and during the next two centuries there was a steady erosion of civilian power until a full-fledged military monarchy was established.

ROME

A marble statue of Augustus Caesar erected shortly after his death (A.D. 14). The reliefs on his armor, his bare feet, and the cupid on a dolphin (symbol of Apollo) indicate his divine status (Vatican Museum, photo Philip Gendreau, NY)

Augustus divided Rome into fourteen districts and in turn subdivided these into 265 precincts. Each precinct had its own political organization and its own set of officials. Augustus also organized a corps of 7,000 men to serve as a fire brigade and night police. This force was divided into 1,000-man cohorts, each serving two of the fourteen districts.

Augustus created boards or commissions to dispense governmental functions and organized a sort of cabinet or council to aid him in shaping policies. Gradually the basic functions of government were institutionalized in a well-entrenched bureaucracy. Thus, even though some emperors of the 1st cent. A.D. proved incapable or found themselves embroiled in controversy with the Senate or various segments of the populace, Rome and the empire generally enjoyed peace, security, prosperity, and reasonably good government.

Augustus sought to gain support for his regime through the ruler cult, a concept that had for its background the god-king ideal of the ancient Near East and the efforts of successors of Alexander the Great to link worship of the ruler with loyalty to the state. During his rise to power Augustus had arranged the deification of Julius Caesar in an effort to win the loyalty of his troops, and he erected a temple to the divine Julius in the Forum. And in each of the 265 precincts of Rome he set up shrines dedicated to the genius of Augustus — the divine spirit that watched over his fortunes. Gradually the ruler cult became entrenched; by A.D. 100 the whole empire had ruler-cult establishments.

Emperors encouraged this worship but did not demand it until the days of Domitian, at the end of the 1st century. Refusal to worship the emperor and goddess Roma constituted treason, so such refusal resulted in the persecution of Christians, which waxed and waned until Constantine declared Christianity a legal religion early in the 4th century.

II. First-Century Rome.–A. Socio-Economic Aspects. Rome was the largest city of the empire, with a population approaching a million by the end of the 1st cent. A.D. The city limits had a circumference of slightly over 21 km. (13 mi.) by the time of the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

1. The Rich. Economically and socially there was a great cleavage between the rich and the poor. The rich lived in sumptuous villas. The front part of a villa usually followed the Italian house plan, consisting of rooms grouped about an atrium, which was a sort of a reception room with an opening in the roof below which lay a small pool. The rear of the house consisted of an open pillared courtyard surrounded by rooms, on the pattern of Eastern Mediterranean house plans. Often the households consisted of scores of slaves. Women enjoyed a great deal of freedom and moved freely in society, commonly in the company of a slave, who helped with shopping and other activities.

2. The Poor. The poor usually lived in great tenements or *insulae*, apartment buildings made of wood and brick that might rise four or more stories with only a few feet between them. These must have been oppressively hot in August. These *insulae* had no sanitary facilities nor water above the first floor. The Romans had only terracotta and lead pipes, and neither was capable of withstanding pressure necessary to bring water to a second or third floor. Life expectancy probably was not over about thirty-five, and lead poisoning might have been one of the contributing factors to early death.

3. Economy. The economy of the city of Rome was extremely poor throughout the late Republic and under the Empire. From the late 3rd cent. B.C., when the ravages of Hannibal sent many ruined farmers to swell the unemployed in Rome, the masses were always in dire straits, for Rome had little basic commerce or industry to provide employment. To complicate matters, slavery increased dramatically during the 1st cents. B.C. and A.D. The tendency was to employ increasing numbers of slaves in all kinds of production, from publishing to baking and shoe manufacture. This excluded many free persons from

The house of Livia and Augustus on the Palatine Hill above the Roman forum (1st cent. A.D.) (B. K. Condit)

ROME

Housing for common people was built close together as on this street in Pompeii (*ca.* 1st cent. A.D.) (B. K. Condit)

the job market altogether, and those who could find employment or set up in business for themselves could expect to earn no more than it cost entrepreneurs to own and maintain slaves to produce comparable commodities.

High unemployment brings welfare. It is estimated that over 200,000 were on the grain dole in the capital in Augustus's day, and the numbers certainly did not diminish. It became a regular practice for the emperors to provide "bread and circuses," free food and free entertainment for the unemployed masses of the capital.

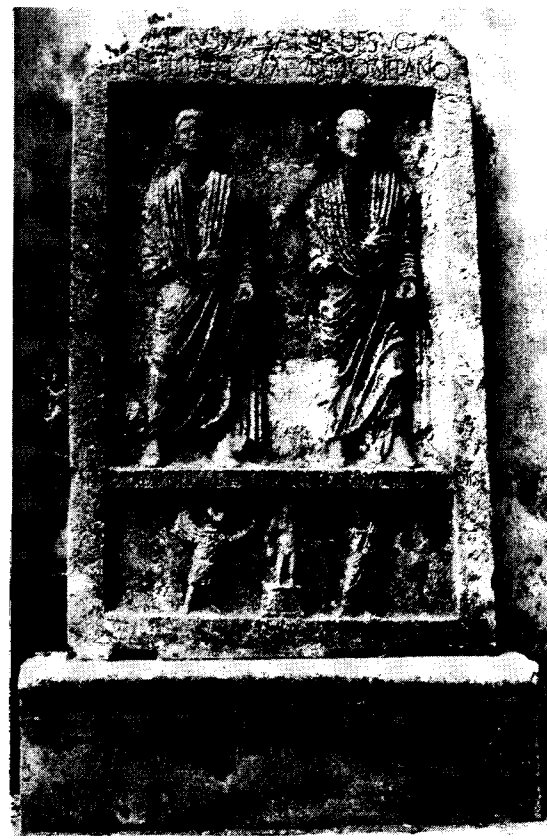
4. Slavery. The increase of slavery changed the character of the city fundamentally — morally, politically, and ethnically. Slaves were supposed to have no moral judgment of their own but to obey blindly the wishes of their masters. Because manumission was easy, large numbers of slaves became free and attained Roman citizenship. The amoral obedience that had made them good slaves now made them poor citizens. Political effects of the substantial infusion of non-Romans were also great. These persons, largely from the East, had little familiarity with, or affinity for, Roman institutions. Especially, they would be amenable to demagoguery. Political stability and self-government began to break down under the influence of this foreign infusion as early as the late 2nd cent. B.C. Finally, the whole racial complexion of Rome changed radically. Under the early Empire, freedmen and their descendants outnumbered the citizens of Roman and Italian stock perhaps four to one. The natives went off to military service and either were killed in battle or as veterans were settled in military colonies overseas.

5. Jews. When Jews first came to Rome is not known, but a few of them probably arrived in the 2nd cent. B.C. It is thought that about 20,000 of them lived in the capital during the first half of the 1st cent. A.D. A total of thirteen synagogues are known to have existed in Rome, but not all of them may have functioned during the 1st century. A half-dozen Jewish catacombs have been discovered in Rome. Jews enjoyed a favored status in the Roman Empire and were not required to participate in the imperial or state cult. As long as Christianity was viewed as part of Judaism, it too enjoyed freedom from emperor worship. Expulsions of Jews from Rome during the days of Tiberius and Claudius were not religious persecutions but police measures taken for the maintenance of good order within the city. They did not terminate the favorable status of Judaism in the capital. Many Jews flooded the Roman slave market just before and after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

6. Christians. The origin of Christianity in Rome, like that of Judaism, cannot be determined with certainty. Roman Jews were in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:10), and they may have returned to the capital to found a church. But perhaps the nucleus of this fellowship consisted of Paul's converts in other spheres of missionary activity, such as Corinth and Ephesus. In this connection it is interesting to note the large number of individuals he was able to call by name in Rom. 16. Thus he was able to establish contact with a congregation otherwise unknown to him. Romans was written to instruct a church that the great apostle had not founded and to prepare the way for his coming to visit it (Rom. 15:24-32). Apparently he sent this letter to the church at Rome by the hand of Phoebe, the deaconess of Cenchrea (eastern seaport of Corinth), who was on her way to Rome (Rom. 16:1f.).

Christianity grew rapidly at Rome. At least thirty-five Christian catacombs are known there, the earliest dating to the middle of the 2nd cent. These were designed for burial of the dead, not as meeting places for harried Christians. Early in the 4th cent. there were at least forty churches

A tombstone from Capua describes a slave auction. The bottom panel depicts the slave standing on a block between the Greek auctioneer (left) and possibly a Roman buyer (right) (Museo Nazionale, Naples)



in Rome, the three most important built by Constantine: St. Peter's in the Vatican, St. Paul's Outside the Walls, and St. John Lateran.

B. Physical Aspects. It remains to ask what the city of Rome looked like during the 1st cent. A.D., or, more particularly, when the apostle Paul arrived to appear before Caesar, perhaps in A.D. 59. The city sprawled primarily to the east of the Tiber; only one of the fourteen districts lay west of the river. And the urban area extended well beyond the 4th-century B.C. Servian Wall, which enclosed the earlier city of the seven hills. Though the great fire of A.D. 64 in Nero's day and the subsequent fire of A.D. 80 during Titus's administration would result in extensive rebuilding, observations may be made that are descriptive for the century generally.

1. Circuses. As Paul and his company moved north along the Appian Way, they entered Rome through the Porta Capena, a major gate in the Servian Wall. Before them would have stood the Circus Maximus, greatest of the recreational structures of Rome in Paul's day. Between the parallel slopes of the Aventine and Palatine lay a valley some 550 m. (600 yds.) long and 140 m. (150 yds.) broad. The great circus had evolved through a process of repeated destruction and rebuilding, and was destined to be almost completely rebuilt by Nero after the fire of 64.

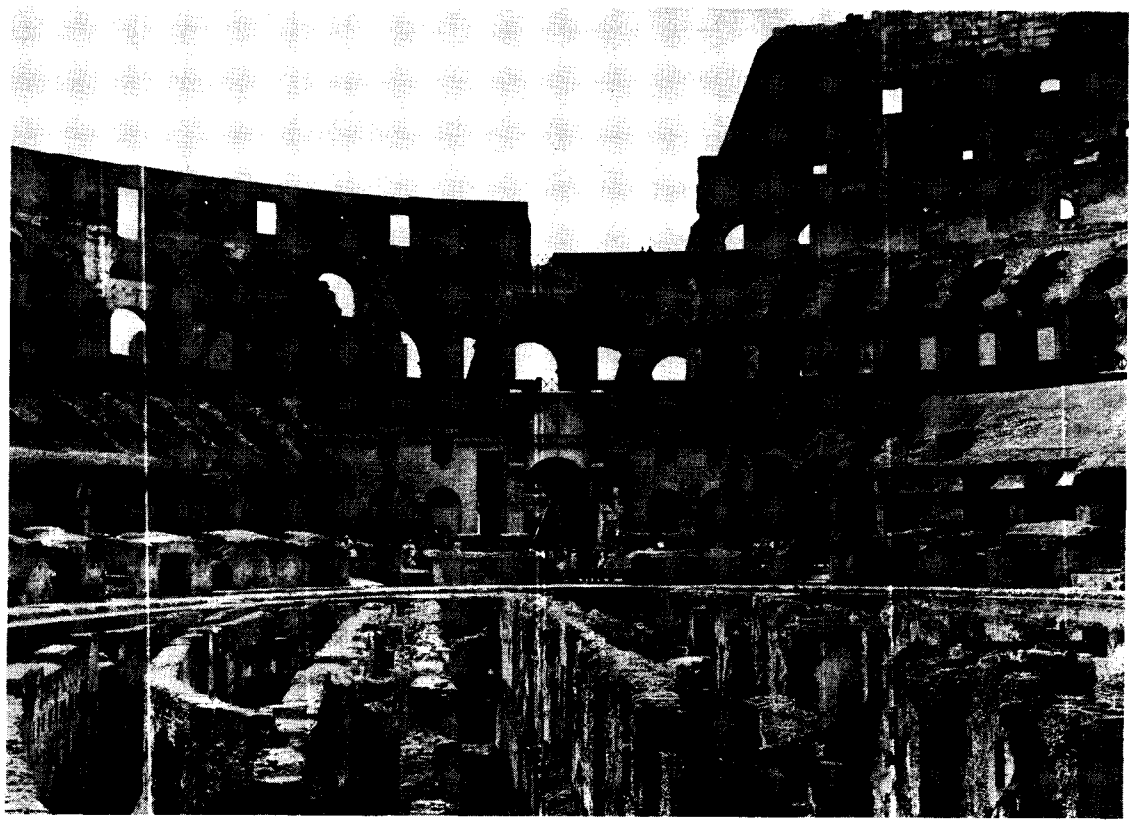
In Paul's day the total length of the circus was about 550 m. (600 yds.) and the total width not over 183 m. (200 yds.). The width was achieved by building out over the streets on the north and south sides. The arena was about 520 m. (570 yds.) long by about 78 m. (85 yds.) wide. In the middle stood the spina (the central barrier around which chariots raced), 315 m. (345 yds.) in length.

At the west end were the eight *carceres* or starting places for chariots, set on a curve so the distance was the same from each to the starting line. The east end of the circus was also curved, with a gate in the center. A raised platform surrounded the arena, on which chairs of high officials were placed. From this platform rose three tiers of seats, the lower of stone and the upper and perhaps the middle of wood, seating probably 200,000. The exterior consisted of a three-story arcade with engaged columns, like the Colosseum, and all was covered with Travertine limestone.

There were two other circuses in Rome in Paul's day. C. Flaminius Nepos in 221 B.C. built one N. of the Capitoline Hill with dimensions of about 240 by 90 m. (260 by 100 yds.). Caligula began a circus that Nero finished on the site where St. Peter's Cathedral now stands. Its size is uncertain. In all these structures chariot races were commonly held, wild beast hunts or games might occur, and Christians might be martyred.

2. Palaces. If Paul stood looking at the Circus Maximus, the palaces of the Caesars towered over him on his right, crowning the Palatine Hill. During the late Republic the Palatine had been an exclusive residential district, but with Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14) it became the residence of the emperors. In addition to his house Augustus built a

The interior of the Colosseum built by Vespasian. The floor has crumbled, leaving visible the lower level passages and stalls for wild animals. The Colosseum was planned by Augustus and brought to its height of about 50 m. (160 ft.) under Titus and Domitian. It could seat around 45,000 people on three tiers (Philip Gendreau, NY)



magnificent temple to Apollo there. Tiberius (14-37) built a new palace on the northwest part of the hill, covered almost completely today by the beautiful Farnese Gardens and therefore not excavated. Caligula (37-41) extended Tiberius's palace in the direction of the Forum and joined it by a bridge to the Capitoline Hill. Claudius (41-54) probably began the palace used by Nero (54-68) in the years before the fire (64). This palace in the central and southern part of the hill would have been visible to Paul as he glanced up at the Palatine, and it probably would have been a charred mass of ruins when Paul returned for his second Roman imprisonment (assuming that he was acquitted during his first appearance before Caesar). Later Domitian (81-96) changed the configuration of the hill and covered many of the older structures with grandiose new buildings: an official palace, a residence, and a small stadium (about 143 m., 470 ft., long).

After the great fire of A.D. 64 Nero created a grand new palace in the center of the city. This would have been under construction when Paul returned to Rome. The grounds covered the area between the Esquiline, Palatine, and Caelian hills. Known as the Golden House or Domus Aurea, this complex of palaces, parks, a pool, and a zoo encompassed 50 ha. (125 acres). Later emperors did their best to blot out the memory of this monstrosity. Vespasian filled in the lake and built the Colosseum on it. Trajan built his baths on top of the palace on the Oppian Hill. The palace on the Oppian is now extensively known through archeological effort.

3. Forum. The center of Roman life throughout ancient history was the Forum, located in a declivity between the Palatine, Capitoline, and Caelian hills. As the religious, political, and economic, and social hub of Rome, the Forum changed as the needs of the people changed and as the population grew. Gradually the more objectionable features of commerce (such as selling of meat, poultry, and vegetables) were forced out to other locations, and growth of population and personal ambition led rulers to build new forums or extensions of the Forum area. Julius Caesar built the first addition with its shops and its temple to Venus. Augustus built the next extension with its temple to Mars and adjacent shops. After Paul's day Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan built new forums next to the main forum. And the Forum itself became increasingly formalized as the result of imperial building programs designed to enhance the area.

On the supposition that Paul's case was adjudicated by one of Nero's lieutenants in the Forum, it might be useful to take an imaginary walk with the apostle through this center to see what it was like then. Probably he would have entered from the east. It is necessary to think away the Colosseum (completed in A.D. 80), the Arch of Constantine, the Basilica of Constantine and the Arch of Titus (built to commemorate his destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70).

As Paul came down the Sacred Way, the first building he would have passed was the house of the Vestal virgins, adjacent to which was the round Temple of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. It was the responsibility of the Vestal virgins to maintain the sacred fire, which symbolized the perpetuity of the state, and to renew it each year on March 1, the first day of the Roman year. In front of the Temple of Vesta was the Regia or office of the Pontifex Maximus, head of the religion of the state.

As Paul continued westward, he would have passed the Temple of the Divine Julius, which stood on the very spot where the body of Julius Caesar had been burned on a pyre improvised by the crowds after Mark Antony's famous speech. The Sacred Way turned left in front of the Temple of Julius and led directly into the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the sanctuary of horsemen. This structure presented an impressive sight with its porch of eleven graceful Corinthian columns 11.5 m. (38 ft.) high.

The Roman forum as viewed from the Basilica Aemelia (foreground). The pillars of the Temple of Julius are on the left and the Arch of Titus is in the distance (K. Adams)

Now the roadway turned again and ran along the face of the Basilica Julia. This structure, rebuilt and enlarged and dedicated by Augustus in A.D. 12, was 95 m. (312 ft.) long by 47.5 m. (156 ft.) wide. It was the seat of the tribunal of the *Centumviri,* who judged civil cases; and many believe that Paul may have appeared before Nero's tribunal here.

Next to the Basilica Julia stood the great temple of Saturn, rebuilt in 42 B.C. This was the center of popular festivities of the Saturnalia, celebrated for seven days in the middle of December and involving an exchange of gifts. The treasury of the state was also kept here. At the west end of the Forum stood the Rostra, where speakers might address a crowd gathered in the Forum. At one corner of the Rostra was the golden milestone (set up by Augustus in 20 B.C.), a marble column covered with gilt bronze, on which distances from Rome to principal towns of Italy and the Empire were recorded. This tended to give rise to the claim that "All roads lead to Rome."

Directly across the Forum from the Basilica Julia stood the Basilica Aemilia, a great commercial center especially used for money changing. This structure, about 90 by 25 m. (300 by 80 ft.), originally was erected in 179 B.C. and was rebuilt in A.D. 22. Next to the Basilica Aemilia on the west was the Senate, which Julius Caesar completely rebuilt. Its height was over 18 m. (60 ft.) and the hall about 25 by 17 m. (82 by 55 ft.). Next to the Senate chamber was the Senate office building. At the foot of the Capitol adjacent to the Forum was the Mamertine Prison, where noted prisoners were kept before execution. It is thought that Paul was here during his second Roman imprisonment (see 2 Timothy) and from here was taken away to be executed.

4. Temples. Numerous other fine structures dotted the Roman skyline in the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. The Pantheon, built by Augustus, still stood proudly in the Campus Martius west of the Servian Wall. Struck down by the fire of A.D. 80, it was rebuilt by Hadrian, presumably on much the same plan as originally conceived by Augustus. In 28 B.C. the Senate had authorized Augustus to rebuild or restore eighty-two temples in need of repair. Nearly all of these were still serviceable.

5. Mausoleum. Also in 28 B.C. Augustus began in northwest Rome near the Tiber a huge mausoleum that was to serve as a burial place for members of the Julio-Claudian family. Designed to resemble an Etruscan burial mound, it consisted of a concrete substructure heaped with earth and planted with cypresses and surmounted with a huge statue of the emperor. Before the entrance stood bronze tablets inscribed with Augustus's political biography. The concrete substructure consisted of a huge outer wall within which rose to a height of 43.5 m. (143 ft.) a series of concentric vaulted corridors surrounding a hollow cylinder intended to hold the emperor's ashes.

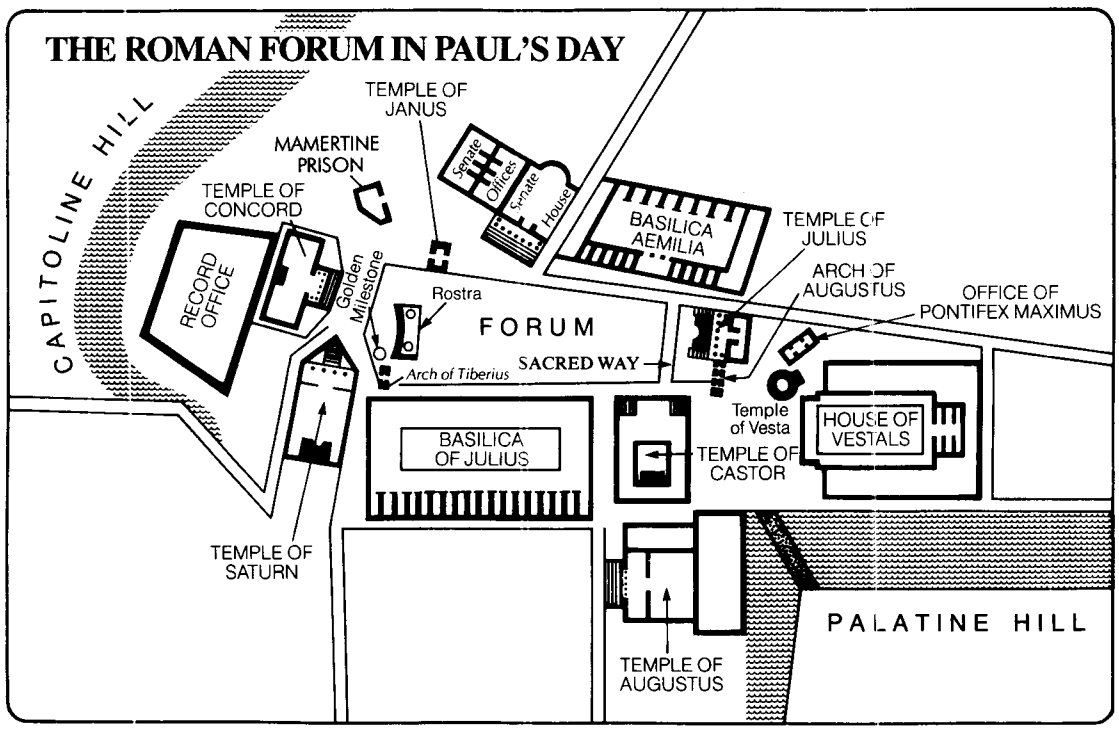
6. Altar of Peace. Adjacent to the mausoleum Augustus erected in 9 B.C. his famous Altar of Peace, designed to celebrate the peace he had established within the empire. The altar itself, raised on four steps, is surrounded by an almost square walled enclosure, measuring about 10.7 m. (35 ft.) on the lateral walls and 11.6 m. (38 ft.) on the entrance walls. Life-sized figures in bas relief appear in procession on the sides of the enclosure wall; they include Augustus and members of the royal family. On the ends of the enclosure appear representations of Tellus and Roma, designed to depict the prosperity of Italy now at peace. Aeneas, progenitor of the Romans, is portrayed as offering a sacrifice.

7. Baths and Aqueducts. Under the Empire it was a part of every self-respecting Roman's daily routine to go to the bath. During Augustus' reign occurred the transition from the small simple public baths designed for bathing only to the massive imperial structures that served as social centers for the whole populace. With Nero the baths assumed their common form, including dressing rooms, the warm bath, the hot bath, the cold plunge, exercise rooms, and social areas where poets and philosophers might hold forth.

These large baths required increasing quantities of water, as did the basic needs of a growing population. The first aqueduct built to Rome was completed *ca.* 312 B.C., a covered tunnel from springs 16 km. (10 mi.) E. of the city. In Paul's day eight aqueducts served the needs of Rome. The most famous was built by Claudius (41-54), and its channel was carried for part of its course on great arches 33.5 m. (110 ft.) high. In the 3rd cent. Rome had eleven aqueducts, providing some 950 million l. (250 million gals.) of water per day.

III. Persecution and the Tombs of Paul and Peter.—Though there were great public baths, scores of beautifully constructed temples, ostentatious villas of the wealthy, palaces of the emperors, fine public buildings in the forums, and other structures of note, most Romans were condemned to live in the miserable tenements that crowded together in nearly all residential districts of the city. These buildings grew increasingly ramshackle and were parched under the hot Italian sun. Thus they were tinder boxes waiting for a catastrophe of the magnitude of the great fire of A.D. 64. One hot night in July fire broke out in the slums east of the Circus Maximus and burned unabated for nine days, gutting more than half the city. Only four of the fourteen districts of Rome escaped entirely unscathed. No effort to check the conflagration succeeded. Even Nero's palace lay a charred mass.

Though Nero suffered personal loss in the fire, and though he launched a major effort to alleviate the sufferings of the homeless, there was a popular suspicion that Nero had started the fire in order to have the glory of rebuilding Rome along grander lines. According to the Roman historian Tacitus, Nero tried to divert suspicion from himself by laying blame for the holocaust on the Christians (*Ann.* xv.44). This view has been generally accepted (see esp. W. M. Ramsay, *CRE*, pp. 226-251). Making Christians the scapegoat was possible for at least two reasons. First, Christians increasingly were classed as antisocial because of their refusal to participate in aspects of public life connected with pagan rituals. Second, the brutality of



the Roman populace as evidenced in gladiatorial combats, wild beast hunts, and other entertainments of the arena is well known.

Especially, but not exclusively, the crime of arson was to be expiated by the criminal's being placed on a cross and set afire or being burned at the stake. Much of this punishment of Christians occurred in the gardens near Nero's circus in the Vaticanus section of Rome, W of the Tiber. The most intense period of the persecution lasted from late 64 to early 66, when Nero departed for Greece. Tradition has it that both Paul and Peter were martyred in Rome near the end of Nero's reign, perhaps in A.D. 67, and that the remains of both lie buried under great churches that serve as martyr memorials: the former under St. Paul's Outside the Walls, and the latter under St. Peter's in the Vatican.

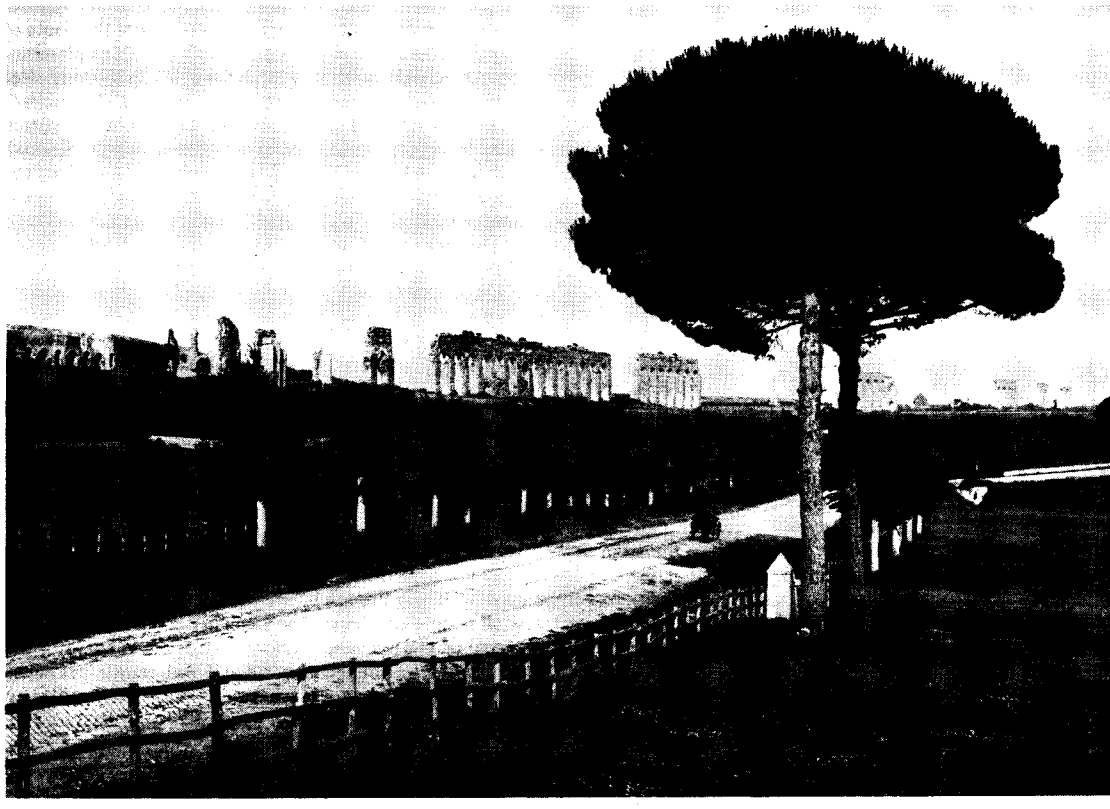
Establishing certainty about the tombs of the two great apostles is difficult. To begin with, it must be asked whether they were martyred in Rome. As far as Paul is concerned, 2 Timothy implies that martyrdom in Rome was expected momentarily. Scripture indicates nothing about Peter. Among extrabiblical sources, Clement of Rome in his first epistle, written in 95 or 96, indicates that Paul and Peter had been martyred in Rome. Ignatius of Antioch, writing a decade or two later, in his Rom. 4:2f. is testimony to the same effect. It is probable that both were martyred in Rome during Nero's reign.

As for the graves of Peter and Paul, it must be asked first whether authorities would have permitted believers to get hold of their remains and give them a decent burial. Next it must be asked whether authorities would have left the graves undisturbed if they had known their location. Then it must be asked whether believers could have retained knowledge of the location of the tombs if they remained unmarked. Possibly all these questions can be answered in the affirmative, but one cannot be sure.

At any rate, Gaius of Rome wrote *ca.* A.D. 200 that well-known martyr memorials (evidently tombs) of Peter and Paul could then be seen in Rome. The former was in the Vatican near Nero's Circus and the latter along the ancient Ostian Way. The best that can be said is that Christians in Rome believed they knew where the tombs of the apostles were in 200. It is to be noted that these tombs were in pagan areas far removed from Christian catacombs then in common use. Such a fact is thought to give some credence to the validity of the sites. Then in the 3rd cent. there is an indication that the bones of both Peter and Paul were located in the Catacombs of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way. The view of some is that they were transferred there for safe keeping in 258, during the particularly violent persecution of Valerian, and that they were later returned to their well-known resting places (cf. *LAP,* pp. 382-84, 471-74, 510-18). Then early in the 4th cent. Constantine built churches over the traditional burial places of Paul and Peter, and modern churches simply perpetuate the traditions that go back to A.D. 200 or before.

To deal with the continuing question of whether Peter's tomb was actually located under the high altar of St. Peter's Basilica, Pope Pius XII permitted excavations under the Vatican (1940-1949). What was found was an early pagan cemetery in which was a simple shrine believed to be that mentioned by Gaius about A.D. 200. Evidence also came to light that Nero's Circus was located nearby. Some bones were found but they could not certainly be identified as Peter's. The official reports published in 1951 set forth

The Claudian aqueduct (mid-1st cent.) along the Via Appia Nuova outside Rome (Ewing Galloway, NY)



the view that the tomb of Peter had indeed been found, but even many very partial Roman Catholic scholars are not so sure. Perhaps the best that can be said is that the evidence does not seem to demonstrate conclusively that Peter's tomb has been found; nor does it close the door on the possibility that he was buried there.

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ROMELIUS rō-mē'li-əs (1 Esd. 5:8, NEB). *See* REHUM 1.

ROOF. *See* HOUSE III.E.

ROOF CHAMBER. *See* HOUSE III.E, V; UPPER CHAMBER.

ROOM. The term is used by the RSV most often in the sense of a chamber of a building. *See* CHAMBER; ENTERTAIN; GUEST ROOM; HOUSE; INN; INNER ROOM; MANSION (Jn. 14:2); PICTURES, ROOM OF (Ezk. 8:12); TEMPLE (1 K. 6:29f.; 1 Ch. 28:11; Ezk. 40–41; etc.); UPPER CHAMBER.

The RSV also uses "room" in the sense of "space" to translate Heb. *māqôm* (Gen. 24:23, 25; Isa. 5:8; Jer. 7:32; supplied in Zec. 10:10) and Gk. *tópos* (Lk. 14:22; Rom. 15:23), both of which mean "place." "Make room" and "give room" render Heb. *nāgaš* (Isa. 49:20) and the hiphil of *rāḥaḇ* (Gen. 26:22; Ps. 4:1 [MT 2]; Prov. 18:16; *see also* BROAD PLACE), while in Mk. 2:2 "there is room" represents Gk. *chōréō*. N. J. O.

ROOM OF PICTURES. *See* PICTURES, ROOM OF.

ROOT [(verb) Heb. piel and hiphil of *šāraš* (Job 31:12; "take root," Job 5:3; Ps. 80:9 [MT 10]; Isa. 27:6; 40:24; Jer. 12:2; "root out," Job 31:8), *nāṯaš*–'uproot' ("root up," 1 K. 14:15; "root out," Ps. 9:6 [MT 7]; Mic. 5:14 [MT 13], *nāsaḥ*–'tear down' ("be rooted out," Prov. 2:22); Aram. ithpeel of *ʿaqar* ("be plucked up by the roots," Dnl. 7:8); Gk. *ekrizóō* ("root up," Mt. 13:29; 15:13; Lk. 17:6), pass. part. of *rhizóō* ("rooted," Eph. 3:17; Col. 2:7)]; AV also DESTROY, PLUCK UP; NEB also PULL UP, etc.; [(noun) Heb. *šōreš* (Dt. 29:18 [MT 17]; 2 K. 19:30; Job 8:17; Prov. 12:3, 12; Isa. 11:1, 10; 37:31; Hos. 9:16; Dnl. 11:7; etc.), *qeṣeḇ* (Jonah 2:6 [MT 7]), *minlām* (Job 15:29); Aram. *šᵉrōš* (Dnl. 4:15, 23, 26 [MT 12, 20, 23]); Gk. *rhíza* (Mt. 3:10 par.; 13:6, 21 par.; Mk. 11:20; Rom. 11:16, 18; 15:12; 1 Tim. 6:10; He. 12:15; Rev. 5:5; 22:16)]; AV also BOTTOM, "perfection" (Job 15:29); NEB also TROUGH (Jonah 2:6 [MT 7]), SCION FROM THE ROOT, etc.

The primary biblical terms for "root" are Heb. *šōreš* and Gk. *rhíza* and the cognate verbs (which can mean either "take root" or "root up," depending on the stem or prefix). The range in meaning is so similar that the LXX almost always uses *rhíza* and its cognates to render *šōreš* and its derivatives. Heb. *qeṣeḇ* is a rare term of uncertain meaning, and the translation "root" is a conjecture from the context. Since the verb *qāṣaḇ* means "cut," a better translation might be "cleft" (cf. LXX *schísma;* NEB "trough"). The MT of Job 15:29 is obscure, and the RSV rendering is based on the Vulgate. Many different translations and emendations have been proposed for the hapax legomenon *minlām*, including *mᵉnōlām* ("their possessions"), based on a possible cognate in Arabic, and *millām* ("their words"), following the Syriac.

In the Bible "root" is almost always used figuratively. Sometimes "roots" simply symbolize the lower parts of something, e.g., of mountains (Job 28:9; Jonah 2:6) or the sea (Job 36:30). Since roots give plants their stability, Prov. 12:3 can state that the "root of the righteous will never be moved" (cf. v. 12). "Root" can also be used in an abstract sense to designate "source of existence." Thus it appears in expressions such as "the root of the matter" (Job 19:28) and "the love of money is the root of all evils" (1 Tim. 6:10).

Since in Palestine vegetation is often threatened by drought, much attention is given to the root upon which the plant's existence depends. Roots need good soil and water to survive and flourish (cf. the parable of the Sower, Mt. 13:6, 21 par. Mk. 4:6, 17). Well-watered roots can therefore symbolize prosperity (Job 29:19; Jer. 17:8; Ezk. 31:7).

Judgment is sometimes depicted in terms of destroying the whole plant from the roots on up. To "root out" a family or nation is to annihilate it so that all hope for a posterity is cut off (Am. 2:9; Mal. 4:1 [MT 3:19]). In the background of Mt. 3:10 par. Lk. 3:9 is the common metaphor of Israel as God's PLANT. John the Baptist warned that Israel was threatened with complete destruction if it did not repent.

The author of Hebrews borrowed the language of Dt. 29:18 in warning against allowing a "root of bitterness" to spring up and defile the community (He. 12:15). Moses had warned that if the evil acts of one individual or family or tribe were tolerated, this evil would contaminate the entire community and expose all Israel to God's judgment.

On the other hand, several passages refer to the natural phenomenon of new branches sprouting from the roots of a tree that has been felled (e.g., Job 14:7-9). This phenomenon served as a symbol of hope for a new beginning after a catastrophic destruction (cf. Isa. 14:29f.). Nebuchadnezzar was assured that although he would be struck down, his root would remain so that he could flourish again (Dnl. 4:15, 23, 26 [MT 12, 20, 23]). Likewise, the judgment that felled Israel was not to be final, for a new branch would grow out of the "root" of Jesse (Isa. 11:1). In v. 10 Heb. *šōreš* should be translated "shoot" instead of "root," since the context indicates that Jesse is the root and David's successor is the "shoot." This should also be the translation of Gk. *rhíza* in Rev. 5:5; 22:16. Although *rhíza* never means "shoot" outside the Bible, the usage here is clearly influenced by the LXX. John the seer was referring to the messianic hopes he found in Isaiah — hopes that went back to Yahweh's promise to David through Nathan (2 S. 7). This promise was recalled in hope whenever Judah faced a crisis, and it shaped the lives of OT "messiahs" (i.e., anointed kings) such as Josiah and Zerubbabel. For Christians the coming of Jesus is the final blooming of that promise.

In Rom. 11:16-18 Paul argues that gentile Christians should not look down on the Jews, for the root's holiness means that the branches are also holy (v. 16), i.e., the Jewish people continue to be specially consecrated to God because of the patriarchs (cf. v. 28). Even if some of the Jewish branches have been cut off and gentile branches have been grafted in, this is no ground for Gentiles to boast, since they too depend upon the root of Israel (vv. 17f.).

See also STUMP.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 865-870; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 2nd ed. 1983), pp. 252-268; *TDNT*, VI, *s.v.* ῥίζα κτλ. (C. Maurer); *TWOT*, II, 957f. G. CHAMBERLAIN N. J. O.

ROOT OF DAVID. *See* STUMP; ROOT; DAVID, ROOT OF.

ROPE [Heb. *ḥeḇel*–'cord, rope' (Josh. 2:15; 2 S. 17:13; 1 K. 20:31f.; Job 18:10; Jer. 38:6, 11-13)]; AV also CORD, SNARE; NEB also CORD, ROUGH CORD; [*ʿaḇōṯ* (Jgs. 15:13f.; 16:11f.; Job 39:10; Isa. 5:18)]; AV also CORD, BAND; [*'agmôn*–'rush' (Job 41:2 [MT 40:26])]; AV HOOK; NEB CORD; [*niqpâ* (Isa. 3:24)]; AV RENT; [Gk. *schoinion* (Acts 27:32)]; [*zeuktēria* (Acts 27:40)]; AV BAND; NEB LASHING. A cord made by twisting various materials such as plant fibers, leather, or hair.

Both Heb. *ḥeḇel* and *ʿaḇōṯ* seem to be used interchangeably; neither seems to indicate a specific meaning regarding either length, thickness, or strength; both seem to be used for any kind of cord or rope. *Ḥeḇel* can be used figuratively to indicate death (i.e., "snare" or "binding"; cf. Job 18:10). The usual meaning of *'agmôn* is "bulrush," but ropes may or may not have been made of bulrush fibers. Perhaps it appears in Job 41:2 because of Leviathan's relationship to watery places. In Isa. 3:24 "rope" may either represent poverty or captivity. In 1 K. 20:31f. it may symbolize captivity or subjection.

The Greek term *schoinion* occurs only twice in the NT. In Acts 27:32 it refers to a mooring line and in Jn. 2:15 to the materials used in a whip made by Jesus (RSV "cords").

Ropes were used for many types of applications, including those concerned with domestic life, agriculture, the military (2 S. 17:13), shipping (Acts 27:32, 40), hunting (Job 18:10), lifting and lowering weights (Jer. 38:6, 11-13), and restraining people (Jgs. 15:13f.; 16:11f.; *see* pictures in ESARHADDON; PRISONER) or animals (Job 39:10). A common rope material was flax (note that Rahab, who delivered the spies with a rope, also had a heap of flax on her roof [Josh. 2:6]).

See CORD. L. G. HERR

ROSE. *See* FLORA IV.A.

ROSETTA STONE rō-zet'ə. The monument bearing the inscription that provided the key for deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs. This broken stele was found accidentally in August, 1799, by French soldiers from Napoleon's army who were strengthening the foundations of Fort St. Julien near the town of Rosetta (Rashid) in the western delta of Egypt.

The inscription was written by the priests of Egypt in 196 B.C. to honor Ptolemy V Epiphanes, who had made certain benefactions to the temples of Egypt. The stele contains the same text in hieroglyphic Egyptian ("sacred writing"), in demotic Egyptian ("popular" writing, a later, more rapidly written form of Egyptian; *see* EGYPT V.C), and in Greek. The royal names, which in the hieroglyphic version were enclosed in cartouches, provided the basic clue for identifying the phonetic values of many of the signs. Though a number of scholars (e.g., S. deSacy, J. D. Åkerblad, T. Young) worked on the text, the credit for deciphering the hieroglyphs is given to J. F. Champollion, who announced his results in a paper he presented in September, 1822, entitled *Lettre à M. Dacier relative à l'alphabet des hiéroglyphes phonétiques*.

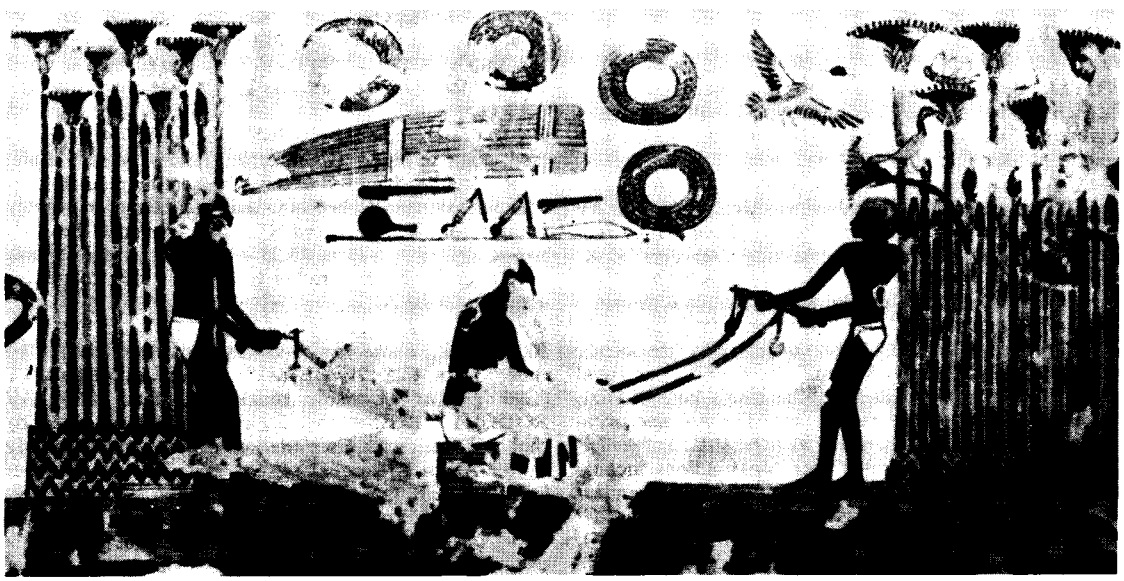
See also ARCHEOLOGY OF EGYPT II.A,B; INSCRIPTIONS; *see* picture in ARCHEOLOGY OF EGYPT.

Bibliography.–A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed. 1957), pp. 12-15; *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), pp. 12-14; E. A. W. Budge, *Rosetta Stone* (1929). C. E. DEVRIES

ROSH rosh, rōsh [Heb. *rō'š*–'head']. According to the MT of Gen. 46:21 (cf. AV, RSV), the seventh son of Benjamin. The LXX, however, lists him as the son of Bela (cf. NEB) and grandson of Benjamin. The list in Gen. 46:21 differs significantly from those in Nu. 26:38-40 and 1 Ch. 8:1-7, where Rosh is not mentioned. Most scholars agree that the text of Gen. 46:21 is corrupt.

ROSH rosh, rōsh (NEB Ezk. 38:2f.; 39:1). Scholars are divided on the interpretation of Heb. *rō'š* in these verses.

An Egyptian wall painting from the tomb of Khaemwēse (?) (no. 261, Thebes) showing ropemakers twisting rope out of reeds. Above the workers are tools and finished coils (18th Dynasty) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



Some read it as a place name (so NEB), while others render it "chief" (so AV, RSV). (See comms.; *see also* PRINCE.)

ROT [Heb. *rāqaḇ*] (Prov. 10:7; Isa. 40:20); NEB also TURN ROTTEN; [*rāqāḇ*] (Prov. 14:30); AV ROTTENNESS; [*māqaq*] (Isa. 34:4; Zec. 14:12); AV BE DISSOLVED, CONSUME AWAY; NEB also CRUMBLE INTO NOTHING; [*qāmēl*] (Isa. 19:6); AV WITHER; NEB WITHER AWAY; [Gk. *sēpō*] (Jas. 5:2); AV CORRUPTED; NEB also CANKER; **ROTTEN** [Heb. *rāqāḇ*] ("rotten thing," Job 13:28); NEB WINE-SKIN (transposed to 14:2); [*riqqāḇôn*] (41:27 [MT 19]); NEB ROTTING; **ROTTENNESS** [Heb. *rāqāḇ*] (Prov. 12:4; Hab. 3:16); NEB ROT, TREMBLING; [*maq*] (Isa. 3:24; 5:24); AV also STINK; NEB STENCH OF DECAY, MOULDER AWAY.

In the OT "rot," etc., most often translate the Hebrew root *rqb*, which refers to the deterioration and decay of organic matter such as wood (Job 41:27 [MT 19]; Hos. 5:12), cloth (Job 13:28), or bones (Prov. 12:4; 14:30; Hab. 3:16). According to the sarcastic description of idol manufacturing in Isa. 40, one chooses for an idol wood "that will not rot" (v. 20). Figuratively, the name (i.e., reputation) of a wicked person will "rot" (Prov. 10:7).

In later Hebrew as well as in the OT, the root *mqq* refers not to rotting but to the process of shriveling, pining, or wasting away to nothing. In the day of judgment all the host of heaven will "rot away," i.e., wane and disappear (Isa. 34:4). The flesh, eyes, and tongues of Judah's enemies will shrivel and dry up while they are still alive (Zec. 14:12). The well-oiled bodies of the wealthy women of Judah will waste away (Isa. 3:24), and Judah's root will shrivel up (5:24). The LXX used Gk. *sēpō* to render Heb. *mqq*. According to Jas. 5:2, the riches of the wealthy will "rot" (RSV), i.e., waste away to nothing.

D. A. DORSEY

ROTE. In Isa. 29:13 the RSV and NEB render the Heb. pual part. of *lāmaḏ* (lit. "taught, trained") by "learned by rote" (AV "taught"). The translation is appropriate, because the passage criticizes a religion that involves the MOUTH (I) but not the HEART (II, III).

ROWER; ROWING. *See* SHIPS.

ROYAL. Belonging to, relating to, or subject to a KING. In Hebrew and Aramaic this concept is usually expressed by use of the construct state (a genitive construction with one of four nouns: Heb. or Aram. *meleḵ* ("king"), Heb. *malḵûṯ* ("sovereign power or majesty"), *mᵉlûḵâ* ("kingship"), and *mamlāḵâ* ("kingdom, sovereignty"). The AV frequently translates the terms literally. Thus the AV renders Heb. *ʿaḇḏé hammeleḵ* as "the king's servants" (1 K. 1:9; RSV "the royal officials"), *kissēʾ hammᵉlûḵâ* as "the throne of the kingdom" (v. 46; RSV "the royal throne"; cf. *kissēʾ mamlaḵtᵉḵā*, 9:5; AV "the throne of thy kingdom"; RSV "your royal throne"), *šēḇeṭ malḵûṯeḵā* as "the sceptre of thy kingdom" (Ps. 45:6 [MT 7]; RSV "your royal scepter"); Aram *bêṯ malkā* as "the king's house" (Ezr. 6:4; RSV "the royal treasury"), etc. The AV also occasionally uses "royal," especially as a translation of *malḵûṯ* in Esther (1:7, 9, 11; etc.). Other constructions include the use of a preposition or particle; e.g., the RSV renders Heb. *bayiṯ lᵉmalḵûṯô* as "a royal palace for himself" (2 Ch. 2:1 [MT 1:18]; AV, lit., "an house for his kingdom"), *ʿōśê hamnᵉlāʾḵâ ʾᵃšer lammeleḵ* as "the royal officers" (Est. 9:3; AV "officers of the king"), and Aram. *bêṯ ginzayyāʾ dî-malkā'* as "the royal archives" (Ezr. 5:17; AV "the king's treasure house").

On "royal stud" (Est. 8:10, RSV), *see* STUD, ROYAL. On "royal canopy" (Jer. 43:10, RSV), *see* CANOPY.

In Acts 12:21 "royal" represents Gk. *basilikós* (referring to a king's official robes). The meaning of *nómos basilikós* (AV, RSV, "royal law"; NEB "sovereign law") in Jas. 2:8 is debated, but it probably refers to God or Christ as the King (*basileús*) who gives the law (see J. Adamson, *Epistle of James* [*NICNT*, 1976], pp. 113-16; P. Davids, *Comm. on James* [*NIGTC*, 1982], p. 114; *TDNT*, I, 591; but see other comms. on James, e.g., M. Dibelius [*Hermeneia*, Eng. tr. 1976]). The phrase *basíleion hiéráteuma* in 1 Pet. 2:9 (quoted from the LXX of Heb. *mamleḵeṯ kōhᵃnîm*, Ex. 19:6) also admits of several interpretations, depending on whether it is read as an adjective or a noun. If the AV, RSV, and NEB are correct in translating it as an adjective ("royal priesthood"), then it denotes a "priesthood in service to a king" (see Bauer, rev., p. 136; *TDNT*, I, 591; but cf. comms. on 1 Peter by E. Best [*NCBC*, 2nd ed. 1982], E. G. Selwyn [2nd ed. 1947, repr. 1972], etc.). In Rev. 17:12, 17 the RSV uses "royal power" rather than the usual translation "kingdom" to render Gk. *basileía* (cf. AV "kingdom"; NEB "to reign," "sovereignty"), indicating that the emphasis is on "kingly power" or "sovereignty" rather than on a territory (see Bauer, rev., p. 134; *TDNT*, I, 579f.).

See *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* βασιλεύς κτλ.: βασιλεία, βασίλειος, βασιλικός (K. L. Schmidt). N. J. O.

ROYAL CITY [Heb. *ʿîr hammamlāḵā'*–'city of the kingdom' (Josh. 10:2; 1 S. 27:5). *ʿîr hammᵉlûḵâ*–'city of the kingship' (2 S. 12:26)]; NEB also KING'S POOL (2 S. 12:26). A city in which a king resides. Gibeon had no king (it was probably ruled by feudal lords or "elders"; cf. Josh. 9:11), but it was as great as the cities with kings (10:2). Gath was the capital city of the Philistines; for a time David was a vassal to its king, Achish (1 S. 27:5f.). Rabbah was the capital city of the Ammonites (2 S. 12:26).

RUDDER [Gk. *pēdálion*] (Acts 27:40; Jas. 3:4); AV also HELM; NEB also STEERING-PADDLE. Ships of the type on which Paul traveled generally had two large steering paddles, one on each side of the stern, connected by a crossbar and operated by a steersman (see Bauer, rev., p. 656). These rudders would be raised and lashed while the ship was at anchor; they would be loosed in order to steer the ship ashore (Acts 27:40). *See also* SHIPS III.

RUDDY [Heb. *ʾaḏmônî*–'reddish' (1 S. 16:12; 17:42), *ʾāḏōm*–'red, color of blood' (Cant. 5:10), *ʾāḏam*–'be red' (Lam. 4:7)]. An adjective used to describe healthy reddish skin. The dark-skinned Hebrews found great beauty in a ruddy complexion. The RSV and NEB have replaced the AV's use of "ruddy" in Gen. 25:25 with "red"; the reference here is to Esau's hair rather than to his skin color. *See also* COLOR III.A.

RUDE [Gk. *aschēmonéō*–'behave disgracefully'] ("be rude," 1 Cor. 13:5); AV BEHAVE UNSEEMLY; **RUDELY** [Gk. *ágroikōs*–'boorishly, rudely'] (2 Macc 14:30); AV ROUGHLY; NEB "no . . . civility." Terms used by the RSV to describe discourteous behavior; used similarly by the AV in 2 Macc. 12:14 (Gk. *anágōgōs*; RSV "insolently"; NEB "provocatively"). In the AV of 2 Cor. 11:6, however, "rude" simply means "untrained" (*idiṓtēs*; RSV "unskilled"). Both meanings are present in the AV's use of "rudeness" in Sir. 21:24 (*apaideusía*, lit. "lack of education"; RSV "ill-mannered"; NEB "bad manners").

RUDIMENTS. *See* ELEMENT.

RUE [Gk. *pēganon*]. An herb that, according to Lk. 11:42, was tithed by the Pharisees. The species of rue is perhaps *Ruta latifolia* Salisb. or *R. graveolens* L. These shrubs grow to 1.2 m. (4 ft.) in height and bear grey-green leaves and yellow flowers. The rue has a heavy odor and was used as a condiment, as a stomachic, and as a charm. The parallel in Mt. 23:23 reads "dill" (Gk. *ánēthon*) in place of "rue," and one early MS (p^{45}) has "dill" in Lk. 11:42. Although there is clear rabbinic evidence that dill was tithed (Mish. *Maaseroth* iv.5) and that rue was not (*Shebiith* ix.1), this does not prove that "dill" was the original word in this saying, since Jesus may have been criticizing the Pharisees for going beyond the law.

R. K. H.

RUFUS rōō'fəs [Gk. *Rhouphos*–'red, reddish']. A name that appears twice in the NT. (1) In Mk. 15:21, Rufus and Alexander are named as the sons of Simon of Cyrene, who, according to the Synoptic tradition, was compelled to bear the cross of Jesus (*see* SIMON 7). This uniquely Markan reference probably indicates that, in the community that the Gospel of Mark addressed, the brothers were well known, either by personal association or by tradition. (2) In Rom. 16:13 the name appears in Paul's request to "Greet Rufus, eminent in the Lord, also his mother and mine." The descriptive title may express some special distinction.

If the Gospel of Mark was written in Rome, as tradition asserts, and if Rom. 16 is to be considered an integral part of Paul's original letter to the Roman Christian community, it is possible that both references are to the same person. Since the name appears commonly in Greco-Roman society, however, such a conclusion can be only tentative. Later Christian legend refers to Rufus often (e.g., the Acts of Andrew and The Acts of Peter), placing him as bishop in Thebes, Capua, and Avignon. He was commemorated by the Church on the 12th, 14th, and 21st of November.

See also ALEXANDER 1. C. N. JEFFORD

RUG [Heb. *śᵉmîḵâ*] (Jgs. 4:18); AV MANTLE; [*śāpîṯ*] (Isa. 21:5); AV "watch tower." Hebrew *śᵉmîḵâ* occurs only once in the OT, and its exact meaning is uncertain. LXX A renders it by Gk. *epibólaion* ("covering," "garment"), while LXX B uses *dérris* ("tent curtain"). The context indicates something with which Jael "covered" or "concealed" Sisera so that he could sleep (Heb. piel of *kāsâ*, Jgs. 4:19). J. Gray suggested that "the reference is probably to the screened quarter of the women, which would give Sisera a sense of false security and . . . hide an embarrassing guest" (*Joshua, Judges, Ruth* [*NCBC*, 1986], p. 260; see also KoB, p. 925).

The Hebrew phrase *śāpōh ḥaśśāpîṯ* (RSV "they spread the rugs," Isa. 21:5) is difficult. The LXX omits the phrase, while the Vulgate (*speculare speculam*), Targum, and Syriac interpret it as based on the root *śāpâ* ("keep guard, watch"; thus AV "watch in the watchtower"). Most scholars, however, understand it in terms of a second root *śāpâ* ("overlay" in the piel), therefore as a reference to the carpets that were spread out for Babylonian feasts (so RSV, NEB). N. J. O.

RUHAMAH rōō-hā'mə [Heb. *ruḥāmâ*–'shown compassion'; Gk. *Ēleēménē*, translation rather than transliteration]. The AV transliteration of the new name by which Hosea's daughter LO-RUHAMAH is to be called (Hos. 2:1 [MT 3]). The new name (RSV "She has obtained pity"; NEB "You are loved") is a confession of faith in a future day of salvation when the judgment symbolized by the original name (RSV "Not pitied," v. 6) will be reversed.

RUIN; BRING TO RUIN; HEAP OF RUINS; etc. [(verbs) Heb. niphal, piel, and hiphil of *šāḥaṯ* (Ex. 8:24 [MT 20]; 2 Ch. 34:11; Lam. 2:5f., 8; Nah. 2:2 [MT 3]), qal, piel, and hiphil of *ʾāḇaḏ* (Ex. 10:7; Dt. 28:63; Jer. 9:12 [MT 11]; Lam. 2:9; Ob. 12), pual of *nāḵâ* (Ex. 9:31f.), qal and niphal of *šāmam*–'be (made) deserted' (Ezk. 6:6; Am. 9:14; Zeph. 3:6), qal and niphal of *nāṣâ*–'fall in ruins' (part., 2 K. 19:25 par. Isa. 37:26; Jer. 2:15; 4:7; 9:11; 46:19), niphal of *nāṯaṣ*–'be torn down' (Jer. 4:26), qal infinitive, niphal, and pual of *šāḏad*–'devastate' (Jer. 4:13; 9:19 [MT 18]; Mic. 2:4; Zec. 11:2), qal and niphal of *hāras* (Prov. 29:4; Ezk. 36:35f.; Joel 1:17), niphal of *lāḇaṭ* (Prov. 10:8; Hos. 4:14), hiphil of *kāšal* (2 Ch. 28:23; Ps. 64:8 [MT 9]), *ḥāraḇ* (Neh. 2:17; Hag. 1:4, 9), piel of *sālap* (Prov. 19:3), piel of *ḥāḇal* (Isa. 32:7), hiphil of *kāʾaḇ* (2 K. 3:19), piel of *ʾāwaṯ* (Ps. 146:9); Gk. *apóllymi* (Rom. 14:15), *phtheírō* (1 Cor. 15:33), part. of *katastréphō* (Acts 15:16)]; AV also CORRUPT, DESTROY, PERISH, OVERTHROW, etc.; NEB also FORFEIT, CORRUPT, DESPISE, SPOIL, etc.; [(substantives) Heb. *ʿî*–'heap of rubble' (1 K. 9:8 [emended from *ʿelyôn*]; Job 30:24; Ps. 79:1; Jer. 26:18; Mic. 3:12), *ʾêḏ*–'disaster' (Prov. 13:15 [emended from *ʾêṯan*]), *pîḏ* (Job 31:29; Prov. 24:22), *ḥōreḇ* (2 Ch. 34:6 [emended from *bᵉḥar ḇōṯêhem*]; Isa. 61:4), *ḥorbâ* (Ezr. 9:9; Job 3:14; Ps. 9:6 [MT 7]; Isa. 5:17; Jer. 25:11; etc.), *gal* (Job 15:28; Jer. 51:37), *mappālâ* (Isa. 17:1; 23:13; 25:2; Ezk. 27:27; 31:13), *hawwâ* (Ps. 38:12 [MT 13]; 55:11 [MT 12]; Prov. 19:13), *raʿ*–'evil' (Prov. 5:14; 21:12), *rāʿâ*–'evil, harm' (2 S. 16:8), *šeḇer*–'collapse' (Lam. 2:13), *šôʾâ* (Ps. 35:8; Prov. 3:25; Isa. 47:11; Zeph. 1:15), *šᵉʾîyâ* (Isa. 24:12), *maššûʾâ* (Ps. 73:18; 74:3), *mᵉḥittâ*–'destruction' (Ps. 89:40 [MT 41]; Prov. 10:14f.; 13:3; 14:28; 18:7), *miḵšôl*–'stumbling block' (Ezk. 18:30), *maḵšēlâ* (Isa. 3:6), *šᵉmānâ*–'deserted area' (Josh. 8:28), *ʿawwâ* (Ezk. 21:27 [MT 32]), *mᵉḇullāqâ* (Nah. 2:10 [MT 11]), *miḏḥeh* (Prov. 26:28), *hᵃrîsâ* (Am. 9:11); Aram. *nᵉwālû* (Dnl. 2:5; 3:29); Gk. *rhḗgma*–'breakage' (Lk. 6:49), *sýntrimma*–'fracture' (Rom. 3:16), *ólethros*–'destruction, death' (1 Tim. 6:9), *katastrophḗ* (2 Tim. 2:14)]; AV also DESTRUCTION, DESOLATE (PLACE), WASTE (PLACE), etc.; NEB also DISTRESS, DISASTER, CALAMITY, RUINED MOUND, etc.

The sheer variety of the Hebrew and Greek terms, as well as the range of alternate translations in the NEB and AV, indicates that in the RSV "ruin" does not carry any very specific force. The verb generally refers to events bringing disaster, while the noun usually indicates a condition of total collapse or destruction.

The most common word group rendered "ruin" consists of the Hebrew verb *ḥāraḇ* and the nouns *ḥōreḇ* and *ḥorbâ*. These terms refer originally to dryness and desolation and then to the ruin and waste areas caused by abandonment or the devastations of war. Heb. *šāḥaṯ*, like Gk. *phtheírō*, means "ruin" in the sense of "spoil, corrupt," while Heb. *kāšal* means "twist, pervert." Heb. *nāḵâ*, "batter down," is the word commonly translated "smite." Heb. *ʾāḇaḏ* and Gk. *apóllymi* are both generally translated "perish" or, when transitive, "destroy." Heb. *mappālâ*, "heap of rubble," is related to the verb *nāpal*, "fall." Gk. *katastréphō* and the related noun *katastrophḗ* (cf. Eng. "catastrophe") mean "overturning"; the most recent editions of the Greek NT read *kataskáptō*, "dig up," at Acts 15:16 (following p^{74}, A, and other early MSS) in place of *katastréphō* (א, B, etc.). Heb. *šôʾâ*, "storm" or "utter devastation," is the word used by modern Jews for the

Nazi holocaust. Heb. *ʾî* specifically denotes the barren mound left after an ancient city has been destroyed: it is the equivalent of the modern Arab. *tell*. The only name by which the Israelites ever knew the city "Ai" (Josh. 8) was "Ruin" (*see* AI 1).

Wisdom literature teaches that "ruin" is the judgment that awaits the FOOL. The foolish (wicked) bring about their own destruction (cf. Prov. 19:3) by their susceptibility to temptation (5:14), their insolence (10:8), their rash and senseless talk (10:14; 13:3; 18:7), their laziness (10:15), their faithlessness (13:15), their wickedness (12:12; 21:12), and their flattery (26:28).

The psalmists confessed that God preserves the righteous but brings the wicked to ruin (Ps. 9:6 [MT 7]; 64:8 [MT 9]; 73:18; 146:9; cf. 35:8; 109:10). Likewise, the Lord repeatedly warned His people that if they forsook His covenant, breaking His commandments and serving other gods, He would bring ruin upon their land (e.g., Dt. 28:63; 1 K. 9:8; Isa. 5:17; 47:11; Jer. 2:15; 4:7, 13, 26; 9:11f., 19; 25:11; 26:18; Ezk. 6:6; 18:30; 21:27; Am. 6:6; Mic. 3:12). Israel's prophets also told of the destruction that awaited Israel's neighbors and enemies: Damascus (Isa. 17:1), Tyre (23:13; Ezk. 26:20), Egypt (Jer. 46:19; Ezk. 31:13), Babylon (Jer. 51:37), and Nineveh (Nah. 2:10 [MT 11]).

Because of the apostasy of both Israel and Judah, such devastation did come upon both nations (Isa. 64:11 [MT 10]; Lam. 2:5f., 8f., 13; cf. Ps. 74:3; 79:1; 89:40 [MT 41]). But through the prophets Yahweh promised His people that the time would come when He would restore their fortunes and rebuild their ruined cities (Isa. 44:26; 58:12; 61:4; Ezk. 36:35f.; Am. 9:11, 14; cf. Acts 15:16).

The NT authors also warn against sins that can lead to personal ruin. Jesus taught His disciples that wisdom involves both hearing and doing His words; those who hear His words but do not do them are headed for destruction (Lk. 6:46-49). The epistles to Timothy warn that believers can be destroyed by desire for riches (1 Tim. 6:9) and by disputes about words (2 Tim. 2:14).

See also DESOLATE; DESTRUCTION; PERISH.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀπόλλυμι (A. Oepke); VII, *s.v.* στρέφω κτλ. (G. Bertram); IX, *s.v.* φθείρω (G. Harder); *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "abhadh" (B. Otzen); III, *s.v.* "hāras" (G. Munderlein); V, *s.v.* "ḥārab I" (O. Kaiser). G. CHAMBERLAIN N. J. O.

RULE. As a noun, "rule" occurs fourteen times in the sense of "reign, exercise of power." Four times it is stated that Edom revolted "from the rule of" (Heb. *mittaḥaṯ yaḏ*, lit. "from under the hand of"; so AV) Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. 8:20, 22; 2 Ch. 21:8, 10), and once the same thing is said of Libnah (2 Ch. 21:10); cf. Isa. 3:6, where the RSV renders the expression *taḥaṯ yāḏeḵā* by "under your rule" (AV "under thy hand"). In 1 Ch. 29:30; 2 Ch. 12:1; Dnl. 8:23 "rule" represents Heb. *malḵûṯ*, which is rendered "reign" and "kingdom" by the AV and NEB (and also by the RSV in other passages). Heb. *mišṭār* occurs only in Job 38:33, and its meaning is uncertain (cf. AV "dominion"; NEB "laws of nature"); the previous line seems to be saying, however, that the heavenly bodies determine what happens on earth, and Job is here asked whether he can influence this in any way (see H. H. Rowley, *Job* [*NCBC*, 2nd ed. repr. 1980], p. 245). In several NT passages Gk. *archē* refers to the hostile and evil natural forces over which Christ is Lord and which He will subdue (1 Cor. 15:24; Eph. 1:21; Col. 2:10; AV also "principality"; NEB "domination," "government," "power"). In 1 Cor. 4:8 Paul expresses the wish that the Corinthians were in fact reigning as kings so that he might "share the rule" (Gk. *symbasileúō*) with them (*see also* REIGN).

In several passages "rule" is used in the sense of a standard or measure. Ex. 21:31 states that "the same rule" (Heb. *mišpāṭ*; AV "judgment") applies if an ox gores a man's son or daughter as when it is a "free" man or woman who is gored. The RSV supplies "rules" in 2 Ch. 30:19, where the text reads *kᵉṭohᵒraṯ haqqōḏeš* (AV lit. "according to the purification of the sanctuary"). Paul's "rule" (Gk. *diatássō*, "order," "direct," "command") was that one should continue to live out the position he had in life when he became a Christian, whether circumcised or uncircumcised, slave or free (1 Cor. 7:17; AV "ordain"; NEB "teach"). The "rule" (*kanṓn*) to which he refers in Gal. 6:16 is that "neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation" (v. 15). In 1 Tim. 5:21 he refers to "rules" (*taúta*; AV "things") he has given Timothy with respect to his pastoral duties toward elders, widows, etc. In 2 Tim. 2:5 he uses the analogy of an athlete who must compete "according to the rules" (*nomímōs*; AV "lawfully") in order to receive the crown.

The verb "rule" is used about eighty times in the RSV OT to translate many Hebrew terms. The most common is Heb. *māšal*, "have dominion over," which occurs in Gen. 1:18; 3:16; Dt. 15:6; 2 Ch. 20:6; etc. (AV "reign," "be governor," "be ruler"; NEB also "dominion," "be master," "bring to power," "hold office," "lord it over," etc.). The verb is used of the rule of human beings (Josh. 12:2, 5; 2 S. 23:3; 2 Ch. 9:26), of natural bodies (the sun and moon, Gen. 1:18), or God (1 Ch. 29:12; Ps. 89:9 [MT 10]).

The verb *rāḏâ* connotes the idea of heavy-handed control, i.e., domination or oppression. It is used to describe what will happen to the Israelites if they disobey the commandments (Lev. 26:17), how one is not to treat a fellow Israelite who becomes one's slave (25:43, 46, 53), the harsh treatment of the weak by the "shepherds" of Israel (Ezk. 34:4), Babylon's oppressive domination of the nations (Isa. 14:6), etc. (cf. also v. 2; Ps. 110:2; Jer. 5:31; Ezk. 29:15).

The verb *šāpaṭ*, "judge" or "govern," is rendered "rule" by the RSV in Ruth 1:1; 2 Ch. 1:10f.; Isa. 51:5, Dnl. 9:12; Ob. 21. Less common verbs are Heb. *śārar*, "act as prince" (Jgs. 9:22; Prov. 8:16; Isa. 32:1), *ʿāṣar*, "restrain, keep within bounds" (1 S. 9:17; 2 Ch. 22:9), *rāʿâ*, "tend, shepherd" (Mic. 5:6 [MT 5]), *dîn*, "bring justice" (Zec. 3:7), *bāʿal*, "own, rule over" (1 Ch. 4:22; Isa. 26:13); and Aram. *šᵉlēṭ*, "have power" (haphel, Dnl. 2:38; peal, v. 39). The verbal idea is also used to translate the Hebrew noun *memšālâ*, referring to the "rule" or "dominion" of the sun and moon in Gen. 1:16 and Ps. 136:8f., and the Aramaic adjective *šallîṭ* ("having mastery, ruling"), which refers to the mighty kings who once ruled Jerusalem (Ezr. 4:20) and to the sovereignty of the Most High (Dnl. 4:17, 25, 32 [MT 14, 22, 29]; 5:21).

The verb "rule" occurs ten times in the NT and translates six Greek terms. The verb *archō* refers in Mk. 10:42 to the conduct of gentile rulers; Rom. 15:12 cites OT prophecy about the coming of the Messiah, who will rule the Gentiles (cf. Isa. 11:10). *Exousiázō* ("have the right," "exercise authority over") occurs twice in 1 Cor. 7:4, where Paul teaches that neither the husband nor the wife has sole "lordship" over his or her own body; by the marriage vow each has given the other a claim to one's body. In Col. 3:15 "rule" represents *brabeúō*, which originally meant to "award prizes" in contests, then generally "be judge," "arbitrate" (cf. NEB "be arbiter"); Christ's peace is to be the arbiter in all disputes that threaten to destroy the harmony of the Christian community. In 1 Tim. 5:14 Paul instructs young widows to "rule their households" (*oikodespotéō*; AV "guide the house"; NEB

"preside over a home"). In v. 17 he says that elders "who rule [part. of *proîstêmi,* "be at the head," "direct"] well" should receive special honor. In Rev. 2:27; 12:5; 19:15 the RSV uses "rule" to translate *poimaínō,* a verb meaning "tend," "shepherd," "(lead to) pasture." Christ is depicted as wielding the shepherd's club (possibly a wooden club capped with iron) to ward off attacks against His flock.

D. B. PECOTA
N. J. O.

RULER. The translation of a variety of Hebrew and Greek terms designating leaders and officials of various sorts (*see also* CHIEF; COMMANDER; GOVERNOR; LEADER; OFFICER; PRINCE). Although the terms generally denote a person with a high position and the authority to govern, they are rarely used of kings.

I. In the OT.–The following Hebrew (and one Aramaic) terms are rendered "ruler" in the RSV OT.

Most common is the Hebrew verb *māšal* ("rule, have dominion"), especially the substantive part. *mōšēl* (AV also "rule," "governor," etc.; NEB also "governor," "master," "lord," "prince," "commander," etc.). This term is applied to Joseph in Egypt (Gen. 45:8, 26), to Pharaoh (Ps. 105:20), to the Philistines (Jgs. 15:11), to the promised ruler upon the return from exile (Jer. 30:21), to the "king of the north" (Dnl. 11:43; cf. v. 39), to a tyrant (Prov. 28:15), to the promised Messiah (Mic. 5:2 [MT 1]), etc. It is often used in a general sense of those who exercise the power to govern (e.g., Prov. 6:7; 23:1; 29:12; Eccl. 9:17; 10:4; Jer. 51:46).

Nāgîḏ ("leader, prince, ruler") is rendered "ruler" in four passages (AV also "prince"; NEB "prince," "supervisor," "overseer," "man"). In 1 K. 1:35 David applies the term to Solomon, who was to succeed him. Neh. 11:11 appears to name Seraiah as "ruler of the house of God" (but cf. NEB; cf. also 1 Ch. 9:11, where "Azariah" replaces "Seraiah"), i.e., the leader of a division of priests. In 2 Ch. 35:8 the RSV renders the same term "chief officer" (AV "ruler"; here three names are given: Hilkiah, Zechariah, and Jehiel). 1 Ch. 9:20 states that Phinehas the son of Eleazar was in charge of various temple ministers. The term is used in a general sense, however, in Prov. 28:16: "A ruler who lacks understanding is a cruel oppressor."

Nāśî means literally "one lifted up," thus a "chief" (AV also "prince"; NEB "chief," "man of standing," "rule"). It is applied to leaders of God's people (Ex. 22:28 [MT 27]; Lev. 4:22), including King Solomon (1 K. 11:34).

Śar, a common OT term for leaders of various sorts, is frequently rendered "prince" by the AV (NEB also "officer," "governor," etc.). It is applied to the men appointed to assist Moses in judicial matters (Ex. 18:21, 25), to the "rulers" of cities (Shechem, Jgs. 9:30; Samaria [following LXX, Vulg.; MT has "Jezreel"], 2 K. 10:1), to officials in charge of districts of cities (Neh. 3:9, 12, 14-19), and to "rulers" of the Philistines (1 Ch. 12:19 [MT 20]; AV "lords"). The term is used in a general sense in Prov. 28:2 and Lam. 2:2.

Rōzᵉnîm, the plural part. of *rāzan* ("be weighty, judicious"), signifies a dignitary or potentate (AV also "princes"; NEB also "governors," "princes"). It is used in parallel with "kings" in Ps. 2:2 (Acts 4:26 follows the LXX in rendering *rōzᵉnîm* by Gk. *árchontes*); Prov. 8:15; 31:4; Hab. 1:10. The RSV translates it "princes" in Jgs. 5:3; Isa. 40:23.

The term *qāṣîn* ("leader, chief"; AV also "prince"; NEB also "prince," "commander") is used of military and political leaders (e.g., Prov. 25:15; Isa. 1:10; 22:3). Mic. 3:1, 9 pronounces judgment on the "rulers" (parallel to "heads") of Israel because they have forsaken their responsibility to pursue justice and have pursued injustice instead.

Šōpēṭ, the part. of *šāpaṭ* ("judge, govern"), is most often translated "judge." But since the ancient Hebrews did not distinguish between the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government, the more general translation "ruler" is frequently more appropriate (Ps. 2:10; 148:11; Isa. 40:23; Dnl. 9:12; Hos. 7:7; Am. 2:3; Mic. 5:1; AV "judge"; NEB also "prince," "judge").

Several terms are used only once or twice. *Mᵉḥōqēq,* the poel part. of *ḥāqaq* ("inscribe, decree"), denotes a "prescriber" of laws; the RSV renders it "ruler" in Isa. 33:22 (AV, NEB, "lawgiver") and "ruler's staff" in Gen. 49:10 (AV "lawgiver"; NEB "staff"). In Jer. 2:8, RSV, "rulers" represents *rō'îm* ("shepherds"; so RSV mg., NEB; AV "pastors"), the plural part. of *rā'â* ("feed, tend, shepherd"); along with the priests and prophets, the rulers who were responsible for "shepherding" Israel have led the people in defiling God's land. Josh. 13:3 refers to the five "rulers" (*sᵉrānîm,* pl. of *seren*; AV, NEB, "lords") of the Philistines; in Jgs. 3:3; etc. the RSV renders the same term "lords" (*see* LORDS OF THE PHILISTINES). In Isa. 41:25 "ruler" represents *sāgān* (AV "prince"; NEB "viceroy"), a loanword from Akkadian denoting a provincial governor. In Zec. 10:4 *nōgēś* (part. of *nāgaś,* "drive," "exact," "oppress"), denotes a ruler in a negative sense, i.e., an "oppressor" (so AV; cf. RSV 9:8; Isa. 3:12; 14:2, 4) or "despot" (NEB "commander"). The RSV uses "wicked rulers" to render Heb. *kissē' hawwōṯ* (lit. "throne of destructions") in Ps. 94:20 (AV "throne of iniquity" [following LXX]; NEB "sanctimonious calumny"); *kissē'* here refers by synecdoche to the person who occupies the throne, probably a judge who wreaks destruction by the abuse of his office (see A. A. Anderson, *Book of Psalms,* II [*NCBC,* repr. 1981], 675).

Hebrew *šallîṭ* (from the vb. *šlṭ,* "have power over") is rendered "ruler" by the RSV only in Eccl. 7:19 (AV "mighty man") and 10:5; the RSV renders *šallîṭ* by "governor" in Gen. 42:6, referring to Joseph's position as regent over the land of Egypt. The same term appears in Aramaic in Dnl. 5:29, where Daniel is proclaimed the third ruler in the kingdom of Babylon; the verb *šᵉlēṭ* is rendered "be ruler" (peal) in 5:7, 16, and "make ruler" (haphel) in 2:48 (NEB "make regent").

II. In the NT.–In the RSV NT "ruler" most often represents Gk. *árchōn,* a general term for someone in a prominent position in which he exercises authority, i.e., a high official (AV also "prince," "chief"; NEB also "magistrate," "councillor," "leading," "prince," "governing power," "city authority," etc.). Various types of officials are referred to in the NT, and it is not always clear which particular office is being designated (see *TDNT,* I, 488f.). (1) In some passages *árchōn* denotes a Jewish leader. In Acts 23:5 the "ruler" is Ananias the high priest (cf. Ex. 22:28). Jairus, referred to only as an *árchōn* in Mt. 9:18, 23, was a member of the governing board of the synagogue (cf. Mk. 5:22, 35f.; Lk. 8:41; see also Acts 14:5). (On the expressions *árchōn tēs synagōgēs* and *archisynágōgos, see* RULER OF THE SYNAGOGUE.) The term can also denote a member of the Sanhedrin, the highest governing body of the Jewish people, composed primarily of Sadducees and Pharisees (cf. e.g., Lk. 23:13, 35; 24:20; Acts 3:17; 4:5, 8; 13:27). Nicodemus (Jn. 3:1), the Pharisee in whose home Jesus healed a man with dropsy on the sabbath (Lk. 14:1), and the rich young "ruler" (Lk. 18:18; cf. Mt. 19:16-22; Mk. 10:17-22) may also have been members of the Sanhedrin, although it is possible that one or more of them were leaders in the synagogue or simply prominent men (cf. NEB "leading," Lk. 14:1) in the Jew-

ish community. (2) In other passages *árchōn* denotes gentile officials, e.g., the Roman magistrates before whom Paul and Silas were dragged in Philippi (Acts 16:19). In Mt. 20:25 Jesus contrasts the imperious leadership style of gentile rulers with the servanthood that is to mark the Christian style of leadership. Paul urges obedience to the Roman civil authorities in Rom. 13:3. Acts 4:26 quotes from Ps. 2:2, where the Hebrew term is *śar* (see I above). (3) In one passage the term is applied to Christ, "the ruler of kings on earth" (Rev. 1:5). (4) In a few instances *árchōn* refers to a demonic power. In Jn. 12:31; 14:30; 16:11 Jesus refers to His adversary as "the *árchōn* of this world," who is judged and dethroned through Christ's death and resurrection. Similarly, Paul in 1 Cor. 2:6, 8 speaks of the "*árchontes* of this age" (the powers that dominate secular wisdom), who are "doomed to pass away" because they "crucified the Lord of glory" (cf. the reference to "the god of this world" in 2 Cor. 4:4).

In two passages the RSV uses "rulers" to translate Gk. *archaí* (pl. of *archē*). In Lk. 12:11 it probably refers to leaders in the synagogue, since these were the Jewish courts before which the disciples would be called (but cf. AV "magistrates"; NEB "state authorities"). In Tit. 3:1, however, believers are instructed to be submissive to secular rulers (AV "principalities"; NEB "government").

Matthew 2:6 says of Bethlehem, "And you . . . are by no means least among the rulers [pl. of Gk. *hēgemōn*; AV "princes"] of Judah; for from you shall come a ruler [part. of *hēgéomai*; AV "Governor"; NEB "leader"] who will govern my people Israel" (cf. Mic. 5:2 [MT 1]). The verb *hēgéomai* means "lead," and the derived noun and substantive part. signify a national leader.

Finally, in Eph. 6:12 "world rulers" is the RSV translation of Gk *kosmokrátores*, a term used in astrology for the planets and in magical texts for gods. In Eph. 6:12 it suggests the enormous power of the demonic forces against which believers must contend.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἄρχω κτλ.: ἀπαρχή, ἄρχων (G. Delling): III, *s.v.* κράτος κτλ.: κοσμοκράτωρ (W. Michaelis).

D. B. PECOTA
N. J. O.

RULER OF THE FEAST. *See* STEWARD OF THE FEAST.

RULER OF THE SYNAGOGUE [Gk. *archisynágōgos* (Mk. 5:22, 36, 38; Acts 13:15; 18:8, 17), *árchōn tḗs synagōgḗs* (Lk. 8:41; 13:14)]; AV also CHIEF RULER OF THE SYNAGOGUE; NEB PRESIDENT OF THE SYNAGOGUE, PRESIDENT (Mk. 5:38), OFFICIAL OF THE SYNAGOGUE (Acts 13:15), "who held office in the synagogue" (18:8, 17). In Mk. 5:35; Lk. 8:49 the RSV has "ruler" for *archisynágōgos* (AV "ruler of the synagogue"; NEB "president"), and in Mt. 9:18 (par. Mk. 5:22; Lk. 8:41); 9:23 (par. Mk. 5:38) the AV and RSV use "ruler" to translate Gk. *árchōn*.

This official functioned as the presiding officer (Heb. *rō'š hakk'nēseṯ*; see *HJP*², II, 433-36) of a board of elders who had charge of a synagogue. The plural usage (Mk. 5:22; Acts 13:15) designates the whole board, a deliberative body that was also responsible for maintaining good order in the synagogue and the orthodoxy of the synagogue's members. Having the authority to exercise discipline, it could reprimand and even excommunicate "guilty" individuals (cf. Jn. 9:22; 12:42; 16:2).

The NT refers to five different individuals who held this office: (1) Jairus, the father of a young girl whom Jesus raised from death (Mk. 5:22-43 par.); (2) an unnamed official who became indignant after Jesus healed a crippled woman on the sabbath (Lk. 13:10-17); (3) the officials who permitted Paul and Barnabas to teach in the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:15); (4) Crispus, who became a believer as a result of Paul's preaching in the synagogue at Corinth — probably the same Crispus whom Paul baptized at Corinth (1 Cor. 1:14); (5) Sosthenes, who either replaced Crispus as ruler of the synagogue at Corinth when the latter became a Christian, or was one of several rulers in it (Acts 18:17). Although Acts gives no clear reason why it happened, the crowd beat Sosthenes when the proconsul Gallio refused to hear the charges brought against Paul. If he is the same Sosthenes mentioned in 1 Cor. 1:1, he also became a believer.

D. B. PECOTA

RUMAH rōō'mə [Heb. *rûmâ*; Gk. B *Krouma*, A *Ruma*]. The home of Pedaiah and his daughter Zebidah, the mother of Jehoiakim (2 K. 23:36). Three possible locations have been suggested. The most probable is Khirbet Rûmeh, 9 km. (5.6 mi.) N of Nazareth, near Rummâneh (Rimmon in Galilee). Josephus, however, mentions a place called "Abouma" as the home of Zebidah (*Ant.* x.5.2 [83]), and "Abouma" has usually been taken as a scribal error for "Arouma." This reading has led some to equate Rumah with the Arumah of Jgs. 9:41, an Ephraimite town 8.1 km. (5 mi.) SE of Shechem. Josephus does not locate "Abouma," but he does refer to a Rumah in Galilee (*BJ* iii.7.21 [233]). The Annals of Tiglath-pileser III also mention Rumah in a series of conquered Palestinian towns (*ANET*, p. 283) of which all the identifiable sites are located in Galilee (*LBHG*, rev., p. 372). This also would support the identification of Rumah with the Galilean Khirbet Rûmeh, and suggests that even after the deportations of Tiglath-pileser III an Israelite population still existed and apparently revived rapidly (*LBHG*, rev., p. 403).

Others have proposed a location in Judah, assuming that Jehoiakim's mother would not have come from northern Israel. Noting the frequency of the scribal error that confuses *r* and *d*, Rumah has been identified with the Dumah of Josh. 15:52, possibly represented by the modern Khirbet ed-Dômeh near Hebron (*GTTOT*, § 963).

D. E. WARING

RUMP. The AV translation of Heb. *'alyâ* "fat tail" (so RSV) in Ex. 29:22; Lev. 3:9; 7:3; 8:25; 9:19. It denotes one of the portions of the peace and trespass offering, which were not eaten by the priest or sacrificer but waved before the Lord and burned on the altar. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

RUN; RUNNER. Biblical references to human running usually represent a form of Heb. *rûṣ* or Gk. *trécho*. Occasions for running included greeting a loved one or showing hospitality to a guest (e.g., Gen. 18:2, 7; 24:20, 28f.; 29:13; Lk. 15:20), bringing important news (e.g., Jgs. 13:10; Mt. 28:8; cf. Jer. 23:21), fleeing an enemy (e.g., Jgs. 7:21; cf. Heb. *nûs*, 9:21; Gk. *pheúgō*, Mk. 14:52), etc. The Israelite kings followed the custom of having their chariots escorted by a corps of specially trained runners (1 S. 8:11; 2 S. 15:1; 1 K. 1:5); These *rāṣîm* (part. of *rûṣ*) also served as messengers who brought news from the battle front to the king (e.g., 2 S. 18:19-32; Jer. 51:31; cf. 1 S. 4:12; Job 9:25; *see also* COURIER; GUARD). The prophet Habakkuk (2:2) was commanded to write his vision on tablets so plainly that anyone passing by could read it "fluently" (KoB, p. 882; for other interpretations, see *IB*, VI, 987 ["on the run"], and *TDNT*, VIII, 229, which connects it with the spreading of the prophetic message). The expression "run to and fro" is used by the AV and RSV

to translate the polel of *šût* (lit. "roam around") in 2 Ch. 16:9; Jer. 5:1; 49:3 (hithpolel); Dnl. 12:4; Am. 8:12 (cf. qal in Job 1:7; 2:2; AV, RSV, "go to and fro").

The verb *rûṣ* also has several figurative or symbolic uses. Like WALK, it can denote an entire manner of life, e.g., one marked by eagerness either to obey God's commandments (Ps. 119:32) or to pursue evil (Prov. 1:16; 6:18; Isa. 59:7). The person who chooses the path of wisdom and uprightness can run without fear of stumbling (Prov. 4:11f.). Those who wait upon the Lord are promised new strength that will enable them to "run and not be weary" (Isa. 40:31; cf. 1 K. 18:46).

See also GAMES.

See *TDNT*, VIII, *s.v.* τρέχω (O. Bauernfeind).

N. J. O.

RUNNEL [Heb. *raha*ṭ] (Gen. 30:38, 41); AV GUTTER; NEB TROUGH. A receptacle from which cattle could drink water. Cf. Ex. 2:16, where the AV, RSV, and NEB render "trough."

RUNNING WATER. *See* WATER.

RUSH [Heb. *'agmôn*] (Isa. 58:5; "burning rush," Job 41:20 [MT 12]); AV, NEB, BULRUSH, CAULDRON; [*sûp*] (Isa. 19:6); AV FLAG; [*gōme'*] (Isa. 35:7); **BULRUSH** [Heb. *gōme'*] (Ex. 2:3); NEB RUSH. Any of a variety of reedlike plants (genera *Juncus* and *Scirpus*) that grow on river banks, seacoasts, and in marshy areas. Translators confuse reeds and rushes, which is unfortunate, since the Middle East has about twenty varieties of *Juncus* and almost as many of *Scirpus* (the bulrush or clubrush).

The Egyptian bulrush or papyrus-reed (*Cyperus papyrus* L) grew abundantly along the Nile: it is the *gōme'* of Ex. 2:3; Job 8:11 (RSV "papyrus"); Isa. 35:7; etc. It grew thick, long horizontal roots from which the papyrus shoots sprang. The inner pith of the reeds was cut into strips to make PAPYRUS. But the pith could also be eaten raw or cooked as food (cf. Ezk. 3:1-3), which added to the plant's value among poorer people. While similar in nature to the *Arundo donax* L., the Egyptian bulrush was less versatile in use.

See REED.

R. K. H.

RUST [Heb. *ḥel'â*–'disease'] (Ezk. 24:6, 11-13); AV SCUM; NEB CORROSION; [Gk. *brōsis*–'consuming' (Mt. 5:19f.), *iós* (Jas. 5:3)]; [*katióō*–'become corroded'] (Jas. 5:3); AV BE CANKERED. The corrosion of metals. The only OT references to rust are in Ezekiel's parable of the caldron, in which the rust (lit. "diseased metal") symbolizes the "filthy lewdness" of the people of Jerusalem (Ezk. 24:6-13). J. L. Kelso identified the term with "copper disease" in modern metallurgy: "The oxide of copper is green or gray-green, the color of death."

The Apocrypha has several references to rust. Sirach warns against trusting an enemy whose wickedness is "like the rusting [Gk. *ióomai*] of copper" (12:10) and recommends using silver for almsgiving rather than letting it rust (*ióomai*, 29:10). The Letter of Jeremiah ridicules the worship of man-made idols that cannot even save themselves from rust (*íos*, 6:12 [LXX 10], 24 [LXX 23]).

The NT contains two references to the perishability of precious metals. In Mt. 6:19f. Jesus warns that "earthly" treasures (presumably metal objects) are open to disease of metal (*brōsis*) while "heavenly" treasures are not (cf. Sir. 29:10-12). Jas. 5:3 uses Jesus' warning as a wisdom saying, adding that the corroded treasures witness against those rich persons who trust in them.

Bibliography.–J. L. Kelso, JBL, 44 (1945), 391-93; W. H. Brownlee, "Ezekiel's Copper Cauldron and Blood on the Rock," in R. A. Coughenour, ed., *For Me to Live* (1972), pp. 21-43.

R. A. COUGHENOUR

RUTH rōōth [Heb. *rût*–'companion, friend,' or 'satiated, satisfied']. The title of one of the five *Megilloth* (scrolls) within the hagiography of the OT (the order of the OT books in English versions follows the LXX, which placed Ruth after Judges, apparently on the basis of Ruth 1:1; see Childs, p. 564) and the name of one of the principal female characters within the book. This book was read at the Feast of Weeks, which took place at the end of the grain harvest (fifty days after Passover).

I. Contents
II. Composition
  A. Date
  B. Unity and Structure
  C. Problems of Interpretation
III. Theological Significance

I. Contents.–A summary of the contents of Ruth will provide a general introduction to the book and aid discussion of its composition and theological significance.

Ruth can be divided into five major sections, which narrate God's guidance and care for a family that had experienced great losses.

A. Loss of Food and Family (1:1-22). During the period of the judges the family of Elimelech left Bethlehem for Moab because of a severe famine in Judah (vv. 1f.). Within ten years Elimelech and both his sons died, all leaving widows (vv. 3-5). Because Elimelech's widow Naomi was old and had lost all hope of providing more sons for Orphah and Ruth to marry, Orphah left Naomi and returned to her family (vv. 6-14), but Ruth swore to stay with Naomi and accept her God. Thus Naomi returned to Bethlehem with only Ruth left of her family (vv. 15-22).

B. Reward of Favor at Harvest Time (2:1-23). Because the women had no food and it was harvest time, Ruth went to a field hoping to glean (vv. 1f.). By chance she came to the field of Boaz, a kinsman of Elimelech (vv. 3-7). She found favor in the eyes of Boaz, even though she was a stranger in Judah, because of her faithfulness to her relatives, her trust in God, and Boaz's desire to see God reward her (vv. 8-13). Because Boaz granted her special gleaning privileges, she was richly blessed with a great deal of grain from his field (vv. 14-20).

C. Search for Security Through a Kinsman-Redeemer (3:1-18). Naomi instructed Ruth to prepare herself and meet Boaz at the threshing floor so that she could ask him to be her redeemer (Heb. *gō'ēl*, vv. 1-5). Boaz promised to fulfil his responsibility if a nearer kinsman refused (vv. 6-13), and he sent Ruth home in the morning loaded with barley (vv. 14-18).

D. Redemption and Blessing of the Family (4:1-17). Boaz met with the elders and nearer kinsman at the city gate to decide who would redeem the field of Naomi and raise up family seed through Ruth (vv. 1-5). The closer redeemer was unable to pay the redemption costs, so Boaz acquired the field and the hand of Ruth (vv. 6-10). The people of the city pronounced God's blessing on the couple and their seed (vv. 11f.), and on Naomi when Ruth had given birth to a son (vv. 13-17).

E. Genealogy of Obed (4:18-22). The generations are traced from Perez, through Obed, and on to David to show how God blessed this family.

II. Composition–A. Date. The date and author of Ruth are not mentioned in the book. The Babylonian Talmud (*Baba Bathra* 14b) attributes authorship to Samuel, but nothing within the book confirms this opinion. The refer-

ence to David in 4:17, 22 indicates that the present form of the book was written after his time; thus dates ranging from the time of David to the postexilic era have been proposed. Several factors (customs, language, place in the canon) are open to various interpretations.

1. Early Monarchy. Some scholars (e.g., KD and Young) date the book early because the setting and customs are preexilic, the genealogy does not list Solomon, and they view the language as early classical Hebrew. According to this view the place of the book in the canon (hagiography) does not reflect its original date.

2. Preexilic Period. Other scholars (e.g., Gerleman, Hals) support the period of Solomon, the 9th or 8th cent. (e.g., Campbell, Sasson), or more generally any time in the preexilic period (e.g., Rudolph). These scholars find the postexilic evidence and setting for Ruth unproven and the early monarchy date too early for the sandal gesture (4:7) to have been forgotten. Most place the book in the Solomonic and post-Solomonic era, when the radical cultural transformation of the nation led to a loss of God-consciousness (cf. Hals, who follows G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I [Eng. tr. 1962], 46-52).

3. Postexilic Period. Many scholars (e.g., Joüon, Myers, Weiser) believe Ruth is a reaction against Ezra's nationalistic exclusivism regarding mixed marriages. Some (e.g., Eissfeldt, Fohrer) reject this view but still date the book in the postexilic period. A few are of the opinion that the book is exilic but believe it is based on a preexilic story (e.g., Glanzman, Myers, Weiser). The placement of Ruth in the hagiography, rather than in the Former Prophets, and its supposedly late language and legal customs add support to this dating of the book.

4. Conclusions. Since early material (e.g., Psalms) is included in the hagiography, since the few peculiarities of language are probably archaic and dialectic (Campbell), and since nothing in Ruth suggests that it is a polemic against Ezra's reform movement, the postexilic date is not particularly convincing. A preexilic date seems preferable because the customs fit an early period and the language is classical with some archaic features. A setting within the "humanism" of the Solomonic era remains unproven; therefore an exact date within the preexilic era cannot be specified. The prophets' strong condemnations of Moab favor an early preexilic date, before this negative sentiment arose.

B. Unity and Structure. Scholars have raised numerous questions about the connection between the genealogical appendix in 4:18-22 and the rest of the book. Most (e.g., Campbell, Eissfeldt, Rudolph) conclude that 4:18-22 is not a part of the original story because the genealogy is foreign to the narrative content of the rest of the story, the style of this appendix is based on the late text of 1 Ch. 2:4-15, and the child is said to be the son of Boaz (4:21) rather than Mahlon (Ruth's late husband, v. 10) through levirate marriage. But the force of these observations is weakened by the reference in 4:12 and 17 to Perez and David, which connects the genealogy to the rest of the story. In addition, Campbell and Myers have shown that 4:18-22 is not dependent on 1 Chronicles but that both rely on an independent third source. Sasson and Rowley have used the testimony of the people of Bethlehem in 4:11f. to show that Obed rightfully belonged to the "house of Boaz" and therefore was the son of Boaz. Boaz not only played the part of a kinsman but legally married Ruth.

Others (Childs, Eissfeldt) suggest that part of 4:17 is a later addition. Although the Hebrew syntax of this verse is unusual and one would expect the son's name to be more closely related to Naomi's, these factors in themselves do not point to a late date. The real problem is the reference to David in the second half of the verse. The acceptance of 4:17b into the book at any time implies a solid tradition about David's Moabite ancestry. Moreover, this tradition is firmly imbedded in the canonical form of the book, and the verse fits into the overall structure; thus it is more fruitful to treat 4:17 as original rather than as an addition from a later period when the Moabites were despised (cf. the prophetic war oracles against Moab).

Ruth's structure has been examined in detail (see Bertman, Campbell, Sacon, Murphy). The book's design is found in the many counterbalanced topics (cf. Bertman) and the repetition of key words and phrases, which form *inclusios* and provide thematic emphasis. One can break down the structure into units simply on the basis of the dramatic scenes, but an analysis of the theme of each scene allows a more significant synthesis of the structure.

The first unit includes all of ch. 1 and emphasizes the theme of the loss of food, family, hope, and fulness. The inclusion of Naomi's wish that her daughters-in-law find "rest," Ruth's declaration of devotion to Naomi and her God, and the transitional sentence about the beginning of harvest (1:22) set the plot for the possible resolution of these losses.

The second major unit (ch. 2) is structured around a series of dialogues (see Sacon) about the desire of a stranger (Ruth) to find favor (vv. 2, 10, 13; cf. Dommershausen). Boaz's central speech (vv. 11f.) relates the piety of Ruth (ch. 1) to the solution to the food shortage, and it points forward to Ruth's reward under God's wings. The discovery that Boaz is a kinsman (vv. 20-23) creates a transition to the next unit's theme.

The third unit (ch. 3) begins and ends with a search for "rest, security" (vv. 1, 18; cf. 1:9) through the intervention of the kinsman-redeemer. He provides refuge for Ruth (3:9) and food (and later family) for Naomi, who was empty (v. 17; cf. 1:21).

The fourth unit (4:1-17) is constructed around the idea of Boaz's buying Naomi's field, acquiring Ruth, and raising up heirs to continue the name of the deceased (vv. 5, 10).

The final unit (4:18-22) indicates that the blessings in 4:11f. and 4:14f. were fulfilled.

C. Problems of Interpretation. The form-critical analysis of Ruth has resulted in a diversity of opinions concerning the genre (see the survey in Witzenrath, pp. 362-65; cf. Murphy) and pre-history of Ruth. Ruth is frequently classified as a novella or short story, which some consider fictional (Gunkel and Beattie emphasize the symbolic meaning of the names), but most believe the story has historical roots. Myers attempted to show that Ruth was based on a preexilic, orally transmitted poem that was put into prose during the exilic period (see also Glanzman). Gunkel derived the basic plot from comparable Egyptian fables and then traced the book's development through an early stage when Naomi was the heroine to the final stage when Ruth's role was added. W. E. Staples (*AJSL,* 53 [1936], 145-157) suggested a most unlikely origin for the book — a Bethlehem fertility-cult myth (cf. H. G. May, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1939], 75-78). Sasson was more helpful, using a structural and folklorist approach in understanding the various components within the plot.

Some problems of interpretation are related to our incomplete understanding of some of the legal and social practices that are central to the action. The levirate-marriage institution, laws of redemption of property, and court customs are complexly and uniquely intertwined in

Ruth (cf. D. R. G. Beattie, *VT*, 24 [1974], 252-267; Leggett; Davies). Gen. 38 and Dt. 25 require levirate marriage only of a brother-in-law, but in Ruth a twice-removed kinsman fulfils this duty. Lev. 25 explains the redemption of a near kinsman's property but does not connect this custom to any marriage requirement. A solution that brings these two customs together may lie in the statement that the purpose of the levirate marriage, and of Boaz in his performance of the role as kinsman-redeemer (Ruth 4:10), was to continue the "name" of the deceased (Dt. 25:6). Leggett and Davies have shown that the preservation of the name involved not only the raising up of a son but also the perpetuation of the deceased's name on the family's property (cf. the use of name in Dt. 25:6; Nu. 27:4).

The rather strained court proceedings and the mystery of the sandal gesture add to the difficulty of understanding ch. 4 (see Carmichael). Although some suggest that Boaz used trickery to get the nearer kinsman to back out on his original plan to fulfil the duties of a kinsman-redeemer (vv. 4-6), his actions were in defense of his own financial position (v. 6). The refusal to fulfil this role was probably not uncommon, for it had a negative rather than a positive effect on the redeemer's share of the inheritance (Gen. 38). Consequently legal statutes were given to put pressure on a brother-in-law to raise up seed to continue the name and inheritance of a brother (Dt. 25:7-10). Davies suggested that the nearer redeemer may have assumed that he would have to redeem Naomi, who was too old to have an heir, and thus agreed to the arrangement. But when he discovered that he had to marry Ruth, who could bear children, he realized that her child would eventually inherit the family property, and thus he changed his mind.

III. Theological Significance.–The multiple approaches and diverse understandings of Ruth have produced a number of opinions concerning the purpose of the book. Some (e.g. Weiser) believe the book intended to protest the ruthless attitude of Ezra and Nehemiah toward mixed marriages. This position is weak because Ruth was a convert, not a heathen, and because the approval of a levirate marriage to a foreigner is quite different from approving all marriages to foreigners. A few think that Ruth was written just to entertain (Pfeiffer), while others suggest that its purpose was to revive the custom of levirate marriage (see H. A. Brongers *Norsk Teologische Tijdschrift* 2 [1947-48], 1-7). But most identify three prime purposes (see Murphy for a summary): (1) to bear witness to God's direct and indirect control of history. God brings famine and emptiness (1:1-5, 17, 20f.) as well as food, rest, and reward (1:6, 8f.; 2:3, 12, 20; 3:10, 17; 4:11-13); (2) to instruct concerning the virtues of devotion to family, duty, and God. The characters act with kindness and devotion (1:14, 16; 2:2, 8-11, 13, 14-16, 23; 3:1, 9f., 17; 4:4, 15) and God acts in lovingkindness (1:7f.; 2:12, 20; 3:10; 4:11f., 14); and (3) to trace the ancestry of David (4:18-22; cf. Gerleman, Loretz).

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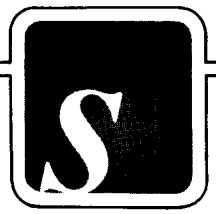
G. V. SMITH

RYE. *See* SPELT.



SABACHTHANI. *See* ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.

SABANNUS sə-ban'əs (RSV mg., NEB, 1 Esd. 8:63). *See* BINNUI 1.

SABAOTH sab'ə-oth, sab'ā-oth. *See* GOD, NAMES OF II.C; HOST OF HEAVEN.

SABAT sa'bat.
1. (1 Esd. 5:34, AV). *See* SHAPHAT 6.
2. (1 Macc. 16:14, AV). *See* SHEBAT; CALENDAR II.A.2.

SABATEAS sab-ə-tē'əs (1 Esd. 9:48, AV). *See* SHABBETHAI.

SABATHUS sab'ə-thəs (1 Esd. 9:28, NEB). *See* ZABAD 5.

SABATUS sab'ə-təs (1 Esd. 9:28, AV). *See* ZABAD 5.

SABBAIAS sə-bā'əs [Gk. Apoc. *Sabbaias*]; AV SABBEUS; NEB SABBAEAS. A layman who married a foreign woman (1 Esd. 9:32); called "Shemaiah" in Ezr. 10:31.

SABBAN sab'ən (1 Esd. 8:63, AV). *See* BINNUI 1.

SABBATAEAS sab-ə-tā'əs (1 Esd. 9:48, NEB). *See* SHABBETHAI.

SABBATAEUS sab-ə-tā'əs (1 Esd. 9:14, NEB). *See* SHABBETHAI.

SABBATH [Heb. *šabbāṯ*] (Ex. 16:23; 20:8; Lev. 16:31; 23:3; Dt. 5:12; 2 K. 11:5; Neh. 13:5; Ps. 92:1 [MT 2]; Isa. 1:13; 56:2; Jer. 17:21; Ezk. 20:12; 46:1; Am. 8:5; etc.); [*šāḇaṯ*] ("keep sabbath," Lev. 23:32; 2 Ch. 36:21); [Gk. *sábbaton, (tá) sábbata*] (Mt. 12:1f., 5; Mk. 2:23f., 27f.; Lk. 4:16; 6:1, 5; Jn. 5:9f.; Acts 1:12; etc.); [*prosábbaton*] ("day before the sabbath," Mk. 15:42); [*sabbatismós*] ("sabbath rest," He. 4:9); AV REST. The seventh day of the week (Ex. 16:26; 20:10; etc.), as well as certain feast days (Lev. 16:31; 23:32; etc.), marked in ancient Israel, Judaism, and early Christianity by cessation of work and ceremonial observance.

I. Etymology and Meaning of the Term
II. Origin
  A. Lunar
  B. Taboo Day
  C. Socioeconomic
  D. Calendrical
  E. Conclusion
III. Sabbath in the OT
  A. Use of the Term
  B. History and Development
    1. Premonarchial Period
    2. Early Monarchy
    3. Late Monarchy
    4. Exile and Postexilic Era
IV. In Judaism
  A. Jubilees and the Zadokite Document
  B. Pharisees and the Rabbinic Tradition
V. In the NT
  A. Jesus in the Gospels
  B. Paul and the Church: From Sabbath to Lord's Day
  C. Eschatological Sabbath

I. Etymology and Meaning of the Term.–The derivation and exact meaning of Heb. *šabbāṯ* are uncertain. Among the numerous proposals, the most likely are the following. (1) The noun *šabbāṯ* may be derived from Akk. *šabattu*, which also referred to a specific day (see II.A below). Despite the remarkable similarity between the two words, they do differ. Akk. *šabattu* doubles the final radical, while Heb. *šabbāṯ* doubles the middle radical. This difference is difficult to explain etymologically; but it is at least possible that the two words are related, perhaps sharing a common ancestor. (2) Since "sabbath" refers most often to the seventh day of the week, and since the Hebrew word for seven is *šeḇa'*, there have been frequent attempts to derive *šabbāṯ* from *šeḇ'*. The difficulty lies in explaining how the final consonants came to differ. Such a shift is unlikely, and it is probably coincidental that the two words begin with the same two consonants. (3) The most likely possibility is that *šabbāṯ* is derived from the Hebrew verb *šāḇaṯ*, "cease," since the most ancient characteristic of seventh-day observance is that all work ceased. Thus sabbath would mean something like "cessation day," the day on which all work stops. If in fact the noun was derived from the verb, it appears that the noun then influenced the verb as well. In a few instances *šāḇaṯ* has become a denominative, losing its basic sense of "cease" and acquiring the sense of "keep sabbath" (Lev. 23:32; 2 Ch. 36:21).

The noun *šabbāṯôn* also apparently arose from the influence of *šabbāṯ*. The RSV renders all eleven occur-

rences as "solemn rest" or "day of solemn rest." Like *šabbāṯ, šabbāṯôn* refers both to the observance of the seventh day (Ex. 16:23; 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 16:23) and to feast days (Lev. 16:31; 23:24, 32, 39). In three instances the AV renders *šabbāṯôn* as "sabbath" (Lev. 23:24, 39 [bis]).

Because the observance of the seventh day served to mark the passage of the seven-day week, the word *šabbāṯ* in some contexts means "week" and is so translated by the RSV (Lev. 23:15; 25:8; cf. Acts 17:2).

II. Origin.--Scholars in the late 19th and early 20th cent. proposed several theories about the origin of the sabbath, based upon apparently similar practices in other ancient cultures (for bibliography see Andreason, pp. 1-5). Interest in this endeavor has waned, since it has become clear that no alleged parallel or similarity can conclusively account for the origin of the sabbath. The major theories can be categorized as follows.

A. Lunar. The above-mentioned Akk. *šabattu* has been described as the Mesopotamian forerunner of the sabbath. Not only are the two words similar, but *šabattu* also refers to a specific day, i.e., the day of the full moon, the fifteenth day of the month. The day also had religious significance; it is described as a "day of pacification of the heart [i.e., of the gods]" (*TDNT*, VII, 2). Despite these tantalizing hints, major differences exist between the Babylonian *šabattu* and the Hebrew sabbath: the etymological link is not secure; the *šabattu* was a monthly rather than a weekly day; and it apparently had nothing to do with the cessation of work.

A related theory proposes an ancient Arabic origin (see D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaïsche Überlieferung* [1904]). In their worship of the moon the ancient Arabs supposedly paid particular attention to the four monthly phases of the moon, i.e., where the moon "sat." The Arabic word for "sit," *ṯabat*, supposedly became Akk. *šabattu* and later Heb. *šabbāṯ*. Regular human rest at approximately seven day intervals thus would be patterned after the moon's rest. Again, the etymology is suspect. Moreover, this theory shares the same weakness as any lunar theory, namely, that a regularly recurring seventh-day sabbath will almost always be out of phase with the moon, since the lunar month contains twenty-nine days instead of twenty-eight.

B. Taboo Day. In addition to the *šabattu* day, ancient Mesopotamian sources also mention "evil days" on which the king, cultic officials, and physicians observed various taboos or prohibitions. On such days, e.g., the king was not to eat certain foods, put on clean clothes, travel by chariot, or speak in an official capacity; at night he was to offer a sacrifice to the gods, after which normal activities could be resumed. The "evil days" occurred at approximately seven-day intervals: the seventh, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of certain months. This fact, plus the fact that some of Israel's sabbath legislation includes certain prohibitions (Ex.16:29; 35:3), has led some scholars to conclude that the sabbath developed from these "evil days" (G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* [1875]). There are major differences, however. The "evil days" did not fall exactly every seven days, nor did they involve a general cessation of work.

C. Socioeconomic. From the discipline of comparative anthropology has come the observation that various ancient societies engaged in cessation of agricultural work on regularly recurring market days. In Rome, for instance, every eighth day was a market day. The economic function of these days is obvious, but they also seem to have served as opportunities for social and religious gatherings (see H. Webster, *Rest Days* [1916]; M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* [1920]). Whether they provide a plausible explanation of the origin of the sabbath, however, is doubtful: Israelite law seems to have prohibited marketing on the sabbath (Am. 8:5; Neh. 13:15-22); there are no known seven-day market cycles from other societies; and the strongest comparative evidence does not include other ancient Near Eastern cultures that may have had a realistic chance of influencing Israel.

A very different sort of socioeconomic theory suggests that the KENITES, the tribe of Moses' father-in-law (Jgs. 4:11, 17), originated the worship of Yahweh as well as the sabbath and taught these to Israel as Moses was leading the people from Egypt to Sinai (Ex. 18). Proponents of this theory argue that the name "Kenite" means "smith," and that if indeed the Kenites were smiths, they would have had to use fire in making metals. Moreover, if the Kenites originated the sabbath, fires would have been prohibited one day a week. If in turn the Kenites taught Yahwism and sabbath observance to the Israelites, this would explain why one of the very few specific prohibitions in the OT involves the making of fires (Ex. 35:3). (See K. Budde, *JTS*, 30 [1929], 1-15.) Unfortunately, this ingenious theory rests entirely upon circumstantial evidence and must be considered little more than pure speculation.

D. Calendrical. Proponents of the pentecontad calendar find the origin of the seven-day week and the sabbath in this manner of reckoning time (see, e.g., J. and H. Lewy, *HUCA*, 17 [1942/43], 1-152). According to them the Semitic year was divided into seven periods of fifty days. Each fifty-day period (pentecontad) contained seven weeks of seven days, plus one concluding festival day. The remaining fifteen days needed to complete a solar year of 365 days consisted of two seven-day festivals, one in the spring and one in the fall, plus a New Year's Day. Clearly, the number seven dominates this system, and proponents of this theory have proposed that the pentecontad calendar is the common ancestor of both the Mesopotamian *šabattu* and the Hebrew sabbath. The problem is that there is no solid evidence for the existence of the pentecontad calendar. Although the numbers seven and fifty do figure in the OT reckoning of time (Lev. 23:15-44), there is no justification for hypothesizing such an elaborate system as the pentecontad calendar.

A related but more modest proposal begins with the observation that two of the major feasts in the OT, those of Unleavened Bread and of Booths, lasted seven days. It is suggested that such observances gave rise to the practice of counting days in cycles of seven (see, e.g., H. J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* [1966], pp. 81-86). The OT testifies to the importance of the number seven in calculating cycles of days (Gen. 1:1–2:3; etc.), weeks (Lev. 23:15f.), and years (Lev. 25:3-24). Furthermore, other ancient Near Eastern texts attest the importance of seven-day periods; e.g., in the Gilgamesh Epic the hero Gilgamesh mourns the death of his friend Enkidu for seven days; Utnapishtim, the Babylonian flood hero, finishes his ship in seven days, and he sends forth a dove, a swallow, and a raven on the seventh day after his ship has lodged on Mt. Nisir. The number seven functioned throughout the ancient Near East as a symbol of wholeness and completion. Thus the significance of this number in biblical and other ancient Near Eastern accounts suggests that it may have influenced the origin of the seven-day week and the sabbath. It is just as possible, however, that the seven-day week originated first and that its prior existence explains the occurrence of seven-day festival periods in the OT and the repeated references to seven-day periods in other texts. In short, the evidence is again inconclusive.

E. Conclusion. The preceding discussion allows the

conclusion that the Israelite sabbath was a unique institution in the ancient Near East; this does not mean, however, that it arose in a vacuum. The OT testifies to the relationship between Israel and other ancient Near Eastern peoples, and this relationship clearly influenced Israel. While no particular parallel or similarity conclusively or directly accounts for the origin of the sabbath, the similarities and parallels are striking enough to be more than coincidental. The biblical sabbath may have been an Israelite adaptation of a lunar reckoning of time; it may have been related indirectly to Mesopotamian taboo days; its origin may have been influenced by economic and social realities or by calendrical methods. We simply do not know. What we do know is that the OT is not primarily concerned with the historical, socioeconomic, or calendrical origin of the sabbath. Instead it focuses upon Israel's theological conviction that the sabbath originated with God at creation (Gen. 2:1-3; Ex. 20:8-11; 31:17), that its observance was commanded by God at Sinai (Ex. 20:8-11; Dt. 5:12-15), and that its existence testifies to the ongoing relationship between God and His covenant people (Ex. 31:12-17; Jer. 17:19-27; Ezk. 20:12, 20; etc.).

III. Sabbath in the OT.–A. *Use of the Term.* The word *šabbāṯ* is used most frequently to designate observance of the seventh day by cessation of work and by cultic activity (Ex. 16:29; 20:8-11; 31:15; Lev. 23:3; etc.). Two older texts command observance of the seventh day without explicitly identifying it as the sabbath (Ex. 23:12, part of the Covenant Code, which has been associated by many scholars with the "E" source and thought to preserve premonarchial legislation; and 34:21, part of the so-called Cultic Decalogue, generally associated with the "J" source; *see* CRITICISM II.D.5). Thus it is possible that the OT preserves the memory of a time when the seventh day was observed but not known as the sabbath. Even so, the verb *šāḇaṯ* is present in Ex. 23:12 and 34:21, and it is likely that the seventh day became known as the sabbath very early in Israel's history.

While "sabbath" denotes primarily and originally the observance of the seventh day, it came to be used secondarily to denote certain feast days. The noun *šabbāṯ* is used to identify the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:31; 23:32), and the related term *šabbāṯôn* is used to describe the first day of the seventh month (the Feast of Trumpets, 23:24) and the first and last days of the Feast of Booths (v. 39). That this development is secondary is suggested by the fact that such usage occurs only in "P" and the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26).

In a similar development, *šabbāṯ* is also used for the SABBATICAL YEAR in the Holiness Code (Lev. 25:2, 4, 6), whereas other descriptions of this institution (Ex. 21:2-6; 23:10f.; Dt. 15:1-8) do not use sabbath terminology. This concept of a "sabbath of the land" (Lev. 25:6) is given an ironic twist in Lev. 26:34f., 43 and 2 Ch. 36:21, where the Exile is described as the sabbath rest that the land had failed to receive earlier because of the people's disobedience.

In the festal calendar of Lev. 23 is found the phrase *moḥᵒraṯ haššabbāṯ*, "morrow after the sabbath" (vv. 11, 15f.). This day is designated as the day for waving a sheaf as part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. It is unclear whether *šabbāṯ* in this phrase refers to one of the days of the feast (perhaps the first or last; see Lev. 23:8) or to a seventh-day sabbath within the festival period; but since "sabbath" is not explicitly applied to the first or last day of the feast, the "morrow after the sabbath" most likely refers to the first day of the week following a seventh-day sabbath that fell within the week of the feast.

B. History and Development. Most references to the sabbath are found in what many writers identify as exilic or postexilic sources: "P" and the Holiness code in the Pentateuch, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Ezekiel. For this reason, it was popular at one time to conclude that the sabbath came into prominence, or even into existence, in the exilic or postexilic eras. This conclusion is now suspect for several reasons. First, the command to observe the seventh day is found in all the Pentateuchal sources (Ex. 34:21 [J]; Ex. 23:12 [E]; Ex. 31:12-17 and 35:1-3 [P]; Lev. 23:1-3 [Holiness Code]; Dt. 5:12-15 [D]). Even though source criticism of the Pentateuch has come under attack in the last part of the 20th cent., it is likely that Ex. 23:12 and 34:21 in particular preserve ancient material. There are also preexilic references indicating that the sabbath was known and observed well before the Exile (2 K. 4:23; 11:5-9; Isa. 1:13; Hos. 2:11; Am. 8:5). Furthermore, it is very likely that "P" and the Holiness Code preserve traditions and legislation that are older than the exilic era. In short, the sabbath has the marks of being an ancient institution. As far as the biblical period is concerned, the sabbath more likely achieved the height of its prominence in the late preexilic era than in the exilic or postexilic eras. Any account of the history and development of the sabbath must be tentative, however, due to the uncertainty involved in dating sources and to the sparse information contained in many references to the sabbath.

1. Premonarchial Period. The ancient commandments in Ex. 23:12; 34:21 indicate that observance of the seventh day was practiced in premonarchial times. The observance consisted of the cessation of work and the stated motivation was the humanitarian concern "that your ox and your ass may rest, and the son of your handmaid, and the alien, may be refreshed" (Ex. 23:12). Religious conviction certainly lay behind this humanitarian concern, but it is not explicit. There is no indication of cultic observance of the sabbath during the early period. *See also* HEAL II.A; LABOR II.

The fourth commandment (Ex. 20:8-11; Dt. 5:12-15), or an original version of it without the explanatory clauses, may also date from the premonarchial era (although many scholars have concluded that the Decalogue is a postexilic summary rather than a Mosaic formulation; *see* TEN COMMANDMENTS). The story of the manna in Ex. 16:22-30 may preserve the memory of seventh-day observance in presettlement times. It also contains one of the few specific sabbath prohibitions found in the OT: "let no man go out of his place on the seventh day" (Ex. 16:29).

2. Early Monarchy. Evidence from the 9th and 8th cent. B.C. indicates that the term *šabbāṯ* was in existence by this time. Actually, none of the texts from this period explicitly identifies the sabbath with the seventh day, but this can be assumed. The texts indicate that the sabbath had by this time become a day for cultic celebration as well as cessation of work. Am. 8:5 implies that buying and selling were prohibited on the sabbath, and the parallelism between "new moon" and "sabbath" suggests the cultic observance of the sabbath in the northern kingdom by the mid-8th cent. (see also Hos. 2:11). Isa. 1:13 suggests the same for the southern kingdom with its mention of "assemblies" that include "offerings" and "incense."

The exact nature of sabbath observance in this period is difficult to specify. Cessation of work did not apply to guard duty (see 2 K. 11:4-12), and travel seems to have taken place (4:23f.). As for cultic observance, the description in Nu. 28:9f. may indicate what went on in the temple during this time. The Chronicler's descriptions of sabbath observance may also reflect cultic practice from the early monarchy (1 Ch. 23:31; 2 Ch. 2:4; 8:13; 31:3).

3. Late Monarchy. The period between the destruction of Samaria in 721 B.C. and the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 apparently witnessed a growing emphasis on the sabbath. Cessation of work and cultic observance continued, but they were accompanied by explicit and extensive theological reflection on the sabbath. Toward the end of the monarchy the prophet Jeremiah proclaimed that the future of Judah depended on whether the people "keep the sabbath day holy" (Jer. 17:27; even if this passage was edited in the exilic or postexilic eras, it almost certainly preserves a preexilic nucleus). Also in the last days of the monarchy the prophet Ezekiel emphasized proper observance of the sabbath. Among the statutes and ordinances of God, the sabbath commandment is singled out (Ezk. 20:12f., 16, 19-21, 24). Hallowing of the sabbath will be a "sign" that the people know God (vv. 12, 20; *see also* HALLOW). Ezekiel was a priest (Ezk. 1:3), and the language of this book is similar to that of "P," which (as suggested above) embodies legislation and traditions from the preexilic era. Ex. 31:12-17 summarizes the understanding of the sabbath in "P." The sabbath is "holy" (Ex. 31:14f.; cf. Jer. 17:22, 24, 27; Ezk. 20:20; 22:26). It is to be a "sign" of the relationship between Israel and God (v. 16) and of God's creative work for six days and God's rest on the seventh (v. 17). The seriousness of sabbath observance is indicated by the punishment prescribed for sabbath breaking: "whoever does any work on the sabbath day shall be put to death" (Ex. 31:15; see also v. 14; 35:2).

The association of sabbath and creation is also found in Gen. 2:1-3 and in Ex. 20:11, which is part of the expansion of the fourth commandment. One theory is that the expansions of the fourth commandment are to be dated to the late preexilic era, when theological reflection about the sabbath was apparently occurring among priests and prophets. In Deuteronomy (the core of which is believed by many to have originated in the late monarchial period) the fourth commandment is expanded differently. Here the sabbath is to be a reminder of the deliverance from Egypt (Dt. 5:15). The different expansions of the fourth commandment in Ex. 20 and Dt. 5 are complementary rather than contradictory. The sabbath is to be positively observed, remembered, hallowed as a witness to God's saving activity both in creation and in deliverance from captivity.

What can account for the extensive theological reflection on the sabbath in the late monarchial period? We cannot be sure, but it is likely that the new emphasis on the sabbath should be understood as part of the larger effort made by priestly, Levitical, and prophetic circles to maintain a uniquely Yahwistic identity in a period of strong Assyrian and later Babylonian influence.

4. Exile and Postexilic Era. Although it can no longer be maintained that the Exile is the crucial period for understanding the sabbath, it is true that the sabbath remained important, due to Ezekiel's application of the priestly laws (see Ezk. 44:24; 45:17; 46:1, 3f., 12). In the period of restoration, sabbath observance was equated with keeping the covenant; eunuchs and foreigners were commended for keeping the sabbath (Isa. 56:2, 4, 6; cf. 58:13). In the 5th cent. B.C., however, it seems that sabbath observance was lax. Nehemiah was forced to remind the people of its importance (Neh. 9:14), and he took extraordinary measures to insure that the production, transportation, and marketing of goods would not occur on the sabbath (13:15-22; cf. 10:31 [MT 32]). Along with cessation of work, cultic observance of the sabbath continued. The Chronicler's work from *ca.* 400 B.C. emphasizes the cultic dimension, and his description of preexilic times probably also reflects postexilic practice.

At the end of the OT period, then, the sabbath was being observed by cessation of work and cultic activity. It was also the subject of a body of theological reflection. Thus it was in a position to become in the interestamental period the distinctive mark of Judaism.

IV. In Judaism.—In the period between 400 B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. the sabbath became more fully than in the OT period the distinctive mark of God's people, rivaled only by practice of circumcision. This development occurred largely as a result of the Jews' attempt to preserve the distinctive identity of their faith, as those Jews living in Palestine remained subjects of foreign empires and those living in dispersion continued to confront people of other faiths and practices. The sabbath was admirably suited for this task: it was a distinctively Israelite institution, its observance was commanded by the Torah, it was observed weekly, and its focus was on sacred time rather than sacred space — allowing it to be observed anywhere, even in dispersion.

Because the sabbath became the central institution of Judaism, there was a pressing need to define exactly how it should be observed. The OT commanded cessation of work, but it provided few specifics, aside from the stipulations that people should remain "in [their] place" (Ex. 16:29), should "kindle no fire in all your habitations" (35:3), and should "not bear a burden" or "carry a burden out of your houses" (Jer. 17:22). It was implied that both agricultural work (Ex. 34:21) and commercial activity (Am. 8:5; Neh. 13:15-22) should cease, but the specific definition of all these activities was lacking, as was any provision for exceptions or emergencies. Much room was left for interpretation, and the interpretation could be a matter of life or death. For instance, during the Maccabean era the Jews who were resisting Antiochus IV would not fight on the sabbath, and thus they were massacred in a sabbath attack (1 Macc. 2:29-38; see also Jub. 50:12). Subsequently, Mattathias and his followers decided that they would fight on the sabbath if attacked (1 Macc. 2:39-41). This adjustment indicates that definition of proper sabbath observance was a continuing process. Different views were held at various times among different elements within Judaism.

A. Jubilees and the Damascus Document. The book of Jubilees, dated between 161 and 140 B.C., holds the sabbath in high esteem. Even God keeps the sabbath (Jub. 2:18), and God is joined by angels (vv. 18, 30) and by Israel (vv. 21, 31-33). Jubilees also provides the first known list of sabbath Halakoth (2:29f.; 50:6-13). The regulations prohibit food preparation, drawing water, carrying objects into or out of one's house, sexual intercourse, kindling a fire, riding an animal, sailing on a boat, plowing, fasting, and killing of any kind. The only lawful work is that done to provide for the sabbath sacrifices in the temple (50:10f.). The penalty for violations is death (vv. 8, 13).

In the compiling of Halakoth the author of Jubilees was a forerunner of the Pharisees; the strictness of the regulations and the failure to mention exceptions also suggest, however, that the author was a spiritual ancestor of the conservative Jewish group that withdrew to Qumrân. Fragments of Jubilees have been found at Qumrân, and the Damascus Document apparently quotes Jubilees (CD 16:2-4). The Damascus Document also calls for strict observance of the sabbath. Like Jubilees, it prohibits food preparation (CD 10:22) and the carrying of objects into or out of one's house (11:7-9). It also provides several regulations not found in Jubilees and allows for the saving of human life in emergencies (11:16f.). The death penalty for profaning the sabbath is not prescribed; rather, a seven-year period of probation is required (12:4-6).

B. Pharisees and the Rabbinic Tradition. The Pharisees

were the most prominent Jewish party by the 1st cent. A.D., and theirs was the only party to survive the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. The pharisaic tradition survived as Rabbinic Judaism, and the teaching of the rabbis is embodied in the Mishnah. The tractates that deal most extensively with the sabbath are entitled Shabbath, Erubin, and Betzah.

Contrary to a widespread modern opinion, the Pharisees were not the strictest of the Jewish parties. Their intent was to interpret the law so that it could be obeyed by ordinary persons under the conditions of daily existence. Pharisaic Halakah concerning the sabbath tended to be more humane and easier to obey than that of a cloistered community such as Qumrân. It is not possible to summarize *the* pharisaic view of the sabbath, because the tradition was not monolithic. Generally, however, the Pharisees attempted to define precisely what could and could not be done on the sabbath. Mish. *Shabbath* vii.2 provides a list of thirty-nine "main tasks" prohibited on the sabbath, including sowing, ploughing, reaping, binding, threshing, winnowing, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking, shearing wool, bleaching or dyeing wool, spinning, weaving, tying or untying a knot, sewing or tearing two stitches, hunting, writing or erasing two letters, building, demolishing, kindling or extinguishing a fire, hammering, carrying objects from one place to another, and several more. This list was not complete by any means. The thirty-nine "main tasks" were further defined elsewhere; other lists were developed (see Mish. *Betzah* v.2); and the individual judgments of rabbis covered still more cases.

In addition to specifying prohibited sabbath activities, the pharisaic tradition also defined various exceptions to the prohibitions. For instance, circumcision was allowed on the sabbath, and sabbath regulations could be disobeyed if one's life was in danger. Furthermore, probably starting in the 1st cent. A.D., there developed a body of *'êrûḇîn* (lit. "mingling"; see Mish. *Erubin*), which allowed several of the more inconvenient sabbath prohibitions to be circumvented or extended; e.g., by depositing food for two meals at a distance equal to the normal sabbath travel limit (2,000 cubits), one could extend the distance that could legally be traveled on the sabbath. Despite the attempt to make sabbath law easier to obey, the Pharisees and rabbis were very strict in one important respect: the death penalty was demanded in cases of intentional violation of the sabbath.

V. In the NT.–A. Jesus in the Gospels. On the one hand, it appears that Jesus kept the sabbath faithfully by attending the synagogue and by teaching (Mk. 1:21; 6:2; Lk. 4:16, 31). On the other hand, Jesus was involved in sabbath conflicts with the Pharisees. Mark recounts two such incidents. In the first (Mk. 2:23-38) Jesus defends His disciples for plucking grain on the sabbath (cf. Mt. 12:1-8; Lk. 6:1-5). The Pharisees apparently interpreted this activity as reaping, which was one of the thirty-nine "main tasks" prohibited on the sabbath. In good pharisaic fashion, Jesus responds by citing Scripture. He recalls that David broke the law by eating the bread of the presence (1 S. 21:1-6), and He concludes that the "sabbath was made for man" (Mk. 2:27) and that the "Son of man is lord even of the sabbath" (v. 28). The parallel in Matthew is an expanded version. Here Jesus reminds the Pharisees that the priests in the temple regularly work on the sabbath, and He tells them that "something greater than the temple is here" (Mt. 12:6). A further allusion to Hos. 6:6 suggests that mercy shown on the sabbath outweighs sacrifice (Mt. 12:7). In a second Markan episode Jesus heals a man with a withered hand on the sabbath (Mk. 3:1-6; cf. Mt. 12:9-14; Lk. 6:6-11). The pharisaic tradition generally permitted healing on the sabbath only in cases where life was in danger. The question that Jesus posed to the Pharisees effectively broadened this principle by permitting the doing of any good act on the sabbath (Mk. 3:4). Again, the parallel in Matthew is expanded by a typical rabbinic argument "from lesser to greater"; if a sheep can be rescued from a pit on the sabbath (an act permitted by at least some witnesses to the pharisaic tradition), then it should be lawful to do good to human beings (Mt. 12:11f.).

Luke includes two additional instances of Jesus healing on the sabbath (Lk. 13:10-17; 14:1-6). In both cases Jesus again argues "from lesser to greater": if animals can be tended and rescued, then human beings can lawfully be healed (Lk. 13:5f.; 14:5). John also offers two additional sabbath healing episodes (Jn. 5:2-19; 9:1-41). The sabbath controversy is almost incidental in Jn. 9 (vv. 14, 16), but it is central in ch. 5. The attention of the Pharisees ("the Jews," vv. 10, 15, 18) is attracted by a man carrying a pallet, an act in violation of the prohibition of carrying objects. The healed man informs the Pharisees that Jesus had commanded him to carry his pallet and walk. This offended the Pharisees, as did the healing itself, since the man had been lame for thirty-eight years and no mortal danger was involved. Jesus' response touches upon an issue debated in the pharisaic tradition, the question of whether God observes the sabbath. Contrary to the book of Jubilees, Jesus affirms the pharisaic view and then goes beyond it by saying, "My Father is working still, and I am working" (Jn. 5:17). In short, Jesus claims the prerogative of working on the sabbath by claiming identity with God. In a continuation of the healing episode in ch. 5, Jesus reminds the Pharisees that they permit circumcision on the sabbath and then argues that He should thus lawfully be permitted to heal the whole body (7:22f.).

The sabbath conflicts are difficult to evaluate. Jesus observed the sabbath. He never broke any regulations found in the Torah. He used pharisaic methods of argument, and He agreed with the Pharisees on several points. Considering that the pharisaic tradition itself was diverse and was still developing in the early 1st cent A.D., it seems unlikely to some scholars that Jesus' view of the sabbath would have provoked from the Pharisees the vehement hostility described in the Gospels. Thus, some have suggested that the sabbath conflict accounts may reflect the growing rift between Church and synagogue that occurred after A.D. 70, during the time in which the Gospels were written. The final form of the conflict accounts thus presents Jesus as "lord even of the sabbath" (Mk. 2:28). This view does not necessarily imply that the Church had stopped observing the seventh day by the end of the 1st cent. A.D., but it suggests that the Church had begun to view the sabbath christologically and to observe it in ways that departed from the practice of emerging Rabbinic Judaism.

B. Paul and the Church: From Sabbath to Lord's Day. According to the testimony of Acts, Paul continued to observe the sabbath by preaching in synagogues (Acts 13:14, 42, 44; 17:2; 18:14). The only explicit Pauline reference to the sabbath is Col. 2:16, which urges the Colossians to "let no one pass judgment on you . . . with regard to a festival or a new moon or a sabbath." This text, along with implicit references to the sabbath in Rom. 14:5 and Gal. 4:10, is often cited to support the conclusion that at least the gentile churches had abandoned sabbath observance by the mid- to late 1st cent. in favor of worship on the Lord's Day, the first day of the week (Sunday). Further evidence for this conclusion is provided by Acts 20:7, which mentions a gathering for the breaking of bread on the first day of the week; by 1 Cor. 16:2, where Paul urges the people to set aside contributions for the saints in Jerusalem on the first day of the week; by Rev. 1:10, where

John has his vision "on the Lord's Day," apparently Sunday; and by the Gospels, which recount that Jesus arose on the first day of the week. Even the combined testimony of these texts, however, does not demonstrate conclusively that sabbath observance had been widely replaced by observance of the Lord's Day by the end of the 1st century. What the texts do demonstrate is that a prescribed observance of the sabbath was no longer required for righteousness in God's eyes. They also suggest the probability that Sunday observance has its roots in the NT, although conclusive evidence for widespread Sunday observance is not found until the 2nd century. Given the traces of Sunday observance in the NT, it is not likely that this practice was simply a sudden innovation of the Roman church in the early 2nd cent., as some scholars have maintained. *See* LORD'S DAY.

It was not until the 4th cent. that Sunday began to take on sabbath characteristics, when Constantine decreed that certain types of work should not be done on Sunday. This sabbatarian tendency continued over the next several centuries until the Decretals of Gregory IX (A.D. 1234) officially mandated Sunday rest. The Protestant Reformation represented a reversal, with the Reformers tending to spiritualize the sabbath commandments and to argue that any day of the week could be set aside for worship and rest. The inheritors of the Reformation tradition generally returned to a sabbatarian position, due in part to the prevalence of biblical literalism in the 17th through 19th centuries. The most literal interpreters advocated a seventh-day sabbatarianism. A return to seventh-day sabbatarianism had begun among some sixteenth-century Anabaptists, and this tradition has been carried into the present by English and American Seventh-Day Baptists and by Seventh-Day Adventism, which arose in America in the 19th century.

C. Eschatological Sabbath. In several Jewish and Christian apocalyptic works as well as in Rabbinic Judaism the age to come is sometimes described as a perpetual sabbath. A similar notion occurs in the NT in He. 4:9, which mentions "a sabbath rest [*sabbatismós*] for the people of God." While this passage looks to the future, it also suggests that sabbath rest is a present reality through faith and obedience to Jesus Christ. Here the concept of a sabbath observed by physical rest has been transformed into a perpetual rest that is entered by faith (4:2f.) and involves the believer's cessation of his or her own works in obedience to God (4:6, 10f.). *See also* REST III.A.

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SABBATH, COVERT FOR THE (2 K. 16:18, AV). *See* COVERED WAY.

SABBATH, DAY BEFORE THE. *See* DAY OF PREPARATION.

SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY [Gk. *sabbátou hodós*]. The distance the rabbis allowed a Jew to travel on the sabbath without breaking the law. The phrase occurs only in Acts 1:12, where it describes the distance the disciples traveled when they returned from the Mt. of Olives to Jerusalem after the Ascension. Defining travel as work proscribed on the sabbath (cf. Ex. 16:27-30), the rabbis limited such travel to 2000 cubits (3000 ft. [914 m.] by Hellenistic measure, 3600 ft. [1097 m.] by Roman measure) from one's domicile. The figure seems to have been based on Josh. 3:4, which says that the distance between the ark and the people during the wilderness sojourn was 2000 cubits. Hence it was assumed that this was the distance necessary to attend worship in the tabernacle, and that such necessity legitimated the distance involved. We do not know when this interpretation was finalized, but it seems to have been accepted by the time of Christ. Later Jerome (*Ep. to Algarsiam* x) stated that a sabbath day's journey was 2000 ft. (610 m.); according to the Egyptian measure it was 1000 double-steps.

In any case the scribes invented ways to increase a sabbath day's journey up to a distance of 4000 cubits. One could deposit food at the 2000-cubit limit before the sabbath began and declare that spot a temporary home, or one could select a tree or a wall 2000 cubits from one's true residence and declare this one's home; thus one could travel an added 2000 cubits on the sabbath. Again, one could declare the whole town in which one dwelt one's domicile, and so journey 2000 cubits beyond the town limits from any point in the town. Boundary stones, supposedly marking such village limits, have been found near Gaza. Rabbinical interpretation sometimes understood Nu. 35:5, which measured the suburbs of Levitical cities as 2000 cubits, as also bearing on a sabbath day's journey.

See SB, II, 590-94. P. K. JEWETT

SABBATH, MORROW AFTER THE. *See* SABBATH.

SABBATH, SECOND AFTER THE FIRST. The AV translation of the Gk. *sabbátō deuteroprṓtō,* an expression occurring only in certain MSS of Lk. 6:1 (cf. RSV mg.). Most of the earliest MSS omit *deuteroprṓtō* (e.g., p^4, p^{75}, ℵ, B); thus the RSV reads simply "on a sabbath" (cf. NEB). Although alternative explanations have been proposed (see comms.), most scholars think that *deuteroprṓtō* is a non-word created by a scribal mistake. Some copyist may have introduced the word *prṓtō* ("first") to distinguish the incident reported in 6:1 from that in 6:6. A second copyist, in the light of 4:31, thought the text should read *deutérō* ("second") instead. Therefore he deleted *prṓtō* by placing dots over the letters (as was the custom) and wrote *deutérō*. Subsequently a third copyist, not noticing the dots, combined the two words into one, and thus the puzzling expression "second sabbath after the first" came into the text. P. K. JEWETT

SABBATH-BREAKING. *See* CRIME.

SABBATHEUS sab-ə-thē'əs (1 Esd. 9:14, AV). *See* SHABBETHAI.

SABBATHS OF YEARS (Lev. 25:8, AV). *See* JUBILEE, YEAR OF.

SABBATICAL YEAR [Heb. *šᵉnaṯ šabbāṯôn*–'a year of solemn rest' (Lev. 25:5), *šabbaṯ šabbāṯôn*–'a sabbath of solemn rest' (25:4), or *šᵉnaṯ haššᵉmiṭṭâ*–'the year of release' (Dt. 15:9)]. An ancient Israelite institution designating every seventh year as a fallow year for the land and a year for remission of debts.

1. Legal Enactment.–The institution first appears in Ex. 23:10f. in the Book of the Covenant or Covenant Code.

Greater detail is provided in Lev. 25:1-7, with further observations appearing in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. 15:1-11; 31:10-13). The sabbatical law provided that after Israel's entrance into Canaan (Lev. 25:2) every seventh year the land would "rest and lie fallow" (Ex. 23:11); the people would, literally, "let [the land] drop" (*šāmaṭ*, Lev. 25:4). What grew of itself in the untended fields and vineyards was to serve as food for all classes of society, "for yourself and for your male and female slaves . . . and the sojourner who lives with you" (v. 6). The Sabbatical Year also constituted a "year of release": every creditor was to forgo repayment of whatever he had loaned his Hebrew neighbor (Dt. 15:2, 9). Furthermore, during the Feast of Tabernacles (Sept./Oct.) the Mosaic law was to be read "before all Israel in their hearing" (Dt. 31:10f.).

II. Significance.–Observance of the Sabbatical Year possessed agricultural and economic value, for it prevented continuous tilling of the land (Lev. 25:4). It thus corresponded to the weekly sabbath rest after six days of labor. But a more important feature, and one that is more stressed by Scripture, is the Sabbatical Year's social function of aiding the poor; it specifically designated to them whatever happened to grow during the seventh season (Ex. 23:10f.). In Exodus the law of the Sabbatical Year appears immediately after God's reference to the oppression in Egypt (v. 9); it is mentioned even before the weekly sabbath (v. 12). Forty years later this humanitarian factor received further emphasis in the suspension, or cancellation (Heb. *šᵉmiṭṭâ*, "dropping"), of loans on the Sabbatical Year (Dt. 15:1-11, presumably identical with the agricultural Sabbatical Year, since it was inaugurated by the general proclamation, v. 2; cf. 31:10, "the set time"). Israel was admonished not to "harden your heart or shut your hand against your poor brother" in anticipation of an approaching seventh year, when debts would be remitted (15:7-11).

The basic reason for the Sabbatical Year was religious, however: to demonstrate that the land, and indeed all creation, is ultimately subject to God's law, not to human desires. The Sabbatical Year is repeatedly designated as "to the Lord" (Lev. 25:2, 4). It is "the Lord's release" (Dt. 15:2); cf. the seventh-year emphasis upon the reading of the law, that the people "may hear and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as you live in the land" (Dt. 31:12f.; cf. Lev. 25:17, 23). Indeed, the year of release was enforced only for God's people, the Hebrews, not for foreigners (Dt. 15:1-3). The natural increase of the untilled land is assigned not simply to the poor but also to the wild beasts (Ex. 23:10f.; cf. the biblical "humanitarianism" for animals in Dt. 25:4; Prov. 12:10; Jonah 4:11). The very prohibition against human sowing and pruning was to show that God was the one who really provided (Lev. 25:18-22; cf. Dt. 15:4-6, 10).

III. Observance.–The first historical observance of a Sabbatical Year may have occurred with the termination of Joshua's conquest and his final distribution of the land among the Hebrew tribes (Josh. 13:1, 7), although no such observance is mentioned. In fact, for almost five hundred years before the exile of Judah in 587 B.C. the sabbatical regulation seems to have been widely disregarded (cf. Lev. 26:34f., 43; 2 Ch. 36:20f.). Liberal critics thus have generally denied the Mosaic origin of the Sabbatical Year as it is described in the Pentateuch, regarding it instead as a late humanitarianization of some primitive rite (cf. *IB*, I, 1011f.).

Israel demonstrated a similar disregard of the corresponding law requiring the release of Hebrew indentured servants in the seventh year after their purchase (Ex. 21:2-4; Dt. 15:12-15; Jer. 34:8-17). This latter ordinance is not to be confused with that of the Sabbatical Year, which concerned the release of debts; but the events of Jer. 34 may indeed have coincided with the appearance of a regular Sabbatical Year.

The seventh year was observed in the later postexilic restoration (Neh. 10:31; cf. Ezra's reading of the law in 444 B.C. [Neh. 8:1-3, 8], with the sabbatical injunction of Dt. 31:10f.), under Alexander the Great (Josephus *Ant.* xi.8.6 [344]) and the Maccabees (1 Macc. 6:49, 52f., and frequently in Josephus), and in NT times (*Ant.* xiv.16.2 [475]; Tacitus *Hist.* v. 4; Talmud). The Sabbatical regulations, however, were increasingly circumvented and are not widely observed in modern Judaism.

See also JUBILEE, YEAR OF.

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SABBEUS sə-bē'əs (1 Esd. 9:32, AV). *See* SABBAIAS.

SABEANS sə-bē'ənz [Heb. *šᵉḇā'* (Job 1:15), *sᵉḇā'îm* (Isa. 45:14), *šᵉḇā'îm* (Joel 3:8 [MT 4:8])]; NEB SABAEANS; **SEBA** sē'bə [*sᵉḇā'*] (Gen. 10:7; 1 Ch. 1:9; Ps. 72:10; Isa. 43:3); **SHEBA** shē'bə [Heb. *šᵉḇā'*] (Gen. 10:7, 28; 25:3; 1 K. 1:10, etc.; 1 Ch. 1:9; etc.). A Semitic tribe who, it is generally believed, lived in South Arabia; also the name of one or more places.

In Isa. 45:15 the Sabeans are described as "men of stature" and named in connection with "the wealth of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia." They would appear to be in the south, perhaps Africa. In Job 1:15 the RSV translates "Sabeans," but the MT reads "Sheba" (Heb. *šᵉḇā'*; cf. 6:19). In Gen. 10:7 Seba is the first-named son of Cush, and Sheba is a grandson of Cush through Raamah; both of them are descendants of Ham. But in v. 28 Sheba is a descendant of Shem. In Ps. 72:10 Sheba and Seba are named side by side.

If the biblical text is taken seriously, these names must refer to at least two persons with their tribal descendants. The milieu of the Job story is north Arabia. The Sabeans of the Isaiah passage seem to be in Ethiopia, i.e., that portion of Africa that stretches from the Blue Ni (Nubia) to the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. If we add to this the account of the queen of Sheba (1 K. 10:1-13), there is also an identification with south Arabia.

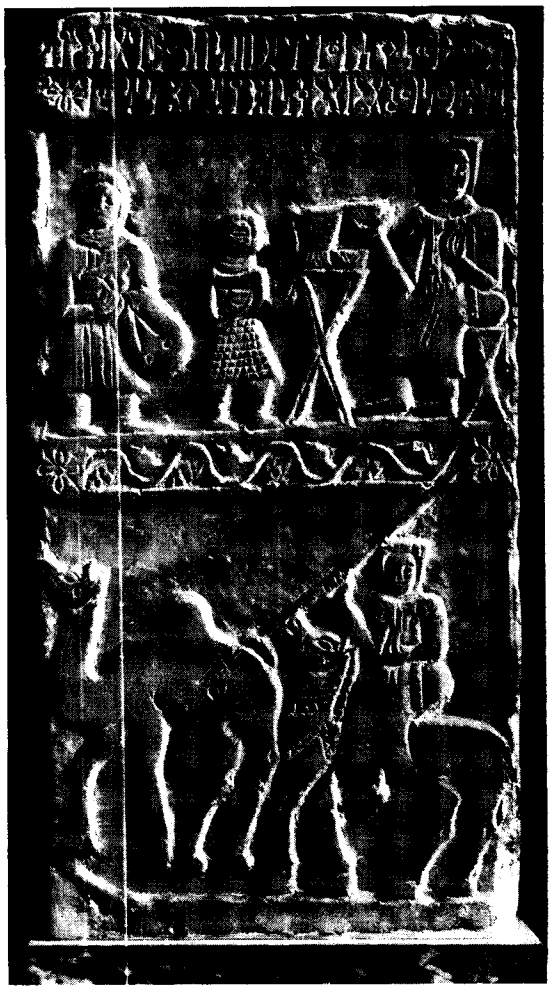
Part of the confusion is linguistic. In Old (Epigraphic) South Arabic there are three phonemes (basic sounds) that are represented by s_1, s_2, s_3 (voiceless sibilants). These merge to two in Arabic, *š* and *s*. They also merge in Hebrew, but not the same way. As a result, Arab.

Old South Arabic	s_3	s_2	s_1
Arabic	*s*	*š*	*s*
Hebrew	*š*	*ś*	*s*

šîn is *śîn* in Hebrew (cf. SHIBBOLETH in Jgs. 12:6). The Old South Arabic *sb'* (Saba or Seba) becomes *šᵉḇā'* (Sheba) in Hebrew. But to try to force the Hebrew Seba into the same equation ignores the phonetic relationships in the two languages. It therefore is preferable to treat the names Sheba and Seba individually. (See W. S. LaSor, *JQR*, 48 [1957], 161-173.)

The Sabeans of Isa. 45:14 were apparently located in Africa. But it is historically demonstrable that there was a close connection between peoples of south Arabia and northeast Africa. The Ethiopian kings claimed descent from the QUEEN OF SHEBA through her union with Solomon. Although this may be a tradition without basis in

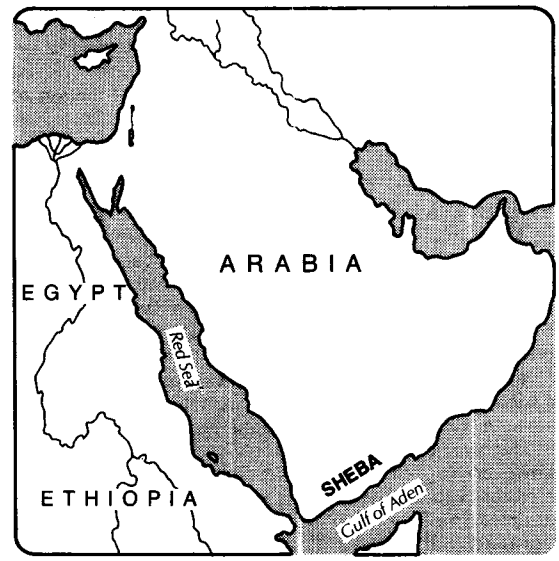
SABEANS



An alabaster grave stele (2nd cent. A.D.) found in South Arabia. A figure seated at a table holds a cup taken from the offering; below are a camel and rider. The decorative detail is typical of Sabean lettering (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

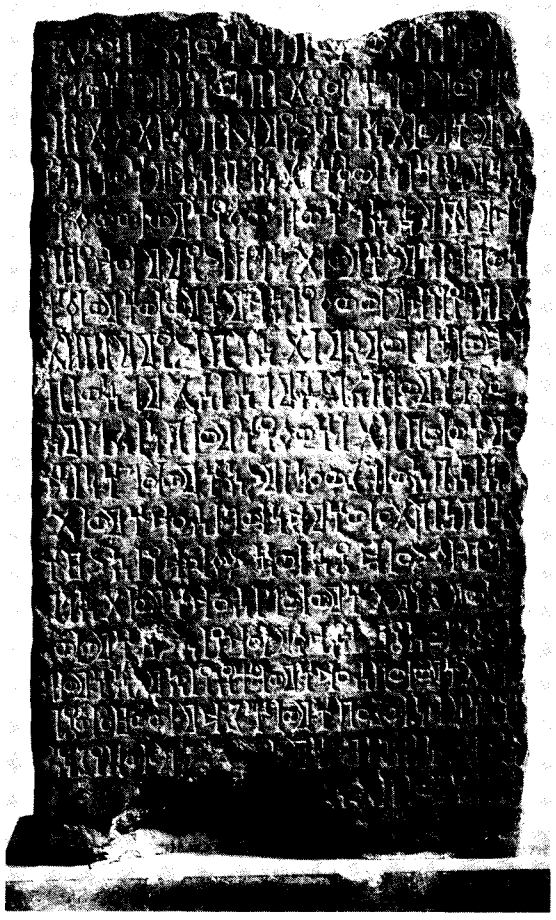
fact, the language of Ethiopia is closely related to that of southwest Arabia; in fact, the language and even the forms of letters in inscriptions at Axum (Aksum), Ethiopia, are identical with those found in inscriptions in southwest Arabia (*see also* ARABIA IV; ETHIOPIC). Precisely when the migration took place, and indeed in which direction it took place, are not certain. The phonemic and phonetic developments in the Semitic languages suggest that at a very early date there may have been a migration from the horn of Africa across Bab el-Mandeb into Arabia. It is almost certain that by the 3rd cent. A.D. there was a migration from southwest Arabia into the adjacent region of Africa. Thus it may tentatively be assumed that the Sabeans of Africa and the Sabeans of Saba were closely related. Strabo knew of a Lake Saba (*límēn Saba*) in the Adulic Gulf on the west coast of the Red Sea (*Geog.* xvi.4.8) and also of a "good-sized city" of Saba (xvi.4.10), although it is unclear whether the latter was on the African or Arabian side of the Red Sea. The work of Pseudo-scylax, *Periplus Maris Erythraei* ("Circumnavigation of the Red Sea," *ca.* 1st cent. A.D.), describes ports, cargoes, etc., of the sea-routes of south Arabia (for excerpts from the Latin text, see K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* [1931], pp. 24-30). Josephus knew a tradition of an Ethiopian capital named Saba, later called Meroë by Cambyses (*Ant.* ii.10.2 [249]).

Saba (or Sheba) was located in the southwestern part of the Arabian peninsula, approximately where Yemen is today (for the geography of Arabia, *see* ARABIA II, III). A narrow coastal plain, which is hot, humid, and saline, is backed up by mountains that parallel the coast and reach heights of 1600 m. (5200 ft.). The interior of the peninsula is a desert. Between the mountain ranges are valleys that are watered by monsoon rains in spring and early summer. These valleys, with numerous wadis and controlled irrigation, provided the living-space for the tribes of this part of Arabia. Sheba's isolation protected it against the armies that ranged over much of the ancient Near East.



The civilization of the Sabeans in southwest Arabia can be traced back at least to the 8th-7th cents. B.C., at which time it was well advanced, particularly in hydraulic engineering, the building of great dams and the channeling of flood waters. The alphabet, which some hold to be the original form of Semitic writing while others believe it to have developed from a form used in north Arabia, has a beauty of form and care in stone carvings that is well in advance of that of, e.g., the Sinai inscriptions, the Gezer Calendar, or the Moabite Stone.

In the view of some scholars the biblical story of the queen of Sheba rests on historical facts, for Sheba traded in frankincense, myrrh, spices, aromatic wood, and gold, from the earliest known times (cf. 1 K. 10:2, 10; Isa. 60:6; Jer. 6:20; Ezk. 27:22) and controlled caravan routes as well as sea lanes from southwest Arabia to the north, the east, and the west (see G. W. van Beek, "Land of Sheba," in J. B. Pritchard, pp. 40-63). That queens ruled the region at certain periods is documented by references in Assyrian records (Zabibe queen of Arabia and Samai queen of Arabia are mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III [*ARAB*, I, §§ 772, 817]; Samai queen of Arabia and It'amra the Sabean are mentioned by Sargon II [*ARAB*, II, § 18]; Esarhaddon also mentions a queen of Arabia [II, § 569]). Assyrian records mention kings, too, and Sabean inscriptions speak of a ruler called *mkrb* (probably *mukarrib*, a word meaning "priest," hence a priest-king; cf. K. Conti Rossini, *s.v. "krb"* [p. 170]; J. C. Biella,



A symmetrically carved Sabean inscription dedicated to the god Ta'lab of Riyâm. It describes wars at the time of 'Alhān Nahfān (ca. 2nd cent. A.D., from Ṣan'â) (Louvre, photo M. Chuzeville)

Dictionary of Old South Arabic; Sabaean Dialect [1982], *s.v.* "krb" [p. 215]).

Archeological work in Sheba had been limited primarily to surface explorations until 1928, 1947, and 1951-1952. A great number of inscriptions were copied, but because many of them were dedications of something (e.g., a dam or a statue) by someone to some deity, the vocabulary is rather limited, and the grammar and syntax are hardly known. The ancient capital of Sheba was Mârib, near which were a large temple (Haram Bilqis) and a great dam. Evidence from the excavations at Hajr Koḥlân (Timnaʿ, one-time capital of Qataban) proves that Sheba was the earliest of the south Arabian states (Maʿîn, Qataban, Hadramaut, Awsan, etc.).

There remains the question of a northern Sheba. According to Gen. 25:1-3 and 1 Ch. 1:32 Sheba was a descendant of Abraham by his union with Keturah. DEDAN, named in the same passages, seems to be in north Arabia according to Jer. 49:8. In Job 6:19 Sheba is in parallel with TEMA, who is listed as a descendant of Abraham through Hagar and is hence an Ishmaelite (Gen. 25:15; 1 Ch. 1:30). Nabonidus king of Babylon (556-539 B.C.) moved his capital for four or possibly ten years to Tema, an oasis in north Arabia approximately halfway between Damascus and Mecca (*see* Map in ARABIA). Sargon recorded receiving tribute from Ithamar the Sabean (*ARAB*, II, § 55); it is unlikely that this refers to Sheba in south Arabia. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal referred to a king of Arabia named Hazael (*ARAB*, II, §§ 551, 821) — a name that occurs among the rulers of Damascus. Aretas king of the Nabateans (cf. 2 Cor. 11:32) controlled caravan routes from south Arabia to Gaza and to Damascus in the closing centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D. It is clear that there were Arabic tribes in north Arabia with the same names, the same occupation (using or controlling the caravan routes), and a closely related language as those found in south Arabia.

Two solutions are possible: either there was a single progenitor of places named Sheba in both north and south Arabia; or there were two different persons, one Semitic who settled in north Arabia and the other Hamitic who settled in Ethiopia or south Arabia. Biblical evidence tends to favor the latter solution.

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SABI sā'bī.

1. (1 Esd. 5:28, NEB). *See* SHOBAI.
2. (1 Esd. 5:34, AV). *See* POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

SABIAS sə-bī'əs (1 Esd. 1:9, NEB). *See* HASHABIAH 6.

SABIE sā'bi-ē (1 Esd. 5:34, NEB). *See* POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

SABTA; SABTAH sab'tə [Heb. *saḇtâ* (Gen. 10:7) and *saḇtâ'* (1 Ch. 1:9)]. The third son of Cush, and ancestor of a tribe of Cushites; also the name of a place occupied by that tribe. Since the location of CUSH is uncertain, it may not be positively assumed that Sabta is located either in Arabia (e.g., the Sabata of Strabo *Geog.* xvi.4.2) or in Nubia (e.g., the Sabatha of Josephus *Ant.* i.6.2 [134], later Meroë), although either location would be possible and acceptable. For other suggested identificaions, cf. BDB, p. 688 *s.v.* W. S. L. S.

SABTECA sab'tə-kə [Heb. *saḇṭᵉḳā'*]; AV SABTECHAH, SABTECHA; NEB SABTECHA. The last-named of five sons of Cush (Gen. 10:7; 1 Ch. 1:9). Since other names in the genealogy are names of places as well as of persons, it is assumed that Sabteca was also a place, probably in south Arabia. W. S. L. S.

SACAR sā'kär (AV, NEB, 1 Ch. 11:35; 26:4). *See* SACHAR.

SACHAR sā'kär [Heb. *śāḵār*]; AV, NEB, SACAR.

1. A Hararite; father of Ahiam, one of David's mighty men known as the "thirty' (1 Ch. 11:35). In 2 S. 23:33 he is called "Sharar the Hararite." The original spelling of the proper name is uncertain.
2. A Korahite; son of Obed-edom; eponymous ancestor of a division of gatekeepers (1 Ch. 26:4; cf. v. 15).

SACHIA sə-kī'ə [Heb. *śāḵᵉyâ*, other editions *šāḇᵉyâ*, *šāḵᵉyâ*, etc.]; AV, NEB, SHACHIA. A Benjaminite; son of Shaharaim and Hodesh (1 Ch. 8:10).

SACK [Heb. *śaq*] (Gen. 42:25, 27, 35; Lev. 11:32; Josh. 9:4); NEB also SACKING; [*ʾamtaḥaṯ*] (Gen. 42:27f.; 43:12, 18, 21-23; 44:1f., 8, 11f.); NEB PACK; [*kᵉlî*] (1 S. 9:7); AV VESSEL; NEB PACK; [*ṣiqqālôn*] (2 K. 4:42); AV HUSK. A bag usually made of coarse, black, goats'-hair

cloth, used by Joseph's brothers to carry grain. *K^{e}lî* is a general term for "vessel" or "receptacle."

SACKBUT. A medieval instrument similar to the trombone. The term is used by the AV to translate Aram. *śabb^{e}kā'* and *sabb^{e}kî* (Dnl. 3:5, 7, 10, 15). The RSV ("trigon") and NEB ("triangle") offer different interpretations. *See* MUSIC II.G.4.

SACKCLOTH [Heb. *śaq*] (Gen. 37:34; 2 S. 21:10; 1 K. 20:31; Job 16:15; Jonah 3:5f.; etc.); NEB also SACKING (Isa. 3:24); [Gk. *sákkos*] (Mt. 11:21; Lk. 10:13; Rev. 6:12; 11:3); NEB also FUNERAL PALL (Rev. 6:12). The RSV supplies "sackcloth" in Isa. 32:11 (NEB "cloth") and Joel 1:13a. Sacking material (cf. Josh. 9:4) made of goat or camel hair and worn especially during times of mourning or social protest.

The modern Eng. "sack" is ultimately derived from the Semitic word rendered in Hebrew as *śaq* (Akk. *šaqqu*), mediated through Gk. *sákkos*, Lat. *saccus*, and Old Eng. *sacc*. There can be little doubt that both the Hebrew and Greek words refer to the same item; its usage is strikingly similar in both languages, reflecting a common and continuous cultural heritage.

It most frequently refers to a garment worn during times of mourning or sorrow (e.g., Gen. 37:34; Ps. 30:11 [MT 12]; etc.), perhaps because, when made of goat hair, it was black in color (Isa. 50:3; Rev. 6:12). In most cases it seems to have been worn when the wearer wished to publicize his or her sorrow. Saul's concubine Rizpah used it to protest the lack of a proper burial for Saul; David reacted by promptly ordering the burial (2 S. 21:10). Syrian captives wore it to evoke mercy from Ahab (1 K. 20:31f.). During the siege of Samaria King Jehoram wore it beneath his robes, which he rent as he made a vow to kill Elisha (2 K. 6:30). Hezekiah wore it in response to the Assyrian threat to Jerusalem (2 K. 19:1). Mordecai wore it publicly in Susa to protest the decree ordering the destruction of the Jews (Est. 4:1-4). Sackcloth was frequently worn at times of repentance (Neh. 9:1; Jonah 3:5f., 8; etc.). The prophets often warned that sackcloth would or should be worn in the face of God's approaching judgment (Isa. 3:24; Jer. 4:8; Ezk. 7:18; etc.); but Isa. 58:5f. points out that the true repentance that pleases God is evidenced more by doing justice than by the wearing of sackcloth. Daniel wore it as a sign of repentance when he prayed that God would fulfil His promise to restore Jerusalem after the seventy years of desolation were over (Dnl. 9:3).

In several of these contexts the public wearing of sackcloth clearly involves an element of protest (2 S. 21:10; Est. 4:1; Dnl. 9:3; perhaps 2 K. 6:30). It is also possible that the statement prohibiting its use in proper worship (Isa. 58:5) has its context in the origin of the practice in protest. Historians of antiquity have recognized that ancient society viewed itself as ordered in a delicate balance that could be thrown off by a communal or individual misdeed, and that in such a case something had to be done to right the imbalance. By wearing sackcloth publicly, a person suggested that society was out of balance and had to be righted. Thus the Syrians wore it (prophylactically) to warn Ahab not to destroy the balance of society by a violent act against them (1 K. 20:31f.). The use of sackcloth as a mourning garment or as the outward sign of repentance was a symbolic adaptation of this practice; it protested that death, potential death, or sin was an act that disrupted the balance of society and needed righting.

Sackcloth seems to have been worn next to the skin (2 K. 6:30; Job 16:15), either as a loincloth (Gen. 37:34) or as a robe (2 K. 19:1). According to the Talmud shepherds wore it because it was cheap and durable (T.B. *Shabbath* 64a).

See G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, V [1939], 18, 165, 176, 202. L. G. HERR

SACRAMENTS.

I. Etymology of the Term
II. Biblical Material
  A. Place of Signs and Sacraments in the OT
  B. Incarnate Word
  C. Apostolic Church
  D. Sacraments and the Incarnation
III. Historical Survey
  A. Early Church
  B. Middle Ages
  C. Reformation
  D. Modern Period

I. Etymology of the Term.–The word "sacrament" does not occur in the English Bible. It derives, however, from Lat. *sacramentum*, which the Latin Bible selected as a rendering of Gk. *mystérion* (*see* MYSTERY). In itself *sacramentum* had the sense of something sacred. In secular Latin it commonly denoted a deposit, and very frequently it stood for an oath, particularly the military pledge of allegiance. In the latter sense the early Church used it sometimes for the creed and associated it with baptism. The word also found a wider ecclesiastical use for signs of sacred things, whether in the more general sense of any earthly sign with a heavenly meaning or in the more specific sense of divinely given covenant signs, i.e., circumcision and the Passover in the OT and baptism and the Lord's Supper in the NT. This usage explains why *sacramentum* commended itself as an equivalent of Gk. *mystérion*, which generally refers to the hidden things of God that cannot be known except as God discloses them. Conversely, *mystérion* itself forms the background for a proper understanding of the sacraments. The NT uses *mystérion* in contexts dealing with the embodiment of God's revelatory word in Christ (the Incarnation) and with the embodiment and growth of that word in believers (the Church).

II. Biblical Material.–A. Place of Signs and Sacraments in the OT. Signs accompanied the word of God as it entered history to initiate the fulfillment of God's redeeming and renewing purpose (Isa. 9:8; Ps. 107:20; 147:15). These signs could take many forms: dreams and visions (Isa. 6; Jer. 1:11-13; Ezk. 1:3-28), unique occurrences (Isa. 38:8), historical events fulfilling the spoken word (Isa. 36:10; 2 K. 1:17), sacramental rites, and miracles that testified to the presence in Israel of a new, divine power and reality, to God's own coming to His creation, to His performing a saving work in human history. These signs demonstrated that God's word really embodies itself in the concrete life situation of God's people and that ultimately, as the purpose of God unfolds, it will radically alter the history of the race as a whole (Isa. 55:10-13; 45:23).

B. Incarnate Word. In the NT God's coming into history took on a new, fuller form and reality as "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (Jn. 1:14). This embodiment of the Word in the person, life, and work of the man Jesus is what the NT calls the "mystery" (*mystérion*) of God manifest in the flesh (1 Tim. 3:16). In Jesus the kingdom of God is present (Lk. 17:21). This is the "mystery" of the kingdom (Mk. 4:11 par.; Mt. 13:11) that will be generally disclosed only with the final resurrection (1 Cor. 15:51f.). The mighty works that Jesus did in concert with His preaching and teaching served as signs that the mystery

of the kingdom was indeed present in Him as a powerful and creative reality (Mt. 11:2-6; 12:28). He fulfilled in Himself the kingdom promises that God had already given and begun to fulfil in the OT (Lk. 4:17-21; cf. Isa. 61:1f.). This fulfillment implied both the renewal of creation (Eph. 1:9f.; 2 Cor. 5:17) and the regeneration of individuals (2 Cor. 5:17; 1 Pet. 1:3, 23; Jn. 3:3). Jesus brought this work to completion in His death and resurrection, and He will manifest and consummate it at His coming again (cf. 1 Pet. 1:13; 1 Cor. 1:7; Mt. 13:43).

C. Apostolic Church. The Church received from Jesus the task of embodying the word and thereby directing history secretly to its consummation. It discharged this task not merely by recounting the story of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ but by so re-presenting these events that hearers might relate to them personally through faith. Through the proclamation of the gospel, the once-for-all event in Jesus continued to be effective for salvation (1 Cor. 1:21). This proclamation claimed preachers of the gospel as stewards of its mystery (1 Cor. 4:1; cf. Col. 1:25f.) and gave its recipients a share in the mystery of the Kingdom (Mt. 13:11 par. Mk. 4:11), i.e., in the mystery of the relation between Christ and the Church that He cleanses and nourishes (cf. Eph. 5:25-32). As the apostolic proclamation went out, it was accompanied by signs and miracles that made visible the living power of that word. Jesus had also established two new signs of covenant promise parallel to the OT signs of circumcision and the Passover. The new signs of baptism and the Lord's Supper would bear ongoing testimony to the mystery of the Kingdom that was present in Jesus, and to the Church's reconciling and renewing fellowship with its crucified, risen, and returning Lord.

D. Sacraments and the Incarnation. To call baptism and the Lord's Supper sacraments is thus to identify them as the divinely instituted signs that continuously accompany the word in the re-presentation of Christ as the fulfillment of God's renewing and restoring purpose. These sacraments derive their force and meaning only from the reconciliation that Christ, the true sacrament, achieved once and for all in His own person and work. They thus bear the name of sacrament only in a secondary sense, i.e., in their relation to this one, unique *sacramentum* ("mystery") of the incarnate, crucified, risen, and returning Lord. "They would not have existed apart from the historical incarnation" (Baillie, p. 66). The administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper can be only "a giving and receiving of this one sacrament" (Barth, *CD*, II/2, p. 55). Although the NT (even in Latin) does not use the term "sacrament" for these significatory actions, the term is nevertheless not inappropriate, since Christ Himself instituted these signs and uses them to meet His people in historical actualizations of what He accomplished in His life and ministry. Through them the one great sacrament of the incarnate Word re-presents Himself in every age, granting participation in the here and now of the realized Kingdom and pointing forward in hope to His return and His final manifestation in triumph (cf. Rom. 6:5; 1 Cor. 11:26).

III. Historical Survey.—*A. Early Church.* Apart from offering a suitable equivalent for the Greek *mystérion*, the word *sacramentum* commended itself to the early Church both subjectively to denote the witness that Christians bear to the world and objectively to describe the signs of the divine working, specifically the ecclesiastical ceremonies of baptism and the eucharist. In a general sense the fathers regarded many things as sacraments, but they always accorded special significance to the two ordinances that Christ Himself appointed. Augustine brought the sacraments into close association with the word when he defined them as "visible words." He also started a momentous line of thinking when he related them to grace as the outward signs of inward and spiritual grace. On the basis of this definition a tendency developed to think that each sacrament itself conveyed a specific grace, instead of stressing the necessary link of the sacraments to Christ Himself as the source and center of all grace. The patristic practice of speaking of the signs in terms of what they signified also contributed to the growing sense of an automatic connection between sign and grace (the *ex opere operato* effect) in virtue of the divine institution and use of the signs. In this equation grace would later come to be presented as a quasi-material substance that pours into the soul with the act of sacramental administration.

B. Middle Ages. Peter Lombard made a decisive impact on sacramental thinking when he interposed an intermediate class between signs in general and the admittedly pre-eminent signs of baptism and the Lord's Supper. He thus arrived at the sacred number of seven sacraments conveying grace: penance, confirmation, marriage, orders, and extreme unction, in addition to baptism and the eucharist. Lombard also quoted Augustine's statement that whereas the OT sacraments only promised and signified salvation, those of the NT give it (*Sentences* iv.1f.) — the only qualification being that participants might interpose an obstacle to the saving operation, e.g., unbelief or insincerity. In the case of the eucharist, the direct presence of Christ's own body and blood by what came to be known as "transubstantiation" meant that all who partook of the elements partook of Christ, the only difference being that those who received in unbelief or impenitence would do so to perdition and not to salvation. The Councils of Florence (1439) and Trent (1547) incorporated these theses into the official dogma of the Western Church, thus providing a cradle-to-grave coverage of sacramental grace. The possibility of an obstacle of unbelief posed little problem, for even the most ignorant or nominal of members, so long as they had the implicit faith of believing what the Church believed, could enjoy the assurance of more or less mechanical sacramental efficacy.

C. Reformation. The main-line Reformers devoted much time and thought to the sacraments. They allowed that the word "sacrament" might bear a general sense, but they reserved its specific use for the ongoing signs which Christ had clearly ordained and to which He had annexed the gospel promises. According to this definition Luther could find a place for penance (as a renewal of baptism), but the Reformed and finally the Anglicans proposed a clear restriction to baptism (Mt. 28:19f.) and the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:23, 26). These traditions have taught that while the sacraments might also function as badges or pledges of Christian profession, primarily they serve as witnesses to the divine covenant and promises. They are thus visible words which, as adjuncts and seals of the preached word, confirm and stimulate the faith of participants. They do not take effect by their mere administration but only as God works in and through them by the Holy Spirit to bring believers into living fellowship with the incarnate, crucified, and risen Christ who is their proper substance, and as these believers receive them with the saving and justifying faith that finds its focus in Christ. Since Christ instituted the sacraments, the Church can only harm itself either by neglecting them or by augmenting or corrupting what Christ Himself appointed. When properly used, the sacraments discharge the same important function as biblical signs. Taking a more concrete form than the preached word, they make a wider appeal to the senses. Hence they set forth Christ and

His promises with a new vividness and clarity, taking up the recipients themselves into an enactment of the word. In this way they enable believers, in the power of the Spirit, to grasp Christ and His promises with a greater assurance and a fuller and more personal understanding. (For brief summaries of the teaching of the main Reformers, see the relevant Reformation Confessions in Schaff.)

D. Modern Period. Sacramental theology has developed along various lines in the modern period. Roman Catholicism has retained the formulations of Trent, but individual theologians have introduced modifications that qualify the more rigorous sacramentalism. The Anglican Church's adherence to the Thirty-Nine Articles has not prevented some Episcopal groups (e.g., the Oxford Movement) from enhancing the role of the sacraments and approximating Roman Catholic positions. John Wesley, however, took over the Anglican Article XXV, which endorsed the Reformation view of the sacraments, in his original Methodist Articles of 1784 (Art. XVI). The Lutheran and Reformed Churches have generally endorsed the Reformation teachings, but with tendencies toward psychologizing where Liberal opinions have prevailed.

The Free Churches have predominantly followed the insights of the "Radical Reformers" of the 16th century. Thus the Baptist Confession of 1688, rejecting the word "sacraments," described baptism and the Lord's Supper as "ordinances of perpetual and sovereign institution," and found in baptism a "sign of fellowship with Christ" and commitment "to love and walk in newness of life." The New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833 and the Free-Will Baptist Confession of 1834 used such terms as "emblem," "representation," and "commemoration" to characterize the two signs, and the Congregational Union (1833) saw in the Lord's Supper "a token of faith in the Saviour" and "the expression of love." The Quakers took the extreme radical position of so focusing on the spiritual meaning that they dispensed with the external signs altogether, holding that Christ had instituted these signs only as temporary measures to enable the first believers to grasp the inner realities (cf. The Friends' Confession of 1675, 12f.).

Among twentieth-century theologians, Barth emphasized that biblically Christ Himself is the only true sacrament. He thus tried to incorporate a view of the sacraments as ecclesiastical ordinances into his version of Reformed theology.

See also BAPTIST; LORD'S SUPPER.

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SACRED [Heb. *qōḏeš*] (Ex. 30:25; Dt. 26:13; Josh 6:19; Jer. 31:40; Ezk. 20:40; 44:13); AV HOLY, HALLOWED, CONSECRATED; [*miqḏâš*] ("sacred area," Ezk. 43:21); AV SANCTUARY; NEB HOLY PLACE; [Gk. *hierós*] (2 Tim. 3:15); AV HOLY; [*hagiázo*] ("make holy," Mt. 23:17, 19); AV, NEB SANCTIFY. The RSV also has j"sacred" three times for Heb. *YHWH* (AV lit. "of the Lord," 1 S. 20:8) and *(hā)'ᵉlōhîm* (AV lit. "of God," 1 Ch. 16:42; Eccl. 8:2).

A special status pertaining to certain objects, persons, and events that stand in an exclusive relationship to God because of their use in religious ceremonies.

In the RSV both "holy" and "sacred" render the Hebrew root *qdš*. "Sacred" is used only to describe persons or things that have been made holy; the character of God is always described as "holy." A "sacred" object is one separated from common use by cultic sanctions. Thus the sacred anointing oil used in the temple was to be made to Yahweh's explicit specifications; it was not to be used for other purposes or by ordinary laypersons (Ex. 30:22-33). Because Yahweh is the source of all holiness (Lev. 11:44; Isa. 6:3; etc.), sacred objects or persons are found close to Him, e.g., the ground upon which Moses approached God (Ex. 3:5), and Mt. Zion and Jerusalem, the site of the temple (Isa. 11:9).

Objects in their natural condition are either clean or unclean (Lev. 20:25), but they are not inherently sacred They become sacred by being used in the cult or by Yahweh's special decree (e.g., Josh. 6:19; cf. Mt. 23:17, 19). Objects declared sacred remain so, and judgment is pronounced upon those who disregard regulations concerning their usage, thereby profaning what is sacred (cf. Zeph. 3:4).

The relationship of sacred objects to Yahweh is made clear in several futuristic passages in the prophets. Zechariah envisions a restored Jerusalem in which the demarcation between sacred and profane has been obliterated (ch. 14). Then the bells on the harnesses of the horses will be inscribed "Sacred to Yahweh" (v. 20, JB), and every pot in Jerusalem and Judah will be "sacred to the Lord of hosts" (vv. 20f.)

Hebrew *qōḏeš* is almost always rendered Gk. *hágios* in the LXX. The NT shows the influence of the LXX by most often using *hágios* to denote "holy" and "sacred." 2 Tim. 3:15 is an exception. Here the author speaks of the "sacred writings" (*hierá grámmata*), which are "inspired by God" (*theópneustos*, v. 16).

See also HOLY.

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SACRED STONE. Greek *diopetḗs* (lit. "fallen from heaven"; see Bauer, rev., p. 199) is rendered by the RSV "sacred stone that fell from the sky" (cf. AV "image which fell down from Jupiter"; NEB "symbol . . . which fell from heaven"). It probably denotes a meteorite that was worshiped as an image of Artemis. For other examples of meteorites that were worshiped as images of gods or goddesses, see F. F. Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles* (2nd. ed. 1952, repr. 1970), p. 367.

SACRIFICE, HUMAN. Several phrases are used by the Hebrew Bible to refer to the practice of human sacrifice. The hiphil of *'āḇar* (lit. "cause to pass over") is used in combination with the following phrases: *lammōleḵ* ("to Molech," Jer. 32:35), *bā'ēš* (lit. "in the fire," 2 K. 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; Ezk. 20:31), *bā'ēš lammōleḵ* (2 K. 23:10), *'ōlâ* ("whole burnt offering," Jgs. 11:31; 2 K. 3:27), *le'ăḵᵉlâ* (RSV "for food," Ezk. 23:37). In Ezk. 16:21; 20:26 the verb occurs alone, but the meaning is clear. Other phrases are *śārap bā'ēš lᵉ-* (lit. "burn in the fire to," Dt. 12:31; 2 K. 17:31; Jer. 7:31; 19:5) and the hiphil of *'ālâ* with *'ōlâ* (lit. "offer up as a whole burnt offering," Jgs. 11:31; 2 K. 3:27). The verb *zāḇaḥ* ("sacrifice") is used with *laššēḏîm* ("to demons") in Ps. 106:37 and with *le'ĕḵôl* ("to devour" [by fire], Ezk. 16:20). In Ezk. 23:39 the phrase *šāḥaṭ lᵉgillûlêhem* is rendered "slaughter in sacrifice to their idols."

Several of the passages listed above assert that some Israelites sacrificed their sons and/or daughters to the

Ammonite deity Molech, to demons, and possibly even to Yahweh (cf. Jgs. 11:29-40). The Torah proscribed this pagan practice, and the prophets denounced it as one of the heinous sins that contributed to the fall of Israel and Judah. The historical books record incidents of human sacrifice, but they always state or imply a strong denunciation of the practice. These passages clearly show that the practice did occur and that it was denounced; nonetheless, some scholars dismiss the OT references to human sacrifice as empty rhetoric (see Weinfeld).

I. In the Ancient Near East.–Human sacrifice was practiced in various ancient cultures and even in more recent cultures. Stager and Wolff have convincingly demonstrated that child sacrifice was practiced in Phoenecian Carthage (*Biblical Archaeology Review,* 10 [1984], 30-51). At the sanctuary called Tophet, children were sacrificed to the goddess Tanit and her consort Baal Hammon (*see* PHOENICIA VII). A pillar (*maṣṣēḇâ*) 0.5 m. (1¾ ft.) high with upraised hands and a disk and crescent has been discovered at Hazor in northern Israel. These symbols seem to indicate the same deities found in Carthage. Their presence in Hazor suggests the possibility that children were sacrificed there also, although the Hazor site predates the Tophet in Carthage by a thousand years (see Green, pp. 183f.). Several ancient writers reported incidences of child/human sacrifice (Diodorus xx.14.4-7; Porphyry *De Abstinentia* ii.56, etc.). Eliade reported its occurrence among the Chinese and Celts (pp. 8f., 151f.). It was also a feature of Aztec religion, and women were sacrificed among the Mayas. Stager and Wolff mentioned Sardinia, Sicily, and Tunisia as other places where the practice occurred.

A. R. W. Green summarized his exhaustive study of human sacrifice in the ancient Near East with the general statement that "human sacrifice can be traced throughout this region," i.e., throughout Mesopotamia, the Indus Vally, Egypt, and Syro-Palestine (p. 201). He concluded that it was practiced in the following settings, outlined in a roughly chronological order: (1) the ritual killing of attendants in Mesopotamia and Egypt (E.B. I–M.B. I), (2) child foundation sacrifices in northeastern Mesopotamia (during the Uruk-Larsa period in southern Mesopotamia), (3) the sacrifice of adult substitutes for kings in Mesopotamia and India (L.B.-Iron II), (4) expiatory sacrifices of children during national crises in the northern Syro-Palestinian area (Iron Age-6th cent. B.C.); (5) in all these regions human beings were sacrificed on special occasions in propitiatory, dedicatory, and expiatory rites. Green also posited a cultural connection among all the various areas that practiced this rite. Interestingly, law and war were always contributing factors where such sacrifices occurred. Given the monolithic nature of these cultures, in which the religious and the secular were fused, this is not surprising. The fact that human sacrifice did occur in the ancient Near East means that what the Torah legislated against (e.g., Dt. 12:30) was a reality in Israel's world. Some in Israel may have practiced it as a part of their Yahwistic beliefs, though not with the approval of the central authorities of Yahwism (Green, pp. 199, 201). "In so doing, the people [of early Israel] may have been consciously carrying out a ritual which was common to most groups in the region of whose cultural background they were a part" (Green, p. 199).

II. In the OT.–The biblical references to human sacrifice are reported here in their canonical order.

The first mention of child sacrifice occurs in Gen. 22. This passage seems to imply that Abraham was indeed startled by Yahweh's demand but not unfamiliar with the requirement. The sacrifice does not occur, and the story as it stands rejects the sacrifice of Isaac, stresses Abraham's faith, and demonstrates Yahweh's ability to provide and approve of a substitute sacrifice. Gen. 22 thus indicates that human sacrifice was not approved in the time of Abraham, Israel's most remote ancestor.

Other pentateuchal references to human sacrifice are found in Lev. 18:21; 20:25; Dt. 12:31. Lev. 18:21 prohibits "devoting by fire" (hiphil of *ʿāḇar*) any of one's children (lit. "seed") to Molech. Lev. 20:2-5 prescribes the death penalty for anyone who does give his children ("seed") to Molech, and the same penalty against anyone who does not carry out the prescribed penalty against the offender. The fact that offering one's seed to Molech is called "harlotry" (20:5) indicates that it involves apostasy from Yahweh. Dt. 12:31 warns the Israelites against becoming ensnared by the practices of the people of the land, who had gone so far as to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire to their gods."

The historical books record several incidents of human sacrifice. Jephthah, a judge of Israel, made a rash vow that if he was victorious over the Ammonites he would offer up as a "whole burnt offering" the first person who came out to meet him. When he returned home victorious his daughter was the first to meet him, and he offered her up "according to his vow" (Jgs. 11:29-40). The expression *wᵉhaʿᵃlîṯihû ʿôlâ* ("and I will offer him up for a burnt offering," v. 31) is technical, and its meaning cannot be mitigated. The general evaluation of the time of the judges (21:25), as well as the account in 13:37-40, indicates the author's negative evaluation of Jephthah's vow and actions. 1 K. 16:34 mentions Hiel's founding of Jericho and its gates at the cost of his first-born and his youngest sons. There is no conclusive evidence from this text or Josh. 6:26, the curse that it fulfils, that this is a case of foundation sacrifice (see Green, p. 169). (*See also* CORNERSTONE.)

A clear instance of human sacrifice is found in 2 K. 3:26f., where MESHA king of Moab sacrifices his son to Chemosh (hiphil of *ʿālâ* with *ʿôlâ*; cf. Jgs. 11:31) in a desperate attempt to avert sure defeat by the Israelites and their allies. Israel and its allies retreat because of *qeṣep-gāḏôl*. Although the term's significance is unclear, it seems that they retreated in fearful consternation over what Mesha had done. King Ahaz of Judah is condemned in 2 K. 16:3 (par. 2 Ch. 28:3) for "causing his son to pass through the fire," and in 2 K. 21:3 King Manasseh is condemned for sacrificing his son. Stager and Wolff observed that high officials or nobles were the ones who engaged in child sacrifice in Carthage, and that child sacrifices became more numerous near the height of Carthage's military and political power. The biblical evidence suggests that this pattern was also operative in Israel. A large population, wealth, and a sophisticated upper sociological stratum all seemed to increase this particular debasement of human life. 2 K. 17:17 lists the sacrifice of children among the reasons for Israel's downfall; and v. 31 records the continuance of this dismal practice by some of those who were resettled in Samaria by the Assyrians at the time of the Exile. Josiah's reform sounded a joyous note for Judah: he removed the TOPHETH to stop the practice of child sacrifice in the Valley of Hinnom (23:10); unfortunately, the reform came too late.

The references to human sacrifice in Jer. 7:31f.; 19:3-6; 32:35 also condemn the Israelites for burning their sons and daughters. In 19:5; 32:35 the word Topheth is changed to Baal to deprecate that god; these references explicitly deny that this practice was a legitimate part of Yahweh

The Valley of Hinnom, where the Israelites apparently sacrificed children (see 2 K. 23:10) (W. S. LaSor)

worship. Although human sacrifice did take place in Israel, it was considered an execrable sin and was never an approved aspect of Yahweh worship.

The prophet Ezekiel likewise condemned the sacrificing of children as one of the abominations practiced by the Israelites (16:20f.; 20:31; 23:37-39). 20:25f is unique in that it refers to the Israelites' apostasy and corrupt worship practices as a punishment that Yahweh brought upon them in order to horrify them and shock them into returning to Him.

Micah 6:6f. asks what kind of sacrifice will be acceptable to Yahweh. The list of possible sacrifices escalates until it climaxes with the question: "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" The answer to this rhetorical question is a resounding "No!" — as v. 8 makes clear. What Yahweh requires is not such sacrifices but "to do justice, and to love kindess, and to walk humbly with your God."

III. Molech.–There has been much discussion about the meaning of *mlk* (usually rendered "Molech") in many of the passages mentioned above. Eissfeldt and others have contended that the term may not be the name of a deity but may instead designate a type of sacrifice. Stager and Woff (pp. 45-48), e.g., suggested that *mlk* be read as *mulk*, and that *mulk* denotes a sacrifice of a young child or a young animal. Green (pp. 181f.) concluded that there is evidence for the use of *mlk* both for an offering and as the apellative of a deity (*see* MOLECH).

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SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

I. Introduction
II. Terminology
III. Nature, Origin, Background
  A. Nature
  B. Origin
  C. Background
  D. Anthropological Studies
IV. Pre-Mosaic
  A. Primeval
  B. Patriarchal
V. Mosaic
  A. Materials
  B. Ritual Stipulations
  C. Occasions
  D. Burnt Offering
  E. Cereal Offering
  F. Peace Offering
  G. Sin Offering
  H. Guilt Offering
  I. Consecration Offering
VI. In the Rest of the OT
  A. Former Prophets
  B. Latter Prophets
  C. Writings
VII. Special Issues
  A. Meaning and Significance of Blood
  B. Ritual Order of the Sacrifices
  C. Order of Development of the Sacrifices
  D. Efficacy of the OT Sacrifices

I. Introduction.–Sacrifice and offering are activities and concepts endemic to the human race. The first act of worship outside the Garden of Eden was the presentation of offerings and sacrifices to Yahweh (Gen. 4:1-4a). Noah's first act of worship after the great flood subsided was the presentation of "burnt offerings on the altar" (Gen. 8:20). Before his call Abram was acquainted with sacrifice and offering. Soon after obeying the Lord's command, he built an altar at the oak of Moreh (12:6) where the Lord had revealed Himself. He built another altar between Bethel and Ai and called upon the name of Yahweh (12:8; 13:3f.), and another at Hebron by the oaks of Mamre (13:18). Three months after the Israelites came out of Egypt, God called them together at Sinai. There He gave them the Torah, which included instructions for worshiping Him by presenting sacrifices and offerings (Ex. 19–Nu. 10:10).

For God's new people, as well as for the ancestors of Israel and for primeval humankind, sacrifice and offering restored broken relationships between God and mankind and between men and women. The close relationship between this healing function of sacrifice and offering and the violent expulsion and separation of human beings from their Creator (Gen. 3:24) is emphasized by the writer's close placement of Gen. 3:22-24 and 4:1-4a. Radical rejection is pictured in 3:22-24; some kind of reconciliation and gesture of good will through the offering of sacrifice (4:1-4a) indicates a major function and meaning of sacrifice for the author of Genesis. This early introduction of the institution of sacrifice and offering must be kept in mind. More extensive references to sacrifice and offering in the Pentateuch are illuminated by this primeval picture of worship. Sacrifice and offering are as old as religion, and it appears that religion is as old as humankind (Gen. 4:26).

An understanding of sacrifice and offering in the OT is a prelude needed to grasp the significance of Christ's supreme sacrifice and offering of Himself in the NT. His sacrifice and offering was eternally efficacious for all mankind and brought an end to the official Levitical sacrificial institution of the OT. Paradoxically, it accomplished everything that institution had pointed toward and striven

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT

A Sumerian cylinder seal impression showing drink offerings in animal-shaped vessels, baskets of vegetables, and meat parts being offered to the goddess Inanna (4th millennium B.C.) (Skulpturensammlung, Dresden)

for — reconciliation of humankind to God and the true worship of God from the heart, along with all which that entailed. *See also* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE NT.

This article will deal with sacrifices and offerings in the OT. As R. J. Thompson (among others) has noted (p. 249), "It is with the rites of Israel as they appear in the OT, rather than with their origin, or the original meaning of their terms that the study of OT sacrifice must chiefly deal."

The origin of much of the material in the OT that deals with sacrifice and offering is highly controversial. The relevant critical issues can be discussed only briefly below, as part of the background to the OT material. This discussion will also include modern attempts at the historical reconstruction of the development of the OT institutions of sacrifice and offering as well as the meaning and significance of sacrifice and offering. Then the basic concepts and activities surrounding sacrifice and offering in the OT will be presented in their canonical order (which is clearly the form in which the final editors of the OT canon intended for us to encounter it). Finally, special problems encountered in the study of these issues will be presented. For more detailed information, see the bibliography. *See also* SACRIFICE, HUMAN; MOLECH; TITHE.

II. Terminology.—The terms for sacrifices and offerings are numerous. One term for an offering in general is Heb. *qorbān* (lit. "thing brought"; e.g., Lev. 2:1; LXX *korbán, dóron*). The general term for the burnt offering is *'ōlâ* (perhaps from *'ālâ*, "go up"; LXX *holokaútōma, kárpōma*); related terms are *kālîl*, whole burnt offering (LXX *holokútōma, hápas*, etc.), and *tāmîḏ*, daily burnt offering (LXX *endelichismós, diá pantós*). The general term for the peace offering is *šelem* (pl. *šᵉlāmîm*) or *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* (LXX *thysía sōtēríou, eirēnikḗ*). Subcategories of the peace offering include the thank offering, *zeḇaḥ hattôḏâ* (LXX *thysía tḗs ainéseōs*); the freewill offering, *zeḇaḥ nᵉḏāḇâ* (LXX *hekoúsios*); the votive offering, *zeḇaḥ neḏer* (LXX *euxḗ*); the heave offering, *tᵉrûmâ* (LXX *eisphorá*) and the wave offering, *tᵉnûpâ* (LXX *aphórisma, epíthema*). The general term for a sacrifice (animal offering) is *zeḇaḥ* (LXX *thysía*). The sin offering is *ḥaṭṭā't* (LXX *hamartía*). The guilt offering is *'āšām* (LXX *plēmmélia*). *Minḥâ* (LXX *dóron*) is the meal offering, and *nesek* (LXX *spondḗ*) is the drink offering. The fire offering or offering by fire is *'iššeh* (LXX *kárpōma thysía*). The ordination or consecration offering is *millu'îm* (LXX *teleíōsis*). The general term for altar is *mizbē(a)ḥ* (LXX *bōmós, thysiastḗrion*).

It should be noted here that the LXX is not entirely consistent in its use of Greek equivalents for the Hebrew sacrificial terms. Some modern scholars have tried to establish a rationale for the inconsistency of the LXX's handling of these words for sacrifice. S. Daniel has offered some convincing arguments (*Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* [1966]).

Several words are used to describe the presentation of the various offerings. The ones found most often are the hiphil of *bô'*, "bring"; the hiphil of *nāgaš*, "present, bring near"; the hiphil of *qāraḇ*, "bring near"; *'āśâ*, "make"; the hiphil of *kûn*, "prepare"; the hiphil of *'ālâ*, "cause to go up, take up"; the hiphil of *qāṭar*, "send up in vapor"; *zāḇaḥ, šāḥaṭ, ṭāḇaḥ*, "slaughter" (*zāḇaḥ* is used only for sacrificial slaying). A few other technical terms will be discussed below.

In addition to the words listed above, several other key words appear in the texts dealing with sacrifice and offering. Among the most important terms are *kipper* (piel of *kāpar*), "make atonement"; *rāṣâ*, "please, be pleasing"; and *rē(a)ḥ niḥô(a)ḥ*, "pleasing odor."

In Leviticus the verb *kipper* (LXX *hiláskesthai*) often describes the purpose and result of sacrifices and offerings. In fact, all the major sacrifices (burnt, cereal, peace, sin, guilt) are specifically said to atone (*kipper*, Ex. 29:33). Rendtorff has pointed out that although there is a close relationship between the blood rites of sacrifice and *kipper*, "atonement," it is also true that the same can be posited, although less clearly, for other aspects and materials of the sacrificial ritual: laying on of hands, meal, oil, and incense. All parts of the sacrificial ritual had to go according to the prescribed ritual. If not, the Lord was not pleased and the priest could not "make atonement" (Lev. 1:4; 5:13).

The meaning of *kipper* itself has been difficult to ascertain. It may mean simply "to cover" (cf. Arab. *kafara*), "to wipe away" (cf. Akk. *kuppuru*), "to ransom by substitution" (cf. the Hebrew noun *kōper*). The last meaning seems to suit the biblical context best. The LXX used *hiláskomai* (sometimes *exiláskomai*), which translates as "atone," "expiate," or "propitiate." Whatever meaning is

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT

understood, it appears that *the entire ritual* had to be pleasing to Yahweh before atonement occurred. All of it together resulted in *kipper* for the offerer by the priest and forgiveness (*sālaḥ*) by Yahweh.

All kinds of offerings were recognized as a "sweet/pleasant aroma" (LXX *osmḗ euōdías*) to the Lord (Lev. 1:9, 13, 17; 2:2, 9, 12; 3:5, 16; 4:31; cf. Gen. 8:21; etc.). The exact significance of this term is uncertain, but it seems to refer to the ritual surrounding the sacrifice as well as the materials offered. The form, the content, and the attitude of the person involved in the sacrificial process were satisfactory when the offering was "a pleasing odor" to the Lord. The idea of feeding Yahweh is not an aspect of Israel's worship. The term rather implies approval and acceptance par excellence before God (see Daly, pp. 70ff.).

The words *rāṣôn* and *rāṣâ*, "please, be pleasing, be acceptable," are often found in the sacrificial sections of Leviticus and elsewhere (e.g., Lev. 1:4, "and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him," *wᵉnirṣâ lô lᵉkappēr ʿālāyw*). A sacrifice not cared for properly is *lōʾ yērāṣeh*, "it will not be acceptable" (e.g., Lev. 7:18; 19:7). The sacrificial process as a whole was to be pleasing and acceptable to God (cf. Lev. 22; Ps. 19:14 [MT 15]; Rendtorff, pp. 250-260); no aspect could be unacceptable.

The term *ʾiššeh*, "(by) fire," was rich in meaning for the sacrificial cult. It could represent God's presence, but it could also represent divine chastisement, a theophany, or simply the approved means of sanctifying and purifying something to be given to the Lord.

The word *sāmaḵ* signifies the laying on of hands by the offerer. But nowhere in the OT is the meaning or significance of the act explained. The act seems to symbolize some kind of relationship established between the offerer and his sacrifice. The act seems to be a necessary prelude to the Lord's acceptance of the offerer and his sacrifice (Lev. 1:4). The victim is then accepted to make atonement for the sacrificer. Certain passages (Lev. 10:16-20; 16:21ff.) may suggest that the laying on of hands (surmised only for 10:16-20) meant the transfer of the sin of the offerer on to the sacrificial animals. But it must be noted that the scapegoat (Lev. 16:20-22) is not a sacrificial animal (see Daly, pp. 100-106).

III. Nature, Origin, Background.—*A. Nature.* The descriptive and prescriptive texts dealing wth sacrifice and offering in the OT nowhere define the meaning of the rituals involved. The authors seem to assume that the various readers for which the different texts were originally intended knew why they were to do a certain thing a certain way. It is doubtful that the meaning of OT sacrifice and offering can ever be fully recovered, or even if the earliest people involved in the cult grasped it. The esoteric instructions of the cult were intended only for the priests. But the broad meaning of some of those instructions does seem accessible.

Various theories have arisen to try to deal with some of the key issues. Feuillet and Cazelles (*DBSup.*) listed three principal hypotheses to explain sacrifice. The first considers the sacrifice to be the food of the god(s) (Jgs. 6:19-24; Lev. 3:11; Nu. 28:2; Gen. 8:20f.; etc.). But the OT seems rather to mock at such an idea (Ps. 50:13f.), and such passages as Gen. 8:20f. stress the fact that God accepts the offering as pleasing to Him.

The second theory was championed by W. Robertson Smith. He held that through the participation of the god and his worshipers, communion was established between/among those sacrificing. His proof from the OT is not convincing. J. W. Rogerson noted that Smith was swayed by the anthropological theories of his day which held that "when a totemic group ate the totem object after which it was named, communion was established with the totem god" (Rogerson, p. 26). Smith applied this framework to the OT. But both Thompson and *DBSup.* agreed that the communion theory (fellowship theory) does not sufficiently treat the solemnity involved in the early sacrifices of the Israelites and non-Israelites found in the OT.

The third concept of sacrifice delineates it as a gift to the deity (E. B. Tylor; G. B. Gray). Undoubtedly this is a part of the total meaning of sacrifice in Israel, but only a part. Some of the terms indicate that what was brought was a gift (e.g., *qorbān, mattān*). But H. H. Rowley was certainly correct when he asserted that no single theory accounts for or defines the total meaning and significance of OT sacrifice and offering (*Worship*, pp. 112f.). M. J. Lagrange's statement is broad but helpful: sacrifice is "The expression made through a solemn act that everything belongs to God, and the recognition of this right at the same time as the expression of a desire to approach the deity, this desire being the very base for religious feeling. Thereby understood, the act of sacrifice is the religious act par excellence" (Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* [1903], p. 274).

Other attempts to describe or define the significance or meaning of sacrifice and offering have become more specific and nuanced. A. Green listed seven definitions of sacrifice, including those just noted. He also mentioned other ideas, such as J. G. Frazer's emphasis on magic and rejuvenation (Green, pp. 6-9); that of Hubert and Mauss (Green, pp. 9f.) — "a religious act, which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned"; Westermarck's concept of expiation as the original goal and purpose of all sacrifices (Green, pp. 10-12); and Freud's argument that sacrifice was a repetition and commemoration of a memorable and criminal act (Green, pp. 14f.). Green's conclusion regarding the ritual of sacrifice is helpful. "The many theories with their supporting arguments and counterarguments serve to bring out all too clearly the complexities of the ritual called sacrifice. This rite is a universal phenomenon, and, as such, rightly belongs to many departments of research. In order to uncover the inner significance of such a fundamental institution, all these rituals should be studied anthropologically, historically, sociologically and, if possible, psychologically, in terms of an attitude toward life and a conception of reality" (p. 17).

With respect to sacrifice and offering in the OT, a canonical perspective, along with theological study, will be vital in order to determine all of the above among the ancient Israelites. Whatever else may be said, Rowley, using a sound marshaling of the OT evidence, showed that in Israel the OT teaches that "the ritual was believed to be effective only when it was the organ of the spirit" (*Worship*, p. 113). But as R. J. Thompson noted (pp. 7-10), the sacrificial system in Israel operated for both the nation and the individual within the covenant. It received its effectiveness before God and His worshipers by virtue of that fact. God gave the covenant, which required sacrifices, but He also demanded that they be presented with clean hands and a pure heart; if the first could not be given, the second would suffice.

B. Origin. The canonical record of sacrifice and offering in the OT follows the chronological framework implied or stated in the texts themselves. This textual framework was challenged by critical scholarship in the 19th cent. and even before. As a result the "critical history" of the cult is often set over against its canonical presentation. It is standard practice to treat the priestly (P) materials first,

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT

since these materials came last. Priestly additions and editorial activity to the earlier materials are further reason that "P" is treated first (see Daly, p. 12).

Various perspectives arose, however, to question seriously some of the original critical presuppositions used to evaluate the OT materials. More recently, efforts have been directed at identifying the "kind of historiography" that the ancient writers employed in order to give us the theological history that is evident. Also, efforts to appreciate the literary genre of these materials within a canonical context have emphasized the theological-literary aspect of these texts. Some brief comments on these issues are offered below.

1. Early Theories. R. J. Thompson noted one of J. Wellhausen's major arguments for a reconstruction of the religion of Israel: "an evolution in Hebrew sacrifice, similar to that in the centralization of the place of worship, the growth of the festal calendar, the distinction of the priests and Levites, and the increase in the endowment of the clergy was to be traced. The association of sacrifice with a sense of sin was a late development. It followed that sin offering, guilt offering and the Day of Atonement had no existence before the exile, and the Priestly Code, which gave evidence of a more sombre view, was to be dated late. Many recent lines of enquiry suggest the need of a re-examination of this position" (p. 1).

Central to scholars like Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 76) was the claim that Israel's early worship involved joyous sacrificial celebrations and meals; there was no place for atoning sacrifices (Smith, p. 360) except as incorporated in the sacrificial meal of communion with the deity. No atoning significance was attributed to the death of a sacrificial victim. Rather, the rise of expiatory rites was located at the fall of the united monarchy and later. At that time a sense of sin pressed itself upon the nation and the individual. This somewhat simplistic view of the origin and development of sacrifice and offering takes too lightly the fact that a universal sense of guilt and fear is depicted in Gen. 1–11. That human situation suggests that universal sacrifice is the result of a universal sense of sin (cf. Thompson, p. 7; Gen. 3; 4; 6; 8; 12). According to Gen. 3 the fact of sin is also a fact of the human condition.

2. Contemporary Critical Theories. More recent critical scrutiny of some of the evolutionary types of theories about the origins of sacrifice have helped us grasp the need to take seriously the canonical "theory of sacrifice." According to the OT canon, sacrifice permeates all eras of mankind with the activity and attitude of solemn sacrifice before God.

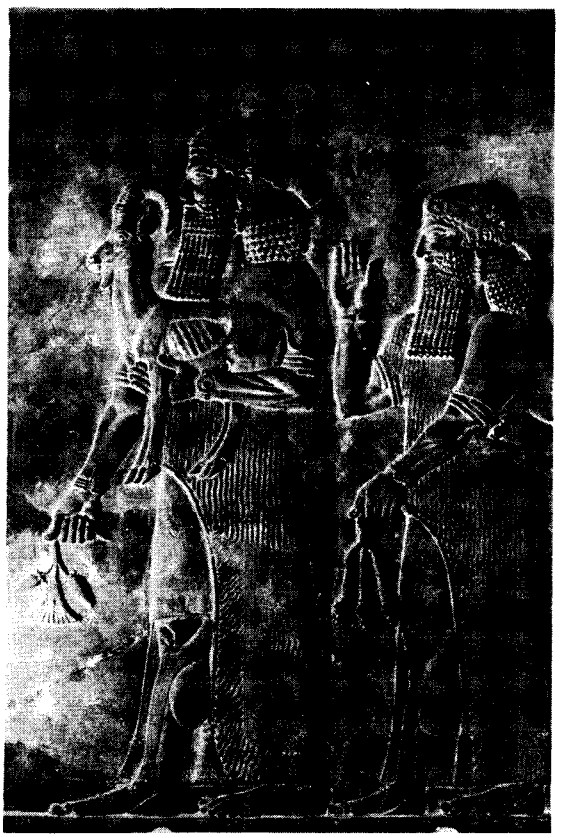
R. J. Thompson proposed and sustained the thesis "that the fellowship theory of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith does not allow sufficiently for the element of solemnity [and hence a sense of guilt and sin] in the early cult" (p. 12). According to Rendtorff the sacrificial practices and theory of the preexilic era that are imbedded in those materials again and again show a remarkable agreement with the ideas of sacrifice and offering found in the priestly texts (P). After a study of the terms *rāṣôn/rāṣâ* and *ḥepeṣ* in the "P" materials, Rendtorff concluded that it is not justifiable to consider these kinds of terms and concepts in the priestly document as late without careful scrutiny of all relevant materials. For him many of the key sacrificial terms in "P" go back far into the preexilic era (p. 260; cf. R. J. Thompson, p. 249). That much of the material in "P" is ancient has caused some scholars to reevaluate the date of "P" (Kaufmann, *et al.*). That the canonical writers used later terminology to depict the ancient sacrifices in the legal sections of the Pentateuch is to be expected. Wendel's study allows the element of expiation in Israel's early cultic history to exist side by side with that of joy and sharing (*Das Opfer*, pp. 105f.). Kaufmann's early dating of much of the sacrificial materials in "P" indicates ancient practices.

It is simply inadequate on the basis of our current knowledge of the ancient Near East to think of a straight-line evolutionary approach to the understanding of sacrifice and offering that rejects a plausible canonical picture of the development of the cult. It does not seem to be merely a literary construct from the 7th-4th cents. B.C. This is especially true after allowance is made for the leveling of nomenclature and for the types of literary genre involved.

But many questions are still far from answered. The canonical development of sacrifice and offering appears to have a greater degree of viability now than ever before. At any rate, the literary genre of the Pentateuch, its historiography, its canonical framework, and above all its theological nature must be understood better before a thorough reconstruction of Israel's sacrificial cult can be achieved. Telescoping, proleptic use of terms, a leveling of terms, and a unifying of all the nomenclature are undoubtedly aspects of the problem that will be useful. As it stands now, the canonical picture of Israel's sacrificial cult is vital to understanding the OT's ethical-religious message about God, creation, salvation, and His people.

C. Background. Since the turn of the 20th cent. various parallels between the cult and ritual of the OT and other

An alabaster relief showing Sargon II and an attendant bringing an ibex for sacrifice. From the Assyrian palace at Khorsabad, 8th cent. B.C. (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT

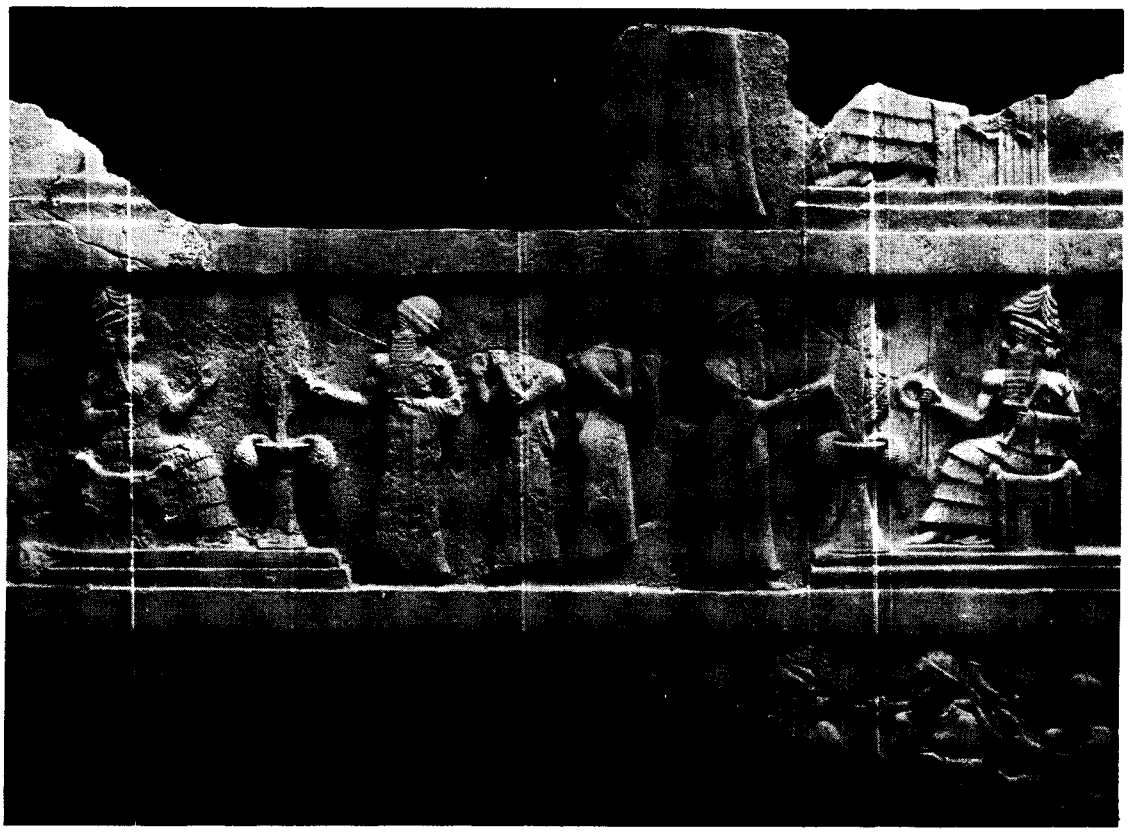
areas in the ancient Near East have been pointed out. Some have proven to be inaccurate; others have illuminated, illustrated, and confirmed certain aspects of the OT sacrificial cult; and some have hindered our understanding of the OT itself.

The land of Mesopotamia was the home of ancient Babylon. Among others, H. Winckler generated the Pan-Babylonian school, which held that most of Israel's religious ideas had stemmed from ancient Mesopotamian influences (Winckler, *Religionsgeschichtler und geschichtlicher Orient* [1906]). Other scholars claimed to see the sources of Israel's sacrificial practices in these materials (A. Jeremias, *OT in the Light of the Ancient East* [Eng. tr., 2 vols., 1911]; M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* [Eng. tr. 1911, repr. 1971]; cf. also contributions in *BA*, 7/3f. [1944]). But the true heart of Israel's sacrificial system was to foster spiritual worship, praise, thanksgiving, communion, and, above all, atonement for sin, and these things seemed to be missing in the Mesopotamian sacrificial cult, according to some investigators (L. Moraldi, *Espiazioni;* K. Galling). P. Haupt established some reasonable parameters within which Israelite sacrifice might be seen as dependent upon the Mesopotamian (*JBL*, 19 [1900], 61f.).

But the particular blood rites that are central to Israelite sacrifice are not paralleled in Mesopotamian religion. Magic, rather than the will of the deity, pervades the pagan cults (cf. *DBSup.*, cols. 1493ff.; Oppenheim, pp. 183-198). In the Creation Epic (*ANET*, pp. 68a, 95a) the dependence of the gods upon food and upon mankind to feed them by sacrifices and offerings is pathetically evident. This mainstay of the Mesopotamian cult is entirely lacking in the OT. The entrails of the sacrificed animals in Mesopotamia were used for oracular determinations. By withholding his libations and food, the sufferer in the *Dialogue of Pessimism* hoped to make his god feel his dependence upon him (see T. Jacobsen, "Mesopotamia," in H. Frankfort, *et al.*, *Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* [repr. 1973], pp. 216-234).

The "myth and ritual" movement found significant parallels between the OT and ancient Mesopotamian sources (see S. Hooke, ed., *Myth and Ritual* [1933]; see also the work of I. Engnell, e.g., *Rigid Scrutiny: Critical Essays on the OT* [Eng. tr. 1969]), particularly substitution, placation, and purification. But the meaning of these terms was necessarily different in Israel because the concepts of sin, human nature, and God's nature were not the same (*DBSup.*, cols. 1498f.). These ancient polytheists had no sense of sin comparable to that found in the OT. Sin in Mesopotamia was such that it could be dealt with through exorcism by the priest (*'asipu*), who pronounced an incantation. Sin and impurity were conceived of in a physical way and were dealt with by rites of expulsion (which Cazelles and Feuillet, *DBSup.*, refused to call sacrifices; cf. also *ANET*, pp. 334a, 338b). The Akaddian terms *šulmānu* and *kuppuru*, which are equivalent to Heb. *šᵉlāmîm* and *kipper* respectively, do not have the same significance among the Babylonians that they have in Israel (cf. *DBSup.*, cols. 1499f.). *Šulmānu* is not employed in a sacrificial sense, and *kuppuru* is a special rite carried out by the

A stele from Ur III (ca. 2060-1955 B.C.) showing King Ur-Nammu making offerings to a god and goddess; the king pours a libation into a vase from which grow palms and dates (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)



Babylonian exorcist. B. A. Levine noted that the Akk. *kapāru* (*kuppuru*) seems to mean to remove by "rubbing" (*Presence*, p. 132).

In short, Israelite and Babylonian sacrifice and worship do have some helpful resemblances, but the differences are decisive for defining Israel's own concept of the process of atonement.

R. Dussaud produced a strong argument for an intimate correlation between Israel's sacrificial system and Canaanite religion. The well-known Marseilles and Carthage tariffs were his main sources at the time. Though the two texts differ, the words *zbḥ* and *mnḥḥ* occur in both. But the distribution of the sacrifices mentioned there, Dussaud claimed, made it possible to identify the Phoenician *kll* with Heb. *ḥaṭṭ'āṯ* and *'āšām*, the *ṣw't* with the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm*, and the *šlm kll* with Heb. *'ōlâ*. These were largely conjectures, however.

The discoveries at Râs Shamrah in 1929 led to new claims for Canaanite influence upon Israelite worship. The great significance of this material was that sacrificial terms dated very late by Wellhausen were found in materials coming from before Moses' time. Thus these discoveries seemed to overthrow Wellhausen's position. Early studies claimed many intimate parallels (e.g., Dussaud, *RHR*, 105-106 [1932], 285f.; Hooke). It was thought that the items found in the text matched with sacrifices in the OT; e.g., *mtn tm* = OT complete offering; *dbḥ bšt* = *ḥaṭṭ'āṯ; šlm* = communion offering; *šrp* = *'ōlâ;* and especially *'ṯm* = *'āšām*. The material does indicate that Israel could chronologically have had a developed cult. Whether Israel was sociologically capable of having one could still be argued. Part of the problem is the uncertain nature of Israel in its early years as well as the uncertainty about patriarchal times (see esp. A. Millard and D. J. Wiseman, eds., *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives* [1980], for a discussion of this subject; see also Thompson, pp. 30-33; J. Gray, *ZAW*, 62 [1949-50], 207-220). *DBSup.*'s more recent review of the Ugaritic evidence is helpful.

In addition to comparable terms mentioned above, there are the following: *dbḥ* = *zeḇaḥ; ndr* = *neḏer; nsk* = *nāsaḵ; šlm(m)* (conjecture) may = *šᵉlāmîm*. C. H. Gordon's *UT* is still very helpful (see *UT*, 1:4; 3:52; 5:7; 9:7; etc.). It is unlikely, however, that the ritual of Keret washing his hands (to his elbows) is to be taken as a rite of expiation by means of blood. Ugar. *'iṯ(t)* may have some relationship to Heb. *'ēš* or *'iššeh*, but it is not clear (cf. *TḎOT*, I, 429). Guglielmo's review of the Ugaritic evidence concluded that significant parallels of meaning and even form in the sacrificial activities recorded in the texts were lacking. On the other hand, K. Aartun demonstrated some significant ritual parallels between Ugarit and Israel (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 33 [1979], 285-89). But similar forms do not prove similar meaning of these rites and rituals, as Guglielmo's work showed.

Parallels that are less likely to be of help in explaining the meaning of Israelite sacrifice come from Hittite materials (*ANET*, pp. 346ff.; cf. Gen. 15:10f., 17; Jer. 34:18-20; Ezk. 16:3, 45) and Amorite texts (*ARM*, II, no. 37, 11.5-14) that describe a peace ritual consummated by slaying a donkey (in the Hittite materials a dog is divided for the ritual).

Parallels between Israelite sacrifice and sacrifice in the Hellenic world serve to show the fact of the universal need for humankind to sacrifice, for whatever reasons, to the gods. It is unlikely that these materials will offer any significant insight into the *unique* OT conception of sacrifice (see Yerkes).

D. Anthropological Studies. J. W. Rogerson showed how past scholars have sometimes used current anthropological theories to interpret the biblical materials. Often the OT was made to conform to the procrustean bed of the anthropological theory the OT scholar happened to employ. Especially since the 1970's scholars have renewed interest in applying (more cautiously) anthropological and sociological insights to the OT (see R. Wilson; B. Lang, esp. pp. 136-162).

Edmund Leach has offered models for the logic of sacrifice ("Logic of Sacrifice," in Lang, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the OT*, pp. 136-150) and applied these models to the consecration of Aaron as high priest recorded in Exodus and Leviticus. His models hold that the logic of sacrifice deals with the question "What has the killing of animals got to do with communication between man and deity or with changing the social status of individuals?" (p. 136). His two models speak of sacred space (Model 1) and sacred time (Model 2). According to his position sacrificial ritual is geared to enable the worshiper to reach the "other world" of sacred space (Model 1) in which health, life, fertility, wealth, etc. reside. The sacred world is reached by means of a middle ground of sacred space (liminal zone), the sacred area where the field of ritual activity takes place. The liminal zone is filled with those to whom the ritual is directed (deceased ancestors, saints, incarnate deities, who are now immortal gods). It is special people such as priests, shamans, etc. who perform the rituals and are part of both worlds and can function in the liminal zone as well.

The sacred time of Model 2 complements the sacred space of Model 1 by moving the sacrificer or worshiper or initiate from one time in space (normal) to a new "normal" condition. The movement across the marginal state takes place as the ritual is performed. The goal is "to bring about a transition from normal to abnormal time at the beginning of the ceremony and another transition from abnormal to normal time at the end of it" (p. 139). The sacrifice of an animal enables the presentation of the soul of the victim to the deity on the analogy of a dead person's soul that passes through the liminal zone to the other world at death. The gift aspect is an expression of "reciprocal relationship rather than material exchange" (p. 139). The potency of the gods can flow to the donor (Model 1). In the second model the victim is identified with the sacrificer (donor), and as the victim is separated into two parts, pure and impure, the initiate also goes through this phase vicariously. The donor enters metaphorically but also really in his/her culture into a new social and ritual status of purity — "Sacrifices are markers of boundaries in social time" (p. 140).

This analysis is anthropologically sophisticated, but its biblical-theological application is relatively naive (p. 150). The application of this general theory helps to explain the movements of the sacred in time/space that take place in the initiation and consecration of Aaron as high priest. Although the historical aspects of the ritual and the specific Israelite aspects of the ceremony are not sufficiently perceived, Leach's essay is helpful. But the models are superimposed upon the texts too forcefully without proper modification in the light of the passages themselves. And the possibility that to interpret these texts we still need to regain something we have lost since the time the texts were produced is not carefully entertained. At any rate, according to Leach, Aaron is separated step by step from the secular contaminations of the congregation and his own imperfections and he ends up pure and holy at the center of the camp. The opposite result and procedure is vouched for the scapegoat, which "ends up impure and unholy (but nevertheless 'sacred') far out in the wilderness" (p. 149).

Several other essays have attempted modern anthropological analyses. Relevant chapters from Lang's anthology include D. Davies, "An Interpretation of Sacrifice in Leviticus," pp. 151-161; M. Douglas, "The Abominations of Leviticus," pp. 100-116; M. Carroll, "One More Time: Leviticus Revisited," pp. 117-126. These are helpful articles, but not always cogent. It is necessary that both biblical scholars and anthropologists work together; the expertise of both is needed to produce studies of integrity. M. Douglas's studies are especially helpful since these try to deal with the canonical information in a way that allows it to set parameters and to challenge any general anthropological theory being tested.

All these studies help us see the need for both theological and anthropological approaches to the enigmas surrounding sacrifice and offering in the OT. R. Wilson's studies from the sociological perspective also help us see the role that sociological placement played in ancient Israelite society (see his *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* [1980]). Both the anthropological and the sociological perspectives have demonstrated that, much more than previously thought, ancient cultic ritual gave identity to the people who used it. It was not a useless appendage to society, for an understanding of ancient cultic ritual reveals the conception that the community had of itself. Studies by G. Mendenhall (*Tenth Generation* [1973]) and N. Gottwald (*Tribes of Yahweh* [1979]; *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Intro.* [1985]) also help provide broader contexts within which sacrifice and offering will need to be interpreted in the future. Still, a canonical approach that does not deconstruct the unique body of unified literature in the OT will need to determine the parameters within which these varied approaches may operate.

IV. Pre-Mosaic. *–A. Primeval.* The uniformity of the sacrificial terminology indicates that the terms probably mean the same thing within the Pentateuch (cf. Sailhamer, pp. 78-80), although historical periods greatly separated in the chronology of the Pentateuch are understood. Probably the earlier accounts in Genesis-Exodus were modernized on the basis of the Mosaic nomenclature. The occurrence of sacrifices in other places of the Pentateuch can be annotated only briefly here. Cain and Abel brought *minḥâ* offerings — Cain's was a cereal offering and Abel's was an offering from the flock with its fat portions (Gen. 4:1-16). Normal sacrificial terminology is used (hiphil of *bô'*, *minḥâ*, *ḳeleḇ*). Abel brought from the firstlings of the flock (*beḵôrôṯ ṣô'nô*), in accordance with later Mosaic stipulations (Ex. 13:11-16). Noah offered up an *'ōlâ*. The exact meaning of the offering in this context is not clear; it seems to have been given for thanks. Though neither propitiation nor expiation is mentioned, in the context of the Pentateuch these aspects are probably implied. Assigning only one "meaning" for the *'ōlâ* in this setting is inadequate. Clean animals and birds alone are employed by Noah as victims.

B. Patriarchal. Altars were an important part of patriarchal religion, and undoubtedly the patriarchs offered sacrifices, but little is found in the extant patriarchal narratives to inform us about their nature (see ***BHI***, p. 102). The motives the patriarchs had in giving sacrifices are not indicated, but it should be noted that all the Semites sacrificed. The building of the altars and the sacrifices by the patriarchs imply that for the biblical writer sacrifice and offering was a common approach to God among Israel's ancestors.

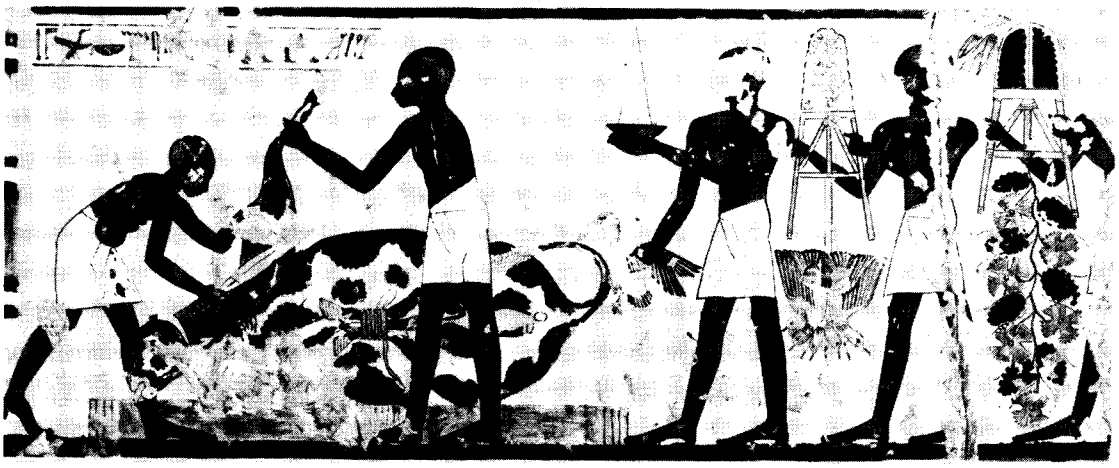
Other references to sacrifice can only be listed here with little comment (see further Rendtorff, pp. 27-73; R. J. Thompson, pp. 49-78). In some of these references sacrifice is only probable, since it is not specifically described: Abraham builds altars at Shechem (12:6f.), Bethel (12:8; 13:4), and Hebron (13:18); he is involved in a covenant ceremony (Gen. 15:8-12, correct Levitical animals are used!); Ex. 12:21-28 describes the Passover; Ex. 32:6 records sacrifices made to the molten calf (burnt and peace offerings). Gen. 22:1-14 records Abraham's near sacrifice of Isaac (*see* SACRIFICE, HUMAN) as a burnt offering, but instead a ram without blemish was sacrificed (v. 13) to the Lord; Gen. 46:1 Jacob sacrificed to the God of Isaac; Ex. 18:12 records Jethro's sacrifices to Israel's God; Nu. 23:1-6, 13-17, 27-30 record sacrifices by Balaam and Barak to God (burnt offerings). The references in Deuteronomy stress the common terminology and understanding of sacrifice found in the rest of the Pentateuch. Chapter 12 emphasizes the importance of sacrificing in the right place. Ex. 24:3-8 is especially important because of the deposition of the blood of the covenant that made the Mosaic laws of sacrifice and offering effective. The specific procedures in Ex. 24:3-8 are not prescribed in the Mosaic rituals, but peace and burnt offerings were presented (24:5, *'ôlôṯ, zeḇāḥîm šᵉlāmîm*). One half of the blood was thrown against the altar, while the other half was first stored in jars (*bᵉ'agṣānôṯ*), while the covenant was read; then the blood was cast (*zāraq*) upon the people. Henceforth all the sacrificial instructions were binding upon the priesthood, the Levites, and the people.

V. Mosaic.–The instructions for sacrifice and offering in the OT are found in the Pentateuch, mainly in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Other important passages appear in Genesis and Deuteronomy.

A. Materials. Some general prohibitions are listed in Lev. 3:16f.; 7:22-27. They forbid the fat or blood of any sacrificial animal to be eaten (cf. comments on Gen. 9:4 below). Fat was always burned on the altar. Wild animals could not be offered (cf. the practices at Mari, *ARM*, 11, no. 37, 11.5–12.4) to the Lord, and the animal or other item had to belong to the person offering it (Lev. 1:2). Except for minor (but important) stated exceptions, the animals offered had to be perfect, without blemishes (*mûm, mᵉ'um;* cf. Lev. 22:17-25). Finally, the animal had to be at least eight days old (Lev. 22:26-30), and an ancient tradition stated that only clean animals, according to ancient Israelite ritual taxonomy, could be offered (cf. Gen. 6:19–7:4). Certain vegetable or grain items were used regularly, but animals were the most prominent aspect of Israel's sacrificial system.

Animal offerings were used exclusively in the *'ōlâ*, including occasionally birds (*'ôp*). Specifically mentioned are lambs (*keḇeś;* see esp. Nu. 28), cattle (*par, ben-bāqār, bāqār, 'ēgel, bᵉhēmâ*), rams (*'ayil*), and goats (*'ēz*). For the *zeḇaḥ* sacrifice an ox (*šôr*) and a sheep (*śeh*) are listed in Dt. 18:3. Animals from the flock (*ṣō'n*) or herd (*bāqār*) are approved of in Nu. 15:3; lamb (*śeh*) is listed in v. 11. The *zeḇaḥ-šᵉlāmîm* sacrifices, of course, mention the same animals (*pārîm*, bulls). The *minḥâ* offering was a vegetable offering, but the chief material used in the offering was flour (*sōleṯ*), although the cereal offering of jealousy in Nu. 5:15 requires "flour of barley" (*qemaḥ śᵉ'ōrâ;* RSV "barley meal"). The material offered in the sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā't*, Lev. 4:1f.) is graded according to the person who sacrifices: if the anointed priest sins, he offers a young bull (4:3); for the ruler who sins, a male goat (4:23, *śᵉ'îr 'izzîm*); for the whole congregation (4:14) the stipulation is the same as for the priest; for a common person, a female goat (4:28, *śᵉ'îraṯ 'izzîm*) or a female lamb (4:32, *keḇeś nᵉqēḇâ*) is required. For the poor an offering of flour, birds, or turtle doves was permitted (Lev. 5:7, 11). For the whole congregation on the Day of Atonement, he-goats were required (Lev. 16).

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT



Egyptians bringing birds and vegetation offerings and slaughtering a cow. The inscription reads "Take ... and sustain the health of the priest (Nebseny)" (tomb painting from Thebes, possibly from the time of Thutmose IV) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

The guilt offering (*'āšām*) normally prescribed a ram for its offering (*'ayil*). Some purification ceremonies required a male lamb(s) as the guilt offering (Lev. 14:10, 12; Nu. 6:12). The prescription of a female lamb or goat from the flock in Lev. 5:6 appears to be oriented more to the sin offering, along with the concessions noted above. By and large the references in other parts of the Pentateuch and in the other canonical writings reflect and confirm this picture. But it appears that greater flexibility may have been possible in certain circumstances (e.g., 1 S. 6:14; see Rendtorff and *DBSup.* for additional information; *see also* SACRIFICE, HUMAN; TITHE).

B. Ritual Stipulations. Certain precise rules were promulgated by the Mosaic legislation in the Pentateuch that carefully and meticulously regulated sacrificial ritual. Nothing was left to caprice or arbitrariness. Mish. *Zebahim* elaborates these rules as later tradition reports them. Only the basic ritual commands are noted in this section (see Rendtorff and *DBSup.* for further details).

The rites of the *'ōlâ* and *zeḇaḥ-šᵉlāmîm* offerings included the following items (cf. Rendtorff, pp. 89-111; Lev. 1ff., esp. ch. 3): (1) the presentation of the animal (hiphil of *qāraḇ;* chs. 1 and 3, *passim*); (2) the laying on of hands (*sāmaḵ;* Lev. 1; 3); (3) the slaughtering of the beast (*šāḥaṭ;* Lev. 1; 3); (4) the sprinkling/scattering of the blood of the sacrifice (*zāraq;* Lev. 1; 3); (5) miscellaneous preparations taken with the animal; and (6) the complete burning of the animal (hiphil of *qāṭar;* Lev. 1; 3). As Rendtorff noted, the ritual procedures are the same for these two sacrifices up to step five (p. 89). The offerer brings his offering to the door of the tent of meeting (1:3; 3:2), where he lays his hands upon its head. Thereby he identifies himself with the offering.

After ritual cleansing the *'ōlâ* was entirely burned upon the altar. In the *zeḇaḥ-šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice only the fat and kidneys were burned upon the altar to God. Fat was holy unto the Lord (Lev. 3:16). The flesh of the peace offering that was not burned was eaten by the offerer and the priests before the Lord (7:11-36). The flesh of the thank offering had to be eaten on the first day, while the flesh of the votive or freewill offering could still be eaten on the second day (7:11-18). The breast (*ḥāzeh*) of the peace offering went to Aaron and his sons along with the right thigh (*šôq*) as contribution offerings (7:31-33). The rest of the sacrificial animal was eaten by the offerer, his family, and his relatives. A cereal offering would accompany the peace offering; the priest who threw the blood around received a cake of leavened bread from each offering (7:11-14).

Rendtorff noted the steps in the presentation of the cereal offerings: (1) preparation of the materials, (2) presentation, (3) removal of a memorial portion, and (4) burning of the offering. The cereal offering was to have oil poured on it and frankincense placed on it (Lev. 2:1). The memorial portion (*'azkārâ*) of the fine flour and oil was burned (hiphil of *qāṭar*) upon the altar, presented as a sweet smelling odor to the Lord. That which was left went to Aaron and his sons (Lev. 2:3). They could eat it in the holy place of the court of the tent of meeting.

In the case of the sin offering, the ritual is more completely described in Lev. 4:1–5:13; 6:24-30 (MT 17-23). The steps involve: (1) The presentation of the animal or other materials at the door of the tent of meeting (4:4, 14, 24, 29, 33), or small birds to the priest if he is poor (Lev. 5:1-14). (2) The laying on of hands by the offerer (4:4f.). (3) The slaying of the sacrificial animal (4:4f.). (4) The performance of the blood rite (4:5f.), in which the priest presented some of the blood at the tent of meeting, dipped his finger in the blood, and sprinkled it seven times in front of the veil before (*lipnê*) the Lord. Some blood was put on the horns of the altar of fragrant incense in the tent of meeting. The remaining blood was poured at the base of the altar of burnt offering. This altar was located at the door of the tent of meeting. (5) Removal of the fat (4:8f.). (6) The burning of the fat. (7) The disposition of the rest of the items (4:11f., 20).

The apparently shorter guilt offering ritual is found in Lev. 7:1-6 (cf. Rendtorff, pp. 212-228, for a full discussion). The dependence of the ritual of the guilt offering is evident from vv. 2 and 7, which explicitly refer to the regulations of the *'ōlâ* and the *ḥaṭṭā't* as valid for the guilt offering also. The steps in the guilt offering involve (1) the slaughtering of the animal, (2) the deposition of the blood (very much like the sin offering and the peace offering), (3) the presentation of the fat, (4) the consumption by fire of the fat, and (5) the deposition of the priests' portion in a holy place. As noted above, the purpose of both the guilt and sin offerings was to achieve atonement (*kipper*) for the offerer (Lev. 7:7).

C. Occasions. The sacrifices described above were of-

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT

fered according to the calendar of offerings given in Nu. 28–29. But many special rites and circumstances (e.g., Lev. 12:1-8; 14:1-32) demanded the use of these sacrifices. The most important occasions calling for various sacrifices or offerings of some kind were: (1) The daily sacrifice (Nu. 28:3-8; Ex. 29:38-42), in which a male lamb and a cereal offering with oil added were offered daily, morning and evening. It appears that this procedure could vary somewhat (cf. 1 K. 18:29; 2 K. 3:20; Ezk. 46:13f.; etc.). (2) The sabbath sacrifice doubled the daily sacrificial materials (Nu. 28:9f., found only here in the Pentateuch). (3) The offerings of the new moon (Nu. 28:11-15), which called for an *ʿôlâ* of two bulls, one ram, seven male lambs, and one goat, and a specified cereal offering with oil added for each bull, ram, and lamb respectively. Drink offerings (*nesek*) were included for each bull, lamb, and ram. A male goat was offered also for a sin offering in addition to the continual daily *ʿôlâ*.

The following occasions indicate the major events that called for sacrifices and offerings in a manner similar to items 1-3 above: the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Passover) (Nu. 28:16-25; Ex. 12:1-27; Lev. 23:5-8), the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost) (Nu. 28:26-31; Ex. 23:16; Lev. 23:15-21), the Feast of First Fruits (Lev. 23:9-14; Nu. 28:26; Dt. 26:5-10), the New Year (trumpets) sacrifices (Nu. 29:1-6; Lev. 23:23-25), the Day of Atonement (Nu. 29:7-11; Lev. 16:29-34; 23:26-32), at which there was a holy assembly and the following was offered: an *ʿôlâ* of one young bull, one ram, seven male lambs; cereal offerings mixed with oil for each; a sin offering of a male goat along with the daily *ʿôlâ* sacrifices and the sin offering of atonement for the priest (Lev. 16:6-14); finally a goat for Azazel (Lev. 16:6-10) was designated; the Feast of Booths (Nu. 28:12-38; Lev. 23:33-36), whose offerings exceeded that of any other holy assembly (71 bulls, 15 rams, 105 lambs, and 8 goats over an eight-day period).

Other situations calling for sacrifice are noted in the Mosaic sections of the Pentateuch as the purification of women (Lev. 12:1-8), the cleansing of a leper (Lev. 14:1-32), the ritual of the red heifer (Nu. 19), priestly consecration offerings (Lev. 8, 9), and also Levitical consecration offerings (Nu. 8), the release of a man from his Nazirite vows, ceremonial uncleanness (Lev. 15:13-15), bodily uncleanness of women (Lev. 15:29f.), the celebration of firstlings and first fruits (Ex. 13; 23:19; Dt. 15:19; 18:4; 26:1-19; Nu. 18), tithes (Lev. 27:30-33; Nu. 18:25-32; Dt. 14:22-29). *See* TITHE. When unwitting sin drew guilt upon the whole congregation or upon an individual, burnt offerings, cereal offerings, and sin offerings were employed to atone for the congregation/person so that it/he was forgiven (Nu. 15:22-31).

D. Burnt Offering. The *ʿôlâ*, or burnt offering, is described in Lev. 1; 6:8-13 (MT 1-6). The term seems to mean "that which goes up" (*ʿôlâ*). In this case it goes up, literally "is vaporized" (hiphil of *qāṭar*), by means of burning (*ʾēš, ʾiššēh*) to Yahweh. Its purpose is to be a pleasing odor (*rē[a]ḥ niḥō[a]ḥ*) before the Lord. Whatever animal or bird was used was entirely burned up, including its entrails and legs (1:9), on the altar (*mizbē[a]ḥ*) by the priest. The offering makes atonement for the offerer (v. 4, *lᵉkappēr ʿālāyw*). The offerer first laid his hands upon the head of the animal (see vv. 14-17 for a bird) so that its acceptance in his place was symbolically assured. The active participation of God in the process is indicated by the throwing (*zārqû*) of the blood against the altar at the door of the tent of meeting (v. 11). The complete consecration of the offerer and his gift is intended by this symbolical ritual.

Two terms in this pericope indicate that (1) the offering will be a pleasant odor before Yahweh when carried out correctly (*rē[a]ḥ niḥō[a]ḥ*), and (2) the entire ritual is a process that makes the offerer and his sacrifice acceptable (v. 3, *lirṣônô;* v. 4, *nirṣâ lô*) before God and pleasing to Him. It seems that both expiation and propitiation are involved (Lev. 1:3f., 9, 13, 17). The altar for the burnt offering burned continually day and night and was a symbol of God's character and constant presence among His people. The ashes of the burnt offering were allowed to accumulate all night. They were disposed of in a clean place outside the camp by the priest (6:9-13) the next morning.

E. Cereal Offering. The cereal offering (*minḥâ*) that was presented to the Lord as an offering (*qorbān*) is described in Lev. 2; 6:14-18 (MT 7-11; cf. the meal offering in Ezk. 46:15). It was burned in part on the altar. The part burned memorialized the worshiper before the Lord; the part that remained was eaten by the priests and, therefore, considered the "most holy part" (*qôḏeš qoḏāšîm*) of this offering by fire (*mē'iššê*) to the Lord. No honey or leaven could be used in this offering by fire, but all these offerings were to be salted. Cereal offerings accompanied animal sacrifices, but mostly in the case of the *ʿôlâ*.

F. Peace Offering. The sacrifice of "peace offerings" (*zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm*) is recorded in Lev. 3; 7:11-36. It was an offering by fire to the Lord. It is a pleasing odor to the Lord as is the *ʿôlâ* (3:5). Certain parts of the animal were burned on the altar to the Lord, while the rest was consumed by the priests and the offerers in a common meal. The fat was burned unto the Lord. Israel could eat neither blood nor fat in its sacrificial ceremonies before the Lord (Lev. 1:5; 3:16f.). The real meaning and effect of their sacrifice and its attendant ritual is now uncertain. The meaning of the term *šelem* (pl. *šᵉlāmîm*) is debated. It appears, however, that the ritual implies that the joy of fellowship with one another before the Lord was the main thrust of the ceremony. "Paying back" to Him what was given by Him seems to be part of the meaning of the ritual also (see Gerleman).

Three subcategories, or three kinds, of this sacrifice are noted in Lev. 7:11-36. The thank offering (*zeḇaḥ hattôḏâ*) called for a cereal offering to accompany the animal sacrifice. Its purpose was to render an expression of thanks for deliverance or blessings granted. No previous promise or vow was involved in the thank offering. The flesh of the sacrifice was eaten that day. The votive sacrifice (*zeḇaḥ neḏer*) and the freewill offering (*zeḇaḥ nᵉḏāḇâ*) were to be eaten on the day of sacrifice, but what remained could be eaten on the next day. After the prescribed time had passed for consuming the sacrificial food, what was left over had to be burned upon the altar. No one could eat it; if any did eat it they were not accepted before the Lord. The votive offering was presented when a blessing or deliverance had been granted after a vow (*neḏer*) had been made concerning a petition. The freewill offering was joyously and willingly presented to express a general thankfulness toward God. No specific deliverance or blessing had to be mentioned. An interesting aspect of the freewill offering is the stipulation that minor imperfections in the animals offered was permissible, unlike the case in the votive or thank offerings. Emphasis was thereby given to God's acceptance of the worshiper with a right attitude.

G. Sin Offering. The sin offering (*ḥaṭṭāʾṯ, ḥᵃṭāʾâ*) is delineated in Lev. 4:1–5:13; 6:24-30 (MT 17-23). It is very nearly the same as the guilt offering, and in fact it is difficult to define the differences between these two offerings (Snaith, *VT,* 15). It is difficult even to identify the texts which deal with one or the other (cf. Lev. 5:1-13 — sin or guilt offering?). The sin offering was "graded" somewhat

according to who sinned. The anointed priest (4:3ff.), the whole congregation (*kol-ʿadaṯ yiśrāʾēl*, vv. 13ff.), a ruler (*nāśîʾ*, vv. 22ff.), and one of the common people (*nepeš ʾaḥaṯ*, vv. 27ff.) are all singled out for special consideration in the case of the requirements for the sin offering.

The sin is specifically stated to be one committed unwittingly (*bišᵉgāgâ*, v. 2). The fat was cut away from the inner vital organs, which were burned on the altar, while the rest of the bull was burned outside the camp in a ceremonially clean place. At least this was done in the case of the ordination of Aaron and in the case of the bull for the priest or the people (Lev. 8:14-17; Ex. 29:10-14). In the other cases, the officiating priest for the sin offering could eat the flesh of the victim in a holy place (sacred precincts).

The ritual, when properly carried out, resulted in atonement for the persons involved; forgiveness was granted to the worshiper (Lev. 4:20, 26, 31, 34). The sacrifice became a pleasing odor to the Lord (v. 31). In 5:1-5 various cases are cited that require the presentation of a sin offering. This offering effects atonement; the one who sacrifices is forgiven (5:6, 10). In the procedural order (see below) of the sacrifices, the sin offering came first. Lev. 5:7-13 prescribes a ritual to be followed by those not able to afford a lamb or a goat. In all these situations it is constantly reiterated that atonement is made for the offerer and he is forgiven.

H. Guilt Offering. The guilt offering (*ʾāšām*; AV "trespass-offering") is described in Lev. 5:14–6:7 (MT 5:14-26); 7:1-7. It is different from the sin offering chiefly in the restitution requirement. The offerer has to make good on any loss that he has made in the holy things of the Lord and pay an additional fifth of its cost to the priest (5:16). Damages against another person are also dealt with in 6:1-7 (MT 5:20-26), where the one-fifth restitution clause is also in effect. This offering also atones for the sacrificer and he is forgiven. The sin offering deals with sins against God that also threaten the community. The guilt offering deals more with sins that require restitution to God or man (cf. Morris; Saydon).

I. Consecration Offering. The consecration offering performed at the installation of the Aaronite priesthood is recorded in Ex. 29:4-28; Lev. 6:19-23 (MT 12-16); 8–9; Nu. 8. The basic description is in Ex. 29, supplemented by Lev. 6:19-23. The prescriptive instructions of Ex. 29 are carried out in the descriptive text of Lev. 8. This offering was a special type of peace offering. The purpose of the consecration offering was to make it possible for the priests to serve before the Lord (Ex. 29:1, *lᵉqaddēš ʾôṯām lᵉḵahēn lî*). This whole process included a sin offering for the priests (Ex. 19:14), a whole burnt offering (v. 18), and the ritual concerning the ordination ram proper (Ex. 29:22-28, 34), to which a cereal offering was added (Ex. 29:23; Lev. 6:19-23) and was wholly burned. The consecration/ordination process was carried out over a period of seven days (Ex. 29:35-37). The cereal offering of Ex. 29:23f. was waved as a "wave offering" (*tᵉnûpâ*; AV heave offering) before the Lord, as was the breast of the ordination ram (Ex. 29:26-28). By this process Aaron and his sons were rendered holy unto the Lord for service at the tabernacle.

Many passages in the Pentateuch employ these sacrifices and offerings in various kinds of settings and for different reasons. The "mix" of sacrifices or offerings that were to be performed publicly, privately, and for all types of reasons is interesting to observe, but *why* a certain one of these basic sacrifices was used at a given time in a certain situation is often not clear to us today. The material used, the usual ritual procedures, the occasions for these sacrifices, and some key sacrificial terminology are discussed above.

VI. In the Rest of the OT.–A. Former Prophets. The following comments highlight most of the more significant occurrences of sacrifice in the Former Prophets. A Passover was held in Gilgal (Josh. 5:10-12), burnt offerings and peace offerings were presented at the covenant ceremony at Shechem (Josh. 8:30-35; 24:1-33), sacrifice was performed at Bochim (Jgs. 2:1-5), Jephthah offered his daughter as an *ʿôlâ* (Jgs. 11:29-40), Gideon (Jgs. 6:11-32) and Manoah (13:15-23) offered cereal (*minḥâ*) and burnt offerings (*ʿôlâ*, a bull and a kid), the Philistines sacrificed (*zeḇaḥ*, Jgs. 16:23), and, finally, the Israelites offered *ʿôlôṯ* and *šᵉlāmîm* in the Benjaminite war (Jgs. 20:26).

In the other books of the Former Prophets sacrifices and offerings continued to play an important part in Israel's life. In the days of Eli the priest, sacrifices were offered at Shiloh (1 S. 1:3; 2:13-17), sacrifices were also held in Beth-shemesh (cows as a burnt offering, 6:14f.), Mizpah (a lamb as a whole burnt offering, 7:9), Ramah (7:17; 9:11-24), Gilgal (burnt offerings, peace offerings, 10:8; 11:15; 13:9-13), and among families and clans (heifer, 16:2-5; 20:29). Sacrifice was certainly performed at Nob during Saul's reign (21:1-9 [MT 2-10]). David held sacrifices at Jerusalem (burnt offerings, peace offerings, 2 S. 6:17f.). David also set up a new cult center at the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings there (24:24f.).

At the dedication of Solomon's temple a great sacrificial ritual was performed (peace offerings of sheep and oxen, burnt offering, cereal offering, and fat pieces of the peace offerings, 1 K. 8:5, 62-66). The high places were in common use before the dedication of the temple (3:2), and Solomon held a great sacrifice there before he built the temple ("a thousand burnt offerings," 3:3-6). 1 K. 3:3 indicates that sacrifice at the high places was a fault that plagued Solomon before he built the temple. Shrines for sacrifice in Dan and Bethel were constructed after the united kingdom split (12:27f.). Elijah sacrificed to the Lord on a reconstructed high place (oblation, burnt offering of a bull, 18:23, 33-40). King Jehoash of Judah repaired the temple, where evidently guilt offerings and sin offerings had continued (2 K. 12:15f.). Ahaz had a new altar made, based on an altar he saw in Damascus, and he presented burnt, cereal, drink, and peace offerings upon it (16:10-16). Hezekiah abolished the high places (18:4) and sacrificed in Jerusalem (cf. v. 22). But Manasseh not only rebuilt the high places but also built altars to Baal and even sacrificed his son (21:1-9). Josiah removed all of Manasseh's abominations (23:4-25) and held a magnificent Passover according to the stipulations he read in the book of the covenant (vv. 21-23).

Thus the *ʿôlâ*, *zeḇaḥ*, *minḥâ*, *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*, and *ʾāšām* are found in the Former Prophets ("Deuteronomistic History"). *Šᵉlāmîm* is found, but never standing alone (cf. 2 S. 6:17f.; 1 K. 3:15; 9:25). The joyous nature of the *ʿôlâ* is evident in the passages where peace and burnt offerings are presented together (Rendtorff, pp. 56f.).

B. Latter Prophets. Not all of the references to sacrifice and offering in the prophetic books are polemical. The terms for the various offerings mentioned in the prophets include *ʿôlâ*, *zeḇaḥ*, and *minḥâ*. The term *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* in Hos. 4:8 and Mic. 6:7 is not to be understood as a reference to the sin offering. The terms *yazzeh* (Isa. 52:15), *śeh* (Isa. 53:7), and *ʾāšām* (53:10) appear to be used as sacrificial terms in the context (cf. Rendtorff, pp. 62f.; R. J. Thompson, p. 224 n. 1).

The terms for sacrifice and offering occur in the preexilic, exilic, and postexilic prophetic literature, but in a

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT

haphazard way. The significance of the sacrificial passages can be categorized as follows:

(1) Passages that indicate the rejection, condemnation, or fate of a corrupt Israelite system of sacrifices and offerings. Both the officiants and the worshipers themselves are involved in guilt (Am. 4:4; 5:21-25; Hos. 8:11-13; 12:12 [MT 13]; 13:2; Isa. 1:10-15; 43:23-25; 57:6; 65:3f., 11; 66:3, 17; Jer. 6:20; 7:21ff., 31; 11:15; 14:12; 19:5; 32:25; Hab. 1:16; Ezk. 16:15-21; 20:25-31; 23:36-39; Mal. 1:7f.; 3:8f.).

(2) Passages that describe false cultic activities or apostate sacrifices and offerings, such as sacrifices to Baal or to idols (Hos. 4:13-19; 11:2; Jer. 7:18; 44:15-19; 48:35).

(3) Passages that note the fact of current sacrificial activity without approving or disapproving of it. Also those which speak of a future sacrificial activity with approval (Isa. 19:19-21; 29:1; 40:16; 52:13–53:12; 56:7; 60:7; 62:9; 66:20; Jer. 17:24-27; 33:11, 18; 41:5; Ezk. 20:40f.; 40–48; Jonah 1:16; 2:9 [MT 10]; Nah. 2:1 [MT 2]; Zeph. 3:10; Zec. 9:11, 15; 14:21; Mal. 3:3f.). The use of *'āšām* in Isa. 53:10 is probably a sacrificial use (cf. Daly; R. J. Thompson, p. 224 n.1).

(4) Passages that see the loss of the sacrificial ritual as a calamity (Joel 1:9, 13; 2:14).

(5) Passages that describe a time when there will be no sacrificial cult because of exile or because the Lord withdraws (Hos. 3:4; 5:6; 9:4-6).

(6) Passages that describe the Lord's future sacrifice (slaughter?) of people in the exercise of His judgmental power (Isa. 34:6; Ezk. 39:17-20; Zeph. 1:7f.).

(7) Passages that clarify what God was really looking for in His people vis-à-vis sacrifices and offerings (Isa. 29:13; Ezk. 33:31; Hos. 6:6; Mic. 6:6-8).

Thus the prophets' attitude toward sacrifice and offering is not unswervingly negative at all. It is clear from the above that it is far from a rejection of the sacrificial cult in toto.

C. Writings. The Psalms are sprinkled lightly with specific sacrificial terminology. The various references are:

(1) Passages that present sacrifice as an approved way to *worship* God in a proper attitude (20:4 [MT 5]; 76:12 [MT 13]; 96:8).

(2) Passages that depreciate sacrifices per se, usually emphasizing the fact that the victim/subject in the sacrificial ritual is not the object of God's desire or approval (40:7-9 [MT 8-10]; see also points 4-5 below).

(3) Passages that condemn apostate sacrifices (16:4; 106:28, 37f.).

(4) Passages that compare and contrast spiritual sacrifices with material sacrifices, and approve of the former strongly over the latter (50:8-14; 51:18f. [MT 20f.]; 69:32 [MT 33]).

(5) Passages that wholly point to and approve of spiritual sacrifices by the worshiper as the true pleasing sacrifice before the Lord (4:6 [MT 7]; 26:6f.; 107:22; 116:17; 119:108; 141:2).

Of course, the historical location of the above psalms is important, and many more psalms are dated earlier than used to be the case, but the overall message is very cogent and clear. The various terms for sacrifice are found in the above references: *'ōlâ, zeḇaḥ* (50:8; 51:16 [MT 18]); *zeḇaḥ, minḥâ* (40:7 [MT 8]). *Zeḇaḥ* is used to refer to the entire cult in general (4:5 [MT 6]; 50:5; 51: 17, 19 [MT 19, 21]). *Zeḇaḥ* is found often as equivalent to a thank offering (107:22; 116:17; etc.). *Minḥâ* is found only once (96:8). But by far the most important contribution to the concept of sacrifice and offerings is found in the *spiritualizing* of the concept of an acceptable sacrifice before the Lord.

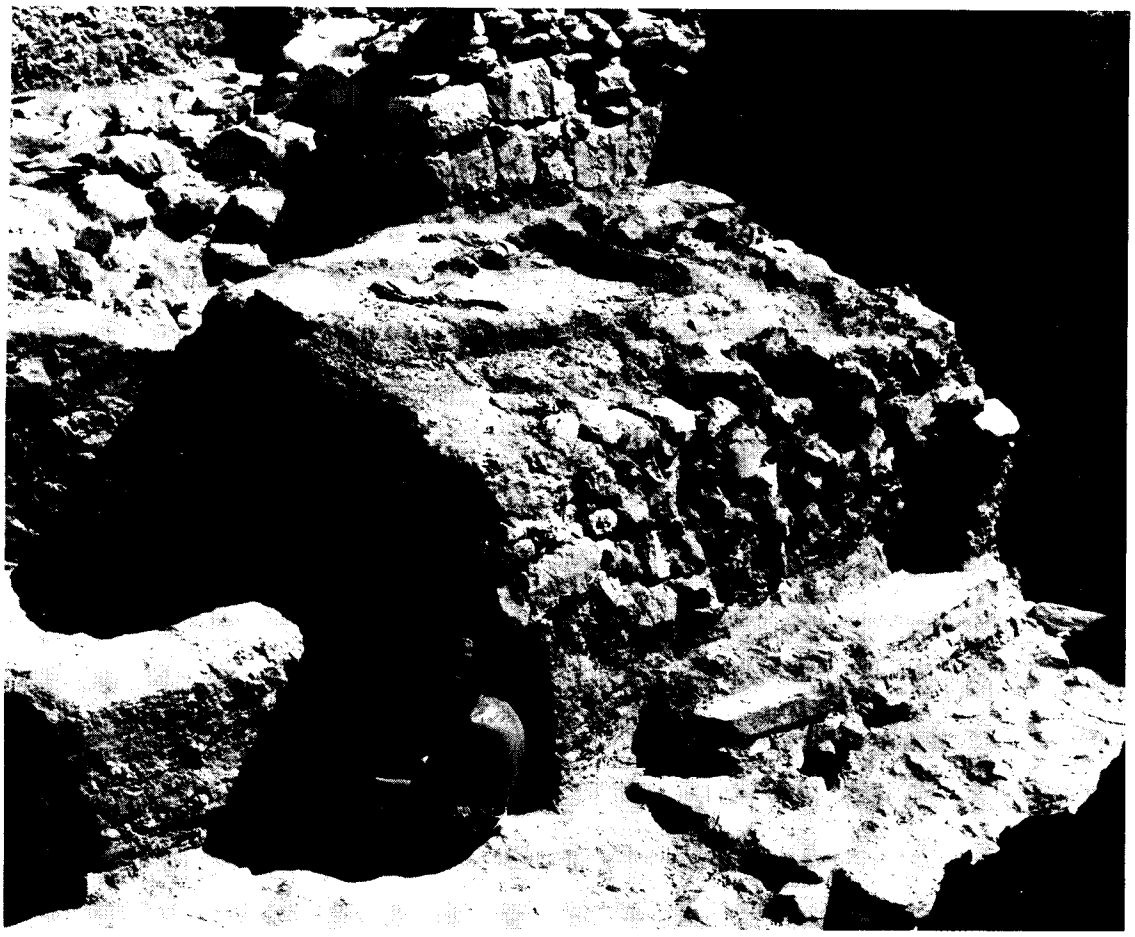
The religious historiography of the Chronicler and the writer of Ezra-Nehemiah places a great emphasis upon the importance of the sacrificial cult in Israel's history. Much of it parallels material reported in 1 Samuel-2 Kings, not only because the Chronicler utilized those books as sources but also because his historiographical method called for that material. Only the most important items will be listed here because of space limitations (for more detail see esp. Rendtorff, pp. 67-73; also Thompson, pp. 228-235). But, as Thompson noted, the peculiar interest is revealed: "The writer's interest in sacrifice is indicated by his introduction of sacrificial references [i.e. identifying the cultic significance], where they are missing in the books of Samuel and Kings" (p. 231), such as 2 Ch. 2:4-6 (MT 3-5); 7:12 (Rendtorff, p. 72). One can assume that the final canonical form of 1-2 Chronicles omits certain earlier references in Samuel and Kings because this was not important to his particular goals.

One of the chief emphases of the Chronicler's history was clearly the primacy of the temple and cult (Daly, p. 28). In the Chronicler's history the Levites were appointed for all the services of the tabernacle of the house of God (1 Ch. 6:48 [MT 33]). Aaron and his sons performed offering and sacrifice "upon the altar of burnt offering and upon the altar of incense for all the work of the most holy place, and to make atonement [*kappēr*] for Israel, according to all that Moses the Servant of God had commanded" (1 Ch. 6:49 [MT 34]).

The references to sacrifice and offering found only in the Chronicler are as follows: 1 Ch. 6:49 (MT 34), where "to make atonement" is found; Hezekiah was a favorite of the Chronicler and his atonement offerings are emphasized (2 Ch. 29, esp. vv. 20-36) and his great Passover festival (30:1-27); chs. 20–22 record burnt offerings, drink offerings, sacrifices (*zᵉḇāḥîm*), and a joyful celebration at the designation of Solomon as king by David; 23:18 records Joash's reestablishment of the Mosaic sacrificial system; 24:8-14 omits guilt and sin offering references found in Kings; 5:6 records Solomon's and the congregations sacrifices; 13:9-11 records Abijah's condemnation of Israel's sacrificial cult and approval of the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem; Asa showed great faithfulness to sacrifice and offering (15:10, 17-19). 2 Ch. 26:16-19 records Uzziah's presumptuous offering; 13:14-17, Manasseh's "reform." The Passover of Josiah in 2 Ch. 35 is a much fuller delineation of the same event in Kings. For references that show the importance and the continuation of sacrifice and offering throughout Israel's history, see also 1 Ch. 9:28-32; 16:29 = Ps. 96:8; 1 Ch. 16:31f. (sacrifice at the high place in Gibeon); 22:1; 23:13, 27; 2 Ch. 2:4-6 (MT 3-5); 4:6; 7:1, 12; 13:8-12; 31:2-4; 33:6 (human sacrifice); 34:4. After a review of this evidence it is clear that for the Chronicler the sacrificial cult was a source of true worship and joy (cf. R. J. Thompson, pp. 231f.).

Whether the same author penned Ezra-Nehemiah that penned 1-2 Chronicles has long been debated, but the relevant passages for our purposes are as follows: Ezr. 6:6-12, 15-18, 19-22; 10:19-22; Neh. 10:28-39 (MT 29-40); 12:30-43. The passage in Ezr. 3:1-6 records the reestablishment of the Levitical sacrificial system according to the law of Moses. The Feast of Tabernacles was held at that time and burnt and freewill (*nᵉḏāḇâ*) offerings were presented. Ezr. 8:35f. records the presentation of sin offerings and burnt offerings. Thompson again concluded his survey of these offerings with the observation that the note of joy at the sacrificial events prevailed even in this late era of Israel, as it had in 1-2 Chronicles. Rendtorff asserted that a major point to be observed, after his overview of the Chronicler (1 Chronicles-Nehemiah), is that the *'ōlâ* dominates in the Chronicler's sacrificial theology, while the other offerings recede (pp. 72f.). As he noted,

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT



The altar from the Israelite sanctuary at Arad. The runnels around the center were used to drain off sacrificial blood (9th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of Tel Aviv University, Department of Archaeology)

more work needs to be done on the theological conception that the Chronicler has of the place of sacrifice and offering (cf. Rendtorff, p. 72). Rendtorff's negative assessment of the possibility of discovering this theological framework seems overstated ("Nevertheless, no clear picture of the Chronicler's idea of sacrifice can be obtained," p. 72).

The other writings of the OT do not include extensive references to sacrifice and offering. This is the case mostly because of the perspective of the materials themselves. Thompson listed twelve passages dealing with sacrifice found in Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. Job 1:5 and 42:8 mention *ʿōlôṯ* that expiate for sin according to Job's explicit confession. Both sins of action and sins of attitude are in view. Prov. 7:14-21 deals with the adulterous woman; 15:8; 21:3, 27; and 27:27 stress the superiority of ethical conduct and attitude to sacrifice per se. Eccl. 5:1 (MT 2) and 9:2 indicate the ongoing function of the cult even in these texts, which deal mainly with the attitudes of the individual and the action based on attitudes. This explains the basically negative focus upon the concept of sacrifice and offering found in these materials. Only *zeḇaḥ* is found in this literature, since it was the major offering of the individual (cf. Rendtorff, p. 66).

VII. Special Issues.–A. Meaning and Significance of Blood. This issue has always provoked interest and controversy. Nearly everyone agrees that the blood ritual in Israelite sacrifice is unique. There has been nothing found to date that parallels, in any significant way, the treatment of blood in Israel, neither in the ancient Near East nor elsewhere (the blood was purposely soaked into the ground in sacrifice to the Olympian gods). (See D. J. McCarthy, *JBL*, 88 [1969], 166-176; 92 [1973], 205-210.) The meticulous attention paid to the disposal of blood in various types of OT sacrifices meant that blood was at least part of the atonement process in all Israelite sacrifices; it was a unifying feature of the cult (see de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 453). The people were forbidden to eat the blood (Lev. 17:10f.; Gen. 9:4; Lev. 3:17; 7:26; Dt. 12:16, 23; 15:23), since life (*nepeš*) was in the blood, and life belonged to God alone (see de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 416, 449).

The meaning, therefore, of Lev. 17:11, 14 has been researched diligently. Verse 11 reads, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life [*bannepeš*]"; and v. 14a, "For the life of every creature is the blood of it." So atonement is made by the blood to the extent that "life" is in it or because "life" is in it. This idea is not found outside Israel (see McCarthy's articles noted above; cf. Lyonnet and Sabourin, pp. 175-181; and more recently *DBSup.*, cols. 1494-97). Furthermore, the blood makes atonement because God has designated it to make atonement, by reason of the life (*nepeš*) which is in it,

within the covenant community. Blood does not make atonement because of some magical quality in it. The *divine will* itself made the blood the means of expiation, consecrated in the service of the altar; it was the mysterious element that the ancients considered a vital force (*DBSup.*, col. 1497). The sacrificial victim, slaughtered in the course of a symbolic action *prescribed by God* (Lev. 17:1; cf. H. W. Robinson, p. 135), having entered the divine sphere, procures the blood of expiation *appointed by God Himself*. No magic is involved — *God's will chooses* and *approves* the prescribed sacrificial ritual.

B. Ritual Order of the Sacrifices. The sacrifices and their rituals are enumerated in various ways in the OT. A. Rainey and B. A. Levine (*Presence*) have done detailed studies about the significance of the sequence of rituals. *DBSup.* summarizes these studies well (col. 1492). Lev. 8–9, *descriptive* or narrative texts, give the order for the sacrifices as sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā't*), burnt offering (*'ōlâ*), communion (*šelāmîm*). But in Nu. 7:28f., *prescriptive administration* texts, the order of the sacrificial list is burnt offering (with needed cereal and drink offerings), sin offering, communion offering. A similar situation follows in the analogous logic of the order used in the ritual of the sacrifices. Lev. 1:1–6:7 (MT 5:26) is *didactic-descriptive* in character and lists the sacrifices of "a pleasing odor," burnt offering, cereal offering, and the sacrifice of communion, then the expiatory sacrifices (sin and guilt offerings). This list is to help train sacerdotal personnel. The offerings are grouped in agreement with their logical/conceptual association (Rainey, p. 486). Lev. 6:1 (MT 5:20)–7:38 of an *administrative-descriptive* character, arranges the sacrifices in a different way: burnt offering, cereal offering, expiatory sacrifices, and then communion sacrifice.

Other texts give the following order of the presentation of the offerings that reflects the procedural sequence of presenting sacrifices: expiatory sacrifice, burnt offering, communion sacrifice (Nu. 6:16f.). It appears that before entering into communion with the Lord, sin had to be dealt with, then the burnt offering indicated the total consecration of the offerer to the Lord, and finally, communion was possible. Levine differs by calling the burnt offering the first sacrifice proper even when preceded by a preliminary sin offering in certain cases.

Levine was the first to establish the differentiation between the OT ritual texts as *prescriptive* (how the rite was to be performed) and *descriptive* (how the rite was performed; what happened) (B. A. Levine, *JCS*, 17 [1963], 105-111; *JAOS*, 85 [1965], 312ff.). Rainey's demonstration of *didactic (descriptive)* ritual lists for training sacerdotal specialists (Lev. 1:1–6:7 [MT 5:29]), *administrative* ("bookkeeping," descriptive) lists (6:8 [MT 1]–7:28), and *procedural* (*prescriptive*) lists of sacrificial presentation are very helpful. His argument seems cogent. The administrative type of sacrificial list follows the basic sequence of burnt, cereal, drink, sin offerings. The fixed feature of this is especially the order of the burnt and sin offerings. The basic procedural list (how the ritual is to be carried out) was sin offering, burnt offering, peace offering. Here the fixed unchangeable aspect of the sacrificial order was sin offering-burnt offering. The difference between the two ritual lists is perfectly demonstrated in the case of the Nazirite vow (Nu. 6:14-17). A prescriptive text could follow the administrative order if it was merely stating the type and number of offerings to be brought (e.g., Nu. 15:24f.; Rainey, pp. 491-98). And the narrative descriptive account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons in Lev. 8 follows the same *procedural* order of the prescriptive account of this same event in Ex. 29. Procedural practices are found in Lev. 9 also (cf. above).

C. Order of Development of the Sacrifices. R. J. Thompson concluded that the *'ōlâ* was the most widely used and the most typical of the Israelite sacrifices (p. 245). It arose and was used very early (contra Robertson Smith). Similarly, Rendtorff held that the *'ōlâ* played the most important part in the Israelite cult (pp. 232-241, 251f.). According to the OT, it seems that the *minḥâ*, *'āšām*, *ḥaṭṭā't*, and *šelāmîm* likely arose from the *'ōlâ*. Rendtorff lists the probable historical development of the offerings as *'ōlâ*, *šelāmîm*, *zebaḥ*, *minḥâ*, *ḥaṭṭā't*, *'āšām*. The Wellhausen school had preferred the *zebaḥ* as the typical Hebrew sacrifice. The nature of the *ḥaṭṭā't* and the *'āšām* probably accounts for their sparse occurrences in the Former Prophets. They are possibly mentioned only twice in the postexilic literature. The difference between these two sacrifices is minimal. The guilt offering dealt more with sins toward human beings, and the sin offering more with sins against God.

D. Efficacy of the OT Sacrifices. Both Abba and Saydon pointed out shortcomings of the OT sacrificial system. It was not meant to be final; it had a limited range of effectiveness, operating only within the covenant. Only sins of ignorance or of human frailty were forgiven within this cultic system. No sacrifice could atone for deliberate, rebellious acts against God that were adamantly continued (Abba, p. 137).

Saydon analyzed sins into three classes: (1) high-handed sins for which there was no atonement; (2) "ordinary" sins committed with at best some degree of consciousness; these were due to human weakness and atoned for by the sin offering (*sacrificium pro peccate*); (3) unintentional sins that were to be atoned for by the guilt offering (*sacrificium pro delicto*). These observations are helpful and true. But the appropriateness of the conclusions drawn from them is questionable. They do not circumscribe the total revelation of God in relationship to His people. It is true that no specific rite was available for one who committed adultery or sinned with a high hand. But God's fuller revelation of Himself in the OT included His readiness to forgive all kinds of sins against Him, when a spirit of humility and repentance was present (Ps. 51; Mic. 6:8).

The purpose and efficacy of the Levitical system was misunderstood and abused, but the shedding of blood was continued into the New Covenant. In both covenants the ultimate requirement is a total sacrifice of one's self in humility before God's great work of objective atonement through the life that is in the sacrificial blood. Both a perfect blood sacrifice and a perfect sacrifice of love and allegiance to God were found in Christ, bringing an end to the forward look of the Levitical system.

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SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE NT.

SACRIFICE [Gk. *thysía*–'sacrifice, offering' (Mt. 9:13; Mk. 12:33; Acts 7:41f.; Rom. 12:1; 1 Cor. 10:18; He. 13:15f.; etc.)]; NEB also OFFERING, SACRIFICIAL MEAL; **SACRIFICIAL** [*thysía*–'the act of offering' (Phil. 2:17)]; **SACRIFICIAL OFFERING** [*thysiatḗrion*–'altar' (1 Cor. 9:13)]; AV "with the altar"; **(FOOD) SACRIFICED TO AN IDOL** [*eidōlóthytos*–'meat offered to an idol' (Acts 15:29; 21:25; Rev. 2:14, 20)]; AV "meat offered to idols," etc.; NEB "meat that has been offered to idols," etc.; **GIFT** [*dṓron* (Mt. 5:23f.; 8:4; 23:18f.; Lk. 21:1; He. 5:1; 8:3f.; 9:9; 11:4)]; NEB also OFFERING, etc.; **INCENSE** [*thymíama* (Lk. 1:10f.; Rev. 5:8; 8:3f.; 18:13)]; AV also ODOURS; NEB also INCENSE-OFFERING; **OFFERING** [*prosphorá*–'the act of bringing,' 'that which is brought' (Acts 21:26; 24:17; Rom. 15:16; He. 10:5, 8, 10, 14, 18)]; NEB also SACRIFICE; [*anáthēma*–'votive offering' (Lk. 21:5)]; AV GIFT; NEB VOTIVE OFFERING; [*leitourgía*–'service, ministry' (Phil. 2:17)] AV SERVICE; NEB "which is the offering up"; [*osmḗ*–'smell, scent' (Phil. 4:18)]; AV SMELL **(WHOLE) BURNT OFFERING** [*holokaútōma*–'whole burnt offering' (Mk. 12:33; He. 10:6, 8)]; NEB also WHOLE OFFERING; **OFFER** [*prosphérō* (Mt. 5:23f.; 8:4; Acts 7:42; He. 5:1; etc.)]; AV also BRING, etc.; NEB also BRING, etc.; [*anaphérō*–'bring or take up' (He. 7:27; Jas. 2:21; 1 Pet. 2:5)]; AV also OFFER UP; [*anágō*–'lead or bring up' (Acts 7:41)]; [*dídōmi*–'give' (Lk. 2:24)]; NEB MAKE; **OFFER UP** [*prosphérō* (He. 11:17)]; [*anaphérō* (He. 7:27; 13:15)]; AV also OFFER; **(OFFER) SACRIFICE** [*thýō*–'sacrifice, kill' (Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:7; Acts 14:13, 18; 1 Cor. 5:7; 10:20)]; AV also KILL; NEB also SLAUGHTER, etc.; **POUR AS A LIBATION** [*spéndō*–'offer a libation or a drink offering' (Phil. 2:17)]; AV BE OFFERED; NEB etc.; **SACRIFICE** [*spéndō* (2 Tim. 4:6)]; NEB "being poured out on the altar." The RSV translates the idiom *perí hamartías* with "for sin" (Rom. 8:3 [RSV mg. "as a sin offering"]; He. 5:3), "sin offering" (He. 10:6, 8), and "sacrifice for sin" (He. 13:11).

I. Introduction
II. Continuity with OT Sacrifices
  A. In the Ministry of Jesus
  B. In the Early Church
III. Early Indications of Discontinuity with OT Sacrifices
IV. Metaphorical Uses of Sacrificial Language
  A. In the NT
  B. In the Intertestamental Period
V. The Sacrifice of Christ
  A. Pauline Writings
  B. Johannine Writings
  C. Hebrews
VI. The Eucharist as a Sacrifice

I. Introduction.–The concept of sacrifice in the NT is profoundly influenced by the concept of sacrifice in the OT. Of course, the NT displays both continuity and discontinuity with the OT notion of sacrifice. To understand sacrifice in the NT one must see the thread that ties together the two Testaments, and yet one must also perceive the newness of the revelation that Christ inaugurated.

II. Continuity with OT Sacrifices.–A. In the Ministry of Jesus. During His earthly ministry Jesus never contended that the OT sacrificial system was outmoded or that it should be abrogated. At Jesus' birth Joseph and Mary in accordance with OT law offered the prescribed sacrifice of "a pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons" (Lk. 2:24; cf. Lev. 12:8). In Mt. 5:23f. Jesus assumed the legitimacy of OT sacrifices. He said that one should be reconciled to one's brother before offering a sacrifice, indicating that sacrifice is inadequate without a corresponding righteousness in one's social relationships. But He did not speak against offering the sacrifice as such, for He explicitly said that after restoration between brothers has occurred, "then come and offer your gift" (Mt. 5:24; cf. Mk. 1:44 par.; Mt. 23:16-20).

Twice in Matthew Jesus cited Hos. 6:6 — "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (Mt. 9:13; 12:7). Both of these sayings stemmed from controversies with the religious leaders. In the first instance (9:9-13) Jesus defended His table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners, and in the second pericope (12:1-8) He justified the eating of grain by the disciples on the sabbath. Jesus also commended the scribe who exalted love of God and neighbor over the offering of sacrifices (Mk. 12:32-34). All these texts, however, are misunderstood if they are interpreted to say that Jesus rejected the sacrificial cultus. Instead, He simply followed the prophetic tradition that did not reject sacrifices but emphasized that sacrifices without righteousness in the heart are meaningless, and that internal righteousness is more important than ritual conformity. Indeed, such sentiments were common in the Judaism of Jesus' day. Ben Sira emphasized that only the sacrifices of the righteous were acceptable to God (Sir. 35:6f.).

B. In the Early Church. It is also apparent that Jesus' disciples did not think that He rejected the OT sacrificial cultus. After His ascension they "were continually in the temple blessing God" (Lk. 24:53). Luke does not say that the disciples offered sacrifices, but this is probably a fair assumption for four reasons. (1) Acts 2:46 indicates that the disciples attended the temple "day by day." It is quite probable that consistent participation in temple worship would have included the sacrificial cultus. (2) Acts 3:1 says that "Peter and John were going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, the ninth hour." The ninth hour would be around 3 P.M., and this was

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE NT

The high priest at the sacrificial altar with bulls and a ram. From a wall painting in the Dura-Europos synagogue showing the consecration of the tabernacle (Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection)

the time that the burnt offering would be sacrificed every evening (Ex. 29:39; Lev. 6:20; Josephus *Ant.* xiv.4.3 [65]). Obviously, Luke does not tell us that Peter and John were going to participate in the sacrifice, but the specification of the time seems to imply that such participation was probably the reason for their attendance. (3) The persecution of Stephen stemmed, at least partially, from charges that he spoke against the temple (Acts 6:13f.). Until this point Acts does not indicate that the disciples voiced any criticism of the temple, and the previous persecutions (Acts 4–5) had nothing to do with the temple. (4) Paul's return to Jerusalem for Pentecost presumably included sacrifices, for he was paying the expenses of four men who had taken a vow (Acts 21:20-26; cf. Nu. 6:9-21). Thus it is safe to infer that for the earliest disciples faith in Jesus did not rule out participation in the sacrificial cultus.

III. Early Indications of Discontinuity with OT Sacrifices.– The above discussion clearly indicates that Jesus did not reject the sacrificial cultus. Nevertheless, there are a few hints of the later stance of the Church on this issue. The prediction that the temple would be destroyed (Mk. 13:2 par.) necessarily included the abolition of sacrifices. That Jesus' words on the temple upset His contemporaries is clear from the Gospel traditions (Mk. 14:57-59 par.; Jn. 2:19-21), which indicate the presence of some uncertainty and confusion among the populace over what Jesus meant and even said about the temple. In short, Jesus assumed the validity of the sacrificial cultus, but His statements on the temple also implied that He foresaw a time when sacrifices would cease.

The much disputed saying in Mk. 10:45 is also relevant. Here Jesus says that "the Son of Man . . . came . . . to give his life as a ransom for many." The associations with Isa. 53, esp. vv. 10-12, although disputed, are probable. In this case Jesus viewed His own death as sacrificial. But the Markan text is not a detailed explanation of the atonement such as that in Hebrews. One should not infer from this statement alone that other sacrifices were unnecessary. Indeed, the expiatory function of the death of martyrs was not an unusual thought in Judaism (2 Macc. 7:30-38; 4 Macc. 6:28f.; 17:21f.). Such expiatory deaths did not abolish the need for the sacrificial cultus. Jesus' attitude toward sacrifices was characteristic of His stance toward the OT law (cf. Mt. 5:17-20; 17:24-27). He affirmed the validity and legitimacy of the sacrificial cult. Yet the newness of His message and person prepared one for discontinuity as well; His death and resurrection (although this is not explicitly stated by Jesus) would ultimately cancel the need for animal sacrifices. The Synoptic Gospels make this evident in the story of the temple curtain being torn in two (Mk. 15:38 par.). With symbolism that is remarkably similar to Hebrews, the Synoptics indicate that access to God is now available on a new and permanent basis because of Jesus' death.

Stephen's speech in Acts 7 contains the first hint in Acts that the temple cultus will be temporary. Luke tells us that the charges against Stephen were false (Acts 6:13f.), but a careful analysis of Stephen's speech suggests that he did criticize Jewish devotion to and preoccupation with the temple. He is not implying in vv. 42-50 that the temple cultus was idolatrous per se nor is he saying that it was built contrary to God's will. He is simply pointing out that the OT Scriptures do not support the excessive importance that his contemporaries attached to the temple. Previously the people of God (Abraham, Moses, and the era before Solomon) had functioned adequately without the temple, and Stephen may be suggesting that they will again function without the temple. Yet he never explicitly says that the temple cultus will be abolished or that it is inherently evil. Some scholars have read too much into Stephen's words here.

IV. Metaphorical Uses of Sacrificial Language.–A. In the

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE NT

NT. The NT writers also used sacrificial language in a metaphorical way. Several times Paul depicted his ministry in sacrificial terms. He used OT imagery when he described himself as conducting priestly service (Gk. *hierourgoúnta*) in the proclamation of the gospel (Rom. 15:16). His offering, however, did not consist of bulls, sheep, or goats. Instead, his offering (*prosphorá*) was the Gentiles, i.e., the conversion of the Gentiles was Paul's priestly offering to God. A similar thought occurs in Phil. 2:17. Paul may be "poured as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith." The idea of being poured out as a drink offering ("libation") refers to the possibility that Paul may die for the sake of the Philippians' faith. Their faith is described in terms of "sacrificial offering" (*thysía kaí leitourgía*). Once again we see that Paul is describing his ministry in priestly terms and with sacrificial imagery. In 2 Tim. 4:6 Paul says, "I am already on the point of being sacrificed." Gk. *spéndomai* is the same verb used in Phil. 2:17 where Paul spoke of being poured out as a drink offering. The point is clearly the same. Paul's death is a sacrifice to God. No thought of atonement is present in this context; Paul merely uses sacrificial language to describe his imminent death.

The Christian life is also portrayed by using sacrificial imagery. In Rom. 12:1 Paul implores: "present your bodies as a living sacrifice." In the OT priests offered the slain beasts to God on the altar, but in the NT sacrificial imagery describes the nature of the commitment that is demanded of believers. In Phil. 4:18 Paul describes the generous gifts sent to him by the Philippians as "a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God." The spiritualization of the OT cultus is notably evident in 1 Pet. 2:5. The stones of God's house are no longer literal stones; rather, Christians are "living stones" and make up a "spiritual house," which obviously eliminates the need for a physical temple. Believers also constitute a "holy priesthood" that offers "spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." The word "spiritual" (*pneumatikás*) before "sacrifices" (*thysías*) clearly shows that literal animal sacrifices are not in view. The new people of God now offer up sacrifices of a different nature and character (cf. 1 Pet. 2:9f.). Indeed, the book of Revelation identifies the offering of incense as the prayers of the saints (Rev. 5:8; 8:3f.; cf. Ps. 141:2). The author of Hebrews also emphasizes the spiritual nature of sacrifice. In Hebrews (see below) occurs the most detailed and definitive explanation of the sacrifice of Christ, and the superiority of His sacrifice over those of the old covenant. The sacrifices that are appropriate for believers are no longer bulls and goats, but praise, doing good, and sharing (He. 13:15f.).

B. In the Intertestamental Period. It is important to realize once again that the use of sacrificial language in a metaphorical way was common in the OT and Judaism. Ps. 51:17 (MT 19) is a typical OT example: "The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." (*See* SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT for further examples.) Sir. 35:1f. is an interesting example from the interestamental period: "He who keeps the law makes many offerings; he who heeds the commandments sacrifices a peace offering. He who returns a kindness offers fine flour, and he who gives alms sacrifices a thank offering" (cf. T. Levi 3:6; Philo *De somniis* ii.183). The Qumrân community also stressed the importance of spiritual sacrifices. "They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for the sins of unfaithfulness that they may obtain lovingkindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free-will offering" (1QS 9:3-4; G. Vermes, *DSS in English* [2nd ed. 1975], p. 87; cf. also 1QS 10:6, 14). Both the psalmist and Ben Sira, of course, believed in the validity of literal animal sacrifices, while the Qumrân community refused to participate in the sacrificial cultus. But this refusal to participate was not due to a rejection of literal sacrifices. The Qumrân community thought that the priesthood in Jerusalem was wicked and illegitimate, and looked forward to the day when a legitimate priesthood would be installed, and the sacrificial system would be practiced with integrity and propriety (1QM 2:5f.).

After the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple there was obviously no possibility to offer sacrifices. The adequacy of "spiritual sacrifices" was accordingly promulgated. When the temple was destroyed Rabbi Joshua said: "Woe to us! for this house that lies in ruins, the place where atonement was made for the sins of Israel!" But Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai replied, "My son, be not grieved, for we have another means of atonement which is as effective, and that is, the practice of lovingkindness, as it is stated, 'For I desire lovingkindness and not sacrifice'" (T.B. *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* 20a). The sufficiency of repentance, prayer, fasting, and the study of the Torah instead of sacrifice became customary after A.D. 70 (T.B. *Berakoth* 15a-b; 17a; *Sukkah* 49b; *Baba Bathra* 9a; *Menahoth* 110a; *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* 19a). The rabbinic view with all its similarities to the later Christian view has a profound difference. The spiritualization of sacrifices by the rabbis was a necessary conclusion if Judaism was to survive. But the Christian rejection of the sacrificial system sprang from the conviction that Christ's sacrifice rendered the OT sacrifices unnecessary. All the different varieties of Jewish belief (including the rabbis, the Qumrân community, Ben Sira, apocalyptic circles, Christians, etc.) spiritualized sacrificial language, but Christianity came to differ from all of these other groups because it rejected continuing the OT sacrifices in principle. Every group used sacrificial language in a metaphorical way, but only the Christian movement argued that Christ's sacrifice on the cross abrogated animal sacrifices.

V. The Sacrifice of Christ.–A. Pauline Writings. Paul does not explicitly use the word "sacrifice" (Gk. *thysía*) or "offering" (*prosphorá*) much in describing Christ's death (cf. Eph. 5:2), but the concept extends beyond this specific terminology. The atoning significance of Christ's "blood" is clearly related to sacrifice (Rom. 3:25; 5:9; 1 Cor. 11:25; Eph. 1:7; 2:13; Col. 1:20). Christ's death is also described as a sin offering (*perí hamartías* in Rom. 8:3; cf. Lev. 5:6f., 11; and 9:2f. in the LXX). Paul clearly implies that Christ's death has replaced the OT sacrifices when he says "if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose" (Gal. 2:21). And here "law" (*nómos*) for Paul would include OT sacrifices. If atonement and forgiveness were available through OT sacrifices, then it is obvious that Christ's death would be completely unnecessary. The same kind of argument appears in Gal. 3:10-13. Those who do not obey the law perfectly are under the curse of the law (3:10). Now the OT presupposes that people will sin and provides through the cultus a way of atonement and forgiveness. But Paul sees only one way of being delivered from the curse of the law, viz., the redemption that Christ provided by becoming a curse for us (cf. 2 Cor. 5:21). The OT sacrifices did not actually remove the curse; only the death of Christ was sufficient to do that.

A similar argument appears in Rom. 3:21-26. In 1:28–3:20 Paul established his thesis that no one is righteous, that all are sinful, and that all are guilty before God. Now

if the animal sacrifices could really atone for sin, then Paul would merely point out that one should offer the prescribed sacrifices. Instead, Paul emphasizes that justification comes only through the redemption that Jesus Christ accomplished (3:24). God's wrath was not propitiated through the blood of animals but only through the blood of Christ. Indeed, Paul says that God "in his divine forbearance . . . passed over former sins" (3:25). This probably means that the sins committed under the old covenant were not really forgiven, and sins previously committed were "put on hold" until the atoning death of Christ.

B. Johannine Writings. These writings reveal a similar understanding of Christ's death. In Jn. 1:29 John says, "Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (cf. also v. 36). Scholars debate over whether John had the idea of a passover sacrifice in mind or whether he was thinking of Isa. 53:7, and perhaps he had both in mind. He may have also been thinking of the ordinary sacrifices of lambs (cf. Lev. 4:32; 5:6). (For the idea that Jesus' death is understood from the background of Isa. 53, see Acts 8:32-35; 1 Pet. 2:21-25.) In any case John is thinking of Jesus' death in sacrificial terms since His death is atoning. The universal significance of Christ's death is also a Johannine theme; the sacrifice of the lamb removed the sins of the entire world. Also the death of Jesus is the propitiation (*hilasmós*) "for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world" (1 Jn. 2:2). The implication of these texts for our subject is clear. If Jesus' death atones for the sins of the entire world, then the OT sacrifices are now redundant and therefore superfluous. John never says this explicitly, but his very lack of interest in the sacrificial system makes it evident. Clearly Jesus' death is the true sacrifice because His blood "cleanses us from all sin" (1 Jn. 1:7). Revelation also refers quite often to the slaying of the lamb (Rev. 5:6, 12; 7:14; 12:11; 13:8), and the redemptive result of Christ's blood (Rev. 1:5; 5:9; 7:14; 12:11).

C. Hebrews. The most elaborate and theologically complete exposition of the superiority of Christ's sacrifice is found in the epistle to the Hebrews. The sacrifices of the old covenant are inferior because they stem from an inferior priesthood. The Levitical priests were sinful and thus they needed to offer sacrifices for their "own sins and then for those of the people" (He. 7:27). They were also mortal and thus could not serve as priests forever (7:23). But the priesthood of Christ is eternal and perfect, eternal because He lives forever and perfect because He was without sin (7:26-28). Indeed, the priesthood of Christ is superior because He is a priest of a superior order, viz., that of Melchizedek (7:1-22). God swore that the priesthood of Melchizedek would last forever, but He never made any such promise about the Levitical priesthood (7:20f.).

The inferiority of OT sacrifices is also due to the limitation of the old covenant. Indeed, God's promise to make a new covenant shows that He viewed the former one as inadequate and temporary (8:1-13). The author of Hebrews then proceeds to explain the inadequacy of the sacrifices of the old covenant, and the superiority of the sacrifice of Jesus. (1) OT sacrifices merely dealt with external reality. They focused on food, drink, ritual washings, and other regulations (9:10), but they did not "perfect the conscience of the worshiper" (9:9), i.e., they did not really purify one from sin (10:2f.). They merely cleansed the flesh (9:13), but Christ's death cleansed the conscience (9:14). (2) OT sacrifices were symbolic of a deeper reality. They were only copies and shadows, not the very substance of what God had promised (10:1). The entire ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16) was a picture that access to God had not yet been gained on a permanent and effective basis (9:7f.). The earthly tent and animal sacrifices were pictures of a heavenly tent and a more effective sacrifice. The author made it clear that the "heavenly sanctuary" was not a literal place, but he used symbolic language from the OT to portray entrance into God's very presence (9:23f.). Animal sacrifices conveyed the truth that blood was needed to effect forgiveness (9:22), but they themselves did not accomplish that forgiveness, "for it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins" (10:4). These sacrifices pointed forward to the sacrifice of Christ, and once His sacrifice had been accomplished the former ritual became unnecessary (10:5-9). (3) The repetition of OT sacrifices showed their inferiority. If they were really effective, then they would not need to be offered again and again. Indeed, the constant repetition of such sacrifices served as a reminder of sin (10:2-4). If they really removed sins they would not need to be offered again. In contrast, the superiority of Christ's sacrifice was indicated by its definitive and effective nature. His one sacrifice was effective for all sins (9:26-28), and never needs to be repeated. (4) The sacrifice of animals was by necessity forced upon the creature. But the sacrifice of Christ was personal and voluntary (10:5-10), indicating that the new covenant is founded upon a more satisfactory and personal basis.

The difference between OT sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice is portrayed in a striking series of contrasts by the author. The priest continued to stand, offering the same sacrifices day by day (10:11), but Christ "sat down at the right hand of God" (10:12) because His work was finished (1:3). The priest offered many sacrifices, but Christ offered only one (10:11f.). The work of the priest was never done, but the work of Christ is complete and final (10:11f.). The priest offered animals (10:4) but Christ offered Himself (10:5-10).

Thus the author of Hebrews gave us the fullest exposition of what other NT writers implied. He reflected on the significance of Christ's sacrifice in light of the old covenant, and effectively saw the difference between the old and new covenant. He did not denigrate the sacrifices of the old covenant. It is illuminating to see how the author of the Epistle of Barnabas made this very mistake when writing about the old covenant (cf. 2:4-10). He so wanted to emphasize the superiority of the new that he came close to saying that the old covenant, particularly circumcision, was a mistake from the very beginning (cf. 9:4). The author of Hebrews did not fall into such an obvious, and yet attractively simple, error. Instead, he saw the complexity of the relation between the two covenants. The old covenant really was from God, but the death and resurrection of Christ have inaugurated the new covenant, and this means that the old covenant must be interpreted in the light of the Christ event. Continuity exists between the two eras, namely, God still requires a sacrifice. The difference, however, is that Christ's sacrifice cancelled out the need for any more animal sacrifices. His self-offering is definitive, efficacious, final, and complete.

VI. The Eucharist as a Sacrifice.—One last topic needs to be considered briefly. Did the NT writers think the eucharist was a sacrifice? Paul's discussion in 1 Cor. 10:14-22 is relevant here, and it is clear that Paul spoke in sacrificial terms. But Paul did not say here that the eucharist is a perpetual sacrifice or a repetition of Christ's sacrifice (cf. He. 9:25-28). The subject of Paul's discussion was the participation in the benefits of that which is sacrificed. Those who offered the sacrifices in the OT ate that which was left over from the sacrifices (1 Cor. 10:18;

cf. Lev. 7:6, 15). Paul's thesis was that those who participate in the eucharist participate in the benefits of Christ's death. But how can they sit at the Lord's table and participate in the benefits of the Lord's death and at the same time sit down in an idol's temple and participate in the benefits of that which was sacrificed to idols? Obviously, such behavior is completely incongruous and inappropriate. One cannot have it both ways, gaining the benefits of Christ's death and at the same time expose oneself to demonic influences (1 Cor. 10:20-22). In short, Paul did not say that the celebration of the eucharist "is" a sacrifice; he said that when Christians celebrate the eucharist they participate in the benefits of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice (cf. 1 Cor. 11:23-26). The passages in the Synoptics on the institution of the eucharist (Mk. 14:22 par.) undoubtedly indicate that Jesus' death contains sacrificial significance; it is also clearly associated with the Passover meal (cf. 1 Cor. 5:7). But they do not imply that the eucharist itself is a repetition of that sacrifice. Instead, believers recall and participate in the significance of Christ's once-for-all death during the eucharist.

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SACRILEGE; SACRILEGIOUS. In 1 Esd. 1:49 (LXX 47) the word for "commit . . . acts of sacrilege" is Gk. *asebéō*, "act impiously," translated "be ungodly" in 2 Pet. 2:6 (cf. Jude 15). For Mt. 24:15 par. Mk. 13:14; 1 Macc. 1:54 *see* DESOLATING SACRILEGE. For Acts 19:37; 2 Macc. 4:39; 13:6 *see* ROBBING OF TEMPLES.

SADAMIAS sad-ə-mī'əs (2 Esd. 1:1, AV). *See* SHALLUM **6.**

SADAS sā'dəs (1 Esd. 5:13, AV). *See* AZGAD.

A relief from the palace of Ashurbanipal depicting an Assyrian archer on a decorative cloth saddle with tassels (from Nineveh, *ca.* 668-630 B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

A limestone orthostat from the palace of Kapara at Tell Ḥalâf (10th cent. B.C.) showing a box saddle attached to a camel by crossed straps (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore)

SADDEUS sə-dē'əs (1 Esd. 8:45, AV). *See* IDDO **1.**

SADDLE [Heb. *ḥāḇaš* (Gen. 22:3; Nu. 22:21; Jgs. 19:10; 2 S. 16:1; 26; 1 K. 13:13, 23, 27; etc.), *kar* (Gen. 31:34), *merkāḇ* (Lev. 15:9)]; AV also FURNITURE (Gen. 31:34); NEB also BAG (Gen. 31:34), HARNESS, LADEN, etc.

A saddle was a rider's seat that was strapped to the back of an animal. A rigid saddle is thought to have been developed by the Scythians *ca.* 700 B.C. Throughout most of the biblical period, however, a saddle probably consisted only of a piece of cloth or leather.

In the RSV OT the verb *ḥāḇaš*, "saddle," always refers to the saddling of asses, which were used to transport both goods (2 S. 16:1) and persons (1 K. 13:13). The noun *merkāḇ* (< *rāḵaḇ*, "ride") refers literally to something for riding, but in Lev. 15:9 it may refer to an article other than a saddle, e.g., a cart or part of it (G. J. Wenham, *Leviticus* [*NICOT*, 1979], p. 218 n. 5). In Gen. 31:34 Rachel concealed the teraphim from Laban in some kind of saddlebag or basket.

G. WYPER

SADDLECLOTHS [Heb. *bigdê-ḥōpeš*] (Ezk. 27:20); AV PRECIOUS CLOTHES. Decorative riding cloths imported by the city of Tyre from Dedan in Arabia.

SADDUC sad'ək (1 Esd. 8:2, AV). *See* ZADOK **1.**

SADDUCEES [Gk. *Saddoukaioi*]. Members of a Jewish politico-religious party dating from the Maccabean period through the late 1st century.

I. Name
II. History
III. Character
IV. Doctrines
V. Sadducees in the NT

I. Name.—The origin of the name of this Jewish sect has apparently been lost. None of the following suggested etymologies is entirely satisfactory. (1) One suggestion is that Sadducees means "righteous ones," the Hebrew name for the Sadducees being formed from the same root (Heb. *ṣdq*) as the word for righteousness. But no explanation can be given for the vowel change from the *î* in "righteous ones" (*ṣaddîqîm*) to the *û* in "Sadducees" (*ṣᵉdûqîm*). This explanation of the name was posited by some of the Church Fathers (Epiphanius *Haer.* xiv.2.1; Jerome *In Mt.* 22:13). It is doubtful, however, that either the Sadducees themselves or others would have chosen "righteousness" as their distinctive trait (although the Pharisees acknowledged the priests' greater holiness and rank in the theocracy; see *HJP*², II, 404).

(2) An explanation more widely accepted by modern scholars (but as old as the early 2nd cent. B.C.; cf. comments on Hebrew text of Sir. 51:12 below) is that the name is derived from "Zadok" (Heb. *ṣāḏôq*; LXX *Saddouk*), making "Sadducee" equivalent to "Zadokite" or "son of Zadok." The Zadok in mind is probably Aaron's descendant by that name, who with Abiathar served David as priest (2 S. 8:17; 15:24-29) and then under Solomon was appointed chief priest in Abiathar's stead after Abiathar supported Adonijah rather than Solomon as king (1 K. 1:8, 32-39, 44f.; 2:26f., 35). Zadok's line served as priests until the Babylonian Captivity; after the Exile Zadok's line was restored to the priesthood in the person of Joshua the son of Jehozadok (Hag. 1:1). Ezra also claimed descent from Zadok (Ezr. 7:2). The official status of the Zadokite priests ended abruptly when Antiochus IV deposed the Zadokite Onias III and made Menelaus high priest in 171 B.C.; but unofficially the Zadokites continued to serve as priests at a rival sanctuary at Leontopolis in Egypt until *ca.* A.D. 70 (Josephus *BJ* vii.10.2f. [421-432]; *Ant.* xiii.3.1-3 [62-73]; see also *TDNT*, VII, 38). The esteem in which this priestly line was held is evident in Ezk. 40:45f. (cf. 43:19; 44:15; 48:11), where only "the sons of Zadok" can "come near to the Lord to minister to him," and in the special blessing given these priests in the Hebrew text of Sir. 51:12 ("Give thanks to him who chose the sons of Zadok to be the priests"); see *HJP*², II, 407; *TDNT*, VII, 37; cf. also 1QS 5:2, 9). Perhaps the Sadducees' association with the Zadokite line was an attempt to lend validity to their priestly status (they are closely linked to the high priesthood in both Josephus and the NT). This explanation is problematic, however, in that the Sadducean priesthood was generally not of Zadokite lineage (see Reicke, p. 153).

On the other hand, a late rabbinic tradition (*Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* 5) traced the name to another Zadok, a second-century B.C. follower of Antigonus Soko; Antigonus's teaching, namely that one should not look for a reward in the future life for service to God, was thus linked to the Sadducees' denial of life after death. But this rabbinic tradition is unreliable, since it is late (*ca.* 9th cent. A.D.) and mistakenly places the origin of the Boethusian party at the same time as that of the Sadducees, tracing the parties to two different disciples of Antigonus. Other sources indicate that the Boethusians derived their name from the high-priestly family of Boethus in the time of Herod (e.g., *Ant.* xviii.1.1 [3]; xix.6.2 [297]; see *HJP*², II, 406 n. 16; *TDNT*, VII, 42; Jeremias, p. 230).

(3) The non-Zadokite lineage of many of the Sadducees led T. W. Manson to offer another explanation: "Sadducee" is a transliteration of Gk. *sýndikoi*, "syndics" or "judges." The Greek word denoted officials who had functions similar to those of the Sadducees. It was used for members of the Sanhedrin, and it fits the status of the many Sadducees who were laymen. Like the derivation from *ṣaddîqîm*, however, this etymology fails to offer a satisfactory explanation of the vowel changes.

It is impossible to say with certainty which if any of these explanations is correct. The real etymology may have been lost and others created to fill the gap.

II. History.—A. Earliest Mention. The earliest period with which the Sadducees are associated is the time of Jonathan the brother of Judas Maccabeus (160-143 B.C.). (*See* INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD; MACCABEES.) Josephus stated (*BJ* ii.8.2-14 [119-166]; *Ant.* xiii.5.9 [171-73]) that there were three schools at this time: the PHARISEES, the Sadducees, and the Essenes; he described each briefly but without indicating their origins. The Sadducees may have comprised most of the senate (predecessor of the Sanhedrin) when it began prior to the Maccabean rebellion; on the other hand, they may have developed after the rebellion, since they were closely associated with the new Hasmonean high-priestly line begun by Jonathan's brother Simon (142-134 B.C.), which replaced the old high-priestly line destroyed in the revolt (cf. 1 Macc. 14:41-49). During this period of Jewish history the priestly upper classes (with which the Sadducees were largely identified) were in charge of political as well as religious affairs (*HJP*², II, 412). (*See* PRIEST, HIGH V, VI; PRIESTHOOD IN THE NT I.)

B. Hasmonean Period. Simon's successor as high priest and ethnarch was John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.). Hyrcanus was originally a disciple of the Pharisees, but during his rule he transferred his allegiance to the Sadducees (see *Ant.* xiii.10.5f. [288-296]). This was the beginning of the close association between the Sadducees and the Hasmonean high priests; the Sadducees became the real ruling party (*HJP*², II, 413). Aristobulus I (104-103 B.C.), successor of John Hyrcanus, was the first ruler to assume the title "king." Sadducean power and influence were temporarily reduced, however, when Salome Alexandra (76-67 B.C.), who succeeded her husband Alexander Janneus (103-76 B.C.) to the throne, came under the influence of the Pharisees (her brother was a famous Pharisee, Simon ben Shetech). She appointed her son Hyrcanus II as high priest but without civil authority and reinstated the Pharisees' regulations that Hyrcanus had abolished; thus she granted considerable power for the first time to the Pharisees, who were popular among the masses (*BJ* i.5.1f. [107-112]; *Ant.* xiii.16.1f. [405-409]). At Alexandra's death her two sons quarrelled over the succession. Hyrcanus II (supported by the Pharisees) for a brief time abdicated the throne to Aristobulus II (whom the Sadducees supported); but with encouragement from Antipater, Hyrcanus fought back (*BJ* i.6.1f. [120-27]). The struggle ended only with Pompey's invasion in 63 B.C. (*See also* HASMONEANS.)

C. Roman Period. Hyrcanus II was reinstated as high priest by Pompey as a reward for supporting the Romans during their siege of Jerusalem (*BJ* i.7.6 [153]; *Ant.* xiv.4.4 [73]). But Sadducean power suffered when Herod became king (37-4 B.C.; *see* HEROD II) and put to death many of the Sadducees for urging Hyrcanus to bring him to trial (*BJ* i.18.4 [358]; *Ant.* xiv.9.3-4 [165-69, 175]) and for supporting Antigonus (40-37 B.C.) the son of Aristobulus II,

who had succeeded in taking the high priesthood from Hyrcanus II (xv.1.2 [5]; 6.4 [181]). Herod's appointment of puppet high priests (Josephus listed twenty-eight high priests in the 107 years before the fall of Jerusalem, Ant. xx.10.5 [247-250]) in place of the Hasmonean high priests with whom the Sadducees had been associated also reduced their influence, as did the decline in the power of the Sanhedrin. The Sanhedrin (and hence the Sadducees) regained some governing control when Judea became a Roman province in A.D. 6. Until the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 the Sadducees remained in the majority in the Sanhedrin, and the high priests were Sadducees. Their power was limited, nonetheless, by the necessity of accommodating themselves to the views of the Pharisees, who, although a minority in the Sanhedrin, were much more popular with the people (*Ant.* xviii.1.4 [17]; see also *HJP*², II, 413f.). With the destruction of the temple and of the Jewish state in A.D. 70 the Sadducees lost their function and disappeared from history.

III. Character.–The Sadducees were essentially aristocrats. They virtually dominated the higher echelon of the priesthood, and many Sadducees who were not priests held positions of authority as lay elders in the Sanhedrin. Thus the difference between the Sadducees and the Pharisees was not a simple one of priests versus laymen (many Pharisees were also priests — mostly of the lower ranks, but probably some even in the upper levels). Rather, the Sadducees derived their power from their class, while the Pharisees derived theirs from learning (*HJP*², II, 404). Indeed, Josephus characterized the Sadducees as "men of the highest standing" (*Ant.* xviii.1.4 [17]). As a result of their high social status the Sadducees were dominated by political interests, and in these areas they were rigidly conservative, it naturally being in their best interest to maintain the status quo. Maintaining the status quo necessarily entailed collaboration with the Roman occupiers, by whom their power was delegated, and for this self-serving policy the masses despised the Sadducees. The Sadducees' strict policies of law and order, described as "heartless" or "savage" (*Ant.* xx.9.1 [199] in contrast to the "leniency" of the Pharisees (xiii.10.6 [294]), appeased the Romans and kept the Sadducees in power. Understandably they found any popular movement threatening, especially if it had political overtones as in the frequent messianic uprisings. In this light Jesus' statements about a Kingdom (and Himself as king *in any sense*) would have been alarming to the Sadducees (cf. the exchange between the chief priests and Caiaphas the high priest in 11:48-50). On the other hand, if Jesus' teaching was understood as a call for radical changes in life-style and for justice in the public arena (see Cassidy, pp. 52-54, 114-121), His claims could hardly have been less acceptable to the Sadducees.

The Sadducees' concern to maintain their position of power may in part explain their rejection of oral tradition. As priests they insisted on exercising their prerogative of interpreting the Torah, and they accepted as binding only the laws and regulations recorded in Scripture. Thus they did not accept as authoritative the Pharisees' oral law (*Ant.* xiii.10.6 [296f.]). In fact, students were even encouraged to dispute with their own Sadducean teachers about the interpretation of the law (*Ant.* xviii.1.6 [167]).

Their aristocratic status notwithstanding, Josephus described the Sadducees as lacking in social graces (*BJ* ii.8.14 [166]). Essentially rural landowners, they were characterized by crudity, coarseness, loudness, quarrelsomeness, vulgarity, and violence (cf. Mt. 26:67f.; Acts 23:2f.). By contrast the Pharisees, as their urban merchant position required, are depicted as refined, urbane, harmonious, and affectionate.

IV. Doctrines.–What is known about the teaching of the Sadducees comes entirely through secondary sources, particularly Josephus, the NT, and the Mishnah. All of these portray the Sadducees in a negative light and especially contrast their doctrines with those of the Pharisees. Josephus was by no means an objective observer. Although he was of priestly descent, he adopted the Pharisaic way of life when he was nineteen (*Vita* 38) and generally showed a hostile attitude toward the Sadducees. Talmudic accounts are late (written long after the disappearance of the Sadducees from history) and Pharisaic; thus they too are unreliable.

Josephus indicated that the Sadducees did not give binding authority to oral law because it is "not recorded in the Laws of Moses" (*Ant.* xiii.10.6 [297]). The Pharisees, by contrast, claimed that the Gk. *paradósis tōn presbytérōn* ("traditions of the elders") went back to Moses himself and were therefore obligatory. Whether the Sadducees' rejection of oral tradition extended to the denial of canonical status for the OT Prophets and Writings (as claimed by some of the Church Fathers; e.g., Hippolytus *Ref.* ix.29; Origen *Contra Celsum* i.49; Jerome *In Mt.* 22:31f.; see *HJP*², II, 408 n. 24) is another question, however, since during the intertestamental period these writings were regarded as Scripture by all Jews. Since Josephus and the NT said nothing about the Sadducees rejecting these portions of Scripture, most modern scholars believe that the Church Fathers were in error. It is possible, however, that the Sadducees did not accept even these Scriptures as binding interpretation of the Torah, which for them stood as authoritative in a unique sense.

Josephus also noted that the Sadducees denied the resurrection of the body, probably because it is not explicitly mentioned in the Torah; in fact, he stated that they did not believe in any existence after death (the soul perishes with the body, *Ant.* xviii.1.4 [16]) and consequently denied future rewards or punishments in a life to come (*BJ* ii.8.14 [165]). The NT also mentions the Sadducees' rejecton of belief in a resurrection of the body (Mk. 12:18 par.; Acts 4:12; 23:80). The consequent emphasis on life in this world was consistent with the Sadducees' concern with their position of power, status, and wealth, and it left no room for messianic hopes and a coming kingdom of God.

Acts 2:38 states that the Sadducees rejected belief in angels and spirits. Speculation about angels and demons was rampant in the intertestamental period (e.g., cf. 1 En. 10–16 *et passim*; 2 En. 7), and it was probably in reaction to these metaphysical fantasies that the Sadducees denied spirits despite their presence in the Torah.

The Sadducees' this-worldly perspective and political power may have led to an arrogant self-sufficiency that put little emphasis on God's providence. According to Josephus the Sadducees emphasized the freedom of the human will to the disparagement of a doctrine of election, predestination, or fate (the Hellenistic term for "providence," which they denied altogether, *Ant.* xiii.5.9 [173]; *BJ* ii.8.14 [164f.]). In this respect they were the opposite of the Essenes, who relegated everything to fate, while the Pharisees tried to balance the two notions (*Ant.* xiii.5.9 [172]).

The rabbinic writings record many differences between the Sadducees and Pharisees on questions of a ceremonial nature, e.g., the date of the celebration of Pentecost (Mish. *Hagigah* ii.4), the ritual purity required of the priest who burned the red heifer (*Parah* iii.3, 7), laws of contamination (*Yadaim* iv.6f.), etc. Likewise, there were differences of legal practice on such matters as when false witnesses were given the death penalty (Mish. *Makkoth*

i.6), whether masters were responsible for damages done by their slaves (*Yadaim* iv.7), the proper formula for dating divorce documents (iv.8), etc. Because of the late date of the rabbinic literature, however, these distinctions may not be historically reliable. The main difference was that the Sadducees refused to recognize the Pharisaic regulations as binding.

V. Sadducees in the NT.—The Sadducees are referred to by name only fourteen times in the NT. In Mt. 3:7 John the Baptist greets the Sadducees and Pharisees who had joined the crowds coming for baptism with the unflattering epithet "brood of vipers." According to R. H. Gundry (*Matthew* [1982], p. 46), these leaders came "to the baptism" [Gk. *epí tó báptisma*] for critical observation, rather than "for baptism" (RSV). If John's assessment of their character was correct, the Sadducees were an arrogant lot who based their status (even with God!) on their ancestry rather than on their character (cf. vv. 9f.).

The Gospels record two occasions on which Jesus interacted with the Sadducees. On the first occasion (Mt. 16:1-12) the Pharisees and Sadducees tested Jesus, asking Him for a sign from heaven. Jesus' criticism of their inability to interpret "the signs of the times," even though on a natural level they could read the signs of the weather in the sky, suggests that the Sadducees were more worldly-wise than spiritually discerning. He castigated them as an "evil" and "adulterous" (the common OT metaphor for unfaithfulness to God) generation because they sought a sign to test Him, rather than sincerely seeking after God; He stated rather enigmatically they would receive only the sign of Jonah. Later Jesus warned His disciples against the "leaven" of the Pharisees and Sadducees, i.e., their "teaching" (vv. 6-12). The Marcan parallel does not mention the Sadducees here but warns of the "leaven of Herod" [Mk. 8:15], probably meaning the Herodians, who were comparable to the Sadducees in their political opportunism.

On the second occasion (Mk. 12:18-27 par.) the bone of contention was the resurrection, which Mark says the Sadducees denied. They attempted to show the absurdity of belief in the resurrection through a hypothetical case involving multiple levirate marriages of a woman widowed by seven brothers. They asked Him whose wife she would be in the resurrection. Jesus dismissed their question by pointing out their ignorance, for there will be no marriage in the resurrection. Furthermore, he observed that the Torah itself (which the Sadducees viewed as authoritative) points to the resurrection in the account of the burning bush (Ex. 3:6); here God says to Moses that He is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and (Jesus asserted) God is "not God of the dead, but of the living."

The infrequency of the Sadducees' encounters with Jesus in the early part of His ministry suggests that they were initially unconcerned by His activity. This indifference turned to hostility, however, as they began to see Jesus as a threat to their position. The cleansing of the temple (Mk. 11:18), their stronghold, doubtless alarmed them. A shared antagonism toward Jesus brought the Sadducees and Pharisees together in a plan to bring about His arrest, trial, and execution (Mk. 14–15).

The apostles, like their Master, incurred conflict with the ruling Sadducees. After healing a lame man in Jesus' name, Peter and John were arrested for proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection of the dead (Acts 4:1) on the very steps of the temple (Solomon's Portico, 3:11). The Sadducees' animosity was probably based not only on doctrinal considerations (the Resurrection) but also on the fear that a popular uprising might alarm the Romans or weaken the Sadducees' power. Indeed, Acts 5:17 specifically mentions jealousy as a motive when the Sadducees (associated with the high priest) arrested the apostles a second time for preaching and healing in Solomon's Portico and throughout Jerusalem (vv. 12-16).

After Paul had been arrested by the Roman authorities in the midst of a riot (Acts 22), the Roman tribune brought before him the Sanhedrin (composed of Sadducees and Pharisees) to investigate the cause of Jewish hostility to Paul (22:30). Recognizing the doctrinal issues that divided the Sadducees and the Pharisees (23:6-8), Paul played the two parties off against each other by appealing to his identity as a Pharisee, his hope in the Resurrection, and apparently his vision on the road to Damascus (the latter is suggested by the surprising reversal of opinion by some of the Pharisees, who defended Paul's claim to have seen an angel or spirit).

Although explicit references to the Sadducees by name are relatively rare in the NT, the Sadducees' control of the high priesthood and the upper levels of the priesthood (chief priests) means that references to these officeholders involved the Sadducees and reflected their viewpoints and character (cf. Acts 5:17: "the high priest . . . and all who were with him, that is, the party of the Sadducees").

Apart from their involvement in Jesus' arrest and crucifixion, the chief priests and high priest are seldom mentioned in the Gospels (cf. Mt. 2:4; Lk. 3:2). In the Fourth Gospel the growing opposition to Jesus by the chief priests and high priest is expressed by Caiaphas, whose words reveal the cold expediency of the Sadducees in power: "It is expedient for you that one man [even if He is innocent!] should die for the people" (Jn. 11:49f.; cf. 18:14). The Evangelist recognized a profound theological truth revealed, ironically, in Caiaphas's words by virtue of his sacerdotal position, the significance of his office transcending his personal character (11:51).

When crowds were drawn to Jesus after His raising of Lazarus, the chief priests were prepared to kill Lazarus as well as Jesus (Jn. 12:10). Jesus was not unaware of the hatred brewing against Him, and He repeatedly predicted His arrest by the chief priests, His trial, and His execution (Mk. 8:31; 10:33f.).

The Evangelists' narratives of the chief priests' and scribes' plotting to arrest Jesus indicate the Sadducees' cunning as well as their alienation from the populace: they sought to arrest him "by stealth" because they feared the people's reaction (Mk. 14:1f.). Their opportunity came when Judas Iscariot went to the chief priests with an offer to betray Jesus (v. 10). Not above paying for Judas's treachery, they promised money, and he sought a private occasion when they could arrest Jesus (v. 12).

Jesus' retreat to Gethsemane for prayer provided the privacy the Sadducees sought. As if their use of such an occasion were not bad enough, the chief priests sent their henchmen armed with swords and clubs (Mk. 14:43; cf. v. 48) to take a man who disavowed violence, even in His own defense (Mt. 26:52).

The chief priests' actions in the course of Jesus' "trial" indicate the character of Sadducean realpolitik: concern for ceremonial law, ritual purity, preservation of their status, "keeping the peace," etc., yet complicity with the Roman overlords. They paid blood money but would not use it in the temple treasury (Mt. 27:6). They would not defile themselves with Gentiles by entering the praetorium (Jn. 18:28), but they would hand over a fellow Jew to be tried by Gentiles (v. 35). They seem not to have cared that Jesus might be innocent (Mt. 27:3f.). They condemned Jesus to death by their interpretation of Jewish law (Jn. 19:7), yet demanded from Pilate a Roman form of execution (vv. 6, 15). They charged Jesus with stirring up the

people (Lk. 23:5), while they themselves stirred up the people against Jesus (Mk. 15:11). They distorted His metaphorical prediction of His death and resurrection (Jn. 2:19-22) to charge Him with threatening violence against the temple (Mk. 14:58); possibly they were so blinded by their power and materialism that they could only understand Jesus' words literally, but clearly they were not beyond using false testimony (Mt. 26:59). They preferred to have Pilate free Barabbas, an insurrectionist (ironically this was their charge against Jesus, Mk. 15:11; Lk. 23:2; Jn. 19:12) and murderer, rather than Jesus. Even Pilate could see that they were motivated by envy (Mk. 15:10). In declaring Caesar to be their king (in response to Pilate's mocking insult that the peasant preacher Jesus was their king), they showed themselves to be accommodationists to the Romans (Jn. 19:12; Lk. 23:2), who were so hated by most Jews. Their physical and emotional abuse of Jesus (hitting and spitting, Mk. 14:65) during His trial and even while He was dying ("he saved others, let him save himself," Mk. 15:31f.) ill befitted the religious leaders of a nation whose Messiah was to proclaim release to captives. Even faced with evidence of the Resurrection from the tomb guards they had stationed to watch Jesus' body, they paid off the soldiers (as they had Judas) and concocted the lie of a stolen body (Mt. 28:11-15).

The same Sadducean characteristics are visible in the interactions of the chief priests and high priest with the apostles in Acts. They were preoccupied with power; e.g., they asked Peter and John by what power they had healed the lame man (Acts 4:1-7). The preaching of the Resurrection (by Peter and John, Acts 4:2, 10-12; later by Paul before the council, 23:6-8) was a thorn in their flesh. They were anxious to prevent the spread of this new teaching among the people (4:17), but their fear of the people (4:21; 5:26, 40) limited their ability to harm Peter and John. Their trumped-up charge against Stephen was that he had spoken against the temple (6:14; 7:1), the seat of Sadducean power. Before his conversion Saul had commissions from the high priest to bring Christians bound to Jerusalem to be tried by the high priest (9:1, 14, 21; cf. 22:5; 26:10, 12). After Paul turned Christian missionary, the high priest accused him first before the Roman tribunal (22:30) and later before Felix the governor (24:1) and his successor Porcius Festus (25:2). The high priest was willing to cooperate with forty conspirators who banded together in a plot to kill Paul (23:14). Yet, despite the unworthy character of Ananias the high priest, Paul respected the high priest because of the office itself (23:2-5).

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W. J. MOULDER

SADHE tsä'dä [צ, ץ]. The eighteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet and as such employed in Ps. 119 to designate the eighteenth part, every verse of which begins with this letter (vv. 137-144). It is transliterated here as *ṣ* and pronounced almost as "ts." It came to be used for the number ninety. *See* WRITING.

SADOC sā'dok.

1. (2 Esd. 1:1, AV). *See* ZADOK 1.
2. (Mt. 1:14, AV). *See* ZADOK 8.

SAFE; SAFELY; SAFETY [Heb. *šālôm, bᵉšālôm, lᵉšālôm, šālēm* (Gen. 33:18)] (Dt. 29:19; 1 S. 20:13; 20:21; 2 S. 19:30; 2 Ch. 19:1; Job 21:9; Ps. 55:18 [MT 19]; etc.); AV also PEACE, SHALEM (Gen. 33:18); NEB also BE WELL, EASY (Jer. 12:5), VICTORIOUS, UNSCATHED (Isa. 41:3), etc.; [*beṭaḥ, lāḇeṭaḥ*] (Dt. 12:10; 33:12; 33:28; 1 S. 12:11; Ps. 4:8 [MT 9]; etc.); NEB SECURITY, PEACE AND QUIET, PEACE, etc.; [*bāṭaḥ*–'trust'] (Job 11:18; hiphil part., Ps. 22:9 [MT 10]); AV also HOPE; NEB CONFIDENCE, LAY; [*ṭôḇâ*–'good'] (1 S. 24:19 [MT 20]); AV WELL; [*tāmîm*–'complete' (2 S. 22:33; Ps. 18:32 [MT 33]); AV PERFECT; NEB BLAMELESS; [*ṣāpan*–'hide'] (Ps. 31:20 [MT 21]); AV SECRETLY; [*ḥāsâ*–'seek refuge'] (Ps. 61:4 [MT 5]); AV TRUST; NEB SHELTER; [*yᵉšaʿ*–'welfare, prosperity'] (Job 5:4, 11; Ps. 12:5 [MT 6]); NEB also PAST HELP, VICTORY; [niphal of *yāšaʿ*–'receive help'] (Ps. 119:117; AV SEE DELIVERANCE; [*tᵉšûʿâ*–'deliverance'] (Prov. 11:14); NEB VICTORY; [*śāgaḇ*–'be high'] (niphal, Prov. 18:10; pual, 29:25); NEB REFUGE; [niphal infinitive of *nāṣal*] (Hab. 2:9); AV DELIVERED; NEB SAVE; [hiphil of *ʿāwaz*] ("flee for safety," Isa. 10:31; Jer. 4:6; 6:1); AV GATHER THEM/YOURSELVES, RETIRE; NEB also TAKE REFUGE, SAVE YOURSELVES; [Gk. *syntēréō*] ("keep safe," Mk. 6:20); AV OBSERVE; NEB CUSTODY; [part. of *hygiaínō*] ("safe and sound," Lk. 15:27); [*asphalḗs*] (Phil. 3:10); NEB SAFEGUARD; [*asphalṓs*] (Acts 16:23); NEB UNDER CLOSE GUARD; [*diasṓzō*–'save'] ("bring safely," Acts 23:24); **SAFEKEEPING** [Heb. *mišmereṯ*] (1 S. 22:23); AV SAFEGUARD; NEB SAFE.

Three major Hebrew words are translated by this English word-group in the RSV OT. The word most often represented is *šālôm*, which is most frequently translated by this word-group when it occurs in the context of battle or conflict. According to J. I. Durham, *šālôm* in these instances signifies "a condition or state from which conflict, either physical or mental, is absent" (p. 276). Some passages speak of individuals reaching *šālôm* by either avoiding or resolving a conflict on their own (e.g., David escaping from Saul [1 S. 20:13, 21] and from Absalom [2 S. 19:24, 30]); but many other passages refer to safety as the result of God's protection. God is the one who resolves conflicts and guards His people, who delivers a person to "safety" (Ps. 55:18 [MT 19]). God gives the gift of protection to His covenant people when they are obedient to His commandments (see T. C. Butler, p. 118). When the Israelites obeyed God's command to go to battle against the Amorite kings, they returned "safe" (Josh. 10:21). In Job 5:24 Eliphaz suggests to Job that if he would trust in God he could be sure that his tent would be "safe." On the other hand, a disobedient people could not count on God's protection. When the Israelites turned to worship other gods, they could not expect Yahweh, the true God, to answer their cry of distress (Dt. 29:19). Likewise, when Ahab went into battle against God's will he was outside the realm of God's protection; but Jehoshaphat returned "in safety" even though he wore King Ahab's robes (2 Ch. 19:1; cf. 18:28-34). (*See also* PEACE.)

A very similar meaning is conveyed by the second most frequent Hebrew word-group rendered by "safe," etc., the verb *bāṭaḥ* and cognate noun *beṭaḥ*. This root signifies a "state of security" or a "feeling of assurance" (*TDNT*, VI, 191f.; see also *TDOT*, II, 88-94); and is most often associated with dwelling or living in safety. The Israelites looked forward to a time when they could dwell in the safety of God's protection (Dt. 12:10; cf. 33:12, 28). They "dwelt in safety" when God delivered them out of the hands of their enemies (1 S. 12:11). Under Solomon's rule Israel and Judah both "dwelt in safety" (1 K. 4:25). The

eschatological hope for Israel was also to "lie down" or "dwell" in safety or security (Hos. 2:18; Isa. 14:30). (*See also* TRUST.)

Several other Hebrew words also speak of dwelling safely under God's protection. God keeps His people safe by sheltering them (*sāpan*, Ps. 31:20; *ḥāsâ*, 61:4). His name is a place of refuge, and those who trust Him are safe (*śāgaḇ*, Prov. 18:10; 29:25). God is the one who makes a person's way safe or "complete" (*tāmîm*, 2 S. 22:33; Ps. 18:32 [MT 33]).

The verb *yāšaʿ* and related nouns *yēšaʿ* and *tᵉšûʿâ* form the third largest word-group translated by "safe," etc. These terms connote "salvation," "liberation," or "victory." As Pedersen observed, they signify a momentary acquisition of peace or safety rather than the lasting state of peace and harmony represented by *šālôm* (*ILC*, I-II, 332). The sons of the fool cannot count on God's deliverance (Job 5:4); but God does save those who mourn (v. 11), the oppressed (Ps. 12:5 [MT 6]), and those who seek to keep God's commandments (119:117).

In the NT "safe" can refer to physical health (*hygiaínō*, Lk. 15:27) or to the protection of a physical life (*syntēréō*, Mk. 6:20; *asphalós*, Acts 16:23; *diasṓzō*, 23:24). Clearly another meaning is intended in Phil. 3:1, where Paul states that his command to rejoice is *asphalés* for the Philippians. Paul seems to be saying that rejoicing in the Lord can be a "safeguard" against the spiritual ills (e.g., dissensions) that plague the Philippian church (see Hawthorne, p. 124).

See also SECURE.

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P. F. PAAS

SAFFRON [Heb. *karkōm*; Gk. *krókos*] (Cant. 4:14). A substance derived from several species of *Crocus*, particularly *C. sativus* L., native to Greece and Asia Minor. The styles and stigmas yield a yellow dye used in antiquity for coloring cloth and also food and wine. It had a limited use as a perfume. Bastard saffron (*Carthamus tinctorius* L.), which yields a similar dye, is a thistle and entirely unrelated to true saffron. It may have been used in Egypt for coloring the grave clothes of mummies.

R. K. H.

SAGA. An episodic story that contains principles fundamental to the history of a people. This narrative literary type is common in the OT. Israel cultivated such materials from various sources, often non-Israelite in origin, to explain the origin or cause of natural phenomena (Gen. 19:1-29), geographical and personal names (Gen. 21:22-33), cultic ritual (Nu. 21:4-9), and characteristics of tribes and nations (Gen. 9:24-27). Though apparently revised continually during transmission to heighten their personal and religious significance, OT sagas embody in detail much of the oral history of the people of Israel.

C. N. JEFFORD

SAHIDIC sə-hid'ik **VERSION.** *See* VERSIONS III.A.

SAIL [Heb. *nēs*] (Isa. 33:23; Ezk. 27:7); [Gk. *anágomai* ("set sail," Acts 13:13; 16:11; etc.), *pléō* (Lk. 8:23; Acts 21:3; etc.), *epopléō* (Acts 13:4; 14:26; etc.), *ekpléō* ("sail away," 15:39; etc.), *diapléō* ("sail across," 27:5), *parapléō* ("sail past," 20:16), *hypopléō* ("sail under the lee of," 27:4, 7), *bradyploéō* ("sail slowly," v. 7), *paralégomai* (v. 13)]; AV also LOOSE, LAUNCH, DEPART; NEB also SET OUT, EMBARK, etc.; **SAILOR** [Gk. *naútēs*] (Acts 27:27, 30; Rev. 18:17); AV also SHIPMAN. *See* SHIPS.

SAINTS [Heb. *ḥᵃsîḏîm*, *qᵉḏôšîm*; Aram. *qaddîšîn*; Gk. *hágioi*]; NEB also LOYAL SERVANTS, GOD'S PEOPLE, HOLY PEOPLE, etc. A descriptive noun for the people of God in the OT and especially the NT.

The affirmation of God's HOLINESS (Heb. *qdš* and Gk. *hágios* word groups) permeates the biblical testimony to His character. The root meaning of the *qdš* word group is "separated from, set apart." God's holiness refers to His separation from creation as sovereign, eternal Creator, and especially to His ethical difference from created beings with respect to His justice, righteousness, mercy, and love.

The people of Israel from the time of the Exodus, came to be called *qᵉḏôšîm* (lit. "holy ones") because they were set apart for God. Their consecration to God meant that they were expected to be different from the rest of humanity. When God covenanted with them at Sinai He proclaimed, "You shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy [*qāḏôš*] nation" (Ex. 19:6; cf. Dt. 7:6). And in the holiness code God commanded Israel, "You shall be holy [*qāḏôš*]; for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2; cf. Ex. 22:31; Lev. 11:44f; 18:1-5; 20:7, 22-26; 22:31-33; 1 Pet. 1:16). Israel was God's special people — His "saints" — because of His gracious choice and action.

The term *qᵉḏôšîm* is less specific than *ḥᵃsîḏîm*. Sometimes *qᵉḏôšîm* refers to Israel as the people of God (Ps. 16:3; 34:9 [MT 10]; cf. sing. in 106:16), and sometimes it refers to angelic beings who worship and serve God (Zec. 14:5; cf. Dnl. 8:13). It is unclear which is meant in Dt. 33:3 (RSV "those consecrated"); Job 5:1; 15:15; Ps. 89:5, 7 (MT 6, 8); but most modern commentators see these as references to heavenly beings. The use of *qᵉḏôšîm* in Hos. 11:12 is problematic. Most scholars understand it as referring not to the people of God (so AV), but rather to Yahweh (so RSV) or, most likely, to pagan gods (so NEB). In Dt. 33:2 the noun *qōḏeš* (lit. "holiness") refers to the heavenly beings who attend Yahweh in heaven (RSV "holy ones"; AV "saints"). It is not clear whether the six occurrences of Aram. *qaddîšîn* in Dnl. 7:18-27 refer to heavenly beings, a special group of God's people, or all of God's people in general (see J. G. Baldwin, *Daniel* [*Tyndale OT Comm.*, 1978], pp. 144-154, for an excellent discussion). It seems best, however, to interpret the term as a reference to at least a portion of the faithful who will receive the Kingdom at the future Day of the Lord. (*See also* REMNANT III.A.3.)

Ḥᵃsîḏîm is rendered "saints" thirteen times in the RSV (nineteen times in the AV). Unlike *qᵉḏôšîm*, *ḥᵃsîḏîm* ("pious, godly ones") always refers to the people of God. In the Psalms it is used frequently (rendered "saints" eleven times in the RSV) to describe God's people as those who are truly devoted to Him. God "will speak peace to his people, to his saints, to those who turn to him in their hearts" (Ps. 85:8 [MT 9]). In the Maccabean period a group of pious Israelites who staunchly defended the law called themselves the Hasidim (Gk. *hasidaíoi*, 1 Macc. 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc. 14:6; *see* HASIDEANS). Some scholars have suggested that all the Psalms using the term *ḥᵃsîḏîm* must come from the Maccabean period; this theory is unlikely, however. It seems that the term originally designated the whole cultic community of Israel and came to be used for an especially devout party within Israel only in the intertestamental period.

Greek *hágios* is the primary term used in the LXX to translate *qāḏôš*, and it has essentially the same meaning,

i.e., "holy." (The LXX used Gk. *hósios* to translate *ḥāsîḏ*.) In the NT *hágioi* always refers to a holy people, set apart by God to Himself. The major difference from the OT concept of "saints" is the new role played by Jesus Christ.

In Mt. 27:52 *hágioi* refers to the godly who had already died, i.e., the pre-Christian believers; in Eph. 2:19 it may carry a similar meaning. But usually in the NT "saints" refers to the corporate Church. Significantly, all of the term's NT occurrences are plural except Phil. 4:21, and even there many persons are in view ("Greet every saint in Christ Jesus"). The term is used four times in Acts (9:13, 32, 41; 26:10) and frequently in Paul's Epistles (e.g., Rom. 1:7; 15:25f.; Phil. 1:1; 4:21; Col. 1:2; cf. He. 13:24) to designate the Christians living in a certain city or town. Most often, however, the word designates all Christians in the entire world (e.g., Rom. 8:27; 1 Cor. 6:2; 14:33; Eph. 1:15, 18). The idea of only certain Christians being lifted up as saints is not taught by the NT. A term that in the OT was reserved for Israel or for the angels is now applied to the entire church, i.e., all Jews and Gentiles who follow Jesus Christ.

In 1 Cor. 1:2 Paul writes: "To the church of God which is at Corinth, to those sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints together with all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours . . ." In this typical statement at the beginning of an Epistle, Paul brings together many of the central NT elements regarding the saints. Clearly all believers in Christ are saints. "Saints" (*hágioi*) here refers to both the local church and the universal Church. The saints are God's possession (cf. Acts 9:13), His beloved (Rom. 1:7). They are saints because God has called them: they owe their impressive status to no one but God. It is in and through Jesus Christ that God has "sanctified" (*hagiázō*) them (cf. 1 Cor. 1:30; 6:11; 1 Thess. 5:23), i.e., "made them holy" or "made them saints." Their holiness thus rests completely on the work of God "in Christ Jesus" (cf. Phil. 1:1; 4:21; Eph. 1:1).

As the holy people of God, the saints have a special relationship with the Holy Spirit (e.g., Rom. 8, esp. vv. 14-16, 27), who is involved in their sanctification (cf. 1 Cor. 6:11; 2 Thess. 2:13; Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet. 1:1f.). This relationship is most poignantly depicted in 1 Cor. 6:19f., which pictures the Christian as the temple of God indwelt by the Holy Spirit — an allusion to the holy God's special presence in the holy of holies in the OT temple.

The saints are characterized by faithfulness to their Lord (Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:2); they are called to endurance in their faith (Rev. 13:10; 14:12). To them has been revealed the mystery of the gospel of Christ (Col. 1:26; Jude 3). They are called to conform their lives to God's holy character, i.e., to live a life that is consistent with their status as saints (Eph. 5:3; cf. 1 Pet. 1:15f.). God ministers to the saints (Rom. 8:27) and intends that they minister to one another's needs (Rom. 12:13; 2 Cor. 8:4; 9:1, 12; Eph. 1:15; 4:12; 6:18; Col 1:4; 1 Tim. 5:10). The saints will receive a glorious inheritance at Christ's return (Eph. 1:18; Col 1:12; 1 Thess. 3:13; 2 Thess. 1:10; cf. Acts 20:32). Then they will judge the world (1 Cor. 6:1f.).

The saints play a prominent role in the Apocalypse. Satan and his evil powers make war upon the saints, persecute them (Rev. 13:7, 10; 14:12), and martyr some of them (16:6; 17:6; 18:24). These passages, with their emphasis on the saints' proximity to God, are adduced by Roman Catholics in support of the veneration of saints after their death (cf. Rev. 11:18; 19:8).

In conclusion, it is important to stress once again that all believers are saints because of the sanctifying work of Jesus Christ. Indeed, while the Church is made up of "holy ones," Christ is "*the* Holy One of God" (Mk. 1:24, par. Lk. 4:34; Jn. 6:69; Acts 2:27; 3:14). All creaturely claims to holiness are based on His gracious gift.

See also SANCTIFICATION.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, II, 224-232, 237; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἅγιος κτλ. (O. Procksch, K. G. Kuhn); *TDOT*, V, *s.v.* "chāsîdh" (Ringgren).

V. R. GORDON

SAKKUTH sak-kōōth', sak'əth [Heb. *sikkûṯ*; Gk. *skēnḗn*– 'tent'; Am. 5:26]; AV TABERNACLE; NEB SHRINE. The vocalization and hence the meaning of *skt* are uncertain. The MT *sikkûṯ* may reflect the vowels of *šiqqûṣ*, "detestable thing" (see *CHAL*, p. 256, and comms.), but this vocalization does not clarify the meaning of the word. Two interpretations of *skt* have been offered. One reflects a reading *sukkaṯ*, "shrine, tent, booth" (LXX, Vulg., Syr., Symm., CD 7:13-19; Acts 7:43; see KD, AV, NEB), i.e., Amos is describing the tent where the Ammonite god MOLECH was worshiped (1 K. 11:33; 2 K. 23:10-14). The other posits a connection with Akk. *SAK-KUT*, the ideogram for the Assyrian god Ninib or Ninurta, who was associated with the planet Saturn (see Mays, pp. 112f.; Wolff, pp. 260, 266). Since Am. 5:26 also refers to "a star (to be) your god" and KAIWAN, the Babylonian god name for Saturn, it appears that Amos is describing the Israelite worship of an Assyrian astral deity.

Because there is little indication of worship of astral deities in Israel before the defeat of Israel (722/21 B.C.) and the importation of foreigners and their gods into the northern kingdom (2 K. 17:24-33), some do not believe that Amos is describing astral deities in this verse. Gevirtz avoids all astral associations by translating *kôḵaḇ* ("star") as "host" (cf. Arab. *kaukabun*), Kaiwan as "place, abode," and Sakkuth as "shrine." Others accept this word as a name of an astral deity but assign the verse to a later editor after 722/21 B.C. Cogan argues that the Assyrians did not force their vassals to worship their deities. He thinks that Jeroboam II's conquest of Syrian territory to the east and Hamath to the north exposed Israelites to an Aramean form of Assyrian astral worship which was gradually accepted (M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B. C. E.* [1974], pp. 103-106). If the worship of the "hosts of heaven" (2 K. 17:16) was part of Baal religion (cf. Zeph. 1:4f.) and the Ammonite Molech was connected with the astral god *ʿaṯtr*, then the acceptance of astral deities of Assyrian origin before the destruction of Israel was not a particularly big step (J. McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians* [1973], p. 30). S. Langdon (*Babylonian Liturgies* [1913], pp. 124-130) reproduced some ancient prayers to Sakkuth.

In this paragraph (5:21-27) Amos condemns Israel for worship which is devoid of justice and righteousness (vv. 21-24) and then contrasts the nation's past worship in the wilderness with its present worship of astral deities (v. 26). God's judgment for these sins will be exile beyond Damascus (5:27).

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G. V. SMITH

SALA sā'lə.

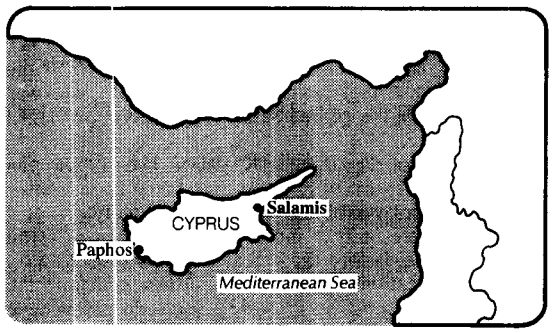
1. [Gk. *Sala*] (Lk. 3:32); AV, NEB, SALMON. *See* SALMON **1.**

2. (Lk. 3:35, AV). *See* SHELAH **1.**

SALAH sā'lə (AV Gen. 10:24; 11:12-15). *See* SHELAH 1.

SALAMIEL sə-lā'mi-əl [Gk. *Salamieēl*]; AV SAMAEL. An ancestor of Judith; son of Sarasadai and father of Nathanael (Jth. 8:1). The name is identical to the LXX form of SHELUMIEL and probably refers to the same person.

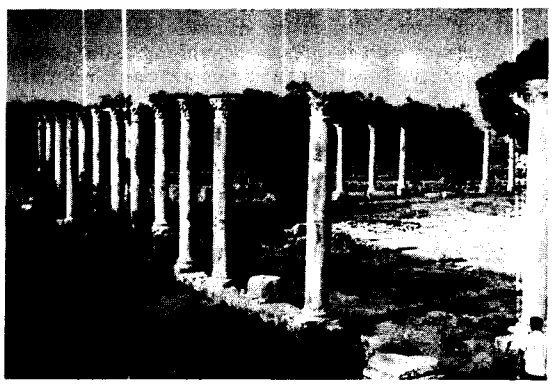
SALAMIS sal'ə-mis [Gk. *Salamis*]. A city on the eastern coast of the island of Cyprus, S of the Karpass Peninsula (the long tongue of Cyprus that stretches out to the northeast) and just N of the modern port of Famagusta. Salamis is sometimes confused with the Greek island of the same name, which is about 16 km. (10 mi.) from Athens. This confusion is heightened because both the island and the Cypriote city were involved in important battles between the Greeks and the Persians in the 5th cent. B.C.



Salamis was the most important city on Cyprus in ancient days, even under Roman rule, when Paphos was made the administrative center for the island (*ca.* 200 B.C.). According to tradition it was founded by the Homeric Teucer (Horace *Carmina* i.7.27ff.) after his banishment from the island of Salamis; but a Mycenaean colony existed there before this time. It seems to have been the first city on Cyprus to strike coins; from the inscriptions on them a list of its kings, beginning in the late 6th cent. B.C., can be made. It was apparently a center of Hellenic influence on the island, and several of its Greek kings led revolts against the Persians (*see* CYPRUS IV).

Acts 13:5 attests a sizable Jewish population on Cyprus; this population sharply increased as a result of the Jewish-Roman war of A.D. 66-70 in Palestine. When the Jews on Cyprus revolted in A.D. 115, Salamis was partially destroyed and many Cypriotes were slaughtered — some reports putting the figure at 250,000. All Jews were expelled from the island in 117.

Corinthian columns surrounding a gymnasium courtyard at Salamis (2nd cent. A.D.) (W. S. LaSor)



Salamis was again destroyed by the two earthquakes of A.D. 334 and 345. The city was rebuilt by the emperor Constantius (337-361) and renamed Constantia. It was totally destroyed by the Arab invasion in 647, and the site has been abandoned since then.

Barnabas, one of the important leaders in the early Church, was a native of Cyprus (Acts 4:36). When he and Paul were sent out on the Church's first missionary outreach, their first stop was Cyprus, and Salamis was the starting point on Cyprus (13:4f.). An early tradition states that Barnabas was martyred in Salamis in A.D. 61 (*ODCC, s.v.* "Barnabas, St."). A tomb reputed to be his was discovered there in 477. Another famous Cypriote church leader, Epiphanius, was archbishop at Salamis from 367 until his death *ca.* 403.

Bibliography.—P. Newman, *Short History of Cyprus* (1940); H. Luke, *Cyprus* (1965); K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria with Routes through Mesopotamia and Babylonia and the Isalnd of Cyprus* (1912); *Enc.Brit.*, XIX; *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1970), *s.v.* "Salamis (2)."

R. A. GWINN

SALASADAI sal-ə-sad'ī (Jth. 8:1, AV). *See* SARASADAI.

SALATHIEL sə-lā'the-əl.

1. (AV, NEB, 1 Esd. 5:5, 48, 56; 6:2; AV also 1 Ch. 3:17; Mt. 1:12; Lk. 3:27). *See* SHEALTIEL.

2. [Lat. *Salathihel*]. The name of the author of the Jewish Apocalypse (4 Ezra) contained in 2 Esdras, who is identified as "I Salathiel, who am also called Ezra" (2 Esd. 3:1). The reference is apparently to SHEALTIEL the father of Zerubbabel, but the identification of Ezra with Shealtiel is historically impossible. For a discussion of this problem, see *APOT,* II, 549, 561. *See also* ESDRAS, BOOKS OF III.

3. (2 Esd. 5:16, AV). *See* PHALTIEL.

SALCAH; SALCHAH sal'kə (AV, NEB, Dt. 3:10; Josh. 12:5; 13:11; 1 Ch. 5:11). *See* SALECAH.

SALE [Heb. *mimkār* (Lev. 25:29; Dt. 18:8), hithpael of *māḵar* (Dt. 28:68), hiphil of *šāḇar* (Am. 8:5)]; AV also SELL; NEB also "inherit" (Dt. 18:8), SELL. A transaction involving buying and selling. Heb. *mimkār* (from vb. *māḵar,* "sell") is also rendered "sale" by the AV in Lev. 25:27, 50 (RSV "sell," "release"). *See* BUYING; RELEASE.

SALECAH sal'ə-kə [Heb. *salkâ*]; AV SALCAH SALCHAH (Dt. 3:10); NEB SALCAH. A city marking the eastern boundary of Bashan, at one time belonging to the kingdom of Og (Dt. 3:10; Josh. 12:5). After the Conquest it was on the eastern boundary of Gad (1 Ch. 5:11). Scholars have almost unanimously identified it with Salkhad, a citadel built on a lava plug in Jebel ed-Druze (the mountain of Bashan). No explanation has been given, however, for the shift from *k* to *ḫ* and the addition of *d* — linguistic facts that should not be ignored in making geographical identifications.

See *GP,* II, 440f., with extensive bibliography.

W. S. L. S.

SALEM sā'ləm [Heb. *šālēm*—"complete, secure, peaceful"; Gk. *Salēm*]. The name of the city of which Melchizedek was king (Gen. 14:18; He. 7:1f.). In view of the parallelism of Salem and Zion in Ps. 76:2 (MT 3), there can be little doubt that at the time this psalm was composed Jewish tradition identified Salem with Jerusalem. Jose-

phus followed the same tradition (*Ant.* i.10.2 [180] and added that it was afterwards called *Hierosolyma,* i.e., "Sacred Salem." In another place Josephus identified Salem (*Solyma*) with Jerusalem (*Hierosolyma*) and the City of David (*Ant.* vii.3.2 [65-68]). (*See* JERUSALEM I.A, B for a discussion of the problems involved in attempting to connect it with *Urusalim* of the Amarna Tablets, etc.)

Nevertheless there have been dissident identifications. (1) Some have identified it with the *šālēm* of Gen. 33:18 (cf. AV, lit., "And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of the Shechem"). The term can also be translated as an appositive genitive, "Salem, the city of Shechem"; this was the rendering of Tg. Onkelos and Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan. The RSV and NEB translation of *šālēm* as "safely" is another possibility. For a location of Salem near Shechem, *see* SALIM. (2) Jerome at one time identified Melchizedek's city with the SALIM of Jn. 3:23, located by Eusebius (*Onom.* 152) at Salumias, 8 Roman mi. (12 km.) S of Scythopolis (ancient Beth-shean). (3) From the 10th to 15th cents. some Christians attempted to locate the meeting-place of Abraham and Melchizedek at Mt. Tabor, possibly using Dt. 33:19, "there they offer right sacrifices [*zibḥê ṣeḏeq*]." This suggestion puts excessive weight on the single word *ṣeḏeq,* and it has no followers today.

F.-M. Abel (*GP,* II, 441f.) favored the identification of Salem with Jerusalem (at least in Gen. 14) on two grounds: (1) in v. 17 the Valley of Shaveh is identified with "the King's Valley," and there was a "King's Valley" at Jerusalem (2 S. 18:18); (2) Abraham, returning from Damascus en route to Hebron, would have passed through Jerusalem. The latter argument is not particularly convincing, since one route from Damascus would cross the Jordan at Beth-shean, and two or three different routes from Damascus would pass through Shechem. More worthy of consideration is his suggestion that Salem was not the proper name of Jerusalem, but rather a symbolic and religious designation of the holy city. This, indeed, is what the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has done with the name (He. 7:2).

All things considered, the identification of Salem with Jerusalem is to be preferred. W. S. L. S.

SALEMUS sal'ə-məs (1 Esd. 8:1, NEB). *See* SHALLUM 6.

SALIM sā'lim [Gk. *Salim*]. A place near Aenon, where John the Baptist baptized during a second phase of his ministry (Jn. 3:23). Comparison with 1:28; 3:26; 10:40 leads to the conclusion that it was W of the Jordan. Several locations for this site have been suggested, but only two seem plausible. Some modern scholars, including W. F. Albright (*HTR,* 17 [1924], 193f.; *AP,* p. 247), have identified Salim with the ancient town of Sâlim, about 6.5 km. (4 m.) SE of Nâblus (adjacent to Shechem), and Aenon with ʿAinûn in the Wâdī Fâr'ah, about 10 km. (6 mi.) from Sâlim. This location, however, is in the heart of Samaritan territory, and it is almost unthinkable that a strict Jew would conduct his ministry there. Even Jesus' interaction with the woman at Jacob's well in Samaria (Jn. 4) must be viewed as a mere interlude. Moreover, a high ridge separated Sâlim and ʿAinûn, hardly making them adjacent.

In the 4th cent. Eusebius (*Onom.*) and Jerome identified it with the village Salumias, 8 Roman mi. (12 km.) S of Scythopolis (ancient Beth-shean); the name may be preserved in Tell Sheikh Salim, which is in this area. Nearby is a place with seven springs that may represent AENON ("place of springs"); the sixth-century Madeba Map has an Aenon in this vicinity. Apparently the area did not belong to Samaria in John's day but was subject to Scythopolis, one of the cities of the Decapolis. While this identification cannot be asserted dogmatically, it is probably the best made to date. H. F. VOS

SALLAI sal'ī [Heb. *sallay*].

1. A leading Benjaminite who lived in Jerusalem after the return from exile (Neh. 11:8). The MT appears corrupt, however, and some have suggested emending *gabbay sallay* ("Gabbai, Sallai") to read *gibbōrê ḥayil* ("mighty men"; cf. v. 14; see *BHS*; *IB,* III, 773; L. H. Brockington, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* [*NCBC,* repr. 1977], pp. 148f.; for another view, cf. J. M. Myers, *Ezra. Nehemiah* [*AB,* 1965], p. 184).

2. NEB SALLU. A Levitical family in the postexilic period (Neh. 12:20). In v. 7, however, the name is given as "Sallu," and the latter is probably the correct form (cf. *BHS*). *See* SALLU 2. N. J. O.

SALLU sal'o͞o.

1. [Heb. *sallû', sallu'*]. Son of Meshullam; a Benjaminite of the postexilic period (1 Ch. 9:7; Neh. 11:7).

2. [Heb. *sallû*]. A priest who returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:7); called "Sallai" in v. 20 (*see* SALLAI 2).

SALLUMUS sal'ə-məs (1 Esd. 9:25, AV, NEB). *See* SHALLUM 12.

SALMA sal'mə. *See* SALMON.

SALMANASAR sal-mə-nā'sər (2 Esd. 13:40, AV). *See* SHALMANESER.

SALMON sal'mən [Heb. *śalmôn* (Ruth 4:21), *śalmâ* (v. 20); Gk. *Salmōn* (Mt. 1:4f.)]; NEB NT SALMA; **SALMA** sal'mə [Heb. *śalmâ'*] (1 Ch. 2:11, 51, 54); **SALA** sā'lə [Gk. *Sala*] (Lk. 3:32); AV, NEB, SALMON.

1. Son of Nahshon and father of Boaz the husband of Ruth (Ruth 4:20f.; 1 Ch. 2:11); thus an ancestor of David and also of Joseph the father of Jesus (Mt. 1:4f.; Lk. 3:32). According to Matthew's genealogy Salmon married Rahab and became the father of Boaz by her (Mt. 1:5).

2. A Calebite; the ancestor of (the residents of) Bethlehem, the Netophathites, (the residents of) Atroth-beth-joab, the Zorite half of the Manahathites, and several families of Heb. *sōp^{e}rîm* (AV, RSV, "scribes"; NEB "sophrites"; 1 Ch. 2:51, 54f.). The text of vv. 54f. is very obscure, and various attempts at reconstruction have been proposed (see comms.).

3. (Ps. 68:14, AV). *See* ZALMON 2. N. J. O.

SALMONE sal-mō'nē [Gk. *Salmōnē*] (Acts 27:7). A promontory forming the eastern extremity of Crete, now called Cape Sidero. Salmone was important as a landmark in Luke's record of Paul's journey to Rome (Acts 27–28). Sailing S from Cnidus of Caria, the navigators of the ship carrying Paul and his companions chose to sail by the southern side of this promontory, thus avoiding difficult westerly head winds (27:7). After passing Salmone the ship followed the southern shore of Crete, sailing W in the shelter of the island. (See Map XXI in Vol. I.)

Bibliography.—See J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1848), pp. 34ff. M. R. COCHRANE

SALOAS sə-lō'əs (1 Esd. 9:22, NEB, RSV mg.). *See* ELASAH 1.

SALOM sā'ləm.

1. (Bar. 1:7, AV). *See* SHALLUM 6.
2. (1 Macc. 2:26, AV). *See* SALU.

SALOME sə-lō'mē [Gk. *Salōmē* < Heb. *šālôm*–'peace'].

1. One of the female disciples of Jesus. Salome is mentioned by name only in the Gospel of Mark, which names her with other women who were present at the crucifixion (Mk. 15:40) and at the empty tomb (16:1). By inference from the other Gospel accounts, Salome is also identified with the mother of the sons of Zebedee (Mt. 27:56) and with the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, who is sometimes called Mary Clopas (Jn. 19:25); hence Salome is often referred to as "Mary Salome." If these identifications are valid, Salome was Jesus' aunt and James and John were His cousins. This would help to explain her request that Jesus give them preferential treatment (Mt. 20:20-24; Mk. 10:35-40), as well as Jesus' request of John at the cross (Jn. 19:26f.) and the immediate response of James and John to Jesus' call (Mk. 1:19f.).

Like Mary Magdalene, Salome is a prominent disciple of Jesus in other apocryphal texts. In the Secret Gospel of Mark (*see* APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS VI) Salome, along with Mary His mother and the "youth whom Jesus loved," is refused an audience with Jesus (2r:16). She is named in various Gnostic documents, particularly the Gospel of Thomas, where she carries on a dialogue with the risen Savior (saying 61; *see* APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS V.J.1). Almost all of Clement of Alexandria's quotations from the Gospel of the Egyptians are dialogues between Salome and Jesus (*Misc.* iii.45, 64, 66, 68, 91f., 97; *Excerpta ex Theodoti* 67; *see also* APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS V.E). Salome is listed among the disciples in various Coptic Manichaean psalms, in one of which she figures prominently, and she appears also in the apocryphal Gospel of Mani. Moreover, as happened with other disciples of Jesus, various apocryphal legends became associated with her, particularly stories connecting her with the infancy narratives as a midwife (*Protevangelium of James* 20). A "Life" of Salome conflated the midwife tale with a popular legend of Mary (or Thais) the niece of the hermit Abraham.

2. The daughter of Herodias by her first husband Herod Philip; identified by Josephus as Salome (*Ant.* xviii.5.4 [136f.]). Although unnamed in the gospels, Salome is commonly identified with the young woman who gave her stepfather Herod Antipas pleasure by her dancing, and who upon her mother's advice requested and received the head of John the Baptist as a boon (Mt. 14:3-11 par. Mk. 6:17-28). Josephus reported that she was married twice, first to Philip tetrarch of Trachontis, son of Herod the Great, and upon his death to Aristobulus the son of Agrippa's brother Herod.

See also HEROD V.B.2.

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K. E. CORLEY

SALT [Heb. *melaḥ*] (Gen. 19:26; Lev. 2:13; Nu. 18:19; Jgs. 9:45; etc.); NEB also SALTPAN; [*mᵉlēḥâ*] (Job 39:6; Ps. 107:34; Jer. 17:6); AV BARREN LAND; BARRENNESS; NEB SALTING, SALT WASTE; [*mālaḥ*] (pual, Ex. 30:35; hophal, Ezk. 16:4); AV TEMPER; [*ḥāmîṣ*] (Isa. 30:24); AV CLEAN; NEB WELL-SEASONED; [Aram. *mᵉlaḥ*] (Ezr. 4:14; 6:9; 7:22); AV also MAINTENANCE; [Gk. *hálas*] (Mt. 5:13; Col. 4:6; etc.); [*halykós*] (Jas. 3:12); [*halízomai*] ("saltness be restored," Mt. 5:13; "be salted," Mk. 9:49); [*gínomai ánalos*] ("lose its saltness," Mk. 9:50); [*artýō*] ("saltness be restored," Lk. 14:34); AV BE SEASONED. A chemical (normally sodium chloride) used in its crystalline form for seasoning and preserving food. In the hot, dry, and windy climate of the Near East, body salts (electrolytes) are quickly lost with perspiration and need to be maintained orally lest dehydration occur. Thus in biblical times salt was recognized as a necessity of life (cf. Sir. 39:26).

With one exception (Isa. 30:24), "salt" in the OT always renders *melaḥ* or one of its cognates. Probably because of its seasoning qualities with ordinary food (Job 6:6), salt was also used to flavor sacrifices (cf. 1 Esd. 6:30; 8:20), both cereal (Lev. 2:13) and bloody (Ezk. 43:24). Because salt was a necessary ingredient in any meal, it could symbolize the hospitality that cemented friendships (cf. the Arab expression "There is salt between us"; cf. also the phrase "eat the salt of the palace," Ezr. 4:14). The phrase COVENANT OF SALT probably arose from the use of salt in covenantal sacrifices (which were eaten by the people as well as being offered to God), and also from its use as a preservative (cf. Ep. Jer. 6:28); thus a covenant of salt was an enduring covenant (Nu. 18:19; 2 Ch. 13:5). Herod's temple had a special "salt chamber" for the ceremonial use of salt (Mish. *Middoth,* v. 3).

Salt could also be a symbol of desolation and barrenness (Dt. 29:23; Ps. 107:34; Jer. 17:6; Zeph. 2:9), due to the custom of sowing the earth of a conquered city with salt (Jgs. 9:45). Such a practice was not limited to the OT world; the Romans also did it when they destroyed Carthage. J. Gray (*I & II Kings* [*OTL,* 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 478f.) suggested that this practice was connected with the ritual use of salt to symbolize a "complete break with the past": when a city was sown with salt it was separated from its past and from common use (see A. Honeyman, *VT,* 3 [1953], 192-95). Gray suggested that Elisha's use of salt to purify the water of Jericho (2 K. 2:20f.) was likewise a ritual of separation: it separated the city from the curse of Joshua (Josh. 6:26).

The normal procedures for childbirth in biblical times apparently included rubbing the newborn with salt as well as cutting the umbilical cord, washing with water, and wrapping in blankets (Ezk. 16:4). Although Arab peasants have followed a similar practice until recently, there is no known biological reason for it. Drying the skin with salt is of no advantage and could even be detrimental in a desert climate. Apparently it was done for symbolic reasons, e.g., because of the relationship between salt and the covenant, or because long life was associated with salt's preservative and medicinal properties, or perhaps because the salt separated the infant from it previous "unclean" state (see Gray, p. 478).

Hebrew *ḥāmîṣ* is used in Isa. 30:24 for a seasoning used with the fodder of cattle. It may or may not refer to salt.

The difficult saying of Mk. 9:49 has been interpreted in various ways. Many commentators have seen an allusion to the use of salt in sacrifices (see above); perhaps, then, the saying refers to the future persecutions in which Jesus' disciples will become sacrifices for God (see comms.). Col. 4:6 uses salt to symbolize speech that is not dull but seasoned with wise and interesting words.

The Synoptics all record sayings in which Jesus compares His disciples to salt and refers to the uselessness of salt that has lost its salinity. Mt. 5:13 emphasizes that Jesus' disciples must be a blessing and preservative in the world; Mk. 9:50 emphasizes that they must be faithful to their covenant relationship with one another; and Lk.

14:34 emphasizes that they must maintain their allegiance to Christ.

Although sodium chloride is a stable compound that does not disintegrate, it should be noted that the salt from the Dead Sea region was generally contaminated with other minerals; thus the salt could be dissolved out of this mixture, leaving a tasteless substance. It was important to take rock salt from the inner layers of mines, since the outer layers could lose their salinity with exposure. Although its impurity made the salt from the DEAD SEA inferior to most sea salts, its accessibility (it could simply be picked up along the shore) made it the main source of salt for Palestine. The region of Jebel Usdum, a mountain of rock salt just S of the Dead Sea, is probably where the "salt pits" (possibly salt mines) of Zeph. 2:9 were located. In Ezekiel's prophecy concerning the freshening of the Dead Sea in the new age, salt swamps will remain so that salt can still be obtained (Ezk. 47:11).

On the account of Lot's wife becoming a "pillar of salt" (Gen. 19:26), *see* LOT II.B.

See also CITY OF SALT; SALT, VALLEY OF.

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SALT, CITY OF. *See* CITY OF SALT.

SALT, COVENANT OF. *See* COVENANT OF SALT.

SALT, PILLAR OF. *See* LOT II.B.

SALT SEA. *See* DEAD SEA.

SALT, VALLEY OF [Heb. *gê' hammelaḥ*]. A valley near the Dead Sea where David and his lieutenant Abishai scored notable successes over the Edomites (2 S. 8:13, where RSV, NEB, "Edomites" [LXX] should be read instead of AV "Syrians" [MT]; 1 Ch. 18:12; title of Ps. 60, which attributes the victory to Joab); later King Amaziah was victorious there (2 K. 14:7; 2 Ch. 25:11).

Desert and steppe lands frequently exhibit saline encrustations, which may be of either climatic or geologic origin. In an area such as that S of the Dead Sea, which has great deposits of rock or fossil salt, any prominent defile might receive the designation "Salt Valley." Thus it is impossible to identify one topographical location from the biblical references.

The traditional view envisaged a level area SSW of the Dead Sea opposite the oasis of the Zered delta, where a plain about 13 km. (8 mi.) long lies adjacent to the salt range of Jebel Usdum, itself 8 km. (5 mi.) long and 200 m. (650 ft.) high. This plain merges into the marshy, salt-impregnated lowlands of es-Sebkah to the SE, but in its present condition it is an almost impossible site for any kind of battle. Quite possibly in earlier days at least part of this area was covered by the Dead Sea.

A more plausible identification is with the Wâdī el-Milḥ, situated E of Beer-sheba and overlooked by a rocky hill, Tell el-Milḥ. This wadi is one of three valleys uniting at Beer-sheba to form the Wâdī es-Seba', which with the Wâdī el-Milḥ would form a natural frontier for Canaan. R. K. H.

SALTWORT solt' wûrt (Job 30:4, NEB). *See* MALLOW.

SALU sā'lo͞o [Heb. *sālû'*–'restored'; Gk. Apoc. *Salōm*]; AV Apoc. SALOM. A Simeonite; father of the Zimri who was slain along with his Midianite consort by Phinehas (Nu. 25:14; 1 Macc. 2:26).

SALUM sā'ləm.

1. (1 Esd. 5:28, AV, NEB). *See* SHALLUM **11.**
2. (1 Esd. 8:1, AV). *See* SHALLUM **6.**

SALUTE; SALUTATION [Heb. *bāraḵ*–'bless'] (1 S. 13:10; 25:14; 2 K. 4:29); NEB GREET; "ask . . . politely for a present"; ['*āmar*–'say'] (1 S. 25:6); AV, NEB, SAY; [*šā'al lᵉšālôm*] (1 S. 30:21); NEB GREET; [Gk. *aspázomai*] (Mt. 5:47; 10:12; Mk. 15:18; Lk. 10:4); NEB also GREET, "wish (the house) peace," "exchange greetings"; [*aspasmós*] (Mt. 23:7; Mk. 12:38; Lk. 11:43; 20:46); AV also GREETING; NEB also "be greeted," RESPECTFUL GREETINGS. To greet. In the OT the salutation is commonly associated with the invocation of blessing (1 S. 13:10) or peace (30:21; cf. the modern Hebrew greeting *šālôm*).

The pharisaic Jews of the NT loved salutations in public places. Often these salutations were very elaborate, involving much time in prostrations, embracings, etc. When Jesus sent out the Seventy, He forbade salutation on the way (Lk. 10:4), although He ordinarily encouraged proper civilities of this sort (Mt. 5:47; 10:12).

In the Epistles the RSV generally renders *aspázomai*, "greet," and *aspasmós*, "greeting." E. B. POLLARD

SALVATION. The act or state of deliverance from danger, especially deliverance by God from the penalty and power of sin.

I. General Significance of the Terms
II. OT
  A. Vocabulary
  B. Distinctive Aspects
III. Greco-Roman World
IV. Intertestamental Literature
V. NT
  A. Vocabulary
  B. Distinctive Aspects
    1. Lukan Writings
    2. Pauline Corpus
    3. *Sōtḗr* in Titus and 2 Peter
    4. Hebrews, General Epistles, Johannine Writings
VI. Theological Significance

I. General Significance of the Terms.–The biblical terms that refer to salvation were used in many areas of life. The idea of preservation, both of people and of things, was common. The terms were frequently applied to rescue from danger, safe travel, and healing of disease, as well as security in general. Words pertaining to salvation are found in both secular and religious contexts.

The various threats posed by neighboring nations resulted in Israel turning repeatedly to God for protection or deliverance from defeat and bondage. Individuals also called on God for personal salvation from enemies and from various threats to safety and health. The greatest demonstration of God's salvation in the OT was the Exodus from Egypt. Moses told the people to stand firm and see God's deliverance (Ex. 14:13), and on that day "the Lord saved Israel from the hands of the Egyptians" (v. 30). But OT history showed that deliverance from physical bondage was not enough. Ultimately, messianic deliverance would be needed to restore the religious purity and integrity of God's people. In the NT the idea of salvation is somewhat different, with less emphasis on the national and political dimensions that were so prominent during the exilic and preexilic periods in Jewish history. Personal salvation comes to the fore, with a new emphasis on personal wholeness, including freedom from disease

and from demon possession, along with spiritual redemption from sin.

The broad use of salvation terminology is seen not only in the variety of general circumstances in which it is used, but also in the specific aspects of spiritual salvation that are indicated. OT believers knew that they could find safety in the "strong tower" of the "name of the Lord" (Prov. 18:10). The book of Acts attributes saving power specifically to the "name" of Jesus Christ, both for physical healing (Acts 3:6, 16; 4:10) and for spiritual redemption (4:12). Beginning with the initial point of conversion, salvation terminology is applied to a full range of blessings, including forgiveness, justification, redemption, sanctification, and glorification. The salvation of God affects the entire person in all dimensions of life.

The temporal aspects of salvation are also broadly viewed in Scripture. The OT conception of messianic deliverance is by nature eschatological, i.e., to be consummated in the future. That future dimension of salvation continues to be present in NT thought. Paul wrote, "our salvation is nearer now than when we first believed" (Rom. 13:11), and 1 Pet. 1:5 refers to "the salvation that is ready to be revealed in the last time." But salvation is not narrowly applied to the future, for it can be affirmed that God has already "saved us and called us" (1 Tim. 1:9; cf. Tit. 3:4f.). Future and past are joined in Rom. 8:24: "For in this hope we were saved." The effects of salvation are also experienced in the present. Paul mentioned "those who are being saved" in 1 Cor. 1:18 and 2 Cor. 1:15; and he admonished, "now is the day of salvation" (2 Cor. 6:2). 1 Pet. 3:21 has the phrase "now saves you" (cf. 1:9). Past and present are blended in Eph. 2:8, where "have been saved" actually represents an expanded verbal construction that emphasizes the present experience of a past act.

Above all, salvation in the Bible is the result of a saving act of God. This is true in both Testaments and in all aspects of salvation, from national deliverance, as at the Exodus, to personal redemption. Personal salvation is realized only through the death of Christ, which is often referred to as His "saving work" on the cross.

II. OT.–A. Vocabulary. Several key Hebrew verbs have traditionally been identified as the core of the evidence concerning the meaning of salvation in the OT. More recently, some scholars (e.g., Sawyer) have employed contemporary semantic methodology, which focuses attention on the broad semantic field, the phraseology that accompanies the words in this field, and the contexts in which the terms occur. This synchronic approach tends to minimize the older emphasis on comparative grammar and etymology (e.g., seeking meanings from cognate languages). While the validity of specific semantic reconstructions may vary, the approach has rightly drawn attention to the need for comprehensive analysis. Such studies, however, need to be supplemented by consideration of the larger historical and theological matrix of God's saving work in both Testaments.

1. Yāša'. This Hebrew verb and its derivatives are the most common OT terms for the basic idea of salvation (some 353 occurrences). The name Jesus derives from this verb. Whereas other terms describe specific aspects of salvation (e.g., redemption), *yāša'* is a general term and the one to which Gk. *sōzō* most closely corresponds. The root idea seems to be that of enlargement, providing space, or, conversely, removing that which restricts. Isa. 45:15-25 illustrates its use. After addressing God as "Savior," the prophet states, "Israel shall be saved by the Lord with an everlasting salvation," adding that (in contrast to makers of idols) Israel will never be put to shame throughout the ages. Verse 21 picks up the theme of v. 15, now adding a twofold statement that God is the *only* Savior. Verse 22 repeats this affirmation and couples it with a call to the "ends of the earth" to be saved. The blessings of salvation promised in v. 17b are restated in reverse terminology in v. 25 (no shame to Israel in v. 17b; shame to others in v. 24, while Israel exults in v. 25). This cluster of salvation words emphasizes the uniqueness of God as Savior.

God saves from (the hand of) the enemy (Jgs. 2:18; 6:14; 1 S. 7:8; cf. the similar phrase in Lk. 1:71, 74); salvation may also be from various troubles of life (Ps. 34:6 [MT 7]), as well as from sinful acts and attitudes (Ezk. 36:29; 37:23). Military "salvation" is ascribed also to human leaders (Jgs. 8:22; 1 S. 9:16). Ultimately, however, salvation is from God alone, as He makes His power known on His people's behalf, in contrast to the helplessness of the enemies' pagan gods. There is no Savior besides God (Isa. 43:11; cf. v. 3; 45:15, 21; 49:26; etc.).

The spiritual or theological aspect of *yāša'* comes through clearly in Ps. 51, where David requests the restoration of the joy of salvation and asks God to save him from bloodguilt (vv. 12, 14 [MT 14, 16]). Salvation is connected both with God's love and with His righteousness. The psalmists request salvation because of God's love (Ps. 6:4 [MT 5]; 109:26; 119:41). Isa. 51:8b parallels salvation with righteousness (cf. above on Isa. 45:21, which describes God as a "righteous God and Savior"). Often the verb is used absolutely, with the reference to be understood from the context (e.g., Ps. 6:4 [MT 5]; 12:1 ["Help"; MT 2]; 106:47; 118:25). It is rendered "Hosanna" in the triumphal entry passages (Mt. 21:9, 15; Mk. 11:9f.; Jn. 12:13). Such use of salvation terminology in the NT builds on the OT. Even the extension of salvation to the Gentiles was already described in the OT by the use of *yāša'* (cf. Ps. 67:2 [MT 3]; Isa. 45:22); it was to be accomplished through the witness of Israel (Isa. 49:6).

The hiphil participle is used of both human and divine saviors (e.g., 2 K. 13:5; but cf. Isa. 43:3; etc.). Like other forms of *yāša'*, this form occurs in verses emphasizing that there is no Savior besides the Lord (Isa. 43:11; etc.).

The derived nouns are used in much the same way as the verbal forms. Thus Samson's victory, in which he used the jawbone of an ass as a weapon, is described as a "great deliverance" (Jgs. 15:18). The same noun, *tᵉšûʿâ*, is used to describe other military victories in 1 S. 11:9, 13; 19:5; 2 S. 19:2 (MT 3); 23:10, 12; etc. This noun can also refer to individual salvation, as in Ps. 37:39; 38:22 (MT 23).

A more common noun is *yᵉšûʿâ*. It is notably used in connection with the Exodus. Ex. 14:13, cited above, states that God's people can take their stand, expecting that God will bring salvation; this fundamental theme is repeated in 2 Ch. 20:17. The Song of Moses states, "God has become my salvation" (Ex. 15:2), and 1 Ch. 16:23 says that God's salvation should be proclaimed daily (cf. par. in Ps. 96:2). This noun is found more than fifty times in the Psalms and Isaiah. God's great salvation brings much joy (Ps. 9:14 [MT 15]; 13:5 [MT 6]; 35:9; Isa. 25:9; etc.). The "cup of salvation" is to be received as God's gift (Ps. 116:12f.). Salvation "belongs" to the Lord (Ps. 3:8 [MT 9]). Ps. 62 twice asserts emphatically that God is the only source of salvation (vv. 1f. [MT 2f.]). God's salvation is an object of hope and longing (Ps. 69:29 [MT 30]; 88:1 [MT 2]; 119:123, 166, 174; etc.). Instances in Isaiah include the well-known reference to the beautiful feet of those who bring good news of salvation (52:7), and the promise that the "ends of the earth" will see God's salvation (v. 10; cf. Ps. 98:3).

Yet another noun is *yēša'*. It is typically used in reference to God as "horn," "rock," or "shield" of "my/our

salvation," or even to God *as* salvation (e.g., 2 S. 22:1-4 par. Ps. 18:2f. [MT 3f.]; also Ps. 65:5 [MT 6]; 79:9; 85:4 [MT 5]; 95:1; Isa. 17:10; Mic. 7:7).

2. Nāṣal. The basic idea of this verb is to pull out, hence to deliver or free someone. It can have the sense of stripping off, and is especially so used in the piel. By far the greatest usage is in the hiphil, with the sense of causing to be separate, usually translated "deliver." It is typically followed by a reference to that from which one is delivered. Ex. 18:9-11 demonstrates that construction and also shows its use in reference to the Exodus: "the Lord . . . had delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. . . . Blessed be the Lord, who has delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians. . . . Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods, because he delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians." This was in accordance with God's word to Moses that He had "come down to deliver them" (Ex. 3:8). The memory of the Exodus is recalled later to emphasize the power of God on behalf of His people (e.g., Jgs. 6:9). The idea that a strong God can deliver His people from the enemy occurs in the taunt hurled at Hezekiah by the besieging Assyrians, who claimed that no god had been able to deliver his people from the Assyrians (2 K. 18:33-35; 19:12; 2 Ch. 32:17). The narrative goes on to relate that the Lord did indeed "save" His people in answer to Hezekiah's prayer (now using *yāšaʿ* rather than *nāṣal*). As with *yāšaʿ*, *nāṣal* frequently describes rescue from enemy attack (1 S. 12:11; 14:48; Jgs. 8:34; 9:17; etc.). While the verb occurs frequently, the noun form occurs only in Est. 4:14, which plainly alludes to divine deliverance even though, like the book as a whole, it does not mention the name of God.

Nāṣal is also used often to describe an act of individual salvation by God. God delivered David "out of the hand of Saul" (2 S. 12:7; 22:18, 49; cf. Ps. 18:17, 45 [MT 18, 46]). The Psalms speak of deliverance from fears (Ps. 34:4 [MT 5]), troubles (34:17 [MT 18]; 54:7 [MT 9]), death (56:13 [MT 14]), Sheol (86:13). The word is also used absolutely (40:13 [MT 14]; 70:1 [MT 2]). Like *yāšaʿ*, *nāṣal* is used to describe spiritual salvation, e.g., "from transgressions" (Ps. 39:8 [MT 9]), "from bloodguiltiness" (51:14 [MT 16]); cf. "deliver us, and forgive our sins" (79:9). Ezekiel uses it in connection with the warning passages (3:19, 21; 33:9), where *mālaṭ* and *ḥāyâ* are also used. The term in the Greek NT that is closest in meaning to *nāṣal* is *rhýomai.*

3. Pālaṭ. This verb likewise carries the sense of deliverance. It is used mainly in the Psalms. Derived forms carry the meaning of escaping, surviving, or being a fugitive (e.g., Josh. 8:22; Isa. 66:19; Jer. 42:17; 44:14, 28; etc.). Ps. 37:39f. contains a cluster of terms referring to God's salvation of those who take refuge in Him to escape the wicked, including two uses of *pālaṭ*. In Ps. 22, the psalm that begins with the cry of dereliction uttered by Jesus, *pālaṭ* occurs with *nāṣal* in v. 8: "He committed his cause to the Lord; let him deliver [*pālaṭ*] him, let him rescue [*nāṣal*] him, for he delights in him!" Like other words for salvation, *pālaṭ* often occurs with a prepositional phrase indicating the one from whom deliverance is needed (Ps. 17:13; 18:48 [MT 49]; 43:1; etc).

4. ʿÁzar. The cluster of salvation terms just cited in Ps. 37:39f. includes this verb, which is usually translated "help." Although it does not have the specific meaning "save," it is part of the same semantic field. This is seen not only in Ps. 37, but also in 79:9 ("Help us, O God of our salvation . . . and forgive our sins"); Isa. 49:8 ("in a day of salvation I have helped you"); etc.

5. Mālaṭ. The idea here is of escape by slipping away, with God often the cause of this deliverance. Unlike *pālaṭ*, the uses of *mālaṭ* are distributed fairly evenly among several OT books, including 2 Samuel, Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and several of the prophets. Typical uses include the deliverance of the poor (Ps. 41:1 [MT 2]), of the soul from the power of Sheol (89:48 [MT 49]), and of Israel (Isa. 46:4; etc.). It is used in the warning passage of Ezk. 33:5; *nāṣal* and *ḥāyâ* occur with somewhat similar meanings in vv. 9, 16. Of special significance is Joel 2:32 ("And . . . all who call upon the name of the Lord shall be delivered"), which is quoted by Peter on the day of Pentecost (here *mālaṭ* is translated by Gk. *sṓzō*; cf. LXX).

6. Ḥāyâ. A different aspect of salvation is introduced by this verb, which basically means to live. When the verb form expresses the causative idea of keeping alive or reviving someone, the element of salvation is clearly present. It is this verb that is used in the biblical expression "God save the king!" (RSV "Long live the king," 1 S. 10:24; 2 S. 16:16; 1 K. 1:25; etc.). The verb occurs in various contexts, but of special interest is its use in the Ezekiel passages mentioned above, referring to the preservation of the life of the wicked through timely warning (Ezk. 3:18) and through his turning from sin (18:27).

7. Gāʾal and Pāḏâ. Both these terms carry the idea of redeeming someone through the payment of a ransom. They are almost the same in meaning, the former term emphasizing a near relative's role in the act. Although closer to the idea of redemption than of salvation, they are mentioned here because of clear parallels in their use, e.g., "redeemed" from the hand of the enemy (Ps. 106:10), from trouble (107:2) and from iniquities (130:8). There is little concern in these passages with payment of ransom and even less with a payee. The focus is rather on the fact that divine action is needed to obtain freedom for God's people.

B. Distinctive Aspects. These examples show the varied use of the terminology, sometimes in vivid situations of warfare or other distress, sometimes in personal need. Theologically, the desperation of the human condition is stated in contrast to the powerful gracious acts of God. Some terms, e.g., *yāšaʿ* and *pālaṭ*, tend to be used in a religious context more than others.

Divine deliverance is an important theme in OT history. The multiplication of seemingly mundane or insignificant stories of deliverance emphasizes human helplessness and divine power. Although military leaders and others bring salvation in specific circumstances, ultimately it is God alone who is the true Savior. Israel had to learn not to trust human wisdom or military strength but to recognize God as the only source of deliverance.

As is seen in the citations above, there are certain passages, especially in the Psalms, that contain clusters of salvation terminology. Among the most notable clusters are those occurring in Ps. 18:1-3, 16-19 (MT 2-4, 17-20); 34:4-7, 19-22 (MT 5-8, 20-23); 68:19f. (MT 20f.).

Sometimes the idea of separation is prominent, i.e., the person or situation *from* which one is saved is emphasized. When the terms are used theologically, this separation is often from sin or its consequences. A reference to God's righteousness may be expressed or implied, and the idea of divine grace is certainly implicit.

The Exodus stands as the prominent example of God's saving power, somewhat analogous to the Resurrection in the NT. God's saving acts in the OT are not merely a foreshadowing of NT salvation; they have reality and validity in themselves. At the same time they are not merely for the benefit of Israel, for the ideal is that the "ends of the earth" also know God's salvation. The incorporation of the vocabulary of salvation, notably *yāšaʿ*, in proper names testifies to the importance of the concept. This is evident in the name of Joshua, the leader who emerged

from the period of the Exodus, and much more so in the Greek form of that name, Jesus.

The words cited above do not exhaust the field (*pāraq*, for example, is used once each in Ps. 136:24 and Lam. 5:8, where the RSV translates it "rescue" and "deliver" respectively), but they are the main terms. Other associated terms could be cited, which have to do with helping, keeping, etc., but essentially the distinctive ideas associated with salvation are rescue, setting free, deliverance, redemption, and preservation of life.

III. Greco-Roman World.—While historians have differed somewhat in their assessment of the religious climate of the Hellenistic period, certain trends are clear.The old Olympian gods had long since faded as vital forces in religion. The sense of a cosmic unity that developed following the conquests of Alexander spawned an interest not only in such concepts as a world soul, but also in astrology, which functioned on the assumption of a connection between the planets and events on earth. This alleged science was also fostered by a decline in self-confidence and a decline in popular confidence in the ability of superior beings to come to the rescue of their devotees. Fate and luck held humans in their grip. One famous description of the Hellenistic period, offered earlier in the 20th cent. by the classicist G. Murray, was "failure of nerve." Astrology could, it was thought, predict the future, but it could not save. Magic offered some hope for those who learned the formulas, providing mastery of present situations and a key to a better life above.

In the eyes of many inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world, the greatest promise of salvation was offered by the mystery religions. These cults expressed fertility motifs and the vegetation cycles of life, death, and rebirth. The kind of salvation they offered was not comparable to the biblical concept: it was not a deliverance from a hell to a heaven, nor, apart from the idea that lustrations cleansed one of pollution, was it forgiveness of sin. In a world where chance and, even worse, fate seemed to dominate, and where some felt that the body was the prison of the soul, the mysteries offered both help in the present life and eventual release. Through initiation and other rites, and by means of the reenactment of ancient myths, one could identify with cultic figures such as Isis or Mithras. The former was celebrated in beautiful, heart-stirring pageantry. The latter offered a series of steps, somewhat like military promotions, toward a higher calling. Ultimately the devotees hoped for a better hereafter, in which the griefs and limitations of this present life would receive compensation.

One of the most vivid illustrations of the idea of pagan salvation is provided in the *Metamorphosis* or *Golden Ass* of Apuleius (2nd cent. A.D.). In this parabolic, autobiographical story, Apuleius is transformed into an ass. After many cruel and shameful experiences he finally observes a procession in honor of the Egyptian goddess Isis and is released from his captivity. Apuleius uses the Lat. *salus*, a near equivalent to Gk. *sōtēría*, to describe his release from his terrible condition as an ass. In the same work (Book xi) he refers to Isis as a *sospitatrix* (fem. of *sospitator*, "savior").

This and other evidence shows that the gods of the mysteries were at least sometimes thought of as savior gods or deliverers. This is especially true of the god of healing, Asclepius, whose shrine at Epidaurus was the scene of secret rites attended by many who had faith that Asclepius could heal them. Several cautions must be observed lest a too facile correspondence be made between the savior aspect of these gods and that of Jesus Christ. One is that the terminology is not completely equivalent. (This is the case with respect to other words as well, including "mystery.") Mithras, e.g., may be called *salutaris*, an adjective related to *salus*, "salvation," but this terminology was broad, and it related largely to the general idea of well-being. (Our word "salutation" reflects the very general idea of wishing one well, a common use of *salus*.) This word-group, as well as the *sospes/sospito* group, could indeed be used for salvation in our sense of the term, but this must be determined by context.

Another caution is the need to observe carefully the date of the literature in question. Much of the evidence for the mystery religions is later than the NT period. The phrase "reborn for eternity," e.g., used in connection with Mithraism, is quite late. A third caveat to keep in mind is that, while the experiences of help and healing were very real to the initiates, their gods and goddesses belonged to the world of mythology. For example, the experience of Osiris, the consort of Isis, who is said to have died and been reborn, is sometimes compared to the death and resurrection of Christ; but it must be kept in mind that this is part of a myth. Osiris was killed by his enemy Seth. No saving effect was attributed to his death. Isis is said to have brought him back to life, although the myth varies in its details. This is in strong contrast to the historical existence and death of Jesus Christ, and the claim that His tomb was found empty and that He was seen alive. While salvation seemed real to the initiates of the mysteries, it was not based on an objective work of God in human history.

The term "savior" (*sōtḗr*) has a long history in Greek thought. Some of the gods had that epithet attached to their name, e.g., Zeus *sōtḗr*. But the term was also applied to human beings early in Greek history. Initially it described significant actions (e.g., military and political) that brought benefit to others, but it then became more general in application. A. D. Nock has shown that, while it may appear to have been an honorific title, yet "at all times it denoted the performance of a function and not membership of a class in the hierarchy of beings" (pp. 129f.). In the earlier Greek period it was used of private as well as public persons. The philosopher Epicurus was called a *sōtḗr*, and Josephus recorded (*BJ* iii.9.8 [459]) that Vespasian received the designation *sōtḗr* and *euergétēs* ("benefactor"). This latter term was often used in conjunction with *sōtḗr*. Neither term necessarily connoted deity. The emperors were thought of as saviors and benefactors. Augustus, who brought peace to the world, was honored as a *sōtḗr*, sometimes with the addition of *euergétēs*. These terms were commonly and often pompously assumed by political leaders. Jesus warned His disciples not to seek the prerogatives of the Gentiles, who liked to be called benefactors (Lk. 22:25). During the succession of leaders following Alexander the Great, especially in the eastern part of his empire, terms of deity came to be applied to the ruler (e.g., the well-known Antiochus "Epiphanes"). This ruler cult spread from such roots into the Roman empire. This development added a deeper dimension to the more perfunctory use of titles. The increasing insistence that citizens give reverence to the emperors made it difficult for Christians to maintain publicly that Christ, not the emperor, was the true savior.

The uses of the noun *sōtēría* and the verb *sṓzō* in the Greek world are helpfully classified in *TDNT* under the headings "Saving," "Keeping," "Benefitting," and "Preserving the Inner Being," in addition to the specifically religious uses. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and the number of different settings in which the

words are used is striking. There are far more settings for these terms than for the OT terms for salvation. This is natural, considering the scope of the Greek literature in comparison with the national, historical, and religious focus of the OT. Both the OT and Greek literature speak commonly of being saved from illness, disaster, and military loss. Whereas the OT often stresses the subject of the act of saving, frequently God Himself, this is relatively unimportant in Greek literature. Here the circumstances and the act of saving may be quite commonplace rather than spectacular, especially when the meaning is "keeping." Thus money or wine may be "saved," i.e., retrieved or preserved. The terminology may refer simply to the maintenance of a person's well-being. In no sense do these ideas of salvation refer implicitly to divine providence, as in the OT. Rather, these uses are completely secular, whereas in the OT saving acts — even, e.g., by a military leader — are considered ultimately due to the hand of God.

IV. Intertestamental Literature.–While the use of salvation terminology in the Greco-Roman world differed significantly from its use in the OT, this is not the case with most of the intertestamental literature. Thus in the Apocrypha it is God who saves His people from enemies and physical threats. In the Greek portions of the Apocrypha, as in the NT, *sṓzō* and *sōtēría* are the customary terms. The verb *sṓzō* usually has God rather than a human being as subject, but some figures, notably Judas Maccabeus, do receive the appellation *sōtḗr* (1 Macc. 9:21).

The LXX uses *sṓzō* comprehensively for the various Hebrew words. This makes it difficult to discern how Jewish scholars in the intertestamental period distinguished between the various Hebrew terms. On occasion, however, a distinctive term is used, such as *ho rhyómenos,* "the deliverer," for *gō'ēl,* "redeemer."

It has been suggested that the Christian idea of Jesus' death as a "saving event" derived from the idea in 4 Maccabees of an "effective death" on the part of the martyrs (see Williams). Their sacrifices are described as "a ransom for the sin of our nation" and an "expiation" that brought deliverance (4 Macc. 17:21f.). Also, Eleazar expressed the hope that his death would purify and ransom his people (6:29). It would be difficult to maintain, however, that the martyrs were saving figures in the strong biblical sense that Jesus was.

The Dead Sea Scrolls teach that people are trapped by carnality and sin, with many doomed to the destiny of the wicked. The teachings of Moses, Zadok, and especially the Teacher of Righteousness can lead one to salvation. This salvation is largely thought of in terms of rescue and redemption. God reveals His salvation and directs the individual in the way of righteousness. The Thanksgiving Psalms provide many examples, although specific salvation terminology is minimal in contrast to the general emphasis on God's mercy and blessings. God is righteous, and it is only by His grace and will that individuals are saved. The community looked forward to God's salvation in the end time.

V. NT.–A. Vocabulary. 1. Sṓzō. The main terms for salvation in the NT are *sṓzō* and its derivatives. *Sṓzō* occurs 107 times, *diasṓzō* eight times, *sōtḗr* twenty-four times (esp. in Titus and 2 Peter), *sōtēría* forty-six times (esp. in Acts and Hebrews), *sōtḗrion* four times, and *sōtḗrios* once.

The verb *sṓzō* ranges from secular meanings, as in Peter's cry to Jesus when he began to sink in the Sea of Galilee (Mt. 14:30) and the taunts to Jesus to save Himself from the cross (27:40, 42, 49), to religious meanings, e.g., being saved by God's grace (Eph. 2:8; 2 Tim. 1:9). This verb is the NT equivalent of Heb. *yāša'* and carries the meanings of some of the other OT words signifying deliverance. One particular application is to physical health, e.g., Jairus's daughter and the woman with a hemorrhage (Mk. 5:23, 28), and the blind Bartimaeus (10:52). Luke especially uses the verb in this sense (Lk. 8:36, 48; 17:19; 18:42; Acts 4:9; 14:9).

Diasṓzō has approximately the same meaning as *sṓzō.* There seems to be no special significance added by the prefix, except possibly in the description of the safe passage of Noah's family *through* the Flood (1 Pet. 3:20) — a type of Christian baptism. This verb also describes Jesus' healing of crowds (Mt. 14:36) and, in Luke's account (Lk. 7:3), the healing requested by the centurion. Luke also uses the term five times in Acts to describe physical safety (23:24; 27:43f.; 28:1, 4).

The adjective *sōtḗrios* describes that which saves; in Tit. 2:11, e.g., the grace of God is described as "bringing salvation" (RSV "for the salvation"). In its neuter use as a substantive it signifies a means of deliverance ("helmet of salvation," Eph. 6:17). Abstractly it can mean salvation itself, as when Simeon looked at the baby Jesus and said that his eyes had seen God's salvation (Lk. 2:30). In Lk. 3:6 ("and all flesh shall see the salvation of God") its use derives from the LXX of Isa. 52:10. Acts closes with Paul's statement that salvation (*sōtḗrion*) has been sent to the Gentiles (28:28).

2. Rhýomai. This verb occurs seventeen times and shares with *sṓzō* the basic idea of rescue and preservation, but it does not have the same broad semantic range. It is more prosaic and, except for such passages as 1 Clem. 18:14 and 2 Clem. 6:7, does not refer to deliverance from guilt and punishment.

3. Lytróō. This verb (occurring only in the middle and passive in the NT) is used three times. Several derivatives are also significant: *lýtron* occurs twice, *antílytron* once, *lýtrōsis* three times, *apolýtrōsis* ten times, and *lytrōtḗs* once. The idea of redemption conveyed by these terms is similar to the meaning of *sṓzō* in that someone is rescued and brought into freedom. Thus the noun *lytrōtḗs,* used once to describe Moses as a deliverer of his people at the Exodus (Acts 7:35), may be compared to *sōtḗr.* The word *apolýtrōsis,* "redemption," occurs in 1 Cor. 1:30 as a concrete term signifying Christ as Redeemer. The verb diverges somewhat from these salvific ideas when it focuses on the payment of a ransom (Mt. 20:28 par. Mk. 10:45). When it is used more generally, however, it is close to *sṓzō,* as in Lk. 24:21; Tit. 2:14. The other derivatives describe the ransom paid for redemption.

B. Distinctive Aspects. 1. Lukan Writings. It is customary to point out the prominence of the theme of salvation in Luke and Acts. This generalization is based partly on the frequency of salvific terms in these writings. Actually, Luke uses *sṓzō* only twice more (seventeen times) than Matthew or Mark (fifteen times each). In Acts the verb occurs thirteen times in seven different chapters. Without a similar literary work in the NT with which to compare Acts, it is difficult to assess the significance of this frequency and spread; but the figure is perhaps noteworthy in comparison with Romans, which, for all its stress on soteriology, uses the verb only eight times. *Sōtḗr* occurs twice in Luke's Gospel and twice in Acts, but not in the other Synoptics or, for that matter, in Romans. An even greater difference is seen in the use of *sōtēría,* which occurs four times in Luke, twice in Mark, and not at all in Matthew; it occurs six times in Acts and five times in Romans. *Sōtḗrion* is not found in Matthew or Mark but

appears twice in Luke and once in Acts; it appears only once in all the Epistles (Eph. 6:17). Since the importance of the theme of salvation in Romans is unquestionable, this relative frequency of salvific terms in the Lukan writings calls for attention.

It is not merely the terminology that is significant, however. As always in discerning the theology of the Gospels, it is important to note the specific context in which a given word is present (or missing). Only Matthew uses *sṓzō* in connection with the naming of Jesus (Mt. 1:21). But since the dialogue with Joseph is not included in either Mark or Luke, the omission from Luke loses some (though not all) significance. In some cases *sṓzō* is used with reference to healing, and the choice to use this term or not use it seems to be theologically significant. Luke alone uses *sṓzō* with reference to the healing of the Gerasene demoniac (8:36), but in the accounts of the healings of the woman with a hemorrhage and of Jairus's daughter *sṓzō* appears in all three Synoptics but at different places in the narrative (Mt. 9:21f.; Mk. 5:23, 28, 34; Lk. 8:48, 50).

In five instances *sṓzō* appears in Luke alone. (1) The first is in Jesus' statement to the sinful woman, "Your faith has saved you" (7:50), which stresses the reception of God's saving grace by faith. (2) Another occurs in the parable of the Sower: "that they may not believe and be saved" (8:12). (3) In 13:23-30 Jesus answers a question about whether only a few would be saved (v. 23). This occurs within a section of special Lukan material (9:51–18:14), so there is no parallel. (4) The same is true of the healing (*sṓzō*) of the Samaritan leper (17:19). (5) Perhaps the most significant of these instances is in Lk. 19:10, "For the Son of man came to seek and to save the lost." Its significance lies not only in the statement itself but in its occurrence in a passage that contains a cluster of characteristic Lukan terms, e.g., "today" (vv. 5, 9), "must" (v. 5), "sinner" (v. 7), "Abraham" (v. 9), as well as the general theme of poverty and wealth. The noun *sōtēría* occurs in v. 9, emphasizing the theme. It is this kind of cluster and emphasis, and not merely a word count, that indicates thematic elements.

On the other hand, there are a few instances in which *sṓzō* occurs in Matthew or Mark but is lacking in Luke. It is present in the story of Peter walking on the water, which occurs only in Matthew (14:30). Both Matthew and Mark use *sṓzō* in a section of the eschatological discourse not found in Luke (Mt. 24:22; Mk. 13:20); and Matthew includes it in the discourse of ch. 10 (v. 22), which in part parallels the Olivet discourse. The only other example is in the longer ending of Mark (16:16).

As for the noun forms, there are several significant occurrences in the opening songs of Luke. In the Magnificat (Lk. 1:46-55) Mary calls God her "Savior" (1:47). *Sōtēría* is found three times in the theologically rich Benedictus of Zacharias, a song that uses several OT expressions: "horn of salvation" (1:69), "salvation [RSV "saved"] from our enemies" (v. 71), and "knowledge of salvation" (v. 77); the ideas of covenant and oath (vv. 72f.) and the clear linking of salvation to forgiveness of sins (v. 77) are themes common to both Testaments. The angel's song announcing Christ's birth calls Him a "Savior" (Lk. 2:11). Simeon's prayer (the Nunc Dimittis, 2:29-32) contains the concrete use of *sōtḗrion* in the clause "mine eyes have seen thy salvation" (v. 30).

This cluster of salvation terminology in the two opening chapters of Luke is quickly followed by the use of *sōtḗrion* in a quotation from the LXX of Isa. 40:5: "all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Lk. 3:6). This eschatological tone is heard also in 21:28 in connection with the coming of the Son of man; His appearance will mean that "redemption" (*apolýtrōsis*) is drawing near. This is the only occurrence of *apolýtrōsis* in the Gospels.

The theme established by these passages is present throughout Luke, even where the specific vocabulary of salvation is not used. For example, the term "salvation" does not occur in ch. 15, but the idea is present in the repeated pattern of "lost" and "found" in the three parables.

Acts likewise opens with strong affirmations of God's salvation. Peter's quotation from Joel on the day of Pentecost ("And . . . whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved") employs *sṓzō* as a translation of Heb. *mālaṭ* (following the LXX). The Church grew as people "were being saved" (2:47). The man at the temple gate was "healed" (*sṓzō*, 4:9; cf. *hygiḗs*, "healthy," v. 10) by the name of Jesus Christ, and it is only by the same name that people can be "saved" (*sṓzō*, v. 12). Peter's message "saved" Cornelius and his household (11:14). The Jerusalem Council was held to deal with the claim that one could not be "saved" without circumcision (15:1); Peter's response was, "We shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus" (v. 11).

It is not certain just what was in the Philippian jailer's mind when he asked what to he had to do to "be saved" (Acts 16:30). He may have had a limited concept of salvation based on his exposure to Hellenistic religions, or he may have heard Paul and Silas using salvation terminology in their prayers and hymns (v. 25). Possibly he was only thinking of his own safety, and Paul capitalized on the term. Other uses of *sṓzō* in Acts are secular.

In Acts 5:31 Peter employs *sōtḗr* in a highly significant way in speaking of Christ's exaltation of as "Leader and Savior" (*archēgós kaí sōtḗr*). The term is clearly used as a title of honor, as part of the vindication motif in Acts (cf. 2:24, 32-36; 3:13-15). It does not occur again until 13:23, where it is linked with OT messianic predictions.

The term *sōtēría* is used in both a spiritual and a secular sense in Acts 4:12; 7:25; 13:26, 47; 27:34. In 16:17 it is on the lips of the demon-possessed slave girl, who says that Paul and his associates are proclaiming the "way of salvation." Just as her terminology for God as the "most high God" was used beyond Christian and even Jewish circles, so the term "salvation" could have had a broader meaning in her mind. Alternatively, she may have had knowledge of the Christian message either from the demons or from hearsay.

Salvation is thus a major element in Luke's theology. It has been customary since Conzelmann to view the special contribution of Luke's Gospel in terms of salvation history (see H. Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke* [Eng. tr. 1960]). Marshall cogently argued that, while this theme is discernible in Luke as elsewhere (though not necessarily in the form Conzelmann suggested), it is not Luke's major contribution. Rather, the major theme is "that Jesus offers salvation to men" (p. 116). One might add that Acts supports this statement, although an expanded summary for both books might be that Jesus is the only Savior, the main object of OT prophecy, and the true source of assurance (cf. Acts 4:12; 13:23; Lk. 1:4). But for Luke salvation is not limited to the spiritual realm. His works frequently employ salvation terminology in a secular sense, specifically with reference to healing. There is thus a strong holistic emphasis in Luke. For him salvation carried somewhat the same encompassing meaning as did the familiar Hebrew term *šālôm*. God not only rescues people out of a predicament (e.g., sin or illness), but He brings them into a new state of wholeness or peace (e.g., forgiveness or health). (See also the occurrences of *diasṓzō* listed in IV.A.1 above).

2. Pauline Corpus. The frequency of the terms for salvation in this literature does not need to be demonstrated. If we include the Pastorals, *sṓzō* occurs twenty-nine times, *sōtēría* eighteen times, *sōtḗrion* once, and the adjective *sōtḗrios* once.

While it would be precarious to isolate salvation or any other single theological element as the center of Paul's thought, the theme of salvation certainly is of great importance. Rom. 1:16 describes the gospel as "the power of God for salvation." In 1 Cor. 15:1 the gospel, specifically the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ according to the OT Scriptures, is the basis for salvation. The Thessalonian believers were called to be saved through the gospel (2 Thess. 2:13f.). In Rom. 5:9f. salvation is for the individual the culmination of both justification and reconciliation. This points up the eschatological dimension of salvation. As noted above, the Bible describes salvation in past, present, and future terms. Rom. 8:24 telescopes the tenses: "in this hope we were saved." The terminology for salvation, so broad in its tense relationships, so all-encompassing (as will be seen) in its conceptual relationships to other aspects of God's work, and so clearly at the heart of the gospel, is at the same time both immensely significant and difficult to isolate as a single strand.

It could be argued that "salvation" expresses the single goal that Paul desired for all who were not yet believers. This is especially clear in Rom. 9–11. Paul strongly desired the salvation (*sōtēría*) of Israel (10:1), and it is significant that of the eight occurrences of *sṓzō* in Romans, five are in this passage relating to Israel, as are two of the four appearances of *sōtēría*. It is also in this section that Paul's important formula for salvation appears (10:9f.), in which he states (using both the verb and the noun) that salvation is only through confession of Jesus as Lord and through confidence in His resurrection (cf. Dt. 30:14).

Given the undoubtedly important place that salvation has in Romans, it is perhaps surprising that the specific terms for salvation occur so infrequently (see the comparison with Luke in V.B.1 above). The reason for this is probably that Paul's concern in Romans is to show the means to the generally accepted goal of salvation. He therefore proclaims God's newly revealed righteousness (1:17) and explains that justification is by grace through faith (3:21-26). *Sṓzō* and its derivatives do not occur at all in the entire passage of 3:21–4:25. *Apolýtrōsis* ("redemption") does occur, however, in 3:24.

In the rest of the Pauline corpus, salvation terminology generally (though not always) refers to God's rescue of the individual from sin and judgment. It is the polar opposite of *apóllymi* ("perish," 1 Cor. 1:18; 2 Cor. 2:15; 2 Thess. 2:10) or *apóleia* ("destruction," Phil. 1:28). In Eph. 2:1-10 both salvation and life are the antithesis of spiritual death. Twice being "saved" refers to the survival of a person whose works (1 Cor. 3:15) or flesh (5:5) are destroyed. The quotation of Isa. 49:8 ("the day of salvation," Heb. *yᵉšûʿâ*) shows the OT basis for Paul's salvation terminology.

Apolýtrōsis ("redemption") occurs in several passages in addition to Rom. 3:24. Rom. 8:23 speaks of the redemption of the body, 1 Cor. 1:30 of Christ being made redemption to us, and Eph. 1:7 of having redemption through His blood (cf. the use of this term also in 1:14; 4:30). Both the noun and the verb occur in Col. 1:13f., describing Christ's rescue of believers from the power of evil. With the exception of Eph. 1:7, these passages make no mention of a price paid for redemption; in these instances, therefore, we have the equivalent of salvation terminology.

Although God is the only ultimate Savior, Paul sometimes described human beings as instruments of salvation (cf. the military leaders of the OT). He ascribed this role to a Christian spouse (1 Cor. 7:16) and also to himself (9:22; cf. 10:33; 1 Thess. 2:16).

Paul did not confine his use of the salvation terminology to matters of sin and judgment. 1 Cor. 1:6 semantically links salvation to *paráklēsis* (here "comfort" or "encouragement"). In 2 Cor. 7:10, which calls for corporate repentance over the Corinthians' treatment of Paul, salvation is semantically opposed to death. In this corporate context Paul may have had in view physical or metaphorical rather than spiritual death. Clearly in Phil. 1:19 *sōtēría* is used in a secular sense, referring to Paul's rescue from imprisonment and other consequences (cf. 2 Tim. 4:18). In Phil. 2:12 ("work out your own salvation") it probably has a non-theological sense, namely, the working out of a situation; alternatively, it may mean that the Philippians should "work out" (i.e., apply) their spiritual salvation in personal relationships.

The Pastorals state that the OT Scriptures instruct a person for salvation (2 Tim. 3:15), that Christ came to save sinners (1 Tim. 1:15), that God wants all to be saved (1 Tim. 2:4), that God's grace brings salvation (Tit. 2:11), that salvation comes through holding to the apostolic teaching (1 Tim. 4:16), and that Paul endures everything in order to bring salvation to the elect (2 Tim. 2:10). Salvation is the result of God's antecedent purpose and grace (2 Tim. 1:9). It is His mercy, not human works, that produces salvation (Tit. 3:5-7). The difficult use of *sṓzō* in 1 Tim. 2:15 ("Yet woman will be saved through bearing children") probably does not refer to ultimate salvation from judgment, since this would make salvation dependent on "works," in contradiction to the non-negotiable Pauline stand on salvation through grace by faith; the reference to Gen. 3 suggests that it refers to the restoration of a pre-fall position for women. Tit. 2:14 has *lytróō*, "redeem," where the context has to do with purification from sin. On the use of *sōtḗr*, see V.B.3 below.

In the Pauline corpus, therefore, salvation is more of a comprehensive than a central theme. As in the OT, it is a dynamic act rather than a logical category or symbol. Contemporary works on biblical theology vary in their consideration of salvation as a distinctive topic in Paul. Beker, e.g., has a significant section on "The Gift and Demand of Salvation," whereas "salvation" does not even appear in the index to Ridderbos's *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Eng. tr. 1975). While some scholars (notably Bultmann) have seen anthropology as a starting-point in Paul's thought, Pauline soteriology by nature draws attention to the acts of God. But salvation, far from being a *deus ex machina* used to salvage an occasional bad situation, is God's eternal plan, extending, through Christ, to the entire range of human need. Christians are saved from the old aeon, the old state, the old fears, and the old habits, and are empowered and protected until the future hope of salvation is realized (Green, pp. 152-189). Nevertheless, it must also be observed that salvation terminology, except for *apolýtrōsis*, is absent not only from the key Romans passage on justification (3:21–4:25), as noted above, but also from the entire letter to the Galatians. Although this letter speaks of being free or redeemed from the law, it does not use *sṓzō*, *lytróō*, or their derivatives. The redemptive language used in Galatians (*exagorázō*, 3:13; 4:5) is more specific than either of these word-groups.

3. Sōtḗr in Titus and 2 Peter. The most striking use of salvation terminology in the Pastorals is the repeated use in Titus of *sōtḗr* ("savior") as a title of God (1:3; 2:10; 3:4) or of Christ (1:4; 2:13; 3:6). The grammatical construction

of 2:13 seems to apply the terms "God" and "Savior" to Jesus Christ. The use of these terms in 2 Pet. 1:1 bears grammatical resemblance to that in Tit. 2:13, linking Christ with God as Savior. In all the other cases in 2 Peter the term applies to Christ (1:11; 2:20; 3:2, 18). Both Titus and 2 Peter contain allusions to God as benefactor (see *euergétēs* in III above). The use of *sōtḗr* is in accordance with this. It appears in Titus and 2 Peter alone as often as in the rest of the NT (Lk. 1:47; 2:11; Acts 5:31; 13:23; Jn. 4:42; Eph. 5:23; Phil. 3:20; 1 Tim. 1:1; 2:3; 4:10; 2 Tim. 1:10; 1 Jn. 4:14; Jude 25.)

4. Hebrews, General Epistles, Johannine Writings. Hebrews has two interesting uses of *sṓzō*. Jesus prayed to the One who was able to save Him from death (5:7); and now in His eternal heavenly state He intercedes for those who believe in Him and is able to save them "for all time" (RSV, 7:25) or "completely" (NIV). In the former instance Jesus was "saved" not in that He did not die but in that He was preserved through the experience of death. In the latter instance, in turn, He is able to preserve or "keep safe" those who depend on Him (cf. *DNTT*, III, 203f.). It is striking that Christ's roles as pioneer (2:10) and as source (5:9) of salvation are both connected with Jesus' suffering during His earthly life.

Hebrews warns that salvation must not be neglected (2:3). While the author says he has confidence, with respect to his readers, of "better things that belong to salvation" (6:9), both 6:4-8 and 10:26-39 contain warnings. The latter passage concludes with another assurance that author and readers are not heading for destruction (*apṓleia*) but, through faith, for the preservation (here *peripoíēsis* rather than *sōtēría*) of their souls. *Sōtēría* is used in 9:28, in connection with the second coming of Christ, and in 11:7 for Noah's preservation through the Flood. Some of the OT heroes and heroines of the faith refused "release" (*apolýtrōsis*) from torture, "that they might rise again to a better life" (11:35). The noun *apolýtrōsis* appears also in 9:12, 15 in the sense of redemption.

James uses *sṓzō* to mean salvation from judgment in 1:21; 2:14; 5:20. God is able both to save and to destroy (*apóllymi*, 4:12; cf. the contrast in Paul; see V.B.2 above). In 5:15 it probably refers to physical healing — as it often does, especially in Luke — though the following reference to forgiveness of sins might suggest spiritual salvation as well.

1 Peter uses OT imagery in its discussion of salvation concepts. Just as the Israelites were rescued from Egypt and given an inheritance, so through Christ's blood Christians are redeemed (*lytróō*, 1:18) and have become God's special people (2:9, echoing Ex. 19:5f.), and because of Christ's resurrection they are guaranteed an inheritance and await the full revelation of salvation (*sōtēría*, 1 Pet. 1:3-5). While salvation is future in this sense, it is also described in terms of present experience (1:9, using a present part. following a clause with *artí*, "now," v. 8). Furthermore, salvation (*sōtēría*) is something into which one grows (2:2). Thus the noun *sōtēría* has a temporal elasticity. The OT prophets had at least a partial understanding of this salvation (1:10). The verb *sṓzō* occurs twice in 1 Peter. One use (3:21) is in the complex "spirits in prison" passage (cf. v. 19): baptism saves as a "pledge of" (NIV) or "appeal for" (RSV) a good conscience. The antitype is the Flood, through which Noah's family was saved (*diasṓzō*, v. 20). *Sṓzō* also occurs in 4:18.

Apart from the frequent use of *sōtḗr* noted above (V.B.3), the only salvation terminology in 2 Peter occurs in 3:15, which states that the delay in God's judgment means that salvation is still available. Jude has two references to salvation (vv. 5, 23); both portray salvation against a dark background of destruction (*apóllymi* in v. 5, fire in v. 23).

The Johannine writings generally use "eternal life" rather than "salvation" as the major category to express God's gift. Nevertheless, a number of significant texts employ salvation terminology One is in connection with the important Johannine theme of judgment, in the programmatic passage Jn. 3:16-21: God did not send His son to condemn but to save the world (v. 17; cf. 12:47). In Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan woman (ch. 4) He affirms that "salvation is from the Jews" (v. 22); later the Johannine themes of witness (4:39, 41f.), belief (vv. 39, 41f.), and knowledge (v. 42) provide the context for the expression "Savior of the world." Significantly, the same title occurs in 1 Jn. 4:14, where witness (v. 14), belief (v. 16), and knowledge (vv. 13, 16) are also clustered. This passage, which has the only occurrence of salvation terminology in the Johannine Epistles, also includes the idea of the Father sending the Son, a significant theme in the Fourth Gospel.

Jesus speaks of His own witness to Himself in Jn. 5:31-47, in which context He also points to John as a witness, "that you may be saved" (*sṓzō*, v. 34). In the Good Shepherd discourse, the one entering the door by Christ will be saved (10:9). In 11:12 the verb means to recover from illness. Finally, Jesus rejects the idea of being "saved" from the hour of trouble in 12:27.

Under the influence of R. Bultmann in the mid-20th cent., Johannine theology was reinterpreted as an early expression of Gnostic ideas. One element in this reconstruction was the idea that John's picture of Jesus exhibited characteristics of the Gnostic redeemer myth. Although various Gnostic writings contain references to the earthly Jesus, they relate salvation not to an objective atonement that Jesus achieved on the cross, but rather to a new knowledge made possible by revelation brought by the heavenly Savior. While revelation and knowledge are significant in John, the essential differences between Johannine and Gnostic thought, along with the anachronism involved in postulating a Gnostic background, make this hypothesis untenable.

VI. Theological Significance.—Because salvation is a comprehensive term, it inevitably involves many aspects of God's gracious work. The associated terms reflect the fact that salvation is often *from* something. Thus forgiveness is involved, as salvation is from judgment. In turn, the idea of judgment introduces forensic imagery, bringing into focus the doctrines of justification and righteousness. In that salvation is also from sin, sanctification is brought into the picture. Since salvation is often *to* or *for* something, it is also connected with reconciliation, which in turn brings us to union, both with God and within the body of believers. The fact that salvation is by grace and through faith connects it with these two important biblical doctrines. Since it cost the life of God's Son, it involves redemption. The question of whether salvation can be "lost" requires a consideration of perseverance. So it is that the circle of biblical concepts widens. In the OT something of the richness of salvation is conveyed by a variety of terms. In the NT the *sṓzō* group carries most of the weight, with specialized terminology used sparingly for the associated doctrines.

While the NT is clear that salvation is possible only through the death of Christ, the Church's understanding of the purpose of the atonement is not uniform. In the 20th cent. attention has been redirected, especially under the influence of R. Bultmann, to the effect of the cross in one's existential experience. Earlier formulations of this type spoke of the moral influence of Jesus' death. In such

views the meaning of salvation is changed from its dominant biblical sense of rescue by one beyond oneself. The classical view saw Christ's death as a victory over Satan. This view does indeed stress a definite saving work of God, but it is incomplete, failing to bring together all the biblical elements of salvation terminology. The so-called penal view, which takes various sub-forms (some entailing theological difficulties), stresses the holiness of God, who took direct action to deal with the sin that required judgment in order to make salvation available to guilty people. The term "substitutionary atonement" is important to this view of the saving work of Christ. The way in which salvation is made effective in the individual is viewed differently in Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism. Roman Catholicism, e.g., sees salvation as mediated through the sacraments.

Another issue regarding salvation is the so-called *ordo salutis*, the order of salvation. The term was coined by a Lutheran, J. Carpov, in 1737. He proposed the following order: illumination, repentance, saving faith, regeneration, conversion, justification, mystical union, sanctification, conservation and perseverance, various degrees of grace. From the perspective of biblical theology it is difficult to establish any clear "order." The concept of order is more logical than chronological, but even so the Scriptures are sometimes ambiguous. The preference for subordination in Greek sometimes contributes to this ambiguity, as in Eph. 1:13, where the aorist participle in "having believed, you were sealed" probably conveys not chronology but either grounds or simply parallel experiences.

The *ordo salutis* is related to, but distinct from, the "decrees" of God. The latter category is more comprehensive, having to do with the logical sequence in which God determined or permitted the course of human guilt and salvation. It includes election, permission for the fall, the gift of Christ for salvation, and sanctification, and it especially focuses on the issue of when election enters into this sequence. The *ordo salutis*, on the other hand, involves the actual divine work and human response in the process of salvation. The typical Lutheran order has been: vocation, illumination, conversion, regeneration, justification, mystical union, renovation, conservation. A Reformed construction would be something like: calling, regeneration, faith, justification, sanctification, glorification.

The interrelationship of OT and NT is an essential part of any study of the biblical view of salvation. Dispensational approaches have tended to stress discontinuity, while covenantal approaches stress continuity in the way God's saving grace is bestowed. Dispensationalism, especially in its earlier forms, has distinguished sharply between the gospel of grace preached in the present age and the gospel that characterized other dispensations, such as the "gospel of the kingdom." Covenant theology stresses the continuity of the Testaments, focusing not only on the covenantal theme but also on such themes as promise and fulfillment or the people of God.

A significant approach to both the doctrine of salvation and biblical theology as a whole uses the term "salvation-history" (*Heilsgeschichte*). The term had been used before the 20th cent., but it resurfaced, especially in the work of O. Cullmann, as an alternative to Bultmann's existential theology. The term receives different meanings and content from different scholars. Basically it refers to the ongoing work of God in (some would say alongside of) the progress of human history. For some scholars this approach transcends questions of biblical criticism, while for others the two are methodologically interrelated. Salvation-history claimed attention, especially in the 1960's and 1970's, as a major theme or even as a unifying center of NT theology. Some OT theologians as well found it useful in synthesizing OT thought. But it no longer occupies the place in theological discussion that it once did.

Among the questions raised by modern theologians is that of how salvation is applied to the human situation. K. Rahner is among several post-Vatican II Roman Catholic theologians who have discussed the application of salvation to those beyond the bounds of the Church. For Rahner there is a sacramental causality in the cross and Resurrection that affects even those who are not consciously Christian. In quite a different direction, the liberation theologian G. Gutiérrez sees salvation as worked out on several levels, including that of political process. Other theologians, such as E. Schillebeeckx and J. Moltmann, have sought ways to apply salvation to human suffering. Such efforts draw on the biblical texts regarding salvation and the cross of Christ but employ these in new theological formulations.

Modern discussion has emphasized on all sides the premise that, however mediated, salvation is by grace and only on the basis of the saving work of Christ. God's declarations of forgiveness in the OT, along with predictions and genuine "types," anticipate the salvation to be accomplished by the Messiah. Thus "salvation" is a term essential to both Testaments. Formulas, contexts, and emphases differ, but the core is the same: God is the only Savior, and human beings depend on Him both for spiritual salvation and for daily welfare. The circumstances in and from which God delivers His people may be extreme, but God is able to save.

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W. L. LIEFELD

SALVE [Gk. *kollýrion*] (Rev. 3:18); AV EYE SALVE; NEB OINTMENT. A medical compound applied to the eyes (cf. Lat. *collyrium* in Horace *Satires* i.5.30 and Heb. *qîlûrîṯ* in rabbinic literature). Rev. 3:18 may be alluding figuratively to the Phrygian powder that was used by Laodicea's famous medical school for making an eye salve (see *LSC*, comms.). The Laodiceans need a salve for their spiritual blindness.

SAMAEL sam'ə-el (Jth. 8:1, AV). *See* SALAMIEL.

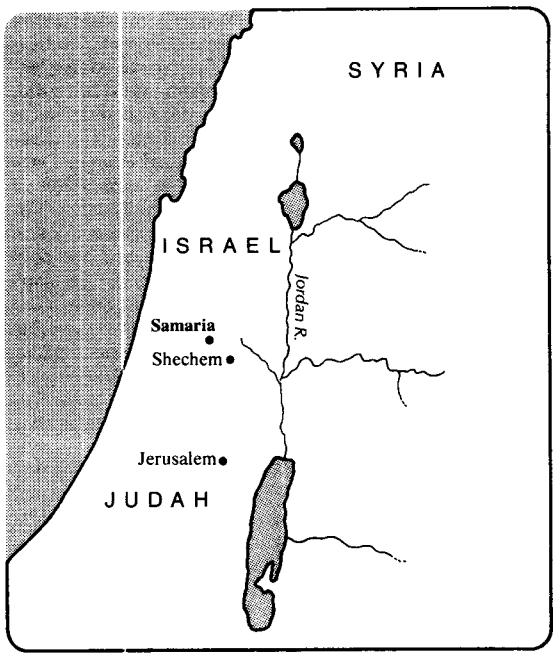
SAMAEAS sə-mā'əs (NEB 1 Esd. 1:9; 8:39, 44; 9:21). *See* SHEMAIAH **10, 18-20.**

SAMAIAS sə-mā'əs (AV 1 Esd. 1:9; 8:39; Tob. 5:13). *See* SHEMAIAH **10, 18, 28.**

SAMARIA sə-mâr'ē-ə [Heb. *šōm^{e}rôn*; Aram. *šām^{e}rayin* (Ezr. 4:10, 17); Gk. *Samareia, Somorōn* (Ezra); other forms in 1 K. 16:24 only].

1. A residence of the rulers of Israel during the divided kingdom. It is mentioned 190 times in the OT and frequently in Assyrian records (as "Samerina") and Aramaic, Greek, and Latin literature.

The oldest excavated remains of Samaria, located on a hill about 68 km. (42 mi.) N of Jerusalem, are Early



Bronze IV potsherds (late 3rd millennium B.C.). A few Early Iron potsherds (1200-900 B.C.) may point to a small settlement on the hill in the days of the judges and first kings. They may also support the identification, made by LXX Alexandrinus and other MSS, of Samaria with "Shamir in the hill country of Ephraim," the dwelling place of the judge Tola (Jgs. 10:1f.).

In any case, Samaria was of slight importance before the reorganizer of the northern kingdom, Omri, decided in his seventh year (*ca.* 880 B.C.) to make it his residence. The spot was well chosen: a nearly isolated hill surrounded by a fertile valley (Isa. 28:1, 4) and connected with the surrounding hill country only by a saddle in the east. The location justifies the name *šōmᵉrôn*, which can be rendered "watching point." A stronghold on the top of the hill could be easily defended, and it controlled the whole surrounding area, including caravan roads to the north, west, and south.

According to 1 K. 16:24 Omri bought the hill for the rather large sum of two silver talents (60 kgs., 132 lbs.); thus the city that he built was the private property of Omri and his descendants and technically not the capital of the northern kingdom, just as Jerusalem belonged to David and his descendants. Samaria was subject not to the decisions of the tribes and their popular gatherings, but to the king and local authorities only. A personal union existed between the city-kingdom of Samaria and the tribal kingdom of Israel in the same way that Jerusalem and Judah were united only through the person of the Davidic king.

The name of the former owner of the hill, Shemer, might originate, at least in its vocalization, from a malevolent pun by the Judean biblical author: *šemer* means "dregs"; cf. how Shechem in NT times was called Sychar, "strong drink."

Excavations have uncovered substantial parts of Omri's buildings, including his royal palace with adjacent town wall, gate, and watchtower. A large water basin inside Omri's northern wall might be "the pool of Samaria" mentioned in 1 K. 22:38. Even more conspicuous are the results of Ahab's building activities. On the western side he added a strip 30 m. by 100 m. (100 ft. by 330 ft.) to Omri's city, and between the older and the newer wall a large storehouse was erected. Moreover, the simple wall of Omri was supplanted by a casemate wall that is the best extant example of Israelite stone technique. The sites of the temple of Baal and Ahab's "ivory palace" are unknown. But many ivory plaques, excellent pieces of decorative art, partly in Egyptian and partly in north Syrian style, have been discovered near and inside the middle part of the northern casemate wall; these plaques, often inlaid with semiprecious stones or covered with gold, were used to decorate furniture.

It was probably Ahab who enlarged Omri's town to the east with a new quarter as large as the royal precinct, perhaps to find space for commoners who wanted to settle near the royal court. The town then covered about 4.8 ha. (12 acres), an area larger than pre-Davidic Jerusalem but smaller than the same city after Solomon's additions. A second gate at Samaria gave access to the quarter of the commoners. The "bazaars" — trading posts with extraterritorial privileges — that the kings of Damascus had in Samaria (1 K. 20:34) probably were built outside the city wall, as was done elsewhere. The sieges of Samaria by the Syrian king Ben-hadad (1 K. 20; 2 K. 6:24–7:20) have left no trace in the archeological remains. An alabaster jar fragment inscribed with the name of the Egyptian pharaoh Osorkon II (870-847) dates from the time of Ahab. After Jehu's revolution (2 K. 9) the courtiers and commoners delivered the town to the new dynasty (2 K. 10); on this occasion the temple of Baal, of which no remains have been discovered, was destroyed. The sixty-five ostraca found in the storehouse between Omri's and Ahab's western walls date from the time of Jehu's great-grandson Jeroboam II (786-746) or even more probably from the reign of Menahem (746-736). They contain invoices of quantities of oil and wine delivered by the stewards of royal olive gardens and vineyards to the officials of the royal court. The proper names attest to the worship of both Baal and Israel's God.

The last king of Samaria, Hoshea, first submitted to Assyria but later, under Egyptian influence, tried to restore Israel's independence. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser V (727-722) besieged the city, which held out for three years. During the siege Shalmaneser died; but his general Sargon II, founder of the last Assyrian dynasty, conquered Samaria, as related in his annals and in 2 K. 17:1-6 (which does not name Sargon; *see* SARGON III). The inhabitants of the town and the rest of the population of the northern kingdom were carried into exile. Since Sargon's annals give the number of displaced persons as 27,280, this number must include not only Samaria but also Hoshea's subjects in the rest of his greatly reduced kingdom; but one may assume that in this case, as often, only the leading classes of society were exiled. The Assyrians replaced the exiles with groups from Babylon, Cuthah (32 km., 20 mi. NW of Babylon), Avva (unknown), and Hamath and Sepharvaim (two towns in Syria). The second of these place names gave the Jews of later times occasion to refer to the mixed population of Samaria and its surrounding as Cutheans; 2 K. 17:24-41 describes this cultural and religious mixture.

Samaria, which had become the capital of the Assyrian province of this name, participated in a new revolt involving Syrian and Philistine rulers assisted by Egypt (721); but this was soon quenched by Sargon (*ANET*, p. 285). According to Ezr. 4:2, 10 new deportations to Samaria took place under Esarhaddon (681-669) and Ashurbanipal (669-627); cuneiform fragments give the names of

One of the ivories found in Samaria, possibly from the Royal Palace. On this piece the god Hah, seated with his legs folded, holds two palm branches from which hang *ankh* signs (Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, photo H. Burber)

three governors of this period. An Israelite core remained faithful to the ancestral religion and made pilgrimages to the temple of Jerusalem, even after its destruction (Jer. 41:5). Some Samaritans offered to help with the reconstruction of the Jerusalem sanctuary in 537 but were refused (Ezr. 4:1-3).

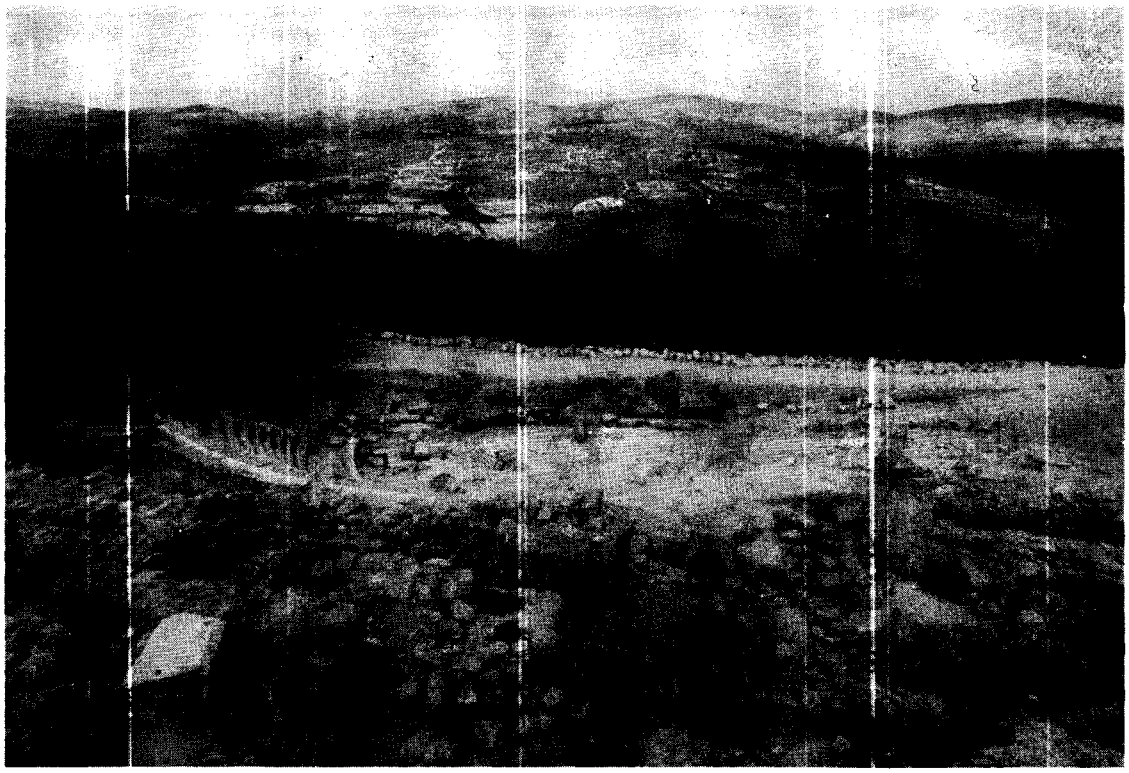
This marked the beginning of antagonistic relations between Samaria and Jerusalem — although the sect of the Samaritans had its center not in Samaria but in Shechem. The antagonism is clearly seen in the machinations of Sanballat, governor of Samaria in the second half of the 5th cent. B.C. (Neh. 2:10, etc.). The names that Sanballat gave his two sons, Delaiah and Shelemiah (mentioned in the Elephantine Papyri), show that he paid worship to Yahweh despite his own pagan name. From papyri it is now known that during the 4th cent. B.C. Samaria had two other governors named Sanballat; it was probably the third one who obtained permission from Alexander the Great to build a sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim near Shechem (Josephus *Ant.* xiii.9.1 [255f.]).

In 331 B.C. Alexander the Great severely punished Samaria when its inhabitants burned alive Andromachos, his governor in Syria; many of its inhabitants were deported, and a colony of Macedonians was installed there. The town took on a Hellenistic appearance, especially when shortly after 300 it was fortified anew following the ravages in the wars between the Diadochi. From this time date three circular towers. The prosperity of the next two centuries is attested by numerous coins and Rhodian stamped jug handles. John Hyrcanus entrusted an expedition against the town to his two sons, who succeeded after a one-year siege (108 B.C.).

After Pompey's annexation of Palestine in 63 B.C. the proconsul Gabinius restored the city of Samaria, which had grown to about 12 ha. (30 acres). Herod the Great surrounded the whole hill with a fortified wall, thus enlarging the town to about 80 ha. (200 acres). Most imposing were the western gate with its two large circular towers, the temple of Augustus with its terraces and monumental staircase, and the stadium. The town was called Sebaste (Greek for "Augustus") after the Roman emperor. From the times of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211) and his immediate successors date the colonnaded street, the theater, a temple of Kore, and the basilica with adjoining forum.

In Byzantine times a church was erected immediately S of the acropolis in honor of John the Baptist. The Crusaders built a church near the eastern gate of Herod's wall on the foundations of a Byzantine church; it is now the mosque of the Arab village Sebaṣṭiyeh, which has

The Hellenistic round tower at Samaria. It is built on an Israelite wall breached for insertion and connects with a Hellenistic wall (D. Blatt)



The ruins of Samaria showing the top of the Hellenistic tower (in the foreground), the Roman theater (center), and the Nablus area in the distance (D. Blatt)

preserved the name but none of the glory of Herod's Sebaste.

"Samaria" in NT times means not the town but the middle region of Palestine.

See also SAMARITANS.

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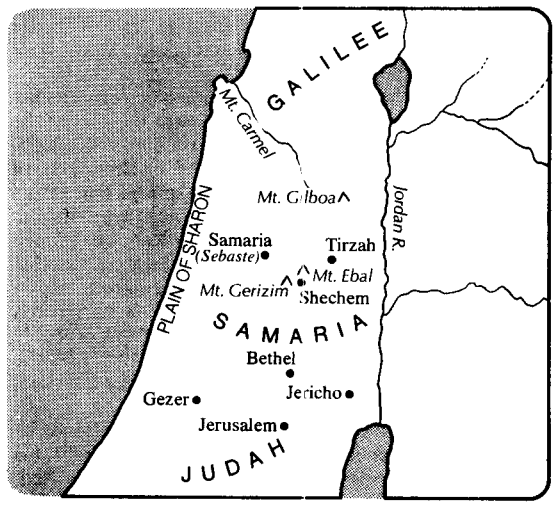
2. (1 Macc 5:66 AV). With the Latin version and Josephus (*Ant.* xii.8.6 [353]) this should be read "Marisa." *See* MARESHAH.

3. A locality in Egypt mentioned in papyri from the 3rd cent. A.D. It probably originated from the transfer of Samaritans to Egypt by Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I.

A. VAN SELMS

SAMARIA sə-mâr'ē-ə, **COUNTRY OF** [Heb. *šōm^{e}rôn*; Aram. *šām^{e}rayin*; Akk. *Samerina*; Gk. *Samareia*; traditionally derived from the tribe or clan name Shemer, but more likely from *šōmēr*, "watchman"; cf. Isa. 21:11]. A region in Palestine located between Galilee (N) and Judah/Judea (S) and between the Jordan Ghor (E) and the Sharon plain (W).



I. Name
  A. (Mountain of) Ephraim
  B. Israel, Samaria
II. Physical Description
  A. Size and Location
  B. Physical Features
III. History
  A. OT
  B. Between the Testaments
  C. NT
  D. To the Destruction of Jerusalem

I. Name–The name "Samaria" was given to the region after the hill of Samaria was selected by Omri to become the capital of the northern kingdom (1 K. 16:24), *ca.* 879 B.C., so that earlier references (e.g., 1 K. 13:32) may be considered as later interpolations.

A. (Mountain of) Ephraim. Following the tribal allot-

The foothills of the "hill country of Ephraim" in Samaria (W. Braun)

ments, the name "Mountain of Ephraim" (*har 'eprayim*, more realistically translated "hill country of Ephraim" [RSV]) was used for the central mountain ridge and adjacent territory (Josh. 17:15; Jgs. 3:27; 1 S. 1:1). In the patriarchal narrative, the region was included in "the land of Canaan" (Gen. 12:5f.). When Moses sent the twelve to spy out the land (Nu. 13:1ff.), the name used for the region north of the Negeb was simply "the hill country" (Heb. *hāhār*, "the mountain"), which included the mountain of Judah (Josh. 21:11) and the mountain of Ephraim. In their report the spies described the hill country as the place where the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites dwelt (Nu. 13:29). The Cisjordanian region was simply divided into "the hill country" and "the lowland all along the coast" (9:1). The "mountain of Judah" and the "mountain of Israel" are mentioned together in Josh. 11:21 — again, using terminology of a later period. Further north, in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, the region was "the northern hill country" (Josh. 11:2). In Josh. 20:7, the terms "the mountain of Naphtali," "the mountain of Ephraim," and "the mountain of Judah" reflect the territories more commonly known as Galilee, Samaria, and Judah.

B. Israel, Samaria. With the schism, the northern tribes were called "all Israel," excepting the tribe of Judah (1 K. 12:20). In the prophets, Ephraim is a surrogate for Israel (Hos. 5:3; 11:8) and for Samaria (7:1). Amos uses the term "mountains of Samaria" for the northern kingdom (Amos 3:9; 4:1), as well as "the house of Joseph" (5:6) and "house of Israel" (5:25; 7:10). In Micah the two kingdoms are designated as "Samaria" and "Jerusalem" (Mic. 1:1, 8). Under the figure of Oholah and Oholibah Ezekiel likewise used "Samaria" and "Jerusalem" as names for the two kingdoms (Ezk. 23:4); the judgment on Ohlolah was to serve as a warning to Oholibah (23:11ff.).

Isaiah called the territory "Ephraim" and its capital "Samaria" (Isa. 7:9). "The mountains of Samaria" appears

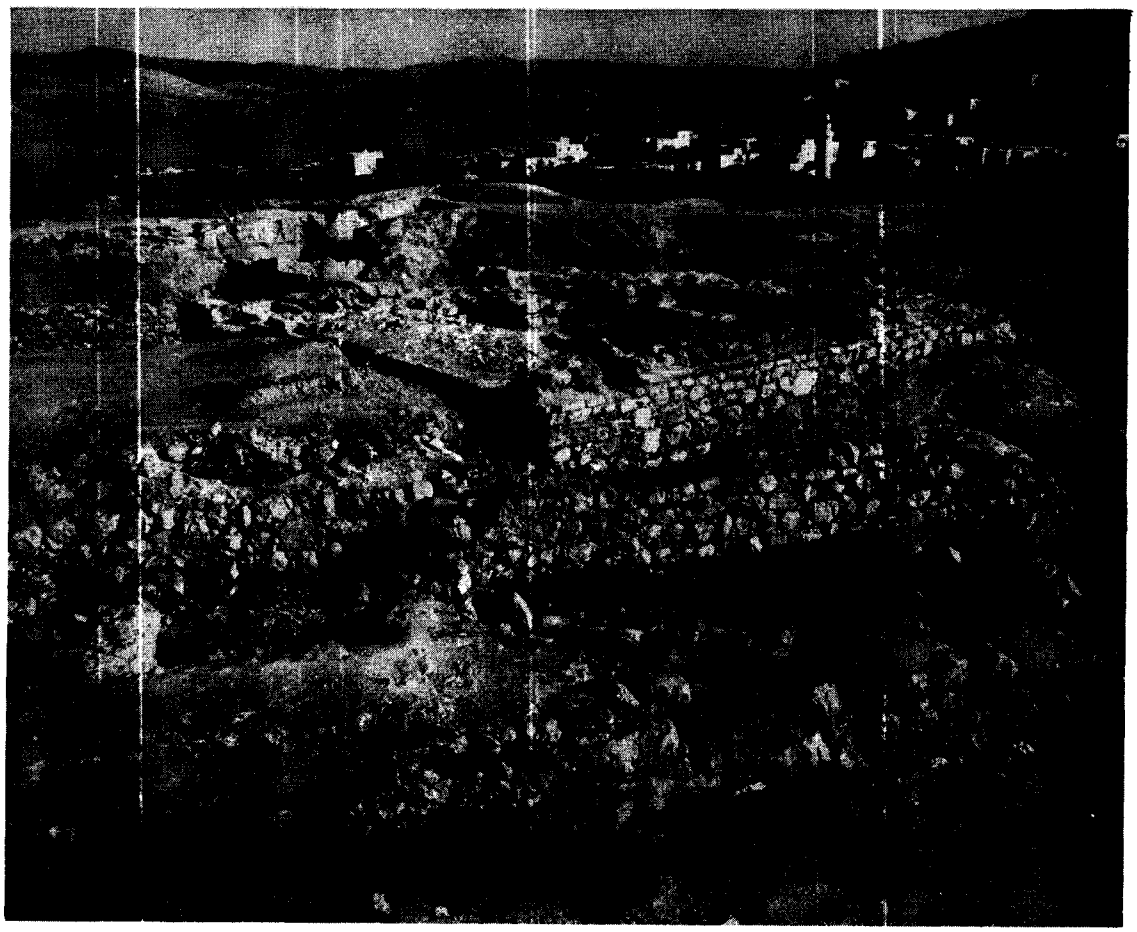
to be synonymous with "the mountains of Ephraim" (Am. 3:9; Jer. 31:5f.). The Assyrians made the country part of the empire as the province of Samerina (*ARAB*, I, § 772 [Tiglath-pileser III]); on the other hand, Sargon referred to the city as Samerina and the country as Bit Ḫumria ("the house of Omri"; *ARAB*, II, § 80). After the return from exile Samaria was part of the Persian province "Beyond the River" (i.e., the Euphrates [Aram. *ʿabar nahʿrê*]; cf. Ezr. 4:17; 5:3; etc.), as was Jerusalem (Neh. 2:9). With the Samaritan-Jewish schism, Samaria became a geographical entity that continued through several political ramifications.

II. Physical Description.–A. Size and Location. Because "Samaria" included different areas at different times, it is necessary to define the period to which the discussion applies, e.g., OT, Assyrian, Persian, etc. In the present work we are principally interested in the biblical usages of the term. Accordingly, Samaria is used of the region S of Galilee and N of Judah (Judea). The northern boundary in general is the hills that form the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon. The southern boundary is less definite, but it approximately follows the southern boundary of Ephraim (Josh. 16:5-9), i.e., from Jericho on the east to the sea on the west, including Bethel, Beth-horon, and Gezer. As indicated in the biblical text, there were Canaanite enclaves (Gezer is specified, v. 10), and it is unlikely that the coastal plain was part of Samaria in OT times. From north to south Samaria was about 65 km. (40 mi.) and from east to west about 56 km. (35 mi.). Cf. *LBHG*, p. 257.

B. Physical Features. G. A. Smith describes Samaria as "fair and open" (*HGHL*, p. 216). Actually, Samaria has two natures: the southern (Ephraim) is less open than the northern (Manasseh), although both are more open and fertile than Judah. D. Baly speaks of "the Dome of Ephraim" and "the Basin of Samaria" (*GB*, p. 164), which is not only geologically accurate but also reasonably descriptive. The Dome of Ephraim is formed of Cenomanian limestone, whereas the Basin of Samaria may be characterized as a center of hard Eocene limestone (the mountains Ebal and Gerizim) surrounded by softer Eocene chalks and marls and Senonian chalk. The casual visitor to northern Samaria may not notice its basin-like character, because the high peaks of Gerizim (881 m., 2890 ft.) and Ebal (940 m., 3083 ft.), as well as other mountains rising above 750 m. (2475 ft.), interrupt the general structure. On the eastern side (toward the Jordan) the land falls rapidly to the Jordan Ghor. On the west the land drops gradually by a series of hills (Shephelah of Israel, Josh. 11:16) to the Sharon Plain. The Shephelah of Samaria, however, is not nearly so wide as that of Judah.

1. Rivers. There are no major rivers (the Yarkon comes closest), only wadis (valleys with seasonal rivers, some of which have water year around). To the east Wâdī Mâliḥ

The temple ruins and countryside around Shechem, the central city of Samaria (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)



descends from Ṭūbâṣ (Thebez, 2 S. 11:21) to the Jordan Ghor at Abel-meholah (1 K. 19:16), about 15 km. (9 mi.) S of Beth-shean; Wâdī Fār'ah (Nahal Tirzah) descends from Tirzah to the Jordan near Adam (Josh. 3:16); and there are lesser wadis.

To the west Nahal Daliyyah (just S of Dor), Nahal Tanninim (Wâdī ez-Zerqā, Crocodile River) N of Caesarea, Nahal Aleksander N of Netanya, and the Yarkon (Nahr el-'Aujā) N of Tel Aviv, may be mentioned. The Yarkon, which rises from the copious springs at Ras el-'Ayin, is believed to be the site of the port (Tell Abū Huwam) from which cedars of Lebanon were offloaded to be taken to Jerusalem (cf. 1 K. 6:9; 7:2).

2. Roads. Shechem was the central point, where the main north-south road and an east-west road met. The north-south road generally followed the water-parting, much as the modern road does. However, it possibly went E of Jebel Battin and Lubban, passing near Shiloh, and from Shechem it probably went E of Mt. Ebal via Tirzah and Thebez to Dothan (Gen. 37:17), then to En-gannim (Josh. 19:21; Jenin), Ibleam (17:11), and the plain of Esdraelon. Later the main road was routed between Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal, then W of Samaria, to Dothan.

The east-west roads followed the valleys, as they do today except where major engineering has been done. From Shechem a road led west by Wâdī Shechem to the Via Maris at Socoh (Soco, 1 K. 4:10), modern Shuweikah 2 km. (1 mi.) N of Tulkarm; Wâdī Shechem feeds into Wâdī Aleksander. This road approximates the modern road from Nâblus to Tulkarm. A road east from Shechem led via Tirzah and the Wâdī el-Far'a (Nahal Tirzah) to the Jordan Valley at Adam, providing an almost direct route from the Via Maris to Ammon and Gilead. Jacob almost certainly took this route from Succoth to Shechem (Gen. 33:17f.). Another road led from Gath(-padalla), modern Jett (*see* GATH III; 1 Ch. 7:21) by Nahal Hadera (Wâdī Mifjir) to Dothan, thence forking to either Tirzah or En-gannim (Jenin). A branch from this road led north by Wâdī Abdullah to the pass into the Valley of Esdraelon at Taanach (Josh. 12:21). Thutmose III mentioned Taanach (cf. *ANET,* p. 235). From Thebez a road led to the Jordan Valley at Abel-meholah (1 K. 19:16) by way of Wâdī Mâliḥ. The Via Maris continued north from Gath to Nahal 'Irôn (Wâdī 'Ara), then by the pass leading to the Valley of Esdraelon at Megiddo (Josh. 12:21); Thutmose III left several records of his battles (*ANET,* pp. 234-37). Both Thutmose III and Ramses II left descriptions of the pass (*LBHG,* p. 51). Of lesser importance were branches, one leading by a pass to Jokneam (Josh. 21:31), and the other around the "antelope's nose" of Mt. Carmel to Acco.

In the south of Samaria, a major road led from Bethel to Jericho by way of Wâdī es-Ṣuweinîṭ and Wâdī Qelt. A road of lesser importance led from Shiloh by way of Ophrah and Wâdī 'Aujā to Jericho. From Bethel to the west, one road led to the Via Maris at Aphek (Antipatris), thence to Joppa, by way of Gophna, and Beth-laban; another led to the Via Maris at Gittaim via Gibeon, Beth-horon, and the Valley of Aijalon; an alternate road went from Gibeon to Aijalon by way of Kiriath-jearim (Josh. 9:17). The Via Maris ("way of the sea"; cf. Isa. 9:1) was located along the eastern side of the Sharon Plain, about 12 km. (8 mi.) from the shoreline, at the foot of the mountain of Samaria. *See* PALESTINE IV.D.

3. Mountains. The mountains of Ebal and Gerizim have been mentioned. At the northern edge of Samaria was the Carmel (530 m., 1742 ft.) at the northwest (but some would include the Carmel in the territory of Asher; cf. *IDB,* I, 707; Josh. 19:26) and the mountains of Gilboa (520 m., 1696 ft.) at the northeast. These serve as the rim of the Basin of Samaria. There were passes leading to the Valley of Esdraelon at Jokneam, Megiddo, Taanach, and Ibleam. *See* PALESTINE IV.B.

4. Cities. Because the names, in many cases, were changed from period to period, the use of the *Student Map Manual* (1979) or a similar publication is recommended, where each map is limited to a specific period and the names of that period are used.

For climate and biota, *see* PALESTINE V, VI.

III. History.–A. OT. The Bible indicates that there were inhabitants in the land before the Israelite conquest, and archeological excavations confirm this (at both Ai and Shiloh finds are dated to Middle Bronze, *ca.* 2000 B.C., while at Shechem the remains date back to Chalcolithic, *ca.* 4000 B.C.). (The discoveries from Mesolithic and early Neolithic in the Carmel caves at Mughâret el-Wâd lie beyond our present study.) Their identity is covered by the general term "Canaanites" (Gen. 12:5f.; 34:30), but other names appear at various points in the record: Perizzites (Gen. 34:30), Amorites (Josh. 7:7; 10:5), Hivites (Josh. 9:3, 7), etc.

Because of the importance of Jerusalem as the cultic and political center, it is sometimes forgotten that the northern portion was also the scene of significant events. Abram built an altar at Shechem, and another at Bethel (Gen. 12:7f.). Jacob received a revelation from God at Bethel (28:10-22), and later erected an altar at Shechem (33:20) and a second time at Bethel (35:7). The bones of Joseph, which had been brought from Egypt, were buried at Shechem (Josh. 24:32). Joshua's charge to Israel, just before his death, was given at Shechem (24:25), and he was buried at Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim (24:30; Jgs. 2:9). Shechem was one of the cities of refuge (Josh. 21:21).

Gideon was from Manasseh, although his combat with the Midianites took place in Jezreel (Jgs. 6:33-35). Abimelech's attempt to become king was centered at Shechem (Jgs. 9). The ark of the covenant rested in the territory which later belonged to the northern kingdom from the time it was brought over Jordan (Josh. 3) until it was taken into battle against the Philistines at Aphek (1 S. 4:1-4). However, the details of its location are not clear. The reference to Bochim (Jgs. 2:1-5) may suggest that this place was the first location — but Bochim has not been identified, and some scholars follow the LXX, which reads Bethel instead of Bochim. Some confirmation may be found in 20:18, which states that the people of Israel went to Bethel to inquire of God, from which it might be inferred that the high priest was there. On the other hand, Jgs. 18:31 records that the house of God was at Shiloh, and certainly the ark was in Shiloh when Eli was priest (1 S. 4:4; cf. 1:9; 2:13f.; 3:3; note reference to "the temple of the Lord").

After the conquest of the land (partial, it must be remembered; cf. Josh. 23:4; Jgs. 1 *passim*) a division between the northern and southern tribes developed, which some would attribute in part to Joshua's failure to settle the problem of the Gibeonites (Josh. 9:3-27). When Rehoboam succeeded Solomon (931 B.C.), he went to Shechem to be crowned king (1 K. 12:1), but the people of the northern tribes rejected him (12:16) and seceded, forming the northern kingdom, later to be known as "Israel," "Ephraim," and "Samaria." Jeroboam, an Ephraimite (1 K. 11:26), was crowned king and made Shechem his capital (12:20, 25); later he moved to Penuel and still later to Tirzah (cf. 14:17). He erected two shrines, one at Bethel at the southern end of Samaria, the other at Dan in the north of Galilee (12:30), then part of the northern kingdom. Baasha (909-886 B.C.) reigned at Tirzah, as

did his successors until Omri. At that time there was a struggle for power with rival kings (16:21). Omri prevailed and after he had reigned from Tirzah for six years he built a new capital which he called "Samaria" (*ca.* 879 B.C.; 16:23f.).

Samaria was the scene of some of Elijah's ministry, notably in the time of Ahab (874-853) and his wife Jezebel (1 K. 18). The most dramatic was his conflict with the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 K. 18:17-49). Elisha lived at Abel-meholah in eastern Samaria (19:16) and he became Elijah's disciple from there (v. 21). In his days, Ben-hadad the king of Syria besieged Samaria (20:1) but was defeated by Ahab (v. 21). The Transjordan region, which had been part of the tribal allotment of Manasseh, was occupied by the Syrians until Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah united to retake Ramoth-gilead (22:3-40). At the time of Ahab's death (853 B.C.) Mesha king of Moab rebelled (2 K. 3:5). In the days of Jehu (841-814) "the Lord began to cut off parts of Israel" (10:32), including Gilead and Bashan. Jehu survived, most likely because he paid tribute to Shalmaneser III (859-824; cf. *ARAB,* I, § 672; *ANET,* p. 280). In the days of Pekah king of Israel (*ca.* 752-732) Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (747-727) captured parts of Gilead and Galilee (15:29), thus reducing Samaria approximately to the area now commonly known as Samaria, i.e., the region between Galilee and Judah. He deposed Pekah (732 B.C.) and placed Hoshea on the throne as a puppet (*ARAB,* I, § 816).

Amos, a prophet from Tekoa in Judah (Am. 1:1; 7:10-15), was sent to proclaim God's message to the northern kingdom in the days of Jeroboam II (793-753), probably between 760 and 755 B.C. His message gives us numerous insights concerning the luxury and the injustice of the day. Isaiah of Jerusalem likewise proclaimed part of his prophecy in the days of Rezin of Syria (750-732) and Pekah of Israel (752-732), against the background of the Syro-Ephramite coalition. It is possible that Isaiah (in 9:1), naming "the way of the sea, the land beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations," referred to the Assyrian provinces of Dor, Gilead, and Megiddo, respectively (*Macmillan Bible Atlas* [rev. ed. 1977], p. 95, Map 148). Hosea was probably a northerner, to judge from his intimate knowledge of the country, and his prophecy is to be dated (if Hos. 1:1 is to be accepted) between 767 and 722 B.C. From 1:4 we may judge that part, at least, was delivered before the death of Jeroboam II (743 B.C.). The prophesied judgment of God on the northern kingdom occurred in the siege and fall of Samaria (2 K. 17:5) and the carrying into captivity of a large portion of the inhabitants (*see* SHALMANESER 3; SARGON III). Samaria was populated with exiles from other places which Assyria conquered (v. 24ff.).

B. Between the Testaments. After the return from exile, Judah and Benjamin were opposed in their efforts to rebuild the temple by those who had been previously resettled in Samaria (Ezr. 4:1, 10). At that time Samaria was part of the Persian province of Beyond the River (Akk. *eber nâri*), of which Tattenai was governor (5:3). The breach between Jews and Samaritans probably became permanent with the building of a temple on Mt. Gerizim. According to Josephus this took place in the reign of Darius III Codomannus (335-330) (*Ant.* xi.8.4 [322]; cf. H. H. Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," *BJRL,* 38 [1955-56], 166-198, repr. in *Men of God* [1963], pp. 246-276; Rowley has a good discussion of the time of the breach). The problem of confusion of the Sanballat of Ezra and that of Josephus seems now to be settled by the discoveries in Wâdī Daliyeh; cf. W. S. LaSor, *et al., OT Survey* (1982), p. 652; and F. M. Cross, "Papyri from the Fourth Century B.C. from Daliyeh," in D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield, eds., *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (1969), pp. 41-62.

Samaria came under control of Alexander (*ca.* 332 B.C.). In an uprising, his prefect Andromachus was burned to death, and Alexander took vengeance by destroying Samaria and settling a Macedonian colony in its place. Skeletons of about two hundred people were found in the cave in Wâdī Daliyeh, and from the papyri found there it can be ascertained that these were of Samaria's leading families. Several centers of Hellenism were located in or on the edge of Samaria: Samaria (Sebaste), Scythopolis (Beth-shean), Acco (Acre), and Philadelphia (Amman).

The Maccabean revolt (167 B.C.) erupted in Modein, a location between Lydda and Beth-horon (*Macmillan Bible Atlas,* Map 185; 1 Macc. 2:1). The author of Maccabees recorded that Judas was opposed by Apollonius, who had gathered together a force composed of Gentiles and a large number from Samaria (3:10), indicating that Samaria was a stronghold of Hellenistic Jews. According to 2 Macc. 6:2, the temple on Mt. Gerizim had been dedicated to Zeus the Friend of Strangers. Josephus tells us that the Samaritans, claiming that they were colonists from the Medes and Persians, requested this change (*Ant.* xii.5.5 [257-261]). In the days of Jonathan (*ca.* 152-142), a portion of southwestern Samaria, as well as Perea, was added to Judea (1 Macc. 11:33-34; *Ant.* xiii.4.9 [125], 2.3 [50], see n. *c* to § 50 in *LCL*). John Hyrcanus proceeded to take more of Samaria, until he had it all (*ca.* 126-104). He completely destroyed the city of Samaria (*Ant.* xiii.10.3 [281]), which was confirmed by the excavations of 1909-1910 under Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon. He also captured the Samaritan temple on Gerizim (*Ant.* xiii.9.1 [255]).

The Romans, under Pompey, took over Judea in 63 B.C. He proceeded to "liberate" the hellenized regions, thus Samaria was once again free from Judea (*Ant.* xiv.4.4 [74-76]). The Jews kept eastern Idumea, Judea, Perea, and Galilee. The last three were considered Jewish provinces, even after Herod the Great (40-4B.C.) became king of the entire area (cf. Mish. *Baba Bathra* iii.2; Mt. 4:25). *See* PEREA. A new city (Neapolis, modern Nâblus) was built W of Shechem. Samaria was greatly enlarged by Herod the Great and named Sebaste ("August") in honor of the emperor.

C. NT. In accordance with Jewish custom, Samaria was considered a non-Jewish country in the Gospels, and is rarely mentioned in the NT (11 times, 4 in the Gospels, 7 in Acts). When traveling from Galilee to Jerusalem, Jews usually went along the border between Samaria and the Decapolis (cf. Lk. 17:11) and crossed the Jordan at a ford S of Beth-shean, then southward along the eastern side of the Jordan, recrossing near Jericho, and thence to Jerusalem. (However, Josephus [*Ant.* xx.6.1 (118ff.)] stated that it was the custom of Galileans to "pass through" Samaria at the time of a festival on their way to the Holy City.) The visit of Jesus and His disciples to Samaria (Jn. 4) was quite unusual, as the reaction of the woman at Jacob's well indicates (4:9). When Jesus sent out the Twelve, he charged them to "enter no town of the Samaritans" (Mt. 10:5). On another occasion, when He sent messengers ahead to a village of the Samaritans "to make ready for Him," they refused to accept Him (Lk. 9:52). In the light of the Jewish attitude toward Samaria, it would be specious to argue that Jesus and the disciples continued on to Jerusalem through Samaria after that rebuff.

After the resurrection of Jesus, the attitude began to change. At the Ascension, the disciples were commanded to be His witnesses "in Jerusalem and in all Judea and

Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). Following the persecution in Jerusalem, the believers (except the apostles) were scattered "throughout the region of Judea and Samaria" (8:1). Philip (the Deacon, not the Apostle, in the light of v. 1) went to a city of Samaria, probably Sebaste, where he preached and did mighty works (8:5-7) and confronted Simon "Magus" (vv. 9f.). When the apostles at Jerusalem heard "that Samaria had received the word of God" (v. 14), they sent Peter and John who prayed that the Samaritans also might receive the Holy Spirit; subsequently they preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans (v. 25). The church in Samaria is mentioned together with Judea and Galilee (9:31).

Peter healed Aeneas at Lydda (v. 32), and "all the residents of Lydda and Sharon saw him, and they turned to the Lord" (v. 35). Peter raised Tabitha (Dorcas) from the dead at Joppa (9:36-42). While there, he received his vision and at Cornelius's request went to Caesarea, where the first Gentiles received Christ (ch. 10; cf. 11:16).

Paul landed at Caesarea, returning from his third mission (21:8), and stayed at the house of Philip, one of the seven (cf. 6:5). When Paul was returned to Caesarea for trial before the Roman procurator, after his arrest in Jerusalem, he traveled by the road through Antipatris (OT Aphek). After a period of imprisonment in Caesarea, Paul was sent from there to Rome (25:6, 13; 27:1).

D. To the Destruction of Jerusalem. After the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.) Archelaus (4 B.C. - A.D. 6) was named ethnarch of Judea, Idumea, and Samaria (*BJ* ii.6.3 [96]). He was banished in A.D. 6 and his ethnarchy was placed under a Roman procurator. His brother Antipas (4 B.C. - A.D. 39), the "Herod" of the Gospels, was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, but was able to obtain the dynastic title of Herod (*Ant.* xvii.13.1 [342-344]). Agrippa I (A.D. 37-44), by a series of events (or manipulations), finally gained dominion over Judea and Samaria, and his kingdom was as great in extent as that of Herod the Great (*Ant.* xix.4.1-6 [236-273], 5.1 [274]).

Mention might be made here of Jamnia (Jabneh), which was on the Judean side of the border with Samaria. Just before the fall of Jerusalem, Vespasian granted to Johanan ben Zakkai permission to establish an academy (Yeshiva) at Jamnia (*Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* iv.11b-12a). After the fall of Jerusalem, the Beth-Din, successor to the Sanhedrin, was established in that location (G. F. Moore, *Judaism,* I [1927], 83-87). According to one school of interpretation, Jamnia was the location of a council that established the canon of Scriptures (*ca.* A.D. 90). After the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, the center of Jewish learning shifted to Galilee, first to Usha, then to Sepphoris, and finally to Tiberias (cf. T.B. *Rosh ha-Shanah* 31a-b).

Bibliography.–G. A. Smith, *HGHL,* chs. 12, 13.4, 16, 17; F.-M. Abel, *GP,* I, 62f., 76-78, 140-45; II, 153f., 194f.; D. Baly, *GB,* ch. 15; E. and M. Talmi, *kol ha'arets, leksiqon ge'ografi šel yisr'el* (1962) cols. 671-684 (on the river courses). W. S. LASOR

SAMARITANS sə-mâr'i-tənz [Heb. *šōmrōnîm;* Gk. *Samarítēs*] (2 K. 17:29; Mt. 10:5; Lk. 9:52; 10:33; 17:16; Jn. 4:9, 39f.; 8:48; Acts 8:25). The people who dwelt in Samaria; subsequently the religious sect unique to that area.

I. Origins
II. History
III. Beliefs and Practices
IV. Affinities with Other Groups

I. Origins.–The Samaritans claim descendancy from the northern Israelite tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh following the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. Since Assyrian documents record deporting a relatively small proportion of the Israelites (27,290), it is quite possible that a sizable population remained that could identify themselves as Israelites, the term that the Samaritans prefer for themselves, indicating their status as remnants of the northern kingdom. They accept the designation of "Samaritan," which they translate as "keeper" (of the faith) in contrast to the "schismatic Jews" who did not keep the faith and led by Eli moved the sanctuary from Shechem at the foot of Mt. Gerizim to Shiloh in the 11th cent. B.C. The Samaritans say further that Ezra falsified the Pentateuch (e.g., changing "Gerizim" to "Ebal" in Dt. 27:4 and introducing a new script for the Hebrew characters).

By contrast, Jewish sources (notably 2 K. 17 and Josephus) report that the Samaritans are descendants of colonists that the Assyrians brought into the region of Samaria from other lands that they had conquered. The Assyrians did practice the relocation of peoples to lessen the likelihood of insurrections. The biblical story adds the information that after being harassed by lions, the new colonists in Samaria were instructed in the proper worship of the area by an Israelite priest whom the Assyrian king sent back for that purpose. The colonists failed to live up to the code that the priest prescribed, and this accounted for both their designation as immoral foreigners and the religious practices they held in common with the Jews.

According to Ezr. 4, the clear separation between Samaritan and Jew was established shortly after the Persians allowed the Jews to return from the Babylonian captivity in 538 B.C. The "residents of Samaria" were rebuffed by the Jews when they asked to help rebuild the temple. Angered by this rejection, the northerners wrote to the Persian king, Artaxerxes, informing him of the Jews' intentions, and successfully thwarted the rebuilding of the city walls. The silence of Haggai and Zechariah concerning any Samaritan interference and the stated dating in the Persian period suggest that only the city wall was at issue and that the earliest breach between the two communities was expressed in political rather than religious terms.

II. History.–Little is recorded about the Samaritans (or anything happening in Judah) during the Persian period. When Sanballat, the Horonite, harassed the Jews rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem under the leadership of Nehemiah, he was supported by his companions and the "garrison in Samaria" (Neh. 4:2). This is either a continuation or a retelling of the account of harassment in Ezra.

It seems clear that relations between Samaritans and Jews worsened throughout the Persian period, a fact that benefited the Persians by weakening the Palestinian potential to mount any rebellion against the government. The next century provided an empirical demonstration of that fact. A few scholars believe that the Samaritan temple was built in 388 B.C., which would place it in the Persian period, but most scholars prefer the scenario outlined below.

Separation between Samaritans and Jews was again dramatized as the Greeks under Alexander the Great overpowered the Persians in 332 B.C., stormed Palestine, and routed the Samaritans from their capital of Samaria. The Samaritans sought refuge in ancient Shechem at the base of the mount that became their chief religious center. The city they rebuilt at Shechem survived for two hundred years until it was destroyed by the Jewish king John Hyrcanus in 107 B.C. Initially the Samaritans seem to have given support to Alexander. A certain Sanballat volunteered eight thousand Samaritan troops to Alexander for his Egyptian campaign, perhaps in return for permission to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim. While Alexander was in Egypt, the Samaritans in Samaria revolted and killed the

newly appointed governor, Andromachus. In retaliation Alexander destroyed the city of Samaria and established a garrison of six hundred troops there. Many of the Samaritans fled to the foot of Mt. Gerizim and, with Alexander's permission, built a temple to rival the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. Remains of that temple, a large structure of unhewn stones, have been excavated beneath the ruins of the later Zeus temple. No earlier remains have been found on the mount. From those remains we learn little about its origins or its form. Samaritan and Jew were now focused on different holy places, and their separate cults were considerably less interdependent, although common feasts, laws, apocalyptic visions, and scriptural recensions show likely continued mutual influence.

During the reign of the Seleucid tyrant Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.), the Samaritan temple was renamed either Zeus Hellenios (willingly by the Samaritans according to Josephus) or, more likely, Zeus Xenios (unwillingly in accord with 2 Macc. 6:2). The Samaritans did adopt a pro-Syrian policy during the time of Antiochus IV (2 Macc. 6:1f.), earning further animosity from the more rebellious Jews.

John Hyrcanus, a Jewish governor and high priest, destroyed Shechem and leveled the Samaritan temple in 128 B.C., establishing the basis for a new bitterness in Jewish-Samaritan relations. Within ten years Shechem was decimated and most of the Samaritans returned to Samaria, leaving behind only a residual community at the foot of Mt. Gerizim in the towns of Sychar and Neapolis (Nâblus).

In NT times Samaritans shared practices and beliefs with both heterodox and orthodox sects of Judaism. For example, with the Qumrân sectarians they shared a renunciation of the Jerusalem temple, emphasis on the significance of Moses, a messianic interpretation of Dt. 18:18, and the usage of the image "sons of light," while accepting the orthodox feasts and other features prescribed in the Torah. At the same time they struggled with their own schisms. Simon Magus (Acts 8:9ff.) was likely the leader of the Dositheans, an unorthodox, possibly gnostic-influenced, Samaritan group that continued to play a role in Samaritan history, particularly visible in the 4th and 14th cents. A.D.

Some NT books, particularly John, appear consciously to address a Samaritan audience. Scholars have cited as evidence the attention to the Samaritan woman in ch. 4, the reference to "other sheep" in 10:16, and the use of important Samaritan imagery like "light" and "word." Some argue that the speech in Acts 7:22ff. reveals Stephen's Samaritan origin since he, like the Samaritans, challenges the Jerusalem temple and priesthood, refers to the key Samaritan biblical verse, Dt. 18:18, and when he quotes from the Hebrew Scriptures he cites a recension akin to the Samaritan text. Because it presents a strong argument for the superiority of Jesus over Moses some believe that Hebrews may have been addressed to Samaritan Christians. A key evidence is the Samaritans' preference to call themselves Hebrews. Further, the discussion of sacrifice in Hebrews is focused on the tabernacle, which is described and sanctioned by the Pentateuch, rather than the Jerusalem temple abhorred by the Samaritans. The long list of the faithful described in He. 11 before the summary paragraph (11:32-40) is exclusively from the Pentateuch and Joshua, biblical books acceptable to Samaritans (although the Samaritan book of Joshua is considerably different from the Jewish book), and the same heroes are listed in other Samaritan sources.

The Samaritans frequently play an important role in the NT drama. Some references clearly indicate the separation if not hostility between Jew and Samaritan (e.g., Jesus' charge not to enter the Samaritan villages, Mt. 10:5; the charge against Jesus that He was a Samaritan and had a demon, Jn. 8:48; and the editorial comment in Jn. 4:9 that Jews have no dealings with Samaritans). In other cases Jesus uses that very antipathy to shame or confront His hearers, e.g., the case of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10:29-37), and the Samaritan who alone among ten healed lepers returned to give thanks for his healing (Lk. 17:11-19). Jn. 4 relates an extended story of Jesus' encounter with a Samaritan woman. At one point she exclaims, "Our fathers worshiped on the mountain," and as their eyes were most likely drawn to the nearby Mt. Gerizim, it is not improbable that the century-old ruins were fully visible. According to Acts 8, Samaria was one of the first missionary fields for the disciples.

Within a generation of Jesus' conversation at the well, Samaritans fleeing Roman oppression gathered by the thousands at Mt. Gerizim and held the Romans at bay for a month before their water ran out. The Jewish historian Josephus (1st cent. A.D.) told that tale (*BJ* iii.7.32 [307-315]), and it is confirmed by an early Samaritan inscription. In each account the Roman emperor Vespasian dispatched a general (Cerealis according to Josephus, Trajan in the Samaritan inscription) who laid siege to the mount and ultimately slaughtered 11,600 men (10,000 according to the Samaritans).

The Roman emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) preempted the rebuilding of the Samaritan temple by constructing a huge temple to Zeus Hypsistos directly over the ruins of the Samaritan temple. It is said that the metal doors he used in his new temple were taken from the ruined Jerusalem temple. Centuries later they were to adorn two Samaritan synagogues before being taken off by the Ottoman Turks.

Two major factors anchored the Samaritan community to Nâblus, the town at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, even into the Byzantine period. The first was the rather continuous presence of the temple at Gerizim until A.D. 484. The second factor was the apparent readiness of the Samaritans to become Christians as they moved out into the Mediterranean world. Nevertheless there was a Samaritan diaspora (dispersion) with communities in such key centers as Rome, Constantinople, and Thessalonica (remains of Samaritan synagogues have been found in the last two cities).

Early in the Christian era, the flowering of Samaritan theology was epitomized in the third- or fourth-century work of Marqah, Baba, and the hymn writer Amram Darrah. The Memar Marqah, "Teachings of Marqah," a very important Samaritan work, is a unique commentary on the Pentateuch. It became the basis for much subsequent theological and liturgical work and also reflects the first concrete assimilation of Christian concepts into Samaritan thinking. Marqah's son Nana and Amram Darrah also contributed richly to the growing liturgical tradition. Several synagogues were built during the 4th cent., and under the leadership of Baba the apparently Dositheaninfluenced laity party gained in power over against the priests, perhaps as a compromise to strengthen the Samaritan community in the face of adversity.

Marble remnants of Samaritan synagogues, preserving the few surviving Samaritan inscriptions, suggest reasonable prosperity within the community until the time of the emperor Justinian. In his time, in A.D. 529, the Samaritans tried unsuccessfully to rebel and were so severely suppressed that they never fully recovered.

Our glimpses of the Samaritan community during the next several centuries are primarily through colophons

A Samaritan inscription from Ex. 20 on marble, reading "Yahweh is a hero [ ] who is like thee among the god[s] Majestic in holiness terrifying [ ]." This was possibly a lintel above a synagogue door, 3rd to 6th cent. A.D. (courtesy of Michigan State University, University Archives and Historical Collections)

(notes added in margins or flyleaves or included in the text by use of vertically arranged acrostics) in their MSS. We are aware of the dispersal of communities to Aleppo, Tyre, Caesarea, Ascalon, Gaza, and particularly Damascus and Cairo. In 636 they came under Moslem rule; in 1099 the Crusaders entered; and in 1244 the Moslems returned. During the early period of the Moslem rule the Samaritans were not badly treated. When the Crusaders came in they converted the Samaritan synagogue at Nâblus into a church, the tower of which still survives. When the Moslems returned they made the building into a mosque, and in subsequent centuries the Samaritans have had varying degrees of access to their central city. In consequence the future was increasingly with the diaspora.

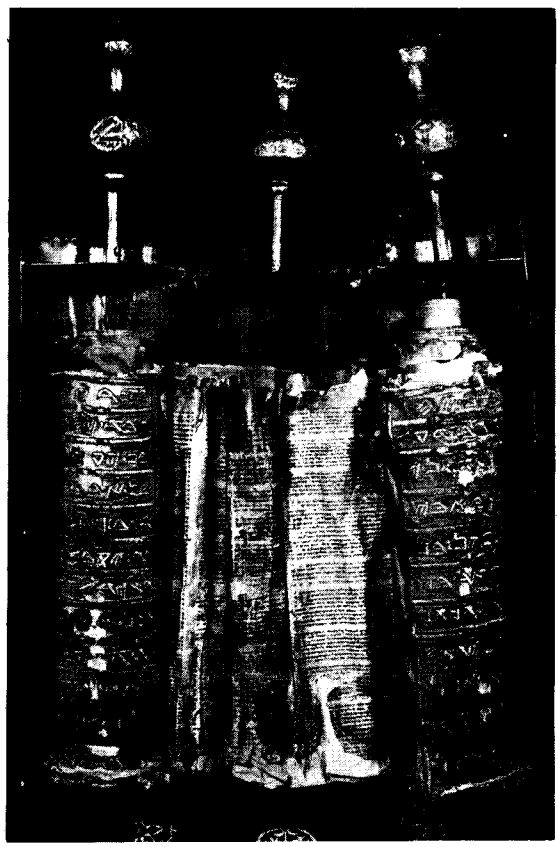
During the 14th cent. ecumenical forces were at work in Nâblus that would integrate various Samaritan factions, primarily the priestly centered orthodoxy and the more lay oriented Dositheans. The newly forged agreements found expression in a number of literary works commissioned throughout the century.

One of these texts was probably the Abisha scroll, the revered copy of the Pentateuch that was discovered on the feast day Simhat Torah in 1355. Much of the MS dates from prior centuries, but it is also likely that some portions were written in the 14th cent. to restore and link ancient fragments. In the same year, Abul Fath completed a history of the Samaritans that the high priest Phineas had commissioned a few years before. It is the earliest and most successful Samaritan attempt at a history that we have. Written in colloquial Arabic, it draws from several previous sources and provides important historical and literary information. Another work, Joshua, a historical commentary of uneven material including some parallels with the biblical book, was also completed in this century. From this accumulated base of authority, the priests maintained their old powers but were more open to heterodoxy.

The following century also witnessed an upsurge in the visibility of Samaritan MS activity in spite of, or perhaps because of, a series of hardships. The century began with the invasion of Tamarlane and the Mongols and ended with the struggles between Mamluks and Ottoman Turks for control of the Islamic world. In addition there were frequent earthquakes, droughts, and plagues. In response the Samaritans migrated to the major cities of the diaspora and copied and exchanged a substantial number of Pentateuchs, reaching a peak, as evidenced by surviving MSS, in the years 1474-1485. The end of the century also witnessed some building restoration in Nâblus. In 1497 the Synagogue Evil Yakov was repaired by Ab Zehuta ben Zedekah of Damascus and Yakov ben Avraham of Egypt, diaspora Samaritans from each of the major centers, and the following year a *mazba*, a special niche, was built in the synagogue at Nâblus for the Abisha scroll.

Relationships among Jews, Christians, and Samaritans were quite congenial at this time, perhaps because of their

Fragments of the Samaritan Pentateuch ("Abisha Scroll") from Nablûs, the oldest being from the 11th cent. A.D. (D. Harris)



SAMARITANS

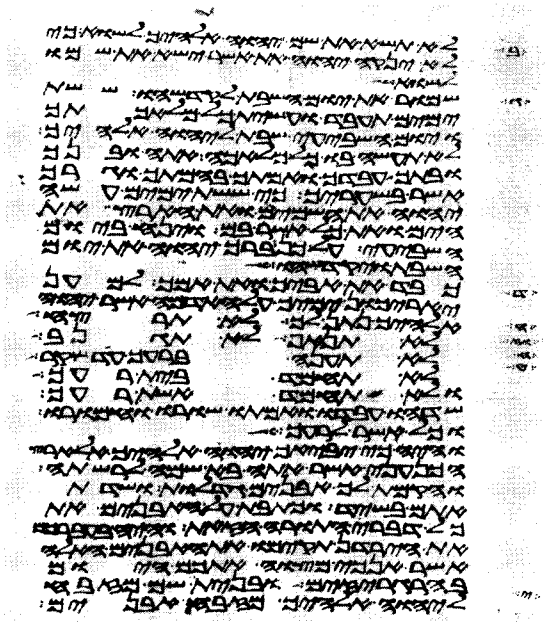
common status as harassed minorities. Jews and Samaritans accepted each other's authority in local communities: Samaritans in Cairo accepted the authority of the Jewish rabbi, and Jews in the region of Nâblus accepted the authority of the Samaritan high priest. In 1497 the sale of a Pentateuch (catalogued "A" in A. F. von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* [1918, repr. 1966]) was witnessed by two Christians, an indication of reasonably amicable relations between these two communities.

The 16th cent. had hardly begun before the Mamluk reign was eclipsed by the Ottoman Turks, oppression of the Samaritans reached a new intensity, and the diaspora Samaritans began to drift back to Nâblus. Some of this oppression is reflected in the depreciation of Samaritan Pentateuchs, as recorded in bills of sale within the MSS themselves, and underscored by the fickle treatment of the various communities. Early in the century the high priest at Nâblus was exiled to Damascus. In 1538 he was allowed to return. The exile may have been fortunate because it brought the Samaritan leadership into contact with the Jewish community in Damascus (there were essentially no Jews in Nâblus), thus providing another occasion for the two communities to nourish one another. The Jewish community in Damascus had been enriched in the beginning of the 16th cent. by refugee Jewish scholars from Spain. The Samaritan scholar Abraham ha-Qabasi wrote a book, *Sayr al Qalb,* containing a second list of the 613 precepts (the number of commandments thought to be in the Pentateuch on the basis of the numerical value attributed to the word *Torah*), undoubtedly influenced by Jewish scholarship. This was one of the treasures brought back to Nâblus in 1538 when the author returned with the high priest. Within a century the Samaritan community at Damascus had disappeared, and the demise of the Egyptian community was not far behind.

With that return the diaspora and the Samaritan community began to wither dramatically. A sixteenth-century traveler wrote that in 1544 Nâblus was the city of the Samaritans and that they were located nowhere else in the world. Persecution of non-Moslems continued throughout the century.

It was also in the 16th cent. that European scholars became aware of the Samaritans and their literature. Most notable was Joseph Scaliger, a self-taught Semitist who entered into correspondence with the communities at Nâblus and Egypt in an attempt to secure a copy of their Pentateuch. In 1584 he did receive some materials, including a copy of the Samaritan Joshua that had been written in 1362-63 by Abd-el Ghani. He also received letters, some of which arrived after his death, but no copy of the Pentateuch was delivered to Europe in the 16th cent., apparently out of a reluctance on the part of Samaritans to entrust their sacred text to outsiders.

The opportunity for Westerners to study the Samaritan Pentateuch had to await the early 17th cent., when Pietro della Valle, unsuccessful in acquiring MSS in Egypt and Nâblus, did find a Pentateuch (von Gall's codex B, dated A.D. 1345-46) available in Damascus. In the next few years it made its way to Paris, where it was studied and published by Jean Morin. Morin remained at the center of all discussion of the Samaritan Pentateuch for three decades, from the arrival of the della Valle codex through its publication in the Paris polyglot of 1645 to the rather incomplete catalog of Samaritan texts that he published in 1657. There followed a flurry of interest in the Samaritan Pentateuch that sent emissaries to the Middle East in search of copies and inspired an extensive polemical literature between Roman Catholics and Protestants, since the



A Samaritan MS copied in A.D. 1474, the end of the Ten Commandments with a Samaritan addition; the commandments are "numbered" in the right margin, beg nning with *beth* [ב] (courtesy of Michigan State University, University Archives and Historical Collections)

Samaritan text seemed to support the LXX version of the OT, which the Roman Catholics favored, over against the MT, which the Protestants and Jews favored as the "original" text.

The Samaritans for their part became confused about the European interest and were led to believe that some of their number were in Europe, particularly in England, a belief that some Englishmen encouraged in the hopes of facilitating a greater influx of Samaritan writings. The Samaritan interest became critical after 1623-24 when the priestly line of Aaron came to an end. On two occasions they wrote their "brethren" in England hoping to reinstitute the line. In practice the priesthood resorted to the Levitical family. Presumably at least one Samaritan was living in Paris by the end of the 17th cent., since some MSS copied by a Samaritan and dating late in the 17th cent., whose model text is a MS previously brought to Paris, have survived.

This confusion contributed to the theories about the lost ten tribes of Israel that developed in various places. Some of the Israelites deported by the Assyrians, it was said, had migrated through Armenia and then westward across Europe. The Anglo-Israelite theory both contributed to anti-Semitism by claiming that the true Israelites were in England and, ironically, facilitated the resettlement of Jews in England during the 17th century.

During the 19th cent. the Samaritans were denied access to their sacred mount; their literary efforts had long since dwindled and, in the early 20th cent. their total population was less than 200. By the late 20th cent. that number had more than doubled. with the community equally divided between Nâblus and a suburb of Tel Aviv called Holon.

In 1985, the Societé Études Samaritaines was created by an international group of scholars meeting in Paris with a special interest in encouraging and facilitating Samaritan studies.

III. Beliefs and Practices.–The Samaritan creed, part of a personal prayer said before the altars on Mt. Gerizim, succinctly outlines the basic beliefs: "We say: My faith is in Thee, YHWH; and in Moses son of Amram, Thy servant, and in the Holy Law; and in Mount Gerizim, Bethel, and in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense."

A clear monotheism, parallel to the rigorous affirmation of Judaism or Islam and borrowing the Moslem slogan "There is no God but God," is central to the Samaritan faith. The Samaritans most commonly refer to God as El or Ela (akin to Islamic Allah), but the tetragrammaton, *YHWH* (Anglicized as "Yahweh," incorrectly as "Jehovah"), is also in regular use. Samaritans, like Jews, avoid the use of images, but unlike Jews they show less anxiety about using the divine name, and a pronunciation still survives. God reveals Himself through the creation and the Torah.

Torah, God's Law, is the second affirmation of the Samaritan community. It defined the location of the temple and the services that were performed there and subsequently elsewhere as well. Its interpretation gave special status to the priesthood. It is read and revered in all services. Verses from it are carved in stone to decorate synagogues (*see* picture in PENTATEUCH, SAMARITAN) and carefully copied by hand on parchment or good paper. Wealthy families owned beautifully hand-printed copies that were passed down through many generations and now reside in the collections of such institutions as the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, and Michigan State University.

Moses mediated God's Law and deserves adoration as the third focus of the Samaritan faith. Many blessings are offered "in the name of Moses the faithful," the first and most exalted of the prophets. Letters often invoke God at the beginning and Moses at the end. The restorer who will come as the agent of God will be one like Moses. The "Song of Moses" in Ex. 15 (particularly vv. 3-11) was a reservoir for Samaritan inscriptions that found their way onto lintels and other parts of synagogues. Parallels between Samaritan adoration of Moses and Christian adoration of Jesus are close and perhaps intentional.

Mount Gerizim is uniquely connected with God. In the Samaritan version of Dt. 27:4 Moses commands the building of an altar on Mt. Gerizim, whereas the Jewish version (MT) has Mt. Ebal. Each group accuses the other of altering the text, but since the beginning of the 20th cent., at least, most scholars are inclined to favor the Samaritan version. On the other hand it is generally held that the Samaritans did add to the Decalogue a commandment to build an altar and to sacrifice on Mt. Gerizim. It is, in their view, the navel of the world where Abel built the first altar and Abraham was willing to sacrifice Isaac. Again, in Samaritan tradition it is the highest mountain in the world, and its peak survived the flood in the time of Noah. Here the Samaritans built their temple in the time of Alexander the Great to rival the temple at Jerusalem. Although the temple was destroyed in 128 B.C. and the remains of that or any subsequent buildings have long been lost, the Samaritans continue to celebrate their festivals on the site to the present day. The mutually exclusive claims of Gerizim and Jerusalem as the most sacred place in the world constitute the most distinctive difference between Jew and Samaritan.

The *Taheb*, "the restorer" foretold in Dt. 18:18 (clearly outside the context of the Davidic messiah), is not explicitly mentioned in the ancient creed and may have been resisted by orthodox Samaritanism. The role is downplayed in the work of the orthodox theologian Marqah. As the Samaritans developed a concept of resurrection, the *Taheb* was generally understood to be the herald of the day of vengeance and reward, an eschatological day that takes its name from Dt. 32:34f. The temple on Gerizim will be restored, the sacrifices reinstated, and the heathen converted. At the judgment, the worthy will enter the Garden of Eden while the wicked will be delivered to flames.

While partisans for lay authority (the various Dositheon sects) have enjoyed some influence during brief periods of Samaritan history, the community has been essentially focused on and controlled by the priesthood that officiates at the many rituals rooted in the Pentateuch, of which circumcision and celebration of the Sabbath are the most common. Reading of the Law is the central element in each of the services. Sabbath is strictly observed with services in the synagogue. The main festival of the synagogue is the Day of Atonement, when the Law is read and the Abisha scroll is exhibited for adoration.

The remaining services are held on Mt. Gerizim. They include Passover, the coincidental but distinct Festival of Unleavened Bread, and Pentecost, celebrated the fiftieth day after the first Passover sabbath. Passover is the holiest of Samaritan celebrations, and during its course lambs are sacrificed, the last vestige of explicit animal sacrifice among the religions of the West. The priests receive their due on the Day of Simmuth, sixty days before Passover, when each member of the community pays a half-shekel and receives the calendar in which the priest has calculated the festivals for the next six months. The calendar is of great significance since ritual is invalidated if performed at the wrong time according to their understanding of Lev. 23:2. Modifications of these practices have been made at different times by various sects of the Samaritans, sometimes on the basis of different beliefs and sometimes on the basis of exigency. For example, the Feast of Booths had to be kept secretly during certain periods of harassment by Christians and Moslems, and the secrecy developed into orthodox practice.

IV. Affinities with Other Groups.–Over the centuries Samaritanism has shared beliefs and practices with several groups: Rabbinic Judaism, the Qumrân sect, Gnosticism, Christianity, Islam, and the Karaites. For example, the Samaritans share with Rabbinic Judaism part of a common history, the traditions of the Pentateuch, and the festivals authorized in the Pentateuch as described above. They do not celebrate Purim or Hanukkah or the four minor fasts that are rooted elsewhere in Jewish tradition. Samaritans were legally considered a form of Jew during much of the history of occupation in Palestine, and often Samaritan and Jew recognized each other's authorities. Yet Samaritans do not consider themselves Jews and have some reluctance about intermarriage with Jews, although Samaritan men may marry Jewish women. For their part Jews still have reservations about Samaritans and will not allow Samaritans to be buried in the Jewish cemetery at Tel Aviv.

Like the Jewish monastic sect at Qumrân, the Samaritans were exclusive, seeing themselves as "sons of light" and all others as ultimately condemned. Both groups understood Dt. 18:18 as messianic and were opposed to the temple at Jerusalem. Each group had a Nazirite movement and a purification ritual using the ashes of a red heifer. Each used a complex calendar combining both solar and lunar designations perhaps going back to Zadokite reckoning. Neither celebrated Purim or Hanukkah. The Qumrân sect shared a recension of the Torah, specifically in Exodus, with the Samaritans, but the scholarly consensus is that this recension is unique to

neither, although it does reflect an affinity between these two sects not shared by the Jewish communities that produced the MT.

It is quite likely that the Samaritan presence was instrumental in the shaping of some of the NT documents, particularly John and possibly Hebrews. In turn there is evidence that the Samaritans adopted concepts from NT descriptions of Jesus and applied them to Moses (e.g., Moses at his baptism is referred to as the one "in whom God delighted," echoing the ascription to Jesus in Mk. 1:11).

Samaritans were also in interreligious dialogue with Islam. Several depictions of the day of judgment that appear in the work of the Samaritan theologian Marqah reappear in the Koran at a later date. Conversely, the Samaritans adapt several Moslem usages, e.g., the first half of the short creed "There is no God but God" and the introductory phrase "In the name of God . . . ," followed by a listing of divine characteristics.

Late in the 1st millennium A.D., an anti-rabbinical sect of Judaism emerged that spread to Damascus and Cairo, the two major cities of the Samaritan diaspora. The sect, known as the Karaites, rigorously proselytized other Jewish groups (missionary work among Moslems was forbidden), probably including Samaritans. Both groups used complex calendars that required specialists to establish the feast days for a particular year, and even the formula for some feasts, like Pentecost, differed from orthodox Judaism. Many of their mutual practices can be traced back to Zadokite traditions at Qumrân and may help establish the family tree of a particular style of Judaism.

See also GERIZIM, MOUNT; PENTATEUCH, SAMARITAN.

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SAMATUS sə-mā'təs (1 Esd. 9:34, AV, NEB, RSV mg.). *See* SHEMAIAH **22.**

SAMEKH sam'ek [ס]. The fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated as *s*. It stands at the head of the fifteenth section of Ps. 119 (AV). It also came to be used for the number sixty. *See* WRITING.

SAMEIUS sə-mē'əs (1 Esd. 9:21, AV). *See* SHEMAIAH **20.**

SAMGAR-NEBO sam-gär-nē'bō [Heb. *samgar nᵉḇô*; Gk. *Samagoth, Eissamogath,* etc.]; NEB OF SIMMAGIR, NEBU(SARSEKIM). Originally understood as the personal name of an official of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (Jer. 39:3). Such a name has not yet been identified among an extensive Babylonian prosopography, however. Therefore, since the first name in the text, Nergal-sharezar (Akk. *Nergal-šarra-uṣur*), is cited in Babylonian documents as the governor of Sin-magir, a district near Opis N of Babylon, a new hypothesis takes part of this name as descriptive of him, i.e., "Nergal-sharezer the Sin-magir (official)." This hypothesis would require that the theocratic element Nebo (Akk. *Nabû*) be read with SARSECHIM as the personal name of the Rabsaris. D. J. WISEMAN

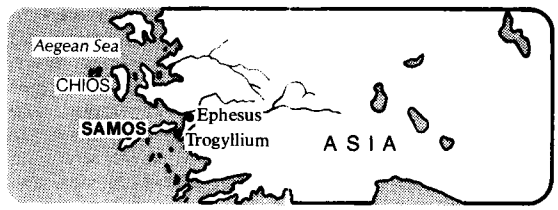
SAMI sā'mī (1 Esd. 5:28, AV). *See* SHOBAI.

SAMIS sā'mis (1 Esd. 9:34, AV). *See* SHIMEI **18.**

SAMLAH sam' lə [Heb. *śamlá*]. One of the ancient Edomite kings who reigned before Israel had kings (Gen. 36:36f.; 1 Ch. 1:47f.). He came from the city of Masrekah.

SAMMUS sam'əs (1 Esd. 9:43, AV, NEB). *See* SHEMA **4.**

SAMOS sā'mos [Gk. *Samos*–'height, mountain'; see Strabo viii.3.19 (346), x.2.17 (457)] (1 Macc. 15:23; Acts 20:15). One of the most famous of the Ionian islands, third in size among the group that includes Chios, Cos, and Lesbos. It measures about 43 km. (27 mi.) from E to W and about 24 km. (15 mi.) at its greatest width. It lies at the mouth of the bay of Ephesus, separated from the shore of Ionia by the narrow Strait of Mycale (about 1.6 km. or 1 mi. across), where the Greeks conquered the Persian fleet in 479 B.C. (Herodotus ix.100ff.). As the name suggests, the island's surface is very mountainous, Mt. Kerki rising to a height of 1436 m. (4,710 ft.).



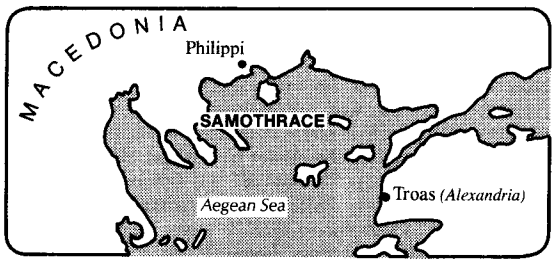
In early times the island was an important naval power and a center of Ionian luxury. Samos reached the apex of its prosperity under the famous tyrant Polycrates (6th cent. B.C.), who made himself ruler of the Aegean Sea (cf. Herodotus iii.39ff.). Many Jews were living in Samos in the 2nd cent. B.C., and 1 Macc. 15:23 mentions Samos as one of the places to which Lucius the Roman consul wrote to ask their good will toward the Jews.

The island was joined to the province of Asia in 84 B.C. and became a free state in 17 B.C. through the favor of Augustus. The people of Samos worshiped Juno or Hera, and her temple possessed some of the finest works of art know to Greece (statues by Polycletus, Praxiteles, and Myron). The island's chief manufacture, pottery of a fine smooth clay of deep red color, was renowned throughout the civilized world.

When Paul "touched" here after passing Chios on returning from his third missionary journey (Acts 20:15), Samos was a "free city" in the province of Asia. In v. 15 the TR adds the phrase, "and having remained in Trogyllium" (cf. AV), but the oldest MSS have no trace of these words. The phrase may well be a gloss to explain Gk. *parabállō*, which technically means "touch land" but not necessarily "make a landing" (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 6.4 [161]). Trogyllium lay on the mainland opposite Samos; possibly some annotator, knowing the locality, suggested this as the night's halting-place.

Bibliography.–*Enc.Brit.*, XIX; V. Guerin, *Description de l'île de Patmos et de l'île de Samos* (1955), pp. 333-351; *MSt*, IX; H. F. Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean* (1890). A. J. KINSELLA
W. H. GARCÍA

SAMOTHRACE sam'ə-thrās [Gk. *Samothrákē*] (Acts 16:11); AV SAMOTHRACIA sam-ə-thrā'shə. A small island (only 176 sq. km., or 68 sq. mi.) in the northeast Aegean Sea. As the name indicates (*see* SAMOS), the island is mountainous, its highest peak rising to 1800 m. (5900 ft.),the highest point on any of the Aegean islands.



On his second missionary journey, after receiving the vision of the man from Macedonia (Acts 16:9f.), Paul left Troas and made straight for Europe across the north Aegean Sea. The journey took almost two days, and the boat dropped anchor the first night off the island of Samothrace (v. 11). The island had no harbor — only an unsafe anchorage on its north side — but the hazards of sailing by night generally forced mariners to anchor somewhere if possible. Evidently Paul and his company did not go ashore on this occasion. But later, as he traveled from Philippi to Troas at the end of his third missionary journey, he may have done so. On that occasion he spent five days making the two-day voyage (20:6). (See Maps XIX and XX in Vol.I.)

Samothrace's great significance in antiquity came from the mystery religion celebrated there, second only to the mystery at Eleusis. The Samothracian mystery involved veneration of the Cabeiri, a group of fertility deities, probably of Phrygian origin, that were worshiped in much of Asia Minor. The Greeks identified them with gods of their own pantheon. The cult also involved an initiation ceremony into the intimacy and favor of the gods in this life and the next. Thus the devotees hoped for immortality as well as general safeguard against misfortune in the present life. The festivals of the Cabeiri were celebrated annually at the end of July or beginning of August.

The sanctuary enjoyed great prosperity during the Hellenistic period, when kings of both Macedonia and Egypt were benefactors. Philip and Olympias, parents of Alexander the Great, were initiated there. The popularity of the cult continued under the Romans, but finally it was proscribed by Theodosius I at the end of the 4th cent. A.D. The places of worship were later destroyed by earthquakes.

French excavators began work at Samothrace in 1856 and in 1863 found the famous statue of *Victory*, now in the Louvre. Austrian teams excavated there in 1873, 1875, and 1891. But the definitive work was conducted in 1939; it has been continued since 1948 by K. Lehmann and his successors from New York University. The *Victory* is now known to have been sculpted by a Rhodian and dedicated by Rhodes in honor of a victory *ca.* 190 B.C. over Antiochus III of Syria. It was erected at a fountain by the sanctuary. From the 6th cent. B.C. the excavators also found the Hieron or shrine of the Samothracian gods and a building for display of votive gifts, as well as a Hall of the Mysteries from the 5th cent. B.C. (a circular temple to the Great Gods, over 20 m. [66 ft.] in diameter and thus the largest round classical building before Hadrian's Pantheon in Rome), and a theater from the 3rd cent. B.C. The sanctuary reached its greatest influence *ca.* 250 B.C.

H. F. VOS

SAMPSAMES sam'sə-mēz [Gk. *Sampsamēs*, A *Sampsakēs*]; NEB SAMPSAKES. One of the places addressed by Lucius in his letter on behalf of the Jews (1 Macc. 15:23); probably the Black Sea port of Amisus in Pontus, the modern Samsun. The Latin translators erred in identifying it with Lampsacus.

W. W. GASQUE

SAMSON sam'sən [Heb. *šimšôn*; Gk. *Sampsōn* (He. 11:32)]. The last of the judges of Israel (Jgs. 13–16), Samuel excepted. His name is probably derived from Heb. *šemeš*, "sun." Most likely he was named by his parents in anticipation of his sun-like strength (cf. Jgs. 5:31; Ps. 19:4c-5 [MT 5c-6]).

I. Background.–Samson's hometown was Zorah, about 23 km. (14 mi.) W of Jerusalem, up the eastern end of the valley of Sorek. Six km. (4 mi.) distant, down in the valley, was Timnah, the Philistine town where Samson found his bride. Thus Samson lived on the border of Dan (his own tribe), with the Philistine pentapolis to the southwest and Judah to the southeast.

His twenty-year judgeship (Jgs. 15:20; 16:31) began *ca.* 1070 B.C., probably after Philistine and Amorite pressure had forced the migration northward of most of the Danites (1:34; ch. 18), and sometime before the disaster at Aphek when the Philistines captured the ark (1 S. 4; eventually it was returned to Beth-shemesh, 3 km. [2 mi.] across the valley from Samson's home). The Israelites seem to have accepted Philistine domination — which had been established more by infiltration through trade and intermarriage than by force — with docility (Jgs. 15:11f.), believing that nothing could be done to change the situation. This peaceful coexistence was a great menace to the future of Israel as the people of God.

II. Purpose and Form of the Story.–God raised up Samson to make coexistence with the Philistines less comfortable (Jgs. 14:4). He was to "begin to deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines" (13:5), i.e., from being dominated and absorbed by them (cf. Ex. 19:5f.; Lev. 20:26). According to the OT, that was his life's purpose.

The narrative also draws attention to the motif of answered prayer. The Samson story has three parts: first the birth account (Jgs. 13), and then two cycles (chs. 14–15 and ch. 16), each of which ends with the statement that Samson judged Israel twenty years. The first part focuses largely on Manoah's request that the heavenly visitor should return to teach him and his wife how to rear the child. The other two parts end with a petition by Samson to which God graciously responds.

Because of Samson's name, his proximity to Beth-shemesh ("house of the sun-god"), and parallels between Samson's activities and events in the lives of Gilgamesh and Hercules, some scholars have suggested that the Samson story is actually a solar myth. Although the story may contain some solar features, most scholars have abandoned the view that Samson was a solar hero (see Crenshaw, pp. 15-22). The specifics of his birth and death, indeed the general aptness of the story to its locale and time, argue that the story has a historical basis. Moreover, the poetic fragments in the story appear to be very archaic.

III. Samson's Birth (Jgs. 13).–This section, the birth announcement, forms a prelude to Samson's exploits. The chapter is framed by promise (the angel's promise of a son to Manoah's wife, vv. 2-7) and fulfillment (Samson's birth, vv. 24f.); in between is Samson's father's prayer that the angel would return (v. 8). "God listened to the voice of Manoah" (v. 9), and His angel returned and reiterated the earlier announcement to Manoah's wife, although he did not add to the information. The promise was that although she had been barren, she was to have a son (cf. Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Hannah, Elizabeth). He was to be a Nazirite to God from birth, and he would begin to bring deliverance from the Philistines. Curiously, restrictions that normally applied to the Nazirite were in this case imposed upon the mother, namely, not eating anything from grapes or any unclean thing (vv. 4, 14; cf. Nu. 6:1-8). And Samson's hair was never to be cut

(Jgs. 13:5; cf. Nu. 6:5). The normal Nazirite vow was temporary, but Samson's was to be for his entire lifetime — beginning from conception!

When Manoah, who was at first somewhat skeptical (Jgs. 13:8, 15-18), eventually realized that he had seen the angel of the Lord, he feared for his life. But his wife showed greater spiritual perception: God had just shown them favor, so why need they fear? (v. 23). The seeds of Samson's faith (cf. He. 11:32) were certainly to be found in his home. The section closes with a transitional comment about God's blessing and the beginnings of Samson's superhuman strength (Jgs. 13:24f.).

IV. His Marriage and Subsequent Events (Chs. 14–15).– The cycle begins with Samson's infatuation with a Philistine woman in the neighboring town. This understandably disappointed his parents (14:3). But they "did not know that it was from the Lord," who was "seeking an occasion against the Philistines" (v. 4). Curiously, Samson's nonconformance to his godly upbringing provided the spark for the chain of events that eventually undermined Philistine dominance.

The story about Samson killing the lion and later eating the honey he found in its carcass (vv. 5-9) illustrates both his heroic strength and his disregard of the Nazirite prohibition against contact with dead bodies (cf. Nu. 6:6). He violated his vows again by having a wedding "feast" at which there was heavy drinking (Heb. *mišteh*, lit. "drinking party," Jgs. 14:10). The narrative states that this was held at the bride's home, "for so the young men used to do." Some scholars have suggested that Samson arranged a *ṣadiqâ* marriage, in which the bride continued to live with her parents and the groom lived with her there or visited her periodically (see comms.; Crenshaw, pp. 82f.).

A carved orthostat (ca. 9th cent. B.C.) depicting a warrior fighting a lion that has a hold on his arm. From Tell Ḥalâf (Gozan) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 8839)

At the wedding feast Samson challenged the thirty Philistine "companions" provided by his wife's family with a RIDDLE that could not possibly be solved without knowledge of his slaying of the lion and discovery of the honey (14:11-14). But his wife, threatened by the thirty companions with death if she did not tell them the answer, enticed him to reveal the secret to her and then betrayed his trust (vv. 15-18). To pay off the bet on his riddle, Samson killed thirty Philistines at Ashkelon and gave their clothes to the thirty; then in anger he left his wife and returned to his parents' home (v. 19).

When Samson attempted to return to his wife he learned that her father, assuming that Samson had wanted a divorce (cf. Dt. 24:1-4; see also A. van Selms, *JNES*, 9 [1950], 65-75), had given her in marriage to his best man — the one who was supposed to have protected Samson's interests (Jgs. 14:20–15:2). Badly hurt and very angry, Samson sought vengeance, and one wrong begot another as the violence escalated. He retaliated for his wife's remarriage by catching three hundred jackals, tying them together in pairs with torches between their tails, and setting them loose to destroy the Philistines' fields of ripened wheat (15:3-5). The Philistines responded by burning his wife and her father (v. 6). To avenge himself, Samson "smote them hip and thigh with great slaughter" (vv. 7f.).

Sometime thereafter, the Philistines encamped in Judah in order to capture Samson (15:9f.). The men of Judah, fearful of antagonizing the Philistines, sought to hand him over to them. Samson showed considerable control with his countrymen, allowing them to deliver him bound over to the enemy (vv. 11-13). But as the Philistines came shouting to meet him, the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him (v. 14), and with the jawbone of an ass he killed a thousand men (vv. 15f.).

There follows an account of Samson's naming of two places. The first he called Ramath-lehi ("hill of the jawbone") to commemorate his victory (v. 17). The other he named En-hakkore ("spring of the one who called") as a remembrance of answered prayer (vv. 18f.). For the cycle ends with Samson crying to God for water, acknowledging his dependence on God for the victory, and God rewarding his faith with a miraculous supply of water.

V. His Downfall (Ch. 16).–The second cycle describes Samson's affairs with two other foreign women. Deprived of his wife, he turned to relationships with prostitutes. The first and briefer affair (vv. 1-3) was a warning of his potential undoing. The Philistines at Gaza heard that he was in the city and set a trap for him. But about midnight he made his escape, carrying off the city gates — posts, bar, and all — and depositing them atop a hill in the direction of Hebron (about 60 km. [37 mi.] away), then defying the Gazites to come and retrieve the symbol of their city's strength.

Samson's weakness for women eventually led him to Delilah. Unlike his wife and the prostitute of Gaza, she is mentioned by name, and it is said that he "loved" her (16:4). Like his wife, however, Delilah was persuaded by the Philistines (this time with a large bribe) to betray him. After putting her off three times, he finally divulged the secret of his strength: the Nazirite vow prohibiting the cutting of his hair. While he was sleeping his hair was shorn, and "his strength left him . . . . And he did not know that the Lord had left him" (vv. 19f.). The Philistines seized him, gouged out his eyes, and forced him to perform the humiliating task of grinding in the prison MILL (vv. 21f.).

The last scene depicts Samson's return to the Lord's favor (16:23-30). The Philistines held a feast to celebrate

their god Dagon's victory over Samson, and the defeated Israelite was brought in to "make sport" for them. The humiliated Samson called once again upon the Lord for assistance, and his vengeful motives again aligned with God's purpose of discomfiting the Philistines. In a grim heroic climax, Samson slipped the two main supporting pillars of the temple portico off their pedestals and brought the house down, killing about three thousand people — including himself. The God of Israel had shown Himself more powerful than Dagon. Ironically, Samson killed more Philistines at his death than during the rest of his life.

VI. His Character.–Samson's character as a judge is difficult to evaluate. A giant in physical strength but weak-willed with women, he did serve God's purpose by beginning to deliver Israel from the Philistines. The OT states clearly that the Spirit of the Lord was active in him, enabling him to perform heroic feats (Jgs. 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14, 19; cf. 16:19, 28, 30).

But does the presence of God's Spirit imply anything about his moral character? Samson was tempted in the area of his weakness, and he sometimes used his power without much thought for righteousness or justice (e.g., 14:19; 15:3-8; 16:3). He was a man of his times — times when "every man did what was right in his own eyes" (17:6; 21:25). But there were also occasions when Samson did call upon God (15:18; 16:28), and God's response implies that Samson was sincere in his entreaty. In this Samson differed from his contemporaries, and for this the NT includes his name among the heroes of faith (He. 11:32).

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SAMUEL sam'ū-əl [Heb. *šᵉmû'ēl*; Gk. *Samouēl*]. The last leader of Israel in the premonarchical period, who anointed both Saul and David. He functioned as a priest-prophet at Shiloh, as a seer at Ramah, and as the last of the great judges in early Israel.

Neither the date of Samuel's birth nor that of his death is known, but his life is to be placed in (the last two-thirds of) the 11th cent. B.C. Samuel's parents were Elkanah, an Ephraimite (1 S. 1:1), and the previously barren Hannah, who prayed for the gift of a child at Shiloh and promised to dedicate her son to lifelong service to Yahweh. Hannah later bore three other sons and two daughters (2:21). The name Samuel, which meant something like "His divine name is 'El," is explained in 1:20, 28 by a series of puns on the verb *šā'al* ("request," "dedicate"), which also happens to be the root behind the name Saul. These puns suggest that the real leader of Israel is not Saul, the anointed king, but rather the prophet-anointer who had been asked ("Sauled") of God and who had been dedicated ("Sauled") back to God. Some have argued from the puns that the birth story in 1 S. 1 once described the birth of Saul himself. According to the LXX and 4QSam^{a} versions of 1 S. 1:11, 22, Samuel was to abstain from alcoholic beverages and was not to cut his hair because he was a Nazirite (cf. the Hebrew fragments of Sir. 46:13). In 1 Ch. 6:28 (MT 13), Samuel is identified as a Levite. Albright (p. 161) suggested that Samuel was from the tribe of Ephraim by birth, but was attached to the tabernacle as a Nazirite and was therefore drawn by Levitical tradition into family attachment to the tribe of Levi.

In a dream theophany Yahweh revealed to the boy Samuel at Shiloh that the priestly house of Eli would come to an end because of the wickedness of Eli's two sons, Hophni and Phinehas (1 S. 3:11-14; cf. 2:12-17) — a fate announced earlier by an anonymous man of God (2:27-36). The sons were killed in a battle with the Philistines at Ebenezer (4:11), and Eli died when he heard the news of the loss of the ark of God (4:18). Because Yahweh appeared repeatedly to Samuel at Shiloh and revealed Himself to him, all Israel knew that Samuel was established as a prophet for Yahweh (3:20f.).

Samuel does not play a role in the ark narrative (1 S. 4–6). His next recorded appearance was at Mizpah, where he led the people to repent and prayed for them while offering up a whole burnt offering, and where Yahweh gave Israel a decisive victory over the Philistines, commemorated by the erection of a stone called Ebenezer (7:3-12). Samuel's duties as judge took him on a yearly circuit of the towns of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (7:15-17). Despite the small territory encompassed by these towns, the text designates him as a judge of all Israel. As a judge he may have served as a court of appeal, as a handler of difficult cases, or as a proclaimer of the law in the community assembly. He also judged Israel in his hometown of Ramah, where he had built an altar.

Samuel's own sons, Joel and Abijah, served as judges at Beer-sheba (1 S. 8:1-3). When they proved to be corrupt, the elders of Israel requested Samuel to appoint a king for them. Though this displeased Samuel, he was told by Yahweh to grant them their request but to warn them of the taxes and forced conscription for work projects and military service that kingship would bring (8:11-17).

Samuel is connected with three ceremonies in the accounts of Saul's rise to kingship. According to 1 S. 9:1–10:16, he secretly anointed Saul as prince (*nāgîḏ*, 9:16; 10:1; but cf. *meleḵ*, "king," in 15:1), apparently in the prophet's hometown of Ramah. Saul had been searching in vain for his father's lost asses and was persuaded by his servant to ask for assistance from a local man of God. This led to his encounter with Samuel and his anointing. Samuel gave Saul three signs to certify his anointing as prince (10:1). Samuel is identified in this account as a "man of God" and a "seer," both of which are titles for prophets elsewhere in the Bible.

After repeating his theological objections to kingship, Samuel also presided at Mizpah over a lot-casting ceremony that pointed to Saul as Yahweh's choice (1 S. 10:17-27). Samuel deposited the law of the kingdom (cf. Dt. 17:14-20) in the sanctuary at the end of this ceremony. After Saul's victory over the Ammonites, Samuel suggested that the people go to Gilgal, where they proclaimed Saul king (1 S. 11:12-15). The notice that they "renewed" the kingship at Gilgal (v. 14) is often viewed as an attempt to harmonize the several accounts of Saul's rise to power.

In his farewell sermon (1 S. 12), Samuel demonstrated his own innocence and Yahweh's righteousness. He warned the people that the king they had inappropriately demanded would be acceptable and would succeed only if they were obedient, and that both they and their king would be swept away if they acted wickedly. Samuel promised to pray for the people and teach them the way they should live.

Samuel rejected any dynastic succession for Saul because of an incident in which the king offered a sacrifice himself instead of waiting for the prophet to come to Gilgal to preside over the sacrifice (1 S. 13:8-14). Saul's action seems to have violated a compromise initiated during the controversial rise of the monarchy (note the positive and negative reactions to kingship in chs. 7–11). According to this compromise, the king would carry out the charismatic military activities of the judges or "saviors" from premonarchic times, while the prophet would communicate to the king Yahweh's authorization for war. Since the

sacrifice itself was probably the means by which Yahweh's authorization was determined, Saul's impatient performance of the sacrifice may have represented an attempt to manipulate the divine decision to his own advantage. Because of the basic role changes associated with this compromise, Samuel is usually considered Israel's first prophet in the strict sense of the term.

Samuel functioned as such a prophet when he authorized Saul to attack Amalek (1 S. 15:1-3), but he sharply rebuked the king for sparing the Amalekite king Agag and the best of his livestock in violation of the laws (vv. 13-23; cf. vv. 8f.). As a result of this disobedience, Samuel announced that Yahweh had rejected Saul as king (vv. 23, 26). When Saul tore Samuel's robe as he was trying to leave, the prophet informed him that Yahweh had torn the kingdom of Israel from Saul and given it to a "neighbor of yours, who is better than you" (vv. 27f.; cf. 28:17). Samuel himself executed Agag, who had mistakenly expected a reprieve (15:32f.). Samuel did not see Saul again until the day of the latter's death (v. 35; cf. ch. 28 and 19:18-24). Samuel mourned for Saul, and Yahweh was "sorry" that He had ever made Saul king (15:35).

On Yahweh's instructions, Samuel traveled to a private sacrifice at Bethlehem, at which he anointed David, the youngest of Jesse's sons (1 S. 16:1-13; cf. 2 S. 2:4; 5:3). While David was blessed with the gift of the Spirit as a result of this anointing (1 S. 16:13), the Spirit of Yahweh departed from Saul (v. 14; cf. 10:6, 10; 11:6). In the course of his struggles with Saul, David fled to Samuel, who was in the company of a group of ecstatic prophets at Ramah, only 3 km. (2 mi.) N of Saul's own town of Gibeah. Saul's messengers and, finally, the king himself participated in this ecstatic behavior, with the king stripping off his clothes and prophesying before Samuel (19:18-24). In this context the proverb "Is Saul also among the prophets?" apparently has a negative connotation (cf. 10:10-12, where the proverb occurs in a positive context). Saul's wild behavior in Samuel's presence seems only to have confirmed the latter's negative judgment of him. Samuel's assistance to David in his flight from Saul added prestige to the future king.

A seventh-century Byzantine plate showing Samuel anointing David as king in the presence of David's family. Sacrificial animals are shown below near an altar (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917)

On Samuel's death he was buried in Ramah and mourned by all Israel (1 S. 25:1; 28:3). As Saul prepared for his final battle at Gilboa, he decided to visit a necromancer at Endor, since Yahweh no longer communicated to him through dreams, Urim, or prophets (28:4-7); by contrast, David gained ready response to his multiple divine inquiries (22:10, 13, 15; 23:2, 4; 30:8; 2 S. 2:1; 5:19, 23). The female necromancer brought up from Sheol the figure of Samuel. When Samuel came up from the underworld wrapped in a prophetic mantle, his standard garb (2:19; 15:27), the necromancer thought it was a divine visitation, but Saul recognized Samuel and prostrated himself before him (28:13f.). Samuel complained about being disturbed and announced that Yahweh would now fulfil His previous threat to deprive Saul of kingship (vv. 15-19; cf. ch. 15). Saul and his sons would fall on the next day, and the Israelites would be defeated by the Philistines. Samuel also confirmed the kingship of David.

Later biblical tradition highlights Samuel's role as intercessor (Jer. 15:1; Ps. 99:6) and associates him with David in the establishment of the office of gatekeepers (1 Ch. 9:22). The reference in 1 Ch. 29:29 to extrabiblical sources for details of David's reign apparently led to the tradition that Samuel was the author of 1 Samuel. According to 2 Ch. 35:18 the Passover of Josiah was the first of its kind since the days of Samuel. The NT twice refers to Samuel as the first prophet (Acts 3:24; 13:20), and his prophetic career is summarized in the apocryphal book of Sirach (46:13-20). The author of Hebrews includes Samuel among the great heroes of faith (He. 11:32).

***Bibliography.**—Comms.:* See the list of comms. in the Bibliography of SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.

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SAMUEL, BOOKS OF. The OT books dealing with Samuel and with the first two kings of Israel, Saul and David. While normally classified as historical books, they are also notable for their theological evaluation of kingship in general and of dynastic kingship and David in particular.

I. Place in the Canon
II. Contents
III. Text
IV. Sources
V. Redactional History
VI. Purpose and Theology

I. Place in the Canon.—In the Hebrew Bible the books of Samuel belong to the part of the canon called the Prophets, which consists of the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings) and the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets). Apparently because of the great length of Samuel, the LXX divided it into two books, called *Basileiōn* A and B (1 and 2 Kingdoms or 1 and 2 Reigns); this division

was introduced into the Hebrew Bible with the First Rabbinic Bible of 1517.

The division of the books after 1 S. 31 makes some sense, since this chapter reports the death of Saul. Yet this division also splits in two the story of David's rise to power, which begins in 1 S. 16 and reaches its climax in 2 S. 5. While 1 Samuel begins with the birth of Samuel, who plays a prominent role in the book up to ch. 25 (cf. ch. 28), Samuel himself resembles in a number of ways the judges of the book of Judges; thus in some ways the division between Judges and 1 Samuel might better have been placed between the end of the era of the judges (after 1 S. 7) and before the rise of the monarchy (1 S. 8–15).

The name Samuel is not altogether appropriate for the books of Samuel, since the prophet dies in 1 S. 25 and is not mentioned at all after 1 S. 28:20. Samuel's prominent role in the early chapters of 1 Samuel may have led to the association of his name with the books. At least as early as the Talmud, however, Samuel was also considered the author of those chapters preceding his death. Subsequent chapters were attributed to the prophets Nathan and Gad. This theory of authorship seems to be based on the mention in 1 Ch. 29:29 of "the Chronicles of Samuel the seer, and the Chronicles of Nathan the prophet, and the Chronicles of Gad the seer."

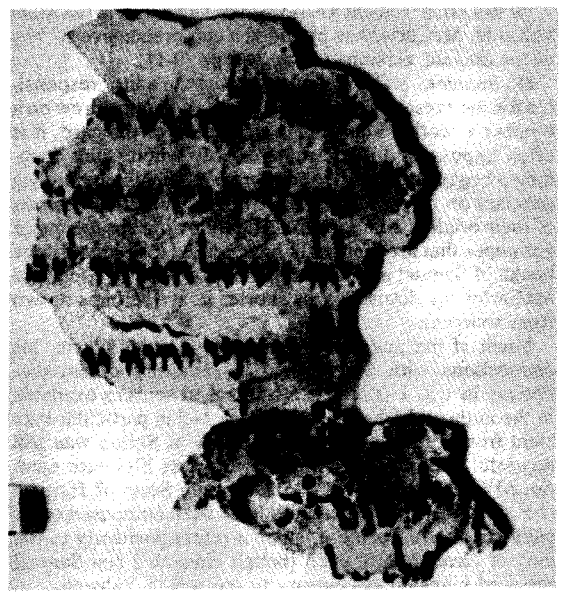
II. Contents.–The contents of Samuel may be outlined as follows (note that the divisions listed here do not necessarily correspond to divisions in the underlying sources):

I. Samuel at Shiloh (1 S. 1:1–3:21)
  A. Samuel's Birth (ch. 1)
  B. Song of Hannah (2:1-10)
  C. Corruption of Eli's Sons (2:11-36)
  D. Call of Samuel (ch. 3)
II. The Ark Narrative (1 S. 4:1–7:1)
  A. Ark's Exile among the Philistines (ch. 4)
  B. Victorious Hand of Yahweh (ch. 5)
  C. Ark's Return to Israel (6:1–7:1)
III. Emergence and Early Days of Kingship (7:2–15:35)
  A. Samuel's Defeat of the Philistines and Judging of Israel (7:2-17)
  B. Samuel's Warning: Rights of the King (ch. 8)
  C. Samuel's Anointing of Saul (9:1–10:16)
  D. Saul's Choice by Lot (10:17-27a)
  E. People's Proclamation of Saul's Kingship (10:27b–11:15)
  F. Samuel's Farewell Discourse (ch. 12)
  G. Saul's War Against the Philistines (chs. 13–14)
  H. Saul's Rejection as King (ch. 15)
IV. History of David's Rise (1 S. 16:1–2 S. 5:25)
  A. Samuel's Anointing of David (1 S. 16:1-13)
  B. David's Introduction to Saul and Defeat of Goliath (16:14–18:5)
  C. Several Escapes of David from Saul (18:6–9:24)
  D. David and Jonathan's Mutual Loyalty (ch. 20)
  E. Ahimelech's Generosity to David (21:1-9 [MT 2-10])
  F. David as Madman (21:10-15 [MT 11-16])
  G. Saul's Slaying of Ahimelech, and Abiathar's Escape (ch. 22)
  H. David's Escape from Saul at Keilah (ch. 23)
  I. David's Refusal to Kill Saul, Yahweh's Anointed (ch. 24)
  J. David and Abigail (ch. 25)
  K. Reprise: David's Refusal to Kill Saul, Yahweh's Anointed (ch. 26)
  L. David as Double Agent (27:1–28:2)
  M. The Witch of Endor (28:3-25)
  N. David's Dismissal by Achish (ch. 29)
  O. David's Campaigns in the South (ch. 30)
  P. Death and Burial of Saul (ch. 31)
  Q. David's Grief over Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1)
  R. David's Anointing as King of Judah (2:1-11)
  S. Wars with Abner and Ishbaal (2:12–4:12)
  T. David's Anointing as King of Israel (5:1-5)
  U. Capture of Jerusalem and Defeat of the Philistines (5:6-25)
V. Movement of the Ark to Jerusalem (ch. 6)
VI. Nathan's Oracle (ch. 7)
VII. David's Wars and Officials (ch. 8)
VIII. Succession to David's Throne (2 S. 9:1–20:26; cf. 1 K. 1:1–2:26)
  A. David's Loyalty to Mephibosheth (2 S. 9)
  B. War with the Arameans (ch. 10)
  C. Affair with Bathsheba and its Consequences (11:1–12:25)
  D. Defeat of Rabbah of the Ammonites (12:26-31)
  E. Amnon's Rape of Tamar and Execution by Absalom (13:1-37)
  F. Absalom's Revolt and Its Suppression (13:38–20:3)
  G. Revolt of Sheba (20:4-26)
IX. Miscellanies from David's Reign of (21:1–24:25)
  A. Gibeonites' Revenge; Reburial of Saul and Jonathan (21:1-14)
  B. Exploits of David's Men (21:15-22)
  C. A Psalm of David (ch. 22)
  D. David's Last Words (23:1-7)
  E. David's Warriors (23:8-39)
  F. David's Census and the Ensuing Plague (ch. 24)

III. Text.–The MT of 1 and 2 Samuel has suffered from extensive textual corruption, particularly in the omission of words or phrases due to homoioteleuton. A superior text can often be reconstructed with data drawn from the DSS or LXX.

Thenius was the first modern scholar to make extensive use of the LXX for textual criticism, but pride of place in textual studies of the books of Samuel belongs to J. Wellhausen and S. R. Driver. Modern editions of the Hebrew Bible take note of the textual difficulties and list many of the divergences between the MT and LXX. (For the

A fragment of 1 S. 23:9-13 from Qumrân Cave 4 (4QSam^b), ca. 200 B.C. (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)



books of Samuel the apparatus in *BH* is sometimes more complete and more accurate than that of *BHS*.)

The alternate and often superior text-type lying behind the LXX has been identified also in the DSS. 4QSam^{a} (50-25 B.C.), 4QSam^{b} (mid-3rd cent. B.C.), and 4QSam^{c} (early 1st cent. B.C.) frequently support the LXX; some of the Qumrân readings correspond even more closely to the Lucianic family of LXX MSS and to readings in Josephus than to the original LXX.

F. M. Cross (*Qumran*, pp. 177-195) classified the original Greek translation, made in Egypt in the 2nd cent. B.C., as the Old Greek. About a century later, he theorized, this translation was revised to agree with the Hebrew text that was currently predominant in Palestine (witnesses to this Palestinian text tradition include citations in the books of Chronicles and in Josephus, in addition to the DSS). This Greek revision is now imperfectly preserved as part of the Lucianic recension of the LXX, completed *ca.* A.D. 300. Lucian seems to have used for this recension a copy of the Palestinian revision of the Old Greek made in the 1st cent. B.C.; for this reason the Palestinian revision of the Old Greek text-type is called proto-Lucian.

The MT forms a third text-type. Cross theorized that this text had a Babylonian provenance. While this identification of the MT's geographical origin is far from certain, it is surely possible in many cases to reconstruct three distinct text-types for the books of Samuel.

Although the Qumrân MSS have not yet been fully published, the works of Ulrich and McCarter (who had access through Cross to the unpublished MSS of Samuel and included their variant readings in their comms.) have enabled students to make substantial use of this evidence. Extensive evaluations of the Qumrân and LXX evidence on individual readings are found in the comms. of McCarter and Klein.

In 2 Samuel the character of the Greek text of LXX B changes beginning with 2 S. 10:1. Before this point Vaticanus contains the Old Greek; after this point Vaticanus includes a different Greek recension, the *kaige*, a version of the LXX produced about the turn of the era in an attempt to make it agree with a proto-MT. The value of the LXX is somewhat diminished in 2 S. 10:1–24:25, therefore, although Lucianic readings offer indirect but extremely valuable access to the Old Greek.

Of the other ancient versions, the Old Latin is the most valuable. McCarter has provided a comprehensive survey of the ancient versions (*I Samuel*, pp. 9-11).

IV. Sources.—It is widely agreed that the editor responsible for the present shape of the books of Samuel drew on a number of earlier sources. In the nature of the case, it is often impossible to determine exactly where such documents began and ended, and there is no unanimity among scholars on this matter or on the date and circumstances of their original composition. The following are the major pericopes that are thought to have served the author of the books of Samuel as sources (see the comms. of Klein and McCarter for discussion of shorter items perhaps drawn from sources).

Much of the material dealing with Samuel's birth, his connections with Shiloh, and his auditory dream theophany in 1 S. 1–3 can be attributed to sources available to the author of 1 Samuel. Chapters 1–2 in particular may stem from a time when the sanctuary at Shiloh was still powerful (the prophet Ahijah is the last Shilonite mentioned in the Bible, 1 K. 15:29f.). The Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:1-10) seems to many to have been composed originally for another context, since it refers positively to the king of Israel (v. 10) even though Hannah's son Samuel opposed kingship as contrary to the will of Yahweh.

The ark narrative (1 S. 4:1b–7:1; 2 S. 6) does not mention Samuel and seems to have a different literary history from that of 1 S. 1–3 and 7. The original beginning and ending of this narrative are in dispute. L. Rost and A. F. Campbell have argued that the account of the ark's transference to Jerusalem (2 S. 6) was part of this original narrative, which they have dated to the 10th cent. B.C. According to Campbell the precanonical source document also reported the rejection of Shiloh and the house of Eli in favor of the sanctuary at Jerusalem. Miller and Roberts, on the other hand, have denied that 2 S. 6 was part of the precanonical narrative and have hypothesized that the original narrative began with the anti-Elide portions of ch. 2 (vv. 12-17, 22-25, 27-36) as an explanation of why the ark was lost in battle. According to this theory the narrative reaffirms Yahweh's power at a time of apparent defeat and is to be dated to a time before David's defeat of the Philistines.

Whatever its original beginning or end, the ark narrative maintains that God cannot be subjugated even when His people are overwhelmed and His sacred ark falls into enemy hands (Gordon, p. 36). Gordon proposed that the ark narrative would have had special meaning at the time of Israel's exile (cf. 1 S. 4:21f.). Exiles may have concluded that Yahweh could return from the Babylonian exile (cf. Ezk. 43:1-5; 44:4) just as He had once returned from exile among the Philistines.

The positive accounts of Saul's rise to kingship are also thought to be old sources available to the editor of Samuel. In 1 S. 9:1–10:16 we find a folkloristic story of how Saul, a handsome young man from an outstanding family,

A stone orthostat showing a man with a sling probably of the type David would have used against the Philistines. From the palace of Kapara at Tell Ḥalâf, 10th cent. B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

searched for his father's lost asses. During this search he encountered a man of God (Samuel), who indicated to him his future greatness. This story may have been combined with a separate account, influenced by the "call form" associated with Moses, Gideon, and several prophets, which reported that Samuel anointed Saul to be prince.

Saul's choice by lot (1 S. 10:17-27a) seems to be another old and independent tradition about the origin of his kingship. Those who argue for its independence note that the lot-casting carried out by Samuel would be an unnecessary procedure if Samuel had already anointed Saul. Some have argued that still another tradition is preserved in vv. 21b-24, in which Saul is identified as the one chosen by Yahweh because of his great height.

Saul's accession to the kingship in 1 S. 10:27b–11:15, another old account, is attributed to his leadership in a war against the Ammonites. Here Saul seems to be a private citizen living in Gibeah, not the person who had been designated and acclaimed king in 10:17-27a. The public proclamation of his kingship at the Gilgal sanctuary (11:15) seems redundant after the similar ceremony in Mizpah (10:17, 24).

All of the positive stories about Saul's rise to kingship give Samuel a prominent role. While it is not possible, at this stage of our knowledge, to harmonize the various ceremonies and locales in these accounts, the stories do represent a very strong and ancient tradition that saw Saul's rise as part of the will of Yahweh.

Among the traditions critical of the monarchy, Samuel's unflattering portrait of kingship in 1 S. 8:11-18 is identified as an early source by several scholars. Mendelsohn proposed that Samuel was drawing on his knowledge of Canaanite kingship when he identified the ways in which the king would tax his subjects and turn them into slaves. Crüsemann drew an analogy between this critique of kingship and the grievances that fed the revolts of Absalom and Sheba.

While 1 S. 12 has been identified by many scholars as basically a Deuteronomistic composition (for the theological importance of this speech, see below), it is often said to contain archaic material, largely because the historical details it reports differ from data reported elsewhere in the Bible. In v. 9, e.g., the sequence of enemies — Sisera, the Philistines, and Moab — is contrary to the chronological order of enemies in the book of Judges. The second deliverer cited in v. 11 is either Barak or Bedan (the text is uncertain); if the correct reading is Barak he comes in the wrong chronological sequence, and if it is Bedan the text refers to a deliverer completely unknown elsewhere in the Bible. While ch. 11 reports that the Ammonite crisis was the occasion for Yahweh to raise up Saul as a charismatic deliverer, 12:12 reports that the same crisis resulted in the sinful demand for a king. However this conflict is resolved, chs. 11 and 12 were probably not written by the same person.

The history of David's rise (HDR) seems to be another old document that was incorporated into the books of Samuel. Again, scholars have not achieved unanimity on where this document began or ended. Grønbaek and Mettinger proposed that it began at 1 S. 15:1, the report of Saul's rejection as king. Weiser argued that 16:1-13, the anointing of David by Samuel, would be an appropriate beginning. Since HDR makes no further mention of this anointing ceremony, others would see 16:14 as the beginning of the precanonical document. Most have identified 2 S. 5:10 as the final verse of HDR, in which case it would conclude with David's anointing by both Judah (2 S. 2:4) and Israel (5:3).

The time of composition and the purpose of the HDR source are equally in doubt. Ward suggested that it was prepared by a member of Solomon's court who was trying to justify the king to the Saulides (cf. Crüsemann). Mettinger believed that it should be dated after Solomon, arguing that it supports the Jerusalem king's right to rule over all Israel, as David had done, and not just over the southern kingdom. While Grønbaek and Conrad placed it in the 9th cent., McCarter dated it within the reign of David, comparing it to apologetic literature and especially to the Apology of Ḥattusilis III, a thirteenth-century Hittite king (cf. Whitelam). According to this view the HDR source was originally meant to counteract those who were suspicious of the new king. The document exonerates David from any complicity in the deaths of Saul (2 S. 1:14-16), Abner (3:27, 31-39), and Ishbaal (Ishbosheth, 4:2-12), and it underscores David's generosity to Meribbaal (Mephibosheth), Jonathan's surviving son (ch. 9; 19:24-30). It shows that David did not take advantage of easy opportunities to assassinate his predecessor (1 S. 24, 26), nor, despite his alliance with the Philistines, did he participate in their fatal battle against Saul on Mt. Gilboa (1 S. 31). David's association with the Philistines, a source of potential embarrassment to the king and his supporters, is shown to have been forced upon him by Saul's harassment (27:1).

According to HDR, David also enjoyed the support — or at least the implicit recognition — of Jonathan, Saul's heir apparent and the first of the royal house to acknowledge David (1 S. 18:1-5; 19:1; 20:5-8; 23:6-18), of king Saul's daughter Michal (18:20-29; 19:11-17), of Samuel (19:18-24; 28:17), and of Saul himself (24:20). Abigail, the wife of a wealthy Calebite, joined the chorus of those prophesying David's kingship (25:30). All Israel and Judah are said to have loved him (18:16), and the women sang, "Saul has struck down his thousands, but David his ten thousands" (18:7). It is also repeatedly affirmed that

A Cairo Genizah fragment, 7th-9th cent. A.D. of 1 Samuel 26:10-27:5 telling of David's decision not to kill Saul (courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

Yahweh was with David (16:18; 17:37; 18:14, 28; 2 S. 5:10). Even Abner, the general of Saul and later of Saul's son Ishbaal, made efforts to swing the remnant of Saul's kingdom behind David, although Joab assassinated Abner to satisfy a private grievance before the latter's plans were fully carried out (2 S. 3:6-27). Saul is portrayed throughout HDR as beset with paranoid fear and as abandoned by the spirit of Yahweh. Although Saul had failed to carry out the ban on Amalek (1 S. 15), he ruthlessly destroyed all the priests of Yahweh suspected of Davidic sympathies (22:16-19).

The succession narrative (roughly 2 S. 9–20; 1 K. 1–2) is another document widely believed to predate the present books of Samuel, but again there is no agreement on its beginning, end, date, or purpose. Rost, whose monograph forms the starting point for all subsequent research, saw its beginning in 2 S. 6:16, 20-23 and in fragments of the oracle of Nathan (7:11b, 16). More recently, Gunn added much of 2 S. 2–4 to the beginning of the succession narrative. While Rost saw in the narrative "eyewitness history," others have emphasized its wisdom characteristics (Whybray) or even its role as story (Gunn).

Gordon argued that "succession" is not the theme of this narrative, especially if Gunn's identification of its beginning is correct. In Gordon's view the theme must involve David himself. Delekat even proposed that the document was opposed to David and Solomon (note the king's bad behavior in the whole Bathsheba incident). Würthwein found anti-Solomonic tendencies in 1 K. 1–2 and anti-Davidic ideas in 2 S. 10–12. Although many scholars have dated this narrative to the reign of Solomon, Gordon apparently favored a time after the division of the united monarchy (pp. 90f.). Van Seters (p. 290) even dated it to the postexilic period, after the composition of the Deuteronomistic History; but his is decidedly a minority viewpoint.

According to McCarter the succession narrative in the strict sense is limited to 1 K. 1–2, although that document's author knew and drew on materials from 2 S. 9–20. 1 K. 1–2 offers an apology for the coronation of Solomon instead of his older brother Adonijah. The writer noted that David himself had decreed from his deathbed that Solomon was the son destined to be king, and that Solomon enjoyed the support of Nathan the prophet, Zadok the priest, and David's wife Bathsheba. The violent deaths of Adonijah and his supporter Joab and the banishment of the priest Abiathar, who was also involved in Adonijah's abortive coronation, are justified by appeals to David's wishes (Joab), to a foolish and perhaps revolutionary request for David's concubine Abishag (Adonijah), and to the fulfillment of a curse announced in 1 S. 2:30-33 against the Shilonite priesthood (Abiathar). The executions of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei (the latter had cursed David) were carried out by Benaiah, Solomon's general, not by the new king himself.

The writer of the Solomonic succession narrative (1 K. 1–2) drew on the HDR source (Joab's execution of Abner in 2 S. 3 is presupposed by 1 K. 2:5, 31-33), on the account of Absalom's revolt in 2 S. 13–20, and on the two related stories of the Gibeonites' revenge for a sacrilege committed by Saul (21:1-14) and David's patronage of Mephibosheth (9:1-13; note that when David executed seven descendants of Saul he was not trying to secure his own position but only to stop the famine that had been precipitated by Saul's actions; note also that David provided burial for these slain Saulides as well as for Saul and Jonathan). All of these documents drawn upon by the Solomonic succession narrative are apologetic for David and appear to stem from the period of David's reign. The apparent purpose of the Solomonic writer's allusion to these documents is to explain why Solomon rather than any of his three older brothers — Amnon, Absalom, or Adonijah — succeeded to the throne of David. All three of the older brothers recapitulated their father's sin in the area of sexual behavior: Amnon raped his sister Tamar; Absalom publicly slept with the king's concubines, whom David had left behind in Jerusalem; and Adonijah greedily sought to acquire another of his father's concubines, Abishag. All three also met violent deaths: Amnon was killed by Absalom; Absalom was killed by Joab despite David's explicit prohibition against harming him; and Adonijah, who incited Solomon's understandable wrath by asking for a woman who might give him some claim to the throne, was executed by Benaiah.

Several scholars have suggested that the succession narrative was originally hostile to David and Solomon, with the present pro-Solomonic bias coming from a later redactor (Delekat, Langamet, Veijola, and Würthwein). The tensions these scholars have detected within the document, however, are better ascribed to its apologetic character. The original writer had to refer to serious charges made against David and/or Solomon in order to write in his/their defense. Thus the negative views about David or Solomon are not the result of an earlier edition of the succession narrative, but reflect the usual tensions inherent in an apology.

V. Redactional History.–One's reconstruction of the path by which the above-mentioned sources and other materials were brought together determines to a large extent what one sees as the meaning of the books of Samuel; or it makes possible the isolation of a series of meanings that the work had as it passed through several editions. Some studies have virtually ignored such endeavors and focused more on the literary qualities of the present text of Samuel (e.g., Conroy, Eslinger, Humphreys, Gunn, and Jobling). While the holistic approach of these scholars is often quite illuminating and can benefit any reading of the text, most scholars still believe there is profit in trying to reconstruct the editorial stages through which the work has passed.

Several scholars have proposed that there was a prophetic edition of many of the materials in Samuel prior to the 7th cent. B.C. This edition purportedly accepted the monarchy with a great deal of caution, as an unwelcome but inevitable reality. It affirmed that a king could be head of the government but maintained that he should be subject to the instruction of the prophet and that he could even be rejected by the prophet in the name of Yahweh. Because of its critical attitude toward kingship, this prophetic edition is usually thought to have a northern origin. At the same time, however, it is said to have acknowledged David's right to be king. McCarter, who has provided the most extensive treatment of this edition, summarized its author's intent as follows: "His background was northern, and he drew the fundamental principles upon which he based his interpretation of history from the teachings of the prophetic circles of the north; but his orientation was to the south, to which he looked for hope and in which he knew the future of Israel to be" (*I Samuel*, p. 22). For this reason the prophetic edition is dated to the end of the 8th cent., after the fall of the northern kingdom. The existence of this edition, however, is open to some question. Some of its prophetic tendencies may be part of the Deuteronomistic redactional process. The supposed double — and almost contradictory — orientation (northern criticism of the monarchy and a pro-Davidic, southern bias) contributes to the skepticism concerning the isolation of this redaction.

SAMUEL, BOOKS OF

In any case, the vast majority of all more recent studies of Samuel has concluded that the present shape of the canonical work has resulted from its being part of the Deuteronomistic History. In 1943 M. Noth suggested that a single exilic writer, living in Palestine, wrote a history of Israel based on the theology of Deuteronomy. This history consisted of an expanded book of Deuteronomy (the original book of Deuteronomy was supplied with a new introduction that was more a prologue to the Deuteronomistic History than to Deuteronomy itself), plus the books we now call Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings (for Noth's work in English, see *Deuteronomistic History*).

Four questions about Noth's hypothesis continue to provoke much discussion. First, Noth interpreted the history as primarily a theodicy written to provide the theological rationale for the fall of the northern kingdom, Jerusalem, and Judah. Even if one grants that theodicy was a major part of the historian's intention, it is important to note that theodicy is rarely an end in itself; rather, a theodicy is written to move the reader to accept God's role in history and to continue to worship and serve Him or to change one's relationship to Him. Recent scholars, therefore, have found a number of positive messages in the history and a more hopeful assessment of the future (see Klein, *Israel in Exile*, pp. 38-43).

A second area of controversy is Noth's hypothesis about the Palestinian provenance of the history. Although a majority of scholars still favor a provenance in Palestine, some have argued cogently for Babylonia as the place of composition (see esp. Nicholson, pp. 116-122; Soggin, p. 164).

Noth's idea of a single historian responsible for the entire work has been all but given up. Some scholars have spoken generally of a Deuteronomistic school that was active over a considerable period of time, while others have claimed to detect distinct editions or redactions (Cross, Dietrich, McCarter, Nelson, Smend, Veijola).

Perhaps the most important area of discussion, still unresolved, centers on the date of these redactions. Cross (*Canaanite Myth*, pp. 274-289; cf. McCarter, Nelson) proposed that the first edition of the Deuteronomistic History was composed after the discovery of Deuteronomy in the temple (2 K. 22:8-10) but prior to the death of Josiah. Cross considered it a propaganda document for the Josianic reform, with a date somewhere between 621 and 609 B.C. A second edition of the history was completed in mid-exile (*ca.* 550 B.C.). It brought the history up to date and attributed the fall of Jerusalem to Manasseh's wickedness, which canceled out whatever virtues Josiah had shown in his reform.

Smend, Dietrich, and Veijola (the Göttingen school) have also detected multiple editions but have dated none of them prior to the destruction of Jerusalem in 587. Their first edition, called DtrG (G for *Geschichte* or *Geschichtswerk*), provided an explanation for the fall of Jerusalem; it criticized Israel for worshiping other gods and patronizing sanctuaries other than the temple in Jerusalem. A second edition, called DtrP (P for Prophetic), added accounts about prophetic figures and highlighted the notions of prophecy-and-fulfillment and the reliability of the word of Yahweh. (Some of the material attributed to DtrP in this hypothesis is assigned by McCarter and others to the prophetic, pre-Deuteronomistic edition discussed above). The Göttingen school's third redaction, DtrN (N for Nomistic), faults Israel for violating details of the law and for mixing with the surrounding nations.

The Göttingen school has been far more persuasive in its arguments that the Deuteronomistic History is an exclusively exilic work, without a preexilic Josianic predecessor, than in its assignment of specific verses to one of the three supposed exilic editions. At this stage of research it may be advisable to speak more generally of the Deuteronomistic interpretation of history during the Exile and to acknowledge that this interpretation may have resulted from two or more editors, without claiming to be able to identify precisely where the work of one leaves off and the work of the next begins. The effect of such a Deuteronomistic reading can be sampled in two key chapters, 1 S. 12 and 2 S. 7.

1 Samuel 12, the farewell speech of Samuel, is the final Deuteronomistic reflection on the rise of kingship in Israel as reported in chs. 7–11. In those chapters the historian had incorporated several older compositions, the majority of which treated Saul and kingship in a most positive manner. In 9:1–10:16 Saul had been anointed by the prophet Samuel and had displayed a kind of prophetic ecstasy that showed that the Spirit of Yahweh rested on him. In 10:17-27a, on the other hand, Saul was singled out by lot and by a prophetic oracle, while in 11:1-15 the spirit of Yahweh had rushed upon him and helped him deliver the city of Jabesh-gilead from Ammonite attack. In the aftermath of this victory, the people spontaneously acclaimed him as king at Gilgal. These passages in their present form give a prominent role to Samuel and clearly consider Saul's kingship to be the will of Yahweh.

The Deuteronomistic historian also included in chs. 7–11 other texts that he had either written or redacted, which frequently contain explicitly or implicitly negative comments on kingship. Since Samuel had been a more than adequate channel for God's victory over the Philistines according to ch. 7, the author seems to imply that the Israelites had no need for a king to lead them in battle. Samuel had also warned of the social inequities and self-aggrandizement that would come with kingship, and he twice criticized kingship as a rejection of Yahweh as king and savior (8:7; 10:19). The negative opinions about kingship in these three Deuteronomistic pericopes (7:2-17; 8:1-22; 10:18b-19) are balanced by Yahweh's command to make a king in 8:7, 22 and by the fact that these pericopes are interspersed with the positive ones discussed above (9:1–10:16; 10:17-27a; 11:1-15). Crüsemann (pp. 61f.) may well have been correct in isolating 8:1-3, 11-17, and 12:3-5 as pre-Deuteronomistic material that is unsympathetic to the monarchy. The criticism of kingship in these sources employed by the Deuteronomistic historian is economic and social rather than theological. Its original setting may have been among wealthy landowners about the time of Solomon (cf. Mendelsohn).

1 Samuel 12, then, produces a synthesis at the conclusion of all these varied accounts of the rise of kingship. The people first declare Samuel completely innocent in his public life, and both Samuel and the people agree that Yahweh is a witness to this (vv. 1-5). Yahweh is also shown to have been without fault in His saving actions for Israel (vv. 6f.). The people had erred, however, in demanding a king during the recent crisis with Nahash instead of turning to Yahweh for help (vv. 8-12). Nevertheless, the king of their own choosing is also Yahweh's gift, and Samuel presents the conditions under which kingship might be a blessing rather than a curse (vv. 13-15). A rain during wheat harvest, which comes in answer to Samuel's prayer, persuades the people to confess their sin in requesting a king and to ask Samuel to intercede for them (vv. 16-19). Samuel promises to pray for them and urges them not to turn to other gods. Total destruction of the people and their king will result if they turn to wicked behavior (vv. 20-25).

This Deuteronomistic summary indicates that Israel's life under a king will be blessed if the people are obedient (v. 14), but that it will be cursed if the people disobey (v. 15). The final, conditional curse in v. 25 threatens the people and their king with exile if they persist in acting wickedly. This threat had become a reality in the destruction of Jerusalem and the exiling of Israel's leadership by the time this chapter reached its final form. But these events of national catastrophe are not evidence for Yahweh's weakness, unfaithfulness, or caprice. Rather, in the light of the entire chapter, they are completely harmonizable with Yahweh's record of fidelity with His people, i.e., with His righteousness (v. 7).

2 Samuel 7 has been the object of a spirited search for older and more original elements beneath its present Deuteronomistic surface (see the surveys in Gordon, pp. 71-80; McCarter, *II Samuel*, pp. 9-16). McCarter's own reconstruction demonstrates both the potential value and the precariousness of such literary critical endeavors. He found the oldest document behind this chapter in vv. 1a, 2f., 11b-12, and 13b-15a, and he assigned it to the period of Solomon. David's promise to build a temple for Yahweh lends authority to Solomon's actual construction of this sanctuary, and David's promise is answered by Yahweh's promise to build a house or dynasty for David.

According to McCarter, the northern prophetic redaction, which he discovered especially in 1 S. 1–15, added 2 S. 7:4-9a and 15b to the earlier document. This addition was critical of David's presumption in offering to build Yahweh a house. The temple is contrasted in this redaction with Yahweh's former sanctuary or tent, and David is informed that a temple is unnecessary and unwanted. The dynastic promise at this stage is understood as an uninduced gift, not as a response to David's pledge to build the temple.

The Deuteronomistic additions in the strict sense are vv. 1b, 9b-11a, 13a, and 16. They pick up familiar themes: a great name for David, a permanent sacred site, and the achievement of rest (freedom from war) for Israel. The latter two ideas are already linked in Dt. 12:10-12. The Deuteronomistic historian linked the long-awaited central sanctuary to the monarchy. The divine prohibition of temple construction was only temporary because the time was not yet right. Elsewhere in the Deuteronomistic History, David's failure to build the temple is traced to the fact that his was an age of war, while rest came only with the advent of Solomon (cf. 1 K. 5:3-5; 8:17-19).

By these additions, of course, the historian incorporated all of 2 S. 7 into his massive history. The chapter as a whole integrates themes from the judges (vv. 7, 11), the rejection of Saul (v. 15), the rise of David (vv. 8f.), the accession of Solomon (v. 12), and the erection of the temple (v. 13). David's rapid rise was possible because he was divinely destined for kingship, because he was to be the progenitor of the chosen dynasty (a secure house), and because he was a savior whose victories would make possible the promised rest for Israel (McCarthy, "II Samuel 7," pp. 131f.). Since one of David's major achievements was the initiation of "rest," his military victories are catalogued by the Deuteronomistic History in ch. 8.

Deuteronomistic elements also play a role in David's prayer in response to Nathan's oracle (7:18-29). Verse 22 stresses Yahweh's uniqueness, and vv. 23f. report His incomparable benefactions for the Israelites, especially His making them a people through the exodus from Egypt. David's reign was a time of promise and preparation, looking forward to the establishment of the dynasty and the building of the temple. David received the promises, prayed for their fulfillment (vv. 25f.), and even prepared for their fulfillment by winning rest for the people (ch. 8 in its present position).

It is widely held that 2 S. 21–24 is a supplement to the Deuteronomistic History and that typical Deuteronomistic terminology is absent from these chapters. Often dismissed as miscellany, they actually show a clear and meaningful structure. For example, Gordon (pp. 95-97) found a concentric arrangement, in which items 1 and 6, 2 and 5, and 3 and 4 are parallel:

(1) 21:1-14 A famine story
  (2) 21:15-22 Warrior exploits
    (3) 22:2-51 A psalm (= Ps. 18)
    (4) 23:1-7 A divine oracle about the Davidic covenant (cf. Pss. 89; 132; 2 S. 7)
  (5) 23:8-39 Warrior exploits and a list of warriors
(6) 24:1-25 A plague story.

David, according to the psalm, was righteous in carrying out his duties (2 S. 22:22-25) and yet dependent on Yahweh his lamp (v. 29). David also rejoiced in the covenant that God had made with him and his house (23:3-5). It is an obedient and blessed David that appears at the center of this final section of Samuel, but he is surrounded by the David of history, who turned over the descendants of Saul to the vengeance of the Gibeonites (ch. 21) and who erred in taking a census of the people (ch. 24). David ends his life, like Moses, with a hymn of vindication (ch. 22; cf. Dt. 32:1-43) and a testimony (2 S. 23:1-7; cf. Dt. 33).

VI. Purpose and Theology.—The prophet-judge Samuel, born in answer to his mother's fervent prayer, offers a contrast to the corrupt priesthood at Shiloh, whose behavior guaranteed the end of the Shiloh epoch in Israelite history (1 S. 1–2). The focus of 1 and 2 Samuel on David, God's chosen king and anointed one, is adumbrated in the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:10; cf. Childs, pp. 272f.). Since Yahweh was with Samuel and since all Israel acknowledged him as prophet (1 S. 3:19f.), he was fully qualified for the task of inaugurating kingship in Israel (chs. 7-12) and for transferring the office of king to David (ch. 16).

The loss of the ark to the Philistines (1 S. 4) led the wife of Phinehas to cry out, "The glory has gone into exile from Israel since the ark of God has been taken" (v. 22); but it also provided an opportunity for Yahweh to manifest His superiority over Israel's enemies (ch. 5) and to demonstrate that Israel had no need for a king in order to be victorious over the Philistines. The loss of the ark and its subsequent glorious return (ch. 6) may suggest what the audience to which Samuel was addressed expected in its own day about the return of Yahweh to the land.

Samuel's victory over the Philistines at Ebenezer followed a ceremony of repentance (1 S. 7). If such repentance and putting away of foreign gods had been followed consistently, the defeats of the northern and southern kingdoms in 721 and 587 B.C., respectively, would not have been necessary. While the request for a king was sinful because it manifested a failure to look to Yahweh for help in time of need, kingship was also a gift of Yahweh, as is asserted throughout chs. 8–11. Samuel made it clear that kingship would be a blessing if Israel's conduct was obedient, but it would be a curse if the people disobeyed and rebelled (ch. 12). Israel chose the latter course, as is demonstrated throughout the Deuteronomistic History, and this led to the sweeping away of both king and people (cf. v. 25; for discussion of chs. 7–12, see V above).

Saul lost the opportunity to establish a dynasty (1 S. 13) and to continue as king himself (ch. 15) because of his disobedience on two occasions: he erred in performing a sacrifice in the place of Samuel (13:8-14) and in not carrying out the ban in the war against Amalek (ch. 15).

Samuel, who delivered Yahweh's verdict to Saul, also anointed David, the youngest son of Jesse, to succeed Saul as king of Israel (ch. 16). The anointing signified Yahweh's obligation to David and, by implication, His covenant with him. While the account of David's anointing relates how he became king *de jure*, the following chapters (1 S. 16:14–2 S. 5) tell how he became king *de facto*. All the deeds of politics, of guerrilla action and intrigue, of marriages of convenience, and of questionable service with the Philistines are trumped by a prior fact: already at the start Yahweh had anointed David to be Saul's successor. After Saul's death first Judah (2 S. 4) and then Israel (5:3) seconded Yahweh's choice by anointing David to be king. David himself acknowledged that Yahweh had chosen him to be king (5:12; 6:21). For the numerous references to David as the one destined to be king, see the discussion of the history of David's rise (HDR) in IV above.

David's transfer of the ark to Jerusalem gave great prestige and honor to the Jerusalemite monarchy and, later, the Jerusalem temple (2 S. 6). It prepared the way for the divine oracle granting David a dynasty and his son the right to build a temple for Yahweh (ch. 7). Six times in ch. 7 it is stated that David's kingship, his house, or his throne will last forever. The unconditional character of this promise is modified later in the Deuteronomistic History (1 K. 2:3f.; 6:12f.; 8:25; 9:4f.), but the reliability of the promise also offered some hope as the historian turned toward the future.

Throughout the entire Deuteronomistic History, Judah's life is extended because of Yahweh's choice of David and Jerusalem (1 K. 11:34-36). Because of the promises to David and of David's perfect obedience (2 S. 22:22-25), Yahweh postponed the punishment merited by later kings, or He did not carry it out fully. The division of the kingdom, e.g., did not take place during the lifetime of Solomon because of Yahweh's commitment to David (1 K. 11:12, 32); and this promise also secured the loyalty of at least one tribe to the Davidic dynasty after the division of the kingdom (vv. 13, 32). The promise to David forestalled total destruction during the reign of wicked Jehoram (2 K. 8:19), and the choice of David and Jerusalem led to Yahweh's defense of the city during the days of Hezekiah (19:39; 20:6). The release of Jehoiachin at the end of the Deuteronomistic History (25:27-30) may mark the beginning of a new era of blessing; at least it shows that the promise to David continued to have positive effects.

The historian later portrays David as wholly true to Yahweh (1 K. 15:3) and as a man who did what was right and did not turn from anything that Yahweh had commanded him all the days of his life (1 K. 15:5). Despite his adultery and murder in the affair with Bathsheba (2 S. 11–12), and despite his failure to act decisively with respect to Amnon's rape of Tamar and Absalom's subsequent rebellion (chs. 13–20), David is one of only three persons designated as Yahweh's servant in the Deuteronomistic History (the others are Moses and Joshua). David stands out because he captured Jerusalem (2 S. 5), brought the ark to the holy city (ch. 6), and demonstrated his loyalty and piety in his prayers (7:18-29; 1 K. 1:47f.). David administered justice and equity to all the people (2 S. 8:15), walked before Yahweh in uprightness of heart (1 K. 3:6), and kept Yahweh's statutes and commandments (3:14).

David, according to a psalm ascribed to him and placed near the end of 2 Samuel, was righteous in carrying out his duties (22:22-25) and yet dependent on Yahweh his lamp (v. 29). David also rejoiced in the covenant God had made with him and his house (23:3-5) and foresaw a glorious future for his dynasty with God's help. 2 S. 21:1-14 shows that the reason for the destruction of Saul's descendants lay in the bloodguilt of Saul himself. David's weakness in his final battle with the Philistines (21:15-22) prepares the reader for the psalm in ch. 22, which attributes all of David's victories to Yahweh's power. Although David sinned in conducting a census, he repented of this sin, and the incident provided an opportunity for emphasizing Yahweh's mercy toward him and toward Israel (Childs, pp. 274f.).

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R. W. KLEIN

SANAAS san'ā-əs (1 Esd. 5:23, NEB). *See* SENAAH.

SANABASSAR san-ə-bas'ər (AV, NEB, 1 Esd. 2:12, 15; NEB 6:18, 20); **SANABASSARUS** san-ə-bas'ə-rəs (6:18, 20, AV). *See* SHESHBAZZAR.

SANASIB san'ə-sib (1 Esd. 5:24, AV). *See* ANASIB.

SANBALLAT san-bal'ət [Heb. *sanᵉballaṭ* < Akk. *Sin-uballiṭ* 'may Sin give him life'; Gk. and Lat. *Sanaballat;* Syr. (Pesh.) *Sanballaṭ*]. A Horonite who led the Samaritan opposition to the rebuilding of Jerusalem walls in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. 2:10, 19; 4:1f.; 6:1f.), governor of Syria in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (Cowley No. 30, *ANET* p. 492), and more recently in the Samaria papyri discovered in 1962 (F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," in E. F. Campbell Jr. and D. N. Freedman, eds., *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader 3* [1970], pp. 227-239). Also the name of a governor of Syria mentioned in Josephus (*Ant.* xi.7.2, §302; 8.2f., §309ff.)

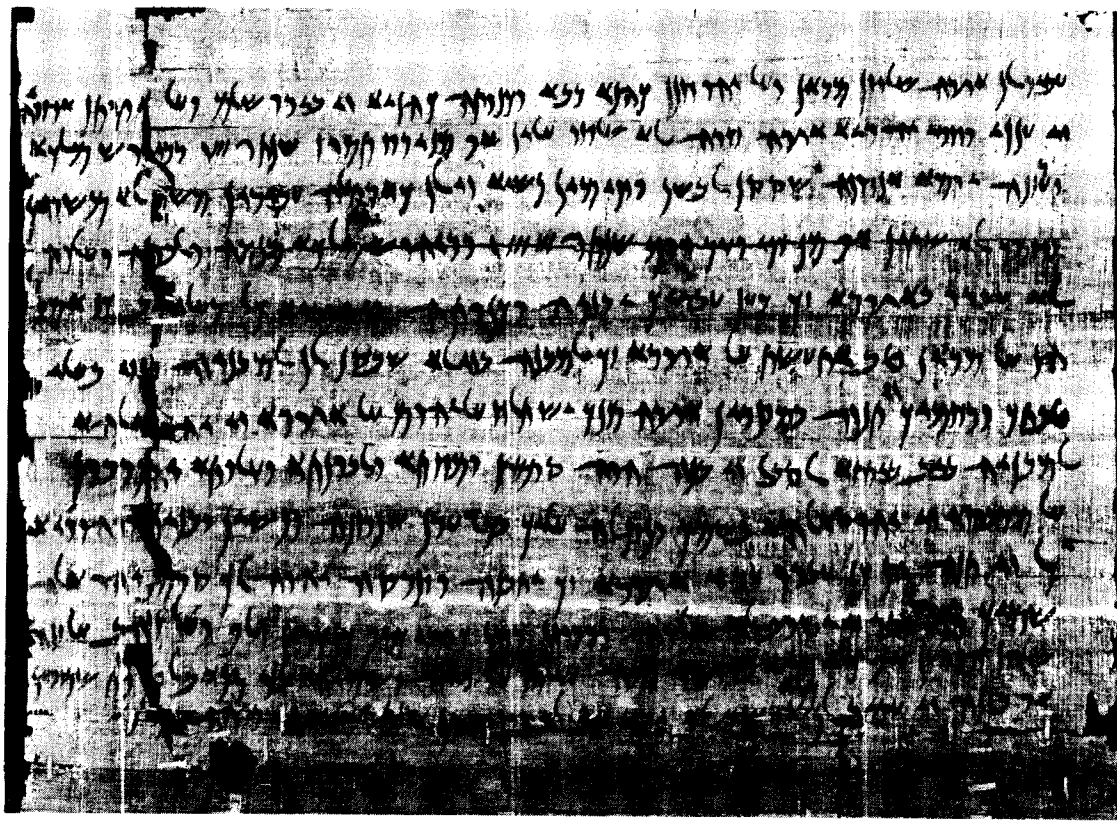
"Sanballat the Horonite" (Neh. 6:10, 19; 13:28) is introduced at the time of Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem, Nisan of Year 20 of Artaxerxes I (445). Whether the gentilic "Horonite" refers to Beth-Horon or to Horonaim (a city of Moab) is uncertain. Since Sanballat is named together with Tobiah the Ammonite and Geshem the Arab (2:19, cf. 4:7), it is quite possible that he was a Moabite. (Note also the juxtaposition of "Moabite" in 13:1 and "Sanballat the Horonite" in 13:28.) His significance in the book of Nehemiah was his opposition to the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem (4:1, 7), and indeed he was involved in a plot apparently designed to put Nehemiah to death (6:1-13). The last reference to Sanballat in Nehemiah informs us that one of Jehoiada's sons was the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite (13:28). Jehoiada was the son of Eliashib the high priest.

Attempts to correlate these data with Josephus, requiring redating of Nehemiah, are no longer valid, due to the discovery of the Samaria Papyri at Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh. Samaria Papyri Nos. 3, 14, and 8 (the last dated 4 March 354) indicate that the custom was to name a male child for his grandfather (popponymy). That there were three Sanballats and similar multiples of names can now be determined.

Sanballat I was contemporary with Nehemiah, *ca.* 444, and was succeeded by his son Delaiah (Elephantine Papyri Nos. 30, 32). The son of Jehoiada married Sanballat's daughter (Neh. 13:28). Bagohi succeeded Nehemiah as governor of Judah prior to 407.

Sanballat II, son of Delaiah, was succeeded by his sons Yeshua and Hananiah; the latter was governor by 354

A papyrus letter from the Elephantine Jews requesting permission to rebuild the temple. They mention that a letter was also sent to the sons of "Sanballat the governor of Samaria" (second line from the bottom, far left) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Ägyptisches Museum/Papyrussammlung 13495)



(*Samaria Papyri* 5, 8). Sanballat II therefore held the office between Delaiah (407) and Hananiah (354).

Sanballat III, son of Hananiah, was appointed by Darius III (335-330). He gave his daughter Nikaso to Manasseh, who was a brother of Jaddua the high priest (Josephus, *Ant.* xi.7.2, §303).

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W. S. LASOR

SANCTIFICATION. The concept of sanctification is a crucial element of the biblical doctrine concerning human life before God. At the very beginning of the history of God's people, the divine word to Abraham is "I am God Almighty; walk before me, and be blameless" (Gen. 17:1). God demands human holiness and righteousness as essential in any right relationship with Him; therefore, some way of approach, some path of sanctifying or making us holy before a holy God ultimately becomes necessary if full fellowship with God is to be achieved. Yet this idea of sanctification, of human progress toward and final achievement of holiness and righteousness, was not fully developed in the OT. Instead the concept of human sanctification arose fully only in the ethical teaching of the NT and in the Church's subsequent meditation on the NT view of the Christian life. We must make a distinction, therefore between the OT language of the holiness of God and of the sanctity or hallowed character of places, times, and persons set aside for God, and the NT language of sanctification; in the latter, the OT view is not discarded but rather personal holiness in a redemptive as well as an ethical sense receives an increased emphasis. In the later meditations of the Church the concern is to manifest the relation of this personal holiness to other aspects of the work of salvation.

I. In the OT
  A. Terms
  B. The Basic Concept of Holiness
  C. The Ethical Dimension of Holiness
II. In the NT
  A. Terms
  B. The Ethical Emphasis of the Gospel
  C. The Language of Progress in Sanctity
III. History of the Doctrine
  A. Patristic Teaching
  B. Medieval and Roman Catholic Doctrine
  C. Reformation and Modern Protestant Views

I. In the OT.–A. Terms. The language of the OT includes a multitude of references to the holy or the sacred, to acts of consecration or hallowing, and to holy places or "sanctuaries," all of which represent attempts to translate the Hebrew noun *qōḏeš*, "holiness," the adjectival form, *qāḏôš*, "holy," and other derivatives of the root *qdš*. But no Hebrew form is capable of translation as "sanctification" or "consecration"; thus no OT term is identical in significance to the Greek NT word *hagiasmós*, "sanctification." In addition to *qāḏôš* the OT will occasionally use *nāzîr*, "consecrated one" (cf. Nu. 6:2; 13, 18-21; Jgs. 13:5, 7; 16:17; cf. also RSV "Nazirite"), or *ḥāsîḏ*, "holy one," and *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm*, "holy ones" or "saints" (cf. 2 Ch. 6:41; Ps. 16:10; 30:4 [MT 5]; 31:23 [MT 24]), with reference to persons consecrated or set aside to God.

B. The Basic Concept of Holiness. The religious or theological significance of all these terms and, ultimately, of the later language of santification, rests upon the underlying Scriptural assumption that no creature or created thing is holy in itself. God alone is holy: He is the "Holy One of Israel" (e.g., 2 K. 19:22; Ps. 71:22; 78:41; 89:18; Isa. 1:4; 5:19; 12:6; 43:3; 45:11; etc.), or simply the "Holy One" (e.g., Isa. 10:17; Hos. 11:9; Hab. 1:12; 3:3). God's name is holy and must not be profaned (Lev. 20:3; 22:2, 32; 1 Ch. 16:10, 35; Ps. 105:3) but rather acknowledged with awe (Ps. 99:3). Thus, although Israel is called upon to rejoice and to glory in this holy God (Ps. 105:3; 106:47; 145:21; Isa. 29:19), and although these and other texts clearly identify the divine holiness as the characteristic of a personal God, the divine holiness indicates a certain distance and separation from anything and everything that is profane (cf. Isa. 6:3-5). Some scholars go so far as to argue that the idea of a sacred character separated from the profane is basic to the OT conception of holiness (see Snaith, pp. 24-26), and it is certainly true that the Lord is "high and lifted up" (Isa. 6:1; cf. 55:8f.).

Nonetheless, the denomination of God as "Holy One," either with the singular usage typical of Isaiah (*qāḏôš*) or in the plural usage (*q^{e}ḏōšîm*; cf. Prov. 9:10), indicates more than the simple notion of the separation of God from all profane things. "Holy One" has become a name indicative of deity or divinity, of God generally considered. The fact that only God is truly holy agrees with this usage, as do the references to the "holy name" of God (e.g., Lev. 20:3; 22:2, 32; Ps. 103:1; 145:21; Ezk. 36:20-22). The "holy name," like the "Holy One," is surely a denomination of God or a term expressing the being or Godhead of Yahweh rather than a particular attribute or relation as distinct from another (cf. *HDB*, II, 396). In some cases, especially in Isaiah's expression "Holy One of Israel," the covenant relation between God and His chosen people comes into view, but God is holy apart from that specific relationship. Indeed, if a single attribute most fully describes God Himself in His fulness, that attribute is holiness. Created things can be holy only in a derivative sense.

In this context the divine holiness can be characterized, in the terms offered by Rudolf Otto, as *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, a fearful and captivating mystery: there is both dread and attraction, a sense of encounter with an overwhelming presence that cannot and may not be approached in a profane manner, but that nonetheless demands and expects approach. Thus as Moses approached the divine presence indicated in the burning bush, he removed his shoes in acknowledgement of the holiness of God and the sacredness of the place of God (Ex. 3:4f.). Similarly the prophet Isaiah experienced in his vision of God in the temple a sense of distance and separation from the holy, together with a profound dread (Isa. 6:3-5). Nonetheless the separation and the dread were both overcome — not by the desacralizing of the divine but by the purification and santification of the human. In both these instances, in contrast to some of the implications of Otto's history-of-religions approach, the One encountered is not an impersonal power but a personal divine being.

There is good reason, therefore, to look beyond the root idea of separation for the theological significance of *qāḏôš*. God, after all, is not absolutely or ultimately separate in His holiness but rather seeks out fellowship with humanity. In fact, the greater number of references to God as the "Holy One of Israel," concentrated as they are in Isaiah's preaching of repentance and redemption, are words of hope in the Lord's presence given to the righteous: they "will lean upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth" (Isa. 10:20); they will "shout and sing for joy" in the redeemed Zion because the Holy One will be in their midst (12:6); the "poor among men shall exult" in Him (29:19); the Holy One is the Savior who draws near to

His people (cf. 30:15; 41:14, 16, 20; 43:3, 14; etc.). Only evildoers and those who trust in powers other than God need fear the Holy One of Israel (1:4; 5:24; 31:1). Beyond the initial experience of the fearful and captivating mystery is blessing in the presence and fellowship of the holy God.

This blessing can be further described in terms of its religious and its ethical dimensions, specifically, in terms of the consecration or sanctifying of things, places, and persons. In these instances the connotation of separation remains but is modified by the fact that separation between the divine and the creaturely is overcome even as the creaturely, whether thing, place, or person, is set aside and given over from the profane to the sacred. Separation remains, but now between the hallowed thing, place, or person and the profane world. The underlying issue is not separation per se but rather the antinomy between the holy and the unholy, the unclean, the sinful. Thus the divine holiness can indicate unapproachable greatness, utter purity, and ethical rightness or righteousness, By way of illustration, the divine holiness as praised in the Psalms (cf. 22:3 [MT 4]; 99:3, 5, 9) can be understood as greatness or majesty, while the Levitical language of divine holiness (cf. Lev. 11:44; 19:2; 20:25f.) most certainly rests on concepts of ritual purity and consecration, although it transcends those concepts in the direction of the ethical (cf. Lev. 11:45; 20:7). The prophetic view of divine holiness, particularly as witnessed by Isaiah, manifests the ethical dimension of the idea and its connection with righteousness (cf. Isa. 1:4; 5:16; etc.).

The consecration of things and places in the OT does not rest upon any intrinsic or natural holiness in the created order or upon the intrinsic power of ritual. No evidence indicates that the theophany at the burning bush (Ex. 3:3-6) or the theophany before Jericho, when Joshua was confronted by "the commander of the Lord's army" (Josh. 5:13-15), took place at religiously significant locations or that the locations were identified as significant afterward — but in both instances the recipient of the revelation is commanded to put off his shoes because he stands on holy ground. Clearly the divine presence imparts holiness. Similarly, things that are "near to God" because of their use in religious or cultic activities are declared holy — such as the "holy crown" or signet bound to the turban of the Aaronic priest (Ex. 28:36; 29:6), the "holy vessels" associated with the ark of the covenant and later with the temple (1 K. 8:4; 1 Ch. 22:19; Ezr. 8:28), and the ark of the covenant itself (2 Ch. 35:3), together with the place where such holy things are located (1 K. 8:6). Also, times set aside to God are holy, such as the sabbath (Ex. 20:8, 11), or days of religious festival (Neh. 8:9-12; cf. Isa. 30:29). Tithes are also holy in that they are set aside for the Lord (Lev. 27:30).

Just as things can be set aside for sacred use, persons too can be ritually cleansed or sanctified and given or dedicated to the Lord. Thus the term *nāzîr,* "holy one," indicates a person consecrated to God, bound to a vow of ritual purity, and separated from impurity or uncleanness. The vow, as described in Nu. 6:1-21, could be taken by a man or a woman and entailed "separation to the Lord" (v. 2) from all forms of the fruit of the vine — whether fresh or dried grapes, unfermented or fermented juice. Further, during the time of the vow the Nazirite could not shave or cut his or her hair or approach any dead body. Any exposure to the uncleanness of death must be atoned for by sacrifices and burnt offerings. Also, the conclusion of the period of separation stipulated by the vow must be marked by sacrifice, including a ritual shaving of the head of the Nazirite (Nu. 6:9-20). In the case of Samson the vow began at birth and concluded at death (cf. Jgs. 13:7), but this appears to be an exception. Ritual consecration generally served a limited purpose such as purification for participation in sacrifice (cf. 1 S. 16:5). *See also* NAZIRITE.

C. The Ethical Dimension of Holiness. Such formal or ritual consecration should be viewed as a religious or "pre-ethical" stage in the development of the concept of personal human holiness or sanctification (cf. *DNTT,* II, 224). The sense of distinction between the sacred and the profane and the need for formal separation from the profane in order to serve the holy God precede and ultimately provide the foundation for an ethical understanding of separation from the world or worldliness to divine service. Thus those who worship in the holy place must be more than pure in a ceremonial or ritual sense: they must have "a pure heart" as well as "clean hands," and they must be free of falsehood and deceit (Ps. 24:3-6). Holiness, then, is associated with righteousness both in God and in human beings. Dedication to the law of God, viewed as the setting apart of Israel from the pagan world, is both an approach to God and a means by which God sanctifies His people to Himself: "Consecrate yourselves therefore, and be holy; for I am the Lord your God. Keep my statutes, and do them; I am the Lord who sanctify you" (Lev. 20:7).

The divine holiness is thus the ground of human holiness. For Israel to be and remain the people of God it must be holy, not merely in the ritual sense but also in the ethical sense. The Levitical precepts in particular press this point. The basic command, "You shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2), leads directly to the commands to honor one's father and mother, to keep the sabbaths (v. 3), to refrain from theft and falsehood (v. 11), to deal rightly with neighbors and servants (v. 13), and to be kind to the blind and deaf (v. 14). After each command follows the refrain, "I am the Lord," which suggests the original premise, the holiness of God. Even so, Israel's holiness is identified as obedience to the divine law (Nu. 15:40), not merely the ritual but also, of course, the ethical commands.

The ethical implications of sanctity are fully developed by the prophets. In the prophetic writings consistent polemic against the external and formal character of the cult leads to a view of religion as inward and ethical in character. For the prophets the immediacy of the relationship to God's holiness indicated by ritual sanctification or demanded by sacrificial observance would necessarily have as its primary result a transformation of the person. Thus the "unclean lips" of the prophet Isaiah are purified by a coal from the heavenly altar, his "guilt is taken away," and his "sin forgiven" (Isa. 6:5-7). Amos argues that the divine holiness demands the ethical reconstruction of society. Cultic celebration, feasts, and assemblies (Am. 4:4f.; 5:21-24) are worthless apart from justice and right causes. God has sworn by His holiness to avenge the poor, the afflicted, and the oppressed (2:6f.; 4:1f.; 5:10-15). For Habakkuk the corollary of the divine holiness is anger against evil, faithlessness, and wrongdoing, and vindication of the righteous who live by faith (cf. Hab. 1:12f.; 2:4).

II. In the NT.–A. Terms. In the NT the concept of holiness is presented primarily by the adjective Gk. *hágios,* "holy"; by the three related nouns indicating holiness, *hagiasmós, hagiótēs,* and *hagiōsýnē*; and by the verb, *hagiázō,* "make holy or sanctify." Of the three nouns only *hagiasmós* can be rendered as indicating the process of making holy, i.e., sanctification or consecration. *Hagiótēs* indicates personal holiness whereas *hagiōsýnē* is a term for holiness generally or abstractly considered. The mean-

ing of these words for "holy" is clarified somewhat by noting the other Greek adjectives used in the NT that can have the implication of "holy": *hierós, hósios,* and *hagnós*. *Hierós* indicates something sacred but usually only in the outward sense of a rite. *Hósios,* "reverent" or "pious," does not connote a purity so separated from the world as to belong only to God and to those who are His — and thus is not closely associated with the divine as is *hágios*. *Hagnós,* "pure," "chaste," or "undefiled," stands in close etymological relationship to *hágios,* and is occasionally used in the NT to indicate the moral purity that is characteristic of God (1 Jn. 3:3) and of believers (cf. Tit. 2:5). *Hagnós* lacks the breadth of meaning of *hágios* and does not have a related noun indicative of the process of sanctification, but only the rarely used noun *hagnótēs,* meaning "purity" or "sincerity."

Thus *hágios* is the adjective applied to God, to the Spirit, and to Christ. In His intercessory prayer Jesus Christ called God "Holy Father" (Jn. 17:11), and in Rev. 4:8 is called thrice holy. Throughout the NT, *hágios* is the adjective in the name "Holy Spirit," and Christ Himself is called "the Holy One of God" (Mk. 1:24; Lk. 4:34). Persons who have been chosen by God for Himself and thereby set apart from the world are also holy. Christ is called God's "holy servant" (Acts 4:30) and believers are elect or called "saints" (*hágioi,* 1 Cor. 1:2). Because of their divine origin and purpose, Christian calling (2 Tim. 1:9) and the OT Scriptures (Rom. 1:2) are called holy.

B. The Ethical Emphasis of the Gospels. Although all of the above uses of *hágios* draw in some measure on the originally religious concept found at the root of OT usage, i.e., the concept of separation from the profane and of being set apart for the divine, the NT emphasis is clearly upon the ethical dimension of the holy. The nouns indicating holiness, particularly *hagiasmós,* "sanctification," make this apparent. Sanctification is the result of God making someone holy (2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Pet. 1:2) and is viewed ethically in relation to faith and love (1 Tim. 2:15). Similarly, throughout the Pauline epistles, sanctity is contrasted not with the profane or the worldly in general but with lust and moral impurity (Rom. 6:19-22; 1 Thess. 3:13; 4:3–5, 7), and is paired with "righteousness" (Rom. 6:19; Eph. 4:24). *Hagiótēs,* personal holiness, likewise indicates purity or ethical uprightness and, indeed, the divine purity to which believers will ultimately be conformed (He. 12:10).

Thus Jesus' preaching issues a clear call to a decision for God, for the kingdom and against the world, that marks the basic fact of the separation of all those who belong to God from the profane, the sinful, and the demonic. The rich young man (Mt. 19:16-22 par.) is told to sell all he has and to follow Christ; the disciples are admonished that those who give up house, family, and lands for His sake will be rewarded in heaven (Mt. 19:29). To belong both to the kingdom and to the world is an impossibility, for no one can serve God and mammon (Mt. 6:24; Lk. 16:13). The character of those so separated from the world is godliness and perfection like that of the heavenly Father (Mt. 5:43-48). Thus the separation of Christians from the world is identified primarily in terms of righteousness attained through repentance and divine forgiveness, i.e., it is an ethical separation, a sanctification in the fullest sense.

Jesus' call to repentance and to new, inward obedience in the kingdom is specifically linked by Paul to the identity of believers as "saints" or "holy ones" (*hágioi*) who are called to be ethically set apart to God (1 Cor. 1:2). Paul's conception of the life of those "called to be saints" rests on his theology of grace. The saints are called in the present life to be conformed to Christ by the work of the Spirit, and are, indeed, "predestined" by God "to be conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom. 8:29). On this foundation of grace and divine calling, Christians are exhorted to an active life of Christ-like conduct (cf. Gal. 5:6; Phil. 2:5; Col. 3:1-4; 1 Thess. 5:10). Nonetheless, in every aspect of their ethical holiness or newfound righteousness Christians are to recognize that not they themselves, certainly not their own work or their own will, but God working in them is the source of their holiness or righteousness (Phil. 2:13).

C. The Language of Progress in Sanctity. Paul also joins the NT language of sanctification to a concept of progress or perfection in holiness. The initial renewal or hallowing of the individual in Christ, by the Spirit, which takes place following forgiveness of sins and justification sets believers apart even though sin and the struggle with sin continue to be a part of their lives. Thus Paul exhorts the Philippians to work out their own salvation (Phil. 2:12), and to move forward in holiness, upon the ground established for them in the grace of Christ, toward the goal of being utterly refashioned according to Christ's image (Rom. 8:29). Paul seems to associate the passing away of imperfection with the final vision of God (1 Cor. 13:10-12) and to view the perfect conformity of believers to Christ as an eschatological event (15:42-50). In addition, when Paul speaks of becoming "perfect" (Gk. *téleios*), he most certainly does not mean an absolute perfection, like the divine perfection, but rather a maturity in faith (Phil. 3:15), which he himself has not yet attained (3:12). The word *téleios* itself indicates an orientation toward a goal. Christ's own mandate to perfection, "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt. 5:48), echoes the future orientation of its OT analogues, Dt. 18:13 and Lev. 19:2.

Nonetheless, Paul did not intend by this language a progress of believers from unholiness to holiness. The imperfection of believers is an incompleteness of those who have already been set apart by grace through faith and who are regenerate. Their progress is, therefore, a progress *in* holiness: God has willed their sanctification and has "called" them "not . . . for uncleanness, but in holiness" (1 Thess. 4:3, 7). Indeed, God will sanctify them "wholly" and keep them "blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (5:23f.) by increasing their love to one another and to all mankind (3:12f.). Paul also described the process of attainment of this holiness as a work both of the Spirit and of the individual believer. Sanctification occurs "in the Spirit" and as "the fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22-25), but it is also a self-cleansing and a self-consecration (cf. Rom. 12:1f.; 2 Cor. 7:1). Thus sanctification rests both upon the grace of God that begins and continues to work the good in the hearts of believers, and upon human purpose, in the Spirit, to continued exhortation to holiness. The progress of this work of the Spirit and of the human response points directly toward the consummation of God's purpose in "the day of Christ" (Phil. 1:10f.).

Whereas the Pauline language of sanctity and perfection points away from earthly expectation of perfect holiness, the Johannine language seems to insist upon it. Believers are children of God, separated from the world and its lack of knowledge of God, destined to be like God in the eschaton. This hope is intimately related to the purification of believers who progress in this life toward the purity of the God in whom they hope (1 Jn. 3:2f.). The Son of God, in whom this redemption and purification is made possible, "appeared to take away sins" and is personally sinless (3:5). "No one," therefore, "who abides in him sins; no

one who sins has either seen him or known him" (3:6). The basis of this sinlessness is the new birth that overcomes the world (5:4f., 18). John makes it clear that this victory is not a human work, but a divine work. Human beings are deceived if they deny their own sinfulness — but if they confess their sinfulness they will be forgiven and cleansed by the blood of Christ (1:7-9).

A somewhat different perspective on sanctification can be drawn from 1 Peter and Hebrews. These writings emphasized the objective establishment of believers in holiness rather than the subjective form of the sanctified life. Peter views sanctification as a primary and immediate characteristic of the life into which Christians are drawn by the Spirit. This sanctity is profoundly related to the covenant sacrifice of Christ, specifically, the sprinkling of His blood (1 Pet. 1:2, 18f.). Believers are "sanctified by the Spirit for obedience to Jesus Christ and for sprinkling with his blood" (1:2). Thus Peter views sanctification as the basis upon which believers move forth in obedience and receive forgiveness through Christ's blood. Hebrews even more forcefully binds sanctification to the language of sacrifice and covenant. It presents sanctification as the objective consecration of believers effected in and through Christ's sacrifice: "we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (He. 10:10; cf. 9:13f.). Not only have believers been made holy by this sacrifice, they have also been "perfected for all time" (10:14).

The seeming tension between the ideas of progress in holiness and attainment of sinlessness found in Paul and John on the one side, and the teaching of an already accomplished sanctification found in 1 Peter and Hebrews on the other, finds theological resolution in the essentially gracious character of the work of salvation and in the eschatological character of the NT preaching. The objective fact of the separation of believers from the world on the basis of an inward, spiritual regeneration is the gracious gift of God in the work of salvation. In the "now" of the kingdom, the transformation of human nature has been accomplished from the divine side. Thus Paul can declare "you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. 6:11), placing sanctification in the same context of baptismal worship as regeneration and justification by faith. Here the meaning of sanctity is surely a combination of the original, religious or preethical concept and its ethical result, inasmuch as believers are both consecrated to God in the moment of regeneration and justification without being made perfectly righteous, and also inwardly transformed so that righteousness and holiness may be perfected in them (cf. Rom. 6:19). This fundamental sanctity of believers can be traced back to its foundation in the eternal plan of God (cf. 2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Pet. 1:2).

In the eschatological "not yet" of the kingdom, however, the fact of the consecration of believers now points, through progress in holiness, toward the consummation of their transformation in Christ. The same Corinthians that Paul called "sanctified" (1 Cor. 6:11) he also encouraged to cleanse themselves "from every defilement of body and spirit, and make holiness perfect in the fear of God" (2 Cor. 7:1). It is in this eschatological and teleological sense of sanctification as progress toward perfection that the ethical dimension of the concept is clearest. In one sense believers are consecrated to God and blameless before Him because of the work of Christ, but in another sense they must still be perfected in the day of Christ. Nonetheless the NT also has a strong sense of the eschatological character of the "now" of the kingdom, of the proleptic presence of the goal of history in the work of Christ on earth — with the result that the goal of our present exercise of holiness and righteousness must also somehow be fulfilled in us insofar as we are in Christ. This aspect of the "now" of the kingdom may account for John's pointed declaration of the sinlessness of believers in Christ.

III. History of the Doctrine.—The question of the relationship of sanctification to other aspects of the life of faith and to the actual attainment of perfect holiness and righteousness has occupied the mind and heart of the Church since earliest times. Surely the Scripture tells us "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt. 5:48), but it also tells us that "we have all become like one who is unclean, and all our righteous deeds are like a polluted garment" (Isa. 64:6). The apostle Paul similarly points toward the coming of the perfect and the passing away of the imperfect (1 Cor. 13:10) and exhorts his readers to "sin no more" (15:34), but he then reveals that the imperishable, the spiritual, the immortal condition of humanity in which perfection is found belongs to the final resurrection and its fruits (15:42-53). Thus, on the one hand, a doctrine of entire sanctification in this life does not spring easily from the text, despite the frequent biblical exhortations to perfection, while, on the other hand, the demand for perfection in holiness and righteousness remains so clear, despite the qualifications and warnings also present in the text, that any denial of the need for sanctification and any diminution of the intensity of the demand must also constitute a denial of the biblical witness. Within the bounds of these scriptural considerations, the Church has developed and debated its various perspectives on the doctrine of sanctification.

A. Patristic Teaching. The earliest teachers of the Church, e.g., Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch, emphasized the relationship of the exercise of Christian love to the attainment of perfection. Thus Ignatius writes, "None of these things [i.e., fear of God, praise, worship] are unknown to you if you possess perfect faith towards Jesus Christ, and love, which are the beginning and end of life; for the beginning is faith and the end is love" (Ign. Eph. 14:1). Polycarp also expressed the assumption that progress in the three Christian virtues — faith, hope, and love — could lead to personal fulfillment of "the law of righteousness" (Polyc. Phil. 3:2f.). Clement of Rome similarly spoke of godly perfection as attainable through the grace of God and exhorted the strife-ridden church of Corinth to attain in love and godliness to a blameless perfection characterized by a harmonious life and a freedom from all "human partialities" (1 Clem. 49–50). Although our reading of such statements must be tempered by their hortatory context and by the absence of formal dogmatic statement from the writing of the earliest Church, they clearly expect a striving toward perfection grounded in the grace of God and described in terms of the three greatest gifts of the Spirit.

With the growth and expansion of Christianity the standard of perfection became increasingly difficult for the community to achieve in all its members. Whereas a small, localized community could scrutinize closely the lives of its members and easily exclude those who fall short, the ever larger Church had to cope increasingly with problems of moral laxity, discipline of erring members, and the angry reaction of moral rigorists to such ethical problems. As a result the church had to formulate its views on personal sanctity in the context of moral and ascetic fanaticism. On the one hand, Gnosticism declared that its converts were perfect and set apart from the world and its fleshly laws, while, on the other hand, more doctrinally orthodox forms of Christian asceticism, like the

Montanist movement and the anchorites or hermit monks of Egypt, interpreted the demand for personal holiness as a demand for separation from the larger body of believers. In the case of the Montanists the result of their perfectionism was schism.

Against the heretical Gnostics, Clement of Alexandria argued the impossibility of an absolute perfection in this life while nevertheless clinging to the biblical demand for progress in faith, hope, and love. He countered the pridefulness of the Gnostics with the recognition that no human being except Jesus Christ, "Him who put on humanity for us," has been perfect in all things — in godliness, patience, chastity, knowledge and martyrdom — and that no Christian can hope in this life to be perfect as God is perfect. It is the will of God, said Clement, that Christians live according to the gospel in obedience and blamelessness, hoping for final perfection in the life to come (*Misc.* iv.21; vii.14). Traces of Platonism probably appear in the assumption of Clement and of Origen, his successor, that perfection is reached through a denial both of the world and of external, bodily needs, and through an inward, spiritual communion with God, but the biblical grounds upon which both Clement and Origen based their views prevented them from adopting an utterly dualistic approach. Instead, their teaching points toward an ascetic understanding.

These patristic perspectives on sanctification are echoed in the ascetic tradition of the early Church, in which the call of the gospel to a life of blameless obedience is interpreted in terms of individual discipline, personal conquest of the passions, and the attainment of merit in cooperation with divine grace. This ascetic spirituality could emphasize progress in sanctity toward perfection without ever departing from the typical patristic assumption that perfection is ultimately attained in the next life rather than in the present life. But such limitation of the quest for perfection did not lead the ascetics to look only for minimal results. Thus Macarius of Egypt (d. 391) defined the perfect love of God as a complete "cleansing from sin," a genuine "freedom from base passions," and the achievement of the highest peak of human virtue in "the sanctification of the heart" through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (*Homily* ii.2). Similar definitions pointing to perfection in the Christian life made possible by grace appear in the *Institutes* and *Conferences* of John Cassian (d. 450), whose thought had a profound impact on early Western monasticism (cf. *Institutes* xii.15.16).

Neither Montanism nor early Christian asceticism can be credited with the further development of a doctrine of sanctification. Nevertheless, both of these movements established patterns of faith and behavior that have remained with the Church through the centuries, contributed to Christian views of the holy life, and kept alive the contention that perfection in holiness can be attained in the present life. Montanists based their ethical rigorism on the teachings of the prophet Montanus (late 2nd cent. A.D.), who claimed a new revelation of the Spirit and the dawn of a third dispensation of divine work brought about by the Paraclete. His followers believed that this outpouring of the Spirit, promised in the Gospel of John (14:16f., 26), had not occurred fully at Pentecost but would in their time draw the church onward to a higher righteousness. This hope for a perfected holiness brought about by a second gift of the Spirit has continued in the Church despite the demise of an increasingly rigoristic and sectarian Montanism in the 3rd century. Various enthusiastic groups in the Middle Ages, like the Cathars, assumed a special gift of spiritual perfection given only to their members, while the belief in a second gift of the Spirit has continued to be held by Pentecostal and "Holiness" groups down to the 20th century.

The problem raised for the early Church by the ethical rigorism of the Montanist and, somewhat later, in the 3rd cent. by the Novatianists, was solved by the Church on the basis of its own nonschismatic ascetic experience. Recognizing the relative character of sanctification in this life and the inability of all Christians to approach the goal of perfection, the fathers began to note different moral demands for those who chose the religious life. Thus Cyprian (*ca.* 210-258) and Ambrose (340-397) began to make the distinction, typical of medieval theology, beween the general commands of the law enjoined upon all and the counsels (or "counsels of perfection") that serve to define the religious or ascetic life of those specially called to service in the faith. Ambrose, e.g., distinguished between the "ordinary" duties of the Decalogue and the "perfect" duties of Christ's intensification of the law — loving one's enemies and praying for those who persecute us. The latter perfect duties are especially enjoined upon the clergy (*Duties of the Clergy,* i.11.36f.).

The problem of sanctification was drawn out in its full doctrinal scope in the context of the doctrines of grace and freewill in the early 5th cent. in the debate between Augustine and the Pelagians. Pelagius himself was a British monk who arrived in Rome *ca.* A.D. 384 and, appalled at the moral laxity of the population, preached a doctrine of the ethical reform of society in the name of Christ. His preaching assumed that the freedom of the human will to do the good was a necessary corollary to the divine demand of righteousness. According to Pelagius, God makes no impossible demands. Sin by definition is an avoidable offense for which a person is morally responsible: "if [an act] is necessary, it is not a sin; if it is voluntary, it can be avoided," wrote Pelagius (in Augustine *De perfectione justiciae hominis* 2). From these principles Pelagius concluded that Christian perfection was not only a possibility for all believers — it was also the expected result of moral effort. Pelagius thus brought the monastic goal into the public life of the Church. He was profoundly disturbed by Augustine's prayer "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou willest" (*Conf.* x.40; cf. *De dono Perseverantiae* 53) and its presupposition that left to our own devices we could only sin. Pelagius argued that such theology insulted God and His law (*Epistula and Demetriadem* 16f.).

After Pelagius and his disciple Celestius left Rome for Carthage (A.D. 409) and the Pelagian moralism began to gain adherents in North Africa, Augustine felt bound to attack what he viewed as a heretical soteriology. The Pelagian message of self-willed moral perfectibility not only countered Augustine's theology, it also assaulted his inmost religious sensibilities. At the heart of Augustine's personal spirituality was the experience of divine grace regenerating the will and rendering it capable of doing the good. Pelagius's perfectionism underestimated the burden of sin and devalued divine grace. Sin, argued Augustine, was not merely a discrete act or choice of the will — it was also and more profoundly the defective condition of the will itself. Against Pelagius's moralism Augustine posed a theology of grace, a grace as necessary as it was irresistible.

The Augustinian theory of grace does not, of course, argue against sanctification or even against the possibility of perfect sanctification in this life. Rather, the Augustinian theory places sanctification, together with justification, into the realm of God's gracious work among us and utterly denies that either justification or sanctification can be the result of human effort. Augustine distinguished between "the righteousness which is of faith" and that righ-

teousness which pertains to the final vision of God and eternal life in God, according to which a person will be cleansed of sin and its effects "in every respect" (*De spiritu et littera* c.66). Even the latter could be accomplished by God in some people in this life, since with God nothing is impossible. Thus perfection could result from "the infusion of the Spirit of grace," though certainly not from human effort. Having said this, however, Augustine also argued that such perfect people cannot be found and that only a relative perfection should be expected in this life.

Augustine's positive doctrine, which became the basic position of the medieval doctors, made a distinction between the genuine but limited righteousness of the pilgrim Church on earth and its members, and the perfected righteousness of the heavenly community of the blessed in its enjoyment of the vision of God. Righteousness in this life, though genuine in its orientation toward the "true good," consists in the "remission of sins." Righteousness in the life to come is an incorruptibility and immortality, a rule of the body by the soul and of the soul by God which consists in "the perfecting of virtue" that comes from the vision of the highest good, the *summum bonum,* which is God Himself. In this life, faith works by love toward righteousness and continually prays, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors" (*Civ. Dei.* xix.27).

B. Medieval and Roman Catholic Doctrine. The medieval language of sanctification, as implied in the preceding discussion, is found primarily in the doctrines of grace and justification and secondarily in the doctrine of final perfection, the doctrine of the beatific vision. In other words medieval theologians, though they meditated at length on Christian life and the problem of perfection in holiness and righteousness, did not develop a separate doctrine of sanctification. Rather they discussed either the infusion of sanctifying grace that follows upon the remission of sins or the way in which the love of God shown forth in Christ can transform human life. The resultant view of human progress toward perfection tended to conserve and to draw together the biblical materials as interpreted by the fathers and primarily by Augustine. In addition the medieval concept of sanctification represented a confluence of the doctrinal, mystical, and ascetic tendencies already noted in the theologians of the patristic era.

The Augustinian view of Christian perfection was joined in the theology of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) to the (equally Augustinian) conception of the reformation and progress of the individual toward God and drawn out in terms of a dynamic of divine and human loving. In addition Bernard developed a profoundly Christ-centered spirituality that enriched the medieval concept of personal holiness and contributed to the rise of medieval mysticism. We do not find in Bernard the carefully refined dogmatic language of the later scholastic teachers but rather a powerfully enunciated personal piety of the imitation of Christ and of the spiritual perfecting of the believer, based on the two great commandments, the commandments to love God and one's neighbor. The life, personal hardships, and final sufferings of Christ are, for Bernard, the "source of perfect righteousness" and the basis "of the fulness of knowledge" (*Song of Songs* 43.3-5). Christ not only blesses believers with "forgiveness of sins" but endows them with "the gift of holiness" (37.4). Knowledge of self leads the believer to a fear of God — and knowledge of the God who is feared leads to the love of God wherein the believer moves forward toward perfection. Bernard described the movement of human love from a sinful love of self for one's own sake to an equally sinful love of God for one's own benefit that arises naturally from self-love, then to the love of God for God's sake that arises from the grace of God, and finally to a reformed love of self for the sake of God. This final stage of love places human life, indeed, the entire creation, in the right perspective, under God and fully dedicated to God (cf. *Song of Songs* 37.6 with *On Loving God* 8.23–11.29).

Like Augustine, Bernard doubted the possibility of the attainment of such perfection in this life. The point at which a person overcomes all vanity and all individual independence, to the end that all the powers of heart, soul, and strength (cf. Mk. 12:30) are devoted to the love of God, cannot occur "as long as the care of this weak and wretched body keeps one busy" (*On Loving God* 10.29). Even the holy martyrs attain this love only partially in the midst of their sufferings. Thus Christian perfection is attained only in "a spiritual and immortal body" — indeed, not even in the state of the souls of the righteous between death and the final resurrection is perfection attained, inasmuch as the human being must be completely redeemed and blessed with the final vision of God in order for the perfection of holy love to be attained (cf. ibid., 10.30-33).

At the beginning of the high scholastic era, in the summary of doctrinal questions that was to become the theological textbook for the next three centuries, Peter Lombard (d. 1160) defined sanctifying grace as the indwelling of the Spirit in the souls of the righteous by and through which the love of God and neighbor becomes possible for the believer and genuine acts of love can be performed by the believer (*Sentences* i.17). This sanctifying grace is the entirely supernatural ground for the justification of believers. Like Augustine and Bernard, Lombard understood justification as encompassing both the forgiveness of sins and the infusion of grace and he too viewed the infusion of grace as an effective work of God that transforms the believer and makes forgiveness not just a setting aside of blame, but a genuine removal or eradication of sin beginning in the spiritual rebirth of the believer. Whereas Bernard and, subsequently, Duns Scotus identified sanctifying grace with divine love, Lombard spoke of the immediate infusion of the Spirit.

Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) wrote on the subject of Christian holiness or perfection both in his *Summa theologica* and in a short treatise *On the Perfection of the Spiritual Life.* The former discussion takes up the issue of the remission of sins and infusion of grace in a doctrinal or dogmatic manner under the rubric of justification (*Summa Theol.* i/2, q. 113) and deals with the perfection of Christian love in a doctrinal discussion of the state of perfection (ii/2, q. 184), while the latter addresses the subject of Christian life and progress in holiness from the point of view of piety and of the clerical office with its requirements of holy living. Following Augustine and earlier medieval teachers like Peter Lombard, Aquinas made no strict distinction between justification and sanctification. Although sin is surely distinct from grace and the forgiveness of sins is therefore distinct from the infusion or gift of divine grace, there is but one act of God by which sins are forgiven and grace is bestowed (i/2, q. 113, a.6, ad.2). What is more, argued Thomas, "the infusion of grace is the cause of all the other things required for the justification of the unrighteous" inasmuch as grace is the cause of our free choice of God and free choice against sin and is, consequently, the ground of forgiveness (i/2, q. 113, a.8, resp.). Considered in this way, making a person righteous and counting a person righteous cannot be separated. Rather, in the forgiveness of sins grace brings about a right ordering of human conduct and a rightness of interior disposition (i/2, q. 113, a.1, resp.).

This gracious renewal of human choice that restores

justice or righteousness to its "place among the virtues" certainly can take place instantaneously and totally, but it is normally a progressive restoration, the beginning of a movement toward perfection (i/2, q. 113, a.9-10). Even so, the righteousness that arises from the infusion of grace is only a part of the perfection to which all Christians are called. The Christian perfection demanded under God's law and by the command of Christ to be perfect, even as the Father in heaven is perfect (Mt. 6:48), is not merely a complete righteousness but a total conversion of the individual to the life of obedience in Christian love, to the love of God with one's whole heart and the love of neighbor as oneself. This conformity to the two great commandments is perfect holiness or sanctification (*Summa Theol.* ii/2, q. 184, a.3; cf. *De perf.* ii).

Thomas noted three degrees of perfection in love: first, an absolute perfection proportionate to the ultimate divine object of love belongs only to God; second, a lesser perfection, according to which a rational creature loves God to the extent possible given its nature, occurs only in the state of final blessedness; and third, a perfection in love, according to which all words, all thoughts, all the affections of the soul, and the whole strength or power of the individual, are referred to God and willingly subjected to God can occur in this life. Indeed, this third degree of perfection is what God commands of all people — not in the sense that every aspect of life is absolutely turned toward God, but rather in the sense that God is acknowledged in all things as the source, guide, and goal of life's service (*De perf.* c.4f.). Thomas also recognized the difficulty of attaining even this degree of perfection in the present life, and therefore distinguished between the commands of God that must be obeyed and the counsels leading to perfection, such as chastity and the renunciation of earthly perfections, that are enjoined only on those who choose the religious life (*De perf.* c.6). The path to the highest degree of holiness accessible in this life, therefore, is the ascetic path of monks, bishops, and priests.

In the later Middle Ages, Scotist and nominalist theologians argued that the remission of sins and the infusion of sanctifying grace are connected not out of necessity but because of the divine decree. William of Ockham even stated hypothetically and in terms of the absolute will of God that God might either remit sins without also infusing grace and making a sinner righteous, or infuse grace and bring about righteousness without the remission of sins. This speculation with its emphasis on the divine will is of importance to the history of doctrine inasmuch as it represents a part of the preparation for the typically Protestant separation of justification and sanctification, just as the views of Lombard and Aquinas were the preeminent sources of the doctrines set forth at the Council of Trent.

The Council of Trent defined sanctifying grace as "God's justice (or righteousness), not by means of which He Himself is just, but by which he makes us just" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 1529). This grace inheres in the soul through the office or work of Christ by the Holy Spirit as a new and permanent condition or attribute of the believer. The effect of this sanctifying grace is "the sanctification and renovation of the inward man" consisting in a new freedom from the grossest sin and a new attachment to and desire for God (ibid., 1528). Together with sanctifying grace the believer receives spiritual gifts, also by gracious infusion into the soul. These gifts are the three Christian virtues — faith, hope, and love — which, by Christ and through the Spirit, become dispositions or "habits" of soul. These doctrinal conclusions cohere with what has already been noted in the thought of the medieval doctors — that sanctification or holiness is a work of grace that enables the believer to move toward perfection. Since Trent defined faith, hope, and love as dispositions and not as "acts" or "actualizations," they are the basis for progress toward perfection and are not infused perfections. Thus works are presupposed: by acts of faith, hope, and love, grace and, indeed, personal righteousness or holiness can be increased (ibid., 1582).

C. Reformation and Modern Protestant Views. One of the results of the Reformation teaching of salvation by grace alone was a recognition that the association of the divine declaration of righteousness on grounds of faith (justification) with the gracious progress of believers in holiness and righteousness (sanctification) could easily lead to a theology of salvation by works. The radical exclusion of works from justification and the insistence against the medieval doctors, and eventually against Trent, that justification is a forensic act of God by grace through faith alone led later codifiers of Protestant doctrine to develop sanctification as a separate doctrinal *locus* and to view it, together with good works, as a result of the divine work of salvation rather than as a factor contributing to salvation. In conformity with their emphasis on ministry as an office and on the priesthood of all believers, the Reformers and their successors also refused to view sanctification, holiness, or perfection as the preserve of the few who are capable of monastic vows and the ascetic life.

In its broadest outlines the Reformers' doctrine of sanctification stands in general continuity with the thrust of medieval Augustinianism. It denies the possibility of sinlessness in this life and limits the attainment of holiness to a progress in the exercise of Christian virtues as made possible by grace. In discontinuity with the medieval view it separates this relative perfection from the foundation of salvation in justification by faith and insists on absence of merit even in the justified believer. Perfection, then, must be understood in the context of the existence of the believer as *simul iustus et peccator,* at once justified and a sinner. One of Luther's clearest statements of the issue occurs in his treatise *On Monastic Vows,* where he declares that "the state of perfection is to be filled with faith and to be a despiser of death, life, glory and the whole world, and in fervent love to be the servant of all," and that this state is better attained in the obedient life of laity than in monastic observances (*WA,* VIII, 584). Works, particularly the counsels of perfection enjoined upon monks, having nothing to do with personal holiness.

This line of argument is continued in the *Augsburg Confession* (1530). As in Luther's treatises, the early Protestant polemic of the confession does not indicate a positive development of a doctrine of sanctification as much as it indicates an insight, based on the doctrine of justification by faith, into the problem of the late medieval association of holiness with meritorious works. Thus the confession strives to separate the language of Christian perfections, and especially the language of vows and counsels, from the idea of justification: "For they also who attribute justification to their vows, attribute to their own works what properly belongs to the glory of Christ" (pt. II, art. VI). "Christian perfection is this, to fear God sincerely, and again, to conceive great faith, and to trust on account of Christ that we have a God who is appeased; to ask and certainly to look for help from God in all our doings, according to our calling; and outwardly to do good works diligently, and to be subject to our calling" (ibid.).

Melanchthon, far more than Luther, worried over the consequences of the doctrine of justification by faith for human responsibility under the law and, consequently, for personal holiness. In his *Apology* or defense of the *Augs-*

burg Confession, completed in 1531, Melanchthon argued that through faith in Christ and with the assistance of the Spirit, "the keeping of the law should begin in us and increase more and more" (*Apol.* 2.136). Melanchthon's insistence on this normative use of the law (the so-called *tertius usus legis*, i.e., third use of the law) represented an emphasis on personal righteousness and on human cooperation with God in attaining righteousness, quite different from Luther's own emphasis on justification and on the condition of the believer before God as *simul iustus et peccator*. This difference in emphasis led, in turn, to a debate among the followers and successors of Luther over the relationship of good works and the law to salvation. This debate was finally settled by the *Formula of Concord* (1577) in which the doctrine of justification was clearly separated from all concerns of law and works but the presence of freely performed good works was deemed a necessary result of regeneration (*Epitome*, 3 and 4, esp. 4.4-6). In Lutheran dogmatics this confessional position was reflected in the clear distinction between justification and sanctification and in the clear interpretation of all language concerning works, holiness, sanctity, or perfection in terms of the gracious divine gift of salvation rather than in terms of external righteousness.

A similar view of sanctification was characteristic of the Calvinist or Reformed side of the Reformation. Calvin argued that believers ought to evidence "a certain harmony of righteousness, lasting throughout life," while at the same time finding assurance of salvation in God's goodness alone. When believers come before the judgment seat of God they will be distinguishable from the wicked by their "sincerity, righteousness, simplicity and purity" but will nonetheless be unable to "boast of an innocence" or purity like unto God's (*Inst.* iii.17.14). The "partial and imperfect" uprightness of believers is "a step toward immortality" but not a perfection in holiness in this life: like Augustine and Bernard, Calvin argued a progress toward holiness and perfection that is completed in believers only when they "put off this sinful flesh" in final communion with God (iii.17.15). Very much like developing Lutheran theology, Calvin severed the link between the divine effecting of salvation and the human performance of works — the result being a strict distinction between justification and sanctification. Typical of Calvin is the harmonization of Paul and James which insists on the production of good works by the genuinely faithful and indicates that sanctification is a result of a graciously given salvation in Christ (cf. iii.17.11f.).

Later Calvinists maintained these perceptions concerning progress in righteousness and holiness by discussing sanctification as consisting in two parts — a continuing repentance and a consistent attempt at obedience or godliness. Typical of the Calvinist view of sanctification is the description of the life of godliness in terms of the ongoing warfare of flesh and spirit (cf. Gal. 5:17; Rom. 7:23). Thus sin remains in the regenerate believer, and the life of progress in holiness and righteousness must be characterized by a continuing repentance followed by "new obedience," the latter being defined by the exercise of good works. Late in the 17th cent. Johann Heidegger (1633-1698) could state that "sanctification involves continual praxis and action . . . doing things that belong to godliness and in receding from all evil and so by God's grace contracting the habit . . . of thinking, speaking and doing the things that are best, most glorious for God and most useful for their neighbor" (*Corpus theologiae* xxiii.18, as cited in Heppe, pp. 570f.). We note in this definition the presence of the traditional view of Christian perfection in terms of the two great commandments of the law. We may also view these teachings of Reformed orthodoxy as a final codification of Reformed doctrine and as the establishment of normative definition for the Reformed churches. It appeared more recently and with little variation in the traditionally conceived dogmatic systems of writers like Hodge, Dabney, Shedd, and Berkhof.

In the 17th cent. the Protestant doctrine of sanctification was hotly debated. On the continent the Lutheran church experienced a major battle over Christian life and the necessity (or lack thereof) of external signs of progress in grace. The Lutheran orthodox held to the doctrines set forth in the *Formula of Concord*. The Pietists, though never explicitly attacking the confessions of the church, pressed for a more moralistic standard in Christian living. In England the Puritans and their heirs, the Dissenters, debated the same issue as one aspect of the polemic between an antinomian, a more traditionally Reformed, and an increasingly nomistic form of English Protestantism. In the late 17th and early 18th cents. the Anglican tradition tended increasingly away from the Reformation emphasis on justification and salvation by grace alone and toward an emphasis on personal holiness in cooperation with grace.

The Pietists, beginning with Philipp Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), protested against the equation of true religion with right doctrine, and in their debates with orthodox Lutheranism they stressed the experiential side of Christianity and the necessity both of conversion and of postconversion progress in sanctity. Although Pietism intended to maintain the outlines of orthodox Lutheran theology, its emphasis on personal experiences and the life of Christian devotion led it away from the typical orthodox Protestant view of the imperfections of the justified life and of the impossibility of attaining perfection in this world. Spener and Francke tended to emphasize regeneration and the experience of conversion rather than the purely forensic doctrine of justification held by the orthodox, and to argue that such regeneration ought to lead to the practice of holiness and to an intimate personal relationship with God. In turn this teaching strongly influenced the thought of Nikolaus von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), the founder of the Moravian Brethren, who emphasized the attainment by Christians, in and through the blood of Christ, of a perfection of faith, love, and personal holiness.

Against Pietistic tendencies Lutheran orthodoxy emphasized the incomplete sanctification of the believer and evidenced a preference for the term "renovation" rather than sanctification. Johannes Quenstedt (1617-1688) defined this renovation or sanctification as "those continuous acts [of the Holy Spirit] by which actual sanctity is effected in man, carried on, and preserved." This renovation, although "partial and imperfect" in this life, "ought continually to increase and grow" — indeed it is "increased by godly acts and frequent efforts" made possible, despite the presence of sin in the believer, by the grace of the Holy Spirit (cf. *Theologia Didactico-Polemica*, as cited in Schmid, p. 490). In order to preserve the doctrine of salvation by grace alone while also arguing progress in holiness, Quenstedt and his contemporaries argued that the first act of renovation or sanctification was an act of the Spirit, without human concurrence, by which the ability to do good works is bestowed on the believer. Subsequent acts of renovation are acts in which the human will cooperates, now dependent upon the grace of the Spirit (cf. ibid., p. 491). As noted in the case of the Reformed orthodox, this orthodox Lutheran theology remains normative for confessional or churchly teaching into the present, and is found virtually unchanged in the writings of traditional and confessional Lutheran theolo-

gians like Lindberg, Pieper, and Mueller, and in the somewhat less traditional contemporary dogmatics of Braaten and Jenson.

The difficulty of maintaining a strong emphasis on the progressive character of Christian obedience in the context of a profound emphasis on salvation by faith alone, as witnessed both in the Lutheran and the Calvinist perspectives on sanctification, is evident also in the debates over nomism and antinomianism in late seventeenth-century England. On the antinomian side, in the writings of John Saltmarsh (d. 1647) and Tobias Crisp (1600-1643), the radical nature of God's electing grace and the unworthiness of all human beings for so great a salvation led to a virtual denial not merely of the necessity but even of the presence of good works in the elect. Over against their view, English Reformed theologians like Richard Baxter (1615-1691) began to emphasize even more strongly than earlier generations of Puritans the relationship between progress in personal holiness and the practice of Christian piety. A similar emphasis on sanctity, bound to a generally Arminian soteriology, appears in the Anglican theology of the era. The theme of "holy living" is central to the thought of Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) and to the theology of William Law (1686-1761), especially in his famous treatises, *Serious Call to the Devout Life* and *Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection.*

The emphasis upon Christian holiness found in the thought of Baxter, Taylor, and Law came to full fruit in the theology of John Wesley (1703-1791), who must be regarded as the father of virtually all modern teaching on personal holiness or sanctification and specifically of the teaching concerning "entire sanctification in this life" typical of the Wesleyan and Holiness movements. Wesley's doctrine was influenced not only by the English tradition of emphasis on personal sanctity, but also by Wesley's own experience of grace and conversion, by his encounter with the practical mysticism of the pietistic Lutheran Moravians, by his reading of Clement of Alexandria and Thomas à Kempis, and by his desire to propound a practical theology free of the dangers both of antinomianism and of a quietistic theology of inward experience. Wesley's chief discussion of his doctrine of sanctification is found in his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (*Works,* XI, 366-499).

Following the pattern of orthodox Protestantism, Wesley maintained a strict distinction between justification and sanctification. According to Wesley justification is an objective act of God by which human beings are forgiven their sins, delivered from guilt, and restored to favor with God. But sanctification is a subjective and inward change, a genuine renewal of an individual beginning in the new birth. The former, properly understood, is a work of God accomplished through His Son, the latter a work of God accomplished through His Spirit. Thus Wesley could argue that although justification and the beginning of sanctification "are joined together in point of time, yet they are of wholly distinct natures" (*Standard Sermons,* I, 299f.; cf. p. 119). Over against the strictly orthodox Protestant position and much like the Pietists, Wesley emphasized the experience of regeneration and conversion or new birth in which the love of God is so poured into the heart of the believer and the heart so turned to God in Christ that the believer will not voluntarily transgress the law of God (*Works,* XI, 394-96).

According to Wesley full or "entire" sanctification, perfect holiness, is possible in this life. No Christian who has experienced conversion and divine forgiveness can fail to desire perfection and strive for it. Wesley followed the tradition in defining perfection as "so entire a love to [God], that you may love nothing but for his sake . . . love the creature as it leads to the Creator" (*Works,* XI, 368). Such love implies keeping all of God's commandments and ceasing to sin. Wesley never went so far as to claim that Christians become so perfect as to cease to need Christ's merits for salvation, but he did claim that sin can be so "suspended or extinguished" that the Christian will not act "contrary to pure love" (*Works,* XII, 257). This transformation can occur after justification and regeneration and is defined by "a gradual mortification of sin" and "an entire renewal in the image of God" (*Works,* XI, 402).

Wesley did not intend to imply that human beings could become absolutely perfect in this life — but only to claim that a perfect love of God and neighbor is possible as a result of the sanctifying grace of God. This teaching needs to be understood, as Flew pointed out (pp. 326f.), in terms of a distinction between voluntary and involuntary transgressions. The perfect love of God and neighbor banishes only consciously willed sins — errors, mistakes, and tarnished actions arising out of human imperfection — involuntary sins will still occur. Lindström lucidly explains the concept of the entire sanctification of an imperfect individual in terms of a comparison between the Christian viewed absolutely and objectively and viewed relatively and subjectively (p. 154): from an "absolute and objective standpoint" the fully sanctified person remains imperfect, fails fully to oblige the law of God, and therefore remains sinful and guilty, in need of the work of Christ for salvation; from a "relative and subjective standpoint," however, the fully sanctified person so fully loves God and neighbor as to be totally freed from sin and guilt. The perfection of this relative and subjective standpoint cannot be understood apart from the relationship of the believers to Christ's work. Thus Wesley's concept of sanctification represents a powerful demand for the cultivation of Christian virtues, of the fruits of the Spirit, indeed for a complete subjective alteration of a person's outward and inward life.

Wesley's doctrine is clearly not a form of works righteousness or a theory of salvation on grounds of merit. Rather, Wesley argued a divinely given perfection, "wrought in the soul by a simple act of faith," that becomes the ground of a gradual dying to sin and growth in grace and finally leads to a time at which the believer is perfected in love by God. This growth toward perfection or perfect sanctification cannot take place without "vigorous, universal obedience, in a zealous keeping of the commandments . . . in denying ourselves and taking up the cross daily." But it also cannot take place apart from the prior fact of God's grace in and through the works of Christ (*Works,* XI, 386, 406, 428). When asked when this perfect sanctification could occur, Wesley refused to restrict the event to any particular time in the life of an individual, but noted that "generally" he held it to take place at the moment of death (*Works,* XI, 429).

In the 19th cent., the doctrine of Christian perfection found expression both in the theologies of Schleiermacher and Ritschl in Germany and in the evangelical and revivalistic theology of the Holiness movement, the Oberlin school, and the Keswick, the "Higher Life," and the "Victorious Life" movements. Nineteenth-century German views on sanctification, most clearly and eminently presented in the theologies of F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889), follow a pattern of development in modern theology entirely different from that represented by Oberlin and Keswick. Whereas Oberlin and Keswick pointed toward the evangelical and even fundamentalistic side of modern Christianity, Schleiermacher and Ritschl pointed the way toward mod-

ern liberalism. In addition Schleiermacher and Ritschl stand in the direct line, albeit in a somewhat negative way, of Kant's critique of rational supernaturalism. Kant had shown that the rationalistic theism of the 18th cent. was philosophically untenable and had attempted, in his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) and his *Religion Within the Bounds of Reason* (1793), to define holiness in terms of the agreement of will with the moral law, and thus to found religion upon the inward perception of moral imperatives. Kant assumed that the attainment of holiness, of the genuinely moral life, was impossible in this world and that the demand for holiness, therefore, led to the postulation of a life after death in which the goal of perfection is reached. The quest for holiness, and therefore religion itself, results from the inward and categorical moral imperative.

Schleiermacher in his early essay, *Religion. Speeches to its Cultured Despisers* (Eng. tr. 1893), and in his theological system, *Christian Faith* (Eng. tr. 1928), endeavoured to find religion at a more profound level in the human spirit than the level of ethical imperatives. He argued that religion arises out of the fundamental intuition or feeling of absolute dependence. Sanctification or the attainment of holiness could no longer be defined simply in terms of the agreement of the will with the ethical norms — but rather had to be defined as the victory of our feeling of absolute dependence over our striving for individual independence from the divine. This victory of the feeling of absolute dependence or God-consciousness is possible, according to Schleiermacher, only in and through the life of "the corporate community of blessedness," the Church, which in turn is constituted in its God-consciousness by the unique God-consciousness of Jesus Christ. In the Church the Spirit moves believers to a love of Christ and Christ increasingly becomes the norm for personal holiness or blessedness in and through the communicated sense of dependence upon God.

Ritschl's concept of sanctification, like the whole of his theology, represents an attempt to cast aside the philosophical moralism of Kant, the idealism of Hegel, and what Ritschl viewed as the excessive subjectivism and mysticism of Schleiermacher. Ritschl argued that the scriptural doctrine of reconciliation pointed toward the establishment on earth of the ethical kingdom of God's love. Christians are called, through their justification and reconciliation, to participation in this kingdom of righteousness and holiness. Although he disapproved of Schleiermacher's subjectivism, Ritschl also emphasized the corporate character of Christian holiness as an aspect of the life of the Church made possible by Christ's righteousness through the work of the Spirit. For Ritschl the resulting sanctification of Christian perfection was more a corporate than an individual attribute. The Spirit indwells the community, and the believer experiences righteousness and holiness by participation rather than by an examination of individual virtues. Perfection is a "disposition" to be patient, humble, and obedient to the moral law rather than an attainment of total personal victory over sin or absolute personal perfection (*Justification and Reconciliation* [Eng. tr. 1902], p. 605).

The Holiness movement arose out of the revivalistic climate of America in the 1840's and blossomed in the camp meetings and in the urban revival of the 1850's. The movement began within the Methodist Church as a call for renewed evangelistic efforts and renewed discipline together with an increased emphasis on Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification. As tensions mounted between the denomination and the proponents of renewal, a series of ruptures took place in the Methodist Church leading to the establishment of new denominations, like the Wesleyan Methodists (1843) and the Free Methodists (1860). These and other Holiness groups formed in the last several decades of the 19th cent. are today represented by the Church of God, Anderson, Indiana (1880), the Pilgrim Holiness Church (1897), and the Church of the Nazarene (1908). (The Pilgrim Holiness and Wesleyan Methodist churches merged in 1968 as the Wesleyan Church.)

Characteristic of the Holiness movement and its twentieth-century offshoot, the Pentecostal Holiness movement, is the Wesleyan emphasis on two major experiences of salvation — the experience of conversion and justification and the subsequent event of entire sanctification, which is experienced as a "second blessing" of the Spirit. Unlike Wesley, who spoke of the possibility of entire sanctification but never argued that it would happen to all believers during their earthly life, the Holiness movement tends to view the experience of the second blessing as normative. Sanctification is achieved only through consistent moral effort to love God perfectly and, on the grounds of that love, to avoid voluntary or deliberate sin. The Pentecostal Holiness churches add to this teaching the view that the "second blessing" of entire sanctification is marked by the experience of speaking in tongues.

The Oberlin theology as formulated by Asa Mahan (1799-1889) and Charles Finney (1792-1875) rested its views of salvation and sanctification on the assumptions that human beings are free moral agents and that God, in His moral government of the universe, defines virtue and sin solely in terms of the attainment or nonattainment of those moral obligations of which the individual is capable. In other words all sins are voluntary failures to fulfil only those obligations that are within the reach of one's will. Failure to reach a standard beyond one's capability can hardly be called sin. If one grants those definitions, perfection becomes an attainable moral or ethical goal — as defined by Mahan it is the "full and perfect discharge of our entire duty, of all existing obligations to God and all other beings" (*Christian Perfection*, p. 7). In such theology, the power of grace and the work of the Spirit are minimized and sin is viewed, rather superficially and after the manner of Pelagius, as a problem of choice rather than, as Augustine recognized, a problem of will itself, inherent in human nature. Mahan did argue that a second blessing of the Holy Spirit would inaugurate the life of perfect sanctity, but he also maintained that this gift of perfection or consecration to God was an ability to do one's best in avoiding all voluntary offenses.

The Keswick, Higher Life, and Victorious Life movements all spring out of the Wesleyan revival of the 19th cent. and draw on the principles of the Oberlin theology. The three movements are united by their tendency to assume that entire sanctification or moral perfection is characteristic of genuine Christian existence. Following the basic Wesleyan paradigm, these movements stress the subjective sanctification of the individual by faith, the power of the individual to lay hold of God's sanctifying grace, and then, having been sanctified, to gain victory over conscious sinning, blessed with a conscience that is freed from all guilt. The beginning of this sinless life lies in the empowering of the Spirit. The progress of this sinless life is therefore a "higher" or "victorious" form of Christianity. The tendency of this theology is to produce two levels or grades of Christian, those who are merely justified and those who have attained sanctification by a new act of faith in Christ.

By way of conclusion, we note that there is no single Christian doctrine of sanctification. The main line of the Western tradition, embodied in Roman Catholicism and the great churches of the Reformation, has always as-

sumed that Christians are called toward perfection in holiness through daily struggle with sin, but that such total sanctification is impossible in this life. This position stands firmly grounded in the basic conception of sanctification as a setting apart of individuals to divine service, in the eschatological nature of the gospel message, and in the Pauline preaching of justification and sanctification. The Roman Catholic model has reserved a far greater place for ascetic practice and for the attainment of an incomplete sanctity in the present life than have either the Lutheran or Calvinist models. Over against this view, the early Church saw ethical rigorism in the Montanist movement, the churches of the Reformation saw the development of various forms of Pietism emphasizing the renewal of life in Christ, and the 18th cent. saw the development of a full-blown theory of entire sanctification by John Wesley and his followers. These last movements are all united by the hope of attaining a perfect holiness through Christ in this life. This view rests upon a series of biblical demands for perfection, blamelessness, holiness, and obedience together with the clear scriptural statement characteristic of 1 John, that Christ's work thoroughly removes the stain of sin. It is also clear that these two basic approaches to the question of sanctification differ in their definition of sin. The former views sin as a defect fundamental to fallen human nature; the latter can only define sin as known, conscious, or voluntary choice contrary to the law of God. Finally, the two approaches must differ in their views of Christian life and Christian piety. The former tends to view Christian existence as an ongoing struggle in search of a final rest with God in the next life, in the ultimate vision of God; the latter tends toward a piety of spiritual attainment that transcends earthly struggle and toward a fulfilled and even a "happy" life of "rest in Christ."

See also HOLY SPIRIT; JUSTIFICATION; PERFECT; REGENERATION.

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SANCTUARY [Heb. *qōḏeš*–'apartness,' 'holiness,' *miqdāš*–'sacred place,' 'sanctuary,' *dᵉḇîr* ("inner sanctuary," 1 K. 6:5, 16; etc.); Gk. *tó hágion* or *tá hágia*–'what is holy' (He. 8:2; 9:1, etc.), *naós*–'temple' (Mt. 23:35), *oíkos*–'house' (Lk. 11:51)]; AV also HOLY (PLACE), HOLINESS, CHAPEL, ORACLE, TEMPLE, etc.; NEB also SACRED, HOLY PLACE, INNER SHRINE, etc. A holy place where the deity is worshiped or entreated on the basis of a belief that he has once appeared, or is in some sense present or active, at that location.

Although in the OT "sanctuary" (*miqdāš*) is occasionally used for heathen places of worship (Isa. 16:12; Ezk. 28:18) or for a plurality of Israelite sanctuaries (Lev. 21:23; 26:31; Ezk. 21:2 [MT 7]; Am. 7:9; cf. Josh. 24:26, of Shechem; Am. 7:13, of Bethel), the term most frequently applies to the wilderness TABERNACLE or the Jerusalem TEMPLE. Noteworthy usages include the much debated Ex. 15:17 (does "sanctuary" look forward to the Jerusalem temple? or to a different sacred site, perhaps at Gilgal?) and Ezk. 11:16, where God Himself is said to be His people's "sanctuary" in exile (cf. also Isa. 8:14, where, however, some scholars suspect textual corruption).

Hebrew *qōḏeš* basically means "holiness," but the derived meaning "sanctuary" occurs frequently. Occasionally this ambiguity creates some uncertainty. Does God speak in His "holiness" (AV) or in His "sanctuary" (RSV, NEB, Ps. 60:6 [MT 8]; 108:7 [MT 8])? Does Lev. 4:6 refer to the "veil of the sanctuary" (RSV) or to the "veil of holiness," i.e., the "sacred veil" (NEB)? A similar ambiguity is reflected in the RSV and NEB renderings of Nu. 3:28, 31; 4:15; 18:3; 31:6; 1 Ch. 24:5; Isa. 62:9; Mal. 2:11); note that "shekel of the sanctuary" (RSV) becomes "sacred standard" in the NEB (e.g., Ex. 30:13).

The RSV renders Heb. *dᵉḇîr*, denoting the innermost compartment of the temple, by "inner sanctuary" in 1 K. 6:5, 16-23, 31; 7:49; 8:6, 8 (AV "oracle"; NEB "inner shrine"). *See* MOST HOLY PLACE.

In the NT "sanctuary" refers to the Jerusalem temple (Mt. 23:35; Lk. 11:51), the earthly tabernacle (He. 9:1; 13:11) and the heavenly "sanctuary," of which the earthly is a mere copy (He. 8:2). S. WESTERHOLM

SAND [Heb. *ḥôl*; Gk. *ámmos*]. A loose, granulated substance formed from the disintegration of rock.

Hebrew *ḥôl* is derived from the verb *ḥûl*, "whirl, dance," probably because sand is easily rolled before the wind. It is used in the Bible primarily as a symbol of great quantities, e.g., armies (Josh. 11:4), descendants (Gen. 22:17), the grain stored by Joseph (Gen. 41:49), the population of nations (1 K. 4:20), the thoughts of God (Ps. 139:18), the wisdom of Solomon (1 K. 4:29), and the gathering of captives (Hab. 1:9). It is also a symbol of heavy weight (Job 6:3). The sands of Egypt were used by Moses to bury the Egyptian he killed (Ex. 2:12); treasure might also be buried in sand (Dt. 33:19). Most likely *ḥôl* in Job 29:18 is related to Ugar. *ḥl*, which denotes the phoenix that arose from the fire (see NEB mg.; cf. L. Grabbe, *Comparative Philology and the Text of Job* [1977], pp. 98-101).

The NT likewise uses *ámmos* most often as a symbol of quantity (Rom. 9:27; He. 11:12; Rev. 20:8). A different use occurs in Christ's parable about the foolish man who builds his house upon the sand (Mt. 7:26). The grains of sand are naturally unstable and cannot support heavy construction.

Most of the sand in Palestine is to be found along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea from Sinai to modern Haifa, where the Carmel range meets the sea. Near Gaza large tracts of dunes are found. L. G. HERR

SAND FLIES (AV mg. Ex. 8:16 [MT 12]; Wisd. 19:10). *See* GNAT.

SAND LIZARD. *See* LIZARD.

SANDAL. *See* SHOE.

SANHEDRIN san-hē'drin [Gk. *synédrion* < *syn*–'with' + *hédra*–'sitting place,' hence "place of those who sit together"; cf. postbiblical Heb. *sanheḏrîn*]. The Jewish court in Jerusalem from the Persian through the Roman period; it had both religious and political powers and comprised the elite (both priestly and lay) of society.

I. Terminology
II. History
III. Composition

IV. Powers
V. Procedures
VI. In the NT

I. Terminology.–In addition to the name Sanhedrin (e.g., RSV "council," Mt. 5:22; Mish. *Sotah* ix.11; *Kiddushin* iv.5; *Sanhedrin* iv.3; Josephus *Ant.* xiv.9.3-5 [167-180]; etc.; or Great Sanhedrin, Mish. *Sanhedrin* i.6; *Middoth* v.4; or Sanhedrin of seventy-one, *Shebuoth* ii.2), a variety of other terms is used: *gerousía* (Acts 5:21 uses this term as well as *synédrion*), *presbýterion* (Lk. 22:66; Acts 22:5), *boulé* (Josephus *BJ* ii.15.6 [331]; ii.16.2 [336] — Joseph of Arimathea is called *bouleutés*, Mk. 15:43 par. Lk. 23:50), and *bēṯ dîn haggāḏōl* (Mish. *Sotah* i.4; ix.1; *Sanhedrin* xi.2; etc.). Some (e.g., A. Büchler) have attempted to distinguish as many as three bodies: the *synédrion* of the Greek sources was composed mostly of priests and dealt with the concerns of the temple as well as politics; the *boulé* was the governing body of the city of Jerusalem; and the other terms referred to a purely religious body occupied with temple matters and religious law. These attempts are not convincing, especially when they distinguish between the Greek and Hebrew words for Sanhedrin (which are in fact equivalent) or when they fail to distinguish between the descriptions of the Sanhedrin in the Mishnah and the Sanhedrin of the Second Temple Period. None of the Greek (NT, Josephus, Philo) or rabbinic sources gives clear evidence of more than one institution, though certainly the character of this body differed in various periods.

II. History.–Although according to Jewish tradition the Sanhedrin existed continually since the council of seventy elders in the time of Moses (Nu. 11:16), the earliest reference (Josephus *Ant.* xii.3.3 [138]) to the Jewish *gerousía* is to the time of Antiochus the Great (223-187 B.C.). The elders referred to in earlier times (1 K. 8:1; 20:7; 2 K. 23:1; Ezk. 14:1; 20:1) lack the organization of the later court. What evolved into the Sanhedrin of the NT period probably began in the Persian period when (as in the subsequent Greco-Roman period) the Jews enjoyed a measure of self-governance under the domination of the foreign power controlling the region. So it is that "elders" (Ezr. 5:5, 9; 6:7, 14; etc.) and nobles (Neh. 2:16; 4:8; etc.) emerged to give leadership to those returning from the Exile. Ezr. 2:2 (= Neh. 7:7) mentions twelve leaders, probably representing the twelve tribes, and Neh. 5:17 mentions 150 dignitaries but gives no indication of their structure. Probably this aristocratic council gained more significance when the appointed governor ceased at the end of the Persian period, since Hellenistic rulers characteristically gave their subject states a great deal more freedom in dealing with internal affairs. But, unlike the more or less democratic councils of Hellenistic cities, Judea had the aristocratic *gerousía* under the leadership of the hereditary high priest.

When the old high priestly dynasty was replaced by the Hasmoneans because of the Maccabean revolts, the *gerousía* continued (cf. 2 Macc. 1:10; 1 Macc. 12:6) but probably lost much of its Hellenistic membership and its power. The addition of more scribes (Pharisees; see Josephus *Ant.* xiii.16.2 [408f.]) must have transformed the *gerousía* and further have limited the power of the nobility (which was mostly sadducean priests and laity). Pompey brought an end to the monarchy, but the high priest still held a powerful position so that the *gerousía* was probably little changed until Gabinius, Roman governor in Syria (57-55 B.C.), divided Palestine into five *synédria*, three of which were in Judea (see *Ant.* xiv.5.4 [89-91]) thus leaving the Jerusalem council with control over probably no more than one third of its previous territory and probably with limitations of its power there as well. After Caesar appointed Hyrcanus II ethnarch in 47 B.C. the council of Jerusalem, with jurisdiction as far as Galilee (for the council called Herod to account for his actions in Galilee, *Ant.* xiv.9.3-5 [165–179]), is first called *synédrion*. The term designates the senate in Jerusalem as a court of law and distinguishes it from the Greek city councils, which were not called by this term.

Herod the Great executed most ("all" in *Ant.* xiv.9.4 [175] is not to be taken literally; cf. *Ant.* xv.1.2 [5], which says Herod killed forty-five supporters of Antigonus) members of the Sanhedrin in revenge for its attempt to try him. Those who remained were subservient to Herod and even brought Hyrcanus, now an old man, to trial. Herod's son Archelaus ruled only Judea and Samaria, limiting Sanhedrin control again to Judea alone. Under Roman governors the geographical limitations continued, but the Sanhedrin had increased powers over the country's internal affairs (*Ant.* xx.10.5 [251]).

The fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 brought an end to the Sanhedrin as it had previously existed. The Romans thereafter ruled directly, being unwilling to give autonomy to the Jews, who had revolted so violently. Under Johanan ben Zakkai the Jews created the court of Jamnia (Yavneh), which in some ways was a continuation of the Sanhedrin (see T. B. *Rosh ha-Shanah* 31a) but which lacked political power; its decisions were limited to academic matters. Though it gradually gained more power in governing Jewish affairs, the rabbis realized that the old Sanhedrin was gone (see Mish. *Sotah* ix.11).

III. Composition.–In number the Sanhedrin consisted of seventy members and the high priest as president (see Mish. *Sanhedrin* i.6). The number seventy is significant. Moses chose seventy elders to assist him (Nu. 11:6), and several other Jewish groups had this number: seventy chiefs led the Jewish colony at Batanea (*BJ* ii.18.6 [482]; *Life* 56); Josephus appointed a council of seventy in Galilee (*BJ* ii.20.5 [571f.]); the Zealots chose seventy judges in Jerusalem (*BJ* iv.5.4 [336]); and a council of seventy-one elders ruled in Alexandria (Tos. *Sukkah* 4:6). Supposedly the LXX had seventy (or seventy-two) translators (Aristeas 46-50), and Jesus sent out seventy disciples (Lk. 10:1).

Only the high priest could preside over the Sanhedrin (though later at Jamnia two scribes held the positions of president and assistant; see *TDNT*, VII, 863f. n. 22). Next in rank to the high priest were the chief priests, whose presence and power in the Sanhedrin were due to their office in the temple. They were uniformly members of the sadduccean aristocracy, which solidified them into a powerful party. Next came the elders, the term not being used in the original, broader sense of all members of the Sanhedrin, but in the later more narrow sense describing lay members (so *TDNT*, VII, 864; Safrai, pp. 384f.; cf. *HJP*^{2}, II, 213, which includes priests) of the Sanhedrin coming from the more influential families of Jerusalem, who like the chief priests were consistently Sadducees. The sadduccean monopoly of the Sanhedrin began to diminish under Queen Alexandra when the pharisaic scribes gained admission. Herod's hostility toward the nobility led to a substantial increase in the pharisaic influence in the Sanhedrin, to the point that in the Roman period the Pharisees' support was necessary for any decision to be made or carried out. The resultant change in the complexion of the Sanhedrin was nevertheless not from a council of nobles to a community of scholars, but rather from a body ruled solely by the aristocracy to one which was a mixture of sadducean nobility (priestly and lay) and pharisaic scholars. It is not known how these members were

selected, though ordination may have been a criterion (see Safrai, pp. 390f.).

The NT gives the three categories (chief priests, scribes, and elders) in various combinations (listed in *HJP*², II, 212 n. 43), the only pattern of which is that high priests are listed first (with rare exceptions).

Josephus (*Ant.* xx.8.11 [194]) gives some evidence of Hellenistic-Roman influence on the structure of the Sanhedrin when he uses the expression *prôtoi déka* (ten foremost) to describe a group sent in the company of the high priest and with the procurator Festus's agreement as envoys to Nero. This expression may designate an office like that found in such Greek cities as Gerasa and Tiberias. Further Greek influence may be seen in the name given the hall in the temple's outer courtyard where the high priest spent the last week before Yom Kippur, for the name has parallels at Palmyra (see Mish. *Yoma* i.1). In addition, Josephus describes the secretary of the Sanhedrin by the Greek expression *grammateús tês boulês* (*BJ* v.13.1 [532]).

IV. Powers.–The powers of the Sanhedrin were not limited merely to religious affairs while the Romans controlled civil matters. On the contrary, the Romans allowed the Jewish Sanhedrin the same large control of internal affairs that they granted other subject peoples. As a result the Sanhedrin exercised jurisdiction over all matters on which smaller Jewish courts (lesser Sanhedrins) could not reach a decision (but not as a court of appeal when a lesser court had ruled), except those matters that the Roman governor directly controlled. The court not only administered civil matters according to Jewish law but also dealt with criminal justice, keeping its own police force and making arrests. At the same time the geographical area under the Sanhedrin's direct control was limited to Judea, at least after the death of Herod the Great, when Galilee and Perea were separate districts. Nevertheless, in the moral and spiritual sense all Jews everywhere fell under the Sanhedrin's authority. This fact explains why Syrian Jews of Damascus could be issued the order to arrest Christians in their community (Acts 9:2; 22:5; 26:12).

But of course it was primarily in deciding matters of Jewish law that the Sanhedrin exercised its powers. The tradition recorded in the Mishnah (*Sanhedrin* i.5) gives the Sanhedrin jurisdiction over such issues as idolatry of a tribe, proclaiming a city apostate, deciding to enlarge the temple courts or the city of Jerusalem, waging a war of conquest. The high priest could be tried by the Sanhedrin but the king could not (Mish. *Sanhedrin* ii.1f.). Many of these stipulations are more ideal than actual proceedings of the Sanhedrin.

It is uncertain whether the Sanhedrin had the power to carry out capital punishment. Philo (*De legatione ad Gaium* 39) records a letter to Agrippa I indicating death with no appeal to any unauthorized person (even the high priest) who entered the holy of holies. A similar fate awaited a non-Jew (even a Roman citizen) who entered the inner court of the temple (Josephus *BJ* v.5.2 [194]). Specific cases also suggest the power of capital punishment (see Burkill, who argues that the Sanhedrin had capital powers): the trial and stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:54–8:2), and Paul's trial before the Sanhedrin (Acts 23:26). On the opposite side is the statement (though it has no parallels) in Jn. 18:31 that the members of the Sanhedrin said it was not lawful for them to kill anyone. The Synoptics and some rabbinic statements seem to concur in this (e.g., T. P. *Sanhedrin* 18a, 24b; cf. *HJP*², II, 221 n. 83). Stephen's stoning may have been popular justice (so *TDNT*, VII, 866) rather than a legal execution. It is possible that a Roman confirmation was required for any death sentence. And it was possible that the Romans could intervene or carry out judgment independently of the Jewish council (as they did with Paul, Acts 22:30; 23:15).

Both in Palestine and in the Diaspora the Roman authorities tolerated "little" Sanhedrins, which were set up on the model of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. The Torah itself (Nu. 35:29) was considered to have authorized these lesser courts. They had twenty-three members in every town that had 120 adult male Jews (Mish. *Sanhedrin* i.6; cf. Safrai, pp. 392, 397f.). The Essenes appear also to have had a court (twelve men and three priests) with their own penal code, even imposing capital sentence for blaspheming Moses.

V. Procedures.–The Sanhedrin never met on the Sabbath (so Mish. *Betzah* v. 2; Philo *De migratione Abrahami* 16; cf. CD 10:18) or on festival days, but whether the Great Sanhedrin met on the second and fifth days of the week (Monday and Thursday) as did the "little" Sanhedrins is not established (cf. Mish. *Ketuboth* i.1) Capital cases could not be tried on the eve of a sabbath or festival since sentence could not be pronounced until the day following the trial (Mish. *Sanhedrin* iv.1).

The place of meeting was most likely on the western boundary of the temple mount, E of the "Xystus" (i.e., "place of hewn stone") where a bridge (Wilson's Arch) connected the Upper City to the temple mount. Josephus's statement that the *bouleutérion* was destroyed by the Romans even before they conquered the Upper City indicates it was outside the upper city (*BJ* vi.6.3 [354]). The contrary statements of the Mishnah (*Middoth* v. 4; *Sanhedrin* xi.2; *HJP*², II, 224 n. 100), which place it within the inner forecourt of the temple, are probably not reliable, since a room in the inner forecourt would likely be used only for ritual purposes and the Mishnah's accounts of the topography of the temple mount are often untrustworthy. The Talmud says (*Shabbath* 15a; *Rosh ha-Shanah* 31a; *Sanhedrin* 41a) that the Sanhedrin had moved (or was expelled from) its meeting place to a bazaar (and also lost its power of capital punishment) forty years before the destruction of the temple, but the reliability of this tradition has been questioned (see *HJP*², II, 225).

The Gospel references to the night meeting of the Sanhedrin in the high priest's palace to try Jesus are problematic; trials could take place only during daylight hours (Mish. *Sanhedrin* iv.1), though a night meeting would explain why the meeting was in the high priest's palace, since the gates of the temple mount were closed at night (assuming the council chamber to have been on the mount, which is not certain). The meeting is only an investigation, however, not a trial, in Lk. 22:54ff. and Jn. 18:13ff.

Although no record exists of the procedure of the Great Sanhedrin, the detailed accounts of the procedures of the lesser Sanhedrins (councils of twenty-three), which also had capital authority, very probably apply for the most part to the procedures of the Great Sanhedrin as well (see Mish. *Sanhedrin*). Two clerks, one on the left and one on the right of the court, which was seated in a semicircle, took notes of the speeches, both those accusing and those defending the accused (Mish. *Sanhedrin* iv.3f.), who was expected to show due humility by wearing long hair and black clothes (Josephus *Ant.* xiv.9.4 [172]). Non-capital cases were judged by three (sometimes five) judges, whereas capital cases required twenty-three (Mish. *Sanhedrin* iv.1). In capital cases, the defense spoke first, then the prosecution (*ibid.*). Witnesses could speak first against the accused and then for him, but not the reverse (*ibid.*;

v.5). Acquittal was by simple majority, but condemnation required majority by at least two (iv.1).

VI. In the NT.–In all but two references to the Sanhedrin in the Gospels the context is the trial of Jesus. In Mt. 5:22 Jesus warns His followers that not only murder but also evil words spoken against a brother will bring one into judgment: here Jesus speaks of accountability to God in terms of the Jewish court (because "council" is singular Lohse took it to refer to the Great Sanhedrin [*TDNT*, VII, 867], but M. Weise [*ZNW*, 49 (1958), 119] thought it was the lesser community council). Alerting His disciples to expect persecution, Jesus speaks of their being brought into the local Jewish councils (at a time before Jewish Christians had broken from the Jewish community) and sentenced to scourging (Mt. 10:17; Mk. 13:9).

That animosity toward Jesus was driving the Jewish rulers to bring Him to trial before the Sanhedrin is clear in all the Gospels (e.g., Mk. 11:18 par.; 14:1f.) but made explicit in Jn. 11:45-53: Jesus' popularity, enhanced by the raising of Lazarus, threatens the high priests and the Pharisees to the point that they convene the Sanhedrin on the matter (v. 47), and the presiding high priest, Caiaphas, says it is better that one man die for the nation than that the whole people die (v. 50).

The Gospels' accounts of Jesus before the Sanhedrin involve several deviations from the pharisaic rabbinic Halakah as codified in the Mishnah. The time is wrong: it takes place at night, whereas capital trials were to be held only during the day (Mish. *Sanhedrin* iv.1), and it takes place on the eve of Passover, whereas no court was to take place on festival days or sabbath (*ibid.*). That the death sentence is immediately passed on Jesus violates the same mishnaic passage, which specifies that sentence of death could not be passed on the day of trial but only on the following day. The place is wrong, in that it is the palace of the high priest, not the court chamber. And the crime is wrong, in that Mish. *Sanhedrin* vii.5 specifies that blasphemy punishable by death is pronouncing the divine name, which Jesus did not do.

The Mishnah codifed pharisaic rabbinic Halakah rather than the Sanhedrin practice that predominated before A.D. 70, but too little is known about the latter to justify the conclusion of Blinzler that everything in the trial accounts is consistent with law current at the time. Lohse's conclusion is that, in view of the fact that Jesus was executed in the Roman manner (crucifixion) rather than the Jewish (stoning), it was according to Roman law and not Jewish that Jesus was tried and executed (*TDNT*, VII, 869). Rather than confirming a Jewish sentence and carrying it out, Pilate heard the Jews' complaint against Jesus, then tried and executed Him according to Roman law. Another approach (Rivkin) distinguishes between two Jewish courts — the Sanhedrin, which was the political body that examined Jesus and found in the title "King of the Jews" sufficient cause to turn Him over to the Romans for trial on a political basis, and the pharisaic *boulē* (Heb. *bēṯ dîn*), which was a judicial body. Later tradition confused those two bodies, which came to be thought of as one. Mantel took a similar approach in distinguishing two courts in Jerusalem but found the attempt to reconcile the Gospels (which are, according to him, historically inaccurate) to Mishnah impossible.

In Acts the apostles, like Jesus before them, are opposed by the Sanhedrin. First Peter and John (4:13ff.), then "the apostles" (5:18) are charged not to teach in Jesus' name. The popularity of the apostles, enhanced by their healing the sick, incited the jealousy of the high priest and the Sadduccees, who threw them into prison, from which an angel of the Lord delivered them (5:17-20). Once again they were brought to the council, where the Pharisee Gamaliel cautioned against any precipitous actions against them (5:26-40; E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles* [Eng. tr. 1971] p. 255 believed this to be the author's motif, sadduccean opposition but pharisaic support of the apostles). When Stephen was called before the council on charges of blasphemy (6:11ff.), a riot ensued, issuing in a veritable lynching. Finally, Paul was arrested and the council convened to examine him (22:30). Paul shrewdly exploited the theological differences (on the resurrection and the existence of angels) between Sadduccees and Pharisees, the former opposing Paul while the latter supported him.

Some of the notions of structure and the procedure of the Sanhedrin may also be found in ideas of the heavenly tribunal (Mt. 19:28; Rev. 21). There appears to be a connection between the council or councils at Qumrân and these NT eschatological images, including the number of members as twelve (or twenty-four; the number is of course different for both the Great Sanhedrin and the lesser Sanhedrin); see 1QS 6:24–7:25; 8:1.

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W. J. MOULDER

SANSANNAH san-san'ə [Heb. *sansannâ*–'first stalk of the date']. A town in the NEGEB of Judah (Josh. 15:31). Eusebius (*Onom.* 156.13) mentions the town but does not give any details that would help to locate it (merely "in the tribe of Judah"). Because the parallel list of the Simeonite towns has Hazar-susah (Josh. 19:5; Hazar-susim, 1 Ch. 4:31), scholars have often considered equating that town with Sansannah, but this equation is unlikely. Alt proposed to locate Sansannah at Khirbet esh-Shamsanīyât ("Ruin of the Samsonites"), about 16 km. (10 mi.) NNE of Beer-sheba at the foot of the Judean hills and therefore on the northern extremity of the Negeb plain. Just 3 km. (2 mi.) to the east is Khirbet Tatrît, now proposed by Kochavi as the site of Madmannah, the town mentioned just before Sansannah in Josh. 15:31. An echo of the name Madmannah has been noted in Umm Deimneh, 2.5 km. (1.5 mi.) N of Khirbet Tatrît; but this site is on the hills rather than the Negeb plain, and its surface pottery indicates a Roman-Byzantine settlement. If the locations of Sansannah and Madmannah at Khirbet Shamsanīyât and Khirbet Tatrît respectively are correct, then both were apparently in the "Negeb of Caleb" (cf. 1 S. 30:14), since Madmannah also occurs in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Ch. 2:49).

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A. F. RAINEY

SAPH saf [Heb. *saṗ*] (2 S. 21:18); **SIPPAI** sip'ī [Heb. *sippay*] (1 Ch. 20:4). A giant (descendant of the Rephaim) who fought for the Philistines against Israel. He was slain by Sibbecai the Hushathite, one of David's "thirty" mighty men, in a battle at Gob (1 Ch. 20:4 has Gezer).

SAPHAT sā'fət.

1. (1 Esd. 5:9, AV, NEB). *See* SHEPHATIAH 6.
2. (1 Esd. 5:34, NEB). *See* SHAPHAT 6.

SAPHATIAS saf-ə-tī'əs (1 Esd. 8:34, AV). *See* SHEPHATIAH 6.

SAPHETH sā'feth (1 Esd. 5:33, AV). *See* SHEPHATIAH 7.

SAPHIR sā'fər (Mic. 1:11, AV). *See* SHAPHIR.

SAPHYTHI saf'ə-thī (1 Esd. 5:33, NEB). *See* SHEPHATIAH 7.

SAPPHIRA sə-fī'rə [Gk. *Sappheira*; Aram. *šappîrā'*–'beautiful'; cf. cognate Heb. *šiprâ* (*see* SHIPHRAH)] (Acts 5:1). A member of the early Christian community in Jerusalem. With her husband Ananias she conspired to deceive the community into believing that the two of them had turned over the entire proceeds of the sale of their property, when in fact they had kept back part of it (vv. 1f.). When confronted by Peter and given an opportunity to tell the truth, she — like her husband three hours earlier (vv. 3-6) — lied to the Holy Spirit (vv. 3, 9) and was immediately punished with death (vv. 7-10). *See* ANANIAS 1.

In 1923 the name was found in both Greek and Aramaic on an ossuary in Jerusalem (see F. F. Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles* [2nd ed. 1952], p. 132). N. J. O.

SAPPHIRE saf'īr. *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

SARABIAS sar-ə-bī'əs.

1. (1 Esd. 8:54, NEB). *See* SHEREBIAH 1.
2. (1 Esd. 9:48, AV, NEB). *See* SHEREBIAH 2.

SARAEAS sə-rā'əs (NEB 1 Esd. 5:5; 8:1). *See* SERAIAH.

SARAH sâr'ə [Heb. *śārâ*, Gk. *Sarra*]; AV NT SARA; **SARAI** sâr'ī [Heb. *śāray*; Gk. *Sara*]. The name of Abraham's wife, Isaac's mother. In Gen. 17:15 she was given the name Sarah in place of the archaic form Sarai. Heb. *śārâ* means "princess" or "noblewoman" (Jgs. 5:29; 1 K. 11:3; Est. 1:18; Isa. 49:23; Lam. 1:1), a fitting title for the ancestress of kings (Gen. 17:16).

Sarai married Abram in Ur before their migration to Canaan (Gen. 11:29). At this point in the narrative she is identified only as the daughter-in-law of Terah, Abram's father (v. 31); later, however, Abraham claimed her as his half-sister, having the same father but a different mother (20:12).

On two occasions Abraham placed Sarah in an adulterous or potentially adulterous situation to save his own life (Gen. 12; 20; cf. the account of Rebekah and Isaac in 26:1-11). Abraham and Sarah migrated to Egypt to escape famine in Canaan, but Abraham believed himself to be in mortal danger there because of Sarah's exceptional beauty (12:10-12). He persuaded Sarah to identify herself as his sister rather than as his wife so that Pharaoh would not kill him when he took Sarah as his own wife (vv. 13-16). The Lord intervened, however, plaguing Pharaoh's household, so that Pharaoh discovered the deception and expelled Abraham and Sarah from Egypt (vv. 17-20). Ch. 20 recounts a similar incident involving Abimelech the king of Gerar; it reveals that Abraham and Sarah had made the half-truth that she was his sister a consistent strategy for survival wherever they traveled (v. 13). God intervened to protect Sarah so that no adultery actually occurred (vv. 6 and 16), and rescued her by warning Abimelech in a dream. On both occasions Abraham and Sarah used deception to save Abraham's life at the cost of destroying their family. Only God's action restored the family and preserved them for the promises of land, descendants, and blessing (12:1-3).

Sarah's barrenness (Gen. 11:30) was a deep personal tragedy (*see* BARREN). In the ancient Near East it was essential that women produce male offspring in order to perpetuate the family, and childlessness was the greatest misfortune that could befall a woman and her family (cf. 30:1) In Sarah's case this personal and family tragedy was also a theological dilemma. God had promised Abraham innumerable descendants who would possess the land of Canaan and be a blessing among the nations (12:1-3; 13:14-17; 15:1-6, 18-21; 17:1-21; 18:17-19). Sarah's barrenness prevented the fulfillment of these promises. Without a child God's election of Abraham would miscarry.

Acknowledging that God had kept her from conceiving, Sarah gave her personal servant Hagar to Abraham as a second wife (Gen. 16:1-6). According to a widespread ancient Near Eastern custom, any children born to Hagar and Abraham could be counted as Sarah's own offspring (cf. 30:1-13). But Hagar's subsequent pregnancy did not bring joy to Sarah. Proud of her fertility, Hagar behaved contemptuously toward her barren mistress (cf. Prov. 30:21-23), and Sarah brought the case to Abraham for judgment. Had Abraham chosen to declare Hagar under his own protection, she would have continued to stand between himself and Sarah; but Abraham confirmed Sarah's authority over her servant. Sarah exercised this power by oppressing Hagar so harshly that she fled. God commanded Hagar to return to her mistress and submit to her, but He also promised that Hagar's expected son would make Hagar herself the ancestress of a multitude (16:9f.). Sarah's plan to build a family by means of Haga had failed.

God's plan was to give Abraham a child through Sarah. In Gen. 17:16 God first specified Sarah as the mother of the promised son (cf. 18:10). To accomplish that God had to overcome the obstacle of her infertility at the age of ninety (17:17; 18:11). When Sarah overheard God's promise, she laughed at the prospect that one so old could have the pleasure of fulfilling her sexual role (18:12). When the Lord challenged her laughter, she attempted to deny it; God exposed her lie but did not punish her. According to Heb. 11:11 Sarah overcame her amazed doubt, and it was by faith that she was able to conceive a son. The next year she gave birth to Isaac, and the laughter of doubt (Gen. 17:17; 18:12) was replaced by the laughter of delight (21:1-7). God had enabled Sarah to complete the family circle by bearing a son for her husband.

Sarah's final obstacle was Hagar's son Ishmael. When Isaac had survived the perilous years of infancy and was weaned, Sarah took action to protect his and her own position in the family (*see* ISAAC II). She demanded that Abraham expel Ishmael and Hagar from the household so that Ishmael would pose no threat to Isaac's inheritance (Gen. 21:8-10). Once again Sarah's personal needs coincided with God's plan. In spite of Abraham's attachment to his older son, God commanded him to comply with Sarah's demand. God promised that Ishmael would become the ancestor of a nation, although it would be through Sarah's son that God would fulfil His promises and establish an everlasting covenant (17:18-21; 21:11:13). Thus Sarah and Abraham became the first ancestors of God's chosen people Israel (Isa. 51:2). Later Sarah died at Hebron, and Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah for her tomb (Gen. 23).

The contrasts between Sarah and Hagar and between Isaac and Ishmael provided the apostle Paul with an analogy to illustrate God's election of the Church as the true descendants of Abraham and heirs of His covenant with Abraham (Rom. 9:6-9; Gal. 4:21-31). In this analogy the free woman's child — promised by God, expected in

faith, and born as a result of divine intervention — represents the Church. (*See* HAGAR.)

1 Peter 3:6 presents Sarah as an example of a holy woman who obeyed her husband (Gen. 12:13; 18:6; 20:13) and called him "lord" (Heb. *ʾᵃḏōnî*, lit. "my lord," Gen. 18:12; RSV "my husband").

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P. J. SCALISE

SARAIAS sə-rā'əs (AV 1 Esd. 5:5; 8:1; 2 Esd. 1:1). *See* SERAIAH 7.

SARAMEL sar'ə-mel (1 Macc. 14:28, AV). *See* ASARAMEL.

SARAPH sâr'əf [Heb. *śārāp*–'burning']. A descendant of Judah through Shelah (1 Ch. 4:22). The RSV phrase "who ruled in Moab and returned to Lehem" is based on the Vulgate. The MT is obscure (cf. AV "who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem"), and various emendations have been proposed (cf. NEB "who fell in with Moab and came back to Bethlehem"). See comms., e.g., J. M. Myers (*AB*, 1965), pp. 24, 26f.; H. G. M. Williamson (*NCBC*, 1982), p. 61.

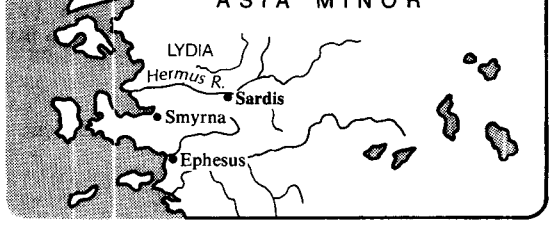
SARASADAI sar-ə-sad'ī [Gk. B *Sarasadai*, A *Salasadai*]; AV SALASADAI; NEB SARASADAE. An ancestor of Judith (Jth. 8:1). The Hebrew form of the name is ZURISHADDAI.

SARCHEDONUS sär-ked'ō-nəs [B ℵ *Sacherdonos*, A *Sacherdan*, but *Sacherdonosos* in Tob. 1:22]. An incorrect AV spelling for Sacherdonus in Tob. 1:21f.; another form of ESARHADDON.

SARDEUS sär-dē'əs (1 Esd. 9:28, AV). *See* ZERDAIAH.

SARDINE STONE (Rev. 4:3, AV). *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

SARDIS sar'dis [Gk. *Sardeis* (Rev. 1:11; 3:1, 4)]. A city of Asia Minor located 80 km. (50 mi.) E of Smyrna; the capital of ancient LYDIA. It was conquered by Cyrus in 546 B.C. and made the western terminus of his imperial highway from Susa; from there Cyrus II set afoot the Anabasis (401 B.C.).



I. Site in Relation to Rev. 3.–In Rev. 3:1-6 Sardis is condemned more completely than any other city except Laodicea (vv. 14-19), and only these two of the seven churches were noted as still-uninhabited ruins by W. M. Ramsay (*LSC*, p. 132; see further his *Pauline and Other Studies* [2nd ed. 1908]; *CRE*). E. M. Blaiklock (*Cities of the NT* [1965], p. 115) called Sardis "the city that died" and ascribed its destruction to the crumbling of the rock ridge on which a part of the city was built (though most of it, as revealed by excavation, was down in the plain). Despite the negative warnings of vv. 1f., v. 4 admits that a few of its inhabitants are notably good and will shine in resplendent white robes at the judgment.

The site of Sardis is across the highway and railway line from the modern village of Sart, W of the larger Salihli between Manisa and Philadelphia (Alaşehir). Ruins of the ancient city spread from the acropolis, on a jagged crag of Mt. Tmolus/Boz, down its western slope to the Pactolus River, which further N flows into the Hermus/Gediz. Across the road and E of the acropolis are other striking ruins, including the synagogue (see III below).

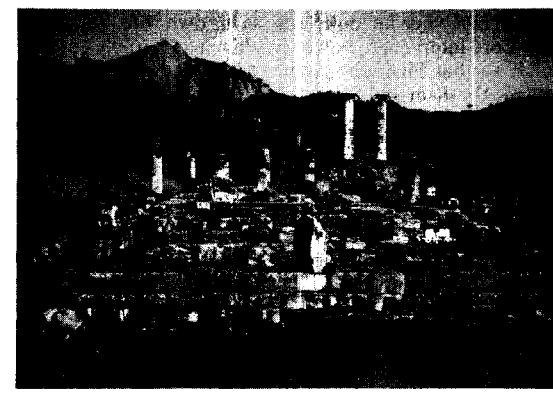
II. History.–The city was founded *ca.* 1200 B.C. It successfully resisted an invasion of Cimmerians, and its prosperity under the Mermnad Dynasty (650-550; J. Pedly, *Sardis in the Age of Croesus*, p. 4) marked the climax of Lydia's history. Gold, discovered in the sandy bed of the Pactolus (but no longer found in the time of Strabo [xiii.626]), was used for coinage — which was apparently invented here (*see* MONEY III.A). The wealthy King Croesus (560-546) became so powerful that he even attempted to determine the Assyrian succession at faraway Nineveh.

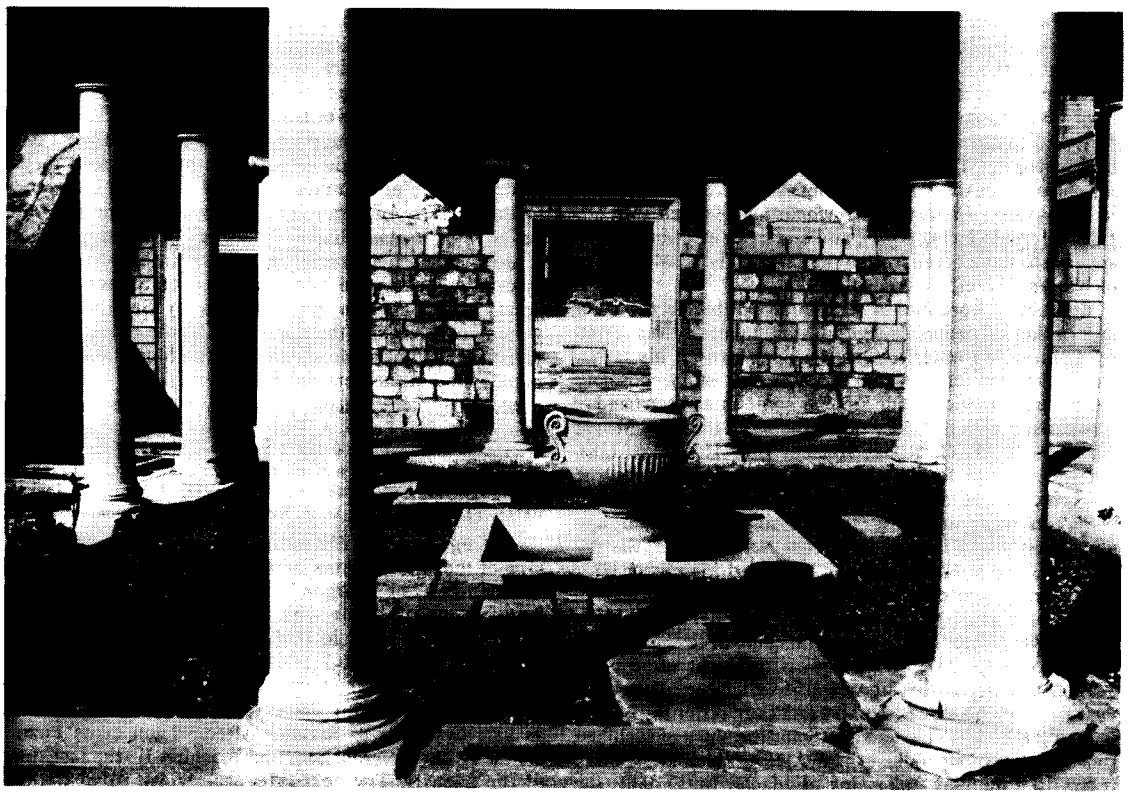
After Cyrus overcame Croesus in 546, the city was called Pers. *Sparda* (at Behistun; Bab. *Sa-par-du*); it was possibly the SEPHARAD where Ob. 20 locates some Judean exiles, although in later Hebrew "Sepharad" came to be used as the name for Spain and thence for Jews of Arabic culture (Sephardi) as distinct from the central European Ashkenazi. Persian satraps continued to make their capital at Sardis, even after Ionian neighbors burned the city in 499 (Herodotus v. 102).

Alexander granted Sardis independence in 334, but Antigonus subjugated it again in 322, and from 301 it was again the capital of a Seleucid governor (Pauly-Wissowa, I/2, 2475). Its powerful acropolis was twice invaded by the stratagem of an infiltrator: a Mede in 549 (or 546) and a Cretan in 218; Rev. 3:3 ("I will come like a thief") may allude to these events. Sardis was ruled by Rome from 189 B.C., as a dependency of Pergamum until 133. The Christian diocese remained prominent even after the Muslim occupation (A.D. 716), which continued strong despite the ravages of Timur (Tamerlane) in 1403.

III. Excavations.–The magnificent crag that presumably served as an early acropolis has only a few ruins visible today, but at its foot are the more imposing ruins brought to light by H. C. Butler's American excavation in 1910-1914 (published 1922). In continuation of the ancient Asiatic fertility cult of Cybele or Demeter, there is a fourth-century Ionic temple of Artemis imitating that of Diana of the Ephesians; though never completed and damaged

The Ionic temple of Artemis at Sardis (at the foot of the ancient acropolis). Originally built in the 6th cent. B.C., it was destroyed in 499 and rebuilt in 334 by Alexander the Great (W. S. LaSor)





The entrance hall of the Jewish synagogue at Sardis (3rd-4th cent. A.D.). Jews held influential positions in the city, which was apparently a prominent center of the Diaspora (J. Finegan)

by an earthquake in A.D. 17 (Tacitus *Ann.* ii.47; Strabo xii.8.18), its columns and ground-plan survive more imposingly today than those of Ephesus (G. Gruben and P. Franke, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*) 76 [1961], 155-208). In its southeast corner is a small fourth-century brick church. The reopening of this excavation by a Harvard-Cornell expedition under G. M. A. Hanfmann since 1958 quickly spread farther west and north to the "Lydian city" with brightly painted tiles (reports in *BASOR* and *American Journal of Archaeology*; Hanfmann, *Short Guide to the Excavations at Sardis* [1962]; *Letters from Sardis* [1972]; C. Greenewalt, *BASOR*, 211 [Oct. 1973], 14-34; 245 [Winter 1982], 1-34).

The excavation also gradually extended N of the modern highway, where a gymnasium was found that stood on an artificial earthwork. Its eastern section had a marble court, which has been rebuilt into a two-story monument visible from miles around. The most sensational discovery was a southern portion of this complex, originally a basilica, but apparently transformed into a synagogue from *ca.* A.D. 200 to 616, also vividly rebuilt. One of the stones was a large menorah (G. Hanfmann, *BASOR*, 187 [Oct. 1967], 25). Greek inscriptions seem to indicate that the Jewish community held a position of prestige and power (so also Josephus *Ant.* xiv.10.24 [259-261]). S. Johnson (H. Willoughby Festschrift [1961], p. 83) maintained that the Christians of Sardis were the "true" Jews as opposed to the unconverted ones called "synagogue of Satan" in Rev. 3:9; and he further surmised that the bishop of Sardis was unfriendly to Ignatius, who did not write to Sardis as he did to the neighboring sees. A sermon of Bishop Melito of Sardis was discovered among the Beatty Papyri (see F. G. Kenyon, ed., *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* [1941]).

About 13 km. (8 mi.) NW of the ruins, between the Hermus River and the Gyges/Marmara Lake, is the cemetery of "a thousand mounds" (Bin Tepe).

Bibliography.–J. G. Pedly, *Sardis in the Age of Croesus* (1968); *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (1972); *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 94 (1974), 96-99. R. NORTH

SARDITES sär'dīts (Nu. 26:26, AV, NEB). The descendants of SERED, called the "Seredites" by the RSV.

SARDIUS sär'di-əs. *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

SARDONYX sär'də-niks (Rev. 21:20, AV). *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

SAREA sâr'ē-ə [Lat. *Sarea*]; NEB SERAIAH. One of the five scribes who wrote down the visions of Ezra, chosen because they were "trained to write rapidly" (2 Esd. 14:24).

SAREPTA sə-rep'tə (Lk. 4:26, AV). *See* ZAREPHATH.

SARGON sär'gän [Heb. *sargôn* (Isa. 20:1); LXX *Arna*, Symm. *Sargon*; Akk. *šarrukîn*, "he (the god) has established the kingship"]. The name of at least three kings, Sargon ("the Great") of Akkad, Sargon (I) of Assyria, and Sargon II of Assyria. Only Sargon II is mentioned in the Scriptures, and he only once. Sargon of Akkad was formerly known as "Sargon I," but the discovery of records of another Sargon, now designated as Sargon I, has confused the nomenclature.

I. Sargon of Akkad (*ca.* 2350-2295 B.C.; others push

dates back about 25 years earlier; still others lower them by about a century; the dates in *ISBE*, I, 65 are revised in the light of the Ebla discoveries).–Records from Sargon's time are scant; most of what is known about him comes from inscriptions attributed to him but copied at a later date and found at Nippur and from omen texts (mostly hepatoscopic). There is some confirmation, however, in a stele of Manishtusu which was discovered at Susa (cf. R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* [6th ed. 1915], II, plate facing p. 51), and one large inscribed tablet appears to have come from a period shortly after the time of Naram-Sin (cf. *ANET*, p. 267).

His mother bore him in secret and put him in the river in a basket of rushes sealed with bitumen; he was found by a drawer-of-water and raised as a farmer; his father was unknown (cf. *ANET*, p. 119). This story, possibly based on a historical tradition, has sometimes been used in comparison with the story of the hiding of the baby Moses (Ex. 2:3-10; cf. G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* [1964], p. 128), but the reasons for hiding the babies and the outcome in each case militate against such easy comparison.

Sargon was cup-bearer to Ur-Zababa, a king of the 4th Dynasty of Kish. By a process not yet clear, Sargon became king of Kish and then extended his power over neighboring territories until at last he could boast that "Enlil gave him [the region from] the Upper Sea [to] the Lower Sea," i.e., from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf (*ANET*, p. 267; cf. Barton, p. 105). At some point Sargon transferred his administrative center to the new capital which he named AGADE (Akkad). After thirty-four campaigns he was able to claim that "the ships of Meluḫḫa [possibly the Indus Valley; in later texts it almost certainly refers to Ethiopia], the ships of Magan [in Oman], the ships of Dilmun [Bahrain], at the quay in front of Agade he moored" (Barton, p. 109). If various claims are to be accepted at face value, his campaigns took him across the Taurus range into central Anatolia, as far as Diyarbakr on the upper Euphrates, into Elam, through the Persian Gulf, and even across the sea to Cyprus and Crete.

Certainly he was the first Semitic dynast, the conqueror of Sumerian rulers in lower Mesopotamia as well as other peoples further north. He claims to have conquered, among other places, Mari and Ibla (Ebla) (*ANET*, p. 268; Barton, p. 109). The first reference to Mari is found in a claim by Eannatum of Lagash (*ca.* 2450 B.C.) that he had conquered Mari. Our knowledge of Ebla has been greatly expanded by the discovery of the site at TELL MARDIKH in Syria, but unfortunately (at this writing) the publication of the texts has been delayed. According to one reconstruction, Ebrum, third king of the dynasty, was ruler of Ebla when Sargon was king of Akkad. There is some uncertainty, however, about the "claims" of Sargon (written, it must be recalled, at a later date), for similar claims are attributed to Naram-Sin. It is believed that Naram-Sin, rather than Sargon, was the one who conquered and burned Ebla (*ca.* 2250 B.C.). Similarly, claims attributed to Sargon about campaigns in the Persian Gulf area can also be found in inscriptions of Manishtusu (Barton, pp. 129ff.). And there is a curious similarity between the inscription of Sargon and that of Lugalzaggisi whom he defeated (cf. J. Finegan, *LAP*, [2nd ed., 1959], p. 44).

Sargon reigned fifty-six years and was succeeded by his sons Rimush and Manishtusu (in another inscription, Manishtusu is called the son of Rimush [Barton p. 343]) and Manishtusu's son Naram-Sin (to be carefully distinguished from Naram-Sin of Assyria, about four centuries later). Naram-Sin's son Šar-kali-šarri may not have been the last king of the dynasty, but in essence the end came when Naram-Sin died. Sargon, by establishing the dynasty of Agade, can be considered the creator of the first world empire. And for the first time, it would appear, Akkadian — a Semitic language — was put in writing, and that in cuneiform taken over from the Sumerians.

It is erroneous to suppose that Sargon's conquest over the Sumerians brought about an ethnic division in the land. Semites and Sumerians lived together both prior to the dynasty of Agade and afterward. Sumerian texts never refer to Akkadians as enemies or invaders. There is no indication of racial inferiority in the wording of inscriptions, and the continued use of Sumerian logograms and Sumerian divine names by Semitic peoples would suggest quite the opposite. On the other hand the division of southern Mesopotamia into "Sumer and Akkad" is indicated in the permanence of that term.

Bibliography.–Inscriptions, some in both Sumerian and Akkadian, can be found in G. A. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (1929), pp. 100-119. Significant selections can be found in *ANET*, pp. 267f. For a historical survey, cf. *CAH*, II/1 (3rd ed. 1971), 417-463; E. Weidner, *AFO*, 16 (1952), 1-24; E. A. Speiser, *JAOS*, 72 (1952), 97-101; M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* (1962).

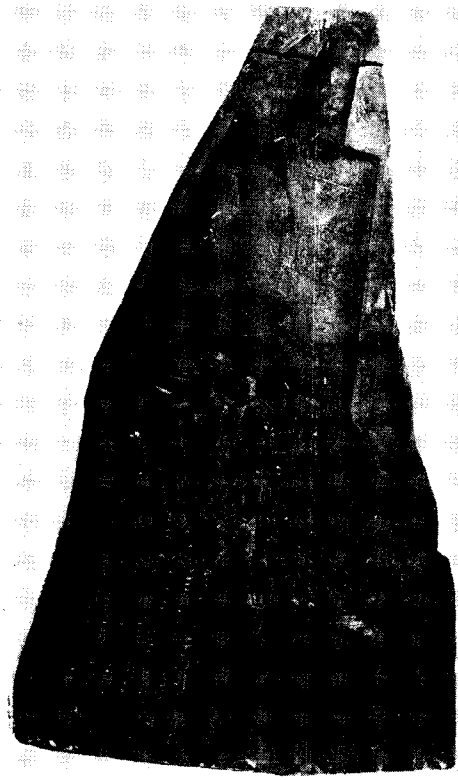
II. Sargon I (*ca.* 1850 B.C.).–Little is known about this king of the Old Assyrian period, who is sometimes called "Sharru-ken" or "Sargon I of Assyria" to distinguish him from Sargon of Agade who was also called "Sargon I." Extant records contain the names of nine rulers of this dynasty: Puzur-Ashur I (cf. *ARAB*, I, §28), Shallum-aḫum (cf. *ARAB*, I, §24), Ilushuma (cf. *ARAB*, I, §26), Erishum I (cf. *ARAB*, I, §§27-37), and Ikunum (cf. *ARAB*, I, §§39f.), as viceroys prior to Sargon. After Sargon came Puzur-Ashur II, then Naram-Sin, and Erishum II, the last ruler of the dynasty. The next ruler was Šamši-Adad I (1813-1781), of whom we have considerable information from the Mari Letters (cf. *ARM*, I).

See *CAH*, I/2 (3rd ed. 1971), 707-723, 752-762.

III. Sargon II (722-705 B.C.).–Occasionally referred to as Sargon III, this Assyrian king claimed to have captured Samaria (*ca.* 722 B.C.). 2 K. 17:5f. does not name that king, but "Shalmaneser king of Assyria" is named in v. 3, and references to "the king of Assyria" in v. 4 (3 times) seem to imply that the same king is intended in the following verses (see further below). Sargon is named but once in the OT (Isa. 20:1).

Sargon's right to the throne is disputed. Earlier scholars looked upon him as a usurper (cf. R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT* [1912], p. 323), possibly responsible for the death of Shalmaneser; more recent scholars consider him to be the son of Tiglath-pileser III and brother of Shalmaneser (cf. D. J. Wiseman in *DOTT*, p. 58). He acceded to the throne on 12 Tebetu (December or January, probably 722/21 B.C.); his first regnal year began the following Nisanu, about two-and-a-half months later. On the walls of his palace at Dūr-Šarrukin (Khorsabad) were carved his annals, a year-by-year account of the first fifteen years of his reign and an account of the building of his palace. Other records from Khorsabad, Asshur, Calah, and Nineveh give us a fairly full account of the achievements which he considered worthy of recording (cf. *ARAB*, II, §§1-230; *ANET*, pp. 284-87). A very thorough account of his eighth campaign was recorded on a tablet found at Asshur. The campaign was against Urartu and its neighboring peoples who were a primary source of trouble in the numerous revolts against Assyria (cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon* [1912]; *ARAB*, II, §§ 139-178). The tablet is dated by the scribe "in the eponymy of Ishtar-duri," which is calculated to be 714 B.C. Much of this material

SARGON



A stylized portrait of Sargon II of Assyria (721-705 B.C.) with curled mustache, beard, and hair, wearing the royal headdress (Egyptian Museum, Turin)

is of relatively little value for biblical studies, except to give us a rounded picture of the king, some idea of the international situation of his day, and the extent of the Assyrian empire.

Sargon's reign can almost be summarized as a series of holding actions. The Assyrian empire was large — perhaps too large for its resources. The peoples on all sides of the empire were restive, and revolts were commonplace. From time to time they formed alliances; ultimately it was by such alliances that the empire was defeated.

To the northeast and north was the kingdom of Urartu, located in what is today eastern Turkey and northern Iran. The fully described eighth campaign (714 B.C.; cf. *ARAB*, II, §§139-178) dealt largely with Urartu and its allies. The Medes, the Manni, and other peoples were included in campaigns of the third, sixth, seventh, ninth, and tenth years, suggesting that there was a constant state of unrest in the area from Elam to Armenia. In the seventh year (715 B.C.), in addition to a campaign in the north, his account includes also actions against the Arabs and peoples of the desert (*ARAB*, II, §17), indicating that Sargon was faced with a two-front situation. He refers to his foes "from Yatnana [Cyprus] which is in the sea of the setting sun, as far as the border of Egypt and the land of Mushki [Phrygia in central Anatolia]," as well as Amurru and the Hittite-land, i.e., Syro-Palestine (*ARAB*, II, §54), but since this record is not dated, it probably includes several different campaigns.

To his south Sargon had trouble with Babylon and the Chaldean (Kaldi or Kasdi) peoples under Marduk-apal-iddina (Merodach-baladan), whose land, Bit-Yakin, extended to the borders of Dilmun (or Tilmun, the island of Bahrain). Allied with Merodach-baladan, probably loosely at first, were Arameans, Elamites, and people from Dilmun. Sargon marched on the area at the beginning of his reign (possibly 721 B.C.; cf. *ARAB*, II, §55, also §4), but the outcome was indecisive and Merodach-baladan was left on the throne. Finally in his twelfth year (710 B.C.; cf. *ARAB*, II, §§31, 38) Sargon carried out a major campaign against these enemies, and "took the hands of Marduk," thereby proclaiming himself ruler of Babylon. It is noteworthy, however, that whereas he names himself "king" of all other regions, he regularly calls himself "viceroy" (*šakkanaku*) of Babylon. The suggestion has been made that, owing to the problems on his borders, he was unwilling to obligate himself to make an annual trip on New Year's Day to Babylon to renew his allegiance to Marduk (cf. *CAH*, III, 50). Merodach-baladan, however, remained as a local ruler and supported Sargon to the end of his reign.

It is with the lands W of Assyria (Syria, Palestine, Egypt) that the biblical scholar is most interested. Israel under Hoshea (731-722) had revolted against Shalmaneser, and he had laid siege to Samaria for three years (724-22; cf. 2 K. 17:5). At the end of that time, Samaria fell and Israel was taken captive, its peoples dispersed (2 K. 17:6) and other captives relocated in Samaria (17:24; cf. *ARAB*, II, §§86, 118). Sargon claimed that this took place at the beginning of his reign (his accession year?), but that text comes from late in his reign and the opening part is broken (cf. *ARAB*, II, §4; *DOTT*, pp. 59f.; *ANET*, p. 284 [lines 10-17]). Therefore some scholars have returned to the older view that Sennacherib took Samaria (cf. A. T. Olmstead, *AJSL*, 21 [1904-1905], 179-182; E. R. Thiele, *MNHK* [2nd ed. 1965], pp. 121-154; J. Finegan, *LAP* [2nd ed. 1959], p. 208;; H. Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 [1958], 22-40, 77-100).

Late in his second year Sargon moved against a coalition that included Damascus, Hamath, Arpad, Samaria, and other petty kingdoms (*ARAB*, II, §5). Sib'u, sometimes identified as the Egyptian pharaoh So (Sewe; cf. 2 K. 17:4; see also J. Borger, *JNES*, 19 [1960], 49-53; S. Yeivin, *VT*, 2 [1952], 164-68), and Hanno of Gaza joined the rebels. It seems unlikely that Samaria had been completely carried into captivity in 722 B.C., for in this campaign Sargon claimed to have taken 27,270 (or 27,290) captives from Samaria. In an undated cylinder inscription Sargon recorded that he "who devastated the wide land of Bit-Ḫumria [the House of Omri, Israel]" also "settled in the midst of Bit-Ḫumria" peoples of other conquered lands (*ARAB*, II, §118). He also drove the Egyptians back to their land and destroyed the border town of Raphia. But this did not end the revolts, for in his eleventh year (711 B.C.) Sargon had to march against Ashdod and Gath once more (*ARAB*, II, §30). In a broken prism inscription he refers to Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab as "payers of tribute" (*ARAB*, II, §105; *DOTT*, p. 61; *ANET*, p. 287). Isa. 20 is to be placed in this period; Isaiah's message against trusting in Egypt was quite appropriate! It is possible that some of the undated inscriptions refer to the same event; it is also possible that the annals which were written late in Sargon's reign and found at Khorsabad suffered from lapse of memory or faulty records.

Sargon, who located his capital variously at Calah, Asshur, and Nineveh, began the building of Dūr-Šarrukin ("the fortress of Sargon") at a site N of Nineveh (the modern Khorsabad) in the month of Abu (July-August; cf. *ARAB*, II, §§84, 121), perhaps in his twelfth year (710 B.C.), for several times, following the account of

taking the hands of Marduk (at Babylon), he continues with "at that time I built a city" (cf. *ARAB*, II, §§70, 72, etc.). Several inscriptions describe the palace (*ARAB*, II, §§72-75, 84-94, 96-102, 108-118). The dedication took place in the month of Tishritu (Sept.-Oct.; cf. *ARAB*, II, §94) 706 B.C. His last inscription is dated in Eponymy of Nashir-Bel, i.e., 705 B.C. (*ARAB*, II, §221). He was killed in battle near Tabal (N of the Taurus mountains), where the Cimmerians were attempting an invasion, and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib who ascended to the throne on 12 Abu 705. The Cimmerian invasion was delayed for many years, and perhaps never regained its full force. Sennacherib moved the capital to Nineveh; Dūr-Šarrukin was never again occupied as a capital and soon became ruins.

See also ASSYRIA III.E.6.

Bibliography.–*CAH*, III (1925), 44-60; *ANET*, pp. 284-87; *DOTT*, pp. 58-63; A. G. Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria* (1929); H. W. F. Saggs, *Greatness that was Babylon* (1962), pp. 111-18; A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria* (1908). W. S. LASOR

SARID sâr'id [Heb. *śārîḏ*]; NEB SHADUD. A border town at the southeastern extremity of Zebulun's tribal inheritance (Josh. 19:10, 12). A few LXX MSS read *Sedoud*, and this has led to the identification with Tell Shadûd on the northern edge of the Valley of Jezreel, about 8 km. (5 mi.) SE of Nazareth and 10 km. (6 mi.) NNE of Megiddo. Surface surveys have produced evidence of occupation dating back to the Late Bronze period. If this identification is correct, the original name may have been Shadud (cf. NEB) rather than Sarid.

Bibliography.–W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 19 (Oct. 1925), 9; *GP*, II, 449f.; *LBHG*, rev., 117, 257.

SARON sâr'ən (Acts 9:35, AV). *See* SHARON.

SAROTHIE sə-rō'thē [Gk. B *Sarōthei*, A *Sarōthie*]. Head of a family of "sons of Solomon's servants" who returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 5:34). The name is missing in the parallel lists in Ezr. 2:57; Neh. 7:59.

SARSECHIM sär'sə-kim [Heb. *śar-sᵉḵîm*]; NEB NEBU-SARSEKIM. The name of a Babylonian high official (the RABSARIS) who entered Jerusalem when the city fell to the Babylonians in 587 B.C. (Jer. 39:3). Unless it is another name or description of "Nebushazban the Rabsaris" (v. 13), the bearer remains unidentified. Some exegetes have suggested that the text be read "Nergal-sharezer the Sin-magir (official), Nebo-sarsechim the Rabsaris." But Nebo-sarsechim would represent an unknown Babylonian personal name that can hardly be equated with Nebushazban (Akk. *Nabû-šeziban(ni)* = *Nabû-shaz(i)bān*). *See* SAMGAR-NEBO. D. J. WISEMAN

SARUCH sâr'ək (Lk. 3:35, AV). *See* SERUG.

SASH [Heb. *qiššhurîm*] (Isa. 3:20); AV HEADBAND; NEB NECKLACE. An ornament of women's attire, apparently something that was tied or bound (cf. the verb *qāšar*, "bind"). Its exact identity is uncertain, but the English versions indicate the various possibilities. Cf. the use of the Hebrew term in Jer. 2:32 (AV, RSV, "attire"; NEB "ribbons").

SATAN sā'tən [Heb. *śāṭān*–'adversary' < *śāṭan*–'be/act as adversary'; Gk. *Satan, Satanas*]; NEB also ADVERSARY (Zec. 3:1f.), DEVIL (1 Tim. 5:15).

I. In the OT
  A. Adversary
  B. Angelic Being
II. In Intertestamental Literature
  A. Increased Interest in Satan
  B. Jewish Apocalyptic
  C. Comparison with NT Usage
III. In the NT
  A. Terminology
  B. Satan's Kingdom
  C. Jesus' Triumph
  D. Satan's Objective
  E. The Christian's Counterstrategies

I. In The OT.–***A. Adversary.*** The Hebrew noun *śāṭān* signifies an "adversary" in several nontheological contexts; e.g., the Philistines sent David back from the front lines, "lest in the battle he become an adversary [*śāṭān*] to us" (1 S. 29:4); David said that the sons of Zeruiah were behaving as an "adversary" to him when they advised him to kill Shimei (2 S. 19:22); Solomon exulted that God had given him rest on every side and that there was "neither adversary nor misfortune" (1 K. 5:4); and "the Lord raised up an adversary against Solomon, Hadad the Edomite" (1 K. 11:23; cf. v. 25). The verb *śāṭan* also means "accuse" or "resist." The psalmist complained that those who rendered him evil for good were acting as "adversaries" to him (Ps. 38:20 [MT 21]; cf. 109:4).

B. Angelic Being. In four OT passages *śāṭān* appears as an angelic being. (*See* ANGEL.)

(1) Numbers 22 tells how an angel became a *śāṭān* or "adversary" to Balaam, a well-known diviner. Twice Balak king of Moab requested that Balaam curse the Israelites (vv. 1-20). The first time God forbade Balaam from doing this; but after Balak's second request the Lord told Balaam to go but to say only what God commanded him. As Balaam accompanied Balak's lieutenants, however, "God's anger was kindled because [Balaam] went; and the angel of the Lord took his stand in the way as his adversary [*śāṭān*]" (v. 22). Balaam did not see the angel with a drawn sword, but his ass saw the angel and tried three times to protect Balaam by turning away. Finally Balaam himself saw the angel, who said to him, "Why have you struck your ass these three times? Behold I have come forth to withstand [lit. "to be a *śāṭān* to"] you, because your way is perverse before me" (v. 32).

In the remaining three OT passages Satan functions as an adversary against God's people either by attempting to seduce them to do evil or by accusing them before God for their sins. But in each case Satan's power is limited and he acts only within God's permissive will.

(2) The Satan of Job 1–2 (who appears with the angelic "sons of God," 1:6) opposes God by challenging the genuineness of Job's righteousness, claiming that Job is upright not for the joy of fellowship with God but because God continues to bless him with great wealth (vv. 6-11). God then permits Satan to strip Job of his wealth and to kill his seven children. But Satan's challenge proves false, for when Job learns of all this loss, his reply is, "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; [but] blessed be the name of the Lord" (v. 21). Satan then declares that Job's righteousness is still counterfeit, since Job would not remain loyal to God if he lost his health. God permits Satan to make Job deathly sick, but not to kill him. Again Satan's accusation proves false, for when Job is in so much pain that even his wife recommends that he renounce his love for God, Job replies, "Shall we receive [only] good at the hand of the Lord, and not [also] evil?" (2:10). Thus God's glory shines out all the more clearly in that Job

regards fellowship with Him as surpassing everything else in worth — even his own health.

(3) Satan's accusatory role is also seen in Zec. 3:1f. Here he is explicitly God's enemy in that he tries to disqualify Joshua, the postexilic high priest, by accusing him for his past sins. God rebukes Satan for this by declaring that He has forgiven all of Joshua's sins (v. 4). Here also Satan's accusations cause God's goodness and glory to stand out in sharper relief, in that God has forgiven Joshua all his sins despite the accusations of an angelic being.

From the last two passages it can be deduced that the OT views God, in His sovereignty, as permitting the existence of evil in a penultimate and limited way. He does not work evil as a final end, but only as a means for the ultimate and lasting achievement of the greatest good, namely, the more pronounced display of His goodness and glory.

(4) Perhaps such a theodicy lies behind the way 1 Ch. 21:1 interprets 2 S. 24:1. Both passages report that David sinned by having a census taken of Israel. In 2 Samuel God Himself, because of His own anger, incites David to commit this sin, and His glory shines forth as David, given the choice of being punished by men or by God, chooses punishment by God, "for his mercy is great" (2 S. 24:14). The Chronicler, however, apparently wanting just as much to maintain God's ultimate goodness and sovereignty but feeling the need to stress that God never decrees evil as a final end, removes this deed one step from God by denominating Satan as the one who incited David to sin.

Job 1–2; Zec. 3:1f.; and 1 Ch. 21:1 are the only OT passages that speak of Satan as a superhuman, evil angelic being (and, according to many scholars, only the last text uses "Satan" as a proper name; but cf. GKC, §§ 125f., 126e). The OT (which comprises about four-fifths of our Bible) has little to say about Satan in comparison with the NT, where he is mentioned with much greater frequency.

II. In Intertestamental Literature.—*A. Increased Interest in Satan.* The intertestamental literature (Apocrypha, DSS, and Pseudepigrapha) says considerably more about Satan than the OT does. In these writings Satan also goes under several other names: Azazel (e.g., 1 En. 13:1), Beelzeboul (e.g., Testament of Solomon 6), Belial (e.g., 1QS 2:19) or Beliar (e.g., Jub. 1:20), "the devil" (Wisd. 2:24), "the evil one" (Testament of Job 43:5), Mastema (e.g., Jub. 10:8), Sammael (e.g., Martyrdom of Isaiah 1:8), Satanail (e.g., 2 En. 18:3), and Semyaz (e.g., 1 En. 6:3). What was the cause of this greatly increased interest in Satan?

1. Persian Influence? A popular view (e.g., J. B. Russell, pp. 217ff.) has held that the increased interest in Satan during this period resulted from Israel's exposure to the dualism between the good Ahura-Mazda and the evil Angra Mainyu in Persian Zoroastrianism. Israel must have had some direct contact with this teaching, since it was under Persian rule from 539 to 330 B.C. But an examination of the way Satan (by this and other names) functions in this literature shows that the monistic thinking of the OT persists. In these writings Satan continues to have a limited power under God, but his power is never thought to be coordinate with that of another god. Furthermore, von Rad has pointed out that the Angra Mainyu of Zoroastrianism never plays the role of an accuser as Satan does in the OT, intertestamental literature, and NT (*TDNT*, II, 75).

There is, to be sure, one noteworthy passage in the Qumrân Community Rule (*ca.* 200 B.C.), 1QS 3:15–4:25, which has certain dualistic overtones. According to 3:19-23, "Those born of truth spring from a foundation of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light, but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness [Beliar, i.e., Satan] and walk in the ways of darkness. The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray, and until his end, all their sin, iniquities, wickedness, and all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion in accordance with the mysteries of God." But even this passage makes the "undualistic" assertions that evil now has the ascendancy on earth on account of "the mysteries of God," and that the power of the Prince of Darkness will someday be terminated. The passage also declares that "the God of Israel . . . created the spirits of light and darkness" (3:24f.). According to 4:18-20, "God has ordained an end for falsehood, and at the time of his visitation, he will destroy it forever. Then truth, which has wallowed in the ways of wickedness during the dominion of falsehood until the appointed time of judgment, shall arise in the world forever." Such statements, which affirm God's sovereignty, tell against the hypothesis that the Jews became interested in Satan after learning from the Persians about the evil Angra Mainyu, who was coordinate with the good Ahura-Mazda.

2. Apocalyptical Thinking. The best explanation for the increased interest in Satan lies in Israel's response to the protracted period of time that it was forced to live under foreign rule, starting when its people were led off into captivity in Babylon in 587 B.C. Persia conquered Babylon in 539 B.C., and Cyrus II allowed many Jews to return to Judah and rebuild a small version of their former temple. To avert another such catastrophe, and in the hope of gaining complete freedom from foreign rule, the Jews now sought to obey their law with the greatest possible zeal. Nevertheless they continued under Persian rule. In 330 B.C. Alexander the Great conquered the Persian empire, but in the ensuing years, after his kingdom broke apart into several factions, Israel remained in subjugation to various rulers. Israel had a comparatively brief interval of independence beginning in 142 B.C. (after the Hasmonean revolt), but it was again subjugated by Rome in 63 B.C. Israel's subservience to Rome lasted until A.D. 70, when the Romans, in suppressing a Jewish revolt, destroyed the temple and banished almost all Jews from their homeland.

Israel's almost constant subjugation to foreign rule for over six centuries was bound to have a great effect upon its thinking. The longer this subjugation continued, the more urgent became Israel's need for a new understanding of why God did not give His people freedom. Consequently, in the literature written in the last three centuries of this subjugation (and even after the Jewish dispersion of A.D. 70), writers are asking the question, "How can the just and omnipotent God let His righteous people continue to be oppressed by foreign, evil rulers?" To answer this question, Jews began to look more closely at the OT Satan and to see him as immediately responsible for the evil present in the world since the fall of Gen. 3 (Life of Adam and Eve 1-17), or since the "sons of God" cohabited with the "daughters of men," producing offspring that caused so much violence on earth that God had to destroy most of it by the flood (1 En. 6–16; cf. Gen. 6).

B. Jewish Apocalypticism. This understanding of Satan as the explanation for the apparent supremacy of evil over righteousness was an essential part of the "apocalypticism" that loomed so large in Jewish thinking at the close of the intertestamental period. While certain minor differences can be found in the apocalyptic literature of the

later intertestamental period, apocalypticism generally displays three prevailing features: (1) for the time being God reigns *transcendently* above this evil world, where Satan is now allowed to exercise a rather substantial amount of authority; (2) Satan does not have complete control over the world, however, for God offers succor to the righteous to keep them from being overwhelmed by Satan's great power (1QS 3:24f.); and (3) the day is coming when the transcendent God will reassert His immediate control over the world, perhaps in a new heaven and earth (these features can be seen in 1QS 3:15–4:25; see II.A.1 above). Then righteousness will reign, and Satan and his angels will be separated from the new creation where righteousness rules, either to be tormented themselves in an eternal hell along with the wicked, or also to help mete out punishment to the wicked. "I look not for this generation, but for the one that is coming" (1 En. 1:2), stands as an appropriate expression of the mood of apocalyptical thinking.

C. Comparison with NT Usage. Although Jewish apocalypticism provides the natural explanation for the NT's greater interest in Satan (and the devil) than the OT's, not everything in Jewish apocalyptical views about Satan was carried over into the NT. For example, (1) whereas Mt. 25:41 indicates that the wicked will be punished in a hell apparently already prepared for the devil and his angels, CD 8:2 states that Satan himself will help in the punishment of the wicked: "[the apostates] shall be visited for destruction by the hand of Satan." Likewise, 1 En. 53:3 refers to the "angels of plague" preparing the "chains of Satan" for the punishment of all sinners. (2) Whereas the NT says nothing about Satan's motive in rebelling against God, Wisd. 2:23f. states, "God . . . made man in the image of his own eternity, but through the devil's envy [of man's having this image], death entered into the world." Life of Adam and Eve 12–16 elaborates on this motive and on Satan's role in the fall of humankind. When the angel Michael ordered the devil to worship the image of God in Adam and Eve, the devil answered, "I will not worship one inferior and subsequent to me" (14:3). Consequently God expelled the devil and his angels from heaven onto the earth. The devil explained to Adam, "And immediately we were made to grieve, since we had been deprived of so great glory. And we were pained to see you in such bliss of delights. So with deceit I assailed your wife and made you to be expelled through her from the joys of your bliss, as I have been expelled from my glory" (16:2f.).

But several elements of the NT's more developed picture of Satan appear already in the intertestamental literature. (1) According to Jub. 10:8 Satan rules over a kingdom of wicked angels (demons), as Jesus taught in Mt. 12:25f. (2) Satan's rule, always limited by God's sovereignty, extends to all the world. Martyrdom of Isaiah 2:4 says, "The angel of iniquity who rules the world is Beliar." This accords with Satan's claim (Mt. 4:8f.) that he has at least a derived authority over the kingdoms of the world. (3) Satan is a spiritual being according to Testament of Job 27:2, where he says to Job, "You are flesh, but I am a spirit." This accords with Eph. 2:2, which speaks of Satan as "the spirit that now works in the children of disobedience." Satan's working in people to energize them to do his will is found in Martyrdom of Isaiah 3:11, where Beliar is said to dwell in the heart of the evil king Manasseh and in the princes of Judah and Benjamin. Manasseh is also called a "follower of Beliar" (1:8), and this idea of certain people being under Satan's control also appears in Jn. 8:44 and 2 Tim. 2:26.

(4) As in Job 1–2 and Zec. 3:1, Beliar's role in Jub. 1:20 is one of accusing the righteous before God (cf. Martyrdom of Isaiah 5:2; 1 En. 40:7), and this idea is repeated in Rev. 12:10. (5) In intertestamental literature as well as the NT, Satan resorts to many wiles to lure people from God's ways. According to Apocalypse of Moses 17:1, when Satan first met Eve in the Garden of Eden he was masquerading as an angel singing God's praises. This idea recurs in 2 Cor. 11:14 (cf. vv. 13, 15), where Satan is said to appear as an angel of light. (6) Like 2 Cor. 11:3 and 1 Tim. 2:14, Life of Adam and Eve emphasizes Eve's role in the fall while also acknowledging Adam's guilt (8:2). In 33:1-3 Adam tells his sons that two angels had been appointed to guard Eve and himself in the garden. But when they left to worship God in heaven, "immediately the adversary, the devil, found opportunity while the angels were away and deceived your mother so that she ate of the illicit and forbidden tree. And she ate and gave to me."

(7) The intertestamental literature frequently affirms the final and lasting punishment of Satan. 1 En. 54:6, e.g., agrees with the statement in Mt. 25:41 that the devil and his angels will be punished in eternal fire: "Then Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel themselves shall seize [the armies of Azazel] on that great day of judgment and cast them into the furnace (of fire) that is burning that day, so that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them on account of their oppressive deeds which (they performed) as messengers of Satan, leading astray those who dwell upon the earth."

III. In the NT.–A. Terminology. The name Satan is transliterated into the Greek of the NT thirty-four times. He is also called *diábolos* ("devil") thirty-six times in accordance with the practice of the LXX translators, who apparently chose this term because its root meaning is "accuse" (cf. Lk. 16:1, where *diabállō* denotes the accusation brought against the unjust steward). Other names for Satan in the NT include: "tempter" (Mt. 4:3; 1 Thess. 3:5), Beelzebul (e.g., Mt. 12:24), "the enemy" (Mt. 13:39), Belial (2 Cor. 6:15), "god of this world" (2 Cor. 4:4; cf. Jn. 12:31), "power of darkness" (Lk. 22:53), "prince of the power of the air" (Eph. 2:2) "adversary" (1 Pet. 5:8), "deceiver" (Rev. 12:9), "dragon" (e.g., 12:3), "the ancient serpent" (e.g., 20:2), "father of lies" and "murderer" (Jn. 8:44), "the accuser" (Rev. 12:10), Apollyon (9:11), and "the evil one" (e.g., 1 Jn. 2:13f.).

B. Satan's Kingdom. The NT enlarges upon the intertestamental literature's understanding of Satan as ruling over a kingdom of demons. Jesus pictures Satan as a heavily armed prince dwelling with his demonic subjects in a fortified palace (Mt. 12:25-29 par). Satan, along with his demons, exercises so much power over the nations that he is termed the "ruler of this world" (Jn. 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; cf. Rev. 12:9; 20:3, 7f.; also Lk. 4:5f.). It is striking that the terms in Rom. 13:1, 3 for the governmental rulers instituted by God for the good of society (Gk. *árchōn* and *exousía*) are used in Eph. 6:12 for the satanic powers against which the Christian must wage spiritual warfare. Gk. *árchōn* is also the word used in 1 Cor. 2:8 to represent the governmental powers responsible for Jesus' crucifixion. This may explain why Pergamum, whose government has persecuted the churches, is described as the place "where Satan dwells" (Rev. 2:12f.).

Satan rules in the hearts of all those who are not "born of God" (1 Jn. 3:8f.); they are called the "children of the devil" (v. 10; cf. Jn. 8:44). Prior to regeneration all were energized and motivated by the spirit of Satan (Eph. 2:2; cf. Acts 26:18). For the time being God has granted Satan a limited power over death, and Satan uses the fear of death to keep people in bondage to him (He. 2:14f.). He does this by contrasting the anxiety and despair associ-

ated with death with the immediate, albeit temporary, gratification that can be obtained by following his ways rather than God's.

C. Jesus' Triumph. By suffering and dying on the cross, Jesus assuaged God's great wrath against the sin of the human race. Consequently, those who submit to Jesus as Savior and Lord find themselves delivered from the satanic bondage under which they have lived because of the fear of death (He. 2:14f.). Jesus "disarmed the principalities and powers . . . triumphing over them in [His cross]" (Col. 2:15). Jesus' resurrection and ascension to God's right hand have placed Him and His people "far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, . . . and [God] has put all things under his feet" (Eph. 1:21f.). Jesus' complete triumph over Satan shows that death need no longer be feared as a prelude to misery and punishment for sin. By this triumph Jesus has effected a forgiveness of human sin and has laid the foundation stone for the gospel's unsurpassed good news, namely, that in Jesus God will fulfil all His "precious and very great promises" (2 Pet. 1:4; cf. 2 Cor. 1:20). Consequently, there is a vastly more powerful motivation for submitting one's future not to Satan but to Jesus. Jesus has guaranteed, e.g., God's great promise in Jer. 32:41 that He "will rejoice in doing [His people] good . . . with all [His] heart and with all [His] soul."

Thus Jesus, through His death and resurrection, has already won the decisive victory over Satan. But the battle still continues, for according to He. 1:13; 10:12f. Jesus, who is now seated at the Father's right hand, is waiting until His enemies shall be made His footstool. A total separation between good and evil will be made only at the close of redemptive history, when Satan and his demons will be cast into the lake of fire (Mt. 25:41; Rev. 20:10).

D. Satan's Objective. In the meantime Satan's goal is to keep or get people back under his rule. Satan employs all sorts of strategies (Eph. 6:11f.; 2 Cor. 2:10f.; 1 Tim. 3:6f.; 2 Tim. 2:26) to keep people out of Jesus' kingdom. He snatches the word of God's kingdom from the hearts of many before they grasp its excellence and submit to it (Mt. 13:19). He also blinds the minds of unbelievers to "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4). Satan's attacks against God's people become increasingly intense as he realizes how quickly his time is running out (Rev. 12:12). Just before the establishment of Jesus' kingdom, Satan will stage his most concerted and universal attack upon God's people through the antichrist, who will command the worship of humanity by performing miracles and slaying all who refuse to worship him (Mt. 24:15-28 par.; 2 Thess. 2:3-12; Rev. 13). God's people will survive this time only because the antichrist's reign will be cut short by the second coming of Christ (Mt. 24:22; Rev. 19:20f.).

Before the appearance of the antichrist Satan works against God's people in a variety of ways. He causes persecution (Rev. 2:10). He places counterfeit Christians in the churches alongside the genuine people of God (Mt. 13:24-30), and these counterfeits provide occasions for God's people to stumble, for "even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14). Satan also roams among God's people seeking to destroy those who have become vulnerable through not watching and praying for protection from temptation (Mt. 26:41 par.; cf. 6:13; 1 Pet. 5:8).

E. The Christian's Counterstrategies. To prevent these satanic strategies from succeeding, Christians need to employ several counterstrategies. (1) They must keep themselves purposefully occupied, since idleness leads to sin and the devil's accusations (1 Tim. 5:13-15). To counter Satan's role as accuser of God's people, (2) church discipline must never be so harsh as to imply the impossibility of forgiveness (2 Cor. 2:6-11), and (3) only persons with a good reputation should be appointed to church office (1 Tim. 3:2f., 7). (4) To avoid temptation through lack of self-control, husbands and wives should not abstain too long from conjugal relations (1 Cor. 7:5). (5) New Christians, no matter how promising their gifts, should not be given responsible positions in the church, since Satan works to incite the inbred human tendency to self-exaltation (1 Tim. 3:6).

The essence of Satan's strategy, however, is to weaken a Christian's faith in such precious and great promises as, e.g., Rom. 8:28 ("in everything God works for good with those who love him"), by means of the lie that the tribulations and misfortunes that befall Christians can deprive them of any hope for a bright future (1 Thess. 3:2-5). Satan's game plan is to destroy the Christian's confidence that God's plans are "for welfare and not for evil, to give you a future and a hope" (Jer. 29:11). So to be victorious against Satan, Christians must understand the necessity of being armed with "the shield of faith" i.e., of having an arsenal of promises from God's word (cf. Rom. 10:17) ready for use as a shield to quench all the fiery darts of Satan (Eph. 6:16). According to 1 Pet. 5:9 Christians must resist the devil steadfastly in the *faith*. Since the promises of Scripture are the proper object of faith (Rom. 4:20), Christians must use, against each temptation to become discouraged, at least one of God's "many and very great promises" (2 Pet. 1:4). If tempted, e.g., to be covetous and despondent about not having enough of this world's goods to be financially secure, the Christian must "fight the good fight of the faith" (1 Tim. 6:12) by affirming that, since God will never leave us nor forsake us (He. 13:5f.), covetousness is totally contrary to childlike faith in God. By meditating on this and similar promises of "the faithful God" (Dt. 7:9; cf. He. 10:23; Tit. 1:2) until filled by "all joy and peace in believing" (Rom. 15:13), Christians perform the essential task of holding their "first confidence firm unto the end" (He. 3:14).

An evil heart of unbelief is the one thing that a Christian must fear above all else (He. 3:12). Through trust in Christ's blood and willingness to obey Him even unto death, Christians overcome the devil (Rev. 12:11) and he flees from them (Jas. 4:7).

The Christian also receives great comfort from knowing that, powerful though Satan is, he can do nothing apart from God's permission. As with Job, God sometimes permits Satan to work evil against His people so that they might learn to trust Him more fully. God allowed a messenger of Satan to buffet Paul so that Paul, in weakness rather than in proud self-sufficiency, would learn that Christ's power is made perfect in weakness (2 Cor. 12:7-10). According to Lk. 22:31-34 Peter's threefold denial of Jesus was instigated by Satan, who had requested to "sift [Peter] like wheat." Satan's request was granted, but Jesus prayed for Peter that his faith would not fail. After deep remorse, Peter was restored to full assurance of his standing with Christ; and, as Jesus foretold (Lk. 22:32), this example has strengthened Christians ever since, whenever Satan has tried by his accusations to convince them that their sins preclude any hope of restoration.

In short, to be victorious in fighting the good fight of the faith (1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 4:7) the Christian must take pains to combat any disquietude of heart that signals that unbelief is gaining the ascendancy (cf. Rom. 15:13); one quells such unbelief by claiming the appropriate promise from God. Not only out of concern for their own spiritual

welfare but also out of responsibility for others' souls, Christians must seek to strengthen one another's hand in God by recalling the "precious and very great promises of God" (2 Pet. 1:4).

See also DEMONOLOGY; EVIL II.A; III.A.

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SATAN, DEPTHS OF (Rev. 2:24, AV); "deep secrets of Satan." *See* DEEP THINGS.

SATAN, SYNAGOGUE OF [Gk. *synagōgḗ toú sataná*] (Rev. 2:9; 3:9); NEB SATAN'S SYNAGOGUE. A hostile reference to Jewish persecutors of the churches in Smyrna and Philadelphia. Similar expressions occur in the LXX of Nu. 14:27, 35 ("evil congregation," Gk. *tḗn synagōgḗn tḗn ponērán*) and Ps. 22:16 (LXX 21:17; "congregation of evil doers," Gk. *synagōgḗ ponēreuoménōn*); 1QH 2:22 ("congregation of Belial," Heb. *ʿēḏâ bᵉlîyaʿal*); and Sir. 16:6 ("congregation of sinners," Gk. *synagōgḗ hamartōlôn*).

In the OT the Jews were called the "synagogue of the Lord" (RSV "assembly of the Lord," e.g., Nu. 16:3; 20:4); but because of their persecution of Christians in Asia Minor at both Smyrna and Philadelphia, as well as their refusal to own Jesus as their Messiah, John describes them as the synagogue of Satan rather than of the Lord. Cf. Paul's definition of a true Jew as one who is a Jew *inwardly* and not just outwardly (Rom. 2:28f.), and his belief that the Church has now become the true Israel by faith in Christ.

Revelation 2:9; 3:9 may have a play on the Hebrew term *śāṭān*, "accuser," "opponent," "adversary" — all of which characterized the Jewish opponents of the Christians. M. Polyc. 13:1 tells of a later instance of Jews persecuting Christians in Smyrna, but the problem is also mentioned frequently in the NT (e.g., Acts 13:50; 14:2, 5, 19; 17:5; 1 Thess. 2:14-16; cf. also Jn. 8:35-39).

In Rev. 3:9 John may be reversing an old promise that the Gentiles would pay homage to the Jews in the Kingdom of God (Isa. 49:23; 60:14). Here the Jews play the role of the heathen and bow to the Christians, who are now the true inheritors of God's promises and blessings. This passage does not refer, as some have supposed, to Jewish repentance of sins or conversion to Christianity, but rather to their judgment for persecuting Christians.

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SATHRABUZANES sath-rə-bū'zə-nēz [Gk. *Sathrabouzanēs*] (1 Esd. 6:3, 7, 27; 7:1). *See* SHETHAR-BOZENAI.

SATISFACTION [Gk. *makarismós*] (Gal. 4:15); AV BLESSSING; NEB HAPPY; [*euárestos eimí*] ("give satisfaction," Tit. 2:9); AV PLEASE WELL; NEB COMPLY WITH DEMANDS; **SATISFY**; **(BE) SATISFIED** [Heb. qal, niphal, and hiphil of *śāḇaʿ* (e.g., Lev. 26:26; Ps. 17:15; 22:26 [MT 27]; 104:13; Eccl. 5:10 [MT 9]), *śoḇʿâ* (Isa. 55:2; Ezk. 16:28), *śāḇē(a)ʿ* (e.g., Dt. 33:23), piel and niphal of *mālē'* (Job 38:39; Prov. 6:30; Eccl. 6:7), hiphil of *rāwâ* (Isa. 43:24; Jer. 31:25), hiphil of *nāḥam* (Ezk. 5:13), hiphil of *nû(a)ḥ* (Ezk. 16:42; 21:17 [MT 22]; 24:13; *rêq*–'be empty' ("not satisfied," Isa. 29:8); Gk. *peíthō* (Mt. 28:14; pass., Rom. 15:14), *tó hikanón poiéō*–'make satisfactory' (Mk. 15:15), *empímplēmi*–'fill full' (Acts 14:17), *aréskō* (2 Tim. 2:4), *arkéō* (Jn. 14:8), *chortázō* (Mt. 5:6; 14:20; 15:37; Mk. 6:42; 8:8; Lk. 6:21; 9:17)]; AV also SATIATE, FILL, SUFFICE, MAKE/CAUSE TO REST, etc.; NEB also GLUT, EMPTY, etc.

The biblical terms rendered "satisfy" or "be satisfied" usually have to do with eating. Gk. *chortázō*, e.g., occurs in Gospel accounts of the feeding of a multitude and in the promise of the Beatitudes that the hungry shall be filled (cf. Matthew's figurative reference to those who "hunger and thirst for righteousness"). Heb. *śāḇaʿ* (with cognates *śoḇʿâ* and *śāḇē[a]ʿ*) is the normal term for satisfying physical hunger, while *rāwâ* is the usual word for slaking thirst. Heb. *mālē'* and Gk. *empimpláō* simply mean to "fill" something.

The use of "satisfy" for the hiphil of *nû(a)ḥ* in Ezekiel is somewhat misleading. The Hebrew verb means "cause (something) to come to rest" (cf. AV). Used with "fury" only in Ezk. 5:13; 16:42; 21:17 (MT 22); 24:13, it appears from the context to mean that God intends both to fulfil and to exhaust (NEB usually "abate") His anger, so that it comes to an end. The context especially of 16:42 implies a strong sense of grace not conveyed by "satisfy," i.e., that the time for anger will pass (cf. also W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, I [*Hermeneia*, 1979], pp. 152, 347). And in 5:13 the hiphil of *nāḥam* (RSV "satisfy"; AV "be accomplished"; NEB "be spent") occurs in the same verse with the *nû(a)ḥ* construction, which the RSV here translates "vent my fury" — an even worse translation. Certainly all of ch. 5 speaks of terrible acts of judgment that God will pour out on Judah, but *nāḥam* could as easily be translated "I will console myself" or "I will allow myself to be sorry." This verb is in fact missing from the LXX, and it may be a postexilic addition expressing the sense that, judgment being finished, God will now be kind. In any case these verses should not be understood to mean that God enjoys punishing His people.

The RSV translation of Gal. 4:15 is also rather strange. This verse really asks the question, "What happened to your blessing?" (cf. AV). Paul was appealing not to the Galatians' human self-satisfaction, but to the gifts and fruits of the Spirit that they had already experienced apart from the Torah.

Both Mt. 28:14 and Rom. 15:4 contain Gk. *peíthō*, which generally means "persuade" (so AV). In these verses the best translation might be "convince." The Jewish authorities promised to "convince" Pilate, so that the tomb guards would not be punished. And Paul was more than "satisfied" with the Galatians; he was "convinced" (cf. NEB "have no doubt") or "sure" (the usual translation for this verb in the passive; cf. Rom. 8:38) that they were filled with goodness and knowledge.

The constructions with Gk. *aréskō* (lit. "please"; 2 Tim. 2:4) and the related adjective *euárestos* (Tit. 2:9) have to do with "satisfying" one's superior or overlord by doing what is pleasing (cf. NEB "be wholly at the disposal of," "comply with the demands of"). The verb *arkéō* (Jn. 14:8) and the adjective *hikanós* (Mk. 15:15) imply objective sufficiency rather than subjective satisfaction.

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀρέσκω (W. Foerster), ἀρκέω (G. Kittel); IV, *s.v.* μακάριος (F. Hauck, G. Bertram).

G. CHAMBERLAIN

SATRAP sā'trap [Heb. *'ahašdarpān* (Ezr. 8:36; Est. 3:12; 8:9; 9:3); Aram. *'ahašdarpan* (Dnl. 3:2f., 27; 6:1-4, 6f. [MT 2-5, 7f.]); Old Pers. *xšaśapāvā*; Akk. *aḫšadrapannu*]; AV LIEUTENANT, PRINCE. An official who ruled over a major division of the Persian empire.

Herodotus (iii.89-94) stated that Darius created twenty satrapies (the area ruled by a satrap), but he mentioned by name twenty-one, twenty-three, and twenty-nine at various times. Dnl. 6:1 (MT 2) speaks of 120 satraps, but this probably refers to governors of provinces (cf. Est. 1:1). The satrap, whose title means "protector of the kingdom," was usually chosen from the Persian nobility, often from the royal family. Xerxes served twelve years as satrap of Babylon before he became king of Persia. The satrap was virtually a king; he had his own court and absolute civil authority, and he answered directly to the "great king." To ensure the satrap's loyalty to the king, other officials who answered directly to the king were appointed to work alongside the satrap: a secretary (who handled all official correspondence), a chief financial officer (who collected taxes), and a commander of the armed forces. In addition, inspectors known as "the eyes and ears of the king" might appear at any time to check on conditions in the provinces. Judea, a part of Syro-Palestine, was in "Beyond the River," referred to as the "Fifth Satrapy" by Herodotus.

Bibliography.–R. Collins, *Medes and Persians* (1974), p. 86; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (1954), p. 144; A. F. Rainey, *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (1969), 51-78. R. E. HAYDEN

SATYR sā'tər, sat'ər [Heb. *śā'îr*] (Lev. 17:7; 2 Ch. 11:15; Isa. 13:21; 34:14); AV also DEVIL; NEB DEMON, HE-GOAT. A forest deity with goat-like characteristics in classical mythology.

The basic meaning of Heb. *śā'îr* is "hairy one" (cf. the description of Esau in Gen. 27:11), and it refers most frequently to the he-goat (e.g., Lev. 4:23f.; 9:3, 15; 2 Ch. 29:23; Ezk. 43:22, 25; 45:23). Nevertheless, the four passages in which the RSV has rendered it "satyr" are problematic, as shown by the variety of translations in the LXX (*tá mataía*, "vain things," in Lev. 17:7 and 2 Ch. 11:15; *daimónia*, "demons," in Isa. 13:21 and 34:14) and in the English versions (see AV, NEB; cf. also NIV "goat idols" in Lev. 17:7 and 2 Ch. 11:15, "wild goats" in Isa. 13:21 and 34:14).

It is apparent from the contexts of Lev. 17:7 and 2 Ch. 11:15 that these passages refer to goat-like cult objects, perhaps demons in the form of he-goats. Lev. 17 strictly prohibits sacrificing outside the tabernacle complex, where one could secretly sacrifice to these goat deities (v. 7). Instead the sacrifice was to be handed over to the priests at the tent of meeting, who would ensure that the rite was performed according to the law (vv. 1-6). The Chronicler used the term in the context of describing the migration of priests and Levites from the northern kingdom during the reign of Jeroboam (2 Ch. 11:13-17). Jeroboam is reported to have appointed priests not only for the high places and his calf-idols at Dan and Bethel, but also for the *śe'îrîm* (v. 15).

In Isa. 13:21; 34:14 the term is better understood simply as referring to the wild goat. Isa. 13:1-22 is a prophecy of destruction against Babylon. When "the day of the Lord" comes, Babylon will suffer cataclysmic annihilation. As a result, civilization will disappear from the site of Babylon, and only wild beasts like the jackal, the owl, and the hyena will dwell there (vv. 21f.). Among these animals the prophet mentions *śe'îrîm*, "wild goats." Similarly, 34:5-17 is a description of divine judgment on Edom. The prophet depicts the land's utter desolation by referring to its occupation by wild animals, including the *śā'îr*, "wild goat" (v. 14). Contrary to the LXX, there is little evidence for a reference to mythical figures in either of these contexts. (For another view, see O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39* [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1974], pp. 20f., 358f.; *see also* DEMONOLOGY II.) R. L. PRATT, JR.

SAUL sôl [Heb. *šā'ûl*; Gk. *Saoul*].

1. First king of Israel.

I. Early History
- A. Name
- B. Genealogy
- C. Home
- D. Situation Before His Accession
- E. Election as King

II. Reign
- A. Early Successes
- B. Pursuit of David
- C. Downfall

III. Assessment

I. Early History.–*A. Name.* The name Saul is usually explained as the passive participle of the verb "ask" and so as meaning "asked of Yahweh." But the gentilic adjective *šā'ûlî* (Nu. 16:13) may indicate an intensive connotation, "the one asking importunately," or perhaps "the one asking insistently," "the beggar" (cf. *IP*, p. 136).

B. Genealogy. Saul was the son of Kish, a Benjaminite. His genealogy is given in 1 S. 9:1f.; 1 Ch. 8:33; 9:39. In Samuel his grandfather is Abiel but in Chronicles it is Ner, who appears as his paternal uncle in 1 S. 14:50f. Perhaps the simplest solution to this difficulty is to suppose that the first mention of Kish in 1 Ch. 9:39 is a scribal error for Abner; the mistake was then incorporated into the earlier Chronicles passage. But *see* KISH 1.

C. Home. Saul's home was at GIBEAH 3 (1 S. 10:26), which is also called Gabath Saul or Gibeah of Saul (i.e., "Saul's hill"; 11:4), and Gibeah of Benjamin (13:2). It is probably to be distinguished from Gibeath-elohim, "hill of God" (10:5). It is usually identified with Tell el-Fûl, a small but conspicuous tell 5 km. (3 mi.) N of Jerusalem, excavated in 1922 by W. F. Albright. The simplicity of the finds is in harmony with the humble early life of Saul and justifies his self-depreciation upon being chosen king (1 S. 9:21).

D. Situation Before His Accession. During the days of the judges Israel had been a loosely knit confederacy of tribes that had never needed to unite against a common foe. Nomads like the Midianites had made occasional inroads, and Canaanite city-states had occasionally sought to subjugate their Israelite neighbors, but local figures, the "judges," had been able to deal with such crises.

The Philistines were a different problem, however. They had a monopoly over iron and hence superior weapons, and they were much more cohesive than the Canaanite states. Thus they could master the Negeb and the plain of Jezreel as well as the coastal plain, and they were virtually the overlords of the Israelites in the hill country too. A disastrous battle at Aphek (1 S. 4) left the Philistines in clear command; the Israelites lost even the ark of the covenant.

The only Israelite champion was Samuel, but he was elderly and no warrior, while his sons were corrupt and disliked. Israel badly needed a warrior leader who would unite the tribes against their powerful enemy. Saul's qualifications were several. He was exceptionally tall and hand-

some (9:2); like the judges he displayed "charismatic" qualities — i.e., the spirit of Yahweh took control of him from time to time (11:6f.); he also had occasional ecstatic religious experiences, like the roaming bands of prophets (10:10f.). It may be, too, that his being a Benjaminite allayed intertribal jealousies, since Benjamin was a small tribe. Ephraim would not readily have supported a leader from Judah, nor Judah an Ephraimite king.

E. Election as King. There are apparently three strands of narrative in the account of Saul's becoming king. Saul is first mentioned in 1 S. 9:1, and this strand (9:1–10:16) portrays Samuel as having anointed him king, apparently at Ramah (cf. 8:4), by divine command. Another strand (ch. 8; 10:17-27; ch. 12) states that Samuel was approached by the elders of Israel, who demanded a king without putting forward any candidate; Samuel objected strongly to such an idea, but capitulated, and presided over Saul's election at Mizpah. The third strand (interwoven with the first), in ch. 11, shows that Saul was made king by popular acclaim (though in Samuel's presence) at Gilgal, after his victory over the Ammonites in Transjordan.

It has often been claimed that the second strand — from a source clearly hostile to Saul and the monarchy — is late and unhistorical. But as Bright observed (*BHI*, 3rd ed., p. 187) the idea of having their own king was novel for Israel, and no doubt such a drastic change did not meet with immediate favor in every quarter. Samuel himself later regretted Saul's rule bitterly, so he may well have had misgivings from the beginning (cf. 8:4-22), viewing the establishment of a human monarchy as a breach with the theocratic concept of the Mosaic covenant. Cf. *CD*, II/2, 367-393.

The basic historicity of the three accounts need not be questioned. Some elders clamored for a king, and Samuel demurred on religious grounds. He realized, however (by divine revelation), that the situation demanded strong leadership, so he put aside his doubts and looked for a likely man. He selected Saul and anointed him privately before holding a public ceremony at Mizpah (David was similarly anointed both privately and then publicly). But Saul's only qualifications at that time seem to have been his physique and his ecstatic potentialities; hence some were cynical about his abilities (cf. 1 S. 10:27). Saul, however, at once took strong action in Transjordan and defeated the Ammonites; this victory brought him universal acclaim, and a further ceremony (of ratification) was held at Gilgal.

II. Reign.–A. Early Successes. Saul's first military exploit was the defeat of the Ammonites. They had taken advantage of Israel's weakness under Philistine domination and, led by Nahash, besieged JABESH-GILEAD in Transjordan. The citizens appealed for help, and Saul mustered a considerable army and brought speedy and effective aid. He then prepared to face the Philistines. He formed an army of three thousand men (1 S. 13:2) under the command of himself and his son JONATHAN. (Later in his reign his kinsman Abner became commander-in-chief [14:50f.].) The Philistines had the advantage of iron weapons; it was they, in fact, who had introduced iron into Palestine from Crete. The Israelites knew only bronze and had even been deprived of weapons of the softer metals. They seem to have armed themselves — with the exception of the king and his son — with mattocks and plowshares (13:19-22).

The first major encounter was the attack upon the Philistine post at Michmash (1 S. 13–14). The text of the narrative is uncertain, but the following outline is clear. On hearing that the Hebrews had revolted (13:3, LXX), the Philistines gathered in great force at Michmash. Saul's frightened troops deserted (13:6f.), leaving him with only six hundred men (14:2). In spite of this, Jonathan precipitated hostilities by a daring attack upon one of the outposts (14:6-14). It was so successful that the whole Philistine army panicked (v. 15); Saul's attack and the desertion of their Hebrew slaves (v. 21) completed their discomfiture. Saul followed up his victory with predatory excursions on every side (v. 47).

Saul's next expedition was against the Amalekites under Agag, who were likewise completely defeated. The friendly Kenites, who lived among the Amalekites, were warned to withdraw out of danger (15:6). Then every Amalekite was slaughtered, even the women and children (v. 8), for the whole people was put under *ḥērem*, a sacred oath to destroy them utterly (v. 3). Their chief alone was temporarily spared.

In these early events of his reign Saul twice offended the religious perspective voiced by Samuel. First, he took it upon himself to offer sacrifice (in Samuel's absence) before the battle of Michmash (1 S. 13:8-14). Samuel, who had not relished losing the political leadership, could not tolerate this usurpation of spiritual leadership. Second, Saul breached the *ḥērem* by sparing Agag and some choice booty taken from the Amalekites (15:2f., 8f.); Achan had perished for a similar deed (Josh. 7:10-26). Saul and his house were deposed, although he held the kingship until his death (15:22-31). Samuel pronounced sentence sternly and refused to have any further dealings with the king (v. 35).

B. Pursuit of David. Some time later Samuel designated David as Saul's successor, anointing him privately at Bethlehem (16:1-13). David was shortly afterward introduced to Saul and became a court minstrel (vv. 14-22). But according to ch. 17, which seems to be another account, it was David's encounter with Goliath that led to his introduction to Saul. The account in ch. 16, however, is undoubtedly correct; LXX B omits 17:55-58, thus removing the apparent inconsistency. (For a fuller discussion of these duplicate narratives, *see* DAVID I.E.)

Whether or not Saul discovered that David had been anointed by Samuel, he soon saw in David a rival and an inevitable successor, and — as was only human — he felt envious of David. His dislike of David had two motives. The first was jealousy, because the women preferred David's military genius to his own (1 S. 18:7f.). The second was his natural objection to seeing his son Jonathan supplanted in his rights to the throne, an objection that was aggravated by that son's devotion to his own rival (20:30f.).

Saul could not believe that David would remain loyal to him (1 S. 24:9); surely at the first opportunity David would hurl him from the throne and exterminate his whole house. In these circumstances Saul's primary interest was to rid himself of this threat. Chs. 18–27 tell of Saul's relentless efforts to kill David. He first attempted to do so (if one omits, with LXX 18:8b-11) by offering David his daughter Michal's hand in marriage if he would kill a hundred Philistines — hoping that the Philistines would kill David (18:20-29). Next he tried to have David assassinated by Jonathan or one of his servants (19:1). Later he threw his own spear at David (vv. 9f.). When David was compelled to flee, the personal hostility turned to civil war. Saul slaughtered those who sheltered the fugitive — even priests (22:16-19).

David fled to the wilderness of Judah and gathered about him a band of about four hundred fighting men (22:1f.). From one spot to another Saul hunted him, as David said, like a partridge (26:20). On two occasions David had opportunity to kill Saul but spared his life: at En-gedi (ch. 24) and in the wilderness of Ziph (ch. 26).

Some have maintained that these are duplicate accounts of the same event, but this is unlikely, since the two accounts have only minor points of resemblance.

Obviously Saul's divided energies could not hold out long. Obsessed with putting down the imaginary rebellion within Israel, he could not at the same time keep at bay the foreign foe. In one instance, he had no sooner trapped David than he was called away by a Philistine raid (23:26-28). But after David had twice spared his life and had finally taken refuge with Achish of Gath (ch. 27), Saul seemed to realize at last that the Philistines were the real enemy, and he threw his whole strength into a desperate effort to break their stranglehold.

C. Downfall. Saul himself saw that his situation was critical. Fearing the impending battle, he sought occult advice. Because he could no longer use the official means of divination (1 S. 28:6), he resorted to consulting a medium, one of a class that he had personally suppressed (v. 3). The result of the séance confirmed his worst fears and filled his soul with despair (vv. 7-19).

It says much for Saul's courage that, hopeless as he was, he nevertheless went out to battle the enemy. The Philistines had gathered in great force at Shunem (28:4), and Saul drew up his army on the opposing hill of Gilboa. The result was what had been foreseen: the Israelites were completely defeated, and Saul and three of his sons were slain. There are two differing accounts of Saul's death. According to 1 S. 31:4 Saul committed suicide, but in 2 S. 1:5-12 an Amalekite claims to have despatched the king. These accounts are not necessarily contradictory. The Amalekite undoubtedly hoped for a reward from David and may have fabricated his account of the incident.

The armour of Saul and his sons was placed in the temple of Ashtaroth and their bodies hung on the wall of Beth-shean, but Saul's head was set in the temple of Dagon (1 Ch. 10:10). The citizens of Jabesh-gilead, out of ancient gratitude, rescued the bodies and in un-Semitic fashion burned them and buried the bones (1 Ch. 10; cf. 1 S. 31). (*See* BETH-SHEAN II). Although three of Saul's sons, including Jonathan, perished in the battle (1 S. 31:2), his line did not die out immediately. One son, Eshbaal (also called Ishvi and ISH-BOSHETH),was David's rival for two years. Jonathan left a long line of descendants (1 Ch. 8:34-40), the best-known of which was his son Merib-baal (Mephibosheth).

III. Assessment.–Saul's life and character are treated in summary fashion by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 10:13f.): "So Saul died for his unfaithfulness; he was unfaithful to the Lord in that he did not keep the command of the Lord, and also consulted a medium, seeking guidance, and did not seek guidance from the Lord." This statement pinpoints Saul's lack of interest in the cultus. Once he had been renounced by Samuel his interest in religious matters was confined to outlawing mediums and necromancers (1 S. 28:3). The ark itself lay totally neglected until David's reign. Worse still, in his bitter hatred of David Saul wantonly exterminated the priests at Nob who had sheltered the fugitive (22:18f.). Small wonder, then, that the deeply religious writer of Chronicles totally disapproved of Saul. Cf. *CD,* IV/1, 437-445.

Saul's worst feature was undoubtedly his uncontrollable jealousy of David, which drove that capable soldier into the Philistines' camp. It was foolish for Saul thus to divide his own forces. But apparently he was not altogether rational in his later years; his early psychic potentialities for ecstatic prophecy and action turned into melancholia, if not paroxysmal mania (cf. 1 S. 16:14-16), which music alone could alleviate. (*See also* DISEASE III.D.)

On the other hand, Saul was undoubtedly an able and courageous soldier and an inspiring leader in battle. It is admirable that he fought on to the last, although openly disowned by Samuel (1 S. 15:28f.) and believing himself cast off by Yahweh. Moreover, that he retained not only his sons but also enough fighting men to engage a large army of Philistines shows that there must have been something in him to excite confidence and loyalty. David, the man who perhaps knew Saul best, eulogized his honorable and noble qualities, chief among them his prowess in war and generosity in peace. The verses of this elegy are among the most obviously authentic in the Bible (2 S. 1:19-27).

Little is recorded of Saul's administrative measures. He made no attempt to unite the tribes, except in battle. His only officer seems to have been Abner, his commander-in-chief. In this respect his reign is a complete contrast to that of David. He may be credited for completely foregoing the court luxury exhibited by his two immediate successors. His fortress at Gibeah remained his capital, and there he lived a life far removed from that of an oriental despot.

The only information about the length of Saul's reign occurs in 1 S. 13:1; unfortunately, two figures have fallen out, as the RSV makes clear. A later LXX text states that he was thirty years old at his accession. He may have reigned twenty-two or even thirty-two years. David succeeded him *ca.* 1000 B.C.

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2. Saul of Tarsus. *See* PAUL THE APOSTLE.

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SAVARAN sav'ə-ran (1 Macc. 6:43, AV). *See* AVARAN.

SAVE. *See* SALVATION.

SAVIAS sə-vī'əs [Gk. *Saouia*] (1 Esd. 8:2, AV). An ancestor of Ezra mentioned in LXX A. The name is omitted in the B text, which the RSV follows at this point.

SAVIOR. *See* SALVATION.

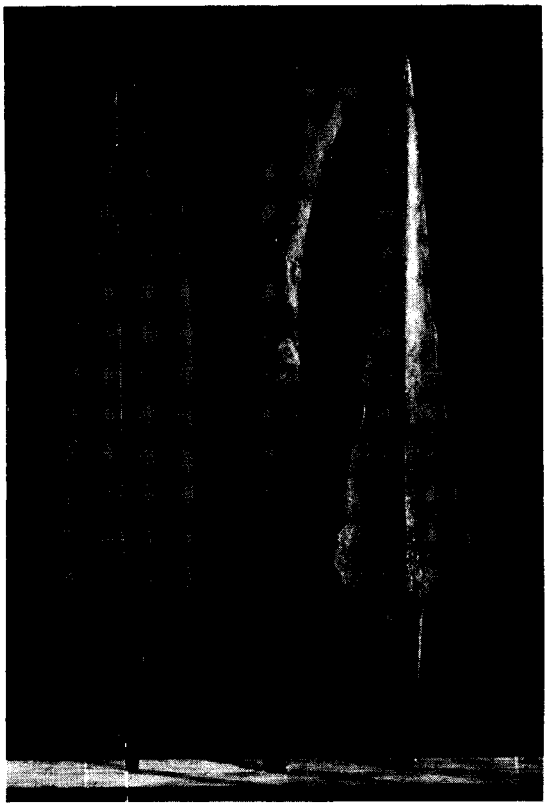
SAVOR; SAVORY. *See* ODOR:, FRAGRANCE; TASTE; SMELL.

SAW [Heb. polal part. of *gārar*] (1 K. 7:9); NEB TRIM; [*mᵉgērâ*] (2 S. 12:31; 1 K. 7:9; 1 Ch. 20:3); [*maśśôr*] (Isa. 10:15); [Gk. *prízō*] (He. 11:37). A long-toothed tool used for cutting.

The Hebrew verb *gārar* is translated in a variety of ways ("drag," Hab. 1:15; "chew," Lev. 11:7; "sweep," Prov. 21:7), but in 1 K. 7:9 it refers to the use of tools for cutting stone in the construction of Solomon's temple. The noun *mᵉgērâ* is formed from *gārar.* Freshly quarried limestone is soft enough to cut with saws; with exposure to the weather the stone hardens. A powder such as emery was probably used as an abrasive under the cutting edge of the saw. Whereas David had used slave laborers only from conquered peoples to perform this heavy work (2 S. 12:13 par. 1 Ch. 20:3), Solomon also forced Israelites to perform this work in the building of the temple (cf. 1 K. 5:13-17).

Saws were also used for cutting wood. Heb. *maśśôr* occurs only in Isa. 10:15. It is usually translated "saw," but the context simply indicates a tool of some kind.

Egyptian paintings show saws consisting of a metal



An ancient copper saw (left, with other tools) that originally fitted into a handle. At the bottom (below the crack) is an incised cow's head and a star in pointillé (Early Bronze Age I or II) (Collection Israel Dept. of Antiquities, photo Israel Museum/D. Harris)

blade (bronze in the early periods and iron later) attached to a wooden handle by thongs or by insertion. Flint saws have been found from the Iron Age.

On He. 11:37 *see* SAWING IN TWO. L. G. HERR

SAWING IN TWO [Gk. *prízō*]; AV SAW ASUNDER. Mentioned by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (11:37) as a method by which some heroes of the faith had been put to death. According to Jewish tradition (e.g., Asc. Isa. 5:1-14; mentioned also in the pseudepigraphal Lives of the Prophets) the prophet Isaiah was martyred by being sawn in two with a wooden saw during the reign of Manasseh.

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SAYINGS, DARK. *See* DARK SAYINGS; RIDDLE.

SAYINGS, FAITHFUL. *See* FAITHFUL SAYINGS.

SAYINGS OF JESUS. *See* LOGIA.

SAYINGS, UNWRITTEN. *See* AGRAPHA.

SCAB [Heb. *yallepeṯ*; LXX *lichḗn*; Vulg. *impetigo*] (Lev. 21:20; 22:22); NEB ERUPTION; [piel of *śāpaḥ*] ("smite with a scab, ' Isa. 3:17); NEB BALD. An encrusted, protective patch that forms on raw flesh or on a sore when its secretion has ended. It may be local in nature, or more generalized in the case of an infection. This distinction is made in Lev. 13:2, 6-8, where the more virulent eruptions render the sufferer ceremonially unclean. The AV "scab" here and in 14:56 is better rendered "eruption" (so RSV).

The etymology of Heb. *yallepeṯ* is as obscure as the ailment itself. The reference is probably to some irritant, itching skin disease of the *tinea* group. Better known as ringworm, a parasitic fungous infection of the skin, the disease can attack various parts of the body, although it commonly occurs on the head and neck. *Tinea kerion* is an irritating, inflammatory ringworm of the head and beard accompanied by a pustular discharge, while *t. circinata* usually erupts on non-hairy parts of the body. *T. favosa*, or honeycombed ringworm, occurs in children as yellow encrustations around hair follicles. The obscure verb *śāpaḥ* ("become scabby") Isa. 3:17 probably alluded to *t. favosa*, although it could possibly have described a disease of the hair such as *alopecia areata*, which results in patches of baldness (cf. NEB). *See also* DISEASE III.I.

On the AV's use of "scab" in Dt. 28:27, *see* SCURVY.

R. K. H.

SCABBARD. *See* SHEATH; WEAPONS OF WAR.

SCAFFOLD. *See* PLATFORM.

SCALE. The verb, meaning to climb up a wall by means of a ladder, is used figuratively by the RSV in two passages (Prov. 21:22; Joel 2:7; AV also "climb"; NEB "climb," "mount") as a translation of Heb. *ʿālâ* (lit. "go up"). *See* SIEGE. For uses of the noun, *see* SCALES.

SCALE ARMOR [Heb. *dᵉḇāqîm* < *dāḇaq*–'cleave'] (1 K. 22:34; 2 Ch. 18:33); AV JOINTS; NEB PLATES OF THE ARMOUR. Part of King Ahab's battle attire in his fatal battle against the king of Syria. According to the RSV an arrow struck Ahab "between the scale armor and the breastplate" (NEB, similarly, "where the breastplate joins the plates of the armour"). The AV has "between the joints of the harness." Other OT uses of *dᵉḇāqîm*/*dāḇaq* can be found to support the translations of both the AV (cf. Isa. 41:7, RSV "soldering") and the RSV or NEB (cf. Job 41:17 [MT 9], which uses the verb *dāḇaq* to describe the scales of Leviathan). *See* WEAPONS OF WAR.

J. W. D. H.

SCALES. (1) [Heb. *qaśqeśeṯ*–'fish scales' (Lev. 11:9-12; Dt. 14:9f.; Ezk. 29:4); Gk. *lépis* (Acts 9:18), *thṓrax*–'breastplate,' 'chest' (Rev. 9:9)]; AV, NEB, also BREAST-PLATE (Rev. 9:9). Small, thin plates forming an external body covering. Overlapping scales and a dorsal fin were the distinguishing marks of the fish that could be eaten by the Israelites (Lev. 11:9-12; Dt. 14:9f.). In Ezk. 29:4 Pharaoh is depicted as a monster of the Nile whose "fish" (i.e., the Egyptian people) will stick to his "scales" when he is caught. The same Hebrew term, *qaśqeśeṯ*, is used figuratively for a "coat of mail" in 1 S. 17:5. The locusts depicted in Rev. 9:9 are protected by a scaly exterior as strong and hard as a coat of mail. In Job 41:15 (MT 7) the AV uses "scales" to render Heb. *ᵃ*ṗîqê māginnîm* (lit. "channels of shields"; RSV "rows of shields"; cf. NEB), a phrase describing the horny scales imbedded in the skin of Leviathan.

Greek *lépis* (lit. "fish scales"; used in LXX of Lev. 11:9-12; Dt. 14:9f.) is used figuratively in Acts 9:18 to describe Paul's recovery of sight (cf. Bauer, rev., pp. 472f.).

An Egyptian coat of mail made of scale armor with a high leather collar intended to protect the neck (facsimile, wall painting from the tomb of Kenamun at Thebes, 1436-1411 B.C.) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The verb *lepízō* is used similarly in Tob. 3:17; 11:13 to describe the scaling away of white films from the eyes of Tobit.

See also SCALE ARMOR.

(2) [Heb. *peles* (Isa. 40:12), *mō'zᵉnayim* (40:15; Jer. 32:10; Mic. 6:11), *qāneh* (Isa. 46:6)]; AV, NEB, also BALANCE. An instrument used in weighing. *See* BALANCE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. N. J. O.

SCALL. *See* ITCH.

SCAPEGOAT. *See* AZAZEL.

SCARECROW [Heb. *tōmēr*] (Jer. 10:5); AV PALM TREE. Probably a carved wooden pillar set up in a field to scare away birds or possibly evil spirits. Although the AV rendering is probably correct in the literal sense (cf. *tāmār*, "palm tree," in Ex. 15:27; Ps. 92:12 [MT 13]; etc.), the RSV and NEB rendering makes more sense in the context and is supported by a parallel expression in Ep. Jer. 6:70 (LXX 69), which uses Gk. *probaskánion* ("safeguard against witchcraft," "scarecrow"; see LSJ, *s.v.* προβασκαίνω). Idols are being compared to scarecrows that need not be feared, since they have no power to speak or move (cf. Isa. 46:6f.). N. J. O.

SCARF [Heb. *reᶜᵉʿālâ*] (Isa. 3:19); AV MUFFLER; NEB CORONET. Hebrew *reᶜᵉʿālâ* appears to derive from an Arabic term denoting a type of veil. In v. 23 the NEB renders "scarves of gauze" for Heb. *gillāyôn* (AV "glasses"; RSV "garments of gauze"); *see* GAUZE, GARMENTS OF.

SCARLET. *See* COLOR V.H; DYE.

SCATTERED ABROAD. *See* BABEL, TOWER OF; DISPERSION.

SCENT [Heb. *rê(a)ḥ*]; AV also SMELL; NEB also FLAVOUR; **SCENTED WOOD** [Gk. *xýlon thýïnon*] (Rev. 18:12); AV THYINE.

The Hebrew noun *rê(a)ḥ* is translated "scent" five times in the RSV. Job 14:7-9 reflects the arboricultural practice of cutting a dying tree back to a stump so that in the new growing season fresh shoots will emerge from the stump. Such a radically reduced tree is a sign of the hope that can be placed in God; if that stump can get so much as the "scent of water" (*rê(a)ḥ mayim*) it will put forth new buds. *Rê(a)ḥ* also appears in the literal sense in Cant. 4:11, where the maiden's appreciative lover compares the scent of her garments to that of Lebanon (i.e., of cedar; cf. Ps. 45:8 [MT 9]), and in Cant. 7:8, where he compares her sweet-smelling breath to apricots (NEB; AV, RSV, "apples"). In Jer. 48:11 Moab is pictured as an undisturbed vintage whose bouquet (NEB "flavour") has not varied, but whose time of decanting or disturbance is at hand. *See also* FRAGRANCE; ODOR; SMELL.

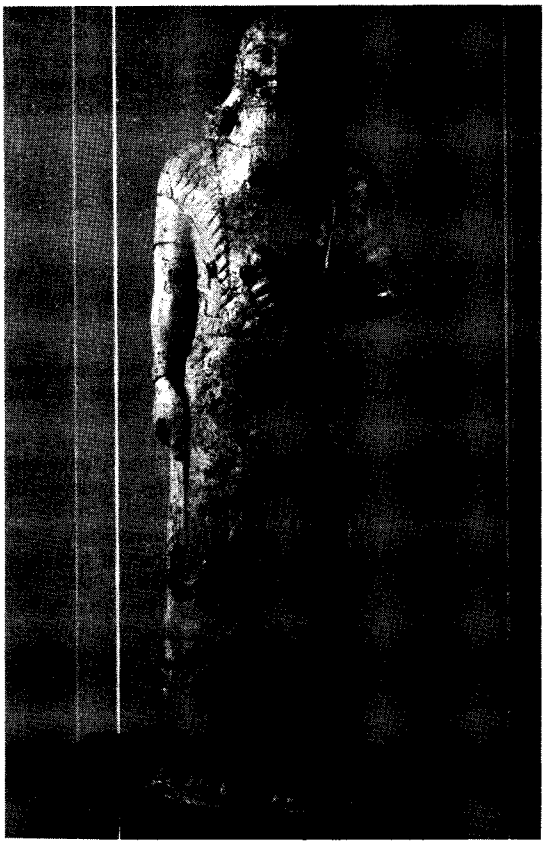
In Rev. 18:12 *xýlon thýïnon*, "scented wood," appears as an item in an exotic catalog of precious cargo goods (cf. the dirge over Tyre in Ezk. 27:12-24) whose profitable flow has now ceased with the demise of "Babylon the great." This highly aromatic citron wood, considered by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xiii.95) to be a type of cypress (*thyia articulata*), was prized not only for its aroma but also for its fine veining (xiii.96). Thus it was often used in the manufacture of costly table tops, referred to by Martial as *mensa citrea* (*Epigrams* xiv.89). Their lovely veneer often resembled the eyes of the peacock tail (xiv.85) or the stripes of a tiger (*Nat. hist.* xiii.96). Pliny identified the source of the best *arbor citri* as Mauretania in Northwest Africa and remarked at length on the exorbitant prices people were willing to pay, under the influence of the current *mensarum insania* ("table-mania"), for a table top of this wood (*Nat. hist.*, xiii.91-102).

D. G. BURKE

SCEPTER [Heb. *maṭṭeh*] (Ps. 110:2; Jer. 48:17); AV ROD, STAFF; NEB also STAFF; [*mᵉḥōqēq*, poal part. of *ḥāqaq*] (Nu. 21:18; Ps. 60:7 [MT 9]; 108:8 [MT 9]); AV LAWGIVER; [*šēḇeṭ*] (Gen. 49:10; Ps. 45:6 [MT 7]; Isa. 14:5; etc.); AV also ROD; NEB also COMET; [*šarbîṭ*] (Est. 4:11; 5:2; 8:4); [Gk. *rhábdos*] (He. 1:8). A staff or rod used by kings to symbolize their authority and power.

In Ps. 110:2 Heb. *maṭṭeh* clearly represents a symbol both of royal rule and of punishment. In Jer. 48:17, however, it may be simply a weapon of oppression. In Ps. 89:44 (MT 45) the RSV emends the MT *miṭṭᵉhārô* (AV "his glory") to read *maṭṭeh miyyāḏô* ("scepter from his hand"; cf. NEB "his glorious rule"). The term *mᵉḥōqēq* is derived from a verb meaning "engrave" and, by extension, "engrave laws," "decree." Thus in Ps. 60:7 (MT 9) and 108:8 (MT 9) Judah itself is God's scepter, since it is through Judah that God's rule is practiced on earth.

Hebrew *šēḇeṭ* (elsewhere rendered "rod" or "staff") is



An alabaster statue of Ashurnasirpal II from Calah (883-859 B.C.) holding a mace-like scepter and crooked staff (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

translated "scepter" in royal contexts. It is sometimes used as a symbol of authority and kingship (Ps. 45:6 [MT 7]). In the hand of a ruthless ruler it can symbolize political and military oppression (Isa. 14:5). Sometimes the concepts of authority and oppression are both present (Nu. 24:17; Am. 1:5; Zec. 10:11). The term also frequently means "tribe." In Gen. 49:16, when Dan judges "his people as one of the 'tribes,' of Israel," the meaning "scepter" is probably also intended as a pun to suggest the method of punishment.

The term *šarbîṭ* is usually taken to be an expanded form of *šēḇeṭ*, perhaps influenced by the Akk. *šar*, "king," which would thus emphasize the royal nature of the object (*šēḇeṭ* itself does not have royal connotations). Others consider it a loanword, used as a proper noun. The term appears only in Esther, where it symbolizes the royal authority and pleasure of the Persian king. A relief from Persepolis, dating from just prior to Esther's time, depicts Darius I holding a scepter between his feet in the manner described in Gen. 49:10 (*see* picture in FOOTSTOOL). The scepter of Ahasuerus was probably very similar in appearance. The danger of approaching the Persian monarch without having been summoned, as recorded in Est. 4:11, is also mentioned by Herodotus (iii.118, 140).

In the NT Gk. *rhábdos* is translated "scepter" only in He. 1:8, a quotation of Ps. 45:6 (MT 7). When Jesus was mocked by the soldiers, he was given a reed to act as His scepter (Mt. 27:29).

Many depictions of royalty in ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, and Canaanite art include a scepter of some kind. Generally, two types are depicted: (1) a long royal staff like the one on the relief of Darius I; (2) a short form with its roots in the mace, a weapon of punishment and oppression. (*See* pictures of Sargon II, Merodach-baladan, and Tukulti-Ninurta in GESTURE.) Scepters of the second type decorated with gold and semi-precious stones, have been found in the tomb of Tutankhamen in Egypt and in the royal tombs of Ur. Mace heads from the Chalcolithic period have been found in a large cache of metal objects from the Nahal Mishmar near the Dead Sea.

See also ROD; STAFF. L. G. HERR

SCEVA sē'və [Gk. *Skeuas*] A Jewish high priest whose seven sons were itinerant Jewish exorcists in Ephesus (Acts 19:14) when Paul was there during his third missionary tour (cf. vv. 11-20). Because of the great fame of Paul's miracles, Jewish exorcists had begun to employ the name of Jesus to work similar feats (cf. the similar corrupt interests of Simon the Magician 8:18-24). But when seven sons of Sceva attempted an exorcism in Jesus' name they failed utterly, since the demon challenged their authority and assailed them. As a result many Ephesians were filled with awe, and soon thereafter some who had once practiced magic renounced their trade by burning their books. The narrative underscores the unrivaled power of Paul: even demons recognized his authority (cf. Mk. 1:23-28). Moreover, it clarifies that Jesus' name should not be used as a magic formula. (The Paris Magical papyrus [no. 574] shows Jesus' name used thus; further, the rabbis denounced any who used Jesus's name in Jewish healings. See F. F. Bruce, comm. on Acts [*NICNT*, 1954] p. 390.)

The chief problem in the narrative is that there is no record of a Jewish high priest named Sceva (*HJP*^{2}, II, 229-232). Gk. *archiereús* in the singular is used by Luke to refer to the high priest and not to just one of the high priestly families. Codex Bezae thus amends the text, calling Sceva simply a "priest" (*hiereús*).

Various solutions have been proposed. (1) E. Haenchen suggested that the text may be unhistorical and serve Luke's polemic against the Jewish authorities (Acts of the Apostles [Eng. tr. 1971], pp. 563-66). (2) Others have viewed "Sceva" as the Latin name (*Scaeva*) — since Jews often carried both Hebrew and Latin names — of a high priest known in other sources only by his Hebrew name. (3) Others have derived the name from Heb. *šeḇaʿ*, but this also fails to solve the historical problem of the piresthood. (4) Some have suggested that Sceva was a Jew but "high priest" refers to a pagan office or to the imperial cult (B. E. Taylor, *Expos.T.*, 57 [1945-46], 222). B. A. Mastin has argued that he could locate the literary context of the Sceva story in the Greco-Roman mystery religions (*JTS*, 27 [1976], 405-412). (5) Another solution — probably the best — suggests that Acts 19 is reporting an inaccurate popular tradition. In the ancient world Jews were often thought to possess magical powers (pagan literature even tried to employ Hebrew names to this end). According to this view Luke simply reported Sceva's self-ascription (see F. F. Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles* [1951, repr. 1981], p. 358); the seven men had assumed the title of "sons of the high priest" to impress and delude the public.

Some discussion has also focused on a grammatical peculiarity in v. 16. While Sceva had seven sons (19:14), the spirit-possessed man assailed "*both* of them" (Gk. *amphóteroi*; RSV "all of them"). Strictly speaking, *amphóteroi* expresses only the dual number, which is at odds with the number seven in v. 14 (some MSS omit the refer-

ence to "seven" [*heptá*] in v. 14 to correct this). There is now abundant evidence, however, that *amphóteroi* expressed a true plural (= *pántes*) in later Koine and Byzantine Greek (see Bauer, rev., p. 47; F. F. Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 359). G. M. BURGE

SCHISM. A division or separation within a body of people. The RSV does not use this word to translate any of the eight instances of Gk. *schísma* or eleven uses of the verb *schízō* in the NT. "Schism" appears in the AV only at 1 Cor. 12:25: "That there should be no schism in the body" (NEB "that there might be no sense of division in the body"; RSV "that there may be no discord in the body"). The reference is to "divisions" (11:18, RSV) within the Corinthian congregation, especially those based on loyalty to certain Christian leaders (cf. 1:10-13). Such "dissensions" (1:10, RSV) should not exist in the body of Christ, the Church.

Similar uses of *schísma* to denote a division within a larger group occur in Jn. 7:43 ("the people"); 9:16 ("the Pharisees"); and 10:19 ("the Jews"). All of these "divisions" (RSV) arose over Jesus — His identity, origin, and message. Jesus' presence, actions, and words caused people to take sides, to believe or not believe. The apostle Paul also caused a division, among both Gentiles and Jews, by preaching the gospel of Jesus and His resurrection (*schízō*, Acts 14:4; 23:7).

See DISSENSION; DIVISION; HERESY II.

T. F. JOHNSON

SCHOOL. *See* EDUCATION.

SCHOOLMASTER. *See* CUSTODIAN.

SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS. *See* PROPHECY.

SCIENCE AND CHRISTIANITY.

I. Nature of the Subject
II. Limitations of Science
III. Importance of Science
IV. Correlations Between Scientific Descriptions and a Christian World-View
V. God-of-the-Gaps
VI. Meaning of "Human"
VII. Creation and Evolution
VIII. Determinism and Free Will
IX. Christian Responsibilities in Science and Engineering
X. Summary

I. Nature of the Subject.—Interactions between science and Christianity are often mistakenly described under the heading "Science and the Bible." Little progress can be made, however, until one realizes that such a comparison results from a confusion of categories. Science is the result of human interpretation of God's original and continuing work in creation, i.e., the universe in which we live. The Bible is God's revelation given to human beings through the words of the biblical writers. Thus the category comparable to "science" is "theology," which is the result of human interpretation of God's Word. The category comparable to "the Bible" is "the universe," which is given to us by God's creative activity.

If conflicts appear to arise, they can arise of necessity only between the two kinds of interpretation, between science and theology. We may take as a guiding principle that authentic science, i.e., science faithfully carried out in accordance with its guiding principles of interpretation, cannot be in ultimate conflict with authentic theology, i.e., theology faithfully carried out in accordance with its guiding principles of interpretation. Any apparent conflict must therefore be the result of an incorrect scientific interpretation, an incorrect theological interpretation, or conceivably incorrect interpretations of both. Such apparent conflicts should therefore drive us back to reexamine the interpretations we have made and to be as sure as we can that we have followed the guidelines of authentic science and theology. Within theology these guidelines have been called hermeneutics, and they comprise a variety of principles that we should follow in determining the content of the biblical revelation. Failure to follow these principles results in faulty interpretations, heresy, and apostasy. Within science the corresponding guidelines have been called the scientific method, and they likewise comprise a variety of principles that we should follow in determining the scientific nature of reality. Failure to follow these principles results in faulty interpretations, eccentric ideas, and pseudoscience.

Failure to recognize these distinctions, with the resulting effort to call for a choice between science (seen as fallible human speculation) and the Bible (seen as God's infallible Word), has often caused confusion for Christians. Of course, no less confusing is the call often heard from non-Christians to choose between science (seen as the only rational approach to life) and the Bible (seen as the subjective speculations of an ancient people).

II. Limitations of Science.—A world view has developed that is sometimes called "scientism." It assumes that the scientific method is the only reliable guide to knowledge, that scientific truth is the only truth available. If accepted, such a world view would leave no room for a theological perspective on life. Several weaknesses in this world view prevent it from being effective.

(1) Scientism is based on the assumption that the scientific method is the only way to obtain knowledge or truth. But since this assumption cannot itself be derived scientifically, it cannot consistently be considered to be universally true. Philosophically this view cannot be internally consistent but must start with an act of faith.

(2) Scientism has an essentially impersonal orientation and hence is unable to deal with the intrinsically personal aspects of human life. If it attempts to deal with them on its own terms, it reduces them to impersonal mechanisms and thus deprives the human being of personhood.

(3) Scientism does not carry within itself the power to deliver human beings from their problems, but is at the mercy of the choices of those who must decide how to apply the findings of science. Even when the motives of scientists and appliers of science are relatively pure, the applications of technology in an imperfect and complex world generate new imperfections while removing others.

(4) Scientism is incapable of providing the basis for what *ought* to be done, but can only describe what *is*. Once again the motive for human living must be provided from a source outside science itself. Attempts to provide a scientific basis for ethics are always a case of unscientifically declaring *what is* to be the measure of *what ought to be*.

III. Importance of Science.—Reactions against the excesses of scientism often lead to a wholly relativistic, subjective, and sometimes even irrational view of life. If scientism reduces the human being to a machine, irrationalism reduces the human being to an animal. This pitfall can be avoided if, while recognizing the limitations of science, we are also aware of its importance.

(1) The pursuit of science is generally based on the acceptance of the existence of an objective reality that is not ultimately dependent on human beings. To perceive such an objective reality is to be able to speak of truth and

to be delivered from a wholly relativistic view of life and values. The Judeo-Christian world view sees this objective reality to be the created structure of the universe, extending not only throughout the physical realm but throughout the area of interpersonal relationships as well.

(2) The doing of science and the application of science are constant reminders of our need to conform our practice to the structure of the created universe. The truly creative imagination is not one that disregards the materials and principles of this world, but one that brings new insight, new life, and new understanding of reality through the materials and principles of this world.

(3) A scientific understanding also helps us to appreciate the meaning of true freedom. To be free does not mean to disregard with impunity any restrictions, but it means to live creatively and fully with due regard for the constraints and limitations given to us in the structure of the universe. All attempts to bring absolute freedom into practice result in self-destruction. Since irrationalism is a movement largely motivated by the desire for absolute freedom, it carries the seeds of its own failure.

IV. Correlations Between Scientific Descriptions and a Christian World View.–A scientific description and a theological description are not mutually exclusive alternatives, but necessary descriptions to be held, considered, and integrated at the same time. We view this assertion from five perspectives.

A. Purpose. Science may be defined as a way of knowing based on the human interpretation in natural categories of sense contacts with the universe that can be reproduced and publicly tested. The primary purpose of science is to describe the world in which we live. Various models (e.g., approximations, pictures, projections) describe the real world in a simpler kind of framework. Such models are successful when they describe to a sufficient accuracy what we observe in the natural world and when they allow us to predict new results beyond the original model.

Scientific descriptions are sought to enable us to understand the world and to act creatively within the world. The Christian position provides a foundation that other positions must somehow assume. That it is good to understand, to have a theoretical knowledge of the world, and to be able to control the world in such a way that we can act creatively must be based ultimately, if on anything at all, on the biblical doctrines of creation and providence.

But scientific description does not consist of every possible kind of description, nor does it exclude all other kinds of description. A scientific description is one particular kind of description, made in one particular way, following one particular set of guidelines. Other kinds of description also exist for the same event, process, or being, some of which cannot be tested by the scientific method because they are not susceptible to analysis by sense contacts with the world in the way that scientific descriptions must be.

Every event that happens can properly be considered in at least two ways. One way is to say, "What is the description of this event in terms of natural cause and effect categories? What is the scientific description?" But we must also ask, "What is the meaning of this event? What is the purpose of this event? How does this event relate to God, to His purposes, to the flow of history, to ultimate reality? What is the theological description?"

It is essential to realize the possibility of — indeed the necessity of — parallel descriptions, different kinds of descriptions that are not mutually exclusive but which reinforce each other although they are derived from asking different kinds of questions. If this were done consistently we would be able to overcome many of our own conflicts and those of the history of Christianity and science by leaving open the possibility that we need to look at things in more than one way in order to see them in their totality. Such problems as brain *v.* mind, body *v.* soul, physical *v.* spiritual, determinism *v.* free will, natural *v.* supernatural, Calvinism *v.* Arminianism, nonliving *v.* living, evolution *v.* creation -- all these supposed conflicts ought not to be thought to involve contradictory and exclusive descriptions so that either one or the other must be chosen. Rather they often represent situations in which one must ultimately choose both options, using them one at a time as one attempts to answer different kinds of questions.

B. Possibility. The question "Why is science possible?" cannot be simply glossed over. Those who assume a non-Christian position do not hesitate to ask Christians, "Does God exist?" Then this question is followed with the inevitable, "Prove it." But a ready response is to ask, "Is science possible?" The non-Christian would reply, "Oh yes, of course." Then must follow the request, "Prove it." Of course it cannot be proved except by the doing. It is the doing that gives evidence for its possibility, and the situation with respect to God's existence is quite similar. The evidence that God exists can be known only through relationship with Him. Just as one cannot possibly do science while believing it to be impossible, one cannot possibly know whether God exists while believing that He does not.

The possibility of science in the Christian perspective once again depends upon the biblical doctrines of creation and providence.

Because God has created it is possible for us to investigate and to continue the pursuit of science. That there should be a structure of reality suitable for scientific investigation must be either a fantastic result of pure chance, or it must be based on the Christian position of creation and providence.

Many scientists and philosophers have reflected about the finely tuned nature of the universe upon which the very possibility of human life critically depends. If any of several fundamental aspects of the universe were slightly different than they are, life would never have arisen. One may propose two possible answers: (1) There are and have been an effectively infinite number of universes with all of the possible variations of fundamental properties. Just by pure chance our universe happened to come into being as one of this infinite variety, and since the properties just happened to all fit together properly, human life developed. (2) The finely tuned nature of this universe's parameters testifies to the activity of One who called this particular universe into being for His own purposes (a modern form of the classical teleological argument for the existence of God).

C. Presuppositions. A Christian sees science as possible because it is reasonable to step out in faith on the basis of the biblical doctrines of creation and providence.

Some of the presuppositions of science that are needed in order to step out in faith include the following: (1) the world is understandable through rational processes of the human mind; (2) the human mind can conceive analogies and models that adequately describe the natural world; (3) natural phenomena are reproducible in some general and universal sense; and (4) discernible patterns of order exist.

Why should these presuppositions be accepted? The Christian answer is that they are reasonable because there is a given structure, there is an objective reality, and there is subject matter for the pursuit of science. Furthermore,

we are made in the image of God and thus have the possibility of understanding at least partially what this structure is like.

D. Posture. The posture of science is defined by the fact that a structure of reality has been given to us, to which we must be open. In doing science, the universe is normative, not the scientist. Scientists must subject themselves to the world, not subject the world to themselves. Of course modern science in particular reminds us that when we interact with the world, the results that we see are often a consequence of that total interaction and not just a passive world on which we operate. But it remains true that the scientists' endeavor is to find out not what should be, not what might be, nor what could be, but only what is; they must do their best to find out what *is* from the world, rather than trying to impose their ideas arbitrarily upon it.

If this posture is viable, the basis for it must once again be found in the biblical doctrines of creation and providence. A created structure is given to us; our pursuit of the knowledge of truth requires us not to fabricate or invent a structure but to determine to the best of our ability what that given structure is.

Once this posture of openness is adopted, we have freedom in our scientific activity, i.e., freedom from conflict between our preconceptions of what we must find in science and what we do find in science. If we attempt to force a scientific perspective upon theology, the effect is bad theology; if we attempt to force a theological or philosophical perspective upon science the effect is bad science. There is no need for either. Our scientific description cannot necessarily be expected to be identical to our theological description; if this were the case, we would not have the need for both. But we do need both kinds of description since they are complementary and not mutually exclusive.

Any attempts to dictate the results of scientific inquiry from convictions derived from philosophy, politics, metaphysics, religion, or any other ideology is a violation of the posture of science, which must be one of openness before the given structure of reality. Success in science demands this same posture of openness of both Christian and non-Christian alike.

E. Potential. Since science is a human endeavor, it has no more intrinsic claim to universal helpfulness than any other human endeavor. A scientific investigation does not prescribe its own applications. Thus science is not a competitor with Christian faith but a helper; it enables us to exercise our moral and ethical directives intelligently rather than foolishly.

The potential of science is to be one means of service to the world. It is not the only means of service, but it can inform and guide many types of service. Just as science can serve as an ally and help to the living out of the Christian faith, the realistic faith required to carry on science in spite of the ambivalence of its consequences requires trust in God's ultimate control over all things.

V. God-of-the-Gaps.–There are three basic ways of responding to the increase in human knowledge about the universe.

(1) The growth of human understanding has liberated human beings from superstitions and rituals. Human beings now no longer need the crutch of religion. In the future all things are possible for human beings as they take control of their own destiny.

(2) The growth of human knowledge is at least in part the consequence of the human desire to exalt oneself and to relive the drama of the tower of Babel. We are mistaken in attempting to answer as many questions as we can through science. It is inappropriate for us to continue with scientific investigation of some areas that are better left to God alone, and we should deliberately reject any responsibility for dealing with these areas. God took care of them in the past, and we should leave them alone rather than trying to "play God."

(3) It is certainly true that the increase in human ability to do things does outstrip human moral responsibility. But just as we cannot plunge ahead with technological pursuit in the belief that it will eventually deliver us, neither can we forsake the responsibility and choices that our current technology places upon us. Rather we must assess present choices and seek to inform future decisions with all of the moral and practical wisdom available to us. For the Christian the basis for this moral wisdom must come from a personal relationship with God, which is then shared with the community.

Each of these three positions has implications about God and our relationship with Him. The first supposes that God, if He ever existed, is no longer necessary; very likely the concept of "God" was born of fear and ignorance in primitive human beings as an explanation for the unknown and as a palliative for insecurity. The second supposes that God is constantly striving with human beings to prevent their increase in knowledge, but that human beings nevertheless do continue to learn more and more. This knowledge is seen as a threat against belief in God, which is ultimately based on the fact that we are and must remain ignorant in areas of our experience that are reserved for God's activity. Both the first and the second positions agree in an important perspective — they regard God as the explanation for unexplainable phenomena in the world. The first dispenses with God as these phenomena become explainable, while the second tries to prevent the explanation of these phenomena in natural terms so as to reserve some place for God.

The third position recognizes that all increase in human knowledge is obtained through either the active or the passive activity of God. God has brought us to our present technological stage, and God is able to bring us through our difficulties in making responsible choices in an increasingly complex world. Future choices must neither be rejected completely nor taken lightly without due consideraton of God's purpose in the world and of the nature of humanity made in the image of God. Only this third position recognizes that God is Lord of the natural and the supernatural, that a natural description of a natural event does not eliminate God as the sustainer of that event, and that God must be Lord in all of life, not just in small recesses of ignorance reserved for Him.

The attitude toward God illustrated in the first and second positions, i.e., that our evidence for the existence and activity of God is found primarily in those events for which human explanations are lacking, has been called the "God-of-the-gaps." It is one of the classical errors of Christian theology through the years in dealing with a scientific understanding of the universe. The argument states that we may now know much about physics, chemistry, biology, etc., but certain key physical, chemical, or biological mechanisms must forever elude us because such mechanisms do not in fact exist. These gaps in natural description are filled only by the recognition that God acts directly in these gaps above and beyond any physical, chemical, or biological mechanism. In this interpretation God remains the "Great Mechanician," and the possibility of a complete physical, chemical, or biological description — even in principle — is forever ruled out by the very existence and activity of God.

The continuous chain of evidence in the physical and

biological sciences is so compelling that most knowledgeable Christians today recognize the fallacy of the God-of-the-gaps approach. They see that such an advocacy results in the paradox of less and less evidence for the existence and activity of God resulting from more and more knowledge of His creation. They emphasize the importance of seeing God in all phenomena, the natural as much as the supernatural, and of recognizing that the very existence of the material universe depends continuously upon the sustaining activity of God. Today many Christians are willing to admit that a complete description in physical and biological categories may well be possible, at least in principle, without calling upon God as being the missing mechanism in these categories, but they do not conclude that this invalidates descriptions in other categories as well.

Many modes of common speech add to the confusion in this area. Well-meaning Christians speak of God as intervening in the natural order, overruling natural law, or using natural law to achieve His purposes. The inappropriateness of such phrases is made clear when we understand the biblical picture of God as the continuing source of the existence of the entire space-time universe, so that any event that takes place in that universe must be ultimately viewed as dependent upon the activity of God. What are often referred to as "natural laws" do not have some kind of independent existence of their own; indeed, scientific laws are human descriptions of God's normal mode of free activity. Thus scientific laws are descriptive, not prescriptive. Scientific laws do not cause things to happen; rather such laws describe the regular ways that we observe things happening. To speak of God as "intervening" into the natural order supposes that a natural order exists independent of God; but no such natural order exists since the only order there is depends moment by moment upon the continuing free activity of God for its very existence. Likewise God has no need to "overrule" natural law, since natural law is our human description of the way that God normally acts; nor can God "use" natural law as if it were a hammer or a shovel, since once again such laws are our descriptions of God's free activity. In this perspective an understanding of miracles follows directly: miracles are the result of God's free activity expressing itself according to His purpose in ways not normally observed by us. *See* MIRACLE.

VI. Meaning of "Human."—Nowhere is the issue of integration between science and Christian faith more critical than in those areas where scientific knowledge affects and influences human values. In each such case the Christian must recognize the data from science and the data from biblical theology and arrive at an integration that is faithful to both disciplines. The identity of the human being will come increasingly under challenge as scientific advances show more ways in which the attributes and personality of human beings can be influenced by chemical, psychological, and sociological influences. The push to deliver human beings from the effects of sin without recognizing the full relational dimensions of the reality of sin threatens to be successful, but only at the expense of the ultimate dehumanization of human beings.

One of the difficulties in speaking about such issues is the common lack of an in-depth understanding of what it means to be human. We frequently take this understanding for granted, but such an attitude is quickly shown to be superficial, and the gaining of this understanding represents a basic problem in the integration of Christian thought into the real world.

Careful consideration and integration of data from both scientific and biblical sources support the view that a human being is a pneumopsychosomatic unity, i.e., a human being is a whole person with attributes that can be described in a variety of more detailed ways, most common among which are bodily (Gk. *sōma*, "body"), soulful (*psychē*, "soul") and spiritual (*pneuma*, "breath" "spirit") descriptions. Human beings are bodily creatures because their existence as human beings in this world depends upon their biological structure and constitution. Human beings are soulful creatures because they are alive, self-conscious, and personal. Human beings are spiritual creatures because they have the ability and responsibility for personal relationship with one another and with God. These words express respectively the normal criteria for humanity: the biological criterion of genotype, the social criterion of behavior, and the spiritual criterion of relationship with God.

Again much traditional terminology in this area needs to be carefully rethought. In many cases traditional ways of speaking lead almost unconsciously to ways of thinking that cannot be supported by consideration of either biblical or scientific data. Most common is reference to "life," "soul," or "spirit" as *things* that we as human beings *have;* reflection indicates that a more consistent manner of speech leads us to refer to "being alive," "being soulful," and "being spiritual" as expressions of what human beings *are*.

The human being does not *have* life; the human being *is* alive. The human being does not *have* a body, a soul, a spirit; the human being *is* a body-soul-spirit, that unique living creature made in the image of God, redeemed by the blood of Christ, and destined in Christ (for those who receive Him in faith) to be raised again to living experience as a whole person.

Immortality as an intrinsic property of humanity is a heritage from Greek Platonism; in biblical thought immortality is a future gift of God to be bestowed upon those whom He will raise in Christ at the resurrection.

To be human is to be involved in a process. The possession of a human genotype assures that an individual is wholly human; but to become fully human in the sense of achieving the intention of creation requires the process of bodily development, social maturation, and divine sanctification. All life involving the human genotype is human life, but critical value decisions are still needed when one form of human life comes into conflict with other forms of human life.

See ANTHROPOLOGY.

VII. Creation and Evolution.—The biblical doctrine of creation is far more than an historical option; it is a fundamental necessity that drives a sharp wedge between competing world views and perspectives on the nature of the human being. It stands in unique opposition to naturalism's denial of meaning and purpose in the universe, to dualism's acceptance of other elements in the universe as coeternal with God, and to pantheism's denial of the metaphysical differences between God and the universe. Out of the many possible models for the human being, the biblical model presents one in which human beings are creatures like other creatures, and yet are creatures made in the image of God and hence unlike other creatures. It establishes both the transcendence and immanence of God, and reveals that evil is not intrinsic to the created universe but is a moral aberration upon that good creation.

Unfortunately, contemporary debates frequently obscure the issue by posing creation and evolution as two mutually exclusive options, as though one must choose between a biblically sound faith that supports creation and an atheistic, Bible-contradicting position that supports

SCIENCE AND CHRISTIANITY

evolution. Once again we encounter a fundamental case of category confusion. Two major world views are in possible conflict: Creation and Evolutionism; and two mechanisms of creation are in possible conflict: fiat creation and evolution. The world view of Evolutionism explicitly rejects God, meaning, and purpose in the universe, and certainly must be rejected by a Christian. There is, however, no a priori reason why a world view based on creation, as biblically described above, cannot be consistent with either the mechanism of instantaneous creation (usually called fiat creation), or of creation by process in time (usually called evolution), or of any other presently unknown phenomena that may express the actual activity of God in creation.

Ample scientific evidence suggests that living creatures undergo changes in physical and biological structures, particularly in response to changes in environmental conditions. This is the basic scientific foundation for evolutionary theory; it is supplemented by a growing body of understanding at the biochemical level as relationships between details of genetic expression are clarified. The general theory of evolution, which supposes that all living forms developed from less complex forms that in turn developed from nonliving matter, is a reasonable hypothesis that attempts to integrate the type of observable changes mentioned above with the fossil record and other evidences of age and change in earth's history. It remains true, however, that no complete quantitative theory of evolution has been formulated. Any attempt to calculate quantitatively the probability of evolutionary developments leading to the present state of affairs, on the basis of our present knowledge of evolutionary mechanisms, leads to the inevitable conclusion that something very improbable has happened.

Some Christians display their antipathy to evolution in the form of an attack on the scientific merits of the general theory. The motive for this attack has not primarily been scientific concern, however; two other issues are of more concern to these Christians. The first motive is the Christian opposition to philosophical systems based on the extrascientific supposition that evolution is a universal principle guiding all meaningful considerations and generally leading to some form of humanism or to aberrations with more destructive import — what we have called Evolutionism. Christian antievolutionists have properly opposed these philosophical extrapolations, but they have done so by attacking the scientific basis for the biological theory. If anti-Christian evolutionists have been mistaken in extrapolating from a biological theory to philosophical conclusions, Christian antievolutionists have been equally mistaken in attacking a scientific theory for philosophical reasons.

The second motive for the attack of Christian antievolutionists is perhaps even more basic. They have concluded that the general theory of evolution and the Genesis Creation account are mutually exclusive. They have seen advocacy of the general theory as a direct assault on the reliability, authority, and integrity of the Bible. Here they have uncritically accepted specific traditional interpretations of these biblical passages without thoroughly evaluating the revelational purpose behind their writing. They have been so concerned to demonstrate that evolution contradicts their interpretation of Genesis that they have not paid attention to the possibility that their interpretation of Genesis might contradict the biblical nature of this very revelation. If anti-Christian evolutionists have been at fault in concluding that acceptance of the general theory precludes acceptance of the biblical revelation, so also Christian antievolutionists have been at fault in concluding that acceptance of the biblical revelation precludes acceptance of the general theory.

Evolution is ultimately a scientific question on the biological level, and on this level the reliability of the general theory must be estabished. While maintaining the truth and the significance of the biblical teaching on creation, Christians can also remain open to a variety of possibilities in which God manifested His creative activity. We need not reconstruct our theology around evolution; neither must we reject evolution to protect our theology. Evolution can be considered without denying creation; creation can be accepted without excluding evolution. Since an evolutionary description need not be ruled out a priori by biblical considerations, the Christian has the freedom to pursue wherever biblical and scientific integrity lead in the future.

See CREATION; EVOLUTION.

VIII. Determinism and Free Will.–The choices in a scientific description are of only two types: in terms of exact mathematical relations with the possibility of exact prediction of the future from knowledge of the present (a deterministic description), or in terms of a probabilistic approach (often called "chance" in science), in which the future predictions of the description can deal only with the probability of events occurring, not with their certainty. To say that a scientific description is a chance description implies only that our present abilities lead us to describe it in a statistical rather than a deterministic manner. Many examples can be cited to show the danger in assigning ultimate philosophical or metaphysical meaning to the terms "determinism" and "chance" used in scientific descriptions. Determinism can be the instrument of design, but so can chance; the creativity expressed in the creation of the multiplicity of human beings is expressed scientifically through the chance assignment of genetic configurations.

The form of the paradox in which determinism is pitted against free will has both a secular and a theological content. In a secular sense the issue is whether human beings are so controlled by their genetic and environmental factors that their choices flow inevitably from these factors, with any indication of actual choice being nothing more than an internalized illusion, or whether human beings can indeed make responsible choices above and beyond the aspects of life that form their living context. In a theological sense the paradox is well-known as the historical Calvinist/Arminian controversy: whether a person's coming to saving faith is the inevitable consequence of God's determining election, or whether a person's coming to faith is an act of free human choice among equally possible alternatives. As usual some attention to the definition and meaning of these two terms is helpful. It is quickly realized that both determinism and free will taken in an absolute sense are idealizations rather than faithful descriptions of reality. On the one hand, no event can be said to be absolutely determined; on the other hand, no will can be said to be absolutely free. If it is true that the Christian responds to the paradox (not the contradiction) of God's sovereignty *v.* human responsibility by holding both facets in tension, recognizing that they address different questions in different contexts, then perhaps a clue can be obtained from the theological to guide a response to the secular dilemma.

Attempts to resolve the determinism *v.* free will controversy in terms of some neat dichotomy are an illusion. These two aspects of reality are interwoven so that they form more the two aspects of one reality than two competing absolute world views.

Attempts to relate the forms of scientific description to

the realities of personal life are equally nonproductive. A deterministic scientific description appears most compatible with a responsible human choice but is commonly believed to make such responsible choices impossible. Relief from determinism through an appeal to chance appears to make other options possible, but a responsible choice is not one of them, since it is hardly compatible with random noncaused activity.

People dealing with determinism and free will must abandon the search for a general answer and must ask instead: "To what extent am I determined, and at the same time to what extent am I free?" Appropriate areas and interactions for both exist within the context of a meaningful human life.

IX. Christian Responsibilities in Science and Engineering.–Great cultural patterns and convictions stand in the way of the responsible care of planet earth, patterns and convictions that commonly aspire to the status of religious categories in the lives of those who hold them. Materialism is usually accepted without reflection as the guiding principle for success in life, but materialism values things above all else and will sacrifice all for the possession of more things. Profit making as the sole motivating spirit of economics and production in a competitive system cannot afford to be consciously responsible if profits are threatened, and automatic responsibility as a natural consequence of the system appears to be a discredited illusion. All economic systems founder on the basic self-centeredness of the human heart, and Christian realism demands acknowledgement of this reality in any attempts to improve the system. Nationalism, racism, and ethnicism are all ways in which individual self-centeredness is generalized to a larger group and made a virtue rather than a vice.

A special responsibility falls upon Christians in charge of scientific research and technological development. They must be responsible both to use resources wisely in the pursuit of basic understanding and practical applications, and to choose projects that appear to maximize benefits for the human race. A scientist or engineer cannot simply sell his talents to any legal bidder without becoming responsible for the outcome of his investigations. Thus to be a practicing scientist or engineer in certain situations may indeed not be possible for a Christian.

A Christian view of human responsibility with respect to the environment is based on the biblical doctrine of Creation. The natural world has value in itself because it was made by God Himself. Human beings are not the owners of the natural world, nor is the only purpose of the natural world to serve them. God has provided the resources of the world for the benefit of people and has entrusted them with the responsibility of caring for these resources so that they may be used in the best way for all people. We must not forget that we are part of the natural world and hence are direct participants in the ecology, and that we are responsible for the natural world in a way assigned to no other creature. But such human awareness cannot be evoked by only an intellectual enumeration of the things that must be done in order to save the earth from further pollution and exploitation; a knowledge of what must be done must be coupled with a personal will to do it, a motivation that has no ultimate source except a personal relationship with God through Jesus Christ.

X. Summary.–Scientific and theological descriptions may be related in five fundamental patterns. The first two approaches are based on the assumption that there is only one primary method of description and that other descriptions must be derived from it. (1) In the *theology-first* approach a scientific description derived from a theological source takes precedence over a scientific description derived from scientific investigations. (2) In the symmetric *science-first* approach theological descriptions must be derived from scientific descriptions in order to be relevant and meaningful.

The other three approaches are based on the assumption that both scientific and theological descriptions can be constructed from activities within the two disciplines. (3) Scientific descriptions and theological descriptions give the same kind of information about the same kinds of categories. This leads to a *conflict* approach in which apparent disagreement between the two descriptions must be settled by determining which is right and which is wrong. (4) Scientific descriptions and theological descriptions give different kinds of information about different kinds of categories. This *compartmentalization* approach allows no interaction between the two types of description. (5) Scientific descriptions and theological descriptions give different kinds of information about the same kinds of categories. This *complementarity* approach allows one to integrate insights from the different scientific and theological disciplines.

When applied to the observed hierarchical structure of the scientific description of the universe, theology-first leads to a God-of-the-gaps, science-first leads to a scientific pseudo-theology, conflict leads to a rejection of either scientific or theological descriptions, and compartmentalization allows both types of descriptions to exist but removes their fundamental meaning and significance; only complementarity provides a framework within which one can arrive at an integration of scientific and theological elements to describe God's activity in creating and sustaining the universe.

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SCOFF; SCOFFING; SCOFFER [Heb. *lîṣ*–'talk big' (Prov. 9:12; hithpolal, Isa. 28:22), *lāṣôn* (Prov. 1:22; 29:8; Isa. 28:14), *lēṣ* (Ps. 1:1; Prov. 1:22; 9:7f.; 13:1; 14:6; etc.), piel of *ḥārap* (Ps. 74:10, 18; Zeph. 2:10), *ḥerpâ*–'abuse' (Ps. 74:22), hiphil of *mûq* (Ps. 73:8), hithpael of *qālas* (Hab. 1:10), piel of *nāḇēl* (Dt. 32:15), hithpalpel of *tā'a'* (2 Ch. 36:16), *la'ag*–'derision' (Job 34:7), *sepeq*–'jeering' (Job 36:18), *mᵉlîṣâ*–'allusive saying' (Hab. 2:6); Gk. *ekmykterízō* (Lk. 16:14; 23:35), *empaigmoné*–'mockery' (2 Pet. 3:3), *empaíktēs*–'mocker' (2 Pet. 3:3; Jude 18), *kataphronētés*–'despiser' (Acts 13:41)]; AV also REPROACH, SCORN(ING), MOCK(ER), DERIDE(R), LIGHTLY ESTEEM, MISUSE, "taunting proverb" (Hab. 2:6), "be corrupt" (Ps. 73:8), etc.; NEB also TAUNT, BE HAUGHTY, DISHONOUR, ARROGANCE, JEER, etc.; **SCORN; SCORNER** [Heb. *lā'ag*–'ridicule' (2 K. 19:21; Job 22:19; Ps. 80:6 [MT 7]; 123:4; Isa. 37:22), *la'ag*–(Ps. 44:13), *lîṣ* ("be scornful," Prov. 3:34), hiphil of *lîṣ* (Job 16:20; Prov.

14:9; part., 3:34), *ḥerpâ* (Ps. 22:6 [MT 7]; 31:11 [MT 12]; 39:8 [MT 9]; etc.), *śāḥaq* (Job 39:7; hiphil, 1 Ch. 30:10), piel of *nā'aṣ*–'treat disrespectfully' (2 S. 12:14), *bûz*–'show contempt for' (Prov. 30:17; Cant. 8:7), piel of *nā'ar*–'reject' (Lam. 2:7), piel of *qālas* (Ezk. 16:31); Gk. *exouthenéō*–'treat with contempt' (Gal. 4:14)]; AV also REPROACH, LAUGH (TO SCORN), BLASPHEME, CONDEMN, etc.; NEB also "make game of," BUTT, CONTEMPT, MOCK, TAUNT, DISDAIN, SPURN, etc.

As a verb "scorn" signifies first of all an attitude of extreme contempt and disgust; it can also denote the expression of such an attitude. The noun denotes an object of extreme contempt. "Scoff" always signifies an outward expression of contempt through derisive words or acts (e.g., through the gesture of wagging one's head; *see* GESTURE V). The RSV correctly substitutes "scoffer" in most passages where the AV has "scorner." A sense of arrogant superiority generally underlies both a scornful attitude and scoffing behavior.

In wisdom literature the scoffer is the opposite of the righteous, God-fearing person (Ps. 1:1). Those who scoff refuse to learn the way of wisdom (Prov. 14:6) and do not respond to correction (9:7f.; 13:1; 15:12; 19:25). They reject the messengers of God who confront them with the truth (cf. 2 Ch. 30:10; 36:16). They despise morality and ignore religion because of their obstinate arrogance and foolishness (Prov. 14:6; 19:25, 29; 21:24; 24:9). Their malicious slander is the cause of strife (22:10; 29:8). The righteous particularly are the butt of scoffers' taunts, and the psalmists frequently complained to God that they had become an object of mockery and derision to their exultant enemies (31:11; 39:8; 44:13; Ps. 89:41, 50; etc.). In the DSS also the opponents of the righteous are called "scoffers" (CD 1:14; 4QpIsa 2:6).

Jesus' opponents revealed their deep-seated impiety when they scoffed at His teaching about wealth (Lk. 16:14) and jeered at Him on the cross (23:35). Jude 18 and 2 Pet. 3:3f. warn that scoffers who despise God's revelation will appear in the last days to deride the seemingly unfulfilled promise of Christ's return and the accompanying judgment. For such persons the only rule of faith is their own ungodly passions.

See also DERIDE; MOCK; REPROACH; REVILE.

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SCORCH; SCORCHING. In the NT the RSV uses these words to translate Gk. *kaúma,* "heat" ("scorching heat," Rev. 7:16), or one of its cognates: *kaumatízō,* "scorch, burn" (Mt. 13:6; Mk. 4:6; Rev. 16:8f.), and *kaúsōn,* "burning heat" ("scorching heat," Mt. 20:12; Lk. 12:55; Jas. 1:11). In Lk. 12:55 the reference is to the dry heat of the south(east) wind (*see* PALESTINE V.C); but the other passages refer to the burning HEAT of the sun, which consumes human strength (cf. Ps. 32:4), causes intense thirst, and dries up vegetation (Jas. 1:11; cf. Jesus' parable of the sower, where this heat is a figure for "tribulation or persecution" [Mt. 13:6, 20f. par. Mk. 4:6, 16f.]). The scorching heat of the sun can thus be a metaphor for God's judgment. In Rev. 16:8f. the "fourth angel" pours out his bowl on the sun, intensifying its heat so that it "scorches" the followers of the beast; by contrast, in 7:16 it is said of the followers of the Lamb that "the sun shall not strike them, nor any scorching heat."

The OT uses of "scorch" and "scorching" are more problematic. The RSV uses "scorch" or "be scorched" for four rare Hebrew verbs: the niphal of *kāwâ* ("to burn, scorch, singe"; Prov. 6:28), *šāzap* (lit. "to look upon"; used figuratively of the sun's burning or tanning effects in Cant. 1:6), *ḥārar* ("to burn, glow with heat" [as in the smelting of metals; cf. Ezk. 24:11]; Isa. 24:6), and the niphal of *ṣāraḇ* (cf. Akk. *ṣarāpu,* "to burn, singe, scorch"; Ezk. 20:47 [MT 21:3]). With the exception of Isa. 24:6 (NEB "dwindle"), the NEB follows the RSV in rendering these words with "scorched"; the AV uses "burned" in all but one instance (Cant. 1:6: "the sun hath looked upon me").

"Scorching" is similarly used by the RSV to render several rare Hebrew expressions. The phrase "scorching wind" represents three unrelated terms. In Ps. 11:6 *rû(a)ḥ zil'āpôṯ* (probably denotes a "stormwind" or "whirlwind" (cf. AV "raging tempest") but does not seem to carry any sense of "burning" or "scorching." The meaning of *ba'yām rûḥô* in Isa. 11:15 is uncertain. The RSV and NEB translations are based upon a possible derivation of *'ayām* from Arab. *'āma*; the AV ["mighty wind"] follows the Syriac and Vulgate. Heb. *šārāḇ* in Isa. 49:10 is likewise of uncertain meaning; the RSV ("scorching wind"), AV ("heat"), and NEB ("scorching heat") readings are all based upon the versions (cf. Isa. 35:7, where the RSV renders the same term "burning sand"). The only certain use of "scorching" in the RSV occurs in Prov. 16:27 (*'ēš ṣārāḇeṯ*; RSV, NEB, "scorching fire"; AV "burning fire"); the noun *ṣāraḇ* is derived from the verb *ṣāraḇ,* "burn, singe, scorch" (cf. Ezk. 20:47 [MT 21:3]; see above).

As in the NT, most OT uses of "scorch" and "scorching" refer to natural phenomena such as a hot, dry wind or the intense heat of the sun; in a few instances these terms refer to the effects of actual fire (figuratively in Prov. 6:28; 16:27; Ezk. 20:47). Isa. 24:6 refers to Yahweh's coming judgment; this passage forms the prophetic backdrop for Rev. 16:8f., while Isa. 49:10 is echoed in Rev. 7:16.

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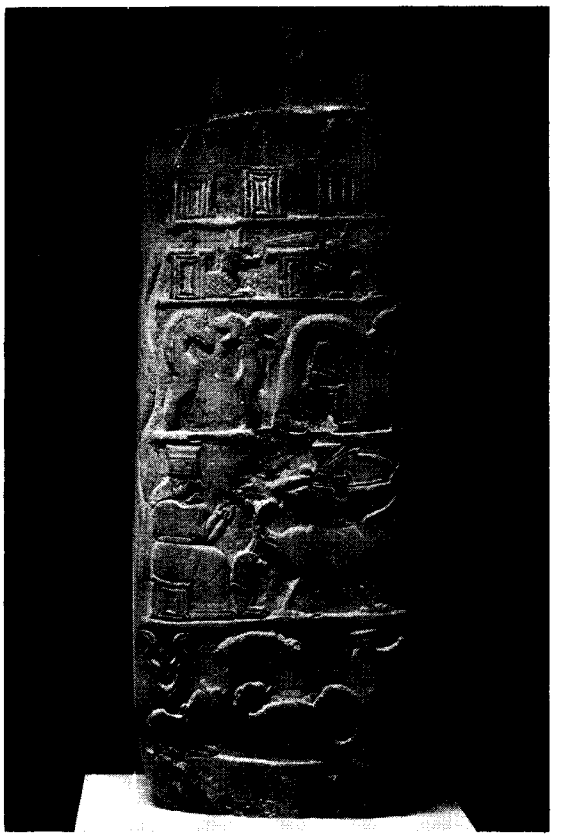
SCORN. *See* SCOFF.

SCORPION [Heb. *'aqrāḇ*] (Dt. 8:15; 1 K. 12:11, 14; 2 Ch. 10:11, 14; Ezk. 2:6); NEB also "lash"; [Gk. *skorpíos*] (Lk. 10:19; 11:12; Rev. 9:3, 5, 10). An arachnid of which about twelve different species are commonly found in Palestine.

Scorpions are members of the *Arachnida* and are thus related to spiders, ticks, and mites rather than to insects. All scorpions have front pincers held forward like a lobster's, a segmented body, and a tail curved forward ending in a poisonous sting. This sting is used to kill the insects and spiders upon which they feed. Its poison is extremely painful and occasionally fatal to humans. Scorpions, of which there are about five hundred species, live primarily in tropical climates. They range in length from about 13 mm. (½ in.) to 175 mm. (7 in.). The most common species in Palestine is the yellow *Buthus quinquestriatus*. Scorpions appear as religious symbols in ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature, undoubtedly in respect for their potent sting.

Scorpions were one of the dangers the Israelites faced in their journey through the wilderness (Dt. 8:15). The "ascent of Akrabbim," a place on the border between Judah and Edom (Nu. 34:4; Josh. 15:3; cf. Jgs. 1:36), probably derived its name from the abundance of scorpions known to that territory. This mountain pass is now usually identified with Naqb eṣ-Ṣafā.

In response to the Israelites' request for an alleviation of the heavy burdens placed on them by Solomon, Rehoboam promised instead an even harsher rule: "My father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (1 K. 12:11, 14; 1 Ch. 10:11, 14). The parallelism suggests that "scorpions" denotes an instrument of pun-



A boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I depicting a scorpion-man with a bow and arrow and a scorpion (bottom) with other god symbols (12th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

ishment (G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* [*NCBC*, 1984], I, 252). In Roman times the term was applied to whips weighted with leather bags filled with sand and fitted with spikes. But whether this type of SCOURGE was known in OT times is uncertain. It is possible that Rehoboam was simply using a figure of speech to say that the pain he would inflict would be greater than that inflicted by Solomon, as a scorpion's sting is greater than a whip's lash.

In his commission as a prophet, Ezekiel was warned that he should not fear the words of the rebellious nation, even though they inflict as much pain as scorpions. (Ezk. 2:6).

The book of Sirach twice mentions scorpions: in 26:7 taking hold of an evil woman is compared with "grasping a scorpion," and in 39:30 these creatures appear in a list of instruments of God's wrath.

The NT also refers to scorpions several times in terms of the great pain they can inflict. Jesus gave power to the Seventy "to tread upon serpents and scorpions" without harm (Lk. 10:19). These creatures seem to represent all the evil forces opposed to Jesus; they may also recall the hardships of Israel's wilderness wanderings. Jesus taught that as an earthly father would not give his son a scorpion when he had asked for an egg, so the heavenly Father will certainly give the Spirit to those who ask (11:11-13). Rev. 9:3-5, 10 depicts a woe that will befall those who do not have God's seal upon their foreheads: they will be tortured for five months by demonic locusts with scorpion tails that inflict an excruciatingly painful sting. B. C. BIRCH

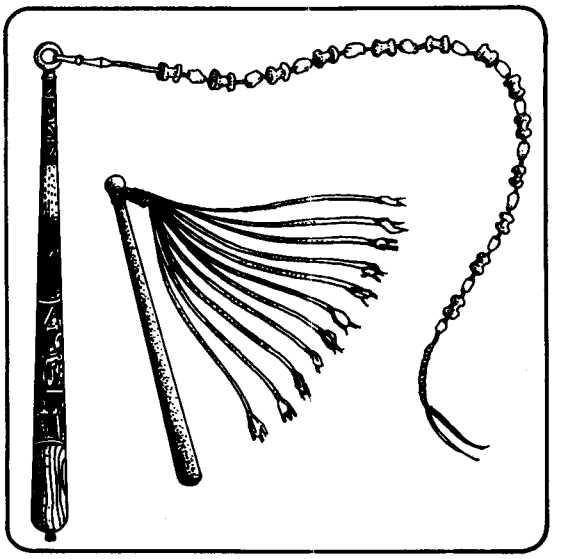
SCOURGE [Heb. *šôṭ*–'whip' (Job 5:21; Isa. 10:26; 28:15 [*Q*; *K šyṭ*), *šôṭēṭ* (Josh. 23:13), *nega'*–'stroke, affliction' (Ps. 89:32 [MT 33]; 91:10); Gk. *mastigóō*–'whip, flog' (Mt. 20:19; 23:34; Mk. 10:34; Lk. 18:33; Jn. 19:1), *mastízō* (Acts 22:25), *phragellóō* (Mt. 27:26; Mk. 15:15)]; AV also STRIPE, PLAGUE; NEB also WHIP, FLOOD (Isa. 28:15), WATER (28:18), CALAMITY, FLOG, etc.; **SCOURGING** [Gk. *mástix*–'whip' (Acts 22:24; He. 11:36)]; NEB FLOGGING; **WHIP** [(nouns) Heb. *šôṭ* (1 K. 12:11, 14; 2 Ch. 10:11, 14; Prov. 26:3; Nah. 3:2); Gk. *phragéllion*–'whip, lash' (Jn. 2:15)]. AV also SCOURGE (Jn. 2:15); [(verbs) Heb. piel of *yāsar*–'chastise' (Dt. 22:18), niphal of *nāḵā'*–'be whipped out' (Job 30:8)]; AV CHASTISE, etc.; NEB PUNISH, HOUND.

Beating with leather straps or rods was a form of punishment administered to slaves (Ex. 21:21f.), to children (Prov. 13:24), and to fools (Prov. 17:10; 19:29; 26:3). Particularly cruel was the use of a special whip, probably with bone or rock on the ends of the thongs, called the "scorpion" due to its potential to inflict a painful sting (1 K. 12:11, 14; 2 Ch. 12:11, 14).

Scourging was the only form of corporal punishment allowed in the OT. While the number of stripes varied with the offense, OT law set the upper limit at forty stripes to spare the culprit unnecessary humiliation (Dt. 25:1-3). In order to prevent any possibility of breaking this law, thirty-nine became the maximum possible number of lashes. Although many offenses could receive corporal punishment, the law specifically stated that a man who wrongly slandered his wife should be beaten (Dt. 22:18). According to later Jewish practice the minister (Heb. *ḥazzān*) of the synagogue meted out the punishment to the guilty individual; after the hands of the culprit were bound to a pillar, the minister used a calf-hide whip to inflict the stripes, one-third given upon the chest and two-thirds given upon the back (Mish. *Makkoth* iii.12f.).

Divine punishments may come upon the nation as a scourge (Josh. 23:13; Ps. 89:32; Isa. 10:26; 28:18; cf. 2 S. 7:14). In the same manner God's blessing will shield one

A drawing of Roman scourges made of leather cords knotted with pieces of bone or metal



from such disasters (Ps. 91:10). Figuratively, the tongue may become a scourge (Job 5:21; cf. 1 Clem. 56:10).

In Jn. 2:15 Jesus made a whip (Gk. *phragéllion* is a loanword from Lat. *flagellum*) of cords when He entered the temple to cleanse it. Since weapons were forbidden in the temple area (cf. Mish. *Berakoth* ix.5), Jesus probably made His whip out of the ropes used to tie the animals. This rope was usually woven from the bedding material provided for the cattle (R. E. Brown, *Gospel According to John I–XII* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1979], p. 115).

Jesus predicted that His followers would be beaten by the Jews and expelled from their synagogues (Mt. 23:34; cf. 10:17). Paul declared that he received five beatings of forty lashes less one (2 Cor. 11:24). Sosthenes, the ruler of the Corinthian synagogue, was beaten by his fellow Jews for bringing Paul before Gallio and losing the case (Acts 18:17).

The Romans used three forms of corporal punishment: beating (Lat. *fustigatio*), flogging (*flagellatio*), and scourging (*verberatio*). Freemen received punishments inflicted by either rods of birch or elm that were often bound together in a bundle. Slaves or non-Romans could be punished with whips made of leather straps or knotted cords often weighted with pieces of metal or bone. Roman law allowed their use in four situations: as a torture to promote the questioning of a prisoner, as a self-standing punishment, as a capital punishment (people were sentenced to death by beating), or as a preparation for execution. On some occasions these beatings were so severe that bones and organs were left exposed (Josephus *BJ* ii.21.5 [612]; vi.5.3 [304]).

Jesus predicted that He would be beaten by the Romans before His crucifixion (Mt. 20:19; Mk. 10:34; Lk. 18:33). Lk. 23:16, 22 record how Pilate attempted to placate the anger of the Jewish rulers by simply scourging Jesus, but when Pilate observed their dissatisfaction with this measure he then scourged Jesus as a prelude to His execution (Mt. 27:26; Mk. 15:15).

In spite of his Roman citizenship, Paul was beaten three times (2 Cor. 11:25). One of these beatings occurred at Philippi, where the local officials beat Paul and Silas; only later could Paul and Silas substantiate their legal citizenship (Acts 16:23, 37-40). The tribune Claudius Lysias also intended to have Paul punished as part of his interrogation until Claudius learned of Paul's citizenship (Acts 22:25-29). Such punishment became typical of the suffering experienced by God's people (He. 11:36).

See FLOG; PUNISH IV.A; STRIKE.

Bibliography.—J. Blinzler, *Trial of Jesus* (Eng. tr. 1959), pp. 222-235; *Jew.Enc.*, XI, *s.v.* "Stripes"; *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* μαστιγόω κτλ. (C. Schneider). D. W. WEAD

SCOUT [Heb. *šālaḥ*] ("sent out scouts," 1 K. 20:17); AV "sent out"; NEB "word was sent." The RSV adds "scouts" to complete the meaning of the sentence in the context of battle between Ahab and Ben-hadad. The task of Ben-hadad's men was reconnaissance.

SCRABBLE (1 S. 21:13, AV, NEB). *See* MARK.

SCREECH OWL (Isa. 34:14, AV). *See* NIGHT HAG.

SCREEN [Heb. *māsāḵ*] (Ex. 26:36f.; 27:16; 35:12, 15, 17; etc.; Nu. 3:25f., 31; 4:5, 25f.); AV HANGING, COVERING, CURTAIN. Three linen screens formed part of the furnishings of the tabernacle; one at the gate of the courtyard, a second at the entrance to the tabernacle proper, and a third between the holy place and the holy of holies. For this third screen the Hebrew text also uses *pārōḵeṯ*, "veil." It differed from the other two screens in that it was made of richly-colored linen and embroidered with cherubim. Herod's temple had a similar curtain, which could have been what was torn in two when Christ was crucified (Mt. 27:51 par.).

See also VEIL; TABERNACLE; TEMPLE. G. WYPER

SCRIBES [Heb. *sōp^erîm*; Gk. *grammateís*]. A class of literate professionals ranging from copiers, secretaries, and government officials in the earlier OT period to special scholars and teachers of the Torah in the postexilic and NT periods.

I. In the Preexilic Era
II. In the Exilic and Postexilic Eras
III. In Judaism
IV. In the Gospels
V. Their Significance

I. In the Preexilic Era.—The importance of scribes (in the basic sense of those trained to read and write) goes back to the first use of writing in the ancient centers of civilization, Babylon and Egypt. Clearly these skills automatically made the scribe both a necessary and a powerful member of society. The ruling class depended on the scribes for a great variety of practical matters, and gradually scribes evolved from mere copiers and recorders to influential members of the government and representatives of the king.

This increasing importance of the scribe is apparent in the early occurrences of the word in the OT. Scribes in the role of secretary of state are regularly listed among the cabinet members of the government (e.g., 2 S. 8:17;

A statue of a Greek scribe writing on a tablet, found at Thebes in central Greece, 6th cent. B.C. (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

20:25; 1 K. 4:3; Jer. 36:12). They continue to function practically as secretaries with a variety of responsibilities, such as keeping official financial records (2 K. 12:10; 2 Ch. 24:11) and mustering troops (2 K. 25:19; 2 Ch. 26:11). But they also assume considerable importance and authority as personal secretaries and counselors of the king (2 K. 18:18; 22:3; 1 Ch. 27:32; cf. Ps. 45:1 [MT 2]). Levite scribes mentioned in 1 Ch. 24:6 and 2 Ch. 34:13 foreshadow the later importance of priestly scribes. The reference to "the families of the scribes" in 1 Ch. 2:55 indicates the forming of guilds and the passing down of the scribal profession from father to son.

In a quite natural development, scribes came to be valued not simply for their technical skills but for the wisdom and understanding they frequently possessed (cf. 1 Ch. 27:32). The scribe thus came to be known as "the wise man" (cf. Isa. 33:18, LXX; 1 Cor. 1:20). In the viewpoint that was soon to emerge in all clarity, the scribe was considered a wise man particularly because of his expertise in the interpretation and application of the Torah. This close connection between scribes and the Torah is already hinted at in the reading of the book of the law by Shaphan, the scribe of King Josiah (2 K. 22:10; 2 Ch. 34:18).

II. In the Exilic and Postexilic Eras.–The origin of the scribes as a professional class of TORAH scholars is to be found in the exilic experience of Israel. During the Exile it was important to know specifically how the Law should be obeyed in a foreign context, and thus the initial elaborations of the Torah, later known as scribal tradition, came into existence. This scribal tradition, together with the synagogue, which developed under the same circumstances, came eventually to dominate Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem.

A scribe of the exilic period who deserves mention is Baruch, Jeremiah's secretary. Baruch is not identified as a Torah scholar; he is instead a scribe in the earlier sense of the word: he takes down the prophet's dictation (Jer. 36:4, 18), he reads the words as Jeremiah's representative (vv. 6, 10, 15), and he collects and preserves these words (v. 32). This points to the probability that one of the important early tasks of the scribes was the custody and transmission of Israel's written scriptures. This work was indispensable to the gradual emergence of a distinct group of writings that came to be regarded as canonical.

The key figure of the early postexilic period is the paradigmatic scribe Ezra. Although Ezra is also a priest (Ezr. 7:11; Neh. 8:9; 12:26), it is in his role as scribe that he reestablishes the centrality of the Law for the people of Israel. When he is first introduced in the book of Ezra, it is as "a scribe skilled in the law of Moses which the Lord the God of Israel had given" (Ezr. 7:6) and "learned in matters of the commandments of the Lord and his statutes for Israel" (v. 11). He is responsible not only for the reading of the Torah to the people (Neh. 8:1-8) but also for its study (v. 13), the special province of the scribe. For these reasons Ezra stands at the head of the emerging class of scribes as Torah scholars.

A wonderful glimpse of the status and nature of the scribe *ca.* 180 B.C. is provided by Ben Sira (Sir. 38:24–39:11). The passage begins with the words, "The wisdom of the scribe depends on the opportunity of leisure," which point to the legitimacy of the scribal calling as a profession in its own right. Furthermore, while other professions are good and necessary, they are inferior to the scribe's. Only the scribe attains "eminence in the public assembly" and is "sought out for the council of the people"; only the scribe can sit in judgment and "expound discipline" (38:33). The scribe "devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High"; he "will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be concerned with prophecies [a possible allusion to the threefold OT canon; cf. the prologue to Sirach]; he will preserve the discourse of notable men [i.e., maintain oral tradition] and penetrate the subtleties of parables" (39:1f.).

The scribe "will serve among great men and appear before rulers" as an ambassador (v. 4). "He will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom . . ." (v. 6). "He will reveal instruction in his teaching, and will glory in the law of the Lord's covenant" (v. 8). "His memory will not disappear, and his name will live through all generations" (v. 9).

III. In Judaism.–According to Mish. *Aboth* i.1, "Moses received the Torah on Sinai, and handed it down to Joshua; Joshua to the elders; the elders to the prophets; and the prophets handed it down to the Men of the Great Assembly [*kᵉneseṯ haggᵉḏôlâ*]. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; raise up many disciples; and make a fence around the Torah." Jewish tradition identifies Ezra as the leader of the 120 men of the Great Assembly. The above description of the assembly's goals is a quintessential definition of the scribes' calling: they were responsible for making decisions in courts of law; they taught the Torah to their students; and they expounded the meaning and application of the Torah. As Jeremias stated, the scribes were the "possessors of divine esoteric knowledge" and, as such, "the immediate heirs and successors of the prophets" (*Jerusalem,* p. 241).

In their role of scholar-teachers the scribes, especially those of the Pharisees, gained enormous prestige among the people. They possessed considerable power (Jeremias described them as "a new upper class"), since they formed a significant portion of the seventy-one-member Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, the main governing body of Judaism. They were also members of the lesser judiciaries in their respective localities and frequently held office in the synagogue and civil affairs. They wore special, long robes like those of the nobility, were given seats of honor, and enjoyed reverential salutations (cf. Mt. 23:5-7). From the 1st cent. A.D. on they were referred to as "Rabbi" ("my great one") and were to be accorded more esteem than even one's parents (Mish. *Aboth* iv.12).

According to the rabbinic literature, scribes were expected to have a practical vocation by which to support themselves. They were not allowed to earn their living by their scholarship (Mish. *Aboth* iv.5; cf. ii.2; *Bekhoroth* iv.6). This stands in some tension with Ben Sira's view that the scribe's special calling demands leisure. According to Matthew, too, the message of the Kingdom is to be given "without pay" (Mt. 10:8), although the missionary is to receive his "food" for his labor (Mt. 10:10; in Lk. 10:7 this is broadened to "wages"). Paul, who was himself a scribe, earned his keep by tentmaking rather than by his preaching, even though he defended the right of missionaries to earn their living from the gospel (1 Cor. 9:3-14; cf. 1 Tim. 5:18).

All the parties within Judaism had their Torah scholars. Some scribes were priests, some were SADDUCEES, but the majority were PHARISEES. The scribes of the Pharisees were responsible for maintaining and developing the oral tradition, and thus for promoting the study and practice of the Torah. The formal student of the Torah (a *talmîḏ*), after a number of years of undistracted study that included living with his RABBI, and after demonstrating his expertise in case law, became a qualified scholar (a *talmîḏ ḥāḵām*); but according to the Talmud (T.B. *Sotah* 22b) he could not proceed to ordination (and the status of *ḥāḵām,* "wise man") until the age of forty. The type of school (*bêṯ hammiḏrāš*) to which Ben Sira invites the unlearned (Sir.

51:23) was to become an institution in the rabbinic Judaism of the centuries following the destruction of Jerusalem. Before A.D. 70 the schools of Shammai and Hillel became famous for their vying opinions on certain topics. Later the term "scribes" was used only for the Torah scholars of the early period, and *ḥᵃḵāmîm*, "wise men," came to be used for contemporary rabbis.

IV. In the Gospels.–The scribes of the NT are Torah scholars. They are referred to not only as Gk. *grammateís* but also as *nomikoí* ("lawyers," i.e., those trained in the application of the Torah), e.g., in Mt. 22:35 (par. Mk. 12:28 has *grammateús*) and Lk. 11:46, 52 (Mt. 23 refers to *grammateís*). The term *nomodidáskaloi*, "teachers of the Law," occurs in Lk. 5:17 and Acts 5:34 (where it refers to Gamaliel).

The word *grammateús* occurs fifty-seven times in the Synoptic Gospels, but not once in John (except in the inferior text of Jn. 8:3). In more than a third of these instances the scribes are linked with the Pharisees. Clearly the scribes, as authoritative expositors of the Torah, were particularly important as the transmitters and developers of the oral tradition that was so central to Pharisaism. In the Gospels scribes are also linked with other powerful segments of Jewish society, such as chief priests and elders, most of whom were probably Sadducees. They are consistently presented as Torah or Scripture scholars (e.g., Mt. 2:4; Mk. 7:1 par.; 9:11 par.; 9:14), teachers (Mk. 1:22 par.; 12:35), and guardians of orthodoxy/orthopraxy (Mk. 2:6 par.; 2:16 par.; 3:22; 11:27 par.; Lk. 6:7; 15:2). On the darker side, they are among the main instigators of Jesus' death (Mk. 8:31 par.; 10:33 par.; 11:18; 14:1 par., 43, 53 par.; 15:1; Lk. 11:53; 20:19; 23:10).

Despite their acknowledged authority (Mt. 23:2) and the seriousness of their quest for righteousness (cf. 5:20), the scribes associated with the Pharisees receive harsh criticism, particularly in the Gospel of Matthew. Jesus says that their tradition has canceled out the commandments of God (Mt. 15:3 par.), and He castigates them for their hypocrisy (15:7f. par.). Six times in Mt. 23:13-33 (cf. parallel material in Lk. 11:39-52; 20:45f.; Mk. 12:38f.) the blistering refrain occurs: "Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" In a seventh woe they are described as "blind guides" (Mt. 23:16).

Behind this heated polemic lay the very real competition between Jesus and the scribes concerning the true interpretation of Moses. Jesus, whose authority in the interpretation of the Torah far exceeded that of the scribes (Mt. 7:29), was for the disciples the "one teacher," the "one master" (23:8, 10). While this competition went back to Jesus' ministry, it was perpetuated between the Church and the synagogue; this explains the importance and the especially harsh character of the Matthaean material. The criticisms of the scribes and the Pharisees in the Gospels are broad generalizations that need not have applied to all scribes and Pharisees; certainly they do not apply to scribism and Pharisaism in principle.

Matthew alone identifies as a scribe the man who volunteered to follow Jesus wherever He went (Mt. 8:19; cf. Lk. 9:57). According to Mt. 22:35 it was a "lawyer" (*nomikós*; a "scribe" in Mk. 12:28) who asked about "the great commandment in the law"; according to Mk. 12:34 Jesus told him, "You are not far from the kingdom of God."

V. Their Significance. The professional Torah scholars were charged with the very great responsibility of interpreting the Law. The scribes, following in the tradition of Ezra their forefather, made the study and teaching of the Law the center of their lives. When another scribe came into the picture teaching the dawning of the awaited Kingdom — a scribe neither formally trained nor ordained (cf. Jn. 7:15), who nonetheless spoke with a unique authority — a clash was inevitable. And yet, as much as Jesus had to oppose the scribes, in a real sense He Himself stood in continuity with their calling. As God had in the past sent scribes to Israel, so in the new era of the Kingdom He had sent the one teacher and master. Matthew, writing to Jewish Christians, continued to find significance for the calling of scribe — but now the Christian scribe, who is "trained for the kingdom of heaven" and likened to "a householder who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old" (Mt. 13:52). In keeping with this, Matthew alone recorded these words of Jesus: "Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from town to town" (23:34). These words found their fulfillment in the early missionaries who, functioning as scribes, presented a Christian interpretation of the Scriptures and the true meaning of the Torah, based on the teaching originally given by their Lord.

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SCRIP. An archaic term used by the AV for a small BAG or WALLET.

SCRIPT [Heb. *kᵉṯāḇ*] (Est. 1:22; 3:12; 8:9); AV WRITING. During the Neo-Babylonian (608-539 B.C.) and Persian (538-331 B.C.) periods literacy increased. The dispatches mentioned in Esther were sent out in the dialects and scripts of the Persian empire — Aramaic, Babylonian cuneiform and a simplified adaptation of it, Egyptian demotic, and linear scripts developed elsewhere.

See WRITING.

SCRIPTURE [Gk. *(hē) graphḗ*]; NEB also "what (the prophets) wrote," TEXT, etc.; [*tó gegramménon* (pf. pass. part. of *gráphō*–'write')] (Lk. 22:37); AV "this that is written"; [*anágnōsis*] ("public reading of Scripture," 1 Tim. 4:13); AV READING. A term used by the English versions of the NT to denote the sacred writings of the OT. The sing. of Gk. *graphḗ* (often with the definite article) is frequently used to designate an individual passage of the OT that is quoted (e.g., Mk. 12:10; Lk. 4:21; Jn. 13:18; 19:24, 36f.; Acts 1:16; 8:35; Rom. 4:3; 11:2; 1 Tim. 5:18; Jas. 2:8, 23); but it can also refer to the OT writings as a whole (e.g., Acts 8:32; Gal. 3:8, 22; 1 Pet. 2:6; 2 Pet. 1:20). The pl. *hai graphaí* is always used to denote the whole body of OT Scriptures (e.g., Mt. 21:42; 22:29; 26:54, 56; Mk. 12:24; 14:49; Lk. 24:27, 32, 45). By the time 2 Peter was written the term "scriptures" had been extended to include Paul's Epistles (2 Pet. 3:16).

James 4:5 reads: "Or do you suppose it is in vain that the scripture says, 'He yearns jealously over the spirit which he has made to dwell in us'?" The text is problematic because the passage quoted can be found in neither the OT nor the Apocrypha. Among the solutions that have been proposed are: (1) James is referring to scriptural teaching in general and not a specific passage; (2) he may be quoting an unknown version of the OT; (3) he may be quoting an unknown apocryphal work (see comms., esp. P. Davids, *Epistle of James* [*NIGTC*, 1982], p. 162).

The AV uses "scripture" once in the OT in the phrase "the scripture of truth" (Heb. *kᵉṯāḇ ʾᵉmeṯ*, Dnl. 10:21); for the more accurate RSV and NEB rendering, *see* BOOK OF TRUTH. In 2 Tim. 3:15, AV, "holy scriptures" represents Gk. *hierá grámmata* (cf. RSV, NEB, "sacred writings"). In Jn. 5:39 the AV renders: "Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life." The Greek verb *eraunáte* can be rendered either as an imperative or as an indicative. The AV follows a tradition going back to Origen, Tertullian, and the Vulg., but all modern commentators prefer the indicative because it better suits the line of argument (cf. RSV "You search the scriptures . . . "; see comms.).

For B. B. Warfield's interpretation of several key NT references to "scripture," *see* INSPIRATION.

See also BIBLE; CANON OF THE OT II.C.

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N. J. O.

SCRIPTURE, AUTHORITY OF.

I. Scriptural Testimony.–Thinking about scriptural authority must start with the fact that Scripture views itself as a message from God. One appeals to Scripture in this matter not for proof but for information. If the Bible claimed no unique authority as God's self-revelation, there would be no reason to assert that authority. There would also be no reason for absolute commitment to biblical teaching. On the other hand, if the Bible does in fact present itself as God's authoritative Word, then one must reckon with it as such, by receiving that Word or rejecting it.

To the question whether Scripture itself claims any special authority, the twofold answer is that the OT and NT everywhere imply this, and that they sometimes give it direct and open expression. It is implied, e.g., when, Moses is said to have received from God both the moral law and also detailed cultic and legal statutes. The prophets maintained that they spoke not their own words but words that God had given them. Christ spoke with authority (Mt. 7:29) because of His awareness that He spoke not merely as a teacher but as the eternal Son. The apostles spoke boldly because they had received the Spirit (Acts 2:1-36) and thus believed that they spoke God's word, whether quoting the OT, appealing to Christ's teaching, or presenting the gospel as the Spirit directed them.

In these instances authority is claimed primarily for spoken words rather than the written word. Even if Moses and the prophets or Jesus and the apostles had a special commission and hence had unique authority, the question arises whether the written version contains an accurate account of what they said, or whether there is any reason to ascribe the same authority to the written form.

The answer is implied by the OT's frequent references to writing as well as speaking. God told Moses to record the defeat of the Amalekites in a book (Ex. 17:14). At the giving of the law God Himself wrote the first tablets ((32:16), and Moses wrote "all the words of the Lord" (24:4). Joshua wrote an account of the covenant at Shechem in the book of the law of God (Josh. 24:26). Josiah treated as authoritative the book of the law that was found in the temple (2 K. 22:8-16). Jeremiah committed his oral messages to writing (Jer. 36:1-4), adding to the record when the king destroyed the first scroll (vv. 27-32). Ezra read and expounded the law so as to teach the redeemed community how to fulfil its covenant obligations (Ezra 8).

In the NT Jesus Himself gives abundant testimony to the written form of God's Word. He answered the tempter with a threefold "It is written" (Mt. 4:3-10). He saw in His ministry a fulfillment of the passage from Isaiah that He read at Nazareth (Lk. 4:16-21; cf. Isa. 61:1f.). He predicted His death and resurrection on the basis of what was written (Lk. 18:31). He showed His disciples how everything had to be fulfilled that was written about Him in the law, the prophets, and the Psalms (24:44). Along similar lines the Evangelists stressed the foretelling of His person and work in the OT (e.g., Mt. 1:22f.). Paul's preaching to his own people consisted largely of a demonstration of Christ's messiahship from the OT (Acts 17:2f., 11). Other NT writers quoted the OT with the same deference as Paul (cf. 1 Pet. 1:24f.; 2:6-10; Jas. 2:21-25; He. 1:5-13; 2:5-8; etc.). Indeed, two explicit statements give the stamp of distinctive divine authority to the OT writings: 2 Tim. 3:16, which says that all Scripture is inspired by God, and 2 Pet. 1:20f., which states that no "prophecy of scripture" came by human impulse but "men moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God."

Direct witness to the authority of the NT is naturally less readily available. Yet statements may be adduced that cumulatively amount to endorsement of the special authority of the apostolic writings as well. Luke claims to be offering an authoritative historical account in Lk. 1:1-4. John's Gospel roundly asserts that it is written to evoke the response of faith and resultant newness of life in Christ (Jn. 20:31). Revelation concludes with a warning not to add to the words of the book or to subtract from them (Rev. 22:18f.). 2 Pet. 3:16 seems to include Paul's Epistles among the scriptures. The second quotation in 1 Tim. 5:18 might also come from an early collection that forms a basis for the present NT (cf. Mt. 10:10). Sayings of Jesus obviously enjoy an uncontested authority (Acts 20:35) even if a written version does not always exist in the Gospels (for an example that is written, cf. 1 Cor. 7:10f.). Taken with the authority that is always implied, these references leave little room for doubt that the NT as well as the OT claims unique authority as God's written word.

II. Historical Testimony.–The early Church inherited from the NT a recognition of the authoritative status of the OT. The introductions to OT quotations in the Apostolic Fathers demonstrate this. Copious quotations show a high regard for the NT too, and as early as 2 Clement and Justin Martyr (*ca.* A.D. 150) the formula "It is written" came to be used for NT references. Justin (Apol. 67) reveals also that the Church granted to the "memoirs of the apostles" a liturgical status similar to that enjoyed by the "writings of the prophets." Shortly afterward, the Church was devoting attention to the question of a canon of NT writings, as shown by the witness of the Muratorian Canon. Theologians like Irenaeus, Tertullian, and the Alexandrians acknowledged biblical authority both implicitly by the use they made of Scripture and explicitly by statements emphasizing its position. Beginning in the 3rd cent. commentaries on the Bible provided doctrinal and devotional materials. In the 4th and 5th cents. biblical passages played an important role in the great trinitarian and christological controversies. The Nicene Creed endorsed the OT with the confession that the Holy Spirit "spoke by the prophets." Augustine summed up the thinking of this early period with the judgment that Scripture rests "on the highest pinnacle of divine authority" (*Ep.* 82). (*See also* CANON OF THE OT; CANON OF THE NT.)

Doubts about the extent of the NT canon plagued the Church for many years, and the inclusion of the so-called Apocrypha in the LXX enlarged the Christian canon of

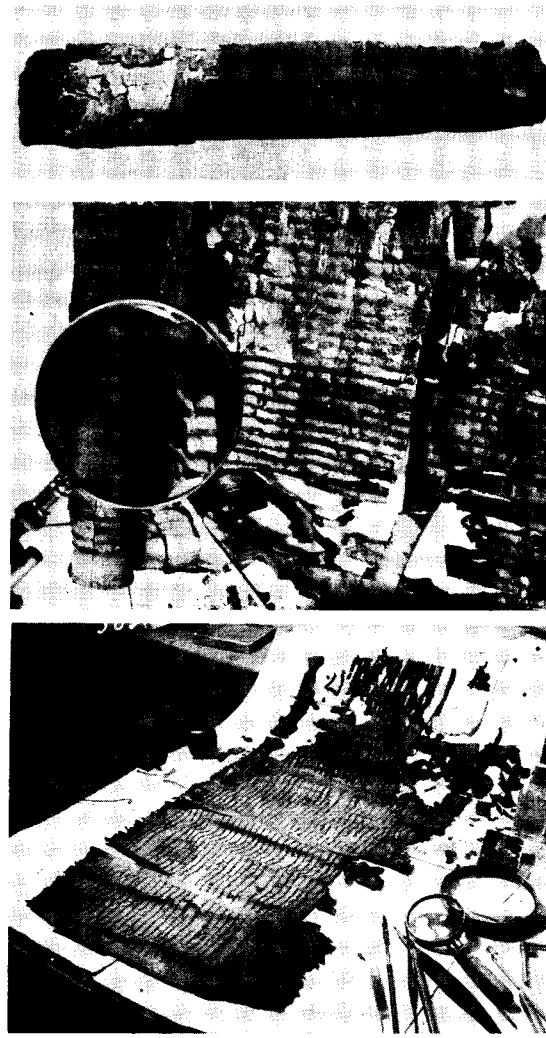
the OT. Hermeneutical differences, e.g., between Antioch and Alexandria, caused practical difficulties in the application of biblical authority. At the functional level the supreme authority of Scripture was challenged by secondary standards in the form of creeds, councils, and hierarchical rulings. The appeal to tradition, made in good faith by Irenaeus and Tertullian in reply to Gnostic heresy, carried with it an incipient if unintentional threat. The erosion of scriptural authority gained force in the Middle Ages when the lack of adequate translations robbed the laity of biblical knowledge, deficient education of the clergy compounded errors, the intrusion of philosophy had a corrupting impact on theology, unsupported popular traditions multiplied, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy defined as necessary to salvation dogmas that at best could claim only the flimsiest basis in Scripture.

Nevertheless, the Church never renounced the divine authority of Scripture. Schoolmen like Thomas Aquinas found a basis for their theses in the Bible, and the papacy (e.g., in Unam Sanctam, 1302) appealed to biblical verses in its efforts to establish papal primacy. Thus, when the sixteenth-century Reformers reasserted scriptural authority they were simply attempting to apply more rigorously in practice what the Church already believed in principle. In so doing, they claimed that the Bible teaches everything necessary to salvation (Thirty-Nine Articles, VI; Second Helvetic Confession, I), that nothing is to be commanded that is contrary to it (Theses of Berne, 2), that all things in the Church should be examined, regulated, and reformed according to Scripture (Gallican Confession, V), that the Bible is the sure rule of faith and truth (Gallican Confession, IV and V), that the Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture is the supreme Judge (Westminster Confession, I.x), that the Bible should be translated for the benefit of all Christians, and that under the Holy Spirit the natural sense of Scripture offers the key to authoritative exposition, not the interpretation of the so-called teaching office. Unavoidably, difficulties arose in the application of these principles as the Reformers differed sharply on many matters of faith and order. Yet by their adherence to the unique authority of Scripture and their consistent attempts to give it practical expression, the Reformers made an incomparable contribution in this area.

The modern period brought new threats to biblical authority. On the one side liberal scholars engaged in literary and historical research that questioned traditional authorships, challenged factual reliability, rejected or refashioned divine inspiration, and promoted a relativism destructive to doctrinal and ethical absolutes. On the other side Roman Catholicism embraced a doctrine of papal infallibility which along with the concept of dogmatic development, permitted the weakening of biblical authority by addition or expansion. The authority of Scripture, however, found new and eloquent supporters in Reformed circles, varying widely from B. B. Warfield to K. Barth. Moreover, as the tide of Liberalism receded to some extent, and as Roman Catholicism gave itself with new zeal to the study and translation of Scripture and to a reconsideration of its primacy as a source of revelation, Scripture regained in these circles something of the acknowledgement of its unique authority that its own testimony demands.

For a more general treatment and bibliography, *see* AUTHORITY.

G. W. BROMILEY



Three stages (from top to bottom) in the painstaking procedure of unrolling a Dead Sea Scroll, in this case the Genesis Apocryphon (The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum)

SCROLL [Heb. *m^egillâ* (Jer. 36:6, 14, 20f., 23, 25, 27-29, 32; Ezk. 3:1-3; Zec. 5:1f.), *m^egillaṯ-sēper* (Jer. 36:2, 4; "written scroll," Ezk. 2:9), *sēper* (Isa. 34:4; Jer. 36:8, 10f., 13, 18, 32); Aram. *m^egillâ* (Ezr. 6:2); Gk. *biblíon*– 'book, scroll' (Rev. 5:1-5, 8f.; 6:14; 10:8), *biblarídion*– 'little book' ("little scroll," Rev. 10:2, 9f.)]; AV also ROLL, ROLL OF A BOOK, BOOK, LITTLE BOOK (Rev. 10:8-10); NEB also BOOK; the RSV supplies "scroll" (AV "book") in Rev. 5:7. An early form of the book, used before the development of the codex (i.e., writing done on flat surfaces such as boards, vellum, or parchment, which were sometimes folded once [folio] and bound or sewn). A papyrus scroll (without writing) was found in an Egyptian tomb dating to *ca.* 3000 B.C.

As the word *m^egillâ* (from the root *gll*, "roll, be round") suggests, the scroll was rolled up, both before and after being written upon. Contrary to some artists' representations, the rolled scroll was not opened from top to bottom but from side to side, as is clearly demonstrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls. The writing space was usually marked off by scribing vertical lines for the columns and horizontal lines for the written lines. The scribing was done with a blunt-pointed instrument that left a slight indentation but no colored mark.

Hebrew *m^egillâ* apparently was a later word, found only in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Ps. 40:7 (MT 8).

The earlier and more widely used word was *sēper* ("document, writing, book"), which was perhaps a loanword taken early from Akk. *šiprum* ("message, messenger"; cf. I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* [1957], p. 281), although the change from *š* to *s* has not been explained. The etymology that relates *sēper* to the root *spr* ("count, recount, tell"), and thus to *sōpēr* ("muster-officer, counter, secretary, scribe") has been disputed. The *sēper* was intended to preserve records, as indicated by Ex. 17:14, "Write this as a memorial in a book [*sēper*]." The official records of kings were kept in the *sēper dibrê hayyāmîm* (lit. "scroll of the events of the days") followed by the appropriate modifier (e.g., "of Solomon," 1 K. 11:41; "of the kings of Israel," 14:19). A fuller term is used in Est. 6:1, where the purpose ("remembering," "memorial") is added to the more common expression.

The account of the burning of Jeremiah's scroll (Jer. 36:20-23) provides some information about a scroll of the 7th cent. B.C. It was divided into columns (v. 23) and could be cut with a knife and burned in the fire in the brazier. It was probably a papyrus scroll, since burning that much leather in a closed room in winter would have made the place practically uninhabitable for hours or even days.

At what period the scroll was introduced in Israel is uncertain. Evidence from the Amarna Tablets and archeological discoveries at several sites suggest that clay tablets written in cuneiform were used widely in Palestine in the 14th cent. B.C. The ruler of Byblos *ca.* 1100 B.C. received papyrus as part of the payment for timber (J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* [1919], p. 517); this importing of papyrus by the Phoenicians was probably connected in some way with the development of the Phoenician alphabet. Most likely the use of papyrus scrolls spread to Israel not long after that. Hence scrolls were the most probable form of the "chronicles" of the kings of Israel and Judah, and, in view of Solomon's close connections with the Phoenicians, it is entirely possible that he used papyrus for his records (1 K. 11:41).

Both *m^egillâ* and *sēper* are translated by Gk. *biblíon* in the LXX. The expression "scroll of the book" (Gk. *kephalís biblíou*) in He. 10:7 is a quotation from the LXX of Ps. 40:7 (MT 8) (Heb. *m^egillaṯ-sēper*). Eng. "Bible" comes from the plural form *biblía* ("books"), which might be what Paul had in mind when he asked Timothy to bring "also the books, and above all the parchments" (2 Tim. 4:13) — although the more usual word for the Scriptures was Gk. *grámmata* (3:15; cf. Rom. 3:2). At any rate, Paul's use of the two words *biblía* and *membrána* reflects the fact that scrolls were written on both papyrus and leather. Both materials have been found in caves at Qumrân and Murabba'ât.

"Scroll" is used figuratively in Isa. 34:4 and Rev. 6:14. Both passages, describing the cataclysmic events that will herald the last days, depict the destruction of the heavens with the image of a scroll suddenly rolling up.

See also PAPYRUS; PARCHMENT; WRITING.

W. S. LASOR

SCRUPLES [Gk. *syneídesis*] (1 Cor. 10:29); AV, NEB, CONSCIENCE. This Greek term is usually translated "conscience" in the RSV, but here it denotes the ethical considerations that inhibit an individual from acting in a certain way, rather than the mechanism of moral discrimination. *See also* CONSCIENCE.

The RSV Apocrypha uses "scrupulous" (Gk. *akribḗs*, Sir. 19:25) and "scrupulously" (*epimelṓs*, 1 Esd. 6:29 [LXX 30]; 8:21) with reference to a strict adherence to law. Sir. 19:25 observes that it is possible for clever persons to keep the letter of the law while perverting its purpose of establishing justice. In 4 Macc. 4:13 "have scruples" represents the vb. *eulabéomai*, "be afraid."

N. J. O.

SCUM. *See* RUST.

SCURVY [Heb. *gārāḇ*; LXX *psóra agría*] (Dt. 28:27); AV SCAB; NEB SCABS. The term "scurvy" is a modified form of the medieval Eng. "scurfy," meaning "covered with scurf." This was a morbid cutaneous condition, especially of the scalp, in which flakes or scales formed and were precipitated.

The reference is apparently to an itching scalp disease such as would be characteristic of the *tinea* infestations. Such ailments have no relationship to the disease known as scurvy (*scorbutus*), which results primarily from a deficiency of vitamin C. It is unfortunate that the RSV introduced confusion on this matter by using "scurvy"; the NEB rendering "scabs" (cf. AV) indicates the most likely nature of the disease.

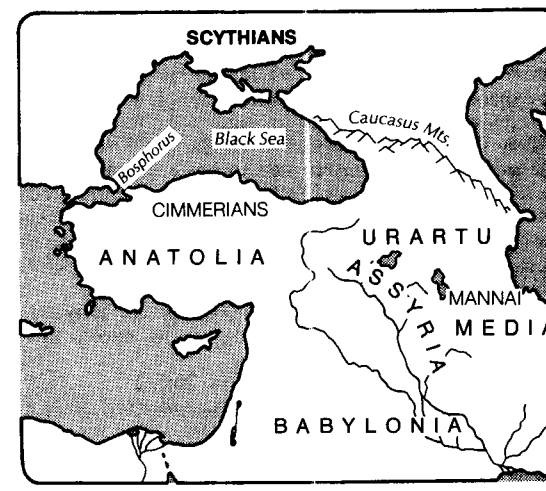
See also ITCH; SCAB.

R. K. H.

SCYTHE. *See* CHARIOT V.

SCYTHIANS sith'ē-ənz [Gk. *Skythai*] (Col. 3:11); OT **ASHKENAZ** [Heb. *'aškᵉnaz*; Assyr. *Iškuzai, Ašguzai*] (Gen. 10:3; 1 Ch. 1:6; Jer. 51:27); AV also ASHCHENAZ. A nomadic people that originated in Central Asia. Disturbances on the northwestern Chinese border in the 8th cent. B.C. may have been a major factor in their movement westward to trouble the Near East for the next two hundred years.

Of Indo-European stock, these nomads had learned the art of breaking and riding the horses of the Asian steppes, where they pastured their flocks and lived in tents and covered wagons. Their simple life had little use for writing, so scholars today must depend on references in the records of other peoples for information about Scythian language and history. In *Hist.* iv Herodotus furnished much descriptive material about the Scythian people and their customs. The skepticism with which some scholars have viewed his accounts has been dispelled with the discovery of rich burial mounds, preserved in the frozen ground of the Altai region of Central Asia, conforming in almost every detail to the Greek historian's accounts of funerary practices.



SCYTHIANS

Driving the Cimmerians before them (*see* GOMER), the Scythians crossed the Caucasus and moved into eastern Anatolia (Urartu) and northwestern Persia during the 8th cent. B.C. There they came against the outposts of Assyria, whose ruler Sargon II (*ca.* 722-705 B.C.) checked them. Later Sargon's grandson Esarhaddon (*ca.* 680-669 B.C.) defeated a coalition of Scythians and Manneans in northwest Persia (*ARAB*, II, 517, 533). But the Medes were a more potent threat to the Assyrians, so Assyria engaged Scythian help to counter the Median pressure; a daughter of Esarhaddon was given in marriage to a Scythian chieftain, Bartatua. Just after the middle of the 7th cent. B.C. the Scythians apparently became strong enough to control much of Anatolia, Urartu, and the Manneans for two or three decades, and also for a time the Median kingdom. The TABLE OF NATIONS alludes to the Scythian presence in Anatolia in listing Ashkenaz as one of the "sons" of Gomer (the Cimmerians) (Gen. 10:3; 1 Ch. 1:6).

Probably no more than a loose confederation of tribes, the Scythians were unable to sustain a large realm, and after about twenty-eight years their Median subjects regained their liberty. Allied with Babylon, the Medes aided in the overthrow of Assyria and the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. The part played by the Scythians in these events is unclear; if they aided Assyria at first, they apparently changed sides before its defeat. The empire was divided by the Babylonians and the Medes, with the Medes taking the Persian and Anatolian provinces, including much of land occupied by Scythians.

Obscurity surrounds the tradition of a Scythian invasion of Palestine in the 7th cent. B.C. Eusebius's *Chronicle* (completed by Jerome) notes the extension of Scythian power to Palestine *ca.* 630 B.C. According to Herodotus this event occurred during the Scythians' twenty-eight-year domination of "Asia" (i.102-106; iv.1), a period roughly occupying the third quarter of the century. Herodotus recorded the penetration of a Scythian detachment as far as Ashkelon where any further advance was bought off by Psamtik of Egypt.

Despite the doubts of some scholars, the movement across Syria and Palestine of a Scythian band *ca.* 630 B.C. is quite feasible. Certainly the Assyrian forces had beaten off Cimmerian attacks in Cilicia ten or fifteen years earlier; but the events of the ensuing years are unknown, and a decline in Assyrian power is very likely. An alternative date in the last decade of the century seems less probable in the light of fairly full knowledge of those years gleaned from the Babylonian Chronicle. Whatever its date — and the earlier date is preferable — the Scythian incursion was confined to the main road S and may have been little more than a major raid. If this opinion is correct, the "foe from the north" depicted by Jeremiah was probably not the Scythians (Jer. 4:5–5:21; 6:1-26; 14:17–15:9), for there is no trace of an onslaught so terrible as the prophet foretold, apart from the Babylonian invasion under Nebuchadrezzar, nor is the chronology easy to follow (contra H. H. Rowley, *Men of God* [1963], pp. 140-153).

Material evidence of Scythian presence in the Fertile Crescent is elusive. A form of bronze arrowhead with three blades and a curved barb on the shaft, found at sites from Armenia to Palestine, is commonly termed Scythian, and may have been used by these famous bowmen. The types of objects found in the main area of Scythian occupation N of the Black Sea are very rarely found S of Anatolia, showing that the Scythians hardly crossed the horizon of the OT world. That is the position they occupy in Jeremiah's prediction of Scythian troops joining men of Urartu and Mannai in the conquest of Babylon, which

Scythian bowmen may have used bronze arrowheads of this distinct design, with three blades and a barb on the shaft (drawing A. Millard)

is perhaps a reference to the constituents of Cyrus's army (Jer. 51:27).

The chief group of Scythians, the "Royal Scyths," established themselves in the lands N of the Black Sea from the Caucasus around to the Danube. While the bulk of the people continued their nomadic life, a minority eventually settled in a few towns; their capital in Crimea was known to the Greeks as Neapolis. Here the Scythians made contact with Greek merchants, exchanging slaves, timber, and grain for sophisticated Greek goods. Indeed, it was to cut the supply of timber and grain that Darius I led his armies from Persia across the Bosphorus, the Danube, the Dnieper, and the Don in a vain attempt to subdue the Scyths (*ca.* 513 B.C.).

Greek workmanship and influence is evident in outstanding metal vessels from princely tombs, but the Scythians are justly renowned for their own art. Cast and chased plaques of gold and bronze representing the animals familiar to the herdsman and the hunter are typical. Some are naturalistic, others stylized in flowing patterns traceable across Europe in the art of Celtic and Saxon Britain. In Persia similar designs are found in the multitude of bronzes from Luristan. Here it is hard to distinguish the product of one folk from that of another; Median and Scythian styles mingle, incorporating designs from earlier centuries and from Assyria and Urartu.

By the 1st cent. A.D. the coasts of the Black Sea were hellenized, and even Jewish settlements existed there. But to the Greeks the Scythians represented the opposite

On this gold clothing ornament (5 cm., 2 in., high), two Scythians drink from the same horn, apparently a common Scythian ritual (4th cent. B.C. from Crimea) (Lee Boltin)

of civilization, what English usage would term savagery. This reputation is reflected in the references in 2 Macc. 4:47; 3 Macc. 7:5; 4 Macc. 10:7, and it is apparently in this sense also that the word is employed by Paul in Col. 3:11 to show the comprehensive embrace of Christian equality.

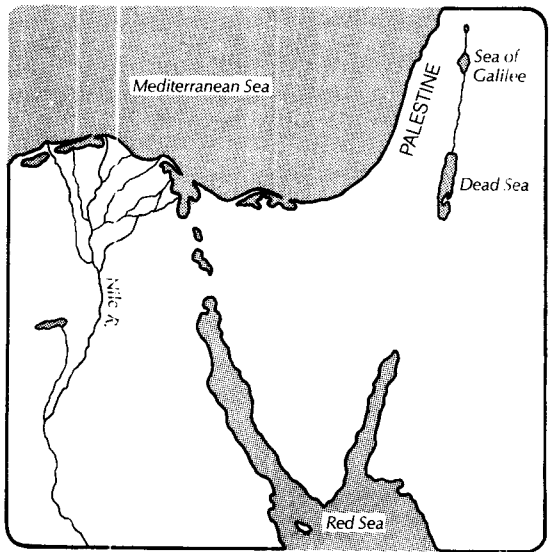
Bibliography.—K. Jettman, *Art of the Steppes* (1967); A. R. Millard, "The Scythian Problem," in J. Ruffle, ed., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (1979), pp. 119-122; T. T. Rice, *Scythians* (1957); T. Sulimirski, *Artibus Asiae*, 17 (1954), 282-318, on Scythian relics in the Fertile Crescent. A. R. MILLARD

SCYTHOPOLIS sith-op'ə-lis (Apoc.). *See* BETH-SHEAN.

SEA [Heb. *yām*, also *mayim*—'waters' (Ps. 18:15 [MT 16]; Ezk. 27:26), *gal* ("wave of the sea," Ps. 107:25, 29); Aram. *yām* (Dnl. 7:2f.); Gk. *thálassa*, also *parathalassíos* ("by the sea," Mt. 4:13), *pélagos* ("open sea," Acts 27:5), *bythós* ("depth of the sea," 2 Cor. 11:25), vb. *anágō* ("put to sea," Acts 27:2, 4, 12)]; AV also WATERS, DEEP (2 Cor. 11:25), SEA-FARING MEN (Ezk. 26:17), LAUNCH (Acts 27:2, 4), DEPART (v. 12), etc.; NEB also COAST, ROADSTEAD (2 Ch. 2:16; Ezr. 3:7), DEEP (Isa. 27:1), LAKE, OCEAN, RIVER (Isa. 10:26), WATER(S), SALT WATER (Lev. 11:9f.), WATERS OF THE NILE (Ezk. 32:2), NILE (Isa. 63:11; Nah. 3:8), EUPHRATES (Zec. 10:11), DEAD SEA (2 Ch. 20:2), RED SEA (Josh. 24:6; 1 Cor. 10:1), WEST (Nu. 11:31; 1 K. 18:43f.; Isa. 24:15), WESTWARDS (Josh. 15:46; 16:6), MONSTER OF THE DEEP (Job 9:8; 26:12; Ps. 74:13), etc. Any large body of water (of glass only in Rev. 4:6; 15:2); primarily used of oceans, their major offshoots, and lakes, but occasionally of rivers and of water in a container (*see* SEA, MOLTEN).

In biblical cosmology the sea, the heavens, and the earth (or dry land) constitute the basic structural components of the universe (Ps. 135:6; Hag. 2:6; Acts 4:24; Rev. 5:13; etc.). At creation God collected the waters covering the earth's surface into "seas" of fixed limits and stocked them with living creatures (Gen. 1:9f., 20f.; Job 38:8; Acts 14:15; Rev. 14:7; etc.). The dry land that thus emerged was itself anchored in subterranean seas (2 S. 22:16; Ps. 18:15 [MT 16]; 24:2), the same waters whose gushing forth contributed to the Great Flood (Gen. 7:11; 8:2). God the Creator maintains mastery of the seas. His power stirs up the sea's fits of rage and thunderous roar (Isa. 51:15; Jer. 31:35; Jonah 1:4); His rebuke subdues and silences them (Ps. 89:9 [MT 10]; Isa. 50:2; Nah. 1:4). God's parting of the Red Sea was, for biblical writers, the classic example of His might (Ex. 14:21; 15:1, 4; Josh. 4:23; 24:6f.; Ps. 78:13, 53; Acts 7:36; He. 11:29; etc. cf. His parting of the Jordan River, Ps. 114:3, 5). Jesus' calming of the stormy Sea of Galilee testifies to the same might (Mt. 8:24-27 par.). The psalmists commanded the sea to roar in praise of God's righteous rule (Ps. 69:34 [MT 35]; 96:11; 98:7).

This alabaster relief depicts Assyrian trading vessels dragging or carrying logs in the sea, which contains various creatures including a merman (left) and a huge serpent (center). From Khorsabad, 721-705 B.C. (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



Four seas figure prominently in the Bible. Along the west coast of Palestine lies the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, which the Bible calls "the Great Sea" (Heb. *hayyām haggāḏôl*, Nu. 34:6f.; Josh. 15:12, 47; Ezk. 47:10, 15, 19f.; 48:28), "the western sea" (*hayyām hā'aḥ^{a}rôn*, lit. "the aftermost sea," i.e., to their backs [as they faced E],

The Mediterranean Sea near the ruins of Leptis Magna, a major Roman port city in North Africa (R. H. Smith)

The Dead Sea shore S of Masada (L. K. Smith)

Dt. 11:24; 34:2; Joel 2:20; Zec. 14:8; AV "uttermost," "utmost," or "hinder sea"), "the sea of the Philistines," (Ex. 23:31), or simply "the sea" (cf. Acts 10:6, 32; 17:14; 27:30, etc.). Its waters ferried building materials for the temple from Lebanon (1 K. 5:9 [MT 23]; 2 Ch. 2:16), the prophet Jonah toward Tarshish (Jonah 1), and Paul to Rome (Acts 27; 28:11; 2 Cor. 11:25f.). Its location to Palestine's west probably explains the use of the Hebrew word *yāmmâ* to mean "west" (e.g., Gen. 13:14; Nu. 2:18; *see* NATURAL FEATURES VIII).

Much of Jesus' ministry, on the other hand, happened on and around the Sea of Galilee (*thálassa tḗs Galilaias,* Mt. 4:18; 15:29; Mk. 1:16; 7:31; *thálassa tḗs Tiberiados,* Jn. 6:1; 21:1), a lake in northeast Palestine that the OT calls "the Sea of Chinnereth" (*yām kinn^{e}reṯ,* Nu. 34:11; Josh. 13:27) or "Sea of Chinneroth" (*yām kinn^{e}rôṯ,* Josh. 12:3; NEB always "Sea of Kinnereth"). *See* GALILEE, SEA OF.

The RED SEA was the site of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Ex. 10:19; 13:18; Nu. 14:25; Dt. 1:40; etc.). The Heb. *yām-sûp* ("sea of reeds"?) refers either to a marshy area E of the Nile delta or, more probably, to the south end of the Bitter Lakes region (in the NT lit. "Red Sea," Gk. *erythrá thálassa,* Acts 7:36; He. 11:29). Isa. 11:15 calls it "the sea of Egypt" (*yām-miṣrayim*).

The Bible calls the DEAD SEA "the Salt Sea" (*yām melaḥ,* Gen. 14:3; Nu. 34:3; etc.; NEB "Dead Sea"), "the sea of the Arabah" (*yām hā^{ʿ}rāḇâ,* Dt. 3:17; 4:49; Josh 3:16; etc.; AV "sea of the plain"), "the eastern sea" (*hayyām haqqaḏmōnî,* Ezk. 47:18; Joel 2:20; Zec. 14:8; AV "east" or "former sea"), or simply "the sea" (Isa. 16:8; Jer. 48:32).

In addition, the Bible applies *yām* to the rivers Nile (Nah. 3:8; cf. Isa. 19:5) and Euphrates (Jer. 51:36); cf. Isa. 21:1, where it probably refers to the Persian Gulf. Neither the RSV nor the NEB takes Heb. *yām yāpô'* (Ezr. 3:7) to be a place name (but cf. AV "sea of Joppa"; cf. also 2 Ch. 2:16). The second occurrence of *yām* in Jer. 48:32 (AV "sea of Jazer") should probably be omitted, reading with the LXX.

Though Israel was not a naval power like its Phoenician neighbors, under Solomon it did launch a fleet from Ezion-geber that brought the king gold from Ophir (1 K. 9:27f.; 10:22; 2 Ch. 8:17f.; cf. the sailors' experience, Ps. 107:23-32). The Israelites observed that rain came from the sea (1 K. 18:43f.; Am. 5:8; 9:6; cf. Eccl. 1:7). Moreover, biblical writers frequently used maritime metaphors. They compared the "sand of the sea" to the blessing of many descendants (Gen. 22:17; 32:12; Isa. 48:19; Rom. 9:27), sizable armies (Josh. 11:4; Jgs. 7:12; Rev. 20:8), amazing wisdom (1 K. 4:29 [MT 5:9]), and a weighty calamity (Job 6:3). The sea's stirring provided an apt description of human restlessness (Isa. 57:20; Jer. 49:23), a doubter's instability (Jas. 1:6), and shameful carousing (Jude 13). The sea's expanse was used to describe great distances (Ps. 139:9; Am. 8:12), wide political domains (Ps. 72:8; etc.), the vast ruin of Jerusalem (Lam. 2:13), and Yahweh's limitless wisdom (Job 11:9). Biblical writers compared the finality of God's forgiveness to the burial of Israel's sins in the ocean depths (Mic. 7:19). The prophets looked forward to a day when the earth would be as full of the knowledge of God as the sea is full of water (Isa. 11:9; Hab. 2:14). Jesus said that the sea's roar would announce His return (Lk. 21:25).

Biblical writers also saw the sea's sinister, treacherous side (cf. its association with death in Jonah 2:1-6) and described the rise of satanic powers from its depths (Dnl. 7:2f.; Rev. 13:1). Thus John's vision that "the sea was no more" (Rev. 21:1) probably suggests the end of evil or of life's turmoil.

Bibliography.—BDB, pp. 410f.; Bauer, rev., p. 350; *HDB,* IV, *s.v.* (A. E. Garvie); *TWOT,* I, 381f. R. L. HUBBARD, JR.

SEA, ADRIATIC. *See* ADRIA.

SEA, BRASEN; SEA, BRONZE. *See* SEA, MOLTEN.

SEA, DEAD. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA, EASTERN. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA, FORMER. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA, GREAT. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

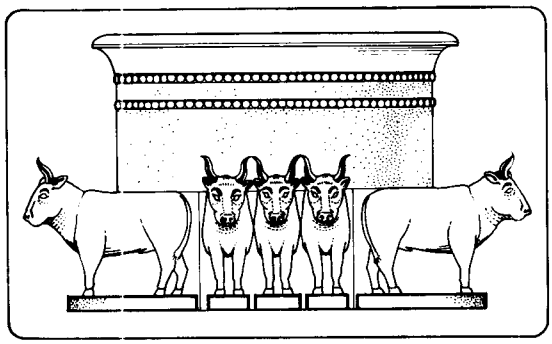
SEA GULL [Heb. *šaḥap*; Gk. *láros*; Lat. *Larus canus*] (Lev. 11:16; Dt. 14:15); AV CUCKOO; NEB LONG-EARED OWL. A web-footed aquatic bird of the family Laridae. The RSV has based its translation on the LXX and Vulgate. The NEB translation is based on the suggestion of G. R. Driver (*PEQ,* 1955, pp. 5-20), who argued that the place of the *šaḥap* on the two lists pointed to a land bird. But the long-eared owl is nocturnal and rare, whereas the sea gull is diurnal and common all along the Mediterranean coast and around the Sea of Galilee. Among the species that have been recorded are the common gull, the herring gull, the black-headed gull, and the lesser black-backed gull. Its conspicuous nature makes the sea gull a more likely candidate for the abomination list than either the cuckoo or the long-eared owl. To a steady diet of fish, gulls add refuse that they are able to scavenge along the shore, as well as such items as small birds and bird eggs. Thus they would have been classed as unclean birds. N. J. O.

SEA, HINDER. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA; SEA.

SEA, MEDITERRANEAN. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

SEA, MOLTEN [Heb. *yām mûṣāq*]; NEB SEA OF CAST METAL. A gigantic basin of bronze supported by twelve bronze bulls and placed in the courtyard to the southeast of Solomon's temple (1 K. 7:23-26; 2 Ch. 4:2-5). The "sea" was cast by Hiram of Tyre, who was responsible for all the bronze work at the temple (1 K. 7:13f.). According to 1 Ch. 18:8 (where the basin is called the "bronze sea") the bronze used was taken by David in battle.

The basin's diameter was 10 cubits (about 4.4 m. or 14 ft. 7 in., assuming the cubit was 17.5 in.), its height 5 cubits (2.2 m. or 7 ft. 4 in.), and its circumference 30 cubits (13.3 m. or 43 ft. 10 in.). It was a "handbreadth"



A reconstruction of the molten sea based on the biblical description (L. Bauer, after T. A. Busink)

(about 8 cm. or 3 in.) thick. Its weight has been estimated at roughly 30 tons, its capacity at close to 45,425 l. (12,000 gals.). This latter figure is based on a capacity of 2,000 baths, as stated in 1 K. 7:26; but 2 Ch. 4:5 gives the capacity as 3,000 baths. C. C. Wylie suggested that the figure in Kings was computed on the assumption that the "sea" was hemispherical in shape, whereas the figure in Chronicles assumed a cylindrical shape.

The brim of the basin turned outward, suggesting the curvature of a lily flower. Under the brim were ornamental "gourds" (MT *pᵉqāʿîm*, 1 K. 7:24) in two rows. In place of "gourds" 2 Ch. 4:3 reads "the likeness of oxen" (*dᵉmūṯ bᵉqārîm*; cf. RSV mg.); some have thought this historically more probable, arguing that the text in Kings may have deliberately avoided a reference to bulls because of their association with Jeroboam's idolatrous cult. T. Willi, however, suggested that the Chronicler here did not understand his source.

The twelve bulls supporting the "sea" were arranged in four groups of three, each group facing a point of the compass (1 K. 7:25; 2 Ch. 4:4). It has been suggested that the bulls were pediment figures with their back parts hidden under the curve of the basin, which rested on the ground. These bulls were later removed by Ahaz (2 K. 16:17; Jer. 52:20 indicates that they remained for Nebuchadnezzar to remove, but the phrase "the twelve bronze bulls" is lacking in the par. 2 K. 25:16); the "sea" was then set upon a stone base (or, perhaps, directly on the pavement of the courtyard). After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., the "sea" was broken in pieces and the bronze taken to Babylon (2 K. 25:13 par. Jer. 52:17).

According to 2 Ch. 4:6 the "sea" was used for the priests' purification, apparently as a replacement of the LAVER of the tabernacle. Most scholars, however, seek some symbolic significance as well because of possible links with the artificial "seas" connected with Mesopotamian temples. (The closest archeological parallel to Solomon's "sea" is a large stone basin from Amathonte in Cyprus, now in the Louvre.) Possibly, then, the water of the basin represented the cosmic sea, and its containment within the basin signified Yahweh's triumph over the waters of chaos (cf. Ps. 89:9 [MT 10]; 93:3f.). But in the absence of any clear indication of how the *Israelites* understood the symbolism of the "sea," de Vaux has wisely advised that such suggestions be treated with great caution.

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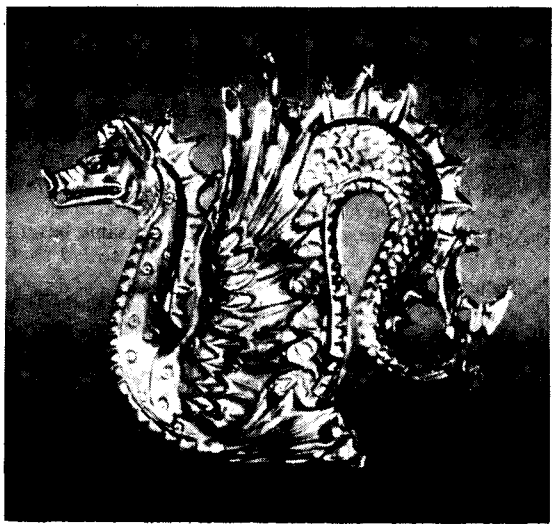
SEA MONSTER [Heb. *tannîn* pl. *tannînîm*; LXX *kētos*, *drákōn*] (Gen. 1:21; Job 7:12; Ps. 148:7); AV WHALE, DRAGON; NEB also MONSTER OF THE DEEP, "water-spout." In a number of texts the RSV translates *tannîn* by "serpent" (*see* SERPENT; in the DSS *tnyn* occurs with this meaning, e.g., 1QH 5:10, 27; CD 8:9f.; 19:22) or "dragon" (*see* DRAGON; cf. LXX). In Jer. 51:34 the personified Jerusalem likens its capture by Nebuchadrezzar to being swallowed "like a monster" (Heb. *tannîn*). In its other occurrences *tannîn* denotes a mythical sea monster subdued by Yahweh at creation. See the similar monster in the Ugaritic texts (e.g., *ANET*, p. 138); its relation to *ltn* (OT LEVIATHAN?) and *ym* is uncertain (see A. Cooper, in S. Rummel, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels*, III [1981], 424-28).

In Gen. 1:21a the huge sea monsters (*hattannînîm haggᵉḏōlîm*) are specified over against the general reference to the other members of the aquatic kingdom. In Ps. 74:13 the Lord's shattering the "heads" (Heb. *rōʾšê*) of the *tannînîm* is confessed as an act that took place at creation (cf. T. Ash. 7:3). This provides the traditio-historical background for Job 7:12, where Job denies that he should be guarded like the *tannîn*. In Ps. 148:7 the *tannînîm* are counted among the inhabitants of the earth who are to praise Yahweh. In Isa. 51:9 the slaying of the monster by Yahweh refers to the Exodus. In 27:1 the tradition is eschatologized, and the defeat of Leviathan and *tannîn* inaugurates the new world order envisioned in chs. 24–27.

These texts may reflect a divine battle ideology in which cosmic events determine historical realities. Yahweh's defeat of the primeval sea monster represents victory over

A half-man, half-fish creature depicted on a stone orthostat from the temple (or palace) of Kapara at Tell Ḥalâf (Neo-Hittite, ca. 9th cent. B.C.) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 8799)



A Scythian gold clothing ornament in the shape of a sea monster (Crimea, *ca.* 4th cent. B.C.) (Lee Boltin)

chaos and is the (cosmic) presupposition for orderly existence (see the dragon/serpent in Rev. 12; 20:2). A disputed reference to the battle in Egyptian literature may be found in "The Instruction for King Merikare" (line 131): "He [the deity] subdued the water monster" (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I [1973], 106; cf. *ANET*, p. 417; W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* [1977], pp. 83-86, offers an alternative interpretation).

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SEA OF CHINNEROTH. *See* GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEA OF GALILEE. *See* GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEA OF GLASS. *See* GLASS, SEA OF.

SEA OF JAZER [Heb. *yām ya'zēr*] (Jer. 48:32 mg.). A scribal error, the result of Heb. *yām*, "sea," being accidentally inserted from the preceding clause. JAZER is far from any sea or lake.

SEA OF JOPPA. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

SEA OF LOT. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA OF SODOM. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA OF THE ARABAH. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA OF THE PLAINS. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA OF PHILISTINES. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

SEA OF TIBERIAS. *See* GALILEE, SEA OF.

SEA, RED. *See* RED SEA.

SEA, SALT. *See* DEAD SEA.

SEA, THE. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

SEA, UTMOST (UTTERMOST). *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA; SEA.

SEA, WESTERN. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA; SEA.

SEAH sē'ə. A dry measure (Heb. *se'â*; AV, RSV, NEB, "measure"). *See* MEASURE II; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

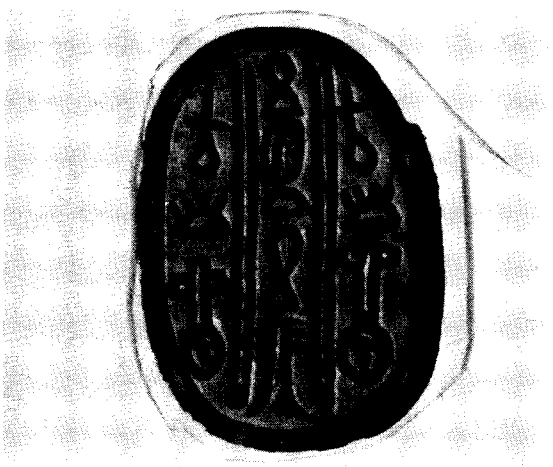
SEAL. Any one of a variety of small engraved objects used for many types of sealing activities or worn as charms.

I. OT Terms
II. NT Terms
III. Seals and Scarabs in the Ancient Near East

I. OT Terms.–The most common word for "seal" in the OT, *ḥôṯām*, can apparently refer to several different types of seals. In Gen. 38:18 Judah probably gave Tamar a scarab, if the late patriarchal period is dated to the Hyksos period (the Middle Bronze II.C period — *ca.* 1700-1550 B.C.) when scarabs were very frequent in Palestine (see III.C below). Alternatively, it could have been a cylinder seal, but these were more common in the Early Bronze Age (*ca.* 3000-2200 B.C.) in Palestine. Jer. 22:24 refers to a seal worn upon the hand, probably indicating a stamp seal in a ring casing, which was very popular in Jeremiah's day. The same word can also refer to the impression, or bulla, which results from the sealing act (Job 41:15 [MT 7]). Although normally made of semiprecious stones, materials mentioned in the Bible include gold (Ex. 28:36) and onyx (Ex. 39:6).

Biblical uses for seals include a pledge (Gen. 38:18), decoration for priestly garb (Ex. 28:11, 21, 36; cf. 39:6, 14, 30) and the sealing of letters (1 K. 21:8). Figuratively the seal is used to indicate change (e.g., as the seal changes the clay, Job 38:14), the identity of a lover (Cant. 8:6; the seal upon the heart may be an allusion to the Egyptian mummification practice of placing scarabs in the heart so the heart would not betray its owner at the judgment; if so, the seal also indicates romantic loyalty in this passage), attachment (Hag. 2:23), and the deputized power of God (Hag. 2:23, where Zerubbabel is like a seal to God). In Gen. 38:25 the hapax legomenon Heb. *ḥōṯemeṯ* is clearly a derivative of *ḥôṯām*.

A white steatite seal with remnants of its former bronze casing. The base of the seal is divided into three vertical bands. The hieroglyphs may read *nfr, ḥ', nfr* ("beauty, appearance, beauty") on right and left columns, and in the center, *w3ḥ, m3 't, R', w3ḥ, ḏd* ("enduring, truth, Re, enduring, stability") (M.B. IIC from Shechem) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)



This seal impression on clay once sealed a papyrus document, as indicated by the fabric impression on the reverse side. The design shows the Persian king as a hunter. Found at Shechem (stratum V) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)

The cognate verb Heb. *ḥāṯam* indicates other uses for seals. These include sealing up the door of a treasury (Dt. 32:4), the sealing of important legal documents, in one case a covenant (Neh. 9:38) or in another case a deed (Jer. 32:10), the sealing of a royal edict (Est. 3:12; 8:8), and the sealing of a scroll (Isa. 29:11). Figurative use is again very rich, indicating ideas such as constipation (Lev. 15:3, the bowels are sealed), shutting off from sight (Job 9:7; 14:17; Cant. 4:12), restriction of knowledge (Isa. 29:11; Dnl. 9:24; 12:4), and perfection (Ezk. 28:12, alluding to the gem quality of most seals).

The basic meaning of Heb. *ṭabba'aṯ* must refer to a ring in its widest sense including finger rings and rings used in furniture and textiles (*see* RING). In Gen. 41:42, however, when Joseph is given the accoutrements of deputized pharaonic power, which included a ring, a scarab was probably embedded in it, because a seal is more symbolic of deputized power than a mere ring. Likewise in Est. 3:10, 12; 8:2, 8, 10 it is worn on the hand like a ring, but is also used to seal royal edicts of the Persian king.

In Dnl. 6:17 (MT 16) the Aramaic noun *'izqā* seems to refer to a normal seal (note that the verb *ḥāṯam* is used).

II. NT Terms.–The Greek word *sphragís* seems to refer to the same type of object used for similar purposes. It is used to seal up scrolls (Rev. 5:1; 6:1; etc.) and can figuratively indicate covenant ratification (Rom. 4:11, where Paul may be alluding to the Jewish circumcision prayer, which calls circumcision a "seal of the covenant"), identity (1 Cor. 9:2, where Paul's converts are the identification [seal] of his apostleship), and ownership (2 Tim. 2:19; Rev. 9:4) implying security.

The cognate verb *sphragízō* shows that seals could be used to seal doors (Mt. 27:66, in this case the rolling stone of a tomb; cf. Herodotus ii.121 for the practice of sealing tombs). Figurative contexts include ratification of belief in truth (Jn. 3:33), thereby being sealed to redemption (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:13), restriction of knowledge (Rev. 10:4), and imprisoning the devil (Rev. 20:3).

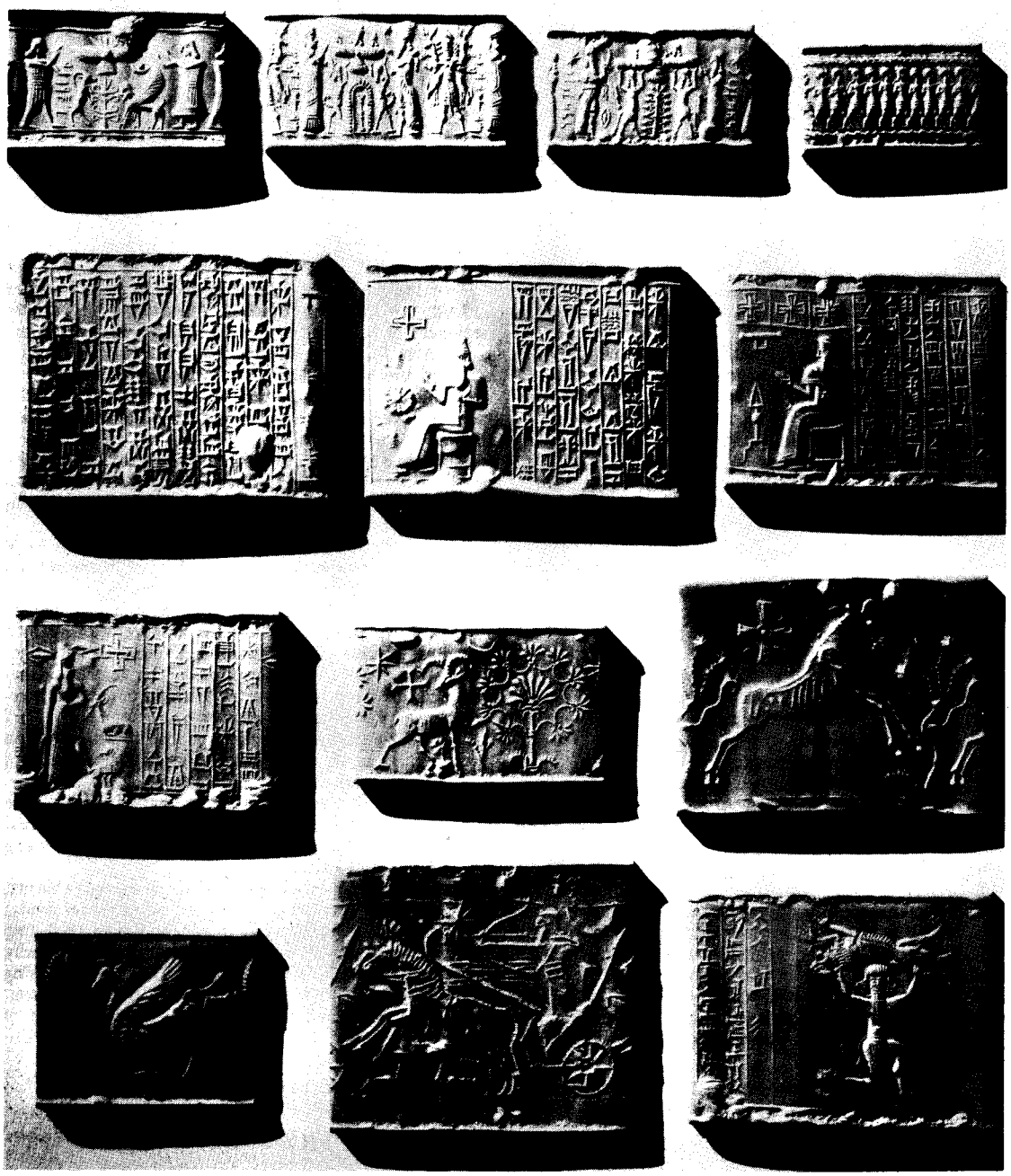
The term *katasphragízō* refers to the same basic idea as the previous term, where a scroll is sealed shut for security and authentication.

III. Seals and Scarabs in the Ancient Near East.–The following discussion of seals and scarabs from the ancient Near East is basically in chronological order. Although a regional factor is involved in the appearance of the various types of seals (cylinder seals in Mesopotamia, scarabs in Egypt, and alphabetically inscribed stamp seals in the Levant), one may plot the history of seals and sealings from region to region by arranging them chronologically in order of appearance.

A. Origins. Although an isolated find of what may have been a seal made of unbaked clay and engraved with a crude swastika was found in Neolithic levels of Jericho (*ca.* 7000 B.C.), seals as a group of artifacts do not seem to have begun prior to the late 4th millennium B.C. Probably first appearing as stone amulets and charms, their use for identification and authentication soon became apparent to the landlords and merchants of early Mesopotamia. The earliest seals were stamp seals found both in tombs and in settlements. They were designed to be hung from the neck, wrist, and possibly also the waist, either on a cord by themselves or together with beads in a necklace or bracelet. A hole was bored through the stone to accept the cord. Pictographic writing does not appear on the earliest seals. The spaces are instead engraved with geometric designs. Sites where these earliest seals have been found include Susa in the south and Gawra and Arpachiyah in the north.

B. Cylinder Seals. Contemporary with the development of writing is the consistent appearance of cylinder seals in southern Mesopotamia. Found by the thousands through-

An Assyrian cylinder seal made of stone and speckled with an azure blue pigment. It depicts an animal with horns, hooves, and a bull's head and tail, and common Assyrian seal motifs: the winged disk over a stylized tree, the seven stars of the Pleaides, and a moon-crescent (found in a fill at Shechem, probably dating between the 13th and 11th cents. B.C.) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)



Impressions of Assyrian, Kassite, Neo-Babylonian, and Phoenician cylinder seals from the 18th to 7th cents. B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

out the Near East they remained in vogue for about 2,500 years, from *ca.* 3000 B.C. to the period of the Neo-Babylonian empire (6th cent. B.C.). During the 3rd millennium B.C. they were carried by merchants and officials throughout the Fertile Crescent; many have been found at Palestinian sites. The Mesopotamian seals seem to have been the impetus behind the earliest Egyptian seals. Their long history and wide geographical dispersion led to a wide variety in styles of decoration which, outside of archeological contexts, have become the basis for dating the seals usually within a century or two.

Cylinder seals are small and barrel shaped, normally no larger in diameter than a finger and no longer than 2 or 3 cm. (an inch). They can be made of a variety of materials, but most common are semiprecious gem stones, such as lapis lazuli, carnelian, blue chalcedony, pink marble, and jasper. Other materials include gold, silver, ivory, haematite, and even glazed pottery. Some stones were not used because they were apparently considered "unlucky."

The engraved decoration on the seals (done in reverse) was geometric in the early periods, but religious scenes

quickly became popular. These latter included mythological and legendary scenes as well as religious symbols such as trees, heavenly luminaries, animals, and flowers. During the Early Dynastic period (early 3rd millennium B.C.) the seals began to have inscriptions. Generally the inscription included the name of the owner, sometimes the owner's title, and, more rarely, an expression of loyalty to the king. Frankfort's study is generally considered the seminal study of glyptic art. But compare his work especially with those of E. Porada and A. Ben-Tor.

Normally these seals have a small hole bored through the long axis of the barrel so that the seal could be hung by a cord from the neck, wrist, or waist, with or without other beads. When the seal was needed, the owner could easily remove it from his person and roll the seal over damp clay with the palm of his hand. The distinctive scene on the seal, easily identified as belonging to the owner, emerged on the clay which, when hardened, could be relatively easily preserved. Many of these impressions have been found either in their fragile, unbaked form or in a much more permanent form when the impression was, for one reason or another, brought in contact with a fire and baked.

From their archeological contexts and their appearance on inscribed cuneiform texts the seals were used to mark ownership on objects, either by direct impression as on ceramic vessels or by affixing a clay impression to the object by means of string. They were frequently used to secure documents, especially official documents. They could also be used much like a modern signature on contracts to imply legal assent.

The idea of the cylinder seal seems to have been exported from Mesopotamia to Egypt in Predynastic times, where cylinder seals with similar designs and symbols, but more lightly etched, were placed in tombs. No impressions of these Predynastic seals have been found. Cylinder seals continued in use during the Old Kingdom. They came to be represented in the pictographic determinative for words like "seal" in hieroglyphic. They were primarily used by kings and high officials for administrative use and to seal goods in pyramids.

C. Scarabs. The Egyptian scarab is a small seal made of semiprecious stone carved in the shape of a dung beetle with a hieroglyphic inscription or design on the flat side. These seals developed over a period of time from a variety of amulets and charms made like stamp seals beginning near the end of the Old Kingdom and flourishing during the First Intermediate Period. The majority of these amulets were made of steatite and many were covered with a glaze, sometimes filling the engraved design. They were thus apparently not used as seals.

In the Middle Kingdom the outlines of a dung beetle, *Scarabaeus sacer,* began to be carved on the back side of the seals, perhaps because the beetle, as a symbol of resurrection and long life, added to the charm factor of the amulet. Because the scarab beetles deposited their eggs in balls of dung and pushed them in front of them, they reminded the ancient Egyptians of the creator god, Kheper-Re, who rolled the sun across the sky; and because the young later emerged from the ball, the dung beetle took on a very important role in the symbolism of Egypt, tying in eternal life with Kheper-Re. The flat side of the scarab seal was engraved with the names and titles of kings and officials. They could be worn as necklaces or bracelets or could be attached to rings and worn on the finger for easy use. When the growing bureaucracy of the Middle Kingdom expanded the number of state officials, the production of scarabs was stimulated greatly. Several persons from this period in fact retained the title of "sealer" or "royal sealer."

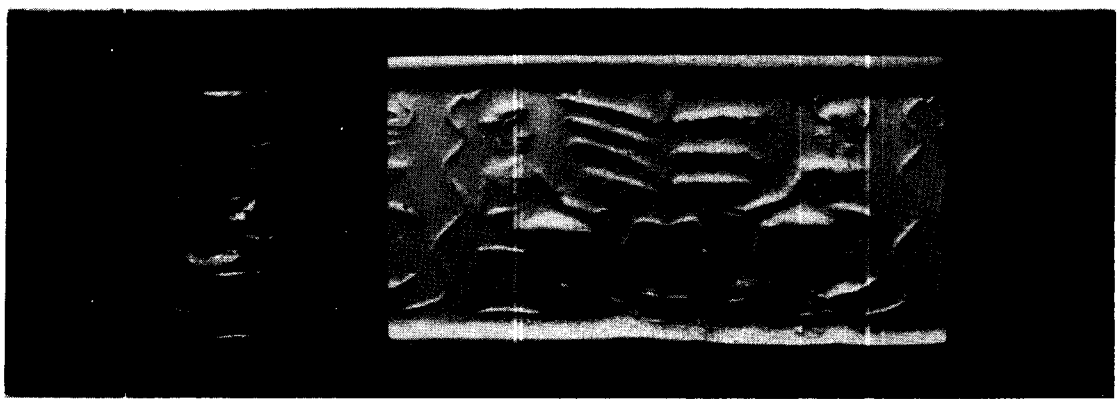
During the Second Intermediate Period scarabs became very popular, often containing inscriptions with good wishes. During the Hyksos dynasties, however, the inscriptions were many times meaningless.

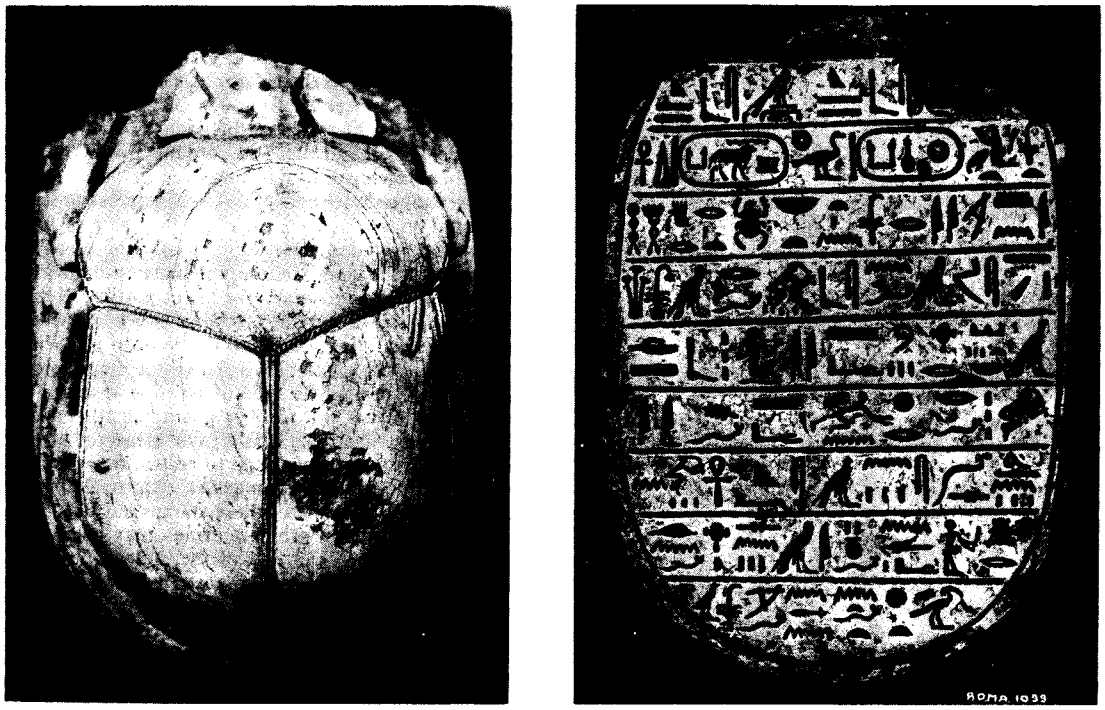
Because most of the scarabs from Egypt itself have been acquired on the antiquities market, while those from Palestine have been found in excavations, the development of scarabs can be better documented in Palestine than in Egypt (see esp. Tufnell). Hundreds of scarabs from the Hyksos period have been found in Palestine, many with meaningless inscriptions. After the New Kingdom scarabs were no longer officially produced, but reproductions flowered for several more centuries.

Scarabs are useful for dating purposes when found on excavations because they often contain the name of a king of Egypt whose reign is known chronologically. However, there is also very good evidence that scarabs were kept as heirlooms for generations and, in some cases, centuries. Therefore they must be used carefully along with other dating evidence.

Although scarabs were probably often used as charms, it would seem that they were used as seals in similar ways as were cylinder seals in Mesopotamia. The ring given to Joseph by Pharaoh in Gen. 41:42 undoubtedly contained a scarab, since the scarab and not the ring embodied the identity and authority of the king by containing his name and titles. Anyone having the use of such an object had the deputized power of the king. The

A Sumerian (3rd millennium B.C.) cylinder seal and impression depicting a sacred tree with a seated god on one side and a woman and a snake on the other (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)





A scarab of the Egyptian king Shabaka proclaiming his victory over rebels and foreign enemies (716-701 B.C.) (Royal Ontario Museum)

practice of depositing scarabs in the heart of the deceased during the mummification process may be alluded to in Cant. 8:6.

D. Inscribed Stamp Seals. Between the late 9th cent. and the early 6th cent. B.C. inscribed stamp seals became popular in the region of Syro-Palestine. These seals and their impressions have been found in relatively great numbers in recent times. At present there are over 600. Well over half of these are from Israel and Judah, especially the latter. There are also well over 100 Aramaic seals (around 20 of these are cylinders), approximately 50 Ammonite seals, about 10 each from Moab and Edom, and over 20 from Phoenicia (scores of other seals from this last region and its colonies are, however, uninscribed).

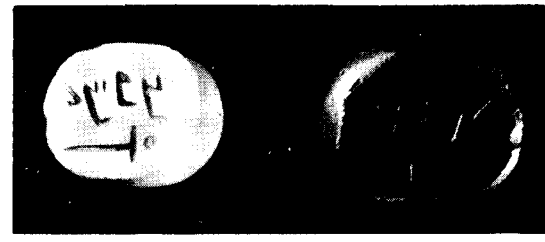
The form of these seals seems to have developed from the Egyptian scarab, which apparently was considered an important heirloom in Palestine. The seals are often carved in the size and form of scarabs, though at times without the scarab design. Rarely, they are conical. Most were made of semiprecious stones, though they also appear in limestone, bone, and various metals. Some were probably also made of wood. During the 8th cent. Israelite and Judean seals were often decorated with animals, plants, and rarely people, but in the 7th cent. decoration consisted solely of one or two engraved lines separating two lines of inscription. At times stylized fruits or simple decorative motifs embellished the lines.

A few of the seals were found to show signs of being encased within a ring setting and a few have had holes bored through them for wearing on a string. It is unknown, however, how most of the seals were carried — perhaps in the owner's purse or pouch. They seem to have been used much like the earlier cylinder seals of Mesopotamia and the scarabs of Egypt. An analysis of the biblical references, most of which refer to these types of seals, indicate that they were used to seal official documents (Jer. 32:10) and letters (1 K. 21:8). Archeological evidence suggests that they were also used to indicate ownership (seal impressions on objects such as pottery) and the sealing of containers to ensure the quality and/or quantity of merchandise.

These seals are important for several branches of study, including ancient Syro-Palestinian art, Northwest Semitic onomasticon (the study of names), and paleography (the study of the development of writing). Using all these lines of study, especially that of paleography, one may now identify the various national groups to which the seal owners belonged and to date many of them to within a generation or two of their engraving.

Normally the inscriptions contain the name of the owner together with the word *ben* ("son of") or *bat* ("daughter of" — a few owners were women) followed by the name of the owner's father. A few seals list the title of the owner instead of the patronym. Some of these titles are of interest, often relating the owner to the king. The phrase *bn hmlk*, "son of the king," refers to a member of the royal family. A few of these may be identified with future biblical kings, e.g., the seals of "Manasseh

A Hebrew seal of exceptionally clear blue chalcedony. It says "belonging to 'Mibneh' or 'Miben,'" possibly a shortened form of "Mibneyahu" or "Mibne-'El," meaning creature of Yahweh or God. The symbol below might be an upright mace (early 8th-late 7th cent. B.C.) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)



A Hebrew sea was found at Megiddo that read "(Belonging) to Shema servant of Jeroboam." This is a bronze cast of the jasper original from the 8th cent. B.C. which has been lost (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

the son of the king," and "Jehoahaz the son of the king." Both these seals have been dated paleographically to the times when these individuals would have been princes in their fathers' courts.

Another interesting title, *'bd hmlk* ("servant of the king"), refers to an official who was probably an important member of the royal bureaucracy. Sometimes the king's name is mentioned instead of the phrase "the king," such as Jeroboam II, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Uzziah. The use of the word "servant" for such a high official may indicate that the servant in the Servant Songs of Isaiah, who has certain royal attributes, should be seen as a highly honored deputy of God rather than a humble slave. Two other titles, *'šr hmlk* ("henchman" or "official of the king") and *'šr 'l hbyt* ("who is over the house"), may refer to high governmental positions as well. A few seal owners are called *spr* ("scribe"). One Ammonite owner even claims to be a devotee of Astarte of Sidon, a Phoenician deity, indicating a certain international syncretism in the region.

Many of the Hebrew names on the seals are familar from biblical personages, though only rarely can the name be identified with the known biblical personality. Three seals contain the name Jeremiah, but none can be dated to the prophet's lifetime. Other biblical names include Hananiah, Gedaliah, Menahem, Jeroboam, Manasseh, Jotham, Jehoiachin, Nehemiah, and many more. But these are popular Hebrew names of the biblical period and do not necessarily belong to the biblical personages of those names. Indeed, some identifications which have in the past been made with biblical people must now be abandoned. The seal of Jotham is often identified with the king who ruled Judah in the 8th cent., but it is actually an Edomite seal from the 7th cent. The seal of "Gedaliah who is over the house" is from the middle of the 7th cent. and thus most likely does not belong to the Gedaliah who ruled Judah from 586 to 582. The seal of "Eliakim the representative of Yaukin [Jehoiachin]" has often been identified with an official of King Jehoiachin, but the seal dates to the 8th cent. and not the early 6th cent. when Jehoiachin ruled.

Other names certainly refer to biblical persons. The most famous single seal is of the "servant" of Jeroboam II. Another seal, mentioning a certain Jaazaniah and dating to the late 7th cent., may be the person mentioned in 2 K. 25:22. Three seals were discovered near Jerusalem which refer to biblical persons mentioned in Jeremiah: "Berechiah the son of Neriah the scribe" can refer only to Baruch (a nickname for Berechiah) the scribe of Jeremiah; "Seriah the son of Neriah" was Baruch's brother mentioned in Jer. 51; "Jerahmeel the son of the king" was a princely official known from Jer. 36. Finally, in 1984 a seal impression of a servant of Baalis (Jer. 40:41) was discovered at Tell el-Umeiri in Jordan. This is the first extrabiblical reference to this king.

E. Royal Stamps. Hundreds of seal impressions have been found on jar handles at sites in the region of Judah. The oval impressions are inscribed with the word *lmlk* ("belonging to the king") in the upper portion and with the name of one of four towns in the lower portion: Hebron, Ziph, Socoh, and *Mmšt* (the last town is not known from the Bible). Separating these two inscriptions is a winged scarab, sun disk, or scroll. Because the impression is usually found on a single type of jar, it is assumed that the impression was intended to guarantee the capacity of the vessel by signifying it as a royal measure. Another view holds that they were used to collect taxes in kind. They may also have been connected with royal commercial enterprises. The date of these stamps has been much debated. One group of scholars claims they belonged to the late 7th cent. at the end of the Judean monarchy, while others date them to the late 8th cent. during the reign of Hezekiah. The crux of the matter is the date of the destruction of Level III at Lachish, because it is the corpus of pottery from Lachish III which is used to date all other deposits where royal stamps also occur. Archeological consensus is presently moving from an early 6th cent. date to *ca.* 700 B.C. for the destruction of the stratum. If correct, this would date all royal stamps to the late 8th century.

F. Yhwd Stamps. Many seal impressions inscribed with the name Yehud, for Judah, have been found in and around Jerusalem dating to the Persian period. Written in several spellings in either Hebrew or Aramaic script (*yhd, yhwd, or yh*), they occur like the royal stamps only on a certain type of jar probably used for wine and seem to have indicated official approval of capacity. Some of the stamps also contain a private name, possibly that of an official. A few similar impressions are inscribed with the name Jerusalem, usually together with a five-pointed star.

G. "Rhodian" Jar Handles. Seal impressions in Greek on the handles of two-handled jars from the Aegean are frequent in Hellenistic layers of Palestinian cities. Although most come from the island of Rhodes (whence their name), they also come from other Aegean islands, such as Cos and Knidos. Generally they date to the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C. and include an inscription giving the name of an official and the month of manufacture or information concerning the potter. Lists of the officials derived from the inscriptions whose dates are known enable very precise dating, a boon to the archeological endeavor. The jars were intended to contain exported wine. Because each island had its own "brand" of wine, the impressions may have denoted the quality of the wine, as well as ensuring its quantity.

See also SIGNET.

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SEALED FOUNTAIN [Heb. *ma'yān ḥāṯûm* (pass. part. *ḥāṯam*; cf. *ḥôṯām*–'seal')] (Cant. 4:12). A metaphor for a chaste woman. Sealing a fountain would secure it against access by any but the rightful owner. *See also* SEAL.

SEALSKIN (AV mg. Ex. 25:5; Ezk. 16:10). *See* GOATSKINS; LEATHER.

SEAM, WITHOUT [Gk. *árraphos*] (Jn. 19:23); NEB SEAMLESS. According to John the soldiers cast lots for Jesus' tunic because it was "without seam," and they did not want to tear it (vv. 23f.). To weave a tunic of this sort did not demand exceptional skill; thus the garment was not necessarily a luxury item (see Brown, II, 903). According to Josephus (*Ant.* iii.7.4 [159-161]) the high priest wore a long, blue robe that was woven in one piece and had slits for the head and the arms. The seamlessness of Jesus' tunic has given rise throughout history to various symbolic interpretations of this passage (see Brown, II, 920-22; Lindars, p. 578; Morris, p. 809).

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SEARCH. *See* SEEK.

SEARCHINGS OF THE HEART. *See* SEEK.

SEARED [Gk. pf. pass. part. of *kaustēriázō*–'brand with a hot iron'] (1 Tim. 4:2); NEB BRANDED. The Greek term refers to the practice of cauterizing flesh. This could be done with one of two purposes: (1) to brand the forehead of a slave (*see* MARK I), or (2) to anesthetize flesh. Most scholars interpret 1 Tim. 4:2 in the first sense (cf. NEB). Thus, according to J. N. D. Kelly, the false teachers' consciences are "stamped with the brand-mark which indicates [Satan's] ownership" (*Comm. on the Pastoral Epistles* [*HNTC*, 1963], p. 94). A. T. Hanson, however, contends that the second meaning makes more sense in the context: "The false teachers are liars; they deliberately deceive, because they have managed to anaesthetise their consciences, no doubt by means of their constant habit of deceit" (*Pastoral Epistles* [*NCBC*, 1982], p. 87). N. J. O.

SEASON [Heb. *ʿēṯ*–'time, appointed time,' 'the right time (for a thing)' (Gen. 31:10; Lev. 26:4; Dt. 11:14; Ps. 1:3; Prov. 15:23; Jer. 5:24; etc.), *môʿēḏ*–'appointed time,' 'appointed date' (Gen. 1:14; 17:21; Ps. 104:19; Ezk. 46:11; Hos. 2:9 [MT 11]; etc.), *yôm*–'day' (Nu. 13:20), *zᵉmān*–'appointed time' (Est. 9:31; Eccl. 3:1), *rēʾšîṯ*–'beginning' (Hos. 9:10); Aram. *zᵉmān*–'(fixed) time' (Dnl. 2:21; 7:12); Gk. *kairós*–'point or period of time,' 'the right, proper, favorable time,' 'time of crisis, the last times' (Mt. 21:34, 41; Mk. 11:13; Acts 1:7; 14:17; 1 Cor. 7:5; Gal. 4:10; 6:9; 1 Thess. 5:1), *eukaírōs* ("in season," 2 Tim. 4:2), *akaírōs* ("out of season," 2 Tim. 4:2)]; AV also TIME, DUE SEASON, SOLEMNITIES (Ezk. 46:11), etc; NEB also TIME, PROPER TIME, DUE SEASON, etc.; **SUMMER** [Heb. *qayiṣ* (Gen. 8:22; 2 S. 16:1f.; Ps. 74:17; Prov. 6:8; 26:1; Jer. 8:20; Zec. 14:8; etc.), *qûṣ*–'spend or pass the summer' (Isa. 18:6); Aram. *qayiṭ* (Dnl. 2:35); Gk. *théros* (Mt. 24:32; Mk. 13:28; Lk. 21:30)]; NEB also FRUIT (Jer. 40:12; 48:32); **WINTER** [(nouns) Heb. *ḥōreṗ* (Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Zec. 14:8), *sᵉṯāw*–'rainy season, winter' (Cant. 2:11); Gk. *cheimṓn* (Mt. 24:20; Mk. 13:18; Jn. 10:23 [Greek text, v. 22; so AV, NEB]; 2 Tim. 4:21), *paracheimasía*–'wintering' (Acts 27:12)]; NEB also WINTERING; [(verbs) Heb. *ḥārap* (Isa. 18:6); Gk. *paracheimázō*–'winter, spend the winter' (Acts 27:12; 28:11; 1 Cor. 16:6; Tit. 3:12)]; NEB also "for the whole winter" (1 Cor. 16:6). In Zec. 8:19 the RSV supplies the word "seasons." The best and earliest MSS omit Jn. 5:4, where the RSV "seasons" translates Gk. *kairós*.

I. Climatic Seasons in Palestine.–There are two major seasons, summer and winter, and two brief intermediate seasons. The summer (Heb. *qayiṣ*), lasting from about June 15 to September 15, is extremely regular. Complete drought prevails with temperatures reaching 29.4° C (85° F) and considerably higher in the central valley. But this is counteracted by the dryness of the air, a sharp drop of temperature at night in the hill country and eastern plateau, and the development of a powerful sea breeze during the day, which reaches the eastern plateau in the mid-afternoon. On the coast and western slopes there can be heavy dew.

Winter is above all things the "rainy season" (Arabic uses the same word, *shitta*, for "winter" and "rain"), and is very irregular. Normally mild on the coast and in the rift-valley, winters bring sharp frosts to the highlands especially in upper Galilee, and snow to the high eastern plateau each year.

The intermediate seasons are dry, although severe spring thunderstorms with occasional hail have sometimes occurred. The chief feature of both intermediate seasons is the sirocco, an excessively dry and hot east wind lasting about three to seven days.

II. Seasons in Biblical Thought.–The biblical writers did not think of the "four seasons" but of a period of time, usually short but sometimes long, during which something happened, e.g., rainfall, fruit ripening, harvest, etc. They viewed all climatic phenomena as entirely the activity of God, incomprehensible to human minds. The two most commonly used words, *môʿēḏ* and *ʿēṯ*, as well as *zᵉmān* (Eccl. 3:1; Dnl. 2:21; 7:12), have the sense of the appropriate times appointed by God (e.g., Lev. 26:4; Dt. 11:14; 28:12; Job 38:32; Ps. 145:15). Thus a divinely appointed festival was called *môʿēḏ* (e.g., Nu. 9:2f., 7, 13; RSV "appointed time"; AV "appointed season"). The term *ʿēṯ* can also mean "appropriate time," e.g., "a word in season" (Prov. 15:23), which refers to the effectualness of timely spoken words. The use of *zᵉmān* in Eccl. 3:1 suggests a predetermined pattern to one's life. Hosea compares Yahweh's delight in Israel to the delight of finding the first ripe figs of a tree's initial productive season (RSV "first season" for Heb. *rēʾšîṯ* in Hos. 9:10; cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea* [*AB*, 1980], p. 540).

In the RSV NT the most common word for "season" is Gk. *kairós*, which can designate proper or appropriate time (e.g., Mk. 11:13), a period of time (e.g., 1 Cor. 7:5), or the eschatological time of crisis (e.g., Acts 1:7; 1 Thess. 5:1). Just as harvest occurs at the proper time, so the reaping of rewards for previous efforts will occur (Gal. 6:9). While Acts 1:7 indicates that the time of the consummation is known only by the Father, 1 Thess. 5:1f. appears to say that a specific time is discernible by the church; however, the latter passage merely indicates that in regard to the last times Paul can offer no specific information beyond what the Thessalonians already know (cf. 5:2-10). In Gal. 4:10 Paul finds the scrupulous observance of *kairoí*, probably Jewish feasts or festivals, as bondage to the law from which the Galatians had been released.

The Greek phrase *eukairōs akairōs* (timely/untimely) in 2 Tim. 4:2 is obscure because the preceding verb *epistēthi* has no object, which makes the whole sentence unclear. It could mean "stand on guard" or "press forward." Commenting on 2 Tim. 4:2 A. Malherbe suggested that Timothy should preach, whether people listen or refuse to listen (*JBL* 103 [1984], 235-243); Dibelius and Conzelmann translate 2 Tim. 4:2 as, "Stand by — whether you are expected or not" (*Pastoral Epistles* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1972], p. 118).

For Heb. *qayiṣ* (RSV "summer fruit[s]") in 2 S. 16:1f.; Jer. 40:10, 12; 48:32; Am. 8:1f.; Mic. 7:1, *see* FRUIT I.A.

See also NATURAL FEATURES IV, VII. D. BALY

SEASON [Heb. *mālaḥ*–'salt (offering)' (Lev. 2:13), pual of *mālaḥ* (Ex. 30:35); Gk. *artýō*–'prepare,' specif. 'season, salt' (Mk. 9:50; Col. 4:6)]; AV also TEMPERED (Ex. 30:35); NEB also SALTED (Ex. 30:35), "shall be salted" (Lev. 2:13), "be . . . never insipid" (Col. 4:6). In Ex. 30:35 "season" does not necessarily refer to actual seasoning, but it suggests either the association of salt with covenants or the use of salt to accelerate a fire's burning (see J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus* [*NCBC*, repr. 1983], p. 296; cf. U. Cassuto, comm. on Exodus [Eng. tr. 1967], p. 400). Lev. 2:13 stipulates repeatedly that salt is to be an ingredient in the cereal offering; here the salt may symbolize the covenant between God and the worshiper (see G. Wenham, *Book of Leviticus* [*NICOT*, 1979], p. 71). Mk. 9:50 refers to the domestic use of salt as a preservative. Mark's logion warns the disciples about losing their usefulness like salt that becomes insipid and hence useless. Col. 4:6 enjoins believers to exercise graciousness in their conversation with non-Christians.

See also SALT. G. L. KNAPP

SEAT; SITTING. Two Hebrew nouns rendered "seat" in the RSV, *môšāḇ* and *šeḇeṭ*, are formed from the verb *yāšaḇ* ("sit, stay, dwell"). *Môšāḇ* can thus mean "seat" (e.g., 1 S. 20:18, 25), but it can also denote a "location" (cf. "seat" in Ezk. 8:3) or even an "assembly" (i.e., company of those sitting, Ps. 1:1); and *šeḇeṭ*, while used literally of a seat in 1 K. 10:19; 2 Ch. 9:18, means "location" in Nu. 21:15 (cf. AV, NEB, "dwelling[s]") and perhaps "dwelling-place" (or "place of enthronement"?) in Am. 6:3. Note also that the verb *yāšaḇ* (and its Aramaic cognate *yᵉṯiḇ*, Dnl. 7:9) itself is frequently rendered with the English idiom "take a seat" (2 S. 19:8 [MT 9]; 2 K. 11:19; Jer. 13:18; etc.). The Hebrew term *kissē'* (also rendered "throne") is usually reserved for seats of those held in esteem (cf. 1 K. 2:19; 2 K. 25:28 par. Jer. 52:32; Est. 3:1; *see* THRONE). The derivation of *tᵉḵûnâ* (Job 23:3) from *kûn*, "stand firm" suggests that the word means "fixed" or "established place," hence (God's) "dwelling-place" (NEB "court"). Heb. *merkāḇ* (Cant. 3:10; AV "covering") appears to denote the seat of a litter. In the RSV NT "seat" is used to translate Gk. *kathédra* (Mt. 21:12 par. Mk. 11:15; Mt. 23:2) the verb *kathízō* ("take a seat," Acts 12:21; 25:6, 17; 2 Thess. 2:24), and *kathḗmai* ("have a seat," Jas. 2:3). *See also* BEST SEAT; JUDGMENT SEAT; MERCY SEAT; MOSES' SEAT.

In the RSV OT "sitting" usually renders a form of the Hebrew verb *yāšaḇ*. In several verses where the RSV has "sitting," the AV reflects the ambiguity of *yāšaḇ*, e.g., Gen. 23:10 ("dwell"); Ruth 4:4 ("the inhabitants" [for "those sitting"]); 1 S. 22:6 ("abode"); 24:3 ("remained"). In Est. 2:19, 21; 5:13 the NEB uses the paraphrase "be in attendance at court" in place of be "sitting at the king's gate." In Dt. 22:6 "sitting" represents Heb. *rāḇaṣ*, which refers to a mother bird sitting upon the young or upon the eggs.

Three man sitting on low Egyptian stools, probably folding seats made of leather or rope and wood (facsimile, wall painting from the tomb of User-het, *ca.* 1430 B.C., Thebes) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Several Greek verbs lie behind the RSV rendering "sitting": most often *káthēmai* (Mt. 9:9; 11:16; etc.; cf. NEB "mounted" in Jn. 12:15; Rev. 17:3), but also *kathézomai* (e.g., Lk. 2:46), *katákeimai* (lit. "recline," Lk. 5:29), *synkáthēmai* ("sit with," Mk. 14:54; Acts 26:30), and *synanákemai* (lit. "recline [at table] with," hence "eat with," Mk. 2:15).

"Sitting" was the posture taken by those required to try a legal case (e.g., Ruth 4:1-4; Jer. 26:10; cf. Dnl. 7:9), by those who awaited a prophet's word (2 K. 4:38; 6:32; Ezk. 8:1), by teachers (Mt. 5:1; 13:1f.; 24:3; etc.), by those in mourning (i.e., sitting in ashes, Job 2:8; Jonah 3:6; Lk. 10:13), and by rulers at their enthronement (1 K. 16:11; Jer. 22:30; Mk. 14:62; He. 1:2; rulers are sometimes depicted as sitting while others stand in their service, 1 K. 22:10, 19; Neh. 2:6; Est. 5:1f.). Jas. 2:3 reflects the honor bestowed upon a visitor who is given a seat while others are compelled to stand. S. WESTERHOLM

SEBA sē'bə. *See* SABEANS.

SEBAM sē'bəm. Alternate form of SIBMAH.

SEBAT sə-bät' (Zec. 1:7, AV). *See* SHEBAT; CALENDAR II.A.2.

SECACAH sē-kā'kə [Heb. *sᵉḵāḵâ*–'thicket, cover,' 'fortress' (?)] (Josh. 15:61). One of six cities in the wilderness of Judah (Beth-arabah, Middin, Secacah, Nibshan, City of Salt, and En-gedi) that are included in Judah's tribal allotment. Ancient Secacah has been identified with modern Khirbet es-Samrah, one of three sites of Iron II settlements and fortresses uncovered in the Buqei'ah (Valley of Achor), which runs roughly NNE-SSW between Qumrân, on the shores of the Dead Sea, and Hyrcania (modern Khirbet Mird) N of Wâdī Nâr.

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SECHANIAS sek-ə-nī'əs (AV, NEB, 1 Esd. 8:29, 32). *See* SHECANIAH 4, 7.

SECHU sē'kū (1 S. 19:22, AV). *See* SECU.

SECOND COMING. *See* ESCHATOLOGY IV (also III); PAROUSIA.

SECOND DEATH. *See* DEATH, SECOND.

SECOND QUARTER [Heb. *mišneh*–'second' (2 K. 22:14; 2 Ch. 34:22; Zeph. 1:10)]; AV COLLEGE, SECOND. A new district in Jerusalem. The date of its origin and its exact location are uncertain. According to B. Mazar "the westward expansion of the capital apparently began in the time of Hezekiah, when two new quarters emerged: the *Mishneh* (Second Quarter) situated on the Western hill which faces the Temple Mount, and the *Makhtesh* (Hollow) in the Tyropoeon valley" (*Mountain*, p. 55; see also *EAEHL*, II, 591). *See also* JERUSALEM III.D.5. c-d, F.2.z-a'.

The AV "college" in 2 K. 22:14 and 2 Ch. 34:22 is based on an incorrect connection with the Mishnah.

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SECOND SABBATH. *See* SABBATH, SECOND AFTER THE FIRST.

SECRET; SECRETLY. ***I. Biblical Terms.***–The RSV uses these English words to render a number of important Hebrew idioms. Among the most common are *bassēṯer* ("secretly" or "in secret"; Dt. 13:6 [MT 7]; 27:15, 24; 28:57; 1 S. 19:2; 2 S. 12:12; Job 31:27; Ps. 101:5; 139:15; Prov. 21:14; Isa. 48:16; Jer. 37:17; 38:16; 40:15; AV also "in a secret place," "privily"; NEB also "in my secret heart," "privately," "in private"), *mistār* ("in secret," "secretly," or "in secret places"; Ps. 10:9; 64:5; Jer. 13:17; 23:24; Hab. 3:14; AV also "privily"; NEB "stealthily," "secret plans," "shed tears" [Jer. 13:17], etc.), *lāṭîm* ("secret arts"; Ex. 7:22; 8:7, 18 [MT 3, 14]; AV "enchantments"; NEB "spells"), *sôḏ* ("secret," "secret plots"; Ps. 64:2 [MT 3]; Prov. 11:13; 20:19; 25:9; Am. 3:7; AV also "secret counsel"; NEB also "factions," "knowledge of his plans," etc.). The RSV also uses "secret" or "secretly" in rendering the following Hebrew expressions: the hapax legomenon *l^{e}hāṭîm* ("secret arts," Ex. 7:11; cf. *lāṭîm*), niphal part. of *sāṯar* ("secret thing," Dt. 29:29 [MT 28]), *d^{e}ḇarsēṯer* ("secret message," Jgs. 3:19), *sāṯûm* (pass. part. of *sāṯam*; Ezk. 28:3), *b^{e}sāṯum* ("in my secret heart," Ps. 51:6 [MT 8]), pass. part. of *ʿālam* ("secret sins," Ps. 90:8), niphal part. of *ʿālam* ("secret thing," Eccl. 12:14), *taʿ^{a}lumâ* (Job 11:6; Ps. 44:21 [MT 22]), *n^{e}ṣûrîm* ("secret places," Isa. 65:4), *pōṯ* ("secret parts," Isa. 3:17; NEB "foreheads"; the meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain), piel of *ḥāpā'* ("do secretly," 2 K. 17:9; the meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain).

The NT terms and expressions are Gk. *kryptós* (Mt. 6:4, 6; Mk. 4:22; Lk. 8:17; Jn. 7:4; 18:20; etc.), *kryphaíos* (Mt. 6:18), *kryphḗ* ("in secret," Eph. 5:12), pass. part. of *krýptō* (Jn. 19:38), *mystérion* (Mt. 13:11; Mk. 4:11; Lk. 8:10; Rom. 16:25; 1 Cor. 2:7), *láthrą* (Mt. 2:7; Acts 16:37), *sigáō* ("keep secret," Rom. 16:25), *myéomai* ("learn the secret of," Phil. 4:12; AV "be instructed"; NEB "be very thoroughly initiated"), *pareiságō* ("secretly bring in," 2 Pet. 2:1; AV "privily bring in"; NEB "import"), *pareísaktos* ("secretly brought in," Gal. 2:4), *pareisdýnō* ("secretly gain admission," Jude 4; AV "creep in unawares"; NEB "worm their way in"), *hypobállō* ("secretly instigate," Acts 6:11; AV "suborn"; NEB "put up").

II. OT Usage.–The variety of Hebrew terms referring to secrecy belies the fact that most occur in the context of a few broad themes. Most striking is the theme of doing evil "in secret." Hab. 3:14, e.g., speaks of "devour[ing] the poor in secret," and both Dt. 13:6 and Ps. 44:21 (MT 22) refer to serving other gods in secret. Although the RSV's translation of the piel of *ḥāpā'* in 2 K. 17:9 suggests this same idea, the context speaks not of the Israelites' secret service to other gods but of their public idolatry: the building of high places (Heb. *bāmôṯ*) "at all their towns," the setting up of pillars and Asherim "on every high hill and under every green tree" (v. 10). Nathan's judgment on David (2 S. 12:12) juxtaposes the the evil David had done in secret (in taking Bathsheba) with his coming public humiliation. The doing of evil in secret is graphically captured in the aphorism spoken by the adulteress in Prov. 9:17: "Stolen water is sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." Another form of evil is the revealing of secrets through gossip (Prov. 11:13; 20:19; 25:9; cf. Sir. 22:22; 27:16f.; 21), and Ps. 101:5 condemns the slandering of one's neighbor in secret. Moreover, it is God who knows and requites the wrongs done in secret (Eccl. 12:14; cf. Ps. 90:8; 101:5).

The theme of secrecy as a cloak for evil is balanced by the positive theme of God as the source and revealer of secret knowledge (e.g., Job 11:6; cf. Wisd. 2:22). Dt. 29:29 confesses that "the secret things belong to the Lord our God." Am. 3:7 expresses the further belief that "surely the Lord God does nothing without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets." This tradition is also found in Dnl. 2:19, 27-30, 47, where God is the revealer of "mysteries" (LXX *mystḗria*) — an idea that culminates in the literature of the Apocrypha and NT (see III below).

Secret liaisons or words spoken in secret form another recurring motif. Often such secrecy is based on political necessity (e.g., Ehud's assassination of the king of Moab, Jgs. 3:19; King Zedekiah's secret conversations with Jeremiah, Jer. 37:17; 38:16; cf. also 40:15; 1 S. 19:2f.).

"Secret arts" in Ex. 7:11, 22; 8:7, 18 refers to the magic practiced by the "magicians" (Heb. pl. of *ḥarṭōm*) of Egypt (*see* MAGIC II.A[2]).

Finally, the RSV has inserted "secretly" or "in secret" into the text in three instances where the MT makes no direct mention of secrecy (Gen. 31:27; Josh. 2:1; 2 S. 15:10).

III. NT Usage.–The RSV NT's use of "secret" and "secretly" reflects the continuation and development of OT themes. First, Jesus' teaching that "nothing is hid that shall not be made manifest, nor anything secret that shall not be known and come to light" (Lk. 8:17; cf. Mk. 4:22), reflects the ancient wisdom tradition that the evil done in secret is known to God and will be punished by Him (cf. Rom. 2:15f.). Jesus' teachings also refer to secrecy in a positive sense: His hearers are enjoined to do good and pray "in secret" (Gk. *en tṓ kryptṓ*) in order to be seen by the Father "who sees in secret" (Mt. 6:4, 6, 18). Paul's reference to the prophetic disclosure of "the secrets of the heart" (Gk. *tá kryptá tḗs kardías*) of an unbeliever who enters a worship service (1 Cor. 14:25) reflects not only the tradition that God knows one's secret thoughts (cf. Ps. 44:21 [MT 22]) but also the belief that He is the revealer of secrets (see II above), especially in the congregation (cf. Sir. 1:30).

Another key motif is that of the "secret(s) [*mystérion*] of the kingdom of God/heaven" (Mt. 13:11 par. Mk. 4:11; Lk. 8:10), which Jesus referred to in explaining why He taught in parables. The "secret of the kingdom," i.e., that Jesus was the Messiah who was establishing God's kingdom on earth, was concealed from the masses (cf. Isa. 6:9f.) but revealed to the Twelve. (On the so-called messianic secret, *see* MESSIAH IV.B.) Similarly, Paul wrote

that "we proclaim the wisdom of God [*theoú sophían*] in mystery [*en mystēríǭ*], the hidden wisdom [*tḗn apokekrymménēn*]" (RSV "a secret and hidden wisdom," 1 Cor. 2:7). *See also* MYSTERY III.A, B.

Finaliy, Paul and other NT writers were concerned about the infiltration of the Church under false pretenses by persons outside the faith, especially by false or heretical teachers (cf. Gal. 2:4; 2 Pet. 2:1; Jude 4).

See also HIDE.

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D. G. SCHLEY

SECRETARY [Heb. *sōpēr*–'scribe'] (2 S. 8:17; 20:25; 1 K. 4:3; 2 K. 12:10 [MT 11]; 18:18, 37; etc.); AV SCRIBE; NEB also SCRIBE, ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

The RSV uses this term in two ways. (1) Sometimes it denotes an ordinary scribe, i.e., a person who could read and write. For example, Baruch was Jeremiah's secretary (Jer. 36:26, 32; note the RSV's inconsistency in translating *sōpēr* as "secretary" in v. 26 but as "scribe" in v. 32).

(2) It can denote a state official. He is sometimes called "the king's secretary" (e.g., 2 K. 12:10 par. 2 Ch. 24:11), and even when he is not so designated that function is often clear (e.g., 2 K. 22:3, 8-12). Since this title usually occurs simply in a list of officials, its precise nature is uncertain. The OT does mention that the secretary assisted the high priest in counting the temple taxes (2 K. 12:10), and with two other officials negotiated on behalf of the king with an enemy (2 K. 18:17-36). Jer. 36:12 refers to the "secretary's chamber" in the king's house.

According to some scholars this secretary was the scribe "responsible for royal correspondence" (T. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials* [1971], p. 42; similarly J. Soggin in J. Hayes and J. Miller, eds., *Israelite and Judaean History* [*OTL* 1977], p. 358). Other scholars have attributed much more importance to this official, connecting the Heb. *sōpēr* with the Akk. *šāpirum,* which sometimes refers to a royal ambassador (see A. Crown, *VT,* 24 [1974], 366-370; W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* [*SBT,* 1/44; 1965], pp. 23-32). According to this view Heb. *sōpēr* refers to a "Secretary of State" in these texts, not just to someone who dealt with correspondence. Cf. G. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (*NCBC,* 1984), I, 135f., who attempts to resolve this question by saying there were two officials: a Secretary of State who dealt with internal affairs and correspondence, and another official who dealt with foreign affairs and external correspondence.

Apparently other high officials had similar secretaries; e.g., a "secretary of the commander" conscripted men for the army (2 K. 25:19 par. Jer. 52:25; cf. 2 Ch. 26:11). According to J. Montgomery and H. Gehman (comm. on Kings [*ICC,* 1951], p. 564) this official was an "army adjutant . . . charged with military enrolment, a secretary of war in modern terms."

The "king's secretaries" in the Persian court (Est. 3:12; 8:9) were apparently ordinary scribes rather than high officials (so D. Clines, comm. on Esther [*NCBC,* 1984], p. 297). They had the task of writing down the king's edicts in the languages of every province in the empire.

See also SCRIBES.

G. A. L.

SECT [Gk. *haíresis*] (Acts 24:5, 14; 28:22); AV also HERESY. The AV also renders *haíresis* "sect" in 5:17; 15:5; 26:5 (RSV "party"). *See* HERESY I-II; PARTY.

SECU sē'kōō [Heb. *śekû*; LXX *Seph(e)i*]; AV SECHU. An unidentified place between Gibeah and Ramah (1 S. 19:22). The readings of some Greek and Latin MSS imply that the Hebrew word was *śᵉp̄î,* indicating a threshing floor on a bare hilltop (*GAB,* p. 161). The suggestion that the Hebrew consonants might represent the name Shuweikey (cf. Socoh) is of no help, for no such name is found in the area (*GTTOT,* § 695).

W. S. L. S.

SECUNDUS sə-kun'dəs [Gk. *Sekoundos*]. A gentile Christian from Thessalonica who accompanied Paul on his final journey from Greece to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). He and Aristarchus were probably entrusted with delivering to the Christian community in Jerusalem the gift contributed by the Thessalonian church (see comms.).

SECURE [Heb. *bāṭaḥ*–'trust' (Prov. 11:15; Isa. 47:10; Am. 6:1), *(lā)beṭaḥ*–'safety' (Ps. 16:9; Prov. 1:33; Ezk. 34:27; Zeph. 2:15), *baṭṭuḥâ*–'security' (Job 12:6), *miḇṭaḥ*–'trust' (Isa. 32:18), hiphil of *'āmaḏ*–'cause to stand, station' (2 S. 22:34; Ps. 18:33 [MT 34]), pass. part. of *šāmar*–protect' (2 S. 23:5), piel of *'āmaṣ*–'make strong' (2 Ch. 11:17), *yāṯēḏ*–'nail,' 'holding' ("secure hold," Ezr. 9:8), hophal part. of *yāṣaq*–'be firmly grounded' (Job 11:15), *šālēw*–'at ease' (Job 21:23), polel of *kûn*–'establish' (Ps. 40:2 [MT 3]), *šāḵēn*–'settle' ("dwell securely," Ps. 102:28 [MT 29]), *'ārûz*–'tightly twisted' (Ezk. 27:24), *yāšaḇ*–'dwell' ("dwell securely," Mic. 5:4 [MT 3]); Gk. *perikatḗs gínomai*–'be in control' (Acts 27:16), *heurískomai*–'obtain' (He. 9:12), supplied contextually in 1 Cor. 7:35; 9:15]; AV also SURE, SAFE(LY), TRUST, SET (Heb. hiphil of *'āmaḏ*), "nail" (Ezr. 9:8), QUIET, IN HOPE, etc.; NEB also CONTINUE, FIRM FOOTING, AT EASE, WITHOUT A CARE, UNAFRAID, etc.; **SECURELY** [Heb. *(lā)beṭaḥ* (Lev. 25:18f.; 26:5; Prov. 3:23; 10:9; Isa. 47:8; Jer. 23:6; etc.); Gk. *en asphaleíǭ* (Acts 5:23)]; AV SAFELY, SURELY, CARELESSLY, etc.; NEB also CAREFREE, UNDISTURBED, etc.; **SECURITY** [Heb. *beṭaḥ* (Jgs. 18:7; Job 24:23; Zec. 14:11), *tᵉšûmâ* (Lev. 6:2 [MT 5:21]), *'ᵉmeṯ*–'reliability' (2 K. 20:19; Isa. 39:8; Jer. 33:6), *'ᵉmûnâ*–'steadiness' (Ps. 37:3), *šalwâ*–'ease' (Ps. 122:7), *'āraḇ*–'stand surety for' ("be security," Isa. 38:14); Gk. *aspháleia*–'safety, certainty' (1 Thess. 5:3), *tó hikanón*–'pledge' (Acts 17:9)]; AV SAFETY, SAFELY, TRUTH, FELLOWSHIP (Heb. *'ᵉšûmâ*), PEACE, PROSPERITY, SAFE, STAND SURETY (Isa. 38:14), etc.

The RSV OT translates nineteen different Hebrew terms with "secure," "securely," and "security" amd the richness of the OT vocabulary is demonstrated by the variety of synonymous meanings represented in the English versions. "Secure," etc., most often represent derivations of the root *bṭḥ,* which expresses the sense of security that comes from trusting in someone or something. The adverb "securely" is used exclusively to render *(lā)beṭaḥ,* which is used primarily with verbs of going and dwelling. The NEB follows the AV in ascribing the less accurate (and perhaps misleading) connotation of "careless" or "carefree" to *(lā)beṭaḥ* in Jgs. 18:7; Prov. 1:33; 3:23; Isa. 47:8. The AV apparently confuses *'ārûz,* "tightly twisted [rope]," with *'erez,* "cedar," in Ezk. 27:24.

The OT wisdom literature makes frequent use of the root *bṭḥ* in describing the benefits of following the path of wisdom, i.e., the fear of the Lord. The righteous (wise) live at ease, enjoying long life and having no dread of the calamities that befall the wicked (Prov. 1:33; 3:21-26, esp. 23). They are preserved from the way of evil, the negative consequences of sin, and the devices of the perverse (10:9; cf. 2:10-15). The psalmists also confessed that God grants security to those who seek refuge in Him; Yahweh protects them from the evil intentions of their enemies (Ps. 18:33 [MT 34]; 40:2 [MT 3]; cf. 18:31-42 [MT 32-43] par. 2 S. 22:32-43).

Job's friends also believed that God grants security

to the righteous but punishes the wicked (Job 11:15). Job contended, however, that this is not an absolute principle in the divine order, and he pointed to the prosperity of the wicked around him as evidence (12:6; 21:23; cf. Ps. 73:2-14).

The prophets also recognized that the wicked often live lives of ease and luxury, but they exposed as false and short-lived any security built on something other than God (e.g., Jer. 49:31f.; Am. 6:1; cf. vv. 4-7). They pronounced certain doom on those who assumed themselves to be invulnerable and boasted, "I am, and there is no one besides me" (Isa. 47:8-11; Zeph. 2:15).

On the other hand, God's promises to the Israelites, as they journeyed to the Promised Land, included the assurance that they would "dwell securely" in their own land (Lev. 25:18f.; 26:5; cf. Dt. 12:10; 33:12, 28). Later, after Israel had suffered defeat and exile, security — along with spiritual restoration and material prosperity — was again promised as one of the blessings of the messianic age (Isa. 32:18; Jer. 23:6; 33:16; Ezk. 28:26; 34:25-28; 38:8, 14; 39:26; Zec. 14:11).

In the NT, Gk. *asphalízomai* occurs only in Mt. 27:64-66 (cf. *aspháleia* in Acts 5:23). Its repetition indicates the Pharisees' great anxiety over Jesus' claim that He would rise from the dead, and it emphasizes the Roman government's painstaking efforts to seal the tomb — all to no avail. The use of *heurískō* in the middle voice, meaning "acquire, obtain, procure," occurs in the NT only at He. 9:12. The position and force of the verb call attention to the complete and eternal nature of Christ's sacrifice. In 1 Thess. 5:3 Paul, in a manner reminiscent of the OT prophets, warns about the destruction that awaits those who have a false, misplaced sense of security.

For the use of "security" in the sense of a pledge or deposit (Lev. 6:2 [MT 5:21]; Acts 17:9), *see* PLEDGE.

See also SAFE; TRUST.

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A. E. HILL
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SEDECIAS sed-ə-sī'əs (AV Bar. 1:1, 8). *See* ZEDEKIAH 7, 8.

SEDITION [Aram. *'eštaddûr*–'struggling,' 'revolt'] (Ezr. 4:15, 19). The reference seem to be to the revolts that had led to the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, although Jews may also have revolted under the Persian rulers preceding Artaxerxes. In Gal. 5:20 the AV renders Gk. *dichostasía* (a "standing asunder") as "sedition." A better translation is the RSV and NEB "dissension," because "sedition" connotes political disturbances and relates to the affairs of state, while Paul was here referring to internal quarrels disrupting the Christian community.

L. HUNT

SEDUCE [Heb. hiphil of *ḥānēp*] (Dnl. 11:32); AV CORRUPT; NEB WIN OVER; [hiphil of *tā'â*] (2 K. 21:9 par. 2 Ch. 33:9); AV also MAKE TO ERR; NEB MISLEAD; [piel of *pāṭâ*] (Ex. 22:16 [MT 15]); AV ENTICE; **SEDUCTIVE SPEECH** [Heb. *leqaḥ*] (Prov. 7:21); AV FAIR SPEECH; NEB SEDUCTIVE WORDS. To mislead or entice (someone) away from what is right according to God's prescribed standard. The RSV uses "seduce" in two general contexts: (1) that of a wicked ruler leading God's people away from proper worship of Yahweh, and (2) that of a man or woman enticing someone of the opposite sex to engage in illicit sexual intercourse.

Two rulers who led God's people into sin were King Manasseh of Judah and the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes. In the qal stem Heb. *tā'â* means "wander off," "go astray"; thus in the hiphil it means "lead astray." During his reign Manasseh led the people of Judah into the worship of Baal and other false gods (2 K. 21:9 par. 2 Ch. 33:9). When used with human subjects, the qal stem of *ḥānēp* usually refers to conduct that is deceptive or hypocritical. The hiphil stem, used elsewhere with respect to the land, usually means "pollute" or "desecrate," but in Dnl. 11:32 it probably means "cause to dissemble" (see *TDOT*, V, 41) or "cause to apostasize" (see Lacocque, pp. 220, 222). Through flattery the "contemptible person" (v. 21), Antiochus Epiphanes, will cause the covenant-violators (i.e., those with Hellenistic sympathies) to be untrue to their professed faith in Yahweh.

Exodus 22:16 (MT 15) refers to a man who "seduces" (piel of *pāṭâ*, lit. "fools, deceives") an unbetrothed virgin and has sexual intercourse with her. The man who did this was required to marry her and give her father the marriage present; if her father refused to give her to him in marriage, the man nonetheless had to pay the equivalent of the marriage present for a virgin. Prov. 7:21, on the other hand, refers to a harlot seducing a young man. Heb. *leqaḥ* means literally "what is received" (cf. *lāqaḥ*, "take, receive"), hence "persuasiveness."

See also PERSUADE.

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SEE [Heb. *rā'â*, *nāḇāṭ*; Heb. and Aram. *ḥāzâ*; Gk. *blépō*, *horáō*, *eídon*, *theáomai*, *theōréō*, *anablépō*–'see again (after sight has been restored),' etc.]; **SIGHT** [often in RSV as paraphrase of verb; Heb. *mar'eh*–'what is seen,' *pānîm*–'faces,' *neged*–'(in the) presence/sight of,' *'ayin*–'eye, (in the) sight of'; Gk. *eídos*, *hórama*–'sight, what is seen,' *theōría*–'spectacle,' *enṓpion*, *katénanti*–'before, in the sight of,' *anáblepsis*–'recovery of sight,' etc.]. In addition to references to the physical sense of sight, that which a blind person lacks (Acts 9:9), which can be restored by healing (e.g., Lk. 7:21; 18:41-43; Jn. 9:7), and which often fades with advancing age (Gen. 27:1; 1 S. 3:2; 4:15; 1 K. 14:4; cf. Ps. 38:10 [MT 11]), "see" is widely used in biblical figurative language.

To "see" can be to experience, for example, good (Ps. 34:12 [MT 13]; RSV "enjoy"; Heb. *rā'â*), evil (Ps. 90:15), or death (Ps. 89:48 [MT 49]; Lk. 2:26). Another basic figurative use of "see" is for the process of receiving information or coming to understand something (e.g., Gen. 37:14; 1 S. 12:17; 1 K. 20:7; Job 34:32). These two figures, which are simple and common enough that they do not rely greatly on any metaphorical picture, underlie most other figurative uses of "see."

Those who experience, receive, or understand salvation or the blessings of the eschaton can be called those who "see" God's salvation (Ex. 14:13), His goodness (Ps. 34:8 [MT 9]), the kingdom of God (Lk. 9:27; cf. par. Mt. 16:28; Mk. 9:1), or life (Jn. 3:36; cf. also Lk. 10:23f.; Jn. 1:50). Conversely, those who are not alive to these realities fail to "see" (Isa. 5:12; 6:10) and might be called "blind" (Mt. 15:14; 23:16-19; 2 Pet. 1:9; Gk. *typhlós*) or "shortsighted" (2 Pet. 1:9, Gk. *myōpázōn*; AV "cannot see afar off"). Jesus made the giving of physical sight to a man who had been born blind a living metaphor for the coming of understanding of eschatological realities (Jn. 9). Those who oppose Jesus are those who claim to "see," that is, to have knowledge, but in the new situation brought by Jesus' coming are actually "blind" (vv. 39-41).

For those who experienced the Exodus, there was a distinction between, on the one hand, "seeing" what God was doing in the sense of being aware of physical events, and, on the other hand, "seeing" in the sense of under-

standing those events. This distinction allowed Moses to speak of the Israelites both as those who saw with their eyes and as those who did not have eyes to see (Dt. 29:2-4; cf. Isa. 6:9; Mk. 4:12). A similar distinction is behind the description of Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's audiences as those "who have eyes (to see), but see not" (Jer. 5:21; 43:8; Ezk. 12:2; cf. Mk. 8:18). Sight (Gk. *eídos*), i.e., the faculty to perceive presently existing reality, is distinguished from faith in 2 Cor. 5:7 (cf. He. 11:1). But it was also possible for physical "seeing" to lead to "seeing" in the sense of understanding (Ex. 14:30f.).

A person can also "see" something present not in the physical world but presented in a VISION. Such visions are usually revelatory in nature. The designation "seer" (Heb. *ḥōzeh, rō'eh*) for prophets arises mainly from their experiences as those who "see" what is revealed by God (1 S. 9:9; 1 Ch. 21:9; *see* PROPHET I.B). What Amos saw in his visions was what God "showed" (hiphil of *rā'â*) the prophet (Am. 7:1, 4, 7; 8:1). "Seeing" became the normal metaphor for the prophet's reception of revelation to such a degree that one could speak of a prophet's "seeing" the words he was to deliver to his audience (Am. 1:1). (The clearest, though not absolute, distinction between Heb. *rā'â* and Heb *ḥāzâ* [which is borrowed from Aramaic] and associated words is the association of *ḥāzâ* with prophecy.)

What is seen in a vision is a revelation from God. Statements that human beings have seen or will see God Himself do not refer to a perception of a physical aspect of God by human physical senses but a process of coming to some amount of understanding of God, often just a simple realization of His greatness or some other aspect of His nature, either by a revelatory vision (Isa. 6:1-5; Ezk. 1:26-28), by their own purity of heart (Mt. 5:8), or by their acquaintance with Jesus Christ (Jn. 14:9; cf. 1:18). It is stated that on one occasion Israel's elders "saw the God of Israel" (Ex. 24:10; cf. v. 17), but there is a differentiation between this experience of the elders and the further experience of Moses, which was itself limited (33:20-23). Moses' character was such that he displayed understanding of God which could, in a metaphorical sense, be called "seeing him who is invisible" (He. 11:27). Even though passages concerned with "seeing God" are thus figurative expressions, ideas of "sacred space" — places where God's presence is more likely to be experienced — are involved (Sinai, Ex. 24:10; the temple, Isa. 6:1). When it is denied that human beings can see God, this means that the limitations of human mental capacity or human holiness make "seeing" God impossible (Ex. 33:20-23). *See also* ANGEL II.C.

To speak of God Himself "seeing" is a natural metaphor that indicates that God is aware of what takes place on earth, be it human sin (Ps. 94:7, 9), His people's suffering (Ex. 3:7), or the inner qualities of persons (1 S. 16:7; cf. Gen. 1:4; 38:7; 2 Ch. 24:22; Ps. 139:16; Am. 9:8).

See also BLINDNESS; EYE; LOOK.

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, III, 511-521 (K. Dahn and W. L. Liefeld); *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* ὁράω κτλ. (W. Michaelis); *TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "chāzāh" (A. Jepsen).

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SEED [Heb. *zera'*] (Gen. 1:11f., 29; 3:15; 47:19, 23f.; Ex. 16:31; etc.); NEB also BROOD, GRAIN, STOCK, DESCENDANTS, RACE, etc.; [*zāra'*] ("put in seed," Jgs. 6:3); AV SOW; [*p'ruḏōṯ*] (pl., Joel 1:17); NEB SOIL; [*kil'ayim*] ("two kinds of seed," Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:9); AV MINGLED SEED, DIVERS SEEDS; [*ḥarṣān*] (Nu. 6:4); AV KERNEL; NEB SHOOT; [*mešeḳ*] (Ps. 126:6); AV "precious"; NEB BAG; [Aram. *zera'*] (Dnl. 2:43); NEB MEN; [Gk. *spérma*] (Mt. 13:24, 27, 32, 37; Mk. 4:31; etc.); [*spóros*] (Mk. 4:26; Lk. 8:5, 11; 2 Cor. 9:10); [*sporá*] (1 Pet. 1:23); NEB PARENTAGE; [*sínapi*] ("mustard seed," Mt. 13:31; 17:20; etc.); supplied contextually by the RSV in Mt. 13:4f., 7f. par. Mk. 4:4f., 7. The part of a flowering plant that contains the embryo from which a new plant will grow; thus, by extension, offspring of animals or human beings.

The word "seed" occurs in many contexts and has a variety of meanings; these can be grouped roughly into two categories: (1) the seed of plants, and (2) the offspring of (primarily) human beings. Heb. *zera'* occurs in the former, literal sense forty times in the OT, most frequently referring to GRAIN seeds that are not specified according to type (Gen. 47:19); some contexts, however, specify seeds of barley (Lev. 27:16), coriander (Ex. 16:31), and fruit (Gen. 1:11). *Zera'* may refer to the seed produced by a plant (1:11), to the seed used for planting (47:24), or to the harvested grain stored in barns (Job 39:12). A related meaning is that of human "seed," i.e., "semen" (e.g., Lev. 15:16-18; 22:4).

Most often, however, *zera'* (also Gk. *spérma*) is used in the figurative sense of "offspring" (e.g., Gen. 3:15; cf. Mt. 22:24 [RSV "children"]). God promised Abraham "seed" (so AV; RSV "descendants") so numerous that it could not be counted (Gen. 13:16; 22:17; etc.). *Zera'* appears frequently in various stock phrases identifying Israel as the "seed" of Abraham (e.g., Jer. 33:26; cf. AV Jn. 8:33 [RSV "descendants"]). Although *zera'* can refer to an individual, most often it signifies a lineage or family as a whole. While the AV almost always renders *zera'* (and Gk. *spérma*) by "seed," the RSV and NEB more often use terms such as "offspring," "descendants" or "children" when it occurs in this figurative sense. *See* OFFSPRING.

Hebrew *mešeḳ* signifies a pouch or bag for carrying seed (cf. NEB Ps. 126:6). *P'ruḏōṯ* is a hapax legomenon, and its translation is highly questionable; possibly it denotes "dried figs" (*CHAL*, p. 297). *Ḥarṣān* is also a hapax legomenon; it may refer to "unripe grapes" (*CHAL*, p. 118). *Kil'ayim* means simply "two kinds" or "diverse"; the Torah forbade the sowing of mixed seed.

In the NT Gk. *spérma* (the usual LXX translation of Heb. *zera'*), *spóros*, and *sporá* carry basically the same semantic range, identical to *zera'*. In several of His parables Jesus used the imagery of seed sown in a field to convey an important teaching about the kingdom of God. In the parable of the Sower (Mt. 13:1-9 par. Mk. 4:1-9; Lk. 8:4-8) the seed represents the "word" of God (Mk. 4:13-20 par.), and the different kinds of soil on which the seed is sown represent the diversity of responses to the proclamation of the gospel. Cf. the parables of the wheat and the tares (Mt. 13:24-30, 36-43), the seed growing secretly (Mk. 4:26-29), and the mustard seed (Mt. 13:31f. par. Mk. 4:30-32; Lk. 13:18f.; cf. Mt. 17:20 par. Lk. 17:6; *see also* MUSTARD).

Since the 1960s archeologists have been recovering seeds on excavations by means of various flotation devices (carbonized seeds float while soil sinks in water). These have included seeds of plants mentioned in the Bible, e.g., wheat, barley, millet, flax, spelt, lentils, chick-peas, coriander, figs, grapes, dates, olives, pomegranates, mustard, cucumbers, and possibly carob.

See also AGRICULTURE; SOW, SOWER.

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, III, 521-25; *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σπέρμα κτλ. (S. Schulz, G. Quell); *TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "zāra'" (H. D. Preuss); M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (1982).

L. G. HERR N. J. O.

SEEK [Heb. piel of *bāqaš, dāraš, ḥāsâ* ("seek refuge"), piel of *bāqar, šāḥar* ("seek diligently," Prov. 11:27), piel of *šāḥar,* hithpolel of *gālal* (Gen. 43:18; Nu. 10:33), *tûr* (Dt. 1:33), piel of *rāṣâ* ("seek favor," Job 20:10), *ʿāṭap* (Job 23:9), piel of *ʿāṣaḇ* ("seek to injure," Ps. 56:5 [MT 6]), piel of *ḥālâ* (Prov. 19:6), *šāʾal* (Prov. 20:4), *māṣā'* (Isa. 58:3, 13), *ʿûz* ("seek refuge," Ps. 52:7 [MT 9]), *pāqaḏ* (Isa. 26:16), hithpael of *ḥānan* ("seek favor," Hos. 12:4), *bāʿa* (Ob. 6); Aram. *bᵉʿā'*; Gk. *zētéō, ekzētéō, epizētéō, anazētéō* (Lk. 2:44f.), *aneurískō* ("seek out," Acts 21:4), pass. of *peritémnō* ("seek circumcision," 1 Cor. 7:18), *araitéomai* ("seek to escape,"Acts 25:11), *peíthō* ("seek the favor of," Gal. 1:10); AV also SEARCH, INQUIRE, ENTREAT (Prov. 19:6), BEG (20:4), GET (Eccl. 3:6), FIND, DESIRE, GO ABOUT (e.g., Jn. 7:19f.), FOLLOW (1 Thess. 5:15), REQUIRE (Eccl. 3:15), VISIT (Isa. 26:16), MAKE SUPPLICATION (Hos. 12:4), ENDEAVOR (Acts 16:10), etc.; NEB also LOOK FOR, SEARCH FOR, CONSULT, RESORT TO, WANT, GO IN SEARCH OF, ASK COUNSEL OF, STUDY, BE IN PURSUIT OF (Jer. 2:24), etc.; **SEARCH** [Heb. piel of *bāqar,* piel of *bāqaš, dāraš, ḥāqar, ḥāpar,* piel of *ḥāpaś, tûr,* piel of *zārâ* (Ps. 139:3); Gk. *zētéō, ekzētéō* (1Pet. 1:10), *eraunáō, exetázō* (Mt. 2:8)]; AV also SEEK, INQUIRE, ESPY (Ezk. 20:6), etc.; NEB also MAKE DILIGENT EXAMINATION, EXAMINE, LOOK FOR, EXPLORE, HUNT DOWN (1 S. 23:23), FIND OUT, LOOK CAREFULLY, FOLLOW, DIG FOR (Prov. 2:4), FATHOM (25:2), BEG (Eccl. 1:11), STUDY DILIGENTLY (Jn. 5:39), etc.; **SEARCHINGS OF HEART** [Heb. *ḥiqrê-lēḇ*] (Jgs. 5:16; emended from *ḥiqᵉqê-lēḇ,* v. 15); AV also THOUGHTS OF HEART (v. 15); NEB HEART-SEARCHINGS, omits in v. 16.

1. Seek.–The various Hebrew words translated "seek" in the OT exhibit a wide range of meanings. The most common term is *biqqēš* (piel of *bāqaš*), which connotes the general idea of "seek, search, look for." It occurs often in the sense of searching for someone or something whose location is unknown, e.g., Saul searching for his father's donkeys (1 S. 10:2, 14) and for David (23:25; 24:2 [MT 3]; 26:2; etc.), Joseph looking for his brothers (Gen. 37:15f.), and a person searching for a hidden treasure (Prov. 2:4), water (Isa. 41:17), missing records (Neh. 7:64), a lost camel (Jer. 2:24), and lost sheep (Ezk. 34:6). It can also mean to look for someone in order to secure that person's services, e.g., a skilled musician (1 S. 16:16), a wise woman (28:7), or the most beautiful woman in Israel (1 K. 1:2f.; cf. Est. 2:2). Similarly, it can be used in the sense of going to persons whose locations are known in order to secure their services; e.g., the Israelites were commanded not to "seek" mediums or wizards (Lev. 19:31), and errant Israel "sought" her lovers (Jer. 2:33).

The common expression "seek [*biqqēš*] the Lord" seems to exhibit two different meanings. Sometimes it connotes a spiritual searching for God, who has become hidden to a nation or individual because of that nation's or individual's sin. The purpose of seeking God is to "find" (*māṣā'*) Him, i.e., to come to know Him and thus to experience divine acceptance, forgiveness, and support. Disobedient and exiled Israel is promised, "But from there you will seek the Lord your God, and you will find him, if you search after him with all your heart and with all your soul" (Dt. 4:29). Likewise, in Jer. 29:13f. the Lord declares to the Judean exiles, "You will seek me and find me; when you seek me with all your heart, I will be found by you" (cf. Isa. 65:1). In most occurrences, however, to "seek the Lord" means to come before Him (at His sanctuary, in prayer, etc.) in order to seek help, guidance, or information. According to Ex. 33:7 Moses set up the "tent of meeting" outside the camp, and "every one who sought the Lord would go out to [it]." Likewise David is said to have "besought God for the child," lying prostrate on the floor of his palace (2 S. 12:16). Godly Jehoshaphat and the people of Judah gathered in Jerusalem to "seek the Lord" when the Moabites invaded from the east; the people assembled before the Lord's temple and Jehoshaphat led them in a prayer of supplication to the Lord (2 Ch. 20:4, etc.). Hosea mentions the practice of bringing sacrificial animals to the temple when coming to "seek the Lord" (Hos. 5:6; cf. Zeph. 2:3; Zec. 8:21f.).

The expression *biqqēš pᵉnê* (lit. "seek the face of") may have the sense of seeking an audience with a human ruler. According to 2 Ch. 9:23, "all the kings of the earth sought the presence of [i.e., an audience with] Solomon to hear his wisdom, which God had put into his mind" (cf. 1 K. 10:24). Sometimes it connotes seeking an audience specifically to request help: "Many seek the favor of a ruler; but from the Lord a man gets justice" (Prov. 29:26). The frequent expression "seek the face of the Lord" seems generally to have this latter meaning, i.e., to seek an audience with God in order to appeal to Him for help (e.g., Ps. 24:6). In 2 Ch. 7:14 God declares that in times of distress and judgment, "if my people who are called by my name humble themselves, and pray and seek my face, . . . I will hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and heal their land." David sought God's face during a famine (2 S. 21:1) and in a time of great distress (Ps. 27:8; cf. Hos. 5:15).

To "seek (someone's) life" (*biqqēš napšô*) means to make plans to kill that person. The psalmist, e.g., often alludes to those who are seeking his life (Ps. 38:12 [MT 13]); 54:3 [MT 5]; etc.), and the phrase occurs many times in Jeremiah (4:30; 11:21; etc.) and elsewhere. *Biqqēš* is also used of "seeking" certain qualities, e.g., peace (Ezr. 9:12; Neh. 2:10; Ps. 34:14 [MT 5]), wisdom (Prov. 2:4; Eccl. 7:25), justice (Isa. 1:17), righteousness and humility (Zeph. 2:3). Often *biqqēš* is followed by an infinitive and means "make plans to, attempt to, or seek a way to"; e.g., Jonathan "sought to go over" to the Philistine garrison by Michmash (1 S. 14:4).

Another Hebrew word often translated "seek" is *dāraš.* In contrast to *biqqēš, dāraš* is never used of seeking lost things or people. It almost always takes a person as its direct object (exceptions include Ps. 119:155 and Jer. 29:7). Like *biqqēš,* it often refers to "seeking" God (who has hidden Himself) in order to obtain a restored relationship, forgiveness, or help. The people of Judah are exhorted, "Seek the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near" (Isa. 55:6). The psalmist laments, "In the day of my trouble I seek the Lord; in the night my hand is stretched out without wearying" (Ps. 77:2 [MT 3]). The Chronicler records several instances of people (esp. kings) "seeking" the Lord, including Solomon and the assembled people of Israel (2 Ch. 1:5), Asa (14:7), Jehoshaphat (17:3f.; 20:3), and Uzziah (26:5). Most commonly, however, *dāraš* means to seek information, guidance, or direction from God through prayer, Urim and Thummim, a prophet, going to the temple, etc. The psalmist declares, "I sought the Lord and he answered me" (Ps. 34:4 [MT 5]). When used in this sense, *dāraš* is often rendered "inquire" by the RSV (*see* INQUIRE).

The RSV usually chooses "seek refuge" to render *ḥāsâ,* which means "go to for asylum, safety, protection." Biblical writers sometimes used the image of a young bird fleeing to its mother to find protection under her wings

(cf. "take refuge," Ruth 2:12; Ps. 57:1 [MT 2]; "Oh to be safe," 61:4 [MT 5]). In times of distress or danger, the psalmists and other OT writers "sought refuge" in the Lord (Ps. 17:7; 31:1 [MT 2]; 141:8; Zeph. 3:12).

The AV usually renders *šiḥēr* (piel of *šāḥar*) "seek early" because of a supposed etymological connection with *šaḥar*, "dawn" (e.g., Ps. 63:1; Prov. 1:28; 8:17; Isa. 26:9; Hos. 5:15). RSV prefers "seek diligently" (or "eagerly") or simply "seek"; the latter is probably the most accurate rendering.

The NT expresses the idea of "seeking" almost exclusively by Gk. *zētéō* and its derivatives, which exhibit the same broad range of meanings as Heb. *biqqēš*. Reference is made to seeking God (Acts 15:17; 17:27; Rom. 3:11; He. 11:6), God's kingdom (Mt. 6:33), one's own glory (Jn. 8:50; cf. Rom. 2:7), a sign (Mt. 12:39; 16:4; Mk. 8:11f.; etc.), a lost coin (Lk. 15:8), etc. As people can seek God, so God through His Son seeks mankind (Lk. 19:10; Jn. 4:23). Satan is said to be stalking about "like a roaring lion, seeking some one to devour" (1 Pet. 5:8).

II. Search.–The RSV OT uses "search" to render several Hebrew verbs. The most comon is *ḥāqar*, which connotes a thorough search for or investigation of something, e.g., a quest for wisdom "out to the farthest bound" (Job 28:3; cf. v. 27), a months-long search for corpses (Ezk. 39:14), and the spying out of a city (2 S. 10:3). It can be used forensically not only of human investigations (e.g., Dt. 13:14 [MT 15]; Job 5:27; 29:16) but also of God's "searching" and evaluating an individual's inner thoughts and motives. The psalmist prays, "Search me, O God, and know my heart." (Ps. 139:23; cf. v. 3); and God says, "I the Lord search the mind and try the heart" (Jer. 17:10). The noun *ḥēqer* occurs in Jgs. 5:16 (and, as emended by the RSV and many scholars, in v. 15). Various interpretations have been proposed for the phrase *ḥiqrê-lēḇ*. Apparently the Reubenites had some noble intentions of aiding their fellow Israelites but in the end chose instead to guard their own flocks.

The verb *biqqēš* is translated "search" nine times in the RSV. (For its range of meanings, see I above.) Sometimes it refers to looking for someone or something whose location is not known. The men of Jericho "search" for the two Israelite spies all the way to the Jordan River (Josh. 2:22). The wise person "searches" for wisdom as for hidden treasures (Prov. 2:4). *Biqqēš* can also refer to a spiritual search for God, who has become hidden to a people because of its sin: "But from there you will seek the Lord your God, and you will find him, if you search after [*biqqēš*] him with all your heart and with all your soul" (Dt. 4:29).

The terms *dāraš* and *ḥippēś* (piel of *ḥāpaś*) also connote the actions of searching for or investigating. In Ezk. 34:11 God, the good shepherd, promises, "I myself will search [*dāraš*] for my sheep (cf. vv. 6, 8); David confessed that God "searches [*dāraš*] all hearts, and understands every plan and thought" (1 Ch. 28:9). Saul determined to "search out" (*ḥippēś*) David's hiding place (1 S. 23:23); and Yahweh told the faithless Israelites that He would "search" (*ḥippēś*) them out and slay them, no matter where they hid (Am. 9:3). *Tûr*, on the other hand, is normally used of spying out or exploring; the objects of exploration include such things as land (Ezk. 20:6; cf. Nu. 13:32 [RSV "spy out"]) and a philosophical question (Eccl. 2:3; 7:25).

In the NT the idea of searching for something or someone is generally expressed by *zētéō*. Examples include Herod's search for the child in Bethlehem (Mt. 2:13), a shepherd's search for a lost sheep (18:12), a merchant's search for fine pearls (13:45), and the crowd's search for Jesus (Mk. 1:37; cf. also 2 Tim. 1:17). The verb *eraunáō* connotes more the activity of examining or investigating. The Jews "searched" the Scriptures — i.e., they pored over them — thinking thereby to attain eternal life (Jn. 5:39); and Jesus' critics declared, "Search and you will see that no prophet is to rise from Galilee" (7:52). God "searches" (i.e., carefully examines and evaluates) the hearts and minds of all mankind (Rom. 8:27; 1 Cor. 2:10; Rev. 2:23).

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 530-33; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* ζητέω κτλ. (H. Greeven); *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bîqqēsh" (S. Wagner); III, *s.v.* "dārash" (S. Wagner); V, *s.v.* "ḥāpaś" (F. Maass, G. J. Bottleweck), "ḥāqar" (M. Tsevat). D. A. DORSEY

SEER. *See* PROPHET.

SEETHE. An old English term meaning "boil" used by the AV to render the Heb. piel of *bāšal* (lit. "boil"; cf. RSV, NEB) in Ex. 16:23; 23:19; 29:31; 34:26; Dt. 14:21; etc. The AV also uses the archaic past tense "sod" (2 Ch. 35:13; Lam. 4:10), the passive "be sodden" (pual of *bāšal*, Ex. 12:9; Lev. 6:28; 1 S. 2:15), and the adjective "sodden" (*bāšēl*, Nu. 6:19). In Gen. 25:29, AV, "sod" represents the hiphil of *zîḏ* (RSV "boil"; NEB "prepare").

"Seethe" occurs once in the RSV and NEB. In Ezk. 24:5 the RSV follows the AV in rendering *rattaḥ* by "boil" and the synonymous parallel *bāšal* by "seethe," while the NEB does the reverse.

See also FOOD IV. N. J. O.

SEGUB sē'gub [Heb. *śᵉgûḇ*. (1 K. 16:34, *Q*; *K śᵉgîḇ*)–'(the Deity) is exalted'].

1. The youngest son of Hiel. Possibly Segub and his brother were offered as foundation sacrifices when their father rebuilt Jericho (1 K. 16:34). This ancient world custom is attested by archeological evidence but there is no definite indication that it occurred here; however, the book of Joshua reports that Joshua pronounced a curse on anyone who rebuilt the city of Jericho (Josh. 6:26). As the writer of Kings notes, Segub's death was a fulfillment of this curse. See J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (*OTL*, 2nd ed., rev. 1970), pp. 369-371.

2. A great-grandson of the patriarch Judah, son of Hezron and father of Jair (1 Ch. 2:21f.). R. L. PRATT, JR.

SEINE [Heb. *miḵmereṯ*] (Hab. 1:15f.); AV DRAG; NEB TRAWLS. A large fishing net, used figuratively here for the Babylonians' means of capturing other nations. *See* NET.

SEIR sē'ər [Heb. *śēʿîr*–'hairy,' 'wooded' (?)].

1. The hill country of Edom (Heb. *har śēʿîr*, Gen. 14:6) and contiguous territory (*ʾereṣ śēʿîr*, 32:3 [MT 4]), generally located E of the ARABAH (cf. Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *Macmillan Bible Atlas* [rev. ed. 1977], maps 7f.) but certainly located W of it as well; also a people and its eponymous ancestor (Gen. 36:20f.). Based on the route of the Exodus, F.-M. Abel (*GP*, I, 389-391) argued convincingly for a region W of the Arabah but conceded that, since it is identified with Edom, the name must have been transferred to the east. His conclusions are borne out by a careful examination of the biblical and extrabiblical records, which seem to place Seir on both sides of the Arabah.

The Horites, now generally identified as Hurrians (but *see* HORITES), were the original dwellers in the region of Seir; they were displaced or destroyed by the Edomites (Dt. 2:12, 22). Chedorlaomer and his lies subdued, among others, "the Horites in their Mount Seir as far as El-paran on the border of the wilderness" (Gen. 14:6; Heb. *harᵉrām*

sē'îr [RSV "their Mount Seir"] may suggest that there were two or more locations by this name, or the *m* suffix may be an adverbial *mêm*; *BHS* emends it with the versions to pl. *har'rê*, "the mountains of"; *see also* map in PARAN). Ramses III (*ca.* 1194-1163 B.C.), reporting his conquest of the sea-peoples, added "I destroyed the people of Seir among the Bedouin tribes" (*ANET*, p. 262). Earlier, Abdi-Ḥeba of Jerusalem (first half of the 14th cent. B.C.; *see* JERUSALEM III.B) had referred to "the lands of Šeeri [Akk. *adi mâtâti še-e-ri*^{ki}] as far as Ginti-Carmel" (Am. Tab. 288:26; *ANET*, p. 488), but this seems more likely to refer to a more northerly location (see 2 below; cf., however, *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], pp. 188f. n. 112).

Deuteronomy 1:2 states: "It is eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea." This would put Mt. (or the hill country of) Seir W of the Arabah, which would also be the most probable location of the forces of Ramses III mentioned above. On the other hand, after leaving Kadesh-barnea the Israelites for many days "went about Mount Seir" and then were commanded to "turn northward" (2:1-3), after which they went away from the Edomites, away from the Arabah road, and journeyed in the direction of the wilderness of Moab (2:8). This seems to place Seir E of the Arabah.

Mount Seir is generally identified with modern Jebel esh-Shera', a range of mountains E of the Arabah, stretching from Wâdī el-Ḥesā in the north to Wâdī el-Hismah in the south, with peaks rising above 1700 m. (5000 ft.). Part of this range is clearly the Edom around which Israel was forced to detour (Nu. 21:4; Dt. 2:8). To identify Arab. *šera'* with Heb. *śē'îr* requires a transposition of *'ayin* and *rêsh*, which is not an impossibility. But it also requires the transfer of the site-name Mt. Seir to the eastern side of the Arabah, as does Mt. HOR, the place of Aaron's death (Nu. 20:22-29), which is now traditionally located at Jebel Nebī Harun, near Petra, E of the Arabah.

Between their arrival at Kadesh-barnea and their departure for the conclusion of the journey, the Israelites were chased by the Amorites and defeated "in Seir as far as Hormah" (Dt. 1:44). HORMAH has been identified with Tell el-Meshash, SW of Tell 'Arâd (see *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979] pp. 215f.), in the Negeb. This western location would be in agreement with the description of Joshua's conquest in Josh. 11:17; 12:7.

It would seem, therefore, despite the strong objections of N. Glueck (*AASOR*, 15 [1935], 112f.; *HUCA*, 11 [1936], 141ff.; *JAOS*, 56 [1938], 462ff.), that Seir included the hill country W of the Arabah between Judah and the Sinai and extended eastward across the Arabah to the south of Moab. The Mt. Seir where five hundred Simeonites destroyed a remnant of the Amalekites (1 Ch. 4:42) could have been on either side of the Arabah, but the closing statement (v. 43) seems to suggest the west side.

Esau located in Seir (Gen. 32:3; 33:14, 16; Josh. 24:4); hence the land was called EDOM (cf. Gen. 36:1, 39). "Seir" is generally used as a synonym of "Edom" (Gen. 32:3; Nu. 24:18; Jgs. 5:4; 2 Ch. 25:11, 14; Ezk. 35:15); but the names are clearly distinguished in Gen. 36:15, 20 par. 1 Ch. 1:35, 38, which give separate genealogies for Esau and Seir. The close association of the names Ammon, Moab, and Edom indicates that at some time before or after the Israelite invasion of Canaan the Edomites were located E of the Arabah. "Seir" or "Mount Seir" is used in place of "Edom" in 2 Ch. 20:10, 22f. and probably in Isa. 21:11. In Israel's dark days before and during the Exile, the Edomites moved into southern Judah. This is reflected in the prophecy against Edom in Ezk. 35 and possibly also in that of Am. 1:11f. The reference to Seir in the MT of Ezk. 25:8 (cf. RSV mg.) seems to be misplaced; it is lacking in the LXX, and the prophecy against Edom follows in v. 12.

2. A location on the northern border of Judah (Josh. 15:10). This border lay W of Baalah and N of Mt. Jearim, and then went down to Beth-shemesh; Mt. Seir is named between Baalah and Mt. Jearim. A location has been proposed near Sārîs, about 15 km. (9 mi.) W of Jerusalem (*GP*, I, 372). This location is too far north to be the Seir in Dt. 1:44 (cf. the identifications of V. R. Gold [*IDB*, IV, *s.v.*], which are based on the mistaken location of the Edomite Seir solely on the eastern side of the Arabah).

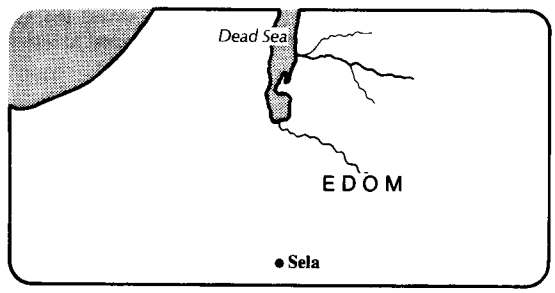
B. MACDONALD W. S. LASOR

SEIRAH sē'ə-rə, sə-ī'rə [Heb. *haśśe'îrâ*, with the definite art., and the suffix *-â* indicating direction–'to the Seir']. The place to which Ehud fled after assassinating Eglon king of Moab (Jgs. 3:26). From the context it could be located in Ephraim, in the Jordan Valley, or in Moab. The identification with Mt. Seir in *Onom.* 158 is quite unlikely. Simons understood as a region, "the wooded hills," rather than as a place name (*GTTOT* §545, p. 288).

W. S. L. S.

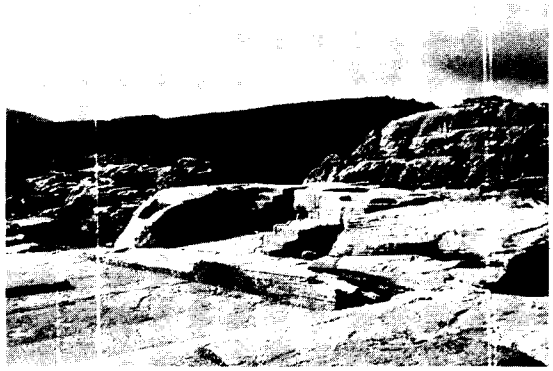
SEIRATH. *See* SEIRAH.

SELA sē'lə [Heb. *sela'*–'jagged cliff, crag' (Isa. 16:1; 42:11), *hassela'* (Jgs. 1:36; 2 K. 14:7); LXX *petra, hē petra*–'rock']; AV also ROCK, SELAH. Hebrew *sela'* occurs about sixty-five times in the MT, usually not as a proper noun (see BDB, pp. 700f.); hence it is important to study the context to determine whether a specific site is being named. Cf. Jgs. 15:13 and Ps. 40:2 (MT 3), where it is unlikely that the location is Petra.



1. An Edomite citadel captured by Amaziah and named Joktheel (2 K. 14:7); possibly the site later called PETRA. In the light of 2 Ch. 25:11f. it is most likely Umm el-Bayyâra, the peak that dominates Wâdī Mûsā, the valley in which the Nabatean city of Petra was built. The quantity of Edomite (Iron II) remains found there, the defenses, and the retention of the name in Greek all point to this identification, despite claims that some scholars have put forward for other sites. It has been proposed that this is also the site of temporary sanctuary for the Moabites mentioned in Isa. 16:1, based on the reference to the Brook of the Willows (15:7), usually identified with Wâdī el-Ḥesā, which was the boundary between Moab and Edom; the oracle, however, seems to be entirely concerned with Moab (cf. 15:1), and Petra is located about 80 km. (50 mi.) from Wâdī el-Ḥesā and considerably farther from Dibon (15:9). Umm el-Bayyâra may be the "rock" that gave Edom a false sense of security (Ob. 3; cf. RSV mg. "Sela"). Isa. 42:11 may refer to the same site.

2. A location on the border of the Amorites (Jgs. 1:36), mentioned along with the ascent of Akrabbim (lit. "scorpions"), which is located at the southwest end of the Dead



The high place at Petra, which some identify with Sela (G. J. Wenham)

Sea (see L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* [Eng. tr. 1965], map 12; *WHAB*, plates VI, X), leading up from the Arabah toward Beer-sheba. Some scholars have read "Edomites" (with LXX A) for "Amorites," leading to confusion with **1** above. P. C. HAMMOND W. S. L. S.

SELAH sē'lə [Heb. *selâ*]. *See* PSALMS II.C; MUSIC III.B.3.

SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH sē-lə-hə-mä'lə-koth (1 S. 23:28, AV). *See* ESCAPE, ROCK OF.

SELED sē'ləd [Heb. *seleḏ*]. A Jerahmeelite, son of Nadab, who died childless (1 Ch. 2:30).

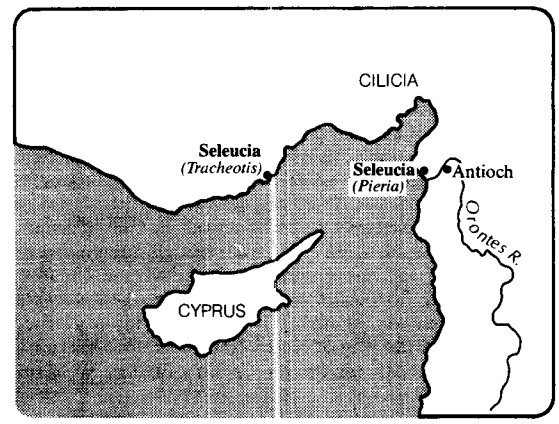
SELEMIA sel-ə-mī'ə [Lat. *Selemia*]; NEB SHELEMIAH. One of the five scribes who wrote down the visions of Ezra, chosen because they were "trained to write rapidly" (2 Esd. 14:24).

SELEMIAS sel-ə-mī'əs (1 Esd. 9:34, AV, NEB). *See* SHELEMIAH **6.**

SELEUCIA sə-lōō'shi-ə, sə-lōō'shə [Gk. *Seleukia*]. The designation of perhaps ten cities named (or renamed) after the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, of which one is of primary significance for biblical studies and two or three others of lesser significance.

1. Seleucia on the Orontes (Seleucia Pieria). A port city and fortress 8 km. (5 mi.) inland from the Syrian coast on the Orontes River, near the modern city of Samandağ in Turkey. It served as the seaport for the city of Antioch, which lay about 26 km. (16 mi.) further upstream. It was from Seleucia that Paul and Barnabas set sail for Cyprus on their first missionary journey (Acts 13:4). In describing their return 14:26 states that "they sailed to Antioch"; but they would have needed to leave the ship at Seleucia and continue to Antioch by land. When Barnabas sailed to Cyprus a second time with Mark, he must have boarded ship in Seleucia again (15:39).

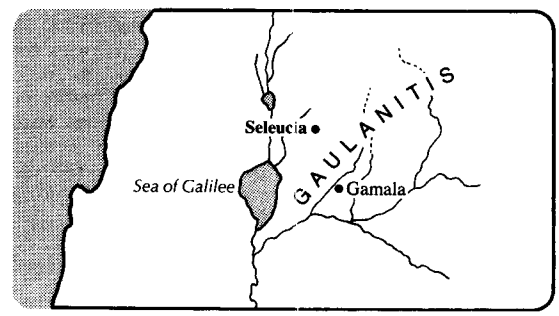
The ancient city of Seleucia, one of four cities known as the Syrian Tetrapolis (the others being Antioch, Apamea, and Laodicea), was built on the rocky slope of a spur of the Amanus Mountains, Mt. Pierius, known now as Jebel Mûsā (Mûsā Dağı). The site was so favorable for a frontier fortress that Seleucia has been called a "Syrian Gibraltar." The city extended in a narrow strip up the mountain slope and was surrounded by a wall 6 km. (4 mi.) in perimeter. A natural moat was formed by two mountain torrents flowing outside the walls on the east and on the west. Originally the stream on the west terminated inside the



city in the inner harbor, but it posed such a threat when flooded that the Romans built a remarkable canal to divert it. This excavation, still visible, is nearly 1.5 km. (1 mi.) long, 6 m. (20 ft.) wide, and over 6 m. (20 ft.) high. Two sections were tunneled through the mountain; one contains the inscription *Divus Vespasianus et Divus Titus* ("Divine Vespasian and Divine Titus"), suggesting that it was constructed *ca.* A.D. 70. The port, the business district, and the suburbs are in the lower city, from which a winding stairway cut into the rock leads to the upper city. The ruins of the amphitheater, a paved area that may have been the agora, and a large Doric temple are in the upper city. From the Antioch Gate a road led to that city along the north side of the river. The acropolis is 300 m. (1000 ft.) above sea level and is well fortified. Many of the city's residents were sailors or fishermen. Wine was produced in the surrounding territory.

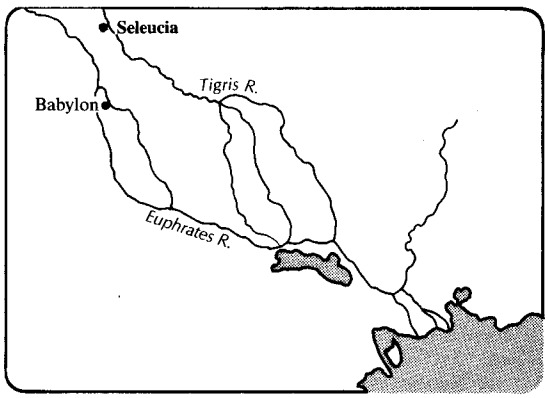
Seleucia was built by Seleucus Nicator in the early 3rd cent. B.C. It had great military significance in the struggles between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Ptolemy III Euergetes captured it in the middle of the 3rd cent., but in 219 it was regained by Antiochus III the Great. According to 1 Macc. 11:8 the city passed back into the hands of Egypt in 146 B.C. when Ptolemy VI sought to reestablish Egyptian control over the Syro-Palestinian seacoast. At one time Seleucia served as a refuge for Cleopatra Thea. In 108 it became independent and remained so even after Pompey's conquest of Syria in 64 B.C. Its status as a free city was confirmed in A.D. 70, and it was the base for an imperial fleet throughout the 1st century. Efforts to maintain the harbor proved unsuccessful, since silt deposited by the Orontes River turned it into a marshland.

Bibliography.–R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes. Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and Its Vicinity, III: The Excavations of 1937-1939* (1941); Pauly-Wissowa, II/1, 1184-1200; H. V. Morton, *In the Steps of St. Paul* (1936), pp. 98-101. D. H. MADVIG



2. Seleucia in Gaulanitis. Josephus mentioned Seleucia and Gamala in Gaulanitis (Golan) among the cities held by the Jews at the time of Alexander Janneus's victories in Transjordan (*Ant.* xiii.15.4 [397]; cf. xiii.15.3 [393]). Foreseeing that Galilee would be the object of the Romans' first assault, Josephus fortified Seleucia, Soganea, and Gamala in Gaulanitis, as well as many other sites (*BJ* ii.20.6 [574]; *Vita* 37 [187f.]). Seleucia has been identified with Selûqiyeh about 16 km. (10 mi.) SE of the former site of Lake Huleh.

3. Seleucia on the Tigris. In 312 B.C. Seleucus Nicator founded this city on the right bank of the Tigris, about 32 km. (20 mi.) SE of Baghdad at the mouth of the "Royal Canal" that connected the Tigris with the Euphrates, to be his eastern capital. It was built largely with materials brought from Babylon, and its founding marks the end of Babylon's political significance. Seleucia was populated with Macedonians and Greeks and also included many Jews and Syrians. Avidius Cassius burned the city in A.D. 164, and when Septimius Severus passed through the region on his Parthian campaign of 198 the site was completely abandoned. Nothing remains above ground, and the excavations of Tell 'Umar (its modern name) in 1927-1932 uncovered nothing of more than passing interest. The destruction of Seleucia marked the end of Hellenism in Mesopotamia.



4. Seleucia Tracheotis (or Trachea). This Seleucia, near the modern city of İcel or Silifke in Cilicia, was founded by Seleucus I on the Calycadnus River (modern Gök Su), probably as a fortification protecting the region from attacks from the sea. Its ruins include a castle on the acropolis, city fortifications, a reservoir cut in rock, and an extensive necropolis.

Other cities named Seleucia are located in Pisidia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Caria, on the upper Euphrates near Samosata, in the Persian province of Margiana (originally called Alexandria; founded by Alexander the Great and renamed by Antiochus I), and on the Belus in Syria.

See *Enc.Brit.* (1970), XX, *s.v.* W. S. LASOR

SELEUCIDAE sə-lo͞o'si-dī. *See* SELEUCUS.

SELEUCUS sə-lo͞o'kəs [Gk. *Seleukos*]. The name of four Seleucid kings (Seleucidae) who play a role in the biblical record. For a list of all the Seleucid kings from 312 B.C. to 129 B.C., *see* ANTIOCHUS 2.

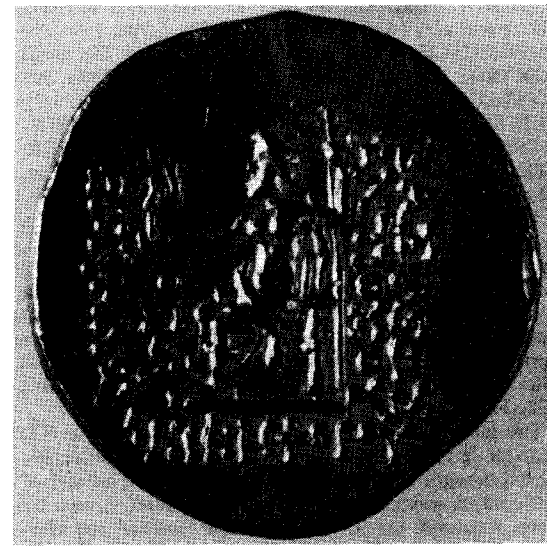
1. Seleucus I Nicator (Conquerer) (312-281 B.C.), a general in the army of Alexander the Great, and one of the Diadochi (Successors) who vied for control of the Macedonian empire following Alexander's death in 323 B.C. The situation following Alexander's death is alluded to in Dnl. 8:8, where Seleucus I is represented by one of the "four conspicuous horns" that arise after the breaking of the "great horn," i.e., Alexander (cf. also v. 22; 11:14; 1 Macc. 1:7-9). From the struggle among the Diadochi (323 to 301 B.C.) Seleucus I and Ptolemy I Soter emerged as the most powerful figures. Dnl. 11:5 refers to Ptolemy I as the "king of the south" (Egypt) and goes on to state that "one of [Ptolemy's] princes shall be stronger than he and his dominion shall be a great dominion"; this prince is Seleucus I, who was dependent on Ptolemy I for his rise to power. Although made the satrap (governor) of Babylon in 321, Seleucus was forced to flee to Ptolemy in Egypt in 316 to escape defeat by Antigonus, who was trying to reunite Alexander's empire. When Ptolemy defeated Antigonus's son Demetrius in 312, Seleucus returned to Babylon. Following Antigonus's death in the battle of Ipsus (301), Seleucus received the largest portion of Alexander's empire. An agreement among the Diadochi awarded him the area from Palestine to Babylon and beyond; but Ptolemy I quickly asserted his control over Palestine and lower Syria, and the Ptolemies maintained control of Palestine until 198 B.C.

The beginning of Seleucus I's reign and of the Seleucid dynasty is usually dated to 312, the year that Seleucus returned from Egypt to Babylon, although Seleucus did not assume the title of king until *ca.* 305. His reign lasted until his death in 281. Seleucus founded the city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes. Josephus (*Ant.* xii.3 1 [119]) stated that Seleucus conferred citizenship upon Jews living within the cities of his realm.

See also PTOLEMY 1.

2. Seleucus II Callinicus (Gloriously Triumphant) (246-226 B.C.). He was the son of Antiochus II, who under pressure from Ptolemy II had divorced his wife Laodice and married Ptolemy's daughter Bernice, with the promise that his kingdom would go to Bernice's son. When Ptolemy died, however, Antiochus returned to Laodice and designated her oldest son, Seleucus, as the legitimate heir to the throne. Seleucus II came to the throne in 246 after his mother Laodice instigated the murder of Antiochus II;

A gold stater of Antiochus IV of Syria (175-163 B.C.). The reverse depicts the seated figure of Zeus holding a victory figure on his outstretched hand. The Greek inscription reads: "King Antiochus, God manifest, bringer of Victory" (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



later she also murdered Bernice, and Bernice's son. This complicated situation is alluded to in Dnl. 11:6. Verses 7-9 describe how Ptolemy III, successor of Ptolemy II and brother of the spurned and murdered Bernice, sought revenge on Seleucus II, "the king of the north." After taking Syria and other territories (vv. 7f.), Ptolemy III returned to Egypt. Seleucus II was able to reassert his control over Syria in 242 (cf. v. 9).

3. Seleucus III Soter (Savior) (226-23 B.C.), the son of Seleucus II. He was murdered in 223 during an invasion of Asia Minor to put down Attalus, and was succeeded by his brother, Antiochus III the Great. The sons of Seleucus II are mentioned in Dnl. 11:10.

4. Seleucus IV Philopator (Father-loving) (187-175 B.C.) the son of Antiochus III. After the battle of Magnesia in 190, the Seleucid kings were forced by the Romans to pay heavy tribute. Antiochus III was probably trying to obtain funds for this payment when he was killed in 187 while plundering a temple in Elymais. Not surprisingly, Dnl. 11:20 describes Seleucus IV as "one who shall send an exactor of tribute through the glory of the kingdom." 2 Macc. 3:1-40 gives a more complete account. Although Seleucus IV seems to have subsidized the tmple in Jerusalem at one time (v. 3), he was later informed of the large sum in the temple treasury and sent Heliodorus (the "exactor of tribute" in Dnl. 11:20) to collect some of it (2 Macc. 3:7-14). Vv. 15-40 describe how a divine intervention prevented Heliodorus from plundering the temple treasury. Heliodorus later murdered Seleucus IV, who was succeeded by his brother, Antiochus Epiphanes IV (Dnl. 11:21; 2 Macc. 4:7). Antiochus IV was the infamous "little horn" of Dnl. 7:8; 8:9; the other ten horns of the fourth beast in Daniel's vision (7:7, 24) may have included Seleucid kings who preceded him.

Bibliography.–B. Reicke, *NT Era* (Eng. tr. 1968); M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Eng. tr. 1974); *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians* (Eng. tr. 1980); V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1961); W. S. Towner, *Daniel* (*Interpretation*, 1984); *see also* bibliographies of ANTIOCHUS; PTOLEMY.

J. C. MCCANN, JR.

SELF-ABASEMENT. *See* HUMBLE II.A.

SELF-CONDEMNED. *See* CONDEMN.

SELF-CONTROL [Heb. *ma'ᵉṣār lᵉrûḥô*] (Prov. 25:28); NEB CONTROL TEMPER; AV RULE OVER HIS SPIRIT; [Gk. *enkráteia*] (Acts 24:25; Gal. 5:23; 2 Pet. 1:6); AV EMPERANCE; [*enkrateúomai*] (1 Cor. 7:9; 9:25); NEB CONTROL THEMSELVES; STRICT TRAINING; AV CONTAIN, TEMPERATE; [*sōphronismós*] (2 Tim. 1:7); NEB SELF-DISCIPLINE; AV SOUND MIND; **SELF-CONTROLLED** [Gk. *enkratḗs*] (Tit. 1:8); AV TEMPERATE; **LACK OF SELF-CONTROL** [Gk. *akrasía*] (1 Cor. 7:5); AV INCONTINENCY.

The only occurrence of "self-control" in the OT is in Prov. 25:28. A person with no self-control is defenseless, always subject to attack and defeat; cf. 16:32, which has a similar statement from a positive perspective (Heb. *māšal bᵉrûḥô*, "rule his spirit"). Self-control is not a dominant theme in OT ethics but occurs more frequently in the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical literature (e.g., Wisd. 8:7 [Gk. *sōphrosýnē*]; 2 Esd. 7:125; 4 Macc. 1:3, 6, 18, 30f.; 5:23, 34; 13 16; 15:18).

The idea of self-control is more prevalent in the NT, although in comparison to classical Greek and Hellenistic ethical thought the concept is surprisingly rare here also. Self-control was considered one of the chief virtues by Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Philo, the Essenes, the Hermetica, and others (see *DNTT*, I, 499f.; *TDNT*, II, 340f.). The *enkráteia* word-group originally meant "mastery or power over oneself or something"; eventually it came to mean "control over oneself," especially one's desires and actions. The opposite was *akrasía*, "self-idulgence" or "licentiousness" (cf. RSV "rapacity" in Mt. 23:25).

It is not surprising that in the NT self-control is primarily the concern of Paul, since he more than any other NT author consistently ministered the gospel in a Greek context. The most important statement comes in Gal. 5, where he deals directly with the Christian life-style. In vv. 22f. he lists nine virtues that are the "fruit of the Spirit," beginning with love and concluding with self-control. As Betz observed, the place of self-control "at the end of the list . . . is conspicuous and this is certainly intended; it stands in juxtaposition to love (v 22). The concept of self-control in the present context implies the claim that Christian ethics is the fulfillment not only of the Torah (cf. 5:14), but also of the central demand of Greek ethics. The gift of the Spirit and the 'fruit of the Spirit' reach their climax in the old Greek ideal of self-control" (Betz, p. 288). Tit. 1:8 and 2 Pet. 1:6 similarly list self-control as an important Christian virtue.

In 1 Corinthians Paul uses *enkrateúomai* twice. Since the Corinthians were a very Greek congregation this terminology would have been familiar to them. In 7:9 he uses the term with regard to sexual desires, as was common in classical Greek; he urges those who lack such self-control to marry. (Cf. 7:5, where he warns married couples not to refuse one another sexual relations, since this might tempt those lacking self-control [*akrasía*] to engage in extramarital affairs.) In 9:25 Paul compares the believer's self-control to that of an athlete.

In 2 Tim. 1:7 Paul summarizes the Christian way of life provided by God: God has given Christians "a spirit of power and love and self-control." Gk. *sōphronismós* (which occurs only here in the NT) belongs to another word-group that is very common in Greek ethical thought. In classical Greek the term can mean either "good judgment" (cf. AV) or "self-discipline, self-control." But since the cognate noun *sōphrosýnē*, vb. *sōphronízō*, adv. *sōphrónōs*, and adj. *sōphron* are used consistently in the Pastoral Epistles to express temperance, restraint, and self-control (cf. 1 Tim. 2:9, 15; 3:2; Tit. 1:8, 2:2, 4-6, 12), most modern commentators have concluded that in 2 Tim. 1:7 *sōphronismós* means "self-control" and not "good judgment."

Although self-control is not mentioned often in the NT, its several occurrences are very important. Clearly self-control does not come naturally or by hard effort but is the gift of God through His Holy Spirit (Gal. 5:23; 2 Tim. 1:7). Nonetheless the Christian consciously lives out this self-control just as an athlete exercises self-discipline (1 Cor. 9:25-27). There is no ultimate power over self here but only a control granted and sustained by God. This is the primary reason why a concept so central to Greek ethics found such a small place in biblical ethics. "The reason for this is that biblical man regarded his life as determined and directed by the command of God. There was thus no place for the self-mastery which had a place in autonomous ethics" (*TDNT*, II, 342).

The idea of self-control received greater emphasis among the Apostolic Fathers than in the NT. This is not surprising, however, since the Christian faith matured in a Hellenistic context.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, I, 494-96. 501f.; H. D. Betz, *Galatians* (*Hermeneia*, 1979), p. 288; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* ἐγκράτεια κτλ. (W. Grundmann); VIII, *s.v.* σώφρων κτλ. (V. Luck).

V. R. GORDON

SELF-DENIAL. The phrase "deny oneself," so characteristic of the biblical ethic, is found literally in Scripture only in one saying of Jesus (Mt. 16:24 par.). The synonymous Greek verbs *aparnéomai* (Mt. 16:24; Mk. 8:34) and *arnéomai* (Lk. 9:23) mean "deny" or "say no." The NT is distinctive in its use of these verbs for the denial of a person, rather than just of a statement or thing.

Jesus' radical message about discipleship comes through clearly in this powerful saying: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross [Lk. 9:23 adds "daily"] and follow me." Thus, Jesus calls those who wish to be His followers to reject the natural human inclination toward the self. He also calls them to take up their cross, the instrument of death by crucifixion, and in this way to follow Him. This call is not so much a call to martyrdom as a command to deny self even to the point of death. In Bonhoeffer's now famous words, "When Christ calls a man, he bids him come and die" (p. 99). A disciple must be prepared to die if that is where the road of discipleship leads, but "the saying refers not so much to literal martyrdom as to the attitude of self-denial which regards its life in this world as *already finished*" (I. H. Marshall, p. 373). The disciple now lives for Christ, not for self.

While the phrase *aparnéomai/arnéomai heautón* occurs only in the above saying (except for 2 Tim. 2:13; see below), the idea of self-denial is everywhere present in the NT understanding of Christian discipleship. This is especially true in Jesus' teaching (e.g., Mt. 5:38-48; 10:37-39; Mk. 9:33-35; Lk. 14:25-35; Jn. 12:24-26; 13:38) Jesus called His disciples to practice self-denial in their acts of piety (e.g., Mt. 6:1-4, 16-21). He taught His disciples this lifestyle of self-denial not only with His words but also by His acts. Notice that His call to self-denial came immediately after His prediction of His own sacrificial death (Mt. 16:21-24; Mk. 8:31-34; Lk. 9:22f.). Jesus Himself was the supreme model of the self-denial to which He called others (Mk. 10:42-45; Jn. 13:1-17; cf. 2 Cor. 8:9; Eph. 5:1f.; Phil. 2:5-11; 1 Pet. 2:21-24).

The concept is also at the heart of Paul's teaching on discipleship. Disciples have died with Christ (Rom. 6:1-11; Gal. 5:24; Col. 2:12; 3:3-11; 2 Tim. 2:11) and are called to sacrifice their lives for Him (Rom. 12:1f.). In Tit. 2:12 Paul writes of the grace of God "training us to renounce [*arnéomai*] irreligion and worldly passions," i.e., to deny the desires of the self. Paul's life also modeled self-denial (cf. 1 Cor. 15:31; 2 Cor. 4:7-11; 6:1-10; 11:16-33; Gal. 2:20; Phil. 3:7-11).

A somewhat different use of the phrase *arnéomai heutón* occurs in 2 Tim. 2:13, where Paul writes that God "cannot deny himself." The idea here is that God is faithful and cannot deny His character or His promises (cf. Rom. 3:3f.). But a comparison of this statement with Jesus' call to self-denial is instructive. God, being so different from self-centered humanity, has nothing in His perfect character that needs to be denied. In His perfect goodness God can only affirm Himself. Indeed the NT calls Jesus' disciples to deny themselves, but never to deny Jesus or the Father (Mt. 10:33; 2 Tim. 2:12; Tit. 1:16; 2 Pet. 2:1; 1 Jn. 2:22; Jude 4; Rev. 2:13; 3:8).

See also ASCETICISM.

Bibliography.–D. Bonhoeffer, *Cost of Discipleship* (Eng. tr. 1949); I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* (*NIGTC*, 1978), pp. 373f.; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀρνέομαι (H. Schlier). V. R. GORDON

SELF-INDULGENT. "Be self-indulgent" is the RSV translation of Gk. *spataláō* in 1 Tim. 5:6 (AV "live in pleasure"; NEB "given over to self-indulgence"). The verb connotes a life-style of abandonment to one's own desires for comfort and pleasure. Its only other NT occurrence is in Jas. 5:5 (RSV "live . . . in pleasure"; AV "be wanton"); cf. also the LXX of Ezk. 16:49 (RSV "ease"); Sir. 21:15 (part., "reveler"). Some commentators have seen in 1 Tim. 5:6 a reference to sexual immorality and possibly even prostitution (cf. *IB*, XI, 436), but this is not implied by the term itself. *See also* PLEASE.

SELFISH; SELFISHNESS [Gk. *ponērós*] (Lk. 6:35); AV EVIL; NEB WICKED; [*eritheía*] (2 Cor. 12:20; Gal. 5:20; Phil. 2:3; "selfish ambition," Jas. 3:14, 16); AV STRIFE; NEB also (PERSONAL) RIVALRY, AMBITION. The RSV has used "selfish" to render *ponērós* ("bad, wicked, evil") in Lk. 6:35, apparently because the context makes clear that the reference is to those who will not return loving deeds (note its use with *acháristos*, "ungrateful"). *See* AMBITION.

SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS. The belief that one is morally upright and has earned salvation because of strict adherence to moral and religious laws; often associated with an attitude of superiority toward those who are considered less righteous. The word does not occur in the RSV or AV, but the NAB uses it four times to render Gk. *díkaios* (Mt. o:13 par. Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:32; 18:9; AV, RSV, "righteous"; NEB "virtuous"). In each of these passages *díkaios* denotes self-righteousness rather than the righteousness that comes from God. Jesus told the parable of the Pharisee and the publican "to some who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others" (Lk. 18:9). The Pharisees considered themselves righteous and refused to associate with sinners such as tax collectors (v. 11; cf. Mt. 9:10f. par.). Jesus reserved His strongest words for the Pharisees, whose righteousness was merely a matter of external actions rather than of the heart (Mt. 23, esp. vv. 25-28).

Both the OT and the NT teach very clearly that trust in one's own righteousness can never make one acceptable to God (cf., e.g., Isa. 64:6 [MT 5]; Dnl. 9:18; Rom. 3; Gal. 3:10f.; Eph. 2:8f.; Phil. 3:8f.). The righteousness that comes from God is accomplished by Christ and is received by faith alone (2 Cor. 5:21).

See also RIGHTEOUSNESS. R. A. GWINN

SELF-SURRENDER. *See* SELF-DENIAL.

SELFWILL; SELFWILLED. AV renderings not used in the RSV. *See* ARROGANCE (Tit. 1:7); WANTON (Gen. 49:6); WILFUL (2 Pet. 2:10).

SELL. *See* BUYING.

SELLER OF PURPLE GOODS. *See* PURPLE.

SELVEDGE sel'vəj. The AV translation of Heb. *qāṣâ* (lit. "extremity") in Ex. 26:4; 36:11. Eng. "selvedge" (< "self-edge") denotes the finished edge of a piece of woven fabric. The RSV and NEB more correctly interpret *qāṣâ* as referring to the "outmost" or "last" curtain in the set of five. *See also* TABERNACLE II.C.4.

SEM sem (Lk. 3:36, AV). *See* SHEM.

SEMACHIAH sem-ə-kī'ə [Heb. *s^{e}makyāhû*–'Yahweh has sustained']. Head of a Korahite family of gatekeepers (1 Ch. 26:7).

SEMEI sem'ē-ī.

1. (1 Esd. 9:33, AV). *See* SHIMEI **17.**
2. (Ad. Est. 11:2, AV). *See* SHIMEI **19.**
3. (Lk. 3:26, AV). *See* SEMEIN.

SEMEIN sem'ē-ən [Gk. *Semein*]; AV SEMEI. An ancestor of Jesus in Luke's genealogy (Lk. 3:26).

SEMEIUS sə-mē'əs (Ad. Est. 11:2, NEB). *See* SHIMEI **19.**

SEMELIAS sem-ə-lī'əs (Tob. 5:13, NEB). *See* SHEMAIAH **28.**

SEMELLIUS sə-mel'ē-əs (AV, NEB, 1 Esd. 2:16f., 25, 30). *See* SHIMSHAI.

SEMI sem'ī (1 Esd. 9:33, NEB). *See* SHIMEI **17.**

SEMIS sē mis (1 Esd. 9:23, AV, NEB). *See* SHIMEI **16.**

SEMITES sem'īts [< Heb. *šēm*, "Shem" (hence the archaic "Shemites"), through Greek *Sem* and Lat. *Sem*]. A name conventionally applied to a group of Near Eastern peoples among whom closely related languages (called Semitic) were spoken. There is evidence for various Semitic peoples from *ca.* 2500 B.C. to the present.

I. Name
II. Classification of Semitic Languages
III. Proto-Semitic
IV. The Primal Home of the Semites
V. The Problem of Common Semitic Culture

I. Name.–The name Semite is derived from that of Shem, son of Noah, father of Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad (ancestor of Abraham), Lud, and Aram (Gen. 10:21-31; 11:10-26). The designation "Semite" is an artificial one, unknown in ancient times (it was coined by A. C. Schlözer in 1781), which came into common use when the close similarities between Arabic, Hebrew, and other languages of the group were first discovered, and when it was commonly held that the similarities in language should correspond to the biblical classification of peoples into descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth (cf. Gen. 10:32). The artificial character of the designation is clear when one considers that the genealogical classification of the TABLE OF NATIONS is built on a geographical and cultural basis and not on a linguistic one (at the time of its composition the principles of linguistic classification were unknown). The Elamites and Lydians (cf. Gen. 10:22) are not Semites in the modern classification, whereas the Amorites and Canaanites (which the Table of Nations considers to be descendants of Ham; cf. Gen. 10:15f.) are Semites. The classification of Semitic languages is today established on completely different lines from the genealogical scheme of the Table of Nations, being built exclusively on the analysis of linguistic data.

II. Classification of Semitic Languages.–The region of the most ancient diffusion of Semitic languages consists of the Arabian peninsula, Syria-Palestine, and Mesopotamia. In this area the presence of Semitic languages is as ancient as that of the first written records (the only type of evidence which may provide us with material appropriate for research), dating back to the 3rd millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and Syria, to the 2nd millennium in Palestine, and to the 1st millennium in Arabia. Semitic languages continue without interruption down to present times (although shifts in the internal relationships of the languages have taken place, with the prevalence of Aramaic around the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., and of Arabic from the 7th cent. A.D. to the present). Outside this area Semitic languages are attested only as a result of the diffusion of peoples or of cultures. These can be clearly defined in their historical setting and are of different levels of importance — e.g., the presence of Assyrian merchants in Cappadocia (19th-18th cents. B.C.); the use of Aramaic in Iran and Egypt under the Achaemenids; the Phoenician colonies around the Mediterranean Sea (7th cent. B.C. and later); the spread of southern Semites in Ethiopia; the wider diffusion of the Arabs in all of North Africa following the Islamic conquest; and the Jewish dispersion to Europe and subsequently to the whole world.

The secondary developments are of interest only for studying the histories of the individual languages, whereas the overall study of Semitic languages is mainly based on the situation of the most ancient times, and especially on a period which ranges from the beginning of written records to the advent of the Christian era. The Semitic languages which have come down from this period may conveniently be organized into three groups, rather independent in their geographical setting:

A. East Semitic. The eastern group comprises a single language group, Akkadian (or Assyro-Babylonian), spoken by the Semitic population of Mesopotamia. Evidence for this language dates from ca. 2500 B.C. to ca. 300 B.C. The group may be subdivided both dialectally and chronologically into Old Akkadian (ca. 2500-1950 B.C.); Babylonian (Old Babylonian, ca. 1950-1530 B.C. [North Babylonian, South Babylonian, Mari, etc.]; Middle Babylonian, ca. 1530-1000 B.C.; Neo-Babylonian, ca. 1000-625 B.C.; Late Babylonian, after 625 B.C.); and Assyrian (Old Assyrian, ca. 1950-1750 B.C.; Middle Assyrian, ca. 1500-1000 B.C.; Neo-Assyrian, ca. 1000-600 B.C.). (Cf. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* [*Analecta Orientalia*, 33/47; 2nd ed. 1969], pp. 2-4.)

B. Northwest Semitic. The earliest Semitic language of Syria is Eblaic (*ca.* 2500-2300 B.C.), the classification of which is still open to debate. It shares some features with contemporary Old Akkadian, but more with later Northwest Semitic (cf. I. J. Gelb, *Thoughts about Ibla* [1977]; L. Cagni, ed., *La lingua di Ebla* [1981]; P. Franzaroli, ed., *Studies on the Language of Ebla* [1984]). After the disappearance of the Ebla culture the Northwest group is rather uniformly represented by the so-called Amorite (*ca.* 2100-1500 B.C.; cf. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* [1980]). Later, a more obvious division into dialects began to set in, of which we know particularly the dialect of the city-state of UGARIT (14th-13th cents. B.C., called "Ugaritic") as well as sparse elements of the "Canaanite" of el-Amarna (*see* AMARNA TABLETS III; CANAAN VI). In the 1st millennium B.C. the division into dialects is more distinct, and we may pinpoint an Aramaic group and a Canaanite group. The betterknown Canaanite dialects are Hebrew (with its different phases; *see* HEBREW LANGUAGE) and Phoenician-Punic (*see* PHOENICIAN III). Aramaic, after an archaic phase (10th-7th cents. B.C.), was diffused widely under the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires (7th-4th cents. B.C.). Later it may be divided into two branches, Western and Eastern, with many dialects and rich religious literature (*see* ARAMAIC).

C. Southwest Semitic. The south or southwest group consists of: Epigraphic (Old) South Arabic, evidence of which ranges from the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. to the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., divided into many dialects (Minaean, Sabean, Qatabanian, Awsani, Hadramauti; cf. K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica* [1931]); the modern South Arabian dialects; Epigraphic North Arabic (also known to us from the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. to the middle of the 1st millennium A.D.); Classical Arabic (mainly

attested in the Koran, 7th cent. A.D.). Classical Arabic became the literary language of Islam, and enjoyed a wide diffusion and long literary history which continues in present-day literary Arabic. Modern Arabic dialects, on the other hand, show considerable evolution and differ significantly among themselves. Finally there is Ethiopic, the product of South Arabian settlers in northeastern Africa. It developed especially in Christian religious literature, which was written in classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez), and subsequently divided into many modern dialects (Amharic, Harari, Tigre, etc.). *See also* ARABIA IV.

III. Proto-Semitic.–The reason for the obviously close relationship between the many Semitic languages requires an explanation, as is also the case in other linguistic groups (and esp. in the case of the Indo-European group which has been the subject of more intensive study on the part of linguists).

A. The "Genealogical Tree." At the end of the 19th cent. the problem was solved in a simple fashion, with the idea of a derivation from a common stock (the theory of the genealogical tree). The differences among the Semitic languages were considered a progressive phenomenon, and the common elements were held to be the heritage of a single ancient language. Using comparative analysis, the phonetic laws of the progressive differentiation were brought forth, as were archaic morphological elements and innovations, and the common lexical complex. In this way the original language (Proto-Semitic) was reconstructed. An actual historical basis was attributed to this language, i.e., it was believed to have been spoken by a specific population in a certain period of time. This reconstruction of Proto-Semitic had a tendency to enhance Arabic to a high degree. It must be remembered that Akkadian was still relatively little known, and the archaic phases of Northwest Semitic (Eblaic, Amorite, Ugaritic) were at that time unknown, whereas the more recent phases of the same group had been distorted by obvious evolutionary phenomena in the phonetic system (reduction of consonants, alteration of the vowel system following the accent shift) and in the morphological system (dropping of declension, alteration of the verbal system).

B. More Recent Theories. In later periods the views on the matter have become less rigid, as a consequence both of new discoveries and studies and of new directions in methodology. The knowledge of Akkadian and of the most ancient phases of Northwest Semitic has deeply altered the theories about the most ancient phases of Semitic, and the study of the relationships between the Semitic language group and other groups (improperly termed "Hamitic"), such as the Cushitic languages, Libyco-Berber, and especially ancient Egyptian, have shown that the Semitic languages are to be set in a tightly knit network of relationships less rigid but equally important for a definition of their origins. Among the Semitic languages, relationships which tend to contradict the division of the group into three branches and the rectilinear derivation from Proto-Semitic have been brought to light: connections between Akkadian and Ethiopic (and also, as regards Hamito-Semitic, between Akkadian and Egyptian and between Akkadian and Libyan) could represent the traces of a more archaic layer, compared to which the linguistic type represented first by Amorite and then by Arabic is to be considered evolutionary.

But finally and especially, the study of the connections between the many Semitic languages in the historical period (for which we have much evidence) disproves the rectilinear development (of the genealogical-tree type) that had been theorized for the period previous to the use of writing. Instead, we are faced with more complex superimpositions, interconnections, extinction of some branches which, however, have left elements in the branches by which they were overcome, etc. One need only reflect on the diffusion of Aramaic among the populations which spoke Akkadian in Mesopotamia or Canaanite in Palestine, and subsequently on the diffusion of Arabic among Aramaic peoples. And one should also notice, with reference to the relationships with languages outside the group, the influence of Sumerian on Akkadian, of Cushitic on Ethiopic, of Greek on Syriac, etc. It is only logical to believe that this complexity of relationships, well attested in the historical period, should have existed also in predocumentary times. Going backward in time, one cannot imagine the many Semitic languages as having been increasingly similar to one another and finally unified in origin (a concept more mythical than historical in character). Rather, they must be imagined as having been in a perpetually unstable relationship among themselves, resulting not only from facts of differentiation but also from convergence and assimilation.

In the light of these complex problems the reconstruction of "Proto-Semitic" becomes more a convention than a historical truth. Faith in the possibility of reconstructing, through analysis, a language assumed to have been spoken in a certain period and in a certain area by real persons is progressively lost. On the other hand it becomes clearer that we are only establishing connections which may clarify the languages of historical times and allow interpretation of dead languages. As for the historical reconstruction (a goal which remains valid), having abandoned the too-simple scheme of the genealogical tree, one must find single facts of diffusion, of segmentation, of assimilation or of superimposition, etc., which will obviously be set in different levels of time, space, and social environment, and in connection with different historical events, not unified in a mythical "original" state. Therefore, the problem is not one of trying to reconstruct a "Proto-Semitic" which never was, but of trying to lengthen back in time, over the barrier of the beginning of written evidence, the history of Semitic languages.

IV. The Primal Home of the Semites.–The evolution in the reconstruction of Proto-Semitic and, generally speaking, in the comparative study of Semitic languages, has naturally been accompanied by a similar evolution in the reconstruction of the human and environmental basis of the language. In the past the simplistic reconstruction of a "Proto" language, from which the historically attested languages derived in a genealogical-tree pattern, was obviously accompanied by a reconstruction of an original population (Proto-Semites) which was held to have lived in a certain territory (the primal habitat or "home") in a certain period. This population was believed to have eventually spread itself out from the original "home" and divided itself into the different historical populations which spoke Semitic languages.

A. The Arabian Desert. The theory of an Armenian origin of the Semites (derived from a literal use of the biblical narrative describing the spread of the peoples after the Deluge [cf. Gen. 9:18f.], proposed anew, with unfortunate results, by J. Grintz, *JNES*, 21 [1962], 186-206) was soon replaced by the theory of an Arabian origin of the Semites (esp. by H. Schrader, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 27 [1873], 397-424). This theory was based on the notion that Arabic represents the most archaic Semitic language, that Semitic peoples in Arabia are "pure," i.e., not mixed with non-Semitic peoples as in more exposed zones (Syria, Mesopotamia), and that in historical times waves of Semitic invaders actually set out from Arabia toward the outlying regions.

In this reconstruction the archetype of the (Proto-) Semite would be represented by the bedouin nomad of the Arabian Desert, and the process of settlement of the nomad in the conquered agricultural zones (a process illustrated by the tribes of Israel even before the great phenomenon of Islamic expansion) would be typical of the separation of the single Semitic peoples from the original nomadic stock.

This theory was opposed by I. Guidi (*Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici* [*Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 3; 1879], pp. 566-615). This scholar, basing his research on an analysis of the common Semitic lexical heritage, which comprises common names for cultivated plants, a common name for "river" (but not for "mountain," a concept which every Semitic language renders by a different word), tended to set the primal home in an agricultural valley region rather than in a desert zone; in Mesopotamia, therefore, rather than in Arabia. But the Arabian theory prevailed and was systematized by L. Caetani (*Studi di storia orientale, I* [1911], 51-228), who noted that Arabia should have enjoyed a more favorable climate in Proto-Semitic times than at present, so as to allow for the presence there of rivers and agricultural activities. According to this theory the progressive drying-up of Arabia was the cause for the periodic outflow of Semitic peoples in search of more favorable living conditions. The various "waves" were said to have been: (1) ca. 3000 B.C., Akkadians in Mesopotamia and Canaanites in Syria-Palestine; (2) ca. 2000 B.C., Amorites; (3) ca. 1200 B.C., Arameans and Israelites; (4) at the end of the 1st millennium B.C., Nabateans and other Arabs; (5) in the 7th cent. A.D., the great Islamic expansion. Theories of this type have become classical, and — although surpassed by studies and discoveries — still survive in works which are not up to date or sufficiently critical (e.g., R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* [1955]).

B. A Non-Desert Home. In later times many essential points were clarified. For one thing, the change in climate in the Near East at the end of the last Ice Age (*ca.* 10,000 B.C.) was too ancient to explain invasions which took place in more recent times when the climate had long since attained present-day levels. Also, it became clear that the technological basis of the nomads down to the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. was lacking in some essential elements for desert life, such as the domestication of the camel (R. Walz, *Zeitschrift der deutshen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 101 [1951], 29-51; 104 [1954], 45-87; W. Dostal in F. Gabrieli, ed., *Ancient Bedouin Society* [1959], pp. 11-33; B. Brentjes, *Klio*, 39 [1960], 23-52) and the digging of deep wells. Central Arabia was therefore inaccessible to all (except for small groups, historically unimportant), and nomadism was exercised near irrigated territories and was conditioned by the types of animals bred (donkeys as a means of locomotion, sheep as a source of sustenance).

One last feature became clear: although the processes of settlement of nomads may sometimes assume the aspect of violent irruption (an event which takes place in combination with crises of the sedentary states that had become for the time unable to defend themselves), more often and normally these processes show the pattern of a slow and peaceful infiltration of small groups (families, isolated individuals) in search of employment in the city or countryside, with no abrupt alteration of the demographic balance. Especially due to research on the texts from MARI (18th cent. B.C., located on the middle Euphrates), the model of the Proto-Semitic nomad is no more the Arab bedouin (camel-driver) but rather the Amorite seminomad (shepherd) who comes not from central Arabia but from the steppes immediately adjacent to the Syrian and Mesopotamian valleys (J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* [1957]). In this view the unity of the Proto-Semitic peoples is notably cut up, and the "primal home" loses its compact character, becoming altered into a long strip of steppeland (enclosed by the real desert on one side, inaccessible, and the cultivated territories on the other) which stretches from Yemen through all of Hejaz and Transjordan and inner Syria, to Mesopotamian Jezirah. The belief that Proto-Semites were seminomads holds fast, however, as does the opinion that their settlement is a secondary process, from which stem the single Semitic peoples.

C. More Recent Theories. Recently, from many directions, further steps have been made toward a new revision of the problem. This revision may be considered parallel to the one which took place on a strictly linguistic level. In the lexical field the observation that terms for agriculture are as much Proto-Semitic as are terms for sheep-breeding has taken on value. As a result there is no real basis for considering NOMADISM as the only original Proto-Semitic form of life (P. Fronzareli, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*. 15 [1960], 123-144; J. Aro, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 113 [1964], 471-480). In any case, anthropological theory has long abandoned the idea that nomadism is a condition of living which preceded the settled stage and that animal-breeding preceded agriculture. More careful study of the Bronze Age has made it clear that animal-breeding took place not only and not so much on the steppes as in hilly or forest zones which alternate with cultivated valleys (M. Rowton, *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* [1965], pp. 375-387); that from the economic point of view nomads and settled populations are in mutual symbiosis (M. Rowton, *XV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* [1967], 109-121); that the processes of settlement and of attaining power on the part of the nomads are events of social character (i.e., vertical movements in a certain society) and not due to migration (i.e., horizontal movements from one region to another, cf. G. Mendenhall, *BA*, 25 [1962], 66-87); lastly, that processes of nomadization of settled populations, due to crises in mercantile or state organization (W. Caskel, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 103 [1953], 28-36; *American Anthropologist*, Memoir 76 [1954], 36-46), or perhaps to temporary fluctuations of the climate (M. Liverani, *Oriens Antiquus*, 7 [1968], 77-89) are attested, as well as processes of settlement of nomads.

In sum, it seems best to abandon the ideas that Proto-Semites may be characterized as nomads or seminomads and that their diffusion is an event that always takes place along the same lines. On the other hand the situation of mixture between two sectors of the population, cultivators and pastoralists, which we notice in historical times, should probably be projected back into the period before written evidence. This pattern was certainly now and then altered by migrations; but these took place in many directions, hence explaining linguistic contact of various types. Above all, on a general theoretical level, counter to the normal tendency to explain every linguistic (and esp. lexical) connection as a consequence of migrations (i.e., of general movements of populations), the trend today is toward imagining (on the strength of what is shown by the historical period) the population as more or less immovable, and linguistic innovations and lexical elements shifting according to the diffusion of ideas or of new techniques, to political events, to commercial contacts, to military conquest, events which only require

Syrians and Libyans bow down before an Egyptian royal servant. Relief from the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqârah, *ca.* 1300 B.C. (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, photo A. deKemp)

the movement of a limited number of people (specialists in a particular technique, bands of warriors, *et al.*), or even no movement at all.

D. The Arabian Peninsula and Contiguous Regions. In this light the concept of a Proto-Semitic population is in fact set aside, and for it is substituted the idea that historical (i.e., political, commercial, cultural in general) contacts between the various Semitic populations — inhabiting a relatively small area and therefore in close contact with one another — have a long prehistory, which may explain the close linguistic connections. This does not mean to say that, going back in time beyond the "urban revolution," in an age in which political organizations, social structures, and technical notions were developed, the complex of the Semitic peoples cannot have been more homogeneous, more tightly knit. All this is quite possible, and perhaps probable. As for the primitive "home," there is no reason for us to imagine it as an area smaller than the compact group of lands between the Euphrates, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, occupied by Semitic peoples at the beginning of written evidence.

V. The Problem of Common Semitic Culture.–The different solutions proposed at various times for the linguistic concept of "Semites" have consequently brought about different ideas concerning the existence of other cultural elements, which may characterize the Semitic peoples and set them apart from non-Semitic peoples. Doubtful is the existence of actual Semitic elements in art or literature or social organization, or (especially) in religion and religiosity. The problem is made less clear by the fact that the elements of a possible Semitic culture have been searched for not so much in the most ancient phases (as should have been obvious) but in the more recent ones, i.e., Semites of which we have direct experience today. To speak of Semites means in fact — especially for the layperson rather than the specialist — to speak of Arabs and particularly of Jews. The latter is a population which has been subject to mixture with (while being generally unwilling to be assimilated to) European and (later) American society, with consequent reactions of intolerance and even hatred which have clear sociological motivations (of religious or economic character, etc.). Even the idea of a Semitic "race" has been propounded, coupled with that of its presumed inferiority in comparison with the Indo-European race, with tragic consequences ("anti-Semitism"). These positions must obviously be rejected radically, since no race, i.e., a complex of physical characteristics, may be qualified as Semitic (we have seen that the common denominator of the Semites is linguistic in character), and since cultural elements are transmitted from one individual to another through learning and not by genetic means.

But apart from these gross misunderstandings, and

going back to the problem in its scientific form, it must be noted that the concept of a Semitic culture can hardly sustain a rigorous criticism, although it is still widely employed (in a more-or-less conscious manner). Just as the affinities between the various Semitic languages are the product not only and not so much of a derivation from a common original stock but also of historical contacts of various types, and just as the processes of convergence and assimilation are of the same importance as the processes of segmentation, similarly cultural affinities must be understood as the product of historical contact (apart from similar conditions of living) rather than the heritage of a "Proto-Semitic" culture, from which the disparate Semitic cultures are derived.

In this historical light the problem loses part of its emotional implications, even if it loses none of its historical relevance. Pinpointing a common cultural element between two or more Semitic peoples is not immediately and automatically the sign of a common derivation and even less that of a racial predisposition (or characterization). It may be due to secondary convergence and may above all be extended to peoples speaking non-Semitic languages. It is well known that elements of material culture (types of houses, of weapons and tools, of clothing, of systems of cultivation, etc.) and ideological elements (matrimonial habits, types of families, systems of government, religious beliefs, mythological heritage, etc.) do not have a coincidental (if not casual) diffusion with that of linguistic isoglosses. Therefore the definition of a Semitic unity, which is a linguistic concept, has no necessary correspondence on the cultural level.

The phenomena of cultural diffusion within the Semitic group have naturally been made easier by linguistic community (apart from territorial contiguity) and certainly took place repeatedly in the course of time, in the historical as well as in the predocumentary period. The diffusion in each instance was advanced by elements of the particular drive (e.g., sanctuaries for the diffusion of religious ideas, commercial channels for the diffusion of techniques and objects), by political and military events, by the development of the social structure itself. During a large part of the pre-Christian period Mesopotamia was the most advanced center, from which many cultural elements spread toward the outlying regions (thus leading to the theory of "pan-Babylonianism," now discredited, or better, brought back to concrete and reasonable historical dimensions). On the other hand seminomadic peoples, such as the Amorites first and the Arameans later, although less advanced technologically, spread languages, religious ideas, and family structures thanks to a stronger social and demographic organization. In later times great religious currents, such as Judaism and Islam, were factors in the propulsion of Jewish and Arabic elements of culture. Similar phenomena must have taken place in the predocumentary period, but only sparse facts are borne out by lexical studies.

Other cultural elements are common because they correspond to common conditions of living (and therefore are not exclusively of Semitic heritage), and in this sense it is a misunderstanding to term "Semitic" what simply derives from nomadic-pastoral conditions. For example, in the economic field a certain tendency toward private property of the family groups vis-à-vis the community organization of the temple-cities of ancient Mesopotamia may be attributed not so much to the Semites as opposed to the Sumerians but rather to tribal habits as opposed to city life. In the field of religion certain tendencies to monotheism represent the outflow of a nomadic religious character tied to a tribal organization of society, as opposed to the urban organization with differentiation in social functions, which expresses itself — on the contrary — through a polytheistic pantheon. Not to mention, of course, some traits that have been attributed to Semites, in opposition (explicit or implicit) to the Greeks (the latter seen as the first expression of an Indo-European "genius"), traits which correspond simply to the structures of a "mythical" or "prelogical" thought (this last term is quite open to discussion) attested in civilizations of the same technical-cultural level, even though distant in space or time. An example is the tendency of Semites to engage in practical activity rather than in theoretical reflection. Lastly, a few proposals that attempt to set apart specifically "Semitic" cultural traits depend exclusively on prejudice or wrong judgment, as in the case of a "Semitic" tendency toward commerce, an opinion which stems from a comparison of the merchant activities of the ancient Phoenicians and the Jews in the post-Christian era. The two phenomena took place in clearly different historical situations; in no way are they to be related to original characteristics of the Semitic peoples.

A more critical look at this complex of problems should advise employing today the term and the concept "Semites" exclusively in its linguistic sense, and, on the other hand, tracing back every cultural fact to its concrete historical environment. The use of the term "Semitic" in culture, subject as it is to arbitrary simplifications, shows methodological risks which exceed by far the possibility of positive historical analysis. In any case the "Semitic" character of every cultural fact is a problem which in each situation must be ascertained in its limits and in its historical setting (both in time and in the social environment), and may not be assumed as obvious or traced back to a presumed "Proto-Semitic" culture, statically conceived.

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SENAAH se-nā'ə [Heb. *s^{e}nā'â*; Gk. Apoc. *Sanaas, Sama*] (Ezr. 2:35; Neh. 7:38; 1 Esd. 5:23); AV Apoc. ANNAAS; NEB Apoc. SANAAS. Name of a town that appears in lists of cities whose inhabitants returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel. The number of returning people includes varying estimates of 3,630 (Ezr. 2:35), 3,930 (Neh. 7:38), and 3,330 (1 Esd. 5:23; LXX B, 3,301). In Neh. 3:3 the name of the town appears as HASSENAAH (Heb. *hass^{e}nā'â*), i.e., Senaah with the definite article. A connection between these people and the Benjaminite clan Hassenuah (1 Ch. 9:7) seems unlikely. The close association with Jericho in both lists (Ezr. 2:34; Neh. 7:36) may indicate

a location near that city, e.g., Magdalsenna 13 km. (8 mi.) NE of Jericho, but this remains uncertain.

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SENATE [Gk. *gerousía* (Acts 5:21; Jth. 4:8; 11:14; etc.), *bouleutḗrion*–'council,' 'senate chamber']; AV also ANCIENTS, ELDERS, COUNCIL. Greek *gerousía* (cf. *gérōn*, "old man"), like Lat. *senatus* (cf. *senex*, "old"), denotes a "council of elders." In Acts 5:21 *gerousía* is evidently equivalent to the foregoing "council" (*synédrion*) and refers to the SANHEDRIN. The Sanhedrin was preceded by a Jewish "council of elders" that is mentioned in Jth. 4:8; 11:14; 1 Macc. 12:6; 2 Macc. 1:10; 4:44; 11:27. Made up of the *presbýteroi* ("elders" representing the various families and clans; cf. 1 Macc. 1:26; 7:33; 2 Macc. 13:13; 14:37) and presided over by the high priest, this "senate" was the chief Jewish legislative and judicial body (*see* GOVERNMENT IV.C).

In 1 Macc. 8:15, 19; 12:3 *bouleutḗrion* refers to the Roman senate. According to tradition a senate of one hundred members was first established by Romulus. During the time of the Maccabees its membership numbered about three hundred (Sulla in 81 B.C. increased it to six hundred); it met when summoned by the magistrate (not daily as stated in 1 Macc. 8:15). Roman senators were chosen by the king during the monarchical period; under the republic they were chosen first by the consuls and later by the censors. Like the Jewish *gerousía*, the senators were originally representatives of wealthy families and clans. During the last two centuries of the republic the senators were primarily ex-magistrates, supplemented by representatives of patrician (in time also plebeian) families selected by the censor. During this period the senate gained extensive powers. Although constitutionally the senate was only an advisory body, its advice became a mandate that few dared to disregard. It became the chief governing body in Rome and assumed the right to conduct negotiations with foreign powers. Challenges to the senate's authority by military leaders led to the collapse of the republic. Under the empire (beginning in 27 B.C.) the senate lost much of its independence. Although it performed judicial functions and held authority over the "public" provinces (*see* PROVINCES, ROMAN II), its role in legislation and foreign policy was generally limited to advising the emperor.

Bibliography.–*Enc.Brit.* (1965), *s.v.*; J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (*AB*, 1976), pp. 356, 452; *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2nd ed. 1970), *s.v.* "Senatus."

W. A. HEIDEL N. J. O.

SENATOR. The AV translation of Heb. *zāqēn* ("elder"; LXX *presbýteros*) in Ps. 105:22 (RSV "elder"; NEB "counsellor"). *See* ELDER IN THE OT.

In 1 Macc. 8:15 Gk. *bouleuómenoi* refers to Roman senators who meet in the *bouleutḗrion* ("senate chamber") to "deliberate [*bouleúomai*] concerning the people, to govern them well" (*see* SENATE). 2 Macc. 6:1f. refers to an "Athenian senator" (*géronta Athēnaion*; AV "old man of Athens"; NEB "elderly Athenian") sent by Antiochus IV Epiphanes to compel the Jews to forsake the worship of God and to "pollute" the Jerusalem temple and call it "the temple of Zeus." There has been much discussion about the meaning of *gérōn* (nominative of *géronta*). It could be a man's name (Geron has been attested as a Greek name) or the title of a member of the Athenian *gerousía* (thus "elder" or "senator"), or it could mean "old man" (cf. AV, NEB). For stylistic reasons (e.g., the author of 2 Maccabees elsewhere gives the names of all persecutors) J. A. Goldstein has recommended the translation "Geron the Athenian" (see Goldstein, *II Maccabees* [*AB*, 1983], pp. 268-272).

N. J. O.

SEND. Most frequently a translation of Heb. *šālaḥ* in the OT and Gk. *apostéllō* or *exapostéllō* in the NT. The concept of sending involves several elements: a definite mission assigned to a messenger, the messenger's subordination to the will of the sender, the impartation of the sender's authority to the one sent, the faithful completion of the mission by the messenger, and often the reception of the messenger by the sender when the assignment has been completed. It is significant that the prophets, who were committed to the task of faithfully proclaiming God's word (cf. Zec. 7:12; Isa. 55:11), are designated also as His servants (Rev. 10:7). Angels likewise were commissioned to declare God's purposes to His people (Lk. 1:26; He. 1:14). *See* ANGEL; MESSENGER; PROPHET IV.

John the Baptist was sent by God to prepare Israel for the coming of Jesus the Christ (Jn. 1:6). Jesus in turn was sent by the heavenly Father (4:34; 10:36) — a sending that marked the most important watershed in human history. Jesus Himself was keenly conscious of His status as one sent and referred to it frequently (e.g., Jn. 3:17; 5:30; 6:39; 7:29; 17:3). He was also aware of being directed by the Holy Spirit (Lk. 4:18; cf. v. 1).

The apostles chosen by Jesus were sent out by Him to preach and to heal (Lk. 9:2). After His resurrection Jesus sent them out again, this time on a permanent mission to bring the message of the gospel (Jn. 20:21). Sending and being sent continued to be important factors in the life of the early Church. The Jerusalem church sent Barnabas to shepherd the growing gentile congregation at Antioch (Acts 11:22). Later the Antioch church sent him and Paul to evangelize areas to the north and west (13:1-3). The word "missionary" underscores the central importance for Christianity of sending and being sent. *See also* APOSTLE.

John 9:7 states that a pool in the Jerusalem area was called Siloam, meaning "Sent." Jesus anointed the eyes of a blind man with clay and sent him to this pool to wash. Using a wordplay built on the etymology of the name Siloam, John seems to be drawing a parallel between the blind man's obedience to Jesus and the Savior's obedience to the Father (v. 4). Quite possibly the reader is being invited to contrast this dual obedience with the recalcitrance of Judah in the days of King Ahaz (Isa. 8:5-8; here the MT has Shiloah but the LXX has Siloam).

E. F. HARRISON

SENEH sē'nə, se'nə [Heb. *senneh*]. One of two mountain peaks of the Michmash pass mentioned in 1 S. 14:4; the other is Bozez. The first peak is said to be "on the north in front of Michmash" and the second "on the south in front of Geba" (14:5). This description locates them along the Wâdī es-Ṣuweinîṭ, about 11 km. (7 mi.) NE of Jerusalem and 5.5 km. (3½ mi.) SE of Michmash.

In 1 S. 14:4 Jonathan and his armor-bearer passed between Seneh and Bozez to enter the Philistine garrison. The order in which these mountains and their locations appear in the biblical text implies that Seneh is on the south side of the pass.

The name of the mountain may have been derived from the root *snh*, "thorn," and used because thorn bushes grew in that area. Josephus (*BJ* v.2.1 [51]) mentions a "Valley of Thorns" near Gabeah of Saul that may account for the naming of this mountain.

Bibliography.–*GP* (3rd ed. 1967), II, 328; *GTTOT*, § 680, p. 317.

P. VIVIANO

SENIOR PRIESTS [Heb. *ziqnê hakkōhᵃnîm*] (2 K. 19:2; Isa. 37:2; Jer. 19:1); AV "elders of the priests," "ancients of the priests"; NEB also "elders of the priests." The actual position of the senior priests is not known, but if this phrase is analogous to "elders of the people," then they were probably the heads of the priestly families.

SENIR sē'nər [Heb. *śᵉnîr*; Gk. *Sanir*]; AV also SHENIR. According to Dt. 3:8f., the Amorite name for Mt. Hermon. But Senir and Hermon are named as two different mountains in Cant. 4:8, and both names also appear in 1 Ch. 5:23, which defines the boundaries of the half-tribe of Manasseh Perhaps the apparent discrepancy can be explained by the fact that Mt. Hermon has three peaks, two on the east and one on the west. Medieval Arab geographers designated Senir as the part of the mountain range that is N of Damascus.

In a lamentation over Tyre, Ezekiel (27:5) likens that city to a ship whose planks were made from the firs of Senir. The same passage has Lebanon parallel to Senir but does not mention Hermon at all; thus it seems to identify Senir in some way with the Anti-Lebanon Range. Hazael of Damascus built a fortress on Mt. Senir to ward off an invasion by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (859-824 B.C.). Although Shalmaneser won the battle, he did not take Damascus. In his records Senir is called the mountain peak at the entrance of Lebanon, but a different passage locates it at the north end of the Anti-Lebanon.

D. H. MADVIG

SENNACHERIB sə-nak'ər-ib [Heb. *sanḥērîḇ* (2 K. 18:13); Akk. *Sin-aḫḫê-eriba*–'[the deity] Sin has multiplied brothers.' King of Assyria and Babylonia (705-681 B.C.), son of Sargon II and father of Esarhaddon. He besieged Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah. Sennacherib left copious records of his reign (cf. *ARAB*, II, §§ 115-198), the final edition of his annals being known as the Taylor Prism (*DOTT*, Plate 4), and a better copy known as the Oriental Institute Prism (cf. Luckenbill, *ANET*, pp. 287f.).

I. Military Campaigns
II. Building Projects
III. Literary Ability
IV. One or Two Invasions of Judah?
V. Death

I. Military Campaigns.–Sargon II was killed in battle at Tabalu, N of the Taurus Mountains, in the month of Ab, 705 B.C., and on the twelfth of the same month his son Sennacherib ascended the throne of Assyria. Since Sennacherib was well trained, both in military and in administrative matters, the transition of government was seemingly smooth and no insurrections broke out. Nevertheless Babylon was always a problem for Assyria.

Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon (721-710), had fled when Sargon invaded Babylon (710 B.C.), but apparently had been allowed to continue as ruler of the province of Bit-Yakin. When SARGON died MERODACH-BALADAN initiated a number of efforts at revolt. Elam obviously was involved, for with its help Merodach-baladan seized the throne from Marduk-zākir-šumi who had reigned but a month (703 B.C.). It is likely that Merodach-baladan sent envoys to Hezekiah at this time (2 K. 20:12); he may have made some overtures also to Egypt as well as to several city-states in Hatti (Syria).

Sennacherib reported that in his first campaign he marched on Babylon, and at Kish (about 20 km. [12 mi.] SE of Babylon) he inflicted a terrifying defeat. Merodach-baladan saved his life by fleeing. Sennacherib continued on, plundering the treasury at Babylon and much of Bīt-Yakin, a region at the northern end of the Persian Gulf (*ARAB*, II, §§ 234f., 257-267, 270-76, 301-303, 345). He placed Bel-ibni, a Babylonian who had served in the palace at Assyria (*ARAB*, II, § 263), on the throne as king of Babylon (702-700 B.C.), and carried back to Nineveh much booty and many captives (see *ARAB*, II, §§ 234, 261, 267, 272).

With Sennacherib's attention on Babylonia it was obviously the time for revolt in other regions. Accordingly, Sennacherib's second campaign was against tribes E of the Tigris (*ARAB*, II, §§ 236-38, 277-282, 304-308, 346). Again he brought back much plunder and many captives. The Medes bought him off by paying tribute.

In his third campaign (*ca.* 701 B.C.) Sennacherib moved against the west. He captured the city-states from Tyre to Sidon (cf. *ARAB*, II, § 239; *DOTT*, pp. 66 and 68 n. a; *ANET*, p. 287), and continued down the coast putting cities of the Philistine Plain and Shephelah under tribute. According to his rather full account (*ARAB*, II, §§ 239f., 309-312; *ANET*, pp. 287f.; *DOTT*, pp. 64-69; *CPOT*, 340-44), he forced Hezekiah to release Padi, the king of Ekron who had been loyal to Assyria and restored him to his throne; and he captured 46 of Hezekiah's strong, walled cities, plundered them, and gave them to the kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Gaza. Hezekiah he shut "like a caged bird" in Jerusalem, imposed a heavy tribute (30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, all kinds of palace treasures, his daughters, palace women, male and female singers), and carried 200,150 persons in addition to many animals to Nineveh. For the problem of harmonizing Sennacherib's account with the biblical accounts, see IV below.

From his records we know that Sennacherib conducted at least eight campaigns. The fourth and sixth, like the first, were against Bīt-Yakin. The fifth campaign was against tribes in the mountains E of the Tigris (*ARAB*, II, §§ 244f., 293-98, 316f.), accounts of which contain some of the fine descriptive writing for which Sennacherib is noted. The seventh campaign was against Elam, principally to secure the loyalty of the border cities (*ARAB*, II, §§ 248-251, 354f.).

The eighth campaign was also against Elam (*ARAB*, II, §§ 252-54, 352, 356f.). In this campaign the battle of Halule took place (*ca.* 690 B.C.), certainly one of the bloodiest waged by Sennacherib, the description of which is breathtaking (cf. *ARAB*, II, §§ 253f.). On his return Sennacherib sacked Babylon, diverted the canals to flood the city "that in days to come the site of that city . . . might not be remembered" (*ARAB*, II, § 341). Sennacherib thereafter called himself "king of Sumer and Akkad" (cf. J. Oates, *Babylon* [1979], p. 120), not "king of Babylon," for he had not taken the hands of Marduk. In fact, Marduk had been carried to Asshur. It was as though Sennacherib deliberately broke the traditional importance of Marduk and Babylon. The Babylonian Chronicle, following the account of the capture of Babylon, records, "During eight years there was no king in Babylon" (col. 3, line 28; Rogers, p. 215) — which would be the years 689-681. The King List from Asshur, however, lists Sennacherib as "king of Assyria and Babylon" (col. 4, line 12; *ARAB*, II, §§ 1188, p. 425; *ANET*, p. 273).

There are other, undated military actions to be accounted for: an expedition against Arabia (*ARAB*, II, § 358); a siege of Lachish recorded on wall reliefs at Nineveh (*ARAB*, II, § 489; *AAAO*, Plate 101) and mentioned in the OT (2 K. 18:13–19:8); an attack on Egypt, if Herodotus's account is to be believed (Herodotus ii.141); a revolt and a palace coup which resulted in the assassination of Sen-

Sennacherib riding in his chariot near some water, accompanied by an armed envoy. From a palace relief at Nineveh, *ca.* 690 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

nacherib (recorded by his son Esarhaddon, *ARAB*, II, §§ 501-506; *ANET*, pp. 289f.). The problems will be considered in IV below.

II. Building Projects.–As soon as Sennacherib became king, he began his building projects at Nineveh, which had lain in ruins for years. Using captive Chaldeans, Arameans, Manneans, and peoples from Cilicia (*ARAB*, II, § 364), he built the "Palace without a Rival," apparently having decided even while his father was ruling from Dūr-Šarrukin (Khorsabad) to abandon that location. He razed the former palace, the foundations of which had been cut away by the raging waters of the Tebiltu when it was in spate (*ARAB*, II, § 365). Then he changed the course of the river, and using great boulders and stone slabs built a seawall to prevent future erosion while enlarging the area (*ARAB*, II, § 385). Backfilling this wall, he built a larger, higher platform for the palace, 440 by 700 cubits (about 220 by 350 m. [725 by 1155 ft.], using the "great cubit" which was about 10% larger than the standard cubit; cf. *ARAB*, II, § 388). Excavations showed that the palace measured 180 by 190 m. (600 x 630 ft.; cf. *Enc. Brit.* [1970], XVI, 528 [M. Mallowan]). The palace consisted of more than 80 rooms, with 9,800 feet of stone slabs, inscriptions, and low-reliefs, including the famous reliefs depicting the siege of Lachish, that lined the walls. The roof consisted of great cedar beams from the Amanus Mountains; the doors of great panels of cedar wood. Colossal bulls, lions, cows, and sheep were placed at strategic locations.

The Khosr river also emptied into the Tigris near Nineveh; this was dammed and used to irrigate the parks and orchards which Sennacherib installed. To augment the waters of this river, he dug eighteen canals (*ARAB*, II, § 332). From a dam at Bavian (M. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* [1962], Map 11) he brought water by a canal 50 km. (30 mi.) long. To slow down the waters he formed a swamp and set out a cane-brake, turning the area into a preserve for wild animals (*ARAB*, II, § 401). The modern course of the Khosr is about 1350 m. (4500 ft.) from the ancient city walls.

The circumference of the city he enlarged from 9,300 cubits to 21,815 great cubits (12 km. [7.5 mi.]; *ARAB*, II, § 396); after the excavations, G. Smith reported that the circumference of the wall was 8 mi. (12.8 km.), which is in reasonable agreement with Sennacherib's figures (*ISBE*, IV [1929], 2148). A wide moat (100 great cubits [50 m., 165 ft.]) surrounded the wall (*ARAB*, II, § 474).

Sennacherib brought trees and plants from distant places to create a great park "like unto Mt. Amanus" (*ARAB*, II, § 376). He straightened and widened the suqs (market streets) (*ARAB*, II, § 474), built a royal road 52 great cubits wide (26 m. [86 ft.]) (*ARAB*, II, § 475), which he made to pass over a bridge built of burnt brick and white limestone (*ARAB*, II, § 381). All of this was largely completed by the third year of his reign, for inscriptions containing the records are dated in the eponymy of Nabu-ilu (702 B.C.) and in the eponymy of Mutunu (700 B.C.). Sennacherib made Nineveh's splendor to rival that of ancient Babylon.

There were further building projects at Asshur (*ARAB*, II, § 452ff.), at Tarbasi (modern Sherif Khan; *ARAB* II, § 480), and other places.

III. Literary Ability.–Sennacherib's ability to paint graphic pictures is evidenced in many of his inscriptions. The account of the siege of Jerusalem has so often been quoted that only a brief portion will be repeated: "As for Hezekiah the Judean who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities, as well as the small cities in their neighborhood, which were without number, by escalade and by bringing up siege engines, by attacking and storming on foot, by mines, tunnels, and breaches, I besieged and took. . . . Himself like a caged bird I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city" (*ARAB*, II, § 240; cf. *ANET*, pp. 287f.).

Of the campaign in the hills E of the Tigris he described his experiences: "I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mt. Nipur and with my picked bodyguard and my relentless warriors, I like a strong wild-ox went before them. Gullies, mountain torrents and waterfalls, dangerous cliffs, I surmounted in my sedan chair. Where it was too steep for my chair, I advanced on foot. Like a young

gazelle I mounted the high peaks in pursuit of them" (*ARAB*, II, § 244).

His descriptions of the battle of Halule contains these graphic words: "Like a lion I raged. I put on (my) coat of mail. (My) helmet, emblem of victory, I placed upon my head. My great battle chariot, which brings low the foe, I hurriedly mounted in the anger of my heart. The mighty bow which Assur had given me, I seized in my hands; the javelin, piercing to the life, I grasped" (*ARAB*, II, § 253; the account continues in § 254).

To read his records is also an education in the materials used in building, the locations from which these materials were brought, and even some of the methods used. For example: "Beams of cedar, the product of Mt.Amanus, which they dragged with difficulty out of (those) distant mountains, I stretched across their ceilings (?). Great door-leaves of cyprus, whose odor is pleasant as they are opened and closed, I bound with a band of shining copper and set them up in their doors" (*ARAB*, II, § 366). "With the keen understanding which Ea lord of wisdom gave me, I made clay molds for all the copper work" (*ARAB*, II, § 431). To fashion the colossal lions, "open at the knees, which no king before my time had fashioned" (*ARAB*, II, § 412), he gives the following method: "I built a form of clay and poured bronze into it, as in making half-shekel pieces" (*ARAB*, II, § 413).

IV. One or Two Invasions of Judah?–The theory that Sennacherib made two invasions into southern Palestine, one in 701 B.C. and the other in 688/87 B.C. has been debated for a century or more (cf. H. H. Rowley, *Men of God* [1963], pp. 98-132, in which he defended the one-invasion view). L. L. Honor presented the evidence for both theories in *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine* (1926, repr. 1966). W. F. Albright espoused the two-invasion view (*JQR*, 24 [1934], 370f.) and continued to hold it despite criticism (cf. *FSAC*, p. 314 n. 53), as did his student J. Bright, *BHI*, [3rd ed. 1972], pp. 298-309). B. S. Childs reviewed the evidence without drawing a conclusion (*Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* [*SBT*, 2/3, 1967]).

The argument for one campaign may be summarized briefly: Sennacherib's accounts mention only one campaign, and the OT likewise mentions only one campaign (2 K. 18:17–19:37). The basis for the two-campaign theory is found in Sennacherib's Lachish reliefs, Lachish not being mentioned in his campaign of 701 B.C.; the biblical mention of the occupation of Lachish, a battle with Tirhakah of Egypt (2 K. 19:8f.), and the juxtaposition of Sennacherib's hasty retreat and his assassination (19:35-37), which does not fit with an invasion in 701 and the assassination in 681 B.C. Further, the fact that Isa. 36:1-22 closely parallels the account in 2 Kings, except that it omits 2 K. 18:14-16 — which is precisely the portion that most closely parallels Sennacherib's account — suggests to some scholars that two invasions have been merged in the account in 2 Kings. In sum: Sennacherib's first invasion resulted in the seige of Jerusalem, the payment of tribute by Hezekiah, etc., as presented in Sennacherib's third campaign and in 2 K. 18:13-16; in the second invasion Egyptian forces came to the aid of Hezekiah and a crisis developed in the Assyrian camp, described in Herodotus as mice eating the leather of their weapons (ii.141; *LAP* [2nd ed., 1959], pp. 213f.), and in the Bible as an act of "the angel of the Lord" that resulted in the death of 185,000 Assyrian soldiers and Sennacherib's hasty retreat (2 K. 19:35f.).

Leaving aside the difficulties in the biblical text — such as whether Lachish (2 K. 18:14ff.) was occupied by Sennacherib in 701 or later, the shift of scene from Lachish to Libnah (19:8), the promise of Isaiah that Sennacherib would not come to the city (19:32) contrasted with the account of the siege and the payment of tribute (18:13-18) — as matters to be discussed in commentaries, one must consider the historical and archeological data. Unless one dismisses the biblical account as historically worthless and Herodotus as hopelessly confused, these historical data must be somehow integrated into Sennacherib's accounts.

Two studies have undertaken this task. W. H. Shea took up three sets of data from Assyria, Palestine, and Egypt that appear to support a second invasion. From Assyria, Shea cited a text concerning the siege of Azekah and other Philistine cities that refers to "Anshar my lord." Shea noted that the use of Anshar as a supporting deity is not found until after the destruction of Babylon in 689 B.C. Further, Isaiah's reference to Sennacherib's feats in hydraulic engineering (2 K. 19:24, reading *māṣôr* as [Mt.] Muṣri; cf. *ARAB*, II, § 401) has to be later than the event, which is dated in 694 B.C. (cf. H. Tawil, *JNES*, 41 [1982], 195-206).

From Palestine, Shea introduced the Adon Papyrus, found at Saqqârah, which appears to be an appeal from Adon, the ruler of Ekron, for Egyptian support in the face of an Assyrian invasion. Since Adon refers to "the king of Babylon," this would require a date after 689. The evidence is supportive but not fully convincing.

From Egypt a text formerly attributed to Sheshonq I is now attributed to Tirhakah. It refers to an earlier debacle in Asia, probably Palestine, which could have been his defeat by Sennacherib, but it must be dated later than 701, for evidence from Egypt places the reign of Shabaka 713-699. Since the reign of Shabataka (Shebitku) must therefore be after 699, he could not have sent Tirhakah into battle prior to that date. Tirhakah's campaign and battle with Sennacherib, therefore, could not have been in 701, but requires a later date.

R. W. Younker's approach is quite different. He reasoned that if Sennacherib conducted two campaigns into Judah, archeological evidence of two campaigns should exist, either in sites where two destructions or occupations are attested, or in sites where the destruction or occupation is dated to the earlier or the later invasion. He found nine such sites. Of these, six witness to two destructions in the late 8th or early 7th cent.; Tel Lahav, Tel ʿErani (= Libnah?), Tell Beit Mirsim (Ashan?), Tel Beersheva, Arad, and Tell ez-Zakariyeh (Azekah). The other three sites, Tel Miqne (Ekron), Tel Batash (Timna), and Lachish, yield evidence of only one destruction, later than 701 B.C. The evidence therefore supports the conclusion that Sennacherib conducted two campaigns into Judah.

It is not yet possible to claim that the basis for two campaigns is beyond dispute; hence J. Bright's statement is still valid: "Though new evidence may alter the picture, and though dogmatism is certainly to be avoided, a two-campaign theory seems at present to satisfy the evidence best" (*BHI*, 3rd ed., p. 309).

V. Death.–According to Esarhaddon's records, his father Sennacherib had named him over his brothers as successor. "To gain the kingship they slew Sennacherib their father" (*ARAB*, II, § 502). Esarhaddon was on a campaign in Hanigalbat, and he hastened back to secure the throne. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Sennacherib was murdered by "one" of his sons (*DOTT*, p. 72). This has sometimes been taken to contradict the biblical account, which names Adrammelech and Sharezer as the assassins (2 K. 19:37). Esarhaddon's words, "they slew" (cf. *ANET*, p. 288), should settle the matter. Details given in the biblical acount are otherwise not known.

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W. S. LASOR

SENSE [Heb. *śeḵel* or *śēḵel*–'insight, understanding'] (Neh. 8:8; "good sense," Prov. 12:8; 13:15; 19:11); AV also WISDOM, UNDERSTANDING, DISCRETION; NEB also INTELLIGENCE; [*lēḇ*–'heart,' always used with another term in a negative sense] (e.g., *ḥᵃsar lēḇ,* "has no sense," Prov. 6:32; 12:11; 15:21; "lacks sense," 10:13, 21; 11:12; Eccl. 10:3; "without sense," 7:7; 9:4, 16; 17:18; 24:30; *ʾên lēḇ,* "without sense," Hos. 7:11); AV UNDERSTANDING, WISDOM, HEART; NEB also FOOL, FOOLISH, EMPTY-HEADED, etc.; [Gk. *ósphrēsis*–'sense of smell'] (1 Cor. 12:17); AV, NEB, omit; **SENSELESS** [Heb. *lō' ḥāḵām*–'not wise'] (Dt. 32:6); AV UNWISE; NEB STUPID; [*nāḇāl*–'fool'] (Job 30:8); AV FOOL; NEB VILE; [*ʾên lēḇ*–'there is no heart'] (Jer. 5:21); AV WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING; [niphal of *yāʿal*] (Jer. 5:4); AV FOOLISH; NEB STUPID; [Gk. *anóētos* (1 Tim. 6:9), *apaídeutos* (2 Tim. 2:23), *asýnetos* (Rom. 1:21)]; AV FOOLISH, UNLEARNED; NEB FOOLISH, IGNORANT, MISGUIDED; **SENSIBLE** [Gk. *phrónimos* (1 Cor. 10:15), *sṓphrōn* (1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 2:2, 5)]; AV WISE, SOBER, TEMPERATE, DISCREET; NEB also TEMPERATE; **SENSIBLY** [Gk. *sōphrosýnē*] (1 Tim. 2:9); AV with SOBRIETY; NEB SOBERLY.

In the OT these terms, which occur most often in the wisdom literature, are used in both positive and negative contexts. Negative texts are by far the more numerous; the few positive texts use *śeḵel.* Thus in Prov. 12:8 "a man of good sense" (here the RSV supplies "good") is commended, in contrast to "one of perverse mind," who is despised (cf. Sir. 25:9). Similarly, in Prov. 13:15 "good sense wins favor, but the way of the faithless is their ruin" (see comms. for the difficulties of this verse). In Neh. 8:8 Ezra and his assistants (Levites?) read from the book of the law of God and "gave the sense [Heb. *śûm śeḵel*], so that the people understood the reading." Scholars disagree about whether this verse refers to explanation or to translation (see comms.; cf. the prologue to Sirach; *see also* TARGUM).

As H. W. Wolff (*Anthropology of the OT* [Eng. tr. 1975], p. 48) pointed out, *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* (lit. "lack of heart") "does not mean coldness of feeling but lack of thought." Fabry (*TDOT,* V, 86f.) has further delineated the meaning of this expression: lack of sense of responsibility, simple stupidity, foolishness, carelessness, and thoughtlessness. But most important is its theological meaning; it can "refer to a person's inability to perceive God's binding will." Since this expression occurs in contexts that are clearly meant to be instructive (esp. the wisdom literature), one should not assume that it refers to limited mental capacity; as Barth pointed out, in biblical thought a fool is one who thinks he has no need of God (*CD,* IV/2, 411f.). One should recognize that it is God who enables us to have sense ("the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge," Prov. 1:7). Thus in 9:4, 16 Wisdom calls for the senseless to come to her (cf. the parallel in Jesus' parable of the wedding feast, Mt. 22:1-14).

Those who lack sense include adulterers (Prov. 6:32; Sir. 25:2), those who succumb to harlots (Prov. 7:7-27), fools (10:21; cf. 15:21; Dt. 32:6; Eccl. 10:3; Jer. 5:21; Sir. 16:23), those who belittle their neighbors (Prov. 11:12), those who follow worthless pursuits (12:11), and those who give a pledge (17:18; cf. 6:1-5, see comms.; cf. also Sir. 29:14). The consequences of such senseless behavior are serious: beating with a rod (Prov. 10:13), agricultural failure (24:30-34), and death (6:32; 7:23, 26f.; 10:21).

Elsewhere the OT has similar descriptions of the senseless. Jer. 5:4 describes "the poor" as having no sense, "for they do not know the way of the Lord, the law of their God." Here "the poor" may refer, not to those who are economically poor, but to those who are spiritually poor (see comms.). Note that Jeremiah goes on to say that he went to "the great," thinking that "they know the way of the Lord," but he discovered that they too "had broken the yoke" (i.e., rebelled against the Lord). Hos. 7:11 likens Ephraim to a dove, "silly and without sense," for vacillating politically between Egypt and Assyria. In Job 30:8 Job laments his reversal of fortune: he had formerly counseled men who respected him (29:21-25), but now even social outcasts (30:5, 8) who act like animals (vv. 3f., 6f.) — a "senseless, a disreputable brood" — abhor him (v. 10).

The NT also mentions those who lack sense. Rom. 1:21 speaks of Gentiles who became "futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened"; they did not honor God or give thanks to Him. To desire to be rich is to fall into temptation — it is a senseless and hurtful desire that leads to ruin (1 Tim. 6:9; see *TDNT,* IV, 962). Timothy is urged to "have nothing to do with stupid, senseless controversies" (2 Tim. 2:23), which do not "promote spiritual development" (*TDNT,* V, 625).

In contrast, a bishop must be sensible (1 Tim. 3:2), as should older men (Tit. 2:2) and younger women (Tit. 2:5; on the sexual connotation of *sṓphrōn* here, see *TDNT,* VII, 1103). Women should "adorn themselves modestly and sensibly" (1 Tim. 2:9), in contrast to prostitutes (see comms., e.g., J. N. D. Kelly [*HNTC,* 1963], p. 66, for the sexual connotation of *sōphrosýnē*). Paul calls his Corinthian readers "sensible men" who can judge for themselves what he says (1 Cor. 10:15). Some commentators think he is being ironic or sarcastic, as in 2 Cor. 11:19 (e.g., C. K. Barrett [*HNTC,* 1968], pp. 230f.; cf. J. Héring [Eng. tr. repr. 1964], p. 93), but others disagree (e.g., A. Robertson and A. Plummer [*ICC,* 2nd ed. repr. 1978], p. 211; H. Conzelmann [Eng. tr. *Hermeneia,* 1975], p. 171 n. 12).

See also FOOL; WISDOM.

Bibliography.–*TDNT,* IV *s.v.* νοέω κτλ.: ἀνόητος (J. Behm); V, *s.v.* παιδεύω κτλ.: ἀπαίδευτος (G. Bertram); VII, *s.v.* σώφρων κτλ. (U. Luck); *TDOT,* V. *s.v.* "ḥāsēr" (H.-J. Fabry).

G. A. LEE

SENSES. *See* FACULTIES.

SENSUAL. *See* UNSPIRITUAL; WORLDLY.

SENSUOUS MIND. [Gk. *noús tḗs sarkós*–lit. 'mind of the flesh'] (Col. 2:18); AV FLESHLY MIND; NEB WORLDLY MIND. The RSV and NEB translations reflect the Pauline use of Gk. *sárx,* "flesh," in the sense of that which is opposed to the Spirit or the spiritual. *See* FLESH III.B.

SENTENCE [(nouns) Heb. *mišpāṭ*–'justice, judgment' (2 K. 25:6; Jer. 26:11, 16; 39:5; 52:9; Ezk. 23:45), *piṯgām*–'decision, decree, word' (Eccl. 8:11); Aram. *dāṯ*–'law, decree' (Dnl. 2:9), *piṯgām*–'word, decree' (Dnl. 4:17 [MT 14]); Gk. *krísis*–'judgment' ("being sentenced," Mt. 23:33), *kríma*–'judicial verdict' ("sentence of condemnation,' Lk. 23:40), *katadíkē*–'condemnation' (Acts 25:15), *lógos*–'word' (Rom. 9:28; 13:9), *epithanátios*–'condemned to death' ("men sentenced to death," 1 Cor. 4:9),

apókrima–'official report, sentence' (2 Cor. 1:9)]; AV also JUDGMENT, DECREE, MATTER, DAMNATION, etc.; NEB also CASE, CONDEMN, LAW, ISSUE, etc.; [(verbs) Heb. *šāpaṭ* ("give sentence," 1 S. 24:15), infinitive of *dāḇar* (Ps. 51:4 [MT 6]); Gk. *epikrínō*–'decide' ("gave sentence," Lk. 23:24)]; AV also GAVE SENTENCE, JUDGE, SPEAKEST (Ps. 51:4); NEB DECIDE, CHARGE.

The RSV uses "sentence" almost exclusively with a judicial sense. Many texts refer to a sentence of death imposed by human judges (Jer. 26:11, 16; 1 Cor. 4:9; 2 Cor. 1:9; cf. 2 K. 25:6; Jer. 39:5; 52:9; Ezk. 23:45; Dnl. 2:9; Lk. 23:24, 40; Acts 25:15); two texts refer to sentences issued by the divine Judge (Mt. 23:33; Rom. 9:28). Only in Rom. 13:9 is "sentence" used in its grammatical sense; here Gk. *lógos* refers to a saying, specifically an OT quotation (Lev. 19:18). G. L. K.

SENUAH sə-nōō'ə (Neh. 11:9, AV). *See* HASSENUAH.

SEORIM sē-ôr'əm [Heb. *śᵉʿōrîm*]. The name of the fourth priestly division of the descendants of Aaron (1 Ch. 24:8). The organization of the priesthood is reported to have been established by David (cf. v. 3), but it reflects the postexilic concerns of the Chronicler.

SEPARATE; SEPARATION [Heb. niphal and hiphil of *bāḏal* (e.g., Lev. 20:24, 26; Nu. 16:9, 21; 1 K. 8:53), niphal and hiphil of *pāraḏ* (e.g., Jgs. 4:11; Neh. 4:19 [MT 13]; Job 41:17 [MT 9]), *ḥāṣâ*, niphal and hiphil of *nāzar, nēzer, nāzîr, ḥopšîṯ*; Gk. *aphorízō* (e.g., He. 7:26), *chōrízō, apochōrízō, chōrís*]; AV also DIVIDE, SEVER, SEVERAL (2 K. 15:5; 2 Ch. 26:21), SUNDER, PART, DEPART, WITHOUT (Eph. 2:12); NEB also PART, (SET) APART, DIVIDE, DISPERSE, ISOLATED, ABSTAIN (Nu. 6:3), DEDICATE, (vv. 2, 12f.), REDEDICATE (v. 12), (NAZARITE) VOW (vv. 4-8, 12), "keep oneself holy" (v. 5), RENOUNCE (Ezk. 14:7), "prince" (Gen. 49:26), etc.

Of the Hebrew verbs translated "separate," the most common is *bāḏal*. The hiphil of *bāḏal* is used in Gen. 1 to describe how God created order out of chaos by separating the light from the darkness (vv. 14, 18) and the waters under the firmament from those above it (vv. 6f.). It is also used in several passages that distinguish between clean and unclean and between sacred and profane. Ex. 26:33 mentions the veil that separated the holy place from the most holy place, and Ezk. 42:20 refers to the wall that separated the holy temple area from its profane surroundings. Isa. 59:2 speaks of the iniquities that separate humanity from God, while 56:3 assures proselytes that God will not exclude them from His people. The niphal of *bāḏal* is used reflexively with the sense of separating oneself. The Israelites were instructed to maintain their distinctiveness as God's holy people by separating themselves from the heathen peoples of the land (Ezr. 6:21; 9:1; 10:11; Neh. 9:2; 10:28; cf. hiphil in 13:3). Nu. 16:21 records God's command to Moses and Aaron to withdraw from Israel so that He might consume the rebellious nation. (See *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bdl" [B. Otzen].)

The verb *pāraḏ* is generally used in more secular contexts. The niphal is used to describe the parting of ways between Abram and Lot in Gen. 13:9, 11, 14 and between Heber and the Kenites in Jgs. 4:11. The hiphil is used similarly in Dt. 32:8; 2 K. 2:11; Prov. 16:28 (cf. Gen. 30:40). In Nu. 31:42 the verb *ḥāṣâ* ("divide") is used to describe Moses' division of the war booty taken in the war against Midian.

Of special interest is the verb *nāzar*, which means to "dedicate," "consecrate," or "separate" in a religious and ceremonial sense. The niphal appears in Ezk. 14:7, which refers to those who keep themselves away from Yahweh by their worship of idols. The hiphil in Lev. 15:31 speaks of Israel's need to keep itself "separate" from the ceremonial uncleanness that would defile the tabernacle. This form is also found throughout Nu. 6 with the specific meaning "be or live as a Nazarite" (vv. 2f., 6, 12). The noun *nēzer* (lit. "consecration," "Nazariteship") also appears in Nu. 6 with specific reference to the NAZARITE vow, (vv. 4-8, 12f., 21), which involved "separation" from grapes, from the cutting of one's hair, and from contact with corpses. The noun *nāzîr* (lit. "one consecrated, devoted") is translated "Nazarite" in Nu. 6; in Gen. 49:26 it is used of Joseph as one set apart by prestige or position.

The obscure term *ḥopšîṯ* occurs only in 2 K. 15:5 and 2 Ch. 26:21 in the phrase *bêṯ haḥopšîṯ*. Some scholars have interpreted it as a noun meaning "isolation," referring to the separate house in which the leprous King Azariah (Uzziah) lived (cf. RSV). Others, however, have emended the MT to read *bêṯōh ḥopšîṯ*, taking *ḥopšîṯ* as an adverb. The phrase would then say that the king lived in "his own house, released from (royal) obligations" (cf. NEB). (see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 618-620.)

The Greek verbs *aphorízō* and *chōrízō* underlie most of the appearances of "separate" in the NT. *Aphorízō* ("set apart," "take away") refers in Mt. 13:49; 25:32 to the separation between the saved and the unsaved at the final judgment, and in Gal. 2:12 to Peter's withdrawal from fellowship with the Gentile believers at Antioch. In 2 Cor. 6:17 Paul, in what appears to be a composite quote from the OT (cf. Isa. 52:11; Lev. 26:12; Ezk. 37:27), instructs the Corinthian Christians to be separate in moral holiness from the rest of mankind (cf. 7:1).

Paul uses the verb *chōrízō* ("divide, separate") in Rom. 8:35, 39 in speaking of God's constant love, from which no obstacle can separate believers. In He. 7:26 the phrase "separated from sinners" may be construed either with that which precedes it (thus referring to Christ's difference from sinners) or with that which follows (referring to His withdrawal from the world in the ascension). Perhaps the author intended both a moral and spatial separation (see Bauer, rev., p. 890). The passive of *chōrízō* is used as a technical term for divorce in 1 Cor. 7:10, 15. In Acts 15:39 the passive of *apochōrízō* is used to describe the separation of Paul and Barnabas prior to Paul's second missionary journey. The phrase "separated from Christ" in Eph. 2:12 translates the preposition *chōrís* (lit. "without, apart from") with the genitive of person (*Christoú*), which has the sense of separation from a person.

See also CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; HOLINESS.

W. H. GLOER

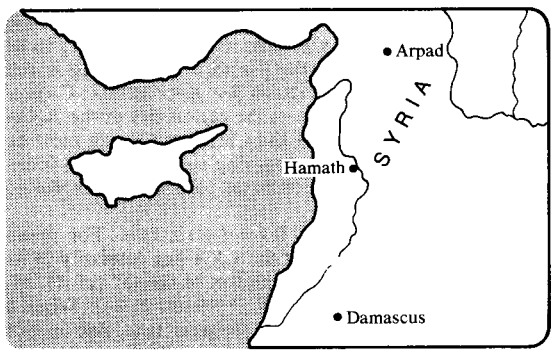
SEPHAR sē'fər [Heb. *sᵉpār*]. A place mentioned only in Gen. 10:30, which describes the territory of Joktan's descendants as extending "from Mesha in the direction of Sephar to the hill country of the east." Since Joktan's "sons" included Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah, names that have been identified with places for the most part in south Arabia or across the Bab el-Mandeb in Africa, Sephar has generally been placed in south Arabia. Various attempts to identify it with places that have somewhat similar-sounding names (often similar only to Western ears not accustomed to the phonemic and phonetic structure of the Semitic languages) have not been convincing. S. Cohen (*IDB*, IV, *s.v.* suggested that it may not have

been a name at all, but a word meaning "border country" (based on postbiblical Hebrew); but this presents some difficulty in the context. W. S. LASOR

SEPHARAD sef'ə-rad [Heb. *s*ᵉ*pārāḏ* (Obad. 20)]. A place named as the location of exiles from Jerusalem. The problem of identification is obscured by various theories of date and textual transmission. In Jewish tradition Sepharad has become Spain (Tg. Jonathan), but the name was probably transferred from a site in the Near East. Sargon mentions a *Šaparda* (*ARAB*, II, § 147) in connection with a campaign along the Lower Zab into the land of the Medes. Another suggestion identifies Sepharad with Sardis, capital of the Lydian kingdom and location of the western end of the Royal Road built by the Achaemenids. The name Sardis appears as *sparda* in Old Persian (Darius, Behistun Inscription 1.15; Persepolis Inscription 12) and as *išparda* in Elamite (R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* [1950], p. 210). Sargon also campaigned against the Mushki (Phrygians), and after the destruction of Phrygia by the Cimmerians, Lydia rose to prominence, taking over much Phrygian territory. However, Sardis would seem to be too remote from Palestine for exiles to have been located there, although a Jewish colony was located in Sardis certainly by the 2nd cent. A.D. (and probably earlier), based on the discovery of a synagogue in the excavations since 1958. All things considered, the location in Media would seem the more likely.

Bibliography.–S. Parpola, *Saparda in Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (1970); reports on seasons at Sardis in *BASOR* from 1958 (annually with few exceptions). W. S. LASOR

SEPHARVAIM sef-ər-vā'əm [Heb. *s*ᵉ*parwayim*; Gk. *Sepharouain, Seppharim*, and var.]. A city, probably located in Syria, mentioned in 2 K. 17:24, 31; 18:34 (par. Isa. 36:19); 19:13 (par. Isa. 37:13). In 2 K. 17:24-34 the origin of the Samaritans is traced to the replacement of the exiled Israelites (cf. vv. 7-23) by "people from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim" (v. 24). These people brought with them the worship of their own deities, to which they syncretistically added Yahweh-worship (vv. 29-34). The SEPHARVITES continued the practice of child sacrifice to their gods ADRAMMELECH and ANAMMELECH (v. 31). The Rabshakeh, the official in charge of the Assyrian armies, tried to induce Judah to surrender by referring to several cities and kings in Syria whose destruction had apparently become proverbial: Hamath, Arpad, Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah (18:34; 19:13 par. 36:19; 37:13).



The identification of Sepharvaim is disputed and uncertain. Various suggestions follow:

(1) The older identification with Sippar in Babylon (e.g., E. Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT* [Eng. tr., 2 vols., 1885], pp. 271ff.) can now be rejected. Sippar was never an independent city-state and never had a king of its own. But, more important the OT closely connects Sepharvaim with Syrian sites. In 2 K. 17:24 it follows Hamath, and in 18:34; 19:13 it is used with Hamath and Arpad. Moreover, the deities mentioned in 17:31 can be plausibly explained as Northwest Mesopotamian or Syrian deities. The divine element *-melech* in their names is surely to be connected with the divine names *malik* and *muluk*, which occur in the Mari texts (*ca.* 1700 B.C.) from Syria (see *ARI* [5th ed. 1968], p. 157), and J. Gray has amassed abundant evidence for the name as a title of the Syrian deity Athtar (*JNES*, 8 [1949], 77-80; *see* MOLECH). Hence it is highly probable that the city was located in Syria.

(2) In this light A. Kapelrud identified Sepharvaim with the Sibraim of Ezk. 47:16, "which lies on the border between Damascus and Hamath" (*IDB*, IV, 273). But M. C. Astour noted that since this city was located on the border of the territories of these two city-states, it probably did not form a separate kingdom (*IDBS*, 807).

(3) The identification with the *Šab/mara'in* that Shalmaneser V conquered (Babylonian Chronicle, I, 27f.) is no longer possible, since this refers to Samaria (see Tadmor).

(4) M. C. Astour argued that since cases of graphic confusion between the Hebrew letters *waw, resh*, and *daleth* are attested in the OT, one should read *separdîm* (instead of *separwayim*), i.e., "the people of Sepharad." Astour identified SEPHARAD, a city mentioned in Ob. 20, with Saparda, a city-state in Media conquered by Sargon II in 716 B.C. and to which he exiled prisoners from Syria-Palestine (*IDBS*, 807). Apart from the totally unsupported emendation required by this suggestion, the major difficulty is that the several texts mentioning Sepharvaim much more naturally call for the name of a city than for the name of a people.

Thus in the present state of our knowledge the identity and location of Sepharvaim remain unknown.

Bibliography.–*ARI* (5th ed. 1968), pp. 157f., 222f. n. 116; *IDBS*; H. Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 (1958), 39f. F. W. BUSH

SEPHARVITES sef'ər-vīts [Heb. *s*ᵉ*parwîm*; Gk. LXX A *Sephpharouaim*, B *Seppharoun*]. Colonists from SEPHARVAIM brought in to populate the conquered territory of Samaria by the Assyrian king Sargon II after 722 B.C. along with peoples from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, and Hamath. These groups, which became the heathen ancestors of the Samaritans, practiced a syncretistic religion that combined worship of Yahweh with worship of their native gods (2 K. 17:31). The names ADRAMMELECH and ANAMMELECH, given for the gods to which they sacrificed children, possibly refer to the Babylonian storm-god Adad and the god of the heavens Anu. On the assumption that Heb. *s*ᵉ*parwîm* is a corruption of *s*ᵉ*pardîm* (due to a graphic confusion of the letters *w* and *d*) origin might be traced to Separda, a city in Media, but this can be considered only a possibility in the light of present knowledge. The peoples mentioned in 2 K. 17:31 are otherwise from Spain and Mesopotamia.

Bibliography.–*ARI*, pp. 163-220; H. H. Rowley, "The Samaritan Schism in Legend and History," in B. Anderson and W. Harrelson, eds., *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (1962), pp. 208f., 222; H. Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 (1958), 40. J. M. WIEBE

SEPPHORIS sef-ō'rəs [Gk. *Sepphōris*]. A city in lower Galilee about 5 km. (3 mi.) NW of Nazareth, not mentioned in the Bible but appearing several times in Josephus

(e.g., *Vita* 8 [30]; 67 [373]; 71 [394-96]; *Ant.* xvii.10.9 [289]). It may have been the administrative center of Galilee during the Hasmonean period. Excavations have shown that the site was occupied as early as Iron Age II, but its significance for biblical study is in providing an illustration of the military, political, and cultural life of Jewish and Gentile society in one of the important cities of Hellenistic Galilee.

Bibliography.—M. Burrows, *BASOR*, 45 (Feb. 1932), 21f.; *EAEHL*, IV, 1051-55 (M. Avi-Yonah); S. Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian* (1980), pp. 122-28; *GP* (3rd ed. 1967), II, 175; L. Waterman, *Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan Excavations at Sepphoris, Palestine, 1931* (1937).

P. VIVIANO

SEPTUAGINT sep-tōō'ə-jint. The name commonly applied to the Greek version of the OT most widely used in antiquity. It is abbreviated LXX (see II below).

I. Importance
  A. Pioneering Effort
  B. Influence on Subsequent Literature
  C. Influence on the Christian OT Canons
  D. Contribution to OT Textual Criticism
  E. Its Own Literary Significance
II. Origins
  A. Traditional Accounts
  B. Modern Theories
III. Transmission
  A. MSS
  B. Revisions
    1. Version of Aquila
    2. Version of Theodotion
    3. Versions of Symmachus and Others
    4. Recension of Origen
    5. Recension of Lucian
    6. Recension of Hesychius and Others
  C. Daughter Versions and Citations
  D. Printed Editions
IV. Characteristics
  A. Pentateuch
  B. Historical Books
  C. Poetic Books
  D. Prophetic Books
  E. Books Outside the Hebrew Canon

I. Importance.—A. Pioneering Effort. The LXX holds a unique place among the ancient translations of the OT. Begun in the 3rd cent. B.C., it was a bold pioneering work. Not only was it the first attempt to reproduce the Hebrew Scriptures in another tongue, but the size and nature of the undertaking were entirely unprecedented in the Hellenistic world (cf. S. P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, 17 [1972], 11-36). Sociologically it bore witness to the breakdown of international barriers and to the dissemination of the Greek language as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Jewish settlers in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, forced by circumstances to abandon their language, nonetheless clung tenaciously to their faith. For them the translation of their sacred law into Greek was of utmost significance in safeguarding their religion as well as in satisfying their liturgical and educational needs. Conversely, for the gentile world this translation served as an introduction to Jewish history and religion.

B. Influence on Subsequent Literature. The LXX is also important as a source for later literatures, both Jewish and Christian. The impact of the special translation-Greek vocabulary created by the LXX can be seen in the writings of Philo and Josephus, the Pseudepigrapha, and other Jewish-Greek historical, exegetical, poetic, and apologetic works. Then came what was probably the most momentous event for the LXX: it was taken over from the Jews by the Christian Church. Thus the translation had an even wider circulation and influence than if it had remained exclusively within Jewish circles. The LXX was the Bible for most writers of the NT. Not only did they take from it most of their express citations of Scripture, but their writings — in particular the Gospels, and among them especially Luke — contain numerous reminiscences of its language. The theological terms of the NT, such as "law," "righteousness," "mercy," "truth," "propitiation," were taken over directly from the LXX and must be understood in the light of their use in that version (cf. C. H. Dodd, *Bible and the Greeks* [1935]; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings* [1967]). Further, the LXX became the Bible of the early Church Fathers and thereby helped to mold dogma, e.g., it furnished proof texts to both parties in the Arian controversy (cf. the use of *ektísen*, "created," in Prov. 8:22). Finally, the LXX was a potent tool in the missionary work of the early Church, and when translations of the OT Scriptures into other languages became necessary, in most cases they were made from the LXX and not from the Hebrew.

C. Influence on the Christian OT Canons. The LXX has also vitally influenced the titles, order, and number of books in the Christian OT canons (Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox). Several of the familiar titles of OT books — especially those of the Pentateuch — derive from the LXX rather than from the Hebrew. Likewise, the standard order of books in the Christian OT is largely a Greek rather than a Hebrew inheritance. Although it must be emphasized that the LXX MSS and the patristic and synodical lists seldom arrange the books identically (see the lists in Swete, *Intro.*, pp. 201-214), in essence the Hebrew threefold division of Law, Prophets, and Writings was replaced with the Greek fourfold division of Law, History, Poetry, and Prophets, which is apparently based on literary character and chronological sequence. Modern printed editions of the LXX follow (with slight variations) the order of books found in Codex Vaticanus. The same pattern is basically adopted in the Bibles of Western Christendom, although with certain further modifications, e.g., the Minor Prophets follow rather than precede — as in the LXX — the Major Prophets.

A more crucial question concerns the number of books in the OT canon. Most of the Greek MSS and the patristic synodical lists of the OT contain more books than the Hebrew canon, as well as additional sections to some canonical books (e.g., Additions to the Book of Esther). This extra material constitutes the bulk of the so-called Apocrypha, declared by Jerome and the Reformers to be of lesser standing than the Hebrew canon. For a full discussion of the critical issues *see* APOCRYPHA; CANON OF THE OT. But regardless of the canonicity of the Apocrypha, all traditions within the Christian Church must be grateful to the LXX for preserving so much of the intertestamental literature, which forms part of the background of the NT.

D. Contribution to OT Textual Criticism. For many scholars, the significance of the LXX lies primarily in its contribution to the textual criticism of the OT (cf. H. M. Orlinsky, pp. 144, 149-155; *BA*. 9 [1946], 21-34). When a difficult reading occurs in the Hebrew text, one means of dealing with it is to turn to the ancient translations, among which the LXX takes pride of place, for possible clues to the meaning of the Hebrew word or passage. Thus an attempt is made to reproduce the Hebrew text that lay before the Greek translator and on that basis to compare the relative merits of the two texts. A classic

example of a text thought to be preserved in its original form in the LXX (together with the Syriac and Vulg.) is Gen. 4:8. Here the MT simply reads, "Cain said to Abel"; the LXX, however, completes the dangling construction by adding Cain's words, "Let us go out to the field." Similarly, it is virtually certain that in 1 S. 14:41 the LXX preserves the authentic passage missing in the MT through scribal error.

But this process of retroversion has its own hazards and must be used with extreme caution. Three problem areas may be cited. There is first the question whether the extant Greek text accurately represents what the Greek translators wrote. In this field LXX scholarship has made significant strides; yet many unresolved inner-Greek textual problems remain. Second, there is the question of the type of translation — literal, idiomatic, paraphrastic, midrashic. Confidence in the restored Hebrew text depends upon how literally a given person translated, and this judgment can be made only on the basis of intimate acquaintance with the translator's overall style. Finally, there is the possibility that the translator may have misunderstood the passage or tried to smooth out a difficult reading; in these cases his translation has almost no value for the elucidation of the MT. When to these considerations is added the complication that the extant LXX consists of compositions differing greatly in quality, it may be appreciated that the restoration of the Hebrew text directly from the LXX is at best a risky business (cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Textus,* 3 [1963], 130-158). This precaution is ignored in much of the discussion on the subject (note esp. the misuse of the LXX in the critical notes of *BH*).

It used to be said that the LXX is important as a text-critical tool because it represents a Hebrew text nearly a millennium older than the earliest extant Hebrew MSS, which are medieval. Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (2nd cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.) this is no longer true, at least for portions of the OT. But far from undermining interest in the LXX, the DSS have intensified it, especially since a number of their readings support the LXX against the MT. Thus many of the discrepancies between the Hebrew and Greek texts of certain books (e.g., Samuel and Jeremiah), previously blamed on the translators, actually go back to a Hebrew text (*Vorlage*) different from, and sometimes superior to, the MT.

These data have given rise to new theories about the early stages and development of the Hebrew text, e.g., the theory of "local texts" originally propounded by W. F. Albright (*BASOR,* 140 [1955], 27-33; repr. in F. M. Cross and S. Talmon, eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text,* pp. 140-46) and elaborated by F. M. Cross (*HTR,* 57 [1964], 281-299; repr. in Cross and Talmon, pp. 177-195). According to this theory distinct varieties of texts developed in three centers of Jewish learning during the intertestamental period — Palestine, Babylon, and Egypt; the LXX is a witness to the Egyptian text-type. An application of these theories to LXX use in OT textual criticism is found in R. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the OT: From the Septuagint to Qumran* (1974). But since the MS evidence is still incomplete, a final verdict regarding these controversial theories is not yet possible (cf. G. Howard, *VT,* 21 [1971], 440-450; D. W. Gooding, *Tyndale Bulletin,* 26 [1975], 113-132).

E. Its Own Literary Significance. Although important for NT exegesis and OT textual criticism, the LXX must not be limited to these servant roles. It ought also to be appreciated as a vital religious document in its own right. For many generations the LXX was the "authorized" version of Greek-speaking Jews and Christians who had no recourse to the Hebrew; thus it significantly influenced the religious and intellectual history of the cultures that it touched, either directly or indirectly, through its daughter versions.

A recognition of this influence carries with it a mandate for certain tasks in LXX scholarship. First, scholars must ascertain the meaning that the LXX had for its original readers by applying to it the same canons of criticism that obtain in the NT. This involves doing exegetical studies on the language and syntax of the LXX, writing commentaries on its individual books, and providing worthy translations into modern languages. Some studies along these lines have already been undertaken (e.g., R. R. Ottley, *Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint* [2 vols., 1904-1906]; L. H. Brockington, *VT,* 1 [1951], 23-32; C. T. Fritsch, "The Concept of God in the Greek Translation of Isaiah," in J. M. Myers, *et al.,* eds., *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman* [1960], pp. 155-169). But more studies are required for the LXX to assume its due place in the history of interpretation.

Even so, the program outlined above is not sufficient, since LXX study cannot involve merely descriptive analysis of the Greek Bible. Scholars must ask the deeper questions concerning the LXX's "self-understanding" and must determine whether the concept of inspiration can be applied to this corpus in any way. As is well known, the church fathers — apart from Jerome — considered the LXX as inspired as the Hebrew (cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* iii.21.3f.; Augustine *Ep.* 71.3-6, to Jerome). Significantly, the idea of LXX inspiration — albeit in a slightly modified form — has been revived in modern times; cf. P. Benoit (*Jesus and the Gospel,* I [Eng. tr. 1973], 1-10), whose views are supported by P. Auvray (*RB,* 59 [1952], 321-336) and P. Grelot (*Sciences ecclésiastiques,* 16 [1964], 387-418). Along different lines, H. M. Orlinsky, in the Grinfield Lectures on the LXX at the University of Oxford for 1973-74, spoke of the LXX translators' high view of Scripture and philosophy of translation, as well as the notion of the LXX's divine origin that lies behind the traditional account in the Letter of Aristeas (*HUCA,* 46 [1975], 89-114). Orlinsky's point was to enhance the reputation of the LXX as a reliable witness to an early form of the Hebrew Scriptures.

By contrast, in the Grinfield Lectures of 1968-69, D. W. Gooding presented evidence that the LXX contains material reflecting a rather different attitude toward Scripture from that proposed by Orlinsky (*Relics of Ancient Exegesis* [1976]). In his study of the Miscellanies of 3 Reigns (1 Kings) 2, Gooding showed that this material contains considerable midrashic interpretation, some of it extremely fanciful. This does not mean that the translators could not clearly distinguish Scripture from midrash, but that they saw their task as interpreting Scripture, with the necessary liberties taken. The only near-contemporary models of Bible translation — the Aramaic Targums — provide some external evidence for the prevalence of this attitude. Thus the LXX must be handled with great caution as a guide to the meaning of OT revelation, even though, as pointed out above, it forms a valuable stage in the history of biblical interpretation. Perhaps the NT in its selective use of the LXX — sometimes quoting, sometimes departing from it — is an exemplary forerunner to critical use of the LXX.

II. Origins.–A. Traditional Accounts. The most famous account of the translation of the Jewish law into Greek is the so-called Letter of Aristeas (Greek texts: P. Wendland, *Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula* [1900]; H. St. J. Thackeray, appendix to Swete, *Intro.,* pp. 501-574; A. Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* [1962]; Eng. trs.: Thackeray, *Letter of Aristeas* [1917]; H. T. Andrews, "The Letter of Aristeas," in *APOT,* II, 83-122; H. G. Meecham, *Oldest*

Version of the Bible [1932]; M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* [1951]; R. J. H. Shutt, in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *OT Pseudepigrapha*, II [1985], 7-34). This intriguing document purports to be a letter written by an official in the court of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-246 B.C.) and sent to his brother Philocrates. The document describes how the royal librarian at Alexandria, allegedly Demetrius of Phalerum, convinced the king of the importance of securing for his library a copy of the Jewish law. Since, however, the law existed only in the Hebrew language, it first had to be translated. Therefore Demetrius urged the king to send a delegation to the high priest Eleazar in Jerusalem to request the dispatch of seventy-two elders, six from each tribe, who would execute the translation. Aristeas, who formed part of the embassy to Jerusalem, took the opportunity to discuss and praise at great length various aspects of the Jewish customs, land, and religion. Having agreed to the king's proposal, Eleazar selected seventy-two translators, who brought to Alexandria a copy of the law written in letters of gold. After being honorably received and hosted by the king, the learned elders were conducted across the breakwater known as the Heptastadion to the island of Pharos; there, after collaboration and comparison of results, they completed their task, as if by a miracle, in seventy-two days. The version was submitted for approval to the Jewish community and then to the king, a curse being pronounced on any who add to, subtract from, or alter the translation.

One may compare this account with two pre-Christian allusions to the same event, in the writings of the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (2nd cent. B.C.) and Philo (early 1st cent. A.D.). According to a passage preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* xiii.12) and Clement of Alexandria (*Misc.* i.22), Aristobulus declared before one of the Egyptian monarchs that portions of the Hebrew Scriptures had existed in Greek centuries earlier, but the entire law was translated into Greek under Ptolemy Philadelphus at the instruction of Demetrius of Phalerum (the authenticity of the passage has, however, been disputed). Philo (*De vita Mosis* ii.5ff.) recorded the story of Eleazar's dispatch of the translators at Philadelphus's request, adding that in his day the completion of the translation was annually celebrated on the isle of Pharos. Philo's account anticipates the later embellishments of the story by hinting at the inspiration of the translators: "They prophesied like men possessed," he wrote, "not one in one way and one in another, but all producing the same words and phrases as though some unseen prompter were at the ears of each." It is not clear whether Aristobulus and Philo show dependence on the Aristeas account or attest to independent traditions. The later Jewish historian Josephus almost certainly knew the Aristeas story, since he paraphrased large portions of it in *Ant.* xii.2.1-15 (11-118).

The Christian fathers, like Josephus, accepted the Aristeas story at face value. In time the narrative was amplified, so that later accounts assert that the translators worked independently in separate cells (or in pairs), all producing identical versions. Although the Aristeas account mentions only the Pentateuch, according to later versions the entire OT was translated.

Even though the ancients accepted Aristeas's letter as sober history, scholars have long known that the story cannot be taken as a contemporary account of the events described. As early as the 16th cent. the authenticity of the "letter" was doubted, the *coup de grâce* being delivered in 1684 by the Oxford scholar Humphrey Hody in his detailed analysis *Contra Historiam LXX interpretum Aristeae*. Hody showed that the story contains errors of history as well as internal contradictions and must be considerably later than the purported 3rd cent. B.C. Present consensus places the date of composition in the late 2nd cent. B.C.

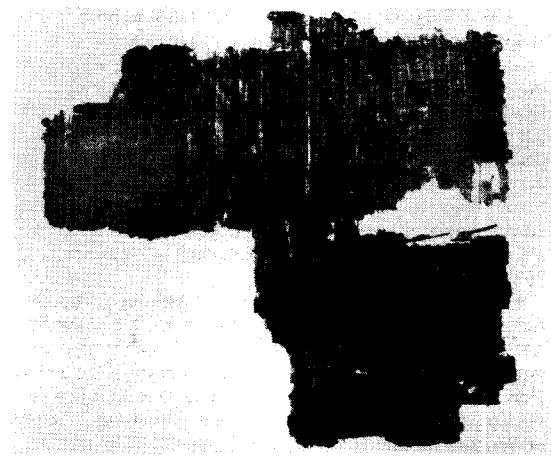
Nothing about the document's author is known except that, far from being a pagan in the service of Ptolemy's court, he was an ardent Jew writing on behalf of his own people. The narrative is thus seen as a piece of propaganda that glorifies the Jewish race and religion before a gentile audience (the view of most interpreters) or as an apology for Diaspora Judaism in the face of Palestinian criticisms (so V. Tcherikover, *HTR*, 51 [1958], 59-85; G. Howard, *JTS*, 22 [1971], 337-348).

With regard to the translation motif, a vigorous debate is still being carried on over the story's real purpose. P. Kahle (see below) assumed that the work was propaganda for a revision of the LXX, a view effectively refuted by G. Zuntz (*JSS*, 4 [1959], 109-126). A. F. J. Klijn (*NTS*, 11 [1964-65], 154-58) and S. Jellicoe (*NTS*, 12 [1965-66], 144-150) regarded it as an apology for the original LXX against an incipient revision, while D. W. Gooding saw it as a defense of the current LXX for those disturbed by the circulation of inaccurate Hebrew copies (*VT*, 13 [1963], 357-379). Although it may be difficult to disentangle fact from fiction in Aristeas and equally difficult to determine his real intent, most would agree that the story at least constitutes one bit of evidence for the translation of the Pentateuch in Alexandria in the 3rd cent. B.C.

An abiding witness to the influence of Aristeas's wonderful story is the very name Septuagint (full Latin title: *Interpretatio secundum Septuginta seniores* [or *viros*], i.e., "The Interpretation according to the Seventy Elders" [or "Men"]). The reference to "septuaginta" (seventy) rather than "septuaginta-et-duo" (seventy-two) may simply be an accommodation to brevity, or it may point to the influence of the tradition concerning the seventy elders in Ex. 24:1, 9. Attempts to displace the name Septuagint with a more accurate title such as Alexandrian Version or Old Greek are unlikely to succeed, at least on the popular level; however, the phrase "Old Greek" (= the oldest recoverable text form of a certain book) does have a certain usefulness in scholarly discussion.

B. Modern Theories. The absence of reliable firsthand information on the origins of the LXX makes the reconstruction of its early history speculative. In *ISBE* (1915), IV, *s.v.*, the eminent septuagintalist H. St. J. Thackeray propounded an explanation (later elaborated in *Septuagint*

A fragment of Rylands Greek Papyrus 458 showing Dt. 25:1-3. This is one of the earliest surviving texts of the Greek Bible (2nd cent. B.C.) (John Rylands University Library, Manchester)



and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins [1921]) of the LXX's growth into its extant form. Accepting a historical core in the Letter of Aristeas, Thackeray acknowledged the bulk of the Pentateuch as having been translated at Alexandria in the 3rd cent. B.C. by a small official company. The next century, in Thackeray's scheme, saw the translation of the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets), which was originally stimulated by the synagogue practice of reading a second lesson (*haphtorah*) from the Prophets to illustrate the reading from the Law. Such lectionary extracts would soon have been superseded by a complete version of the Prophets under the sponsorship of a company of translators analogous to the pioneering body responsible for the Greek Pentateuch. Following the Latter Prophets came a partial or "expurgated" version of the Former Prophets, later supplemented by an anonymous Asian Jew whose style has affinities with that of Theodotion (see III.B.2 below). The translation of the Writings came last and under very different circumstances, probably as the outcome of individual enterprises. Consequently these books were handled much more freely, the translation often amounting to mere paraphrase. The primary exception was the book of Psalms, which was treated with more fidelity. For external evidence that most of the OT existed in Greek by the late 2nd cent. B.C., Thackeray pointed to the Prologue to Sirach (*ca.* 132-100 B.C.), which mentions the prior translation of "the Law itself, the prophecies, and the rest of the books."

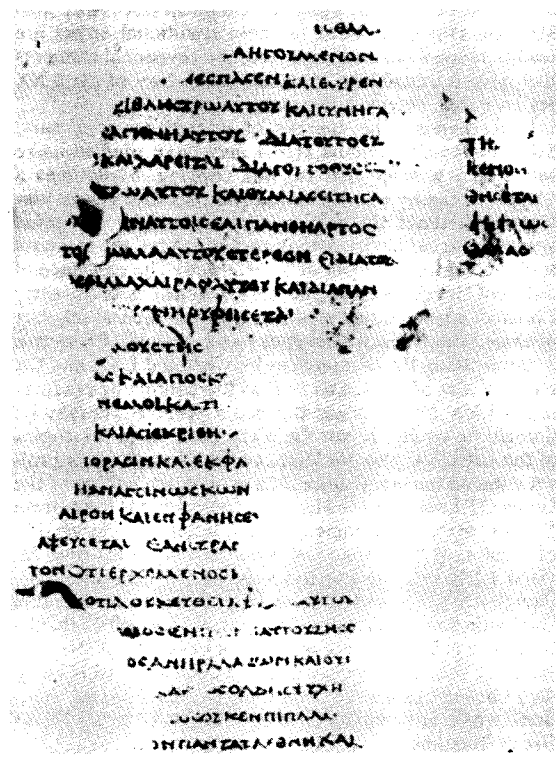
Although Thackeray's view may be criticized at various points, the strength of his approach is that by taking account of internal and external factors he sought to give an overview of the formation of the LXX. Such comprehensive reconstructions have otherwise been singularly lacking in the 20th cent., the debate over origins having taken quite a different turn. In 1915, the year that Thackeray's article first appeared in *ISBE*, P. Kahle published a controversial article, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes" (*Opera Minora* [1956], pp. 3-37), in which he denied that the LXX derives from an official translation of any sort. He argued instead that it arose in a manner analogous to the Aramaic Targums; i.e., several competing translations for each book existed side by side until they were superseded by an official revision (Kahle's thesis was restated and greatly elaborated in *Cairo Geniza* [1947; rev. ed. 1959]).

Although Kahle's argument runs counter to Thackeray's theory of origins, his object of attack was not Thackeray but P. de Lagarde, the polymathic scholar from Göttingen who is called the founder of modern LXX studies. Implicit in de Lagarde's work is the assumption that behind the mass of scribal recensional variants in the present MSS lies an original Greek Ur-text which can be approximately recovered by use of predetermined text-critical principles. This view was bequeathed to the Septuaginta-Unternehmen — a research center established in Göttingen to pursue LXX studies and publish critical texts — and has also been espoused by various scholars around the world.

Kahle's challenge to the "Lagardian hypothesis" (as it has become known) made inevitable keen debate of the issue in the ensuing decades; in fact, this issue has become the watershed in modern LXX scholarship. Kahle's views have been accepted by many able scholars, his most enthusiastic follower undoubtedly being A. Sperber (see his articles in *JBL*, 54 [1935], 73-92; 59 [1940], 193-293; in the latter he moved considerably beyond Kahle). On the whole, however, the "Targum" theory originating with Kahle has failed to displace the Lagardian "Proto-LXX" theory as the dominant view in current LXX scholarship. Principal protagonists for the latter have been H. M. Orlinsky in North America (cf. *JAOS*, 61 [1941], 81-91), and in Europe P. Walters (formerly Katz) (cf. "Recovery of the Original LXX," in *Actes du premier Congrès de la Fédération internationale des Associations d'études classiques* [1951], pp. 165-182). These scholars are convinced that the variants in extant MSS are due to scribal and recensional causes, not to multiple translations.

The discovery in the Judean desert of a Greek leather scroll of the Minor Prophets from the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D. has significant implications for the question of LXX origins. Although Kahle used this MS to defend his thesis ("A Leather Scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets and the Problem of the Septuagint," in *Opera Minora*, pp. 112-127), it is more commonly held to prove the existence of an original translation that was later revised according to the current Hebrew text (cf. D. Barthélemy, *RB*, 60 [1953], 18-29; repr. in Cross and Talmon, pp. 127-139; F. M. Cross, *HTR*, 57 [1964], 283f. repr. in Cross and Talmon, pp. 179f.).

The controversy over origins is not merely a theoretical matter but has practical consequences for LXX studies and the editing of texts. In Kahle's view, "The task which the LXX presents to scholars is not the 'reconstruction' of an imaginary 'Urtext' nor the discovery of it, but a careful collection and investigation of all the remains and translations of earlier versions of the Greek Bible which differed from the Christian standard text" (*Cairo Geniza* [2nd ed. 1959], p. 264). Sperber proposed a reconstruction of the Greek Bible of the Church Fathers, which he thought possible by retroversion of the Old Latin version into Greek ("How to Edit the LXX," in S. Lieberman, *et al.*, eds.; *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, II [1965], 752f.). By contrast, the program of the Göttingen Septuaginta-



Part of the Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥeber in the Judean desert (mid-1st cent. A.D.). It shows Hab. 1:14–2:5 and 2:13-15 (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

Unternehmen is to publish a set of critical texts that as nearly as possible represents the earliest recoverable text-form of the Greek Bible. In the present state of knowledge the Göttingen approach is assuredly the correct one and appears beyond reasonable challenge.

III. Transmission.–A. MSS. The LXX, no less than any other document of antiquity, has a complicated history of textual transmission, including scribal corruption and deliberate revision. The MS witnesses to the text of the LXX are usually classified as uncials, cursives (or minuscules), and papyri. For a good summary of the most important, see Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, pp. 175-242; see also F. G. Kenyon, *Text of the Greek Bible*, pp. 32-53. A comprehensive list of the documents known in 1914 is A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des AT, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, 2. For an excellent catalog of biblical papyri see K. Aland, ed., *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, I. *Biblische Papyri* (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 18 [1976]). The chief codices of the Greek OT are also the most important of the Greek NT: Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (ℵ), both 4th cent. A.D., and Alexandrinus (A), 5th century. Of these three, B has been confirmed as containing the best text, with certain notable exceptions, e.g., Judges and Isaiah. In the 20th cent., however, numerous papyri have been discovered; some are from the 1st and 2nd cents. B.C. and thus antedate the chief uncials and the Christian "takeover" of the LXX. (*See* Vol. I, plate 14; picture in PAPYRUS.) The later cursives (9th-16th cents.) have been reinstated to a place of importance, especially if they go back to early codices now lost.

Since there are hundreds of MSS attesting different portions of the LXX (by far the majority are of the Psalms), inevitably the quality of text and scribal accuracy vary greatly from one source to another. An unedifying catalog of the scribal errors to which all such documents are heir — haplography, dittography, homoiarcton, homoeoteleuton, etc. — may easily be compiled (*see* TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT). Most of these traditional errors are readily recognized and corrected; the revisional elements that have intruded into transmission history of the LXX are harder to detect, however.

B. Revisions. The sources of revised readings vary. Sometimes an individual scribe may have tried to make sense of a passage that he was copying. Sometimes a "better" reading was borrowed from another Greek version. Sometimes the text was systematically reworded according to certain predetermined principles; the resultant text is commonly known as a recension. The existence of different Greek versions and LXX recensions in the early Christian era is attested by the two leading biblical scholars of their time, Origen (3rd cent.) and Jerome (4th cent.).

Confronting the divergences between the LXX and the Hebrew text of his day as well as the conflicting readings in his LXX MSS, Origen devised a scheme whereby he thought he could "repair the disagreements in the copies of the LXX" (*Comm. in Matt.* xv.14). His ambitious project entailed the compilation of a six-column edition of the Greek OT known as the Hexapla, comprising 1) the current Hebrew text, 2) the same in Greek letters, 3) the version of Aquila, 4) the version of Symmachus, 5) his own revised LXX text, and 6) the version of Theodotion. Although Origen's undertaking later caused considerable confusion and mixture of text-types, it is primarily thanks to him that scholars possess any knowledge of the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus (this being their chronological order according to long-standing tradition), which are commonly called The Three or the Minor Greek Versions.

1. Version of Aquila. When the Christian Church adopted the LXX as its Bible and began to cite proof texts from it in controversies with the Jews (e.g., *parthénos* in Isa. 7:14), the latter were considerably embarrassed and retorted that the LXX was an inaccurate translation. Having declared the LXX faulty, they needed another Greek version that would more accurately reflect their Hebrew text. This desideratum was provided in the most literal form imaginable by the version of Aquila, a proselyte from Pontus (d. *ca.* A.D. 150). Influenced by Rabbi Akiba and his school of strict exegesis, where every particle and minute detail of the Hebrew text was sacred, Aquila attempted to reproduce the Hebrew text word for word in Greek, without regard to Greek grammar or syntax. An illustration of Aquila's style is Gen. 1:1, which might be rendered into English, "In heading founded God with the heaven and with the earth." "Heading" was selected because the Hebrew word for "beginning" was a derivative of "head," while "with" represents the untranslatable sign of the Hebrew accusative (*'et*), which is indistinguishable from the preposition "with." Readings from Aquila's versions are identified in the margins of certain LXX MSS by the symbol α′. A useful aid to the study of this version is J. Reider and N. Turner, *Index to Aquila* (*SVT*, 12; 1966).

Aquila's version, although stylistically a barbarous Greek translation and largely unintelligible apart from the Hebrew (it has been called "a colossal crib"), nevertheless enjoyed great popularity and longevity among the Jews of the Dispersion; as late as the 6th cent. an edict of the emperor Justinian provided for its use in the synagogues. Although the version is commonly regarded as a new translation from the Hebrew rather than as a revision of the LXX, new evidence suggests that it was not an entirely fresh and independent undertaking, but actually the end product of a process started long before Aquila. In his epoch-making book *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (*SVT*, 10; 1963), pp. 246-252, D. Barthélemy argued that the Greek leather scroll of the Minor Prophets found at Murabba'at bears witness to an antecedent revision (labeled *Kaige* by Barthélemy because it translates Heb. *gam*, "also," by Gk. *kaíge*) of the LXX toward the Hebrew text, that Aquila both knew and used.

2. Version of Theodotion. Another person who, in the 2nd cent., worked on the text of the Greek OT was Theodotion, possibly an Ephesian convert to Judaism who lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180). His readings are identified in marginal notations of LXX MSS by the symbol θ′. The outstanding characteristics of his version are avoidance of the Greek monstrosities of Aquila, frequent agreement with or slight improvement on the LXX, and a bias for the transliteration of Hebrew words into Greek letters. Early in the Christian era the version of Daniel that goes by Theodotion's name displaced the LXX version, which was an extremely free rendering of the canonical Daniel. Similarly, in certain MSS his version was used to fill out lacunae in the LXX of Job and Jeremiah.

It seems certain, however, that this second-century Theodotion was preceded in his work of revision by a person of the 1st cent. B.C. or 1st cent. A.D., styled "Ur-Theodotion" by modern scholarship. The reason for this postulate is the appearance of "Theodotionic" readings in writings antedating the time of the activity of the second-century Theodotion. Some of these readings are found in the NT (cf. the quotation in 1 Cor. 15:54 of Isa. 25:8, which corresponds exactly to that of Theodotion). In *Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus* (1972), K. O'Connell listed new evidence for the existence of this Ur-Theodotion.

In fact, O'Connell said, this early revision of Exodus is to be identified with the *Kaige* recension discovered by Barthélemy. Barthélemy thought that the readings assigned to Theodotion in the Minor Prophets derive from neither the traditional Theodotion nor an Ur-Theodotion but from some other translator altogether. In an era when many long-held positions are being challenged, scholars have even doubted that the "Theodotionic" Daniel hails from Theodotion, thinking that it more likely is also a translation by Ur-Theodotion.

3. Versions of Symmachus and Others. A third version produced in the late 2nd cent. or early 3rd cent. A.D. was that of Symmachus, possibly a Jewish-Christian of the heterodox sect known as the Ebionites. This revision, identified in the MSS by the symbol σ′, apparently was a recasting of Aquila's text into idiomatic Greek with a free use of other sources, including the LXX and Theodotion (for a different assessment of Symmachus's sources see Barthélemy, *Devanciers,* pp. 261-65).

In addition to the versions named above, Origen also collated for some parts of the OT three anonymous versions which are known as the Quinta, Sexta, and Septima (i.e., the 5th, 6th, and 7th Greek translations — the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion being the first four). Origen had discovered one of these versions at Nicopolis in Greece and another in a jar near Jericho. Renderings from the Quinta are extant for 2 Kings, Job, Psalms, Canticles, and the Minor Prophets. Barthélemy thought that it might actually have contained readings in the Minor Prophets from the version of Theodotion (*Devanciers,* p. 260). The Quinta was described by F. Field as stylistically the most elegant of the Greek versions. The Sexta is attested for Psalms and Canticles. Probably nothing from the Septima has survived, and some scholars have doubted its very existence. The most comprehensive collection of the Hexapla is still F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla . . . fragmenta* (1875), although it greatly needs updating.

4. Recension of Origen. Besides the non-LXX versions collated by Origen in the Hexapla, Jerome mentioned three LXX recensions circulating in the 4th cent. in different parts of the Christian world. In *Preface to Chronicles* he wrote: "Alexandria and Egypt in their Septuagint acclaim Hesychius as their authority, the region from Constantinople to Antioch approves the copies of Lucian the martyr, the intermediate Palestinian provinces read the MSS which were promulgated by Eusebius and Pamphilius on the basis of Origen's labors, and the whole world is divided among these three varieties of texts." The three recensions are frequently called, after Jerome's Latin phrase, the *Trifaria Varietas.*

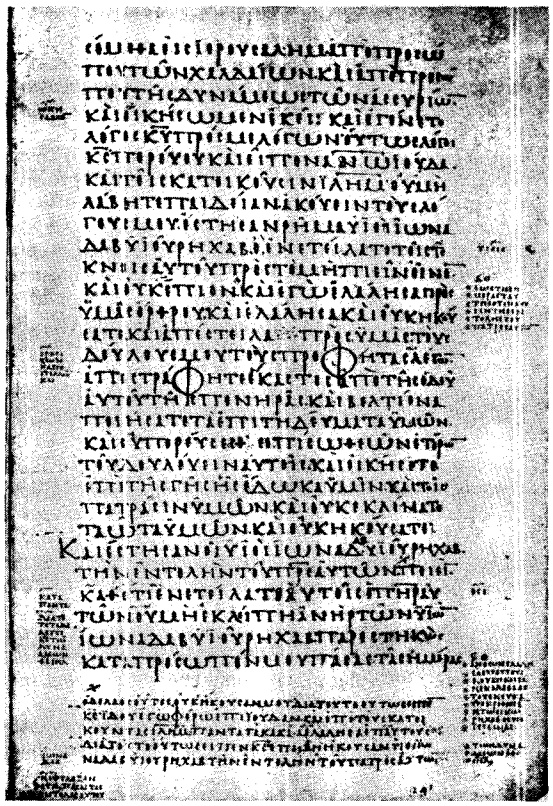
The fifth column of the Hexapla, as already mentioned, contains Origen's revised LXX text. Since he assumed that the Hebrew text of his day was the same one used by the LXX translators, Origen sought to amend the corrupted copies of the LXX text by making them conform to the current Hebrew text. In a famous passage in his *Comm. in Matt.* (xv.14) Origen explained his modus operandi: "When I was uncertain of the LXX reading because the various copies did not tally, I settled the issue by consulting the other versions and retaining what was in agreement with them. Some passages did not appear in the Hebrew; these I marked with an obelus as I did not dare to leave them out altogether. Other passages I marked with an asterisk to show that they were not in the Septuagint but that I had added them from the other versions in agreement with the Hebrew text." (In LXX MSS containing these signs the asterisk is usually given in the form ⁘, while the obelus appears most commonly as ÷ ; another symbol used by Origen to indicate the close of a specified reading is the metobelus, marked : or ⸒). By this editorial process Origen hoped to safeguard the readings of the current LXX as well as to correct them wherever they were faulty, although it is certain that he also introduced some unmarked changes, e.g., inversions and substitution of synonyms.

Although Origen's text-critical work was well intentioned, it nonetheless allowed many readings properly belonging to other versions to become embedded in the LXX as it was transmitted. The gigantic Hexapla was itself never copied, but the revised LXX text of its fifth column was transcribed by Eusebius and Pamphilius and circulated in Palestine, where it enjoyed great popularity. In the first copies of this Origenic (or hexaplaric) text, the critical signs were probably included; after much copying, however, the signs, divorced from their context, became unintelligible and were frequently omitted. Only a few MSS today preserve the Hexaplaric recension with the signs partially preserved. The best MS of this type is the Syriac translation of the fifth-column text by Paul of Tella, *ca.* A.D. 616, called the Syrohexapla, represented by Codex Ambrosianus. The manner in which most of the hexaplaric MSS were copied has brought much confusion to LXX scholarship, for Origen thus became, through the fault of others, indirectly responsible for the production of MSS in which the current LXX text and later versions are hopelessly mixed. Thus the first task of LXX textual criticism is as far as possible to identify and eliminate all of these "hexaplaric" elements and to restore a pre-Origenic text.

5. Recension of Lucian. The "Lucian the martyr" mentioned by Jerome was probably Lucian of Antioch (also called Lucian of Samosata from his birthplace), an elder and leading exponent of the Antiochian exegetical school, martyred under Maximin in A.D. 311. He has also been associated with the Syrian revision of the NT in the 4th century. The MSS probably deriving from this recension were first identified in the latter half of the 19th cent. by three scholars working independently — A. M. Ceriani, F. Field, and P. de Lagarde — who observed the agreement of readings in certain MSS with the Antiochian fathers Chrysostom and Theodoret. The special features of Lucian's recension are lucidity, fulness, and atticizing spelling. It often revises the LXX in favor of better Greek and includes readings from various sources, with the frequent result of "double readings." The sources of these revised readings are, however, of unequal worth. In the Prophets the text seems to be no more than an expansion of the hexaplaric text with further readings inserted from Aquila, Theodotion, and especially Symmachus. In Samuel, however, the Lucianic text appears to preserve elements of great antiquity, and by a careful analysis of its unique readings there J. Wellhausen and S. R. Driver were able to make significant emendations of the Hebrew text of that book. Barthélemy's suggestion that the Lucianic text of certain parts of Samuel-Kings actually preserves the original LXX of these portions has yet to be argued convincingly. As with other revisions, the existence of "Lucianic" readings antedating the historical Lucian has occasioned the hypothesis of an Ur- or Proto-Lucian (cf. E. Tov, *RB,* 79 [1972], 101-113; repr. in Cross and Talmon, pp. 293-305). For some books, e.g., Genesis, there appears to be no identifiable Lucianic text at all.

6. Recensions of Hesychius and Others. According to a widespread opinion the Hesychius mentioned by Jerome is the Egyptian bishop of that name who, Eusebius said (*HE* viii.13), was martyred in Alexandria, presumably during the Diocletian persecution in the first decade of the 4th century. But this identification rests mostly on specu-

SEPTUAGINT



A page from Codex Marchalianus (Jer. 24:11-19 [MT 35:11-19]). Note the peculiar features: the margins have hexaplaric readings and signs; corrections in the text (lines 14, 19, 24); vv. 16-18 have been omitted due to homoioteleuton (added at the bottom of the page); and words that occur frequently are abbreviated (The Vatican Library)

lation, and much controversy surrounds the subject. Also debated is the extent to which existing MSS preserve the Hesychian recension. As early as 1705 E. Grabe theorized that the Hesychian recension is primarily extant in Codex Vaticanus, an identification subsequently favored by various scholars. Others, however, beginning with Ceriani in 1890, have taken Codex Marchalianus (Q) as the Hesychian primary representative. Yet others, e.g., J. Ziegler, have doubted whether any tenable identification of this recension can be made.

In addition to the recensions mentioned by Jerome, other revisions, both prehexaplaric and posthexaplaric, existed in the early centuries, as shown by LXX text-critical work. M. L. Margolis in his thorough work on the text of Joshua discovered evidence of another recension popular in Constantinople and Asia Minor; he called it *C*. Similarly, A. Rahlfs isolated two recensions, which he labeled *R* and *C*, in Ruth, Judges, and Kingdoms (Samuel-Kings).

All these discoveries have enriched understanding of the early transmission history of the LXX, but they have also increased awareness of that history's complexity. One result has been questioning of the legitimacy of the traditional distinction between the Minor Greek Versions (Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus) and the LXX recensions (Origen, Lucian, Hesychius), some scholars having been inclined to see all these texts as part of an ongoing revision of the basic LXX (Old Greek).

C. Daughter Versions and Citations. For several centuries the LXX served as the point of departure for the translation of the OT into other languages. Jerome's decision to base his Latin translation of the OT on the original Hebrew was fundamentally new in the history of Christian Bible translation. Because many of the translations inspired by the LXX go back to very early times, they constitute an important link in the transmission history of the LXX. Daughter versions of the LXX (i.e., translations of the OT based on the LXX) are found in the following languages: Latin, Coptic (in two dialects: Bohairic, the dialect of Lower Egypt, and Sahidic, the dialect of Thebes), Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian, Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, and Slavonic. Of these, the most important translations, on account of their antiquity, are the Old Latin and the Bohairic. The Syriac translation of Paul of Tella (called the Syrohexapla), as mentioned above, is extremely important for the Origenic recension. Modern text-critical study of the LXX tries to take full account of the evidence of the versions and collates their readings in conjunction with those of the Greek MSS. *See also* VERSIONS.

Citations and allusions in early Jewish and Christian writings constitute another valuable set of witnesses to the text of the LXX. Chief among the Jewish-Greek writings are those of Philo and Josephus. Christian sources are the NT, the Greek and Latin church fathers, and church lectionaries. The patristic evidence available is indeed vast, but a true evaluation of it is often difficult, sometimes due to an uncertain text or to the tenuous distinction between citation and allusion. Nevertheless, important results have been obtained through careful analysis of these Jewish and Christian sources. They were invaluable in the isolation of the Lucianic and *Kaige* recensions, and they have a vital bearing on the problem of the Proto-LXX (a subject brilliantly explored by P. Katz, *Philo's Bible* [1950]).

D. Printed Editions. The earliest printings of the LXX (apart from portions of the Psalms) were those of the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes (1514-1517), the Aldine edition of Venice (1518), and the Sixtine edition of Rome (1586), published under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V. The Sixtine, said to be based on Codex Vaticanus (B) but seemingly based on the Aldine edition corrected by B, was frequently reprinted and sometimes further revised; it became for many generations of LXX readers a *textus receptus*. In England a major publishing enterprise in 1707-1720 was the Oxford edition of the LXX begun by E. Grabe. Based on Codex Alexandrinus (A), it had the peculiar feature of using critical signs and print in different sizes to indicate divergences between the Hebrew and Greek. A greater achievement was the Oxford text by R. Holmes and J. Parsons (1798-1827). Although based on a revised Sixtine text, it was the first edition to embody a major critical apparatus in which nearly three hundred MSS were collated, a mammoth work still of use to LXX scholars. In 1850-1887 there appeared in Leipzig the seven editions of F. C. Tischendorf (the last two issued by E. Nestle). The basic text used was yet another revised Sixtine edition, accompanied by a small apparatus with collations from A and the newly discovered Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ); however, the quality of the work did not equal Tischendorf's achievements on the NT text.

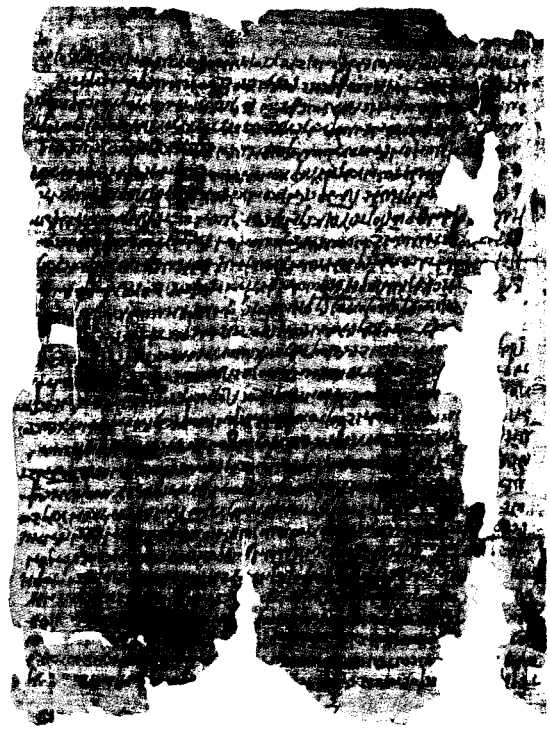
In the 20th cent. the centers of text-critical work on the LXX shifted to Cambridge and Göttingen. The first Cambridge text was the three volume "portable" edition of H. B. Swete, *The OT in Greek* (1887-1912), intended to be an accurate representation of B together with collations of the chief uncials. Swete's text was envisaged as a forerunner to the larger Cambridge edition under the same

title, whose execution was entrusted to A. E. Brooke and N. McLean (later joined by Thackeray). This edition was essentially a reprint of Swete's text but had a much fuller critical apparatus, including collations of all the uncials known at the time of publication, a careful representative selection of the minuscules, the principal daughter versions, and citations from Philo, Josephus, and the early church fathers. This eminent publishing venture lasted from 1906 to 1940, during which time about half the LXX appeared.

The Septuaginta-Unternehmen project in Göttingen was meanwhile proceeding along different lines. Whereas the Cambridge approach was to print one MS as the basic text, the reigning philosophy in Göttingen was to attempt a critically restored LXX text through a comparison of all the sources. Just as Swete's text preceded the larger Cambridge edition, so a two-volume manual edition by A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (1935), initially demonstrated the Göttingen approach. The text is an eclectic one, determined on the basis of the three major uncials, B, ℵ, and A. Rahlfs was also the first to prepare a text—*Psalmi cum Odis* (1931) — in the larger Göttingen series. In P. de Lagarde's original plan for this series texts representing the three recensions mentioned by Jerome would first be prepared, and from a comparison of them an archetype text would be determined. To this end Lagarde himself published what he thought was the Lucianic text of the historical books (*Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum Pars Prior* [1883]). But his plan was abandoned by Rahlfs and his collaborators when they discovered that the MS evidence did not fit such a rigid pattern. It is now clear that each book or translation unit has its own peculiarities, with the number of textual families and recensions varying. In the current Göttingen program these groupings and recensions, together with the daughter versions and patristic citations, are clearly laid out in a full critical apparatus, a second apparatus being reserved for the hexaplaric versions. The body of the text represents the editors' decisions on the most probable reading of the Old Greek archetype. The most productive editor in this series has been J. Ziegler of Würzburg, the acknowledged dean of mid-twentieth-century LXX text-critical scholarship. An important addition to the series is the accompanying set of monographs published as *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens,* which gives further extensive textual information on each book. There can be little doubt that the Göttingen project represents the outstanding and most thorough text-critical enterprise in LXX studies at this time.

IV. Characteristics.–This section surveys some of the salient translation features of the LXX. Since the LXX is not a unity, its portions do not have the same characteristics. Therefore the survey must proceed section by section, book by book. Attention will focus on the quality of Greek in each part and on the relationship of the Greek to the Hebrew. In general the LXX vocabulary and accidence are those of Hellenistic or Koine Greek, but the syntax of most books is better described as "translation" or Hebraic Greek, the various styles being heavily influenced by the underlying Hebrew. A few books, however, show a free and paraphrastic style. Fidelity to the Hebrew is also a variable factor; the translations range from quite accurate to very erroneous and misleading.

A. Pentateuch. On the whole, the Pentateuch represents the best translation unit within the LXX. It is distinguished by a uniformly high level of the vernacular style and by faithfulness to the Hebrew, with rare lapses into literalism. It set the standard that later translators imitated, although rarely with the same success. But it



Genesis 34:11-25 in the early cursive script of the Berlin Genesis, a papyrus codex from the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ms. Graec. fol. 66)

does contain a number of secondary readings, frequently shared with the Samaritan Pentateuch. (For a review of the evidence affirming the secondary nature of these shared readings see B. K. Waltke, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the OT," in J. B. Payne, ed., *New Perspectives on the OT* [1970], pp. 212-239.) Another problem area in the LXX Pentateuch is its account of the construction of the tabernacle in Ex. 35–40, where the Greek departs markedly from the Hebrew both in order and content. These divergences have been used as an argument for the later composition of the underlying Hebrew, but cf. D. W. Gooding, *Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus* (1959). A tendency to avoid anthropomorphisms in certain parts of the Pentateuch has often been noted — e.g., Josh. 4:24, "power of the Lord" (MT "hand of Yahweh") — but the phenomenon has been the object of some overstatement. Cf. C. T. Fritsch, *The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch* (1943).

B. Historical Books. The book of Joshua links the Pentateuch with the later historical books. Although it diverges more often from the MT than the Pentateuch does, the Koine of its translation is otherwise as good as that of the Pentateuch. The most thorough study of the textual problems is M. L. Margolis, *Book of Joshua in Greek* (1931-38).

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the Pentateuch and Joshua is Judges. Two text-types, A and B, exist for this book, both marked by painful literalism, but B more so. It is generally held that A represents the earlier version and that B is a later revision toward the Hebrew. Rahlfs's edition of the LXX prints both texts. The book of Ruth is also rendered with marked literalism.

Samuel-Kings (called in the Greek the four books of

Reigns or Kingdoms) presents an uneven picture. Five translation units were isolated by Thackeray in his pioneering studies of these books: 1 Reigns (α), 2 Reigns 1:1–11:1 (ββ), 2 Reigns 11:2–3 Reigns 2:11 (βγ), 3 Reigns 2:12–21:43 (γγ), and 3 Reigns 22:1–4 Reigns (γδ). This nomenclature is still in use. Thackeray attributed sections βγ and γδ to a later translator whose style was marked by pedantic literalism, but Barthélemy preferred to view the majority text of these sections as an example of the *Kaige* recension (*Devanciers*, pp. 91ff.). 1 and 2 Reigns have often aided textual emendation of the difficult Hebrew text of the corresponding 1 and 2 Samuel. But 3 and 4 Reigns contain a number of peculiarities, including duplicate accounts of certain events (e.g., 3 Reigns 12:24a-z, a second account of the dismemberment of the kingdom; 16:28a-h, a second summary of Jehoshaphat's reign; 4 Reigns 1:18a-d, another summary of Joram's reign) and a chronology of the divided kingdom sharply at variance with the MT. While some have maintained that the Greek of 1 and 2 Reigns represents a recension superior to the MT (e.g., J. D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* [1968]), D. W. Gooding showed in a series of articles that the LXX testifies rather to a widespread reordering and reinterpretation of the Hebrew material. For example, Gooding first demonstrated (*VT*, 15 [1965], 153-166) that behind the different order of events in the LXX lies a desire to put things in a strictly logical temporal sequence. The motives may be described as pedantic, sometimes perverse, and mistaken — evidently the work of a literalistically minded reviser (see also *VT*, 15 [1965], 325-335, 405-420; *VT*, 17 [1967], 143-189; R. P. Gordon, *VT*, 25 [1975], 368-393).

Chronicles contains numerous divergences from the MT, but none has the magnitude of those in Reigns; the Greek style, however, remains mediocre. The text has been subjected to a detailed analysis by L. Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, I (*SVT*, 25 [1974]), II (*SVT*, 27 [1974]). The latest historical books, Ezra-Nehemiah and Esther, are problematic in many areas. Of Ezra-Nehemiah there are two versions in Greek, 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras. 1 Esdras (also called the "Greek Ezra") contains free renderings of various parts of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. It is interrupted by a long passage (3:1–5:6) that has no equivalent in the Hebrew Bible, the Tale of the Three Guardsmen, from which comes the famous proverb, "Great is Truth, and mighty above all things." 2 Esdras (also called the "Hebrew Ezra") corresponds to the MT Ezra-Nehemiah and is a fairly reliable but literal rendition of it. The different titles by which these books are known cause extreme confusion. *See* ESDRAS, BOOKS OF.

The Greek version of Esther is marked by the addition of six blocks of material not found in the Hebrew. Although dispersed among the various chapters of the canonical Esther, in the Vulgate they are collected as Additions to the Book of Esther and are so titled in modern editions of the apocrypha. The style of the Greek Esther is free and paraphrastic.

C. Poetic Books. Among these books the Psalms are the best section and constitute a fairly faithful rendering of the Hebrew. Psalm numbering does not always correspond in the Greek and Hebrew texts because they combine some Psalms differently, e.g., Pss. 9–10, 113–116, 146–147. Ps. 151 was thought to be a late Greek production until the discovery of the Psalms Scroll in Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsa). J. A. Sanders showed in *Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPsa)* (*DJD* 4; 1965), pp. 54-64, that the Greek Psalm actually goes back to two underlying Hebrew poems.

In contrast to Psalms, the books of Job and Proverbs are paraphrastic. The presence of Homeric and classical words in Job and of fragments of iambic and hexametric verse in Proverbs indicate that the translators of both may have known and in part imitated the Greek poets. A special feature of the Greek Job is its being approximately one-sixth shorter than the MT book, which may reflect an already shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* (but cf. D. H. Gard, *Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job* [1952]). In the Greek MSS and printed editions of Job the lacunae are filled by passages from the version of Theodotion. Whereas Job is shorter in the LXX than in the MT, the Greek Proverbs includes many maxims not found in the Hebrew; some of these may derive from a lost Hebrew collection, but others may be of purely Greek origin.

The other poetic books, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations, are extremely literal translations, hardly intelligible apart from the Hebrew. As pointed out above, the rendering of Ecclesiastes may derive from Aquila's version or was at least heavily influenced by it.

D. Prophetic Books. The Greek of Isaiah is the best in this section, equal to that of the Pentateuch, but is the least faithful to the Hebrew. Because of this free rendering, the use of the LXX of Isaiah in MT textual criticism is severely limited, but the book is proportionately more interesting from the point of view of the translator's theology and exegesis (cf. I. L. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah* [1948]).

Jeremiah-Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets manifest certain similarities of style and vocabulary and may have been translated *en bloc* or nearly so. But multiple-translation theories (e.g., the theory that a certain book was mechanically divided — usually in the middle — and given to different translators) have been proposed for each book. Jer. 30:17–51:32, LXX, is a prime example; cf. the change there of the standard formula *tade légei kýrios* to *houtōs eípen kýrios*. But these theories have all been challenged, in the case of Jeremiah most recently by E. Tov, *Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jer. 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (1976). Jeremiah is also interesting on account of its shorter length (about one-eighth shorter than the MT) and its different arrangement of several passages, notably the Oracles Against the Nations. In the MT this section comes at the end of the book (chs. 46–51), while in the Greek it appears in the middle (25:14–31:44). The internal order of the oracles is also entirely different. The Greek almost certainly represents an already shorter Hebrew text, but which of the two traditions (the MT or the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX — both attested in Qumrân fragments) represents the better text remains unresolved, notwithstanding the claims for the superiority of the Greek tradition made by G. Janzen in *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (1973). (For a critique of Janzen see S. K. Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah: A Revised Hypothesis* [*JSOT Supp.*, 47, 1985], pp. 193-248.)

On the two texts of Daniel, see III.B.2 above.

E. Books Outside the Hebrew Canon. The books found in the LXX MSS but not in the Hebrew canon include translated works and original compositions. The Prologue to Sirach specifically states that it was translated from the Hebrew by the author's grandson. In the 19th and 20th cents. large portions of the Hebrew text have come to light, but the Greek text, a mixture of free and literal renderings, is still indispensable for determining the original Hebrew. Other translated books, it is generally agreed, are 1 Maccabees, Judith, 1 Esdras, the bulk of 2 Esdras, Epistle of Jeremiah, and the first half of Baruch. The style in these books ranges from good Koine in 1 Maccabees to strong

Codex Sinaiticus (4th cent.) of 1 Macc. 9:12f., 20-22; Jer. 9:9f.; Tob. 6:5-7, 11f.; these three sections were written by different scribes (British Library)

literalism in Baruch 1:1–3:8. Original compositions in Greek include 2–4 Maccabees, Wisdom, Prayer of Manasseh, and the latter part of Baruch. These books are generally composed in literary, pseudoclassical Greek. Other books that may also be Greek compositions but about which no consensus exists are Tobit and the additions to the canonical books of Esther and Daniel.

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S. K. SODERLUND

SEPULCHRE sep'əl-kər. *See* TOMB.

SERAH sir'ə [Heb. *śeraḥ*–'abundance']; AV also SARAH. Daughter of Asher and the head of a clan bearing her name (Gen. 46:17; Nu. 26:46; 1 Ch. 7:30). The unusual fact of her inclusion in the genealogies has given rise to Jewish legends explaining her prominence.

SERAIAH sə-ri'ə, sə-rā'ə [Heb. *śᵉrāyāh(û)*–'Yahu is prince'; LXX *Saraias, Saraia*]; AV Apoc. SARAIAS, ZACHARIAS; NEB Apoc. SARAEAS, ZARAEAS.

1. A non-Israelite secretary in the court of David (2 S. 8:17) who is also known by the names Sheva (2 S. 20:25), Shisha (1 K. 4:3), and Shavsha (1 Ch. 18:16). Most scholars conclude that his original name was Shavsha or Shisha (see comms. on 2 Samuel by P. K. McCarter [*AB*, 1984], pp. 254, 256; S. R. Driver [2nd ed. 1913], pp. 283f.; comms. on 1 Kings by G. H. Jones [*NCBC*, 1984], I, 135; J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman [*ICC*, 1951], p. 118, but cf. T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials* [1971], pp. 26-30).

2. A Judahite, the second son of Kenaz and father of Joab (1 Ch. 4:13f.).

3. A Simeonite who was the grandfather of Jehu (1 Ch. 4:35).

4. Son of Azriel; one of those sent by King Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch because of the prophecies they had offered regarding the king; "but the Lord hid them" (Jer. 36:26).

5. A Judahite, the son of Neriah and brother of Baruch (cf. Jer. 32:12; 51:59). He was a quartermaster who accompanied Zedekiah to Babylon (*ca.* 594) and delivered Jeremiah's prophecy there (Jer. 51:59-64). Jeremiah instructed him to read the prophecy of doom, then tie a rock to it and throw it into the Euphrates to symbolize the sinking of Babylon.

6. Son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite. He was one of many military leaders remaining at large after the destruction of Jerusalem who eventually accepted the rule of Gedaliah, whom Nebuchadnezzar had appointed governor of Judah (2 K. 25:23-26; Jer. 40:7-10). When Gedaliah was assassinated, Seraiah and others fled to Egypt (42:6f.). Some have identified this Seraiah with **5** above, though this is uncertain.

7. A son of Azariah, grandson of Hilkiah (who discovered the "book of the law" during Josiah's reign; 2 K. 22:4, 8ff.), and high priest at the time Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians (1 Ch. 6:14 [MT 5:40]). Nebuchadnezzar executed him with other prominent captives at Riblah (2 K. 25:18-21; Jer. 52:24-27). His son Jehozadak apparently escaped execution, for he was taken into exile by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Ch. 6:15). Seraiah was thus the grandfather of Joshua, the high priest during Zerubbabel's postexilic restoration (Hag. 1:1; 1 Esd. 5:5).

Although Ezr. 7:1; 1 Esd. 8:1; and 2 Esd. 1:1 seem to suggest that this Seraiah was also the father of Ezra, the time separating Ezra from this Seraiah (about 150 years) does not allow that possibility. Thus scholars have suggested that either another Seraiah was Ezra's father or this Seraiah was an ancestor of Ezra (see comms. on Ezra

by D. J. A. Clines [*NCBC*, 1984], p. 99; H. G. M. Williamson [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], pp. 91f.; KD). The nearly identical genealogies in 1 Ch. 6:14 (MT 5:40); 9:11; and Neh. 11:11, as well as the common practice of naming sons after their grandfathers, suggest that some of these genealogies may have omitted similar names. Thus it seems likely that Ezra (an abbreviated form of Azariah) was the son of Seraiah son of Azariah son of Seraiah son of Azariah son of Hilkiah (so J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles* [*AB*, 1965], p. 66). It is also possible that Seraiah and Azariah, which in Hebrew are quite similar in sound and in some scripts (*śryh* and *ʿzryh*), have been interchanged in some texts (see R. Braun, *1 Chronicles* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], pp. 83f.).

8. A returnee during the days of Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:2; 1 Esd. 5:8). He is almost certainly to be identified with Azariah in Neh. 7:7 (unless that Azariah was this Seraiah's father; see the discussion in **7** above).

9. One of many who signed the covenant of Ezra (Neh. 10:2 [MT 3]). Some have identified him with **8** above.

10. A son (or descendant) of Hilkiah; one of the chief priests who served in the restored temple in Jerusalem (Neh. 11:11; 12:1, 12). Some identify him with Azariah in 1 Ch. 9:11 (e.g., Clines, comm. on Nehemiah [*NCBC*, 1984], p. 216), but this may be another case of a father-son confusion; see the discussion in **7** above. R. L. PRATT, JR.

G. A. L.

SERAPHIM ser'ə-fim [Heb. *śᵉrāpîm*]. Biblical evidence concerning the identity, nature, and function of the seraphim is based on the brief reference to them in the call of Isaiah (Isa. 6:2, 6). Each creature had six wings (a pair to cover its feet, a pair to cover its face, and a pair with which to fly). They appeared beside or above God's throne in the temple and worshiped Him, proclaimed His holiness, and declared His sovereignty over all the earth (v. 3). One of the seraphim performed a ritual act of cleansing and delivered a message of forgiveness to Isaiah (vv. 6f.).

A stone orthostat from Tell Ḥalâf showing a fluttering six-winged creature, possibly similar to the biblical seraphim (10th or 9th cent. B.C.) (Walters Art Gallery)

Hebrew *śᵉrāpîm* is derived from the root *śrp*, "burn," which appears 120 times in descriptions of the burning of sacrifices, cities, people, images, and bread with fire. Heb. *śārāp*, the masculine singular noun from this root, refers to the serpents that bit the Israelites in the wilderness with a burning sting (Nu. 21:6, 8; Dt. 8:15) and to flying serpents that were associated with judgment (Isa. 14:29; 30:6). The plural of this noun, *śᵉrāpîm*, may refer to serpent-like beings similar to those found in Egypt. The uraeus or cobra, an Egyptian symbol of royalty and authority, was depicted on the front of the pharaoh's headdress. A number of serpents with two wings, and a couple with four, appear on Egyptian paintings and artifacts, and similar designs appear on Palestinian scarabs (see K. R. Joines). Although this Egyptian form may have had some influence on Israelite art (cf. the Phoenician influence on the large cherubim in Solomon's temple in 1 K. 6:23-29), some scholars derive the seraphim's function from the seven lightning servants of Baal (see J. Day) or from ancient Near Eastern mythology (the Assyrian god Lugalgira or Nergal), while others connect the seraphim with the angel-like cherubim (cf. Ezk. 1, 10; Rev. 4:6-8). The duties and location of the seraphim were distinct from those of the cherubim (the latter were below the throne and provided locomotion), however; and the seraphim had human characteristics distinct from those of the Egyptian winged snakes. The most that can be said with certainty about the seraphim is that they were a separate group of attendants who praised God at His throne.

Bibliography.–J. Day, *VT*, 29 (1979), 143-151; I. Engnell, *Call of Isaiah* (1949); K. R. Joines, *JBL*, 86 (1967), 410-15; J. de Savignac, *VT*, 22 (1972), 320-25; S. Steck, *BZ*, 16 (1972), 188-206; C. F. Whitley, *JNES*, 18 (1959), 38-48. G. V. SMITH

SERAR sir'är (1 Esd. 5:32, NEB, RSV mg.). *See* SISERA **2**.

SERED sir'ed [Heb. *sered*] (Gen. 46:14; Nu. 26:26); **SEREDITES** sir'ə-dīts [Heb. *hassardî*] (Nu. 26:26); AV, NEB, SARDITE(S). The oldest son of Zebulun and head of the family called "the Seredites."

SERGIUS PAULUS. *See* PAULUS, SERGIUS.

SERIOUS [Heb. *raʿ*] (Dt. 15:21); AV ILL; [Gk. *barýs*] (Acts 25:7); AV GRIEVOUS; NEB GRAVE; [*semnós*] (1 Tim. 3:8, 11; Tit. 2:2); AV GRAVE; NEB OF HIGH PRINCIPLE, HIGH-PRINCIPLED. Excluded from the ritual eating of firstborn animals (Dt. 15:19f.) were not only animals blemished by lameness or blindness but also those with "any serious blemish whatever" (v. 21). *Raʿ* is the very common Hebrew word meaning "evil," "bad," or "ill-disposed." The intention was to exclude from sacrifice to Yahweh any animals that had no market value (cf. Mal. 1:7f., 12-14).

That the charges brought against Paul before Festus (Acts 25:7) were "serious" suggests the severity of their possible outcome, to which Paul refers in his response (v. 11). The specific charges, which are not preserved in Acts, apparently involved both Jewish and Roman laws (25:8; cf. 24:5-8). Gk. *barýs* was a common word usually translatable as "burdensome" or "difficult."

The author of the Pastoral Epistles desired that deacons

(1 Tim. 3:8), women (perhaps a special order of women in the church, v. 11), and older men (Tit. 2:2) be "serious." The same ideal is set by means of the noun *semnótēs* (RSV "respectful," "gravity"; NEB "high[est] principle[s]," "high standards of morality"; AV "honesty," "gravity") for the life of all the Church (1 Tim. 2:2), the children of a bishop (3:4), and the church leader Titus himself (Tit. 2:7). *Semnós* and *semnótēs* can be used for dignity that has gone to a fault and become pomposity, or for the sublimity and holiness of supernatural beings, including God; but in the Pastoral Epistles they have the more usual meaning of dignity, seriousness, and solemnity, i.e., conduct that calls forth respect and honor from others. This ideal is part of the Pastorals' general concern for the Church's right behavior and right appearance before society in general (cf. 1 Tim. 2:1f., 8-10; 4:12; 5:8, 10, 13, 24f.; 6:1; Tit. 1:7f.; 2:2-10; 3:1f., 8). *Semnós* could be applied to attitudes rather than to persons (e.g., Phil. 4:8; RSV "honorable"; AV "honest"; NEB "noble").

Bibliography.–Bauer, rev., pp. 746f.; *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σέβομαι κτλ.: σεμνός, σεμνότης (W. Foerster). J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SERJEANTS. *See* POLICE.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT. The customary designation for the discourse of Jesus recorded in Mt. 5–7. It begins with the well-known BEATITUDES and then, by a series of startling antitheses, illustrates the relationship of Jesus' teaching to the Jewish legal system. It emphasizes the inner righteousness of the "kingdom of heaven" (Mt. 5:20) by warning against improper performance of religious duties; almsgiving, prayer, and fasting are not meant for public display or as currency for the purchase of religious status. Followers of Jesus are urged to dispel anxiety with simple trust and to live in love. The Sermon ends with a series of short parables that encourage people to put these truths into actual practice.

I. Impact
II. Origins
III. Circumstances
IV. Theme and Structure
V. Analysis
  A. Blessedness of Those in the Kingdom (Mt. 5:3-10)
  B. The "New Righteousness" and the "Old Law" (5:17-48)
  C. Practical Instruction for Kingdom Conduct (6:1–7:12)
  D. A Challenge to Dedicated Living (7:13-27)
VI. Interpretation
  A. Literalist View
  B. Qualification View
  C. Limitation View
  D. Recent Theological Interpretations
  E. A Suggested Approach

I. Impact.–Simple and straightforward in its pronouncements, the Sermon on the Mount has long been recognized as the loftiest ideal for human conduct ever conceived. The absolute quality of its demands has driven some to despair. Who can withstand the crushing weight of an obligation to be "perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt. 5:48)? Some have insisted that the Sermon gives only an "interim ethic" for what was thought to be the end time. Others, by reinterpreting its commands on a "workable level," have accommodated it to human weakness. Still others have relegated it to some future age. All, however, have recognized that in its pristine form it presents a quality of life infinitely removed from the shallow ethic of legalistic achievement. For Canon Liddon in his Bampton Lectures it was "that original draught of essential Christianity." Augustine was convinced that the serious reader would find in it "the perfect pattern of the Christian life" (*De sermone Domini in monte* i.1.1). The great Hindu leader Mahatma Gandhi declared it to be the world's finest collection of ethical teaching.

But before the Sermon is interpreted several basic questions of a critical nature should be considered. As Marriott well said, "What your criticism has put asunder, let not your exegesis join together again" (p. ix).

II. Origins.–The Sermon as presented in Matthew appears to be a single discourse delivered by Jesus on a specific historical occasion. Jesus' threefold ministry of teaching, preaching, and healing had resulted in a wave of popularity. "Seeing the crowds," wrote Matthew, "he went up on the mountain, and when he sat down his disciples came to him. And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying . . ." (Mt. 5:1f.). At the close of the Sermon "the crowds were astonished at his teaching" (7:28). In spite of this historical context, which Matthew apparently intended to be accepted literally, most scholars have held that the Sermon is not a stenographic report of a particular discourse but a compilation of isolated sayings. Barclay called it "a kind of epitome of all the sermons that Jesus ever preached" (comm. on Matthew [2nd ed. 1958], I, 79).

What are the reasons for this verdict?

(1) The Sermon contains far too much concentrated material for one discourse. Jesus undoubtedly employed the customary techniques of rabbinic instruction by discoursing on a subject and then summarizing the main points in proverblike statements easy to learn and remember. Thus each saying must represent a much larger unit of discourse. Even if Jesus could have delivered the entire Sermon at one sitting, that would have been pedagogically unsound and psychologically unwise. Jesus the master Teacher knew the limitations of His listeners.

(2) The overall composition of the Gospel indicates that the Sermon is the first of five major discourses that Matthew has arranged around certain topics and inserted into the narrative framework provided by Mark. B. W. Bacon (*Studies in Matthew* [1930], pp. 80-82) pointed out that apart from the prologue and epilogue the Gospel of Matthew falls into five "books," each of which begins with narrative leading up to a major discourse and closes with the stereotyped formula, "And when Jesus finished these sayings" (Mt. 7:28f.; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1). Although objections have been raised against Bacon's view of Matthew as a Christian legalist who modeled his "new law" after the five books of the Pentateuch, there is widespread agreement that he is essentially correct about Matthew's topical compilations.

(3) The most telling argument comes from a comparison of Matthew's Sermon with its Lukan parallel. Although the latter is usually called the "Sermon on the Plain" (Jesus came *down* from the mountain and stood "on a level place," Lk. 6:17) and is placed slightly later in the Markan framework (after 3:19a rather than 1:39), there can be little doubt that it and Matthew's Sermon are variant versions of the same discourse. Each begins with the Beatitudes and closes with the parable of the builders. The intervening material in Luke (on loving one's enemies, 6:27-36, and on judging, vv. 37-42) follows the same sequence as in Matthew.

Although the two Sermons are essentially the same, their lengths noticeably differ. Matthew's three chapters contain 107 verses, while Luke has but 29; Matthew's Sermon includes almost all of Luke's but has 81 verses

SERMON ON THE MOUNT

that are missing from Luke's. The point is, however, that 34 of these 81 verses occur in Luke's Gospel in other, and often more suitable, contexts. The Lord's Prayer is one such example; in Matthew it enters topically after the warning against vain repetition in prayer (Mt. 6:7f.), but in Luke it is given in response to the disciples' request, "Teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples" (Lk. 11:1). It is far more probable that Matthew inserted such material into his Sermon than that Luke, having found it in Sermon material, distributed it throughout his Gospel and invented historical contexts for the various sayings.

These considerations, however, do not force one to conclude that the entire Sermon is an arbitrary composition. In fact, Mt. 4:23–5:1 distinctly leads one to expect an important discourse delivered on a definite occasion. The crowd's reaction to the authority with which Jesus taught (7:28f.) is also fitting, and the reference to His descent from the mountain (8:1) follows quite naturally. Furthermore, within the Sermon are various sequences that appear to be "sermonettes" of Jesus rather than topical collections of separate *logia* (Hunter, p. 12, lists Mt. 5:21-48 and 6:1-6, 16-18). And when one notes again that both Sermons follow the same sequence, one readily concludes that in all probability a primitive framework corresponding to an actual discourse delivered on a specific occasion antedated the writing of either Evangelist.

A number of scholars have believed that the Sermon extant in Matthew is actually the Evangelist's combination of two sermons (from Q and M) along with occasional verses from yet other sources. Bowman thought that more likely Jesus Himself combined materials from two sermons He had preached, with Matthew using this combined form (pp. 22f.). A. M. Perry held that a continuous M source underlies the larger part of the Sermon and determines its outline (*JBL*, 34 [1935], 103-115). McArthur visualized three stages of growth: an early nucleus in Luke, a hypothetical intermediary document, and the final Matthaean version (p. 22). These variant answers suggest that one may have to wait some time for a consensus, although one need not be quite as pessimistic as A. M. Farrer, who said that any attempt to reconstruct Matthew's sources is "utterly vain" (*St. Matthew and St. Mark* [1954], p. 176).

Jeremias has made the most plausible case for the compilation theory — that each saying was originally something like an entire sermon by Jesus. In the first decades after His death these isolated sayings were gathered into an Aramaic Sermon on the Plain. Out of this Aramaic tradition developed first the Greek Sermon on the Plain in Luke and then the Greek Sermon on the Mount in Matthew. The purpose for making the collection was catechetical. By comparing the instruction on prayer in Mt. 6:5-15 and Lk. 11:1-13 Jeremias found that the Matthaean didache was designed for people who knew how to pray and might misuse the privilege, and the Lukan for people who had to learn to pray and needed encouragement. His conclusion is that Matthew's Sermon contains a catechism designed for Jewish Christians, and Luke's one for gentile Christians (pp. 19-23).

Similarly, C. H. Dodd argued that the catechetical instruction of the early Church provided a convenient framework for organizing the sayings of Jesus for teaching purposes ("The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus," in A. J. B. Higgins, ed., *NT Essays* [1959], p. 116). He appealed to the structure of the Sermon to show how the catechesis has influenced not only the Gospels in their final form but also some of their constituent parts, "which may point to earlier sources construed on a similar plan" (p. 111). W. D. Davies admitted that a parallel may be drawn between the structure of Matthew's Sermon and catechesis but questioned whether the latter formatively influenced the former. He made the important point that neither Dodd's nor Carrington's catechetical hypothesis can account for all the material in the Sermon (p. 461).

Davies's own approach to the Sermon is to regard it as "the Christian answer to Jamnia" — "a kind of Christian, mishnaic counterpart to the formulation taking place there" (p. 315). The reconstruction at Jamnia was not only Judaism's conscious confrontation with Christianity in a giant self-assertion to survive, but also the outside stimulus for the Evangelist to formulate the way of the New Israel (pp. 286, 315).

The proposed origins of the Sermon are important for interpreters because they supply them with the background against which they must interpret it. If the Sermon is a mere patchwork of unrelated sayings they need not look for theme or structure. If, however, the Sermon is a Matthaean polemic, or a Jewish-Christian catechesis, it must be approached from the pertinent perspective. Those who deny to the Sermon in its existing form a setting in the life of Jesus create the problem that only the primitive Church's application of the sayings of Jesus — never really *His* actual teachings — can be known. Thus the meaning intended by Jesus in the Sermon will have been hopelessly obscured, with the historical Jesus allowed to speak only the dialect of the kerygmatic Christ.

This article maintains that Matthew took over a primitive sermon source, which corresponded to an actual discourse delivered on a specific occasion, and then expanded it with new, relevant material. All that is known of Jesus points to Him as an itinerant preacher. It would have been most unusual if at some time during His ministry He had not delivered a manifesto of His new ethic which contrasted with the legalism of His major antagonists. The result would have been a "sermon on a mount." This article further assumes that Matthew's relocation of *logia* did not appreciably alter their meaning. In fact, since most of Jesus' sayings are proverbial in nature, they were very likely employed by Jesus Himself in a number of different contexts and with numerous applications. The whole idea of later alteration, which leaves such widespread skepticism about the authenticity of Jesus' words, may ultimately turn out to be the unfortunate result of a failure to understand the manifold applicability of proverbial speech.

III. Circumstances.–Both Evangelists placed the Sermon in the first year of Jesus' public ministry, Matthew a bit earlier than Luke. It may have been Matthew's concern for discourse that encouraged him to bring the Sermon into the Markan framework as soon as possible. The location in Luke is preferable (following the appointment of the Twelve) and corresponds to the period in which popular success had necessitated the training of assistants. In both Gospel chronologies, however, the Sermon comes late enough for the fame of Jesus to have spread but too soon for the religious leaders to have rallied in opposition. Jesus spent the first months of His Galilean ministry preaching in synagogues (cf. Lk. 4:16-30; Mk. 1:21-28), but soon the rapidly expanding crowds forced Him to move outdoors. Another indication of the passage of time is the shift of emphasis in His preaching. The initial proclamation was, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Mt. 4:17). By the time of the Sermon this had been replaced by teaching on the nature of the kingdom.

There is no general agreement on the specific locale of the Sermon. A Latin tradition from the 13th cent. names a two-peaked hill, Qarn Ḥaṭṭîn, which lies SW of the plain of Gennesaret, but such a late tradition cannot be confirmed. Since Jesus soon entered Capernaum (Lk. 7:1; Mt. 8:5), the Sermon was more likely preached in that

area. Gk. *tó óros* can refer to the hilly region around the lake as well as to a specific mountain (cf. Mt. 14:23; 15:29). Of course, if the Sermon is a compilation there is no "mountain." K. Stendahl interpreted *tó óros* as "a place of privacy" (*Peake's Comm. on the Bible* [rev. ed. 1962], p. 775).

Usually Mt. 5:1 is interpreted to mean that Jesus withdrew from the multitude in order to direct the Sermon primarily to His own disciples. The problem of the crowds who were present at the close of the discourse is solved by the supposition that they had discovered where He had gone and followed Him there. Nothing in 5:1, however, indicates that Jesus withdrew *because* of the crowds. Nor is there any reason why the *autoús* ("them") of v. 2 cannot include *toús óchlous* ("the crowds") as well as *hoi mathētaí* ("the disciples").

In Lk. 6 the audience is defined more precisely, with three groups distinguished: (1) the "twelve, whom he named apostles," v. 13; (2) "a great crowd of his disciples," v. 17; and (3) "a great multitude of people" who came from far and near "to hear him and to be healed," v. 17. When Jesus addressed Himself to "his disciples" (v. 20), the context indicates that He was speaking to the second group. This group, however, included the Twelve and was undoubtedly equivalent to the "great multitude." Nothing in the Sermon implies its restriction to the small inner circle (the "Woes" in Lk. 6 are rhetorical). C. W. Votaw concluded, "The multitude was a *disciple* multitude in the sense that many were professed followers of Jesus, many were contemplating discipleship, and all were favourably disposed towards Him" (*HDB*, Extra Volume, p. 3).

IV. Theme and Structure.–On these matters, too, there is considerable difference of opinion among contemporary scholars. Jeremias took Mt. 5:20 as the theme and distinguished in it three kinds of righteousness — that of the theologians (scribes), that of the pious laymen (Pharisees), and that of the disciples of Jesus. This threefold division determines the construction of the following Sermon: 5:21-48 is controversy with the theologians over interpretation of Scripture, 6:1-18 treats the traditional piety of the Pharisee, and 6:19–7:27 develops the new righteousness of the disciples of Jesus. Thus the theme of the Sermon is "the way of life of Christians as distinct from that of their Jewish contemporaries" (p. 23).

Kürzinger divided the Sermon into twelve sections, six each for the two basic ideas of Mt. 5:17-20 — Christ came to fulfil the law; one's righteousness must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees (*Bibl.*, 40 [1959], 569-589).

The most intricate suggestion came from A. Farrer (pp. 160-176). Following the Western and Syriac order, he reversed the second (the mourners) and third (the meek) Beatitudes and then divided the Beatitudes into three couplets, "the first simple, the second and third each having an additional line attached to them" (p. 165). The main body of the Sermon also falls into three parts (5:17-48; 6:1-18; 6:19–7:27), which turn out to be an exposition of the three couplets in reverse order. The Lord's Prayer, which has "slipped in unobtrusively in a sort of appendix (vi 7-15) to the paragraph on the second good work" (p. 169), then gives shape to the rest of the Sermon and is found to have influenced the arrangement of the Beatitudes as well.

W. D. Davies recognized that the approaches of Farrer and M. Smith (Smith fitted the three chapters into what he believed to be the accepted sermonic sequence of Jesus' day [*Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels* (1951), p. 88]) are valuable as a reminder that Matthew was really an author and no mere editor. But Davies charged Farrer with "imposing a literary subtlety on the section which is alien to its purpose." He did agree, however, that Matthew "has used his sources for his own ends, so that v-vii do constitute for him an essential unity" (p. 13).

The nature of this essential unity may best be determined by a careful examination of the text itself. Filson has reminded us that Matthew sacrificed structural unity to topical unity (*JBL*, 75 [1956], 227-231), and with this as a clue we shall attempt a descriptive analysis of the content of the Sermon in Matthew.

V. Analysis.–A. Blessedness of Those in the Kingdom (Mt. 5:3-16). The Beatitudes are not prosaic statements promising recompense for the downtrodden, but exclamations of the messianic bliss of those who have renounced the world and submitted themselves to the divine sovereignty. The form is well known in wisdom literature (cf. Ps. 1:1). Gk. *makárioi* is best translated, "Ah, the supreme happiness of." The Beatitudes are not promises of reward for those who can measure up, but the very "rewards of grace" freely bestowed on the "poor in spirit." They do not describe eight varieties of virtuous persons but present the ideal person from eight different perspectives.

The difference between the Lukan and Matthaean Beatitudes has often been noticed. Luke's shorter and more direct form is probably nearer the original. One suggestion is that Jesus used the Beatitudes (originally four, and influenced by Isa. 43 and 61) to proclaim to the poor, afflicted, and hungry that in Him the kingdom was being inaugurated. Matthew later modified them to present an image of moral perfection, and Luke made them into morals about poverty and the danger of riches (J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes* [1958ff.]). Regardless of how one accounts for the variations, the Matthaean Beatitudes are concerned with those inner qualities of the righteous person that contrast to the outward piety of the legalistic Pharisee.

Matthew 5:11-16 is an expansion of the final Beatitude and a digression about the disciple's role in an unbelieving world. Unjust treatment is to be received with joy, for the victim's reward is great in heaven. The context of inner righteousness should keep one from interpreting rewards as inducements for right behavior. Christian believers are salt, whose preservative influence retards the corruption of society; they are lights that allow all to see and appreciate the godly life.

B. The "New Righteousness" and the "Old Law" (5:17-48). The scribes' immediate reaction to Jesus' emphasis on inner righteousness would have been to claim that it would undermine the entire moral legislation of the OT. Not so, said Jesus: His "new morality," far from setting aside the Law and the Prophets, actually reveals their underlying principles. This concept of bringing the OT to its ideal fulfillment is the major thesis of the rest of ch. 5 and the proper background for interpreting the Sermon as a whole.

After this thesis is enlarged (5:17-20 underscores the abiding importance of law but argues that it must be interpreted on a deeper level), five antitheses occur (if vv. 31f., on divorce, are a topical subsection of the unit on adultery). They illustrate the thesis and apply it to the practical concerns of life. Stendahl pointed out that here is not a new law but a "Messianic intensification" of the law — "its restoration in its ultimate radicality" (p. 776).

The first antithesis ("You have heard it said. . . . But I say to you," 5:21f., 27f., 33f., 38f., 43f.) shows that the ultimate purpose of the prohibition of murder is to eliminate all anger. It is better to repair relations with one's brother than to seek God's favor while one is unreconciled to a brother. The second antithesis (5:27-32) opposes the scribal distinction between intention and action by showing that adultery is the fruit of an evil heart nourished on impure

desire. No measure is too drastic in rooting out the cause of sexual impurity.

The third antithesis (5:33-37) teaches that kingdom righteousness demands an honesty so transparent that oaths are unnecessary. The fourth (vv. 38-42) demands that the *lex talionis* give way to cheerful acquiescence in unjust treatment. When one is personally abused, defrauded by law, inconvenienced by forced labor, or faced with outright begging, one is allowed to retaliate only with kindness. The final antithesis (5:43-48) teaches that love is universal in its application. To love one's enemies is to demonstrate the "all-inclusiveness" (Torrey's understanding of Aram. *gᵉmar; The Four Gospels* [1933], p. 291) of God's own love.

C. Practical Instruction for Kingdom Conduct (6:1–7:12). Just as the five antitheses illustrate the theme of fulfillment stated in 5:17, the three warnings (about almsgiving, 6:2-4; prayer, vv. 5-15; fasting, vv. 16-18) supplement the teaching in 5:20 about the righteousness necessary for entrance into the kingdom of heaven. The recurring phrase "truly . . . they have their reward" (Gk. *apéchō,* vv. 2, 5, 16, commonly used in the papyri for commercial transactions) shows that the religionists have been paid in full by human applause; there remains no heavenly reward. Almsgiving, prayer, and fasting should instead be performed with passionate anonymity.

Into the section on prayer Matthew has inserted what has come to be known and revered as the Lord's Prayer. Although Luke's shorter version is probably closer to the original, the Church has found Matthew's more liturgical setting better adapted to purposes of worship. That the separate clauses can be paralleled in the literature of Judaism in no way impairs the originality of the prayer. Hunter aptly remarked, "The work of a great artist is not to manufacture his paints, but with them to paint a noble picture" (p. 66). The prayer's originality is to be found in its brevity, order, and universality.

After warning His followers against false piety Jesus instructed them to dispel anxiety with simple trust (6:19-34). In the somewhat loose context of these verses one can deduce that anxiety arises from the desire to possess, but God's loving concern for creation relieves mankind of any excuse for feverish acquisitiveness.

In 7:1-12 Jesus taught that mankind is intended to live in love. The speck in the brother's eye is no more than the reflection of the log in one's own eye (vv. 3-5).

D. A Challenge to Dedicated Living (7:13-27). The *logion* about the two ways, to destruction and to life (vv. 13f.), does not so much prophesy the relative populations of heaven and hell as teach that the way of self-denial is far more difficult than the way of self-indulgence. Verses 15-23 are a reminder that a good tree bears good fruit and that false prophets are to be recognized by the quality of their lives. The Sermon closes with the parable of the wise and foolish house builders (vv. 24-27). Against the background of impending catastrophe it teaches that only those who hear the words and *do* them will survive the eschatological judgment.

VI. Interpretation.–The basic problem in interpreting the Sermon on the Mount stems from the uncompromising quality of its demands and the loftiness of its ethic. There appears to be a great gap between what Jesus expects and what people even at their best can accomplish. Practically all the approaches to the Sermon are attempts to explain or alleviate this tension. For purposes of discussion they may be arranged in the following five categories.

A. Literalist View. In this approach everything in the Sermon is taken literally and applied consistently. Historically, this was the view of monasticism and later of the Anabaptist groups. A more recent and general exponent was Tolstoy, the Russian novelist and social reformer, who resolved the Sermon into five commandments (suppression of all anger, chastity, no oaths, nonresistance, unreserved love of enemies) and taught that if mankind would literally obey them the existing evils of society would vanish and history would usher in the Utopian kingdom. For Tolstoy the Sermon was "a kind of technique of passivity which is to lead man to a rational existence" (quoted in G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* [Eng. tr. 1960], p. 222). The value of the approach is that it safeguards the Sermon's moral seriousness. Its failure is that by freezing the language of the Sermon it deprives Jesus of freedom of expression. By artificially transforming a lofty ethic into an intolerable burden it converts the gospel back into law.

B. Qualification View. A second approach is to deny that the ethical demands of Jesus are as unattainable as they may at first seem to be. Sometimes this denial involves stressing the poetic nature of oriental speech. Jesus is pictured as constantly resorting to hyperbole in order to dramatize His commands; thus injunctions such as "If your right eye causes you to sin, pluck it out" (Mt. 5:29) are prophetic overstatements designed to make the point in a vivid and memorable way.

That Jesus used hyperbole is obvious to any student of literature. But reduction of all hyperbole to dull platitude is a patently wrong method of interpreting the Sermon; the note of urgency sounded by hyperbole is an integral part of the command. This exaggeration for the sake of emphasis cannot be removed without doing essential damage to the sayings.

Another way to take the ethical edge off the Sermon is to insist that Jesus was teaching general principles rather than issuing specific orders. This view leaves the feeling that one is no longer held responsible for the injunction itself. It is not clear, however, why one may assume that the principles taught by Jesus are any less radical than specific commands. Since the principles directly expressed in the Sermon (e.g., purity of heart, Mt. 5:8) are as unattainable as any direct injunction, one should expect the principles underlying the injunctions to be equally radical.

A variation of this approach is the claim that Jesus' real concern lay with human attitudes rather than with acts. W. Herrmann's *Gesinnungsethik* ("ethic of conviction") is a development of this idea. One may readily agree that Jesus was deeply concerned with the disposition that produced the act, but to allow this emphasis to undermine the significance of the specific act is unwarranted. People are not relieved of their obligation to turn the other cheek simply because nonretaliation is essentially an attitude, not an action.The situation is both/and, not either/or.

Yet another way to qualify the Sermon is to introduce "escape clauses." It is held that the Evangelist himself has set the precedent in his addition (indicated here by italics) to the *logion* on divorce: "Every one who divorces his wife, *except on the ground of unchastity,* makes her an adulteress" (Mt. 5:32). In like manner the interpreter is called upon to supply the proper qualification whenever the ethic becomes impractical; common sense becomes the key to acceptable ethics. The danger here is that the commandments will become less radical in becoming more practical. Still another approach, which ends at the same place, is the tempering of each command with verses taken from other parts of Scripture. This analogy-of-Scripture view (as McArthur called it, pp. 120-22) robs the Sermon of its dynamic by reducing its ethical pronouncements to their lowest common denominator.

C. Limitation View. Another way to handle the demands of the Sermon is to limit them. Roman Catholicism has limited their application by distinguishing between "pre-

cepts" (binding on all and essential for salvation) and "counsels" (for the select few and leading to perfection). Dispensationalism has limited the demands by referring the Sermon in its primary application to some future kingdom age (cf. *Scofield Reference Bible* on Mt. 5:2).

The application of the Sermon's ethic can also be tempered by pleading special circumstances, which is essentially what Weiss and Schweitzer did with their "interim ethics." In this view Jesus believed that the end was at hand; thus His demands were never intended for normal history but were tailored to that revolutionary interval before the replacement of human society by the kingdom of God. This view of the Sermon as "emergency orders" stands or falls with Schweitzer's total understanding of the ministry of Jesus. "Consistent eschatology" rescues the eschatological note in Jesus' proclamation but, in the judgment of most scholars, has fallen into the opposite error of losing the "this-worldly" element.

Luther's view of the Two Realms is also a limiting procedure. In his lectures on the Sermon he developed the thesis that human activity may be divided into two spheres, the spiritual and the temporal. Only in the spiritual sphere is the Christian obliged to keep the commands of the Sermon as they are given. In the temporal sphere, the "kingdom of the left hand," the Christian may follow a somewhat different standard of interpretation.

D. Recent Theological Interpretations. The modern historical school explains the Sermon exclusively in relation to the history of that time. Windisch saw Jesus as a religious teacher rather than an eschatological prophet. He taught a religious wisdom which He Himself followed, and He expected the same of His followers. The task of the twentieth-century interpreter is to distinguish between historical exegesis (what the original author actually said and how it was understood by his hearers) and theological exegesis (the relation of these insights to modern problems). A. Wilder followed Windisch but went beyond him in demonstrating how the eschatological sanction in Jesus' teaching evolved from the "sapiential" sanction, thus making the two types of teaching less distinct than Windisch claimed.

The basic problem with Windisch's position comes from his placing the Sermon entirely within the legalistic context of Judaism and the OT. The message of Jesus resists such confinement. The very thrust of the Sermon's five antitheses is that kingdom ethics stands in self-conscious contrast to every form of legalistic piety. Kingdom righteousness is qualitatively distinct. It is an inner righteousness without which no one may enter the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 5:20).

A second interpretation is that the Sermon is designed to shatter our self-confidence and lead us to repentance, to bring about an experience of despair that forces us to throw ourselves upon the mercy of God. This "theory of the impossible ideal" (*Unerfüllbarkeitstheorie*) is the view of Lutheran orthodoxy and has been championed by G. Kittel in *Die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum* (1926). The major obstacle is that the Sermon itself contains no indication that Jesus ever intended it to be taken in this way. Jeremias called this view "a classic example of what the consequences are when one interprets Jesus in the light of Paul" (p. 9). Furthermore, as McArthur wisely noted, it solves the problem of measuring up to the commands only if repentance is conceived of as an alternative to obedience rather than a preliminary step in the right direction (pp. 125f.).

M. Dibelius is the popular exponent of a third view, that in the Sermon on the Mount one encounters the unconditioned will of God. Since these eschatological commands disregard human circumstances, they cannot be realized in this age. The demands retain their full weight, however, and the interpreter must bear the responsibility for adjusting them to earthly limitations. As the Sermon stands, it is God's absolute and unconditioned will for human life.

One last view — the christological — is represented by E. Thurneysen. He stressed that the demands of the Sermon are valid but find their fulfillment for humankind in Christ. This fulfillment does not exclude the demand for obedience, but includes it. The law of the Sermon is not a law that kills but a law that calls to life. To understand the Sermon as a law that must be fulfilled is to be guilty of a "Jesus-morality [that] drives men right into sin" (p. 78).

E. A Suggested Approach. How then should one interpret the ethical demands of the Sermon? A proper approach lies in the realization that many of the above-mentioned views have varying degrees of validity. Jesus *did* use hyperbole; the Sermon *is* primarily concerned with inner disposition; the commands *do* set forth the pure will of God; etc. The error of settling for one approach to the virtual exclusion of all others is the error of distortion by emphasis. A proper understanding of the Sermon combines all the best insights. On this basis the following interpretive guidelines are suggested.

(1) Even when allowance is made for Jesus' use of hyperbole, the quality of life demanded by the Sermon lies totally beyond what may reasonably be expected of human nature. No amount of literary reduction can render it prosaic or commonplace.

(2) The Sermon is not to be taken as a new law but as a description of the life and conduct of those who have entered the kingdom. Jeremias insisted that every word of the Sermon is preceded by "something else," i.e., the gospel (pp. 24-33). The Sermon retains only the apodoses; one must always supply the protasis, "Your sins are forgiven." Law demands, but the gospel challenges; the challenge is always on the basis of God's inexpressible gift. To take the Sermon as law is to violate its fundamental character. It boldly states the prophetic ideal (that "right actions should be the spontaneous expression of a right disposition in man") and vigorously opposes the approach of legalism ("character is, in the long run, determined by conduct") (T. W. Manson, *Teaching of Jesus* [2nd ed. 1951], pp. 295f.). It is, as Thurneysen said, "gospel and nothing but gospel" (p. 14).

(3) The Sermon is not a program for social reform but an ethic directed to those who have renounced the world in order to enter the kingdom. It is not a blueprint for the establishment of Utopia but a description of the divine transformation effected within the heart and life of individuals who open themselves to the grace of God.

(4) The Sermon is neither an impractical ideal nor a fully attainable possibility. Like all ideals, it grants direction without being overtaken by fulfillment. It describes true kingdom conduct in ultimate terms and challenges people to become what they really are in Christ. It is the "unattainable which we are yet bound to attain" (W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah* [1946], p. 85). Perhaps the best summary is that of S. MacLean Gilmour, who wrote that the Sermon is "the ethic of that transcendental order which broke into history in Jesus Christ, has built itself into history in the church, but whose full realization lies beyond history when God will be all in all" (*JR*, 31 [1941], 263).

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Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus (rev. ed. 1950); *IB*, VII, 155-164; J. W. Bowman and R. W. Trapp, *Gospel from the Mount* (1957); J. Jeremias, *Sermon on the Mount* (Eng. tr. 1963); H. K. McArthur, *Understanding the Sermon on the Mount* (1960); E. Thurneysen, *Sermon on the Mount* (Eng. tr. 1964); W. D. Davies, *Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (1964); G. Eichholz, *Auslegung der Bergpredigt* (1965); G. Schneider, *Botshaft der Bergpredigt* (1969); R. Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount* (1982). R. H. MOUNCE

SERMON ON THE PLAIN. The customary designation of the sermon of Jesus recorded in Lk. 6:20-40. According to v. 17, Jesus was standing on a level plain when He received those who were to hear His sermon, much of which is paralleled in Mt. 5–7 (*see* SERMON ON THE MOUNT). In Synoptic studies the two accounts are generally classified as Q material. Matthew's account is more than three times the length of Luke's, but parallels to much of Matthew's sermon are scattered throughout Luke's Gospel. This feature, coupled with the fact that both Evangelists leave traces of their editorial individuality, contributes to the problem of determining the precise relationship of the accounts, and scholars must wait for fresh data to form decisive judgments. Nor are scholars agreed on the literary design of Luke's report of the sermon, but a division into three major sections, vv. 20-26, 27-38, and 39-49, highlights the main lines of thought.

I. Beatitudes or Makarisms (6:20-26).—In contrast to the nine BEATITUDES in Matthew's sermon, Luke reports four. Whereas Matthew's makarisms emphasize personal characteristics of the addressees, Luke's formulations emphasize external conditions. The "poor" (v. 20) would have been understood by Luke's Greco-Roman audience as disadvantaged elements in the society. This is clear from other Lukan passages that contrast the poor with the rich (14:13, 21; 18:22; 19:8; 21:3), and especially from Luke's contrast of the fate of "poor" Lazarus (16:20, 22) with that of the unnamed "rich man" (v. 1).

The "poor" are those in need of compassion, mercy, and a helping hand. The ancient world viewed kingship as meaning responsibility for administering justice, with special consideration for the lot of the poor and the oppressed. Jesus' sermon therefore assures the poor that the kingdom of God is theirs, i.e., that they can count on God's intervention in their behalf.

Since a regular food supply is a primary need to be fulfilled by royal beneficence, the first explicit expression of divine beneficence in the new age relates to the alleviation of hunger (6:21). Subsequent passages in Luke-Acts illustrate the significance of this declaration and promise. Luke's Greco-Roman audience would have understood the feeding of the five thousand (9:12-17) from the perspective of their own experience with the imperial dole. Some might also have noted that the One who sated the crowd's hunger Himself became, according to 9:18-22, the object of the kind of hostility that Jesus associated in 6:22 with the makarism of v. 21. Luke's inclusion of the story of Lazarus and the rich man (16:19-31) shows that he understood Jesus' word concerning satisfaction (6:21) to mean that human beings would be involved in resourceful measures to care for the hungry. Acts 2:42-44, with its conjunction of concern for the needy with "breaking of bread," points in the same direction. In the absence of remedial measures, sufferers are assured that God, whose reign covers the future as well as the present, will meet all their needs, some in this life and far more in the world to come. Correspondingly, those who fail to serve as God's administrators to the poor will experience the woes pronounced in Lk. 6:24-26.

The blend of present and future perspective in the makarisms corrects any misunderstanding that the Magnificat (1:46-55) might have engendered with its traditional nationalistic eschatology. The kingdom of God is not to be identified with a restored nation of Israel. As the parable of the wicked tenant farmers and its sequel explain (20:9-19), it is Israel's hierarchy that is principally responsible for the persecution described in 6:22-24.

The series of four woes in 6:24-26 corresponds to the four makarisms. It should probably be construed either as homiletical application of Jesus' saying by a post-Easter and pre-Luke community, with adaptation by Luke, or as rhetorical rendition by Luke of other sayings of Jesus. The fact that Luke tended to reproduce traditions of Jesus' sayings with rather consistent fidelity (see J. Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums* [1980]) supports the former view. In their present literary context the woes indicate that the immediate enjoyment of the blessings anticipated for the new age — described in the Magnificat (1:46-55), the Benedictus (1:68-79), and the angelic proclamation (2:10-14) — has been thwarted.

The rich are said, in devastating irony, to have their "consolation" (*paráklēsis*) now. At one level this may appear to fulfil the prophecy of 2:25 concerning the arrival of the "consolation of Israel." But the present prosperity of the privileged is only an illusion. The promise of plenty for the hungry (1:53), like the joy associated with peace (2:10-14), is ironically echoed in 6:25. As 11:42-52 shows, Luke envisions certain Pharisees and legal experts (scribes) as the primary targets for this indictment. As a general category the rich are not excluded from the kingdom, but Luke does not underestimate their difficulty in entering it (18:25). The prosperous at their worst are represented by the rich man (16:19-31) and the retired farmer (12:16-21). Nevertheless, through a miracle of grace (18:27) even a person like Zacchaeus can be a genuine "child of Abraham" (19:9).

II. Reciprocity (vv. 27-38).—In continuity with 6:20-26, Luke explores in vv. 27-38 the theme of reciprocity, a basic factor in human relationships. The rights of the poor are not to be gained by vengeance exacted from the rich, nor is the overthrow of the rich the epitome of eschatological joy. Followers of Jesus have God as their model of reciprocity, and "the Most High . . . is kind to the ungrateful and the selfish" (v. 35). Greco-Roman auditors of Luke's Gospel would readily recognize the same benefactor-beneficiary model that underlay vv. 20-26. Although some ancient diplomacy was based on the principle of harming enemies and servicing friends (e.g., Lysias *Against Andocides* 7), the more enlightened policy of overcoming enemies through generosity and magnanimity, as expressed by Lacedaemonians (Thucydides iv.19.1-4) and echoed by Stoics and Pythagoreans (*Diogenes* viii.1.23), found creative expression in Roman domestic and foreign policy (e.g., Augustus *Res Gestae* i.3; iv.24).

III. Self-search (vv. 39-49).—This unit explores further the themes of self-centered moral exclusiveness (suggested in vv. 31-35) and the ultimate vindication of the poor through divine intervention (vv. 20-26). The entire unit (vv. 39-49) is constructed chiastically. Vv. 39f. appropriately introduce the illustration of mote and beam in vv. 41f. and the exposition of the learner-teacher relationship in vv. 46-49. Counterpart to the mote-beam imagery of vv. 41f. is the good tree-bad tree imagery of vv. 43-45. These last three verses formulate an answer to the verdict pronounced by the enemies (v. 22). The "sermon" ends, as the unit had begun at vv. 39f., with affirmation of the mutual responsibility of teacher and learners (vv. 46-49). There is no question about Jesus' credentials; it is the learners who must take inventory of their primary respon-

sibility — the hearing and doing of the Teacher's words.

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F. W. DANKER

SERON sē'ron [Gk. *Sērōn*]. Commander of the Syrian army of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. 3:13, 23). He led his army into battle against Judas Maccabeus, boasting that he would thereby "make a name for myself and win honor in the kingdom" (v. 14). Judas's much smaller band of soldiers, however, crushed Seron's forces at Bethhoron, killing eight hundred of his men (vv. 23f.).

SERPENT. A snake; a long, limbless, scaled reptile belonging to the order *Serpentes* or *Opidia.* Although serpents are not particularly abundant in Palestine, they are mentioned often in the Bible. The OT has eleven Hebrew terms for serpents. The NT has four Greek terms. The LXX employs two of these and three others, as well as several compound expressions such as *óphis petámenos* ("flying serpent," Isa. 14:29), *óphis thanatōn* (lit. "deadly serpent," Jer. 8:17), *óphis dáknōn* (lit. "biting/stinging serpent," Dt. 8:15). In spite of this extensive vocabulary, it is impossible to identify satisfactorily a single species. Nearly every reference states or implies poisonous qualities, and in no case is there any hint that a snake may be harmless, except in several expressions referring to this characteristic as extraordinary (e.g., Ps. 91:13; Isa. 11:8). Of the nearly twenty-five species that are certainly known to be found in Syria and Palestine, four are deadly poisonous, five are somewhat poisonous, and the rest are absolutely harmless. Apparently in biblical times they were all thought to be poisonous.

I. Species in Palestine and Syria.–The following list includes all the serpents that are known with certainty to exist in Palestine and Syria, along with the geographical range of each species.

A. Harmless Serpents: Typhlops vermicularis Merr. (Greece and Southwestern Asia), *T. simoni* Bttgr. (Palestine), *Eryx jaculus* L. (Greece, North Africa, Central and Southwestern Asia), *Tropidonotus tessellatus* Laur. (Central and Southeastern Europe, Central and Southwestern Asia), *Zamenis gemonensis* Laur. (Central and Southwestern Europe, the Greek islands, Southwestern Asia), *Z. dahlii* Fitz. (Southeastern Europe, Southwestern Asia, Egypt), *Z. rhodorhachis* Jan. (Egypt, Southwestern Asia, India), *Z. ravergieri* Menatr. (Southwestern Asia), *Z. nummifer* Renss. (Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Asia Minor), *Oligodon melancephalus* Jan. (Syria, Palestine, Sinai Lower Egypt), *Contia decemlineata* D. and B. (Syria, Palestine), *C. collaris* Menetr. (Greek islands, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine), *C. rothi* Jan. (Syria, Palestine), *C. coronella* Schleg. (Syria, Palestine).

B. Somewhat Poisonous Serpents: Tarbophis savignyi Blgr. (Syria, Palestine, Egypt), *T. Fallax* Fleischm. (Balkan Peninsula, Greek islands, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine), *Coelopeltis monspessulana* Herm. (Mediterranean countries, Caucasus, Persia), *Psammophis schokari* Forsk. (North Africa, Southwestern Asia), *Micrelaps muelleri* Bttgr. (Syria, Palestine).

C. Deadly Poisonous Serpents: Vipera ammodytes L. (Southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, Syria), *Vipera lebetina* L. (North Africa, Greek islands, Southwestern Asia), *Cerastes cornutus* Forsk. (Egypt, Sinai, Arabia), *Echis Coloratus* Gthr. (Southern Palestine, Arabia, Socotra).

To this list should be added the scheltopusik, a large, snake-like, limbless lizard, *Ophiosaurus apus,* which inhabits Southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, Persia, Syria, and Palestine. Though harmless, it is commonly classed with vipers.

II. Biblical Terms.–The names employed in Hebrew and Greek for various reptiles indigenous to Syria-Palestine do not always have exact English equivalents; i.e., one English word is sometimes used to translate more than one Hebrew or Greek term. The following is a list of English terms used by the RSV and the Hebrew and Greek terms they translate, See also Murison; Joines, *Serpent,* pp. 1-15.

A. Serpent. The general terms for all serpents are Heb. *nāḥāš* and the corresponding Gk. *óphis* (e.g., Gen. 3:1-4, 13f.; Ex. 4:3; Ps. 58:4 [MT 5]; 140:3 [MT 4]; Prov. 23:32; Eccl. 10:8, 11; Jer. 8:17; Am. 5:19; Mt. 7:10; Lk. 10:19; Jn. 3:14; Rev. 9:19). Other terms are *śārāp* ("fiery serpent," Nu. 21:8; Dt. 8:15), *śārāp meʿôpēp* ("flying serpent," Isa. 14:29; 30:6; see Joines, *Serpent;* pp. 42-60). *Nāḥāš ʿaqallāṭôn* ("twisting serpent") and *nāḥāš bāri(a)ḥ* ("fleeing serpent," Isa. 27:1; perhaps a reference to a constellation in Job 26:13), *tannîn* (lit. "dragon"; RSV "serpent," Ex. 7:9f., 12; Dt. 32:33; Ps. 91:13; cf. Gen. 1:21 [RSV "monster"]; Ps. 74:13 [RSV "dragon"]; 148:7 ["monster"]; Isa. 27:1 and 51:9 ["dragon"]; Jer. 51:34 ["monster"]; Ezk. 29:3 ["dragon"]. General synonyms for "serpent" are Heb. *zōhalê* (RSV "crawling thing," Dt. 32:24) and Gk. *herpetón* ("reptile," Acts 10:12; Jas. 3:7; etc.).

B. Viper. Terms rendered "viper" by the RSV are Heb. *šeṗîp̄ōn* (AV "adder"; Gen. 49:17), *ʾep̄ʿeh* (Job 20:16; Isa. 30:6; 59:5), *ʿaḳšûḇ* (AV "adder"; Ps. 140:3 [perhaps should be read *ʿakkāḇîš,* "poisonous spider," according to BDB, pp. 747f.], and Gk. *échidna* (Mt. 3:7; 12:34; 23:33; Lk. 3:7; Acts 28:3).

C. Adder. Terms rendered "adder" by the RSV are Heb. *ṣep̄aʿ* (AV "cockatrice"; Isa. 14:29), *ṣip̄ʿônî* (AV "cockatrice"; Prov. 23:32; Isa. 11:8; 59:5; Jer. 8:17), and *peṯen* (Ps. 58:4 [MT 5]; 91:13).

D. Asp. The RSV uses "asp" to render Heb. *peṯen* (Dt. 32:33; Job 20:14, 16; Isa. 11:8) and Gk. *aspís* (Rom. 3:13).

See also ADDER; ASP; VIPER; REPTILE.

III. Role in the Bible.–*A. Association with Satan.* The biblical writers portray the serpent as dangerous to human beings spiritually as well as physically. In Gen. 3 the serpent, characterized by his craftiness (*ʿārûm,* v. 1), beguiles Eve. This incident results in the loss of mankind's innocence and the acquisition of shame regarding nakedness (*ʿêrōm,* v. 7). (On the ancient Near Eastern background to Gen. 3, see Joines, *Serpent,* pp. 16-41). The resulting alienation between God, mankind, and the serpent is specifically stated in Gen. 3:14-19 and referred to throughout the remainder of the Bible (*see* FALL, THE). Although Satan (Heb. *haśśāṭān,* "the adversary") is not explicitly mentioned by name in this pericope, the serpent's activity is consistent with Satan's adversarial role elsewhere in the biblical writings (cf. Job 1:9-22; 2:1-10; Mt. 4:1-11; Lk. 4:1-13). In Rev. 12:9 Satan is identified by John as "that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world." But this predicament is to be reversed in the eschatological age, when neither the physical nor the spiritual welfare of mankind will any longer be threatened by the serpent or by Satan (cf. Isa. 11:8; Rev. 20:1-10).

B. In the Wilderness Wanderings of the Israelites. During Israel's wanderings en route to Transjordan serpents figured in a brief but memorable episode of rebellion. Complaining about the prospect of having to travel around Edom, the beleaguered Israelites rebelled "against God and against Moses" (Nu. 21:5). The Lord sent a plague of

venomous snakes against them as judgment for their distrust of Him and of Moses; many Israelites died as a result (v. 6). But after the people repented the Lord provided them a means of salvation: those who had been bitten by serpents were healed by gazing at a bronze snake that Moses constructed and mounted (vv. 8f.; see Joines, *Serpent*, pp. 85-96). This episode loomed prominently in the history of Israel. In Hezekiah's time Israelites were worshiping a bronze serpent they called NEHUSHTAN (2 K. 18:4; see Joines, *Serpent*, pp. 61-84). The author of the Fourth Gospel used the event in the wilderness as an analogy to Jesus' crucifixion: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life" (Jn. 3:14f.).

C. Figurative References. Most of the biblical references to serpents are figurative. Primarily the serpent signifies a threat to life (e.g., Dt. 8:15; Isa. 30:6); the serpent lurks in unexpected places and attacks people unawares (Gen. 49:17; Eccl. 10:8; Am. 5:19). Their poisonous bite made serpents an apt figure for the threats represented by the wicked (Ps. 58:4 [MT 5]; 140:3 [MT 4]), by enemies (Dt. 32:33; Isa. 14:29; Jer. 8:17), by the tribe of Dan (Gen. 49:17), by the Pharisees and Sadducees (Mt. 3:7; 12:34; 23:33; cf. Lk. 3:7), and by the effects of wine (Prov. 23:32), as well as by Satan himself (Gen. 3; Rev. 12:9; 20:2). The safety of those who trust in God (Ps. 91:13), of people in the millennial age (Isa. 11:8), and of Jesus' disciples (Mk. 16:18; cf. Acts 28:3-6) is depicted in terms of serpents being unable to harm them.

In a less negative sense, serpents were known for their craftiness (Heb. *ʿārûm*, Gen. 3:1; Gk. *parourgía*, 2 Cor. 11:3). This quality was recommended by Proverbs (1:4 [Heb. *ʿormâ*; RSV "prudence"]; 12:23 [*ʿārûm*; RSV "prudent"]) and by Jesus, who advised His disciples to "be wise [Gk. *phrónimos*] as serpents and innocent as doves" (Mt. 10:16).

Serpents were also characterized as mysterious creatures (Prov. 30:19). They could be charmed, but some were capable of outwitting the charmer (Ps. 58:4f. [MT 5f.]; Eccl. 10:11; Jer. 8:17; cf. Sir. 12:13).

Micah 7:17 prophesies that when the nations that have opposed God's purposes see the mighty deeds that He will perform "they shall lick the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth." "Licking the dust" — the curse pronounced on the serpent for leading Adam and Eve into sin (Gen. 3:14) — is a posture of humiliation and powerlessness.

D. Parallels with Pagan Creation Myths. Several poetic passages in the OT refer to a struggle between Yahweh and a giant serpent/sea monster/dragon in a manner that seems clearly to parallel similar accounts of a struggle between a high god and a sea monster in Mesopotamian and Canaanite creation myths. The similarity is particularly striking in references to a sea serpent called LEVIATHAN in the OT and Lotan in Ugaritic texts (e.g., cf. Ps. 74:13f.). Isa. 27:1 states that Yahweh "will punish Leviathan the fleeing [*brḥ*] serpent, Leviathan the twisting [*ʿqltn*] serpent, and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea." Cf. a passage in an Ugaritic myth expressing Baal's authority over the powers of chaos: "If thou [Baal] smite Lotan, the serpent slant [*brḥ*], Destroy the serpent tortuous [*ʿqltn*], Shalyat of the seven heads . . ." (*ANET*, p. 138; see also J. N. Oswalt, *Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* [*NICOT*, 1986], pp. 490f.). In Job 26:13 Yahweh conquers the "fleeting serpent" (AV "crooked serpent"), which parallels the sea monster RAHAB (v. 12). *See also* DRAGON; SEA MONSTER.

On the ancient Near Eastern archeological and literary evidence, see Joines, *Serpent*, esp. pp. 109-127.

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SERPENT, BRONZE. *See* NEHUSHTAN.

A cat representing the god Re destroys the evil serpent Apophis and puts a curse on him in this illustration from the *spell for getting rid of enemies* in the Egyptian Book of the Dead. Facsimile of a wall painting from the tomb of Sennedjem, Thebes, Dynasty XIX (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

SERPENT CHARMING. The Bible has several allusions to this practice (Ps. 58:5 [MT 6]; Eccl. 10:11; Jer. 8:17; cf. Sir. 12:13; perhaps also Jas. 3:7; *see* MAGIC II.A [4]) but never describes it.

SERPENT'S STONE [Heb. *'eben hazzōḥeleṭ*]; AV, NEB, STONE (OF) ZOHELETH zō'hə-leth. A stone beside the spring EN-ROGEL, where Adonijah held a feast to celebrate his anticipated seizure of the throne (1 K. 1:9). Evidently it was a sacred stone, for springs of moving water were commonly so regarded in the Semitic world. An echo of the stone's name may have survived in the modern Arabic ez-Zehweleh, a rocky outcrop in the village of Siloam, opposite the spring of Gihon. Most scholars, however, identify En-rogel with Job's well (Bîr Ayyûb) and not with the modern Virgin's Spring (Gihon, where Solomon's coronation was held, 1 K. 1:33-39). Four objections have been offered against the identification of the Serpent's Stone with ez-Zehwêleh: (1) it is uncertain that the modern Arabic name is derived from the Hebrew; (2) the name is applied differently: in the Hebrew to a stone, in the Arabic to a rocky outcrop; (3) the name is not confined to this outcrop near the Virgin's Spring but extends to the ridge along the whole village site; (4) names have been transferred from one locality to another in Palestine so often that no valid conclusion can be based solely on a name.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

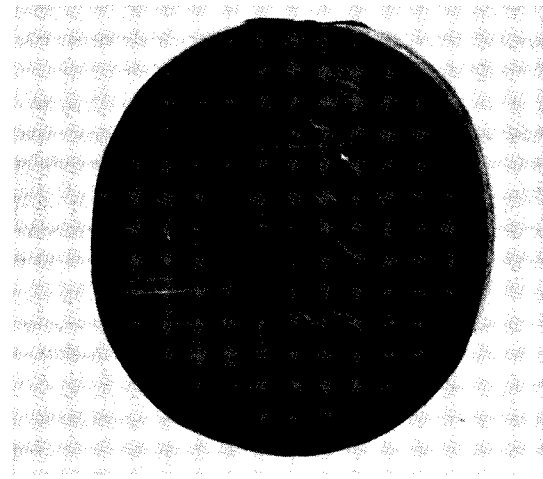
SERPENT WORSHIP. *See* NEHUSHTAN.

SERUG sir'əg [Heb. *śᵉrûg*; Gk. *Serouch*]; AV NT SARUCH. Son of Reu and father of Nahor the grandfather of Abraham (Gen. 11:20-22; 1 Ch. 1:26). Serug is said to have "lived after the birth of Nahor two hundred years, and had other sons and daughters" (Gen. 11:23). He is listed in the genealogy of Joseph the father of Jesus (Lk. 3:35).

SERVANT; SLAVE [Heb. *'eḇeḏ* (Gen. 18:3, 5; Ex. 12:44; 21:2; Nu. 11:11; 1 K. 1:26; etc.), *na'ar* (Gen. 18:7; Jgs. 7:10f.; Ruth 2:5; 2 S. 9:9; 1 K. 18:43; etc.), *'āmâ* ("maid-servant," Ex. 20:10, 17; "servant," 2 S. 14:16; etc.; "slave woman," Gen. 21:12; "female slave," Lev. 25:6), *šipḥâ* (1 S. 25:27, 41; "handmaid," 2 S. 14:15), *śāḵîr* ("hired servant," Ex. 12:45; Lev. 19:13; 22:10; 25:40; etc.), *nᵉṯînîm* ("temple servants," Ezr. 2:43, 58, 70; etc.), piel part. of *šāraṯ* (Ex. 24:13; 33:11; 2 S. 13:18; 2 K. 4:43; etc.); Aram. *'ᵃḇēḏ* (Ezr. 4:11; 5:11; Dnl. 3:26, 28; 6:20 [MT 21]), peal part. of Aram. *pᵉlaḥ* (Ezr. 7:24); Gk. *diákonos* (Mt. 20:26; 23:11; Jn. 2:5; Rom. 13:4; etc.), *doúlos* (Jth. 3:4; Mt. 25:14; 1 Cor. 7:21; 1 Pet. 2:16; etc.), *país*–'child' (Mt. 8:6, 8, 13; 14:2; Acts 3:13; etc.), *oikétēs*–'household slave' (Lk. 16:13; Acts 10:7; Rom. 14:4; 1 Pet. 2:18), *sýndoulos* ("fellow servant," Mt. 18:28f., 31, 33; 24:49; Col. 1:7; etc.), *místhios* (Lk. 15:17, 19), *hypērétēs* (Jn. 18:36; 1 Cor. 4:1), *douleúo* ("be servant," Gal. 5:13; "be slave," Gal. 4:9; Tit. 3:3; pass. "become slave," Rom. 6:18, 22; Gal. 4:3; Tit. 2:3; "make slave," 1 Cor. 9:19), *leitourgós* (He. 1:7), *therápōn* (He. 3:5), *paidískē* ("slave girl," Acts 16:16)]; AV also SERVITOR, NETHINIM, MINISTER, "young man," etc.; NEB also BOY, ATTENDANT, DISCIPLE, SERVITOR, etc. A person of lower status in a relationship.

I. OT.–Various types of subordinations within natural groupings (those based on birth, social class, residence, nationality) or voluntary associations (based on contracts or competition) in the OT and ancient Near Eastern literature use servant-lord terminology. It may be used of a person who serves another out of coercion (physical or financial), one who is a hired worker, or one who chooses to be at the disposal of another out of deference (1 S. 25:41). Any of the three vital social boundary markers may be articulated by this terminology: power, sexual status, or religion (see Malina, pp. 25-33).

Other than servanthood to an individual, the most important realms of servitude are to the monarchy, the temple, and God. Note the wide variety of relationships represented by servant-lord language: slave/owner (Ex. 21:2-6), employee/employer (1 S. 25:8), host/guest (Gen. 19:2), borrower/lender (Prov. 22:7), concubine/man (Jgs. 19:26), brother/brother (Gen. 27:37; 34:14), wife/husband (Gen. 18:12), sons of the prophets/prophet (2 K. 2:16), soldier/officer (2 S. 11:11), subject/king (1 S. 17:58), king/nation (1 K. 12:7), vassal/suzerain (2 S. 8:2, 6, 14; 2 K. 17:3), individual/God (2 S. 3:18), social sub-group/God (2 K. 9:7), nation/God (Dt. 32:43). A long chain of servant-lord relationships emerges in 2 S. 7–9: David/Yahweh (7:29), Mephibosheth/David (9:6), Ziba/Mephibosheth (9:2),



An onyx seal and impression depicting a fighting cock and the Hebrew words "(Belonging) to Jaazahiahu servant of the King." Late 7th cent. B.C. from Mizpah (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

and servants/Ziba (9:10). How many lords one has establishes one's relative status.

Israelite law distinguishes between hired servants and slaves (Lev. 25:6) based upon the voluntary/involuntary character of the relationship; but their functions are overlapping. One also finds a hierarchy among the servants (Gen. 24:2; 44:1). The monetary value of a slave was put at thirty shekels of silver in the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:32); this may be compared to the fifty-shekel value placed on a free adult male and thirty on a female (Lev. 27:3f.).

All subjects in a kingdom refer to the king as "lord" and themselves as "servants," including the king's family (2 S. 13:24 1 K. 1:17); the possible exception is the queen mother (see 1 K. 2:19-22). Furthermore, "the servants of Solomon" became an ongoing designation for royal servants even after the end of the monarchy (Ezr. 2:55, 58). The Israelite king could also be designated as a servant to the people (1 K. 12:7).

But a king may also be a servant to the suzerain king. At different times the Judean monarchs were vassals of Egypt (2 Ch. 12:8), Assyria (2 K. 16:7), Babylonia (2 K. 24:1), and Persia (Ezr. 9:9). The Israelite kings were vassals of Syria (1 K. 20:4) and Assyria (2 K. 17:3). In the ancient Near East a vassal took an "oath of servitude" (Akk. *māmītu ana ardūte*). But to be the servant/vassal (*ardu*) of the Great King could be taken as an honorable title, indicating a friend and ally (see McCarthy, p. 79).

Since the epithet "Lord" in reference to God takes its analogy from human honor relationships, everyone owes God allegiance as His servants (Mal. 1:6). This is made explicit in the epithet "Lord of lords" (Dt. 10:17; Ps. 136:3); viz., all lords are subordinate to Yahweh. The most common use of the self-designation "your servant" in human/divine relationships is in prayers or psalms of supplication (1 K. 3:7; Ps. 27:9; 86:4; Dnl. 9:17). This use also appears particularly in Hittite petitionary prayers (*ANET*, pp. 393ff.). The OT, however, reserves specification of an individual as "Yahweh's servant" or "My servant" for those especially faithful: (1) the head of a clan (Abraham, Gen. 26:24); (2) a national leader (Moses, Nu. 12:8); (3) a hero (Samson, Jgs. 15:18); (4) an Israelite king (David, 2 S. 3:18); (5) a prophet (Elijah, 1 K. 18:36; in general, 2 K. 9:7); (6) the "suffering servant" (Isa. 42:1); (7) Israel (Isa. 63:17); and (8) a foreign king (Nebuchadnezzar, Jer. 25:9). These relationships are unique in that they entail honor not only for Yahweh but also for the servant.

On "temple servants," *see* NETHINIM.

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K. C. HANSON

II. NT.–The lower position in a relationship of dominance-dependency was regulated in the case of slaves by various and extensive legal traditions in all Mediterranean cultures in the NT period. "There was no action or belief or institution in Graeco-Roman antiquity that was not one way or other affected by the possibility that someone involved *might be* a slave" (Finley, p. 65). The extent of the lord's or owner's control over the life, the family, the production, and potential freedom of the enslaved person varied greatly.

In contrast to the practice of the AV, *doúlos* should be translated "slave" instead of "servant" in order to point to the legal subordination of the "slave" as property of the owner. Yet in contrast to present connotations of the term "slave" in view of New World slavery in the 17th-19th cents., "slaves" in the NT texts must be described strictly in the profoundly different legal-social contexts of the 1st cent. A.D.

Furthermore, the significant differences among the three traditions relevant to NT texts (Jewish, Greek, and Roman) require examination of each text to determine which of the legal-philosophical frameworks was presupposed. For example, the Greek tradition tended to regard an enslaved person as inferior by nature (Herodotus, Aristotle, Cicero); the Jewish tradition saw the slave as one who had already become exclusively a "slave of God" by means of the liberation of his or her ancestors from Egyptian bondage and therefore inappropriately living as a slave of any human being (Lev. 25:55); and in the Roman tradition slaves on the one hand were rigorously regarded in much legislation as things and property ("chattel slavery"), yet on the other hand as fully human beings who were usually granted Roman citizenship when set free, as happened regularly.

Slaves did not constitute a class, since their social status was entirely dependent on the status of their owners. Those free persons who had to look for work each day without any certainty of finding it (day laborers) were at the bottom of the social-economic pyramid, not those in slavery.

The importance of the "extended household" (*oíkos*) in the NT period can hardly be overestimated for understanding the growth of the early Christian movement and its impact on those in slavery (Laub, pp. 19-62; Klauck). All the slaves mentioned in the NT are found in the context of extended households into which they had been born or had sold themselves (1 Pet. 2:18-25). The common practice of self-sale into slavery provided a model for freeborn persons who became Christians to regard themselves as having become "slaves of Christ" (1 Cor. 7:22) or "slaves of God" (1 Pet. 2:16). On the other hand, Christian slaves were encouraged to regard themselves as "freedmen" (*apeleútheros*, 1 Cor. 7:22) of Christ, who had bought them "with a price" (1 Cor. 7:23). In many cases such slaves became Christians along with their owners (1 Cor. 1:16; 16:15; Acts 16:15, 31-34; 18:8); yet it seems most likely that some became members of a Christian house-church without their owners' participation (1 Cor. 7:21; 1 Pet. 2:18-25).

The so-called household codes (*Haustafeln*) in Col. 3, Eph. 6, and 1 Tim. 6 are addressed to both slaves and their owners. Slaves are admonished to "obey in everything," "doing the will of God from the heart, rendering service with a good will as to the Lord and not to men." Owners are urged to treat their slaves "justly and fairly," without threatening, since they have a "master in heaven" who owns them as well as the slaves, and who shows no partiality. Christian slaves are not to take advantage of being "brothers" or "sisters" of Christian owners but rather "serve all the better" (see also Tit. 2:9). How a slave was treated depended entirely on the character of the owner.

In the larger cities, such as Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, and Antioch, as many as one-third of the population were legally slaves and another one-third had been slaves earlier in life. In the Roman empire manumission at age thirty was the rule. No kinds of work were, in principle, reserved exclusively for slaves. Freeborn persons and slaves worked side-by-side at the most menial as well as the most responsible tasks, e.g., as physicians, teachers, and business managers, as well as street-sweepers, handworkers, and

dockworkers. The emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54) used his own slaves to create the first Roman civil service; after their manumission (about age 40) they often pursued profitable careers. But those who became slaves of the state because of conviction of criminal charges were sent into the mines and rowing-gangs on the galley ships and were expected to die working.

All evidence suggests that it was not uncommon for Jews to own slaves in the NT period (Urbach), which is the social context in which Jesus drew on slave/owner relationships for His parables (e.g., Mt. 25:21; Lk. 12:45). Yet neither Jesus, nor the Twelve, nor the 120 at Pentecost appears to have been owners of slaves.

The use of "slave" language as a designation of a special and honored relationship to God in the OT is continued in the NT, especially by Paul, who described himself (Rom. 1:1) and Timothy (Phil. 1:1) as "slaves of Christ Jesus," thereby stressing not only his full dependence on Christ but also his place of honor in the OT tradition of Abraham, Moses, etc. In Tit. 1:2 Paul is designated as a "slave of God."

See also BONDMAID; BONDMAN; CHILD I; FREEDMAN; HANDMAID; HIRELING; MAID; SLAVERY; VASSAL.

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SERVANT OF THE LORD [Heb. *'ebed yhwh*]. This designation of a divinely appointed servant has arisen from studies in the so-called servant oracles of Isaiah, although the actual phrase does not occur in those passages. Much discussion has focused on the problem of the identity of the servant who was called upon to undertake a task of great spiritual importance for the Lord — an issue first raised by nineteenth-century European scholars.

I. Use of the Term "Servant"
II. The Isaiah "Servant Oracles"
III. Authorship and Date of the "Servant Oracles"
IV. Identity of the Servant
V. Israel, the Servant, and the Messiah

I. Use of the Term "Servant."–Hebrew *'ebed*, like its NT Greek counterpart *doúlos*, means a "slave," acquired either as a result of conquest in war or through an act of voluntary servitude by an individual who preferred service in some notable household to independent work. In the ancient Near East captives of war who demonstrated ability as administrators could rise to high positions in households, and the OT records a long tradition of proficient domestic stewards from the time of Eliezer of Damascus (Gen. 15:2) and Joseph (41:40) onward.

While the steward never became greater than his lord, to whom he was always indebted for his protection and material prosperity, by enhancing his lord's interests and objectives he could make his own position secure as well as contributing to the well being of the household. The influence of individuals such as Joseph and Daniel ranged far beyond the parameters of the royal households that they served before they became state officials. This tradition has been preserved in cylinder seals and other seals recovered by archeologists, in which a "servant" of the king is mentioned by name. Such a person was clearly no menial, obscure individual, but rather a highly placed official charged with the responsibility for carrying out the king's commands.

In religious terms those who worshiped a particular deity were his servants, bound to his cult by pledges of loyalty such as oaths and vows. The Israelites were the Lord's servants, and their covenant relationship with Him demanded this obedience and loyalty to the God of Sinai as the one and only true God. While the nation as a whole was God's servant, groups and individuals were singled out for special tasks within the larger national family. Thus Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are spoken of as God's servants (Gen. 26:24; Isa. 45:4; Ezk. 28:25), and Moses served conspicuously in that office (Ex. 14:31; Nu. 12:7; etc.). The prophets along with other faithful worshipers who paid the supreme price for their fidelity, are also referred to by God as "my servants" (2 K. 9:7). Of the rulers of Israel, Joshua (Jgs. 2:8), David (2 S. 3:18; etc.), Hezekiah (2 Ch. 32:16), and Zerubbabel (Hag. 2:23) are dignified by the appellation "servant of the Lord." This title is not even restricted to persons in covenant relationship with the God of Israel, for one notable foreign ruler, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, is also described in this manner (Jer. 25:9; 27:6; 43:10). It would thus appear that when the nation as a whole is referred to as the Lord's servant, it is within the context of covenant obligations. When an individual is so designated, he is a prominent person chosen to act on behalf of the Lord in an official capacity.

II. The Isaiah "Servant Oracles."–Nineteenth-century scholarship identified the following passages containing the servant motif: (1) Isa. 42:1-4 (or 1-9). This passage speaks of God's choice of a servant who will bring justice to the earth. The servant's mission will enlighten the Gentiles, who are said to be waiting for the rule of divine law. The servant's call in righteousness is pronounced as a covenant for the people to establish liberty and unfold a new destiny.

(2) Isa. 49:1-6 or 1-13. The divine servant is made aware of the predestined nature of his call and the enormity of the task confronting him. During a period of discouragement he still trusts in God's mighty power and sees his own mission as even greater than the restoration of Israel, namely, that of being a light to the Gentiles. These nations will respond to the Holy One of Israel in obedience to the favors that accompany the servant's mission.

(3) Isa. 50:4-9 (or 1-11). Here the narrator, evidently the servant, tells of his communion with God and his own submission to the divine will, despite discouragements and opposition. The servant trusts in God for the vindication of his mission, noting the blessings attendant upon obedience and the punishments coming upon those who despise God's word.

(4) Isa. 52:13–53:12. The narrative describes the initial humiliation and the subsequent exaltation of the servant. His mission is met with rejection as he suffers and atones for the nation's sin. But in God's will he will experience satisfaction as he triumphs over his adversaries and divides the spoils of victory.

While the intensive study of the servant oracles has been restricted to these passages, another Isaianic servant oracle embedded in a larger pronouncement concerning the "valley of vision" (Isa. 22:1-2) has apparently escaped the notice of scholars. In vv. 15-25 it is evident that Isaiah has been instructed to visit Shebna, the royal steward, and prophesy his destruction. Shebna will be replaced by God's servant, Eliakim son of Hilkiah, who will prove to be a true father to the nation. He is a genuine messianic figure who receives as his symbol of authority the key of the house of David (v. 22) and functions as a "peg"

(vv. 23-25; cf. Zec. 10:4) in a secure place. In harmony with the servant tradition of Isa. 53:7-9 it is significant that Eliakim's mission is to experience disaster (22:25).

III. Authorship and Date of the "Servant Oracles."–It is an axiom of liberal scholarship that the "servant songs" in Isa. 42:1–53:12 are the product of some person or persons other than the eighth-century B.C. Isaiah ben Amoz. Most commonly the author has been thought to be a purely conjectural figure styled "the unknown prophet of the Exile," or "Deutero-Isaiah." Some of the material was also attributed by certain scholars to an exilic "Isaianic school" in Babylon that had somehow survived the cataclysm of the Exile and was busily compiling the teachings of the long-deceased master to produce a section of the extant prophecy. On the difficulties of this simplistic view, see R. K. Harrison, *Intro. to the OT* (1969), pp. 765-786; *see also* ISAIAH VIII.C.

More objective evidence for the traditional authorship and date of the prophecy has been provided by the large Qumrân scroll of Isaiah (1QIsa[a]). This document, dated *ca.* 100 B.C., points to an autograph that was in existence "several centuries before the earliest date to which this manuscript can be assigned on any grounds" (M. Burrows, *Dead Sea Scrolls* [1955], p. 109). This conclusion effectively dismisses the notion of Maccabean authorship of any section of the prophecy, as well as the existence of an alleged "third" or "trito" Isaiah, held by some scholars to have been responsible for compiling later portions of Isaiah.

The format of the Qumrân Isaiah scroll points instead to a pattern of compilation that involves a holistic view of the material. According to W. H. Brownlee (*Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible* [1964], pp. 247ff.), the prophecy was assembled as a literary bifid, a device not infrequently adopted in antiquity for accommodating large literary compositions so that their contents could be more widely circulated in smaller half-units. The extant book of Isaiah would, on this analogy, have consisted of two parallel halves consisting of chs. 1–33 and 34–66. Brownlee's analysis showed that each half followed the same overall pattern of contents, so that the prophetic message would be quite evident even if only one half was available to a reader.

The Qumrân MS shows a distinct break in the text at the end of ch. 33; in addition, to emphasize the bifid nature of the composition, the prophecy contains a *merismus* at 1:2 ("heavens . . . earth") and in 34:1f. ("nations . . . earth") to mark the beginning of each volume. According to this analysis, which leans heavily upon ancient Near Eastern scribal methods of composition and transmission of literary materials, the extant Isaiah is not a pastische of utterances from several authors of widely-differing dates or times, but is a two-volume anthology of the prophet's utterances, carefully collected (perhaps by members of a contemporary "school") and organized in a sophisticated manner befitting the artistry of so gifted a person as Isaiah. If this bifid view of composition is basically correct, the extant prophecy, including all of the "servant oracles," need be dated no later than about 650 B.C. (*See* ISAIAH VIII.E.)

IV. Identity of the Servant.–The oracles seem to admit of both a collective and an individual interpretation of the servant. From 49:3 it would seem that the nation as a whole is being portrayed, but this then raises the question as to how the nation could fulfil the servant's atoning role and yet survive as a physical entity. Closer examination of the passage seems to indicate that the servant is called "Israel" because the nation had, by that period in its history, forfeited its own right to be called a "prince with God" through its repeated acts of apostasy. Vv. 14-21 draw a clear distinction between the nation's consciousness of being rejected by God and the covenantal love (*hesed*) which, having exacted punishment for sin, would bring about the restoration of the REMNANT scattered among the nations (vv. 22-26).

Israel as a people thus could not act as God's righteous servant, but those individuals who had remained faithful to covenantal spirituality were exemplifying in their own lives the obedience and righteousness that would be characterized supremely in the person and work of the servant. The fourth "servant oracle" makes it clear that the individual servant appointed by God was born to die a substitutionary death on behalf of the apostate nation (53:5-12). This act of atonement would assure the Lord's people that His covenant love would never leave them (54:10) and would be available to all who stood in need of it (55:1-9). This new covenantal relationship, however, would still be characterized by the same ethical considerations of justice and righteousness as the one that the Israelites had repudiated so consistently by their apostasy (Mic. 6:8).

In the light of these considerations early Christians usually identified the servant with the righteous, either collectively in terms of the faithful remnant of Israel, or as an individual historical personage. Following the general NT tradition (e.g., Acts 8:30-33), the Christian Church saw in Isa. 53 a messianic prophecy that was fulfilled in the work of Jesus Christ. This tradition began to be abandoned to some extent in eighteenth-century Europe when J. S. Semler (*Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canons* [1771-75]), J. G. Eichhorn (*Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur* [1794]), and other literary critics repudiated the Isaianic authorship of the "servant" materials.

Some scholars, e.g., J. C. R. Eckermann (*Theologische Beyträge* [1790)], W. Vatke (*Die Religion des AT* [1835]), and H. Ewald (*Die Propheten des Alten Bundes* (1840), then began to consider the servant as the ideal rather than the actual historical Israel, on the ground that the text supported a difference between the political or religious community and its constituent members. This position was adopted subsequently by British scholars such as S. R. Driver (*Isaiah: His Life and Times* [1888], p. 179) and A. B. Davidson (*OT Prophecy* [1903], pp. 437ff.). Any view that entertains such a concept of the ideal is necessarily conjectural, however, and in the case of the Suffering Servant encounters formidable difficulties in endeavoring to explain precisely how an ideal nation could die redemptively for the iniquities of an actual nation. A more realistic view was one suggested by H. E. G. Paulus (*Philologischer Clavis über das AT für Schulen und Akadamien. Jesaias* [1793]), which saw the faithful minority in Israel as fulfilling collectively the role of the servant. This work of atonement was supposed by Paulus to have occurred during the Babylonian exile. Unfortunately his view failed the critical-historical test in that it did not show exactly how this concept worked out in practice.

An attempt to root the servant in history as an actual personage was made by W. Gesenius (*Der Prophet Jesaja* [1821]), who envisaged the prophetic order as performing the responsibilities bestowed upon the divine servant. C. F. Staüdlin (*Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der biblischen Propheten* [1791]) identified the servant with Isaiah, while B. Duhm initially preferred Jeremiah but soon abandoned this identification in favor of some anonymous individual (*Die Theologie der Propheten* [1875], pp. 287ff.). E. Sellin was probably the most diverse in his choice of historical personages, identifying the servant successively with Zerubbabel (*Serubbabel: Ein Beitrag*

zur Geschichte der messianischen Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judentums [1898]), Jehoiachin (*Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil. I. Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterojesaja* [1901]), Moses (*Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdisch Religionsgeschichte* [1922]), and Deutero-Isaiah (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 41 [1930], 73ff.). T. H. Weir identified the Suffering Servant with Cyrus the Persian (*Westminster Review,* 169 [1908], 309ff.), while R. Kittel thought of him as a contemporary and associate of "Deutero-Isaiah" (*Zur Theologie des AT II: Jesaja 53 und der leidendeMessias im AT* [1899]).

F. Delitzsch proposed a so-called pyramid theory of identification; the base represented the servant's roots in the physical nation of Israel, which was succeeded by a spiritual Israel and culminated in the personage of the Redeemer-Messiah (*Biblical Comm. on the Prophecies of Isaiah* [Eng. tr. 1890], p. 236). This view was discussed widely but rejected by those who were intent on identifying the servant with a historical personage. S. Mowinckel (*Der Knecht Jahwäs* [1921]) distinguished between the servant of the oracles, who was an individual ("Deutero-Isaiah"), and the servant of the literary material preceding and following the oracles, who was the nation of Israel. He subsequently abandoned this position in favor of thinking of the servant as a personage belonging to future times (*He That Cometh* [Eng. tr. 1956], pp. 228f.).

The identity of the servant was even subjected to mythological interpretation by such scholars as H. Gressmann (*Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* [1905]), H. Gunkel (*RGG,* III [1912], cols. 1540ff.), H. S. Nyberg (*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok,* 7 (1942), 5ff.), and I. Engnell [1945], 31ff.; *BJRL,* 31 [1948], 54ff.). A more traditional messianic interpretation of the servant's identity was maintained by J. Fischer (*Isaias 40–55 und die Perikopen vom Gottesknecht* [1916]), F. Feldmann (*Das Buch Isaias übersetzt und erklärt* [1926]), A. van Hoonacker (*Het Boek Isaias* [1932]), J. van der Ploeg (*Les Chants du Serviteur de Jahvé* [1936]), C. R. North (*Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah* [1948]), H. H. Rowley (*Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the OT* [1952]), and many other scholars.

V. Israel, the Servant, and the Messiah.–Some justification for the enormous output of literature on the servant problem, of which only representative items are mentioned in this article, can be found in the fact that these passages of Scripture make an individual, a corporate, an ideal, and a historical interpretation possible at different times. If the servant is to be identified with Israel, the picture of the nation that Isaiah presents is quite different from that encountered in the historical writings of the OT. If the description of the servant is in any significant sense that of an ideal individual, it cannot be represented by a historical personage such as Hezekiah, Cyrus, or the like. Even the notion of a "corporate personality," as espoused by H. Wheeler Robinson (*Cross of the Servant* [1926]) and O. Eissfeldt (*Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja* [1933]), fails to be entirely satisfactory as an explanation of the relationship between the nation, the servant, and the Messiah; it does not delineate the functions of the servant over against those of the nation, and thus it does not show how the servant's functions could be transmitted from Israel the nation to an individual.

Of one fact, however, there can be no doubt: the servant of the Isaianic songs is by no means a lowly human slave. On the analogy of the cylinder seals that mention the "servant" of the king, Isaiah's servant exhibits certain royal attributes and as such is a highly placed individual who serves as the Lord's deputy. While the servant is not the only messianic figure depicted in the book of Isaiah, his atoning functions give him a unique status. This led the early Church to see the fourth servant oracle fulfilled in the person and work of Jesus Christ (cf. Acts 8:31-35), in spite of some differences between the Isaianic servant and Jesus the Messiah.

Christ's incarnation and atonement linked the house of David with the redeeming functions that Isaiah saw as a fundamental part of the servant's work, and this was recognized also by the apostolic Church (Acts 13:34). Whatever may have been the original understanding of the servant oracles, the work of the servant was fulfilled preeminently by Christ's atonement for sin on Calvary.

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SERVANTS, SOLOMON'S. *See* SOLOMON'S SERVANTS.

SERVE; SERVICE; SERVITUDE. *See* SERVANT; SLAVE.

SESIS sē'sis (1 Esd. 9:34, AV); **SESSIS** se'sis (NEB). *See* SHASHAI.

SESTHEL ses'thel [Gk. *Sesthēl*]. One of the sons of Addi who divorced their foreign wives in the time of Ezra (1 Esd. 9:31; cf. par. Ezr. 10:30, where he is apparently called "Bezalel").

SET ONE'S FACE. *See* EZEKIEL III.D; IX.D.

SETH seth [Heb. *šēṯ*; Gk. *sēth*]; AV also SHETH (1 Ch. 1:1). The third son of Adam and Eve, who was born after the death of Abel and the banishment of Cain (Gen. 4:25f.; cf. Josephus *Ant.* i.2.3 [68]). Eve called him Seth (Heb. *šēṯ*) because "God has appointed [*šāṯ*] for me another child instead of Abel, for Cain slew him" (4:25). But the official genealogy of Adam's family lists Seth as Adam's firstborn (5:3f.; 1 Ch. 1:1; Lk. 3:38). Thus it was through the line of Seth that the image of God, conferred upon the human race in Gen. 1:26f., was transmitted (cf. Gen. 5:3). When Seth was 105 years old, he became the father of Enosh (4:26; 5:6; 1 Ch. 1:1; Lk. 3:38; cf. Josephus *Ant.* i.3.4 [83]), and he died at the age of 912 (Gen. 5:7f.).

Genesis 4:26 states that it was during the lifetime of Seth and his son Enosh that people "began to call upon the name of the Lord." (Ex. 6:3 says that the divine name was not revealed until the time of Moses.)

Seth also figures significantly in other works, including apocryphal (e.g., Sir. 49:16), pseudepigraphic (e.g., Ascension of Isaiah; Jubilees; Life of Adam and Eve; Pseudo-Philo; etc.), and gnostic texts (e.g., Gospel of the Egyptians; Second Treatise of the Great Seth; etc.).

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SETHUR sē'thər [Heb. *seṯûr*–'concealed']. Son of Michael; an Asherite sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan (Nu. 13:13).

SETTING(S) [Heb. *mišbᵉṣôṯ*] (Ex. 28:11., etc.; 39:13, etc.); AV OUCHES; NEB ROSETTES; [*tip'ereṯ*–'beauty,' 'ornament'] (2 Ch. 3:6); AV BEAUTY; NEB DECORATION;

[*maśkîṯ*–'carved'] (Prov. 25:11); AV PICTURES; NEB FILIGREE; [*tuppîm*] (Ezk. 28:13); AV TABRETS; NEB JINGLING BEADS. The frame or bed in which a gem is mounted. The RSV's use of "settings" to render *tuppîm* is conjectural; usually the term denotes a musical instrument (cf. AV, NEB).

See FILIGREE; OUCHES.

SETTLE. The noun, denoting a wooden bench, is used by the AV to render Heb. *ʿazārâ* (Ezk. 43:14, etc.). The RSV more appropriately renders "ledge." *See* LEDGE.

SETTLE [Heb. qal and hiphil of *yāšaḇ* (Gen. 11:2, 31; 47:6, 11; Lev. 26:32; Dt. 2:12; 1 Ch. 4:41; Jer. 49:1; etc.), qal and hiphil of *šāḵan* (Ex. 24:16; Nu. 9:17; 10:12; Jgs. 5:17; Ps. 78:55; Ezk. 32:4), *gûr* (Isa. 23:7), *hāyâ*–'take place' (Dt. 21:5), *ḥānâ* (Nah. 3:17), piel of *kālâ* (Ruth 3:18), *nû(a)ḥ* (Ex. 10:14; Isa. 7:19), piel of *nāḥaṯ*–'level off' (Ps. 65:10 [MT 11]), *nāpal* (Gen. 25:18), *šāqaṭ* (Jer. 48:11), *rāḇaṣ* (Dt. 29:20 [MT 19]), *ʾᵉmānâ* ("settled provision," Neh. 11:23); Aram. *yᵉṯiḇ*–'dwell' (Ezr. 4:10); Gk. *synaírō* (Mt. 18:23; 25:19), pass. of *apallássō* (Lk. 12:58), *títhēmi* (Lk. 21:14), pass. of *epilýō*–'decide, solve' (Acts 19:39)]; AV also DWELL, SOJOURN, ABIDE, BE, DETERMINE, RECKON, etc.; NEB also REST, LEVEL (Ps. 65:10 [MT 11]), DEAL WITH, etc.

The primary sense of "settle" in the OT is to establish one's home in a certain place. The usual Hebrew words are *yāšaḇ* and *šāḵan*, both of which are often translated "dwell." Used transitively (in the hiphil stem), these roots take on the sense of giving someone a place to live (e.g., Gen. 47:6, 11; 2 Ch. 8:2; Ps. 78:55). Heb. *gûr* (Isa. 23:7), by contrast, is generally rendered "sojourn" and implies less stability; similarly, *ḥānâ* (Nah. 3:17) means to "camp" and often has military overtones.

But Eng. "settle" can also be transitive in a different sense, i.e., "determine the outcome, establish." This is the verb's sense in all the NT passages, where it represents a variety of Greek terms (e.g., *apallássomai*, "dispose of"; *títhēmi*, "put in place"). It also has this sense in several OT passages, e.g., Ruth 3:18, which uses the piel of Heb. *kālâ*, "bring to completion." In Dt. 21:5 the verb *hāyâ* (lit. "take place") relates to the social or legal processes for resolving disputes within a community. Out of such a process comes the "settled provision" (Neh. 11:23; NEB incorrectly "obligatory duty"); Heb. *ʾᵃmānâ* is related to the root *ʾāmēn*, "sure, reliable, true."

The use of Heb. *nāpal* in Gen. 25:18 is unusual; it may mean "settle" (although its usual meaning is "fall," including the sense of "fall upon," "attack"), or the text may be confused in some way. On the expression "settle on the lees" (*šāqaṭ ʾel-šᵉmārîm*) in Jer. 48:11, *see* LEES.

In Dt. 29:20 (MT 19) the RSV uses "settle" to render *rāḇaṣ*. The same Hebrew verb occurs in Gen. 4:7, where sin is said to "couch" at the door; the word usually refers to the crouching and stalking of beasts of prey such as lions. The Deuteronomy passage might best be rendered, "Every curse written in this book will lie in wait against him." The AV has simply "lie on him," while NEB offers "fall heavily on him"; neither catches the sense of sudden deadly attack.

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SETTLEMENTS [Heb. *môšāḇ*–'dwelling place'] (1 Ch. 4:33; 7:28); AV HABITATION; NEB also "places where they lived"; [*ṯîrâ*] (1 Ch. 6:54 [MT 39]); AV CASTLE; NEB ENCAMPMENT. The settlements mentioned in 1 Ch. 6:54 may have been enclosed by stone walls, according to the practice of nomadic tribes threatened by danger. Cf. the use of *ṯîrâ* in Ezk. 46:23, "a row of masonry."

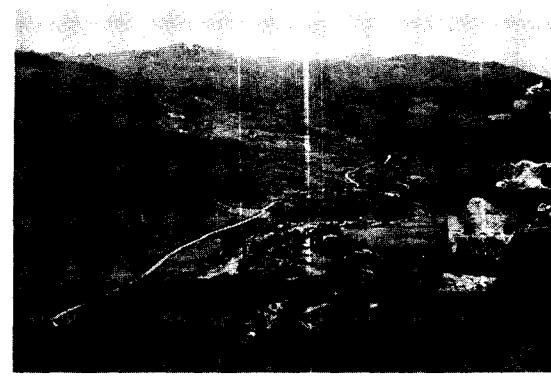
SEVEN. *See* NUMBER.

SEVEN CHURCHES [Gk. *hai heptá ekklēsíai*] (Rev. 1:4, 11, 20). The seven churches of Asia to which the book of Revelation is addressed, located in the cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (1:11). Individual letters are addressed to these churches in chs. 2–3. The use of the definite article ("*the* seven churches") may imply that they were a recognized group, the principal centers of the Church in the Roman province of "proconsular" ASIA. There are good grounds for accepting W. M. Ramsay's suggestion (*LSC*, pp. 185196) that these seven places were postal centers of the Church in Asia, the natural stages in sequence on an inner circular route from which an encyclical message to the churches could be most efficiently distributed throughout the province. This theory fits with the facts of geography and naturally explains the selection of these seven rather than other early church cities (Troas, Miletus, Hierapolis, Colossae, Magnesia, Tralles) or other major towns (Apamea, Cyzicus, etc.), all of which either lie beyond the most economical route or were otherwise best reached from one of the seven. A messenger from Patmos would land at Ephesus and proceed N through Smyrna to Pergamum before turning SE through the other four. If seven copies of the book were first made from dictation, secondary messengers could then take a copy from each center to its neighborhood or hinterland. Perhaps this distribution system was already established in Paul's day, if Ephesians be taken as a Pauline encyclical to the churches of Asia focusing on Ephesus.

The number seven at once suggests symbolical significance, but here it is related to a specific group of churches. In 1:20 the seven stars are explained as the ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES, and the seven lampstands as the seven churches. This explanation is not easy to grasp. The difficulty may arise from the use of symbolism in a manner alien to the more prosaic modern mind. Perhaps the stars and the angels are the heavenly counterparts, respectively, of lampstands and churches. It is simplest to regard the angels as in effect personifications of the churches.

The letters themselves are very rigidly structured, using repeated formulae. Each letter begins with an introductory declaration of the risen Christ, which uses images corresponding in almost every case to His attributes as seen in the Patmos vision of ch. 1 and presents Him in terms relevant to the needs of that church. The images in the

The countryside of Asia Minor viewed from the approach to Pergamum, geographical center of the seven churches (G. J. Wenham)



letters often derive ultimately from the OT, but they are pointedly applicable to the individual churches. They are reflected more fleetingly in symbols used later in the book and are taken up again in chs. 21–22, where the disabilities of the actual churches are finally transcended in the perfection of the heavenly Jerusalem.

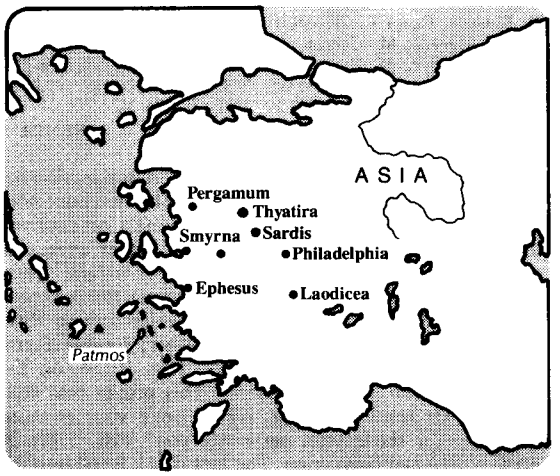
The writer of Revelation appears to have known these seven cities intimately. His prayer and meditation on Scripture relating to their needs formed the background for his visionary experience. The messages, then, must be interpreted primarily in the historical context of the churches, "the things which are" (1:19, AV). There is still much debate over certain features of that setting, since these touch on larger questions of the date and unity of the book as a whole. Some scholars have questioned the traditional dating of the book during a Domitianic persecution, either renewing arguments for an earlier dating or playing down the extent of the persecution implied in the letters. (Some have even assigned the letters to an earlier date than the final form of the book.) That persecution developed initially through social pressures. The references to Nicolaitans and "synagogues of Satan" may relate to opposite pressures from libertinism and Judaism. The struggle may have been severely intensified by the enforcement of emperor cult and the activities of informers under the suspicious Domitian.

The interpretation of the letters should focus on their content rather than on their literary structure. Some exegetes have tended to assimilate them to the pattern of successive sevens later in the book; by this approach they may be forcing these letters into an unwarranted "church-historical" mold. It is better to see their relatively concrete, contemporary imagery as the easiest direct approach to the book as a whole in its primary setting. The letters lend themselves to comparison and contrast: Ephesus and Sardis are in decline from outward success; Smyrna and Philadelphia are steadfast under comparable trials; Pergamum and Thyatira are compromised by paganism. Yet these pairings are situational and unsystematic, not structural, and do not detract from the individuality of each message. There is often a measure of identification between the characters of church and city. Thus the tepid water brought into Laodicea through a man-made aqueduct, where lime deposits encrusting the stone pipes still testify to its warmth and badness, provides a pointed image of the spiritual state of the Laodicean church: it was ineffectual rather than quite half-hearted (M. J. S. Rudwick and E. M. B. Green, *Expos.T.*, 69 [1957/58], 176-78), the self-sufficient Christless church of the affluent society. Historical and local study is thus important both for interpreting the larger situational context of the letters and for appreciating the pointedness of their detailed imagery.

EPHESUS (2:1-7) was the cosmopolitan center of Asia and had an outstanding, successful church, discerning in its rejection of false teaching, but called to repent and return to its "first love" on pain of being "moved from its place." The warning is couched in terms recalling the repeated changes of site in the city's long history. There may also be a background of contrast with the Artemis cult.

SMYRNA (2:8-11) was the city of suffering, which historically had "died and lived again." The name, being identical with the Greek word for "myrrh," lent itself to expressing the symbolism of suffering, death, burial, and the resurrection hope. The church is urged to be "faithful unto death." The "crown" is a rich local symbol of life, victory, and honor.

PERGAMUM (2:12-17) was the city of authority; as the provincial center of the emperor cult it was "Satan's throne," where the conflict between Christ and Caesar came to its sharpest form; here the Nicolaitans apparently advocated a ruinous compromise. The image of the "white stone" (*psḗphos*, "pebble" or "token") has been variously interpreted: it suggests Christ's acquittal and pledge of intimate relationship.



THYATIRA (2:18-29) was a city of trade guilds. The Christians' livelihood was at stake here if they did not belong and accommodate to the pagan basis of these guilds; "Jezebel," like the Nicolaitans, evidently stands for a radical pagan compromise. This longest and most difficult of the letters presents Christ as the true patron of daily work.

The church in SARDIS (3:1-6) had a name for being alive but had declined into a sham of outward show. Proverbially the city's impregnable citadel had fallen in 546 B.C., when Croesus had failed to guard it against the coming of Cyrus of Persia. The church, likewise, was negligent and complacent.

PHILADELPHIA, in sharp contrast, was weak and struggling but steadfast (3:7-13). The people here had taken to living outside the city because of fear of recurring earthquake shocks, and the church had "little power" and suffered rejection from the Jews, the professed people of God. The church is lovingly encouraged to endure: the conqueror will be a strong and stable pillar of the temple and will never "go outside."

In the letter to LAODICEA (3:14-22) the local references are more pervasive. The city was rich as a banking center because of its medical school and ophthalmic medicine and from its manufacture of black woolen clothing. Its affluence had enabled it to recover from earthquake destruction "by its own resources" (Tacitus *Ann.* xiv.27), and so it saw itself as prosperous and self-sufficient. The final appeal of this letter turns to the individual who will receive Christ.

As a group the seven letters give a penetrating analysis of the diverse infirmities of the Church. So brief a sketch cannot begin to explore them individually. See the articles on the separate cities.

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C. J. HEMER

SEVEN LAST WORDS, THE. A common designation for the sayings of Jesus from the cross of Calvary. Those who suffered crucifixion were usually criminals or captives in warfare. Their outcries were mainly either curses or complaints. The utterances of Jesus were unique. They serve as windows through which to glimpse the response of Jesus to His crucifixion and the situation around Him.

1. The Word of Forgiveness. "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" (Lk. 23:34; on the textual problem see the comms.). This prayer was consistent with Jesus' teaching, e.g., "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (Mt. 5:44). A great wrong had been done. The fact that it fitted into the divine plan to bring salvation to mankind does not change its character as sin for which mankind is responsible.

This prayer applied to the soldiers. They seemed to take delight in their task, sadistic rather than sad in carrying out their duty. This prayer also applied to Pilate, for he had acted out of selfishness and weakness (cf. 1 Cor. 2:8). The same applied to the Sanhedrin. As in the case of Saul of Tarsus, what they did was done in ignorance and unbelief, so they were forgivable. The OT knew only two types of sin — what was committed in ignorance and what was done with a high hand. Only the former was forgivable (Acts 3:17). Was the prayer of Jesus answered? Pentecost assures us that it was (2:41). The prayer also set a pattern for the followers of Jesus (e.g., Stephen in 7:60).

2. The Word of Salvation. "Today you will be with me in Paradise" (Lk. 23:43). Jesus had been deliberately placed between two criminals. Let the greatest sinner be seen in his proper company! It was a calculated insult (He. 12:2). These two men were not common thieves but brigands, men who were prepared to take human life in perpetuating their crimes. Both of them taunted Jesus at first (Mt. 27:44) but one later relented. Jesus appears here as a divider of men as well as Savior.

One showed his faith by accepting the fact that Jesus would have a kingdom (Lk. 23:42). Jesus countered the criminal's "when" (v. 42) by His own "today" (v. 43). *Paradise* answers to *kingdom*.

3. The Word of Relationship. Jesus spoke to His mother regarding John: "Behold, your son," and to John, "Behold, your mother," referring to Mary (Jn. 19:26f.). Drawn close to the cross by her love for Jesus, Mary must have longed for some word from Him. She was not disappointed. During her time of watching and waiting, memories doubtless welled up within her — the angelic announcement to her (Lk. 1:30-33), the arduous journey to Bethlehem and the birth of her child in the manger (2:4-7), Jesus' boyhood years in the home at Nazareth, the tension between the brothers and Jesus, the wrenching experience of His departure from the home, and much more. He never failed to provide for her and would not fail her now.

As for John, to look on Mary as his mother was both an honor and a responsibility. It is possible that he had a home in the Jerusalem area (Jn. 18:15). Mary may have been instrumental in winning her other children to faith in Jesus (Acts 1:14).

4. The Word of Abandonment. "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Mk. 15:34; Mt. 27:46; cf. Ps. 22:1 [MT 2]). Did He merely feel abandoned? No, it was a reality attested by the companion darkness that settled on the scene. The great teacher on prayer now finds prayer unavailing. God cannot look upon sin, and now His Son is bearing the sin of the world in His own person, taking the sinner's judgment. What a terrifying lofliness! Yet His cry appeals to relationship — not "God" but "my God."

5. The Word of Distress. "I thirst" (Jn. 19:28). His thirst at Samaria (4:7) was paltry compared to this: a heavy loss of moisture matching the increasing loss of blood. Jesus demonstrated His unselfishness by caring for the needs of others before voicing His own. Even then He made no request, but simply stated a fact. He graciously refrained from blaming anyone. The One who refreshed others is now in need Himself. His cry fulfilled Scripture (Ps. 22:15 [MT 16]) and brought a response (Jn. 19:29) that provided strength for His two remaining utterances.

6. The Word of Triumph. "It is finished" (Jn. 19:30). What was finished? The obvious answer is His suffering, but it is questionable that John would have included this word if it pertained only to His physical agony. The earthly life of Jesus was coming to a close, but His was an indestructible life (He. 7:16). His mission was now about to be completed. The work of salvation was becg accomplished. He had given His life, the just for the unjust, that He might bring sinners to God.

7. The Word of Reunion. "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Lk. 23:46). His remaining strength was spent in this final utterance. It was not a request but an announcement. He was going home. Also, He was about to become our forerunner into the heavenly sanctuary by opening up the new and living way of access to God through the curtain of His flesh (He. 10:9f.).

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E. F. HARRISON

SEVEN STARS. *See* SEVEN CHURCHES.

SEVEN, THE [Gk. *hoi heptá*] (Acts 21:8). A group of gifted leaders, "of good repute, full of the Spirit and of wisdom," chosen according to Acts 6:1-6 to look after the needs of the Hellenistic Jewish Christian widows, and referred to as "the seven" in 21:8.

The Seven themselves appear to have been Hellenistic Jews, and not Greeks as Cadbury maintained (thus in Acts 6:1 Luke calls the group they represent *Hellēnistai* rather than *Hellēnes*; for a discussion of Cadbury's and other views, *see* HELLENIST). All their names are Greek: Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus; indeed, the last-named is identified explicitly as a gentile "proselyte of Antioch," i.e., a full convert to Judaism before he became a Christian. As Hellenistic Jews these men probably came originally from the Diaspora and spoke only Greek (see Moule), unlike the Palestinian Jews, who spoke Aramaic as their native language but would also have spoken some Greek. Tension between the two groups was inevitable, since the former were more open to certain aspects of Hellenism while the latter remained intensely protective of Jewish cultural dis-

tinctives. There can be no question concerning the religious fervor of the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians, which after all accounted for their residence in Palestine; but they were by nature less rigid in their interpretation of the Law and more open-minded to new ways of thinking and acting. Thus the progressive work of both Stephen and Philip, in theology and mission respectively, serves as a kind of transition to the eventual establishment of the gentile Church, which took place primarily through the work of Paul. The suggestion that the Seven were Samaritans or influenced by the Essenes is at best speculative.

The Seven were ordained by the twelve apostles with prayer and the laying on of hands (Acts 6:6). Since they were appointed for service (Gk. *diakonía,* 6:1; cf. v. 2), in particular to attending to the very practical distribution of goods to the widows of their group, some scholars have thought that Luke intended this passage to represent the first ordination of deacons. This is improbable, however, despite the reference to "serving tables" (*diakoneín trapézais*) in 6:2, since Luke does not in fact call them *diákonoi* in the later, technical sense of the word (cf. 1 Tim. 3:8-13). Furthermore, STEPHEN (Acts 6:8–8:2; 11:19; 22:20) and PHILIP THE EVANGELIST (8:5-40; 21:8) became known not for their social work but for a broader kind of *diakonía,* a ministry of the Word that was not essentially different from that of the apostles (cf. *diakonía* in Acts 1:25; 6:4). The Seven were indeed a kind of Hellenistic Jewish Christian counterpart to the Twelve, who were most probably exclusively Palestinian (i.e., Aramaic-speaking Jews) despite the Greek names of Andrew and Philip. It is somewhat ironic that two of the Seven, rather than the any of the Twelve, became the catalysts for the outward missionary activity of the Church. The anonymous "men from Cyprus and Cyrene" who began preaching in Antioch to wider audiences than had the Twelve (11:19f.) should probably be linked with the Seven as well.

Of the Seven, only Stephen and Philip are spoken of again in Acts. Although it is possible, it is far from certain that the antinomian Nicolaitans of Rev. 2:6, 15 should be traced back to NICOLAUS (as alleged by Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* i.26.3). Later tradition associated Prochorus with John the Evangelist, as his amanuensis and as the pseudonymous author of the fifth-century apocryphal Acts of John.

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D. A. HAGNER

SEVENTH DAY. *See* SABBATH.

SEVENTY. *See* NUMBER.

SEVENTY DISCIPLES. A group of Jesus' followers whom He sent ahead two by two into towns He was about to visit (Lk. 10:1-20). It seems likely that the thirty-five pairs were sent to minister in the region of Judea, as the following summary of the context indicates. In 9:51-62 Jesus journeys through Samaria to Judea; in 10:1-20 He appoints the Seventy; in 10:25-37 He tells the story of the good Samaritan, which takes place in Judea on the Jericho road and in 10:38-42 He visits Bethany, the Judean town of Mary and Martha.

Variant readings in the Greek text of Lk. 10:1 raise the question whether this group of disciples numbered seventy (Gk. *hebdomékonta*) or seventy-two (*hebdomékonta dýo*). MS evidence slightly favors seventy-two, while internal (intrinsic) evidence strongly favors this larger number. The possibility of a symbolic use of the figure (70 or 72) has also been raised. Seventy, e.g., might be a stereotyped use ofu round figure to represent a moderately largenumber (cf. Jgs. 9:18, 56); or, since there were said to be seventy nations in the world (Gen. 10), Luke may have used the figure to refer symbolically to the universal proclamation of the gospel (see *TDNT,* II, 634f.).

Some have called attention to similarities between the appointment of the seventy(-two) and the commissioning of the Twelve (Mt. 9:37–11:1). The similarities include reference to the plentiful harvest (Mt. 9:37f.; Lk. 10:2), instructions concerning what may or may not be taken on the journey (Mt. 10:9f. par.; Lk. 10:4), and instructions concerning how to respond to acceptance or rejection (Mt. 10:11-15 par.; Lk. 10:5-16). Some scholars read these similarities as evidence of doublets; however, the similarities may simply indicate that the two groups were commissioned to fulfil the same ministry, although in different locales. The setting for the sending of the Twelve was Galilee (see Mk. 6:1-13), whereas the sending of the seventy(-two) took place in Judea. In each instance Jesus' purpose was to saturate the target area with the gospel of the Kingdom. Since the purpose was the same, it is not surprising that the instructions were similar, even to the point of duplication.

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D. W. BURDICK

SEVENTY WEEKS [Heb. *šāḇu ʿîm šiḇ ʿîm* ("seventy weeks of years," Dnl. 9:24)]; AV, NEB, SEVENTY WEEKS.

In Dnl. 9:24 the expression literally reads "weeks seventy" (NIV "seventy 'sevens'"). The "weeks" are commonly thought to be weeks of years (i.e., consisting of seven years each) by analogy with the "seventy years" mentioned in 9:2, and by contrast with the three weeks of days (*šᵉlōšâ šāḇuʿîm yāmîm*) mentioned in 10:2. But since the word for "weeks" in 9:24 is not followed by "of years," we cannot be certain that the expression means an exact period of seven years. It is probably best to think of Daniel's seventy weeks as meaning periods of unspecified duration.

It should be noted that the vision of the seventy weeks came to Daniel in answer to his prayer of confession and his request for the return of God's favor to Jerusalem (9:3-19). The purpose of the visionis to reveal to Daniel what God has in store for His people in the future.

The common dispensational view of Dnl. 9:24-27 (summarized in *The New Scofield Bible* [1967], p. 913) is that the passage concerns only the Jews. The beginning of the seventy weeks, thought of as being weeks of years, is set at 445 B.C. During the time of the first sixty-nine weeks (seven plus sixty-two, as in v. 25, AV, NIV), "the Messiah,hhe Prince" (so AV) shall come (i.e., Jesus Christ) and Jerusalem and the temple shall again be rebuilt. After the first sixty-nine weeks Christ shall be put to death ("shall Messiah be cut off," v. 26, AV) and Jerusalem and the temple shall be destroyed by "the people of the prince that shall come" (AV). This last-named event occurred in A.D. 70. Both of the events mentioned in v. 26 are said to precede the seventieth week. Since what is said to happen during the seventieth week (v. 27) has

not yet occurred, the entire period of church history fills the interim between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth week. The seventieth week will begin with the rapture of the Church; the one who "shall confirm the covenant with many for one week" (AV) is the antichrist, who will break his covenant with the Jews in the middle of the week and thus usher in the "great tribulation."

The dispensational interpretation of this passage involves several exegetical problems. (1) When Gabriel says to Daniel, "Seventy weeks are decreed . . . " (v. 24), there is no indication that a gap of more than 1900 years must intervene between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth week; the obvious meaning is that the seventy weeks will be consecutive. (2) All the blessings promised in v. 24 (which are the goal of the seventy weeks) have been fulfilled in Christ, and none needs to wait for a future fulfillment. (3) What is predicted in v. 27 does not follow upon what is predicted in v. 26, as dispensationalists contend, but repeats what was said in v. 26, locating the death of the Messiah in the seventieth week; the poetic structure of the passage is marked by "repetition with elaboration" (see J. B. Payne, *JETS*, 21 [1978], 109). (4) The view that the one who "shall confirm the covenant with many" (v. 27) is the antichrist is an assumption without a clear textual basis.

The traditional messianic interpretation of this passage holds that, though this prediction refers primarily to Israel, it ultimately concerns all who will benefit from the work of the Messiah — in other words, the entire Church. Christ at His first coming carried out the six great transactions mentioned in v. 24. After the sixty-nine "weeks" have passed (see AV, NIV), Jerusalem and the temple having been rebuilt by that time, Christ, the Anointed One, will be put to death ("cut off," v. 26), and Jerusalem and the temple will once again be destroyed (these words refer to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman emperor Titus in A.D. 70). Repeating what was said in v. 26, v. 27 describes in further detail what will happen during the seventieth week (which follows immediately after the sixty-ninth). "He [i.e., Christ] will confirm a covenant with many" (NIV) *in* or *during* one week (since no preposition precedes the expression "one week" in the Hebrew [*šāḇû(a)ʿ ʾeḥāḏ*], this expression can be understood as simply an accusative of time, indicating when v. 27 will happen; see GKC, § 118i; note the parallels in Gen. 14:4; 27:45; Jgs. 14:12; Ps. 5:3 [MT 4]). During this seventieth week, therefore, by His sacrificial obedience Christ will confirm (cf. Rom. 15:8) the covenant of grace that had previously been made with the people of God. In the middle (NIV; cf. AV, NEB) of the seventieth week Christ will die on the cross, thus causing sacrifice and offering to cease by making them unnecessary (see, e.g., He. 7:27; 9:26-28; 10:8f.; and note the rending of the curtain of the temple immediately after Jesus' death [Mt. 27:51]).

Bibliography.—O. T. Allis, *Prophecy and the Church* (1945), pp. 111-123; P. Mauro, *Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation* (1923); A. J. McClain, *Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks* (1940); E. J. Young, *Prophecy of Daniel* (1949), pp. 191-221.

A. A. HOEKEMA

SEVENTY YEARS. The period of the Judean exile in Babylon according to the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 25:11f.; 29:10).

Since the number seventy represented completeness, seventy years seems to have been a conventional designation of a full period of time, such as a person's typical life expectancy (Ps. 90:10) or a time of divine disfavor. The prophet Jeremiah applied this conventional time span to the desolation of Jerusalem and Judah (Jer. 25:11f.; 29:10). It is used similarly in Isa. 23:15, 17 with respect to the period during which Tyre will "be forgotten," i.e., lie waste. R. Borger found a similar use of this time span by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon in reference to Babylon's period of devastation (*Inschriften Asarhaddons*, p. 15). He concluded that this evidence, together with the biblical evidence, suggests that seventy years was a proper or conventional period for an ancient Oriental city to lie in waste.

In the Persian period the biblical writers understood the seventy years to refer to an exact period of time for the desolation of Jerusalem and therefore of the temple (Zec. 1:12; 7:5), or of the land of Judah in general (2 Ch. 36:21). Whitley (*VT*, 4 [1954]) argued that the period from the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C. to its rededication in 516 represented precisely the seventy years referred to in the postexilic texts.

2 Chronicles 36:21 explains the role of the Exile in God's purpose by interpreting the prophecy of Jeremiah in the light of the warning in Lev. 26:34f. Dnl. 9 also refers to Jeremiah's prophecy (v. 2); based on the warnings in Lev. 26:18, 34f., the seventy years is interpreted as "seventy weeks of years" (Dnl. 9:24; *see* SEVENTY WEEKS).

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E. B. WHALEY

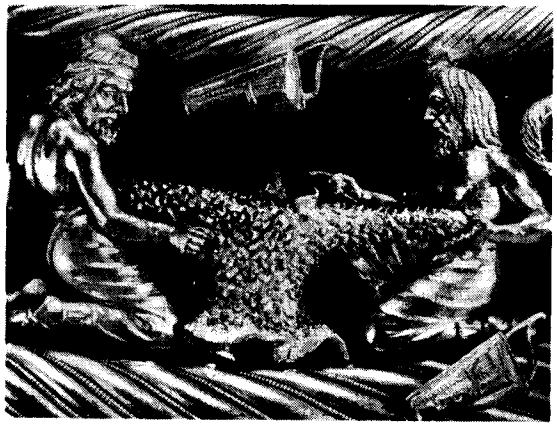
SEVER. A term used by the RSV and NEB in two different senses. In Lev. 5:8 it refers to cutting off a bird's head (Heb. hiphil of *bāḏal*, lit. "divide, separate"; AV "divide asunder"); cf. RSV Jth. 13:8; 16:9; 4 Macc. 9:21; 15:20. In Gal. 5:4 it refers to a broken relationship (Gk. *katargéō*, lit. "be estranged"; AV "become of no effect").

In the AV "sever" generally refers to the setting apart of people, animals, or lands (Heb. hiphil of *bāḏal* in Lev. 20:26; Dt. 4:41; Ezk. 39:14; hiphil of *pālâ* in Ex. 8:22; 9:4; niphal of *pāraḏ* in Jgs. 4:11). In Mt. 13:49 it represents a final judicial segregation of the wicked from the righteous (Gk. *aphorízō*). *See* SEPARATE. N. J. O.

SEVERAL. An adjective sometimes supplied by the RSV to emphasize the individuality (i.e., separateness and distinctness) of the things referred to: territories (Josh. 19:49), families (21:33, 40), gates (2 Ch. 8:14), cities (31:19), or portions (Ezk. 48:29). Similarly, the AV uses the term in Mt. 25:15 to render Gk. *ídios*, which means "belonging to an individual"; cf. 1 Cor. 12:11, AV, where "severally" renders the adverb *idíą* (RSV "individually"). In 2 K. 15:5 par. 2 Ch. 26:21, AV, "several" means SEPARATE. Only in Acts 9:19, RSV, is the term used to indicate an indefinite quantity of more than two but less than many (Gk. *tinés*).

SEW [Heb. *tāpar* (Gen. 3:7; Job 16:15; Eccl. 3:7; piel, Ezk. 13:18); Gk. *epiráptō* (Mk. 2:21)]; NEB also STITCH, MEND. To fasten (material) together by stitches.

Judging by the bone awls that have been found, scholars believe that sewing originated in two separate processes at some time in the Stone Age. The first process involved punching holes in leather (or later cloth); the second involved putting leather or fiber laces through the holes to fasten two pieces of material together. The invention of the needle made it possible to carry out both processes with the same tool, as the sharp end pierced the hole and the eye carried the thread through it. Metal needles (of copper and of bronze) appeared in the Early Bronze Age, as did large pins and toggle pins. Clothing at



Two Scythians are sewing a shirt made of animal skin in this detail from a gold pectoral. Scythian, 4th cent. B.C. (Lee Boltin)

the time was not cut and sewn but was formed of a length of cloth wrapped around the waist and held in place by a woven sash or a metal pin. Sometimes an end was thrown over the shoulder and fastened with a toggle pin, so that the length also covered the upper part of the body.

It is not clear when sewing as a means of constructing everyday garments came into general use. There are no clear biblical references to such a practice, although the Nineveh gate representations of Sennacherib's siege of Lachish (end of the 7th cent. B.C.) show the inhabitants of Judah wearing garments that may have been sewn (*ANEP*, nos. 371-73). The humor of Gen. 3:7 (sewing garments of fig leaves for the sake of modesty) would have been clear to every ancient hearer; they all knew how quickly fig leaves, once plucked, curl up and wither away.

The verb *tāpar* seems to have been used for patching clothing or fastening small things. Ezk. 13:18 speaks of fastening on wrist ornaments by sewing, while in Job 16:15 sackcloth is sewn together to be worn as a symbol of mourning. In Job 14:17, an allegorical verse, the verb *ṭapal* (AV "sew"; RSV "cover"; NEB "keep under seal") is used to describe fastening the mouth of a sack.

Both Eccl. 3:7 and Mk. 2:21 speak of patching or mending in contrast to tearing. It is probably in this sense also that Jesus' "seamless" (Gk. *áraphos*) robe (Jn. 19:23) should be understood. Since approximately four hundred hours of work went into the production of a single garment, mending was a common and essential practice; the Greek verb *rháptō* refers to mending or patching rather than new sewing. Instead of trying to imagine some unusual sort of loom in first-century Galilee, when it is known that looms at that time wove flat lengths of cloth (*see* WEAVING), we must understand *áraphos* as "unpatched," i.e., woven in one piece and so new that no additional pieces had been patched on.

See also GARMENTS. D. IRVIN

SEX; SEXUALITY. The word "sex" appears only once in the RSV, in the instruction to husbands in 1 Pet. 3:7 to treat their wives considerately as "the weaker sex" (Gk. *asthenésteron skeúos*). "Sex" here is evidently a reference to gender, but the word it translates (Gk. *skeúos*; AV "vessel") is a figurative reference to woman based on an established euphemism for sexual intercourse ("to use as a vessel"; see *TDNT*, VII, 362; cf. 1 Thess. 4:4). The Bible has much more to say about sex than this one reference — both about issues of gender and about issues of sexual conduct and disposition. There is, however, no single biblical Hebrew or Greek term that covers the wide range of meanings subsumed under Eng. "sex."

Issues of sex and sexuality pervade every part of biblical literature. The Torah regulates sexual activity and establishes sexual roles. Prophetic literature uses sexual metaphors in its announcement of God's judgment on covenant unfaithfulness. Wisdom literature distinguishes wise sexual conduct from foolish and uses sexual imagery to characterize wisdom. The Gospels use the memory of Jesus' words and deeds to shape the sexual conduct and dispositions of His followers. The Epistles deal with concrete questions of sexual conduct. Revelation contains sexual imagery and instruction.

The pervasiveness of sexual imagery and instruction is not surprising, for sexuality was a fundamental issue for personal identity and communal life in biblical times even as it is today. The biblical materials, however, often reflect convictions about sex that arise out of their cultural context, and they can be little understood or appreciated without some awareness of that context.

I. Background
  A. To the OT
    1. Egypt
    2. Mesopotamia
  B. To the NT
    1. Judaism
    2. Hellenism
II. Terminology
  A. Gender
    1. Man, Woman, Humankind
    2. Male and Female
  B. Sexual Organs
    1. Flesh
    2. Loins, Thigh
    3. Foot, Feet
    4. Hand
    5. Nakedness
    6. Belly, Womb
    7. Breast
  C. Sexual Function
    1. Sexual Union
    2. Conception
III. Canonical Literature
  A. Torah
    1. Marital Intercourse
    2. Extramarital Intercourse
    3. Prostitution
    4. Incest
    5. Emissions of Semen
    6. Homosexuality
    7. Bestiality
  B. Prophetic Literature
  C. Wisdom Literature
  D. Jesus and the Gospels
  E. The Epistles
  F. Revelation
IV. Canonical Perspectives on Sex: A Summary
  A. Sex and the God of Scripture
  B. Human Gender: Creation, Patriarchalism, and Redemption
  C. Human Sexuality: Fecundity, Sobriety, Delight

I. Background.–A. To the OT. Israel's attitude toward sex and sexuality shared much with its cultural context and in part reflected the attitudes of its neighbors. The patriarchal structure of society and many of the laws concerning sexual activity were common to Israel and the ancient Near East. (*See also* WOMAN II.A.).

1. Egypt. In Egyptian religion the gift of sex was bestowed on the earth by the chief god of the Egyptian

pantheon, the sun-god Re: "I am he who made the bull for the cow, so that sexual pleasures might come into being" (*ANET*, p. 13). The most significant sexual relationship among the gods is found in the myth of Isis and Osiris. Seth and Osiris, two male gods, vie for supremacy in the universe. Seth, representing the forces of chaos and destruction, murders Osiris, the god of agriculture and standing grain, and cuts him into pieces. Osiris's wife-sister consort Isis gathers his pieces, brings him back to life, and bears him a son, Horus.

Nudity was common in Egypt until the 13th cent. B.C.; illustrations on tomb walls portray nearly-nude dancing girls and female musicians (*see* pictures in DANCE; MUSIC). But sexual intercourse was prohibited in sacred places, and after sexual activity or menstruation one was not permitted to enter such places before going through a process of ritual purification. There is no evidence that ritual cultic prostitution took place in the temples: the pharaoh alone functioned to assure continued agricultural and animal productivity.

The Egyptians practiced circumcision, as attested on tomb paintings (*see* picture in CIRCUMCISION). Herodotus claimed that the Egyptians were the first to circumcise (ii.104).

Egyptians tended to be monogamous, although kings and nobles could have more than one wife. Adultery by a female could be punished by death, but a married male was permitted more than one sexual partner. The marriage of brothers and sisters was an acceptable custom in Egypt. Sanction for this custom is found in the goddess Isis's marriage to her brother Osiris and in Nephthys's marriage to her brother Seth.

2. Mesopotamia. Sexual intercourse was simply one of many facets of life to the ancient Mesopotamians, who evidence no inhibitions about sexuality and sexual behavior. The Sumerian ideograms for male and female are cuneiform representations of the respective male and female sexual organs. But openness about sexuality did not imply equality between the genders. Women were considered property, and adultery was a breach of the husband's property rights; thus sexual offenses with married women were treated differently from those with unmarried women. Marriage was primarily for procreation, and the male was free to pursue sexual fulfillment elsewhere if he desired. Prostitution was accepted and was widely practiced. In a highly erotic passage of the Gilgamesh Epic a prostitute seduces the wild man Enkidu as part of a plan to entice him to come to Uruk to meet the hero Gilgamesh.

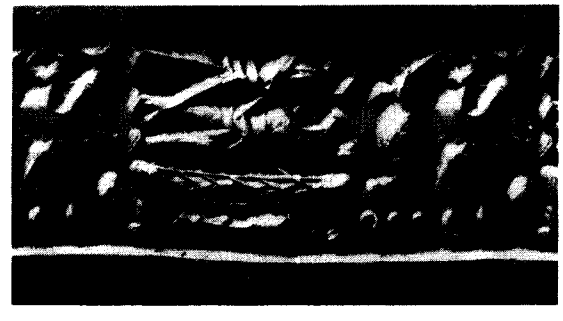
Middle Assyrian laws prohibited homosexuality (*ANET*, p. 181 § 20), and allegations of homosexual conduct — as well as of adultery — were considered libelous and were punishable (§§ 18f.). Male cult prostitutes who served the goddess Ishtar at the temple in Erech were called men "whose manhood Ishtar has changed into womanhood" (W. G. Lambert, *Jaarbericht . . . Ex Oriente Lux*, 15 [1957-1958], 184-196). Incest was forbidden: "If a man violates his own mother, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his son, it is a capital crime" (G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, I. [1952], 71 § 189). Bestiality was likewise a capital crime (§ 187).

The realm of the gods consisted of male and female deities. The creation of the world, according to the Babylonian creation story *Enuma Elish*, occurred by the mating of Apsu, the fresh-water ocean, with Tiamat, the salt-water ocean. The Mesopotamian goddess Inanna, later called Ishtar and Ashtarte, was the embodiment of love and the power of procreation. Numerous clay and stone figurines depicting sexual activities have been found on the sites of temples to Ishtar. Human sexuality was thought to be connected with the fertility of nature. During the New Year Festival celebrations a priest and priestess engaged in ritual intercourse to secure agricultural fertility for the coming year. At Ugarit the chief of the gods, 'El, was called the "creator of the earth," and his consort Asherah was called "creatress of the gods." The next generation of gods was ruled by another male-female pair, Baal and Anath.

B. To the NT. The Christian Church began within the Jewish faith of the 1st cent. A.D. and expanded throughout the Hellenistic world. The Church was constrained to relate to the moral traditions and practice of first-century

A Babylonian earthenware stele depicting a god embracing his consort (*ca.* 2000-1700 B.C.) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

An Akkadian cylinder seal from Tell Asmar depicting a god and goddess consummating a ritual marriage during the Babylonian New Year Festival. The scorpion below the bed may represent Ishtar, the goddess of love (mid-third millennium B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



Judaism and Hellenism, and early Christian perspectives on gender and sexuality must be understood against that background.

1. Judaism. Jewish traditions and practices were not monolithic. The popularity of the book of Judith, with its widowed heroine remarkable for her intelligence and piety, her beauty and purity, and her dedication to Israel's national survival, stands as witness to one perspective. Quite another perspective is represented by Rabbi Eliezer's infamous claim that "every man who teaches his daughter Torah is as if he taught her promiscuity" (Mish. *Sotah* iii.4).

In the Judaism of the 1st cent. A.D. men were expected to learn and to keep the Torah. Among other things, this meant that men had a duty in obedience to Gen. 1:28 to marry and to have children (e.g., Mish. *Yebamoth* vi.6; some Essenes, however, eschewed marriage, according to Josephus *BJ* ii.8.13 [160]). Women were not expected to learn or keep the law (although some did, like Judith, in spite of Rabbi Eliezer); "All we [men] can expect from them [women] is that they bring up our children and keep us from sin" (T. B. *Yebamoth* 63a).

Women could expect to be "given in marriage" and, once married, were expected to have children and care for them. If they failed to have children they could be blamed and even (after ten years) divorced (Mish. *Yebamoth* vi.6). They were expected to satisfy their husbands sexually and avoid tempting another to immorality; thus they were veiled in public and segregated as much as possible from men. At the synagogues and Herod's temple they were excluded from the court of the men.

In the patriarchal household and society in general women could be praised and honored, but they could also be treated spitefully. Monogamy seems to have been culturally established by the 1st cent. A.D., although polygamy was still legitimate and was sometimes practiced among the wealthy. Divorce was exclusively a male prerogative.

Sexual immorality proscribed by the Torah included fornication, adultery, homosexual behavior, and "unlawful" marriages. Such immorality was linked with idolatry and gentile ignorance of God. All such offenses (and the suspected gentile susceptibility to them), especially homosexual offenses, were abhorent to the Jews (e.g., Wisd. 13:1–14:12; Sib. Or. 3:584-606; Philo *De Abrahamo* 134-144).

2. Hellenism. The Jewish suspicions were not altogether unfounded. Greek culture was much more tolerant of prostitution, fornication, adultery, and homosexuality than Judaism. The wealthy men "keep mistresses for pleasure, concubines for daily concubinage, and wives . . . in order to produce children legitimately and to have a trustworthy guardian of our domestic property" (Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* xiii.573b). The poor had fewer options, but there were plenty of lower-class prostitutes and brothels, especially in a harbor town like Corinth ("to corinthianize" meant "to fornicate").

There were cultic prostitutes as well, especially in Asia Minor (e.g., the temple of Diana or Artemis in Ephesus). The temple of Aphrodite in Corinth was famous for its thousand prostitutes.

Extramarital intercourse was generally permitted to Hellenistic men, but not to their wives. This double standard shows that the status of women in Greek culture was generally no better than in Judaism. Where there was more freedom for women — and the further west one went, the more freedom women had — the standard of sexual morality did not improve, even though the double standard diminished. The decadent behavior of Roman women was satirized by Juvenal (*Satires* vi.127f.) and others. The extramarital intercourse permitted husbands included homosexual relationships, which were not only allowed but sometimes considered noble (Plato *Symposium* 178c-180a; Xenophon *Memorabilia* ii.6. 28-39).

There were various philosophical attempts at the reform of sexual ethics in Greece and Rome, especially in the 1st century. The Stoics, seeking to free men from the passions, condemned adultery. Dio Chrysostom insisted that prostitution and the use of a prostitute were morally illicit; moreover, he argued that such unrestrained sexual lust would not be satisfied but would turn one to homosexual relationships, which he regarded as contrary to nature and necessarily exploitative (*Discourse* vii, esp. 151f.). Another first-century Stoic, Musonius Rufus, went so far as to hold that all sexual intercourse outside marriage was wrong and that marriage, while including intercourse for the sake of generation, was sustained by the spiritual communion of equal partners (*TDNT*, I, 780; Klassen). Neo-Pythagoreanism commended an ascetic view of sex, and the ideals of continence and spiritual marriage became fairly widespread in the 1st century. According to Gnosticism the knowledge (Gk. *gnōsis*) of one's spiritual origin and destiny — one's true identity — liberated one from bondage to matter, i.e., to the body. Given the radical

An Etruscan sarcophagus lid showing husband and wife (Italy, *ca.* 330-300 B.C.) (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Gardner Brewer)

dualism of Gnosticism, this knowledge and consequent liberation could be expressed either in stringent asceticism, treating the body as evil, or in licentious libertinism, treating what one does in the body as morally indifferent and not touching one's true self. The Gnostic movement was adept at adapting various religious convictions, and it threatened also to coopt Christianity in the 1st century.

Marriage in the Greek world, and especially in Rome, was generally monogamous, but divorce was common, and the frequent brief marriages of some persons might better be described as serial polygamy.

See also WOMAN II.b.

II. Terminology.–A. Gender. 1. Man, Woman, Humankind. The terms for "man" (Heb. *'îš*) and "woman" (*'iššâ*) could be used to distinguish between the male and the female of the human race. The folk etymology in Gen. 2:23 explains: "She shall be called Woman [*'iššâ*] because she was taken out of Man [*'îš*]." While effective as a pun, these words are probably not linguistically related. The root of *'îš*, "man," is presumably *'yš*, which is of uncertain derivation; it is perhaps related to Akk. *išanu*, "be strong." The root of *'iššâ* is *'nš*, which could mean either "be weak, sick," or "be friendly, social," depending on its derivation. In several instances *'îš* or *'iššâ* is used in the context of male-female sexual function (Gen. 19:8; 24:16; Ex. 22:16; Lev. 20:10f.; Dt. 22:22); these terms can also designate the male and female of animals (Gen. 7:2f.). In addition, they are used for the social functions of "husband" and "wife" (Gen. 2:24; 3:16; 29:32; Lev. 21:7; Nu. 30:6f. [MT 7f.]). Heb. *ba'al*, deriving from a root meaning "own, rule, lord over," is more specific than *'îš* in designating the husband's role (Gen. 20:3; Ex. 21:3, 22). On the other hand, Heb. *'ādām*, "human, humankind," does not imply sexual differentiation but is a collective term encompassing male and female: God created humankind (*'ādām*) as male and female (Gen. 1:26f.). This term stands in frequent contrast to all or part of the animal world (Gen. 6:7; Ex. 9:9f.; Jer. 21:6).

In the NT, Gk. *ánthrōpos* always distinguishes humankind from animals or angels or God, never male members of the species from female. When *ánthrōpos* is translated "man" or "men" (as it frequently is in the RSV, e.g., Mt. 5:16; Rom. 5:15) rather than "person" or "persons" (as it occasionally is in the RSV, e.g., Rom. 7:1), the inclusive character of this term must be understood. (The same sometimes applies when the pronoun "he" is used to translate third person singular verbs.)

2. Male and Female. The Gen. 1:27 account of the creation of sexual differentiation, "male and female he created them [i.e., *'ādām*]," employs the Hebrew terms *zākār* and *nᵉqēbâ*, respectively, rather than *'îš* and *'iššâ* as in the Gen. 2 account. This pair of terms is found most frequently in legal material referring to sacrificial animals (Lev. 3:1, 6; cf. also Gen. 6:19; 7:3, 9, 16), to human children (Lev. 12:7), or to human ailments (Lev. 15:33; Nu. 5:3). "Male" (*zākār*) is used to designate those children who needed to be circumcised (Gen. 17:10, 12, 14, 23; 34:15, 22, 24; Ex. 12:48; Lev. 12:2f.; cf. Isa. 66:7). Six times (1 S. 25:22, 34; 1 K. 14:10; 16:11; 21:21; 2 K. 9:8) the RSV uses "male" to render the phrase *maštîn bᵉqîr* (lit. "urinate against a wall"; cf. AV "any that pisseth against the wall").

Greek *anḗr*, "human," can simply designate a member of the human species, and in the plural *hoi ándres* frequently refers to both men and women (e.g., Mt. 14:35); but *anḗr* more often denotes a male person as distinct from female, and it is used to refer to bridegrooms and husbands. The corresponding term is *gynḗ*, which always denotes a female person as distinct from male (e.g., 1 Cor. 13:11). (It is noteworthy, however, that the classical use of *anḗr* to designate a sexually potent male in contrast to a EUNUCH does not occur in the NT; see Acts 8:27; cf. Dt. 23:1.) The terms that emphasize sexual differentiation, however, are Gk. *ársēn* and *thḗly*, which are used to translate Gen. 1:27 (see Mk. 10:6 par., and notably Gal. 3:28, where *ouk éni ársēn kaí thḗly* evidently refers to the sexual differentiation at the creation).

See also FEMALE; MALE.

B. Sexual Organs. The Bible does not have specific terms reserved for the sexual organs; most often it uses other terms in a euphemistic way (see Pope for a thorough — if exaggerated — interpretation of euphemisms in Canticles).

1. Flesh. Hebrew *bāśār* and Gk. *sárx* have a range of meanings: most often they refer to the human or animal body or to the flesh of the body, although frequently they denote the whole person in his or her corporeality, and in Paul *sárx* generally refers to the whole person as determined by resistance to God. But these terms can also be used as a euphemism for genitalia (for the vulva in Lev. 15:19 [RSV "body"]; for the penis in Ex. 28:42 [RSV "naked flesh"] and Ezk. 23:20 [RSV "member"; here also "issue," translating Heb. *zirmâ*, refers to semen]). The terms are regularly used as a euphemism in connection with circumcision (e.g., Gen. 17:11, 14, 23-25 [RSV "circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin"]; perhaps also in Rom. 2:28 [RSV "physical"]; Gal. 6:13; Eph. 2:11; Col. 2:13). Connected with this euphemism are two of Paul's harshest polemical remarks. In Gal. 5:12 he expresses the wish that his legalistic opponents who insist on circumcision would "mutilate themselves" (Gk. *apokópsontai*), i.e., "castrate" themselves or (NEB) "make eunuchs of themselves," thus cutting themselves off from the legal tradition (Dt. 23:2). In Phil. 2:2 Paul warns against those who would "mutilate the flesh" (Gk. *katatomḗ*, in wordplay with *peritomḗ*, "circumcision"). *See also* FLESH.

2. Loins, Thigh. The term *yārēḵ*, "loins," refers to the lower abdomen or thigh. It can be used euphemistically to refer to the seat of generative power in the male. Abraham's servant put his hand "under the thigh" of his master as he swore to find a proper wife for Isaac (Gen. 24:2, 9; cf. 47:29, an oath at Jacob's death); thus the oath was secured by the patriarch's "source of life." Gen. 46:26 and Ex. 1:5 refer to Jacob's immediate children as "his own offspring," literally, "issue of his loins." Rehoboam's young advisers counseled him to take an obdurate stand against the rebellious northern tribes and to say to them, "My little finger is thicker than my father's loins [Heb. *moṯnayim*]" — clearly a degrading comparative reference to Solomon's male organ (1 K. 12:10). The NT's euphemistic use of Gk. *osphýs* ("loins") in the sense of reproductive organs is determined strictly by LXX usage; cf. He. 7:5 (RSV "descended from Abraham"; lit. "came from the loins of Abraham"); He. 7:10 and Acts 2:30 (quoting Ps. 132:11; RSV "his descendants"; lit. "fruit of his loins"). *See also* LOINS.

3. Foot, Feet. Hebrew *regel* in the singular or plural ("foot, feet") is a common euphemism for the penis. Urine is called "foot water" (2 K. 18:27 and Isa. 36:12; *Q mêmê raglayim*). Pubic hair is called "hair of the feet" (Isa. 7:20; cf. also Ezk. 16:7). The euphemistic use of "feet" provides the key to understanding the otherwise obscure description of Zipporah's actions in Ex. 4:24-26. When she "took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin, and touched Moses' feet with it," she was performing the ritual of circumcision vicariously on what was now her "bridegroom of blood." Ruth's action of "uncovering [Boaz's] feet" (Ruth 3:7)

was a marriage proposal. In the legal ceremony attesting a kinsman's refusal to perform the levirate marriage obligation, he (or the widow) removed the sandal from his foot and the widow then spat in his face; this act symbolically revealed his nakedness and shamed him in the city gate (Dt. 25:5-10; Ruth 4:7f.). Each of the seraphim in Isaiah's temple vision had six wings: two to cover the face, two to fly, and two to cover the feet (Isa. 6:2); cf. the priestly stricture of covering one's nakedness in the presence of the divine (Ex. 20:26 [MT 23]). The "male member" in Dt. 23:1 is literally the "fluid duct" (Heb. *šopkâ*). "Feet" can also refer to female genitalia, as in Dt. 28:57: "her afterbirth that comes out from between her feet." Ezekiel's vivid picture of Israel's harlotry contains the phrase "you opened wide your feet" (RSV "offering yourself to any passer-by," 16:25).

4. Hand. Scholars have long suspected that *yāḏ* (lit. "hand") in Isa. 57:8 is a euphemism for "penis" (see, e.g., BDB, p. 390; KD). Both the Ugaritic texts (see e.g., M. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [*SVT*, 2; 1955], pp. 38-40) and the Qumrân Scrolls (1QS 7:13) attest this meaning of *yd*. As Ackroyd has pointed out (*TDOT*, V, 399f., 402f.), scholars have debated whether *yāḏ*, "hand," is a euphemism or *yāḏ*, "penis," is a homograph derived from the root *ydd*, "love." For other possible examples of *yāḏ* meaning "penis," see M. Delcor, *JSS*, 12 (1967), 235-240; M. Pope, *Song*, pp. 517f.

5. Nakedness. At creation "the man and his wife were both naked [Heb. *ʿarûmmîm*], and were not ashamed" (Gen. 2:25). This term *ʿārôm* is associated primarily with lack of clothing, which is the state of the newly born (Job 1:21; Hos. 2:3 [MT 5]), the poor (Job 22:6; 24:7, 10; 26:6; Isa. 58:7), and those in a state of prophetic ecstasy (1 S. 19:24; Isa. 20:2-4). The closely related term *ʿērōm* occurs in Gen. 3:7, 10f.; Ezk. 16:7; 18:7, 16. Nakedness can also be associated with sexuality, although a different Hebrew term is used for this nakedness (*ʿerwâ*). To "uncover [someone's] nakedness" is to expose a male's or female's genitalia (Lev. 18:6-23). To see someone's nakedness is to bring shame upon that person, as when Ham saw the nakedness of his father Noah (Gen. 9:23f.). Figuratively, Jerusalem's nakedness was exposed when it played the harlot with the Canaanite gods or the foreign nations (Lam. 1:8; Ezk. 16:36f.; 23:10, 19). The seraphim, or angels, had to guard their nakedness (cover their "feet," Isa. 6:2) in the presence of God.

NT usage seems dependent on the OT in Rev. 16:15 (RSV "go naked and be exposed"; lit. "he goes naked and they see his shame [Gk. *aschēmosýnē*]"), where "shame" evidently refers to genitalia (cf. 3:18). In 1 Cor. 12:23f. Paul contrasts the "unpresentable parts" (*tá aschḗmona*, clearly a euphemistic reference to genitalia) with the "more presentable parts" (*tá euschḗmona*). The fact that "unpresentable parts" are treated with greater modesty provides an image for the care and regard that is due every member of the Church as a body. The polemical comment that some "glory in their shame" (Gk. *aischýnē*, Phil. 3:19) may also be a thinly veiled reference to genitalia.

See also NAKED.

6. Belly, Womb. Two of the general terms for BELLY (Heb. *beṭen*; Gk. *koilía*) can also refer to the uterus or WOMB (e.g., Gen. 25:23f.; 38:27; Lk. 1:15; 11:27; 23:29). The more specific Hebrew term for "womb" is *reḥem* (Gen. 49:25; Jer. 20:17), which is also used of the location of deep feelings of compassion in humans (cf. "pity," Am. 1:11) and especially in God (Isa. 63:15). In 1 Cor. 6:13 Gk. *koilía* is properly translated "stomach" (which is "meant for food"), but the association with the sexual organs is just below the surface in Paul's rejection of the moral indifference of the Corinthian libertines. In his charge that certain people "serve their bellies" (Phil. 3:19) Paul may very well have been referring to sexual licentiousness, although it is also possible that he was referring to sensuality in the broader sense, or to the legalistic piety of the Judaizers who refrained from certain foods.

7. Breast. The female's BREAST (Heb. *šaḏ*; Gk. *mastós*) gives nourishment to the young (Job 3:12; Lk. 11:27; 23:29; figuratively in Isa. 60:16; 66:11) and is the object of amorous description in Cant. 1:13; 4:5; 7:8 (MT 9); 8:10. Sexual intimacy takes place between the breasts (Hos. 2:2; cf. Ezk. 16:7; 23:3, 21).

C. Sexual Function. 1. Sexual Union. Sexual intercourse is referred to most frequently as a man "knowing" (Heb. *yāḏaʿ*) a woman (Gen. 4:1, 17, 25; 24:16; 38:26; Jgs. 19:25; 1 S. 1:19; 1 K. 1:4), a woman "knowing" a man (Gen. 19:8; Nu. 31:17; Jgs. 11:39), or even one man "knowing" another (Gen. 19:5; Jgs. 19:22). This Hebrew idiom for intercourse is reflected in the NT use of Gk. *ginóskō* at Mt. 1:25 and Lk. 1:34 (RSV "have no husband"; lit. "know no man"). The use of "know" for sexual intercourse is a euphemism, but a suggestive one, implying something important both about knowledge and about sexuality in the biblical materials. Knowledge is not just cognitive, but always experiential and deeply personal; and sexual intercourse is never just physiological, but always involves mystery and touches the whole person.

The Hebrew term *ʾāhaḇ*, "love," encompasses a wide range of nuances, including the emotional attachment and affection of a father for his son (Gen. 22:2), a husband for his wife (Gen. 24:67; Dt. 21:15f.), a wife for her husband (1 S. 18:20), a slave for his master (Ex. 21:5), a friend for a friend (1 S. 18:1, 3), and even a neighbor for a stranger (Lev. 19:18). It also can denote a sexual relationship, as when Solomon is said to have "loved" many women (1 K. 11:1), or when Hosea is commanded to "love" a prostitute (Hos. 3:1). *See also* LOVE I.A, B.

Sexual union can also be described as "becoming one flesh" (Gen. 2:24; quoted in Mt. 19:5; Mk. 10:7; Eph. 5:31), and the "joining" or "cleaving" of Gen. 2:24 can also be a reference to sexual union, as in 1 Cor. 6:16: "he who joins himself to a prostitute." The meaning of "one flesh" and "cleaving to" another is never merely physiological; the sexual union it refers to always involves a personal relationship and commitment. Other euphemisms for sexual intercourse are "touch" (Gen. 20:6; Prov. 6:29; 1 Cor. 7:1), "go in to" (Gen. 6:4; 16:2; 30:3, 16; Prov. 6:29), and "lie with" (e.g., Gen. 19:33, 35; 30:15f.; Ex. 22:16; *See also* LIE).

2. Conception. The OT views conception (Heb. *hārâ*) as ultimately a blessing from the Lord (Ps. 127:3; cf. Gen. 30:1f.) but as occurring through the impregnating agency of males (Gen. 19:36; 38:18). Women are made pregnant with the SEED (Heb. *zeraʿ*) or semen of the male (Nu. 5:28; lit. "she shall be made pregnant with seed"; cf. "emission of semen," Lev. 15:16-18, 32; 22:4). In Lev. 18:20; 19:20; Nu. 5:13 "to lie carnally with" is literally "to lie a lying of seed." In times when they experienced diminished attention from their husbands OT women sometimes attempted to seduce them with aphrodisiacs. Leah had her son Reuben gather mandrakes, an herbaceous plant of the nightshade variety, in a successful attempt to woo her husband Jacob and conceive by him (Gen. 30:14-24; cf. also Cant. 7:13 [MT 14]).

In He. 11:11 Gk. *spérma*, "seed," is used in a very unusual way: Sarah received power to "sow seed" (*katabolḗ spérmatos*, a technical expression for "begetting," otherwise always the function of males; RSV "conceive"). If there is no textual error here, it is a remarkable recogni-

tion of the more than passive contribution of women to conception. In Rom. 9:10 Gk. *koítē* ("bed," "marriage bed") is used euphemistically for a seminal emission; where the text reads, literally, "Rebecca had seminal emission from one man," the RSV has "Rebecca had conceived children from one man." The term for "conceive" in Lk. 1:24, 31, 36; 2:21 is *syllambánō*, the word used most often by the LXX to translate Heb. *hārâ*. Mt. 1:20 employs *gennáō* ("beget," "bear").

III. Canonical Literature.—*A. Torah.* Israel's pentateuchal legal codes contain numerous regulations concerning sexual activity and the maintenance of personal and community sexual hygiene.

1. Marital Intercourse. The creation narratives affirm the sexuality of human beings. Gen. 2:24f. recognizes sexual differentiation and sexual union as gifts of the Creator that call into being the companionship and intimacy of husband and wife. Sexual intercourse was considered basic to marriage; cf. Ex. 21:10f., which refers to a woman's MARITAL RIGHTS (Heb. *ʿônâ*) — presumably her right to have sexual intercourse for the purpose of engendering children. Intercourse was also a sign of the consummation of the marriage bond (cf. Gen. 29:23, 30). Although intercourse had significance apart from procreation, the hope was that God would bless the union with children (cf. 21:1-7).

Sexual contact was forbidden by law under certain conditions. Refraining from intercourse was part of a man's preparation for holy work. Prior to meeting God at Mt. Sinai all men were to abstain from sexual contact (Ex. 19:15). Warriors were to abstain from sex in preparation for and during a period of holy war (1 S. 21:4f. [MT 5f.]). This injunction explains Uriah's refusal to have relations with his wife Bathsheba, resulting in the frustration of David's attempt to make it appear that Bathsheba's pregnancy was due to Uriah rather than himself (2 S. 11:2-13). If a woman was in her menstrual period or had any unusual vaginal discharge, she was declared unclean for seven days during which time she was allowed no intercourse or physical contact (Lev. 15:19-30; 18:19).

2. Extramarital Intercourse. A young woman was required to remain a virgin until the consummation of her marriage. If a husband charged his wife with having had premarital intercourse and her parents could not produce the "tokens of virginity" (prob. the soiled bed linens of the wedding night; but for another view *see* VIRGIN I.B), the city elders would sentence her to be stoned to death (Dt. 22:13-21). There is no mention of a corresponding requirement of male virginity. Fornication, or sexual intercourse between a man and an unmarried woman, was forbidden; but if it occurred the man was obligated to marry the woman (Ex. 22:16f.; Dt. 22:28f.). Adultery, or sexual intercourse between a man and a woman who was married or betrothed to another man, was forbidden (Ex. 20:14; Dt. 5:20) and was punishable by the death of both parties (Lev. 18:20; 20:10; Dt. 22:22-24). Dt. 22:23-27 further differentiates between rape and voluntary intercourse on the part of a young woman. If the encounter took place within a city both parties were held responsible, because presumably the woman could have cried out for help and would have been heard. But if the act took place in the open country only the male was held responsible; if the young woman was unmarried he had to marry her, and if she was betrothed he was executed. A betrothed virgin was considered a man's wife even though the marriage had yet to be physically consummated.

Males were subject to fewer restrictions than females were. If a man suspected his wife of sexual unfaithfulness, even though he had no evidence of it, he could subject her to trial by ordeal, administered by the priest, to test her fidelity (Nu. 5:11-31). But a wife had no such recourse, nor was marital faithfulness expected of men. Men might be the husband of more than one wife (polygamy), but a woman might be the wife of only one man. Rape (Heb. *paṯâ*; "seduce," Ex. 22:16 [MT 15]) was defined only in relation to an unmarried woman (cf. also Dt. 22:23-29).

3. Prostitution. Practices regarding prostitution evidence a double standard in OT Israel. There was no explicit condemnation of men who made use of the services of a prostitute. Judah was not faulted for his liaison with his daughter-in-law Tamar who was disguised as a prostitute, but he acknowledged his guilt for not fulfilling his obligations under the levirate marriage law; Tamar, however, was to have been executed for her harlotry in the same affair until Judah's fault was exposed (Gen. 38:24-26).

Israel's neighbors engaged in temple prostitution, and the Israelites themselves fell into the practice. A cult prostitute (Heb. *qāḏēš* [male], *qᵉḏēšâ* [female]; lit. "holy one") worked in the service of a foreign god (Dt. 23:17 [MT 18]; 1 K. 14:23f.; 15:12; 2 K. 23:7; Hos. 4:14; Job 36:14). Such prostitutes engaged citizens in sexual activity for hire to enlarge the temple treasury; the act was an imitative fertility ritual (see the classic description in Herodotus i.199). The incident at Baal of Peor recorded in Nu. 25 was a blatant example of ritual intercourse. It was all the more outrageous because it was performed by a Midianite woman and an Israelite man in the very inner room of the Israelite tent of meeting. Phineas "took a spear in his hand and went after the man of Israel in the inner room, and pierced both of them, the man of Israel and the woman, through her body" (vv. 7f.) The term "dog" in Dt. 23:18 apparently refers to a male cult prostitute.

The terms *zônâ* ("harlot"), *zᵉnûnîm*, and *zᵉnûṯ* refer to female promiscuity outside the context of temple prostitution. Israel had no direct legislation expressly forbidding prostitution or sexual intercourse outside the bonds of marriage for the man. What was clearly protected, however was the exclusivity of the wife's relations: she might have relations only with the one man who was her husband. This notion of the man's exclusive rights to his wife lies at the heart of the frequent metaphorical use of "harlot" and "harlotry" in describing the relationship between God and His people (Jer. 2–3; Ezk. 16; Hos. 1–3). *See* HARLOT.

4. Incest. The legal corpus of the Torah outlawed incest. Lev. 18:6-18 and 20:10-21 detail the women with whom a man was barred from having sexual relations. The list includes a man's mother and stepmother, sister and stepsister, daughter, granddaughter, father's and mother's sisters, father's brother's wife, brother's wife, and son's wife. Notable instances of incest in the OT are Lot's impregnation of his two daughters (Gen. 19:30-38), Reuben's relations with his father's concubine (35:22; 49:4), Judah's relations with his daughter-in-law Tamar (ch. 38), and Amnon's rape of his half-sister Tamar (2 S. 13).

5. Emissions of Semen. The term "onanism" (i.e., *coitus interruptus*, in which the male deliberately interrupts intercourse to avoid insemination) derives from the account of how Judah's son Onan "spilled his seed on the ground" to avoid fostering children for his dead brother by his sister-in-law Tamar (Gen. 38:8-10). His sin lay not in the interruption of intercourse per se but in his evasion of his duty according to the law of levirate marriage (*see* MARRIAGE IV.A.2). Dt. 23:10 (MT 11) seems to be referring to an involuntary ejaculation of semen during the night: "If there is among you any man who is not clean by

reason of what chances to him by night. . . ." Since Lev. 15:16f. and 22:4 mention "emission of semen" without mentioning nighttime circumstances, the reference may be to masturbation.

6. Homosexuality. Male homosexuality is forbidden in Lev. 18:22; 20:13. The term "sodomy" derives from the Gen. 19:4-9 account of the attempt by the men of Sodom to rape the two angels visiting Lot. In this story the men of Sodom demand of Lot: "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out that we might know them." A similar story is told about the men of Gibeah in the tribe of Benjamin (Jgs. 19). Both stories emphasize the brutality of the perpetrators' sexual assault and seem to find fault more with the rapacious quality of their deeds than with the homosexual nature of their sexual lust. Female homosexuality is not mentioned in the OT. Dt. 22:5 forbids transvestitism: neither a male nor a female was permitted to wear clothes of the other sex.

7. Bestiality. Israelite law strictly forbade intercourse between a man or a woman and an animal (Lev. 18:23; 20:15f.).

B. Prophetic Literature. Various prophetic statements portray God in the role of parent and Israel as God's children. Isa. 63:16 declares: "For thou art our Father" (cf. also 64:8 [MT 7]; Jer. 3:4, 19; 31:9; Dt. 32:6). Hos. 11:1-4 describes God as a parent (though not necessarily as a father) who taught the Israelites how to walk, embraced them, bent down and fed them.

In their indictment of apostate Israel the prophets described God as a faithful husband and the nation as a bride who becomes an adulterous wife (Jer. 2–3; Ezk. 16; Hos. 1–3). Thus they communicated the intimacy of the covenant relationship between God and Israel by means of husband-wife imagery. Israel's harlotry consisted of forsaking the husband of her youth (Jer. 2:2) for the gods of the surrounding nations. To portray this unfaithfulness in a living parable, the prophet Hosea was commanded to marry a prostitute named Gomer (Hos. 1:2) and "have children of harlotry." Ezk. 16 depicts Israel as a foundling on whom God has compassion. He washes, cares for, and clothes her, and when she is "at the age for love" He marries her and bestows every good gift on her. But Israel only uses her new loveliness to entice other men and increase her harlotry. Therefore God says that He will cast off his wife Israel and return her to her original state of abandon, by an exile to Babylonia, until she will again acknowledge Him as her true and only husband. Isa. 54:4-6 addresses Israel in exile with hope for restoration of the marriage bond: "you will forget the shame of your youth, and the reproach of your widowhood you will remember no more. For your Maker is your husband." In fact, Israel's beauty and virginity will be restored, and the Lord will once again rejoice in His beloved (62:4f.).

God is also described in metaphorical terms of motherhood and womanhood. In various places Isaiah employs female images of God's love for Israel: a woman in labor (42:14; 66:9), a nursing mother (49:15), a consoling mother (66:13).

C. Wisdom Literature. Israel's wisdom literature is characterized by a strong appreciation of the goodness of God's created world. Canticles is frank and unabashed in its celebration of human love. It celebrates the comeliness of the female body ("Behold, you are beautiful, my love . . . your lips are like a scarlet thread . . . your two breasts are like two fawns," (4:1-5; 7:1-9) and that of the male body ("My beloved is all radiant and ruddy . . .," 5:10-16). The physical encounter between the bride and her lover is wholly mutual, with each party taking the initiative at one time or another. Canticles expresses unqualified joy in physical love and satisfaction in companionship. Love is valued above all: "Many waters cannot quench love, neither can floods drown it. If a man offered for love all the wealth of his house, it would be utterly scorned" (8:7). The language of Canticles was so powerful and explicit that the book was accepted into the Hebrew canon only after it was resolved that it was an allegory of God and His bride Israel. Later the Christian community saw it as an allegory of Christ and His bride the Church. Only in the 20th cent. has it come to be accepted again as a love song celebrating the sensual aspect of human life. (*See* CANTICLES.)

Proverbs 1–9 issues extensive advice to young men to beware of the enticements of the loose woman: "With much seductive speech she persuades him; with her smooth talk she compels him. All at once he follows her, as an ox goes to the slaughter" (Prov. 7:21f.). Young men are enjoined to be faithful to their wives: "Drink water from your own cistern" (5:15). Thus, while faithfulness to one's wife was not expressly required by legislation, extramarital sex was clearly recognized as foolish and dangerous (Prov. 2:16-19; 5:1-6; 7:6-21). In fact in this portion of Proverbs the life of marital fidelity serves to characterize the life of wisdom as opposed to that of folly. The figure of the tempting adulteress is on a deeper level the personification of foolishness, as Lady Wisdom personifies everything desirable for an ultimately fulfilling life.

For further discussion of attitudes toward women in the OT, *see* WOMAN III.

D. Jesus and the Gospels. Jesus announced the coming reign of God and already made its power felt in His ministry. God's future reign, as seen in the ministry of Jesus, extended to issues of gender and sexuality. In the new age, Jesus said, there would be neither marrying nor giving in marriage (Mk. 12:25 par.). While people remained male and female, that future made its power felt in Jesus' unconventional treatment of women and His radical revision of sexual morality.

Jesus broke convention simply by talking publicly with women (e.g., Jn. 4:1-26). He instructed women (e.g., Lk. 10:39) and included them among His followers (8:1-3). He commended women (e.g., Mk. 12:41-44 par.) and defended them (e.g., Lk. 7:38-40). He healed women even when it meant breaking the sabbath (Lk. 13:10-17) or risking ritual impurity (e.g., Mk. 5:27, 41). To the woman who called out from the crowd, "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breast that you sucked!" He said, "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it" (Lk. 11:27f.). In that exchange Jesus rejected the reduction of women to the reproductive and sexual roles that were conventionally celebrated, and He summoned women to a Kingdom in which they are taught the Word of God and treated as agents. When Martha implored Jesus to instruct Mary to leave the circle of disciples and return to a conventional role for women, Jesus would have none of it (Lk. 10:38-42). It is little wonder that women heard Him gladly, accompanied Him even in His suffering (Mk. 15:40-47), and were present at the empty tomb (16:1).

Jesus' teaching about a Kingdom with no marrying or giving in marriage presented a radical challenge not only to conventional role assignments for women but also to the traditional sexual ethic. CELIBACY was now an option (Mt. 19:10-12) as signaled by Jesus' own singleness. Marriage was no longer to be regarded as a duty of Torah or as a necessary condition for human fulfillment and divine approval. Of course, until the Kingdom comes celibacy is not a duty either (Mt. 19:12), and marriage remains an option. Within marriage, the law that permitted the husband (and only the husband) the option of divorce is set

aside (Mk. 10:2-12) or qualified (Mt. 19:3-9) by Jesus' account of God's purpose at the beginning (*see* DIVORCE). And within marriage having children remains a blessing of God, as signaled by Elizabeth's deliverance from barrenness. The coming of the Kingdom demands the response of the whole person, not just external conformity to the law; Jesus therefore radicalized the prohibition against adultery to a prohibition of lust (Mt. 5:27f.), i.e., a prohibition of any readiness to use women or to think of them as sexual objects rather than as heirs of the Kingdom. In this context it is clear that Jesus discarded the sexual double standard (cf. Jn. 7:53–8:11, a late addition). It is little wonder that self-righteous men found it difficult to welcome such a Kingdom and such a Lord, while prostitutes repented eagerly and gladly received God's forgiveness (Lk. 7:36-50; Mt. 21:31).

E. The Epistles. In addition to the memory of Jesus' own words and deeds that were eventually recorded in the Gospels, the early Church developed other traditions related to issues of gender and sexuality, which found expression in the Epistles.

The "magna carta" of equality, Gal. 3:26-28, appears to have been a traditional baptismal declaration quoted by Paul (see Fiorenza, Meeks, Longenecker). Those baptized "put on" Christ, in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free, "no male and female." In baptism one owned a new identity and envisioned a new world — an identity and a world in which sexual differentiation (along with ethnic and class distinctions) was radically subordinated to community and equality in Christ.

Distinctions remained, of course, between male and female (and between Jew and Greek, slave and free). The equality described in the baptismal formula was an eschatological reality, but it made its power felt in an egalitarian ethos and in a sexual ethic honoring singleness. The egalitarian ethos concerning gender was reflected in the women who worked "side by side" (Phil. 4:2) with Paul, women whom Paul considered his "fellow workers" (e.g., Rom. 16:3-5). It was reflected in the instruction given to women and in their participation in worship, praying and prophesying (1 Cor. 11).

Paul did insist that the Corinthian women not throw down the veil when they prayed and prophesied (1 Cor. 11:3-6). Evidently among the Corinthian enthusiasts, who on the basis of their spiritual gifts claimed already to participate fully in the new age, were some women who asserted their independence from their husbands in exercising their gifts and were disturbing the peace of church and home. Paul was not sympathetic to either their eschatology or their notion of freedom. With a variety of appeals he sought to convince the Corinthians not to tolerate the excesses of these women (cf. also 14:33-35 with reference to their speaking in tongues); for while he affirmed the egalitarian community, he insisted that it involved not assertions of independence but mutual submission. "In the Lord woman is not independent of man nor man of woman" (11:11).

Christian communities could not create *ex nihilo* a new social world with new gender roles and household structures. They assimilated but also reoriented and qualified existing moral resources and traditions. For example, the *Haustafeln* (tables of rules for household, Eph. 5:21–6:9; Col. 3:18–4:1; Tit. 2:1-10; 1 Pet. 2:13–3:8) articulated a Christian tradition that was indebted to the general reassertion in the 1st cent. of the Aristotelian position that the relation of ruler and ruled in household management was "natural." This tradition, with its instruction that wives "be subject," stood in some tension with the egalitarian character of the Christian baptismal identity, but it was also reoriented and qualified by that identity. It was reoriented in that the justification for submission was no longer "nature" but the model of Christ, and it was qualified and transformed by the requirement of mutual submission (e.g., Eph. 5:21) and by the focus not on the natural nobility of the man or husband but on the neighbor (e.g., Eph. 5:28, 33) and on Christ (in whom there is "no male and female").

The Pastoral Epistles resist the Gnostic claim to represent Christian identity and community in their (fundamentally misogynist) assertion that Gnostic women become "like males" (e.g., Gospel of Thomas 114). In the Pastorals, therefore, conventional gender roles are defended as sound morality with little sense of tension with the new identity and community in Christ. Women are not saved from being women and are not required to give up their sexual powers of bearing children (as among ascetic Gnostics). Rather, women are saved as women and will be "brought safely through childbirth" (1 Tim. 2:15; NEB mg.; a reference to the lifting of the curse on women in Gen. 3:16).

In terms of a sexual ethic, perhaps the most striking implication of the principle that there is "no male and female" in Christ was that marriage was no longer a duty. Singleness and celibacy were honored as a gift (Gk. *chárisma*) of God (1 Cor. 7:7). Some of the spiritual enthusiasts at Corinth, who claimed already to participate fully in the new age, insisted on an asceticism that prohibited sexual intercourse and made celibacy a duty or at least a mark of the spiritually elite. "It is well for a man not to touch a woman" (7:1) was probably a slogan of these enthusiasts. Paul affirmed celibacy but not the eschatological assumptions or the elitism of the enthusiasts. Celibacy is "better," not because the celibate may boast about full participation in the new age, but because of the "not yet" character of our existence (vv. 26-35); and for that very reason — the continuing power of evil (v. 2) — marriage must remain an option and be recognized as "gift" (v. 7).

The new baptismal identity in Christ can also shape marriage. The full mutuality and equality of the marriage relationship in 1 Cor. 7 — including the sexual aspects of that relationship (vv. 3-5) — can themselves betoken a new vision of sexual reality. Within marriage sexual intercourse is not only allowed but encouraged. Christian identity does not require asceticism, but chastity and fidelity.

The Pastoral Epistles also reject asceticism. The Gnostic opponents forbade marriage (1 Tim. 4:3) on the basis of their dualism, but the Pastorals condemned such teaching, since "everything created by God is good" (4:4). In their opposition to Gnosticism, the Pastorals seem to retreat from the recognition of celibacy as an option if they are making marriage a requirement for ecclesiastical office (1 Tim. 3:2, 12; Tit. 1:6); but perhaps "husband of one wife" is directed not against celibacy but against the degenerate Hellenistic practice of successive brief marriages (*TDNT*, I, 788).

The new identity in Christ could honor celibacy and marriage, but it could not tolerate sexual immorality. The advice to abstain from sexual immorality (Gk. *porneía*) was part of a very early tradition indebted to Judaism that was used in instructing Gentile converts (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25; 1 Thess. 4:3-8; 1 Pet. 2:11-18). Sexual immorality was linked to pagan ignorance of God and contrasted to the "holiness" to which Christians were called. The Church never retreated from the very Jewish prohibition of sexual immorality.

Yet there were some libertines in the Christian commu-

nities. Some even boasted about their sexual libertinism (1 Cor. 5:1f.). The claim that what one did in the body was a matter of moral indifference grew out of the same soils as did asceticism: the Gnostics' dualism and the enthusiasts' pretense to be already fully in the new age — already altogether spiritual, already angelic. In a diatribe against such libertines (6:12-20) Paul insisted that they, including their bodies, belonged to Christ (vv. 13, 19f.) and were united with Christ (v. 17). He reminded them of Christ's resurrection and, contrary to their eschatological assumptions, insisted that God "will also raise us up by his power" (v. 14). With these and other appeals, Paul made it clear that the Christian identity leads one to "shun immorality" (v. 18) and "glorify God in your body" (v. 20).

The lists of vices, another traditional form of moral instruction in the Church, are one more index of the Christian tradition's unanimity in prohibiting sexual immorality. Gk. *porneía* (RSV "fornication," "immorality") occurs more often than any other word in these lists (eleven times) and frequently stands first in the list (Mk. 7:21f.; Gal. 5:19-21; 1 Cor. 5:10f.; Eph. 5:3-5; Col. 3:5-8). Moreover, in these lists licentiousness (Gk. *asélgeia*) is mentioned six times, impurity (*akatharsía*) four times, adultery (*moicheía*) three times, the profligate (*akratḗs*) once (2 Tim. 3:3), and *arsenokoítēs* twice: once with Gk. *malakoí* (1 Cor. 6:9; RSV "sexual perverts") and once alone (1 Tim. 1:10; RSV "sodomites").

These last two terms raise the issue of homosexuality. In the first (1946) edition of the RSV, Gk. *malakoí* and *arsenokoítai* in 1 Cor. 6:9 were together rendered "homosexuals." Boswell (p. 107) would translate these terms as "the wanton" and "male prostitutes" respectively. Such translations are linguistically possible but hardly necessary. Most commentators and translators continue to understand these terms as references to passive and active partners in male homosexual intercourse.

In Rom. 1:26f. Paul utilized the Jewish tradition of gentile unrighteousness (cf. Wisd. 13:1-9) in order finally to turn the accusation back against those Jewish Christians who refused to welcome gentile Christians (Rom. 2:1). The root sin is the refusal to honor and to give thanks to God (1:21). Because of this sin "God gave them up to dishonorable passions. Their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural, and the men likewise gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion for one another" (1:26f.). Here there can be no question about whether Paul is referring to homosexual conduct. But questions do remain. First, did Paul intend to teach anything about homosexual behavior here, or was his purpose simply rhetorical, i.e., to "set up" the Jewish Christians for the recognition that "all have sinned" (3:23) and need the righteousness of Christ? It suffices to point out that Paul shared the Jewish tradition's aversion to homosexual behavior. Moreover, while the passage was not written as instruction concerning homosexuality, Paul did choose to detail the perversity that resulted from God's giving people up to their passions by a description of homosexual behavior. The second question is more significant: how did Paul understand the homosexual behavior he condemned? Evidently he understood it as freely chosen (cf. "exchanged," "gave up") by people for whom heterosexual relations were "natural," and as chosen (by heterosexual people) because of their insatiable lust ("consumed with passion"). The question is whether Paul condemns all homosexual behavior or only that which is freely chosen, because of their insatiable lust, by people with a heterosexual orientation.

Jude 7 states that the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, like the angels of Gen. 6:1-4 (and 1 En. 6–7, 10–13), "went after other flesh" (Gk. *apérchomai opísō sarkós hetéras*; RSV "indulge in unnatural lust"). The reference is not to homosexual behavior but to sexual intercourse between human beings and angels. The point is to warn the readers against the apostasy of the gnostics, who in their elitism transgress all bounds of sexual morality (vv. 4, 10), and to announce that God's condemnation always falls on such apostates (v. 5). The parallel to Jude 7 in 2 Pet. 2:10 drops "other" and adds "in defiling passion" (Gk. *opísō sarkós en epithymíą miasmoú*). This parallel passage, along with the phrase *en epithymíais sarkós aselgeíais* (RSV "with licentious passions of the flesh") in v. 18, is as close as Scripture ever gets to an ascetic disposition toward sexuality.

See also ETHICS: NT ETHICS III.A.4, B; PASSION II.

F. Revelation. In the letters to the seven churches, the writer of the Revelation warns against those teachers who license sexual immorality (2:14, 20). Sexual immorality is listed among the sins that people cling to in the last days (9:21) and the sins that God condemns (21:8; 22:15). In the symbolic universe of Revelation, moreover, Babylon/Rome is depicted as "the great harlot" (17:1). The lurid description of the prostitute (vv. 1-5) contrasts with the description of the woman in 12:1-6 and the new Jerusalem as a bride in 21:2. The image of the prostitute points to more than sexual sins, of course. Her fall is lamented by those who have known her political and economic favors (18:9-19), but it is celebrated among God's people even as they heed the call for a spiritual exodus from the demonic values that marked her life and justified her doom (18:4f.). Those demonic values surely include — even if they cannot be reduced to — sexual immorality.

IV. Canonical Perspectives on Sex: A Summary.–A. Sex and the God of Scripture. The God of Israel transcends male and female sexuality. God is one (cf. Dt. 6:4) and as such is set apart from the pantheons of the ancient Near East. In Gen. 1 God creates through the agency of a powerful word, not by sexual intercourse with a divine consort (although in the wisdom tradition, Wisdom personified as female [Prov. 8:22-31] is the first of God's creative acts and is said to be alongside God in creation as His mastercrafter). Thus sexual procreation is not the cause or means of creation (cf., e.g., the Assyrian creation epic *Enuma Elish,* in which the male and female waters commingle to bring forth life); rather, sexual differentiation is a result of creation: God created humankind male and female (Gen. 1:27). Yahweh is fundamentally different from the fertility gods of the ancient Near East. The pantheons of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syro-Palestine consisted of both male and female deities. Comparative evidence from the ancient Near East raises the question of whether Yahweh also had a consort. Of course normative Israelite religion disavowed the worship of any god or goddess as a consort to Yahweh. Properly speaking, Israel was Yahweh's spouse (see III.B. above), wayward and unfaithful as she might be. But archeological evidence suggests that popular religion in Israel did worship a Yahweh-Asherah divine pair much like the pairs 'El-Asherah and Baal-Anath in the other religions of Syro-Palestine. An eighth-century Israelite inscription from Kuntillet 'Ajrūd contains a blessing "by Yahweh Shomron and by his Asherah" (see Dever).

The question of God's gender cannot be answered simply by looking at the grammatical features of the biblical text, e.g., the gender of divine names and attendant verbs. The divine names and images are generally masculine, but in a patriarchal society this is not surprising. Yet feminine images are also present (e.g., Isa. 46:3f.; 66:7-13; Ps. 131; Lk. 15:8-10). The presence of these female images is im-

portant evidence that one cannot infer from the masculine images that God is male. In whatever way God might be like a king or a father or a bridegroom, the likeness does not consist in God's being male. (*See also* WOMAN III.E.)

B. Human Gender: Creation, Patriarchalism, and Redemption. The creation of humankind as male and female (Gen. 1:26-28) did not entail any hierarchy of genders. On the contrary, male and female were created as mutually and equally image-bearers of God, responsible to God for the well-being of the creation, each as a biological and social complement to the other. Gen. 2 reinforces this point when it states, "It is not good that the man should be alone" (v. 18). The female was created as "a helper fit for" the male (vv. 18, 20). Heb. *ēzer* ("helper") denotes support in a general sense, not just help in begetting or in work. The term is not used to designate an inferior; its use in reference to God (Dt. 33:7; Ps. 33:20) shows that it does not connote subordination. Furthermore, the phrase "a helper fit for" suggests an equal and well-matched counterpart rather than a subordinate one.

The fall disrupted and disordered God's good creation, including the equality and mutuality of the sexes. Alienation and gender hierarchy are the result of wilful disobedience (Gen. 3) and do not reflect the created condition. The distorted relationship of supremacy and subordination between male and female is expressed in the curse: "your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you" (3:16).

Patriarchal society valued the female largely for her procreative function, and the males clearly held the positions of dominant social, religious, and political power. Prominent female figures (e.g., Miriam, Deborah, Athaliah) are notable because of their infrequency. But women could at times provide models of compassion, faithfulness, and piety, e.g., in the figures of Hannah, Naomi and Ruth, and Esther. Prov. 31:10-31 is effusive in praise of the faithful wife, attributing to her a significant place within family and society — albeit still subordinate to the husband.

Jesus came announcing the cosmic sovereignty of God with its victory over the power of sin. He actualized God's cosmic rule in His unconventional and anti-patriarchal treatment of women. He rejected the reduction of women to their reproductive roles and included them among the circle of those He taught and healed. The early Church was faithful to Jesus in its adoption of a baptismal tradition that initiated male and female into an eschatological community and radically subordinated gender distinctions to the equality of those "in Christ." The egalitarian ethos left its impression on the Church's appropriation and use of the patriarchal *Haustafeln.*

C. Human Sexuality: Fecundity, Sobriety, Delight. The creation of humankind as male and female (Gen. 1:27) is a precondition for its fulfillment of the mandate to be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth (v. 28). The description of the physical commonality of male and female ("flesh of my flesh," 2:23) indicates that it is natural and wholesome for them to marry and to achieve sexual union ("therefore a man leaves father and mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh," 2:24). This sexual union is a covenant of two selves, not just bodies; it involves whole persons, not just genitalia. And it is a cause for delight, not shame (v. 25).

Sexuality no less than gender roles has been affected by the fall. Sexuality became an occasion for shame, for license, for reduction to genital pleasure, for infertility or unwanted pregnancies, for the breaking of covenant, for divorce. After the fall delight must be joined with sobriety. It became necessary for sexuality to be regulated by law, for the sage to caution against adultery and fornication, for Our Lord to warn against lust, for eschatological enthusiasts to be reminded of "the temptation to immorality" (1 Cor. 7:2).

In Israel's patriarchal society a woman's worth to her husband tended to be gauged by the number of children she bore, and by how many of that number were male. Yet God's redemption touches sexuality also in its fertility dimension. The covenant promised fecundity (Ex. 23:26; Dt. 7:14; Isa. 54:1), and time and again God visited the barren womb and enabled conception (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Manoah's wife, Hannah), exalting the humiliated woman with the birth of a son (cf. Hannah's song in 1 S. 2:1-10). Then at the dawn of the new age, Elizabeth's barrenness and "reproach" was removed (Lk. 1:25) and a virgin conceived (vv. 30f.). "Unto us," including the childless, "a child is born" (Isa. 9:6; cf. Lk. 2:11).

In the Christian community children remain a blessing to marriage, but childbearing is not a necessary condition for the human fulfillment of either male or female, nor of their status in the community. The promise of fecundity (Isa. 54:1f.) is fulfilled in the Church (Gal. 4:27), and the reproach of barrenness is transformed into a warning against being "unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 1:8). Thus marriage ceases to be a duty; sexual fulfillment is not a necessary condition for human fulfillment; singleness is an option, even a "gift." Being no longer a duty, marriage also becomes a "gift," a vocation, a sexual and personal covenant sealed in vows of lifelong fidelity.

Redemption touches marriage itself in the mutual and sensuous delight of partners in each other's sexuality. Canticles is explicit and joyful in its celebration of the mutual attraction between a man and a woman. Proverbs, besides calling for sobriety about sexuality, also calls for delight in the sexual relationship with one's spouse: "Let her affection fill you at all times with delight, be infatuated always with her love" (Prov. 5:19). And Paul is as far from asceticism as from libertinism in his rejection of "celibate marriages" and his encouragement of married couples to abstain only if it be temporary, by mutual agreement, and for prayer (1 Cor. 7:3-5). The mutual desire and affection of equal sexual partners in marriage can give as eloquent a testimony to God's redemption as celibacy.

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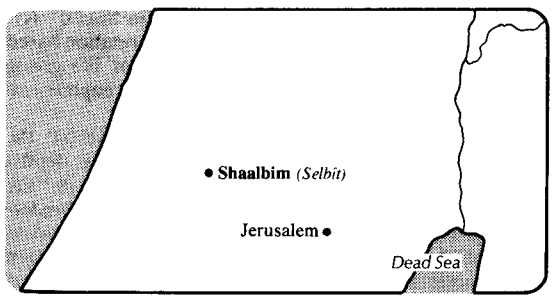
III, *s.v.* "dābhaq" (G. Wallis); "dûdh" (J. Sanmartin-Ascaso); IV, *s.v.* "zākhār" (R. Clements); "zānāh" (S. Erlandsson); "zāra'" (H. D. Preuss); V, *s.v.* "ḥāpeṣ" (G. Botterweck); "yāḏîḏ" (H.-J. Zobel); "yāḏa'" (J. Bergman, G. Botterweck); P. Trible, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 41 (1973), 30-48; *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (1978); A. Verhey, *The Great Reversal: Ethics and the NT* (1984); G. J. Wenham, *VT*, 22 (1972), 326-348.

B. L. BANDSTRA A. D. VERHEY

SHAALABBIN shā-ə-lab'ən [Heb. *ša'alabbîn*; Gk. A *Salamein*, B *Salabin*] (Josh. 19:42). An Amorite city assigned to the tribe of Dan between Ir-shemesh and Aijalon, probably identical with SHAALBIM (Jgs. 1:35; 1 K. 4:9), and possibly identical with Shaalbon (2 S. 23:32; 1 Ch. 11:33) and SHAALIM (1 S. 9:4). Most scholars associate this site with modern Selbît, 5 km. (3 mi.) NW of Aijalon and 13 km. (8 mi.) N of Beth-shemesh.

SHAALBIM shā-al'bim, shā-əl-bēm [Heb. *ša'alḇîm*; Gk. B *Bēthalamei*, Lucian *Thalamin*, Origen *Salabim*, A *hai alōpekes*–'the foxes'] (Jgs. 1:35; 1 K. 4:9); also **SHAALABBIN** shā-al'ə-bēn [Heb. *ša'alabbîn*] (Josh. 19:42); **SHAALBON** shə-al'bōn [Heb. *ša'alḇōnî*] (2 S. 23:32; 1 Ch. 11:33); AV SHAALBONITE. A town in the territory of Dan where the Amorites continued to stay and became tributary to the house of Joseph (Jgs. 1:35); later part of Solomon's second administrative district (1 K. 4:9).



The same town is called Shaalabbin in Josh. 19:42, from which comes the gentilic form in 2 S. 23:32; 1 Ch. 11:33. The name means "foxes"; cf. the rendering by LXX A; Arab. *ṯa'lab*, pl. *ṯa'âlib*, Akk. *šelabu*, etc.; and Shaalim (Heb. *ša'alîm* [pl.] = Arab. *ṯu'âl*, "fox" [fem. *ṯu'âlat*]) in 1 S. 9:4 (Jgs. 12:15 LXX ?), which has the same meaning but should not be identified with this locality.

Despite some skepticism by Kittel, Noth, and other scholars, the identification with the now destroyed Arabic village Selbît, 13 km. (8 mi.) SE of Lod (Lydda), is highly probable. The village was situated on a tell, and in its immediate neighborhood is a spring. During the war of 1948 an inscribed mosaic pavement from a fourth-century-A.D. Samaritan synagogue and two Greek inscriptions on pillars were discovered there. Jerome called the town Selebi (in his comments on Ezk. 48:22, *PL*, XXV, col. 488).

Bibliography.–M. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land* (1966), p. 159 and map 15; H. Boaz, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 6 (1949), 40; K. Elliger, *PJ*, 31 (1935), 52f.

A. VAN SELMS

SHAALBON; SHAALBONITE *See* SHAALBIM.

SHAALIM, LAND OF shā'ə-lim [Heb. *ša'alîm*]; AV SHALIM. A region (in Benjamin?) traversed by Saul while looking for his father's asses (1 S. 9:4). The various readings in Greek texts (Easakem, Saaleim, Segaleim) are of little help. Some scholars would emend to Shaalbim, but without textual support. W. S. L. S.

SHAAPH shā'af [Heb. *ša'ap*–'balm'].

1. A Judahite; Son of Maacah the concubine of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel; the founder ("father") of the town of Madmannah (1 Ch. 2:49).

2. Another descendant of Caleb the brother of Jerameel; youngest son of Jahdai (1 Ch. 2:47).

SHAARAIM shā-ə-rā'im [Heb. *ša'arayim*–'two gates'; Gk. *Sakarim*]; AV also SHARAIM (Josh. 15:36). An unknown site in the Shephelah or western foothills of Judah mentioned after Socoh and Azekah. According to 1 S. 17:52, after David killed Goliath the Israelites pursued the Philistines past Shaaraim to Gath and Ekron. Shaaraim therefore must have been in or near the Wâdī es-Sanṭ (*see* ELAH, VALE OF), where Goliath was slain. The LXX, not regarding Shaaraim as a proper name, translates: ". . . the wounded of the Philistines fell on the road of the gates to Gath and to Ekron."

See also SHARUHEN; SHILHIM. F. WEDDLE

SHAASHGAZ shā-ash'gaz [Heb. *ša'ašgaz*; LXX *Gai*]. One of the eunuchs in charge of the concubines of the Persian king Ahasuerus (Est. 2:14). Esther was one of the young women in the harem that he supervised.

The meaning and form of the name are uncertain (see L. B. Paton, *ICC* on Esther [repr. 1951], pp. 69, 179-181). The LXX uses *Gai* not only for Shaashgaz in v. 14 but also for Hegai in v. 8 (note that in vv. 13, 15, where MT has Hegai LXX has no personal name); thus it is difficult to determine the original text. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHABBETHAI shab'ə-thī [Heb. *šabbeṯay*–'born at sabbath' < *šbt* Gk. LXX ℵ, B. *Sabathai*, A *Kabbathai* (Ezr. 10:15); Gk. Apoc. *Sabbataios*] (Ezr. 10:15; Neh. 8:7; 11:16; 1 Esd. 9:14, 48); AV Apoc. SABBATHEUS, SABATEAS; NEB Apoc. SABBATAEUS, SABBATAEAS. Name of a Levite who was present when Ezra enacted the edict against foreign wives (Ezr. 10:15; 1 Esd. 9:14). The phrase Heb. *'āme'ḏû 'al-zō't* in Ezr. 10:15 means "they opposed this" or possibly "they supported this." The former is the more common meaning and the preferred one here. As the introductory particle Heb. *'aḵ* (lit. "only") in v. 15 indicates, Ezra's decree met limited opposition. Perhaps the opposition stemmed from a desire for stricter treatment of the offenders, especially since Shabbethai served as an active participant in the postexilic reforms. He expounded the law (Neh. 8:7) and was one of the leading Levites responsible for work outside of the temple (11:16).

See D. J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (*NCBC*, 1984), p. 130; F. C. Fensham, *Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (*NICOT*, 1982), pp. 141, 246f. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHACHIA shə-kī'ə (1 Ch. 8:10, AV, NEB). *See* SACHIA.

SHADDAI shad'ī. *See* GOD, NAMES OF II.B.1.

SHADE; SHADOW [Heb. *ṣēl* (Jgs. 9:15, 36; 2 K. 20:9-11; Cant. 2:3, 17; Isa. 16:3; Jer. 6:4; Hos. 4:13; etc.), *ṣelem* (Ps. 39:6 [MT 7]), hiphil part. of *ṣālal* (Ezk. 31:3), *ṣalmāweṯ* ("shadow of death," Ps. 23:4); Aram. *ṭ'lal* ("find shade," Dnl. 4:12 [MT 9]), *dûr*–'dwell' ("find shade," 4:21 [MT 18]); Gk. *skiá* (Mt. 4:16; Mk. 4:32; Lk. 1:79; Acts 5:15; etc.), *aposkíasma* (Jas. 1:17)]; AV also VAIN SHEW (Ps. 39:6 [MT 7]), HAVE HABITATION (Dnl. 4:12, 21 [MT 9, 18]); NEB also DARK AS DEATH (Ps. 23:4), PHANTOM, LODGE.

The usual Hebrew noun for "shade" or "shadow" is *ṣēl* (the cognate vb. *ṣālam* is not common, nor is its Aramaic

cognate *ṭelal*). Since the discovery of the Ugaritic texts at Râs Shamrah, scholars have observed that archaic Canaanite and Hebrew used a letter *m* at the end of many words for reasons not yet fully understood. The survival of this early feature (called the enclitic *mem*) may account for the use of *ṣelem* (usually meaning "image" or "statue") in Ps. 39:6 (MT 7); most likely this is simply *ṣēl* with a final *m*.

It is also probable, based on Ugaritic and other evidence, that Heb. *ṣalmāweṯ* (perhaps better read as *ṣalmûṯ*) does not mean "shadow of death" but simply "darkness" (see KoB, p. 805) or "deep darkness," the usual RSV translation of the term (see Thomas; *see also* DARK). In fact, the RSV has retained the traditional translation "shadow of death" (used consistently by the AV) only in Ps. 23:4 (but cf. RSV mg.), apparently because the psalm is so well known; the psalmist is likely referring to a very dark ravine through which the shepherd had to lead his sheep. The common LXX translation *skiá thanátou*, reflected in Mt. 4:16 (quoting Isa. 9:1) and Lk. 1:79, derives *ṣalmāweṯ* from *ṣēl* and *māweṯ* ("death"); but this translation is probably based on a folk etymology — unless Thomas is correct in arguing that *māweṯ* here simply means "to an extreme degree."

In Hebrew thought "shadow" never connotes a sinister or threatening phenomenon. On the contrary, it most often represents welcome shelter from the heat of the noonday sun (Jgs. 9:15; Job 7:2; 40:22; Cant. 2:3; Isa. 4:6; 32:2; 34:15; Ezk. 17:23; 31:6, 12; Hos. 4:13; Jonah 4:5f.; etc.). "Shadow" can therefore signify protection (e.g., Isa. 30:2f.); the "shadow of [Yahweh's] wings" (Ps. 17:8; 36:7 [MT 8]; 57:1 [MT 2]; 63:7) and the "shadow of [His] hand" (Isa. 49:2; 51:16) are metaphors for divine protection (cf. Ps. 91:1; 121:5; Isa. 25:4f.; Hos. 14:7; cf. Lam. 4:20). *See also* WING.

In a more negative sense, the fleeting, elusive character of a shadow can serve as a figure for the transitoriness of human life (1 Ch. 29:15; Job 8:9; 14:2; Ps. 102:11 [MT 12]; 109:23; 144:4; Eccl. 6:12). Job complains that his limbs have become a mere "shadow," i.e., they have shrunk to a skeleton (Job 17:7). In Eccl. 8:12b-13 Qoheleth appears to be quoting a conventional idea that he does not accept. Traditional wisdom taught that the wicked, like a shadow, would soon perish; but Qoheleth saw examples of wicked persons who went unpunished not only in their lifetimes but even in death (vv. 10f., 14; see R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* [3rd ed. 1968], pp. 184f., 293f.).

The shrinking of shadows indicates that the day is advancing (Cant. 2:17; 4:6), while the lengthening of shadows presages the coming of night (Jer. 6:4). 2 K. 20:8-11 (par. Isa. 38:8) describes a miracle in which Yahweh caused the sun's shadow to go backward (*see* DIAL OF AHAZ).

In the NT Gk. *aposkíasma* occurs only in Jas. 1:17. The phrase *tropḗs aposkíasma* (AV "shadow of turning"; RSV "shadow due to change"; NEB "play of passing shadows") has been the subject of much discussion, partly due to several variant readings in the Greek text (e.g., *tropḗs aposkiásmatos* in ℵ B p^{23}). The context (the reference to God as the "Father of lights") and the use of *tropḗ* ("turning," "variation," "change"), which in classical literature is sometimes a technical term for the movements of the heavenly bodies (see Bauer, rev., p. 827), suggests that the phrase refers to astronomical phenomena. Scholars have proposed several specific phenomena, e.g., "darkness caused on earth by the movements of the constellations" (*TDNT*, VII, 399), the shadow of an eclipse, and the shadow of night (see Davids, p. 89). Although the specific referent cannot be determined, the main point of the passage is clear: God does not change, and therefore He can never send evil (cf. v. 13).

Some scholars have claimed that the use of *skiá* in Col. 2:17; He. 8:5; 10:1 reflects Greek rather than Hebrew thought. As O'Brien (p. 140) has pointed out, however, "shadow" is used "not so much in the Platonic sense of a copy of the heavenly and eternal 'idea' as in the sense of a foreshadowing of what is to come." The new order established by Christ is the perfect reality to which the OT laws and sacrifices merely pointed. This reality means that the regulations belonging to the "shadow" no longer constitute a standard for judgment (cf. Col. 2:16-23).

Bibliography.—P. Davids, *Epistle of James* (*NIGTC*, 1982), pp. 86-88; M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James* (Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1976), pp. 100-103; P. T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon* (*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1982), pp. 139-141; D. W. Thomas, *JSS*, 7 (1962), 191-200; *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σκιά κτλ. (S. Schulz).

G. CHAMBERLAIN N. J. O.

SHADES [Heb. *rᵉpā'îm*—'ghosts of the dead' (Job 26:5; Ps. 88:10 [MT 11]; Prov. 2:18; Isa. 14:9; 26:14, 19)]; AV DEAD, DECEASED; NEB also ANCIENT DEAD, etc. One of the biblical terms for deceased people residing in Sheol. The original meaning of Heb. *rᵉpā'îm* is uncertain. It was once thought to refer to "those who are sunken down [in death]" or "those who are low [i.e., in Sheol]," but it seems more likely to be associated with the verb *rp'*, "join together, mend, heal." One proposal is that it meant "those who are joined together [in Sheol]" (cf. Prov. 21:16). Another is "healers," an interpretation based on a belief that the *rᵉpā'îm* had healing or life-giving powers. Still another is "healthy ones," a euphemism for the dead.

In Job 26:5 "the shades below" are the dead (cf. Ps. 88:10 [MT 11]; Isa. 26:14). They dwell in "the depths of Sheol" (Prov. 9:18), where they live together in "the assembly of the dead [*rᵉpā'îm*]" (Prov. 21:16). This understanding of *rᵉpā'îm* seems to have been widespread in ancient Syria-Palestine. It is known from both Phoenician and Ugaritic texts. The inscriptions on the sarcophagi of Tabnit and Eshmun'azor II, who ruled Sidon in the 5th cent. B.C., refer to the kings' "resting place with the shades" (*rp'm*). (*See* picture in BURIAL; see *ANET*, p. 662.) The Ugar. *rp'um* are the dead who inhabit the underworld. According to one myth, they are subject to the rule of Shapsh, the sun-goddess (*UT*, 62:45f.), who probably was thought of as having jurisdiction over the living by day and the dead by night. Also at Ugarit was an individual god *rp'um*, evidently an underworld deity with considerable authority.

Another point of uncertainty involves the relationship of *rᵉpā'îm* meaning "shades" to its use as a designation for the Rephaim, one of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the Promised Land. Most scholars believe that the first meaning, "shades," is primary. Thus it may have been applied secondarily to a group of great warriors of the past, who, it was believed, now resided in the underworld among the other *rᵉpā'îm*. According to another point of view, the term Rephaim originally referred to an elite group of warriors, devotees of the god *rp'um*, who, as noted above, is known from Ugarit. The deceased members of this guild were also called Rephaim, and the designation eventually extended to the dead in general. Thus in Israelite tradition Rephaim came to refer both to a race of great warriors of the past and to the dead residing in the underworld.

For bibliography, *see* REPHAIM.

P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

SHADOW OF DEATH. *See* SHADE.

SHADRACH shad'rak [Heb. and Aram. *šaḏraḳ* < either Akk. *šudur-Ak(u)*–'command of Aku' (Sumerian moon-god), or *šādurāku*–'I am very fearful (of God)'] (Dnl. 1:7; 2:49; 3:12-30). One of the three companions of Daniel who were among the young Judean nobles taken captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar.

Shadrach's original Hebrew name was Hananiah ("God has shown mercy"; Dnl. 1:6), a common OT name. An officer of Nebuchadnezzar replaced Hananiah's Hebrew name with a Babylonian name that was perhaps comparable in structure (v. 7), and this name, Shadrach, is used exclusively in the Aramaic part of Daniel (2:4–7:28). Its meaning is uncertain. Some have suggested that Shadrach is an intentional corruption of Marduk (the chief Babylonian deity) by the author of Daniel, but this is doubtful. Of the four Babylonian names of Daniel and his companions, only ABED-NEGO is possibly a distorted form. The endings of Shadrach and Meshach may represent either the divine name *Ak(u)* or the pronominal suffix *ak(u)* as pronounced in Babylonian in the 6th cent. B.C., after case endings had dropped from normal speech (see Bibliography).

Taken captive and exiled in the first Babylonian deportation from Jerusalem in 605 B.C. (2 K. 24:1f.; Dnl. 1:1f.), Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego (always listed together and in that order) were among the handsome, well-educated Jewish youths chosen to be trained for service in the king's palace (1:3f.). When they were assigned a daily portion of the king's food and wine, Shadrach and his friends supported Daniel in refusing to violate the OT food laws (1:8-16). Because of God's blessing they rose quickly in the Babylonian civil service (1:17-20).

An incident in Nebuchadnezzar's second year led to their promotion. Angered because the Babylonian wise men could not tell him his forgotten dream, Nebuchadnezzar ordered that all the wise men be slain — including Daniel and his three companions (2:1-13). After gaining a respite from the king, Daniel informed Shadrach and the others of the situation and asked them to pray for God's mercy (v. 17). God answered their prayer by revealing the dream and its meaning to Daniel, and thus the lives of all the wise men were spared. At Daniel's request Nebuchadnezzar then appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego "over the affairs of the province of Babylon" (v. 49).

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego showed great faith and courage when they refused to worship Nebuchadnezzar's golden statue (3:12-18). Nebuchadnezzar ordered that they be executed by being thrown into a fiery furnace, but they were miraculously delivered from death (vv. 19-27). As a result, even Nebuchadnezzar glorified God, and Shadrach and his friends were again promoted (vv. 28-30).

Bibliography.–P. R. Berger, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 64 (1975), 224-234; J. P. Hyatt, *Treatment of Final Vowels in Early Neo-Babylonian* (1941); A. R. Millard, *EQ*, 49 (1977), 67-73.

D. K. STUART

SHADY TREES (Job 40:21f., AV). *See* LOTUS.

SHAFT [Heb. *qāneh*] (Ex. 25:31; 37:17); AV also BRANCH; NEB BRANCH. The long slender part of an object, usually associated with any of a variety of attached heads; an alternate word for "arrow."

The Heb. *qāneh* usually means REED and most likely refers to the Persian reed (*arundo donax*) found throughout Syria and Palestine. At times it grows to a height of almost 6 m. (18 ft.) with a basal diameter of 8 cm. (3 in.). Because of its strength it could be used for staffs and even weapons. In the Bible it is used twice to indicate the shaft of the tabernacle lampstand. Elsewhere it is used to suggest a staff in the famous phrase "a bruised reed" (Ezk. 29:6). Some have sugested that, when used together with *yārēḵ*, "thigh" (e.g., in the passages associated with the lampstand), it is intended to indicate a thickened shaft. Such is indeed the case with lamp, incense, and brazier stands found at ancient Near Eastern sites.

Although the Bible does not seem to speak of the shaft of weapons, such as spears or javelins, the heads of such weapons found archeologically show two methods of attachment to the shaft. When the head tapered to a thin tongue (male), it was intended to be inserted into a hole drilled into the end of the shaft. On the other hand, when the head was formed into a long circular fillet (female), the end of the shaft was inserted into the fillet.

For "water shaft," *see* WATERWORKS.

See C. L. Meyers, *Tabernacle Menorah* (1976), pp. 19-22.

L. G. HERR

SHAGEE shā'gē [Heb. *šāgēh*; Gk. ℵ, B *Sōla*, A *Sagē*] (1 Ch. 11:34); AV, NEB, SHAGE. A Hararite; father (or, perhaps, grandfather) of Jonathan, one of David's thirty mighty men. "Shagee" is probably a misreading of "Agee" (cf. 2 S. 23:11, 32f.). *See* SHAMMAH 3.

SHAHAR. The AV transliteration of Heb. *šaḥar* (RSV lit. "dawn") in the title to Ps. 22 (MT v. 1). *See* DAWN; HIND OF THE DAWN, THE.

SHAHARAIM shā-hə-rā'im [Heb. *šaḥ^{a}rayim*; LXX A *Saarēm*, B *Saarēl*]. A descendant of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. 8:8). Although the verse has several textual problems (see *BHS* and comms.), Shaharaim apparently had three wives, two of whom he divorced. He had seven sons by his wife Hodesh (v. 9), and two sons by his wife Hushim.

R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHAHAZUMAH shā'ə zōō'mə [Heb. *K šaḥ^{a}ṣûmâ*, *Q šaḥ^{a}ṣîmâ*] (Josh. 19:22); AV SHAHAZIMAH. A border town in the territory of Issachar, possibly identified with Tell el-Muqarqash, a mound about 8 km. (5 mi.) ESE of Mt. Tabor; Y. Aharoni, however, identified ANAHARATH (v. 19) with this mound (*JNES*, 26 [1967], 212-15). Abel (*GP*, II, 61) held that the *-â* ending of Shahazumah should be taken as *hê-* directive, which fits the context. Then *Q šaḥ^{a}ṣîmâ* could becead as a gentilic plural, and the place name read as *šaḥaṣ*, or Shahaz.

See W. F. Albright, *ZAW*, 44 (1926), 225-230.

B. R. AND P. C. PATTEN

SHAKE [Heb. *gā'aš* (Job 34:20), *ḥîl*–'writhe' (Ps. 29:8; Ezk. 26:15), *ḥāmas* (Job 15:33), *môṭ* (Ps. 13:4 [MT 5]; 46:2 [MT 3]; 62:6 [MT 7]; 82:5; 104:5), *nāwa'* (Job 16:4; Isa. 6:4; 7:2; Am. 9:9; Nah. 3:12; Zeph. 2:15), *nûḏ/niḏ* (1 K. 14:15; Jer. 18:16), *nûp* (Isa. 10:32; 19:16; Zec. 2:9 [MT 13]), *nā'ar* (Jgs. 16:20; Neh. 5:13; Job 38:13; Ps. 109:23; Isa. 33:9, 15; 52:2), *nāṭar* (Hab. 3:6), *'āmaḏ*–'stand' (Ezk. 29:7), *pāḥaḏ*–'fear' (Job 4:14), pilpel of *qālal* (Ezk. 21:21 [MT 26]), *rāgaz* (Job 9:6; Isa. 23:11), *rāḥap* (Jer. 23:9), *rā'a'* (Isa. 24:19), *rā'aš* (Ps. 77:18 [MT 19]; Isa. 13:13; 14:16; Ezk. 26:10; 27:28; 38:19; Joel 3:16 [MT 4:16]; Am. 9:1; Hag. 2:6f., 21); Gk. *apotinássō* (Lk. 9:5; Acts 28:5), *asáleutos*–'immovable' (He. 12:28), *ektinássō* (Mt. 10:14; Mk. 6:11; Acts 13:51; 18:6), *saleúō* (Mt. 11:7; 24:29; Mk. 13:25; Lk. 6:38, 48; 7:24; 21:26; Acts 2:25; 4:31; 16:26; 2 Thess. 2:2; He. 12:26f.), *seiō* (Mt. 27:51; He. 12:26; Rev. 6:13)]; AV also MOVE, TOSS (up and down), "sift," "be

troubled," "be at a stand," "removed," etc.; NEB also WRITHE, HEAVE, GIVE WAY, "shed," etc.

Several kinds of shaking occur in the Bible. Various parts of the body may shake; e.g., one may shake one's fist in anger (Isa. 10:32; 19:16; Zeph. 2:15; Zec. 2:9; *see* GESTURE I) or shake one's head in derision or repulsion (Job 16:4; Jer. 18:16; *see* GESTURE V); one's loins (Ezk. 29:7), bones (Job 4:14; Jer. 23:9), or heart (Isa. 7:2) may shake from FEAR; or one may shake one's entire body (Jgs. 16:20). In Isa. 33:15 a righteous person is one who "shakes his hands, lest they hold a bribe," i.e., one who by such a motion demonstrates clearly that he does not secretly hold a bribe (cf. Ps. 26:10; Prov. 17:23; 21:14).

The psalmist dramatizes how strong his faith is: though the mountains should shake, he will not fear, for God is his refuge and strength (Ps. 46:1f.; cf. 13:4; 62:6; Lk. 6:48; Acts 2:25). Indeed, God is often the cause of the earth (or parts of the earth, as well as the heavens) shaking (Joel 3:16; cf. Job 9:6; Ps. 29:8; 46:2; 77:18; 82:5; Isa. 6:4; 13:13; 24:19; Ezk. 26:10, 15; 27:28; 38:19; Am. 9:1; Hag. 2:6, 21; Mt. 24:29 par. Mk. 13:25; Lk. 21:26; He. 12:26-28; *see also* EARTHQUAKE; QUAKE). In the face of these many texts, Ps. 104:5 seems problematic, for it asserts that God so created the earth that it could not be shaken (Heb. *môṭ*, the same word used in 46:2 [MT 3]; 82:5). But taken together these texts should serve as a reminder of God's sovereignty — what He has created, He can destroy.

Some of the same verbs describe God's shaking the nations in judgment (Israel, Am. 9:9; cf. 1 K. 14:15; all nations, Hag. 2:7; Hab. 3:6; kingdoms, Isa. 14:16; 23:11). Nah. 3:12 likens Nineveh's mighty fortresses to fig trees; when shaken, the figs fall into the mouth of the eater (cf. Rev. 6:13 for a cosmic application of this image). Other agricultural images include Eliphaz's likening the godless to an unripe grape that God will shake off (Job 15:33), Isaiah depicting the land mourning and barren (Isa. 33:9), and the psalmist's lament of his weakened condition (Ps. 109:23).

In Neh. 5:13 Nehemiah shakes out his lap to dramatize the curse that will fall on the leaders if they fail to keep their promise to abolish the high interest rates that have enslaved so many of the people. Cf. the cosmic complement to this image in Job 38:12f., where God commands the morning to take hold of the skirts of the earth and shake the wicked out of it. On the similar action in Acts 18:6, *see* GARMENTS X.

In Job 34:20 Elihu describes the quick passing away of the nobles, the mighty; although many commentators have suggested emending Heb. *yᵉgōʿᵃšû*, "are shaken" (see, e.g., S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray [*ICC*, repr. 1977]), others (e.g., E. Dhorme [Eng. tr. repr. 1984], R. Gordis [1978]) defend the MT.

Several NT texts also call for comment. R. Gundry (*Matthew* [1982], p. 207) is surely correct that in Mt. 11:7 par. Lk. 7:24 Jesus' question to the crowds does not refer simply to the grass growing along the Jordan but is a metaphorical reference to human frailty (see also R. T. France, *Matthew* [*Tyndale NT Comms.*, 1985], p. 193; cf. A. H. McNeile, comm. on Matthew [repr. 1980], p. 153; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* [repr. 1977], p. 356). Cf. 2 Thess. 2:2, where the same verb is used for being "shaken in mind"; here Paul exhorts his readers not to be shaken by thoughts of Christ's return.

Twice in Acts God apparently causes earthquakes. In Acts 4:31 the young church is gathered together praising God for the release of Peter and John, and after they prayed, "the place in which they were gathered together was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit." Some commentators take this shaking not as a literal "earthquake, but as a symbol of the presence of God" (so W. Neil [*NCBC*, repr. 1981], p. 92), but this interpretation assumes that the acknowledged OT parallels (e.g., Ex. 19:18; Isa. 6:4) also were not literal earthquakes, an assumption that seems unlikely (cf. F. F. Bruce, comm. on Acts [*NICNT*, repr. 1979], p. 107; I. H. Marshall, *Acts* [*Tyndale NT Comms.*, 1980], p. 107). According to E. Haenchen (comm. on Acts [Eng. tr. 1971], p. 228 n. 2), "to the ancient mind, the trembling of the place signified that the prayer had been 'heard,'" but the OT texts often cited are not real parallels, since they are not responses to prayer. He referred to true parallels in Ovid *Metamorphoses* xv.669-672; Virgil *Aen.* iii.88-91. In 16:26 "a great earthquake" shook the foundations of the prison that held Paul and Silas; the jailer obviously took this event as a sign that God was with Paul and Silas, and he "believed in God" (v. 34). Once again Haenchen (p. 497) noted a pagan parallel (Euripides *Bacchanals* 445-450).

Also in Acts is the account of Paul being bitten by a serpent, which he shakes off into the fire (28:5). Note that the verb used here is the same one used in Lk. 9:5 for shaking off dust.

Jesus' death was accompanied by many supernatural events, including an earthquake that resulted in tombs being opened (Mt. 27:51). Gundry (*Matthew* [1982], pp. 575f.) noted the parallel between this text and Ezk. 37:7, 12f. (AV "shaking" is preferable to RSV "rattling" for *raʿaš*, which usually refers to earthquakes; see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979], p. 276).

On the shaking of arrows in Ezk. 21:21, *see* DIVINATION III.C.

For the expression "shake off dust" (Isa. 52:2; Mt. 10:14 par. Mk. 6:11; Lk. 9:5; Acts 13:51), *see* DUST; GESTURE II.

G. A. LEE

SHALEM shā'ləm [Heb. *šālēm*–'intact']. A place mentioned only in Gen. 33:18, AV. The AV, following the LXX (cf. Pesh., Vulg.), reads, "And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem." In support of this minority position taken by the AV, the Shalem Rabta or "Great Shalem" of Samaritan sources is identified with Salim, a village about 6 km. (4 mi.) E of Shechem (Nablus), called Sanim by Eusebius (*Onom.* 160.3). Perhaps this is the city referred to by the AV. Also, the events of Gen. 44 may have occurred here, although an old tradition placing Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb near Shechem argues against this view.

The RSV, however, reads "And Jacob came safely to the city of Shechem," rendering Heb. *šālēm* with the adverb "safely" (so NEB). This preferred translation receives strong support from the Tgs. Onkelos and Jonathan, Sam. Pent., and Arab. versions.

See also SALEM.

M. E. DERAUD

SHALISHAH shə-lī'shə [Heb. *šālišâ*; Gk. LXX A *Salissa*, B *Selcha*] (1 S. 9:4); AV, NEB SHALISHA. In search of his father's asses, Saul left his home in Gibeah and passed through "the hill country of Ephraim," "the land of Shalishah," "the land of Shaalim," "the land of Benjamin," and the "land of Zuph" (vv. 4f.). The geography of the passage suggests a "round trip" excursion ending in Ramah, a few miles N of Gibeah, where Saul sought the aid of the prophet Samuel (vv. 6f.). The vagueness of the passage does not afford confident identification of Shalishah. 2 K. 4:42 mentions a Baal-shalishah, which may indicate a local shrine to the god "Baal" in Shalishah (see J. Gray, *1 & 2 Kings* [*OTL*, rev. ed. 1970], pp. 474, 500f.). Khirbet Kefr Thilth some 30 km. (19 mi.) NE of Jaffa is a possible location on the basis that Arab. *ṯilṯ*

is etymologically related to Heb. *šāliśâ* (but cf. P. K. McCarter, Jr. *1 Samuel* [*AB*, 1980], p. 174).

Bibliography.–*GP*, II, 259f.; *GTTOT*; *LBHG*.

W. L. THOMPSON, JR.

SHALLECHETH shal'ə-keth [Heb. *šalleḵeṯ*] (1 Ch. 26:16). The name of a gate assigned to the gatekeepers Shuppim and Hosah, located on a road that led up from the Tyropoeon Valley to the west gate of Solomon's temple. Because of the possible meaning of Shallecheth, which is "casting forth," it is conjectured that the offal of the temple was carried through this gate.

SHALLUM shal'əm [Heb. *šallûm, šallum*].

1. Youngest son of Naphtali (1 Ch. 7:13); called "Shillem" in Gen. 46:24; Nu. 26:49.

2. A descendant of Simeon; son of Shaul and father of Mibsam (1 Ch. 4:25).

3. Son of Sismai and father of Jekamiah; a Jerahmeelite of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 2:40f.).

4. The fifteenth king of the northern kingdom of Israel, who reigned for only one month in the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. (2 K. 15:10, 13-15). He usurped the throne by assassinating Zechariah, the last king of the dynasty of Jehu, which had occupied the throne of Israel for almost a century. This assassination signaled the end of the long, prosperous, expansionistic period of rule under Zechariah's father Jeroboam II. Beginning with Shallum, Israel followed a downward path that led to the disintegration of its society and to its final destruction by the Assyrians. Shallum's brief rule was typical of what followed throughout the next quarter-century; Samaria was ruled by a rapid succession of short-lived usurpers until it was finally conquered in 722 B.C. Shallum was succeeded by his assassin, Menahem.

Shallum's name, which means "payment, recompense," is well attested on ancient Hebrew seals. Of special interest is its occurrence in the text of an ostracon found at Samaria ("Barley Letter"; see *ANET*, p. 321; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, I [repr. 1973], 14f.). This text, which could not have been written more than half a century from the time of King Shallum, provides archeological evidence that his name was in use in the place and time in which the Bible locates him.

W. H. SHEA

5. Father of Jehizkiah, an Ephraimite chief in the time of Ahaz (2 Ch. 28:12).

6. [Gk. Apoc. *Salēmos, Salōm*; Lat. *Salame*]; AV Apoc. SALUM, SADAMIAS, SALOM; NEB Apoc. also SALEMUS. Son of Zadok and father of Hilkiah; a high priest and ancestor of Ezra (1 Ch. 6:12f. [MT 5:38f.]; Ezr. 7:2; 1 Esd. 8:1; 2 Esd. 1:1; Bar. 1:7). He is probably the same as MESHULLAM **7**.

7. Son of Tikvah (2 K. 22:14; Tokhath in par. 2 Ch. 34:22); husband of Huldah the prophetess; keeper of the sacred wardrobe during the reign of King Josiah.

8. An uncle of Jeremiah the prophet (Jer. 32:7).

9. Father of Maaseiah, the keeper of the threshold (an important priestly office) in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 35:4).

10. Fourth son of Josiah (1 Ch. 3:15); enthroned as king of Judah following his father's death (Jer. 22:11); usually called "Jehoahaz" (e.g., 2 Ch. 36:1-4). *See* JEHOAHAZ **3**.

11. [Gk. Apoc. *Saloum*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SALUM. A Korahite, son of Kore; a gatekeeper who was among the first Levites to return from Babylon after the Exile (1 Ch. 9:17, 19, 31; Ezr. 2:42 par. Neh. 7:45; 1 Esd. 5:28). *See also* MESHELEMIAH.

12. [Gk. Apoc. *Salloumos*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SALLUMUS. A Levitical gatekeeper who divorced his foreign wife during the time of Ezra (Ezr. 10:24 par. 1 Esd. 9:25).

13. Son of Bani; an Israelite layman who divorced his foreign wife (Ezr. 10:42); the name is omitted in par. 1 Esd. 9:34.

14. Son of Hallohesh; he and his daughters helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:12). He is called "ruler of half the district of Jerusalem," which probably means he was the foreman responsible for half the assignment of the city (see *IB*, III, 688).

15. [Heb. *šallûn*, a few MSS *šallûm*; Gk. *Salōmōn*]; AV, NEB, SHALLUN. Son of Colhozeh; "foreman of half the portion assigned to Mizpah" (Neh. 3:15, RSV mg.; cf. v. 19; see *IB*, III, 689). He repaired the Fountain Gate and built the wall of the Pool of Shelah.

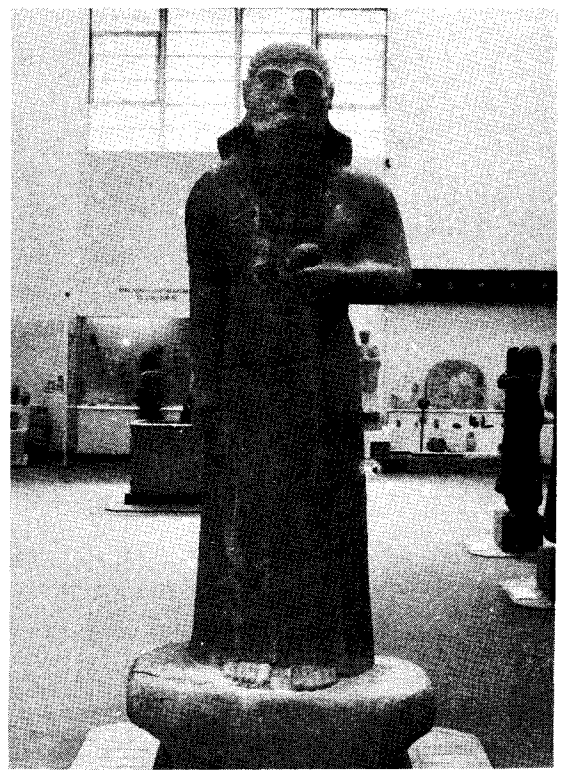
N. J. O.

SHALLUN shal'ən (Neh. 3:15, AV, NEB). *See* SHALLUM **15**.

SHALMAI shal'mī [Heb. *šalmay*] (Neh. 7:48). Head of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from exile; called SHAMLAI (RSV, NEB; but AV "Shalmai") in Ezr. 2:46; cf. also 1 Esd. 5:30 (RSV SHAMLAI; AV, NEB SUBAI [LXX *Sybaï*]).

SHALMAN shal'mən [Heb. *šalmān*; LXX *Salaman*]. A non-Israelite king whose identity is uncertain (Hos. 10:14). Several identifications have been suggested. The name may be an abbreviation for Shalmaneser, the name of several important Assyrian kings. But elsewhere Shal-

A basalt statue of Shalmaneser III in a typical king posture holding a mace-scepter and sickle sword. He has daggers in his belt and sun-disks, symbols of gods, on his chest (*ca.* 850 B.C.) (Archeological Museum, Istanbul)



maneser is always written in full. Even if this is the correct understanding of the name, it is impossible to identify which particu ar Shalmaneser the writer had in mind. Another possibility is the Moabite king Salamanu whose name is found in the annals of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (cf. *ANET*, p. 282), but this connection also remains uncertain. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHALMANESER shal-mə-nē'zər [Heb. *šalman'eser*; Assyr. *šalmanu-ašaridu*, "Shalman [a deity] is leader [first]"]. The name of five Assyrian kings, only two of whom are significant for OT studies.

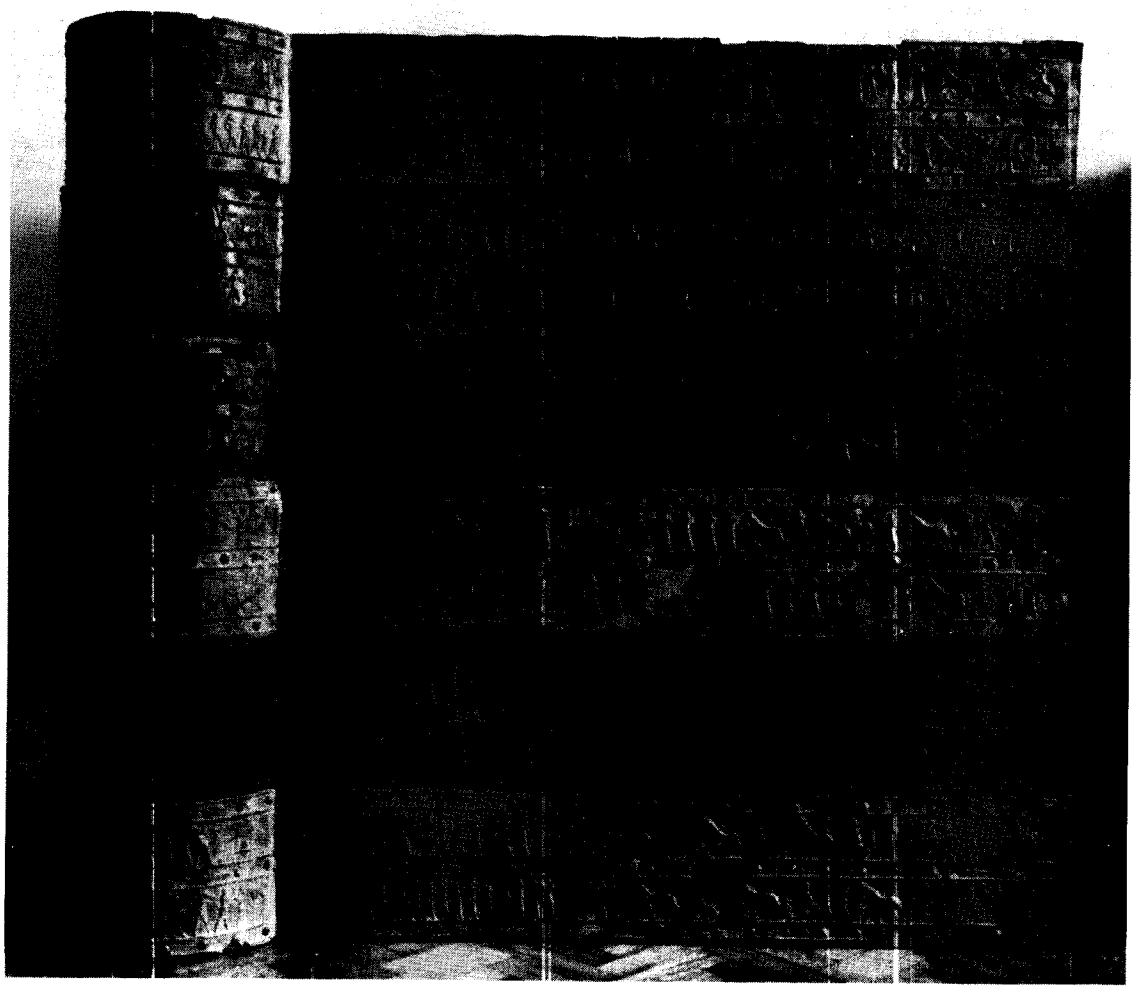
1. Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.), son of Adadnirari I, left the first detailed accounts of military operations by Assyrian kings (cf. *ARAB*, I, §§ 112-148; *CAH*, II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 279-284). In the days of Adadnirari (1307-1275), Shalmaneser, and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208), Assyria became a major power and greatly extended its territory.

2. Shalmaneser II (1031-1020 B.C.), son of Assurnasirpal I, (1050-1032) and grandson of Šamši-Adad IV (1054-1051), left very few inscriptions (cf. *ARAB*, I, §§ 346f.). The 10th and 9th cents. were a period of weakness of the Assyrians and growth of Aramean power.

3. Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.), son of Ashurnasirpal II (884-859), grandson of Tukulti-Ninurta II (889-884), was one of the founders of the Assyrian empire. He was faced with opposition on the north, west, and south fronts, and finally, in his closing years, with civil insurrection. He left detailed records (cf. *ARAB*, I, §§ 553-721; *ANET*, pp. 276-281), so that it is possible to reconstruct much of his reign.

To judge from the number of campaigns to the north, this must have been the greatest problem area or military objective. Urartu had revolted when Shalmaneser I came to the throne (*ca.* 1274 B.C.), and military campaigns into the territory are recorded at frequent intervals. The kingdom of Urartu was centered about Lake Van (today in eastern Turkey). The region, including surrounding areas, was called Nairi (*ARAB*, I, § 685) and was marked by "the sea of the land of Nairi." Many of the petty kings of the area are named (I, § 722). In fact, Shalmaneser claimed that he was "conqueror from the upper sea and the lower sea of Nairi, and the great sea of the setting sun, as far as Mount Amanus -- the Hittite land to its farthest border" (I, § 647). From this it would appear that "the upper sea and the lower sea" were both in

The bronze Tel Balawat gates (below and on facing page) showing the military campaigns of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.). The left gate depicts Assyrian chariots and archers; sacrifice at the Tigris River mouth; animal tribute from Gilzani; and prisoners being taken from Qarqar and Carchemish, among other cities.

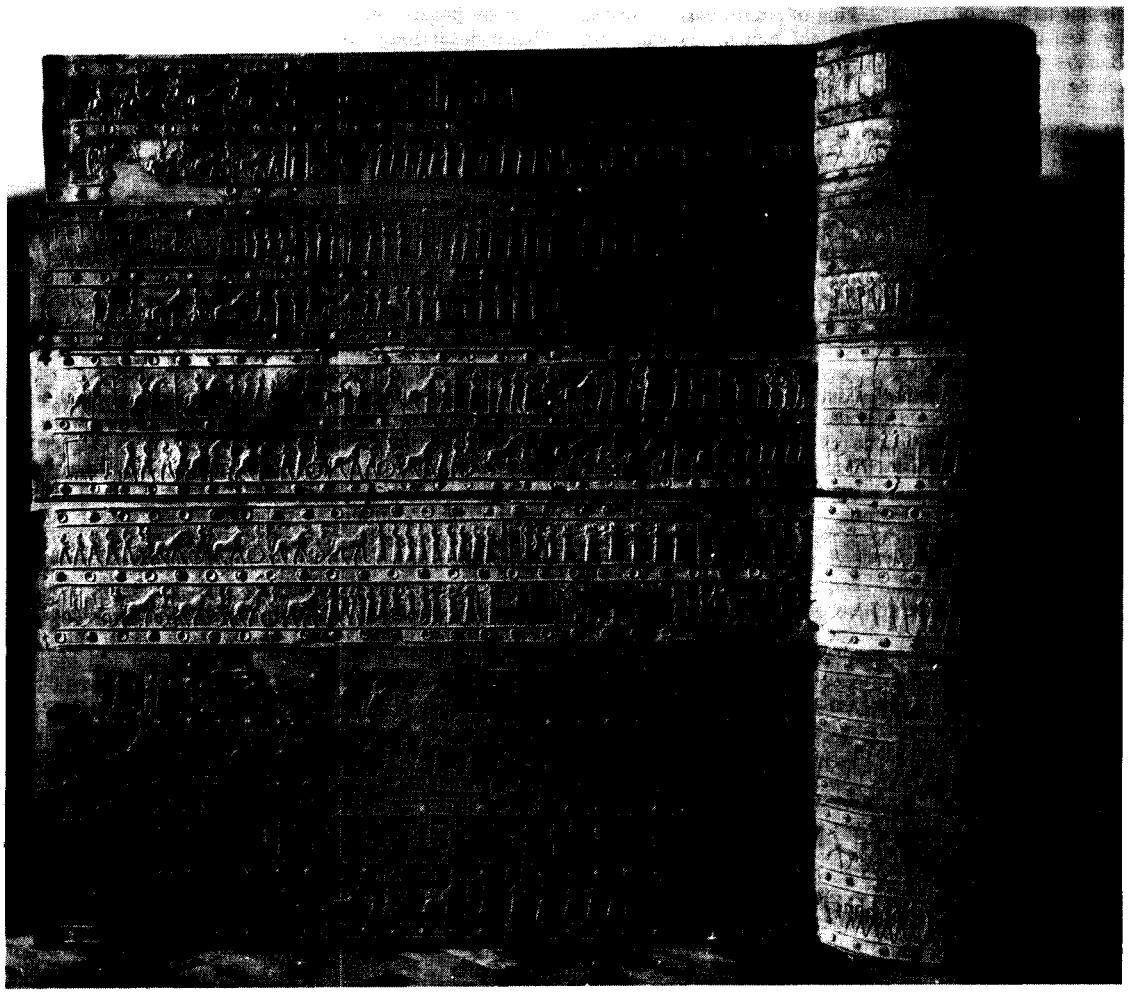


Nairi, and were distinct from the great sea of the setting sun (i.e., the Mediterranean), suggesting that the "upper" and "lower" seas may have been the Black Sea and Lake Van, or more likely, Lake Van and Lake Urmiah. In another inscription he described his conquest "from the sea of Nairi and the sea Zamua, which [is] inside" (I, § 617; *ANET*, p. 277). Since the land of Zamua is located in the Zagros mountains (M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* [1962], p. 161), the sea of Zamua would seem to be Lake Urmiah and the sea of Nairi Lake Van. Shalmaneser claimed to have discovered the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers (*ARAB*, I, § 674; *ANET*, p. 276), and to have cut an image of himself "in the cliffs of the mountains, where the water [of the Tigris] breaks forth" (*ARAB*, I, § 660).

Campaigns to the north were broken by disturbances in other regions. In Shalmaneser's eighth year (851 B.C.), Marduk-bel-usate revolted against his brother Marduk-zakir-šumi, king of Karduniash (Babylonia). The Assyrian king, in support of the king of Babylonia, captured two cities. The next year another rebellion occurred. This time Shalmaneser marched on Babylon, captured several cities, and went on to Kaldu (Chaldea), to the sea called "Marratu" ("bitter [salty]," i.e., the Persian Gulf; cf. *ARAB*, I, §§ 566, 650; also called the Sea of Kaldu, I, § 641).

The greatest disturbances, except for those in the north and northeast, came from the Arameans. Shalmaneser I in his campaign in Ḫanigalbat (the kingdom of the Mitanni) had faced a contingent of Aḫlamê, a tribe or tribes from the Syrian desert (*CAH*, II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], p. 281). A little over a century later, Ašur-reša-iši (1133-1116) claimed that he had broken the groups of Aḫlamê that were ranging over a wide area to the north and west of Assyria, but Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077) still had problems with these Aḫlamê, whom he identified as Arameans (*ARAB*, I § 239), in the city of Carchemish in the land of Hatti. In fact, he recorded on an eight-sided prism, "For the twenty-eighth time, in pursuit of the Aḫlamê Arameans, I crossed the Euphrates" (I, § 287). The Arameans were at that time located "from Tadmar . . . to Karduniash" (Babylonia), in other words, in much of the Syrian desert and into what is often called Aram-Naharaim, the region between the Euphrates and the Habur rivers.

The right gate shows chariots, battering rams, and impaled enemies. Also shown is tribute transported from Tyre in boats; animals and captives taken from Hamath and Hazuzu and other cities in Syria and Urartu; the Babylonians submitting to Shalmaneser, seated on a throne; and toward the bottom, soldiers crossing the mountains. The circles and squares on the gate represent military camps (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



These Aḥlamê Arameans, however, were no longer scattered tribes of nomads who lived largely by imposing tribute on all who used caravan routes. By the time of Shalmaneser III they had become federated — although never a nation — largely under Damascus. In his sixth year (853 B.C.) Shalmaneser was engaged by Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri) of Aram, Irḥuleni of Hamath, and other kings of Hatti and the seacoast (*ARAB*, I, § 563; *ANET*, p. 279), at Qarqar on the Orontes. In a fuller description, this battle of Qarqar included also Ahab the Israelite and numerous other peoples (*ARAB*, I, §§ 610f.). In spite of his claims of victory, Shalmaneser marched west again in his eleventh, fourteenth, and seventeenth through twenty-first years, sometimes mentioning only that he cut cedar timbers on Mt. Amanus, but on other campaigns he names Hazael of Aram (Damascus), and mentions the exaction of tribute from other city-states. Shalmaneser recorded the death of Hadad-ezer, and added that "Hazael, the son of a nobody, seized the throne" (I, § 681; *ANET*, p. 280). Since Hadad-ezer is named in Shalmaneser's fourteenth year (845 B.C.) and Hazael in his eighteenth (841 B.C.), the succession of Hazael must be placed within this period. The sickness and death of Ben-hadad (Adad-idri) and the succession of Hazael are recorded in 2 K. 8:7-18.

A certain Ben-hadad (for problems of identification cf. *ISBE*, I [1979], 458f.; *ben [Ḥ]adad*, "son of [the god] Adad," may have been a title used by several kings, similar to "son of David"), king of Aram, was requested by Asa of Judah (910-870) to aid him in his war with Baasha of Samaria (909-886). Ben-hadad complied by taking a number of northern cities and all the land of Naphtali (1 K. 15:16-20). In the thirty-eighth year of Asa, Ahab the son of Omri began to rule over Israel (874-853; cf. 1 K. 16:29). Naaman, commander of the army of Damascus, and Elisha the prophet fit into this period (cf. 2 K. 5:1-14). Ben-hadad besieged Samaria (6:24), but it was delivered at the word of Elisha (ch. 7). The battle of Qarqar also has to be placed in this period, probably shortly before the death of Ahab (853 B.C.). Presumably Ahab joined with Syria to face the threat of Shalmaneser's invasion, and after that threat was turned aside — for while Shalmaneser claimed victory, it is obvious that he had to return to face the Arameans several more times — Ahab talked Jehoshaphat of Judah into allying with him to take Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians (1 K. 22:29-40). Ahab was killed in that battle. Cf. *MNHK*, p. 62, esp. n. 6.

On the Black Obelisk, discovered at Nimrûd (Calah) and now in the British Museum, a panel shows Jehu (or his representative) bowing at the feet of Shalmaneser (*see* pictures in ARCHEOLOGY OF MESOPOTAMIA; JEHU; OMRI; cf. Beek, plates 179f.). An inscription above the relief reads "Yaua (Jehu), son of Ḫumri (Omri); silver, gold, a golden beaker, golden goblets, pitchers of gold, lead, staves for the hand of the king, javelins, I received from him" (*ARAB*, I, § 590; *ANET*, p. 281). This event is included in the record of his eighteenth year (841 B.C.), at which time Hazael gathered his forces on Mt. Saniru (Sirion, Hermon), and Shalmaneser defeated him, advancing as far as Mt. Hauran and Mt. Ba'li Ra'si (Carmel; cf. *ARAB*, I, § 672; *ANET*, p. 280). The OT does not record the paying of tribute by Jehu to Shalmaneser.

Shalmaneser's closing years are tragic, in a sense. In his twenty-seventh year (831 B.C.) he sent Dayan-Ashur, the "Turtan" ("second," from a Semitic root [*try*] attested also in Aramaic for "two"), against Urartu. In the following four years he recorded accounts of the campaigns led by Dayan-Ashur the Turtan in each instance. Significantly the accounts of these campaigns often are stated in the first person, although Shalmaneser was in Calah and not on the field of battle. The thirtieth campaign was against the Manneans and Parsua (Manni, Persia), on the east of Assyria, the first report of unrest on that side of the empire during his reign. In 827 B.C. his son Aššur-danin-apli raised a number of followers in many cities to oppose Shalmaneser's choice of Šamši-Adad to succeed him. Although twenty-seven cities supported the leader of the rebellion, Šamši-Adad V acceded to the throne in 824 B.C., and after two more years of struggle, he secured final victory with the help of the king of Babylon.

According to H. Frankfort, the period of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III was the first of three great periods of late Assyrian art. Shalmaneser's contributions included a new use of metal, well-illustrated in the "bronze gates" of Balawat (Ingur-Enlil). See detail pictures in HAMATH; PHOENICIA; SIEGE; WAR. For a fuller discussion, cf. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1954), pp. 73-108, plates 91-93.

Bibliography.—*ANET*, pp. 276-281; *ARAB*, I, §§ 553-712; M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* (1962), pp. 90-110; *CAH*, III (1925), 18-31, 362-379; W. S. LaSor, *et al.*, *OT Survey* (1982), pp. 168, 264-272; *MNHK*, pp. 61-67; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT* (1912), pp. 288-304; *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (1915), pp. 222-250.

4. Shalmaneser IV (782-772 B.C.), son of Adadnirari III. What little is known of this king comes from the annals of Argistis I, king of Urartu. The Assyrian empire was at one of its low points, and Urartu was experiencing a new vigor. Shalmaneser fought campaigns against Urartu in every year from 781 to 774 with the exception of 777 and 775. Assyria lost many vantage points. More serious, probably, were the new attempts at revolt among the Arameans. Shalmaneser led punitive actions against Hatarika ("Hadrak," Zec. 9:1) and Damascus. He was succeeded by Aššur-dan III, who fared no better.

5. Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.), son of Tiglath-pileser III. Records from this king consist of a cylinder fragment recording the repair of the temple of Ezida in Borsippa (cf. *ARAB*, I, §§ 828-830).

Josephus cites a passage from Menander's annals, supposedly a translation of the Tyrian archives, concerning an invasion of Syria and all Phoenicia (*Ant.* ix.14.2 [283-87]). But some confusion seems to exist since Menander's name for the Assyrian king was "Selampsas" (§ 284), although Josephus connected this with "Salmanassēs," his customary form for Shalmaneser (§§ 277, 287). Moreover the king of Tyre is named Elulaios, "to whom they gave the name of Pyas [var. "Pylas"]" (§ 284). These names are remarkably similar to the Babylonian throne names of Tiglath-pileser III ("Pul," 2 K. 15:19; *CAH*, III, 32) and Shalmaneser V ("Ulalai;" *CAH*, III, 33; both names appear in the Babylonian King List; cf. R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT* (1912), p. 202), suggesting that Menander or his source may have confused the names. The kings of Tyre at that time were Hiram and Mitinna (*ARAB*, I, §§ 772, 803), and Menander's statement that Elulaios "reigned thirty-six years") *Ant.* ix.14.2 [284]) cannot be fitted in with what is known of the history of Tyre. Mitinna (Metenna) was king of Tyre and paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 732 B.C. Sidon had a king called "Lule," who is generally identified with Elulaios; Sennacherib recorded that he conducted a campaign against the region in his third year (703 B.C.), and that Lule fled "far off into the midst of the sea," where he died (*ARAB*, II, § 239).

We are therefore left with the biblical account of Shalmaneser as our main source of information on the siege of Samaria (2 K. 17:5f.; 18:9f.). The accounts in Josephus (*Ant.* ix.13.1 [259]; ix.14.1 [277-79]) are simply a retelling

of the scriptural material. Tiglath-pileser III had invaded the northern part of Israel and captured parts of the land (*ca.* 732 B.C.; cf. 2 K. 15:29; 1 Ch. 5:26). Pekah of Israel was killed, and Tiglath-pileser set Hoshea on the throne (*ARAB*, I, § 816). From biblical chronology we may calculate this event shortly after the fall of Damascus (732 B.C.), or *ca.* 731/30 B.C. Tiglath-pileser died in 727 B.C. and was succeeded by Shalmaneser V. Hoshea of Israel probably took this occasion to cease paying tribute to Assyria, and he turned to Egypt for help (2 K. 17:4). This may be the background for expressions in Hosea's prophecy (Hos. 5:13; 7:11; 12:1).

Shalmaneser moved at once, and began a siege of Samaria which lasted three years (2 K. 17:5). In Hoshea's ninth year (*ca.* 722 B.C.), Samaria fell and the people of Israel were taken into captivity (17:6). Shalmaneser died in 722/21 B.C. in the month of Tebetu (December/January) and was succeeded by Sargon, who claimed that he had conquered Samaria (*ARAB*, II, § 55; *ANET*, pp. 284f.) The question whether Shalmaneser or Sargon captured Samaria has been the subject of scholarly debate. The consensus favored Sargon, but more recently there has been support for Shalmaneser, which seems to be the intent in 2 K. 17:5 (cf. H. Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 [1958], 22-40). According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Shalmaneser died in Tebetu, and on the twelfth day of Tebetu Sargon took his seat on the throne in Assyria (R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT* [1912], p. 291 [lines 30f.]). Even if Shalmaneser's death was on the first day of Tebetu, time would not allow Sargon to capture Samaria and get back to Assyria by the twelfth of that same month. The actual capture of Samaria may have taken place in 720 B.C., Sargon's second year (*see* SARGON III).

The reference to Shalman in Hos. 10:14 is generally taken to be an abbreviated form of Shalmaneser, and the reference to the campaign of that king in his eighteenth year (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 341). Beth-arbel is identified with Irbid in Gilead.

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W. S. LASOR

SHAMA sha'ma [Heb. *šāmāʿ*–'(God) has heard (a prayer)']. Son of Hotham the Aroerite (1 Ch. 11:44). He and his brother Jeiel were among David's "mighty men."

See *IP*, pp. 184f.

SHAMARIAH sham-ə-rī'ə (2 Ch. 11:19, AV). *See* SHEMARIAH 2.

SHAMBLES. An archaic term for "meat market" in 1 Cor. 10:25, AV. *See* MARKET.

SHAME; ASHAMED [Heb. *bôš*–'be ashamed' (e.g., 2 K. 2:17; Ezr. 8:22; Isa. 1:29; Jer. 6:15), hiphil of *bôš*–'put to shame' (e.g., 2 S. 19:5 [MT 6]; Ps. 53:5 [MT 6]; 119:31; Prov. 10:5), *bōšeṯ* (e.g., 2 Ch. 32:21; Ps. 35:26; Isa. 30:3, 5), *bûšâ* (e.g., Ps. 89:45 [MT 46]; Ezk. 7:18), niphal of *kālam*–'be humiliated' (e.g., 2 S. 10:5; 1 Ch. 19:5; Ezk. 16:27), hiphil of *kālam*–'insult' (e.g., Prov. 28:7), *kᵉlimmâ*–'insult' (e.g., Ps. 4:2 [MT 3]; Isa. 50:6; Ezk. 32:24f., 30), *ḥāpar* (e.g., Ps. 71:24), hiphil of *ḥāpar* (e.g., Isa. 54:4), *ḥerpâ*–'reproach' (e.g., 2 S. 13:13; Isa. 47:3), *qālôn*–'dishonor' (e.g., Ps. 83:16; Jer. 13:26; Hos. 4:7, 18), *ḥeseḏ*–'shame' (Lev. 20:17), etc.; Gk. mid./pass. of *aischýnō*–'be shamed' (e.g., Lk. 16:3; 2 Cor. 10:8), *kataischýnō*–'humiliate, dishonor' (e.g., pass., Rom. 9:33; 1 Cor. 1:27), *epaischýnomai*–'be ashamed of' (e.g., Mk. 8:38; Rom. 1:16), *aischýnē* (e.g., Lk. 14:9; Phil. 3:9), *aischrós*–'disgraceful' (1 Cor. 14:35; Eph. 5:12), *aischrokerdṓs* ("for shameful gain," 1 Pet. 5:2), *aischēmosýnē* ("shameless acts," Rom. 1:27), *anepaíschyntos*–'having no need to be ashamed' (2 Tim. 2:15), *atimía*–'dishonor' (2 Cor. 11:21), *atimázō*– 'hold in no honor' ("treat shamefully," Mk. 12:4; Lk. 20:11), pass. of *entrépō*–'put to shame' (2 Thess. 3:14; Tit. 2:8), *entropḗ*–'humiliation' (1 Cor. 6:5; 15:34), *hybrízō*–'mistreat,' 'insult' ("treat shamefully,"Mt. 22:6; Lk. 18:32; 1 Thess. 2:2), *deigmatízō*–'expose,' 'make an example of' (Mt. 1:19)]; AV also CONFUSION, REPROACH, UNCLEAN, CONFOUNDED, NAKEDNESS, etc.; NEB also HUMILIATED, CONFOUNDED, DISAPPOINTED DISGUSTED, BE TAKEN ABACK, LOOK FOOLISH, etc. A condition of humiliating disgrace.

In the RSV OT "shame" and "ashamed" are used primarily to render the Hebrew verbs *bôš* and *kālam* and their cognates. These terms most often denote an objective situation of disgrace rather than a subjective feeling of humiliation. The account of David's weeping for his son Absalom in 2 S. 19:3, 5 (MT 4, 6) illustrates two aspects of shame. First, shame is a situation or condition into which a person, city, or nation is brought, which involves a loss of respect and exposure to reproach. Such a situation may not be the fault of the one who must endure it. One cause for shame may be an unsuccessful venture, in which the opposite of what was sought is obtained. David's troops were in such a situation, for although they had successfully defended the king against Absalom, David's response was to mourn his lost son rather than to praise his troops for their victory; thus it was as if they had fled in battle (v. 3 [MT 4]). Other situations of shame included barrenness (cf. RSV "reproach," Gen. 30:23; Isa. 4:1; Lk. 1:25; *see* REPROACH; BARREN), widowhood (Isa. 54:4), military defeat (2 Ch. 32:21), and public humiliation (Lk. 14:9). The idioms "be put to shame" (e.g., Ps. 31:1 [MT 2]; 40:14 [MT 15]) and "be clothed in shame" (Ps. 35:26; 132:18) underscore the passive idea of shame as a condition that one has to endure.

Second, shame can refer to disgraceful conduct and its consequences. In 2 S. 19:5 (MT 6) Joab tells David that his weeping is shameful behavior, for its indicates that he loves those who hate him (Absalom) and hates those who love him (his troops). Other actions that create a situation of shame include premature litigation (Prov. 25:8), rape (2 S. 13:13), mutilation of a person's body (1 S. 11:2; RSV "disgrace" [Heb. *ḥerpâ*]), marriage to someone uncircumcised (Gen. 34:14; RSV "disgrace" [*ḥerpâ*]), lack of discipline in raising a child (Prov. 29:15), premature and impulsive answers to questions (Prov. 18:13), adultery (Hos. 2:5 [MT 7]; cf. Mt. 1:9), incest (Lev. 20:17), and arrogant mistreatment of another (cf. Mt. 22:6; Lk. 18:32).

The prophets employed the concept of shame theologically to describe both Israel's reproachable behavior toward God and the catastrophic consequences of that behavior. Israel's idolatry (Jer. 48:13; Hos. 4:18) and its attempts to find security through political alliances instead of through God (Isa. 30:3, 5; Jer. 2:36) were judged by the prophets to be shameful acts. Furthermore, Yahweh's judgment would bring to light the foolishness of such misplaced confidence in idols and foreign alliances, thereby exposing Israel's (as well as other idolatrous nations') shameful situation before God. Thus, Hosea prophesied that Israel's idols would not protect the nation from being destroyed by Assyria, and "Israel shall be

ashamed of his idol" (Hos. 10:6). Jeremiah proclaimed that Yahweh's judgment would bring everlasting shame on the false prophets who claimed to speak His word (Jer. 23:40). Isaiah pronounced a similar divine judgment against Babylon, graphically portraying Yahweh's vengeance as uncovering that nation's nakedness so that its shame could be seen by all (Isa. 47:3). Behind all these judgment oracles lies the implicit theological affirmation that Yahweh is the one who has the power to protect His people and thus to keep them from shame. This confession is frequently expressed by the psalmists (e.g., Ps. 25:2f., 20; 31:17 [MT 18]; for its expression in the NT, see below).

Divine judgment resulting in the exposure of shame can also be a means of salvation. The shaming of Israel's foes frequently signaled salvation for God's people (e.g., Jer. 50:2; 51:47; Ezk. 32:30; cf. the psalmists' petitions that their enemies be shamed, Ps. 25:3; 35:4; etc.; cf. also in the NT Lk. 13:17; Tit. 2:8; 1 Pet. 3:16). Furthermore, shame can also be associated with genuine repentance, which leads to salvation. Ezekiel described how God's gracious dealings with His people in forgiving them, restoring their fortunes, and establishing an everlasting covenant with them would bring into clearer relief their shameful infidelity of the past, and Judah's shame would lead to true humility (Ezk. 16:54, 59-61; cf. v. 52). Similarly, when the Passover was celebrated in King Hezekiah's time the priest and Levites "were put to shame, so that they sanctified themselves" (2 Ch. 30:15). So also, Ezra's prayer for forgiveness in Ezr. 9:6f. begins with an acknowledgement of shame. But those who refuse to acknowledge their shame (Jer. 3:3; 6:15) or who "glory in their shame" (cf. Phil. 3:19) are without hope.

In the NT "shame" and "ashamed" most often translate the Greek verb *aischýnō* (mid. or pass.) or a related term, e.g., the compounds *kataischýnō* and *epaischýnomai*, the noun *aischýnē*, and the adjective *aischrós*. *Aischýnō* is the most common LXX translation of Heb. *bôš*, and *aischýnē* of Heb. *bōšeṯ* and *bûšâ*. The NT usage of *aischýnzjewo* and its cognates is largely shaped by LXX usage. In a manner reminiscent of the OT prophets, Paul says in 1 Cor. 1:27 that God chose what was foolish and weak by worldly standards (a crucified Messiah) to "shame" (or "bring to nothing," v. 28) what was considered wise and strong; thus what the world viewed as shameful became glorious, and vice versa. He. 12:2 states that Jesus "endured the cross, despising the shame," and is now enthroned in glory. Like the OT psalmistsn NT believers confessed confidence that they would not be put in a situation of shame on account of their faith in Christ (Rom. 9:33; 10:11; Philm 1:20; 1 Pet. 2:6) or of their min stry in the gospel (2 Cor. 7:14; 10:8; 2 Tim. 2:15).

In several passages "being ashamed" (*epaischýnomai*) has the subjective sense of being embarrassed or afraid of ridicule. The NT writers recognized the constant temptation of Christians to be ashamed of a gospel that presented God's self-revelation in the weak and foolish (by worldly standards) form of a crucified Messiah. Thus Paul testifies in Rom. 1:16, "I am not ashamed of the gospel." In 2 Tim. 1:12, likewise, he states that although he suffers, "I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed." He also exhorts Timothy, "Do not be ashamed then of testifying to our Lord, nor of me his prisoner" (v. 8; cf. v. 16). Jesus warned that at His second coming He will be ashamed of (i.e., refuse to own as His disciples) those who draw back from following Him out of fear of human opinion (Mk. 8:38 par. Lk. 9:26). On the other hand, the author of Hebrews stated that God is "not ashamed" to be called the God of the OT saints (He. 11:16), and Christ "is not ashamed to call [those who suffer for Him] brethren" (2:11).

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SHAMED shā'med (1 Ch. 8:12, AV, NEB). *See* SHEMED.

SHAMEFASTNESS; SHAMEFACEDNESS (1 Tim. 2:9, AV). The first spelling was the (correct) original. It was supplanted after about half a century by "shamefacedness," butwas restored by the RV. *See* MODESTY.

SHAMER shā'mər (1 Ch. 6:46, AV, NEB; 7:34, AV). *See* SHEMER 2, 3.

SHAMGAR sham'gär [Heb. *šamgar* (Jgs. 3:31; 5:6)]. One of a number of deliverers mentioned in the book of Judges who slew a host of Philistines in northern Israel preceding the rise of Barak and Deborah the prophetess (*ca.* 1125 B.C.). According to Josephus (*Ant.* v. 4.3 [197]) Shamgar died the same year he became judge. Our limited knowledge of Shamgar has led to a great deal of speculation among scholars and presents a number of problems for OT historians.

Most scholars view the first mention of Shamgar (Jgs. 3:31) as a later insertion (e.g., Richter, van Selms) that interrupts the narrative of Ehud. This is shown by the fact that one can easily jump from 3:30 (the defeat of Moab by Ehud and the Israelites) to 4:1 (the death of Ehud) without disrupting the text. Also, 3:31 lacks a number of elements common to the other "judges" (e.g., a divine calling, tribal affiliation, geographical details, duration of rule, and place of burial; note also the addition of "he too" [Heb. *gam hû'*]; see further van Selms). Even if one were to argue that Shamgar was simply a minor judge who had been accidently misplaced (presumably from 10:1-5 or 12:8-15?), this would still not account for the truncated state of the verse.

Scholars (e.g., Maisler) have been quick to point out the similarities between the heroic feat of Shamgar and other military exploits in the OT (e.g., those of the "mighty men" of David in 2 S. 21:15-22; 23:8-12, and esp. Samson's slaughter of a thousand Philistines at Lehi with the jawbone of an ass, Jgs. 15:14ff.). The mention of Shamgar in the Song of Deborah (a poem which predates its corresponding prose account in Jgs. 4) has led some (e.g., Cheyne) to the conclusion that Shamgar was inserted in the list of judges and supplied with a suitable heroic feat in order to provide some background for an otherwise unknown figure (or at least unknown to the later redactor who inserted 3:31). Since Shamgar is connected with Jael in the poem, the account of his victory is placed in the prose version so as to directly precede the story that leads to Jael's murder of Sisera.

Further problems arise when we consider the name itself. What type of name is Shamgar and how are we to understand *ben-ʿᵃnāṯ* ("son of Anath")? Although earlier scholars found parallels for the name in Hittite (Moore; Burney; Albright, *JPOS*), the more common view (following Maisler) has been that the name is Hurrian (e.g., Albright, *Yahweh*; Aharoni, "New Aspects"; de Vaux [qualified as a "Canaanite of Hurrian ancestry"]; Boling; Craigie; Gray; see Pfeiffer and Speiser for parallel Hurrian names). Van Selms, however, considered the name Canaanite (a shaphel or *š-* causative form based on the root *mgr*, p. 299), while Danelius preferred a combination of Hebrew (*gēr*, "sojourner") and Egyptian (*šm3* [*w*],

"foreigner," "stranger"; cf. the name Gershom in Ex. 2:22; 18:3).

Uncertainty continues with the second element of the name, *ben-ʿᵃnāṯ*, which could be: (a) the name of a town or village, located in Galilee (for similar place-names see Josh. 19:38; Jgs. 1:33), over which Shamgar possibly ruled (e.g., Albright, *JPOS; FSAC;* Noth; Alt; Bright); (b) a town in southern Palestine, located just N of Jaffa (near Philistine territory; see Danelius); (c) the name is a reference to the well-known Canaanite goddess Anath, who is often portrayed as a warrior-goddess, and serves to highlight Shamgar's role as a mercenary soldier (van Selms; Craigie); (d) a personal name (Garstang, pp. 63f., 284f., linked *ben-ʿᵃnāṯ* with a Syrian sea captain of the same name who had dealings with the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses II [*ca.* 1290-1224]; cf. also Milik, Aharoni ["New Aspects"], and Yeivin for occurrences of the name elsewhere). (We may safely ignore Fensham's proposal that *ben-ʿᵃnāṯ* identifies Shamgar as one of the Hanaeans, a semi-nomadic group attested in the Mari texts; see Danelius, van Selms, Craigie.)

The chronological implications of Shamgar's defeat of the PHILISTINES complicates matters further. Jgs. 5:6 seems to portray Shamgar and Jael as non-Israelites of a past age that preceded Deborah (*ca.* 1125 B.C.; Jael's role in 4:17ff. creates a problem for this view; cf. Freedman's proposed translation, which places the actions of vv. 6f. after Deborah's victory [pp. 149f.]) yet, according to the biblical text, the Philistines did not pose a real threat to the Israelites until the time of Eli, Samuel, and Saul (cf. 1 S. 4), a century later. (Note that Samson's clash with the Philistines was the result of the Lord's provocation [Jgs. 14:4], as opposed to any active aggression on the part of the Philistines themselves; this would seem to imply a state of fairly peaceful coexistence up to that point; see van Selms, p. 297.) Also, Shamgar's area of activity seems, at least according to the Song of Deborah, to have been in the northern part of Palestine, as opposed to the area of Philistine occupation in the south (i.e., the so-called pentapolis, which included the five cities Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron). (It is interesting that certain LXX MSS, along with a handful of other versions, insert the reference to Shamgar in MT 3:31 at the conclusion of ch. 16, following the Samson narrative, thus placing Shamgar in a more appropriate context for battle with the Philistines; see Moore, *JAOS*.)

In the light of the above comments, it would seem that Shamgar arrives on the scene too early and in the wrong place for his encounter with the Philistines. If we choose to accept him as a historical figure who preceded (or followed?) Deborah in the north, however, then perhaps his enemy was a faction of the group known as the sea-peoples (a general term denoting a number of Aegean peoples who invaded the coasts of Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the 13th and 12th cents. B.C.), of whom the Philistines formed only a part (Shamgar may have fought the group known as Tjekker [*ḏkr*], which Egyptian sources place in the area; see van Selms, Boling; also Aharoni, "New Aspects," pp. 257ff., who equates Shamgar's victory with the capture of Beth-shean, an Egyptian outpost manned by Aegean [sea-peoples] mercenaries). In this case, according to Aharoni, "it would not be surprising that they should be called Philistines since that became the standard biblical terminology for all the Aegean races that appeared in the land" ("New Aspects," p. 259).

While any conclusion is tentative, we may safely assume that Shamgar was not an Israelite. He was probably a Canaanite mercenary (following van Selms and Craigie) whose valiant deeds against the enemies of the newly emerging Israel caused his name to be remembered and subsequently recorded.

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J. HUDDLESTUN

SHAMHUTH sham'huth [Heb. *šamhûṯ*] (1 Ch. 27:8). Commander of a division of David's army; called an "Izrahite" (NEB "Zerahite"; cf. v. 11). "Shammah of Harod" (2 S. 23:25) and "Shammoth of Harod" (1 Ch. 11:27) may well be the same person as Shamhuth. *See* SHAMMAH **4.**

SHAMIR shā'mər [Heb. *Q šāmîr, K šāmûr*] (1 Ch. 24:24). A Levite, son of Micah.

See *IP*, p. 231.

SHAMIR shā'mər [Heb. *šāmîr*–'thorn'].

1. The first of thirty-eight cities in the hill country (Josh. 15:48; LXX A *Saphir*, B *Samir*) that formed part of the tribal allotment of Judah (vv. 48-60).

2. A city located in the hill country of Ephraim (Jgs. 10:1; LXX A *Samareia*, B *Samir*). This city is mentioned as the home and burial place of the minor judge Tola (vv. 1f.), leading some to suggest that a single city Shamir may have been situated on the boundary between Judah and Ephraim. Others, however, identify Judahite Shamir with Khirbet Somerah (20 km. [13 mi.] WSW of Hebron) or Khirbet Ruddana (el-Bireh). The Ephraimite site is thought to have been located at or near the site of ancient Samaria.

See J. A. Callaway, *IEJ*, 20 (1970), 230-32.

G. H. WILSON

SHAMLAI sham'lī [Heb. *K šamlay, Q šalmay*; Gk. Apoc. *Sybaï* (Ezr. 2:46; 1 Esd. 5:30); AV, NEB mg., SHALMAI; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SUBAI. Head of a family of temple servants who returned from the Exile in Babylon; called SHALMAI in Neh. 7:48.

SHAMMA sham'ə [Heb. *šammā'*] (1 Ch. 7:37). An Asherite, son of Zophah.

SHAMMAH sham'ə [Heb. *šammâ*–'fame'].

1. Son of Reuel and grandson of Esau; a tribal chief of Edom (Gen. 36:13, 17; 1 Ch. 1:37).

2. Third son of Jesse, and an older brother of David; also called Shimeah (2 S. 13:3, 32), Shimei (2 S. 21:21; AV "Shimeah"; NEB "Shimeai"), and Shimea (1 Ch. 2:13; 20:7; AV also "Shimma"). He was present when David was anointed by Samuel (1 S. 16:1-13). With his two older brothers he fought under Saul against the Philistines and witnessed David's slaying of Goliath (17:13-51). He was the father Jonadab (2 S. 13:3, 32) and of Jonathan, who also slew a giant (21:20f.).

3. Son of Agee the Hararite; one of David's mighty

men known as "the three" (2 S. 23:11). He single-handedly defended a field of lentils against an attack by the Philistines (vv. 11f.). The parallel passage (1 Ch. 11:12-14) ascribes this feat to Eleazar son of Dodo, but this may be due to the accidental omission of three lines by a copyist (cf. 2 S. 23:9-12; 1 Ch. 11:12-14). In 2 S. 23:32f. the Hebrew for "son of" has probably been accidentally omitted between "Jonathan" and "Shammah the Hararite." The parallel passage (1 Ch. 11:34) has "Jonathan the son of Shagee [a misreading for Agee] the Hararite." If "son" here means "grandson," this passage conforms with 2 S. 23:32f. as restored. Lucian's version overcomes the difficulty by reading "son of Shammah." (See S. R. Driver, comm. on Samuel [*ICC*, 1913], pp. 365, 371.)

4. One of David's mighty men known as "the thirty"; a native of Harod, a village near Gilboa in the vale of Jezreel (2 S. 23:25). In the parallel list (1 Ch. 11:27) he is called SHAMMOTH; he is probably also identical with SHAMHUTH (27:8). J. A. BALCHIN

SHAMMAI sham'ī [Heb. *šammay*].

1. A Jerahmeelite of the tribe of Judah; son of Onam, brother of Jada, and father of Nadab and Abishur (1 Ch. 2:28, 32).

2. A Calebite of the tribe of Judah; son of Rekem and father of Maon (1 Ch. 2:44f.).

3. A Judahite; son of Mered by his Egyptian wife Bithiah (1 Ch. 4:17).

SHAMMOTH sham'oth [Heb. *šammôṯ*] (1 Ch. 11:27). One of David's mighty men known as "the thirty." According to the MT he was a "Harorite" (*hahᵃrôrî*; cf. AV, RSV mg.); the RSV has emended the text to read "of Harod" (NEB "from Harod") in order to harmonize this passage with 2 S. 23:25, where the same person is called "Shammah of Harod." The latter form is probably correct. *See* SHAMMAH **4.**

SHAMMUA sha-mōō'ə [Heb. *šammû(a)ʿ*]; AV also SHAMMUAH (2 S. 5:14).

1. A Reubenite, son of Zaccur; one of the twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan (Nu. 13:4).

2. One of the sons of David who were born in Jerusalem (2 S. 5:14; 1 Ch. 14:4); called "Shimea" in 1 Ch. 3:5.

3. A Levite; son of Galal and father of Abda (Neh. 11:17); called "Shemaiah" in 1 Ch. 9:16.

4. Head of the priestly family of Bilgah in the time of Joiakim (Neh. 12:18).

See *IP*, pp. 38, 185.

SHAMSHERAI sham'shə-rī [Heb. *šamšᵉray*]. A Benjaminite; first son of Jeroham (1 Ch. 8:26).

SHAPHAM shā'fəm [Heb. *šāpām*]. A Gadite who was second in command in his tribe and lived in Bashan (1 Ch. 5:12).

SHAPHAN shā'fən [Heb. *šāpān*–'rock badger, coney'].

1. Son of Azaliah. Shaphan was from a family of scribes and was a high ranking member of Josiah's administration (2 K. 22:3, 8-10, 12, 14, 22; 2 Ch. 34:8, 15f., 18, 20). Josiah sent him to Hilkiah the priest in the year 622 B.C. with the instructions and funds for the repair and renovation of the temple. It is possible that Shaphan was commissioned to oversee the project, for when Hilkiah discovered the book of the law in the temple, he reported it to Shaphan. When Shaphan gave a report to the king of the execution of his duties, he also read the book of the law to Josiah. Josiah appointed Shaphan as part of the committee to inquire as to the authenticity of the book. The committee consulted the prophetess Huldah, who commended Josiah for his repentant response.

The remainder of the references to Shaphan occur in the activities of his sons. One son, Ahikam, was likewise a member of the contingent that went to consult Huldah concerning the book of the law (2 Ch. 34:20). Ahikam also served as a protector to Jeremiah when the people wanted to kill him (Jer. 26:24). Another son, Elasah, was not only an official messenger of King Zedekiah in the delegation sent to Nebuchadrezzar, but he also was the one who carried Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon (29:3). A third son, Gemariah, had a chamber in the temple, from which Baruch read aloud the ominous prophecy of Jeremiah (36:10). Gemariah was among those who pleaded with King Jehoiachin not to burn the scroll of Jeremiah (36:25). Gedaliah, who was Nebuchadrezzar's appointee as governor of Judah after the fall of Jerusalem, was a son of Ahikam and grandson of Shaphan.

2. The father of Jaazaniah, who was apparently a leader of the seventy elders that Ezekiel saw in his vision (Ezk. 8:11). These were the elders of the house of Israel who were committing idolatrous apostasy in the temple area in Jerusalem. J. H. WALTON

SHAPHAT shā'fat [Heb. *šāpāṭ*–'judged'].

1. A Simeonite, son of Hori; one of the twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan (Nu. 13:5).

2. Father of the prophet Elisha; a resident of Abel-meholah (1 K. 19:16, 19; 2 K. 3:11; 6:31).

3. A descendant of the royal line of David (1 Ch. 3:22). According to the Hebrew text he was the youngest son of Shemaiah (so AV, RSV). The text is difficult, however, because it states that there were six sons but lists only five. Perhaps the phrase "and the Sons of Shemaiah" arose by dittography and should be deleted (cf. *BHS*, NEB; see comms.). This would make Shecaniah the father of Shaphat and his five brothers.

4. A Gadite who lived in Bashan (1 Ch. 5:12). Possibly the LXX and Targum are correct in reading *haššōpēṭ*, "the judge" (a title of Janai), in place of *šāpāṭ* (see *BHS*).

5. Son of Adlai; herdsman in charge of King David's herds in the valleys (1 Ch. 27:29).

6. [Gk. A *Saphat*, B *Saphag*]; AV SABAT; NEB SAPHAT. Head of a family of "sons of Solomon's servants" who returned with Zerubbabel from the Exile (1 Esd. 5:34); the name is lacking in par. Ezr. 2:57; Neh. 7:59. N. J. O.

SHAPHER shā'fər (Nu. 33:23f., AV, NEB). *See* SHEPHER, MOUNT.

SHAPHIR shā'fər [Heb. *šāpîr* < *šāpar*, "be beautiful or pleasing"; LXX *Kalōs*] (Mic. 1:1). A place whose name perhaps indicates the nature of its soil (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 109). This town "Beautiful," whose divine judgment will be nakedness and humiliation, is named by Micah in his lament over Judah (Mic. 1:8-16). Also, LXX A translated Heb. *šāmîr* in Josh. 15:48 as *Saphir*, suggesting the hill country of Judah as the location of Shaphir (*GTTOT*, § 1531, p. 472; but cf. *EAEHL*, IV, *s.v.* "El-Qôm, Khirbet" [W. G. Dever]). But on the basis of Eusebius (*Onom.* 156), who names a Shafir between Eleutheropolis and Ashkelon, some scholars identify Shaphir with es-Suwafir, SE of Ashdod. J. E. MCKENNA

SHARAI shâr'ī [Heb. *šāray*] (Ezr. 10:40). One of the sons of Binnui who had married a foreign woman in exile; the name is lacking in par. 1 Esd. 9:34.

SHARAIM shə-rā'əm (Josh. 15:36, AV). *See* SHAARAIM 1.

SHARAR shâr'är [Heb. *šārār*, some MSS *šārāḏ*]. A Harite; father of Ahiam, one of David's mighty men known as "the thirty" (2 S. 23:33). In 1 Ch. 11:35 he is called "Sachar" (Heb. *śāḵār*).

SHARE (1 S. 13:20, AV). *See* PLOW.

SHARE; SHARING [Heb. *ḥālaq* (1 S. 30:24; Job 39:17; Prov. 17:2), hithpael of *'ārab*–'be intermixed with' (Prov. 14:10), *pāras*–'break' (Isa. 58:7), *nāṯan min* (Prov. 22:9), *sāpaḥ* ("have a share," 1 S. 26:19), *ḥēleq* (Gen. 14:24; 1 S. 30:24; Job 17:5; Eccl. 9:6), *ḥeḇer* (Prov. 21:9; 25:24), *yāḏ* (2 S. 19:43), *peh* (2 K. 2:9); Gk. *koinōnéō* (Rom. 15:27; Gal. 6:6; He. 2:14; 1 Pet. 4:13; 2 Jn. 11), *koinōnía* (Phil. 3:10; Philem. 6; He. 13:16), *koinónós eimí* (2 Cor. 1:7), *synbasileúō* ("share the rule," 1 Cor. 4:8), *synkakouchéomai* ("share ill-treatment," He. 11:25), *synkakopathéō* ("share in suffering, 2 Tim. 1:8; 2:3), *synkoinōnéō* (Phil. 4:14; Rev. 18:4), *synkoinónós (gínomai)* (Rom. 11:17; 1 Cor. 9:23; Rev. 1:9), *metadídōmi* (Lk. 3:11; 1 Thess. 2:8), *metalambánō* (2 Tim. 2:6; He. 12:10), *klḗros* (Acts 1:17), *symmerízō* (1 Cor. 9:13), *(échō) méros* (Lk. 15:12; Rev. 20:6; 22:19), *merís* (Col. 1:12), *metéchō* (1 Cor. 9:10, 12), *métochos (gínomai)* (He. 3:1, 14)]; AV also PORTION, PART, DEAL, PARTAKER, FELLOWSHIP, etc.; NEB also PART, INTEREST, PLACE, etc.; supplied contextually by the RSV in 1 K. 2:26; Rom. 4:16; 5:2; 2 Cor. 1:5.

The English verb "share" has three basic senses: (1) "divide, apportion," (2) "give some of one's own possessions to another," and (3) "participate in someone else's action or fate." The Hebrew equivalent to the first sense is the verb *ḥālaq*. Its related noun *ḥēleq*, as well as the words *yāḏ* ("hand") and *peh* ("mouth") in idiomatic constructions, mean therefore "portion" in the sense of that which rightly belongs to someone (cf. the English phrase "fair share"). This sense is also conveyed by the Greek noun *méros* and its cognates *merís* and *symmerízō*. The Hebrew verb *pāras*, on the other hand, simply means "break," while Gk. *klḗros* (Acts 1:17) is better translated "lot" or "allotted portion."

The second sense of "share," with its connotations of charity and compassion, is expressed literally by the Hebrew phrase *nāṯan min* ("give some of"; Prov. 22:9). In the NT this sense is conveyed by Gk. *koinōnía* and its cognates. Most often translated "fellowship" (e.g., Acts 2:42; 1 Cor. 1:9), carries a concrete sense of social responsibility; i.e., it implies that Christian fellowship involves the sharing of physical goods with those who are needy.

The third sense of "sharing," i.e., that of participating in someone else's life, can be conveyed either by repetition of the phrase (e.g., 1 K. 22:6) or, in Greek, by the use of *metéchō* ("take part") and its cognates. Sometimes this sense is expressed simply by the use of *syn-* ("with") as a verbal prefix (*synbasileúō, synkakopathéō*).

See also COMMUNION, FELLOWSHIP; PART; PORTION.

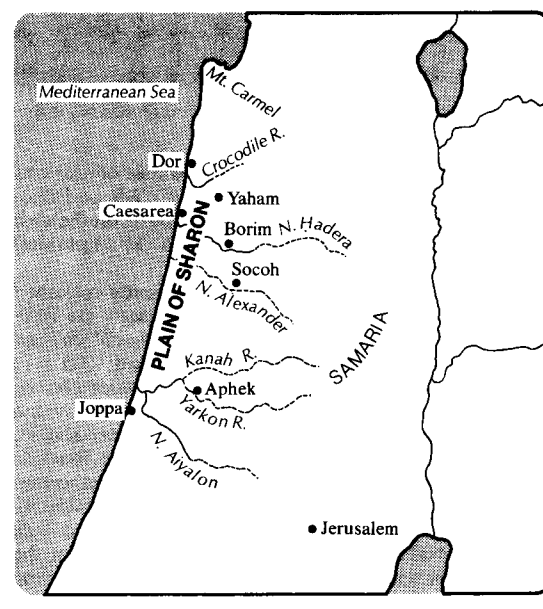
Bibliography.–*TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "ḥālaq II" (M. Tsevat); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* ἔχω κτλ.: μετέχω (H. Hanse); III, *s.v.* κοινός κτλ. (F. Hauck); IV, *s.v.* μέρος (J. Schneider). G. CHAMBERLAIN

SHAREZER shär-ē'zər [Heb. *śar-'eṣer*]; AV also SHEREZER; NEB also BETHEL-SHAREZER (Zec. 7:2). The name of two persons in the OT. It corresponds to Akk. *šar-uṣur*, "protect the king," found otherwise not as a complete name but as elements in personal names, e.g., Bel-shar-usur (i.e., Belshazzar), "may Bel protect the king" (Dnl. 5:1, etc.).

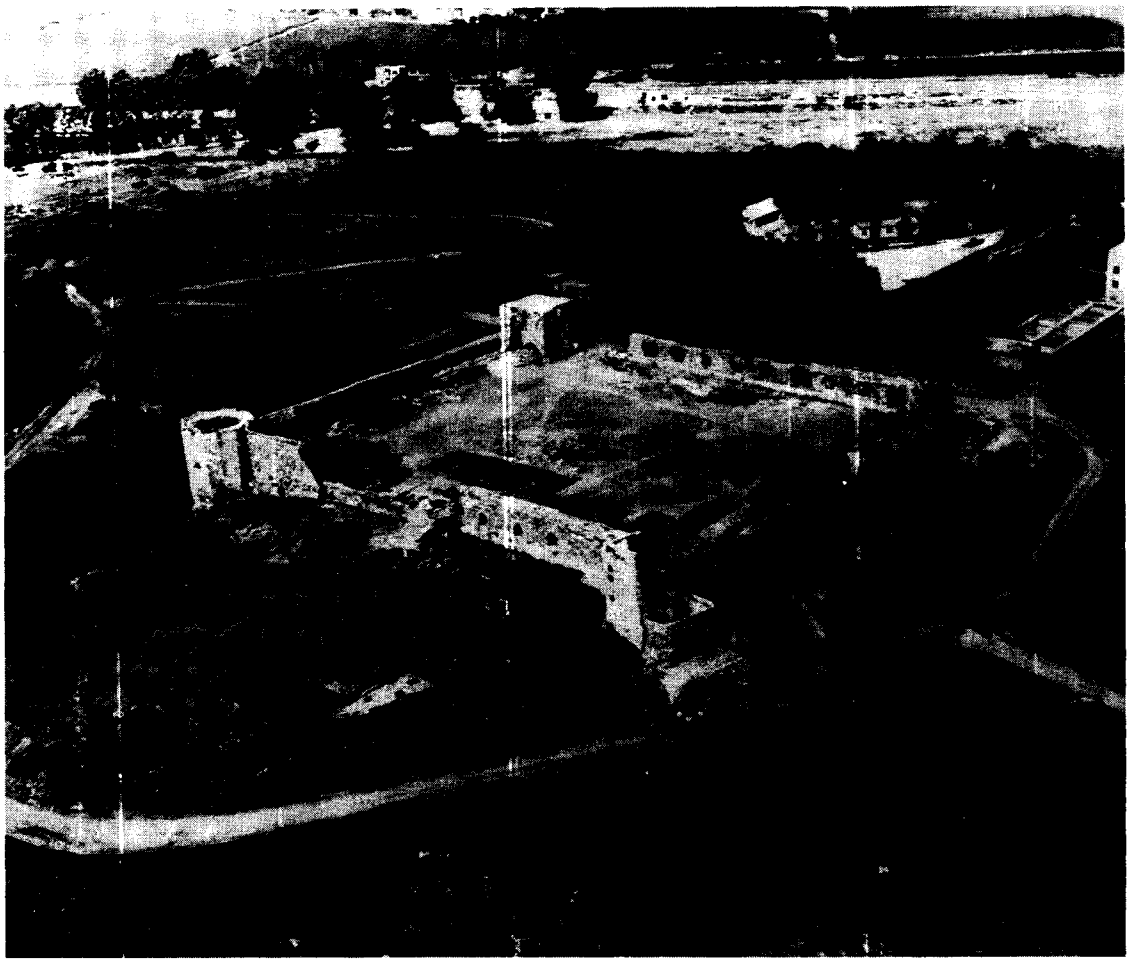
1. Son of Sennacherib king of Assyria, who with Adrammelech slew his father (2 K. 19:37 par. Isa. 37:38; cf. 2 Ch. 32:21). The Babylonian Chronicle says that Sennacherib "was slain by his son in a revolt," whereas the OT speaks of both the sons as assassins. The Chronicle, however, may refer to the actual murder by one son and the OT to the complicity of both (see *DOTT*, pp. 70-73). Sharezer is not otherwise known, and some have suggested that his full name is NERQAL-SHAREZER (cf. Jer. 39:3, 13) or that it is a corruption from Shar-etir-Ashur, the name of a son of Sennacherib (see J. Gray, *1 & 2 Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 694-96).

2. A contemporary of the prophet Zechariah mentioned in connection with a delegation sent to the spiritual leaders to ask whether fasting need continue (Zec. 7:2). It is difficult to determine whether Sharezer was sent or sent others on the mission. The Hebrew text may read "They of Bethel sent" (so AV, RSV), or "They of Bethel, even Sharezer, sent"; or it may refer to the name of one person, viz., "Bethel-sharezer" (so NEB; lit. "May [the god] Bethel protect the king"). (See J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* [*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1972], pp. 141-43.) M. A. MACLEOD

SHARON shâr'ən [Heb. *šārôn*–most probably 'scrub forest'; Gk. *tó pedíon, ho drymós, ho Sarōn*]; AV NT SARON. Apparently either a topographical term or a place name. It is used in the Moabite Stone (*šrn*, line 13) as a geographical designation; in the Sefire stele (i.a. 34) it corresponds to a north Syrian town known from Assyrian sources (uru*Sa-ru-na*). The reference in 1 Ch. 5:16 to a Transjordanian place or zone need not be emended to "Sirion"; it simply illustrates that as a topographical term "Sharon" is applicable to more than one place. But the Sharon par excellence (always with the definite article in the MT) is the central coastal plain.



I. Description.–Most ancient sources do not give the exact delimitation of the plain, but on three sides its natural boundaries are obvious. It begins on the southwest side of the CARMEL range, and it includes the region of DOR if the testimony of the Eshmunazer inscription can be taken as explicit (see below). But Eusebius (*Onom.* 162.5f.) counted it as only from the district of Caesarea,



The ruins of Aphek, an important crossroads city in the Sharon, occupied since the 4th millennium B.C. (W. Braun)

which must have excluded that of Dor, whose border was at the Chorseos River (Naḥl Daliyya = Wâdī ed-Difla). The Sharon's western border is the seacoast; on the east it is bounded by the foothills of Samaria (Mt. Ephraim) and the Carmel range.

The JOPPA area to the south was apparently reckoned with the Sharon (Eusebius *loc. cit.*), although the river Yarkon (Nahr el-ʿAujā), rising at Aphek (Râs el-ʿAin) and cutting across the plain to its outlet 5.6 km. (3.5 mi.) N of Joppa, forms a natural barrier to commerce coming from the south. The Yarkon is joined by the Naḥl Aiyalon (Wâdī esh-Shellâl) and on the north by the river Kanah. Some other streams work their way from the foothills across the Sharon to the coast. Among the most important are the Crocodile River (Naḥl Tanninim = Nahr ez-Zerqā), Naḥl Ḥadera (Nahr el-Mefjir = Wâdī Khuḍeirah), and Naḥl Alexander (Nahr Iskanderûneh), which comes out of the foothills to the south and curves north-northeast, collecting several other streams, until it finally turns west to the sea. Of lesser importance is Naḥl Poleg (Nahr el-Fâliq); but see below.

The Naḥl Alexander's detour northward is necessitated by a zone of higher ground in the middle of the plain. This Mousterian red sand was of little use for cultivation in ancient times (today it is prime citrus soil) and thus was an obstacle to ancient settlement. Only a few remnants of the famous oak trees remain from antiquity (although the land was not cleared in antiquity because of the soil's unsuitability for farming). Both Josephus (*BJ* i.13.2 [250]; *Ant.* xiv.13.3 [334]) and Strabo (xvi) make reference to these great woods. The long line of sandstone ridges shielding the Sharon from the sea also once blocked efficient drainage of the various streams, creating marshes and swamps which made human habitation difficult and forced most ancient traffic to follow the eastern edge of the plain. Effective drainage was achieved during Roman times, but there are some indications that earlier engineers anticipated those efforts.

The principal seaports were Dor in the north and Joppa in the south. Caesarea and other NT ports, apparently first established by Phoenicians during the Persian age, were not important in the OT period. A significant M.B. II enclosure (Tell Poleg) was discovered at the mouth of Naḥl Poleg.

Real settlement began mainly on the eastern side of the Sharon in OT times. The abundant water sources along the edge of Samaria's foothills led to the establishment of important Bronze Age urban centers, e.g., Gath-padalla, Yaham and Socoh. In the adjacent fields W of them (but not in the Mousterian sand) were a few other settlements, the most important at Tel Zeror (Tell edh-Dhurûr). The line of towns on the eastern edge of the Sharon formed

an essential link in the trunk route from Egypt to Mesopotamia. Caravans (and armies) normally turned east to avoid crossing the Yarkon; thus they passed Aphek and continued north along the margin of the foothills before entering one of the passes to the Jezreel Valley.

The plain was known for its grain-bearing lands (the eastern zone and the area S of the Yarkon) and especially for its pasturage (1 Ch. 27:29; Isa. 65:10). The famed "rose" (Heb. *ḥ^{a}ḇaṣṣeleṯ*, "crocus," so RSV mg.) of Sharon (Cant. 2:1) is probably a "fresh shoot of a reed" (Akk. *ḫabaṣillatu*). The Sharon's desolation (Isa. 33:9) is a sign of divine displeasure with Israel, and its abundant blossoming (35:2) symbolizes the return of God's favor.

II. History.–The Sharon first enters recorded history, though not by name, during the first campaign of Thutmose III. He had marched from Egypt to crush a coalition of Canaanite city-states whose forces were waiting near Megiddo in the Jezreel plain. His soldiers reached Yaham (Yemmā), where they held a counsel of war before deciding to advance via the Aruna Pass. Their alternatives were the "southern" route, via Wâdī Abū Nâr to the Dothan Valley, and the "northern" route, which went past Zephath to enter the Jezreel beside Jokneam.

Thutmose's successor Amenhotep II was crossing the plain of Sharon (*p3 [ꜥ]-[m]-[qu] śù-ri-na*) on his return to Egypt from his first Syrian campaign when he captured an emissary from Naharina (Mitanni), who carried a clay epistle (in a pouch around his neck). Later Amenhotep had to return from Egypt to quell an uprising in Canaan. The town of Aphek received him with complete submission, but he apparently was resisted at Yaham (Yaḥm) and perhaps at Socoh. The most illuminating details about settlement in the Sharon are found in the description of what followed. Pharaoh attacked "the villages of *Mapasin* and the villages of *Ḥatazin*, two towns west of Socho"; the inhabitants with their horses and cattle were all seized as booty. The following day two more towns were attacked, Adoren (*ꜥa-turi-n*) and Migdol-yen( )t (*ma-k-da-la-yi-n-t*), probably Tel Zeror). The social organization is that of towns with dependent villages; the economy was largely pastoral.

During the Amarna age (14th cent. B.C.) the principal city on the Sharon seems to have been Gath-padalla (Jett), whose ruler Baꜥlu-mahr was deeply involved for a time in the intrigues of the prince at Shechem. After being arrested and escaping, he finally learned his lesson and probably ended his career as a loyal Egyptian vassal.

The aqueduct at Caesarea, a major coastal city of the Sharon at the time of Christ (W. Braun)

The prince of Gath-padalla may be the "king of the Sharon" in the list of conquered kings (Josh. 12:18; contra RSV "king of Lasharon"; cf. LXX *basiléa Aphek tḗs Sarōn*, "king of Aphek of the Sharon"; NEB "king of Aphek-in-Sharon"). The plain was allotted to the tribe of Manasseh (Josh. 17:7-10). Many small, unfortified communities sprang up in the Sharon during the early Iron Age. During the united monarchy David's royal flocks were pastured there by Shitrai, a local inhabitant ("Sharonite"). The plain was included in Solomon's third administrative district (1 K. 4:10).

Little direct information is available about the Sharon during the divided monarchy. Shishak marched across it during his campaign against Judah and Israel (1 K. 14:25-28; 2 Ch. 12:2-9). He conquered the Sharon cities of Borim, Gath-padalla, Yaham, and Socoh. After Tiglath-pileser III's victories over Israel (2 K. 15:29), the plain seems to have remained part of Samaria (733 B.C.). In any case, when the entire land of Samaria finally fell (722), the plain was attached to the new province of Samerina. In 671, when the Assyrian king Esarhaddon was marching toward Egypt, he passed "Apku [Aphek] which is in the region of Sam < ari > a" (*ANET*, p. 292).

During the Persian period the Phoenician cities on the Lebanese coast expanded their influence southward by establishing colonies at the mouths of the streams flowing across the Sharon. King Eshmunezer of Sidon claimed that the great Persian monarch had given him "Dor and Joppa, the rich mighty lands of Dagon, which are in the Plain of Sharon" (Eshmunazer stele, line 19; *ANET*, p. 662).

During the NT period the plain was divided among several municipal territories. Caesarea, to which was added the toparchy of Narbata, controlled the northern portion, while Antipatris (Aphek) had the southern, mainly the plain of Kefr Sava. Apollonia and Joppa also had districts along the coast. In Acts 9:35, the only NT reference to the Sharon, its residents saw Peter's mighty work at Lydda (Lod). Simon Magus (8:9-24), according to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i.26.56), was a resident of Gitta, which is probably Gath-padalla. (*See* GATH III).

Bibliography.–M. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land* (1966), pp. 142-47; *EAEHL*, IV, *s.v.* "Sharon Plain" (R. Gophna); *GB*, pp. 133-37; *HGHL*; *LBHG* (rev. ed. 1979), pp. 24f.; A. F. Rainey, *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 1-14.

A. F. RAINEY

SHARONITE shâr'ən-īt [Heb. *haššārônî*] (1 Ch. 27:29); NEB OF SHARON. A designation applied to Shitrai, the herdsman in charge of King David's herds in the plain of SHARON.

SHARUHEN shə-rōō'ən. *See* SHAARAIM 2.

SHARUHEN [Heb. *šārûḥen*] (Josh. 19:6). According to the MT of Josh. 19:6, this was a town of Simeon. The parallel text in Josh. 15:32 has SHILHIM (Heb. *šilḥîm*). The Shishak list has *š-r-ḥ-m(?)* (no. 125), which tends to support the latter as the correct reading, since the Egyp. *r* could represent *l* or *r*. The Simeonite list in 1 Ch. 4:31 has SHAARAIM (Heb. *ša^{a}rayim*), which may be a scribal guess for a corrupted text. The LXX for Josh. 19:6 has *kaí hoi agroí autṓn*, "and their fields," which seems to represent an original Heb. *wšdwtyhn* instead of MT *wšrwḥn*. The name Sharuhen is therefore most likely a ghost word. But the fact that Egyptian records, viz., the tomb inscription of Ahmose and the Annals of Thutmose III, refer to a town named *š-r-ḥ-n*, probably to be read *šarḥân*/*šarḥôn* (with Albright) in southern Palestine, cannot be ignored. Albright had identified this town with the Sharuhen of Josh. 19:6 and placed it at Tell el-Farꜥah (south). But that site is too

small to have required a three-year Egyptian siege (or three campaigns). Kempinsky has suggested Tell el-ʿAjjûl as a much larger and more imposing site. To suit the statement in the annals of Thutmose III that at the beginning of his first campaign the Egyptian garrison was holding out at Sharḥan while the rest of Reṭjenu (= Canaan) from Yurza to the end of the earth had rebelled against Egyptian rule, one might make a different suggestion. Thutmose III says he came to Gaza, which is north of Tell el-ʿAjjûl, without opposition. So it seems only logical to look for Sharhan N or NW of Gaza. The most impressive site in that direction is Tel Haror (Tell Abū Hureirah), which has been advocated as a strong candidate for Gerar. But Gerar may be only a district and not a city. If Sharḥan were at Tel Haror, then Yurza might be at Tel el-Ḥesī (taken by Albright to be Eglon).

Bibliography.–W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 33 (Feb. 1929), 7; *EAEHL*, IV, s.v. "Sharuhen, Tell" (Y. Yisraeli); A. Kempinsky, *IEJ*, 24 (1974), 145-152. A. F. RAINEY

SHASHAI shā'shī [Heb. *šāšay*; Gk. Apoc. B *Seseis*, A *Sess(e)is*] (Ezr. 10:40 par. 1 Esd. 9:34); AV Apoc. SESIS; NEB Apoc. SESSIS. An Israelite layman who divorced his foreign wife in the time of Ezra.

SHASHAK shā'shak [Heb. *šāšāq*] (1 Ch. 8:14, 25). A Benjaminite; the father of eleven sons. Depending upon the punctuation of the Hebrew text, he was either the son of Elpaal (cf. vv. 12-14, RSV) or of Beraiah (cf. vv. 14-16, NEB).

SHAUL shôl [Heb. *šā'ûl*; Gk. *Saoul* (cf. SAUL)]; AV also, NEB, SAUL; **SHAULITES** shôl'īts [Heb. *haššā'ûlî*] (Nu. 26:13); NEB SAULITE.

1. One of the ancient Edomite kings who ruled before Israel had kings (Gen. 36:37f.; 1 Ch. 1:48f.). He came from REHOBOTH ON THE EUPHRATES (NEB "Rehoboth on the River"; cf. AV).

2. Son of Simeon and a Canaanite woman, among those who traveled to Egypt with Jacob during the famine (Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15; 1 Ch. 4:24); head of the "Shaulites" (Nu. 26:13), a clan of mixed Israelite and Canaanite descent.

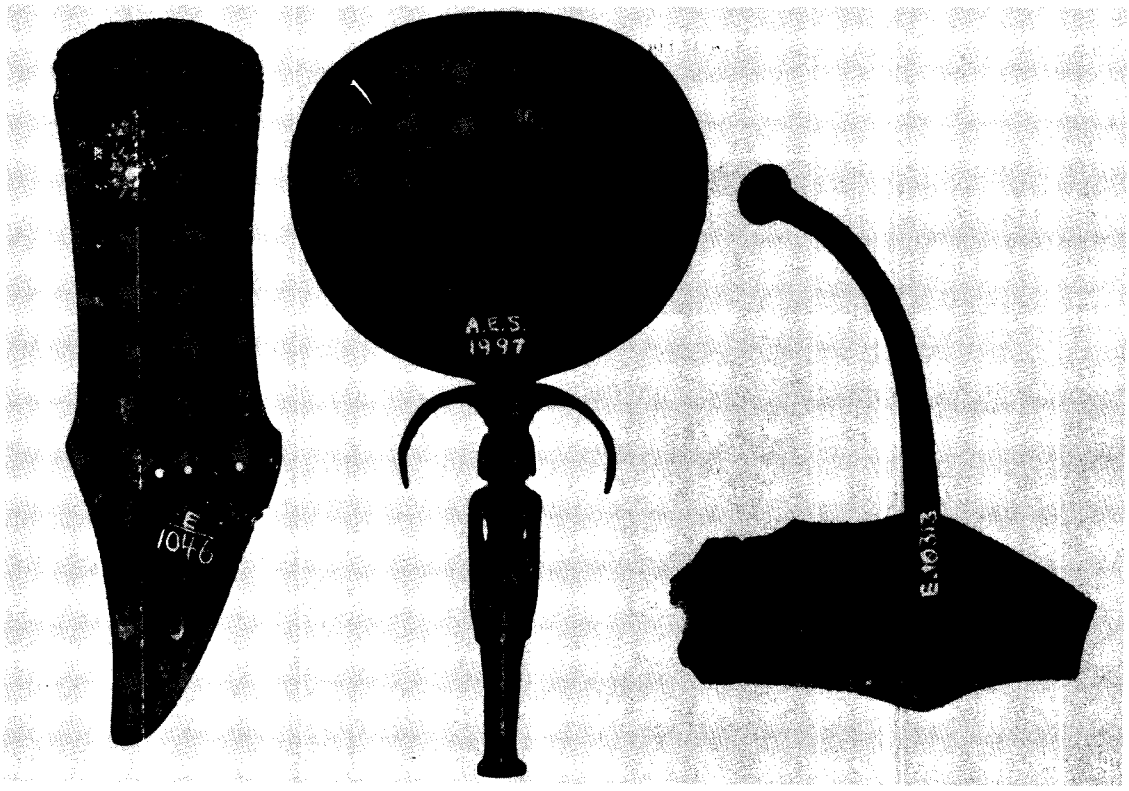
3. A Kohathite Levite, son of Uzziah (1 Ch. 6:24 [MT 9]).

See *IP*, pp. 136, 216.

SHAVE [Heb. *gālaḥ*] (Gen. 41:14; Lev. 14:8f.; Jgs. 16:19; Jgs. 16:19; Isa. 7:20; etc.); AV also POLL; NEB also CUT; [*gāzaz*] (Job 1:20); [Gk. *xyráō*] (Acts 21:24; 1 Cor. 11:5f.). To cut or scrape off hair, especially close to the surface of the skin.

Gālaḥ ("to be bald, smooth") is used in the OT to indicate both shaving and cutting the hair (Lev. 21:5 where the priests are prohibited from cutting the edges of their beards; Gen. 41:14 where Joseph shaves cleanly). The term seems to be used to indicate shaving facial, body, or head hair. Those wishing to be cleansed from leprosy must shave their body (Lev. 14:8f.); a Nazirite must shave the head hair and surrender it to a priest (Nu. 6:18); a non-Israelite captive woman must shave (presumably the head) before marrying her Israelite captor (Dt. 21:12), perhaps to mourn her separation from her family; David's emissaries to the court of Ammon were shamed when

Ancient bronze shaving equipment from Egypt (ca. 1550-1090 B.C.). From left, a razor with holes where the handle was attached (from Nagada); a mirror with a bone handle in the shape of a girl holding a lotus blossom on her head (from Abydos); and a razor with attached handle and chipped blade from Behun, Nubia (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)



half their beards were shaved (2 S. 10:4); similarly a defeat in battle was expressed in shame by shaving the body (Isa. 7:20). In short, shaving one's hair in Israel was a public sign of shame or, as it relates to shame, mourning (*see* SACKCLOTH).

The term *gāzaz* occurs 14 times in the OT and is translated "shave" only once. Most frequently it is used to indicate the shearing of sheep (e.g., Gen. 31:19). Its purpose in Job. 1:20 is, like that of *gālaḥ*, to express shame.

The Gk. *xyráō* translates *gālaḥ* in the LXX and is also similar in purpose. Men under a vow must shave their heads (Acts 21:24) and women who prophesy in a public meeting without a veil are shamed as if their heads had been shaved (1 Cor. 11:5f.).

From Egyptian art it is known that Asiatics, such as the Israelites and Philistines, did not shave their beards, while the Egyptians were almost always clean shaven. Thus Joseph, when he was to appear before Pharaoh, shaved himself (Gen. 41:14).

See also BEARD; CUT; HAIR; RAZOR. L. G. HERR

SHAVEH, VALLEY OF *See* KING'S VALLEY.

SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM shā'və kir-i-ə-thā'əm [Heb. *šaweh qiryāṯayim*–'plain of Kiriathaim' (or possibly 'plain of the double city'); Gk. *en Sauē tḗ pōlei*–'in Shave by(?) the city'] (Gen. 14:5); AV SHAVEH KIRIATHAIM. The place, possibly in Moab, where Chedorlaomer defeated the Emim. A location S of the Arnon near el-Qereiyât has been suggested (*GAB*, p. 162), although el-Qereiyât 11 km. (7 mi.) NNW of Dibon is also a possible site. Shaveh-kiriathaim cannot be identified with the Shaveh of v. 17 (*see* KING'S VALLEY), which was near Jerusalem.

W. S. L. S.

SHAVSHA shav'shə [Heb. *šawšā'*]. A scribe in the court of David (1 Ch. 18:16); also called "Seraiah" (Heb. *śᵉrāyâ*) in 2 S. 8:17, "Sheva" (*šᵉwā'* [*Q*], *šᵉyā'* [*K*]) in 2 S. 20:25, and "Shisha" (*šîšā'*; LXX B *Saba*) in 1 K. 4:3. The textual evidence for these variations suggests that originally the name was Shavsha or Shisha. But a high degree of certainty is not possible on this matter.

The etymology of the name is uncertain, but it may be related to Akk. *šamšu* (i.e., the sun-god). If so, Shavsha was probably not an Israelite. This would indicate the presence of international officers in David's court, especially in the position of secretariat, which involved interaction with foreign powers (cf. NEB, which translates Heb. *sôpēr* as "adjutant-general"). Apparently Shavsha served well in David's kingdom, for his sons Elihoreph and Ahijah were also secretaries in the court of Solomon (1 K. 4:3).

Bibliography.–*NBD*; *IP*, p. 222; G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (*NCBC*, 1984), p. 135; P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* (*AB*, 1984), pp. 254, 433. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHEAF [Heb. *ʿalummâ* (Gen. 37:7; Ps. 126:6), *ʿōmer* (Lev. 23:10-12, 15; Dt. 24:19; Ruth 2:7, 15; Job 24:10), *ʿāmîr* (Jer. 9:22 [MT 21]; Am. 2:13; Mic. 4:12; Zec. 12:6), piel part. of *ʿāmar* (Ps. 129:7)]; AV also HANDFUL; NEB also SWATHE, ARMFUL; **SHOCK** [Heb. *gāḏîš*] (Jgs. 15:5; Job 5:26); NEB CORN, SHEAVES. A sheaf is a quantity of stalks of grain bound together; a shock is a pile of sheaves set up in a field.

The terms rendered "sheaf" fall into two groups: Heb. *ʿalummâ* means "bound (into a bundle)"; the other three terms come from the root *ʿmr* I and mean "a small heap (of cut grain)." The LXX usually renders all these terms by Gk. *drágma*. Heb. *gāḏîš* means "stack of grain" (cf. RSV "stacked grain," Ex. 22:6 [MT 5]).

At harvest time GRAIN was commonly bundled into sheaves (Gen. 37:7; Ps. 129:7; cf. Jth. 8:3) before it was transferred by cart to the threshing floor (Am. 2:13; Mic. 4:12). The two primary grains, barley and wheat, were harvested in the spring (March-June). The reaper used a small SICKLE, held in the right hand, to cut off a handful of the grain that was held in the left hand. These small bundles were then tied into larger sheaves. The method is still practiced in much of the Middle East. The book of Ruth (2:7, 15) illustrates the pentateuchal law requiring that a portion of the harvested grain be left in the fields for widows, orphans, and resident aliens (Dt. 24:19).

Sheaves of the harvest's first fruits were to be brought and dedicated (AV, RSV, "waved"; NEB "presented as a special gift") to the Lord (Lev. 23:10-12, 15).

See also AGRICULTURE III.A.2.

Bibliography.–G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, III, (1933), 46-53; M. S. and J. L. Miller, *Harper's Encyclopedia of Bible Life* (1978), p. 179; G. J. Wenham, *Book of Leviticus* (*NICOT*, 1979), pp. 303f. D. M. HOWARD, JR.

SHEAL shē'al [Heb. *šᵉ'āl*; Gk. Apoc. *Asaēlos*] (Ezr. 10:29 par. 1 Esd. 9:30); AV Apoc. JASAEL; NEB Apoc. ASAELUS. Son of Bani; an Israelite layperson who divorced his foreign wife in the time of Ezra.

SHEALTIEL shē-al'ti-əl [Heb. *šᵉ'altî'ēl, šaltî'ēl*; Gk. Apoc. and NT *Salathiēl*]; AV, NEB, also SALATHIEL. Firstborn son of King Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3:17; Mt. 1:12); father of Zerubbabel (Ezr. 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh. 12:1; Hag. 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23; 1 Esd. 5:5, 48, 56; 6:2; Mt. 1:12). In 1 Ch. 3:17 Pedaiah, rather than Shealtiel, is called the father of Zerubbabel; since Pedaiah was Shealtiel's younger brother, this difficulty could easily be explained by the practice of levirate marriage (see comms., e.g., J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles* [*AB*, 1965], p. 21; see also I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* [*NIGTC*, 1978], p. 163). Another problem arises with the fact that Lk. 3:27 names Neri (rather than Jeconiah) as the father of Shealtiel; for a summary of several proposed solutions to this problem, see Marshall (pp. 163f.); *see also* GENEALOGY OF JESUS.

See also SALATHIEL 2. N. J. O.

SHEAR; SHEARER; SHEARING; SHEEPSHEARER [Heb. *gāzaz*, part. of *gāzaz*; Gk. *keírō* (1 Cor. 11:6), part. of *keírō* (Acts 8:32)]; NEB also HAVE HAIR CUT OFF (1 Cor. 11:6). Sheep are shorn of their wool in the springtime. During shearing they are held down or their front legs are tied up, yet they remain quiet. This is the background of Isa. 53:7 (quoted in Acts 8:32): "as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb." Since sheepshearing took many days for a sizable flock, Jacob was able to make his escape while Laban was shearing his sheep (Gen. 31:19). Shearing was also a time of festivity, when relatives or friends would be present (1 S. 25:2-11; 2 S. 13:23-28; Gen. 38:12f.). In Cant. 4:2 the young woman's teeth are compared to a flock of newly shorn and newly washed sheep, i.e., sheep whose pink skin shines through the clipped wool.

According to Mosaic law the firstborn of the flock were not to be shorn, because they were to be dedicated to God (Dt. 15:19). When shearing took place "the first of the fleece," i.e., the choicest portion of the wool, was to be given to the priests (18:4).

In 2 K. 10:12, 14 the AV renders Heb. *bêṯ-ʿēqeḏ* by "shearing house." The term seems to designate a place name, however, and thus the RSV "Beth-eked" is preferable to the AV or NEB ("shelter"). *See* BETH-EKED.

See also SHEEP. J. C. MOYER

SHEARIAH shē-ə-rī'ə [Heb. *šᵉʿaryâ*] (1 Ch. 8:38; 9:44). A Benjaminite who descended from Saul and Jonathan; the fourth of Azel's six sons.

SHEARING HOUSE (2 K. 10:12, 14, AV). *See* BETH-EKED.

SHEAR-JASHUB shē-är-jā'shōōb [Heb. *šᵉʾār yāšûḇ*–'a remnant will return']. The symbolic name given to Isaiah's first son (Isa. 7:3; cf. MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ; IMMANUEL).

Around 734-32 B.C. Rezin the king of Syria and Remaliah the king of Israel formed an anti-Assyrian coalition that Ahaz the king of Judah refused to join (2 K. 16; Ch. 28; Isa. 7:1-9.) Because Ahaz remaind loyal to Asyria, Israel and Syria attacked Judah and defeated all its cities except Jerusalem. Before these battles Ahaz oversaw the military preparations of Jerusalem, including the protection of the city's water supply at the upper pool (Isa. 7:3; cf. 32:2). Isaiah and his son Shear-jashub brought God's message to Ahaz at this crucial time (7:4-9).

Interpreters usually view Shear-Jashub's presence as a sign that: (a) "only a remnant will return" (cf. 10:22); i.e., Judah will only have a few that will return alive from its war with Syria and Israel (Blank); or (b) "a remnant will return" (cf. 6:10; 10:20f.); i.e., the remnant of Judah will return to God and trust in Him (Lindblom). The first approach takes Shear-jashub's name as a curse, while the second views the name as a promise of hope. The first runs contrary to the context of 7:4-9, and the second is determined primarily by 10:20-22.

Isaiah's spoken message challenged Ahaz to trust God and not to fear the armies of Israel and Syria (Isa. 7:4-9). Since the word of the Lord in 7:7-9 announces the defeat of the king's enemies, it seems that Shear-jashub is a sign that Israel and Syria will be defeated and will return to their own land with only a remnant remaining (Tiglath-pileser III defeated both nations; cf. 2 K. 15:29; 16:7, 9). The use of the phrase "only a remnant of them will return" in Isa. 10:20-22 is distinct from 7:3-9 and Isaiah's son is not present.

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SHE-ASSES. *See* ASS.

SHEATH [Heb. *taʿar*; cf. Ugar. *tʿrt*] (1 S. 17:51; 2 S. 20:8; Ezk. 21:3-5, 30 [MT 8-10, 35]); NEB SCABBARD, SHEATHE; [*nāḏān*] (1 Ch. 21:27); NEB SHEATHE; [niphal of *ʿûr* emended to hiphil of *ʿārâ*–'uncover, lay bare'] ("strip the sheath from," Hab. 3:9); AV "make naked"; NEB CASE; [Gk. *thēkē*] (Jn. 18:11); **SCABBARD** [Heb. *taʿar*] (Jer. 47:6); NEB SHEATHE. A case in which a sword is stored. Ezk. 21:3-5 (MT 8-10) uses the figure of a drawn sword to represent impending divine judgment. Hab. 3:9 uses a similar figure of Yahweh removing the cover of His bow to execute judgment against the wicked.

See also WEAPONS OF WAR. N. J. O.

SHEBA shē'bə.

1, 2, 3. [Heb. *šᵉḇāʾ*; LXX *Saba, Sabeu* (Gen. 10:28)] (Gen. 10:7, 28; 25:3; 1 Ch. 1:9, 22, 32). A name appearing in both Semitic and Hamitic genealogies, referring apparently to two or three different progenitors of one or more Arabian tribes and/or places. Sheba is listed in Gen. 10:7 par. 1 Ch. 1:9 as a descendant of Ham and (along with Dedan) as a "son" (Heb. *bēn*) of Raamah. Another Sheba is listed in Gen. 10:28 par. 1 Ch. 1:22 as a descendant of Shem and "son" of Joktan. The Sheba mentioned in Gen. 25:3 and 1 Ch. 1:32 bears similarities to each of these but seems to be identical to neither of them; he is listed as a descendant of Shem (cf. 1 Ch. 1:24-27) and of Abraham (through his concubine Keturah), and (along with Dedan) as a "son" of Jokshan. Some scholars have suggested that these differing accounts reflect a confusion of two different traditions, one ascribing a Hamitic origin and the other a Semitic origin to the Sabeans. Others have suggested that the texts reflect a convergence of the Semitic and Hamitic lines in southern Arabia. Stil others have posited that the same name was held by different persons and tribes in different parts of Arabia. *See* SABEANS; *see also* DEDAN; TABLE OF NATIONS II.C.3.

4. [Heb. *šeḇaʿ*; LXX *Sabee*] (2 S. 20:1-22). Son of Bichri; a notorious Benjaminite (described as "a worthless fellow," Heb. *ʾîš bᵉlîyaʿal*, 2 S. 20:1) who led a revolt against King David. The forces of the ten tribes of Israel followed Sheba, but the men of Judah remained loyal to David (v. 2). David considered Sheba's revolt to be a serious threat to the unity of the kingdom, and he ordered first Amasa and then Abishai to pursue him. Abishai took with him Joab, the Cherethites and Pelethites, and all of David's best soldiers (v. 7). Joab pursued Sheba to Abel of Bethmaacah and besieged the city.in response to the counsel of a wise woman of Abel,Joab offered to withdraw from the city if Sheba were delivered to him. The wise woman orchestrated the execution of Sheba and had his head thrown over the wall to Joab. Joab evidently allowed Sheba's followers to go unpunished, since the rebellion had been thwarted (v. 22).

The immediate cause of Sheba's rebellion is not stated in the text. Evidently Sheba aroused the northern tribes' hostility against David by accusing David of partiality toward Judah — a partiality evidenced by David's request that the elders of Judah welcome him back first after he had put down the treacherous rebellion of Absalom (cf. 19:9-15, 41-43). The Haggadah (T. P. *Sanhedrin* 101b) reports that Sheba rebelled against David. Sheba had seen portents indicating that the kingdom would be divided, and he hoped to divide the kingdom and become king.

5. [Heb. *šeḇaʿ*; LXX B *Sebee*, A *Sobathe*] (1 Ch. 5:13). A Gadite, son of Abihail. He was apparently a leader of his kinsmen in the region of Bashan. According to v. 17 his family was enrolled in the official registry during the reigns of Jotham king of Judah and Jeroboam II king of Israel.

Bibliography.–*BHI*, (3rd ed. 1981), pp. 209f.; R. Braun, *1 Chronicles* (*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1986), pp. 15-24; H. P. Smith, comm. on Samuel (*ICC*, 1912), pp. 366-371. E. E. CARPENTER

SHEBA shē'bə [Heb. *šeḇaʿ*–'seven'; Gk. B *Samaa*, A *Sabee*] (Josh. 19:2). One of fourteen cities listed as part of the tribal inheritance of Simeon within the larger allotment of Judah (Josh. 19:1-6). While fourteen cities are listed, the text gives a sum of only thirteen (v. 6). Possibly Sheba is an error of dittography from Beer-sheba, which immediately precedes it. In Josh. 15:21-32 a list of "twenty-nine" Judahite cities includes nine of the fourteen cities mentioned in 19:1-6, and, with the exception of Beer-sheba, these stand in the same relative sequence. In 15:26, however, Shema (Heb. *šᵉmaʿ*; Gk. A *Samaa*; B *Salmaa*) replaces Sheba (19:2) in that list, and Beer-sheba does not appear until later. If Sheba is identified with Shema, dittography would seem an unlikely solution in 19:6.

See also SHEMA.

SHEBA [Heb. *šᵉḇā'*] (Gen. 25:3; 1 K. 10:1, etc.). *See* SABEANS.

SHEBA, QUEEN OF. *See* QUEEN OF SHEBA.

SHEBAH shē'bə (Gen. 26:33, AV). *See* SHIBAH.

SHEBAM shē'bam (Nu. 32:3, AV). *See* SIBMAH.

SHEBANIAH sheb-ə-nī'ə [Heb. *šᵉḇanyâ, šᵉḇanyāhû* (1 Ch. 15:24)].

1. One of the priests assigned to blow the trumpet when David brought the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:24).

2. One of the Levites who led the Israelites in worship on the day of fasting and confession of sins (Neh. 9:4f.); possibly identical with **4** or **5**.

3. Head of a priestly family in postexilic times (Neh. 12:14); called "Shecaniah" in v. 3. He was among the priests who signed the covenant of Ezra (10:4 [MT 5]).

4, 5. Two Levites who signed the covenant of Ezra (Neh. 10:10, 12 [MT 11, 13]); one of them may be identical with **2** above. N. J. O.

SHEBARIM sheb'ə-rim [Heb. *haššᵉḇārîm*–'the quarries' (?); Vulg. *Sabarim*; Gk. *kai synétripsan autoús*–'and they crushed them'] (Josh. 9:5); NEB QUARRY. The place to which the men of Ai chased the Israelite force after its first attack on Ai. Possibly the word is a common noun (note the definite article) meaning "the quarries." The LXX, however, reads a verbal form (so Syr. Pesh., Tg.) from *šāḇar*, "break." W. S. L. S.

SHEBAT shə-bät' [Heb. *šᵉḇāṭ* (cf. Akk. *šabaṭu*); Gk. Apoc. *Sabat*] (Zec. 1:7; 1 Macc. 15:14); AV SEBAT, Apoc. SABAT. The eleventh month of the Jewish year, corresponding to January/February. *See* CALENDAR II.A.2.

SHE-BEAR. *See* BEAR.

SHEBER shē'bər [Heb. *šeḇer*–'lion'] (1 Ch. 2:48). A Judahite, son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah.

See *IP*, p. 230.

SHEBNA sheb'nə [Heb. *šeḇnā'*] (2 K. 18:37; 19:2; Isa. 22:15; 36:3, 11, 22; 37:2); **SHEBNAH** [*šeḇnâ*] (2 K. 18:18, 26); AV, NEB SHEBNA. An official under King Hezekiah. The meaning of the abbreviated name is uncertain, but suggestions include "youthfulness" and "Return now, O Yahu" (for the full name; cf. 1 Ch. 15:24). The final ה indicates an Aramaic name and some scholars argue that Shebna was a foreigner since his father is mentioned nowhere (cf. Young, II, 106). Others link the name to Egyp. *šbnw* or *šbnw šrj* (e.g., de Vaux, p. 400; cf. H. Ranke, *Die aegyptischen Personennamen* [1935], p. 330). The name was common in Palestine, occuring on Iron II seals from Lachish and elsewhere (cf. J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], I, 24, 63).

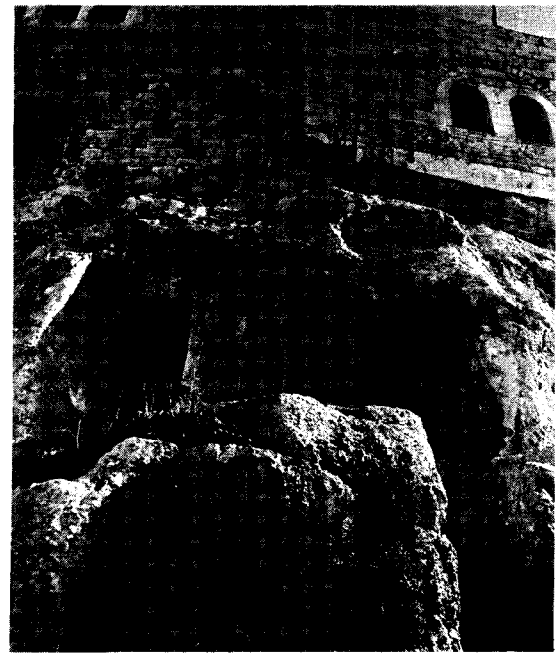
Shebna was an important official under King Hezekiah (*ca.* 716-687 B.C.) and a contemporary of the prophet Isaiah (2 K. 18:18, 26, 37; Isa. 36:3, 11, 22; 37:2). He is mentioned in connection with Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. (2 K. 18:17f.). Although he is called a "secretary" (Heb. *sōpēr*, 18:18), he was more than a scribe. According to de Vaux (pp. 397f.) his office was similar to a present-day secretary of state. The biblical record sustains this, as Shebna was one of three statesmen sent to mediate the Assyrian crisis by initial negotiation with the Rabshakeh (18:18, 26; Isa. 36:3) and subsequent consultation with Isaiah (2 K. 19:2; Isa. 37:2). This cabinet post was introduced to the monarchy by David (2 S. 8:17).

The oracle proclaimed against Shebna in Isa. 22:15-25 has long proved troublesome to the reconstruction and understanding of his role in Hezekiah's court. The passage is Isaiah's only prophecy directed at an individual, although this is not uncommon elsewhere in the OT (e.g., Jer. 20:1-6; 28:15-17; Am. 7:16f.). Shebna bears the title "secretary" in 2 K. 18:18, 37 and Isa. 36:3, 22, but in Isa. 22:15 he is called the *sōḵēn*, "steward." This term indicates an office of great importance, perhaps akin to the Egyptian vizier (cf. Young, II, 105f.; Kaiser, pp. 150f.). It is unlikely that two high-ranking state officials of the same name (and without pedigree) held offices simultaneously; the question therefore, is how to account for Shebna's shift to a lower cabinet position.

Isaiah denounced Shebna as an example of the egotistic and materialistic attitude of the nation as he moved from the general to the particular in his proclamation against Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 22:1f., 13). Isaiah accused Shebna of a selfish desire for immortality that overshadowed his concern for the welfare of the nation (22:16; cf. 2 K. 20:19). Noteworthy is the discovery of a lengthy inscription on the lintel of a tomb prepared for a royal steward by the name of "[?]-yahu" (cf. R. Avigad, *IEJ*, 3 [1953], 137-152). Despite the obscurity of the first part of the name, many scholars believe that this was Shebna's tomb (e.g., Young, II, 108; but cf. Kaiser, p. 152). A further allusion to Shebna's vanity is the reference to the splendid chariots in Isa. 22:18. Presumably the prestige associated with his appointment clouded his political and spiritual vision.

Possibly Isaiah's antagonism toward Shebna stemmed from his support, or even instigation, of Hezekiah's anti-Assyrian and pro-Egyptian foreign policy (cf. Isa. 20, 30, 31) instead of dependence on Yahweh to solve the

The inscription above the door of this rock-hewn tomb reads "[ ]-Yahu"; this may be the tomb of King Hezekiah's steward Shebna, whom Isaiah denounced (8th-7th cent. B.C., Silwan, Jerusalem) (D. Harris)



problems of Judah's vassalage to Assyria (cf. 7:1-9). Scott suggested that Judah's immunity during the time of Sargon's punishment of Ashdod (711 B.C.) was due to the reversal of anti-Assyrian policy following Shebna's fall from power (*IB*, V, 292). But Bright (*BHI* [3rd ed., 1981], p. 292) contended that the preaching of Isaiah may have influenced Hezekiah not to join in the Egyptian-backed revolt by Ashdod against Assyria (cf. 14:28-32; 18:3-6; 20:1-6).

Most critical scholars view Isa. 22:15-25 as a three-part prophecy pieced together over a lengthy period of time: the original Shebna oracle (vv. 15-18), the Eliakim prophecy (vv. 19-23), and the addendum to the Eliakim prophecy (vv. 24f.; cf. Kaiser, pp. 149f.). Some even make v. 19 the product of a redactor so as to bridge more smoothly the Shebna and Eliakim oracles (e.g., R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* [*NCBC*, 1980], p. 189). The arguments adduced for this position are largely unconvincing, except for the possibility of v. 19 serving as an editorial explanation for Shebna's demotion in the latter accounts of Isa. 36 and 37. Unity of language and especially the larger context of ch. 22 affirm the essential integrity of the passage.

The precise fulfillment of Isaiah's diatribe remains uncertain. H. C. Leupold (*Exposition of Isaiah* [1968], p. 354) said Shebna took Isaiah's rebuke to heart, repented, was demoted by Hezekiah, but was found still worthy to retain a lower office. It seems better to recognize that Isa. 22:15-25 predates the events of 701 B.C., while the prophecy itself is fulfilled in stages (G. B. Gray, Comm. on Isaiah [*ICC*, 1912], pp. 373-383). For unknown reasons Shebna had been demoted by the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, although the limited biblical evidence makes it impossible to determine the actual fulfillment of Isaiah's prediction of disgrace and exile for Shebna.

See also ELIAKIM 2.

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SHEBUEL shə-bū'əl, sheb'ū-əl [Heb. *šᵉḇû'ēl, šᵉḇu'ēl* (1 Ch. 26:24); Gk. *Soubaēl*]; NEB SHUBAEL.

1. Son of Gershom and grandson of Moses; a Levite who was "chief officer in charge of the treasuries" (1 Ch. 23:16; 26:24). In 24:20 he is called "Shubael."

2. A Levite who assisted with the temple music under the direction of his father Heman, King David's seer (1 Ch. 25:4); called "Shubael" in v. 20.

See also SHUBAEL.

SHECANIAH shek-ə-nī'ə [Heb. *šᵉḵanyâ, šᵉḵanyāhû*– 'Yahweh has taken (His) dwelling' (see *IP*, p. 194)]; AV also SHECHANIAH.

1. The name of the tenth priestly division of the descendants of Aaron (1 Ch. 24:11). This organization of the priesthood, reportedly established by David (cf. v. 3), reflects the postexilic concerns of the Chronicler.

2. A priest during Hezekiah's reign who assisted in distributing the freewill offering (2 Ch. 31:15).

3. The name of a priestly family that returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:3); called "Shebaniah" in 10:4; 12:14.

4. [Gk. Apoc. *Sechenias*]; AV Apoc, NEB Apoc., SECHENIAS. A descendant of David and of Zerubbabel; the father of six sons (1 Ch. 3:21f.; deleting "and the sons of Shemaiah," v. 22; *see* SHAPHAT 3), including Hattush, who returned from Babylonia with Ezra (Ezr. 8:3 par. 1 Esd. 8:29), and possibly also the Shemaiah mentioned in Neh. 3:29 (see 5 below).

5. Father of the Shemaiah who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. 3:29); possibly identical with 4.

6. Father-in-law of Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. 6:18).

7. [Gk. Apoc. *Sechenias*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SECHENIAS. Son of Jahaziel; one of those who returned from Babylonia with Ezra (Ezr. 8:5 par. 1 Esd. 8:32). The MT of Ezr. 8:5 lacks Zattu (AV "of the sons of Shechaniah"); some translations (RSV, NEB) insert Zattu here on the basis of the LXX (cf. *BHS*) and 1 Esd. 8:32.

8. [Gk. Apoc. *Iechonias*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., JECHONIAS. Son of Jehiel from the family of Elam (Ezr. 10:2; the RSV reads Shecaniah in place of Jechonias in 1 Esd. 8:92 [LXX 8:89] in order to harmonize the two passages). He acted as spokesman for the Israelites who had married foreign women in exile but were zealous for religious purity. Ezra adopted his proposal to send away the foreign wives and their children (Ezr. 10:2-5 par. 1 Esd. 8:92-96). N. J. O.

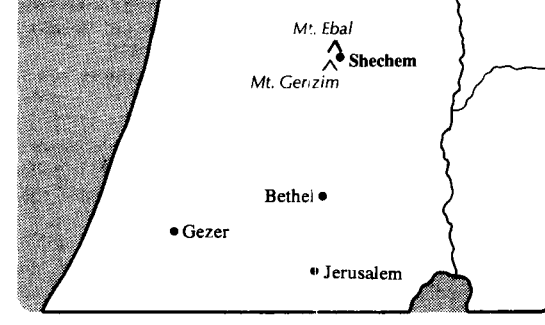
SHECHEM shek'əm [Heb. *šᵉḵem* (Gen. 33:19; 3r; etc.), *šeḵem*].

1. Son of Hamor the Hivite (Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32; Jgs. 9:28). His rape of Dinah infuriated her brothers and provoked them to take revenge (Gen. 34). Shechem and the men of his city were killed by Simeon and Levi. *See also* SHECHEM (city).

2. A descendant of Joseph and member of the tribe of Manasseh; founder of the Shechemite family (Nu. 26:31; Josh. 17:2).

3. Son of Shemida and member of the tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch. 7:19); possibly identical to 2 above.

SHECHEM she'kem, shē'kəm [Heb. *šᵉḵem*–'shoulder'; Gk. *Sychem, Sikima*]; AV also SICHEM (Gen. 12:6), SYCHEM (Acts 7:16). A city in Manasseh near the border of the tribal area of Ephraim (Josh. 17:7) and in the vicinity of Mt. Gerizim (Jgs. 9:7). Eusebius (*Onom., s.v.*) and the Bordeaux pilgrim (A.D. 333) placed it in the suburbs of Neapolis (modern Nâblus) by Jacob's Well (cf. Jn. 4:5f.). Jerome followed this tradition in his Latin edition of the *Onomasticon* but elsewhere rejected it; he instead identified the ancient city with the "new city" (Neapolis, founded by Vespasian in A.D. 72) and interpreted the



"Sychar" of Jn. 4:5 as a textual corruption of "Sychem." Before 1913 modern scholarship followed Jerome, even though the Madeba Map of the mid-6th cent. continued the tradition of Eusebius. But the excavations directed successively by E. Sellin, G. Welter, and H. Steckeweh in 1913-14 and 1926-34 proved the ancient site to be located at Tell Balâṭah, E. of Nâblus at the opening of the pass between Mts. Ebal and Gerizim, beside the traditional Tomb of Joseph (cf. Josh. 24:32) and near Jacob's Well. This location is in accord with that of Eusebius and the Madeba Map. An expedition, inaugurated by Drew University, McCormick Theological Seminary, and the American Schools of Oriental Research, did further work at the site between 1956 and 1973 and clarified its history and archeological chronology.

I. Patriarchal Period.–Although a sizable village existed at Balâṭah during the Chalcolithic period of the 4th millennium B.C., the city of historical times was founded *ca.* 1900 B.C., a creation of the "Amorite" period of Middle Bronze IIA (*ca.* 1900-1750). The Khu-Sebek Inscription on a stele from Abydos in Egypt refers to a conquest of "the foreign country" of Shechem (*skmm*) by Pharaoh Sesostris III (1878-1843). The city is also among the Asiatic enemies of Egypt named in a group of Egyptian execration texts now in Brussels that date to *ca.* 1800. These references suggest that during the second half of the Egyptian 12th Dynasty Shechem was a city-state of some importance.

Israel's patriarchal narratives probably refer to the city of this first major period. Jacob is said to have purchased a piece of land by the city and to have erected an altar there (Gen. 33:18-20). Abram is also credited with erecting an altar there, presumably in the *māqôm* ("place," here with the meaning "sacred area") where the oak of Moreh existed (12:6f.; cf. 35:4). In ch. 34, where the city is personalized, its inhabitants are called "the children of Hamor" (i.e., "of the ass"). Evidence from the Mari tablets (18th cent. B.C.) suggests that the Shechemites were "people of the (Ass-)Confederation"; the concept of a treaty or covenant was evidently integral to this people's existence. Gen. 34 also contains the tradition of the first patriarchal covenant with local people, this one permitting intermarriage, and a memory of an Israelite seizure of the city (cf. 48:22, where AV has "portion," RSV "mountain slope," and NEB "ridge," for Heb. *šᵉḵem*). The city was thus remembered as being closely associated with the family of Jacob (cf. 37:12).

The sacred area of Shechem has been found on the west side of the city and excavated. During Middle Bronze IIB (*ca.* 1750-1650 B.C.) four successive courtyard complexes containing sanctuary rooms were erected there, enclosed within the city first by Fortification Wall D, 2.5 to 3 m. (8 to 9 ft., 6 cubits) wide. The Hyksos reused this wall as the inner retaining wall of a vast earthen embankment (Wall C) placed around the city late in the 18th century. A great leveling operation had prepared the area for public use during the preceding age, M.B. IIA.

The excavation of the walls of the courtyard buildings of levels 901 and 902 at Shechem with the altar fill for the later fortress temple on the same site (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)

Aerial of the Shechem excavations, western quadrant, with the temple foundations in the center. In the foreground are Wall A and the Northwest Gate (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)

At that time the area was outside of any known city fortifications, and in view of the tenacity of the religious traditions connected with the sacred area, may possibly be the plot of land that Jacob purchased (Gen. 33:18-20) and the sacred area and tree (12:6f.) connected to Abram.

During the second half of the Hyksos period (M.B. IIC, *ca.* 1650-1550 B.C.) a heavy "cyclopean" wall was erected around the city (Wall A), just outside the earthen embankment (C). In places this wall still stands, some 10 m. (30 ft.) high. The top of the C embankment was pulled into the space between Walls A and C in a leveling operation. A heavily fortified, three-entry gate was put in place on the northwest side. Later in the same period a wall 4 m. (13 ft., 8 cubits) wide (Wall B) was erected on the top of the remaining C embankment around the north and west sides of the mound, and the space between Walls B and A was plastered in place as a glacis. At the very end of M.B. IIC still another fortification wall, Wall E, was thrown up either side of the NW Gate — a last-gasp defense against impending disaster (see below).

At the time that Wall A was erected, the courtyard complex was abandoned, and a great fortress-temple (*migdāl*) was built in its place. The Midgal's stone podium survives as a huge block of masonry, 50 by 40 "long" or "sacred" cubits, and the walls of the cella are 10 long cubits thick (about 26 by 21 by 5 m., 85 by 70 by 17 ft.). Towers stood on each side of the entry (which is 14 cubits wide); the lintel of the door was supported by a single stone column about 70 cm. (28 in.) in diameter. Fragments of fluted-stone columns, the only ones so far found in Western Asia, probably represent the interior supports in the cella. Before the end of its first period of use, the temple was partially destroyed and rebuilt, the entry column was eliminated, the entrance was narrowed, and two sacred standing stones (*maṣṣēḇôṯ*) were erected, one on each side of the new entrance.

The evidence suggests that the temple and fortifications were completely destroyed in the Egyptian conquest of Hyksos Palestine, evidently in two campaigns, perhaps of Ahmose and Amenophis I, *ca.* 1550-1540 B.C.

II. Amarna and First Israelite Periods.—After what appears to be an occupation gap of nearly a century, the city, its fortifications, and its temple were rebuilt. The new temple was placed on the foundations of the old, although it was less substantial and its axis was shifted five degrees south; its shape was now wider than it was long, more like the typical Canaanite temple of the era (about 30 by 24 long cubits, i.e., 16 by 12.5 m., 50 by 40 ft.). Two phases of this temple have been traced, the second and therefore latest of the whole sequence dating to the 13th-12th centuries. The foundation of the altar for this final phase is preserved, and a large sacred standing stone was erected in the court E of the altar. The top of the sacred stone is broken off, but the socket in which it stood is fully preserved. The stone is 145 cm. (57 in.) tall at its highest preserved point, 148 cm. (58¼ in.) wide,

The *maṣṣēḇâ* (standing stone) in its socket in the forecourt of the temple (L.B./Iron I, 1450-1150 B.C.) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)

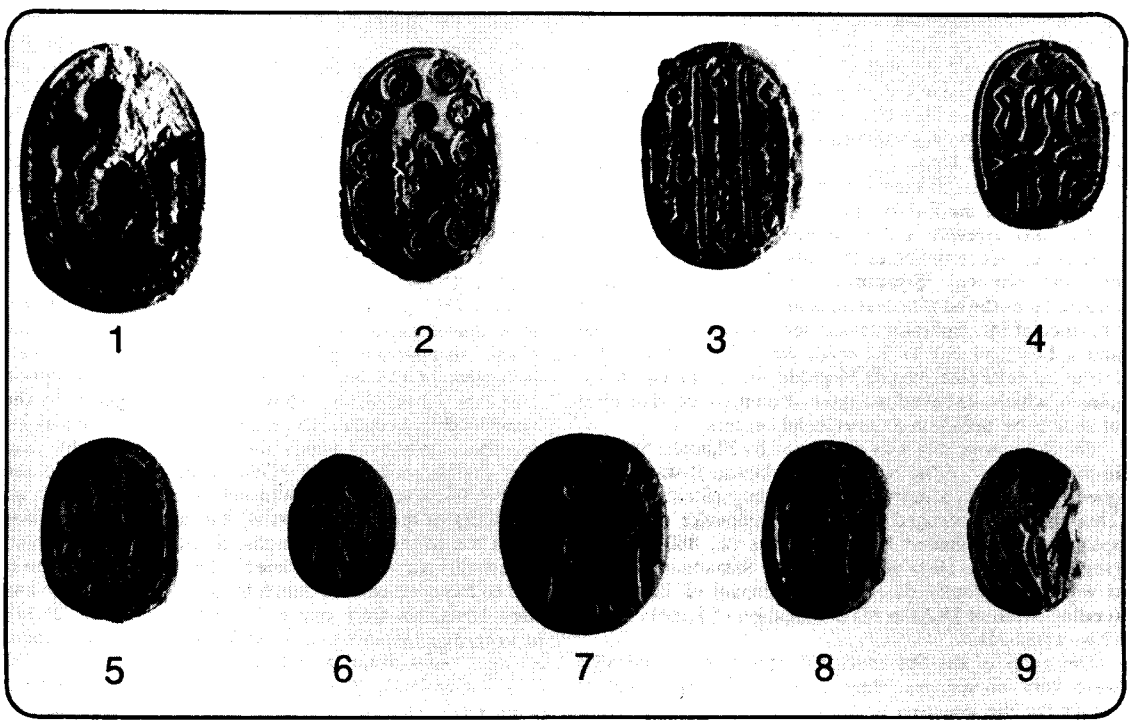
and 42 cm. (16½ in.) thick. It is white limestone, with rounded edges, and the surface has been ground smooth. It is a rare find; the only stones like it in the country are the two smaller ones flanking the entrance of the M.B. IIC fortress-temple and an unfinished one found in a thirteenth-century shrine located 200 feet away to the SE, outside of the sacred precinct.

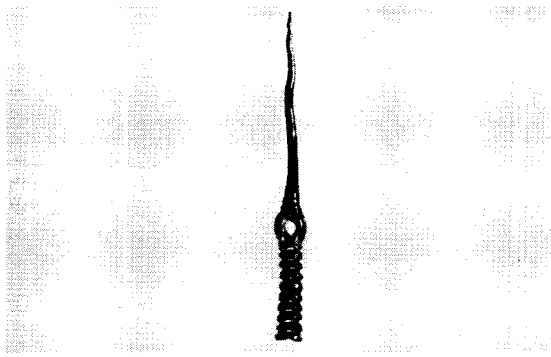
From the evidence of the Amarna Letters of the first half of the 14th cent., Shechem was the center of the only city-state of the north-central hill country, bordering on the city-state of Megiddo to the north and those of Jerusalem and Gezer to the south. Its ruler Lab'ayu, and later his sons, appear to have been hated intensely by their neighbors, evidently because of the security and strength of their state and their constant effort to enlarge their territory at their neighbors' expense. Three of the Amarna Letters were written by Lab'ayu himself (Am.Tab. 252-54); in them the only "sin" he admits to the pharaoh is his entry into the city of Gezer. His adventures and those of his sons are the subject of four letters written by others (Am.Tab. 244, 245, 250 and 289).

There is no biblical record of a conquest of Shechem by Joshua. Rather one must presume that the whole of the central hill country from Bethel to Megiddo (which became the tribal areas of Ephraim and Manasseh) came into Israel's federation of tribes by covenant (cf. Dt. 11:26-30; Josh. 8:30-34; Dt. 27) and that Josh. 24 is a text emanating from this covenant ceremony. This hypothesis is supported by the survival of Bronze Age Shechem at the time when cities such as Lachish (Josh. 10:31f.), Debir (vv. 38f. — assuming that it was located at Tell Beit Mirsim), and Hazor (11:10f.) were destroyed by Israel. Bronze Age Shechem was totally destroyed roughly a century later, during the 12th cent. B.C., and this accords well with the biblical story of the city's end at the hands of Abimelech (Jgs. 9:45-49).

This reconstruction of the data allows other elements of the texts in Josh. 24 and Jgs. 9 to assume added importance. The patriarchal narratives relating to Shechem center on the memory of the sacred area, tree, and covenant. Josh. 24 recounts another covenant ceremony deemed appropriate to hold at Shechem, whereby the city entered Israel by treaty rather than conquest. Verse 26, furthermore, mentions a tree in "the sanctuary [*miqdaš*] of the

Scarab seals found at Shechem. The first two are royal seals; nos. 3, 4, and 5 are Hyksos scarabs; nos. 6-9 are New Kingdom or Late Bronze Age seals (no. 8 is inscribed with the name of Queen Tiy, wife of Pharaoh Amenhotep III) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)





A gold toggle used for pinning clothing together found in an Iron Age I pit filling (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)

Lord." In Jgs. 9:46 the sanctuary is called "the temple of El-berith," Hebrew for "the covenant God" (v. 4 has *ba'al b'rîṯ*, "lord of the covenant"); the same chapter speaks of the "tower" [*migdâl*] of Shechem in v. 47 and Beth-millo in v. 6, and an oak is mentioned in v. 6 (AV "plain"). In other words, sanctuary, covenant, and tree again appear together. These three ingredients, found in patriarchal story, covenant ceremony text, and story of events from the time of the federation — three different literary types — strongly suggest a continuity of religious tradition at the site.

In addition to sanctuary, covenant, and tree, the archeological evidence from the courtyard complex of the early 17th cent. and the subsequent fortress-temple suggests that sacred pillars were the central cultic objects, probably memorials of the various covenants. The tradition of "the great stone" erected by Joshua (Josh. 24:26) to commemorate the covenant is probably to be associated with the last of this series of sacred pillars. Although the editor of Judges, who lived after the judges period, considered the Shechem temple a pagan structure (Jgs. 8:33), probably in earlier days El-berith was regarded as a manifestation of the God of the Fathers, who in the Joshua covenant was identified with Yahweh (Josh. 24:26; cf. Ex. 3:13-15). In other words, the *b'nê ḥ'môr* of Shechem were probably not typical Canaanites but were a special enclave who in a much later time preserved the memory of their close relation with the Hebrew patriarchs, so that they entered the covenant as full members even though they had not participated in the Exodus or Conquest.

III. Later Israelite and Samaritan Periods.–The archeological evidence indicates that Shechem was not rebuilt until the 10th cent. (Stratum X). Probably Solomon constructed it as the administrative center of his newly created province of Mt. Ephraim; it also served as a city of refuge and a Levitical city (1 K. 4:7f.; Josh. 20:7, 9; 21:20f.). It thus takes its place beside Megiddo, Hazor, and Ramoth-gilead, which, excavations have shown, were also built or rebuilt by Solomon as provincial centers.

The Solomonic city was destroyed by Pharaoh Shishak in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam. It was subsequently rebuilt in a more substantial way (Stratum IXB). This city was damaged either by earthquake or by the assaults of Ben-hadad I of Damascus *ca.* 860-855 B.C. (suggested by the story of the attack on Samaria in 1 K. 20); it was subsequently destroyed by Hazael of Damascus (ending Stratum IXA) in his subjugation of Israel *ca.* 810 (2 K. 13:22-25).

The cities of the 8th cent. B.C. (Strata VIII and VII) were very prosperous; they served as a tax-collection center for the kingdom of Israel, as one can infer from the large granary or warehouse erected on the foundations of the temple. The fortifications, particularly Walls B and E and the gates, were repaired, probably in the 10th or 9th centuries. The city of Stratum VII was violently destroyed by the Assyrians in 724.

The reoccupied city under Assyrian control (Stratum VI) was not properous and suffered destruction twice (possibly in the Josiah reform between *ca.* 628 and 622). A few people continued to live on the mound in the 6th cent. (Stratum V; cf. Jer. 41:4f.), down to as late as *ca.* 475 B.C. Then the site was again abandoned.

Shechem's last period of prosperity was *ca.* 331-107 B.C., when it served as the capital city of the Samaritans. The city of Stratum IV was quickly and extensively built and fortified after 331, when Alexander the Great took Samaria from the Samaritans and gave it to a group of his Macedonian troops. Both Strata IV and III date from the Ptolemaic rule of Palestine, when Shechem was strongly fortified. During the 2nd cent. B.C. under the Seleucids, however, Strata II and I were unfortified although evidently extensively occupied and prosperous. The city was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in 128 B.C. (Josephus *Ant.* xiii.9.1 [255]), but the mound was not finally abandoned until shortly after 110. A vast amount of earth was then pulled down from the slopes of Mt. Ebal to cover Wall on the western side and the northwest gate so that they could never again be used. The name of the site survived for some centuries, but the settlement could have been only a small village, like modern Balâṭah, around the copious spring issuing from a cave in Mt. Gerizim.

Bibliography.–E. F. Campbell and J. F. Ross, *BA*, 26 (1963), 2-27; E. Nielsen, *Shechem, A Traditio-Historical Investigation* (1955); G. E. Wright, "Shechem," in *AOTS*, pp. 355-370; *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (1964).

G. E. WRIGHT
E. F. CAMPBELL

SHECHEMITES shek'ə-mīts [Heb. *haššiḳmî*] (Nu. 26:31); NEB SHECHEMITE FAMILY. A family of the tribe of Manasseh, descended from SHECHEM (2).

SHED [Heb. *šāpaḳ*; also *šîm* (1 K. 2:5), hiphil of *nûp* (Ps. 68:9 [MT 10]), *yāraḏ* (Ps. 119:136), *ṣûṣ* (Ps. 132:18), hiphil of *nāgah* (Isa. 13:10); Gk. *ekchéō, ekchýnō*; also *ballō* (Rev. 6:13)]; AV also SEND (Ps. 68:9), RUN DOWN (Ps. 119:136), FLOURISH (Ps. 132:18), CAUSE LIGHT TO SHINE (Isa. 13:10), CASTETH (Rev. 6:13); NEB also POUR OUT (2 S. 20:10), BREAK (1 K. 2:5, where there is a textual problem), REFRESH (Ps. 68:9), STREAM (Ps. 119:136), SHINE (Ps. 132:18; Isa. 13:10), CUT-THROAT (for "shedder of blood," Ezk. 18:10), SPILL (Mt. 23:35), SHAKE DOWN (Rev. 6:13).

In the OT "shed" is used in the RSV and in most versions almost exclusively to render Hebrew *šāpaḳ*, which means "to pour out, spill out." In nearly all these cases, the object of the latter is "blood" (the one exception is in 2 S. 20:10, where "bowels" is the object). In the post-Flood institution of capital punishment Noah is instructed, "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen. 9:6). Accorkng to the regulation regarding the unknown murderer's crime, all the elders of the city nearest where the slain person was found are to testify,"our hands did not shed this blood, neither did our eyes see it shed" (Dt. 21:7). Manasseh is said to have "shed very much innocent blood, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another" (2 K. 21:16). In only five instances does RSV use "shed" to render Hebrew verbs other than *šāpaḳ* (see list above). In Ps. 68:9, for example, God "sheds abroad" (or "sprinkles, disperses") his rains; and according to Isa. 13:10 the day

of the Lord will be accompanied by the darkening of the sun, and "the moon will not shed [lit. "cause to shine"] its light."

In the NT "shed" almost always renders the Gk. verb *ekchéō* (or its Hellenistic Greek form, *ekchýnō*), in all cases with "blood" as the object. References include the shedding of the blood of the OT prophets (Mt. 23:30); of the OT saints from Abel to Zechariah son of Barachiah (Mt. 23:35); of Stephen (Acts 22:20); of "the saints and prophets" (Rev. 16:6); etc. According to He. 9:22, "without the shedding of blood [*haimatekchysía*] there is no forgiveness of sins." Interestingly, in the NT passages where reference is made to the shedding of Jesus' blood (Mt. 26:28; Mk. 14:24; Lk. 22:20), RSV translates the verb (*ekchýnō*) "pour out." D. A. DORSEY

SHEDEUR shed'ē-ər [Heb. *šᵉḏê'ûr*]. The father of Elizur, who was chief of the Reubenites during the journey through the wilderness (Nu. 1:5; 2:10; 7:30, 35; 10:18). The name means either "Shaddai is fire (*'ûr*)" or "Shaddai is light (*'ôr*)" (see *IP*, pp. 130, 168f.). On the meaning of Shaddai, *see* GOD, NAMES OF II.B.1.

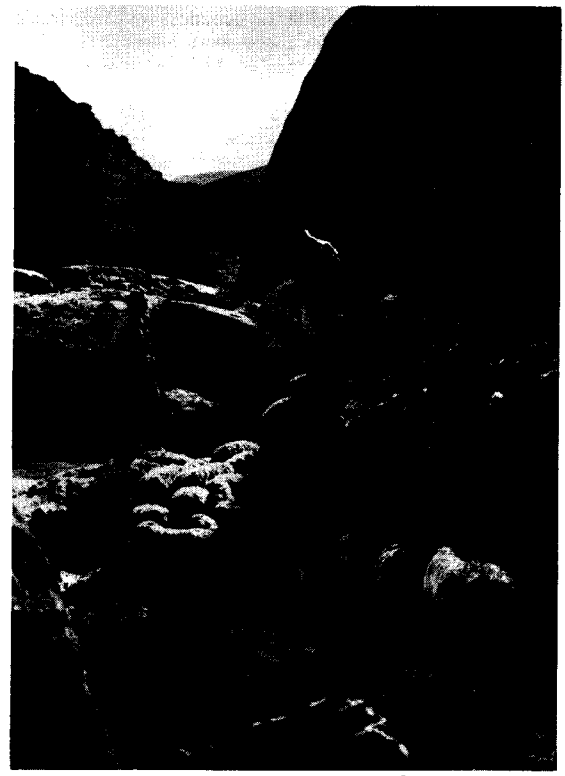
SHEEP; SHEPHERD. In the OT "sheep" most frequently translates Heb. *ṣō'n*, a term also rendered "flock." Other OT terms include *keśeḇ* (lit. "young ram"; e.g., Lev. 1:10; 7:23; Nu. 18:17), *keḇeś* (lit. "young ram"; e.g., Ex. 12:5), and *śeh* (lit. "lamb," "kid"; e.g., Ex. 22:1, 4, 9f.; Dt. 17:1). The primary NT terms for "sheep" is Gk. *próbaton*; in Jn. 21:16f. the term is *probátion* (diminutive of *próbaton*). The usual OT term for "shepherd" is Heb. *rō'eh* (part. of *rā'â*, "tend," "graze"; cf. fem. *rō'â*, lit. "shepherdess," Gen. 29:9); the NT term is Gk. *poimḗn* (cf. *archipoímēn*, "chief shepherd," in 1 Pet. 5:4; vb. *poimaínō*, "be a shepherd," in Rev. 7:17).

The biblical terms are used of various kinds of sheep (see I below). Heb. *ṣō'n* means literally "small cattle," and the term sometimes includes goats. Sheep, goats, and cattle are related biologically (family *Bovidae*), all being ruminants with cloven hoofs and hollow horns. These and a few wild cloven-hoofed ruminants (the hart, gazelle, roebuck, etc.) were the only mammals allowed for food under Mosaic laws (Dt. 14:4-6; Lev. 11:3). Cattle, sheep, and goats were also approved animals for sacrifices (Lev. 22:18f.); *see* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS OF THE OT.

See also CATTLE; EWE; GOAT; LAMB; RAM.

I. Types of Sheep
II. Uses of Sheep
III. Shepherds and Shepherding
IV. Figurative Uses
A. God as Shepherd
B. Jesus as Shepherd and as Lamb
C. God's People as Sheep
D. Shepherd as Judge
E. Shepherd as National Leader
F. Pastoral Ministry

I. Types of Sheep.–Five different breeds of sheep (*Ovis aries*) were known in Mesopotamia in the patriarchal age. The sheep of the Bible can be pictured as generally cream-colored, deep-wooled, and having curled horns. There were taller sheep such as *O. orientalis* (adult animals about 1 m. [3 ft.] tall) and smaller sheep such as the Mouflon (adults about 0.6 m. [2 ft.] tall). The most common breed in Palestine today — and probably also in ancient times — is the "fat-tailed" *O. laticaudata*, known in Egypt by 2000 B.C. These have quantities of reserve fat stored in their tails, which by themselves weigh 5, 7, or even 14 kg. (11, 15, or 30 lbs.). (For the use of these "fat tails" in sacrifices, see Ex. 29:22; Lev. 3:9; 7:3; 8:25; 9:19.) Heb. *'āqōḏ* probably designates a type with "twisted tail" (Gen. 30:35, 39f.; 31:8-12) — not "ring-straked" (AV) or "striped" (RSV, NEB). Breeding techniques were used to increase the quality and size of flocks (Gen. 30:32-43; 2 K. 3:4).



Two shepherds tending sheep in Israel (Matson Photo Service)

II. Uses of Sheep.–In biblical times the tending of flocks, together with agriculture, was basic to the economy in Palestine. Sheep were so valuable that the wealthy man was described as the owner of "thousands" or "ten thousands" of sheep (cf. Ps. 144:13). Although sheep were also used for food (*see* FOOD III), they were raised principally for wool production. WOOL was used in various ways, e.g., for woolen GARMENTS (cf. Lev. 13:47-52, 59). Sheepskins were also used as clothing (cf. He. 11:37) and for a variety of other purposes (*see* SHEEPSKIN). For the average family the slaughtering of a sheep for a guest was generous hospitality (cf. 2 S. 12:4), and a sheep was an expensive sacrifice (but cf. the enormous numbers of animals sacrificed on great occasions, e.g., in 1 K. 8:63; 2 Ch. 5:6; 7:5; 15:11; 29:33). Sheep's horns served as containers for oil (1 S. 16:1) and even as musical instruments (the Heb. *šōp̄ār*, "ram's horn"; *see* HORN; MUSIC II.A.1, 2). From sheep's bones were made needles, scrapers, lances, and arrowheads; from the hides came clothing, curtains, and leather (which was sometimes prepared as vellum to receive writing). The sheep's gentleness and loyalty made it a common household pet (2 S. 12:2f.).

III. Shepherds and Shepherding.–Shepherds were responsible for the physical survival and welfare of their own or their master's flocks. In comparison with goats, which tended to fend for themselves, sheep depended on the shepherd to find PASTURE for them (cf. Ezk. 34:2, 9, 13f.), and they required "quiet" water (Ps. 23:3). Shepherds also had to provide shelter, medication, aid in

lambing time, and provision for lameness and weariness. Without the shepherd the sheep were helpless (see Nu. 27:17; 1 K. 22:17; 2 Ch. 18:16; Zec. 10:2; Mt. 9:36 par. Mk. 6:34).

Shepherds generally lived in tents made of water-repellent cloth woven from black goats' hair (cf. Gen. 4:20; Ex. 36:14; *see* TENT). Because of the lack of rainfall they had to move around during the summer months and they had to be prepared to be away from their base of supplies for days or weeks at a time (*see* NOMADISM). The shepherd's woolen, homespun garments included, for protection against cold, sharp winds, and rain, a long overcoat of stiff, felt material, which served as a coat, a blanket, and even a tent-like sunshade (cf. Jer. 43:12). In his BAG, a large leather container made of goatskin (1 S. 17:40, 49), the shepherd carried all the food he would need while away, such as bread, olives, and cheese. Milk he could get from the goats (1 Cor. 9:7). To protect himself and his flock from harm he carried a ROD or STAFF, a stout, straight stick, sometimes with a knot or knob on the end, which served as a club and also as a walking stick or a pole on which to carry the bag. Some (if not many) shepherds, like David, were skillful with the slingshot (1 S. 17:49). The shepherd had to be prepared for emergencies, as when a sheep injured itself (in which case balm, olive oil, or animal fat would be needed as ointment; cf. Isa. 1:6; Jer. 8:22) or stupidly wandered off into hazardous territory (cf. Ezk. 34:5; Mt. 12:11; Lk. 15:4). When "still waters" were not available the shepherd had to provide water for the sheep in a skin-bucket or trough (Gen. 30:38; Ex. 2:16), since sheep have to be watered several times daily — especially at noon (Gen. 29:2-10).

For the most part the shepherd's long days and nights in the field made for a lonely life. He entertained himself by talking to his sheep until they all recognized his voice (Jn. 10:4f.), by making music on a readily made reed pipe (Jgs. 5:16; see National Geographic Society, *Everyday Life in Ancient Times* [1953], p. 255). Often friends with their flocks would meet at a watering spot (Gen. 29:2f., 7f.) and would keep watch at night (Lk. 2:8). When they parted there was no difficulty in separating the animals, for each knew its own shepherd's call (Jn. 10:4, 14, 27). Each flock included about a hundred animals (cf. Mt. 18:12; Lk. 15:4). The shepherd was expected to count them, one by one, calling each by its own name (Jn. 10:3), both morning and evening, for he had to render accounting for any that were missing (Gen. 31:39; cf. 1 S. 25:15f., 21). The responsible shepherd did not kill and eat his sheep, no matter how rigorous conditions might become (Gen. 31:38-40; Ezk. 34:2f., 10; Am. 3:12). The shepherd's devotion to his sheep becomes evident when contrasted with the behavior of the "hireling" who "cares nothing for the sheep" (Jn. 10:12f.): "the good shepherd," if need be, "lays down his life for the sheep" (v. 11). That a shepherd might not return alive from his sheeptending was well understood (cf. Gen. 37:33). Shepherding was serious, demanding, and strenuous work. Nevertheless, the true or faithful shepherd was thought to have a disposition that was altogether admirable: thoughtful, tender, gentle, strong, resourceful in times of danger, but not hot-tempered.

Although fierce dogs often accompanied shepherds for protection, they were not used to round up the sheep (Job 30:1; *see* DOG). The shepherd controlled the flock by the sound of his chatter, shout, or whistle (cf. Isa. 5:26). Ordinarily he led the sheep (Ps. 23:2f.; Jn. 10:3-5), but there might be undershepherds who followed the flock (2 S. 7:8; 1 Ch. 17:7; Am. 7:15) to encourage the weary and aid the heavy-laden and the newborn lambs.

At night the sheep were gathered into a FOLD for protection against beasts, thieves, and the cold (e.g., Ps. 78:70; Mic. 2:12; Jn. 10:1). Sheepfolds were of various types. At times they were located in or near a cave (e.g., 1 S. 24:3). Some were permanent enclosures with a roof and stone walls, while others were temporary, consisting simply of an open pen with thornbush sides. The shepherd guarded the single opening with his own body (cf. Jn. 10:7, 9).

Sheepshearing took place annually in the spring. It was an important, happy occasion for the sheep breeder — equivalent to harvesttime for the farmer. Even when the flocks were some distance away, the owner went out to the site to supervise the work (cf. Gen. 31:19-23; 38:12; 2 S. 13:23f.). The "first of the fleece," like the first fruits of the harvest, was given to the Levites (Dt. 18:4). Relatives and friends participated in the shearing and also in the feasting that accompanied it (cf. 1 S. 25:2-11, 36; 2 S. 13:23-29). (See *ILC*, III-IV, 377f.) *See also* SHEAR.

IV. Figurative Uses.—The terms of the sheeptending business aptly made their way into the metaphorical religious language of the Bible.

A. God as Shepherd. Among the very earliest names given to God is "the Shepherd, Rock of Israel" (Gen. 49:24). In Ps. 78:52f. the psalmist recounts how in the Exodus the Most High God "led forth his people like sheep, and guided them in the wilderness like a flock. He led them in safety, so that they were not afraid. . . ." In the OT God is the supreme "Good Shepherd"; all the admirable personal characteristics of shepherds are His superlatively. His activities as "Shepherd" of His people include feeding, watering, leading, watching over, caring for, seeking out, rescuing, and gathering His flock; bringing back the strayed, binding up the crippled, strengthening the weak, and carrying the lambs in His bosom (see esp. Ps. 23; Isa. 40:11; Ezk. 34:11-24; also Ps. 95:7; 100:3; Mic. 7:14; Zec. 10:3; 11:7).

B. Jesus as Shepherd and as Lamb. The selfless, caring attitudes of the good shepherd are attributed to Jesus throughout the NT. The Synoptic Gospels describe Jesus' compassion for people as that of a shepherd for "sheep without a shepherd" (Mt. 9:36 par.; cf. 26:31 par., quoting Zec. 13:7; cf. also 1 K. 22:17 par. 2 Ch. 18:16; Isa. 13:14; Zec. 10:2; 11:4, 6). The term "shepherd" is applied to Jesus with the adjectives "good" (Jn. 10:11, 14), "great" (He. 13:20), and "chief" (1 Pet. 5:4). Jesus' discourse on Himself as the "good shepherd" (Jn. 10:1-18) reflects in detail the language of Ezk. 34. The application to Jesus of this familiar OT image for God establishes an identity of moral character and mission between the God of the OT and Jesus. A unique element is added in the description of Jesus as "the good shepherd [who] lays down his life for the sheep" (Jn. 10:11). This image of the shepherd who dies for the sheep is similar to the Johannine description of Jesus as "the lamb of God who was slain" (Rev. 5:12) and as "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (Jn. 1:29; cf. v. 36; 1 Cor. 5:7; 1 Pet. 1:19). The background for this theme is found in the OT descriptions of the Suffering Servant. Acts 8:32-35 applies to Jesus the description of the Suffering Servant as "a sheep led to the slaughter, and "a lamb" whose "life is taken up from the earth," quoted from Isa. 53:7f. Rev. 7:17 states that "the Lamb . . . will be their shepherd, and he will guide them to springs of living water" (cf. Ps. 23:2).

See also LAMB OF GOD.

C. God's People as Sheep. "We are the people of his [God's] pasture, and the sheep of his hand" (Ps. 95:7; 100:3; cf. also Ps. 74:1; Ezk. 34:31). These familiar words use a common biblical metaphor that emphasizes the utter dependence of human beings upon God for their existence, survival, and welfare. The figure gives glad recogni-

tion both to the needs of human beings as creatures and to God's sufficiency, as the Creator and Provider, for all human needs (cf. 2 S. 24:17 par. 1 Ch. 21:17; Ps. 78:52; Ezk. 34:31; Zec. 11:4-17; 13:7; Jn. 10:10-15). "Of his pasture" signifies that God's people live out their lives in a friendly environment — friendly because they have a Friend near at hand. Safety is depicted as being gathered "like sheep in a fold, like a flock in its pasture" (Mic. 2:12), "one flock, one shepherd" (Jn. 10:16; cf. Ezk. 37:24).

Conversely, people — like sheep — can go "astray" (Isa. 53:6; cf. Mt. 18:12 par.); thus separated from the Shepherd (1 Pet. 2:25) they can become "lost sheep" (Ps. 119:176; Jer. 50:6), variously described as "a hunted sheep driven away by lions" (v. 17), "scattered over all the face of the earth" (Ezk. 34:6; cf. v. 12), "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt. 10:6; 15:24; *see also* LOSE). In the Egyptian records a similar phrase appears: "like a stampeded herd without a herdsman" (Frankfort, p. 101). The psalmist described the painful experiences of human existence and the awareness of the proximity of death in these words: "for thy sake we are slain all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (Ps. 44:22, quoted in Rom. 8:36; cf. also Ps. 44:11; 49:14; Isa. 53:7; Jer. 12:3). Christ sent out His disciples as "sheep amidst wolves" (Mt. 10:16).

D. Shepherd as Judge. Some passages use the figure of a shepherd to describe God or Christ as Judge. As a shepherd in the daily head-counting of his flock separates the darkish goats from the whitish sheep, or the fat sheep from the lean sheep, so God (or Christ) distinguishes between the good and the evil (Jer. 12:3; Ezk. 34:17-22; Mt. 25:32).

E. Shepherd as National Leader. Many of the best-known OT national leaders (e.g., the patriarchs, political heroes, and inspired prophets) had personal experience as successful herdsmen. Prominent examples include Moses, who learned sheeptending from the seven daughters of Jethro and for a time tended the flock of the priest of Midian (Ex. 2:15–3:1); David, who when Samuel found him was "keeping the sheep" (1 S. 16:11); and Amos of Tekoa, an undershepherd whom "the Lord took from following the flock" and commanded to "prophesy to my people Israel" (Am. 7:15; cf. 3:12).

"Shepherd" is also used as a descriptive term for a national leader. By analogy with the "worthless" shepherd (Zec. 11:15-17), who is lazy and apathetic or greedy, gluttonous, and avaricious, the "bad" leader in state and religion can be identified as a "hireling," "thief," and "robber" (Jn. 10:8, 12f.). He is uncaring (Zec. 11:16), deserts the flock (v. 17), destroys and scatters (Jer. 12:10; 23:1f.; Ezk. 34:4-8), leads the people astray (Jer. 50:6), feeds and clothes himself without caring for the sheep (Ezk. 34:2f., 8, 10).

The Bible's paragon leader, "a man after [the Lord's] own heart" appointed to be "prince over [the Lord's] people" (1 S. 13:14), was David, who was twice a shepherd: once over his father's "few sheep" and later over the people of Israel. Ps. 78:70-72 states: "He chose David his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds; from tending the ewes that had young he brought him to be the shepherd of Jacob his people, of Israel his inheritance. With upright heart he tended them, and guided them with skilful hand." Thus, "as many passages show, the ideal future king, the 'Messiah,' was always thought of in the OT as a scion [son] of David, a 'shoot from the stump of Jesse,' descended from the ancient Bethlehemite line" (S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* [Eng. tr. 1956], p. 160); cf. Mt. 20:30f. par. Mk. 10:47; Lk. 18:38f.

The figure of "shepherd" is also applied to leaders of other nations. In Isa. 44:28 the Persian King Cyrus is called "my [the Lord's] shepherd." Similarly, certain Egyptian writings refer to the pharaohs as "herdsmen" of the people (Frankfort, pp. 78, 90ff.); the shepherd's crook was the pharaoh's symbol of authority. *Circa* 2400 B.C. Ipu-wer longed for the coming of a new pharaoh who would be "the herdsman of all men. Evil is not in his heart. Though his herds may be small, still he has spent the day caring for them" (*ANET*, p. 433). As early as *ca.* 2385 B.C., Lugalzaggesi of Umman, in conquering Uruk, prayed, "unto eternity may I be the foremost (?) shepherd" (S. Kramer, *Sumerians* [repr. 1972], p. 324). *Circa* 2050 B.C. Gudea, the governor of Lagash, was described as "the faithful shepherd" (G. A. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* [1929], p. 214). It appears, then, that other peoples in the OT world joined Israel in hoping for the arrival of a leader who would "feed his flock like a shepherd, . . . gather the lambs in his arms, . . . and gently lead those that are with young" (Isa. 40:11).

F. Pastoral Ministry. Drawing on the rich OT background of shepherding imagery applied to national leaders, the NT uses this imagery for leaders in the Church's ministry. One of the gifts of the Spirit is that some should be "pastors" (Gk. *poiménes*, "shepherds," Eph. 4:11; *see* PASTOR). In the tradition of Peter (Jn. 21:15-17), pastors are called to fulfil their love for the Lord by feeding and tending His "lambs" and "sheep." Paul exhorted the Ephesian elders to "take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you guardians, to feed the church of the Lord" (Acts 20:28); he warned them that after his departure "fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock" (v. 29). Likewise, 1 Pet. 5:2f. exhorts elders to "tend the flock of God that is your charge . . . not for shameful gain but eagerly, not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to the flock."

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SHEEP BREEDING. *See* SHEEP.

SHEEP GATE [Heb. *ša'ar haṣṣô'n* (Neh. 3:1, 32; 12:39); Gk. *probatikós*–'pertaining to sheep' (Jn. 5:2)]; AV also SHEEP MARKET (Jn. 5:2). The gate in the wall N or NE of Jerusalem, which was restored by Nehemiah. In Jn. 5:2 the "gate" (RSV supplies "gate"; cf. NEB "Sheep-Pool"; *see* SHEEP MARKET) would have been located in the later Herodian wall somewhat north of the earlier location. Sheep for sacrificial offering were probably led to the temple through this gate (*see* JERUSALEM III.F.2.w).

SHEEP MARKET. The AV translation of Gk. *hē probatikḗ*, "(thing) pertaining to sheep" (Jn. 5:2; cf. RSV "Sheep Gate"; NEB "Sheep-Pool"). The AV understands the substantive to be Gk. *agorá*, "market," but the RSV supposes *pýlē*, "gate," probably on the basis of Neh. 3:1, 32; 12:39 (LXX *hē pýlē hē probatikḗ*). The NEB finds the

substantive in the following word *kolymbēthra*, "pool" (read as dative), following ℵ (which, however, omits the preposition *epí* [variant *en*], "at"); but this rendering yields an awkward construction at the end of the verse. *See* BETHESDA; JERUSALEM III.F.2.w.

See J. Finegan, *Archeology of the NT* (1969), pp. 142f.

R. F. G. SWEET

SHEEPCOTE; SHEEPFOLD. *See* FOLD; for AV 2 S. 7:8; 1 Ch. 17:7 (Heb. *nāweh*) *see* PASTURE.

SHEEPSHEARING. *See* SHEAR; SHEEP III.

SHEEPSKIN. Leather prepared from the skin of a sheep. Since sheep and goats were the most common domesticated animals in biblical times, one may assume that the tanned skins of these animals were used extensively for domestic purposes. Our knowledge of their use is limited, however, since the Bible contains very few specific references to the skins of sheep and goats. It does mention that ram's skin (Heb. *ʿôr ʾayil*) was used in the construction of the tabernacle (Ex. 25:5; 26:14; 35:7, 23; 36:19; 39:34). It is likely, therefore, that such skins were also used extensively for tent construction in general, especially for the tents used by shepherds, herdsmen, and travelers. There are also references to the use of *ʿôr taḥaš* (RSV "goatskin") in the construction of the tabernacle and its sacred objects (Ex. 25:5; etc.; Nu. 4:6, 8, 10-12; etc.), but the meaning of *taḥaš* is uncertain (cf. AV "badger's skin"; NEB "porpoise-hide"; *see* GOATSKINS). The NT refers to sheepskins in He. 11:37, which states that some of the OT heroes of the faith "went about in skins of sheep [Gk. *mēlōtḗ*] and goats." Such clothing, a symbol of destitution, was apparently the traditional garb of the Israelite prophets; it may be alluded to also in Jesus' warning against false prophets in Mt. 7:15.

Sheepskin was probably used for a variety of domestic articles, including skins for liquids (wineskins, waterskins, and milkskins), garments, and sandals (*see also* SKIN). Sheepskins tanned with the fleece (Jgs. 6:36-40) were likely used for mats (e.g., for sleeping and for riding animals) as well as for protective outer garments. Job's statement "skin for skin" (Job 2:4) may reflect the use of such animal skins by traders for bartering purposes (see comms.).

See also LEATHER; TANNED.

L. DEVRIES

SHEERAH shē'ə-rə [Heb. *šeʾĕrâ*]; (1 Ch. 7:24); AV, NEB, SHERAH. The daughter of Ephraim, or possibly the daughter of Beriah, Ephraim's son. According to the MT she built Lower and Upper Beth-horon and Uzzen-sheerah.

SHEET [Gk. *othónē*] (Acts 10:11; 11:5); NEB "sheet of sail-cloth." A large sheet-like object, which perhaps resembled a ship's sail (cf. M. Polyc. 15:2), seen by Peter in a vision.

SHEHARIAH shē-ə-rī'ə [Heb. *šᵉharyâ*] (1 Ch. 8:26). Son of Jeroham; a Benjaminite chief who lived in Jerusalem.

SHEKEL shek'əl. *See* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SHEKEL OF THE KING'S WEIGHT. *See* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SHEKEL OF THE SANCTUARY. *See* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SHEKINAH shə-kī'nə [Heb. *šᵉḵînâ*–'dwelling']. A circumlocution used in rabbinic literature to signify God's presence. In reaction to Hellenism and paganism, Judaism attempted on the one hand to preserve the biblical notion of God's presence while on the other hand emphasizing the vast gulf between the deity and mankind.

Although the word "Shekinah" does not occur in the Bible, the root *škn* occurs not only in the verb ("dwell"), but also in the noun *miškān* ("dwelling place," "tabernacle") and the name Shecaniah ("Yahweh dwells"; e.g., 1 Ch. 3:21f.). The promise that God would dwell with mankind goes back to Noah's blessing in Gen. 9:27: "God enlarge Japheth, may he [God] dwell in the tents of Shem" (cf. RSV "and let him [Japheth] dwell . . . "). The Aramaic Tg. Onkelos renders this verse: "He will cause his Shekinah to dwell in the dwelling-place of Shem."

Many passages in the Pentateuch affirm that the Lord came to dwell among His people Israel. First He revealed His glory-cloud (Ex. 13:21f.), which represented His presence and protection in the wilderness (*see* PILLAR OF CLOUD AND PILLAR OF FIRE). The cloud came to rest at Mt. Sinai and formed a canopy for Moses as he communed with Yahweh and received the commandments (cf. 24:15-18). The purpose of the revelation about the construction of the TABERNACLE and the commencement of the priestly service (chs. 25–31) was to ensure that Israel might be blessed by the divine presence in its midst: "And let them make a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst.

Leather craftsmen at work. From left, making a quiver, slicing rims, and attaching rims to wheels. Facsimile of ε wall painting from the tomb of Habu at Thebes, 18th Dynasty (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

According to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and all of its furniture, so you shall make it" (25:8f.). The divine presence was a guarantee of the covenant: "And I will dwell among the people of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them; I am the Lord their God" (29:45f.; cf. Lev. 26:11f.). Only the concept of Shekinah can explain the details of Israel's cultic, moral, and civil laws. By these means God taught Israel how to live as a holy and clean people in His presence (cf. Nu. 5:3).

When the "tabernacle" (*miškān*) of the Lord was completed, it was crowned with the descent of the glory-cloud. The Pentateuch stresses that all Israel saw the cloud covering the tabernacle as evidence of the presence of the Lord's glory (Ex. 40:34-38; Lev. 9:23f.). Israel believed that the divine presence was particularly associated with the Most Holy Place, where Yahweh dwelt between the cherubim above the ark (1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2; Ps. 80:1 [MT 2]; *see* ARK OF THE COVENANT VI). The Shekinah signified God's presence and protection; thus when the ark was carried forward an early war hymn exclaimed, "Arise, O Lord and let thy enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee"; and when it rested the response was, "Return, O Lord, to the ten thousand thousands of Israel" (Nu. 10:35f.). Later in Israel's history the location of the ark signified the place of the divine Shekinah — first at Shiloh (1 S. 4:4) and later in Jerusalem (2 S. 6:12-19). Yahweh revealed His glorious presence again through a cloud at the dedication of the Solomonic TEMPLE (1 K. 8:10f.). Upon this occasion Solomon declared, "The Lord has set the sun in the heavens, but has said that he would dwell in thick darkness. I have built thee an exalted house, a place for thee to dwell in for ever" (1 K. 8:12f.).

Closely related to the motif of the PRESENCE OF GOD are other motifs: "the angel of the Lord" (cf. Ex. 14:19; 23:20-23; 33:1-3; Isa. 63:9; *see* ANGEL II.C), the "glory" of the Lord (Ex. 40:34-38; Ezk. 1:28; 10:18f.; 11:22f.), the "word" (Isa. 55:10f.), "wisdom" (Prov. 8), and "Spirit" of the Lord (Ezk. 2:2; 11:24). These reveal God's presence and the means of His judgment and deliverance.

When Judaism came into contact with Hellenism (3rd cent. B.C.), it developed a theological vocabulary. Instead of referring directly to God by His names and titles, it spoke of Him in circumlocutions. The concept of Shekinah proved useful as an in-between way of speaking about God as Spirit, wisdom, the word, etc. In the Jewish Aramaic versions any anthropomorphic expression was a candidate for a paraphrastic rendering; e.g., the Aramaic Targum renders "Yahweh" ("Lord") or "God" by *šᵉkînâ*, *yᵉqārā'* ("glory"), and *mêmrā'* ("word"). In Tg. Onkelos God's Shekinah is in the midst of His people: "And they shall make before me a sanctuary and I shall cause my Shekinah to dwell among them" (Ex. 25:8); God reveals Himself to Moses: "And the Lord caused his Shekinah to pass before him" (34:6). Thus the targumist avoids any allusion to God's direct involvement in human affairs.

In the Mishnah, Midrashim, and Talmud, the Shekinah motif shows a theological rather than an apologetic development. The Shekinah, like the rays of the sun, is at many places at the same time (T.B. *Sanhedrin* 39a) and more present at some places than others. This explains Yahweh's special presence at the burning bush, Mt. Sinai, the tabernacle, and the temple. The analogy also clarifies Israel's special status, since the Shekinah was more real to the Israelites than to the Gentiles (T.B. *Berakoth* 7a; *Shabbath* 22b; Midr. *Nu. Rabbah* vii.8) even after they had gone into exile (T.B. *Megillah* 29a).Moreover, the radiance of the Shekinah is more authentic wherever anyone practices the law of God (T.B. *Menahoth* 43b), or good works (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 10a) or is in need of the divine presence (T.B. *Shabbath* 12b; *Sotah* 17a). The Shekinah resists the proud, rebellious, sinful, and lazy (T. B. *Berakoth* 43b; *Hagigah* 16a; *Shabbath* 30b; *Sotah* 42a), but rests in large measure on the saintly, wise, leaders, affluent(!), and outstanding Jews (T.B. *Shabbath* 92a; *Sotah* 48b; *Sukkah* 28). Even the proselytes could find a special place (T.B. *Shabbath* 31a). Related designations of the Shekinah are "the Word" (*mêmrā'*), "the Spirit," "the Glory," "the Light," and "the wings of the Shekinah." From the Tannaitic and Amoraic literature it is apparent that these designations of the Shekinah refer to none other than the Lord. As Urbach has observed, "a survey of all the passages referring to the Shekina leaves no doubt that the Shekina is no 'hypostasis' and has no separate existence alongside the Deity" (p. 63).

This is different in Christianity, however, where the NT presents the Christ as the Word, Glory, and Light of God, and also speaks of the Spirit of God. The Shekinah motif helps to explain the oneness and separateness within the Godhead. The NT authors employed this language to explain the mystery of the incarnation (*see* PERSON OF CHRIST) and the indwelling of the HOLY SPIRIT (II).

At Jesus' birth the shepherds saw the "glory" of the Lord (Lk. 2:9). John observed Jesus' glory and identified Him with the *mêmrā'* ("word") of God: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt [Gk. *skēnóō* = Heb. *škn*] among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father" (Jn. 1:14). At Jesus' baptism the Holy Spirit descended and "remained on him" (v. 32). The Messiah's glory was especially transparent on the mount of transfiguration (Lk. 9:29; cf. 2 Pet. 1:16-18). In the context of giving sight to a blind beggar, Jesus Himself declared, "I am the light of the world" (Jn. 9:5). Shortly before His death Jesus prayed the high priestly prayer, in which He stated that the Son shares in the glory of the Father and prayed that believers may also share in this glory (17:22).

In his epistles Paul used the concept of "dwelling" (Shekinah) to set forth the mystery of the incarnation (the dwelling of God in human flesh; cf. Col. 1:19; 2:9). The "glory" of the Shekinah rests on all those who are in Christ (e.g., Rom. 9:23; Eph. 1:18; 3:16; Col. 1:11, 27). Jesus is "the Lord of glory" (1 Cor. 2:8). The "glory" of the incarnate Christ has been greatly magnified in His Resurrection (Rom. 6:4). Through the Spirit, all who are in Christ already share in the benefits of the risen Christ in anticipation of His glorious appearing (cf. Rom. 8:15-18; 2 Cor. 1:20-22; Eph. 1:13f.). Paul stated the Christian hope thus: "Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:17f.).

The association of Jesus with the Shekinah is also apparent elsewhere in the NT. Paul saw the glory of the resurrected Jesus and was blinded by His brightness (Acts 9:3-9; 22:6-11; 26:12-18). He. 1:3 speaks of God's supreme revelation in Jesus, who "reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by the word of his power." Jas. 2:1 addresses the Christian community as those who "hold the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory."

The presence of the Holy Spirit is also a representation of the Shekinah. The Spirit descended and remained on

Jesus (Jn. 1:33). At Pentecost the Spirit came down and rested on the 120 disciples: "And there appeared to them tongues as of fire, distributed and *resting* on each of them" (Acts 2:3, emphasis supplied).

The NT is clearly set against the Jewish background. The NT authors attributed to the Spirit and to the Son the glory associated with the Shekinah. Jesus is the *mêmrā'* ("Word"), filled with the Spirit of God and full of glory, and He reflects the glory of God. The Holy Spirit bestows the glory of God on all who are filled with the Spirit, and thus they are gloriously renewed in the image of God (see Kline).

See also GLORY III-VI.

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W. A. VANGEMEREN

SHELAH shē'lə.

1. [Heb. *šelaḥ*; Gk. *Sala*]; AV also SALAH, NT SALA. The son of Arpachshad (according to the MT) and father of Eber (Gen. 10:24; 11:12-15; 1 Ch. 1:18, 24). Lk. 3:35f. and the LXX list him as the son of Cainan (Gk. *Kaïnam*) and grandson of Arphaxad.

2. [Heb. *šēlâ*]. The third son of Judah by the daughter of Shua the Canaanite (Gen. 38:5; 46:12; Nu. 26:20; 1 Ch. 2:3; 4:21). After his brothers Er and Onan had died he was promised by Judah to his daughter-in-law Tamar; but because of Judah's fear that Shelah too might die, this promise was broken (Gen. 38:11, 14, 26). He was the head of a family called the Shelanites (Nu. 26:20).

N. J. O.

SHELAH, POOL OF. *See* SILOAM.

SHELANITES shē'lə-nīts [Heb. *haššēlānî*]. Descendants of Judah's son SHELAH (2) (Nu. 26:20).

SHELEMIAH shel-ə-mī'ə [Heb. *šelemyâ, šelemyāhû*–'Yahweh has recompensed'].

1. A Korahite Levite, father of Zechariah; chosen to be gatekeeper of the east gate of the temple (1 Ch. 26:14). In vv. 1f., 9 he is called MESHELEMIAH.

2. Son of Cushi and ancestor of Jehudi (Jer. 36:14).

3. Son of Abdeel; according to the MT (LXX omits), one of three men sent by Jehoiakim to seize Baruch and Jeremiah after a scroll of Jeremiah's prophecies had been read in the king's presence (Jer. 36:26).

4. Father of Jehucal (Jer. 37:3) or Jucal (38:1).

5. Son of Hananiah; father of Irijah (Jer. 37:13).

6. [Gk. Apoc. *Selemias*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SELEMIAS. One of the sons of Binnui (or Bani) who had married foreign women during the Exile (Ezr. 10:39; 1Esd. 9:34).

7. Another of the sons of Binnui who had married foreign women during the Exile (Ezr. 10:41; omitted in par. 1 Esd. 9:34).

8. Father of a man named Hananiah who helped to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:30).

9. One of the priests appointed by Nehemiah to distribute among the Levites the tithes of produce brought to the temple storehouses (Neh. 13:13). N. J. O.

SHELEPH shē'ləf [Heb. *šelep*; *šālep* in pause]. A son of Joktan (Gen. 10:26; 1 Ch. 1:20). Since most of Joktan's other sons can be identified with tribes and places in the Arabian peninsula, it is probable that Sheleph should also be associated with this same region. The name has been identified with Shilph, a district in Yemen, and with Shalph or Shulph, one of the Yemenite tribes. There is also a place named *šlpn* in Hadramaut, as well as es-Salf in 'Awâliq and Wâdī Salaf (cf. C. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* [1931], p. 196). The name (*Šlp*) possibly occurs on an ostracon found in Elat.

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SHELESH shē'ləsh [Heb. *šēleš*–'third' (?)] Third son of Helem; head of an Asherite family (1 Ch. 7:35).

SHELOMI shə-lō'mī [Heb. *šᵉlōmî*–'peace' (?)]. Father of Ahihud, an Asherite leader chosen by Moses to assist Joshua in the division of the land of Canaan among the Israelite tribes (Nu. 34:27).

SHELOMITH shə-lō'mith [Heb. *šᵉlōmîṯ, šᵉlômîṯ*–'peaceful' (?); Gk. LXX *Salōmeith, Salōmethei, Salōmōth* (1 Ch. 23:18), *Salimouth* (Ezr. 8:10), etc.]; NEB also SHELOMOTH. A feminine form of Shelomi, sometimes confused with the masculine name Shelomoth (see *IP*, p. 165 n.6).

1. A Danite, daughter of Dibri; wife of an Egyptian; mother of a man who was stoned because he had "blasphemed the name" (Lev. 24:11; cf. vv. 10, 12-16, 22f.).

2. (1 Ch. 23:9, AV, NEB mg.). *See* SHELOMOTH 3.

3. A Levite; chief of the sons of Izhar (1 Ch. 23:18); more correctly called SHELOMOTH (1) in 24:22.

4. (AV 1 Ch. 26:25f., 28; RSV mg. v. 28). *See* SHELOMOTH 2.

5. A son or daughter of King Rehoboam by his wife Maacah the daughter of Absalom (2 Ch. 11:20).

6. [Gk. Apoc. *Assalimōth*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., ASSALIMOTH. Son of Josiphiah of the family of Bani; head of a family whose representatives returned from Babylonia with Ezra (Ezr. 8:10 par. 1 Esd. 8:36). His name should probably be the masculine form "Shelemoth" (cf. *BHS*, LXX).

7. Daughter of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:19). N. J. O.

SHELOMOTH shə-lō'moth [Heb. *šᵉlōmôṯ, šᵉlōmîṯ* (1 Ch. 26:28)]; AV also SHELOMITH. *See also* SHELOMITH.

1. A Levite, son of Izhar (1 Ch. 24:22); called "Shelomith" in 23:18 (cf. *BHS*).

2. A Levite, descendant of Eliezer (1 Ch. 26:25f., 28). He and his brethren were put in charge of all the dedicated gifts from the battle spoils of Samuel, Saul, Abner, and Joab.

3. A Gershonite Levite, son of Shimei (1 Ch. 23:9).

SHELUMIEL shə-lōō mi-əl [Heb. *šᵉlumî'ēl*–'God is peace,' or 'at peace with God,' or 'my friend is God' (?)]. A leader of the Simeonites; son of Zurishaddai. He was one of the twelve tribal leaders who assisted Moses in the census of the Israelites and in other ways (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19).

In Jth. 8:1 SALAMIEL, an ancestor of Judith, is presumably the same person as Shelumiel.

See *IP*, pp. 90, 165 n.3.

SHEM shem [Heb. *šēm*; Gk. *Sēm*]; AV also SEM (Lk. 3:36). The firstborn son of Noah, and the brother of Ham and Japheth (Gen. 5:32; 6:10; 10:1; 1 Ch. 1:4; Lk. 3:36; etc.). Shem and his wife boarded the ark with his father and mother and his brothers and their wives (Gen. 7:13) and disembarked with them after the flood (9:18). In biblical tradition, therefore, the subsequent population of the

world is divided into three groups: the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth (ch. 10). To a limited extent this system of classification has persisted into modern times, especially with reference to the study of languages. "Hamitic" is now rarely used as a designation for Egyptian and related languages, and "Japhitic" has been entirely displaced by "Indo-European," but linguists still speak of Semitic (previously "Shemitic") languages. But the modern term does not correspond closely to biblical usage. The descendants of Shem listed in Gen. 10:21-31 and 11:10-27 (cf. 1 Ch. 1:17-27) include many peoples who did not speak Semitic languages in the modern sense. The biblical system of classification seems to be geographical or political rather than linguistic or even ethnic. Thus the descendants of Shem are generally the peoples who lived N and E of Canaan in biblical times. In Gen. 10:22 Shem is said to have been the father of Elam, ancestor of the people of a mountain country NE of Mesopotamia (where a non-Semitic language was spoken); Asshur, ancestor of the people of northern Mesopotamia; Arpachshad, ancestor of the Hebrews and perhaps the Babylonians; Lud, perhaps the ancestor of the Lydians of western Asia Minor; and Aram, ancestor of the Arameans. The Hebrews ("the children of Eber," 10:21) and ultimately the family of Abraham (11:10-27; 1 Ch. 1:24-27) descended through Shem's son Arpachshad. Thus the Israelites traced their ancestry to Abraham, Eber, and Shem. An important effect of this system is to distinguish the "Shemitic" Israelites sharply from both the Canaanites, who were descended from Ham (Gen. 10:6), and the Philistines, who, as coastal peoples, were descended from Japheth (cf. 10:5).

According to the story in Gen. 9:20-27, Ham dishonored Noah when he was drunk, leaving him lying naked in his tent. But Shem and Japheth covered their father with a garment. As a result Noah cursed Ham — or rather his son Canaan — and blessed Shem and Japheth. Most interpreters believe that these curses and blessings anticipate the later situation in the Promised Land, where, from the Israelite point of view, the cursed Canaanites were displaced by the Israelite descendants of the blessed Shem. From this perspective the statement that Japheth would "dwell in the tents of Shem" (9:27) refers to the enclaves of Philistines who lived on the coastal plain of Canaan after the Israelite conquest.

P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

SHEMA shē'mə [Heb. *šema'*–'he [God] has heard'].

1. A Judahite, descendant of Caleb; a son of Hebron and father of Raham (1 Ch. 2:43f.); possibly the name of a settlement near Hebron.

2. A Reubenite, son of Joel and father of Azaz (1 Ch. 5:8); possibly the same as Shemaiah or Shimei in v. 4.

3. A Benjaminite, head of a father's house in Aijalon (1 Ch. 8:13); called Shimei in v. 21.

4. [Gk. Apoc. A *Sammous*, B *Sammou*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SAMMUS. One of the men who stood at Ezra's right hand during the public reading of the law (Neh. 8:4 par. 1 Esd. 9:43).

SHEMA shē'mə [Heb. *šema'*; LXX A *Samaa*, B *Salmaa*]. A town of Judah in the Negeb, mentioned in the sequence "Amam, Shema, Moladah" (Josh. 15:26). the parallel passage, which records the inheritance of Simeon that was included in Judah, has "Beer-sheba, Sheba [Heb. *šeba'*; LXX A *Sabee*, B *Samaa*], Moladah" (19:2). The reading "Sheba" appears due to the preceding word, Beer-sheba, in the Simeon list; it also may be a hint that two places were called Beer-sheba (like Arad and Anim).

Some have also equated Shema with Jeshua, mentioned with Moladah in Neh. 11:26 as among the places occupied by Judeans in the 5th cent. B.C. But this identification is doubtful, as is that of Jeshua with Khirbet Sa'weh. Neither is there support for the equation of Shema with Birsama (Barsama) of the *Notitia dignitatum*. Birsama was the military center for the Gerar District (Saltus Gerariticus) in the Byzantine era.

It has recently been proposed to identify Shema/Sheba with Tell es-Seba' and Beer-sheba with Bîr es-Seba'. The neatly planned fortified center at the Tell with its horned altar must have been the administrative center; its remains are on the best tactical site in the vicinity (high ground near ample water sources). Bîr es-Seba', on the low ground along the bank of the Wâdī es-Seba' (where modern Beer Sheva' stands today), is a more suitable site for a civilian settlement. After the destruction of the fortress at Tell es-Seba', the settlement at Bîr es-Seba' continued to exist, and there the Greco-Roman and Byzantine cities grew up. Without further evidence the location of Shema remains uncertain.

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A. F. RAINEY

SHEMA, THE shə-mä' [Heb. *šema'*—'Hear' (the first word of Dt. 6:4)]. The "watchword of Israel's faith," a declaration of the oneness and uniqueness of God as found in the opening words of Dt. 6:4: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one" (RSV mg.; Heb. *šema' yiśrā'ēl yhwh 'elōhênû yhwh 'eḥād*).

The Shema is not a prayer (rabbinic literature never refers to "praying" the Shema) but a confession of faith or creed. The practice of reciting the Shema daily is firmly established in the Mishnah (*ca.* A.D. 200), which underscores the Shema's importance in Jewish religious experience by its opening words: "From what time in the evening may the *Shema'* be recited?" (*Berakoth* i.1). But there is also evidence of the Shema's use during and even before the NT era. The custom is alluded to in the Letter of Aristeas (160; *ca.* 150-100 B.C.); moreover, the Mishnah states that the Shema was recited by the priests in the temple — indication of its use prior to A.D. 70 (*Tamid* iv.3; v.1).

As the Shema developed it came to include three passages from the law of Moses. The first (Dt. 6:49) proclaims God's oneness (v. 4) and calls Israel to love Him and obey His commandments (vv. 5-9). The second (11:13-21) details the rewards for obeying these commandments and the punishments for disobeying them. The third (Nu. 15:37-41) sets forth the law concerning tassels on garments as a reminder to keep "all the commandments of the Lord" (v. 39).

In accordance with Dt. 6:7 the Shema was recited twice a day, in the morning and evening: ". . . when you lie down and when you rise" (cf. Mish. *Berakoth* i.1f.). This was considered the minimum religious requirement for a Jewish male. During the talmudic period much rabbinic debate focused on the question of precisely how long after dawn or sunset the Shema should be read (T.B. *Berakoth* 2a-3a, 9b). The school of Shammai also debated the school of Hillel about the proper posture for reciting it (T.B. *Berakoth* 10b-11a; cf. Dt. 6:7). Women, slaves, and children were not required to recite the Shema (Mish. *Berakoth* iii.3), but boys were taught the first verse of the Shema (Dt. 6:4) as soon as they could speak (T.B.

Sukkah 42a). The Shema was recited as the last utterance of martyrs being led to their death, and to this day it is recited at the conclusion to death-bed confessions. Thus Jews are taught to have the name of God on their lips from early childhood to the moment of death.

The Mishnah teaches that the morning recitation of the Shema is to be preceded by two benedictions and concluded by one. In the evening it is preceded by two benedictions and followed by two (Mish. *Berakoth* i.4; ii.2). The main theme of the morning benedictions is praise to God for creating the light of the day, giving the Torah, and redeeming Israel. The evening blessings likewise give thanks for physical and spiritual light but also attest to the truths of God and plead for a peaceful rest.

Of the 5,845 verses in the Pentateuch, "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one" sounds the historic keynote of all Judaism. This fundamental truth and leitmotif of God's uniqueness prompts one to respond by fulfilling the fundamental obligation to love God (Dt. 6:5). Accordingly, when Jesus was asked about the "most important commandment," His reply did not contradict this central theme of Judaism (Mk. 12:28-34; cf. Mt. 22:34-40). With 613 individual statutes of the Torah from which to choose, Jesus cited the Shema, including the command to love God; but He also extended the definition of the "first" and "great" commandment to include love for one's neighbor (Lev. 19:18).

Scholars have differed in their renderings of Dt. 6:4 (the RSV gives four possible translations; cf. mg.). Some translators have considered these six Hebrew words to be one nominative sentence, while others have read them as two. Perhaps of greater importance, however, is the meaning of the final word, *'eḥāḏ* ("one"). Jewish interpreters have largely understood the phrase "the Lord is one" to carry either or both of two emphases. (1) It is an affirmation of monotheism. In opposition to their polytheistic environment, the Hebrews were to know that there was only one God, not many. Yahweh is one in that there is no other God. C. H. Gordon has suggested further that Dt. 6:4 means not only that there is one God, but that "One" is His name (cf. Zec. 14:9). (2) It declares the uniqueness of God. Yahweh is the Supreme Being, wholly unlike all other things, in the universe, which have been created by Him.

In the OT *'eḥāḏ* usually refers to a single unit such as a person. Certain interpreters have insisted, however, that *'eḥāḏ* may also be used to designate a collective unit (e.g., Gen. 1:5; 2:24; Nu. 13:23), i.e., a "diversity within unity." Thus some Christian scholars have found room for trinitarian monotheism in the *'eḥāḏ* of Dt. 6:4. So interpreted, God is seen as a complex unity, not simply as numerically one. It must be remembered, however, that the main focus of the Shema in its original setting — ancient Near Eastern polytheism — is clearly on the fact there is one God (cf. 4:39). Yahweh alone claims the unqualified love and obedience of all His creation.

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M. R. WILSON

SHEMAAH shə-mā'ə [Heb. (*haš*)*šᵉmā'â*]. A Benjaminite from Gibeah; father of Ahiezer and Joash (according to the MT; but according to the LXX the father only of Joash), who were among the "mighty men" who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. 12:3).

SHEMAIAH shə-mā'yə, shə-mī'ə [Heb. *šᵉma'yâ, šᵉma'yāhû* –'Yahweh has heard']. A name borne primarily by Levites, priests, and prophets.

1. A Reubenite, son of Joel (1 Ch. 5:4); possibly identical with Shema in v. 8.

2. A Simeonite chief, father of Shimri (1 Ch. 4:37); possibly identical with Shimei in vv. 26f.

3. Chief of the Levitical family of Elizaphan in the time of David (1 Ch. 15:8). He and his family assisted in bringing up the ark to Jerusalem (vv. 11-15).

4. Son of Nethanel; a Levitical scribe who recorded the divisions of the priests and Levites in the time of David (1 Ch. 24:6).

5. A Korahite Levite of the division of gatekeepers; eldest son of Obed-edom; father of several very able sons (1 Ch. 26:4, 6f.).

6. A prophet who denounced King Rehoboam's plan to make war against the ten tribes that had revolted under Jeroboam's leadership, because the revolt was sanctioned by Yahweh (1 K. 12:22-24 par. 2 Ch. 11:2-4). This apparently led to a temporary cessation of fighting (1 K. 12:24); but according to 14:30 "there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually" (see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 308-311). The LXX has a long insertion after 1 K. 12:24, which includes a brief version of the encounter between Ahijah reported in 11:29-39. In this account Shemaiah, rather than Ahijah, rends his garment and gives ten pieces to Jeroboam to signify his future kingship over ten tribes. Shemaiah appears again in the Chronicler's account of Shishak's invasion during the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (2 Ch. 12:1-8; there is no mention of Shemaiah in par. 1 K. 14:25-28). His first message was that Yahweh had permitted Shishak's invasion because of Judah's sin (2 Ch. 12:5). After Rehoboam and the princes repented, he brought a new message: because they had humbled themselves, Yahweh would not allow Shishak to destroy Jerusalem (vv. 7f.). In v. 15 the Chronicler mentions his special source for his account of Rehoboam's reign: "the acts of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer" (not mentioned by the author of Kings).

7. A Levite who took part in Jehoshaphat's reform (2 Ch. 17:8). He was part of a commission, consisting of five princes, nine Levites, and two priests, sent out by Jehoshaphat to teach "the book of the law of the Lord" in the cities of Judah.

8. A Levite of the family of Jeduthun who assisted in cleansing the temple during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29:14).

9. One of six priests who assisted Kore in the distribution of the freewill offerings to the priests during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:15).

10. [Gk. Apoc. *Samaias*]; AV Apoc. SAMAIAS; NEB Apoc. SAMAEAS. One of the chiefs of the Levites who made a generous contribution of animals to the Levites for the Passover offering during Josiah's reign (2 Ch. 35:9 par. 1 Esd. 1:9).

11. The father of the prophet Uriah (Jer. 26:20).

12. The father of Delaiah the prince (Jer. 36:12).

13. An exile in Babylonia (*see also* NEHELAM) who opposed Jeremiah by predicting a speedy end to the captivity (Jer. 29:24-32). He wrote to the people in Jerusalem and to Zephaniah the priest demanding that Jeremiah be imprisoned for prophesying that the captivity would be long. Jeremiah foretold that Shemaiah's family would never return from the Exile because of his false prophecy.

14. The name of a priestly family that returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:6), was headed by Jehonathan in the days of Joiakim (v. 18), and sealed the

covenant in the time of Nehemiah (10:8 [MT 9]; see *IB*, III, 759).

15. Son of Mattaniah and descendant of Asaph; a priest whose grandson Zechariah was among those who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the new wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:35).

16. Son of Galal and descendant of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 9:16). His son Obadiah (called "Abda the son of Shammua" in Neh. 11:17) was among the Levites who lived in Jerusalem after the Exile.

17. Son of Hasshub; a Merarite Levite who lived in Jerusalem after the Exile (1 Ch. 9:14 par. Neh. 11:15).

18. [Gk. Apoc. *Samaias*]; AV Apoc. SAMAIAS; NEB Apoc. SAMAEAS. Head of a father's house that returned with Ezra from exile; his was one of the last three households of the family of Adonikam to return from exile (Ezr. 8:13 par. 1 Esd. 8:39; see Fensham, p. 112; *IB*, III, 634).

19. [Gk. Apoc. *Samaias*]; AV Apoc. MAMAIAS; NEB Apoc. SAMAEAS. One of the leaders sent by Ezra to Casiphia to obtain Levites when it was learned that there was none in the company returning from Babylonia (Ezr. 8:16 par. 1 Esd. 8:44 [LXX 43]).

20. [Gk. Apoc. *Samaios*]; AV Apoc. SAMEIUS; NEB Apoc. SAMAEAS. A priest from the family of Harim who married a foreign woman in exile (Ezr. 10:21 par. 1 Esd. 9:21).

21. A layman from the family of Harim who married a foreign woman in exile (Ezr. 10:31).

22. [Gk. Apoc. *Samatos*]; AV, NEB, RSV mg., SAMATUS. A layman of the family of Ezora who married a foreign woman in exile (1 Esd. 9:34).

23. Son of Shecaniah (1 Ch. 3:22; "and the sons of Shemaiah" should probably be omitted; *see* SHAPHAT **3**); possibly identical with the keeper of the East Gate, who assisted in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:29).

24. Son of Delaiah and descendant of Mehetabel; a prophet hired by Sanballat and Tobiah to take part in a plot to discredit Nehemiah (Neh. 6:10). He attempted to make Nehemiah afraid of an assassination plot in order to induce him to take refuge in the temple, an act that would have left Nehemiah open to the charge of sacrilege because he was a layman and a eunuch (vv. 10-14).

25. Probably a priest; one who participated in the counterclockwise procession at the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:34).

26. A priest or Levite; a musician who participated in the counterclockwise procession at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:36).

27. A priest who participated in the clockwise procession at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:42).

28. [Gk. A B *Semeios*, ℵ *Seme(l)ios*]; AV SAMAIAS; NEB SEMELIAS. A kinsman of Tobias referred to as "the great Shemaiah" (Tob. 5:13).

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SHEMARIAH shem-ə-rī'ə, shə-mär'i-ə [Heb. *šᵉmaryâ, šᵉmaryāhû*–'Yahweh has preserved']; AV also SHAMARIAH.

1. One of the Benjaminite warriors who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. 12:5 [MT 6]).

2. A son of Rehoboam by his wife Mahalath (2 Ch. 11:19).

3. One of the sons of Harim who had married foreign women during the Exile (Ezr. 10:32).

4. One of the sons of Binnui who had married foreign women during the Exile (Ezr. 10:41).

SHEMEBER shem-ē'ber, shem'ē-ber [Heb. *šem'ēḇer*]. King of Zeboiim (Gen. 14:2), a city located in the plain of the Jordan along with Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zoar. After Chedorlaomer king of Elam, invaded southern Palestine with three other confederates, he made vassals of Shemeber and the rulers of the neighboring cities (14:4). After twelve years of subjugation the Canaanite kings revolted, and later fought the Mesopotamian coalition once again. The king of Zeboiim joined in the resistance (14:8), but since he was not named it is uncertain if he was Shemeber or a successor. His name has formal similarities to West Semitic names occurring in Mesopotamian texts from the 18th cent. B.C. (See, e.g., H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* [1965], pp. 247-49), but as most commentators point out, no exact parallel has been attested.

On the later variant spelling *šm'bd* (found in Sam. Pent. and 1Qap Gen), see J. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I* (1971), p. 163. R. K. H.

SHEMED shē'məd [Heb. *šemeḏ*–'destruction,' many MSS *šmr*]; AV, NEB, SHAMED. A Benjaminite, third son of Elpaal; builder of the towns of Ono and Lod (1 Ch. 8:12). The name occurs only in the pausal form *šāmeḏ*, which is the spelling used by the AV and NEB.

SHEMER shē'mər [Heb. *šemer*–'watch' (?), *šāmer* (pausal form, 1 Ch. 6:46 [MT 31]; 7:34)]; AV also SHAMER; NEB also SHAMER, SHOMER.

1. The original owner of the hill on which Omri built the city of SAMARIA. According to 1 K. 16:24 the city's name (Heb. *šōmᵉrôn*) is derived from "Shemer." Shemer may be the name of an individual but more likely represents the name of a clan (see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], p. 367).

2. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 6:46 [MT 31]).

3. An Asherite, son of Heber (1 Ch. 7:34); called Shomer in v. 32.

SHEMIDA shə-mī'də [Heb. *šᵉmîḏāʿ*]; AV also SHEMIDAH; **SHEMIDAITES** shə-mī'də-īts [Heb. *šᵉmîḏāʿî*]. A descendant of Manasseh; a Gileadite whose name appears in the second census taken by Moses in the wilderness (Nu. 26:32); the eponymous ancestor of a family named the Shemidaites who received an allotment of land in Manasseh (26:32; Josh. 17:2). His four sons were Ahian, Shechem, Likhi, and Aniam (1 Ch. 7:19).

SHEMINITH shem'ə-nith [Heb. *šᵉmînîṯ*–'eighth']. A musical term of uncertain meaning occurring in the superscriptions to Pss. 6 and 12 (MT 6:1; 12:1; NEB omits) and in 1 Ch. 15:21 (NEB mg.). The traditional interpretation is that it refers to men's voices "upon the octave" (cf. LXX Ps. 6:1; 11:1 *hypér tḗs ogdóēs*; Vulg. *pro octava*), i.e., sung in the lower octave (*see also* ALAMOTH, which appears to be related to Sheminith in some way [1 Ch. 15:20f.]; for this interpretation, see C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, comm. on Psalms, I [*ICC*, 1906], lxxvii; M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I [*AB*, 1965], 38). Other scholars have pointed out, however, that there is no evidence that Israelite music was based on an octave scale; thus the traditional interpretation is highly unlikely (see S. Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship* [Eng. tr. 1962], II, 215 n. 19). Some have therefore suggested that *šᵉmînîṯ* may denote an eight-stringed instrument (e.g., KoB, p. 988) or the eighth stage of a particular ritual (e.g., Mowinckel, pp. 215f.).

See also MUSIC III.B.2. N. J. O.

SHEMIRAMOTH shə-mir'ə-moth [Heb. *Q šᵉmîrāmôṯ; K šᵉmirāymôṯ* (2 Ch. 17:8); Akk. *Sammurāmat*–'goddess' (?)].

1. A Levite harpist among those appointed by David to supply music during the transfer of the ark from Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:18, 20) and to continue the musical functions before the ark thereafter (16:5).

2. One of several Levites authorized by Jehoshaphat to teach the books of the law in the cities of Judah (2 Ch. 17:8).

SHEMITES shem'īts. *See* SEMITES.

SHEMUEL shem'ū-əl [Heb. *šᵉmû'ēl* (same as SAMUEL)]; NEB SAMUEL.

1. Son of Ammihud; a Simeonite appointed by Moses to represent his tribe in the division of the land (Nu. 34:20).

2. Youngest son of Tola; head of a father's house in the tribe of Issachar (1 Ch. 7:2).

3. (1 Ch. 6:33, AV). *See* SAMUEL.

SHEN shen (1 S. 7:12, AV). *See* JESHANAH.

SHENAZAR shə-na'zər (1 Ch. 3:18, AV). *See* SHENAZZAR.

SHENAZZAR shə-na'zər [Heb. *šen'aṣṣar*; Akk. *Sin-uṣur*–'Sin (the moon-god), protect'] (1 Ch. 3:18); AV SHENAZAR. Son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) and uncle of Zerubbabel. The identification of Shenazzar with Sheshbazzar has been questioned (cf. P. -R. Berger, *ZAW*, 83 [1971], 98-100).

SHENIR shē'nər (AV Dt. 3:9; Cant. 4:8). *See* SENIR.

SHEOL shē'ōl [Heb. *šᵉ'ôl*]; AV GRAVE, HELL, PIT; NEB also GRAVE. A Hebrew proper noun without clear etymology and with a relatively wide range of meanings (mainly "death," "the grave," "hell," "the next world," "the nether world"), making it difficult to determine which of its meanings is in view in any given OT passage. The term occurs sixty-six times in the OT; but outside the OT it occurs independently only once, in the Aramaic Elephantine papyri of the 5th cent. B.C., where it seems to mean "the grave." The LXX renders it by Gk. *hádēs* (Hades), as apparently does the NT, at least in direct quotations of the OT. Conjectures that *šᵉ'ôl* is linked to Heb. *š'l*, "ask," are speculative at best.

The meaning of Sheol is of great interest because of its bearing on the issue of belief in an afterlife in the OT. Various theories about the meaning of Sheol include the following. (1) The OT contains no afterlife belief at all until the 3rd-2nd cent. B.C., to which many scholars date Dnl. 12:2; Isa. 26:19; etc. Thus Sheol means merely "the grave," to which all people, good or bad, go after death (cf. Gen. 37:35 and Nu. 16:30, respectively), and where no conscious existence is lived. (2) The OT imagines a shadowy, semi-conscious continuing life of some sort in a place where all people go after death, and Sheol is this place (cf. Ezk. 31–32). (3) Sheol, meaning in effect "the next world," is divided into two compartments, to one of which everyone goes upon earthly death. The lower compartment is a place of miserable existence (shadowy or otherwise), while the upper compartment (*limbus patrum*, "limbo") is where the good dwell as they await the resurrection. (4) Bodies only go to Sheol, while souls — at least those of the righteous — go to heaven. (5) Sheol is a NETHER WORLD inhabited by demons and some or all of the dead, who live an existence divorced from and, for demons, in opposition to the purposes of God and those who live on the earth. (6) Sheol is a term used in at least two different ways, one being simply "death"/"grave" and the other being "the next life."

With regard to these and other options, it must be noted that nowhere in the OT is Sheol described as a place of torment or punishment for the wicked. At most it is a place of confinement away from the land of the living. A word so widely used is bound to have a great range of meaning (cf. *šāmayim*, which can range from "sky" to "God's abode"). Moreover, its use in poetic passages (58 of 66 times), metaphors, and allegories (e.g., Ezk. 31–32) must be carefully evaluated to differentiate figurative or emotive usages from genuinely descriptive ones.

The picture of Sheol that emerges is multifaceted but not contradictory. Sheol can mean simply "death" (Gen. 42:38; Ps. 89:48 [MT 49]), and in that sense it is a place to which all people eventually go (*see* DEATH III). In the same sense it is a place of total or relative inactivity, thus completely divorced from life on earth, including worship (Ps. 6:5 [MT 6]; 31:17 [MT 18]). In other contexts Sheol may refer to a nether world, however that is conceived (Ps. 86:13 [?]; Jonah 2:2 [?]). In its sense of "the grave," Sheol is sometimes associated with factors common to graves, e.g., darkness, worms, dust, and physical corruption (Job 17:13-16). In contrast to *šāmayim*, "heaven," Sheol is characterized by a sense of depth (Ps. 139:8; Am. 9:2). The expression "be gathered to one's fathers" (e.g., 2 K. 22:20) may suggest that Sheol is a place where all meet in a future, conscious life; but it may also merely reflect family-grave burials in ancient Palestine.

Some have thought Sheol to be a place of prejudgment preservation or "sleep" because of the dead Samuel's words to Saul, "Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?" (1 S. 28:15); but this caustic question may have been intended more as a mockery of Saul and embarrassment to the medium than as an accurate reflection of the nature of Sheol. The breadth of Sheol's domain is emphasized in passages such as Prov. 27:20; Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5. Its hold on the dead, from which return is impossible, is reflected in Prov. 1:12; Eccl. 9:10; Ps. 6:5 (MT 6). Sheol is described metaphorically as having confining bars (Job 17:16; cf. Mt. 16:18) or a large mouth to receive its inhabitants (Isa. 5:14). Not until the Hellenistic era (after 333 B.C.) was Sheol (Hades) conceived of as compartmentalized, with places of torment and comfort (cf. 1 En. 22). The NT view of HADES as a place of confinement for the wicked (Rev. 20:13) until their destruction in GEHENNA (Mt. 10:28; Rev. 20:14-15) goes beyond the far more neutral OT usage of Heb. *šᵉ'ōl*, and it corrects the often bizarre intertestamental uses of Gk. *hádēs*.

See also PIT.

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SHEPHAM shē'fəm, shə-fām' [Heb. *šᵉpām*]. One of the places in northeast Canaan that marked the eastern boundary of Israel (Nu. 34:10f.). Its exact location is unknown, but it was probably in the region of Mt. Hermon (*GTTOT*, § 284, pp. 102f.; *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 73).

P. VIVIANO

SHEPHATIAH shef-ə-tī'ə [Heb. *šᵉpaṭyâ, šᵉpaṭyāhû*–'Yahweh has judged']; AV also SHEPHATHIAH (1 Ch. 9:8).

1. A Haruphite; one of the Benjaminite "mighty men" who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. 12:5 [MT 6]).

2. Son of Maacah; an officer in charge of the tribe of Simeon in the time of David (1 Ch. 27:16).

3. Son of David by Abital; the fifth son born to David at Hebron (2 S. 3:4; 1 Ch. 3:3).

4. A son of King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 21:2).

5. Son of Mattan; one of four Judean princes who demanded of King Zedekiah that Jeremiah be put to death because his prophecies were undermining the morale of the people (Jer. 38:1-4). Zedekiah handed Jeremiah over to them, and they attempted to kill him by leaving him to die at the bottom of a muddy cistern (vv. 5f.). The entire chapter shows the powerful position of the princes and Zedekiah's inability to stand up to them (cf. vv. 15f., 24-27).

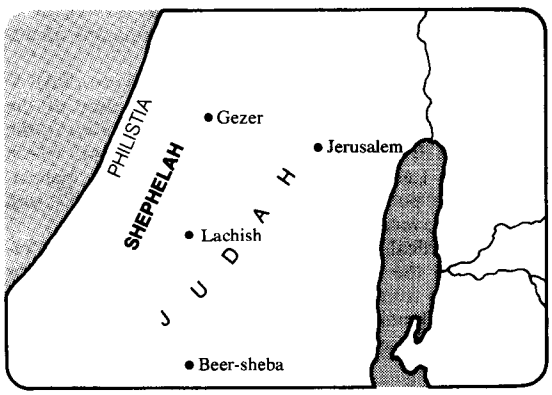
6. [Gk. Apoc. *Saphat* (1 Esd. 5:9), B *Sophotias*, Lucian *Saphatias* (8:34)]; AV Apoc. SAPHAT, SAPHATIAS; NEB Apoc. SAPHAT, SOPHOTIAS. Head of a family of which 372 members returned from Babylonia with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:4 par. Neh. 7:9; 472 members according to 1 Esd. 5:9); later eighty-one more male members returned with Ezra (Ezr. 8:8; seventy-one according to 1 Esd. 8:34).

7. [Gk. Apoc. B *Saphyei*, A *Saphythi*]; AV Apoc. SAPHYTHI. Head of a family of SOLOMON'S SERVANTS that returned from Babylonia with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:57 par. Neh. 7:59; 1 Esd. 5:33).

8. A Benjaminite whose son or descendant, Meshullam, was among the first returned exiles to reside in Jerusalem (1 Ch. 9:8).

9. A Judahite of the family of Perez; some of his descendants were among the first returned exiles to reside in Jerusalem (Neh. 11:4). N. J. O.

SHEPHELAH shə-fē'lä [Heb. *šᵉpēlâ*]; AV VALE, VALLEY, PLAIN, LOW PLAIN, LOW COUNTRY; AV Apoc. SEPHELA (1 Macc. 12:38).



I. Name.–The term means "lowland" and is frequently rendered thus in the RSV (Dt. 1:7; Josh. 9:1; 10:40; 11:2, 16; 12:8; 15:33; Jgs. 1:9; Zec. 7:7), but elsewhere the transliteration is "Shephelah" (1 K. 10:27; 1 Ch. 27:28; 2 Ch. 1:15; 9:27; 26:10; 28:18; Jer. 17:26; 32:44; 33:13; Ob. 19), which recognizes the term as a proper noun. The designation "Shephelah" originated among those on the hills above and to the east of the area. The Shephelah is clearly distinguished from the lower coast, or coastal plain on the west; the Shephelah proper is the intermediate zone separating the Judean hill country from the Philistine plain. (*See also* PALESTINE IV.A.2.) Only in one case does the term designate a second area (geographically similar) in the north, namely, the foothills behind Tyre (Josh. 11:2, 16b).

II. District–The Shephelah region most frequently is mentioned as one of the geographical entities comprising the land of Judah (Dt. 1:7f.; Josh. 10:40; 11:16a; 12:8; Jgs. 1:9). Delineation of its historical boundaries depends mainly upon the description of its towns in Josh. 15:33-44 (vv. 45-47 pertain to the coast, whose towns were not conquered by the Israelites under Joshua; cf. Jgs. 1:18f., LXX). Three districts in the tribe of Judah were located in the Shephelah; the list of Shephelah towns in Josh. 15 indicates that each of these administrative districts corresponded to one of three topographical zones: (1) the northern zone of E-W valleys and ridges (Josh. 15:33-36); (2) the southern zone, from Lachish southward (vv. 37-41); (3) the central zone between them (vv. 42-44). Thus, the towns in each district are distributed along the E-W valleys (cf. below). The towns in this list are not all identifiable, but several in each group have been located with varying degrees of certainty (the grouping itself is an important factor in seeking the unidentified towns), and these serve to define the general extent of each zone.

Topographically, the landscape presents a homogeneous zone of Eocene limestone separated from the older Cenomanian limestone hills of Judah by a long narrow trough created by the exposure of Senonian chalk. This rocky Eocene outcrop reaches about 550 m. (1500 ft.) in the south (the Judean hills opposite attain about 900 m. [3000 ft.]). Its northern vestiges are the foothills around Gezer and Gimzo (Jimzu, the northernmost Shephelah town mentioned in the OT [2 Ch. 28:18]). To the south the limestone hills diminish into a low arrow-shaped ridge pointing at Beer-sheba.

The geopolitical significance of the Shephelah is enhanced by the several valleys or stream beds (wadis) that cut across it from E to W, thus forming natural gateways to the Judean hills. From N to S these are: (1) the valley of Aijalon (Wâdī Selmân), which leads to the "ascent of Beth-horon," the easiest approach route to the central range; (2) the valley of Sorek (Wâdī eṣ-Ṣarâr), i.e., the lower extension of the deep, winding ravine that drains the valley of Rephaim; (3) the valley of Elah (Wâdī es-Sanṭ); (4) the valley of Zephathah (Wâdī el-Afranj); (5) the stream bed (today called Naḥal Lachish [Wâdī Qubeibeh]) passing by Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) and reaching the sea N of Ashdod; and (6) modern Naḥal Adorayim (Wâdī el-Ḥesī).

III. In History.–The importance of the Shephelah as a buffer zone protecting the Judean hill country is reflected in the historical events recorded in Scripture. It was overrun by the invading Israelites, particularly the tribe of Judah (Josh. 10:16-35; cf. 10:40; 11:16a; 12:8; Jgs. 1:9). Since Debir was not reckoned with the Shephelah towns (Josh. 15:49), Tell Beit Mirsim, which is definitely in the Shephelah, must be identified with some other town (Debir is most likely Khirbet Rabûd). After the conquest the Shephelah was considered an integral part of Judah (Josh. 15:33-44; Jer. 17:26; 32:44; 33:13; Zec. 7:7). During the period of the judges numerous clashes occurred between the Judeans and their Philistine rivals to the west; the Shephelah was often the scene of these encounters, e.g., of the exploits of Samson (Jgs. 13:25–15:20), which generally centered on the valley of Sorek. Saul arrayed his troops for a confrontation with the Philistines in the valley of Elah (1 S. 17:1f.); during his outlaw days David went, evidently via the same valley, to rescue Keilah from Philistine raids (23:1-13).

Under the newly divided monarchy a government officer was in charge of David's royal possessions in the Shephelah; these were the sycamore groves, for which the region was famous, and the olive trees (1 Ch. 27:28; cf. 1 K. 10:27; 2 Ch. 1:15; 9:27). Some of Rehoboam's fortified cities (2 Ch. 11:5-10) formed a defense line along

the main western ridge of the Shephelah; other forts in this network guarded the principal lines of communication through the wadis listed above, in order to connect the western with the central lines of defense. Shishak failed to penetrate these defenses; he chose instead to strike at the northern end of the Shephelah via the Beth-horon approach. Zerah, who may have been Shishak's successor, tried to breach the Shephelah defenses from the south but was repulsed by Asa in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah (2 Ch. 14:10 [MT 9]). During Jehoram's reign the Judean position in the Shephelah was greatly weakened by the apostasy of a key city, Libnah (21:10). King Uzziah's expansion into the Philistine plain led to increased building and development projects throughout the kingdom, including in the Shephelah (26:10). In the reign of Ahaz the Philistines regained their strength and seized various key towns in the Shephelah (28:18).

Many of the walled cities with their villages taken by Sennacherib on his campaign against Hezekiah (701 B.C.) must have been in the Shephelah; his best-known siege is that of Lachish. It is probably to this catastrophe that Micah alluded in his list of woes on the Shephelah cities (Mic. 1:10-16). King Josiah pushed the Judean hegemony as far as the seacoast (to Meṣad Ḥashavyahu); renewed Judean strength in the Shephelah is indicated in his having a wife from the formerly recalcitrant Libnah (2 K. 23:31). During Nebuchadnezzar's final campaign against Judah the northern and southern strongpoints of the Shephelah defense line, Azekah and Lachish, were the last to fall before Jerusalem (Jer. 34:7). The Judean kingdom's renewal would be symbolized by the regaining of the Shephelah (Ob. 19). During the postexilic period Judean settlements were in the Shephelah (Neh. 11:25, 29f.). The area was later occupied by migrants from Edom, the Idumeans of the Hellenistic period. Their principal Shephelah city was Mareshah. In the latter part of the 2nd cent. B.C. the entire Idumean region was conquered by John Hyrcanus, who required the inhabitants to convert to Judaism (Josephus *BJ* i.2.6 [63]; *Ant.* xiii.9.1 [257f.]; xiv.4.4 [75]).

During the Roman period the capital of the region was Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrîn). This town became the administrative hub, as reflected in the network of Roman roads connecting it with Jerusalem and other important cities in the area. Eusebius and Jerome located the biblical towns in the region according to their respective distance from Eleutheropolis; numerous milestones that have been discovered on the roads in the Shephelah also indicate the Roman miles from Eleutheropolis.

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A. F. RAINEY

SHEPHER shē'fər **MOUNT** [Heb. *šeper*–'beauty'] (Nu. 33:23f.); AV, NEB SHAPHER. A mountain at which the Israelites encamped during their wilderness journey (*see* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL), located between Kehelathah and Haradah. The site is otherwise unknown.

SHEPHERD. *See* SHEEP.

SHEPHERD'S SHELTER. *See* BETH-EKED.

SHEPHI shē'fī [Heb. *šᵉpî*] (1 Ch. 1:40); **SHEPHO** shē'fō [Heb. *šᵉpô*] (Gen. 36:23). Fourth son of Horite chief Shobal, and head of a subclan in Edom.

SHEPHUPHAM; **SHEPHUPHAN** shə-fū'fəm, shə-fū'fən [Heb. *šᵉpûpām*/*šᵉpûpān*]; AV, NEB, SHUPHAM (Nu. 26:39). A Benjaminite (Nu. 26:39). The various genealogical lists indicate some variations as to how this name appears. In Nu. 26:39 the LXX, Syr., Tg., and Vulg. reflect the reading *šûpām*, which supports the AV, NEB, "Shupham." Gen. 46:21 seems to refer to this same individual as MUPPIM, while 1 Ch. 7:12 may refer to him as SHUPPIM. In 1 Ch. 8:5 he is called Shephuphan. This type of variation is not unusual in the genealogical lists. The forms of the Hebrew letters *m* and *š* are not similar in modern square script, but in some of the periods of Hebrew script only a short tail on the *m* differentiates them. An original reading of *šûpm* could then give explanation for each of the variants. This would be in line with the family name Shuphamites in Nu. 26:39.

See *IP*, pp. 258f. J. H. WALTON

SHERAH shē'rə (1 Ch. 7:24, AV, NEB). *See* SHEERAH.

SHERD. *See* POTSHERD.

SHEREBIAH sher-ə-bī'ə [Heb. *šērēbᵉyâ*–'Yahweh has sent heat' (?)]. The name of one, two, or three Levites in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

1. [Gk. Apoc. *Asebēbias* (1 Esd. 8:47 [LXX 46]), B A *Eserebias*, Lucian *Sarabias* (v. 54)]; AV Apoc. ASEBEBIA, ESEBRIAS; NEB Apoc. ASEBEBIAS, SARABIAS; RSV mg. Apoc. also ASEBEBIAS. A Levite of the family of Mahli, described as "a man of discretion"; he and his family were sent to join the group of exiles returning with Ezra after it was discovered that the group included no Levites (Ezr. 8:18 par. 1 Esd. 8:47). To him and Hashabiah and ten of their kinsmen, along with twelve of the leading priests, were entrusted the silver and gold vessels for the temple (Ezr. 8:24f. par. 1 Esd. 8 54f.). (The RSV, following the MT, considers Sherebiah as one of the twelve priests; the MT should be emended to read Heb. *wᵉšērēbᵉyâ* in place of *lᵉšērēbᵉyâ*; cf. *BHS*; NEB). He is possibly identical with 2 or 3.

2. [Gk. Apoc. *Sarabias*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., SARABIAS. A Levite who assisted in the exposition of the law (the MT of Neh. 8:7 reads "and the Levites"; the RSV and NEB follow the Vulg. and 1 Esd. 9:48, which identify the Levites with the preceding names), participated in the public confession of sins (Neh. 9:4f.), and signed the covenant of Ezra (10:12 [MT 13]).

3. A Levitical family that according to Neh. 12:8 returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (but the names appear to be from a later period, contemporaneous with Ezra and Nehemiah; see comms.). An individual by this name became a Levitical chief in the time of Joiakim (v. 24).

N. J. O.

SHERESH shē'resh [Heb. *šereš*–'root' (?), or 'sly, clever' (?)]. Son of Machir; head of a family of the tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch. 7:16).

See *IP*, p. 228.

SHEREZER shə-rē'zər (Zec. 7:2, AV). *See* SHAREZER.

SHERIFF sher'if (Dnl. 3:2f., AV). *See* MAGISTRATE.

SHESHACH shē'shak [Heb. *šēšaḵ*] (AV, RSV mg. Jer. 25:26; 51:41); NEB SHESHAK. A cryptic name for Babylon. *See* ATHBASH; BABYLON II.

SHESHAI shē'shī [Heb. *šēšay*]. One of Anak's three sons who lived in Hebron at the time of the conquest (Nu. 13:22). All three sons were driven from the land by Caleb (Josh. 15:14; Jgs. 1:10). "Sheshai" is perhaps an abbreviation of a longer name (see *IP*, pp. 40f.).

SHESHAN shē'shan [Heb. *šēšān*; Gk. *Sōsan*, B *Sōsam* (1 Ch. 2:34)]. Judahite and descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2:31, 34f.). Apparently Sheshan had only daughters, one of whom married his Egyptian slave Jarha. This genealogical note establishes Elishama (1 Ch. 2:41) and his descendants in the Judahite line.

See *IP*, pp. 40f. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHESHBAZZAR shesh-baz'ər [Heb. *šēšbaṣṣar*, probably corrupt from Akk. *Sin-aba-uṣur*, O Sin (the moon deity), protect the father; LXX *Sasabasar*]; AV Apoc. also Sanabassar (1 Esd. 2:12, 15), Sanabassarus (1 Esd. 6:18, 20). The leader appointed by the Persians for the first returnees from exile after the Cyrus Edict in 538 B.C. (Ezr. 1:1-4, 11). He is likely to be identified with SHENAZZAR of 1 Ch. 3:18 (Heb. *šen'aṣṣar*; see Clines; cf. Williamson) and was thus a son of Jehoiachin and the uncle of Zerubbabel, who followed him as leader of the returnees and largely overshadowed him in the biblical history (cf. Ezr. 5:1f.; Hag. 1:1).

Sheshbazzar is given two titles: (1) "prince" (Heb. *nāśî'*, Ezr. 1:8), a title which recalls the prophecies of Ezekiel (Ezk. 37:25) and is also in accordance with Persian generosity toward subjects of the empire; and (2) "governor" (Heb. *peḥâ*, Ezr. 5:14), which stops short of a royal designation and indicates his subordination to the Persian emperor as provincial ruler. As these titles suggest, his authority was entirely dependent on Persian approval. Cyrus commissioned him to oversee the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem and to handle the treasures sent back with the returnees for that purpose (Ezr. 1:11). These few facts are all that is known about Sheshbazzar. He passes quietly from the biblical scene and is not mentioned again.

Much scholarly attention has been given to whether Sheshbazzar is to be identified with ZERUBBABEL. Several items argue in favor of an identification. First, portions of Ezra leave a somewhat confusing picture by closely associating the work of the two men and never making an explicit differentiation (Ezr. 1:1–4:4). Second, both men are called "governor" (Ezr. 5:14; Hag. 1:1). Third, both are commissioned to rebuild the temple (Ezr. 1:1-11; 3:1-13). Fourth, both men are credited with completing the foundations of the temple (Ezr. 5:16; 3:2, 8). In line with this evidence it has been suggested that Sheshbazzar was the Babylonian name and Zerubbabel was the Jewish name for one individual.

Nevertheless, it seems best to treat Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel as two individuals. Several considerations point in this direction. First, both Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar are Babylonian names. Second, 1 Esd. 6:18 appears to distinguish between the two by stating that temple vessels were entrusted to both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. Third, it seems clear from the text of Ezra that Sheshbazzar was commissioned under Cyrus (Ezr. 1:1-11) and that Zerubbabel received his authorization from Darius (2:2; 3:1–4:5). Fourth, the list of 1 Ch. 3:18 strongly suggests that Sheshbazzar was the uncle of Zerubbabel. In the light of this evidence it may be concluded that these were two different men.

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R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHETH sheth.

1. [Heb. *šēṯ*–'tumult']; NEB STRIFE. In Nu. 24:17 Moab is called Heb. *bᵉnê-šēṯ* (RSV "sons of Sheth"). Many scholars suggest an emendation of *šēṯ* to *šᵉ'ēṯ*, "pride" or "defiance" (see BDB, p. 981; KoB, p. 1014; G. B. Gray, *ICC* on Numbers [1903], p. 371). Cf. Jer. 48:45, where Moab is called *bᵉnê šā'ôn* (RSV "sons of tumult"); in Isa. 16:6 Moab is characterized by pride.

2. (1 Ch. 1:1, AV). *See* SETH.

SHETHAR shē'thar [Heb. *šēṯar*]. One of the seven Persian princes who functioned in an advisory capacity to King Ahasuerus (Est. 1:14; cf. Ezr. 7:14).

SHETHAR-BOZENAI shē'thar-boz'ə-nī [Aram. *šᵉṯar bôznay*; Gk. LXX *Satharbouzana*]; AV SHETHAR-BOZNAI; **SATHRABUZANES** [Gk. Apoc. *Sathrabouzanēs*]. An official of the Persian government in the province "Beyond the River" (Ezr. 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13; 1 Esd. 6:3, 7, 27 [LXX 26]; 7:1). He and Tattenai the governor wrote to King Darius questioning the right of the Jews to rebuild the temple. After determining that Cyrus had indeed decreed the rebuilding, Darius ordered Tattenai, Shethar-bozenai, and their associates to encourage and to assist in the temple's reconstruction (Ezr. 5:3–6:13; cf. 1 Esd. 6:3–7:12).

R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHEVA shē'və [Heb. *šᵉwā'*–'like (the father, brother, etc.?)']. See *IP*, p. 222.

1. A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah; founder of Machbenah and Gibea (1 Ch. 2:49).

2. State secretary during the reign of King David (2 S. 20:25, *Q*; *K šᵉyā'*). *See* SHAVSHA.

SHEW. An archaic spelling of "show" (so always RSV) used extensively by the AV. (It should be noted that "shew" is always pronounced shō and never shōō; cf. "sew").

As a verb "shew" (properly meaning "cause or permit [something or someone] to be seen") is the AV translation of a great many biblical terms, including some that the RSV translates otherwise; e.g., the AV has "be shewed" for Gk. *gínomai*, "come to be" (Acts 4:22; RSV "be performed"); "shew forth themselves" for *energéō*, "work" (Mt. 14:2; RSV "be at work"); "shew" for *poiéō*, "do," "make" (Acts 7:36; RSV "perform"), for *diēgéomai*, "tell, relate" (Lk. 8:39; RSV "declare"), etc.

The AV's uses of the noun "shew" usually connote appearance in contrast to reality. Thus the AV has "shew" for Gk. *próphasis*, "ostensible reason, pretext" (Lk. 20:47; RSV "pretense"), and for *lógos*, "word, speech" (Col. 2:23; RSV "appearance"); "make a fair shew" for *euprosōpéō*, "have a fair face" (Gal. 6:12; RSV "make a good showing"); "vain shew" for Heb. *ṣelem*, "image" (Ps. 39:6 [MT 7]; RSV "shadow"); etc. "Shew" means "spectacle" (so RSV) in Sir. 43:1 (Gk. *hórama*) and Col. 2:15 (*deigmatízō*). In Isa. 3:9 "the shew of their countenance" is a poor translation of Heb. *hakkāraṯ* (hiphil of *nāḵar*) *pᵉnêhem*, "their respect of persons" (RSV "their partiality").

B. S. EASTON N. J. O.

SHEWBREAD shō'bred. *see* PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE.

SHEWBREAD, TABLE OF. *See* PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE II.

SHIBAH shī'bə [Heb. *šiḇ'â*; LXX *Horkos*] (Gen. 26:33); AV SHEBAH; NEB mg. OATH. The well dug by Isaac's servants on the day that he took an oath of mutual recognition with Abimelech king of Gerar. Heb. *šiḇ'â* is not only the masculine form of the number "seven" but it is related to the root Heb. *šb'*, "swear." The account in the Abrahamic narrative (21:31) explains that the place

was called Beer-sheba "because there both of them swore an oath." The modern legend about seven wells has no support in the bible or any other ancient source.

A. F. RAINEY

SHIBBOLETH shib'ə-leth [Heb. *šibbōleṯ*–'torrent' or 'ear of grain'] (Jgs. 12:6). A password used by the Gileadites to determine who was an Ephraimite enemy. The word has cognates in Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Syriac, but its meaning in Jgs. 12:6 is uncertain. *Šibbōleṯ* may mean "flowing stream" (KoB, p. 942), as in Isa. 27:12; Ps. 69:2, 15 (MT 3, 16); or it may mean "ear of grain," as in Gen. 41:5-7, 22-24, 26f.; Ruth 2:2; Job 24:24; Isa. 17:5, or "bunch of twigs," as in Zec. 4:12 (cf. KoB, p. 942). Regrettably, the account in Jgs. 12 provides no clue as to which meaning the Gileadite sentries may have had in mind. The importance of the word lay not in its meaning but in its pronunciation.

The Ephraimites had been angered by Jephthah's failure to call upon them to help the Gileadite forces fight against the Ammonites (12:1). The Ephraimites attempted to extend their control to Gilead by war, but the Gileadites defeated them. As the Ephraimites retreated, Gileadite soldiers checked all who attempted to cross at the fords of the Jordan by asking them to pronounce *šibbōleṯ*. According to the MT, in the Ephraimite dialect "shibboleth" (Heb. *šibbōleṯ*) was pronounced "sibboleth" (Heb. *sibbōleṯ*). The MT expressed the distinction with the letter *samek* (*s*) rather than *śin* (*ś*), since the distinction between *śin* (*š*) and *śin* by the diacritical dot had not yet been introduced into written Hebrew. Speiser has argued, however, that both the "sh" and the "s" sounds were present in all the West Semitic languages, and that the Ephraimite fugitives could have easily imitated the "sh" sound. He has proposed that the people of Gilead may have pronounced "shibboleth" as "thibboleth," maintaining the orthographic form *šibbōleṯ*. There is some evidence from other West Semitic languages that the "th" sound was sometimes used in place of "sh," and that it was written as "sh." This proposal would clarify how the people of Gilead could distinguish between their dialect and that of the Ephraimites. Supposedly the Gileadites used the "th" sound but the Ephraimites did not, and even if they had attempted to imitate the sound, there would have been a noticeable difference. Regardless of how the phonemic difference is explained, however, the Ephraimites met a quick death when their pronunciation did not correspond exactly to that of the Gileadites.

The story is significant for the study of comparative philology. Evidence of Judean and Samarian dialects has come to light from the Samaria ostraca. Jgs. 12 suggests that dialectical differences also existed between peoples living E and W of the Jordan.

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W. A. VANGEMEREN

SHIBMAH shib'mə (Nu. 32:38, AV). *See* SIBMAH.

SHICRON shik'ron (Josh. 15:11, AV). *See* SHIKKERON.

SHIELD. *See* WEAPONS OF WAR.

SHIGGAION shi-gā'yon; **SHIGIONOTH** shig-i-ō'noth [Heb. *šiggāyôn*, pl. *šigyōnôṯ*]; NEB omits. A technical term of uncertain meaning occurring in the superscriptions to Ps. 7 (MT 7:1) and Habakkuk's prayer (pl., Hab. 3:1). Several different explanations of its meaning have been proposed. Based on a possible relationship to Akk. *šegu* ("howl, lament"), S. Mowinckel suggested that *šiggāyôn* "probably indicates a lamentation psalm of a special character or for a particular purpose and perhaps therefore accompanied by special ceremonies, *šigyōnôth*, to which Hab. 3.1 alludes" (*Psalms in Israel's Worship* [Eng. tr. 1962], II, 209). Other scholars have related it to Heb. *šāgâ* ("go astray, err") and taken it to mean a "dithyramb," i.e., a poem characterized by wild emotions and irregular construction (e.g., M. Dahood, *Psalms I* [*AB*, 1965], p. 41). Still others have understood it as a corruption of HIGGAION.

N. J. O.

SHIHON shī'hon (Josh. 19:19, AV). *See* SHION.

SHIHOR Heb. *šîhôr/šîhōr*–'river, canal (in Egypt)], AV also SIHOR. A stream of water associated with northeastern Egypt (Josh. 13:3; 1 Ch. 13:5; Isa. 23:3; cf. RSV "Nile" for Heb. *šîhôr* in Jer. 2:18). Shihor is derived from the toponym *(p3)-š-ḥr*, "(the) waters of Horus" (A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II [1947], 201f.). "The waters of Horus" is most likely to be identified with the northeasternmost stretch of the Pelusiac or Bubastite branch of the Nile, which is no longer flowing. Further south this tributary in ancient times was called "the waters of Re," but as it approached the Mediterranean and Egypt's northeastern border, it was known as "the waters of Horus" (K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* [1982], p. 3). The ancient road that connected Egypt and Palestine, beginning at modern Qantara or ancient *ḥtm ỉ3rw* ("Fortress of Tjelu"), was called "The Ways of Horus" (*w3t ḥr*). Thus the name of the falcon-god Horus was once again associated with this region, making the Pelusiac branch of the Nile the most likely identification of Shihor. The evidence appears to rule out identifying Shihor with Wâdī el-'Arîsh, located nearly 160 km. (100 mi.) E in the northern part of Sinai. But Wâdī el-'Arîsh could be "the brook of Egypt" (Nu. 34:5; Josh. 15:4, 47; 2 K. 24:7; etc.). *See* BROOK OF EGYPT.

The OT use of Shihor seems to indicate that it marked the border of Egypt, and ideally Israel's southernmost border (esp. Josh. 13:3; 1 Ch. 13:5). Isa. 23:3 further supports the association of Shihor with the Nile since it appears here in parallelism with the Nile.

The LXX translators also faced a problem translating Shihor. In Josh. 13:3 it is rendered "wilderness of Egypt," while 1 Ch. 13:5 calls it the "border of Egypt." Completely garbled is "a generation of merchants"(?) in Isa. 23:3. In Jer. 2:18 the LXX translators understood Shihor (Heb. *šîhôr*; RSV "Nile") as being a river, calling it the "waters of Gihon" (Gk. *hýdōr Gēōn*). The use of "Gihon" suggests that Jer. 2:18 apparently was interpreted in the light of Gen. 2:13, where the river Gihon (Heb. *gîḥôn*; LXX *Gēōn*) is said to be associated with the land of Cush (i.e., Nubia/Ethiopia, hence the Nile River; *see* CUSH; GIHON).

The MT traditions, when combined with the Egyptological evidence, make it fairly certain that the Shihor is the eastern most branch of the Nile that delineated Egypt from Asia.

J. K. HOFFMEIER

SHIHOR-LIBNATH shī'-hôr lib'nath [Heb. *šîḥôr liḇnāṯ*]; NEB "swamp of Libnath." A place on the southern boundary of Asher (Josh. 19:26). The southern boundary of Zebulun is described as ending at Shihor-libnath. Abel (*GP*, I, 470) takes *šîḥôr* to be a transcription of Egyp. *ši-Ḥōr*, "lake of Horus," a designation for a stretch of

shore or the arm of a river, and suggests that Shihor-libnath is the marshy region between Carmel (more precisely, Nahr ed-Diflè) and the Chorseos (Nahr ez-Zerqā), which flows into the Mediterranean Sea, 10 km. (6 mi.) S of Dor. Other scholars (e.g., *LBHG*, [rev. ed. 1979], p. 258) find this location impossible and suggest an alternate along the Carmel range at the mouth of the Kishon. Libnath was possibly the ancient name of the harbor town, Tell Abū Huwām, one of the settlements founded as seaports during the Late Bronze Age, perhaps with Egyptian aid.

It has been suggested that Shihor-libnath is actually two sites, both of which remain unidentified.

B. R. AND P. C. PATTEN

SHIKKERON shik'ə-ron [Heb. *šikkᵉrôn*–'drunkenness'; Gk. A *akkarōna*, B *sokchōth* (a few MSS read *sakcharōna*); cf. Josephus *Ant.* iii.7.6 [172] (Gk. *sakcharon*, 'henbane')]; AV SHICRON. One of the cities mentioned as landmarks for the northern boundary of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh. 15:11). According to this text, Shikkeron is located between Ekron and Jabneel (Yebnā) and is probably to be identified with Tell el-Fûl (not the same site associated with Gibeah) approx. 5 km. (3 mi.) NW of Ekron (Tell el-Muqenna').

See Y. Aharoni, *PEQ* (1958), pp. 27-31. G. H. W.

SHILHI shil'hī [Heb. *šilḥî*]. Father of Azubah, mother of Jehoshaphat (1 K. 22:42; 2 Ch. 20:31).

SHILHIM shil'him [Heb. *šilḥîm;* Gk. *Sale, Saleeim, Seleem*]. One of the twenty-nine cities which formed the inheritance of Judah (Josh. 15:29). It is grouped with Ziklag, Lebaoth, etc. In Simeon's inheritance (19:1-8) a similar group of names occurs, but SHARUHEN is mentioned instead of Shilhim (19:6), and 1 Ch. 4:31 gives the name Shaaraim. Some scholars identify Shilhim with Sharuhen, suggesting that Egyptian *r* often is used to represent Hebrew *l*, but the different morphologies of the two words raise difficulties. Aharoni (*LBHG*, p. 261) apparently rejects this identification, pointing out that "the more westerly Sharuhen was possibly not included within the territory of the monarchy" — but this assumes that the list is from the time of the monarchy and includes locations that were not part of Simeon two centuries earlier. The forms in LXX give no help. The lists in Josh. 15 and 19 both suggest a location W of Beer-sheba, probably on Nahal Gerar or Nahal Besor. *See also* ZIKLAG.

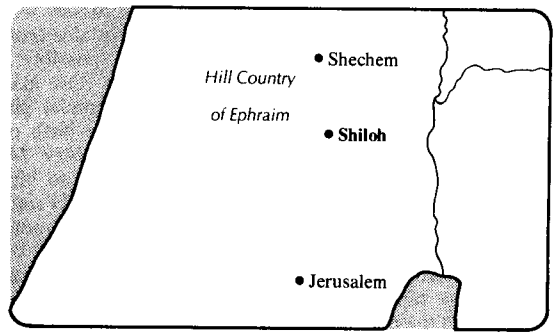
W. S. LASOR

SHILLEM shil'əm [Heb. *šillēm*–'recompense' (?); Sam. Pent. *šallûm*]; **SHILLEMITES** shil'ə-mīts [Heb. *haššillēmî*]. Fourth son of Naphtali; head of the family of the Shillemites (Gen. 46:24; Nu. 26:49). He is called SHALLUM (1) in 1 Ch. 7:13.

See *IP*, pp. 22, 174.

SHILOAH. *See* SILOAM.

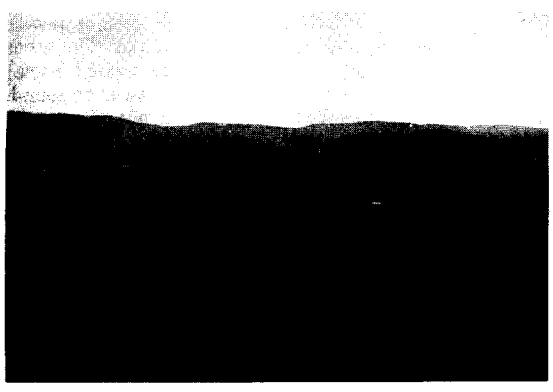
SHILOH shī'lō [Heb. *šilōh, šilô, šîlô*]. A town in Ephraim that was the center of tribal administration and worship for the twelve Israelite tribes from the time of Joshua until its destruction (probably by the Philistines) about 1050 B.C. The prominent tell of Shiloh, about 5 hectares (12 acres) in area, stands at the northern end of a large valley 31 km. (19 mi.) N of Jerusalem, just E of the main road to Shechem, in the hill country of Ephraim (Jgs. 21:19). An original Canaanite settlement had apparently been abandoned for some time before it was occupied by Joshua soon after the entrance of the tribes into the land.



The Israelites set up the tabernacle and the ark of the covenant at Shiloh (Josh. 18:1), and this remained the cult center during the period of tribal history recorded in Joshua and Judges (e.g., Josh. 21:2; Jgs. 21:12). The final division of the conquered lands was made at Shiloh: the whole community of the Israelites met together "in the camp at Shiloh, and Joshua cast lots for them before the LORD; and there Joshua apportioned the land to the people of Israel, to each his portion" (18:8-10; cf. 19:51). From Shiloh the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh departed for their homes E of the Jordan (22:9); because of a misunderstanding about an altar that these tribes erected in the Jordan valley, the remaining tribes gathered at Shiloh to make war against them (v. 12). Jgs. 18:31 seems to be saying that the Danites set up a second cult center in Dan, using the graven image made by Micah the Ephraimite, and that this continued as long as the house of God was located at Shiloh.

According to Jgs. 21:19-21 there was a yearly feast at Shiloh, and the young women danced at it. Following the near destruction of the tribe of Benjamin in a tragic civil war (ch. 20), the remaining tribes agreed on a method by which the surviving men of Benjamin could obtain wives for themselves, since all the Benjaminite women had been slain and the other tribes had sworn that they would not give their daughters to the Benjaminites. Benjaminites were allowed to select wives from the young women of Shiloh in marriage (21:1, 16-18). The tribes agreed that when the virgins of Shiloh were sent to dance in the vineyards during the yearly feast, the Benjaminites could seize them and carry them off for wives, thus gradually restoring the severely reduced numbers of the tribe of Benjamin (vv. 20-23).

Seilûn in the Valley of the Maidens where, traditionally, the Benjaminites made off with the young women of Shiloh (J. C. Trever)



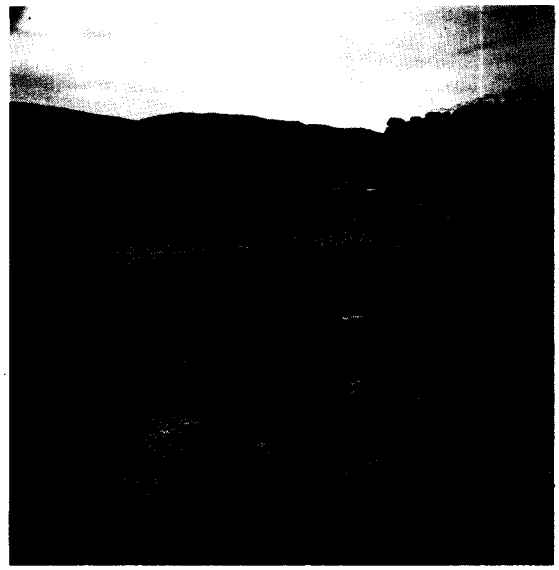
While located at Shiloh the tabernacle of Moses was apparently set up more like a temple than a portable tent. 1 S. 1:9; 3:3 refer to doorposts and a door; possibly a substantial building and adjacent storehouses were also added. Shiloh at this time was a place of annual pilgrimage, as can be seen in the account of the birth of Samuel (1:3, 9). Samuel was dedicated at Shiloh (v. 24) after he was weaned, and here Yahweh spoke to him (3:21). During this time Eli the priest and his ungodly sons Hophni and Phinehas presided over the sanctuary. Gradually the worship of Yahweh had become adulterated by the introduction of Canaanite idolatry and cult prostitution at the tabernacle (2:22-25; cf. vv. 12-17). Samuel prophesied the coming destruction of Eli's house because of the idolatrous practices of his sons (3:10-18; cf. 1 K. 2:27). Although not recorded in Scripture, Shiloh's violent destruction, accompanied by a great fire, is attested by the findings of archeological excavations at the site. The destruction of Shiloh is later referred to by Ps. 78:60 and Jer. 7:12-14; 26:6. Jeremiah's "temple sermon" (ch. 7) warns that the city of Jerusalem will also be destroyed because of the same sort of wickedness that had caused Yahweh to destroy Shiloh some six hundred years earlier. 1 S. 4:3–7:2 describes the Philistines' capture of the ark just prior to the destruction of Shiloh, and the circuituous route by which the ark was finally brought to Kiriath-jearim (eventually it was brought to Jerusalem; cf. 2 S. 6).

By the time of the divided kingdom a modest Israelite settlement had been reestablished at Shiloh. From this town came Ahijah the Shilonite, a well-known prophet in the days of Jeroboam I (1 K. 14:3). An Israelite settlement at Shiloh survived even after the Assyrian conquest (Jer. 41:5); it is referred to in the Mishnah and Talmud (Mish. *Megillah* i.11; Yoma xxxix.74) and other rabbinical sources. Eusebius placed Shiloh in the toparchy of Acraba, in Neapolis. Jerome found an altar there. On the Madeba Map it appears W of Gilgal.

Archeological work conducted by a group from the National Museum of Denmark from 1926-1932 attempted to clarify the history of the site, which had been heavily built up during Roman and Byzantine times and during the Middle Ages. The site today is heavily eroded, with bedrock exposed on many parts of the tell. The Danish expeditions found Shiloh to have been first settled in M.B. IIB (2100 to 1600 B.C.), at which time large-scale fortifications had been built there. But the site excavations thus far show no clear evidence of Canaanite occupation in the L.B. period (1600-1200 B.C.). The Israelite settlement phase is at first poor in architecture; the finds are consistent with the biblical picture of the conquest in Joshua's day and the period of the judges.

I. Finkelstein of Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv, began seasonal excavations at the site in 1981, concentrating on the areas of the tell believed to be the ancient Jewish religious, political, and administrative center. The areas under intensive study center around excavated rooms where large "collared rim" storage jars have been found. These are thought to have been for public, not private use, e.g., for storing oil or water used in the cult. The ruins of two Byzantine churches are still present S of the tell, as well as an early structure further to the south known as Jama'es-Sitin. traditionally identified as the burial place of Eli the priest. The water supply for Shiloh came from a spring, 'Ain Seilûn, in the wadi just to the north.

A modern Jewish settlement called Shilo, begun in 1978, occupies about 400 hectares (1000 acres) on a steep hillside E of the tell. This community had reached four hundred residents, or about eighty families, by the summer of 1984. The ancient Arab village of Seilûn lies on the south side of the valley opposite the old and new sites of Shiloh. The local Arabs today call the valley Marj el-Id and Marj el-Bint (Valley of the Festival or Valley of the Girls), but these names may not be of ancient origin.



Ruins at Shiloh; the trenches are remains of Byzantine houses; the old wall at upper left dates from the 11th cent. B.C. (period of Samuel) (D. Blatt)

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L. T. DOLPHIN

SHILOH shī'lō [Heb. MT *šîlōh*] (Gen. 49:10). The AV transliteration of a term that figures prominently but puzzlingly in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:2-27; RSV "to whom it belongs"; NEB "tribute . . . to him"). Jacob blesses each of the twelve original sons/tribes, giving by far the most attention to Judah (vv. 8-12) and Joseph (vv. 22-26) — thus foreshadowing their later prominence in southern and northern Israel respectively. In v. 10 the blessing of Judah employs rulership language, and from early times it has often been considered messianic.

Genesis 49:10 is composed of four poetic lines (two couplets) of which the third line has the Hebrew consonants *'d ky yb' šylh*, translated by the AV "until Shiloh come." This rendering suggests that Shiloh (*šylh*) might be a sign of the Messiah or even a metonymy for the Messiah Himself. Attempts at interpretation have been many. (1) In the Talmud (T. P. Sanhedrin 98b) Shiloh is derived from Heb. *šlh*, "be at ease," but the supposed connection with messianic attributes is unconvincing. (2) Shiloh is taken grammatically as "to Shiloh,"; and the clause is translated "until it [Judean sovereignty] comes to Shiloh"; the verse is then read as a prediction that Judah's greatness would reach even to northern Ephraim, where the city of Shiloh was located. (3) Shiloh is identified with Judah's third son Shelah (Gen. 38:5) — who is, however, otherwise insignificant. (4) *šîlōh* is revocalized to *šellōh* (eliminating the *y*), which is translated either "to whom" or "to whom it belongs" (cf. RSV, NIV, etc.) and interpreted as referring to the scepter's belonging to its rightful owner. Support for this option is found in the supposed parallel in Ezk. 21:27 (MT 32): *'d b' 'šr lw*, "until the com-

ing of the one to whom it belongs"; but the lack of a clear subject for the clause makes this option problematic. (5) Shiloh is emended to *mōšᵉlô* ("his ruler"), *ʾᵃšer lô* ("what is his"), or the like; but none of these options has good textual support. (6) *šîlōh* is taken without emendation as a hapax legomenon meaning "prince" or "ruler" (cf. Akk. *šêlu*, "prince"), with the pronominal suffix ("his ruler"), although the term is otherwise unknown in West Semitic. The clause is sometimes interpreted (along with Nu. 24:17-19; Dt. 33:7 etc.) as a pro-Davidic gloss interpolated into Gen. 49 at a later time.

Perhaps the most convincing interpretation is that of W. L. Moran (7), which follows the consonantal MT without emendation and with full contextual logic. It reads *ʿaḏ kî yūḇā' šay lōh*, "until tribute is brought to him," simply vocalizing MT consonantal *šylh* as two common words, *šay* ("tribute") and *lōh* ("to him"). This reading fits the parallelism of the verse and eliminates any over-messianizing. Interestingly, the NT ignores Gen. 49:10, and virtually all the ancient versions take *šylh* as other than a proper name in this verse.

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D. K. STUART

SHILONITE shī'lə-nīt [Heb. *šîlōnî, šîlônî, šilônî*]; AV also SHILONI (Neh. 11:5); NEB also FROM (OF) SHILOH, SHELANITE.

1. An inhabitant of the city of Shiloh; a designation applied to the prophet Ahijah (1 K. 11:29; 12:15; 15:29; 2 Ch. 9:29; 10:15).

2. A designation applied to a Judahite family that resided in Jerusalem after the Exile (1 Ch. 9:5; Neh. 11:5). Many scholars agree that the Hebrew text should be vocalized here as "Shelanite" (so NEB; *see* SHELAH **2**; cf. Nu. 26:20) rather than "Shilonite."

SHILSHAH shil'shə [Heb. *šilšâ*]. An Asherite; son of Zophah (1 Ch. 7:37).

SHIMEA shim'ē-ə [Heb. *šimʿā'*–'he has heard'; see *IP*, p. 185]; AV also SHIMMA (1 Ch. 2:13).

1. Third son of Jesse (1 Ch. 2:13); a brother of David (20:7). *See* SHAMMAH **2.**

2. One of David's sons born in Jerusalem (1 Ch. 3:5).

3. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 6:30 [MT 15]).

4. A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 6:39 [MT 24]).

SHIMEAH shim'ē-ə.

1. [Heb. *šimʿâ*]. A Benjaminite; son of Mikloth and descendant of Jehiel the founder of Gibeon (1 Ch. 8:32). He is called Shimeam in 9:38.

2. [Heb. *šimʿâ*]. Brother of David and father of Jonadab (2 S. 13:3, 32); called SHIMEI (**3**) in 21:21 (RSV; but cf. AV "Shimeah"; NEB "Shimeai"). *See* SHAMMAH **2.**

SHIMEAI shim'ē-ī (2 S. 21:21, NEB). *See* SHIMEI **3.**

SHIMEAM shim'ē-əm [Heb. *šimʿām*]. A Benjaminite who lived in Jerusalem after the Exile (1 Ch. 9:38); called SHIMEAH (**1**) in 8:32.

SHIMEATH shim'ē-ath [Heb. *šimʿāṯ* (2 K. 12:21 [MT 22]; 2 Ch. 24:26)]. The parent of Jozacar, one of the murderers of Joash.

Although 2 K. 12:21 appears to understand Shimeath as the father of Jozacar (MT Jozabad), since it was customary to identify a man as the son of his father, the parallel 2 Ch. 24:26 clearly refers to Shimeath as "the Ammonitess," hence the mother of Jozacar (MT Zabad). While it is possible to harmonize these texts on this particular point by taking the Chronicler's account as definitive, other discrepancies and problems cast doubt on the Chronicler's text (cf. comms., *BHS*). Some commentators assume that the Chronicler altered his text on the mistaken notion that Shimeath was a feminine form. Thus he changed the Shomer of 2 K. 12:21 into Shimrith and added the nationalities of the two parents, perhaps as a polemic against intermarriage (so H. J. Wolf, *ISBE* [1929], *s.v.*; cf. J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 590f.; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [*NCBC*, 1982], pp. 325f.).

R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHIMEATHITES shim'ē-ə-thīts [Heb. *šimʿāṯîm*] (1 Ch. 2:55). A subdivision of the descendants of Caleb, listed among the families of scribes (Heb. *mišpᵉḥôṯ sōp̄ᵉrîm*) living in Jabez, further identified as Kenites from Hammath (according to RSV).

According to Myers "the whole verse is unintelligible as it stands." For example, the phrase *mišpᵉḥôṯ sōp̄ᵉrîm*, "families of scribes," may be a proper name (so NEB "clans of Sophrites"). The three names listed — Tirathites, Shimeathites, Sucathites — have been understood as designations of religious functionaries instead of names (so Vulg., which translates Shimeathites as *resonantes*, "traditionists," probably connecting the word with Heb. *šmʿ*, "hear"), though this view has been largely rejected. KD and others connect these names with individuals, but no Tira or Sucah is known (Shimea and similar names are common). Some have interpreted the phrase "Kenites who came from Hammath" as "Kenites who were connected by marriage" (so NEB). Thus, as Williamson said, the verse "remains a mystery."

Bibliography.–Comms. on Chronicles by E. Curtis and A. Madsen (*ICC*, 1910), pp. 97f.; J. Myers (*AB*, 1965), p. 16; W. Rudolf (*HAT*, 1955), pp. 22f.; H. G. M. Williamson (*NCBC*, 1982), pp. 55f.

R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHIMEI shim'ē-ī [Heb. *šimʿî*–(prob.) 'hear (me, Yahweh),' also *Q šimʿay* (2 S. 21:21), *Q šemaʿ* (1 Ch. 8:21); LXX *Semeei, Semei*]; AV also SHIMI (Ex. 6:17, SHIMHI (1 Ch. 8:21), SHIMEAH (2 S. 21:21), Apoc. SEMEI (Ad. Est. 11:2; 1 Esd. 9:33), SEMIS (1 Esd. 9:23), SAMIS (v. 34); NEB also SHIMEAI (2 S. 21:21), Apoc. SEMEIUS (Ad. Est. 11:2), SEMIS (1 Esd. 9:23), SEMI (v. 33), SOMIS (v. 34); **SHIMEITES** shim'ē-īts [Heb. *(haš)šimʿî*] (Nu. 3:21; Zec. 12:13); AV SHIMITES; NEB SHIMEI.

1. Grandson of Levi, son of Gershon, and brother of Libni; head of the Shimeites, one of the major Levitical families both before and after the Exile (Ex. 6:17; Nu. 3:18, 21; 1 Ch. 6:17 [MT 2]; 23:7, 10; Zec. 12:13). The repetition of Shimei in 1 Ch. 23:9 is probably the result of textual corruption.

2. Son of Gera; a Benjaminite of Saul's family who opposed David's kingship after the house of Saul was deposed. This Shimei cursed David and threw stones at him while the king fled from Absalom's forces (2 S. 16:5-13). At this time David refused to have Shimei put to death for his abusive actions, which reflected the widespread hostility among the Benjaminites toward the Davidic throne (cf. 20:1f.). After Absalom's revolt failed, Shimei met David on his return to Jerusalem and asked for forgiveness, and David granted him amnesty (19:16-23). On his deathbed, however, David charged Solomon to

watch for an opportunity to rid the kingdom of his enemies, including Shimei (1 K. 2:8f.). Solomon therefore ordered Shimei to stay in Jerusalem upon penalty of death; when Shimei left the city in search of some runaway slaves, Solomon ordered him executed upon his return (vv. 36-46). (See also **19** below.)

3. A brother of David (2 S. 21;21) whose son killed a giant in Gath. *See also* SHAMMAH **2.**

4. One of the company who sided with Solomon during Adonijah's attempt to usurp the throne in the final days of David's life (1 K. 1:8). His prominence is evident from his association with such figures as Nathan, Zadok, and David's special guard. Some scholars have suggested that the MT should be emended, following Josephus (*Ant.* vii.14.4 [346]), to read "Shimei the Friend [*rēʿeh*] of David" (cf. 4:5) in place of "Shimei and Rei" (see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed., 1970], p. 79 n. a; *see also* REI). He is possibly to be identified with **5** below.

5. Son of Elah; appointed by King Solomon as one of twelve officers in charge of providing food for the king and his household (1 K. 4:8). He is possibly to be identified with **4** above.

6. The brother of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:19).

7. Head of a Simeonite clan (1 Ch. 4:26f.).

8. Head of a Reubenite clan (1 Ch. 5:4).

9. A Levite descended from Merari (1 Ch. 6:29).

10. A Levite descended from Gershom; an ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch. 6:42).

11. Head of a Benjaminite clan (1 Ch. 8:21); in v. 13 he is called Shema.

12. One of six sons of JEDUTHUN (**1**) appointed by David as Levitical singers "who prophesied with the lyre" under the direction of their father (1 Ch. 25:3, 17).

13. A Ramathite; an officer of King David who was in charge of the royal vineyards (1 Ch. 27:27).

14. A Levite descended from Heman who had an important role in Hezekiah's cultic reforms (2 Ch. 29:14).

15. A Levite, brother of Conaniah; he was second in charge of the contributions brought to the temple after Hezekiah's reforms (2 Ch. 31:12f.).

16. A Levite who divorced his foreign wife in accordance with Ezra's reforms (Ezr. 10:23; 1 Esd. 9:23).

17. Son of Hashum; a layman who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reforms (Ezr. 10:33; 1 Esd. 9:33).

18. Son of Binnui; a layman who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reforms (Ezr. 10:38; 1 Esd. 9:34).

19. A Benjaminite who was a descendant of Kish and an ancestor of Mordecai (Est. 2;5; Ad. Est. 11:2); possibly to be identified with **2** above (see comms., e.g., C. A. Moore, *Esther* [*AB*, 1971], p. 19). R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHIMEON shim'ē-ən [Heb. *šimʿôn* (same as SIMEON)]; NEB SIMEON. One of the sons of Harim who had married foreign women during the Exile and were required to divorce them in the time of Ezra (Ezr. 10:31). He is called Simon Chosamaeus in 1 Esd. 9:32; *see* SIMON (APOCRYPHA) **1.**

SHIMHI shim'hī (1 Ch. 8:21, AV). *See* SHIMEI **11.**

SHIMI shim'ī (Ex. 6:17, AV); **SHIMITES** shim'īts (Nu. 3:21, AV). *See* SHIMEI **1.**

SHIMMA shim'ə (1 Ch. 2:13, AV). *See* SHIMEA **1.**

SHIMON shī'mən [Heb. *šîmôn*]. Head of a Judahite clan (1 Ch. 4:20).

SHIMRATH shim'rath [Heb. *šimrāṯ*]. A Benjaminite; one of the nine sons of Shimei (1 Ch. 8:21).

SHIMRI shim'rī [Heb. *šimrî*]; AV also SIMRI (1 Ch. 26:10).

1. A Simeonite clan chief; son of Shemaiah and father of Jedaiah (1 Ch. 4:37).

2. Father of Jediael and Joha, two of David's "mighty men" (1 Ch. 11:45).

3. A Merarite Levite assigned to the division of gatekeepers; son of Hosah, who made him chief although he was not the firstborn (1 Ch. 26:10).

4. A Levite of the family of Elizaphan; one of those who assisted in cleansing the temple in the time of Hezekiah (1 Ch. 29:13).

SHIMRITH shim'rith [Heb. *šimrîṯ*]. A Moabitess; mother of Jehozabad, one of the conspirators against King Joash (2 Ch. 24:26). In 2 K. 12:21 she is called SHOMER, a masculine form of the same name.

SHIMRON shim'ron [Heb. *šimrôn*]; AV also SHIMROM; **SHIMRONITES** shim'rə-nīts [Heb. *haššimrōnî*]. The fourth son of Issachar (Gen. 46:13; Nu. 26:24; 1 Ch. 7:1) and the family that descended from him (Nu. 26:24).

SHIMRON shim'ron [Heb. *šimrôn*]; AV SHIMROM. A Canaanite royal town (Josh. 11:1) that later was allotted to the Israelite tribe of Zebulun (19:15). Its king joined other Canaanite city-kingdoms against Israel in the battle of Merom (Josh. 11:1; 12:20). The LXX reads *Symoōn* and the list of Thutmose III contains the name *š-m-ʿ-n*, while the Amarna Tablets read *Šamḫuna*. Josephus writes the word as *Simōnias*; the Tosefta has *symwny'*; and the Talmud (T.P. *Megillah* 70a) gives the equation "Shimron-Simonia" (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 118). The site has therefore been identified with Tell Simuniya, located about 11 km. (7 mi.) W of Nazareth (*GP*, I, 63), but surface explorations have shown that the site was abandoned during the period of the Israelite conquest and settlement.

The name Shimron appears in the inscriptions found on small prisoner figurines (19th-12th cents. B.C.). The inscriptions were found to be curses composed to bring disaster on these towns. The town also appears on a papyrus that lists rations of grain and beer issued during the reign of Thutmose III. B. R. AND P. C. PATTEN

SHIMRON-MERON [Heb. *šimrôn merʿôn*; Gk. B *Symoōn . . . Mamrōth*, A *Samrōn . . . Phasga . . .Marōn*]. A Canaanite royal city whose king was defeated by Joshua (12:20). Since this city is followed by Achsaph, which follows the city Shimron in 11:1, Shimron and Shimron-meron, possibly the full name, may be identical. The LXX, however, separates the two names, and possibly Shimron and Meron are two distinct places.

W. W. BUEHLER

SHIMSHAI shim'shī [Aram. *šimšay*–'sun (child)'; Gk. *Samsai*; Gk. Apoc. *Samsaios*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc. SEMELLIUS. An official in the Persian government who opposed the reconstruction of Jerusalem (Ezr. 4:8f., 17, 23; 1 Esd. 2:16f., 25, 30 [LXX 12f., 19, 25]). With Rehum, he wrote to Artaxerxes and temporarily halted the rebuilding of the city (Ezr. 4:17-24; 1 Esd. 2:25-30).

See *IP*, p. 223. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SHIN shēn [ש]; **SIN** sēn [שׂ]. The twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encyclopedia as *š* and *ś*. It also came to be used for the number three hundred. *See* WRITING.

SHINAB shī'nab [Heb. *šin'āḇ*, Sam. *šin'ar*; Gk. *Sennaar*] (Gen. 14:2). King of ADMAH, one of the CITIES OF THE VALLEY, linked particularly with Zeboiim.

The association of Admah with Gaza (Gen. 10:19) suggests that the modern view, which locates the cities of the valley under the Dead Sea at its south end, is substantially correct. Shinab king of Admah is mentioned with four other south Palestinian rulers who resisted the punitive onslaught of a Mesopotamian military coalition headed by Chedorlaomer of Elam (14:2-16). The identity of Shinab has not been established to date. Since there is no serious corruption in the Hebrew text (the Samaritan variant probably arising from confusion of *r* and *b*, which are similar in early Hebrew script), the name is almost certainly genuine. An Akkadian title *Sin-a-bi*, "[the moon-god] Sin is my father," occurs in texts recovered from Ur and is similar to other compound Akkadian names, e.g., *Šamaš-a-bi*, "Shemesh is my father," and *Adad-a-bi*, "Adad is my father." Shinab perhaps was the Hebrew form of Akk. *Sin-a-bi*. R. K. H.

SHINAR shī'när [Heb. *šin'ār*; LXX *Sannaar*] AV also BABYLONISH (Josh. 7:21). According to biblical tradition, the land of Nimrod, including Babel, Erech, Accad, and "Calneh" (so AV; cf. RSV, NEB, "all of them," Gen. 10:9f.), the location of the tower of Babel (11:2), and the kingdom ruled by Amraphel (14:1, 9). A "beautiful mantle from Shinar" was the cause of the sin of Achan (Josh. 7:21). In Isaiah's prophecy of the recovery of the remnant, Shinar is one of the lands named (Isa. 11:11); it is named between Elam and Hamath, suggesting perhaps a location in Mesopotamia. By the time of Daniel the land of Shinar was the location of Babylon (Dnl. 1:2). In Zechariah's vision of the woman sitting in the ephah, the prophet was told that the ephah was being taken to the land of Shinar (Zec. 5:11).

The name was once thought to be the Hebrew equivalent of a Sumerian word for Sumer, but this is now rejected. There appears to be no Sumerian or Akkadian equivalent. Some have suggested that Shinar is related to Egyp. *sangar*, perhaps reflected in Amarna *ša-an-ḫa-ar* (Am.Tab. 35:49). In this tablet the king of Alašia (probably Cyprus) warns the king of Egypt against making a treaty with "the king of Ḫatte and with the king of Shankhar." This has been taken to refer to the Hittite king and the Babylonian king, but strong objections have been offered against equating Shankhar with Babylon. H. Winckler believed it was in Asia Minor (see E. Schrader and H. Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das AT* [3rd ed. 1903], 31:238). J. A. Knudtzon was of the opinion that it meant the Mitanni, as did Shinar in the Bible in his view (*Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* [2 vols., 1915], 1080-83). W. F. Albright equated it with Ḫana, a province in Mesopotamia between Assyria, Babylonia, and Mitanni (*AJSL*, 40 [1924], 125-133). I. J. Gelb located it in north Syria (*AJSL*, 53 [1937], 235-255). W. C. Hayes stated "it is almost certainly another name for Babylon" (*CAH*, II/1, [3rd ed. 1975], 462).

There is some difficulty philologically in equating Heb. *šin'ār* with Am.Tab. *šanḫar*. Heb. *'ayin* could represent either the unvoiced guttural ' or the voiced uvular *ǵ*. When it is the latter, the phoneme is usually represented in LXX by *gamma* (*g*). Since the LXX equivalent is *Sannaar*, it does not seem to represent either Egyp. *sangar* or Amarna *šanḫar* (cf. A. Poebel, *AJSL*, 48 [1931], 26).

That a king of a petty kingdom in Cyprus would attempt to influence a pharaoh against Babylon is, as Winckler and Knudtzon pointed out, quite unlikely. That Amraphel, an ally of such little-known kings as are mentioned in Gen. 14, could be identified as Hammurabi, or any king of Babylon, and be named after Chedorlaomer king of Elam and Tidal king of Goiim approaches the ridiculous. Yet the biblical passages seem clearly to equate Shinar with Babylon or some portion of southern Mesopotamia. W. S. LASOR

SHINE [Heb. *'ôr* (Nu. 6:25; Job 41:32 [MT 24]; Ps. 31:16 [MT 17]; 67:1 [MT 2]; 80:3, 7, 19 [MT 4, 8, 20]; 119:135; 148:3; Prov. 4:18; Eccl. 8:1; Isa. 60:1; Ezk. 43:2; Dnl. 9:17), *zāhar* (Dnl. 12:3), *zāraḥ* (2 S. 23:4; 2 K. 3:22), *yāpa'* (Dt. 33:2; Job 3:4; 37:15; Ps. 50:2; 80:1 [MT 2]; 94:1), *nāgah* (Job 18:5; 22:28; Isa. 4:5; 9:2 [MT 1]; Joel 2:10; 3:15), hiphil of *ṣāhal* (Ps. 104:15), hithpael of *nāsas* (Zec. 9:16), *qāran* (Ex. 34:29f., 35); Gk. *eklámpō* (Mt. 13:43), *lámpō* (Mt. 5:16; 17:2; Acts 12:7; 2 Cor. 4:6), *perilámpō* (Lk. 2:9; Acts 26:13), *periastráptō* (Acts 22:6), *phaínō* (Mt. 24:27; Jn. 1:5; 5:35; Phil. 2:15; 2 Pet. 1:19; 1 Jn. 2:8; Rev. 1:16; 8:12; 18:23; 21:23)]; AV also OF LIGHT, "lifted up like ensign," "terrible"; NEB also REKINDLE, FLASH, SHOW, LIGHT UP, DAWN, BRIGHT, etc.

In general, when light shines on an object, it is a blessing (Job 22:28; Prov. 4:18; Isa. 9:2; cf. Sir. 26:17; Bar. 3:33f.; Ep. Jer. 6:60f., 67); conversely, when light does not shine, it is a curse (Job 3:4; Joel 2:10; 3:15; Wisd. 5:6; 17:6; Rev. 8:12).

The expression "the Lord make his face to shine upon you" is best known from the Aaronic blessing in Nu. 6:25, though similar forms occur in Ps. 31:16; 67:1; 80:3, 7, 19; 119:135; Dnl. 9:17 (cf. 2 Esd. 2:35). As P. Miller (*Interp.*, 29 [1975], 245) and others have noted, "the shining countenance [of God] is an emphatically positive presence for help and favor, a sign of the friendly and well-wishing nearness of God, the gracious and helping turning of God to human beings."

Several texts apply related imagery to human beings. Thus Eccl. 8:1 states that "a man's wisdom makes his face shine" (cf. Dnl. 12:3; 2 Esd. 7:97, 125; Wisd. 3:7; see further *TDNT*, II, 247). According to R. Gordis (*Koheleth — The Man and His World* [3rd ed. 1968], p. 286) the expression "make the face shine," used elsewhere only of God, means "be gracious toward"; here Gordis takes it as advice to a court official to appear gracious to others in the court. In Sir. 24:27, 32 God's Torah "makes instruction shine."

Apparently reflecting God's glory, Moses' face shone after his encounter with God on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 34:29f., 35; cf. 2 Esd. 10:25; on the later rabbinical view relating this radiance to the Shekinah, see *TDNT*, II, 246, 249f.); indeed, it shone so brightly that he had to wear a veil (vv. 33-35). The verb used here, *qāran*, seems to be related to *qeren*, the common word for horn (hence Vulg. *cornuta esset*, "was horned," which led to the medieval depictions of Moses with horns), in which case it may mean "put forth rays like horns" (see Jeremias, p. 39 n. 3; see also comms. on Exodus by U. Cassuto [Eng. tr. 1967], pp. 448-451; B. Childs [*OTL*, 1974], esp. pp. 609f., 617-19, and on the treatment of this passage in 2 Cor. 3:7-18, see pp. 620-24). Many scholars (e.g., J. Hyatt, *Exodus* [*NCBC*, repr. 1980], p. 326; R. Gundry, *Matthew* [1982], p. 343) compare this passage with the Transfiguration (Mt. 17:2 par.; cf. W. Lane, comm. on Mark [*NICNT*, 1974], p. 318, who compares the Transfiguration to apocalyptic images).

In Ps. 104:15 God's providential care of the earth enables human beings to cultivate various beneficial products, including oil, which was used to soften the skin (*see* OIL III.B) and hence made a person's face shine (cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms*, III [*AB*, 1970], 41).

Other texts refer to God shining in THEOPHANY, reflecting the association of deity and light that is common to many religions, though the Bible is distinctive in that light is not deified — God is the Creator and light is part of His creation (on the ancient Near Eastern background, cf. *TDOT*, I, 149-151, 165; *TDNT*, IV, 22-24). The shining light is apparently a manifestation of God's presence. Thus Dt. 33:2 refers to the Sinai theophany (see Ex. 19:16-18). Isa. 4:5 recalls the PILLAR OF CLOUD AND PILLAR OF FIRE that accompanied the Israelites during the Exodus (cf., e.g., Ex. 13:21f.); here the prophet uses that imagery to describe God's presence with His people in the future (but according to J. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1986], pp. 48, 51; and O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* [Eng. tr., 2nd ed., *OTL*, 1983], p. 88, this is not a theophany but simply imagery to denote God's care and protection of His people).

Similarly, in Ezk. 43:2 the approach of God's glory causes the land to shine (see ch. 1; see also 2 S. 23:3f., which states that a just king is to his people as the sun is [to the rain-soaked earth] on a cloudless morning; see P. McCarter, *II Samuel* [*AB*, 1984], pp. 477f., 483f.; cf. Sir. 50:6f.). In Ps. 94:1 the psalmist calls for God, "the God of vengeance," to shine forth, which C. A. and E. G. Briggs (comm. on Psalms, II [*ICC*, 1907], 288) associated with Ps. 50:2 and Dt. 33:2 (cf. A. Anderson, *Psalms*, II [*NCBC*, repr. 1981], 582, who thinks *yp'* means "challenge" on the basis of an Ugaritic cognate; see further P. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel* [1973], pp. 76-78). In Ps. 50:2 God shines forth from Zion (note the context of the sun in v. 1 and the fire in v. 3).

Many NT texts are similar. At Jesus' birth "the glory of the Lord shone around" the shepherds (Lk. 2:9). At the Transfiguration Jesus' face "shone like the sun" (Mt. 17:2; see A. M. Ramsey, *Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* [1949]). Paul's experience of theophany on the Damascus road (Acts 22:6; 26:13; cf. 9:3) and Peter's rescue from jail by an angel of the Lord (12:7) also involved a bright shining light. The coming of the Son of Man will be like lightning shining from east to west (Mt. 24:27). In a vision the author of Revelation saw "one like the son of man" whose face "was like the sun shining in full strength" (Rev. 1:16). In the New Jerusalem there will be no need of sun or moon, for "the glory of the Lord is its light" (21:23; cf. 2 Esd. 7:42).

On the frequent NT imagery of "light shining" for God's illuminating effect on believers, *see* LIGHT.

See also GLORY; RADIANCE; SHEKINAH.

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, II, 484-496; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*, II (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1967), esp. pp. 29-35; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* (1965), esp. pp. 62-65; J. K. Kuntz, *Self-revelation of God* (1967); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δοκέω κτλ.: δόξα (von Rad, Kittel); IV, *s.v.* λάμπω κτλ. (Oepke); IX, *s.v.* φῶς κτλ. (Conzelmann); *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "'ôr" (Aalen); IV, *s.v.* "zarach" (Ringgren); S. Terrien, *Elusive Presence* (1978). G. A. LEE

SHION shī'ən [Heb. *šî'ôn*]; AV SHIHON. A border town in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:19). Abel (*GP*, II, 61) held that the name has been perpetuated in that of 'Ayûn eš-Še'ain, 3 km. (2 mi.) NE of Daburiya, near Nazareth. Another suggestion is Sirin, located about 22 km. (14 mi.) SE of Mt. Tabor, but Abel calls the change of Šî'ôn to Širôn to Sirin, a "gratuitous hypothesis" (*GP*, II, 464). Archeological evidence has not been sufficient, however, to support either identification. W. S. L. S.

SHIPHI shī'fī [Heb. *šip'î*–'overflow']. A Simeonite prince; son of Allon and father of Ziza (1 Ch. 4:37).

SHIPHMITE shif'mīt [Heb. *haššipmî*]; NEB OF SHEPHEM. The designation of Zabdi, who was in charge of the produce of King David's vineyards for the wine cellars (1 Ch. 27:27). It may indicate that he was a native of SHEPHAM or of SIPHMOTH (cf. LXX *hó toú Sephnî*).

SHIPHRAH shif'rə [Heb. *šiprâ*–'beauty']. One of the two Hebrew midwives who were commanded by Pharaoh to kill all newborn Hebrew male children.

See B. S. Childs, *Book of Exodus* (*OTL*, 1974), p. 20 n. 15.

SHIPHTAN shif'tan [Heb. *šipṭān*–'(God) has judged'(?); see *IP*, p. 187]. Father of the Ephraimite leader Kemuel (Nu. 34:24).

SHIPS; BOATS [Heb. *'oniyâ* (e.g., Gen. 49:13; Ezk. 27:9; cf. Ugar. *anyt*; Am.Tab. 245:28, *a-na-ya*), *'onî*, collective for ships in a fleet (e.g., 1 K. 9:26f.; 10:11, 22 [AV NAVY]; Isa. 33:21 [RSV GALLEY]), *ṣî* (cf. Egyp. *ḏ3ỉ*–'ferry across'), always of foreign ships (Nu. 24:24; Isa. 33:21; Ezk. 30:9, AV [text doubtful]; Dnl. 11:30), *ś'ḵîyâ* (Isa. 2:16; cf. Ugar. *ṯkt*; Egyp. *sḳḏỉ*–'to sail'), *s'pînâ* (Jonah 1:5, a ship with a deck; cf. Akk. *sapīnatu*),*k'lî*–'vessel' (used of a ship in Isa. 18:2 and perhaps 60:9); Gk. *ploíon*, the most common term, used in the Gospels for fishing boats on Galilee (e.g., Mt. 4:21f.), in the Acts for ships plying the Mediterranean (e.g., Acts 20:13), and elsewhere for ships in general (Jas. 3:4; Rev. 8:9; 18:17ff.), also *ploiárion* (diminutive of *ploíon*, Mk. 3:9; Jn. 6:22ff.; 21:8 in reference to boats on Galilee), *naús* and *skáphē*, which occur only in the story of Paul's shipwreck on Malta, where the former (Acts 27:41; RSV VESSEL) represents a large seagoing ship with 276 persons on board, the latter (Acts 27:16, 30, 32) the dinghy or small boat towed by the ship].

I. In the OT
II. In the Ancient East
III. In the NT
IV. In the Greek and Roman World

I. In the OT.—The Israelites were not in general a seafaring people. Their forefathers had come out of the desert to dwell largely in the hill country of Palestine. Among their most persistent enemies were the sea-peoples, particularly the Philistines along the Mediterranean coast. The presence of these enemies, together with the lack of natural harbors along the coast of Palestine, meant that Israel never became oriented to the sea. It is not surprising, then, that almost no pictures of ships have been found in Palestine from the OT period — an exception being two ships incised on the wall of a tomb at Khirbet Beit Lei, near Lachish, which Naveh dated probably to the time of Sennacherib's invasion (701 B.C.; *IEJ*, 13 [1963], 74-92). When ships do appear in the OT they are usually connected with foreign, and often unfriendly, powers. The earliest mention of a seafaring enemy appears in the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:17b): recounting the activities of the various tribes during the battle with Sisera, the poet asks, "And Dan, why did he abide with the ships?" Juxtaposition with Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali (vv. 17f.) suggests that this is northern Dan, a landlocked tribe, and that it had become economically dependent on the Phoenicians by taking employment (Heb. *gûr*, "abide," may also be translated "sojourn") on their ships. Such dependence could have made them and their relatives at home reluctant to join the other tribes against the Canaanites.

Solomon is reported to have employed "ships of Tarshish" in his foreign trade from Ezion-geber on the Gulf

of Aqabah; in this enterprise the Tyrians joined him as partners, and he was doubtless dependent on their seafaring skill (1 K. 9:26f.; 10:11, 22). "Tarshish" as a place has been identified with Tartessus, a Phoenician port in southern Spain, or with Tarsus in Cilicia. But Albright (*BASOR,* 83 [Apr. 1941], 21f.) connected the term with *tršš,* a Phoenician loanword from Akkadian, meaning "mine" or "smelting plant." Thus a "Tarshish ship" would be understood as a vessel from any port engaged in the metal trade. Wiseman (*NBD*) thought of Gk. *tarsós,* "oar" (e.g., Euripides *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1346), and identified the "Tarshish ship" as a galley. In either case, the account in 1 K. 9–10 is understood most easily as referring to trade on the Red Sea, particularly with south Arabia and possibly Somaliland; the Egyptians made such voyages as early as the Old Kingdom (P. E. Newberry, *JEA,* 24 [1938], 192-94). The Chronicler's interpretation of "Tarshish ships" as ships that "went to Tarshish" (cf. 1 K. 10:22 with 2 Ch. 9:21; also 1 K. 22:48; 2 Ch. 20:36f.) appears to be a misunderstanding, for a voyage from Ezion-geber to a Mediterranean port could have been achieved only by circumnavigating Africa. The earliest account of what was probably a voyage from the Red Sea around Africa to Gibraltar is reported by Herodotus (iv.42) as having been carried out by Phoenician sailors in the time of Neco II of Egypt (609-594 B.C.). *See also* OPHIR; TARSHISH.

Jehoshaphat attempted unsuccessfully to revive trade on the Red Sea (1 K. 22:48f.); perhaps because he lacked Phoenician assistance, his Tarshish ships foundered at Ezion-geber. The Chronicler (2 Ch. 20:35-37) interpreted this disaster as a divine judgment because the undertaking was done in partnership with Ahaziah of Israel, "who did wickedly." Here the ship is an aspect of an unholy alliance with an enemy of Yahweh; its destructon is a mark of His displeasure (cf. Ps. 48:7).

Long before the Chronicler, probably toward the end of Uzziah's reign, during a period of prosperity in the area of Ezion-geber (Elath, 2 K. 14:22; 2 Ch. 26:2), Isaiah proclaimed a similar message: because the people of Judah "strike hands with foreigners" (Isa. 2:6), Yahweh rejected them, "for the Lord of hosts has a day . . . against all the ships of Tarshish" (vv. 12, 16). In view of the sentiment associated with ships of Tarshish in the foregoing passages, it is hardly surprising that when Jonah desires to flee "from the presence of the Lord" (Jonah 1:3), he boards "a ship going to Tarshish."

The "oracle concerning Tyre" in Isa. 23 associates Tarshish ships specifically with the Phoenician mercantile ports of Tyre and Sidon and begins the announcement of their destruction with "Wail, O ships of Tarshish." Similarly, in Ezk. 27:4-9a, 25b-36 a Phoenician merchant ship is described in detail as a symbol of Tyre and its far-flung trade: the ship's planking is of fir from Senir (Mt. Hermon), its mast of cedar of Lebanon, its oars from oak of Bashan, its deck of Cyprus pine inlaid with ivory, its sail of Egyptian linen, its awning of "blue and purple from the coasts of Elisha"; the crew is recruited from the Phoenician towns of Arvad, Tyre (or possibly Zemer), and Byblos. On the high seas the ship is wrecked by the east wind (vv. 26f.): thus the destruction of Tyre is portrayed.

In a different but related symbolism, Tarshish ships appear in Isa. 60:9 as vehicles for the eschatological gathering of Israel to Jerusalem. Thus this symbol of gentile wealth, which constantly tempted Israel away from Yahweh, here is turned around to represent the way by which that wealth comes into the possession of Israel in the latter day (vv. 11, 16).

Old Testament references to ships repeatedly symbolize foreign oppression. In Dt. 28:68 one of the catastrophes that will befall the Israelites if they are disobedient is that "the Lord will bring you back in ships to Egypt"; this phrase implies that Israel will not go freely but will be transported by foreigners. In Isa. 33:21 future peace and freedom from foreign oppression are symbolized by the absence of galleys and other foreign ships. A similar theme is reflected by the "ships of Kittim" (Nu. 24:24; Dnl. 11:30). "Kittim" referred originally to Citium in Cyprus; by extension "ships of Kittim" were any ships from across the Mediterranean that played a significant role in sacred history (cf. Josephus *Ant.* i.6.1 [128]). *See also* KITTIM.

The OT lyric and wisdom literature portrays the ship quite differently, as an object in nature. In Ps. 104:26 the ship is a denizen of the deep testifying to divine wisdom in creation; similarly, in Prov. 30:19 (cf. Wisd. 14:1-7) "the way of a ship on the high seas" is classed with natural phenomena that surpass human understanding. Other figurative uses are in Job 9:25f., where a light, swift ship symbolizes the speed with which human life passes (*see* SKIFFS OF REED); Prov. 23:34, where a drunken man is compared to a man tossed in a ship; Prov. 31:14, where a good housewife, like a merchant ship, is ready to travel afar to obtain necessities for her family. All these usages derive from natural characteristics of ships, rather than from their role in history, as in other parts of the OT.

II. In the Ancient East.—From earliest times ships played an important role in the life of the Egyptians and the various other peoples living on the coastlands and islands of the eastern Mediterranean; ships were also significant in southern Mesopotamia.

Geographically and economically the life of ancient Egypt focused on the Nile; virtually all traffic was by ship. Boats, or floats of some type, must have been used there from the beginning of human habitation.

The Palermo Stone records that as early as the 4th Dynasty (*ca.* 2600 B.C.) Snefru brought to Egypt "forty ships filled (with) cedarlogs" from Phoenicia or Cilicia; it mentions three ships each 100 cubits (over 50 m., 170 ft.) long (*ANET,* p. 227; cf. Casson, fig. 17). From this period also come the earliest remains of a ship yet discovered, a solar bark found dismantled near the Great Pyramid of Cheops. It was 43.4 m. (142 ft. 5 in.) long, 5.53 m. (18 ft. 2 in.) wide, and about 8 m. (26 ft.) deep. It had no keel and its planking appears to have been joined by mortise and tenon secured by cords. Some of its wood was from Asia Minor and Syria. An inscription from the cenotaph of a military commander, Uni, at Abydos, tells how he transported an army for Pepi I (6th Dynasty, *ca.* 2350 B.C.) by ship and landed "at the rear of the heights of the mountain range on the north of the land of the Sand Dwellers" (perhaps Carmel; *ANET,* p. 228). Throughout Egyptian history there was continuing sea trade with Phoenician ports, and military operations in Syria were conducted by both land and sea. The magnitude of Phoenician trade with Egypt *ca.* 1100 B.C. is suggested by the report of Wen-Amon, an Egyptian official from Karnak who traveled to Phoenicia, that there were twenty merchant ships at Byblos and fifty more at Sidon trading with Egypt (*ANET,* p. 27).

The marshlands of southern Mesopotamia also provided a setting for ships at the dawn of civilization. They appear in ritual scenes on seals from the Uruk period (mid-3rd millennium; H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* [1939], plates III d,c). A series of cylinder seals extending from the Early Dynastic period into the 1st Dynasty of Baby-

A Nile galley with seven rowers and overseers with whips. A large oar painted with eyes is used in the front as a rudder. A wall painting from the tomb of Pere, Thebes, 18th Dynasty (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

lon, and thus bridging the transition from Sumerian to Semitic domination, shows a stereotyped design: the sun-god is seated in a ship, which often appears to propel itself and whose prow ends in a human body holding what is apparently a punting pole (*ANEP*, nos. 676f.). The extent to which actual sea travel was dependent on non-Mesopotamians, however, is reflected in Sennacherib's report of his sixth campaign (694 B.C.), in which he brought captives from Syria to Nineveh: "Mighty ships (after) the workmanship of their hand, they built dexterously. Tyrian, Sidonian, and Cyprian sailors, captives of my hand, I ordered (to descend) the Tigris with them . . . my brave warriors. . . . I embarked them in the ships, and provided supplies for the journey, together with grain and straw for the horses, which I embarked with them" (D. D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib* [1924], pp. 73f., lines 58-61, 66-69). Such a warship is partially depicted on a broken relief from Sennacherib's palace at Kuyunjik (Nineveh) now in the British Museum. Propelled by two ranks of oarsmen, it had three decks, the uppermost protected by a row of shields; the prow is elongated into a ram.

III. In the NT.—In the Gospels boats appear repeatedly as vehicles used by Jesus and His disciples on the Sea of Galilee. The remains of one such boat were discovered near Magdala in 1986. From the 1st cent. B.C. or 1st cent. A.D., it is made of pine and measures 8.2 by 2.3 m. (27 by 7 1/2 ft.) (W. G. Pippert, *Christianity Today*, 30 [May 16, 1986], 58). (Boats are never mentioned in the Bible on either the Jordan or the Dead Sea, but their existence is attested by the Madeba Map [6th cent. A.D.], which shows two sailing ships on the Dead Sea and two ferries, apparently attached to lines, on the Jordan.) Ships form part of the setting of four miracle stories: the stilling of the storm (Mk. 4:35-41 par. Mt. 8:23-27; Lk. 8:22-25), the walking on the water (Mk. 6:45-52 par. Mt. 14:22-33; Jn. 6:16-21), and the miraculous catches of fish (Lk. 5:4-11; Jn. 21:4-8).

Whether or not the Evangelists, in recounting these miracles of Jesus, intended the ship to symbolize the Church (as has been suggested repeatedly), it does seem clear that they emphasized certain features of the stories to convey theological insights. The ship is the locus of the Christian community as it endures the onslaught of demonic powers symbolized by wind and wave (cf. Ps. 107:23-30), as it is saved in storm by a Lord who tramples on the waters of death (cf. Job 9:8; Sir. 24:5f.), and as it goes forth on the sea of the world to "fish" for converts. Here is brought together a complex of motifs from both biblical and classical literature: the ship as a community of individuals sharing a common interest and fate (Plato *Politicus* 302; Demosthenes *Philippics* iii.128 [69f.]; Horace *Odes* i.14; iii.2.26-30; T. Naph.6), the sea as an enemy of the Lord over which He triumphs (Job 26:12; Ps. 74:13f.; 89:9f.; Isa. 51:9f.), the sea as the place of death (Dt. 30:12f.; cf. Rom. 10:6f.; Job 38:16f.; Ezk. 26:19; Rev. 20:13; cf. Homer *Od.* xxiv.2 10f.), and the sea as the world (Rev. 17:15; Sib.Or. 5:530f.; cf. Isa. 17:12f.; Ezk. 26:3; Dnl. 7:3, 17).

Acts shows Paul and his companions repeatedly taking ship (Acts 13:13; 15:39; 16:11f.; 18:18, 21; 20:3-6, 13f.; 21:1-6; 27:1-6; 28:11-13); most thoroughly described is Paul's voyage from Caesarea to Rome (Acts 27:1–28:14). His route, except for his ship's being blown off course and shipwrecked on Malta, was the usual one between these points: Caesarea to Sidon, and then west between Cyprus and Asia Minor to Myra on the southern coast of Lycia, where they had to transship, probably because their "ship of Adramyttium" (27:2) was continuing to its home port in northwest Asia Minor. Taking an Alexandrian ship bound for Italy, they continued along the southern coast of Asia Minor and then across to the eastern tip of Crete, putting in on the southern coast at a small port called Fair Havens. Upon leaving there they were caught by a northeaster and driven westward for a fortnight, ultimately running aground on a shoal off Malta. Three months later, taking another Alexandrian ship, they continued via the common route Syracuse–Rhegium (Reggio di Calabria)–Puteoli (in Roman times a major port on the Bay of Naples; now Pozzuoli), whence Paul traveled overland to Rome.

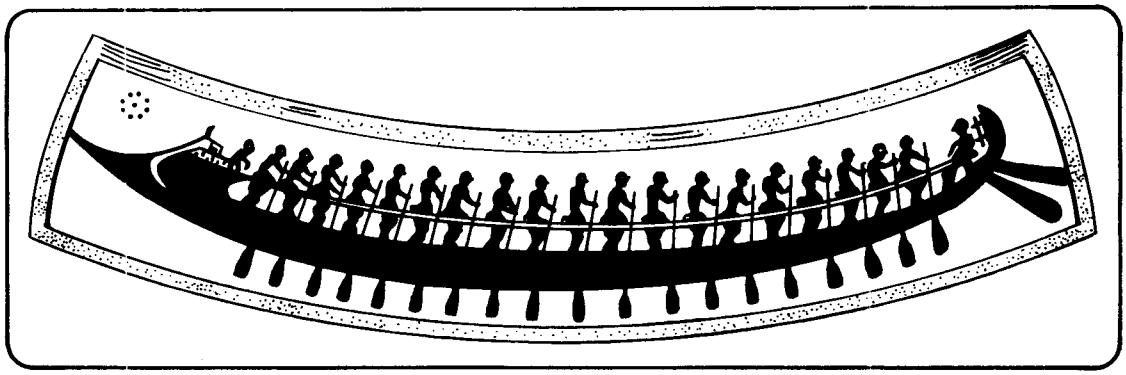
The account of this voyage is rich in sailing lore, especially tactics used in bad weather: the importance of wintering in a good harbor, since traveling safely on the Mediterranean in winter was impossible (Acts 27:9, 12; sailing was considered dangerous from mid-September to mid-November and regularly was curtailed thereafter until February or March; but, Pliny declared that, because of the avarice of merchants, the seas were never entirely devoid of ships [Pliny *Nat. hist.* ii.47 (125); Vegetius *De re*

A mosaic on the floor of a trading company at Ostia showing two Roman vessels in full sail with a lighthouse in the background. The dolphins symbolize a fortunate voyage (1st cent. A.D.) (Superintendent of Ostia Archaeology)

mil iv.39]). When caught in a storm, the sailors hoisted the dinghy on board (vv. 16f.), employed *hypozṓmata* (probably ropes run under the hull to tighten the planking, v. 17; see Casson, p. 211 n. 45), lowered the rigging, and ran before the storm (vv. 17, 40). They threw cargo and ultimately tackle overboard (vv. 18f.), sounded for a shallow bottom (v. 29), and when one was perceived put out multiple anchors from bow and stern and secured the rudders to avoid running on rocks (vv. 29f.). Having failed to beach the ship (by loosening the rudders and hoisting the foresail; the main and topsails were evidently lost) when a likely spot was found (vv. 39f.), they finally had to abandon ship and swim, some with planks and other pieces of wood as life preservers (vv. 43f.). Similar accounts of sailing the eastern Mediterranean in storm are found in Josephus *Ant.* xiv.14.2f. (374-380); Lucian *Navigium* 7-9; Gregory of Nazianzus *Oratio* xviii.31; Chariton *Chaereas and Callirrhoë* iii.5.1.

Both "ships of Alexandria" on which Paul traveled during this voyage were probably wheat transports carrying grain from Egypt to Italy, a major aspect of Mediterranean commerce in the Roman period. On the first of these, at least, the owner as well as the captain was on board (Acts 27:11). The second vessel was named (and stood under the protection of) the Dioskuroi, the twin gods Castor and Pollux, patron deities of sailing. *See* TWIN BROTHERS.

In the Epistles the ships is employed in a number of figurative senses common in classical and Hellenistic literature. In Eph. 4:14 the figure of a storm-tossed ship representing a man beset by evil portrays the Christian, or the Church as a whole, threatened by heresy (cf. Euripides *Daughters* 103f.; *Rhesus* 322f.; Sir. 33:2). In 1 Tim. 1:19 shipwreck portrays personal disaster (cf. Plato *Republic* viii.553; Ovid *Tristia* i.5.36; Philo *De aeternitate mundi* 129). He. 2:1 implies the ship as a figure for the soul (cf. Philo *Legum allegoriae* iii.224). In Jas. 3:3-5 the figures of the bit in the mouth of a horse and the rudder on a ship are coupled, as they are also by Philo (*De opificio mundi* 88; *Legum allegoriae* ii.104; iii.223f.); in James they emphasize the power of the teacher's tongue (cf. v. 1) to guide the Church for good or ill. By implication the ship here, as perhaps in the Gospels, seems to symbolize the Church. The same is true of 1 Pet. 3:18-21, where the ark of Noah appears to represent the Church, just as the waters of the Flood and baptism are said to correspond. The symbolism of ship = church is common in patristic literature (e.g., Tertullian *De baptismo* 12; Hippolytus *Demonstratio de Christo et antichristo* 59) and may be related backward to such passages as T. Naph.6, where a ship symbolizes Israel, and Horace *Odes* i.14, where it is the state. In Rev. 8:8f., at the blowing of the second trumpet an eschatological convulsion of nature takes place in the sea; a third of it turns to blood, a third of its living creatures die, and a third of its ships are destroyed. Here, as in Ps. 104:25f. and Prov. 30:19, ships are considered denizens of the sea and thus suffer along with its other inhabitants (cf. Rev. 8:7, where a third of the earth and trees and all the green grass are destroyed). Finally, in Rev. 18:17-19 the ship-



A Greek ship manned by twenty rowers; drawing adapted from a Geometric period vase.

masters and sailors of Rome, whose ships brought home wealth from the whole world, are vividly portrayed lamenting over its fall.

IV. In the Greek and Roman World.–The Greeks considered ships to have been invented by the Phoenicians; this attribution at least suggests the origin of Greek knowledge of ships and seafaring. Pottery from the Aegean period already portrays well-developed ships, relatively long and low, built on keels and sometimes carrying sails. Side rudders at the stern, usually one on each side — the common steering apparatus in antiquity — already appear. During the Minoan period (before *ca.* 1200 B.C.) both war and merchant ships bore sails. The oldest shipwreck yet discovered, from *ca.* 1400 B.C., was found off the coast of southern Turkey near Kaş in 1982 (G. F. Bass, *National Geographic,* 167/1 [1985], 1-3). Knowledge of ships during the Homeric period (*ca.* 12th cent.) is limited largely to warships, which were chiefly for the transport of soldiers; they were propelled both by oar and by sail. According to Homer *Od.* v. 252, 255; ix.322, ships had floors and carried a large mast.

As early as the Geometric period (11th-6th cents.) ships with rams appeared. Vessels from this period were characteristically high at the bow and stern with the midship cut low. By the 6th cent. both the classical warship, the "long ship" built relatively narrow and light, and the merchantman, the "round ship" with broader beam and heavier construction, reached the basic forms that they maintained into the Middle Ages (see illustrations in Casson, figs. 81f., 86f., 90, 94). As for the arrangement of oars, *ca.* 700 B.C. biremes appeared, and triremes about a century later (Herodotus iii.44; *see* TRIREME). In classical Greece the trireme remained most popular.

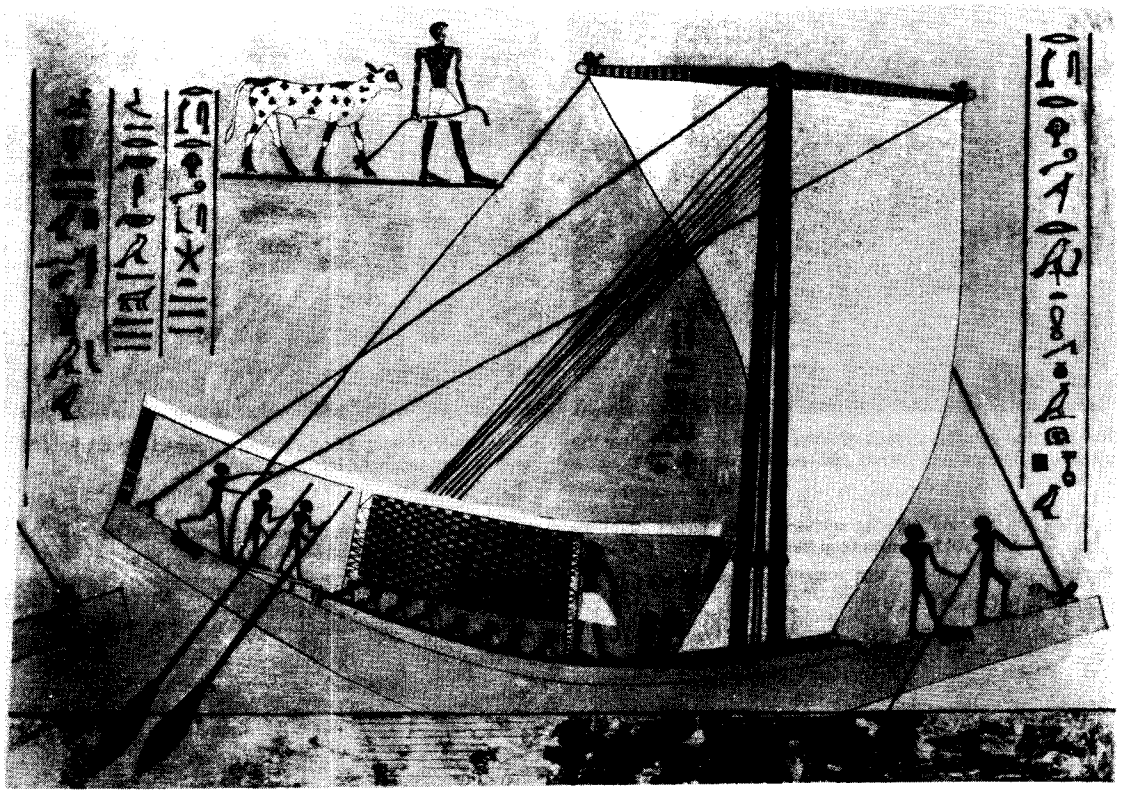
With the advent of the Hellenistic age, we learn of tetraremes, quinqueremes, and polyremes — "eights," "tens," "twenties," and even a "forty" built by Ptolemy IV (221-204 B.C.). For such ships to have had so many banks of oars superimposed on each other would have been functionally impossible. Casson (pp. 99-116) theorized that ships beyond the level of triremes had multiple rowers at each oar in no more than three banks. The numbers by which these ships were designated would refer then to the total oarsmen at each vertical segment of oars. How large such a ship could be is illustrated by Ptolemy's monster "forty": it measured 128 m. (420 ft.) in length; 17 m. (57 ft.) in width; its stern rose 24 m. (79 ft.) above the water, and its longest oars, counterbalanced with lead, were 17 m. (57 ft.) in length. This ship carried over seven thousand men, including four thousand oarsmen (Athenaeus v.203f.). Casson suggested plausibly that it was a catamaran, with rowers on each of the four sides of its two hulls (pp. 111f.).

Merchant ships were generally built higher and wider than warships. The only such ship for which we have precise measurements is the *Isis,* for which Lucian (*Navigium* 5) gave a length of 55 m. (180 ft.) a breadth-to-length ratio of 1:4 (14 m., 45 ft.), and a depth of 13 m. (43 ft.). As the description of this ship appears in a romance, it may not actually have existed outside the author's imagination; its dimensions, however, are not impossible when compared with the ship commissioned by Hiero II of Syracuse (306-215 B.C.), described by Athenaeus (v.206d-209b). This grain transport, which was also equipped with heavy weapons, fighting men, and even horses, must have been nearly the same size as that assigned to the *Isis.* Caligula transported the Vatican obelisk to Rome along with its pedestal, weighing together upwards of 500 tons, plus some 800-900 tons of ballast, in one ship (Pliny *Nat. hist.* xvii.76 [201f.]). Such ships, however, were much the exception. Among twenty-three wrecks discovered in the Mediterranean and catalogued by Casson (pp. 214-16) ranging from the 4th cent. B.C. to the 7th cent. A.D., the largest is one built by Caligula that measures 73 m. (240 ft.) in length. Most of the wrecks discovered are between 15 and 30 m. (50 and 100 ft.) long.

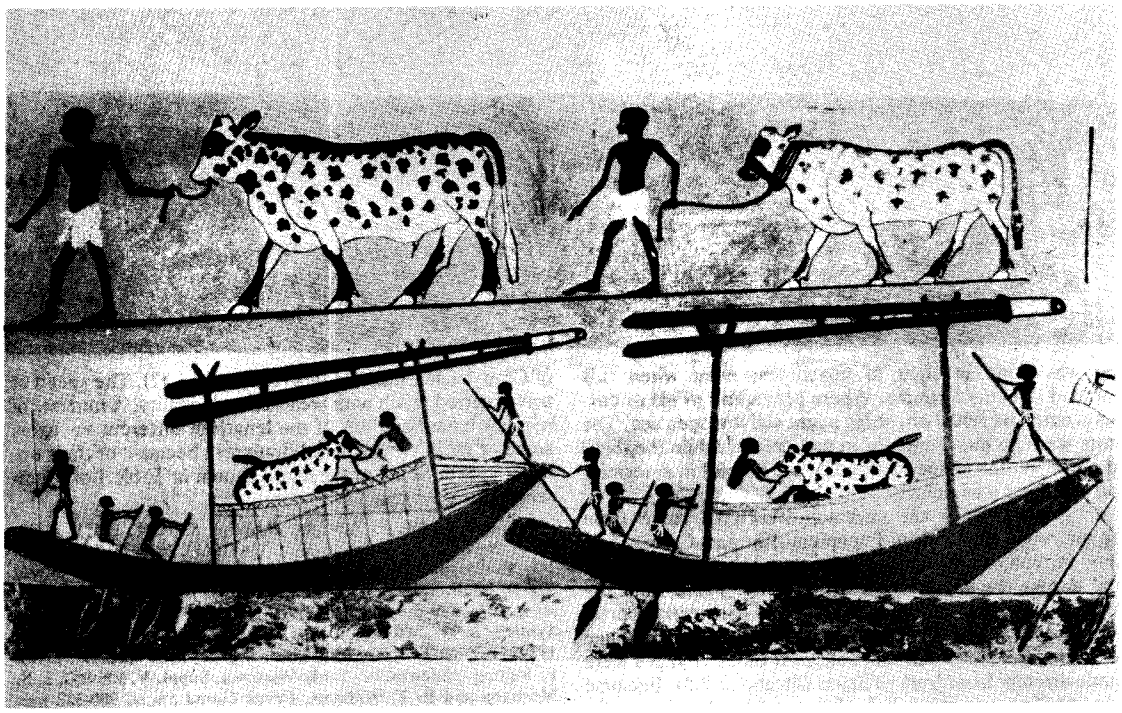
Travel was apparently limited to freight ships (at least two of the vessels on which Paul traveled to Rome must have been grain transports), but relatively large numbers of people were accommodated aboard, although the majority could scarcely have been given cabins. Some ships offered cramped quarters for passengers in the hold (Lucian *Juppiter Tragoedus* 48; Athenaeus v. 207f.); some had relatively small cabins at the stern where the specially privileged might stay (Achilles Tatius v. 15; see Casson, fig. 145), but most travelers had to make do on the open deck, sometimes arranging their own shelters (Petronius 100; Achilles Tatius ii.33). How crowded conditions might be is suggested by the report that the ship on which Paul was wrecked at Malta carried 276 persons (Acts 27:37), while Josephus (*Vita* 3 [13-16]) was shipwrecked with six hundred persons on board. Generally passengers were responsible for their own food (e.g., Achilles Tatius iii.33), although cooking facilities might be provided for the captain, the owner, and the specially favored. A Byzantine ship from the 7th cent. excavated off the southwest coast of Turkey near Yassi Ada had a galley at the stern with a hearth, a tile roof, and cupboards (G. F. Bass, *National Geographic,* 134 [1968], 419).

Ancient sailors, having no compasses, resorted to various other expedients to maintain their course. Much sail-

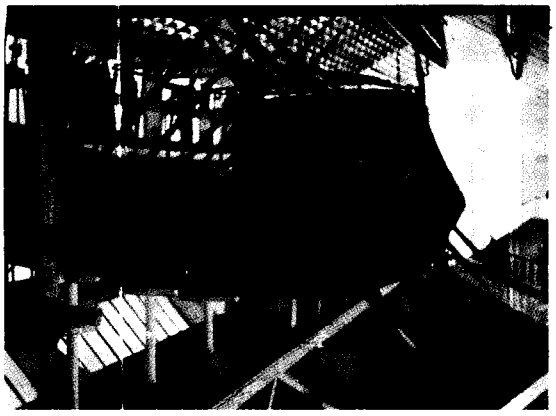
SHIPS



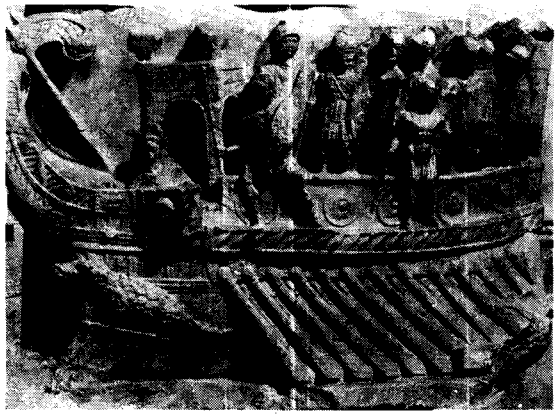
An Egyptian vessel under full sail. A wall painting from the tomb of Kaemankh at Gîzeh, *ca.* 2420-2270 B.C. (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



Two ships carrying cattle are momentarily in danger of collision. A wall painting from Gîzeh, tomb of Kaemankh, *ca.* 2420-2270 B.C. (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

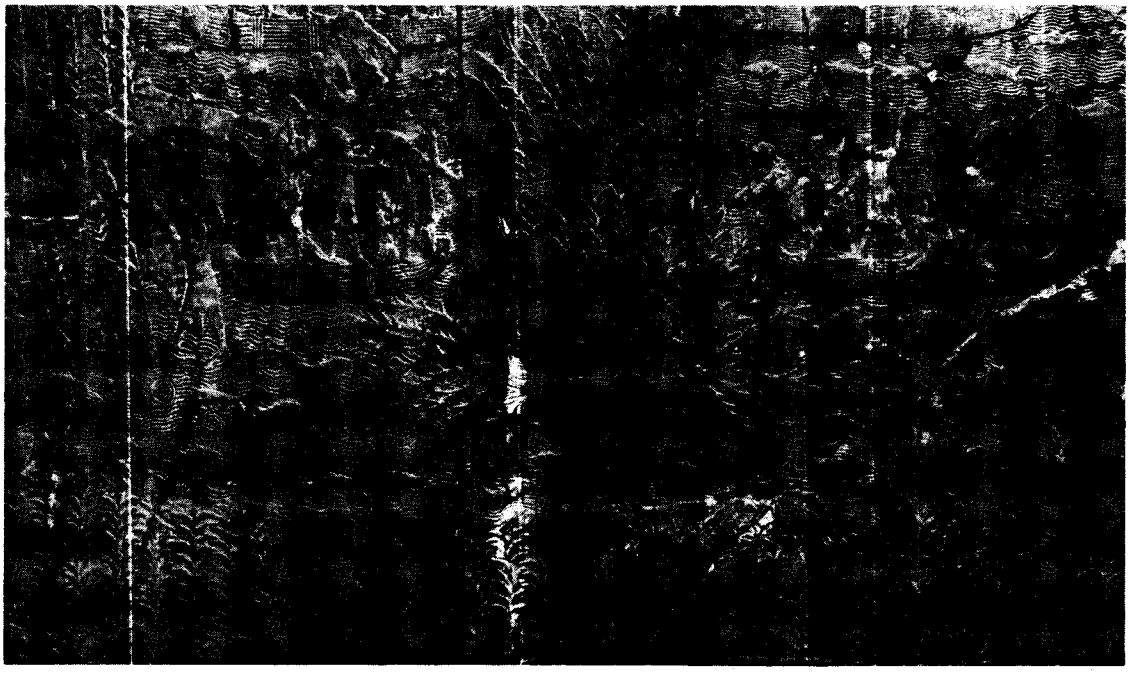


This Egyptian solar boat made of wood was found buried near the pyramid of Cheops at Gîzeh (*ca.* 2600 B.C.) (B. van Elderen)



A stone relief showing a Roman bireme manned with soldiers (Vatican Museum/Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

In this relief Assyrian soldiers in reed vessels attack marsh dwellers who are also on rafts made of reeds. From the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (704-681 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



ing was done in sight of coastlines, even when this entailed circuitous routes. Where prevailing winds or currents could be relied on, ships might sail the open sea. The stars were an important aid in navigation, while the flight of birds and the shape of clouds were helpful in determining that land was near.

In Roman times the common westward route from Egypt was Alexandria–Phoenicia–Rhodes–Crete–Messina–Puteoli or Ostia; an alternative route was via Cyrene and across the Mediterranean to Sicily. From Italy the route west was Corsica–Marseilles–Tarragona–Cartagena–Cadiz (Livy xxvi.19.11f.), or by way of Carthage and along the North African coast. At times voyages were made directly from Italy to Spain (Strabo iii.2.5). Because of prevailing westerly winds ships could sail east directly across the Mediterranean from Messina to Alexandria; those bound for Greece and Asia Minor traveled by way of Corcyra and Cape Malea (Livy xxxvi.42). The speed of travel varied much with weather and locality. A number of records have been left of the length of different voyages, some of them remembered doubtless because of their unusual speed. Some of these are shown in Table 1 of Mediterranean voyages.

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TABLE 1
Mediterranean Voyages

Gibraltar–Ostia	7 days	(Pliny *Nat. hist.* xix.3f.)
E. Spain–Ostia	4 days	(*Ibid.*)
Narbonne–Ostia	3 days	(*Ibid.*)
Africa–Ostia	2 days	(*Ibid.*)
Rhegium–Puteoli	2 days	(Acts 28:13)
Puteoli–Tauromenium	2-3 days	(Philostratus *Life of Apol.* viii.15)
Puteoli–Alexandria	9 days	(Pliny *loc. cit.*)
Messina–Alexandria	7 days	(*Ibid.*)
Rhodes–Alexandria	3-4 days	(Diodorus iii.34.7)
Alexandria–Ethiopia	9-10 days	(*Ibid.*)
Alexandria–West Cyprus	6-7 days	(Lucian *Navigium* 7)
Syracuse–Elis	6 days	(Philostratus, *loc. cit.*)
Lake Maeotis (Sea of Azov)–Rhodes	9-10 days	(Diodorus, *loc. cit.*)
Caesarea–Sidon	1 day	(Acts 27:3)

the Ancient Mediterranean (1981); A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (*Studia Orientalia*, 8/4; 1939); J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1866); S. Smith, *PEQ*, 85 (1953), 97-110; P. Throckmorton, *National Geographic*, 135 (1969), 282-300; H. D. L. Viereck, *Die römische Flotte* (1975).

E. HILGERT

SHISHA shī'shə [Heb. *šîšā'*]. A high official in the court of King David (*see* SHAVSHA); his sons occupied the same office in Solomon's court (1 K. 4:3).

SHISHAK shī'shak [Heb. *šîšaq*; *šûšaq* (*K*,1 K. 14:25); Egyp. *šošenq*; Gk. *Sousakim*]. The king of Egypt who raided Palestine in the fifth year of Rehoboam king of Judah, identified with the pharaoh Sheshonq I of the Egyptian monuments, who founded the 22nd (Libyan) Dynasty (*ca.* 945-924 B.C.).

As "Great Chief of the Meshwesh" (abbr. Mā, Libyan tribesfolk settled in military colonies in Egypt), Sheshonq was already the most powerful man in Egypt under Psusennes II (last king of the 21st Dynasty), from whom he obtained high honors, as shown by an inscription from Abydos. The marriage of his son to Psusennes' daughter enabled him to ascend the throne peacefully at Psusennes' death (*ca.* 945 B.C.), as Sheshonq I.

The new king appears to have been a shrewd politician. Under the previous dynasty, the high priests of Amon at Thebes had ruled Upper (south) Egypt in virtual independence of the pharaohs at Tanis in the north. But Sheshonq ended their rule by installing his own son as high priest, thus restoring Egypt's political unity. His reign of twenty-one years (*ca.* 945-924 B.C. on likeliest dates, *pace* Albright) was mainly peaceful and conserved Egypt's strength. In foreign affairs he was cautious. While Solomon reigned over a united and powerful Israel, Sheshonq risked no open conflict but contented himself with harboring political refugees such as Jeroboam son of Nebat (1 K. 11:40), whose return to Israel at Rehoboam's accession precipitated the breakup of that kingdom (ch. 12).

1 Kings 14:25-28 and 2 Ch. 12:1-12 record that in the fifth year of Rehoboam king of Judah, as a divine punishment for forsaking the law, Shishak king of Egypt came forth with twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand horsemen, and vast forces, including Libyans, Sukkiim, and Ethiopians. He took the fortified cities of Judah and came as far as Jerusalem. Rehoboam and his people repented at the preaching of the prophet Shemaiah, so Jerusalem was saved from destruction; but the king and the people had to become Shishak's vassals, and they stripped temple, palace, and city of their treasures (including Solomon's gold shields) to buy off the pharaoh.

Egyptian and other sources throw additional light on these events. A very badly damaged stele of Sheshonq from Karnak may be interpreted to mean that his invasion of Palestine was precipitated by a border incident. But recent study of the famous list of over 150 Palestinian place names in Sheshonq's triumphal relief at Karnak (south wall of the temple of Amen-Rē) shows that he sent troops into the Negeb to destroy Judahite forts there, while he marched through Israel (via Beth-horon and Gibeon and thus near to Jerusalem, as required by the biblical accounts). He therefore brought Jeroboam to heel as well as Rehoboam. Possibly Jeroboam had promised to be Shishak's vassal but had defied him when firmly seated on the throne of Israel — hence the invasion of Israel as well as the subjection of Judah.

Israelite place names in the Karnak list include Megiddo, Taanach, Shunem, Beth-shean, Penuel, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Beth-horon, and Aijalon. The name *Yd-h-mlk* should be vocalized *yad-hammelek*, "king's monument" — presumably a landmark, named near Megiddo in the list; it has nothing to do with either Rehoboam or Judah, as was once thought. A broken stele of Sheshonq found at Megiddo also attests his passage there, and excavators at various Palestinian sites have attributed Iron Age destruction levels to the pharaoh's raid.

Shortly after this expedition, in the twenty-first year of his reign, Sheshonq ordered the erection of a pillared court and pylon at Karnak. Neither these works nor the famous triumphal relief carved in conjunction with them was ever finished, for he died a few months later. His Palestinian campaign thus dates to the last years of his reign; he wisely refrained from venturing any farther into Asia. Sheshonq maintained friendly relations with Abibaal king of Byblos in Phoenicia, as is shown by a statue bearing both their names (in Egyptian and Phoenician, respectively). The enigmatic Sukkiim named among the pharaoh's troops in 2 Ch. 12:3 are identified by Egyptian texts (which name them as Tjuku, Tjukten) as scouts or auxiliaries from the Libyan oases.

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K. A. KITCHEN

SHITRAI shit'rī [Heb. *K šiṭray*; *Q širṭay*]. A Sharonite who was in charge of King David's herds grazing in Sharon (1 Ch. 27:29).

SHITTAH TREE (Isa. 41:19, AV); **SHITTIM WOOD** (AV Ex. 25:5, etc.). *See* ACACIA.

SHITTIM shit'im [Heb. *haššiṭṭîm*–'the acacias'; Gk. *sattin*].

1. A place on the eastern side of the Jordan and N of the Dead Sea, probably a portion of the plains of Moab. According to Glueck, *haššiṭṭîm* is an abbreviated form of *'āḇēl haššiṭṭîm*, ABEL-SHITTIM. Simons, on the other hand, thought that Shittim was the name of the entire area, which stretched from Abel-shittim at the northern end to Beth-jeshimoth at the southern end (cf. Nu. 33:49).

Shittim was the last camping place of the Israelite tribes before they crossed the Jordan (Nu. 25:1); "the plains of Moab" in 22:1 apparently designates the same site. At Shittim "Israel yoked himself to Baal of Peor" (25:3), thus giving Balak the results that he had sought by trying to have Balaam curse Israel (chs. 22–24). The sin involved harlotry — probably in the name of religion — with Moabite and Midianite women (25:1-9). At Shittim Moses ordered a CENSUS of the people (26:1-4). Subsequently Moses was told to "go up into the mountain of Abarim, and see the land" (27:12-14) and to invest Joshua with some of his authority (vv. 18-23). Since Moses' obedience to this command is recounted in Dt. 34, the book's last chapter, one may assume that at least some of his words in Deuteronomy were spoken to the people at Shittim, the last encampment before the Jordan crossing. Nu. 30, then, represents only a selection of the entire message.

At Shittim vengeance was taken on the Midianites, and Balaam was slain (Nu. 31:1-20). The tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh decided to take portions of Transjordan as their land allotment, and this was granted with the proviso that they first help their brothers conquer the land of Canaan (32:1-5, 20-23). From Shittim Joshua sent two men to spy out the land, "especially Jericho" (Josh. 2:1), after the death of Moses. And from Shittim the tribes of Israel at long last moved down to the waters of the Jordan to cross into the Land of Promise (3:1); God permitted them to cross on dry land by stopping the waters at ADAM (vv. 14-17).

Micah delivered a prophecy in which God called upon the people to 'remember . . . what happened from Shittim to Gilgal" (Mic. 6:5). Balak and Balaam are mentioned, but the context (vv. 1-5) deals with the gracious saving acts of the Lord. It is not enough, therefore, to say that the reference to Shittim indicates the miraculous stopping of the waters. Rather, it concerns the Lord's gracious willingness to save His people even though they had just committed an abomination with the Moabites and Midianites.

In Hos. 5:2 the RSV emends *šēṭîm*, "those who revolt," to *šiṭṭîm* (see *BHS*); thus "the revolters are profound to make slaughter" (AV; cf. NEB) becomes "they have made deep the pit of Shittim" (RSV). But where else is a "pit of Shittim" mentioned?

Josephus located Abel-shittim "where now Abile is" (*Ant.* iv.8.1 [176]), about 60 stadia (11 km. [7 mi]) from the Jordan (*Ant.* v.1.1 [4]). Jerome (comm. on Joel 3:18) located Shittim near Livias, 10 km. (6 mi.) from the Dead Sea. Abel located the site along the Wâdī Kefrein. At Tell el-Kefrein, about 11 km. (7 mi.) E of the Jordan and 10 km. (6 mi.) N of the Dead Sea, remains of Iron I and II (*ca.* 1200-500 B.C.) are numerous. Glueck probably made a more convincing case for Tell el-Ḥammâm, about 2.3 km. (1.4 mi.) E of Tell el-Kefrein. But the specific location of a camp that accommodated all Israel and that according to a Tannaite tradition extended over 19 km. (12 mi.) is perhaps too much to ask.

Bibliography.–*GP*, II, 234; *GTTOT*, § 460; N. Glueck, *BASOR*, 91 (1943), 13-18; *AASOR*, 25-28 (1945-48), 371-381.

2. A valley mentioned in Joel 3:18 that will be watered by a fountain that will come forth from the house of the Lord. Since the passage is eschatological, one need not press for geographical identification. The context suggests a valley in which water would flow away from Jerusalem, and the Wâdī en-Nâr, a continuation of the Kidron Valley, meets this requirement W. S. LASOR

SHIZA shī'zə [Heb. *šîzā'*]. A Reubenite whose son Adina was among David's warriors known as the "thirty" (1 Ch. 11:42).

SHOA shō'ə [Heb. *šô(a)'*]. An unidentified Mesopotamian people mentioned in Ezk. 23:23 together with the Babylonians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians, as one of Judah's allies who would turn against her. The proposed identification with the Sutu, a nomadic Aramean tribe, is unlikely on linguistic grounds (see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979], p. 488). D. A. DORSEY

SHOAL The word "shoal" occurs twice in the RSV. In Lk. 5:6 "shoal" (Gk. *plḗthos*, lit. "large number, multitude"; AV "multitude"; NEB "haul") refers to a great quantity of fish. In Acts 27:41 the ship upon which Paul was traveling to Rome ran aground upon a "shoal" (Gk. *tópos dithállassos*, lit. "place of two seas"; so RSV mg.; cf. AV, NEB). This shoal was a shallow area located within a narrow waterway (cf. E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles* [Eng. tr. 1971], p. 708).

SHOBAB shō'bab [Heb. *šôḇāḇ*].

1. Son of Caleb by his wife Azubah (1 Ch. 2:18).
2. One of the sons of David born in Jerusalem (2 S. 5:14; 1 Ch. 3:5; 14:4).

SHOBACH shō'bak [Heb. *šôḇaḵ*]. Commander of the Syrian forces of Hadadezer king of Zobah in a military campaign against King David (2 S. 10:16, 18). In the battle at Helam the Israelite forces soundly defeated the Syrians, and Shobach was mortally wounded. He is called Shophach in 1 Ch. 19:16, 18.

SHOBAI shō'bī [Heb. *šōḇāy*; Gk. Apoc. A *Sabei*, B *Tōbeis*, Lucian *Sōbaí*]; AV Apoc. SAMI; NEB Apoc. SABI. Head of a Levitical family of gatekeepers who returned with Zerubbabel from the Exile (Ezr. 2:42 par. Neh. 7:45; 1 Esd. 5:28).

SHOBAL shō'bäl [Heb. *šôḇāl*–'basket' (?) (see *IP*, p. 226)].

1. Second son of Seir; a clan chief of the Horites who occupied the land of Edom before the Edomites (Gen. 36:20, 23, 29; 1 Ch. 1:38, 40).
2. A Calebite; son of Hur and ancestor (or founder) of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch. 2:50); also the ancestor of Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth (v. 52), and Reaiah (4:1f.). The clan was incorporated into Judah (4:1).

SHOBEK shō'bek [Heb. *šôḇēq*–'conqueror' (?) (see *IP*, p. 231)]. One of those who signed the covenant under Nehemiah's leadership after the Exile (Neh. 10:24).

SHOBI shō'bī [Heb. *šōḇî*]. An Ammonite prince, son of King Nahash; one of those who assisted David during the rebellion of Absalom (2 S. 17:27). He was a brother of Hanun, who succeeded his father Nahash as king of the Ammonites and whose shameful treatment of David's envoys produced the wars between Israel and Ammon (chs. 10f.). It appears that David, following his capture of the royal city of Rabbah (12:26-31), appointed Shobi to rule in his brother's place.

"The sandal bearer of the king of Upper Egypt" on a slate palette from Hierakonpolis, ca. 3000 B.C. (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

SHOCHO shō′kō (2 Ch. 28:18, AV); **SHOCHOH** (1 S. 17:1, AV); **SHOCO** (2 Ch. 11:7, AV). *See* Soco.

SHOCK. The RSV uses this term in several senses. In Jer. 2:12, part of an oracle of judgment against Israel, the Lord calls for the heavens to "be shocked" (Heb. *śā'ar*) at Israel's apostasy (see W. McKane, comm. on Jeremiah, I [*ICC*, 1986], 34). The verb *śā'ar* is related to the noun *śē'ar*, "hair," and probably meant originally "cause one's hair to stand on end, bristle" (see *CHAL*, p. 353; W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* [*Hermeneia*, 1986], p. 91). Elsewhere the RSV translates the verb *śā'ar* as "be (horribly) afraid" (Ezk. 27:35; so AV in Jer. 2:12) and "shudder" (Ezk. 32:10; cf. NEB "tremble" in Jer. 2:12).

In Ezk. 26:9 the prophet pronounces an oracle against Tyre that tells of Nebuchadrezzar's siege of that city. The RSV "shock [Heb. *mᵉḥî* < *mḥh*, "strike"] of the battering rams" is a disputed translation (cf. AV, NEB; see KD; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1985], p. 28).

For "shock" in Jgs. 5:15; Job 5:26, *see* SHEAF.

G. A. L.

SHOE; SANDAL [Heb. *na'al*; Gk. *hypódēma, sandálion*]. The Hebrew noun *na'al* occurs twenty-three times (cf. the vb. *nā'al*; RSV "Shod," Ezk. 16:10; "give sandals" [hiphil], 2 Ch. 28:15); the LXX usually renders the noun with Gk. *hypódēma* (except at Josh. 9:13 [LXX 11] and Isa. 20:2, where it uses *sandálion*). The Greek noun *hypódēma* occurs ten times in the NT (cf. vb. *hypodéomai*, lit. "fasten underneath"; RSV "shod," Eph. 6:15; "put on," Acts 12:8; "wear," Mk. 6:9), and *sandálion* occurs twice (Mk. 6:9; Acts 12:8). The RSV, AV, and NEB render

The feet of the weapon bearers of King Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668-626 B.C.). They are wearing high leather shoes that lace around the leg at the top. Alabaster relief from Nineveh (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 8840)

these by "shoe" or "sandal" interchangeably. *Na'al* is the generic Hebrew term for either type of footwear. Gk. *hypódēma* refers to a sole bound with straps under the feet, while *sandálion* (the diminutive of *sándalon*) indicates a more protective, wooden sole, bound around the instep and ankle (see Forbes, p. 59, for other, extrabiblical terms).

Taking off sandals or going BAREFOOT could signify a number of things. (1) It was a sign of respect for a holy place; cf. the instructions to Moses (Ex. 3:5; Acts 7:33) and Joshua (Josh. 5:15). No footwear is mentioned in the otherwise detailed descriptions of the vestments of the priests; they probably performed many or all of their duties barefoot. (2) Going barefoot was a sign of mourning (2 S. 15:30; Ezk. 24:17, 23; cf. Jth. 10:3f.). (3) It was required of captives and slaves (2 Ch. 28:15; Isa. 20:2). (4) A widow whose brother-in-law refused to fulfil the obligations of levirate marriage could publically remove his sandal and spit in his face as a sign of reproach (Dt. 25:9f.). A similar (though not exactly analogous) symbolic gesture is referred to in Ruth 4:8. (5) Removal of a sandal also was a part of various types of legal transactions or exchanges (Ruth 4:7). The LXX of 1 S. 12:3 also refers to such a legal use of shoes (see Speiser, pp. 15-18). (6) God's "casting" His sandal upon Edom in Ps. 60:8 (MT 10); 108:9 (MT 10) may also symbolize His taking possession of the land (see de Vaux, p. 169); scholars have offered various interpretations of this symbolic action, but all agree that it affirms God's sovereignty over that nation.

The putting on, wearing, and possession of sandals could also signify several things. Wearing shoes or sandals often indicated a state of preparedness (cf. Eph. 6:15). The Passover meal was to be eaten with belt girded, sandals on, and staff in hand (Ex. 12:11). In Mk. 6:9 Jesus instructs His disciples to take sandals with them, but little

Assyrian sandals with wooden or leather soles strapped on with thongs. Detail from a relief of Ashurbanipal II, 9th cent B.C., from Nimrûd (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Egyptian sandals made of leather and woven reeds (from Thebes, 18th Dynasty) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

else, when they go out to preach and heal; in the parallel passages, He forbids their taking sandals (Mt. 10:10; Lk. 10:4; 22:35), but probably extra pairs are meant. Wearing sandals was also a sign that someone was a free person and not a slave (Lk. 15:22). Sandals could even be a source of beauty on a woman (Cant. 7:1 [MT 2]; cf. Jth. 16:9).

As items of wealth, sandals and sandal-thongs were relatively insignificant (Gen. 14:23; Isa. 5:27; cf. Sir. 46:19). Am. 2:6; 8:6 seems to say that they were the equivalent of what the poor were sold for in Amos's day (although some scholars have suggested that the reference is to the use of sandals in the legal transfer of land; see Speiser; de Vaux, p. 169). John the Baptist considered himself unworthy even to touch the humblest part of Jesus' garb: to carry (Mt. 3:11) or untie His sandals (Mk. 1:7; Lk. 3:16; Jn. 1:27) — tasks usually performed by a slave (cf. 1 S. 25:41; Jn. 13:6f.).

Foot coverings of many types are known from most parts of the ancient Near East. Knowledge of these comes from paintings or reliefs on monuments, descriptions in classical and rabbinic literature, and archeological discoveries of actual samples. They provided varying degrees of protection from coldness and dampness in the winter and from sharp stones, briers, and hot sand in the summer. They also served decorative purposes (esp. for women) and military purposes (Greek and Roman soldiers wore nail-studded shoes). The most common material from which they were made was leather, and they usually had multi-layered soles. Many types of shoes had leather uppers, and there were also leggings of various types. The shoes mentioned in the Bible were mainly of the sandal type, with a simple sole attached by means of leather thongs.

See also GARMENTS VII.

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D. M. HOWARD, JR.

SHOHAM shō'həm [Heb. *šōham*–'precious stone' (perhaps onyx, carnelian, or lapis lazuli)]. A Merarite Levite; son of Jaaziah (1 Ch. 24:27).

SHOMER shō'mər [Heb. *šōmer, šômēr*–'watcher'].

1. Mother (or father) of Jehozabad, one of the conspirators who slew King Joash (2 K. 12:21 [MT 22]); called "Shimrith the Moabitess" in 2 Ch. 24:26 (*see* SHIMRITH).

2. An Asherite, son of Heber (1 Ch. 7:32); called "Shemer" (NEB "Shomer") in v. 34.

SHOPHACH shō'fak [Heb. *šôpaḵ*] (1 Ch. 19:16, 18). *See* SHOBACH.

SHOPHAN shō'fan (Nu. 32:35, AV). *See* ATROTH-SHOPHAN.

SHORE [Heb. *ḥôp* (Gen. 49:13), *śāpâ*–'lip' (1 K. 9:26; 2 Ch. 8:17), *'ereṣ*–'land' (Ezk. 27:29); Gk. *prosormízō*–'come into (the) harbor' ("moored to the shore," Mk. 6:53)]; AV also HAVEN, SIDE, LAND, "drew to the shore"; NEB also COAST, "where they made fast", etc. Land that borders upon a generally large body of water.

Hebrew *ḥôp* designates the shore or coastal plain along the Mediterranean Sea (Gen. 49:13; cf. *ḥôp* for "coast," "seacoast," in Dt. 1:7; Josh. 9:1; Jgs. 5:17; Jer. 47:7; Ezk.

25:16). Heb. *śāpâ* (lit. "lip") in 1 K. 9:26 and 2 Ch. 8:17 refers to the shore of the Red Sea (Gulf of Aqabah).

See also COAST. G. L. K.

SHORTEN [Heb. *qāṣar*–'be (too) short,' also *ṣārar*–'be restricted, impeded' (Job 18:7); Gk. *kolobóō*]; AV also STRAITEN (Job 18:7); NEB BE (CUT) SHORT, LIMIT, TOTTER (Job 18:7). In Nu. 11:23; Isa. 50:2; 59:1 the shortening of God's HAND is a figurative expression for a limitation of His power. Job 18:7 pictures a person whose path becomes narrow and full of obstacles that cause him to stumble. The shortening of days refers to a premature death in Ps. 102:23 (MT 24) but to a curtailment of a period of suffering in Mt. 24:22 par. Mk. 13:20.

SHOSHANNIM shō-shan'əm. The AV transliteration of Heb. *šōšannîm* in the superscriptions to Pss. 45, 69, and 80. The RSV translates it "lilies." *See* LILIES (ACCORDING TO); *see also* EDUTH.

SHOULDER [Heb. *śeḵem*–'neck and upper part of the back' (Gen. 9:23; 24:15; Josh. 4:5; Ps. 81:6 [MT 7]; etc.), *zᵉrôʿ(a)*–'arm, forearm' (Nu. 6:19; Dt. 18:3; 2 K. 9:24), *kāṯēp*–'shoulder blade, shoulder,' 'slope, side of mountain' (Nu. 7:9; Josh. 15:8, 10f.; Isa. 9:6 [MT 5]; 11:14; etc.); Gk. *ómos* (Mt. 23:4; Lk. 15:5)]; AV also SIDE (Nu. 34:11; Josh. 15:8), ARM (2 K. 9:24), etc.; NEB also BACK, RIDGE, SLOPE, FLANK (Isa. 11:14), ARMPIT (Ezk. 29:7), etc.; **SHOULDER BLADE** [Heb. *kāṯēp* (Job 31:22)]; AV ARM; **SHOULDER-PIECES** [Heb. *kāṯēp* (Ex. 28:7, 12, 25, 27; 39:4, 7, 18, 20)]; AV also SHOULDER, SIDE; NEB also SHOULDER. In Gen. 24:46 the RSV supplies "shoulder" from the context. In 2 K. 6:31 the RSV translates Heb. *ʿālāyw* (lit. "on him") as "on his shoulders."

The terms may be used literally of the shoulders (Ex. 28:12) and shoulder blades (Job 31:22) of a person, that which sits on the shoulders, e.g., the shoulder-pieces of the priest's ephod (Ex. 28:7), or that which hangs between the shoulders, e.g., the javelin of Goliath (1 S. 17:6). In 1 S. 17:6 the NEB understands *kāṯēp* as being similar to the Ugar. *ktp*, "blade" or "weapon" (*UT*, 49:V:2); thus the NEB translates *bên kᵉṯēpāyw* as "one of his weapons."

Figurative uses vary. The shoulder of an animal may refer to rebellious Israel (e.g., Ezk. 34:21; cf. Zec. 7:11). Isa. 9:6 refers to the government being placed upon Messiah's shoulder, i.e., He will have authority to administer God's kingdom. Heb. *kāṯēp* also connotes the slopes, sides, or extensions of hills or mountains (e.g., Josh. 15:8).

In the well-known parable of the lost sheep, Jesus pictured the shepherd placing the one lost sheep on his shoulders and inviting his neighbors to rejoice over his rescuing it (Lk. 15:5). Some burdens, however, are too heavy for human beings. Jesus castigated the scribes and Pharisees for laying burdens upon others that the religious rulers themselves were unwilling to bear (Mt. 23:4).

G. WYPER

SHOUT [Heb. *rû(a)ʿ*, *tᵉrûʿâ*] (Ex. 32:17 [MT 18]; Nu. 23:21; Josh. 6:5, 10, 16, 20; Jgs. 15:14; 1 S. 4:5f.; etc.); AV also CRY, JOYFUL SOUND, REJOICING, SHOUT IN TRIUMPH, etc.; NEB also ACCLAIM, RAISE A WAR-CRY, HUE AND CRY, etc.; [*ʾāmar*] (Jgs. 7:18); AV SAY; [*rānan, rinnâ*] (Lev. 9:24; Ps. 20:5 [MT 6]; 32:11; 126:2, 5f.; Prov. 11:10; Isa. 43:14; etc.); AV also REJOICE, REJOICING, SINGING, JOY, etc.; NEB also SING ALOUD, SONGS OF JOY, JUBILATION, etc.; [*qārâ*] (Jgs. 18:23; 1 S. 17:8; 2 Ch. 32:18; Jer. 20:8); AV CRY; NEB also PROCLAIM, CRY OUT; [*hêḏāḏ*] (Isa. 16:9f.; Jer. 25:30; 48:33; 51:14); NEB also SONG: [*hēḏ*] (Ezk. 7:7); AV SOUNDING; NEB "crash of thunder"; [*tᵉšûʾôṯ*] (Job 39:7; Isa. 22:2; Zec. 4:7); AV also STIR, CRYING; NEB also TUMULT, ACCLAIM; [*qôl, qôl-rinnâ, nāṯan qôlām*] (Ps. 42:4 [MT 5]; Isa. 31:4; Jer. 4:16); AV VOICE, "give out their voice"; NEB also NOISE, HOWLING; [*ṣāhal*] (Est. 8:15; Jer. 31:7); AV REJOICE [*ʾānâ*] (Ex. 32:18); NEB CLAMOUR; [*zᵉʿāqâ*] (Eccl. 9:17); AV CRY; [*śô(a)ʿ*] (Isa. 22:5); AV CRYING; NEB "rousing cries for help that echo"; [Gk. *boáō*] (Gal. 4:27); AV CRY; NEB SHOUT OF JOY; [*krázō*] (Mt. 21:9; 27:23; Mk. 15:14); AV CRY OUT; [*epiphōnéō*] (Lk. 23:21; Acts 12:22; 21:34; 22:24); AV also CRY; NEB also SHOUT BACK, OUTCRY.

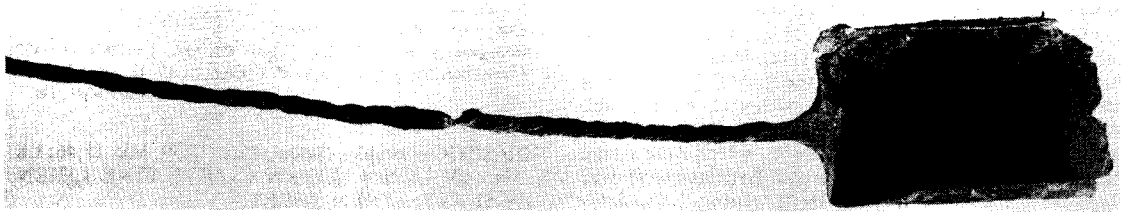
The RSV uses "shout" for several kinds of utterances. The Hebrew noun *tᵉrûʿâ* and verb rû(a)ʿ, e.g., generally denote a battle cry (*see also* BLAST; BLOW 1); such was the shout that preceded the collapse of the Jericho walls in Josh. 6:20 (cf. Jer. 50:15; Babylon). R. de Vaux (*Ancient Israel* [Eng., tr. 1961], pp. 9, 254, 259) thought that this battle cry became part of the ritual surrounding the ark of the covenant (2 S. 6:15), but the term could also indicate a shout of victory or praise (cf. Ps. 27:6; 33:3; 47:1, 5 [MT 2, 6]; 60:8 [MT 10]; Zec. 9:9).

The verbs *rānan* (noun *rinnâ*) and *ṣāhal* denote a shout of jubilation, e.g., because of God's restoration of Zion (Ps. 126:2, 5f.), while *hêḏāḏ* refers to the cheering of a multitude, particularly of those working in the vineyard and harvest (Isa. 16:10; Jer. 25:30; 48:33). *Hēḏ* appears only in Ezk. 7:7, a corrupt text; the various renderings are merely conjectures. In the passages above *tᵉšûʾôṯ* refers to the noisy shouts common to the life of a town. The shout of Zec. 4:7 (*ḥēn ḥēn lāh*) is probably best interpreted by the NEB, as an expression of approval regarding the stone, symbolizing the new temple. *Śoʿ(a)ʿ* sometimes means "a cry for help"; KoB, however, reads it as the name of a tribe (cf. Ezk. 23:23, "Shoa"). G. WYPER

SHOVEL [Heb. *yāʿâ*] (Ex. 27:3; 38:3; Nu. 4:14; 1 K. 7:40, 45; etc.); [*raḥaṯ*] (Isa. 30:24). A handled tool with a scoop at one end used to lift, carry, and throw soil or similar material.

All nine RSV occurrences where "shovel" translates Heb. *yāʿâ* refer to a type of tool used in the tabernacle and temple services, most likely for removing and carrying ashes from the altar and for placing coals in pots. The suggestion that shovels were used primarily for cleaning

A bronze shovel found at Megiddo (ca. 13th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



purposes is supported by the verbal root *y'h*, which means "sweep away." These temple shovels were probably quite small and made wholly of bronze. One example from Megiddo was 56 cm. (22 in.) long. Similar shovels have been frequently found in Roman and Byzantine levels of excavations where they were probably used for hearths in private houses.

The "shovel" (Heb. *raḥaṭ*) in Isa. 30:24 was apparently much larger and was used in winnowing grain.

L. G. HERR

SHOWBREAD. *See* PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE.

SHOWBREAD, TABLE OF. *See* PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE II.

SHOWER [Heb. *rᵉḇîḇîm* (Dt. 32:2; Ps. 65:10 [MT 11]; 72:6; Jer. 3:3; 14:22; Mic. 5:7 [MT 6]), *gešem* (Ezk. 34:26; Hos. 6:3; Zec. 10:1), *gešem māṭār*–'rain of rain' (Job 37:6), hiphil imperative of *r'p*–'cause to trickle, drip' (Isa. 45:8); Gk. *ómbros*–'rainstorm, thunderstorm' (Lk. 12:54)]; AV also SMALL RAIN (Job 37:6), DROP DOWN (Isa. 45:8), RAIN (Hos. 6:3); NEB also Rain (Isa. 45:8), COPIOUS SHOWERS (Mic. 5:7), etc.

Although light showers of rain can sometimes occur, especially in areas of marginal rainfall, and brief heavier showers may mark the end of the rainy season, the use of "shower" in English translations is often misleading since it suggests relatively gentle rain.

Rᵉḇîḇîm means "plentiful showers." *Gešem* is a very general word for "rain," which can be either brief or last all day. The term *r'p*, which appears in Isa. 45:8 as "shower," normally means "trickle," but the context certainly indicates a long desired downpour.

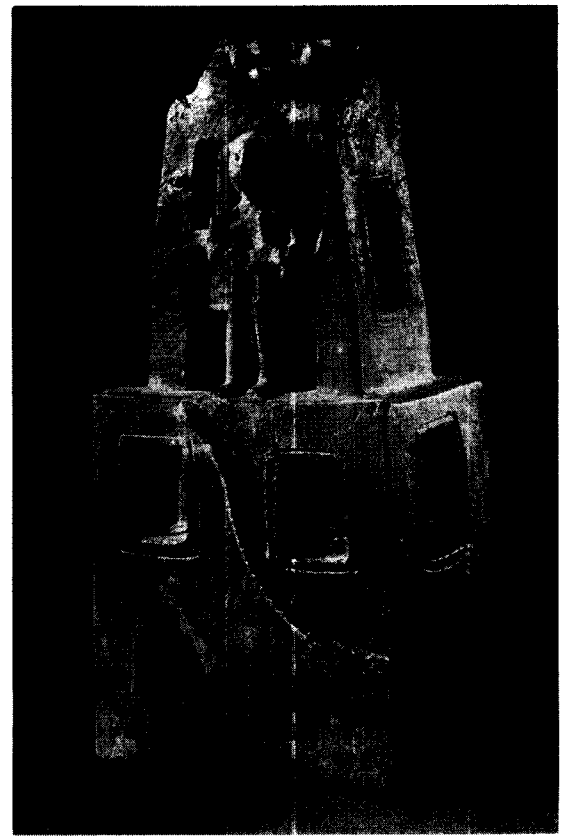
According to the Scriptures, God controls the rain and the showers (e.g., Job 37:6; Isa. 45:8; Zec. 10:1). With them He waters the earth and brings forth its abundance (Ps. 65:10). The absence of showers signaled God's judgment upon unfaithful Israel (Jer. 3:3), whereas the presence of rain indicated His blessing. And as dew, rain, and showers provided necessary nourishment, so too the truth of God's message gave life and growth to His covenant-keeping people (Dt. 32:2).

See also RAIN; SEASON; NATURAL FEATURES VII.

D. BALY
G. L. K.

SHRINE [Heb. *bêṯ 'ĕlōhîm*] (Jgs. 17:5); AV HOUSE OF GODS; [Heb. *bêṯ habbāmôṯ*] (2 K. 17:29, 32; 23:19); "shrines of the high places"; AV HOUSES OF THE HIGH PLACES; NEB HILL-SHRINES; [*bāmôṯ*]; AV HIGH PLACES; NEB PLATFORM; [Gk. *naós*–'temple'] (Acts 17:24; 19:24); AV also TEMPLES (17:24). The RSV supplies "shrine" in He. 6:19, which refers to the holy of holies ("the inner shrine behind the curtain;" cf. AV "that within the veil," NEB "through the veil"). An enclosed space for worship and sacrifice generally distinguished from a temple by its smaller size and customary lack of a regular priesthood.

Bayiṯ (*bêṯ* is the construct form) is a very common Hebrew word for any building or shelter, including the temple of Yahweh (cf. 1 K. 7–8; Hag. 1) and temples of other gods (e.g., Jer. 43:12; Nah. 1:14). None of the structures referred to as "shrines" in the RSV OT was part of the centralized worship that became normative in Israel. All shrines but the one possessed by Micah (Jgs. 17–18) were shrines of "high places" (*bāmôṯ*), which were a vital part of the localized religious life that Israelites took over from the Canaanites. In Ezk. 16:16 "shrines" translates



A Canaanite shrine model with two stories. On the top a nude figure stands in a doorway holding two birds; below, a serpent crawls between the windows (Beth-shean 11th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)

bāmôṯ because it refers to the preparation of the equipment of the high places. *See* HIGH PLACE.

In Acts 17:24 Gk. *naós*, a common word usually translated "temple," refers to the large number of structures for Greek worship, from large temples to small shrines, which Paul would have seen while walking through Athens. Paul's statement is based on Jewish understandings of the relation of God to the Jerusalem temple (1 K. 8:27; Acts 7:48), here influenced by the Jewish critique of Gentile idolatry (e.g., Wisd. 13–15).

The silver *naoí* of the Ephesian Artemis made by Demetrius (Acts 19:24) were possibly small hand-size shrines. Archeologists have found small terra-cotta representations of temples, but none of silver (but cf. Deiss. *LAE*, pp. 112f.). Either Demetrius made small silver statues of Artemis, examples of which have been found (see *BC*, V, 253; IV, 246), or the term *neōpoiós* (lit. "temple-maker") refers to the annually appointed supervisors of the offerings and repairs of the temple of the Ephesian Artemis. But Demetrius's actions demonstrate the protectiveness of the guild member.

Bibliography.–E. L. Hicks, *Expos.* 4th ser., 1 (1890), 401-422; E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. tr. 1971), pp. 571f.

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

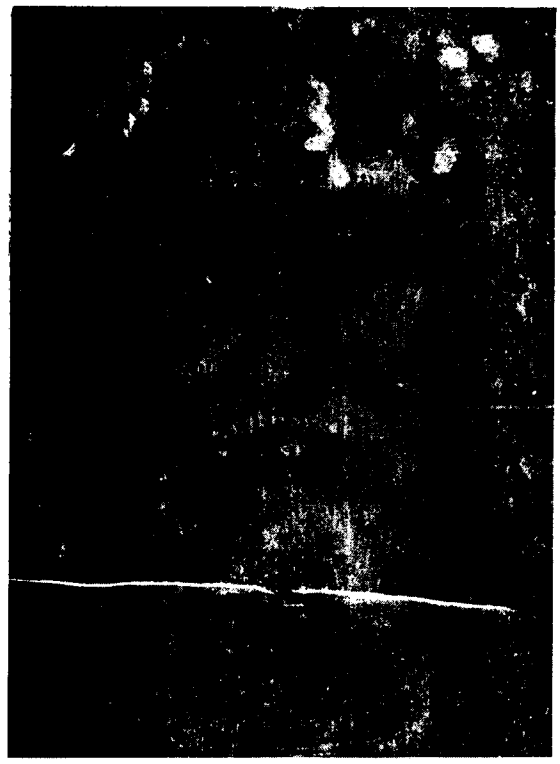
SHROUD [Gk. *sindōn*–'linen'] (Mt. 27:59; Mk. 15:46; Lk. 23:53); AV LINEN, LINEN CLOTH, FINE LINEN; NEB SHEET; LINEN SHEET.

The Gk. *sindōn* literally means "fine cloth," and usually refers to LINEN or anything made of it, e.g., a garment of linen (usually a kind of muslin).

In Mt. 27:59 par. Mk. 15:46; Lk. 23:53 *sindōn* describes a linen cloth used for the wrapping of a dead body in preparation for burial. Jewish burial practices in NT times included washing and anointing the body, perhaps even after it had been earlier cleaned with oil and washed at the place of death (cf. Jn. 19:40) or in the deceased's home. Anointing might be repeated in the tomb itself (cf. Mk. 16:1). The dead were then buried in their own clothes or specially prepared ones such as a simple linen cloth on which spices would be spread as the cloth was wound around the body. With regard to Jesus' burial, the Synoptic Gospels all relate how Joseph of Arimathea wrapped the body of Jesus in a shroud. The Johannine account states that Joseph and Nicodemus followed "the burial custom of the Jews," anointing the body with a mixture of myrrh and aloes weighing about 45 kgs. (100 lbs.) and binding it in "linen cloths" (Jn. 19:39f.). Those "linen cloths" (*othónia*) were found in the empty tomb on Easter morning along with a "napkin [*soudárion*], which had been on his head," which was "not lying with the linen cloths but rolled up in a place by itself" (20:6f.).

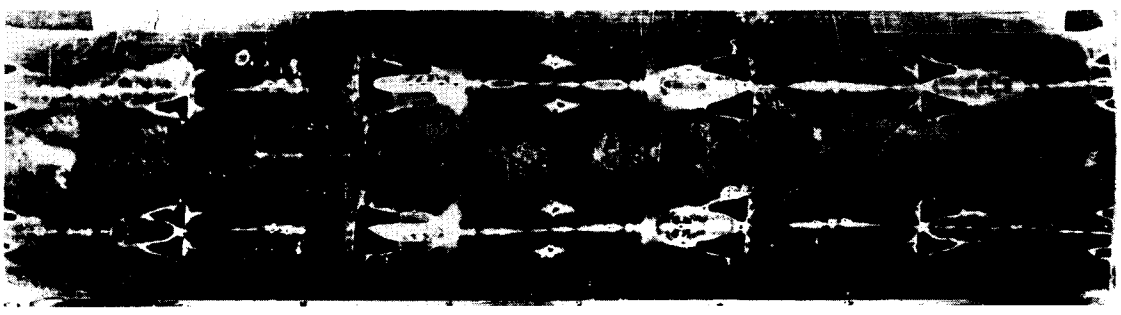
While biblical evidence does not indicate what happened to the burial linen(s) of Jesus, extrabiblical legends seem to mark the shroud's progress through history. During the Medieval period more than forty different alleged shrouds of Jesus were reported. Unquestionably the most famous of these is the Shroud of Turin, a piece of linen cloth 434 by 109 cm. (171 by 43 in.) that has imprinted upon it the frontside and backside images of a man's body — as if he had been laid upon it and then it had been folded over his head. The man is estimated to have been about 1.78 m. (5ft. 10in.) tall, weighing 77-79 kgs. (170-175 lbs.). The image bears marks of injury identical to those that, according to the Gospels, Jesus suffered during His scourging and crucifixion. The shroud's history can be traced with certainty only back to the 14th century. The earliest historical reference is found in the report of its display *ca.* A.D. 1357 in a small church in Lirey near Troyes in northeastern France. In 1453 the Duke of Savoy gained possession of the shroud and built a special church to house it in Chambery, France, where in 1532 it was nearly destroyed when the church caught fire. During the fire a drop of molten silver from the reliquary in which it lay set fire to one edge of the shroud, scorching all of its forty-eight folds. Fortunately the body images were only slightly harmed and the scorched areas were repaired with pieces of altar cloth. In 1578 the shroud was moved to Turin, Italy, where it continues to be housed in the Royal Chapel of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist.

The shroud has been controversial from its earliest exhibition when the Bishop of Troyes, Henry of Poitiers, claimed that the shroud was a fraud, basing his testimony on the artist who had supposedly made it. Thirty years later, Pierre d'Aras, a successor to Henry, wrote to Pope Clement VII describing the shroud as "a product of human handicraft" and "an artificial painting or depiction" and pleading for its withdrawal. Clement responded by ordering that no liturgical ceremony or pomp surround its display and that a priest announce "in a loud and intelligible voice, without any trickery, that the aforesaid form or representation is not the true burial cloth of our Lord Jesus Christ but only a kind of painting or picture made as a form or represenation of the burial cloth." Frequent exhibition of the shroud, however, during the late Medieval and Renaissance periods aroused considerable popular devotion. While later church officials have been more receptive to the shroud, they have demonstrated a re-



The texture of the linen stands out in this picture of the Shroud of Turin, which shows what some believe is the face of Christ (R. Cappella S. Sindone, Turin)

The entire Shroud of Turin with the front and back sides of a man outlined on either side of the cloth (R. Cappella S. Sindone, Turin)



served attitude toward it. In modern times it has rarely been placed on public display (nine times in the last two centuries), the last time being 1978, the 400th anniversary of its arrival in Turin.

In the late 1970s interest in the shroud mushroomed as a result of the Shroud of Turin Research Project. For a five-day period in 1978 more than thirty American and European scientists, including specialists in physics, organic chemistry, computer technology, X-ray analysis, hematology, and spectroscopy, were allowed to conduct extensive experiments on the shroud in an effort to determine its authenticity. While concluding that the shroud is not a forgery, that the image is that of a crucified man, they acknowledged that their present scientific research cannot establish that it is the burial cloth of Jesus. Carbon-14 tests that could determine whether the shroud dates back to the time of Jesus (± 100 yrs.) have not as yet been allowed since they would require destruction of a piece of the shroud.

At this juncture in the history of the shroud there is widespread agreement that the image on the shroud was not produced through natural causes (such as secretions from the body). That the image blurs and fades when viewed from closer than 2m. (6.5 ft.) and the absence of any signs of brush marks suggest that the image is not itself a painting. In fact, no one has satisfactorily explained how the image was produced. The mystery is heightened by the fact that the image is more like a photographic negative, since highlights of the image are dark and recessed areas are light. Furthermore, computer enhancement of photographs of the shroud basically produces an undistorted three dimensional image; i.e., a realistic statue could be constructed based solely on the intensity of the image. Thus the process forming the image acted uniformly on both the front and back of the body and was present even in places where the cloth could not have touched the form. The degree of darkening on the cloth is proportional to the body's distance from the cloth. If the image had been produced solely by direct contact, there would have been anatomical distortion, but this is surprisingly not the case. These factors have led many to conclude that the image was caused by a sudden burst of energy.

Beyond the scientific and historical questions there remain significant textual problems that must be considered with regard to the shroud's authenticity. John's reference to (linen) cloths in the plural (*othónia*) and the specific reference to a separate cloth (*soudárion*) placed on Jesus' head must be considered alongside the Synoptic description of a single shroud (*sindṓn*). According to expert testimony the Johannine account best conforms to what is known of ancient Jewish burial practice. A shroud covering the head as well as the front and back of the body would be quite unusual. Furthermore, if John is correct that the burial procedures reflected the normal Jewish practice (Jn. 19:40), the body would have been washed as well as anointed, thereby eliminating the blood flows occurring before Jesus' death, which the shroud apparently exhibits. This would be even more probable in the light of the fact that the burial was hastily, though elaborately, arranged by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, both wealthy members of the Sanhedrin, who used a huge amount of spices (19:39). Moreover, the shroud contains what appear to be indications of a wound in the side (mentioned only in 19:34) as well as wounds in the hands and feet. Thus, while the marks on the shroud conform to or take account of distinctive features of the Johannine narrative, the shroud itself is not so easily accommodated to this narrative.

Thus the Shroud of Turin remains a fascinating, unfinished puzzle, whose pieces are not yet all in place. Significant biblical, historical, and scientific questions remain to be answered. The possibility that it was the burial shroud of Jesus cannot at this point be either proved or disproved, and while scientific testimony may ultimately be able to disprove the authenticity of the shroud (e.g., by means of carbon-14 tests), it can never prove its authenticity. Science may be able to prove a first-century date for the shroud and a mysterious origin for the image it bears, but even this will not verify it as the burial cloth of Jesus.

Bibliography.–G. Habermas, *JETS*, 24 (1981), 47-54; J. Heller, *Report on the Shroud of Turin* (1983); K. Stevenson and G. Habermas, *Verdict on the Shroud* (1981); F. Tribbe, *Portrait of Jesus* (1983); K. Weaver, *National Geographic*, June, 1980, pp. 730-752; I. Wilson, *Shroud of Turin* (1978). W. H. GLOER

SHRUB. *See* BUSH.

SHUA shōō'ə.

1. [Heb. *šû(a)ʿ*–'help']; AV SHUAH; NEB BATH-SHUA. A Canaanite; father of Judah's wife (Gen. 38:2, 12). In 1 Ch. 2:3 the RSV renders Heb. *baṯ-šû(a)ʿ hakkᵉnaʿᵃnîṯ* (AV, lit., "daughter of Shua the Canaanitess") by "Bath-shua the Canaanitess" (*see* BATH-SHUA **2**).

2. [Heb. *šûʿā'*]. Daughter of Heber, an Asherite (1 Ch. 7:32).

SHUAH shōō'ə.

1. [Heb. *šû(a)ḥ*]. A son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25:2; 1 Ch. 1:32). Abraham gave him gifts and sent him "away from his son Isaac, eastward to the east country" (Gen. 25:6). The Arabian or Aramean tribe that descended from him is probably to be identified with the SHUHITE people from which BILDAD came (cf. NEB "Bildad of Shuah," Job 2:11).

2. (Gen. 38:2, 12, AV). *See* SHUA **1.**

3. (1 Ch. 4:11, AV, NEB). *See* SHUHAH.

SHUAL shōō'əl [Heb. *šûʿāl*]. Third son of Zophah, an Asherite (1 Ch. 7:36).

SHUAL, LAND OF shōō'əl [Heb. *šûʿal*–'fox, jackal'] (1 S. 13:17). A region in the vicinity of Michmash. The term apparently is used in apposition with Ophrah (*see* OPHRAH **1**).

The exact location and the reason for the name are not known. W. S. L. S.

SHUBAEL shōō'bə-el [Heb. *šûḇā'ēl*].

1. A Levite of the family of Amram (the father of Moses); father of Jehdeiah (1 Ch. 24:20). *See* SHEBUEL **1.**

2. A Levite who served as a musician in the sanctuary; leader of the thirteenth band of musicians (1 Ch. 25:20). *See* SHEBUEL **2.**

SHUHAH shōō'hə [Heb. *šûḥâ*–'pit']; AV, NEB, SHUAH. A brother of Chelub (1 Ch. 4:11).

SHUHAM shōō'ham [Heb. *šûḥām*]; **SHUHAMITES** shōō'hə-mīts [Heb. *haššûḥāmî*]. The son of Dan, and his descendants (Nu. 26:42f.); called Hushim in Gen. 46:23.

SHUHITE shōō'hīt [Heb. *haššûḥî*]; NEB also OF SHUAH. Designation of BILDAD, one of Job's three friends (Job 2:11; 8:1; 18:1; 25:1; 42:9); probably the tribe descended from SHUAH **(1)** the son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25:2, 6). Many scholars have connected Bildad's

tribe with Akk. *Suḫu*, a country on the Middle Euphrates below the mouth of the Habor River; others have suggested a location in Edom (see comms.).

SHULAMMITE shōō'lə-mīt [Heb. *šûlammîṯ*] (Cant. 6:13 [MT 7:1]). The name or title of the heroine of the book of Canticles. The term appears twice in 6:13 (MT 7:1), each time with the definite article. Its etymology has occasioned much discussion. Three main interpretations have been proposed.

Many scholars (e.g., Rowley) have related the term to "Solomon" (Heb. *šᵉlômô*) and the meanings of the root *šlm* (e.g., "perfect one," "peaceable one," or "pacified one"). This view takes *šûlammîṯ* (perhaps originally *šᵉlômîṯ*) as the feminine form of the name Solomon; thus Solomon's consort was called "the Solomoness."

Other scholars have read *šûlammîṯ* as a variant of *šûnammîṯ* (SHUNAMMITE), i.e., a female resident of the town of Shunem, based on the frequent interchangeability of *l* and *m* in Hebrew. Some have therefore identified her with ABISHAG, the beautiful Shunammite maiden who ministered to the aged King David (1 K. 1:1-4) and whom Adonijah requested in marriage after David's death (2:13-21). Solomon interpreted this request as an indirect claim to the throne and had Adonijah executed (vv. 22-25).

Those who have adopted the liturgical interpretation of Canticles (*see* CANTICLES II.C) have regarded the term as a name or epithet of a goddess. T. J. Meek, e.g., identified Solomon with the Canaanite god of peace, Shelem or Shulman, and the Shulammite with his consort, the goddess Shala or Shulmanitu.

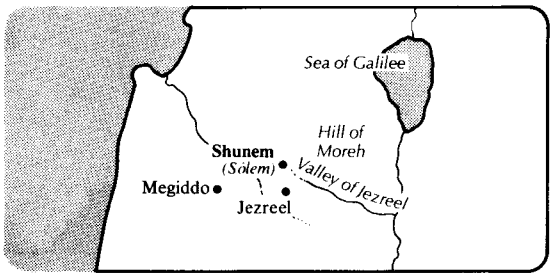
Bibliography.–T. J. Meek, *AJSL*, 39 (1922), 5-7; M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (*AB*, 1977), pp. 596-600; H. H. Rowley, *AJSL*, 56 (1939), 84-91. W. A. VANGEMEREN N. J. O.

SHUMATHITES shōō'mə-thīts [Heb. *šumāṯî*]. One of the Calebite families that resided in Kiriath-jearim; descendants of Shobal the son of Hur (1 Ch. 2:53).

SHUNAMMITE shōō'nə-mīt [Heb. *šunammîṯ šûnammîṯ*]. A general designation for a woman of SHUNEM, a village in the tribal territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:18). Two women are known to have come from Shunem. ABISHAG, the beautiful maiden who was King David's nurse in his last days (1 K. 1:3f., 15), and whom Adonijah wished to marry after his father's death (2:17, 21f.), was a Shunammite (*see also* SHULAMMITE). Elisha was frequently entertained by a wealthy woman from Shunem, who opened her house, prepared a room, and took care of the prophet whenever he passed through (2 K. 4:8-37). According to Elisha's promise she conceived a son, but one day the child died from a "sunstroke," while working in the field (*see* DISEASE III.E). By Elisha's personal intervention, however, he was miraculously resuscitated. Several years later she had become a widow, and at Elisha's urging she moved temporarily to Philistia during a seven-year famine (8:1f.). During this time her property was confiscated. Upon her return she sought justice from the king, who responded favorably to her in deference to Elisha (vv. 3-6). Some have observed a parallel between Elisha's resuscitation of the Shunammite's son and Jesus' resuscitation of a woman's son at Nain, which is located a short distance from OT Shunem (Lk. 6:11-17).

W. A. VANGEMEREN

SHUNEM shōō'nəm [Heb. *šûnēm*]. A border town at the foot of the hill of Moreh in the territory of the tribe of Issachar (Josh. 19:18). It is listed as a royal Canaanite city during the L.B. period. It was closely associated with the lives of Saul and Elisha. Scholars identify it with Sôlem, a village 14 km. (9 mi.) N of Jenin on the lower SW slope of Nebī Daḥī overlooking the Valley of Jezreel (Abel, *GP*, II, 420). The town appears as Šunama in the Amarna Tablets (see, e.g., *ANET*, p. 485).



Surface explorations show that the ancient site, which is located beneath the modern village, was occupied from the M.B. through the Islamic periods. The town was first mentioned in the list of those conquered by Thutmose III (1490-1435 B.C.). It was later controlled by Megiddo (Am.Tab. 365) but was destroyed in the 14th cent. B.C. by Lab'aya, king of Shechem (AmTab. 250; see *ANET*, pp. 485f.). Later the king of Megiddo plowed the lands again with the help of laborers (Am.Tab. 365; 250), but the town declined in importance soon afterward and was one of the few towns in the plain to be captured by the Israelites (Josh. 19:18). In the late 11th cent. B.C. the Philistines camped there to do battle with Saul (1 S. 28:4). Abishag, the girl who ministered to David in his old age (1 K. 1:3, 15), was a SHUNAMMITE; and during the 9th cent. B.C. Elisha frequently visited Shunem, staying at the home of a wealthy woman who, with her husband, built a chamber on the roof for the prophet. He later revived her dead son (2 K. 4:8-37). *See also* SHULAMMITE.

B. R. AND P. C. PATTEN

SHUNI shōō'nī [Heb. *šûnî*]; **SHUNITES** shōō'nīts [Heb. *haššûnî*]. The third son of Gad and his descendants (Gen. 46:16; Nu. 26:15).

SHUPHAM shōō'fam (Nu. 26:39, AV, NEB); **SHUPHAMITES** shōō'fə-mīts [Heb. *haššûpāmî*]. *See* SHEPHUPHAM.

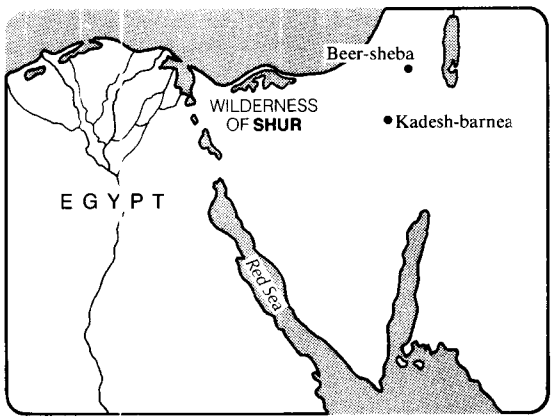
SHUPPIM shup'im [Heb. *šuppîm, šuppim*]; NEB emends the MT (cf. NEB mg.).

1. A Benjaminite (1 Ch. 7:12, 15). The AV and RSV follow the MT; many scholars, however, have proposed emendations because the text appears to be corrupt (see comms.). The occurrence of the names "Shuppim" and "Huppim" here is one instance of a pattern of twin names in the Benjaminite genealogies (cf. "Muppim, Huppim," Gen. 46:21; "Shephupham . . . Hupham," Nu. 26:39). *See* SHEPHUPHAM.

2. A gatekeeper assigned to the gate of Shallecheth on the western side of the temple (1 Ch. 26:16). Many scholars omit "Shuppim" as a dittography of the preceding word (Heb. *hā'ᵃsuppîm*; cf. NEB).

SHUR shōōr [Heb. *šûr*–'wall'; Gk. *Sour*, and variations]. An area E of Egypt (Gen. 25:18; 1 S. 15:7).

Hagar fled from Sarai into the wilderness near Kadesh "on the way to Shur" (Gen. 16:7). Abraham stayed for a while between Kadesh and Shur (20:1). The Israelites after crossing the Red Sea traveled in the waterless wilder-



ness of Shur and came to Marah (Ex. 15:22). David made raids on desert tribes whose territory extended from Shur as far as Egypt (1 S. 27:8).

Various suggestions have been made connecting Shur with Egyptian or Arabic names. Since Brugsch it has been linked with Egyp. *3nbw ḥḳ3*, "wall of the prince," apparently a line of fortresses or a wall guarding the Isthmus of Suez. Müller and others have connected it with the Egyptian border fortress *T3rw*, but the *r* was pronounced *l*, as shown by transcriptions, the *Zilu* of the Amarna Tablets, and the Roman *Sile*. J. Rowlands (as quoted by Williams) and others have identified it as a wall of cliffs, called Jebel es-Sur but more commonly Jebel er-Rāḥah, that is about 20 km. (12 mi.) E of Suez. Lawrence and Woolley's identification of "the way to Shur" with Arab. Darb esh-Shūr, a caravan route from Beer-sheba through the desert to Egypt, may be geographically correct, but Hebrew *š* is usually equivalent to Arabic *s*.

Bibliography.—*GP*, I, 434; H. Brugsch, *History of Egypt* (1879), I, 125, 207; II, 345, 360, 367; T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley, *Wilderness of Zin* (*PEF* Annual, 1914/15), pp. 39f., 71; W. M. Müller, *PSBA*, 10 (1888), 476; G. Williams, *Holy City* (1849), I, 465. JOHN ALEXANDER THOMPSON

SHUSHAN. *See* SUSA.

SHUSHAN EDUTH shōō'shan ē'duth [Heb. *šûšan ʿēḏûṯ*—'lily of testimony'(?)] (superscription to Ps. 60 [MT v. 1]); NEB omits. *See* EDUTH; MUSIC III.B.3.

SHUTHALHITES shōō'thəl-hīts (Nu. 26:35, AV, NEB). *See* SHUTHELAH.

SHUTHELAH shōō'thə-lə [Heb. *šûṯelaḥ*]; **SHUTHELAHITES** shōō'thə-lə-hīts [Heb. *haššuṯalḥî*]; AV, NEB, SHUTHALHITE(S).

1. A son of Ephraim and his descendants (Nu. 26:35); called the father of Eram in v. 36, of Bered in 1 Ch. 7:20.

2. A descendant of **1** (1 Ch. 7:21); but the list in vv. 20f. includes the repetition of several names, and this Shuthelah may be a duplication of **1.**

SHUTTLE. *See* WEAVING.

SIA sī'ə [Heb. *sîʿā'*] (Neh. 7:47). One of the temple servants (*see* NETHINIM) who returned from the Exile (cf. "Siaha" in Ezr. 2:44; 1 Esd. 5:29).

SIAHA sī'ə-hə [Heb. *sîʿahā'*] (Ezr. 2:44); [Gk. *Soua, Sousa*] (1 Esd. 5:29); AV SUD; NEB SUSA. Alternate form of SIA.

SIBBECAI sib'ə-kī [Heb. *sibbᵉḵay*] (1 Ch. 11:29; 27:11; etc.); AV, NEB, also SIBBECHAI (2 S. 21:18 par. 1 Ch. 20:4). A HUSHATHITE and one of David's advocates and "thirty" valiant warriors (1 Ch. 11:29), who slew Saph (2 S. 21:18; "Sippai" in 1 Ch. 20:4) during a battle against the Philistines at Gob ("Gezer" in 1 Ch. 20:4). In 2 S. 23:27 (cf. 1 Ch. 11:29) his name appears as MEBUNNAI (Heb. *mᵉḇunnay*), a reading that resulted from scribal confusion of the letters *s* with *m*, and *k* with *n*.

SIBBOLETH sib'ə-ləth [Heb. *sibbōleṯ*] (Jdg. 12:6). *See* SHIBBOLETH.

SIBMAH sib'mə; **SEBAM** sē'bam (Nu. 32:3) [Heb. *śiḇmâ, śᵉḇām*]; AV also SHEBAM, SHIBMAH. A town in Moab in the territory allotted to Reuben, named with Heshbon, Elealeh, and Nebo (Nu. 32:2-5, 37f.; Josh. 13:15, 19). In Nu. 32:3 the MT reads *śᵉḇam*, but there is no reason to consider this a different place. Isaiah (16:8f.) and Jeremiah (48:32) mention the destruction of Sibmah's extensive vineyards in their prophecies against Moab.

Jerome (comm. on Isa. 16:8) located Sibmah only five hundred paces from Heshbon. G. A. Smith (*Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* [1915], pl. 29, D.1), following Conder, identified it with Sūmiyé, 3.5 km. (2¼ mi.) NW of Heshbon. Abel, however, considered Sibmah too important to have been in the immediate vicinity of Heshbon and preferred to identify it with Qurn el-Kibš, between Ḥesbân and Nebo, 5 km. (3 mi.) ENE of Siyāġa on Wadī Salma (*GP*, II, 458). Simons gave the same location (but transliterated it as Qarn el-Qibs), 5 km. (3 mi.) WSW of Ḥesbân, and noted that "none of the identifications . . . can claim to rest on exclusive arguments" (*GTTOT*, p. 118). W. S. L. S.

SIBRAIM sib-rā'əm [Heb. *siḇrayim;* LXX A *Sephram*, LXX B *Sebram*]. A city on the northern border of Israel (Ezk. 47:16), located between Zedad and Hazer, and perhaps identical with Ziphron (Nu. 34:9) and possibly with SEPHARVAIM (2 K. 17:24). The location of none of the towns along this northern border is known with certainty.

Bibliography.—I. Press, *Eretz Israel* (1948-1955), II, 242; III, 658f.; *Encyclopedia Miqrait*, V, 996; *GP*, I, 302; II, 456; H. Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 (1958), 39. D. A. DORSEY

SIBYLLINES sib'ə-lēnz. *See* PSEUDEPIGRAPHA V.F.

SICARII sə-kâr'i-ī. *See* ASSASSINS.

SICHEM. *See* SHECHEM.

SICK; SICKNESS. By far the most important OT word group for sickness is Heb. *ḥlh*. The verb *ḥālâ* and cognate nouns *ḥᵒlî* (Dt. 7:15; 28:59, 61; 2 K. 1:2; 8:8f.; etc.), *maḥᵒlâ* (Ex. 23:25; 1 K. 8:37; 2 Ch. 6:28; etc.), and *taḥᵃlû'îm* (Dt. 29:22) are all general terms for a state of bodily weakness. They can refer to a great variety of debilities and diseases, including injuries received in a fall (2 K. 1:2), battle wounds (8:29; cf. Isa. 1:5f.), diseases of the bowels (2 Ch. 21:15), sicknesses common to animals (Mal. 1:8, 13; cf. Ezk. 34:4), and even love-sickness (Cant. 2:5; 5:8).

The much less common term *dāweh* denotes the indisposition one suffers with menstruation (Lev. 15:33; 20:18). Used figuratively with *lēḇ* ("heart"), it refers to the weakness associated with anxiety (Lam. 5:17; cf. *dawwāy* in Jer. 8:18; *dᵉway* in Ps. 41:3 [MT 4]).

In the OT it is Yahweh who sends both sickness and health. Thus "sickness" occurs in contexts of blessings and curses: freedom from sickness is a great blessing from

God (Ex. 23:25; Dt. 7:15; cf. 1 K. 8:37-39); but those who incur God's wrath through their disobedience will be cursed with all kinds of sicknesses (Dt. 28:59, 61; 29:22 [MT 20]).

In the NT "sick" most commonly translates the Greek verb *asthenéō* (e.g., Mt. 25:36; Lk. 4:40; Acts 9:37; part. in Mt. 10:8; 25:39; Mk. 6:56; etc.) or the adjective *asthenḗs* (Mt. 25:43f.; Lk. 10:9; Acts 5:15f.), both of which are general terms for physical weakness. The phrase *échō kakṓs* likewise denotes "being ill" (e.g., Mt. 8:16; 9:12; 14:35; Mk. 1:32, 34). Gk. *árrhōstos* (Mt. 14:14; Mk. 6:5, 13; 16:18) literally means "powerless" (cf. *rhṓnnymi*, "be strong"). The verb *pyrḗssō* means "suffer with a fever" (Mk. 1:30; cf. *pýr*, "fire"), while the part. of *kámnō* denotes one who is exhausted or wasted away (Jas. 5:15).

In the NT the connection between sin and sickness is more general than in the OT. Sickness is associated with demonic powers that oppose God's kingdom. Many of Jesus' mighty acts — and those of His followers as well — involve healing those who are sick (e.g., Mt. 4:24; 8:16; 10:8; 14:14, 35; Acts 5:15f.).

See AFFLICTION; DISEASE; HEAL.

Bibliography.–DNTT, III, 993-98; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀσθενής (Stählin); *TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "chalah" (Seybold); H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. tr. 1974), pp. 143-48. N. J. O.

SICKLE [Heb. *ḥermēš, maggāl*; Gk. *drépanon*]; AV also MATTOCK (1 Sam. 13:20). A small, hand-held implement for harvesting standing grain. Heb. *ḥermēš* is used only in Dt. 16:9; 23:25 [MT 26]; Heb. *maggāl* appears only in Jer. 50:16; Joel 3:13 [MT 4:13], but it is the more common term in later Jewish literature. The LXX translates each of these with Gk. *drépanon*, which is the term used in the NT (Mk. 4:29; Rev. 14:14-19). In Joel and the NT the sickle functions as a symbol of God's wrath and the fulfillment of His judgment.

The early sickles were curved wooden instruments, with serrated flints inserted into them. Later they were made of metal, with a wooden handle. These are mentioned with other metal agricultural tools in 1 S. 13:20 (LXX Gk. *drépanon*; the MT has Heb. *mahᵃrēšâ*, lit. "plowshare," but the text may be corrupt; see McCarter).

Bibliography.–G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, III (1933), 24f.; K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1937), 475f.; P. K. McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel* (*AB*, 1980), p. 234.

D. M. HOWARD, JR.

SIDDIM, VALLEY OF [Heb. *ʿēmeq haśśiddîm*]; AV VALE OF SIDDIM. The location of the battle between the kings of the five CITIES OF THE VALLEY and an eastern coalition of four Mesopotamian kings headed by Chedorlaomer king of Elam (Gen. 14:2, 8, 10). The kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (later called Zoar) had been vassals of the Mesopotamian kings for twelve years but rebelled in the thirteenth year. In the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer led a punitive force against these (vv. 1-3, 8f.) and several other kings (vv. 5-7). The exact route they took remains a problem, but they engaged and defeated the Pentapolis coalition in the Valley of Siddim. Sodom and Gomorrah were plundered, and Abraham's nephew Lot was carried off (vv. 10-12) — an action that necessitated a rescue operation by Abraham and his men (vv. 13-16). As the kings and inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, some escaped to the mountains and others fell into the bitumen pits that apparently dotted the valley (v. 10). The valley was most likely an open, flat area suited for battle conditions. (Heb. *śiddîm* is usually derived from a term [with Ugaritic and Akkadian cognates] meaning "to drag, to plow [a furrow]," and this may signify that it was an unusually fertile area.)

The cities associated with the Valley of Siddim drew extraordinary interest, both in the Bible and in later tradition, as symbols of wickedness and of divine wrath and punishment. Their exact site is unknown, but they were somewhere near the DEAD SEA, with which the Valley of Siddim is expressly identified in Gen. 14:3. Scholarly consensus today identifies this valley with the shallow southern end of the Dead Sea, S of the peninsula el-Lisan. The water level of the Dead Sea was about 40m. (130 ft.) higher in the early 1970s than it probably was from biblical times until the 8th cent. A.D.; since the average depth of the southern basin today is no more than 6 m. (20 ft.), it would not have been covered by water in biblical times. This makes this basin a most likely candidate for the Valley of Siddim.

The valley's location is of course linked with those of the five cities. The description in Gen. 10:19 seems to place them at the southeastern border of Canaan. The verse's parallelism implies that the Canaanite territory extended SW from Sidon toward Gerar, near Gaza, in the same way that it extended SE toward the four cities named, near Lasha; this would suggest a location for these cities somewhere near the southeastern end of the Dead Sea.

Genesis 13:10-12 states that Lot settled in SODOM, which was part of the "Jordan valley" (Heb. *kikkar hayyardēn*, AV "plain of the Jordan") and was visible from Bethel (cf. vv. 3, 10). Since the southeastern end of the

An Iron Age II sickle found at Tell Beit Mirsim (courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

Dead Sea is not visible from Bethel, and since the "Jordan valley" elsewhere refers to an area N of the Dead Sea (1 K. 7:46 par. 2 Ch. 4:17), some have located Sodom and the other cities NE of the Dead Sea. It is very possible, however, that here the term *kikkār* ("environs") includes the Sea itself and some of the area S of it (in the same way that Heb. *'ărābâ* and Arab. *ghôr* variously designate the Jordan Valley N of the Dead Sea, the rift valley S of it, or the entire area N and S, including the Sea itself). Furthermore, not all of the Jordan Valley *north* of the Dead Sea is visible from Bethel, so the argument about Lot's area of vision cannot be pressed.

Genesis 19:28 states that Abraham saw from Hebron the smoke from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. This would have been most easily seen if the cities were S or SE of the Dead Sea. Several passages associate ZOAR, the city to which Lot fled (vv. 17-23; perhaps one of the smallest of the five cities [cf. v. 20]), with Moab (vv. 30-37; Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:34), which could accommodate a location either N or S of the Dead Sea. Zoar is also mentioned in Dt. 34:3, in the description of the lands visible to Moses from Mt. Nebo (vv. 1-3). The symmetry of the passage suggests that just as Dan was far N of Gilead (and not visible from Nebo), so Zoar was far S of the "valley (*kikkār*) of Jericho" (and likewise not visible from Nebo).

The clearest geographical reference, however, is in Ezk. 16:46, where Sodom is pictured as S of Jerusalem, as opposed to Samaria to the north of Jerusalem.

The biblical evidence thus seems to favor a southern location for the five cities and, by implication, for the Valley of Siddim. Some have located the cities (with the possible exception of Zoar) *in* the Valley of Siddim and thus see them as submerged today. This view is likely mistaken, however. Gen. 14:3, 8 states not that the kings lived in the valley but rather that they met here, as a common rendezvous point, to do battle with the enemy. If the valley was indeed a fertile place, then the cities were likely located near it, since agricultural land was at a premium and would have been reserved for that purpose. If, on the other hand, it was an infertile and hostile environment (or even submerged at times), this, too, would point to a location of the cities outside of the valley. Five perennial streams flow into the southeast end of the Dead Sea, each with one ancient site on it, and these are probably the sites of the cities.

The destruction of the cities, as described in Gen. 19:24-28, was spectacular. Yahweh rained brimstone and fire down on them, and He "overthrew" their inhabitants and everything that grew there (a possible reference to an earthquake). From Hebron Abraham saw the smoke rising "like the smoke of a furnace." Geological studies of the southern Dead Sea area reveal a salty, desolate area today. Lumps of BITUMEN have been found floating in the Dead Sea and deposited in the limestone of its western bank, which naturally recalls the bitumen pits of Gen. 14:10.

Bibliography.—*Enc. Brit., Macropaedia* (1979), V, 524f. (S. B. Cohen and P. J. Sanlaville); J. P. Harland, *BA*, 5 (1942), 17-32; 6 (1943), 41-54; *HGHL*, pp. 320-331; D. M. Howard, Jr., *JETS*, 27 (1984), 385-400. D. M. HOWARD, JR.

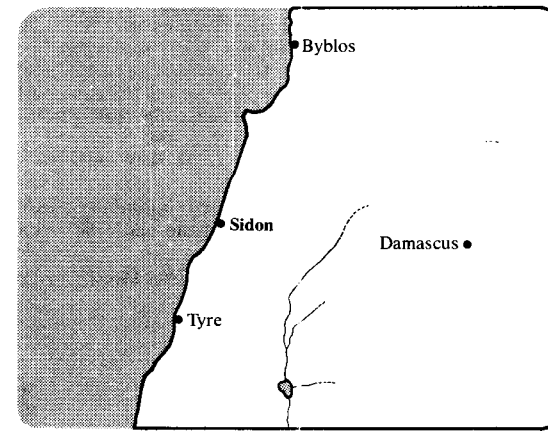
SIDE sī'dē [Gk. *Sidē*]. The easternmost of the arc of five Pamphylian cities E of Attalia; one of the cities to which a letter favorable to the Jews was sent by the Roman consul Lucius (1 Macc. 15:23). Although its people claimed that Side was an ancient colony of Cyme, they spoke a mixed language in the time of Alexander the Great. Under the Seleucids Side's coins bore the royal countermark, which gave them international currency. Side's position close to the fortifications of Cilicia Tracheia made it prominent as a port where the Cilician pirates disposed of their booty during the late Hellenistic era, and the city early established links with the Romans. Doubtless this is why it figured in the select list of cities to which the Romans addressed their manifesto on the protection of the Jews (1 Macc. 15:15-23; cf. Josephus *Ant.* xiv.8.5 [143-48]). Extensive ruins at Eski Adalia, including a theater that seated at least twelve thousand people and must have been one of the largest in the world, testify to Side's ancient eminence.

See *RRAM*, pp. 1133f. E. A. JUDGE

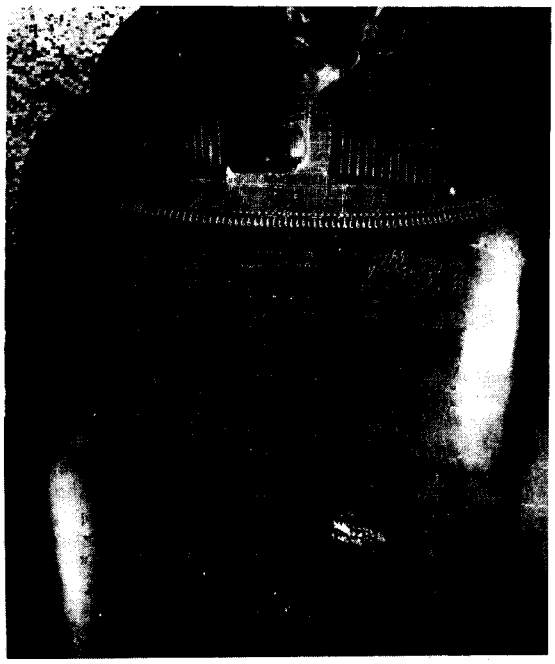
SIDEWALLS [Heb. *rōḥaḇ*–'breadth'] (Ezk. 40:48; 41:3); AV BREADTH; NEB CORNERS; [*kāṯēp*–'shoulder,' 'side'] (Ezk. 41:2, 26); AV SIDES; NEB CORNERS. The walls on each side of the entrance to the vestibule, the nave, and the inner room of the ideal temple. The RSV emends the MT of Ezk. 40:48; 41:3 (*rōḥaḇ*) with the LXX (Gk. *epōmídes*) to read *kiṯpôṯ* (pl. cf *kāṯēp*).

SIDON sī'dən [Heb. *ṣîḏōn*] (Gen. 10:15; 1 Ch. 1:13); AV also ZIDON (1 Ch. 1:13). The firstborn son of Canaan.

SIDON sī'dən [Heb. *ṣîḏôn*; Akk. *ṣidunnu*; Gk. *Sidōn*]; AV also ZIDON. A city-state on the Mediterranean coast, 40 km. (25 mi.) N of Tyre, the modern city of Ṣaida'. The name was explained by the ancients as derived from that of an eponymous hero, founder of the city (Side or Sidon in classical versions of the legend; cf. also Gen. 10:15, where Sidon is the "first-born" of Canaan); but since Justin the name of the city has been recognized as the Phoenician word for "fish." Today it is commonly thought that the etymology is to be sought in the root *ṣwd*, "to hunt," also "to fish," therefore the toponym signifies "fish market" or something similar; or else the name of the Phoenician deity Ṣid is cited from which the toponym can be derived.



I. Topography and Archeological Exploration.—The city sprang up in a small costal plain near the mouth of the Nahr el-'awali (Bostrenus), in a region long known for luxurious gardens and orchards. The topography is rather complex and scattered; the local inscriptions name various quarters: *Ṣdn ym* "Sidon by the sea," probably on the site of the modern city; *šmm rmm*, "elevated heavens," or *šmm 'drm*, "powerful heavens," evidently on the hill; *'rṣršp*, "land of Resheph"; *ṣdn mšl, ṣdn šd*, of uncertain locations; and the mountain sanctuary of *'n ydll*, "source (spring) of Yadlal." Likewise the Assyrian texts distinguished a "Great Sidon" (cf. the identical expression



Detail of Eshmun'azar's sarcophagus (5th cent. B.C.) showing the Phoenician alphabetic inscription (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

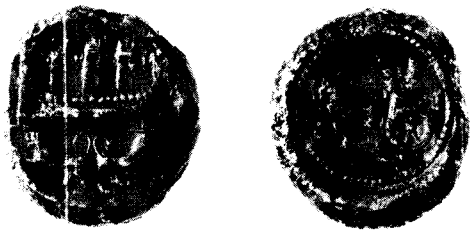
in Josh. 11:8 and 19:28) and a "Little Sidon," besides various villages of the interior and the new city, Kār-Aššur-aḫ-iddina, "Fort Esarhaddon," founded by the Assyrians very near that Phoenician city. The archeological recoveries confirm the dispersion not only obviously of the necropoleis (from Phoenician royal tombs of the 5th cent. at Maġarat 'ablun, to the various necropoleis of the Bronze Age at Kafr Ġarra, Lebe'a, Quraya, and of the Roman era), but also of the sanctuaries (the monumental one of Eshmun at Bustān eš-Šaiḫ, the identification of which with *'n ydll* is demonstrated by the inscriptions of Ba'al-šillem that have been recovered) and of the same city. The nucleus of this city was, however, on a promontory which was joined to a line of rocks that assured protection from the wind. South of the promontory a round little bay was located, possibly used as a landing-place but not serving regularly as a seaport in ancient times; the real port was north of the promontory, joined to two internal basins (on the site of the modern port) enclosed by a system of man-made jetties, and a more ample external roadstead.

The archeological explorations, following the recognized missions of E. Renan (1860) and the discovery of the royal necropoleis (A. Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon* [1892]; to the last by J. Assmann, *Archäologischer Anzeiger,* 78 [1963], 690-716), were conducted especially at Bustān eš-Šaiḫ by Macridy Bey in 1887, 1900-1901, 1909 (Macridy Bey, *Le temple d'Eshmun à Sidon* [1904]), by W. von Landau in 1903-1904, by G. Contenau in 1914 and 1920 (*Syria,* 1 [1920], 16-55, 108-154, 198-229, 287-317; 4 [1923] 261-281; 5 [1924] 9-23, 122-134) and by M. Dunand in 1924 (*Syria,* 7 [1926], 1-7). Subsequently the necropoleis were explored especially by L. Albanèse (*Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth,* 2 [1938], 73-98; 3 [1939], 37-51 [Greco-Roman graves]; and by P. E. Guiges (*Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth,* 1 [1937], 35-76; 2 [1938], 27-72; 3 [1939], 53-63: graves of the Bronze Age). The structure of the port was clarified (with aerial photography, underwater investigations, and archeological soundings on land) by A. Poidebard (1946-1950). More recently (from 1963ff.) the work at Bustān eš-Šaiḫ has been resumed and considerably enlarged under the direction of M. Dunand (*Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth,* 19 [1966], 103-105; 20 [1967], 27-44). See *KAI,* nos. 13-16, and the ostraca of the temple of Eshmun (A. Vanel, *Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth,* 20 [1967], 45-95).

II. History.–The earliest attestation of Sidon dates from the 15th-14th cents. B.C. with the Amarna letters: the king of Sidon, Zimrida, was submissive to Egypt (as was the entire region at that time), and was involved in local battles, Sidon being allied with Arwad and Amurru against Byblos and Tyre; in particular Sidon was attempting to take from Tyre all the mainland possessions as well as a considerable portion of its territories to the south (cf. Am.Tab. 147-49). The Akkadian texts from Ugarit preserve a pair of names of kings of Sidon (Yapaḫ-Addu and Imtu) datable to the 13th century. Egyptian texts name the city in Papyrus Anastasi I (cf. *ANET,* p. 477) and in the account of Wen-Amon (cf. *ANET,* p. 27). Egyptian domination came to an end toward 1200; in the 12th-11th cents. Sidon apparently gained a certain political preeminence, which seems necessary to explain the use of the term "Sidonians" to indicate the "Phoenicians" in general. Perhaps passages such as Josh. 13:4-6 and Jgs. 18:7 imply control by Sidon to the southern end of 'Ara S of the Carmel and toward the interior as far as Laish. About 1100 the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser I mentioned only Sidon (and not Tyre) as a Phoenician center S of Byblos. But this place of predominence was cut off by the establishment of the kingdom of Israel and by the political growth of Tyre toward 1000 B.C.

In the 9th cent. the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III concerning expeditions in Syria show that Sidon was an autonomous kingdom alongside of Tyre. On the other hand the situation seems to have been altered by the time of Tigiath-pileser III (747-727) when there was no kingdom of Sidon and the city was certainly included in the territory of Tyre, where Hiram II reigned with the title of "king of the Sidonians" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 5). The same situation pertained at the time of Sennacherib, who conducted an expedition (701) against Luli king of Sidon, whom Josephus (*Ant.* ix.14.2 [283f.]) called Elulaios and considered king of Tyre. According to the Assyrian texts, Luli fled from Tyre to Cyprus; Sennacherib replaced the fugitive with the Assyrophile Tubalu (**Itto-ba'al*) on the throne of Sidon. In 677 the king of Sidon, Abdi-Milkutti, rebelled against the Assyrian Esarhaddon, who intervened, conquered and destroyed Sidon, put Abdi-Milkutti to death, transformed the kingdom of Sidon into an Assyrian province, and founded a new capital (near or on the same site of the destroyed city) with the name of Kār-Aššur-aḫ-iddina ("Fort Esarhaddon"). For the events of 701 or those of 677, one might refer to Isa. 22:1-4, 12-14 (on the destruction of Sidon, integrated with vv. 5-11 and 15-18 relative to Tyre, probably later).

Included thus in the Assyrian empire and then in the Neo-Babylonian, Sidon remained notably central, and then received particular impetus by the works of the Achemenids, who made it the principal Phoenician center of the 5th-4th cents.: at Sidon there was a residence of the Persian kings with a park (Diodorus xvi.41); the Phoenician fleet, principal nucleus of the Persian, was commanded by the king of Sidon (Diodorus xiv.67); the king of Sidon was first in rank of the vassals of Xerxes (Herodotus viii.67), and he sailed aboard a Sidonian ship (Herodotus vii.128). The funerary inscriptions and monu-



A silver double shekel from Sidon (ca. 400 B.C.). One side depicts a galley, symbol of the maritime city, and two lions. The other side depicts the Great King of Persia and a driver in a chariot (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

ments recovered at Sidon permit the reconstruction in part of the local dynastic succession: Eshmunazar (*'šmn 'zr*) I, Tabnit (*tbnt*), Eshmunazar II, Bodashtart (*bd'štrt*) are to be placed at the end of the 6th cent. and in the first half of the 5th. From Tabnit and Eshmunazar II we have the inscriptions on their sarcophagi, from Bodashtart inscriptions of the temple of Eshmun at Bustān eš-Šaiḫ constructed by him (*see* picture in PHOENICIA). At the same temple of Eshmun a statue was successively dedicated by Prince Ba'al-shillem (*b'lšlm*) recording the names of the father Ba'ana (*b'n'*), of the grandfather Abdemon (*'bd'mn*), and of the great-grandfather Ba'al-shillem, all kings of Sidon during the the second half of the 5th century. In the 4th cent. reports of classical authors, confirmed in part by numismatic data, give credibility to the sequence of 'Abd-'Ashtart I, Bod-'Ashtart, 'Abd-'Ashtart II (Straton the Philhellene, of whom Greek inscriptions [*CIG*, I, 87] recorded close ties and assistance in Attica), Tennes, 'Abd-'Ashtart III, ranging between 400 and 332. Crucial moments of this period are the anti-Persian revolt of Straton in 362, the more serious revolt of Tennes in 351, ending with the destruction of Sidon, and finally the submission to Alexander in 332.

In the conflicts between the Seleucids and the Lagides Sidon was annexed to the latter and was made part of the Ptolemaic kingdom from 307 to 197, then of the Seleucid from 197 to 64, when it became part of the Roman province of Syria. In all this period a municipal government and a certain autonomy (*hierá kaí ásylos*) were preserved, at least from 111 when an era of dating was initiated "according to the people of Sidon"; but in 20 B.C. Augustus brought an end to the autonomy of the Phoenician cities, and Sidon progressively declined. Itineraries and travelers of the 4th-6th cents. A.D. considered the city a secondary center (less important than Sarepta), but with a local bishop; it had a limited role at the time of the Crusades, as did all the ports of the region, after which its horizons became exclusively local and remain so today.

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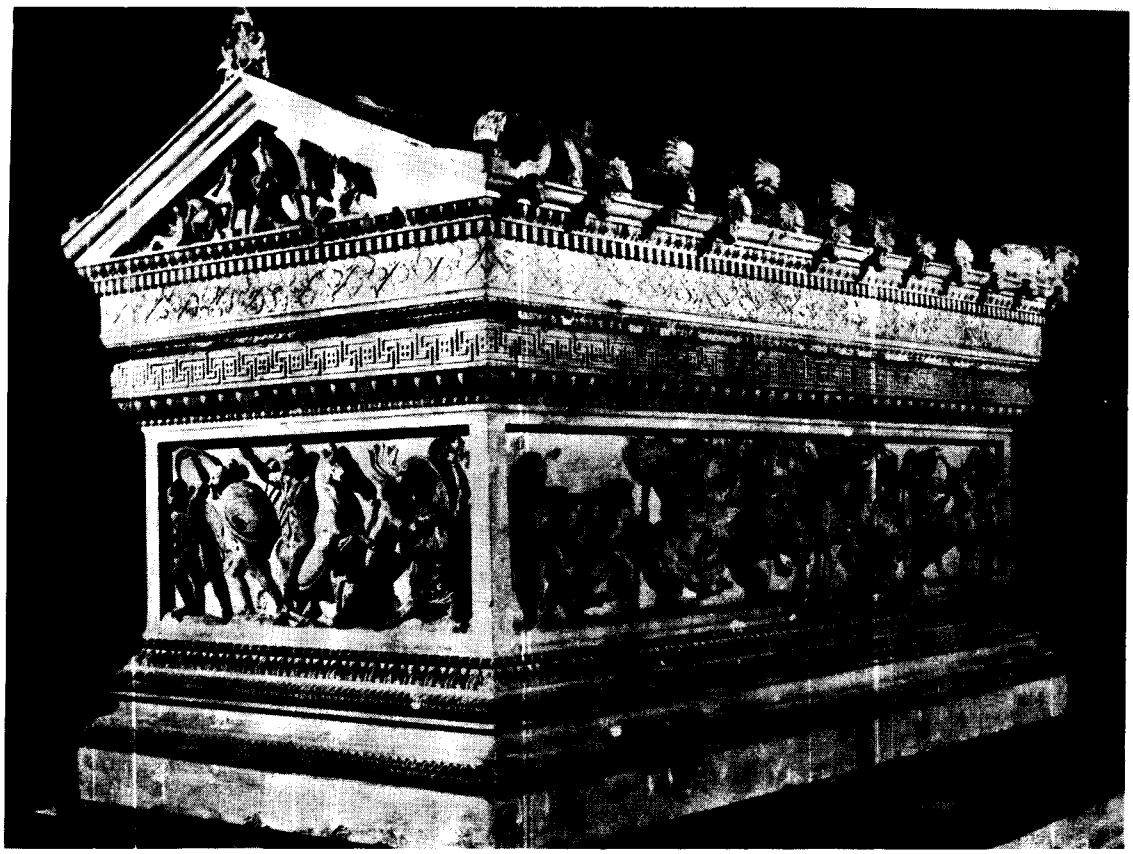
M. LIVERANI
tr. W. S. L. S.

A royal sarcophagus from Sidon in early Hellenistic style. It probably belonged to King Abdalonymos, who was installed by Alexander the Great in 333 B.C. (Archeological Museum, Istanbul)



SIEGE; SIEGEWORKS; BESIEGE. Encirclement of a fortified position by a hostile force. In biblical times the position was usually a walled city or fortress (*see* FORTIFICATION).

I. Biblical Terms.–The most common verb translated "lay siege" or "besiege" in the RSV is Heb. *ṣûr* (lit. "blind," "secure"; Dt. 20:12, 19; 1 S. 23:8; 2 S. 11:1; 20:15; 23:8; 1 K. 15:27; 16:17; 20:1; 2 K. 6:24f.; 16:5; 17:5; 18:9; 24:11; 1 Ch. 20:1; Isa. 21:2; 29:3; etc.). Other verbs include *nāṣar* (lit. "watch," "guard"; Isa. 1:8; Jer. 4:16), the hiphil of *ṣārar* (lit. "tie up"; Dt. 28:52; 1 K. 8:37; 2 Ch. 6:28), and *ḥānâ* (lit. "pitch a camp against"; Josh. 10:31, 34; 1 S. 11:1; 2 K. 25:1; Jer. 52:4). The most common noun for "siege" and "siegeworks" is *māṣôr* (Dt. 20:20; 28:53, 55, 57; 2 Ch. 32:10; Eccl. 9:14 [emended from *māṣôḏ*]; Jer. 10:17; 19:9; Ezk. 4:2, 7f.; 5:2; Mic. 5:1; Nah. 3:14; etc.; cf. the expression *bô' bammāṣôr*, "be besieged," in 2 K. 24:10; 25:2; Jer. 52:5). Other nouns include *sōl^{e}lâ* (RSV, lit., "siege mound," 2 K. 19:32; Isa. 37:33; Jer. 6:6; 32:24; 33:4) and *dāyēq* ("siegeworks," Jer. 52:4; "siege wall," Ezk. 17:17; 26:8; "siege tower," 21:22). The terms "siege," "siegeworks," and "besiege" do not occur in the RSV NT.

II. Purposes.–As an aspect of warfare (*see* WAR, WARFARE), the siege was a strategy intended to bring the population of a city and its surrounding territory under the control of the attacker. The siege might represent an initial conquest by the hostile force (Dt. 20:10-14) or an effort to regain control of a rebellious city (e.g., the Assyrian conquest of Samaria, 2 K. 17:1-6).

III. Offensive Operations.–The siege of a city by a hostile force involved pitching camp near it (1 K. 16:15f.), blocking the roads, and cutting off access to sources of water outside the city.

A fortified city could be captured through six possible actions. (1) An approaching army could take up position outside the city and by this show of force intimidate the population into surrendering without a fight. Sennacherib's representative tried this approach against Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah (2 K. 18:19–19:13), but without success (cf. vv. 35f.). (2) A city might be taken by ruse, a strategy successfully used by Joshua in the conquest of Ai (Josh. 8:10-23). If these two methods failed, four other actions could be attempted, either singly or in combination, but they all required more concentrated force: going over, through, or under the wall; or establishing a prolonged siege.

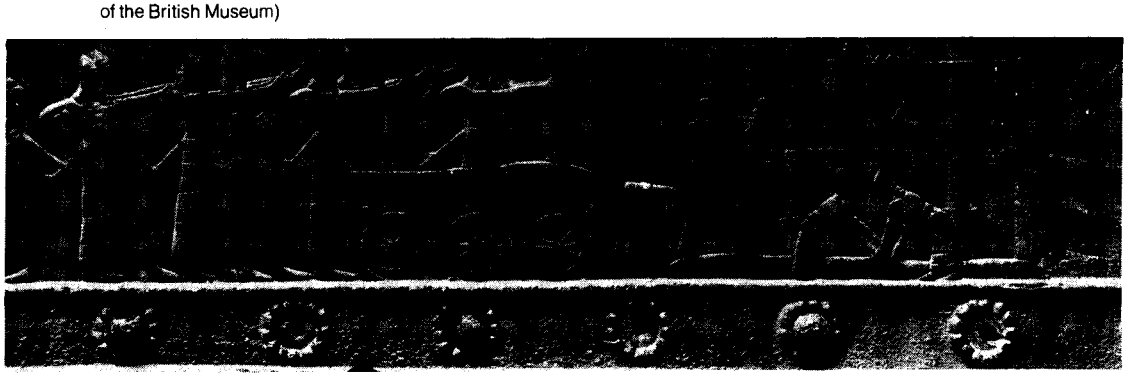
(3) Though fraught with danger, the quickest penetration of a city was over the wall. An Egyptian tomb relief discovered at Deshashe in Upper Egypt and dating to the 5th Dynasty in the Early Bronze Age shows warriors raising a ladder against the city wall while others beat against the city gate with poles in an effort to pierce that barrier. The use of assault ladders was hampered, however, by the height of city walls and by the vulnerable situation of those on the ladders beneath the firepower of the defenders on the walls.

A siege scene in a relief from Ashurnasirpal II's palace (Nimrûd, *ca.* 880 B.C.). Two men attempt to get through the wall, one by scaling it with a ladder, the other by tunneling under it. The defenders try to foil their attempts with shields and rounded rocks (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

(4) The Beni-hasan tomb painting (*ca.* 1900 B.C.) depicts a primitive battering ram consisting of a long pole with which three soldiers are attempting to penetrate a wall. They are protected by a covered framework. Such early techniques gave way to the developed battering ram in the M. B. II period, *ca.* 1900-1800 B.C. in Palestine. The remarkable fortifications constructed in that period were no doubt a response to this formidable new weapon (*see* FORTIFICATION III.D). The OT term for the battering ram is Heb. *kar* (Ezk. 4:2; 21:22 [MT 27]; cf. *m^{e}ḥî* [RSV "shock of battering rams"; AV "engines of war"] in 26:9).

Although no contemporary graphic illustrations of the M.B. battering ram are known, it is possible to imagine the weapon based on information in texts and the appearance of the Assyrian battering ram depicted on bas-reliefs of the 1st millennium B.C. A frame of sturdy beams was

Assyrians attack the doors of Dabigu, Syria, with a six-wheeled battering ram. The operator rides in a turret in the front and archers support the rear. This later type had a pointed snout and was lighter than older models, but was generally too low to be effective. From the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III, 858-824 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

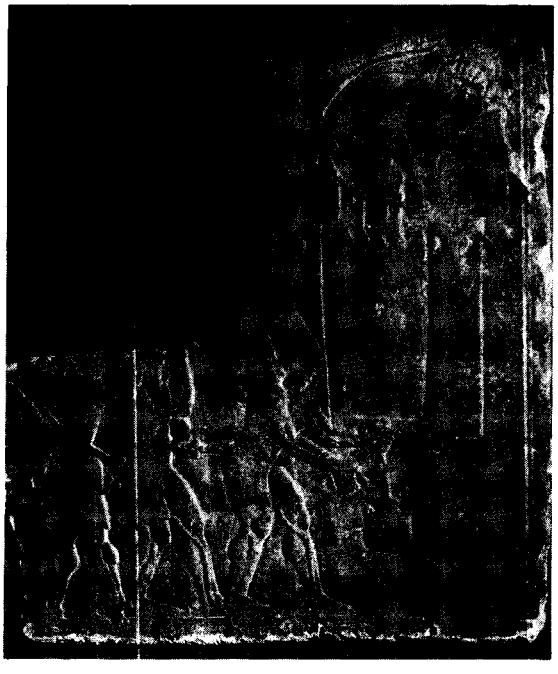


covered with protective sheathing above and along the sides. The ram was a long beam, metal-tipped, which was slung from the roof and could be swung forward through the open front. A crew of several men could swing the beam so that the pick-like end could penetrate the upper courses of the wall. Then it could be levered in several directions to loosen and dislodge the wall material (stone or mud brick). The action involved more probing and picking than battering. Such an instrument could be transported on a wheeled vehicle to the point of the siege. Later the battering ram was improved with the addition of integral wheels, as depicted in the Assyrian reliefs.

The battering ram was effective only when it was brought close to the wall. Because the city was frequently surrounded by a dry moat (fosse) and protected by a steep glacis, an earthen ramp (or "siege mound") had to be constructed to provide the needed access with the battering ram. Remnants of the Assyrian siege ramp used by Sennacherib to conquer Lachish in 701 B.C. are still visible at the site (*see* picture in ARMY). A Roman siege ramp was a significant factor in the capture of Masada, the last fortress of the First Jewish Revolt, which fell to the Romans in A.D. 73; it remains practically intact where it was constructed (*see* MASADA IV). Along with the battering ram and the siege ramp, siege towers were developed. These were strong, mobile platforms that were high enough to increase the effective firepower of the archers on them against the defenders on the walls. Archers on the siege towers and on the ground were necessary to provide protection for the crew in the battering ram and those outside it who were responsible for moving it forward (*see* picture in LACHISH).

(5) The annals of Sennacherib contain a description of his methods of attack on Hezekiah's Judean cities: he used "well-stamped (earth) ramps, and battering-rams brought (thus) near (to the walls) (combined with) the attack by foot soldiers, (using) mines, breeches as well as sapper work" (*ANET*, p. 288). The combined methods thus included weakening the foundations by tunneling, an operation carried out by sappers.

An Assyrian soldier cuts off the water supply to a besieged city. Fragment of a relief from Ashurnasirpal II's palace at Nimrûd, ca. 880 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



(6) The purpose of the siege proper was to isolate the city from sources of food, water, and assistance from possible allies. The besiegers thereby maintained pressure on the defenders on the walls (cf. 2 K. 6:25-30) and waited for capitulation; a siege might extend however, over days, weeks, months, or even years. Nebuchadrezzar's siege of Tyre stretched over thirteen years. In the face of continued resistance the patience of attackers could grow thin; then, if the defenders showed a sign of weakness, the attackers would make a final assault on the walls and attempt to burn the gate, until they made a breach that allowed them entry to the city.

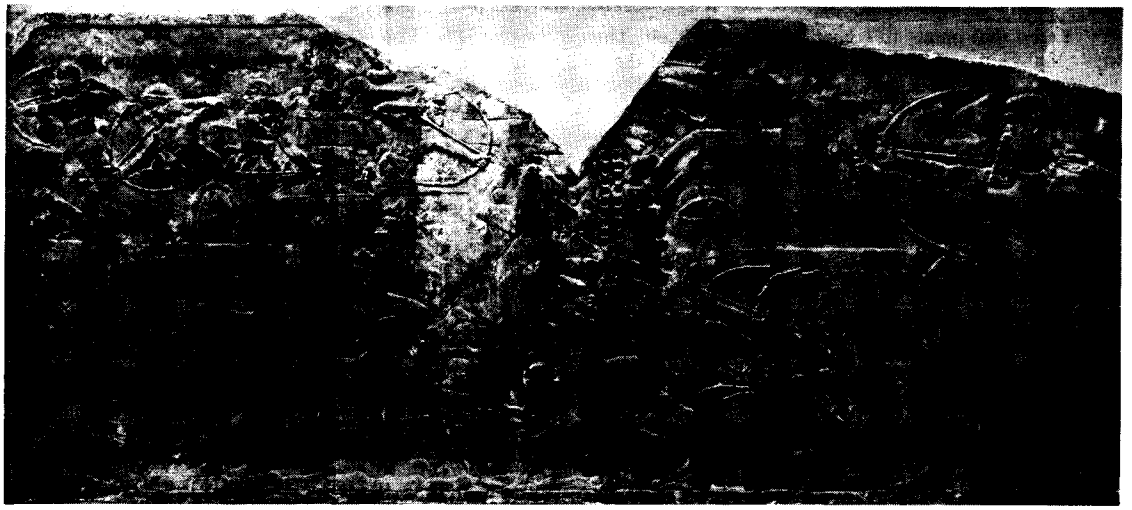
The aftermath of a siege was the slaughter of the defenders, the enslavement of the population, the pillaging of property, and the violent destruction of the city with fire and demolition. The outcome of Nebuchadrezzar's siege of Tyre is vividly foretold by Ezk. 26:1-13. The results of the earlier Assyrian conquest of Lachish are graphically depicted in the bas-reliefs that decorated Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh, discovered by Sir A. H. Layard's excavations in the mid-19th century. The slaughter that followed the Assyrian siege was corroborated by the discovery by British excavators in the 1930s of a cave at Lachish containing the skeletons of approximately fifteen hundred victims, many of them females.

Not all sieges ended in destruction, however; a siege might also be raised. The Ammonites besieged the Transjordanian city of Jabesh-gilead and offered such humiliating terms of surrender that the inhabitants requested — and received — a temporary ceasefire to ponder these terms (1 S. 11:1-3). During the seven-day respite they appealed to the newly anointed Israelite leader, Saul, who came to their rescue and forced the Ammonites to lift the siege, thereby winning the deep gratitude of the people of Jabesh (vv. 5-15; cf. 31:12f.).

IV. Defensive Operations.—Walled cities generally provided an effective defense against hostile forces whose only long-range weapons were bows and slings. So effective were the defenses of the M. B. ramparts that the battering ram appears to have been generally ineffective and unused until it was revived and perfected as an integral part of the Assyrian war machine of Iron Age II. Besides the ramparts and bastions of their fortifications, the defenders of a city could make other preparations for the approach of a hostile force. Their first priority was to ensure adequate stocks of food and water for themselves and to deny these to the enemy (cf. 2 Ch. 32:4). The storage of food was not difficult, but if the siege continued long enough the supply of food could run out, leading to starvation (2 K. 25:3) and even to the worst kind of cannibalism — mothers eating their own children (6:28f.). Biblical cities were usually built on top of the remains of previous cities (tells), and the sources of water were often situated outside the cities. The use of cisterns for water storage was a partial solution. At Megiddo, Hazor, Gezer, and other places, tunnels were dug from within the cities to underground springs or ground water sources.

The fortifications inside the wall might be strengthened by pulling down houses to fortify the wall (Isa. 22:10). The city gate(s) could be securely blocked with a bar (cf. Am. 1:5); *see* GATE I. Once the city was surrounded, the besieged might venture out in sorties against the attackers in an effort to break the siege (2 S. 11:17; 1 K. 20:15-21).

The defenders of a besieged city enjoyed an advantage of height over the attackers. Conventional weapons such as slings and stones, arrows and javelins could be supple-



Defenders attempt to deflect a battering ram with a chain that attackers try to remove with hooks. To the left, two soldiers are tunneling, and at far left two others are breaking down the wall with pikes and spears. Relief from Nimrûd, *ca.* 880 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

mented by objects such as millstones (Jas. 9:53) and the parts of chariots, as graphically shown in the Assyrian reliefs of the capture of Lachish. Defenders could also cast down on the hostile forces boiling water, hot oil, and firebrands. (According to the RSV of 2 Ch. 26:15, King Uzziah made "engines [Heb. *ḥišše<u>b</u>ônô<u>t</u>*], invented by skillful men, to be on the towers and corners to shoot arrows and great stones." Although this is often interpreted as a reference to catapults, there is no reliable evidence that catapults existed this early, and the reference may be instead to "defensive constructions on the towers and the corners that enabled the soldiers to shoot arrows and great stones from a position of safety" [H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (*NCBC*, 1982), p. 337].) In one instance during the Roman period sacks of chaff were lowered to blunt the blows of the battering ram (*BJ* iii.7.20 [222-26]). Unfortunately, both the archeological and literary records testify to the numerous destructions of fortified cities. Apparently the tenacity of the besiegers and the ferocity of their assaults too often overwhelmed the forces of defense. The strata of destruction layers are a mute testimony to the outcome of many sieges in the biblical period.

V. Allusions in the NT.–The only explicit reference to siege operations in the NT is Jesus' prediction of the complete destruction of Jerusalem. Lk. 19:43f. reports that Jesus wept as He said, "your enemies will cast up a bank [Gk. *chárax*; NEB "siege-works"; NIV "embankment"] about you and surround you, and hem you in on every side." Josephus, an eyewitness to the event, recorded the details of the Jerusalem siege (*BJ* v.6.2–vi.10.1 [262-442]).

Paul employs siege terminology in a figurative manner in two of his letters. In 2 Cor. 10:4 he states, "for the weapons of our warfare are not worldly but have divine power to destroy strongholds," employing Gk. *kathaíresis*, a derivative of *kathairéō*, the usual LXX term for the conquest of a fortress (Prov. 21:22; Lam. 2:2). In Eph. 6:16 he makes faint allusion to the practice of defenders who shoot flaming arrows upon the attackers: with the shield of faith the Christian warrior can quench "the flaming darts of the evil one."

See also FORTIFICATION.

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K. N. SCHOVILLE

SIEVE; SIFT [Heb. *nāpâ*–'yoke' (Isa. 30:28), hiphil of *nûp* (Isa. 30:28), *ke<u>b</u>ārâ* (Am. 9:9); Gk. *siniázō*–'shake in a sieve' (Lk. 22:31)]; NEB also YOKE (Isa. 30:28), FORCE (Isa. 30:28).

In biblical times a sieve was a type of winnowing tool usually with a coarse mesh, possibly made of string or reeds. In the sifting process the grain would fall to the ground and the stones, chaff, and other unwanted material would be retained in the sieve (cf. esp. Sir. 27:4).

The metaphorical sifting action of Yahweh is an act of His judgment upon the nations (Isa. 30:28). When He shakes Israel (Am. 9:9), those who remain in the sieve will receive judgment (cf. v. 10).

In Lk. 22:31 Satan's sifting process is designed to threaten Simon Peter's faith, but Jesus prays for Peter's ultimate fidelity.

G. WYPER

SIGN [(nouns) Heb. *'ô<u>t</u>, môpē<u>t</u>* (1 K. 13:3, 5; 2 Ch. 32:24, 31; Ezk. 12:6, 11; 24:24, 27), *qešeb*–'attentiveness' ("sign of life," 2 K. 4:31), *ṣîyûn*–'stone marker' (Ezk. 39:15); Aram. *'o<u>t</u>* (Dnl. 4:2f. [MT 3:32f.]; 6:27 [MT 28]); Gk. *sēmeíon, sýssēmon* (Mk. 14:44), *paratḗrēsis*–'observation' ("signs to be observed," Lk. 17:20)]; AV also TOKEN, MIRACLE, WONDER, ETC.; NEB also TOKEN WARNING, MIRACLE, etc.; [(verbs) Heb. *kā<u>t</u>a<u>b</u>*–'write' (Jer. 32:10, 12, 44); Aram. *rᵉšam* (Dnl. 6:8-13 [MT 9-14]); Gk. *dianeúō*–'beckon' ("make signs," Lk. 1:22), *enneúō* ("make signs," Lk. 1:62)]; AV also SUBSCRIBE, BECKON; NEB also PUT IN WRITING, ISSUE, etc.

Most occurrences of "sign" in the RSV represent Heb. *'ô<u>t</u>* or Gk. *sēmeíon*, which occur, respectively, seventy-eight times in the OT and seventy-seven times in the NT. The various contexts carry different shades of meaning, but the basic idea of pointing to something is always present. The medium is either exclusively or primarily visual: a sign is something one sees. The most important uses of

the word in Scripture are theological, i.e., they refer to an act of God that points to something beyond itself. Thus, signs that God performs take on the character of the miraculous. The true significance of signs in the Bible is found in their function. As acts of God the signs function in one way or another to display His credibility and reveal His power and glory.

I. In the OT
II. In the NT
  A. Synoptics
  B. Gospel of John
III. Signs and Wonders
IV. False Signs

I. In the OT.–Most of the OT uses of *'ôṯ* refer to acts performed by God. Helfmeyer (*TDOT*, I, 170-188) classified the signs performed by God in the OT according to seven (interrelated and often overlapping) major functions: (1) signs intended to bring about knowledge of God (e.g., Ex. 7:3; Dt. 4:34); (2) signs of protection (e.g., Ex. 12:13); (3) signs intended to instill and confirm faith in God (e.g., Nu. 14:11, 22; Dt. 11:3; Josh. 24:17; Isa. 7:11, 14); (4) signs intended to bring remembrance and thus reinforce Israel's faith (e.g., Ex. 13:9; 31:13, 17; Dt. 6:8; Josh. 4:6); (5) signs of the covenant, namely, the rainbow (the Noachic covenant, Gen. 9:12f., 17), circumcision (the Abrahamic covenant, Gen. 17:11), and the sabbath (the Mosaic covenant, Ex. 31:13, 17; Ezk. 20:12, 20); (6) signs intended to confirm a divine message (e.g., Ex. 3:12; Jgs. 6:17; 1 S. 2:34; 10:1, 7, 9; this sign often overlaps with [1] and [3]); (7) symbolic signs in which the prophets are called on to act out their prophetic message (e.g., Isa. 8:18; 20:3; Ezk. 4:3; cf. *môpeṯ*, 12:6, 11; 24:24, 27). In signs of this last type the actor is not God but the prophet, who acts in obedience to the word of God. These signs are not miraculous, but they attract attention because of their peculiar nature.

It is important to note that God's signs in the OT are not able to be understood on their own, but must be interpreted by a word from God. "This word declares in what or whom the sign is intended to motivate a person to believe. Therefore, there is no sign revelation without a corresponding word revelation interpreting the sign" (*TDOT*, I, 177). This is in accord with the biblical doctrine of revelation, which sees the acts and words of God as being of one piece and views both as indispensable to the revelatory process.

Many have pointed out that the miraculous signs of God do not occur with regularity throughout the OT. They are concentrated in three periods, apart from which they are rare: (1) the Exodus and the conquest (see III below), (2) the intense struggle with pagan religion in the ministries of Elijah and Elisha, and (3) the time of Daniel. The coming of Jesus and the apostolic ministry in the early Church mark a fourth biblical era characterized by God's miraculous signs.

II. In the NT.–The NT use of Gk. *sēmeíon* is heavily influenced by the OT use of Heb. *'ôṯ* and the LXX's consistent translation of *'ôt* with *sēmeíon*. Like *'ôṯ*, *sēmeíon* is used both in the secular sense of a "mark, sign" (e.g., Mt. 26:48; 2 Thess. 3:17), and in the predominant sense of a miraculous act of God that points to something else that the perceiver is to grasp or do.

A. Synoptics. The primary term used by the Synoptic Gospels for Jesus' miraculous deeds is not *sēmeíon* but *dýnamis* ("act of power"), a word often translated "miracle." In Luke's account, however, the angel speaks of the baby Jesus as a "sign" (*sēmeíon*) to the shepherds (Lk. 2:12), and Simeon calls the child a "sign that is spoken against" (*sēmeíon antilegómenon*, v. 34). The latter phrase is best understood as a reference to the rejection that will come from many who observe this legitimate sign. This illustrates that a true sign from God does not necessarily receive universal acceptance.

In first-century Palestine the Jewish people expected any true prophet of God to validate his ministry with signs. Thus the scribes and Pharisees said point-blank to Jesus, "Teacher, we wish to see a sign from you" (Mt. 12:38; cf. Mk. 8:11). The Sadducees demanded the same (Mt. 16:1; cf. also Lk. 11:16, 29f.; 23:8). Paul stated bluntly, "Jews ask for signs" (1 Cor. 1:22; cf. Lk. 11:16; Jn. 2:18; 3:2; 4:48; 6:30; 7:31; 9:16; 12:18; Acts 2:22). In the Synoptics, however, Jesus refuses to give such signs (Mk. 8:11f.; for a more positive side of the Synoptic tradition concerning signs, cf. Mt. 11:2-6 par. Lk. 7:18-23, and Mt. 12:28 par. Lk. 11:20). The only sign that He offers is the sign of Jonah and the obscure statement that the Son of man will "be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Mt. 12:38-42; cf. Lk. 11:29-32). Jesus says that the kingdom of God that He is preaching "is not coming with signs to be observed" (Lk. 17:20; interestingly, the term used here is not *sēmeíon* but *paratḗrēsis*, which occurs only here in the NT). To look for such signs is, according to Jesus, evil and adulterous towards God (Mt. 12:39). The Pharisees and Sadducees rejected Jesus' teaching and asked for signs in order to test Him or entrap Him (cf. vv. 22-37). They misunderstood the character of the Messiah and His kingdom

The Synoptics also use *sēmeíon* in references to the future consummation of God's kingdom and the coming of the Son of man in glory. In Mt. 24:3 the disciples ask Jesus, "What will be the sign of your coming?" (cf. the less specific question in Mk. 13:4 par. Lk. 21:7: "When will these things take place?"). Jesus says that before the end there will be "great signs from heaven" (Lk. 21:11). "There will be signs in sun and moon and stars" (v. 25; cf. Acts 2:19). This apocalyptic language climaxes in Jesus' statement that "then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and then all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and they will see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" (Mt. 24:30; only in Matthew does Jesus mention "the sign of the Son of man"). What is the sign? Many take it to be the coming of Christ — the greatest sign of Jesus' messiahship will be His parousia. T. F. Glasson (*JTS*, 15 [1964], 299f.) has argued with some force that *sēmeíon* should here be understood as "ensign" or "standard" (cf. Isa. 11:12); thus the standard or banner of the Son of man unfolds in the sky as He prepares to return in power and glory. "Sign" is also used in Rev. 12:1, 3 in this same sense of an eschatological portent.

B. Gospel of John. Sēmeíon plays a much different role in the Gospel of John. Here *sēmeíon* replaces *dýnamis* as the primary term for Jesus' miracles. The author of the Fourth Gospel presents Jesus' signs positively both as a source of knowledge about Him and especially as a motivation to believe in Him. Indeed, the author states his purpose for writing the Gospel in terms of presenting the signs of Jesus in order to instill the belief in Him that leads to eternal life: "these [signs] are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name" (Jn. 20:31). The signs of Jesus therefore play a prominent role in this Gospel.

Jesus' signs are integral to the structure of the whole Gospel, but especially to chs. 2–11. The author specifically numbers the first (2:11) and second (4:54) signs.

Most scholars find at least six signs in these early chapters: the changing of the water to wine at Cana (2:1-11), the healing of the official's son (4:46-54), the healing of the lame man at the pool (5:2-9), the feeding of the five thousand (6:1-14), the healing of the man born blind (9:1-7), and the raising of Lazarus (11:1-44); Jesus' walking on the sea (6:16-21) has sometimes been interpreted as a seventh sign. Some scholars think the author used a special "signs source" for this section of the Gospel, but there is no consensus on this point.

The Fourth Gospel clearly presents Jesus' ministry, at least in part, as a ministry of doing signs. These signs manifested His glory and motivated His disciples to believe in Him (2:11). John the Baptist performed no signs (10:41), but Jesus performed many during His public ministry — many more than the six or seven that are specifically recorded (20:30; cf. 2:23; 3:2; 6:2; 7:31; 12:37). These signs, especially those performed early in His ministry, effectively motivated people to believe in Him (cf. 2:23; 3:2; 4:53; 6:2, 14; 7:31; 12:18); later, however, unbelief persisted in spite of Jesus' many signs.

The meaning of *sēmeíon* is thus somewhat different in John's Gospel than in the Synoptics, though there are similarities. In the Synoptics a sign would prove that Jesus was the Messiah, leaving little if any room for faith. In John a sign points to Jesus as Messiah and may lead to faith. For the Synoptic writers (and also in Revelation) *dýnamis* is closer than *sēmeíon* to what John means by *sēmeíon*. The Synoptics have a central place for the *dynámeis* of Jesus, but not for His *sēmeía*. (*See also* MIRACLE II.B,C.)

III. Signs and Wonders.—In the OT *'ôṯ* and *môpēṯ* are found together in the plural expression *'ōṯōṯ ûmôpᵉṯîm* eighteen times (Ex. 7:3; Dt. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:2f. [MT 3f.]; 26:8; 28:46; 29:3 [MT 2]; 34:11; Neh. 9:10; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Isa. 8:18; 20:3; Jer. 32:20f.); this is especially impressive since *môpēṯ* occurs only thirty-six times. All but five of these texts (Dt. 13:2f.; 28:46; Isa. 8:18; 20:3) refer to God's activity during the period in which Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. The Exodus was clearly the great redemptive act of God in the OT, when He did His powerful signs and wonders to save His people out of Egyptian bondage. This theme is especially developed in Deuteronomy, where nine of the OT occurrences of "signs and wonders" are found (cf. esp. 26:5-11).

The LXX always translates *'ōṯōṯ ûmôpᵉṯîm* by *sēmeía kaí térata*. The uses of *sēmeía kaí térata* in the Apocrypha continue to refer to God's redemptive activity during the Exodus period (e.g., Sir. 36:6; Wisd. 8:8; 10:16; Bar. 2:11). Thus, in Greek-speaking Judaism the expression "signs and wonders" seems to have been reserved for the wonders God performed in the days of Moses (*TDNT*, VII, 221).

"Signs and wonders" occurs sixteen times in the NT (Mt. 24:24; Mk. 13:22; Jn. 4:48; Acts 2:19, 22, 43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 7:36; 14:3; 15:12; Rom. 15:19; 2 Cor. 12:12; 2 Thess. 2:9; He. 2:4). *Téras* carries the meaning of "unusual wonder," "amazing miracle," and occurs in the NT only these sixteen times, always with *sēmeíon* and always in the plural. Although the use of the phrase is influenced by the OT and the LXX, the coming of Jesus places a whole new perspective on its meaning. The phrase now refers, not to God's activity in the days of Moses, but to His even greater redemptive work in Christ and to the proclamation of this redemption by His apostles. The use of this phrase highlights the great eschatological significance of the miracles of Jesus and His apostles (cf. Mt. 11:2-6; 12:28; Acts 2:22f.; He. 2:3f.). The *sēmeía kaí térata*, "which now take place afresh as they once did at the exodus with its miraculous accompanying phenomena, are a pledge of the certainty of eschatological occurrence" (*TDNT*, VII, 241).

It is in Acts rather than the Gospels that "signs and wonders" are emphasized as God's redemptive acts. All three Gospel occurrences cast the phrase in a negative light (see IV below). As Deuteronomy is the key OT document that speaks of "signs and wonders," Acts is the key NT book that uses the expression. While Luke was reluctant to talk about Jesus performing signs in his Gospel, this was no longer true in his second volume. He described Jesus as "a man attested to you by God with mighty works [*dynámeis*] and wonders [*térata*] and signs [*sēmeía*] which God did through him in your midst" (Acts 2:22; *dýnamis, téras,* and *sēmeíon* also occur together in 2 Cor. 12:12; 2 Thess. 2:9; He. 2:4; cf. Acts 8:13). Thus it is now Jesus, not Moses, who performs "signs and wonders" in redeeming God's people from bondage.

While Acts depicts Jesus' earthly ministry as a ministry of "signs and wonders," recalling God's acts in Moses' day for the redemption of His people (Acts 7:36), the expression is used primarily of God's acts through the apostles. Luke wrote that "many wonders and signs were done through the apostles" (Acts 2:43), and "many signs and wonders were done among the people by the hands of the apostles" (5:12). For Luke it was through the apostles, the commissioned emissaries of the resurrected Jesus, that God now performed His signs and wonders in order to substantiate and confirm the gospel of redemption and to motivate people to believe in this gospel (cf. Acts 4:16, 22). The apostolic band that performed these signs and wonders did not have rigid boundaries, as it included Paul and Barnabas (14:3; 15:12; 19:11), Stephen (6:8), and Philip (8:6, 13); clearly, however, there was always a close association with the ministry of the apostles (cf. Acts 9:38).

Paul developed this understanding of "signs and wonders" further. He confirmed Luke's view of his apostolic ministry by stating the positive role that "signs and wonders" had played in his ministry (Rom. 15:18f.). He also stated the function of "signs and wonders" in validating his own apostleship: "The signs [or "marks," *sēmeía*] of a true apostle were performed among you in all patience, with signs and wonders and mighty works [*dynámeis*]" (2 Cor. 12:12). The author of Hebrews likewise ties "signs and wonders" to the apostolic ministry in He. 2:3f. Thus, in the NT the legitimate use of "signs and wonders" is always associated with the preaching of the gospel and with the apostles.

See also WONDER.

IV. False Signs.—Signs may also be performed by people not sent from God (cf. Ex. 7–8). Thus, from very early in their history as the people of God the Israelites were warned to test the signs and wonders of a prophet against his teaching (Dt. 13:1-5). The NT continues this emphasis. Jesus warned that "false Christs and false prophets will arise and show great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect" (Mt. 24:24; cf. Mk. 13:22). This will occur especially at the end of the age and the consummation of the Kingdom (2 Thess. 2:9f.; Rev. 13:13f.; 16:14; 19:20). The emphasis throughout Scripture is that both the message and the signs must be from God (cf. Acts 4:29f. for a positive example of this point). Signs substantiate an authentic word from God, but many false prophets try to validate false messages with signs. Both Testaments teach that the people of God must be discerning in this matter.

See also MIRACLE; SIGNAL; SIGNPOST; STANDARD.

Bibliography.–C. Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind* (1983); *DNTT*, II, 626-635; C. F. D. Moule, ed., *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in Their Philosophy and History* (1965); *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "ôth" (F. J. Helfmeyer); *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σημεῖον (K. Rengstorf).

V. R. GORDON

SIGNAL [Heb. *môʿēḏ*] ("appointed signal," Jgs. 20:38); AV APPOINTED SIGN; NEB AGREED SIGNAL; [*maśʾēṯ*] (Jgs. 20:40; Jer. 6:1); AV FLAME, SIGN OF FIRE; NEB BEACON, also omits; [*nēs*] (Isa. 5:26; 13:2; 18:3; 30:17; 49:22); AV ENSIGN, BANNER, STANDARD; NEB also STANDARD, SIGNAL POST; [*šāraq*] (Zec. 10:8); AV HISS; NEB WHISTLE. Previously arranged signs gave warning or commanded the people to rally together. They were visual, e.g., smoke and fire (Jgs. 20:38, 40) and signal posts (*nēs*), or audible, e.g., trumpet blasts, shouts, and whistles (*šāraq*). On blowing an alarm *see* BLOW 1. *See also* BANNER; SIGN; STANDARD.

SIGNATURE [Heb. *tāw*] (Job 31:35); AV "desire"; NEB omits. The allusion in Job is to the legal process of a defendant's putting his mark or "signature" upon a written statement of his innocence. Curiously, *tāw* is derived from the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which in ancient times was written somewhat like the English X, the mark used by illiterate people today. Cf. Ezk. 9:4, 6, where the RSV renders "mark" for Heb. *tāw*. References to the signing of legal documents also occur in Jer. 32:10, 12 (deed) and Dnl. 6:8-10, 12f. (royal edict).

G. WYPER

SIGNET [Heb. *ḥôṯām*–'seal'] (Gen. 38:18; Ex. 28:11, 21, 36; Jer. 22:24; etc.); NEB SEAL, SIGNET-RING, etc.; [*ḥôṯemeṯ*–'sealing-apparatus,' 'signet ring'] (Gen. 38:25); NEB "engraving on the seal"; [*ṭabbaʿaṯ*–'signet-ring,' 'ring'] (Gen. 41:42; Ex. 35:22; Isa. 3:21; etc.); AV RING; NEB SIGNET RING, FINGER-RING; [Aram. *ʿizqâ*–'signet-ring'] (Dnl. 6:17 [MT 18]). In Ezk. 28:12 the RSV emends the MT, which has the part. *ḥôṯēm* (cf. AV "seal up"; NEB "set the seal"), to read *ḥôṯām*, following the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. (see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, II [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1983], 81, 91f.). A signet was a seal engraved with a personal insignia that left an impression when pressed upon soft clay or wax. It was usually worn either as a ring on the finger or on a cord around the neck. *See* RING; SEAL.

The RSV often uses "signet" to translate Heb. *ḥôṯām* (< vb. *ḥāṯam*, "seal, affix a seal"). E. A. Speiser suggested that "seal and . . . cord" in Gen. 38:18 be construed as "the seal on the cord," since this best reflects the ancient Near Eastern convention of wearing a cylinder seal on a cord around the neck (*Genesis* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1978], p. 298). In v. 25 the Hebrew term is the hapax legomenon *ḥōṯemeṯ*, a cognate of *ḥôṯām*.

According to Ex. 28:11, 21, 36 (cf. 39:6, 14, 30) engraved stones were affixed to the priest's ephod and breastpiece, and an engraved golden plate was fastened to his turban. Possibly these engraved stones and plate functioned like a signet ring in that they symbolized Yahweh's signature on His chosen people (cf. G. A. F.Knight, *Theology as Narration* [1976], p. 172). In Jer. 22:24 the removal of the signet ring symbolizes Yahweh's rejection of Coniah (i.e., Jehoiachin; cf. 52:31) as His official representative; this action is reversed, however, in Hag. 2:23, where Yahweh promises to make Zerubbabel "like a signet ring."

Another term that often designates the special ring used to seal and authenticate documents is Heb. *ṭabbaʿaṯ*. When Joseph became the Egyptian vizier he received from Pharaoh the royal seal, which enabled him to issue authoritative commands (Gen. 41:42). King Ahasuerus gave his signet ring to wicked Haman (Est. 3:10; cf. v. 12); later, however, the king retrieved his ring from Haman and gave it to Mordecai (8:2; cf. vv. 8-14). *Ṭabbaʿaṯ* also appears in several lists of jewelry items: those given by individual Israelites for the building of the tabernacle (Ex. 35:22), those acquired as war booty from the Midianites and offered by the Israelites to the Lord (Nu. 31:50), and those flaunted in Isaiah's time by members of the upper classes (Isa. 3:21; *see* GARMENTS IX).

According to Dnl. 6:17 (MT 18) King Darius used his signet ring (Aram. *ʿizqâ*, perhaps < Heb. *ʿāzaq*, "go around") to seal the rock that closed the opening to the lion's den into which Daniel was thrown. G. L. KNAPP

SIGNPOST [Heb. *yāḏ*] (Ezk. 21:19 [MT 24]); AV PLACE. A monument indicating where a road leads. The prophet Ezekiel was commanded by God to draw a map of Nebuchadrezzar's route from Babylon, with signs indicating alternative routes to Rabbah of the Ammonites and to Jerusalem. This symbolic action pointed to God's impending judgment against Jerusalem. For the use of *yāḏ* in the sense of a signpost or monument, cf. 1 S. 15:12; 2 S. 18:18.

SIGNS, NUMERICAL. *See* NUMBER.

SIGNS OF THE HEAVENS. *See* ASTRONOMY II.B.

SIHON sī'hon [Heb. *sîḥôn, sîḥôn*]. The Amorite king of HESHBON, who was defeated by the Israelites on their journey from Egypt to Palestine.

Under Moses' leadership the Israelites requested permission to pass through Sihon's territory (Nu. 21:21f.), which is said to have extended from the Arnon (Wâdī Môjib) N to the Jabbok (Wâdī Zerqā; v. 24; cf. Josh. 12:2f., 5), as they journeyed toward the Jordan in order to invade Palestine. Although the Israelites offered terms of peace (v. 22; cf. Dt. 20:10), Sihon refused their request and came out to fight against them (Nu. 21:23). God gave Israel their first taste of victory when they slew Sihon, defeated his forces, and took control of Heshbon and the other Amorite cities under his control (vv. 24f.). Soon after this Israelite victory, Og king of Bashan, another Amorite king who was probably an ally of Sihon, engaged the Israelites in battle at Edrei (v. 33); He met the same fate as Sihon (vv. 34f.; cf. Dt. 4:46f). When the land of Canaan was divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, the territory of Sihon and Og was assigned to Reuben and Gad and several clans from Manasseh (Nu. 32:33; cf. Josh. 13:8-12, 21, 27). In King Solomon's time this territory formed one of the twelve administrative districts (1 K. 4:19).

Israel's triumph over Sihon and Og is recalled and celebrated in its sacred traditions. An early victory song of either Israelite or Amorite origin is included in the narrative of Nu. 21 (vv. 27-30; cf. Jer. 48:45; see comms.). Shortly before the Israelites crossed into Canaan, Moses retold the story of these victories (Dt. 2:24–3:11; 29:7; 31:4) as an indication of what they might expect in Canaan. The Transjordan victory thus became a symbol of Yahweh's fidelity to His people (cf. Jgs. 11:19-23; Neh. 9:22; Ps. 135:10-12; 136:19) and a cause of terror for the surrounding nations (Josh. 2:10f.; 9:9f.).

Bibliography.–*Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1968), V, *s.v.* (S. Ahitub); S. Yeivin, *JNES*, 9 (1950), 101-107.

W. A. VANGEMEREN

SIHOR. *See* SHIHOR.

SIHOR LIBNATH. *See* SHIHOR LIBNATH.

SILAS sī'las [Gk. *Silas*]; **SILVANUS** sil-vā'nəs [Gk. *Silouanos*]. A leader of the Jerusalem church who was later involved in ministries with Paul and Peter.

I. Name.–There is little doubt that Silas of Acts and Silvanus of the Epistles are the same person. Luke consistently uses the shorter name "Silas," which was likely used in Jewish circles (Acts 15:22-40; 16:19-29; 17:10-15; 18:5). Paul and Peter invariably refer to "Silvanus," the name that would have been recognized in Hellenistic and Roman communities (2 Cor. 1:19; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1; 1 Pet. 5:12).

The name Silas is probably related to the Semitic name Saul (Aram. *šᵉ'îlâ* or OT Heb. *Šā'ûl*, "asked for"). Less likely is the suggestion that it is related to Heb. *Šelaḥ*, the name of a descendant of Shem (Gen. 10:24), the Hebrew equivalent of Tertius (who, like Silas, was an amanuensis, Rom. 16:22; cf. 1 Pet. 5:12).

The name Silvanus (which in Latin means "from the woods") has been regarded as : (1) the Latinized form of Silas (the Graecized form of a Semitic name), (2) a cognomen given because of its similarity to Silas, or (3) a longer name, of which Silas is an abbreviation. The first two suggestions are likely both correct (see Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 301); the contracted form of Silvanus would have been Silvas. Like Paul (also called Saul), Silas probably used both names and had them from his birth. And, like Paul, he seems to have been a Jew with the advantage of Roman citizenship (Acts 16:37).

II. Missionary Activity.–Silas is first mentioned as the traveling companion of Judas Barsabbas (Acts 15:22-33). Together they were sent by the Jerusalem Council to Antioch to convey and interpret the council's decision that Gentiles were free from the obligation of circumcision. Silas and Judas were chosen because they were "leading men among the brethren" (v. 22). They are also described as "prophets" who "exhorted the brethren with many words and strengthened them" (v. 32). It appears that Silas and Judas may also have been the ones who drafted the council's letter; in the earliest NT MSS v. 23 begins with the phrase *grápsantes diá cheirós autón* (lit. "having written by their hand").

Evidently Silas made a very favorable impression on Paul in Antioch, for after Paul and Barnabas parted ways due to a disagreement over taking Mark with them, Paul chose Silas to accompany him on his second missionary journey (Acts 15:36-41). Either Silas had been recalled to Antioch after returning to Jerusalem with Judas, or (according to the Western text) he had remained in Antioch when Judas returned to Jerusalem (see vv. 33f., RSV mg.). In either case, he seems to have traveled with Paul through Syria and the provinces of Cilicia, Galatia, and Asia en route to Macedonia, although he is not specifically mentioned until the trouble in Philippi (16:19).

Silas was associated with Paul in his Philippian ministry and imprisonment, the jailer's conversion, and their subsequent release (Acts 16:11-40). He also shared Paul's ministry in Thessalonica and in Beroea, where he and Timothy remained after Paul left under the pressure of Jewish opposition (17:1-14). Paul sent a message from Athens indicating that Silas and Timothy were to come immediately (17:15), but he was in Corinth when they finally reached him (18:5). Silas is last seen at Corinth in the writings of both Paul and Luke; cf. 2 Cor. 1:19, where he is mentioned as Paul's co-worker at Corinth. Silas's ability to continue working in Beroea after Paul was compelled to leave may indicate that he was less controversial than Paul (17:14); but he was apparently more controversial than Luke, who was not arrested in Philippi.

III. Literary Activity.–The Epistles to the Thessalonians were written from Corinth, the last place in which Paul and Silas are known to have worked together. Both letters open with salutations from "Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy." Although the precedence of Paul's name and the occasional use of "I" show that Paul was the most important figure in the writing, the joint salutations and frequent use of "we" throughout the Epistles suggest joint authorship by Paul and Silas (not Timothy; cf. 1 Thess. 3:2, 6). The Thessalonians, who had seen these men in a cooperative ministry and had known the work of Silas longer than that of Paul, would have recognized a mutual authorship in the sentiments expressed. The actual writing was very possibly by the hand of Silas.

It is highly probable that the "faithful brother" mentioned as the amanuensis of 1 Peter (1 Pet. 5:12) is the same Silvanus who assisted Paul. This suggests that sometime after his ministry in Corinth, Silas served as Peter's associate in Rome. Scholars have observed that this letter reflects a style, vocabulary, and thought that are strangely Pauline. The solution to this puzzle may lie in Silvanus's work as Peter's amanuensis. Silvanus would have developed a familiarity with Paul's thinking and expression, and thus his style would likely show Pauline characteristics. Probably Silvanus wrote out what Peter had dictated only in basic outline. The letter's message remains Peter's, but its composition was committed to Silvanus as the person most able to express Peter's views and meet the needs of the gentile readers of Asia Minor. Silvanus was very likely also the person who carried the letter to the places listed in 1:1. In Peter's service, as in his service for the Jerusalem Council, Silvanus was responsible for expressing his thoughts in written form and expounding them to those who read the letter.

Bibliography.–F. F. Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles* (2nd ed. 1952, repr. 1970); *Pauline Circle* (1985), pp. 23-28; W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* (1925), pp. 89 n.3, 326 n. 42, 246 n. 5, 273 n. 13, 296 n. 30; E. G. Selwyn, *First Epistle of St. Peter* (2nd ed. 1947, repr. 1972), pp. 9-17, 241f. R. C. CAMPBELL

SILENCE; (BE) SILENT [Heb. *ḥāraš* (Job 6:24; 11:3; 13:19; Jer. 4:19; etc.), *ḥāšâ* (Ps. 28:1; Isa. 64:12 [MT 11]; etc.), *hās, dāmam* (Ps. 30:12 [MT 13]; etc.), *dûmîy, dᵉmāmâ, dûmām, dûmâ* (Ps. 62:1, 5 [MT 2, 6]; Isa. 41:1; etc.), *sāḳaṭ*; Gk. *siōpáō, sigáō, sigḗ, phimóō, hēsycházō, hēsychía phrássō, epistomízō*]; AV also "hold [one's] peace," "hold [one's] tongue," BE STILL (Ps. 4:4 [MT 5]), "keep [it] close" (Lk. 9:36), etc.; NEB also QUIETLY (Gen. 24:21), "be hushed" (Hab. 2:20), "not address" (1 Cor. 14:28, 34), (BE) QUIET (Mt. 20:31; Acts 12:17; 1 Tim. 2:12), "hold [one's] peace," "hold [one's] tongue," "curb" (Tit. 1:11), etc.

The fifty-one appearances of "silence" and "silent" in the RSV OT represent several Hebrew words with differing nuances of meaning and usage. By far the most common is the verb *ḥāraš* which in the narrowest sense means "be deaf and dumb," but in a wider sense can denote a deliberate silence by someone who is capable of speech. This notion of an active, intentional silence is most characteristic of the OT use of *ḥāraš*, whether in reference to God (Ps. 35:22; 50:3, 21 [MT 5, 23]; 109:1; Hab. 1:13) or to human beings. This silence may be an act of discretion (e.g., Gen. 24:21; Job 13:5; 33:33), for the lack of such restraint often proves a person unwise (Job 13:5; Prov. 11:12; 17:28). It may also be due to caution (2 K. 18:36 par. Isa. 36:21) or shame (Neh. 5:8; cf. Job 11:3). The

verb is used with strong urgency in pleas to others not to remain silent (e.g., Est.4:14), especially in prayers directed to God (Ps. 28:1; 35:22; 109:1; cf. RSV "hold thy peace" in 39:12 [MT 13]; 83:1 [2]; cf. the expression of confidence in 50:3).

The verb *ḥāšâ* generally means to refrain from speaking. In Eccl. 3:7, e.g., it is the antithesis of speaking. In some passages, however, it takes on the wider sense of passivity or inactivity (2 K. 7:9; Ps. 28:1; 62:1, 5 [MT 2, 6]). Similiar in meaning is the injection *hās,* "Silence! Hush!" (Jgs. 3:19; Am. 8:3 [cf. RSV mg.]; Hab. 2:20; Zeph. 1:7; Zec. 2:13 [MT 16]). The verb *sāqaṭ* in Dt. 27:9 means "keep silence and listen," i.e., "pay attention" (cf. AV "take heed").

The verbs *dāmam* and the nouns *dûmîy, dûmâ, dûmām, dᵉmāmâ,* and *dᵉmî* derive from the roots *dmh, dmm,* and *dwm,* which are difficult to differentiate in meaning. They are used frequently in contexts that announce impending catastrophe (e.g., *dāmām in Am. 5:13; dûmām* in Isa. 47:5) or lament one that has already struck (e.g., *dāmām* in Lam. 2:10; 3:28). Linked with this silence is often a kind of "quiet expectation" of a favorable response; cf. *dûmîyâ* in Ps. 39:2 (MT 3); 62:1 (MT 2), and *dāmām* in Ps. 30:12 (MT 13) and Job 29:21 (where the expectation is directed not to God, but to Job); cf. also *dûmām* in Lam. 3:26 (RSV "quietly"). The RSV renders *dᵉmāmâ* by "silence" in Job 4:16 but by "still" in Ps. 107:29 and in the Elijah theophany in 1 K. 19:12. In each passage God's revelation comes not in noise and tumult but in a calm, almost inaudible form (cf. NEB). The term *dûmâ,* on the other hand, connotes the silence of death in Ps. 94:17 (RSV "land of silence"; NEB "silent grave") and 115:17; in both passages the LXX renders *dûmâ* by "Hades").

Of the NT verbs rendered "be silent," the most common is Gk. *siōpáō,* which can mean either "keep silent" (Mt. 26:63; Mk. 3:4; 9:34; 14:61; Acts 18:9) or "stop talking" (Mt. 20:31; Mk. 10:48; Lk. 19:40); in Lk. 1:20 it connotes being silent due to an inability to speak (AV "dumb").

The verb *sigáō* is used in Lk. 18:39; 20:26; Acts 12:17; 15:12; 1 Cor. 14:28, 30, 34 with the meaning "say nothing" or "stop speaking." Paul's admonition to women to "keep silence in the churches" (1 Cor. 14:34) is problematic, especially in the light of his earlier recognition of their right to pray and prophesy in worship (11:2-16). Of the numerous suggestions for interpreting this admonition, the most significant are: (1) Paul was responding to the disorderly conduct of some women in Corinth who noisily interrupted worship, questioning and arguing with their husbands (the context, esp. v. 35, suggests that "wives" are intended), and thereby violating the accepted rules of propriety and/or rejecting their husbands' authority; (2) Paul was addressing the need for the Corinthian women to dissociate themselves from the ways of some in the secular community of Corinth, especially the temple prostitutes; (3) Paul's prohibition was meant to refer specifically to women speaking in tongues (cf. the broader context of ch. 14); (4) these verses were a later interpolation, not part of Paul's original letter (in light of the apparent contradiction with 11:2-16 and the appearance of vv. 34-36 at other places in some MSS); (5) The admonition in vv. 33-35 is actually a Pauline quotation of the position of some of the members of the Corinthian church, which Paul refutes in v. 36 (for discussion of these interpretations, see comms.). *Sigáō* is also used in the sense of "hold one's tongue," i.e., keeping something secret, in Lk. 9:36.

Several verbs are used in the sense of silencing the arguments of opponents, e.g., *epistomízō* (lit. "stop the mouth," Tit. 1:11), *phrássō* (lit. "shut," "stop," 2 Cor. 11:10), *sigáō* (Acts 15:12), *phimóō* (lit. "muzzle," 1 Pet. 2:15), *hēsycházō* (Acts 11:18), and *siōpáō* (Mk. 9:34). The Gospels depict Jesus as demonstrating His authority by silencing the demons (*phimóō,* Mk. 1:25 par. Lk. 4:35) as well as His human adversaries (*siōpáō,* Mk. 3:4; *hēsycházō,* Lk. 14:4; *sigáō,* 20:26; *phimóō,* Mt. 22:34).

The noun *sigḗ* (cognate of *sigáō*), denoting the absence of all noise, is used in Rev. 8:1 to describe the silence in heaven that occurs between the seven seals and the seven trumpets. This silence has been understood in three basic ways. (1) Some view it as a dramatic pause, something like the silence before the foreman of a jury reports a verdict. (2) Others understand it as a return to the total stillness that existed at creation (an expectation attested in various apocalyptic writings, e.g., 2 Esd. 7:29ff.). (3) Still others read it in light of the Talmudic tractate *Hagigah* (12b), which describes how God silenced the angels by day so that He might hear the prayers of Israel and show them His lovingkindness; in Rev. 8:1, however, all heaven is silenced, and in vv. 3f. the prayers of the saints are presented to God by an angel.

Finally, the noun *hēsychía* (cognate of *hēsycházō*) is used in 1 Tim. 2:11f. with regard to the demeanor of women in the Church. The primary meaning of this word is not "silence" (so RSV, AV) but "quiet," often in the sense of a quiet disposition (so NEB and the majority of English versions including NASV and NIV; see Bauer, MM, Thayer). The other NT uses of *hēsychía* and the adjective *hēsýchios* are instructive at this point (*see* QUIET).

When Paul wished to specify "silence" he commonly used *sigáō* (1 Cor. 14:28, 30, 34) rather than *hēsychía.* The context of 1 Tim. 2:11f. also supports the translation "quiet" (i.e., inner tranquility and freedom from outward disturbance), since it forms a natural pair with "submission" in v. 11 and a natural contrast to "domineer" or "lord it over" (*authentéō*) in v. 12.

Bibliography.–*TDOT,* III, *s.v.* "dāmāh II" (A. Baumann); *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum NT, s.v.* ἡσυχία κτλ. (C. H. Peisker), σιγάω κτλ. (W. Radl). W. H. GLOER

SILK [Heb. *mešî*] (Ezk. 16:10, 13); NEB LAWN; [Gk. *sirikón*] (Rev. 18:12). It is improbable that true Oriental silk from silkworms was known to the people of the biblical world, although some words denoting fabric are so translated by the RSV. In Ezk. 16:10 Heb. *mešî* refers to a very fine and expensive cloth, as does the rhyming expression *šeši wameši* in v. 13 (for *šeš see* LINEN). In Rev. 18:12 the substantive *sirikón* more likely refers to cloth dyed with "syricon," a red dye from the coast of Syria (*see* PURPLE). D. IRVIN

SILLA sil'ə [Heb. *sillā'*–'embankment'; LXX B *Gaalla,* A *Gaalad*]. An embankment toward which Joash was going when he was assassinated by his servants at the house of Millo (2 K. 12:20 [MT 21]). Nothing is known of what it was or where it stood. The LXX readings suggest that the text may be corrupt. See J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (*OTL,* 2nd ed. 1970), p. 590 n.a.

SILOAM si-lō'əm [Gk. *Silōam*] (Lk. 13:4; Jn. 9:7, 11); **SHILOAH** shī-lō'ə [Heb. *šilō(a)ḥ*–'sent,' 'conducted'] (Isa. 8:6); **SHELAH** shē'lə [Heb. *šelaḥ*] (Neh. 3:15); AV (in Nehemiah) SILOAH. A name that, in view of its meaning ("conducted"), was probably applied first to an aqueduct on the east side of Jerusalem, then to one or more pools connected with Jerusalem's water supply, and finally to an area (where the tower of Lk. 13:4 stood) adjoining the southeast hill. It survives today as the name of an Arab village there (Silwan).

I. Early History.–The waters of Siloam issue from the

spring GIHON (2), commonly known as the "Virgin's Fount," and originally flowed naturally SSW down the lower part of the Kidron Valley. Possibly in Solomon's reign and certainly before Isaiah's lifetime, some of the water was "conducted" by an open aqueduct, traces of which remain, down to a pool just inside the southeast city wall. Isa. 8:6 (Shiloah) refers to the aqueduct, Neh. 3:15 (Shelah) to the pool. The latter was possibly identical with the King's Pool (Neh. 2:14) and may also have been known as the lower pool and/or the old pool (Isa. 22:9-11; *see* pictures in POOL). But various obscurities surround these identifications, and modern scholars have by no means agreed about them.

II. Hezekiah's Tunnel.–Late in the 8th cent. B.C. Hezekiah, faced with imminent Assyrian invasion, improved Jerusalem's water supply by constructing an underground aqueduct from Gihon into the city and a new reservoir to take the water (2 K. 20:20). "This same Hezekiah closed the upper outlet of the waters of Gihon and directed them down to the west side of the city of David" (2 Ch. 32:30). "A great many people were gathered, and they stopped all the springs and the brook that flowed through the land, saying, 'Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?'" (v. 4; see also Sir. 48:17). Probably the exit of the water at Gihon was entirely covered up, and the water flowed through 533 m. (1749 ft.) of tunnel and emerged in the pool made for it near the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley. This second reservoir lay some 100 m. (330 ft.) NW of the earlier pool, which seems to have taken the overflow from it. The tunnel was now the aqueduct, and hence the name Shiloah was transferred to it and presumably to the new pool.

The upper pool of Siloam (Birket es-Silwān) connecting with Hezekiah's tunnel (L. K. Smith)

More recent excavations have suggested that the new pool was not an open reservoir but an underground cistern, of which only the access point needed to lie inside the city walls; an underground channel conducted the overflow into the earlier pool (so K. M. Kenyon, *PEQ* [1965], p. 15).

See also WATER WORKS IV.

III. The NT and Josephus.–Although Jn. 9:7 gives no details to aid certain identification, two facts support the probability that the NT pool of Siloam was the upper pool rather than the original lower-lying pool of Shelah. First, Josephus several times called Siloam a "spring" (Gk. *pēgḗ*), by which he meant the mouth of the tunnel. Second, a fifth-century Christian church was built, doubtless to commemorate the miracle by Jesus, at the exit of the tunnel. On the other hand, Josephus further stated that the "spring" of Siloam was at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley (*BJ* v.4.1 [140]); this description seems rather to support the identification with the earlier pool, where traces of Herodian buildings have been found. The identification of the NT Siloam with the upper pool is not, therefore, absolutely certain. Thus the identification of the "tower in Siloam" (Lk. 13:4) also remains uncertain (see I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* [*NIGTC*, 1978], p. 554).

IV. Present Situation.–The site of the earlier pool is today known as Birket el Ḥamra, "the red pool," even though it is now dry. The upper pool still preserves the biblical name as Birket es-Silwān, "the pool of Siloam." Hezekiah's tunnel still opens into it, and the water is still known as a "spring" (Ain Silwān). The pool is used by local people, though the water is brackish and unpleasant to taste. It is possible, except when the water level is exceptionally high, to wade into and along the tunnel.

V. Siloam Inscription.–The underground aqueduct of Hezekiah has been known for some centuries, but it was not until A.D. 1880 that an inscription in the tunnel wall, just inside the southern end, came to light. Removed from the wall, it is now in the museum of Istanbul. Famous as one of the earliest known Hebrew inscriptions, it reads as follows (according to Snaith): "(? the completing of) the piercing through. And this is the story of the piercing through. While (the stone-cutters were swinging their) axes, each towards his fellow, and while there were yet three cubits to be pierced through, (there was heard) the voice of a man calling to his fellow, for there was a crevice (?) on the right. . . . Then ran the water from the spring to the Pool for twelve hundred cubits, and a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the stone-cutters." (*See* picture in HEZEKIAH.)

See also JERUSALEM III.C.2.g, D.2.f, 5.t, F.2.h.

Bibliography.–J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT* (1952), pp. 157-194; N. H. Snaith, "Siloam Inscription," in *DOTT*, pp. 209-211.

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SILOAM, TOWER IN. *See* SILOAM III.

SILVANUS. *See* SILAS.

SILVANUS, TEACHINGS OF. An apocryphal work attributed to the traveling companion of Paul, but probably dating from the late 2nd or early 3rd cent.; one of the documents discovered at Nag Hammadi (Codex VII, tractate 4; *see* NAG HAMMADI LITERATURE). The tractate is unusual in that it is not Gnostic, and it was apparently

used by early monastic communities in Egypt (see J. M. Robinson, ed., *Nag Hammadi Library* [1977], pp. 346-361).

SILVER [Heb. *kesep*; Gk. *argýreos*–'made of silver,' *argýrion*–'money,' *árgyros*–'silver'].

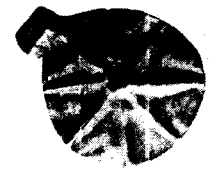
I. General.–Silver, often called the "pale metal," occurs rarely in a native state, being found most frequently in lead-silver ores (often lead sulphide, called galena) and copper-silver ores (such as tetrahedrite, a sulphide of copper and antimony). Silver is not difficult to extract, as its presence from earliest antiquity demonstrates. Much of it was derived from the cupellation of lead.

Silver mining and metallurgy must have been known in the ancient Near East by 3000 B.C., judging from the finds of fine silver objects at Ur and especially at Ebla (Tell Mardikh in Syria). The Ebla tablets give evidence of the extensive use of silver in trade. Specifically, some texts give the value of cattle in silver, received as tribute from Mari. These tablets show that Ebla received great amounts of silver; they mention some 2188 minas of silver as compared with only 134.26 minas of gold (one mina equals 470 grams, as at Râs Shamrah). Silver bars, daggers, adze-heads, and small shovels are articles that were probably used for ceremonial purposes.

Silver was valued for jewelry and amulets, as a standard for business transactions, and as a measure of wealth. In Gen. 13:2, the first biblical reference to silver, Abraham's possession of this "pale metal," along with his cattle and his gold, marks him as a wealthy man. Jgs. 17:4 indicates that Israelites knew of silvercraft; Micah's mother took eleven hundred pieces of silver to a silversmith to fashion an idol (vv. 1-6).

II. OT.–The OT has about four hundred references to silver (*CHAL*, p. 162). Silver is regularly mentioned before gold (except in Chronicles and Deuteronomy), which may point to its higher value in Israelite eyes despite its being rather common in Solomon's day (1 K. 10:27; 2 Ch. 9:27).

As a raw material silver could be used for various purposes (Ex. 31:4; 35:24, 32; 1 K. 15:15). It was mined (Job 28:1) and refined (Ezk. 22:20-22; Zec. 13:9; Mal. 3:2f.), sometimes in a CRUCIBLE (Prov. 17:3; 27:21), to produce a choice silver (Prov. 10:20; 1 Ch. 29:4).



An electrum pendant with eight rays found in a cellar fill at Shechem (1400-1350 B.C.) (Joint Expedition to Shechem, photo L. C. Ellenberger)

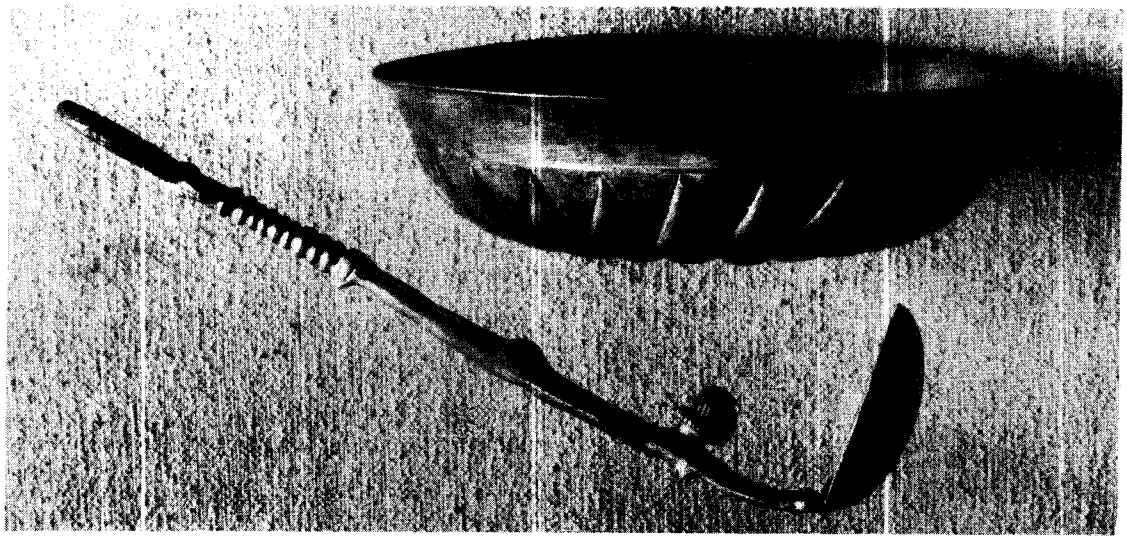
From the patriarchal period to the restoration of Israel after the Exile, silver was considered a standard of wealth (e.g., Gen. 13:2; 24:35; Zeph. 1:18; Hag. 2:8). Before the minting of coinage, silver was weighed out in shekels, talents, or minas (Gen. 23:15f.; 37:28; 45:22; Ex. 21:32; Lev. 27:16; 2 S. 24:24; Neh. 7:72; Isa. 7:23; cf. Gen. 20:16; Josh. 24:32; Jgs. 17:10; Job 28:15; Isa. 46:6; Am. 2:6; 8:6). *See* MONEY.

Silver was used for special articles of value and prestige, e.g., a noble's drinking cup (Gen. 44:2), a royal crown (Zec. 6:11), personal ornaments (Gen. 24:53; Ex. 3:22; 11:2; 12:35; Cant. 1:11), and idols (Ex. 20:23; Dt. 29:17; Jgs. 17:4; Ps. 115:4; 135:15; Isa. 2:20; 30:22; 31:7; 40:19; Jer. 10:4; Dnl. 2:32f.; Hos. 13:2).

The tabernacle was adorned with silver in its foundations (Ex. 26:19; 36:24, 26), its decorations (Ex. 27:10, 17), some of its vessels for worship (Nu. 7:13f.), and the trumpets used to summon the worshipers (10:2). Later silver was used in the Jerusalem temple and its treasury (1 K. 7:51; 1 Ch. 28:15f.; 2 Ch. 2:7; Ezr. 8:26, 28; Neh. 7:71).

Figuratively, the biblical writers used silver to symbolize great wealth or value (Job 3:15; 22:25; 27:16; Isa. 60:17; Zec. 9:3), but they viewed it as less valuable than wisdom (Job 28:15; Prov. 3:14; 8:19; 10:20; 16:16; 22:1). Silver is compared to the purity of God's word (Ps. 12:6 [MT 7]), to wise words (Prov. 25:11), and to the brightness

A fluted silver bowl and elaborately formed ladle of the Persian period from Tell el-Far'ah (S) (550-330 B.C.). The ladle is shaped like a woman with arms extending to the spoon and feet connected to the handle, which is shaped like two bulls' heads under a large ring (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)



A skillfully designed silver tetradrachm of the 5th cent. B.C. It shows a squatting Silenus on the reverse side with letters reading *NAXOS*; on the front is the head of Dionysus (Naxos, Sicily) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

of a dove's wings (Ps. 68:13 [MT 14]). Conversely, corroded silver could signify the spiritual deterioration of a people (Isa. 1:22; Jer. 6:30). The refining of silver is sometimes used as a figure for God's testing or purifying the hearts of His people (e.g., Ps. 66:10; Isa. 48:10). *See* REFINE II.

III. NT.–Three Greek words are used for silver. Gk. *argýreos* denotes things made with silver, such as vessels in a great house (2 Tim. 2:20), idols (Rev. 9:20), and the shrines of Artemis made by Demetrius the silversmith and his craftsmen (Acts 19:23-27).

Argýrion signifies money, e.g., Judas's thirty pieces of silver (Mt. 26:15; 27:3, 5f., 9). The value of all the books on the magic arts burned at Ephesus came to fifty thousand pieces of silver (Acts 19:19). Peter had no *argýrion* (3:6), and Paul received none for his preaching (20:33). Silver cannot ransom human souls from sin (1 Pet. 1:18).

Árgyros denotes silver in a general sense. Jesus instructed His disciples not to take silver with them on their missionary venture (Mt. 10:9). Speaking at the Areopagus, Paul told the Athenians that they should not think of the Deity in terms of things like silver (Acts 17:29). In 1 Cor. 3:12 he mentioned silver as a building material symbolic of the quality of a person's work. In Jas. 5:3 corroded silver represents the ephemeral character of all human wealth. Finally, in Rev. 18:12 silver is part of Babylon's cargo, which brings only weeping instead of joy.

See also METAL; SILVERSMITH; WEALTH.

Bibliography.–BDB, p. 494; *CHAL*, p. 162; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, VII (2nd ed. 1971), 196ff.; G. Pettinato, *Catalogo dii testi cuneiformi di tell Mardikh - Ebla* (1979); R. F. Tylecote, *History of Metallurgy* (1976).

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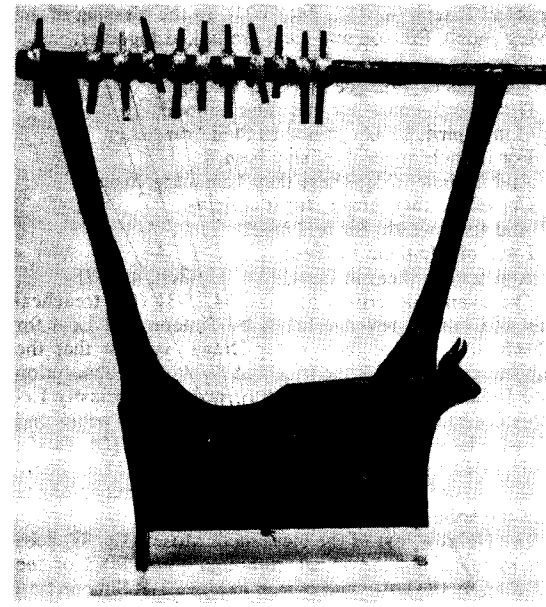
SILVERLING. The AV translation of Heb. *kesep* ("silver") in Isa. 7:23; the RSV has "shekels of silver." *See* MONEY.

SILVERSMITH [Heb. *ṣōrēp*] (Jgs. 17:4); AV FOUNDER; [Gk. *argyrokópos*] (Acts 19:24). A craftsman who makes articles of silver. Known from the ancient Near East as early as 3000 B.C., this skilled craftsman's art has been found at Tell Mardikh (Ebla) in such artifacts as silver bars, daggers, adze-heads, and small ceremonial shovels, as well as finely crafted jewelry and amulets. From Ur (*ca.* 2500 B.C.) comes evidence of Sumerian silver craft in musical instruments, pipes, statuettes, and filigree jewelry. Both direct and indirect biblical references reflect the activities of this artisan. The OT tells of a silversmith who plied his trade as early as the period of the Judges (*ca.* 1200-1000 B.C.), using pieces of silver to fashion an idol for Micah's mother (Jgs. 17:4).



A silver lyre with a bull's head found in the Ur "death pit" (*ca.* 2500 B.C., restored) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

The OT writers recognized that each metal craft required different implements and techniques: "The crucible is for silver, and the furnace is for gold" (Prov. 17:3; 27:21). They were familiar with the methods of refining silver, and they were aware that various grades of silver could be produced (cf. Ezk. 22:20; Zec. 13:9; Mal. 3:2f.; "choice silver," Prov. 10:20; "refined silver," 1 Ch. 29:4). Refining silver was a more delicate process than refining some other metals (*see* REFINE). A. Robinson explained why this is so: "Molten silver gives off twenty times its own volume of oxygen with a hissing and bubbling known as 'spitting.' Unless the molten silver is treated with carbon (charcoal was used by the ancients), the silver reabsorbs oxygen from the air and loses its sheen and purity. . . . How does the refiner know when the silver is ready? . . . There is a dramatic moment when he knows that all dross has gone from it. Peering over it, the silver suddenly becomes a liquid mirror in which the image of the refiner is reflected. Then he knows that his task is done" (pp. 189f.).

The NT names one specific silversmith, Demetrius of Ephesus (Acts 19:24). Demetrius made silver shrines of the goddess Artemis and headed a band of craftsmen and other workers who opposed the Apostle Paul (vv. 23-41).

See also METAL; SILVER.

See A. Robinson, *CBQ*, 11 (1949), 188-190.

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SIMALCUE sī-mal-kū'ē (1 Macc. 22:39, AV). *See* IMALKUE.

SIMEON sim'ē-ən [Heb. *šim'ôn*–'hearing'; Gk. *Symeōn*]; NEB also SYMEON (Lk. 3:30); **SIMEONITES** - īts [Heb. *šim'ōnî*].

1. The second son of Jacob by Leah; and the tribe named for him. In Gen. 29:33 and 35:23 Simeon is named as a full brother of Reuben, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, all sons of Leah; in 34:25 he is called the brother of Levi and Dinah. He was left as a hostage in Egypt by

order of Joseph (42:18f., 24; 43:23). In the blessing of the dying Jacob, Simeon and Levi are linked together:

"Simeon and Levi are brothers:
Weapons of violence are their swords.
O my soul, come not into their council;
O my spirit, be not joined to their company;
For in their anger they slay men,
And in their wantonness they hamstring oxen.
Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce;
And their wrath, for it is cruel!
I will divide them in Jacob
And scatter them in Israel." (Gen. 49:5-7)

The events described in Gen. 34:25-31 (the treacherous and violent revenge taken by Simeon and Levi for Shechem's rape of their sister Dinah) suggest that the subsequent history of the tribe and its eventual absorption into Judah were the result of violence. (The priestly Levites became distributed throughout the other tribes and likewise lacked tribal inheritance of their own [Dt. 18:1f.; Josh. 13:14]). The mention (Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15) of Shaul as the son of Simeon and a Canaanite woman may indicate that the tribe was of mixed race.

The Hebrew text of the blessing of Moses (Dt. 33) does not mention Simeon at all, although some MSS of the LXX apply the latter half of v. 6 to him: "Let Simeon be a small company." The history of the tribe is scanty and raises many problems. Of the many theories advanced to meet them, none answers all difficulties.

In the wilderness of Sinai the Simeonites camped beside the Reubenites (Nu. 2:10, 12; 10:18f.). It was Zimri, a member of one of the leading families of the Simeonites, who was slain by Phinehas for his liaison with a Midianite woman at Baal-peor (25:6-8, 14). The number of the Simeonites is given as 59,300 in Nu. 1:22f.; 2:12f., but as 22,200 in the 2nd census (26;14); thus the tribe was apparently diminishing, a phenomenon that some have connected with the sin of Zimri.

In Moses' instructions for the recital of the law at Mt. Gerizim, Simeon is mentioned first among those that were to respond to the blessings (Dt. 27:12). Jgs. 1:3 reports that in the conquest of Canaan, "Judah said to Simeon his brother, 'come up with me into the territory allotted to me, that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with you into the territory allotted to you.' So Simeon went with him" (cf. v. 17). (Many scholars have found in Gen. 34 an attempt by the Simeonites to gain possession of Shechem; if this is so, Judah did not assist, and the utter failure of this attempt may have been a cause of Simeon's subsequent dependence upon and final absorption into Judah.) In Jgs. 4–5 Simeon is not mentioned at all. The accounts of the settlement of the land do not tell how Simeon established itself in its territory (except in the brief reference of Jgs. 1:3, 17); instead, "its inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah" (Josh. 19:1), "because the portion of the tribe of Judah was too large for [it]" (v. 9). The very cities that are apportioned to Simeon in 19:2-8 are allotted to Judah in 15:21-32, cf. Neh. 11:26-29. 1 Ch. 4:31 suggests that Simeon's independent possession of these cities ceased in the time of David. When David sent spoil to the elders of Judah, some of it was intended for Simeonite towns (1 S. 30:26f.); yet 1 Ch. 12:23, 25 reports that 7100 Simeonite warriors came to David in Hebron, and 27:16 mentions a ruler of the Simeonites, Shephatiah son of Maacah.

1 Chronicles 4:34-43 mentions certain isolated exploits of Simeonites in the south, at Gebor, against the Meunim, and at Mt. Seir. Other references, however, associate Simeon with the northern kingdom (2 Ch. 15:9; 34:6f.). Tradition apparently viewed Simeon as one of the ten northern tribes (cf. Ezk. 48:23-25, 33; Rev. 7:4, 7), even though all their recorded history is bound up with Judah and the southern kingdom. There is no mention of the return of any Simeonites after the Captivity; their cities fell to Judah (Neh. 11:26f.).

The cities of Simeon as given in Josh. 19:2-7; 1 Ch. 4:28-32 are (the names in parentheses are variations in the latter reference): Beer-sheba, Sheba (omitted in Chronicles), Moladah, Hazar-shual, Balah (Bilhah), Ezem (AV Azem), Eltolad (Tolad), Bethul (Bethuel), Hormah, Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah (Hazar-susim), Beth-lebaoth (Beth-biri), Sharuhen (Shaaraim), (Etam), En-rimmon (Ain, Rimmon), Ether (Tochen), Ashan. The total is seventeen cities in Joshua and seventeen in 1 Chronicles. Ashan (1 Ch. 6:59) is the only one assigned to the priests; the name is Ain in Josh. 21:16. All the above cities, with certain variations in form, and with the exception of Etam in 1 Ch. 4:32, which is probably a mistake, occur in the list of the cities of Judah (Josh. 15:26-32, 42).

The order of the names is the same in all the lists with the exception of Beer-sheba, which is mentioned in Josh. 15:28 after Hazar-shual. It seems that the lists were based on the same original document but that a long list of names was added at the head of the list, and a group of three towns was inserted at the beginning of the list of Simeon towns, between Moladah and Hazar-shual. The list of the twelve districts in Josh. 15 was probably made after the division of the monarchy (i.e., after King Solomon's reign); but the towns of Simeon in 1 Ch. 4:31 are mentioned together with a chronological remark, "until David reigned," and this cannot be ignored. Aharoni also thought that the Chronicles list of towns of Simeon is meant to record in detail just the towns of this tribe, whereas the list in Josh. 15 is a description of the district of the Negeb of Judah. In the latter list all towns within the administrative district are mentioned including towns of other families and tribes, i.e., the sons of Caleb (vv. 13-19), the Jerahmeelites (cf. 1 Ch. 2:25ff.) the Kenites (Josh. 15:55-57; cf. 1 Ch. 2:55) and others. Some of the towns mentioned in the Joshua list were founded in Iron II, i.e., after the prototype list was compiled. This list contains only the territory of the archaic "Negeb E of Simeon," although this name is not mentioned in the Bible; in its place the later name "Negeb of Judah" is used, Beer-sheba being the center of this district.

See also TRIBES, TERRITORIES OF.

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E. W. G. MASTERMAN
A. A. SAARISALO

2. Great-grandfather of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. 2:1).

3. The Hebrew name of the Apostle Peter (Acts 15:14; 2 Pet. 1:1). Elsewhere in the NT the name is given as Simon. Heb. *šim'ôn* was a name common among the Jews. *See* PETER.

4. An elderly prophet who encountered the infant Jesus when Joseph and Mary brought Him to the temple to be circumcised (Lk. 2:25, 34). Simeon is described as "righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel" (v. 25). Under inspiration of the Holy Spirit he recognized Jesus as Israel's Messiah and as the Savior of Gentiles as well as Jews, and he uttered prophecies concerning both Jesus and Mary; this blessing (vv. 29-32) is now called the Nunc Dimittis. Legend has made him the son of Hillel

and father of Gamaliel I, but this has no historical basis.

5. A member of Jesus' genealogical line (Lk. 3:30). This Simeon is listed as being born nine generations after King David, thirteen generations before Zerubbabel, and thirty-three generations before Jesus.

6. One of the prophets in the church at Antioch (Acts 13:1). He is also called Niger, which was a Latin name he had assumed (perhaps because of his dark complexion; so F. F. Bruce, *Acts* [*NICNT*, 1954], pp. 259f.), Simeon being Hebrew. He was among those who set apart Paul and Barnabas for their missionary work (vv. 2f.).

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SIMEONITES. *See* SIMEON.

SIMILITUDE. *See* FIGURE; FORM; LIKEN; PARABLE.

SIMON (APOCRYPHA) [Gk. *Simōn* < Heb. *šim'ôn*].

1. Simon Chosamaeus (1 Esd. 9:32). 1 Esd. 9:18-36 (par. Ezr. 10:18-44) provides a list of those who were found by Ezra's select committee (1 Esd. 9:16f.) to have married foreign wives. Simon Chosamaeus, who appears among the "sons of Annan" (v. 32), is noteworthy only in that his second name is most likely the result of a copyist's error (*see* CHOSAMAEUS).

2. Simon the high priest (d. *ca.* 270 B.C.), son of Onias and grandson of Jaddua (high priest in the time of Nehemiah [Neh. 12:11, 22] and of Alexander the Great). Upon his death Simon was succeeded first by his brother Eleazar and then by his uncle Manasseh before his infant son Onias II came of age. There is considerable debate whether it was this Simon (conventionally called Simon I) or his grandson Simon II (high priest *ca.* 219-196 B.C.) who was called "the Just" (or "Righteous"). According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii.2.5 [43f.]; 4.1 [157f.]) the first Simon, whose brother Eleazar succeeded him as high priest, received this title. But in the Talmud (T.P. *Yoma* 43c-d; T.B. *Yoma* 39a-b; *Menahoth* 109b) it is the father of the Onias "who built a temple in Egypt" (Onias III, *ca.* 200 B.C.) — therefore, Simon II — who is so designated. Most scholars have concluded that the chronology of events suggested in the *Pirke Aboth*, where Simon the Just is also mentioned (Mish. *Aboth* i.1-12), supports Simon II as the one designated "the Just."

3. Simon II, high priest *ca.* 219-196 B.C., son of Onias II and father of Onias III. If, as most contemporary scholars consider likely, it was this Simon who was known as "the Just," then it is his achievements that are celebrated in Sir. 50:1-24. He was a member and important survivor of the Great Synagogue (or Assembly), which governed Jewish life in the years following Ezra. He is reported to have passed on the traditions of that assembly to Antigonus of Socho (*ca.* 200 B.C.) and, therefore, to subsequent teachers including Hillel and Shammai at the time of Jesus (Mish. *Aboth* i.1-12). To him also is attributed the saying, "On three things the world stands: on the Torah, and on the [temple] service, and on deeds of loving kindness" (*Aboth* i.2). In the hostilities between the Ptolemies of Egypt and Antiochus III of Syria (*ca.* 200-198 B.C.), Simon, along with most of the sons of Joseph Tobias, supported Antiochus against the Egyptians; following the Syrian victory, Antiochus rewarded this commitment by showing considerable leniency to the Jews, including the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple and exemption from certain taxes. (See also 3 Macc. 2:1.)

4. Simon the Benjaminite; "captain of the temple" (Gk. *prostátēs toú hieroú*) during the high priesthood of Onias III (2 Macc. 3–4). During the reign of Seleucus IV (187-175 B.C.), Simon and Onias quarreled over the administration of the city market (3:4). The dispute evidently had to do with ritual restrictions that the high priest had placed on trade with foreigners. When Simon was unsuccessful in this conflict, he reported to Apollonius the governor of Coelesyria that Onias was concealing in the temple treasury large sums of money that did not belong to the temple account. As Seleucus was then badly in need of funds to pay a heavy fine imposed by the Romans, Apollonius dispatched Heliodorus immediately to Jerusalem to determine the status of the money in question and to confiscate all that had not been officially dedicated to temple use. Heliodorus was ultimately dissuaded from this task by an apparition in which he was flogged by two young men (3:22-30). Simon continued his hostility toward Onias, including an attempt to implicate Onias in the attack on Heliodorus, with the result that Onias was unable to continue as high priest (4:1-8).

While all Greek codices call Simon a Benjaminite, there is some doubt as to the accuracy of this designation, since it would indicate a non-priestly lineage. Old Latin and Armenian MSS support the alternative reading *Balgea* for the priestly clan of (Heb.) *bilgâ* (Neh. 12:5, 18; 1 Ch. 24:14), which was excluded from offering sacrifice for all time because of misconduct during the persecutions of Antiochus IV. (See J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* [*AB*, 1983], p. 201.)

5. Simon the son of Mattathias and brother of Judas Maccabeus and Jonathan, whom he succeeded as high priest (143-135 B.C.). *See* HASMONEANS II.A.

G. H. WILSON

SIMON (NT) [Gk. *Simōn*].

1. The father of Judas Iscariot (Jn. 6:71; 13:2, 26; AV also 12:4 [RSV and NEB omit, following earlier MSS]).

2. Simon Peter; son of John (Jn. 1:42; 21:15-17; Jona, Mt. 16:17) and brother of Andrew (Jn. 1:40). *See* PETER.

3. Simon the Zealot (Cananaean). One of the twelve apostles called by Jesus. Only in Acts 1:13 does the RSV actually call him Simon the Zealot (Gk. *Simōn ho zēlōtḗs*; AV "Simon Zelotes"). Mt. 10:4 and Mk. 3:18 call him "Simon the Cananaean" (Gk. *Simōn ho Kananaios*; AV "Simon the Canaanite"; NEB "Simon, a member of the Zealot party"). And Lk. 6:15 names him as "Simon who was called the Zealot" (Gk. *Simōn ho kaloúmenos zēlōtḗs*; AV "Simon called Zelotes"). The Greek word *kananaíos* (translated "Cananaean" or "Canaanite"; see above) does not mean that Simon was a Canaanite nor does it mean that he was from the city of Cana. Instead, the word *kananaíos* is a Greek transliteration of Aram. *qan'ān*, which Luke aptly translates as "Zealot." Thus, all four references to Simon in the NT indicate that he was a member of the Zealot party. The Zealots were a revolutionary group, insisting that political submission to Rome was a denial of God's lordship. Most scholars agree that the movement began with Judas the Galilean's refusal to tolerate the Roman census in A.D. 6, although the philosophical roots of the movement lay deep in the OT (cf. Nu. 25:7-13; 4 Macc. 18:12) and prior Jewish history (cf. 1 Macc. 2:23-27). The movement came into full bloom with the revolt against Rome (A.D. 66), which culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). *See* ZEALOTS. It is interesting to note that Jesus selected both a Zealot and a tax collector to be among His apostles, for the two groups were at opposite ends of the political spectrum.

T. R. SCHREINER

4. A brother of Jesus (Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3). *See* BROTHERS OF THE LORD.

5. A leper in whose home in Bethany a woman anointed Jesus with a very expensive ointment (Mt. 26:6 par. Mk.

14:3). In what seems to be a parallel account in Jn. 12:1-8, Martha served the dinner and Mary was the woman who anointed Jesus. J. N. Sanders (*NTS*, 1 [1954/55], 29-41) therefore suggested that Simon was the father of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha. In any case, Simon was no longer afflicted with leprosy, since lepers were legally ostracized. Possibly he had been healed by Jesus.

6. A Pharisee who invited Jesus to dinner (Lk. 7:36, 40, 43f.). While they were eating, a woman referred to as a "sinner" entered, washed Jesus' feet with her tears, kissed them, and anointed them with ointment (vv. 37f.). Simon concluded from this that Jesus must not be a genuine prophet, for a real prophet would not have allowed a sinner to touch him (v. 39). Jesus used a parable to contrast Simon's attitude unfavorably with that of the woman. Simon, although he had not been impolite, had not shown Jesus any hospitality beyond what was required of a host (vv. 44-46). His lack of love showed that he had not experienced God's forgiveness as the woman had (v. 47).

7. A man from Cyrene who was compelled to carry Jesus' cross to Golgotha (Mt. 27:32 par. Mk. 15:21; Lk. 23:26). Many Jews lived in CYRENE, and Simon may have been in Jerusalem for the Passover. Mark mentions that he was the father of Alexander and Rufus, who must have become Christians and were apparently well known in the Christian community (cf. Rom. 16:13).

8. A Samaritan magician (Acts 8:9, 13, 18, 24). *See* SIMON MAGUS.

9. A tanner with whom Peter lodged at Joppa (Acts 9:43; 10:6, 17, 32). His house was by the seaside, probably segregated from the Jewish community, because tanning was an unclean trade (cf. Lev. 11:39f.). N. J. O.

SIMON CHOSAMAEUS kos'ə-mē'əs [Gk. *Simōn Chosamaios*] (1 Esd. 9:32); AV SIMON CHOSAMEUS; NEB SIMON CHOSOMAEUS. *See* SIMON (APOCRYPHA) **1.**

SIMON MACCABEUS. *See* HASMONEANS II.A.

SIMON MAGUS sī'mən mā'gəs. The subject of two brief but connected reports preserved in Acts 8:5-24. He is designated only as Simon (Gk. *Simōn*) in Acts; but because his activities are described as *mageúōn* (part. of *mageúō*, "practice magic," 8:9) and as *mageía* ("magic," v. 11), he later came to be referred to as *Simōn ho mágos* (Simon Magus, or Simon the Magician; *see* MAGIC IV.A). From the 2nd-4th cent. A.D. Simon came to be regarded as the father of GNOSTICISM (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* i.23.2, 27.1; Epiphanius *Haer.* xxi.7.2; xxvii.2.1). It is a matter of scholarly debate, however, whether the historical Simon was actually a Gnostic. His followers and adherents, called Simonians, were both active and influential for several centuries after the death of their founder. The later Simonians were an eclectic sect of Christian Gnostics who were frequently attacked by Christian apologists and heresiologists. The opponents of the Simonians tended to attribute the later views and practices of the sect to Simon. The problem is exacerbated by the tendency among early Christian apologists to attribute views of other Gnostics to the Simonians. As a result, traditions about Simon and Simonianism are extremely complex and will probably never be satisfactorily untangled. Two more recent monographs dealing comprehensively with Simonian traditions have arrived at diametrically opposed conclusions: G. Lüdemann concluded that the historical Simon was a Gnostic, while K. Beyschlag concluded that the historical Simon and early Simonianism had nothing to do with Gnosticism.

I. In Acts 8:5-24
  A. "The Great Power"
  B. Messianic Interpretations
  C. Was the Historical Simon a Gnostic?
II. In the Christian Apologists
  A. Traditions of His Life
  B. Simonian Theology

I. In Acts 8:5-24.—The earliest account of the person and activity of Simon Magus is found in Acts, which is variously dated from A.D. 70 to 100. Acts 8 contains two narratives that center on Simon Magus. The first focuses on the evangelistic activity of Philip in Samaria and includes the conversion and baptism of Simon (vv. 5-13); the second focuses on Peter and John's follow-up visit to Samaria and on Simon's rebuffed attempt to buy from them the power of the Holy Spirit (vv. 14-24; this is the origin of Eng. "simony," which refers to the buying or selling of ecclesiastical offices). The story concludes with the mention of Simon's repentance (v. 24).

Part of the reason for the inclusion of these traditions in Acts must be the antimagical polemic of the author (*see* MAGIC IV.C). Luke intended to present Simon as a convert to Christianity, and this is confirmed by Justin Martyr's observation that the Simonians were called Christians (*Apol.* i.26). Irenaeus later claimed that Simon's faith was merely feigned (*Adv. haer.* i.23.1). Simon was apparently a Samaritan, although the city in which he was active is not specifically mentioned (Acts 8:9; Sychar is a likely possibility). His reputation as a magician and sorcerer is based on Acts 8:11. According to v. 10 Simon was called "that power of God which is called Great" (Gk. *hē dýnamis toú theoú hē kalouménē megálē*). Several important questions must be addressed in view of the tendency of later Simonians and their critics to attribute all of their beliefs to Simon: (1) What does the phrase "that power of God which is called Great" mean? (2) Are there any traces of messianic beliefs or claims in these passages? (3) Was the historical Simon a magician or miracle worker? (4) Was the historical Simon a Gnostic?

A. "The Great Power." That the phrase "Great Power" can mean "God" is obvious from the quotation from Hegesippus preserved in Eusebius (*HE* ii.23.13), in which the dying James the Just sees the Son of man sitting by the right hand of "the great Power" (*hē megálē dýnamis*; cf. two related passages: Mk. 14:62, in which Jesus tells the high priest, "you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power," and the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (5:19), where Jesus cries from the cross, "My power, O power, thou hast forsaken me!"). Moreover, in Samaritan literature the phrase "Great Power" (Samaritan Aram. *ḥylh rbh*) is used to refer to God (*ḥyl*, "strength, power," in both Hebrew and Aramaic can be used of God; see Epiphanius *Haer.* xix.2.2). H. G. Kippenberg showed that in doxological contexts in Samaritan litguries, *ḥylh* ("power", i.e., God) was praised as *rb* ("great"). Later traditions that Simon was recognized as a god lend support to this interpretation (Justin Martyr *Apol.* i.26). On the other hand, as W. F. Albright emphasized, the probable Aramaic phrase lying behind the title "that power of God which is called Great" is *ḥaylâ rabbâ d'elāhâ*. Since the Samaritan Aram. *ḥylh* (pl. *ḥyln*) can be used of an angel or a class of angels, the phrase may well mean "chief (angelic) power" (cf. Epiphanius *Haer.* xxi.2.4). Whatever the specific significance of this title, it was very probably a name given to Simon, as the Greek part. *kalouménē* ("called") suggests in Acts 8:10.

Further, it is possible that the Lukan expression, literally, "This is [*houtós estin*] the power of God called

Great," reflects an original "I am" revelatory self-disclosure statement by Simon (so G. Lüdemann; cf. Origen's paraphrase of an "I am" speech of a Syrian or Palestinian prophet in *Contra Celsum* vii.9). Origen stated that Simon himself claimed to be "the Great Power of God" (*Contra Celsum* vi.11; Comm. on Mt. 24:4f.). But despite the assertions of early Christian heresiologists that Simon claimed to be the highest God, the "I am" statements that he may have uttered can be interpreted equally well as claims to be the messenger or son of God. In fact, some Christian apologists stated that Simon claimed to be the son of God (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* i.23.1; Origen *Contra Celsum* i.57 [here Origen equated "son of God" with "power of God"]; vi.11). R. M. Grant (p. 72) plausibly suggested that "the Great Power" was the high God invoked by Simon in his magical spells, and that in the style of many incantations found in Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, Simon identified himself with this deity using the "I am" formula.

There are close connections between Simonianism and paganism (in the view of some [G. Lüdemann], pre-Christian Gnosticism). A temple to Zeus Hypsistos was dedicated on Mt. Gerizim by Antiochus Epiphanes. Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* i.23.4) related that Simon and Helena were worshiped in the images of Zeus and Athena (who, according to Greek myth, sprang from the head of Zeus). Lüdemann (pp. 49ff.) claimed that according to the oldest traditions Simon was worshiped as Zeus. Yet the oldest account (Acts 8:5-24) records that Simon was called "the Great Power," a Samaritan designation not for Zeus but for Yahweh.

B. Messianic Interpretations. Following A. Ritschl, many scholars have inferred from Acts 8:5-24 that Simon had made some sort of messianic claim. The acclamation of Simon as "the Great Power" cannot be used in support of that assumption. Acts 8:9 mentions, however, that Simon claimed "that he himself was somebody great." A similar statement is made in 5:36 of Theudas, who "gave himself out to be somebody." Alternately, J. Weiss has suggested that Simon himself claimed messianic status but the people regarded him as a divine incarnation. Origen thought that both Dositheus and Simon claimed messianic status (Comm. on Mt. 24:4f.).

In later literature Simon claims to be "the Standing One" (*Pseudo-Clementines* Recognitions 1.72; 2.7; Homily 2.22), which some scholars have construed as a messianic title (cf. Dt. 18:15, 18: "whom the Lord will raise up" [LXX *anístēmi*, lit. "stand up"]). "The Standing One" (Aram. *q'ym*), meaning "the Living One" (*Pseudo-Clementines* Homily 2.22; cf. *Three Steles of Seth* 119.15-18: "Great is the good Self-begotten who stood, the God who was first to stand" [J. M. Robinson, p. 363; the first line of this document claims to be "the revelation of Dositheus"]), is attested as a title for God in Samaritan texts (see G. Kretschmar, p. 433). In the later Simonian document called the *Megale Apophasis* ("Great Declaration"), Simon claims that the unformed Power "is He who has stood, stands, and will stand" (cited in Hippolytus *Ref.* vi.7). "The Standing One" can also, however, refer to the eschatological prophet like Moses who "stands by" God; and the Jewish and Samaritan expectation of an eschatological Mosaic prophet is closely related to messianism. J. E. Fossum (pp. 112-129) argued that Simon Magus or his followers identified Simon as the eschatological prophet like Moses. Fossum (pp. 123f.) further claimed that Moses became the "standing one" only when he had achieved the character of an angelic being. Origen mentioned that both Simon and Dositheus were miracle workers who perpetrated incredible frauds in imitation of Jesus (*Contra Celsum* vi.11) — and the performance of miracles was associated with the eschatological Mosaic prophet. There is more persuasive evidence, however, that Simon's competitor Dositheus claimed to be the prophet like Moses than that Simon made such a claim (S. Isser).

C. Was the Historical Simon a Gnostic? The central question is whether the later evaluation of Simon Magus as the father of Gnosticism was an addition to the original Simon tradition or whether it was merely the development of an actual component of Gnosticism in that tradition. K. Beyschlag concluded that the Simon presented in Acts was not a Gnostic but had been turned into a Gnostic by the time of Justin. He contended, further, that the Gnostic portrait of Simonianism in Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* i.23.1-4) presupposed an earlier form of *Christian* (rather than Samaritan or pre-Christian) Gnosticism. On the other hand, G. Lüdemann concluded that the historical Simon was a Gnostic and that the accusation of sorcery found in Acts was a fabrication of early Christian apologetics. The fact that "the Great Power" and similar phrases are also found in Gnostic literature makes it difficult to ignore the possibility that the portrait of Simon in Acts contains some Gnostic features (see W. Ullmann).

II. In the Christian Apologists. *–A. Traditions of His Life.* After the report in Acts 8, the next evidence regarding Simon is from Justin Martyr (d. *ca.* A.D. 165), who identified Simon as a Samaritan from the village of Gitta and dated his appearance to the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41-54 (*Apol.* i.26). Justin also claimed that Simon practiced magic in Rome, empowered by the demons within him. Having either misread an inscription on a statue base or received incorrect information about it, Justin claimed that the Roman senate had honored Simon with a statue like other gods (*Apol.* i.56; cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* i.23.1). The inscription (discovered on the island of St. Sebastian in the Tiber in 1574) reads *SEMONI SANCO DEO,* "to the god Semo Sancus" (an ancient Sabine deity), but Justin understood it as *SIMONI SANCTO DEO* or *SIMONI DEO SANCTO,* "to Simon the holy god."

An extensive section of the Acts of Peter, called the *Actus Vercellenses* (end of the 2nd cent.), narrates the conflict between Peter and Simon Magus in Rome (*see* APOCRYPHAL ACTS: THE "LEUCIAN" ACTS II). When Paul left Rome for Spain (Acts of Peter 1–3), Simon Magus arrived and through magic deceived and troubled the church (4). In obedience to a vision, Peter came to Rome and restored the troubled church. The struggle between Peter and Simon included a debate (23f.) and a contest of miracles (25-29). Simon demonstrated his ability to fly through the air; but when Peter prayed, Simon's magical abilities failed him, and he eventually died as a result of injuries suffered in his fall (32). Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi.15) preserved another story of Simon's death: Simon told his disciples that, should he be buried alive, he would rise on the third day; they buried him alive, but he was not able to raise himself.

In what is probably a largely fictional account in the *Pseudo-Clementines* (Recognitions 2.8-11; cf. Homily 2.23f.), Dositheus presides over a circle of thirty disciples following the death of John the Baptist. Simon becomes a member of this circle, struggles with Dositheus, and eventually wins control of the sect. Dositheus tries to strike Simon with his staff (the rod of Moses?), but it miraculously passes through Simon's body. Dositheus recognizes Simon as "the Standing One" (Recognitions 2.11; Homily 2.24), possibly signifying that Dositheus was dispossessed of the office of the prophet like Moses and that

the office was then taken over by Simon. While the *Pseudo-Clementines* in their present form date to the 4th cent., Origen was apparently familiar with a second-century document lying behind these writings (*Contra Celsum* i.57; vi.11).

B. Simonian Theology. According to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i.26), the Simonians taught that Helena, a former prostitute, was the "first thought" (Gk. *énnoia*) produced by Simon, the "first god" (more details on Helena are found in Tertullian *De anima* 34; Hippolytus *Ref.* vi.14; Epiphanius *Haer.* xxi-xxii). A fuller account of Simonianism given by Irenaeus of Lyons (*ca.* A.D. 180), probably in dependence on a lost work of Justin (cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* i.23.1-4), suggests that Simon and Helena were considered dramatic incarnations of a cosmological myth of creation, fall, and redemption. According to this account the "first thought" sprang forth from the "first God" and formed angels, powers, and the world (cf. the Sophia myth of Valentinianism). Simon, as the incarnation of the "first God," appeared among the Jews as the Son, descended in Samaria as the Father, and came to other nations as the Holy Spirit. His "first thought" was detained by those angels and powers who had been produced by her; but they had no knowledge of the "first God." The "first thought" was thereafter confined to a series of human female bodies, including Helen of Troy and finally the Helena of Simon. Simon had come to free her from slavery and to bring salvation to all by making himself known to them. The freedom that resulted from acknowledging Simon as the incarnation of the "first God" was expressed in moral libertinism. Simon anticipated the dissolution of the world and the ultimate freedom of his believers from the bondage of the angels and powers who rule the world.

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SIMON PETER. *See* PETER.

SIMON THE CANANAEAN (ZEALOT). *See* SIMON (NT) 3.

SIMPLE [Heb. *peṯî*–'simple youth' (Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]; 116:6; 119:130; Prov. 1:4, 22, 32; etc.), *pāṯâ*–'be simple, inexpert, apt to be deceived' (Job 5:2)]; AV also SILLY ONE (Job 5:2), SIMPLICITY (Prov. 1:22); NEB also SIMPLETON, SIMPLE MAN, UNTAUGHT, etc.; **SIMPLE-MINDED** [Gk. *ákakos*–'innocent, guileless' (Rom. 16:18)]; AV SIMPLE; NEB INNOCENT; **SIMPLENESS** [Heb. *peṯî* (Prov. 9:6)]; AV FOOLISH; NEB "to be silly"; **SIMPLICITY** [Heb. *tōm*–'perfection, completion' (2 S. 15:11)]; NEB INNOCENCE. In Mt. 5:37 the RSV "simply" (NEB "plain") derives from the context.

In the OT the RSV words are related to the wisdom tradition. Their sense suggests illiteracy or unsophistication, with implications ranging from self-destructive stupidity (Prov. 1:32) to guileless innocence (Ps. 116:6; 2 S. 15:11). "Gullible" or "naive" generally conveys the sense. The words connote both condescension toward those who "should know better," and appreciation for those lacking the treachery of "city ways." But in general the quality of simplicity is, from the wisdom point of view, not desirable. Not only should one strive to be learned, but one must beware of the effects even of association with fools; thus Prov. 9:6 reads "leave simpleness" (RSV; lit. "abandon fools"; cf. AV; the RSV and NEB follow the ancient versions; McKane, "untutored companions").

In Rom. 16:18 the NEB correctly has "innocent" for Gk. *ákakos*; the AV "simple" is ambiguous, while the RSV "simple-minded" is an egregious error. The Greek speaks of one who is without malice, and therefore perhaps too trusting or unsuspecting, but not one who is intellectually disabled.

See also WISDOM; FOOL; STUPID.

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SIMRI sim'rī. *See* SHIMRI.

SIN. *See* SHIN.

SIN sin (Ezk. 30:15f., AV; v. 15, NEB). *See* PELUSIUM.

SIN.

I. Terms
II. Definition
III. The Fall
IV. Original Sin
V. Sin and Freedom
VI. Effects of Sin
VII. Depths of Sin
VIII. Judgment of Sin
IX. Law and Sin
X. Gospel and Sin
XI. Unforgivable Sin
XII. The Christian and Sin

I. Terms.–The complexity of sin is illustrated by the great number of Hebrew words for it (for a full list cf. *TDNT,* I, *s.v.* ἁμαρτάνω [Quell, Bertram, Stählin, Grundmann]). Among the more important are: Heb. *ḥaṭṭā't,* "a missing"; *peša',* "rebellion," "transgression"; *'āwôn,* "perversion"; *ra',* "evil" in disposition; *reša',* "impiety." In the LXX and in the NT, which is largely determined by the LXX, common words are Gk. *hamartía,* "missing the mark"; *parábasis,* "transgression"; *adikía,* "unrighteousness"; *asébeia,* "impiety"; *anomía,* "lawlessness"; *ponēría,* "depravity"; *epithymía,* "evil desire."

II. Definition.–Sin is to be defined primarily in relation to God. It is disobedience, unbelief, ignorance, the positive assertion of usurped autonomy, and the wicked deviation from, or violation of, God's righteous will and law. The breach of a right relationship with God carries with it the disruption of a right relationship with others and the disintegration of the self. But this is derivative, for it is because of sin against God that there is sin against others and oneself (Ps. 51:4 [MT 6].

A feature of the biblical definition is that sin is not just a lack, a failure, or a deficiency. The ignorance that is sin involves not only the lack of true knowledge but also the substitution of falsehood. Sin is commission as well as omission. Yet this must not be pressed too far. Sin has no place in the positive will of God, nor does God allow the existence of another reality alongside and equal to His own creation. In the last analysis sin has only a negative or parasitic reality. Its positive reality is paradoxical and secondary, as is clearly illustrated by the manner of its entry into human life.

III. The Fall.–Sin is not native to humanity as God created it. In spite of Quell's rather perverse interpretation of Gen. 3 in *TDNT*, sin cannot be identified with human creatureliness. When God pronounced all His work good, He did not mean that Adam was simply the best of all possible men, the best that God could do, though still unfortunately a sinner. God is in no sense the author of sin; He does not make people sinners either deliberately or in spite of Himself. He created them good, and this goodness is intended to come to expression in obedience to the divine will. Sin arose when at the serpent's prompting Adam and Eve made the wrong choice of pursuing goals that, quite apart from their futility, involved rejection of the will and way of God. Analysis quickly shows that all the fundamental elements of sin — unbelief, disobedience, pride, weakness, covetousness, discontent, distrust — were present when this fateful decision was taken and executed.

Is sin itself in some way present even before the fall? No data are available in the Bible except references to the serpent, Satan, etc. What we do know, however, is that human beings are not sinners by created nature.Their story is not the story of a long upward struggle against inherent disabilities. They become sinners. Nor is the fall simply a depiction of what happens to each individual. Adam and Eve become sinners in the historical act and fact of the fall. All individuals become sinners because the human race itself has become and is sinful.

The story of the fall also brings out very finely the element of vanity or futility in sin, i.e., its ultimate lack of substance. This aspect was admirably perceived by Quell, who graphically described the collapse of a would-be Prometheus into a guilty schoolboy. Sin is in fact a grasping at the shadow in place of the substance. The choice of sin is no true choice. The divinity offered by sin ("ye shall be as gods," Gen. 3:5, AV) is no true divinity. Freedom to sin is no true freedom. The works of sin are real enough, but they carry no solid achievements. Sin does not really belong in human life. Hence human life in sin is only a caricature of real humanity. In Barth's fine phrasing, sin is a reality only, as it were, on the left hand of God. Instead of Eden, it offers a wasteland full of thorns and thistles. Instead of life, it offers a living death. Life under sin is in every sense a paradoxical life. Sinful humanity is paradoxical humanity. It is still God's creature, but God's creature distorted and corrupted. People live, but they are dead in trespasses and sin. They are destined for eternity, but their eternity is death in life and life in death.

God is not the author of sin, and sin is contrary to His positive will. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that neither sin nor the sinner escapes the positive divine sovereignty. Although the Genesis story does not suggest that the fall was the fulfillment of a specific divine decree, it also does not suggest that God was in any way taken by surprise or that He lost control of the situation. If sin is not positively willed by God, it places no restrictions on the divine omniscience and omnipotence. When God deals with it, He displays from the very first that He is in full command. He asks questions, but He is obviously not seeking information. He knows what Adam has done; He knows why he has done it; He brings the consequences immediately to bear on man; He also announces already the promise of salvation. Sin is rebellion against the divine will and purpose, yet it can be and is ruled over in such a way that it can be made to serve the divine purpose. God does not do evil so that good may come, but He is more than able to bring good out of evil.

IV. Original Sin.–That sin comes into the world not by a series of individual falls but by the one historical fall implies, even though it does not specifically state, the reality and the doctrine of original sin. Original sin means that a nexus of sin embraces all people without exception. This is amply illustrated in the further story of the race. The murder of Abel follows almost at once, and wickedness increases so rapidly that it soon brings down the judgment of the flood (Gen. 4:23f.; 6:1-6). Nor does the elimination of all but Noah's family basically change the situation, for sin is present there, too (Gen. 9:20-24f.). The stories of Babel, Sodom, the Canaanites, and even of the family of Abraham, the children of Israel in the wilderness, and the settled people of the judges and the monarchy show that all people are constantly and persistently involved in sin. The prophetic literature is one long protest against the various forms of sin both against God and against neighbor. The psalmist recognizes both the sin of others (Ps. 53) and his own sin (Pss. 32; 51; 139:23f.), even from the point of conception (51:5 [MT 7]). That sin has become part of the very life and being of fallen humanity is clearly and forcefully stated in Gen. 6:5; Jer. 17:9; Prov. 6:14.

The truth of the universality of sin, of the solidarity of the race in sin, is worked out most systematically in the NT, especially in Romans. Rom. 1:18-3:19 is devoted to the shutting up of all — Jews as well as Gentiles — in sin. "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God" (Rom. 3:23; cf. Isa. 53:6). Carnal humanity cannot please God (Rom. 8:5-8). Sin is a bondage to which all are subject (Chs. 6f.). By the trespass of one, sin has entered into the world, and with it condemnation and death (5:12-14). Quite apart from the guilt of individual sins, there is a universal guilt and condemnation in Adam out of which none can contract and from which there can be no pardon or deliverance except in Christ, the second and righteous Adam.

Many questions relating to original sin are not answered or even raised in the Bible. It does not state how original sin is transmitted, whether by hereditary taint, environment, or a recurrent fall. It does not state how individual sin is related to original sin, whether by necessary consequence, concurrence, or influence. It does not state what measure of guilt attaches to original sin if it stands alone, e.g., in the day-old baby who dies without committing actual sin of its own. It does not state in what form original sin persists in the regenerate, whether as sin that is guilty, sin that stands under pardon, or as no more than a scar or weakness that easily leads to sin.

Dogmatic theology has occupied itself with these questions, and many conflicting answers have been given. Traducianists have favored hereditary transmission. Pelagians have claimed that there is no original sin except in the sense that Adam's sin is an example that almost all people follow. Augustinians have insisted on a depravity of the race involving all in sin, guilt, and eternal punishment apart from God's gracious and sovereign work through Christ. Some Roman Catholics have taught that what is lost at the fall is supernatural virtue, and that the main element in original sin is the resulting weakness. Official Roman Catholicism has denied that there is any

continuation of original sin in the true sense after baptism; only the combustible material of sin, not the actual fire, remains. Most of the positions advocated have to rely on systematic inference from Scripture rather than on direct exposition. On the other hand, there seems to be little room for doubt that, while the Bible does not even try to answer all these questions, it does teach that there is a real root of sin in addition to individual sins, that this cannot be identified merely with the power of influence or general environment, that there is a broader and deeper nexus of sin which none can escape, and that there is no true eradication of sin in this life even for believers.

It should be noted incidentally that sin is certainly linked to this mortal life but does not affect only one part of us, e.g., the body, as though a righteous mind or heart were contending with an unrighteous body. Paul certainly uses the word "flesh" for the dynamic principle of sin (cf. Gal. 5:17). An ungodly walk is after the flesh (Rom. 8:5). Sins are works of the flesh (Gal. 5:19). A wicked life is a sowing to the flesh (Gal. 6:8). But Paul in these passages is obviously not thinking merely of the body but of the whole of human life in sin and alienation from God. Thus the mind can be darkened and be a carnal mind. The will can be set toward evil as well as toward good. The heart is the source of unrighteousness, not the body (cf. Mt. 15:19). In other words, the picture that emerges is that the total person is a sinner, and "flesh" is a convenient term for our sinful being in opposition to the Spirit. Thus Christ can actually come in the flesh, even in the likeness of sinful flesh, and yet be without sin. Christians can live in the flesh and yet not live after the flesh (2 Cor. 10:3). The heart of flesh can be (in the OT) a good heart as opposed to the stony heart (Ezk. 36:26; cf. 2 Cor. 3:3). The corruption of original sin, while it may be summarized under the term "flesh," extends to the whole person in all aspects of the present life. It finds utterance not merely in acts of the body, but also in sins of motive, will, and thought.

V. Sin and Freedom.–The existence of original sin raises the problem of the freedom of the sinner. Can people enjoy freedom if they stand in the nexus of sin? Is freedom completely destroyed by sin? Can there be any responsibility if there is no freedom? Trenchant sayings from Scripture can be adduced in favor of different answers to these questions. Thus Ezekiel seems to argue that each individual is personally responsible before God and will be judged only for personal sins (18:19-29). Yet Paul in Rom. 6–7 paints a gloomy picture of servitude to sin. Even if one desires to do what is right, one has no power to do so. Sin has become a controlling power, which does things in one's name.

Before some of the issues involved are discussed, certain points should be clear. First, both Scripture and life generally show that humans never have had, nor can have, absolute freedom. They stand in the necessary context of conditions, influences, relationships, and limitations which restrict and to some degree affect their choices. Second, they are further debarred from absolute freedom in that they are conditioned by their own prior decisions and actions, so that in some cases it is obviously true both that they cannot help what they do and yet also that they themselves bear clear responsibility for it. Third, there is, as Augustine saw, a distinction between abstract or neutral freedom and freedom to do God's will — the freedom that is ultimately that of the *non posse peccare* (inability to sin). It cannot be claimed that this freedom in the full sense was that of Adam as first created. But he had at least the freedom of *posse non peccare* (ability not to sin), which could lead, according to choice, either to *non posse peccare* or to *non posse non peccare* (inability not to sin). People today are so bound by the past — both their own past and that of the race -- that they come under the rule of *non posse non peccare*. Their freedom is only the formal freedom of choice either to do, or not to do, this or that. Freedom not to sin is quite a different matter.

Certainly the Bible insists on our lack of freedom to be righteous. Yet it should be noted that in so doing the Bible in no sense presents a doctrine of detailed determinism. We do have quite plainly the responsibility of choice. Although our choices are not uninfluenced, they are not made for us. The nexus of sin is not a rigid mechanism of cause and effect, which means that in the face of any given possibilities one's choice is unavoidable and ineluctable. The prophetic and apostolic address, the summons to repent and believe, are based on our having responsibility of choice. Even the strictest view of predestination does not make of us helpless and neutral automatons whose choices are all foreordained by an unbreakable causation. Without the irruption of the Word we are, no doubt, incapable of response to God, for what is there to respond to? Even with the preaching of the Word the operation of the Spirit underlies the response. But the response itself, whether positive or negative, is not simply a foreordained effect. We are not just the playthings of forces completely beyond our control. Within limitations we ourselves are also one of the forces, and we can exercise our own measure of control even to the point of living a more vicious or a more virtuous life, quite apart from the choice that we make in the face of the liberating Word of God.

It should also be noted that the Bible in no sense does away with responsibility. This matter of responsibility is one of the most difficult things to understand. Adam's responsibility is plain enough, and the general interrelating of human responsibility and divine sovereignty creates no insuperable problems. But when the choices of Adam's successors are so heavily weighted or influenced by the nexus of past guilt and sin, racial as well as individual, how can they be held responsible? This is, of course, a problem in law as well as theology. What does one mean when one speaks of the guilt of a delinquent boy who is largely the victim of domestic or social circumstances? Or what does one mean by the guilt of the German people for the Hitler regime, which many individual Germans disliked or at least did not actively support until perhaps forced to do so for the sake of national survival? The point is that responsibility arises not because of membership in a sinful race but because of active or passive assent that adds to the quota of wrong. Individuals in their own actions are agents as well as victims. They may claim that they have no option, but they cannot deny that they assent to sinning. Their will, even though conditioned, is involved. The race is responsible and guilty, and its guilt affects that of individuals, but the race also is the sum total of the individuals who compose it. Hence each individual is also responsible and guilty. The individual's will assents to the common will. Belonging to the race, no one can make a decision in isolation. But having no entity of its own, the race cannot make a decision except in and with the decision of each member. The freedom of individuals is undoubtedly restricted by their solidarity with the race. But insofar as by their own assent and action, or even perhaps by their dissent and inaction, they contribute to the guilt of the whole, they cannot escape their own degree of responsibility. See further J. Ellul, *Ethics of Freedom* (Eng. tr. 1976).

VI. Effects of Sin.–The effects of sin are as coextensive as history, and listing them in detail is obviously impossible and unnecessary. Perhaps the best course is briefly to consider how sin mars the relationship (1) with God, (2)

with one's neighbors, (3) with self, and (4) with the world.

(1) Sin undoubtedly disturbs one's relationship with God. This is vividly portrayed in Adam's flight and excuses after the fall (Gen. 3:8-12) and also in his immediately coming under the judgment of God. He is expelled from the garden (Gen. 3:23), and death reigns from Adam onward (Rom. 5:14). True knowledge of God is lost (Rom. 1:25), and one substitutes one's own foolish imaginations (Eph. 4:18). Knowledge of God's will is also forfeited, at least as a practical knowledge. Thus begins the dreadful process so graphically portrayed by Paul in Rom. 1:24-32. Idolatry and wickedness of every kind overtake the race. Its best achievements always fall far short of perfection and are always doomed to futility, for it lives in a world in which the most important factor, the Creator, is either unknown or omitted. Without God there is neither meaning, goal, refuge, nor hope. The only hope is that, while God does not withhold the terrible effects of the fall, neither does He cease to be our God. In and with the condemnation He also intimates the promise (Gen. 3:15). But this promise in no way alters the terrible consequences of human alienation from God to which we are necessarily self-subjected as sinners.

(2) The naive but profound observation in Gen. 3:7 indicates that the relation between people is disturbed as well as the relation between people and God. It is so in its most elementary and basic form as the relation between man and woman. To some degree this was disrupted in the very act of the fall, when Eve took an initiative that properly belonged to Adam and when Adam accepted this inversion. But with the fall the possibility of a happy and harmonious fulfillment of the sexual relation was lost, and the way was thus opened for all the dreadful possibilities of sexual perversion, mistreatment, and misery. Nor did the mischief stop there, for the family was quickly affected as well as marriage. The stories of Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Joseph and his brothers, and Absalom and his half-brother all testify to the destructive effects of sin. The strife of families broadened out into the strife between families, into the inner tensions of tribes and nations, into the inner conflict of the whole human family in the forms of disastrous rivalries, quarrels, and even open wars between classes, nations, and races. The problems with which the modern world is so familiar and which are obviously beyond human solution — divorce, disrupted homes, juvenile delinquency, trouble between labor and management, racial oppression and racial violence, ideological conflict, economic pressure,and international tension and cleavage — are all the manifest outworking and consequence of human sin.

(3) Nor are people exempt from sin in their inner psychological life. Even if they could achieve self-isolation, which is itself a perversion, they would not escape the effects of sin. For they are people in contradiction. They are people of shame, fear, guilt, illusion. They are people of generous impulse and mean fulfillment, of idealism and cynicism, of intermingled good and evil. They do not really know themselves, flee no less from self than from God, and try to make this unknown self the center of life in place of God. Even as we seek self-fulfillment, we destroy all possibility of it. We present the puzzling aspect of half-angel on the one side, half-demon on the other. We can find hell even in our greatest achievements. We can set out with the noblest aims and finish in the vilest gutter. Our minds are capable of the highest flights and the most monstrous perversions; our bodies are apt for the most superb attainments and yet also for the loathsome ravages of debauchery and disease. The effect of sin on a person is to make him or her a riddle, a paradox, a good thing perverted, a bundle of inconsistencies, a problem to self as well as to others, a creature that has missed its high and holy destiny, self-condemned, self-disrupted, and self-destroying.

(4) The relation of people to their world is also perverted by sin. This, too, is apparent at the outset, for the garden yields to a place of thorns and thistles (Gen. 3:18), and the friendly beasts of Gen. 2 quickly become enemies to be resisted or hunted (cf. esp. 9:2f.). In fact, the whole beautiful and kindly cosmos of God's creating becomes a hostile world whose dangers are to be warded off and whose riches are to be selfishly exploited, so that "the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now" (Rom. 8:22), awaiting the day of its deliverance (cf. Isa. 11:1-9; Rev. 22, the new heaven and the new earth). Beings who were created to exercise wise and beneficent dominion as the vicegerents of God, are now at odds with their environment. Space is a threat, and time an insoluble and apparently meaningless mystery. The harmony of the first days in Eden is only a fading memory. Within the divine limits earth is also a sufferer. The law of the jungle prevails among beasts. A note of sadness rings through the very music of the birds. The good earth is devastated, the waters are fouled, and the air of the heaven is polluted.

There has, of course, been good as well as evil. People have achieved some measure of working harmony with nature to create noble forests, fruitful fields, and beautiful gardens and to establish rapport with at least some animals and birds. But by and large the effect of the race on nature is one of the sorriest aspects of the human story, which the advance of civilization and technology has in no way mitigated. The pathos, indeed the tragedy of it all, is the more starkly revealed against the background of the wonderfully rich possibilities of the world if only humanity had taken the path of service instead of the path of sin.

VII. Depths of Sin.—Already consideration of the fall and of the ensuing implications and consequences of sin has given us some insight into sin's terrible depths. Yet the true profundity of sin is not to be seen in its extensive and terrifying external manifestations, but rather in the possibilities of inward perversion and corruption. Some of these possibilities are revealed in the OT. For not only does the OT trace down sin to the inward parts. It also shows that sin emerges in its full range and possibility in the very sphere of religion and morality, which might seem to be our securest refuge against it. This is true even of the religion and morality that are part of our response to the divine revelation. Thus in Israel itself there can be people so blunted and self-deceived (or self-deceiving) that they can call good evil and evil good (Isa. 5:20). Again, Am. 4:4 shows that the very practice of religion, even of the religion which is thought to be that of Yahweh and which is accompanied by all the appropriate ceremonial, can be a multiplication of transgressions. Prophecy itself can be an empty sham when, e.g., a message of reassurance is given for which there is no divine authority (Jer. 28:10-17). Indeed, so perverted can people become in their thinking that even within the sphere of the covenant, and perhaps with a sense of doing what is good and right, they can offer up their very children in human sacrifice. The greatest sin here is not the manifest cruelty, which is repeated a hundred times in human wars in the slaughter of helpless infants. Rather, it is in the inward perversion of thinking that can make something so intrinsically wrong appear to be divinely right, not merely to ignorant idolaters, but to those who are recipients of divine revelation in the Law and the Prophets. The worst is the corruption of the best.

This aspect of the matter is even more acutely brought

out in the NT. Paul appeals to the moral confusion that can lead people not only to do wrong things but to "approve those who practice them" (Rom. 1:32). Paul and Barnabas had practical experience of the sinful perversion that could make the pagans of Asia Minor idolatrously venerate even the messengers of the gospel (Acts 14). Yet the true depth and subtlety of sin are once again seen in the sphere of Israel. The Pharisees are generally not hypocrites in the sense of deliberately pretending to be what they are not. They do not carry through their practices for such ulterior motives as material wealth or advancement. They take their duties with genuine seriousness, even with enthusiasm, and they can say with truth that their religious life is different from that of others. The tragedy is that intertwining with all this scrupulousness is a deep and hidden sinfulness, which is the more sinister because it escapes even their own awareness. The inward corruption to which Jesus refers in the scathing denunciation in Mt. 23 is not the corruption of deliberate and calculated insincerity. It is the corruption of a sincere and sincerely practiced religion, which is ultimately a supreme manifestation of religious pride, a substitute which makes possible evasion of the true religion of humility, penitence, faith, and obedience.

The frightening picture opened up here is that when one recognizes obvious sin one has hardly begun to reckon seriously with this adversary. The open and blatant sinner, the oppressor or the harlot, is indeed a sinner. But it is not here that the genuine depth of sin is revealed, not even if the oppressor be ever so grasping or the harlot ever so shameless. It is in religious persons that the depths are to be seen. Nor do these religious persons have to be Pharisees. They may equally well be publicans if the publicans become proud of their humility, if they begin to thank God that they are aware of their sins and are not like the self-righteous Pharisees. They may be persons who despair of themselves and are fiercely aware of the merit of their despair, perhaps somewhat after the manner of Kierkegaard. They may be converted people who lean upon their conversion and make it a theme of self-congratulation rather than an occasion for the glorifying of God. The point is that sin is still couching at the door even when one is most sincere and one's dealings are genuinely with God Himself in His self-revelation. The point is that one is often the very last to see this. This is the depth of sin.

A final truth is that sin is to be found ultimately in inward thought and motivation. As Jesus Himself dramatically shows in Mt. 5:22, 27, one may never commit murder and yet be a murderer in the thought and intent of the heart; one may never be an adulterer and yet be an adulterer in the thought and intent of the heart. When it comes to the heart, however, who really knows? Who can be sure? Who can assert with final confidence that thoughts and intents are wholly good and pure, that motives are not mixed in any particular action? After all, the heart itself is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked (Jer. 17:9; cf. Ps. 139:23f.).

Even to be aware of the dangers of false motivation is not necessarily to reach the final roots of sin. Indeed, examination of motives, even for a good cause, can do harm as well as good, so sinful are we. It can issue in rationalization, or produce confusion, or paralyze all action. The more one tries to track down sin, the deeper it goes and the more elusive it becomes. It is parasitic, clinging even to what is good. Yet from another angle it seems also to have a kind of independent life of its own, so that even when one has made the firmest resolves and taken all possible precautions, one still does the wrong thing that one did not will to do, or fails to do the right thing that one did will. And even if one does the good or avoids the evil, how easily it is all soured by the self-righteous satisfaction that for once at least one has done a pure and blameless deed. In fact, the only possibility in the face of sin is to cast oneself wholly and utterly upon God, recognizing that even the motivation of this committal is just as much in need of the divine mercy, and that the committal cannot and must not become a new occasion for sinful pride.

VIII. Judgment of Sin.–The judgment of sin is plain throughout Scripture. Sin brings death. This is the divine warning in Gen. 2:17; it is the teaching of Ezk. 18:4 (with a strong emphasis on individual responsibility in the face of the gracious forgiveness of the penitent), and also of Paul (Rom. 6:23) and James (1:15). Whether judgment includes a sentence of physical mortality is much debated, although this seems to be a reasonable deduction from Gen. 2:9; 3:22; Rom. 5:14. Certainly judgments occur in the present life and take many forms. The first is the outworking of the consequences of sin, according to the principle that what a man sows he will reap (Gal. 6:7). The second is that the human heart is hardened in sin (Ex. 7:3) and that we are thus delivered up to further sin in an inexorable and truly vicious circle (Rom. 1:26-32). The third is retribution by historical catastrophes, which, with poetic justice, are to a large degree self-incurred, e.g., the judgments on Israel and the nations in the OT. Historical judgments have parallels in the lives of individuals, although the OT recognizes that these judgments are broad in nature and do not mean that every individual sin brings a proportionate penalty (cf. Pss. 37; 73; Job). Incidentally, the divine judgments, although severe, have an element of mercy, for, quite apart from God's readiness to forgive and restore, the judgments help to contain sin and its ravages. Bringing the final penalty of death, sin is ultimately self-destructive.

This is so, not merely in a temporal sense, but also and more particularly in the eternal. Sin is to be definitively judged and overcome, so that it will find no entry into the new heaven and the new earth (Rev. 20-22). But impenitent sinners are also involved in the fate of sin. Hence they too are under the sentence of eternal destruction, when even those who seem to have escaped lightly in this world will be brought to the last judgment (Dnl. 12:2f.; Mt. 25:31-46; Rom. 2:1-11), will fall under the sentence of the second death (Rev. 20:14f.), and will be cast into the lake of fire with death and hell.

The exact implications of the last judgment have given rise to much discussion. Does the second death involve a conscious life in death, or is it annihilation? How does it apply to those who have lived outside the knowledge of the gospel and who have never heard its call to repentance and faith? What about those who have died in infancy? If judgment is according to works, are there degrees of judgment? If conscious life is the lot of the condemned, will they endure positive torment or the negative punishment of deprivation? Obviously, no categorical answers are given to these questions of detail. What is known is that the Judge of all the earth can be trusted to do right (Gen. 18:25). What is known is that He is far more concerned to save than to destroy (Jonah 3:10; 4:2, 11). Finally, eternal death or perdition is "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power" (2 Thess. 1:9), and there can and will be no retracting of this sentence on sin and on those who persist in it. *See also* JUDGMENT, LAST.

IX. Law and Sin.–A particular question raised especially by the apostle Paul is the relation of the law to sin. The law is obviously not sinful. It is, in fact, the very reverse.

It is a revelation of the holy and righteous will of God. Hence the law itself is holy, "and the commandment holy, and just, and good" (Rom. 7:12). If its provisions were perfectly fulfilled both outwardly and inwardly, as they were by Jesus Christ, then we would be just before God (cf. Gal. 3:21). But the race is already sinful when the law is given. It is recognized from the very first that the law cannot justify sinners, for, even before the law is given, God has already given both the assurance that Abraham is justified by faith and also the promise that those who have faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham (Gal. 3:9). What then is the soteriological purpose of the law, apart from the direction it can give for living the life of faith? Paul, whose Pharisaic background made this a supremely important question, but who also perceived that the desire for self-justification by fulfillment of law is native to sinners, provides a full answer to this question in Galatians and Romans. The law is given not to set aside the promise or to constitute an alternative but to make clear beyond all dispute that salvation is to be found only in the promise and its fulfillment in Jesus Christ. Far from being an instrument of legalistic self-righteousness, the law is a servant of the gospel, driving one to the righteousness of faith.

The law does this by bringing us inescapably under conviction of sin. As Paul said, the law teaches us the knowledge of sin: "I had not known sin, but by the law" (Rom. 7:7, AV). The meaning is not that there is no sin where there is no law, but that there is no awareness of sin without the law. Those who are really dead in sin, imagine that they are alive until they come up against the stern and undeviating imperative of the law. "I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died" (Rom. 7:9).

Face to face with this majestic imperative, which comes from God and which thus cannot be manipulated or relativized, sin does not cease or disappear. On the contrary, it emerges in its true nature and depth. It turns even the law itself into a temptation to defy and break the law, to do the opposite of what it demands, to fulfil it purely externally and to evade it inwardly. Sin makes sure that we do infringe the law, even if only at a single point (Jas. 2:10). Sin becomes "exceeding sinful"; it manifests itself in its true colors and with its full power, so that, even if there is a desire to fulfil the law, the desire turns into its opposite when it is translated into action.

Sin is unmasked by the law. But sin unmasked is not in any sense sin overcome. To know that one is a sinner is neither to find justification nor to find the way to avoid sinning. Indeed, the danger is that closer knowledge of sin will only lead the person who sincerely tries to keep the law into the more subtle manifestations and deceptions of sin. The law alone is powerless to prevent this. At best, it can only provide a false cover of legalism, of blamelessness "as to righteousness under the law" (Phil. 3:6). But this is not the law's proper work; it is a perversion of its true office. The proper work of the law is done when we face up to the revelation of sin that it brings, when we accept that we are sinners and that as such have no means whereby to justify ourselves, when we see that the fulfillment of the law's demands is beyond our power, and when we realize that the apparent life of self-righteousness is still death in trespasses and sin.

The law also drives us to the righteousness of faith by showing plainly that a curse rests on its nonfulfillment. "All who rely on works of the law are under a curse" (Gal. 3:10). They are so because they do not fulfil these works. Hence, though they make their boast of the law, they dishonor God by breaking it. It is not merely that they are shown to be sinners and to be dead in sin. They are also shown to be under a sentence that no attempt at fulfilling the law, even if it were successful, could ever lift. The curse can be removed only if it is lifted from outside. In itself, i.e., apart from the promise and its fulfillment in the One who truly keeps the law, the law cannot lift its own curse. The law reveals the righteousness and the righteous judgment of God. Only by the law fulfilled in Jesus Christ, the righteous One who bore the curse for the many (Gal. 3:13), can the curse be lifted. Hence the law drives us away from itself, or rather away from ourselves and our attempted fulfillment of it, to the gospel of the righteousness of faith in Jesus Christ, which is the only and all-sufficient answer to sin and its curse, to the question of the justification of the sinner.

X. Gospel and Sin.–The gospel is God's answer to sin, to sin's penalty, and to its power. The gospel is not a new device for use when the way of law has been tried and has failed. It always has been God's answer. The promise of the gospel is before the law. Already OT saints walk in the light and power of this promise. The gospel itself is the good news of the fulfillment of the promise in Jesus Christ. It is good news, for the curse of sin has been borne, its sentence remitted, its very reality defeated and destroyed, so that the sinner who languished under it is justified, liberated, and renewed. If false hopes are stripped away by the law, true and solid hope is given in the gospel.

The gospel does not treat sin lightly. The depth of sin is nowhere more fully revealed and its judgment is nowhere more strongly or sternly portrayed than in the teaching of Jesus (Mt. 5; 25:46). The gospel is no message that sin is unreal, or that sin does not matter, or that God is so indulgent that He cannot finally impose His judgment on sin or the sinner. If there is to be real forgiveness and renewal, the full reality of sin has to be recognized and met. Jesus in His own person is the one who supremely unmasks sin. Face to face with His purity, the purity that sees through every disguise, sinners will either acknowledge themselves to be such (Lk. 5:8), or, driven to desperation (Jn. 15:24), they will hound the sinless One to death and thus commit the most monstrous sin of all, the crucifixion of the righteous Savior, the putting to death of the Son of God.

Yet the glory of the gospel is that in unmasking the full reality of sin it is also in Jesus Christ the full answer to sin. It is the answer in three ways. First, the sinless One, even in and through the most monstrous sin of all, takes the curse of sin to Himself and thereby lifts it from others. "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us — for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree'" (Gal. 3:13). Second, by taking to Himself our human sin and the death that is its penalty, Christ destroys sin in His own body. "Sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh" (Rom. 8:3). Under the gracious rule of God, the death that is the penalty of sin is also the death whereby sin is itself judged and destroyed, so that there is liberation, not merely from sin's penalty, but also from its power. Third, by dying and rising again for sinners, Christ enables all who believe in Him to die and to rise again in and with Him, i.e., to die to sin and to rise again to righteousness. In this way, in the power of the crucified and risen Christ and by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, Christians are already able to win provisional victories over sin that are a first installment of the final victory of their eternal life with God. As Paul puts it in Rom. 6:7, "He who has died is freed from sin." To be dead in and with Christ is to be liberated from sin's bondage; to be raised in and with Him is to be liberated for a

life of righteousness. "Sin will have no dominion over you" (Rom. 6:14). What the lawuld not do because sin still retained its usurped claim and power, Jesus Christ is able to do because He has invalidated sin's claim, broken its tyranny, and destroyed its power.

The answer to sin is for those who repent and believe. Repentance is more than a feeling of regret and a mere desire for amendment (cf. 2 Cor. 7:9ff.). It is an open and unreserved acknowledgment of unworthiness, helplessness, and need, an abandonment of self and all its works, a committal to God with no sense of merit, right, or claim. True repentance arises out of the conviction of sin, which is the office of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 16:8). Faith is the accompanying turning to God in absolute confidence and trust, the reliance only upon His unmerited mercy demonstrated and fulfilled in the saving work of Jesus Christ. Faith thus arises out of the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit in His witness to Jesus Christ in all the wonderful reality of His person and work (Jn. 3:5; 16:14). Repentance and faith are not in any sense works that earn forgiveness of sin. Nor are they arbitrary conditions upon whose fulfillment God bases the granting of the forgiveness and liberation effected in His Son. Rather, they are the divinely effected means, the response, by which individuals identify themselves with Christ in His death and resurrection and thus are released from sin and restored to righteousness.

XI. Unforgivable Sin.–It is probably to this context that the so-called unforgivable sin belongs. In Mt. 12:24-32 Jesus is accused of casting out devils by the prince of devils. In His reply He first shows the folly of supposing that Satan works against himself. He then asks by whom the sons of the Pharisees cast out devils. He goes on to link the working of the Holy Spirit with the presence of the kingdom. He finally says that all kinds of "sin and blasphemy will be forgiven men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven" (v. 31).

This "blasphemy against the Spirit" can hardly mean some peculiarly wicked sin. Nor can it imply a formal blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, which is certainly sinful but which can hardly be distinguished from similar blasphemy against the Father or the Son. The peculiar element in the story seems to be the combination of the mighty operation of the Spirit and the presence of the kingdom in the person of Jesus Christ. The unforgivable sin is committed when there is dogmatic refusal to see in Christ the work of the Spirit. But this is refusal to accept the Spirit's witness to Christ as the one in whom the kingdom is present. It is not, of course, a simple refusal, for many could say, like Nicodemus, that Jesus was a good man, or even a man sent from God, and not yet believe in Him as the Son of God. This refusal is a blunt assertion of the opposite, namely, that Jesus is governed by an evil spirit and does the work of the devil. Nor is it a single refusal, for many may first deny the claims of Jesus and later come to saving faith (cf. the apostle Paul as a supreme example, who was perhaps so vividly conscious of the greatness of God's mercy because he had been so close to the unforgivable sin). It is a dogmatic, obstinate, and persistent refusal carried to extreme and final lengths.

Why this sin is unforgivable can easily be seen. It is the sin of refusing forgiveness. All the sin of the human race was laid on Jesus, but the persistent refusal to have it so laid removes one from the sphere of forgiveness. It is the ultimate defiance, the ultimate lie, the ultimate paradox, which inevitably leads to the ultimate judgment; and perhaps one of the ultimate torments of hell will be the realization that forgiveness was there all the time and it was not believed or accepted.

The descriptions of apostasy in He. 10 and mortal sin in Jn. 5:16f. seem to fit into the same category, for in the context of Hebrews the apostasy is a rejection of the Son's divinity (He. 1), and in the context of 1 John mortal sin is probably either a persistent denial of the Incarnation (1 Jn. 4:3; cf. 2:22f.) or its practical equivalent in the form of hatred of others (3:15). (*See also* MORTAL.)

XII. The Christian and Sin.–Christians know that sin is forgiven, that they are dead to it, and that sin itself has lost its power. Yet there is still sin in the life of the Christian. 1 John can certainly say, "No one who abides in him sins" (1 Jn. 3:6), but it also says: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1:8). Christians are still to pray that they may be forgiven (Mt. 6:13). Paul speaks of the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit (Gal. 5:17) and demands mortification of what is earthly (Col. 3:5). Sins are mentioned in connection with the congregations, e.g., at Philippi (4:2) and at Corinth (1 Cor. 1:10; 5:1–6:11). What, then, is the relation between the Christian and sin, in this life between conversion to Christ and the death or transfiguration of the body?

The formulation of this relation has been one of the most difficult questions of theology, and the various answers have given rise to serious deviations in both doctrine and practice. In the early Church the change at conversion or baptism was regarded as so striking and complete that postbaptismal sin brought a new problem, not merely of discipline but also of remission and salvation. Since sins are in fact committed by believers, a distinction soon came to be made between lesser and greater sins. Lesser sins did not remove one from a state of grace. But for the greater it was first held that there could be no restoration, then a single chance of penitence was extended (Hermas, the pre-Montanist Tertullian), and then the full penitential discipline was established. Theoretically it was still thought to be possible to maintain the state of baptismal integrity, and the saints in particular were those who either lived sinlessly or whose minor faults were more than balanced by extraordinary merits, especially ascetic practices and perhaps the final seal of martyrdom.

In the Middle Ages a developed doctrine arose. At baptism there is complete cleansing from all sin; if concupiscence remains, it is only the scar of sin and the fuel of future sin, not itself sin. Sin occurs when this combustible material bursts into flame. If the sin is very minor and is amply covered by compensating virtues in fulfillment of the evangelical counsels, sainthood may follow. If the sin is larger but venial, it incurs penalties that are borne in purgatory but that may be mitigated in various ways. If it is mortal, it brings fresh danger of perdition, and only through penance and absolution (or perfect contrition) can the sinner be restored to a state of grace.

Rethinking this whole question was one of the great achievements of the Reformation. When Luther realized that justification is by grace through faith, he also saw that the divine forgiveness extends to the whole life of the Christian, so that only refusal to believe can bring the danger of personal loss. But he also saw that if the Christians's victory over sin is by the death and resurrection of Christ received in faith, the reality of the Christian life in the present aeon, although it is not the final reality, does not yet correspond to that new and true reality in Jesus. In other words, there is no point in even pretending that sin is eliminated in baptism or conversion. Original sin itself still persists; so, too, do actual sins. Hence the Christian life is a continual life not of acts of penance but of penitence. Even though by faith in Jesus Christ one is justified and righteous, in oneself one is still a sinner. What one is

in Christ, one's new and true reality, is to be worked out in terms of the mortification of sin and provisional entering into the reality of righteousness that one already has in faith and that one is to enjoy in the fulness of sight at the last day. This is not antinomianism — an abandonment of the struggle against sin. It is genuine Christian realism — the realism not merely of facing the facts of this world but also of taking seriously the new facts and working in the Holy Spirit to replace the old facts by the new, to translate the life in Christ into practical Christian conduct.

Luther tended at this point to stress unduly the more negative aspect of mortification, the killing off of the old Adam who is most unwilling to die, but Calvin redressed the balance with his fuller emphasis on renewal, on being clothed with the new nature of righteousness. Christians belong to the new aeon but still live in the old. They are still engaged in pilgrimage and warfare, living out in love the new life that is theirs by faith, but doing so in the old world and thus in hope of the fulfillment of this new life at the future consummation.

Already in the Reformation period, however, there were other elements in the Protestant world that tended at least in the direction of a new perfectionism. The Anabaptist stress on conversion was obviously good in itself, and its later adoption by the Pietists was of incalculable blessing to the Reformation churches. But it could presuppose a striking change that made the thought of continuation in sin not just abhorrent, as it ought to be, but quite inconceivable. Candidates for baptism or the professed converts ought to be confident that they can live consistently with their profession, and that they will attain, either at once, or progressively, or by a further and fuller blessing of the Holy Spirit, the perfection and entire sanctification that is God's will for His people. It is probably fair to say that few have ever claimed to achieve this genuine state of sinlessness. It is also fair to say, however, that at least a strong tendency toward perfectionism accompanies this approach in many of its forms. The implied zeal for holiness is naturally to be commended. But the associated phenomena, e.g., a new legalism, artificial standards of righteousness, self-deception, Pharisaism, and distorted feelings of guilt, have in many cases nullified the force of the testimony and have revealed once again the truth of the saying that original sin does "remain in the regenerate" even though they try to deny it.

Of the three main dogmatic presentations, that of the Reformers seems on the whole to be most in conformity with the biblical data. The Bible does indeed tell us that sin is defeated, that the sinner is dead to sin, that the dominion of sin is broken. This is no deception or make-believe. It is the truth of the situation. Paul is not theorizing or hoping or wishing in Rom. 6 or again in Rom. 8 when he speaks of the new life in the Spirit. God has introduced this new situation as an accomplished fact which nothing can change. Thus far, however, it has been accomplished not in us, but in Jesus Christ for us, and in us by faith, not by sight. We believe that this is all so, that we are justified, sanctified, even glorified. We believe it because it is the truth, the new and abiding truth in Jesus Christ. We believe it because Jesus Christ has taken our place, and what is true of Him is true of us (cf. 2 Cor. 5:14). The ethical and eschatological movement of the Christian life is the translation of this truth of Christ for us into the visible truth of us in Christ, first in the form of provisional and progressive manifestations in this life, and then in the form of the perfect fulfillment in the life to come.

In themselves, then, the believers are still sinners. There is no magical eradication either at conversion, by progression, or in a fuller dedication to God. Living in the sinful aeon, they still commit sins of thought and word and act. Yet they are no cynics or defeatists. They know that the campaign against sin is a campaign against a decisively defeated foe. They must strive toward the mortification of sin and renewal in righteousness, but they can do so with the hope of genuine successes, for they know that they are not alone in this struggle. They are being fashioned in the likeness of Christ. They enjoy fellowship with Christ and the indwelling power of the Spirit. Continual penitence is needed, but not despondency or despair. If the final liberation is not yet, growth in freedom is to be expected and enjoyed. There is certainly no place for anxious speculation about final loss. Continuing conviction of sin only fixes the eyes more firmly on Jesus Christ, the mirror of election, the author and the finisher of faith. To see the self in Him is to have the assurance that sin is already defeated for us, and soon will be wholly and utterly defeated and destroyed in us.

For sin is in fact defeated. Its presence and action in the Christian are only the death throes of a mortally wounded foe. When the great work of God is brought to its consummation at the Parousia, there will be no more sin. Christians will attain to the freedom of the *non posse peccare* (inability to sin); they will do God's will as it is now done in heaven. Sin not only will be forgiven and put aside, but will be abolished. The death which it brought to us and which Jesus suffered for us will engulf it. It will find no entry into the new kingdom or its citizens. What Christians now know to be true by faith they will then know to be true by sight. Seeing the Lord as He is, changed into His image from glory to glory, they will be without sin even as He was without sin for them in His incarnate life, and even as He is without sin from eternity to eternity. The wages of sin is death, and death itself will receive its own wages. But the gift of God is eternal life, the new and sinless life of righteousness and love, through Jesus Christ Our Lord (Rom. 6:23).

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G. W. BROMILEY

SIN AGAINST THE HOLY SPIRIT. *See* FORGIVENESS IX; HOLY SPIRIT II.B.1; SIN XI.

SIN, MAN OF. *See* MAN OF SIN.

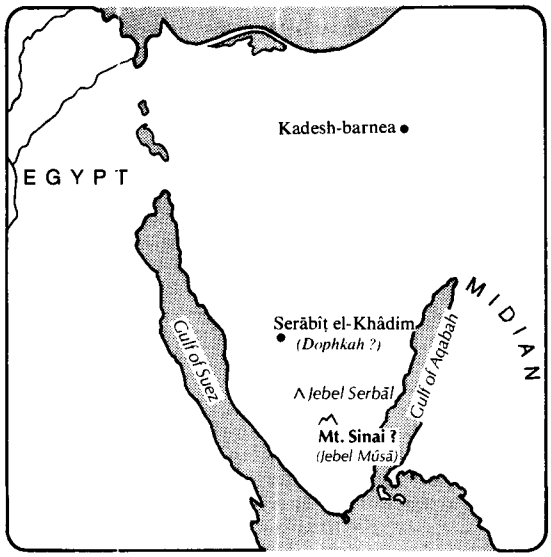
SIN OFFERING. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

SIN, WILDERNESS OF. *See* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

SINA sī′nə. Acts 7:38, AV, for SINAI.

SINAI sī′nī, sī′nə-ī [Heb. *sînay;* Gk. A *Sina,* B *Seina*]; AV also SINA (Acts 7:38). The name of the sacred mountain before which Israel encamped at the time of the lawgiving and the establishing of the covenant relationship. The Hebrew is sometimes qualified by the words *har,* "hill" or "mountain," or *miḏbār,* "desert." The origin of the name is uncertain; some have suggested that it is related etymologically either to Heb. *sᵉneh,* "thornbush," or to Bab. Sin, the ancient Semitic moon-deity. Neither of these suggestions seems particularly satisfactory, however, and "Sinai" is less likely the name of a mountain than the

normal designation of one particular peak in the Sinai wilderness. In several OT passages both the desolate Rephidim area to the northwest and the mountain itself are called "Horeb" (Heb. *ḥōrēḇ*, from a root meaning a "desolate region" or "ruin"), a feature that is prominent in Deuteronomy (1:2, 6, 19; 4:10, 15; etc.) although present elsewhere in the Pentateuch (Ex. 3:1; 17:6; 33:6). In many instances "Sinai" and "Horeb" are used synonymously; where a distinction appears, the mountain itself is Sinai and the neighboring wilderness area bears the wider designation Horeb.



I. In the OT.–The covenant between God and Israel was established at Mt. Sinai (Ex. 19–24). When the divine presence was revealed to the people, it was accompanied by seismic disturbances and a cloud of smoke that came down upon the mountain (19:16–18). Dt. 1:2 records that the journey from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea by way of Mt. Seir took eleven days. This distance has been confirmed independently by modern scholarship, on the assumption that the route went from the traditional Sinai (Jebel Mûsā) to Dhahab on the east coast of the Sinai Peninsula, then N toward Edom and across to Kadesh-barnea ('Ain Qudeis).

In the time of Ahab of Israel (874-853 B.C.) a discouraged and apprehensive Elijah made a pilgrimage to Horeb for spiritual enlightenment (1 K. 19:8). Perhaps the detailed list of stations between the mountain and Kadesh as found in Nu. 33:16-37 had been preserved with such care because religious pilgrimages similar to Elijah's were undertaken more often in the early days of Israel's nationhood, although such journeys were not recorded.

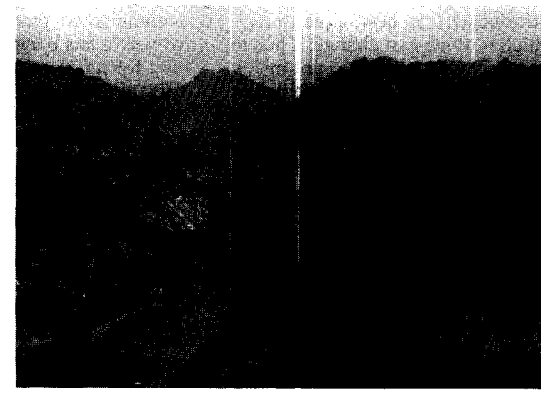
II. Traditional Location.–For about fifteen hundred years the sacred mountain of the lawgiving has been located by tradition in the rugged terrain at the apex of the Sinai Peninsula. In the 4th cent. A.D. the area attracted small settlements of monks and received some prominence through the reports of an Egyptian pilgrim named Ammonius, who visited Sinai *ca.* 373, having previously traveled to the holy places of Palestine. During Justinian's reign (527-565) the association of Sinai with Jebel Mûsā, the "mountain of Moses," became firmly established. Justinian established the present St. Catherine's monastery on the northwest slope of Jebel Mûsā to replace a smaller church built two centuries earlier.

Leaving the ancient Egyptian mining center of Serābîṭ el-Khâdim, perhaps to be identified with Dophkah, and journeying to the southeast, the traveler enters a wide valley called er-Râḥa. This area is much like a small plain, being about 3 km. (2 mi.) long, nearly 11 km. (7 mi.) wide, and about 1.5 sq. km. (1 sq. mi.) in area. It would have been the only natural area for the encampment of Israel before the sacred mountain (Ex. 19:1; Nu. 33:15). Rising majestically over the plain of er-Râḥa are the steep ascents of Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh, with a valley on each side. This elevation, which is approximately 1970 m. (6540 ft.), comprises the northwest summit of the granite ridge stretching about 3 km. (2 mi.) SE, where Jebel Mûsā completes the formation and towers to a height of about 2300 m. (7500 ft.). Southwest of Jebel Mûsā is the elevation known as Jebel Katerīn, "Mt. of St. Catherine," which rises another 300 m. (1000 ft.) above Jebel Mûsā. The Monastery of St. Catherine is located between these two mountains.

The heart of the problem is that the etymology of Sinai is not known. *Ḥōrēḇ* is clearly a Semitic word, meaning "dryness, drought, heat," and "dry ground, waste, and desolation" (BDB, p. 351), and thus seems to be a good descriptive term for the Sinai Peninsula or a specific part of it. "Sinai" might be connected with the name of the Egyptian frontier city Sin, called Heb. *sîn* in Ex. 16:1 (*see* PELUSIUM). Another suggested root for Sinai is *s*eneh*, "bush," used of the burning bush in Ex. 3:2; according to this proposal the area was named for the bushes that covered it. Neither proposal has been accepted with any degree of confidence.

"Sinai" is used both for the area (wilderness of Sinai, sixteen times in the Pentateuch) and for the mountain (fourteen times in the Pentateuch). "Horeb," however, is used primarily as the name of the area. Only once in the OT is the mountain called Horeb (Ex. 33:6; cf. also 2 Esd. 2:33 [AV Oreb]), and that might be a shortened form (either deliberate or accidental) for the fuller expression "the mountain of God, Horeb" (cf. 3:1; 1 K. 19:8). In Ex. 3:1, where the term Horeb first appears, Moses is said to come to "the mountain of God *ḥōrēḇāh*." The directional *h* at the end of the word for Horeb suggests that Horeb was not the name of the mountain but of the area in which the mountain was located. This leads to the suggestion that both Horeb and Sinai are names for the general area, Horeb clearly a Semitic term and Sinai possibly a name used by some other people. A place having two different names representing different languages or ethnic groups is known elsewhere in the ancient Near East (K. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and OT* [1966], p. 124). A good example is the city of Hebron (Semitic name), which was also known

Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh, possibly the biblical Mt. Horeb, overlooking the plain where Israel camped, according to tradition. To the right (out of the picture) is Jebel Mûsā (L. T. Geraty)



as Kiriath-arba (Indo-European name; see Y. Arbeitman, "The Hittite is their Mother: An Anatolian Approach to Gen. 23," in *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science,* IV, 889ff.).

III. Problems of Identification.–The traditional interpretation has identified Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh with Mt. Horeb and Jebel Mûsā with Mt. Sinai. Although the two elevations may be considered twin peaks of one large mountain, the association of Horeb in some OT passages with wilderness areas seems to preclude its identification with Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh. Nevertheless, this peak has certain topographical features favoring its identification with Sinai. From the plain of er-Râḥa the summit of Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh can best be reached by means of a detour up a steep ravine called "Jethro's path" (Sikket Shu'eib) near the northeast end of the range. Descending from this point, Moses and Joshua could have heard the tumult of the camp in er-Râḥa prior to witnessing it (Ex. 32:15-18).

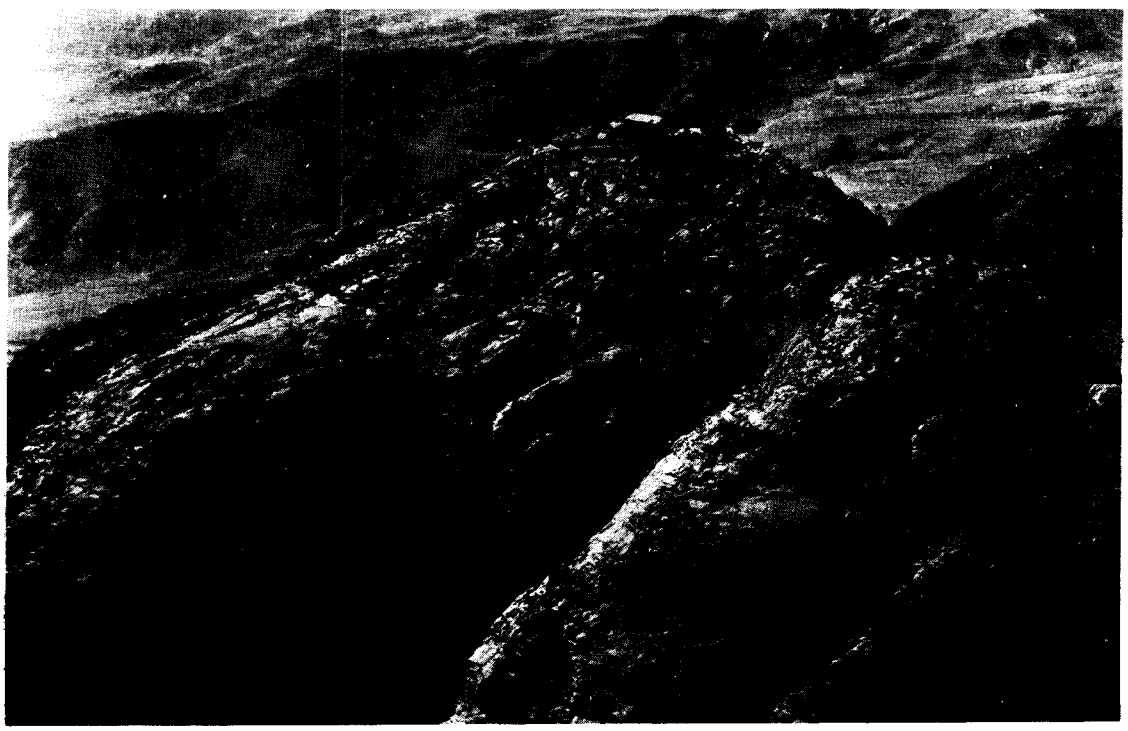
Jebel Mûsā has the double disadvantage of being about 5 km. (3 mi.) from the plain of er-Râḥa and of having the view from its summit restricted by other peaks to the east, south, and west. The prospect NW along the ridge extends beyond the peak of Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh to the distant horizon. No part of the plain of er-Râḥa can be seen from Jebel Mûsā; there is, however, a smaller and more elevated plain beneath its highest part that could have witnessed the events connected with the lawgiving. Thus it is possible that the Israelites did not assemble in the plain of er-Râḥa.

From Jebel Katerīn, another peak, the view is obstructed only by the peak of Jebel Umm Shomer to the south; the Gulf of Suez and Egypt can be seen to the west and the Gulf of Aqabah and Arabia to the east. The principal difficulty with both Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh and Jebel Katerīn is that neither appears to have been regarded as a holy mountain until well into the Christian era. Jebel Mûsā, on the other hand, seems to have enjoyed special sanctity long before Christian times, culminating in its identification with Mt. Sinai. Quite aside from the weight of tradition, the granite formations of the mountain are so imposing that they lend support to this identification (*see* picture in EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE; cf. Josephus *Ant.* ii.12.1 [264-69]; iii.5.1 [75-77). In addition, the presence of a few stations on the way to Jebel Mûsā that are traditionally associated with the wilderness wanderings point to the same conclusion.

IV. Other Identifications.–Because of the apparently volcanic phenomena associated with the giving of the law on Sinai, some nineteenth-century scholars thought that the most acceptable identification was with a volcanic peak near al-Hrob. But this opinion has fallen into disrepute because it makes the route of the Exodus virtually impossible to reconstruct and because it reads far too much into the phenomena of Ex. 19:11-25. Another view located Sinai at Jebel Serbāl, some distance W of the Jebel Mûsā–Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh ridge, where the early Christian center of Pharan was situated. This identification is repudiated by the *Peregrinatio Silviae* (*ca.* A.D. 388), which specifically locates the "mount of God" 35 Roman mi. from Pharan (Feiran); this is the actual distance between the oasis in the Wâdī Feiran (*see* Vol. II, Plate 7) and Jebel Mûsā.

Volcanic interpretation of Ex. 19:16, 18 has led some to place Sinai in northwest Arabia, near Midian, where the nearest volcanoes active in historical times are located. Another argument supporting this site involves Moses' marriage into a Midianite family (Ex. 3:1; 18:1). Moses' father-in-law Jethro is also called a Kenite (Jgs. 1:16; 4:11), and the Kenites were a clan of wandering smiths (Nu. 10:29) whose presence near the mines of Sinai would hardly be surprising. But Midianite territory as such was too far N of the Sinai Peninsula proper to furnish the kind of topographical isolation from Egyptian influence that is

The traditional Mt. Sinai (Jebel Mûsā) (W. Braun)



depicted by the narratives of the wilderness sojourn. Furthermore, volcanic interpretation of the events of Ex. 19:16, 18 might well read too much into the narrative.

Yet another suggested location for Mt. Sinai is one of the mountains near Kadesh-barnea. This identification is based partly on the occasional OT association of Sinai with Seir, Mt. Paran, and even Teman, a town in Edom, as places of divine revelation (Dt. 33:2; Jgs. 5:4; Hab. 3:3). In addition, the association of Rephidim with Meribah — the latter being placed rather arbitrarily in the Kadesh-barnea area — as well as the Edomite king's apparent claim to territory on both sides of the Arabah at the time of the wilderness wanderings (Nu. 20:14-16), seem to support such a location. But since the tradition of producing water from the rock is narrated twice (Ex. 17:1-7; Nu. 20:2-13) and may actually have occurred even more frequently, too much geographical reliance ought not to be placed upon attempts to associate the incident in Ex. 17 with the area of Kadesh-barnea. Scholars have also argued that Sinai should be placed near Kadesh-barnea because Moses asked Pharaoh's permission to make a three-day journey into the wilderness to sacrifice (Ex. 5:1-3). This consideration has gained some currency in academic circles but is completely irrelevant in any discussion of the location of Sinai. The "holy mount" is not even mentioned in the request, and neither Kadesh nor Jebel Mûsā can be reached from the eastern delta region in three days' travel on foot.

Indeed, Moses' request on behalf of Israel can be fitted into any of the proposed locations for Sinai. None of the encampments of the wilderness wanderings can be meaningful if the Israelites went directly to either Kadesh or Midian. Again, locating Sinai elsewhere than at Jebel Mûsā would leave the ancient traditions about that mountain unexplained. Finally, the reference in Dt. 1:2 to a journey of eleven days from Kadesh to Horeb can be properly understood only in relationship to the southern portion of the Sinai Peninsula. On balance, therefore, the identification of Mt. Sinai with Jebel Mûsā, as traditionally maintained, seems the most satisfactory.

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SINAITICUS sī-nə-it'ə-kəs. *See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT I.A.2.

SINCERE [Gk. *díkaios*] (Lk. 20:20) ; AV JUST; NEB HONEST; [*anypócritos*] (1 Tim. 1:5; 2 Tim. 1:5; 1 Pet. 1:22); AV UNFEIGNED; NEB also, GENUINE, SINCERITY; [*eilikrinḗs*] (2 Pet. 3:1); AV PURE; NEB HONEST; [*haplótēs*] ("Sincere devotion," 2 Cor. 11:3); AV SIMPLICITY; NEB SINGLE-HEARTED DEVOTION; [*akéraios*] (Ad. Est. 16:6); [*alēthḗs*] (Wisd. 6:17); NEB TRUE; **SINCERITY** [Heb. *tāmîm*] (Josh. 24:14); NEB LOYALTY; [Gk. *eilikríneia*] (1 Cor. 5:8; 2 Cor. 1:12; 2:17) ; [*alétheia*] (Tob. 8:7); NEB TRUE (MARRIAGE); [*haplótēs*] (Wisd. 1:1); NEB SIMPLICITY; **SINCERELY** [Heb. pass. part. of *bārar*] (Job 33:3); AV CLEARLY; NEB WITH SINCERITY; [Gk. *gnēsíōs*] (2 Esd. 10:50); **NOT SINCERELY** [Gk. *hagnōs*] (Phil. 1:17 [AV 16]) ; NEB "from mixed motives"; **INSINCERITY** [Gk. *hypókrisis*] (Gal. 2:13; 1 Pet. 2:1); AV DISSIMULATION, HYPOCRISIES; NEB PLAY FALSE, PRETENCE; **WITHOUT INSINCERITY** [Gk. *anypócritos*] (Jas. 3:17); AV WITHOUT HYPOCRISY; NEB SINCERE; **ACT INSINCERELY** [Gk. *synypokrínomai*] (Gal. 2:13); AV DISSEMBLE; NEB SHOW LACK OF PRINCIPLE.

The RSV normally translates Gk. *díkaios* as "righteous" or "just," but the variation in Lk. 20:20 is appropriate, since it refers to spies whose good intentions are only "pretended" (*hypokrinómenos;* see *TDNT*, II, 190). Related to the latter term is *synypokrínomai*, which in Gal. 2:13 describes the hypocritical actions of Peter and other Jewish Christians regarding table fellowship with Gentiles. On the related terms *anypócritos* and *hypókrisis*, *see* GENUINE; HYPOCRISY.

The basic meaning of Gk. *eilikrinḗs* is "unmixed, without alloy," hence "pure" (cf. Phil. 1:10). The noun *eilikríneia* likewise denotes moral purity, as in 1 Cor. 5:8. It refers to Paul's own godly behavior in 2 Cor. 1:12; 2:17 and in other literature is often contrasted with various kinds of insincerity and impurity (see Wisd. 7:25 and esp. T. Benj. 6:5). The NT use of *akéraios* in exhortations to be "innocent" (Mt. 10:16; Phil. 2:15) or "guileless" (Rom. 16:19) in relation to evil sheds light on its meaning in Ad. Est. 16:6.

The frequent occurrences of Gk. *alēthḗs* and *alétheia* in the NT and Apocrypha are almost uniformly rendered "true/truth," and the meaning in Wisd. 6:17 is similar; the RSV's use of "sincerity" in Tob. 8:7 is appropriate in that context of proper motivation for marriage (cf. NEB). Gk. *haplótēs*, originally meaning "simplicity" as the opposite of "duplicity," came to have the ethical connotations of sincerity and singleness of heart (cf. 1 Ch. 29:17, LXX; Eph. 6:5; Col. 3:22; Wisd. 1:1; T. Reub. 4:1; T. Sim. 4:5; T. Levi 13:1; T. Iss. 3:8). The adverb *hagnṓs* belongs to the *hagn-* word-group, which conveys the idea of purity (*see* PURE).

The RSV usually translates Heb. *tāmîm* as "without blemish" when referring to sacrificial animals (e.g., Ex. 12:5) as "blameless" referring to persons (e.g., Gen. 6:9), or as "perfect" referring to God (e.g., Dt. 32:4); (*See* PERFECT I). In Josh. 24:14 it describes an attitude of wholehearted faithfulness in serving God. The root *brr* basically means to "separate" or "choose," hence also to "purify" (e.g., Isa. 52:11; Dnl. 12:10); in both Job 33:3 and Zeph. 3:9 the pass. part. *bārûr* refers to pure speech.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 100-102, 571f.; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἁπλοῦς, ἁπλότης (Bauernfeind); II, *s.v.* δίκη κτλ.: δίκαιος (Schrenk); *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bārar" (Hamp). P. A. FRANK

SINEW [Heb. *gîḏ*]; NEB also "stiff" (Isa. 48:4). A tendon, i.e., a cord or band of connective tissue that joins a muscle to a bone or other structure of the body (Job 10:11; 40:17; Ezk. 37:6, 8). In figurative language Isa. 48:4 compares the neck of the obstinate to an "iron sinew" (cf. the expression STIFF-NECKED).

Genesis 32:32 (MT 33) explains that the Jewish custom of not eating "the sinew of the hip" derived from the injury that Jacob received while wrestling with God (v. 25 [MT 26]). Jewish tradition understands *gîḏ* here to mean the sciatic nerve (cf. LXX *neúron*; Vulg. *nervus*), which Jews are required to remove when slaughtering animals that they intend to eat (Mish. *Hullin* vii). N. J. O.

SING; SINGER. *See* SONG.

SINGLE EYE. *See* SOUND EYE.

SINIM sī'nim (Isa. 49:12, AV). *See* SYENE.

SINITES sin'īts, sī'nīts [Heb. *sînî*, with def. art. *hassînî*, Gk. *tón asennaíon*]; AV SINITE. A northern Canaanite people listed under the sons of Canaan in the genealogies of Gen. 10:17 and 1 Ch. 1:15. The gentilic *hassînî* should be vocalized *hassiyānī*, which is cognate to second-millennium Akk. *siyan(n)i* and Neo-Assyr. *sian(n)nu*, gentilic *sianaya*. Thus their home of origin can be identified with the northern Phoenician city-state of Siyan(n)u. Ugaritic texts locate it at a large mound near the modern village in northern Lebanon of Siyānū. In the Late Bronze Age Siyan(n)u and a nearby city, Ushnatu, together formed a vassal state controlled by Ugarit until the Hittites under Mursilis II placed them under the power of the king of Carchemish, viceroy of northern Syria, *ca.* 1330 B.C. Both cities survived the fall of Ugarit and in 853 B.C. were part of the coalition of twelve nations, including Israel, that checked the advance of the Assyrians under Shalmaneser III at the battle of Qarqar. Independence from Assyria did not last, for Tiglath-pileser III made them part of the new province of Ṣimirra in 738 B.C.

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SINNER [Heb. part. of *ḥāṭā'*, *ḥaṭṭā'*; Gk. *hamartōlós*]; AV also SIN (Prov. 14:21); NEB also WICKED NATION (1 S. 15:18), DO WRONG, BAD MEN, BAD CHARACTERS, etc. In the OT, generally one who despises God's will as expressed in the Torah, in contrast to the righteous who submit themselves to the law of God (e.g., Ps. 1:1, 5; Prov. 1:10; 13:21f.; 23:17; Eccl. 8:12; 9:2; Isa. 1:28).

In the NT the term is used with several different meanings. (1) In the Gospels the term is most often used to denote someone who does not keep the commandments of the Torah. This includes those who live flagrantly immoral lives, e.g., harlots (Lk. 7:37, 39) and tax collectors (who had a reputation for dishonesty; cf. 18:13; 19:7), but also those who have in any way fallen short of a strict observance of the Mosaic law. Jesus was criticized by the Pharisees for associating with such persons, but He replied that these were the persons He had come to save (e.g., Mt. 9:10-13 par.; 11:19 par.; Lk. 13:2; 15:1f., 7, 10). (2) Occasionally it refers to one who violates the Pharisaic interpretation of the Torah. The Pharisees accused Jesus of being a sinner because He did not follow their ordinances regarding the sabbath (Jn. 9:16, 24f., 31). (3) It can also refer to a Gentile as one who lives outside the Jewish law (Mk. 14:41; Lk. 6:32-34). (4) The NT Epistles most often use the term "sinners" to refer to the whole human race in its state of separation from God because of sin, i.e., to all human beings as they are without Christ (e.g., Rom. 5:8, 19; Gal. 2:15, 17; 1 Tim. 1:15; He. 7:26; 12:3). In a few instances, however, the term refers to those who lead lawless, immoral lives (e.g., 1 Tim. 1:9; 1 Pet. 4:18; Jude 15).

See also LAWLESS; SIN. N. J. O.

SION sī'ən.

1. (Dt. 4:48, AV). *See* SIRION.

2. (AV Mt. 21:5; Jn. 12:15; etc.). *See* ZION.

SIPHMOTH sif'moth [Heb. *śipmôṯ*; Gk. B *Saphei*, A *Saphamōs*, others *Sapheimōth*]. One of several Judahite cities with which David shared the spoil of his campaign against the Amalekites while in the service of the Philistine Achish (1 S. 30:28). 1 Ch. 27:27 mentions "Zabdi the Shiphmite," who may have come from Siphmoth. The exact location is unknown. G. H. WILSON

SIPPAI sip'ī [Heb. *sippay*] (1 Ch. 20:4). Elsewhere known as SAPH (2 S. 21:18), he was a Philistine warrior killed in battle by SIBBECAI the Hushathite.

SIR [Heb. *'ādôn*–'lord, master'] (Jgs. 6:13); AV, NEB, MY LORD; [Gk. *kýrios*–'lord,' 'Lord,' 'master'] (Mt. 13:27; Lk. 13:8; Jn. 4:11; etc.); AV also LORD; NEB also YOUR EXCELLENCY (Acts 27:63); [*anḗr*–'man'] (Acts 27:10); NEB GENTLEMAN. A polite, respectful form of personal address.

Only in Jgs. 6:13 does the RSV OT have "sir." Here Gideon addresses the "angel of the Lord" with "sir" (cf. Gen. 18:3; 19:2, 18; also *TDNT*, III, 1061 n. 118).

In the NT the RSV often translates the vocative form of Gk. *kýrios* (*kýrie*) by "sir." This form is used by slaves addressing their masters (Mt. 13:27; Lk. 13:8; 14:22), by people addressing officials of high position (Mt. 21:30; 27:36), and by people addressing other respected persons (Jn. 12:21; 20:15; Rev. 7:14). In John's Gospel people often employ *kýrie* as a polite form of address to Jesus (4:11, 15, 19, 49; 5:7). G. L. K.

SIRACH sir'ak, sir'ək. The preeminent wisdom book of the APOCRYPHA, also know as Ecclesiasticus (i.e., "the church book") in the Western Christian tradition.

I. Date
II. Author
III. Text
IV. Background
V. Literary Character
VI. Content and Purpose

I. Date.–The Hebrew original was completed in Jerusalem between 198-175 B.C. by Jeshua ben Eleazer ben Sira (the MSS offer variant forms of the name in 50:27 and at the end of 51). The grandson of Ben Sira translated his grandfather's work into Greek sometime after the former arrived in Egypt, according to the prologue of his translation, in the thirty-eighth year of King Euergetes (i.e., Ptolemy Physcon VIII Euergetes II [170-117 B.C.]), thus after 132 B.C.

Two factors establish the temporal limits of the original Hebrew work between 198 and 175 B.C. First, Ben Sira devoted a hymn of praise (50:1-24) to a high priest Simon son of Onias (*ca.* 226-198 B.C.; perhaps "Simon the Just' of Pirke Aboth 1:2 [so Hengel, p. 161]), who had died not long before (50:1). The hymn concludes with a prayer that peace prevail among the sons of Simon and that God maintain for him and his descendants the priestly "covenant of Phineas" (Hebrew text of 50:23f.; cf. Nu. 25:13; Sir. 45:23-26). This prayer, which the grandson altered after the demise of Simon's priestly line, seems to indicate concern about potential conflict in the high-priestly house (cf. 7:4-7 on not seeking office).

Second, the book shows no awareness of the actual eruption of conflict between Simon's high-priestly son Onias III and his hellenizing brother Jason, shortly after the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 175 B.C. (cf. 1 Macc. 1:11-15; 2 Macc. 4:7). Also, there is no evidence of the tumultuous events culminating in the Hasmonean revolt, unless 36:1-17, taken by many scholars to be a later addition, refers to the period before the success of that revolt.

II. Author.–Ben Sira, the only author of an apocryphal book to reveal his name (but cf. 2 Macc. 2:23-32), lived in Jerusalem as a professional sage and scribe (cf. 38:24–

39:11) who was steeped in the Law and Prophets as well as in the wisdom traditions of Israel and possibly of other lands (prologue; 39:1, 4; cf. J. T. Sanders). A man of wide experience, he had traveled (34:9-12; 51:13), perhaps in the role of counselor and diplomat (39:4; cf. 38:33; 2 Macc. 4:11). He became master of a school (51:23), presumably for young male aristocrats, for his teachings address this social class with frequent admonitions ranging from advice on women (who are considered only in terms of their relationships to men) and table etiquette (31:25–32:2; 31:12-22) to the use and abuse of wealth and power.

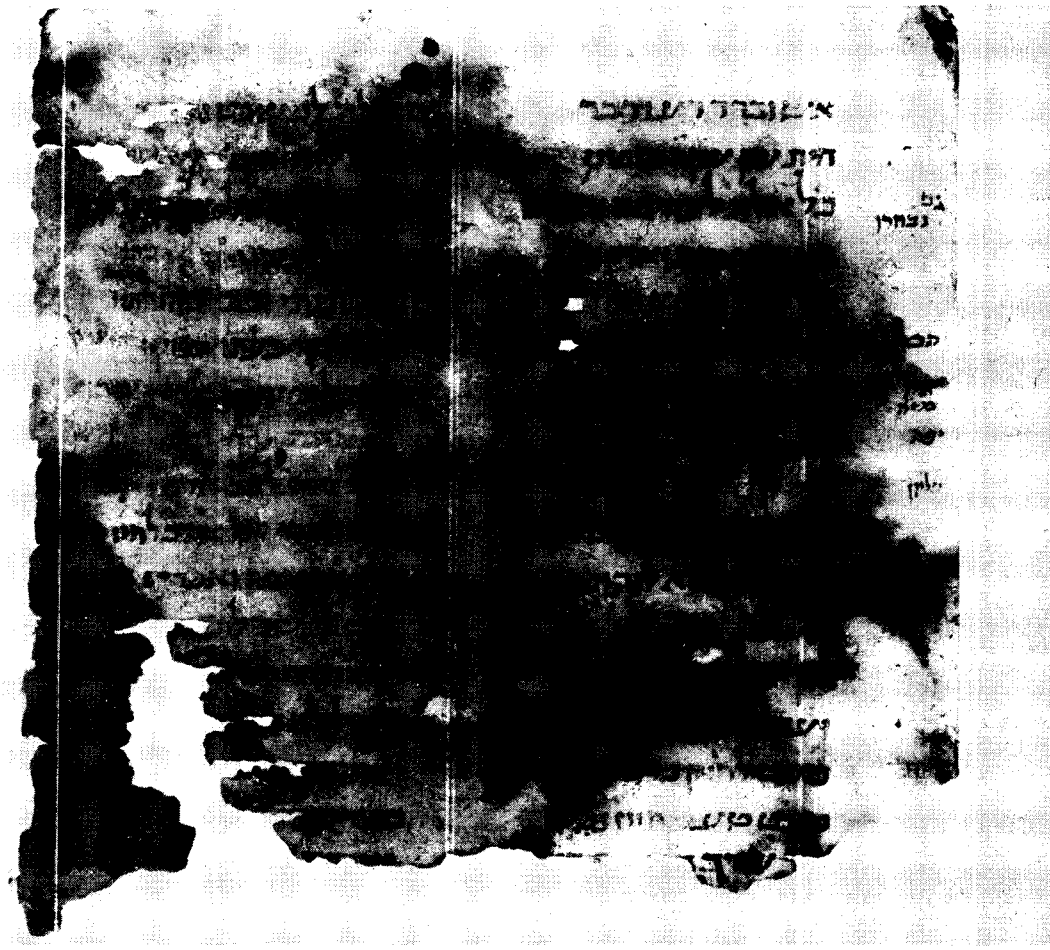
III. Text.–Until 1896, except for brief quotations in talmudic and medieval Jewish literature, knowledge of the text of Sirach was essentially dependent upon the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions. Since then about two-thirds of the work has been recovered in Hebrew. Yet scholars are far from establishing the original text of the work, for the evidence is highly complex, often incomplete, and has undergone a variety of corruptions both deliberate and accidental.

A. Hebrew. The more recent Hebrew evidence is of two sorts. First, some ancient fragments come from Qumrân and Masada. The Qumrân texts contain scraps of 1:19f.; 6:14f., 20-30 (Baillet), and a portion of the appendix, 51:13-20, 30b, found in the large Psalm Scroll 11QPs^{a} (J. A. Sanders). The Masada fragments contain sections of 39:27–44:17 (Yadin). Second, extensive sections and fragments of Hebrew Sirach were found in the Genizah (depository for worn texts) of an old Cairo Synagogue in 1896. The MSS, which date approximately to the 11th cent. A.D., number five and are designated A through E. In the late 1950's two new pages of MS B and two of MS C appeared (J. Schirmann). Also, in 1979 and 1982 A. Scheiber published newly found fragments of MS D.

While scholars had debated the authenticity of the Genizah fragments (some held that they were retranslations into Hebrew from various secondary translations), the discovery of the Masada MS confirmed their general authenticity as descendants of Ben Sira's Hebrew original. Yet the Cairo Genizah MSS show the results of various scribal corruptions, including possible occasional contamination from the Syriac or Greek. It is a strong possibility that the Genizah texts of Sirach ultimately derive from an eighth-century-A.D. discovery of Hebrew scrolls in a (Qumrân) cave near Jericho as reported in a letter by the Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, Timothy I.

B. Greek. Of the various versions of Sirach, the most important is the Greek, which exists in two forms. Greek I, preserved in the great uncials Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus, is a short text reflecting the grandson's

The first leaf of the Hebrew text of Sirach, discovered in the Cairo Genizah. MS B (shown) is Sir. 39:30–40:7 (the other side has 39:15-29). The text is generally similar to the LXX; the marginal notes are apparently variant readings (Cambridge University Library, Or. 1102)



translation. Greek II is an expanded text that seems based on an expanded Hebrew text (Hebrew II in contrast to Ben Sira's original Hebrew I).

C. Latin. Some scholars think that Greek II is actually best exemplified in the tertiary Old Latin translation, which contains only chaps. 1–43 and 51. After the gap in this text was filled by a later translator, Jerome incorporated the Old Latin into the Vulgate without making his own translation from the Hebrew that still existed in his day.

D. Syriac. The Syriac version reflects, in problematic fashion, a Hebrew base. It was contaminated by the Greek and underwent revision by Christians in the late 4th cent. A.D.

In sum, the matter of the text of Sirach is far from settled. Thus various modern translations are based on different texts. The RSV (also NEB, JB) follows Greek I with the additions from Greek II in footnotes. The NAB and *APOT* attempt to render a Hebrew text with the aid or supplementation of the versions.

IV. Background.–Sirach was written between two key moments in the history of Palestinian Judaism. In 198 B.C., after his victory over the Ptolemies, Antiochus III granted many benefits to the Jews. "Among these was the right to live 'according to their ancestral laws.' The Torah was officially recognized as the constitution of the state, and the authority to govern was delegated to the high priest in Jerusalem" (Nickelsburg, p. 71). This situation forms the immediate background of Ben Sira's book. Indeed, he was passionately concerned to defend, preserve, and glorify this status quo as God's will for His people. Sirach identifies the Torah or law of Moses with the cosmic wisdom that God bestowed upon the world (24:23; cf. 1:26; 6:37; 19:20; 39:8; etc.) and rails against those who forsake the law (41:8, cf. 10:19; 19:24). His "praise of the fathers" (chs. 44–50) culminates in a hymn celebrating the glory of the recently deceased Simon as he went about his high-priestly service in the temple.

This immediate background and Ben Sira's attitude toward it implies that the deepest cultural and historical background of Ben Sira's work is that of Judaism as defined by the Hebrew Scriptures. Indeed, Ben Sira's devotion to the Law and Prophets and his description of the ideal scribe confirm this assessment (39:1f.; cf. 24:23-34; 33:16-18; and prologue) as does the hymn in praise of the (Hebrew) fathers (chs. 44–50).

On the other hand, Ben Sira wrote just before the outbreak of conflict in the house of Simon (see I. above) and the vicious anti-Jewish policies of Antiochus IV. These policies attempted a thoroughgoing hellenization of Jewish culture. Concomitantly, they attempted to destroy what was indispensable in Jewish religion by desecrating the temple and proscribing the law and its essential acts of circumcision and sabbath — precisely those things most precious to Ben Sira.

Because Ben Sira did not mention these events, there is some scholarly controversy about where he stood with regard to the conflict between Judaism and Hellenism. Was his focus on law keeping and the temple cult merely traditional Judaism or was it an implicit polemic against hellenization and its Jewish advocates? Was his use of Hellenistic literary forms designed to combat Hellenism? These questions are made more complex because all scholars recognize a certain amount of Greek intellectual and literary influence in Ben Sira's work. The nature and extent of this influence are also a matter of debate. "Call no one happy before his death" (11:28), e.g., almost certainly derives from Solon's famous word to Croesus (Herodotus i.32). Other parallels carry varying degrees of certainty, since many of Ben Sira's thoughts reflect common ancient wisdom, or find parallels in more than one source. Indeed, in addition to Hellenic (Theognis) and Hellenistic influence, J. T. Sanders has sought to demonstrate Ben Sira's heavy dependence upon Egyptian wisdom, particularly upon the demotic wisdom book *Phibis,* best known from Papyrus Insinger. Aside from literary allusions, the difficult question of the influence of Hellenistic thought patterns in Sirach must be considered. Some of this type of influence is clearly unconscious, for it reveals an implicit tension with Ben Sira's avowed commitment to the Hebrew Scriptures. His creation theology and theodicy, e.g., are influenced by the spirit of Greek popular philosophy, which sought to rationalize the mysteries of good and evil and God's role in them. On the other hand, when Ben Sira declared of God, "He is the all" (43:27), we hear the vocabulary of Stoic pantheism, but it is placed in a context that clearly maintains the creator-creation distinction.

J. T. Sanders (p. 58) has summed up Ben Sira's relation to non-Judaic culture in this way: Ben Sira is "open to Hellenic thought *as long as it can be Judaized.* What he opposes is the *dismantling of Judaism.*" It is even likely that Ben Sira's use of Greek culture was sometimes a deliberate strategy of persuasion aimed at the cultured youth who were his pupils. If this is correct, it should yet be added that it is possible, as noted above, that Hellenic or Hellenistic thought is inadequately adapted or transformed by its attempted adoption into a biblical framework.

V. Literary Character.–Sirach belongs to the tradition of Israelite wisdom literature best exemplified by the book of Proverbs, to which it owes much. The poetry is generally made of bicola, after the pattern of Proverbs with its use of the one-line, two-parts saying. Yet in contrast to the earlier book, with its discrete sayings or small saying clusters, Ben Sira generally used sayings to create longer, clearly thematic "proverb poems" on topics like friendship, wealth and poverty, women, and business. He was also fond of numerical sayings (23:16f.; 25:1f., 7-11; etc.; cf. Prov. 30:15-31). In contrast to the "proverb poems" constructed of short sayings, Ben Sira also employed a variety of "wisdom essays" after the model of the instruction genre well-known from Prov. 1–9. Ben Sira's great poem on wisdom (ch. 24), e.g., has its antecedents in Prov. 1:20-33; 8; and Job 28. His account of the trades, however, culminating in praise of the scribe (38:24–39:11), has its roots in Egyptian wisdom (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature,* I [1973], 184-192; II [1976], 167f.). Ben Sira was the first Jewish wisdom writer to integrate covenant history into his work, especially (though not only) in his "praise of the fathers" (chs. 44–50). Yet here his form and focus on the exemplary character of the fathers show affinities with the Hellenistic genre *de viris illustribus* ("on famous men"). In a number of places, Ben Sira used the didactic autobiographical report to persuade his hearers/readers (e.g., 24:30-34; 33:16-19; 39:12-14; 51:13-30; cf. Prov. 24:30-34).

Ben Sira employs other genres that do not have a specific wisdom character. The forms and ideas of Israelite psalmody and prayer exerted a notable influence. Sir. 39:35 contains a doxological exhortation (cf. 32:13; 50:22-24), while the psalm on God as Creator (42:15–43:33) contains echoes of Gen. 1 and Ps. 29, 104, 107, 147, etc., masterfully shaped into a poem that is Ben Sira's personal creation and no mere anthology of quotations. Sir. 51:1-12 takes the form of an individual psalm of thanksgiving. Sir. 36:1-17 (though this may be a later addition) forms a communal lament that prays for Israel's deliverance and the

destruction of its enemies. The literary forms that Ben Sira employed are sometimes mixed. Sir. 17:25-32, e.g., combines prophetic admonition to turn from sin (17:25f.; cf. Am. 5:6, 14f.; Jer. 3:12) with the psalmic reflection that the dead do not praise God (Sir. 17:27f.; cf. Ps. 6:5; 115:17; Isa. 38:18).

There is no consensus on the larger literary arrangement of the book and its numerous subunits with their profusion of individual topics. As noted, the subunits themselves generally have a thematic coherence. And subunits are often connected by use of repeated keywords or common opening formulas. Yet some structural pillars help organize the book and its concerns. Scholars often divide the book (not counting the grandson's prologue and the epilogue in ch. 51) into two sections, chs. 1–23 and 24–50. Each of these passages is introduced by a poem on wisdom that sets forth the major theme of the book. Chs. 1–2 state that wisdom, cosmic in scope, comes from the Lord, who gives it to those who love Him. Thus wisdom is inseparable from the fear of the Lord and is to be pursued devoutly. The various topics treated in chs. 3–23 may then be seen as practical elaborations of God-fearing wisdom in the conduct of life. In ch. 24 cosmic wisdom appears again, now in a passage strongly reminiscent of Prov. 8. But here wisdom is identified with the Torah given through Moses to Israel as its unique possession and heritage (24:23). While this poem, like chs. 1–2, is followed by a variety of wise advice, it nonetheless anounces important concerns developed, and images employed, in the longer poems that are characteristic of the second half of Sirach. Note the connections between ch. 24 and the poem on the scribe (39:1 and 24:23; 39:14f. and 24:14f.; cf. 24:30f. and 24:25-29) and that on creation (42:15–43:33). Mack (p. 164) found that the structure of the wisdom poem in 24:3-17 is paradigmatic for the "praise of the fathers" in chs. 44–50. Significantly, the images used to describe the high priest Simon in the glory of his temple service derive from the poem on wisdom in ch. 24 and the hymn on creation in 42:15–43:33 (cf. 50:5-10, 12).

Thus the two great poems on wisdom (chs. 1–2, 24) and the series of long hymns of praise that conclude the book (42:15–43:33 [God as Creator]; 44–49 [praise of the fathers]; 50 [praise of the high priest Simon] are the literary pillars that provide the religious-cultural foundation for the mass of wisdom reflection in Ben Sira's book. W. Roth proposed that in addition to ch. 1–2 and 24, other shorter poems on wisdom (4:11-19; 6:18-37; 14:20–15:10; 32:14–33:15; 38:24–39:11) also have a subsidiary structuring function in Sirach. This suggestion holds promise but needs refinement as its stands, since 32:14–33:15 does not seem a wisdom poem strictly speaking, even though it is followed by a brief autobiographical poem, a feature that Roth found after each wisdom poem in the second half of the book.

VI. Content and Purpose.–Ben Sira's book contains a twofold agenda that determines its content. First, Ben Sira set out to compose a wisdom book for the instruction of all, but especially of the (male) aristocracy, who would be godly and wise in the conduct of their own lives as well as prudent in socio-cultural matters. In this he saw himself as an heir of the great Israelite wisdom tradition embodied in Proverbs (33:16-18). Here traditional theocentric wisdom in its cosmic and practical dimensions is developed and addressed to Ben Sira's time.

Second, and no less important, Ben Sira was concerned to combat threats to biblical religion and its institutions, both external (Hellenistic culture inasmuch as it is antithetical to Judaism) and internal (the potential politico-religious struggles among the heirs of the high priest Simon). Ben Sira pursued this goal by explicitly combining traditional wisdom with the historic, covenant faith of Israel based upon the Law and Prophets. He was the first Jewish writer so to combine wisdom and covenant history. His survey of history in his "praise of the fathers" (chs. 44–50) serves to equate true wisdom with faithfulness to the law (cf. 24:23) and Israel's religious institutions, especially the hereditary priesthood and temple. Thus key themes in the "praise of the fathers" are covenant (both as promise and demand for faithful obedience), election (esp. of leaders to exclusive [45:13, 18f.] hereditary office or property [44:10-13; 45:13, 15, 21, 24f.; 46:1, 9; 47:22; 50:23f. (Hebrew)]), law (44:20; 45:3b, 5, 17; 46:14; 49:4), and temple and priesthood (Aaron, Phineas, Samuel, Jeshua [49:12], Simon). Ben Sira's history also contains a cautionary look at enemies, outsiders, and rebels (45:2, 13; 46:1, 5, 7, 16-18, 20; 47:21; 48:17f.; 50:4). His selective history thus has the intensely practical purpose of admonishing the cultural and political leaders of his day to fear the Lord, keep the law, and support the legitimate high priest amid the difficulties and temptations of existence in a minor Hellenistic client state.

As a teacher of wisdom in the general sense, Ben Sira covered a welter of topics; his goal was to present a comprehensive vision of how life is to be lived and understood: "He wishes to show how the wise man judges the things of this world, and how he conducts himself in practical life. His book contains therefore an inexhaustible number of rules for behaviour in joy and sorrow, good fortune and adversity, wealth and poverty, in sickness and health, trial and temptation; in the society of fellow citizens; in intercourse with friend and foe, high and low, poor and rich, good and evil, intelligent and foolish; in trade and commerce, business and profession; above all also in one's own house and family — how children should be raised, servants treated, and how one should behave towards one's wife, and women in general" (*HJP*^{2}, III/1, 199).

Yet the details of life are presented under a comprehensive framework of key concepts. The first is Wisdom herself: a cosmic reality poured out by God upon His created world for the benefit of humankind (1:9f.). Like the sages who preceded him, Ben Sira was a theologian of creation. Wisdom is the agency in creation that gives order and meaning to life in all its details. Wisdom is "a beneficent, ordering power within creation to which man, in his world, is exposed, which woos him and leads him to knowledge" (von Rad, p. 242). While Wisdom is earnestly to be sought by human beings (51:13-30), she herself is active toward humanity: "She comes toward him, welcomes him, feeds him, exalts him (15:2-7). Sometimes she disguises herself before him, tests and terrifies him until she is able to trust him and reveal her secrets to him (4:11-18)" (von Rad, p. 242).

As cosmic reality, wisdom is prior to Torah. The famous identification of wisdom and the law of Moses must be seen in this light (24:23). Torah is the primeval order of creation expressed in new, covenant dress. For all his insistence on the keeping of the law, Ben Sira never spelled out the content of the law. This he took as a given that did not need elaboration. The content of his teaching is rather that of a traditional wisdom teacher.

A second key concept, connected with both wisdom and law, is the "fear of the Lord." Wisdom and law-keeping cannot be abstracted from a vital engagement with the God who is the source of wisdom, law, and life itself. The "fear of the Lord" is the proper human response to God and His orders for life.

Ben Sira's concern with the creation theology of wis-

dom was combined with a concern for a stable, biblical social order where leaders and their offices are respected. Thus the concept of glory or honor (the same word in Hebrew) is central to his thought. As the creation is full of God's glory (42:16, 17, 25) and the celestial beings have their proper glory (43:1, 9), each human being has a glory or position in life that is appropriate to him or her (e.g., 10:24; 44:7; 48:4; esp. 50:5-7). To live in accordance with this position and its norms is glory, but to transgress one's limits brings shame (3:17-24). Thus children should "glorify" or honor their parents (3:1-16) lest they be disgraced (3:10). Similarly the glory and offices of the "fathers" and especially of the high priest Simon are to be respected and defended against all threats.

Finally, Ben Sira sought to divide reality into opposites: good and evil, life and death, honor and shame. "Good is the opposite of evil, and life the opposite of death; so the sinner is the opposite of the godly. Look upon all the works of the Most High; they likewise are in pairs, one the opposite of the other" (33:14f.; cf. 15:17; 17:7; 18:8; 37:18). Not only has the Creator placed opposites in the world, each for its "need" or purpose — an idea that is the keystone of Ben Sira's theodicy (42:22-25) — but things themselves are ambiguously dual. This duality is central to the wisdom he wishes to teach. "Not everything is good for every one, and not every person enjoys everything" (37:28). Friends can be true or false (6:5-17); wives can be wonderful (26:1-4) or wicked (25:16-26). The physician is a gift of God or a punishment (38:12-15). Shame can be negative or positive (4:20); and even death has its place (41:1-4). God Himself brings both wrath and mercy (5:6) and the human race is worthy of honor or dishonor, depending upon whether it fears the Lord (10:19).

See also WISDOM.

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R. C. VAN LEEUWEN

SIRAH sī'rə, **CISTERN OF** [Heb. *bôr hassîrâ*–'pit/cistern of Sîrah']; AV WELL OF SIRAH; NEB POOL OF SIRAH. The site from which Joab deceitfully recalled his rival Abner to Hebron in order to assassinate him in vengeance for the slaying of Asahel (2 S. 3:26; cf. v. 27; 2:18-23). Josephus (*Ant.* vii.1.5 [34]) calls the place Gk. *Bēsēra* and locates it 20 stades (about 3.7 km., 2.3 mi.) from Hebron.

G. H. WILSON

SIRION sir'ē-ən [Heb. *śiryôn*]; AV also SION (Dt. 4:48), FIELD (Jer. 18:14); NEB also SLOPES. The Sidonian (Phoenician) name for Mt. Hermon (Dt. 3:9), the southernmost major peak of the Anti-Lebanon Range. It has been suggested that Sirion was actually the name for the whole range, based on its usage in parallel to "Lebanon" in Ps. 29:6. "Sirion" and "Lebanon" are also found in parallel in a Ugaritic religious text (*UT* 51:6:18-21). Interestingly, "Senir" (said to be the Amorite name for Mt. Hermon in Dt. 3:9; but cf. 1 Ch. 5:23) also appears in parallel to "Lebanon" in Ezk. 27:5. Perhaps "Sirion" is best understood in Ps. 29:6 as an instance of *pars pro toto*, i.e., a designation of the whole (the Anti-Lebanon Range) by reference to one of its parts.

In two texts the RSV reads "Sirion" where MT does not. In Dt. 4:48 the RSV and NEB follow the Syriac rather than Heb. *śî'ôn* (LXX *Sēōn*), assuming that the MT here is corrupt. The Syriac reading was preferred because *śî'ôn* appears nowhere else in the OT and because the text explains the name as a designation for Mt. Hermon (cf. 3:9). The possibility remains, however, that the Syriac reading may have been an intentioned correction of a difficult text, and the explanatory note is a later gloss. In Jer. 18:14 the RSV emends Heb. *śāḏay* to *śiryôn* because of difficulties in the Hebrew syntax and because the word is used, as in Ps. 29:6, in conjunction with "Lebanon" (see comms.).

See also HERMON, MOUNT.

A. J. COUCH

SISAMAI sis'ə-mī (1 Ch. 2:40, AV). *See* SISMAI.

SISERA sis'ər-ə [Heb. *sîsᵉrā'*; Gk. *Sisara*, Apoc. *Serar* (1 Esd. 5:32)]; AV Apoc. ASERER; NEB Apoc. SERAR.

1. The Canaanite military commander whose chariot troops were defeated by Deborah and Barak and who was himself murdered by a Kenite woman named Jael. In the book of Judges Sisera is one of several foreign oppressors into whose hand Yahweh first delivered the Israelites because of their sin and from whose hand He later rescued them by summoning a "judge" or "deliverer" (*šōpēṭ môšî[a]'*) (cf. 2:11-23). Sisera's story is related in both a prose version (ch. 4) and a possibly earlier poetic version (5:24-30; see Freedman, pp. 56f., 61-63). Allusions to this event are found in Samuel's farewell speech (1 S. 12:9) and in Ps. 83:9f. (MT 10f.).

Although Jgs. 4:2 states that Sisera was the commander of Jabin king of Canaan, Jabin seems to have played no active role in this episode (cf. vv. 7, 17; he is not mentioned at all in the poem); the names are paired, however, in the other biblical references. Some scholars have contended that Jabin's title "king of Canaan" is problematic, since the highly balkanized Canaanite city-states had no single political head (see Gottwald, pp. 503f.; Soggin, pp. 62f.), the designation "king of Hazor" (cf. Josh. 11:1) may be more accurate. The name Sisera has no Semitic etymology, and scholars are divided over whether it is Indo-European, Illyrian, or Luvian (see Soggin, p. 63, esp. notes 2f.). The association with chariots and the general time period (see Dietrich, p. 22) suggest a derivation from one of the groups of Sea-Peoples (see Boling, p. 94).

The prose account states that Barak, Deborah's general, was initially to have had the honor of subduing Sisera (at Yahweh's behest), but because of his hesitation Deborah announced that a woman would get the credit instead (Jgs. 4:4-10). Although it first appears that the reference is to Deborah herself, later it becomes clear that another woman is meant, namely, Jael, the woman to whose tent Sisera fled when forced to abandon his defeated army (vv. 17-22). Sisera probably counted on refuge because of the prior relationship between Jabin and the house of Heber the Kenite (Jael's husband, v. 17, unless *ḥbr* refers to the group rather than the person; cf. Soggin, pp. 65f., although some have argued that the sacrosanct custom of hospitality lay behind his trust [Soggin, p. 77]). In any case the Kenites had divided loyalties, for they were also distantly related to none other than Moses (v. 11); in fact, these "smiths" seem to have had rather ancient ties with early Israel (see Gottwald, pp. 320f.).

This relationship is the only reason that the text gives for Jael's behavior.

First Jael took steps to convince Sisera that he would be safe with her: she invited him in, told him not to be afraid, covered him up (to hide or comfort him?), gave him a drink of milk (to assure him of good intentions [he had asked only for water] or to sedate him?), and stood watch at the door; then she brutally murdered him (Jgs. 4:18-21). When Barak finally caught up with Sisera, Jael had already fulfilled Deborah's prophecy (cf. vv. 9, 16, 22).

The poetic version makes no mention of Sisera's sleeping and seems to picture Jael killing him while he is drinking the milk (5:25-27). It also describes Sisera's mother, whose anxiety about her son's delayed return is calmed by the suggestion that his tardiness is due to the gathering of spoils (vv. 28-30).

Some scholars have suggested that Jael lured Sisera by a subtle offer of sex (see Zakovitch). This idea is based on several *double entendres* in the Hebrew, e.g., *sûrâ 'ēlay* ("turn aside to me," 4:18), *watt'kassēhû* ("and she covered him," v. 18), *bên raglêhā kāra' nāpal šāḵāḇ* ("he sank, he fell, he lay still at [between] her feet," 5:27), and at least surface similarities with similar "type-scene" pericopes (e.g., Esther-Haman, Judith-Holofernes, Samson-Delilah; cf. Prov. 7:6-27). While such an interpretation is possible, there is no way to be certain about it — although interestingly, the rabbinic tradition does find sexual innuendoes in the text (see Zakovitch, p. 367).

2. The "sons of Sisera" are listed among the temple servants who returned from exile (Ezr. 9:53; Neh. 7:55; 1 Esd. 5:32). Since the NETHINIM were apparently foreigners who had originally been taken as prisoners of war, it is possible — but not certain — that these "sons of Sisera" were descendants of the man defeated by Deborah and Barak (see 1 above).

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F. A. SPINA

SISINNES si-sin'ēz [Gk. *Sisinnēs*] (1 Esd. 6:3, 7, 27; 7:1). The governor of Syria ("Coelesyria," 1 Esd. 6:29; 7:1) and Phoenicia, who questioned King Darius concerning Zerubbabel's rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple (6:2). Sisinnes assisted the Jews in rebuilding the temple (7:1f.) after he learned that Cyrus's decree had sanctioned the project (6:7-26).

SISMAI sis'mī [Heb. *sismay*] (1 Ch. 2:40); AV, NEB, SISAMAI. A Judahite who descended from the daughter of Sheshan and Sheshan's Egyptian slave Jarha (1 Ch. 2:34). An inscription indicates *ssm* as the name of a Phoenician deity (*IP*, p. 252).

SISTER [Heb. *'āḥôṯ* (Gen. 4:22; 20:12; 24:60; Cant. 4:9f.; 8:8; Jer. 3:7; etc.), *dôḏâ*–'father's sister' (Ex. 6:20); Gk. *adelphḗ*]; AV also BELOVED (Philem. 2); NEB also HALF-SISTER (2 S. 13:2), BROTHER (Jer. 22:18), FELLOW CHRISTIAN (Rom. 16:1), CHRISTIAN WIFE (1 Cor. 7:15). The RSV supplies "sister" contextually in Lev. 18:18. Philem. 2 has a textual problem (some MSS read Gk. *agapētḗ*, "beloved"; cf. AV).

In the OT Heb. *'aḥôṯ*, like the corresponding masculine term *'āḥ*, "brother," can refer to various relatives. Primarily it means a person's true sister (e.g., Gen. 4:22; Ex. 15:20; Nu. 26:59) or half-sister (e.g., Gen. 20:12; Lev. 18:9), but it can also refer to a female relative (kinswoman) of an extended family (e.g., Gen. 24:60; Job 42:11) or to a member of the same nation (e.g., Num. 25:18). It may also mean simply an intimate friend (Job 17:14; Prov. 7:4). The writer of Canticles uses *'aḥôṯ* as a term of endearment, referring to his bride or lover as his "sister" (Cant. 4:9f., 12; 5:1f.) In a figurative sense *'āḥôṯ* can denote a close relationship between nations or cities, e.g., Israel and Judah (Jer. 3:7f., 10), Jerusalem and Samaria (Ezk. 16:46; 23:4), and Jerusalem and Sodom (16:48f., 55f.).

Hebrew law forbade sexual relations with a sister or half-sister (Lev. 18:9, 11). It also prohibited a man from marrying his wife's sister while his wife was still alive, since this would create rivalry between the two sisters (v. 18). In patriarchal times, however, these restrictions were apparently not always observed. Jacob married two sisters, Leah and Rachel (note the rivalry between them, Gen. 29:16–30:24). Sarah the wife of Abraham is said to have been his half-sister (20:12). Some scholars have argued that the wife-sister theme found in Gen. 12:10-20; 20:1-18; and 26:1-11 reflects a Hurrian custom in which upper-class husbands adopted their wives as sisters to form the strongest possible marriage bond (see E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1964], pp. 91-94).

In the RSV NT "sister" often means a literal blood sister (e.g., Mt. 19:29; Lk. 10:39f.; 14:26; Jn. 11:1, 3, etc.; Acts 23:16). Jesus' physical family included sisters as well as brothers (Mt. 13:56; Mk. 3:32 var.; 6:3; *see also* BROTHERS OF THE LORD). But like Gk. *adelphós* ("brother"), *adelphē* is often used in a spiritual sense to denote a "fellow Christian," a woman who shares with oneself a common faith. Jesus Himself states that His true sisters are all those who do the will of God (Mt. 12:50; Mk. 3:35). Paul refers both to Phoebe and to Apphia as "our sister" (Rom. 16:1; Philem. 2). Sometimes "sisters" denotes Christian women in general as part of the family of the Church (1 Tim. 5:2; Jas. 2:15). An entire congregation may also be referred to collectively as the "sister" of another congregation (2 Jn. 13).

As is common in the documentary papyri from Egypt (MM, p. 8), *adelphē* in the NT can also mean "wife." This is probably the term's preferred sense in 1 Cor. 7:15, where Paul says that a Christian "husband" (*adelphós*) or "wife" (*adelphē*) is not bound to a non-Christian partner that has deserted him or her. The connotation in 9:5 is similar, where Paul argues for the right of a missionary to be accompanied by a Christian spouse (RSV "wife"; lit. "a sister as a wife"; cf. AV); here "sister" means a "Christian woman" who is also a *gynḗ*, "wife."

See also RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY; BROTHER; BROTHERS OF THE LORD.

Bibliography.—MM; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἀδελφός κτλ. (H. F. von Soden); *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "'ach; 'achôth" (H. Ringgren); *TWOT*, I, 188f.

K. E. CORLEY

SISTER'S SON (Col. 4:10, AV). *See* COUSIN.

SIT. *See* SEAT.

SITH. The AV translation of the emphatic Hebrew asseveration *'im-lō'* (similarly LXX *ei mḗn*) in Ezk. 35:6 (RSV "because"; NEB "most surely"), which simply means "certainly" (cf. GKC § 149b).

SITHRI sith'rī [Heb. *siṯrî*] (Ex. 6:22); AV ZITHRI. Son of Uzziel and cousin of Moses in the list of Levi's descendants (cf. *IP*, pp. 38, 158).

SITNAH sit'nə [Heb. *śiṭnâ*;–'enmity'; LXX *Echthria*] (Gen. 26:21). A well dug by the herdsmen of Isaac in the valley of Gerar. It was the second of three water sources used by Isaac's entourage after they had given up their residence at Gerar itself (vv. 16f.). The herdsmen of Gerar claimed the first well, which Isaac named Esek (Heb. *'ēśeq*, "contention"). So Isaac moved farther from Gerar and had the second well dug, but there was conflict over this one too, so he named it Sitnah ("enmity"). He called the third well Rehoboth ("broad places") because here there was no conflict with the Gerarite herdsmen: "For now the Lord has made room for us" (v. 22). The final move was to the site of Beer-sheba (v. 23).

If Gerar can be placed at Tell Abū Hureirah (Tel Haror) in the western Negeb, then the succession of wells ought to be between there and Beer-sheba, along the course of Nahal Gerar (Wâdī Sherî'ah) and its tributary, Nahal Paṭish (Wâdī el-Fuṭeis). The Byzantine city whose ruins comprise Khirbet er-Ruḥeibeh, between Beer-sheba and Nişşanah, may have been named Rehoboth by its founders in the belief that they were building their town on the site of Isaac's well. No ancient Roman-Byzantine or later source seems to preserve the name of this town, but there is some support for the suggestion that it was thought to be the Rehoboth of Isaac. First, nearby Elousa (Heb. and Aram. *ḥ^{a}lûṣâ;* Arab. *Khalaṣah*) is equated with Gerar in the Arabic version of Gen. 10:19; 20:1 (Khalûṣ). Second, the Tg. of Jonathan (Jerusalem) reads *ḥ^{a}lûṣâ* for Shur in 16:7; Ex. 15:22 and for Bered in Gen. 16:14.

Against this background, E. H. Palmer's suggested identification of Sitnah with a small valley called Shuṭnet er-Ruḥeibah can be taken as possible proof for the Byzantine tradition. But this site is hard to reconcile with the location of the Saltus Gerariticus on the Madeba Map.

Bibliography.–E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus* (1872), pp. 326f.; *GP*, II, 434; A. F. Rainey, "The Early Historical Geography of the Negeb," in *Beer-sheba II* (1982). A. F. RAINEY

SIVAN sī'van [Heb. *sîwān*] (Est. 8:9; Bar. 1:8). A loanword from Akk. *simānu* (or *siwānu*) for the third month (May/June) in the Babylonian calendrical system. *See* CALENDAR II.A.2.

SIXTH HOUR. *See* NOON.

SIXTY [Heb. *šiššîm*; Gk. *hexḗkonta*]. *See* NUMBER.

SKIFFS OF REED [Heb. *'^{o}nîyōṯ 'ēḇeh*–'boats of reed'] (Job 9:26); AV SWIFT SHIPS; NEB REED-BUILT SKIFFS. Job compares the brevity of his life to swiftly moving reed boats, varieties of which were found in both Mesopotamia and Egypt (cf. Isa 18:2).

SKILFUL; SKILFULLY; SKILL; SKILLED [(nouns and adjectives) Heb. *ḥāḵām*–'skilful' (1 Ch. 22:15; 2 Ch. 2:7, 13 [MT 6, 12]; Isa. 3:3; Jer. 4:22; 9:17; etc.), *ḥēšeḇ*–'girdle, band' ("skilfully woven band," Ex. 28:8, 27f.; 29:5; 39:5, 20f.; Lev. 8:7), *t^{e}ḇûnâ*–'understanding, skill' (Ps. 78:72; Hos. 13:2), *maḥ^{a}šeḇeṯ* (Ex. 35:33, 35), *kišrôn*–'skill, success' (Eccl. 2:21; 4:4), *da'aṯ*–'technical knowledge, ability' (1 K. 7:14), *ḥoḵmâ*–'skill (in technical works)' (1 Ch. 28:21), *ḥārāš*–'artisan' (Ezk. 21:31 [MT 36]), *'āṯîḏ*–'ready' (Job 3:8), *śeḵel* (2 Ch. 30:22), *taḥbulôṯ*–'steering, skilful direction' (Prov. 1:5), *'ārbâ* (Isa. 25:11), *māhîr*–'quick, prompt' (Ezr. 7:6; Prov. 22:29); Gk. *sophós*–'clever, skilful, experienced' (1 Cor. 3:10)]; AV also CUNNING, CURIOUS GIRDLE, WISE COUNSEL, EQUITY, WISE, etc. NEB also UNDERSTANDING, CLEVER, etc; [(verbs) Heb. *ḥāšaḇ* (Ex. 26:1, 31; 28:6, 15; 36:8, 35; 39:3, 8; 2 Ch. 26:15), *yāḏa'* (Gen. 25:27; 1 S. 16:16, 18; Eccl. 9:11; Am. 5:16), hiphil of *śāḵal*–'have insight' (Dnl. 1:4, 17), hiphil of *bîn*–'be judicious, intelligent' (1 Ch. 25:7; 2 Ch. 34:12), hiphil of *yāṭaḇ*–'do well' (Ps. 33:3)]; Av also CUNNING, MEN OF SKILL, etc.; NEB also UNDERSTANDING, "at home" (Dnl. 1:4), etc. In Jer. 46:9 the context suggests the RSV "skilled." In Jer. 50:9 the MT should probably read *maśkîl* (hiphil part. of *śāḵal*, "prosper, have success") rather than *maškîl*.

The Hebrew and Greek words which lie behind "skill" and its related terms refer to crafts or professions requiring discipline, training, and practice. This is even true of the words generally rendered "wise" and "wisdom" (Heb. *ḥāḵām, ḥoḵmâ*; Gk. *sophós*). In the ancient Near East the wisdom tradition was at home in the royal courts of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel. In that context wisdom meant statecraft — the combination of insight (*śāḵal*), discretion (*bîn, t^{e}ḇûnâ*), and prudence that best served the political interest of the nation. Other crafts such as weaving (Ex. 26:1, etc.), wielding weapons of war (Jer. 46:9), or playing a musical instrument (Ps. 33:3), were in principle no different from the skills of politics and diplomacy. AV "cunning" has acquired even more negative connotations than "crafty," but the original English sense was clearly not pejorative.

For the Greeks, too, wisdom was primarily political, and the primary means to political influence was public speaking — the craft of rhetoric. The "sophist" tradition, though strongly criticised by Plato, was still lively in the Roman empire, and is certainly the background for Paul's questions in 1 Cor. 1:20. But the practice of any skilled trade could be called "wisdom" in Greece and Rome as in the Semitic world (cf. AV "wise" in 1 Cor. 3:10; RSV "skilled").

See also WISDOM.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bîn" (Ringgren); IV, *s.v.* "chākham" (Müller, Krause); V, *s.v.* "ḫāšaḇ" (Seybold); *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σοφία κτλ. (Wilckens, Fohrer). G. CHAMBERLAIN

SKIN. The outer surface or protective covering of the flesh of humans, animals, and plants. The usual OT term translated "skin" is Heb. *'ôr* (e.g., Gen. 3:21; Ex. 22:27; 34:29f., 35; Lev. 4:11; 13:2-59; Job 2:4; 19:20; 41:7; Jer. 13:23); other OT terms include *geleḏ* (Job 16:15; NEB "body"), *hēmeṯ* (Gen. 21:14f., 19; AV "bottle"), *nō'ḏ* (Jgs. 4:19; 1 S. 16:20; AV "bottle"), and *nēḇel* (1 S. 1:24; 10:3; 25:18; 2 S. 16:1; AV "bottle"; NEB also "flagon"). The NT terms are Gk. *mēlōtḗ* (AV "sheepskin") and *dérma* in He. 11:37, and *askós* in Mt. 9:17 par.

I. Human Skin.–In the OT skin is recognized as the natural covering of the human body (Job 10:11; Ezk. 37:6, 8). Several characteristics of human skin are also mentioned; e.g., Jacob's skin is "smooth" while Esau's is "hairy" (Gen. 27:11); David (1 S. 16:12; 17:42) and the "beloved" of Cant. 5:10 have beautiful, "ruddy" complexions; the "bride" of Cant. 1:5 is "very dark, but comely." The inability of the Ethiopian to change his black skin or the leopard to change his spotted skin provides for Jeremiah an illustration of Judah's inability, after centuries of doing evil, to change and do good (Jer. 13:23). Moses' unique experience with God on Mt. Sinai was apparent to the people because the skin of his face was shining or aglow (Ex. 34:29f., 35).

Certain skin diseases posed a very serious threat to the peoples of the ancient Near East. Among the Israelites, therefore, certain skin conditions such as swelling, eruptions, or spots required an examination by a priest (the chief medical officer) in order to determine the nature of the disease (Lev. 13:2; *see also* LEPER). "If the hair in the

diseased spot . . . turned white" and appeared to be deeper than the skin, it was considered "a leprous disease" (Lev. 13:3), and the person was banished from the camp to prevent the spread of the disease (vv. 45f.). But if the spot appeared to be "no deeper than the skin and the hair in it "had not turned white" (v. 4), a less radical procedure was outlined, involving a period of quarantine (vv. 4-8). Job suffered from other sorts of skin ailments (Job 2:7f.; 7:5; cf. 18:13; 19:26). The expression "my bones cleave to my skin" indicates a severe emaciation (Job 19:20; also Lam. 4:8; cf. 3:4), while "my skin turns black" may describe an extreme feverish condition (Job 30:30; cf. Lam. 5:10). *See also* DISEASE III.I.

The term "skin" also appears in other idioms. The precise meaning of "skin for skin" (Job 2:4) is uncertain; perhaps it was terminology used by those engaged in trading (see comms.). The phrase "by the skin of my teeth" (Job 19:20) has become a modern expression for a narrow escape; the phrase in the MT is difficult, and various emendations have been proposed (see comms.). Micah used imagery involving the skin to depict the atrocities that the aristocratic class of his day committed against the poor; to "tear the skin" (Mic. 3:2) describes the activity of wild beasts, while "flaying" skin (v. 3) is the work of the butcher.

II. Animal Skins.–The Bible contains numerous references to animal skins or hides, reflecting the important role that such skins played in daily life and in sacrificial rituals. Because domesticated animals were an important part of Israel's economy, animal skins were a plentiful natural resource and were cured or tanned and used in a variety of ways.

The processed hides of small animals (esp. goats) were used as containers for the storage and transportation of certain liquids, especially wine (Josh. 9:4, 13; 1 S. 1:24; 10:3; 16:20; 25:18; 2 S. 16:1; Neh. 5:18; Job 32:19; Mt. 9:17 par.), water (Gen. 21:14f., 19; Job 38:37), and milk (Jgs. 4:19). These articles were extensively used in daily life. Wineskins, e.g., were used for carrying wine offerings (1 S. 1:24; 10:3), for travel (Josh. 9:4-6), for soldiers' rations (1 S. 16:20; 25:18; 2 S. 16:1; cf. Neh. 5:18), and for the storing of new wine (Job 32:19). Because wineskins eventually lost their elasticity, it was extremely important to replace them so that they would not burst when the new wine was fermenting (Mt. 9:17 par. Mk. 2:22; Lk. 5:37f.).

Although references are limited, cured or tanned animal skins were sometimes used for garments (Gen. 3:21; Nu. 31:20; He. 11:37; cf. Mt. 7:15). Larger garments made of skin probably included coats, robes and tunics; smaller articles included leather waistcloths or girdles and sandals (2 K. 1:8; Mt. 3:4; Mk. 1:6; *see also* GARMENTS I; LEATHER). GOATSKINS and rams' skins were also used in the construction of the tabernacle and its articles (Ex. 25:5; etc.). *See also* SHEEPSKIN; TANNED.

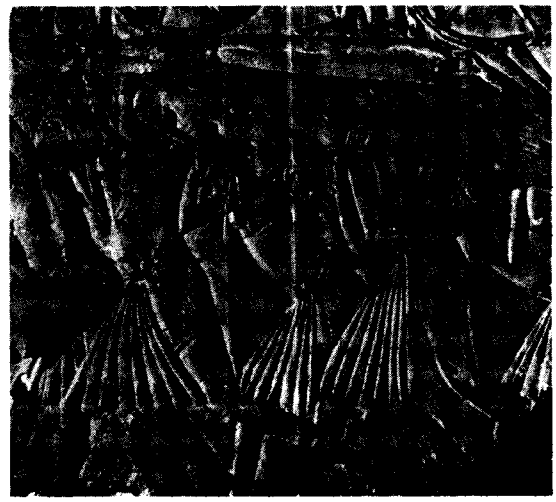
Skins from the animals offered as sacrifices were to be disposed of in different ways. In certain offerings, e.g., the sin offering for the priests (Ex. 29:14; Lev. 4:11; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27) and the purification rituals (Nu. 19:5), the skin was burned; in some instances, however, the hide was given to the priest (Lev. 7:8).

III. Plant Skin.–The only biblical reference to a plant's skin seems to be in Nu. 6:4, which prohibits the Nazirite from eating even "the skins" of the grape during "the days of his separation." L. DEVRIES

SKIRT [Heb. *kānāp*]; AV also ENDS (Job 38:13); NEB also EDGE, PIECE, FOLD, FRINGE, etc.; [*šûl*]; AV also HEM.

Hebrew *kānāp* (lit. "wing," "extremity") refers to the lower, loose part of a robe. Saul grasped the "skirt" of Samuel's robe in a gesture of supplication (1 S. 15:27). To cover with one's "skirt" was apparently a symbolic action indicating an intention to marry (Ruth 3:9; Ezk. 16:8).

In Ex. 28:33f.; 39:24-26 the "skirts" (*šûlîm*) of the priest's robe made up the lower edge or hem, which was ornamented with pomegranates and golden bells. Elsewhere the term appears to refer generally to the lower parts of the robe; to "lift up" a woman's "skirt" is to humiliate by exposing the private parts (cf. "and your shame will be seen," Jer. 13:26; also 13:22; Lam. 1:9; Nah. 3:5). S. WESTERHOLM



An Egyptian "skirt," wrapped and tied in front, depicted in a relief from the tomb of Haremhab at Saqqārah (*ca.* 14th cent. B.C.) (Museo Civico, Bologna)

SKULL [Heb. *gulgōleṯ*; Gk. *kranion*]. The Hebrew word, which is more commonly known in its Aramaic/Greek form "Golgotha," expresses the basically globular shape of the human cranium, being derived from a root meaning "to roll." It is usually translated "head" (e.g., Nu. 1:2, 18, 20, 22), but has the meaning "skull" in Jgs. 9:53; 2 K. 9:35. In the NT the word is found only in connection with GOLGOTHA, "the place of a skull" (Mt. 27:33; Mk. 15:22; Jn. 19:17) or "The Skull" (Lk. 23:33).

SKY. In the RSV OT "skies" usually translates Heb. *šᵉḥāqîm* (pl. of *šaḥaq*; but cf. sing. in Ps. 89:6, 37 [MT 7, 38], AV "heaven"]), which derives from the verb *šāḥaq* ("beat fine, pulverize") and originally denotes a layer of "fine dust" (cf. Isa. 40:15) or "clouds" (cf. Job 35:5; 38:37; Ps. 36:5 [MT 6]; etc.; *see* CLOUD). In some passages *šᵉḥāqîm* clearly refers to "skies" rather than "clouds." Job 37:18, e.g., refers to God's spreading out (Heb. *rāqaʿ*, lit. "beat out") the *šᵉḥāqîm* "hard as a molten mirror"; this poetic imagery reflects the idea of a hard, metallic FIRMAMENT that forms a vault over the earth and supports the waters above it. In other passages, however, it is not as clear that "skies" is a better translation than "clouds" (cf. Job 36:28; 37:21; 38:37; Ps. 68:34 [MT 35]; 77:17 [MT 18]; Prov. 8:28; Isa. 45:8).

In four passages the RSV uses "sky" or "skies" to translate Heb. *šāmayim*, a term usually rendered "heaven(s)" (cf. its use in parallel with *šᵉḥāqîm* in Dt. 33:26; Ps. 78:23; Jer. 51:9; etc.). In Isa. 34:4 *šāmayim* denotes the firmament; in Neh. 1:9; Ps. 85:11 (MT 12); and Prov. 30:19 it refers to the atmosphere.

In the RSV NT "sky" almost always represents Gk. *ouranós* (the LXX equivalent of Heb. *šāmayim*), which like *šāmayim* is usually translated "heaven(s)." The translators may have chosen "sky" in some of these passages because of the reference to the weather (Mt. 16:2f.; Lk. 12:56; 17:24); but it is not clear why this translation was preferred in several passages in Revelation that depict dramatic cosmic disturbances that will occur in the last days (Rev. 6:13f. [cf. Isa. 34:4]; 11:6; 20:11).

In Acts 19:35 the RSV uses the phrase "sacred stone that fell from the sky" to render Gk. *diopetés* (lit. "fallen from heaven"). *See* SACRED STONE.

See also HEAVEN.

Bibliography.–BDB, pp. 1006f.; *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* οὐρανός (von Rad). N. J. O.

SLANDER; SLANDERER [Heb. *rāgal*–'use the feet,' 'go about for spying or gossip'] (Ps. 15:3; piel, 2 S. 19:27); AV also BACKBITE; NEB HAVE MALICE, STORIES; [*rāḵîl*] (Lev. 19:16; Jer. 6:28; 9:4 [MT 3]; Ezk. 22:9); AV also TALEBEARER, TALES; NEB also MISCHIEF-MAKER, INFORMER; [*lāšan*–'use the tongue (for slander)'] (piel, Ps. 101:5; hiphil, Prov. 30:10); AV also ACCUSE; NEB SPREAD TALES, DISPARAGE; ['*îš lāšôn*–'man of the tongue'] (Ps. 140:11 [MT 12]); AV EVIL SPEAKER; [*dibbâ*–'calumny'] (Prov. 10:18); NEB CALUMNY; [*qāra'*–'tear up'] (Ps. 35:15); AV TEAR; NEB JEER; [*nāṯan dᵉpî*–'give fault'] (Ps. 50:20); NEB STAB IN THE BACK; ['*āḵal* '*eṯ-bāśār*–'eat the flesh'] (Ps. 27:2); AV EAT THE FLESH; NEB DEVOUR; [Gk. *blasphēmía*–'abusive speech'] (Mt. 15:19; Mk. 7:22; Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8; 1 Tim. 6:4; Rev. 2:9); AV BLASPHEMY, EVIL SPEAKING, RAILING; NEB also CURSING; [*dysphēméō*–'speak ill of'] (1 Cor. 4:13); AV DEFAME; [*katalalía*–'evil report,' 'defamation'] (2 Cor. 12:20; 1 Pet. 2:1); NEB BACKBITING, RECRIMINATION; [*katálalos*] (Rom. 1:30); AV BACKBITER; NEB SCANDAL-MONGER; [*(ho) diábolos*–'slanderer,' 'devil'] (1 Tim. 3:11; 2 Tim. 3:3; Tit. 2:3); AV also FALSE ACCUSER; NEB WHO . . . TALK SCANDAL, SCANDAL-MONGER; **SLANDEROUSLY** [Gk. *blasphēméō*–'defame,' 'blaspheme'] (Rom. 3:8); NEB LIBELLOUSLY. The utterance of lies that damage another's reputation; one who utters such malicious accusations.

Both the OT and the NT contain frequent condemnations of the sin of slander. The Mosaic law forbade the Israelite to "go up and down as a slanderer among your people" (Lev. 19:16). The Decalogue specifically condemned bearing "false witness" (Ex. 20:16), i.e., carrying slander into a court of law. Slandering a servant to his master was an especially malicious act (Prov. 30:10). Because of its destructive consequences, slander was viewed as a crime worthy of severe punishment (cf. Ps. 101:5; 140:11 [MT 12]). Paul included slanderers in his catalogs of evil-doers (Rom. 1:30; 2 Tim. 3:3; cf. 2 Cor. 12:20; Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8; 1 Tim. 6:4). In Rom. 3:8 Paul complains that "Some people slanderously charge[d]" him with encouraging immorality by his doctrine of justification.

It is significant that the great accuser and slanderer of God and His people is SATAN himself (cf. Gen. 3:4f.; Job 1:9-11; 2:4f.; Zec. 3:1). The LXX used Gk. *diábolos* to render Heb. *śāṭān* ("Satan," "accuser," "adversary"), and the NT frequently uses *diábolos* in the sense of "devil" (see RSV Mt. 4:1-11 par.; 13:39; 25:41; Lk. 8:12; Jn. 6:70; 13:2; Acts 10:38; 13:10; etc.; cf. 1 Tim. 3:6f. [mg. "slanderer"]). Satan's role as liar and slanderer is emphasized especially in the Johannine literature. The devil "has nothing to do with the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies" (Jn. 8:44). It is he who instigates the ultimate slander, for "who is the liar but he who denies that Jesus is the Christ?" (1 Jn. 2:22). Rev. 12 describes a war in heaven in which Michael and his angels defeat "that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil [*Diábolos*] and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world" (v. 9). Salvation is complete when "the accuser of our brethen has been thrown down, who accuses them day and night before our God" (v. 10).

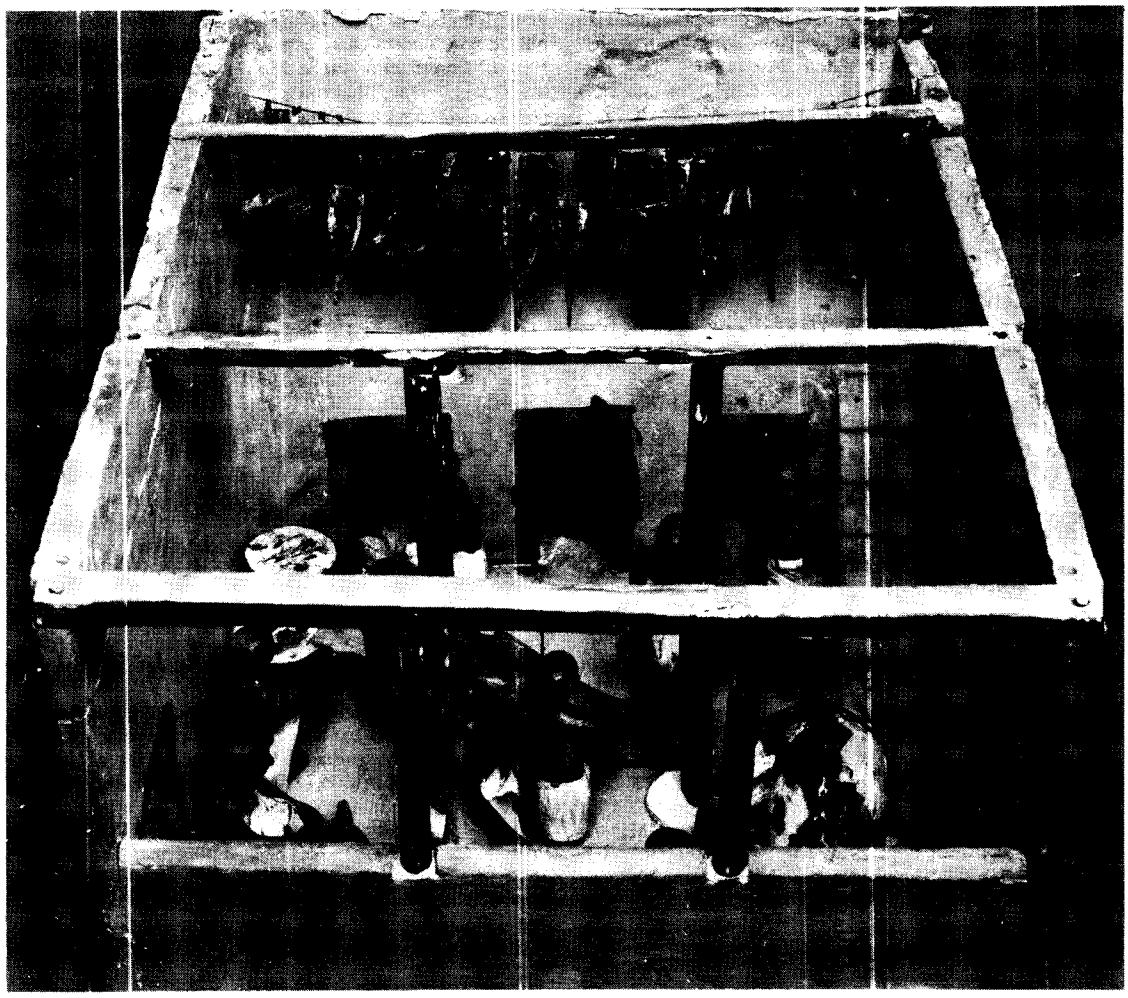
See also GOSSIP; REVILE.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "dibbāh" (Fabry); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* διαβάλλω, διάβολος (von Rad, Foerster); IV, *s.v.* (λαλέω), καταλαλέω κτλ. (Kittel). C. D. LINTON N. J. O.

SLAUGHTER [(vbs.) Heb. *ṭāḇaḥ* (Gen. 43:16; Prov. 9:2; Isa. 34:2; etc.), *šāḥaṭ* (Ex. 29:16; Nu. 11:22; Isa. 66:3; etc.), hiphil of *nāḵâ* (1 S. 17:57; 2 S. 1:1; 2 K. 3:24; 2 Ch. 25:14), *zāḇaḥ* (Dt. 12:15; Ezk. 34:3), *hārag* (Josh. 8:24; 1 K. 11:24; Hos. 9:13), piel of *rāṭaš* (Isa. 13:18)]; AV also SLAY, KILL, SMITE, etc.; NEB also DEFEAT, DESTROY, KILL, etc.; [(nouns) *makkâ* (Josh. 10:10, 20; Jgs. 11:33; 1 S. 4:10; 1 K. 20:21; etc.), *ṭeḇaḥ* (Prov. 7:22; Isa. 34:6; Jer. 48:15; etc.), *ṭiḇḥâ* (Ps. 44:22 [MT 23]; Jer. 12:3), *maṭbē(a)ḥ* (Isa. 14:21), *hereg* (Est. 9:5; Prov. 24:11; Ezk. 26:15; Isa. 30:25), *hᵃrēgâ* (Jer. 7:32; 12:3; 19:6; Zec. 11:4), *maggēḏâ* (1 S. 4:17; 2 S. 17:9; 18:7), *mappāṣ* (Ezk. 9:2), *ḥālāl* (Ezk. 21:14 [MT 19]), *qeṭel* (Ob. 9), *ma'ᵃḵāl* (Ps. 44:11 [MT 12]); Gk. *sphagḗ* (Acts 8:32; Rom. 8:36; Jas. 5:5), *kopḗ* (He. 7:1)]; AV also SLAIN, "meat"; NEB also DEATH, DEFEAT, DISASTER, etc.

I. In the OT.–Hebrew *ṭāḇaḥ*, "slaughter, butcher," a rare verb that refers to (non-cultic) slaughter or butchering of animals for cooking and eating, is translated "slaughter" by the RSV in five of its eleven occurrences in the OT. Joseph's command in Gen. 43:16 is to "slaughter an animal" for a dinner in honor of his brother Benjamin. In Prov. 9:2 Wisdom slaughters beasts for her banquet. Isa. 34:2, Jer. 25:34, and Lam. 2:21 use this verb figuratively for the defeat of the nations, the fall of Judah's shepherds, and the fall of Jerusalem. Similarly, it appears in Ezekiel's sword prophecy (Ezk. 21:10 [MT 15]) as a figure of severe judgment. The RSV renders the cognate noun *ṭeḇaḥ* as "slaughter" in nine instances: literally of an ox (Prov. 7:22), and figuratively of such things as the defeat of Edom (Isa. 34:6), Moab (Jer. 48:15), and Babylon (Jer. 50:27), the dire fate of the Suffering Servant (Isa. 53:7), and in several "sword prophecies" (Isa. 65:12; Ezk. 21:15, 28 [MT 20, 33]). The RSV renders the cognate noun *ṭiḇḥâ* twice as "slaughter," in each case in the familiar figure of sheep going to slaughter: a simile of judgment on the wicked in Jer. 12:3, and a simile for the distress of the faithful in Ps. 44:22 (MT 23). The hapax legomenon *maṭbē(a)ḥ* (lit. "slaughtering place") is translated "slaughter" in Isa. 14:21, representing the doom of Babylon under the figure of butchered animals.

Hebrew *šāḥaṭ* almost always refers to the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. The RSV usually translates it as "kill" or "slay/slew" but in only eight instances as "slaughter," though the sacrificial connotation is always clear. In Ex. 29:16 the Levites were to "slaughter" the first ram to be offered up as burnt offering in the installation rite for the Aaronid priesthood. In Nu. 19:3 the "slaughter" of an unblemished red heifer is an integral part of the ritual for purification from contact with a corpse; in 11:22 the same verb has general reference to the difficult task of butchering enough animals to provide food for the wandering host in the wilderness. In Ezk. 40:39, 41f. this verb is used for the sacrificial offerings envisioned in the restored temple. Ezk. 16:21 and 23:39 refer to child sacrifice carried out by Samaria and Jerusalem



An Egyptian model of a butcher shop, ca. 2000 B.C., showing animals being slaughtered (Thebes, tomb of Meket-Rē) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

under the figures of the adulterous woman and the two faithless sisters.

The hiphil of Heb. *nāḵâ*, the chief OT term for "smite, strike," and its cognate noun *makkâ*, "blow, wound" are rendered "slaughter" a total of seventeen times by the RSV, always in the context of battle. Thus the RSV translates the hiphil of *nāḵâ* as "slaughter" with reference to such events as David's defeat of Goliath (1 S. 17:57) and of the Amalekites (2 S. 1:1), and Israel's crushing of the short-lived Moabite revolt (2 K. 3:24). *Makkâ* is frequently coupled with *gᵉḏôlâ (mᵉʾōḏ)* to characterize a particular battle as "a (very) great slaughter" (e.g., Gibeon [Josh. 10:10, 20]; Aphek [1 S. 4:10]; Beth-shemesh [6:19]; Michmash [14:14, 30]). It also occurs together with its cognate verb *nāḵâ*, which the RSV renders variously: "made a great slaughter" (1 S. 19:8), "slaying with a very great slaughter" (Josh. 10:20), "killed with a great slaughter" (1 K. 20:21).

Hebrew *zāḇaḥ* is translated "slaughter" only twice by the RSV, although it is the usual Hebrew term for sacrificial slaughter of food animals and occurs over one hundred times in the Hebrew Bible. In Dt. 12:15 *zāḇaḥ* refers to killing for food in a context that distinguishes between sacrifice and killing for food. Part of Ezekiel's condemnation of the false shepherds in Ezk. 34:3 is that they "slaughter the fatlings" instead of feed the sheep.

Hebrew *hārag*, the common verb for "kill," is translated "slaughter" only three times by the RSV. In two instances it refers to horrendous defeats in battle (Josh. 8:24; 1 K. 11:24; cf. Hos. 9:13). In Est. 9:5 the cognate noun *hereg* is translated "slaughter" with reference to the destruction of the anti-Jewish elements under Mordecai. *Hereg* is also used for the destruction of Tyre in Ezekiel's oracle against that city (Ezk. 26 15), and is used to characterize the Day of the Lord as a "great slaughter" (Isa. 30:25). Prov. 24:11 urges the rescue of someone who is "stumbling to the slaughter." *Hᵃrēgâ*, another cognate, occurs in Jer. 12:3 in the figure the prophet applies to the wicked, i.e., sheep "set . . . apart for the day of slaughter" (*hᵃrēgâ* parallels *ṭiḇḥâ* in 12:3a, both rendered "slaughter" by the RSV and AV). In Jer. 7:32 and 19:6, in biting allusions to child sacrifice, the prophet renamed Topheth, also known as the "valley of the son of Hinnom," to "the valley of Slaughter." In an oracle against Judah Zec. 11:4 refers to "the flock doomed to slaughter," (*hᵃrēgâ*) and 11:7 refers to "the flock doomed to be slain" (*hᵃrēgâ*; cf. 11:5 where the cognate verb *hārag* is rendered "slay").

Although the RSV never translates the verb *nāgap* as

"slaughter," its cognate substantive *maggēpâ*, "blow, defeat," is translated thus in three occurrences referring to battle (1 S. 4:17; 2 S. 17:9; 18:7). In one instance the piel of Heb. *rāṭaš*, "dash into pieces," is rendered "slaughter" by the RSV, in Isaiah's prophecy of the coming of the merciless Medes whose bows will "slaughter" the young men (Isa. 13:18). The hapax legomenon *mappāṣ*, "shattering," cognate to the verb *nāpaṣ*, "shatter," occurs in Ezk. 9:2 in the phrase *kᵉlî mappāṣ*, "weapon for slaughter." Similarly, the hapax legomenon *qeṭel*, cognate to the verb *qāṭal*, "kill," occurs in Ob. 9 where the RSV has "slaughter" in reference to fattening the flock for slaughter. Also the RSV translates the noun *maʾᵃḵāl* (lit. "food") as "slaughter" in the sense of butchered meat in the phrase "like sheep for slaughter" (Ps. 44:11 [MT 12]). *Ḥālāl*, usually rendered "slain," occurs in the phrase *ḥereḇ ḥālāl haggāḏôl*, which the RSV translates "sword for the great slaughter" (Ezk. 21:14 [MT 19]).

II. In the NT.–The term "slaughter" is uncommon in the RSV NT. The RSV translates the Greek noun *sphagḗ* as "slaughter," twice in the expression, "like sheep . . . to slaughter" (Acts 8:32; Rom. 8:36), and once in the judgment day figure, "day of slaughter" (Jas. 5:5). This noun is cognate to the verb *spházō*, which occurs some eighty-four times in the LXX, usually as the equivalent for the Hebrew verbs *ṭāḇaḥ* and *šāḥaṭ*. Like its cognate verb, the noun *sphagḗ* may be used in both a cultic and a non-cultic sense, almost always with reference to animals, but it is sometimes applied in metaphor or by extension to human beings.

The Greek noun *kopḗ*, "cutting down, slaughter," appears in He. 7:1 in reference to the meeting between Melchizedek and Abraham as the latter was returning from the "slaughter" of the kings (cf. Gen. 14:17; Jth. 15:7).

See also KILL; SLAY; SMITE.

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σφάζω, σφαγή (Michel); *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "hāragh" (Fuhs); IV, *s.v.* "zābhach" (Bergman, Ringgren, Lang); IV, *s.v.* "chālal II" (Dommershausen); V, *s.v.* "ṭāḇaḥ" (Hamp); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr. 1961), I, 247-267; II, 415-456. D. G. BURKE

SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS. *See* INNOCENTS, MASSACRE OF THE.

SLAUGHTER, VALLEY OF [Heb. *gê' hahᵃrēgâ*] (Jer. 7:32; 19:6). A name given to the Valley of Hinnom because of Israel's involvement in the cult of Topheth or Molech, which included human sacrifice. *See* HINNOM, VALLEY OF I.

SLAVERY. Voluntary or involuntary servitude to an individual, the state, or temple that entails reduction of legal and social status to the level of property. In Israelite law, whether the bondage was for a specified period of time or in perpetuity depended upon nationality, the form of servitude, and gender.

I. OT
A. Sources
B. Legal Status
C. Social Status
D. Manumission
E. Economic Functions
II. NT
A. Sources
B. Legal Status
C. Social Status
D. Manumission
E. Economic Functions
F. Metaphorical Applications

I. OT.–A. Sources. One might lose one's freedom in society in a number of different ways. When household slaves gave birth, their children began life with the status of slave. That those "born in the house" are indeed slaves is made plain in Gen. 17:23, where they are put together with those "bought with money" over against Ishmael, the son (see also Lev. 22:11). When used metaphorically of Israel, this is obviously a demeaning appellation (Jer. 2:14).

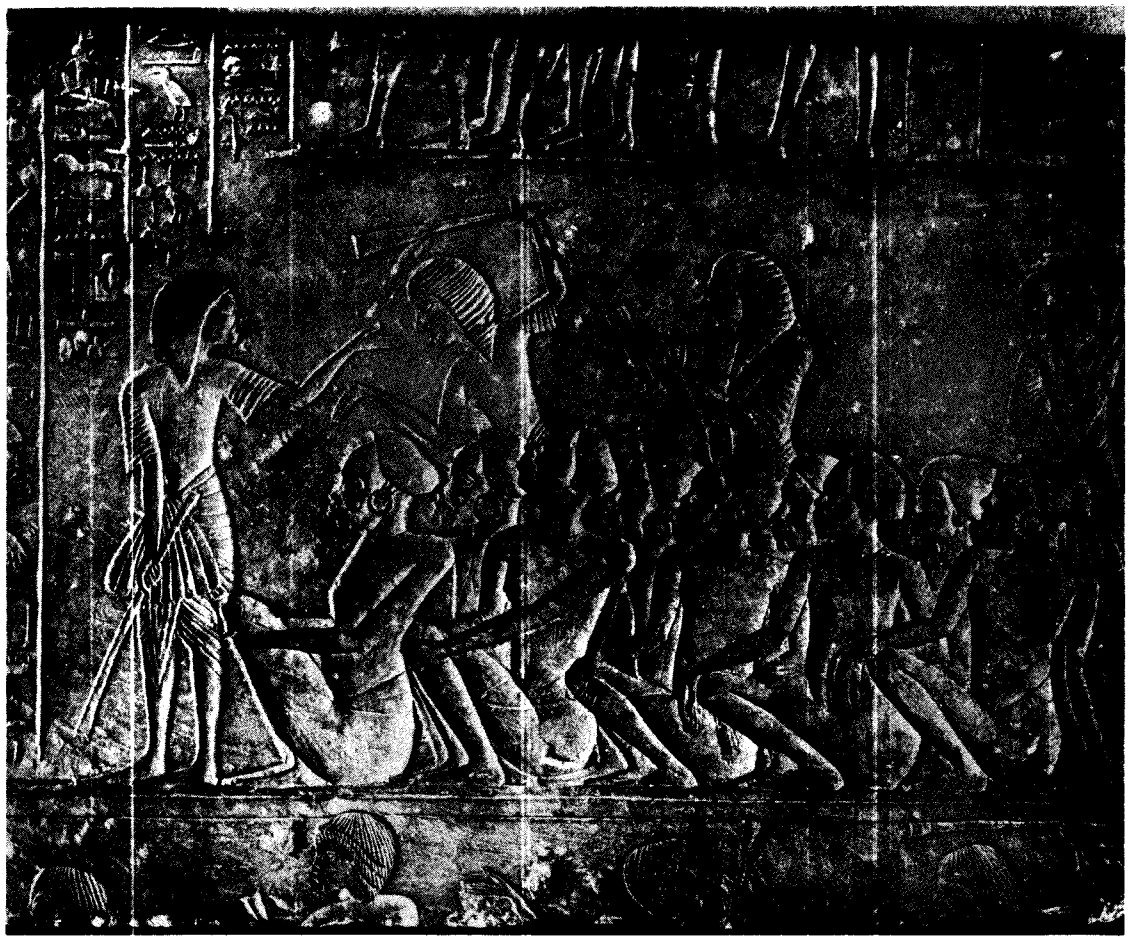
Slaves might also be purchased; in the ancient Near East slave merchants operated freely (Ezk. 27:13). Joseph was sold by his brothers to professional traders (Gen. 37:28), who then sold him in Egypt (37:36). Individuals might buy slaves for household tasks (e.g., Joseph, Gen. 39:4), and choose females for concubines (Gen. 30:1-13). The Covenant Code (Ex. 20:20–23:33) and Deuteronomic Codes (Dt. 12–26) allowed limited-duration sales of "Hebrews" (Ex. 21:2ff.; Dt. 15:12). The Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26), in its typically utopian vision, excluded their purchase as technically defined slaves; it allowed only the purchase of sojourners and foreigners (Lev. 25:44f.). (The present scholarly consensus is that "Hebrew" was originally a social rather than an ethnic or national identification; see Lemche, *VT*, 25; Gottwald, pp. 419ff.) Judeans did sell other Judeans in the postexilic period (Neh. 5:8).

The failure to repay a debt resulted in a man or his family being held in bondage by his creditor (Ex. 21:7; Dt. 15:12; Isa. 50:1); this is equivalent to "self-sale" (Lev. 25:39-55). Repeated bad harvests, heavy taxation (Neh. 5:3ff.), or the loss of the family's provider (2 K. 4:1) could lead to this type of debt-slavery. In the last case cited, the widow of one of the "sons of the prophets" appealed to Elisha for help; her children were about to be held over for the family debts. The Holiness Code allowed this relationship until the Jubilee Year (a maximum of 49 years; Lev. 25:39f.); but based upon the rationale that Israelites were Yahweh's slaves,they were to be treated as hired workers rather than as slaves (25:42f., 46b). The Covenant and Deuteronomic Codes limited debt-slavery to six years (Ex. 21:2; Dt. 15:12). The Code of Hammurabi (*ca.* 1725 B.C.) also provided for debt-servitude, but limited it to three years (§117; *ANET*, pp. 170f.).

The single criminal offense for which enslavement is specified as the punishment in the OT is housebreaking (Ex. 22:3 [MT 2]; note RSV rearrangement), so important was the security of the home. By contrast, the Code of Hammurabi called for the death penalty in such cases (§22; *ANET*, pp. 166f.). Hammurabi also stipulated enslavement and the selling of goods for the one who had reckless disregard for tending his dikes so that others were put in jeopardy (§§53f.; *ANET*, p. 168). The Hittite laws (*ca.* 1450 B.C.) included the case of a woman who eloped with a man who did not pay the bride price: she was enslaved for three years (§35; *ANET*, p. 190).

Kidnapping for slavery was deemed an offense worthy of death, because it threatened the very integrity of the community (Ex. 21:16; Dt. 24:7). Moreover, the enslavement of free Israelites was taken as an affront to Yahweh's honor, since He had freed them from Egyptian bondage (Lev. 25:35-42, 55; Dt. 15:15). Alt ("Verbot") argued that this was the original crime addressed by the eighth commandment (Ex. 20:15).

Prisoners of war provided slaves for state and temple throughout the ancient Near East (1 S. 17:9; 1 Macc. 3:41; 2 Macc. 8:10f.). Mesha king of of Moab bragged that he carried out his building projects with the aid of Israelite captives (*ANET*, p. 320), and Joel threatened the Phoenicians because they sold Judeans to the Greeks (3:6ff. [MT 4:6ff.]). The enslavement of war captives also took place between Israel and Judah (2 Ch. 28:8ff.). In the premonar-



An Egyptian relief depicting slaves and Egyptian overseers. From the tomb of Haremhab, ca. 14th cent. B.C. (Museo Civico, Bologna)

chic era, captives were also taken for personal use, especially as concubines (Nu. 31:18; Jgs. 5:30).

The enlistment of forced labor to carry out the building and agricultural programs of the state was common in the ancient Near East. Villagers, resident aliens, and the disenfranchised were the primary target groups for this sort of conscription. The Hebrews were subjected to forced labor by the Egyptians (Ex. 1:11), the tribe of Issachar by indigenous Canaanites (Gen. 49:15), and the Judeans by the Babylonians (Lam. 1:1). And "when Israel grew strong" it subjected the Canaanites to the same servitude (Jgs. 1:28). This type of servitude is well known from Babylon (*ARM*, II, 67:5; 88:9f.), Alalakh (*ANET*, p. 531), Ugarit (*Palais royale d'Ugarit*, 15.144:15ff.; 16.269:14ff.), and the Canaanite cities of Megiddo (*ANET*, p. 485) and Taanach (Taanach Letters, no. 2).

Similarly, David and Solomon organized forced labor in Israel. The texts disagree about whether these levies were drawn only from the indigenous Canaanite population (1 K. 9:20ff.) or from the free Israelites as well (5:13 [MT 27]; 11:28). The Hebrew terms for this type of corvée labor, *mas* and *sēḇel*, are cognates of the Akkadian terms *ma-as-sa* and *sa-ab-la-am*. In Israel the two were separately administered, but the distinction between them is not entirely clear (see I. Mendelsohn, *BASOR*, 167 [Oct. 1962], 31-35; Rainey, pp. 192-97). Under David and Solomon, Adoram was the administrator of the *mas* (1 K. 4:6; 5:28), and Jeroboam was over the *sēḇel* (11:28). What is clear is that the northern tribes revolted, following Solomon's death, in no small part due to the burden of forced labor (12:1ff.); moreover, they took that opportunity to stone Adoram to death. This form of servitude was of a limted nature; 1 K. 5:14 (MT 28) indicates three groups of workers on a three-month cycle. In Ugaritic texts corvée service ranged from two to sixty days per year to the crown (e.g., *UT*, 109).

B. Legal Status. Slavery necessarily calls for a different status before the law since it entails the ownership of one human being by another. No uniformity of treatment existed between the different cultures of the ancient Near East when one compares the OT laws to other law codes of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. (Ur-Nammu, Eshnunna, Lipit-Ishtar, Hammurabi; Hittite, Middle Assyrian). But the basic issues of rights, monetary value, length of service, runaways, and gender distinctions are commonly addressed. The matter is further complicated by the variations among the OT law codes: Covenant Code, Holiness Code, and Deuteronomic Code. For general discussions of the Israelite laws, see Alt, "Origins"; Noth; Boecker; and Patrick. Sometimes OT law and practice distinguished between "Hebrews" and foreigners, and between male and female slaves.

As in contemporary cultures, slaves in Israel had the legal status of property. They had a market value (Ex. 21:32), could be bought and sold (Lev. 25:44f.) — indeed, they were considered the master's "money" (Ex. 21:21) — and passed on as inheritance (Lev. 25:46). They could also be physically beaten short of death (Ex. 21:20f.). The Covenant Code differentiated between the penalty for an ox-goring death of a free citizen and that of a slave: a slave's death called for a monetary settlement rather than the death penalty (Ex. 21:28ff.). Ancient Near Eastern laws often distinguished between free citizens and slaves when stipulating criminal and civil sanctions. For example, if a Hittite slave set a house on fire, the slave's owner had to make compensation, and the slave's ears and nose were cut off (§99; *ANET,* p. 193). The Code of Hammurabi stipulated the loss of an ear for striking a freeman, rather than the monetary compensation a freeman would have to make for the same offense (§205; *ANET,* p. 175).

Slaves were afforded a degree of legal protection in Israel. The Covenant Code stipulated three basic measures: beating a slave to death would necessitate an unspecified punishment (Ex. 21:20); if a master permanently injured a slave, release of the slave was required (21:26f.); and masters were required to provide the sabbath rest for their slaves (23:12). The Deuteronomic Code added that a female captive of war taken as a wife could not be sold (Dt. 21:14).

Besides these general regulations, the law afforded Hebrew slaves further protections. They could be held for only six years (Ex. 21:2ff.; Dt. 15:12; but see Lev. 25:39f.). The Deuteronomic Code further stipulated that the master would have to provide the freedman with animals, grain, and wine (Dt. 15:13f.). They were not returnable to foreign owners if they succeeded in running away (23:15f.); this is certainly a major legal concession, given their status as property, and unusual in the ancient world — anyone helping a slave run away was given the death penalty in Babylonia (Code of Hammurabi, §15; *ANET,* pp. 166f.).

The basic difference in treatment between male and female slaves regards release. The Covenant Code stipulated that a girl sold by her father would not be released after six years, as her male counterpart would (Ex. 21:7ff.). Rather, the master had additional legal and conjugal obligations to her (presumably due to the legal and social implications of her virginity). The Deuteronomic Code, however, requires that both male and female slaves be released after six years (Dt. 15:17).

Sumerian law (Code of Lipit-Ishtar; *ca.* 1850 B.C.) stipulated that if a freeman had children from both a free wife and a slave, the children of the latter could not inherit (§25; *ANET,* p. 160). The Code of Hammurabi required that all the children have a share if the father ever declared his children by a slave "my children," i.e., if he had changed their social status (§170; *ANET,* p. 173). A related (but not identical) case is presupposed in the story of Abraham and his heritage. Before having any children, Abraham feared that his property would fall to his slave, Eliezer of Damascus (Gen. 15:3f.), which may or may not imply an adoption transaction. Sarah insisted on Abraham driving Hagar from their home lest a dispute emerge over the priority of Isaac over Ishmael (Gen. 21:10; see also Prov. 17:2).

The average price of a slave inflated over the centuries: in the 3rd millennium B.C. prices were ten-twenty shekels per slave (Akkad and Ur III); in the late 3rd to mid-2nd millennium twenty (Babylon and Mari) to thirty (Nuzi); in the 2nd millennium, twenty-forty (Ugarit); in early to mid-1st millennium fifty-sixty (Assyria and Neo-Babylon); and in the late 1st millennium, ninety-one hundred-twenty (Mendelsohn, *Slavery,* pp. 117-155). The OT prices correspond favorably with these, given their approximate dates: Joseph fetched twenty silver shekels (Gen. 37:28), the Covenant Code stipulated a value of thirty (Ex. 21:32), and the 8th-century Israelites ransomed themselves for fifty (2 K. 15:20). Tangentially related is Lev. 27:2ff., which covers the monetary value of individuals (for special religious vows and not the purchase of slaves) and assigns different values based upon gender, age, and ability to pay.

C. Social Status. The status of a slave within Israelite society, as well as other ancient societies, was one of dependence and subservience. The slave was neither free to come and go at will nor accorded the dignity of a free citizen. When Yahweh asks whether Israel is one "born of the house," it is made clear that to be such would demean its status (Jer. 2:14). One example of this different status was the physical symbol of piercing the slave's ear to identify one who was a slave in perpetuity (Ex. 21:6; Dt. 15:17). In Mesopotamian cultures institutional slaves were branded, tattooed, or forced to wear an insignia (Code of Hammurabi, §§146, 226f., *ANET,* pp. 172, 176; de Vaux, p. 84; Dandamaev, pp. 229ff., 549f.). In the 5th cent. B.C. the Jewish slave manumitted at Elephantine is described as having the name of her master inscribed (tattooed?) on her right hand (Aramaic papyrus no. 5; *ANET,* p. 548).

Three other cases exemplify the diminishment of status in the realm of kinship relations. The first is the case of an Israelite man taking a female captive of war as a wife (Dt. 21:10ff.). Neither the woman nor her family had any say about the marriage; thus the slave-master relationship took precedence over kinship rights. Furthermore, the man could divorce her without just cause; this is identified in the text as "humiliating" her. The second is the way in which the slave-master relationship took precedence over the husband-wife relationship: when a master provided a slave with a wife, that slave forfeited his wife and children if he chose freedom at the end of his tenure (Ex. 21:4). Both examples accord with what has already been said about the legal status of the slave as property. Third, the slave-mistress relationship took precedence over the mother-child relationship. Sarah wanted to claim children born to her slave Hagar (Gen. 16:2), and both Rachel and Leah gained sons through their slaves Bilhah and Zilpah (35:23ff.). When Dan was born to Bilhah, Rachel said: "God has judged me, and has also heard my voice and given *me* a son" (30:6).

The temple servants were also assigned a separate housing area in postexilic Jerusalem (Neh. 3:31; 11:21)). They are traditionally last in lists: among the returnees from Babylon (7:46-60), they are listed before only those who could not prove their lineage, and after the priests and Levites, who were free citizens (Ezr. 2:70).

Household slaves, however, were accorded a certain degree of status in the Israelite family in connection with religious integration. The males were circumcised (Gen. 17:12f.). They were included at religious meals, while foreigners and hired servants were excluded (Ex. 12:44; Dt. 12:12ff.; 16:11ff.). And priests' slaves could eat dedicated offerings (Lev. 22:11).

That debt-slavery posed a serious threat to the fabric of Israelite society is seen in a number of texts. In the 11th cent. B.C. the band that gathered about David was composed of the oppressed and those fleeing from creditors (1 S. 22:2). Having lost their means of livelihood and facing slavery, they chose to join forces with a renegade military leader fleeing from the king.

In the 9th cent. B.C. the widow of one of the "sons of the prophets" was in jeopardy: her husband had died leav-

ing debts (2 K. 4:1ff.). The result was that her two children were going to be taken as slaves by the creditor. Only a miracle by Elisha delivered her; one might surmise that most were not so fortunate. The laws calling for mercy on widows and orphans addressed such cases (e.g., Ex. 22:22ff.; Dt. 24:17f.). Ancient Near Eastern societies presupposed that it was the monarch's duty to protect these two social groups, which were particularly vulnerable. The prologue of the Sumerian Laws of Ur-Nammu (*ca.* 2050 B.C.) from the Ur III Dynasty contended: "The orphan was not delivered up to the rich man; the widow was not delivered up to the mighty man; the man of one shekel was not delivered up to the man of one mina" (*ANET,* p. 524; see also Hammurabi's epilogue, *ANET,* p. 178; cf. Dt. 10:18; Isa. 10:2; Jer. 7:6; etc.).

Amos 2:6f. and 8:4ff. point to widespread abuse of debt-bondage in the 8th cent. B.C., whereby the wealthy could exploit the poor; the latter are identified by Amos as the "righteous" (i.e., innocent). This is precisely the abuse that all three major OT law codes sought to avert (Ex. 22:25ff.; Lev. 25:34ff.; Dt. 15:7ff.; see also Prov. 14:31). The prophets were acutely aware that the legal system was open to manipulation by the wealthy. Amos parallels such exploitation to father and son sharing the same concubine sexually (2:7b), an abuse of the woman's sexuality since as a slave she was subservient to their power.

In postexilic Judah (5th cent. B.C.) debt-slavery posed a serious threat to the reestablishment of the Jewish community (Neh. 5). Nehemiah accused the nobles and officials of taking advantage of the newly returned Babylonian exiles by charging interest and causing many to sell their lands, themselves, and their families into debt-slavery (5:3ff.). He required the wealthy and powerful to take a public oath that the practice would cease (5:12f.). This situation was the result of a natural disaster compounded by sociopolitical pressure, a famine (5:3), and the royal tax (5:4f.). The threat was that the Judeans would be released from one form of servitude only to be plunged into another.

The metaphor of the animal yoke is employed for all forms of enforced service: household slaves (Gen. 27:40), Egyptian bondage (Lev. 26:13), national levy (1 K. 12:4), and Babylonian exile labor (Isa. 47:6). In this context this symbolizes the degrading and humiliating status of servitude with an image of the subhuman under the compulsion of its owner.

That debt-slavery was a recurring problem in Israel and Judah is a reminder of several aspects of their social histories. First, the villagers were dependent upon the regularity of the crops for their livelihood; two or more years of drought or famine could plunge a family into debt-slavery to elites who were able to take advantage of the situation. Second, especially during and after the Solomonic era, the economic gap between the urban elite on the one hand and the urban non-elite and villagers on the other could be considerable. Lastly, whether autonomously ruled or under the vassalage of an empire, all non-elites found the burden of royal taxes difficult to bear.

D. Manumission. While forced labor was for limited periods, personal servitude might be limited or perpetual (Heb. *le'ôlām*). One might emerge from slave status by a number of means. One avenue to freedom was redemption, buying an individual out of slavery. This was accomplished by a member of the clan acting as "redeemer" (Heb. *gō'ēl;* Ex. 21:8; Lev. 25:48f.). This provision presupposed a strong clan structure, but it also required the financial solvency of this extended family. The slave might also accumulate personal assets and thus buy his or her own freedom (Lev. 25:49); the opportunities for this to occur would necessarily be infrequent. Texts that speak of Israel in Egypt and Judean exiles in Babylonia describe Yahweh as their redeemer (Ex. 6:6; 15:13; Isa. 43:14; Jer. 31:11; Mic. 4:10; etc.). The Code of Hammurabi includes the hypothetical case of a soldier captured in a royal war who had been redeemed by a merchant (§32; *ANET,* p. 167). The merchant was to be repaid, depending upon ability to pay, by the soldier's family, the city's temple estate, or the king.

If a master permanently injured a slave (the examples are the loss of an eye or a tooth), the slave was to be released for the injury (Ex. 21:26f.). This very liberal compensation was intended to restrain abuse of slaves. Other ancient law codes stipulated only monetary compensation for injuring someone else's slave (see Code of Hammurabi, §199; *ANET,* p. 175; Hittite laws §§8, 12, 16, *ANET,* p. 189). What one did to one's own slaves was evidently a private affair since they were considered property (see Ex. 21:21).

The Covenant (Ex. 21:2) and Deuteronomic Codes (Dt. 15:12ff.) agree that the limit was six years for Hebrew slaves, i.e., those in debt-bondage, double that stipulated in the Code of Hammurabi (§117, *ANET,* p. 170f.). After that time, the slave was released. A Hebrew slave might *choose* to remain a slave after the six-year tenure due to either family interests or financial security (Ex. 21:5f. [males only]; Dt. 15:16f. [males and females]). The six-year limitation is specifically excluded for non-Hebrews (Lev. 25:45f.). Evidently the temple servants (Heb. *nᵉṯînîm*) and servants of Solomon, as institutional slaves, were held in perpetuity (see Lemche, *VT,* 25). *See also* NETHINIM.

The legal obligations of slave ownership required that a master provide three things for a Hebrew slave girl taken as a wife: food, clothing, and conjugal rights (Ex. 21:10f.). Failing to provide for her in any of these ways required her release without payment. A foreign woman taken as a wife had to be treated fairly, but she could also be divorced without cause and set free (Dt. 21:10ff.). When Sheshan had no male heirs, he married his daughter to his Egyptian slave and continued his line (1 Ch. 2:34f.); this at least implies freedom for Jarha on the basis of the marriage.

The Jubilee Year, occurring every forty-nine (or fifty) years, provided a further means of freedom to all Israelite slaves (Lev. 25:47ff.) and established an interpretation of slave law different from the Covenant and Deuteronomic six-year span. There is, however, no evidence that the Jubilee was ever carried out (see Lemche, *VT,* 26). Furthermore, given the general life expectancy, this is a meager concession.

The only narrative of amnesty for slaves is Jer. 34:8ff. Jeremiah accused King Zedekiah of proclaiming liberty to the slaves of Jerusalem and not following through; the Jerusalemites complied and then reneged. R. Carroll argued for a number of reasons that this is probably a later lesson for the Jews on keeping the covenant rather than a historical account (*Book of Jeremiah* [*OTL,* 1986], pp. 646ff.).

The Hebrew term *ḥopšî,* "free," referred to the freed slave (e.g., Ex. 21:2; Dt. 12:15; Jer. 34); this parallels the common Semitic term *ḥupšu,* "freedman," used in the Amarna Letters, as well as at Alalakh, Assyria, and Ugarit (I. Mendelsohn, *IEJ,* 5 [1955], 65-72; Lemche, *VT,* 25; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die Welt des Orients,* 5 [1969], 57-93; and Gottwald, pp. 481f., 767f.). In other Semitic societies the freed slaves formed a separate class

between the slaves and free citizens, but Israel seemed to have no such identifiable class (I. Mendelsohn, *BASOR*, 83 [Oct. 1941], 36-39).

E. Economic Functions. Personal slaves were not a major economic force in the Semitic nations of the ancient Near East. As possessions of individual families (either debt-slaves or foreign purchases), slaves carried out primarily household and farming duties; in addition, young women served as concubines.

The OT evidence for one family holding large numbers of slaves is slim. Abraham is said to have taken 318 "born in his house" to battle (Gen. 14:14), but this would be very unusual. Only about 15 percent of the returnees from Babylon are designated as slaves: 7,337 as opposed to 42,360 free citizens (Ezr. 2:64; Neh. 7:66). Mesopotamian records indicate that two or three might be found in the household of a wealthy family in the 2nd millennium B.C. and three to five in Neo-Babylonia (de Vaux, p. 84).

As stated above, institutional slaves of the state and temple were maintained throughout the ancient world. They performed mostly menial functions. They were used in state building projects (2 S. 12:31), in the maintenance of state and temple properties, and as household servants (1 K. 9:15ff.).

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II. In the NT.–The especially important social institution of compulsory labor and dependency is found in all cultures relevant to the NT, in which the ownership of some persons by others was defined and regulated by various legal traditions (the Roman empire embraced a legal conglomeration). Although slavery existed in most societies from as far back as records have been found, there have been only five genuine slave-societies, two of them in antiquity: classical Greece and Rome. The Greeks and Romans, apparently independently, transformed slavery into something new and wholly original in world history, "namely, an institutionalized system of large-scale employment of slave labour in both the countryside and the cities" (Finley, *Ideology*, p. 67). This ancient system of slavery was fully developed and stabilized as an institution by the 2nd cent. B.C. The uniformity of legal rightlessness of all persons in slavery "masks the wide range of different social and economic roles slaves played, and the fact that most functions performed by slaves could also be undertaken by persons of free status" (Wiedemann, p. 2).

A. Sources. No NT writer comments on the origins of slavery as an institution or seeks to justify human beings owning other human beings, in contrast to Augustine, who claimed that the institution was part of the punishment for Adam's sin (*Civ. Dei* xix.15). Nor is there any mention of how persons became slaves. The fact that no theological support for slavery can be found in the NT became important for those Christians who later fought against this institution.

Prior to the 1st cent. A.D., the chief means by which persons were enslaved were capture in war and kidnapping by pirates. Stealing persons and selling them into slavery had been practiced in the ancient Near East for many centuries. In 1 Tim. 1:10 the term *andrapodistḗs*, "kidnapper" (RSV, NEB), "menstealer" (AV), "slave trader" (NIV), appears in a traditional list of vices, indicating that knowledge of this practice could be assumed in the late 1st cent. A.D., even though the establishment of law and order within the empire had eliminated piracy and greatly reduced kidnapping by the middle of the 1st cent. B.C.

With the cessation of the great wars of conquest after the death of Augustus, the primary source for slaves became breeding. To be sure, the First Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66-70) opened up a new source of slaves for the empire; e.g., Vespasian sent 6000 Jewish prisoners to Nero as a labor force for the (unsuccessful) cutting of a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. But the slaves who are mentioned and addressed in the NT were most likely born into slavery, according to both Roman and Greek law, as children of mothers in slavery. Such breeding was an adequate source to maintain the large slave population of the previous century.

Other sources of slaves are important to note in the light of early Christian practices. Large numbers of people sold themselves into slavery for various reasons, above all to enter a life that was easier and more secure than existence as a poor, freeborn person, to obtain special jobs, and to climb socially. It is quite likely that the Erastus mentioned in Rom. 16:23 as the "city treasurer" (*oikonómos tḗs póleōs*) of Corinth had to sell himself to the city (as a form of "bonding insurance") in order to secure this responsible position. Such special slaves were usually held in municipal slavery until about age forty, at which time as freedmen and Roman citizens they often pursued political careers. Inscriptional evidence suggests that this Erastus did just that by being elected an *aedile* of Corinth, who then gave to the city the paving of the street in front of the main theater.

Many non-Romans sold themselves to Roman citizens with the justified expectation, carefully regulated by Roman law, of becoming Roman citizens themselves when manumitted. The money that one received from such a self-sale usually became the beginning of the personal funds (*peculium*) that would later be used to enter freedom under more favorable circumstances, e.g., with former debts extinguished. Greek law also recognized the validity of self-sale into slavery, often with a contract limiting the duration of the enslavement. Such sales were frequent in the eastern provinces in imperial times. Temporary self-sale had been known in Jewish circles for centuries. Because of the reputation of Jewish owners for honoring Jewish laws calling for good treatment, many Jews who wished to sell themselves often could not find a Jewish purchaser. In view of these regulations it was (later?) said: "Whenever one acquires a Hebrew slave he acquires a master" (T.B. *Qiddushin* 22a).

It seems quite likely that Paul had such kinds of self-sale in mind, at least at one level, when urging the Corinthian Christians: "You were bought with a price; do not become slaves of men" (1 Cor. 7:23). If so, his plea was ignored by those Christians who exploited the system by selling themselves into slavery in order to gain money to ransom some (with cruel owners) from slavery and to provide food for others (1 Clem. 55:2)!

A popular means of post-birth control was "exposure"

(throwing away) of newborn infants; when such infants were found alive they could be raised as slaves. Christians urged each other not to expose their children (Did. 2:2; Justin *Apol.* i.27.1; Tertullian *Apol.* 9.6-8). Greek, Roman, and Jewish children were also frequently sold into slavery by their parents. This practice is not addressed in the NT.

B. Legal Status. Gaius, the Roman jurist, whose *Institutes* summarize the legal tradition valid in the 1st cent., observes that the basic legal distinction between persons is that of free or slave status (1.9). According to the law, a slave was a *res,* a thing, a chattel to be owned, bought, and sold. As such, a person in slavery could not contract a legal marriage, represent himself in court, or inherit; slaves were not regarded as having any kin and were often subject to more severe punishments than their owners for criminal acts. It was, of course, recognized that those in slavery, as many as one-third of the population in the large cities such as Rome, Ephesus, Antioch, and Corinth, were human beings if not "legal persons." As such they were protected by law against severe cruelty from their owners or others.

Under Roman, Greek, and Jewish laws, those in slavery could own property, including other slaves! Some well-educated slaves bought children, raised and educated them, and recovered the tuition costs when selling them to families needing tutors. A slave's property was entirely under the control of the slave, who could seek to increase it for use in purchasing legal freedom and in establishing a comfortable life as a freed person. The flamboyant, "nouveaux riches" activities of many former slaves called forth the scorn of the "old money" and staid Roman families.

Owning and using men and women as slaves were taken entirely for granted by all ancient teachers, including those such as Epictetus who had received their educations in slavery. The Cynic preacher, Dio of Prusa (*ca.* A.D. 40-120), concluded that the social and legal status of slavery had nothing to do with the values that the philosophers held to be important (15, 29-32). None of the major slave rebellions in the Mediterranean area, all of which occurred during 140-70 B.C., was motivated by the intention to abolish the distinction between slave and free. No revolutionary social programs were carried out in order to change the legal or economic structures. To the contrary, those who had been owners were forced into slavery.

Yet the uniformity with which slaves were not regarded as "legal persons" tends to hide the fact that slaves had many different roles and that people of free status would perform most of their functions. The principal exceptions were working in some mines reserved for convicted criminals and rowing in the chain gangs on galley ships; it was expected that these slaves of the empire would die working.

C. Social Status. To speak of "slaves" in the NT period is to refer to a logical class and a juridical class, but not to a social class as such. Any outcry for the "slaves of the world to unite" would have fallen on deaf ears, because the social sense of those in slavery was far more dependent on the social status of their owners than on their legal status as slaves. In outward appearance it was usually impossible to distinguish among slaves, freedmen and free persons. Neither the slave's clothing nor his or her race revealed a legal or social status. Patterns of religious life, friends, or work did not separate slaves from freed persons or freeborn workers. It seems quite likely that when working as a "tentmaker," Paul would have had persons in slavery as his shop-companions.

By no means was the slave's position always "subordinate," for in Greco-Roman households slaves served not only as cooks, cleaners, and personal attendants, but also as tutors of persons of all ages, physicians, nurses, close companions, and managers of the household. In the business world, slaves were not only janitors and delivery boys; they were managers of estates, shops, and ships, as well as salesmen and contracting agents. In the civil service slaves were not only used in street-paving and sewer-cleaning gangs, but also as administrators of funds and personnel and as executives with decision-making powers.

Thus, even though in Roman law, more than in Greek or Jewish law, the distinction between slave and free was quite sharp, in daily life a continuum of statuses existed in terms of social intercourse, culture, and wealth. Under Greek law special conditions blurred these distinctions even more. For example, many of the slaves who worked in handcraft factories lived apart from their owners, enjoying their own property and family life. Such a slave was usually employed by a person other than his or her owner and was paid a daily wage, about two-thirds of which went directly to the owner, who remained responsible for the physical well-being of the slave.

Certainly, capable slaves had an advantage over their free counterparts in that they were often given an excellent education at their owners' expense. Famous philosophers (Epictetus), teachers (Verrius Flaccus), grammarians (Palaemon), administrators (M. A. Felix, the procurator who was Paul's judge in Acts 23:24–24:27), artists, physicians, and writers were the result of this practice. These slaves and former slaves formed the broad "class" of intellectuals in the 1st century. Such slaves did not have to wait until manumission before they were capable of establishing friendships with their owners and other free persons as human beings. Many of these relationships confirmed the classical estimate of a person's "worthiness," viz., what was important was not legal status but *disciplina et mores* ("education and character").

Such friendships easily carried over into the religious life of the slave, for there was no cult preferred by slaves to which a freedman or freeborn person would not have wanted to belong, even if the actual social events tended to be socially homogeneous (Bömer).

For many, self-sale into slavery with anticipation of manumission was regarded as the most direct means to be integrated into Greek and Roman society. As such, in stark contrast to New World slavery in the 17th-19th cents., Greco-Roman slavery functioned as a process rather than a permanent condition, as a temporary phase of life by means of which an outsider obtained "a place within a society that had no natural obligations of kinship or guest-friendship towards him" (Wiedemann, p. 2).

Furthermore, the early Christians may well have regarded slaves as persons more highly than appears to have been the case in the surrounding cultures because of the Christians' strong disagreement with the prevailing attitude toward work and thus toward the persons who had to work to earn a living, including those in slavery. Cicero, e.g., claimed that working every day for a living was not worthy of a freeborn person, and those working with their hands were involved in a "dirty business" (*De Officiis* i.150). At least Paul expected all Christians to work for their living (1 Thess. 4:11f.; see Eph. 4:28).

The NT provides direct evidence that some early Christians were slaves or owners of slaves at the time the various documents were written (e.g., Philemon — Onesimus and Philemon; 1 Cor. 7:21 — "were you a slave when you were called?"; Col. 3:22–4:1; Eph. 6:5-9; 1 Tim. 6:1f.; 1 Pet. 2:18-21). Often overlooked are the slaves included in the phrases "those of the household of . . ." (*hoi ek tōn . . .*,

Rom. 16:10f.), "Chloe's people" (*tōn Chloēs*, 1 Cor. 1:11), and "the household of Stephanas" (*tón Stephana oíkon*, 1 Cor. 1:16; see Acts 11:14). These phrases cover the same kind of extended households designated by the Latin term *familia*.

It seems curious that no NT writer addresses directly the issue of sexual exploitation of slaves. Hillel is remembered to have said: "Whoever multiplies female slaves multiplies promiscuity and whoever multiplies male slaves multiplies thieving" (*Pirke Aboth* ii.8). Were texts such as 1 Thess. 4:3-8 (RSV: "that each of you know how to take a wife for himself in holiness and honor"; cf. NEB: "gain mastery over his body, to hallow and honour it") intended to deal with the possibility?

D. Manumission. Persons in slavery under Roman law in the 1st cent. A.D. could generally count on being set free by age thirty. At the beginning of the century owners were manumitting their slaves with a frequency that provoked Augustus Caesar to introduce laws restricting the numbers and ages of those who could be lawfully manumitted. From such legal texts (e.g., *Lex Aelia Sentia*, A.D. 4) it is clear that such slaves had to have reached age thirty if they were to receive Roman citizenship with their legal freedom. Pertinent inscriptions indicate, however, that large numbers, approaching 50 percent, were set free prior to their thirtieth birthdays, women more frequently than men, especially those between 15 and 20 whose owners decided to marry them.

Manumission was practiced very generously; sometimes all the slaves of an entire household were released, especially by testament upon the death of the owner. Manumissions were more than frequent occurrences; they were entirely normal and were expected. Thus very few persons are known to have reached old age in slavery, not because of ill-treatment, but because they had already been released before dying as freedmen/women in their thirties, forties, fifties, or more (Alföldy, pp. 105f.).

This, then, is the context in which such strongly debated texts as 1 Cor. 7:21 and Philem. 8-16 must be understood. The slave revolts and armies of runaway slaves proposed by some scholars as the background for these texts simply did not exist in the 1st cent. A.D. When Paul, in the earliest Christian text dealing with slavery (1 Cor. 7:21-24), mentions the possibility of the manumission of Christian slaves, he is not only speaking of a normal, everyday occurence; he is referring to an event over which the enslaved person had very little control. For manumissions were carried out to advance the interests of the owners and to keep the system functioning. Thus there would have been no point for him to have urged Christian slaves to "remain in slavery" (so Zürcher Bibel, Bible de Jérusalem, Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift), for there was little influence the slave could have over the timing of his or her manumission apart from offering the owner an attractive sum of money or pleading with the owner to delay manumission for the slave's personal or financial advantage. Likewise, Paul's urging Christian slaves to "take freedom" (so Moff., RSV, NEB, JB, NIV, TEV) would seem in these circumstances to be superfluous. The point of his admonition (the imperative *chrēsai* in v. 21d must be completed from the context) is to "use" or "live according to" the new identity in Christ (the "calling") that has become more fundamental than any social, legal, or religious status (see 1 Cor. 7:19).

Runaway slaves were not a problem in the 1st cent. A.D.; indeed, Onesimus may well have not at all "run away" from Philemon's household but rather left a difficult situation to seek Paul's advice and intervention. In this social-legal context Paul's brief masterpiece of sensitive persuasion sent to Philemon and "the church in his house" is best seen in part as a request not to delay Onesimus's manumission because of any misdeeds (v. 18) but rather to forgive him and to manumit him very soon (v. 16: "no longer as a slave but . . . as a beloved brother"). Paul may have hoped that Onesimus would be sent back to help him, now as Philemon's freedman (v. 13).

In the context of Greek culture the more than one thousand manumission-contracts inscribed on the sacred wall in Delphi have attracted the attention of biblical scholars, especially to clarify aspects of Paul's doctrine of redemption (Deiss. *LAE*, pp. 320-27). In these contracts, dated between 200 B.C. and A.D. 74, Apollo (through his priests) functioned as the trustworthy intermediary of the manumission-money and as the strong religious and public guarantor of the contracts.

In contrast to Deissman's suggestion, however, these inscriptions do not shed any light either on Paul's teaching about redemption in Christ or on the unique phrase "freedman of the Lord" (*apeleútheros kyríou*) in 1 Cor. 7:22 (Bömer). The slaves set free at Delphi became neither "slaves of Apollo" nor "freedmen of Apollo." Indeed, no Greek would have asked another Greek to become a "slave of a god"; to describe "freedom" in such terms would have been unthinkable for a Greek. When Paul describes Christians who were born free as "slaves of Christ" (7:22), he is clearly writing in analogy to Israel's conception of itself as "slaves of Yahweh" (Lev. 25:55).

In the light of the fact that Greek notaries often openly rejected procedures prescribed in Roman law, one unique aspect of Greek legal traditions must be noted: viz., the description of gradual stages of freedom for those who were manumitted. Freedom was broken down into four elements: to represent oneself in legal matters, to be secure from seizure as property, to earn one's living as one chooses, and to live where one desires. More than one-fourth of the manumission inscriptions at Delphi fix limitations on at least two of these freedoms, usually of movement and employment, by means of a *paramonē* ("remaining") clause that was valid for a limited time (usually 2-10 years). Such a freed slave could not be sold (and was thus "free"); but the freedman was still bound to the former owner in a variety of ways.

When Paul describes the Christian slave as a "freedman of the Lord" (1 Cor. 7:22), he has in mind either such continuing legal and personal obligations as a manumitted slave owed to his or her former owner, or (more likely) the Roman legislation that required the freed slave to give *obsequium* ("eagerness to serve"), *operae* ("days of work"), and *officium* ("moral duty") to the former owner throughout the owner's life.

E. Economic Functions. The importance of the "household" (*oíkos*) in the economy of the Roman empire, and of the slaves within these households, can hardly be overestimated for a proper understanding of the economic context of the NT. Compulsory labor has taken a variety of forms, among which are debt-bondage, clientship, peonage, helotage, serfdom, and chattel slavery (the "slavery" of the NT period). Whatever the form, the concept of compulsion is basically different from the one implied by "hired labor," which abstracts a person's capacity for work from the person as such.

In the NT period, the closer Christian missionaries came to Rome the more the societies they encountered had come to depend on persons in slavery as the basic labor force, as essential components of the imperial economy, and as a normal part of the daily life of most families. Jewish missionaries such as Paul were already well acquainted with slavery, even in the Jerusalem tem-

ple where the priests relied on slaves to assist them in their ministrations. But they had not experienced there a true slave economy, such as the household of L. C. Secundus, who during the reign of Nero had four hundred slaves in his town house alone.

Whereas freeborn persons dominated small-scale (subsistence) farming and small-scale trading in the cities, slaves dominated and virtually monopolized large-scale production in the cities and the countryside (Finley, *Ideology*, p. 82). Those in slavery thus provided the greatest amount of immediate income from property. The Romans especially had learned how to use slaves not only to make a living but also to make money.

In such an economic context it was virtually impossible for anyone to conceive of abolishing slavery as a legal-economic institution. To have turned all the slaves into free day laborers would have been to create an economy in which those at the bottom would have suffered even more insecurity and potential poverty than before. To be sure, according to all known traditions, neither Jesus nor His immediate followers owned slaves; nor did Paul, Barnabas, or Timothy. So both the example of Jesus and His great concern for the poor proved to be a challenge for many early Christians to conceive of themselves as living already among themselves in an alternative social-legal environment (note how Paul appeals to Philemon to release Onesimus sooner than he may have planned). For the author of 1 Clem. 55:2 Christ's love working through humble spirits has motivated some Christians to sell themselves in order to have money to buy the freedom of others (see Shep. Herm. Mand. 8:10; Sim. 1:8; Ign. Polyc. 4:3).

Because the preaching of the gospel called into existence congregations that began to function as alternative households, the penetration of the gospel into the Roman extended family, made up of both freeborn and slaves, threatened in no small way its economic structure (Drexhage, p. 4).

F. Metaphorical Applications. Paul's use of "slave of Christ" in 1 Cor. 7:22 to express the exchange of owners/lords involved in becoming a Christian is quite striking. Greeks in general would not have responded positively to this conception. Yet they, too, were fully aware that one's relative status was determined by how many lords one was obliged to honor. Paul's phrase offered them a christological restatement of the first commandment of Israel: because Yahweh has freed you from the house of bondage in Egypt and made you His slaves, you will have no other gods before Him. To become a "slave of Christ" was to reject the legitimacy of the claims of all other lords.

On the other hand, for a person in slavery to be regarded as a "freedman of the Lord" was not simply to stress the power of the Lord to create in the slave an inner freedom from sin but to emphasize the personal relationship between the risen Lord and the slave, a relationship in which the slave was addressed as a moral agent, a fully human person worthy of honor and love.

Paul's striking use of the term *paidagōgós* in Gal. 3:24 to describe the function of "the Law" has created confusion for translators (cf. RSV "custodian"; AV "schoolmaster"; NEB "tutor"). Such a slave was entrusted with schoolboys, to make certain that they got to and from school safely, and that they did their homework and generally behaved well (Plutarch *Moralia* 439f). Despite the present meaning of the derivative "pedagogue," a *paidagōgós* was not a teacher. No particular education was assumed; indeed, this task was usually given to a slave who was no longer able to perform his usual physical labor.

Paul draws on the general awareness that a child born to a mother in slavery becomes a slave at birth when developing his Sarah-Hagar allegory in Gal. 4:21-31. He clearly presupposes the practice of self-sale into slavery in his exhortation in Rom. 6:16-22, and he continues to work with slavery/manumission imagery in Rom. 8:15, 21, contrasting slavery with sonship and speaking of the enslavement of the entire creation and of its future manumission and participation in "the glorious liberty of the children of God."

Paul also continues the OT use of "slave" language to designate for himself and Timothy (Phil. 1:1) an especially honored relationship to God, shared, e.g., with Abraham, Moses, and David.

See also SERVANT.

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SLAVONIC VERSION. *See* VERSIONS IX.

SLAY [Heb. qal, niphal, and pual of *hārag*, hiphil of *nākâ*–'strike, smite' (Gen. 32:11 [MT 12]; Josh. 7:5; 2 S. 13:30; Jer. 26:23), *ḥālāl*–'pierced' (Gen. 34:27; Jgs. 16:24; 1 S. 31:1, 8; 2 S. 23:8, 18; Ezk. 31:17), hiphil, qal, hophal, and pilpel of *mût*–'kill' (Gen. 18:25; Dt. 9:28; Hos. 2:3 [MT 5]; etc.), *māweṯ*–'death' (Jer. 18:23), *zāḇaḥ* (Lev. 17:5, 7; 2 K. 23:20), *šāḥaṭ* (Gen. 22:10; Nu. 14:16; etc.), *ṭāḇaḥ*–'kill ruthlessly' (Ps. 37:14), *nāgap*–'smite' (Ex. 12:23), *qāṭal*–'kill' (Job 13:15), *rāṣaḥ*–'kill' (Nu. 35:27; Josh. 20:5f.), *ḥāraḇ*–'smite down' (Jer. 50:21, 27), piel of *pāšaṭ*–'strip' (2 S. 23:10; etc.), *nāpal*–'fall' (2 S. 3:29); Aram. *qeṭal* (Dnl. 2:13f.; 3:22; 5:19); Gk. *spházō* (Rev. 5:6, 9, 12; 6:4, 9; 13:8; 18:24), *apokteínō*–'kill' (Rev. 13:10, 15; 19:21), *anairéō*–'destroy' (Acts 5:36; 2 Thess. 2:8), *sphágion*–'victim' ("slain beast," Acts 7:42), *kataspházō* (Lk. 19:27)]; AV also KILL, SLAUGHTER, SMITE, etc.; NEB also KILL, SLAUGHTER, STRIKE, etc.

I. In the OT.–In one hundred of the 165 occurrences of *hārag*, the RSV translates it "slay" or "slew." Elsewhere the RSV frequently translates it "kill." Its referent is almost always human subjects. The earliest meaning of *hārag* appears to be that of "killing enemies in battle," particularly under conditions of the ban. In Nu. 31:7f. *hārag* appears three times in the context of the war with Midian (being conducted under the rubrics of holy war) as the people of Israel "slew" every male, the kings, and Balaam. Cf. 31:17, where the RSV has "kill every male"; and cf. the narrative of Simeon's and Levi's destruction of Shechem where they "slew" (*hārag*) Hamor and his son Shechem with the sword (Gen. 34:26) and "killed" (*hārag*) all the males there (34:25). Similarly, in the account of

Gideon's battle with the Midianite army (Jgs. 8:17-21), *hārag* appears five times as "slay/slew" in acts of military reprisal.

In Est. 3:13 (par. 7:4; 8:11) *hārag* appears in the context of a Persian military-political pogrom against Jews. Haman sent orders to all the king's provinces "to destroy, to slay, and to annihilate" all Jews on one day (13 Adar). In Est. 9 *hārag* appears six times in the narrative that records a reversal of fortunes in which the Jews "slew" their enemies in Susa, the capital, and elsewhere (9:6f., 11f., 15f.).

Ezekiel translates *hārag* eight times, "slay/slew/slain" always in the violent context of battle or the execution of judgment. In Ezk. 9:6 the executioners of the city are given their instructions for the purge of idolaters in Jerusalem: "slay . . . outright" the old and young, women and children, except those marked (cf. 23:47). In Ezk. 26 the Lord says He will bring against Tyre the great Nebuchadrezzar, who will "slay with the sword your daughters [i.e., satellite towns] on the mainland" (v. 8) and, after persistent siege warfare, "will slay your people with the sword" (v. 11; cf. 28:9). Ezk. 21 painfully portrays the impending violent ruin of Jerusalem: "The sword . . . it is sharpened and polished to be given into the hand of the slayer" (v. 11 [MT 16]). In the vision of Ezk. 37 the dry bones seen by the prophet strewn all across the valley are the *ʰᵃrûgîm*, "the slain" (v. 9), the corpses of fallen warriors, symbolizing the "slain" hope of Israel that will yet live.

Hārag further applies to the "slaying" of political opponents (esp. in the wake of throne successions, revolutions, assassinations, coups, etc.). Examples include the coup of Abimelech in the course of which he "slew" (NEB "butchered") seventy rival claimant brothers at Ophrah, missing only Jotham (Jgs. 9:5, 18, 24), and the assassination by Rechab and Baanah of Ishbosheth, the last claimant to the house of Saul (2 S. 4:11; cf. 4:7). King David's response to this event was to have these assassins "killed" (*hārag*, 2 S. 4:12), just as at Ziklag he "slew" (*hārag*, 4:10) the messenger who brought him the news of Saul's death. Also, in 2 S. 12:9 Nathan confronts King David with the fact of his gross abuse of power for having "slain" (*hārag*) Uriah the Hittite "with the sword of the Ammonites."

Hārag is also used of God, who slew the first-born in Egypt (Ex. 4:23; 13:15), the faithless rebels (Ps. 78:31, 34), the mighty kings Sihon and Og during the wilderness sojourn (135:10f.; 136:17-20), the sea dragon (Isa. 27:1), all of Moab's princes (Am. 2:3), Samaria's young men (4:10), and the remnant of Israel (9:1, 4). In Hos. 6:5 the Lord says of unfaithful Ephraim and Judah, "I have slain them by the words of my mouth," in parellel with "I have hewn them by the prophets."

In Lam. 3:42f. Jerusalem's survivors struggled with the fact that this time God did not forgive, but rather He "pursued us, slaying without pity," even the young men, the priest, the prophet, the young maidens, and the elderly (2:4, 20, 21). *Hārag* appears twice (along with the cognate noun *hereg*) in Isa. 27:7, where the prophet raises the question whether Israel will be chastised as severely as those who oppressed her.

The RSV also translates *hārag* as "slay/slew" in contexts of crime. Included among the iniquities of the wicked in Ps. 94:6 is their crime of victimizing the helpless: "they slay [*hārag*] the widow and the sojourner, and murder [*rāṣaḥ*] the fatherless." A similar charge, "do not slay the innocent and righteous," appears in the covenant code in the context of safeguards against abuses in court procedures (Ex. 23:7). In Ex. 32:27 *hārag* is used for the executions of idolaters (cf. Nu. 25:5). Prov. 7:26 applies a figurative use of *hārag* to the "loose woman" who is said to have "slain . . . a mighty host."

The RSV translates the hiphil of *nāḵâ*, the chief OT term for "smite, strike down, attack," seventy-seven times as "slay/slew/slain," almost exclusively in contexts of battle or coups d'état. But the RSV also renders it "kill" and "destroy" in similar contexts. In Gen. 32:11 (MT 12) Jacob, expecting battle from his wronged brother Esau, fears that Esau might "slay us all" (cf. RSV "destroy" for the hiphil of *nāḵâ* in 32:8 [MT 9]). In some instances God is the subject, e.g., He "slew" the first-born in Egypt (Nu. 3:13; 8:17) and "slew" some men in Beth-shemesh for violating the sanctity of the ark (1 S. 6:19). Other examples include, e.g., Israel's slaying of Sihon and Og (Nu. 21:24, 35), Joshua's triumph at Gibeon (Josh. 10:10, 20) and defeat at Ai (Josh. 7:5), Abimelech's slaying of the men of Shechem (Jgs. 9:43f.), Samson's slaying of a thousand with the jawbone of an ass (Jgs. 15:15f.), and the internecine Benjaminite warfare (Jgs. 20:45) in which two thousand were "slain" at Gibeah. Examples from the Philistine wars include David's slaying of Goliath (1 S. 18:6; 19:5; cf. Sir. 47:5), the famous victory refrain of David, "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (1 S. 18:7; par. 21:11; 29:5), and its corollary which reports the slaying of Goliath by Elhanan (2 S. 21:18f., 21; cf. 1 Ch. 20:5). In 2 K. 19:35 (par. Isa. 37:36; 2 Macc. 15:22 [Gk. *anairéō*, "slew"]) the angel of the Lord slew 185,000 troops of the Assyrian king Sennacherib; Sennacherib himself was subsequently killed by his own sons (2 K. 19:37).

The hiphil of *nāḵâ* also appears frequently in contexts of succession struggles or coups. Absalom slew his brothers (2 S. 13:30); Jehu slew everyone of the house of Ahab (2 K. 10:11) and all of Ahab's relatives in Samaria (10:17), and further ordered the guards to "slay" the Baal priests as well (10:25).

The RSV translates Heb. *ḥālāl* as "slain/slew" seventy-three times. Its cognate verb *ḥālal* also appears as "slain" in the RSV once (Ezk. 32:26). The reference is almost always to the corpses of those slain in battle (e.g., Gen. 34:27; Josh. 11:6; 13:22; 1 S. 31:1, 8; 2 S. 1:19, 22, 25; Dnl. 11:26; 1 Ch. 5:22; 2 Ch. 13:17), and most frequently of those slain "by the sword" (e.g., Dt. 32:42; Isa. 22:2; Jer. 14:18; Ezk. 32:26; 35:8).

Ḥālāl occurs twenty-nine times alone in Ezekiel, most often in reference to idolaters and the wantonly violent (e.g., 6:4, 7, 13; 9:7; 11:6f.; etc.). In the Tyre oracle *ḥālāl* carries a pejorative connotation: "you shall die the death of the slain" (28:8; cf. 28:23). According to Ezekiel's oracle against Egypt in ch. 31, even the great Pharaoh must eventually make the inevitable journey down to Sheol ignominiously "to lie among the uncircumcised, with those who are slain by the sword" (31:17f.; cf. 32:20-25, 28-32).

The RSV renders the hiphil of Heb. *mûṯ*, "put to death," as "slay" in thirty-nine instances. The same is true in fifteen occurrences of *mûṯ* in other tenses and in one instance for the cognate noun *māweṯ*. The context is most frequently that of politically related executions, e.g., that of Ishbosheth (2 S. 4:7), that presumed against Adonijah (1 K. 1:51), those by and that of Athaliah in her vain attempt to consolidate power in Judah (2 K. 11:2, 8, 15f., 20), and those that were associated with the revolution of Jehu (1 K. 19:17). The RSV also translates *mûṯ* as "slay/slew" in contexts of battle, e.g., the arranged death of Uriah the Hittite on the front lines (2 S. 11:17), Saul's request to the anonymous Amalekite to be put to death (1:9f., 16), and the deaths of Phineas and Hophni (1 S. 4:11; cf. 2:25).

The Hebrew verb *šāḥaṭ* properly means "slaughter (ani-

mals as sacrifice), kill (so as to drain the blood)" and has clear Akkadian and Arabic cognates with a similar meaning. While the ritual or sacrificial sense of this term is clear, and most of its occurrences refer to the slaughter of food animals for sacrifice, the RSV prefers in most instances simply to translate "kill" or "slay/slew" rather than "slaughter." In most of the cases where the RSV renders *šāḥaṭ* "slay/slew" the reference is to the killing of human beings, but where the RSV translates *šāḥaṭ* as "kill" the reference in all but one instance is to animals to be sacrificed or eaten.

In several occurrences *šāḥaṭ*, "slay," refers to animals: a bull offered in sacrifice by Samuel's parents (1 S. 1:25), the animals taken in spoil from the Philistines and killed for food (1 S. 14:32, 34), and the burnt offerings in Ezekiel's vision of the restored temple (Ezk. 44:11). Otherwise, *šāḥaṭ* as "slay" is applied to human beings, often with regard to a slaying that has sacrificial connotations, e.g., the "sacrifice" of Isaac (Gen. 22:10), the wilderness threat (Nu. 14:16), and child sacrifice (Isa. 57:5). In several cases mass killing is involved, e.g., the annihilation of 42,000 Ephraimites by the Gileadites in the notorious shibboleth incident (Jgs. 12:6), the extermination of Ahab's line in connection with the coup of Jehu (2 K. 10:7, 14), the offspring and court of Zedekiah by the troops of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. 25:7; Jer. 39:6; 52:10), and of the eighty emissaries from the northern towns slain by Ishmael following the assassination of Gedaliah (Jer. 41:7). In 2 S. 14:11 the homonymic verb *šāḥaṭ* (piel), "ruin," is translated "slay" in the request of the wise woman of Tekoah on her sons' behalf that King David restrain the avenger of blood from slaying any more.

The Hebrew verb *zāḇaḥ* is the OT term for sacrificial slaughter, especially the work of the butcher. Although it appears 113 times in the Hebrew Bible, the RSV renders it "slay/slew" only five times and "kill" only three. In three instances in Lev. 17:5, 7 the people of Israel are instructed regarding their sacrifices "which they slay in the open field." It is thus applied to the oxen Elisha "slew" at the time of the passing of Elijah's mantle (1 K. 19:21). In the one instance that this verb is used of human beings (2 K. 23:20) there are sacrificial connotations to what happens — Josiah's slaying of the priests in the Samaritan high places.

Hebrew *ṭāḇaḥ*, "slaughter, butcher," is a rare verb in the Hebrew Bible, occurring only eleven times. In two cases it is translated "slay/slain." The list of covenant curse amplifications in Dt. 28 includes "your ox will be slain" (28:31). In Ps. 37:14 the wicked seek to "slay those who walk uprightly."

Rāṣaḥ is used in Prov. 22:13 in reference to the sluggard's fear that he shall be "slain in the streets by a lion." The participial form of this verb, *rōṣē(a)ḥ*, "murderer," appears eight times in Josh. 20–21, always in a context of refuge for homicide cases (see de Vaux, I, 158-163).

Hebrew *qāṭal*, "kill," is translated "slay" twice by the RSV. In Ps. 139:19 the psalmist urges God to "slay the wicked" and in Job 13:15 stubborn Job determines to defend his ways even though God "slay" him. Seven times the RSV renders the Aramaic cognate *qᵉṭal*, as "slay/slew/slain," all in the Aramaic section of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar, who was possessed of such power that he could slay whomever he pleased (5:19), decrees in 2:13f. that the wise men of Babylon should be slain, and his forces thus sought to "slay" Daniel and his three companions. When Daniel and his companions were bound and thrown into the fiery furnace (3:22) the flames "slew" the bearers instead of the intended. The slayings of Belshazzar (5:30) and the horned beast (7:11) are also examples.

Hebrew *nāgap*, "smite, strike," in three instances in Exodus refers to the activity of "the destroyer" (*mašḥîṯ*), the angel of death who in the Passover narrative passed through Egypt to "slay" (Ex. 12:23, 27; see de Vaux, II, 489). In oracles against Pekod and Babylon in Jer. 50:21, 27, the denominative verb Heb. *ḥāraḇ*, "put to the sword" (< *ḥereḇ*, "sword") is twice translated "slay" by the RSV. In 2 S. 23:10 the RSV introduces "slain" from the context to translate the piel of Heb. *pāšaṭ*, "strip off." Here the object of *lᵉpaššēṭ* is understood — "to strip the slain" (cf. 1 S. 31:8; 1 Ch. 10:8 for examples with the object given).

II. In the NT.—Almost all the RSV NT examples of "slay/slain" occur in the book of Revelation. In seven instances the RSV translates the Greek verb *spházō*, as "slay/slain." *Spházō*, the original sense of which is "slay (by slitting the throat)," occurs about eighty-four times in the LXX, almost exclusively for Heb. *ṭāḇaḥ* and *šāḥaṭ*. It thus reflects both cultic and non-cultic use and, in some cases, is applied by extension to the "slaying" of people in battle. In Rev. 6:4 the rider of the red horse is authorized to remove peace so that people will "slay one another." Elsewhere passive forms of *spházō* are employed to describe "the Lamb that was slain" (5:6, 9, 12; 13:8) and the martyrs who had been slain for their witness (6:9; 18:24). The cognate noun *sphágion* occurs only in the NT in Stephen's great historical recital (Acts 7:42) where the RSV translates, "Did you offer to me beasts and sacrifices?" (*sphágia kaí thysías*). In this passage Stephen cites the prophet Amos's familiar sarcastic attack on empty ritualism (Am. 5:25). Also, the related verb *kataspházō*, "slay, slaughter," occurs once in the NT in Lk. 19:27, where it refers to the slaying of those who reject the king in Jesus' parable of the pounds.

The RSV usually renders Gk. *apokteínō* as "kill" but in four instances in Revelation the RSV renders it "slay/slain." It appears as such twice in Rev. 13:10: "if anyone slays with the sword, with the sword must he be slain." The second beast appears in 13:15 and causes all who refuse to worship the first beast to be slain. In the vision of the final eschatological battle in 19:21, after the rider on the white horse had dispatched the beast and the false prophet, their entourage is also said to have been "slain."

The RSV renders Gk. *anairéō* as "slay" in reference to the mysterious "lawless one" whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of His mouth (2 Th. 2:8). In another instance the RSV translates *anairéō* as "slain" in reference to the unsuccessful revolt of Theudas who was "slain" along with many of his followers (Acts 5:36).

See also KILL; MURDER; SLAUGHTER; SMITE; STRIKE.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σφάζω, σφαγή (Michel); *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "*hāragh*" *(Fuhs); IV, s.v.* "zābhach" (Bergman, Ringgren, Lang); IV, *s.v.* "chālal II" (Dommershausen); V, *s.v.* "ṭāḇaḥ" (Hamp); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr. 1961), I, 158-163, 247-267; II, 415-456, 489. D. G. BURKE

SLEDGE, THRESHING [Heb. *ḥārûṣ*] (Job 41:30 [MT 22]; Isa. 28:27; Am. 1:3); AV "sharp pointed thing," THRESHING INSTRUMENT; NEB also SLEDGE; [*môrag*] (2 S. 24:22; 1 Ch. 21:23; Isa. 41:15); AV THRESHING INSTRUMENT. A heavy wooden platform studded with flint, nails, or knives (Isa. 41:15), dragged by one or two animals over the grain as it lay spread out on the threshing floor. *See* AGRICULTURE III.A.

SLEEP; ASLEEP. The translation of a variety of Hebrew and Greek terms. In the OT the noun "sleep" most often

represents Heb. *šēnâ* (Gen. 28:16; 31:40; Jgs. 16:14, 20; Job 14:12; etc.); "deep sleep" usually renders *tardēmâ* (Gen. 2:21; 15:12; 1 S 26:12; Job 4:13; 33:15; Prov. 19:15; Isa. 29:10) or the niphal of *rāḏam* ("fall in a deep sleep," Dnl. 8:18; 10:9). The verb most frequently represents *šāḵaḇ* (lit. "lie down"; Gen 28:11; Ex. 22:27 [MT 26]; Dt. 24:12f.; 31:16; etc.) or *yāšēn* (Gen. 2:21; 1 K. 19:5; Job 3:13; Ps. 3:5 [MT 6]; 4:8 [MT 9]; etc.). "Asleep" is used to translate *yāšēn* (Gen. 41:5; 1 S. 26:12; 1 K. 18:27), the niphal of *rāḏam* ("lie/be fast asleep," Jgs. 4:21; Jonah 1:5), and *nûm* ("be asleep," Nah. 3:18).

In the NT the noun "sleep" renders Gk. *hýpnos* (Mt. 1:24; Lk. 9:32; Jn. 11:13; Acts 20:9; Rom. 13:11). The verb usually represents *katheúdō* (Mt. 9:24; 13:25; 25:5; Mk. 4:27; etc.; cf. part.; "sleeper," Eph. 5:14), but it is also used to translate the pass. of *koimáō* (Lk. 22:45; Acts 12:6; 1 Cor. 15:51) and *exypnízō* ("awake out of sleep," Jn. 11:11). The adjective "asleep" renders the part. of *katheúdō* in Mk. 4:38; 13:26, while the phrase "be asleep" translates *katheúdō* (Mt. 8:24; Mk. 14:37), the pass. of *koimáō* (Mt. 28:13; 1 Thess. 4:13), and *nystázō* (lit. "doze"; 2 Pet. 2:3). "Fall asleep" is employed frequently by the RSV to render the pass. of *koimáō* (Mt. 27:52; Jn. 11:11f.; Acts 7:60; 13:36; 1 Cor. 15:6, 18, 20; etc.); in Lk. 8:23 it translates *aphypnóō*. In 2 Cor. 11:27 the RSV renders *agrypnía* (lit. "sleeplessness," "watching") by "a sleepless night."

The Bible generally views sleep as necessary and pleasant for mankind (e.g., Eccl. 5:12; Jer. 31:26). Sometimes the imagery of sleep is applied to Yahweh in calls for Him to respond to His people's needs (e.g., Ps. 44:23, 26 [MT 24, 27]; 59:4f. [MT 5f.]; cf. 78:65). This poetic imagery is used as a dramatic expression of God's decision to act directly in human affairs; it does not derive from pagan mythology, which depicts the gods as literally sleeping and needing sleep (cf. Elijah's taunt to the prophets of Baal, 1 K. 18:27). The psalmist confesses that Yahweh never slumbers nor sleeps (Ps. 121:4). Because God always watches over His people, those who trust in Him may lie down and sleep in peace (Ps. 3:5 [MT 7]; 4:8 [MT 9]). Following the way of wisdom (i.e., fearing Yahweh) enables one to enjoy sweet sleep (Prov. 3:24). God's people do not rob themselves of sleep to pile up wealth (Ps. 127:2); nor do they indulge themselves like the rich so that their sleep vanishes (Eccl. 5:12). But neither does this wise person use sleep to escape life — unlike the SLUGGARD, whose laziness leads to poverty (Prov. 6:9-11). The God-fearing person finds the proper balance between sleep and activity.

Sleep can also make one an easy prey for an enemy (cf. Prov. 6:4f.). Jael drove a tent peg into the temple of Sisera as he lay fast asleep from exhaustion (Jgs. 4:21), and Delilah robbed Samson of his superior strength while he was sleeping (16:19f.; cf. Judith's decapitation of Holofernes while he lay in a drunken stupor [Jth. 12:16–13:8]). When Saul was overcome by sleep David spared his life but took his water jar and spear (1 S. 26:7-12). Sleep kept the disciples from agonizing with Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane and made them vulnerable to temptation (Mt. 26:40-45, esp. v. 41).

Sometimes God communicates His message to people during their sleep or causes a "deep sleep" (Heb. *tardēmâ*) to overtake a person so that He may accomplish His purpose. Such sleep befell Adam while God created Eve from his side (Gen. 2:21f.). It fell upon Abraham when he offered sacrifice to seal the covenant, and then God spoke to him about what would happen in the future (15:12-17). On the other hand, God figuratively caused a "deep sleep" to fall on the false prophets so that they were hindered from discovering the truth (Isa. 29:10).

Scripture often uses "sleep" as a euphemism for death. Kings and Chronicles frequently state, "[the king] slept with his fathers and was buried" (1 K. 2:10; 11:43; 14:31; etc.), meaning that he died a natural death and was given a proper state burial. At the final judgment even the dead will be awakened from their sleep, some to eternal life and others to eternal condemnation (Dnl. 12:2). The NT often uses "fall asleep" in the sense of natural death (Mt. 27:52; Jn. 11:11; Acts 7:60; 13:36; 1 Cor. 15:6, 18, 20; 1 Thess. 4:14f.; 2 Pet. 3:4), but it also extends the concept to refer to spiritual death. This spiritual meaning is apparent in Mk. 13:35f., where Jesus warns His followers: "Watch . . . lest he [Christ] come suddenly and find you asleep." A hymn in Eph. 5:14 emphasizes this point: "therefore it is said, 'Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light'" (cf. Rom. 13:11; 1 Thess. 5:6f.). J. E. HARTLEY

SLEEVES [Heb. *pas*] (Gen. 37:3, 23, 32, 2 S. 13:18); AV "of many colours," etc.; NEB SLEEVED. The meaning of Heb. *pas* is difficult to ascertain with certainty since even the early textual authorities vary widely. In the MT *pas* occurs only in the phrase *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm* (AV "coat of many/diverse colours"; NEB "long sleeved robe"), which was a type of garment worn by Joseph and Tamar. Assuming that *pas* is closely related to Aram. *pas* ("palm" or "sole"), the Hebrew phrase probably refers to "a tunic reaching to the hands and feet" (cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* [2nd ed. 1913], pp. 299f.).

See also COAT; GARMENTS II.A. G. L. K.

SLEIGHT (Eph. 4:14, AV). *See* CUNNING.

SLIME [Heb. *rîr*–'spittle, slobber'] (Job 6:6); AV WHITE OF AN EGG; NEB JUICE; [*temes*–'melting away'] ("dissolves into slime," Ps. 58:8 [MT 9]; AV "which melteth"; NEB "which melts away."

The Heb. *rîr* is a bland viscous fluid that exudes from an unidentifiable plant (see the comms.). Job 6:6 uses this term figuratively to designate something that is insipid. In Ps. 58:8 (MT 9) the RSV translates Heb. *temes* with "dissolves into slime." G. R. Driver, however, suggested that in v. 8a Heb. *šabbᵉlûl* (RSV, AV "snail") means "miscarriage" (*JTS*, 34 [1933], 41-44), which would parallel "untimely birth" (NEB "still-born child") in v. 8b. Thus it would not be a "snail which dissolves into slime" (RSV), but rather "an abortive birth which melts away" (NEB).

See BITUMEN; PITCH. G. L. K.

SLING, SLINGSTONES. *See* WEAPONS OF WAR II.C.2; IV.B.

SLIP [(verbs) Heb. *môṭ*–'stagger, reel' (Dt. 32:35; Ps. 17:5; 38:16 [MT 17]; 66:9; 94:18), *māʿaḏ*–'wobble, shake' (2 S. 22:37; Job 12:5; Ps. 18:36 [MT 37]; 37:31; Prov. 25:19), *pālîṭ*–'escaped one' (2 K. 9:15), *mālaṭ*–'escape' (2 S. 4:6), pual of *šāpaḵ*–'pour out' (Ps. 73:2), *nāšal*–'loosen, drop off' (Dt. 19:5); Gk. *pareisérchomai*–'sneak in, come in' (Gal. 2:4)]; AV also SLIDE, ESCAPE, BE MOVED, etc.; NEB also STUMBLE, FALTER, ESCAPE, etc.; [(noun) Heb. *zᵉmôrâ*–'branch' (Isa. 17:10)]; NEB CUTTINGS; **SLIPPERY** [Heb. *ḥᵃlaqlaqqôṯ* (Ps. 35:6 [MT 7]; Jer. 23:12), *ḥālāq* (Ps. 73:18)].

The RSV uses the verb "slip" in two ways: to move quietly (e.g., 2 S. 4:6; 2 K. 9:15; Gal. 2:4), and to slide

(e.g., Dt. 32:35; 2 S. 22:37). The most frequent use is the latter, usually in the expression "(my, his, their) feet (steps, ankles) slip." As S. R. Driver (comm. on Deuteronomy [*ICC*, 3rd ed. repr. 1973], p. 374) pointed out, both *môṭ* and *māʿaḏ* are used in this expression as "a frequent image of a reverse of fortune." This image can refer to slipping in a spiritual sense (e.g., from God's paths, Ps. 17:5; cf. 37 31; 38:16; 73:2; 94:18) or in a general sense (Job 12:5; Ps. 66:9; Prov. 25:19).

The meaning of *ḥālāq* and *ḥᵃlaqlaqqôṯ* is debated. The majority of scholars take these terms in their traditional, well-established sense of "slippery" (which fits the contexts well; see *TDOT*, IV, 444-47). But M. Dahood (e.g., *Psalms*, I [*AB*, repr. 1973], 211) argued that Hebrew had another root *ḥlq*, cognate with Ugar. *ḥlq*, "perish," hence meaning "Destruction," i.e., a poetic name for the underworld, in Ps. 35:6; 73:18; Jer. 23:12 (cf. W. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* [*Hermeneia*, 1986], p. 628, who allows for wordplay, with *ḥᵃlaqlaqqôṯ* meaning both "slippery" and "perdition").

Most scholars take Isa. 17:10 to refer to a foreign cult that has infiltrated worship in Jerusalem, though the identity of this cult is uncertain (cf. comms. on Isaiah by R. Clements [*NCBC*, 1980], p. 160; O. Kaiser [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1974], pp. 82f.; J. Oswalt [*NICOT*, 1986], p. 354). *See also* PLEASANT PLANTS. G. A. L.

SLOPE. *See* HILL; PISGAH.

SLOW [Heb hiphil of *ʾārak*–'make long'] ("make slow," Prov. 19:11): AV DEFER; NEB BE PATIENT; [*ʾārēḵ*–'long'] (Ex. 34:6; Nu. 14:18; Prov. 14:29; etc.); AV also LONG(SUFFERING); NEB LONG(SUFFERING), FORBEARING, etc.; [*kāḇēḏ*–'heavy'] (Ex. 4:10); [niphal of *ʾāṣal*–'be lazy'] ("be slow," Jgs. 18:9); AV BE SLOTHFUL; NEB HANG BACK; [hithpalpel of *māhah*–'linger'] ("seem slow," Hab. 2:3); AV TARRY; NEB DELAY; [Gk. *bradýs*] (Lk. 24:25; Jas. 1:19); [*bradýnō*] ("be slow," 2 Pet. 3:9); AV BE SLACK; **SLOWLY** [Heb. *leʾiṭṭî*–'gently'] (Gen. 33:14); AV SOFTLY; NEB BY EASY STAGES; [Gk. *bradyploéō*] ("sail slowly," Acts 27:7); NEB MAKE LITTLE HEADWAY; **SLOWNESS** [Gk. *bradýtēs*] (2 Pet. 3:9); AV SLACKNESS; NEB omits.

"Slow" occurs primarily in the phrase "slow to anger," which usually renders Heb. *ʾereḵ ʾappayim* (lit. "long of NOSE"). The phrase first appears in Ex. 34:6, where Yahweh appears to Moses in a theophany on Mt. Sinai and reveals His character by the words "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness." These words were apparently preserved as a cultic formula, for they recur (sometimes in abbreviated form) throughout the OT (Nu. 14:18; Neh. 9:17; Ps. 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Nah. 1:3). God's slowness to anger does not imply that He never acts in WRATH, but it means that He delays His judgment in order to allow an opportunity for repentance (cf. Joel 2:12-14). Interestingly, in Jonah 4:2 the disillusioned and angry prophet uses the whole formula as an accusation against His God; the NEB puts these words in quotation marks, indicating that Jonah is quoting a tradition that he finds particularly frustrating.

The NT also emphasizes God's forbearance with sinners. 2 Pet. 3:9 explains the "slowness" of Christ's return as due to God's desire that all should come to repentance before the day of judgment.

The phrase 'slow to anger" is used of a human subject four times in Proverbs (14:29; 15:18; 16:32; 19:11). The prudence of controlling one's temper was an important theme in wisdom literature. In the NT, Jas. 1:19 appears to be quoting a proverb concerning the wisdom of careful listening as opposed to rash and angry speech (see P. Davids, *Epistle of James* [*NIGTC*, 1982], pp. 91f.). *See also* PATIENCE. G. CHAMBERLAIN
N. J. O.

SLOTH. *See* SLUGGARD.

SLUGGARD [Heb. *ʿaṣēl*]; AV also SLOTHFUL MAN; NEB also IDLE MAN, LAZY (MAN); **SLOTH** [*ʿaṣlâ*] (Eccl. 10:18); AV SLOTHFULNESS; NEB NEGLIGENT; **SLOTHFUL** [*rᵉmîyâ*] (Prov. 12:24, 27); NEB LAZINESS, LAZY; [Gk. *oknéros*] (Mt. 25:26); NEB LAZY; **SLOTHFULNESS** [Heb. *ʿaṣlâ*] (Prov. 19:15); NEB LAZINESS.

In the OT a sluggard is one who avoids the action that wisdom requires. With one exception (Jgs. 18:9; RSV "slow"), the *ʿāsēl* word-group is confined to the Wisdom books, Proverbs (sixteen times) and Eccl. 10:18. These terms present the negative side of an important wisdom opposition between slothfulness and DILIGENCE (Prov. 13:4). Proverbs devotes no less than three poems to the sluggard (6:6-11; 24:30-34; 26:13-16) in addition to scattered sayings (10:26; 13:4; 15:19; 19:24 [par. 26:15]; 20:4; 21:25; 22:13; cf. 19:15; 31:27). Semantically, the sluggard is a sub-category of the FOOL, since wisdom requires diligence at the *right time* (cf. Eccl. 3:1-8; Isa. 28:23-29); i.e., hard work (which the sluggard avoids) is wise when it fits into the divinely ordained cosmic order. The industrious ant is wise because her actions are in tune with the cosmic rhythm of the seasons: "she prepares her food in summer, and gathers her sustenance in harvest" (Prov. 6:8; cf. 30:24f.; 20:4, and the prudent son in 10:4f.). In contrast, the sluggard does not work at the right time and reaps the disastrous consequences of his laziness: "poverty will come upon you like a robber . . ." (24:34 par. 6:11). The sluggard's folly is most sharply satirized in Prov. 26:13-16. Another term, *rᵉmîyâ*, is used in 12:24, 27, which depict slothfulness by the image of a slack hand.

Many of the sluggard sayings cited above employ agricultural imagery that was especially pertinent to the Israelite peasant for whom sloth meant POVERTY and hunger (cf. Prov. 20:13; 28:19; 12:11; 18:9; 23:20f.; 31:27). But such imagery has an application far beyond its original setting (as does the modern proverb, "Strike while the iron is hot"). Thus, in 27:23-27 the royal house is exhorted to care diligently for its "flocks," i.e., its subjects.

In the broadest sense, the OT's negative judgment on sloth is rooted in God's purpose in creation, namely, that people be industrious stewards of the earth (Gen. 1:28; Ex. 20:9).

In the NT the terms for sloth appear infrequently (in addition to Mt. 25:26, cf. *oknéros* in Rom. 12:11 [RSV "never flag"; lit. "do not be sluggards"], *nōthrós* in He. 6:12 ["sluggish"], and *argós* in Tit. 1:12 [RSV "lazy"] and 1 Tim. 5:13 ["idlers"]). But the antithetical counterparts of sloth, WORK and LABOR, are richly present in the NT. Moreover, the parable of the talents (Mt. 25:14-30) vividly shows the incompatibility of sloth with the kingdom of heaven. R. C. VAN LEEUWEN

SLUICE (Isa. 19:10, AV). *See* HIRE.

SMELL [(verb) hiphil of Heb. *rûḥ(a)ḥ* (Gen. 8:21; 27:27; Lev. 26:31; Dt. 4:28; Job 39:25; Ps. 115:6)]; NEB also ACCEPT, SCENT; [(noun) Heb. *rêḥ(a)ḥ*–'scent, odor' (Gen. 27:27), *ṣaḥᵃnâ* ("foul smell," Joel 2:20); Aram. *rêḥ(a)ḥ* (Dnl. 3:27); Gk. *ósphrēsis*–'sense of smell' (1 Cor. 12:17)];

AV also ILL SAVOUR; NEB also ROTTING CORPSES.

In six instances in the RSV OT "smell" translates Heb. *rû(a)ḥ*. In two of these (Gen. 8:21; Lev. 26:31) it is part of the ancient idiom for divine acceptance of a sacrifice (lit. "smell the pleasing odor;" *see* ODOR). In Gen. 27:27 the same verb occurs with its cognate noun *rê(a)ḥ* in reference to the scent of Jacob's garments and to Isaac's smelling of their odor. In two others (Dt. 4:28: Ps. 115:6) it refers to handmade idols that "neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell" (cf. Ps. 135:15-18; Isa. 40:19f.; 44:9-20; Jer. 10:3-5; Hab. 2:18f.). In Job 39:25 the mere sound of the battle trumpet excites the warhorse that "smells the battle from afar."

The Aramaic cognate *rê(a)ḥ* occurs in Dnl. 3:27, where, as evidence of the miracle in the fiery furnace, not even the "smell of fire" was upon the three young men. Joel 2:20 prophesies the demise of the enigmatic "northerner" whose removal includes the rising of his "foul smell" (Heb. *ṣaḥ^{a}nâ*).

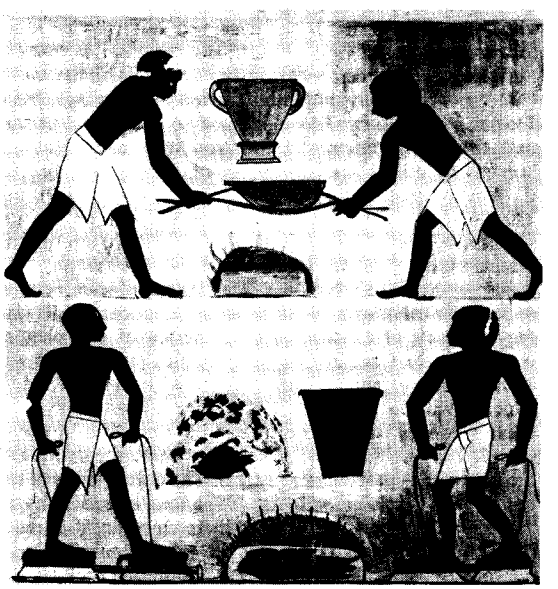
In the RSV NT "smell" occurs only in 1 Cor. 12:17 for Gk. *ósphrēsis*. Here in the context of Paul's body metaphor it illustrates the interconnectedness of spiritual gifts within the community of believers. This Greek term, which by extension often refers simply to the nose (cf. Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 10.35; cf. also T. Reub. 2:5), is used here with its literal meaning: "If the whole body were an ear, where would be the sense of smell?"

D. G. BURKE

SMELTING [Heb. *ṣārap*] ("smelt away," Isa. 1:25); AV PURGE AWAY; NEB REFINE AWAY; [*yāṣaq*] (Job 28:2); AV MOLTEN. The process of extracting metal from ore by melting.

Smelting and/or forging furnaces have been found at many places in Palestine, e.g., Tell el-Kheleifeh in the Arabah, Tell Jemmeh, ʿAin Shems, et-Tell (Ai), Tell el-Qasîleh near Tel Aviv, Tell Abū Maṭar near Beer-sheba, Tell el-Mazâr and Tell Deir-ʿallā in the Jordan Valley, the Jabbok Valley, Mughâret el-Wardeh in the Gilead district, and Ge-harashim (lit. "valley of craftsmen," 1 Ch. 4:14; cf. Neh. 11:35). Not all these furnaces are from the same period; they range in time of use from the 13th cent. B.C. to A.D. 1485.

A Theban wall painting showing smelters and smiths at work: above, the workers pour and shape molten metal; below, they use bellows to heat the crucible. From the tomb of Rekhmira, Thebes, 13th Dynasty (ca. 1500 B.C.) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Copper was the first metal to be smelted by the Hebrews, who probably learned the art from the peoples of Transjordan. The ore was heated over charcoal in furnaces or pottery crucibles. Sometimes flues supplied a draft, but often BELLOWS were used to supply more air and thus more heat. The crude metal thus produced was usually remelted to refine it. (For a more detailed description of how iron was smelted, *see* REFINE III.)

Until 1972 it was believed that the large copper smelter at Ezion-geber (Elath), one of the largest in the ancient Near East, was Israelite. Then Rothenberg challenged the prevailing view that the Timna mines and the Tell el-Kheleifeh site were Solomonic, pushing back their dates to the 13th cent. and first half of the 12th cent. B.C. Fresh evidence (see Bimson) has restored the possibility of a Solomonic (10th cent.) date, but the smelter may well have been Egyptian.

Isaiah 1:25 uses the familiar figure of God purifying His people from sin as the refiner removes dross and alloy (cf. 48:10; Jer. 6:29f.; 9:7; Ezk. 22:20f.; Zec. 13:9; Mal. 3:2f.; etc.). Some scholars (e.g., O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 2nd ed. 1983], p. 39 n. 8) have suggested that in this verse Heb. *kabbōr*, "as with lye," be amended to read *bakkur*, "in the furnace."

See also METAL.

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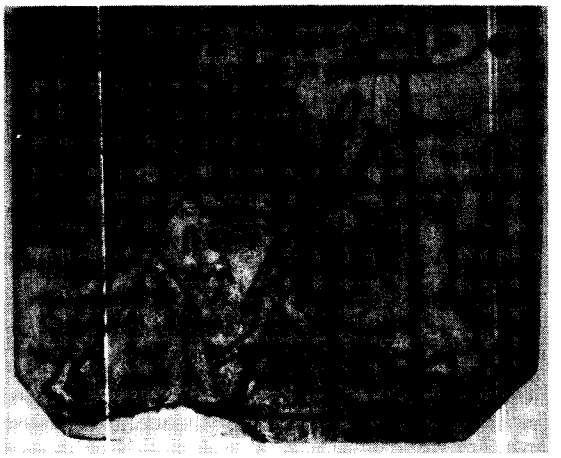
R. A. COUGHENOUR

SMITE [Heb. *nāḵâ* (e.g., hiphil, Ex. 3:20; huphal, Ps. 102:4 [MT 5]), *nāgap* (e.g., 1 S. 26:10), piel of *nāgaʿ* (e.g., 2 Ch. 26:20), *māḥaṣ* (e.g., Job 5:18), *sāpaq* (e.g., Jer. 31:19), niphal of *šāḇar* (Jer. 14:17), piel of *śāpaḥ* (Isa. 3:17), *ḥereḇ* (Zec. 11:17); Aram. *m^{e}ḥâ'* (Dnl. 2:34); Gk. *patássō* (Acts 12:23; Rev. 11:6; 19:15)]; AV also PUNISH, SLAY, WOUND, etc.; NEB also ASSAIL, SUBDUE, SLAUGHTER, CHASTISE, etc.

I. In the OT.—In the Hebrew Bible the chief word for "smite, strike" is the hiphil of *nāḵâ*, which occurs nearly five hundred times. In forty-three instances the RSV translates the hiphil of *nāḵâ* as "smite/smote/smitten" (and so also in two cases involving the passive hophal). In the LXX the usual equivalent is Gk. *patássō*.

The most common context for the use of *nāḵâ* (hiphil) is that of battle, e.g., Israel's early engagements against Midian, peoples of the Transjordan, and Og of Bashan (Nu. 25:17; 32:4; Dt. 3:3; cf. Ps. 135:10f.; 136:17-20); campaigns under Joshua's leadership against Ai (Josh. 8:21f., 24), the Amorite coalition (10:10, 26; 11:8), and the cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and Hazor (10:28-39; 11:10-17), engagements at Kiriath-sepher by Caleb (Josh. 15:16), at Jerusalem and Bethel by Joshua (Jgs. 1:8, 25), and at Gibeon by the Amorite coalition (Josh. 10:4). In all these instances the RSV renders *nāḵâ* (hiphil) as "smite" (but cf. Josh. 9:18 [RSV "kill"]; 10:40f. [RSV "defeated"]).

Nāḵâ (hiphil) as "smite" also figures in numerous military engagements during the time of the judges: Gideon smiting Midian (Jgs. 6:16), Jephthah smiting Ammon and Ephraim (11:33; 12:4), Samson devastating the Philistines (15:8), the Danites' smiting of Laish (18:27), and the bloody internecine Benjaminite wars (20:31, 37, 39, 48).



An ivory plaque from Abydos that reads: "First Time of Smiting of the East," celebrating the victory over the Semites by King Wedymu, who is smiting a bearded figure with a bound mace (ca. 2900 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Similarly the OT frequently characterized campaigns during the early monarchy as "smitings" (hiphil of *nāḵâ*) e.g., Saul's defeat of Amalek (1 S. 14:48), David's smiting of a lion during his youthful shepherd years (17:35), and his later exploits in service of the Philistine king of Gath (27:9), his victory over Amalekite marauders (30:17), and (as Saul's successor) his triumph over the Philistines whom he "smote from Geba to Gezer" (2 S. 5:25); cf. further 1 K. 20:29; 2 K. 8:21; 1 Ch. 20:1; 2 Ch. 14:14f. (MT 13f.). Occasionally *nāḵâ* (hiphil) combines idiomatically with *mûṯ* (hiphil) in the phrase "smote and killed" (e.g., 1 S. 17:35; 2 S. 1:15), underscoring the utter finality of most "smitings" in battle (cf. also the same combination in Josh. 11:17, "smote . . . and put . . . to death").

During the late monarchy Jeremiah anchored his prophecy against Philistia in a time "before Pharaoh smote Gaza" (Jer. 47:1). In an oracle against Kedar (49:28) the prophet referred to this place as a kingdom "which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote." In exilic times *nāḵâ* (hiphil) is used in Est. 9:5 in describing the Jewish reprisals under the leadership of Mordecai when "the Jews smote all their enemies with the sword, slaughtering, and destroying them." In 2 S. 4:7 it refers to a political assassination in which Rechab and Baanah smote (hiphil of *nāḵâ*) and slew and beheaded Ishbosheth, the only heir apparent to Saul's crown.

In many cases the Lord is described as leading the army of Israel into battle or as the chief protagonist of the battle, e.g., smiting the Philistines (2 S. 5:24; 1 Ch. 14:15), or Egypt (Ezk. 32:15). Numerous "smitings," not only those inflicted in battle but also other catastrophes, are also often attributed to the Lord as divine judgment, corrective punishment, or discipline for Israel. After the episode of excessive greed over the abundant quails in the wilderness, the Lord's anger was kindled and He "smote the people with a very great plague" (Nu. 11:33). Part of the punishment promised for waywardness at the conclusion of the Holiness Code is a sevenfold smiting from the Lord (Lev. 26:24). In the amplification section of the covenant curses (Dt. 28:22, 27-35) the Lord threatens to smite the disobedient with all sorts of ills and calamities (e.g., consumption, drought, boils, madness, etc.). David's national census was an important move toward centralization of government, but it incited the Lord's wrath and a chastising punishment came in the form of pestilence, manifest in the form of an angel "smiting the people" (2 S. 24:17 par. 1 Ch. 21:7). In 2 S. 6:7, Uzzah, one of the guides for the cart bearing the ark of God, reached out to touch the ark and "God smote him there . . . and he died."

The chastening punishment of the Lord is prominent in the prophets. As judgment on an unfaithful people, the Lord declares through the prophet Amos: "I smote you with blight and mildew . . . yet you did not return to me" (Am. 4:9; cf. Hag. 2:17). Isaiah expresses his dismay that his people persist in rebelliousness against the Lord in the words, "Why will you still be smitten, that you continue to rebel?" (Isa. 1:5); he also states that "the people did not turn to him who smote them" (9:13 [MT 12]; cf. 27:7; 57:17). Isaiah perceived the Assyrians as the Lord's rod of anger (Isa. 10:5; 14:29; cf. 5:25; 10:20), yet the Assyrians are not to be feared when they "smite with the rod" (10:24) for eventually they will be the target of God's smiting anger (10:25; 30:31). In the rebuilding prophecy of Isa. 60 the prophet announces an end to the smiting; eventually a great reversal will occur as "foreigners shall build up your walls . . . for in my wrath I smote you, but in my favor I have had mercy on you" (60:10).

Similarly Jeremiah lamented the unheeded disciplinary punishment (Jer. 5:3). In Ezekiel the Lord's judgment is aimed especially at smiting the poison of idolatry: to the "executioners of the city" (9:1) the Lord gave instructions to follow the man clothed in linen and to "pass through the city after him, and smite" (9:5; cf. 9:7f.). In 7:9 Ezekiel embellishes his familiar refrain in the context of purging "abominations" — "Then you will know that I am the Lord, who smite" (cf. also Am. 3:15; 9:1; Mic. 6:13).

The two incidents of "smiting" in the Suffering Servant songs (Isa. 50:6; 53:4) are theologically very significant. In Isa. 50:4-6 the servant chants that he was not rebellious, but "gave his back to the smiters," and in so doing has been faithful to his calling to the word, affirming and accepting the need of suffering for the sake of this calling. To say such in the thought world of that time was quite revolutionary, for it meant that the servant regarded all the smiting he had borne as justified because God was on the side of the opponents. Similarly, in 53:4 the phrase "we esteemed him stricken [Heb. *nāgûa(a)*], smitten by God [*mukkēh ʾᵉlōhîm*]," is remarkable in that it runs counter to a concept of suffering throughout the ancient world, viz., that all suffering is the deserved suffering we incur for having aroused God's wrath. But this reveals that the Suffering Servant has vicariously borne this abuse *for us* ("he has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows," Isa. 53:4), and all the while was himself so ordinary a person that the disfigurement he incurred had made him abhorrent to others and an object of scorn. (See further C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66* (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1969), pp. 230, 262-64; cf. also Lam. 3:30 and Mt. 5:39 on smiting someone's cheek, and Ps. 3:7 [MT 8], where smiting on the cheek is an insulting gesture.)

Just as the Lord's "smiting" may take the form of defeat in battle or other calamities, in some instances it falls into the category of "wonders." The series of ten plagues worked by the Lord in Egypt exemplifies this — "So I will stretch out my hand and smite Egypt with all the wonders which I will do in it" (Ex. 3:20). The climactic finale of these wonders was the smiting of the first-born in Egypt (12:12, 29; Ps. 78:51; 105:36) or alternately the smiting of the land of Egypt itself (Ex. 12:13). The entire series of the ten plagues is rehearsed in Ps. 105, a long historical hymn that says that the Lord "smote their vines and fig trees" (105:33). Also in this category is the subsequent wonder at the rock of Meribah where Moses "smote the rock so that

water gushed out" (Ps. 78:20; cf. Ex. 17:6. Accompanying the return of exiles anticipated in the messianic age will be the wonders signaling a new Exodus (Isa. 11:10-16), among which is the smiting of the Euphrates into seven channels so that the returnees will be able to cross it dryshod (v. 15; cf. also Zec. 10:11).

Various passages employ *nāḵâ* (hiphil) in expressing humanly administered punishment, e.g., in 2 K. 25:21 (par. Jer. 52:27), where, after the sack of Jerusalem, the leaders of Jerusalem were brought before the king of Babylon at Riblah, where he "smote them, and put them to death."

Several other passages employ *nāḵâ* (hiphil) for the "smiting" that occurs in situations of individual conflict. Many examples of this occur in 1 and 2 Samuel, e.g., Abner smiting Asahel in revenge (2 S. 2:22f.), Joab similarly smiting Abner (3:27), David ordering the death of the Amalekite who had put Saul to death (1:15), Saul threatening to kill David with a javelin (1 S. 20:33), David's slaying of a prowling lion (17:35), his conquest of Jerusalem (2 S. 5:8 par. 1 Ch. 11:6), and the exploits of Benaiah, who "smote" the two champions of Moab (2 S. 23:20; cf. 23:10, where the RSV has "struck down" for the hiphil of *nāḵâ*). In the strange case of the prophet (at the time of the Syrian wars) who kept asking people to strike a blow at him (1 K. 20:37), *nāḵâ* (hiphil) appears three times. The first two of these the RSV renders "strike" and the third "smiting," thus giving further evidence of a general interchangeability between the concepts of smiting and striking.

Some passages that use *nāḵâ* (hiphil) refer to a kind of verbal smiting, e.g., the enemies of Jeremiah (Jer. 18:18) who sought to "smite him with the tongue" (i.e., slander him; cf. NEB "invent some charges against him"). *Nākâ* also appears for the "smiting" one receives from the conscience. "David's heart smote him" when he had taken liberties in playing tricks on the anointed king of Israel (1 S. 24:5 [MT 6]), and when he had numbered the people (2 S. 24:10). The hophal of *nāḵâ* appears in Ps. 102:4 with the sense of the heart being smitten by distress.

Several OT passages refer to the sun's smiting of people (i.e., sunstroke) and Ps. 121:6 also refers to the moon's assumed power to smite by night. Examples of sunstroke include the following: 2 K. 4:18f., which implies that sunstroke occurred out in a field, although no verb is used in describing it (cf. Jth. 8:3, where Judith's husband Manassas was "overcome" while binding sheaves in the field); and Jonah 4:8, where the sun "beat upon [hiphil of *nāḵâ*] the head of Jonah so that he was faint" and was prepared to die. But in only two instances does the RSV render the hiphil of *nāḵâ* as "smite/smote" with reference to the sun: Isa. 49:10, where it is said of the returning exiles that "neither scorching wind nor sun shall smite them;" and Ps. 121:6, where the faithful are assured that the Lord, their "keeper" and "shade," will not allow the sun to smite them by day nor the moon by night. That sunstroke is referred to here is obvious; but the ancients also thought persons could be "moonstruck," which is literally the meaning of the Greek term *selēniazoménous* in Mt. 4:24, usually translated "epileptics" (so RSV). The AV rendering "lunatic" (Mt. 4:24) comes from this notion of being "moonstruck," but the above Greek term does not imply insanity as the word lunatic has come to mean in contemporary English usage.

Hebrew *nāgap* is the next most common term translated "smite/smote" in the RSV. In the Holiness Code the consequences for Israel's disobedience included the punishment of being "smitten before your enemies" (Lev. 26:17). In four instances *nāgap* is the term used for God's being responsible for the timing of someone's death: Nabal (1 S. 25:38), Saul (26:10), Jeroboam (2 Ch. 13:20), and Joram (21:18).

In Jgs. 20:39 "surely they are smitten" translates Heb. *niggôp niggāp*, the niphal of *nāgap* with its infinitive absolute. This passage expresses the overconfident glee of the Benjaminites in the rush of their initial success in battle against the Israelites.

Elsewhere in the prophets *nāgap* appears twice in Isa. 19:22 concerning Egypt (the context of which is perhaps Egypt's defeat at the hands of Sargon II of Assyria in 711 B.C.), who will receive the same treatment as Israel's, i.e., being smitten with a healing punishment — "And the Lord will smite Egypt, smiting and healing." Zec. 14:12 depicts horrendous plague with which the Lord will smite foes — indeed, one that will cause human flesh to rot away from the living.

The RSV translates five other Hebrew verbs as "smite/smote." Heb. *nāga'* (piel), "touch, strike," is used in 2 K. 15:5 par. 2 Ch. 26:20 to describe the sudden onset of leprosy with which "the Lord smote the king," i.e., King Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah. Isa. 3:17 employs the piel of *śāpaḥ*, "make scabby," to describe a humiliation that awaits the proud women of Judah — "the Lord will smite with a scab." In Jer. 14:17 the prophet laments that "the virgin daughter of my people is smitten [Heb. niphal of *šāḇar*, "be broken"] with a great wound, with a very grievous blow." Twice in Job Heb. *māḥaṣ*, "break to pieces" is translated "smite/smote" by the RSV. In Job 5:18 Eliphaz reminds Job of the importance of accepting God's corrective or disciplinary punishment, for "he smites, but his hands heal." In Job 26:12 Job reminds Bildad that "by his understanding [God] smote Rahab." Heb. *sāpaq*, "slap, smack" occurs twice with *'al-yārēḵ*, an idiomatic expression that the RSV translates "smite on the thigh" (Jer. 31:19; Ezk. 21:12 [MT 17]; *see* GESTURE II.D).

In Zec. 11:17 the RSV extends the sense of the Hebrew noun *ḥereḇ*, "sword," in the phrase *ḥereḇ 'al-zᵉrôʿô* (lit. "a sword upon his arm"), and translates the phrase "may the sword smite his arm." In Dnl. 2:34 the RSV renders the Aramaic verb *mᵉḥā'* as "smote" in reference to the striking of a blow unaided by human hand, i.e., the falling of a stone that smashes into a stone statue. In 2:35 the RSV translates this same verb "struck" in reference to the same action of the falling stone.

II. In the NT.–In three instances out of ten in the NT the RSV translates *patássō* as "smite/smote." Acts 12:23 reports that " an angel of the Lord smote" Herod Agrippa I and that he was eaten by worms and died (cf. the similar deaths of Herod the Great [Josephus *Ant.* xvii.6.5 (168–170)] and Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Seleucid tyrant [Gk. *patássō* in 2 Macc. 9:5; RSV, NEB, "struck"]). Rev. 11:6 states that the "two witnesses" (perhaps referring to Moses and Elijah, who were commonly expected to return in the messianic age) have, among other powers, the power to "smite the earth with every plague." Rev. 19:15 portrays the rider on the white horse, whose title is "The Word of God" (v. 13), as having a sharp sword issuing from his mouth (cf. 1:16) "with which to smite the nations," again a figure of divine retribution.

See also SLAUGHTER; SLAY; STRIKE.

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, V, *s.v.* πατάσσω (Seesemann); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr. 1961), I, 214-267. D. G. BURKE

SMITH [Heb. *ḥārāš*–'graver, artificer'] (1 S. 13:19; Isa. 54:16; Zec. 1:20 [MT 2:3]; AV also CARPENTER; NEB also BLACKSMITH; [*masgēr*] (2 K. 24:14, 16; Jer. 24:1;

An iron-smelting furnace and two smiths at work. The bellows blow air on the shaft furnace from behind, and a smith forges wrought iron in the front (Greek vase painting, 6th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

29:2); NEB mg. HAREM; [qal part. of *ṣārap*–'smelt, refine, test'] (Prov. 25:4); AV FINER; NEB SILVERSMITH. A skilled worker in metals.

The prototype of all smiths in the Bible is Tubal-cain (Gen. 4:22), known traditionally as the father of METALLURGY (*see* METAL). He is described as "the forger of all instruments" (Heb. *lōṭēš kol-ḥōrēš;* but cf. *BHS*). Thus the context of Gen. 4:22 includes the work of a smith with the arts and crafts associated with early mankind (see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* [Eng. tr. 1984], pp. 332-34).

In 1 S. 13:19 Heb. *ḥāraš,* which may refer to any sort of craftsman or artisan, has often been misinterpreted as an ironsmith in order to connect the activity with the presumed Philistine iron monopoly for the two-hundred-year period before David's ascent to the throne of Israel. Isa. 54:16 uses the term to indicate workmen that made weapons. In Zec. 1:20f. (MT 2:3f.) the "smiths" are instruments of divine wrath used to punish the nations that dispersed Judah.

The meaning of Heb. *masgēr* is uncertain. Translated "smith" in 2 K. 24:14, 16 and Jer. 24:1; 29:2 (but cf. LXX), it might refer to a guild of artisans that were deported to Babylon during the reign of Jehoiachin (see the comms.).

The translation "smith" for the part. of Heb. *ṣārap* is probably correct (W. McKane, *Proverbs* [*OTL,* 1977], p. 591). Cf. the use of *ṣārap* in Jgs. 17:4; Neh. 3:8, 32; Isa. 40:19; 41:7; 46:6; Jer. 10:9, 14; etc.

See R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* VIII (1971), 54-104. R. A. COUGHENOUR

SMITING BY THE SUN. *See* SMITE I.

SMOKE; SMOKING [Heb. *ʿāšan* Ex. 19:18; Dt. 29:20 [MT 19]; Ps. 74:1; 104:32; 144:5), *ʿāšēn* (Ex. 20:18), *ʿāšān* (Ex. 19:18; Ps. 37:20; 68:2; 102:3 [MT 4]; Prov. 10:26; Cant. 3:6; Isa. 4:5; 9:18 [MT 17]; 14:31; 34:10; 51:6; Joel 2:30 [MT 3:3]; Nah. 2:13 [MT 14]; etc.), *ʿālâ* ("go up in smoke," Jgs. 20:40), *qîṭôr* (Gen. 19:28; Ps. 119:83), *qeṭōreṭ* ("smoke of the sacrifice," Ps. 66:15), *ʿāṭār* (Ezk. 8:11), *maśśāʾâ* (Isa. 30:27); Gk. *kapnós* (Acts 2:19; Rev. 8:4; 9:2; etc.)]; AV also ASCEND (Jgs. 20:40), INCENSE (Ps. 66:15), THICK (Ezk. 8:11), BURDEN (Isa. 30:27); NEB also GO UP IN FLAMES (Jgs. 20:40), SAVORY OFFERING (Ps. 66:15), etc.

The Hebrew verb *ʿāšan* and its cognate noun and adjective account for most of the OT occurrences of "smoke." This root is used in four contexts. (1) Sometimes it refers to the physical phenomenon itself, the evidence that something is burning (Josh. 8:20f.; Jgs. 20:38, 40. (2) It is used as a symbol of all that is transitory (see esp. Hos. 13:3, where "smoke" is grouped with "cloud," "dew," and "mist"). (3) It is a manifestation of God's mighty presence (e.g., Ps. 104:32), and more particularly of His fierce wrath (e.g., 2 S. 22:9 par. Ps. 18:8 [MT 9]); the dangers attending the terrifying crocodile (Leviathan) are similarly symbolized in Job 41:20 (MT 12). (4) Only in one instance (Gen. 15:17) is this root clearly used in a cultic context of the smoke of incense or sacrifice. Hence it is not clear whether the smoke that fills the temple in Isa. 6:4 should be understood as clouds of incense; more likely it represents the result of earthly things being in proximity to the mighty judge of the world (cf. Ex. 20:18).

On the other hand, Heb. *qeṭōreṭ* is used only of INCENSE or, by analogy, of the smoke of sacrifice that is pleasing to God (Ps. 66:15). And *ʿāṭār,* which occurs only in Ezk. 8:11, probably means "fragrance" rather than "smoke" (cf. NEB "fragment smoke").

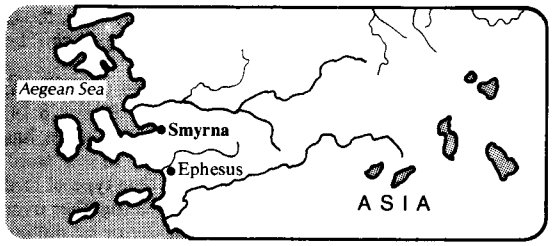
The contrast between the smoke of God's wrath and the smoke of incense is forcefully present in the imagery of Isa. 65:5, where the very offerings intended to please God provoke His wrath instead (hence the use of *ʿāšān* rather than *qeṭōreṭ; see also* NOSE, NOSTRILS). On the other hand, the verb *ʿālâ* is related to *ʿōlâ,* "whole burnt offering"; this suggests that in Jgs. 20:40 the destruction of Gibeah is an offering pleasing to the God who had commanded the city's annihilation. A similar interpretation of Gen. 19:28 is possible; but *qîṭôr,* although it is related to *qeṭoreṭ,* simply denotes natural smoke in Ps. 119:83 (cf. Ps. 148:8, where the RSV translates it "frost").

The translation of the phrase *kōḇeḏ maśśāʾâ* in Isa. 30:27 is difficult. The AV ("the burden is heavy") is a literal rendering of the Hebrew, but it is hardly clear. The NEB ("his doom is heavy") is unambiguous but goes beyond the text. The RSV ("in thick rising smoke") has a conjectural reading based on the context.

All the RSV NT uses of "smoke" represent Gk. *kapnós.* In Acts 2:19, a quotation from Joel 2:30 (MT 3:3), smoke is one of the signs that accompany the Day of the Lord. In Revelation the uses of *kapnós* cover most of the meanings of the Hebrew words discussed above, e.g., smoke from the physical burning of "Babylon" (Rev. 18:9, 18), preternatural wrath (chs. 9 and 14), and incense (8:4; 15:8). 19:3 contains a strong image that is similar to that in Jgs. 20:40. Although there is no mention of sacrifice, the smoke from the fire of Babylon's destruction "goes up forever and ever" to the jubilant cries of the saints, suggesting the image of a whole burnt offering that is pleasing to the Lord.

See also FIRE. G. CHAMBERLAIN

SMYRNA smer'nə [Gk. *Smyrna*–etymology unknown] (Rev. 1:11; 2:8). A port city of ½ million people on the southern tip of one of the most sheltered inlets of the South Aegean; modern İzmir in Turkey. Excavations by Ankara University have shown that the primitive site was 13 km. (8 mi.) NE across the Kemer River, at an opposite edge of the bay, now Bayrakli-Tepekule. Pottery finds indicate that the settlement was founded before 2000 B.C. and was Hittite (or a branch called "Lelages" by Greek historians) until the immigration of Hellenic sea-peoples connected with the fall of Troy (*ca.* 1100).



The Greek islanders infiltrated commercially, first Aeolians from Lesbos and then Ionians from Colophon, as at Phocaea farther N on the bay (E. Langlotz, *Kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* [1966]). Smyrna was one of the cities claiming to be Homer's birthplace, and eventually it had a school named for him (Strabo *Geog.* xiv.1.37). After 900 B.C. the Ionians predominated in Smyrna, and in 688 they incorporated it into an Ionian confederacy. But the Lydian Alyattes II invaded Smyrna *ca.* 600 (J. M. Cook, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 80 [1985], 25-28) and completely destroyed it.

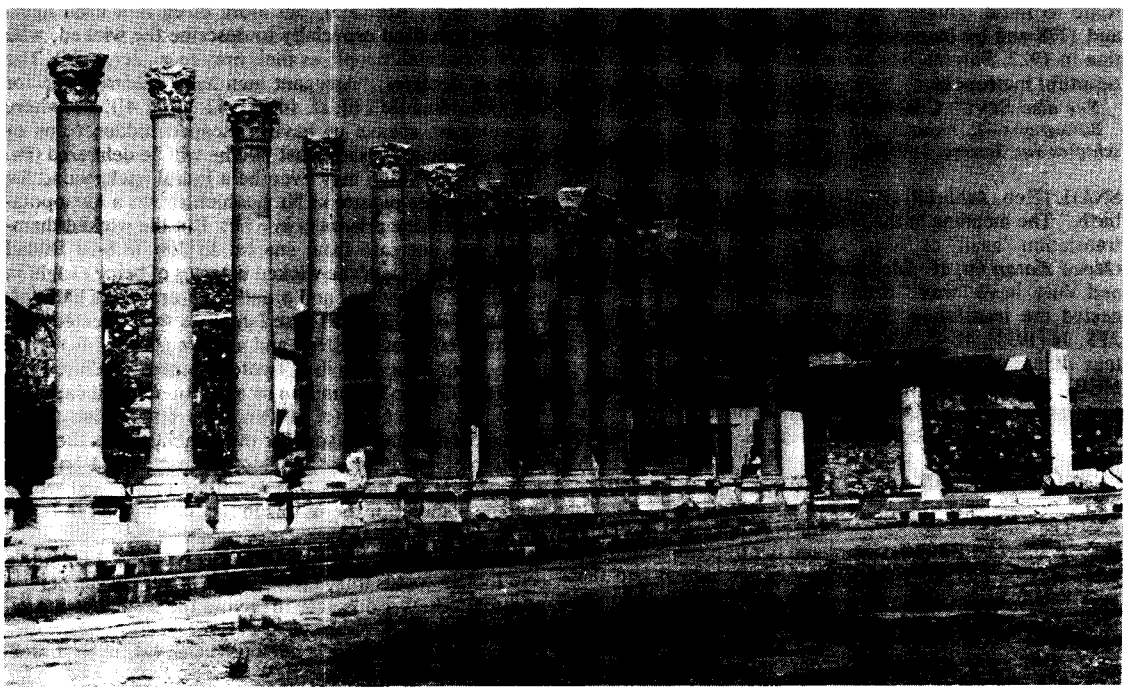
The survivors regrouped in villages and their numbers gradually increased again. In 300 B.C., with the help of Alexander's officer Lysimachus, the urban center was moved SW to the slopes of Mt. Pagus, on whose 200-m. (650 ft.) crest a citadel (now Kadifekale) was built. Some have suggested that the salutation of Christ, "who died and came to life" (Rev. 2:8) and the reference to the "second death" (from persecution), which will not harm "him who conquers" (v. 11), contain allusions to the destruction by Alyattes and unexpected rebirth of the city.

By Paul's time Smyrna had become the highway terminus and commercial metropolis of an immensely fertile hinterland. (See S. Johnson, *JBL*, 77 [1958], 1-17, citing two works on *Strade romane* from 1938 fascist Rome by D. Levi and S. Talip.) Smyrna began to outshine even in culture the great Roman centers Ephesus and Pergamum 65 km. (40 mi.) S and N of it. Already in 193 B.C. a temple was erected at Smyrna to "the deity Rome" (see Pauly-Wissowa, III/1, 730; *RRAM*). The temples of Zeus and Cybele were linked by a mall said to surpass all others of the ancient world. The agora prominent today in midtown İzmir was largely rebuilt under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) after an earthquake (R. Naumann, *İstanbuler Forschungen*, 17 [1950], 69-114).

Julius Caesar's co-murderer Trebonius took refuge in Smyrna, and Rome sacked the city to capture him. But in A.D. 23, in consideration of Smyrna's long record of loyalty, it was the one chosen from the eleven cities contending for the privilege of building a temple to the emperor Augustus and his mother (Tacitus *Ann.* iv.56; C. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* [1938]).

It is not clear why the Jews of Smyrna, more than those

The Corinthian columns of the agora at Smyrna. Originally destroyed by an earthquake, the agora was largely rebuilt by the Romans in the 2nd cent. A.D. (B. K. Condit)



of neighboring towns, felt antagonism toward the Christians. Smyrna and Philadelphia alone among the SEVEN CHURCHES are praised without reserve (Rev. 2:8-11; 3:7-13), and both of them for their passive resistance to the Jews who are called "satanic." *See* SATAN, SYNAGOGUE OF.

Bishop Ignatius of Antioch, on his journey to Rome for martyrdom (*ca.* A.D. 120), was halted at Smyrna. There he wrote four of his letters, which uniquely attest the earlier Christian practices and express his own yearning to be "milled by teeth of lions into the bread of Christ" (Ign. Rom. 4:1). When he stopped again at Troas, he wrote the remaining three of his letters, including one to the Smyrna community and another to its bishop Polycarp. His letters help to make clear the hierarchical organization of the local church, with bodies of presbyters and of deacons helping the bishop. Indeed, the "docetist" members are reproved for neglecting the bishop as well as the poor and the eucharist.

Polycarp, who also wrote an epistle (to the Philippians), was an old man when in 156 he was burned at the stake, "with his shoes on," according to his recorded request. The Martyrdom of Polycarp further records that Jews brought wood for his pyre even though it was a sabbath. This letter, addressed from Smyrna to "Philomelion and all the other churches in the world" is one of the most valued of the early Christian writings. On all these letters, see H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, XV/2, 1519.

According to a common view, Irenaeus (d. 202) came from Smyrna to be bishop of Lyons in Gaul. After Constantine's installation at Byzantium in 330, Smyrna eclipsed Ephesus. The Seljuk Turks were able to overthrow the Byzantines there briefly in 1084 and 1320, and definitively in 1415 after Timur's sack of the city in 1402. Genoan domination during the Crusades left in Smyrna a rather persistent Latin bishopric served mostly by Franciscans.

Smyrna's sea trade was spoiled by the discovery of a route to India. Though ravaged by earthquakes in 1688 and 1778 and by incendiary strife against Greek occupation in 1922, Smyrna has again become a flourishing and beautiful metropolis.

See also SEVEN CHURCHES.

Bibliography.–E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* (1983); G. Petzl, *Inschriften von Smyrna*, I (1982). R. NORTH

SNAIL [Heb. *šabbᵉlûl*] (Ps. 58:8 [MT 9]); NEB "abortive birth." The meaning of the Hebrew term is uncertain. The translation "snail" or "slug" is supported by the Talmud (*Moed Katan* 6b; cf. *Shabbath* 77b), but the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. have "wax." Some modern scholars have suggested the translation "miscarriage" (see G. R. Driver, *JTS*, 34 [1933], 41-43; KoB, p. 942), which has the advantage of paralleling "untimely birth" in the next line (cf. NEB). The psalmist would then be expressing the wish that his enemies' names and influence might disappear as if they had never been born (see A. A. Anderson, *Book of Psalms*, I [*NCBC*, 1972], 433).

On Lev. 11:30, AV, *see* LIZARD. N. J. O.

SNARE; TRAP. A device used for catching birds and other wild animals. Both the snare and the trap catch animals unawares — the snare usually by entanglement and the trap usually by springing shut suddenly. The RSV uses the noun "snare" about fifty times and "trap" twelve times.

Most often these terms represent either Heb. *môqēš* (Ex. 10:7; Jgs. 2:3; 1 S. 18:21; Job 40:24; Ps. 69:22 [MT 23; RSV "trap"]; etc.) or *paḥ* (Job 22:10; Ps. 69:22 [RSV "snare"]; 91:3; 142:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 24:17f.; Jer. 48:43f.; etc.). Other less common terms for "snare" or "trap" include Heb. *mᵉṣûḏâ* ("hunting net," Ez. 12:13; 17:20), *māṣôḏ* ("hunting net," Eccl. 7:26; in Ob. 7 MT *māzôr* is usually emended to *māṣôḏ*), *malkôḏeṯ* ("catching instrument," Job 18:10), *mašḥîṯ* ("destruction," Jer. 5:26), *ṣammîm* ("snare" [?], Job 18:9); Gk. *pagís* ("snare," "trap"; Rom. 11:9; 1 Tim. 3:7; 6:9; 2 Tim. 2:26) and *théra* ("hunting of wild beasts," Rom. 11:9). Verbs for setting snares or traps include Heb. *qôš* (Isa. 29:21), *nāqaš* (Ps. 9:16 [MT 17; some emend it to niphal of *yāqōš*]; piel, Ps. 38:12 [MT 13]; hithpael, 1 S. 28:9), *yāqōš* (Ps. 124:7; Jer. 50:24; niphal, Prov. 6:2; Isa. 8:15; 28:13; pual or qal pass., Eccl. 9:12), niphal of *lāḵaḏ* ("be captured," Ps. 59:12 [MT 13]), and hiphil (emended to hophal) of *pāḥaḥ* ("be captured," Isa. 42:22).

Môqēš and *paḥ* are often used in parallel (e.g., Josh. 23:13; Ps. 69:22 [MT 23]; 140:5 [MT 6]; 141:9; Isa. 8:14) and seem to be synonymous, although G. R. Driver has argued that *môqēš* is technically the "striker" of the "trap" (*paḥ*). Both terms are used of a bird trap. One type of bird trap consisted of a pair of nets that snapped together over the bird when triggered either automatically or by pulling a rope. The "clap-net" was popular among the Egyptians and possibly also among the Hebrews. Another bird snare consisted of a pliable small branch stuck in the ground with a cord tied to the end. The branch was set to spring at a light touch, and the cord would catch the legs or body of the unsuspecting bird. Another kind of trap was a net or noose that was laid along a path frequented by animals or birds; it was either dropped from above or tightened around the animal's feet (cf. Job 18:9). A more complex trap was built on the principle of a jaw, with one bar firm and the other movable; the upper part fell on the victim when it shook the bait, thus pinning it to the lower bar. In addition there was the pitfall, a pit concealed by a loosely woven mesh of some kind (e.g., Job 18:8-10; Jer. 48:43f.). *See also* HUNTING.

The trap or snare is sometimes referred to literally in the OT (e.g., Am. 3:5), but more often it is used figuratively. It is used especially to describe the wicked, who scheme to catch people as their prey (e.g., Jer. 5:26). The psalmist declares, "Arrogant men have hidden a trap for me" (Ps. 140:5 [MT 6]; cf. 141:9; 142:3 [MT 4]); elsewhere the psalmist speaks of having escaped hidden traps or snares, or he expresses trust that he will be delivered (Ps. 91:3; 124:7). There may even be a literal background for this image; *see* picture in NET, which shows a Mesopotamian king taking prisoners in a net. But the wicked themselves are not safe from snares. In Job 18:8-10 Bildad describes the fate of the wicked in terms of being caught in traps, snares, nooses, and pitfalls that are in his path (cf. Ps. 69:22; Rom. 11:9). Those Israelites who rejected God experienced Him as a trap and a snare (Isa. 8:14f.).

Sin itself is a trap in a twofold sense: it allures the people of God to succumb to its attraction, and it captures those who succumb (cf. 1 Tim. 3:7; 6:9; 2 Tim. 2:26). An especially alluring trap for the Israelites was the false worship of neighboring peoples. In Josh. 23:13 Israel is warned that the nations that remained in the land would become a snare for them; this in fact did happen to Israel (cf. Ps. 106:36).

Proverbs warns that one can also be snared by one's own foolish words (6:2; 12:13; 18:7; 20:25); but the person who fears the Lord is able to "avoid the snares of death" (13:14; 14:27).

Bibliography.–G. R. Driver, *JBL*, 73 (1954), 131-36; H. S. Gehman, *JBL*, 58 (1939), 277-281; E. W. Heaton, *Everyday Life in OT Times* (1956), pp. 114f. J. E. HARTLEY
A. HICKCOX

A vertical net used to trap quail. One man stands at each corner of the net while two other men catch birds that have been driven inside. Tomb painting from Thebes, 1570-1345 B.C. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Ägyptisches Museum 18540)

SNEEZE [Heb. poel of *zārar*] (2 K. 4:35); NEB BREATHE; [*ʿāṯîšâ*] (Job 41:18 [MT 10]); AV NEESING. In 2 K. 4:35 the boy's sneezing seems to be a sign of life; some scholars have suggested that it also signifies the expulsion of demons (see J. Montgomery and H. Gehman, comm. on Kings [*ICC*, 1951], p. 372). The LXX omits the verb and has the prophet stretching himself seven times over the boy; the NEB translates the verb (as "breathe") but takes Elisha, not the boy, as the subject.

If, as many scholars have argued, Leviathan in Job 41 is a crocodile, its "sneezings" (v. 18 [MT 10]) are the spray issuing from the animal's nostrils and flashing in the sunlight. But if Leviathan is the dragon Lotan of Ugaritic mythology, as M. Pope has contended, then the "sneezings" are exhalations of flame (*Job AB*, [3rd ed. 1973], p. 340). G. WYPER

SNOW [Heb. *šeleg* (Ex. 4:6; Ps. 51:7 [MT 9]; Prov. 26:1; etc.), hiphil of *šālag* (Ps. 68:14 [MT 15]); Aram. *ṯelag* (Dnl. 7:9); Gk. *chiōn* (Mt. 28:3; Rev. 1:14)]; AV also SNOWY, etc; NEB also SOAP, SNOWFLAKE (Ps. 68:14), etc.

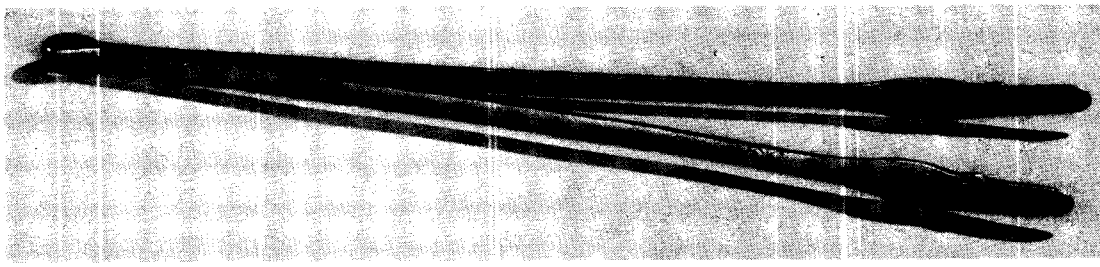
Snow is infrequent throughout most of Palestine, occurring about once every five years in Jerusalem (usually in the latter part of the rainy season) though more commonly in upper Galilee. Snow on the coastal plain is exceedingly rare but not entirely unknown, and has been recorded only once in Jericho (Feb., 1950). On the Transjordanian plateau it is more frequent and falls almost every year on the highlands of Gilead and the uplifted plateau edge of Edom. The mountain of Bashan (Jebel Druze) is snow covered during most of the winter. Further north the towering mountains of Lebanon and the anti-Lebanon Range have heavy snow, especially on the western slopes, lasting on the ground from December through June (cf. Jer. 18:14). On Mt. Hermon patches of snow may remain in the sheltered crevices through the summer.

Snow as an actual event is recorded once in the OT, when Benaiah killed a lion in a pit in a time of snow (2 S. 23:20 par. 1 Ch. 11:22), and once in the apocrypha, when a very heavy snowfall prevented Trypho from bringing his army into Judea (1 Macc. 13:22). Severe snowfalls meant considerable hardship for most Israelite households; the wise wife and mother took precautions in advance (Prov. 31:21).

Most biblical mentions of snow are symbolic. Leprosy is described as making the sufferer "as white as snow" (Ex. 4:6; Nu. 12:10; 2 K. 5:27). But it is also a symbol of purity (Ps. 51:7 [MT 9]; Isa. 1:18; Lam. 4:7) and of the divine glory (Dnl. 7:9; Mt. 28:3; Rev. 1:14). As with all other climatic phenomena, snow was understood to be sent from God, and therefore beyond human comprehension (Job 37:6; 38:22; Ps. 147:16; 148:8). Job, which mentions snow more than any other biblical book, speaks of "snow water," apparently meaning melting snow, as symbolizing disappearance from life (24:19). The Hebrew for "with snow" (*Q*; cf. *K*) in Job 9:30 is problematic, since Heb. *šeleg* may also mean "soap" (so NEB), which is favored by the parallel "lye" (see the comms.).

See also SEASON. D. BALY

SNOW WATER (Job 9:30, AV). *See* SNOW.



Bronze snuffers from Tell el-Amarna, Egypt (*ca.* 1350 B.C.); the tongs are designed like human hands (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

SNUFFERS [Heb. *malqāḥayim*] (Ex. 25:38; 37:23; Nu. 4:9); AV, NEB also TONGS; *mᵉzammᵉrôṯ* (1 K. 7:50; 2 K. 12:13 [MT 14]; 25:14; 2 Ch. 4:22; Jer. 52:18). Utensils linked with the lampstands in accounts of the tabernacle and temple. The precise function of these tools is a matter of conjecture. Particularly problematic is the occurrence of both Hebrew terms in the list of implements found in 1 K. 7:49f. par. 2 Ch. 4:21f. (here the RSV renders *melqāḥayim* "tongs"), which suggests that they need to be distinguished. Some have proposed that the root from which *mᵉzammᵉrôṯ* is derived (*zmr*) favors the rendering "snuffers" — i.e., a kind of scissors for trimming the wicks of the lamps — for this term; this may then be distinguished from *malqāḥayim*, whose root (*lqḥ*) suggests "tongs" or even "tweezers," which would have been used for removing burned up wicks and replacing them with new ones. An alternative suggestion takes both terms to mean "snuffers" and explains the mention of both terms in the same passage as a result of its literary history (*melqāḥayim* perhaps having been added through the influence of the tabernacle account). *See also* LAMPSTAND; TONGS.

S. WESTERHOLM

SO [Heb. *sô'*]. The Egyptian king whom Hoshea (732-722 B.C.), the last king of Israel, was counting on for support when he revolted against Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.), the Assyrian emperor. When the new tribute imposed by Shalmaneser proved to be oppressive for Hoshea he approached Egypt for help (2 K. 17:4). As a result Shalmaneser laid siege against Samaria that lasted three years (17:5), ending with destruction of the city and deportation of many people (27,290 according to Sargon II's annals; cf. *ANET*, p. 284).

The name So, at least its present form, is not attested in Egyptian records of the late 8th cent. B.C. One interpretation, which enjoyed a degree of popularity, was to identify So with *Sib'e* of Sargon's annals (*IDB*, IV, 395). But Borger's observation that *Sib'e* should be read *Re'e* (*JNES*, 19 [1960], 49ff.) makes this unlikely. H. Goedicke (*BASOR*, 171 [Oct. 1963], 64-66 suggested that So was the name of the capital, Sais (Egyp. *S3W*). Albright, in an addendum to Goedicke's article (p. 66) supporting this view, emended the text to read "he had sent messengers to So (to) the king of Egypt," the second "to" (*'el*) being omitted by haplography. Goedicke believed the king was Tefnakht (727-720 B.C.), the 24th Dynasty king who controlled the western Delta from Sais (*S3W*). R. Sayed (*VT*, 17 [1967], 116-118) thought that So may be shortened from the Tefnakht's Horus name *Si3-ib*, supporting this by the reading *Sib'*e in Assyrian texts, now recognized to be erroneous.

Kitchen (§§ 332-36) criticized a connection with Tefnakht because Sais was located in the western Delta at the same time that another dynast was located in Tanis (biblical Zoan) in the eastern Delta. It seems inconceivable that Hoshea's emissaries traveled 120 km. (75 mi.) further to Sais when the Tanite kings since the days of Ahab had enjoyed warm relations with Israel (§ 284). Kitchen suggested that So is an abbreviation for O(so)rkon IV, the Tanite king (730-715 B.C.). Support for this view is found in Isa. 19:11-15, which is directed at Tanis.

D. B. Redford (pp. 75f.), following Goedicke's suggestion that Sais was in the mind of the biblical writer, pointed to Manetho's writing of king "Nechepso," "Necho the Saite" (Egyp. *nk3w p3 s3w*). He suggested that the name *pso* in Aramaic texts from Egypt is derived from the Egyp. *p3 s3w(w)* and may be behind the biblical king So. This, however, leaves the geo-political questions raised by Kitchen unanswered. Whether So is O(so)rkon or Tefnakht, the Egyptian king was not in a position to assist Hoshea, and there is no evidence to suggest that he did.

Bibliography.—K. A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (1973); D. B. Redford, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, (1981) 75f.

J. K. HOFFMEIER

SOAP [Heb. *bōrîṯ*] (Jer. 2:22; Mal. 3:2); AV SOPE. Soap today is far more refined than the crude product known in Palestine during the biblical period. An essential ingredient for the manufacture of soap is alkali, which is combined with certain oils to produce the cleansing agent. For both OT occurrences of *bōrîṯ* LXX B reads Gk. *poía*, "grass"; the Vulgate of Jer. 2:22 transliterates and glosses, giving *herba borith*, "borith grass," while in Mal. 3:2 only *herba* occurs. This later rendering suggests that *bōrîṯ* was burnt herbiage, or vegetable alkali (see *MPB*, pp. 215f.), which acts as a detergent in combination with the oils of the skin. The Arabs call this substance *'al-qily*, whence Eng. "alkali."

See also LYE.

R. J. WAY

SOBER [(verb) Gk. *nḗphō*–'be self-controlled'] (1 Thess. 5:6, 8; 1 Pet. 1:13; 4:7; 5:8, "be/keep sober"); NEB also KEEP SOBER; "be perfectly self-controlled" (1 Pet. 1:3); "lead (a) sober life" (4:7); AWAKE (5:8); [*sōphronéō*–'be of sound mind'] (Rom. 12:3, "sober judgment"); AV SOBERLY; NEB SOBER ESTIMATE; (noun) Gk. *sōphrosýnē*–'reasonableness, rationality, mental soundness'] (Acts 26:25); AV SOBERNESS; [(adv.) Gk. *sōphrónōs*–'soberly, moderately'] (Tit. 2:12); AV SOBERLY; NEB TEMPERANCE; **TEMPERATE** [Gk. *nēphálios*–'clear-headed, self-controlled'] (1 Tim. 3:2, 11; Tit. 2:2); AV also VIGILANT (1 Tim. 3:2); SOBER; NEB SOBER.

Originally in classical Greek the *nḗphō* word-group referred to one who was completely unaffected by wine, i.e., one who avoided intoxication, but the word-group later indicated a sober manner of living demonstrated by self-control. In the NT this word-group is also used

to express self-control, i.e., the antithesis of all mental fuzziness (1 Thess. 5:6, 8; cf. 2 Tim. 4:5). The verb Gk. *nḗphō* especially refers to watchfulness in regard to one's responsibility to God and to self-control (1 Pet. 1:13; 4:7; 5:8). In the Hellenistic world the word-group (e.g., *nēphálios*) described a virtue expected of public servants; it was also expected of those in church leadership (1 Tim. 3:2, 11; Tit. 2:2). In the NT this word-group focuses not on the sobriety achieved by not drinking wine, but rather it refers figuratively to the clarity of mind and self-control for Christian service (*see* MIND).

The *sōphronéō* word-group in the NT basically relates to calmness of mind, saneness, rationality, sober judgment. In the Hellenistic world this word-group also referred to proper conduct rooted in modesty (cf. 1 Tim. 2:9) which was quite early viewed as a primary virtue in Stoic and Philonic philosophy.

The verb *sōphronéō* (*lit.* "be of sound mind," "make sober judgment"; cf. Mk. 5:15; Lk. 8:35; 2 Cor. 5:13; Rom. 12:3; Tit. 2:6) is translated "sane" (RSV) in 1 Pet. 4:7 where the exercise of both *sōphronéō* and *nḗphṓ* (RSV "sober") results in mutual love, surrender to God, and prayer. *Sōphronízō* basically means to bring one to reason. In Tit. 2:4 the verb is used in calling upon the older women to "train" (in self-control) the younger women to love their husbands. The cognate *sōphronismós* refers to "calmness of mind" or "self-control" (2 Tim. 1:7). *Sōphrōn* (1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:8; 2:2, 5) conveys the notion of soundness of mind, but also modesty, chasteness, and temperateness. *Sōphrosýnē* indicates restraint (Acts 26:25) and/or modesty (1 Tim. 2:9, 15).

The Pauline use of these words parallels the classical meaning of observing "the proper measure" in regard to one's activities, especially in relation to one's fellow Christian (cf. 2 Cor. 5:13-14). The use of *sōphronéō* words in the Pastoral Epistles reflects ancient popular Hellenistic philosophy which saw in their practice a way in which one could put the world into proper perspective and overcome it (see esp. Tit. 2:12).

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* νήφω (Bauernfeind); VII, *s.v.* σώφρων κτλ. (Luck). L. M. MCDONALD

SOCHO, SOCHOH. *See* SOCOH, SOCO.

SOCKET [Heb. *'eḏen*] (Ex. 38:12); [*pōṯ*] (1 K. 7:50); AV HINGES; NEB PANEL; [*qāneh*] (Job 31:22); AV BONE; [*ḥôr*] (Zec. 14:12); AV HOLE; [*peṯaḥ*] (2 Ch. 4:22); AV DOOR; NEB ENTRANCE. A small opening or recess into which anything is fitted.

Although the RSV translates *'eḏen* "base" 51 times, it uses the AV "socket" once, probably mistakenly since the neighboring passages with almost identical wording (vv. 10f., 14f., 17) consistently use "base." It is the base or socket for the tabernacle frame in these occurrences. Used only twice in the OT, *pōṯ* is associated with furnishings in Solomon's temple. It may mean "front." *Qāneh*, usually meaning "reed," in one instance seems to indicate the arm socket, while *ḥôr*, elsewhere "hole," is the eye hole or socket. The RSV has emended MT *peṯaḥ* to *pōṯ* in 2 Ch. 4:22 (following 1 K. 7:50) and so translates "socket."

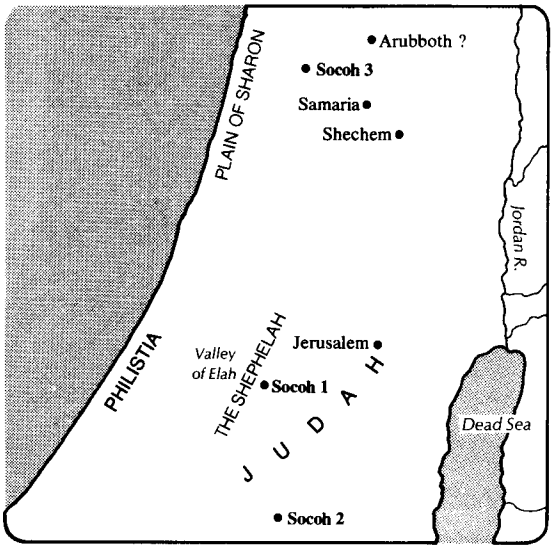
Many ancient doors swung on pivots in hollowed-out stone sockets placed within the thresholds.

L. G. HERR

SOCOH; SOCO sō'kō [Heb. *śôḵōh, śôḵô* (Chronicles only)–'thornbush'; Gk. *Sōchō* and var.]; AV also SOCHO, SHOCO, SHOCHO, SHOCHOH, SOCHOH. The name of three towns in ancient Palestine. The construction with final *ô* is subject to various interpretations (cf. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* [1930], p. 66).

1. In the Shephelah. The OT town was located on Khirbet 'Abbâd, a lofty Iron Age mound on the south edge of the Valley of Elah; the ruin shares a prominent ridge with a Roman-Byzantine site, Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh.

The dual nature of the site is reflected in Jerome's comment (Eusebius *Onom.* 156.18-20; 157.18-20) that there were two settlements, one on the mountain and the other on the plain. But the Madeba Map represents only one town.



Socoh guarded the junction of the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣûr with the Wâdī el-Jindī, which formed the Wâdī Sanṭ (the Valley of Elah); thus the town could control two major approach routes to the hill country (one to Hebron and the other to Bethlehem). Within Judah's settlement this Socoh was assigned to the northernmost district in the Shephelah (Josh. 15:35). The Philistines arrayed their forces beside Socoh for a confrontation with Israel under Saul (1 S. 17:1). Rehoboam fortified the town as a link between his western and central lines of defense (2 Ch. 11:7).

During the reign of Ahaz the Philistines again penetrated the Shephelah and occupied Socoh and its villages (2 Ch. 28:18). A private seal impression with the inscription "(belonging to) Hoshea (son of) Zaphan" was recently discovered there. Surface remains of very heavy structures and fortifications as well as many industrial installations (oil and wine presses, etc.) were recorded in a partial survey of Khirbet 'Abbâd conducted by M. Kokhavy under the auspices of the American Institute of Holy Land Studies (1965).

Bibliography.–W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 15 (Oct. 1924), 9; 18 (Apr. 1925), 10f.; G. Beyer, *ZDPV*, 54 (1931), 115; II, 21; *SWP*, III, 125.

2. In the hill country of Judah, in the southernmost district. This town is mentioned only once (Josh. 15:48). It is one of the four cities represented on the royal seal impressions (inscribed *lmlk*, "for the king," and bearing a special symbol) used on storage jars in the 8th cent. B.C. The archeological survey of 1967 (led by M. Kokhavy) confirmed its identification with Khirbet Shuweikeh. Perhaps what appears as a personal name in 1 Ch. 4:18 should be considered as the origin of this name.

Bibliography.–E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (2nd ed. 1856), I, 494; *SWP*, III, 410; A. F. Rainey, *BASOR*, 245 (1982), 57-62.

A jar handle inscribed with a seal impression that reads "(belonging) to the king" and "Socoh" (7th cent. B.C.) (Israel Museum, photo D. Harris)

3. On the Sharon plain. King Solomon's third administrative district embraced "the land of Hepher," and its commissioner was stationed at Arubboth; the Socoh included here (1 K. 4:10) must be distinguished from the two towns in Judah (1 and 2 above), since its district is clearly associated with the north. Even though the exact locations of Arubboth and the land of Hepher are disputed, the relationship of Hepher with the genealogy of Manasseh (Nu. 26:32; 27:1; Josh. 17:2) assures its propinquity to the zone N of Samaria. In fact, this Socoh can be confidently identified with Khirbet Shuweiket er-Râs at the foot of the western slopes of Mt. Ephraim.

The towr appears three times in Egyptian records, and the contexts confirm its location vis-à-vis the other towns along the great international trunk route along the eastern edge of the Sharon plain. In the topographical list of Thutmose III, Socoh (*śu₄-kú*; no. 67) appears after Aphek and before Yaham (Yaḥm). Amenhotep II in his campaign against recalcitrant peoples mentioned it (*śù-kú*), again in association with Yaham and other places in the Sharon. Socoh was strategically located not only on the N-S highway but also near the mouth of the Naḥal Shekhem, the main entryway to Samaria and Shechem from the west.

According to the Samaritan Chronicle, Socoh was the home of a Samaritan high priest; a Samaritan community apparently existed there until the 4th cent. A.D. During the Crusader period the town was known as *casal Socque*.

Bibliography.—*GP*, II, 467; A. Alt, *KS*, II, 77-81 (*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom AT*, 13 [1931], 4-8); C. R. Conder, *PEQ* (1876), pp. 182-197.

A. F. RAINEY

SOD; SODDEN. *See* SEETHE.

SODA (Jer. 2:22, NEB). *See* LYE.

SODERING. *See* SOLDERING.

SODI sō'dī [Heb. *sôḏî*]. Father of Gaddiel, the spy who represented the tribe of Zebulun (Nu. 13:10).

SODOM sod'əm [Heb. *sᵉḏōm*; Gk. *Sodoma*]. The most notorious of the five CITIES OF THE VALLEY. It was located along the southeastern border of Canaan (Gen. 10:19). Abraham's nephew Lot settled at this place, in or near the well-watered Jordan Valley (13:10-12; 14:12; 19:1). Although its exact location is unknown, it was probably somewhere along the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea near the VALLEY OF SIDDIM. Its king Bera was involved with his four fellow-kings in an ill-fated war against an eastern coalition of four Mesopotamian kings (14:1-12).

Sodom's notoriety derives from its wickedness and the attendant destruction that it suffered. Sodom's sins were manifold. Along with the other cities it displayed arrogant pride and haughtiness, and lived in prosperous luxury while ignoring the poor and needy (Ezk. 16:46-50). The men of Sodom violated the code of hospitality (Gen. 19:1-11), and they did "abominable things" (Ezk. 16:50). Sodom's most notorious sin was its engaging in homosexual acts (Gen. 19:5-8). Jude 7 affirms that Sodom "acted immorally and indulged in unnatural lust." Several passages in Genesis speak of Sodom's wickedness and unrighteousness in general terms (13:13; 18:20-33), and later Sodom became a point of comparison for wickedness in Israel (Dt. 32:32; Isa. 1:10; 3:9; Jer. 23:14). Rev. 11:8 likewise uses Sodom as an allegorical sign of great evil.

A miniature illumination from a Hebrew Bible (northern France, A.D. 1277-1278) showing the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Each section depicts an angel casting fire and brimstone on a city; the Hebrew reads, "This is Sodom after the angels had destroyed it" (The British Library, Add. 11639)

The destruction of Sodom and the other cities (Gen. 19:24-28) was so spectacular and complete that it was frequently mentioned as a sign of God's wrath and judgment, and God often threatened Israel or other nations with a similar destruction (Dt. 29:23 [MT 22]; Isa. 1:9 [quoted in Rom. 9:29]; 13:19; Jer. 49:18; 50:40; Lam. 4:6; Am. 4:11; Zeph. 2:9; 2 Pet. 2:6). Jesus used Sodom's example to castigate any town that rejected His disciples (Mt. 10:15 par. Lk. 10:12). Jesus also proclaimed to unrepentant Capernaum that even Sodom would have repented had it seen mighty deeds like those done in Capernaum (Mt. 11:23f.). He also compared the day of the Son of Man's unveiling to the day of Sodom's destruction (Lk. 17:28-30).

See Vol. I, Map V.

Bibliography.–D. M. Howard, Jr., *JETS*, 27 (1984), 385-400; D. Kidner, *Genesis (Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1967), pp. 136f.; R. F. Lovelace, *Homosexuality and the Church* (1978), pp. 100f.; J. Stott, *Christianity Today*, 29/17 (Nov. 22, 1985), 21-28; B. Vawter, *On Genesis: A New Reading* (1977), pp. 233-36.

D. M. HOWARD, JR.

SODOM, SEA OF [Lat. *mare Sodomiticum*] (2 Esd. 5:7); AV SODOMITISH SEA; NEB DEAD SEA. Another name for the Dead Sea cited in the Ezra Apocalypse and also employed by the Talmud. This term probably specifies the southern portion of the sea near the city called Sodom (cf. Josephus *Ant.* v.1.22 [81], Gk. *Sodomitidos límnēs*, "lake of Sodom").

SODOM, VINE OF [Heb. *gepen sᵉḏōm*] (Dt. 32:32). The identity of this plant has been disputed, and some writers have even regarded the expression as metaphorical. But an actual plant seems implied, most probably the colocynth, *Citrullus colocynthis* (L.) Schrad., which flourishes near the Dead Sea; it has long tendrils and bears a globular fruit containing at maturity merely a dusty powder mixed with the seeds. The Palestinian nightshade (*Solanum sodomeum* L.) is an improbable alternative. R. K. H.

SODOMITE sod'ə-mīt [Gk. *arsenokoítēs*–lit. 'one who sleeps with a male'] (1 Tim. 1:10); AV "them that defile themselves with mankind"; NEB PERVERT. A male homosexual. The same Greek word appears in 1 Cor. 6:9, where it is combined with *malakós* ("soft, effeminate") and translated in the RSV (2nd ed. 1971) by "sexual pervert" (NEB "homosexual perversion"). The term "sodomite" comes from the story of SODOM in Gen. 19:1-11.

SODOMY. *See* CRIMES; SODOM.

SOJOURNER; ALIEN; STRANGER. Neither the AV nor the RSV displays consistency in rendering the biblical terms for "outsiders." At times different Hebrew and Greek terms are translated by the same English equivalent; at other times the same expressions in the original are rendered by different English translations. Since the context has not always determined the translation, this study will be based on the words used in the original.

I. OT
A. *Gēr*
B. *Tôšaḇ*
C. *Nokrî / ben nēkār*
D. *Zār*
E. Conclusions
II. NT

I. OT.–Apart from specific terms like "enemy" (*'ōyēḇ*), "servant" (*'eḇeḏ*), "hireling" (*śāḵîr*), four general Hebrew expressions designated outsiders.

A. Gēr (AV, RSV, "sojourner," "stranger"; LXX usually *prosélytos* or *paroíkos*).

1. Definition. In the narrowest sense a *gēr* was a person attached to the household, but not a member of the actual family (cf. 1 K. 17:20). Frequently he was an employee of the household. In Job 19:15 *gēr* (RSV "guest"; NEB "retainer") is juxtaposed with "my maids." The sabbatical rest in the Decalogue extends to the manservant, maidservant, and sojourner (Heb. *gēr*; Ex. 20:10; 23:12; Dt. 5:14; 16:11, 14). Elsewhere the term is associated with "hired servant" (Lev. 25:6; Dt. 24:14; Mal. 3:5), which was perhaps Jacob's status (Gen. 32:4). In Ex. 3:22 the term is paired with "neighbor" (*šāḵēn*), and seems to apply to non-Israelite adherents.

The *gēr* was also a non-native resident of a town or region, whose full acceptance as citizen was resisted (cf. Gen. 19:9). He may not have even been sympathetic to the local populace (Jgs. 19:16-30). In Dt. 18:6ff. the Levites were to "sojourn" (RSV "live") throughout Israel in localities chosen by the Lord, but this injunction was not always obeyed (Jgs. 17:7-9; cf. 19:1). During the monarchy individuals adopted a transient life-style for a variety of reasons (cf. 2 S. 4:3; 2 Ch. 15:9; Jer. 35:6-10), and this image of mobility was even applied to God's presence (Jer. 14:8).

As sojourners in foreign lands the patriarchs represented the *gēr* par excellence (1 Ch. 16:19; Ps. 105:12). Canaan was called a land of sojournings (Heb. *'ereṣ māgûr*, Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Ex. 6:4). As sojourners they settled down (*yāšaḇ*) only with the permission of the local rulers (Gen. 20:1; cf. v. 15), and had few if any rights (cf. Gen. 21:23f.; 23:1-10). Although Jacob was dwelling (*yāšaḇ*) in Canaan, where his father had sojourned, he felt free to move his entire household to Egypt when famine struck the land (Gen. 37:1; 47:9). For the patriarchs the actual occupation and possession of Canaan (an "eternal possession," *'aḥuzzaṯ ʿôlām*, Gen. 17:8), as opposed to a "place of sojourning," remained a promise of God to be fulfilled through their descendants (17:8; 26:3; 28:4; Ps. 105:11; 1 Ch. 16:18). The period spent by the Israelites in Egypt is viewed similarly. (Gen. 47:4, 11; Ex. 22:21 [MT 20]; 23:9; Lev. 19:34; Dt. 10:19; 23:7 [MT 8]; 26:5; Ps. 105:23; Isa. 52:4; cf. the proleptic reference in Gen. 15:13). At the time of the Exile the pro-Egyptian party in Jerusalem wanted to sojourn (Heb. *gûr;* RSV "live") in Egypt (Jer. 42:15, 17, 22; 43:2; 44:8, 12, 28; cf. Ezk. 20:38). The returning exiles were regarded as sojourners in Babylonia (Ezr. 1:3f.).

Other "international sojourners" included Moses (Ex. 2:22; 18:3). Elimelech of Bethlehem (Ruth 1:1); the Amalekite would-be assassin of Saul (2 S. 1:13), the Shunammite woman (2 K. 8:1f.) and the colonialist Tyrians (Isa. 23:7).

2. Status of the Gēr. Despite the typical oriental concern for hospitality to strangers (cf. Job 31:32), aliens were vulnerable in society, being frequently associated with other groups subject to exploitation: servants (Ex. 20:10; Lev. 25:6; Dt. 5:14), hirelings (Lev. 25:6; Dt. 24:14), the needy (*'ānî*, Lev. 19:10; 23:22; Dt. 24:14; Ezk. 22:29), the poor (*'eḇyôn*, Dt. 24:14; Ezk. 22:29), orphans and widows (Dt. 10:18; 14:29; 24:17-21; 26:12f.; 27:19; Ps. 94:6; 146:9; Jer. 7:6; 22:3). Repeatedly Israel was reminded that their own attitude toward the *gērîm* was to be tempered by the memory of their own experience in Egypt (Ex. 22:21 [MT 20]; 23:9; Lev. 19:34; Dt. 10:19; 23:7 [8]; cf. Isa. 16:4). They were not to treat the outsider as they were treated.

The Mosaic legislation was quite open to receive outsiders into the covenant community (hence the LXX ren-

dering of *gēr proselytos*). Certain rights were conceded to them, including sabbatical rest (Ex. 20:10; 23:12; Dt. 5:14), a fair trial (1:16), access to the cities of refuge (Nu. 35:15; Josh. 20:9), and participation in the Feasts of Booths and Weeks (Dt. 16:11, 14). Their sustenance was to be guaranteed by provision for gleaning (along with other needy groups, Lev. 19:10; 23:22), by the triennial tithe (Dt. 26:11f.) and by the produce of the land during the Sabbatical Year (Lev. 25:6f.). Indeed, the juxtaposition of *gēr* with "native of the land" (*'ezrāḥ* e.g., Ex. 12:19, 48), "your countrymen" (*'aḥîḵâ*, lit. "your brother"), "sons of Israel," and similar expressions clearly indicates that sojourners were to be treated for the most part just like ordinary Israelites. Their privileges and responsibilities thus included observing the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29), the Passover (Ex. 12:49; Nu. 9:14), Unleavened Bread (Ex. 12:19); sacrificial procedures (Lev. 17:8; 22:18; Nu. 15:14-16); atonement for unintentional and defiant sin (15:26-31); purification rites after eating unclean meat (Lev. 17:15; Nu. 19:10), sacrifices to Molech (Lev. 20:2); blaspheming the name of the Lord (24:16), sexual and moral purity (18:26), lex talionis (24:20-22). Lev. 19:33f. summarized the idealized position of the *gēr* in Israel. The *gēr*'s position was so secure that his prosperity could conceivably exceed that of the native Israelites, and the latter could become servants for the former (Lev. 25:47-55). Covenantal infidelity would bring these conditions as a curse upon Israel (Dt. 28:43).

Such rights and privileges only accrued to the sojourner following complete identification with the covenant community, including circumcision (Ex. 12:43-47). Those who refused were treated as foreigners (*nokrî*). Whereas Lev. 17:15 forbids the native and the *gēr* to eat animals that have died a natural death, Dt. 14:21 suggests that such animals could be given to the *gēr* or sold to foreigners for consumption. Rather than treating the former reference as a postexilic development, in which the *gēr*'s status had improved greatly, as is commonly done, the conjoining of *gēr* with *nokrî* suggests that the term is not being used technically, the allusion apparently being to an uncircumcised *gēr*.

At an early period Israel probably adhered to these ideals (Dt. 29:10f. [MT 9f]; cf. also 31:12, which included the sojourners in the assembly of those gathered for instruction in the Torah and the fear of the Lord). The *gērîm* were also present at the covenant renewal ceremony conducted at Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim (Josh. 8:33).

Second-class treatment of sojourners may, however, be documented from later history. The *gêrîm* noted separately in David's census (2 Ch. 2:17 [MT 16]) became the basis of Solomon's work crews, some of which consisted entirely of sojourners (cf. 1 Ch. 22:2). Nevertheless, in Ezekiel's vision of the restored community (47:22), the identification of the *gērîm* with native Israelites is almost complete, even to receiving an inheritance of land in the midst of the tribe in which they resided.

3. Gēr *in Theological Usage*. The concept of sojourner received a special theological application. The land of Canaan was considered the estate of Yahweh. It represented a grant given to Israel as a nation of sojourners in it, subject to the will of the owner (Lev. 25:23; 1 Ch. 29:15). The psalmists frequently describe themselves as but sojourners in the presence of the Lord (Ps. 5:4 [MT 5]; 15:1; 39:12 [MT 13]; 61:4 [MT 5]; 119:54).

B. Tôšaḇ (AV, RSV, "sojourner"). This term occurs thirteen times in the OT, always in conjunction with another term: with "hireling" (Ex. 12:45; Lev. 22:10; 25:6, 40); with *gēr* (Gen. 23:4; Lev. 25:23, 35, 45, 47; Nu. 35:15; 1 Ch. 29:15; Ps. 39:12 [MT 13]). Since the expression never appears alone, its precise significance is not clear. Its root, Heb. *yšb*, suggests some type of resident alien, but the distinction between the *gēr* and the *tôšāḇ* is perhaps minor; the terms were readily interchanged.

C. Nokrî / ben nēḵār (AV, RSV, "foreigner," "stranger"; LXX *allótrios, allogenēs, xénos*). The basic sense of the root, "to be unknown, unrecognizable, changed," may be reflected in a context like Ps. 18:44f. (MT 45f.), where the *bᵉnê-nēḵār* are identified as "a people you do not know," or in 1 K. 14:5f., where the hithpael stem means "make oneself unrecognizable." The connotations of the Hebrew term are not as overtly hostile as the related Akk. *nakrum*, "enemy" (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* [1965], p. 723; but cf. Isa. 62:8). Usually the reference is to someone from a foreign land (Dt. 29:22 [MT 21]; 1 K. 8:41; 2 Ch. 6:32f.), e.g., Moses (*'ereṣ nokrîyâ*, Ex. 2:22; 18:3), Israel (*'aḏmaṯ nēḵār*, Ps. 137:4), Ruth (Ruth 2:10), Ittai the Gittite, (2 S. 15:19), and Solomon's foreign wives (1 K. 11:1ff.; Neh. 13:26f.). In Gen. 42:7 Joseph treats his own brothers as if they are foreigners. But a *nokrî* could also be from nearer by, anybody ethnically distinct from Israel. Jebus was a city of the foreigner to the Levite (Jgs. 19:12). In Ezra 10 the foreign wives of the returned exiles came from the local "peoples of the land." Neh. 9:2 distinguishes the "seed of Israel" from "the sons of the foreigner."

In a still more limited sense, a *nokrî* could be anyone who was an alien to the household (cf. Job 19:15; Ps. 69:8 [MT 9]; Prov. 5:10; 27:2), and according to Gen. 17:12 a household *ben nēḵār* could be purchased with money. This connotation throws significant light on the complaint of Leah and Rachel (Gen. 31:14-16).

Many times, however, *nokrî* is used in the more general sense, "stranger," synonymous with *zār* (cf. below). In Neh. 13:30 sacred cultic objects are distinguished from profane (*nēḵār*). Isa. 28:21 uses the term to signify "extraordinary, unusual."

In general the *nokrî* was viewed as the spiritual antithesis, as well as the ethnic opposite, of Israel (cf. Ezk. 44:7-9). According to Lev. 22:25 sacrificial animals acquired from the *bᵉnê nēḵār* were already intrinsically defiled. Ps. 144:7-11 suggests that his characteristic quality was insincerity and deceit. Ezr. 9:2 condemns the intermarriage of the men of the new commonwealth with the foreign women of the land because this constituted a mixing of "the holy seed" (*zeraʿ haqqōḏeš;* cf. Dt. 14:21). Perhaps because a large proportion of prostitutes were non-Israelites, in Proverbs the feminine form, *nokrîyâ*, functions almost as a *terminus technicus* for "harlot." Cf. BDB, 649. See 2:16; 5:20; 6:24; 7:5; 23:27 (opposite *zônâ*, "harlot"); 27:13.

Theologically any gods other than Yahweh were treated as "alien gods" (*'ĕlōhê hannēḵār*), Gen. 35:2, 4; Dt. 31:16; 32:12; Josh. 24:20, 23; Jgs. 10:16; 1 S. 7:3; 2 Ch. 33:15; Jer. 5:19; 8:19; Mal. 2:11; Ps. 81:9 (MT 10). Cf. Dnl. 11:39.

The *nokrî* presented a serious threat to Hebrew life and worship (Zeph. 1:8; Mal. 2:11), and in general the Mosaic legislation was much less sympathetic to him than to the *gēr*. No *nokrî* was permitted to eat the Passover (Ex. 12:43); none of his animals was suitable for sacrifices (Lev. 22:25); debts owed to him by an Israelite were not remitted in the Sabbatical Year (Dt. 15:3); interest could be collected from those who had borrowed money from an Israelite (23:20 [MT 21]); animals which had died a natural death could be sold to him for consumption (14:21). Isa. 2:6 scolds the Israelites for intercourse with "foreigners." Jeremiah bemoans the fact that whereas Israel was planted

a choice vine (*šōrēq*) of pure seed (*zera' 'ĕmeṯ*), they have degenerated into a wild vine (*haggepen nokrîyâ*) (Jer. 2:21).

D. Zār (AV "stranger"; RSV "stranger," "outsider," "alien," "foreigner"; LXX *allótrios, allogenḗs*). The root seems to signify "to turn aside, depart, deviate."

In its most limited application a *zār* was an outsider to the household (Job 19:13-19). Similarly the levirate law of marriage forbade a childless widow from marrying a "strange man" (*'îš zār*), if the deceased husband had an unmarried brother (Dt. 25:5). In 1 K. 3:18 the two harlots assured Solomon that there were no witnesses to the tragedy described; no *zār* was in the house.

Zār is used also of laymen, especially individuals who do not belong to the priestly or Levitical families (Ex. 29:33; 30:33; Lev. 22:10ff.; Nu. 1:51; 3:10, 38; 16:40 [MT 17:5]; 18:4, 7). The same distinction is applied to foreigners. In Isa. 61:5 foreigners are contrasted with the nation of Israel, presented as priests of Yahweh, while Joel 3:17 (MT 4:17) warns that Jerusalem is not to be defiled by *zārîm*. The term is also used of illegitimate sacrificial fire (Ex. 30:9; Lev. 10:1; Nu. 3:4; 26:61).

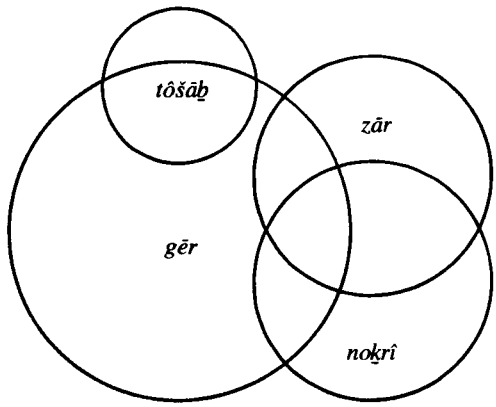
As outsiders, *zārîm* tended to be viewed with suspicion. Frequently they are portrayed as creditors who seize one's possessions (Ps. 109:11; Prov. 6:1; 11:15; 14:10; 20:16), or as outsiders who enter the estate and consume all of the produce (Prov. 5:10). In Ps. 54:3 (MT 5) the psalmist expresses a particular paranoia toward the vengeful stranger, but Prov. 27:2 commends praise from a *zār*.

Similar to the use of *nokrîyâ*, the *zârâ*, "strange woman," in Proverbs is actually an adulteress or prostitute (2:16; 5:3, 20; 7:5; 22:14). Snijders (*TDOT*, IV, 56) suggests that the term designates someone who had deserted her proper place in society. It may also describe an illegitimate intruder into private family relationships. Ezk. 16:32 chastises Israel, a nation which has gone after *zārîm* instead of her own husband, Yahweh, while Hos. 5:7 goes one step farther, declaring that Israel has borne illegitimate children (sons of strangers). The plural form, *zārîm*, often signifies strangers who are enemies of a nation (Isa. 1:7; 29:5; Jer. 5:19; 30:8; 51:51; Ezk. 7:21; 11:9; Hos. 7:9; 8:7; Joel 3:17 [MT 4:17]; Ob. 11), Babylon (Jer. 51:2), Assyria (Ezk. 31:12), Tyre (28:7, 10), and Egypt (30:12). Violent overtones are reflected in the occasional association of the term with *'ārîṣîm*, "usurpers, tyrants" (Ps. 54:3 [MT 5]; Ezk. 28:7; 31:12). Jer. 5:19 speaks of bondage to *zārîm* in an alien land.

Like *nēkār, zār* is often used theologically to describe strange gods, other than Yahweh (Dt. 32:16; Ps. 44:20 [MT 21]; 81:9 [MT 10]; Isa. 43:12; Jer. 2:25; 3:13; 5:19; cf. Ezk. 14:5; Hos. 8:12).

E. Conclusions. Although each of the terms used in the OT to designate outsiders had its own particular nuances, their meanings overlapped considerably. The diagram on this page illustrates these semantic relationships.

The Israelites recognized several categories of outsiders, depending on the degree of identification of the alien with the covenant community. The *gēr*, and perhaps the *tôšāḇ* as well, tended to represent those aliens who chose voluntarily to identify with Israel as completely as possible, including a commitment to their national deity and their spiritual values. By contrast, the *nokrî / bᵉnê nēkār* and the *zār* were usually those who resided in Israel and/or had political contacts with Israel, but who refused a closer association. Consequently, Israel was able to receive the former legitimately, but acceptance of the latter was forbidden.



II. NT.–The vocabulary used to designate outsiders by the NT writers was inherited from the LXX, as was their attitude toward foreigners. Abraham and the patriarchs continue to be acknowledged as the sojourners par excellence (Acts 7:6; 13:17; He. 11:9), dwelling in alien lands but without a permanent residence, looking for a city whose builder and maker was God (cf. Acts 7:29). The Christians in the diaspora are compared to the Israelites and Judeans sojourning in exile (1 Pet. 1:1; 2:11ff.), and they are instructed about their conduct. They must maintain their personal integrity, be submissive to the authorities, express a disciplined freedom as servants of God, and show special love for their fellow sojourners.

In NT times Ezra's aversion toward intermarriage with non-Israelites had hardened to strong feelings of superiority within Judaism. The term *ethnikós* had become as opprobrious as "tax collector" (Mt. 18:17). Tacitus, an outsider, observed, "They regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies" (*Hist.* v.5). By contrast with the openness to strangers in the Mosaic legislation, the broad chasm between Jew and Gentile was institutionalized in the Herodian temple with a separate Court of the Gentiles, beyond which no foreigner was permitted to pass, under threat of death (Josephus *Ant.* xv.11.5 [410-420]). According to Mt. 27:7f. the money Judas had received for betraying Jesus was used to purchase the Potter's Field as a special burial place for strangers who died while in Jerusalem on business or pilgrimages. Peter expresses common Jewish feeling toward the outsider in Acts 10:28, but apparently the Athenians were much more tolerant (Acts 17:21).

The crisis precipitated by the shift in the proclamation of the gospel from the Jews to the Gentiles is not surprising when it is interpreted against this backdrop. Even Peter required a special vision from God to convince him that Gentiles were not intrinsically defiled (Acts 10), and that their piety was as acceptable as was that of his own people. Subsequently the Jews were amazed that the Holy Spirit had been poured out "even on the Gentiles" (10:45). An extremely important part of Paul's message was that the barriers between Jew and Greek were broken down in Christ (Gal. 3:28; Rom. 3:22ff.; 1 Cor. 12:13; Col. 3:11). In Eph. 2:19ff. especially, Paul emphasizes that the Ephesian Christians are no longer to view themselves as "strangers and aliens" (*xénoi kaí pároikoi;* cf. Heb. *gēr wᵉtôšāḇ*), but fellow citizens (*sympolitai*) with the saints of the household of God.

Jesus associates the welcoming of strangers (*xénoi*) with feeding the hungry, giving water to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and imprisoned, all of which, if they were done in his name, constituted minis-

tering to the Savior Himself. In so instructing, He acknowledges a principle which was normative in the OT but which was all too easily perverted into exploitation of the weak. John encourages hospitality toward brothers, especially toward strangers (*xénoi*, 3 Jn. 3).

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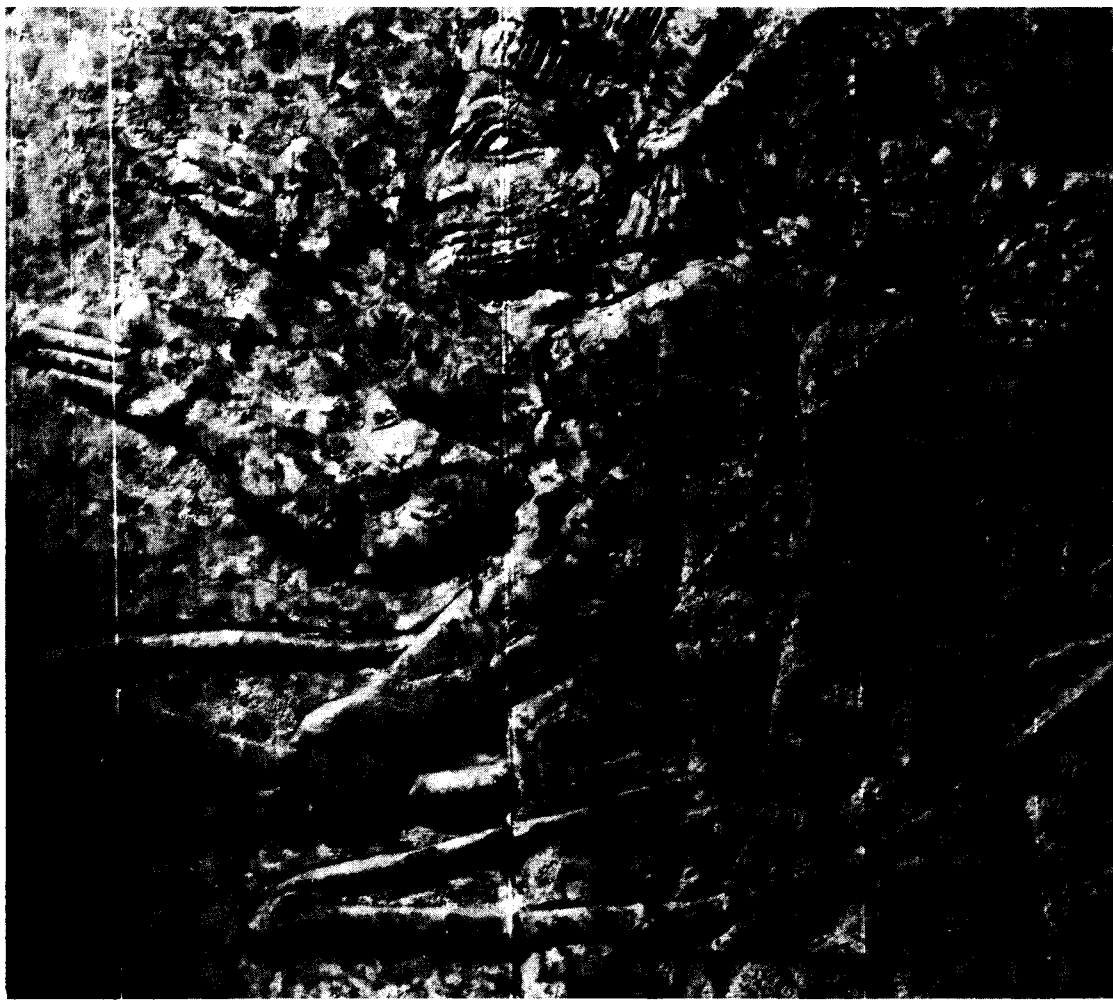
D. I. BLOCK

SOLDERING [Heb. *deḇeq*–'joining, soldering,' 'appendage'] (Isa. 41:7). The fusing of any of various soft or hard alloys to metal surfaces often, requiring red heat for application in a molten state. In Isa. 41:7 Heb. *deḇeq* (< *dāḇaq*, "cling, cleave to") refers to the craft of idol-making (cf. Isa. 40:18-20). In 1 K. 22:34 (par. 2 Ch. 18:33) this Hebrew term indicates the scale-like appearance of Jehoshaphat's armor (RSV "scale armor"). Perhaps, then, *deḇeq* intimates how a coat of mail may have been fabricated, i.e., by the process of soldering. In Job 41:17 (MT 9) and 41:23 (MT 15) Heb. *dāḇaq* occurs with reference to the characteristic compactness of Leviathan's scales.

R. A. COUGHENOUR

SOLDIER [Heb. *raglî*–'on foot' ("foot soldier," 1 S. 4:10; 2 S. 10:6; 1 K. 20:29), *'îš raglî*–'man on foot' ("foot soldier," 2 S. 8:4; 1 Ch. 18:4; 19:18)]; AV FOOTMAN; NEB also INFANTRY, FOOT; [*'îš (ham)milḥāmâ*–'man of war'] (1 K. 9:22; 2 Ch. 8:9; 17:13; Isa. 3:2; Jer. 38:4; 39:4; 41:3; 49:26; 50:30; 51:32); AV MAN OF WAR; NEB ALSO FIGHTING MAN, WARRIOR; [*gibbôr*] (Joel 2:7; Nah. 2:3 [MT 4]); AV MIGHTY MAN; NEB WARRIOR; [*gᵉḇārîm 'anšê hammilḥāmâ*] ("soldiers," Jer. 41:16); AV MIGHTY MEN OF WAR; NEB MEN, ARMED AND UNARMED; [*ḥayil*] ("army of soldiers," 2 Ch. 26:11; Ezr. 8:22); AV HOST OF FIGHTING MEN, BAND OF SOLDIERS; NEB ARMY/ESCORT OF SOLDIERS; [*'amrāb*–'many people'] ("many soldiers," Ezk. 26:7); AV

Elamite soldiers depicted on a limestone relief from Nineveh (668-633 B.C.). They carry bows and an Elamite quiver made with a cover. One soldier watches behind as they march forward (Museo Barracco, Rome)



MANY PEOPLE; NEB A GREAT ARMY; [*śāḵîr*–'hired'] ("hired soldier," Jer. 46:21); AV HIRED MAN; NEB MERCENARY; [*middô l*ᵉ*ḥušû*] ("soldier's garment," 2 S. 20:8); AV JOAB'S GARMENT; NEB HIS TUNIC; ['*îš sār*] (1 K. 20:39); AV MAN; [Gk. *stratiōtēs*] (Mt. 8:9; 27:27; 28:12; Mk. 15:16; Lk. 7:8; 23:36; etc.); NEB also MAN (Acts 12:4), INFANTRY (23:23, 31); [*stráteuma*–'army'] ("soldiers," Lk. 23:11; Acts 23:10, 27); AV also MEN OF WAR, ARMY; NEB TROOPS; [*speíra*–'cohort'] ("band of soldiers," Jn. 18:3, 12); AV BAND; NEB also TROOPS; [*strateúomai*–'wage war'] ("serve as a soldier," 1 Cor. 9:7; part., Lk. 3:14; "soldier on service," 2 Tim. 2:4); AV MAN THAT WARRETH; [*koustōdía*–'guard'] ("guard of soldiers," Mt. 27:65); AV WATCH; NEB GUARD; [*systratiōtēs*] ("fellow soldier," Phil. 2:25; Philem. 2); NEB COMRADE(-IN-ARMS); [*spekoulátōr*] (Mk. 6:27).

The RSV uses "soldier" to render a number of diverse Hebrew terms, including *'îš milḥāmâ*, *gibbôr*, and *gibbôr ḥayil*. The AV consistently rendered *'îš milḥāmâ* with "man of war," *gibbôr* with "mighty man," and *gibbôr ḥayil* with "mighty man of valor." While the RSV has generally followed the AV on each of these terms, its preference for "soldier" has often obscured the fine distinctions in the Hebrew. Thus *'anšê (ham)milḥāmâ* (LXX *ándres polemistaí*; AV, RSV also, "men of war") in early tradition designates the armed men of the Israelite tribes (e.g., Nu. 31:28, 32, 49, 53), who mustered for war with the weapons each was able to provide for himself (usually swords; Jgs. 20:17 defines *'îš milḥāmâ* as a man "bearing the sword"). From the early monarchy on *'îš milḥāmâ* denotes the common, albeit professional, soldier of the standing army (1 K. 9:22; Isa. 3:2; Jer. 38:4; 39:4; 41:3).

Hebrew *gibbôr* (which occurs over a hundred times; AV, RSV, "mighty man"; RSV also "soldier," Jer. 2:7; 41:16; Nah. 2:3 [MT 4] parallels the use of Gk. *hḗrōs*. *Gibbôr* stands for the half-man, half-god figures of the distant past (Gen. 6:4) who correspond to such Greek "heroes" as Heracles and Perseus. NIMROD (prob. Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria) is called a *gibbôr* (Gen. 10:8) in accordance with a further nuance of *hḗrōs*: a mighty warrior-king and founder of great cities (cf. E. A. Speiser, "In Search of Nimrod," in *Oriental and Biblical Studies* [1967], pp. 35-40). The most common meaning of *gibbôr* — i.e., someone of exceptional prowess, particularly in war — fits the Homeric designation of the Greek warrior chiefs who fought at Troy as *hḗrōes*. Consequently, *gibbôr* refers to an elite warrior as distinguished from a "man of war" (*'îš [ham]milḥāmâ*; cf. Isa. 3:2; Ezk. 39:20). David's MIGHTY MEN (*gibbôrîm*) included only the most renowned warriors (cf. 2 S. 23:8-39 par. 1 Ch. 11:10-47), and Saul seems to have had a similar body of men (cf. *'îš gibbôr . . . ben-ḥayil*, 1 S. 14:52).

The expression *gibbôr ḥayil* (AV, RSV, usually "mighty man of valor") likewise designates an elite warrior (cf. Jephthah the Gileadite, Jgs. 11:1; RSV "mighty warrior"; NEB "great warrior") and stands in parallel with *'îs bāḥûr* (RSV "picked man," 2 Ch. 13:3), which also denotes an elite soldier in contrast to the "men of war" (cf. Jgs. 20:16f.). Conversely, 1 S. 16:18 describes David as a *gibbôr ḥayil wᵉ'îš milḥāmâ* (RSV "a man of valor, a man of war"), suggesting that both *gibbôr ḥayil* and *'îš milḥāmâ* may stand in certain contexts for "trained warrior/professonal soldier" (cf. 2 Ch. 17:13; Jer. 41:16; 49:26; 50:30).

The most frequent NT word for "soldier" is Gk. *stratiōtēs* (occurring twenty-one times), which in the Gospels and Acts usually refers to Roman legionnaires. While the Romans permitted native officials to maintain some military forces (cf. Mt. 27:65; Jn. 18:3, 12; etc.), order in the provinces was secured by the Roman legions. The legions did not rely on elite warriors supported by less skilled recruits, as had the armies depicted in the OT, but on large, homogeneous units of highly disciplined professionals, trained to fight as an organized body.

The Greek mythical warrior Achilles depicted on an amphora; he is wearing a short coat of mail and carries a javelin (by the Achilles Painter, *ca.* 440 B.C.) (Vatican Museum)

The Gk. *spekoulátōr* (Mk. 6:27) refers to a member of the "head-quarters' staff of a legionary commander or provincial governor (whose duties included the carrying out of executions)" (*LSJ*, *s.v.*); cf. AV "executioner."

The Pauline and Pastoral Epistles develop the metaphor of the Christian life as one of spiritual warfare. Thus 2 Tim. 2:3 refers to the believer figuratively as "a soldier of Christ," and Paul designates Epaphroditus as his "fellow-soldier" (*systratiōtēs*, i.e., "comrade-in-arms," Phil. 2:25) in a greater spiritual "conflict" (*agṓn;* Phil. 1:30). Eph. 6:10-17 likewise enjoins the believer to "put on the whole armor of God" in order to contend with "principalities . . . powers . . . [and] rulers of this present darkness." In these texts Christians are depicted as armed legionnaires fighting alongside one another and mutually supporting one another in a wider conflict.

See also ARMY; ARMY, ROMAN; WAR.

D. G. SCHLEY

SOLEMN; SOLEMNLY. In the RSV the adjective "solemn" occurs primarily in the phrases "solemn rest" and "solemn assembly." "Solemn rest" translates Heb. *šabbātôn,* which occurs eleven times in Exodus and Leviticus. The RSV translation is appropriate, since the term is obviously related to *šabbāṯ,* "sabbath" (the ending *-ôn* can indicate abstract nouns in Hebrew), and thus connotes a time of rest and of special sanctity (the NEB has "sacred rest"; AV "sabbath" or "rest"). It is applied not only to the sabbath day (Ex. 16:23; 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 23:3) but also to the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:31; 23:32), the Feast of Trumpets (23:24), the first and eighth days of the Feast of Tabernacles (v. 39), and the Sabbatical Year (25:4f.). *See also* REST.

"Solemn assembly" is the AV and RSV translation of Heb. *ʿaṣereṯ/ʿaṣārâ.* The Hebrew term's derivation from *ʿāṣar* ("restrain" or "close up"), as well as the contexts in which it occurs, suggests an occasion of fasting and abstention from work and other profane activities. The NEB renders it "closing ceremony" (Lev. 23:36; Nu. 29:35; Dt. 16:8; 2 Ch. 7:9; Neh. 8:18), "sacred ceremony" (2 K. 10:20; Am. 5:21), "day of abstinence" (Joel 1:14; 2:15), or simply "ceremony" (Isa. 1:13). The term may be used with deliberate irony in Jer. 9:2 (MT 1), where the RSV has simply "company."

In Ps. 68:24 (MT 25) "solemn procession" represents Heb. *hᵃlîḵâ* (<*hālaḵ,* "go," "walk"), which is probably better rendered simply "procession" (so NEB; AV "goings"); the context indicates more festivity than solemnity. Elsewhere the term simply means "caravan" (Job 6:19) or "pathway" (Nah. 2:5 [MT 6]; RSV "go"). In Ezk. 21:23 (MT 28) "solemn oaths" represents Heb. *šᵉḇuʿôṯ,* a form of superlative that could be translated more literally "oaths upon oaths."

The expression "solemnly warn" translates the infinitive absolute with a finite form of the hiphil of *ʿûḏ* in Gen. 43:3; 1 S. 8:9; Jer. 11:7; but the finite verb stands alone in Dt. 8:19 and 1 K. 2:42 (RSV "solemnly admonish"). Similarly, in Ex. 13:19 "solemnly swear" represents the infinitive absolute with a finite form of the hiphil of *šāḇaʿ.*

In the sole NT instance of the English term, "solemnly forewarn" (1 Thess. 4:6) translates a pair of Greek verbs, *proeípon* and *diamartýromai,* which the AV translates literally as "forewarn and testify."

G. CHAMBERLAIN N. J. O.

SOLID FOOD [Gk. *bróma*–'food'] (1 Cor. 3:2); AV MEAT; [*stereá trophḗ*] (He. 5:12, 14); AV STRONG MEAT. In 1 Cor. 3:2 Paul employs a common metaphor from his day to express how the Corinthians had received "milk" (Gk. *gála*), i.e., the revelation of salvation, but by remaining as "babes in Christ" (v. 1) they were unable to assimilate the spiritual wisdom intended for persons mature in the faith.

In He. 5:12, 14 the phrase Gk. *stereá trophḗ* derives from *stereós* ("firm, hard, solid, strong") and *trophḗ* ("nourishment, food"). According to 5:11-14 only "solid food" will effect the desired result of progressing beyond "first principles" (6:1f.) toward spiritual maturity and moral discernment. G. L. K.

SOLOMON sol'ə-mən [Heb. *šᵉlōmōh;* LXX usually Gk. *Salōmōn, Solomōn*]. Son of David and third king of Israel.

I. Ascent to the Throne
  A. Parents and Birth
  B. Name
  C. Adonijah's Conspiracy
II. Achievements
  A. Biblical Record
  B. Political Alliances
  C. Military Measures
  D. Administrative Measures
  E. Trade and Industry
  F. The Temple
  G. Other Buildings
  H. Wisdom
III. Failings

I. Ascent to the Throne.–A. Parents and Birth. Solomon was David's eighth son. Six sons — all of different mothers — were born at Hebron before David's capture of Jerusalem. When he had established his capital and court there, David fell in love with a married woman, Bathsheba, and committed adultery with her, a son being born of the union. Meanwhile David arranged the death of Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, and made her his wife (2 S. 11:2-5, 14-17, 26f.). The firstborn of David and Bathsheba died within a week (12:15-18); their second child was Solomon (v. 24). Solomon was thus David's son by his favorite wife; that is presumably why David chose Solomon to succeed him, rather than the older sons born at Hebron.

B. Name. According to 2 S. 12:24f., Solomon was given two names at birth. The first, Solomon, by which he is invariably known in the Bible, was given to him by his parents. The root meaning of the word is "peace," but it may be connected with the name of the capital, Jerusalem. The other name, Jedidiah, "loved of Yahweh," was given to him by the prophet Nathan. Other Hebrew kings had more than one name (e.g., Zedekiah, also calld Mattaniah; cf. 2 K. 24:17); possibly Solomon was a throne-name and Jedidiah a personal name.

C. Adonijah's Conspiracy. Although Solomon was David's chosen heir to the throne, his eldest surviving brother, Adonijah, saw no reason why he himself should not become king. Thus when it became clear that David was dying, Adonijah sought to establish his own position, and gained the support of Joab the army commander and Abiathar the priest (1 K. 1:7). The conspirators left the city and held a banquet at En-rogel, at which no doubt Adonijah was proclaimed king.

In his rival's absence Solomon acted swiftly. His mother Bathsheba and another influential figure at court, Nathan, went to David, reminded him of his long-standing promise to Solomon, and persuaded him to act (1 K. 1:11-37). The aged king's favor proved decisive, for he was able to furnish Solomon with more effective backing than that possessed by Adonijah. Zadok the priest was not inferior to Abiathar, and Benaiah had the military advantage over Joab in that his men — the king's personal troops — were ready and at hand.

Solomon took his supporters to Gihon, near Adonijah's convocation at En-rogel (1 K. 1:9, 38), and there he was crowned king of Israel. He was anointed by priest (Zadok) and prophet (Nathan) and was surrounded by the royal bodyguard, who acclaimed him David's successor (vv. 32-40). The trumpet was sounded, and the festivity was such that Adonijah could not fail to be aware that some unusual ceremony was taking place. When the explanation reached him, his conspiracy at once fell to pieces, the conspirators departing hastily for the safety of their homes (vv. 41-53). Thus Solomon became king shortly before his father's death.

Solomon showed himself ruthless as he consolidated his own position. Adonijah pleaded for his life, but Solomon would make no promises (1 K. 1:51f.). As soon as Adonijah showed the first signs of further ambition, the king had

him killed (2:13-25; *see* ABISHAG). Joab scarcely outlived Adonijah; he too was struck down before he could endanger Solomon (vv. 28-34). This execution had been suggested by David himself (vv. 5f.); Solomon was swift to comply. Abiathar was deposed and confined to his estate (vv. 26f.). An ancient foe of David, Shimei, was similarly put under house arrest (vv. 36f.); as soon as he left Jerusalem, he was pursued and killed (vv. 39-46). Benaiah, who acted as executioner in these cases, was given Joab's position as commander-in-chief; Zadok became high priest without a rival, taking over Abiathar's duties and functions. "So the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon" (v. 46).

II. Achievements.–*A. Biblical Record.* Solomon's reign is described in 1 K. 1–11 and 2 Ch. 1–9. Relatively few details are given, however; both accounts dwell on the building of the temple and its attendant circumstances. It is not easy, therefore, to assess the character either of Solomon or of his reign. He is credited with great piety, but his apostasy does not go unremarked; his wisdom is proverbial, but his folly was responsible for the disintegration of his realm after his death; the surface peace and prosperity barely veiled considerable oppression and unrest. Since Solomon's reign was long, one may conclude that his character, ability, and farsightedness and the state's economic security and political strength were impaired gradually, perhaps imperceptibly.

B. Political Alliances. Having consolidated his own position, Solomon immediately took steps to consolidate the kingdom. Further conquest was unnecessary; he had only to strengthen his frontiers. He first sealed an alliance with Egypt, marrying Pharaoh's daughter (1 K. 3:1). This alliance even brought him a small increase in territory (9:16). His northern neighbor, Hiram I of Tyre, had been David's ally, and Solomon renewed this bond (5:12). Their treaty proved of greater commercial than military importance (see II.E below); but unfortunately Solomon relied commercially on Hiram to such an extent that he could not repay him in kind and was eventually forced to cede twenty Galilean cities to him (9:10f.).

C. Military Measures. Besides forming these very shrewd alliances, Solomon made sure that his empire would be safe in the event of war. A series of cities throughout his territory was fortified and given permanent garrisons (1 K. 9:15-19); of these Jerusalem itself, Hazor (*see* picture in KINGS, BOOKS OF), and Megiddo are notable. This fortification process was a new step militarily. It involved the novel features of a standing army and the employment of chariots especially on a large scale (10:26).

D. Administrative Measures. Israel had changed radically since the days of Saul, and it is no wonder that Solomon felt the need to implement a number of administrative changes. Moreover, his heavy expenditure necessitated heavy taxation, and his grandiose schemes demanded some forced labor (or corvée), both of which required efficient administration. The old tribal divisions had lapsed, especially since the Canaanite cities had been incorporated into Israel; thus the land was redivided into twelve administrative districts, with an officer appointed over each (1 K. 4:7-19). Solomon made several other new appointments, as a comparison of 2 S. 20:23-26 (David's officials) with 1 K. 4:1-6 shows.

E. Trade and Industry. Solomon was competent as a diplomat, strategist, and administrator but showed exceptional perspicacity in his commercial enterprises. To secure a sound economy, he utilized Israel's own resources to the full and took complete advantage of its geographical position astride the trade routes of the ancient world. For example, 1 K. 10:28f. describes a very lucrative royal venture. His import requirements of horses and chariots led Solomon to realize that he controlled the trade routes from Egypt, which manufactured chariots, and Cilicia ("Kue"; the RSV is to be preferred in v. 28), famed for its horses. Solomon by acting as middleman could make his own profit from these Egyptian and Cilician exports.

The narrative about the Queen of Sheba emphasizes Solomon's wisdom, and the story has often been called a legend (1 K. 10:1-13). But the context indicates that her visit to Solomon was really connected with trade and as such is intelligible; its historicity need not be doubted. In the ancient world embassies frequently issued polite fictions to explain their visits; cf. the Babylonian embassy to Hezekiah (2 K. 20:12). The queen's purpose, then, was to negotiate for overland trade between south Arabia and Israel; an arrangement suitable to both parties was presumably concluded (1 K. 10:13).

Trade flourished particularly between Israel and Tyre. Hiram supplied timber and gold for the temple in return for wheat and oil (1 K. 5:10f.). Together the two kings operated the Red Sea fleet, which promoted trade with Arabia or East Africa ("Ophir"; cf. 9:26-28) and brought all sorts of treasures to the royal court at Jerusalem (10:11f., 22). The Phoenicians were the leading sea merchants of the time, and their skill and knowledge must have been invaluable to Solomon.

"The History of Solomon and Building the Temple," an illumination in an eleventh-century Latin MS from Spain. The scenes depict Solomon sending a message to Hiram (left), the queen of Sheba visiting Solomon (bottom right), a sacrifice on the temple altar and Solomon being blessed by the hand of God (middle right). Toward the top is the ark of the covenant between two cherubim (the twelve heads signify the twelve tribes) (Bible of San Pedro of Roda, lat. ms. 6, fol. 129, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

Solomon's home industries are not mentioned in the Bible, but archeological investigation has revealed his exploitation of Israel's mineral wealth. Copper, which abounded in the extreme south of his realm, was mined, refined, and shipped from Ezion-geber. These copper shipments were the original reason for constructing the Red Sea fleet. Since the Phoenicians were also skilled at refining metals, probably Solomon used their services in the copper industry. The chief artificer of the bronze work in the temple was a Tyrian, with the Tyrian name Hiram, although his mother was Israelite (1 K. 7:13-45).

F. The Temple. Solomon's greatest achievement, in the eyes of the biblical writers, was constructing a temple to Yahweh in Jerusalem. Proposed by David, it was completed by Solomon in the eleventh year of his reign, having taken seven years to erect (1 K. 6:38). *See* TEMPLE for a full description. Since the architect was Tyrian, the temple exhibited features that were not all of purely Israelite conception; but the worship inaugurated in it was without doubt thoroughly Yahwistic in character. The temple was to have a profound influence on Israel, as its central shrine, housing the ark of the covenant; thus Solomon, for all his faults, was ever remembered as its builder, and his name was honored because of it.

When the temple had been completed, a dedication ceremony was held. The ark was brought with great pomp from its temporary shrine in the city itself to the hill N of it where the temple stood (1 K. 8:1). Solomon himself uttered the prayer of dedication (vv. 12-53; 2 Ch. 6) and an enormous number of animals were sacrificed (1 K. 8:63). The prayer includes a clear reference to an exile (8:46-51), but it is mainly attributable to Solomon, particularly in its references to Yahweh (e.g., vv. 12f.), which have parallels in the Râs Shamrah Tablets (see Gray, comm. on 1 K. 8:32). Solomon is credited with having enriched the cultus in various ways, especially musically (cf. 10:12; 2 Ch. 5:11-13).

G. Other Buildings. Solomon erected a considerable complex of buildings N of the City of David. His own palace was probably even more magnificent than the temple, for it took almost twice as long to build (1 K. 7:1). It was called "the House of the Forest of Lebanon," after its great cedar pillars (v. 2). The building housed a "Hall of Pillars" and a "Hall of the Throne" (for judgment) (vv. 6f.). There was also a separate palace for his chief wife, Pharaoh's daughter (v. 8). *See* plan in JERUSALEM III.C.2. All these were sumptuously furnished. Solomon's building program -- it included the fortification mentioned in II.C above — was very extravagant and endangered the economy, despite the flourishing commerce.

H. Wisdom. Above all else, Solomon is renowned for his wisdom. It is recorded that he asked Yahweh for discernment and wisdom (1 K. 3:7-9) and that Yahweh granted him the boon, together with long life and prosperity (vv. 10-14). A single instance of his shrewdness in administering justice is given (vv. 16-28). He is credited with three thousand proverbs (4:32), although no examples are given. But in view of his later reputation, it would be foolish to dismiss this as a groundless legend. His reign was, in fact, a golden age of literature. Many scholars agree that the court history of David and parts of the Pentateuch were written during this period of peace and prosperity. Wisdom literature, in particular, is evidenced in the Near East from the 2nd millennium B.C. so that even if the OT wisdom writings were not finally edited until postexilic times, there is no reason to doubt that the beginnings of Israelite wisdom thought and writing can be placed in Solomon's reign.

III. Failings.–Despite all that Solomon did to boost Israel's economy, his expenditure must have outweighed the income. Doubtless the oriental luxury of the court (cf. 1 K. 10:16-22) made the situation worse. The result was heavy taxation (cf. 4:7), which must have rankled many. Some of Solomon's measures, moreover, such as the exploitation of the copper mines, demanded forced labor. It is not clear to what extent the corvée was applied to freeborn Israelites, for 5:13-18 and 9:20-22 seem to be mutually contradictory on this point; possibly different conditions prevailed in different periods of his reign. Nor is it clear whether Judah received preferential treatment. At any rate, the complaint of Israel in Rehoboam's reign clearly indicates the extreme discontent with Solomon's measures (12:4); it is noteworthy that Adoniram, the chief of the corvée, was killed by the angry populace (v. 18).

The MT records no outright rebellion against Solomon, but toward the end of his reign a young and able Ephraimite, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, in some way incurred the king's wrath and fled to the Egyptian court (1 K. 11:26-40), biding his time. Jeroboam clearly had political ambitions and received a measure of prophetic backing, but he apparently was given no time nor opportunity to cause Solomon trouble. The LXX, however, inserts a long passage in 12:24, claiming, perhaps correctly, that Jeroboam did in fact stage an abortive revolt.

If many Israelites felt they were badly treated, the vassal peoples had stronger reason to complain, for they had been used for slave labor since the time of David. No vassal state actually succeeded in breaking away from Solomon's empire, but two of them caused him trouble. Hadad, a member of the royal house of Edom, long resided at the Egyptian court, fomenting what trouble he could in his own land (1 K. 14-22). In Damascus a guerrilla leader, Rezon, arose and called himself king of Damascus; Solomon never succeeded in apprehending him (vv. 23-25).

Solomon began his reign faithful to Yahweh (1 K. 3:3), but he gradually lapsed. His huge harem was the main reason (11:1-8). No doubt Solomon himself worshiped no god but Yahweh; but he tolerated the idolatrous cults of his foreign wives and even had shrines built for them (vv. 4-8). This, naturally enough, led many Israelites astray before long; the biblical writer found such conduct reprehensible and stated that Solomon's actions were the direct cause of the political unrest at the end of his reign. It was punishment from Yahweh for his apostasy (vv. 9-14, 23).

So Solomon died, his empire intact but fast disintegrating. He reigned forty years, according to 1 K. 11:42 (2 Ch. 9:30), but this may be a round number. In Albright's chronology 922 B.C. is the approximate date of his death; Thiele (*MNHK*) placed it in 931.

Solomon exhibited great ability in a variety of fields; as a politician, diplomat, strategist, organizer, and administrator he excelled, and his poetry and proverbs apparently were equally admirable. Ruthlessness mars his early days as king, to modern eyes; but he may well have noted the dire results of David's leniency, e.g., with Absalom. His real undoing was his lack of moderation. His extravagance in his harem, court luxury, and building schemes laid an impossible burden on his subjects, and moreover served to emphasize the contrast between his happy position and their own increasing poverty. Because of these failings, Solomon brought his empire to the brink of disruption from which Rehoboam, his son and successor, was unable to rescue it.

Bibliography.–*BHI*; *NHI*; *ORHI*; comms. on Kings by S. J. DeVries (*Word*, 1985); J. Gray (*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970); G. H. Jones

(*NCBC*, 1984); J. A. Montgomery and S. Gehman (*ICC*, 1951); J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (1986). D. F. PAYNE

SOLOMON, ODES OF. A collection of forty-two early Jewish Christian hymns celebrating the union of Christ and the believer.

I. Text
II. Language
III. Provenance
IV. Date
V. Contents
VI. Theology
VII. Relationship to Other Literature
A. Gnostic Literature
B. Qumrân Literature
C. NT

I. Text.–Although it was known through its mention in lists of apocryphal works, the book was lost until its discovery by J. R. Harris on January 4, 1909, in a Syriac MS (15th cent.) already in his possession. The only other texts that have been found are Codex Nitrensis (Syriac, 10th cent.), Bodmer Papyrus XI (Greek, 3rd cent.), and quotations in Codex Askewianus (Coptic, 4th cent.). None of these texts is complete.

II. Language.–Scholars have been divided over the original language of the Odes. Since they follow the LXX of Ps. 50:3 (MT 51:1) and 20:4 (MT 21:3), and since the Bodmer Papyrus was written in Greek, some scholars concluded that the Odes were composed in Greek. Other scholars suggested Hebrew or Aramaic. Most scholars have decided in favor of Syriac, based on three considerations: (1) the extant Syriac MSS exhibit fine poetic style with assonance and metrical scheme; (2) the MSS also contain plays on words possible only in Syriac; and (3) the Greek of the Bodmer Papyrus appears itself to have been translated from a Semitic original.

III. Provenance.–The provenance of the Odes is unknown. Some, e.g., Harris and Mingana, argued for Syrian Antioch, while others have suggested Edessa, an important city in Syrian Christianity (see Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, II, 727). It is even possible that the Odes were composed in different areas and later collected (see VII.B, C below).

IV. Date.–It is impossible to date the Odes precisely, since they make no identifiable references to their own period of history, and since they are not cited during the first two centuries A.D. Clearly, though, they cannot date earlier than the mid-1st cent., and they were probably composed somewhat later than this. If they arose from circles close to the Johannine tradition (see VII.C below), a date around the end of the 1st cent. would be most likely. Scholars who consider the Odes to be Gnostic date them later, but their views have fallen into disfavor (see VII.A below).

V. Contents.–Since the Odes of Solomon is a collection of songs, there is no consecutive narration or systematic discussion of themes. Rather, the hymns contain many themes, including wisdom (e.g., 7:8), immortal life (e.g., 3:8; 10:2; 15:8-10), Logos (or Word, e.g., 12:5-12), creation (e.g., 16:10-19), light (e.g., 10:1, 6; 25:7), God as a living spring (e.g., 30:1-7), truth (e.g., 38:1-16), and Messiah (e.g., 29:6; 41:3, 15). Despite its title, the extant portions of the book make no claim for Solomonic authorship (it should be kept in mind, however, that Ode 2, the beginning of 3, and perhaps part of 1 are missing). Perhaps the book was attached to Solomon's name because Solomon was the traditional author of some of the biblical Psalms, or perhaps the identification was suggested by the fact that Solomon was a son of David like the Messiah.

VI. Theology.–The dominant theme of the Odes of Solomon is the author's joy in his relationship with God through God's Son, the Messiah. This relationship might be called theistic mysticism. The author does not report a loss of individuality, but he does say that he has been (1) united with or joined to God, making him immortal and a son of God (3:7f.), so that nothing can divide him from God (28:5), (2) filled with God's love (3:1-7; 11:2), (3) emptied of all that is not God's light (25:7), and (4) made wise so as not to fall into the hands of "the deceiver(s)" (38:16).

The resolution of opposites that is so characteristic of mystical literature appears in at least two ways. (1) God is characterized as the Father whose breasts were full of milk, drawn by the Holy Spirit and mixed with milk from her own breasts; the milk represents the Son (19:1-5). (2) Many of the odes begin in the third person, with the singer lauding Christ, but shift to become hymns sung by Christ, giving at least the appearance of the blending of subject and object. In addition, it should be noted that the Odes have a strong trinitarian emphasis (e.g., 23:22; cf. 19:2). Reference is made to Jesus' incarnation (7:4-12; 19), baptism (24), crucifixion (27; 28:9-20; 31:8-13; etc.), and resurrection (e.g., 42:6-20).

VII. Relationship to Other Literature.–*A. Gnostic Literature.* In 1910 H. Gunkel declared that the Odes were Gnostic. This opinion was furthered by E. Preuschen, who attributed the Odes to Valentinus. J. R. Harris and A. Mingana disputed Gunkel's conclusion as early as 1920, and Charlesworth (1969) subjected the question to careful study. In fact, the Odes distinguish themselves from GNOSTICISM in several ways. (1) In Ode 7:9-13 (cf. Ode 16) the author praises the Creator God, whom the Gnostics disdained for His contact with matter. (2) In 8:10f. knowledge is paralleled with faith, while Gnostics saw them as opposed. (3) In 42:11-20 Christ descends to the underworld and grants resurrection, while in Gnosticism He ascends through cosmic spheres. (4) Although the Odes do not quote the OT, they are obviously familiar with it and to some extent dependent on it (cf. the influence of Ps. 22:16-18 on Odes 28:14, 18; 31:8-13; of Gen. 2:2 on Ode 16:12; of Ezk. 47 on Ode 6; etc.), whereas Gnosticism deprecated the OT. (5) The Odes are anything but dualistic, which is characteristic of Gnosticism (see Charlesworth, *CBQ*, 31 [1969]). It seems clear, then, that the Odes are not Gnostic. Still, their use of images such as light and their emphasis on knowledge, as well as their understanding of salvation, might have influenced the later Gnostic systems.

B. Qumrân Literature. There are numerous parallels between the Odes and the Dead Sea Scrolls Both emphasize "knowledge," "the war," "crown," "living water," and "the sun" as "symbols of a realized salvation that has not yet been fully consummated" (Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, II, 728). While it is possible that these were simply common themes in first-century Judaism, most scholars have concluded that the Odes were more likely influenced by the sectarian writings from Qumrân; some have even suggested that the author was once a member of that sect. Theories that note parallels between Qumrân and the Odes often point out similarities with the Gospel of John as well (see below).

C. NT. Although the Odes may represent the type of Christian literature referred to in Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; Acts 16:25; etc., the NT book that shows the strongest links with the Odes is the Gospel of John. M. Lattke (pp.

298f.) cited parallels in the use of the terms "keep" (Gk. *tēréō*), "knowledge" (*gnōsis*), "light" (*phōs*), "love" (*agápē*), "truth" (*alétheia*), etc., as well as in the shared concepts of the way of passing on life and realized eschatology. Charlesworth and Culpepper (pp. 320f.) summarized three hypotheses about this relationship: (1) the Odes depend upon John, (2) John depends upon the traditions in the Odes, and (3) the Odes and John come from the same religious environment. The first view they refuted by examining twenty-six parallel themes without finding literary dependence. The second hypothesis they rejected because it requires too early a date for the Odes. It seems best to conclude, then, that the Gospel of John and the Odes of Solomon arose in the same milieu, perhaps even in the same religious community, and that both were influenced by the Essenes. Whether the author of the Odes ever belonged to the Johannine community remains uncertain.

Bibliography.–J. H. Charlesworth, *Odes of Solomon* (1977); *OT Pseudepigrapha*, II (1985), 725-771; *CBQ*, 31 (1969), 357-367; J. H. Charlesworth and R. A. Culpepper, *CBQ*, 35 (1973), 298-322; O. Cullmann, *JBL*, 74 (1955), 213-226; J. R. Harris and A. Mingana, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, I (1916), II (1920); M. Lattke, *ZNW*, 73 (1982), 294-301. P. L. REDDITT

SOLOMON, POOLS OF. *See* POOL.

SOLOMON, PSALMS OF. *See* APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE III.D.

SOLOMON, SONG OF. *See* CANTICLES.

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. *See* WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

SOLOMON'S PORCH; SOLOMON'S PORTICO. *See* JERUSALEM III.H.22; TEMPLE IV.C.2.

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS [Heb. *'abdê šelōmōh*; LXX *doúloi Salōmōn*]. In a general sense all kings in the ancient Near East had servants, and Solomon was no exception. He surrounded himself with a large company of subordinates.

The precise terminology "Solomon's servants," however, appears in several OT texts referring to a company of royal servants who performed tasks related to Solomon's temple. According to 1 K. 9:27 par. 2 Ch. 8:18 Solomon's servants went with Hiram's servants to collect gold for the temple; the Chronicler adds that they also brought algum trees and precious stones (9:10). Some scholars (e.g., de Vaux) have suggested that Solomon's servants were among Israel's state slaves (*see also* NETHINIM). State slavery was common in the ancient Near East. David formed a work force of Ammonite prisoners of war (2 S. 12:31), and Solomon's building projects required a much larger compulsory work force (1 K. 9:15-22). Many scholars (e.g., Mendelsohn and comms. on Ezra-Nehemiah by D. Clines [*NCBC*, 1984], p. 57; H. Williamson [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], pp. 35f.) have suggested that "Solomon's servants" were non-Israelites — Canaanite prisoners of war and their descendants — among these slaves. The problem with this view is that despite Ezekiel's insistence that Gentiles not be allowed to serve in the temple (Ezk. 44:9), Ezra and Nehemiah list the "sons of Solomon's servants" as participants in the second temple (Ezr. 2:58; Neh. 7:60). It seems more likely, therefore, that Solomon's servants were Israelites who were associated with these foreign slaves. 1 K. 9:20-23 indicates that foreigners made up the levy of slaves, but that Israelites served as overseers "who had charge of the people who carried on the work" (v. 23). Among these overseers are specifically mentioned Solomon's "officials" (Heb. *'ṣāḏîm*, v. 22). It is probable, therefore, that Solomon's servants were originally a class of Israelite supervisors who were involved in building Solomon's temple.

References to "sons of Solomon's servants" (Heb. *bᵉnê 'abḏê šᵉlōmōh*) appear in postexilic writings. This company is listed four times among those who returned from the Exile (Ezr. 2:55, 58; Neh. 7:57, 60) and is closely associated with the "temple servants" (Ezr. 2:58; Neh. 7:60; 11:3). In the light of this association and their background in the Solomonic period, it can be assumed that Solomon's servants had significant responsibilities in the second temple.

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SOMETIME(S). In Jer. 28:12 "sometime after" translates Heb. *'aḥar*, a preposition of time with the temporal meaning "after" (so AV, NEB). In Nu. 9:20f. the RSV "sometimes" renders Heb. *yēš 'ašer* ("it occurs that"; KoB, p. 409), a phrase that expresses existence (cf. Eccl. 2:21, AV "There is"; R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax* [repr. 1980], § 477, p. 79).

In the RSV NT "sometimes" occurs only twice, both in He. 10:33, where it renders Gk. *toúto mén* and *toúto dé* (AV "partly whilst"). Gk. *mén* followed by *dé* often shows a contrast; here, however, the construction separates one thought in a series from another so that each thought is clearly distinguished (Bauer, rev., p. 503). Thus He. 10:33 states that not only did those addressed endure personal suffering, but they also sympathized with their fellow Christians who were experiencing persecution.

G. L. K.

SOMIS so'mis (1 Esd. 9:34, NEB). *See* SHIMEI 18.

SON. In the RSV the most common terms translated "son" include Heb. *bēn, yeleḏ*; Aram. *bar*; and Gk. *huiós* and *téknon*. In the majority of instances, the OT follows the common denotation of a male begotten by a father or set of parents. But "son" is also employed in a broader sense to signify a range of familial, hereditary, and social relationships.

A son was considered heir of his father's possessions. The firstborn son received a double share of the inheritance (Dt. 21:17) and was regarded as the head of family on the death of his father. Sons were desired by Israelite families because they ensured the continuance of the family line, providing the means for parents to live on through their posterity. They were thus considered blessings and gifts from God (Gen. 4:50-52; 2 K. 4:14-17; Ps. 127:3-5; 128:1-4). This perspective is best illustrated by Isaac, whose birth fulfilled the promise God gave to Abraham (Gen. 15:1-5; 21:1-7).

Following the practice of other Semitic peoples, the Hebrews used the patronymic phrase "son of . . ." to specify the family to which a certain person belonged. Its use in the genealogies demonstrates that a son was considered to be part of a broader network of relationships which included clan, tribe, and nation. Because he was an extension of the family, a son could bring either honor or shame to his parents (Prov. 10:1; 15:20; 17:25; etc.); note also the designation of Judas as "son of Simon Iscariot" (Jn. 6:71; 12:4; 13:2, 26). Teachers or sages often addressed their students as sons (1 S. 3:6; Ps. 43:11; Prov. 2:1; 3:1; Eccl. 12:12), following a practice characteristic in

ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. In common parlance, the members of certain social or professional groups were also called sons, as in "sons of the prophets" (1 K. 20:35; 2 K. 2:3; Am. 7:14); and "sons of the priests" (Ezr. 10:18; Neh. 12:35; 1 Ch. 9:30).

The father/son model expresses God's relationship with the covenant community, especially in the preaching of the prophets. Yahweh calls Israel His son (Ex. 4:22f.; Hos. 11:1), while Ephraim (the northern kingdom) is portrayed as a son without wisdom (Hos. 13:12f.). Of special note are references to the king as the son of God (2 S. 7:14; Ps. 2:7; 89:26f.). Such a pronouncement was not originally meant to be taken literally but was used figuratively to communicate Yahweh's legitimization and recognition of the reigning dynasty. *See* SON OF GOD I.B.1.

Father/son imagery is appropriated in the NT to refer to God's relationship to Christian believers, who are called sons (children) of God (Jn. 1:12; 1 Jn. 3:1). A distinction is made between Christ, the only begotten son of God (Jn. 1:18; 3:16), and Christians, who have been adopted as sons (children) and thus are heirs of the promises of God (Gal. 3:26–4:7).

See also BEN-; CHILD; RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY.

L. D. HAWK

SON OF GOD [Gk. *ho huiós theóu*].

I. Self-Testimony of Jesus
  A. The Son and the Father
  B. The Son and Election
    1. In Israel
    2. In Pre-Christian Judaism and Hellenism
    3. The Only Begotten Son
  C. The Son as Messiah
  D. The Son as Lord
II. The Son of God as the Theme of the Gospel
  A. The Son as Servant of Yahweh
  B. The Son as Reconciler
  C. The Son as the Power of God over Sin and Death
III. The Son of God as the Source of a New Humanity
  A. The Son and the Spirit
  B. The Son From Whom Sonship Comes
  C. The Son and the Confession of the Early Church

I. The Self-Testimony of Jesus.–*A. The Son and the Father.* Jesus' sonship is fundamental to His address of God as Father throughout the NT (Mk. 14:36; Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6). It speaks especially of Jesus' unity of will with the Father's will. God acts not only through Him but with Him (Mk. 2:7 par.). The book of Hebrews intimately relates obedience to the sonship of Jesus; even though He possesses intrinsic dignity as the Son, He learned obedience through suffering (5:8-10).

The function of Jesus as the Son of God in John's Gospel is based on this intimate relationship. He possesses authority equal to the Father's (Jn. 3:35f.; 5:18; 10:18, 30, 34-36; 16:32; 17:10; 20:28), since the Father both bears witness of Him (5:31-39) and glorifies Him (8:50-54; 11:4; 13:31f.; 16:14; 17:1, 5). The Fourth Gospel also presents Jesus as sharing in the Father's prerogatives to bring life and to judge (5:21-24). Mt. 11:25-27 speaks of the Father's absolute sovereignty in revealing the Son, who in turn exercises an absolute sovereignty in revealing the Father. This sovereignty extends to the Son being the mediator of revelation to all persons.

Matthew 11:25-27 expresses the mutual knowledge between the Father and the Son. This passage, whose authenticity has been intensively debated (see A. M. Hunter, *NTS*, 8 [1961/62], 221-249; I. H. Marshall, *Interp.*, 21 (1967), 91-94), has been characterized as a "meteor from the Johannine heaven" (K. von Hase, *Die Geschichte Jesu* [2nd ed., 1876], p. 422) because of its close affinity with the Fourth Gospel. Some scholars have attributed the saying to Hellenistic mysticism, others to Gnosticism. But its similarity with the OT is equally striking: "For they shall all know me . . . and I will remember their sin no more" (Jer. 31:34).

James Dunn persuasively argued that it is natural to see Mt. 11:27 as the beginning of a long tradition that reached its fruition in John's Gospel (*Jesus and the Spirit,* pp. 28f.). Dunn stated that the closest parallel is with wisdom literature, which speaks of the righteous man who claims to have knowledge of God and calls himself a child of Yahweh (Wisd. 2:13; cf. Sir. 4:10; 51:10). The strongest historical evidence for the authenticity of Mt. 11:25-27 has been Jesus' use of Aram. *'abbā'*, "father" (see J. Jeremias, *Prayers of Jesus* [*SBT*, 216; 1967], pp. 11-65). It is argued that the presence of an untranslated Aramaic word points to a Palestinian origin and an early date.

Did Jesus consider Himself the Son of God? Apart from Mt. 11:27 Jesus' use of "Son" is not extensive, although numerous times He allows Himself to be addressed as such (e.g., Mt. 4:3, 6; Mk. 1:11; 3:11; 5:7; 9:7; Lk. 3:22). Luke significantly portrays Jesus as conscious of sonship before His baptism when He visits the temple, which He calls "my Father's house" (Lk. 2:49). When sonship is understood to refer to one who enjoys intimacy and union with God, and also to one who reveals true knowledge of God, the self-consciousness of Jesus reveals an instinctive sense of sonship even when He Himself does not use the title.

The NT teaching on sonship as a christological theme yields striking, though not necessarily contradictory, differences. Mark speaks of sonship in terms of mission, suffering, and dying; Matthew in terms of a mission that fulfills the destiny of Israel, based on Jesus' conception by the power of the Spirit. In Luke, Jesus is the Son of God at birth, through the Spirit. Hebrews unites a Platonic cosmology and Jewish eschatology; and John emphasizes preexistence. These various perspectives illuminate rather than obscure the central theme of sonship. Jesus is the divine Son who comes from God and who, through His eschatological person, makes God's fatherly presence available to all. *See* GOD THE FATHER: NT II.

B. The Son and Election. 1. In Israel. "Son of God" in the OT can refer to a "heavenly court" of supernatural beings (Gen. 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Ps. 29:1; 82:6; 89:6 [MT 7]), or to the mysterious "fourth man" in the furnace who was like a "son of the gods" (Dnl. 3:25). But the most important usage in the OT is for Israel and the Davidic king. Sonship is a fundamental part of the election of Israel. It involves a legal claim (Mal. 1:6), and it also implies a love for Israel as the "first-born" son (Ex. 4:22; Jer. 31:9). This becomes the background for the prophets' oracles of judgment. Israel the son proved ungrateful (Hos. 11:1f.) and less enlightened than mere beasts (Isa. 1:2f.; cf. 30:1, 9). The king is crowned David's son based on 2 S. 7:12-16. Only after he has received his full royal name (2 S. 7:9; 1 K. 1:47), has been granted his first request (Ps. 2:8; 20:4 [MT 5]; 21:1, 3 [MT 2, 4]), and has been invested with a scepter (110:2), can he begin his rule. The king takes the place of God on earth, as His representative. This is a messianic function, as 2 S. 7:12-16 and Ps. 2:7 make clear. He is not God's Son by nature, but he is nonetheless acknowledged by Yahweh as one from whom Yahweh's inheritance and authority come. This clearly shows that sonship is not a natural right, nor is it a power of office. Rather, it is a presence and power of God Himself bestowed through God's free grace of election and confirmation.

2. In Pre-Christian Judaism and Hellenism. "Son of God" was not a common title for the Messiah in pre-Christian Judaism. One exception is the messianic expectation at Qumrân based on Ps. 2:7 and 2 S. 7:14 (4QFlor; cf. 1QSa 2:11f.; 4Qps Dan A). R. Bultmann supported the possibility that the Messiah could also be understood as a Son of God because of the use of "son of God" in Ps. 2 as a royal title (*Theology of the NT,* I [Eng. tr. 1951], 50).

Sonship is used in an eschatological sense in Jub. 1:22-25 (cf. 2:20; 19:29), which depicts God as returning to His children. The Maccabean martyrs are called "children of heaven" in 2 Macc. 7:34. The wisdom tradition intertwines "sonship" and ethics. In Sir. 4:1-10 God calls the righteous man who is a father to orphans a "son." In Wisd. 2:13, 18 the righteous man is mocked as having been forsaken by his father (cf. Mt. 27:43). M. Hengel has made much of the Jewish mystical book *3 Enoch,* where Enoch, translated into heaven, becomes God's vizier and plenipotentiary. Metatron, "the prince of the world," and is even called "little Yahweh" (*Son of God,* p. 46). This, however, appears to have been a fringe element of Judaism.

Many, especially R. Bultmann, have seen a Hellenistic "divine man" (*theíos anḗr*) miracle worker behind the "son of God" in the NT (p. 130). But O. Cullmann pointed out Jesus' rejection of the Hellenistic conception of divine sonship in the temptation story (pp. 276f.). More recently, M. Hengel has shown that the Hellenistic mystery cults did not know of a dying and rising son of God, and the gnostic redeemer myths were not fully developed until the 2nd cent. A.D. (ibid., pp. 25-35). While it must be admitted that "son of God" was used in a broad sense in the hellenistic world for anyone from a Greek mythic hero to the emperor Augustus, this was not generally true for pre-Christian Judaism.

3. The Only Begotten Son. Although Luke (1:32f.) bases Jesus' sonship on 2 S. 7 and Matthew (2:15) on Hos. 11:1, both speak of a virgin birth that is an eschatological new creation by God. Since there is no human father, it is quite appropriate to call Jesus the Son of God, conceived and filled with the creative power of the Holy Spirit. While it is true that, linguistically, the NT takes over the title "Son of God" from the OT, K. Barth reminds us that, of all the titles ascribed to Jesus, "Son of God" came to the forefront for expressing His activity from the standpoint of its *origin* (*CD* IV/1, p. 206). In the Fourth Gospel particularly Jesus is the one who has life in Himself (5:26), who has come in His Father's name (5:43), and who is the living bread that came down from heaven (6:50). This origin of Jesus is not a subject of speculation but is assumed as the basis for His intimate relation with the Father and as the source for His obedience to the Father. In Hebrews, as in Phil. 2, preexistent, divine sonship and the humiliation of His passion are stressed simultaneously (He. 2:18; 5:7; 12:2; 13:12f.; cf. Mk. 15:39; Jn. 3:14; 8:28; 19:5). For Greek minds this was the "intolerable scandal," even up to the 6th cent. A.D. In the title "high priest" the historical passion of Jesus is united to the divine sonship, although this seems paradoxical to the writer (He. 5:8). Only in the exalted Lord are these two designations one and the same (4:14). *See* ONLY BEGOTTEN.

C. The Son as Messiah. Is "the Son of God" an ontological or functional title? O. Cullmann stimulated the discussion by stating, "It is only meaningful to speak of the Son in view of God's revelatory action, not in view of his being" (p. 293). This view is based on his exegesis of 1 Cor. 15:28, and the eschatological subordination of all things to the Father. J. Moltmann, however, has recently countered this view by suggesting that it is the lordship of Christ over all things that is surrendered, not His divine sonship (*Trinity and Kingdom,* [Eng. tr. 1981], pp. 92f.). R. Bultmann, along with others, has suggested that the early Christian use of Ps. 2 for Jesus as a "royal title" does not connote a "supernatural being" but a messianic office. In this view the title "Son of God" is the eschatological title of the bearer of salvation, not a description of Jesus as belonging in essence to God. More recent scholarship, however, appears to agree with J. Dunn that "the primary concept for Jesus does not appear to have been messiahship" (*Jesus and the Spirit,* p. 59). His sense of sonship did not arise from regarding Himself as Messiah. On the contrary, He seemed to resist the use of this title. As K. Barth has said in speaking to this issue, Jesus did not first become the Son of God by being so for us. "He becomes it from eternity; He becomes it as the eternal Son of the eternal Father" (*CD,* I/1, p. 427).

In the 1st cent. the Messiah is the anointed son of David who establishes the kingdom of God in power. Mk. 12:35-37 makes clear that, according to Jesus, the Messiah must be more than David's son. He must be not only the son of David but also the Son of God. This seems to be true when the two titles are combined in the high priest's question to Jesus, to which He replies in the affirmative (14:60-64). In the Transfiguration account, when Jesus appears with Moses and Elijah (regarded as forerunners of the Messiah), He is called "my beloved Son" (9:7). *See* MESSIAH IV.

D. The Son as Lord. In the Epistles of Paul, Gk. *huiós,* "son" appears only 15 times compared with 184 times for *kyriós,* "Lord." While Paul seemingly assigns relatively minor importance to the title "Son of God," he does tend to unite "Son of God" with "Lord," in much the same way as Mt. 26:63f. unites "Son of God" with "Son of man" to connote the high, exalted, apocalyptic figure that Jesus appeared to represent. For Paul, Jesus is "Lord" only because he is "Son of God." Thus "sonship" is given soteriological meaning, uniting ontology and function.

In Rom. 1:3f., the "Son" is the subject of the two-part confession that ends with confessing Jesus as "Lord." The Son's lordship can also be related to "Kingdom," for God has transferred us from the dominion of darkness to the Kingdom of His Son (Col. 1:13).

II. The Son as the Theme of the Gospel.–A. The Son as Servant of Yahweh. The Son as "sent" from God is found in many different strata in the NT. In the parable of the vineyard the son is sent after the servants are killed (Mk. 12:1-12), an obvious reference by Jesus to His own role. Jesus as the "sent one" is the foundation of salvation in the Gospel of John (17:3, 18). The Son can do nothing apart from the commission of the Father (5:19; 7:18). So also, in the pre-Pauline traditions embodied in Gal. 4:4 and Rom. 8:3, the sending of the Son has a soteriological purpose. For Paul the love of God is the motive in sending, which expresses itself finally in not sparing His Son (Rom. 8:32). While some have argued that the Greek verbs used in Gal. 4:4 and Rom. 8:3 do not necessarily imply preexistence, others, including E. Schweizer, contend that since the sending formula occurs only in Paul and John, who have well-developed concepts of preexistence, the preexistence of Jesus as divine Son of God probably is implied (see esp. J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* [1980], pp. 36-46).

If one views the sending of the Son as more than a divine commission, there is an ontological foundation for this sending in the filial obedience of Jesus, which can then be seen as the root of what it means for Jesus to be

Son of God. In His subordination to the Father, Jesus presents Himself as the one who is related eternally to the Father as the Father is to Him. Thus, as K. Barth says, the divine sonship of Jesus reveals to us the one God in His mode of being as the Son. "The One who eternally begets is never apart from the One who is eternally begotten" (*CD*, IV/1, p. 209). Intrinsic to the soteriological function as servant of Yahweh is the divine sonship of Jesus that reveals to us the innermost being of God as one who possesses a divine humility and subordination as well as exalted power and sovereign will. Thus the temporal obedience of sonship in Jesus points to an eschatological obedience and sonship (1 Cor. 15:23-28).

B. The Son as Reconciler. The supreme value of the death of the Son was the theme of Paul's gospel (Acts 9:20; 13:33). This was because the One who died was in such intimacy with God (Rom. 5:10; 8:32; Gal. 2:20; Col. 1:13f.). It was as God's Son that He lived and died. Through the sending of His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, God condemned the rebellion of sin in the flesh (Rom. 8:3). To reconcile to Himself all things is the goal of the sending of the "beloved Son," who is the "image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation," through whom and for whom "all things were created" (Col. 1:13, 15f., 20). The giving, or the giving up, of the Son on the part of the Father is not the abandoning of the Son, but rather the carrying out of that divine love and purpose which is proper to God in His mode of being as Son. Intrinsic to the "self-emptying" (Phil. 2:7) of Jesus is the subordination of divine Sonship in being obedient, even unto death. Through this death which the Son of God assumed, along with His humanity in the Incarnation (He. 2:17f.; cf. 4:14-16), sinners have been delivered from the power of death and have become children of God (Jn. 1:12). Jesus, as the Son who died, was raised, and lives forever, expiates the sins of all His people, gives them life (1 Jn. 4:9f.; 5:11f.; cf. Rom. 5:10), and cleanses them with His blood (1 Jn. 1:7).

C. The Son as the Power of God over Sin and Death. The power of the Son of God is expressed particularly in the enthronement tradition embodied in Rom. 1:3f. On the basis of Ps. 2:7 and 110:1f., resurrection and enthronement are united in history with the Son of David who is the Son of God. This leads to the emphasis on the resurrection of the Son of God "in power" (Rom. 1:3). The qualitative difference that resurrection makes is related to the ontological status and present efficacy of the Son. While some scholars are cautious about attributing divine Sonship to Jesus before His resurrection, many agree with V. Taylor that "Son of God," "the Son," and "My Son" are presented in the Gospels not as postresurrection titles but as names used during His ministry (*Names of Jesus* [1953], p. 59). The early Church clearly did not restrict His sonship to a postresurrection status. Even in Paul, Rom. 1:3f. is the only text that links "Son of God" with the Resurrection. In fact, the title achieves a further significance in the Parousia (1 Thess. 1:10) and the consummation of all things to the Father (1 Cor. 15:28).

III. The Son as the Source of a New Humanity.–A. The Son and the Spirit. The coming of the Spirit upon Jesus and the opening of the heavens during His baptism points to the eschatological revelation of the king of the last times. Some scholars see Isa. 42:1 as the background of the baptism of Jesus: "In thee I am well pleased," viewing the beloved Son as the Servant of Yahweh. Others claim Ps. 2:7 as a more likely source. But conflation of the two concepts could well be seen in the baptismal announcement and anointing. The Son bears the Spirit of God from baptism onward, and ministers in the power of the Spirit. The Spirit henceforth becomes a "Spirit of sonship" (Rom. 8:15-17), and those who receive the Spirit of Christ are adopted into His own sonship, and become children of God (Jn. 1:12; cf. 1 Cor. 12:12f.; Gal. 3:26f.).

B. The Son from Whom Sonship Comes. In one sense, all persons can be called the sons of God through their descent from Adam (Lk. 3:38; Acts 17:28). The particular emphasis of the NT, however, is on the sonship bestowed by the Son. The disciples of Jesus and Christians in general are called "sons" (Mt. 17:26; He. 2:10; 12:5-8; cf. "children" in Jn. 1:12). Their origin is in God Himself (Jn. 1:13; 3:3; 1 Jn. 2:29; 3:9f.; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18), because the Son has confessed them as brethren (He. 2:10f.). Their destiny is to be conformed to the image of God's Son (Rom. 8:29). This is a gift (1 Jn. 3:1), based on the authority of the Son (Jn. 1:12). Sonship as a Christian privilege is a product of the Spirit and baptism (3:5f.), through which the eschatological divine sonship in the OT is fulfilled (Hos. 1:10; Rom. 9:26). They are sons of God because they are "sons of the resurrection," and the Son Himself is their brother. This clearly shows that the eternal sonship of Jesus is the continuing foundation and objective reality upon which Christian experience and faith rests.

C. The Son and the Confession of the Early Church. The essential confessional term of the early Church is that Jesus is the Son of God. Although Paul does not use the title frequently, he does use it strategically. It is fundamental to his theology of revelation and his call to be an apostle (Gal. 1:15f.; cf. 1:1). There is little mention of the title in Acts until Paul's conversion (Acts 9:20). In the Gospels it is located in Peter's confession (Mt. 16:16), as well as the climax to Mark's Gospel (15:39; cf. 1:1; 14:61). Both demons and pagans confess Him as Son of God (Mt. 8:29; Mk. 5:7; 15:39; Lk. 4:41). The title is an integral part of an early trinitarian catechism in the Church (Mt. 28:19). In the Fourth Gospel "Son of God" is equated with the confession of Jesus as the "King of Israel," and "Christ" (Jn. 1:49; 11:27; 20:31). Johannine literature also speaks of a participation, or "abiding" in the being of the Son (1 Jn. 4:15). Faith in the Son equals faith in God (5:10). To confess the Son is to confess the Father (2:23). True confession of God can be done only in the "name of the Son" (3:23; 5:13).

Thus in confessing Jesus as the Son of God, early Christians acknowledged not only a new revelation of God but a "new man." G. D. Dragas suggested that, in acknowledging Jesus as Son of God, the early Church saw the perfect image of a new humanity, formed by an act of God, personally mediated through God the Spirit and centered on God the Son ("The Eternal Son," in T. F. Torrance, ed., *The Incarnation*, [1980], p. 22). In this sense the sonship of Jesus was the subject of their faith and not merely object. It was initially the subject of creed, doxology, liturgy, a new human existence, and therefore a new theology. The human act of faith, obedience, and worship was coordinated initially in Jesus Himself as the unique Son of God, and consequently in all those who were adopted into His own unique divine sonship and became the church of God, His body.

See also PERSON OF CHRIST.

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(1967), 77-93; *TDNT*, VIII, *s.v.* υἱός, υἱοθεσία (W. von Martitz, Fohrer, Schweizer, Lohse, Schneemelcher); G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (1973), pp. 192-222. R. S. ANDERSON

SON OF MAN. The singular indeterminate form, Heb. *ben-'āḏām*, occurs one hundred seven times in the OT (e.g., Nu. 23:19; Job 16:21; Ps. 8:4 [MT 5]; Jer. 49:18, 33; 50:40; Ezk. 2:1), often translated "man"; the phrase occurs forty-eight times in the plural, thirty-two times in the indeterminate form *bᵉnê 'āḏām* ("sons of men," i.e., "human beings," "mortals"), and sixteen times in the determinate form *bᵉnê-hā'āḏām*. In one instance only, Dt. 32:8, the LXX renders the indeterminate plural as *huioús Adam*, "sons of Adam." Heb. *ben 'ĕnôš* occurs one time (Ps. 144:3; NEB "mankind"). Heb. *ben 'îš* occurs three times in the indeterminate plural (Ps. 4:2 [MT 3]; 49:2 [MT 3]; 62:9 [MT 10]). Aram. *bar 'ĕnāš* occurs in Dnl. 7:13. Gk. *ho huiós toú anthrṓpou* appears in the NT; since this phrase is both an awkward and an ambiguous expression in Greek (lit. "the man's son"), it is probably a Semitism used to translate a Hebrew or (more likely) Aramaic original. The "Son of man" designation, therefore, could hardly have been the creation of Hellenistic Christianity, but must have roots in the earliest Palestinian Christian community if not in the sayings of Jesus Himself. The original is probably Galilean Aramaic (the major spoken language of Palestine in the 1st cent. A.D.), since there is scarcely any evidence that the definite article was used with the Hebrew expression *ben 'āḏām* (the only exception is 1QS 11:20).

I. Use of the Idiom in the Hebrew Bible
  A. General Usage
  B. Ezekiel
  C. Daniel
II. Use of the Idiom in Early Jewish Literature
  A. General Considerations
  B. 1 Enoch 37–71 (the Parables of Enoch)
  C. 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras)
  D. Summary and Conclusions
III. Use of the Idiom in the NT
  A. General Considerations
  B. Mark
  C. Q
  D. Matthew
  E. Luke
  F. John
  G. Pauline Letters
  H. Hebrews and Revelation
IV. Use of the Idiom in Early Christian Literature
V. Use of the Idiom in Gnostic Literature
VI. Various Interpretations of the Son of Man Designation
  A. Messianic Title
  B. Ambiguous Title
  C. Idiomatic Self-Reference
    1. Circumlocution for "I" or "Me"
    2. Generic Use of *bar nāšā'*
    3. View of B. Lindars
VII. Problem of Authenticity
  A. General Considerations
  B. Criteria for Determining Authenticity
  C. None of the Sayings Is Authentic
  D. Only the Eschatological Sayings Are Authentic
  E. Only the Present Sayings Are Authentic
  F. Sayings in All Categories Are Authentic

I. Use of the Idiom in the Hebrew Bible. *–A. General Usage.* Of the one hundred seven occurrences of Heb. *ben 'āḏām* in the OT, ninety-three are in Ezk. 2:1–47:6. In the fourteen outside Ezekiel, with the exception of Dnl. 8:17 (where Daniel is addressed as "son of man" in imitation of Ezekiel), the phrase occurs only in poetic couplets, *always* in the second line, and almost always parallel to either *'āḏām* or *'ĕnôš*, both of which mean "man" or "human being" (Nu. 23:19; Job 16:21; 25:6; 35:8; Ps. 8:4 [MT 5]; 80:17 [MT 18]; 146:3; Isa. 51:12; 56:2; Jer. 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43). In each instance *ben 'āḏām* is literally translated in the LXX with the anarthrous Greek phrase *huiós anthrṓpou*. In this context, therefore, *ben 'āḏām* also means "human being." An Ugaritic poetic text also has the terms *adm* and *bn adm* in parallel couplets, indicating that in Ugaritic the phrase *bn adm* also means "human being" (Smith, pp. 59f.). Since eleven of the fourteen passages contain couplets in synonymous parallelism it is clear that "son of man" is a poetic synonym for "man," perhaps with the connotation "a mere mortal." The fact that "son of man" is limited to the second line of poetic couplets indicates the presence of a Hebrew poetic convention. The Hebrew plural indeterminate form *bᵉnê 'āḏām* occurs forty-eight times in the OT, most frequently in poetic couplets in which the phrase often occurs in the second line, although it is used in a greater variety of ways than the singular phrase (e.g., Dt. 32:8; 2 S. 7:14; Ps. 12:8 [MT 9]; 21:10; Isa. 52:14). The Hebrew idiom *bᵉnê 'āḏām/bᵉnê-'îš* (lit. "sons of man"/"sons of men") means "men of low estate and men of high estate" (Ps. 49:2 [MT 3]; 62:9 [MT 10]). The Hebrew phrase *bᵉnôṯ hā'āḏām* ("daughters of men," i.e., "mortal women," as contrasted to *bᵉnê-hā'ĕlōhîm*, "sons of god," i.e., "divine beings") is found just twice in the OT (Gen. 6:2, 4). *Ben 'āḏām* is used positively (Ps. 80:17 [MT 18]; Isa. 56:2; cf. Ps. 45:2 [MT 3]; Prov. 8:31) and neutrally (Job 25:6; Ps. 89:47 [MT 48]; 90:3), but primarily negatively, for whether it occurs in the singular or plural form, it has a generally negative significance in the OT, an emphasis particularly prominent in the OT wisdom literature (cf. Eccl. 1:13; 2:3; 3:10; 8:11; 9:12; cf. Caragounis, p. 57). The neutral sense (helplessness, weakness, frailty) is closely related to the negative sense (selfish, wayward, lawless, i.e., "fallen").

B. Ezekiel. In Ezekiel, the prophet is addressed seventy times as "son of man" (e.g., 2:1, 3; 3:1, 3, 4, 10), and twenty-three times in the more emphatic form, "you son of man" (e.g., 2:6, 8), both vocative uses of the term. Since the term *'āḏām* is used collectively in Hebrew, its use in conjunction with *ben* means "you individual man." The emphasis here is not on the individuality of the prophet, but rather on "an individual within the created order" (Zimmerli, I, 131), for the implicit counterpart to *'āḏām* is *'el* (Isa. 31:3; Ezk. 28:2). Ezekiel is called "son of man" by God because he is identified as a representative of Israel, the people of God. The vocative use of "son of man," so common in Ezekiel, is rarely found in later Jewish literature (cf. Dnl. 8:17; 1 En. 60:10).

C. Daniel. The Hebrew plural *bᵉnê 'āḏām* occurs once, in Dnl. 10:16, while the plural Aramaic phrase *bᵉnê-'ᵃnāšā'* occurs twice (2:38; 5:21). The singular form occurs twice: once in Hebrew in 8:17, where Daniel is addressed as "son of man" in a way similar to Ezekiel, and once in Aramaic, when the term *kᵉbar 'ĕnāš* ("like a son of man") occurs (7:13). Whether it occurs in the singular or plural, the phrase refers to a human being or to human beings in general, with the exception of 7:13 and 10:16. In the latter passage an angel is described as "one in the likeness of the sons of men."

Many theories of the non-Israelite origin of the Danielic Son of man figure have been proposed, including Canaan (Hadad/Baal according to Colpe and Kearns), Ugarit, Egypt, Gnosticism, Iran (Mowinckel), and Babylon. Borsch has even proposed that the basis for the Son of

man figure in Judaism is found in a more general Royal Man myth, said to be widespread in the ancient Near East. No particular theory has commanded widespread agreement among scholars. (The various theories are reviewed by Colpe, *TDNT,* VIII, 408-420.)

Though the exact significance of the phrase "one like a son of man" is disputed, it seems relatively clear that it is neither a title nor a reference to a well-known figure. Since the four beasts seen by Daniel are symbols referring to human kingdoms, the "one *like* a son of man" is not a human being but something or someone that is *compared* to a human being. In contrast to the four beasts seen by Daniel in 7:2-12, which are later interpreted as four kings (v. 17), the fifth figure is "one like a son of man" (v. 13), later interpreted as "the saints of the Most High" (v. 18). In the LXX version of v. 13, instead of a presentation of the "one like a son of man" to the Ancient of Days (which clearly distinguishes the two figures), the "one like a son of man" is identified with the Ancient of Days: "he came like a son of man, and like the Ancient of Days was present, and those who were near were present with him." Perhaps the LXX translators had in mind Ezk. 1:26, in which Ezekiel reportedly saw God as one "in the likeness of a man" sitting on "the likeness of a throne." The phrase "the saints of the Most High" (Dnl. 7:18) is generally but probably incorrectly understood as a reference to Jews who remained faithful to Yahweh during the Maccabean rebellion (cf. Ps. 34:9; Dnl. 7:22, 25, 27).

Several scholars have proposed that the Danielic son of man should be understood as a divine figure, i.e., as a hypostatization of the glory of Yahweh (Kim, pp. 13-18), or "a heavenly Being with honors and powers normally predicated of God" (Caragounis, pp. 80f.). Other scholars have understood the phrase as a reference to angels, since most references to "holy ones" (i.e., "saints") in the OT are used of angels (Collins, pp. 123-152). Similarly, the phrase "one like a son of man" is commonly understood as a collective representation of Israel (the older view that it refers to the Messiah has been generally abandoned).

The view that this figure refers to an angel, perhaps representative of the angelic host, though not widely held, is based on weighty arguments. In Dnl. 8:15 (cf. 10:16) the phrase "one having the appearance of a man" is used of the "man" Gabriel (9:21; cf. 10:5; 12:6). Since both ch. 7 and ch. 8 can be understood as referring to the heavenly battle described in 10:12–11:1, it is probable that the "son of man" figure in 7:13 represents either the angelic host or Michael the leader of that host, who receives the kingdom on behalf of the host of angels and of Israel (Collins, pp. 144-46). Thus the phrase "the people of the saints of the Most High" in 7:27 refers to "faithful Jews who share in the eschatological triumph of the [angelic] host" (Collins, p. 146). The figure of the "one like a son of man," then, is a type of heavenly angelic savior figure occasionally mentioned in early Jewish literature (cf. 1QM 17:6-8; 11QMelch; Testament of Moses 10:2). 1QM 17:6-8, for example, has: "He will raise up the kingdom of Michael in the midst of the gods, and the realm of Israel in the midst of all flesh." In Dnl. 7:13, therefore, the phrase "son of man" is perhaps not used in a titular sense, but rather refers to a heavenly angelic being whose victory in the heavenly realm both guarantees and is paralleled by the victory of the people of God in the earthly realm.

II. Use of the Idiom in Early Jewish Literature. *–A. General Considerations.* The designation "son of man" occurs only rarely in early Jewish literature. It occurs six times in the OT Apocrypha (1 Esd. 4:37; Tob. 7:7; Jth. 8:12, 16; Wisd. 9:6; Sir. 17:30), and always (with the exception of Tob. 7:7) in the negative or neutral sense. In the Pseudepigrapha the designation is found in 1 En. 37–71 (see II.C below) and in the Apocalypse of Elijah (Coptic) 1:1 (1st-4th cents. A.D.). In the latter, Elijah is addressed as "son of man" in imitation of Ezekiel. The concept, if not the exact designation, also occurs in 4 Ezra (see II.C below). There is some evidence suggesting that Dnl. 7:9-14 was interpreted messianically by the end of the 1st cent. A.D. (4 Ezra 13). Thereafter the messianic interpretation is attested only sporadically in rabbinic literature (Vermes, *Jesus,* pp. 170-72), and it is based on the mention of two thrones in Dnl. 7:9 rather than on the mention of "one like a son of man" in 7:13.

B. 1 Enoch 37–71 (the Parables of Enoch). One of the significant texts in which the Son of man conception is found is the Similitudes or Parables of Enoch, 1 En. 37–71. After an introduction (37:1-4), this section of 1 Enoch consists of three discourses or parables: (1) First Parable (chs. 38–44), (2) Second Parable (chs. 45–57), (3) Third Parable (chs. 58–69), (4) Epilogue: The Ascension of Enoch (chs. 70–71). The designation "son of man" (reflecting three different Ethiopic expressions: "son of man," "son of the male," and "son of the child of the mother of all the living") occurs sixteen times in 1 En. 37–71 (46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; 60:10; 62:7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26, 27 [following *APOT,* II, 235], 29 [twice]; 70:1; 71:14, 17), while the term "Elect One" occurs fifteen times (e.g., 39:6; 40:5; 45:3f.), the term "Messiah" or "Anointed One" occurs just twice (48:10; 52:4), and the term "Righteous One" only twice (38:2; 53:6). Both the Son of man and the Elect One sit on a throne (45:3; 62:5); both are righteous (46:3; 62:2); both exercise judgment (45:3; 46:2). In contrast to these terms, however, the three expressions translated "son of man" are not used in a titular sense (except in 1 En. 70–71) because they are preceded by the demonstrative adjectives "this" or "that" (*TDNT,* VIII, 423). All of these designations apparently refer to the same person. While "son of man" dominates the texts from 62:5–71:17, it appears that the author is trying to equate this nontraditional and nonmessianic designation with other, more traditional, messianic titles. In other words the author of 1 En. 37–71 used Dnl. 7 to produce a Son of man who functions as a messianic figure without parallel in Jewish eschatology.

This figure is portrayed as preexistent and hidden (48:3; 62:7), yet eventually revealed (48:7 [following *APOT,* II, 216]; 62:7; 69:29). He functions as judge (46:4-6; 62:3-11; 69:27, 29), revealer (46:3), vindicator of the righteous (48:4; 62:12f.; 71:17), universal ruler (62:6f.; 71:15-17), and object of worship (48:5; 62:9; cf. Caragounis, pp. 116-19). Enoch is addressed (like Ezekiel and Daniel) as "Son of man" in 60:10, and identified as the Son of man in 1 En. 71:14-17. This is significant, for it constitutes the identification of a human being (Enoch) with a heavenly figure, a phenomenon that is also reflected in 11QMelch, where the biblical figure Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18-20; Ps. 110:4; He. 7:1-17) is presented as an angelic, heavenly figure with an important eschatological role. Theisohn argued convincingly that the description and functions of the Son of man or the Chosen One in 1 En. 37–71 are derived from the OT, and it is readily apparent that 1 En. 46 (in which the designation "son of man" occurs three times), is dependent on Dnl. 7.

Before the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1947ff.), 1 En. 37–71 was dated to the 1st cent. B.C. (Charles, *Book of Enoch* [1893], p. liv). Since not a single fragment from 1 En. 37–71 has been identified among the numerous fragments found in Cave 4 at Qumrân, or indeed among those from any of the other ten caves (Milik, p. 89), it is now widely accepted that 1 En.

37–71 was composed *after* A.D. 70. Milik has proposed that the Parables of Enoch is a Christian Greek composition (which uses the LXX), inspired by the Son of man title found in the Gospels (p. 92), and composed *ca.* A.D. 270 (p. 96). Most scholars disagree with Milik, however, and regard the Parables as a Jewish composition (originally written in Aramaic or Hebrew), written after A.D. 68., probably toward the end of the 1st cent. A.D. (Knibb, pp. 358f.; *HJP*^{2}, III/1, 259).

C. 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras). It is often proposed that 4 Ezra is dependent on 1 En. 37–71. 4 Ezra 3–14 is a Jewish apocalypse composed toward the end of the 1st cent. A.D. Later a Christian interpolator added chs. 1–2 and 15–16. Chapters 3–14 consist of a series of seven visions: (1) 3:1–5:20; (2) 5:21–6:34; (3) 6:35–9:25; (4) 9:26–10:59; (5) 11:1–12:51; (6) 13:1-58; (7) 14:1-48. In the sixth vision the figure of "the man from the sea" (his origin in the sea is a metaphor for his hiddenness, cf. 13:51f.) has many points of similarity with the "one like a son of man" in Dnl. 7. For the author, the Messiah or Anointed One is hidden, to be revealed at the end of days, and a descendant of David (4 Ezra 7:28; 12:32). He will act as judge and will first rebuke and then destroy the wicked (12:32f.).

While the functions of the Messiah, understood as equivalent to "the man from the sea" in 4 Ezra, are similar to the functions of the "son of man" of 1 En. 37–71, those similarities are not sufficient to posit literary dependence by either author. The author of 4 Ezra 13, like the author of 1 En. 37–71, was dependent on Dnl. 7. Dependence on Dnl. 7:13 is particularly evident in 4 Ezra 13:1-3. The major characteristics of "the man from the sea" include the facts that (1) he is *preexistent* (13:52; cf. 7:28; 14:9), (2) he is the *son of God* (13:32, 37; cf. 7:28f.), (3) he is the *Messiah* (7:28f.; 12:32), (4) he is a *Judge* (12:32f.; 13:37f.). The real significance of 4 Ezra 13 is that it is probably the earliest extant evidence for the messianic interpretation of Dnl. 7:13 in Judaism.

D. Summary and Conclusions. The Jewish exegetical technique called midrash pesher, according to Perrin, was the means whereby the post-Easter Christian community and the authors of 1 En. 37–71 and 4 Ezra 13 (all independently of each other) interpreted the Son of man figure of Dnl. 7:13 as an individual, supernatural apocalyptic Son of man redeemer figure. In his view, which is basically correct, there was no pre-Christian messianic Son of man figure. Yet the weakness in this view is that a similar step should be taken in three different eschatological circles (one Christian, two Jewish), all independently of one another.

C. Colpe, too, regarded the evidence from Dnl. 7, 1 En. 37–71, and 4 Ezra 13 as an inadequate basis on which to posit a pre-Christian Son of man concept in Jewish apocalyptic thought. He therefore proposed a fourth source based on evidence from eight passages in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt. 24:27 par. Lk. 17:24; Mt. 24:37 par. Lk. 17:26; Lk. 17:30; 18:8b; 21:26; 22:69; Mt. 10:23; 24:30a; Colpe, pp. 433-38). This he considered a common source for both the Jewish and Christian interpretations of the Son of man figure in Dnl. 7:13 (pp. 420-430). Yet this solution too raises more questions than it answers.

In the light of our discussion of Dnl. 7, 1 En. 37–71, and 4 Ezra 13, it appears that (1) there were emerging beliefs in Judaism of heavenly, angelic redeemer figures (e.g., Michael), and of human beings who were somehow identified with heavenly, angelic figures (e.g., Enoch, Melchizedek); (2) there was a tendency to speak of the preexistence of the Messiah; (3) there is no evidence for a pre-Christian messianic Son of man figure that could serve as a background for understanding the Son of man sayings in the Gospels; (4) two functions of the Son of man in 1 En. 37–71 and of the man from the sea in 4 Ezra 13 that are not found in Dnl. 7 are that he judges the nations on behalf of God and that he gathers the redeemed for the kingdom.

III. Use of the Idiom in the NT.-A. General Considerations. The title "Son of man" occurs eighty-two times in the Gospels; sixty-nine times (in 39 pericopes) in the Synoptics (14 times in Mark, 30 times in Matthew and 25 times in Luke), and thirteen times (in 11 pericopes) in John. In the Gospels the designation is used only by Jesus Himself except in one text, where His words are quoted. In Jn. 12:34 the crowd responds to Jesus by asking, "How can you say that the Son of man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of man?" In addition, "Son of man" occurs once in Acts, where it is attributed to the dying Stephen (Acts 7:56).

No attempts are made in the Gospels to explain the meaning of the phrase. This absence of any definition or explanation may imply that the designation was so well known to Jesus' contemporaries that any such explanation would be superfluous. Alternately, the same phenomenon may be explained by supposing that the title was so familiar to the Evangelists that they assumed that their readers would not require explanation or definition.

Another significant feature about the Greek phrase *ho huiós toú anthrópou* is that, with the exception of Jn. 5:27, it always has the definite article, suggesting that it referred to a well-known entity. It may, therefore, reflect an Aramaic expression that did not simply mean "son of man" but "*the* Son of man," or "*that* Son of man." C. F. D. Moule, who considered the Son of man figure in Dnl. 7 of decisive importance for understanding the designation in the Gospels, has suggested that Jesus alluded to "*the* [well-known, Danielic] Son of man" (Moule, p. 14). While this theory is possible, Galilean Aramaic alternated between the definite (arthrous) and indefinite (anarthrous) use of the idiom *bar nāš(ā')*, so that it is not possible to be certain that the use of the arthrous Greek phrase *ho huiós toú anthrópou* is a consistent way of translating a corresponding arthrous Aramaic idiom. Jesus is never addressed as the Son of man in the Gospels, nor is the designation ever used in credal form like the titles Christ, Son of God, and Lord. (The closest to a use of Son of man as a confessional designation is reflected in Jn. 9:35-37.) Furthermore, there is not a single instance in the Gospels in which a saying of Jesus is introduced with "The Son of man says."

The Son of man sayings in the Synoptic Gospels were classified into three groups by Jackson and Lake (*BC*, I, 375), followed by R. Bultmann (I, 30). These three categories include sayings that speak of the Son of man (1) *as presently at work* (the *earthly* Son of man sayings), e.g., the Son of man has authority over the sabbath (Mk. 2:28 par. Mt. 12:8 par. Lk. 6:5), the Son of man has authority to forgive sins (Mk. 2:10 par. Mt. 9:6 par. Lk. 5:24); (2) *as suffering, dying, and rising again*, e.g., the Synoptic passion and resurrection predictions (Mk. 8:31 par. Mt. 16:22 par. Lk. 9:22; Mk. 9:31 par. Mt. 17:22f. par. Lk. 9:44; Mk. 10:33f. par. Mt. 20:18f. par. Lk. 18:31-33); and (3) *as coming again in eschatological glory*, often using the Danielic motif of coming with the clouds (Mk. 14:62 par. Mt. 26:64 par. Lk. 22:69), or simply coming (Mt. 10:23; 24:27, 37, 39; Mt. 24:44 par. Lk. 12:40; Lk. 18:8) and the non-Danielic motifs of the gathering of the elect (Mk. 13:26f. par. Mt. 24:30f.), and of the Son of man acting on God's behalf as the eschatological judge (Mt. 13:41f.; 19:28). The largest number of sayings are those that concern the coming or eschatological Son of man (twenty-seven occurrences).

This system of classification is useful though problematic. The thirteen occurrences of the phrase Son of man in John do not easily or naturally fit into this classification. Furthermore, there are passages in which several of these categories occur in the same context. In Lk. 17:22-30, for example, a present Son of man saying is found next to a suffering Son of man saying and two coming Son of man sayings. Again, in Mk. 8:31-38, suffering is closely associated with exaltation.

B. Mark. In Mark the Son of man designation is used fourteen times, including two *earthly* sayings (2:10, 28), nine *suffering* sayings (8:31; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33, 45; 14:21 [twice], 41), and three *future* sayings (8:38; 13:26; 14:62). Twelve of these sayings are placed after the episode of the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi (8:27-30), when Jesus begins to predict His suffering and death. With few exceptions (2:10, 28; 14:62), the designation is used by Jesus in conversation with His disciples, yet in spite of that fact the Son of man designation is Jesus' way of publicly claiming to be the earthly, suffering, and vindicated one who asserts His divine authority in the face of opposition (Kingsbury, pp. 168-173). The Son of man sayings appear to be ways in which Jesus reveals His real status, and therefore complement the secrecy motif that pervades the Second Gospel. Many critical scholars hold that the three sayings that predict the passion, death, and resurrection of the Son of man (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:33f.) are variations of one underlying saying.

The common feature linking all occurrences of the "Son of man" designation in Mark is the *authority* of Jesus. The authority of Jesus as Son of man is proclaimed (2:10, 28), denied by Jewish leaders, which leads to the Son of man's suffering (8:31; 9:9, 31; 10:33, 45; 14:21, 42), and vindicated (8:38; 13:26; 14:62); cf. Hooker, pp. 178-182. Mark makes clear throughout his Gospel that Jesus, who designates Himself as the Son of man, is the Messiah, the Son of God (1:1; 11, 24; 3:11; 5:7; 9:7; 10:47f.; 11:9f.; 12:6; 14:61f.; 15:2, 39). This is particularly so in Mk. 8:38: "For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him will the Son of man also be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." Here the reference to "the Father" indicates that "the Son of man" is in fact "the Son of God" (Kim, p. 1; Kingsbury, pp. 171f.).

C. Q. The phrase "Son of man" occurs eleven times in Q, the Sayings Source, including four *earthly* sayings ([Mt. 5:11 par.] Lk. 6:22; Mt. 8:20 par. Lk. 9:58; Mt. 11:19 par. Lk. 7:34; Mt. 12:32 par. Lk. 12:10), and six *eschatological* sayings ([Mt. 10:32 par.] Lk. 12:8; Mt. 19:28 par. [Lk. 22:30]; Mt. 24:27 par. Lk. 17:24; Mt. 24:37 par. Lk. 17:26; Mt. 24:39 par. Lk. 17:30; Mt. 24:44 par. Lk. 12:40). The suffering Son of man sayings are absent from Q (a possible exception is Mt. 12:40 par. Lk. 11:30), though the absence of a passion narrative in Q sufficiently accounts for this absence. In Q the Son of man is already identified with the figure in Dnl. 7:13.

D. Matthew. The phrase "Son of man" occurs thirty times in Matthew, including seven *earthly* sayings (8:20; 9:6; 11:19; 12:8, 32; 13:37; 16:13), ten *suffering* sayings (12:40; 17:9, 12, 22f.; 20:18f., 28; 26:2, 24 [twice], 45), and thirteen *eschatological* sayings (10:23; 13:41; 16:27, 28; 19:28; 24:27, 30 [twice], 37, 39, 44; 25:31; 26:64). Two additional sayings are found in variant readings (18:11; 25:13). Six occurrences of Son of man are unique to Matthew (10:23; 13:37, 41; 24:30a; 25:31; 26:2). Matthew obviously understands the Hebrew idiom, for he changes the phrase "sons of men" in Mk. 3:28 to "men" in Mt. 12:31. In two instances Matthew adds the phrase "Son of man" in rewriting Mark (16:28; 26:2). Matthew often changes the designation "Son of man" in his sources to "I," "me," or "he" (referring to Jesus): in Mt. 16:21, the author substitutes the pronoun "he" (= Jesus) for the phrase "Son of man" found in Mk. 8:31; in Mt. 5:11, "because of me" is substituted for "because of the Son of man" probably found in Q (Lk. 6:22); in Mt. 10:32, "I will confess" replaces "the Son of man will confess" probably found in Q (Lk. 12:8); in 10:32 Matthew apparently substitutes "I" (= Jesus) for the phrase "Son of man" in Q (cf. Lk. 12:8). These variations suggest that Matthew did not regard Son of man as a messianic title, but as a self-designation of Jesus. One of the more remarkable uses of the Son of man designation is in 16:13: "Who do people say that the Son of man is?" Not only does the Evangelist use the designation "Son of man" to replace the "I" of Mk. 8:27, he also clearly implies that "Son of man" is not a title that could be an appropriate answer to the question "Who do people say that I am?" Matthew tends to emphasize the role of the Son of man as eschatological judge (16:27; 19:28; 24:30f.; 25:31-33). Furthermore, the Son of man designation is virtually synonymous with Messiah in some passages (13:41; 16:27; 24:30f.; 25:31).

E. Luke. The Son of man designation occurs twenty-five times in Luke, including eight *earthly* sayings (5:24; 6:5, 22; 7:34; 9:58; 12:10; 17:22; 19:10), seven *suffering* sayings (9:22, 44; 11:30; 18:31; 22:22, 48; 24:7), and ten *eschatological* sayings (9:26; 12:8, 40; 17:24, 26, 30; 18:8; 21:27, 36; 22:69). Seven Son of man sayings are unique to Luke (17:22, 30; 18:8; 19:10; 21:36; 22:48; 24:7; cf. Acts 7:56). In keeping with his historical intentions (cf. Lk. 1:1-4; Acts 1:1-5), the author adapts written sources (Mark and Q) for his own literary and historical purposes, but does not freely invent material. Yet in two suffering sayings found only in Luke (22:48; 24:7) it is clear from the absence of parallels in Matthew and Mark that Luke added the title to the material found in his sources and that for him the title was a special feature of Jesus' speech in which He referred exclusively to Himself.

F. John. The phrase "Son of man" occurs thirteen times in John (1:51; 3:13f.; 5:27; 6:27, 53, 62; 8:28; 9:35; 12:23, 34 [twice]; 13:31). Since none of the Johannine Son of man sayings has parallels in the Synoptic tradition, and the authenticity of the Johannine sayings is widely doubted, many regard these sayings as suggesting that the Son of man designation could be inserted into the Jesus tradition in such a way that the convention that Jesus alone uttered the title was maintained. In Jn. 12:34 the crowd responds, "We have heard from the law that the Christ remains for ever. How can you say that the Son of man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of man?" This suggests that the identity of the Messiah and the Son of man caused difficulties, perhaps indicating either that the concept itself was unknown or (more likely) that the crowd did not know who was playing the role of the Son of man. The healed blind man is asked by Jesus if he believes in the Son of man (though a majority of witnesses read "Son of God," "Son of man" is doubtless the more original reading), to which he responds, "And who is he sir, that I may believe in him?" (9:35f.). In neither case is it clear that the Son of man designation was known in Judaism (though it was obviously well known to both John and the community he represents).

The preexistence of the Son of man, referred to in Jn. 3:13 and 6:62, is a feature found only in the Fourth Gospel. Most occurrences of the Son of man designation refer to his suffering and death, which are regarded as constituting his exaltation (3:13f.; 6:62; 8:28; 12:23, 34; 13:31). Moloney argued (against Schnackenburg, Schulz, *et al.*) that the Johannine Son of man is a title that is not

interchangeable with either "Son" or "Son of God." Rather, claimed Moloney, the title Son of man is used of the present earthly activities of Jesus as revealer and judge. Though He has come from heaven, the title refers to neither His pre-incarnate nor His post-incarnate state. J. L. Martyn has demonstrated that in four extensive passages the Evangelist never allowed the identification of Jesus as the prophet or the Messiah to be emphasized without replacing it with the Son of man title (cf. 3:1-14; 6:14-53; 7:25–8:28; 9:17-41; Martyn, pp. 130-35).

G. Pauline Letters. Although the designation "Son of man" is absent from the thirteen NT letters attributed to Paul (as it is from the other NT letters with the exception of Hebrews), some scholars insist that Paul knew either the title or at least the concept. This view is based on the tenuous supposition that oriental Primal Man speculation took two specific yet related forms in early Judaism: (1) a Heavenly Man (i.e., the Son of man), who is now hidden but who will appear at the end to judge the nations and to gather the elect (only in Dnl. 7; 1 Enoch 37–71; 4 Ezra 13); and (2) a Heavenly Man, who was identified with the first man Adam (Philo of Alexandria; rabbinic Adam speculation; Paul). Since the phrase *ben 'ādām* can be understood not only as "a human being" but also as "son of Adam," Cullmann has proposed that Paul's contrasts between Adam and Christ (Rom. 5:12-21; 1 Cor. 15:42-50; Phil. 2:5-11) are related to the Son of man concept in Judaism (Cullmann, pp. 166-181). Though the first Adam and the second Adam, or the earthly man and the heavenly man, referred to in these passages are complex matters, there is general agreement among scholars that the distinction between the heavenly and earthly man is pre-Pauline (H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia,* 1975], pp. 284-86).

The figure of the heavenly man first appears in the biblical commentaries of Philo of Alexandria. Yet Philo's distinction between the heavenly or "intelligible" (Gk. *noētós*) man of Gen. 1:26 and the earthly or "sensible" (*aisthētós*) man of Gen. 2:7 (*De opificio mundi* 134f.; *Legum allegoriae* 1.31f.; *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin* i.4, 8) is pre-Philonic (Tobin, pp. 102-134). Both Paul and Philo were dependent on a Hellenistic Jewish interpretation of Gen. 1–2 that had taken shape by the end of the 1st cent. B.C. in Alexandria. Arius Didymus (late 1st cent. B.C.), an eclectic Hellenistic philosopher influenced by both Middle Platonism and Stoicism, specifically proposed that an archetypal generic man who was part of the *kósmos noētós,* "intelligible world," was the paradigm for specific human beings in the *kósmos aisthētós,* "sensible world" (Eusebius *Praep. ev.* xi.23). It was this notion that was picked up by Hellenistic Jewish philosophers and was developed by Philo. Paul's innovative contribution to this exegetical tradition, determined by his Adam/Christ antithesis, was to stand the tradition found in Philo on its head by having the earthly man precede the heavenly man. There is therefore no real connection between the Adam/Christ antithesis of Paul and the hypothetical messianic Son of man figure in pre-Christian Judaism. Furthermore, even the earthly and heavenly man speculation found in Philo is based on the cosmological speculation of Middle Platonism rather than on oriental myths concerning the Primal Man.

H. Hebrews and Revelation. Outside of the eighty-three times that the designation Son of man occurs in the Gospels and Acts, the phrase occurs anarthrously in He. 2:6; Rev. 1:13; 14:14. He. 2:6 quotes Ps. 8:4 (MT 5) without any suggestion that the author is aware of the use of the Son of man title in the Gospels. In Rev. 1:13 and 14:14 the expression "one like a son of man" is used, clearly alluding to Dnl. 7:13, but again without any clear indication that the author was aware of the Son of man designation in the sayings tradition. The description of this figure is drawn in part from the description of the Ancient of Days in Dnl. 7. This reflects an ancient Jewish exegetical tradition expressed in two LXX MSS of Daniel, the Codex Chisianus (MS. 88), and the incomplete Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex 967, which may be literally translated: "he came like a son of man, and like the Ancient of Days was present, and those who were near were present with him." Thus these LXX MSS and Rev. 1:13 understand Dnl. 7:13 as describing a single figure, rather than two figures. Rev. 14:14 describes "one like a son of man" seated on a cloud with a sickle in his hand, including a judgment motif, a clear allusion to Dnl. 7:13.

IV. Use of the Idiom in Early Christian Literature.–Three texts generally dated to the first quarter of the 2nd cent. A.D. use the phrase "son of man" as a way of designating the human nature of Jesus. In Ign. Eph. 20:2 Jesus Christ is called "the son of man and the son of God," referring to His human and divine natures. Similarly, Barn. 12:10 states, "See again Jesus, not as a son of man, but as a son of God," reflecting His current heavenly status. Finally, Odes of Solomon 36:3 has, "And although I was a son of man [Syr. *br 'nš'*], I was named the light, the son of God." Similarly, the Georgian translation of Did. 16:8 (with interpolations in parentheses) reads, "Then will (this) world see (our) Lord (Jesus Christ, the Son of man who at the same time is Son of God as) coming on the clouds," etc. (Audet, p. 474). In *HE* ii.23.13 Eusebius has preserved a fragment from the Christian historian Hegesippus that includes a statement attributed to James the Just, containing allusions to both Ps. 110:1 and Dnl. 7:13, immediately before his martyrdom: "Why do you ask me about the Son of man? He is sitting in heaven on the right hand of the great power [Ps. 110:1], and he will come on the clouds of heaven [Dnl. 7:13]." In Acts of John 109, the phrase "him that for us was called the Son of man" occurs in a prayer of John, along with a string of other christological titles.

V. Use of the Idiom in Gnostic Literature.–The Son of man title occurs with some frequency in Gnostic sources. In the Coptic codices discovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1945, many of which are Gnostic in character, the title Son of man occurs about fifty times. In most Gnostic sources the title is used in ways that often differ markedly from the usage in the canonical Gospels. In the fragments of *Baruch,* a book written by the Gnostic Justin (Hippolytus *Ref.* v.26.30 [according to the enumeration in M. Marcovich, *Hippolytus Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (1986)]), the angel Baruch addresses Jesus as "Son of man" in a way reminiscent of Ezekiel. In the Coptic-Gnostic *Treatise on the Resurrection* 44.21-26 we read, "Now the Son of God, Rheginos, was the Son of Man. He embraced both of them, possessing the humanity and the divinity." This passage goes on to claim that as Son of man (Copt. *psere mprome*) the Savior was able to restore the Pleroma, from which he originally came, to its pristine state (44.30-33). The same author states that as Son of man Jesus rose from the dead (46.14-17), a passage reminiscent of the Synoptic Son of man passion predictions. Similarly, *Sophia of Jesus Christ* 105 mentions "the whole kingdom of the Son of man, the one who is called Son of God." More frequently Gnostic writers regarded Man as part of the heavenly divine Pleroma, and the Son of Man as a designation for Jesus as His earthly or extra-pleromatic counterpart. Irenaeus, for example, quoted an Ophite source (*Adv. haer.* i.30.6) in which "the Father of all, the First Man, and the Son of man" are said to be located above Ialdabaoth. In the Coptic-Gnostic *Apocryphon of*

John 14.14f. a similar claim is made that "Man exists, and the Son of man" in the Pleroma. Heracleon, the Valentinian Gnostic commentator on the Gospel of John, interpreted the sower of Jn. 4:37 as the Son of man of the Pleroma (Origen *Comm. in Joh.* 13.49). The Valentinian Marcus speculated that Jesus called Himself Son of Man because He was a descendant of Man and Church in the Pleroma (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* i.12.3; cf. i.15.3). In the mythological systems of the Naasenes (Hippolytus *Ref.* v.6.3; v.7.33) and Monoimus (Hippolytus *Ref.* viii.12.3; 14.2), Man is the origin of all things and the Son of man derives from him (cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* viii.13.3: "from the perfect Man has come the Son of man whom no one knows").

VI. Various Interpretations of the Son of Man Designation.–*A. Messianic Title.* Until the late 1960s, the prevalent view among NT scholars was that pre-Christian Jewish apocalyptic thought included the expectation that a preexistent, transcendent heavenly figure, the Son of man, would be revealed in the last days as a messianic redeemer and judge. One of the more extensive presentations of this traditional view is that of Mowinckel (pp. 346-450). Yet if the Son of man title was a familiar form of messianic expectation in pre-Christian Judaism, this would stand in apparent contradiction to the reticence of Jesus, as presented in the Synoptic Gospels, to make any overt messianic claims. But the view that the Son of man was a designation for an apocalyptic, transcendental redeemer figure in pre-Christian Judaism has come under attack by several prominent NT scholars (Leivestad, Lindars, Perrin). Even though this view is still held by a number of scholars, it now has very little to commend it.

B. Ambiguous Title. Since the Son of man idiom was used in a variety of ways in Hebrew and Aramaic, this argument runs, it could have no clearcut and unambiguous meaning for the contemporaries of Jesus. Jesus, it is proposed, used the Son of man designation of Himself precisely because, unlike such titles as Messiah, Son of God, and Son of David (which were understood primarily with regard to their political significance), with this puzzling title He was free to define His own role in and through it (Cullmann, Kim).

C. Idiomatic Self-Reference. According to more recent scholarship, there are no less than three ways in which the Aramaic idiom *bar* ʾ*ĕnāšā*ʾ (with the definite article) and *bar* ʾ*ĕnāš* (without the definite article) could be used by a speaker to refer to himself in the third person: (1) as an exclusive self-reference in which the speaker refers to himself alone (Vermes); (2) as a general or generic statement in which the speaker includes himself (M. Casey); and (3) as a way of referring to a class of people with whom the speaker identifies himself, a usage requiring the idiomatic use of the generic article (Lindars). Each of these proposals requires some elaboration and explanation.

1. Circumlocution for "I" or "Me." Vermes has interpreted the Aramaic phrase for "son of man" as an ordinary Aramaic way in which individuals referred exclusively to themselves in certain situations. Vermes observed that the parallel expression, *hhw' gbr'* ("that man"), is used as a circumlocution for "I" or "me" when the speaker wishes to avoid immodest emphasis on himself, when he openly says something disagreeable about himself, when he pronounces a curse, and as "a protestation" (Vermes, "Use," p. 320). It is therefore possible that Jesus used the designation *bar nāšā*ʾ as a substitute for the first person singular "I" in Son of man sayings that speak about His present activity. For example, in Mk. 2:10 and Lk. 19:10 "Son of man" replaces "I" for reasons of modesty and reserve. Yet the chief difficulty with this view is that there is no evidence roughly contemporaneous with Jesus that attests the use of Son of man as a circumlocution for the first person pronoun. Fitzmyer (pp. 152f.) argues that Vermes's examples are all relatively late and do not necessarily reflect idioms current in first-century Galilean Aramaic.

2. Generic Use of bar nāšāʾ. M. Casey, basing his work on that of Vermes, proposed that *bar nāšā*ʾ was an Aramaic idiom that could be used in general statements about human beings in which the speaker is included. Used in this way, the idiom has two levels of meaning, referring to both the general and the specific simultaneously. He judged that twelve Son of man sayings reflect this original use of *bar nāšā*ʾ and so may be considered authentic (Mk. 2:10, 28; 8:31 [including 9:31; 10:33-34], 38; 10:45; 14:21ab; Mt. 8:20 par. Lk. 9:58; Mt. 11:19 par. Lk. 7:34; Mt. 12:32 par. Lk. 12:10; Lk. 22:48; 12:8b). Casey, like many other scholars, rejected as inauthentic any Son of man sayings attributed to Jesus that, in his judgment, reflect Dnl. 7:13 either directly (Mk. 13:26; 14:62), or indirectly (Mk. 8:38c; Mt. 10:23; 16:27; 24:44 par. Lk. 12:40; Mt. 25:31; Lk. 18:8). These sayings, he thought, derive from the exegetical activity of the early Church rather than from Jesus Himself.

3. View of B. Lindars. Lindars understood "Son of Man" primarily as an idiomatic use of the generic article in which the speaker refers to himself as a member of a general class of persons. He thought that *bar* (ʾ*ĕ*)*nāšā*ʾ could not have been a title familiar to Jesus' audience, but was a distinctive feature of the style of Jesus. Lindars, like Vermes and Casey, used his understanding of the meaning of the *bar* (ʾ*ĕ*)*nāšā*ʾ idiom as a criterion to determine which Son of man sayings derive from Jesus Himself. He then proposed that only nine sayings of Jesus have preserved the meaning that the expression had for Jesus (Mt. 8:20 par. Lk. 9:58; Mt. 11:16-19 par. Lk. 7:31-35; Mt. 12:32 par. Lk. 12:10; Lk. 11:30; Mt. 9:6 par. Mk. 2:10f. par. Lk. 5:24; Mt. 10:32f. par. Lk. 12:8f.; Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:33f.). The Greek translation in the Gospels of the *bar* ʾ*ĕnāšā*ʾ idiom, however, made the phrase *appear* to be an exclusive self-reference, and thus virtually a title. Thus, in Lindars's view, the original idiom is misunderstood since the Evangelists understood references to Son of man as referring exclusively to Jesus. Again, like Vermes and Casey, Lindars regarded Son of man sayings that directly (Mk. 13:26; 14:62) or indirectly (Mk. 8:38c) allude to Dnl. 7:13 as secondary. Lindars also suggested that in certain parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels in which "Son of man" stands in one Gospel and "I" in another (e.g., Mt. 10:32f. par. Lk. 12:8f.; Mt. 16:27 par. Mk. 8:38c par. Lk. 9:26), it is possible that two different translations from the Aramaic phrase *bar* (ʾ*ĕ*)*nāšā*ʾ are reflected.

VII. Problem of Authenticity.-*A. General Considerations.* One of the central issues in the Son of man question is whether all or any of the Son of man sayings in the Gospels actually originated with the historical Jesus. Three possibilities have been proposed. (1) Some scholars have proposed that sayings from *all* of the three categories (i.e., the Son of man as present, suffering, and coming), are authentic. (2) Others have contended that *none* of the Son of man sayings is authentic. (3) Still others have proposed that only sayings in one of the three categories should be regarded as authentic. (4) More recently other scholars have proposed that, regardless of category, only those Son of man sayings are authentic that preserve the Aramaic *bar* (ʾ*ĕ*)*nāšā*ʾ idiom used by Jesus. The problem that must be resolved when option (2), (3), or (4) is chosen is that of accounting for the origin for the other sayings.

This is usually done by appealing to the creativity of the early post-Easter Christian community. It is clear, however, that the Son of man title in the Gospels has at least two different origins, one as a self-reference (whether as a circumlocution for "I" or in a generic sense), and another as a reference to the figure of Dnl. 7:13 understood in a messianic sense.

B. Criteria for Determining Authenticity. Several methods used for determining the historicity or authenticity of pericopes in the Synoptic Gospels have been proposed. (1) The *criterion of historical congruity* — a pericope is possibly authentic if it coheres with features characteristic of Palestinian Judaism of the period before A.D. 70. (2) The *linguistic criterion* — pericopes in the Synoptic Gospels reveal their antiquity, if not their authenticity, if they reflect Semitic rather than Greek syntax and usage. (3) The *criterion of dissimilarity* — pericopes are authentic if they are without parallel in first-century Judaism or first-century Christianity. (4) The *criterion of multiple attestation* — features in the sayings of Jesus may be authentic if they permeate all or most of the the various literary strata of the Synoptic Gospels, Mark, Q, M (Matthew's special source), L (Luke's special source), and John. (5) The *criterion of coherence* — emphases in the teaching of Jesus that cohere with emphases that pass other criteria for authenticity have themselves a strong claim to authenticity.

C. None of the Sayings Is Authentic. Some scholars deny the authenticity of any Son of man sayings (Vielhauer, Käsemann, Conzelmann, Teeple, Perrin). Vielhauer, following Sharman, observed that the figure of the Son of man is absent from sayings of Jesus that speak of the kingdom of God. While some Synoptic pericopes do refer to *both* the Son of man and the kingdom of God (e.g., Mk. 8:31 and 9:1; Lk. 17:21 and 22; 21:27 and 31; Mt. 10:7 and 23; 13:37 and 43; 25:31 and 34), Sharman and Vielhauer argued that the two concepts have been linked only in the later process of compilation. Since there is at least a strong core of kingdom sayings in the Synoptic Gospels that are certainly authentic, they contended that the Son of man sayings must belong to a different and secondary stage of tradition and hence are inauthentic.

D. Only the Eschatological Sayings Are Authentic. One widely held view is that only the *future* or *eschatological* Son of man sayings are authentic (Bultmann, Jeremias, Hahn, Tödt, Higgins). Some proponents of this view (e.g., Bultmann) find it difficult to believe that Jesus could have thought of Himself as a supernatural being who would come with the clouds of heaven. Since Jesus is presented in the Gospels as regularly speaking of the eschatological Son of man in the third person, the argument runs, he was referring not to Himself but to a heavenly redeemer figure who would vindicate both Him and His ministry in the near future. The Evangelists, who thought that Jesus was referring to Himself (and could therefore substitute "I" for "Son of man" in their sources, cf. Mt. 10:32f. with Lk. 12:8f.), were mistaken. Yet others who regard the future Son of man sayings alone as authentic think that Jesus expected His mission to be vindicated after His death by His receiving the exalted status traditionally associated with the apocalyptic figure of the Son of Man (Higgins). The passion predictions in which the Son of man designation occurs (Mk. 8:31; 9:12f., 31; 10:33f.; Lk. 17:25; 24:7), in this view, were created by the Christian community in the light of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. The great weakness with this view is the fact that there was no eschatological Son of man concept in early Judaism to which Jesus could have referred (see the above discussions of 1 En. 37–71 and 4 Ezra).

E. Only the Present Sayings Are Authentic. The authenticity of the present Son of man sayings is held by those who think that Jesus may well have used the phrase "son of man" as a circumlocution for "I" for reasons of modesty or reserve, or as a generic term meaning "anyone," "someone" (Leivestad, Vermes, Lindars, M. Casey). Those who hold this view often suggest that the similarity of this idiom to the figure of Dnl. 7:13, who is "like a son of man," accounts for the origin of the future or eschatological Son of man sayings and their attribution to Jesus. Thus the Son of man sayings that directly allude to Dnl. 7:13 are judged secondary (Mk. 13:26 par.; 14:62 par.) and are said to have entered the Synoptic tradition through the exegetical reflection of early Christians on the significance of Jesus in the light of the OT.

F. Sayings in All Categories Are Authentic. A number of other NT scholars think that authentic sayings of Jesus are to be found among all three categories of Son of man sayings (Barrett, Borsch, Bruce, Goppelt, Marshall, Cullmann, Caragounis, Kim). More recently, Fuller, who earlier regarded the present and suffering Son of man sayings as inauthentic, has suggested that great caution be exercised in evaluating the authenticity of the various categories of Son of man sayings: "At the very minimum we must now work on the assumption that there was a basis in the original authentic Jesus tradition for all three types of Son of man sayings, present, suffering and future, however much they were added to and adapted in the post-Easter tradition" (p. 209). Those who defend the position that *all* the Son of man sayings are essentially authentic or that a substantial portion of the Son of man sayings from each of the three categories is authentic often appeal to the *criterion of dissimilarity.* Since the Son of man designation is found almost exclusively on the lips of Jesus Himself and was not a messianic title in Judaism nor used as a designation for Jesus outside the four canonical Gospels, the Son of man sayings have a strong claim to historicity. Appeal can also be made to the *criterion of multiple attestation,* since Son of man sayings are found in all layers of Gospel tradition, as well as to the *criterion of historical congruence,* since the Greek phrase reflects an Aramaic idiom.

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SONG [Heb. *šîr*] (Jgs. 5:12; 1 Ch. 6:31 [MT 16]; Ps. 28:7; etc.); AV also MUSICK, etc.; NEB also MUSIC, MUSICAL DUTIES, PRAISE, etc.; [*šîrâ*] (Ex. 15:1; Nu. 21:17; Isa. 5:1; etc.); NEB also RULE OF LIFE, SINGING WOMEN; [*zāmîr*] (Job 35:10; Ps. 119:54; Isa. 25:5); NEB also "protection," THEME OF MY SONG; [*zimrâ*] (Ex. 15:2; Ps. 81:2 [MT 3]; 118:14; Isa. 12:2; 51:3); AV also PSALM, MELODY; NEB "defence," PIPE, MELODY; [*negînâ*] (Job 30:9; Ps. 69:12 [MT 13]; "burden of a song," Lam. 3:14); NEB also TARGET OF TAUNTS, etc.; [*mangînâ*] ("burden of a song," Lam. 3:63); AV MUSICK; NEB TAUNT BITTERLY; [*qôl*–'sound,' 'voice'] (2 Ch. 5:13; Ps. 26:7; 47:1 [MT 2]; 118:15); AV VOICE; NEB also VOICE, SHOUTS; [*berôš*–'fir,' 'cypress,' emended to *beršîr* (cf. 1 Ch. 13:8)] (2 S. 6:5); AV "instruments made of fir wood"; NEB SINGING; [Gk. *ōdē*] (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; Rev. 5:9; 14:3; 15:3); **SONG OF PRAISE** [Heb. *zāmîr*] (Ps. 95:2; Isa. 24:16); AV PSALM, SONG; NEB SONG OF TRIUMPH, SING; [*tehillâ*] (Ps. 40:3 [MT 4]; 147:1); AV, NEB also, PRAISE; **SONG OF JOY; JOYOUS SONG** [Heb. *rinnâ*] (Ps. 107:22; with piel of *rānan*, 98:4); AV REJOICE, REJOICING; NEB SHOUTS OF JOY; [*śimḥâ*–'joy, gladness'] (1 S. 18:6); AV JOY; NEB SINGING; **SONG OF THANKSGIVING** [Heb. *huyyedôt*] (Neh. 12:8); AV THANKSGIVING; [*tôdâ*] (Ps. 42:4 [MT 5]; Jer. 30:19); AV PRAISE, THANKSGIVING; NEB PRAISE(S); **TAUNT SONG** [Heb. *māšāl*–'proverb,' 'parable'] (Mic. 2:4); AV PARABLE; NEB POEM; **SING; SINGING** [Heb. *šîr*] (Ex. 15:1; Jgs. 5:3; Ps. 13:6 [MT 7]; 21:13 [MT 14]; 96:1; etc.); AV also "behold" (Job 36:24, reading *šûr*), "look upon" (33:27, reading *šûr*); NEB also BREAK INTO SONG, SING PRAISES, DECLARE, etc.; [*'ānâ*] (Ex. 15:21; Nu. 21:17; Isa. 21:11; 29:5; Ps. 147:7; etc.); AV also SPEAK, ANSWER; NEB also GREET WITH SONG, CHANT, etc.; [qal, piel, and pual of *rānan*] (Isa. 16:10; 44:23; Zec. 2:10 [MT 14]; etc.); NEB also SHOUT IN TRIUMPH, SHOUT ALOUD, etc.; [piel of *zāmar*] (Ps. 66:2; 101:1; 135:3); AV also SING PRAISES; NEB LET PSALMS DECLARE, etc.; [*nāśā'*–'lift up,' 'take'] (Job 21:12); AV TAKE; NEB REJOICE; [*nāṯan qôl*–'give voice'] (Ps. 104:12); ['*āmar*–'say'] (Jer. 33:11); AV SAY; NEB SHOUTING; [hiphil of *šāma'*–'cause to hear'] (Neh. 12:42; Ps. 26:7); AV SING LOUD, PUBLISH; NEB RAISE THE VOICE; [Gk. *ądō*] (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; Rev. 5:9; etc.); [*légō*–'say, speak'] (Rev. 4:8, 10); AV SAY, NEB also CRY; [*psállō*] (Rom. 15:9; 1 Cor. 14:15); NEB SING HYMNS; RSV supplies contextually in 1 Ch. 16:7 and 2 Ch. 30:21; **SING PRAISE(S)** [Heb. piel of *zāmar*] (2 S. 22:50; 1 Ch. 16:9; Ps. 7:17 [MT 18]; etc.); AV also SING PSALMS; NEB also SING PSALMS, RAISE A PSALM, etc.; [piel of *hālal*] (2 Ch. 29:30; Ps. 84:4 [MT 5]); AV, NEB, PRAISE; [*šāmar*–'watch, guard,' emended to *zāmar*] (Ps. 59:9); AV "wait upon"; NEB "turn to"; [Gk. *psállō*] (Jas. 5:13); AV SING PSALMS; **SING FOR JOY; SING**

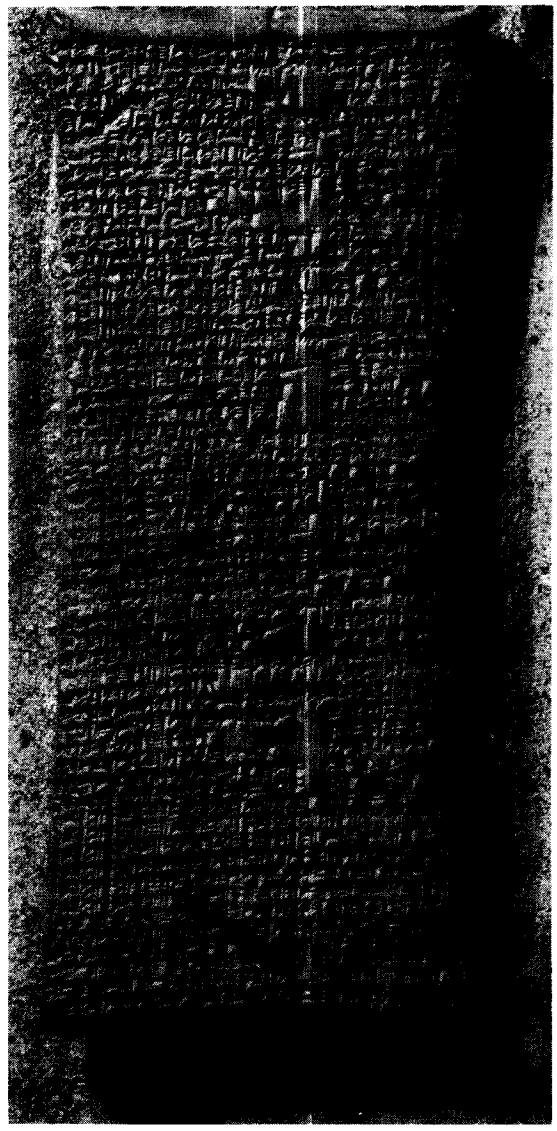
A small statue of Ur-Nanshe, the "great singer" from Mari (first half of the 3rd millennium B.C.) (courtesy of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Damascus)

ALOUD; SING FOR GLADNESS [Heb. qal, piel, and hiphil of *rānan*] (1 Ch. 16:33; Ps. 5:11 [MT 12]; Isa. 12:6; etc.); AV also SHOUT FOR JOY, REJOICE, TRIUMPH IN, etc.; NEB also SING THE PRAISES OF, CELEBRATE, SHOUT IN TRIUMPH, etc.; **SING HYMNS** [Gk. *hymnéō*] (Mt. 26:30; Mk. 14:26; Acts 16:25); AV also SING PRAISES; NEB SING THE PASSOVER HYMN, SING PRAISES; **SING IDLE SONGS** [Heb. *pārat*] (Am. 6:5); AV CHANT; NEB PLUCK; **SING TO STRINGED INSTRUMENTS** [Heb. *nāgan negînâ*] (Isa. 38:20); NEB SOUND THE MUSIC OF PRAISES; **SINGER** [Heb. qal and poel parts. of *šîr*] (1 K. 10:12; 1 Ch. 6:33 [MT 18]; 2 Ch. 5:12; etc.); NEB also MUSICIAN; [Aram. *zammār* (Ezr. 7:24); NEB MUSICIAN; **BALLAD SINGER** [Heb. *māšal*–'speak in parables'] (Nu. 21:27); AV (HE) THAT SPEAKS IN PARABLES; NEB BARD.

I. In the OT.–As the above survey suggests, singing and song are part of the vocabulary of praise. In two texts judged to be among the oldest in the OT, Yahweh is praised in song on account of His saving acts: Moses, Miriam, and the people sing a song in response to the Exodus (Ex. 15:1, 21); and Deborah and Barak sing in response to another deliverance from the Canaanites (Jgs. 5, esp. vv. 1 3, 12).

These early indications of the close association between singing and praise are confirmed by later material. For example, of the forty-six instances in which the RSV translates Heb. *rānan* by a form of "sing," fifteen fall within the portions of Isaiah that relate to deliverance from exile, and another fifteen are in the book of Psalms, which is known in Hebrew as *tehillîm*, "praises." The two other Hebrew roots associated primarily with singing, *šîr* and *zāmar*, are concentrated even more heavily within the Psalter. Approximately half of the nominal and verbal forms of *šîr* occur in the psalms; the noun *šîr* occurs in twenty-nine psalm titles. As for *zāmar*, all but four of its forty-five occurrences are in the Psalter, and the cognate noun *mizmôr* occurs in fifty-seven psalm titles. Although the RSV translates the noun by "psalm" rather than "song," it is clear that the root *zmr* was associated with singing and not just with instrumental music. Also, some psalm titles give instructions that the psalm is to be sung to the melody of a favorite older song (e.g., titles of Pss. 22, 45, 57–59, 69, 75, 80; *see* MUSIC III.B.2). In addition to the titles of the psalms, there are other indications that the psalms were meant to be sung: frequent imperatives inviting congregational participation, refrains apparently designed to be sung by worshipers, and occasional references to singers and the instrumentation that apparently accompanied their songs (cf. Ps. 68:25 [MT 26]; etc.).

Although early texts such as Ex. 15 and Jgs. 5 seem to preserve spontaneous outbursts of praise through singing, it is clear that praise came to be centered in the temple. Scholars disagree as to the precise nature of the ceremonies and rituals that took place in the temple, but there is general agreement that praise and singing played an integral part. In this regard, it is not surprising that the Chronicler, who shows a keen interest in the temple and its worship, makes no less than thirty references to Levitical singers. These singers were responsible for instrumental and vocal praise (cf. 2 Ch. 5:13f.). In 1 Ch. 15:16-28 the Chronicler traces the institution of the Levitical singers to the time of David. According to his account the singers returned from exile (Ezr. 2:41) and resumed their duties in the second temple (Neh. 7:1; 12:27-47). Although it is theorized that the Chronicler attributed post-exilic conditions to an earlier era, the origin of the singing guilds is probably to be located before the Exile, possibly as early as the time of David and Solomon.



A section of a lamentation to the goddess Ishtar that would have been accompanied by a ritual incantation. The supplicant addresses the greatest of goddesses, describes his sufferings, and requests prosperity so that the goddess will be glorified. From a temple in Babylon, Neo-Babylonian period (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

While singing and praise are intimately associated in the OT, not all singing in ancient Israel and Judah was for the purpose of praising God. Singing also occurred upon occasions of destruction and death. Such singing is generally designated as *qînâ*, "lamentation, dirge." 2 Ch. 35:25 states that "all the singing men and singing women [masc. and fem. part. of *šîr*] have spoken of Josiah in their laments [*qînôt*] to this day." Ordinarily, however, the root *šîr* is presented as the opposite of *qînâ*; e.g., prophetic oracles of judgment warn that "songs" will disappear to be replaced by "lamentation" (cf. Ezk. 26:13, 17; Am. 8:10).

Not all singing in OT times was for religious purposes. Singing was a part of family celebrations (e.g., Gen. 31:27; Job 21:12), courtship and marriage (e.g., Cant. 1:1, etc;

title of Ps. 45), and festivities following victorious battles (e.g., 1 S. 18:6f.). Singing was also apparently associated with such occupations as well-digging (Nu. 21:17), work in the vineyard (Isa. 5:1; 27:2-5), and harlotry (23:15f.).

II. In the NT.–The NT references to singing confirm its importance in Jewish worship and also indicate its place in the life of the early Church. After Jesus and His disciples ate the Passover meal, they sang a hymn (Mt. 26:30; Mk. 14:26). The early Christians are enjoined to give thanks to God as they "sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (Col. 3:16; cf. Eph. 5:19f.). Indeed, so intimate is the connection between singing and praise that the author of the Revelation cannot envision the presence of God without the singing of a new song by all in attendance (Rev. 5:9; 14:3). As the primal act of deliverance was celebrated in song (Ex. 15:1, 21), so will be God's final act of deliverance. The redeemed will "sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb" (Rev. 15:3). *See also* HYMNS IN THE NT

III. Sound and Performance of Biblical Singing.–Although much progress has been made since the 1950s, relatively little is known about the way ancient music sounded and was performed. For a survey of the current knowledge, *see* MUSIC.

See also MELODY; PRAISE; PSALMS; WORSHIP VI, XII.

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J. C. MCCANN, JR.

SONG OF DEGREES. *See* ASCENTS, SONG OF.

SONG OF SONGS. *See* CANTICLES.

SONG OF THE THREE YOUNG MEN; AV SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN; NEB SONG OF THE THREE. One of three additions (along with Bel and the Dragon and Susanna) in the Greek text of Daniel. The song is inserted between what would be Dnl. 3:24 and 25 in the Hebrew text and purports to describe the response of Daniel's three Hebrew companions (Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, Dnl. 1:7) upon being cast into the fiery furnace constructed by Nebuchadnezzar (3:1-7).

I. Circumstances of Origin.–This contribution to the Apocrypha was composed by an unknown author sometime in the 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. There is continuing debate about the original language of composition, with the majority opinion holding that all three apocryphal additions to Daniel were composed in Greek. Of the three, however, the Song of the Three is most compatible with translation from the Hebrew. The idiom is thoroughly biblical, and *parallelismus membrorum*, typical of Hebrew poetic style (*see* POETRY, HEBREW III), is employed throughout. In addition, the use of the repeated refrain "Sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever" in Song Three 29-68 (Dnl. 3:52-90) is reminiscent of Ps. 136 (Moore, pp. 44-47).

II. Structure and Content.–The Song is actually made up of two independent compositions that have been joined editorially to function within the context of Daniel: the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three. Both are included as separate hymns among the odes appearing at the end of the Psalter in some Greek versions of the OT.

A. Prayer of Azariah. Following two verses that provide a connection with the events in Dnl. 3:1-24, a prayer attributed to Azariah (also known by his Babylonian name Abednego, Dnl. 1:7) constitutes the first segment (Song Three 3-22; Dnl. 3:27-45). As a national confession and plea for salvation, the prayer is not entirely appropriate to its context in Dnl. 3, where a plea for deliverance of the three young men from the peril of the furnace is expected. The prayer itself contains no reference to the actual distress of Dnl. 3; concern is largely with national abuse at the hands of "lawless enemies, most hated rebels" and "an unjust king, the most wicked in the world" (v. 9). Mention is made, however, of the demoralizing lack of leadership ("no prince, or prophet, or leader," v. 15) and of the cessation of the temple sacrificial system (v. 16), leading some to suggest the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes as the original historical setting (Metzger, pp. 103f.).

B. Song of the Three. Preceding this segment is a prose narrative of several verses (Song Three 23-28; Dnl. 3:46-51), which once again makes an explicit connection with the events in Daniel. The heat of the fire and its effects on the Babylonian stokers is described, as is the appearance of the angel of the Lord to cool the flames and deliver the three. There follows a song of considerable beauty and skill (Song Three 29-68; Dnl. 3:52-90), which is ostensibly the three young men's hymn of praise to God for delivering them through the angel's intervention. The Song is in reality a hymn calling all of creation to the praise of its creator. Each verse begins with "Bless the Lord" and ends with the refrain "sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever"; cf. the canonical Ps. 136. It shares clear similarities of theme and content with Pss. 148 and 150. Its structure and content follow the pattern of the creation narrative in Gen. 1. Song Three 29-34 contain an invocation in which praise is directed to God Himself. Some would even classify these verses as a separate composition (e.g., Moore, p. 41). Beginning in v. 35, a general call to praise is issued to "all works of the Lord." The remainder of the hymn is divided into two major sections based on the pattern of the Genesis narrative. Verses 36-51 call the heavens and its associated elements (angels, waters, sun, moon, stars, fire, cold, nights and days, etc.) to praise the Creator. At v. 52 a new call is made to the earth and its products and denizens. The Genesis pattern of sea creatures, birds of the air, and land animals (with human beings in the final position) is preserved in vv. 57-60. The call for human praise (vv. 60-65) escalates to include "sons of men," "Israel," "priests," "servants of the Lord," "spirits and souls of the righteous," and the "holy and humble of heart." The poem is reconnected with the events in Dnl. 3 by the inclusion of Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael among the worshipers and by direct reference to their divine deliverance from the fiery furnace (v. 66). The hymn concludes in vv. 67f. with the standard thanksgiving known from numerous canonical psalms: "Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endures for ever" (cf. Pss. 106, 107, 118, and esp. 136).

III. Influence.–These hymns were quoted by many of the church fathers as part of the canonical book of Daniel. Others, especially those who adhered to the Hebrew canon, were aware of their secondary nature (Metzger, p. 100; Moore, pp. 50f.). The hymns continued to form parts of the canon of ancient versions (Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, etc.) and were adopted for liturgical use within the Church in medieval times (Metzger, p. 104). In the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches the Song of the Three, known today as the *Benedicite*, is occasionally used in place of the *Te Deum*, while the Prayer of Azariah (called *Benedictus es*) serves as an even briefer replacement (Dentan, p. 40) and is part of the priest's obligatory morning private devotions (*see also* DANIEL XI).

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Apocrypha (1957); C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions* (*AB*, 1977). G. H. WILSON

SON-IN-LAW. *See* RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY.

SONS OF GOD (OT) [Heb. *bᵉnê (hā)'ĕlōhîm, bᵉnê 'ĕlîm*]. Divine beings. Just as "sons of man" means human beings in Hebrew, so "sons of God" means divine beings, i.e., gods. In Canaanite religion and myth, the term "sons of God" or "sons of the gods" referred to the gods in general. They were the deities of the pantheon who convened to render decisions regarding the governance of the world. Ugaritic mythological texts, e.g., call this divine council "the assembly of the sons of God" (or "of 'El," the chief god). The survival of this idea in Canaanite tradition is illustrated by a reference to "all the sons of the gods" in a Phoenician incantation of the 7th cent. B.C. found at Arslan Tash in northern Syria.

The same usage occurs, at least vestigially, in certain passages in the Hebrew Bible. Dt. 32:8 says that "When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of men, he fixed the bound of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God" (so RSV, NEB; the MT erroneously has "sons of Israel" [*bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl*], but the versions [e.g., LXX, Symm., Old Latin] and a scroll from Qumrân support the reading "sons of God" [*bᵉnê 'ĕlîm*]). In other words, the Most High assigned one of the peoples of the world to each of the divine beings in the council. As v. 9 indicates, Yahweh's portion was Israel. The original notion seems to have been that Yahweh, God of Israel, stood alongside the other national gods in a council presided over by the Most High. But those who included this old poem in Deuteronomy understood Yahweh and the Most High to be identical, as they are elsewhere in the Bible (e.g., Ps. 83:18 [MT 19]), and the sons of God to be subordinate, angelic beings. Thus Yahweh distributed the other nations to His angels, keeping Israel for Himself (cf. Sir. 17:17).

The sons of God appear in other poetic passages, all of which have an archaic character. Job 38:7, e.g., identifies them with "the morning stars" and recalls that they shouted their acclamation at Yahweh's creation of the earth. Ps. 29:1 calls upon the "sons of God" (Heb. *bᵉnê 'ĕlîm*; RSV "heavenly beings") to praise Yahweh. Ps. 82:1 describes Yahweh as rising "in the midst of the gods" — i.e., "in the divine council" (lit. "council of 'El") — to pass judgment on the other gods. Verses 6f. say, "You are gods, sons of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like men." Ps. 89:6 (MT 7) is an assertion of Yahweh's incomparability: "Who among the heavenly beings [*bᵉnê 'ĕlîm*] is like the Lord . . ." (cf. Ex. 15:11). Again, the original intent of these passages may have been to present Yahweh as one deity (albeit the greatest and the only just deity) alongside others in the divine council. But the passages were preserved because they can be understood in the light of the general biblical idea of a council of subordinate divine beings ("messengers" or "angels") ruled by Yahweh (on Ps. 82 see esp. G. E. Wright, *OT Against its Environment* [*SBT*, 1/2; 1950], pp. 30-41).

The prologue to Job reflects this more usual biblical notion of subordinate divine beings. Job 1:6 and 2:1 refer to "a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord." In this case the sons of God are angelic beings who carry out Yahweh's will on earth and report to Him in His heavenly council. The relatively independent figure of "the adversary" (*haśśāṭān*, RSV "Satan") in this context anticipates later developments in the Judeo-Christian tradition according to which SATAN or Lucifer and his fellow angels were viewed as having sufficient autonomy to rebel against God.

For "sons of God" in Gen. 6:2, 4 *see* NEPHILIM.

See also CHILDREN OF GOD I. P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

SONS OF GOD (NT) [Gk. *huioí (toú) theoú* (Mt. 5:9; Lk. 20:36; Rom. 8:14, 19; Gal. 3:26); **CHILDREN OF GOD** [Gk. *tékna (toú) theoú* (Jn. 1:12; 11:52; Rom. 8:16f, 21; 9:8; Phil. 2:15; 1 Jn. 3:1f., 10)].

Although Gk. *téknon* and *huiós* may be distinguished, they are often used interchangeably. *Téknon* more naturally speaks of one who is a descendant by birth, while *huiós* describes a relationship, e.g., legal. Most NT uses of these terms fall into one of two categories.

(1) A designation of believers in Christ. In the writings of John the term *téknon* is used exclusively to designate believers. In Jn. 1:12 and 1 Jn. 3:1f., 10 Christians are declared to be the children of God. In John's thought people are God's children because they have been born into the family of God (Jn. 1:12f.; 1 Jn. 2:29; 3:9f.; 5:1). Paul's use of the concept of sonship, however, is not set in the context of birth but in the context of adoption (*huiothesía*, Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:5-7). Here we enter God's family through the legal act of adoption. According to John, because we are children of God righteousness will be the chief characteristic of our life-style (1 Jn. 2:29; 3:9f.). This may also be what Paul meant when he declared that those led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God (Rom. 8:14). Paul also indicated that another evidence of sonship is the internal witness of the Spirit (v. 16). Both Paul and John also spoke of sonship in the future tense (Rom. 8:19, 21; 1 Jn. 3:2).

(2) The indication of likeness. The NT contains the concept expressed in the proverb, "Like father, like son." It was typically Hebrew usage to employ the term "son" to express likeness. Those who are peacemakers will be called God's sons because they are like God (Mt. 5:9). Similarly, people who love their enemies are God's sons (Mt. 5:45; Lk. 6:35f.). And those who do not grumble or doubt, who are blameless and pure, shining as lights in this evil world, likewise are called God's sons (Phil. 2:15). It is probable that Jesus had this concept of likeness in mind when He referred to the righteous as sons of God and of the resurrection (Lk. 20:36). God's people are like Him in that they, too, are immortal.

See also CHILDREN OF GOD.

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SOPATER sō'pə-tər [Gk. *Sōpatros*]. A man from the Macedonian city of Beroea who, with others, accompanied Paul on his travels from Greece through Macedonia and the western parts of Asia to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). His name is a variant of SOSIPATER, and he is probably the Sosipater mentioned in Rom. 16:21.

SORCERER; SORCERY. *See* MAGIC II.A, III.A; MEDIUM (for Isa. 19:3).

SORE. A sore may be defined as any kind of open skin lesion, ulcer, or wound. Accordingly the *ʿaḇaʿbuʿôṯ* of Ex. 9:9f. which were to afflict the Egyptians as one of the pre-Exodus plagues would fit the category of sores admirably, since the term included such cutaneous conditions as ulcers, pustules, and blisters. Since the plague in question included animals, a pathological condition which could be shared equally by people and their flocks is obviously

indicated. The most probable disease would be anthrax, an infectious ailment transmitted to humans from animal sources. The responsible organism, the *Bacillus anthracis,* doubtless arose, according to Hort, when the rotting fish from the first plague infected the frogs of the Nile and killed them. The anthrax spores were communicated subsequently to the animals, and then to the Egyptian populace (G. Hort, *ZAW,* 69 [1957], 84-103; 70 [1958], 48-59). The particular form would be cutaneous anthrax, of which malignant pustules or malignant edema would be symptomatic. Anthrax in its various forms is characterized by hemorrhages, serum discharges in bodily organs, and a general condition of extreme illness.

The "loathsome sores" (*šᵉḥîn raʿ*) that afflicted Job (2:7) seem to have been a product of his emotionally disturbed personality. The lesions were of the multiple irritant variety accompanied by muscular debility and general depression. They were distributed over his body in a manner which suggests a typical allergic reaction. The obvious emotional disturbance of Job would seem to preclude ailments such as impetigo or staphylococcal infections (*see* DISEASE III.J).

The "sore" of Isa. 1:6 (*ḥabbûrâ*) is of unspecified aetiology, and is probably best understood in terms of cutaneous infections such as boils or pustules that have become worse due to neglect or improper treatment. A similar situation no doubt applied in the story of the poor man of Lk. 16:20f., who was described as "full of sores" (*ēlkoménos*). These doubtless included suppurating ulcers which the dogs attempted to cleanse by licking. The therapeutic behavior of the animals stood in sharp contrast to the neglect shown by a wealthy human being. The sores of Rev. 16:2 are also of unspecified nature, but could well have been fetid, discharging lesions of various kinds.

The RSV also uses "sore" in a poetic sense to imply some severe condition or situation (Ps. 71:20; Eccl. 6:2; Ezk. 14:21). In Gen. 34:25 the post-circumcision recovery process is being described. R. K. H.

SOREK sôʻrek, **VALLEY OF** [Heb. *naḥal śōrēq*–'wadi of the choice vine'; Gk. LXXA *toú cheimárrou Sōrēch*]. A valley mentioned only once by name in Scripture: ". . . [Samson] loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah" (Jgs. 16:4). It can be located in relation to the identifiable towns in the vicinity. Samson was from Zorah, identified with Ṣarʿah on the northern ridge overlooking the Wâdī Ṣarâr. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* 160.2-4; 161.2-4, respectively) reported the existence of a village named Sōrēch or Kaphar Sōrēch (Gk. corrupt; Lat. *Cafarsorech*) on the border of the Eleutheropolis metropolitan district near Zorah. About 3 km. (2 mi.) W of Zorah is the ancient ruin Khirbet es-Sūreik (modern Heb. Kefar Soreq), standing on the same ridge. Albright even suggested that the name Sorek must have been limited to the small wadi descending from Khirbet es-Sūreik to the Wâdī Ṣarâr; but it is far more likely that the entire Wâdī Ṣarâr, or at least the segment from the Judean hills through the Shephelah to the coastal plain, was called Sorek.

Wâdī Ṣarâr (modern Naḥal Soreq) was probably second only to the Valley of Aijalon as an approach to the Judean hills. It is the extension of the steep ravine known as Wâdī Ismaʿîn, which is created by the junction of Wâdī es-Sikkeḥ (today Naḥal Refaʾim) and Wâdī Beit Ḥanîneh. (Wâdīs Ismaʿîn and Beit Hanîneh together are called Naḥal Soreq.) When the stream bed of Wâdī Ṣarâr issues from the Judean hills, it is joined by the Wâdī el-Ghurâb (today Naḥal Kesalon) from the northeast and Wâdī en-Nejîl (today Naḥal Zanoaḥ) from the south; a large basin is formed, with the mound of the former ʿArtûf in the center. On the southern side stands Tell er-Rumeileh (ancient Beth-shemesh).

The Valley of Sorek NE of Beth-shemesh (W. S. LaSor)

The northern boundary line of Judah (Josh. 15:10f.) also passed along the Valley of Sorek. As the stream bed makes a broad arc toward the northwest it passes by the site of ancient Timnah, 7.2 km. (4.5 mi.) WNW of Beth-shemesh. The low ridge that follows the course of the Sorek on its southwest side is evidently "the shoulder of the hill north of Ekron" (v. 11).

When the ark of the covenant was brought back from Ekron, two cows carried it up the valley of Sorek to Beth-shemesh. The dividing line between the Philistine and Judean territories fell somewhere between this latter town and Timnah (cf. Jgs. 14:1; 1 S. 6:12).

One Roman legion marched up the valley of Sorek to attack Bar Cochba at Bether (Khirbet el-Yehûd, near Bittîr). In Jewish legend the blood of the defenders flowed to the sea via the Sorek.

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A. F. RAINEY

SORES sôr'es [Gk. *Sōrēs*]. A town of Judah listed only in Josh. 15:59, NEB, following the LXX (v. 59a). *See* MANACH.

SORROW [Heb. *yāgôn*–'grief, vexation' (Gen. 42:38; 44:31; Est. 9:22; Ps. 13:2 [MT 3]; 107:39; Isa. 35:10; Jer. 45:3; etc.), *maḵʾôḇ*–'pain' (2 Ch. 6:29; Eccl. 1:18; Isa. 53:3f.; Lam. 1:12), *tûgâ*–'grief' (Ps. 119:28; Prov. 10:1), *ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ*–'hurt, pain' (Ps. 16:4; Prov. 15:13), *ʿeṣeḇ*–'pain' (Prov. 10:22), *ʾaḇôy*–'uneasiness' (Prov. 23:29), *ḥēḇel*–'labor pains, travail' (Jer. 49:24), *kaʿas*–'vexation, grief' (Eccl. 7:3), *ʿnî*–'poverty, affliction' (Ps. 88:9 [MT 10]), *rāʿâ* (Gen. 44:29); Gk. *lýpē*–'grief, sorrow, pain' (Lk. 22:45; Jn. 16:6, 20-22; 2 Cor. 2:7; Phil. 2:27), *odýnē*–'pain' (Rom. 9:2)]; AV also GRIEF, AFFLICTION, HEAVINESS, etc.; NEB TROUBLE, MISERY, GRIEF, etc.: **SORROWFUL** [Heb. *kāḇēḏ*–'heavy, opressing' (Gen. 50:10); Gk. *lypéō*–'be grieved, be pained' (Mt. 19:22; 26:22, 37; Mk. 10:22; 14:19; Jn. 16:20; 2 Cor. 6:10), *perílypos*–'very sad, deeply grieved' (Mt. 26:38; Mk. 14:34)]; AV also SORE, GRIEVED; NEB BITTER, "with a heavy heart" (Mt. 19:22; Mk. 10:22), "plunged in grief" (Jn. 16:20), etc.; **SORROWING** [Gk. *odynáomai*–'feel (mental and spiritual) pain' (Acts 20:38)]; NEB DISTRESSED. In Gen. 48:7 the RSV "to my sorrow" trans-

lates Heb. *'ilay* (lit. "upon me") with an adversative sense expressing disadvantage.

The biblical notion of sorrow stresses personal destitution and loss but goes on to confess our ultimate dependence on God and a firm hope in His comfort. In the biblical world mourning was rarely private. Sorrow was often expressed as a public lamentation that drew in the support and sympathies of the community. The community in turn could lift the mourner above the present crisis and assert God's promised eschatological salvation: "They shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away" (Isa. 35:10).

In the OT a broad variety of Hebrew words expresses sorrow (*bāḵâ, sāpaḏ, 'āmal, 'ānâ, ḥāraq, 'āḇal,* etc). The most common term, *bāḵâ,* describes extreme grief, such as the story of the childless Hannah (1 S. 1:7; cf. Lam. 1:16) or the mourning of Joseph over his deceased father (Gen. 50:1; cf. 23:2). Not only was sorrow expressed individually, but often the nation would engage in cultic lamentations (Jgs. 20:23, 26; 1 S. 25:1), frequently accompanied by a fast. This explains the Psalms of lament, which were used in ritual worship (Pss. 74, 79, 80).

Israelite mourning employed vivid customs to display grief. Many would rend their garments (Gen. 37:34), wear sackcloth (1 S. 3:31-34), shave their hair or beards (Isa. 7:20; 15:12), and beat their breasts (Nah. 2:7). Above all, profuse wailing was commonplace (Isa. 15:2; Jer. 34:5; Am. 5:16), especially among women (Jer. 9:17-20; Nah. 2:7). What distinguishes biblical grief is the belief in God's ultimate help. Thus in Ps. 22, the cry of the afflicted man cited by Christ on the cross, the final stanzas affirm God's deliverance (22:24-31).

The NT vocabulary is also diverse (*klaíō, kóptō, thrēnéō, penthéō, lypéō* [passive only], *brýchō,* and *stenázō*). Mourning, replete with its vivid public expressions, is recorded in the Gospels, e.g., at the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mk. 5:38f.). Here and at Nain (Lk. 7:11-17) Jesus interrupted a funeral party. The same public lamentation, including wailing women, is recorded at Lazarus's funeral in Bethany (Jn. 11:31) and Jesus' march to Golgotha (Lk. 23:27f.). The Jewish funeral included profuse and protracted mourning since most people believed that the dead could hear the dirge and be comforted.

Bereavement, however, is only one aspect of sorrow in the NT. Sorrow will typify the lost who failed to respond to Christ's kingdom (Mt. 8:12; Lk. 13:28; Jas. 4:9). Here the word-group of *brýchō* ("gnashing" [of teeth]) occurs most often in Matthew (Mt. 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30), graphically depicting the unsaved.

Christians experience sorrow due to personal affliction (Rom. 12:15) and as a response to sin (1 Cor. 5:2; 2 Cor. 7:10). Some would even view most of 2 Corinthians as Paul's rebuke and homily on sorrow, in which sorrow is our response to failed righteousness (cf. He. 12:11).

There is an important connection between the Holy Spirit and sorrow. In Jesus' upper-room farewell, He indicated how His departure would bring great sorrow (Jn. 16:20-22), but it would be the Spirit who would eliminate grief and replace it with joy. Paul makes this same connection in Rom. 8. In 8:18-25 Paul describes the inadequacies of our mortal world and the sorrows we experience as we yearn for perfection. It is the Spirit who comes to our aid (v. 24), strengthening and interceding for us (cf. 2 Cor. 5:2-5).

Paul also believed that sorrow may be beneficial — even essential — to the Christian life. In 2 Cor. 7:9-13 Paul speaks of "godly sorrow" (*lýpē*) that detaches the Christian from the world and gives him a zeal for God. According to Paul sorrows push us toward a greater dependence on God. Thus the apostle could view his own afflictions and sorrows as constructive inasmuch as the presence of Christ was manifested in him (2 Cor. 4:7-12). Sorrow had become for him a spiritual discipline.

In the eschaton, sorrows will be gone forever. The NT holds out the promise for those who trust in Christ. Mourning will be turned to laughter (Lk. 6:21). The new Jerusalem will celebrate the absence of sorrow: "[God] will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more, for the former things have passed away" (Rev. 21:4). G. M. BURGE

SORRY [Heb. *nāḥam*] (Gen. 6:6f.); AV REPENT; [*ḥālâ*] (1 S. 22:8); NEB "spare a thought"; [*dā'ag*] (Ps. 38:18 [MT 19]); NEB BE ANXIOUS; [Gk. *lypéō*] (Mt. 14:9; 2 Cor. 7:8); NEB BE DISTRESSED, CAUSE PAIN; [*perílypos*] (Mk. 6:26); NEB DISTRESSED. The use of "sorry" in Gen. 6:6f. is an anthropomorphic manner of referring to God's relations with people. In Himself God is immutable (Mal. 3:6), but in His relationships with people He moves in judgment or in mercy upon His sinful creatures. A change from blessing to judgment may, from a human standpoint, be referred to as a change of heart. G. WYPER

SOSIPATER sō-sip'ə-tər [Gk. *Sōsipatros*]. One of Paul's "kinsmen" who send greetings in Rom. 16:21. "Kinsman" means that he was a Jew. He is probably the same person as the SOPATER of Acts 20:4. Nothing further is known of him.

SOSTHENES sos'thi-nēz [Gk. *Sōsthenēs*] (Acts 18:17; 1 Cor. 1:1). In Acts 18:17 Sosthenes is identified as the *archisynágōgos* ("leader" or "president") of the synagogue in Corinth (Acts 18:8). On the basis of Luke's earlier reference to Crispus (18:8), perhaps Sothenes succeeded Crispus after the latter converted to Christianity. Following an unsuccessful attempt by Corinthian Jews to have Paul arrested, the crowd seized and beat Sosthenes. The manuscript tradition reflects the difficulty in identifying the participants in the beating. The Western and later ecclesiastical texts add in v. 17 the identifying words, "the Greeks," suggesting that the attackers were Gentiles who looked with typical Roman disfavor on what appeared to them to be the ill-founded accusations brought by the Jews. Several minuscules (307, 431) read "all the Jews," suggesting that Sosthenes' failure to win a conviction against Paul caused certain Jews to vent their wrath on him. Both identifying additions should probably be rejected in favor of the simple "they" with the implication that both Greeks and Jews participated in the beating — Greeks because Sosthenes was a Jew, and Jews because of his failure to win a conviction. Some scholars suggest that *archisynágōgos* in 18:17 was a title within the Corinthian church and that Sosthenes was beaten because he was a Christian. While little evidence supports the use of this title in the early Church, one must remember that some early Christians referred to their assembly as a "synagogue" (Gk. *synagōgḗ,* Jas. 2:2). Perhaps Sosthenes represented a Jewish-Christian element in Corinth that sought to inhibit Paul's Gentile mission.

The name Sosthenes also appears in 1 Cor. 1:1 along with Paul. The fact that Paul identifies him as "the brother" suggests that he is a Christian who is well known to the Corinthian congregation. Luke's inclusion of Sosthenes in Acts 18:18 and the mention of Crispus in 1 Cor. 1 suggest that the identification of Sosthenes in 1 Cor. 1:1

with the Sosthenes of Acts 18:17 is possible (some would say probable). Still the frequency with which the name Sosthenes appears in the papyri and inscriptions precludes certainty and opinion divides sharply on this question. According to Eusebius (*HE* i.12.1) Sosthenes was one of Jesus' seventy disciples and later tradition identifies him as the first bishop of Colophon is Asia Minor.

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W. H. GLOER

SOSTRATUS sō'stra-təs [Gk. *Sōstratos*] (2 Macc. 4:28). Military commander and representative in Jerusalem of the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV, when MENELAUS was high priest. According to 2 Macc. 4:27f., he was responsible for collecting revenues. When he was unable to collect the payments owed by Menelaus, both he and Menelaus were summoned to the court of Antiochus. Nothing else is known of him.

SOTAI sō'tī [Heb. *sôṭay/sōṭay*] (Ezr. 2:55; Neh. 7:57). Head of a family included within a group called SOLOMON'S SERVANTS that returned from the Babylonian exile (Ezr. 2:55-58; Neh. 7:57-60).

SOTERIOLOGY sō-tēr-ē-ol'ə-jē [< Gk. *sōtēría*–'deliverance, salvation']. The branch of theology that deals with SALVATION and the savior.

SOTTISH sot'ish (Jer. 4:22, AV). *See* STUPID.

SOUL. The essence of being or life; the animating principle, ultimately derived from God, who "breathed" (Heb. *nāpaḥ*; LXX *emphysáō*; Vulg. *inspiro*) into mankind (Heb. *'ādām*, "human being"), thereby creating a "living soul" (Heb. *nepeš;* Gen. 2:7).

The term "soul" (Vulg. *anima*) translates several biblical words, the most frequent of which are Heb. *nepeš* and Gk. *psychḗ*. The AV uses "soul" almost exclusively to render these two terms, while the RSV and NEB employ a variety of English terms and idioms that more precisely express the meanings of these biblical terms in their specific contexts.

Occasionally Heb. *nepeš* and Gk. *psychḗ* are applied to God (e.g., Lev. 26:11, 30; Isa. 42:1; Mt. 12:18; He. 10:38); this usage is generally a circumlocution for the personal pronoun ("my soul" means "I"). *Nepeš* and *psychḗ* can also be attributed to animals (e.g., Gen. 1:30 [RSV "breath"]; Rev. 8:9 [RSV "living"]), although this use is quite infrequent; in such cases the term indicates that these animals are living beings. When applied to human beings, *nepeš* and *psychḗ* take on a variety of meanings. *Nepeš*, e.g., often substitutes for personal and reflexive pronouns (e.g., Ps. 88:3; Isa. 58:3, 5). In general, the "soul" denotes the "self," complete with emotions, appetites, and volition.

In the RSV NT "soul" always represents Gk. *psychḗ*. In the OT, however, the RSV occasionally uses "soul" to render terms other than Heb. *nepeš*. These include Heb. *kāḇôḏ* (AV "glory," Ps. 16:9; 30:12 [MT 13]; 57:8 [MT 9]; 108:1), *mē'îm* (AV "bowels," Isa. 16:11; Lam. 1:20; 2:11), *lēḇāḇ* (AV "heart," Ps. 73:21), and *kᵉlāyôṯ* (AV "reins," Prov. 23:16).

I. OT Uses of *Nepeš*
II. NT Uses of *Psychḗ*
III. Theological/Historical Issues

A papyrus vignette depicting an Egyptian soul tree (*ca.* 1000 B.C.). Winged souls hover on a bare-branched tree guarded by the jackals of Anubis. On either side of the tree two soul birds with human heads are perched on water (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR. Ägyptisches Museum P. 10477)

I. OT Uses of Nepeš.–As mentioned above, Gen. 2:7 states that *'ādām* became a *nepeš* (RSV "living soul") when God breathed into the formed dust. Likewise, death is described as occurring when the breath ceases, i.e., when the *nepeš* departs (e.g., Gen. 35:18). Elijah prayed for the *nepeš* (AV, RSV, "soul"; NEB "breath of life") to return to the dead son of the widow from Zarephath (1 K. 17:21), for he was without "breath" (*nᵉšāmâ*, v. 17). It is a simple step to the use of *nepeš* to signify "throat" (Nu. 11:6, NEB), that part of the body that carries the windpipe. "Neck" is an equally appropriate translation at points, especially in breath-stifling, life-threatening situations (RSV, NEB, Ps. 69:1).

Perhaps because of its association with the throat as the passageway through which physical hunger and thirst are alleviated, the *nepeš* can be described as craving food and water (cf. AV Dt. 12:15, 20f.; 14:26; 1 S. 2:16; Ps. 107:5, 9; Prov. 6:30; 10:3; etc.). But it is also described as the seat of other desires, e.g., for personal property such as oxen, sheep, and wines (cf. AV Dt. 14:26), for a sexual relationship (Gen. 34:3, 8; Cant. 3:1-4), for another's presence (as in the intense friendship between David and Jonathan, 1 S. 18:1, 3), or for a child (1 S. 1:15). In essence, *nepeš* can refer to any unfulfilled longing or unmet need.

By extrapolation *nepeš* can be used to refer to the seat of spiritual as well as physical needs and cravings (e.g., Ps. 42:1f. [MT 2f.]; 63:1 [MT 2]; 84:2 [MT 3]; 119:20; 143:6; Isa. 26:8f.). Some passages describe the satisfac-

tion of the needs of the soul (e.g., Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]; 23:3; 63:5 [MT 6]; 131:2; Jer. 31:25).

Nepeš can also be used in a more comprehensive sense to denote the seat of emotions and experiences. The *nepeš* may be sad (e.g., Dt. 28:65; Ps. 42:6 [MT 7]; 119:28), grieved (e.g., Job 30:25), or in pain (e.g., Ps. 13:2 [MT 3]), and it may weep (Jer. 13:17). It may be distressed (e.g., Gen. 42:21), bitter (e.g., Job 3:20; 7:10; Isa. 38:15), or troubled (e.g., Ps. 6:3 [MT 4]; 88:3 [MT 4]); it may tremble (e.g., Isa. 15:4). The *nepeš* can also hate (e.g., 2 S. 5:8; Ps. 11:5). On the other hand, it can rejoice (e.g., Ps. 35:9; Isa. 61:10), be cheered (e.g., Ps. 86:4; 94:19), bless the Lord (e.g., Ps. 103:1, 22; 104:1, 35), and love (e.g., 1 S. 18:1, 3; Cant. 1:7; 3:1-4). Thus the term is associated with a full range of needs, desires, and feelings, as well as with thought and memory (e.g., Ps. 103:2; Lam. 3:20).

The idea that *nepeš* is integral to life itself is especially clear in the relationship between blood and *nepeš*. "The blood is the life [*nepeš*]," states Dt. 12:23. The *nepeš* (often rendered "life" by the RSV when used in this sense) can be poured out (Isa. 53:12; Lam. 2:12); it may be taken by God (Job 27:8), sought by others (Prov. 29:10), or forfeited by oneself (Hab. 2:10). On the other hand, it can be the object of salvation (Ps. 116:4), redemption (2 S. 4:9; Ps. 34:22 [MT 23]; 72:14), or deliverance (Ps. 55:18 [MT 19]; 116:8), even from Sheol (86:13).

Since *nepeš* is integral to life, death of the *nepeš* means a loss of personhood. The *nepeš* frequently appears not as the possession of *'ādām* but as what *'ādām is*. Thus the most frequent translation of *nepeš* in the RSV and NEB is "person" (e.g., Lev. 7:20; 19:8), "any one" (e.g., Lev. 4:2; 5:1f.), or one of a wide variety of personal pronouns.

II. NT Uses of Psyché.–In the NT Gk. *psyché* carries most of the basic meanings of Heb. *nepeš*, because of the LXX use of *psyché* to render the Hebrew term. Sometimes *psyché* connotes that which makes a body into a "living being" (cf. its use in reference to sea-dwelling animals, Rev. 8:9; 16:3 [RSV "living"]); thus, Adam *became* a living *psyché* (1 Cor. 15:45). In enumerations people are sometimes referred to as individual "souls" (*psychai*, e.g., Acts 2:41; 7:14; cf. 4:32, which refers to Christians being united as one *psyché*). In Lk. 12:19 the rich man addresses his own soul, i.e., he speaks to himself.

The term can also denote one's inner life or true personhood. As God created the *psyché*, He has the power to destroy it; but Jesus taught that whereas other human beings may succeed in killing the body, they cannot kill the *psyché* (Mt. 10:28). It appears that at death a transformation takes place in which the body is corrupted but the *psyché* continues to exist in a form different from that known in the earthly existence. In John's vision the souls of the martyrs continue to exist under the heavenly altar (Rev. 6:9; 20:4). The Scriptures testify that Jesus' *psyché* was not abandoned in Hades (Acts 2:27, 31).

Jesus taught that the human soul (RSV "life") is priceless (Mt. 16:26 par. Mk. 8:37). Those who try to save their *psyché* will lose it, but those who lose their *psyché* for Christ's sake will find it (Mt. 16:25 par. Mk. 8:36; Lk. 9:25). Jesus Himself demonstrated this principle. In His salvific death He gave His *psyché* as a ransom for the many who were under penalty of death (Mt. 20:28 par. Mk. 10:45).

According to 1 Pet. 1:22 Christians' souls are purified by obedience to the truth (cf. 3 Jn. 2f., where the author says that he knows that "it is well with your [Gaius's] soul" because he has heard that Gaius follows the truth). In 1 Thess. 5:23 Paul prays that his readers' "spirit and soul and body [may] be kept sound and blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." The souls of believers may be strengthened through the ministry of others (Acts 14:22). Christian leaders have the responsibility of keeping watch over the souls of those in their charge (He. 13:17). "Unsteady souls" are especially vulnerable to being led into sin by false teachers (2 Pet. 2:14; cf. Acts 15:24 [RSV "minds"]). But Jas. 5:20 teaches that "whoever brings back a sinner from the error of his way will save his soul from death and will cover a multitude of sins." Hope in God's covenant promises provides Christians with "a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul" (He. 6:19). 1 Pet. 4:19 exhorts those who suffer according to God's will to "do right and entrust their souls to a faithful Creator." Those who endure suffering without losing faith will "keep their souls" (He. 10:39).

The Pauline reference to spirit, soul, and body in 1 Thess. 5:23 has led to extended debate over the significance of these terms. Earlier students of Pauline anthropology tended to interpret the *psyché* in terms of a Greek psychological dualism between body and soul. More recent scholars have come to view these terms in a more Hebraic fashion, recognizing them as differing perspectives on a single human reality. When placed alongside other aspects of the person, *psyché* may be seen as but one way of viewing the human life. Thus, the reference in He. 4:12 to the Word of God "piercing to the division of soul and spirit" appears to mean simply that God's Word probes the inmost recesses of the total human being (see F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews* [*NICNT*, 1964], pp. 81-83).

III. Theological/Historical Issues.–Early Christians were often influenced by Greek as well as Jewish thought. For example, many were influenced by Pythagoras's teachings about the division of the soul into several parts and about the transmigration of the soul. Platonic and Neoplatonic (esp. Plotinus's) understandings lay behind Origen's view of the soul as pure mind that had grown cool (pass. of *psýchō*) through the fall. Origen also taught the preexistence of the soul (*De prin.* ii.8.3; ii.9.7) — a position that was condemned by the larger Church but is found today in Mormon doctrine.

Tertullian followed Stoic thought, arguing that the soul was a "spiritual essence" that could also be described as a "corporeal substance" (*De anima* 5.2). The corporeal nature of the soul, he argued, was supported by various philosophical arguments, by reference to the deceased Lazarus's finger in Lk. 16:19-31 (esp. vv. 23f.), by the fact that the souls of the martyrs were visible to John as he was "in the Spirit" (Rev. 6:9-11), and by a vision received by a certain Montanist "sister" (*De anima* 8.1–9.8).

The issue of the origin of the soul has been debated extensively in the Church's history. Augustine spurned as blasphemous the Greek idea that the soul had been a part of God (*De anima et eius origine* 2.4). A second position, known as creationism, understands each soul as a unique creation of God from the moment of conception or the time when it is given a body. This position was very popular, especially with Jerome and in the Eastern Church; it tends to cite Nu. 27:16; Eccl. 12:7; and Isa. 42:5 for support. A third position, known as traducianism, understands each soul to be derived from the parents along with each body; it was favored by Tertullian (*De anima* 27) but was questioned by Augustine (*De anima et eius origine* 1.24). One strength of this view is that it does seem to provide an explanation for the concept of universal original sin through Adam and also for the true humanity of Jesus. Passages such as He. 7:9f. are cited as supporting this position.

See also PSYCHOLOGY IV, V.

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C. M. ROBECK, JR.

SOUND. As a noun "sound" almost always represents the word for VOICE in Hebrew (*qôl*), Aramaic (*qâl*), or Greek (*phōnḗ*), e.g., the *qôl* of the trumpet (Ex. 19:19; Josh. 6:5, 20; etc.), of marching (2 S. 5:24), of chariots (2 K. 7:6), or of wings (Ezk. 1:24; 3:13; 10:5); the *qâl* of the horn (Dnl. 3:5, 7, etc.); the *phōnḗ* of many waters (Rev. 1:15; 14:2; 19:6) or of harpers (14:2; 18:22). The only passages in which the noun represents another term are Ps. 150:3 (Heb. *tēqaʿ* < *tāqaʿ*, "blow, blast"); Isa. 14:11 (*hemyâ* < *hāmâ*, "make noise"); 30:29, 32 (supplied by the RSV in translating *behālîl* [lit. "with the flute"] and *bᵉṯuppîm* [lit. "with timbrels"]; cf. AV); Am. 6:5 (*peh*, lit. "mouth"); and Acts 2:2 and He. 12:19 (Gk. *ḗchos*, "sound, noise," "report"). *See also* NOISE.

The verb is used most often in the sense of "cause to be heard." As such it translates Heb. *tāqaʿ* (lit. "blow [the trumpet]"; Jgs. 3:27; 6:34; Neh. 4:18; Zec. 9:14), the hiphil of *rûᶜ(a)* ("sound an alarm," e.g., Nu. 10:7, 9; Hos. 5:8; Joel 2:1; cf. 2 Ch. 13:12), the hiphil of *šāmēᶜ(a)* (lit. "cause to be heard"; 1 Ch. 15:19; 16:5; Ezk. 19:4 [as emended]), *nāṯan* (lit. "give"; Ps. 81:2 [MT 3]), *hāgaʿ* ("make a sound," Ps. 115:7); Gk. *salpízō* ("sound a trumpet," Mt. 6:2; 1 Cor. 15:52; Rev. 10:7), *laléō* (lit. "speak"; Rev. 10:3f.), pass. of *exēchéō* ("sound forth," 1 Thess. 1:8), etc. *See* BLOW 1.

Two passages use the verb in the sense of "investigate" or "measure the depths." In 1 S. 20:12 Jonathan states that he will "find out" (Heb. *ḥāqar*) his father's intentions. In Acts 27:28 Gk. *bolízō* means to "take soundings," i.e., to measure the depths of a body of water with a sounding line (see MM, p. 114). N. J. O.

SOUND; SOUNDNESS [Heb. *tûšîyâ* ("sound wisdom," etc.), *tām* (as emended by RSV, Ps. 73:4), niphal part. of *nāṣaḇ*, *mᵉṯōm*; Gk. *haploús, ponērós* ("not sound"), *agathós, holóklēros, hygiaínō, hygiḗs*]; AV also WISDOM, "the thing as it is" (Job 26:3), SINGLE, EVIL, GOOD, WHOLESOME, etc.; NEB also ABILITY, SUCCESS, SICKLY, HEALTH, WHOLESOME, GOOD, etc. Free from injury, disease, defect, or error.

In the OT "sound" appears most often in the expressions "sound wisdom" (Prov. 2:7; 3:21; 8:14; Mic. 6:9), "sound knowledge" (Job 26:3), and "sound judgment" (Prov. 18:1). These all translate Heb. *tûšîyâ*, which denotes the kind of practical WISDOM that leads to success (cf. RSV "success" in Job 5:12; "resource" in 6:13).

In Ps. 73:4 the RSV and NEB emend the MT *lᵉmôṯām* (AV lit. "in their death") to read *lāmô tām*. *Tām* derives from the root *tmm* ("be complete, blameless") and refers here to the bodies of the wealthy, which are free of any injury or disease. On the other hand, a body that has "no soundness" (*ʾên mᵉṯōm*, also derived from *tmm*) is one that is desperately ill (Ps. 38:3, 7 [MT 4, 8]); the same expression figuratively describes the critical plight of the whole nation (Isa. 1:6). In Zec. 11:16 the niphal part. of *nāṣaḇ* (lit. "stand, stand firm"; cf. AV "that stand still") can be interpreted in two ways with opposite meanings: it may denote the firm, strong bodies of healthy animals (RSV "sound") or the "sickly" (NEB) bodies of animals that stand still instead of moving about.

In Jesus' saying of Mt. 6:22f. par. Lk. 11:34-36 the meaning of Gk. *haploús* (RSV "sound") and *ponērós* ("not sound") is not totally clear. Gk. *haploús* generally means "single" (so AV) or "simple," while *ponērós* can mean either "evil" (AV) or "sick" (cf. NEB "bad"). Some exegetes have interpreted *ophthalmós ponērós* in a moral sense as "evil eye," i.e., a "hostile" or "grudging" disposition (cf. Mt. 20:15; Mk. 7:22; *see* EVIL EYE); *haploús* is then understood as "generous" or "whole-hearted" (see *TDNT*, I, 386; VI, 555f.). More likely, perhaps, is the view that *haploús* denotes single-minded receptivity to the light (i.e., to Christ, God's Word). One who is focused totally on Christ is illumined by the light, while one who is closed to Christ or tries to focus on both Christ and material possessions (resulting in "double vision"; cf. the context in Mt. 6:24-34) remains in darkness. See comms. on Matthew (e.g., D. Hill [*NCBC*, repr. 1981]) and on Luke (e.g., J. A. Fitzmyer [*AB*, 1985]; I. H. Marshall [*NIGTC*, 1978]).

Greek *hygiaínō* usually means "be in good health" or "make well again." In Lk. 15:27, e.g., the lost son is said to have returned "safe and sound" (part. of *hygiaínō*). In the Pastoral Epistles, however, this verb (usually part.) and the adjective *hygiḗs* (lit. "healthy") are used in a different sense, found nowhere else in the NT, to characterize the content of Christian preaching (e.g., "sound doctrine," Tit. 2:1; "sound teaching," 2 Tim. 4:3; "sound speech," Tit. 2:8; cf. v. 2). The background for this usage is to be found in Greek popular philosophy, which frequently used these terms in the sense of "reasonable," i.e., conforming to the order and balance present in reality (see Dibelius and Conzelmann; *TDNT*, VIII, 308, 312). In the Pastoral Epistles the apostolic DOCTRINE provides the norm for determining what teaching is "sound" and what is to be rejected as erroneous (cf. 1 Tim. 1:10f.; 6:3f.; 2 Tim. 1:11-14; Tit. 1:9, 13f.).

Greek *holóklēros* (lit. "complete in all its parts"; cf. RSV "complete" in Jas. 1:4) in 1 Thess. 5:23 refers to the sanctification of the whole person (cf. the denotation "unblemished" sacrificial victims in Josephus *Ant.* iii.9.2 [228]; viii.4.4 [118]).

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SOUR [Heb. *bōser*] (Jer. 31:29f.; Ezk. 18:2). A term applied to grapes that are starting to ripen (KoB, pp. 135f.) in a proverb describing the effect of one generation's sins upon the next: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge." Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel quoted the proverb in order to reject it. Their corrective message was that all individuals would suffer for their own wrongdoing. Although the principle of collective responsibility was strong in Israel and the ancient Near East in general, the principle of individual responsibility was not new with Jeremiah and Ezekiel (cf., e.g., Dt. 24:16). The proverb cynically elevated collective responsibility to a level that denied individual responsibility and obscured God's justice. G. WYPER

SOURCE [Heb. *qāṣeh*—'end, extremity'] (Isa. 7:18); AV UTTERMOST PART; NEB DISTANT; [Gk. *aítios*] (He. 5:9); AV AUTHOR. In 1 Cor. 1:30 "source" is supplied by the context.

In Isa. 7:18 the term Heb. *qāṣeh*, "end," probably refers to the headwaters of a river.

The literal meaning of Gk. *aítios* is "culpable" or "re-

sponsible." As a substantive it refers to one who is the "cause" or "source" of something to a person. This use is well attested in Jewish and pagan literature and in the papyri, where it often appears in connection with salvation. In fact, the phrase "source" or "cause of salvation" is fairly common. The 4th cent. B.C. Greek orator Aeschines, e.g., described the gods as "the authors of salvation" (*Against Ctesiphon* 57). Josephus used the phrase with reference to Antipater (*Ant.* xiv.8.2 [136]). Philo described Noah as the source of Ham's salvation (*De virtutibus* 202), the brazen serpent as "the source of complete salvation" to those who beheld it (*De agricultura* 96), and God as the source of His people's salvation (*De specialibus legibus* i.252). He. 5:9 refers to Christ whose perfect obedience in suffering makes Him "the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him" (cf. Isa. 45:17). While "eternal" could mean unending or pertaining to timelessness, here and throughout Hebrews it denotes that which belongs to the world to come. "Source" in He. 5:9 has practically the same meaning as *archēgós* in 2:10, where *archēgós* identifies Christ, who was made perfect through suffering, as the "originator" or "author" (RSV "pioneer") of our salvation.

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SOUTH. ***I. OT Usage.***–Several Hebrew words are employed by the OT to refer to the southern direction. Generally these terms are either relative to the position of the speaker (*yāmîn*, "right") or geographically oriented (*negeḇ*, "the Negeb"), and only secondarily have they taken on the connotation "south." For this reason, in many instances it is not possible to determine absolutely that "south" was the intention of the author.

A. Negeḇ. By far the most common term used to refer to the southern direction is *negeḇ*, a geographical reference to the dry desert region that marked the southern boundary of Israel (*see* NEGEB). *Negeḇ* occurs frequently enough in association with terms of the other three compass points (*ṣapôn, mizrāḥ/qeḏem*, and *yām*) to confirm its reference to the southern region (Gen. 13:14; 28:14; 1 K. 7:25; 2 Ch. 4:4; Ezk. 48:10, 17). This is especially clear in 1 Ch. 9:24, where reference is made to "the four winds" (*le'arba' rûḥôṯ*), "east, west, north, and south" (*mizrāḥ yāmmāṣāpônâ wᵉnegbâ*).

B. Yāmîn. The term *yāmîn* ("right side, right hand") is occasionally found with its antithetical parallel *śᵉmô'l* ("left side, left hand") in passages where their original meaning as relative directions from the speaker's point of view is obvious (Job 23:9; cf. also 1 K. 7:39; Ezk. 16:46). Such relative directions become absolute when the direction one faces is fixed in the east, perhaps from the habit of facing the rising sun in morning prayer (*see* ORIENTATION). Naturally it is difficult, if not impossible, in some instances to determine whether relative or fixed directions are intended (cf. Josh. 17:7; 1 S. 23:19, 24). The use of *yāmîn* in parallel with *ṣāpôn* ("north," "Mt. Saphon") in Ps. 89:12 (MT 13) confirms its directional reference to the south.

C. Têmān. Based on the same root (*ymn*) as the preceding term, *têmān* (originally "area to the right") closely approaches a true designation of the direction "south," as indicated by its use as a sort of "explanatory gloss" on the word *negeḇ* in the phrase *pᵉ'aṯ negeḇ têmānâ*, "[on] the Negeb side, to the south" (Ex. 27:9; 36:23; 38:9; Ezk. 47:19; 48:28). *Têmān* parallels Edom in Zec. 6:6 and may refer to that southern kingdom in other passages (esp. Josh. 12:3; 13:4; 15:1; Hab. 3:3). Elsewhere the term describes winds that originate from the southern quarter (Job 39:26; Cant. 4:16; Ps. 78:26; Zec. 9:14).

D. Dārôm. Infrequently occurring, except in Ezekiel where it appears twelve times (20:46 [MT 21:2]; 40:24, 27f., 44f.; 41:11; 42:12f., 18), *dārôm* is a term whose origin is uncertain. Reference to the "south" is established in Ezk. 20:46 (MT 21:2), where *dārôm* stands between and parallel to *têmān* and *negeḇ*. Outside Ezekiel it appears only in Dt. 33:23; Job 37:17; Eccl. 1:6; 11:3.

II. NT Usage.–The NT knows two methods of orientation, one based on solar/stellar movements and another based on nautical wind direction. In the former system "south" is designated by Gk. *mesēmbría*, "midday" (Acts 8:26), since the sun stood in the southern sky at noon. Nautical wind directions included Gk. *nótos* (Lat. *notus*) for "south" (Mt. 12:42 par.; Lk. 12:55; 13:29; Acts 27:13; 28:13; Rev. 21:13) and Gk. *líps* (Lat. *africus*) for "southwest" (Acts 27:12).

See also ORIENTATION. G. H. WILSON

SOUTH, CHAMBERS OF. *See* ASTRONOMY II.C.

SOUTH, QUEEN OF. *See* QUEEN OF SHEBA.

SOUTH RAMOTH. *See* RAMAH 5.

SOUTHEAST. In 1 K. 7:39 par. 2 Ch. 4:10 the southeast (Heb. *qēḏᵉmâ mimmûl negeḇ*; lit. "eastward towards the south") corner of the temple was the location of the molten sea. On Acts 27:12 *see* NORTHEAST, SOUTHEAST.

SOVEREIGN; SOVEREIGNTY. The Aram. *malḵû* is most often translated "kingdom" (e.g., Dnl. 2:37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44), and it represents "kingdom" in the senses of both a sovereign government and the power held by that government. RSV has "sovereignty" for *malḵû* in its second occurrence in Dnl. 2:44 (AV, NEB, "kingdom") to distinguish that use (power held by the government) from the first and third uses of the word in the verse (the government itself, the "kingdom").

Greek *dynástēs* is used in the NT of God only in 1 Tim. 6:15 (AV "Potentate"; NEB paraphrases). When used of human beings, it is a general term for the "mighty," those who possess *dýnamis*, "power" (e.g., Lk. 1:52).

Greek *despótēs* is used three times in the NT for God addressed in prayer. Of these, RSV has "Lord" once (Lk. 2:29) and "Sovereign Lord" twice (Acts 4:24; Rev. 6:10; AV "Lord"; *dynástēs* is used similarly in 2 Macc. 12:15, 28; 15:23, 29). RSV has "master" for *despótēs* where it is used of Jesus (2 Pet. 2:1; Jude 4) and of human masters in relationship to slaves (including a metaphorical reference to God, 2 Tim. 2:21). The latter is the most common use of the word and may be considered a fair indicator of its meaning when it is applied to God.

See also KING; LORD; MASTER; OMNIPOTENCE.

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SOW [Gk. *hýs*] (2 Pet. 2:22). *See* SWINE.

SOW; SOWER [Heb. *zāra'*] (qal, Gen. 26:12; 47:23; Ex. 23:10, 16; etc.; niphal, Lev. 11:37; Dt. 21:4; Ezk. 36:9; pual, Isa. 40:24); NEB also PLANT, etc.; [*zera'*] (Lev. 26:5; 27:16; Zec. 8:12); AV, NEB, also SEED; [*zērû(a)'*] (Lev. 11:37; Isa. 61:11); NEB also BUSHES; [*mizra'*] (Isa. 19:7); [*māšaḵ*] (Am. 9:13); [*zāraq*] (Isa. 28:25); AV, NEB, SCATTER; [piel of *šālaḥ*] (Prov. 6:14, 19); NEB STIR UP; [Gk. *speírō*] (Mt. 6:26 par.; 13:3f., 19-39 par.; 25:24, 26 par.; Jn. 4:37; 1 Cor. 9:11; etc.); NEB also FALL; [*epispeírō*] (Mt. 13:25); [*bállō*] (Lk. 13:19); AV CAST. To

An Egyptian wall painting showing tillers hoeing the ground and scattering seed from seedbags (facsimile from the tomb of Nakht, Thebes, 18th Dynasty) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

scatter seed upon the ground for the purpose of producing a crop.

The primary Hebrew term for "sow," *zāraʿ*, most often indicates a literal scattering of seed for crops. While it usually refers to the planting of grains, it can also be used with reference to grapes (Dt. 22:9). In Jgs. 9:45 it refers to the ancient practice of strewing a conquered city with SALT. *Zāraʿ* also occurs in several figurative uses. "Sowing" and "reaping" are used to describe the normal connection between one's actions and their consequences (e.g., "those who plow iniquity and sow trouble reap the same," Job 4:8; cf. also Prov. 11:18; 22:8; Hos. 8:7; 10:12). On the other hand, catastrophic events (viewed as punishment from Yahweh) can prevent people from profiting from what they have "sown" (e.g., Job 31:8; Jer. 12:13; Mic. 6:15; Hag. 1:6). The noun *zeraʿ* usually denotes "seed," but in a few instances it refers to the time of sowing. Other cognates include *zērû(a)ʿ*, which denotes seed that has been sown, and *miẓraʿ*, which indicates land that has been sown.

Several other Hebrew verbs are translated "sow." The part. of *māšaḵ* (lit. "draw") is used once to refer to one who carries a bag for seed (*mešeḵ*). The piel of *šālaḥ* (lit. "send," "let go") is used in the figurative sense of "sowing" discord. *Zāraq* (lit. "scatter," "sprinkle") refers in Isa. 28:25 to the planting of cumin.

Greek *speirō* has the same semantic force as Heb. *zāraʿ*. In addition to its literal use for the planting of crops, it is used figuratively. In general, people "reap" what they "sow," i.e., what they receive back from life is proportional to what they have given (Gal. 6:7; cf. v. 8; 1 Cor. 9:11; 2 Cor. 9:6; Jas. 3:18). In 1 Cor. 15:42-44 Paul uses the contrast between seed that is sown and the plant that comes from it to describe the difference between the mortal body and the resurrection body.

Jesus also used the imagery of sowing seed in several of His parables (*see* SEED; cf. also Jn. 4:37). In his interpretation of the parable of the Sower, Jeremias (pp. 11f., citing G. Dalman, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 22 [1926], 120-132; *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, II [1932], 179ff.) pointed out that it was the Palestinian practice in biblical times to sow before plowing. Thus the Sower was not being careless when he sowed seed on the footpath, on rocky soil, and amidst the thorns, since this was all to be plowed up later. Although some scholars have contested the idea that sowing preceded plowing (cf. *TDOT*, IV, 146), Jub. 11:11 gives clear evidence that this was the practice at least in some times (see also J. A. Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke I–IX* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1983], p. 703).

According to Egyptian art the seed was carried in jars or baskets in one hand while the farmer broadcast the seeds with the other (*see* picture in GRAIN). Presumably the seeds were plowed into the soil before the birds could eat them.

Sowing took place soon after the first rains had fallen and the soil had become soft. Barley was sown in November, followed soon by wheat in late November or December. Millet, sesame, melons, and vegetables were planted in January and February.

Excavations at Jericho have uncovered agricultural tools made of stone from the early Neolithic period (*ca.* 7500 B.C.). The Natufian culture (late Epipaleolithic period, *ca.* 8000 B.C.) in the hill country of Israel has produced sickle blades and hoes, suggesting crop agriculture.

See also AGRICULTURE; GRAIN; SEED.

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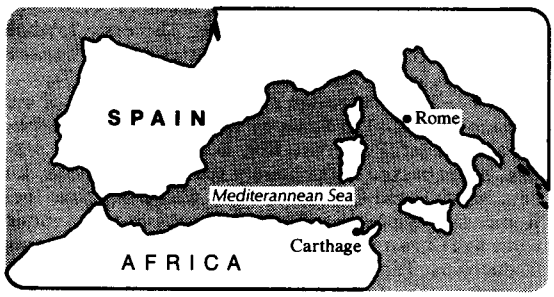
SPAIN spān [Gk. *Spania*] (Rom. 15:24, 28). The only biblical references to Spain occur in the NT: in Rom. 15:24, 28 (but cf. 1 Macc. 8:3), where Paul not only states his intention to visit the Christians in Rome, but expresses his desire to proclaim the gospel in the western end of the Mediterranean world.



Paintings discovered in a cave at Altamira in northern Spain permit the tracing of Spain's cultural history to Paleolithic times. Hecataeus of Milesia (6th–5th cent. B.C.) attests the name Iberia (*hē Ibēria*) derived from the Iberians, who appear to have arrived from North Africa in the Neolithic or Bronze Ages. Beginning *ca.* 1100 B.C. Phoenicians established trading posts on the southwest coast that included Gades (Gadira), present-day Cadiz (cf. Velleius Paterculus i.3). Four centuries later Greek traders and colonists, apparently attracted by Spain's precious metals, rapidly gained control of commercial interests. In modern times interesting traces of Greek civilization have been found, especially at Ampuria.

Carthage, a Phoenician settlement, subsequently took the lead in releasing most of coastal Spain from the Grecian grip. With the help of the Etruscans, the Carthaginians routed the Phoceans at Alalia (Aléria), and the Carthaginians made Carthago Nova (Cartagena) to the southeast their captial. With their revenues constantly replenished through Spain's abundant resources of lead, tin, iron, silver, and gold, the Carthaginians posed a continuing threat to the Romans until the Second Punic War (218-201) when Scipio Africanus's army took New Carthage (209) and ultimately broke the Punic power (206) in Spain.

To overcome political instability nourished by weak native principalities, the Roman Senate (*ca.* 197) converted its conquered Spanish territory into two new provinces divided by the river Ebro. Hispania Citerior, or Hither

Spain, so termed because it was nearer to Rome, was situated mainly on the eastern seaboard. Hispania Ulterior, "further" from Rome, was located in the area of modern Andalusia. Under Augustus (cf. *Res Gestae* i.12.) Hither Spain became known as Tarraconensis, named after its capital Tarraco, and the western province gave way to Lusitania and Baetica (Pliny *Nat. hist.* iii.6-30). Remains of numerous theaters, amphitheaters, aqueducts, and bridges attest the prosperity to which Augustus's urbanization policies, which Claudius later pursued with vigor, made a major contribution. Augustus's commitment to an extensive road system further stimulated a process of cultural unification that perhaps inspired Paul with the hope of a successful and rapid dissemination of the gospel via strategically located municipalities.

Whether Paul ever fulfilled his plan remains uncertain. According to Acts 28:30f., Paul was under house arrest in Rome for two years, and the silence of Acts about his subsequent fortunes, which appears to relate more to literary-theological than biographical considerations, offers no convincing support for the tradition expressed by Clement (cf. the Muratorian Canon, lines 37-39) that Paul was released and before his martyrdom had reached "the Western limit" (*tó térma tēs dýseōs,* 1 Clem. 5:7), an expression that probably refers to Spain. The very late tradition first traceable to Bishop Isidore of Seville (*PL* LXXXIII, 151), that the apostle James introduced Spain to the gospel merits little credence. The early foothold that Christianity took in Spain finds attestation in Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* i.10.2) and Tertullian (*Adv. Judaeos* 7).

In A.D. 73-74 Vespasian extended the privilege of citizenship (*ius Latii*) to Spain by taking her into his *tribus,* the Quirina (cf. Pliny *Nat. hist.* iii.30). Besides this prestige, Spain basked in the literary splendor of Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian, all of whom outshone their Roman contemporaries. From the same part of the empire came five Caesars: Galba, Trajan, Hadrian, Maximus, and Theodosius. The development of provincial worship was instrumental in fostering the antagonism that ultimately developed between the imperial government and Christianity.

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SPAN [Heb. *zereṯ*–'span (of the hand)' (Ex. 28:16; 39:9; 1 S. 17:4; Isa. 40:12; Ezk. 43:13); [*rōḥaḇ*–'eagerness, insistence'] (Ps. 90:10); AV STRENGTH; NEB HURRYING YEARS; [Gk. *hēlikía*–'age, time of life,' 'bodily stature'] ("span of life," Mt. 6:27 par. Lk. 12:25); AV STATURE; NEB HEIGHT; NEB mg. LIFE.

The RSV always translates Heb. *zereṯ* by "span," which is a linear measurement equal to about 23 cm. (9 in.), i.e., the distance between the tip of one's little finger and the end of the extended thumb.

In Ps. 90:10 the RSV presupposes a text that includes Heb. *rōḥaḇ* (lit. "breadth, width"), which the RSV, along with various other versions (e.g., LXX, Tg., Syr., Vulg.), translates by "span"; the MT, however, has Heb. *rōḥaḇ,* "eagerness, insistence," a reading accepted by various OT scholars (e.g., KD; A. Weiser, *Psalms* [Eng. tr., *OTL,* 1962], p. 594; cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms I* [*AB,* 2nd ed. 1973], pp. 321, 325).

In the RSV NT "span" occurs only in the phrase "span of life" (Mt. 6:27 par. Lk. 12:25; RSV mg. "stature"). Although Gk. *hēlikía* may refer to spatial measurement, its combination with Gk. *pēchys,* also a measure of distance and time, has a temporal application (cf. R. A. Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount* [1982], pp. 338f.).

G. L. K.

SPARE [Heb. *ḥāmal, ḥûs, ḥāśaḵ, ḥāyâ* (qal, piel, hiphil), also *pāsaḥ* (Isa. 31:5), *nāsā'* (Gen. 18:24, 26), *šāmar* (Job 2:6), *pāga'* (Isa. 47:3), *ḥānan* (Ps. 59:5), hiphil of *šā'ar* (2 K. 10:14), hiphil of *yāša'* (Josh. 22:22), hiphil of *nāṣal* (Ex. 12:27), *'āḇar* (Hos. 10:11), etc.; Gk. *pheídomai,* also *perisseúō* ("have enough and to spare," Lk. 15:17)]; AV also SAVE (ALIVE), BE MERCIFUL (Ps. 59:5), QUICKEN (Ps. 119:88), LEAVE (2 K. 10:14), PASS OVER, etc.; NEB also PITY, SHIELD, PARDON (Gen. 18:24, 26), SAVE (Josh. 22:22), HAVE MERCY (Ps. 59:5), SHOW MERCY (Prov. 6:34), RESTRAIN (Isa. 58:1), SHOW LENIENCY (1 Cor. 13:2), etc.

In the OT "spare" is employed by the RSV and most other English versions to translate a variety of Hebrew terms. *Ḥāmal* usually means to show mercy by not taking the life of a person or animal. Saul was commanded not to spare the life of any of the Amalekites or of their animals (1 S. 15:3; cf. vv. 9, 15; cf. also Jer. 51:3). When David handed over seven of Saul's sons and grandsons to be slain by the Gibeonites, he spared Mephibosheth because of his covenant with Jonathan (2 S. 21:7). Hebrew law demanded that no leniency be shown to any person convicted of promoting idolatry; such persons were to be stoned (Dt. 13:8). In Job 16:13 and Prov. 6:34 the term means to refrain from attacking or punishing. Occasionally *ḥāyâ,* like *hāmal,* means to preserve someone's life (1 K. 20:31; 2 K. 7:4; Ps. 119:88; Jer. 38:17, 20; etc.).

The verb *ḥûs* seems to carry the more general sense of "pity, show compassion." Joel 2:17 calls upon the priests to pray that God will "spare" (i.e., "show compassion on") His people (cf. Neh. 13:22; Jer. 13:14; 21:7; Ezk. 5:11; 7:4, 9; etc.). But this term also can mean to refrain from taking someone's life (e.g., 1 S. 24:10). Where it translates *ḥāśaḵ* (Ps. 78:50; Isa. 58:1; Job 21:30; etc.), "spare" means to "hold back, withhold, restrain"; e.g., "He who spares the rod hates [i.e., deems of little value] his son" (Prov. 13:24).

Apart from Lk. 15:17, all the RSV NT occurrences of "spare" render Gk. *pheídomai.* Its subject is most often God, who gave up to death even His own Son (Rom. 8:32), and who has not refrained from cutting off the "natural branches" (i.e., Israel, Rom. 11:21), from punishing the sinful angels (2 Pet. 2:4), and from destroying the sinful world of Noah's day (v. 5). Paul wrote to the Corinthian Christians that he would like to relieve unmarried people of the necessity of undergoing the worldly troubles that marriage would bring upon them (1 Cor. 7:28). He avoided a painful confrontative visit with the Corinthians because of his tender feelings for them (2 Cor. 1:23).

See also PITY.

Bibliography.–*TDOT,* IV, *s.v.* "chûs" (S. Wagner), "chāmal" (M. Tsevat); V, *s.v.* "ḥāśaḵ" (R. E. Clements).

D. A. DORSEY

SPARK. Various Hebrew terms rendered "spark," "sparkled," "sparkles," or "sparkling" in the RSV refer either to burning particles or to bright reflected light. In Isa. 1:31 (cf. Sir. 11:32) the "spark" (Heb. *nîṣôṣ*), identified as man himself, acts as a catalyst to destroy both men and their

work. Usually understood to mean "flame" in Job 5:7, Heb. *rešep* may also have reference to the word "bird" (NEB "birds"; NEB mg. "sparks"; see the comms.). In Job 41:19 (MT 11) the biblical hapax Heb. *kîḏôḏ* occurs in the phrase *kîḏôḏê 'ēš* (lit. "sparks of fire"). These "sparks," which are understood figuratively, emanate from the mouth of the mythical Leviathan.

In Ezk. 1:7 "sparkled" (NEB "glittering") renders a participial form of Heb. *nāṣaṣ*, "shine, sparkle," and refers to the bronze-like shining of the living creatures in Ezekiel's vision. "Sparkles" in Prov. 23:31 (AV "colour") and "sparkling" (AV "colour"; NEB "sparkle") in Ezk. 10:9 (RSV has "gleaming" for Heb. *'ayin* in 1:4, 16, 27; 8:2) reflect a nuance of *'ayin* that refers to the look or appearance of an object, specifically to its brilliance or brightness.
ness. G. L. K.

SPARROW [Heb. *ṣippôr*] (Ps. 84:3 [MT 4]; Prov. 26:2); AV also BIRD; [Gk. *strouthíon*, diminuitive form of *strouthós*] (Mt. 10:29, 31; Lk. 12:6f.). Any of various singing birds related to the finch family.

While the RSV translates Heb. *ṣippôr* (< *ṣpr*, "peep, twitter") with "bird," "fowl," and "sparrow," the term may refer to birds of every sort, and is often applied to any of the wide variety of small passarine birds that are numerous in Palestine. While *ṣippôr* may be translated "bird" (as in Ps. 102:7 [MT 8]), its use with swallow in Ps. 84:3 suggests that it probably belongs to the various genera of the finch family (*Fringillidae*) and is best rendered "sparrow". In 84:3 the psalmist speaks with envy of the *ṣippôr* that finds a home in the temple and the swallow that finds a nesting place there. Both Josephus (*BJ* v.4.6 [224]) and rabbinic literature (Mish. *Middoth* iv.6) mention efforts to discourage such birds from perching in the temple sanctuary, a circumstance with which the psalmist is clearly familiar.

In the NT "sparrow" appears only in Mt. 10:29, 31 par. Lk. 12:6f. "Sparrow" had come to mean any small bird sold very cheaply and used for food by the poor. According to Mt. 10:29 two sparrows sold for a penny (Gk. *assarion*, a small Roman copper coin worth about one-sixteenth of a denarius). Thus the sparrow was understood as an example of an article with little value. Jesus uses the diminutive form of sparrow while speaking of God's concern for persons. According to Jesus, even that which has little earthly value is within the pale of God's care. Thus, using the Rabbinic *qal waḥomer* argument, i.e., from the "lesser" to the "greater," Jesus demonstrates the extent of God's care for each person. A similar saying is attributed to Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai (*ca.* A.D. 150): "No bird perishes without God — how much less a man!" (T. P. *Shebith* 9, 38d, 22; SB, I, 582f.)

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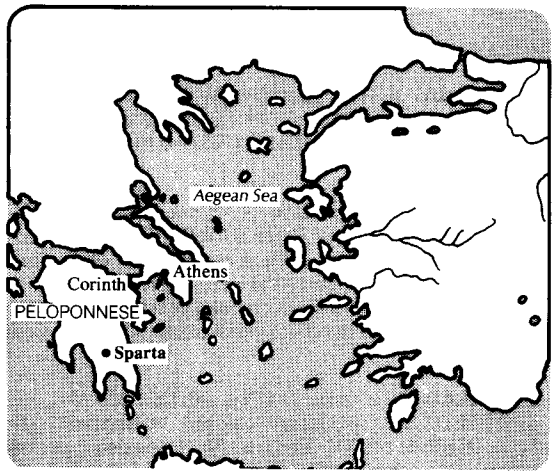
SPARTA spär'tə [Gk. *Spartē*] (1 Macc. 14:16); **SPARTANS** spär'tanz [*Spartiatai*] (1 Macc. 12:2, 5f., 20f.; 14:20, 23; 15:23); AV LACEDEMONIANS; **LACEDAEMONIANS** las-ə-dī-mō'ni-ənz [*Lakedaimonioi*] (2 Macc. 5:9); AV LACEDEMONIANS; NEB SPARTA. The name of the main city and capital of the region of Laconia in southern Greece whose inhabitants were called "Spartans" or "Lacedaemonians."

The people thus described lived in Lacedaemon, a city-state originating perhaps *ca.* 1000 B.C. with the Dorian settlement of Greece, and later known as Sparta. It became the capital of Laconia in southeastern Greece, displacing Amyclae after a lengthy war. The Spartans subsequently expanded westward into Messenia shortly before 730 B.C., and conquered it after a little more than a century of sporadic fighting. With Laconia, the land thus acquired became known officially as Lacedaemon. These conquests enabled Sparta to concentrate on military consolidation from the 5th cent. B.C., with the result that it had become the dominant city in Greece by the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C.



By the end of the next century Sparta had embarked upon a course of friendly relations with the Jews during the high priesthood of Onias I (320–290 B.C.). Perhaps it was the virility of Spartan culture that led the Jews to claim the common descent of their people and the Lacedaemonians from Abraham (1 Macc. 12:21). It is equally possible, however, that what both nations had in common was a trading relationship with Egypt. In any event, a small Jewish settlement existed in Spartan territory by the 2nd cent. B.C., because Jason fled to this group after failing to occupy Jerusalem (2 Macc. 5:9).

The Maccabean Jews made further contacts with Sparta *ca.* 146 B.C., when Jonathan sought to develop earlier relationships (1 Macc. 12:6-18; cf. Josephus *Ant.* xiii.5.8 [164]; xii.4.10 [225]). His letter and the reply to it have been regarded in some circles as inauthentic. If, however, the letter of the Roman proconsul Lucius to the pharaoh of Egypt is genuine, which mentions that a Jewish envoy was attempting to renew the friendship between the Jews and the Romans (1 Macc. 15:16-21), then the document from Jonathan to the Spartans may be genuine also (cf. R. K. Harrison, *Intro. to the OT* [1969], p. 1262). A brief communication sent by the Spartan authorities to Simon the high priest in Jerusalem, the successor of Jonathan, appears in 1 Macc. 14:20-22. Finally, the letter from Lucius, which was also sent to nations other than the Egyptians, requested the recipients to abstain from fighting the Jews, and in this connection Sparta was mentioned specifically (15:23 cf. *Ant.* xiv.8.5 [145-48]), thus encouraging the continuance of friendly relations. It was evidently important for the Maccabean Jews to have contacts with mainland Greek culture, as opposed to Syrian Hellenism, even after the Roman conquest of the Peloponnese in 146 B.C. considerably reduced Greek influence.

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SPEAKING EVIL. *See* SLANDER.

SPEAR. *See* WEAPONS OF WAR.

SPECIALLY. A term used by the AV in the obsolete sense of "especially" (cf. RSV), "most of all," translating Gk. *málista* (Acts 25:26; 1 Tim. 4:10; 5:8; Tit. 1:10; Philem. 16).

SPECK [Gk. *kárphos*] (Mt. 7:3-5 par. Lk. 6:41f.); AV MOTE; NEB also SPECK OF SAWDUST. A small piece of anything dry or light, such as straw, chaff, or a splinter of wood, that might enter the eye. Jesus contrasted the speck with a log in order to rebuke officiousness in correcting small faults in others while retaining greater faults in oneself.

SPECKLED [Heb. *nāqōḏ*] (Gen. 30:32f., 35, 39); NEB SPOTTED, etc.; [*śāḇû(a)*ʿ–'colored, variegated'] (Jer. 12:9); NEB HYENA. In Gen. 30 "speckled" perhaps refers to the coloring of various animals in Laban's flocks, although some scholars suggest that the etymology of the term pertains more to spatial arrangements or sizes than to the classification of actual colors (see A. Brenner, *Colour Terms in the OT* [1982], pp. 169-171). Heb. *nāqōḏ* also occurs in Gen. 31:8, 10, and 12, where the RSV renders it "spotted" (AV "speckled").

On Jer. 12:9 see J. A. Thompson, *Book of Jeremiah* (*NICOT*, 1980), p. 358; W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* (*Hermeneia*, 1986), pp. 383, 387.

See also STRIPED.

G. L. K.

SPECTACLE. *See* THEATER.

SPEECH [Heb. *śāp̄â*–'lip' (Gen. 11:7; Job 12:20; Prov. 16:21, 27; etc.), *peh*–'mouth' (Ex. 4:10; Ps. 55:21 [MT 22]; Prov. 4:24; etc.), *ḥîḏâ*–'riddle' ("dark speech," Nu. 12:8), *leqaḥ*–'teaching' (Dt. 32:2; "seductive speech," Prov. 7:21), *dāḇār*–'word' (1 S. 16:18), *'imrâ* (Job. 6:26; 32:14; Isa. 28:23; etc.), *millâ* (Job 33:1), *'ōmer* (Ps. 19:2f. [MT 3f.], *mᵉḏabbēr* (Prov. 2:12), *ḥikkâ*–'palate' (Prov. 5:3; Cant. 5:16), *lāšôn*–'tongue' (Isa. 3:8); Gk. *lógos*–'word' (Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 1:5; 2:4; etc.), *glṓssa*–'tongue' (1 Jn. 3:18), *mogilálos* ("a man who has an impediment in his speech," Mk. 7:32), *pithanología*–'persuasive argument' (Col. 2:4)]; AV also LIP, MOUTH, etc.; NEB also RIDDLE, WORDS, UTTERANCE, etc.; **SPEECHLESS** [Gk. *phimóō*–'muzzle' (Mt. 22:12), *eneós* (Acts 9:7)]; NEB also NOTHING TO SAY.

I. Nature, Function, Origins
II. In the OT
III. In the NT

I. Nature, Function, Origins.–Speech is the verbal means by which the speaker articulates the thoughts and images in his mind. It uniquely identifies people, manifesting body, soul, and spirit. Scripture is clear that God created the power of speech in its fulness in Adam and Eve, and that speech constituted an essential dimension of their reflection of God's image (Gen. 1:27). The first specific action recorded in the Bible (following the assertion that God has created all things) is speech — God's speech (1:3). The validity and power of the Bible depend upon the existence of the power of communication, or speech. The silence and consequent impotence of the false gods described in the OT (1 K. 18:26-29) dramatizes the difference between them and the true, speaking God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; likewise the NT even more dramatically differentiates between the Word of God incarnate in Jesus Christ and the unspeaking false gods (Acts 17:22-31; Rom. 1:19-23).

Our access to God through our speech is one aspect of the glory of God's revelation of Himself through His word, His speech, to us (Ps. 28:6; Isa. 1:18; Acts 1:14; He. 1:1). He is not only speaker but hearer (Ps. 4:3; Isa. 38:5; etc.). "Hear the word of the Lord" is the repeated invitation of Scripture. That Word, incarnate in Jesus Christ (Jn. 1:14), brings perfectly to us the speech of the Father (8:28) and is the source of our hope and joy (15:11).

The last act of God recorded in Scripture is, like the first, speech: "He who testifies to these things says, 'Surely I am coming soon'" (Rev. 22:20). Speech is essential to all communion. No human being can imagine the beauty and glory that must invest communion among the persons of the triune God; but a hint of speech in the heavenly realm appears in Job, "Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themelves before the Lord" (Job 1:6). It is not an unreasonable hypothesis that the language used on that day was the same that God gave to Adam and Eve, unmarred by the fall and unconfused by Babel. Gen. 2:19f. clearly shows that Adam participated to some degree in the development of his vocabulary. But this assignment of vocal signs to the animals that God "brought . . . to the man to see what he would call them" does not suggest that Adam was "learning to talk," or that the essential structure of a complete language system — morphology, syntax, grammar, etc. — was not implanted in humankind at creation.

Over the centuries, and virulently since the 18th cent., controversy has existed over the origins of speech. Is a knowledge of the structure of language innate in every individual at birth, or has humanity learned over the millenia to speak by moving step-by-step from unstructured animal grunts to Demosthenean rhetoric? The Bible seems to imply the former; naturalistic determinism (notably Darwinism) teaches the latter, postulating the gradual development of linguistic complexity, subtlety, and intellectualization over the aeons of the presumed evolutionary process. This view undoubtedly dominated the study of linguistics (i.e., the nature and history of language) for many decades. (One popular bit of "evidence" was the belief that each child relives in its own formative life each stage of the ages-long evolutionary process — from the silence of the primordial cell, to animal grunts, to human communication. "Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny" ran the previously accepted axiom.) In more recent years prominent linguists have reverted to the belief that language ability is innate. Notably, and controversially, Noam Chomsky (*Language and Mind* [1972]) has supported this view, saying that "When we study human language, we are approaching what some might call 'human essence,' the distinctive qualities of mind that are, so far as we know, unique to man." Other studies have cast doubt on the belief that animal "language" represents simply a point on an unbroken scale of oral communication from silent cell to articulate human beings, bearing out philosopher Bertrand Russell's humorous comment that "No matter how eloquently a dog may bark, he cannot tell you his parents were poor but honest." "Animals do not 'speak' to each other in anything like the sense that we speak" (R. D. King, *Discovery*, 7/3 [1983], 18).

Skepticism also exists about the biblical account of the division at Babel of the original speech-language given by God to Adam and Eve into many different languages. The underlying similarity of language structure in all languages throughout recorded history, however, suggests a common origin, as does the fact that language seems to have eroded, not advanced, in complexity and precision over the period of history when it can be studied. The odd fact that children learn their own languages at about the same

speed, no matter how complex or simple the language may be, also suggests universal similarity in humankind's innate sense of language structure.

These considerations, however, though of interest to one considering "speech" in the Bible, intrude upon esoteric areas and centuries of learned speculation. (Those interested in examining a remarkable eruption of interest in the 17th and 18th cents. in "restoring" the original universal language may wish to examine James Knowlson's *Universal Language Schemes in England and France: 1660-1800* [1975].)

II. In the OT.–Writing is a very inadequate medium through which to examine speech, but in dealing with the Bible we have no other means of doing so. Recorded speech in the OT may be loosely divided into two categories: formal and informal. The former consists largely of the words recorded for moral, religious, and spiritual purposes, e.g., the words of the priests and prophets; the latter, those recorded for everyday, secular purposes, including conversation and other casual utterances.

Rhetoric — the art of using speech (or writing) to produce the desired effect upon the hearer — did not exist as a formal discipline of instruction among the Hebrews of OT times. The dignity, power, orderliness, and literary beauty (in short, the rhetorical effectiveness) of the great formal oral passages in the OT emerged not from obedience to textbook rules but from the verbal culture of this people of God, from the innate aesthetic sensibility and intellectual power of the speaker, and from divine inspiration. The songs and prayers of Moses (Dt. 31:30–32:43), Deborah and Barak (Jgs. 5), Hannah (1 S. 2:1-10), and innumerable other magnificent oral utterances may be studied as brilliant pieces of oratorical rhetoric, but they are not so because of the influence of rhetorical treatises or rules. This fact is a reminder that great literature always comes first, is primary, and provides the basis for later mere cataloguing and codification of accepted "rules," such as those promulgated by Corax of Syracuse (5th cent. B.C.), the earliest known theoretical rhetorician, and others including Aristotle, Hermagorus, Cicero, Quintilian, Longinus, etc., whose works provided one of the foundations of Western education almost to our own time. Learned treatises undoubtedly were produced in the cultural centers of the Fertile Crescent long before Abraham; but no evidence indicates that such works influenced the nomadic Hebrews. Their unique relationship to God (" . . . the Jews are entrusted with the oracles of God," Rom. 3:2) and their sanctification ("separation") in the midst of the world's debased religion and culture were providentially controlled and strictly commanded. Inspiration (which even secular thought sometimes calls "divine fire") not only guaranteed inerrancy in the original writing but also (to use a dictionary definition) "infused an animating, quickening, or exalting influence" in the style of the speakers, while preserving the personal characteristics of each.

One must not think, however, that premonarchical Israel was entirely insulated from the accumulated lore and wisdom of the ancient world. Abraham, Moses, and Joseph received their "higher education" in pagan centers of learning where rhetoric would have been stressed. Moses' oral utterances (despite his early speech problem) must have exerted a profound influence on the formal speech patterns of his contemporaries and his successors. With the establishment of the Israelite kingdom and its rapid growth and sophistication during and after Solomon, outside learning rapidly permeated Israel, including, unhappily, the moral and spiritual contamination so strictly forbidden. Isaiah, e.g., used formal rhetorical principles powerfully to warn against pagan spiritual contamination; and Daniel, who achieved the highest academic ranking in Babylon, undoubtedly possessed a level of rhetorical erudition that infused his noble prayers and his formal addresses to Babylonian royalty. Still, however, the power of the speech of the later prophets (e.g., Amos and Jonah) continued to reflect the inward, unique cultural tradition of the Hebrews, with its consciousness of the need for a fitting dignity and eloquence when holy things were handled, particularly when God was addressed or when His messages were reported. In this latter matter, i.e., reporting the speech of the Lord, there appears one of the few OT evidences of rhetorical uniformity in the OT, perhaps even a rule of usage. The word *n^{e}'um*, "utterance" (< *n'm*, "speak"; often translated simply "say"), often introduces the words of the Lord (Gen. 22:16; Nu. 14:28; 1 S. 2:30; Isa. 56:8; etc.).

Informal speech in the OT exhibits the qualities praised by John Milton: it is "simple, sensuous, and passionate" (*Of Education*). It exhibits, in short, the rhetorical and literary qualities that mark the OT as a whole: compression, rhythm, dramatic intensity, and the constant use of figurative language (e.g., simile, metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, irony, apostrophe, hyperbole, litotes, parallelism, antithesis, etc.). Such adornments are natural and innate in the human aesthetic sensibility, as "primitive" literature demonstrates. Instances of memorable informal speech are numerous, and everyone will have favorite passages — Joseph talking with his brothers in Egypt (Gen. 42:7–43:34); the conversations of Ruth, Naomi, and Boaz; Nathan before David (2 S. 12:1-14); Job's discussions with his "friends"; the brief interchange between Nehemiah and Artaxerxes (Neh. 2:1-7); David's personal exchanges; etc. Appropriate speech embodies sorrow (e.g., David's exquisite lament over Saul and Jonathan, 2 S. 1:17-27), confidence and exhortation (e.g., Josh. 24:2-15), love (Canticles), and every other mood, in words and forms fitting to the subject. In an age when speech, not writing, constituted the major channel for transmitting civilization (i.e., history, wisdom, story, song, law, and faith) from one generation to another, the oral use of words naturally received immense value. Moses believed (or timidly professed to believe) that his lack of eloquence (perhaps a speech impediment) disqualfied him from serving as the Lord's spokesman at the court of Pharaoh, and it was Aaron's proficiency in this area that secured him the role of orator (Ex. 4:10-16). It was by the power of speech that individuals and nations were persuaded and things were done, for good or ill (Prov. 7:21; 17:7; 18:21; cf. also D. Kidner, *Proverbs* [*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1964], pp. 46-49).

III. In the NT.–In the NT one learns most profoundly of the mysterious identity between speech and speaker (Jn. 1:1f.). Here God may truly be found in His written word (Scripture) and in the incarnate Word (His Son) in a perfect oneness of speech and person not found on earth since the fall except in God's utterance and epiphany. Sin introduced the lying tongue, which destroys the unity of heart and speech, beginning with Satan, the father of lies, in whom there is no truth (8:44). It is a crucial work of grace that empowers the redeemed to trust wholly in the veracity of God, in both written and incarnate Word, and to say with Paul, "Let God be true though every man be false" (Rom. 3:4).

By NT times the classical emphasis on oral rhetoric, which was a basic element in the education of anyone professing to be learned, permeated the patterns of formal speech. Such skill was essential for the conduct of political and other public affairs. Professional orators were

hired to advance special causes, such as Tertullus, whom the Jews hired to make their case against Paul before Felix (Acts 24:1-8). Rival schools sang the praises of their own theories, and the term "sophist" commonly identified the public teacher of oratorical and even epistolary rhetoric. Aristotle's opinion that rhetoric involves four purposes (corrective, instructive, suggestive, and defensive) underlay even very diverse schools of rhetoric, and may be detected in Paul's Mars' Hill address (17:22-31), one of the few pieces of organized classical rhetoric recorded in the NT. Paul may have been stung to display his learning by the contemptuous comments of the learned philosophers and the rhetoricians he met and talked with in the agora. "What would this babbler [Gk. *spermológos*, "rag-picker" or "seed-picker"] say?" they asked disdainfully (v. 18). Paul responded with a formal piece of oratory. It was his only attempt, so far as the record shows, to adapt his speech to the "plausible words of wisdom" (1 Cor. 2:4) that formal theory required, and thenceforward he determined "to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified . . . in demonstration of the Spirit and power, that your faith might not rest in the wisdom of men but in the power of God" (2:2, 4f.).

Of all written forms, letters most eagerly try to capture the manner and tone of face-to-face speech. Paul achieved this effect, and in doing so followed established Roman epistolary style, as seen most visibly in his letter to Philemon. This style may be found in hundreds of Roman letters, and the epistolary form amounts to little more than developing a sequence of salutation (identification of writer and recipient), expressions of regard and personal wishes for the health and prosperity of the recipient, message, exhortation when appropriate, and closing greetings, with hopes and prayers for the recipient's well-being and greetings from mutual friends. Very abbreviated versions of such letters may be found in Acts 15:23-29 and 23:26-30.

As acknowledged earlier, the silent words of the Bible are difficult to clothe with the sound of the voices, the gestures, the rhythms, the facial expressions and all the other audible and visible components of true speech, which is the primary and complete mode of communion and fellowship. One yearns to hear the Lord's voice as He spoke with Adam and Eve before the fall. After that we read that God spoke only to Moses "face to face, as a man speaks to his friend" (Ex. 33:11; cf. Dt. 34:10), and even in Moses' case God had to veil His glory lest Moses die (Ex. 33:18-23).

In the NT the voice of God, incarnate in His Son, was heard once again on this earth, speaking face to face. And who can doubt that every grace adorned that discourse as His disciples and the multitudes listened in amazement? (Lk. 2:33; Jn. 7:46). Since those days we have not heard that voice; but God has promised that we shall hear it, and that when we do, we shall, by means known only to Him, instantly recognize it (10:16, 27). C. D. LINTON

SPELT [Heb. *kussemeṯ*; cf. Ugar. *ksmm*] (Ex. 9:32; Isa. 28:25; Ezk. 4:9); AV RIE, FITCHES (Ezk. 4:9). An inferior and coarse type of wheat often identified with *Triticum spelta* L., a hard-grained variety common in the East and perhaps originally native to Mesopotamia (*see* GRAIN). Spelt will also grow in conditions less fertile and humid than those required by wheat. Species identification of spelt has also included *Triticum sativum* (KoB, p. 448) and *Triticum dicoccum* (wild emmer). In Egypt spelt and wheat harvest (Mar./Apr.) followed that of flax and barley (Feb./Mar.). Ex. 10:5, 15 indicate that the wheat and spelt remaining from the plague of hail (9:31f.) were ultimately destroyed during the locust plague.

See *MPB*, pp. 231, 233f. R. K. H. G. L. K.

SPICE [Heb. *bōśem/beśem/bāśām*–'balsam'] (Ex. 25:6; 35:8; 1 K. 10:2, 10, 25; 1 Ch. 9:29f.; Est. 2:12; etc.); AV also SWEET ODOUR (2 Ch. 16:14; Est. 2:12); NEB also PERFUME (Ex. 35:8, 28; Est. 2:12), BALSAM (Ex. 25:6; Cant. 6:2); [pl. of *sam*–'paste, perfume'] ("sweet spices," Ex. 30:34; 2 Ch. 2:4 [MT 3]; 13:11); AV also SWEET INCENSE; NEB also FRAGRANT SPICE, FRAGRANT INCENSE, etc.; [*reqaḥ*] (Cant. 8:2); NEB MULLED; [*miśrᵉpôṯ*–'burning'] ("spices were burned," Jer. 34:5a); AV BURNINGS; NEB FIRES; [*śārap*–'burn'] ("burn spices," Jer. 34:5b); AV BURN ODOURS; NEB KINDLE FIRES; [Gk. *árōma*] (Mk. 16:1; Lk. 23:56; 24:1; Jn. 19:40); NEB AROMATIC OIL; [*ámōmon*] (Rev. 18:13); AV ODOUR.

A general term for pulverized fragrant substances is Heb. *sammîm* (Ex. 30:34; cf. 37:29; 2 Ch. 2:4 [MT 3]; 13:11), usually rendered "sweet spices" by the RSV. Heb. *reqaḥ* (Cant. 8:2), from *rāqaḥ*, "compound," refers to mixed spices used to flavor WINE (cf. 2 Ch. 16:14).

The holy anointing oil was made from aromatic spices blended with oil (Ex. 30:23-25); certain temple officials had charge of the spices (1 Ch. 9:29). Hezekiah showed the spices and precious metals and oil in his treasure house to the Babylonian embassage (2 K. 20:13). Spices were used as cosmetics (e.g., by women in Est. 2:12) and at funerals, especially those of nobility (2 Ch. 16:14). The Canticles references to spices (4:10, 14; 5:1, 13; 6:2; 8:2, 14) indicate spices made from low-growing plants such as *Astragalus tragacantha* L., which can be cultivated in beds; thus arborescent species such as sandalwood, cassia, and cinnamon are excluded here.

In Jer. 34:5 the RSV supplies "spices" twice where the MT has only "burn." But as commentators (e.g., KD) have pointed out, this is no doubt a reference to the custom of burning aromatic spices to honor the dead.

See also GUM (Gen. 37:25; 43:11).

On the NT term Gk. *árōma* (Mk. 16:1; Lk. 23:56; 24:1; Jn. 19:40), which in Jn. 19:39 defines as a mixture of myrrh and aloes, *see* PERFUME. In Rev. 18:13 Gk. *ámōmon*, literally "blameless" or "without blemish," is the ancient Greek name of an Indian spice plant of uncertain identity.

See *MPB*, pp. 51f., 84-86. R. K. H.

SPIDER'S WEB [Heb. *bêṯ ʿakkāḇîš*] (Job 8:14); [*kāʿāš*–'moth'] (Job 27:18); AV MOTH; NEB BIRD'S NEST; [*qûrê ʿakkāḇîš*] (Isa. 59:5); NEB COBWEB.

Hundreds of species of arachnids live in Palestine. Spiders' webs are mentioned in only two passages in the MT. Isa. 59:5f. compares the plans of wicked persons to a spider's web (lit. "threads of spiders"), which cannot serve as substantial clothing. Job 8:14f. likens the hope of the godless to a spider's web (lit. "spider's house") because it cannot support those who lean on it.

In Job 27:18 the RSV has emended *kāʿāš* ("moth"; cf. AV) in the MT to read *kaʿăḵāḇîš* ("like a spider"), following the Syr. and LXX; but this emendation is not certain. In Ps. 140:3 (MT 4) the NEB has emended Heb. *ʿaḵšûḇ* ("viper") to *ʿakkābîš* ("spider") by metathesis; this emendation is also uncertain. The AV translates *śᵉmāmîṯ* in Prov. 30:28 as "spider," but the term is better rendered "lizard" (so RSV; *see* LIZARD). R. L. PRATT, JR.

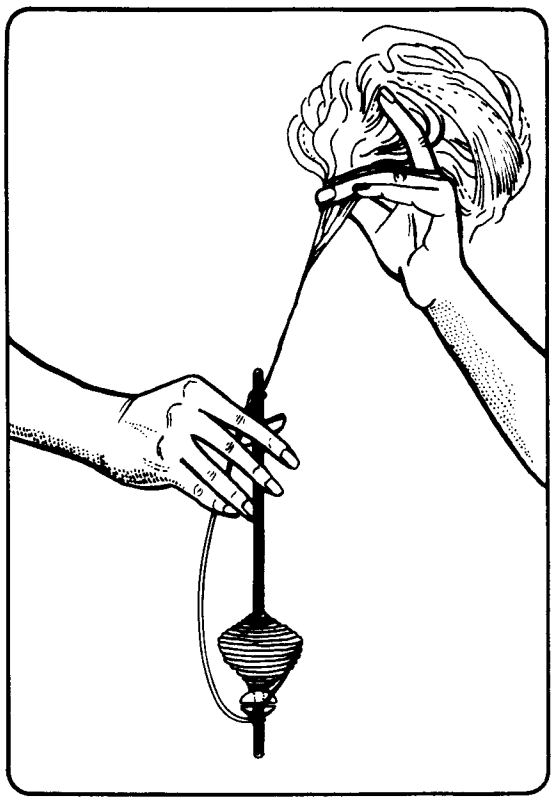
SPIKENARD. *See* NARD.

SPIN [Heb. *ṭāwâ*] (Ex. 35:25f.); NEB also YARN; [Gk. *néthō*] (Mt. 6:28 par. Lk. 12:27); **SPINDLE** [Heb. *pelek*] (2 S. 3:29; Prov. 31:19); AV STAFF, DISTAFF; NEB also DISTAFF.

Spinning is the process that distinguishes the making of cloth from matting. Whereas matting or basketry is done by weaving fibers that have not been spun, the weaving of cloth requires spun thread. In spinning, fibers from plants or animals are twisted to make them smaller in diameter, tighter, and stronger, while forming thread much longer than nature provides. This resulting thread is then woven into cloth. The entire Bible assumes the presence of linen and wool textiles for clothing and other uses, and its passing references can be supplemented by finds of textile tools, of which the most common by far is the spindle whorl. It is hard to realize that cloth as we know it today originated with this little object.

The spindle whorl is a round disk of stone, clay, or sometimes even ivory or glass. It ranges in shape from flat to cylindrical to conical, and in size from 1.3 cm. (0.5 in.) in diameter to as large as 8 or 10 cm. (3 or 4 in.). It has a hole in the exact center, and the drop spindle (Heb. *pelek*) is formed by inserting a stick of wood or bone tightly into this hole. The length of the stick depends on the diameter of the whorl, with small whorls having a stick 13 to 18 cm. (5 to 7 in.) long and the largest up to 38 cm. (15 in.) long. The sticks have usually disintegrated (an exception is the small, beautifully decorated, complete ivory spindle from Megiddo), while the whorls have been uncovered at every excavation in Palestine.

A diagram of a spindle and its use. The thread is first attached near the whorl, then around the lower end of the spindle and back up, looping it around the upper end. The spinner then twists it in her fingers and lets go, while feeding it with the coarse wool or linen (drawing L. Bauer)



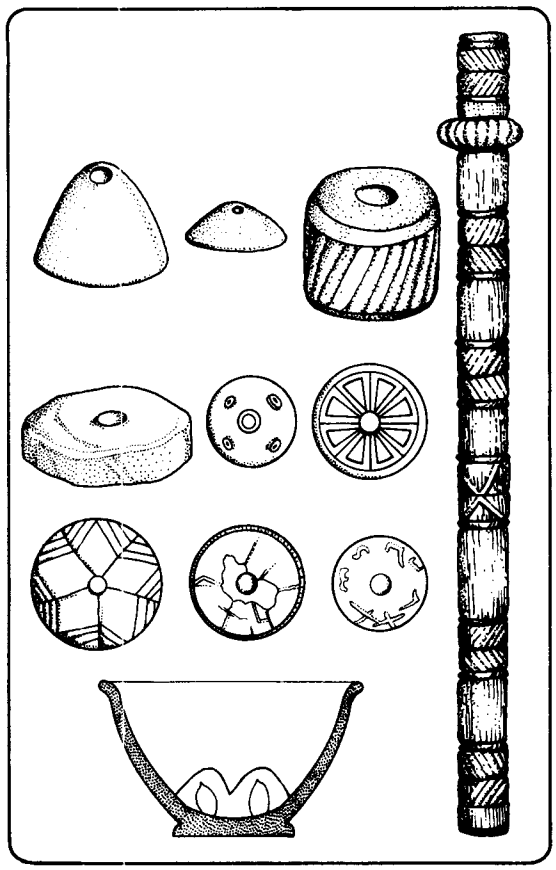
The whorl must be exactly round and relatively heavy, because its weight serves to stretch the thread during spinning and to maintain the momentum of the spin once the spinner's hands set the spindle in motion. The spinner first forms a coarse thread with her fingers and fastens it to the spindle shaft near the whorl. She loops this thread first around the lower end of the spindle and then around the upper end, so that the spindle hangs in an upright position, and sets it spinning by twisting the stick between her fingers. She lets go and allows it to spin, meanwhile feeding carded wool or linen into the growing thread from a bunch that she holds in her other hand, until the spindle loses momentum. Then she unloops the thread from the ends of the spindle and winds onto the spindle the length (perhaps 45 to 60 cm., 18 to 24 in.) of newly spun thread. Thread can be spun either to the right (as viewed from the top) or to the left; the former is called an S-twist and the latter a Z-twist. Examples of both are found in textile remains from Palestine. Great skill is required to spin a fine, even thread without breaking it. In biblical times spinning was women's work (Ex. 35:25f.; Prov. 31:19).

Fibers most commonly spun in the biblical world were flax (*see* LINEN), WOOL, and goats' hair. Goats' hair is strong and water repellent, but itchy, so it was commonly used for tents (Ex. 35:26; 36:14) and perhaps sacks, rather than for clothing. It is a stiff thread and requires a large, heavy spindle.

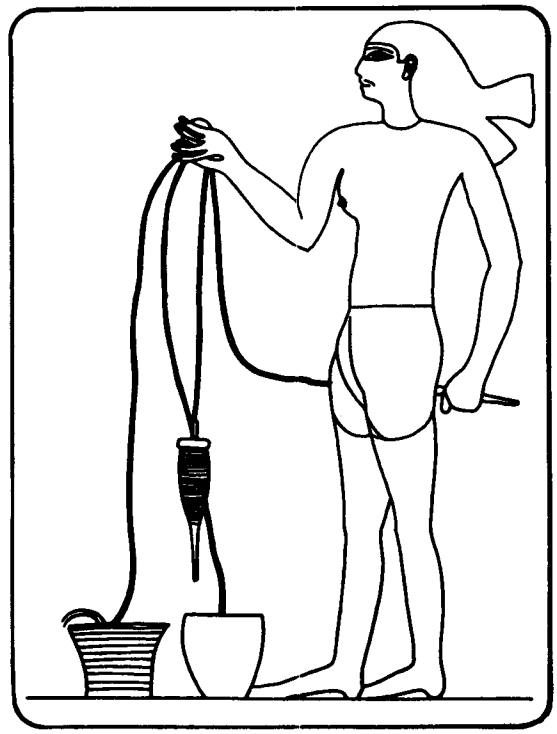
Wool clipped from sheep may be spun either after washing or without washing (called spinning "in the grease"). In either case it must be carded or combed out into relatively straight, parallel strands before spinning. No ancient carding tools have been recovered from Palestine, unless the combs of wood and ivory found at Jericho and Megiddo, and generally supposed to have been used exclusively for combing one's hair, were used for this purpose. Wool requires a whorl whose weight is the same around the outer edge as in the center, thus a disk of uniform thickness. Those 2 cm. (0.8 in.) in diameter give a fine thread, while for coarse cloth, sizes up to 7.5 cm. (3 in.) in diameter were used. Cheap wool whorls were made by carefully chipping or scraping a piece of broken pottery of uniform thickness and very little curvature into a circle, and putting a hole through the center. These are a common find in excavations.

It is known that in more recent times distaffs have been used in spinning linen (the linen is arranged [dizened] on a distaff in such a way that it will come off quickly and with a minimum of tangling during spinning), but we do not know for certain whether the distaff was used in the biblical period. Heb. *kîšôr* in Prov. 31:19 may, however, refer to a distaff (so RSV, NEB; AV "spindle"). Linen is best spun with a whorl whose weight is concentrated in the center; thus linen whorls, whether of clay or stone, are shaped like a flattish cone, or even a steeper or rounded cone, with a flat bottom. Many linen whorls are extremely small, 1.6 cm. (0.6 in.) across and weighing less than 15 gm. (0.5 oz.). With these the finest linen was spun. Linen whorls are seldom more than 4 cm. (1.5 in.) in diameter. Additional weight in the center could be gained by using two linen whorls back to back on the same spindle; occasionally found are clay whorls made in the form of a double cone in one piece.

A few whorls have an incised geometric or other design or, rarely an inscription. Some are made of unusual and expensive materials, e.g., ivory (imported from Africa), alabaster, serpentine, or glass.



A drawing of various whorls, a spindle, and a bowl found in Palestine (after K. Galling, ed., *Biblisches Reallexikon* [2nd ed. 1977], p. 312)



The Egyptian method of plying depicted in a wall painting from the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni-hasan, *ca.* 2000 B.C. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

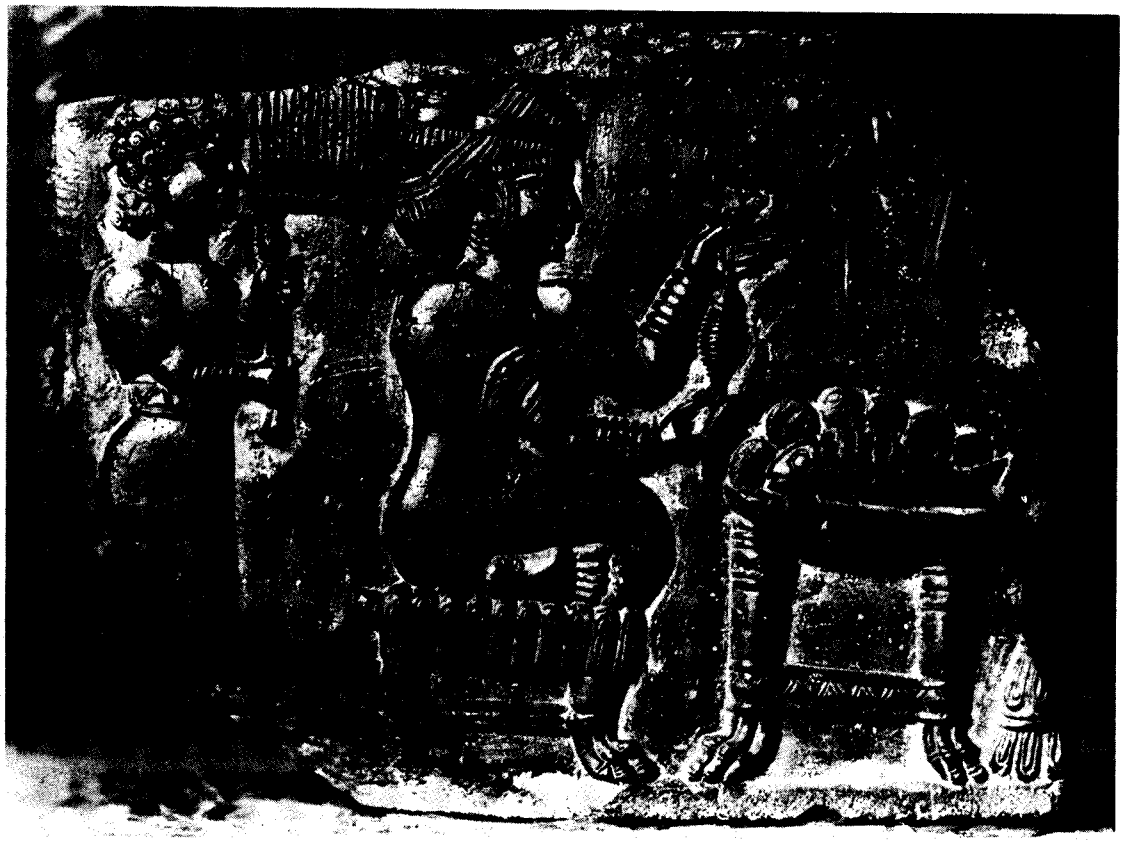
Spindles from the Roman period sometimes have an iron hook in the end of the stick nearest the whorl and were used "upside down" by comparison with those described above; i.e., the thread was run through the hook rather than looped around both ends of the spindle, so that the whorl would be at the upper rather than the lower end of the spindle while spinning. This technique would speed up spinning by eliminating the looping and unlooping for each length of thread spun. Another aid to spinning very fine linen may have been the spinning bowl; the spindle was set during spinning in the bowl, which supported the weight of the spindle and kept the growing thread from breaking. It also prevented backspin, i.e., unwinding at the end of the spin, and thus would speed up spinning. Bowls that may have been used as spinning bowls have been found. Cup holes in rocks may also have been used in this way.

Fabric in the biblical period was often made of plyed thread, i.e., two (or even three) spun threads that were twisted together in a second spinning process known as plying. Fabric woven of plyed thread is found among the earliest textile remains in Palestine (in the Jericho tombs) and among the latest (the Qumrân scroll wrappings). Egyptian wall paintings illustrate the technique of plying. In Palestine it was carried out with the aid of a plying bowl, a rather large (30-38 cm., or 12-15 in. wide) clay bowl with two loops of clay in the bottom of the inside surface. The balls of spun thread were placed in the bowl and one thread was pulled through each loop as the two threads were plyed together. The sanctuary hangings in Exodus were of fine plyed linen (*šēš mošzār*; 26:1, 31, 36; 27:9, 16, 18; 36:8, 35, 37; etc.). Eccl. 4:12 states that "a three fold cord is not quickly broken."

A simple garment made from 3 m. (3.3 yds.) of cloth of medium fineness, about twelve threads per centimeter (thirty per inch), would probably require more than two hundred hours of spinning time with a drop spindle, according to the best estimates that can be made today. Added to that is the time it took to raise the sheep, shear them annually, wash and comb the wool, card and dye it, make or set up the loom, and weave the cloth. Linen would require planting, cultivation, and harvesting, as well as the long and elaborate retting, cleaning, combing and dyeing. To produce one garment, therefore, might involve approximately four hundred hours of work. There was no better or faster way to make clothes.

Spinning was a relatively light, portable, continuous task that fitted well into the interstices of women's heavier and seasonal labor (planting, harvesting, herding sheep and goats, milking, processing the milk into yogurt and cheese and dried milk, harvesting and curing olives, making olive oil and wine, keeping doves or pigeons for their eggs, gathering brushwood for cooking, cleaning and grinding grain for flour, carrying products to market, hauling water, and, of course, child care and cooking). Each woman probably kept her spindle close at hand — perhaps stuck through her belt — and spun whenever her hands were free of other work. Her hands would never be idle (Prov. 31:27) if the family was to be decently clothed, with enough left over to sell (v. 24). She might even light a lamp and spin at night (vv. 18f.). If she was very capable

SPIRIT



A woman spinning while seated on a low stool. In one hand she holds a spindle and in her other hand she holds rough thread, perhaps on a card (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

at working herself and assigning work to the younger women in the house (v. 15), she might be able to provide each member of the household with two garments so that they could wear both at once in cold weather and snow (v. 21, reading "clothed double" rather than "clothed in scarlet"). She could use the money that she earned by marketing the things she had made to reinvest for more income (v. 16; cf. v. 31).

Jesus questioned the ethic of unceasing and anxious work that the ancient world (and necessity) imposed on women; this is illustrated in the story of Mary and Martha (Lk. 10:38-42) and in His allusion to the "clothing" more beautiful than Solomon's, displayed by the lilies of the field, which do not toil or even spin in the intervals of their toil (Mt. 6:28f. par Lk. 12:27). Undoubtedly most of the women among His listeners were spinning as He spoke.

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D. IRVIN

SPIRIT. Hebrew and Aram. *rû(a)ḥ* and Gk. *pneúma* could mean "wind" (e.g., Gen. 8:1; cf. the word play in Jn. 3:8; *see* WIND) or "breath" (e.g., 2 S. 22:16; *see* BREATH) as well as "spirit." Both *rû(a)ḥ* and *pneúma* are used most with regard to the Spirit of God (*see* HOLY SPIRIT) and the spirits of human beings. Like other terms, such as "soul," "heart," "mind," and even "body," "spirit" is not a designation of some *part* of the human person but of the person viewed from particular aspects.

I. OT
   A. Life Principle
   B. Emotion and Motivation
   C. Prophecy and Charismatic Leadership
   D. Words Other Than *Rû(a)ḥ*

II. NT
   A. Uses Similar to OT Uses
   B. Relationship with God
   C. Non-corporeal Beings

I. OT.–A. Life Principle. *Rû(a)ḥ* refers to the person, divine or human, viewed as an active, moving being or as possessing the inner vitality that makes activity and motion possible. The involvement of the Spirit of God in creation (Gen. 1:2; NEB "mighty wind") includes the giving of the "breath of life" (2:7; Heb. *nišmaṯ ḥayyîm*) or "spirit" (*rû[a]ḥ,* Ps. 104:30; Eccl. 11:5; Isa. 42:5; 57:16; Zec. 12:1; cf. Job 33:4; NEB sometimes "breath [of life]") to mankind and to each person.

God's maintenance of "spirit" in things or persons is that which sustains their existence as *living* things (Gen. 6:3; Nu. 16:22; 27:16; Job 10:12; 27:3 [NEB "breath"]; 34:14f.; Ps. 31:5 [MT 6]; 104:29 [RSV, AV, NEB "breath"]; Mal. 2:15; cf. Eccl. 8:8 [NEB "wind"]; Ezk. 1:20b; 10:17). Since the spirit is thus subject to the sovereignty of God, death can be referred to as the release of the spirit to God (Ps. 146:4 [RSV "breath"]; Eccl. 12:7; cf. 3:21). That the spirit is thus that aspect of things which sustains their animate life allows a contrast with the

"flesh" of the Egyptians' horses spoken of by Isaiah: God will not sustain the lives of the horses but will bring them to death (Isa. 31:3). In Job 4:15 *rû(a)ḥ* is used of a vague vision or a disembodied apparition, but it may be best to translate "breath" or "breeze" in this verse, understanding the *rû(a)ḥ* passing Eliphaz's face as part of the physical sensations accompanying his vision.

B. Emotion and Motivation. Often a statement about a person's emotional state is made by the attribution of the emotion to their spirit, e.g., bitterness (Ps. 106:33), jealousy (Nu. 5:14, 30), confusion (Isa. 19:14), anguish (Job 7:11; Isa. 65:14), grief (Isa. 54:6), anxiety (Dnl. 7:15), vexation (1 K. 21:5), "heat," i.e., perhaps, anger (Ezk. 3:14), and a state of being troubled (Gen. 41:8; Dnl. 2:1, 3). *Rû(a)ḥ* sometimes means simply "anger" (so RSV in Jgs. 8:3; cf. Job 15:13; Prov. 16:32; 17:27).

Some characteristics attributed to the spirits of persons are not what we would call emotions but are traits of persons that account for their actions. Thus Caleb is said to have had "a different spirit" than the rest of the generation of the Exodus from Egypt, with the result that he was obedient to God (Nu. 14:24). A person's spirit can be marked by deceit (Ps. 32:2), unfaithfulness (78:8), "harlotry," i.e., inconstancy (Hos. 4:12; 5:4), rightness (Ps. 51:10 [MT 12]), willingness (51:12 [MT 14]), trustworthiness (Prov. 11:13), haughtiness (16:18), humility (16:19; 29:23; Isa. 57:15; 66:2), compassion (Zec. 12:10), erring (Isa. 29:24), patience or pride (Eccl. 7:8), excellence (Dnl. 5:12; 6:3), or wisdom (Isa. 11:2; cf. Job 32:8). God is said to examine the spirit of a person, i.e., look to their motives not just their actions (Prov. 16:2). The spirit, as the place of the innermost thoughts of a person, is also a place in which the search to know God occurs (Isa. 26:9).

Sometimes what is said about the experience of a person's spirit indicates that a person's emotional and motivational situation makes possible or, more often, makes impossible their pursuit of a course that leads to success. The spirit can be faint, failing, broken, crushed, downcast, emptied out, or cut off (Ex. 6:9; Josh. 5:1; 1 K. 10:5 par. 2 Ch. 9:4; Job 17:1 [AV "breath"]; Ps. 34:18 [MT 19]; 51:17 [MT 19]; 76:12 [MT 13]; 77:3 [MT 4]; 142:3 [MT 4]; 143:4, 7; Prov. 15:4, 13; 17:22; Isa. 19:3; 61:3; Ezk. 21:7 [MT 12]). Job speaks of his spirit as being poisoned (Job 6:4). The spirit can also return, revive, or be refreshed (Gen. 45:27; Jgs. 15:19; 1 S. 30:12; Isa. 57:15).

There is occasionally some overlap between *rû(a)ḥ* as emotional experience and *rû(a)ḥ* as "wind" or "breath." In Job 20:3b "wind" is probably the best translation (RSV "spirit"), giving Zophar's statement about Job's outbursts a similar meaning as earlier statements of both Bildad (8:2b; AV, RSV "wind") and Eliphaz (15:2a; RSV "windy"; AV "vain"). Tightness of breath brought on by an emotional state is in mind in 32:18.

While it is not entirely valid to relate too closely the uses of *rû(a)ḥ* found in different contexts, it can still be observed that statements concerning emotions in terms of the experience of the spirit — the principle of animate life — portray emotions as enhancing or threatening life itself (cf. Prov. 18:14).

The spirit of a person is subject to the rule of God; in some situations God accomplishes His purposes by intervening in the mental and emotional experience of a person. It is on the basis of this exercise of God's sovereignty that we should understand the replacement of the Spirit of Yahweh, which had enabled Saul to prophesy and to lead effectively (1 S. 10:6, 10; 11:6; 18:10; 19:9; see I.C below), with "an evil spirit from God" (16:14-16, 23), which caused Saul's mental dissolution and the destruction of his reign. So also God hardened the spirit of King Sihon of Heshbon (Dt. 2:30; cf. Dnl. 5:20 [AV "mind"]) and "sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem" (Jgs. 9:23) in order to accomplish His purposes. Sennacherib's departure from the siege of Jerusalem in response to a rumor was brought on by the same kind of divine intervention (2 K. 19:7 par. Isa. 37:7 [AV "blast"]).

The sovereignty of God in human affairs also includes His capacity to "stir up" the spirit of a person so that that person carries out some great undertaking (1 Ch. 5:26; 2 Ch. 36:22 [par. Ezr. 1:1]; Ezr. 1:5; Jer. 51:1, 11; Hag. 1:14). Here *rû(a)ḥ* represents the human will, the capacity to make decisions and carry them out.

C. Prophecy and Charismatic Leadership. The idea of the spirit possessed by prophets or charismatic leaders (Nu. 11:17, 25f. 29; 27:18; Dt. 34:9 [the "spirit of wisdom"]; Isa. 28:6) can be thought of as an extension of the concept of the spirit as the animating principle placed in persons by God and maintained by Him (see I.A above). A prophet might be called a "man of the spirit" (Hos. 9:7; AV "spiritual man"; NEB "inspired seer"). Because this special endowment of "spirit" is from God, it is sometimes hard to specify whether a text is speaking of God's Spirit (as in 1 K. 22:24) or the human spirit endowed with prophetic ability by God (as in 2 K. 2:9, 15; cf. Lk. 1:17). Prophets who "follow their own spirit" (Ezk. 13:3; NEB "inspiration") are communicating their own thoughts, not a message from God. The statement that in Daniel is "the spirit of the holy gods" (or "God"; Dnl. 4:8f., 18 [MT 5f., 15]; 5:11, 14; cf. v. 12) is an attribution to Daniel, made by a Gentile, of extraordinary gifts.

God, who, as noted, intervenes in human emotional experiences, also exercises His sovereignty in the realm of the prophetic spirit. Thus God might give "a spirit of deep sleep" to prophets (Isa. 29:10), as He sent a lying spirit into the prophets who spoke to King Ahab (1 K. 22:21-23 par. 2 Ch. 18:20-22). This lying spirit is personified as the prophet Micaiah tells of it (1 K. 22:19-21 par. 2 Ch. 18:18-21), but this should be regarded as a rhetorical device rather than as a representation of a belief concerning a spirit world. The "unclean spirit" to be purged from the land according to Zec. 13:2 (NEB "spirit of uncleanness") should also not be understood as a personal being but as a characterization of the manner in which the prophets speak.

The eschatological hope of a new human spirit, i.e., the resumption of the life of the community of the people of God and their reorientation to the law of God (Ezk. 11:19; 36:26; cf. 18:31), is an aspect of the age to come, as is a greater experience of prophecy and charismatic leadership (Isa. 28:5f.).

D. Words Other Than Rû(a)ḥ. In 2 K. 5:26 the RSV has "spirit" for Heb. *lēḇ*, which is usually translated "heart" (so AV). What is spoken of here is not necessarily a disembodied state in which Elisha followed the actions of Gehazi, but merely the knowledge possessed by the prophet, however he came by it. Other words translated "spirit" in the RSV are *kāḇôḏ*, usually "glory," in Gen. 49:6, and *nᵉšāmâ* in Job 26:4b; Prov. 20:27. For Heb. *'ôḇ* (AV "familiar spirit," e.g., Lev. 19:31; 2 K. 21:6), *see* MEDIUM.

In 2 S. 13:39 Heb. *dāwiḏ hammelek* ("King David") probably represents a scribal error for *rû(a)ḥ hammelek*, "the spirit of the king," as in LXX *tó pneúma toú basiléōs*.

II. NT.–A. Uses Similar to OT Uses. The human spirit (Gk. *pneûma*) is that which marks a human being as a *living* person (Lk. 8:55; Jas. 2:26; Rev. 11:11; 13:15; RSV and NEB sometimes "breath"; cf. Jn. 6:63), and death is the release of the spirit to God (Mt. 27:50 [AV "ghost";

NEB "breathed his last"]; Jn. 19:30 [AV "ghost"]; Acts 7:59). The human spirit, the life principle given by God, is probably what is spoken of in Jas. 4:5 (see the comms.). In a metaphorical use, Paul speaks of having the same "spirit of faith," i.e., being animated by the same faith, as the psalmist (2 Cor. 4:13; cf. Ps. 116:10). *Pneúma* could also be a term for the dead, those who are no longer alive in the body, even though they may have a conscious existence and appear in a visible form (Lk. 24:37, 39 [NEB "ghost"]; He. 12:23).

"Spirit" could also be a term for the deepest thoughts and emotions of a person, whether expressed or kept secret (Mk. 2:8; 8:12; Lk. 1:47; Jn. 11:33; 13:21; Acts 17:16; 1 Cor. 2:11; 16:18; Gal. 6:18; NEB often paraphrases). The character exhibited by persons could be characterized as, e.g., "the spirit of the world," i.e., worldliness (1 Cor. 2:12), or "a spirit of gentleness" (4:21; Gal. 6:1; cf. 2 Cor. 12:18; 1 Pet. 3:4). Other phrases, such as "a spirit of wisdom and of revelation" (Eph. 1:17), are similar to OT phrases discussed above. "Spirit" as thought and character is named in conjunction with "body" (*sóma*, 1 Cor. 7:34; 1 Thess. 5:23), "flesh" (*sárx*, 2 Cor. 7:1; RSV "body"), and "soul" (*psyché*, 1 Thess. 5:23; cf. He. 4:12) as a designation of the whole person.

When Paul says that he is "present in spirit" (1 Cor. 5:3), this does not mean simply that his thoughts are concerned with the situation facing his readers and about which he is concerned. It means also that his authority as apostle is active among them so that he is able to give them explicit instructions (vv. 3b-5; cf. Col. 2:5).

B. Relationship with God. Pneúma is the realm of relations between God and human beings (Jn. 4:23f.; Rom. 1:9; Phil. 3:3; He. 12:9). A person's spirit, as such, could be "poor" (Mt. 5:3), "strong" (Lk. 1:80), "fervent" (Acts 18:25), united with the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 6:17), a "spirit of slavery," or a "spirit of sonship" (Rom. 8:15f.).

The reference to the "spirit of power and love and self-control" given by God (and to the "spirit of timidity" *not* given by God, 2 Tim. 1:7) shows that the line between "spirit" as thought and character and "spirit" as the arena of God's relationship with and influence on human beings is not absolute. The same overlap should be kept in mind in regard to doxological statements such as "the Lord be with your spirit" (2 Tim. 4:22; cf. Phil. 4:23; Philem. 25). The process of coming to Christian faith is sometimes described as a revivification of the human spirit (Rom. 8:10; 1 Pet. 4:6; cf. 3:18).

Paul speaks of "spirit" and "flesh" as contenders against each other within each person, spirit representing the new age and flesh the old ways that have been left behind with the adoption of the Christian life (Rom. 8:3-6; Gal. 5:16f.; *see* FLESH III.B). It is the spirit of a person that will experience final eschatological salvation (1 Cor. 5:5; cf. 1 Pet. 3:18; 4:6). In Mt. 26:41 par. Mk. 14:38 the contrast is between "flesh" as the human tendency to fall when tempted and "spirit" as the desire of Jesus' disciples to do what is right.

Paul also contrasts "spirit" with "mind" (*noús*; 1 Cor. 14:14-16), "spirit" in this case standing for ecstatic spiritual experiences that are not subject to rational comprehension; but in other contexts, where the conscious practice of Christian experience is in view, they are treated as synonyms (Eph. 4:23; Phil. 1:27).

As in the OT, "spirit" is that which enables persons to function as prophets, though in the NT this is now regarded as an eschatological charism given to individuals for the good of the Church (1 Cor. 14:32; 2 Thess. 2:2; Rev. 22:6).

C. Non-corporeal Beings. Pneúma was also a term for non-corporeal, conscious, malevolent beings, usually with a modifier such as "unclean" (e.g., Mt. 10:1; Gk. *akáthartos*), "of infirmity" (e.g., Lk. 13:11; *astheneías*), "evil" (e.g., Acts 19:13; *ponērós*), etc. (*see* DEMON). A "spirit" need not be malevolent (Acts 23:9). Spirits were not considered invariably malevolent; some are "of God," which makes it necessary to distinguish between spirits (1 Cor. 12:10; 1 Jn. 4:1), the thought being that a genuine prophetic spirit may be present (cf. 1 Jn. 4:2f., 6; Rev. 19:10). He. 1:14 refers to angels as "ministering spirits." Belief in or rejection of the existence of such spirits was a matter that divided the Sadducees from the Pharisees and from most other Jews (Acts 23:8).

See also ELEMENT (Gal. 4:3, 9; Col. 2:8, 20); PSYCHOLOGY IV, V; PRISON, SPIRITS IN (1 Pet. 3:19).

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SPIRIT, EVIL. *See* DEMONOLOGY.

SPIRIT, FAMILIAR. *See* DIVINATION III.G; MEDIUM.

SPIRIT, HOLY. *See* HOLY SPIRIT.

SPIRIT OF DIVINATION (Acts 16:16, AV). *See* DIVINATION III.G; SOOTHSAYER.

SPIRIT, UNCLEAN. *See* DEMONOLOGY; SPIRIT.

SPIRITS, DISCERNING OF (1 Cor. 12:10, AV). *See* SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

SPIRITS IN PRISON. *See* PRISON, THE SPIRITS IN.

SPIRITUAL [Gk. *pneumatikós, en pneúmati* (Rom. 2:29), *logikós* (Rom. 12:1; 1 Pet. 2:2)]; **SPIRITUALLY** [Gk. *pneumatikós*]. Greek *pneumatikós*, an adjective related to *pneúma*, "spirit," is used in three general ways in the NT. It is used to designate that which is not, or is not only, physical or literal, but exists, or also exists, in the world of spirits, demons, angels, and God. It is used to indicate that typology, i.e., the application of models derived from the OT to explanations of realities of Christ and the Church, is being employed. And it is used for that which is attuned to God's redemption of mankind in Christ and to the presence of God's Spirit. While it is useful to distinguish these three uses of *pneumatikós*, they do not exclude each other but are, rather, usually overlapping.

In its reference to "the spiritual [NEB "superhuman"] hosts [*tá pneumatiká*; "hosts" is supplied in RSV] of wickedness in heavenly places," Eph. 6:12 makes it clear that what is *pneumatikós* (and what is in the "heavenly places") need not be allied to God and His people. *Pneumatikós* refers here to the realm of spirit, that which is not physical ("we are not contending against flesh and blood," earlier in the verse). The devil is called a "spirit" in 2:2, and the NT frequently refers to evil forces as "spirits" (e.g., Mt. 8:16). *See also* HEAVEN II.

Pneumatikós is contrasted with *psychikós* (RSV "physi-

cal"; AV "natural"; NEB "animal") in 1 Cor. 15:44, 46. Because God originally created mankind as *psyché* (Gen. 2:7 LXX, quoted in 1 Cor. 15:45; RSV "being" in both passages; AV "soul"), *psychikós* in 1 Cor. 15 describes the body in which a person lives in this life; *pneumatikós* describes the body which a person who has experienced the resurrection will have (*see* BODY III.A).

Pneumatikós also refers to that which is distinguished from the physical or the merely physical where "spiritual food" (1 Cor. 10:3; RSV, NEB "supernatural food"; AV "spiritual meat"), "spiritual drink," the "spiritual rock" (v. 4; RSV, NEB "supernatural drink," "supernatural rock"), the "spiritual house," and "spiritual sacrifices" (1 Pet. 2:5) are mentioned. But in these passages the adjective also relates what is spoken of with God's actions on behalf of His people and their worship of Him.

In 1 Cor. 10:3f. Paul's description of the food and drink provided for the Israelites in the wilderness (Ex. 16; 17:6; Nu. 20:7-11) as *pneumatikós* means first of all that, being supernaturally provided, it was not ordinary food and drink, an idea that had its beginning already in the OT (Ps. 78:23-25; cf. Wisd. 16:20). Second, *pneumatikós* points to the significance of the manna and water as types of what God provided in the new age of salvation in Christ. That it has this typological value is made most clear by the designation of the rock which provided water to the Israelites as Christ (v. 4). It is probable (but interpreters disagree) that the spiritual food and drink are spoken of as types of baptism (cf. v. 2) and the Lord's Supper (cf. vv. 16ff.), in which the Church experiences the presence of Christ, who was also present with Israel in the rock (*see* LORD'S SUPPER IV.B).

In 1 Pet. 2:5 *pneumatikós* is not applied to the OT realities (temple and sacrifices) but to the antitypical reality known in the Church; the Christian community is itself to become a spiritual house (i.e., temple [so NEB], though Elliott, *Home*, esp. pp. 168f., disagrees) and a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices. This new temple and its sacrifices are "spiritual" in the sense that there is no literal building or physical sacrifices (as there was in the old covenant) and in the sense that the presence of God's Spirit and the work of God's redemption in Christ determines the nature of and activity within this "temple." Circumcision is treated similarly in Rom. 2:29, but there the designation is not *pneumatikós*, but *en pneúmati* (RSV "spiritual"; AV "in the spirit"; NEB "directed . . . by the Spirit") contrasted with *en grámmati* (RSV "literal"; AV "in the letter"; NEB "directed . . . by written precepts"). The adverb *pneumatikós* clearly signals that an OT type is being referred to in Rev. 11:8 (RSV "allegorically"; NEB "in allegory"), but the type is negative ("Sodom and Gomorrah"), and there is no thought of the presence of God's Spirit.

What is "spiritual" can be that which is brought into being or altered by the presence of the Spirit of God. The relatively frequent occurrence of *pneumatikós* in 1 Corinthians is probably due partly to the importance of the word in the thinking of the Corinthian church and that community's emphasis on SPIRITUAL GIFTS as evidence of the Spirit's presence. The designation *pneumatikós* for persons endowed with the more evident spiritual gifts, such as prophecy, was apparently employed by the Corinthians (1 Cor. 14:37; NEB "inspired"; cf. 12:1, RSV mg.). Paul employed the designation in his letter to them, though with a different emphasis: the *pneumatikós* is a person marked by stability and maturity in living by God's Spirit (2:15; 3:1; also Gal. 6:1; NEB "gifted with the Spirit," "who have the Spirit," "endowed with the Spirit").

Pneumatikós thus plays a part in the portrayal of ideal Christian personal and community life, which also includes the wisdom taught by Christian teachers (Col. 1:9; cf. 1 Cor. 2:13; 9:11 [where RSV supplies "good"]) and the songs sung in the Christian fellowship (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16), both also described as *pneumatikós*. This life is predicated on God's bestowal of "every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places" (Eph. 1:3; cf. Rom. 15:27, where RSV supplies "blessings").

Even the law of Moses, as a good gift of God, is called "spiritual" by Paul (Rom. 7:14). As such it is in contrast to the fleshly (*sárkinos*; RSV "carnal") nature of mankind.

Greek *logikós* could bear the meaning "reasonable, rational," but it is more likely to be similar in meaning to *pneumatikós* in its two appearances in the NT. Gk. *latreía*, the noun attached in Rom. 12:1 to *logikós* (RSV "spiritual worship"; AV "reasonable service"; NEB "worship offered by mind and heart"), is used in speaking of sacrificial worship, so Paul most likely makes a typological reference to OT religion like those signaled by use of *pneumatikós*. In 1 Pet. 2:2 it is "milk," representing basic Christian teaching (cf. 1 Cor. 3:2; He. 5:12f.) which is said to be *logikós*. It has been thought that *logikós* here means "of the word" (so AV), i.e., of the *lógos*, the written and spoken word of God, but this meaning is not attested for *logikós*, and "spiritual" in the sense of nonphysical is both attested and comprehensible in the context.

For Hos. 9:7 (AV "spiritual man") *see* SPIRIT I.C. For Rom. 8:6 (AV "spiritually minded") *see* SPIRIT II.B.

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SPIRITUAL GIFTS. Varied endowments graciously bestowed by the triune God upon individual Christians, but particularly intended to enhance the community, worship, and service of locally gathered Christians and thereby to enrich the whole Church.

I. Terminology
  A. Vocabulary
  B. Distinctions
II. Varieties
III. Descriptions
IV. Theology and Practice

I. Terminology.–A. Vocabulary. The expression "spiritual gifts" (pl.) appears in the RSV only at 1 Cor. 12:1 and 14:1, where it translates Gk. *pneumatiká* (lit. "spiritual things"). But the idea it expresses is conveyed more specifically by *chárisma*, the plural of which (*charísmata*) the RSV translates simply "gifts" (Rom. 11:29; 1 Cor. 12:4, 9, 30f.). The RSV uses the singular "spiritual gift" only at 1 Cor. 1:7 (for *chárisma*) and at Rom. 1:11 (*chárisma pneumatikón*, the sole NT instance of both Greek words together). Paul occasionally (1 Cor. 14:12, 32) referred to spiritual gifts as *pneúmata* (lit. "spirits") and the variant readings at both references reflect attempts to regularize the term. This curious usage may be paralleled by the Johannine use of *pneúmata* to refer, not to independent spirit beings, but to the vocal utterances given by charismatic prophets (1 Jn. 4:1f.) — i.e., "prophecies."

Both *chárisma* and *pneumatikós* are predominantly Pauline words; *chárisma* appears elsewhere only at 1 Pet. 4:10, and *pneumatikós* only at 1 Pet. 2:5 and Rev. 11:8. Surprisingly, neither term occurs in Luke-Acts, despite that author's keen interest in the work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian communties. There is no equivalent He-

brew expression; *chárisma* appears twice in the LXX but only as a variant reading (Sir. 7:33; 38:30; also in Th. Ps. 30:22). The few secular uses of *chárisma* outside the NT are mainly much later, and they bear the nuance of "favor" or "benefit." The books of Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians provide the biblical core for teachings about spiritual gifts, even though similar lists appear elsewhere (e.g., Isa. 11:2; Joel 2:28f.; 1 Pet. 4:10f.) and Luke-Acts describes charismatic phenomena without calling them "spiritual gifts."

Greek *chárisma* itself stems from the Indo-European root *gher-*, which means to "desire" or "like." Derived words include Ger. *gern* ("gladly"), Eng. "yearn" and "greed," and Lat. *hortari* ("urge"). *Cháris* ("grace") causes the fulfillment of such desire, while *chará* ("joy") describes the personal sensation of completed desire. A *chárisma* ("gift") is the consequence of a gracious disposition — preeminently of the charitable favor of God Himself. Because of its linguistic connection with *cháris* ("grace"), *chárisma* could be translated "free gift" (so RSV at Rom. 5:15f.), "grace-gift," or perhaps (to coin a word) "gracelet." The connection of the *charísmata* with the Holy Spirit arises not from the term's history but from the attribution of these gifts to the Holy Spirit in the classical text of 1 Cor. 12:4-11 (cf. He. 2:4).

B. Distinctions. Yet the NT refers to other and broader gracious bestowals besides the spiritual gifts. *Chárisma* is sometimes used interchangeably with another Greek word for gift, *dōreá* (or *dōron*). These words appear throughout the NT, and it is helpful to distinguish the specialized spiritual gifts, as community-enhancing enablements of specific persons, from certain other divine gifts granted to all who believe.

Paul described as follows the grandest of all grace-gifts, which stands in opposition to earned wages: "the free gift [*chárisma*] of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 6:23). In Acts 2:38 the Holy Spirit, the energizing giver of gifts, is Itself (the Greek noun is neuter, but personhood is clearly assumed) called "the gift" (*dōreá*) received by those who repent and are baptized. Paul stated in 1 Cor. 12:11 that the (given and received) Holy Spirit bestows differing gifts within the body of Christ: "all these [various *charísmata*] are inspired by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one individually as he wills." And yet Eph. 4:11 says that Christ's gifts were "that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers."

Such imprecision may confound Western minds in search of controllable discreteness. But Scripture presents a God who graciously gives His Son and His Spirit — and these in turn bestow other gifts. Paul concludes his appeal to the Corinthians for their own gifts (a monetary contribution for the Jerusalem poor) with celebrative gratitude "to God for his inexpressible gift" (2 Cor. 9:15). Here the "gift" (*dōreá*) is not identified — perhaps precisely because God's giving is "inexpressible."

II. Varieties.–More than two dozen distinct *charísmata* can be identified in several NT listings (1 Cor. 12:8-10, 28-30; Rom. 12:6-8; Eph. 4:11; 1 Pet. 4:10f.). That such lists are suggestive rather than exhaustive is clear from 1 Cor. 13:1-3, where tongues, prophecy, knowledge, and faith are repeated from the list just given in 12:8-10 but philanthropy and martyrdom are also mentioned without prior notice (13:3).

In effect the *charísmata* range from the unspectacular (serving, 1 Pet. 4:11) to the extraordinary (miracles, 1 Cor. 12:10, 28). In function they range from single events (martyrdom, 1 Cor. 12:10, 28) to ongoing offices (apostles, pastor-teachers, Eph. 4:11). Some gifts appear to represent a special ability recognized only in certain individuals (interpreting, 1 Cor. 14:28); others seem to be a heightened capacity for what is expected of every Christian (showing mercy, Rom. 12:8).

Some capacities (e.g., exorcism) appear to be spiritual gifts but are not labeled as such. Deacons, elders, eunuchs are not described as having a special *chárisma*, nor are those who have the ability to inflict an illness (Paul, Acts 13:11) or death (Peter, 5:9f.). Scripture nowhere describes musical and artistic skills as charismatic endowments. But the free listing of *charísmata* that is characteristic of Paul — who thought of his own celibacy as a *chárisma* (1 Cor. 7:7) — warrants the recognition of such capacities in the Christian community as gifts of a gracious God.

III. Descriptions.–The placement of the "word of wisdom" and "word of knowledge" (AV 1 Cor. 12:8) at the beginning of Paul's major list of spiritual gifts reflects the situation at Corinth. "Knowledge" — perhaps better translated "insight" (*gnōsis*) — was prized at Corinth, and Paul had to caution against the excessive emphasis on it (8:2). Though human *sophía* ("wisdom") is inadequate to lead to God (1:19–2:5), true wisdom does have a divine source and comes only through the Spirit (2:6-16). *Lógos* (AV "word"; RSV "utterance") in this verse has commonly been understood as referring to the knowledgeable speech of teachers or the wise counsels of leaders; but it may mean merely a "case" or "matter," i.e., an "occasion" of insight or wisdom. Paul was eager to attribute both gifts to the same Spirit — perhaps to balance the Corinthian elitist pursuit of spiritual insight with a pastoral plea for the less spectacular, but more unitive, wisdom.

"Faith" (*pístis*, 12:9) is the only *chárisma* listed in 1 Cor. 12 that is also listed as a "fruit of the Spirit" in Gal. 5:22 (where the RSV translates it "faithfulness"), and it is the only one that is elsewhere identified as a universal characteristic of all Christians. Here, however, *pístis* seems to mean an unusual degree of faith "so as to remove mountains" (cf. 1 Cor. 13:2).

"Gifts of healings" (1 Cor. 12:9) may refer to the effected cures rather than to the capacity to bring about healing. "Working of miracles" (v. 10) would then refer to the endowed abilities to effect recoveries from illness.

"Prophecy" (v. 10) is inspired speech (some interpreters have equated it with preaching) that produces "upbuilding and encouragement and consolation" (14:3). Yet prophecy seems to have been practiced by many in the congregation ("you can all prophesy one by one," 14:31), and such prophetic utterances were never beyond the control of those prophesying (v. 32) or the evaluative critique of those listening (v. 29).

"Kinds of tongues" (*génē glōssōn*, 1 Cor. 12:10, 28) can refer to anything on a glossolalic continuum ranging from (1) prayer "with groans that words cannot express" (Rom. 8:26, NIV; preferable to RSV "sighs too deep for words"), through (2) tongues speech in a controlled ecstatic jargon that "no one understands" by someone who "utters mysteries in the Spirit" and "speaks not to men but to God" (1 Cor. 14:2), to (3) charismatic use of a recognizable language never learned by the speaker (Acts 2:8). Paul's placement of this gift at the end of the stratified list at 1 Cor. 12:28 must be compared with the addition of interpretation at 12:29 as well as at 12:10. It is clear that Paul was providing strong correction to the excessive valuation placed on tongues by dominant members of the Corinthian congregation.

"Discernment of spirits" (*diákrisis pneumátōn*, 1 Cor. 12:10; RSV "ability to distinguish between spirits") refers to the ability to evaluate either the spirits themselves

or spirit-inspired utterances. As an example of the need for such discernment, Paul stated in v. 3 that no one inspired by the Holy Spirit could utter a curse on Jesus.

"Apostles," "prophets," and "teachers" are mentioned in 12:28f.; these functions emerge in Acts and throughout the Pauline literature. Obviously the role that these early leaders played as founders of the faith cannot be repeated. But since the functions of prophet and teacher have continued throughout church history, it would be strange if apostle did not — unless by "apostle" is meant not merely one who is "sent out" but one who can claim equality with the original circle.

Finally, Paul mentions "administrators" (*kybérnēsis*, lit. "steering," "pilotage"), those gifted with the ability to hold a leading position in the church (v. 28). If the *charísmata* are ranked in order throughout this passage, it is significant that these leaders are placed next to last — one level above speaker in tongues.

The lists in Rom. 12:6-8 and 1 Pet. 4:11 mention some of the less visible — but no less essential — spiritual endowments: serving, speaking, exhorting, contributing (financial support), and showing mercy.

IV. Theology and Practice.–1 Corinthians, the fullest biblical discussion of spiritual gifts, contains instructive guidelines for the use of these gifts. The clear message of ch. 13 is that such gifts are useless if they are not accompanied by love. But already at 8:1 the apostle has cautioned that "knowledge [insight] puffs up, but love builds up." The fundamental error of the Corinthians was a defective anthropology that relinquished earthly human responsibilities in favor of heavenly experiences. Love calls such charismatic individualists away from their elitist — and sometimes arrogant — spiritual insights and measures spirituality in terms of how one relates to others. Hence upbuilding — the advance of the community as a whole — outweighs individual spiritual experience. A balanced recognition of both unity and diversity, of the same Spirit but gifts that differ, is a critical mark of a healthy Christian community.

For what period were the spiritual gifts intended? For centuries the view of Augustine prevailed, namely, that the gifts were intended only for the period of the early Church. According to this view the gifts were no longer needed after the apostles passed off the scene, or after the canon of Scripture was established, or after it became clear the Jews had rejected Christ. Various forms of this view have been maintained in this century by writers such as B. B. Warfield, C. I. Scofield (in the Scofield Bible), and M. Unger.

One effect of the rise of the Pentecostal and charismatic movements in the 20th cent. has been the recapture of a theology of spiritual gifts throughout wide sectors of the Church — even where the distinctives of these movements have not been adopted. As a result, the Augustine-Warfield arguments for the "cessation of the *charísmata*" are much less widely heard today, although these views continue to be strongly held by some adherents.

The "fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22f.) is the natural outcome of the Spirit's presence within all believers, while the "gifts of the Spirit" reflect the divine penchant for variety. The healthiest Christian communities will value both the fruit and the gifts of the Spirit and will neglect neither.

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R. P. SPITTLER

SPIRITUAL MAN. *See* SPIRITUAL.

SPIRITUAL SONGS. *See* SPIRITUAL.

SPIT; SPITTLE [Heb. *yāraq* (Nu. 12:14; Dt. 25:9), *rāqaq* (Lev. 15:18), *rōq* (Job 30:10; Isa. 50:6), *tōpeṯ*–'object of spitting' ("one before whom men spit," Job 17:6); Gk. *ptýō* (Mk. 7:33; 8:23; Jn. 9:6), *emptýō* (Mt. 26:67; etc.)]; AV also TABRET (Job 17:6); NEB also PORTEND (Job 17:6); SPITTLE [Heb. *rîr* (1 S. 21:13), *rōq* (Job 7:19); Gk. *ptýsma* (Jn. 9:6)]; NEB also DRIBBLE (1 S.21:13).

As in many cultures, in ancient Israel spitting on a person expressed extreme contempt or disapproval (cf. Nu. 12:14). Job complained that he had fallen into such disrepute that he had become the object of spitting (Job 17:6; 30:10). Isa. 50:6 foretold that those who scorned the Servant of the Lord would beat him, pull out his beard, and spit in his face. The Gospels record that people at Jesus' trial and crucifixion spat on Him (Mt.26:67; 27:30; Mk. 14:65; 15:19; cf. 10:34; Lk. 18:32). Hebrew law stipulated that if a man refused to marry his brother's widow (*see* HUSBAND'S BROTHER), she was to spit in his face in the presence of the elders as an expression of the community's strong disapproval (Dt. 25:9). If a man with a discharge spat on somebody, he made that person unclean (Lev. 15:8). Among the Qumrân sectarians, spitting in an assembly was punished by thirty days of separation (1QS 7:13; cf. Josephus *BJ* ii.8.9 [147]).

In Judaism and Hellenism spittle was thought to possess medicinal qualities and was sometimes used in healing the sick. It is interesting, therefore, that in three recorded instances Jesus used spittle in His healing ministry: twice with blind men (Mk. 8:23; Jn. 9:6) and once with a deaf-mute (Mk. 7:33).

See SB, II, 15-18. D. A. DORSEY

SPOIL [nouns: Heb. *šālāl*–'booty, plunder' (Gen. 49:27; Ex. 15:9; Nu. 31:11f.; Dt. 2:35; etc.), *baz*–'plundering,' 'objects of plundering' (Nu. 31:32; Jer. 15:13; 17:3; Ezk. 23:46; 25:7 [emended from *bag*]; 26:5), *bizzâ*–'act of plundering' (2 Ch. 25:13; 28:14), *ḥᵃlîṣâ*–'clothes and weapons stripped from a slain enemy' (Jgs. 14:19; 2 S. 2:21), *mᵉšissâ*–'plundering' (2 K. 21:14; Isa. 42:22; Jer. 30:16), *beṣa'*–'(illegally obtained) gain' (Jgs. 5:19), *gᵉzēlâ*–'stolen goods' (Isa. 3:14); Gk. *akrothínion*–'best part of the booty' (He. 7:4), *skýlon*–'booty' (Lk. 11:22)]; AV also PREY, GAIN; NEB also BOOTY, GOODS, PLUNDER, etc.; [verbs: Heb. *šālal*–'plunder' (Ezk. 26:12; hithpael, Ps. 76:5 [MT 6]), *šāsâ*–'plunder' (Ps. 44:10 [MT 11]), hiphil of *šāḥaṯ*–'ruin' (Jer. 13:9), piel of *ḥāḇal*–'destroy' (Cant. 2:15)]; AV also MAR; NEB also PLUNDER; **SPOILER** [Heb. part. of *šāsâ* (2 K. 17:20), *mᵉšissâ* (Isa. 42:24)]; NEB FOR PLUNDER, PLUNDERER; **DESPOIL** [Heb. *bāzaz*–'plunder' (1 S. 14:36; niphal, Isa. 24:3), piel of *nāṣal*–'strip, plunder' (Ex. 3:22; 12:36), *šāḏaḏ*–'devastate' (Ps. 17:9; part., Jer. 25:36; pual, Zec. 11:3), *šōḏ*–'destruction' ("despoiled," Ps.12:5 [MT 6], *šāsas*–'plunder' (Ps. 89:41 [MT 42]), qal and qal part. of *qāḇa'*–'rob' (Prov. 22:23), *šāsâ*–'plunder' (Isa. 17:14; Jer. 30:16), *šālal*–'plunder' (Ezk. 29:19; 39:10), part. of *gāzal*–'take away by force' (Ps. 35:10)]; AV SPOIL, OPPRESS,

OPPRESSION; NEB PLUNDER, HARRY, RUIN, OBSTRUCT, PREY ON, ROB, SPOIL, etc. PLUNDER taken from a defeated enemy in warfare, or the act of stripping valuables from a defeated enemy. (In Cant. 2:15 and Jer. 13:9, however, the verb "spoil" is used in the sense of "ruin" or "destroy.")

In the ancient Near East it was assumed that victorious forces had the right to strip valuables from their fallen enemies (cf. Jgs. 14:19) and to take from defeated villages anything they could carry or drive away. Thus it was customary for victorious soldiers to return from battle with many valuables, including clothes and precious metals (e.g., Gen. 14:11; Josh. 7:21; Jgs. 8:24-26), cattle (e.g., Dt. 2:35; 1 S. 14:32; 30:20; 2 Ch. 15:11; Jer. 49:32), and women and children as slaves (e.g., Gen. 14:12, 16; 1 S. 20:1-3). The song of Deborah expresses the expectations of the women who stayed at home, awaiting the return of their men: "Are they not finding and dividing the spoil? — A maiden or two for every man; spoil of dyed stuffs for Sisera, spoil of dyed stuffs embroidered . . ." (Jgs. 5:30).

Annals of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian kings list in great detail the servants and treasures taken as booty. An example is this excerpt from Thutmose III's list of booty taken at Megiddo *ca.* 1468 B.C.: "[List of the booty which his majesty's army carried off from the town of] Megiddo: 340 living prisoners and 83 hands; 2,041 horses, 191 foals, 6 stallions, and . . . bowls of costly stone and gold, various vessels, . . . jars, bowls, . . . bronze vessels, and much clothing of that enemy" (*ANET,* pp. 237f.).

Like their neighbors, the Israelites too enjoyed the material benefits of war. But their laws regulated how they should act in war and under what conditions they could despoil their adversaries. Before leaving Egypt they "despoiled" the Egyptians by asking for valuables, "jewelry of silver and of gold, and clothing" (Ex. 12:35f.). The rules of war in Dt. 20:1-20 prescribe precisely under what conditions the Israelites might attack a city and, when victorious, under what conditions they could take and "enjoy the spoil of your enemies, which the Lord your God has given you" (v. 14). The spoils were the Lord's gift to His people. When the Israelites conquered cities belonging to any of the seven original nations of Canaan, they were commanded to place all that was alive under the "ban" (*ḥērem,* v. 17; cf. Josh. 6:21). In many cases they were permitted to take the material valuables and cattle as booty (Josh. 8:2; 11:14), but Jericho was an exception; the only things to be saved were precious metals and vessels, which were to be put in the treasury of the Lord (6:18f.). In some instances the Lord gave specific decrees adjusting the rules of war; e.g., the booty from Israel's victory over Midian had to be purified (Nu. 31:20) either by fire or by water (vv. 22f.) and divided between the men of war and the rest of the people, and a portion was to be given as an offering to the Levites (vv. 26-30). The practice of devoting a portion of the spoils to the treasury of the tabernacle or temple was continued under Samuel, Saul, and David (cf. 1 S. 21:9 [MT 10]; 1 Ch. 26:26-28; 29:2-5).

When the city of Samaria fell in 722 B.C., it was despoiled by the Assyrians (2 K. 17:20). In 586 B.C. Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, who despoiled its people, exiled its craftsmen, and plundered the temple (24:14-16; 25:13-17; 2 Ch. 36:17f.); but at the time that the exiles returned, Cyrus decreed that the precious vessels be restored to the temple (Ezr. 1:7-11). The temple was pillaged again by Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 B.C. (*BJ* i.1.1 [32]). When Jerusalem fell to Rome in A.D. 70, Titus once again despoiled the people, the leaders, and the temple (cf. *BJ* vii.5.5 [148-150]). The Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum shows the menorah being taken from the temple.

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W. A. VANGEMEREN

SPOKE [**Heb.** *ḥiššuq*] (1 K. 7:33); AV FELLOE. Part of the wheel assembly that joined the wheel rims to the hubs on the molten sea. *See* SEA, MOLTEN.

SPONGE [Gk. *spóngos*] (Mt. 27:48; Mk. 15:36; Jn. 19:29); AV SPUNGE. Sponges are the skeletons of marine animals and are common to the Palestinian coastline of the Mediterranean Sea.

In the RSV "sponge" occurs only in the Gospel accounts of Jesus' crucifixion. After saying "I thirst" (Jn. 19:28; cf. Ps. 69:21 [MT 22]), Jesus was offered a drink from a sponge saturated with vinegar or sour wine. Roman soldiers commonly used sponges as drinking vessels.

T. F. JOHNSON

SPOON. *See* DISH.

SPORT; MAKE SPORT [Heb. *śāḥaq*] (Jgs. 16:25a, 27; Job 30:1; Ps. 104:26; Hab. 1:10); AV also HAVE IN DERISION, DERIDE, PLAY; NEB also FIGHT TO MAKE SPORT, LAUGH TO SCORN, PLAYTHING, HOLD IN DERISION; [Heb. *śeḥôq*] (Prov. 10:23); [Heb. hithpael of *ʿālal*] (Ex. 10:2; Nu. 22:29; 1 S. 6:6; 31:4; 1 Ch. 10:4); AV WROUGHT (WONDERFULLY), MOCK, ABUSE; NEB also MAKE A FOOL (OF); [Heb. *ṣāḥaq*] (Jgs. 16:25b); [Heb. hithpael of *ʿānag*] (Isa. 57:4); NEB (BE) THE TARGET OF YOUR JESTS.

To "make sport" (Heb. *śāḥaq* and hithpael of *ʿālal*) of someone is to ridicule that person, often by demonstrating or gloating over their inability to prevail in battle (cf. Gk. *empaízō* in 1 Macc. 9:26; 2 Macc. 7:7, 10). Balaam's ass made sport of him by her recalcitrance (Nu. 22:29); Saul did not wish the Philistines to have the pleasure of killing him (1 S. 31:4 par. 1 Ch. 10:4); the Neo-Babylonian empire's army made sport of all the rulers they conquered (Hab. 1:10); and Job regarded the words of his "friends" as their ridicule of an elder (Job 30:1). God's actions on behalf of the Israelites are viewed as His making sport of the Egyptians (Ex. 10:2; 1 S. 6:6). In this way God is viewed as the one who enters into battle on behalf of the Israelites and prevails decisively.

Hebrew *śāḥaq* is also used for "sport" in the sense of entertainment or play. Thus Samson was called upon to entertain a Philistine audience (Jgs. 16:25, 27), Leviathan appears to be one who plays in the waves (Ps. 104:26), and the "fool" entertains himself by doing evil (Prov. 10:23; cf. 26:19; RSV "joking"; NEB "It was only a joke"). The same word is also used for mockery and (usually mocking) laughter (e.g., Prov. 29:9; Eccl. 3:4; Lam. 1:7) and for joyous worship (e.g., 2 S. 6:5).

Isaiah 57:4a portrays the idolatrous worship of some of those living in Jerusalem as an active attempt to deride Yahweh (cf. 37:23). The hithpael of Heb. *ʿānag,* usually translated "delight" in AV and RSV (NEB sometimes "enjoy"), denotes taking pleasure in some object or person (Ps. 37:11; Isa. 55:2; 66:11), sometimes God (Job 22:26; Ps. 37:4; Isa. 58:14). In the rhetorical question of Isa. 57:4, that malevolent pleasure is taken is signaled only by the other clauses of the verse (*ʿal* is used, as in most other instances of the verb).

For Gen. 26:8 (AV "sporting"), *see* FONDLING. For 2 Pet. 2:13 (AV "sporting themselves"), *see* REVEL.

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SPORTS. *See* GAMES.

SPOT [Heb. *bahereṭ* (Lev. 13:2, 4, 19, 23-26, 38f., etc.), *nega'*–'plague, mark (by skin disease)' (Lev. 13:3, 6, 42, 55), *pe·heṭeṭ*–'eating out, boring' (Lev. 13:55), *šeqa'a·rûrâ*–'depression, hollow' (Lev. 14:37), *mu'ûm*–'(moral) blemish, defect' (Job 31:7), *ha·barburôṭ*–'skin specks' (Jer. 13:23); Gk. *spílos*–'stain, blemish' (Eph. 5:27), *áspilos*–'spotless, without blemish' (1 Pet. 1:19; 2 Pet. 3:14)]; AV also BRIGHT SPOT, PLAGUE, HOLLOW STRAKES (Lev. 14:37), etc.; NEB also INFLAMMATION, SORE, ROT, DEPRESSIONS, etc.; **SPOTLESS** [Gk. *ámōmos*–'blameless' (Rev. 14:5)]; AV WITHOUT FAULT; NEB FAULTLESS; **SPOTTED** [Gk. *spilóō*–'stain, defile' (Jude 23)]; NEB CONTAMINATED; **BLOT** [Gk. *spílos* (2 Pet. 2:13)]; AV SPOT.

Both Hebrew terms *bahereṭ* and *nega'* refer to eruptions that may indicate a malignant skin condition. If the skin had been penetrated by the spot and the color of local hair had been affected, a malignant condition was to be suspected. But if the spot appeared to be superficial, and after a seven-day quarantine period had either healed or begun to diminish in extent, then the person was discharged as clean by the examining priest. *See* LEPROSY.

The meaning of Heb. *pe·heṭeṭ* in Lev. 13:55, which refers to disease affected clothing, is somewhat dubious, although it may derive from *pḥṭ*, "bore." In Job 31:7 *mu'ûm* (apparently a variant of *mûm*) refers to a moral defect (cf. 11:15; Dt. 32:5). In Jer. 13:23 Heb. *ha·barburôṭ* designates a distinguishing mark on the coat of an animal.

When translated by "spot" and "spotted" in the RSV, the Greek terms *spílos* (RSV "blot" in 2 Pet. 2:13), *áspilos*, and *spilóō* are used in a metaphorical sense to describe various moral blemishes. Gk. *ámōmos*, "spotless" (Rev. 14:5), is a sacrificial term used in an ethical sense of purity or freedom from fault.

See also BLEMISH.

R. K. H.
G. L. K.

SPOUSE. This AV term in Cant. 4:8-12; 5:1; Hos. 4:13f. (RSV "bride") translates Heb. *kallâ* ("bride [before marriage]," "[young] daughter-in-law," "newly married woman"). *See* MARRIAGE I; BRIDE OF CHRIST.

SPREAD. Of the numerous Hebrew words translated "spread" in the OT, the one most often so translated is Heb. *pāraś*. (The second most often so translated is *pāśâ*, which is used only in connection with the spread of the signs of "leprosy" in Lev. 13–14.) *Pāraś* is used of the actions of laying out fabric or similar material, often to cover something (e.g., Nu. 4:6-14; NEB sometimes "lay on," "cover"; 2 S. 17:19; 2 K. 8:15; NEB "laid it over"; 2 K. 19:14). Laying out a covering in such a fashion is a figure of speech for God's actions in providing the cloud that led the Israelites through the desert (Ps. 105:39; cf. Job 36:29). *Pāraś* is also used of the cherubim's hiding the ark from sight in the temple of Solomon (1 K. 8:7), of the action of lifting one's hands toward heaven in prayer (v. 22; Ezr. 9:5; Isa. 1:15; cf. 65:2), of laying out nets on the water to catch fish (Isa. 19:8), of spreading out one's hands to swim (25:11), of a large bird's spreading its wings (Dt. 32:11; Job 39:26; Jer. 48:40; 49:22), of laying a trap (Ps. 140:5; Lam. 1:13; Hos. 5:1), and of using a net to hold captives (Ezk. 12:13; 17:20; NEB "cast . . . over"). Ruth's request that Boaz spread (*pāraś*) his skirt over her (Ruth 3:9) is a request for protection (cf. 2:12, where "wing" is the same word [*kānāp*] as "skirt" in 3:9), specifically the protection of marriage (cf. Ezk. 16:8).

Hebrew *šāṭaḥ* is used less commonly, but with similar variety (Nu. 11:32; Ps. 88:9 [MT 10]; AV "stretched out"; Jer. 8:2; NEB "expose"). Heb. *pûṣ* is used when the dispersion of people, whether a gradual spreading or a sudden scattering, is spoken of (e.g., Gen. 10:18; 2 S. 18:8; AV "scattered"). Heb. *nāṭâ* is a very common word in the OT, generally translatable as "stretch out." It is sometimes translated "spread" when it refers to the action of pitching a tent or canopy (Gen. 33:19, AV; RSV and NEB "pitched"; Jer. 43:10). God's creation of the sky or the earth is spoken of as His action of spreading them out (Heb. *rāqa'*: Job 37:18; NEB "beat out"; Ps. 136:6; AV "stretched out"; NEB "laid"; Isa. 42:5; NEB "fashioned"; 44:24; NEB "hammered"; Heb. *ṭāpaḥ*: Isa. 48:13; AV "spanned"; NEB "formed"; cf. Job 26:9; NEB "unrolling"; Ps. 105:39).

A number of Greek verbs, some verbs of "going out" used metaphorically, are used in the NT to speak of the dissemination of some message or report, most often public knowledge of the acts of Jesus or of the gospel (Gk. *apérchomai, exérchomai, diaphēmízō, dianémō*, and *diaphérō*; Mt. 4:24; AV "went"; NEB "reached"; 9:31; NEB "they talked about him"; 28:15; AV "is commonly reported"; NEB "became widely known"; Mk. 1:28, 45; AV "blaze abroad"; NEB "made . . . public"; Lk. 7:17; AV "went forth"; NEB "ran through"; Jn. 21:23; AV "went . . . abroad"; NEB "became current"; Acts 4:17; 13:49; AV "was published"). According to Paul, the knowledge of Christ spreads everywhere like a fragrance (2 Cor. 2:14; *phaneróō*, AV more literally: "maketh manifest"). Paul also speaks of death's spread from Adam to all people (Gk. *eisérchomai*, Rom. 5:12; AV "passed upon"; NEB "pervaded"). When Jesus entered Jerusalem the crowds spread (*[hypo]strṓnnymi*) garments and branches on the road (Mt. 21:8; Mk. 11:8; Lk. 19:36; AV sometimes "strawed"; NEB sometimes "carpeted").

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SPRING. *See* SEASON; EN-ROGEL; GIHON; JERUSALEM II.C; WATERWORKS.

SPRING RAIN. *See* PALESTINE V.B; RAIN.

SPRINKLE [Heb. qal and hiphil of *nāzâ*–'spurt, spatter, sprinkle'] (Ex. 29:21; Lev. 4:6, 17; 5:9; 6:27; etc.; Nu. 8:7; 19:4, 18f., 21; Isa. 63:3); NEB also SPLASH, FLING, SPURT; [*zāraq*–'toss, throw, scatter abundantly' (see BDB, p. 284)] (Nu. 18:17; 2 Ch. 30:16; Job 2:12; Ezk. 36:25; Hos. 7:9); NEB also FLING, TOSS, "turn white"; [*šālaḳ*] (Ezk. 43:24); AV CAST; NEB THROW; [Gk. *rhantízo*] (He. 9:13, 19, 21; 10:22); [*rhantismós*] (He. 12:24; 1 Pet. 1:2); [*próschysis*] (He. 11:28).

The sprinkling of blood, water, or oil was important in the OT rituals of sacrifice, purification, and consecration. The sprinkling act in itself does not clearly have a single significance in all the situations in which it was used. Thus an indication of its significance is to be sought by examining the meaning of the rituals of which the sprinkling formed a part.

The principal word translated "sprinkle" in the RSV OT, Heb. *nāzâ*, occurs mainly in the context of purification rites. In the sin offering presented for the sin of the anointed priest or of the whole congregation (Lev. 4:1-21), some of the blood from the slain bull was sprinkled seven times on (or perhaps before) the veil of the most holy place (vv. 6, 17). Some of the blood was also smeared on the horns of the altar of incense, and the remainder was poured at the base of the altar of burnt offering (vv. 7, 18). On the Day of Atonement (ch. 16) Aaron was to go behind the veil, taking some of the blood of the bull offered for his own sin and of the goat offered for the people's sin, and sprinkle this blood on the front of and before the mercy

seat (vv. 14, 19). In the case of an individual Israelite who sinned unknowingly (RSV "it is hidden from him"), the blood was sprinkled only on the side of the altar of burnt offering (5:9).

According to G. Wenham (p. 94), the meaning of these ceremonies lies in the removal of the pollution of sin (cf. Lev. 15:31). While the burnt offering reconciled the sinner with God, the sin offering decontaminated God's people and tabernacle. The blood sprinkled and smeared was the means by which the altars, veil, and mercy seat of God's sanctuary were cleansed of the pollution of sin and reconsecrated (16:19). The seriousness of the pollution caused by the sin of the high priest or of the entire congregation is evident from the fact that the blood had to be taken inside the tabernacle and sprinkled on the veil and altar of incense; but if an ordinary individual Israelite sinned, the sprinkling took place only at the altar of burnt sacrifice outside the tabernacle (see Wenham, p. 96). Because of the priest's ordained position, his sin affected all Israel. In the Day of Atonement ritual, once the pollution had been removed by the sin offering, the priest was free to sacrifice the burnt offerings (16:24).

Sprinkling was also part of the ritual purification for leprosy, which marked a person's reincorporation into the covenant community (Lev. 14:1-32). If someone considered himself or herself cured of a leprous skin disease, the priest was summoned to examine this person outside the camp. If the priest was convinced that the disease was healed, two clean birds were brought. One was killed and its blood mixed with fresh water in an earthern vessel. The living bird was dipped in this blood, and the person healed of leprosy was sprinkled with it seven times (v. 7; cf. the ceremony for cleansing a house, v. 51); then the priest declared the person cleansed, and allowed the living bird to fly away. On the eighth day of the purification process, certain sacrifices and anointings were prescribed, including the sin offering and the burnt offering. The priest sprinkled anointing oil seven times before the Lord (vv. 16, 27); then some of it was put on the cured person's right ear, thumb, big toe, and head. The purpose of this sprinkling with oil seems to have been the consecration of the healed person (see also Wenham and other comms.).

A person (or a tent and its furnishings) might also become unclean from contact with a corpse (Nu. 19). For such situations a red heifer was slaughtered, and the priest sprinkled some of its blood toward the tent of meeting seven times (v. 4). Then the red heifer was burned with cedarwood, hyssop,and scarlet stuff, and the ashes were used in the water of purification, which was sprinkled upon the person or object to be made clean (vv. 18f.; *see also* HEIFER, RED). In the ritual described in 8:7, however, water alone is used for purification. Here the Levites are purified for the service of the Lord. In Ezk. 36:25 Yahweh promises figuratively to sprinkle clean water upon Israel in order to deliver His people from all their uncleanness and to put a new heart and spirit within them.

In addition to its use in the consecration ritual for persons healed of leprosy, anointing oil was also used in the dedication of the tabernacle and the ordination of Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8). Moses sprinkled some of the oil on the altar seven times (v. 11), and he sprinkled both anointing oil and blood from the altar onto the garments of Aaron and his sons (v. 30). The meaning of the sprinkling in these ceremonies seems to have been that of consecration to Yahweh's service.

Like other features of OT ritual, the sprinkling of blood is compared in the NT with the death of Christ (e.g., 1 Pet. 1:2). He. 9:13, 19, 21 and 12:24 allude to several of the rites mentioned above (along with the Ex. 24 narrative of the blood of the covenant) to show the superior efficacy of the purification wrought by the sprinkling of Christ's blood (cf. also He. 10:22; 11:28).

In some instances "sprinkle" does not have cultic connotations. The sprinkling of Job 2:12 seems to symbolize mourning; the friends throw dust toward heaven and allow it to settle on their heads (see *TDOT*, IV, 163; comms.). In Hos. 7:9 the MT *gam-śêḇâ zārᵉqâ bô* is usually read as a pual, "gray hairs are sprinkled upon him" (RSV). Andersen and Freedman (p. 467) have suggested that the "hairs" in question refer not to human hair on an elderly person but to hairs of mold on food; thus the analogy of the unturned cake in v. 8 is continued in v. 9. The NEB, on the other hand, assumes a second root *zrq*, meaning "turn white" (cf. KoB, p. 269; "be white, bright"). Another suggestion, based on Arab. *zaraqa*, "penetrate," is that "old age has crept up" (J. Blau, *VT*, 5 [1955], 341).

See also CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; PURE; SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

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G. WYPER

SPURN [Heb. *mā'as*] (Lev. 26:15, 43f.; Ps. 36:4); AV DESPISE, CAST AWAY, ABHOR; NEB REJECT; [Heb. *nā'aṣ*] (Ps. 107:11; Jer. 14:21; Lam. 2:6]; AV CONTEMN, ABHOR, DESPISE; NEB FLOUT, DESPISE, SCORN; [Heb. *zānaḥ*] (Ps. 77:7 [MT 8]; Hos. 8:3, 5); AV CAST OFF; NEB REJECT, "stink," "is utterly loathsome" (reading a different root); [Heb. *sālâ*] (Ps. 119:118); AV TREAD DOWN; NEB REJECT; [Gk. *katapatéō*] (He. 10:29); AV TREAD UNDER FOOT; NEB TRAMPLE UNDER FOOT. To reject or treat with contempt.

God threatened the Israelites that if they spurned His law dire consequences would follow (Lev. 26:15ff., 43; cf. Ps. 107:11; Hos. 8:3), but also promised that even when His punishment of them had reached its height, He would not spurn them (Lev. 26:44; cf. Ps. 77:7; 119:118; Jer. 14:21; Lam. 2:6). According to the rhetorical question posed in He. 10:28f., one who has "spurned the Son [Christ]," i.e., one who, having accepted the gospel, has gone on to reject it, faces more serious punishment than one who violated the Mosaic law.

For Dt. 22:13-21, *see* HATE I.A. *See also* REJECT.

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SPY [Heb. piel of *rāgal*–'go out, spy' (Gen. 42:9; Dt. 1:24; Josh. 6:22; etc.), *tûr*–'spy out, explore' (Nu. 13:2, 16f., 21; 14:6; etc.; hiphil, Jgs. 1:23), *šāmar*–'keep, watch' (Jgs. 1:24), *rā'â*–'see' (2 K. 9:17), *ḥāpar*–'search out' (Job 39:29); Gk. *enkáthetos*–'hired to lie in wait' (Lk. 20:20), *kataskopéo*–'spy out, lie in wait' (Gal. 2:4), *katáskopos* (He. 11:31)]; AV also SEARCH OUT, VIEW, SEEK, ESPY (Josh. 14:7), etc.; NEB also EXPLORE, SECRET AGENTS, SCOUTS, etc.

The most usual word for "spies" in the RSV OT is the piel participle *mᵉraggᵉlîm* (< Heb. *rgl*, "foot"), which occurs twelve times in the OT; the piel infinitive *raggēl* is commonly translated "to spy out" (e.g., Nu. 21:32; Josh. 6:25; 14:7; etc.).

Spies were common in military operations in the ancient Near East. As in modern times, knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of an enemy were invaluable for success in conflict. Thus the OT mentions spies frequently. They are mentioned first in connection with

Joseph's dialogue with his brothers. Knowing that they were his deceitful brothers, Joseph put them to the test by accusing them of being spies sent to search out the state of Egypt during the famine (Gen. 42:9-17, 29-34). Spies also played an important role in holy war. In Nu. 13:1-33 Moses sent out twelve spies to explore the land of Canaan. But only Joshua and Caleb brought back positive reports. Another instance of spying occurs in Nu. 21:32 when Moses sent men to spy out Jazer. The paradigmatic holy war battle of Jericho stressed the role of spies (Josh. 2:1-6, 22-24; 6:22-25). Apparently the use of spies was seen as an important dimension of holy war. Spies investigated Ai (Josh. 7:2-5). The clan of Joseph also employed spies to find an entrance to the city of Bethel (Jgs. 1:23-25). During the monarchy spies were described as a part of the conflict between David and Saul (1 S. 26:1-5). In 2 S. 10:1-5 the Ammonites accused David of sending emissaries who were spies (cf. 1 Ch. 19:3).

In the NT the scribes and Pharisees investigated Jesus' ministry by means of spies (Lk. 20:20). Also, the writer of Hebrews praised Rahab's faith as demonstrated in her treatment of the spies at Jericho (He. 11:31). Lastly, Paul refers in Ga. 2:4 to false brothers who surreptitiously entered a gentile Christian community in order to impose legalism upon the Galatian churches. R. L. PRATT, JR.

SQUAD [Gk. *tetrádion*] (Acts 12:4); AV QUATERNION; NEB SQUADS OF FOUR. A military technical term for a company of four soldiers (so NEB). Acts 12:4 reflects the Roman practice whereby each group kept watch for a three-hour interval during one of the four night watches.

SQUARE [Heb. *rᵉḥōḇ*] (Dt. 13:16; Jgs. 19:15, 17, 20; 2 S. 21:12; 2 Ch. 29:4; 32:6; Ezr. 10:9; Neh. 8:1, 3, 16; Est. 4:6; 6:9, 11; Job 24:20; 29:7; Cant. 3:2; Isa. 15:3; etc.); AV STREET, BROAD WAY, BROAD PLACE; NEB also STREET, FORECOURT, MARKET-PLACE, WIDE SQUARE, BROAD STREET, OPEN PLACE OUTSKIRTS. (In Job 24:20 the RSV follows the conjectured reading *rᵉḥōṭ* while the AV and NEB translate *reḥem* ["womb"] of the MT in this obscure passage.)

Excavations of some Israelite cities have revealed open spaces or plazas just inside the gates. These squares may be what the cited passages intend, but the precise meaning of *rᵉḥōḇ* is uncertain.

See also CITY; MARKET; STREET. G. WYPER

STACHYS stā'kis [Gk. *Stachys*–'ear (of grain)']. The name of a believer in Rome whom Paul identifies simply as "my beloved" and to whom Paul sent greetings (Rom. 16:9). Although it is a rare Greek name, it does appear as the name of a slave within the imperial household (*CIL* 6.8607). D. B. PECOTA

STACK [Heb. *gāḏîš*–'sheaves'] ("stacked grain," Ex. 22:6 [MT 5]); AV STACKS OF CORN; NEB SHEAVES. Grain sheaves placed in a pile.

STACTE stak'ti [Heb. *nāṭāp*–'drops' < *nṭp*–'drip'; Gk. *staktḗ*] (Ex. 30:34; Sir. 24:15); AV Apoc. SWEET STORAX; NEB GUM RESIN; NEB mg. MASTIC. A gum that exudes from either *Styrax officinalis* L., the storax tree, or the species *Commiphora opobalsamum*. The gum was obtained by incising the stems and branches. In Ex. 30:34 it is an ingredient of the holy anointing incense.

See *MPB*, p. 224.

STADIA stā'dē-ə [Gk. *stádia, stádioi*, plurals of *stádion*, a "stade" or "stadium"] (Rev. 14:20; 21:16); AV FURLONGS; NEB FURLONGS, etc. A stade was a Greek measure of distance, about 185 m. (202 yds.) or one-eighth of a Roman mile. A *stádion* could also be a racetrack ("race," 1 Cor. 9:24), the footrace course at Olympia being just one "stade" in length. Greek *stádion* gave rise to Latin *stadium* and thus English "stadium."

Revelation 14:20 and 21:16 refer respectively to 1600 and 12,000 stades. The latter is evidently a symbol of the perfection of the heavenly city. It is not clear why the former figure was chosen. It might be seen as four hundred times four, or as forty squared. The suggestion that it represents the length of Palestine has no force, and A. M. Farrer (*Revelation* [1964], p. 168) is oversubtle in his numerical symbolism.

See also FURLONG; MILE; GAMES I. B.; II. B.

C. J. HEMER

STAFF [Heb. *maṭṭeh*] (Gen. 38:18, 25; Lev. 26:26; 1 S. 14:27, 43; Ps. 105:16; Isa. 9:4 [MT 3]; etc.); AV also ROD; NEB also STICK, DAILY, ROD, etc.; [poel part. of *ḥāqaq*] ("ruler's staff" Gen. 49:10); AV LAWGIVER; [*maqqēl*] (Gen. 32:10; Ex. 12:11; Nu. 22:27; 1 S. 17:40; Jer. 48:17; Hos. 4:12; Zec. 11:7, 10, 14); AV also ROD; NEB also STICK, BATON, FETISH; [*maśʿênâ*–'support'] (Isa. 3:1); NEB STAY; [*miśʿeneṭ*] (Ex. 21:19; Jgs. 6:21; Ps. 23:4; Isa. 36:6; etc.); NEB STICK, CANE, CROOK, etc. [*šēḇeṭ*] (Lev. 27:32; Jgs. 5:14; Mic. 7:14; etc.); AV ROD, PEN; NEB also ROD, CROOK, CLUB; [Gk. *rhábdos*] (Mt. 10:10; Mk. 6:8; Lk. 9:3; He. 11:21; Rev. 11:1); AV also ROD; NEB also STICK, MEASURING-ROD. A rod used as a walking stick and a variety of other related functions.

When "staff" translates *maṭṭeh* it usually refers to the common walking stick that must have been carried by every man. When carried by a soldier it could also be a weapon; it may have been used much like a medieval quarter-staff. In Gen. 38:18 it apparently carried some economic value in order to be used as a pledge for payment; from the same context it must also have borne identifying marks of the owner, possibly in the form of carvings, inlay, or appliqué (vv. 25f.). It could be used as a punishing tool (Isa. 30:32). Figuratively, it was a symbol of oppression (9:4). It was also used to depict dependency on bread in the phrase "staff of bread" (Lev. 26:26), which refers to the round loaves of bread suspended around the staves.

In Gen. 49:10 Heb. *mᵉḥōqēq* (poel part of *ḥāqaq*) refers to Judah's position of kingship. This connotation of *mᵉḥōqēq* (RSV "scepter") also appears in Ps. 60:7 (MT 9) and 108:8 (MT 9).

The term *maqqēl* is used almost identically to *maṭṭeh*. In Nu. 22:27 it was used by Balaam to beat his donkey. Along with the sling it was a part of David's weaponry when he went to meet Goliath (1 S. 17:40). The term is also used symbolically to refer to preparedness (Ex. 12:11) or to the covenant that is useless when broken (Zec. 11:7-14).

The term *maśʿênâ* refers to food support, while the related word *miśʿeneṭ* refers to the simple walking stick. The ancient Song of the Well in Nu. 21:18 mentions that nobles dug a well "with the scepter and with their staves." For various suggestions about the meaning of this difficult text, see comms. (see also D. N. Freedman, *ZAW*, 72 [1960], 105f.). In 2 K. 4:29, 31 Elisha's staff possessed miraculous powers, even when held by his servant. Thus the identity and essence of the owner may be seen as inherent within his staff (cf. Gen. 38:18, 25). In Zec. 8:4 the old use it for support, even while sitting.

The term *šēḇeṭ* is often used to indicate the common

walking stick that can also function as a weapon (Lev. 27:32; 2 S. 23:21; 2 Ch. 11:23). It was also used as a standard to identify military commanders marching in battle (Jgs. 5:14).

In the NT *rhábdos* is usually the simple walking stick used by the disciples (Mt. 10:10; Mk. 6:8; Lk. 9:3), but in Rev. 11:1 it refers to a long, bamboo-like cane used for measuring purposes (cf. Ezk. 40–42).

See also ROD; SCEPTER. L. G. HERR

STAG [Heb. *'ayyāl*–'fallow buck'] (Cant. 2:9, 17; 8:14); AV HART; NEB WILD GOAT. In Prov. 7:22 the RSV follows the LXX, Syriac, and Targum in conjecturing *'ayyāl* for *'ĕwîl* (cf. AV "fool"). The stag in question may have been the small fallow deer (*Dama dama*) or its larger relative (*Dama mesopotamica*) that formerly inhabited the hill forests of Mesopotamia and Palestine.

See also DEER; ZOOLOGY.

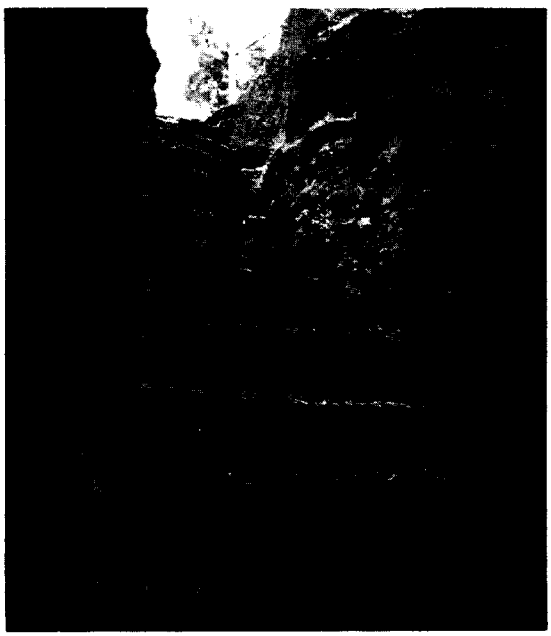
See F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Eng. tr. 1960), pp. 49, 101. G. WYPER

STAGE [Heb. *massā'*] (Ex. 17:1; Nu. 10:12; 33:1f.); AV JOURNEYS. The various intervals of the Israelites' itinerary that they traveled enroute from Egypt to Canaan — possibly the distance from oasis to oasis.

STAIR [Heb. *lûl*] (1 K. 6:8); AV WINDING STAIR; NEB SPIRAL STAIRWAY; [*ma'ălâ*–'step, stair'] (Neh. 3:15; 12:37); NEB STEP; [*ma'ăleh*–'stand, platform'] (Neh. 9:4); NEB STEP; **STAIRWAY** [Heb. *ma'ăleh*–'ascent, rise'] (Ezk. 40:31, 34, 37); AV "the going up"; NEB etc.; **STEP(S)** [Heb. *ma'ălâ*–'step, stair'] (Ex. 20:26; 1 K. 10:19f.; 2 K. 9:13; 2 Ch. 9:18f.; Ezk. 40:6, 22, 26, 31, 34, 37, 49; 43:17); AV STAIR; [Gk. *anabathmós*] (Acts 21:35, 40); AV STAIR.

In 1 K. 6:8 the AV and NEB translations for the hapax legomenon Heb. *lûlîm* find support in the LXX, Targ., and Vulg., though in postbiblical Hebrew *lûlîm* apparently referred to trap doors (cf. G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* [*NCBC*, 1984], I, 166). This stairway provided access between the stories in Solomon's temple.

Stairs cut into the rock of a first-century tomb (the traditional tomb of Lazarus) at Bethany (L. K. Smith)



The stairs mentioned in Neh. 3:15 and 12:37 refer to steps cut into rock. They led up from the Fountain Gate to the city of David, which was located on the southeast hill in Jerusalem near the Kidron Valley. *See* JERUSALEM III.F.2.i.

In Neh. 9:4 Heb. *ma'ăleh* refers to a platform upon which the Levites stood during the assembly. For AV "stairs" in Cant. 2:14 *see* CLEFT.

In Ezk. 40:31, 34, 37 "stairway" refers to an indefinite architectural structure located within the temple of Ezekiel's vision. "Stairway" in Ezk. 41:7 (NEB "ramp") is conjectural since the MT here is obscure.

The RSV translation "steps" for Heb. *ma'ălôṯ* refers to steps ascending to an altar (Ex. 20:26; Ezk. 43:17) and to Solomon's throne (1 K. 10:19f. par. 2 Ch. 9:18f.), as well as the various steps of Ezekiel's temple (Ezk. 40 *passim*).

The RSV "steps" in 2 Ch. 9:11 (AV "terrace"; NEB "stand") for Heb. *mᵉsillâ* remains conjectural (see the comms.). For "steps" in 2 K. 20:9-11 and Isa. 38:8 *see* DIAL OF AHAZ.

The "steps" mentioned in Acts 21:35, 40 (AV "stairs"; Gk. *anabathmós*) refer to the flights of stairs leading up to the Fortress of Antonia from the outer court of the temple. G. L. KNAPP

STAKE [Heb. *yāṯēḏ*]; NEB PEG. The Hebrew word is used often in the OT of various types of pegs, pins, and stakes used to secure tents (Ex. 39:40), to drive into a wall to hang things on (Ezk. 15:3), to dig with (Dt. 23:14), etc. Jael killed Sisera with one (Jgs. 4:21). The *yāṯēḏ* could be made of wood or metal (e.g., Ex. 27:19). English versions usually render the word "peg" (Ex. 27:19; 35:18; 38:31; etc.), but in Isa. 33:20 and 54:2, where the pegs of Jerusalem's figurative tent are mentioned, the RSV renders it "stakes."

In Job 6:29 most of the English versions paraphrase Heb. *ṣiḏqî-ḇāh* (lit. "my righteousness is in it"; so AV; cf. RSV "my vindication is at stake"; NEB "my integrity is in question"). See the comms., especially E. Dhorme (Eng. tr. repr. 1984), and H. H. Rowley (*NCBC*, repr. 1980). D. A. DORSEY

STALK (noun) [Heb. *qāneh*] (Gen. 41:5, 22); [*'ēṣ*–'tree,' 'wood'] (Josh. 2:6); (verb) [Heb. *hālaḵ*–'go'; 'walk'] (Ps. 91:6); AV WALKETH; [*ṣûḏ*] (Prov. 6:26); AV HUNT; NEB IS OUT FOR. The noun is mentioned in Gen. 41:5, 22, in Pharaoh's dream, according to which seven plump and good ears of grain were growing on one stalk, presumably wheat or barley. In Josh. 2:6 Rahab hid the two Israelite spies among the stalks of flax spread out on the roof of her house. Ps. 91:6 uses the verb "stalk" (Heb. *hālaḵ*) of the movement of the pestilence that goes about during the night. In Prov. 6:26 the adulteress "stalks a man's very life." Heb. *ṣûḏ* usually refers to the action of hunting animals (e.g., Gen. 27:3; Job 10:16), and thus provides a vivid characterization of the adulteress. D. A. DORSEY

STALL [Heb. *'uryâ*] (1 K. 4:26 [MT 5:6]; 2 Ch. 32:28); NEB also STABLE; [*marbēq*] (1 S. 28:24; Am. 6:4; etc.); RSV also FATTED; AV also FAT; NEB also FAT, STALL-FED; [*repeṯ*] (Hab. 3:17). A compartment within a stable for the housing and feeding of an animal.

The *'uryâ* is associated with both Solomon and Hezekiah. Although 1 K. 4:26 attributes 40,000 horse stalls to Solomon, 2 Ch. 9:25 gives the more likely figure of 4000.

A manger and hitching pillars from what may have been a stable complex at Megiddo during Ahab's reign (D. Harris)

Hezekiah used them apparently for cattle as well as horses (2 Ch. 32:28).

The *marbēq* is usually associated with young animals apparently being fattened for a feast (Am. 6:4). If one restricted the animal to feeding in the stall instead of ranging freely on the pasture lands its food was more readily turned to fat. The joyful leaping of such calves when freed was apparently well known (Mal. 4:2 [MT 3:20]). Cowardly soldiers were likened to them, weak and fat from no exercise (Jer. 46:21). The *repeṯ* was apparently an enclosure for sheep and goats.

The excavators at Megiddo uncovered buildings they thought were STABLES. Although many scholars have suggested other functions, the identification has received renewed and vigorous defense. The "stables" were divided into stalls by pillars, each with its own manger. According to modern stall structure the ancient buildings remarkably fit the pattern. But the issue is still debated.

Based on the suggestion that the pillared structures were stables, some scholars have also suggested that the pillared areas in many Israelite houses were domestic stalls, housing the animals belonging to the family (*marbēq* and *repeṯ*).

See also STABLE.

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L. G. HERR

STAMMERER [Heb. *'illēg*] (Isa. 32:4); NEB WHO STAMMERS. The precise meaning of the Hebrew term is uncertain. It may be derived from the root *l'g* ("stammer") by metathesis (BDB, p. 541); thus it could, like the Arabic cognate *la'aga*, indicate either a foreign language or a speech impediment. In Isa. 32:4 the "tongue of the stammerers" speaking "readily and distinctly" is paralleled by the "mind of the rash" receiving the ability to understand. Thus the context suggests a reference to a speech impediment.

R. L. PRATT, JR.

STANDARD [Heb. *degel* (Nu. 1:52; 2:2f., etc.; 10:14, 18, etc.), *nēs* (Isa. 31:9; Jer. 4:6, 21; 51:12, 27)]; AV also ENSIGN (Isa. 31:9); NEB also "flee" (Isa. 31:9), SIGNAL (Jer. 4:6); [Heb. *middâ*–'measure' (2 Ch. 3:3), *maṯkōneṯ*–'measurement' ("standard measure," Ezk. 45:11); Gk. *týpos* (Rom. 6:17), *sárx*–'flesh' ("worldly standards," 1 Cor. 1:26)]; AV MEASURE, FORM, FLESH; NEB also PATTERN (Rom. 6:17); **ENSIGN** [Heb. *nēs*] (Isa. 11:10, 12; 62:10; Ezk. 27:7); AV also STANDARD, SAIL (Ezk. 27:7); NEB SIGNAL, SAIL; ['*ôṯ*–'sign'] (Nu. 2:2); NEB EMBLEM; FLAGSTAFF; [*tōren*] (Isa. 30:17); AV BEACON; NEB POLE.

The term "standard" is used by the RSV in two different senses: (1) a symbol mounted on a pole and used as an emblem for group identification, as a marker for a rallying point (i.e., an ensign), or as an object of worship; (2) a criterion established by custom or authority.

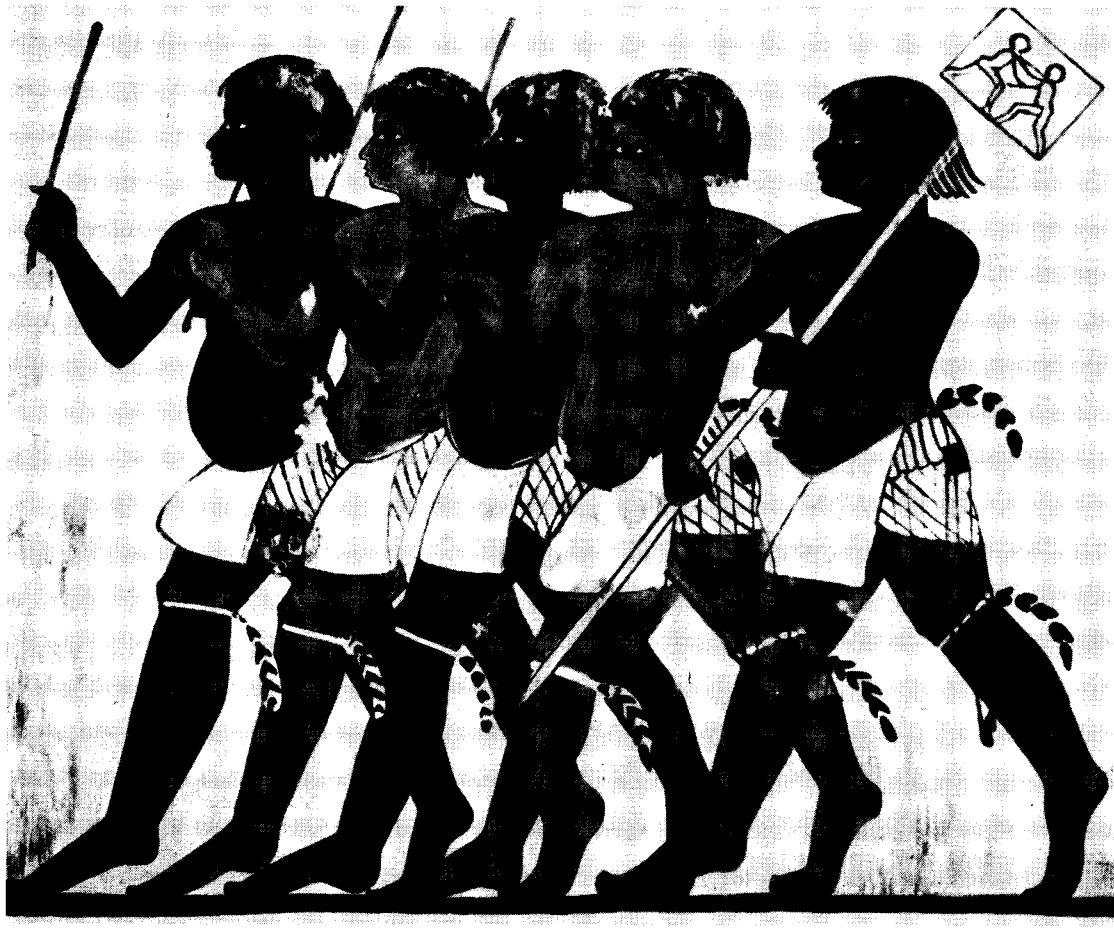
(1) Standards or ensigns composed of cloth, metal, or wooden symbols mounted on poles (cf. "flagstaff," Isa. 30:17) were used throughout the ancient Near East and northern Mediterranean by military, cultic, and political institutions (*see* BANNER; POLE). This is generally understood to be the meaning of Heb. *degel* and *nēs*, although R. de Vaux has argued that *degel* signifies a division of the army and *nēs* denotes simply a pole or mast raised as a signal for an army (*Ancient Israel* [Eng. tr. 1961], I, 226f.).

The OT contains little information about the use of such standards, and the NT makes no reference to them. Nu. 1:52–2:34 and 10:14-25 describe Israel's use of standards for organization and identification of the tribes. Heb. *'ôṯ*, a general term for "sign," occurs with *degel* in 2:2; here *'ôṯ* may represent the ensign of an individual tribe or subdivision of a tribe (cf. the use of *'ôṯ* for the military standards of the sons of light in 1QM 3:13–4:17; see below), while *degel* signifies the standard of one of the major divisions consisting of three tribes. Ezk. 27:7 refers to a nautical ensign, which seems to symbolize the wealth of Tyre. Isa. 11:10 refers figuratively to the Messiah as an ensign that the nations will seek (cf. v. 12; 62:10). The references to standards in Jer. 4:6, 21; 51:12, 27 illustrate their military uses. In Isa. 10:18 the AV uses "standard-bearer" to render the difficult term *nōsēs* (part. of *nāsas*), but this translation is doubtful (cf. RSV "sick man").

Archeologists have discovered three metal standards from ancient Israel. Two of them have been dated to the Late Bronze Age (from Hazor and Beth-shean) and one to Iron Age II (from Tell esh-Shari'ah).

The War Scroll from Qumrân describes an elaborate system of standards for the army of the sons of light (1QM 3:13–4:17). The standards were to be of decreasing sizes, from fourteen to seven cubits in length, for the following eight divisions: the whole congregation, camp (three tribes each), tribe, ten thousand, thousand, hundred, fifty, and ten. Each banner was to bear a slogan (e.g., "Vengeance of God"), the leader's name, and the names of subordinate leaders. The inscription was to be changed at the three phases of war: going to war, going to battle, and return (see Yadin).

Josephus recounted three events involving Roman standards and the Jews in the 1st cent. A.D.: the Jews successfully protested Pilate's bringing a Roman legion with an iconic standard into Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii.3.1 [55]); they also persuaded Lucius Vitellius (the Roman legate in Syria) to detour his legions with iconic standards around Judea (*Ant.* xviii.5.3 [121]); but Titus's victorious troops sacrificed before their standards in the Jerusalem temple (*BJ* vi.6.1 [316]). Each Roman legion had an eagle standard (Lat. *aquila*), and each cohort had its own individualized standard (*vexillum*). The latter bore the name of the



A band of Nubian soldiers carrying staves and accompanied by a standard-bearer (wall painting from the tomb of Tjanumy at Thebes, 1420-1411 B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

commander or emperor and images of the emperor, deities, and/or zodiac symbols. Because of the Roman military's "cult of the standard," from republican times Jews were exempted from military service.

(2) In 2 Ch. 3:3 and Ezk. 45:11 "standard" refers to an accepted criterion of measurement for length (the cubit) or capacity (the homer); *see* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. In the NT Paul refers to two different criteria for judgment of character, behavior, or worth. In Rom. 6:17 he refers to the gospel teaching as a "standard" (Gk. *týpos*; lit. "pattern") to which the lives of the Roman Christians have become conformed; in 1 Cor. 1:26 he mentions that according to the criteria of society (*katá sárka*) few of the Corinthian Christians were well-educated or powerful.

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STANDING. *See* POSTURES; ATTITUDES I.

STAR [Heb. *kôḵāḇ*; Gk. *astḗr* (Mt. 2:7, 9f.; etc.), *ástron* (Lk. 21:25; Acts 7:43; 27:20; He. 11:12).

The appearance of the stars marks the end of the day (e.g., Neh. 4:21 [MT 15], "we labored at the work . . . from the break of dawn till the stars came out"). The OT shows awareness of the stars' immense number, for they are employed as a symbol for the numerous descendants that God promised Abraham through the covenant (Gen. 22:17). Moses, near the end of the wilderness wanderings, claimed that this promise had been fulfilled, saying in his address to the Israelites, "You are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude" (Dt. 1:10; cf. He. 11:12).

In the ancient Near East both individual stars and constellations were considered gods, but Israel, of course, was forbidden to worship them (Dt. 4:19). Thus throughout the OT occur strong polemics against all forms of ASTROLOGY and star worship. The stars were created by God; their task is simply to rule the night (Gen. 1:16-18). They are totally subordinate to God and under His control. This status is further emphasized in Ps. 147:4, which says God determined their number and gave them their names, meaning that their destiny is completely under His will. When He desires He can keep them from shining (Job 9:7).

In battle God can command the stars to fight against Israel's foes; e.g., "From heaven fought the stars, from their courses they fought against Sisera" (Jgs. 5:20). Although this language is poetic, it does mean that God uses all the forces of the universe to accomplish His purpose.

A pierced marb e scaraboid seal found at Shechem (imported from Mesopotamia) c epicts two figures standing on either side of an altar above which is a star (symbolizing a god); seven circles (left) represent the Pleiades (Assyrian, 724-721 B.C.) (Joint Expedition to Shechem; photc L. C. Ellenberger)

As creatures they respond to God and His work. At creation the mo ning stars sang together (Job 38:7), and throughout the universe all the stars are to praise God (Ps. 148:3). At the birth of His Son God sent a star to communicate to men from the East His deeds and where they were being accomplished (Mt. 2:2, 7, 9f.).

When God acts, He often causes spectacular things to happen through nature, as shown at the Red Sea and Mt. Sinai. A series of drastic events will take place in the heavens when the great Day of the Lord comes. The sun and moon will fail to shine; "the stars of the heavens and their constellations will not give their light" (Isa. 13:10; cf. Joel 2:10; 3:15 [MT 4:15]). Jesus also predicted, "The stars will fall from heaven" (Mt. 24:29). In the drama described in Revelation groups of stars are struck down (8:12; 12:4). All of this language shows that the battle of the last days is totally God's and not merely that of some mighty earthly army.

Interestingly, stars can stand for exalted creatures (no doubt because of their brilliance and glory), either foes of God or His servants. While the stars are lofty, God dwells above them (Job 22:12, NEB). According to Isa. 14:12 the king of Babylon imagined himself to be the "Day Star, son of Dawn" (*see* DAY STAR). He was not satisfied with his dominant position but sought to ascend above the stars and establish his throne on high. This language, of course, means that he desired to take the place of God. He challenged the power of God and was cast down in defeat (14:12-15). In Jude 13 the opponents of God are similarly called "wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever." Conversely, one prophecy of the OT compares the coming Messiah to a star: "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth" (Nu. 24:17). In Revelation Jesus Himself declares, "I am the root and the offspring of David, the bright morning star" (22:16). 2 Pet. 1:19 figuratively refers to Christ as the morning star (*see* MORNING, MORNING STAR). In Revelation the seven stars stand for the angels of the seven churches (1:20). Stars also symbolize the glory of the resurrected life. Those who turn many to righteousness will rise in the resurrection, and then they will shine "like the stars for ever and ever" (Dnl. 12:3). Paul compared the glory of the resurrected body to the glory of the stars (1 Cor. 15:40-49).

On Am. 5:8, *see* PLEIADES; on "star-god" in Am. 5:26, *see* KAIWAN.

See also ASTRONOMY. J. E. HARTLEY

STAR OF BETHLEHEM (THE WISE MEN). *See* ASTROLOGY V.B.

STAR OF WORMWOOD. *See* WORMWOOD.

STARGAZERS. *See* ASTROLOGY IV.

STARS, COURSES OF. *See* ASTRONOMY II.C.

STARS, FALLING. *See* ASTRONOMY II.C.

STARS, SEVEN. *See* ASTRONOMY II.C.; ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

STATELY [Heb. hiphil part. of *yāṭaḇ*–'be well, good, glad, pleasing'] (Prov. 30:29); AV WELL, COMELY; [*qômâ*/*qômâ*–'(high) stature'] (Cant. 7:7 [MT 8]); AV STATURE; [Heb. *'addîr*–'majestic'] (Isa. 33:21); AV GALLANT; [Heb. *kᵉḇûddâ*] (Ezk. 23:41); NEB OF STATE. In Prov. 30:29 "stately" translates a form of Heb. *yāṭaḇ* twice. This term describes the grand or majestic manner in which a king and various animals carry themselves as they walk. Heb. *qômâ* in Cant. 7:7 (MT 8) refers to a woman's tall height (cf. Sir. 26:17). The stately ship mentioned in Isa. 33:21 is likely a broad and powerful vessel (cf. *TDOT*, I, 73f.). In Ezk. 23:41 a scribe perhaps confused the similar Hebrew consonants *r* and *k* resulting in Heb. *kᵉḇûddâ* (RSV "stately") rather than Heb. *rᵉḇûdâ*, "bespread, deck" (see LXX *estrōménēs* < *strōnnýein*, "spread"; see *BHS*). G. L. K.

STATURE [Heb. *middâ*–'of high growth, tall' (Nu. 13:32; 2 S. 21:20; 1 Ch. 11:23; 20:6; Isa. 45:14), *qômâ*–'height' (1 S. 16:7; Ezk. 13:18), *gāḏēl*–'becoming great, growing up' (1 S. 2:26); Gk. *hēlikía*–'age, time of life,' 'bodily stature' (Lk. 2:52; 19:3; Eph. 4:13)]; AV also "grew on"; NEB also SIZE, TALL, GIANT, AGE, "bearing tribute," etc. Terms rendered "stature" in the RSV indicate measures of height, life, or maturity. The concept of physical size predominates in the OT, with close association to the attribute of greatness. In the RSV NT "stature" translates Gk. *hēlikía*, which primarily indicates age (as in the LXX), but also size (Lk. 19:3) and maturity (Eph. 4:13).

See also SPAN. C. N. JEFFORD

STATUTE [Heb. *ḥōq*] (Gen. 47:26; Ex. 15:25; 18:20; Dt. 6:20; 1 Ch. 16:17; Ps. 94:20; 99:7; 105:10; 119; Isa. 24:5; Mal. 3:7; etc.); AV also LAW, ORDINANCE; NEB also PRECEPT, LAW, DECREE; [*ḥuqqâ*] (Gen. 26:5; Lev. 18:3-5; Nu. 9:3, 12, 14; 10:8; 15:15; 19:2; 31:21; etc.); AV also RITE (Nu. 9:3), ORDINANCE; NEB also INSTITUTIONS, RULE, LAW, etc. Both Hebrew terms designate something prescribed either by man or by God,

such as ritual laws (Ex. 27:21; 28:43; 29:9; Lev. 3:17; 10:9; etc.) or civil codes prescribed by God (Ex. 18:16; Lev. 10:11; Dt. 4:6; 6:24; 16:12; etc.). The term is often used in combination with terms such as "law" (*tôrâ*) or "commandments" (*miṣwōṯ*); cf. Ps. 119, where "statute" appears twenty-two times as a general synonym for LAW. Israel was to keep the statutes of the Lord but not those of Canaan (Lev. 18:3-5).

STAVES. *See* STAFF (Nu. 21:18). For AV uses *see* POLE.

STEADFAST [Heb. *kûn*–'be firm, straight' (niphal, Ps. 57:7 [MT 8]; 78:37; 108:1 [MT 2]; 119:5; hiphil, Ps. 78:8), *ḥāzaq*–'be firmly resolved' (Josh. 23:6), niphal part. of *'āman* (Isa. 55:3); Gk. *hedraíos* (1 Cor. 15:58; Col. 1:23), *bébaios*–'firm, permanent' (He. 6:19), *kardía*–'heart' (Acts 11:23), part. of *hypoménō*–'remain' ("those . . . who were steadfast," Jas. 5:11)]; AV also FIXED, "set aright," "were directed," "as" (Prov. 11:19), SURE, HEART, SETTLED, "those who endure"; NEB also "fixed steadfastly," LOYAL, "hold a steady course," FAITHFULLY, HEART, FIRM, SURE, "those who stood firm"; **STEADFASTLY** [Heb. *dāḇaq*–'keep close to' ("followed steadfastly," 2 S. 20:2); Gk. *proskarteréō*–'adhere to, persist in' ("continue steadfastly," Col. 4:2)]; AV "clave," CONTINUE; NEB "stood by and followed," PERSEVERE; **STEADFASTNESS** [Gk. *hypomonē*–'patience, endurance, perseverance' (Rom. 15:4f.; 1 Thess. 1:3; 2 Thess. 1:4; 3:5; 1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 3:10; Tit. 2:2; Jas. 1:3f.; 5:11; 2 Pet. 1:6)]; AV PATIENCE, "patient waiting"; NEB also FORTITUDE, "stood firm." For *kûn* in Prov. 11:19 see the comms. and *BHS*. The quality of being immovable or firmly fixed in place.

Throughout the OT Heb. *kûn* is used most often to convey the idea of something being established (e.g., a kingdom, 1 K. 2:12, 46) or standing firm (e.g., the world, 1 Ch. 16:30). This quality of steadfastness or firmness often has a moral character to it; a heart that is steadfast toward God is a faithful heart that trusts Him under all circumstances.

In Isa. 55:3 "steadfast" translates the niphal part. of *'āman*. In many instances, both the RSV and AV use "faithful" to translate this participle (e.g., Ps. 101:6; Prov. 25:13; Isa. 1:21; 49:7; etc.). The word "sure" (so RSV, AV; NEB "never fails"), meaning something that is enduring and certain, is also used (cf. Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]) to translate this form. The idea in Isa. 55:3 is that the "sure love for David" was not merely God's past blessing upon the great king, but also a promise for God's people in the future.

In Prov. 11:19 RSV "He who is steadfast" translates Heb. *kēn*, which usually has a comparative meaning, "thus, so, as" (hence AV "as"). As KD points out, however, when *kēn* is used comparatively it usually stands in the second clause, not the first. The RSV reflects a more direct connection between *kēn* and *kûn*, "stand firm," "be secure" (see KoB, p. 442; BDB, p. 467). The difficulties of this verse are reflected in the ancient versions (see *BHS*), as well as in modern commentaries, many of which offer radically different solutions (cf., e.g., C. Toy [*ICC*, 1899], pp. 231f.; R. B. Y. Scott [*AB*, 1965], p. 86).

In 2 S. 20:2 the RSV translates Heb. *dāḇaq* as "followed . . . steadfastly" (AV "clave"; NEB "stood by"). This verb also occurs in Gen. 2:24 where a man "cleaves" to his wife. Unswerving allegiance is the idea thus connoted.

In the RSV NT "steadfastness" uniformly translates Gk. *hypomonē*, which the RSV also renders as "patience," "endurance," "perseverance," and "patient endurance." It conveys a quality of personal character that is undergirded by the hope of Christ's return. This runs counter to that brand of Greek moral philosophy that saw *hypomonē* as a "courageous endurance which manfully defies evil" and which regarded the linking of *hypomonē* with hope as "an inadmissable weakening" (*TDNT*, IV, 581f., 584). On the other hand, "steadfastness" in the NT corresponds to the LXX usage of *hypomonē*, which sees endurance as predicated upon God's promises to establish justice and reward righteousness (e.g., Ps. 141:8; cf. Sir. 36:15).

In Col. 4:2 Paul's injunction to "continue steadfastly" in prayer translates the only imperatival form of *proskarteréō* in the NT. The word refers to strong devotion to either a person or a task; thus in Acts 10:7 it describes two soldiers who "waited on" Cornelius (i.e., who were his attendants), while in Acts 6:4 the apostles "devote" themselves "to prayer and to the ministry of the word," to the exclusion of all else (cf. 2:42).

The RSV twice uses "steadfast" to translate Gk. *hedraíos*. The word occurs only three times in the NT, and derives from the Gk. *hédra*, "seat." Thus the NT term means "seated," or "settled." Paul uses the term in connection with personal faith; in 1 Cor. 15:58 he commands his readers to be steadfast in faith on the basis of Christ's resurrection and second coming, and in Col. 1:23 he commands steadfast faith in order that his readers might be found blameless when Christ returns. Thus Paul sees steadfast faith both as a result of our hope in Christ and as a condition for that hope.

In He. 6:19 the writer speaks of God's promises as a "sure and steadfast [*bébaios*] anchor." *Bébaios* occurs four times in Hebrews (2:2; 3:14; 6:19; 9:17), but only four times elsewhere in the NT, and is rendered elsewhere as "guaranteed," "unshaken," "valid," "fast," "takes effect," "confirm" (2 Pet. 1:10; AV "make sure"), "sure." This word, unlike *hedraíos*, does not describe the believer's faith, but characterizes the promises of God as absolutely certain (but cf. 2 Cor. 1:7).

In Acts 11:23 the RSV has "steadfast purpose" for *prothései tēs kardías* (lit. "purpose of heart"). In biblical thought the heart is the seat of the will as well as the mind and emotions; thus Barnabas urged a faith that involved a person's total dedication.

See also ENDURE; PATIENCE.

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, I, *s.v.* βέβαιος κτλ (Schlier); II, *s.v.* ἑδραῖος, ἑδραίωμα (Stauffer); III, *s.v.* καρτερέω κτλ.: προσκαρτερέω (Grundmann); IV, *s.v.* μένω κτλ.: ὑπομένω, ὑπομονή (Hauck); *THAT*, I, 812-16; *TWOT*, I, 433f. T. M. DORMAN

STEADFAST LOVE. In the RSV "steadfast love," (AV "mercy" "lovingkindness," etc.; NEB "love unfailing," etc.) is always a translation of Heb. *ḥeseḏ*, one of the most important theological terms in the OT. *Ḥeseḏ* occurs over two hundred times, and most frequently refers to the certainty of God's concern for people. It has been recognized as usefully translatable by the word "loyalty" in that it connotes God's (or human beings') consistent ("steadfast") reliable allegiance and willingness to do good ("love") on behalf of another. But scholars disagree about the nature of that "loyalty." Since the study of Glueck, one school of thought has held that *ḥeseḏ* indicates an actual divine or human obligation to be loyal within the covenant relationship between God and His people or between human allies. According to this view the nation's God must show loyalty because of His covenant promises to do so. Sakenfeld has argued for a more voluntarily given loyalty as the referent for *ḥeseḏ*, and she illustrates this with Ruth's *ḥeseḏ* (Ruth 3:10) and God's *ḥeseḏ* (e.g.,

Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:12) in contexts that do not indicate covenant obligation.

The term is distributed widely in the OT, e.g., in the historical books and especially the Psalms (e.g., Pss. 89, 103, 106, 107, 118, and esp. 136), and suggests the loving, merciful dependability of God. The famous Israelite confessional of Ex. 34:6f. and its parallels (Nu. 14:18f.; Neh. 9:17; Ps. 86:15; etc.) include the term among other similar terms that describe God's gracious, steadfast character. It is also used in parallel with such terms as *ʾĕmeṯ* ("truth, reliability") and *bᵉrîṯ* ("covenant"), which emphasizes God's absolute reliability, and also in parallel with *raḥûm* ("compassionate") and *ṭôḇ* ("goodness"), which emphasizes the generosity God shows by remaining loyal to His human creatures even when they are not deserving of such faithful attention.

A special nuance of *ḥesed* is that of firm determination. God's loyalty is shown to His people not merely out of a sense of appreciation for their worship, or out of self-interest, but because God has determined to be loyal to them. Thus *ḥesed* stresses the certainty of God's unfailing willingness to help and comfort. When human beings show *ḥesed* to one another (e.g., Gen. 19:19; Josh. 2:12; 2 S. 2:5; etc.) they reflect this attribute of God by showing themselves to be continually loyal persons.

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STEAL; THEFT; THIEF (Heb. *gānaḇ;* Gk. *kleptō* and cognates; the AV also uses "thief" in eleven Gospel passages to translate the Gk. *lēstēs* [RSV "robber"; *see* ROB, ROBBER]). These terms occur over seventy-five times in the Bible.

Whereas robbery denotes the taking away of something from someone by force, stealing or theft denotes that the victim is deprived of property or possessions secretly and without consent, and implies deception and dishonesty. One who so steals is a thief. That something can be considered stolen also implies the right to private property, so that an injustice is done when it is taken.

In the OT stealing is prohibited by the eighth commandment of the Decalogue: "You shall not steal" (Ex. 20:15); "Neither shall you steal" (Dt. 5:19). The general prohibition against stealing also occurs in Lev. 19:11f., where it is grounded in the name, and hence the nature, of God: "You shall not steal . . . and so profane the name of your God: I am the Lord." Stealing as a sin against God's name also occurs in Prov. 30:8f., where Agur asks God to give him only his "daily bread" lest he be rich and deny God, or poor and turn to stealing and so profane God's name. In his temple sermon, the prophet Jeremiah warned Jerusalem against using the temple "which is called by my name" while practicing theft, murder, adultery, etc. (Jer. 7:9-11). For God's chosen people to steal would be a violation of His covenant with them. By keeping this commandment Israel witnessed to its faith in and loyalty to Yahweh.

The prohibition of stealing occurs also in other Near Eastern societies. It is banned with severe penalties in the Code of Hammurabi, Assyrian and Hittite law, and the records of ancient Egypt. The main difference between the OT and these other regulations is that the latter are much more severe in the punishments meted out for stealing. In them it is often a capital offense.

The OT refers often to theft or stealing in general. Thieves are burglars who are guilty of breaking and entering (Ex. 22:2). They come by night (Job 24:14), and people shout after them (30:5). Hosea pointed out that while there is no faithfulness, kindness, and knowledge of God in the land, swearing, lying, killing, stealing, and adultery exist in abundance (Hos. 4:1f.; cf. 7:1). Continuing the prophetic indictment of Israel, Isaiah called Israel's leaders "rebels and companions of thieves" (Isa. 1:23), while Jeremiah compared them to shamed thieves, caught in idolatrous sin (Jer. 2:26f.). When God's day of judgment comes, an enemy army will leap upon the city, run on its walls, and climb into its houses "through the windows like a thief" (Joel 2:9). In their condemnation of Edom, Obadiah and Jeremiah agree that while thieves steal only enough for themselves, Yahweh will strip Edom bare (Jer. 49:9f.; Ob. 5f.).

Specific stolen objects fall into four categories: inanimate things, animals, people, and moral or spiritual realities. First, and most often, references pertain to stolen objects: household gods (Gen. 31:19, 30, 32), money or unspecified property (Gen. 44:4, 8; Ex. 22:7f.), booty devoted to destruction (Josh. 7:11), food (Prov. 6:30), and water (Prov. 9:17). Second, stolen animals are a subject of Israelite law (Ex. 22:1, 4, 12), and of a dispute between Jacob and Laban (Gen. 30:33; 31:39).

Third, with respect to "stolen" people, the Covenant Code prohibits kidnapping (Ex. 21:16), which warrants the death penalty, while Dt. 24:7 refers specifically to the kidnapping of a fellow Israelite. Yet Joseph said, "I was indeed stolen out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. 40:15). The men of Israel protested that the men of Judah had "stolen" King David away from them (2 Sam. 19:41). The bones of Saul and Jonathan were stolen by the men of Jabesh-gilead from the Philistines (21:12), and the infant Joash was stolen away from the evil queen Athaliah (2 K. 11:2; 2 Ch. 22:11).

Fourth, two references pertain to stolen moral or spiritual realities. Absalom cleverly "stole the hearts of the men of Israel" away from loyalty to his father, King David (2 S. 15:6). In a striking passage God accused the false and deceitful prophets of Judah of stealing the word of God from each other. They had no revelation from God, so they only repeated what others said, claiming the Lord had spoken to them too (Jer. 23:30).

The NT endorses the eighth commandment of the Decalogue. In Mt. 19:17f. Jesus tells the rich young man to keep the commandments, including, "You shall not steal" (note that in the Synoptic parallels Jesus simply says to him, "You know the commandments" [Mk. 10:19; Lk. 18:20]). Stealing evidences the stubborn, out-of-the-heart sinfulness of human beings (Mk. 7:21 par. Mt. 15:19; Rev. 9:21).

In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus mentions thieves breaking in and stealing. He warns His disciples not to "lay up treasure" for themselves here on earth where that can happen, but in heaven where it cannot (Mt. 6:19f.). A similar saying occurs in Lk. 12:33. There Jesus counsels His disciples to sell their possessions and give to the poor, to provide for themselves "purses" that do not wear out and heavenly treasure that is not susceptible to theft. In disobedience both to this teaching and to the eighth commandment, Judas did not care for the poor but was a thief and took money from the disciples' purse (Jn. 12:6).

In Matthew's Gospel Jesus' opponents asked Pilate to put a guard on Jesus' tomb "lest his disciples go and steal him away, and tell the people, 'He has risen from the dead'" (Mt. 27:64). After Jesus' resurrection the same group bribed the Roman soldiers to say that Jesus' disci-

ples actually "came by night and stole him away" while the soldiers were asleep (28:13).

John 10 makes special use of the term "thief." Jesus said (1) that the person who does not enter the sheepfold by the door ("I am the door of the sheep," vv. 7, 9) is a thief and a robber (v. 1); (2) that "all who came before me are thieves and robbers" (v. 8) whom the sheep did not heed; and (3) that the thief's purpose is to steal, kill, and destroy, in contrast to His own purpose, which is to give abundant life (v. 10). The reference here is likely to those who are Jesus' opponents throughout the Fourth Gospel, viz., the Jewish leaders who have not believed in Him (cf. 9:39-41; 10:19-21).

Paul taught that (1) when a thief becomes a Christian, he must give up stealing and earn a living with his hands (Eph. 4:28); (2) no thief or robber will inherit God's kingdom (1 Cor. 6:10); (3) it is hypocritical and dishonoring to God for people who claim to belong to Him to preach against stealing but then to practice stealing (Rom. 2:17-24, esp. v. 21); and (4) all the commandments, including "You shall not steal," are summed up and fulfilled in the word, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Rom. 13:8f.). Peter included the admonition that while Christians can expect to suffer for the name of Christ, they ought not to suffer as murderers, thieves, wrongdoers, or mischief-makers (1 Pet. 4:14f.).

A final group of references uses the image of the thief eschatologically. The coming of the Son of Man, Jesus said, will be at an unexpected hour like a thief in the night (Mt. 24:43f. par. Lk. 12:39f.). Paul uses the same picture in 1 Thess. 5:2: "the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night." It will be sudden, but it will not catch believers by surprise "like a thief" (v. 4), since they are "day people," not "night people" (vv. 4-8). The same language appears in 2 Pet. 3:10 ("the day of the Lord will come like a thief"), and Christ Himself confirms this in Rev. 3:3 ("I will come like a thief") in a warning to the church at Sardis, and in 16:15 ("Lo, I am coming like a thief"). Believers are called to be ready for His return, awake, repentant, and living in holiness.

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STEEL. The AV term for Heb. *neḥûšâ* (2 S. 22:35; Job 20:24; Ps. 18:34 [MT 35]), and *neḥōšeṯ* (Jer. 15:12). *See* BRONZE.

STEM [Heb. *geza'*–'stump, root-stock'] (Isa. 40:24); AV STOCK; NEB "they"; [*maṭṭeh*–'staff, rod'] (Ezk. 19:11f., 14); AV ROD; NEB BRANCH. In a metaphor from horticulture, the rulers of Israel and other nations figure as plants blighted and burned by God's condemnation. In Ezk. 19:10-14 the allusion is to Israel as the vine and Zedekiah as the stem at the time of Judah's fall (586 B.C.); cf. 17:5-21.

STEP. *See* STAIR.

STEPHANAS stef'ə-nas [Gk. *Stephanas*–'crown'; short form of *Stephanēphoros* (?)–'crown-bearer', or a development of *Stephanos* (?)]. A member of the church in Corinth. Paul called attention to several things about him (and his family). First, Stephanas and his household were among the earliest converts in Achaia (1 Cor. 16:15). Since Athens is technically in Achaia, some have taken this reference to mean that he was of Athenian origin and that he was among the "others" who became believers along with Dionysius the Areopagite and Damaris (Acts 17:34; cf. *NBD*, p. 1215). It more probably indicates that his was the first Christian family in the province (A. Robertson and A. Plummer, comm. on 1 Corinthians [*ICC*, repr. 1978], p. 395). Second, he and his household were among the few in Corinth that Paul baptized (1 Cor. 1:16). In their case Paul made an exception to his usual practice, perhaps because they were the foundation of the church there. Third, he said that they had voluntarily taken upon themselves ministry (*diakonía*) to the saints, a reference not to the poor in Jerusalem but to believers generally. They had literally "appointed themselves" (Gk. *étaxan heautoús*; RSV "devoted themselves"; NEB "laid themselves out"). Paul made clear, however, that he approved of their action (16:16), thinking possibly of the divisive tendencies among the Corinthians. Finally, Stephanas, along with Fortunatus and Achaicus (16:17), was perhaps an emissary of the Corinthian believers who brought Paul's reply back to them from Ephesus (cf. 7:1). Paul said that these three "refreshed [his] spirit," and he urged the Corinthians to respond appropriately to them: "be subject to such men" and "give recognition to such men."

D. B. PECOTA

STEPHEN [Gk. *Stephanos*]. The charismatic leader of the seven men elected to attend to the social welfare of the Hellenistic Jewish Christian widows (Acts 6:5), who made his mark through his pathbreaking understanding of the inherent newness of Christianity over against Judaism. Because of his convictions he became the early Church's first martyr.

I. Stephen and Early Hellenistic Jewish Christianity
II. His View of the Law and the Temple
III. His Trial and Speech
IV. His Martyrdom
V. His Significance

I. Stephen and Early Hellenistic Jewish Christianity.–It is virtually certain that Stephen was a Hellenistic Jew, despite attempts to describe him as a Gentile (Blackman), an Essene (or Essene-influenced, M. Simon), a Samaritan (Spiro), a proto-Ebionite (Schoeps), a Hebrew-speaking Jew (Munck), etc. The dispute between "the Hellenists" and "the Hebrews" referred to in Acts 6:1 was not between Gentiles and Jews, but between Greek-speaking Jews (thus *Hellēnistai* is used rather than *Hellēnes*, "Greeks") and Aramaic (Hebrew)-speaking Jews (*see* SEVEN, THE). The latter were mainly native Palestinians who took a strong, patriotic stand against the hellenization that had been forced upon them following the conquests of Alexander the Great. The former, on the other hand, were mainly Diaspora Jews, highly influenced by Hellenism, who had immigrated to Israel for religious reasons and hoped to finish their lives and be buried in the Holy Land. Thus, while both groups had very strong religious convictions, significant cultural differences separated them, and it is not surprising that there were certain tensions between them.

The Hellenistic Jews were more familiar with and accommodating to the gentile world, and more universal in their outlook. They were less narrow culturally than the native Palestinian Jews, and some at least were probably less rigid in their interpretation of the Law. With this kind of background, Stephen and his colleague Philip were able to break through cultural and religious barriers more easily than any of the twelve apostles would have been able to do (contra Munck).

Stephen had much in common with the Diaspora Jews who worshiped at the Jerusalem synagogue(s) mentioned in Acts 6:9, and he himself may have worshiped there regularly. How he had become a Christian is not known,

although he may have been one of the 120 of Acts 1:15 or among the three thousand converts on the day of Pentecost. He is described not only as "a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit" (6:5; cf. 7:55), but as "full of grace and power" and as having performed "great wonders and signs among the people" (6:8). Stephen was almost certainly a leader among the Hellenistic Jewish Christians of Jerusalem before his ordination as one of the Seven. It was probably precisely because he was a Hellenistic Jew that the stir he created could not be overlooked by the Hellenistic Jews who did not share his views. Thus some of them challenged his teaching (presumably about Jesus and the implications of what He had accomplished), but none could "withstand the wisdom and the Spirit with which he spoke" (6:10).

II. His View of the Law and the Temple.—Luke reported in Acts neither the content of Stephen's teaching nor the exact nature of his debate with the Hellenistic Jews. These must be inferred from the charges made by Stephen's accusers and from the speech that he gave in his defense (see III below). The general accusation that Stephen spoke "blasphemous words against Moses and God" (6:11) involved two specific charges: (1) that he spoke against the temple, saying that Jesus would destroy it; and (2) that he spoke against the Law, claiming that Jesus would "change the customs which Moses delivered to us" (vv. 13f.).

It is sometimes argued that these accusations cannot be taken as accurate, since the men who made them were "secretly instigated" to do so and are explicitly described as "false witnesses" (6:11, 13). Without question, there is a sense in which from Luke's perspective Stephen, like Jesus, was disloyal to neither the temple nor the Law. Because Jesus had fulfilled what both the temple and the Law pointed to, there was no truth to the charge that Stephen's views on the obsolescence of the temple and the possibility of fundamental changes in the Law amounted to blasphemy against Moses and God.

At the same time, however, Stephen had clearly begun to see the discontinuity implied by Christ's work. There must have been some substance to the charges, distorted though they were, brought by the false witnesses (cf. the charges brought against Jesus at His trial). It seems certain that Stephen came to his convictions through the stimulus of some of Jesus' sayings, known to him through oral tradition. (This seems much more likely than M. Simon's speculation that Stephen's negative view of the temple derived from Samaritan influence.) Regarding the temple and its destruction (6:13f.), therefore, Stephen probably had in mind Jesus' saying recorded in Mk. 13:2 (par. Mt. 24:2; Lk. 21:6; cf. also Jn. 2:19; Mt. 12:6). Jesus' anticipation of the imminent demise of the temple opened the door to rethinking its significance, especially in the light of His atoning death. Similarly, Stephen must have been aware of Jesus' words and deeds that taught a new freedom concerning the Law (e.g., Mk. 2:27; 7:15; cf. 10:4f.; Mt. 8:22). While it is improbable that Stephen went as far in articulating this newness as Paul was later to do, he probably had begun to explore (in a more radical way than M. Simon allows) the implications of what Jesus had said and done.

Hengel may well be correct in suggesting that some of the Hellenistic Jews were attracted by Jesus' teaching because their high idealism had been offended by the actual practices they encountered in connection with the temple and the Judaism of Palestine. Stephen may also have foreseen the appeal of these new emphases to many Diaspora Jews — and hence the potential success of the gospel among them — if not the possibility of preaching this gospel even among the Gentiles.

III. His Trial and Speech.—Stephen was apparently brought to a formal trial before the Sanhedrin ("council"), which included "the elders and the scribes" (6:12) as well as the high priest (7:1), although all seventy-one members may not have been present. Acts 6:12–7:58 gives a very abbreviated account of the proceedings, but the testimony of witnesses and the opportunity for defense indicate a legal process.

Stephen's speech (Acts 7:2-53) is a strange kind of defense, however, since it is designed not so much to defend himself as to instruct and even to indict his hearers. The considerable space given to this long speech, much of which has only an indirect relevance to the charges brought against Stephen, has often been noticed. The speech near the end does address the issue of the temple (vv. 44-50; see Kilgallen), but not that of the Law. Instead it is a general defense of Christianity against those who have not believed. The genre of the speech is similar to the later anti-Judaistic polemic of the early Church, which may to some extent have been modeled on this speech.

Stephen's speech, taking the well-known form of a review of the history of Israel, begins with the call of Abraham in Mesopotamia, thereby implying that God's presence is by no means limited to Palestine or the temple (7:2-8). In a similar way, God was with Joseph in Egypt (vv. 9-16). Here a further, increasingly prominent motif is introduced: God's people have habitually rejected the leaders He has sent to them. Thus Joseph was sold into slavery by his brothers (v. 9), but he was responsible for their survival. Moses (vv. 17-43) was also rejected by the Israelites, but "this Moses whom they refused . . . God sent as both ruler and deliverer" (v. 35). In v. 37 the Moses-Jesus typology is made even more explicit by the quotation of Dt. 18:15. The speech next turns to the wilderness tent of witness and to Solomon's temple, drawing the conclusion that "the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands" (Acts 7:48) and sealing that point in vv. 49f. with the forceful quotation of Isa. 66:1f. The speech reaches its climax in the crushing indictment of vv. 51-53. Although it does not say so explicitly, the speech clearly implies that the pattern of failure exemplified in Israel's history finds its climax in the Jewish leaders' rejection of the truth brought by Jesus (cf. v. 52). The Law is mentioned only briefly at the very end of the speech, where Stephen says that although the Jews honored the Law, they "did not keep it" (v. 53).

Stephen may well have said more than what is recorded in Acts, but it is also probable that he was cut short by the crowd's hostile reaction. Thus the speech as it stands seems to lack a suitable conclusion. Even so, it is clear that the key to Stephen's unorthodox teaching about the temple and the Law lies in the truth brought by "the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered" (7:52). The vision of the Son of man (vv. 55f.), with its high Christology, confirms this point. Although Stephen does not articulate it in these terms, the reader of Luke-Acts will know that a new era in the history of salvation has been inaugurated.

IV. His Martyrdom.—Acts 7:54 notes the rage of the crowd at what Stephen was saying, and that "they ground their teeth against him." At this point Stephen received the vision of "the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God" (v. 55), which, when he articulated it to the Sanhedrin, was what finally sealed his fate.

The members of the Sanhedrin could not tolerate this statement about one whom they themselves had recently condemned to death. In this unique reference to the Son of man title outside the Gospels (the only time in the NT

that this title is spoken by someone other than Jesus Himself), Stephen, alluding to Dnl. 7:13f., clearly understands Jesus to be on the same level as God, ruling with God as His vicegerent. It is evident that Stephen and the Hellenistic Jewish Christians held to a high Christology.

It is no coincidence that it was also a reference to the Son of man that finally led to Jesus' death (cf. Lk. 22:69). In presenting the story of Stephen's martyrdom, Luke went out of his way to portray Stephen as an archetypal witness who followed exactly in Jesus' steps. Just as there are similarities in the charges brought against Jesus and Stephen (see II above) and in the references to the Son of Man, so too there are striking similarities in the two martyrdoms. Like Jesus, Stephen prayed for the forgiveness of his persecutors (Acts 7:60; cf. Lk. 23:34) and committed his spirit to divine safekeeping (Acts 7:59; cf. Lk. 23:46). The striking difference, however, is that whereas Jesus began His prayers with "Father," Stephen began his with "Lord Jesus" (Acts 7:59f.). This further indicates the exalted — indeed, divine — status of Jesus in Stephen's Christology.

The narrative of Acts (esp. 7:57) gives the impression that Stephen's death resulted from spontaneous and uncontrollable hostility rather than from due legal process. This would accord with the fact that the Romans did not allow the Sanhedrin to exact the death penalty. On the other hand, there was at least a semblance of legal process in the testimony of witnesses before the Sanhedrin and in the manner of the execution: Stephen was stoned (the penalty for blasphemy) outside the city by (at least to begin with) the witnesses against him (7:58; cf. Lev. 24:14; Dt. 17:5-7).

V. His Significance.–Stephen is a pivotal figure in the book of Acts and in the history of the early Church. Stephen and the other Hellenistic Christians provide the first indication of the variety that existed in the early Church (contra Munck). But most important, Stephen's new understanding of the temple and the Law in the light of the new situation inaugurated by Jesus' recently accomplished work made it impossible for Christianity to remain a sect within Judaism. The new freedom that Stephen articulated with respect to the temple and the Law not only facilitated the spread of the gospel among Hellenistic Jews both within and outside of Palestine, but also implied a universalism that ultimately made the mission to the Gentiles a reality.

It would be going too far to conclude that Stephen's views concerning the temple were as developed as those of the author of Hebrews (on the possible connection, see W. Manson, *Epistle to the Hebrews* [1951], pp. 25-36), or that his view of the Law was the same as that later held by Paul, or that he ever contemplated the gentile mission that Paul was to fulfil. But that he was a pioneer who helped to make possible these developments, is beyond question. It is no coincidence that the mission to Samaritans and Gentiles quickly follows Stephen's death in the narrative of Acts (cf. 8:4). Stephen may indeed be viewed as a forerunner of Paul, as Acts seems to hint by the note about Saul's presence at Stephen's execution (8:1). Stephen's courage in contending for the truth in the face of the hostility of his Jewish brethren and at the cost of his life was later to be mirrored in Paul's own experience.

Bibliography.–E. C. Blackman, *Expos.T.*, 48 (1937), 524f.; F. F. Bruce, *NT History* (1969), pp. 206-221; *Peter, Stephen, James, and John* (1979), pp. 49-85; M. Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul* (Eng. tr. 1983), pp. 1-29; J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech* (1976); J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (Eng. tr. 1959), pp. 218-228; M. H. Scharlemann, *Stephen: A Singular Saint* (1968); H.-J. Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity* (Eng. tr. 1969); M. Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church* (1958); A. Spiro, "Stephen's Samaritan Background," in J. Munck, *Acts of the Apostles* (*AB*, 1967), pp. 285-300. D. A. HAGNER

STEPHEN, REVELATION OF. An apocryphal apocalypse rejected in the so-called Gelasian Decree. No such work has been found, and nothing more is known about it. Some have suggested that the Gelasian Decree refers not to an apocalypse but to an account of the discovery of Stephen's bones, written by Lucian in A.D. 415. See *ANT*, pp. 564-68; H-S, II, 754.

STEPPE [Heb. *miḏbār* (1 Ch. 6:78 [MT 63]), *ʿărāḇâ*–'desert' (Job 39:6)]; AV, NEB, WILDERNESS. A wide belt of land between the agricultural and desert areas that is able to support some vegetation, principally bushes and grass, but not forests. The Hebrew terms are usually rendered "wilderness" by the RSV as well as the AV and NEB. *See* DESERT; PALESTINE.

STEWARD [Heb. *ʾăšer ʿal bayiṯ* ("the one over the house," Gen. 43:16, 19; 44:1, 4), *śar* (1 Ch. 27:31; 28:1), *sōḵēn* (Isa. 22:15), *melṣar*–'guardian' (Dnl. 1:11, 16); Gk. *epítropos* (Mt. 20:8; Lk. 8:3), *oikonómos* (Lk. 12:42; 16:1-3, 8; 1 Cor. 4:1f.; Tit. 1:7; 1 Pet. 4:10), *oikonoméō*–'manage as a house steward' ("be steward," Lk. 16:2)]; AV also RULER, TREASURER, MELZAR; NEB also OFFICER, GUARD, "be manager" (Lk. 16:2); **STEWARDSHIP** [Gk. *oikonomía* (Lk. 16:2-4; Eph. 3:2)]; AV also DISPENSATION; NEB GIFT, etc.

The role of a "steward" in the OT varies according to vocabulary and context. As the Hebrew phrase *ʾăšer ʿal bayiṯ* (lit. "[the one] who [was] over [the] house") indicates in Gen. 43 and 44, the steward was a servant in charge of his master's (i.e., Joseph's) household. The idea conveyed by "steward" is much more common than the word itself. For example, Eliezer of Damascus was Abraham's slave and trusted steward; as such, he had oversight over all his master's affairs, including the important task of finding a wife for Abraham's son, Isaac. And Joseph, who eventually was to have a steward of his own, first served as steward over Potiphar's household.

In Isa. 22:15 "steward" (RSV, NEB) is almost certainly preferable to "treasurer" (AV) since Heb. *sōḵēn* here is paralleled by the phrase "the one over the house," which clearly indicates a steward in Gen. 43 and 44. "Steward" in 1 Ch. 27:31 and 28:1 is not so certain, however, since the RSV departs from "steward" numerous times in this section by rendering Heb. *śar* as "leader" (27:22), "official" (28:1, 21), "officer" (28:1), and "commander" (27:1, 3, 5, 34; 28:1). The context clearly indicates that military commanders, and not household managers, are in view here.

In Dnl. 1:11, 16 the "steward" who watched over Daniel and his three friends was a guard (so NEB) or overseer in the service of King Nebuchadnezzar. Evidently he supervised the training and feeding of these young men until they were fit for the king's service. The AV transliterates the Hebrew as a proper name, MELZAR; this is almost certainly an error.

The most common NT expression for "steward" is *oikonómos*, a term whose very etymology speaks of a household manager (*oikós*, "household"), and whose usage in the LXX confirms this meaning (e.g., Isa. 36:3, 22; Est. 1:8). Such an estate manager could be either slave or free. In Lk. 12:42 the "faithful and wise steward" is parallel to the "faithful and wise servant" of Mt. 24:45, while in Lk. 16 the steward is probably a free man (cf. *TDNT*, V, 150).

Elsewhere the NT uses *oikonómos* in a metaphorical sense, depicting believers as "stewards of the mysteries of God" (1 Cor. 4:1), "God's steward" (Tit. 1:7), and "stewards of God's varied grace" (1 Pet. 4:10). As a steward of God, the Christian is entrusted with the responsibility of taking care of the gospel message and giving out that message to others faithfully and as directed by the Lord Jesus.

The word "stewardship" in Lk. 16:2-4 means simply "the office and duties of a steward." In Eph. 3:2 the sense is less precise and more metaphorical. Here Paul speaks of the "stewardship of God's grace" having been given to him for the benefit of the Ephesians. Greek *oikonomia* is also used in Eph. 1:10 and 3:9, both of which the RSV renders as "plan" (AV "dispensation"; "fellowship"). It is possible, then, that in 3:2 Paul is speaking not so much of his role as one entrusted with God's plan of salvation, as he is of the plan itself. The context, however, favors the RSV "stewardship," which sees this verse as speaking of Paul's unique role in God's plan of salvation.

Greek *epítropos* is twice rendered "steward." In Mt. 20:8 the steward of the vineyard is in charge of the men who labor therein, while in Lk. 8:3 the expression "Herod's steward" is problematical. Since Luke elsewhere uses *oikonómos* to speak of an estate manager, it is likely that in 8:3 he speaks of Chuza as having some other responsibility to Herod — perhaps as one in charge of Herod's servants, or even as Herod's bodyguard.

See also STEWARD OF THE FEAST.

See *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* οἶκος κτλ.: οἰκονόμος, οἰκονομία (O. Michel). T. M. DORMAN

STEWARD OF THE FEAST [Gk. *architríklinos*–'table-master, master of the feast'] (Jn. 2:8f.); AV GOVERNOR OF THE FEAST. This word occurs in connection with the wedding at Cana and Jesus' "sign" of turning water to wine. The "steward of the feast" tested the wine that Jesus had made and pronounced it "the good wine," which was usually served first at such occasions. The steward, sometimes a servant but here probably an appointee from among the invited guests, was responsible for the arrangements and conduct of the banquet, and functioned as a "master of ceremonies." Sir. 32:1f. also offers advice to such a "master of the feast" (Gk. *hēgoúmenos*). T. F. JOHNSON

STICK (noun) [Heb. *ʿēṣ*–'wood' (Nu. 15:32f.; 1 K. 17:10, 12; 2 K. 6:6; Ezk. 37:16f., 19f.), *yāṯēḏ*–'peg' (Dt. 23:13 [MT 14]), *maṭṭeh* (Isa. 28:27), *maqlôṯ* (1 S. 17:43); Gk. *phrýganon* (Acts 28:3)]; AV also STAFF; NEB also TROWEL, "leaf (of a wooden tablet)," "piece of wood"; (verb) [Heb. *dāḇaq*–'cling, cleave to' (Prov. 18:24; hiphil, Ezk. 29:4), *šûp* (Job 33:21), *mᵉʿûḵâ* (1 S. 26:7); Gk. *ereídō* (Acts 27:41)]; NEB also CLING, THRUST.

In Nu. 15:32-36 a man is found gathering sticks on the sabbath, and he is punished by being stoned to death. Many commentators regard this story as a midrash similar to the one in Lev. 24:10-23 (see comms. on Numbers by P. Budd [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1984], G. B. Gray [*ICC*, 1903], N. Snaith [*NCBC*, repr. 1977]). The point of the story is to underscore the importance of keeping the sabbath (cf. Ex. 31:12-17: failure to keep the sabbath results in the death penalty). The context seems to require that this incident be interpreted as deliberate defiance of the sabbath laws, an instance of "sinning with a high hand" (Nu. 15:30; so Budd, Gray, Snaith). According to J. Weingreen (*VT*, 16 [1966], 361-64) this story is akin to the rabbinic principle of putting a fence around the Torah: gathering the wood was a prelude to building a fire, which was specifically prohibited (Ex. 35:1-3; see also Mish. *Shabbath* xii.2). A. Phillips (*VT*, 19 [1969], 125-28) responded that it was not a "fence" but instead reflected an extension of sabbath principles from occupation to domestic work. It is interesting to note that the people knew that this deed was wrong, but apparently the punishment for it had not yet been established, so they needed special revelation (Nu. 15:34f.; cf. 9:6-13; see T.B. *Sanhedrin* 78b).

The gathering of sticks occurs in two other passages, with less dire consequences. In 1 K. 17:10, 12 the Lord sends Elijah to a widow in Zarephath, whom he meets as she is gathering sticks to prepare a final meal for herself and her son. Their encounter results in the miracle of the jar of meal and cruse of oil that do not fail, and leads to a greater miracle when Elijah revives the woman's stricken son (vv. 17-24; cf. Lk. 4:25f.). The other incident concerns Paul, who had gathered a bundle of sticks for a fire after the shipwreck near Malta. A viper came out of the sticks and bit him, but he survived, to the amazement of the natives (Acts 28:1-6).

Among the symbolic acts the Lord tells Ezekiel to perform is taking two "sticks," one for Judah and one for Joseph, writing on them, and then joining them together to symbolize the reunification of the nation (Ezk. 37:15-28). The difficulty is determining whether Heb. *ʿēṣ* here means "sticks" or perhaps wooden tablets (cf. Tg., which reads *lûḥā'*, "tablets"). See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1986), pp. 267-275.

In Isa. 28:23-29 the prophet uses agricultural imagery to illustrate his point. Scholars disagree about the interpretation of this passage. Many call it a parable and see wisdom influence (see J. W. Whedbee, *Isaiah and Wisdom* [1971], pp. 51-68). According to some (e.g., R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* [*NCBC*, 1980], pp. 232-34; J. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], pp. 373-78) the parable's point is that just as the farmer (who is instructed by God, vv. 26, 29) does not thresh dill with a sledge but beats it with a stick, so also God knows the proper way to deal with Israel, i.e., He does not continually punish but also saves. For other interpretations see comms. by O. Kaiser (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1974) and J. Oswalt (*NICOT*, 1986).

In 2 K. 6:6 Elisha throws a stick into the river to recover an iron axe-head. Some commentators see this as an example of imitative magic (e.g., J. Montgomery and H. Gehman [*ICC*, 1951], p. 381), and others remove the miraculous element by saying Elisha simply used the stick to fish out the axe-head (e.g., J. Gray [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], pp. 511f.; G. H. Jones [*NCBC*, 1984], II, 422). But, as T. Hobbs (*2 Kings* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], p. 76) noted, the grammar here argues against such interpretations. *See* MIRACLE II.A.

In Dt. 23:13 the Lord commands that people include a "stick" with their weapons so that when they go outside the camp to excrete their waste they can dig a hole with the stick and cover their excrement. The RSV translation of Heb. *yāṯēḏ* here as "stick" is unique; elsewhere it refers to a pin (e.g., for a loom) or a peg (e.g., for a tent), which seems like an unusual implement for digging. But R. de Vaux (*VT*, 9 [1959], 399-407) noted the application of this law at Qumrân (as well as in Josephus *BJ* ii.8.9 [147-49]) and suggested that an implement found there is to be identified with this tool.

Job 33:21 is problematic. The *kethibh šᵉpî* is apparently a noun meaning "bareness"; the *qere šuppû* is a verb meaning either "laid bare" (if related to the noun just mentioned; see H. H. Rowley, *Job* [*NCBC*, repr. 1980], p. 214; cf. R. Gordis, *Book of Job* [1978], p. 376, who translates it "protrude") or "crushed" (on the basis of Aram. *špy*; so Tg., Vulg.; see S. R. Driver and G. B.

Gray, comm. on Job [*ICC*, repr. 1977], pp. 246f.). E. Dhorme (comm. on Job [Eng. tr., repr. 1984], pp. 499f.) translated it "are emaciated" on the basis of an Arabic cognate and the parallelism. For a radically different interpretation of the verse, see N. H. Tur-Sinai, *Book of Job* (Eng. tr. 1981), p. 471.

In Prov. 18:24b is the famous line: "there is a friend who sticks closer than a brother." Although the first line of the verse is obscure, the general emphasis seems clearly to be on the importance of faithful friends (see comms. by D. Kidner [*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1964], pp. 45, 131; W. McKane [*OTL*, 1970], pp. 518f.). C. Toy (*ICC*, 1899) noted that some have interpreted this as a reference to the Messiah (cf. R. Alden, *Proverbs* [1983], p. 142).

G. A. LEE

STIFF-NECKED; STIFFEN THE NECK. In the RSV the phrase "stiffen the neck" (AV "hardened the neck," etc.; NEB "obstinate," "still stubborn," "remained stubborn," etc.) occurs eight times and translates the hiphil of Heb. *qāšâ*, "became stubborn," and the noun *ʿōrep*, "neck" (2 Ch. 36:13; Neh. 9:16f., 29; Jer. 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; Prov. 29:1; cf. 2 Ch. 30:8). In the RSV OT the term "stiff-necked" (Ex. 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9) translates Heb. *qāšeh ʿōrep* (lit. "stiff of neck"; NEB "stubborn"), while in the NT it translates Gk. *sklērotrachēlos*.

Stiff-necked is a Hebrew idiom that first appears in the account of Israel's wilderness wanderings after the golden calf incident (Ex. 32:9). The original meaning of the idiom is likely to be found in an agrarian setting. Farm animals wore yokes on their necks (Hos. 10:11), and animals that stiffened their necks were stubbornly refusing to accept the yoke. For the Israelites, obedience to the covenant stipulations was bearing the yoke, while disobedience was breaking the yoke (Jer. 2:20; 5:5); therefore, to wear Gods' yoke was the ideal, but to break the yoke was apostasy and to stiffen the neck was a refusal to wear it. Outside the Exodus account the biblical literature continues to apply this idiom to Israel's idolatry and disobedience (e.g., Dt. 9:6; Neh. 9:29). The prophets frequently used the expression to describe Israel's refusal to listen to God's word through His prophets (2 K. 17:13f.; Jer. 7:26; 17:23; Zec. 7:11f.).

In Acts 7:51 Stephen compared the Jewish leaders of his day with "stiff-necked" Israel of old, and criticized them for their stubborn resistance of the Holy Spirit.

J. K. HOFFMEIER

STILL [(verb) Heb. *šāḇaṭ*–'cease' ("be stilled," Isa. 24:8; hiphil, Ps. 8:2 [MT 3]), *šāḇaḥ*–'soothe' (piel, Ps. 89:9 [MT 10]; hiphil, 65:7 [MT 8]), *ʿānâ*–'be bowed down' ("be stilled," Isa. 25:5), hiphil of *ḥāšâ*–'command to be silent' (Neh. 8:11), *rāgaʿ* (Job 26:12), piel of *ʾāḇaḏ*–'destroy' (Jer. 51:55)]; AV also CEASE, BE BROUGHT LOW, DIVIDE (Job 26:12), DESTROY; NEB HUSHED, BE SILENT, SILENCE, CALM, DIE AWAY, etc.; [(adjective) Heb. *dᵉmāmâ* (1 K. 19:12), *mᵉnûḥâ*–'resting place' (Ps. 23:2)]; NEB LOW, PEACE; **BE STILL** [Heb. *dāmam* –'be silent, dumb, motionless' (Ex. 15:16; Job 30:27; Ps. 37:7; Isa. 23:2; Jer. 47:6), hiphil of *šāqaṭ*–'rest, keep quiet' (Job 37:17; Ps. 76:8 [MT 9]; 83:1 [MT 2]), hiphil of *ḥāraš*–'be deaf and dumb,' 'keep silent' (Ex. 14:14), hiphil of *rāpâ*–'let drop,' 'cease' (Ps. 46:10 [MT 11]); Gk. pass. of *phimóō*–'be silenced' (Mk. 4:39)]; AV also REST, QUIET, HOLD ONE'S PEACE; NEB also KNOW PEACE, WAIT QUIETLY, etc.; **KEEP STILL** [Heb. hiphil of *ḥāraš*] (Isa. 42:14); NEB KEEP SILENCE; **LIE STILL** [Heb. *šāḵaḇ*–'lie down'] (Jgs. 5:27; Ezk. 32:21); AV also LIE DOWN; NEB LIE, BE LAID TO REST; **SIT STILL** [Heb. *yāšaḇ*–'sit' (Jgs. 5:17; Jer. 8:14), *šeḇeṭ*–'sitting quietly' ("who sits still," Isa. 30:7)]; AV also CONTINUE; NEB LINGER, SIT IDLE, QUELLED; **STAND STILL** [Heb. *ʿāmaḏ*–'stand' (Josh. 3:8; 10:13; 1 S. 14:9; 2 S. 2:23; 18:30; etc.), *dāmam* (Josh. 10:12f.), hithpael of *yāṣaḇ*–'take one's stand' (1 S. 12:7, 16), hiphil of *ʾāman*–'be firm,' 'believe' (Job 39:24); Gk. (aorist) pass. of *hístēmi*–'stop, stand still' (Lk. 7:14; 24:17)]; AV also STAND, BELIEVE (Job 39:24), omits (Lk. 24:17); NEB also TAKE ONE'S STAND, STAY, STOP, STAND, LINGER, HALT (Ezk. 1:24f.; 10:17), etc.

This article is concerned only with the RSV's use of "still" as a verb, adjective, or adverb referring to silence or inactivity. "Still" is used in this sense more than forty times in the OT but only three times in the NT. Apart from Heb. *ʿāmaḏ* ("stand still"), the most common OT verb rendered with "still" is *dāmam*, which generally denotes "a silence caused by the powerful impress of an impending or actual calamity or by the expectation of coming salvation" (*TDOT*, III, 264). This verb is therefore often associated with emotions of terror (e.g., Ex. 15:16), grief (e.g., Isa. 23:2), or hope (e.g., Ps. 37:7). The verbs *ḥāraš* and *ḥāšâ* refer more specifically to ceasing or refraining from speech. *Šāḇaṭ* means to cease from activity, while *šāqaṭ* carries the idea of tranquility. For further discussion of the terms rendered by "still," *see* DUMB; QUIET; SILENCE; WAIT.

Many texts celebrate Yahweh's power to create silence and calm where there has been noise and turmoil. Yahweh's sovereign power is manifest in His quieting of the raging seas (e.g., Job 26:12; Ps. 65:7 [MT 8]; 89:9 [MT 10]; 107:29; cf. Mk. 4:39, which reports that Jesus also had this power). Yahweh's judgment silences festive music-making (Isa. 24:8) and puts an end to the opposition of enemies (Ex. 15:16; Ps. 8:2 [MT 3]; Isa. 25:5; Jer. 51:55). The earth's tumult ceases when God acts on behalf of the oppressed (Ps. 76:8 [MT 9]). On the other hand, the Lord's sword cannot rest until His judgment is complete (Jer. 47:6f.).

Trust in Yahweh's providential rule lies behind several texts that exhort God's people to "be still." By refraining from efforts to save themselves, God's people demonstrate their faith that Yahweh alone is the source of their salvation. When the Israelites were being pursued by the Egyptians, Moses told them that they had only to "be still" (possibly meaning to stop their crying, or to refrain from sounding a battle cry) and watch Yahweh fight for them (Ex. 14:14). Similarly, when during Jehoshaphat's reign Judah was threatened by the invasion of a massive army of Moabites, Ammonites, and Syrians, the people were exhorted to "stand still, and see the victory of the Lord on your behalf" (2 Ch. 20:17). In Ps. 37:7 the psalmist urges those who are suffering injustice to stop fretting and wait patiently for Yahweh to act, trusting that He will vindicate them in His own time. Ps. 46:10 (MT 11) emphasizes that because Yahweh is the sovereign Lord of nature and of history, His people can relax and depend upon Him for their safety.

Two passages require more detailed attention. The first is Josh. 10:12f., where the RSV translates Joshua's prayer and its results as follows: "'Sun, stand thou still at Gibeon, and thou Moon in the valley of Aijalon.' And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the nation took vengeance on their enemies." The translation of *dāmam* as "stand still" has been largely responsible for the traditional interpretation that the earth ceased its rotation for a period of about twenty-four hours. *Dāmam* usually indicates silence rather than inactivity, although the idea of waiting or remaining motionless is certainly present

A wall panel from the Dura-Europos synagogue showing Joshua ordering the sun to stand still (3rd cent. A.D.) (Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection)

in some passages (e.g., Ex. 15:16; 1 S. 14:9; Ps. 37:7). Some interpreters have used the available nuance of silence to suggest that Joshua was requesting simply that the sun's heat be decreased (see Scott). This interpretation does not adequately explain why the moon was included in the request. The weakness of the traditional view is that, since the sun is described as being over Gibeon and the moon over Aijalon (east and west respectively), the request was apparently made at dawn before the battle had begun. This would make Joshua's request highly unusual: why did he not simply ask for victory?

Others have suggested that the verbs used here are probably technical terms from astronomical literature. Based on references in Babylonian astronomical texts, R. D. Wilson suggested that *dāmam* be rendered "be eclipsed" instead of "be still." Also using the Babylonian materials, J. S. Holladay concluded that Joshua was requesting that a conjunction of sun and moon not occur. When the first day of the full moon (signaled by the conjunction of sun and moon in east and west respectively at dawn) occurred on the fourteenth day, it was seen as a favorable omen, because then the month would be a favorable twenty-nine days in length. This view has in its favor that Joshua's request apparently came at dawn after a full night's forced march; moreover, the opposition of sun and moon in the east and west indicates the time of the full moon. Holladay suggested that Joshua was asking for the omen for his own army's sake, but it is also possible that he was asking for an omen that he knew would destroy the morale of his enemy. Instead of reading in v. 13 that the sun did not go down "for about a whole day," Wilson (in his eclipse interpretation) suggested reading that it did not hasten to set as on an *ordinary* day. Alternatively, it may be significant that Akk. *šalmu*, which parallels Heb. *tammîm* (RSV "whole"), is used in reporting "favorable" omens (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, III [1981], 1149). For those who accept the idea that this is a natural astronomical occurrence, the "miracle" is seen in the timing. They point out that v. 14 says "there has been no day like it before or since," with the qualification, "when the Lord hearkened to the voice of a man." The text therefore cites the unusualness of the day not in terms of the astronomical occurrence but in terms of a human being presenting a battle strategy to God. The complexities of the issue place this passage among the most problematic in Scripture.

The second passage that warrants special attention is 1 K. 19:12, where the Lord comes to Elijah in a "still small voice" (NEB "low murmuring sound"). Many interpretations have been given to this passage (see comms.). The Hebrew term translated "still," *dᵉmāmâ*, occurs in only two other passages (Job 4:16; Ps. 107:29). In Job it describes the stillness (RSV "silence") that accompanies a supernatural manifestation; therefore it bears some similarity to 1 K. 19:12. Ps. 107:29 describes the stillness of the sea after a raging storm. 1 K. 19:12 likely describes the reverberating echo (*qôl* means "voice" or "sound") in the silent aftermath of the destructive power accompanying the approaching theophany. Elijah had been instructed concerning the various phenomena that would occur, and the echoing din is the signal that the destructive effects of the divine presence have passed so that his audience with Yahweh can take place. Yahweh does not speak in a "still small voice," but the "echoing sound of silence" indicates that Elijah is now in the presence of Yahweh.

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J. WALTON
N. J. O.

STING [Heb. hiphil of *pāraš*–'strike' (Rev. 9:5), *kéntron*–'sharp point']. To inflict a wound by means of a sharp, pointed organ or instrument; the wound or organ istelf. The translation of the verb in Prov. 23:32 depends more on the context than on understanding of the word itself. It may mean "secrete," a form of a verb with the basic meaning "divide, separate" (KoB, p. 783), or it may be taken as a separate verb with the basic meaning "pierce" (BDB, p. 831). The noun *kéntron* basically refers to the organ used in inflicting the wound, as in Rev. 9:10, but in 1 Cor. 15:55f. it could also refer to the wound. In v. 55, a free quotation from Hos. 13:14, death is personified as a deadly animal, like a scorpion or serpent, which inflicts destruction by means of sin as its *kéntron*. Acts 26:14 uses the same word with reference to exciting fear, rather than causing death. Both figures are pertinent, for death is powerless except through sin, and when sin is vanquished the fear of death (cf. He. 2:15) is gone.

H. E. JACOBS

STOCK [Heb. *mahpeḵeṯ*] (2 Ch. 16:10; Jer. 20:2f.; 29:26); AV PRISON HOUSE, PRISON; [*saḏ*] (Job 13:27; 33:11); [*kannâ*–'support (of tree)'] (Ps. 80:15 [MT 16]); [*zera'*–'descendant, offspring'] (Ezk. 44:22); AV SEED; NEB etc.; [Gk. *xýlon*–'wood'] (Acts 16:24). This term refers

either to a device used for prisoners or to a plant or person.

The most common term rendered "stock" in the RSV is Heb. *mahpeḵeṭ*. This device, which kept the prisoner in a crooked position (KoB, p. 500), confined both Hanani the seer (2 Ch. 16:10) and Jeremiah the prophet (Jer. 20:2f.; cf. 29:26). The device mentioned in Job 13:27 and 33:11 may have been a post with notches into which the prisoner's feet were fastened.

In the RSV NT "stock" occurs once. In Acts 16:24 the authorities who arrested Paul and Silas placed them in stocks. This device may resemble an instrument of torture mentioned in Eusebius's writings (*HE* v.1.27; vi.39). Torturers inflicted great pain and discomfort upon prisoners as their legs were spread increasingly further apart in this device.

In Ezk. 44:22 "stock" (Heb. *zera'*) denotes a human off-spring or physical descendant (cf. Jer. 23:8). Scholars have various opinions regarding the hapax legomenon *kannâ* in Ps. 80:15 (MT 16) (see the comms.).

G. L. K.

STOICS. stō'iks [Gk. *Stoikos*]; AV STOICKS. One of the most important philosophical groups of the Hellenistic period, including the first centuries A.D.

I. Stoics in the NT.– The only direct reference to the Stoics in the Bible occurs in Acts 17:18, where Paul is reported to have addressed Epicurean and Stoic philosophers in Athens. During this speech the apostle, perhaps following his own principle of being "all things to all men" (1 Cor. 9:22), introduced a quotation from "some of your poets," including the Stoic Aratus, who in the introductory dedication to Zeus of his poem *Phaenomena* said: "For we are indeed his offspring" (cf. Acts 17:28). At the end of the address some of the philosophers mocked Paul, but others wanted to hear more (v. 32).

There is no real support for the theory that the division ran along party lines, the Epicureans being the mockers and the Stoics the ones who showed more interest. But Stoicism undoubtedly has a greater affinity to biblical teaching than Epicureanism. Parallels may be found between Stoic thought and the wisdom literature, and especially the Apocrypha. He. 4:12 recalls the hymn of the Stoic Cleanthes, and NT lists of virtues are similar to Stoic lists. Paul's contentment in Phil. 4:11f. may be compared to Stoic "ataraxy" (see III below), and the concept of the Logos offers a point of contact in a formal sense. Even stylistcally Paul perhaps shows the influence of the Stoic diatribe.

II. Stoic Thinkers.–Stoicism was founded in Athens by Zeno (332-260 B.C.) and acquired its name from the painted porch (Stoa) in the Agora where its proponents taught. Zeno himself came from Cyprus and was possibly of Semitic origin. The development and influence of his school were due to a succession of able thinkers, especially Chrysippus (d. *ca.* 205 B.C.), who gave the philosophy a more systematic form. Panaetus brought Stoicism to the Roman world, where it mingled to some extent with Platonism, e.g., in Posidonius's works, and took a more practical bent. It influenced Cicero and found able expositors in Paul's contemporary Seneca (A.D. 4-65), Epictetus (55-138), and the philosopher emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180). Knowledge of the earlier Stoics is limited to the accounts of Diogenes and fragments. In contrast, the works of the Roman Stoics provide rich documentation and show why Stoicism could enjoy such popularity in the educated circles of antiquity.

III. Stoic Teaching.–Fundamental to the Stoic view of reality was the postulate of an all-determinative cosmic force which could be popularly identified as Zeus. This force embraced all things; the things themselves were composed of material atoms, souls being made of finer atoms than bodies. Stoicism could hardly be classified as materialistic, however, for it saw dynamic reason (*lógos*) as everywhere present, and within it were the seminal *lógoi,* through which individual things came into being. Human souls were thus regarded as emanations from the cosmic *lógos*. The destiny which controlled all things, therefore, was neither blind nor hostile, but wise and good, as might be seen in the harmonious operation of the universe. Virtue consisted of finding the thrust of destiny (or nature) and adjusting life to it. Individual passions and emotional reactions represented a disruptive force which could only cause conflict and a losing battle with nature; they were thus to be suppressed.

Mastery of emotions and indifference to changing circumstances (ataraxy) constituted the summit of virtue. Those who achieved this entered into a relation to the cosmos that identified them with universal reason, lifted them above human conflicts and distinctions, and thus fashioned them into a cosmopolitan society.

IV. Stoic Influence.–For all the obvious parallels to Christian doctrine, Stoicism differs from the gospel at essential points. It has no concept of a personal God, no radical view of sin, no place for historical divine acts culminating in the incarnation, no idea of ethical renewal through the ministry of the Word and Spirit, and no hope of the resurrection and eternal fellowship with God in His kingdom. Nevertheless, Stoicism had a considerable impact on early Christian theology. 1 Clement echoes Stoicism in its presentation of the divine order (20; 33). Justin Martyr reflected Stoicism and Platonism in his description of God's role in creation (*Apol.* i.20, 44, 59). Theophilus of Antioch made use of such technical Stoic words as "immanent" (*Ad Autolycum* i.2). The parallel between the Johannine and the Stoic *lógos* appealed to Justin Martyr, possibly for apologetic reasons in the first instance, but with implications for his general understanding of Christian truth (*Apol.* i.32, 46). Tatian, too, equated the preexistent *lógos* with the rationality of the Father (*Oratio ad Graecos v;* cf. Justin Martyr *Dial.* 61.2). Origen would later find in the seminal *lógos* the principle which enables human beings to maintain identity in the resurrection from the dead (*De prin.* ii.10.3). Even Athanasius in the 4th cent. could use the Stoic idea of the *lógos* as the soul of the universe, although for him the *lógos* was, of course, personal. His animation of His human nature makes sense as a special instance of His animation of the cosmos in its totality (*Contra gentes* § 44; *De incarnatione* § 17).

Justin Martyr found another useful parallel in the Stoic idea of the world's destruction by fire (*Apol.* i.45). Tertullian, for all his distinction between Athens and Jerusalem (*De praescr. haer.* 7), not only could invoke the ideas of *lógos* and spirit in Zeno and Cleanthes (*Apol.* i.21) but also could accept the concept of the materiality of the soul (*De anima* ix) and even use materialistic language when speaking of the divine Trinity (*Adv. Prax.* ix).

Stoicism also exerted a considerable influence in the ethical sphere, as may be seen in Clement of Alexandria's equation of sinlessness with freedom from passion (*Paedagogus* i.2) and also in many of the detailed discussions of Latin fathers, especially Ambrose and Augustine. But the overall impact of Stoic philosophy should not be exaggerated. Christian theology drew its main substance from the gospel, developed to a large extent independently of Stoic teaching, and even directly opposed it at such important points as its pantheism and fatalism. For the most part, Christian thinkers simply appropriated what seemed to be useful Stoic terms and concepts — not without some risk — in their attempt to offer either

an apologetical presentation or a contemporary intellectual formulation of the biblical message.

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STOMACH [Heb. *qēḇâ*] (Dt. 18:3); AV MAW; [*mē'îm*–'intestines'] (Job 20:14; Ezk. 3:3; 7:19); AV BOWELS; NEB also "full," BELLY; [Gk. *koilía*] (Mt. 15:17; Mk. 7:19; 1 Cor. 6:13; Rev. 10:9f.); AV, NEB also, BELLY; [*stómachos*] (1 Tim. 5:23); NEB DIGESTION. In human beings and most vertebrates, a membranous, sac-like portion of the alimentary canal in which the early stages of digestion occur, enabling food to begin yielding its nourishment. In the OT the stomach is referred to literally only in Dt. 18:3, in reference to offerings for Levitical priests. The NT also mentions the stomach literally only once, where Paul is giving Timothy some advice about treating dyspepsia (1 Tim. 5:23).

All other biblical uses are figurative. Both Ezekiel in the OT and John the seer in the NT were commanded to eat a scroll or book containing prophecy (Ezk. 3:3; Rev. 9:10f.), symbolizing their complete assimilation of the prophetic message before communicating it to others. The book turned bitter in John's stomach probably because it told of the ordeal through which believers would have to pass before the final triumph (see R. Mounce, *Book of Revelation* [*NICNT*, 1977], pp. 214-16). In 1 Cor. 6:13 Paul is apparently quoting a slogan of the gnosticizing party: "Food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food" — i.e., what one eats is, religiously speaking, a matter of indifference. He seems to agree with this statement, but he goes on to disagree with this principle when it is applied to the body and sexuality (see comms.).

R. K. H. N. J. O.

STOMACHER (Isa. 3:24, AV). *See* ROBE.

STONE [primarily Heb. *'eḇen*; Gk. *líthos*]. The many biblical references to stone reflect both the importance and the accessibility of stone in Palestine and in the ancient Near East in general (see, e.g., 1 K. 10:27; 2 Ch. 1:15; *see also* PALESTINE III). Its primary use, of course, was for building: houses (Am. 5:11; *see* HOUSE II.A), temples (Solomon's temple, 1 K. 5:17f. [MT 31f.]; the rebuilt temple, Ezr. 5:8; *see* TEMPLE), walls (Neh. 4:3; Prov. 24:31; *see* FORTIFICATION), altars (Ex. 20:25; Dt. 27:6 — note that this altar is to be of unhewn stone; *see* ALTAR; 1 S. 14:33-35; 1 K. 18:31f.). (*See also* BUILD.) It was also commonly used as material for vessels (Ex. 7:19; Jn. 2:6) and idols (Lev. 26:1; Dt. 4:28; 28:36, 64; 29:17; etc.; *see* IDOL). INSCRIPTIONS were frequently carved on stones, the most famous being the stone tablets on which God inscribed the Decalogue (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; 34:1, 4; Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 9:9-11; etc.). Weights were also made of stone (Heb. *'eḇen*; "weight," Lev. 19:36; Dt. 25:15; 2 S. 14:26; Prov. 16:11; see *TDOT*, I, 50; *see also* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES II.D).

In their natural (unhewn) state, stones could also be used as markers (e.g., of the boundaries between tribes, Josh. 15:6; 18:17), often with theological significance (Gen. 31:45-54; 35:14; Josh. 24:26f.; 1 S. 6:14-18; on 1 S. 7:12 *see* EBENEZER). They were also used to cover or seal wells (Gen. 29:2f., 8, 10; *see* WELL), caves (cf. Dnl. 6:17 [MT 18]), or tombs (Mt. 27:60, 66; 28:2 and par.; Jn. 11:38f., 41; *see* BURIAL; TOMB). Small stones were used as a weapon, either in war, often hurled by a sling (Jgs. 20:16; 1 S. 17:49f.; *see* WEAPONS OF WAR), or as a punishment (Lev. 20:2, 27; 24:23; etc.; *see* PUNISH III.A). Some texts mention stones used as props (Ex. 17:12); Jacob even used a stone as a pillow (Gen. 28:11), and then as a PILLAR (vv. 18-21).

In Josh. 4:5-7 Joshua passes on the Lord's instructions (cf. Dt. 27:4f.) to select twelve stones from the Jordan, which the people are about to cross to enter Canaan; these stones are to be a "sign," a "memorial," of the Lord's deliverance to succeeding generations. As many commentators have noted, the narrative in Josh. 4 is confusing, for v. 8 states that the men chose twelve stones "out of the midst of the Jordan" and carried them over and laid them down on the other side of the river, but v. 9 says that Joshua "set up twelve stones in the midst of the Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests bearing the ark of the covenant had stood; and they are there to this day," and v. 20 states that Joshua set up the twelve stones at Gilgal. While many commentators resolve this difficulty by positing the presence of different traditions (see, e.g., J. Soggin [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1972], pp. 64f.; J. Gray [*NCBC*, rev. ed. 1986], pp. 66-68, 72), on the basis of the LXX others (e.g., M. Woudstra [*NICOT*, 1981], pp. 77-79, 91f.) harmonize these verses and conclude that two sets of twelve stones were involved (cf. KD).

A number of texts use "stone" figuratively, drawing on one or another of its primary characteristics. For example, some texts compare the hardness of a heart that rejects God to the hardness of stone (Ezk. 11:19; 36:26; cf. also Job 38:30; 41:24 [MT 32]). Others use the weight of a stone in similes (Ex. 15:5; Neh. 9:11), and Ex. 15:16 draws on the inanimate nature of stone in relating the paralyzing effects that God's power had on the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus: they became as still as stone (cf. also 1 S. 25:37 — here the image may refer to a paralyzing stroke brought on by shocking news). Still other texts use the durability of stone as the point of comparison (Job 6:12). Most significant among these texts is Isa. 8:14 (quoted in Rom. 9:33), which refers to the "stone of offense" (AV, lit., "stone of stumbling"). Here Isaiah reverses the common, comforting image of God as the ROCK of refuge or sanctuary for Israel to the disturbing image of God as the One who causes Israel to stumble (see W. Vischer, *Foi et Vie*, 64/6 [1965], 454f.; G. Knight, *Christian Theology of the OT* [1959], pp. 184-89; *see also* STUMBLING BLOCK). This image is linked with another important messianic image, that of Christ as the stone which was rejected but which God made the CORNERSTONE (Isa. 28:16; cf. Ps. 118:22, which is quoted in Mt. 21:42 par.; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7; see also Dnl. 2:34f., 44f.; Zec. 12:3). Playing on this imagery, 1 Pet. 2:4f. refer to "living stone(s)," i.e., Christ(ians).

Similar reversals of imagery occur in other texts to dramatize a point. Thus Hab. 2:11 pronounces a woe upon those who get "evil gain" — their evil is so great that the stone in the wall will cry out. Perhaps alluding to this text, Jesus, in response to the Pharisees' request that He silence the crowds, states that events are so astounding that if the people do not voice their praise, the inanimate stones will cry out (Lk. 19:40; see I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* [*NIGTC*, 1978], pp. 716f.; cf. *TDNT*, IV, 270). Similarly, John the Baptist rebukes those who think that their descent from Abraham obviates their need for repentance, for God could raise up children to Abraham from stones (Lk. 3:8).

On the twelve stones in the breastpiece of the ephod worn by the high priest, *see* EPHOD.

See also STONES, PRECIOUS.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 381-399; *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* λίθος, λίθινος (J. Jeremias); *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "'ebhen" (Kapelrud); *TWOT*, I, 7f. G. A. LEE

STONECUTTER [Heb. *ḥōṣēḇ* (*hā'eḇen*)] (2 K. 12:12 [MT 13]; 1 Ch. 22:2, 15); AV HEWER OF STONE, MASON; NEB also MASON. The stonecutters in these passages were men skilled in quarrying or cutting stone used in the building. *See also* BUILD; CRAFTS; MASON.

STONE-HEAP [Heb. *gal*] (Job 8:17); AV HEAP; NEB STONY PATCH. Although the intertwining of the plant roots among the stones would naturally provide a strengthening of the plant (see H. H. Rowley, *Book of Job* [*NCBC*, rev. ed. 1976], p. 74), it will eventually be uprooted (v. 18). Bildad applies to Job this figure of the temporary prosperity of the wicked. The RSV rendering finds support in the LXX, Targum, and Vulgate.

STONES, PRECIOUS [Heb. *'eḇen yᵉqārâ;* Gk. *líthos tímios*].

I. Introduction
II. Origin
III. History
IV. Description

I. Introduction.–Those mineral and stone products of the earth that came to be considered precious in antiquity were especially regarded for the color, hardness, and rarity of the materials (the ancient method of classification until 1768 when Quist proposed a fairly modern system). Other criteria were brilliance, dispersion, clarity, and transparency. Few gemstones ideally display all these properties individually.

People in ancient times discovered pebbles and fragments of various brightly colored minerals and rocks in streambeds, in the fields, along mountain slopes, and even in barren deserts. Such finds attracted attention and were collected as treasured objects of appeal and beauty.

Minerals are naturally occurring inorganic chemical elements and compounds having an atomic structure that yields a definite external crystal form. Characteristic physical properties are color, streak, luster, transparency, refractive index, birefringence, fluorescence, hardness fracture, cleavage, specific gravity, magnetism, radioactivity, crystal symmetry system, habit and form, taste, and thermal conductivity.

An objective modern assessment of minerals as a whole and biblical precious stones specifically views them as members of a chemical classification proposed by Dana (d. 1895) having the same anion or anionic groups (with an example):

Native elements (gold — Au, diamond — C)
Sulfides (galena — PbS)
Sulfosalts (enargite — Cu_3AsS_4)
Nitrates (niter — KNO_3)
Borates (borax — $Na_2B_4O_7 \cdot 10H_2O$)
Phosphates (apatitite — $Ca_5[F_2Cl][PO_4]_3$)
Oxides (sapphire — Al_2O_3)
Halides (fluorite — CaF_2)
Carbonates (malachite — $CuCO_3 \cdot Cu[OH]_2$)
Sulfates (barite — $BaSO_4$)
Tungstates (scheelite — $CaWO_4$)
Silicates (quartz — SiO_2)

The silicate class, however, was not adequately characterized by chemical composition alone. X-ray determination of internal atomic structures has provided crystal lattice parameters data for physical properties of these complex forms.

Excavation and museum laboratory examination of precious stones from biblical sites now determines them in this adequate modern conceptual framework.

The Bible has three primary lists of precious stones: Ex. 28:17-20 is the list of stones in the BREASTPIECE OF THE HIGH PRIEST (*see* Vol. I, Plate 10); Ezk. 28:13 lists the gems in the covering of the king of Tyre; and Rev. 21:19f. describes the jewels that adorned the foundations of the walls around the new Jerusalem. In addition, Job 28:16-19; Isa. 54:11f.; and Ezk. 27:16 mention several gems, and occasional references to precious stones are scattered throughout the Bible.

Many Greek and Hebrew names have afforded the numerous references to precious and semi-precious stones in English biblical texts. Of the nearly three thousand precious stones known today, approximately thirty different mineral substances are mentioned in the Bible. Some of these names denote mainly the color of the stones, and since some minerals may exhibit nearly every color of the spectrum, the precise modern equivalent for every mineral/gem/precious stone substance of the Bible and its contemporaneous world cannot be determined with certainty. The uncertainty arises in the absence of ways to test the accuracy of some of the translations. Identification is further complicated by the differences among the ancient sources; for example, the MT, LXX, and Josephus (who discusses the breastpiece in *Ant.* iii.7.5 [168]; *BJ* v.5.7 [234] — note that even these lists do not match) do not always agree. Indeed not only do modern English translations vary a great deal from one another, but some are internally inconsistent (cf., e.g., the RSV translation of Heb. *taršîš* as both "beryl" and "chrysalite").

II. Origin.–The treatment of precious stones in the Bible is strictly phenomenal; appearance, beauty, and value are the criteria of selection and mention. The Bible postulates nothing about origin nor about superstitious, mysterious, or magical powers imputed to gems and stones. In contrast, Aristotle apparently considered some stones to be composed of water. For Theophrastus (d. 287 B.C.), stones were made of earthly substances.

Pliny the Elder (d. A.D. 79) was aware of both physical and chemical diagnostic tests for minerals. He meticulously compiled the knowledge of the precious stones of the first-century NT world (see *Nat.hist.* xxxvii). He only rarely succumbed to the superstitions of his Roman religion; for example, he scorned the magicians who believed that amethyst would prevent drunkenness (although that is the meaning of this Greek name for the purple quartz). Thus Pliny's encyclopedic precious-stone lists, descriptions, and criteria are important for an understanding of the culture in which Paul and John lived and wrote.

Precious stones originate as geochemical concentrations in environments where depositional agencies are active. Those minerals valued by people occur under the same conditions of the rock-forming mineral groups that are the host-rock localities. Broadly considered, the three major modes of origin are:

(1) Igneous, a molten history of formation from magma in, or slightly below, the crust of the earth, including hydrothermal and vein deposits. Examples of minerals: native elements are gold, diamond, platinum; silicates are quartz, feldspars, olivine, topaz; oxides are beryl, corundum (sapphire, ruby, spinel); sulfides are galena, chalcopyrite; a phosphate is turquoise. Examples of rock masses are basalt, obsidian, specular hematite.

(2) Sedimentary, deposition by water, ice, wind, gravity, and weathering. Examples of minerals: native elements include diamond, gold, platinum in placer sediment bodies; silicates are quartz, amethyst, chalcedony, jasper, agate, opal; carbonates are azurite, malachite, calcite. Examples of rocks: limestone, chert/flint, pearl, alabaster.

STONES, PRECIOUS

(3) Metamorphic, solid-state recrystallization under the influence of heat and/or pressure and chemically active fluids. Examples of minerals: silicates include beryl, lapis lazuli: (lazurite); oxides include corundum, spinel. Examples of rock: marble, steatite.

(4) Organic agencies, not mineral substances. Floral are amber (the hardened and petrified sap/resin of ancient pine trees), jet (hard variety of coal formed by the compression of lignite); faunal are coral (skeletal $CaCO_3$ accretion of small coral polyps living in large colonies), ivory (material forming the tusks of elephants usually), shell (the skeletons of marine invertebrates), pearl (concentric layers of shell [$CaCO_3$] nacre deposited by a mollusk upon a foreign particle in its body).

III. History.–The specific uses of precious stones have varied through time and in different cultures. The intaglio cylindrical signet seals that abound in Early and Middle Bronze Age Mesopotamia (*ca.* 3000-1500 B.C.), apparently used by Judah (Gen. 38:18, 25), and the parallel use of the scarab signets and seals by the Egyptians throughout their history are well known (*see* SEAL). Precious-stone carving reached its zenith in the raised relief technique of the Greeks and especially the Romans and their use of the cameo from *ca.* 300 B.C.

The ancient Egyptians also used precious stones as amulets. The wearer was afforded protection from unknown hostile forces, such as diseases and noxious animals, by talismans made of carnelian, turquoise, lapis lazuli, and artificial fabrications that were tied to the neck, waist, wrists, and ankles.

In addition, precious stones were used in Bible lands for settings in sacerdotal garments and royal attire; for jewelry, beads, and personal ornaments; as inlaid decorations on furniture, sarcophagi, chests, and boxes; and as burial accoutrements. Some minerals of little modern value were highly esteemed in antiquity.

Pliny recorded the raging appeal for precious stones in the life-styles of Roman nobility. His wrathful scorn was incited by the overindulgence of his fellow Romans in luxuries. For example, Roman women in Pliny's time wore fortunes in jewelry: earrings, diadems, fillets, necklaces, chains or strings of trinkets, intaglios and cameos (negative and positive etchings on coral, agate, etc.), pendants, bracelets, armlets, anklets, rings, and hair pins. Tired of cataloging the feminine adornments, Pliny expressed amazement at the women's ability to survive the weight. NT advice is decidedly to the contrary (1 Tim. 2:9; 1 Pet. 3:3).

The history of precious stones must now be considered in the light of excavation experience. Dig object registries offer catalogs of stone finds and their stratigraphic contexts. Other research resources are the precious stone object inventories of the art and history museums of the Middle East, Europe, Canada, and the United States. If curated by competent specialists, the collections will accurately illustrate the geographic and chronological range of precious stone objects throughout biblical history.

For the purpose of comparative study, selective citation is made by excavation finds at Carthage, Tunisia; Kourion/Curium, Cyprus; Gezer, Israel; and Abila, Jordan. Museum collections at Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Jerusalem, and locally in Israel, Nicosia, Ankara, Istanbul, Salonica, Athens, Tunis, Rome, Paris, London, New York, and Chicago are important resources.

According to Pliny gem occurrences of commercial importance were particularly numerous in India, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Arabia, and, with the exception of Greece, were rare in other parts of Europe. Certain gem localities

Jewelry of gold and precious stones found on a female attendant in the death-pit at Ur. Some beads are orange carnelian and the rest are a deep blue lapis lazuli (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

were cited by the authorities that Pliny used in his writing, and some of these localities could have been exhausted by Pliny's time (e.g., the carnelian deposits at Sardis and in Babylonia). Thus he must be used with caution in the designation of some OT sources. One must also remember that in antiquity a gem said to be from a distant land could command a higher price at Rome.

Pliny knew the following sources: Ethiopia, Egypt, the Red Sea islands, Arabia, Armenia, Babylonia, Bactria, Cappadocia, Caria, Persia, Cyrenaica, Galatia, India, Pionia, Lydia, Media, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Pontus. In Europe: Alpine area, Britain, Epirus, Attica, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Scythia. In the Mediterranean islands: Crete, Cyprus, Lesbos, Paros, and Sicily (see Ball).

The road to the East was open and rumors of India's wealth, spices, and precious stones may have led Greek merchants to that area before the time of Alexander, whose soldiers took booty in his Indian campaign that dwarfed the spoils of Persia. Soldiers returned with pearls, ivory, gold, and precious stones to fill the homes of Greece. The route of Alexander's marches passed close to the turquoise locality of Persia and the Badakhshan lapis lazuli locality (now northeastern Afghanistan). Ruby mines also were known in this area. Ctesias (415-397 B.C.)

knew of the Indian agate mines and stated that Assyria in his time obtained quartz or carnelian and onyx for her finer seals from India. Roman-Indian commerce in gems was highly developed by Pliny's time, and most of these minerals arrived in Rome by way of Alexandria, one of the Arabian towns, or one of the Parthian cities.

After loading, Roman vessels returned to Egypt where the cargo was transferred by camel from the Red Sea to the Nile and then down to Alexandria. A fleet carrying gems sailed yearly under the empire from Alexandria to Puteoli near Rome. This oriental trade brought enormous wealth to Rome in the NT period with which the Romans indulged their tastes, no matter how fantastic or extravagant they might have been. The Roman gem merchant had to consider not only his profit but the great risk of shipwreck and piracy in bringing the stones to Italy. Even so, profits from those ships that arrived were enormous, with certain minerals being sold at one hundred times their original cost, according to Pliny. It is important to remember that India was considered the best source for fine gems. Metals always moved east in exchange for gems and other important commodities; thus Roman gold coins of Tiberius and Nero appear on the Malabar coast.

IV. Description.

Agate. A distinctly banded form of chalcedony (see below) in which the bands vary in color and degree of translucency. The bands are usually more or less concentric, having a white and brown coloration, with a little blue occasionally. See also below on onyx and sardonyx.

Agate was the second stone on the third row of the high priest's breastplate (Heb. *šᵉḇô,* Ex. 28:19; 39:12). In Isa. 54:12 the Lord promises to restore the devastated Jerusalem, using agate (Heb. *kaḏkōḏ* for its pinnacles (NEB "red jasper" follows LXX). Ezk. 27:16 mentions agate (Heb. *kaḏkōḏ*) as one of the items that Edom traded to Tyre (NEB again has "red jasper"). Agate is also the third stone in the foundations of the wall around the new Jerusalem (Gk. *chalkēdṓn,* Rev. 21:19; AV, NEB "chalcedony").

Amber. A hard, translucent fossil resin. Its composition varies according to the species of pine trees producing the sap. The material is yellow, reddish to brownish yellow occurring in amorphous lumps displaying a resinous luster. Its hardness is 2-2.5, and the specific gravity is low enough to float in sea water, about 1.2. The fossilized resin sometimes contains the remains of entrained insects. Sources for the biblical world include Baltic, Sicilian, and the Romanian amber.

Amber beads were found in a number of the infant jar burials in the tophet cemetery at Carthage. The beads were shaped like pendants and were apparently a part of assemblages on necklaces, which were made up of as many as ten different precious stones and metals.

The AV uses "amber" in Ezk. 1:4, 27; 8:2 to translate Heb. *ḥašmal*; perhaps amber's property of assuming a static charge of electricity led to this identification (cf. LXX *ēlektron*; *see* ELECTRUM).

Amethyst. This variety of quartz (see crystal below) ranges in color from a pale lilac to a deep purple with occasional reddish highlights. Traces of manganese as an impurity account for the color. As amethyst crystals grow, compositional changes occasionally lead to color zoning in the crystals. Its hardness is the same as quartz (7), and the mineral exhibits no cleavage, which makes objects moderately resistant to abrasion and shock.

Amethyst has been mined in Arabia Petraea, central Anatolia, and Egypt. It was used for cylinder seals in Mesopotamia, and bracelets, amulets, and scarabs in Egypt. Two amethyst scarabs with seals were discovered in the Late Bronze Age strata at Tell Gezer. Roman use of amethyst was much bolder: Pliny describes the use of cups cut from the large crystals.

Amethyst was the third stone in the third row of the high priest's breastpiece (Heb. *ʾaḥlāmâ,* Ex. 28:19; 39:12), and the twelfth jewel adorning the foundations of the wall around the new Jerusalem (Gk. *améthystos,* Rev. 21:20).

Beryl. This mineral, composed of beryllium aluminum silicate ($Be_3Al_2Si_6O_{18}$), is frequently associated with trace amounts of sodium, lithium, and cesium. The pure variety is completely colorless, while traces of various elements cause the color variations. The bright green variety, emerald, contains chromium, which yields the rich green color (see below). Aquamarine, the blue or greenish-blue variety, occurs because of the presence of iron. Morganite, pink beryl, arises from the presence of lithium.

Beryl occurs in metamorphic rocks, but the principal gem quality crystal forms arise in igneous pegmatite veins in which large crystals occur. The mineral possesses a hardness of 7.5 to 8, and has a specific gravity ranging from 2.6 to 2.9. Its natural crystal habit is hexagonal, an observation which Pliny made.

Beryl was mined from the hills of Egypt near the Red Sea. The earliest use of beryl in Egypt was in the form of hexagonal crystals; apparently, since it is harder than quartz, the Egyptians were unable to cut it until a later date. The beryl that made its way into the biblical world seems to have originated in India, and, although Pliny attributes a source to Arabia, the reference most probably is to trading stations that received their merchandise from the East.

In his analysis of gems in the Cairo Museum, Lucas found that some of the 12th and 20th Dynasty material labeled beryl was in fact green feldspar (see below) or amazonite. Some other materials from the New Kingdom and before were also found to be olivine or peridot (see below) rather than the mineral beryl. This is not to say that no beryl existed in ancient Egypt, because large beryls have been discovered in silver jewelry, and a single uncut emerald has been determined in a necklace from a predynastic grave.

A very famous beryl (aquamarine) was engraved as the head of Julia the daughter of the emperor Titus and is on exhibit in the Cabinet des Medailles in Paris. Extrabiblical texts attribute special healing powers to the beryls.

Beryl was the first stone on the fourth row of the high priest's "breastpiece" (Heb. *taršîš,* Ex. 28:20; 39:13; NEB "topaz"). Ezk. 28:13 mentions beryl (Heb. *šōham*; AV "onyx"; NEB "cornelian") as one of the precious stones that the king of Tyre had. In one of his visions Daniel saw a man with a body like beryl (Heb. *taršîš,* Dnl. 10:6; cf. NEB "topaz"). The eighth jewel mentioned as adorning the foundations of the wall of new Jerusalem is beryl (Gk. *bḗryllos*).

Carbuncle. Probably a red variety of garnet, though in antiquity ruby and spinel were also sometimes called carbuncle (see ruby below). Garnet constitutes a group of very closely related aluminum silicates, each with magnesium, iron, manganese, calcium, and chromium individually as a part of the composition. The hardness is approximately 7, about that of quartz, and the specific gravity is nearly 7. The common occurrence is dodecahedral crystals. Garnet may originate in igneous and metamorphic environments, most commonly the later.

The garnet abounds especially in Egypt at Aswan, in the eastern desert, and in Sinai. Pliny referred to *carbunculus almandicus,* the modern almandine garnet. *Bāreqeṯ,* one of the Hebrew terms for carbuncle, denotes a glowing coal or flashing stone (cf. Heb. *bāraq,* "lightning"). Carbuncle

seems to embrace a variety of red precious stones including the ruby as well. Theophrastus describes the carbuncle as resembling a burning coal emitting light in the dark and cites places of origin as Carthage, Marseilles, Egypt, and elsewhere. The ruby was the anthrax of Theophrastus, described as blood-red in color.

Garnet is one of the most important minerals, the common, imperfectly transparent varieties being distributed throughout the earth's crust. Transparent precious garnet is less abundant, but occurs under the same conditions. In some cases when the gem variety is used to observe a candle through the crystal, a four- or six-rayed star of light may appear.

Carbuncle (Heb. *bāreqeṭ*, which is elsewhere translated "emerald") is the third stone in the first row of the high priest's breastpiece (Ex. 28:17; 39:10; cf. NEB "green felspar"). It was also one of the precious stones that the king of Tyre had (Heb. *nōpeḵ*, Ezk. 28:13; AV "emerald"; NEB "purple garnet"; elsewhere the RSV translates it "emerald"). In Isa. 54:12 carbuncle (Heb. *'eqdāḥ*) is the material used for the gates of the restored Jerusalem (cf. NEB "garnet").

Carnelian. A dark red or orange-red to reddish-brown variety of chalcedony (see below). It was one of the precious stones of the king of Tyre (Heb. *'ōḏem*, Ezk. 28:13; AV "sardius"; NEB "sardin"). In his vision of a heavenly throne the author of Revelation described the one seated on the throne as having the appearance of carnelian (Gk. *sárdion*, Rev. 4:3; AV "sardine stone"; NEB "cornelian"). The sixth stone in the foundations of the wall of the new Jerusalem was carnelian (Gk. *sárdion*, Rev. 21:20; AV "sardinus", NEB "cornelian").

The name of this variety of quartz (SiO_2) arises from Chalcedon, an ancient Greek city of Anatolia. It is formed in the near-surface environments where temperatures and pressures are relatively low. It occurs commonly as massive hydrothermal replacement deposits and as bodies of chert in sedimentary rocks of chemical origin. This variety of silica (hardness 7) is composed of tiny grains or fibrous crystals. Accumulating in banded deposits, the different layers may be stained various colors by chemical coloring agents. The result is a great variety of patterns, color-banding effects, and even whispy inclusions in a translucent matrix. This variety of silica is known as cryptocrystalline, or microscopically crystallized quartz. Chalcedony is translucent and somewhat waxy in appearance and, in the absence of impurities, it is white or greyish blue-white in color.

Chalcedony occurs in abundance in Egypt in the eastern and western deserts and the Fayum and Sinai. Its use ranges from Predynastic to late Roman times.

The AV and NEB render Gk. *chalkēdṓn* in Rev. 21:19 as "chalcedony" (cf. RSV "agate").

Varieties of chalcedony that are discussed elsewhere in this article are agate, carnelian, chrysoprase, jasper, onyx, and sardonyx.

Chrysolite. The name referred to more than one type of mineral including topaz (see NEB uses below), yellow sapphire, yellow zircon, yellow garnet, and yellow-green olivine (a variety of peridot; see below). In the 19th cent. this term was assumed to denote mineral entities thought to have derived from volcanic activity. It should be considered presently indeterminant.

Ezekiel used Heb. *taršîš* to describe the appearance of the wheels accompanying the four living creatures he saw in his first vision (Ezk. 1:16) and in a later vision (10:9), as well as a stone of the king of Tyre (28:13). The AV "beryl" in these texts is consistent with the translation of *taršîš* elsewhere (see beryl above); the NEB has "topaz" in these texts. Chrysolite was also the seventh foundation stone in the wall around the new Jerusalem (Gk. *chrysólithos*, lit. "golden stone"; Rev. 21:20; AV "chrysolyte").

Chrysoprase. Apple-green chalcedony (see above). It was the tenth jewel in the foundations of the wall in the new Jerusalem (Gk. *chrysóprasos*, Rev. 21:20; AV "chrysoprasus").

Coral. The calcium carbonate accretion forms by polyps creating the hard skeletal framework. The organisms exist in warm, shallow, marine ecological niches where the temperatures are above 68°F, and the waters are clear and active with sufficient nutrients. Important sources are the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea along the coasts of Italy, Tunisia, Algeria, Sardinia, and Morocco. Coral may be white, various shades of red, or black in color. Both white and red appear in Egyptian finds. Of the two varieties of red coral, both branching and solid, the solid or precious coral is obtained mainly in the western Mediterranean. Examples of pipe coral artifacts occur in predynastic to 18th Dynasty contexts in Egypt.

For its use in Job 28:18; Lam. 4:17; and Ezk. 27:16, *see* CORAL.

Crystal. Another term for quartz. Its composition is silicon dioxide (SiO_2). The hardness is 7, and there is no cleavage, only conchoidal fracture. Specific gravity is 2.65. Characteristic prismatic crystals are hexagonal.

The colorless variety of quartz is known as rock crystal. Other varieties of quartz occur under the names of amethyst (see above), rose quartz, citrine (a clear yellow variety), smoky quartz, milky quartz, aventurine, with mica or hematite inclusions, cat's eye, the opalescent variety with inclusions of asbestos, and tiger-eye with lustrous yellow to brown parallel fibers.

Quartz is an important rock-forming mineral and develops in many different environments. In Egypt it occurs abundantly as veins in the igneous rocks of the eastern desert and at Aswân where it has been falsely identified as alabaster. Occurrences in Sinai are also recorded.

Rock crystal was employed in Egypt from predynastic times and throughout its ancient history. Objects include beads, small vases, the cornea of eyes in statues and on coffins, as inlay set in colored cement to imitate other gems, a knob of a dagger handle in Tutankhamen's tomb. A large block of uncut rock crystal of Hellenistic/Roman date was found at Memphis.

Pliny considered rock crystal (*crystallus*) to be formed in the same way and under the same conditions as ice. He identified sources for the NT world to be India, Cyprus, islands of the Red Sea, and Asia Minor. He mentioned that a governor of King Ptolemy dug out a crystal about one cubit in length. The Romans of his time enjoyed it as a luxury; the largest piece that he ever saw was one which the empress Livia Augusta dedicated in the Capitol; it weighed about 23 kgs. (50 lbs.).

A drinking bowl of crystallus was bought for 150,000 sestertia. Pliny commented that Nero, upon realizing his lost politial condition, smashed two crystal drinking cups into fragments in his moment of anger.

Both Heb. *gāḇîš* and *qeraḥ* are related to terms for "ice" (cf. NEB variants below). Job stated that wisdom's price far surpassed that of crystal (Job 28:18; AV "pearls"; NEB "alabaster"). In Ezekiel's first vision the firmament shone like cyrstal (Ezk. 1:22; NEB "ice"). In a vision the author of Revelation saw "a sea of glass, like crystal [Gk. *krýstallos*]" before the throne (Rev. 4:6; NEB "ice"; later he said the radiance of the new Jerusalem was "clear as crystal" (Gk. *krystallízō*, 21:11).

Diamond. This term derives from Gk. *adámas*, "un-

conquerable," and hence connoted resistance to abrasion. In antiquity it was used for a number of minerals, including diamond, quartz, hematite, and colorless sapphire.

The diamond is composed of pure carbon, the atoms of which are arranged in the highest possible concentration or packing coordination. It is the hardest natural substance known (10 on the Mohs scale) and occurs in octahedral crystals or rarely in cubic form. The outstanding luster of the diamond arises from its refracting power by which it disperses the light which strikes it at an angle of slightly more than 24°. These refractive and dispersive properties produce its attractive play of fiery colors.

The color of the diamond is usually clear, but gem stones have been discovered that represent every hue of the rainbow and black. The diamond possesses a characteristic property of some isometric minerals, that of cleavage, a plane of parting along the weakest bonding faces of the atoms of the mineral, which, in the case of the diamond, lie parallel to the faces of the octahedral crystal expression.

The evidence for the diamond in the Middle East before the 5th cent. B.C. is lacking. The earliest source was India. Ptolemy refers to a diamond river in India. Persian and Arabian traders probably account for the appearance of this gem stone in the biblical world.

OT references to the diamond need careful scrutiny. The reference that best fits the character of the precious stone is Ezk. 3:9: "an adamant harder than flint" (*see* ADAMANT). The most ancient reference to an industrial use of diamonds is Jer. 17:1: "the sin of Judah is written with the pen of iron; with the point of diamond [Heb. *šāmîr*; NEB "adamant"] it is engraved upon the tablet of their heart." Diamond (Heb. *yāhᵃlōm*) was also the third gem in the second row of the high priest's breastpiece (Ex. 28:18; 39:11; NEB "jade"). Some commentators challenge the interpretation of diamond in translation, but caution should be the watchword here until all the excavation object inventories have been searched. It is not impossible that commerce with India, whose diamond mining activities are assigned to as early as the 8th and 9th cents. B.C., could have brought the gemstone to the Levant.

There is no question about the presence of diamond in the NT world. Indians brought pearls and diamonds to Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Ptolemy the Alexandrian mentioned several diamond fields in his geography written about India (A.D. 150). In addition, Pliny stated that at one time Ethiopia was a source, but this could have been reference to a trade route station along the India-to-Rome commercial line.

Emerald. A bright green variety of beryl (see above). The earliest known emerald locality apparently is Upper Egypt, not far from the coast of the Red Sea, S of Kossier. The ancient Egyptian mines are partly surface and partly underground workings. Tools found in the mines date to the time of the Middle Kingdom. Cleopatra later presented herself as an engraving on emerald. The occurrence of the crystals is in a dark mica/talc interfoliated schist. Interestingly, fine emeralds and other precious stones have been washed up on the beach zone near Alexandria, probably part of a sunken ship bearing treasure.

Emerald was the first stone in the second row of the breastpiece (Heb. *nōpeḵ*, Ex. 28:18; 39:11; NEB "purple garnet"; in Ezk. 28:13 the RSV translates *nōpeḵ* as "carbuncle"). Emerald was also one of the items that Edom traded to Tyre (*nōpeḵ*, Ezk. 27:16; NEB "[purple] garnet"). In Ezk. 28:13 the RSV translates Heb. *bāreqeṯ* as "emerald" (elsewhere "carbuncle"; so AV; NEB "green felspar"). The seer of Revelation likened the rainbow around the throne to an emerald (Gk. *smáragdos*, Rev. 4:3), and the fourth jewel in the foundations of the wall around the new Jerusalem was an emerald (Gk. *smarágdinos*, 21:19).

Green feldspar. A mineral composed of potassium aluminum silicate, $KALSi_3O_8$; also called microcline. This mineral is very abundant in the earth's crust. The color in the gem variety derived from the substitution of lead for potassium, ranging from bright green to blue green, is non-transparent and has been mistaken for jade and emerald (see above). In the Near East microcline or amazon stone has been found in the eastern desert of Egypt and in Libya and appears in objects from Neolithic times and into the New Kingdom period: jewelry from Dahshur and Lahun of the 12th Dynasty and amulets and inlay in objects in the tomb of Tutankhamen.

The NEB uses "green felspar" to translate Heb. *bāreqeṯ* in Ex. 28:17 (RSV, AV "carbuncle") and Ezk. 28:13 (RSV "emerald"; AV "carbuncle").

Jacinth. This mineral, also called zircon, is composed of zirconium silicate, often with hafnium ($ZrSiO_4$). It occurs in gray, brown, yellow, green, red transparent (hyacinth), colorless, or smoky (jargoon); tetragonal crystals are in short prismatic form. The hardness is 7.5 and the specific gravity 4.65.

Zircon occurs in igneous and metamorphic environments. The name is derived from the Pers. *zargun* ("gold color"), and Arab. *zarqun* (vermillion).

Carved zircons have been listed among the finds of the most ancient of dated archeological sites; and it may have been the earliest of all gems.

The term *hyacinth* (Gk. *hyákinthos*) shows all of the characteristics of the sapphire (see below) from ancient writers. Solinus described the mineral from Ethiopia as blue and not cuttable by anything except a diamond. The red zircon, or hyacinth, has the luster of the ruby, while the yellow zircon is similar to the yellow topaz in appearance. The term hyacinth or jacinth was employed for both blue and orange-red gems in antiquity.

Jacinth (Heb. *lešem*) was the first gem in the third row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:19; 39:12; AV "ligure"; cf. LXX *ligýrion*; NEB "turquoise"). It was also the eleventh gem in the foundations of the wall around the new Jerusalem (Gk. *hyákinthos*, Rev. 21:20; NEB "turquoise").

Jade. This name is derived from Spanish *ijada*, "flank, loin," and was supposed to cure kidney ailments. Jade includes two distinct unrelated minerals: nephrite or true jade, calcium magnesium hydroxy silicate, the amphibole group; and jadeite, sodium aluminum silicate, the pyroxene group. Colors vary from white or gray, to various shades of green; its appearance is translucent with a waxy or greasy luster. The natural occurrence of the mineral is in dolomitic limestones affected by metamorphism. The hardness varies from 6 to 7.

Several specimens of nephrite or jadeite occur in the finds of Egypt (amphiboles of the Tremolite-Actinolite group occur in the eastern desert of Egypt). Materials from predynastic through the New Kingdom are inventoried in museums.

The NEB uses "jade" to translate Heb. *yāhᵃlōm* in Ex. 28:19; 39:11 (RSV, AV "diamond") and in Ezk. 28:13 (RSV "jasper"; AV "diamond").

Jasper. A green, yellow, brown, or mottled red chalcedony (see above). It was the third gem in the fourth row of the breastpiece (Heb. *yāšᵉpēh*, Ex. 28:20; 39:13; NEB "green jasper"). In Ezk. 28:13 RSV "jasper" translates Heb. *yāhᵃlōm*, which elsewhere refers to the diamond (so AV; cf. NEB "jade"). In Rev. 4:3 the one on the throne has the appearance of jasper (Gk. *íaspis*), as does the new

Jerusalem (21:11), which has jasper walls and jasper as the first jewel adorning the foundations of the walls (21:18f.).

Lapis lazuli. This precious stone is not a pure mineral, but a combination of several minerals: lazurite, a silicate of sodium, calcium, and aluminum, with some sulphur and appreciable amounts of calcite, diopside, and pyrite. The blue mineral present varies in color from azure to violet to greenish-blue and has a dull to greasy luster and exhibits a pale blue streak. Its hardness is 5-5.5. Its environment of formation is frequently in hornfels as a contact metamorphic mineral. The precious stone is often veined or spotted, and its value is a function of the uniformity of color and the absence of pyrite.

The principal occurrence of lapis lazuli for the biblical world was in Badakhshan in northeastern Afghanistan. Unconfirmed occurrences are attributed to Persia, although this may be the result of the trade passing through that land. The Afghanistan source was probably also known to the Sumerians, and is a possible source for the finds discovered in the royal tombs of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur. Ugaritic texts also mention it (Ugar. *iqnu*; see *UT*, p. 365).

The names azurite, lapis lazuli, lazurite, and a later word, lazurius (Lat.) have been derived from the Arab. *lāzuward*, "blue."

Babylonian tradition of the Early Bronze Age credits stars as being transformed into lapis lazuli. The derivation of this legend could be based upon the dispersion of golden pyrite crystals in some specimens. Additionally, Heb. *sappîr* in Job 28:6 may refer to lapis lazuli (RSV "sapphire"; see below).

Lapis lazuli is one of the most significant precious stones in antiquity, equaling the value of gold at times. Used in ancient Egypt from predynastic times, lapis luzuli was most popular during the Middle Kingdom. The 18th Dynasty tomb of Tutankhamen contained fabulous quantities of lapis lazuli objects, including some cylinder seals with cuneiform inscriptions revealing foreign trade.

In antiquity, lazurite, the blue portion of this precious stone, was ground up as blue powder pigment and made into a paint known to artists as ultramarine. As the only quality blue pigment known, it was comparatively costly.

The NEB usually translates Heb. *sappîr* as "lapis lazuli" (the RSV mg. sometimes notes it as an alternative). See sapphire below.

Malachite. The composition is basic copper carbonate ($Cu_2CO_3[OH]_2$). Malachite is the product of secondary zones of alteration in near surface occurrences. The name is from the Gk. *molóchē*, "mallow," in reference to the leafy-green color. The mineral is both a gem stone and a copper ore.

The texture of the stone shows successive layering of alternating light and dark hues. Malachite occurs in the oxidized zones of the Upper Pillow Lavas on the northern and eastern flanks of the Troodos Mountains of Cyprus (the very name of the island denotes the metal derived from this ore). Other occurrences are in Sinai and the eastern desert of Egypt, where the ancient mining processes also harvested turquoise (see below). The archeological record shows usage in jewelry and amulets from predynastic to the 19th Dynasty.

The principle use of the malachite was in the form of powder, which was used as pigment and as an eye paint. Nero, a patron of the Green racing faction in Rome, once covered the arena of the Circus Maximus with powdered malachite as Caligula had done earlier, both showing their allegiance to the color-coded charioteers.

In Est. 1:6 the NEB has "malachite" for Heb. *bahaṭ*; *see* PORPHYRY.

Onyx. A variety of chalcedony (see above), specifically a banded agate in which milk-white layers alternate with black.

The land of Havilah was apparently known for its onyx (Heb. *šōham*; NEB "cornelian") as well as gold and bdellium (Gen. 2:12). It was one of the offerings that the Lord required of Israel in the wilderness (Ex. 25:7; 35:9). The ephod had two onyx stones, on which were carved the names of the Israelite tribes (28:9; 35:27; 39:6), and the breastpiece of the high priest had onyx as the second stone in the fourth row (28:20; 39:13). Great quantities of onyx were among the things that David provided for Solomon to build the temple (1 Ch. 29:2). According to Job wisdom was valued above onyx (Job 28:16). The king of Tyre had onyx as one of the precious stones in his covering (Heb. *yāšᵉpēh*, Ezk. 28:13; the AV "jasper" and NEB "green jasper" seem preferable; see above). Onyx (Gk. *sardónyx*) was the fifth gem in the foundations of the wall around the new Jerusalem (Rev. 21:20; AV, NEB "sardonyx").

Opal. The composition is hydrous silica ($SiO_2 \cdot nH_2O$). Even though essentially amorphous, scanning electron microscopic investigation has shown that it is made up of closely packed spheres of silica in hexagonal or cubic closest packing. The tiny spheres vary in diameter from 1500 to 3000 Å. When white light strikes the planes of spaces between the spheres diffraction of certain wave lengths occurs that yields spectrally pure colors and play of hues as is seen in precious opal. Common opal has the same structure but is without internal reflections because the spacings are less than the wave lengths of visible light and do not satisfy the Bragg refractive index equation.

The hardness of opal varies from 5 to 6. It has a relatively low specific gravity, about 2.0, and exhibits a conchoidal fracture. The luster is vitreous, frequently resinous. The color varies from white through pale shades of yellow, red, brown, green, gray, and blue. Frequently an "opalescent" effect yields a play of colors.

Pliny was especially enamored of opal (Lat. *paederos*). "In it there seemed to merge the color of the sky having a greenish tint with a clear transparent *crystallus*. These tints are accompanied by a purple and a certain yellow and bright gold color of muscat. . . . It appears to have all these colors mixed together, since each color appears to have its own reflection. There is no other gem more pure and clear and it is pleasing to the eye. The best comes from India. . . Of less rank is that of Egypt where it is called *Senites*. A third variety of poor quality comes from Arabia." He speaks of other sources in Pontus, Galatia, Thrace, and Cyprus (*Nat. hist.* xxxvii.46).

Opal was valued in antiquity, especially by the Romans, above other precious stones. For example, Nonius preferred exile rather than surrendering to Mark Antony his famous opal, variously valued at $100,000 to $100,000,000.

Pearl. A hard, shiny concretion of shell material formed as an abnormal growth in some mollusks. Several biblical texts mention pearl along with other precious stones. In Job 28:18 the RSV translates Heb. *pᵉninîm* as "pearls" (AV "rubies"; NEB "red coral"; *see also* CORAL), whereas the AV translates Heb. *gāḇîš* as "pearls" (RSV "crystal" — see above; NEB "alabaster"). *See also* PEARL.

In the Roman world of NT times the pearl was highly valued; Julius Caesar paid the equivalent of $350,000 for one prized pearl (see Mt. 7:6; 13:45f.). 1 Tim. 2:9 exhorts women to adorn themselves modestly and avoid pearls and gold (cf. Rev. 17:4; 18:12, 16). The twelve gates in the new Jerusalem were each "made of a single pearl" (Gk. *margarítēs*, Rev. 21:21).

Peridot. Magnesium olivine, Mg_2SiO_4. "Peridot" is ap-

parently derived from Arab. *farīda,* "precious stone." Its hardness is 6.5-7.2, its specific gravity 3.8. The color is pale yellow-green to olive-green. Its use as a gemstone in jewelry (except pendants) is limited because of its tendency to scratch easily, and its brittle nature (fracture is conchoidal).

Olivine is a rock-forming mineral occurring in basic igneous formations. In the biblical world examples occurred in the lavas of Vesuvius; the finest material comes from St. John's Island (Zebirget) in the Red Sea (due east of Aswân). An old legend says that the inhabitants of this island mined green stones as early as 1500 B.C. The stones were greatly prized by the Egyptian kings (one example occurs in a scarab of the 18th Dynasty) who dominated the island, and the inhabitants were forced to mine them under rather harsh conditions. It was believed that the gems glowed in the dark, so that they were hunted at night and the locations of the glowing spots were carefully marked for recovery the next day. In Greek this gem was called *tópazos,* and the island was known as Topazios. Today we know that topaz is a completely different gem (see below); the gem in the high priest's breastpiece was probably peridot rather than topaz (Heb. *piṭ^{e}ḏâ,* Ex. 28:17; 39:10; NEB "chrysolite").

Ruby. A red (cf. Lat. *rubur*) variety of the mineral corundum, which is composed of aluminum oxide (Al_2O_3). Its hardness is 9; it has a high specific gravity, about 4.0. Its resistance to abrasion is next to that of diamond and above that of topaz. It has a hexagonal crystal form, sometimes in a tapering prismatic habit. The six-rayed star arises from light reflection on oriented, needle-like inclusions of rutile.

Corundum occurs in several distinct environments: in pegmatite dikes, in contact metamorphic environments with hornfels, and in regional metamorphic terrains with micas, garnets, and sodium feldspars. Its red color is due to the presence of chromium oxide.

In antiquity the stones grouped under the name *carbunculus* (ruby, spinel, and garnet; see carbuncle above) were not always distinguished among themselves. The ruby may correspond to the *ánthrax* of Theophrastus and to the *lychnís* of Pliny, both of which came under his general term *carbunculus.* Both Greek names were derived from characteristic color and luster (*ánthrax* means "red color," and *lychnís* implies brilliance and lamplight. The name spinel may come from the Lat. *spina,* "sharp."

Historically the ruby and the red variety of spinel have been confused probably because they are associated in gem gravels. Spinel may occur in various colors, as does corrundum. The most valuable variety of spinel is red.

Spinel is composed of magnesium aluminate ($MgAl_2O_4$); it is colorless, but trace amounts of other elements yield colors of red (so-called ruby-spinel), brownish-red, rose-red, orange, pale blue, dark blue, bluish-violet, purple, greenish, and black. The hardness is 8 and the specific gravity is about 3.6. The mineral occurs in octahedral crystals and exhibits a vitreous luster. It occurs in intrusive igneous and metamorphic rocks.

The Badakhshan ruby mines were important sources of this precious stone. The exact dates when these mines operated are not known.

The AV translated Heb. *p^{e}nînîm* as "rubies" in Job 28:18; Prov. 3:15; 8:11; 20:15; 31:10; Lam. 4:7; the RSV has "coral" in the first and last texts, and "jewels" in the Proverbs texts.

Sapphire. A blue variety of corundum (see ruby above). Its blue color arises from the presence of titanium and ferric oxides. The six-rayed star arises from light reflection on oriented, needle-like inclusions of rutile in the hexagonal crystal growth structure.

The name sapphire is derived from Heb. *sappîr,* Arab. *safir,* Sanskrit *śanipriya* (Saturn's Stone), Gk. *sáppheiros,* and Lat. *sapphirus.* But many modern scholars (e.g., KoB, p. 664; cf. BDB, p. 705) identify Heb. *sappîr* as lapis lazuli, which is how the NEB usually translates it (so also the RSV mg. in some texts).

Sapphire is one of the most frequently mentioned jewels in the Bible. In the high priest's breastpiece it was the second gem in the second row (Ex. 28:18; 39:11); it was one of the gems in the covering of the king of Tyre (Ezk. 28:13); and it was the second gem adorning the foundations of the wall around the new Jerusalem (Rev. 21:19; NEB "lapis lazuli"). In addition, when Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel saw God, they saw "as it were a pavement of sapphire stone" under His feet (Ex. 24:10; cf. Ezk. 1:26; 10:1). Job 28 twice mentions sapphire: in v. 6 the stones of the earth are said to be the place of sapphires, and in v. 16 wisdom is said to be more valuable than sapphire. The lover in Cant. 5:14 describes her beloved's body as "encrusted with sapphires" (cf. Lam. 4:7). In Isa. 54:11 the Lord promises that the restored Jerusalem will have sapphire foundations. In a vision the seer of Revelation saw horsemen with breastplates "the color of fire and of sapphire" (Gk. *hyakinthinos,* Rev. 9:17; AV "jacinth"; NEB "blue").

Sardius. A deep orange-red or brownish-red variety of chalcedony (see above), similar to carnelian (see above) and perhaps equivalent to the modern sard.

Sardius was the first gem in the first row of the high priest's breastpiece (Heb. *'ōḏem*; LXX *sárdion*; Ex. 28:17; 39:10; NEB "sardin").

Topaz. Its composition is aluminum fluro silicate ($Al_2SiO_4[F, OH]_2$). The mineral occurs in colorless, white, yellow, pink, bluish, and greenish varieties. Its hardness is 8 and specific gravity is about 3.5. The occurrence is in high-temperature environments in igneous rocks and veins. It has been found in massive hydrothermal replacement deposits.

The name topaz has an uncertain derivation, but historians suggest that the Greek word *tópazos* or *topázion* may refer to a Red Sea island (Zebirget). This locality was an important source for peridot (see above). The excavator Flinders Petrie suggested that the term may have applied to green serpentine.

Other minerals which appear under the name of topaz as inferred by their properties are yellow quartz, peridot (magnesium silicate), chalcedony (silica), jacinth (zirconium silicate), and perhaps chrysolite, which the NEB uses to translate Heb. *piṭ^{e}ḏâ*).

Greek intagli attest to the early use of topaz and to their ability to engrave it.

Topaz was the second stone in the first row of the high priest's breastpiece (Heb. *piṭ^{e}ḏâ,* Ex. 28:17; 39:10). Job 28:19 mentions the "topaz of Ethiopia," probably referring to Zebirget (see peridot above), as being less valuable than wisdom. The coverings of the king of Tyre included topaz (Ezk. 28:13). The ninth gem in the foundations of the walls around the new Jerusalem is topaz (Gk. *topázion,* Rev. 21:20).

Turquoise. This is hydrous basic phosphate of copper and aluminum (some iron may be present). The composition is $CuAl_6(BO_4)OH_{(8)}\cdot$ 4-5_2O. The mineral has a sky-blue, bluish-green, or apple-green color with a waxy-dull appearance. Its hardness ranges from 5 to 6 and it exhibits no cleavage, the fracture being conchoidal. It forms in hydrothermal replacement deposits in secondary mineralized alteration zones.

Turquoise was one of the most highly valued precious stones in early antiquity, with pieces of jewelry found on a mummy dated at 7500 B.C., or as early as the Neolithic

period. The 4th-Dynasty tomb of Hetepheres at Gîzeh contained a number of anklets with turquoise inlay. Twelfth-Dynasty discoveries at Lahun and Dahshur feature excellent examples of turquoise. Additionally, a scarab and inlay on two pectorals from Tutankhamen's tomb in the Valley of the Kings are recorded.

The need for accurate find analysis is illustrated by the fact that Breasted's translation of ancient Egyptian records does not include the word turquoise. This is surprising in view of the early extensive cultural employment of this mineral. Lexicographical correction is needed for the ancient Egyptian word for turquoise, *mfk3t*, which was wrongly rendered malachite.

The occurrence of turquoise, especially that employed by the Egyptians, and possibly also the Israelites, was at Serābît el-Khâdim and at the Wâdī Maghara, where the mineralization occurred in seams in sandstone host rock. A high quality of turquoise was found at Khorassan in Persia where the host rock of clayey slate has entrained veins of turquoise.

The modern name of this mineral is derived from the land of Turkey, through which this mineral commodity was introduced into Europe.

Turquoise occurs naturally as incrustations, nodules, veins, and seams which have been deposited through the agency of groundwater. The rich blue colors are the result of the presence of copper while small amounts of iron shift the stone to a greenish cast.

The NEB uses "turquoise" for Heb. *lešem* as turquoise in Ex. 28:19; 39:12 (RSV "jacinth"; the LXX has *ligýrion*); and for Gk. *hyákinthos* in Rev. 21:20 (RSV, AV "jacinth").

See Plates 1-5.

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R. G. BULLARD

STONESQUARERS (1 K. 5:18, AV). *See* GEBAL.

STONING [Heb. *rāgam*–'cover with a heap of stones' (Lev. 20:2, 27; Nu. 14:10; 15:35f.; Dt. 21:21; Josh. 7:25; 1 K. 12:18; Ezk. 16:40; etc.), *sāqal*–'put to death with casts of stones' (Ex. 8:26 [MT 22]; 17:4; Dt. 13:10 [MT 11]; 17:5; 22:21, 24; Josh. 7:25; 1 S. 30:6; 1 K. 21:10, 13), niphal of *sāqal*–'be stoned' (Ex. 19:13; 21:28f., 32), pual of *sāqal*–'be stoned' (1 K. 21:14f.); Gk. *litházō* (Jn. 10:31-33; 11:8; Acts 5:26; 14:19; 2 Cor. 11:25; He. 11:37), *lithoboléō*–throw stones at someone,' 'stone (to death)' (Mt. 21:35; 23:37; Lk. 13:34; Acts 7:58f.; 14:5; He. 12:20), *katalitházō*–'stone to death' (Lk. 20:6)]. A form of ritual execution, usually carried out by the assembled congregation; also an expression of mob violence.

The Pentateuch prescribed stoning in the following cases: an ox that gores, and its owner as well, if the ox is accustomed to goring (Ex. 21:28f., 32); anyone who sacrifices a child to Molech (Lev. 20:2); any medium or wizard (20:27); anyone blaspheming the divine name (24:14, 16, 23); anyone who leads the congregation astray to serve other gods (Dt. 13:10 [MT 11]); anyone who serves other gods (17:5); a stubborn and rebellious son (21:21); a young woman who, upon consummating her marriage, is found to be without the tokens of virginity (22:21); a man and a betrothed virgin who have sexual relations within a city (22:24). In addition, the Scriptures contain other traditions of ritual stonings: any man or beast drawing too near the mount of the theophany (Ex. 19:13); a man gathering sticks upon the sabbath (Nu. 15:35f.); Achan's violation of the *ḥerem* (Josh. 7:25).

As a form of ritual execution, stoning was carried out by the congregation, i.e., the assembled people acting as a cultic community (cf. Lev. 24:14; Nu. 15:32-36; Josh. 7:22:26). Dt. 17:6f. stipulates that no one shall be put to death on the evidence of a single witness, and that the witnesses shall be the first to cast stones against the accused. This law forms the background for the stoning of Naboth (1 K. 21:8-16). The laws of Dt. 22:21, 23f. and 17:6f. also form the background to the prophecy against Oholah and Oholibah (Ezk. 23, esp. v. 47) and to the story of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. 8:2-11).

Stoning was also an expression of mob violence. The people sought to stone Moses (Ex. 17:4), and Moses and Aaron (Nu. 14:10). Adoram, sent to the northern tribes by Rehoboam, actually was stoned (1 K. 12:18 par. 2 Ch. 10:18). Several such cases are cited in the NT including the murder of the landlord's emissaries in the parable of the wicked tenants (Mt. 21:35) and the related traditions of the stoning of the prophets (23:37). Lk. 20:6 depicts the chief priests, scribes, and elders as fearing that the people would stone them for denying that John the Baptist was a prophet. The soldiers escorting the apostles from the temple are presented as having a similar fear (Acts 5:26). The stoning of Paul at Lystra also seems to have been a spontaneous act of mob violence (14:19).

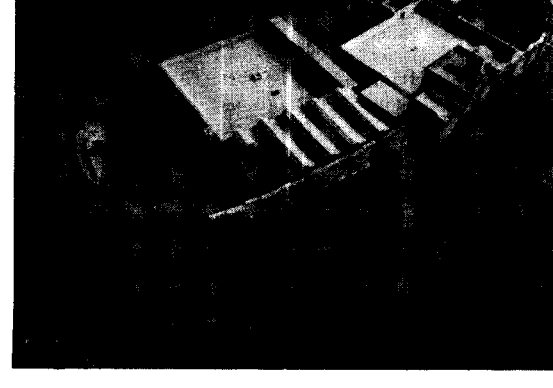
A third category of stonings involves officially sanctioned lynchings. These include the stoning of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada the priest, at the instigation of King Joash (2 Ch. 24:21); the stoning of Naboth (1 K. 21:8-16); the attempt to stone Jesus for blasphemy (Jn. 10:31-33; 11:8; cf. Lev. 24:14, 16, 23), and the stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:58f.; Stephen's was sanctioned by witnesses). Indeed, since stoning demanded mass participation, every stoning may have had the quality of a lynching. Execution by stoning was highly formalized and circumscribed in the Mishnah (see esp. *Sanhedrin* vi.1–vii.1, 4, 6f., 9f.).

See also PUNISH III.A.

D. G. SCHLEY

STOOL. The AV term in 2 K. 4:10 for Heb. *kissê'*, "seat" (RSV "chair"). Although the Hebrew term usually refers to a royal or divine throne, in 2 K. 4:10 it refers to a

A model of the store-city of Megiddo. At lower left are the tunnel and stairs to the water storage system (Megiddo Museum; photo W. Braun)



The stone silo for grain storage at Megiddo, one of Solomon's store-cities (W. S. LaSor)

simple chair. For "stool" in Ex. 1:16 (Heb. *'ōḇen*), *see* BIRTHSTOOL.

STORAX. *See* STACTE

STORE-CITIES [Heb. *'ārê misk^{e}nôṯ*]; AV also TREASURE CITIES (Ex. 1:11), CITIES OF STORE (1 K. 9:19; 2 Ch. 17:12). Towns whose main purpose was to serve as sites for royal warehouses. Those mentioned in Ex. 1:11, PITHOM (perhaps modern Tell er-Reṭâbeh) and RAMESES (perhaps modern Ṣân el-Ḥagar, but more likely Qanṭîr), were built by an Egyptian pharaoh (prob. Ramses II; *see also* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL III.A). Other store-cities were constructed under Solomon (1 K. 9:19; 2 Ch. 8:4, 6), Baasha (presumably; in 16:4 the two Hebrew words are transposed), or Jehoshaphat (17:12).

Store-cities in the OT are uniformly symbolic of the might and prosperity of the king in whose reign they were erected. R. F. YOUNGBLOOD

STOREHOUSE [Heb. *(bêṯ) 'ôṣār* (2 K. 20:13, 15; Neh. 10:38 [MT 39]; 13:12f.; Job 38:22; Ps. 33:7; Jer. 10:13; Mal. 3:10; etc.), *'āsōp*–'stores' (1 Ch. 26:15, 17; Neh. 12:25), *misk^{e}nôṯ*–'storage place' (2 Ch. 32:28); Gk. *tameíon* (Lk. 12:24)]; AV also TREASURE, TREASURY, ASSUPPIM (1 Ch. 26:15, 17), GARNER (Joel 1: 17), etc.; NEB also GRANARY (Gen. 41:56), GATEHOUSE (1 Ch. 26:15, 17), HOUSE, etc. In Gen. 41:56 the MT has *^{a}šer bāhem*, "which was in them." *BHS* suggests *'ōṣ^{e}rôṯ bar*, "stores of grain" (NEB "granary"; cf. LXX; Syr.). On "storehouse" in Jer. 28:11 *see* WARDROBE.

Storehouses might contain anything from agricultural produce (Neh. 13:12) to the treasure of the kingdom (2 K. 20:15 par. Isa. 39:4). Full storehouses might indicate the blessing of God (2 Ch. 32:27-29); empty ones, destruction from the Almighty (Joel 1:15-17). Of course, full storehouses have their negative side, too, when potential enemies covet their contents (2 K. 20:16 par. Isa. 39:6).

In several places the OT pictures God as bringing the elements of His creation from His storehouses, e.g., the snow and hail (Job 38:22), the wind (Ps. 135:7; Jer. 10:13; 51:16), and the sea (Ps. 33:7). G. WYPER

STORK [Heb. *ḥ^{a}sîḏâ* < *ḥāsîḏ*–'loyal, pious' (?) (Lev. 11:19; Dt. 14:18; Ps. 104:17; Jer. 8:7; Zec. 5:9)]; NEB mg. also HERON (Lev. 11:19; Dt. 14:18). The stork is a member of the *Ciconiidae* family. The most familiar species is the white stork (*Ciconia alba*)), which lives in Europe and the Near East during the summer but migrates to southeast Africa and northern India in the winter (cf. Jer. 8:7). Both species can be observed passing through Israel and Jordan each spring. This large elegant bird possesses a white body with attractive black patches on its large wide wings. Its long slender legs are a deep pink color and its beak is red. The black stork (*Ciconia nigra*) is smaller and darker than the white species. Ps. 104:17 indicates that storks nest high up in the tops of trees; the diminution of forest lands in Israel has severely restricted this, however.

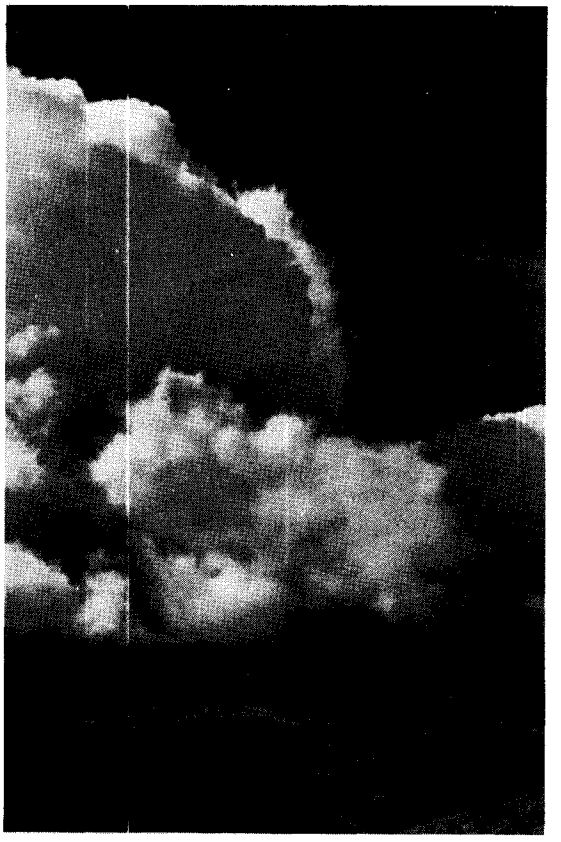
Storks and herons are closely related and tend to eat the foods available in swamps and marshy areas. Thus some of the references to storks may actually refer to herons. The *ḥ^{a}sîḏâ* mentioned in Lev. 11:19 and Dt. 14:18 is probably a stork. It was regarded as unclean because it was a bird of prey whose diet included mice, frogs, fish, and small birds.

From ancient times the stork was renowned for the affectionate care that it provided its young, a phenomenon that is reflected in its Hebrew name *ḥ^{a}sîḏâ*, "loving, faithful, constant." Also, a pair of storks will return annually to the same nest, and their fidelity to each other has long been considered a paradigm of marital happiness.

See F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), pp. 61, 119. R. K. H.

STORM [Heb. *sûpâ* (Job 21:18; Isa. 17:13), *s^{e}'ārâ* (Ps. 107:29; Jer. 23:19; 30:23; Nah. 1:3), *šō'â (Q; K šā'^{a}wâ*, Prov. 1:27; Isa. 10:3; Ezk. 38:9), *zerem* (Isa. 4:6; 25:4; 28:2), *hawwâ* (Ps. 57:1 [MT 2]), *hāzîz* (Zec. 10:1); Gk. *laílaps* (Mk. 4:37; Lk. 8:23; 2 Pet. 2:17), *seismós*–'earthquake' (Mt. 8:24)]; AV also WHIRLWIND, TEMPEST, DESOLATION, etc.; NEB also TEMPEST, HURRICANE, RUIN, etc.; **STORM-TOSSED** [pual of Heb. *sā'ar* (Isa. 54:11); Gk. *cheimázō* (Acts 27:18)]; AV TOSSED WITH A TEMPEST; NEB STORM-BATTERED, HEAVY WEATHER; **STORMWIND** [Heb. *sûpâ* (Isa. 66:15)]; AV, NEB WHIRLWIND; **STORMY** [Heb. *s^{e}'ārâ* (Ps. 107:25; 148:8; Ezk. 1:4; 13:11, 13); Gk. *cheimṓn* (Mt. 16:3)]; AV also WHIRLWIND, FOUL WEATHER; NEB also GALES; **TEMPEST** [Heb. *sa'ar* (Ps. 55:8; 83:15 [MT 16]; Jer. 23:19; etc.), *s^{e}'ārâ* (Isa. 29:6; 40:24; 41:16), niphal of

A white stork (*Ciconia ciconia*) in Upper Galilee, Israel (W. Braun)



A thunderstorm near Amman. Severe thunderstorms may occur at any time during the rainy season, but at the edges of the desert on the eastern plateau they are most likely either at the beginning or at the end of the season (D. Baly)

śā'ar (Ps. 50:3), *śa'ar* (Isa. 28:2), *śe'ārâ* (Job 9:17), *sûpâ* (Prov. 10:25), *zerem* (Isa. 30:30; 32:2), *hamullâ* (Jer. 11:16), *te'rû'â* (Am. 1:14); Gk. *cheimōn* (Acts 27:20), *thýella* (He. 12:18)]; AV also WHIRLWIND, TUMULT; NEB also STORM, WHIRLWIND, GREAT GALE, etc.; **TEMPESTUOUS** [Heb. *sa'ar* (Jonah 1:11, 13); Gk. *typhōnikós* (Acts 27:14)]; NEB FIERCE, "worse," "higher." In Job 30:22 the *K* is *te'šuwwâ*, which most scholars prefer, equating it with *te'šu'â* (see *BHS*; *CHAL*, p. 395); the *Q tušîyâ*, meaning "success," does not seem to fit the context. In Hos. 10:15 the RSV has emended MT *šaḥar* ("dawn"; cf. AV "morning" and NEB "day dawns") to *śa'ar*, "storm." But most commentators prefer to retain MT (see H. Wolff, *Hosea* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1974], p. 188; F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea* [*AB*, 1980], p. 572).

Storms in Palestine normally occur in winter, accompanied by strong, even tempestuous, winds and rain from the west, by thunder and lightning, and occasionally by hail. They are especially dangerous to small sail boats, and long-distance sailing normally ceased during the winter months (Ps. 107:22-30; Jonah 1:4, 11; Acts 27:13ff.). Even on the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea the strength of the wind pouring down the mountainside can endanger small craft (Mt. 8:23-27; Mk. 4:36-41; Lk. 8:22-24). Although some modern translations speak of a "hurricane" (e.g., RSV Ps. 83:15) or "tornado"(e.g., NEB Ezk. 38:9), this is misleading, since such storms do not occur in the Mediterranean. Dust storms sometimes develop in desert regions in late summer; they are characterized by a sudden and visible beginning and end. Isa. 25:4 seems to envisage a severe dust storm. As with all weather phenomena, storms were understood to be the work of God (Ps. 148:8; Isa. 28:2), but God could also provide protection from the storm (Isa. 4:6; 25:4).

See also RAIN; WIND. D. BALY

STORY [Heb. *K yāṣû(a)', Q yāṣî(a)'*] (1 K. 6:6, 10); AV CHAMBER; NEB ARCADE, TERRACE; [*ṣēlā'*] (1 K. 6:8; Ezk. 41:6f.); AV CHAMBER, SIDE CHAMBER; NEB ARCADE, TIER (Ezk. 41:6f.); [*le'ma'lâ le'ma'lâ*] ("from story to story," Ezk. 41:7); AV "still upward"; NEB "one above the other"; [*pa'am*–'time, occurrence'] (Ezk. 41:6); AV ORDER; NEB TIER; [Gk. *tristegon*] ("third story," Acts 20:9); AV THIRD LOFT. By the time of Solomon many houses were built with an upper story (cf. 1 K. 17:23; 2 K. 1:2; 4:10). Solomon's temple and Ezekiel's ideal temple each had three stories. The RSV emends the MT in 1 K. 6:6, 10 to read *haṣṣēlā'* for *hayyāṣî(a)'*, following the LXX. The MT of Ezk. 41:6f. is corrupt, and each version has reconstructed it somewhat differently. The RSV six times supplies "story" when rendering Hebrew adjectives — hence *tîḵōnâ* is rendered "middle story" (1 K. 6:8; Ezk. 41:7), *'elyônâ*, "top story" (Ezk. 41:7), *taḥtōnâ* is "lowest story" (41:7), and *me'šulāšôṯ* (lit. "threefold") is "in three stories" (42:3, 6).

See also HOUSE; TEMPLE. For Gen. 6:16, AV, *see* DECK; for Am. 9:6, AV, *see* CHAMBER. N. J. O.

STORYWRITER (Esd. 2:17, 25, AV). *See* RECORDER.

STOUT. In the RSV OT "stout" translates three Hebrew terms. In Isa. 10:16 "stout warriors" renders the noun Heb. *mišmān*, "fatness." Yahweh will overthrow these "warriors" (AV "fat ones"; NEB "sturdy frame") despite the strength of these Assyrian forces. Am. 2:16 affirms that even the mighty (Heb. *'ammîṣ*, "strong"; AV "courageous"; NEB "bravest") soldiers shall not withstand Yahweh in His day of judgment. In Mal. 3:13 the Lord says that the accusations of the people (vv. 14f.) have become "stout" (Heb. *ḥāzaq*, "grow strong or firm"; NEB "hard"). This may mean that their words are arrogant or, perhaps, intolerable, i.e., their words are "too much" for Yahweh (cf. N. M. Waldman, *JBL*, 93 [1974], 546). G. L. K.

STOVE [Heb. *kîr*–'small hearth' (Lev. 11:35)]; AV RANGES FOR POTS. Ceramic jar stand. Only Lev. 11:35 mentions "stove." It occurs here with the more common *tannûr*, "oven, fire pot."

In this passage, clay vessels contaminated by contact with dead "swarming things" are to be broken (v. 33), as are the oven and the stove (v. 35), which most likely were also made of clay. Since the *kirayim* is mentioned in connection with the oven, rather than with the vessels, it was not likely a pot or jar, but rather something designed to hold a fire or to support the vessels, or both. This is supported by the use of prepositions in the two verses: in v. 33, the contamination falls "into" (*'el-tôḵô*) the vessel, while in v. 35 it falls "onto" (*'ālāyw*) the oven or stove.

The form *kîrayim* is dual, and this may signify that the stove (1) supported two pots, or (2) served one of two functions, that of supporting a jar over the floor or a cooking pot over a fire, or (3) was conceived of as a two-part object, i.e., the stand and the vessel it supported.

The stove was similar to the oven since both could support a cooking pot, but the latter was more commonly used for baking bread and it had a much smaller opening

An open oven with stands for holding cooking pots found in Zealot living quarters at Masada (courtesy, Israel Museum, photo D. Harris)

at the top. If (1) above is correct, then the difference is obvious. But no such two-part stands have been excavated.

See also OVEN.

Bibliography.–G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (7 vols., repr. 1964), IV, 6, 45; VII, 206; K. Elliger, *Leviticus* (*HAT*, 4, 1966), p. 153; A. M. Honeyman, *PEQ* (1939), pp. 82f.; J. L. Kelso, *Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT* (1948), pp. 20f.

D. M. HOWARD, JR.

STRAIGHT [Heb. *yāšār* (fem. *yᵉšārâ*) (1 S. 6:12; Ezr. 8:21; Ps. 107:7; Prov. 29:27; Jer. 31:9; Ezk. 1:23), *negeḏ*–'opposite' (Josh. 6:5, 20; Neh. 12:37; Jer. 31:39; Am. 4:3), *lipnê*–'before, in front of' (Jer. 49:5), *'el-ʿēḇer pānāyw*–'to the side of his face' ("straight forward," Ezk. 1:9, 12; 10:22), *nōḵaḥ*–'opposite' (Ezk. 46:9), *nāḵō(a)ḥ* (Prov. 8:9); Gk. *euthýs* (Mt. 3:3; Mk. 1:3; Lk. 3:4f.; Acts 13:10), *orthós* (He. 12:13), *euthydroméō*–'run a straight course' ("came by a straight course," Acts 21:1)]; AV also RIGHT, PLAIN, "over against"; NEB also HEADLONG, "safe," "smooth," etc.; **MAKE STRAIGHT** [Heb. *yāšar* (Prov. 3:6; Isa. 40:3; 45:13; "be straight," Prov. 4:25; "go straight," 9:15; "keep straight," 11:5), *tāqan* (Eccl. 1:15; 7:13); Gk. *anorthóō*–'rebuild, restore' (Lk. 13:13), *euthýnō* (Jn. 1:23)]; AV also GO RIGHT, "direct"; NEB also "smooth," "clear," "what lies ahead," "hurry"; **STRAIGHTEN** [Gk. *anakýptō*–'stand erect'] (Lk. 13:11); AV "lift up"; **STRAIGHTFORWARD** [Gk. *orthopodéō*–'walk straight'] ("were not straightforward," Gal. 2:14); AV WALK UPRIGHTLY; NEB "did not square." In Ps. 5:8 (MT 9) the *qere* is *haysar* while the *kethibh* is *hôšar*; both are hiphil imperatives of *yāšar* (see GKC, § 70b). In Ps. 49:14 (MT 15) the RSV emends the MT (AV "the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning" follows MT; cf. RSV mg.). In Ezk. 1:7 the MT has (lit.) "their feet a straight foot" (cf. AV "their feet were straight feet"; see comms.).

Hebrew *tāqan* is used only in Ecclesiastes, where it seems to mean "arrange in order" (Eccl. 12:9), "make straight" (so BDB, p. 1075; KoB, p. 1039). Thus in 1:15 Qoheleth states, "What is crooked cannot be made straight." Some commentators (e.g., R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* [3rd ed., repr. 1973], pp. 148, 211; J. Loader, *Ecclesiastes* [Eng. tr., *Text and Interpretation*, 1986], p. 25) take this as a fatalistic or pessimistic proverb reinforcing the point of v. 14 ("all is vanity"). But J. Ellul (*La raison d'être* [1987], pp. 93f., 214) sees it as a realistic view of work, which can change only the exterior, not the inner core, of things or people — only God can change that (see 7:13f.).

The most significant texts involving "straight" are those connected with "path" or "way" in the expression "make/keep straight your paths/ways." The principal root here is *yšr*, which can be used literally or figuratively. In its literal use it may have a geographical or directional sense. Thus it can refer to a direct route (e.g., 1 S. 6:12) or to something that is not curved or bent (e.g., straight legs, Ezk. 1:7).

Another primary sense of *yšr* is "smooth, level." Thus in Isa. 40:3f. to "make straight in the desert a highway for our God" means "Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low; the uneven ground shall become level [Heb. *mîšôr*, from *yšr*; see "level" in Ps. 26:12; 27:11; 143:10; Prov. 15:19; Isa. 26:7; 42:16] and the rough places a plain." (The Gospels [Mt.

3:3 par.], in applying this text to John the Baptist, follow the LXX rendering, thus offering an example of freedom in regard to the text.) See also Jer. 31:9, where the Lord consoles His people with the promise that He will lead them in a "a straight path in which they shall not stumble." According to I. H. Marshall, "making straight" in Lk. 3:4 is "a poetic way of saying that the way of the Lord is made easier by having a people already repentant of their sins and prepared to meet him" (*Gospel of Luke* [*NIGTC*, 1978], p. 136).

In Ezr. 8:21 Ezra proclaims a fast so that the exiles who are returning with him from Babylonia to Judah might humble themselves before God to seek from Him a "straight way." In Ps. 107:7 the psalmist may be referring to the Exodus when he says that God "led them by a straight way, till they reached a city to dwell in" (cf. comms.). But in these examples one could also see something more than a directional, literal sense, for the contexts suggest that safety or trustworthiness is more in view than direction (cf. NEB "safe journey" in Ezr. 8:21). On this relational aspect of *yšr* see G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. tr. 1962), 372 n. 6.; *ILC*, I-II, 341, 529.

In its more common figurative use *yšr* has ethical or theological significance (hence it is often translated "right" or "upright"; *see* RIGHT; UPRIGHT). It is frequently linked with the root *ṣdq*, "righteous" (e.g., Ps. 5:8 [MT 9]; Isa. 45:13; cf. Prov. 11:5; 29:27; see H. Cazelles, "De l'idéologie royale," in D. Marcus, ed., *Gaster Festschrift* [*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, 5; 1973], pp. 59-73). Thus the expression "straight way" connotes not so much a direct path as a smooth, easy one that is therefore safe or trustworthy. Hence in Ps. 5:8 the psalmist, oppressed by his enemies, prays that the Lord will lead him in His righteousness and make His way straight before him. Prov. 3:5f. clearly states the relational aspect of *yšr*: trust in the Lord, acknowledge Him, and He will "make straight your paths." In 11:5 the way of a blameless person is kept straight by his righteousness, in contrast to the wicked person who "fails by his own wickedness." Similarly, 29:27 contrasts the unjust man, who is "an abomination to the righteous," with "he whose way is straight," who is "an abomination to the wicked."

In Prov. 8:8f. Heb. *nāḵaḥ* parallels *yāšar*: all the words of Wisdom's mouth "are righteous," not "twisted or crooked" — they are all "straight [i.e., plain; so AV, NAB] to him who understands, and right [*yāšar*] to those who find knowledge."

The NT uses similar language and imagery. When Elymas tried to turn the proconsul Sergius Paulus away from the preaching of Paul and Barnabas, Paul rebuked Elymas for "making crooked the straight paths of the Lord," i.e., for perverting the gospel (Acts 13:10). In Gal. 2:14 Paul also rebuked Cephas (Peter) for being "not straightforward about the truth of the gospel," i.e., for being hypocritical or inconsistent, denying "freedom from the Law and justification by faith alone" (*TDNT*, V, 451; see also comms. on Galatians by E. Burton [*ICC*, repr. 1977], pp. 109-111; H. Betz [*Hermeneia*, 1979], pp. 110-12). The author of Hebrews exhorted his readers to "make straight paths for your feet" (a quote from Prov. 4:26, LXX). Scholars have debated the meaning of this expression. According to Preisker (*TDNT*, V, 449f.) it means "pursuing ways which are directed straight to their goal," but for others it means to make a smooth path so that even the lame (the spiritually weak) might not stumble (see F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews* [*NICNT*, 1964], pp. 362f.).

See also PATH; WAY.

On the "street called Straight" *see* STRAIGHT STREET.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, V, *s.v.* ὀρθός κτλ. (Preisker); *TDOT*, VI, *s.v.* "yāšar" (Ringgren, *et al.*); *THAT*, *s.v.* יָשַׁר (G. Liedke).

G. A. L.

STRAIGHT STREET [Gk. *hē rhýmē hē kalouménē Eutheia*–'the street called Straight'] (Acts 9:11). It is probable that the street of this name in modern Damascus is the one mentioned in the story of Paul's conversion (*see* map in DAMASCUS). Apparently it was well known, perhaps even fashionable (cf. comms. on Acts 9:11, esp. E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles* [Eng. tr. 1971], p. 323).

See also STREET.

STRAIN; STRAINING [Heb. *raʿyôn libbô*–'striving (?) of his heart' (Eccl. 2:22); Gk. *epekteínomai* (Phil. 3:13), *diylízō* (Mt. 23:24)]; AV also VEXATION (OF HIS HEART), REACHING; NEB also SCHEMING, REACHING; The RSV uses this term in two senses: to strive (Eccl. 2:22; Phil. 3:13) and to filter out (Mt. 23:24).

In Eccl. 2:22 the RSV, AV, and NEB translations reflect the uncertainty of the meaning of the Hebrew expression (Heb. *raʿyôn* occurs elsewhere only in Eccl. 1:17 and 4:16 in the expression "striving after wind," Heb. *raʿyôn rû[a]ḥ*; cf. AV "vexation of spirit"; NEB "chasing the wind"). The AV "vexation" is based on a derivation from the root *rʿʿ* I, "do evil"; the NEB "scheming" and RSV are based on a supposed root *rʿh* III, "desire" (which later developed in Aramaic to mean "think"; cf. Dnl. 2:29f.; 4:19 [MT 16]; 5:6, 10; 7:28; see J. A. Montgomery, comm. on Daniel [*ICC*, 1927], p. 164). See further R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* (3rd ed. repr. 1973), pp. 210f., who examined the evidence and concluded that in Ecclesiastes *raʿyôn* retains its early meaning of "desire." On the meaning of this verse in the context of Qoheleth's thought, see G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. tr. 1970), pp. 226-237.

The Gk. *epekteínomai* occurs only in Phil. 3:13, though it is related to the common term *ekteínō*, "stretch out." As most commentators point out, this term begins the racing imagery that Paul develops in v. 14 (see, e.g., G. Hawthorne, *Philippians* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], p. 153).

The imagery in Mt. 23:24 alludes to the practice of straining wine in order to avoid eating unclean insects. (Camels were also unclean; cf. Lev. 11:4, 42f.) The first edition of the AV read "strain out," but a later edition misprinted this as "strain at," and the error was never corrected. See SB, I, 934 for a discussion of parallels in rabbinic texts.

G. A. L.

STRAIT; STRAITEN; STRAITLY; STRAITNESS. The noun "strait" (meaning lit. "narrow place") is used figuratively by the RSV for Heb. *ṣārar* (lit. "be narrow, constricted," "be hard pressed") in the sense of a "situation of distress" in the expression "be in straits" (Jgs. 2:15; 1 S. 13:6; Job 20:22).

The AV sometimes uses the adjective "strait," the nouns "strait" and "straitness," and the verb "straiten" in the literal sense of "(be) narrow, restricted," e.g., for Heb. *ṣar* (2 K. 6:1; Isa. 49:20), *ṣārar* (Prov. 4:12), *mûṣaq* (Job 37:10), the niphal of *ʾāṣal* (Ezk. 42:6); Gk. *stenós* (Mt. 7:13f. par.), and *stenochōréō* (pass., 2 Cor. 6:12). In other AV passages these words are used figuratively in the sense of "strict" (e.g., for the Heb. hiphil of *ʾāḇaʿ* in Ex. 13:19 ["strictly swear"]; Gk. *polýs* in Mk. 3:12; 5:43; *akribéstatos* in Acts 26:5) or "distressed" (e.g., for Heb. *mâṣôq* and the hiphil of *ṣûq* in Jer. 19:9; *ṣārar* in 2 S. 24:14 par. 1 Ch. 21:43; Gk. *synéchō* in Lk. 12:50; Phil. 1:23).

See also DISTRESS.

N. J. O.

STRAKES. (AV Gen. 30:37; Lev. 14:37). *See* SPOTS; STREAKS.

STRANGE [Heb. *nēḵār* (Dt. 31:16), *zār* (Dt. 32:16; Ps. 44:20 [MT 21]; 81:9 [MT 10]; Prov. 23:33; Isa. 28:21; 43:12; Hos. 8:12), part. of *lāʿaz*–'speak a foreign language' ("strange language," Ps. 114:1), *lāʿēg*–'stammering' (Isa. 28:11); Gk. *parádoxos*–'contrary to expectation' (Lk. 5:26), part. of *xenízo*–'surprise' (Acts 17:20), *xénos* (He. 13:9; 1 Pet. 4:12), *mégas*–'great' (2 Cor. 11:15), *heteróglōssos*–'of another tongue' ("man of a strange tongue," 1 Cor. 14:21)]; AV also STAMMERING (Isa. 28:11), MAN OF (AN)OTHER TONGUE (1 Cor. 14:21), GREAT (2 Cor. 11:15); NEB also FOREIGN, OTHER, OUTLANDISH (Ps. 114:1), etc.; **FOREIGN** [Heb. *nēḵār* (Gen. 35:2, 4; Dt. 32:12; Josh. 24:20, 23; Jgs. 10:16; etc.), *noḵrî* (Ex. 2:22; 18:3; 21:8; 1 K. 11:1; etc.), *zār* (2 K. 19:24), *ʿereḇ*–'mixed people' ("foreign folk," Jer. 25:20; "foreign troops," 50:37), *ʿāmēq*–'unintelligible' (Ezk. 3:5f.); Gk. *allótrios* (He. 11:9, 34), *éxō*–'outside' (Acts 26:11), *xénos* (Acts 17:18)]; AV STRANGE, OUTLANDISH (Neh. 13:26), MINGLED PEOPLE (Jer. 25:20; 50:37), ALIEN (He. 11:34); NEB also STRANGER, ALIEN, RABBLE (Jer. 25:20; 50:37), etc.

The primary terms for "strange" and "foreign" in the RSV OT are Heb. *zār*, *nēḵār*, and *noḵrî*. "Strange" most often represents *zār* (part. of *zûr*, "turn aside," "deviate," "be alienated" [hophal]), which denotes that which is "alien" and "deviant" and therefore considered a threat to the covenant community. The term is often used by the prophets to designate Israel's enemies (RSV usually "strangers" or "aliens"), such as the Assyrians, Babylonians, or Edomites, who bring violent destruction on the land (Jer. 51:51; Lam. 5:2; Isa. 1:7; 25:2; Ezk. 28:7; etc.). It is also applied to the gods of these hostile nations, which threaten to corrupt Israel's faith and thereby destroy its welfare. The terms *nēḵār* and *noḵrî* (both from the root *nkr*) mean "foreign," and the RSV has usually chosen this translation in place of AV "strange." These terms are generally applied to foreign lands and to the people and gods from those lands.

As a nation, Israel was prohibited by God from associating with "strange" or "foreign" gods. The Israelites were commanded to destroy any images that they encountered as they took over the land of Canaan (Dt. 7:25). They were not to worship any gods other than Yahweh (e.g., Josh. 24:20; Ps. 81:9 [MT 10]). But despite the prohibition and warnings, Israel often strayed to serve the gods of neighboring peoples (cf. Dt. 31:16; 32:16), beginning already in the days of Joshua (Josh. 24:23). During the time of the judges they served the Baals (*see* BAAL) and ASHTAROTH, the gods of Aram, Sidon, Moab, Ammon, and Philistia (Jgs. 10:6). Because of the Israelites' APOSTASY Yahweh sent enemies to oppress them; but when they put away their foreign gods, Yahweh delivered them (v. 16). Some of the Israelite kings were instrumental in leading the people into the worship of foreign gods. Solomon was led by his foreign wives into the worship of ASHTORETH, CHEMOSH, and MOLECH (1 K. 11:1-8). Starting with Jeroboam, all the northern kings gave in to IDOLATRY. This was also a problem in the southern kingdom. Manasseh brought the worship of idols even into the temple itself (2 Ch. 33:7). Some of the southern kings, however, led reforms against the worship of foreign gods: Asa (2 Ch. 14:3 [MT 2]; 15:8), Jehoshaphat (19:3), Jehu (2 K. 10:28), Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:1), Manasseh (later in his life, 33:15), and Josiah (34:3-7); cf. also the reform under Jehoiada the priest (2 K. 11:18).

The RSV translates Heb. *noḵrî* "foreign" eleven times in connection with women. INTERMARRIAGE with foreigners was forbidden due to the negative spiritual influences that would result (Dt. 7:1-5). As mentioned above, Solomon succumbed to the worship of foreign gods through seeking to please his foreign wives (1 K. 11:1-8). Ezra was very distressed about Israel's unfaithfulness in marrying foreign women during the Exile (Ezr. 9:2f., 10-15). In order to turn aside God's anger (10:14) the whole assembly made a covenant with Him to send away all their foreign wives (ch. 10). Nehemiah also condemned foreign marriages, insisting that they were treachery against God (Neh. 13:23-27).

The book of Proverbs uses both *zār* and *noḵrî* as technical references to harlots or prostitutes. The AV uses "strange" to translate both terms; the RSV uses "loose" for *zār* and "adventuress" for *noḵrî* (Prov. 2:16; 5:3, 20; 6:24; 7:5; 22:14; 23:27).

See also FOREIGNER; MIXED MULTITUDE (Jer. 25:20; 50:37); SOJOURNER, ALIEN, STRANGER; STRANGER (NT).

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "zûr/zar" (L. A. Snijders); *TWOT*, I, 238; II, 579f.

W. D. ZORN N. J. O.

STRANGE FIRE. *See* UNHOLY FIRE.

STRANGER (OT). *See* SOJOURNER, ALIEN, STRANGER.

STRANGER (NT) [Gk. *allótrios* < *állos*–'another' (Jn. 10:5), *xénos* (Mt. 25:35, 38, 43f.; 27:7; Eph. 2:12, 19; He. 11:13; 3 Jn. 5)]; NEB also FOREIGNER, ALIEN. In He. 13:2 "show hospitality to strangers" (AV "entertain strangers"; NEB "show hospitality") is a contextual translation of Gk. *philoxenía*, "hospitality." One who is personally unknown to another or differing in geographical or ethnic origin.

In many ways "foreigner" best captures the sense of these words, because in the ancient world members of one's own community were generally all well-known to each other. Treatment of foreigners in both Jewish and Greco-Roman circles varied greatly. Both cultures came to enjoin and legislate hospitality to visiting and resident aliens, but hostilities and prejudices often remained, especially where a history of warfare or religious incompatibility separated peoples. He. 13:2 and 3 Jn. 5 respectively commend OT and NT examples of hospitality to strangers (cf. the explicit requirement for church leaders in 1 Tim. 3:2; 5:10; Tit. 1:8).

The references in Mt. 25 occur in the parable of the sheep and goats in which Jesus equates welcoming a stranger with welcoming Himself. Commentators debate whether Jesus is discussing how His disciples should treat others or how the "world" should respond to His followers and their message (for a concise survey of approaches, see D. A. Carson, "Matthew," in F. Gaebelein, ed., *Expositor's Bible Comm.*, VIII, [1984], 519f.). In Mt. 27:7 Judas's "unclean money is used for an unclean purpose, the purchase of a cemetery for foreigners, presumably gentiles" (E. Schweizer, *Good News according to Matthew* [Eng. tr. 1975], p. 505), whom the RSV calls "strangers."

Ephesians 2:12, 19 deal with the abolition of the hostility between Jews and Gentiles that had greatly increased since the intertestamental hellenization of much of Judaism. Now these groups are united as new creations in the household of Christ, and the Gentiles, who have been alienated from God's blessings as virtual "enemies" of His chosen people, are no longer "strangers." He. 11 balances this by highlighting the fact that even faithful OT believers died "as strangers and exiles on the earth" without receiving the promises of God in full. Both Jewish and

Gentile Christians recognize that they still live as strangers in a strange land and that their true citizenship is only in heaven (Phil. 3:20).

The sole RSV use of "stranger" for Gk. *allótrios* contrasts the shepherd of a flock with an unknown one who cannot command the allegiance of the sheep (Jn. 10:5). Jesus proceeds to explain that He is the good shepherd and all competitors are hirelings (10:11f.).

See also ENTERTAIN; SOJOURNER.

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, I, 684f., 686-690; *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* ξένος κτλ. (Stählin). C. L. BLOMBERG

STRANGLED [Heb. piel part. of *ḥānaq*] (Nah. 2:12 [MT 13]); NEB BROKE THE NECK; [Gk. *pniktós*] (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25). A term applied to animals that have been killed by choking. The Jews were forbidden to eat animals killed in this way because the flesh contained the blood (Lev. 17:10-14); they were required to slaughter animals by slitting the throat and draining the blood. The Apostolic Council decided to request gentile converts to abstain from meat that had been strangled so as to avoid offending the Jews. *See* APOSTOLIC COUNCIL IV.

STRANGLING [Heb. *maḥ^{a}nāq*—'suffocation' < *ḥānaq*—'strangle'] (Job 7:15); NEB CHOKED. While in a state of misery Job voiced his preference for death by choking; this does not, however, suggest premeditated suicide as in the case of Ahithophel (2 S. 17:23), who "hanged himself" (niphal of *ḥānaq*). *See* HANGING.

STRAW [Heb. *teḇen*] (Gen. 24:25, 32; Ex. 5:7; Job 21:18; 41:27 [MT 19]; Jer. 23:28; etc.); AV also STUBBLE (Job 21:18), CHAFF (Jer. 23:28); NEB also CHAFF (Jer. 23:28); [*maṯbēn*—'straw-heap'] (Isa. 25:10). Straw comes from the stalks of wheat, emmer, and barley that have been chopped up by the threshing sledge (*see* THRESHING). After the grain and its stalk have been threshed, it is necessary to separate the combination of grain and straw. By the winnowing process the unwanted lighter material or CHAFF (Heb. *mōṣ*) is blown away. Naturally, chaff became idiomatic for the wicked or enemies of Israel that God would blow away (Job 21:18; Ps. 1:4; 35:5; Isa. 17:13; 29:5; 41:15; Hos. 13:3; Zeph. 2:2).

The primary use of straw was for feed (Gen. 24:25, 32; Jgs. 19:9; 1 K. 4:28 [MT 5:8]; Isa. 11:7; 65:25). It could also be mixed with grains for fodder or PROVENDER (Heb. *bᵉlîl* or *mispō'*). In the Middle East the straw (Arab. *tibn*) is still used today primarily for feed.

A secondary use of straw was as a binding substance in the making of bricks and in ceramics (usually large crude vessels). Before the Exodus from Egypt the Hebrews were engaged in brick-making projects that included the use of straw (Ex. 5:7, 10-13, 16, 18). C. Nims (*BA*, 13 [1950], 24-28) observed that the presence of straw in bricks depended on two factors: first, the use of the brick (those used in vaulting needed to be stronger, while bricks in a vertical wall in the same structure did not always contain straw); second, soil consistency (if the clay content was too high, then bricks tended to crack when drying, and so straw was added to prevent this from happening). Both archeological finds and literary sources (see *DOTT*, p. 184; *ANET*, p. 424) indicate that the ancient Egyptians used straw in clay for bricks and pottery.

J. K. HOFFMEIER

STRAWED. An archaic form of the past tense of Eng. "strew," used by the AV to render Heb. *zārâ* (Ex. 32:20; RSV "scattered"); Gk. *diaskorpízō* (Mt. 25:24, 26; RSV "did sow," "sowed") and *stróṅnymi* (Mt. 21:8 par. Mk. 11:8; RSV "spread").

STREAKS [Heb. *pᵉṣālôṯ*—'peeled strips (on rods, boughs)' < *pāṣal*—'split'] (Gen. 30:37); AV STRAKES; NEB "strips of bark." The strips of bark that Jacob cut from various wooden rods.

STREAM. *See* RIVER.

STREET. The most common OT term for "street" is Heb. *ḥûṣ*, which basically means "outside" (cf. the frequent LXX rendering, *éxō* or *éxōthen*). This term reflects the situation in most ancient cities, where the street was simply the place left outside of (i.e., between) the buildings.

The next most common OT term, Heb. *rᵉḥōḇ* or *rᵉḥôḇ*, apparently refers to a wide area, usually near a gate, suitable for public gatherings, markets, etc. (Gen. 19:2; Ps. 144:14; Prov. 1:20; 5:16; 7:12; 22:13; 26:13; Lam. 2:11f.; 4:18; Ezk. 16:31; Zec. 8:4f.). Thus the RSV usually translates it "(open public) square" or "market (place)." *See* SQUARE.

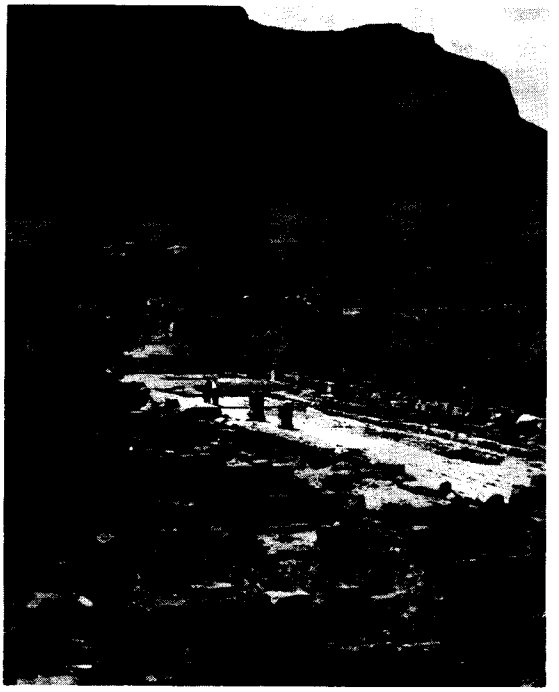
Other OT terms used are Heb. *šûq* (Prov. 7:8; Eccl. 12:4f.; Cant. 3:2), *dereḵ* (Ezk. 16:25; *see* ROAD), and *nᵉṯîḇâ* (Isa. 58:12; *see* PATH).

The usual term behind the use of "street" in the RSV NT is Gk. *plateía*, which originally referred to a flat or wide area. In Lk. 14:21 it is used with Gk. *rhýmē* (RSV "lane"), a term for a narrow street that is also found in Mt. 6:2; Acts 9:11; 12:10.

Other NT terms rendered "street" are Gk. *hodós*, "road" (Mt. 22:10) and *ámphodon* (Mk. 11:4).

Throughout most of ancient Near Eastern history, streets were laid out haphazardly, without much direction from a preconceived plan. Frequently they were no more than the random minimum spaces left over as freestanding building complexes expanded toward each other to accommodate a growing population. These streets, therefore, were twisting lanes of irregular width, often barely wide enough to allow two people to pass and ending in cul-de-sacs. Such neighborhood streets were familiar and cozy retreats for residents but rather uninviting to strangers. Paving was often minimal, consisting of packed earth, crushed limestone, or undressed cobbles. These surfaces tended to build up gradually from the accumulation of windblown dust and human and animal refuse (cf. Isa. 5:25 and the references to dust [Lam. 2:21], mire [e.g., 2 S. 22:43], and mud [Zec. 9:3; 10:15] of the streets). If the street was in use for decades or centuries, modern arch-

A section of a stone street at Philippi. The worn grooves were made by chariots (D. H. Condit)



The main street of Corinth once lined with shops and houses (R. H. Smith)

eologists will find a series of street surfaces superimposed on one another.

Examples of random street layout can be cited from almost every phase of the history of Palestine, such as Early Bronze Arad, Early Iron Tell Beit Mirsim, and Early Christian Mampsis and Umm el-Jimal.

One or more broader main streets often crossed such unplanned cities in a more or less straight line from gate to gate to allow for vehicle traffic and military or ceremonial processions and to give access to public buildings and markets. In Early Iron Age Beer-sheba an oval street running parallel to the perimeter wall superimposes a planned pattern on an otherwise fairly random street layout. In more formally sponsored cities, such as Ahab's Megiddo, the public section appears to have had a more regular layout. (The excavation of most such places is too incomplete to make safe generalizations about street planning.)

Unplanned cities had no squares other than the open spaces on which buildings had not encroached. These could occur randomly as wider parts of streets or more deliberately, inside city gates or in front of public buildings like temples or palaces.

Although Egypt's Amarna offers an early example of carefully planned street layout, street systems in a preplanned grid pattern came to Palestine late. They were introduced by the hellenized rulers who followed Alexander the Great, such as Herod (Caesarea Maritima) and Hadrian (Roman Jerusalem). The main streets of these cities were straight, at right angles to each other, and lined with columns and public buildings. Secondary streets also followed rigid rectangular grids. The main streets were often paved with smooth flagstones and provided with storm sewers. Among the best preserved are the spectacular main streets of Jerash (Gerasa) and Petra.

Residents of such cities experienced a sense of order and familiarity when visiting similar cities, e.g., a native of Caesarea would have been able to find his way easily on the streets of Ephesus or Carthage.

In the Hellenistic planned city the intersection of two main streets was often enlarged and embellished with a *tetrapylon,* a symmetrical arrangement of four piers that supported statues. Other planned open spaces were the *temenos* around a classical temple, where worshipers gathered for sacrifice, and the *agora* or *forum,* where citizens congregated for politics and business. The *temenos* of the Artemis temple and the oval forum at Jerash are outstanding examples of these (*see* Vol. II, Plate 18; *see also* picture in GERASA).

B. DE VRIES
E. W. S.

STRENGTH OF ISRAEL (Joel 3:16, AV). *See* STRONGHOLD; FORTIFICATION IV.

STRIFE; STRIVE. In the RSV the twenty-eight occurrences of the verb "strive" translate six Hebrew terms and seven Greek terms, some of which share similar meanings.

Several terms indicate a literal, physical struggle, e.g., a fight between individuals (Ex.21:2 [Heb. *nāṣâ*]), a wrestling between Jacob and the angel of God (Gen. 32:28 [MT 29]; Hos. 12:3f. [MT 4f.] [*śārâ*]), and a battle against Yahweh, i.e., a waging of war against His people (Jer. 50:24 [hithpael of *gârâ*]).

The image of physical fighting or struggling may be used figuratively for those who contend with the wicked (Prov. 28:4 [Heb. hithpael of *gārâ*]), for one who struggles in the realm of the spiritual life (Lk. 13:24; Col. 1:29; 1 Tim. 4:10 [Gk. *agōnízomai*]; Col. 2:1 [*agṓn*]), and for one who struggles together for the faith of the gospel (Rom. 15:30 [*synagōnízomai*]), and in prayer (Phil. 1:27 [*synathléō*]).

"Strive" can also refer to a fighting that takes place on a verbal level, e.g., to attack with reproaches (Isa. 41:11; Dt. 33:8 [Heb. *rîḇ*]), to dispute with one's Maker (Isa. 45:9 [*rîḇ*]), or to contend, perhaps in a legal sense, over land rights (Jgs. 11:25 [*rîḇ*]).

"Strive" also denotes an effort to achieve something, e.g., striving for wisdom, pleasure, lasting achievement (Eccl. 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 6; 6:9 [Heb. *rᵉʿût*]; Eccl. 1:17; 4:16 [*raʿyôn*]), seeking to excel in building up the Church (1 Cor. 14:12 [Gk. *zētéō*]), making effort to be obedient (He. 4:11 [*spoudázō*]), and pursuing peace and holiness (He. 12:14 [*diṓkō*]).

The word "strife," which occurs thirty-two times in the RSV, translates six Hebrew terms and one Greek term. These terms exhibit approximately the same range of nuances as those above. In some of the contexts it is unclear whether the strife is physical or verbal.

Some texts indicate physical struggle or conflict (Prov. 13:10; 17:19 [Heb. *maṣâ*]), while others indicate a stirring up of strife in the sense of an attack or threat of attack (Isa. 54:15 [*gûr*]).

Strife expressed on a verbal level may range from particular disputes (Gen. 13:7; Dt. 1:12 [Heb. *rîḇ*]; Gen. 13:8 [*mᵉrîḇâ*]), to general quarrels (Prov. 17:1; 20:3; 26:21 [*rîḇ*]), verbal hostility and verbal attacks (Nu. 27:14 [*mᵉrîḇâ*]; 2 S. 22:44; Ps. 18:43 [MT 44]; 31:20 [MT 21]; 55:9 [MT 10]; Prov. 18:6; 30:33; Jer. 15:10; Hab. 1:3 [*rîḇ*]; Rom. 1:29; 1 Cor. 3:3; Gal. 5:20 [Gk. *éris*]).

Strife can designate contention in general (2 S. 19:9 [MT 10] [Heb. *dîn*]), or be used as an expression of ill will (Prov. 10:12; 15:18; 16:28; 17:14; 22:10; 23:29; 28:25; 29:22 [*māḏôn*]). It can also refer figuratively to pain (Job 33:19 [*rîb*]).

R. K. DUKE

STRIKE. *I. In the OT.*–In the Hebrew Bible the chief word for "strike" is the hiphil of *nāḵâ*, which is also frequently rendered "smite" (*see* SMITE). In eighty-seven instances the RSV has translated this term as "strike" (and so also in three occurrences in the hophal and one in the niphal). Its most common context is the scene of battle or of personal combat. Examples include Saul's campaign against the Philistines (1 S. 14:31), his personal vendetta against David (19:10), David's personal combat with Goliath (17:46. 49f.), David's arrangements to have Uriah slain in battle (niphal, 2 S.11:15), Eleazar's heroic exploits against the Philistines (23:10), Ahab's fatal injury during the battle for Ramoth-gilead (1 K. 22:34 par. 2 Ch. 18:33), the apocalyptic battle with Gog (the striking of the bow symbolizing defeat in battle, Ezk. 39:3), and the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem (Mic. 5:1 [MT 4:14]).

This term also appears frequently in contexts of succession struggles, coups, and political assassination attempts, e.g., the assassinations of Amnon (2 S. 13:28), Amasa (20:10), Nadab (1 K. 15:27), Elah (16:10), Ahab's heirs (2 K. 9:7; 10:9), Joash (12:21 [MT 22]), Zechariah (15:10), Shallum (v. 14), Pekah (v. 30), and Gedaliah (Jer. 41:2); cf. also the assassination opportunity (against Saul) welcomed by Abishai but rejected by David (1 S. 26:8), Absalom's attempted coup (2 S. 17:2), and the execution of Absalom (18:11, 15). (The RSV also uses "slay" to describe similar events and deeds; *see* SLAY.)

The hiphil of *nāḵâ* is also used to denote the administering of a beating or blow in non-combat contexts, e.g., the fighting of two Hebrews in Egypt (Ex. 2:13) and the beatings applied by Balaam to his ass (Nu. 22:23-32). It may refer to a slap in the face (1 K. 22:24 par. 2 Ch. 18:23; Job 16:10) or simply to hitting someone (e.g., Prov. 19:25; 1 K. 20:35, 37); Prov. 23:35 refers humorously to the drunkard's inability to realize when he has been struck. The term refers to a fatal blow in the case of the two contending brothers from Tekoah (2 S. 14:6f.). The murder laws of Nu. 35:16-18, 21 prescribe the death penalty for fatal blows administered with implements of several kinds. Similarly, Ex. 21:12, 15, 18-20, 26 details the punishments for both fatal and non-fatal blows inflicted on other persons (cf. also the use of the hophal of *nāḵâ* in 22:2 [MT 1]). The hiphil of *nāḵâ* may also be used for symbolic gestures such as the clapping of hands as a sign of extreme displeasure (Ezk. 22:13), the striking of the ground with arrows in a ritual of sympathetic magic (2 K. 13:18f.), and the chopping blows that Ezekiel applied to one-third of his hair round about Jerusalem to symbolize the slaughter of the city's inhabitants (Ezk. 5:2).

The hiphil of *nāḵâ* is also used of various wonders, plagues, or judgments that "strike" from the hand of Yahweh. At Yahweh's command Aaron struck the Nile with his rod, and the Nile turned to blood (Ex. 7:17, 20, 25); similarly, Aaron used his rod to strike the dust of the earth, and it produced gnats (8:16f. [MT 12f.]). Other examples include Moses' striking of the rock at Horeb (Ex. 17:5f.) and the rock at Meribah (Nu. 20:11) to produce water, Elijah's and Elisha's striking of the Jordan with Elijah's mantle to part the waters (2 K. 2:8, 14), the angels' striking of the men of Sodom with blindness (Gen. 19:11), Yahweh's striking of Egypt with pestilence and hail (Ex. 9:15, 25), His striking down of the firstborn of Egypt (Nu. 33:4), His threat in the wilderness to strike His own people with pestilence (Nu. 14:12), His striking of the Philistines with tumors (hophal, 1 S. 5:12), His striking of the Syrian soldiers with blindness (2 K. 6:18), and His chastening strikes of judgment against Ephraim (Hos. 6:1; hophal, 9:16), Jerusalem's leaders (Zec. 13:7), and Jerusalem's foes (12:4).

In Hos. 14:5 (MT 6) the RSV and NEB render the phrase *nāḵâ* (hiphil) *šōrēš* by "strike root." This image symbolizes expansion and recovery, the perdurability of Yahweh's new creation.

Hebrew *pāga'* ("meet with, encounter") is translated "strike down" by the RSV five times in 1 K. 2:25-46 (vv. 25, 29, 31, 34, 46), referring to a series of executions carried out by Benaiah at King Solomon's command. In each instance the verb is followed by *bô* (*be-personae*), designating the person "struck" or hostilely encountered (Adonjah, Joab, and Shimei). In Job 36:32 the RSV emends the MT to read *mipgā'* ("target, mark," derived from *pāga'*; cf. 7:20) and supplies "strike" in a reference to God's ordering the lightning to "strike the mark"; cf., however, M. H. Pope's translation "with sure aim" for MT *mapgî(a)'* instead of the usual emendation to *mipgā'* (*Job* [*AB*, 3rd ed. 1983], p. 276).

The verb *hālam* ("hit, strike, smash") is translated "strike" by the RSV four times with a variety of nuances. In Ps. 141:5 it refers to a well-intended corrective blow. In Jgs. 5:26 it is one of the terms used to describe the smashing blow of the mallet (*halmût*, a word play on *hālam*) wielded by Jael in crushing the head of Sisera (cf. the same verb in v. 22, where it describes the "beating" of horses' hooves). Isa. 16:8 depicts the devastation of Moab (renowned for its vineyards) under the figure of the "lords of the nations" striking down the great vine of Sibmah (the NEB has reordered the syntax so that it is the grapes of that vine that "once laid low [*hālam*] the lords of the nations"). In Isa. 41:7 *hālam* refers to the goldsmith's beating of the anvil.

Hebrew *nāga'* ("touch, strike") is in six instances translated "strike" by the RSV. Twice it refers to natural disaster: the striking of the fiercely hot east wind (Ezk. 17:10) and of the "whirlwind" (so NEB; Job 1:19). In 1 S. 6:9 the Philistines endeavor to determine whether it was Yahweh who afflicted them with tumors. In Ps. 73 the psalmist struggles to understand the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the innocent. The traditional theology taught that the righteous are not "stricken" (cf. v. 5; NEB "suffer torments"); yet the righteous psalmist finds himself constantly "stricken" (v. 14). *Nāga'* appears most notably as "stricken" in the fourth Servant Song of Isaiah (53:4): "we esteemed him stricken [Heb. *nāgû(a)'*], smitten by God [*mukkēh 'ĕlōhîm*]"; this remarkable phrase expresses (in order to contradict) the nearly universal ancient view of suffering as divine punishment that one brought upon oneself through wicked deeds (*see also* SMITE).

Hebrew *nāgap* ("smite, strike") is in three instances translated "strike" by the RSV. In two of these Yahweh is represented as controlling the timing of certain persons' death: the baby of Bathsheba in 2 S. 12:15, and the foes of the Davidic dynasty in Ps. 89:23 (MT 24). In Nu. 14:42 the niphal of *nāgap* is translated "be struck down" in reference to defeat in battle. *See also* SMITE; SLAY.

Eleven other Hebrew verbs are translated "strike" by the RSV. In Prov. 1:26f. the common verb *bô'* (lit. "come") is used twice with the subject *paḥaḏ* ("terror, dread") to refer to the "panic" that will "strike" (AV "come"; NEB "come upon") the fool or evildoer "like a storm." In Dt. 19:5 the common verb *māṣā'* ("find, meet") is rendered "strike" because it refers to a "meeting" between a flying axe-head (that has slipped off the handle) and a bystander, resulting in an accidental death. In Job 15:29 the RSV and NEB follow the Vulgate in translating Heb. *nāṭâ . . . minlām* as "strike root." The verb *nāṭâ*, "extend, spread," could connote the spreading of roots, but the object *minlām* is a hapax legomenon of uncertain

meaning. (The LXX has *skiá*, "shadow".) See M. H. Pope, *Job* (*AB*, 3rd ed. 1983), pp. 118f., for a proposed revocalization of *minlām* based on Arab. *manāl*, "acquisition"; if this translation is correct, the phrase may mean that the wicked will not be able to extend their possessions beyond this earth.

In Job 20:24 the AV and RSV use "strike through" to translate the verb *ḥālap* ("pierce"; cf. NEB). Heb. *sāpaq* ("clap, slap") usually occurs in references to gestures such as clapping the hands (at someone in mockery, Lam. 2:15) or slapping the thigh (in distress, Ezk. 21:17). Twice the RSV translates it "strike": in Nu. 24:10 Balak expresses his anger at Balaam by striking (AV "smite"; NEB "beat") his hands together, and in Job 34:26 God is said to clap the evildoer with a stroke of justice. The same term, with an alternate sibilant orthography (*ś* in place of *s*), occurs in the difficult final phrase of Isa. 2:6, which reads, literally, "with the children of foreigners they clap [hiphil of *śāpaq*]." The RSV takes the verb in the technical sense of "striking hands" to enter into a treaty or seal a bargain. The AV, however, has "please themselves with foreigners," and the NEB (following the LXX) reads "with the children of foreigners everywhere" (see comms.).

Hebrew *ḥālal* ("wound, slay, be slain") occurs in Ps. 109:22, where the psalmist complains of a heart that is "stricken" (NEB "distracted"; AV "wounded"). Lam. 4:9 uses the pual of *dāqar* ("be stabbed, pierced") in a clever wordplay to suggest that those who died by the sword defending Jerusalem were much better off than those who were "stricken" (lit. "stabbed") by hunger.

In a few instances the RSV translates verbs as "strike" only because of the context. In Ps. 10:18 the common verb *yāsap* ("increase") combined with *ʿrôṣ* ("fear"), is rendered "strike terror." Similarly, in 2 Ch. 32:21 the hiphil of *nāpal* ("make fall"), used in combination with *ḥereḇ* ("sword"), is translated by the RSV "struck . . . down . . . with the sword" (AV "slew"). In two instances *šānâ* ("do again, repeat") is translated "strike," the meaning being supplied from the prior use of the hiphil of *nāḵâ* (1 S. 26:8; 2 S. 20:10).

Three Hebrew substantives are each once rendered "striking" or "stricken" by the RSV. *Ḥabbûrâ* ("stripe, blow"; cf. "stripes" in Isa. 53:5) is rendered "striking" (NEB "blow"; AV "hurt") in the boastful song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23). In Isa. 16:7 the hapax legomenon *nāḵā'* is apparently related to the verb *nāḵā'* (a rare form of *nāḵâ*), "beat, scourge." The noun *nega'*, usually rendered "blow" or "plague" (cognate to the verb *nāga'*; see above), is translated "stricken" in reference to the Servant of the Lord in Isa. 53:8.

In Dnl. 2:35 the RSV translates the Aramaic verb *mᵉḥā'* "strike" in reference to the smashing of a statue by a falling stone (but cf. the RSV's use of "smite" in v. 34 for the same verb).

II. In the NT.–The RSV uses "strike" to render a variety of Greek terms with the general meaning of "hit," "beat," or "strike." The verb *patássō* appears more than four hundred times in the LXX, usually as the equivalent of Heb. hiphil of *nāḵâ*. In seven of its ten NT occurrences the RSV translates it "strike" (for the other three, *see* SMITE). Three of these are in quotations from the OT: Acts 7:24 quotes Ex. 2:12 (where the RSV renders the Heb. hiphil of *nāḵâ* by "kill"), and Mk. 14:27 par. Mt. 26:31 quote Zec. 13:7. *Patássō* is also rendered "strike" in two passages referring to the cutting off of the ear of the high priest's slave by one of Jesus' disciples (Mt. 26:51 par. Lk. 22:49f.; cf. Mk. 14:47 and Jn. 18:10, which employ the synonymous vb. *paíō*). In Acts 12:7 *patássō* describes a jostling administered by the angel awakening Peter in jail.

Patássō also occurs with some frequency in the Apocrypha, and in eleven instances the RSV translates it "strike"; e.g., in references to the defeat of Shechem (Jth. 9:3; cf. Gen. 34:25-29), to Judith's striking off the head of Holofernes (Jth. 13:8, 15; cf. 9:10), to military victories of Judas and Jonathan in the Maccabean revolt (1 Macc. 2:44; 5:7, 65; 9:47, 66), and to God's role in the horrible death of the detested Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2 Macc. 9:5; cf. vv. 6-12).

The verb *týptō* has the basic sense of "stupefy by a blow"; its original sense was "stamp on a mark," but it came to be used as a general term for "strike" or "beat" (*TDNT*, VIII, 260). In the LXX it is much less common than *patássō*, but it is used most often to translate the Heb. hiphil of *nāḵâ* (occurring only twenty-six times). In six of its thirteen NT occurrences *týptō* is translated "strike" by the RSV (AV "smite"; elsewhere the RSV usually has "beat"). In Mt. 27:30 par. Mk. 15:19 the reference is to Pilate's soldiers' mockingly hitting Jesus on the head with a reed. In Lk. 6:29 (cf. par. Mt. 5:39, which has Gk. *rhapízō*) Jesus counsels offering the other cheek to someone who hits one on the cheek. *Týptō* is also translated "strike" by the RSV in 2 Macc. 3:39, which refers to God's punishment of those who come to Jerusalem for ill purpose.

In four instances in the RSV NT "strike" represents *paíō*, "another general term for "hit" or "strike." Two of these occurrences (mentioned above) refer to the cutting off of the ear of the slave of the high priest (Mk. 14:47; Jn. 18:10). The other two instances refer to the behavior of the chief priests and members of the council who mockingly asked Jesus to identify who it was that "struck" Him (Mt. 26:68 par. Lk. 22:64; AV "smite"; NEB "hit").

The verb *kolaphízō* ("beat, ill-treat, harass") is used to refer to the same incident of striking Jesus in Mt. 26:67 par. Mk. 14:65; in Lk. 22:63 the generally synonymous verb *dérō* is used for the same action but translated "beat" by the RSV and NEB. *Dérō* is twice translated "strike" by the RSV. In Jn. 18:23 Jesus responds to an officer of Annas with the words: ". . . if I have spoken rightly, why do you strike me?" In 2 Cor. 11:20 Paul lists striking in the face among the abuses that the Corinthians were tolerating from his opponents the false apostles; the reference is perhaps figurative for insult, but it more likely indicates actual physical assault (cf. Mt. 26:67 par.; Acts 23:2f.).

Greek *proskóptō* with the preposition *prós* has the meaning "strike (something) against (something)." In the second wilderness temptation of Jesus (Mt. 4:6; par. Lk. 4:11) the devil cites Ps. 91:11f. to the effect that if Jesus threw Himself off the top of the temple, angels would bear Him up ("lest you strike your foot against a stone"); thus the crowds would be deeply impressed with His powers.

Greek *píptō* ("fall, collapse," "strike") is used of the sun's relentless beating in Rev. 7:16, where this is listed among the hardships that those clothed in white robes will no longer face. Its cognate *peripíptō* ("fall into," "encounter") is translated "strike" in Acts 27:41, where it refers to a drifting ship's hitting of a shoal or reef off the island of Malta (cf. AV "fall into"; NEB "run aground"). *Apokteínō* ("kill [someone], put to death") is usually translated "kill" (e.g., Mt. 10:28), but in Rev. 2:23 the RSV and NEB translate the phrase *apoktenṓ en thanátǫ́* "strike dead" (AV "kill with death"). It is possible, however, that *thánatos* ("death") is here used in the sense of a particular kind of death, namely, "pestilence" (cf. Rev. 6:8; 18:8; see comms.).

In Acts 27:14 the common verb *bállō* ("throw, cast") with the preposition *katá* is rendered "strike down" by the RSV in reference to the catastrophic impact of a tem-

pestuous "northeaster" on the ship carrying Paul to Italy (NEB "tear down"; AV "arise"). The cognate *katabállō* ("knock down") is also once rendered "strike down" by the RSV, in a figurative reference to the impact of daily hardships ("struck down, but not destroyed," 2 Cor. 4:9). The RSV also translates *katabállō* "strike down" several times in the Apocrypha, referring to a blow from a hot-tempered person (Sir. 8:16), to David's overthrow of Goliath's boasting (47:4), to the defeat of Lysias (1 Macc. 4:33), and to God's strong defense against the foes of the Maccabears (2 Macc. 8:18).

The verb *plḗssō*, which occurs only once in the NT, refers in Rev. 8:12 to a cosmic blow that causes the sun to lose a third of its light. Its cognate *kataplḗssō* (RSV "strike down") is used in 2 Macc. 15:24 of blasphemers who will be struck by terror from God.

Greek *rhapízō* ("hit, slap") is translated "strike" by the RSV in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, where Jesus advises turning the other cheek when someone "strikes you on the right cheek" (Mt. 5:39; AV "smite"; NEB "slap"; cf. *týptō* in par. Lk. 6:29). The cognate noun *rhápisma* (a "blow" or "hit") in combination with the verb *dídōmi* ("give") is translated "strike" by the RSV in two references to Jesus' being hit or slapped during His trials before Annas (Jn. 18:22; cf. *dérō* in v. 23) and Pilate (19:3).

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, III, *s.v.* κολαφίζω (K. L. Schmidt); V, *s.v.* πατάσσω (H. Seesemann); VIII, *s.v.* τύπτω (G. Stählin).

D. G. BURKE

STRING [Heb. *pāṯîl*–'rope'] (Jgs. 16:9); AV THREAD; NEB STRAND; [*yeṯer*] (Ps. 11:2); [*ḥ*ᵃ*rûzîm*] ("strings of jewels," Cant. 1:10); AV, NEB, CHAINS. Hebrew *pāṯîl* was a twisted cord or thread made from the coarse, broken part of flax ready for spinning. *Yeṯer*, "bowstring," was commonly made from ox gut, braided hair, or flax. The *ḥ*ᵃ*rûzîm* of Cant. 1:10 probably refers to a necklace of beads. The RSV reading of Hab. 3:9 is an attempt to correct an obscure passage in the MT; the AV gives a literal translation.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS; STRINGS. *See* MUSIC II.B.

STRIPE, STRIPES (Ex. 21:25; Dt. 25:2f.; 2 S. 7:14; Isa. 53:5). *See* FLOG, PUNISH IV.A.; SCOURGE; WOUND.

STRIPED [Heb. *'āqōḏ*] (Gen. 30:35, 39f.; 31:8, 10, 12); AV RINGSTRAKED. This term occurs only in Genesis and implies a variation in the color distribution of animals in Laban's flocks. But KoB (p. 730) suggests that it describes a twisting of the tail in sheep and goats. Perhaps Jacob's experiments with his father-in-law's animals in selective breeding produced sheep with distinctive tails such as the fat-tailed variety.

See also SPECKLED.

See C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. tr. 1985), pp. 482f.

R. K. H.

STRIPLING. *See* YOUTH.

STRONGHOLD [Heb. *'almān*] (Ezk. 19:7); [*'armôn*] (Isa. 34:13; Jer. 49:27; Hos. 8:14; Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2, 5; 3:9-11; 6:8); AV PALACE; [*biṣṣārôn*] (Zec. 9:12); [*miḇṣār*] (Nu. 13:19; Ps. 89:40 [MT 41]; Jer. 48:18; Lam. 2:2, 5; Dnl. 11:24; Mic. 5:11 [MT 10]); [*misgereṯ*] (Mic. 7:17); AV HOLE; [*māʿôz*] (Jgs. 6:26; Ps. 27:1; Prov. 10:29; Isa. 23:4, 11, 14; 25:4; Jer. 16:19; Ezk. 24:25; 30:15; Joel 3:16 [MT 4:16]; Nah. 1:7); AV also STRENGTH, FORTRESS (Jer. 16:19); [*mᵉṣāḏ*] (Jgs. 6:2; 1 S. 23:14, 19, 29 [MT 24:1]; 1 Ch. 11:7; 12:8, 16; Jer. 48:41; 51:30; Ezk. 33:27); AV also HOLD, CASTLE, FORT; [*mᵉṣûḏâ*] (1 S. 22:4f.; 24:22 [MT 23]; 2 S. 5 7, 9, 17; 23:14; 1 Ch. 11:16; AV also HOLD,CASTLE; [*mᵉṣôḏâ*] (Isa. 29:7); AV MUNITION [*miśgāḇ*] (2 S. 22:3; Ps. 9:9 [MT 10]; 18:2 [MT 3]; 94:22; 144:2); AV HIGH TOWER, REFUGE (Ps. 9:9), DEFENCE (94:22); [*'ōz*] (Prov. 21:22); AV STRENGTH; [*ṣᵉrî(a)ḥ*] (Jgs. 9:46, 49); AV HOLD; [Gk. *ochýrōma*] (2 Cor. 10:4); in Jer. 48:7 the RSV has "stronghold" instead of AV "work" (Heb. MT *maʿᵃśeh*) because the LXX has Gk. *ochýrōma*, which presupposes Heb. *māʿôz* or *mᵉṣûḏâ*, in place of both *maʿᵃśeh* and *'ôṣār*, "treasure."

See FORTIFICATION, esp. I.B. The only terms not treated there are: (1) *mᵉṣāḏ*, for which see *mᵉṣûḏâ*; (2) *misgereṯ*, a puzzling term translated "fastness" in 2 S. 22:46 par. Ps. 18:45 (MT 46); and (3) Gk. *ochýrōma*, which means fortress or dungeon.

E. W. S.

STUBBLE [Heb. *qaš*] (Ex. 5:12; Job 41:28f. [MT 20f.]; Isa. 5:4; Joel 2:5; etc.); NEB also CHAFF, REED; [Gk. *kalámē*] (1 Cor. 3:12); NEB STRAW. Grain stalks left in the ground after harvesting.

Although many contexts seem to suggest that *qaš* is synonomous with CHAFF and STRAW, being easily blown by the wind at the threshing floor, there seems to be a distinction between it and *teḇen*, "straw," in Ex. 5:12. When the *teḇen* was withheld from the Israelites in Egypt, they were forced to collect *qaš*. Stubble is most frequently used in a figurative sense of worthlessness, lightness, and something that is easily destroyed and burned (e.g., Isa. 5:24; 47:14; Joel 2:5; Ob. 18). When blown by the wind it is vain to pursue it (Isa. 40:24; 41:2; cf. Job 13:25); Leviathan treats slingstones and clubs like it (Job 41:28f.); and the enemies of God are consumed like it (Ex. 15:7).

The Greek *kalámē* is related to *kalámos*, "reed." 1 Cor. 3:12 indicates that it is a building material. Paul's comparison of superior building materials ("gold, silver, precious stones") with inferior materials ("wood, hay, stubble") pictures the ultimate value of a minister's contribution to the church, i.e., works of value will remain whereas inferior works will be destroyed, as fire consumes combustible materials.

L. G. HERR

STUBBORN; STUBBORNLY; STUBBORNNESS [Heb. hiphil of *qāšâ*] (Ex. 13:15; Dt. 10:16); AV HARDLY, STIFFNECKED; [*qᵉšî*] (Dt. 9:27); [*qāšeh*] (Jgs. 2:19); NEB WILFUL; [hiphil of *qāšâ* + *'ōrep*, *qᵉšēh 'ōrep*, *'ōrep qāšeh*] (Dt. 9:6, 13; 31:27; 2 K. 17:14); AV STIFFNECKED, STIFF NECK, HARDEN (ONE'S) NECKS; [*qᵉšê-lēḇ*] (Ezk. 3:7); AV HARDHEARTED; [*bᵉṣawwā'r*] (Job 15:26); AV ON (HIS) NECK; NEB HEAD DOWN; [*nāṯan kāṯēp sōreret*] ("turn a stubborn shoulder," Neh. 9:29; Zec. 7:11); AV WITHDRAW/PULL AWAY THE SHOULDER; NEB also TURN (THEIR) BACKS IN DEFIANCE; [*'abbîr lēḇ*] (Isa. 46:12); AV STOUTHEARTED; [*ḥizqê-lēḇ*] (Ezk. 2:4); AV STIFFHEARTED; NEB OBSTINATE; [*sārar*, part. *sôrēr*] (Dt. 21:18, 20; Ps. 78:8; Jer. 5:23; 6:28; Hos. 4:16); AV also REVOLTING, GRIEVOUS, SLIDE BACK, BACKSLIDING; NEB DISOBEDIENT, ARCH-REBELS, WILD; [*ṣᵉrîrût*] (Dt. 29:19 [MT 18]; Ps. 81:12 [MT 13]; Jer. 3:17; 7:24; 9:14 [MT 13]; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17); AV IMAGINATION, LUST; [hiphil of *pāṣar*] (1 S. 15:23); NEB "yielding to men"; [Gk. *sklērýnō*] (Acts 19:9); AV BE HARDENED; NEB OBDURATE; **OBSTINATE** [Heb. piel of *'āmaṣ*] ("make obstinate," Dt. 2:30); [*qāšeh*] (Isa. 48:4); NEB STUBBORN. Unyielding in course or purpose.

A frequently used metaphor for stubbornness is that of

being "stiff-necked" (*qšh,* "[be] hard," + *ʿōrep,* "neck" [*ṣawwāʾr* also means "neck"]) or "turning a stiff shoulder" (Neh. 9:29; Zec. 7:11) — behavior characteristic of an animal that refuses to follow its master's directions. This metaphor is used to describe Israel's rebelliousness and refusal to heed the prophets of Yahweh. This rebellious or indifferent attitude is also described as "making hard" (Heb. *qāšâ*; Gk. *sklērýnō*) or "strong" (Heb. *ʾabbîr, ḥāzaq*) the heart (*lēḇ*). Heb. *šᵉrîrûṯ* occurs always in conjunction with "heart," referring to those who follow their own evil wills instead of walking in accordance with the word of Yahweh.

See STIFF-NECKED; HARDEN. G. WYPER
N. J. O.

STUD, ROYAL [Heb. *rammāḳîm*] (Est. 8:10); AV YOUNG DROMEDARY; NEB ROYAL STABLES. Although the precise meaning of *hārammāḳîm* is uncertain, the verse clearly refers to horses with the speed and endurance to carry the royal dispatches quickly throughout the empire.

STUDDED [Heb. *nᵉquddâ*–'point,' 'drop'] (Cant. 1:11); AV STUD; NEB BEAD. The hapax legomenon Heb. *nᵉquddôṯ* probably refers to "small bright bits or other glittering material for decoration" (M. Pope, *Song of Songs* [*AB,* repr. 1983], p. 345).

STUDY [Heb. *dāraš*–'seek, inquire'] (Ezr. 7:10; Ps. 111:2); AV SEEK, SEEK OUT; [*śāḵal*–'understand'] (Neh. 8:13); AV UNDERSTAND; [*ḥāqar*–'search'] (Eccl. 12:9); AV SEEK OUT; NEB SEEK HOW; [*lahag*] (Eccl. 12:12); [Gk. *manthánō*] (Jn. 7:15); AV LEARN; NEB (UN)TRAINED. The first three terms refer to diligent application in seeking the knowledge and wisdom of God. A more technical reference to academic study is found in Eccl. 12:12, and also in Jn. 7:15, where Jesus' hearers were surprised with His learning because He was not formally trained.

STUFF. The Hebrew phrase *tôlaʿaṯ šānî* (Ex. 25:4; 26:1, 31, 36; 27:16; 28:6, 8, 15, 33; etc.), rendered "scarlet stuff" in the RSV (AV "scarlet"; NEB "scarlet," "scarlet yarn," "scarlet thread"), refers to the red dye obtained from the body of the *Coccus ilicus,* an insect found attached to the kermes oak. The dried bodies of the females were used to produce a brilliant and permanent crimson dye that was highly prized for those qualities (see *MBP,* pp. 194f.). Thus *tôlaʿaṯ šānî* came to refer to yarn or fabric that had been dyed in this manner and color.

In Ex. 36:7 Heb. *mᵉlāʾḵâ,* a general word for "work" or "occupation," refers to the products of various work or occupations (35:20-29) that were given as freewill offerings by the Israelites for the construction of the tabernacle. In Josh. 7:11 Heb. *kᵉlî,* a general term for any vessel or instrument, refers to the baggage, utensils, vessels, etc., that the Israelites carried with them as they traveled. Among these belongings some had hidden "devoted things," thereby sinning. Hebrew *šaʿaṭnēz* (Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:11) is a fabric made from a mixture of materials such as a wool and linen. Such mixtures were prohibited, though the reason for the prohibition is uncertain. According to some scholars, *šaʿaṭnēz* is a loanword from Egyptian, hence this prohibition may be associated with Israel's sojourn in Egypt before the Exodus (see P. Craigie, *Book of Deuteronomy* [*NICOT,* 1976], p. 290; cf. G. Wenham, *Book of Leviticus* [*NICOT,* 1979], pp. 269f.). In later Judaism, this practice of separation, called *Haḇdalah,* was expounded in greater detail. For a rabbinic explanation of *šaʿaṭnēz* see Mish. *Kilaim* ix.8. In Ezk. 27:24 *bᵉrōmîm,* "colored stuff," refers to multicolored cloth or fabric that was in carpets, which were part of Tyre's trade. Heb. *bᵉrōmîm* occurs only here, but its meaning is clarified by Arabic and Akkadian cognates (see H. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* [1978], pp. 48f.). In Jgs. 5:30 *ṣeḇaʿ* (< *ṣbʿ,* "dip," "dye") refers to material that has been dyed. Although some scholars suggest deleting the second and third occurrences of *ṣeḇaʿ* here (see *BHS*), textual evidence supports MT, and as other scholars have noted, such repetition is characteristic of early Hebrew poetry (see, e.g., W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [repr. 1969], pp. 13f.; cf. J. Kugel, *Idea of Biblical Poetry* [1981], pp. 37f.).

See also COLOR V.H; DYE. W. D. ZORN
G. A. L.

STUMBLING BLOCK [Heb. *miḵšôl* < *kāšal*–'stumble'; Gk. *skándalon, próskomma*]; AV also CAUSE TO FALL; NEB OBSTACLE, CAUSE OF DOWNFALL, etc.; **STUMBLING STONE** [Gk. *líthos toú proskómmatos*] (Rom. 9:32); NEB STONE. Something that causes one to stumble or fall. The concept of a stumbling block was especially appropriate to a rocky land like Palestine, where stones and pebbles are plentiful on all the unpaved roads (in contrast to countries with alluvial soil, like Egypt or Mesopotamia). The term occurs literally in Lev. 19:14, which forbids placing stumbling blocks in the way of blind persons to make cruel sport of their helplessness. But generally the term is used figuratively of anything that causes someone to fall into unbelief or immorality.

In Jer. 6:21 the Lord indicates that He will place stumbling blocks before the wilfully disobedient and impenitent people of Israel, that they may fall over them to their ruin. Similarly, in Ezk. 3:20 He states that He will lay a stumbling block before the erstwhile righteous man who has fallen into apostasy — a danger of which the prophet is to warn him. In fact, this term occurs more frequently in Ezekiel than in any other OT book. In 7:19 greed for silver and gold is called a stumbling block and a cause of ruin for Judah. In 14:3f., 7 the term refers to the idolatry of captive Israel's elders, which prevents them from receiving any revelation from God.

Isaiah 8:14 warns that the Lord will become a "stone of offense" (Heb. *ʾeḇen negep*; AV "stone of stumbling") and a "rock of stumbling" (*ṣûr miškôl*; AV "rock of offence") to both houses of Israel. Here God Himself is the obstacle over which the people fall to calamitous ruin because of their unbelief and unfaithfulness. The root of *negep* is *nagap,* "strike against"; it refers here to striking the foot against a hindering stone.

Greek *skándalon* originally meant "trap" (cf. LXX Josh. 23:13; Ps. 140:9 [MT, RSV, 141:9]; 1 Macc. 5:4 [RSV "snare"]; cf. also Rom. 11:9 [RSV "pitfall"]). From this was derived the meaning "cause of ruin," especially in the sense of a temptation to sin. Sir. 31:7 describes gold as a *skándalon* that brings many to ruin (cf. v. 6). In Rev. 2:14 the term refers to a temptation to commit apostasy and immorality. Paul states in 1 Cor. 1:23 that the crucified Christ is Himself a stumbling block to the Jews, who are offended that one who died such an accursed death should be called Lord and Christ. In Gal. 5:11 Paul warns against compromising the *skándalon* of the cross by insisting on the necessity of circumcision.

The noun *próskomma* is derived from *proskóptō* ("strike against," "stumble against"; cf. Heb. *negep* < *nāgap*) and, like *skándalon,* can denote a "cause of ruin" in the sense of an obstacle to faith or a temptation to sin.

Sometimes *próskamma* and *skándalon* are used together as synonyms. Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:8, quoting loosely from Isa. 8:14, refer to Christ Himself as a *líthos proskómmatos* (RSV "stone that will make men stumble") and a *pétra skandálou* (RSV "rock that will make them fall") to the unbelieving Jews. In Rom. 14:13, however, Paul warns Christians against putting an unnecessary *próskomma* (RSV "stumbling block") or *skándalon* (RSV "hindrance") in the way of other believers. In 1 Cor. 8:9, likewise, he uses *próskomma* to denote the obstacle to faith presented by Christians who insist on eating meat offered to idols without regard for how their actions may offend other believers.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 382, 389-391, 393, 994, 996 (W. Mundle, H.-G. Link, E. Tiedtke), 1020 (D. Müller); *TDNT*, VI, *s.v.* προσκόπτω, πρόσκομμα, κτλ. (Stählin); VII, *s.v.* σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω (Stählin). G. L. ARCHER
N. J. O.

STUMP; BRANCH. The occurrences of "stump" in the RSV can be grouped into three categories: (1) use of the term as a graphic symbol of hope for restoration in the face of destruction; (2) use of the term more specifically to reflect Israel's messianic expectations (along with occurrences of "branch" with messianic overtones); and (3) use of the term that connotes neither hope for restoration in general nor the more specific messianic hope (Isa. 7:4).

I. Hope for Restoration.–Perhaps the most beautiful passage in the first category occurs in Job 14:7-9: "For there is hope for a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that its shoots will not cease. Though its root grow old in the earth, and its stump [Heb. *gēza'*] die in the ground, yet at the scent of water it will bud and put forth branches like a young plant." Here Job contrasts the tenacious persistence of vegetation in an arid climate with his pessimistic view of the future of a person cut down by death (v. 10).

Also in this category are three occurrences of Aram. *'iqqar* in Dnl. 4:15, 23, 26 (MT 12, 20, 23). King Nebuchadnezzar relates a dream in which a heavenly watcher decrees the destruction of a mighty tree (symbolizing Nebuchadnezzar himself): "Hew down the tree and cut off its branches. . . . But leave the stump [*'iqqar*] of its roots in the earth" (vv. 14f. [MT 11f.]). Daniel's interpretation of the dream reveals that the stump is preserved as a promise of future restoration (v. 26 [MT 23]). The tree's remarkable ability to regenerate following severe destruction becomes a parable of divine punishment that nonetheless holds out hope of restoration for the repentant.

The two terms employed in these passages (Heb. *gēza'* and Aram. *'iqqar*) probably describe slightly different parts of the tree. *Gēza'* is always paralleled by *šōreš*, "root," and thus seems to denote the subterranean portion of the tree's life-support system. Aram. *'iqqar* is always connected to *šōreš* by the construct state (*'iqqar šoršôhî*, "the *'iqqar* of its root"); thus "stump" may be an appropriate translation here, although other suggestions include "taproot" (*CHAL*, p. 417).

In Isa. 6:13, a grammatically difficult and possibly corrupt text describing the coming destruction of Judah, the RSV translates Heb. *maṣṣeḇeṯ* as "stump," referring to the terebinth and oak mentioned in the same verse. In its only other occurrence *maṣṣeḇeṯ* refers to a stone (RSV "pillar") that was set up as a memorial to Absalom (2 S. 18:18). The closely related term *maṣṣēḇâ* denotes a stone pillar erected as a memorial (e.g., Gen. 28:18; 31:45; 35:20) or as a representation of the male fertility deity of the Canaanite cult (e.g., Ex. 23:24; 2 K. 3:2). The translation "stump" thus remains uncertain. If it is correct, the MT of Isa. 6:13 as it now stands seems to be saying that Judah will suffer total destruction like that of a forest whose stumps are burned after the trees are cut down; yet the last line expresses the hope that even from a burned stump new growth may appear — and that this offering of Judah will be holy to the Lord.

II. Messianic Expectation.–In Isa. 11:1 the durative powers of the tree stump provide an image of Israel's messianic hope: "There shall come forth a shoot from the stump [Heb. *gēza'*] of Jesse, and a branch [*nēṣer*] shall grow out of his roots [pl. of *šōreš*]." Here again the point is that what is now apparently dead (the nation of Israel) is still capable of revivification in God's own timing. The "branch" that grows from the "roots" (par. to "stump of Jesse") is a metaphor for the restoration of the Davidic kingship. In Jer. 23:5 (and its reinterpretation in 33:15) the metaphor is isolated and particularized by the definition of David's descendant as the "righteous Branch" (*ṣemaḥ ṣḏāqâ*). By the time of Zechariah (520-518 B.C.) the metaphor had become fixed as a title, and it was possible to refer to "my servant the Branch" (*'aḇdî ṣemaḥ*, Zec. 3:8) or "the man whose name is the Branch" (*'îš ṣemaḥ šᵉmô*, 6:12).

III. Isaiah 7:4.–The use of "stump" in this passage does not signify hope for restoration of any sort. Here the prophet tells King Ahaz of Judah, who is besieged by Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel, "Take heed, be quiet, do not fear, and do not let your heart be faint because of these two smoldering stumps [pl. of *zānāḇ*] of firebrands." Heb. *zānāḇ* is translated elsewhere as "tail" (of a snake [Ex. 4:4] or of foxes [Jgs. 15:4]). Here it describes the smoldering "tail end" of a piece of firewood.

See also ROOT. G. H. WILSON

STUPID [Heb. *ba'ar* (Ps. 73:22), qal and niphal of *bā'ar* (Ps. 49:10 [MT 11]; Prov. 12:1; 30:2; Isa. 19:11; Jer. 10:8, 14, 21; 51:17), *kᵉsîl* (Ps. 92:6 [MT 7]; Prov. 17:21), pass. part. of *nāḇaḇ* (Job 11:12), niphal of *ṭāmâ* (Job 18:3), *sāḵāl* (Jer. 4:22); Gk. *mōrós* (2 Tim. 2:23; Tit. 3:9)]; AV BRUTISH, FOOL, FOOLISH, VAIN (Job 11:12), VILE (Job 18:3), SOTTISH (Jer. 4:22); NEB also BRUTE, BRUTISH, BLOCKHEAD (Jer. 10:8), FOOL, FOOLISH, SILLY (Jer. 4:22).

Related in all contexts to the wisdom tradition, "stupid" connotes the opposite of "wise." The terms it renders have varying nuances of meaning. *Ba'ar* and *bā'ar* are related to the term for "beast" (*bᵉʿîr*); hence the AV and NEB renderings "brutish" and "brute," which are justified by Prov. 30:2 (cf. RSV "brutal" at Ezk. 21:31 [MT 36]). The pass. part. *nāḇûḇ* literally means "hollow, empty-headed"; Job 11:12 seems to be using a sarcastic comparison to say that a senseless person will never become wise. Heb. *niṭmînû*, unique to Job 18:3, is difficult, and various emendations have been proposed. Traditionally related to *ṭm'*, "be unclean," the term is now usually explained by the Aramaic root *ṭmm*, "be blocked, stopped up," and hence "stupid." The conjectured by-form *ṭmh* preserves the vocalization of the MT. (See N. C. Habel, *Book of Job* [*OTL*, 1985], p. 281.)

The other terms, Heb. *kᵉsîl* and *sāḵāl* and Gk. *mōrós*, are commonly rendered "folly" or "fool(ish)" and represent an ungodly habit of mind. Thus 2 Tim. 2:23 and Tit. 3:5 warn that "speculations and genealogies" are not merely unprofitable, but antithetical to faith. *See* FOOL.

See also SIMPLE; WISDOM.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "b'r" (H. Ringgren); *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* μωρός κτλ. (G. Bertram). G. CHAMBERLAIN

SUAH sū'ə sōō'ə [Heb. *sû(a)ḥ*] (1 Ch. 7:36). Descendant of Asher and son of Zophah.

SUBAI sōō'bā-ī sōō'bī (1 Esd. 5:30, AV). *See* SHALMAI, SHAMLAI.

SUBAPOSTOLIC LITERATURE. *See* APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

SUBAS sōō'bəs [Gk. *Soubas*] (1 Esd. 5:34); AV SUBA. Head of a family included within a group called SOLOMON'S SERVANTS who returned from the Babylonian Exile. The lists in Ezr. 2:55-58 and Neh. 7:57-60 omit this name.

SUBJECT; (PUT IN) SUBJECTION [Heb. *hāyâ lāmas*] ("become subject to forced labor," Jgs. 1:30, 33, 35); AV TRIBUTARY; NEB PUT TO/REDUCE TO FORCED LABOR; [*'ābaḏ*–'serve'] (2 S. 10:19; 1 Ch. 19:19); AV SERVE, BECOME SERVANTS; NEB SUBMIT; [niphal of *kāna'*–'be subdued'] (Ps. 106:42); [*kābas*–'subjugate, make subservient'] (Jer. 34:11, 16); NEB FORCE INTO SLAVERY, etc.; [Gk. *hypotássō*–'place under'] (Lk. 10:17, 20; Rom. 8:20; 13:1, 5; 1 Cor. 14:32; 15:27f.; etc.); AV also SUBMIT, SUBDUE; NEB also SUBMIT, MAKE THE VICTIM, CONTROL, etc.; [*énochos*–'liable'] ("subject to," He. 2:15); NEB IN SERVITUDE; [supplied contextually by the RSV in 1 S. 2:27; Eph. 5:22, 24b]; **SUBMIT; SUBMISSION; (BE) SUBMISSIVE** [Heb. hithpael of *'ānâ*–'humble oneself'] (Gen. 16:9); [Gk. mid./pass. of *hypotássō*] (Rom. 8:7; 10:3; Tit. 2:5, 9; 3:1; Jas. 4:7; 1 Pet. 2:18; 3:1, 5); AV also BE OBEDIENT, BE SUBJECT, BE IN SUBJECTION, etc.; NEB also BE SUBJECT, RESPECT THE AUTHORITY, etc.; [*hypotagḗ*] (Gal. 2:5; 1 Tim. 2:11; 3:4); AV SUBJECTION; NEB also "to dictation," OBEDIENCE; **BE SUBORDINATE** [Gk. pass. of *hypotássō*] (1 Cor. 14:34); AV BE UNDER OBEDIENCE; NEB KEEP (ONE'S) PLACE; [pass. of *dogmatízō*–'lay down as a decree'] ("submit to regulations," Col. 2:20); AV SUBJECT TO ORDINANCES; NEB "let people dictate to you"; [mid. of *anéchō*–'endure'] (2 Cor. 11:4); AV BEAR WITH; NEB "manage to put up with"; [pass. of *enéchō*–'be loaded down with'] (Gal. 5:1); AV BE ENTANGLED; NEB BE TIED TO; [*hypeíkō*–'yield, give way'] (He. 13:17); NEB DEFER.

The primary meaning of both "subject" and "submit" has to do with subordination, i.e., being placed under the control or authority of another. Subordination can be either voluntary or enforced. The RSV uses "subject" for both voluntary and involuntary subordination; it uses "submit" ("be submissive," etc.) only for voluntary subordination.

The RSV OT mentions various examples of involuntary subjection. Through military conquest the Israelites were able to subject the Canaanites to forced labor (Jgs. 1:30, 33, 35). Similarly, the Syrians were forced by David's military victories to "serve" (Heb. *'ābaḏ*) the Israelites (2 S. 10:19 par. 1 Ch. 19:19). Through economic domination wealthy Israelites forced other Israelites to become their personal slaves (Jer. 34:16). In Gen. 16:9, however, Hagar's subjection is voluntary: the angel tells her to return to Sarah and to "humble herself" (hithpael of *'ānâ*) in obedience to Sarah's authority.

The most common NT term rendered by "subject" and "submit" is Gk. *hypotássō*. The active voice (usually rendered "subject" or "put in subjection") means "place under" and denotes an enforced subordination. The middle voice refers occasionally to compulsory subordination (cf. Lk. 10:17, 20), but usually the middle and passive denote a voluntary act. The English versions seem to use "be subject," "submit," "be submissive," and "be subordinate" interchangeably as translations of the middle and passive of *hypotássō*.

The NT attributes to God or Christ alone the power to subject (in passages using the active of *hypotássō* or the passive with God understood as the subject). Thus "every authority and power" and "all things" are subjugated to the Messiah (1 Cor. 15:24-28; cf. Phil. 3:21; 1 Pet. 3:22; He. 2:5, 8), and "the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it in

Enemies submit to the governor Ur-Ningirsu of Lagash by kneeling with tribute at his feet. Telloh, 21st cent. B.C. (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

hope" (Rom. 8:20). It was through Christ's name that the disciples were able to subjugate the demons (Lk. 10:17, 20). In each of these instances subjection is involuntary. The enforced subordination reveals a hierarchy or establishes a proper order: the weaker is forced to take a lower place involving obedience and service to a higher authority (namely, God or Christ).

The situation is different, however, where the middle or passive of *hypotássō* is used to describe the attitude that Christ has toward God (1 Cor. 15:28) or that Christians are to have toward God (He. 12:9; Jas. 4:7), toward civil authorities (Rom. 13:1, 5; Tit. 3:1; 1 Pet. 2:13), toward church leaders (1 Cor. 16:16; 1 Pet. 5:5), and toward one another in general (Eph. 5:21; cf. 1 Pet. 5:5). Specifically, wives are exhorted to have this attitude toward their husbands (Eph. 5:22, 24; Col. 3:18; Tit. 2:5; 1 Pet. 3:1, 5) and toward a proper "order" in worship (1 Cor. 14:34; cf. v. 40; *hypotagḗ* in 1 Tim. 2:11), and slaves are called upon to demonstrate this attitude toward their masters (Tit. 2:9; 1 Pet. 2:18). As many exegetes have observed, such subordination is an action of free agents. It does not involve a breaking of the will or servile submission to another's rule; rather, the verb "describes a voluntary attitude of giving in, cooperating, assuming responsibility, and carrying a burden" (M. Barth, p. 710). That the use of this verb does not prescribe a hierarchy within the Church is clear in Eph. 5:21f., where the call for the specific subordination of wives to husbands occurs within the framework of a call to mutual subordination (in fact, the verb *hypotássomai* is not even repeated in several early Greek texts of v. 22); this clearly implies that husbands are also to subordinate themselves to their wives, and masters to their slaves (note that Paul instructs husbands to love their wives sacrificially [vv. 25-33; Col. 3:19; cf. 1 Pet. 3:7] and masters to treat their slaves as equals [Eph. 6:9; Philem. 16f.]; cf. also the egalitarian tone of Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). Thus, the general attitude that is to mark every Christian in relation to God, to other Christians, and to civil authorities is one of "readiness to renounce one's own will for the sake of others . . . and to give precedence to others" (*TDNT*, VIII, 45).

Subordination to the will of God does not come naturally to unregenerate human beings. In Rom. 8:7f. Paul states: "For the mind that is set on the flesh is hostile to God; it does not submit to God's law, indeed it cannot; and those who are in the flesh cannot please God." As Cranfield observed, "Fallen man's fierce hostility to God is the response of his egotism (which is the essence of his fallenness) to God's claim to his allegiance. Determined to assert himself, to assert his independence, to be the center of his own life, to be his own god, he cannot help but hate the real God whose very existence gives the lie to all his self-assertion" (p. 180). Even the Jews of Jesus' day, with all their zeal for righteousness, lacked the proper attitude of *hypotássomai*: "For, being ignorant of the righteousness that comes from God [i.e., through faith in Christ; cf. 10:4], and seeking to establish their own, they did not submit to God's righteousness" (10:3).

The attitude of subordination to other human beings does not involve blind obedience to their dictates, however. For example, when the truth of the gospel was threatened by legalism, Paul emphasized that "we did not yield submission even for a moment" (Gal. 2:5), and he exhorted the Galatian Christians to "stand fast . . . and do not submit [*enéchomai*] again to a yoke of slavery" (5:1). He likewise chided the Corinthian Christians for putting up with (*anéchomai*) diverse preachers, spirits, and gospels that led them away from a pure devotion to Christ (2 Cor. 11:4) and he criticized the Colossians for submitting to human regulations (pass. of *dogmatízō*, Col. 2:20). For the Christian, therefore, the primary calling of obedience to Christ defines the limits of submission to human beings, institutions, and regulations.

Bibliography.—M. Barth, *Ephesians 4–6* (*AB*, 1974); C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans: A Shorter Comm.* (1985); *TDNT*, VIII, *s.v.* τάσσω κτλ.: ὑποτάσσω, ὑποταγή (Delling).

N. J. OPPERWALL

SUBORN (Acts 6:11, AV). *See* SECRET.

SUBSTANCE [Heb. *ḥayil*–'strength, power, wealth'] (Dt. 33:11); NEB POWER; NEB mg. SKILL; [*gōlem*–'embryo'] ("unformed substance," Ps. 139:16); AV "substance, yet being unperfect"; NEB "limbs unformed in the womb"; [*qinyān*–'(individual) property'] (Josh. 14:4); NEB HERD; [*hôn*–'power, wealth'] (Prov. 3:9; 29:3); NEB WEALTH; [*rᵉḵûš*–'property, goods'] (Dnl. 11:28); AV RICHES; NEB BAGGAGE-TRAIN; [Gk. *sṓma*–'body, reality'] (Col. 2:17); AV BODY; NEB SOLID REALITY.

Hebrew *ḥayil* occurs about 246 times in the OT. The RSV translates it "substance" only in Dt. 33:11. In the majority of its occurrences it means "strength" or "power," often denoting military power or might. In about thirty-four instances it has the derivative meaning "wealth, riches." Thus "substance" in Dt. 33:11 may refer to the priestly power or skill of the Levites (so NEB) or to material blessings (see *TDOT*, IV, 353).

The phrase "unformed substance" in Ps. 139:16 refers to the developing and still unformed embryo within the mother's womb over which Yahweh watches with sovereign care (see the comms., *BHS*, for textual questions on this verse).

The four remaining OT texts (i.e., Josh. 14:4; Prov. 3:9; 29:3; Dnl. 11:28) use "substance" in the sense of personal property or wealth.

In Col. 2:17 Paul contrasts *sṓma* ("reality") with *skiá* ("shadow, foreshadowing"). This contrast parallels the similar contrast in He. 10:1 between *skiá* and *eikṓn* ("form, appearance") in which the law is the shadow of what is to come in contrast to the "true form." Both contrasts apparently reflect the influence of Platonic philosophy, in which outward appearance was opposed to the reality or essence (cf. the famous image of the cave in Plato's *Respublica* 514a-518b). Thus Josephus tells of how Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, appeared in Rome to appeal to Augustus for "the shadow [*skiá*] of royalty, of which he had already appropriated the substance [*sṓma*]" (*BJ* ii.2.5 [28]).

But O'Brien (p. 140) properly points out that the contrast in Colossians is not purely Platonic since "the antithesis is not set within the framework of a timeless metaphysical dimension but is understood as a contrast between the two ages." It is, in other words, eschatological and has to do with the contrast between the reality and the shadow that foreshadows and points to the reality.

But less certain is whether Paul intended *sṓma* strictly as a contrast to the shadow, thus simply opposing the regulations of the past (2:16) with Christ Himself, or whether he intended a wordplay in which *sṓma* is both a contrast with the shadow and a reference to the Church as the "body of Christ" (*tó sṓma toú Christoú*) as in 1:18, 24. In the latter case, the reality would belong to those who are members of the body of Christ and adhere to Him as head. Although this point is widely debated, it appears, in the light of the constant use of the term "body of Christ" in Colossians to denote the Church, that a double meaning is intended.

Bibliography.–E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Eng. tr. *Hermeneia*, 1971), pp. 116f.; P. T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon* (*Word Biblical Comm.*), pp. 139-141; *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σκιά (Schulz); *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "hôn" (Kutsch); IV, *s.v.* "chayil" (Eising).

T. E. PROVENCE

SUBSTITUTION.

I. NT Basis
II. Meaning
III. NT Application
IV. Doctrinal Significance

I. NT Basis.–The word "substitution," with the very similar "representation," is applied in theology to the work of Jesus Christ as something done in the place of and on behalf of others. "Substitute" and "representative" in this sense are not biblical terms; they do not refer in the Bible to Our Lord. Yet there are good grounds for thinking that some such word expresses a solid and important element in the NT witness.

This view is suggested by the prepositions used in the NT concerning the work of Christ. Four Greek prepositions may be cited: *perí*, "with reference to"; *hypér*, "on behalf of" (sometimes with a clear substitutionary meaning); *diá*, "on account of"; *antí*, "instead of." Some of these terms are obviously more general than the others or explicable along other lines than that of strict substitution. Yet they obviously contain the thought of representative substitution, or substitutionary representation.

This thought is also suggested by Gk. *katallagé* (Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:18), which is quite rightly translated "reconciliation" (i.e., atonement in its Old English sense of "at-one-ment") but which in a verse like 2 Cor. 5:18, especially in the light of 5:21, clearly has behind it the basic sense of the Greek term, "exchange." In other words, the divine reconciliation accomplished in Jesus Christ involves a substitution that must be brought to utterance in any explanation or presentation.

Substitution is suggested again by the more developed comparison between Christ and Adam worked out by Paul in Rom. 5. Here, perhaps, we have more of the thought of representation than substitution. The one acts for the many rather than in replacement of them. Yet precise differentiation between the two concepts is difficult at this point where they tend to merge into one another, and the one implies the other rather than constituting a definite alternative.

It is suggested finally by underlying OT motifs, especially in the sacrificial system and finally in the Suffering Servant of Isa. 53 on whom, as on a lamb led to the slaughter, all the iniquity and sorrow of the people is laid. In these prophetic pictures there is naturally no precision of statement, so that various lines of thought may rightly be seen in them. Yet a general theme of substitution is hardly contestable.

II. Meaning.–The question arises what is meant by substitution, especially as compared with representation. The following definitions are suggested not with a view to finality or exclusion, but rather in order to show that various nuances must be taken into account if we are to do full justice to the NT data.

To begin with "representative," the first and obvious meaning is a sample or specimen or typical embodiment. From this angle, the solidarity of Christ with humanity is plainly important. Then the word can be used for a delegate, i.e., someone who acts on behalf of others as himself one of them (cf. the political use). The Adam comparison of Paul is important here. This gives us, however, the slightly developed sense of an agent, e.g., the legal representative who undertakes to present the case of another which is not in the first instance his or her own. In this regard, the distinction of Christ from the race, as He who has come into it from without, obviously demands notice, and there is approximation to the thought of the substitute.

A "substitute" is primarily a person (or thing) performing a function instead of another, perhaps the plainest personal example being the substitute on a team who has to step in to replace the original player in case of injury, etc. In substitution there is much more pronounced than in representation the thought of exchange or replacement. While the representative acts for others, it is their action through him. The substitute, however, replaces the others, doing what they cannot do and must not even try to do. A person may be both a representative and a substitute with a clear differentiation of meaning, as when a speaker scheduled to give an address as the representative of a society is forced to withdraw through sickness, and therefore a substitute is arranged to perform this representative function. The element of replacement or exchange in the work of Christ makes it necessary to supplement representation by substitution.

On the other hand, the thought of the substitute as distinctive may sometimes be given an emphasis that we must avoid in understanding the NT doctrine of the atonement. Humanly speaking, the substitute is not in fact the same person and cannot do the same thing; the performance must be judged individually rather than representatively. Indeed, the word may even have a derogatory sense, the substitute being formally equivalent but intrinsically inferior as a mere stopgap. At this point there can be little question of an interchangeable use of representative and substitute; a particular danger arises in respect of the idea of an equivalent offering of Christ that is substitutionary only in this formal and not in the more precise material sense.

III. NT Application.–The NT data make it clear that if we apply these terms to the saving work of Christ, we must do so in the middle area where they approximate and overlap, and with a readiness to adopt a more comprehensive rather than a narrower understanding.

In the true sense Jesus Christ comes forth as the representative of the race, in solidarity with it as the Second Adam, and prepared to act on its behalf. Yet in so doing He replaces all other persons, both actively in His life and passively in His death fulfilling the work for which they are disqualified and incompetent. As the representative, He thus crowds out all other persons, both individually and as a whole. He does not merely act on their behalf; He acts in their stead. Indeed, there is not merely a replacement but an actual exchange, as the NT sees it. Jesus becomes Son of man that we might be sons of God. He dies on the cross that we might ascend to eternal life in heaven. He is made sin that we might be the righteousness of God. But this is not a simple exchange outside the broad category of representation. For if He dies in our place, we die in Him. And if we attain to new life and sonship, we do not do so alone, but only in Him. He takes our place that we might find our new and true place in Him.

It may be said without exaggeration that in substitution, construed in the light of the data and worked out in this broader sense which includes representation, we have not merely a theory or interpretation of the atonement but a basic factor in the divine work of reconciliation. There can be no biblical doctrine of the atonement that is not a doctrine of representative substitution.

It should be emphasized that the doctrine applies to the whole action of Christ from the Incarnation to the Ascen-

sion, and not merely to its admittedly central point in the death on the cross. A certain constriction and even distortion will inevitably result if it is related only to the crucifixion.

The element of representation is vital. We might say quite rightly that Jesus is condemned and we go free, or that He occupies the cross prepared for us. But this is superficial and even misleading if we do not recognize that we are in fact condemned and also acquitted and accepted, and therefore exalted to life in Him. What has made our acceptance possible was certainly performed by Him alone, in our stead. Yet it was performed also on our behalf. It implies a twofold identification of Him with us and of us with Him, which quite excludes the narrower crudities that have brought the whole thought of substitution into undeserved disrepute in some circles.

IV. Doctrinal Significance.—The centrality of substitution, its implication in the whole of God's reconciling action in Christ, naturally involves its deep and comprehensive significance in the most diverse areas of Christian doctrine and the related Christian life. A few of the more important instances may be given.

The truth of substitutionary representation sheds a new light on the doctrine of justification. It means basically that the true reality of the Christian is now the reality in Christ rather than in the self as a sinner. Hence in justification the supposed choice between a subjective work of cleansing and a merely legal decision is false. We are confronted by neither a false *de facto* nor a paradoxical *de iure*. The *de iure* decision corresponds to the true *de facto* situation. For Christ has now replaced us, and therefore the true reality is not in us but in Him. What appears to be our sinful reality is already displaced in Him. Only the unrealism of unbelief or misunderstanding can thus argue that there must either be an inward washing and sanctification in us or there can be only a legal pronouncement at odds with reality. To perceive the truth of substitution is to attain to the true realism of faith, which sees that we are pronounced righteous because righteousness is our new and lasting reality in Christ.

The doctrine similarly illuminates the Christian life or sanctification. Being displaced by Christ, we are at the same time given a new place in Him. Thus the Christian life cannot be the struggle to attain or maintain a given sanctity in ourselves. Nor can it be a mere attempt to live up to fine but impossible ideals. Its imperative is based on a true and unshakable indicative. We have a new place in Christ and as believers are set in this place (Eph. 1:3; Col. 3:1ff.). We are thus to live as those who belong to this place. Nor are the failures ultimately discouraging. The old man displaced by Christ rebels against the new place in Him. Their violent struggles for autonomy and self-preservation naturally cause defeats to the believers. Nor are these to be taken lightly. Yet Christ is our total and victorious representative whose work is already completed and cannot fail. The displaced man has already had to give way to Him, and therefore he must finally give way to the new man in Him. If the Christian life is lived as one of urgent conflict, it may also be lived with the joyful assurance that the decisive battle has been fought and that victory must finally rest with the new reality in Christ.

Nor is the doctrine of substitution without relevance for the Church. Applying to individuals, it applies also and perhaps primarily to the whole Church as the people of God and the body of Christ. The Church can be called one, holy, catholic, and apostolic, not because it is these things in itself, nor because these are its ideals, nor in a mere gesture of defiance or delusion, but because its true being is in Christ rather than in itself. The invisible and therefore the true and eternal reality of the Church (2 Cor. 4:18) is what it is in its Representative and Substitute, in the Head who is also in a true sense the whole body. Its task in terms of visible life, work, and organization is to fashion itself in conformity to this reality. Without a basis in the substitutionary work of Christ, there can be neither understanding nor effective realization of the true unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity of the Church. On this basis, however, in spite of every difficulty, assault, and failure, there may and should be at least a measure of practical attainment, and a recognition that here alone is the true and lasting reality of the Church displayed.

It should be noted that neither in relation to the individual nor the Church is substitution the same thing as mystical identification, except perhaps in the older sense of the term mystical as used sometimes by the Reformers. The Bible does not say that we are mystically in Christ or united with Him. It does not say that our righteousness is a mystical righteousness, or that the Church has its mystical reality in Him. The realities concerned are undoubtedly divine, miraculous, and as yet unseen (except in imperfect concretions). They may be apprehended only in faith. If "mystical" is used with this connotation, then it is obviously admissible. In the modern era, however, the so-called Christ-mysticism of Paul or mysticism of John has normally carried a very different and far more subjective sense, which can only distort the meaning. The substitution of the Bible is an objective divine act and not just a subjective movement of identification on our part.

The doctrine of substitutionary representation gives sharper edge to the problem of the scope of salvation. Of whom is Christ the substitute? We can hardly say that He is the substitute only of some men, for on good biblical grounds all responsible theologians have always recognized that He identified Himself with the race and offered a sufficient sacrifice for all. Yet if He is the substitute of all, this can hardly be taken to imply the far from biblical doctrine of absolute universalism, i.e., that all are in fact saved.

In what sense, then, does Christ represent all? It is here that a distinction has been seen between the sufficiency of Christ's work and its individual efficacy, or between its objective and subjective benefits, or between Christ's displacing of us and our entry in faith into our new place in Him. The difficulty in such distinctions is that they are hard to make in strictly biblical terms. Yet the necessity of some such distinction remains if we are to remain true to the biblical data, avoiding the extremes of limited sufficiency on the one side or weak universalism on the other.

Substitution undoubtedly means that God has done for us, and apart from us, what had to be done but could not be done by us. It carries with it, however, the corollary that, while there is all-sufficient salvation in Christ, there is salvation only in Him. Hence those who are outside Him, trying to cling to their own place and not finding their true place in Him, are certainly fighting reality but are also failing to enjoy the benefits of this reality. This may be worked out in the more narrowly Calvinistic form or otherwise. But the objective universality of substitution must certainly not be applied in the direction of an unbiblical and dangerous universalism.

See Bibliography in ATONEMENT. G. W. BROMILEY

SUBTLE [Heb. *'ārûm*]; AV SUBTIL; NEB CRAFTY. According to Gen. 3:1 the serpent is "more subtle than any other wild creature that the Lord God had made." Several points need mention here. First, the meaning of *'ārûm* is perhaps best expressed by the words "astute, clever, cunning" (C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* [Eng. tr. 1984],

p. 239); although Eliphaz used this term negatively twice ("crafty," Job 5:12; 15:5), in Proverbs it often occurs in a positive sense ("prudent," 14:15, 18; 22:3; etc.). Second, the author of Genesis makes a wordplay between *'ārûm* and "naked" (*'ārôm*) in 2:25. Finally, this creature, characterized by shrewdness (cf. Mt. 16:10), was one of the "wild creatures" that God created; the serpent does not seem (at least initially) to be anything more than the most "subtle" animal (see comms., esp. U. Cassuto [Eng. tr. 1978]; J. Skinner [*ICC,* 1930]; G. von Rad [Eng. tr., rev. ed., *OTL,* 1972]).

See also SERPENT. G. A. L.

SUBURBS. A term used frequently by the AV as a translation of Heb. *migrāš,* denoting the common land surrounding Palestinian cities and villages (*see* PASTURE). On 2 K. 23:11, *see* PRECINCT. *See also* CITY III.

SUBVERT [Heb. piel of *sālap*–'distort' (Ex. 23:8; Dt. 16:19), piel of *'āwaṭ*–'make crooked' (Ps. 119:78; Lam. 3:36)]; AV also PERVERT, DEAL PERVERSELY; NEB MAKE CROOKED, WRONG, PERVERT. To overturn or overthrow.

In the RSV "subvert" occurs only in four OT passages. Ex. 23:8 and Dt. 16:19 speak against bribes in the court of law. The bribe is forbidden because it "subverts the cause" of the righteous defendant by "blinding the eyes" of the judge who receives the bribe. The issue is injustice against the righteous, not perversion of the righteous. Thus the RSV is to be preferred over the AV and NEB, which translate Heb. *dāḇār* as "word" instead of "cause," thereby making the "righteous man" into one who has been corrupted by a bribe rather than one who has been victimized by another (the judge) who has been so corrupted. Ps. 119:78 and Lam. 3:36 also convey the picture of one who has been treated unjustly as opposed to one who has been corrupted.

In the NT the RSV replaces the AV's use of "subvert" with "unsettle" (Acts 15:24, Gk. *anaskeuázō,* "tear down"), "ruin" (2 Tim. 2:14, *katastrophḗ*), "upset" (Tit. 1:11, *anatrépō,* "overturn, cause to fall"), and "pervert" (Tit. 3:11, *ekstréphō,* "turn aside").

See also JURISPRUDENCE, ABUSE OF. T. M. DORMAN

SUCATHITES sōō'kə-thīts [Heb. *śûḵāṯîm*] (1 Ch. 2:55); AV, NEB, SUCHATHITES. The name of a family of scribes who lived in the town of Jabez, located perhaps near Bethlehem.

SUCCEED; SUCCESS; SUCCESSFUL(LY) [Heb. *ṣālaḥ* (Gen. 39:2; Nu. 14:41; Jgs. 18:5; 1 Ch. 22:11; 2 Ch. 7:11; 13:12; 20:20; Neh. 1:11; Ps. 118:25; Jer. 22:30; 32:5; Ezk. 17:15; Dnl. 8:24), *yāḵōl*–'be able, endure' (1 S. 26:25; 1 K. 22:22; 2 Ch. 18:21; Ps. 21:11 [MT 12]), *yā'al* (Isa. 47:12), hiphil of *śāḵal*–'understand' (Josh. 1:7f.; 1 S. 18:5, 14f., 30 [qal]; Jer. 20:11), *qûm*–'arise' (Dt. 25:6; Prov. 15:22), hiphil of *qārâ*–'cause to occur, ordain' (Gen. 24:12; 27:20), *taḥaṯ*–'in place of' (Lev. 6:22 [MT 15]), hiphil of *kāšēr* (Eccl. 10:10), *'aḥar*–'after' (1 Ch. 27:34), *šālam*–'be finished, keep peace' (Job 9:4), *yāraš*–'possess, dispossess' (Prov. 30:23), *tûšîyâ*–'wisdom, prudence' (Job 5:12); Gk. *euodóō*–'get along well, prosper' (Rom. 1:10), *phthánō*–'come up to, reach' (Rom. 9:31), *diádochos* (Acts 24:27)]; AV also PROSPER, PROFIT, PREVAIL, etc.; NEB also PROSPER, PREVAIL, PERPETUATE, etc.

The RSV uses "succeed" in two senses: (1) accomplish what one tries to do, and (2) follow or come after another in order. The latter sense occurs only a few times, of both sacred (Lev. 6:22) and secular leaders (1 Ch. 27:34; Acts 24:27). Also, the first son of a levirate marriage will "succeed to the name of his brother who is dead," i.e., that son will be considered the son of the deceased "that his name may not be blotted out in Israel" (Dt. 26:5; *see* MARRIAGE IV.A.2).

Proverbs 30:21-23 describes four earth-shaking situations, the final one being "a maid when she succeeds her mistress." Some scholars interpret these verses as ironic or humorous (see, e.g., comms. by C. H. Toy [*ICC,* 1899]; W. McKane [*OTL,* 1970], p. 659: "satire on the theme that there are some situations in which certain people are unbearable"), but others (e.g., KD; W. Roth, *Numerical Sayings in the OT* [*SVT,* 13; 1969], pp. 35f.) take them more literally as situations that contribute to the disruption of society. A textual problem further complicates v. 23. The LXX *ekbállō* (expel, remove) nowhere else translates the qal of *yāraš* (though twice it translates the hiphil); usually it translates some form of *gāraš.* Thus many scholars have suggested reading *tᵉgārēš* for MT *tîraš* (lit. "she inherits"; see *BHS*).

The more common use of "success" is usually linked to God: those who obey His laws will succeed (e.g., Josh. 1:7f.), those who are against Him (2 Ch. 13:12; Job 9:4), His laws (Nu. 14:41; Josh. 1:7f.), His prophets (2 Ch. 20:20; Jer. 20:11), or His people (Ps. 21:11) will fail. Thus when God is on a person's side, that person will succeed (e.g., Joseph, Gen. 39:2). Similarly, success in military ventures depends on the Lord's help (Jgs. 18:5; 1 S. 18:5, 14f., 30; 26:25; Jer. 22:20; 32:5; Ezk. 17:15). In Ps. 118:25 the psalmist asks the Lord to save His people and to give them success; the chiastic arrangement of the verse suggests that salvation and success are here identified. In both patriarchal and postexilic times the OT mentions prayers for success that God answered positively (e.g., Abraham's servant, Gen. 24:12; Nehemiah, Neh. 1:11).

Wisdom literature offers some practical advice concerning success. According to Prov. 15:22 many advisers ensure the success of plans (cf. 11:14; 13:10; see W. McKane, *Proverbs* [*OTL,* 1970], p. 482); here obviously politics is in view, and as W. L. Humphreys noted, the whole section (chs. 10–29) deals with the wise courtier ("Motif of the Wise Courtier in the Book of Proverbs," in J. G. Gammie, *et al.,* eds., *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of S. Terrien* [1978], pp. 180f.). Eccl. 10:10 says that wisdom helps one succeed, though the precise meaning of this verse is debated, for the Hebrew text is obscure. Thus R. Gordis (*Koheleth — The Man and His World* [repr. 1973], pp. 321-23) took its theme as "the virtue of being prepared for any given task"; KD understood it to mean that wisdom is the proper use of means to achieve an end; according to J. A. Loader (*Ecclesiastes* [Eng. tr., *Text and Interpretation,* 1986], pp. 119f.), the point is that wisdom is meaningless in certain situations; and for J. Ellul (*La Raison d'être: Méditation sur l'Ecclésiaste* [1987], pp. 98-100) this text provides one of the positive aspects of work, namely, that wisdom does have a role to play in work; this positive view is in tension with the negative view that all work is vanity (e.g., 2:11, 18-23; 4:4).

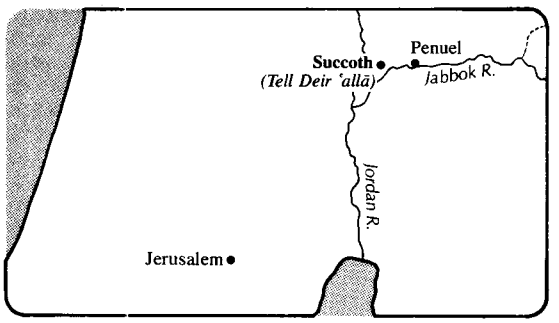
Two texts require further comment. In 1 K. 22:22 par. 2 Ch. 18:21 the prophet Micaiah declares to Ahab that the Lord had sent "a lying spirit in the mouth of all his [Ahab's] prophets" in order to cause Ahab's defeat; indeed, the Lord had promised that this ploy would succeed. While such devious action may seem objectionable, it must be understood as part of God's judgment on the evil Ahab (see *CD,* III/2, 357f.). In Gen. 27:20 Jacob, impersonating his brother Esau at Rebekah's instigation,

lies to his father in saying that the Lord had granted him success, and Jacob attains the blessing Isaac intended for Esau. As W. Vischer pointed out, that Isaac's blessing is fulfilled in Jacob despite this treachery is a demonstration of God's grace (*Witness of the OT to Christ* [Eng. tr. 1949], pp. 148-150).

See also PROSPER. G. A. LEE

SUCCOTH suk'əth, suk'ŏth [Heb. *sukkôṯ, sukkōṯ–* 'booths'; Gk. *Sokchōth, Skēnai,* etc.].

1. A city situated E of the Jordan River, not far from the Jabbok River. Located in the central Jordan Valley, Succoth was within the kingdom of Sihon before it was allotted to the tribe of Gad (Josh. 13:27). It is first mentioned in connection with Jacob's travels near the Jabbok, where he wrestled an angel of the Lord (cf. Gen. 32:22-24). The day after this event Jacob journeyed to a place alongside the Jabbok, where he built himself shelter and "booths" for his cattle (33:17). Succoth and the neighboring site of Penuel are also mentioned in the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianite kings Zebah and Zalmunna (Jgs. 8:4-16). Having crossed the Jordan River, Gideon sought food and aid from Succoth and Penuel, but both refused (vv. 5f., 8). After defeating the Midianites Gideon returned and punished Succoth's seventy-seven elders with thorns and briers for their lack of support (vv. 14-16); he also broke down Penuel's tower and slew its men (v. 17). In Solomon's time the valley between Succoth and nearby Zarethan was the region where bronze vessels were cast for the Jerusalem temple (1 K. 7:46 par. 2 Ch. 4:17). The mention of the "Vale of Succoth" in Ps. 60:6 (MT 7); 108:7 geographically supports a location near the junction of the Jordan and Jabbok rivers.



The ancient mound of Tell Deir 'allā, situated 12 km. (7½ mi.) NNE of the current junction of these rivers, was suggested by Merrill as the site of Succoth, and this identification has gained the most support among scholars (e.g., Conder, p. 183; *HGHL,* p. 392; *LBHG,* rev. ed., p. 126, 284 n. 224). In T.P. *Shebuoth* ix.2, 38d Succoth is identified with Ter'ela (= Der'ela), which is possibly the extensive Roman-Byzantine village immediately E of Tell Deir 'allā. On the other hand, Jerome (*Quaestiones in Gen.* 33:17) said of the Gideon passage that there was to his day a city of this name in the territory of Scythopolis. Sixteen km. (10 mi.) S of Roman Scythopolis (OT Bethshean), W of the Jordan, lies an ancient mound called Sākūt, and Robinson supported this site as biblical Succoth. The Jacob and Gideon narratives indicate, however, that the location of Succoth was E of the Jordan and near the Jabbok.

H. J. Franken conducted excavations at Tell Deir 'allā for five seasons beginning in 1960. His efforts have revealed occasional occupation levels from the Chalcolithic to the Persian periods. The Chalcolithic remains included mud-brick structures that had been deserted. The earliest L.B. settlement consisted of an unfortified village containing a sanctuary surrounded by houses and storage areas. The sanctuary area was destroyed by an earthquake and a fierce conflagration. According to J. Yoyotte (*VT,* 12 [1962], 464-69), this occurred in the first quarter of the 12th cent. B.C.; Y. Aharoni (*LBHG,* rev. ed., p. 284 n. 224) has suggested that the sanctuary's destruction may have been a consequence of Gideon's judgment against Succoth. A later L.B. settlement gave no evidence of permanent occupation, but traces of furnaces for the smelting of bronze were found. These facilities may have been used by the Solomonic smiths mentioned in 1 K. 7 and 2 Ch. 4. A third L.B. settlement had a city wall, and a Syrian-Aramean material culture unlike the 8th-7th century cultures of western Palestine. During the 1967 season an Aramaic inscription dating from the Persian period, mentioning a prophet named Balaam, was discovered on a portion of plastered wall. Tell Abū Gurdan, located a few hundred meters from Tell Deir 'allā, supported the occupants of the Arab period, while Tell Deir 'allā was used as that community's cemetery. Tell Deir 'allā remained abandoned while Tell Abū Gurdan continued to be occupied until *ca.* A.D. 1500, with two occupational breaks of unknown duration.

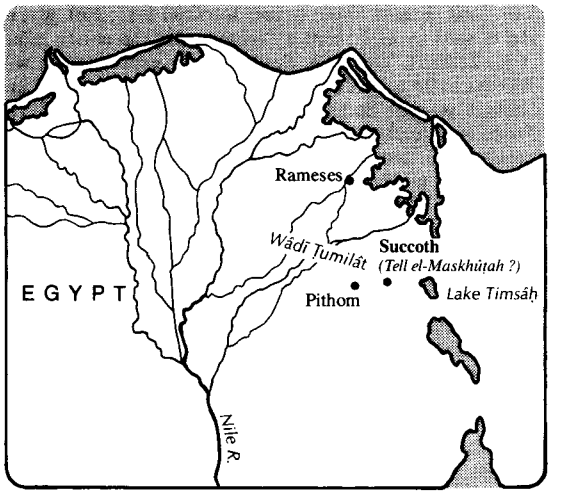
Franken, following F. M. Abel (*GP,* II, 470), did not support Tell Deir 'allā as the site of biblical Succoth but preferred Tell el-Ekhṣaṣ (= Aḥṣaṣ) 2.5 km. (1½ mi.) to the west. Although this name means "booths," its identification as the site of Succoth has not gained wide support. As Aharoni noted, Tell Deir 'allā is the largest and the most prominent ancient mound in the Succoth Valley, and its identification as biblical Succoth remains the most probable.

Bibliography.–C. R. Conder, *Heth and Moab* (3rd ed. 1892), p. 183; *EAEHL,* I, *s.v.* "Deir 'Alla, Tell" (H. J. Franken); Franken, *PEQ,* 1964, pp. 73f.; *VT,* 10 (1960), 386-93; 11 (1961), 361-72; 12 (1962), 378-382; 14 (1964), 417-422; 17 (1967), 480f.; *HGHL,* p. 612; *LBHG* (rev. ed. 1979), pp 126, 130 n. 35, 284 n. 224; S. Merrill, *East of the Jordan* (1881); E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions* (3rd ed. 1970), III, 310.

2. The first station in the Exodus after the Israelites had left Rameses (Ex. 12:37; 13:20; Nu. 33:5f.). It is possibly to be identified with Tell el-Maskhûṭah, a border fortress located in the eastern portion of the Wâdī Ṭumilât. This is the region of the biblical "land of Goshen." The tell is situated approximately 15 km. (9 mi.) W of modern Ismailia and Lake Timsah. Egyptian sources refer to this region as *ṯ-k-w(t)* (Tjeku). Since the Hebrew letter *sameḵ* was originally pronounced as a compound sound (cf. Gk. *xi,* which was borrowed from it), Succoth may be an adaptation of Egyptian *ṯ-k-w(t)*; hence Succoth and Tjeku would be the same site.

Evidence from archeological expeditions at Tell el-Maskhûṭah has led many scholars to identify Tjeku as the Egyptian city of PITHOM, which along with Rameses was built by the enslaved Hebrews under the reign of Pharaoh Seti I (cf. Ex. 1:11). Among the ruins of Tell el-Maskhûṭah are numerous monuments that mention Tjeku in reference to the Egyptian god Atum (= Tum), several times in the phrase "temple [Egyp. *Per*] of Atum at Tjeku." Per-Atum or Per-tum (*p-t-m*) would be represented in Hebrew as Pithom (*p-t-m*). Thus Tjeku appears to refer to the city, the fortress, or the region, while Per-Tum represents its religious names. Based on this evidence, many have suggested that Tjeku is both Pithom and Succoth.

The Wâdī Ṭumilât has long been recognized as an important E-W route of travel in the southeast Delta region. In



an attempt better to understand this area, various scholars have established the Wadi Tumeilat Project as a multidisciplinary, long-range investigation of the numerous antiquity sites located along this wadi. Although there is still much debate regarding the site of biblical Succoth, at present Tell el-Maskhûṭah is considered the most likely candidate. The Wadi Tumeilat Project may establish a more conclusive identification in the future.

Bibliography.–*ANET*, pp. 18, 259; *BHI* (2nd ed. 1972), pp. 118-122; J. Finegan, *Let My People Go* (1963), pp. 4-15, 82-85; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 5 (1918), pl. XXXV; 19 (1935), 126ff.; *GTTOT*, §§ 209, 419, 420 n. 210; J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller, *Israelite and Judean History* (*OTL*, 1977), p. 153; J. S. Holladay, Jr., *BA*, 43 (1980), 51; *LBHG* (rev. ed. 1979), p. 196; B. MacDonald, *BA*, 43 (1980), 49-58; E. Naville, *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, I (3rd ed. 1903); M. Noth, *Exodus* (Eng. tr. *OTL*, 1962), pp. 22, 99; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* (Eng. tr. 1978), p. 378; C. de Wit, *Date and Route of the Exodus* (1960), pp. 13-20.

See also EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE III.

W. L. THOMPSON, JR.

SUCCOTH-BENOTH suk'əth bə-nōth' [Heb. *sukkôṯ bᵉnôṯ*–'booths of daughters']. An image of a deity or a religious object, made and worshiped by Babylonian colonists who settled in Samaria after 721 B.C. (2 K. 17:30). The Hebrew has been thought to be an oblique reference to "booths" (*sukkôṯ*) or chambers where sexual rites were undertaken in the cult of a Babylonian goddess, possibly Banitu (an epithet of Ishtar) or of Zēr-Banitu (Ṣarpanitu, the consort of Marduk). Another possibility is that the term refers to a cultic assignment (Bab. *sakkû*) of daughters (Heb. *bᵉnôṯ*) for prostitution, although the context seems to imply a known deity. A further suggestion is that "Succoth" is related to "Sakkuth your king (or Moloch)" (Am. 5:26), which was among the foreign elements, including images and stars (Bab. *sikkût* means "Saturn") that Amos ascribed to errant Israelites in Samaria (cf. Acts 7:43). *See also* SAKKUTH. D. J. WISEMAN

SUCCOUR. *See* HELP.

SUCHATHITES sōō'kə-thīts (1 Ch. 2:55, AV, NEB). *See* SUCATHITES.

SUD sud (1 Esd. 5:29, AV). *See* SIAHA.

SUDIAS sōō'di-əs [Gk. *Soudios*] (1 Esd. 5:26); NEB SUDIUS. A Levite, also called Hodaviah (Ezr. 2:40) and Hodevah (Neh. 7:43), whose family returned from the Babylonian Exile. *See* HODAVIAH 3.

SUFFERING.

I. Terminology
II. Its Reality
III. Its Origins
IV. Its Purposes
  A. In the OT
  B. Intertestamental Developments
  C. In the NT
V. Conclusion

I. Terminology.–The English verb "suffer" and the various Hebrew and Greek expressions that it renders cover very different semantic fields. Three chief meanings may be distinguished in the English versions: (1) "let," "allow"; (2) "experience," "endure"; (3) "feel pain or anguish."

(1) "Suffer" in the sense of "let," "allow" (rendering primarily Heb. *nāṯan*; Gk. *aphíēmi, epitrépō*) is an archaic usage; it is not found in the RSV or other modern versions but is frequent in the AV and RV (e.g., Ex. 12:23: "suffer the destroyer to come"; Mk. 10:14 par.: "suffer the little children to come unto me"; 1 Tim. 2:12: "suffer a woman to teach" [cf. RSV, NEB, "permit," "allow," "grant," "let"]).

(2) "Suffer" occurs often in the sense of "experience" or "endure," almost always with reference to something unpleasant (e.g., "suffer reproach," Ezk. 36:7; "suffer disgrace," v. 30; "suffer fools gladly," 2 Cor. 11:19, AV [RSV, NEB, "bear with"]; "suffer mocking," He. 11:36). Rendered in this sense, "suffer" primarily represents Heb. *nāśā', lāqaḥ;* Gk. *anéchomai,* and *lambánō*. Frequently, however, "suffer" does not correspond to any specific Hebrew or Greek verb but translates a derived form or passive, e.g., "suffer affliction" (Heb. hithpael of *'ānâ*, Ps. 107:17), "suffer loss" (Gk. pass. of *zēmióō*, 1 Cor. 3:15), "suffer wrong" (pass. of *adikéō*, 2 Cor. 7:12). In Ps. 34:10 (MT 11) "suffer hunger" simply renders Heb. *rā'ēḇ*, "be hungry"; in Neh. 2:17 "suffer disgrace" is literally "be a disgrace" (cf. AV). In 1 Cor. 13:4, AV, "charity suffereth long" (Gk. *makrothyméō*) means "love is patient" (cf. RSV, NEB).

(3) "Suffer" in the sense of "feel pain or anguish" renders a wide variety of Hebrew terms; in the NT it usually represents Gk. *páschō*, but also occasionally *kakopathéō* (Jas. 5:13), *synkakopathéō* ("share in suffering," 2 Tim. 1:8; 2:3), and *sympáschō* ("share in suffering," 1 Cor. 12:26). Hebrew has no general word for the passive experience of suffering; hence the infrequency of the word in the English versions of the OT (cf. Ps. 9:13 [MT 14], where "what I suffer" renders Heb. *'onyî*, lit. "my affliction"; cf. AV). Thus, entries under "suffer" in OT concordances give an inadequate indication of the importance of the *concept* of suffering, since Hebrew writers prefer to use more precise and vivid terms, rendered in the English versions by such expressions as "affliction," "anguish," "distress," "grief," "misery," "oppression," "pain," "plague," "sorrow," "straits," "travail," "tribulation," "vexation," "woe"; accounts of suffering (e.g., in war) may not even contain any of these terms. In the NT *páschō* (occurring about forty times) is used almost exclusively of Christ's sufferings (e.g., Lk. 24:26; Acts 3:18; He. 2:18) or of Christians' suffering for His sake (e.g., Phil. 1:29; 1 Pet. 2:20); sometimes it virtually means "die" (e.g., Lk. 22:15; Acts 17:3, both of Christ; cf. Acts 26:23). In spite of the prominence of suffering as a theme, *páschō* appears only once in Revelation (2:10) and not at all in John, Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, James, 2 Peter, or

1-3 John; Paul never uses it of his own sufferings. In two passages *páschō may* be used in the neutral sense of "experience": "I have suffered much over him today in a dream" (Mt. 27:19), and "[she] had suffered much under many physicians" (Mk. 5:26; cf. NEB: "in spite of long treatment by many doctors"); but in both cases it is more likely that an unpleasant experience is intended.

The noun "suffering" appears in the English Bible only in the third sense, meaning "pain" or "anguish." It appears rarely in the OT (never in the AV) as a translation of Heb. *maḵ'ōḇ* (Ex. 3:7; Lam. 1:18), *ṣārâ* (Neh. 9:27), *ke'ēḇ* (Job 2:13), or *'aṣṣeḇeṯ* (Job 9:28), and only sporadically in the NT for Gk. *páthēma* (e.g., Rom. 8:18; Phil. 3:10; 1 Pet. 1:11), *thlípsis* (Rom. 5:3), and *kakopátheia* (Jas. 5:10). But the concept of suffering occurs much more frequently in the NT than is suggested by the occurrences of the noun "suffering," being rendered by numerous other terms, e.g., "chastisement" (AV) or "discipline" (RSV; Gk. *paideía*), "distress" (*stenochōría*), "endurance" (*hypomonḗ*), "grief" (*lýpē*), "persecution" (*diōgmós*), "plague" (*plēgḗ*), "tribulation" (*thlípsis*), and their related verbs.

See also AFFLICTION; DISTRESS; GRIEF; PAIN; SORROW; TRIBULATION.

The following sections treat the biblical concept of suffering as a whole, rather than merely passages where the word "suffer" appears in the versions.

II. Its Reality.–The Bible takes suffering for granted as part of the normal human lot: "Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble" (Job 14:1; cf. Eccl. 8:6-8; 12:1-7; etc.). Childbirth, sickness, and old age bring their suffering, as do famine, tempest, war, and external oppression. Individuals and communities cry out to God in their pain and misery; many psalms are "plaints of the sufferer" (e.g., Pss. 5, 6, 13, 44, 74). God's people had a particular share of suffering to bear through slavery in Egypt, exile in Babylon, persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, and Roman domination and repression, including the sack of Jerusalem and the persecution of the Christian Church. The Bible also takes animal suffering for granted (e.g., Ps. 34:10; [MT 11]; 1 K. 18:5; Am. 3:12; but cf. Mt. 10:29), and there is a sense in which all creation groans in pain, waiting to be freed from bondage (Rom. 8:19-22). But the prophets looked forward to a time when creation will be at peace: the wolf will lie down with the lamb (Isa. 11:6-9), and there will be no more human distress or want (Isa. 25:8; 65:17-25; Rev. 21:4).

III. Its Origins.–The extent of suffering in the world raises profound questions about the nature of God. The Bible teaches that He is utterly good, a loving Father who cares for His creation and especially for His chosen people; He is the almighty Creator, King of the universe with all its natural forces. Why then does He permit suffering? How did evil originate, and where will it end? Neither the OT nor the NT provides facile answers to these questions, but they teach the "fallen" nature of humankind (Gen. 3; *see also* EVIL; FALL, THE) and the sinfulness of all, both Jew and Gentile (Rom. 2; 5:12f.). Individuals suffer not only as the result of their own sin but also as part of a sinful community. Sometimes God is described as sending suffering directly through natural phenomena and illness (cf. the plagues of Egypt, Ex. 7–12); sometimes God uses human beings as His instruments (e.g., Cyrus, Isa. 45:1); sometimes suffering is attributed to the action of Satan or other spiritual evil powers (e.g., Job 1–2; Eph 6:12; Rev. 2:10). In some religions such beings are seen as acting independently of the supreme God, but biblical thought contains only a modified dualism; ultimately God is the cause of all, both "weal and . . . woe" (Isa. 45:7; cf. Am. 3:6). God permits Satan to test Job (Job 1:12; 2:6), just as He is said to have sent a "lying spirit" to entice Ahab (1 K. 22:22f.). The Holy Spirit drives Jesus into the wilderness to be tested by Satan (Mk. 1:12f. par.), and Jesus Himself permits Satan to sift Peter as wheat (Lk. 22:31). There is an unfathomable mystery about the conflict between good and evil, which some writers expect to be intensified in the "end time" (2 Thess. 2:7-12; 2 Tim. 3:1-5; Rev. 20:7-10; cf. the suffering associated with the DAY OF THE LORD (and the "messianic woes"). But, in spite of the very real struggle, we are assured that God remains King, and that Jesus by His death has overcome all evil (Col. 2:15; cf. 1 Cor. 15:54-57; Rev. 12:10f.; etc.).

IV. Its Purposes.–Suffering fulfils a variety of purposes, not all of which can be fully understood. There are clearly developments of thought within the biblical tradition, as Israel grew in experience and the various OT authors pondered the problem of pain. The advent of Jesus Christ — and the experience of witnessing His suffering and resurrection — brought about radically new attitudes; but even within the NT, as in the OT, there are varieties of understanding, with some writers stressing one aspect and others another. Both the OT and the NT, even in the most pessimistic literature, evidence an overwhelming trust in God's purposes and a sense that He is with His people in their pain.

A. In the OT. Suffering is rarely, if ever, understood as purely fortuitous, although it is often mentioned as a matter of course without explanation or any implications about sin or guilt (e.g., 2 S. 4:4, Jonathan's crippled son; Gen. 34:25, pain from a wound). Three main purposes may be distinguished: (1) retributive, (2) educative and exemplary, and (3) vicarious and redemptive.

1. Retributive. It is a common thought in many religions that evil conduct brings divine retribution: in Greek mythology Zeus strikes the blasphemer with his thunderbolt, and the notoriously wicked are tormented in Hades. The Jewish people had a strong sense of divine justice: God rewards all according to their works (Ps. 62:12 [MT 13]; Prov. 24:12); if their deeds are evil, suffering will ensue (Gen. 12:17; 42:21; Am. 1:3-15; etc.). In the very beginning, according to Gen. 3, Adam and Eve suffered for their disobedience — Eve through the pains of childbirth and subjection to her husband, and Adam through having to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. The Flood was a punishment for sin (Gen. 6:13), but Noah and his family were rewarded for their faithfulness, as were Abraham and the patriarchs. A holy God requires a holy people: OT covenant theology presupposes reward for obedience and punishment for disobedience. This thought underlies the Decalogue (Ex. 20:1-21), the Covenant Code (Ex. 20:22–23:33), and the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26). It is a major theme of Deuteronomy (esp. chs. 4–11, 28–30) with its insistent message: "If you obey the voice of the Lord your God . . . all these blessings shall come upon you. . . . But if you will not obey the voice of the Lord . . . cursed shall you be" (Dt. 28:1f., 15f.). Suffering as a punishment for sin is a recurrent motif in all the historical books (e.g., 1 K. 16:17-19), being especially emphasized by the Chronicler. Because of Hebrew belief in collective responsibility and the solidarity of the family (see esp. Sutcliffe, ch. 4), the OT depicts whole communities suffering for the sins of their king, children for the sins of their parents, and wives for those of their husbands (e.g., Ex. 20:5; Josh. 7:24-26; 1 K. 21:29; but cf. also Jer. 31:29; Ezk. 18:2).

The Psalms, Prophets, Proverbs, and other wisdom writings reiterate the message that God punishes both individuals and whole nations for their sins. God makes His own people Israel suffer precisely because He loves them:

"You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (Am. 3:2). But the authors of many of these writings also displayed an awareness that sometimes the righteous suffer and the wicked appear to prosper (e.g., Ps. 37:35; Jer. 12:1; Hab. 1:13); they console themselves that the happiness of the wicked will be short-lived, that their end is destruction — in later Jewish thought, Gehenna (cf. Isa. 66:24). But the doctrine of suffering as punishment is not the whole picture; more developed Jewish thought recognized that suffering is not always the result of sin.

2. Educative and Exemplary. In the ancient world children were regularly disciplined; it was only to be expected that if God was a loving Father He would chasten His children (Prov. 3:11f.). In the OT such chastening often takes the form of testing by suffering. Abraham was tested by being asked to sacrifice Isaac, the mere contemplation of which must have cost him much anguish (Gen. 22). Though he was a blameless and upright man, JOB was tested even more severely. His suffering is clearly seen as educative; yet the book leaves many questions unanswered. What about those who "fail" the test and do not learn from their suffering? What about Job's wife? Did she learn from her sufferings? And how could their children who died benefit from Job's lesson? Such details are outside the scope of the story. But Job, like other righteous sufferers — e.g., Daniel in the lions' den (Dnl. 6) — serves as an example to encourage others who find their faith severely tested. In the NT (Jas. 5:11) Job is commended for his "patience" or steadfastness.

See also CHASTENING; DISCIPLINE I.

3. Vicarious and Redemptive. It is but a short step from educative and exemplary suffering to vicarious and redemptive suffering. Many of the great prophets seem to have suffered in a representative way for their people. Moses shared his people's sufferings and felt as if all their burdens were laid on himself (Nu. 11:1-15). Hosea suffered in his marital relationship, which was an enacted parable of God's loving and forgiving relationship to errant Israel (Hos. 1–3). Isaiah, Ezekiel, and above all Jeremiah felt the anguish of their prophetic vocation; at times Jeremiah could hardly bear it (Jer. 15:18; 20:7-12). The supreme OT example of vicarious suffering is the Suffering Servant of Isa. 52:13–53:12, of whom it is said, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; upon him was the chastisement that made us whole. . . . All we like sheep have gone astray; . . . and the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all" (53:5f.). Scholars have debated whether these words originally referred to a contemporary individual such as the prophet himself, or, collectively, to the nation Israel (or a remnant thereof), or to a future redeemer. In the NT these words find their fulfillment in the figure of Jesus Christ, who, though innocent, suffered representatively and vicariously for others that their sins might be forgiven. (*See* SERVANT OF THE LORD.)

B. Intertestamental Developments. The wisdom and apocalyptic literature of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha continue to affirm the belief that God rewards the righteous and punishes the sinful with suffering (e.g., Wisd. 4:18–5:23). The most significant development is the growth of a belief in an afterlife of blessedness for the holy (cf. 2 Macc. 7:14; 12:43; Wisd. 5:15f.) and of painful destruction or everlasting torment for the wicked (see Jth. 16:17; 2 Esd. 7:36; 1QS 4; etc.). The sufferings of the virtuous are seen as disciplinary (Wisd. 3:1-6; Ps. Sol. 13:10; 18:4). Although these sufferings may be deserved (2 Macc. 7:32f.), they may also atone for the sins of the community (7:37; 8:3). In rabbinic theology the sufferings of the just are seen as a "chastisement of love" with expiatory force (see *TDNT*, IV, 910f.; Bowker, pp. 33ff.).

C. In the NT. The NT presupposes the same basic purposes of suffering as the OT, but it transforms the concept by its message of the good news of Christ's vicarious redemptive suffering, which reconciles God and humankind (see esp. Mk. 10:45; Rom. 3:25; Eph. 2:16; Col. 1:20; He. 2:17f.; 1 Jn. 4:10). There are few references to the retributive function of suffering in this life (though cf. 1 Cor. 11:28-30), but there are solemn warnings about future judgment of the unrepentant, whose suffering is described in terms of exclusion from God's presence (e.g., 2 Thess. 1:9; cf. Mt. 25:10-12; Lk. 13:28), tribulation and distress (Rom. 2:9), and even "eternal" punishment (2 Thess. 1:9), symbolized by the lake of fire (Rev. 20:10, 15). Jesus' teaching, especially as presented by Matthew, employs the images of outer darkness, weeping, gnashing of teeth, the undying worm, and unquenchable fire (e.g., Mt. 8:12; 13:42; 25:30, 46; Mk. 9:48; cf. Isa. 66:24). But such references must be read in the light of the good news of God's free forgiveness of sins for all who will accept it through His grace. The NT's main emphasis is not on the threat of punishment but on the promise of pardon, peace, and joy.

1. Jesus and the Gospels. The Gospels freely recognize that suffering abounds and needs to be combated and alleviated. They do not speculate on the causes of suffering: rather they stress Jesus' power to heal and make whole. They present Jesus as filled with compassion at the sight of human distress, whether caused by sickness (Mt. 14:14; Mk. 1:41), hunger (Mt. 15:32), or spiritual helplessness (9:36: "He had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd"). Jesus saw His healing miracles as bringing about the defeat of Satan (Lk. 10:18), and He commanded His disciples to continue His work of preaching, healing, and exorcism (e.g., Mk. 6:7 par. Mt. 10:1). Unlike many Jews of His day, Jesus declined to accept a systematic connection between sickness or accident and sin (Jn. 9:3; Lk. 13:2-5), although He recognized an interrelationship between a person's physical and spiritual state (Mk. 2:5-12 par.; cf. Jn. 5:14).

Jesus Himself experienced suffering: physical (from hunger, weariness, scourging, crucifixion), emotional (He wept for Lazarus [Jn. 11:35], and sorrowed for the fall of Jerusalem [Mt. 23:37; Lk. 19:41]), and mental/spiritual (cf. His agony in the garden [Mk. 14:34 par.] and the desolation of the cross [15:34 par.]). But He saw His suffering as the predetermined will of God: "The Son of Man must suffer many things . . ." (Mk. 8:31; cf. 9:12; etc.). He rebuked Peter for his inability to accept the idea of a suffering Messiah (8:32f. par.), and He taught that all who would be His followers must be prepared to humble themselves and go the way of the cross (Lk. 9:23; cf. Mt. 20:22; Mk. 13:9; etc.). All four Gospel writers bring out the deep theological significance of Jesus' suffering, and in their passion narratives emphasize that it took place in accordance with God's will and in fulfillment of Scripture (e.g., Mt. 26:54; Mk. 14:49; Lk. 24:45f.; Jn. 19:24, 28); it was through suffering that Jesus entered His glory (Lk. 24:26; Jn. 12:23).

By His teaching and example Jesus brought about a new attitude to suffering, especially when it is for the sake of the gospel (see, e.g., Mt. 5:4, 10-12). He identified Himself with the poor and the outcast (cf. 25:35-40); those who share in His trials will eat and drink at His table in the Kingdom (Lk. 22:28-30).

2. Early Christian Preaching, the Epistles, and Revelation. Christ's death on the cross was a stumbling block to

the Jews, who had expected a very different sort of Messiah, and folly to the gentile world (1 Cor. 1:18, 23). But for the early Christians His sufferings and sacrifice were the very heart of the gospel, part of God's eternal plan foretold in Scripture. This thought dominates the early apostolic preaching as recorded in Acts (3:18; 4:11; 17:3), 1 Peter (1:18-20; 2:22-24), and the Pauline Epistles (e.g., 1 Cor. 15:3); it also features prominently in Revelation, especially in the image of the Lamb that was slain (5:6, 12; 7:14; etc.).

If Christ had to suffer, so too must the Christian community. Peter and John counted it a privilege to suffer in His name (Acts 5:41); and Paul rejoiced in his sufferings (e.g., Phil. 3:8; Col. 1:24), which were a testimony to faith (2 Tim. 1:8, 12). Sometimes Paul catalogued the sufferings and hardships he endured for the gospel, seeing them as a sharing in Christ's death (2 Cor. 4:7-12; 11:23-29). Christians are also called to share in one another's sufferings (Rom. 12:15). Paul identified the suffering community so closely with Christ's body that he could write, "I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions" (Col. 1:24, perhaps an allusion to the suffering that the Church must undergo before the Parousia). He could truthfully say, "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (Gal. 2:20). Because all baptized Christians participate in Christ's death and resurrection (Rom. 6:3f.), they are all called to suffer. 1 Peter, written to a church under threatened or actual persecution, expresses this thought especially clearly: it bids readers to rejoice because they are sharing Christ's sufferings (1 Pet. 4:13), and it promises them blessings, urging them to bear patiently even undeserved suffering (3:13-18). Hebrews stresses that God chastens those whom He loves (He. 12:5-11) and emphasizes that suffering was a test of obedience even for Jesus (5:8). Revelation also sees suffering as a form of testing (Rev. 2:10), and to those under persecution it urges faithfulness and endurance to the end. It predicts many woes for the world as Satan's power is unleashed and the end draws near, but it claims that Christ has already won the victory, and that to the martyrs He will give the crown of life (2:7, 10; 3:5, 21; etc.). The souls of those slain cry out, "How long?" (6:9f.); but at the consummation all suffering, pain, and death will be abolished, and every tear wiped away (7:17; 21:4).

V. Conclusion.–The Bible offers no simple solution to the very real problems of suffering and pain; but it affirms that God is good, that He cares, and that He gave His Son Jesus Christ to suffer and die for all humanity. Through His suffering Christ brings hope, dignity, and comfort to those who suffer. Suffering may be a form of discipline; when it comes for the sake of the gospel it should be welcomed as a mark of God's approbation, for those who share in Christ's sufferings share also in His glory (Rom. 8:17; 2 Cor. 4:17). Nevertheless, suffering should not deliberately be courted (Col. 2:23); instead, Christians are called to follow Christ's example in relieving the suffering of others and bearing it patiently when it comes to themselves, not returning evil for evil but overcoming evil with good (cf. Rom. 12:19-21). However difficult it may seem at times to discern God's purpose, Christians may be assured that nothing — no distress, tribulation, famine, or any other evil — "will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:35-39).

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R. B. EDWARDS

SUFFERING SERVANT. *See* SERVANT OF THE LORD.

SUFFOCATION. A method of execution used by Persian kings (see J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* [*AB*, 1983], p. 463), which effected the death of the unscrupulous high priest MENELAUS (2 Macc. 13:3-8).

SUICIDE. The taking of one's own life, or causing it to be taken by another, regardless of motive, circumstances, or method used. No single word for suicide occurs in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, but, contrary to widespread opinion, the Bible has much to say about the subject. Relevant texts are of two types: (1) those that give specific accounts of persons taking their own lives; (2) those that, although not relating to suicide directly, have been used to portray suicide as either (a) a sin or a crime, or (b) a way of achieving martyrdom or of emulating the example of Jesus.

I. Biblical Accounts.–Seven accounts of suicide, or possible attempted suicide, occur in the Bible. (1) Jgs. 9:50-57 tells of Abimelech, who had his skull crushed when a woman dropped a millstone on his head from a tower. Knowing that death was imminent, he asked his armor bearer to slay him with the sword, "lest men say of me, 'A woman killed him.'"

(2) According to the definition given above, Samson's death (Jgs. 16:21-31) was suicide. Having spent his last days in torment, blinded and mocked by the Philistines, Samson prayed that he might have strength to avenge his enemies and die with them. He then caused the building in which they were gathered to collapse upon them all.

(3) Both Saul and his armor bearer killed themselves by falling on their own swords, in order to avoid being killed or abused by their enemies (1 S. 31:1-7). (Scholars generally consider a different account of Saul's death [2 S. 1:1-10] as a story invented by an ambitious young man who thought he would thereby please David.)

(4) After his military counsel to Absalom had been rejected, Ahitophel "went off home to his own city, . . . set his house in order, and hanged himself" (2 S. 17:23).

(5) Zimri, a would-be king, set fire to his house and died in the flames just as Tirzah was about to be captured by Omri's forces (1 K. 16:15-20).

(6) Some writers, including E. Wiesel, consider Jonah 1:11-15 a story of a suicide attempt.

(7) The only NT account of a suicide is the story of Judas's death in Mt. 27:3-5. (Acts 1:15-18 does not specify that Judas died by suicide.)

None of these accounts explicitly condemns suicide as a sin or a crime, or has a clear statement that suicide per se was a punishment for past sins. Indeed, in some instances the suicides were honored by their survivors. But in others they were clearly outside the divine will and purpose.

Accounts of suicide are found also in the Apocrypha (e.g., 1 Macc. 6:42-46; 2 Macc. 14:37-46; 4 Macc. 12:19; 17:1). Josephus, too, gave several accounts of individual and mass suicides (*Ant.* xiii.13.10 [367-69]; xv.2.1 [13]; *BJ* i.13.10 [271-72]; iii.8.4-7 [355-391]; vii.8.6-9.1 [320-401].

II. Negative Treatments.–Among the biblical texts that have been influential in shaping attitudes against suicide, the most important is the sixth commandment (Ex. 20:13; Dt. 5:17). Some early Christians' acceptance of, even desire for, martyrdom seems to suggest an acceptance of suicide (e.g., Ignatius [Ign. Rom. 4:1f.; 5:2f.]), but

Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* iii.18) vehemently opposed it. Chrysostom (*De consolatione Mortis*) cautioned against hurrying one's appointed end, and Jerome (*Comm. ad Matt.* 4.17) considered Judas's suicide a crime. Augustine used the sixth commandment to crystalize the opinion that suicide was wrong (*Civ. Dei* i.4-26). Probably in reaction to a large number of Christians who were eager to leave this life, he argued that suicide foreclosed any opportunity for repentance and that it was also an act of cowardice.

Later church councils (Guadix, 305; Carthage, 348; Braga, 563) and thinkers, including Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theol.* 2a 2ae, q. 64, art. 5), reinforced this teaching. Aquinas relied on natural theology to insist that suicide was against nature and therefore against God's ordinance. God alone has the right to give and to take away life. Suicide was also a crime against society and should not be used, even to escape torture or rape.

Other biblical texts that have been used to prohibit suicide are Dt. 30:19; Job 1:21; Acts 16:27f.; 1 Cor. 6:19; Eph. 5:29.

The history of Judaism presents a varied pattern. After the Exile suicide was basically ruled out because of the strong reverence for human life. Yet mass suicides occurred at both Gamala (A.D. 67) and Masada (A.D. 73) at the time of revolt against Roman rule.

III. Positive Treatments.–The negative view went virtually unchallenged until the 17th cent., when John Donne, the English cleric, wrote *Biathanatos,* in which he argued cogently for a positive view of suicide. Donne relied heavily on Jesus' saying in Jn. 15:12f., "Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Even more explicit is 1 Jn. 3:16, "By this we know love, that he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."

Among other texts cited to support suicide in a broader sense are Mk. 8:34f.; Jn. 13:37; Rom. 5:7; 14:7f.; 2 Cor. 5:1; Phil. 1:21f. Serious discussion of the ethics of suicide requires careful attention to the definiton given of it. Some hold that strictly and properly self-sacrifice (e.g., Saul, military heroes, the socially concerned) is not suicide. But how far can that negation reach? Unless carefully monitored, the exclusive definition might allow unwittingly for a very broad interpretation of self-sacrifice. On the other hand, the unquestioned primacy of self-preservation can easily become a hindrance to genuine Christian altruism. Future discussion of this serious ethical issue must give due attention to the full breadth of the biblical evidence.

In the ongoing debate, scholars and ethicists reject the harsh condemnations of the Middle Ages, but are duly cautious in citing the extreme circumstances where suicide might fall within acceptable limits, e.g., the choice of death in Nazi concentration camps or self-slaying to avoid revealing military secrets.

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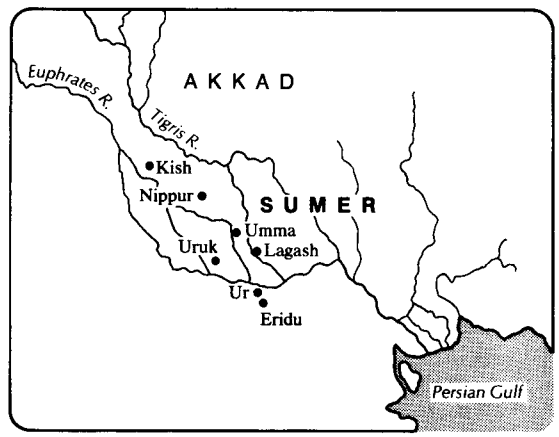
SUKKIIM suk'ē-im [Heb. *sukkîyîm;* LXX A *Trōglodytai,* B *Trōgodytai,* Luc. *Souchieim*] (2 Ch. 12:3); AV SUKKIIMS; NEB SUKKITE. Foreign mercenaries who, along with the Libyans (AV "Lubims") and the Ethiopians, campaigned with SHISHAK king of Egypt during his invasion of Palestine *ca.* 918 B.C. (*OTMS,* pp. 17f.; cf. 1 K. 14:25-28). H. G. M. Williamson, following K. A. Kitchen, suggested that the Sukkiim were perhaps auxiliary Libyan forces from the western desert oases (*1 and 2 Chronicles* [*NCBC,* 1982], p. 247).

SULPHUR [Gk. *theíon*] (Lk. 17:29; Rev. 9:17f.; 14:10; 19:20; 20:10; 21:8); AV BRIMSTONE; [*theiódēs*–'sulphurous,' 'yellow'] ("[color of] sulphur," Rev. 9:17); AV BRIMSTONE; NEB SULPHUR-YELLOW. A solid non-metallic element that is found particularly in deposits in combination with other minerals. It is most pure in volcanic areas of the earth. It burns at low temperatures and produces a colorless gas called sulphur dioxide. People of the ancient Near East were apparently familiar with volcanic eruptions that emitted burning sulphur, and they used this image as a picture of agonizing destruction. In the OT the RSV translates Heb. *goprît* (LXX *theíon*) by "brimstone." *See* BRIMSTONE. R. K. H.

SUMER sōō'mər [Sum. *kengir* (KI.EN.GI); Akk. *šu-meru*]; **SUMERIANS** sōō-mir'i-ənz. A land, later known as Babylonia, that included the southern part of modern Iraq, approximately from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. Sumer is regularly linked in Sumerian geographical terms with Akkad to the north in the phrase *ki-en-gi ki-uri* ("Sumer and Akkad"); it is possibly related to biblical SHINAR. The Sumerians developed the earliest known high civilization.



I. Origin
II. Geography
III. History
IV. Government and Society
V. Language and Writing
VI. Education
VII. Literature
VIII. Religion
IX. Art
X. Legacy

I. Origin.–The original homeland of the Sumerians is unknown, but there is no question that they did enter Mesopotamia from some outside area. Their language includes many non-Sumerian words for basic economic concepts such as farmer, herdsman, fisherman, plow, furrow, palm, date, weaver, basketmaker, and potter, which indicate the level of the local material culture when they arrived. In addition, the names of the two main rivers (Tigris and Euphrates) and of some of the ancient cities appear to have phonetic affinities to the pre-Sumerian language of lower Mesopotamia.

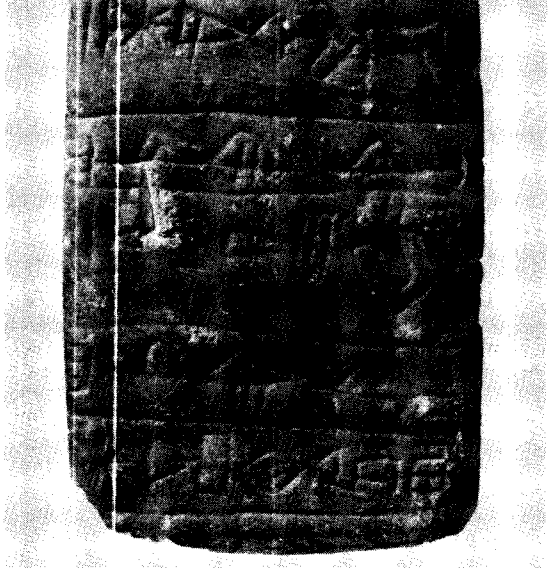
One theory is that the Sumerians came from the mountainous region to the northeast, since the early epics refer to cities like Aratta that were located beyond mountain ranges. Further support is found in the prominence their religion gave to the *kur* ("mountain"), e.g., *ekur* ("mountain house") as the name of the temple of Enlil, the chief god of the pantheon.

Most scholars, however, believe that the Sumerians arrived via the Persian gulf, because the concentration of the Sumerian population in historic times was in what is now southern Iraq. Early Sumerian history also shows signs of cultural links with the Indus Valley culture of India.

II. Geography.–Apparently throughout its history Sumer was a relatively arable land in an alluvial valley. There was certainly a greater number and variety of both plants and animals then than now, as shown by both written records and art forms. Moreover, in the last few centuries the country has become increasingly arid since forests and grasslands were destroyed, the climatic pattern has changed, and a vast and complex irrigation system has been largely destroyed. Primarily an agricultural area with virtually no stone or minerals, water transport was highly developed and industries grew in the prosperous cities through the importation of the necessary raw materials by extensive trading.

III. History.–In one sense the history of Mesopotamia began with the Sumerians, since they were apparently the inventors of writing. The earliest known historical records came from the period of Sumerian dominance and were written in the Sumerian language. The first historical records were quite brief. The longest was the King List, compiled during the post-Sumerian Isin dynasty from earlier records such as votive inscriptions, date lists, and probably also from oral tradition. Its picture of early history includes vast periods of time with rulers of extreme longevity, and a division of time into antediluvian and postdiluvian periods. True history emerges from legend at the beginning of the 3rd millennium and continues to the middle of the 2nd millennium. The historical picture becomes progressively clearer as the documents become more numerous and more detailed.

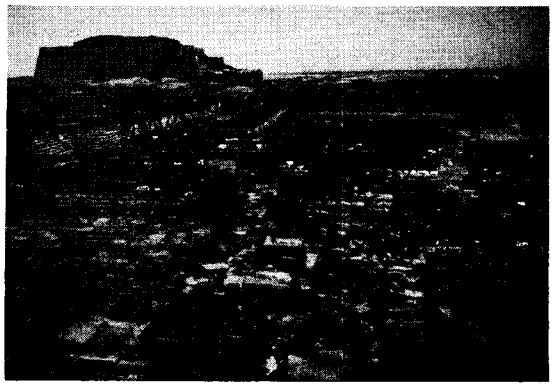
A limestone tablet from Ubaid (*ca.* 1600 B.C.) used as the foundation stone of a small temple. It reads: "A-anne-pada, King of Ur, son of Mes-anne-pada, King of Ur, for Ninhursag, has built a temple." The discovery of this tablet established the historicity of the 1st Dynasty of Ur (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Written at the time of Sumerian supremacy and from the Sumerian point of view, these early records nevertheless mention other peoples and nations. Sometimes they mention other peoples by name, but often such references can be recognized solely by the large number of non-Sumerian personal names in the text. In fact foreign names, including Semites, predominate in the pre-Flood and early post-Flood periods. For the next several centuries (except for the Akkadian period) Sumerian names increase in number, but foreign names become more numerous again as Amorites move into the land. Finally Sumerian names disappear entirely. This phenomenon tells the story of the Sumerians succinctly: they entered the alluvial valley of lower Mesopotamia from some as yet unknown homeland, apparently in considerable numbers, and — having both the genius for and the basic elements of a sophisticated civilization — dominated the area for about fifteen hundred years. Then, perhaps because the source of immigration had dried up, they were completely absorbed into the general culture.

According to the Sumerian authors, history began when "kingship was sent down from heaven" to Eridu. Archeological evidence indicates that the earliest phase of sedentary occupation in southern Iraq did in fact occur in the region of Eridu. This phase was followed by the extensive Ubaid period (*ca.* 4000-3500 B.C.) and finally by the Uruk period (3500-3200 B.C.) in which writing was invented. The King List mentions five cities for this early period before the Flood, when "eight kings reigned 241,200 years." Of these cities only one besides Eridu has been excavated, namely, Shuruppak the home of Ziusudra, the Sumerian "Noah." After the Flood, according to the Sumerian scribes, "kingship descended from heaven" again, this time further north at Kish. After a succession of twelve rulers, several with Semitic names, Etana appears (*ca.* 3000 B.C.). He is the first king for whom the records bear any resemblance to history; but the documents were written centuries after his life. By the time of Enmebaragesi (*ca.* 2700 B.C.), the seventh king of Kish after Etana, contemporaneous, truly historical records of these ancient rulers are available. At about the same time the two other chief cities of this early postdiluvian period appear in the records: Uruk with its king, Meskiaggasher, and Ur with its king, Mes-anne-pada. Kish, Uruk, and Ur, the three chief Sumerian cities of this early period, contested for control of the whole territory. Interestingly enough, although the kings of Ur are known best by archeological artifacts, outstanding among which are those from the so-called Royal Tombs of Ur, the kings of Uruk are known almost entirely and in greater detail by epic poems composed to celebrate their heroic adventures. In fact, until relatively recently Lugalbanda, Dumuzi, Enmerkar, and Gilgamesh of Uruk were considered to be wholly legendary characters. Now they are known to have been historical people who led armies in battles long ago.

The actual course of history according to the earliest records is not clear. The King List records three major dynasties, one each for Kish, Ur, and Uruk, before Sumerian hegemony was dissolved by Elamite conquest. But a unique document, the Tummal tablet, which records the successive restorations of a prominent shrine in Nippur,



The temple complex foundations at Ur with the ziggurat in the background; the complex included shrines, storehouses, magazines, and housing for temple personnel (A. H. Tolhurst)

indicates that there were actually four major Sumerian dynasties although still only the same three cities (see Kramer, pp. 46-49). The problem apparently arises from the fact that two different kings of Ur had very similar names (Meskiagnanna and Meskiagnunna) that later scribes confused. But it is remarkable that we have as reliable information as we do since it reaches way back before the development of writing and was preserved only by oral tradition, appearing on documents written nearly one thousand years after the earliest events occurred. We must also bear in mind that our records are never complete. Certainly other large and important cities existed but are not mentioned, and many others listed by name only must have been more important than their brief mention would suggest. Nonetheless, we do have at least a bare outline of historical development from near the time that southern Iraq was first occupied right down to the present.

First, Mes-anne-pada of Ur defeated Agga of Kish. Not long afterward Gilgamesh of Uruk wrested control from Meskiagnunna of Ur. Then Meskiagnanna of Ur took back control from Urlugal of Uruk. Finally, the pressure of foreigners, especially the Elamites, became too much and the power of Ur was transferred to Awan, a non-Sumerian city. Then follow a number of different cities sharing control of Sumer. Few names of rulers are preserved.

Eventually we arrive at a period where a number of records, including some dated tablets, allow us to begin constructing a more coherent history. Once again, however, due largely to the accident of excavation, we have records principally from three cities only, Kish, Umma, and especially Lagash. The well-known Mesilim of Kish was apparently the major ruler in the area. Most of the documents of this period refer to rivalry between two neighboring Sumerian cities, Umma and Lagash, over the control of agricultural lands between them and especially the irrigation canals, which are of supreme importance to agriculture in southern Iraq. The best-known kings of Lagash are Eannatum, for whom there are many historical inscriptions, and Urukagina, whose main inscription gives many details of social customs and celebrates his reforms that made life more pleasant for the common citizens (see Barton, pp. 80-85; Moscati, p. 21). This period closes with the rise of Lugalzaggesi (originally king of Umma and finally, as his power grew, of Uruk), whose lengthy inscription on stone vessels was found in Nippur. His brief reign was brought to an end by the famous Semitic king Sargon of Agade (Akkad).

A paragonite stone statue of Gudea of Lagash, a pious ruler known for building and restoring religious structures (*ca.* 2141-2122 B.C.) (The Detroit Institute of Arts; Founders Society Purchase, Robert H. Tannahill Foundation Fund)

Sargon founded the famous Sargonid dynasty and soon became one of the most powerful rulers in Mesopotamian history. The Semites who had long lived in the land had finally gained power through this remarkable king. Sargon's grandson, Naram-sin, extended the power of the dynasty even farther. But in less than 150 years the Guti people grew strong enough to overthrow the last Sargonid king. Sumerian poets explained Agade's downfall as the result of the Sumerian gods punishing Naram-Sin for desecrating the shrine of Enlil in Nippur (see *ANET*, pp. 646-651).

After Sumer had been under the control of the Guti for quite some time, Urbau of Lagash reestablished Sumerian power in Mesopotamia. But Gudea is by far the best-known ruler in Lagash at this time because of the discovery of numerous diorite/basalt statues bearing lengthy inscriptions. He was apparently not primarily a military man, for most of his inscriptions dealt with building and repairing shrines and temples. The lengthy texts, however, do mention the materials used and the lands from which they came, indicating trade relations with widely separated cities to the north and south. The last governor of Lagash, Namhani, seems to have been a willing vassal of Guti kings who eventually destroyed Sumerian power again.

Utuhegal of Uruk finally broke away from the Guti and restored kingship to Sumer. His reign was also short-

lived, however. After no more than seven years Ur-Nammu of Ur gained control from Uruk and founded the last Sumerian dynasty, known as the Ur III Dynasty. Ur-Nammu reigned for sixteen years, and his son Shulgi reigned for forty-eight years. Between them they extended the power of Ur over territory well outside Sumer to the east and north. With their successors, Amar-Sin, Šu-Sin, and Ibbi-Sin (all Semitic names), the situation began gradually to deteriorate until Ibbi-Sin was virtually a prisoner in his own capital. Finally one of his governors, Išbi-Irra in Isin, broke off from Ur and founded the first of the three great Amorite dynasties, the kingdom of Isin. Political Sumer had come to an end.

We have more cuneiform tablets from the Ur III dynasty than from any other in Mesopotamian history. These tens of thousands of clay tablets are chiefly small, square receipts, roughly 3.75 cm. by 5 cm. (1.5 by 2 in.), which have been found in cities and towns all over Iraq. (Perhaps one reason for their preservation is that most were oven-baked and therefore less susceptible to damage.) These tablets provide an enormous amount of information about most aspects of daily life and are invaluable in reconstructing the private and public life of people who lived during the last, fading period of Sumerian history, almost four thousand years ago.

From now on Sumerian names become less and less frequent in the written records, and although the Sumerian language continued as the language of religion and many literary compositions, and many Sumerian words continued as technical terms in law and business, the Sumerians as such seem to have been completely absorbed into the general Mesopotamian culture.

IV. Government and Society.–When the Sumerians arrived the country was already organized into groups of largely agricultural villages and towns. Central to each town, apparently, was a temple carrying out its dual religious and economic functions under a staff of officials. The temple, residence of the god, had both to perform the cult service and to administer the property belonging to the god. During Sumerian times, secular government seems to have been in the hands of a governor, *en* or *ensi*, who may well have begun as a temple official but took up residence outside the temple as his secular duties expanded. It appears that the general populace enjoyed a certain amount of liberty or personal responsibility, for the governor referred major decisions to the local assembly (*ukkin*) before he took action. When military activity was required, either to defend the town or to take the field against the enemy, a *lugal* (lit. "great man" < *lu*, "man," and *gal*, "great") was appointed. This term eventually came to mean "king" as opposed to merely governor (later the word *lugal* was also used in a more general legal sense to refer to an "owner").

The agricultural base of the economy in this dry alluvial territory was irrigation farming. As the canal system grew, so grew the need for supervision. Accordingly, one of the most important officials was the *guedinna*, the canal supervisor. Not only was it necessary to regulate the use of the water, but also the canals had to be cleared of silt regularly and repaired, and new ones had to be built.

But then all of life had to be regulated. Family relations, business practices, etc., all must be directed in order to avoid confusion if not conflict. Therefore a system of regulation or law soon developed. The compilation and codification of law appears to be another major Sumerian contribution to the development of civilization. At least the first recorded legal documents, including contracts of all kinds, records of court cases, and collections of laws, appear in the Sumerian language and on tablets in Sumer.

A copper "foundation figure" of a kneeling god, with a traditional four-tiered headdress, found wrapped in cloth and buried beneath a building. The figure is driving a stake into the ground to ward off evil spirits and is inscribed with the name of the builder, Gudea (Lagash, end of the 3rd millennium B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

Here as in all other aspects of society the assumed source of the rules and the original pattern of government is among the gods in heaven. According to the Sumerian theologians, the gods sent down the rules to mankind. There was a *me*, "regulation, norm," for every conceivable social function. Our best list contains over one hundred elements from law, truth, and love to fear and strife, including many crafts: the builder, basketmaker, smith, scribe, etc. When these regulations were received by mankind and obeyed, civilization resulted. But since gods and human beings were prone to ignore or break the rules, a system to maintain justice was necessary. In heaven Utu, the sun-god, was the supreme judge. He also provided the rules and authority to his earthly counterpart, the reigning king, who would appoint judges and establish a system of jurisprudence. The law code stele of the Babylonian king Hammurabi of Babylon is well known. But it had a direct ancestor in the code of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin who, though himself an Amorite, recorded his laws in Sumerian (*see* picture in LAW IN THE OT). He in turn had a cultural ancestor in Ur-Nammu, the first king of the Ur III Dynasty, a fragment of whose law code has survived. Yet the line goes much further back, at least to Urukagina of Lagash. These kings prided themselves on establishing law and order, known in a twofold sense as *níg-gi-na*, "truth," and *níg-si-sá*, "rightness," among their people. Thousands of tablets, from 2500 B.C. on, record

the practice of law in Mesopotamia. They include collections of laws, contracts, and suits for marriage, divorce, adoption, injuries, damages, loans, sales, etc.

V. Language and Writing.–The Sumerian language is unique, with no known cognates ancient or modern, although some have attempted unsuccessfully to link it with Hungarian. It has structural parallels with other agglutinative languages, but these do not indicate a generic relationship since there are no examples of related linguistic elements such as grammatical particles, common nouns, pronouns, numbers, etc. At least two dialects were spoken. One was the standard dialect *emegir*; the other was a more elegant dialect called *emesal*. The main difference seems to have been pronunciation. It is difficult to determine with precision the phonetic pattern of Sumerian since we hear it essentially through Semitic ears. That is, although the Sumerians developed the script, most of the documents that explain pronunciation come from the time when Sumerian had almost died out as a spoken language. The Semitic Akkadian scribes and teachers prepared vocabulary and lexical texts to teach non-Sumerian speakers how to read and write the language. Therefore, as one might expect, they related the Sumerian phonemes to the closest Akkadian phoneme. Thus the distinctive non-Semitic phonemes of Sumerian have been lost.

Another puzzling aspect of Sumerian is its many homophones (words that appear to have been pronounced alike). For example, the word *du* can mean either "enter," "go," "build," "bake," or "open." This has led many scholars to suspect that Sumerian was a tonal language.

Writing is undoubtedly a Sumerian invention, and perhaps their most important contribution to the development of civilization. When writing became sufficiently flexible to record abstract ideas fluently, it became possible not only to preserve a record of events and thoughts but also to transmit those ideas from one area to another at the same period in history. Thus recorded history began.

Three facts indicate that the Sumerians invented the script. First, writing arose in Sumer after the Sumerians arrived. Second, when the individual signs can be read syllabically the pronunciation of the syllable is the Sumerian word for the original picture. Third, the language of the earliest inscriptions is Sumerian.

In its earliest stages the script appears at level IV b of the ancient city of Uruk (*ca.* 3200 B.C.). By the following (Jemdet Nasr) period the script had developed to the extent that connected prose could be recorded. At first simple stylized pictures were scratched linearly in soft clay. Most of the objects depicted can be easily recognized. There were perhaps originally about two thousand pictographs. Next the linear pictographs were simplified and stylized. Then wedges made by a reed stylus pressed into the clay replaced the etched lines. This gave rise to the name CUNEIFORM for the script (< Lat. *cuneus*, "wedge"). Later the complex signs containing a dozen or more wedges were further simplified by the use of fewer wedges of more uniform size until by the late Assyrian and Chaldean periods there were very small signs mostly of just a few wedges. These signs bear no visible relationship to the original pictures. At first numbers were represented by impressions from a cylindrical stylus impressed at an angle or vertically in the clay. Later, wedges replaced the circles.

The cuneiform script spread throughout Mesopotamia, eventually reaching from Anatolia to Egypt and from the Mediterranean coast to Iran. It was accommodated to the different phonemes of other languages by arbitrary selection of duplicate Sumerian homophones for special sounds in the new languages. Thus it was used to write Semitic Akkadian, Indo-European Hittite, and Caucasic Hurrian, among others. The idea of constructing signs by using arbitrary groups of wedges, with no reference to original pictures, led to the cuneiform scripts of Ugaritic and Old Persian.

Early script appears on this tablet from Lagash showing a seated goddess holding date blossoms. Sprouts grow from her shoulders and other vegetation decorates her crown (mid-3rd millennium B.C.) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 8836)

The impetus that gave rise to the origin of writing seems to have been economic. As more goods were bought, sold, exchanged, and stored, it became increasingly necessary to be able to identify the ownership of the commodities involved. Clay labels or tags bearing the owner's identification and a simple notification of contents were tied to animals or fastened to sacks and jars. For owner identification uniquely decorated beads or amulets were employed as stamp seals. When the seal was impressed on the label it identified the owner. These stamp seals later gave way to small cylinders of shell and stone that were rolled across the labels and later across tablets. Each cylinder bore a unique decoration: first geometric designs, later groups of figures including animals and human beings, and eventually special groups of people, including deities (*see* pictures in DRAGON; LIBATION). As time passed, inscriptions, often including the name of the owner, were also added. Cylinder seals were eventually replaced by stamp seals at the end of the Neo-Assyrian period. *See* SEAL.

The first representations on these labels were simple line sketches of the objects. The step from picture to syllable was facilitated by the fact that in Sumerian most words consisted of but one syllable; e.g., *u*, "day," *e*, "house," *ku*, "eat," *shu*, "hand," *she*, "barley," etc. It was easy, therefore, to take the next step from the picture to the one-syllable word for that picture and use the sign for the syllable alone without any connection to the original ob-

ject. It was now possible to record grammatical sequences by these purely syllabic signs. Another important step was to use the picture-sign to represent not just the original object (e.g., a human foot) but also for an idea associated with the object (to stand or walk). A wide range of new nouns and verbs resulted.

Eventually the script consisted of word signs (logograms), syllabic signs (syllabograms) and special signs, usually unpronounced, to indicate special classes of words (classifiers). By this time it was possible to write not just simple business lists but literary and historical texts as well as poetic compositions. Full-fledged writing led to the production of tens of thousands of tablets over the centuries containing every conceivable kind of document.

VI. Education.–Ever since cuneiform tablets were first discovered and deciphered, scholars wondered about the origin of this unusual kind of writing and how it was transmitted to succeeding generations. Then some so-called school texts (sign lists, word lists, and practice tablets) were found.

The earliest school texts, a few simple word lists from *ca.* 3000 B.C., were found at Uruk. More detailed lists of names and objects were found at Shuruppak from *ca.* 2500 B.C. Among the thousands of business documents are many, much more sophisticated lists, paradigms, and practice texts from *ca.* 2000 B.C. The first to be recognized, however, probably came from the great palace library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (*ca.* 600 B.C.). But none of these tablets dealt with the system of education. Finally, the vast collections of school texts from Nippur (1800 B.C. and later) provided information about education. These tablets were found in a mound first thought to have been the temple library but now known to be the remains of a group of private houses for professional scribes (Sum. *dubsar,* from *dub,* "tablet," and *sar,* "write"; Akk. *tupšarum*) that were adjacent to the temple.

In poetic narrative four tablets bore welcome information regarding the people and process involved in training future scribes (Kramer, pp. 229-249. These are the so-called School Tablets, named after the word *edubba,* "tablet house," which refers to the place where writing was taught. From these tablets scholars pieced together the process of teaching the use of the cuneiform script for writing. The titles given to these four poems by the modern translators are revealing: "Schooldays," "School Rowdies," "A Scribe and His Perverse Son," and "Colloquy Between an *ugula* [school official] and a Scribe." From this succession of titles we learn the educational process from "first grade to graduate student." (Note that difficult and rebellious students [rowdies] have been around for at least four thousand years — if that is any consolation.)

Some schools, it seems, were conducted in special buildings, as at Mari. Others were held in the homes of professional scribes, as at Nippur. We know of all kinds of textbooks: word lists, dictionaries of three or four columns, grammatical paradigms, collections of selected phrases, model business texts, and various kinds of literature. A receptacle for tablet clay was also handy because part of the instruction was how to make a tablet. The personnel consisted of the principal (*ummia*), the head teacher (*adda edubba,* "father of the tablet house"), the assistant professor (*šeš edubba,* "brother of the tablet house"), and the student himself (*dummu edubba,* "son of the tablet house"), together with several other minor staff. The poem "Schooldays" reveals that discipline was necessary: the student says that when he did something wrong the appropriate official caned him.

We also read of the various tasks in school: "I made my tablet," "I read my assignment," "I wrote my tablet," "I 'calculated' [referring to some branch of mathematics] my tablet." Many tablets illustrate scholarly progress from the earliest stage of writing simple syllables, like "ba, bi, bu," in large awkward characters to the copy texts, in which the teacher wrote the top line and the student attempted to reproduce it, on to excerpts of grammatical phrases, business sentences, etc., in large, rough signs on rude square pieces of clay, until finally the work of the students was indistinguishable from that of the teachers. It was a long process and was apparently open only to young men from fairly well-to-do families. Although not a lucrative profession, being a scribe did carry considerable social status.

Mathematics was also important. Since mathematical calculations were necessary for records of the different types of business, farming, and construction enterprises, scribes had to learn to perform these computations. The number system was a combined decimo-sexagesimal, with the base 60. Tablets containing multiplication tables, lists of reciprocals, square and cube roots, and weights and measures have been found. Practice mathematical texts involving various aspects of geometry and problems in quadratic equations have also been discovered. Sumerian science is impressive, but it was more pragmatic than speculative. (On Sumerian medicine *see* DISEASE II.B.).

See also EDUCATION I.

VII. Literature.–The Sumerian literary texts are a unique contribution of this culture and a rich source of information regarding the life and thought of the Sumerians.

Among the tens of thousands of cuneiform tablets recovered thus far from the ancient cities, about five thousand can be classed as literary texts. The vast majority we possess today, written *ca.* 1800 B.C. and later, were associated with the schools (see IV above) where scribes were taught their craft. To be sure, only a very few are from old times. In fact, the oldest known was an inscribed cylinder from *ca.* 2400 B.C. discovered at NIPPUR. Most of these particular types of texts come from Nippur, which was the chief cult center of the area throughout its history, though, so far as we know, never a political capital.

The various types of Sumerian literature did not all die out with the spoken language. Some were preserved in the original language and more often than not were provided with a translation in bilingual texts or appeared in translation alone in such diverse languages as Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Hurrian, and Canaanite and in places as widely scattered as Nineveh, Babylon, Hattusas, and Ugarit.

Five different types of literary compositions — myths, epics, hymns, lamentations and elegies, and wisdom texts, nearly all in poetic form — occur in two different types of tablets. The first type are the well-written connected texts, sometimes on twelve-column tablets with poems of over a thousand lines (often more than one tablet is required to contain a whole poem). The other type of tablets, exercise and excerpt texts, come in many forms and were used as teaching tools in the schools.

Eighteen major myths are known in whole or in part. They focus on the following deities: Enlil (2 myths), Enki (4; see, e.g., *ANET,* pp. 27-41), Nanna (1), Ninurta (2), Inanna (5; see, e.g., *ANET,* pp. 52-57), and Dumuzi (4; see, e.g., *ANET,* pp. 41-42). These myths deal among other things with various aspects of creation, the establishment of human society, and exploits of the deities. They portray Sumerian speculation about both heavenly and earthly origins. One unusual text deals with the god

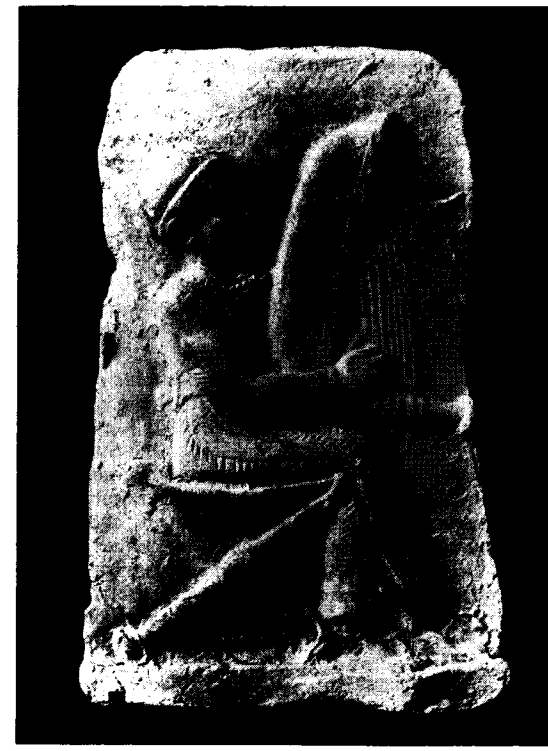
Martu of the western Semites, known as Amurru or Amorites, who according to the story lived in Ninab (as yet unidentified; see Kramer, p. 164). It relates how he met Numushda, god of Kazallu, at a banquet and asked for Numushda's daughter in marriage. Numushda assented over the protest of some friends, who pointed out that Martu was a barbaric, tent-dwelling bedouin who ate raw meat (an interesting insight into Sumerian thoughts about the Amorites). Only one tablet of the Sumerian Flood myth has been recovered, and only one third of this tablet remains. But the story is essentially identical to the part of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh that recounts the flood and therefore is probably a source of the later poem.

Nine epic poems are extant, varying from about one hundred to over six hundred lines. Each one deals more or less with a single event involving one principal character. No doubt basic historical facts underly at least some of these tablets. Contemporaneous inscriptions from early times bear the names of some of the protagonists (see III above), thus confirming the historicity of once legendary figures. But, as is common with ancient literary epics, supernatural events are also related, and the gods often participate in the story. Strangely enough, all the chief characters were early kings of Uruk. Two poems are about Enmerkar, two are about Lugalbanda, and five are about Gilgamesh, the best-known hero then and now in Sumerian history. These epics are important for the historical and sociological information they contain. The first four reveal that Uruk in Sumer had close political ties with a major city, Aratta, which was probably located in Iran. But it is interesting to note that Sumerian deities were the tutelary gods of the foreign region also. And one governor (Sum. *en*) had a good Sumerian name, Ensukushsiranna. Whether this is poetic license or strict fact we may never know. But the stories of Gilgamesh contain hints about Uruk's societal structure during these early days (see IV above).

Hymns must have played an important role in Sumer, for scores have been recovered, ranging in length from about fifty to nearly four hundred lines. There are four classes: (1) hymns to gods, (2) hymns to kings, (3) hymns involving both gods and kings, and (4) hymns to temples. (See *ANET*, pp. 383-392, 573-586.) With few but significant exceptions the datable hymns related to kings come from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods. One long temple hymn goes back to Gudea's time, indicating the long history of this type of composition. It is interesting to note technical terms on the hymn tablets that differentiate various kinds of hymns for special purposes and also notes regarding the musical instruments to be used. See Kramer, pp. 205-207.

The list of lamentations and elegies is short. Lamentations generally refer either to the destruction of a major city (e.g., Ur, Nippur; see *ANET*, pp. 455-463, 611-19; Kramer, p. 208), or to the death of the god Dumuzi; the latter lamentations seem related to the cult of the "dying god" and nature worship. In 1957 Kramer discovered a previously unknown type — the elegy or funeral song. So far we have only one tablet with two elegies. Both relate to the same man, Ludingirra, and celebrate the death of, first, his father Nanna, and second, his wife Nawirtum (note the Semitic name) in Nippur. This tablet reflects some novel ideas about life after death (see Kramer, pp. 208-217).

The final category is the wisdom texts. There are four different types: (1) disputations, (2) essays, (3) collections of precepts, and (4) proverbs (see Kramer, pp. 217-226). This kind of literature is worldwide in scope, of great appeal, and quite revealing of daily life and thinking, particularly the proverbs. At the same time the texts are difficult to translate, especially the proverbs, which are characteristically terse and full of allusions better known to contemporaries than foreigners some four thousand years later. The disputations are a genre familiar to medieval Europe if not widely known today. They consist of debates between two opponents representing opposite sides of a milieu, such as Summer and Winter, Cattle and Grain, Bird and Fish, Tree and Reed, etc. Each element is personified and engages in a dispute concerning their relative worth or useful function. The poems range between two hundred and three hundred lines. Few poems can be called essays; apparently it was not a very popular genre. One is a study of the problem of suffering and submission. Two others discuss the life and value of education in the scribal school.



A musician seated on a folding stool playing a seven-stringed harp with his fingers. Terra-cotta plaque from Tell Asmar, early 2nd millennium B.C. (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

There are three collections of precepts. One, called the Farmer's Almanac, reads like a short treatise on agriculture and supplements in this area what we read about in business documents and legal cases (see Kramer, pp. 105-109). Another is called "The Instruction of Shuruppak to His son Ziusudra," which reads like parts of the biblical book of Proverbs (cf. *ANET*, pp. 594-96; Kramer, p. 224). It begins "My son, I would instruct you, take my instruction; Ziusudra, I would utter a word to you, give heed to it; Do not neglect my instruction; Do not transgress the word I uttered." A third, fragmentary text seems to contain moral and ethical warnings.

The most interesting of all are the proverbs (see Gordon). About seven hundred tablets and fragments are extant, containing over a thousand proverbs. They belong to twelve or more official collections arranged in groups. Such proverbs are found, together with translations, on literary tablets as late as the Neo-Assyrian period. Like

other proverbs, they reveal fascinating insights, often far from flattering. Here are some examples. "He who eats much cannot sleep." "Into an open mouth a fly enters." "You are not a man of one place, you are a man of a thousand places" (complaint of the wife to her much traveled husband?). "A loving heart builds the home, a hating heart destroys the home." "The fox trod on the hoof of the wild ox saying 'didn't it hurt?'."

Finally, seven small tablets proved to be unique catalogs of literary compositions. Each of the forty or so lines on the tablet was the opening line of a literary composition (in the ancient Near East the opening line of a work served as its title). Thus from these catalogs we learn the titles of many more literary texts than we possess at present.

VIII. Religion.–An analysis of Sumerian religion raises two basic questions. First, how much of the religion that we discern in the literature and artifacts of Sumer came from the people already in the land when the Sumerians arrived? How much did the Sumerian immigrants add? We know there were temples and temple furniture in the pre-Sumerian period. Also, the Elamites, Guti, and Amorites, among others, must have had some effect on the culture, likely in proportion to the numbers who, having newly entered Sumer, stayed to be absorbed by the resident population. The second question, though related to Sumerian religion, applies equally to religion generally: how much of the religion expressed by sophisticated poets and theologians in the literature was part of the daily belief and practice of the average citizen? Was the elaborate structure of cosmology and of the hierarchy and function of the gods a later Sumerian attempt to integrate the various myths of many deities into a coherent whole? Since our sources of information are limited and a long span of time separates us from the Sumerians, we shall never have satisfactory answers to these questions. But it is well to bear them in mind.

Three sources allow for a reconstruction of Sumerian religion: first, temple buildings and cult objects; second, the literature (myths, hymns, etc.); and third, the documents that describe the actual religious practice. Let us begin with the temples. At first the Sumerians apparently adopted the style of temple popular when they arrived and developed it to a more complex design. For example, they enlarged the platform to become a sizable hill, sometimes, as at Uruk, up to 12 m. (40 ft.) high. This hill was later enlarged to become the ziggurat or temple stage-tower. By this time the larger main temple remained at ground level and became one unit in a large complex of religious buildings. The small temple on top of the ziggurat was the place where the god came down to "appear" to the people and, perhaps, to participate in the *hieros gamos* ("sacred marriage") each year. Another apparently Sumerian innovation was improved decoration of the previously drab walls (see IX below). A long Gudea text (2200 B.C.) explains in detail the construction of the Eninnu temple for Ningirsu in Lagash, from the god's delivery of a plan on a lapis-lazuli tablet to the finished building with all its utensils.

Not much more than the names of the temple personnel is known. But since the temple (or god, actually) owned vast estates, a greater number of persons probably engaged in secular rather than religious activities. Religious functionaries included the chief administrator (*sanga*), those who offered sacrifices and made libations (the *guda, mah, ishib, gala,* etc.), and also singers and musicians. Many temples also had a class of male and female prostitutes whose activities many scholars relate to the fertility cult. On the economic side, a large staff administered temple properties, managed the storehouse, and, apparently, subsidized craftsmen of different kinds.

In its simplest terms the Sumerian cosmology consists of the primeval sea (*absu*), the heaven above (*an*), and the earth below (*ki*), with the "atmosphere" (*lil*) in between. The origin of this cosmology is unknown. All the elements were eventually personified but *Absu* plays little part in later developments and *An* not much more. In earlier days (or more likely by later speculations), however, *Ki* was considered the consort of *An*, and these two were considered the parents of all the other gods. As "persons" earth (*ki*) and atmosphere (*lil*) later received names compounded with *en* ("lord"), so they were hereafter known as Enki and Enlil respectively. Incidentally, although the word *en* ("lord") may refer to the earliest secular and religious leader in Sumerian society and is therefore very frequent in human personal names, it was never used for any gods other than the two mentioned above. The common element *nin* ("lady"), used in the names of many female deities (Ningal, Ninhursag, Ninlil, etc.), was also used for a few males (e.g., Ningirsu and Ningishzida), which suggests that at first it was asexual.

The Sumerian pantheon as it appears in the literature had four leading deities — An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag — and three chief astral deities — Nanna (the moon), Nanna's son Utu (the sun), and Nanna's daughter Inanna (earlier Ninanna, with numerous offices). But several other deities were very important also: Dumuzi (Babylonian Tammuz), Nergal, Ninurta, and Nidaba; of course, hundreds more were known by name only. Some of these "other gods" are really only personifications of the various aspects of one of the better-known gods. Many of the Sumerian gods are also known by their Semitic names as well — Enki-Ea, Nanna-Sin, Inanna-Ishtar — indicating the fusion of the two cultures.

Civil government and the divine order have an interesting parallel. Enlil was the chief god of the pantheon, for all practical purposes. Therefore his special city, Nippur, became the cult center of all Sumer and remained so for centuries. Even late Assyrian kings traveled to Nippur to "seize the hands of Enlil" and thus to certify their rulership. In fact, the Babylonian word for "lordship," *ellilūtu* (< *enlil-ūtu*) is derived from his name. But every city had its own tutelary deity as well: Enki for Eridu, Nanna for Ur, Ningirsu for Lagash, etc. Just as the final decision at Uruk to attack Aratta had to be made by the city council (*ukkin*), so major decisions among the gods regarding creation, the destruction of mankind (the Flood), etc., were also arrived at in their council, which was held in Enlil's temple, the Ekur at Nippur (see IV above).

In addition to the official form of religion (temple worship with sacrifices and incantations) the Sumerians had an apparently unique concept: on a strictly personal level each person had "his own (personal) god" (*dingirani*). Normally the relation between god and a human being, whether commoner or king, was as master and servant/slave. But the Sumerian (and some in the Old Babylonian period and even later) had a much more intimate relationship. First, the literature frequently referred to the aspect of parenthood. Lugalzaggesi speaks of himself as a "child born of Nidaba." Both Ur-Nammu and Šulgi of Ur claim they were born of Lugalbanda and Ninsun. Many of these personal gods were lesser deities, but on occasion even the paramount gods are so mentioned. Through this relationship the individual gained a sense of protection and guidance and developed the feeling of dependence and direction. In later times the phrase "to acquire a god" became idiomatic for being able, or having the good fortune, to do well. Nevertheless, so great was

the fear of demons who could inflict disease or cause misfortune that much of common religion was occupied with various attempts to appease the offended spirits.

The Sumerian concept of death and the underworld is in many ways obscure. For some reason the netherworld into which both gods and people descended is called *kur*, "mountain." It was ruled by Nergal and his consort Ereshkigal, assisted by many grotesque servants. Strangely enough some of the sky-gods were confined there. The deceased had to make offerings and present gifts to some of these deities as well as to some honored, deceased human beings. Utu performed judgment there, sometimes assisted by Nanna. In one illuminating passage Enkidu tells Gilgamesh that life there is much like that on earth, if not worse, and it is endless.

IX. Art.–The two earliest Sumerian artistic innovations are the decorations of their temples (see VIII above) and the introduction of the cylinder seal (see V above). The temples grew larger and developed more ornate half-columns and buttresses. Geometric designs of colored cones embedded in plaster often decorated the walls. Friezes of stone and shell appear and occasionally even frescoes. The artistic style and the material of the seals seem also to be paralleled in the development of sculpture in the round. Early examples of both were linear rather than fully modeled and were on softer materials such as shell and limestone (*see* pictures in BANQUET; BEAR; MARI; PRIESTS AND LEVITES). With the passage of time, however, the modeling became less angular and more lifelike and the material of harder substance, e.g., carnelian and agate for seals (later even hematite) and granite and diorite for sculpture. Since none of these later materials occurred locally, trading must have been extensive. The modeling and materials in the small wall plaques, which later became larger steles, developed similarly.

The divine and human standing figures from the Early Dynasty II and III periods are excellent examples of the dress and appearance of Sumerians at that period (*see* Volume I, Plate 2; picture in MARI). Best known, perhaps, are the dozens of statues, seated and standing, of Gudea from Girsu-Lagash. Expertly done in polished diorite, though rather monotonously uniform and stiff, they often bore long, highly informative inscriptions. Two steles deserve special mention. The Stele of the Vultures celebrating the conquests of Eannatum of Lagash was a prototype of later memorial monuments (*see* picture in NET), and the later stele of Ur-Nammu of Ur shows Nanna the god of Ur instructing the king to build the ziggurat. (Incidentally, though ziggurats were apparently few in number before this period — one known at Uruk, another possibly at Mari — Ur-Nammu built them all over his territory and they proliferated thereafter right down to the Neo-Babylonian period.)

The Royal Tombs of Ur provide a display of gold and silver vessels and implements plus a range of jewelry in gold and semiprecious stones that has no rival in Mesopotamian history (*see* pictures in ART; GOLD). This rich collection from just after 3000 B.C. exhibits remarkably advanced techniques in carving, casting, and filigree that, though largely lost today from other sites, must have adorned the religious, royal, and rich Sumerian. The exquisitely etched silver bowl of Entemena from Lagash supports this view.

X. Legacy.–Sumerian culture has contributed many important elements not only to later Mesopotamia but also to the classical world and even down to present Western civilization. Among the more obvious and certainly the most important is the idea of employing arbitrary symbols to record thoughts and speech, which led to the technique

An etched silver and bronze vase of King Entemena found intact at Lagash. The etching in the center of the vase depicts the lion-headed eagle Imdugud (2600-2350 B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

of writing. The development of the sexagesimal number system also has had an influence far beyond Sumer; we still use that number system today when measuring angles or telling time. We may also owe a few mathematical principles to Sumerian genius: e.g., the use of reciprocals, the approximation of pi, and solving quadratic equations. Further, framing legal principles and organizing a system of jurisprudence to guide the conduct of family and business life seem also to stem from Sumer.

But the area of special interest is religion. Was Sumerian religion the historical origin of themes or basic ideas in the OT? Many motifs and expressions in the book of Genesis, for example, have parallels or analogues in Sumerian literature. Does this mean that the theme in the Bible originated in a Sumerian myth and was borrowed, altered, and used to support the later theological concepts of the Hebrews? Or does the motif in the Sumerian poem represent a vague reminiscence of a genuine event long past that has been preserved over centuries of transmission? If the latter is true, the Sumerian parallels support the accuracy of the biblical record rather than providing a source for them.

Three main topics appear to have convincing parallels: Creation, the Flood, and the tower of Babel. A few others are sometimes suggested: the concept of law, ethics, a "personal god," and speculation on "suffering" (e.g., Job). But these concepts are of such a general nature and were so widely known throughout the Near East (e.g., Egypt) that they do not demonstrate a particular connection between Sumerian origins and Hebrew culture.

So far only one fragmentary account of Creation exists in Sumerian. Later Babylonian texts, however, contain considerable details involving gods with Sumerian names, so it is at least possible that original Sumerian poems have not yet been found. The extant Sumerian rendition assumes the existence of matter and primeval gods before the creation of the earth and humanity. It appears that in both the Sumerian and OT accounts a command was first given before the deed was done (cf. "God said . . . so God made," Gen. 1:3ff.; but note Gen. 1:1, "In the beginning God created . . ."). But this hardly appears to be of great significance. Some scholars suggest a connection between Enlil (from *en lil*, "lord air") and the statement that "the Spirit of God brooded over the waters" (Gen. 1:2). This seems a bit strained, however, since Enlil was not the original creator but was himself created (see VIII above). Some also note that in both accounts mankind is created to serve God or the gods. But the difference is more striking than the similarity. Gen. 1:26 states, "let them have dominion over (all things)," implying responsibility toward God but also involving fellowship or companionship with God. In the Sumerian/Babylonian account, however, the chief gods decide to create mankind to provide the food and drink the lazy gods required. But since the proliferating human beings became extremely noisy and disturbing, the gods plotted to destroy them. Thus the purpose for creating mankind is as opposite as the nature of deity in the biblical and Sumerian accounts. *See also* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA IV.

The Flood account in Sumerian is still rather brief (and the text badly broken), but the Babylonian story, contained in the Gilgamesh Epic, is nearly complete, greatly detailed, and bears many intriguing parallels to the Genesis record. Again, however, it is difficult to determine how much of the later version was in the earlier Sumerian poems. At least three elements must have been in the Sumerian myths; the gods (or a god) determine(s) to destroy mankind with a flood because they have become thoroughly objectionable. One god betrays this secret to a human being (Sum. Ziusudra; Bab. Utnapishtim, both meaning something like "life of long days"). This man is instructed to build a large vessel in order to survive. He does so and as a reward receives "endless life." The parallel elements are obvious, as are the ethical differences. *See also* FLOOD (GENESIS).

Some scholars see a parallel between the biblical story of the tower of Babel and the unique Sumerian ziggurat. But the connection is unconvincing. The setting of the biblical story is in remote antiquity before the divergence of human language. But Lenzen's careful study of the buildings at Uruk reveals the development of the ziggurat from a low platform on which a temple was built to a high mound and eventually to the ziggurat. And the whole process took place well after the Ubaid Period (*ca.* 3500 B.C.). So there cannot possibly be any connection between the tower as presented in the Bible and the ziggurat as built at Uruk. *See also* BABEL, TOWER OF.

There are indeed significant literary parallels. But the ethical and theological spirit of Genesis is so totally opposite to the carnal squabbling gods of Sumerian myth that the parallels such as they are need only demonstrate a relationship to sources earlier than both Sumerian and Hebrew cultures, sources that have been transmitted more accurately to the latter.

See also BABYLONIA IX.A; GENESIS III.A; MYTH IV.

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SUMMARY OF THE LAW. The Torah contains 365 prohibitions and 248 positive commands. Although Judaism taught an absolute obligation to obey every commandment (Mish. *Aboth* ii.1; iv.2), from time to time the question was asked, "Which commandment is the first of all?" When Jesus was asked by a scribe which was the most important commandment in the Torah, He replied by quoting Dt. 6:5 (the first part of the Shema), which summarizes the first table of the law, and Lev. 19:18b, which summarizes the second (Mt. 22:34-40 par. Mk. 12:28-34; cf. Lk. 10:25-27). Both of these OT passages were familiar to the Jews of Jesus' day. Devout Jews repeated the Shema twice a day, and Rabbi Akiba in the Sifra on Lev. 19:18 called this command "the greatest principle in the Torah."

Apparently the twofold emphasis on loving God and loving one's neighbor was not unique to Jesus either (cf. XII P. Dan. 5:3; Iss. 5:2; 7:6; Benj. 3:3; Philo *Spec. Leg.* ii.63). These parallels and the importance given to Dt. 6:4f. and Lev. 19:18 in the Jewish literature of Jesus' day have led some scholars to deny any originality in Jesus' summary of the law. Certainly much of His teaching is paralleled in the contemporary Jewish literature. It would be surprising if one did not find such parallels, for both Jesus and the rabbis held in common the validity of the OT's ethical teaching. But the rabbis dealt primarily with specific issues, whereas Jesus dealt with the ultimate ethical principles. Out of the 613 commandments of the Torah and the mass of traditions, Jesus selected and emphasized these two commands — a selection that certainly reveals His genius. Although Jewish literature contains formal parallels to Jesus' summary of the law, and although the two OT passages quoted by Jesus were important in Judaism, Jesus seems to have been the first to combine these two passages in this way.

This teaching of Jesus deeply impressed the early Church. Both Paul (Gal. 5:14; Rom. 13:9f.) and James (Jas. 2:8) used Lev. 19:18 as a summary of the law.

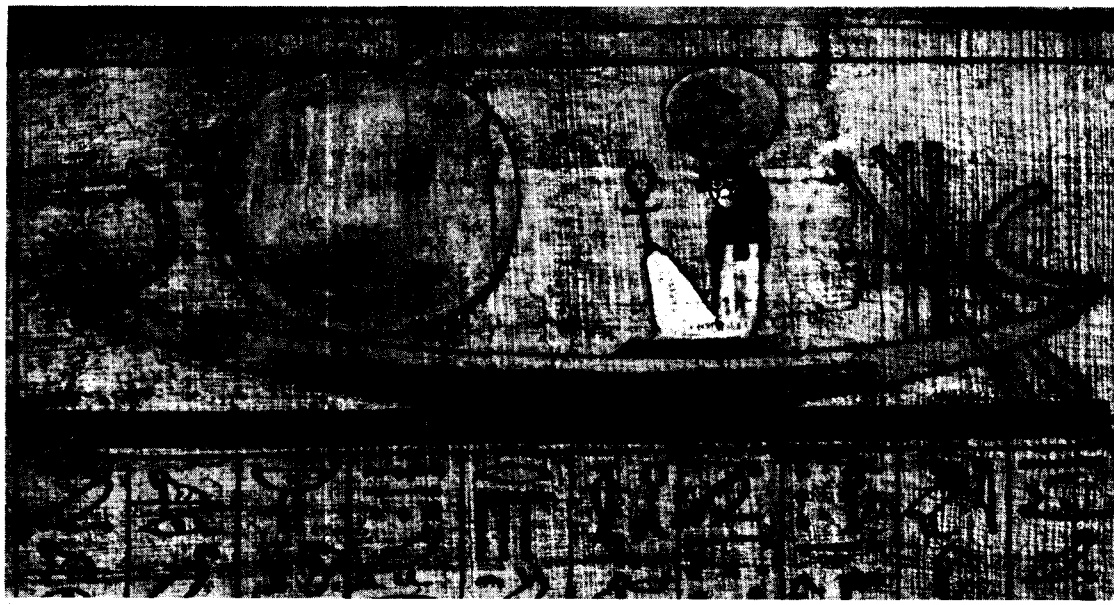
See also ETHICS: THE ETHIC OF JESUS III. D.3; LOVE III.B. R. H. STEIN

SUMMER. *See* SEASON.

SUMMER HOUSE. A translation of Heb. *bêṯ haqqāyiṣ* (lit. "house of the summer"), which occurs only in Am. 3:15 in reference to the luxurious seasonal residences of the affluent. Amos warned that Yahweh Himself would destroy these homes on account of their owners' exploitative and oppressive treatment of the poor. The mention of the WINTER HOUSE with the summer house suggests the totality of the imminent destruction. G. L. K.

SUN [Heb. *šemeš* (cf. Akk. *šamšu/šamaš*; Ugar. *špš*), also *ḥeres* (Jgs. 14:18; Job 9:7), *ḥammâ* (Job 30:28; Cant. 6:10; Isa. 24:23; 30:26), *'ôr*–'light' (Job 31:26); Gk. *hḗlios*]; on Isa. 19:18, *see* CITY OF THE SUN. The sun figures prominently in the language, imagery, and religion of the ancient Near East, and not least of all in Israel.

I. Sun Worship.—The sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies were worshiped throughout the ancient world. The ancient Egyptians worshiped the sun as Re (or Amon-Re). Under the heretical King Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV, *ca.*



The sun-god Re depicted with the sun disk over his head and an *ankh* symbol on his knees, riding in a boat. A vignette from the Papyrus of Ani (*ca.* 1300 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

1364-1347 B.C.), the powerful, long-standing priesthood of Amon was suppressed and the solar disk, Aten (Aton), became the royal family's sole object of worship. Akhenaten's religion was crushed shortly after his death, but the "Hymn to the Aton" (upon which Ps. 104 may have been modeled) has survived extant (see *ANET*, pp. 369-371). (*See also* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: EGYPT.) In Mesopotamia the sun was worshiped as Šamaš, a male deity (*see* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA II), while in Ugarit and Canaan the sun-deity Šapaš was understood as female. The place names EN-SHEMESH, BETH-SHEMESH, HAR-HERES (*see* HERES 1), and Timnath-heres (which some would emend to TIMNATH-SERAH) betray the locations of ancient centers of the sun-cult in Palestine.

Although forbidden in the Mosaic law (Dt. 4:19; 17:3), sun worship became a problem in ancient Israel, particularly during the period of Assyrian dominance. The kings of Judah dedicated horses to the sun and stationed them, along with chariots (symbolizing the horses and chariots used by the sun-god to traverse the heavens) at the entrance to the house of Yahweh (2 K. 23:11; *see* HORSES OF THE SUN). These and other sacrileges committed by the later Judean kings were probably performed under pressure from Judah's Assyrian overlords. With the collapse of Assyrian hegemony, King Josiah removed the horses, burned the chariots, and deposed the "idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense . . . to Baal, to the sun, and the moon, and the constellations, and all the host of the heavens [i.e., stars]" (v. 5). In Ezekiel's vision of "abominations" he saw men in the inner court of the Jerusalem temple, with their backs to the altar, worshiping the sun to the east (Ezk. 8:16). Job 31:26f. mentions kissing the hand at the sight of the sun, either as an idolatrous gesture or to stop the mouth from uttering an idolatrous word of praise.

The worship of the sun may also be reflected in its personification — a literary device used even in Yahwistic circles. Deborah's song, e.g., speaks of "the sun as he rises in his might" (Jgs. 5:31). Nathan's expression "in the sight of the sun" (2 S. 12:11) likewise involves a personification, as does Isaiah's claim that the sun would be "ashamed" when Yahweh manifested His glory on Mt. Zion (Isa. 24:23). Jeremiah prophesied that on the day of judgment the bones of Judah's kings, princes, priests, prophets, and ordinary citizens would be dug up and spread "before the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven" in punishment for their worship of these heavenly bodies (Jer. 8:1f.).

II. In Creation.—In contrast to this idolatrous worship, Gen. 1:14-19 "demythologizes" the heavenly bodies, making them "lights" (*mᵉʾôrōṯ*) "to give light upon the earth," and "to be for signs and for seasons and for days and years." The heavenly orbs here are not divine powers but simply important functional parts of the created order. Similarly, Jeremiah claims that it is Yahweh "who gives the sun for light by day and the fixed order of the moon and the stars for light by night" (Jer. 31:35). Ps. 74:16 celebrates God's (Elohim's) lordship over the creation, including His establishment of "the luminaries [*māʾôr*] and the sun" (see also Ps. 104:19; 136:8; cf. Job 9:7). Neither sun nor moon will be needed in the new order of Isa. 60:19f.

III. In Designations of Time.—Biblical references to the sun occur most frequently in the context of the role assigned to it in creation (Gen. 1:14): that of dividing day from night. Sunrise marked the beginning of daylight (Gen. 19:23; 32:31; Jgs. 9:33; Mk. 16:2) and sunset the beginning of the night (Gen. 15:12, 17; 28:11; Jgs. 14:18; 19:14; Dnl. 6:14; etc.). But for the Hebrews the DAY began at sunset and ended at sunset; cf. the refrain in Gen. 1:1–2:4a: "and there was evening and there was morning, one [or "a second," etc.] day." Sunrise was often set as the time for beginning battle (Jgs. 9:33; cf. 1 S. 11:11), and sunset brought an end to the fighting (Ex. 17:12; cf. Josh. 10:9-14; 2 S. 2:24). The "heat of the sun" was an expression for "midday" (1 S. 11:9; Neh. 7:3; cf. Mt. 13:6). *See also* DAY AND NIGHT.

The divisions of time marked by sunrise and sunset also played a role in the civil and cultic legislation. Because

nights are usually cold in Palestine, sunset was the deadline for returning a garment taken in pledge (Ex. 22:26; Dt. 24:13); it was also the deadline for paying the day laborer his wages (Dt. 24:15; cf. Lev. 19:13). In ritual matters sunset marked the time after which a person purifying himself was clean (Lev. 22:7; Dt. 23:11; cf. Mk. 1:32, where the sick were brought to Jesus as the sun was setting). Although Dt. 16:6 prescribes the sacrifice of the paschal lamb "in the evening at the going down of the sun" (so RSV; cf. Ex. 12:6), the Mishnah indicates that this rite took place in the late afternoon; this suggests that "the going down of the sun" was understood as referring to the sun's afternoon descent, not to its setting. The corpse of a hanged man was to be cut down at sunset (e.g., Josh. 8:29; 10:27; cf. Mt. 27:57-60; Mk. 15:42-46; Jn. 19:31-42). Sunset could also mark the end of a ritual fast (2 S. 3:35).

Despite the sun's importance in ordering the rhythm of day and night, the Hebrew Bible seems to have been written against the background of a lunar year of 354 days; in this system an extra month would have been added approximately every third year. At Qumrân, however, a solar calendar of 364 days has been discovered, and some have contended that this is older than the lunar calendar employed above all by the Jerusalem cult. (*See* CALENDAR.) The problem of just when the Last Supper took place (on the day of the sacrifice of the Passover lamb in the Synoptic gospels; on the day of preparation in John) may stem from the use of two different calendars: the Synoptics dating from the old solar calendar, John from the official lunar calendar.

IV. In Designations of Direction.–The sun formed the basic point of directional orientation. "The going down of the sun" (Dt 11:30; cf. Josh. 1:4) referred to the west, while the rising of the sun denoted the east (Isa. 41:25). Expressions such as "from the rising of the sun to its setting" became poetic designations for the whole earth (Ps. 50:1; 113:3; Isa. 45:6; Mal. 1:11). *See also* ORIENTATION; SUNRISE.

V. As a Natural Phenomenon.–The biblical writers noted both the positive and destructive effects of the sun. The sun's blackening of the skin is mentioned in Cant. 1:6 and Job 30:28. Its power to cause sunstroke is referred to in several passages (Ps. 121:6; Isa. 49:10; cf. Jonah 4:8; Jth. 8:3; *see* SMITE I), and its ability to scorch crops is noted in the parable of the Sower (Mt. 13:6 par.). These destructive effects may be reflected in the name of the Greek sun-god Apollo (*Apollōn*), which actually means "Destroyer." Conversely, Eccl. 11:7f. regards beholding the sun as one of the pleasures of life and uses nightfall as a metaphor for the onset of blindness in old age. Cant. 6:10 employs the phrase "bright as the sun" to describe a woman's beauty, and 2 S. 23:4 likens the just ruler to "the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning."

VI. Irregular Solar Events.–In ancient Israelite life the sun played an important role as a sign or omen. The most important — and feared — sign relating to the sun was the eclipse, either total or partial. Prophets as well as pagans and common people believed such an occurrence to portend disaster. Numerous biblical passages may allude to eclipses as divine portents. Yahweh's threat to "make the sun go down at noon" and to "darken the earth in broad daylight" (Am. 8:9) may be an allusion to an eclipse. A similar threat occurs in Isa. 13:10: "the sun will be dark at its rising and the moon will not shed its light." Jeremiah said of the fallen city of Jerusalem: "her sun went down while it was yet day" (Jer. 15:9). A total solar eclipse did in fact occur on June 15, 763 B.C., immediately prior to the preaching of Amos, Isaiah, and Micah. While certain of these references may be only figurative, the language of the darkening of the heavenly bodies (esp. the sun and moon) as portending divine judgment or impending doom almost certainly derives from the negative role ascribed to eclipses in the lore of omens in the ancient Near East. This language is scattered throughout the OT prophetic literature (see also Ezk. 32:7f.; Joel 2:10, 31; 3:15 [MT 4:15]; Mic. 3:6); it also occupies a prominent place in the apocalyptic sections of the NT (Mt. 24:29 par.; Rev. 6:12; 8:12; 9:2).

Eclipses were regarded as bad omens because they appeared to break the fixed, rhythmic pattern of day and night (cf. Eccl. 1:5), which was basic to the stability of the natural order. Ancient cosmogony viewed the natural order as inherently fragile, forever threatened by the inbreaking of the primeval forces of CHAOS. The maintenance of this order required the constant vigilance of the gods. Conversely, the Creation account in Gen. 1:1–2:4a depicts Elohim as creating order out of chaos and attacks the belief that the natural order was constantly endangered by forces of primeval chaos. Certain passages even employ "while the sun endures" as a metaphor for "forever" (cf. Ps. 72:5, 17, which dates to the monarchy). From the prophetic writings, however, it appears that the Israelites generally adhered to the attitudes of the dominant culture on this subject. Significantly, some of the passages referring to the darkening of the heavenly bodies also describe the trembling of the heavens and the shaking of the earth (Isa. 13:13; Joel 2:10; 3:16 [MT 4:16]; Rev. 6:12-14) — signs of the impending collapse of creation. Thus, whatever historical referents these prophecies may have, their language reflects a cosmological background in which an interruption of the regular functions of the heavenly bodies aroused a fear of the imminent collapse of the created order, and the release of the forces of chaos, held in check since the foundation of the world.

The OT also contains records of two miraculous events involving the sun. Josh. 10:12-14 quotes the lost Book of Jashar as saying that at Joshua's command "the sun stood still" (v. 13) until Israel defeated the Amorites at Gibeon (*see* ASTRONOMY II.D). In 2 K. 20:8-11; Isa. 38:7f. the Lord causes the shadow of the sun to reverse its direction "ten steps" on a sun-dial as a sign to Hezekiah that he would be healed (*see* DIAL OF AHAZ).

VII. Idiomatic Expressions.–The Bible uses several expressions involving the sun; e.g., "under the sun" is used about thirty times in Ecclesiastes as a poetic equivalent of "mundane existence" (1:3, 9, 14; etc.), and "not seeing the sun" is used in parallel with "an untimely birth" to describe a premature, stillborn child (Ps. 58:8; Eccl. 6:3-5). The psalmist's desire that the king live "while the sun endures, . . . throughout all generations," reflects the desire of ancient Near Eastern kings to be immortalized (Ps. 72:5; cf. v. 17; 89:36).

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SUN, CHARIOTS OF THE. *See* CHARIOTS OF THE SUN.

SUN, HORSES OF THE. *See* HORSES OF THE SUN.

SUN WORSHIP. A prominent feature in many ancient religions. The Babylonians and Assyrians worshiped the sun-god Šamaš, and the Egyptians worshiped Re (other names were used for certain phases, e.g., Horus, Chepera, and Osiris). As the name implies, the Egyptian

city of HELIOPOLIS was a center of sun worship (Jer. 43:13; the OT calls it ON in Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20).

In one form or another sun-worship seems frequently to have perverted the true worship of Yahweh, and the OT writers repeatedly warned against this practice (e.g., Dt. 4:19; 17:3; Job 31:26-28; Ezk. 8:16-18).

See also RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA II; EGYPT III.C; SYRIA AND PALESTINE II.B.

SUNDAY. *See* LORD'S DAY.

SUN-IMAGES. The ASV translation of [Heb. *ḥammānîm* in Lev. 26:30; 2 Ch. 14:5 (MT 5); 34:4, 7; Isa. 17:8; 27:9; Ezk. 6:4, 6. The RSV and NEB have substituted "incense altars" (AV usually "images") for the ASV "sun-images" in the light of archeological discoveries. According to Albright, Heb. *ḥammānîm*, which probably derived from *hmm*, "to heat," applies to "incense-burning braziers and altars" (*ARI* [5th ed. 1968], pp. 142, 216 n. 58), which were condemned in Israel due to their use in pagan cults (*see* INCENSE III). G. L. K.

SUNRISE; SUNRISING. A direction based on solar movements. The RSV "toward the sunrise" (AV "toward the sunrising," "eastward," etc.; NEB also "east," "eastwards," "eastern," etc.) translates the locative Heb. *mizrāḥâ* (lit. "toward the place of the sunrise"; Nu. 2:3; 3:38; 34:15; Josh. 19:13). The RSV also renders *mizrâ* (lit. "place of sunrise") with Heb. *šemeš* (lit. "sun") as "toward the sunrise" (Nu. 21:11; Josh. 1:15; 19:12) or "toward the sunrising" (Josh. 12:1; 13:5; NEB "to the east" [13:5]). In each instance the direction indicated is "the place of the sun," namely, the east (*see* ORIENTATION I). G. L. K.

SUP (AV Hab. 1:9; Lk. 17:8; 1 Cor. 11:25; Rev. 3:20). In Hab. 1:9 the AV apparently takes the hapax legomenon *ᵉgammâ* as related to *gm'*, "sip, swallow," but such a derivation is improbable (cf. KD). Much more likely is the suggestion of P. Humbert (*Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc* [1944], pp. 36f.) that it is related to *gmm*, "be full," hence "all" (so KoB, 3rd ed., p. 517; *CHAL*, p. 182; R. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1984], p. 100). Cf. W. Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (1979), pp. 68-70, for the Qumrân interpretation. The RSV "terror" requires an emendation to *ᵉgôrâ* (see *BHS*; KoB, 2nd ed., p. 493).

On Lk. 17:8 and 1 Cor. 11:25, *see* LORD'S SUPPER; on Rev. 3:20 *see* EAT. G. A. L.

SUPERNATURAL (1 Cor. 10:3f., RSV). *See* SPIRITUAL.

SUPERSCRIPTION. *See* TITLE.

SUPERSTITION [Gk. *deisidaimonía*] (Acts 25:19); NEB PECULIAR RELIGION. In Acts 17:22 the cognate adjective *deisidaímōn* is rendered "superstitious" by the AV (RSV "religious"; NEB "uncommonly scrupulous").

The term *deisidaimonía* (lit. "fear of supernatural beings"; cf. Plutarch *De superstitione* 165b) could be used with either a positive connotation (often translated by Lat. *religio*, "piety, religious scrupulosity"; cf. Xenophon *Cyropaidia* iii.3.58; Polybius vi.56.7; Strabo *Geog.* i.2.8; Josephus *Ant.* x.3.2 [42]; xiv.10.13 [228], 14 [232], 18 [237], 19 [240]), or a negative connotation (an equivalent to Lat. *superstitio*, "superstition"; cf. Theophrastus *Characters* 16; Plutarch *De superstitione* 165b). There is no corresponding term in Hebrew or Aramaic (Gk. *deisidaimonía* and cognates do not occur in the LXX). As shown in his essay *De superstitione* ("On Superstition"), Plutarch shared with other educated pagans the assumption that the gods were not to be feared at all, since they were thoroughly benevolent (167d) and neither judged, punished, nor caused harm to mankind. Plutarch regarded "piety" (Gk. *eulábeia*; see *Camillus* 6; *Coriolanus* 25) as the mean between the undesirable extremes of atheism on the one hand and *deisidaimonía* on the other; but of the two extremes, he considered atheism to be preferable to superstition (*De superstitione* 169f-170f).

The God of Judaism was, of course, quite different from the gods of educated pagans. As the righteous judge He dispensed both rewards and punishments to those who kept or flouted His covenant. The phrase "fear of the Lord" is a very positive conception in Judaism, and it *never* occurs in a negative sense. Christianity inherited the Jewish conception of God (He. 10:31; 12:29) and regarded Jesus as the one chosen by God to execute judgment on His behalf (Jn. 5:30; Acts 10:42; 2 Tim. 4:1).

In Acts 25:19 Festus the Roman procurator of Judea, in a speech to King Agrippa and Queen Bernice, uses the term *deisidaimonía* to characterize the religion of Paul's Jewish accusers. Here the term is appropriately rendered "superstition," since Festus's attitude toward Judaism, like that of most Romans, would have been largely negative. Judaism was frequently characterized pejoratively by pagans as *deisidaimonía* or *superstitio*, i.e., as a "superstition" (Josephus *Ant.* xii.1.1 [5]; *CAp.* i.22 [208]). Christianity was closely associated with Judaism, and Christians were labeled with the contradictory epithets of "atheists" (M. Polyc. 9:2; Diogenes 2:6) on the one hand and "superstitious" on the other (Tacitus *Ann.* xv.44.4; Pliny *Ep.* x.96.8; Suetonius *Nero* xvi.2). Christians themselves sometimes referred to Judaism pejoratively as a *deisidaimonía* (Diogenes 1:1; 4:1). In Acts 17:22 Paul uses *deisidaímōn* as part of the *captatio benevolentiae* (i.e., an exordium intended to secure the audience's good will) of his address to the Athenians on the Areopagus. As the RSV's translation "religious" suggests, in this context *deisidaimonía* is used in a positive sense as a synonym for *eusebeía*, "piety, religiosity" (used in Pausanias i.17.1 to characterize the Athenians and in Josephus *CAp.* ii.11 [130] to characterize the Lacedaimonians).

Bibliography.—H. Braun, *Plutarch's Critique of Superstition in the Light of the NT* (*Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity*, 5, n.d.); M. Smith, "De Superstitione (Moralia 164E-171KF)," in H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature* (1975), pp. 1-35.

D. E. AUNE

SUPH sōōf [Heb. *sûp*–'reeds'; Gk. *tḗs erythrás*–'Red Sea'] (Dt. 1:1); AV RED SEA. A place opposite which Moses spoke to the Israelites. Some scholars have located it in Moab. Musil, e.g., identified it with Khirbet Sūfah, S of Mâdebâ, but this name is a better linguistic equivalent for Suphah. Indeed, some have identified Suph with SUPHAH. The subsequent place names in Dt. 1:1b-2 seem to refer to previous stages in Israel's journey. Therefore some scholars have followed the LXX, Targum, Vulgate, and AV in understanding Suph as a shortened form of Heb. *yam sûph*, which when used in connection with the Arabah (e.g., Nu. 21:4) designates the Gulf of Aqabah. Kraeling equated Suph with Papyron (a Greek translation of *sûp*), a place that was mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv.2.3 [33]) but has not been located exactly.

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JOHN ALEXANDER THOMPSON

SUPHAH sōō-fə [Heb. *sûpâ*; Gk. *ephlógise*–'set afire']; AV RED SEA. A place in Moab, mentioned in a poetic quotation from the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Nu. 21:14). According to the RSV and NEB it was a district in which Waheb (NEB Vaheb) was located. The context (vv. 10-20) describes the passage of the Israelites through Moab. The Targum, Vulgate, and AV translate "Red Sea," but this does not fit the context in Moab. Some have regarded Suphah as another name for SUPH. It may well be Khirbet Sūfah, S of Mâdebā.

JOHN ALEXANDER THOMPSON

SUPPER. *See* MEALS; BANQUET.

SUPPER, LORD'S. *See* LORD'S SUPPER.

SUPPLY [(verb) Heb. piel of *nāhal* (Gen. 47:17), piel of *šāraṯ*–'serve' (Nu. 4:9), pilpel of *kûl* (1 K. 4:27 [MT 5:7], *nātan*–'give' (1 K. 5:10 [MT 24]), piel of *nāśā'*–'assist' (1 K. 9:11), pual of *dāšēn*–'be made fat' (Prov. 13:4), *hāyâ*–'occur, come to pass' (Isa. 23:18); Gk. *epichorēgéō*–'give, grant' (2 Cor. 9:10; Gal. 3:5), *prosanaplēróō*–'fill up, supply' (2 Cor. 9:12; 11:9), *plēróō*–'make full, fill (full)' (Phil. 4:19), *katartízō*–'put in proper condition, complete' (1 Thess. 3:10), *chorēgéō*–'provide, supply' (2 Cor. 9:10; 1 Pet. 4:11)]; AV also FEED, MINISTER, PROVIDE, GIVE, FURNISH, etc.; NEB also MAINTAIN, "used in its service," "grow fat and prosperous," "shall be given," etc.; [(noun) Heb. *rᵉḵûš* (Dnl. 11:13); Gk. *epichorēgía*–'support' ("with which it is supplied," Eph. 4:16)]; AV RICHES, etc.; NEB BAGGAGE-TRAIN, etc. "Supply" in 2 Cor. 8:14 is contextually derived.

In Gen. 47:17 Joseph "supplied" food for the famine-stricken people of Egypt. Elsewhere in the OT this verb (*nāhal*) denotes a loving concern of one person for another, or of God for His people (e.g., Isa. 40:11; 49:10). It implies the tender leading and care that a shepherd shows toward his sheep; indeed, the Hebrew noun translated "pasture" in Isa. 7:19 (*nahᵃlōl*) is derived from this root.

In Nu. 4:9 "supply" refers to a specific religious activity, namely, the use of various instruments used in the sanctuary during worship (cf. *šāraṯ* in vv. 12, 14).

The verb *kûl* in 1 K. 4:27 (MT 5:7) refers to officers who "supply provisions," i.e., food, to King Solomon. Elsewhere in the OT it often means "provide with food" (cf. *TWOT*, I, 432).

On two occasions (1 K. 5:10; 9:11) the RSV mentions King Hiram of Tyre as the one who furnished Solomon with cedar and cypress trees to build the temple. A different verb is used in each instance: 1 K. 5:10 uses the very common Heb. *nāṯan*, "give," while 9:11 uses *nāśā'*, which often conveys the idea of "carry" or "bear," including the notion of bearing iniquity (so Lev. 5:1; 7:18; Nu. 5:31; Isa. 53:11). Thus it appears that 1 K. 5:10 stresses the fact that Hiram gave Solomon the timber for the temple, while 9:11 indicates that Hiram himself had it transported to Israel for Solomon (as opposed to Solomon's sending men to retrieve it).

In Prov. 13:4 the person who is diligent shall be "richly supplied." The idea conveyed here and in all other OT usages of the pual of *dāšēn* (Prov. 11:25; 28:25; Isa. 34:7) is one of material blessing and spiritual well-being, i.e., one of "enrichment." The same verb, but in the piel form, is rendered "anointest" in Ps. 23:5: "Thou anointest my head with oil."

The only OT use of "supply" as a noun occurs in Dnl. 11:13. Here the picture is one of the "supplies" (RSV) or "riches" (AV; cf. NEB "baggage-train") of a large army on the march.

The RSV NT uses "supply" in a narrower sense than the OT. The principal idea is one of God's meeting or fulfilling the spiritual needs of the Body of Christ. In all but three instances the word "supply" renders the basic or intensive forms of either *chorēgéō* or *plēróō*. The three exceptions are: (1) 1 Thess. 3:10, where *katartízō* conveys the idea of making someone or something fit for use, or restoring someone or something to completeness or perfection (cf. Mk. 1:19, where James and John were "mending" their nets); (2) 2 Cor. 8:14, where the verb "supply" is implied by the context; and (3) Eph. 4:16, the only NT use of "supply" as a noun, which here means "provision."

T. M. DORMAN

SUR soor [Gk. A *Sour*, B *Assour*, ℵ *Tour*, Luc. *Soud*] (Jth. 2:28). An apparently important seacoast town of southern Lebanon or northern Israel, located between Tyre and Jamnia and sometimes identified with Dor, a port city between Caesarea and Mt. Carmel. Sur is included among a cluster of Levantine cities that surrendered to Holofernes, one of Nebuchadnezzar's generals.

For the gate called Sur (2 K. 11:6), *see* JERUSALEM III.D.5.p.

B. J. BEITZEL

SURE; SURELY. In addition to its use alone as a simple adjective, "sure" occurs frequently in the expressions "be sure" and "make sure." Among the terms rendered by the simple adjective are Heb. *'ᵉmûnâ* (Ps. 119:86; Prov. 11:18), the niphal part. of *'āman* (1 S. 2:35; 25:28; 1 K. 11:38; Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]; etc.), *'ômen* (Isa. 25:1), *'ᵉmeṯ* (Josh. 2:12; Ps. 132:11), the niphal part. of *kûn* (1 S. 23:23; Hos. 6:3); Aram. *qayyām* (Dnl. 4:26 [MT 23]), *'azdā'* (Dnl. 2:5, 8); Gk. *mē anéndekton* (Lk. 17:1), *asphalés* (He. 6:19), and *pistós* (Acts 13:34; 1 Tim. 1:15; 3:1; etc.). The verbs rendered "be sure" (or "feel sure") include Heb. *yāḏaʿ* (Nu. 32:23; 1 S. 1:10), the niphal of *'āman* (Ps. 93:5), *ḥāzaq* (Dt. 12:23), the hophal of *yāsaḏ* (Isa. 28:16); Gk. *peíthō* (Rom. 2:19; 8:38; 2 Cor. 2:3; Phil. 1:6; 2 Tim. 1:5; etc.), *oída alēthós* (Acts 12:11), and *ginóskō* (Eph. 5:5; 1 Jn. 2:3, 5, 29). "Make sure" represents Heb. *qûm* (Lev. 25:30), the niphal and hiphil of *kûn* (Prov. 4:26; 1 S. 23:22); and the comparative of Gk. *bébaios* ("made more sure," 2 Pet. 1:19).

The Hebrew and Greek terms listed above express confidence and assurance in a variety of senses. The sense may be that something will be lasting or enduring (e.g., 1 S. 2:35; Isa. 33:16), that it is trustworthy or reliable (e.g., 1 Tim. 1:15; He. 6:19), or that in the future it will be expected or demanded (e.g., Nu. 32:23; Prov. 11:18). Sometimes the reference is to another person, an object, or God (e.g., Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]), and at other times to the writer's own inner state of assurance or confidence in response to the external person, event, or object (e.g., 2 S. 1:10; Rom. 8:38). Several terms convey the sense of being "firm," "established," or "trustworthy," e.g., Heb. *'āman* (and cognates *'ᵉmûnâ* and *'ōmen*), *kûn*, *yāsaḏ*; Gk. *pistós* (usually translated "faithful") and *bébaios*. Heb. *qûm* means "raise up," "set in place," while *ḥāzaq* means "be strong." Heb. *yāḏaʿ* and Gk. *ginóskō* mean "know," while *peíthō* means "persuade."

The most common single Hebrew expression underlying "surely" in the OT is the use of an infinitive with the finite verb; cf., e.g., the common formula "he shall surely die" (Heb. *môṯ yāmûṯ*, e.g., 1 S. 14:39; *môṯ yûmaṯ*, e.g., Ezk. 18:13; cf. Gen. 20:7; 1 S. 22:16; 2 K. 1:4; etc.), a legal formula for passing sentence. The LXX generally translates this Hebrew idiom by pairing a Greek finite verb with either a participle (cf. He. 6:14, quoting LXX Gen. 22:17; AV "blessing I will bless, and multiplying I

will multiply") or a cognate noun in the dative case (cf. Mk. 7:10, quoting LXX Ex. 21:17; AV "die the death").

Another formula often translated "surely" is Heb. *'im lō'*, literally, "if not" or "unless" (Nu. 14:35; Josh. 14:9; Isa. 5:9; etc.). This phrase is part of an implied oath or curse formula, fully expressed in 1 S. 3:17: "God do so to you [or me] and more also, if . . ."; here Eli, speaking to the young Samuel, does not even name the content of the curse out loud, lest his speech should of itself bring the curse to pass (cf. 1 K. 19:2, where Jezebel takes an identical oath by the false gods she worships). In other contexts the cursing or binding of oneself or another by the oath is left completely unexpressed, but the implication is there when the speaker continues, "*unless* such and such a thing is done." The meaning can also be reversed by the use of the simple *'im*, "if"; then the sense is that the speaker will be cursed if he or she does do the thing — so "surely" it will "not" be done (Nu. 32:11; Isa. 22:14; Am. 8:7).

Other terms rendered "surely" are Heb. *'ûlām* (1 S. 25:34), *'aḵ* (Gen. 9:5; Isa. 63:8; Jer. 2:35; Lam. 3:3), *'āḵēn* (Gen. 28:16; Ex. 2:14; etc.), *kî* (Ex. 4:25; 1 S. 17:25; Job 5:2; Zeph. 3:7; etc.), *kî 'aẓ* (2 S. 2:27), *kî 'im* (Prov. 23:18), *raq* (Dt. 4:6); Gk. *hóti* (2 Cor. 1:18), *dépou* (He. 2:16), and *naí* (Rev. 22:20).

See also FAITHFUL; FAITHFUL SAYINGS.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "'aman" (Jepsen); *TDNT*, VI, *s.v.* πείθω κτλ. (Bultmann). G. CHAMBERLAIN

SURETY. In Gen. 15:13 the phrase "know of a surety" (RSV, AV; NEB "know this for certain") translates the finite verb Heb. *yāḏaʿ*, "know," and its infinitive absolute, which immediately precedes it. This particular construction, where the finite verb follows its infinitive absolute, perhaps further emphasizes and strengthens the verbal idea of *yāḏaʿ* (for this construction cf. Josh. 23:13; 1 S. 28:1; 1 K. 2:37, 42; Jer. 26:15; 42:19, 22).

See also PLEDGE.

SURNAME [Heb. piel of *kānâ*; Gk. *epikaléō* (Acts 1:23; 4:36), *ónoma epitíthēmi* (Mk. 3:16f.)]. Give an additional name to someone. All RSV uses of this term have to do with additional names, not family names. Heb. *kānâ*, used in Isa. 44:5 and 45:4, means "give [someone] an honorary name." The same term in Job 32:21 is translated "use flattery." The idea of honor is not implicit in the terms used in the NT. Neither the Greek nor the RSV usage is consistent. The same kind of naming is sometimes indicated in the Greek by the simple form, *kaléō*, and the RSV renders other uses of *epikaléō* with "called" (Acts 10:5, 32; 11:13) or "whose other name was" (12:12, 25).

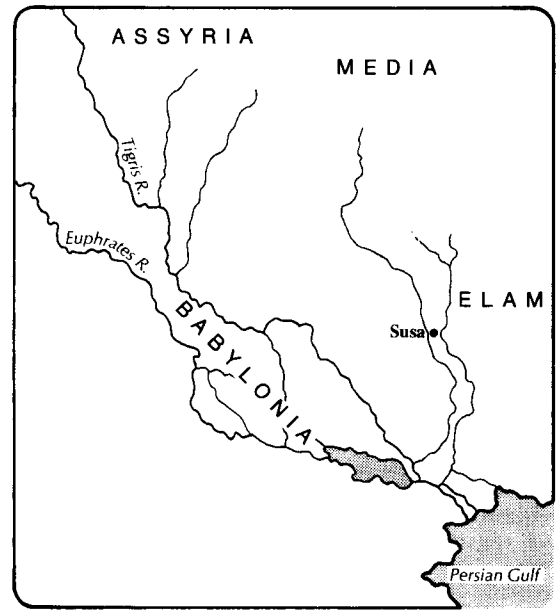
E. W. S.

SUSA sōō'sə (1 Esd. 5:29, NEB). *See* SIAHA.

SUSA sōō'sə [Heb. *šûšān*–'lily'; Gk. *Sousan, Sousa*]; AV SHUSHAN. A city in ancient Persia, one of three royal cities of the Achaemenian kings; the setting of the book of Esther.

The remains of this great city lie about 80 km. (125 mi.) N of the Persian gulf in the ancient province of Susiana, called Khuzistan or "the Country of the Elamites." The name Šuš, known since the 3rd millennium B.C. was derived from In-Šušinak, the chief divinity of the Elamite pantheon; it has come down intact through the Greek (*Sous*), a language that has no orthographic provision for the sound *sh*.

Three OT books mention the city of Susa: Nehemiah (1:1), written in the second half of the 5th cent. B.C.; Daniel (8:2), written or edited between 163 and 104 B.C.; and Esther, written probably before the Maccabean era. In most passages Susa is called *habbîrâ*, "the fortress" or "citadel" (e.g., Est. 1:2, 5; AV "palace"; RSV "capital"; NEB "capital city"). The Scripture writers were aware that the Achaemenian capital was strongly fortified, and excavations have confirmed this. But a date for composition of Esther, which relates events from the time of Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), seems to be confirmed by the ignorance of its author about Darius the Great's palace Susa; the description of the "royal house" surrounded by gardens does not seem to correspond to the plan and location of the excavated palace.



The site, where the oldest recognized installations go back to the 4th millennium B.C., appears today in the form of four vast artificial hills covering more than 4 sq. km. (1.5 sq. mi.). Many thousands of cuneiform texts uncovered at Susa, like those found in Mesopotamia, show the city's role in the history of the 3rd millennium. Shortly thereafter it became a capital of the kingdom of the Elam-

A Babylonian boundary stone from Susa (detail); the goddess Nana sitting on a throne receives King Meli-Šipak and his daughter Hunnubat-Nana, to whom he grants land (12th cent. B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

SUSA

ites, a people neither Semitic nor Indo-European and whose language is all but unknown.

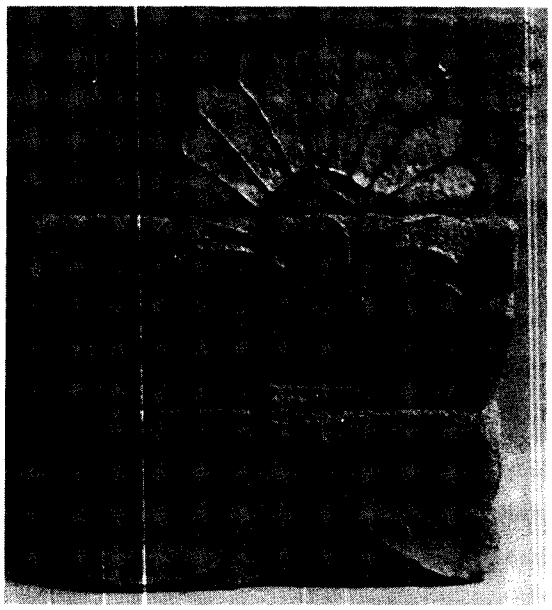
Susa was conquered repeatedly in the second half of the 3rd millennium by the neighboring powers of Mesopotamia, but early in the 2nd millennium it entered a period of expansion. Although Susa's Semitic neighbors and conquerors had earlier been influential, especially on its language and religion, by the end of the millennium Susa was renowned as a great capital whose palaces and temples displayed the Babylonian spoils brought back by its victorious princes. The long and decadent Elamite reign was ended after several centuries by the conquest of Persia by Ashurbanipal king of Assyria (*ca.* 640 B.C.); pillage and destruction of Susa followed.

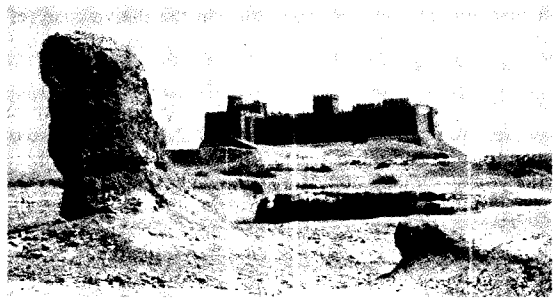
After being ruled for a time by Babylon and then probably by Media, Susa became part of the Persian kingdom of Cyrus and was from the time of Darius (521-486 B.C.) a capital of the first world empire, together with Persepolis, Ecbatana, and Babylon.

To Susa fell the honor of being the diplomatic and administrative capital, where the sovereign and his court resided during the winter months. Situated in the heart of the empire, which extended from Egypt to India, Susa was tied by three land routes with the three other capitals. A fourth route, the great Royal Road described by Herodotus (v. 52f.), joined it with Sardis, capital of Lydia. Two maritime routes departed from the Persian Gulf, which would have extended considerably farther north, since at the time of Alexander the Great the Tigris and the Euphrates emptied separately into the gulf. One of these routes led east to India and the other to the west, where the canal dug by Darius between the Red Sea and the Nile allowed boats from Susa to reach the Mediterranean.

The city was beautified and palaces were built by Darius, who left a description of their magnificence in the cuneiform texts discovered in the excavations. These texts have established that the vast palaces maintained Elamite architectural traditions adapted to the warm climate and that they differed from the Persepolis palaces. The Susa buildings had probably been erected on the ruins

Decorated bricks from the palace area at Susa (6th-5th cent. B.C.); three bricks form a palmette motif glazed in blue, white, yellow, black, and yellow-green (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)





A reconstructed Persian palace at Susa (W. S. LaSor)

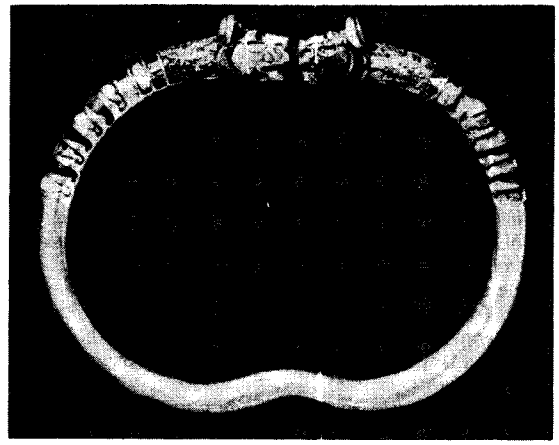
of the Elamite kings' palaces, which Ashurbanipal had destroyed. At Susa, according to the Chronicler, the events of the book of Esther must have unfolded. A strong wall surrounded the palace, the citadel, and the inhabited quarters of the city; in front of it was a large, deep ditch filled with water from the little river Eulaios, which flowed at the foot of the palace. The number of inhabitants was swollen by Israelites deported to Babylon not long before.

Alexander the Great won Susa without a fight and installed in the royal palace (which was found intact) the family of Darius III, who had been taken prisoner at Damascus. On his return from India (324 B.C.) Alexander organized a gigantic celebration of his marriage to Statira, the daughter of Darius III; he urged the men of his entourage to marry the daughters of noble Persian families and compelled ten thousand Macedonian warriors to marry young Persian women.

A century later Susa was besieged by Molon, the satrap who had revolted against Antiochus III. The city was taken but the citadel resisted victoriously. It may have been during this siege that the royal palace was burned; the ruins were later used as a stone quarry, since stone was a precious material in an alluvial plain.

Greek texts from Susa reveal how the ancient capital of the Persian kings became a flourishing Greek colony under the successors of Alexander the Great. Its name was even changed to Seleucia-on-the-Eulaios. The city was embellished with villas built in the western style; a stadium was erected, doubtless for the celebration of solemn games. The city remained faithful to its Hellenic traditions even under the Parthian dynasties, and a letter of Ar-

A one-piece gold bracelet of the Achaemenid period with a small amount of cloisonné inlay still intact and two lions' heads molded on the closure (4th cent. B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



taban III (A.D. 16-40) addressed to the citizens of Susa is written in Greek. But an increase in mixed marriages and the great distance from Greece eventually made Susian society more Persian than Hellenistic.

With the advent of the Sassanide dynasty (3rd to 7th cents. A.D.) a new minority of Christians was added to the inhabitants of Susa. The city even became a bishopric. King Shapur II's persecution of Christians caused them to revolt; three hundred elephants of the royal army were sent against the dissidents (A.D. 350). Excavation has brought to light evidence of this disaster: skeletons of men scattered in the streets and alleys, and the interiors of houses whose walls had fallen, probably pushed in by the elephants.

Susa was among the first cities to fall to the Arabs at the time of their conquest of Persia. Arab geographers of the 10th cent. A.D. spoke of Susa as one of the most beautiful Islamic cities (ibn-Khordadbeh), where fabrics of plush and of silk stuffs "sought after by princes" were produced (ibn-al-Faqih), and exported across the entire world (Istakhri). Susa's bazaars were famous for their wealth and the region for its sugar, produced by its cane plantations (Maqdisi). Susian merchants even traded in the Far East, as confirmed by the discovery at Susa of porcelain from China and a mirror in T'ang bronze. The city also became an important intellectual center, where the Koran, the Islamic traditions, and literary works were taught.

It seems that the decline of the city had begun already in the 12th cent., although the precise causes cannot be specified. One of the last testimonies to Susa is that of Benjamin of Tudela, the learned Jewish doctor of Spain, who visited the city in 1172. His interest inclined to the so-called tomb of the prophet Daniel (one of several known in the country) and to the Jewish community of about seven thousand persons, who had fourteen synagogues. Apparently a century later the old city was abandoned by its last inhabitants, some moving to Dizful or Shushtar.

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tr. W. S. LASOR

SUSANCHITES sōō'sən-kīts. The AV designation (RSV "men of Susa"; cf. NEB) for Aram. *šûšanḵāyē'* (Ezr. 4:9). They were displaced residents of SUSA, the Elamite capital city, whom Assyrian forces under Ashurbanipal (cf. *BHI* [3rd ed.], p. 314) deported to Samaria *ca.* 640 B.C.

SUSANNA sōō-zan'ə [Gk. *Sousanna*] (Lk. 8:3). One of the women whom Jesus had healed of evil spirits or diseases and who ministered to Him and His disciples during His preaching journeys in Galilee (Lk. 8:1-3). Presumably she also went with the women who brought spices to the tomb after Jesus' burial (23:55–24:1), although she is not among those named in 24:10 (cf. Mt. 28:1; Mk. 16:1). The women informed the disciples of their experience at the tomb, and one may conjecture that they later provided Luke with the details unique to his Gospel.

C. J. HEMER

SUSANNA sōō-zan'ə, **BOOK OF** [Gk. *Sousanna*]. One of the additions to the book of Daniel in the LXX. A fictional story, it tells of the vindication, through skilful interrogation by Daniel, of a beautiful and faithful wife who had been falsely accused of adultery by two lecherous elders. The account appears at the beginning of the book of Daniel in the LXX, but as ch. 13 in Theodotion and in the Vulgate.

I. Contents.–The devout and beautiful Susanna was the wife of Joakim, a wealthy Jewish exile living in Babylon. Two elders who had been appointed judges of the Jewish people became sexually attracted to her. One day the two men hid in Joakim's garden when Susanna came there to bathe. When she was alone they came out from hiding and demanded that she submit to their advances, with the threat that if she refused they would publicly accuse her of adultery. She refused their demand, and they brought her to trial, claiming that they had discovered her committing adultery with a man who was too strong for them to capture. She was convicted by their testimony and was being led out to be executed when the young man Daniel intervened. He was given permission to cross-examine the two elders separately, and he proved that they had borne false witness when they gave contradictory answers to the question of under which tree they had seen her sinning. Thus Susanna was vindicated, and the two elders were executed in accordance with the law of Dt. 19:16-19.

II. Language.–The story survives in two very different Greek versions, the older version being found in the LXX and the later one in Theodotion. Theodotion generally adds details to the LXX version (e.g., the bath scene in vv. 15-18, and the reaction of Susanna's household to the judges' accusation in vv. 24-27), although the LXX contains a prayer by Susanna at her trial that is missing from Theodotion. Even in the sixty verses that the two versions share, less than half exhibit pronounced verbal agreement. Moore suggested (pp. 78-80) that these observations may be best explained by positing two separate Semitic texts underlying the two Greek versions of the story; the verbatim agreements that do exist in the two Greek versions are then due to the use of the LXX by the author of Theodotion's translation.

Some scholars have argued, based on the presence of two puns in the Greek texts (vv. 54f., 58f.), that Greek was the story's original language. Throughout the story, however, Hebrew/Aramaic word order and idioms give internal evidence of a Semitic original underlying the Greek, and the Greek puns could easily be explained as the work of the Greek translators.

III. Purpose.–Like the other additions to the book of Daniel and the stories in Dnl. 1–6, Susanna was written to urge observance of the Torah as the wisest way to live. Susanna was confronted with the classic choice of sinning privately and retaining her station or remaining virtuous but being condemned for the very sin she eschewed. The story teaches that personal integrity before God is more important than public approval. It also depicts God as one who hears and answers the prayers of the righteous.

IV. Canonicity.–The fact that the story occupied two different positions in the book of Daniel suggests that it was never fully integrated into that book, and this may explain why it was rejected from the Hebrew canon. Some scholars have also noted that the villains of the story were elders, a feature that would surely have been unpopular with the elders who fixed the canon.

V. Date.–The story is obviously much later than the time in which it is set. On the other hand, the evidence for a Semitic original (see II above) seems to indicate that it was written before the book of Daniel was translated into

Greek (*ca.* 100 B.C.). A date in the 2nd cent. B.C. is probably about right. Some have suggested, however, that the story may have circulated earlier as a secular folktale and that it may even have become Judaized before Susanna's defender was identified with Daniel (for this and other theories of the story's origin, see Moore, pp. 84-89).

VI. Provenance.–One cannot say with certainty where the story of Susanna in its Jewish form was written. If Moore was correct in claiming that the original language was Hebrew or Aramaic, the story was most likely written in Palestine. Supporting that view is the fact that the story exhibits no tension with Greek life-styles, which suggests an audience living out of the mainstream of Greek influence.

Bibliography.–J. C. Dancy, *Shorter Books of the Apocrypha* (*CBC*, 1972), pp. 224-234; B. Metzger, *Intro. to the Apocrypha* (1957), pp. 107-114; C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (*AB*, 1977), pp. 23-34, 77-129; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (1981), pp. 19-26. P. L. REDDITT

SUSI sū'sī, sōō'sī [Heb. *sûsî*–'my horse'(?)]. Father of Gaddi, an Israelite leader and spy who represented the tribe of Mannasseh (Nu. 13:11). See *IP*, p. 230.

SWADDLING [Heb. *ḥᵃṯullâ* ("swaddling band," Job 38:9); Gk. *sparganóō*–'wrap (up) in (swaddling) clothes' ("wrapped in swaddling clothes," Lk. 2:7, 12)]; NEB also CRADLED (Job 38:9). A cloth tied together by bandage-like strips.

After an infant was born, the umbilical cord was cut and tied, and then the baby was washed, rubbed with salt and oil, and wrapped with strips of cloth (Ezk. 16:4; note that "swathed" translates Heb. *ḥṭl*; cf. J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* [*NCBC*, repr. 1982], p. 95). These strips kept the newborn child warm and also ensured that the child's limbs would grow straight.

In a birth metaphor the Lord describes to Job how He wrapped up the sea in "thick darkness" (NEB "fog") like a mother would wrap up a newborn infant in swaddling (Job 38:9). Also, in Ezk. 16:4 the RSV "swathed with bands" (AV "swaddled"; NEB "wrapped in swaddling clothes") translates a phrase in which both the pual and hophal forms of Heb. *ḥāṭal*, "swaddle," occur (see GKC, § 113, p. 344). Ezekiel describes how God rescued abandoned Israel and nutured and cared for her as a mother cares for her child (16:1-7).

In the NT the RSV "wrapped in swaddling clothes" translates the Greek verb *sparganóō*, which means to wrap in *spárgana*, or strips of cloth. Lk. 2:7 displays Mary's maternal care for her newborn son Jesus (cf. Wisd. 7:4), but in 2:12 the clothes serve as a sign to authenticate the angel's message to the shepherds.

For AV "swaddled" in Lam. 2:22 *see* DANDLE.

See H. Granquist, *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs* (1947). D. E. GARLAND G. L. K.

SWALLOW [Heb. *dᵉrôr*, (Ps. 84:3 [MT 4]; Prov. 26:2), *sûs, sîs* (Isa. 38:14; Jer. 8:7)]; AV also CRANE (Isa. 38:14; Jer. 8:7)]; NEB also SWIFT (Jer. 8:7). Perhaps swallow or swift is appropriate in these passages; the ancient writers may not have distinguished between the two species.

The swallow is a small passerine bird of the family *Hirundinidae*, several species of which occur in the Near East. It spends most of its time on the wing, feeding on insects. It nests in clefts, cracks, and crevices, as well as in buildings (cf. Ps. 84:3 [MT 4]). The swallow still nests in the houses, barns, mosques, and other buildings of the Near East today. It makes a constant twittering noise as it flies. The swift, while quite similar to the swallow in appearance and behavior, belongs to the family Apodidae, related to the hummingbird. The swift also spends most of its time in the air, and it too feeds on insects. Its nesting habits resemble that of the swallow. Both are very fast fliers, although the swift is reportedly faster, attaining 112 to 130 km. p.h. (70 to 80 m.p.h.).

The biblical writers observed the habits of these birds and used their observations to illuminate their writings. In Ps. 84:3 the swallow is described as nesting in the temple. The psalmist envies the birds because they are able to live in the temple. Prov. 26:2 compares the flight of the swallow to a groundless curse that does not come to rest. The flight of the swallow is particularly apt in this regard, because it spends most of its time in the air. In Isa. 38:14 Hezekiah compares his mourning or complaining to the sounds of birds, particularly the moaning of the dove and the clamor of the swallow. Jer. 8:7 remarks on the migratory habits of birds: The birds know when to return, but the people of God are ignorant of such obvious rules. A. HICKCOX

SWAN (Lev. 11:18; Dt. 14:16, AV). *See* WATER HEN.

SWEAR [Heb. *šāḇaʿ* (Ezk. 21:23), niphal of *šāḇaʿ* (e.g., Gen. 21:23; Ex.32:13; Lev. 5:4; Nu. 11:12; Dt. 6:13; Josh. 2:12; Jgs. 2:1; 1 S. 3:14), hiphil of *šāḇaʿ* (e.g., Gen. 24:3; Ex. 13:19; Josh. 23:7; 1 S. 20:17; 1 K. 2:42; 2 Ch. 36:13), *šᵉḇûʿâ* ("sworn promise," 1 Ch. 16:16), *nāśāʾ yāḏ*–'lift up the hand' (Ex. 6:8; Neh. 9:5; Ezk. 20:5; 36:7), hiphil of *rûm* + *yāḏ*–'lift up one's hand' (Gen. 14:22), *'im-lō'*–'surely' (Isa. 5:9), *kî 'im*–'truly' (Jgs. 15:7); Gk. *omnýō* (e.g., Mt. 5:34, 36; Mk. 14:71; Lk. 1:73; Acts 2:30; He. 3:11, 18; 4:3; Rev. 10:6), *epiorkéō* ("swear falsely," Mt. 5:33), *hórkos* ("what one has sworn," Mt. 5:33)]; AV also OATH, "lift up one's hand" (Gen. 14:22), "of a truth" (Isa. 5:9), "yet" (Jgs. 15:7), etc.; NEB also OATH, "with uplifted hand bind oneself," etc. The act of swearing was a formal statement of one's word, promise, or intent in the presence of God and other witnesses. Generally it pertained to a future obligation rather than to one's truthfulness about a past act.

The root *šbʿ* occurs 216 times in the OT and is particularly prominent in the Pentateuch, the historical books, and the prophets; it is rare in wisdom literature. The words "swear" (*šāḇaʿ*) and "oath" (*šᵉḇûʿâ*) are sometimes explained with reference to the number "seven" (*šeḇaʿ*), but the exact relationship is unclear. The explanation of the name Beer-sheba in Gen. 21:25-34 suggests a relationship between the terms: Abraham set aside seven ewe lambs as a witness, and both he and Abimelech swore an oath at a place they called Beer-sheba ("spring of the oath" or "spring of seven"; cf. v. 31, RSV mg.; *see* BEER-SHEBA I). But because no other passage shows a clear connection between these two words, any etymological conjecture is questionable.

The verb "swear" occurs in three different contexts. First, swearing is found in the context of making a covenant (*see* COVENANT [OT] II-III). The covenant relationship, which was based on fidelity, was recorded, witnessed by other people or by God, and sworn to with an oath (cf. Dt. 4:31; Lk. 1:73; He. 6:13-17). God served as witness of the treaty between David and Jonathan: "We have sworn both of us in the name of the Lord, saying, 'The Lord shall be between me and you, and between my descendants and your descendants, for ever'" (1 S. 20:42). When God made a covenant with His people, He

swore by Himself (Gen. 22:16; Ex. 32:13), by His "holiness" (Am. 4:2; Ps. 89:35 [MT 36]), or by His fidelity (v. 49 [MT 50]).

Second, swearing is found in other contexts that involved taking an oath (e.g., Josh. 2:12, 17, 20; 6:22; 9:20; Ps. 119:106). Those who swore an oath usually took upon themselves a CURSE should their word be broken (e.g., 2 S. 3:35). One's oath could be binding on oneself alone or subsequent generations as well (cf. Gen. 50:5f., 25).

Third, swearing is found in the context of making vows (e.g., Nu. 30:2). *See* VOW.

The Israelites employed several forms of swearing (*see* OATH). Among the formulas used most frequently were: "May God do so to me and more also, if I . . ." (e.g., 2 S. 3:35; cf. 1 S. 3:17), and "For as the Lord lives . . ." (e.g., 1 S. 14:39). Several other formulaic expressions are used in Jgs. 21: "The men of Israel had sworn . . ., 'No one of us shall give his daughter in marriage to Benjamin'" (v. 1); "'What shall we do . . . since we have sworn by the Lord that we will not give them any of our daughters for wives?'" (v. 7); "For the people of Israel had sworn, 'Cursed be he who gives a wife to Benjamin'" (v. 18).

Often the swearer used a symbolic gesture to accompany the oath, e.g., raising one's hand upward (Gen. 14:22; Ezk. 20:5; 36:7; Neh. 9:15; Dnl. 12:7; Rev. 10:5f.) or placing one's hand "under the thigh" of another (Gen. 24:2; 47:29); *see* GESTURE I.

The binding nature of what was sworn was grounded in God's fidelity. God expected His people to be as faithful to their word as He was to His word. The OT records in anthropomorphic manner that God Himself has sworn (Gen. 22:16; Isa. 45:23; Ezk. 17:19; Am. 6:8). Swearing was a solemn act because God was called upon as witness (Gen. 31:50; Josh. 24:22, 27; 1 S. 12:5; Jer. 42:5; 2 Cor. 1:23; Phil. 1:8). The nations surrounding Israel swore by the gods of heaven and earth. A treaty of Esarhaddon king of Assyria states: "You are adjured by Ashur . . . by Anu, Anlil, and Ea . . . by Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Marduk . . . by all the gods of Assyria . . . by all the gods of Babylon, Borsippa, and Nippur . . . by all the gods of Sumer and Akkad . . . by all the gods of every land, you are adjured by the gods of heaven and earth" (*ANET*, pp. 534f.). Israelites were enjoined to swear by the Lord as an act of humble submission (Dt. 6:13; 10:20; Jer. 4:2; cf. 1 S. 25:26; 2 S. 15:21; Ps. 63:11 [MT 12]). But taking the name "Yahweh" in vain — i.e., swearing insincerely or with evil intent — was strictly prohibited in the third commandment (Ex. 20:7). Swearing falsely was considered a very serious sin (Lev. 6:3, 5 [MT 5:22, 24]; 19:12; Jer. 5:2; 7:9; Zec. 5:3f.; Mal. 3:5); *see* CRIME: False Swearing.

Jesus warned strongly against swearing merely as a form of asseveration (Mt. 5:34-37; 23:16-22). All swearing, no matter what one is swearing upon, involves calling upon God as a witness; thus one who swears is in danger of breaking the third commandment. Jesus enjoined the kind of veracity that does not need oaths to emphasize sincerity (Mt. 5:37; cf. Jas. 5:12). On the other hand, Jesus did not prohibit all swearing, since He Himself swore as commanded by the high priest (Mt. 26:63f.). Paul also invoked God as witness upon occasion (cf. 2 Cor. 1:23; Gal. 1:20). Peter was guilty of swearing falsely when he denied knowing Jesus (Mt. 26:72, 74).

Bibliography.—*Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1968), VII, *s.v.* "šebu'ah" (S. E. Loewenstamn); *THAT*, II, *s.v.* שׁבע (C. A. Keller).

W. A. VANGEMEREN

SWEAT [Heb. *zē'â* (Gen. 3:19), *yeza'* (Ezk. 44:18); Gk. *hidrṓs* (Lk. 22:44)].

The term occurs only twice in the OT. First, in the story of the fall in Gen. 3 the announcement of man's punishment includes the following: "In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread" (v. 19), implying the hardship and skimpiness of his livelihood in which work becomes toil as a result of the broken relationship with the Creator. Second, the word occurs in Ezk. 44:18 in the midst of a series of regulations for priests. Verses 17-19 refer specifically to clothing requirements for priests who enter the inner precincts of the temple area. The command in v. 17 to wear linen clothes is contrasted with a prohibition in v. 18 against wearing woolen clothing, where it reads that "they shall not gird themselves with anything that causes sweat." The rationale for such a prohibition possibly stems from the belief that sweat, like other human waste matter, is unclean (cf. Dt. 23:12-14; see also W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1983], p. 460).

The only NT use of the term is in Lk. 22:44, where it is said that while Jesus was praying in the garden of Gethsemane, "his sweat became like great drops of blood falling down upon the ground." This problematic text (vv. 43f.) is omitted from many ancient and diverse textual witnesses. This omission is hardly accidental, and it may have been omitted in some texts for doctrinal reasons by a scribe who thought these verses incompatible with the divinity of Jesus. Those who hold it to be authentic to the Lukan text point out that the language and thought are compatible with Lukan authorship. Others argue that these verses may have been drawn from an authentic tradition that had not found its way into the Synoptic tradition but came to be added in response to those who questioned the humanity of Jesus.

Beyond the textual problem is the problem of understanding the meaning of the expression itself. While some have taken the phrase as meaning that Jesus was actually sweating drops of blood, the words do not necessarily mean more than that the drops of sweat in some way resembled drops of blood either in size, frequency, coloration, etc. In fact, the appearance of the Greek word *hōseí* ("as") argues against the identity of the sweat with drops of blood, and only intends certain similarity or comparison. Thus the phrase is most often understood metaphorically as (1) a rhetorical expression like our "tears of blood"; (2) a way of describing the sweat falling (like drops of blood); (3) a way of describing the coloration of the sweat (a reddish color may have been noticeable owing to an exudation of the arteries). Some have suggested that this is an allusion to a symptom called in ancient medicine *haimatodes hidros* ("bloody sweat"). This suggestion, however, would make the *hōseí* superfluous.

See I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* (*NIGTC*, 1978), pp. 831f.

W. H. GLOER

SWEET; SWEETNESS [Heb. *māṯôq*] (Jgs. 14:14, 18; Ps. 19:10 [MT 11]; Prov. 16:24; 24:13; 27:7; Eccl. 5:12 [MT 11]; 11:7; Cant. 2:3; Isa. 5:20; Ezk. 3:3); [Heb. *mōṯeq*] (Jgs. 9:11); [Heb. *māṯaq*–'make sweet'] (Ex. 15:25; Job 20:12; 21:33; Ps. 55:14 [MT 15]; Prov. 9:17); NEB also PLEASANT; [Heb. *mamtaqqîm*] (Cant. 5:16; "sweet wine," Neh. 8:10); NEB also SWEET DRINKS; [Heb. *nā'îm*] (2 S. 23:1; Ps. 81:2 [MT 3]); AV also PLEASANT; NEB "singer," "tuneful"; [Heb. *'arēḇ*] (Prov. 20:17; Cant. 2:14); NEB GOOD, PLEASANT; [Heb. *mālaṣ*–'make sweet'?] (Ps. 119:103a); [Gk. *glykýs*] (Rev. 10:9f.).

Literal uses of "sweet" are not frequent in the Bible, except for references to the sweetness of honey, usually in comparative figures of speech (e.g., Jgs. 14:14, 18; Ps. 19:10; Prov. 24:13; Rev. 10:9f.). An extension of this com-

parative use is in the typical contrast of sweet and bitter, like that of light and darkness (for the confusion of good and evil, Isa. 5:20; cf. Rev. 10:9f.). Other things referred to as being literally sweet are wine (Neh. 8:10), water (Ex. 15:25; Jas. 3:11f.; RSV "fresh"), and figs (Jgs. 9:11).

Generally, "sweet" appears in figures of speech describing that which is pleasant or beneficial, including God's law (Ps. 19:10), wisdom (Prov. 24:13f.), sleep for a laborer (Ecc. 5:12), pleasant speech (Prov. 16:24; Cant. 5:16), "light," i.e., enjoyment of life (Ecc. 11:7), lovemaking (Cant. 2:3), wickedness to the wicked (Job 20:12), death for those honored at death (21:33), the conversation of friends (Ps. 55:14 [MT 15]), and "stolen water," i.e., adultery, according to the seductress (Prov. 9:17). Ezk. 3:3 speaks of the word of God as that which is sweet to the prophet. Rev. 10:9f. expands on this in an apocalyptic context: the appropriation of God's revelation is "sweet," but the prophet's experience of the contents of that word (the disasters spoken of in Revelation) makes his stomach bitter.

Sometimes the translation "sweet" in an English version is itself a figure of speech, and the underlying Hebrew word does not carry the literal meaning "sweet" in any context. Examples of this are Heb. *yāpâ* in Cant. 4:10 (RSV "sweet"; AV "fair"), Heb. hiphil of *yāṭaḇ*, "do well," in Isa. 23:16, and uses of Heb. *nā'îm* (listed above).

That Heb. *mālaṣ* (Ps. 119:103a) means "make sweet" is suggested by the context and by Arabic cognates. Another suggestion for the niphal form used here means "slide," "slip past," which could be equally appropriate to the context (a loose translation would be: "How easily Your words slide down my throat"). Yet another possibility is that *mālaṣ* is related to *māraṣ*, yielding "How forceful are Your words to my mouth" (cf. Job 6:25). If this is the case, *ḥēḵ*, "palate," in the first part of Ps. 119:103 (AV, RSV "taste"; NEB "mouth") and *peh* in the second part of the verse (AV, RSV "mouth"; NEB "tongue") link together disparate figures of speech.

See also CINNAMON; FRAGRANCE; INCENSE; ODOR; PLEASE; SPICE; WINE I.D. J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SWEET CANE. *See* REED.

SWEET INCENSE. *See* SPICES.

SWELL; SWELLING; SWOLLEN [Heb. *śe'ēṯ* (Lev. 13:2, 10, 19, 28, 43; 14:56), qal and hiphil of *ṣāḇâ*–'swell up' (Nu. 5:22, 27), *ṣāḇeh*–'swollen' (Nu. 5:21), *bāṣēq*–'become swollen' (Dt. 8:4; Neh. 9:21), *yāṣā'*–'go out' (Ps. 73:7); Gk. *pimprēmi*–'become distended, swell up' (Acts 28:6), *typhóō*–'be puffed up, conceited' ("swollen with conceit," 2 Tim. 3:4)]; AV also STAND OUT (Ps. 73:7), RISING, HIGHMINDED, etc.; NEB also "gleam through" (Ps. 73:7), MARK, DISCOLORATION, "swollen with self-importance (2 Tim. 3:4), etc.

The RSV term "swelling" in Leviticus refers to some cutaneous condition that might indicate leprosy, whether an unusual boil, subcutaneous nodule, or irritant patch of skin. OT law required the priest to examine the sufferer according to set procedures and to make a diagnosis. *See* LEPER III.

In Nu. 5:21f., 27 Heb. *ṣāḇâ* and its cognate adjective *ṣāḇeh* describe the abdominal swelling of a suspected adulteress subsequent to the trial by ordeal. In Dt. 8:4 and Neh. 9:21 *bāṣēq* depicts the swollen condition of feet due to strain or heat. In Ps. 73:7 *yāṣā'* indicates a condition of eye protrusion that is attributed to gluttony. Emotional disturbance or glandular dysfunction, especially in the obese, can also cause exophthalmia.

In the RSV NT "swell" translates Gk. *pimprēmi*, a rare word that expresses the idea of increasing bodily distension. In 2 Tim. 3:4 the passive of Gk. *typhóō* signifies the moral evil of excessive pride. R. K. H.

SWIFT (Jer. 8:7, NEB). *See* SWALLOW.

SWIFT; SWIFTLY [Heb. *qal*] (2 S. 2:18; Ecc. 9:11; Isa. 18:2; 19:1; 30:16; Jer. 46:6; Lam. 4:19; Joel 3:4 [MT 4:4]; Am. 2:14f.); AV also LIGHT; NEB also SPEED, APACE; [Heb. *qālal*–'be swift'] (2 S. 1:23; Job 7:6; 9:25; Isa. 30:16; Jer. 4:13; Hab. 1:8); [Heb. piel of *māhar*–'hasten, be swift'] (1 Ch. 12:8; Isa. 16:5; Mal. 3:5); AV also HASTE; NEB also PROMPT; [Heb. *(ʿaḏ-)meʰērâ*–'swiftly'] (Ps. 147:15; Isa. 5:26; Joel 3:4 [MT 4:4]); AV also WITH SPEED, SPEEDILY; [Heb. *ḥûš*–'be swift'] (Dt. 32:35; Hab. 1:8); AV (MAKE) HASTE; NEB IS FAST APPROACHING, SWOOP; [Heb. *dā'â*–'fly swiftly'] (Dt. 28:49; Ps. 18:10 [MT 11]; Jer. 48:40; 49:22); AV FLY; NEB SWOOP; [Gk. *oxýs*–'sharp, swift'] (Rom. 3:15); NEB HASTEN; [Gk. *tachinós*] (2 Pet. 2:1).

Words translated "swift(ly)" are used both of things which are physically swift — an advancing army (Dt. 28:49; Isa. 5:26; 30:16; Lam. 4:19; Hab. 1:8), a particularly fast man (2 S. 2:18), water-borne messengers (Isa. 18:2), and the wind (Ps. 18:10) — and, in an extended sense, characteristics which are said to operate with swiftness — the judgment of God (Dt. 32:35; Isa. 19:1; Joel 3:4; Mal. 3:5; 2 Pet. 2:1), the Davidic Messiah's accomplishment of righteousness (Isa. 16:5), the days of a man who feels he is dying (Job 7:6; 9:25), and the effectiveness of God's word (Ps. 147:15). The use of comparative language in speaking of swiftness allows us to know what was characteristically regarded as fast: eagles in flight (Dt. 28:49; 2 S. 1:23; Jer. 4:13; 48:40; 49:22), gazelles (2 S. 2:18; 1 Ch. 12:8), leopards (Hab. 1:8), a weaver's shuttle (Job 7:6), and skilled runners (Job 9:25).

Part of Qoheleth's insistence on the dominance of chance is his denial that swiftness is necessarily determinative in winning races (Ecc. 9:11). Similarly, prophetic oracles of judgment deny that swiftness will save in times of judgment (Jer. 46:6; Am. 2:14f.).

Hebrew *qal-hû'* (Job 24:18) is taken as it stands by AV ("He is swift"), but is now often emended to *qallû*, "they are swift" (so RSV "They are swiftly carried"), or, taking the verb in its other meaning, "they are cursed" (so NEB "Such men are scum"; see the comms. for further discussion).

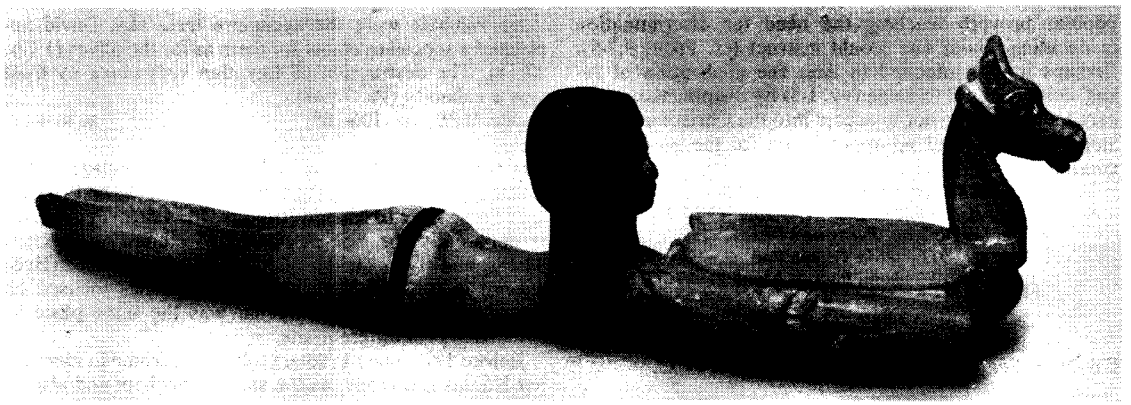
Hebrew *yeʿāp* in Dnl. 9:21 is uncertain. It may be related to *yā'ap*, "be wearied," and could refer to the manner of the angel's flight or to the seer's earlier vision of the angel (i.e., "when I was wearied"; cf. 8:18). "Swiftly" is suggested by some of the versions (including LXX *táchei*, Vulg. *cito*; cf. A. Lacocque, *Book of Daniel* [Eng. tr. 1979], p. 190).

See also ASS; HASTE; HORSE. J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

SWIFT BEASTS. AV term for RSV, NEB DROMEDARY (Isa. 66:20) and "steeds" (Mic. 1:13; *see* HORSE).

SWIM [Heb. *śāḥâ*] (Isa. 25:11; Ezk. 47:5); [Gk. *ekkolymbáō, kolymbáō*] (Acts 27:42f.); **SWIMMER** [Heb. part. of *śāḥâ*] (Isa. 25:11); AV "he that swimmeth."

According to Isa. 25:11 Moab's attempts to save itself will fail, and it will inevitably sink. In Ezk. 47:5 the river is deep enough for swimming, yet too deep to ford successfully. In Acts 27 swimming proved to be a means of self-preservation for the ship's passengers after it struck a shoal.



An alabaster spoon in the shape of a girl swimming behind a gazelle (the spoon cover) (Egypt, 1580-1350 B.C.) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

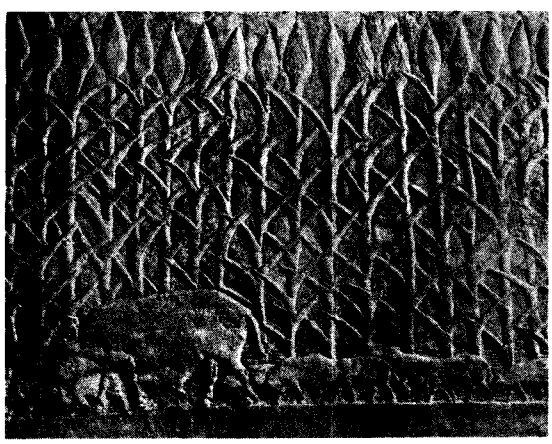
SWINE [Heb. *ḥᵃzîr*] (Lev. 11:7; Dt. 14:8; Prov. 11:22; Isa. 65:4; 66:3, 17); NEB also PIG; [Gk. *choíros*] (Mt. 7:6; 8:30-32; Mk. 5:11-13, 16; Lk. 8:32f.; 15:15f.); NEB PIG; **SOW** [Gk. *hýs*] (2 Pet. 2:22).

Leviticus 11:7 and Dt. 14:8 forbid the Israelites to eat the flesh of swine. The ancient world varied on this practice. On the one hand, many other Semites shared Israel's prohibition. On the other hand, the wild BOAR roamed Palestine and apparently was eaten by the pre-Semitic inhabitants. Certainly the Greeks ate pork, and that practice became one of the chief points of difficulty between Judaism and Hellenism. This conflict is highlighted in 1 Macc. 1:47, where Antiochus orders Jews to sacrifice pigs (Gk. *hýs*), and in 2 Macc. 6:18; 7:1, where Jewish heroes choose to die rather than defile themselves by eating pork.

The reason for the OT dietary law is not known with certainty. In fact, the reason may have been unknown even in the interestamental period. The Letter of Aristeas (2nd cent. B.C.) defends the laws on moral grounds: (1) the Jews must eat only animals that ruminate since ruminating resembles remembering and Jews are to remember Scripture; (2) prohibited animals (Aristeas mentions mice and weasels) exhibit polluting features. Such arguments appear to be later attempts to explain the law.

Modern commentators have made three suggestions to account for the law. (1) The least likely relates the prohibition to hygiene. This view states that since pork is sometimes contaminated with trichina worms, the prohibition might have been based on the observation that eating pork was sometimes followed by illness. One remark in the Talmud might suggest that the rabbis associated pork with ill health: "Ten *kabs* of sores descended to the world; nine were taken by swine" (T. B. *Kiddushin* 49b). But since illness only occasionally follows eating pork, it seems unlikely that the ancient Hebrews would have recognized the health hazard involved. (2) The second view is more likely, namely, that the OT rejected eating swine because of its association with the worship of certain Babylonian, Syrian, and Egyptian gods. The involvement of some Israelites in such pagan rites may well stand behind the prophet's condemnation of eating swine in Isa. 65:4 and 66:17 (cf. v. 3). Still, this theory does not explain why other animals were also rejected (cf. Lev. 11:4-6; Dt. 14:7). (3) Perhaps the best explanation for the dietary regulations of Leviticus as a whole is the symbolic interpretation of Douglas (pp. 54-57). The standard sacrificial animals of the pastoralist Israelites were sheep, goats, and oxen, which all had in common cloven hooves and the fact that they chewed the cud (cf. Lev.11:3). God had chosen certain animals for sacrifice in the same way that He had chosen one nation, Israel, to be His holy people. As God's people Israel was to reflect His holiness (cf. vv. 44f.) by restricting its diet to those animals that fitted the pattern of the animals chosen by God for His "diet" (namely, cloven hooves and chewing the cud). The pig is "unclean" because it meets only half the requirements: it has cloven hooves but does not chew the cud (v. 7).

A sow and several piglets walking through marshlands. Relief from the palace of Sennacherib, Nineveh, *ca.* 690 B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



The NT references to "swine" also reflect the Jewish notion that swine were "unclean." In the (gentile) region of the Gadarenes (OT Gerasenes) Jesus cast demons out of a man (women, according to Matthew) and into a herd of swine (Mt. 8:32; Mk. 5:13; Lk. 8:33), presumably because the swine were considered by the Jews to be worthless animals and an appropriate dwelling place for demons. The prodigal son was reduced to caring for swine and coveting their feed (Lk. 15:15f.); a Jewish man could sink no lower. 2 Pet. 2:22 cites a popular proverb (found also in the story of Ahikar) in its denunciation of false prophets for returning to immorality.

More difficult to understand is the saying of Jesus in Mt. 7:6: "Do not give dogs what is holy; and do not throw your pearls before swine." Sometimes "dogs" and "pigs" were used by Jewish teachers as scornful references to Gentiles, but it is inconceivable that Jesus was warning against missions to the Gentiles. The verse was probably a

popular proverb teaching the need for discrimination in deciding whom one would instruct (cf. Prov. 9:7-9). Perhaps it was intended to limit the application of Jesus' command not to judge (vv. 1-5) by warning that some care must be taken not to accept into the Christian fellowship those who had no appreciation for the gospel (see comms.).

See also CLEAN AND UNCLEAN IV.B.3.

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P. L. REDDITT

SWORD. *See* WEAPONS OF WAR II.A.7-8; IV.C.

SYCAMINE TREE [Gk. *sykáminos*] (Lk. 17:6); NEB MULBERRY-TREE. The black MULBERRY (*Morus nigra* L.), native to Persia and renowned for its luscious fruit. It is identical with the mulberry of 1 Macc. 6:34. The white mulberry (*M. alba* L.), whose leaves are fed to silkworms, has been introduced into Palestine only in modern times.

See *MPB* pp. 140f. R. K. H.

SYCAMORE; SYCAMORE TREE [Heb. *šiqmâ, šiqmâ'*; LXX incorrectly Gk. *sykáminos*–'mulberry' (1 K. 10:27; 1 Ch. 27:28; Isa. 9:10; Am. 7:14; etc.); NT Gk. *sykomoréa* (Lk. 19:4)]; AV usually SYCOMORE TREE; NEB also SYCOMORE-FIG. The sycamore-fig (*Ficus sycomorus* L.), a robust evergreen that grows to about 12 m. (40 ft.) high, with branches spreading in every direction. (The sycamore of the Bible is unrelated to trees of that name in the West.) *See ISBE*, II, Plate 10.

The sycamore fruit, though abundant and often used for food, is smaller than, and inferior in quality to, the common fig. Just before sycamore-figs are gathered, the apex of the fruit must be incised to insure proper ripening. Amos was a "piercer" or "dresser" (so RSV, NEB) of sycamore-figs in this sense (Am. 7:14), not a "gatherer" (so AV) or "plucker."

The sycamore was valued in antiquity not only as a source of food but also as a source of a soft but durable lumber (cf. Isa. 9:10), which was used extensively in Egypt for utensils and mummy cases. The trees provided shade, and their many branches made them easy to climb (cf. Lk. 19:4).

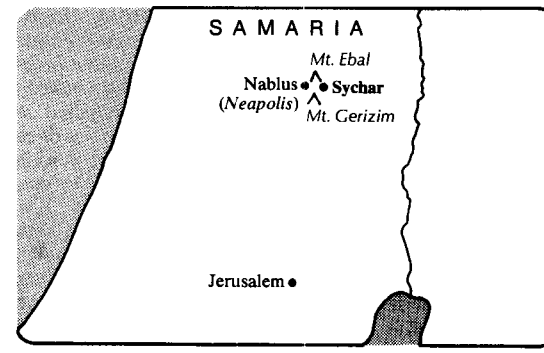
A sycamore tree (*Ficus Sycomorus*) in central Israel (W. Braun)

So valuable were the sycamore trees that David appointed a special overseer for them as for the olives (1 Ch. 27:18). The destruction of Egyptian sycamores by frost was a calamity (Ps. 78:47).

See *MPB*, pp. 106-108. R. K. H.

SYCHAR si'kär [Gk. *Sychar*] (Jn. 4:5). A village of Samaria where JACOB'S WELL was located, "near the field that Jacob gave to his son Joseph" (Jn. 4:5f.). This "field" is apparently the one at Shechem referred to in Gen. 33:18f. and Josh. 24:32, called a "mountain slope" (Heb. *šeḵem*) in Gen. 48:22. Much discussion has focused on the question of whether Sychar was the same place as SHECHEM or a different site.

Before 1913 many scholars followed Jerome in identifying Nâblus (Neapolis) as the site of Shechem and also of Sychar. But excavations at Tell Balâṭah, located about 2.4 km. (1.5 mi.) SE of Nâblus at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, have demonstrated that this tell is the site of ancient Shechem. Tell Balâṭah, therefore, is one of the sites suggested for Sychar. The other is Tell 'Askar, located NE of Tell Balâṭah and about 1 km. (0.6 mi.) N of Jacob's well on the eastern slope of Mt. Ebal. Joseph's tomb is located between Tell Balâṭah and 'Askar, and Jacob's well is about 0.8 km. (0.5 mi.) from Tell Balâṭah and about 1.2 km. (0.7 mi.) from 'Askar.

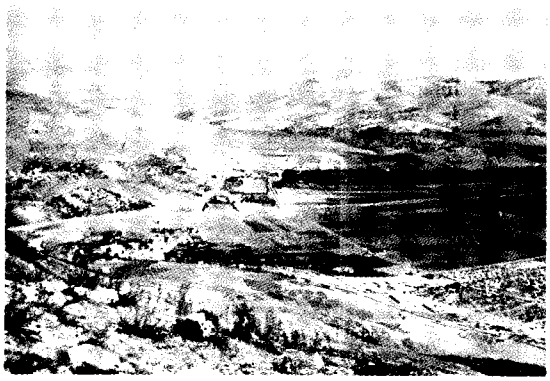


In A.D. 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim located Sichar and Sichem 1 Rom. mi. apart. Likewise, Eusebius (d. *ca.* 339) in the *Onomasticon* located Shechem E of Neapolis. When Jerome (d. *ca.* 420) translated and edited Eusebius's work, he did not change this. In *Ep.* 108.13, however, Jerome equated Neapolis with *Sichem* and stated that *Sichar* was a misreading of *Sichem*. He accepted the Syriac version, which reads *Sychem* instead of *Sychar*.

Those who distinguish Sychar from Shechem generally support 'Askar as the site of Sychar. G. Smith pointed out that the *Samaritan Chronicle* (14th cent. A.D. or earlier) referred to a town "apparently near Shechem, spelt Ischar" (*HGHL*, p. 370). He argued that when Ischar was translated into Arabic it became 'Askar. 'Askar would fit with Eusebius's statement that Sychar is E of Neapolis. In addition, the Madeba Map (6th cent. A.D.) placed Sychar at the location of 'Askar with the note, "Sychar which is now Sychora."

The accuracy of the Madeba Map is questionable, however. Whereas Eusebius did not separate Jacob's well from Sychar, the map followed a later tradition that separated them. Moreover, 'Askar has a good supply of water from the spring of 'Askar, so that there would have been no need for an 'Askar resident such as the Samaritan woman to go to Jacob's well for water.

G. E. Wright believed that Jerome was correct in equating Sychar and Shechem. He too saw Sychar as a very



'Askar (from Mt. Gerizim), a possible site of ancient Sychar (W. S. LaSor)

ancient textual corruption of *Sychem* (Shechem). Although Shechem did not exist as a city during the time of Jesus, most likely a village always existed where the village of Balâṭah now stands — next to Jacob's well. The people of this village presently care for the Moslem shrine that houses Joseph's tomb. Thus, Sychar may have been a small village near or on Tell Balâṭah. This would account for its confusion with Shechem, which ceased to exist as a city *ca.* 100 B.C.

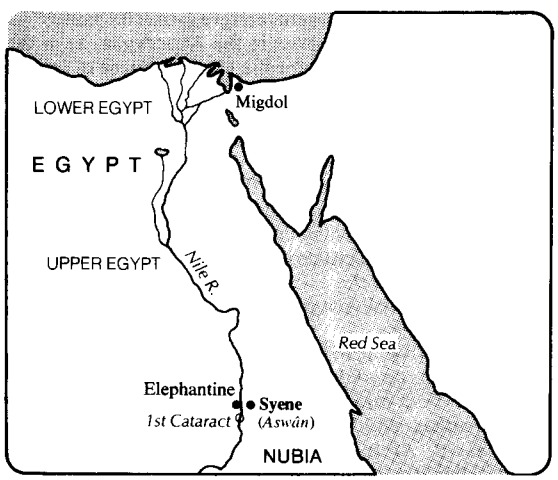
Thus the precise location of Sychar remains debatable. It was probably located at Tell Balâṭah (Shechem), 'Askar, or the modern village of Balâṭah, all of which are near Jacob's well.

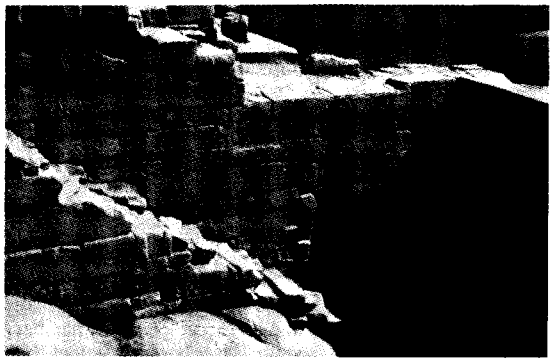
Bibliography.–*HGHL,* pp. 367-376; V. G. Roland, *BA,* 21 (1958), 50-71; G. E. Wright, *Shechem* (1965). D. W. BIGGS

SYCHEM sī'kəm (Acts 7:16, AV). *See* SHECHEM.

SYCOMORE. *See* SYCAMORE.

SYENE sī-ē'nē [Heb. *sᵉwēnēh* (Ezk. 29:10; 30:6); var. *sînîm* (Isa. 49:12); Gk. *Suēnēs*]; AV SINIM (Isa. 49:12). An Egyptian town located on the east bank of the Nile River near the first cataract, marking the ancient natural border between Upper (southern) Egypt and Nubia. The Egyptian name is *Swn* (and the fuller spelling *Swnw*), which became in Coptic *Souēn* (also *Souan*). Etymologically it has been related to the noun *swenet,* "trade," and may be understood as signifying "market" or "trading place," reflecting the city's role in commercial exchange





The Nilometer at Elephantine used to measure the depth of the river (A. J. Couch)

between Egypt and the inner continent. The city is now known by its Arabic name, *Aswân.*

This region is characterized by sandstone cliffs, in contrast to the broad limestone-based floodplain of the northern Nile Valley, and is quite barren, with very little arable land along the river. The area around Syene has yielded a number of archeological discoveries, among the best known being the Nilometer on the island of Elephantine. Numerous rock-cut tombs in the cliffs on the opposite side of the river date to the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Two small Greco-Roman-period temples are among the few visible remains of ancient Syene, because the site has been continuously built upon. The modern city of Aswân is best known for the High Dam completed in 1968.

Because Syene was on the border between Egypt and Nubia, it played an important role both militarily and commercially, though in both aspects it was overshadowed by the adjacent island city of Elephantine, the capital of the first Upper Egyptian nome. In the late Predynastic or Early Dynastic Period, the political boundary of Egypt was established near Syene at the first cataract of the Nile. The geography of the area afforded Syene and Elephantine some protection from the attacks of Nubian chieftains from the south, since the Nile Valley is constricted in the region of the first cataract, where a series of rapids makes passage to the north difficult. During the Middle Kingdom, an extensive program of fortification was begun in the northern region E of the delta and in the south at Syene. The Egyptians referred to these two weak points in Egypt's natural defenses as "the gates of the barbarians," Syene being the "southern gate."

Both Elephantine and Syene were prosperous trading centers. During the periods of Egypt's wealth and power, goods of all kinds, including spices, ebony, and baboons, but particularly ivory, were imported into Egypt through these two cities. The antiquity of the two cities as commercial centers is suggested by their names: Elephantine, "ivory island," and Syene, "market."

Syene is perhaps best known for the beautiful red granite that was quarried from the surrounding region for royal building projects, now found in Egyptian ruins along the whole length of the land. Granite from Syene is known to have been used as early as the Old Kingdom, and in the period of Roman occupation was even exported to Rome. An unfinished obelisk and a colossal unfinished statue from the two major quarries at Syene have provided valuable clues for understanding Egyptian methods of cutting and removing huge blocks of hard stone.

In Isa. 49:12 Syene is mentioned in an oracle concerning the day of salvation. The name stands parallel to "the north" and "the west" and is used as a metaphor for "the

south." Perhaps an error is present in v. 12 of the MT, which reads *wᵉʾēlleh mēʾereṣ sînîm*. This phrase, translated by the AV as "and these from the land of Sinim," has been understood as a reference to the Chinese, or people from *Šina* at the foot of Hindu Kush. This problem, however, has been solved by one of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QIsᵃ), which reads *swnyym* (unvocalized), from which we understand *sᵉwēnîyîm* or *sᵉwēnîm*, a plural gentilic. Thus we translate "those from the land of the Syenites," or more simply, "those from the land of Syene."

Syene occurs twice in Ezekiel's oracles against Egypt (Ezk. 29:10; 30:6). In both utterances the prophet spells Egypt's doom "from Migdol to Syene." Migdol, also known as Copt. *mechtōl* and as Egyp. *makthel*, has been identified with Tell el-Her on Egypt's northeastern border. "Migdol to Syene" designates Egypt in the same way that "Dan to Beer-sheba" does Israel (cf. Jgs. 20:1; 1 S. 3:20). Such a "top to bottom" description is inclusive, indicating the entire country. Ezekiel's message is clear: all of Egypt is under judgment; no part will escape.

Both Ezekiel passages in the MT have textual problems. Ezk. 30:6 reads *mimmigdōl sᵉwēnēh*, which the AV correctly translates as "from the tower of Syene." The LXX, however, reads *héōs Syēnēs*, suggesting that the MT should be revocalized to read *mimmigdōl sᵉwēnāh*, with *hê* locative, and translated "from Migdol to Syene" (so RSV, NEB). Some MSS suggest that the vowel of the *hê* locative was weakened, and should be read *sᵉwēneh* (cf. *nōḇeh*, 1 S. 21:2; 22:9; *ḏᵉḏāneh*, Ezk. 25:13). Syntactically, this emendation makes better sense of the preposition *min*, "from," and is commended by the general context of Ezk. 30, which indicates that all of Egypt will reap the fruit of God's judgment. In Ezk. 29:10 the MT reads *mimmigdōl sᵉwēnēh wᵉʿaḏ-gᵉḇûl kûš*, which the AV translates "from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia." The LXX reads *apó Magdōlou kaí Syēnēs kaí héōs horíōn Aithiopōn*, suggesting that the MT should be emended to *ûsᵉwēneh* (with the addition of the conjunction *wāw*), and translated "from Migdol and Syene as far as the border of Ethiopia."

See also ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.

See J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (1980), pp. 72ff. A. J. COUCH

SYMEON (Acts 13:1; 15:14, RSV 1st ed.). *See* SIMEON.

SYMMACHUS. *See* SEPTUAGINT III.B.3.

SYNAGOGUE sin'ə-gog [Gk. *synagōgḗ*–'assembly']. An assembly or congregation of Jews for the purpose of worship and study (Acts 13:43) or the building where such an assembly met (Lk. 7:5). In America, the term is generally not used for Reform congregations, which prefer the term "temple."

I. Names
  A. Synagogue
  B. *kᵉneseṯ, kᵉništâ*
  C. Other Names
    1. Place of Prayer
    2. Holy Place
    3. House of Instruction
II. History
  A. Origin
    1. Preexilic
    2. Exilic
    3. Postexilic
  B. In the Time of the Second Temple
  C. In the Middle Ages
  D. Modern Judaism
III. Structures
  A. General Features
  B. Location
  C. Interior
    1. Holy Ark
    2. Bema or Platform
    3. Seats
    4. Women's Section
    5. Lamps
IV. Officers of Ancient Synagogues
  A. Head of the Synagogue
  B. Minister (Hazzan)
  C. Others
V. Worship Service
  A. Shema
  B. Prayers
  C. Scripture Readings
    1. Torah
    2. Haftarah
    3. Festival Readings
    4. Psalms
  D. Benediction
  E. Sermon
VI. Other Uses of the Synagogue
  A. School
  B. Community Center
  C. Court of Law

I. Names.–A. Synagogue. Gk. *synagōgḗ* (derived from *sýn* + *ágō*, "to bring/come together, congregate") could be used of any assembly of persons, animals, or things (LSJ, pp. 1691f.; *TDNT*, VII, 799-801). In secular Greek it was generally not applied to the *place* or house of meeting. It was used in LXX to translate Heb. *ʿēḏâ*, "congregation," which could be used of animals (Ps. 68:30 [MT 31], RSV "herd"; Jgs. 14:8, "swarm") as well as angels (Ps. 82:1; RSV "the divine council"; NIV "the great assembly") and people (Ps. 7:7 [MT 8]). *ʿĒḏâ* usually refers to the congregation of Israel. *Synagōgḗ* is used sometimes to translate Heb. *qāhāl*, "assembly, convocation, congregation" (35 times according to *TDNT*, VII, 802), but *qāhāl* is more commonly translated by *ekklēsía*. In the OT, *synagōgḗ* principally refers to the whole congregation of Israel assembled for cultic purposes as a religious community or assembled for legal purposes as a nation (cf. *TDNT*, VII, 804). The shift in meaning to refer to a *local* congregation is found in the Apocrypha, where Judaism as a whole is described as *synagōgaí Israel* (Ps. Sol. 10:7) or *synagōgás hosíōn*, "assemblies of holy ones" (17:16), whereas the local congregation is called *hḗ synagōgḗ* (Sir. 4:7); but even in the Apocrypha, as in the OT, *synagōgḗ* is not used for the place or house of assembly.

In the NT *synagōgḗ* usually means the building (9 times in Matthew; 8 in Mark; 15 in Luke; 2 in John; 16 in Acts; likewise in Josephus *synagōgḗ* is used for the place of assembly, *Ant.* xix.6.3 [300]). The term may be used of a Christian assembly (Jas. 2:2). Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30:18) used the term of Christian congregations, as well as other assemblies. The Ebionites and Marcionites likewise used *synagōgḗ* for churches. But before long, *synagōgḗ* was reserved for Jewish congregations and *ekklēsía* for Christian congregations.

B. kᵉneseṯ *or* kᵉništâ. In Rabbinic writings, Heb. *kᵉneseṯ* (Mish. *Aboth* i.1) and Aram. *kᵉništâ* (*Gen. Rabbah* 6 on 1:17), both meaning "gathering," are used in preference to either *ʿēḏâ* or *qāhāl*. The building is either Heb. *bêṯ kᵉneseṯ*, Aram. *bêṯ kᵉništâ*, or simply *kᵉneseṯ* or *kᵉništâ*; the congregation itself can also be called by the

term including *bêṯ* (for references, cf. notes in *TDNT,* VII, 809). Heb. *bêṯ kᵉneseṯ* occurs throughout the Mishnah.

C. Other Names. 1. Place of Prayer. This term, though not referring to a synagogue, occurs as *bêṯ tᵉpillâ* in Isa. 56:7 and as *oikós proseuchḗs* in Mt. 21:13 and par. *Tópos proseuchḗs* appears in 1 Macc 3:46. The Greek term is shortened to *proseuchḗs* "[place of] prayer" in Acts 16:13, 16 (but cf. Bauer, rev., p. 713) and is used among Jews as a synonym for *synagōgḗ* (cf. refs. in LSJ, p. 1511). A modern synagogue is sometimes called *bêṯ [hat]tᵉpillâ,* "the house of prayer."

2. Holy Place. Gk. *hágios tópos* and Aram. *ʾᵃṯrâ kᵉništâ,* "holy place," have been found on inscriptions on ancient synagogues in Palestine. The term, of course, was not limited to synagogues (cf. 2 Macc. 1:29; Mt. 24:15; Acts 6:13).

3. House of Instruction. Heb. *bêṯ hammiḏrāš,* along with *bêṯ hakkᵉneseṯ,* is often used of modern synagogues. Part of the synagogue service, from antiquity, was an exposition (*miḏrāš*) of the Scripture portion that was read. Jesus followed this custom (cf. Lk. 4:16-22; Mt. 9:35). The term "school" was used at least as early as Sirach, cf. *en oikǭ paideías* (Sir. 51:23, apparently translating *bêṯ midrāš*; RSV "school"). Philo (*ca.* 20 B.C.-*ca.* A.D. 50) is apparently referring to synagogues when he says, "So each seventh day there stand open in every city thousands of schools of good sense. . . . But among the vast number of particular truths and principles there studied, there stand out . . . two main heads: one of duty to God as shewn by piety and holiness, one of duty to men as shewn by humanity and justice . . ." (*De specialibus legibus* ii.62f. [ch. 15], Loeb translation). The Yiddish term *shul,* "school," is often used of the synagogue by orthodox congregations.

II. History.–A. Origin. Although the synagogue is Judaism's most central and enduring instituion, its origins are shrouded in mystery. The synagogue is not mentioned in the Pentateuch. First-century literary sources (Philo, Josephus, NT) indicate that synagogues flourished in the Diaspora and in Galilee. Rabbinic sources connect the origin of the synagogue and many of its practices with Moses and Ezra (T. P. *Megillah* iv.1; Tg. Ps. Jon. to Ex. 18:20). Josephus follows the rabbinic tradition where he says, "He [Moses] appointed the Law to be the most excellent and necessary form of instruction, ordaining, not that it should be heard once for all or twice or on several occasions, but that every week men should desert their other occupations and assemble to listen to the Law and to obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of it" (*CAp* ii.7 [175]). The word "synagogue," however, is not used, and assembling to listen to the Law does not specifically imply the existence of a synagogue. Acts 15:21 is sometimes taken to support the tradition, but a careful exegesis will not sustain this argument. Rabbinic tradition also attributes special innovations to Ezra and "the men of the Great Synagogue" (cf. *Lev. Rabbah* 2:11; *Cant. Rabbah* on 7:14; T.B. *Yoma* 69b).

Three different eras have been proposed by modern scholars for the origin of the synagogue: preexilic, exilic, and postexilic.

1. Preexilic. Preexilic origin is assumed by the rabbis, who nevertheless recognize some important innovations in the postexilic period as the result of Ezra's work and the "men of the Great Synagogue" (e.g., T.B. *Yoma* 69b). Some modern scholars connect the emergence of the synagogue with the Deuteronomic reforms (621 B.C.), which demolished sanctuaries across the land and created a new need for worship patterns away from Jerusalem. Some biblical references (e.g., *môᵃḏê-ʾēl,* "meeting places of God" [Ps. 74:8; AV "synagogues of God"; Aq. *synagōgḗ*; cf. BDB, p. 417, 3b], and *bêṯ hāʿām,* "the house of the people" [Jer. 39:8]) are considered cryptic references to the incipient institution. If we accept the development of the Israelite religion as presented in the OT without serious emendation, it should be obvious that some kind of assembly of the people was expected, and that the roots — and even the language — are present for the synagogue idea. Expressions such as "the congregation [*qāhāl*] of the people" (Ps. 107:32), "the council of the upright, the congregation [*ʿēḏâ*]" (111:1), and "the congregation of the pious [*qᵉhal ḥasîḏîm*]" (149:1) could easily be taken as applying to the synagogue.

2. Exilic. Most scholars support the contention that the synagogue originated in exile and in Babylonia. They surmise that it began as spontaneous gatherings of Jews for sabbaths and festivals, for communal worship and for mutual support. The synagogue owes its formation to these gatherings of the exiles.

Ezekiel provides a setting for the synagogue. Accordingly, the statement in Ezk. 11:16, "Thus says the Lord God: Though I have removed them far off among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary to them for a while in the countries where they have gone," is understood in T.B. *Megillah* 29a, where *miqdāš mᵉʿaṭ* is taken to mean "little sanctuary" (RSV, "for a while"), to refer to the synagogue. The hand of God fell upon Ezekiel as he was with the elders of Judah in his house (Ezk. 8:1). On another occasion, the elders sat before him, when God rebuked them for inquiring of Him (14:1-5). A similar situation took place a third time (20:1-3). But these can hardly be understood to be synagogue meetings; rather the elders had come to inquire of Ezekiel the priest (1:3) the will of God. On the other hand, the scene in the opening chapter, where Ezekiel was "among the exiles by the river Chebar" (1:1), could be described as a synagogue, i.e., an assembly by a river (cf. Acts 16:13)). In this vein, reference has been made to Ps. 137:1 ("by the waters of Babylon") and to Dnl. 8:2 (Daniel was "at the river Ulai"); there is no reference to an assembly in the Daniel passage, and the waters of Babylon passage could simply refer in general to the location of the exiles. In Babylonia there was a tradition that the synagogue Shab we-Yatib in Nehardea had been established by the exiles who accompanied Jehoiakin (T. B. *Megillah* 29a; cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* XV, 580).

3. Postexilic. Recently, growing attention has been given to a postexilic date for the synagogue as a Pharisaic parallel to temple worship (cf. J. Gutmann, pp. 38-40); see V below.

B. In the Time of the Second Temple. When the Jews returned from Exile, they proceeded to rebuild the temple. They may have needed encouragement to accomplish the task (cf. Hag. 2:1-9), but there is no suggestion that the synagogue had replaced the temple. In fact, there is no mention of a synagogue in Ezra, Nehemiah, or the postexilic Prophets. But when references to the synagogue did appear (certainly by the 1st cent. A.D.) it was already well established. Therefore, its roots must have gone back either to the Exile or to the beginning of the Second Temple period.

Sacrifices could not be offered on foreign soil, which was considered unclean (Am. 7:17), hence prayer became a substitute. The postexilic Prophets, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Qumrân literature all testify to the rich development of prayer in the early Second Temple period. In fact, the rabbis came to believe that "prayer is greater than all the sacrifices" (*Tanhuma Wayyikra,* § 1, f. 31b; cf. C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *Rabbinic An-*

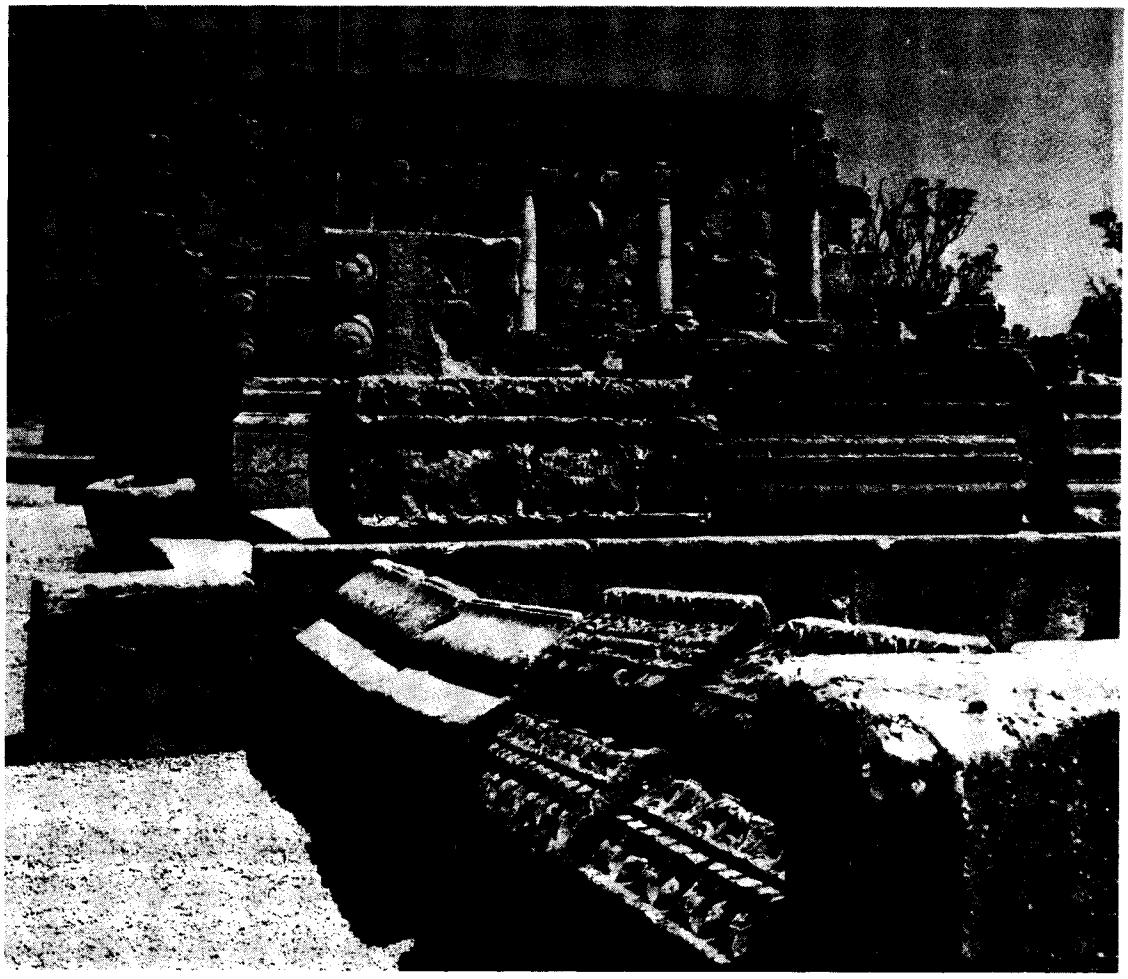
The synagogue at Masada, facing toward Jerusalem, was rebuilt by the rebel occupation in the 1st cent. A.D. (The Estate of Yigael Yadin)

thology (1974), p. 357). According to the Talmud, the Amidah, Kiddush, and Havdalah were composed by Ezra and the Men of the Great Synagogue (T.B. *Berakoth* 33a). It is reasonable to assume that a "house of prayer" was serving as a substitute for or in addition to the temple.

There is abundant literary evidence of the synagogue from the 1st cent. A.D. Philo says that there were many synagogues in Alexandria (*De legatione ad Gaium*, 132f.). A very large one was destroyed during the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). Josephus mentions synagogues in Tiberias (*Vita* liv [280), Dora (*Ant.* xix.6.3 [305]), and Caesarea (*BJ* ii.14.4 [285]), and the NT adds Nazareth (Lk. 4:16) and Capernaum (Mk. 1:21) in Palestine and Damascus (Acts 9:2), Salamis (13:5), Pisidian Antioch (v. 14), Iconium (14:1), Thessalonica (17:1), Beroea (v. 10), Athens (v. 17), Corinth (18:4), and Ephesus (v. 19) in the Diaspora. The Talmud gives the number of synagogues in Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of the second temple at 480 (T.P. *Megillah* 73d) or 394 (*Ketuboth* 105a). It has been estimated that approximately four million Jews of the Diaspora had more than a thousand synagogues by the time the temple was destroyed in A.D. 70 (Birnbaum, *Jewish Concepts*, 81). By the 1st cent. A.D., the synagogue was already widely spread throughout the Diaspora, organized, and an important element in the Jewish community.

Synagogue buildings, like synagogue worship, took time to evolve into the standardized form that became normative. The process itself is not clearly recorded. The remains of a synagogue were found at Shedia, 26 km. (16 mi.) from Alexandria with a dedication to Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 B.C.) and his queen Berenice. From the same period, an inscription granted right of asylum to the synagogue (*Revue des études juives*, 45 [1902], 163f.; the reference to a synagogue is debated, cf. D. Gowan, *Bridge Between the Testaments* [1976], pp. 281f.). It is therefore not beyond credibility that a synagogue was founded at Ptolemais during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-204 B.C.) as recorded in 3 Macc. 7:20. Archeological remains identified as synagogues have also been found at Delos (2nd cent. B.C.) and at Ostia (1st cent. A.D.). It may be that distinctive synagogue buildings in the Holy Land were not really common until after the destruction of the temple. Possibly assemblies for prayer and study convened in spacious private homes rather than in specially designated buildings. The earliest surviving synagogues in Palestine are the first-century structures in Masada, Herodion, Magdala, and Gamla. In both Masada and Herodion, structures originally built for other purposes were converted into synagogues by later occupants of the sites. Only the Theodotus inscription remains from an earlier period. The Greek stone inscription, found near Jerusalem and dated 1st cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D., states, "Theodotus . . . son of the head of the synagogue [*archisynágogos*] grandson of the head of the synagogue built the synagogue for the reading of the law and teaching of the commandments . . . (Roth-Gerson, p. 76). Most ancient synagogue buildings in the Holy Land, of which archeology has identified more than a hundred, belong to the 3rd cent. and later. Some of the important ones are at Gush Halav, Hammath-Tiberias, and Capernaum.

C. In the Middle Ages. A detailed description of this period lies beyond the limits of this article. But it should be pointed out that the synagogue became a vital part of every Jewish community throughout the world. While holding to the basic forms of worship, each community



The ruins of the well-preserved Galilean synagogue at Capernaum (4th cent. A.D.) (W. Braun)

developed its individual characteristics — which becomes quite obvious to anyone visiting a variety of synagogues in the Meah Shearim district in Jerusalem on any Friday night. Two major groups with markedly different customs should be noted: the Sephardic, which spread when the Jews were driven out from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496), and the Ashkenazic, developing in central and eastern Europe, resulting from several forced migrations (cf. A. L. Sachar, *History of the Jews* [5th ed. 1965], pp. 184-260; Donin, pp.192f.).

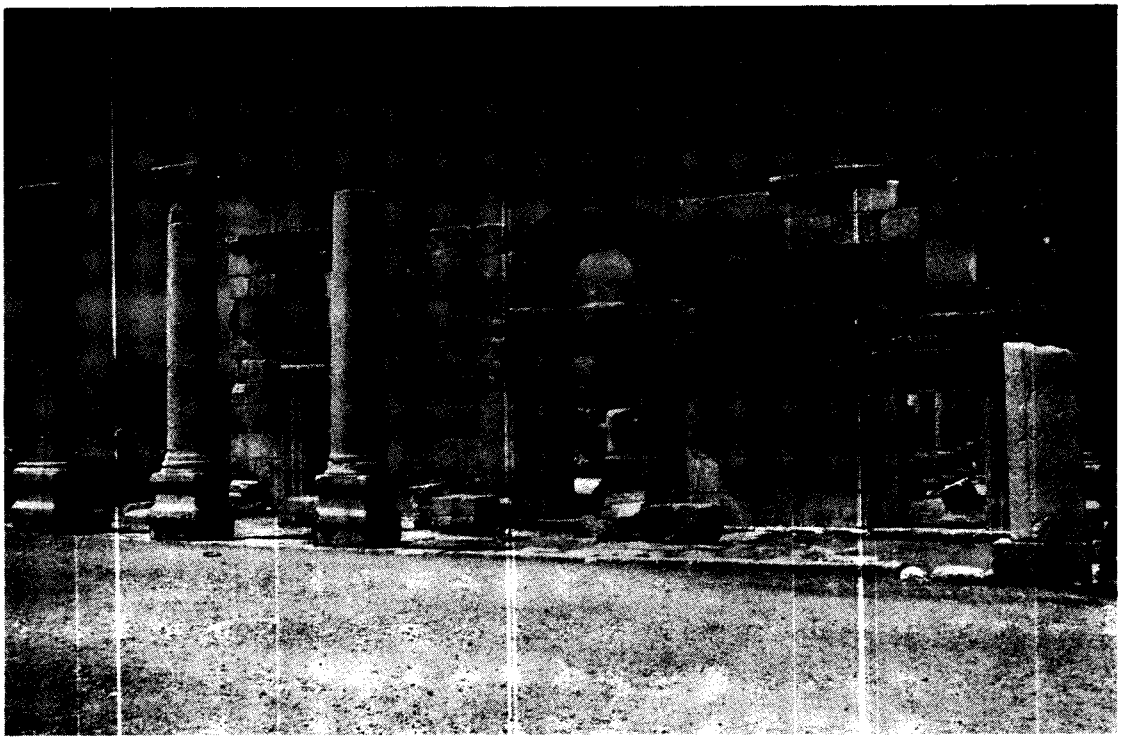
D. Modern Judaism. The rise of Hasidism in the 18th cent. had a profound effect on the synagogue. Synagogues generally became smaller and the service less formal, and fervor became dominant. A reaction in the 19th cent. resulted in the construction of larger buildings, in which the holy ark that housed the Torah scrolls was given a prominent place. Synagogues could be classified as "Orthodox," "Conservative," or "Reform," the last often called "temples." (Reform temples have marked architectural features, discussed below.) In all cases the synagogue was generally expanded to become a complex of buildings serving a variety of community services.

III. Structures.–A. General Features. Ancient synagogues display a variety of structure and stages of developments. An important common feature of ancient synagogues was orientation toward Jerusalem. The practice of praying in the direction of Jerusalem seems to be derived from 1 K. 8:44, 48 par. 2 Ch. 6:34, 38 (cf. Dnl. 6:10); later it became law (T.P. *Berakot* 4, 8b-c).

The earliest structures do not contain a bema, i.e., a special platform for the Torah scroll and readers (cf. III.B.2 below). This feature usually appears at the later strata of the building. For example, at Gush Halav, the third-century building did not have a bema, but was expanded in the 4th cent. to include one.

Archeologists identify three types of ancient synagogue buildings: (a) Galilean or basilical, oriented toward the short wall of the building; (b) broadhouse, oriented toward the long wall; (c) apsidal, characteristic of most of the later synagogues. Until recently it has been assumed that the development was from the first to the third. Excavations since 1967 attest, instead, to the simultaneity of some of these models (Meyers and Strange, p. 145; *IDB* Suppl., pp. 843f.).

Some synagogues had an upper gallery, others did not. The question whether women in the ancient period were separated in worship remains in dispute. Ancient synagogues had a series of stone benches along the walls. The Torah shrine (see III.C.1 below) was initially portable, becoming a part of the structure only at a later date when it was built in, in the direction of Jerusalem. The apsidal synagogues are the latest (5th-6th cents.) and most



The facade of the large synagogue at Kefr Bir'im in northern Galilee. The relief on the lintel once depicted winged victories or "Nike" that have been deliberately mutilated (3rd cent. A.D.) (J. Finegan)

elaborate, some with a spacious bema and platform large enough to accommodate the hazzan, translator, and elders.

Certain ancient synagogues, such as those in Dura-Europos (3rd cent.) and Beth-shean and Hammath-Tiberias (3rd-4th cents.), show highly developed artistic decorations, some of which are puzzling: in addition to images of persons in the frescoes of Dura-Europos, Greek symbols, such as helios, appear in elaborate floor mosaics which include signs of the zodiac (e.g., Hammath-Tiberias). These decorations conflict with rabbinic prohibitions of images (cf. Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8). They suggest either a period of more lenient interpretation of rabbinic injunctions, or a special understanding of floor decorations such as is found in Pseudo-Jonathan's comment on Lev. 26:1, which expresses special permission for floor designs: "A stone ornamented with pictures you shall not place in your hand to bow down to it. However, a stone on which figures and likenesses are carved you may put on the floors of your sanctuaries, but not to prostrate yourselves on it" (Meyers and Strange, p. 152).

B. Location. According to the Talmud, the synagogue was to be built on a high region and have windows (based on Dnl. 6:10, Tosephta *Megillah* [ed. Zunz] 4.227; T.B. *Shabbath* 11a); in practice it was not always feasible to locate on a height. Wherever possible, the synagogue was located near a river or a sea.

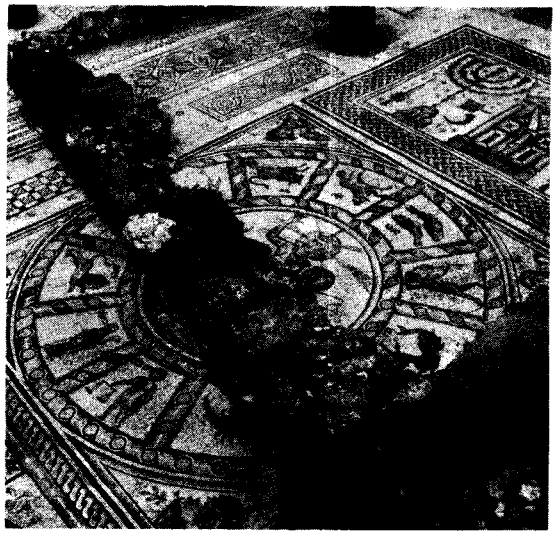
C. Interior. 1. Holy Ark. The sacred scrolls were housed in the ark, Heb. *'ārôn haqqōdeš*, "holy ark" — to call it simply *'ārôn* was sinful (T.B. *Shabbath* 32a) — or *tēḇâ*, a chest or cabinet which was often located in an alcove with a curtain (*parōḵeṯ*) to separate it from the rest of the synagogue. Originally it was a portable chest which could be carried into the open space in the town on the days of fasting (Mish. *Taanit* ii.1). In modern synagogues the *parōḵeṯ* is elaborately woven and decorated, and the holy ark is built into the structure and located at the end of the synagogue toward Jerusalem which the worshipers face during the service.

2. Bema or Platform. In the center of the synagogue or at one end was the bema (Heb. *bîmâ*, "stage, platform," < Gk. *bēma*) or almemar (< Arab. *al minbar*, "pulpit, platform"). On this were some or all of the following: a reading desk or table on which the scroll of the Torah or Haftarah was placed for reading the lessons; a chair or throne (Moses' seat, sometimes placed on a wall at a height for all to see), and chief seats for the persons participating (cf. Mt. 23:6; Tosephta *Megillah* [ed. Zunz] 4:21; note that Jesus sat down to teach, Lk. 4:20). Reference is sometimes made to Neh. 8:4 and 9:4; but the "wooden pulpit" of 8:4 is *migdal 'ēṣ*, "tower of wood," and the dignitaries of 9:4 stood on "the stairs of the Levites." In the modern Orthodox synagogues, the bema is still at the center, whereas in Conservative and Reform synagogues, the bema is typically at one end, often in the direction of Jerusalem. In Reform temples, the platform may extend across the entire front of the room, or there may be an organ and choir loft at one end.

3. Seats. In the most ancient excavated synagogues, low seats were located all around the walls, often as part of the structure, a practice which continues in oriental synagogues to this day. In others, chairs are placed around the central bema, while in still others, pews are arranged across the building, facing the ark and the bema. In Reform temples, pews are often rented.

4. Women's Section. The antiquity of the custom of separating the women from the men is a matter of debate among scholars. Several ancient synagogues reveal a balcony, which has been interpreted by some scholars as a special place for women. Others have no partition what-

SYNAGOGUE



A mosaic from the Hammath-Tiberias synagogue showing zodiac symbols surrounding the sun-god Helios; above right is a depiction of a candelabra next to a Torah shrine (4th cent.) (W. Braun)

ever; these may have had a lattice or screen to separate the two groups. It is also possible that women stood outside in some communities. The evidence has not survived, however. In modern Orthodox synagogues it is customary to separate men and women. Sometimes the women are placed in the balcony; sometimes they are separated by a screen. In Conservative and Reform synagogues men and women sit together and, especially in Reform congregations, participate equally in all aspects of worship.

5. Lamps. Certain lamps are generally features of the synagogue. The "eternal light" (Heb. *nēr tāmîḏ*, originally a temple feature) was a lamp which was never allowed to go out. The candelabra (*menōrâ*) had early become an important part of the synagogue and commonly appears in the relief decorations of ancient synagogues. In some modern synagogues it is located outside near the entrance, sometimes on a wall of the structure. Synagogues lighted by electric lights may have an electric timer to turn on the lights on Friday evening (*ereḇ šabbāṯ*; e.g., Heikal Shlomo in Jerusalem), when the Halakah forbids making a fire because the sabbath has begun.

IV. Officers of Ancient Synagogues.–Ancient synagogues did not have rabbis at their head, nor did participation in hierarchy and leadership depend on birth (such as the priestly line did). A mistaken idea sometimes found among Christians is that the rabbi was a priest: a priest had to be a descendant of Aaron, brother of Moses, of the tribe of Levi. (The name "Cohen," or some form of the word such as "Kahn," "Kahen," "Cohn," etc., indicates a descendant of the priestly line.) A rabbi could come from any segment of the community. Leadership rotated among influential and educated members in each community rather than being imposed by some overarching institution or system. In modern synagogues, communal influence and leadership are still great, but the rabbi (ordained man or woman appointed by the community in Conservative and Reform synagogues) is clearly the spiritual and practical head. Unlike ancient rabbis, modern Reform and Conservative rabbis receive a salary. Orthodox synagogues often continue the ancient tradition of having their rabbi earn his livelihood from some other occupation.

A. Head of the Synagogue. The synagogue was presided over by the head of the synagogue (*rō'š hakkᵉneseṯ*; Gk. *archisynágōgos* [Mk. 5:22], *árchōn tḗs synagōgḗs* [Lk. 8:41]; Mish. *Yoma* vii.1; *Sotah* vii.7f.). His duties included supervision of the services, maintaining order (Lk. 13:14), inviting a visitor to address the congregation (Acts 13:15), and handing the Scripture scroll from the hazzan to the one who was to read the lesson. The head of the synagogue ranked immediately below the scribes (T.B. *Pesahim* 49b; *Gittin* 60a). Recent inscriptional evidence indicates that in ancient Diaspora synagogues, women also were leaders (see Brooten, pp. 5-33).

B. Minister (Hazzan). The hazzan (or chazan, "attendant"; Heb. *ḥazzān*; Gk. *hypērétēs*, Lk. 4:20) was a paid employee who had charge of the synagogue, its contents, the copies of the Scriptures, and other appurtenances. In some cases he lived in the synagogue. He signaled the approach of sabbath from the roof of the synagogue by a threefold blast of the ram's horn (Tosephta *Sukkah* 4:11f.; T.B. *Shabbath* 35b), as well as the close of the sabbath. During the service, he took the sacred scroll from the ark and gave it to the reader; afterwards he returned it to the ark (Mish. *Sotah* vii.7f.; Lk. 4:20). He signaled the point at which the benediction was to be pronounced (*Siphre* Num. 39; T.B. *Sotah* 38a), and on fast days he gave the signal for blowing the trumpets (T.B. *Taanit* 16b; W. Bacher, "Synagogue," *HDB*, IV, 640f.). On occasion, when there were not enough readers, he read the lesson in part or entire, at which times another had to act as hazzan (Tosephta *Megillah* 4.227, 10). Sometimes he led in prayer (T.P. *Berakoth* 12b). Frequently, he had to serve as schoolmaster and also as interpreter (Mish. *Shabbath* i.3; cf. Moore, I, 317f.). He also served as an officer of the law court (Mish. *Makkoth* iii.12). His office was considered the lowest of the scribal offices. In the terminology of the modern synagogue, the hazzan is the cantor and also the *šᵉliaḥ ṣibbûr* who reads the Scripture. The person who fulfills the office previously called hazzan is now called the shamash (cf. Donin, pp. 195-198).

C. Others. The *elders* (Heb. *zᵉqēnîm*, Gk. *árchontes*, Lk. 7:3; Jn. 12:42; RSV "authorities") were the mainstays of the synagogue; from them the head of the synagogue was chosen. The *interpreter* (Heb. *metûrgᵉmān*) was responsible for interpreting the Scripture and the sermon, which meant not only translating it into the common language (if necessary), but expounding or explaining it (Mish. *Megillah* ii.3; cf. 1 Cor. 14:27f.). The *delegate* (Heb. *šᵉlîᵃḥ ṣibbûr*, "delegate of the community") recited the prayers aloud, standing in front of the holy ark to do so (Mish. *Berakoth* v.3f.; *Megillah* iv.3). (See discussion of modern terminology under IV.B above). *Men of leisure* (*baṭlānîm*) were used to form the required *minyan* (ten male adults) in communities where the pressures of business would otherwise make a daily service impossible (Mish. *Megillah* i.3).

V. Worship Service.–Worship in the synagogue comprised prayer and study. The focus on instruction is reflected in names for the synagogue: Ger. *Schule*, Yiddish *shul*. Any ten male adults constituted a sufficient congregation for worship. Any male could lead in prayer or read and translate Scripture (except for reading Esther, which was forbidden to minors). After the destruction of the temple, synagogue worship became a viable substitute for temple service, and was patterned accordingly. Temple sacrifices were offered in the morning, afternoon, and evening, hence synagogue worship convened at these times. On sabbath mornings the temple had an additional sacrifice, hence morning prayer in the synagogue had an

The Theodotus inscription from a second- or third-century synagogue. The translation reads in part: "Theodotus Vettanos, priest and synagogue leader, . . . built this synagogue for the purpose of the reading of the Law and for the instruction of the commandments of the Law" (translation from R. Mackowski, *Jerusalem* [1980], p. 26) (courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

additional sequence of prayers on the sabbath. Numerous details about synagogue worship appear in Mish. *Megillah* iv; many of these continue to this day. There are minor variations in the service, but in general the following outline applies.

A. Shema. The adult male Jew begins by putting on the prayer shawl (*ṭallîṭ*) with its fringes (*ṣîṣîṯ*) (T.B. *Menahot* 43b; *Nedarim* 25a; Nu. 15:38; Gk. *kráspeda,* Mt. 9:20; 23:5; Lk. 8:44), saying the proper prayers and meditations. Then the phylacteries (Aram. *tᵉpillîn*; Gk. *phylaktéria*, Mt. 23:5) are bound on the forehead and the left arm (Dt. 6:8). These are not worn on sabbaths and festivals, since sabbaths and festivals are in themselves signs of the covenant relationship. The head-phylactery contains four strips of parchment on which are written Ex. 13:1-10, 11-16; Dt. 6:4-9 and 11:13-21.

The Shema (Heb. *šᵉmaʿ*, "hear") consists of Dt. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; and Nu. 15:37-41 (Mish. *Berakoth* ii.2). However, at least twice each day, morning and evening (cf. Josephus *Ant.* iv.8.13 [212]), Jews proclaim simply the words, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One (*šᵉmaʿ yiśrāʾēl ʾᵃḏônāy ʾᵉlōhênû ʾᵃḏônāy ʾeḥāḏ*)," and many Jews recite these words additionally at other times. The Shema is preceded by the singing of Pss. 145-150 and may be preceded by recitation of the mourners' kaddish, a liturgical prayer recited by those in mourning.

B. Prayers Other Scriptures, especially Psalms, may be read. Then the Eighteen Benedictions (Heb. *šᵉmônēh ʿeśrêh*, T.B. *Berakoth* 28b) are recited (aloud, when a minyan is present) while the congregation stands, hence they are called the *ʿᵃmîḏâ*. The Eighteen Benedictions, also known as the Tefillah ("prayer," but in the Talmud, always the Eighteen Benedictions), are ascribed to the men of the Great Synagogue (T. B. *Megillah* 17b; T.P. *Berakoth* 4d). The order in which the Eighteen Benedictions are said was established by Rabban Gamaliel II (T.B. *Megillah* 17b; *Berakoth* 28b). A nineteenth, the birkat ha-minim ("blessing [= cursing] of the apostates," twelfth in the order designated in the Talmud), attributed to Samuel the Little, was added at the direction of Gamaliel, toward the close of the 1st cent. A.D. In its earliest form it may have read, "For apostates may there be no hope, and may the Nazarenes and the heretics suddenly perish" (Moore, I, 292 n. 8). The wording of this "blessing" changed several times, and debate continues about its object. In a modern form it reads, "For slanderers, let there be no hope. May all wickedness quickly perish. May all your enemies be cut off. May you speedily uproot the arrogant kingdom, and break it, crush it, and humble it speedily in our days. Blessed are you, O Lord, who breaks the enemies and humbles the arrogant" (S. Sandmel, *Judaism and Christian Beginnings* [1978], p. 149). Only the first three and the last three of the benedictions are recited on sabbaths and festivals, and the intervening thirteen are replaced by a single prayer which relates to the day and its observance.

After the Shemoneh Esreh follows the Tahanun ("petition"), which varies in form and length according to the day of the week. It is omitted on certain days (cf. Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book,* p. 104). Josephus noted, "At the sacrifices [in the temple] prayers for the common welfare come first, after them those for ourselves individually" (*CAp* ii.23 [196]). This order is followed in the "Lord's Prayer" (Mt. 6:10-13). Jewish prayers are almost always in the first person plural.

It is interesting that many of the prayers in the *Prayer Book* are in Aramaic, mixed with Hebrew. The rabbis believed that prayer should be in Hebrew. Thus Rab Judah: "Let a man never ask for what he needs in Aramaic," and R. Johanan: "Whoever asks for what he needs in the Aramaic language, the ministering angels do not ally themselves with Him, for the ministering angels do not understand the Aramaic language" (T.B. *Shabbath* 12b, *Sotah* 33a). R. Eliezer repudiated all fixed forms of prayer (Mish. *Berakoth* iv.4).

C. Scripture Readings. 1. Torah. The hazzan (IV.B) went to the holy ark, took out the Torah scroll, removed its cloth covering, opened it to the designated place, and put it on the table. A descendant of Aaron read first, then a Levite, and then five ordinary Israelites (T.B. *Gittin* 59b). Seven were to read on sabbath mornings; on Yom Kippur, six; on festival days, five; on the half-festival days of Passover and Sukkoth, four; and three on sabbath afternoons, Mondays, and Thursdays (cf. Mish. *Megillah* iv.1f.; Mondays and Thursdays were market days, when people came into the towns, hence were called *yᵉmê*

hakk^{e}ništâ ("synagogue days"). No one was to read less than three verses; nor was he to read more than one verse at a time to the interpreter (Mish. *Megillah* iv.4). Before the first reading and after the last the reader may offer a benediction. If only one person was able to read, he read the entire section (Tosephta *Megillah* iv.226). According to *Pesikta Rabbathi* 146, "When the Scriptures were read in Synagogue a translator stood beside the reader, and rendered the Hebrew into the vernacular. The reader was forbidden to take his eyes off the scroll — i.e., to improvise or trust to memory. . . . But the translator was forbidden to look into the scroll, since the Targum was oral."

The Torah was divided into a number of pericopes or readings (Heb. *pārāšâ*, pl. *pārāšîyôṯ*), arranged to take the reader consecutively through the Torah. A practical reason for this may have been the use of scrolls, which does not encourage the selection of random passages. The Babylonian custom was to read the Torah through in one year, the Torah being divided into fifty-four *pārāšîyôṯ*; the Palestinian custom was to read the Torah through in three (according to some, three-and-a-half) years, the passages variously counted as 153, 154, or 155 (T.B. *Megillah* 29a) or 175 (T.P. *Shabbath* xvi.1). The chapters and verses printed in Hebrew Bibles have no relationship to the pericopes, but were taken over from the Vulgate to facilitate references, particularly in a concordance. The readings are designated by the first word or words near the beginning of the pericope (e.g., the second *pārāšâ*, Gen. 12:1, is called *lēḵ l^{e}ḵâ*, "go") or by the general subject of the passage (e.g., the twenty-first *pārāšâ*, Ex. 30:11, is called *š^{e}qālîm*, "shekels," the ransom, v. 2). In printed Hebrew Bibles, the *pārāšîyôt* are indicated by three occurrences of the letter ס (transliterated *p*), written large, at the beginning of the pericope, and subdivisions are indicated by a smaller letter ס (*s*; a closed section) or ס (*p*; an open section). The modern custom is to read the Torah each year, reading two pericopes on certain sabbaths in order to complete the fifty-four *pārāšîyôt*. When festivals coincide with sabbath, the Scripture which is relevant to the festival is read instead of the portion for the week. Completion of reading through the Torah is marked by Simḥat Torah, the ninth day of Sukkoth, a joyous celebration emphasizing the commencement of the reading of the Torah anew, more than the completion of the cycle of readings.

2. Haftarah. After the Torah scroll is returned to the holy ark, a portion of the Prophets is read; this is the Haftarah (Heb. *haṭṭārâ*, "conclusion," pl. *haṭṭārôṯ*). Usually the passage from the Prophets contains some reference to the events or occasion of the portion from the Torah. The reading of Haftaroth is traced to the time of persecution preceding the Hasmonean revolt, when reading the Torah was prohibited; Haftarah is mentioned in the Mishnah and the Tosephta (cf. Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book*, pp. 373f., note). When reading from the Prophets, the reader could read three verses to the interpreter, and he was permitted to leave out verses in the Prophets, but not in the Torah (Mish. *Megillah* iv.4). Jesus was probably reading a Haftarah in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk. 4:16-20).

3. Festival Readings. On festival days (Passover, Weeks, Sukkoth, Atonement, Dedication, Purim), New Years, New Moons, fast days, and the four sabbaths preceding the month of Nisan, portions of the Torah relevant to the day were appointed (Mish. *Megillah* iii.4-6).

4. Psalms. Even a cursory perusal of the *Daily Prayer Book* will indicate to some degree the use of Psalms in Jewish worship. From the large number of manuscripts of Psalms found at Qumrân and from the number of quotations of Psalms found in the NT, it is clear that Psalms were used extensively toward the close of the Second Temple period (as they probably were throughout that period). Similarly, the Christian Church has made the Psalter an important part of worship.

D. Benediction. There are many benedictions said by Jews, as the *Prayer Book* records (besides the Shemoneh Esreh, nineteen blessings are given in Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book*, pp. 774-78, and other blessings are included throughout). But at the end of the synagogue service, the priestly benediction (Nu. 6:24-26) is pronounced, in Hebrew, in three sections, with the people saying "Amen" after each (Mish. *Sotah* vii.6). The divine name was pronounced "Adonai" ("Lord"; *Siphre* on Nu. par. 29 — but in the temple it was pronounced as written, probably *Yah^{a}wê*; Mish. *Sotah* vii.6; *Yoma* vi.2), the priests who were present lifting their hands as high as their shoulders (cf. 1 Tim. 2:8). Certain Galileans were not allowed to speak the blessing, because their pronounciations of the gutturals could be misleading (T.B. *Megillah* 24b; cf. Mk. 14:70).

E. Sermon. The synagogue service had a twofold purpose: to praise the Lord and to educate the people. From ancient times, a homily, an exposition of Scripture or sermon drawn from it, was part of the service. While it is not to be supposed that the sermon and Haggadah (*see* TALMUD VI) are synonymous terms, much can probably be learned of early Jewish homiletic from Haggadah. MIDRASH is the exposition of Scripture; it consists of Halakah, the study of the requirements of the Law, and Haggadah, illustrations of the teachings in stories, parables, and ethical sayings (cf. Neusner, pp. 177, 180). Haggadah ranges widely, using Scripture and observations from life. It seeks to make the scriptural text interesting and nonformal. To judge from the NT, the emphasis of the Jerusalem scholars was Halakic while the emphasis of Jesus was Haggadic (cf. Mt. 12:1-45).

The sermon could be given by anyone in the synagogue; usually it would be given only by one who had already devoted some study and thought to the text or by a visiting rabbi. There was no requirement that either the preacher or the interpreter be ordained, although later this was required for the preacher. The *Pesikta* gives illustrations of sermons. The sermon was part of the service in NT times, as evidenced by the message given by Jesus (Lk. 4:21-27) and by Paul's practice of commencing his work in each city by going to the synagogue (cf. Acts 13:15-41). Philo's description is helpful: "He [Moses] required them to assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant of them. . . . But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon. . . . And so they do not resort to persons learned in the law with questions as to what they should do or not do, nor yet by keeping independent transgress in ignorance of the law, but any one of them whom you attack with inquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily. The husband seems competent to transmit knowledge of the laws to his wife, the father to his children, the master to his slaves" (*Apologia pro Iudaeis* vii.12-14, Loeb translation).

In a sense, the interpretation was a commentary on the scriptural passage. The *m^{e}ṯûrg^{e}mān* was to interpret the passage, verse by verse into the language of the people (Aramaic in the East, Greek in Alexandria and the West). This interpretation consisted of *p^{e}šaṭ*, "translation, the plain sense" (T.B. *Erubin* 23b), and *d^{e}raš*, "exegesis,

expansion to situations other than the original." As every translator knows, a strictly literal translation often becomes meaningless, whereas a loose paraphrase may become fanciful. In dealing with the word of God, the Jewish translator sought to be faithful to the original meaning while at the same time making it applicable to current needs. The task is always difficult. Rabbi Judah ben Ilai said, "He who translates a verse literally is a liar, and he who adds to it is a blasphemer" (Tosephta *Megillah* iv.41; T.B. *Kiddushin* 49a). *See* TARGUM.

VI. Other Uses of the Synagogue.–A. School. The date of the establishment of the school as an institution among Jews is a disputed point. Some place it in the 3rd cent. B.C. (cf. Moore, I, 312). Jose ben Joezer (*ca.* 200-162 B.C.) said, "Let thy house be a regular meeting place [Heb. *bêṯ wa'aḏ*] for learned men" (Mish. *Aboth* i.4); the term *bêṯ wa'aḏ* was later replaced by the term *bêṯ hammiḏrāš*, found (in Greek translation) as early as Jesus ben Sirach (Sir. 51:23; *ca.* 180 B.C.). But the office of scribe is traced back to Ezra (Ezr. 7:6), who "set his heart to study the Torah . . . and to teach in Israel" (v. 10).

But in some ways the discussion is academic: teaching the Law to children was part of Israelite religion from the time of Moses (Dt. 6:7). The first school was the home. The first textbook was the Hebrew Bible. When a father took his son to the synagogue — whatever date we put on its beginning — it is certain that the teaching of the son was part of the religious experience. At some date, the synagogue began to be used as a school for training young boys, and in many cases the teacher was the hazzan. At some date, a separate part of the synagogue or an adjoining building became the house of study (*bêṯ hammiḏrāš*), and the learned scribe or rabbi taught young disciples, some of whom in turn became rabbis (teachers). According to a statement in the Talmud (patently hyperbolical), "There were 400 synagogues in Bethar [the capital of Judea in the time of Bar Cochba], and in each of these there were 400 teachers, each with 400 children under his instruction" (T.B. *Gittin* 58a).

B. Community Center. The rule forbidding eating in synagogues (T.B. *Megillah* 28a) presumes that synagogues had been used as social gathering-places. Mention of meals is found in several references (*Gen. Rabbah* 65; T. P. *Berakoth* 11c), and in Babylonia travelers had lodging and sabbath meals in the synagogue (T.B. *Pesahim* 101a). Dining halls are mentioned in the inscriptions of some ancient synagogues (cf. Levine, ed., p. 3). Under certain circumstances, the stranger and the poor could be fed there (*Pesikta* 101a). Mourning for a man of standing in the community was held in the synagogue (Tosephta *Megillah* ii.225.2), and even for the daughter-in-law of a Babylonian Amora (T.B. *Megillah* 28b; cf. *HDB*, IV, 642b). As a community center, the synagogue also served for the collecting, depositing, and dispersing of money, usually for the purpose of charity. It frequently served as a residence for synagogue officials such as the hazzan.

To Christians, who sometimes think of church as a once-a-week event, it may come as a new idea that the synagogue was an everyday event. Philo, e.g., lists ten feasts recorded in the law. "The first, the mention of which may perhaps cause some surprise, is the feast of every day" (*De specialibus legibus* ii.41 [ch. 11], Loeb translation). (The *Prayer Book* has serices for every morning and evening, as well as special services for sabbaths and holy days.) In communities where numerous small synagogues may be found in proximity, men and their sons may be seen going to the house of prayer on any day. If a minyan is not present, a person or a few persons may have an informal or even personal service of prayers and Scripture reading.

When synagogues became larger, in antiquity and also in recent centuries, the scope of community activities was made broader. The huge synagogue at Sardis (4th-7th cents.) measuring approximately 20 by 80 m. (66 by 264 ft.) is an early example of this tendency. A modern synagogue or temple may consist of a complex of buildings that occupy a large part of a city block, with activities of all sorts taking place every day of the week.

C. Court of Law. Questions of law were decided in the synagogue (T.P. *Sanhedrin* 18a; T.B. *Yebamoth* 65a). A person could be banned (Heb. *hērem*, Gk. *anáthema, aposynágōgos*, T.B. *Moed Katan* 16a; Jn. 9:22; 12:42; 16:2; 1 Cor. 16:22), or temporarily excluded (Heb. *niddûy*, Gk. *aphorízein*, Mish. *Moed Katan* iii.1f.; Mish. *Taanith* ii.8; Lk. 6:22), or given a public reprimand (T.B. *Moed Katan* 16a; *Shabbath* 115a). The decision of *shammata*, handing over to desolation (Gk. *paradoúnai tṓ satanâ*, 1 Cor. 5:5), could be decreed (T.B. *Moed Katan* 17a; cf. Josephus *BJ* ii.8.8 [143-144]). Corporal punishment, consisting of forty stripes (Dt. 25:3; to prevent transgressing by miscounting, only thirty-nine were inflicted), could be administered for rebelling against rabbinic authorities (Mish. *Nazir* iv.3; 2 Cor. 11:25); it was administered by the hazzan (Mish. *Makkoth* iii.12; Tosephta *Makkoth* v.444:29, 31). The officers of a synagogue could serve as a local sanhedrin (Gk. *synédrion*, RSV "council," cf. Mt. 5:22; 10:17; Mk. 13:9) or *bêṯ dîn* ("house of judgment").

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W. S. LASOR T. C. ESKENAZI

SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT. In Jewish tradition, an assembly or council of learned men convened originally by Ezra, which played a significant role in the development of the OT canon and other features of Judaism.

The first mention of the "men of the Great Synagogue [Heb. *kᵉneseṯ haggᵉḏôlâ*]" is from the Mishnah (*ca.* A.D. 200). Mish. *Aboth* i.1 states, "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue." It is thought to have consisted originally of 120 men, although some rabbinic sources place the number at eighty-five. Ezra's leadership at the great assembly described in Neh. 8–10 became the basis in later rabbinic sources for regarding him as the founder and leader of the Great Synagogue. The translation of *kᵉneseṯ haggᵉḏôlâ* as "the Great

Synagogue" is unfortunate, since the term indicates a Great Assembly rather than connoting a building (see G. F. Moore). Furthermore, the reference to Gk. *megálē synagōgḗ* in 1 Macc. 14:28 signifies a great gathering rather than any kind of formal institution.

Talmudic sources ascribe to the men of the Great Synagogue four main accomplishments: (1) They collected certain canonical Scriptures, including Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, and the twelve Minor Prophets (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 15a; a later comm. on the Mishnah also mentions Proverbs, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes). (2) They instituted benedictions and prayers, including those for beginning and ending the sabbath (T.B. *Berakoth* 33a). (3) They classified Jewish learning into three main categories: Midrash, Halakah, and Haggadah (T.P. *Shekalim* 48c). (4) They established the festival of Purim (T.B. *Megillah* 2a).

The reliability of the traditions about the Great Synagogue has been a matter of considerable scholarly debate. On one extreme are those who have linked the Great Synagogue with the official Jewish government under the high priest in Jerusalem. Others have argued that it was a late invention and never existed as a formal institution. Skepticism has focused largely on the fact that this body is not mentioned in the Bible, nor in the Apocrypha, Josephus, or Philo. Furthermore, the Talmudic sages show considerable confusion about the period from the return from exile until the conquest of Alexander the Great. Illustrative of this is the reference to Simeon the Just as "of the remnants of the Great Synagogue" (i.e., one of its last leaders; Mish. *Aboth* i.2); he has sometimes been identified with Simeon II, high priest *ca.* 200 B.C., although many scholars have identified him with Simeon I son of Onias, high priest *ca.* 300 B.C. (cf. T.B. *Yoma* 69b).

Although the historical evidence connecting Ezra with the institution of a formal assembly is tenuous at best, the tradition should not be totally dismissed. Most likely it is grounded in some historical memory that perhaps goes back to the great convocation of Neh. 8–10. It appears that between the time of Ezra (*ca.* 450 B.C.) and Simeon the Just, a period of at least a century and a half, a loosely formed council of religious leaders (probably scribes) gathered on certain occasions to give theological and legal direction to the postexilic Jewish community. The limited nature of the evidence makes it unwise to draw further conclusions.

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SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN. *See* SATAN, SYNAGOGUE, OF.

SYNAGOGUE OF THE FREEDMEN. *See* FREEDMEN, SYNAGOGUE OF THE.

SYNAGOGUE OF THE LIBERTINES. *See* FREEDMEN, SYNAGOGUE OF THE.

SYNECDOCHE sə-nek'də-kē. An indirect mode of expression, often used in rhetoric, whereby the whole is put for the part, or the part for the whole. Typical examples of this figure of speech occurring in the Bible are "for they have come under the shelter of *my roof* [my house]" (Gen. 19:8), and "How beautiful upon the mountains are *the feet of him* [the messenger] who brings good tidings" (Isa. 52:7). C. N. JEFFORD

SYNOPSIS. This term, as applied to study of the Gospels, refers to works that juxtapose the texts of the Gospels in such a way that their interrelationships can be examined, with special reference to their parallelisms, similarities, and differences in respect to content, arrangement of data, and mode of expression. The term is frequently used in connection with the first three Gospels because of their shared view (synoptic) of words and events. Unlike a work such as Tatian's (*ca.* A.D. 175; *see* HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS, a concept borrowed from music by A. Osiander [1537] to highlight his exhibition of agreements among the four Evangelists), which conflates the four Gospels, most synopses preserve the integrity of each Gospel. The earliest example of this approach is the work of Ammonius of Alexandria. Eusebius then developed an ingenious system for noting and cross-referencing narrative units in the four Gospels (cf. F. Danker, pp. 38-42). Notable among the many harmonies that were produced before the 18th cent. is the *Harmonia evangelica* by J. Le Clerc (1699), whose general order is followed by E. Robinson, *Harmony of the Gospels in Greek* (1834).

The first modern work is that of J. Griesbach, whose *Synopsis evangeliorum* (1776) features Matthew, Mark, and Luke. W. de Wette and F. Lücke (*Synopsis evangeliorum* [1818]) endeavored to achieve greater clarity in presenting the sequence of each of the first three Gospels. The first to display the material common to the three Evangelists ("triple tradition") in the order presented by Mark is W. Rushbrooke, *Synopticon* (1880). A. Huck's *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien* (1892) exhibits Rushbrooke's emphasis on Mark, but the 3rd edition (1906) presents the Gospel texts in parallel columns without reference to assumed priority; H. Lietzmann and H. Opitz revised the work in 1936; and H. Greeven's "fundamentally revised" 13th edition (1981) incorporates the Johannine parallels. A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek* (1896), assumed an oral hypothesis and analyzed the Gospel tradition into five "primitive sources": Mark, logia of Jesus, special Luke, fragments, and Infancy narratives. Through typographical arrangement in *Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in Greek* (1920), E. Burton and E. Goodspeed focused attention on details of diction and phraseology and spurred consideration of the special character of Synoptic textual criticism. A systematic effort to apply quantitative methodology to Synoptic study marks B. de Solages's *Synopse Grecque des Évangiles* (1959). With K. Junack assisting him, K. Aland produced *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (1964), which exhibited parallels from apocryphal and patristic texts; the work has gone through numerous editions, including especially the 9th (1976), which is adapted to the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland Greek NT. In reaction to what he considered a bias in the direction of priority for Mark, B. Orchard based his *Synopsis of the Four Gospels, in Greek* (1983) on the two-Gospel hypothesis.

Synopses in English include W. Stevens and E. Burton, *Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study* (1892; the rev. edition of this work, by Burton and Goodspeed, underlies the arrangement of their Greek text [1920] cited above); H. Sharman, *Records of the Life of Jesus* (1917); and H. Throckmorton, *Gospel Parallels: A Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (3rd rev. ed. 1967), which is modeled after Huck-Lietzmann, but based on the RSV. H. Sparks supplemented *Synopsis of the Gospels: The Synoptic Gospels with the Johannine Parallels* (1964) with a companion volume, *The Gospel According to St. John with the Synoptic Parallels* (1974), both based on the RV. In R. Swanson's *Horizontal Line Synopsis* (1975), which

departs from the columnar arrangement, students can see at a glance the precise points of similarity or dissimilarity in the accounts. The RSV text of each Gospel is presented in sequence, with the other Gospels arranged in relation to it. The pilot volume of a Greek edition based on the same principles appeared in 1982 (Matthew). Orchard's English language edition (1982) of his synopsis in Greek contains the translation of his own reconstructed text. P. Benoit and M. Boismard include noncanonical parallels in *Synopse des quatre évangiles en Français avec parallèles des apocryphes et des pères* (I, *Textes*, 1965; II, *Commentaire*, 1972), which is drawn largely from the text of *La Bible de Jérusalem* (JB). R. Funk's *New Gospel Parallels*, I, *The Synoptic Gospels* (1985) was designed to assist in narrative analysis of the Gospels by featuring paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimensions. Analogous to synopses of the Gospels is *Pauline Parallels* (2nd ed. 1984), compiled by F. O. Francis and J. P. Sampley with a view to displaying similarity of letter structure, form, and theme or image within the Pauline corpus.

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F. W. DANKER

SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. *See* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC.

SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. *See* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC II.

SYNTYCHE sin'ti-kē [Gk. *Syntychē*–'fortunate'] (Phil. 4:2). A Christian woman, possibly a deaconess, in the church of Philippi. Paul entreated her and another prominent woman in the Philippian church, EUODIA, to reach an agreement over some matter that they had been discussing. The nature of their disagreement is not known, but there is no reason to suppose it was a "quarrel." Considering the place that these two women seem to have had in the Philippian congregation, they may have disagreed over some practical or theological issue affecting the church. That two women were prominent in the Philippian church is not surprising, since according to Acts 16 the gospel was first preached in Philippi to women gathered in a "place of prayer" (probably a synagogue, v. 13), and evidently the first converts gathered in the house of Lydia (vv. 15, 40), who was one of those women converted. Paul also refers to Syntyche and Euodia as among those who "labored" (Gk. *synathléō*) with him in the gospel, which indicates that they worked as missionaries with Paul while he was in Philippi and probably also in other areas.

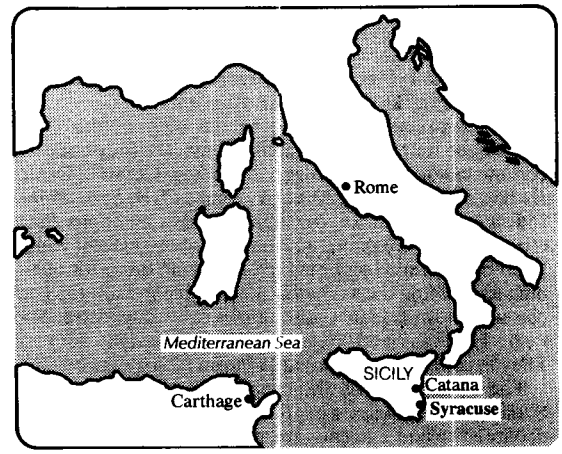
K. E. CORLEY

SYNZYGUS. *See* YOKEFELLOW.

SYRACUSE sēr'ə-kūs [Gk. *Syrakousai*; Lat. *Syracusae*; Italian *Siracusa*]. A city on the east coast of Sicily, about midway between Catana and the southeastern extremity of the island; Paul stopped there three days on his voyage from Malta to Rome (Acts 28:12).

Syracuse was the most brilliant Greek colony in the western Mediterranean area. The original Corinthian colony founded in 734 B.C. (Thucydides vi.3) was confined to the small island Ortygia, which separates the great harbor from the sea. Later the city spread over the promontory lying N of Ortygia and the harbor.

Syracuse assumed a preeminent position in the affairs of Sicily under the rule of the tyrants Gelon (485-478 B.C.; cf. Herodotus vii.154f.) and Hieron (478-467). It flourished greatly after the establishment of popular government in 466 (Diodorus xi.668-672). The Syracusans successfully withstood the famous siege by the Athenians in 414, the narrative of which is the most thrilling part of Thucydides's history (vi–vii).



Dionysus the Elder took advantage of the fear inspired by the Carthaginians to elevate himself to despotic power in 405; he reigned for thirty-eight years and was succeeded by his son of the same name. Although democratic government was restored by Timoleon after civil dissensions in 344 (Plutarch *Timoleon*), it was not of long duration.

The most famous later ruler was the wise Hieron II (275-216), a steady ally of the Romans. But his grandson and successor Hieronymos switched allegiance to Carthage, an act that led to the celebrated siege of the city by the Romans under Marcellus and its fall in 212 (Livy xxiv.21-33). Henceforth Syracuse was the capital of the Roman province of Sicily. Cicero called it "the greatest of Greek cities and the most beautiful of all cities" (Cicero *In Verrem* iv.52).

The extant Greek ruins of Syracuse include the temple of Apollo (*ca.* 500 B.C.), the temple of Athena (*ca.* 470 B.C.) in which a Christian cathedral was built *ca.* A.D. 640, a theater, the foundation of Hieron II's great altar, and parts of a large fortress of Dionysus. There are also extensive Roman remains: private houses, an amphitheater built probably by Augustus, and Christian catacombs.

G. H. ALLEN

SYRIA sēr'ē-ə; **SYRIAN** ser'ē-ən [Heb. *'ărām;* often rendered in the LXX by Gk. *Syria*, whence Vulg., AV, etc., "Syria" (cf. 2 S. 8:6)]. The area occupied by a loose federation of Aramean (Syrian) villages and city-states; the people of that area.

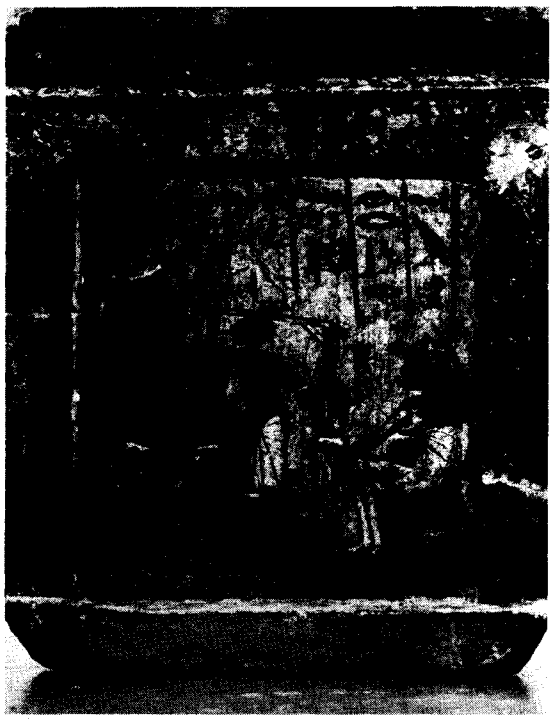
I. Definition
II. Names
  A. Sutû
  B. Aḫlamê
  C. Aram, Arameans
  D. Syria, Syrians
  E. Aram-naharaim, Naharin
  F. Amurrû
  G. Chaldea, Chaldean
III. Geography
  A. Coastal Region
  B. Steppe
  C. Desert
  D. River Valleys

E. Biota
1. Flora
2. Fauna
F. Climate
IV. History
A. Before 2200 B.C.
1. Neolithic Age
2. Chalcolithic Age
3. Early Bronze Age
B. From *ca.* 2200 to *ca.* 1200 B.C.
1. Semitic "Invasions"
2. Rise of Empires
3. Relation to the Patriarchal Narratives
C. From *ca.* 1200 to the Christian Era
1. Arameans
2. Assyrians
3. Babylonians
4. Persian and Hellenistic Periods
a. Persian Period
b. Conquest by Alexander
c. Diadochoi
5. Romans
D. In the Christian Era
1. To the Moslem Conquest
2. Since the Moslem Conquest

I. Definition.–In this article, "Syria" refers in general to the region N and NE of Palestine to the Euphrates and extending into the land between the Euphrates and Habor (Khābûr) rivers ("Aram-naharaim"). Since only a loose federation of tribes existed in biblical times, there were no exact boundaries. The term "Syria" as used here is not to be confused with the modern Republic of Syria, and has no intended political implications. The term "Arameans," which is to be preferred to "Syrians," refers to the peoples who occupied all or portions of that region in antiquity, who are mentioned at various points in the biblical narratives as well as in other ancient Near Eastern literature, down to the end of the biblical period.

II. Names.–*A. Sutû.* The term *Sutû(m)* or *Sutiû(m)*) occurs in cuneiform records over a considerable period of time. Sargon I mentions "the Sutû, desert folk," who had seized lands along the Euphrates (*ARAB*, I, § 68). The Mari Letters describe the *Sutûm* or *Sutêm* (*su-te-em* and *su-di-e-em*) as nomads spread along the Euphrates from Terqa to Yabliqa (cf. *ARM*, XV, 133). Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) referred to the "Suti-people" in connection with his campaign against the Arabs and Egyptians (*ANET*, p. 293). In the Amarna Letters, Sutû are nomadic tribesmen in Egyptian service (Am.Tab. 297:16). These are possibly the same as the *sṯtyw* of Egyptian documents from early dynastic times. The repeated references of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) of Assyria to the Sutû and the problems he had with them (cf. *ARAB*, II, §§ 31-39, *passim*) coincide well with the activity of the Arameans in the 8th century.

B. Aḫlamê. Like the term "Sutû," the term "Aḫlamê" ("Akhlame") was used over a considerable period of time. Although it has been asserted that the word occurs from the mid-3rd millennium, the earliest certain references are in the Amarna Letters (*aḫ-la-ma-u*, Am.Tab. 200:10; *aḫ-la-ma-i*, Am.Tab. 200:8), a broken text that offers no details, and in the records of Adadnirari I (1307-1275 B.C.), who refers to "the hordes of the Ahlami and Suti, the Iauri and their lands, who enlarged boundary and frontier" (*ARAB*, I, § 73). Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) told of his conquest of "Shattuara, king of Hani[galbat], the army of Hittites and Ahlami with him" (*ARAB*, I, § 116). But it was Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077 B.C.) who identified the Aḫlamai with the Arameans (*ARAB*, I, § 239). He further recorded, "Twenty-eight times (I fought) the Ahlamu peoples," stating that he defeated them from Tadmar of Amurru, Anat of Suḫu, as far as Rapiqu of Kar-Duniash (Babylonia) (*ANET*, p. 275). As late as Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) we find a reference to the Aḫlamû and the Sutû (*ARAB*, II, § 325).



A Syrian warrior and his Egyptian wife sitting on stools; he is sipping a drink through a reed straw. Painted limestone from Tell el-Amarna, 1380-1362 B.C. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, Ägyptisches Museum 14 122)

C. Aram, Arameans. Aram is listed as the fifth son of Shem and the father (or progenitor) of Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash (Gen. 10:22f.). English versions often use the words "Syria" and "Syrians" to translate Heb. *ʾărām*. The Arameans appear first in extrabiblical records in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. It is possible to translate *bn ʾrmy* as "son of the Aramean"; if so, the word occurs in Ugaritic (cf. *UT*, p. 366, no. 362, text 321:III:22).

D. Syria, Syrians. The word *su-rí-a* occurs in an Ebla tablet (no. 33 reverse, col. 5, line 9; cf. G. Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L.2769* [1980], p. 226) containing a list of materials consigned to certain persons and places. Since the determinative ^{ki}, regularly used in this document to indicate a place name, does not occur after this word, it is not at all certain that the reference is to Syria. The word *su-úr-ri* occurs at Mari (*ARM*, I, 39.11) in a passage reading "his tell, *surri*, is lofty, his wall is great." The editor has taken the word as haplography for *<as>surri*, "assuredly." The location was in Allatru (tablet 39, lines 5, 7), which was ESE of Harran (*ARM*, XV, 120). According to P. K. Hitti (p. 58), a northern Euphrates region was known to the Babylonians as SU.RI, and he calls attention to the term ^{mat}*su-ri* in the Amarna Letters (Am.Tab. 108:17, usually emended to read ^{mat}*su-<ba>-ri* to conform to Am.Tab. 109:40).

Herodotus (5th cent. B.C.) used the Greek word *Syria* to include Ascalon and Phoenicia (i.105), and referred to "the Palestine part of Syria" (ii.106). Discussing the prov-

inces established by Darius, he mentioned a location "on the Cilician and Syrian border" (iii.91). Herodotus appears to have been responsible for deriving "Syrians" from "Assyrians" (vii.63), an etymology challenged by modern scholars (cf. Hitti, p. 58; Gk. *Syrioi* appears in Nu. 24:22 LXX B* to translate Heb. *'aššûr*).

E. Aram-naharaim, Naharin. In the account of seeking a wife for Isaac (Gen. 24), Abraham sent his servant to Aram-naharaim, usually translated "Mesopotamia" (but NIV "Aram Naharaim" [24:10]). The literal meaning is "Aram of two rivers," and has often been taken to refer to the Tigris and Euphrates, hence Mesopotamia. More accurately it refers to the triangular area between the great curve of the Euphrates and the Khābûr (Habor) rivers. Later this was the land of the Mitanni, called "Naharin" by the Egyptians (A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* [1962], pp. 178, 194; *CAH*, II/2 [3rd ed. 1975], 8). The well-watered valleys of NE Syria and the coastal region form part of the Fertile Crescent.

F. Amurrû. The Akkadian word *amurrû*, "western," was possibly derived from Sum. MAR.TU, and was used from Old Akkadian on for the west and the people of the west (*CAD*, I/2, 92-94). Gudea of Lagash (*ca.* 2160 B.C.) brought marble from a mountain of Amurru (G. A. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* [1929], pp. 184f.). Tiglath-pileser I referred to the Mediterranean as "the great sea of Amurru" (*ARAB*, I, § 271) and mentioned "Tadmar of Amurru" (§ 287). In another place he recorded, "Amurru in its entirety I conquered" and claimed to have received tribute from Gubal (Byblos), Sidon, and Arvad (§ 302). Amurru, then, stretched at least from Tadmor (Palmyra) to Sidon. As late as the time of Ashurbanipal (669-627 B.C.), we find references to the land or the kings of Amurru (II, § 870). Studies of the Amorite language are just beginning, at the time of this writing. The statement in the Table of Nations, that "Canaan became the father of . . . the Amorites" (Gen. 10:15f.), has not yet been fully understood (*see* AMORITES II.B). But it is certain that the Amorites were a West Semitic people, and it is probable that "Amurru" had approximately the same meaning as "Syria" (cf. *CAH*, I/2 (3rd ed. 1971), 562-65).

G. Chaldea, Chaldean. The Aramaic language of the Bible was sometimes called "Chaldee," as was the Syriac dialect. As a result, Chaldea and Chaldean are sometimes confused with Aramaic and Aramean. *See* CHALDEA.

III. Geography.—Strabo (1st cent. B.C.) described Syria as consisting of Cilicia, Mt. Amanus, Commagene, and the Seleucias of Syria; then Coelesyria, and Phoenicia on the coast and Judea in the interior (*Geog.* xvi.2.2). This approximates the region covered by this article, except that here Palestine is excluded, and the region to the Euphrates, and at certain periods portions lying beyond the Euphrates, are included. In modern terms, all of Lebanon and Syria, and portions of Turkey and Iraq are included.

This region can be divided into four zones: the coastal region, the steppe, the desert, and the river valleys of Aram-naharaim.

A. Coastal Region. Syria has a narrow coast, interrupted by several spurs of mountains (for details *see* PHOENICIA II). East of the coastal plain lies a range of mountains, broken by river valleys. In the north lie the Amanus Mountains and the plain of the Orontes, then Jebel Anṣariyya (en-Nuṣairiyah), also called Jebel Alawite, and then the Lebanon range. The mountains rise to elevations varying from 610 to 3088 m. (2000 to 10,131 ft.), the highest range being the Lebanon (*see* LEBANON).

The Great Rift, which extends from the KaraSu, a river valley E of the Amanus range in modern Turkey, to Victoria Falls at the southern border of Zambia (cf. *GB* [rev. ed. 1974], pp. 22-24), has left its mark in Syria, in the form of a valley between the coastal mountain range and the steppes (*see* PALESTINE IV.A.6). Most notable is the Beqa' Valley (*el-Biqâ'*) between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. The Orontes River (Nahr el-'Âṣi) rises N of Baalbek at an elevation of 1149 m. (3770 ft.), makes its way through marshes, then flows northward through the Ghâb to the plain of Antioch (the Amq or Amuq plain; Unqi of Assyrian records), where it is joined by the KaraSu; then it bends sharply to the west to flow into the Mediterranean (cf. L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* [1953], pp. 17-23). It provides water for the cities in the valley, often by means of huge water-driven wheels and aqueducts. Not far south of the source of the Orontes the Leontes (Nahr Līṭânni) River arises. Flowing south in the Beqa', then turning west through a gorge, it receives the name Nahr el-Qāṣimiyeh, and empties into the Mediterranean between Sidon and Tyre. The coast has few natural harbors. The portion of Syria with the hollow between the mountain ranges was known as Coelesyria ("hollow Syria") (*Macmillan Bible Atlas* [rev. ed. 1977], maps 201, 203; Strabo *Geog.* xvi.2.21, Josephus *Ant.* i.11.5 [206]; xiii.13.2f. [355f.]). The term came to include more than the original hollow between the Lebanon ranges.

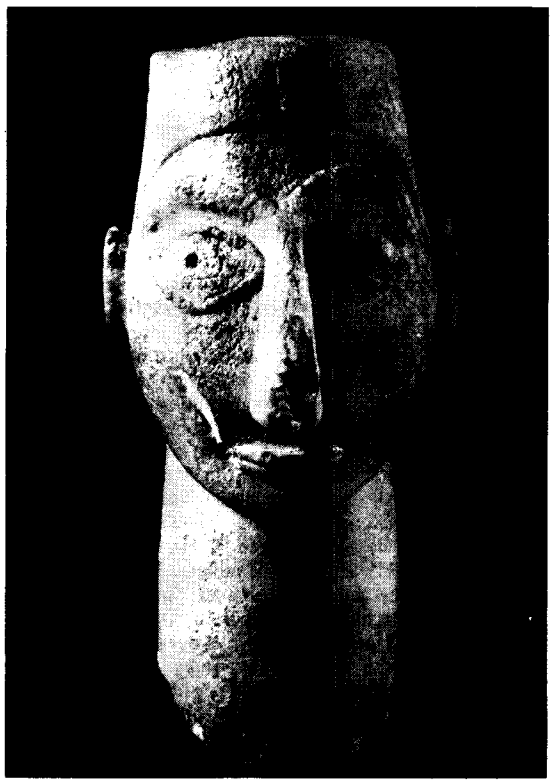
B. Steppe. Since the desert (see III.C below) is steppe rather than sand, the distinction is sometimes made between the cultivated steppe and the desert steppe. Of course, the cultivated steppe depends upon irrigation, and includes the wheat zone and principal agricultural regions. Cities grew up around these areas, including Aleppo, Ebla, Homs, Hamath, and Damascus. Similar sites along the upper Euphrates, the Balîkh, the Khābûr, and other tributaries to the Euphrates, were of importance in antiquity, and the region described as Aram-naharaim (see II.E. above) was the location of significant populations.

C. Desert. The Syrian Desert, an extension of the Arabian Desert (en-Nafud; *see* ARABIA III.A), is the region of nomads and seminomads. It lies at an elevation of 300 to 500 m. (985 to 1640 ft.) and includes several mountainous regions. Sheep can graze during winter, but the shepherds move them to less arid regions when summer comes. There were several oases, and the desert is crisscrossed by caravan routes, which were determined by the location of such water supplies. One of the best known of these oases was TADMOR (Palmyra).

D. River Valleys. The valleys of the coastal region have been considered (see III.A above). The most important inland river in Syria was the EUPHRATES, which rises in eastern Turkey, flows SW, then makes a great bend to flow SE, ultimately emptying into the Persian Gulf. We are concerned here only with the upper Euphrates valley and its tributaries.

Within the area formed by the upper Euphrates and the upper Tigris (which also rises in Turkey, not far from the source of the Euphrates) are numerous tributaries to the Euphrates, the most significant being the Balîkh and the Khābûr. This area is known as the Jezireh (Arab. *ǧazîrah*, "island, peninsula"). In this region were located such sites as Harran, Tell Halâf, Tell Chagar Bazar, and Tell Brâk. On the Euphrates were such important cities as Urshu, Carchemish, Tirqa, Mari, Tuttul (Hit), and Rapiqum.

E. Biota. 1. Flora. Lemon and orange trees grow along the coast; yew, lime, and fir trees grow on the mountain slopes, except where garigue and maquis form dense scrub areas. The cedars of Lebanon are famous from remote historical antiquity. Grains, grapevines, olives, apricots, oaks, and poplars are found in coastal and inland valleys. Forests are found particularly in Jebel Alawite.



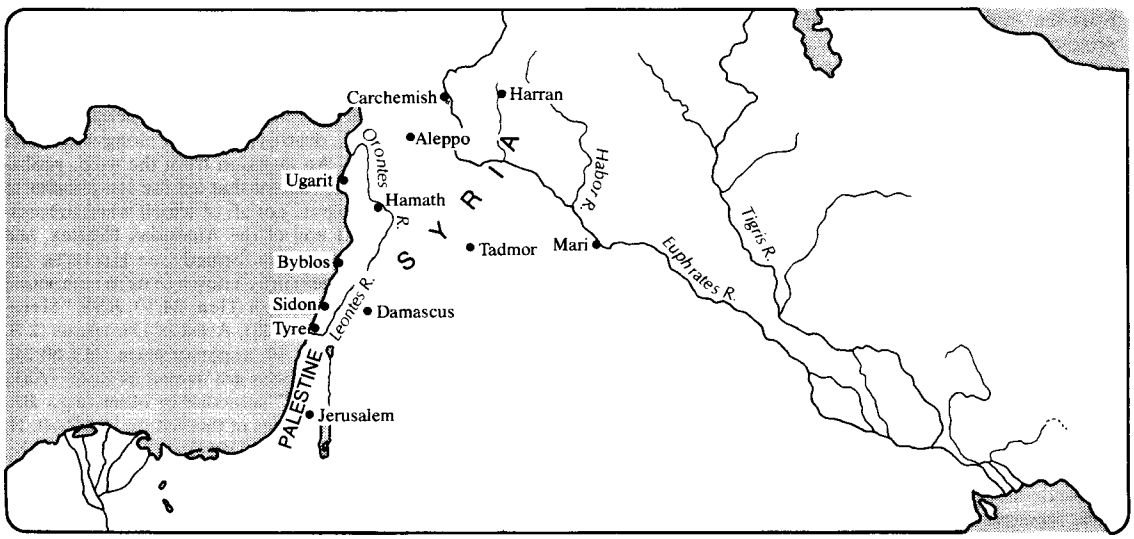
A white alabaster head found in the temple at Tell Brak in the Khābûr Valley (*ca.* 2800 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Flowering plants cover the steppe at the end of the rainy season, but quickly die with the coming of summer, casting their seeds for the next rainy season. Many varieties of fruit orchards are found in cultivated areas around Damascus, Aleppo, and along the Orontes. A number of vegetables and fruit trees were introduced into Syria in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Hitti, pp. 48-52).

2. *Fauna.* In antiquity there were wild animals such as are reported in Assyrian annals and portrayed on wall reliefs. Today there are wolves, hyenas, foxes, jackals, badgers, and wild boar, but larger game are not found. Deer, bears, and squirrels are also found, and desert animals such as the gazelle and jerboa, as well as vipers, lizards, and chameleons are common. The mule is the common beast of burden in the mountains, and the camel in the steppe. Evidence of domestication of the camel is found at Tell el-Ḥalaf (*ca.* 3000-2900 B.C.) and at Byblos (*ca.* 2500 B.C.; cf. Hitti, pp. 52f.). Eagles, kites, falcons, and buzzards are found in the mountains. Harmful insects include the mosquito, grasshopper, and locust.

F. Climate. The coastal region has typical Levantine climate (*see* PALESTINE V), i.e., a rainy winter and a dry summer. The general pattern is as follows: rainfall decreases as you move to the south or to the east. Summers heat up to 29° C (84° F) along the coast and up to 40° or even 46° C (104° to 115° F) in the desert. Winters cool down to 10° C (50° F) in the coastal regions, and down to 1° to 4° C (34° to 39° F) in the interior. Along the coast and in the mountains, rainfall averages 75 to 125 cm. (30 to 50 in.) per year; in the steppe it may be as little as 25 to 50 cm. (10 to 20 in.). Snow may fall in the mountains in winter, particularly in the interior, and frost is common in the interior.

IV. History.–A. Before 2200 B.C. 1. Neolithic Age. Our knowledge of the early history of Syria is limited to archeological discoveries, scant references in Sumerian and Babylonian documents, and the discoveries at Tell Mardikh (Ebla). Prior to the finds at Ebla, it was assumed that Syria was largely a place for illiterate nomads (cf. *CAH,* I/2 [3rd ed.], 319). This was not true of the outer parts of Syria, for archeology testifies that the Neolithic revolution either began in Syria or reached that region soon after. Agriculture, particularly the cultivation of barley and wheat, and the domestication of cattle developed probably *ca.* 8000 B.C. (the Natufian culture). Pre-pottery Neolithic remains have been found not only at Jericho, but also at Râs Shamrah (Ugarit, level V C) and Ramad (Level III), as well as at Jarmo in Iraq and Hacılar in southern Anatolia. A break in this period indicates the intrusion of newcomers, possibly from the north, who brought einkorn wheat with them. Pozzolanic ware, which is molded plaster rather than true pottery, was found in Râs Shamrah (V B) and Tell Sukas. Fired pottery appears in northern Syria over a wide area, at Amuq A, Râs Shamrah, and Byblos, and the evidence of domesticated animals include the bones of pigs, oxen, and sheep.



2. Chalcolithic Age. The Halafian culture appeared *ca.* 5300 B.C. in the region around the Khābûr River; remains were found at Râs Shamrah, Amuq C, and Hamath on the Orontes. The introduction of metallurgy stimulated the development of trade. By the end of the 5th millennium, town life was developing in Mesopotamia, which led to city-states (Ubaid culture). It was found at Râs Shamrah (Level III B; dated by carbon-14 to *ca.* 4180 B.C.), Tell el-Judeideh, Tell Brâk, and elsewhere in northern Syria. But the spread of Ubaid, Uruk, and Jemdet Nasr cultures was spotty. The Proto-Urban age, which introduced Early Bronze, appears to have originated in the Amuq valley or possibly in Tarsus in Cilicia.

3. Early Bronze Age. By the middle of the 3rd millennium there were important city-states in Syria, including Mari and Ebla. Semitic names of the ruling classes are found at both sites. Ebla, 67 km. (42 mi.) S of Aleppo, was a center of trade, with outposts at many places in Syria, Palestine, eastern Anatolia, and elsewhere (cf. G. Pettinato, *Ebla, Un impero inciso nell'argilla* [1979]; P. Matthiae, *Ebla in the Period of the Amorite Dynasties and the Dynasty of Akkad* [1979]). It was also a center of scribal activity, linked with other centers in Mesopotamia (Pettinato, p. 259) such as Fara (Shuruppak; cf. A. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara, I-III* [1922-1924]) and Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh (cf. R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh* [1973]), thus ending the idea that Syria was illiterate. Sargon I of Agade (Akkad) recorded his victorious campaign to the west, including Mari (Tell el-Ḥarîrī), Yarmuti, and Ebla, as far as the Cedar Forest (Lebanon) and the Silver Mountains (*see* SARGON I). Naram-Sin (2275-2239 B.C.) made a similar claim. His successor, Šarkali-šarri, boasted of defeating the Amurru at Basar, a group of mountains SW of the mouth of the Balîkh, modern Jebel el-Bishri. An Amorite threat to the kingdom of Agade may be indicated, although it would be several centuries before they would invade Babylonia.

Egyptian links to Syria began probably *ca.* 3000 B.C., and E.B. towns of Palestine and Syria give evidence of Egyptian trade, and in some cases, of Egyptian control. Ties with Byblos were particularly noteworthy, and gifts to temples of Byblos bear the name of the last king of the 2nd Dynasty. A seal with the inscription of Pepi was found at Ebla.

B. From ca. 2200 to ca. 1200 B.C. *1. Semitic "Invasions."* According to a popular theory (summarized in Hitti, pp. 62-64), there were invasions of Semitic peoples from the Arabian desert into the Fertile Crescent at approximately one-thousand-year intervals, the first being *ca.* 3500 B.C., when Semites first appeared in Mesopotamia. The second took place *ca.* 2500 B.C., when the Amorites moved into the upper Euphrates region. This was followed by a third, *ca.* 1500-1200 B.C., when the Arameans invaded Coelesyria and the Hebrews invaded Palestine. The Nabateans entered the southern part of Palestine and Sinai *ca.* 500 B.C. Finally the Islamic invasion took place *ca.* A.D. 600.

But the theory is seriously flawed. Evidence indicates that the original home of the Semites was not the Arabian desert but a region of rivers and fertile lands. This is based in part on the fact that there is no common Semitic word for "mountain" (of which the Arabian peninsula has many), whereas there are common words for "river" and for certain agricultural items and activities (almost unknown in the regions of Arabia from which the nomadic "invaders" are supposed to have come). Moreover, there is little if any evidence of "invasions," as the term is usually understood. Rather, there was a gradual influx of peoples, repeated from time to time, each of which probably extended over decades or centuries. The tying of Abraham's journey to Canaan with a hypothetical invasion, or that of the Hebrews with another hypothetical invasion, has led to continual disagreement between biblical scholars and archeologists. Nevertheless, much archeological and linguistic evidence suggests that new peoples did periodically enter the region, and one of these peoples is known to us as the Amorites.

2. Rise of Empires. At the end of the 3rd millennium there was a phenomenon that appears to have been new, i.e., the extension of a city-state to a large kingdom. The claim of Sargon I (2350-2295 B.C.) to have ruled "from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea" (G. A. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* [1929], pp. 104f.; *ANET*, p. 267), or Naram-Sin's self-conferred title of "king of the four quarters [of the earth]" (Barton, pp. 138f.), probably marked the beginning of the empire idea. The kingdom of Mari had been subjugated by Sargon, but under Išbi-Irra it overthrew the Third Dynasty of Ur, and under Yaḫdun-Lim extended its influence to the Mediterranean. This ruler was overthrown by Šamši-Adad of Assyria, but when he died, Zimri-Lim (*ca.* 1730-1700) ruled over a large area until he was defeated by Hammurabi of Babylon (*see* MARI III). In the Mari tablets, Ḫalab (Aleppo) is mentioned as the capital of Yamḫad, Gubla (Byblos) as a center for the manufacture of cloth, Qaṭana (Qatna, el-Mishrifeh) and Ḫarranu (Harran; Haran in Gen. 11:31) as important Amorite cities or city-states.

But this is about as close as Syria ever came in antiquity to unitary rule. The Egyptians controlled varying amounts of Syria from 2400 to 1200 B.C. They were checked by the MITANNI, a non-Semitic people who occupied much of northern Mesopotamia in the 17th-16th centuries. Under Thutmose III (1482-1450) Egypt was able to confront the Mittani, and the Egyptian ruler claimed to have defeated them at Aleppo and Carchemish.

But another antagonist arose, the HITTITES from Anatolia. Mursilis I (*ca.* 1595) destroyed Aleppo and Alalakh and threatened Babylon. But the occupation of much of Syria began with Šuppiluliuma I (*ca.* 1380-1346), who defeated Tushratta and brought the Mitanni kingdom to an end. This removed a block to Assyrian advance, however, the full effects of which would not be felt for another two centuries. A more immediate result was the formation of independent city-states in the southern portion (modern Lebanon). When the Hittites took over territory that had been under Egyptian control, Ramses II (1304-1237) marched against Muwatallish, and the battle of Kadesh was fought (*ca.* 1300). Both kingdoms were weakened by the struggle. Ugarit, which had reached the zenith of its power in the 14th cent., became a vassal of the Hittite empire. At the end of the 13th cent. the sea-peoples invaded the coastal regions, destroying Ugarit along with other city-states (*ca.* 1200). An invasion from the west, probably part of the same movement that led the sea-peoples to attempt various invasions, not all of which were successful, brought about the end of the Anatolian Hittites, and the Syro-Hittite kingdom was formed (*see* HITTITES II).

As a result, Aram is generally known to us in compound names, such as Aram-naharaim (Gen. 24:10; RSV "Mesopotamia"), Paddan-aram (25:20), Aram of Damascus (2 S. 8:6), and Aram-zobah (Ps. 60, superscription [MT 60:2]). Numerous Aramean city-states are named as Beth- (Akk. *Bit-*), "the [ruling] house of" someone or other, e.g., Bīt-Yakin (cf. the numerous names of this nature in *ARAB*, II, 454f. and several in *ARM*, XV [1954], 122f.).

3. Relation to the Patriarchal Narratives. At some points in this period the events of the biblical narrative of the patriarchs are to be placed. Abram journeyed from

A male deity on a throne wearing an Egyptianized crown and a long Syrian-style robe; one of a Syro-Egyptian group of small god statues, *ca.* 1400-1200 B.C. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Haran to Canaan (Gen. 12:4f.). According to earlier commentators (cf. H. H. Rowley, *Servant of the Lord* [1965], pp. 292-98; J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* [1975], pp. 296-308), the events of Gen. 14 involved kings from Syria and beyond, but the name identifications formerly proffered have now largely been rejected. Abram's heir-apparent was Eliezer of Damascus (if correctly interpreted; cf. 15:2). Abraham sent his servant to Aram-naharaim, to the city of Nahor, to find a wife for his son Isaac (24:10). Isaac's son Jacob fled to Paddan-aram, at Isaac's instruction, to take a wife from one of the daughters of Laban (28:1-5). Jacob labored there for twenty years (31:38); all his sons except Benjamin were born there (cf. 35:16-18; this must be used to interpret 35:26). In the covenant between Jacob and Laban at Mizpah, Laban's words are recorded in Aramaic (31:47). According to tradition Nahor was located at 'Ain el-'Arûs ("the spring of the betrothed"), near the source of the Balîkh River (cf. B. J. Beitzel, "From Ḥarran to Imar Along the Old Babylonian Itinerary: The Evidence from the *Archives Royales de Mari*," in G. A. Tuttle, ed., *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Festschrift* for W. S. LaSor [1978], p. 211). It might be added that some of the descendants of Esau were connected with place names in Syria (36:31-43).

According to the larger definition of Syria, which includes Palestine, the Israelites entered Canaan during this period. The biblical accounts portray this as a single invasion led by Joshua. A number of scholars strongly dispute this, some (e.g., W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 58 [Apr. 1935], 10-18; H. H. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua* [1950], pp. 109-113) finding evidence of two invasions, while others (cf. M. Noth, *History of Israel* [rev. ed. 1960], pp. 68-84; J. Bright, *Early Israel in Recent History Writing* [*SBT*, 19; 1956]) see no invasion at all, but a fusion of people who migrated into the land with indigenous populations.

C. From ca. 1200 to the Christian Era. 1. Arameans. The Arameans "appear" *ca.* 1100 B.C. As noted above, they are to be identified with the Aḥlamê, who beyond question were in the region long before that time, but the first certain appearance of the name Aramean is in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1115-1077; cf. *ARAB*, I, § 239), and the earliest known Aramean inscriptions date from the 10th cent. (J. A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean* [1979], pp. 60f.; *see* ARAMAIC). Their language was a branch of Northwest Semitic, possibly developing first as a trade-language. Indeed, it is probable that Aramaic became the lingua franca of the later period precisely because it was a trade-language, widely used from Babylon to Egypt.

An important city-state was Zobah which controlled a region from the Euphrates to the Yarmuk. Its capital was Damascus, *Tirmaški* in the annals of Ramses III (1198-1167), *Dimašqa* or *Timašgi* in the Amarna Letters. Saul waged war against Zobah (1 S. 14:47). David defeated Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and put garrisons in Aram of Damascus (2 S. 8:3-6). Solomon took HAMATH-ZOBAH (2 Ch. 8:3), but the identification of this name is not certain. Hezion (*ca.* 925-915) founded a dynasty that included Tabrimmon and Ben-hadad I (*DOTT*, pp. 239-241) and made Damascus one of the two most powerful kingdoms in Syria. BEN-HADAD (I or II [?]) fought with Ahab (1 K. 20), was the target of Shalmaneser III's campaigns (853-845), and was murdered by Hazael in 843 (2 K. 8:15) after the siege of Samaria (6:24). Ben-hadad and Irḥuleni of Hamath led a coalition against Assyria, in which Ahab joined at Qarqar (853).

Hazael attacked Israel in the days of Jehu and Jehoahaz (2 K. 10:32f.; 13:22). His son Ben-hadad III (II [?]) continued the pressure on Israel (13:3), but Joash (798-782) was able to turn the tide (13:14-19, 22-25). Ben-hadad also led a powerful military coalition against Hamath in the days of Zakir (*DOTT*, pp. 242-250). The victory of Zakir was the end of the Aramean kingdom of Damascus (*ca.* 770). Jeroboam II (780-753) ruled over Damascus and Hamath for a brief period. Then Rezin allied with Israel against Judah, but when Ahaz petitioned Tiglath-pileser III for help, the Assyrian captured Damascus and put Rezin to death (732 B.C.; 2 K. 16:5-9; *ANET*, p. 283). The Arameans were deported to Qir (cf. Am. 1:4f.; Hitti, pp. 162-175.

A little-known kingdom, Sam'al or Ya'udi (8th cent. B.C.), needs particular mention, since its language is sometimes classified as a dialect of Aramaic and at other times as a dialect of Phoenician (cf. G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions* [1903], texts 61-63; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik* [1951], pp. 153-162). Moreover, a number of scholars consider its king, Azriyau of Yaudi (*ARAB*, I, § 770; *ANET*, p. 282), to be Azariah of Judah (*BHI*, p. 268; H. Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, VIII [1961], 232-271; *CAH*, III/1 [2nd ed. 1982], 410f.; *see* TIGLATH-PILESER III).

2. Assyrians. In 1094 Tiglath-pileser I raided Syria and laid claim to all Amurru, but this was soon lost to the Arameans. His successor Ashurnasirpal and his son Shalmaneser III were forced to invade Syria several times. Shalmaneser defeated the alliance at Qarqar in 853, and extended his rule to Mt. Carmel in 842 (*ARAB*, I § 672). But Tiglath-pileser III, about a century later, had to rebuild this portion of the empire. The succeeding Assyrian kings continued to rule and to expand their territory, until Esarhaddon conquered Egypt. With Tiglath-pileser III, the Assyrians began a systematic relocation of conquered

peoples (*ARAB*, I, § 770; 2 K. 16:9; 17:6, 23f.; 18:9-12, 31-35).

3. Babylonians. The Assyrian empire was overthrown by an alliance of its enemies: the Medes and Babylonians at Nineveh in 612, and the final blow came in 609 when the Babylonians and the Umman-manda (possibly meaning both Medes and Scythians) routed the Assyrians at Harran; whether Neco was going to aid the Assyrians or to oppose them depends on the interpretation of 2 K. 23:29. Josiah of Judah was killed at Megiddo when he attempted to intervene (*CCK*, pp. 15-20, 45, 58-63). The defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish (605) meant that Babylonia would control Syria, and the destruction of Jerusalem (586), together with the defeat of Tyre after a thirteen-year siege (572) underscored the fact.

The Babylonians were as harsh as the Assyrians had been. They also followed a policy of displacing their conquered peoples, but with one difference: whereas the Assyrians scattered the deportees so as to destroy their sense of identity, the Babylonians allowed the deportees to live together and to follow their former customs. Thus it was that the exiles from Judah were located in Babylon and maintained their Judean identity (2 K. 24:14-16; 25:11f.).

4. Persian and Hellenistic Periods. A. Persian Period. The Persian period in Syria is rather obscure due to a paucity of archeological and literary remains. Palestine and Syria became part of the vast Persian empire, which was well organized; together with Cyprus they formed the fifth satrapy, 'Abar Nahara ("Beyond the [Euphrates] River"), with its capital at Damascus. Aramaic became the official language of trade and diplomacy, not only in Syria but even in much of the empire. The Phoenician cities flourished, and furnished the ships for Cambyses' invasion of Egypt; the Persian empire now extended to Nubia. The Phoenician fleet also formed the basis of the Persian navy when Xerxes (485-465) attacked Greece. For a century and a half the struggle with Greece continued, ending in the defeat of the Persians by Alexander in the battle of Issus (333). The Phoenician cities had revolted against Artaxerxes III in 351, and the three cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Arad joined to form Tripoli ("Three Cites"), the capital of Phoenicia. Nine cities rebelled, expelling the Persians and declaring their independence. Artaxerxes advanced; the Sidonians panicked, burned their ships, and died in their homes in flames. Sidon was completely destroyed; the other Phoenician cities surrendered.

b. Conquest by Alexander. The campaign of Alexander the Great took him through Syria from Issus to Egypt. The Phoenician cities surrendered, with the exception of Tyre. Alexander built a mole from the mainland to the island city, and after a seven-month siege by land and sea he captured the city. This is generally taken to be the end of the Phoenician national spirit, although the colonies, especially in North Africa, remained (called "Punic"). *See* PHOENICIA.

c. Diadochoi. The Hellenistic empire collapsed when Alexander died. His generals, known as the "successors" (Gk. *Diadochoi*) divided it: Ptolemy over Egypt, Seleucus over Babylonia, Antigonus over Asia Minor, and Antipater over Macedonia. Actually, Syria was first under Laomedon, but was seized by Ptolemy I Soter in 320. Then Antigonus I Monophthalmus attempted to take over the entire empire, and for two decades Antigonus and his son Demetrius I were engaged in a struggle with the other Diadochoi. Demetrius was defeated by Ptolemy at Gaza in 312, Antigonus was killed at Ipsus in 301, and Seleucus I occupied Syria and built his capital at Antioch on the Orontes. The Seleucid era is dated from 312 B.C.

Ptolemy I controlled Syria as far as Aradus. Seleucus extended his rule eastward through Persia to the Indus, and crossed the Hellespont in 281 to add Macedonia, but was assassinated. The following years were marked by instability in Syria. Ptolemy III Euergetes (245-221) occupied Antioch and advanced to the Euphrates, but troubles in Egypt forced him to return. Antiochus III the Great (223-187) attempted to regain Syria, failed in 217 at RAPHIA, but was successful in 198 at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi). For the first time Rome entered the picture: an embassy warned Antiochus to keep his hands off Egypt. Antiochus disregarded the threat, was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylae (191), and again near Magnesia, and in 188, in accordance with the treaty of Apamea, he ceded all his territories beyond the Taurus and paid indemnity to the Romans.

This was an opportunity for Egypt, but Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164) made the first move by land and sea, and defeated the Egyptians at Pelusium (169), capturing the king Ptolemy IV Philometor. Pressure from Rome forced Antiochus to evacuate Egypt. At this time the Hasmoneans led a revolt against Antiochus, and a Jewish commonwealth came into existence. At the same time, the Arab Nabateans were invading parts of Syria, taking Damascus under protective custody. The Itureans overran much of the Phoenician coast. The Parthians ruled from the Euphrates to the Indus, and the Armenians, who were at their zenith under Tigranes, occupied Cilicia and North Syria (83).

5. Romans. Mithridates VI of Pontus was nibbling away parts of Asia Minor, and the Romans moved against him. He took asylum with Tigranes, and Rome declared war, forcing Tigranes to withdraw from Syria (69). The Seleucid prince Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, who took over Antioch, was acknowledged by Rome. Meanwhile, Mithridates recovered his throne, and Pompey moved against him. In 64 Tigranes surrendered all claims to Syria, and Pompey placed Syria under a Roman procounsul. In 63 Pompey occupied Palestine (Josephus *Ant.* xiv.4.1-5 [55-79]). Due to the conditions in Rome following the assassination of Julius Caesar (44), the Parthians were able to take much of the province of Syria. Mark Antony restored order, made Antipater procurator of Judea and his sons Phasael and Herod governors of Jerusalem and Galilee. Jewish revolts kept the Romans occupied for about a century, until Jerusalem was finally destroyed (A.D. 70), then wiped out entirely and replaced by Aelia Capitolina (A.D. 135).

In many ways Syria was the most thoroughly hellenized part of the Roman empire. Many cities were renamed with Greek names. Architecture was greatly influenced, and the remains of temples and public buildings can still be seen in many places in Syria. Greek philosophy and literature were cultivated especially in the Phoenician cities, and distinguished authors were natives of some of these cities, such as Zeno of Sidon, teacher of Zeno of Citium who founded the Stoic school, and Diodorus the Peripatetic of Tyre. Greek replaced Aramaic in most of Syria, leaving pockets around Damascus and in Palestine (cf. Hitti, pp. 251-261).

D. In the Christian Era. 1. To the Moslem Conquest. According to Luke, Jesus was born when Quirinius was governor (legate) of Syria (Lk. 2:2); the capital of the province was Antioch. Damascus was at that time under a Nabatean king (2 Cor. 11:32; *see* ARETAS), probably by arrangement with the Romans.

From the days of Paul, Syria was an important center of Christianity. The persecution of Christians in Jerusalem caused a dispersion that extended to Antioch (Acts 11:19), and when the church was established in Antioch, Barnabas and Saul (Paul) were teachers. There the disciples were for the first time called "Christians" (11:25f.). The admission of a large number of Gentiles into the church at Antioch led to the opposition by the Judaizers, and this in turn to the Jerusalem conference (15:1-22; *see* APOSTOLIC COUNCIL). Saul was from Tarsus, a major city in the Roman province of Syria-and-Cilicia (Cilicia was made an independent province in A.D. 72), and doubtless was responsible for many of the churches that had been founded there (15:23, 41; Gal. 1:21). After the destruction of Jerusalem, Antioch became the focal point of Christianity for a time. Ignatius of Antioch was the third bishop of Antioch. Justin Martyr was born in Nablus *ca.* A.D. 100. Origen (d. 253) founded a school in Caesarea. The first of more than thirty councils was held in Antioch in 269 (Eusebius *HE* vii.29). In the 4th cent. it was the see of a metropolitan bishop. John Chrysostom (d. 407) was the most famous representative of its school of theology.

Syria holds an important place in the history of the text of the NT. Scholars are familiar with the Koine or text recension used in Antioch. The Textus Receptus (TR), on which the Authorized Version (AV) is ultimately based, is an Antiochene or Byzantine text. Von Soden's **I** (Jerusalem) text was used by Eusebius the historian and bishop of Caesarea (264-*ca.* 349). The Church Fathers do not quote the **K** (Koine) text earlier than the 5th cent. (B. M. Metzger, *JBL*, 64 [1945], 457-489). It may be noted in passing that Origen, who according to one theory brought the Caesarean text to Antioch from Egypt (*ca.* 231), produced the Hexapla for textual study of the OT. The Syriac translation of the fifth column of the Hexapla, known as the Syrohexapla, was done by Paul of Tella in A.D. 616. The Ben Asher text of the Hebrew Bible (dated *ca.* 929) was preserved in a synagogue at Aleppo. The Western Masorah was the product of the Tiberian school, also in Syria. *See* TEXTS AND MSS OF THE OT I.B.3; TEXTS AND MSS OF THE NT.

The Syriac translations of the Bible can also be traced to Syria. An early translation (*ca.* 170) was Tatian's Diatessaron, a combination of the Gospels into one continuous account, of which only small fragments have survived. The Old Syriac version of the Gospels is dated to the latter part of the 2nd cent. (or at the latest the early 3rd cent.). Its title, *'ewangelyôn dam'parrešê'* ("the Gospel which is separated"), appears to imply the prior existence of the Diatessaron. (*See* VERSIONS II.) The best-known Syriac version is the Peshitta ("the simple or common [text]"), produced possibly in Edessa in the 5th cent. (cf. *LAP*, pp. 444-48). The existence of a Syriac text alongside the Greek text shows the division that was taking place, the eastern church using Syriac, an Aramaic dialect, as its common language. This division went further, with a western or Jacobite Syriac in Edessa and western Mesopotamia, and an eastern or Nestorian Syriac spreading eastward into India. The golden age of Syriac literature was the 7th cent., immediately before the Moslem advance (cf. T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* [Eng. tr. 1904], pp. xxxi-xxxiv.) *See* VERSIONS II.

From the 3rd to the 6th cents., Syria was almost entirely Christian. Greek was the principal language in the coastal region, but Syriac was used elsewhere. Christian churches were built in many cities, and art flourished, often in a style neither Roman nor Greek (cf. *LAP*, pp. 495-501, 539-545). Christian theologians were numerous. According to one Syriac MS, nineteen bishops from Palestine, twenty-two from Coelesyria, and six from Arabia attended the Council of Nicea (B. H. Cowper, *Syriac Miscellanies* [1861], pp. 9f.; Hitti, p. 363 n. 1). Syria was also the source of several Christian heresies and schismatic movements, including Nestorianism and Monophysitism. Monasticism was strong, especially of the hermit variety. Perhaps the most curious of the monks were the stylites, who lived on pillars. Simeon the Stylite (d. 450) is the best known (cf. Hitti, pp. 363-374).

The Roman emperor Constantine moved the capital from Rome to Byzantium, renamed Constantinople, in 330, having recognized Christianity as the official religion in 312. The fall of Rome is dated 476. The Persians under Chosroes I (531-579) invaded Syria, burned Aleppo, destroyed Antioch, and took tribute from other cities. Heraclius succeeded in recovering Syria from the Persians after Chosroes II (611-614) had ravaged the country, pillaged Damascus, and destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Arabs under Muhammad invaded the extreme south of Syria in 630, demanding submission. Five years later Damascus fell to Khalid ibn al-Walid. In the two years that followed, most of the major Syrian cities had surrendered. The decisive battle took place in the Yarmuk valley where it is joined by the Ruqqad (cf. *GP*, I, 171-74) on August 20, 636.

2. Since the Moslem Conquest. Mu'awiya was named caliph (successor [to Mohammed]) at Jerusalem in 61, but chose to make Damascus his capital. He was a descendant of Umayyah, a cousin of the Prophet's grandfather, hence the Caliphate was known as Umayyad; this became a dynasty when he named his son Yazid as his successor in 679. Under a program of expansion, the Syrian empire ultimately reached "from the Bay of Biscay to the Indus and the confines of China and from the Aral Sea to the cataracts of the Nile" (Hitti, pp. 471f.) — within a century of the Prophet's death. The Arabic language was replacing Greek and Aramaic.

During the Umayyad dynasty, the Dome of the Rock was built in Jerusalem by Abd el-Malik (691), then the el-Aqsa mosque, and in 705 the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Damascus was converted into the Umayyad Mosque, considered the fourth holiest place in Islam after the sacred shrines of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Learning increased greatly, but the Arabs were translators and transmitters, rather than originators. During this period many Greek and Latin works were translated, first into Syriac and then into Arabic, and were preserved for the West in the Renaissance (cf. Hitti, pp. 548-556).

The Umayyad dynasty was followed by the 'Abbasid (750), which located its capital in southern Mesopotamia at Kufa on the Euphrates W of Nippur. Persian customs and ideas strongly influenced it. Under el-Mansûr, Dâr-es-Salâm was built on the site of Baghdad on the Tigris (762) and became the capital. Best known of the caliphs were Ḥarûn er-Rashîd (786-809) and al-Ma'mûn (813-833), whose feats are told by Sheherazad in *The Thousand and One Nights*. Anti-Christian activities developed, particularly in Syria, with the destruction of all churches built since the rise of Islam, and distinctive clothing was prescribed for Christians and Jews. Except in the mountains of Lebanon, Islam almost obliterated Christianity. Syria was henceforth called esh-Sha'm ("the left, north") to distinguish it from el-Yemen ("the right, south"), locations taken with reference to Mecca.

With the collapse of the Abbasid dynasty, there were a number of lesser powers, then the Seljuks, founded by Turks, in northern Syria and the Fatimids in the south.

The Crusaders found the Fatimids in the Holy Land. But another line of Turks under Zangi, Nûr ed-Dîn, and Ṣalaḥ ed-Dîn (Saladin) finally defeated the Crusaders. Petty wars with Crusaders continued through the 13th century. Remains of Crusader castles and churches (now mosques) can be seen at many places in Syria.

A period under Ayyubids and Mamluks followed; then the Mongols invaded. Finally Sultan Salim I (1512-1520) incorporated the Arab world into the Ottoman empire. Syria remained under Ottoman rule until World War I. Syria was mandated to France, while Palestine and Transjordan were mandated to Great Britain. In 1946 Syria became an independent republic.

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SYRIA-MAACAH. *See* MAACAH.

SYRIAC VERSIONS. *See* VERSIONS II.

SYRIACK; SYRIAN. AV rendering of ARAMAIC in Dnl. 2:4; Ezr. 4:7.

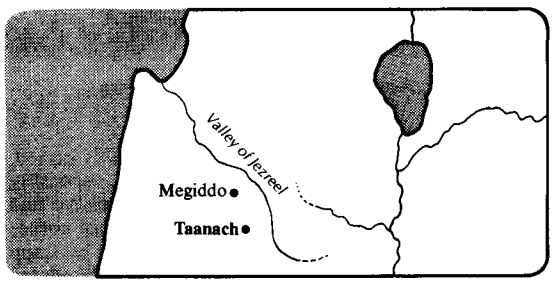
SYROPHOENICIAN sī'rō-fə-nish'ən, sir'ō- [Gk. *Syrophoinissa;* var. *Syro Phoinikissa, Syro Phoinissa, Phoinissa, Tyrophoinissa*]; AV SYROPHENICIAN; NEB PHOENICIAN. A woman from the region of Tyre and Sidon whose daughter Jesus healed is described in the RSV as "a Greek, a Syrophoenician by birth" (Mk. 7:26) and in a parallel account as "a Canaanite woman" (Mt. 15:22). This suggests that she was a non-Jewish native of the coastal region of Phoenicia (the early Phoenician people called themselves Canaanites) who possibly spoke Greek, though she may have been simply an inhabitant of the area. The region, designated *phoinē* by the Greeks for its trade in "red-purple" dye, was incorporated into the Roman province of Syria prior to the NT period, gaining official status as a separate district after the division of Coelesyria in A.D. 194. Recognized both as Phoenicia and Syria (cf. Acts 21:2f.), the more complete title "Syrophoenicia" was used to distinguish the area from Lybophoenicia in North Africa (Strabo *Geog.* xvii.3.19).

C. N. JEFFORD

SYRTIS sûr'təs [Gk. *Syrtis*] (Acts 27:17); AV QUICKSANDS; NEB "the shallows of Syrtis." The present-day Gulf of Sidra on Libya's northern coast. It is a wide but very shallow gulf whose danger to sailors was legendary (Vergil *Aen.* iv.40f.; Strabo *Geog.* ii.5.20; xvii.3.16f.) It has a counterpart called Lesser Syrtis, which is the present-day Gulf of Gabes on the east coast of Tunisia.

When the northeast wind forced Paul's ship away from Cyprus the sailors probably lowered some sort of sea anchor to act as a brake (see I. H. Marshall, *Acts* [*Tyndale NT Comms.,* 1980], p. 409) because they were afraid of being blown into Greater Syrtis (Acts 27:17). The fact that they were still very far away from Greater Syrtis illustrates the extent of the fear that the shallow waters and the quicksands of the gulf inspired. W. D. MOUNCE

TAANACH tā'ə-nak [Heb. *ta'ᵃnāḵ* or *ta'nāḵ*; LXX *Thaanach*, with many variants]. A city on the southern edge of the Valley of Jezreel, about 8 km. (5 mi.) SE of Megiddo.



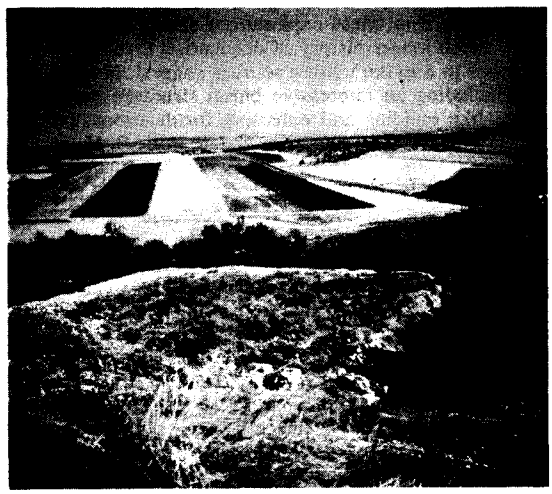
I. Recorded History.–Taanach first appears in the annals of Pharaoh Thutmose III (mid-15th cent. B.C.). During his first military campaign Thutmose discussed with his general staff the option of marching from the Sharon to the Jezreel Valley via the pass leading from Bâqā el-Gharbîyeh to the Valley of Dothan (Sahl 'Arrâbeh) and finally past Taanach. Fortunately for the Egyptians, scouts evidently warned them that the enemy was arrayed near Taanach in anticipation of their arrival, so that they were able to choose another route (*ANET*, pp. 235f.). After his victory at Megiddo, Thutmose also took Taanach, which appears in his great topographical list (*Ta-'(a)-na-k*; no. 42). Like most other Canaanite city-states, Taanach became subject to Egypt; emissaries of the *maryannu*-warrior class were sent from Taanach (*Ta-'[a]-na-ki*) to the pharaonic court (Papyrus Leningrad 1116 A).

Two cuneiform epistles discovered at Taanach (see III below) were demands by a certain Amenhotep to the local ruler that he come in person with his troops, apparently to join an expedition. In the Amarna correspondence a certain Yašdata reported that the men of *Ta-aḫ-[nu-k]a* had deposed him, slaughtered his cattle, and driven him away (Am.Tab. 248:10-17). The reading of this geographical name is quite uncertain, however. Yašdata had found political asylum at Megiddo; his ouster (from Taanach or elsewhere) may have been due to the machinations of Lab'ayu ruler of Shechem. Yašdata's association with Taanach rests on nothing but the poorly preserved place name (for a conflict with the present state of the archeological evidence, see II below).

As one of the royal Canaanite cities encountered by the Israelites (Josh. 12:7f., 21), Taanach fell within the tribal territory of Issachar but was later transferred to Manasseh (Josh. 17:11; 1 Ch. 7:29), who failed to occupy it (Josh. 17:12f.; Jgs. 1:27f.). The famous clash between the Israelite tribesmen and the city-state chariot forces took place in the Valley of Jezreel (= Esdraelon). but the Canaanite rulers, instead of dividing the spoil on the broad plain — i.e., the southern portion of the valley, before Taanach and Megiddo — were swept away by the "torrent Kishon" in the center of the valley (Jgs. 5:19-21).

When Israel finally did become the dominant power in the valley (cf., e.g., 1 S. 31), they subjected the inhabitants of the city-states, including Taanach (Jgs. 1:27f.), to forced labor. Taanach became a Levitical center (Josh. 21:25) along with several of its neighbors, and under Solomon it was included in the administrative district of Baana son of Ahilud (1 K. 4:7, 12). During the fifth year of Rehoboam, the Egyptian army under Shishak (Sheshonq; 1 K. 14:25-27; 2 Ch. 12:2-12) ravaged the northern kingdom of Israel, and Taanach was certainly one of its conquests, as witnessed by Shishak's topographical list (no. 14, *Ta-'-n-k-i3*). The city is not mentioned in written sources of the later Iron Age or of the Persian, Hellenistic, or Roman periods.

Tell Taanach and the surrounding fields (D. Blatt)



The tenth-century B.C. building where vessels, knives, a mold, and other cult-related objects were found (Taanach Expedition, courtesy A. Glock)

Eusebius knew Taanach to be a very large village either three (*Onom.* 100.7-10) or four (98.10-12) Roman mi. from Legio. This accords with the location of Tell Ta'annak, about 8 km. (5 mi.) SE of Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim). The Roman-Byzantine settlement known to Eusebius was on the plain below and E of this tell, and thus about 6.5 km. (4 mi.) from Legio (Lejjûn, today Ḥorvot Kefar 'Otnay). The town is also known from Crusader sources of the 12th and 13th centuries.

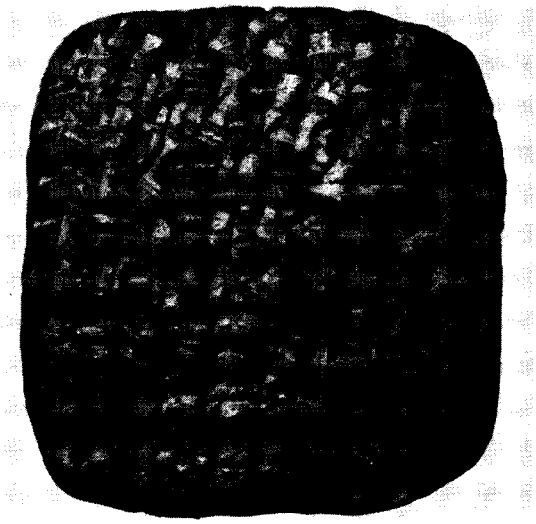
II. Archeological Excavations.–An expedition under E. Sellin of Vienna first excavated Tell Ta'annak in 1902-1904. Work was renewed on the site by an American team led by F. W. Lapp; three campaigns were conducted (1963, 1966, 1968) before Lapp's untimely death in 1970.

Evidence from these explorations shows that Taanach had a much longer history of occupation than the scanty allusions to it in the written sources suggest. Much material, including an impressive burial structure beneath a palace-like building and extensive fortifications, reflects the history of this important city-state in E. B. II and III. A glacis system and defense walls with associated buildings and burials characterize M. B. II; the latest and, according to the American excavators, most extensive M. B. construction phase is M. B. II C. Over these remains were found structures and occupation levels of L. B. I, especially a building unearthed by Sellin in the north center of the tell that contained twelve tablets or fragments inscribed in cuneiform (see III below). No evidence has been found of occupation in the ensuing period, L. B. II, which includes the Amarna Age; this fact casts doubt on the reading of the partially effaced place name in Am.Tab 248: 10-17 as "Taanach" (see I above). Some occupation levels and houses attest to a settlement in the late 13th and 12th cents. B.C., and the alphabetic cuneiform text (see III below) evidently dates to this period.

A building full of vessels and other objects, especially some for possible cultic use, is the most impressive find from the 10th cent. B.C. A tower on the northeast corner of the tell uncovered by Sellin was reexamined by Lapp and assigned by him to the 9th century. The later phases of the Iron Age are represented mainly by sherds, along with one structure on the southern part of the mound. A small amount of Persian and Hellenistic pottery is the only find from the postexilic to the NT periods. The Roman-Byzantine town was built below on the eastern plain. The top of the mound was reoccupied in the early Arab period. A fortified structure containing a bath installation dates to the 10th-12th cents. A.D.

III. Cuneiform Inscriptions.–Sellin discovered twelve cuneiform tablets and fragments that date to the 15th cent. B.C. and are the earliest witness to the special West Semitic dialect developed by scribes in Canaan. Four of the texts are epistles — two from a certain Amanḥatpa (see I above) and two from neighbors of the ruler at Taanach. The notes compiled by E. I Gordon and A. E. Glock have led to greatly improved readings and, with further checking of the tablets, have made possible a new grammatical analysis by A. F. Rainey of the West Semitic verbal system in use at Taanach. During the 1968 season an additional text (Taanach text 950) containing a list of personal names was discovered. Its script and the ethnic groups represented (Semitic, Hurrian, Indo-Aryan) suggest that the new tablet belongs to the original corpus and that all the tablets date to *ca.* 1450 B.C.

The 1963 season of excavations produced a small cuneiform docket in alphabetic script. The shape of the letters resembles that of Ugaritic texts, especially that of a small group of texts that apparently were imports into



The obverse of Taanach Tablet no. 2. After the greeting the sender asks for a small favor ("Give me a finger," line 7), saying "I am desolate in an empty house"; he then asks for a few gifts and concludes "let me send my man to you and let me arrange a marriage" (Taanach Expedition, courtesy A. Glock)

Ugarit. Thus it is no surprise that two more non-Ugaritic examples of this script have appeared: an inscription on a knife blade from nearby Wâdī Bîreh (Naḥal Tabor), and an incantation tablet from Beth-shemesh.

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A. F. RAINEY

TAANATH-SHILOH tā'ə-nath-shī'lō [Heb. *ta'ᵃnaṯ šilōh*; LXX B *Thēnasa Kai Sellēsa*, A *Thēnathsēlō*]. A town between Michmethath and Janoah on the northeastern border of Ephraim (Josh. 16:6). According to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) it was positioned approximately 10 Roman mi. E of Neapolis (known then as *Thena*) and was on the Roman road to the Jordan Valley. This may be the *Thena* that Ptolemy refers to as a town in Samaria (*Geog.* v.16.5). Van de Velde identified the town with Khirbet Ta'nahel-Fôqā, located about 11 km. (7 mi.) SE of Nâblus (Neapolis) and 3 km. (2 mi.) N of Khirbet Yānûn (Janoah). Located there are "foundations, caves, cisterns, and rock-cut tombs" (*PEF*, II, 245). If Taanath is derived from *'nh*, "approach," the name may mean "approach to Shiloh."

K. L. C. R. BURTON

TABBAOTH tab'ə-oth, ta-bā'oth [Heb. *ṭabbā'ôṯ* < *ṭabba'aṯ*–'ring' (?); Gk. LXX, Apoc. ℵ, B, *Tabaōth*, Apoc. A, Tabōth] (Ezr. 2:43; Neh. 7:46; 1 Esd. 5:29); AV Apoc. TABAOTH; NEB Apoc. TABOTH. Head of a family of temple servants (*see* NETHINIM) who returned from the Babylonian exile.

See *IP*, p. 223.

TABBATH tab'əth [Heb. *ṭabbāṯ*] (Jgs. 7:22). A place E of Beth-shean and doubtless E of the Jordan, toward which Gideon pursued the Midianites. The account in Judges continues, mentioning Karkor (8:10), Nobah and Jogbeheh (v. 11), and the ascent of Heres (v. 13); hence Tabbath must be placed in the general area of these sites. A suggested identification is Râs Abū Tābât (see *LBHG*, p. 241 n. 174; *WHAB*, p. 42).

W. S. L. S.

TABEEL tab'i-əl [Aram. *ṭāḇᵉ'ēl*–'God is good' (Ezr. 4:7), *taḇᵉ'al* (Isa. 7:6); Gk. Apoc. *Tabellios* (1 Esd. 2:16)]; AV, NEB, also TABEAL (Isa. 7:6), Apoc. Tabellius.

1. Father of the man whom the Israelite and Syrian kings intended to set up as king of Judah in place of Ahaz during the Syro-Ephraimite war, 735-732 B.C. (Isa. 7:6; cf. 2 K. 16:1-10). Several possibilities for his identity have been proposed. Tabeel may be (1) the name of this pretender's father/ancestor, or (2) the name of his home region in northern Transjordan. The latter is suggested by an eighth-century B.C. letter discovered at Nimrûd, written by an Assyrian official Qurdi-Assur, which refers to "the messenger of Ayanur, the Tabeelite [*kur-Ṭa-ab-i-la-aya*], Ezazu by name" (see Saggs, Albright). Since "Tabeel" is a place name here, ben-Tabeel (Isa. 7:6) may have been a Judean prince whose mother was from Tabeel (see Mazar, p. 236). (3) The name may be connected with the influential family of the Tobiads in postexilic Judah (see 2 Macc. 3:11; Josephus *Ant.* xii.4.2 [160]), since during the Josianic reforms (*ca.* 620 B.C.) many "El" theophoric names were changed to "Yah" forms, thus "Tobiyahu" from "Tabeel" (see Mazar, p. 236; Torczyner, pp. 28-30). (4) Since the candidate for the throne is identified solely as "ben-Tabeel," he may have held a hereditary state office; this was the traditional form of designation for officials in Israel and Ugarit (see Alt, p. 212). (5) A vassal list of Tiglath-pileser III on a stele from 737 B.C. provides another possibility: it names a certain Tubail (*ᵐṬu-ba-il*) as the ruler of Tyre in Phoenicia. Perhaps Rezin and Pekah offered the Judean throne to their neighbor to the north in exchange for his support in their anti-Assyrian campaign (see Levine, Vanel).

The spelling *tāḇᵉ'al* may represent either a Hebrew pausal form or a subtle form of derision (meaning "not good").

2. A Samaritan official in the postexilic period (Ezr. 4:7; 1 Esd. 2:16). Along with other officials, he sent a letter to Artaxerxes I of Persia (465-425 B.C.) with the intention of halting the Judean rebuilding of Jerusalem. The letter accused the Jews of being rebellious and unlikely to pay their taxes.

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K. C. HANSON

TABELLIUS ta-bel'i-əs (1 Esd. 2:16 [LXX 12], AV, NEB). *See* TABEEL **2.**

TABER tā'ber. A term used by the AV only in Nah. 2:7 (MT 8) for the polel part. of Heb. *tāpap* (cf. *tōp*, "timbrel," Ps. 68:25 [MT 26]), which means "beat continuously"

(KoB, p. 1038). In Nah. 2:7 "beating [so RSV, NEB] their breasts" portrays a gesture of extreme grief and sorrow (*see* GESTURE III), here resulting from Nineveh's fall.

TABERAH [tab'ə-rə, tə-bē'rə [Heb. *taḇ'ērâ*–'burning'], (Nu. 11:3; Dt. 9:22). An Israelite encampment during the wilderness wanderings. Here the Lord's anger was kindled against the people because of their complaining, and He burned part of the camp — hence the site's name (Nu. 11:1-3). Taberah is also mentioned in Dt. 9:22, but it is excluded from the wilderness itinerary of Nu. 33. The location has not been identified. *See also* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

TABERNACLE [Heb. *miškān*–'dwelling-place'; Gk. usually *skēnḗ*, also *skḗnōma*]. The portable tent sanctuary which, according to Ex. 25–31, 35–40, was constructed by the Israelites at God's command in the wilderness period.

I. Terminology
II. The Tabernacle in Priestly Writings
  A. Materials
  B. Pattern
  C. Design
  D. Construction, Transportation, and Cultic Worship
III. The Tabernacle Outside Priestly Writings
  A. Ex. 33:7-11
  B. Nu. 11-12
  C. Dt. 31:14f.
  D. Joshua-Judges
  E. 1 and 2 Samuel
  F. 1 and 2 Kings
  G. 1 and 2 Chronicles
IV. Other Tent Sanctuaries
V. Significance

I. Terminology.–The same sanctuary is referred to by a number of different designations.

A. Tabernacle. This term occurs 108 times in the RSV, in each case for Heb. *miškān*. The AV also consistently renders "tabernacle" ("dwelling place" in 1 Ch. 6:32 [MT 17] is the sole exception). The following combinations may also be noted: "tabernacle of the testimony" (so called because the tabernacle contained the "ark of the testimony"; Ex. 38:21; Nu. 1:50, 53; 10:11); "tabernacle of the house of God" (1 Ch. 6:48 [MT 33]); "tabernacle of the Lord" (eleven times); and "tabernacle of the tent of meeting" (Ex. 39:32; 40:2, 6, 29; 1 Ch. 6:32 [MT 17]).

B. Tent. This term is used by the RSV for Heb. *'ōhel*. It occurs by itself (Ex. 26:36; 31:7; 36:37, etc.) and in combination: "tent of the testimony" (Nu. 9:15; 17:7f. [MT 22f.]; 18:2; 2 Ch. 24:6); "house of the tent" (1 Ch. 9:23); and, most frequently, "tent of meeting" (*'ōhel mô'ēḏ*, i.e., the tent where Yahweh met His people; LXX usually *skēnḗ toú martyríou*).

The AV renders *'ōhel* "tabernacle," the same term it uses for *miškān*. In this it follows the LXX, which uses Gk. *skēnḗ* and *skḗnōma* interchangeably for both Hebrew terms. Furthermore, the AV, relating Heb. *mô'ēḏ* ("meeting," "place of appointed assembly") with the cognate *'ēḏâ* ("congregation"), renders *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* "tabernacle of the congregation" (but "tent of the congregation" where *miškān* and *'ōhel* are used together; cf. Ex. 39:32, 40; 40:2, 6, etc.). The rendering "tent of meeting" is, however, to be preferred.

It is worth noting that the Ugaritic cognates to Heb. *'ōhel* and *miškān* are also used synonymously of divine dwelling-places. Furthermore, both Hebrew terms may be used for sanctuaries that are permanent structures rather than mere tents, particularly in Hebrew poetry. It is thus hazardous to draw conclusions about the nature of the sanctuary envisaged in poetic texts using *'ōhel* or *miškān* (e.g., Ps. 15:1; 27:6; 46:4 [MT 5]; 61:4 [MT 5]; 84:1 [MT 2]). At best, the use of such terms may reflect that at one time Yahweh's sanctuary was a tent structure.

C. Sanctuary. The tabernacle is also referred to simply as a "sanctuary" (*miqdāš*, Ex. 25:8; *qōḏeš*, Ex. 38:24).

D. In the NT. When the NT refers to the Mosaic tabernacle it employs the terminology of the LXX: "the tent of witness" (*hē skēnḗ toú martyríou*, Acts 7:44), or simply "the tent" (*hē skēnḗ*, He. 8:5; 9:21). Hebrews also refers to it as the "first tent" (9:8; RSV "outer tent" is less likely here) because it was the sanctuary of the "first covenant" (cf. v. 1). In vv. 2, 6, however, the "first tent" (RSV here rightly interprets as the "outer one") refers to the outer compartment of the tabernacle (the "holy place") as opposed to the "second" or inner compartment (the "holy of holies," vv. 3, 7).

II. The Tabernacle in Priestly Writings.–We will simplify the discussion of critical views of the tabernacle by treating the relevant "priestly" (P) materials in the Pentateuch first, then discussing the tabernacle as it appears in other parts of the Pentateuch and the rest of the OT. (For discussion of various critical theories about "P" and other sources of the Pentateuch, *see* CRITICISM II.D.5-6; PENTATEUCH IV.C-F.) Though modern discussions of priestly materials are often concerned to distinguish various strata within this material, in this synthetic study we will largely disregard such distinctions. Again, though some scholars find evidence of the priestly account outside the Pentateuch, the label is here used with reference to the pentateuchal materials alone.

A. Materials. The account of the tabernacle in Exodus opens with a list of the materials needed for its construction and, in part, for the later maintenance of the cult (Ex. 25:1-8). These were provided by the voluntary contribution (*t'rûmâ*) of the people (v. 2).

The metals — gold, silver, and "bronze" (i.e., copper with an alloy for hardening; but Heb. *n'ḥōšeṯ* may refer to simple copper as well) — are first listed, apparently in a descending scale of value, since gold was used in the most sacred places (the overlay of the ark, the cherubim, mercy seat, etc.), silver in areas of lesser sanctity (e.g., the bases for the tabernacle frames), and bronze in areas of still lesser sanctity (e.g., the bases for the screen at the front of the tabernacle and for the pillars of the courtyard). Though Ex. 25:1-8 speaks generally of the various materials as being contributed voluntarily, 38:25f. makes silver an exception: it was raised by a poll tax of half a shekel for each male twenty years and older, i.e., from 603,550 men. (This figure is the same as that reached by the census of non-Levites in Nu. 1:46.)

After the metals, the needed cloth materials are listed, distinguished by the various dyes that gave them their colors. "Blue" (probably a purple blue) and "purple" (probably a purple red) represent wool materials dyed to these colors with dyes extracted from different species of shellfish. The term for "scarlet stuff" is derived from the insect from which this dye was produced. "Fine twined linen" (Heb. *šēš*), a superior Egyptian variety, would also be needed. (*See* COLOR V.B, F, H; LINEN III.)

The Israelite flocks would provide "goats' hair" and "tanned rams' skins." The RSV then lists "goatskins," though the precise meaning of Heb. *taḥaš* is uncertain (*see* GOATSKINS; LEATHER; TANNED). "ACACIA wood,"

readily available at Sinai and known for its durability, completes the list of materials needed for the tabernacle construction.

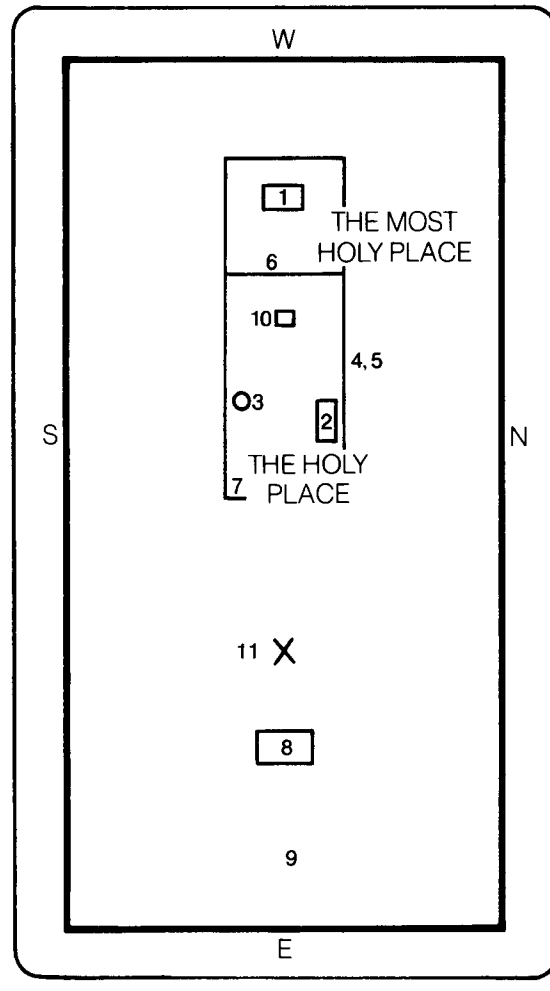
Scholars who regard these chapters in Exodus as a late, idealized portrait of the Israelite wilderness sanctuary have often suggested that the Israelites in the wilderness would scarcely have had at their disposal all the materials listed in the quantities required. The amount of gold, silver, and bronze needed was certainly considerable: nearly a ton of gold, 3¼ tons of silver, 2¼ tons of bronze (based on Ex. 38:24-31 and Hyatt's computations). Some of the dyes would not have been readily available in the wilderness. Cassuto was among those traditional scholars who have seen no insurmountable problem here. He suggested that the metals could have been brought from Egypt (cf. Ex. 12:35f.); Israelite flocks would have provided the skins; and the dyes, oil, and spices needed for the tabernacle and its cult could have been procured from passing caravans.

B. Pattern. The instructions for building the tabernacle are not always clear. Many details — some quite essential — are left unspecified. Of course, a record of every detail is not to be expected; yet it is possible that the refrain, "according to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and of all its furniture, so you shall make it" (Ex. 25:9; cf. 25:40; 26:30; 27:8), is in part intended to obviate the need for spelling out every detail.

These references to a divinely revealed PATTERN are clearly paralleled in other ancient Near Eastern texts that describe an earthly sanctuary as a replica of the heavenly abode of the gods. A much-cited parallel (cf., e.g., Cassuto, p. 322) occurs in a cylinder of Gudea king of Lagash, which says that he was shown in his dreams a model of the sanctuary he was to build.

C. Design. Unlike modern "sanctuaries" the tabernacle was designed not as a meeting place for God's people (though on special occasions they would assemble in the tabernacle courtyard) but as a dwelling place for Yahweh Himself, a place where His cultic worship would be conducted. The tabernacle structure itself, made up of curtains resting on a framework, was divided by a veil into two compartments. The outer compartment, called "the holy place" (*haqqōḏeš*), contained the table for the bread of the Presence, the lampstand, and the altar of incense. At its entrance was a screen. The inner compartment, called "the most holy place" (*qōḏeš haqqᵒḏāšîm*), contained the ark of the covenant. Surrounding the tabernacle was a courtyard where the altar of burnt offering and the laver were located. These items will be discussed in the order in which they are introduced in the Exodus narrative.

1. Ark (Ex. 25:10-22). The instructions for building the tabernacle and its furnishings begin with the most sacred object, the ARK OF THE COVENANT. This ark of acacia wood was to be a rectangular chest 2½ cubits long, 1½ cubits wide, and 1½ cubits high, overlaid with "pure gold" (presumably gold that had been carefully freed from alloys) inside and out. According to instructions it had a rim ("molding") of gold around its four sides, though the text does not state whether this was attached at the top or part way down. Four short "feet" kept it from resting directly on the ground. To each foot was fixed a gold ring through which poles of acacia wood overlaid with gold could be placed in order to transport the ark. Ex. 25:15 states that the poles were to remain permanently in the rings, but Nu. 4:6 speaks of inserting the poles before the ark was transported. One proposed harmonization sees the poles as normally kept within



A plan of the reconstructed tabernacle (the numbers refer to the article outline II.C.1-11)

the rings but removed of necessity when the various coverings were placed over the ark (vv. 5f.); then they would be reinserted so that the ark could be carried (KD, I/3, 25). 1 K. 8:8 assumes that the poles were permanently in place in the ark in the Solomonic temple.

To the top of the ark a solid slab of "pure gold" was to be fixed. Its length and width matched those of the ark, though its thickness is not specified. This is called the MERCY SEAT (*kappōreṯ*). The Hebrew term is sometimes taken to mean no more than "covering," but it probably includes the idea of propitiation as well (i.e., the place or means of propitiation). On this "mercy seat" blood was to be sprinkled on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:14f.). Two gold CHERUBIM (probably human-headed, winged lions) were fixed to the ends of the "mercy seat." Their faces were turned toward each other, leaning downwards toward the mercy seat; their wings were outstretched.

The ark was to be the only furnishing in the most holy place. The stone tablets containing the Decalogue were placed inside it. Ex. 16:33f. seems to indicate that a jar containing manna was placed in front of the ark (called the "testimony"; cf. 30:36); Aaron's rod was later

placed here as well (Nu. 17:10 [MT 25]; but cf. He. 9:4, which says that these items were contained in the ark). The "book of the law" mentioned in Dt. 31:26 was also kept at the side of the ark.

It was "from above the mercy seat that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim," that Yahweh spoke to Moses (Nu. 7:89; cf. Ex. 25:22; 30:6, etc.).

2. Table for the Bread of the Presence (Ex. 25:23-30). The instructions call for a table of acacia wood overlaid with "pure gold," 2 cubits long, 1 cubit wide, and 1½ cubits high. Like the ark, it was decorated with a rim of gold, apparently running around the edge of the ends and sides. The "frame a handbreadth wide" (v. 25) was probably a rail connecting the legs; it also had a gold rim. A golden ring was fixed to each of the four legs, close to the "frame" at the "four corners" (perhaps where, according to Josephus *Ant.* iii.6.6 [139f.], the legs began to be rounded about halfway down). Poles of acacia wood overlaid with gold were inserted in the rings when the table was carried.

"Pure gold" was to be used in making "plates" (on which the bread was brought to the table or laid on it), "dishes" for the frankincense (cf. Lev. 24:7), and "flagons" and "bowls" (larger and smaller vessels respectively) used in pouring libations. Lev. 24:5-9 provides detailed instructions for setting forth the "bread of the Presence" (*see* PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE).

The table was to be located in the holy place on the north side (Ex. 26:35).

3. Lampstand (Ex. 25:31-40; cf. Lev. 24:1-4; Nu. 8:1-4). A LAMPSTAND made from one talent of "pure gold" was to be placed at the south side of the holy place, positioned in such a way that it would illuminate the area in front of it. According to instructions it had a central "shaft" with three "branches" rising upwards and outwards from the two sides of the shaft, making six branches (Ex. 25:32). The shaft rested on a "base" that is not described; some have suggested a tripod-type support, though Meyers's study, based on archeological parallels, finds it more likely that the lower part of the shaft was simply thicker than the upper part.

At three places on each branch were "cups made like almonds" (v. 33) accompanied by a downward-turned floral capital (so Meyers; RSV "capital and flower"). The central shaft (called the "lampstand" in vv. 34f.) also had such ornaments, but the description of their arrangement is not clear. Assuming that its "four cups made like almonds" (v. 34) are to be distinguished from the three capitals (one under each pair of branches, v. 35), we may conclude that two of the "cups" were placed above the highest pair of branches, the other two below the lowest pair. The location of the "seven lamps" is not given. The older assumption that one was placed at the top of each branch lacks archeological parallels from this period, and it is possible that a bowl with seven spouts was at the top of the central shaft. The lampstand was to be supplied with "snuffers" or tongs for drawing up the wicks, and "trays" or snuff-dishes, also of "pure gold."

Although Ex. 30:7f. and Lev. 24:1-4 might seem to suggest that the lamps burned throughout the night only, being "set up" each evening and "dressed" each morning (cf. 1 S. 3:3), Ex. 27:20 and Lev. 24:2 state that the lamps were to burn continually. In fact, the tabernacle would require illumination at all times.

4. Curtains (Ex. 26:1-14). In a narrow use of the term, "tabernacle" refers in 26:1-6 to the decorated curtains that formed the "dwelling" proper. Ten "curtains," each

An illumination from a medieval MS (A.D. 1299) showing various tabernacle objects: upper left, the tablets of the Decalogue and the two cherubim on the ark cover; lower left, the table for the bread of the presence; upper right, the lampstand with tongs and snuffers; lower right, the jar of manna between a barren rod and Aaron's budding rod (Bibliotèque Nationale, MS Hebr. 7, fol. 12v)

measuring 28 cubits by 4 cubits, were to be made of fine quality linen. With wool dyed "blue, purple, and scarlet," figures of cherubim were skillfully woven into the curtains. Five of the curtains were to be fastened together to form one broad tapestry, with a second tapestry made from the remaining five. Fifty violet "loops" on the outer curtain of each of the two tapestries allowed these to be joined by gold "clasps," thus forming a single tapestry 40 cubits long by 28 cubits wide. Since the tabernacle structure was to be 30 cubits long and 10 cubits high, the 40 cubits of tapestry would cover the length of the roof, then reach to the ground at the back; it would not extend down the front. The clasps joining the two halves of the tapestry would come 20 cubits from the front of the sanctuary. Since the tabernacle was to be 10 cubits wide, the 28 cubits of the tapestry breadth would cover the width of the roof and extend down 9 cubits on each side, ending 1 cubit above the ground.

To protect the tapestry, a covering of goats' hair (called a "tent" in 26:7-13) was to be laid over it. It was made of eleven curtains, each 30 cubits by 4 cubits, fastened together to make two sets, one of five curtains and the other of six. The two sets were again joined by clasps (this time of bronze) attached to loops (fifty on the outer curtain of each set). The whole covering thus measured 44 cubits by 30. Clearly the 30 cubits of the covering's width stretched over the width of the tabernacle (10 cubits) and down the two sides (each 10 cubits high) to the ground. There is, however, some ambiguity about how the covering was to be placed lengthwise. Of its 44 cubits, 30 would

stretch along the length of the tabernacle and 10 down its back side to the ground. Probably 2 extra cubits were allowed for the back (v. 12b), leaving 2 cubits to be doubled over at the front of the tabernacle (v. 9). Perhaps the latter were to be tucked under the tabernacle tapestry for added protection.

Verse 14 speaks of two further protective coverings, one of tanned rams' skins, the other of "goatskins" (see II.A above). This seems like excessive protection, though it has been suggested that these coverings were used only when the tabernacle was transported (Cole, p. 194).

The tabernacle coverings were apparently kept in place by cords that stretched to bronze pegs driven into the ground (Ex. 27:19; 35:18).

5. Framework (Ex. 26:15-30). The tapestry and coverings were to be supported at the sides and back of the sanctuary by "upright frames" (*qᵉrāšîm*) of acacia wood overlaid with gold. According to the instructions each *qereš* was 10 cubits long and 1½ cubits wide (no thickness is stated) and rested in two silver "bases." Each base had a socket to receive one of the two "tenons" with which each *qereš* was supplied. There were twenty *qᵉrāšîm* on each of the two sides of the sanctuary, six at the back, and an additional two at the back corners for added support.

What is meant by the *qᵉrāšîm*? Traditionally they have been understood as solid boards, twenty of which would form a continuous wall stretching the length of the tabernacle. But this does create problems. Would a sanctuary with solid walls of gold-plated wood be called a "tent"? How portable would it have been? Would not the fine tapestry, with figures of cherubim interwoven, have been hidden from view at the sides and back by the walls?

For these and other reasons, Kennedy (*HDB*, IV, 653-668) suggested that the *qᵉrāšîm* be understood as open "frames" made of two "uprights" (so he understood the "tenons" of 26:17) resting in silver bases, and having horizontal "crossrails" (the Hebrew term rendered "for fitting together" by the RSV in v. 17 means "joined by a cross-piece"). His explanation has been widely adopted, though there are still many scholars who prefer to understand the *qᵉrāšîm* as solid boards.

Added horizontal support for the framework was to be provided by "bars" of acacia wood overlaid with gold, which passed through rivs of gold attached to the "frames." Five bars were provided for each of the two sides as well as for the back. One of these (the middle bar) would stretch the entire length of each side (about 14 m., 45 ft.!). The two bars above and the two below were presumably each to stretch half the length.

The construction of the two additional "frames" at the back corners is described in 26:24, but the text is obscure. Kennedy suggested that the last frame at each end of the back was doubled. The second frame would buttress the first, sloping upwards from the outside and ending just under the uppermost of the horizontal bars described in vv. 26-29.

Earlier discussions of the tabernacle were sometimes concerned about how such an apparently flat-roofed structure could be called a "tent," and how sagging of the coverings would be prevented. Some suggested that the "tent" must have had a ridge-pole from which the roof sloped downwards to the supporting framework on the sides. Such a view would require that the "frames" at the back, as well as the pillars supporting the veil and the screen at the front, varied in height, the center ones being highest. The complete silence of the text on any of these measures, however, has led to the general abandonment of such hypotheses.

6. Veil (Ex. 26:31-35). The sanctuary proper was to be divided into two compartments, the "holy place" and the "most holy place," by a veil made from wool dyed "blue, purple, and scarlet," with linen perhaps used to highlight the cherubim design. The veil was suspended by means of gold hooks from four pillars of acacia wood overlaid with gold, set in silver pedestals. It was to be placed directly beneath the clasps by which the two halves of the tabernacle tapestry were joined. As noted above, the clasps came 20 cubits from the front of the tabernacle. The holy place was thus 20 cubits by 10, and the most holy place 10 cubits by 10.

Leviticus 16 uses a different terminology here. It calls the outer compartment of the tabernacle (elsewhere called "the holy place") the "tent of meeting" and refers to the inner compartment as "the holy place within the veil." Note too that He. 9:3 calls the veil "the second curtain" to distinguish it from the screen at the tabernkle entrance.

7. Screen (Ex. 26:36f.). A screen was to be placed at the front of the tabernacle, suspended by means of hooks of gold from five pillars of gold-covered acacia wood resting in bronze pedestals. The screen required the same materials as the veil, but less elaborate workmanship; because the screen involved no cherubim figures, the work could be assigned to an embroiderer rather than a more skilled pattern weaver.

8. Altar of Burnt Offering (Ex. 27:1-8). This ALTAR was to be made of acacia wood overlaid with bronze. According to the instructions it was square-shaped (5 cubits by 5, and 3 cubits high), with horns projecting from the four corners. Halfway up it was circled by a projecting ledge; presumably a priest would stand on this ledge while offering a sacrifice (cf. Lev. 9:22). The outward edge of the ledge was supported by a vertical bronze grating. To the corners of this grating were fixed bronze rings through which bronze-plated acacia poles could be placed for transporting the altar. Implements of bronze were to be supplied for the altar: "shovels" to collect the ashes, "pots" to carry them away, "basins" from which the blood of sacrificial animals would be tossed against the altar, "forks" for arranging the flesh on the altar, and "firepans" for removing coals of fire from the altar.

It has often been suggested that the inside of the altar, which was "hollow" (Ex. 27:8), must have been filled with earth (cf. 20:24f.). Alternatively, the altar may have had some kind of bronze top from the very beginning (cf. the altar "hearth" in Lev. 6:9 [MT 2]), though this is not specified in Exodus. According to Nu. 16:36-40 (MT 17:1-5) the bronze censers of Korah's men were later hammered into sheets for covering the altar.

The altar was to be placed in the courtyard outside the tabernacle entrance (Ex. 40:6). The actual slaying of animals would be N of the altar (cf. Lev. 1:11) and the animal parts would then be arranged on the altar. The ashes would later be dumped E of the altar (Lev. 1:16).

The fire on the altar was never to go out, not even during the daily cleansing of the altar (Lev. 6:8-13 [MT 1-6]). Burnt offerings were to be sacrificed on this "bronze altar" each morning and evening (Ex. 29:38-42; Nu. 28:3-8). Here individual Israelites were to bring their various sacrifices and offerings (Lev. 1-3). According to 17:8f. this was to be the exclusive site of Israelite "burnt offerings and sacrifices."

9. Courtyard (Ex. 27:9-19). As specified in the instructions, the tabernacle was surrounded by a rectangular courtyard 100 cubits long on the north and south sides and 50 cubits on the east and west. The courtyard was enclosed by hangings of fine white linen 5 cubits high, which were suspended by silver hooks from pillars of

wood: twenty pillars on the north and south sides, ten on the east and west. The hangings were kept in position by cords (cf. 35:18) that were stretched to bronze pegs driven into the ground. The pillars, standing in bronze bases, had capitals overlaid with silver. Narrow strips of silver ("fillets") encircled the pillars, probably at the base of the capitals. (The "fillets" have also been understood as silver rods connecting the pillars, though this seems less likely.)

The eastern side of the courtyard was to be left without hangings for a space of 20 cubits. This entrance was covered by a screen made of the same materials as the screen at the tabernacle front, suspended from four pillars.

The arrangement and number of the pillars of the courtyard have been the subject of much discussion. If one assumes that there was one pillar for each 5 cubits of hangings and that no pillar was counted twice (i.e., the pillars at the four corners of the courtyard were reckoned with only one of the two sides they linked), a total of sixty pillars is reached. But if, e.g., the pillar at the northeast corner is to be counted both among the twenty assigned to the north side and the ten assigned to the east, the total is fifty-six pillars. The exact number is not certain.

The courtyard of the tabernacle could be entered by lay Israelites of both sexes when they brought their sacrifices and offerings to "the entrance [RSV door] of the tent of meeting" (Lev. 1:3; 12:6; 14:23; 15:14; etc.) and when they gathered to hear a divine message (8:3f.; Nu. 10:3; 27:2; etc.). It thus had less sanctity than the tabernacle itself, from which the laity was barred. Nonetheless it still possessed a measure of sanctity: here "holy things" were to be eaten (Lev. 6:16, 26 [MT 9, 19]; etc.), and Israelites in a state of ritual impurity were not allowed to approach (e.g., 12:4).

10. Altar of Incense (Ex. 30:1-10). The altar of incense was to be located in the holy place, "before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony" (30:6; cf. 40:5, 26). (He. 9:3f. states that it was located in the inner compartment of the tabernacle, the "holy of holies"; but such a location would have made the *daily* burning of incense [Ex. 30:7f.] impossible due to restrictions on entering the holy of holies [Lev. 16:2; He. 9:7].) Made of acacia wood overlaid with "pure gold," this altar was 1 cubit square and 2 cubits high with four horns projecting from the corners and a rim ("molding") of gold encircling it. On two sides of the altar, just below the rim, were fixed two gold rings through which poles of acacia wood overlaid with gold were placed when the altar was transported.

Every morning and evening the high priest was to offer incense — the only offering permitted on this "gold altar." Once a year he was to make "atonement" for the altar by applying blood to its horns (Ex. 30:10).

11. Laver (Ex. 30:17-21). The instructions call for a basin ("laver") of bronze to be placed in the tabernacle courtyard between the entrance of the tabernacle and the altar of burnt offering. With the water it contained the priests were to wash their hands and feet before entering the tent or offering sacrifice. According to Ex. 38:8 the LAVER was made from bronze mirrors supplied by "the ministering women who ministered at the entrance [RSV "door"] of the tent of meeting." The way in which the women "ministered" is not specified.

D. Construction, Transportation, and Cultic Worship. Two divinely chosen and equipped men, Bezalel and Oholiab, were put in charge of the work of constructing the tabernacle (Ex. 31:1-11). The participation of the whole community is stressed, however (35:10-29). Men and women alike brought the needed materials. The construction work was carried out by "every able man" (35:10; 36:1f., 8; etc.), while competent women spun the needed yarn (35:25f.). The narrative stresses that all the work was done in precise accordance with the commands of Yahweh (e.g., 39:42f.). This point is reinforced by chs. 35-39, which largely repeat the instructions given earlier, now as a description of the way in which they were carried out.

Nine months after the Israelites arrived at Sinai (Ex. 40:1, 17; cf. 19:1) the tabernacle was erected. The tent and its furnishings were then anointed by a special oil (40:9-11; Lev. 8:10f.; cf. Ex. 30:22-33). When the work was complete, the tabernacle is said to have been filled with Yahweh's glory as He took up residence in the midst of His people. A cloud covered the tabernacle, and its movements indicated to the Israelites when their travels were to begin (cf. Nu. 9:15-23).

The layout of the Israelite camp is prescribed schematically in Nu. 2–3. In the center was the tabernacle. In its immediate vicinity the priests and Levites were to have their camps. Moses, Aaron, and Aaron's sons were to camp to the east, the rest of the Levite clans on the remaining sides: the Gershonites to the west, Kohathites to the south, and Merarites to the north. At a greater distance from the tabernacle were the camps of the other tribes: Judah, Issachar, and Zebulon to the east; Reuben, Simeon, and Gad to the south; Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin to the west; Dan, Asher, and Naphtali to the north. What emerges is a picture of an ordered, holy camp with Yahweh at its center, the guardians of His sanctuary in closest proximity (cf. 1:53), the remainder of His people at a greater distance, and all that would defile banished "outside the camp" (5:1-4).

Similarly, careful instructions are given for the order of the camp on its journeys. The tribes camped to the east would proceed first (2:9), followed by those to the south (v. 16). The Levites would then follow, carrying the tent of meeting (so 2:17; but 10:17-21 specifies that two Levite clans were to precede the southern tribes). Then came the western tribes (v. 24), followed by those on the north (v. 31).

Numbers 3-4 outlines the Levites' duties of setting up and transporting the tabernacle. The priesthood was reserved for Aaron's sons, while the other Levites were "given to Aaron and his sons" to serve them (3:5-10). A study by Milgrom suggested that the Levitical duties amounted to taking down, transporting, and setting up the tabernacle (their "service," *ʿabōḏâ*) and guarding it from unlawful incursion (their "charge," *mišmereṯ*).

The Kohathite clan was responsible for transporting on acacia poles the ark of the covenant, the table, the lampstand, the incense altar, and the altar of burnt offerings. The Kohathites were not to touch or even see the sacred objects. The priests were instructed to cover these items before the Kohathites approached (4:4-20).

The Gershonites were appointed to carry the tabernacle tapestry and coverings, the screens, the hangings of the courtyard, the cords, and other accessories. They were provided with two wagons and four oxen for transporting these items (4:24-28; 7:7).

The Merarites were responsible for carrying the tabernacle frames and horizontal bars, the pillars of acacia wood, the silver bases, the pillars for the courtyard with their bronze bases, and also pegs, cords, and accessories. For this they were assigned four wagons and eight oxen (4:31-33; 7:8). That four wagons would be inadequate is self-evident; conservative scholars have suggested that there must have been others not mentioned in Nu. 7:8.

III. The Tabernacle Outside Priestly Writings.—To this point attention has been largely restricted to the taber-

nacle (or "tent of meeting") as it is depicted in the so-called "priestly" materials of the Pentateuch. Traditional scholarship has generally understood the priestly account as a literal description of events that took place and of institutions and practices that were established in the wilderness period. Thus conservative scholars have interpreted Pentateuchal texts from non-priestly materials in ways compatible with the priestly texts and have searched the rest of the OT for evidence of the later history of the tabernacle.

Critical OT scholarship has generally regarded the priestly materials not as a simple, historical account but as an idealized portrayal of the wilderness sanctuary. There is, to be sure, a growing appreciation of the fact that the priestly account contains much ancient material, particularly in its description of cultic rites, which would have changed little over the centuries. Moreover, many critical scholars concede that the "priestly"account of the tabernacle itself has its basis in history, since a (much less elaborate) "tent of meeting" probably did exist already in the wilderness period. The nature of the early "tent of meeting" and, in particular, its relation to the ark, remain subjects of lively discussion (Schmitt has provided a helpful survey of the debate). But such scholars believe that the priestly account combines these historical elements from the wilderness sanctuary with features taken from the Jerusalem temple and the developed state of the cult and its officials at a much later period. Some view the tabernacle account as (at least in part) providing legitimacy for later temple worship: the Jerusalem temple becomes the successor to a sanctuary whose plans were given by God to Moses; its rites represent the continuation of those divinely ordained on Mt. Sinai. For others, however, the priestly account is a polemic against worship at a fixed temple, which is seen as incompatible with Israel's roots and the nature of its God (see, e.g, Fretheim). For summaries of the critical position see Driver; Hyatt, pp. 258-264.

The argument that the priestly account of the tabernacle cannot be read as a straightforward historical account is partly based on apparent inconsistencies, improbabilities, and ideal elements in the account itself. The main thrust of the argument, however, rests on the alleged incompatibility of the priestly materials with other materials in the Pentateuch and with the early history of Israel as it can be reconstructed from the rest of the OT. Hence, to round out the traditional understanding of the tabernacle, and to better understand and evaluate the critical position, we need to look outside the priestly materials of the Pentateuch.

A. Ex. 33:7-11. The passage immediately preceding these verses describes the sin of the golden calf and Yahweh's consequent reluctance to accompany the Israelites (32:1–33:6). Moses has been given instructions for the tabernacle (or "tent of meeting") and its worship (chs. 25-31), but construction has not yet begun (chs. 35-40).

According to 33:7 Moses "used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp, far off from the camp; and he called it the tent of meeting." It was here that Yahweh spoke to Moses "face to face" (v. 11) and here that the Israelites came to inquire of their God. After speaking with Yahweh, Moses would return to the camp, but Joshua would remain at "the tent."

What "tent" is described here? It can hardly be the "tent of meeting" of the priestly materials, which was not yet constructed. We might assume that chronological order has here been abandoned. But against this assumption are other differences from priestly material on the tabernacle. The tabernacle was to be located in the midst of the camp, not "far off from it"; moreover, Moses could hardly be said to"take" it and "pitch" it by himself (unless we assume a looseness of language similar to that in Ex. 40:18). Nor would the non-Levite Joshua have been allowed to remain in the tabernacle described in priestly writings. Also unlikely is the suggestion that Moses' own tent is referred to in 33:7-11 (as the LXX understands the text): it would surely be strange to say that Moses entered his own tent intermittently to speak with Yahweh, then returned to the camp.

The most common traditional view is that this was a *provisional* tent in which Moses spoke with Yahweh before the tabernacle proper was completed (Harrison, p. 587). That it was placed outside the camp is often seen as a temporary punishment for Israel's sin. To be sure, even this view is not without its difficulties. Why is "*the* tent" so abruptly introduced in v. 7 when no such tent has previously been mentioned? And how does one explain that this tent was pitched repeatedly, since the Israelites remained at the same site until the tabernacle was complete? Nonetheless this remains the most satisfactory form of the traditional view.

Critical scholars explain the passage as non-priestly material representing an earlier, more historical view of the "tent of meeting" of the wilderness period. They often assign it to the hypothetical source "JE," though some (e.g., North) think it impossible to assign it confidently to any of the main sources that they recognize in the Pentateuch. This view understands the statement that the tent was pitched repeatedly as evidence that in this early, non-priestly text it was such a simple tent that functioned as Moses' meeting-place with Yahweh throughout the wilderness period. The early (JE) texts picture Yahweh as descending *on various occasions* in a cloud to meet with Moses at the *entrance* to the tent; thus critical scholarship often sees the non-priestly "tent of meeting" as a tent for revelation rather than cultic worship. (The priestly materials, while retaining traces of this earlier view of the tent, are dominated [so Schmitt] by the theme of Yahweh's *continuous* presence in the *holy of holies*, a theme supposedly adapted from the Jerusalem temple theology.) Joshua's sole attendance at the tent is seen by such scholars as more in keeping with the wilderness period than the elaborate Levitical retinue of the priestly account. The location "outside the camp" is seen as further evidence of a difference between the conception of the tent in "JE" and that in "priestly" writings.

B. Nu. 11–12. The "tent of meeting" is also mentioned in the non-priestly material of Nu. 11–12. Here too it seems to be located outside the camp, since those who approach it are said to go "out" to the tent (11:26; 12:4) and are contrasted with those who remain "in the camp" (11:26). Moreover, Yahweh is again said to *descend* to the tent in a cloud (11:25; 12:5). Hence critical scholars see here the same conception of the "tent of meeting" as that of Ex. 33:7-11. The traditional view is that the references here are to the tabernacle of Ex. 25–31, 35–40. One attempt at harmonization suggests that people could be said to "go out" from the camp to the tabernacle even if the latter was in the midst of the camp, provided the tabernacle was in an area clearly separated from that in which the Israelite laity had their tents (Cassuto, pp. 429f.).

C. Dt. 31:14f. Traditionally these verses are read as referring to the Mosaic tabernacle. Critical scholars tend to see here a reference to the primitive "tent of meeting" of Ex. 33 and Nu. 11–12.

This is the only reference to the "tent" in Deuteronomy, and critical scholars do not regard this passage as part

of the original book. The virtual (though not complete) absence of references to the tent in Deuteronomy through 2 Kings forms an important part of the critical argument against the existence of P's tabernacle. This remains, of course, merely an argument from silence unless it can be shown that reference to such a sanctuary, had it existed, would have been necessary in a given context, or that references to existing institutions and practices preclude the existence of P's tabernacle. In the case of Deuteronomy, critical scholars point to the absence of any reference at all to the tabernacle in the protracted recapitulation of Israel's early history, to differences from priestly accounts of the ark (cf. Dt. 10:1-5 with Ex. 25:10-22 and the sequence of events in Exodus), and to a different (and, it is argued, earlier) view of the relationship between priests and Levites than that on which the priestly account of the tabernacle ritual is based (cf. Dt. 10:8; 18:1-8; 33:8-10 with Nu. 3:5-10; 18:1-7). The cultic laxity that Dt. 12:8 presupposes of the wilderness period is also considered incompatible with the elaborate tabernacle ritual recorded in priestly writings.

D. Joshua-Judges. The only explicit reference to the "tabernacle" is in Josh. 22:19; in 18:1; 19:51 the "tent of meeting" is said to have been erected at Shiloh. Nothing suggests that the "sanctuary" at Shechem (24:26; cf. v. 1) was the tabernacle. A typical argument from silence against the historicity of the tabernacle described in priestly literature observes that while Josh. 3–4 elaborately describes the Levites' transportation of the ark across the Jordan, it says nothing about the tabernacle. Judges contains no explicit reference to the tabernacle/tent, though 18:31 does speak of a sanctuary at Shiloh.

E. 1 and 2 Samuel. Here there is but one possible reference to the tent of meeting (1 S. 2:22). Traditionally this verse has been interpreted as indicating the presence of the Mosaic tabernacle at Shiloh. References to the Shiloh sanctuary as a "house" (1:7, 24; 3:15) are also interpreted to mean the tabernacle. More problematic are the references to the same sanctuary as a "temple" (1:9; 3:3) with a doorpost (1:9) and doors (3:15). Traditional scholars have sometimes suggested that by this time the well-worn materials of the tabernacle needed reinforcement, and that the sanctuary thus took on the nature of a more permanent structure.

Critical scholars have generally regarded the reference to the "tent of meeting" in 1 S. 2:22 as a gloss (it is in fact lacking in LXX B and 4QSam^a) that is inconsistent with the references in chs. 1-3 to a "temple" at Shiloh. Haran, however, has regarded the "temple" references as secondary and proposed, based on 2 S. 7:6, that the Shiloh sanctuary was a tent. (In fact, he has proposed that the description of the tabernacle in priestly literature had its historical basis in the tent sanctuary of Shiloh.)

According to the traditional view the tabernacle was located at Nob after the destruction of Shiloh (1 S. 21:1-9 [MT 2-10]; 22:9-19; cf. 4:12-22). Clearly there was a sanctuary there, though the tabernacle/tent is not mentioned.

In 2 S. 7:6 Nathan tells David that Yahweh (and, by implication, the ark) had not "dwelt in a house" from the time of the Exodus, but had been moving about in "a tent and a dwelling" (RSV "a tent for my dwelling"). This text (which is generally regarded as early) gives clear evidence that the ark had been kept in a tent; but it falls short of being evidence for the Mosaic tabernacle, since the reference to a "tent"must at least include the one pitched by David in which the ark was then located (2 S. 6:17). In fact, in 1 Ch. 17:5 the verse becomes: "I have not dwelt in a house . . . but I have gone from tent to tent and from dwelling to dwelling."

Throughout this period the evidence for a plurality of sites where sacrifices were offered (e.g., Jgs. 2:5; 6:24; 20:26; 21:2-4; 1 S. 6:15; 7:17; 9:12; 10:8; 16:1-5) appears to conflict with the regulation in Lev. 17:8f. that the "tent of meeting" alone was to be used for Israel's burnt offerings and sacrifices. (Any suggestion that this regulation was meant only for the wilderness period would seem to be precluded by the inclusion within the commandment of "the strangers that sojourn among [the Israelites]," a stipulation that normally assumes that the Israelites themselves are settled in Canaan; cf. Lev. 19:33; 20:2; 25:6, 45; etc.) The standard critical view is that the regulation in Lev. 17:8f. and the single legitimate sanctuary that it presupposes represent late ideals unknown to this period. Traditional scholars have made a number of counter suggestions: that the earlier law had fallen into disuse or been forgotten in a degenerate age (though it is difficult to attribute such neglect, e.g., to the faithful Samuel); that theophanies at the various locations of altars, or the prophetic status of those who sacrificed, legitimated such practices (though Lev. 17:8f. would seem to exclude this); or that, at least after the disaster at Shiloh and the Philistine capture of the ark (1 S. 4), normal practices were impossible to maintain and certain irregularities were countenanced (though this does not explain the irregularities before 1 S. 4, nor why, if the tabernacle itself continued to exist after the disaster at Shiloh [as at least the Chronicler maintains], the ark was never brought back to the tabernacle after its return to the Israelites [1 S. 6:1–7:2; cf. 2 S. 6:3, 17]).

It should perhaps be said that study of the premonarchic period is beset with difficulties on any view. A scholarly consensus has not been reached on several crucial issues, including the very nature of the Israelite confederation and the question of a central sanctuary.

F. 1 and 2 Kings. Evidently the tent that David pitched for the ark in Jerusalem became the site of a functioning sanctuary (cf. 2 S. 12:20; 15:25) where sacrifices were offered (2 S. 6:17; 1 K. 3:15; cf. 1 K. 1:50-53; 2:28-30). This tent, called the "house of the Lord" (2 S. 12:20) and the "tent of the Lord" (1 K. 2:28-30), must be kept distinct from the Mosaic tabernacle (see III.G below). (Cross has suggested, however, that the tabernacle had its historical base in this tent.)

Some scholars have used 1 K. 3:2-4 in arguing that the tabernacle was not in existence in Solomon's time. This passage excuses the Israelites' (including Solomon's) sacrificing at the "high place" at Gibeon because "no house had yet been built for the name of the Lord." The argument is that the Mosaic tabernacle, had it existed, should have precluded the need to sacrifice at high places. The traditional understanding of this passage is based on the Chronicler's version, which will be discussed below.

Kings has only one reference to the tent of meeting. 1 K. 8:4 states that it and the sacred vessels that it contained were brought to Solomon's newly built temple. This is understood by conservative scholars to represent the final stage in the history of the tabernacle. Critical scholars point out that the only sacred tent previously mentioned in Samuel-Kings to which the passage could refer is that pitched by David in Jerusalem; but they tend to view the reference here as a secondary accretion to the text.

G. 1 and 2 Chronicles. Whereas critical scholars have argued that the authors of Deuteronomy — 2 Kings did not have access to the priestly account, they have universally agreed that the Chronicler did. It is clear that this author was concerned to account for the later history of the tabernacle.

According to Chronicles the tabernacle was at Gibeon during the reigns of David and Solomon (1 Ch. 16:39; 21:29; 2 Ch. 1:3) until it was brought up to Solomon's temple (2 Ch. 5:5). But the Chronicler is also aware of the tent that David pitched for the ark in Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:1; 16:1; 2 Ch. 1:4; etc.). Thus he describes worship as being carried on at both sites, with the Levites divided between them: they provided musical worship in both Jerusalem and Gibeon, while Zadok offered the daily burnt offerings at the tabernacle in Gibeon (1 Ch. 16:37-42; cf. also 1 Ch. 6:31-53 [MT 16-38]).

The earlier history of Kings does not mention the tabernacle at Gibeon but does speak of a "great high place" there (1 K. 3:4). Thus while traditional scholarship, following Chronicles, has maintained that the tabernacle was in Gibeon during the time of David and Solomon, many critical scholars have suggested that the Chronicler was merely attempting to provide a legitimate basis for Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon's high place (cf. 1 K. 3:2-4 with 2 Ch. 1:3-6).

IV. Other Tent Sanctuaries.–The search for ancient Near Eastern parallels that might illuminate aspects of the biblical tabernacle has proved to be a fruitful area of study. *See* EXODUS, BOOK OF III.C for several such parallels. Others include the report by Diodorus Siculus (xx.65.1) that the Carthaginians carried a holy tent with them into battle. Late in the 12th cent. B.C. the Midianites apparently covered an abandoned Egyptian temple at Timna with curtains and used it as a tent shrine (though of course not a portable one; see Rothenberg). The parallel perhaps cited most often (though the resemblance is slight and the attestation late) is the *qubbah*, a small tent of red leather used by Arab tribes already in pre-Islamic times (deVaux, *Ancient Israel*, I, 296f.). The idols of the tribe were carried in the *qubbah*, and it was transported on camel-back in religious processions and significant battles.

Of course, tent sanctuaries are attested within the OT itself even apart from the tabernacle texts. As observed above, the tent that David pitched for the ark was used as a sanctuary. 2 K. 23:7 and Ezk. 16:16 may indicate that tent shrines were set up at some high places. Some have also suggested that Nu. 25:8 refers to a tent shrine.

V. Significance.–Our intention here is not to interpret and apply the tabernacle accounts for the modern reader but simply to note certain theological emphases in the texts themselves in their canonical form. Clearly the tabernacle texts were not intended to be merely (or even primarily) records of what once happened in the past. The texts were shaped with certain theological principles in mind. To ignore these principles while giving great attention to the physical details of construction and layout would be to distort the nature of the texts no less — and perhaps a good deal more — than to wring an allegorical significance out of every detail in the manner of a former era.

No reader of Exodus — Numbers can fail to be struck by the great attention given to the details of the tabernacle and its rites. This attention is presented as a divine concern: according to Ex. 25-31 it is Yahweh who delivers to Moses the painstaking instructions for the tabernacle's design, and it is Yahweh who later prescribes the procedures to be followed in its worship and transportation. Clearly the reader is meant to be impressed by the necessity of worshiping God on the terms that He prescribes, and by the claim that the divinely ordained terms are enshrined in the cult conducted by the descendants of Aaron.

The conviction that Yahweh is sovereign in His dealings with people underlies all the accounts. There is no suggestion that human beings, by building the tabernacle and observing its rites, have gained the means of manipulating God and guaranteeing His favor for their own endeavors. What the texts demonstrate is rather Yahweh's desire to "meet" with His covenant people and to manifest His glory in their midst (Ex. 29:43). Furthermore, the divine presence in Israel's midst is jeopardized by ritual impurity, ceremonial irregularity, and moral failings. Infringement in any of these areas leads repeatedly to disaster, and God's favor is restored not by any automatic ritual means but only as He sovereignly deigns to be appeased by the fervent prayers and zealous acts of His faithful people.

Particularly striking is the account of the golden calf incident between the instructions for erecting the tabernacle and its actual construction (Ex. 32–33). God's chosen, redeemed people could not remain faithful for forty days in Moses' absence; this imperiled Yahweh's continuing presence in His people's midst. It was only in response to Moses' earnest entreaty that Yahweh graciously relented and allowed His "presence" to go with them (33:14).

Much theology finds concrete expression in the nature of the tabernacle and its worship. Thus God's majesty is displayed in the grandeur required of His sanctuary. His holiness is expressed in the restrictions on access to His sanctuary. The divinely ordained sacrificial system shows that people can approach Yahweh only on the terms He appoints, and only as provision has been made to atone for sin.

But the central theme of the tabernacle account remains Yahweh's desire to dwell with His people. Here the tabernacle takes its place in the unfolding drama of the Bible as a whole. Humanity's unrestricted communion with God is forfeited by sin (Gen. 3). The tabernacle testifies, however, to God's continuing desire to commune with His people. Yet the communion made possible by divine grace and appointment in the tabernacle is in constant jeopardy because of human impurity and guilt. In the NT the theme is carried further. The language of the tabernacle is used to show how the Word of God became incarnate and "dwelt" (Gk. *skēnóō* is cognate with *skēnḗ*, "tent") among us (Jn. 1:14). The consummation of the divine plan will be reached when the "dwelling [lit. "tent"] of God is with men" (Rev. 21:3).

It is the Epistle to the Hebrews that most clearly develops the relation between the tabernacle of the old dispensation and the "great salvation" of the new. The author emphasizes the divinely ordained but imperfect role that the tabernacle and its services played. The tabernacle was but a copy of the heavenly sanctuary (He. 8:5; 9:24; cf. also Acts 7:44; Rev. 15:5) and was designed to foreshadow things to come (10:1). Its regulations were temporary (9:10), its sacrifices imperfect (9:9; 10:1-4), and the access it afforded to the divine presence very limited (9:7f.). But Christ has offered Himself as a perfect, once-for-all sacrifice (9:12-14, 26). He has entered the heavenly sanctuary not made with human hands (8:2; 9:11), thereby opening a "new and living way" into God's presence for all believers (10:19-22; cf. 6:19). Believers can therefore approach the "throne of grace" (i.e., the heavenly counterpart of the tabernacle "mercy seat") with the confidence that they will obtain the mercy and grace that they need (4:16).

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S. WESTERHOLM

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF. *See* BOOTHS, FEAST OF.

TABLE. An English term derived from Lat. *tabula*, which means "board" or "flat slab." Thus Eng. "table" first denoted any flat surface, but especially one used for writing. Later it came to be used in a more specialized sense of a piece of furniture with a horizontal surface. Eventually "table" in the sense of a "surface for writing" was replaced by the diminutive "tablet," but "table" is still used often in this sense by the English versions. Thus in the English Bible "table" is used in a variety of senses. Sometimes it designates a surface or piece of furniture used for purposes of eating, working, displaying objects, etc. But it can also describe a dressed slab of wood or stone that is used for writing. Such "tables" were used in antiquity to promulgate formal legal enactments. For the Hebrews the Decalogue (Ex. 20:2-17), which constituted the basis of covenant law, was originally inscribed upon two tables of stone (Ex. 24:12). Similarly, the essence of the ancient Romans' corpus of law was inscribed on the Twelve Tables, promulgated in 451 B.C.

I. Biblical Terms
II. Types of Tables
  A. For Eating
  B. For Ritual Use
  C. For Inscriptions and Scribal Use
  D. For Business Use
III. Figurative Usage

I. Biblical Terms.—In the OT two terms are frequently translated "table." Heb. *lû(a)ḥ* is used predominantly of the stone tablets inscribed with the divine law that were presented to Moses on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; 32:15f., 19; 34:1, 4, 28f.; Dt. 4:13; etc.). It is also rendered "table" by the AV (RSV "tablet") in Prov. 3:3; 7:3; Isa. 30:8; Jer. 17:1; Hab. 2:2. The same Hebrew term can be used to describe wooden planks (Ex. 27:8; Ezk. 27:5) and metal plates (1 K. 7:36). *Šulḥān* originally signified a hide spread out on the ground for meals, much like what the bedouin use today. The term is used variously to describe a domestic table (Jgs. 1:7; 1 S. 20:29; etc.), the table for the bread of the Presence in the sanctuary (Ex. 25:23-30; etc.), temple tables — whether of Yahweh (2 Ch. 4:8; Ezk. 40:39-43) or of heathen gods (Isa. 65:11), and the altar of sacrificial offerings (Mal. 1:7, 12). In addition, the idea of sitting at table is conveyed by the context in several passages. In Gen. 43:34 the RSV renders *mē'ēṯ pānāyw* (AV, lit., "from before him") by "from Joseph's table," and in 2 K. 25:29 par. Jer. 52:33 it translates *'āḵal leḥem lᵉpānāyw* (AV, lit., "eat bread before him") with "dine . . . at the king's table." In 1 S. 20:5 *yāšaḇ* ("sit") is rendered "sit at table."

In the NT "table" represents several terms. Gk. *trápeza* (lit. "having four feet") denotes a piece of furniture. It is used of a domestic table (Mt. 15:27), the Lord's table (1 Cor. 10:21), a stand at which money is exchanged (Mk. 11:15), and the table for the bread of the Presence (He. 9:2). *Plάx*, the NT equivalent of Heb. *lû(a)ḥ*, denotes a tablet. In He. 9:4 it designates the "tables of the covenant"; cf. 2 Cor. 3:3, which contrasts stone tablets with the tablets of human hearts (AV "tables"). The *pinakídion*, a small "writing tablet" (RSV), was usually made of wood overlaid with wax (Lk. 1:63; AV "writing table"). The AV also uses "table" to render Gk. *klínē*, "bed," in Mk. 7:4. The term occurs in some fifth-century uncials (e.g., A D) and many later Greek and Latin MSS, but not in the earliest MSS (e.g., ℵ B); hence it is omitted from most modern versions. Several Greek verbs also convey the idea of sitting or reclining at a table: *anákeimai* (Mt. 9:10; 26:7, 20; Mk. 14:18; 16:14; Lk. 22:27; Jn. 12:2; 13:28), *anaklínō* (Mt. 8:11; Lk. 12:37; 13:29), *anapíptō* (Lk. 11:37; 17:7; 22:14), *katákeimai* (Mk. 2:15; 14:3; Lk. 5:29; 7:37; 1 Cor. 8:10), *kataklínō* (Lk. 7:36; 24:30), *synanákeimai* (Lk. 7:49; 14:10, 15).

II. Types of Tables.—A. For Eating. Such tables as have been found in the ancient Near East seldom stand more than 45 cm. (18 in.) above the floor. In nomadic times and among the common people, meals were generally taken squatting or sitting on the ground (cf. the reference to rugs in Isa. 21:5), and the "table" consisted of a mat or tray on which the food was placed. Only the wealthy could provide a table and chairs for themselves and their guests (cf. the wealthy woman of Shunem's provisions for Elisha, 2 K. 4:10). Illustrations on reliefs and painted walls show banquet scenes in which nobles are seated on small stools around low tables. Fragments of a low bronze stool from the Persian period have been recovered from Sharuhen (Tell el-Far'ah South; *see* picture in FURNITURE), but any accompanying table has long since disappeared.

Although the custom of reclining on couches around a low table was already known by the degenerate rich in Amos's day (Am. 6:4; cf. 3:12), by NT times it had become an established practice — at least at banquets or feasts — due to Greek and Roman influence. Those who dined in this manner would lean on their left arm for support and eat with their right hand. Whereas the OT always refers to "sitting" (Heb. *yāšaḇ*) at meals, the NT invariably uses verbs for "reclining" (Gk. *anákeimi*, etc.). This does not necessarily indicate, however, that meals were always taken in a reclining position, or even that a table was always used. Very likely it remained common practice for most Jews to eat in a squatting or sitting position except for special banquets (see *TDNT*, VIII, 210f.). Those who could afford them acquired tables decorated extensively with inlays of costly woods or ivory. Cicero is reported to have paid a high price for a low table made of citron wood (*In Verrem* ii.4.17).

Position at the table (which in Roman times was often of a semicircular or horseshoe shape) defined the relative importance of guests at a banquet, the most exalted position being immediately to the right of the doorway through which the servants brought the food. The "lowest place" was to the left of the door, which was the last place to be served as the slaves carried the food around the room (cf.

Lk. 14:8-10). Domestic pets often scavenged for food dropped near or under the table by the guests (cf. Mt. 15:27).

See also MEALS.

B. For Ritual Use. The most prominent table in Hebrew religious life was the one designed to exhibit the bread of the Presence (AV "shewbread"). Its specifications (Ex. 25:23-30) indicate that it was of rectangular shape and stood about 70 cm. (27 in.) high. Its narrow width of one cubit emphasized its nature as a display stand rather than a conventional table. This gold-plated structure stood outside the curtain (Ex. 26:35) on the north side of the tabernacle (40:22), and the loaves placed upon it were renewed ritually by the attending priest every sabbath day (Lev. 24:5-8). In addition the table accommodated plates for the twelve loaves, as well as dishes (Heb. *kappōṯ*) for incense, flagons, and bowls for drink offerings. The Kohathites were given the responsibility of attending to the table (Nu. 3:27-31), and they were the only personnel authorized to move it when the Israelites transferred their encampment to another location (4:4-8).

Apparently the wilderness wanderings and the subsequent settlement in Canaan took its toll on the tabernacle furnishings, and this led Solomon to construct a new table of solid gold (1 K. 7:48). This structure was used until the Babylonians attacked Jerusalem and burned the temple (2 K. 25:9; Jer. 52:13) in the time of Zedekiah. During the postexilic period a new table was constructed, but this was carried off by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), who looted the temple (1 Macc. 1:22). The vessels were subsequently replaced by Judas Maccabeus (4:49-51) and remained in use until the Romans destroyed Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This table is depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome, along with other spoils of the campaign, though the accuracy of these sculptures is a matter of some debate. *See also* PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE; TABERNACLE II.C.2.

Other tables used in Israelite cultic rituals included ten for temple use (2 Ch. 4:8) made by Solomon, apparently from silver that David had provided for that purpose (1 Ch. 28:16). Precisely what role these tables played in Israel's rituals is not clear. Perhaps they accommodated the dishes, bowls, and other vessels that had been placed on the original golden table in the wilderness period, leaving the sanctuary table free to display the bread of the Presence. Ezekiel described more specifically the function of the twelve temple tables (40:39-43) in his vision of the new temple. Eight of these were to be set aside as the place where the burnt offering, the sin offering, and the guilt offering were slaughtered. The remaining four were apparently low square stands of hewn stone (about 45 cm. or 18 in. high) upon which were placed the sacrificial instruments and the flesh of the offerings. The "Lord's table" mentioned by Malachi (1:7, 12) was the altar of burnt offering, which the Jews had polluted by offering improper sacrifices. Isa. 65:11 refers to the idolatrous rite of preparing a meal for a pagan god, a practice that was typical of Canaanite religion.

C. For Inscriptions and Scribal Use. The tables containing the Ten Commandments were of hewn stone (Ex. 24:12) and were inscribed on both sides by God (32:15f.; Dt. 9:9-11), signifying the permanence of the covenant. The design was probably similar to Egyptian cultic stelae that have rounded tops (*see* pictures in INSCRIPTIONS). After Moses smashed the first set of tablets in response to the Israelites' covenant-breaking idolatry (Ex. 32:19; Dt. 9:17), he cut a second set from stone (Ex. 34:1-4; Dt. 10:1-3), and God again wrote His laws upon them (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 10:4). The two stone tablets were stored subsequently in the ark of the covenant. If the Hebrew covenant followed the familiar pattern of Hittite suzerainty treaties, as seems probable, these tablets were duplicate copies of the commandments.

Writing tablets were used by scribes for various types of communication (cf. Isa. 8:1). In NT times such tablets normally consisted of a piece of flat wood covered with wax (cf. Lk. 1:63), which made erasures or corrections easy (see Bouquet, pp. 114f.).

D. For Business Use. One type of table found in business circles was the low stool behind which the moneychangers sat on the ground (cf. Mt. 21:12; Mk. 11:15; Jn. 2:15). To overturn such tables, as Jesus did, would not have required particularly vigorous effort.

III. Figurative Usage.—"Table" is often used by metonymy to represent the meal that is served on it. In the ancient Near East eating together was an expression of intimate fellowship and trust (cf. Lk. 22:21, which emphasizes that Jesus' betrayer was one with whom He had shared table fellowship). To be invited to eat at the king's table was a great honor (cf. 2 S. 9:7, 10-13; 1 K. 2:7; 4:27; etc.). On the other hand, being reduced to eating the leavings of someone else's table signified great misery (e.g., Jgs. 1:7; Lk. 16:21; cf. Mk. 7:28). Sometimes the imagery of a banquet of thanksgiving is used to depict God's provision for His people (e.g., Ps. 23:5; 78:19). In a personification of Wisdom (Prov. 9:1f.) the sage describes her as having built her house, provided food, and laid her table, thereby symbolizing the blessings consequent upon following her precepts. By contrast, Ezekiel depicted Israel as a whore who had spread out a feast in order to attract lovers (Ezk. 23:40-42). Isaiah, in attaching much of the blame for Israel's spiritual and moral bankruptcy to the stupid self-indulgence of its priests and prophets, describes how far their debauchery has gone: "all tables are full of vomit" (Isa. 28:8).

Whereas the table of the Lord normally signified blessing to those who kept His covenant, it could become a symbol of utter destruction to God's enemies. In Ezk. 39:17-20 the Lord instructs the prophet to summon all the birds and animals to His table, where the fallen members of Gog's forces will be spread out for them to consume. In describing the end times Jesus employed the imagery of a feast in which believers would partake at His table with the patriarchs of old (Mt. 8:11; Lk. 13:29; 22:30). Unbelievers, by contrast, would be cast into "outer darkness" when the kingdom of God was established, to their great amazement and sorrow (Lk. 13:28).

"Table" in the sense of a writing tablet is also used figuratively. Prov. 3:3 enjoins young men to inscribe mercy and truth upon the tablet (AV "table") of their heart (cf. 7:3). The same imagery is used by Jer. 17:1 to describe the ingrained nature of Judah's sin. Paul employed a similar figure in his description of the Corinthian Christians as Christ's epistle, which has been inscribed by the Spirit not on hard stone tablets but upon the receptive, fleshy tablets of the human heart (2 Cor. 3:3).

See also EAT; MEALS.

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TABLE OF NATIONS. The name by which the genealogy of Gen. 10 is commonly identified. Since the chapter is

cast in the form of a genealogy rather than a table, the title is somewhat misleading. The function and message of Gen. 10 in its present context may be determined by examining its literary form.

I. Literary Genre
II. Form
  A. Preamble
  B. Genealogical Formulas
  C. Genealogies
    1. Entries
    2. Telescoping
    3. Fluidity
  D. "Notes"
  E. Colophons
  F. Conclusion
III. Function, Message, and Date

I. Literary Genre.–The introduction of Gen. 10 with *'ēlleh tōl^{e}ḏôṯ*, "These are the generations of . . ." immediately identifies the nature of the text. Forms of this expression occur eleven times in Genesis. Although in some of these occurrences the phrase requires a looser interpretation (e.g., 6:9), in this context (as in 5:1; 11:10; 25:12; 36:1, 9) a rather literal sense is intended. The "table" takes the form of a GENEALOGY similar to many other biblical family trees. In contrast to the linear genealogies of Adam in Gen. 6 and Seth in 11:10-26, this family tree is segmented, dividing into three major branches of which each is headed by one of the sons of Noah. As the diagram indicates, each major line has further segmentation. Clearly the author has not been concerned to maintain a balance in either the number of entries or the genealogical depth of the lines. Japheth's line is traced to three generations, Ham's to four, and Shem's to six. It is equally obvious, nevertheless, that the author has followed a basic pattern in each branch. Each contains its own introductory formula, (Japheth, 10:2; Ham, v. 6; Shem, v. 22), a list of names, and a concluding statement (Japheth, v. 5; Ham, v. 20; Shem, v. 31), producing three semi-independent family trees. Each could stand by itself; but the formal introduction (v. 1) and conclusion (v. 32) provide a framework for the entire document, emphasizing its unity and completeness.

II. Form.–A. Preamble. The formal nature of the preamble (Gen. 10:1) demonstrates that the "table" is the product of deliberate planning. The introduction contains two parts. The first defines the genealogy's scope: Noah and the descendants of his three sons. The second identifies its chronological context: "after the flood." This phrase creates an intentional link with the preceding narrative, in which the entire human race, except for this family, has been eliminated (cf. 9:28; 11:10). The deluge is clearly acknowledged as a divider of epoch, separating the previous civilization from that of the author (cf. the Sumerian King List, *ANET*, p. 265). Consistent with the Noachian blessing in 9:1-3, Noah is presented as a new Adam, the fountainhead of the new human race.

B. Genealogical Formulas. Although some genealogies begin with the most recent member of the line and trace their history back to the original ancestor (e.g., the lineage of Jesus, Lk. 3:23-38; section 2 of the Assyrian King List [Gelb, pp. 211f., 223f.]), this one follows the more common pattern of beginning with the earliest ancestor. The direction of the genealogy is indicated by the use of the genealogical formula, "The sons of A (were) X, Y, Z, etc.," as the formal introduction to each segment (Gen. 10:2, 6, 22; cf. the sons of Jacob, 35:22b-26). This formula is used to introduce second and third generations as well (Gomer, 10:3; Javan, v. 4; Cush, v. 7; Raamah, v. 7; Aram, v. 23). In the second and third generations of the Hamitic and Shemitic lines a second type of genealogical formula occurs: "A became the father of X, Y, Z, etc." This form appears first with the announcement of Nimrod, the sixth son of Cush (v. 8), and continues with the descendants of Mizraim/Egypt (vv. 13f.) and Canaan (v. 15). It reappears later when the sons of Arpachshad (v. 24) and Joktan (v. 26) are introduced (cf. the same form in the genealogies of Cain, 4:18; Adam, 5:3-32; Shem, 11:10-26). A third formula, "To A were born X and Y," is used for the descendants of Shem (v. 21) and Eber (v. 25).

The variation in formulas is generally attributed to the sources underlying the present document, the first one being recognized as "P," the second and third as "J" (see CRITICISM III.D; PENTATEUCH IV.C-F). But a comparison with the other genealogical formulas used in Genesis reveals several significant features. (1) A variety of genealogical formulas was available to Hebrew authors. (2) Variation in the formulas used occurs in both linear and segmented genealogies.(3) No genealogy uses only one formula (25:1-4 uses three!). (4) No hypothetical source (J, P, etc.) has a monopoly on any one formula. The use of Heb. *yālaḏ* is not restricted to J, nor is "These are the sons of A . . ." limited to P.

The Chronicler's treatment of these genealogical formulas (1 Ch. 1:1-23) is interesting. Although he sometimes deleted or changed the formulas in other genealogies reproduced from Genesis, and although he omitted some of the "notes" from Gen. 10, he carefully preserved the genealogical formulas in the "table." If, on the one hand, he was not averse to modifying the shapes of the genealogies, he apparently did not, on the other hand, feel compelled to standardize them either. His final document displays many variations in style and form.

It is doubtful that the genealogical formulas should be employed as criteria for identifying or dating the sources behind Gen. 10 (so also M. H. Segal, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 [1961], 87f.). The variation may be purely stylistic. The special attention given to Nimrod in the "note" (vv. 10f.) may have warranted a less formal introduction than that used up to this point. By attraction this formula was applied then to Egypt's and Canaan's descendants, but when the new line of Shem began the author reverted to the more formal style.

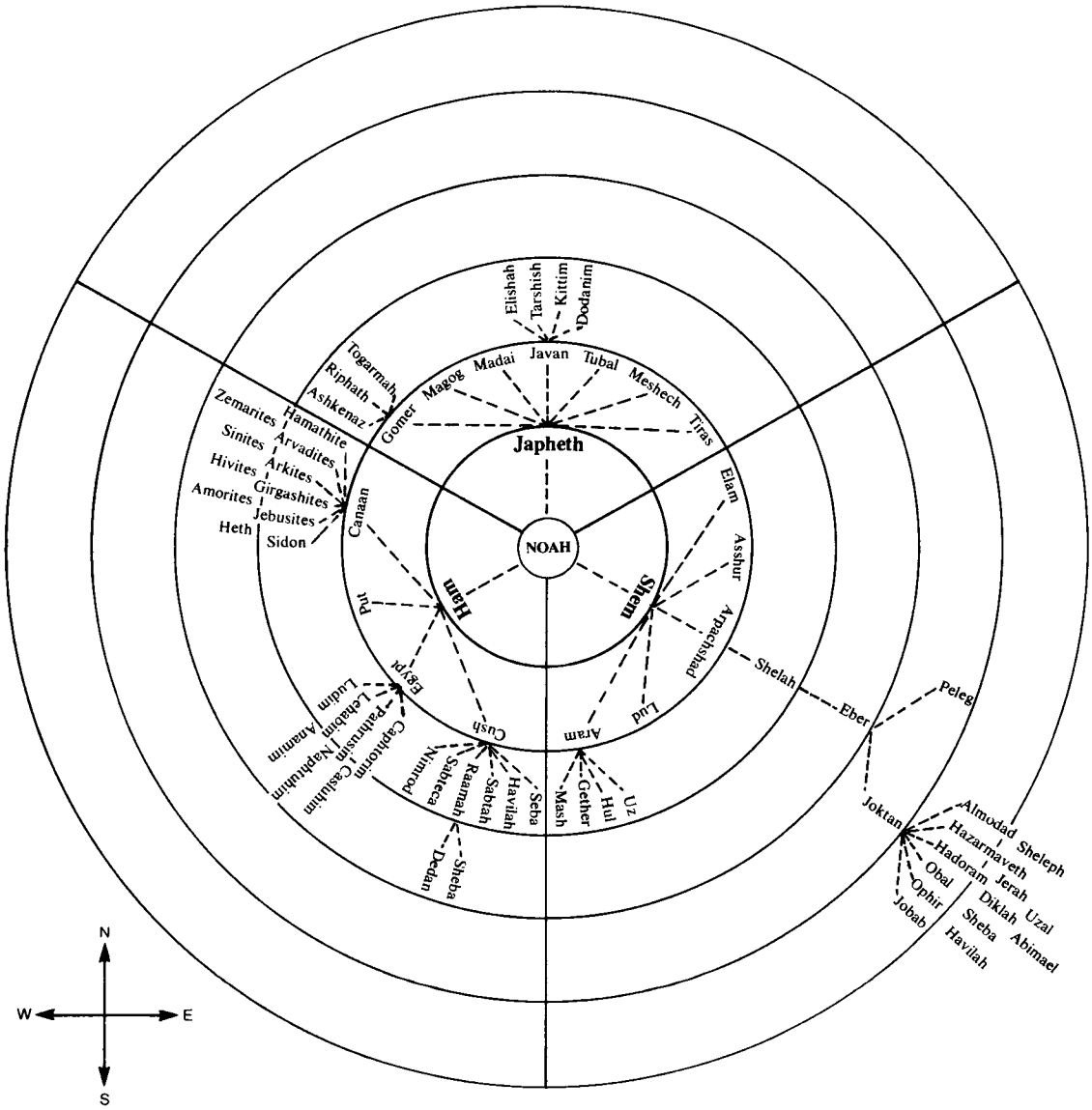
The terms for "son" and "become the father of" in these formulas may legitimately be interpreted more loosely as "descendant" and "become the ancestor of," respectively. Nevertheless, the selection of these terms, along with the introductory *tōl^{e}ḏôṯ* ("generations") formula, requires that the "table" be viewed as an actual family tree. Its function is to demonstrate how the process summarized in 9:17 transpired. The product is a tribal and ethnic map depicting all of the peoples as having a common origin in Noah, the first postdiluvian ancestor.

C. Genealogies. For discussion of the identification, location, and history of each of the names entered in the genealogy, see the separate articles. This article will discuss only the forms of the names and their significance in the context of Gen. 10.

1. Entries. The forms of the names included in the genealogy are bewilderingly diverse. Included are apparent individual names (Shem, Ham, Japheth, Nimrod, Shelah, Eber, Peleg), toponyms (Elishah, Tarshish, Sidon, Ophir), tribal names (many of the sons of Joktan), and gentilics with both a geographical (Arkite, Sinite, Arvadite, Zemarite, Hamathite, Dodanim) and a tribal (Jebusite, Amorite, Girgashite, Hivite) base. These forms have important implications for determining the function of the "table."

2. Telescoping. Ancient genealogies were seldom intended to be exhaustive, including every member in a given lineage. The omission of names is commonly referred

THE GENEALOGIES OF NOAH'S SONS



to as "telescoping." The absence of comparable external data makes it difficult to identify precisely the lacunae in this family tree. The incompleteness of the genealogy is obvious, however. More than three generations are required for the development of large national groups from a single ancestor. The only section for which an external parallel is provided is 10:21-25; the linear sequence from Shem to Peleg is reproduced in 11:10-17. The entries are in perfect agreement with respect to order and form; but the LXX of 11:12 (so also Jub. 8:1; Lk. 3:36) inserts the name Cainan immediately after Arpachshad, suggesting a gap in 10:24.

On the horizontal plane, telescoping is even more obvious. The absence of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, all very important in Israel's history, requires explanation. Furthermore, in none of the three major lines are the branches defined with equal completeness. Apparently the author has selected his entries, not only on the basis of names available to him, but also in accordance with external functional concerns.

The depth of several linear OT genealogies seems to have been artificially determined; e.g., the ten-generation depth of the family trees of Adam (Gen. 5), Shem (11:10-26), and David (Ruth 4:18-22) can hardly have been accidental. (Cf. also the lineage of Jesus in Mt. 1, which is divided into three sections of about fourteen generations each.) Obviously, such considerations have not determined the nature and depth of this genealogy. It is surely not coincidental, however, that the actual number of descendants of Japheth, Ham, and Shem should total seventy (the cities founded by Nimrod and the Philistines are part of a "note" and thus are not considered in the tabulation; see II.D below). The reason for the quota of seventy entries is apparently related to the Hebrew view of the

origins of the nations reflected in the LXX of Dt. 32:8 (also 4QD), which states that the human population was divided into nations according to the availability of patron "sons of God" (angels). If MT "sons of Israel" is preferred, it may point to the seventy who descended with Jacob to Egypt [Gen. 46:27]; cf. Tg. Yerushalmi, longer paraphrase, and Rashi's comm., on which see R. Meyer, "Bedeutung von Deuteronomium 32, 8f. 43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Moseliedes," in A. Kuschke, ed., *Verbannung und Heimkehr [Festschrift* C. W. Rudolph, 1961], pp. 197-209.) The theory that connects the seventy entries with the seventy sons of Athirat in the Ugaritic texts (*UT* 51:6:46) is speculative (cf. W. F. Albright, *VT,* 9 [1959], 343f.), though the use of the number seventy suggests an idealized statement in both. The use of this artificial form in Gen. 10 conveys the author's conviction that all the nations of the earth descended from Noah through his three sons (cf. 9:19). The requirements of this quota, therefore, probably account for the large gaps in the third and subsequent generations.

This still does not explain, however, on what basis the entries were selected. If the document was written after Israel's settlement in Canaan, the absence of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites — all nations with whom Israel had extensive contact — would be inexplicable. It would also be hard to account for the inclusion of the long list of obscure Arabic tribes under Joktan, with whom the Israelites had little or no contact. At the present time any explanation is speculative.

That some linear telescoping has occurred in the genealogy is obvious from the use of plural gentilics for the descendants of Egypt and singular gentilics with the article for the offspring of Canaan. Here the concern is not with individuals but with collectives, a development that presupposes several intervening generations. This is also true of geographic and tribal entries.

3. Fluidity. In genealogies the relative ages of sons are usually reflected in the order in which their names appear. This principle appears to have determined the priority of Sidon among the "sons" of Canaan, but it is violated elsewhere. In the preceding narratives the sons of Noah are consistently listed as Shem, Ham, and Japheth (Gen. 6:10; 7:13; 9:18; 10:1). In this genealogy the sequence is reversed. Furthermore, 9:24 identifies Ham as the youngest son; 10:21 suggests that Shem was the oldest (contra the NIV, which treats Japheth as older than Shem). Logical considerations seem to have overridden chronological. The order appears to reflect the relative importance of each of the segments for Israel's history, beginning with the Japhetic peoples, who appear but seldom in the OT, then dealing with the Hamites, with whom the Israelites were vitally concerned (esp. Egypt and the Canaanite tribes), and ending with their own line, Shem. This conforms to a common pattern in Genesis, in which by-lines to the primary family are dealt with in summary form before the detailed narratives of the patriarchs commence.

From 11:10 it appears that Arpachshad was the eldest son of Shem. In 10:22, however, his name appears in the middle of five entries. Since both texts are generally assigned to P, this cannot be explained on the basis of discrepant sources. Either the names appear in random order in the "table," or some other (as yet unknown) principle is operative. Furthermore, the "note" attached to the Sidon entry would have been redundant if chronological factors had determined the order of entries.

The genealogy also displays some internal fluidity. The presence of Havilah in two different major lines (Ham [v. 7] and Shem [v. 29]) is usually attributed to discrepant sources (the Hamitic member is in P, the Shemitic in J; cf. Westermann, pp. 499, 501). It is possible, however, for two lines to converge through intermarriage, migrations, or tribal amalgamation; consequently the same name would surface in two genealogies. In view of the Arabian peninsular location of both, it is doubtful that two different entities are intended.

The case of Lud/Ludim is more complex. If these are attributed to two separate sources (v. 13 to J and v. 22 to P), no harmonization is needed. On the other hand, the variation in the form and, more importantly, the present context of each suggest two widely separated peoples.

Several indications of external fluidity require explanation. In Gen. 25:1-4 the two sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan (10:7), are identified as descendants of Abraham through Keturah and Jokshan. Significantly, in both contexts Sheba and Dedan are treated as brothers. This dual reference may again point to the convergence of the Shemitic and Hamitic lines in southern Arabia.

The "table" presents Aram as the son of Shem and brother of Arpachshad the ancestor of the Hebrews (10:22); but 22:20-24 identifies him as the son of Kemuel and grandson of Nahor, thus a direct descendant of Arpachshad. Furthermore, 10:23 introduces Uz as Aram's son, whereas 22:21f. presents him as Aram's uncle! Some interpret both genealogies sociopolitically; Gen. 10 would then reflect the relative prominence of Aram, alongside Elam and Asshur, in the 1st millennium B.C., and ch. 22 would portray the more modest second-millennium position of the Arameans (see A. Malamat, "The Aramaeans," in Wiseman, ed., *Peoples,* pp. 139f.). This interpretation is unnecessary, however, for several reasons. First, the two genealogies serve different functions. Gen. 10 is a formal *tōlᵉḏôṯ* document, complete with colophons, summarizing world history; 22:20-24, on the other hand, is personal, sketching the progress of a by-line to the chosen family and explaining the affinity of the Hebrews to the "Arameans" of Haran genealogically. Furthermore, the latter is woven deliberately into the patriarchal narrative. Second, the internal discrepancies within the genealogies are too great to have been incorporated unmodified into the canonical book. It seems preferable, therefore, to understand the Aram in ch. 10 as some eastern ancestor of the Arameans, from whom they received their name, and the Aram in ch. 22 as an individual living in Aramean territory whose name is derived from the people (see Block, pp. 264-274).

Havilah, which appears a third time in the genealogy of Ishmael (25:18), presents another example of external fluidity. Here the name is clearly geographic and seems to reflect further intermingling of the tribes in southern Arabia.

D. "Notes." Ever since T. Jacobsen's study of the Sumerian King List, students of ancient Near Eastern genealogies have had to take more seriously the possibility of "intrusions" into otherwise coherent genealogies. Seven such intrusions occur in Gen. 10 as parenthetical "notes." (Cf. the notes following the entries of Enoch [5:22, 24], Uz [22:21], and Anah [36:24], all of which are deleted by the Chronicler.) Of the seven, those concerning the Philistines, Sidon, Eber, and Peleg are retained by the Chronicler, the Nimrod comment is shortened, and the Shem and Joktan statements are deleted. Although the notes vary in length, none is integral to the genealogies. They all consist of historical comments that give flesh and life to an otherwise cold literary composition.

1. Nimrod (Gen. 10:8b-12). This note, the longest and most complex, summarizes the personal prowess and political achievements of the man. Both aspects have their parallels in the Sumerian King List. Several features of

Nimrod's life are noted. (a) He was the first mighty man (*gibbôr*) on earth, his greatness being reflected in the phrase "before Yahweh" and his immortalization in the proverb. (b) His kingdom was a personal accomplishment, representing a radical departure from the flow of the "table." The *gôyim* ("peoples," "nations") are presented in the "table" as the end results of orderly genealogical segmentation; his, however, is an artificially created kingdom. (Cf. the reference to Assyria as "the land of Nimrod" in Mic. 5:6.) (c) His kingdom was expansive, beginning in the heart of Shinar (lower Mesopotamia; cf. 11:2) and moving up the Euphrates and the Tigris. The names of the first three cities are well known: Babel is Babylon; Erech is Uruk, an important city in the Gilgamesh Epic; Accad is Akkad/Agade in the Babylonian texts, but its location is unknown. Calneh is difficult; perhaps the word should be read *kullānâ*, "all of it," rather than as a place name (so W. F. Albright, *JNES*, 3 [1944], 254; J. A. Thompson, *JBL*, 90 [1971], 98-102). From Babylon Nimrod went out to Assyria, building Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen. Nineveh is the well-known city on the Tigris. Calah, in modern times named Nimrûd (no doubt through the influence of this tradition), is written *Kalḫu* in Assyrian texts. Rehoboth-Ir is uncertain; various scholars read it as a suburb of Nineveh, Rêbīt Ninua (so Cassuto), or a nearby city, or a phrase descriptive of Nineveh, "the broadest city" (so J. M. Sasson, *RB*, 90 [1983], 94-96). Resen, identified here as between Nineveh and Calah, has not been located either, but the name could be associated with *reš-ēni* ("fountainhead") indicating a location at the site of a spring. This description of Nimrod's empire in purely geographic terms represents a further departure from the presentation of the *gôyim* descendants of ancestors, but it is reminiscent of extrabiblical Babylonian and Assyrian perspectives.

Nimrod's significance, therefore, lies not in his eponymous ancestral position but in the empire he built, perhaps in defiance of the natural forces implicit in the genealogy. He represents the exception that highlights the rule, and in so doing he begins a pattern of Mesopotamian imperial rule that continues throughout the OT period.

One problem remains: What is this Hamitic personage doing in the heart of Shemitic territory? If Nimrod is identified with Tukulti-Ninurta I (13th cent. B.C.), the first Akkadian ruler of Babylon (so Speiser), this difficulty is removed but another, more serious, is created: a Semite in a Hamitic line. Westermann rejected the idea that Nimrod represents any historical personage: he is instead a type of early ruler like Gilgamesh, who became a legendary founder. But Wiseman ("Genesis 10," p. 21) pointed out that the Sumerians who preceded the Akkadians were not of Semitic stock. Jacobsen (p. 146) observed that stories like this originate while the memory of the person's accomplishments is still fresh.

2. Philistines (10:14). The comment "from which came the Philistines" was apparently intended to place the Casluhim within the international context. The Philistines represented the only non-Canaanite people with whom the Israelites competed for the land of Canaan. At first sight the note seems misplaced. According to Am. 9:7 the note would more appropriately follow Caphtorim rather than Casluhim. The difficulty may be resolved by positing a series of successive waves of sea-peoples who moved in from the Mediterranean and settled in Palestine (< "Philistine"). The first of these, the Pelasgo-Philistines, may have inhabited the Negeb prior to the arrival of the patriarchs (cf. Cassuto, p. 208; K. A. Kitchen, "Philistines," in Wiseman, ed., *Peoples*, pp. 53ff.). A later wave may have come directly from Caphtor, but their origin could well have been elsewhere. On the other hand, ethnic terms were not always used precisely, and the Caphtorim and Casluhim may have been closely associated; perhaps the names were even used interchangeably.

3. Sidon (10:15). The note "his firstborn" agrees with Sidon's leading position among Phoenician cities in the 2nd millennium. Although Tyre later superseded Sidon in importance, Seleucid coins inscribed with "Belonging to Sidon, the mother of Cambe (Carthage), Hippo, Kitium, and Tyre," reflect a similar if not identical tradition (cf. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in Phoenicia* [1910], pp. cvi-cvii).

4. Canaanites (10:18b-19). This note describes the expansion of the Canaanite line in geographic terms. The shift in meaning is reflected in the change from the personal name "Canaan" in v. 15 (used with the verb *yālaḏ*) to the gentilic in the phrase "the families of the Canaanites" (v. 18b). The geographical definition of "the land of Canaan" (cf. Nu. 34:1-12; Josh. 15:1-4) as extending from Sidon in the north to Gaza and the cities of the plain in the south corresponds to extrabiblical usage of the name, which in second-millennium texts consistently includes Phoenicia. (Cf. A. R. Millard, "The Canaanites," in Wiseman, ed., *Peoples*, pp. 29-33.) The presence of this note betrays the Israelite perspective in the "table": the author could not resist inserting a comment on the part of the genealogy that would concern his nation so directly.

5. Shem (10:21). By interrupting the flow of the genealogy, this note highlights once more the line most important for the author. It performs several functions in this context. First, it preserves the position and privilege of primogeniture for Shem. Because of the final position of the Shemite line, the reader might otherwise have understood Shem to be the youngest son of Noah. Second, Shem is identified directly with the children of Eber (*ʿēḇer*), the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews. For the author, this represented for Shem a position of honor: although he was the ancestor of other nations as well, his special significance lay in his ancestral relationship to the Hebrews. Although other nations were also viewed as lineal descendants of Eber (e.g., Moab, Edom, Ammon, Ishmael), only the Israelites inherited the name. Abraham was acknowledged as "the Hebrew" (*hāʿiḇrî*) *par excellence* (Gen. 14:13). *See* HEBREW (PEOPLE); HABIRU.

6. Peleg (10:25). The explanatory note, "for in his days the earth was divided," could have been occasioned by two factors: the nature of the name (*plg*, "to divide, split"; cf. Akk. *palgu*, "canal"), and the association of the man with an important division of some sort. D. J. Wiseman ("Genesis 10," p. 22) has suggested that the event referred to was the division of the population into sedentary peoples (cultivating irrigated land) and true nomads (Eber). Others have suggested the split of the Joktanites from the northern Shemitic branch (e.g., J. Skinner, *ICC* on Genesis [2nd ed. 1930], p. 220). In its present broader context, the note seems to reflect an unnatural division or break in the evolution of the genealogy. Most likely the author of Genesis is alluding to the Tower of Babel incident, which follows immediately (cf. Ps. 55:9 [MT 10], where the expression *plg lšnm* [RSV "confuse their tongues"] may echo this conflated tradition).

7. Joktan (10:30). Like the Canaanite note in vv. 18b-19, this comment describes the territorial expansion of a branch. But in contrast to the specific boundaries (*gᵉḇûl*) given for the former, this note refers to the region of settlement (*môšāḇām*) only in general terms. It extended from Mesha, as one goes to Sephar, which is in the hill country of the east. Presumably this represented the western extremity

of their territory, the place where an Israelite would first encounter the Joktanites. In view of the relative insignificance of the Joktanites in Israelite history, the note is difficult to explain. Perhaps the author was simply filling in information for his readers, to whom this branch was not well known.

E. Colophons. Ancient Near Eastern scribes often concluded a tablet with a statement concerning its production (the identity of the scribe or the date of the copy) or a summary of its content. Such notices are commonly called colophons. The structure of the "table" suggests that it was modeled on some of these patterns. It seems to be composed of three basic documents, each with its own colophonic conclusion (Gen. 10:5, 20, 31). Like extrabiblical colophons, these are not uniform; all, however, serve to summarize the material that has just been presented. These colophons consist of two parts: a retrospective announcement of the tablet's subject, and a statement of the principles reflected in its organization. Similar colophons conclude other genealogies in Genesis (25:16; 36:30, 43).

The colophon for the Japhetic line (10:5) deviates considerably from the pattern followed in the other two. The MT (followed by the AV and NEB; cf. RSV mg.) lacks the expected opening ("These are the sons of"), providing instead a geographic observation reminiscent of the Canaanite and Joktan notes. The antecedent of "from these" is not clear. The use of *'îyîm*, "coastlands," suggests a limited reference applying only to the sons of Javan. But the context and the parallels in vv. 20 and 31 seem to require a more comprehensive colophon summarizing the entire line. The difficulty is easily resolved by assuming the loss of an original introductory phrase, "These are the sons of Japheth," after the first occurrence of *gôyim* (so the RSV and Westermann; Speiser places this phrase at the beginning of the verse). This solution has the dual advantage of allowing the first part of the verse to serve as a note applying only to the descendants of Javan, while ensuring a comprehensive scope for the remainder of the verse. On the other hand, the text is grammatically correct as it stands, and the suggested emendation assumes a degree of colophonic consistency not shared by other ancient documents. It is also possible that the common interpretation of *'îyîm* as "coastlands" is too narrow, since the term is frequently paired with *gôyim* ("nations") in the OT (e.g., Isa. 40:15; 41:1, 5).

The order in which the dividing factors are listed is also different in the Japhetic colophon: lands, languages, families, nations (cf. families, languages, lands, nations, vv. 20, 31). The variation is probably stylistic only. The use of the pronominal suffix with each term ("their lands," "their languages," etc.) suggests that the author wants readers to notice how the segmentation of the human family is reflected in the division of peoples recognizable by their distinctive territories, languages, and political structures. This theme reflects an ordered evolution in contrast to the expansionism of Nimrod.

F. Conclusion (10:32). The formal conclusion is also a colophon, similar to those concluding each branch of Noah's family. This colophon serves as a summary statement for the entire "table." The use of *tôlᵉḏôṯ* ("generation") recalls the preamble and reiterates the genealogical nature of the document. The sons of Noah are identified as *mišpāḥôṯ* ("families"), now recognized as *gôyim* ("peoples," "nations"). The verse also reiterates that these developments transpired "after the flood."

III. Function, Message, and Date.–Genesis 10 is commonly interpreted as an attempt to explain the interrelationship of the nations known to Israel by the artificial construction of a family tree. The "table" then represents a historiographic text that reconstructs history on the basis of present realities. This would account for the apparent geographic organization of the document, in which the world is divided into three regions: the north (Japheth), Mesopotamia and Arabia (Shem), and Canaan and the south (Ham). Other scholars read the "table" as a reflection of the Noachian curse of Canaan and the blessing of Shem and Japheth described in the previous chapter. The descendants of Ham are the nations subjected to the Semitic line at the time of composition (the J document); the Shemites are the dominant nations in ancient Near Eastern affairs; the Japhetic nations are those whose presence was felt only indirectly and about whom Israel had only vague knowledge (see Arldt). The fact remains, however, that no explanation that assumes a retrospective reading of present reality can explain the anomalies and apparent misplacements in the "table."

If the "table" is allowed to speak for itself in its present canonical context, several themes seem to be emphasized or implied. (1) The providential fulfillment of the Noachian blessing (cf. 9:1f.) and the population of the earth after the flood (cf. 9:19) proceeded in the main along ordered lines. (2) The world is one united family, all of whose members trace their origin back to a common ancestor, Noah, who in turn owed his existence to a salvific act of God. (3) The segmentation of Noah's family is reflected in the present existence of separate nationality groups, recognizable by their distinctive locations, ethnic self-consciousness, languages, and political structures. (4) The call of Abraham and Israelite history in general take place within the context of universal history; thus the effects of patriarchal revelation are felt throughout the earth.

As a literary and historiographic document the "Table of Nations" is without parallel in the ancient world. What makes it even more remarkable is its contrast to the parochialism that tended to plague the Israelites throughout their history. In one quick stroke the "table" puts the nation's history into its proper perspective. Although the Hebrews were the specially chosen agents of divine revelation (Dt. 7:6-8), they were but one member of the universal family of nations, all of whom had a common origin.

The date of the composition of the "table" remains an open question. Certain features point to a second-millennium date: (1) the absence of the important first-millennium states of Moab, Ammon, and Edom; (2) the primacy of Sidon among Phoenician cities; (3) the memory of non-Semitic Canaanites and Mesopotamians; (4) the nature of the Nimrod "note"; (5) the definition of the land of Canaan with reference to the cities of the plain in the south; (6) the association of the Philistines with the Casluhim rather than the Caphtorim, which may represent a more precise recollection than Am. 9:7; (7) the fascination with Eber, the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews, who are not identified as such after the time of David. Although the genealogy may have existed as a separate document before its incorporation into Genesis, a discussion of its present form cannot be divorced from the examination of the date and composition of the book as a whole.

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D. I. BLOCK

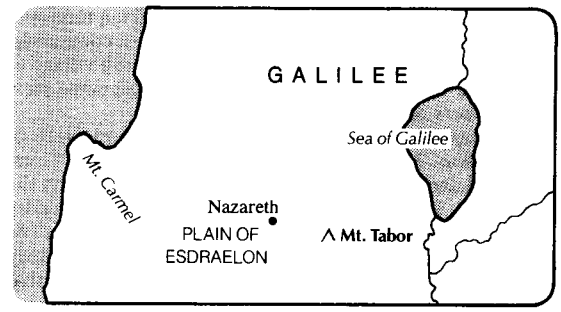
TABLET. *See* TABLE.

TABOR tā'bər [Heb. *tāḇôr*; Gk. B *Thachcheia*, A *Thabōr*]. A town in the territory of Zebulun, given with its pastures to the Merarite Levites (1 Ch. 6:77 [MT 62]; it is not found, however, in the parallel list, Josh. 21:34f.). Its exact location is unknown. Tabor refers either to an abbreviation of Chisloth-tabor (Josh. 19:12), the modern Iksâl 5 km. (3 mi.) W of the mountain, or to Daberath in the territory of Issachar on the western slope of Mt. Tabor, or to the mountain itself (*see* TABOR, MOUNT).

On 1 S. 10:3, *see* TABOR, OAK OF.

K. G. JUNG

TABOR, MOUNT tā'ber [Heb. *har tāḇôr*; Gk. *óros Thabōr, tó Itabyrion* (Jeremiah and Hosea)]. A height in Galilee, located 10 km. (6 mi.) E of Nazareth by air but about 32 km. (20 mi.) by road, and 19 km. (12 mi.) SW of the Sea of Galilee; the modern Jebel eṭ-Ṭôr. A majestically isolated limestone mountain rising to 562 m. (1843 ft.) above sea level, it has a fairly level plateau 1200 m. (3930 ft.) long and 400 m. (1320 ft.) wide (*see* picture in JUDGES, BOOK OF). Its sides are now covered with brushwood; formerly, however, it was covered with oak, olive, and fig trees.



The mountain is cut off from Little Hermon on the south by a fertile valley, which narrows to become Wâdī Bîreh and ultimately reaches the Jordan. Looking S from its summit, over Little Hermon with Endor and Nain at its base, one can glimpse Mt. Gilboa. Scanning from this point along the plain of Esdraelon, one sees the hills on the northern boundary of Samaria, Taanach and Megiddo, Carmel by the sea, and the oak forest N of the Kishon gorge. Looking W from Mt. Tabor, over 8 km. (5 mi.) of broken upland, one can see the higher houses of Nazareth. Eastward lie the Jordan Valley, the mountains of Gilead, the great chasm of the Yarmuk, and the steep cliffs E of the Sea of Galilee. To the north, the mountains of Zebulun and Naphtali appear to culminate in the shining mass of Great Hermon.

Mt. Tabor has a long and sacred history, but biblical references to it are sparse. It is named as part of the border of Issachar (Josh. 19:22). Jeremiah selected it as a symbol of certainty (Jer. 46:18). It also had special symbolic significance for the psalmist (Ps. 89:12 [MT 13]). Dt. 33:19 seems to indicate that it was a place of pilgrimage and worship for Zebulun and Issachar. Apparently it later became the scene of idolatrous rites (Hos. 5:1; see comms.). The only OT reference to "Mount Tabor" is Jgs.

An aerial view of Mt. Tabor from Nazareth (W. Braun)

4:6-16, where Deborah and Barak organized ten thousand men for a decisive attack against Sisera. Most commentators agree that either the mountain or a nearby village of this name was the site where Zebah and Zalmunna slew the brothers of Gideon (Jgs. 8:18f.).

The mountain was undoubtedly an important place of fortification. In the 3rd cent. B.C. Antiochus the Great captured and fortified Atabyrion, an inhabited city on the mountain. The Jews recovered the city and held it under Alexander Janneus, 105-70 (*Ant.* xiii.15.4 [396]). The mountain fell to the Romans, however, when Pompey conquered Palestine. It was not far from the mountain that Alexander son of Aristobulus II was defeated by Gabinius proconsul of Syria in 53 B.C. (*Ant.* xiv.6.3 [102]; *BJ* i.8.7 [177]). Josephus, who commanded in Galilee at the outbreak of the Jewish war, recognized the importance of the position and built a wall around the summit (*BJ* ii.20.6 [573]; iv.1.8 [54]). Later, when he was taken prisoner by the Romans at Jotapata, many fugitives took refuge in the fortress (*BJ* iv.1.8 [61]). The Roman general Placidus did not attempt an assault upon the fortress but drew its defenders to the plain and defeated them there; the city then surrendered.

Mt. Tabor is traditionally identified as the mount of transfiguration, although the Gospels do not identify the site of this event (Mt. 17:1-9 par. Mk. 9:2-9; Lk. 9:28-36; cf. 2 Pet. 1:18, which refers to the place of the Transfiguration as "the holy mountain"). The earliest authentic reference to this tradition is a statement of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheses* xii.16). The tradition may have been due to the sacred character of Mt. Tabor and its striking appearance. Because, however, Mt. Tabor was inhabited during Jesus' time, and because He had just been in Caesarea Philippi with His disciples, it seems unlikely that the Transfiguration took place on this mountain.

Because of this association with the Transfiguration, Helen the mother of Constantine built a church on Mt. Tabor in 326 A.D. Later other churches and monasteries were built. The mountain has shared to the full the vicissitudes of Palestine's stormy history. Benedictine monks erected the Church of the Transfiguration there in 1100, but in 1113 Arabs from Damascus plundered the monasteries and murdered the monks. Saladin made an unsuccessful attack in 1183, but in 1187 he devastated the place. In 1212 his brother fortified the mountain. The Crusaders attempted to take the fortress in 1217 but failed. The next year, however, the Saracens threw down the defenses. Sultan Bibars ordered the destruction of the Church of the Transfiguration in 1263, and for a time the mountain was deserted. The Franciscan monks from Nazareth continued to celebrate the Feast of the Transfiguration, however, and in 1631 Emir Faker ed-Din permitted them to occupy the mountain once again. During the last quarter of the 19th cent. Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox communities excavated the ruins of many ecclesiastical buildings.

In 1921-1924 the Franciscans erected a modern basilica on the summit. Styled after fifth-century Syrian churhes it is known for its mosaics portraying Jesus' transfiguration; its two towers are dedicated to Moses and Elijah. North of this area is the St. Elijah Church built by the Greek Orthodox Church in the 19th century. It is about as large as the Latin church and is also built on old foundations.

K. G. JUNG

TABOR, OAK OF [Heb. *'ēlôn tāḇôr*]; AV PLAIN OF TABOR; NEB TEREBINTH OF TABOR. A location near Bethel (1 S. 10:3), where Saul received the second of three signs confirming his anointing as king (vv. 3f.). The site was between Rachel's tomb at Zelzah in the territory of Benjamin (10:2) and Bethel, going toward Gibeath-elohim (10:5; cf. Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *Macmillan Bible Atlas* [rev. ed. 1977], map 86). On the basis of Gen. 35:8, some suggest emending to "the oak of Deborah" (but against this, cf. *GTTOT*, §§ 666-68).

W. S. L. S.

TABRET. *See* TIMBREL.

TABRIMMON tab-rim'ən [Heb. *taḇrimmōn*–'(the god) Rammon is good, bountiful, or helpful'; LXX L *Taberemman*, B *Taberema*, A *Tabenraēma*] (1 K. 15:8); AV TABRIMON. Son of Hezion and father of the Syrian king BEN-HADAD. The name Tabrimmon derives from Aram. *ṭāḇ*, "good" (= Heb. *ṭôḇ*), and "Rimmon," the Syrian national god identified with Hadad (2 K. 5:18; cf. Akk. *Rammānu*, "the Thunderer"). Little else is known about this early king of Damascus. Some scholars have reconstructed his name in a broken inscription (see *ANET*, p. 655); cf. Shea.

Bibliography.–G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (*NCBC*, 1984), pp. 285, 419; W. H. Shea, *Maarav*, 1/2 (1979), 159-176; M. F. Unger, *Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus* (repr. 1980), pp. 57, 142 n. 10.

G. L. K.

TACHES. *See* CLASPS; HOOK.

TACHMONITE tak'mə-nīt (2 S. 23:8, AV). *See* TAHCHEMONITE.

TACKLE. *See* SHIPS.

TADMOR tad'môr [Heb. *taḏmōr*; Gk. *Thedmor*]. An oasis city in the Syrian desert, lying midway along the caravan routes from Damascus and Emesa to the Euphrates. Identified with modern Tudmur, in the Roman period it was known as Palmyra. 2 Ch. 8:4 lists Tadmor among other cities NE of Palestine that Solomon rebuilt or fortified. In 1 K. 9:18 the *qere* has "Tadmor" (so AV), but the *kethibh* has "Tamar" (so RSV, NEB); the RSV supplies the words "of Judah" here, apparently assuming that "Tamar" is the same city referred to in Ezk. 47:19; 48:28. Most versions, however (e.g., Lucian, Syr., Tg., Vulg.), follow the *qere* reading "Tadmor." (*See also* TAMAR.)

An inscription of Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1100 B.C.) records his victory over the Aḫlamu Arameans all the way from "Tadmor in the land of Amurru" to Babylonia (see *ANET*, p. 275).

See ARCHEOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA I.A.

D. H. MADVIG

TAHAN tā'han [Heb. *taḥan*; Sam. Pent. *taḥam;* LXX *Tanach*].

1. Son of Ephraim and progenitor of the Tahanites (Heb. *taḥ^{a}nî*; Nu. 26:35); in 2 Ch. 7:20 he is called TAHATH.

2. Son of Telah and father of Ladan, also of the Ephraimite family (1 Ch. 7:25).

TAHAPANES tə-hap'ə-nēz (Jer. 2:16, AV). *See* TAHPANHES.

TAHASH tā'hash [Heb. *taḥaš*; Gk. *Tochos*]; AV THAHASH. The third son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gen. 22:24). Heb. *taḥaš* is often identified with the Arabic word for "dolphin, porpoise," but this translation is uncertain. Instead it may reflect a place name known from

An altar from the 1st cent. A.D. found at Tadmor. It depicts two men on either side of a portable incense altar and is inscribed with a dedication to Šamaš on the side (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Egyptian texts as *Tiḫši*, the Amarna *Taḫši*, apparently located on the northeastern border of Palestine. This suggestion is strengthened by the pairing of Tahash with Maacah (Heb. *ma'ᵃkâ*), a place associated with the foot of Mt. Hermon (cf. 2 S. 10:6, 8; 1 Ch. 19:7).

D. G. SCHLEY

TAHATH tā'hath [Heb. *taḥaṯ*–'compensation'].

1. A Kohathite, son of Assir and father of Uriel (1 Ch. 6:24, 37 [MT 9, 22]).

2. An Ephraimite, son of Bered (1 Ch. 7:20); he is called TAHAN in Nu. 26:35.

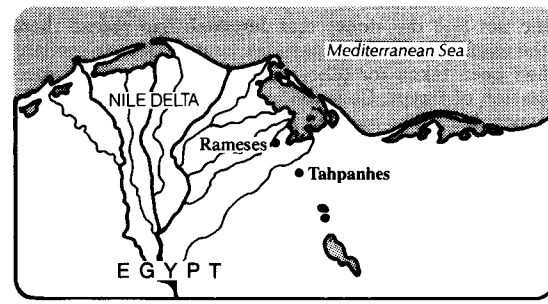
3. An Ephraimite, son of Eleadad (1 Ch. 7:20).

TAHATH tā'həth [Heb. *tāḥaṯ*] (Nu. 33:26f.). One of Israel's encampment sites in the journey from Egypt to Canaan as listed in the Nu. 33 itinerary. The site's location is unknown.

T. V. BRISCO

TAHCHEMONITE tä-kē'mə-nīt [Heb. *taḥkᵉmōnî*] (2 S. 23:8); AV TACHMONITE; NEB HACHMONITE. The family name of Josheb-basshebeth (*see* JASHOBEAM), one of David's MIGHTY MEN. This name's first consonant probably reflects a copyist's error due to a common scribal tendency to confuse the Hebrew letters ה and ח (*see* HACHMONI).

TAHPANHES tä'pən-hēz [Heb. *taḥpanḥēs* (Jer. 43:7-9; 44:1; 46:14; *Q* 2:16 [*K taḥpᵉnēs*]); Gk. *Taphnas*]; AV also TAHAPANES (Jer. 2:16), TAPHNES (Jth. 1:9); **HAPHNEHES** tə-haf'nə-hēz [Heb. *tᵉḥapnᵉḥēs*] (Ezk. 30:18); NEB TAHPANHES. An ancient Egyptian city in the northeast Delta, identified with modern Tell Defneh (also spelled Dafana, Defenneh, etc.), about 43 km. (27 mi.) SSW of Port Said and about 13 km. (8 mi.) W of el-Qanṭara. The LXX form *Taphnas* seems to equate Tahpanhes with classical Gk. *Daphnai*, which is preserved in modern Arabic Tell Defneh. The Hebrew consonantal spelling occurs also in a sixth-century B.C. Phoenician papyrus that associates *tḥpnḥs* with the god BAAL-ZEPHON.



W. M. F. Petrie made an exploratory excavation at Tell Defneh in the spring of 1886 and published the results in the 4th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (*Tanis. Part II. Nebesheh [AM]and Defenneh [Tahpanhes]* [1888], pp. 47-96). The city was apparently founded in Ramesside times and served as a frontier checkpoint on a very old trade route. Herodotus (ii.107) mentioned it in connection with the return of Ramses II (*ca.* 1304-1227 B.C.) after an Asiatic expedition. Petrie's excavations, however, uncovered little predating the 26th Dynasty founded by Psamtik I (Psammetichus, *ca.* 664-610 B.C.). From this period he found a large brick building, which he identified as a palace-fort built by Psamtik I as a border guardpost to prevent incursions from Asia. In Petrie's time the building was known as Qasr el-Bint el-Yehudi ("Palace of the Jew's Daughter"). The large amount of Greek pottery and other objects led Petrie to conclude that the garrison was Greek. Herodotus (ii.154) recorded that during the reign of Amasis the Greek mercenaries at Daphnai were replaced by Egyptians, who were later succeeded by Persians.

The first mention of Tahpanhes in the Bible occurs in Jer. 2:16, which states that the men of Memphis and Tahpanhes had broken the crown of Israel's head because it had forsaken the Lord. As Petrie pointed out (p. 47), the reference must be to Pharaoh Neco's invasion of Judah. Since the mercenary troops at Tahpanhes were largely Greek, the campaign may mark the first real contact of the Jews with the Greeks, who later played so important a role in Jewish language and culture.

All the references to Tahpanhes in Jer. 43–46 are associated with the Jews' flight to Egypt after Ishmael betrayed and killed Gedaliah. Fearing reprisal by the king of Babylon and disregarding Jeremiah's warning that the Lord would protect them in Palestine but destroy them in Egypt, the Jews departed, taking the prophet and Baruch with them as unwilling refugees (43:1-7). Their first stopping-place in Egypt was Tahpanhes (v. 7). Petrie proposed that here the Jews may have picked up Greek names for objects such as musical instruments.

At Tahpanhes the word of the Lord again came to Jeremiah, directing him to hide large stones in the mortar in the pavement (AV "brickkiln") at the entry of Pharaoh's palace. He was then to announce to the men of Judah that Nebuchadrezzar would arrive and set up his throne and royal pavilion on that spot. The Babylonian king

would ravage the land of Egypt and destroy the temples of its divinities (43:8-13). In 44:1 Tahpanhes is listed as one of the Egyptian places in which Jews were living. Jeremiah prophesied that the Jews in Egypt would be destroyed because they had cut themselves off from Judah and were worshiping Egyptian gods (vv. 7-14). Chapter 46 again prophesies Nebuchadrezzar's invasion of Egypt; Tahpanhes is one of the cities to which Jeremiah was instructed to declare this message (v. 14). Ezk. 30:18 also singles out Tahpanhes in a prophecy against Egypt.

Petrie found part of the pavement of Jer. 43:9, but he did not find the stones that Jeremiah had placed there; the platform was much denuded, and the stones probably had been taken for other purposes in this stone-scarce section of Egypt. Commenting on this passage, J. Bright concluded: "The incident is undoubtedly authentic. Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt did not, however, take place until that king's thirty-seventh regnal year (568/7). From the fragmentary inscription that tells of it (cf. ANET, p. 308), it appears that Nebuchadnezzar did not aim at permanent conquest, but rather sought by a punitive expedition to deter Egypt from further meddling in Asia. The Pharaoh — at the time, Amasis (570-526) — retained his throne and seems thereafter to have maintained friendly relations with Babylon" (*Jeremiah* [*AB*, 1965], p. 265). Although the text of this inscription was published in the late 19th cent. and has been available in translation since the early 20th cent. (Zehnpfund-Langdon, in *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* [7 vols., 1907-1916], IV, 206f.), books on biblical archeology seldom mention it.

Although his account does not mention Tahpanhes, Josephus (*Ant.* x.9.7 [180-85]) reported that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt in his twenty-third year, five years after his devastation of Jerusalem, that he killed the Egyptian king and set up another in his place, and that he took the Jews in Egypt captive to Babylon. Josephus's statement has been challenged on the grounds of possible dependence on the Jeremiah passage; but Josephus cited Berossus as his source concerning Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt (*Ant.* x.11.1 [219-227]). Although the historical value of Judith is questionable, it is also noteworthy that Jth. 1:7-10 lists Tahpanhes among the places conquered by Nebuchadrezzar. Furthermore, Petrie reported that the Bulaq Museum in Cairo had obtained three cylinders, said to have come from the Isthmus of Suez, that bore inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar. He suggested that these may have come from Defneh and were memorials of the Babylonian king's presence there. One may conclude that Nebuchadrezzar's invasion of Egypt is historical fact, but that the details of that campaign are unknown.

Petrie discovered no physical evidence of a Jewish presence at Tell Defneh, but he believed that this absence could be explained by the short duration of the Jews' residence there or by the limited extent of his investigation. He suggested that further excavation, especially of a mound to the southeast, might reveal the quarter occupied by the Jews. C. E. DEVRIES

TAHPENES tä'pə-nez [Heb. *taḥpᵉnês*, *taḥpᵉnēs*; LXX *Thekeminas*, *Thekemina*] (1 K. 11:19f.). An Egyptian queen of an unidentified pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty.

Pharaoh gave Tahpenes's sister in marriage to Hadad, an Edomite, who as a child had escaped Joab's slaughter of the Edomites and had fled to Egypt (1 K. 11:17). Tahpenes nurtured Genubath, the son of her sister and Hadad, in the pharaoh's house (v. 20).

Though usually treated as a proper name, "Tahpenes" may actually be a title from the Egyp. *t.hmt.nsw*, "the wife of the king" (G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* [*NCBC*, 1984], I, 239). G. L. K.

TAHREA tä'rē-ə, tə-rē'ə (1 Ch. 9:41, AV). *See* TAREA.

TAHTIM-HODSHI tä-tim-hod'shī (2 S. 24:6, AV). *See* KADESH 3.

TAIL [Heb. *zānāḇ* (Ex. 4:4; Dt. 28:13, 44; Jgs. 15:4; Job 40:17; Isa. 9:14f. [MT 13f.]; 19:15); Gk. *ourá* (Rev. 9:10, 19; 12:4)]; **FAT TAIL** [Heb. *'alyâ*] (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 3:9; 7:3; 8:25; 9:19); AV **RUMP**. Literally, the tails of animals such as foxes (Jgs. 5:4), snakes (Ex. 4:4), or Behemoth (Job 40:17). The fat of the tails of the main Palestinian breed of sheep (*Ovis laticaudata*), together with other fatty portions of the animal's body, were sacrificed to Yahweh in the peace, sin, and guilt offerings. The ancient Israelite regarded the fatty portions as the best part of the meat.

Figuratively, as the opposite of the "head" which is the place of honor or leadership, the tail signifies that which is most humble or inferior. If Israel kept Yahweh's covenant, they would be the head (Dt. 28:13); if they did not, they would become the tail (v. 44). In Isa. 9:15 (MT 14) the prophet Isaiah contemptuously describes the false prophets as the tail in relation to the rulers. In v. 14 (MT 13) he uses the inclusive expression "head and tail" to signify that the coming destruction will encompass the totality of the leadership, from the most honored to the most humble. In 19:15 the same expression is used to describe the leadership of Egypt.

In the apocalyptic imagery of the book of Revelation, tails sometimes symbolize the power to hurt or destroy. The tails of the locusts in 9:10 appear as those of scorpions with a venomous sting, while those of the horses in v. 19 appear as poisonous snakes. In 12:4 the tail of the great red dragon sweeps a third of the stars down to earth — a vivid picture of the destructive power of Satan. G. WYPER

TALE; TELL. With the exception of Ps. 90:9, the AV always uses "tale" in the sense of "number." When Moses requested permission for the Israelites to go on a three days' journey into the wilderness, Pharaoh responded by demanding from them the full "tale" (RSV "number") of bricks although they were now compelled to provide the straw themselves (Ex. 5:8, 18). David presented King Saul with the full "tale" (RSV "number") of two hundred Philistine foreskins (1 S. 18:27). Some of the Levites were assigned to "count" (so RSV; AV "by tale") the temple vessels as they were brought in and out (1 Ch. 9:28). Likewise, the AV sometimes uses the verb "tell" in the sense of "count" (cf. the "teller" in a bank) e.g., "[they] told the money that was found in the house of the Lord" (2 K. 12:10); "He telleth the number of the stars" (Ps. 147:4; cf. Gen. 15:5); "the flocks [shall] pass under the hands of him that telleth them" (Jer. 33:13); cf. also 2 Ch. 2:2; Ps. 48:12 (MT 13); 56:8 (MT 9). T. LEWIS
N. J. O.

TALENT. *See* MONEY I.B.; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES II.D.1.

TALITHA CUMI tal'ə-thə kū'mī [Gk. *talithá koúmi*] (Mk. 5:41); NEB TALITHA CUM. A Greek transliteration of the Aramaic phrase attributed to Jesus. Jesus used these words as a command to Jairus's daughter to bring her back to life. Mark translates the words into Greek (*tó*

korásion, soí légō, égeire; RSV "Little girl, I say to you, arise") for the benefit of his non-Aramaic speaking audience (cf. Mk. 7:11, 34; 14:36; 15:22, 34). The phrase consists of the Aramaic feminine noun *ṭalyā'* ("youth," or "lamb"), and an imperative form of Aram. *qûm* ("stand," or "arise"). *Koúmi* seems to be an older Palestinian dialect. The better Greek MSS (ℵ, B) and many critical texts have *koum*, a later Mesopotamian form of the feminine imperative. Other variants in this phrase may result from either dialectical differences or a scribal assimilation of *tabithá* in Acts 9:40.

The Church probably preserved the original Aramaic phrase because it remembered and valued the phrase as the actual words of Jesus used in a significant situation. If such is the case, this text stands as evidence that Jesus commonly spoke Aramaic. Additionally, the use of foreign words in magical formulas was common in the ancient world as a means of protecting the secrecy of the formula. Workers of magic believed secrecy preserved efficacy. That Mark accepted this notion is merely conjectural (W. L. Lane, comm. on Mark [*NICNT*, 1974], pp. 197f.).

Bibliography.–C. E. B. Cranfield, *Gospel According to Saint Mark* (repr. 1977), p. 190; G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua* (Eng. tr. 1929); E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (1963); K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (2 vols., 1928-1929).

D. W. WEAD

TALMAI tal'mī [Heb. *talmay*].

1. An Anakite dwelling in Hebron with Ahiman and Sheshai, two other descendants of Anak (Nu. 13:22). The Anakites' extraordinary physical stature intimidated the twelve Israelite spies (13:33). Frightened by these inhabitants of Canaan, the Israelites ignored the recommendation of Caleb to conquer the land, but forty years later Caleb displaced the Anakites to secure his allotment in Judah. (Josh. 15:14; Jgs. 1:10).

2. King of Geshur and father of King David's wife Maachah who gave birth to Absalom (2 S. 3:3; 1 Ch. 3:2). Geshur was a small Aramean state located NE of the Sea of Galilee. Talmai's grandson Absalom fled to this principality for political asylum after he had murdered his brother Amnon (2 S. 13:37). After three years Absalom left Talmai and returned to Jerusalem (2 S. 13:38; 14:23).

G. D. JORDAN

TALMON tal'mŏn [Heb. *ṭalmôn/ṭalmōn*, < Arab. *ẓalmun*–'light, brightness' (?); Gk. Apoc. *Tolman*]; NEB Apoc. TOLMAN. Name of an individual Levitical gatekeeper and the family name of gatekeepers who served in the temple (1 Ch. 9:17; cf. Neh. 11:19) and who returned from the Babylonian exile (Ezr. 2:42 par. Neh. 7:45; 12:25; 1 Esd. 5:28).

See *IP*, p. 223.

TALMUD tal'mud [Heb. *talmûḏ* < *lāmaḏ*–'learn'].

I. Origin, Nature, and Function of the Talmud
II. The Talmuds and the Torah: The Theological Context
III. The Literary Context of the Talmud
IV. The Mishnah and the Talmuds
V. The Relation Between the Talmuds
VI. Talmud, Midrash, Halakah, and Haggadah
VII. Contents of the Talmud
VIII. Influence and Significance of the Talmud

I. Origin, Nature, and Function of the Talmud.–Two Talmuds serve as a commentary upon, and expansion of, the Mishnah. The Mishnah is a philosophical law code, produced in Roman-occupied Palestine *ca.* A.D. 200. The first Talmud was formed in this area *ca.* A.D. 400 and is called "the Talmud of the Land of Israel" or "the Jerusalem Talmud," and, in Hebrew, "the Yerushalmi" (abbreviated T.P. in this encyclopedia). This Talmud covers thirty-nine of the Mishnah's sixty-two tractates. The second Talmud was created in Babylonia (present-day Iraq) around Baghdad, *ca.* A.D. 600, and is called "the Talmud of Babylonia," and, in Hebrew, "the Bavli" (abbreviated T.B. in this encyclopedia). This one treats thirty-seven of the Mishnah's sixty-two tractates, and not the same tractates as the other. Both Talmuds consist of a series of citations of paragraphs from the Mishnah and systematic, carefully drafted explanations of words and phrases of the Mishnah passage, followed by secondary expansions of principles of the Mishnah passage; these non-Mishnaic portions are called *Gemara*. Each Talmud may therefore be described as a commentary on the Mishnah, and both are organized in commentary form. In addition, the T.B. builds sizable compositions around systematic interpretation of passages of Scripture, which is read within the same basic approaches as apply to the Mishnah. Because the T.B. presents an ample restatement of the important principles of both Scripture and the Mishnah, it is the more compendious of the two Talmuds and also the more influential. Consequently, when people refer to "the Talmud," they mean the T.B. But we shall treat both, since each is a Talmud.

II. The Talmuds and the Torah: The Theological Context.–Defined theologically, the Talmuds form part of the Torah, i.e., God's revelation to Moses at Mt. Sinai. We can understand the origin, character, and influence of the T.B. as the single most authoritative document of Judaism only within that theological context. For the T.B. constitutes the authoritative statement of the Torah as the Torah would be read in Judaism from antiquity to modern times. To explain that fundamental conception of Judaism, from which all else follows, one needs to ask how the Talmud is deemed part of the Torah. The answer lies in the meaning of the word "Torah": God's revelation. At Sinai, Judaism maintains, God revealed the Torah in two media — writing and memory. The written Torah corresponds to the Hebrew Scriptures, which Christians call the OT. The memorized, or oral, Torah was orally formulated and orally transmitted for many centuries, from Moses to Joshua to prophets and sages and ultimately to the authorities who composed the Mishnah. That is the account of the origin and authority of the Mishnah given in tractate *Aboth* ("the founders") formed *ca.* A.D. 250, about a generation after the completion of the Mishnah (*ca.* A.D. 200). That systematic statement commences, "Moses received Torah at Sinai and handed it on to Joshua, Joshua to the prophets," and onward to the sages. Each name that is listed is given a saying, e.g., *Aboth* i.14: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, when?' assigned to Hillel, who flourished toward the turn of the 1st cent. A.D. Since *Aboth's* list of sages continues right on through important figures in the Mishnah itself, the position of the authorship of Aboth is that sages of the Mishnah (called *Tannaim*) stand in a direct line to Sinai. And it further follows that the Mishnah constitutes a statement of the oral, or memorized, Torah of Sinai.

Commentaries and expansions of the Mishnah, as much as of Scripture, therefore fall into the classification of Torah — statements within the revelation of God to Moses at Mt. Sinai. Since the Talmud (i.e., T.B.) comes at the end of the process of expansion and amplification of both the Mishnah and also Scripture — oral and written Torah, respectively — it forms the authoritative and final

statement of the Torah for the formative period of Judaism.

III. The Literary Context of the Talmud.–A brief account of the writings between the Mishnah and the Talmuds will place into context that authoritative and conclusive statement of the whole. The writings of the sages between the Mishnah and the T.B., *ca.* A.D. 200 and 600, fall into two distinct groups, one beginning with the Mishnah and ending *ca.* 400, with the Tosephta and close associates of the Mishnah; the other beginnng with the T.P. *ca.* A.D. 400 and ending *ca.* 600, with the T.B. The Mishnah drew in its wake tractate *Aboth*, a statement concluded a generation after the Mishnah on the standing of the authorities of the Mishnah. Attached to the Mishnah also is the *Tosephta*, *ca.* A.D. 300-400, a compilation of supplements of various kinds to the statements in the Mishnah. There were also three systematic exegeses of books of Scripture or the written Torah, tied to the Mishnah because, in passages, they may cite the Mishnah or the Tosephta verbatim and raise interesting questions about the relationship between the Mishnah or the Tosephta and Scripture. These works are the *Sifra*, to Leviticus; *Sifre*, to Numbers; and another *Sifre*, to Deuteronomy. These books overall form one stage in the unfolding of the Judaism of the dual Torah, oral and written, which stressed issues of sanctification of the life of Israel, the people, in the aftermath of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70.

The second set of the writings that culminated in the T.B., stressed the dual issues of sanctification and salvation, presenting a doctrine of Israel's redemption by the Messiah in the model of the sage himself. The amplification of the Mishnah, which led to the first of the two sets of writings, defined the literary expression of the theological program at hand. It begins with the T.P., addressed to the Mishnah as oral Torah. Alongside, work on the written Torah was carried on through *Genesis Rabbah*, a reading of the book of Genesis to interpret the history and salvation of Israel today in the light of the history and salvation of the patriarchs and matriarchs of old, deemed to form the founders of the family of Israel after the flesh. A second important work, *Leviticus Rabbah* (*ca.* A.D. 450), read for the lessons of Israel's salvation the book of Leviticus, which stresses issues of the sanctification of Israel. So Leviticus was reread for its lessons of how Israel's sanctification in the here and now led to Israel's salvation at the end of time. Finally, the T.B. addressed both Torahs, oral and written, Mishnah and Scripture, within one and the same document — the first of the writings of the Judaism of the dual Torah to do so systematically and extensively. The difference between the T.B. and the earlier writings, therefore, is that while the authors of the T.P. systematically interpreted passages of the Mishnah, and the other documents did the same for books of the written Torah, the authors of the T.B. did both. Alongside, there were some other treatments of biblical books important in synagogue liturgy, particularly the Five Scrolls, (Megilloth), e.g., *Lamentations Rabbathi* and *Esther Rabbah*. A remarkable compilation of scriptural lessons pertinent to the special occasions of the synagogue, *Pesikta de Rab Kahana*, also reached closure at the same time (the 5th or 6th cents.).

The difference in viewpoint between the documents from the Mishnah to the *Sifra* and *Sifre* is not merely technical; it is theological. The first of the two sets of writings, from the Mishnah to the T.P., exhibits no sign of interest in, or response to, the advent of Christianity. The second, from the T.P. forward, stresses points that in retrospect appear to respond to, and to counter, the challenge of Christianity. The point of difference, of course, is that from the beginning of the legalization of Christianity in the early 4th cent. to the establishment of Christianity at the end of that same century, Jews in Israel found themselves facing a challenge that, prior to Constantine, they had found no compelling reason to consider. The specific crisis came when the Christians pointed to the success of the Church in the politics of the Roman state as evidence that Jesus Christ was King of the world, and that His claim to be Messiah and King of Israel had now found vindication. The Judaic documents that were completed in the century after these events attended to questions of salvation, e.g., doctrine of history and of the Messiah, authority of the sages' reading of Scripture as against the Christians' interpretation, and the like, that had earlier not enjoyed extensive consideration.

IV. The Mishnah and the Talmuds.–Sages (called *Amoraim*) worked out in the pages of the T.P. and, later on, the T.B., as well as in the exegetical compilations of the age, a Judaism intersecting with the Mishnah's but essentially asymmetrical with it. The Talmuds and associated writings presented a system of salvation focused on the salvific power of the sanctification of the holy people. The first of the two Talmuds, the one closed at the end of the 4th cent., set the compass and locked it into place. The second concluded matters. The Mishnah, *ca.* A.D. 200, described an orderly world, in which Israelite society is neatly divided among its castes, arranged in priority around the center that is the temple, systematically engaged in a life of sanctification remote from the disorderly events of the day. The two Talmuds portrayed matters quite differently. While the Talmuds aim principally at the exegesis and amplification of the laws of the Mishnah, they also point toward a matrix beyond the Mishnah's text. Transcending the Mishnah's facts, the Talmuds' authors bring to the Mishnah a program defined outside the Mishnah. The Talmuds' discussions are not limited to the contents of the Mishnah. Discourse encompasses a world of institutions, authorities, and effective power quite beyond the imagination of the Mishnah's framers. Furthermore, the Talmuds' picture of that world essentially ignores the specifications, for these same matters, of the Mishnah's law.

To take one striking example, the Mishnah's government for Israel rests upon a high priest and a king, with administrative courts ascending upward to the authority of the temple mount. The Talmuds do not even pretend that such a world exists, knowing in its place a set of small-claims courts and petty bureaus of state, over which rabbis, defined as judges, lawyers, and masters of disciples in the law, preside. At the head of it all is a patriarch, not a priest anointed for the purpose. That example provides an instance of the curious discontinuity between the Mishnah's view of the world and of the society of Israel, on the one hand, and that of the Talmuds, continuous with the Mishnah and framed as little more than an exegesis of that code, on the other hand.

The Talmuds portray the chaos of Jews living among Gentiles, governed by a diversity of authorities, lacking consistent order and arrangement, awaiting a time of salvation for which, through sanctification, they make themselves ready. That social fact of Israel's life did not change between 200 and 400 in the land of Israel, and between 200 and 600 in Babylonia. But the representation of the social realities did change. The sages of both Talmuds represented themselves — and we have no reason to doubt them — as fully in charge of the everyday life of the community, hence in constant touch with a real "Israel" consisting of a social group living a palpable everyday life. We may compare the former authors to legal philoso-

phers, thinking in abstract terms about logic and order. The latter authors, those of the Talmuds, were deeply involved in the administration of the concrete social group, "Israel" as a real-life community. We may see those authors as analogous to judges, lawyers, bureaucrats, heads of local governments — not philosophers alone but men of affairs. When they represented "Israel," they drew upon concrete knowledge of, engagement in, a very real social world indeed. The facts portrayed by this second authorship draw upon experience entirely beyond the imagination of the first one.

The Mishnah's Israel is governed by an Israelite king, high priest, and Sanhedrin — a political world that for two centuries had existed, if at all, only in imagination or aspiration. The Talmuds' portrait of Israel represents Jews who lived under both rabbis near at hand, settling everyday disputes of streets and households, and also distant archons of a nameless state, to be manipulated and placated on earth as in heaven. In literary terms, in the transition from the Mishnah to the Talmuds we leave behind the strict and formal classicism of the Mishnah and come to focus upon the disorderly detail of the workaday world, taking the utopian Mishnah along with us.

The two Talmuds primarily studied the Mishnah line by line, word by word. The modes of study were mainly three. (1) Sages asked about the meanings of words and phrases. (2) Then they worked on the comparison of one set of laws with another, finding the underlying principles of each and comparing, and harmonizing, those principles. Thus they formed of the rather episodic rules a tight and large fabric. (3) They moved beyond the narrow limits of the Mishnah into still broader and more speculative areas of thought.

Once the work of reading the new code got under way, an important problem demanded attention: What is the relationship between the Mishnah and the established Scripture of Israel, the written Torah? The Mishnah only occasionally adduces texts of the Scriptures in support of its rules. Its framers worked out their own topical program, only part of which intersects with that of the laws of the Pentateuch. They followed their own principles of organization and development. They wrote in their own kind of Hebrew, which is quite different from biblical Hebrew. So the question naturally arose, Can we through sheer logic discover the law? Or must we tease laws out of Scripture through commentary, through legal exegesis? The Mishnah represented an extreme in this debate, since so many of its topics to begin with do not derive from Scripture, and, further, a large part of its laws ignores Scripture's pertinent texts in that these texts are simply not cited. The two Talmuds therefore paid attention also to the relationship of the Mishnah to Scripture.

V. The Relation Between the Talmuds.–Both Talmuds relate to the Mishnah. But each stands on its own. The T.B. is more than a secondary development of the T.P. On the one hand, both Talmuds organize their materials as comments on Mishnah sentences or paragraphs. Moreover, the two compositions differ from all other documents of the rabbinic canon both in their focus — the Mishnah — and in their mode of discourse. That is, Mishnah exegesis and expansion find their place, in the entire corpus of rabbinic writings of late antiquity, solely in the two Talmuds. What is shared between the two Talmuds and the remainder of the canon deals with Scripture exegesis, on the one side, and deeds and sayings of sages, on the other. To give one simple example, while *Leviticus Rabbah* contains exegeses of Scripture found also in one of the Talmuds, it does not subject a single passage of the Mishnah to modes of analysis common in the two Talmuds, even though on rare occasion a Mishnah sentence or paragraph may find its way into *Leviticus Rabbah*. So the two Talmuds stand together as well as take up a position apart from the remainder of the canon.

While the two Talmuds treat the Mishnah paragraphs in the same order, they do not say the same thing about them. They use different language to make their own points. Where they raise the same issue, it derives from the shared text, the Mishnah, and its logic. Even when the Talmuds share materials, the T.B.'s use of those materials does not depend upon the T.P.'s. Both refer back to the Mishnah and to the Tosephta, responding to the former in terms of the exegetical program precipitated by the contents available in the latter. When the two Talmuds wish to deal with the same issue, the overlap is in conception; but there is no point of verbal contact, let alone of intersection.

It remains to observe that the two Talmuds come into contact not only through shared access to the Mishnah and to the Tosephta as well as to some materials of earlier authorities but also in what appears to be a common exegetical program on questions or principles that bear upon a given Mishnah paragraph. But that common program derives over and over again from the contents of the Mishnah paragraph at hand, i.e., the principles of law implied by a given rule. It may emerge from the overall task that, linking the Mishnah to Scripture, formed the center of the hermeneutic labor of everyone who received the Mishnah and proposed to deal with it.

The T.B. and T.P. most certainly do form a cogent part of a larger, continuous statement, that of "the one whole Torah of Moses, our rabbi" or, in modern theological language, Judaism. The two authorships wish to do much the same thing, which is to subject the Mishnah to a process of explanation and amplification. While the authors of the T.B. developed their own principles of hermeneutics, composition, and redaction, still, the T.B. as a whole would not have baffled their predecessors, who created the T.P. Apart from disagreements on tertiary details, the two sets of authorities found themselves entirely at home in the conceptions, rhetoric, and documents created by their counterparts. That seems self-evident proof of the continuity of the T.B. with the T.P.

Where the two sets of authors deal with a shared lemma, however, each group does exactly what it wishes, imputing words to the prior authority (as if the said authority had actually spoken those words) simply not known to the other group. More important, what the framers of the T.B. wished to do with a saying of an earlier Amoraic authority in no way responded to the policy or program of the T.P. authors. The point in common was that prior authorities explained the same passage of the Mishnah. From that simple starting point, the T.B.'s authors went in a direction not imagined by the T.P.'s. The power and intellectual force of the T.B.'s authors in that context vastly overshadowed the capacities of the T.P.'s. The T.B.'s authors also innovated in their capacity to read Scripture in that same systematic and purposive way in which they read the Mishnah. They furthermore composed large-scale treatments of scriptural passages much like those on Mishnah paragraphs. The result was that through the medium of the T.B. Judaism would receive and read the written part of the Torah, or Scripture, in the same way as it received the oral part, or the Mishnah. That constituted the distinctive strength of the T.B., and, in theological terms, accounts for its priority and authority in Judaism.

VI. Talmud, Midrash, Halakah, and Haggadah.–It remains briefly to refer to some familiar terms concerning

the T.B. The first, *halakah*, means law, how things are done. The second is *haggadah*, lore. The word comes from the root that, as a verb, yields "to tell, to report, to narrate," and, accordingly, *haggadah* commonly means narrative or story. It bears the secondary meaning of fable. The third is *Midrash*. The English word "exegesis" carries the same generic sense as the Hebrew word "Midrash." So far as the authors of the T.P. or the T.B. read and interpreted the Mishnah, they engaged in a process of *midrash*, and so too for Scripture. But the word *midrash* bears a more limited meaning, namely, interpretation for the purpose of discovering a pertinent rule (in the Mishnah) or theological truth (in Scripture).

Midrash halakah refers to deriving a rule or a law from a verse of Scripture. One important exercise is to show the relationship of a rule of the Mishnah to a statement found in Scripture, thus proving that the oral Torah restates principles sustained by the (now more authoritative) written Torah. Another exercise will derive from a verse of Scripture a rule not found in the Mishnah. The *Sifra* to Leviticus, *Sifre* to Numbers, and the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy all fall into the category of *midrash halakah*.

Midrash haggadah refers to the "interpretation of a biblical story." Important parts of *Genesis Rabbah* and *Leviticus Rabbah* contain *midrash haggadah*, i.e., amplifications of scriptural stories. The relationship of the T.B. as a document to these two genres of writing is simple. The T.B.'s and T.P.'s authors included sizable passages of both *midrash halakah* and *midrash haggadah*. But while the T.P.'s authors produced a major treatment of the Mishnah and only episodic statements focused upon Scripture, the T.B.'s authors built considerable systematic statements out of both types of writing, as it worked its way toward a massive and encyclopedic restatement of both components of the Torah, written and oral.

VII. Contents of the Talmud.–Since both Talmuds begin with the Mishnah, an account of the contents of each one must begin with a picture of the base document. The Mishnah is a kind of law code, divided into six divisions. Here is a list of those divisions and the tractates in each division, with a literal translation of the titles and a brief description (largely dependent on Danby).

A. Zeraim *("Seeds")*. Sanctification of the economy and support of the priesthood, the holy caste.

1. Berakoth *("Blessings")*. The Shema (Dt. 6:4); the Eighteen Benedictions; grace at meals; other prayers.

2. Peah *("Corner")*. Gleanings from the "corner" of the field (Lev. 19:9f.; 23:22; Dt. 24:19ff.; etc.).

3. Demai *("Doubtful")*. Produce not certainly tithed; doubtful fruits (corn, etc.) of which it is uncertain whether the duty for the priests and, in the fixed years, the second tithe have been paid.

4. Kilaim *("Two Kinds")*. Forbidden mixtures (Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:9-11).

5. Shebiith *("Seventh")*. Forbidden cultivation of land in the Sabbatical Year (Ex. 23:11; Lev. 25:1-7, 20-22; Dt. 15:1-3); year of release (Dt. 15:1ff.).

6. Terumoth *("Heave Offerings")*. Portion given to the priests (Nu. 18:8ff.; Dt. 18:4).

7. Maaseroth *("Tithes")*. First tithe (Nu. 18:21ff.).

8. Maaser Sheni *("Second Tithe")*. (Dt. 14:22ff.).

9. Hallah *("Dough")*. Dough offering (Nu. 15:18-21).

10. Orlah *("Uncircumcision")*. Forbidden use of the fruit of young trees (Lev. 19:23f.).

11. Bikkurim *("First Fruits")*. (Dt. 26:1ff.; Ex. 23:19).

B. Moed *("Feast")*. Sanctification of time, with reference to special occasions, appointed times, and the sabbath.

1. Shabbath *("Sabbath")*. (Ex. 20:10; 23:12; Dt. 5:14).

2. Erubin *("Mixtures")*. The ideal combination of localities with the purpose of facilitating the observance of the sabbatical laws.

3. Pesahim *("Passover")*. The Feast of Passover (Ex. 12; Lev. 23:5ff.; Nu. 28:16ff.; Dt. 16:1); the second Passover (Nu. 9:10ff.).

4. Shekalim *("Shekels")*. The shekel dues for the temple (cf. Neh. 10:32 [MT 33]; Ex. 30:12ff.).

5. Yoma *("Day")*. The Day of Atonement (Lev. 16).

6. Sukkah *("Booth")*. The Feast of Tabernacles (or Booths) (Lev. 23:34ff.; Nu. 29:12ff.; Dt. 16:13ff.).

7. Yom Tob *("Good Day") or* Betzah *("Egg")*. The difference between the sabbath and the festivals (cf. Ex. 12:10).

8. Rosh ha-Shanah *("New Year")*. The Feast of the New Year (Lev. 23:24f.; Nu. 29:1ff.).

9. Taanith *("Fasting")*. The days of fasting.

10. Megillah *("Scroll")*. The reading of Esther at the Feast of Purim (Est. 9:28), as well as public readings of other biblical passages.

11. Moed Katan *("Minor Feast")*. The days between the first and last days of Passover and of Tabernacles.

12. Hagigah *("Festival Offering")*. Statutes relating to the three feasts of pilgrimage (Passover, Weeks, Tabernacles) (cf. Dt. 16:16f.).

C. Nashim *("Women")*. Sanctification of the family and the individual.

1. Yebamoth *("Sisters-in-Law")*. Levirate marriage (Dt. 25:5ff.; cf. Ruth 4:5; Mt. 22:24).

2. Ketuboth *("Written Documents")*. Marriage deeds.

3. Nedarim *("Vows")*. Vows and their annulment (Nu. 30).

4. Nazir *("Nazirite")*. The Nazirite vow (Nu. 6).

5. Sotah *("Going Astray")*. The suspected adulteress (Nu. 5:11-31).

6. Gittin *("Writs")*. Bills of Divorce (Dt. 24:1; cf. Mt. 5:31).

7. Kiddushin *("Consecrations")*. Betrothals.

D. Nezikin *("Damages")*. The proper conduct of points of social conflict and the political life of the people. Originally the first three tractates were combined into one, called *Nezikin*.

1. Baba Kamma *("First Gate")*. Damages and injuries and the responsibility.

2. Baba Metzia *("Middle Gate")*. Lost property, guardianship, usury, and the hire of laborers.

3. Baba Bathra *("Last Gate")*. Ownership of immovable property.

4. Sanhedrin. The constitution and procedure of courts of law, especially concerning capital punishment.

5. Makkoth *("Stripes")*. The law against false witnesses (Dt. 19:19), the cities of refuge, and punishment of stripes (Dt. 25:1-3; cf. 1 Cor. 11:24). Originally this tractate was combined with *Sanhedrin*.

6. Shebuoth *("Oaths")*. (Lev. 5:1ff.).

7. Eduyoth *("Testimonies")*. Collection of Halakoth on unrelated topics.

8. Abodah Zarah *("Unlawful worship")*. Idolatry; commerce with Idolaters.

9. Aboth *("Fathers")*. Sayings of the Tannaim. Also known as *Pirke Aboth*.

10. Horayoth *("Instructions")*. Erroneous decisions and the sin offering to be brought in such a case (Lev. 4:1-21).

E. Kodashim *("Sacred Things")*. Sanctification of the temple and its offerings, with special emphasis on the everyday and the routine occasions.

1. Zebahim *("Sacrifices")*. Animal offerings (Lev. 1ff.).

2. Menahoth *("Meal Offerings")*. (Lev. 2:5, 11ff.; 6:7ff.; Nu. 5:15ff.; etc.).

3. Hullin *("Common Things")*. Slaughtering of animals for ordinary use (i.e., as food).

4. Bekhoroth *("Firstlings")*. (Ex. 13:2, 12f.; Lev. 27:26f., 32; Nu. 8:6ff.; etc.).

5. Arakhin *("Valuations")*. Valuations of persons and things dedicated to God (Lev. 27).

6. Temurah *("Substitution")*. The substituted offering of a common (non-sacred) thing for a sacred one (Lev. 27:10, 33).

7. Kerithoth *("Excisions")*. Offenses punishable by extirpation or cutting off from Israel (Ex. 12:15; Lev. 18; Nu. 15:30f.; etc.).

8. Meilah *("Trespass")*. Unfaithfulness to sacred things (Lev. 5:15f.; Nu. 5:6ff.).

9. Tamid *("Continuous")*. The whole offering brought morning and evening every day of the year (Ex. 29:38-42; Nu. 28:1-8).

10. Middoth *("Measurements")*. Measurements of the temple (before its destruction in A.D. 70).

11. Kinnim *("Nests")*. The offering of two turtledoves or two young pigeons (Lev. 1:14-17; 5:1-10; 12:8; etc.).

F. Tohoroth *("Cleannesses")*. The protection of the temple from uncleanness and the preservation of cultic cleanness. This title is used euphemistically for unclean things.

1. Kelim *("Vessels")*. The susceptibility of any useful object (clothing, utensils, etc.) to uncleanness (Lev. 6:27f. [MT 20f.]; 11:32ff.; Nu. 19:14-22; 31:20-24).

2. Oholoth *("Tents")*. The impurity originating with a corpse or a part of it (cf. Nu. 19:14).

3. Negaim *("Plagues")*. Symptoms of "leprosy" (Lev. 13–14).

4. Parah *("Cow")*. The use of the ashes of the red heifer for purification (Nu. 19:1-22).

5. Tohoroth *("Cleannesses")*. Susceptibility of food to uncleanness.

6. Mikwaoth *("Pools of Water")*. Pools in which unclean objects or people must be immersed (Lev. 14:8; 15:5ff., 12; Nu. 31:33; cf. Mk. 7:4).

7. Niddah *("Impurity")*. The menstruant (Lev. 15:19-24).

8. Makshirin *("Predisposers")*. Seven liquids that cause food to become defiled (Lev. 11:38).

9. Zabim *("Persons Having a Flux")*. (Lev. 15).

10. Tebul Yom *("One Immersed on the Day")*. Rules concerning one who, having become unclean, has taken the ritual bath but remains unclean until sunset (Lev. 15:5; 22:6f.).

11. Yadaim *("Hands")*. The ritual impurity of the hands and their purification (cf. Mt. 15:2, 20; Mk. 7:1-23).

12. Uktzin *("Stalks")*. The conveyance of ritual impurity by various parts of plants.

Among the six divisions of the Mishnah, T.P. addresses *Zeraim, Nashim, Moed,* and *Nezikin,* and the T.B. treats *Nashim, Moed, Nezikin,* and *Kodhashim*. The topical program throughout thus focuses upon the sanctification of the life of Israel, the Jewish people. The question taken up by the Mishnah, in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple, is whether and how Israel is still holy. And the self-evidently valid answer is that Israel indeed is holy, and so far as the media of sanctification persist beyond the destruction of the holy place — and they do endure — the task of holy Israel is to continue to conduct that life of sanctification that had centered upon the temple. Where now does holiness reside? It is in the life of the people, Israel — there above all. So the Mishnah may speak of the holiness of the temple, but the premise is that the people — that kingdom of priests and holy people of Leviticus — constitutes the center and focus of the sacred. The land retains its holiness too, and in raising the crops the farmer is expected to adhere to the rules of order and structure laid down in Leviticus, keeping each thing in its proper classification, observing the laws of the Sabbatical Year, for instance. The priesthood retains its holiness, even without the task of carrying out the sacrificial cult. Therefore priests must continue to observe the caste rules governing marriage as specified in Leviticus.

Since the two Talmuds focus upon *Moed, Nashim,* and *Nezikim,* let us address the main points important both to the Mishnah and the Talmuds in those divisions. These continue the special interest in sanctification. The relationship of man and wife forms a focus of sanctification, and that too retains its validity even now. The passage of time, from day to day with the climax at the sabbath, from week to week with the climax at the sanctification of the new month, from season to season with the climax at the holy seasons, in particular the first new moon after the autumnal equinox, marked by the Feast of Tabernacles, and the first new moon after the vernal equinox, marked by Passover — these too continue to indicate the fundamental state and condition of Israel the people: all these modes of sanctification endure, surviving the destruction of the holy temple.

Four of the six principal parts of the Mishnah deal with the cult and its officers. These are, first, *Kodhashim,* which addresses the everyday conduct of the sacrificial cult; second, *Tohoroth,* which takes up the protection of the cult from sources of uncleanness specified in the book of Leviticus (particularly Lev. 12–15); third, *Zeraim,* which centers on the designation of portions of the crop for the use of the priesthood (and others in the same classification of a holy caste, e.g., the poor), and so provides for the support of the temple staff; and, fourth, *Moed,* the larger part of which concerns the conduct of the cult on such special occasions as the Day of Atonement, Passover, Tabernacles, etc. (and the rest of which concerns the conduct in the village on those same days, with the basic conception that what you do in the cult forms the mirror image of what you do in the village). Of these four parts the T.P. attends to three and the T.B. to three, both of them omitting *Tohoroth*. Two further divisions of the document as a whole deal with everyday affairs, one, *Nezikin,* concerning civil law and government, the other, *Nashim,* taking up issues of family, home, and personal status.

This account of the topical program of the two Talmuds — which themselves share the same points of emphasis — tells us what the Talmuds did with the received statement of the Mishnah. But they made their own powerful and original statements as well. The most important point of those statements was to shift the focus upon the temple and its supernatural principles to close attention to the people Israel and its natural, this-worldly history. Once Israel, holy Israel, had come to form the counterpart to the temple and its supernatural life, that other history — Israel's — would stand at the center of things. Accordingly, a new sort of memorable event came to the fore in the Talmud of Israel. It was the story of Israel's suffering — remembrance of that suffering on the one side, and an effort to explain events of such tragedy on the other. The components of the historical theory of Israel's sufferings were manifold. First and foremost, history taught moral lessons. Historical events entered into the construction of a teleology for the Yerushalmi's system of Judaism as a whole. What the law demanded reflected the consequences of wrongful action on the part of Israel. So, again, Israel's own deeds defined the events of history.

But the paradox of the Talmuds' system lies in the fact that Israel can free itself of control by other nations only by humbly agreeing to accept God's rule. The nations — Rome, in the present instance — rest on one side of the balance, while God rests on the other. Israel must then choose between them. There is no such thing for Israel as freedom from both God and the nations, total autonomy and independence. There is only a choice of masters, a ruler on earth or a ruler in heaven. It is Israel's history that works out and expresses Israel's relationship with God. Thus the critical dimension of Israel's life is salvation; the definitive trait, a movement in time from now and then. It follows that the paramount and organizing category is history and its lessons. In the Talmuds we witness, among the Mishnah's heirs, a striking reversion to biblical convictions about the centrality of history in the definition of Israel's reality. The T.B. made the definitive statement of the matter. In the view expressed here, the principal result of Israel's loyal adherence to the Torah and its religious duties will be Israel's humble acceptance of God's rule. That humility, under all conditions, makes God love Israel.

> *"It was not because you were greater than any people that the Lord set his love upon you and chose you"* [Dt. 7:7]. The Holy One, blessed be he, said to Israel, "I love you because even when I bestow greatness upon you, you humble yourselves before me. I bestowed greatness upon Abraham, yet he said to me, *'I am but dust and ashes'* [Gen. 18:27]; upon Moses and Aaron, yet they said, *'But I am a worm and no man'* [Ps. 22:6 (MT 7)]. But with the heathens it is not so. I bestowed greatness upon Nimrod, and he said, *'Come, let us build us a city'* [Gen. 11:4]; upon Pharaoh, and he said, *'Who are they among all the gods of the countries?'* [2 K. 18:35]; upon Nebuchadnezzar, and he said, *'I will ascend above the heights of the clouds'* [Isa. 14:14]; upon Hiram, king of Tyre, and he said, *'I sit in the seat of God, in the heart of the seas'* [Ezk. 28:2]" (T.B. *Hullin* 89a).

The heart of the matter then is Israel's subservience to God's will, as expressed in the Torah and embodied in the teachings and lives of the great sages. When Israel fully accepts God's rule, then the Messiah will come. Until Israel subjects itself to God's rule, the Jews will be subjugated to pagan dominion. Since the condition of Israel governs, Israel itself holds the key to its own redemption. But this it can achieve only by throwing away the key. The paradox must be crystal clear: Israel acts to redeem itself through the opposite of self-determination, namely, by subjugating itself to God. Israel's power lies in its negation of power. Its destiny lies in giving up all pretense at deciding its own destiny. So weakness is the ultimate strength, forbearance the final act of self-assertion, passive resignation the sure step toward liberation. (Christianity's parallel for this paradox is in the person of the crucified Christ.) Israel's freedom is engraved on the tablets of the commandments of God: to be free is freely to obey. That is not the meaning associated with these words in the minds of others who, like the sages of the rabbinical canon, declared their view of what Israel must do to secure the coming of the Messiah.

VIII. Influence and Significance of the Talmud.–From its closure in the 7th cent. to the present the T.B. formed the first and most important resource for study. One reason for the success of the T.B., apart from its powerful representation of the unity of the written and oral Torah, lay in the historical success of the Babylonian Jews as against the decline of the community in Israel. Islam centered on Babylonia, not on Israel, and as the Islamic conquest of the Middle East, North Africa, and southern Europe took effect, the Jews of the West, as well as of the Middle East, looked to Babylonia for leadership. While one group of Jews, called Karaites, rejected the claim that God had revealed an oral Torah and therefore ignored both Talmuds, most Jews received the T.B. in precisely the terms in which it represented itself: the authoritative statement of the Torah, written and oral, of Sinai.

On this matter, R. E. Cohen states ("The Yerushalmi and its Critics," in *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism* [1987], I, 21-36), "Medieval authorities perpetuated the bias against the Yerushalmi. . . , relegating the Yerushalmi to the status of an occasional supplement. Henceforth, on questions of Jewish law, religious authorities referred to the Yerushalmi only when the Bavli did not contain a complete and unambiguous discussion. In concrete terms, this meant that there was a general lack of texts, commentaries, and codifications. The medieval textual commentators, such as Rashi, and the codifiers of law, such as Joseph Caro, rarely mentioned the Yerushalmi and may not have had access to any manuscripts. As a result, the Yerushalmi remained obscure and mystified. Only a few elite men were familiar with its contents. Because they distinguished themselves by this exclusive knowledge, they benefitted from perpetuating the obscurity of this document."

When Judaic authorities wished to study the Torah, they therefore devoted themselves to the T.B., and, it follows, all authoritative statements within Judaism began with the T.B., which defined the way of reading both Scripture and the Mishnah alike. Today, the T.B. serves as a principal resource of Reform and Reconstructionist Judaism, while both Conservative and Orthodox authorities continue to identify Judaism with the T.B. According to the Israeli Talmudist, A. Steinsaltz (p. 3): "If the Bible is the cornerstone of Judaism, then the [Babylonian] Talmud is the central pillar, soaring up from the foundations and supporting the entire spiritual and intellectual edifice. In many ways the [Babylonian] Talmud is the most important book in Jewish culture, the backbone of creativity and national life. No other work has had a comparable influence on the theory and practice of Jewish life, shaping spiritual content and serving as a guide to conduct. The Jewish people have always been keenly aware that their continued survival and development depend on the study of the [Babylonian] Talmud."

One consequence of the centrality of the T.B. has been the neglect of the T.P. As R. E. Cohen (p. 22) has pointed out, "Apologists rationalized the neglect of the Yerushalmi by arguing that it deserved to be neglected because it was incoherent and incomplete. Today, scholars perpetuate this bias, criticizing the Yerushalmi as being unworthy of serious attention. When studied on its own terms, however, this document emerges as a highly sophisticated composition. It employs a remarkably uniform and coherent mode of argumentation to discuss a broad range of topics. The Yerushalmi appears to have been condemned without ever receiving a fair trial." In his study of the T.P., Cohen has shown that it "carefully formulates its discussions according to syllogisms and expects that its audience understands these implicit patterns of argumentation. Therefore, it expresses arguments concisely without appealing to technical terms and rhetorical devices to guide the reader through its arguments. The reader must think through each syllogistic argument. In this way, the Yerushalmi is a subtle document which depends on the intelligence of its audience. The next generation of students of the document, framing their judgment on the basis of their own, sustained analysis of the Yerushalmi's

traits in its own terms, may well appreciate the compliment that the authorship of the Yerushalmi pays its audience."

See also RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: JUDAISM.

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J. NEUSNER

TALSAS tal'sas. AV form for the RSV ELASAH (Gk. LXX B *Salthas*, A *Saloas*; NEB Apoc. SALOAS), who was a son of Pashhur and priest who had taken a foreign wife (1 Esd. 9:22; cf. Ezr. 10:22).

TAMAH tā'ma (Neh. 7:55, AV). *See* TEMAH.

TAMAR tā'mär [Heb. *tāmār*—'date palm'; Gk. *Thamar*].

1. Daughter-in-law of the patriarch Judah (Gen. 38:6, 11, 13, 24; Ruth 4:12; 1 Ch. 2:4; Mt. 1:3). Tamar was the wife of Er, the eldest son of Judah, whose death is attributed to God's judgment upon his evil ways (Gen. 38:7). She was then given in marriage to Onan, another of Judah's sons; but Onan also died when he incurred God's judgment by refusing to fulfill the duty of the HUSBAND'S BROTHER under the custom of the levirate (vv. 8-10; *see also* MARRIAGE IV.A.2). Judah's failure to give his only remaining son, Shelah, to fulfill the levirate responsibility led to Tamar's risky and morally questionable strategy of posing as a pagan cult prostitute (Heb. *qᵉḏēšâ*; *see* HARLOT) in order to become pregnant by her father-in-law (vv. 12-23). Judah thus became the father of her twin sons, Perez and Zerah (vv. 27-30). Upon learning that she was pregnant, Judah at first condemned her to be burned for harlotry; but after learning how she had become pregnant, he vindicated her as innocent of any wrongdoing (vv. 24-26). OT tradition presents Tamar as a heroic figure despite the dubious character of her actions, since she preserved the line of her husband.

Later Jewish tradition traced the line of the great King David through Perez the son of Tamar and Judah (Ruth 4:12; 1 Ch. 2:4). Tamar appears also in the genealogy of Joseph the father of Jesus (Mt. 1:3). This story demonstrates that God is able to accomplish His purposes by unexpected means.

2. Beautiful daughter of David and sister of Absalom (2 S. 13:1-32; 1 Ch. 3:9). The unchecked lust of her half-brother Amnon resulted in one of the classic tragedies of the OT: Amnon raped Tamar (2 S. 13:11-14). To make matters worse, he then sent her away, so that she was forced to live the rest of her life as an unmarried woman in her brother Absalom's house (vv. 15-20). Absalom's outrage provoked him to avenge this crime against his sister by having Amnon murdered, and this ultimately led to the bloody intrafamily strife that all but destroyed David's family and kingdom (vv. 23-39; etc.). David's silence and inaction in the face of Amnon's violation of Tamar was likely instrumental in Absalom's later attempt to overthrow his father.

3. The only daughter of Absalom, probably named for his beloved sister (2 S. 14:27). She is described as "a beautiful woman."

G. L. KEOWN

TAMAR tā'mär [Heb. *tāmār*—'palm']. A site in the Judean Arabah SSW of the Dead Sea, which constituted part of the traditional border between Israel and Edom. The biblical references to this site and the archeological evidence for its geographical identification present a number of uncertainties.

In Ezekiel's description of the boundaries of the future, ideal territory of Israel (47:13–48:29), Tamar is the initial point of an east-to-west description of the southern boundary (47:19; 48:28). The eastern boundary list (47:18) may also refer to Tamar as the southernmost point (reading, with the support of LXX and Syr., *tāmārāh* [RSV "as far as Tamar"] for MT *tāmōddû*). These indications would place Tamar at the extreme southeastern corner of the ideal boundaries, broadly SSW of the Dead Sea.

The LXX reflects subsequent confusion regarding the site (48:28, *Thaiman*; 47:19, *Thaiman kai Phoinikōnos*), apparently associating it with the Edomite locale of Teman (*Thaiman*; cf. Ezk. 25:13), which lay in the same geographical region. The translators may have been influenced by the similar boundary lists of Josh. 15:1-4 and Nu. 34:3-5, both of which mention Edom as the south-

eastern point of departure (cf. esp. Heb. *têmān*, which may mean "south" or "Teman," in Josh. 15:1) and neither of which mentions Tamar at all. The closeness of "Tamar" and "Teman" in the consonantal text of the Hebrew may have been a factor. The double reading at 47:19 (*Thaiman kai Phoinikōnos*) may have been an effort to preserve the variant understandings or simply a correction to MT (Gk. *Phoinikōnos* = "palm" = Heb. *tāmār*).

The other context that mentions Tamar is the list of building projects undertaken by Solomon; once again the text has significant difficulties. In 1 K. 9:18 the consonantal MT (*kethibh*) includes among the cities fortified by Solomon a "Tamar in the wilderness in the land" (cf. RSV, NEB). On the other hand, the vocalization of the MT (*qere*), a number of Hebrew MSS, the major versions (e.g., LXX 10:22a; cf. 2:35i, 46d), and the parallel 2 Ch. 8:4 (see *BHS*) provide the reading *Taḏmōr* (so AV), referring to a major Syrian city, approximately 190 km. (120 mi.) NE of Damascus.

Some have sought to defend "Tadmor" as a plausible site for northern defenses of the Solomonic empire. The name of the city is now attested from the late 12th cent. (cf. *ANET*, p. 275), and even the supposed anachronism of the Chronicler's "Hamath-zobah" (2 Ch. 8:3) has been challenged on the basis of epigraphic evidence from Hamath (10th-8th cent.). Moreover, the awkward expression "Tamar in the wilderness in the land" (1 K. 9:18) could be resolved, with only slight consonantal changes, into "Tadmor in the wilderness in Aram [Syria]."

There are, however, important reasons for maintaining that "Tamar" is the original reading in the traditions of Solomon's building activities. The weightiest of these is the preference for the more difficult reading: it is easier to explain the obscure "Tamar" being understood by reference to the famous "Tadmor" rather than the reverse. Moreover, Solomonic building at Tamar is more plausible historically, since the fortification of a strategic site in the Judean Arabah would serve to protect southern trade routes so valuable in Solomon's time. On this reading, the list of fortifications given in 1 K. 9:15-18 follows a geographical order, from Hazor in the north to Tamar in the south. The traditions associating Solomon with Tadmor-Palmyra may well have stemmed from the obscurity of Tamar in later periods (see above on Ezekiel). The similarities of the names in both orthography and meaning (Tamar/Tadmor="palm"), as well as the testimony in 1 Kings to the vast extent of Solomon's empire (e.g., 4:21 [MT 5:1]), may have encouraged the Chronicler as well as the subsequent translators of 1 Kings to interpret the apparently unknown Tamar by reference to the prosperous Syrian city.

Other biblical references have been associated with this site. "Hazazon-tamar" of Gen. 14:7 could plausibly be located in the Arabah, but its identification with En-gedi in 2 Ch. 20:2 has also been strongly supported. The "City of Palms" of Jgs. 1:16 also has been equated with Tamar because of the references to other southern locales in the same context ("wilderness of Judah," "Negeb near Arad"); however, it is probably to be understood as Jericho, which is commonly called the "City of Palms" (cf. Jgs. 3:13; also Dt. 34:3; 2 Ch. 28:15) and which may have been understood as the point of departure for the Kenites in this account (*GTTOT*, pp. 282f.).

The chief difficulty in identifying the precise location of biblical Tamar is the lack of extant corresponding toponyms in the region. A number of sources from the Roman era, ranging in date from *ca.* A.D. 150-600, mention a site in the Arabah with a name approximating Tamar (*thamarō*, Ptolemy *Geog.* v.15.5; *thamara*, Eusebius *Onom.* 8.8 and Madeba Map; *thamana*, *Notitia dignitatum* 34.46; *thamaro*, Peutinger Table; *thomarōn*, Edict of Beersheba). These traditions all seem to refer to a fortification in the Roman *limes* series of southern Palestine, itself an elaboration of caravanserai taken over from the Nabateans in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Giving special weight to the evidence of the Edict of Beersheba, A. Alt located the Roman fortress of Thamara at Qasr el-Juheiniya (18 km. [10 mi.] E of Kurnub/Mampsis; 21 km. [12 mi.] WSW of the Dead Sea; 173-048), and speculated that the related village lay further down the ghôr at the approximate location of modern ʿAin el-ʿArûs (map coordinates 183-044). These identifications have been influential, and are reflected in the present Israeli names for the two sites, Mezad Tamar and ʿAin Tamar respectively. Y. Aharoni has disputed this identification, however, and has argued from the reliability of road distances in the Peutinger Table for ʿAin Ḥoṣob (Ḥaṣeba; 29 km. [18 mi.] SE of Kurnub/Mampsis; 40 km. [22 mi.] SW of Dead Sea; 173-024) as the location of both biblical Tamar and the Roman Thamara.

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J. T. BUTLER

TAMARISK tam'ə-risk [Heb. *'ēšel*] (Gen. 21:33; 1 S. 22:6; 31:13, "tamarisk tree"); AV GROVE (Gen. 21:33), TREE; NEB also "strip of ground" (Gen. 21:33). Several species of tamarisk grow in the Palestinian maritime plain and the Jordan Valley, especially *Tamarix articulata* Vahl., *T. pentandra* Pall., and *T. tetragyna* Ehrenb. They seldom lose their verdure and consequently provide welcome shade. The AV term "grove" was formerly thought to refer to tamarisks but is now generally interpreted as oak trees. Heb. *ʿar'ār* in Jer. 17:6 (AV "heath"; RSV "shrub"; NEB "juniper") is most probably the *Juniperus oxycedrus* L., not the tamarisk as some have suggested. R. K. H.

TAMBOURINE. *See* TIMBREL.

TAMMUZ tam'uz, tä'mooz [Heb. *tammûz*; Akk. *tammuz*; Sum. *dumuzi*–'invigorator of the child (?)']. A Sumerian and Babylonian god of fertility mentioned once in the OT (Ezk. 8:14). The prophet in a vision during his Babylonian Exile saw an abomination: women in the north gate of the Jerusalem temple wailing for Tammuz.

S. N. Kramer may have found literary antecedents to Canticles in Sumerian love poetry celebrating the marriage of Dumuzi and the goddess Inanna (Akk. Ishtar). As

A tamarisk tree at the Ashkelon excavations in Palestine (J. C. Trever)

with Mesopotamian myths about creation and the flood, the contrast with superficially similar biblical material is striking. Intimate details of the Sumerian marriage consummation differ markedly from the beautifully delicate poetry of Canticles.

In the Sumerian King List the fourth king before the flood is Dumuzi, a shepherd who ruled 36,000 years in Bad-tibira; after the flood the "god" Dumuzi ruled 100 years in Uruk, i.e., biblical Erech (*ANET*, pp. 265f.). Early pictorial representations in fourth-millennium B.C. art indicate, however, that the god was primary rather than a deified historical ruler.

Studies of many Sumerian texts, especially T. Jacobsen's perceptive syntheses, show that Dumuzi represented the basic power of life manifest in milk, grain, dates, and the sap of trees and plants. Principal rites associated with the god were the annual sacred marriage of the king or governor to a chief priestess insuring the fertility of crops and livestock, and an annual mourning by women of Tammuz's departure to the underworld when vegetation died in the scorching summer heat.

In the Epic of Gilgamesh the hero rejects the advances of Ishtar and chides the goddess: "For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth, Thou hast ordained wailing year after year" (*ANET*, p. 84). While citing Canaanite gods of fertility that were the objects of similar lamentations, W. F. Albright found "no trace of the Babylonian god in Syria before the Neo-Assyrian period" (*ARI* [5th ed. 1968], p. 161). The cult of Tammuz survived in Aramean paganism well into the Moslem era. The Phoenicians called Tammuz by the name Adon ("Lord"), and a similar cult of Adonis and Aphrodite took root among the Greeks.

It is important to stress that the dictum of J. G. Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris* [1906]) — "under the name of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia represented the yearly decay and revival of life, . . . which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead" — though it enjoyed widespread scholarly acceptance for about half a century, has been invalidated by later material, as admirably set forth by O. R. Gurney.

In exilic and later Judaism the fourth month (June/July) was named Tammuz (*see* CALENDAR II.A.2). A fast on the 17th of Tammuz, commemorating Nebuchadrezzar's (586 B.C.) and Titus's (A.D. 70) breaching of Jerusalem's walls, began three weeks of mourning culminating on the 9th of Ab.

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TANACH tā'nach (Josh. 21:25, AV). *See* TAANACH.

TANHUMETH tan-hū'meth [Heb. *tanḥumeṯ*–'consolation']. A NETOPHATHITE (2 K. 25:23) whose son Seraiah was a captain of forces that remained at large in Judah after the Babylonian Exile. Jer. 40:8 records the same account but reads "Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, the sons of Ephai the Netophathite," which makes "the sons of Ephai" the descendants of Netophah.

See also EPHAI. G. L. K.

TANIS tā'nis, tan'əs [Gk. *Tanis*] (Jth. 1:10). *See* ZOAN.

TANNED [Heb. pual of *'ādam*–'make red' (Ex. 25:5; etc.)]; AV "dyed red," "red"; **TANNER** [Gk. *byrseús* (Acts 9:43; 10:6, 32)]. The process of treating animal skins with oak gall or other vegetable tannins to prepare leather, and the name of one who engaged in that trade for a living.

Although it has been well established that the art of tanning animal skins was practiced in the Near East as early as the 4th millennium B.C. (*see* LEATHER), the tanning process was never specifically mentioned in the OT. The RSV seems to have introduced "tanned" in Ex. 25:5; 26:14; 35:7, 23; 36:19; 39:34 by assuming that the "ram's skins" used for the covering of the wilderness tabernacle were "reddish" as a result of the tanning process for leather-making. The Hebrew term, however, could just as well have meant that the skins used were actually tinted by means of rubbing with red ocher (or some other dyeing process) to give them a reddish color. Such pigment was often used in OT times to inscribe names on pottery, as at Qumrân. If the Exodus tradition was recorded after the 10th cent. B.C., it could have reflected the more elaborate tabernacle of Davidic times (*see* TABERNACLE), rather than the period of the Exodus, as some scholars maintain. Then the intention of the text could have meant a dye treatment, rather than the tanning process. The AV use of "dyed red" (the LXX uses Gk. *erythrodanóō*, also meaning "dyed red") may, therefore, have been the original intention of the authors. The original tabernacle made in Sinai would probably have had a covering only of dried goat or sheepskins, since the tanning process reflects a stable village culture quite unlike that of desert wanderers. In fact, the absence of any technical Hebrew term for the tanning process in the OT may suggest that tanning was not a trade practiced by the Hebrews in OT times.

During intertestamental times and later, Jews were often engaged in the tanning trade, as the talmudic rules for the trade clearly imply. In the NT and the talmudic period the tanning process was usually referred to with technical terms from Greek (*byrseús, bursíyyon*, etc.; cf. T.B. *Baba Bathra* 16b; *Kiddushin* 82b; *burséki* was used for a "tannery" in Mish. *Baba Bathra* ii.9; and Mish. *Shabbath* i.2; cf. also SB, II, 695). The NT story of Peter's sojourn in Joppa with Simon, the tanner (Acts 9–10), implies that Peter had taken a step beyond the Jewish community with the Christian gospel. Since the tanner's trade was a demeaning task from Jewish perspectives, his shop was required to be on the outskirts of a community, for it was a malodorous process (Mish. *Baba Bathra* ii.9; cf. T.B. *Kiddushin* 82b, "woe to him who is a tanner by trade").

See R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (1972), chs. 3, 8. J. C. TREVER

TAPESTRY. The AV "coverings of tapestry" (RSV, NEB, "coverings") renders the plural of Heb. *marḇaḏ* (<*rāḇaḏ*, "bespread, deck"), which refers to a fabric used both for bed coverings (Prov. 7:16) and, perhaps, for clothing (31:22).

TAPHATH tā'fath [Heb. *ṭāpaṭ*–'drop' (?)] (1 K. 4:11). Daughter of Solomon and wife of Ben-abinadab, one of Solomon's officers.

See *IP*, p. 226.

TAPHON tā'fon (1 Macc. 9:50, AV). *See* TEPHON.

TAPPUAH tap'ū-ə [Heb. *tappû(a)ḥ*] A son of Hebron and descendant of Caleb (1 Ch. 2:43).

TAPPUAH tap'ū-ə, tə-pū'ə [Heb. *tappû(a)*–"apple," "apple-tree")].

1. A city in the Shephelah (Josh. 15:34), among the inheritance of the tribe of Judah. It is described as "in the

lowland [Shephelah]," one of fourteen cities with their villages, including Eshtaol, Zorah, and Azekah. A Beth-Tappuah also appears in this inheritance list located in the hill country of Judah (15:53). The city is thought to have been south of Beth-shemesh and the Sorek Valley running through the Shephelah (possibly the modern village of Beit Nattif; cf. *GB*, p. 142).

2. A city on the border of Ephraim (Josh. 12:17; 16:8). The "land of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh, but the town of Tappuah on the boundary of Manasseh belonged to the sons of Ephraim" (17:8). The king of Tappuah who was defeated by Joshua and the people of Israel (12:17; cf. v. 7) is named with other kings in the northern region. It seems, however, that it could not be conquered except after a period of intense struggle, and Canaanite enclaves remained (16:10) even though the Ephraimites were later able to occupy the land of Tappuah (16:8; *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], pp. 257-260). Although doubt has been expressed concerning the exactness of the conquest narratives (*AOTS*, p. 369), the city has been identified with modern Sheik Abū Zarad, 12 km. (8 mi.) S of Shechem (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 442).

Extrabiblical references to a city of Tappuah are found in Test. Jud. 3:2; 5:6, and perhaps in 1 Macc. 9:50 (RSV, NEB "Tephon"; AV "Taphon"), but no location is indicated by these references. The LXX omits the name of Tappuah in Josh. 15:34, perhaps because of the Beth-Tappuah recorded in 15:53. J. E. MCKENNA

3. A city mentioned in 2 K. 15:16 as a place near Tirzah in Samaria. Located in the northern kingdom, this city was destroyed by Menahem, king of Israel, after its inhabitants refused to open their gates to him. This site has been identified by some with Khirbet Tafsah, about 10 km. (6 mi.) SW of Nâblus. This site, however, is probably too far from Tirzah. Since a Greek MS calls Tiphsah *Taphōe*, others have conjectured that Heb. *tipṣaḥ* herecouldbe a copyist's mistake for Heb. *tappû(a)ḥ*, "Tappuah," a town not far from Tirzah, hence the RSV translation "Tappuah" (AV "Tiphsah").

See also TIPHSAH. K. E. CORLEY

TARALAH tär'ə-lə [Heb. *tar'ᵃlâ*]. A town in the tribal allotment of Benjamin (Josh. 18:27). It appears between Irpeel and Zela in a list of cities that includes Mizpeh and Jebus (Jerusalem). This suggests a location about 10 to 12 km. (6 to 7 mi.) NW of Jerusalem. The summaries "twelve cities" (v. 24) and "fourteen cities" (v. 27) suggest that two lists have been combined (see discussion in *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 315). But this would not affect the location of the cities in vv. 27f. W. S. L. S.

TARAH tā'ra, târ'a (Nu. 33:27f., AV, NEB). *See* TERAH.

TAREA tā'rē-a [Heb. *ta'rē(a)*] (1 Ch. 8:35); alternately **TAHREA** tä'rē a, ta rē'a [*taḥrē(a)*] (1 Ch. 9:41). A descendant of Saul and son of Micah.

TARES. *See* WEEDS.

TARGET [Heb. *maṭṭārâ*] (Job 16:12); AV MARK. Figurative picture used by Job to portray God as directing a siege against Job and making him His "target" (see esp. Lam. 3:12; cf. Job 7:20).

TARGUM tär'gəm.

I. Definition and Introduction
II. The Aramaic Language and the Targums
III. Origins
IV. Texts
  A. Targum Onkelos
  B. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch (Jerusalem Targum I)
  C. The Fragment Targums (Jerusalem Targum II)
  D. The Fragments of the Targums from the Cairo Genizah
  E. Targumic Tosefta
  F. Targum Neofiti
  G. Targum Jonathan on the Prophets
  H. Targums for the Hagiographa
  I. Targums for the Five Scrolls
  J. Targum for the Book of Chronicles
V. Impact of Targumic Study upon Biblical Studies

I Definition and Introduction.—The most elementary meaning of the word *targum* is "translation" or "interpretation," but it is quite often connected with the various Aramaic translations of the OT. Though the noun *targum* never appears in the OT, the verb does occur in Ezr. 4:7, "the letter was written in Aramaic and translated [*meṯurgām*] in Aramaic" (RSV mg.). The word *trgm* seems to be related to Akk. *targumānu* ("interpreter") and may have come from Hittite or from Ugar. *ragamu* ("say, call"). Though other explanations have been advanced for Ezr. 4:7, in the biblical text the word *meṯurgām* seems to refer to Aramaic annotations for the letter that Tabeel and his associates sent to King Artaxerxes. The letter was written in Aramaic and annotated in Aramaic with explanatory notes. (Interestingly enough the Aramaic translations of the Bible often abound with explanatory notes rather than a strict literal, word-for-word translation.) But the term *targum* came to be associated more with a translation from one language to another than an interpretation or explanation of a text in one language — though the second meaning continued to appear in rabbinic literature (e.g., T. P. *Sukkah* 55b; cf. also Midr. *Sifre Dt.* 161, where the word *targum* most probably indicates the interpretation of Scripture).

In later times the term *targum* became associated primarily with the various Aramaic translations of the OT (see IV below). Often these translations tend to be paraphrastic, and sometimes they contain extensive annotations rather than pure literal renderings of the Hebrew text. This fact can be best understood by an illustration. Here the more literal rendering of the Hebrew text in Targum Onkelos is compared with the paraphrastic form in Targum Neofiti.

MT: "Give ear, O heavens, and I will speak; and let the earth hear the words of my mouth." (Dt. 32:1)

Targum Onkelos: "Listen, heaven, and I will speak; let the earth hear the words of my mouth." (Drazin's translation)

Targum Neofiti: "When the appointed time of Moses the prophet arrived to be gathered in peace from the midst of the world, Moses thought in his heart and said: Woe now is me, since I am being gathered from the midst of the world and I have not borne witness against the children of the Lord. If I bear witness against them before the sons of man who die and taste the cup of death, the people die and their decrees are void; I shall bear witness against them, however, before the heavens and before the earth, who never die and who do not taste the cup of death, but whose end is (that) they wear out in the world to come; and thus did Isaiah the prophet explain and say: 'Lift up your eyes to the heavens and gaze on the earth beneath' for the heavens shall melt away like smoke and the earth shall be consumed like a garment, but the Lord is to 'create new heavens

and a new earth.' For two prophets arose to bear witness against Israel: Moses the prophet and Isaiah the prophet. Moses, since he was near the heavens and far from the earth, said to the heavens: 'Give heed,' and to the earth 'Listen'; Isaiah, the prophet, however, who arose after him, since he was near the earth and far from the heavens, said to the earth: 'Give heed,' and the heavens, 'Listen.' And both of them, because they feared the Holy Name, arose to bear witness against Israel. For this reason Moses, the prophet of the Lord, arose and took courage and said: 'Give heed, O heavens, and I will speak, and listen, O earth, to the word of my mouth.'" (McNamara and Maher's translation in Díez Macho's edition)

One can immediately note the difference between the more literal version of Onkelos and the annotated, paraphrastic "translation" of Targum Neofiti. It is wrong to generalize from one example, but the Targums of the Hebrew Scriptures are a highly specialized genre of translation literature and should not be viewed strictly as literal translations in the modern sense. The contents of the expanded form of the tradition in Targum Neofiti are reflected in other portions of rabbinic literature, and it may be that other current Jewish interpretations of the text influenced the targumist. To a lesser extent, even in the more literal Greek translation of the OT, at times one discovers that the *meaning* of the Hebrew text is translated or explained rather than the text being rendered word for word (see Bowker, p. 5).

Hence it is overly simplistic to think that the Targums arose from the need for a translation of the Hebrew text into the "Aramaic vernacular" of the people (see Golomb, pp. 5, 8). The Hebrew Scriptures were the primary source and inspiration for the Jewish way of life. Thus it was imperative to interpret the meaning of holy writ. The oral tradition, like the Targums, provided a more or less official interpretation of the meaning of Scripture and a semi-authoritative approach to Jewish life and the function of the Bible for faith and practice. One may ask: Why is there a need for oral tradition (law)? The answer is simple: Because we have a written one in the Bible. In other words, Jewish interpreters felt the need to elucidate the written law. Therefore the Targums, like the oral law, contain a wealth of information concerning the way the Jewish interpreters of late antiquity understood the Scriptures, and thus they should be studied carefully in conjunction with other rabbinic sources.

II. The Aramaic Language and the Targum.–The ARAMAIC language, which had been used widely in the ancient Near East, gained prominence with the decline of Alexander the Great's empire and the rise of the Persians, who made Aramaic the lingua franca of the age. Already in the wake of the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C. and the cruel exile of the Jewish people to Babylon, the people had to learn Aramaic, the language of the land of their captivity. Some of the people intermarried and spoke the various languages of their spouses (Neh. 13:23f.). But no evidence indicates that Hebrew was forgotten or ceased to be spoken among the Jewish people. The captivity lasted only about fifty years, and though a sizable number of Jews remained in Babylon, many returned to Israel and continued to speak Hebrew.

At the time of the return to Zion, the scroll of the law had to be interpreted (Neh. 8). Many biblical scholars have suggested that this account is an early reference to the later synagogal practice of reading the Hebrew text and translating it into Aramaic. This misconception developed in part because of a later talmudic tradition (T. B. *Megillah* 3a; *Nedarim* 37b; T. P. *Megillah* 74d, ch. 4, hal. 1, Rabbi Zeira in the name of Rabbi Ḥananel; Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* xxxvi.8; Albeck, p. 342, Rabbi Yudan; see also Golomb, p. 5). But the talmudic passage shows merely that the Babylonian sage Rab Ḥananel (3rd cent. A.D.) tried to establish the antiquity of the Targums on the basis of Neh. 8:8. The talmudic passage is far removed from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the mention of the accentuation marks and Masoretic notes of the biblical text as having existed already at the time of the return clearly demonstrates that one cannot use the text to date the rise of the Targums. In fact the Hebrew wording of Neh. 8:8 offers no reason to refer to the Aramaic translation of the Bible. On the contrary, Heb. *pršh* (Neh. 8:8) connotes "to interpret" and seldom if ever can refer to a translation from one language to another. Could the Jewish people have forgotten Hebrew after the relatively short captivity? It seems more likely that the text of Nehemiah refers to the necessity of interpreting the law in Israel after the trauma of exile. Many laws dealt with the land of Israel and would have required elucidation after the return and within the context of the people's new freedom of religious expression.

Whatever the case may be, most scholars agree that the practice of translating the Bible into Aramaic was an early custom. Certainly the large Jewish community that remained in Babylon after the decree of Cyrus (537 B.C.) would have eventually required a translation of the sacred literature into Aramaic. But the earliest reference to reading a *Targum* of the Bible during worship is in later mishnaic times. The translations may have developed first as an effort to explain specific difficult words — a process which would naturally lead to full translations.

Every translation is an interpretation to a certain extent. The Targums were designed to communicate the message of the text to people, and the translator (*meturgeman*) sometimes injected stories, Jewish Haggadic teachings, or Halakic stipulations into his interpretation of the Hebrew text. This practice was much more than a free creative exegesis devoid of any system or purpose; the targumists seem to have operated according to their own specialized methodology. The Targums were indeed an actualization of the Bible, and they often elucidate the ancient Jewish understanding of particular texts.

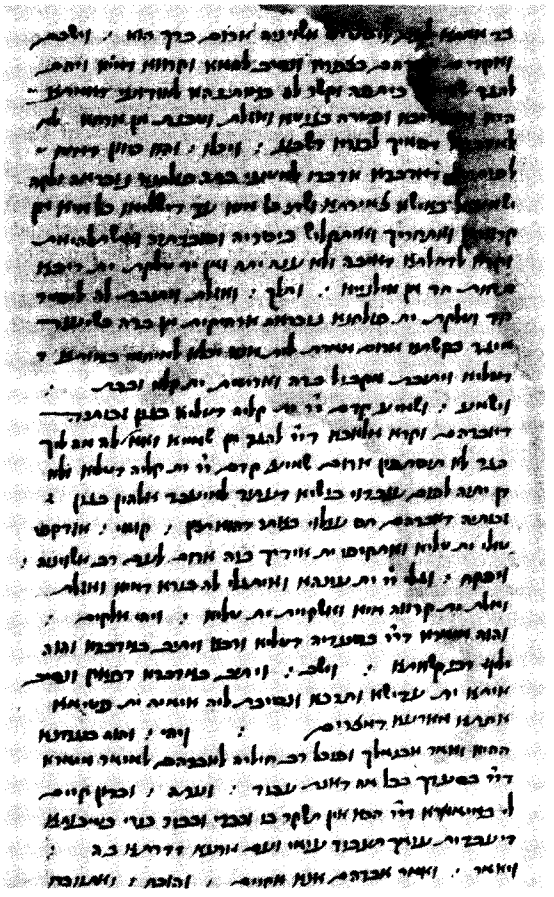
III. Origins.–The earliest Targums known are those discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls. An Aramaic Targum of Job containing fragmentary portions of Job 17–39 was discovered in Cave 11 (11QtgJob). In Cave 4 two small fragments of an Aramaic Targum to Lev. 16:12-15; 18–21 and another fragment of Job came to light. Rabbinic literature relates a story about the famous Rabban Gamaliel the Elder (considered to be Paul's teacher), who was given a scroll of the translation (*targum*) of Job. After he discerned what had been given to him, he instructed a mason to hide it among the stones of the temple (Tosefta, *Shabbath* 13:2; T.P. *Shabbath* 15c; T.B. *Shabbath* 115a). Some have suggested that the translation which Rabban Gamaliel rejected may have been a version of 11QtgJob. But one must take care not to arrive at unfounded conclusions on the basis of insufficient evidence. The difficult book of Job no doubt gave rise to translations and interpretations that could not be allowed to replace the sacred text itself, and the writing down of oral tradition was prohibited. Though the evidence from Qumrân demonstrates the antiquity of the Targum of Job, it does not necessarily follow that the text referred in the story about Rabban Gamaliel describes an Aramaic rendering of Job — it could be a Greek translation of the biblical text or simply a commentary to explain this difficult book.

It may well be that the Targums were preserved and

transmitted as oral tradition long before they were committed to writing. Already the Mishnah and the Tosefta described the custom of reading the Hebrew Bible and having it translated into Aramaic (Mish. *Megillah* iv.4-6; Tosefta *Megillah* 3[4]:20f.; Lieberman, p. 359, commentary, pp. 1194f.). According to the Amoraim Joshua ben Levi and Ammi, the verse was read twice in Hebrew, once before the Aramaic translation and another time after it (T.B. *Berakoth* 8a-b; cf. Bacher, pp. 57f.). As is well known, the ardent study of the Scriptures was an integral part of the ancient synagogue liturgy; the people followed lectionary readings of the Torah. The Jewish custom stipulated that the reader of the Hebrew text could not be the same person who acted as translator (*meturgeman*). Some passages like the story of King David and Bathsheba (2 S. 11:2-17) were read but not translated, and others were neither read nor translated (Mish. *Megillah* iv.10). The *meturgeman* was not always understood strictly as the one who translated; he also assisted the academy teacher in his lectures by repeating and explaining the lesson to the disciples. As translator, he was required to follow accepted practices and a number of specific rules (though our knowledge of these principles from late antiquity is far from complete). For example, the *meturgeman* was not permitted to translate more than one verse at a time from the Pentateuch and not more than three from the Prophets (Mish. *Megillah* iv.4; cf. Bacher). Rabbi Judah ben Illai, a disciple of the influential Rabbi Akiba said, "If one translates a verse literally, he is a liar, but if he adds to it, he is a blasphemer" (Tosefta *Megillah* 4:41; Lieberman, p. 364; T.B. *Kiddushin* 49a). Hence the task of the *meturgeman* was by no means a simple one; it certainly involved much more than an explanation of the biblical text in the everyday language of the people, though the targumist no doubt had his intended audience in mind as he carried out his work.

While the practice of reading the Hebrew text and then allowing the *meturgeman* to make his Aramaic rendering of the verse is attested from the early sources of the tannaitic period at Usha, it is difficult to identify the Targums which have been preserved today with the Targums of the ancient synagogue. The Targums were never given the same authority as Scripture and have been transmitted in quite different textual recensions. For example, the text of Pseudo-Jonathan gives the wives of Ishmael the names of Muhammad's wife Adisha and his daughter Fatima (Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen. 21:21). The attribution of these names does not seem accidental. Targum Onkelos, Targum Neofiti, and the Fragment Targums do not mention these names, and most scholars view such later references as interpolations, i.e. they were added to the earlier text of the Targum at a later period. Nonetheless, that interpolations have been introduced into the Targums further underlines the complicated history of their textual preservation and the need for careful critical research.

That Targums have come to light among the DSS and are mentioned in tannaitic literature indicates that they were already in use during the second temple period. But one must take care *not* to identify the Targums surviving today with those of antiquity. 11QtgJob, though similar, is significantly different from the extant, more paraphrastic Targum of Job that has been preserved in the literature of the synagogue. Scholars are divided concerning the provenance of 11QtgJob. While the editors of the text (van der Ploeg and van der Woude) have suggested that it was written in first-century Israel, after careful linguistic analysis T. Muraoka has convincingly argued that the Qumrân Targums probably originated in Mesopotamia in the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C. If one considers the extensive



Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen. 21:14-24. The first word of each biblical verse is given, set off by two diagonal dots; the paraphrastic translation follows. An interpolation on v. 21 mentions the wife and daughter of Muhammad (The British Library)

finds of scrolls and scroll fragments of biblical, nonsectarian, and sectarian MSS at Qumrân, it may be significant that relatively few Targums have been found. This fact argues for a Babylonian origin of the Qumrân Targums.

Of the various extant Targums, Targum Onkelos for the Pentateuch and Targum Jonathan for the Prophets are the official Aramaic translations; Onkelos has probably had the greatest impact upon Jewish thought. The study of the Targums is of paramount importance, for they reflect early Jewish ideas, customs, and Halakah as well as Jewish interpretation of Scripture. Hence the Targums are relevant sources for the study of the Hebrew OT not only because they demonstrate how the text was translated and understood, in much the same way as the LXX and other ancient Bible translations, but also because the Targums preserve remnants of Jewish thought from late antiquity. In this respect, like rabbinic literature they can elucidate Jewish life and understanding of Scripture from the time of nascent Christianity.

IV. Texts.–A. Targum Onkelos. The text of Targum Onkelos contains only a rendering of the Pentateuch. The name Onkelos probably derives from the name Aquila, a mistaken identification that resulted from a confusion with the tradition concerning the translator of the LXX. Melammed suggested that this mistake could have occurred because the Babylonian schools did not use the LXX. Fur-

ther witness to the confusion of names comes from the Babylonian Talmud where the name Onkelos the Proselyte seems to be a corruption of the earlier form Aquilas the Proselyte, which is found in the Jerusalem Talmud. Targum Onkelos gained credence and is cited frequently in the Babylonian Talmud, which refers to it as "our Targum." But scholars have debated its origin.

Two lines of evidence led P. Kahle to suggest that Targum Onkelos was composed in Babylon. First, the text is never mentioned or cited in the midrashim of Israel and only once in the Jerusalem Talmud. Second, the language of Onkelos seems to be Eastern Aramaic, which Epstein noted is similar to the language of the Babylonian Talmud. As Melammed and others have pointed out, the text also contains Greek words transliterated into Aramaic.

After the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, E. Y. Kutscher proposed that Onkelos originated in Israel and that the text was edited and redacted in Babylon, which would explain the apparent Eastern Aramaic influence. Unfortunately Kutscher's untimely death prevented him from carrying out an extensive investigation. While many scholars tend to accept Kutscher's suggestion, the entire matter has never been thoroughly investigated and the evidence that has so far been presented for either case is far from conclusive.

Of the Targums, Onkelos is the most literal. It has been suggested that at one time it was more paraphrastic and was subsequently tamed to conform to a more literal rendering of the Hebrew text. Here one enters into one of the most complex issues of targumic study. Which is earlier — the literal or the paraphrastic translations? One must never oversimplify such complex questions that carry so many ramifications. Some of the Targums (e.g., Esther) contain extended portions of Haggadic materials, and they seem to have been expanded from earlier sources. But a number of texts in Onkelos seem to have been abbreviated when one compares them to other versions of the Targums (see Bacher, p. 59). 11QtgJob is less paraphrastic than its rabbinic counterpart, but it is hazardous to draw far-reaching conclusions based upon fragmentary evidence. Nonetheless, one should not doubt that the revisions made upon the existing Targums include some abridgments as well as the more frequent expansions.

As in a number of other ancient translations, Targum Onkelos has difficulty in ascribing human qualities to God and often deals freely with anthropomorphisms. The text preserves the rich Jewish heritage that sanctioned the Scriptures as the way of life. Many scholars believe that Onkelos is probably the earliest of the Targums, and Epstein suggested that it was compiled during the beginning of the Amoraic period (from A.D. 220 to *ca.* A.D. 500), though certainly earlier sources are woven into the fabric of Targum Onkelos.

B. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch (Jerusalem Targum I). Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch is a much more paraphrastic and freer translation than Onkelos, and some scholars (e.g., Bacher) felt that it was often more original. But most scholars think that Pseudo-Jonathan contains later expansions and is closely related to Onkelos. As Y. Komlosh has pointed out, the false attribution of the name Jonathan to the work is probably the result of a wrong interpretation of the abbreviation *t.y.* (י"ת), which was employed for the work. The initials actually stood for *Targum Yerushalmi* (Jerusalem

Part of a vellum scroll from the Cairo Genizah containing the Palestinian Targum on Ex. 21:22 (by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

Targum), but perhaps due to the tradition which associated Jonathan with the Targums for the Prophets, a scribe interpreted the *t.y.* as *Targum Yonatan*. Thus modern writers have referred to the text as Pseudo-Jonathan for the Pentateuch in order to differentiate it from Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. In his famous work *Me'or Einayim* (1573-1575, Wilna ed., p. 127) Azariah de' Rossi mentioned a complete edition of the Aramaic Targums in two volumes, the first entitled the Jerusalem Targum, and the second Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel. On the basis of this bit of evidence it is possible to assume that the first volume could be identified with Pseudo-Jonathan for the Pentateuch and the second with Targum Jonathan for the Prophets.

A careful examination of the text reveals different levels of tradition. Most scholars prefer to view the work as being influenced by both Targum Onkelos and an earlier Palestinian Targum. The text therefore is a composite containing earlier materials and must be studied in the light of the other Targums and rabbinic literature.

C. The Fragment Targums (Jerusalem Targum II). The Fragment Targums to the Pentateuch (Jerusalem Targum II) are known from a number of MSS and contain selected texts from portions of the Pentateuch. They were first published in the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (A.D. 1517-1518) and now has appeared in a new edition complete with text and an English translation by M. Klein. The Fragment Targums are similar to Pseudo-Jonathan and often betray an even more striking resemblance to Targum Neofiti.

D. Fragments of the Targums from the Cairo Genizah. Among the most important finds within the Genizah (storage area of holy writ) of the Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo were fragments of Targums. As is well known, a horde of ancient MSS and texts were discovered in the Genizah in 1896. P. Kahle believed that the textual fragments of the Targums were representative of the Aramaic spoken in Israel. The vowel systems preserved in the rabbinic Bibles are considered to be corrupt, and these MSS contained pointed texts that are valuable in determining the pronunciation of Aramaic. Kutscher attributed great importance to these texts and felt that they preserved a purer Aramaic dialect that had not suffered as much from later redaction. Klein has prepared a critical edition of these fragments with vocalized Aramaic texts, plates, and English translation.

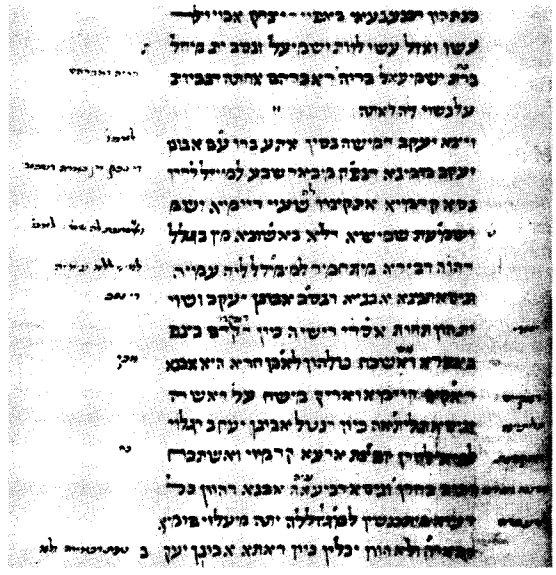
E. Targumic Tosefta. The Targumic Tosefta are works rich in Haggadic materials and are written in an Aramaic dialect similar to Targum Onkelos and the Babylonian Talmud. McNamara suggested that they were rendered from Palestinian Aramaic into Babylonian Aramaic so that the text would be better understood by the Jews of Babylon, but one wonders if Palestinian Aramaic texts would not be understood in Babylon and if a translation would be required. The language may indicate the origin of the text. Some of the Targumic Tosefta have been printed in the festival prayer book, *Maḥzor Vitri*.

F. Targum Neofiti. The discovery in 1956 of an entire MS of a hitherto unknown version of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, Targum Neofiti, has revolutionized targumic study and has greatly increased our knowledge of earlier texts and versions of the Targums. In 1949 A. Díez Macho observed the name Codex Neofiti I listed in the catalog of the Vatican Library under the entries for Onkelos. After he made a cursory examination of the codex, he doubted seriously that it could be a version of Onkelos. It was only later that Díez Macho examined the codex more carefully and discovered that it was a version of the Jerusalem Targum to the Pentateuch. The name Neofiti is derived from the collection of Hebrew and Aramaic texts and MSS that were donated to the Vatican Library from the Pia Domus Neophytorum in Rome. A colophon in Targum Neofiti reveals that the copying of the text was completed in A.D. 1504 for Maestro Egidio, whom McNamara has suggested should be identified with the humanist Giles (Egidio) of Viterbo (*Targum and Testament*, p. 184).

The importance of Targum Neofiti for targumic studies can hardly be overestimated. While not as literal as Onkelos, it is less paraphrastic than pseudo-Jonathan and therefore may well be a link between the incomplete Fragment Targums, the texts of the Targums from the Cairo Genizah, and the somewhat corrupt form of Pseudo-Jonathan on the one hand, and the text of Onkelos on the other. Much research is needed to understand the relationship of these versions and the scholarly debate will continue to be intense. Many linguists feel that Targum Neofiti contains a purer form of Aramaic even if it may not be as pure as the fragments discovered in the Cairo Genizah. Interestingly the biblical passages mentioned in the Mishnah as being forbidden for the targumist to translate in the service of the synagogue (see III above) do not appear in Targum Neofiti. The text appears to have suffered from a Christian censor, who deleted portions that deal with idols or that might be misunderstood by Christians in the 16th cent. (see McNamara, p. 184).

Komlosh has demonstrated that Targum Neofiti lacks uniformity in its translation techniques, sometimes containing interpretative expansions but at other times a concise rendering of the meaning of the Hebrew. But McNamara has pointed to a number of words and phrases from the Hebrew Bible that were given standard translations and rendered with Aramaic equivalents for the Hebrew text. A version similar to Targum Neofiti seems to have been used by Rabbi Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (A.D. 1035-1110) when he composed his monumental lexicon, the *Aruch Completum*. Rabbi Nathan's work has many verbatim quotations whose origins were previously unknown; now these quotations appear to be from Targum Neofiti or a similar text. Díez Macho has claimed that

Targum Neofiti, folio 56a, showing Gen. 28:10 with a midrash on the well of Jacob (Vatican Library)



Targum Neofiti is essentially a pre-Christian text compiled in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., a view endorsed by R. Le Déaut. Many scholars have questioned such an early dating, which views Neofiti as an early recension of the proto-text for all the other Targums of the Pentateuch. Why is the Targum Neofiti unknown in tannaitic literature? The Aramaic text presents linguistic problems when compared to early Aramaic texts from the second temple period (e.g., those found at Qumrân). One of the main problems relating to the provenance and dating of Neofiti is connected to the origin of the Targums most resembling it. A more conservative approach views Neofiti as a recension of the Jerusalem Targum, which was compiled toward the close of the talmudic period; this seems more reasonable in the light of its parallels to rabbinic literature, its language, and its relation to Jewish Halakah. But none of these points has ever been adequately examined, and a conclusive dating of the text must await further research. Certainly the parallel traditions between Neofiti and rabbinic literature need careful scrutiny.

G. Targum Jonathan on the Prophets. Like Targum Onkelos on the Pentateuch, Targum Jonathan on the Prophets received an official status. It has been suggested that the name Jonathan is a corruption of the Greek Theodotion in a similar way to the derivation of Onkelos from Aquila. The traditional title is based upon the talmudic tradition (T.B. *Megillah* 3a) that Jonathan ben Uzziel, the disciple of Hillel the Elder, translated the prophets into Aramaic, revealing the divine mysteries, an endeavor that shook the foundation of the world, causing the land of Israel to move four hundred parasangs. He is said to have been tutored by the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi — an anachronistic tradition to say the least. Beyond this legendary account, one can also note that when the Babylonian Talmud cites the Targum it sometimes introduces it by the attribution "according to the targumist Rav Joseph ben Ḥaiya" (e.g., T.B. *Moed Katan* 26a). Is this the name of a compiler, an editor, or a transmitter of an earlier version? While E. Schürer accepted this attribution at its face value and connected the text with Rav Joseph the head of the Babylonian academy in Pumbedita from the 4th cent. A.D., A. Geiger and G. Dalman more realistically viewed Rav Joseph as its compiler. In the final analysis, however, it is nearly impossible to learn very much about Targum Jonathan to the Prophets from these conflicting traditions. Nevertheless, scholarly research like that of P. Churgin has discovered earlier strata within the framework of Targum Jonathan, and careful investigation is required to unravel its sources.

The Targum of Jonathan to the Prophets contains many of the same elements that characterize Targum Onkelos; though it tends to be more paraphrastic, it deals with anthropomorphisms in much the same way. See Stenning for an English translation of the Targum to Isaiah and a brief introduction and notes.

H. Targums for the Hagiographa. An Aramaic Targum is known for every book of the OT, except Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. According to the Talmud (T.B. *Megillah* 3a and par.; see IV.G above), after Jonathan ben Uzziel completed his translation of the Prophets he desired to prepare an Aramaic translation of the Hagiographa as well but was prevented by divine decree. The provenance of the Targums for the various books of the Writings is unknown, and they did not circulate widely. The great talmudic commentator Rashi said that he was not acquainted with a Targum to the Writings, but the Tosafot noted that Targums did indeed exist. Hai Gaon mentioned the Targums of the Writings (L. Ginzburg, *Geniza Studies* [1928, repr. 1969], II, 86).

The various Targums for the biblical books contained in the Hagiographa are not uniform. Psalms has portions that are literal translations but also contains paraphrastic sections, while the Targum for Proverbs is primarily a more literal rendering.

I. Targums for the Five Scrolls. The Targums of the Five Scrolls (Canticles, Esther, Lamentations, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes) are diverse renderings characterized by Haggadic portions. They should be studied individually. Jacob ben Chayim's Bible has two independent texts of the Targums for Esther: the Targum for Esther and what he termed the Targum Sheni. In the MS used in A. Sperber's critical edition the text sometimes follows the latter version and at other times the former. In 1898 M. David prepared a critical edition of the Targum Sheni, and his work is still useful (see also P. Cassel). E. Levine and B. Grossfeld have published English translations of the Targums for the Five Scrolls. The Five Scrolls were read in the liturgy of the synagogue during the Jewish feasts; thus the Targums provide insights into the text of Scripture as it was interpreted and studied during the Jewish festivals.

J. Targum for Chronicles. The early rabbinic Bibles were not printed with a Targum to Chronicles because the text was unknown until the end of the 17th century. The Schocken edition of the rabbinic Bible (*Mikraot Gedolot*) had the Targum of Chronicles published as an appendix. Sperber has also issued an edition of Chronicles based upon the MS first published by M. F. Beck in 1680 and again by Lagarde in 1873.

V. Impact of Targumic Study upon Biblical Studies.—In the 20th cent. renewed interest in rabbinic studies in general and the Targums in particular has given rise to a number of works concerning the Targums and the NT. Among others, G. Dalman and C. C. Torrey made significant contributions to this interest. Dalman recognized that it was difficult if not impossible to imagine that Jesus spoke Greek to Jews in first-century Israel. He theorized an Aramaic *Vorlage* for the sayings of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, and his work paved the way for others. But their pioneering efforts, especially those of Torrey, were based upon a comparative study that did not consider all the critical problems involved in dating the Targums and their impact upon linguistic research, for which subsequent NT scholars (e.g., M. Black and J. Fitzmyer) criticized them and modified their approaches. Certainly uncritical and unscientific approaches to the Targums that do not carefully consider the historical, textual, and philological questions will produce only questionable results. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has cast doubt upon the theory of an Aramaic background, primarily because they reveal that Hebrew was much more prevalent than previously thought. H. Birkeland, D. Flusser, R. L. Lindsey, J. Grintz, and R. Buth, among others, have theorized that a Hebrew Gospel source is reflected in the semitized Greek text of the Gospels and suggested by the Papias tradition. According to Díez Macho the language of Targum Neofiti may even represent the language of Jesus. It is doubtful whether a translated document can be employed as a source for either the literary or the spoken language of the people; but even if only non-translational sections of the Targums are used, such an approach rests upon some unproven assumptions concerning the Targums, the NT, and the language situation of first-century Palestine that are questionable to say the least.

At times the Targums shed valuable light on the textual criticism of the OT because the Aramaic text represents an important recension. While care must be exercised, especially when the Targums are paraphrastic, the textual variants of the Targums can hardly be ignored.

The Targums may also elucidate a number of key concepts in the NT that originally derived from early Jewish thought. As McNamara has pointed out, ideas like the second death in Revelation (*The NT and the Palestinian Targum,* pp. 117ff.) and the divine Logos in the Gospel of John (*Targum and Testament,* pp. 98ff.) have partial parallels in the Targums. The Targums employ the Aramaic term *mêmrā'*, "word," as a circumlocution for God. Few scholars would suggest that *mêmrā'* represents a hypostatized intermediary. Interestingly, the Targum cites a source, *The Book of Memorials,* that says, "The first night: when the Lord was revealed over the world to create it. The world was without form and void and darkness was spread over the face of the abyss and the Word of the Lord was the Light and it shone; and he called it First Night" (Targum Neofiti on Ex. 12:42; see McNamara, *Targum and Testament,* p. 103; Levey, p. 12). The description of creation and the Word of the Lord as light recall Jn. 1:1f.

But the divine Logos in John reflects other, much earlier, sources. Interestingly, the tannaitic midrash Sifre Deuteronomy states, "when the Holy One created the world He made it by His word [*ma'ᵃmār*] and by His command" (*Sifre* Dt. 330; cf. Wisd. 9:1; Jub. 12:4). Philo of Alexandria employed similar terminology (H. A. Wolfson, *Philo,* I, 226ff.; cf. C. H. Dodd, *Fourth Gospel* [1953], pp. 263-285; R. Schnackenburg, *Gospel According to St. John,* I [Eng. tr. 1968], 481-493). Hence the question of the origin of these ideas and who influenced whom will continue to be debated.

Moreover, it is always especially important to remember that these passages in the Targums have their parallels in rabbinic literature and may well have been adopted by the Targumists from earlier Jewish tradition as represented in the teachings of Israel's sages. The Targums must always be studied in the light of their parallels both in the rabbinic literature and in the pseudepigraphic and apocryphal literatures. A number of these concepts apparently originated in earlier common sources that were used by both the Targums and the authors of the NT. This fact makes the study of the Targums as well as rabbinic literature of paramount importance in any serious examination of the beginnings of Christianity.

The Targums therefore have great significance not only for OT studies but also for understanding the milieu of the NT. The early versions and translations can frequently elucidate the OT text, and often the Targums throw light upon exegetical questions (*see* TEXTS AND MSS OF THE OT I.B.2). Perhaps the greatest impact the Targums have had upon NT studies is the growing awareness among scholars that it is essential to view the Scriptures through the eyes of Jesus' people. Like rabbinic literature, the Targums can bridge the chasm between the OT and NT by providing insights into how early Jewish interpreters understood the Scriptures.

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B. H. YOUNG

TARPELITES tär'pə-līts. The AV translation of the obscure Aramaic term *ṭarpᵉlāy* (Gk. LXX *Tarphallaioi*) found only in Ezr. 4:9, which the RSV translates "officials" (NEB "overseers"; NIV "men of Tripolis"). A number of suggestions have been made for emendations and possible etymologies but none is certain. The term could be ethnic, referring to a group of people settled in Samaria by the Assyrians. It could also be a title, referring to some office or party by a Persian designation. The immediate context of Ezr. 4:9 only indicates that these people were among those who wrote to Artaxerxes opposing the rebuilding of the temple under Zerubbabel.

See also OFFICER.

See H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (*Word Biblical Comm.,* 1985), pp. 54f.

R. L. PRATT, JR.

TARSHISH tär'shish [Heb. *taršîš*]. The Hebrew term may refer to varied precious stones (*IP,* p. 223).

1. Descendant of Benjamin and son of Bilhan (1 Ch. 7:10; AV "Tharshish").

2. One of seven Persian princes who functioned in an advisory capacity to King Ahasuerus (Est. 1:14; cf. Ezr. 7:14).

TARSHISH tär'shish [Heb. *taršîš*, possibly a *t*-formation word from a root *ršš* meaning "melt, refine" or "brightness"; cf. Akk. *rašāšu*].

1. Tarshish was a descendant of Javan (Gen. 10:4; 1 Ch. 1:7), grouped with Elishah, Kittim, and Dodanim (Rodanim in 1 Ch. 1:7). These have been identified with peoples and places in the Mediterreanean area near Greece, including a portion of North Africa, Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes. Jonah attempted to flee to Tarshish, taking a ship from Joppa (Jonah 1:3; 4:2), hence Tarshish was on a Mediterranean ship lane. The juxtaposition of Put, Lud, Tubal, and Javan (Isa. 66:19) again suggests that Tarshish was somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean region. Products of Tarshish included silver (Jer. 10:6), iron, and tin, which were imported by Tyre (Ezk. 27:12) — minerals that came from Asia Minor and the islands of Cyprus and Crete. Various places have been suggested: Tartessos in Spain, Tyrseni (Etruscans) in Italy, Carthage in North Africa, and Tarsus in Cilicia — to name just four.

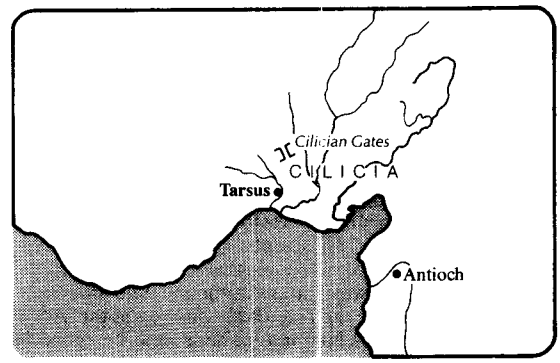
2. Tarshish is also mentioned in connection with Sheba, Seba, and Dedan (Ps. 72:10; Isa. 60:9; Ezk. 38:13). Ships were constructed in Ezion-geber to go to Tarshish (2 Ch. 20:30). It is, of course, possible to understand the term "ships of Tarshish" as describing a *kind* of ship, e.g., an ore ship or refinery ship (cf. W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 83 [Oct. 1941], 14ff.), and thus to agree that, even if Tarshish was in the Mediterranean, such a ship could be built on the Gulf of Aqabah for service in Arabia and east Africa. But this ignores the clear statement in 2 Ch. 20:36, "ships to go to Tarshish," and the implications of passages that connected Tarshish with Sheba and other locations in south Arabia. Furthermore, Solomon's fleet, stationed at Ezion-geber, saw service on the Red Sea and brought back products of Arabia and east Africa: gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks (or baboons) (1 K. 10:22). It seems reasonable to conclude that there was a place, or a descriptive word for such a place, located in Arabia or east Africa, probably on the Red Sea.

3. Tarshish also denotes a precious stone, perhaps yellow jasper or other gold-colored gem (BDB, p. 1076), obviously from a root having the basic meaning of "shining, splendor," or a similar idea (Ex. 28:20; Ezk. 28:13; cf. Dnl. 10:6; Cant. 5:14). W. S. LASOR

TARSUS tar'sus [Gk. *Tarsos* (Acts 9:30; 11:25; 22:3), *Tarseus* –'a Tarsian' (Acts 9:11; 21:39; 2 Macc. 4:30)]. (In 2 Macc. 3:5 RSV, "of Tarsus" is an error. The marginal reading should be used.) The capital city of Cilicia, in southeast Asia Minor.

I. Location
II. Foundation
III. History
IV. Paul
V. Later History

I. Location –The modern Tarsus is a town of over 60,000 people, on the navigable river Cydnus (Tarsus Cayı), the westernmost of the three main rivers of the alluvial Cilician plain. Tarsus stands 16 km. (10 mi.) from the coast, on the level plain. The low undulating hills begin immediately N of the city, and then swell rapidly to the foothills of the great Taurus range, which rises some 50 km. (30 mi.) N of the city. The first importance of Tarsus is as the city commanding the approach to the famous pass of the Cilician Gates, where engineers had at a very early date widened a narrow gorge into a wagon road that became the main route from Cilicia to the interior plateau of Asia Minor. About 10 km. (6 mi.) downstream from the city the river flowed into a lake named Rhegma, once a lagoon close to the shore, which formed



the harbor of the ancient city. There was also a residential hill-town to the north, marked by a triumphal arch, and apparently named Codrigae (Lat. *Quadrigae*, "four-horse chariot"). The ruins beneath the modern town and its neighborhood are said to be very extensive, and it has been estimated that ancient Tarsus may have comprised half a million people at its zenith. In its relations with the interior it was historically the rival of Adana on the river Sarus (Seyhan); as a harbor the rival of Mallus on the Pyramus (Ceyhan), a place now silted and forgotten.

The adjacent cities of Tarsa and Adaniya in the Hittite texts among the towns of the land of Kizzuwatna are certainly the later rivals Tarsus and Adana, both still called in Turkish by those classical names. Though the present site of Adana is not very ancient and must have shifted, that of Tarsus has been traced back beyond the Hittites to the Bronze Age (J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *Geography of the Hittite Empire* [1959], p. 61). As the outlet of Asia Minor through the Cilician Gates, Tarsus commanded the road eastward to Syria and Mesopotamia. After crossing the Sarus at Adana and the Pyramus at Mopsuestia, a southern branch ran round the gulf of Issus and by the Syrian Gates through the Amanus range to Antioch on the Orontes, while the eastern branch continued slightly north

The Cilician Gates of the Taurus Mountains, a pass controlled by the city of Tarsus in ancient times (Philip Gendreau, NY)

to Castabala, and thence due east to the Euphrates crossing at Zeugma.

The site of the city proper was level, lacking an acropolis, but the hill country and mountain slopes within its territory had a more invigorating climate. Though lacking natural advantages, the Tarsians made effective use of their strategic situation. They commanded less of the fertile plain than their rivals, but were proud of their hills and harbor, and of their river, which, unless in flood, flowed in a clear stream through the heart of the city, a pride of which Dio Chrysostom makes fun (*Orationes* 33.24).

II. Foundation.–The foundation of Tarsus was sometimes ascribed to the Assyrians. At Anchiale, 20 km. (12 mi.) SE of the city, was a monument known as the "tomb of Sardanapalus," bearing an inscription "in Assyrian letters" claiming that Sardanapalus built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day (Strabo *Geog.* xiv.5.9). Other legends assigned the foundation of Tarsus to Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) or to the mythological heroes Perseus or Heracles (Hercules). Such traditions are apt to be of scant value, though they may express distant memories of changes and new beginnings within the city's history.

Tarsus was thought to have had a very ancient connection with the Ionian Greeks, associated with the seer Mopsus, whose name is preserved in local nomenclature (Ramsay, p. 117). The sons of Javan (Gk. *Ion*?) in the very ancient "table of the nations" (Gen. 10:4) include Tarshish and Elishah, which have been identified with Tarsus and the Aleian plain of Mallus. It is, however, very doubtful whether "Tarshish" elsewhere in the OT, and the expression "ships of Tarshish" in particular, can be referred to Tarsus. A difficulty is in the difference of sibiliant, for the Aramaic form of Tarsus is "Tarz," not "Tarsh." OT Tarshish is now commonly understood of Tartessus in Spain. *See* TARSHISH.

III. History.–The earliest reference to Tarsus after the Hittite period is preserved on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser of Assyria, marking an oriental ascendancy as the city came successively under Assyrian and Persian rule, and its Greek element became submerged. A native Cilician dynasty ruled at first under Persian suzerainty, but later the Persians exercised more direct rule through Persian satraps. These changes can be traced in the coinage, which bore Aramaic legends throughout the 5th-4th cents., and the local god is portrayed and named as the Baal of Tarz rather than the Greek Zeus. Local religion, as portrayed on coinage, is often the best key to the character of a city when its detailed history is little known. The typical Anatolian triad of supreme god, goddess, and their son, the active young god, is represented here by the prominence of Zeus and Heracles, the goddess being little in evidence. Yet the concept of divine personality was fluid and confused, and in various aspects Perseus and Apollo, and the native hero Sandan, seem to have been assimilated to one or other of the male deities, and the father-god became equated under Persian rule with Ahura-Mazda. Later coins depict a festival at which an effigy of the god seems to have been carried through the streets in a funeral pyre, and his burning represented a translation to heaven paralleled with that of Heracles (Dio Chrysostom *Orationes* 33.47; Ramsay, p. 149). Though the evidence in this case is of the Roman period, such religious practices were doubtless of long-standing native tradition.

There are few historical notes of Tarsus in the Persian period. Herodotus records the tribute of Cilicia to the Persian king (iii.90), and on the expedition of the younger Cyrus some of the Greek mercenaries plundered the city in 401 B.C. (Xenophon *Anabasis* i.2.26). The king is called Syennesis, which seems to have been the dynastic title of the kings of Cilicia (e.g., i.2.21ff.). In 333 B.C. Alexander came through the Cilician Gates on his way to his great victory at Issus. Against both expeditions the pass was virtually undefended, and the Macedonian advance guard actually saved Tarsus from destruction by the Persians (Arrian *Anabasis* ii.4.5f.; Quintus Curtius *Historia Alexandri* iii.4.14f.). Alexander himself nearly died of a fever induced by bathing in the cold waters of Cydnus when overheated (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.7; Quintus Curtius *Historia Alexandri* iii.5ff.).

Alexander's conquest of Tarsus began a new chapter of Greek influence. The city came under the rule of the Seleucid successors of Alexander. Greek civic institutions seem to have been slow to reassert themselves, for the Seleucids used the foundation and enlargement of cities to consolidate their central power. Like many other cities, Tarsus then received a dynastic name, Antioch-on-the-Cydnus, but this soon fell into disuse. 2 Macc. 4:30f. recounts a rebellion of Tarsus and Mallus against Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), because he had given them to his concubine Antiochis. The king was probably forced to deal carefully with these cities, since the settlement of Asia after the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. had exposed his western frontiers.

Ramsay argued that the new Seleucid constitution given by Antiochus provided the occasion for introducing many new colonists, Greeks, especially Argives, and Jews. The latter were probably given citizenship rights as a body, enrolled in a civic "tribe" of their own, whose religious bond was their own Jewish faith. It has even been suggested that those whom Paul calls his "kinsmen" in Rom. 16:7-21 were fellow-citizens of Tarsus (Ramsay, pp. 177f.). The dilemma put to Titus by Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus *Vita Apollonii* vi.34) presupposes that it was a well-known fact that many Jews were citizens of Tarsus. There is no difficulty in ascribing this pro-Jewish initiative to Antiochus Epiphanes, for he was ready to favor Jews where they cooperated.

It seems probable that Paul's family had been long established as leading citizens in Tarsus. The only likely way of explaining his hereditary citizenship in a Greek city is to suppose that his ancestors had been among the Seleucid settlers. But the origins of his Roman citizenship are quite unknown, and we can only speculate that another of his forebears had received it from one of the great Romans who visited or benefited the city, whether Pompey, Caesar, Antony, or Augustus.

The coins of the later Seleucid period show a mixture of Greek and oriental types, as the central power declined with the advent of Rome to Cilicia *ca.* 104 B.C. Roman influence was interrupted by the temporary incursions of Mithridates VI of Pontus and Tigranes of Armenia before Pompey reorganized the East in 64 B.C. The Roman province of Cilicia was originally a "sphere of duty" rather than a territorial division, intended first to suppress piracy in "Rugged" Cilicia and so to secure the sea routes to the Levant. As governor in 51 B.C., Cicero occasionally resided in Tarsus (*Epistulae ad Atticum* v.20.3; *Epistalae ad Familiares* ii.17.1). The city was enthusiastic in its support of Julius Caesar, who visited it in 47 B.C., and received the status of a free city from Antony in 42 B.C., when it was the scene of his famous meeting with Cleopatra, who sailed up the Cydnus on her barge.

Strabo records that one Boethus, a protégé of Antony, whose favor he had won with a poem on the battle of Philippi, took advantage of the new freedoms to establish a corrupt influence over civic life that continued even after the fall of Antony until Augustus himself inter-

vened, sending his own former tutor, the Stoic philosopher Athenodorus (Strabo *Geog.* xiv.5.14). Athenodorus (*ca.* 74 B.C.-A.D. 7), himself a Tarsian, had spent many years in Rome as a trusted adviser who was not afraid to stand up to Augustus (cf. Dio Cassius *Hist.* lvi.43.2). Unable to influence Boethus otherwise, Athenodorus exerted his delegated authority to expel him and establish a new constitution in Tarsus. So the city of Paul's birth fell under the rule of philosophers, Athenodorus being succeeded by the Academician Nestor. Strabo's account is of first-hand value, for he writes as a friend and admirer of Athenodorus (*Geog.* xvi.4.21). Little is known of his settlement, except that a financial qualification of 500 drachmae was required of a citizen, and we hear of later unrest among the "linen-workers" who were excluded (Dio Chrysostom *Orationes* 34.21, 23).

Tarsus became important as a university city, whose people's zeal for learning and philosophy surpassed that of Athens or Alexandria, though it did not attract students from abroad as those more famous places did (Strabo *Geog.* xiv.5.13). Under Athenodorus the city presumably sponsored classes by qualified and approved lecturers: there was probably a close conjunction of city and university administration, though detailed evidence is lacking. Tarsians who had studied in their own city were known for completing their education abroad, and then making their home in Rome or elsewhere rather than returning to Tarsus. Strabo lists many notable scholars from Tarsus (*Geog.* xiv.5.14f.). Nestor, Athenodorus's successor, was also tutor to Augustus's intended heir Marcellus.

Other opinions of Tarsus were less favorable. The life of the first-century wonder-worker Apollonius of Tyana, written by Philostratus early in the 3rd cent., represents the sage as a fourteen-year-old student being so shocked by the luxury and frivolity of Tarsus that he moved to a more congenial place at nearby Aegae (*Vita Apollonii* i.7). Later Apollonius is said to have become reconciled with the Tarsians through his intervention with the emperor Titus on their behalf (*Vita* vi.34), and they acclaimed him a second founder. The orator Dio Chrysostom (late 1st cent. A.D.) addressed two speeches to the Tarsians (*Orationes* 33, 34), the first couching cutting criticism under an ironical literary style, the second a plainer indictment of their arrogant abuse of rival Cilician cities, their internal factional conflicts, and their oppression of non-citizens. The first speech turns their boasts against themselves in criticism of their manners and morals. They cannot really endure philosophy. Athenodorus would have been appalled. Their manners are unworthy of their supposed Hellenism. The one point in favor of their oriental ways is the custom of their women to be veiled in public.

IV. Paul.–It has often been suggested that Paul's character was significantly influenced by the city of his birth, Tarsus being a great educational center at a unique meeting-place of East and West. This traditional view has assumed that he received a significant part of his education there. Since the very important study by W. C. van Unnik this picture must be doubted. The crucial text is Acts 22:3. Van Unnik argued convincingly that the three perfect passive participles of that verse are parallel and progressive, and that the second (Gk. *anatethrammḗnos*) signifies upbringing in the parental home. The passage must be construed to say that Paul was born in Tarsus but brought up in Jerusalem and also educated under Gamaliel there. Acts 26:4 should probably be read in accordance with this view: the Jews knew Paul's manner of life from his youth, for it had been spent among his own people and in Jerusalem. This shift of perspective carries evident implications. We ought probably to understand Paul's background and his Greek culture in rather different terms from those often assumed.

A somewhat related point has been the focus of another influential study. In discussing the social standing of Paul's trade, R. F. Hock renews the argument about the precise character of the trade, and whether the assumption is justified that it was a Cilician speciality derived from his Tarsian origin (see esp. pp. 20-25). *Cilicium* (Gk. *Kilikion*) was the Latin name of a type of felt cloth made from the hair of the shaggy black goats characteristic of Cilicia then and now. Pliny says explicitly that it was used for making tents among an Arab tribe of Syria (*Nat. hist.* vi.32.143), as it is in the Cilician Taurus today. Hock, however, following Zahn and many later scholars, argues that Gk. *skēnopoiós* means not literally "tent-maker" but "leather-worker." There is then no ground for connecting Paul's trade with the making or use of *Cilicium* or with a background in Tarsus. But Hock's case is inconclusive. Despite some variable renderings in the early versions of Acts 18:3, which lend countenance to the doubt, there is no reason not to take the term literally (so scholars as diverse as J. B. Lightfoot, Ramsay, Deissmann, Dibelius, Bruce, Theissen), and some of the counterarguments are ambivalent. It remains possible that Paul's father trained him in a Cilician craft when living in Jerusalem, or that he made tents of other materials not characteristic of Cilicia.

If van Unnik is right, it may be best to explain Paul's Greek culture, and especially his citation of his fellow Cilician, the Stoic poet Aratus of Soli (Acts 17:28), from his wider reading or his mature residence in Tarsus (9:30; 11:25) rather than from early influences in the city of Athenodorus. His unusual combination of qualifications as Roman citizen, Jewish citizen of Tarsus, Hebraist and Pharisee, and the pupil of Gamaliel in Jerusalem, is none the less important on this reading.

V. Later History.–In the 3rd cent. Tarsus became metropolis of the three provinces of Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, and boasted many honorific titles, but had a new rival with the growth of Anazarbus in Eastern Cilicia. It has been occupied continuously into modern times, though now overshadowed by the recent development of Adana (pop. 700,000). The only extensive excavation is at the ancient mound of Gözlü Tepe, whose Hellenistic and Roman levels reveal only a poor suburb of the ancient Tarsus. Most of the old city is built over, and its topography has changed through the diversion of the Cydnus by Justinian.

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C. J. HEMER

TARTAK tär'tak [Heb. *tartaq*] (2 K. 17:31). A deity worshiped by the AVVITES in Samaria *ca.* 722 B.C. Tartak may be a shortened form of Atargatis (< Heb. *'tr'th*; cf. 2 Macc. 12:26), also known as the goddess Derceto. This composite deity manifested the attributes of both Attar and his consort Anat, a Syrian fertility cult goddess.

See J. A. Montgomery, comm. on Kings (*ICC*, repr. 1976), pp. 474f.

TARTAN tär'tən [Heb. *tartān;* Akk. *tartanu, turtanu,* "second (in command)"]; NEB COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. The title of an Assyrian general. The word occurs in 2 K. 18:17 and Isa. 20:1 (RSV "commander in chief"), and, until the Assyrian usage became known, was taken as a proper name. In view of Aram. *tᵉrê, tᵉrên,* (fem.) *tartê, tartên,* "two," the Assyrian word need not be taken as "of foreign origin," *pace* A. L. Oppenheim (*IDB,* IV, 519); rather it is a basic Semitic word for "two." Supporting the evidence of Aramaic are a number of Old South Arabic dialects (Curia Muria, Soqotri, Botahari, etc.), where *tro* or *ṯro* are found. Curia Muria has both *ṯnain* (cognate with Arab. *ṯnain* and Heb. *šᵉnayim*) and *ṯuro* (cognate with Aram. *tᵉrê*), meaning "two" (W. Leslau, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 1 [1947], 8, 16; W. S. LaSor, "Semitic Phonemes" [Diss., Dropsie, 1949], pp. 102f.). The Assyr. *tertennu,* "second in line of succession, vice-fratriarch," is found as early as the Nuzi tablets (*Harvard Semitic Series,* 5, tablets 7, 60), and *tartan(n)u* or *turtan(n)u* occurs often in inscriptions of Assyrian kings.

An interesting use of the word is found in the annals of Shalmaneser III, who remained in Calah in his thirtieth regnal year (829 B.C.) and dispatched Dayan-Ashur, "the Turtan, chief of (my) large host," to campaign in the east. Nevertheless, Shalmaneser wrote the account in the first person (*ARAB,* I, § 587), as though he personally were conducting the troop movements. In an eponym list of Shalmaneser, where order was probably determined by rank, the first year of Shalmaneser (858 B.C.) was the *limmu* (eponym year) of Shalmaneser, the next the *limmu* of Ashur-bel-ukin the Turtan, the third the *limmu* of Ashur-bunaia-usur the Chief Cup-bearer, the fourth the *limmu* of Abu-ekalli-lilbut the High Chamberlain, the fifth (854 B.C.) the *limmu* of Dayan-Ashur the Turtan (*ARAB,* II, § 1195, p. 431). One wonders whether Dayan-Ashur was promoted during the intervening years. Some texts mention a "Tartan of the left" (*tartannu ša šumeli*) and a "second Tartan" (*tartannu šanû*), referring to the military practice of dividing an army into two wings.

W. S. LASOR

TASKMASTER [Heb. part. of *nāgaś* (Ex. 3:7; 5:6, 10, 13f.; Job 3:18; Isa. 60:17), *śar mas* (Ex. 1:11)]; AV also OPPRESSOR (Job 3:18), EXACTOR (Isa. 60:17); NEB also OFFICER (Ex. 1:11), SLAVE-MASTER (3:7), OVERSEER, etc. In 1 K. 12:18 and 2 Ch. 10:18 the context supplies "taskmaster" in the RSV.

This word usually refers to the Hebrews' bondage in Egypt that began with the accession of a pharaoh who had no sympathy for Joseph's descendants (Ex. 1:8-11). In order to curtail the burgeoning population of Hebrews in Egypt, the Egyptian king decided to press the Hebrews into forced labor. Egyptian monarchs of the empire period (1550-1250 B.C.) customarily used prisoners of war in labor projects.

Two expressions occur in the book of Exodus that the RSV translates "taskmaster." The term Heb. *nōgᵉśîm* (< *nāgaś,* "drive to work") occurs most frequently. In Ex. 1:11 the Egyptians set "taskmasters" (Heb. *śārê-missîm;* lit. "chiefs of forced labor") over the Hebrews "to afflict them with heavy burdens." These two expressions seem virtually synonymous, but may indicate two different Egyptian officers. Kitchen thinks that the *nōgᵉśîm* were "junior officers" while the *śārê-missîm* were higher ranking overseers (pp. 145f.). He further argues that the mention of these two officials reflects the "two-tier oversight" known to have been used by the Egyptians in labor situations (p. 144).

Elsewhere in the Exodus story the RSV uses "foremen" (Heb. *sōṭᵉrîm* [Ex. 5:6, 10, 14f., 19]) to designate another group of Egyptian officials involved in the forced labor of the Hebrews. As Hebrew workgang leaders, they formed liasons between the Israelite workers and their Egyptian superiors.

The main task of all three officials was to see that the laborers completed work quotas (Ex. 5:13, 18). The setting of quotas, like the two-tier system of supervision, reflects Egyptian practices (Kitchen, pp. 140ff.).

See K. A. Kitchen, *Tyndale Bulletin,* 27 (1976), 137-147.

J. K. HOFFMEIER

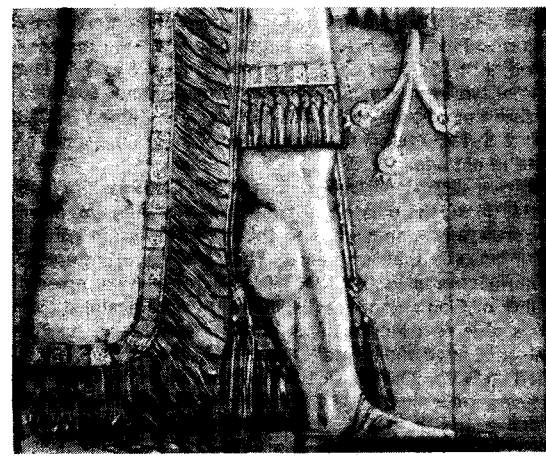
TASSEL [Heb. *ṣîṣiṯ* (Nu. 15:38f.), *gāḏil* (Dt. 22:12)]; AV FRINGE; NEB also "twisted tassels" (Dt. 22:12). *Ṣîṣiṯ* refers to a knotted cord or tassel on a garment. Cf. Gk. *kráspedon,* which can mean a hem but in rabbinic literature regularly translates *ṣîṣiṯ,* as in Mt. 23:5 (RSV "fringes").

The earliest OT injuction for Israelites to use tassels is Dt. 22:12. Nu. 15:38f. adds that the Israelites were to put a thread of hyacinth blue (the Yahweh color) "upon the tassel of each corner," which would be "a tassel to look upon and remember all the commandments of the Lord, to do them . . ." The current Jewish form of the garment (the large *ṭalliṯ*) is the "prayer shawl" with tassels on the four corners tied in traditional knots and with white and blue threads.

To lay hands on the *ṣîṣiṯ* of another was a serious matter. Stephens quoted one rabbi as saying, "What is the difference between cutting off the *tzîtzith* and cutting off his head?" and another as saying that when the world needed rain, school children, after being encouraged, went to a certain rabbi, "and they seized him by the *tzîtzith* of his mantle and said to him, 'Father, Father, give us rain.'"

Decorating hems of garments with colored fringes or tassels was common among ancient Near Eastern people (see *ANEP,* nos. 6, 476, Syrians; no. 7, Libyans, Syrians, and sea-peoples; Mesopotamians in nos. 18-20, 23, 448f.; Syrians in nos. 45, 52; Canaanite in no. 772). According to Stephens, Babylonian and Sumerian records show that (1) to seize the tassels of a god or a man when making a petition demonstrated one's deep earnestness; (2) to seal a document "with one's tassels" was equivalent to taking a solemn oath (Gottwald) or to employing a personal signet

The tassels on the bottom of an Assyrian king's robes (Ashurnasirpal II, 883-859 B.C.; drawing from A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* [1849], of a temple relief from Nimrûd) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



seal; (3) to tear one's tassels or the tassels of another was to be cut off from the god in honor of whom the tassels were worn. Hence wearing *ṣîṣiṯ* was no arbitrary practice but one with a long history of religious and juridical meanings.

See also FRINGES.

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TASTE [(noun) Heb. *ṭaʿam* (Ex. 16:31; Nu. 11:8; Job 6:6; Jer. 48:11), *ḥēḵ*–'palate' (Job 6:30; Ps. 119:103; Prov. 24:13; Cant. 2:3)]; NEB also SENSE, MOUTH, TONGUE; [(verb) Heb. *ṭāʿam* (1 S. 14:24, 29, 43; 2 S. 3:35; 19:35 [MT 36]; Job 12:11; 34:3; Ps. 34:8 [MT 9]; Jonah 3:7), *ʾāḵal*–'eat' (Job 21:25); Aram. *ṭᵉʿēm* (Dnl. 5:2); Gk. *geúomai* (Mt. 16:28; Lk. 14:24; Jn. 2:9; 8:52; He. 2:9; 6:4f.; etc.), *mōraínō*–'make tasteless' ("has lost . . . taste," Mt. 5:13 par. Lk. 14:34)]; AV also EAT, EATETH, "lost . . . savour"; NEB also ATE, TOUCH (2 S. 3:35), SAVOUR (Job 12:11; 34:3), "warmed" (Dnl. 5:2), "know what it is" (Jn. 8:52), "experienced" (He. 6:5), "becomes tasteless"; **TASTELESS** [Heb. *tāpēl* (Job 6:6)]; AV UNSAVOURY; NEB FLAVOUR.

In the RSV OT "taste" translates Heb. *ṭaʿam* in the Exodus journey narrative in describing the flavor of manna as resembling "wafers made with honey" (Ex. 16:31) or "cakes baked with oil" (Nu. 11:8). Job offers a truism about the insipidity of food eaten without salt (Heb. *tāpēl*, "tasteless"), and implies the same about Eliphaz's advice (Job 6:6). Job's second question in v. 6 asks whether there is "any taste [*ṭaʿam*] in the slime of the purslane?" (cf. NEB "any flavour in the juice of mallows?"). The precise meaning of "purslane" (Heb. *ḥallāmûṯ* is elusive (*see* PURSLANE).

A clever metaphor in the Moab oracle of Jer. 48 portrays Moab, untouched by the Babylonian devastations and deportations inflicted on Judah, as a wine vessel left to age without disturbance or decantation, "so his taste remains in him, and his scent is not changed" (v. 11). Moab lay outside the usual invasion routes into Palestine and was rarely disturbed, in sharp contrast to Judah and others more centrally located. The figure here is especially clever since Moabite wine was highly reputed.

Nine times in the RSV OT "taste" translates the cognate verb Heb. *ṭāʿam*, usually in a literal sense with reference to food and drink. Three of these (1 S. 14:24, 29, 43; cf. par. in Josephus *Ant.*, vi.6.3, 5 [119, 126]) refer to Jonathan's tasting of some honey in an inadvertent violation of the battle oath against eating imposed by his father. David's fast while mourning for Abner is characterized by his refusal to "taste bread or anything else till the sun goes down" (2 S. 3:35; cf. *Ant.* vii.1.6 [42]; vi.14.8 [377]). The king of Nineveh proclaimed a fast of repentance in which neither human nor beast was to "taste anything" (Jonah 3:7). 2 S. 19:35 refers to the problem of loss of the sense of taste in old age.

In two slightly varied versions of the same maxim (Job 12:11; 34:3), the palate's obvious function in tasting food is portrayed as analogous to the ear's important role in testing words that are heard. The lone figurative use of *ṭāʿam* occurs in Ps. 34:8 (MT 9), where the very present reality of God's goodness is so vivid to the psalmist that he is able to describe it as actually perceptible to the senses of taste and sight: "O taste and see that the Lord is good" (cf. Sir. 23:27; 1 Pet. 2:3). The cognate Aram. *ṭᵉʿēm* appears once in the OT (Dnl. 5:2) where it refers to Belshazzar's tasting the wine before his notorious feast.

Hebrew *ḥēḵ*, "palate," commonly represents the organ of speech (e.g., Prov. 5:3) or simply the mouth (e.g., Cant. 5:16), but in several instances it also denotes the organ of taste. In Prov. 24:13 honey, sweet to the taste, is linked with wisdom (24:14) by analogy. Honey was highly valued both for its medicinal benefit to human health and its good taste. Yet the wisdom of God is even sweeter and better for one's whole well-being (Ps. 19:10 [MT 11]), and His words are sweet, even sweeter than honey, to the taste (Ps. 119:103). In Cant. 2:3 the maiden's lover is figured as an apple tree whose fruit is sweet to the taste (*ḥēḵ*), and in Job 6:30 *ḥēḵ* is used figuratively of an ability to "discern calamity" (cf. also Job 12:11 and 34:3, where *ḥēḵ*, "palate," occurs with the verb *ṭāʿam*, "taste").

In Job 21:25 the common Hebrew verb *ʾāḵal*, "eat," refers figuratively to the ill-fortuned person who has died "never having tasted of good."

In the RSV NT thirteen occurrences of Gk. *geúomai* are translated "taste." Five of these convey the literal sense of "savor, taste, eat" (virtually the equivalent of Heb. *ṭāʿam*): partaking of a banquet (Lk. 14:24); tasting water just become wine (Jn. 2:9); Jesus' refusal to drink the pain-deadening wine and gall mixture after he had tasted it (Mt. 27:34); eating food (in a context of ascetic restrictions, Col. 2:21); the refraining under oath from partaking of any food (Acts 23:14; cf. also 1 S. 14:24-30, 43; Jonah 3:7; Tob. 7:11; 2 Macc. 6:20; Josephus *Ant.* vi.6.3, 5 [119, 126]).

In the remaining eight instances *geúomai* connotes the sense of "experience, come to know" (cf. the use of Heb. *ṭāʿam* in Ps. 34:8 [MT 9]), viz., "taste" (i.e., experience) the kindness of the Lord (1 Pet. 2:3; cf. Ps. 34:8), the heavenly gift (He. 6:4), the goodness of the word of God (6:5), and death (i.e., to die; Mt. 16:28 par. Mk. 9:1; Lk. 9:27; Jn. 8:52; He. 2:9; cf. 2 Esd. 6:26).

Although He. 6:4 may allude to the communal meal, *geúomai* in 6:5 has the metaphorical sense of "experience" or "participate in." It is so used by Josephus (*BJ* ii.8.11 [158]) in reference to those who had "tasted" Essene philosophy (*sophía*). In 1 Pet. 2:3 the newly baptized believers (the "newborn babes," 2:2) who have now "tasted" or experienced the kindness (Gk. *chrēstós*, as in LXX Ps. 34:8) of the Lord are pointed toward that nourishment by which they will truly "grow up to salvation," the milk of the word of God. The allusion is possibly to an early baptismal rite in which, after coming back up from submersion, the newly baptized received milk mixed with honey, symbolic of the word of God for which the new believers ought now to hunger and by which they might be nourished and grow.

Greek *mōraínō*, usually "make foolish, show to be foolish" (Rom. 1:22; 1 Cor. 1:20; Sir. 23:14), appears twice in the NT (Mt. 5:13 par. Lk. 14:34) with a rare, specialized nuance, "become insipid, tasteless," applied to salt. Salt is requisite for soil fertility, but in excess will produce infertility. Noting that "sodium chloride does not lose its taste or savor except by dilution," Albright and Mann (*Matthew* [*AB*, 1971], pp. 54f.) understand "salt of the earth" in this agricultural sense and give the translation "salt . . . of low grade" (i.e., diluted salt that will not help much to enrich the soil). The more usual understanding has been not to take "earth" literally as "soil," but to take salt as "seasoning" for food. The point of comparison is the disciples' call to witness and good works in the world (Mt. 5:16), which are understood either to "enrich" the world (as salt does soil) or to "season" the world (as salt does food).

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, I, *s.v.* γεύομαι (Behm); IV, *s.v.* μωρός κτλ. D (Bertram); *TDOT*, V, *s.v.* "ṭāʿam" (Schüpphaus).

D. G. BURKE

TATAM tā'təm [Gk. *Tatam*]. A town in Judah listed only in Josh. 15:59, NEB, following the LXX. *See* MANACH.

TATTENAI tat'ə-nī [Aram. *tattᵉnay*; Gk. Apoc. *Sisinnēs*] (Ezr. 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13; 1 Esd. 6:3; 7:1); AV TATNAI. The Persian governor of the province "Beyond the River" (Aram. *ʿaḇar-nahᵃrâ*) who followed Rehum and ruled during the reign of Darius I (521-486 B.C.).

Earlier attempts to identify Tattenai with a certain Ushtani who functioned under Darius I as "governor of Babylon and 'Across the River'" (see B. Meissner, *ZAW*, 17 [1897], 191f.) have been abandoned since the discovery of a Babylonian text of 502 B.C. that refers to a slave of "Tattanni governor of Ebir-nari [i.e., 'Across the River']" (see A. T. Olmstead, *JNES*, 3 [1944], 46). It appears that Tattenai functioned as governor (*peḥâ*, the word used both in Aramaic in Ezr. 5:3 and in Babylonian on the tablet mentioned above) under Ushtani, the satrap of Babylon at that time. F. W. BUSH

TATTLER (1 Tim. 5:13, AV). *See* GOSSIP.

TATTOO [Heb. *nāṯan*–'give, put, set'] (Lev. 19:28); AV PRINT. The procedure of making a mark or pattern on the skin by pricking it with a needle coated with indelible pigment. Here the practice is associated with mourning rites for the dead and is forbidden as a heathen practice. Lev. 19:28 literally refers to putting *kᵉṯōḇeṯ qaʿᵃqaʿ* (lit. "writing of imprintment"; RSV, AV, "marks") in one's skin. *See* CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH.

TAU tou; **TAV** täv. *See* TAW.

TAVERNER'S BIBLE. *See* ENGLISH VERSIONS III.E.

TAVERNS, THREE. *See* THREE TAVERNS.

TAW tou, täv [ת, ת]. The twenty-second and final letter of the Hebrew alphabet, used in Ps. 119 to designate its final section; transliterated in *ISBE* with the dagesh as *t*, and without (spirant) as *ṯ*. It also came to be used for the number four hundred. *See* WRITING.

TAX; TRIBUTE. Tribute is a contribution, either compulsory or voluntary, given by persons, nations, or kings who have been subjugated by another power in recognition either of their subservience or of a king's position or outstanding qualities. Taxation, in the sense of a compulsory contribution levied on wealth by a civil or religious authority for public purposes, is a later development. In each case the payments or contributions may be made in precious metals, goods, animals, forced labor, or persons. They may be paid at certain regular intervals or at one particular time.

I. In the OT and Intertestamental Periods
  A. OT Terms
  B. Collected by Israel's Leaders
    1. In the Earliest Period
    2. Under Moses and Joshua
    3. Under the Judges
    4. Under the Kings
  C. Collected by Foreign Rulers
    1. Assyria and Babylonia
    2. Persia
    3. Ptolemies and Seleucids
II. In the NT
  A. Taxation by Rome
  B. Temple Tax
  C. Collection for the Poor in Jerusalem

I. In the OT and Intertestamental Periods.–*A. OT Terms.* "Tribute" and "tax" represent a variety of terms in the RSV OT. Heb. *mas*, the term most frequently translated "tribute" by the AV, usually means "forced labor" (cf. Gen. 49:15; Ex.1:11; Josh. 16:10; 2 S. 20:24; Prov. 12:24; Isa. 31:8; *see* FORCE [5]); in Est. 10:1, however, it seems to denote tribute in the traditional sense. *Minḥâ*, literally "gift" or "offering," is used to refer to exacted tribute (2 S. 8:2, 6 par. 1 Ch. 18:2, 6; Jgs. 3:15-18; 1 K. 4:21 [MT 5:1]; 2 K. 17:3f.; 2 Ch. 17:5; Hos.10:6) and possibly to voluntary tribute (Ps. 72:10 [here *minḥâ*, "tribute," is paralleled by *ʾeškār*, "gifts"]). In 2 Ch. 17:11 the RSV renders *minḥâ* as "presents" and *maśśāʾ* as "tribute"; in 24:6, 9f. *masʾēṯ* (cognate of *maśśāʾ*) is translated "tax." "Tribute" represents *kesep* ("silver"; cf. AV) in Ps. 68:30 (MT 31), and in 2 K. 23:33 *ʿōneš* refers to the tribute of gold and silver exacted from King Jehoahaz by Pharaoh Neco. The verb "tax" represents the hiphil of *ʿāraḵ* in 2 K. 23:35. In Ezr. 4:13, 20; 6:8; 7:24; Neh. 5:4, Aram. *mindâ*/*middâ* and Heb. *middâ* are used of the tribute and taxes paid to the Medes and Persians (see I.C.2 below). In Dnl. 11:20 the phrase "exactor of taxes" is used to translate the part. of Heb. *nāgaś* ("exact"), while in Isa. 33:18 "he who weighed the tribute" represents the part. of *šāḳal* ("weight," "pay").

Two words translated "tribute" by the RSV indicate offerings made to Yahweh. (1) Heb. *meḳes* is a proportionate contribution demanded by the Lord of the spoils taken in battle (Nu. 31:28, 37-41). (2) The meaning of the hapax legomenon *missaṯ* (or *missâ*) in Dt. 16:10 is not certain (see comms.; KoB, p. 541); in some way, however, it refers to a freewill offering given to Yahweh at the Feast of Weeks, the amount being proportional to Yahweh's blessing in the harvest.

B. Collected by Israel's Leaders. In the first glimpses of the Hebrew people in the Bible, no such institution as taxation appears.

1. In the Earliest Period. Like all primitive communities, the nomadic Hebrews had no regular system of taxation, nor use for any. Voluntary "presents" were given, however, by the less to the more powerful in return for protection or other advantages (e.g., Gen. 32:13-20; 43:11, 15, 25f.). One great taproot of the development of systematic taxation is to be found in this primitive custom of giving presents, for it was an easy transition from presents voluntarily given to those that were expected and finally to those that were demanded (cf. the use of *minḥâ* in 1 S. 10:27; 1 K. 4:21; 10:25; 2 K. 17:3f.; etc.).

2. Under Moses and Joshua. Another source of what later developed into systematic taxation was the custom of laying exactions upon conquered peoples. The first examples of this custom in the Bible involve a subject people being compelled to render forced labor (*mas*). The Israelites, who themselves had been forced to provide such service to the Pharaoh in Egypt (Ex. 1:11), subjected to forced labor the Canaanites who remained in the land after the conquest (Josh. 16:10; 17:13; Jgs. 1:28-35).

Under the theocracy the only fixed impost that had a semi-civil character was the so-called atonement money (Ex. 30:11-16; cf. 38:25f.), which was actually a poll tax amounting to a half-shekel for each enrolled male member of the community above twenty years of age. The proceeds of this tax were to be used for the service of the tent of meeting. It seems to have been levied by the authorities and accepted by the people whenever faithfulness to the ordinances of the Lord was the order of the day (2 Ch. 24:4-14; Neh. 10:32; note here that the amount has been reduced from one-half to one-third shekel). In later times this tax was devoted to the service of the temple. It was

paid by Jews at distances during the Dispersion. Josephus referred to the large sums that accrued to the temple treasury from this source (*Ant.* xiv.7.2 [110-13]). (On the mention of this tax in Mt. 17:24-27, see III below.)

3. Under the Judges. The period of the judges was too disorganized and chaotic to exhibit many of the characteristics of a settled nation. As far as we know the only source of public moneys was the giving of presents. If the action of Gideon (Jgs. 8:24) is indicative of the ordinary policy of the period, the judges received nothing more than a share of the spoil taken in battle. The account emphasizes that Gideon proffered a request and that the people responded freely and gladly.

4. Under the Kings. As could be expected, taxation assumed far greater prominence in the period of the kingdom. In 1 S. 8:10-18 Samuel responds to the Israelites' request for a king by warning them of the autocratic means that the king would employ in dealing with them. The passage gives a fairly exhaustive list of royal prerogatives. The king would exact from his subjects their young people, lands, vineyards, orchards, servants, cattle, and animals, and also a tenth of their crops and flocks. The underlying principle, fully exemplified in the actions of Israel's kings, is that the king would take what he needed for his public and private needs from the strength and substance of his people. The king took what he could get; the people gave what they could not hold back.

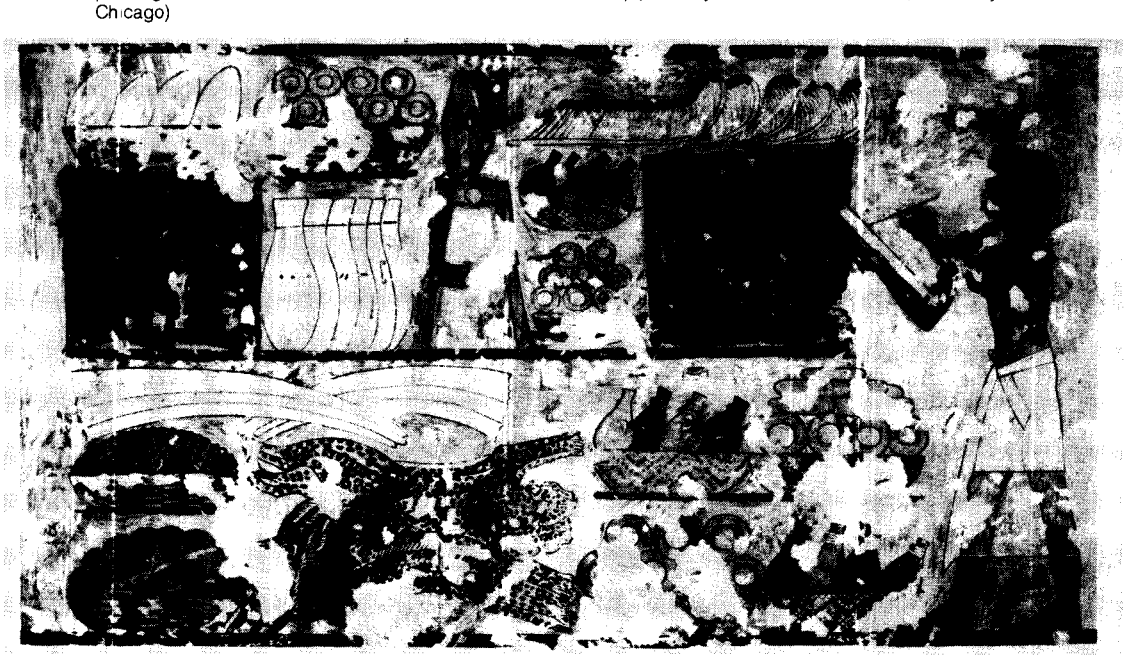
1 Samuel 10:27 (cf. 2 Ch. 17:5) cites the case of worthless fellows who brought Saul no present, clearly showing that fealty to the new king was expressed in the giving of presents. The refusal to make these so-called presents was interpreted by the writer as an act of constructive treason, for he mentions Saul's silence as something notable. It is evident that the word "present" has become euphemistic.

In David's time an unbroken series of victories in war so enriched the public treasury (see 2 S. 8:2, 7f.) that little is said about complaints of excessive taxation. David's habit of dedicating spoil to Yahweh (vv. 10-12) kept the sacred treasury well supplied. Solomon undoubtedly inherited David's scale of public expense (1 Ch. 27:25-31) and added to it through his well-developed love of luxury and power. At the same time the cessation of war made imperative the development of internal resources for carrying out his ambitious schemes. The boundaries of his kingdom are specified, and it is stated that other kingdoms paid tribute to him (1 K. 4:21 [MT 5:1]; 10:14, 24f.). His system of fiscal administration was very thoroughly organized. He put the whole country under twelve officers whose business it was to provide, by months, provisions for the court (4:7-19). Under Solomon also, apparently for the first time, Israelites were compelled to render forced labor (5:13-17). By the end of his reign the burden of taxation had become so severe that the people demanded from Rehoboam a lightening of the "hard service" and "heavy yoke" of Solomon as the condition of their fealty to his successor (12:4). Rehoboam's foolish answer of defiance precipitated the separation of the tribes into two kingdoms.

During the period of prophetic activity that followed, one recurring theme in the denunciations uttered by the prophets against the kings was the excessive burden of taxation imposed upon the people. Amos speaks of "exactions of wheat" taken from the poor (Am. 5:11; cf. 2:6-8). In 7:1 he refers incidentally to a custom of rendering to the king the first mowings of grass. Micah, with even greater severity, denounces rulers "who eat the flesh of my people" (Mic. 3:1-4).

C. Collected by Foreign Rulers. 1. Assyria and Babylonia. During the reign of Menahem, who succeeded Jeroboam II as king of Israel, the Assyrian invasion under Tiglath-pileser III ("Pul," 2 K. 15:19) began. Menahem bought off the Assyrian conqueror by a tribute of a thousand talents, which he obtained by exacting fifty talents of silver from each of the wealthy men in his kingdom (vv. 19f.). A little later Ahaz of Judah sent a present to the

An Egyptian scribe registering Nubian tribute including ostrich eggs and feathers, a monkey, gold, and ebony (wall painting from the tomb of Rekhamire at Thebes, 1475-1448 B.C.) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



same ruler. In this case the precious metals were obtained by robbing the temple treasury and adding this to the accumulations at hand in the royal treasury (16:8). Hoshea of Israel, a contemporary of Ahaz, was also reduced to tribute (17:3); later, upon his neglect to pay, he was put in prison (v. 4). Later still, Jehoahaz the son of Josiah was deposed by Pharaoh, who placed a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver and one of gold (v. 33). Jehoiakim, the puppet king, raised this tribute by a special tax upon the people (vv. 34f.). This same unfortunate Jehoiakim came under the heavy hand of Nebuchadnezzar (24:1-7). Although it is not stated that Nebuchadnezzar levied a special tribute, 2 Ch. 36:7 mentions that he carried away to Babylon the vessels of the temple.

2. Persia. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah refer to several classes of taxes imposed by Persian rulers. The work of rebuilding the temple in Jerusalem, begun during the reign of Cyrus, was stopped until the second year of Darius because of the harassment of hostile neighbors (Ezr. 4:4f., 24). Darius issued a royal decree that the work should continue and should be paid for by "the tribute of the province from Beyond the River" (6:8). Artaxerxes, in addition to generous gifts, exempted the priests and temple servants from paying "tribute, custom, or toll" (7:24). According to 4:17-22, however, Artaxerxes ordered that work on rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem should cease. This decree was in response to a letter from his officials from the province Beyond the River, which warned that if the Jews were allowed to rebuild the city walls they would no longer pay "tribute, custom, or toll" (4:13; cf. v. 20). These three terms evidently refer to three distinct classes of taxes. *See* TOLL.

In the days of Nehemiah a serious situation arose. The king's tax (Neh. 5:4) was so heavy that the Jewish common people were compelled to borrow money upon mortgages, and in so doing fell into the hands of usurers of their own people, by whom they were so impoverished as to be compelled to sell their sons and daughters into slavery (5:1-13). In addition to the royal tax, they were forced to support the governors who preceded Nehemiah with bread, wine, and forty shekels of silver annually (vv. 14f.). In the prayer that Ezra offered on the fast day (Neh. 9), he stated that their burdens of taxation were so heavy that they were servants in their own land (vv. 36f.).

3. Ptolemies and Seleucids. The Ptolemies, who practically controlled Palestine from 301 to 218 B.C., do not appear to have made excessive demands for tribute (twenty talents for Jews [*Ant.* xii.4.1 (158)] seems no great amount), but their custom of farming the taxes to the highest bidder introduced a principle that prevailed through all the subsequent history and was the cause of much popular suffering and discontent.

The story of Joseph, the Jewish tax collector (*Ant.* xii.4.2-5), who was for twenty-three years farmer-general of taxes for Palestine under Ptolemy Euergetes and the cause of a long train of disasters, is peculiarly significant for the student of the NT.

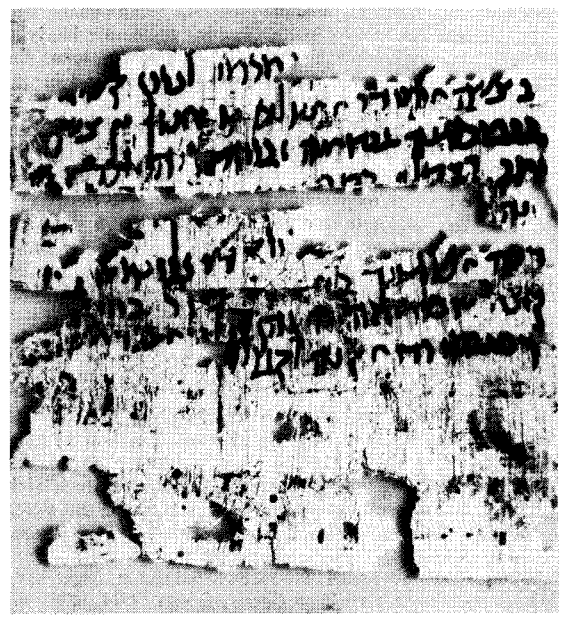
The conquest of Palestine by Antiochus the Great (202 B.C.) brought a certain amount of relief to the Jews of Palestine, which as of old was the buffer state between contending powers. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii.3.3 [138-144]), Antiochus gave the Jews generous gifts in money, remitted their taxes for three years, and permanently reduced them one-third. He also released the senate, the priests, the scribes, and the temple singers from paying the poll tax, the crown tax, and the salt tax.

That the Seleucid kings were generally very severe in their exactions is clearly shown in the letters of Demetrius to the Jews (1 Macc. 10:26-30; 11:34f.; 13:39; cf. 11:28), in which he promises exemptions from paying "tribute" (Gk. *phóroi*), "salt tax," "crown levies" (*stéphanoi*), one-third of their grain, and half the fruit of their trees (10:29f.). 2 Macc. 3 describes how Seleucus IV (187-176 B.C.), who owed much money to Rome, made an unsuccessful attempt to rob the treasury of the Jerusalem temple (v. 7).

II. In the NT.–A. Taxation by Rome. The Romans continued the taxation of Palestine after their conquest in 63 B.C. Augustus canceled the tribute in 30 B.C., allowing Herod the Great to collect his own taxes. Thus taxes were paid to the king and collected by officers appointed by him. Among the taxes imposed by Herod were a tax on crops (*Ant.* xv.9.1 [303]) and a sales tax on items bought and sold (xvii.8.4 [205]). This system had changed, however, by NT times. After Archelaus was deposed (A.D. 6), at the request of the Jews themselves Judea was made an imperial province and put under procurators who were in charge of all financial administration, although the tetrarchs still collected the internal taxes. In this era the direct taxes (e.g., land and poll taxes) were not farmed out but were collected by regular imperial officers as part of their official duty. But the collection of tolls on exports and imports, and on goods transported by merchants within the country, were sold to the highest bidders.

Three Greek terms are used by the NT for these imperial taxes. The *kénsos* ("census") was the poll tax collected from individuals. It is generally thought that the enrollment (*apographḗ*) ordered by Caesar Augustus was for the purpose of collecting this direct tax (Lk. 2:1f.), and that Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem for this reason (vv. 4f.; on the problems of dating this census, *see* CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT I.A.2; QUIRINIUS). In an attempt to trap Jesus, the Pharisees asked Him whether it was lawful to pay this tax to Caesar (Mt. 22:15-22 par. Mk. 12:13-17; in par. Lk. 20:20-26 the term used is *phóros*). The Jews hated paying this tax especially since they were forced to pay it in coins bearing the emperor's image and inscribed with his divine claims. When shown the tax coin (called *tó nómisma toú kénsou* ["legal money

A papyrus statement of indebtedness dated Year 2 of Nero found at Wâdī Murabba'ât (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)



for the tax"] and *dēnárion*, Mt. 22:19) with Caesar's likeness on it, Jesus foiled their attempted entrapment by telling them to give to Caesar what was Caesar's and to God what was God's. *Kénsos* (RSV "tribute") is also used along with *télos* ("toll") at Mt. 17:25, where Jesus asks Simon from whom earthly kings exact "toll or tribute."

Phóros, also translated "tribute" or "tax," is found only in Lk. 20:22; 23:2; Rom. 13:6f. Luke's use of *phóros* instead of *kénsos* at 20:22 suggests that he considered it a synonym. In Rom. 13:6 the plural of *phóros* seems to be a general word for all taxes, while v. 7 distinguishes between the individual poll tax (*phóros*) and the indirect commercial taxes on property, transportation, and crops (*télos*).

The latter word, *télos*, found only at Mt. 17:25 and Rom. 13:7 usually refers to the taxes that were levied at ports of entry, bridges, important crossroads, and places of commerce on the transport and sale of goods. These monies were collected through the tax-farming system in which rich individuals, usually foreigners, bid for the contractual responsibility of collecting taxes for the government. These contract holders then employed others from the local communities to be responsible for the tax collections in their own areas; these employees were the *telónai* (AV "publicans"; RSV "tax collectors") of the Gospels. The *architelónēs*, or "chief tax collector" (Zacchaeus, Lk. 19:1), may have been an intermediary between the rich contract holder and the ordinary tax collector. Because these tax collectors were collecting monies for the hated foreigners, they were deeply despised by the Jews and considered in the same class as the "sinners" who did not keep the Law (Mt. 11:19; 18:17; Lk. 18:11). *See* TAX COLLECTOR.

B. Temple Tax. Besides the above taxes paid to government authorities, all Jewish males, including those of the Diaspora, were required to pay an annual half-shekel tax for the maintenance of the temple in Jerusalem (see I.B.2 above).

In Mt. 17:24-27 the collectors of this tax ask Peter whether his Master pays this tax. Peter assures them that He does. Later, Jesus draws an analogy between His situation and that of royal sons who are exempt from paying taxes to earthly kings. Jesus thus indicates that as free persons, He and His disciples are not obligated to pay such levies. But to avoid offending the collectors He tells Peter to go to the sea to fish, and to pay the temple tax for both of them with the shekel (*statér*) he will find in the fish's mouth (see *DNTT*, III, 753). In v. 24 the coin needed to pay this tax is called a *dídrachma*, which had the value of a half-shekel. The coin in the fish's mouth is called a *statér*, which was about the value of a shekel and therefore enough to pay for two persons (v. 27).

After the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the emperor Vespasian (60-79) required that this temple tax be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus, the head of the Roman pantheon (Josephus *BJ* vii.6.6 [218]). It is generally assumed that by the time of Nerva (96-98) the tax had been abolished.

C. Collection for the Poor in Jerusalem. In 1 Cor. 16:1-3 Paul refers to a collection (*logeía*; RSV "contribution") that was taken in the Gentile churches for the poor in the Jerusalem church. While this was a voluntary love offering and not a formal levy, Paul in a sense considered it to be something the Gentile Christians owed the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, since it was through the latter that they had come to share in the blessings of the gospel (Rom. 15:25-28; cf. also 2 Cor. 9:11f.).

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, III, 751-59; S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century* (2 vols., 1974, 1976), pp. 259f., 330-36, 460-63, 698f.; *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* λογεία (G. Kittel); VIII, *s.v.* τελώνης (O. Michel); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr., repr. 1965), I, 139-142.

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TAX COLLECTOR [Gk. *telónēs*; Lat. *publicanus*]; AV PUBLICAN; NEB TAX-GATHERER; **CHIEF TAX COLLECTOR** [Gk. *architelónēs*] (Lk. 19:2); AV CHIEF AMONG THE PUBLICANS; NEB SUPERINTENDENT OF TAXES. In the NT era the Romans collected a variety of indirect taxes and tolls (in contrast to the direct poll and land taxes) from the provinces through members of the local populations, making use of a network of tax-farming in Palestine similar to that which had existed under the Hellenistic rule of the Ptolemies. In this system one usually became a tax collector by bidding against others to guarantee the highest amount of money to the tax-farmers (the true *publicani*), who were directly responsible to the Roman government. This arrangement obviously provided the opportunity at several levels for considerable personal gain through the unrestricted inflation of taxes and tolls, a portion of which conveniently went into the pockets of the middlemen.

The many taxes and custom tolls that the Romans exacted from the provinces necessitated a large corps of tax collectors. Since a major source of tax revenue was derived from the customs tolls placed upon the transportation of merchandise, tax collectors were concentrated at key points of entry, i.e., at sea ports and on the main caravan routes. The tax collectors who appear in the Gospels are mainly associated with Capernaum in Galilee and with Jericho. Both towns were located on major roads and near borders, where it was natural to levy tolls.

Tax collectors were especially despised by the Jewish population of Palestine for several reasons: (1) they collected money for the foreign power that occupied the land of Israel, thus indirectly giving support to this outrage; (2) they were notoriously unscrupulous, growing wealthy at the expense of others of their own people; and (3) their work involved them in regular contact with Gentiles, rendering them ritually unclean. Contempt for tax collectors is found both in the NT and the rabbinic literature (see SB). According to the latter, hatred was to be extended even to the family of the tax collector, and since tax collectors were universally regarded as no better than robbers or thieves it was not thought wrong to attempt to defraud them.

In the Synoptic Gospels (which contain all the NT references) tax collectors are commonly linked with a group more generally designated as "sinners" (Mk. 2:15f. par.; Mt. 11:19 par.; Lk. 15:1). That they are so often mentioned separately, when they could naturally be included in the more general term, indicates how conspicuous they were in the minds of the populace. With its special Jewish interests, the Gospel of Matthew contains the most frequent derogatory references to tax collectors, linking the term with "harlots" (Mt. 21:31f.), putting the tax collector on the level of a Gentile (18:17), and indicating that even tax collectors love those who love them (5:46; this point takes on added meaning when one considers how universally hated they were).

Jesus' compassion for the tax collectors is one of the startling facts of His ministry. The good news of the inaugurated kingdom of God enables outcasts of all kinds to experience God's grace. Luke, who championed this message even more than the other Synoptic writers, included the most positive assertions about the tax collectors in the material that is unique to his Gospel. Luke's Gospel alone refers to the tax collectors who came to be baptized by

John and records John's exhortation to them: "Collect no more than is appointed you" (Lk. 3:12f.). Only Luke notes the tax collectors' excited response to Jesus' praise of John the Baptist (7:29). And Luke alone reports that superlative parable of grace, the story of the Pharisee and the tax collector (18:10-14). Even when Luke combines "tax collectors" with "sinners," it is in reference to them drawing near to hear Jesus, which sparks the Pharisees' response, "This man receives sinners and eats with them" (15:1f.; cf. 7:34).

Two stories in the Synoptic tradition mention individual tax collectors by name; both provide concrete manifestations of the grace of the gospel. Jesus' inclusion of such a disreputable figure as a tax collector among His own special disciples was both astonishing and offensive to the Jews. The call of Levi (Matthew) to be one of the Twelve is found in all three Synoptics (Mk. 2:13-17 par.). Matthew's initial act of discipleship was to throw a dinner party for a multitude of tax collectors and sinners. When the Pharisees faulted Jesus for associating with such rabble, Jesus responded with the memorable words that encapsulate the gospel and summarize His mission: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" (Mk. 2:17 par.).

In the second instance Jesus again took the initiative in reaching out to a chief tax collector of Jericho — if anything, an even more objectionable character (Lk. 19:1-10). Zacchaeus was in the hierarchy of the tax-farming system (perhaps truly a *publicanus*); he apparently had other tax collectors in his service and took a commission from each of them before turning the money over to his own superiors. Zacchaeus not only joyfully received Jesus' message, but he gave half of his wealth to the poor and restored fourfold (a threefold restitution is known from Roman sources; see Justinian *Digest* 39.4) whatever he may have defrauded from others. Undoubtedly restitution of this kind was expected of tax collectors who followed Jesus. When Jesus announced that salvation had come to Zacchaeus's house, He characterized His own mission in these words: "For the Son of man came to seek and to save the lost" (Lk. 19:10).

It is clear that tax collectors take on the importance they have in the Synoptic Gospels precisely because they are such striking examples of the surprising grace that constitutes the very essence of Jesus' message.

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TAX OFFICE [Gk. *telónion*] (Mt. 9:9 par. Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27); AV RECEIPT OF CUSTOM; NEB CUSTOM HOUSE. A word occurring in the Synoptic tradition only in the passage describing the calling of Levi/Matthew (Mk. 2:13-17 par.). Each of the Gospels refers to him as "sitting at *tó telónion.*" The term probably refers to a toll booth or small customhouse at which all goods in transport were officially taxed. Capernaum's customhouse, where Levi/Matthew worked, must have been particularly important, since it was situated on the major caravan route that connected Damascus with the Mediterranean (the "way of the sea") and was thus a major point of entry into Palestine from the north and the east.

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TEACH [Heb. piel of *lāmaḏ*] (Dt. 4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:31; 6:1; Jgs. 3:2; 2 S. 1:18; 2 Ch. 17:7, 9; Job 21:22; Ps. 25:4f., 9; etc.); NEB also TRAIN, GIVE (Ps. 119:66), LEARN (Jer. 2:33), INSTRUCT (Dnl. 1:4); [hiphil of *yārâ*] (Ex. 4:12, 15; 35:34; Lev. 10:11; Dt. 33:10; Jgs. 13:8; 1 K. 8:36; 2 K. 17:27f.; 2 Ch. 6:27; 15:3; Job 6:24; etc.); NEB also TRAIN (Isa. 28:26), INSTRUCT (Ex. 35:34), TELL, DECLARE (Lev. 10:11), SHOW (Ps. 45:4 [MT 5]), GUIDE (Job 34:32; Ps. 86:11), etc.; [hiphil of *yāḏaʿ*] (Jgs. 8:16; Job 32:7; 37:19; Ps. 51:6 [MT 8]; 78:5; 90:12; 143:8; Prov. 9:9); AV also MAKE TO KNOW (Ps. 51:6 [MT 8]), MAKE KNOWN (Ps. 78:5), CAUSE TO KNOW (143:8); NEB also DISCIPLINE (Jgs. 8:16), EXPOUND (Job 32:7), LECTURE (Prov. 9:9), SHOW (Ps. 143:8); [piel of *ʾālap*] (Job 15:5; 33:33; 35:11); AV also CONDEMN; NEB also DICTATE, GRANT KNOWLEDGE; [hiphil of *bîn*] (2 Ch. 35:3; Neh. 8:9); NEB also INSTRUCT (Neh. 8:9); [hiphil of *zāhar*] (Ex. 18:20); NEB INSTRUCT; [piel of *šānan*] ("teach diligently," Dt. 6:7); NEB REPEAT; [Aram. haphel of *yᵉḏaʿ*] (Ezr. 7:25); NEB INSTRUCT; [Gk. *didáskō*] (Mt. 4:23 par.; 5:2, 19; 7:29 par.; 9:35 par.; 11:1; 13:54 par.; 15:9; 21:23 par.; 22:16 par.; 26:55 par.; 28:20; Mk. 1:21f. par.; 2:13; etc.); NEB also INSTRUCT, etc.; [*laléō*] (Tit. 2:1); AV SPEAK; NEB SAY; [*kalodidáskalos*] ("teach what is good," Tit. 2:3); NEB SET A HIGH STANDARD; [part. of *katēchéō*] (Gal. 6:6); NEB INSTRUCTION, TEACHER; [part. of *katartízō*– 'prepare,' 'make complete'] ("fully taught," Lk. 6:40); AV PERFECT; NEB "training is complete"; [*heterodidaskaléō*] ("teach a different doctrine," 1 Tim. 1:3; "teach otherwise," 6:3); **TEACHER** [Heb. hiphil part. of *yārâ*] (Job 36:22; Prov. 5:13; Isa. 30:20; Hab. 2:18); NEB also WIELD SOVEREIGN POWER, SOURCE; [piel part. of *lāmaḏ*] (Ps. 119:99); [hiphil part. of *bîn*] (1 Ch. 25:8); NEB MASTER-SINGER; [Gk. *didáskalos*] (Mt. 8:19; 9:11; 10:24f.; 12:38; 17:24; 19:16 par.; 22:16, 24, 36 par.; 23:8, 26:18 par.; Mk. 4:38; 5:35 par.; etc.); AV also MASTER, DOCTOR; NEB also MASTER, etc.; [*nomodidáskalos*] ("teacher of the law," Lk. 5:17; Acts 5:34; 1 Tim. 1:7); AV DOCTOR OF THE LAW; [*didaktikós*] ("apt teacher," 1 Tim. 3:2; 2 Tim. 2:24); AV APT TO TEACH; [*pseudodidáskalos*] ("false teacher," 2 Pet. 2:1); **TEACHING** [Heb. *tôrâ*] (Ps. 78:1; Prov. 1:8; 3:1; 4:2; 6:20, 23; 13:14; 31:26; Isa. 1:10; 8:16, 20); AV LAW; NEB also INSTRUCTION, ORACLE; [*leqaḥ*] (Dt. 32:2); AV DOCTRINE; [Gk. *didachḗ*] (Mt. 7:28; 16:12; 22:33; Mk. 1:27; 4:2; 11:18; 12:38; Lk. 4:32; Jn. 7:16f.; 18:19; Acts 2:42; etc.); AV DOCTRINE; NEB also WHAT HE TAUGHT, etc.; [*didaskalía*] (Rom. 12:7; 1 Tim. 4:13, 16; 5:17; 6:1, 3; 2 Tim. 3:10, 16; 4:3; Tit. 2:7); AV also DOCTRINE; [*lógos*] (Lk. 10:39); AV, NEB, WORD.

I. In the OT.–While the OT contains no specific reference to academic instruction, several allusions to public instruction or to teaching at court or sanctuary do appear among the earlier biblical texts; examples include Moses' instruction of the Israelites (Dt. 31:12f.), Eli's instruction of Samuel (1 S. 2–3), Nathan's counsel to King David (e.g., 1 K. 1:11-40), Jehoshaphat's programs of instruction in the law (2 Ch. 17:7-9), and Isaiah's relationship to a circle of disciples (Isa. 8:16). Further, the presence of schools among other Near Eastern cultures (3rd millennium B.C. in Sumer and Egypt), and the subsequent development of prominent academic circles within late Judaism, also argue for the existence of academic institutions in ancient Israel. Without question, however, the core of early Hebrew instruction occurred in the home.

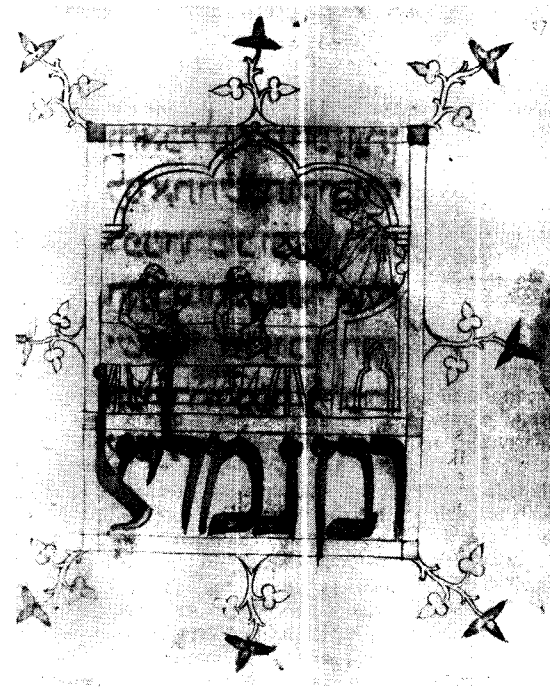
While the educational techniques used in ancient preexilic Israel are now lost to us, the various OT terms for teaching give indications of Israel's philosophy of instruction. The RSV OT most often translates as "teach" the verb *lāmaḏ* (piel), which conveys the idea of training or exercise. The term probably was first used for the training

of animals (cf. Jer. 31:18) but soon came to be used for the teaching of skills related to war, religion, and life. This verb implies the hearer's active participation in response to both the teacher and what is taught. The hiphil of *yārâ* ("throw," "shoot") focuses upon "direction" in the course of instruction. From this root is derived the noun *tôrâ* ("teaching" or "instruction," in distinction from the often misused translation "law"; cf. AV), which signifies the tradition by which the community was to conduct itself with respect to ritual and society. The practical focus of this verb is demonstrated in the wisdom literature, which equates teaching "the way of wisdom" with leading in "the paths of uprightness" (Prov. 4:11). The verb *yāḏaʿ* (hiphil) indicates the declaration of specific knowledge. It commonly refers to an individual's capacity to discriminate in learning situations (Job 37:19; Prov. 9:9).

From the beginning, the foundation upon which education in Israel was based was the need to develop an appropriate relationship with God (cf. Prov. 1:7). All instruction incorporated this total perception of life. Thus its functions included the shaping of the individual's morality and the structuring of the community's self-definition. Such teaching presupposes an outside authority figure, namely, God (Ex. 4:12; Isa. 2:3) or an agent of God (e.g., princes, Levites, and priests, 2 Ch. 17:7-9; prophets, Isa. 9:15; priests, Ezk. 44:21-23; Mic. 3:11). The teacher maintained authority by adhering to the teaching of God. The later texts of the OT (the soil of rabbinic Judaism) use *lāmaḏ* (piel) to suggest an exposition of *tôrâ* (e.g., 2 Ch. 17:7-9), which had the specific purpose of establishing an appropriate relationship between the individual and God on the one hand, and between the individual and neighbor on the other. In this context, the father-son relationship reflected in the wisdom literature became a model for teaching in the rabbinic schools (T.B. *Sanhedrin* 19b). In rabbinic literature the piel of *lāmaḏ* became associated with exegesis, being used often in the sense of "reach a scholarly opinion" (e.g., Mish. *Berakoth* ii.5-8).

The Hebrew terms rendered "teach" in the RSV can denote the transmission of specific statutes and ordinances associated with *tôrâ*, or the act of providing education in the broader sense. In every case, however, the concept of teaching is associated with that of revelation. Thus the early Deuteronomic tradition indicates that Moses "taught" the early Israelites the statutes and ordinances of God's law (Dt. 4:1, 5, etc.; cf. Lev. 10:11), and that the Lord "taught war" to Israel through the nations that remained in Canaan during the period of the Judges (Jgs. 3:2). Israel was taught its true identity through its intimate relationship to the God of salvation. This identity is reflected in the Shema, which became an axis for Hebrew teaching (Dt. 6:4-9). Wisdom literature understands teaching as a vehicle by which the righteous hearer can benefit from both instruction in wisdom and commonsense advice (cf. Prov. 4:11). Such wisdom and advice resided within the community of Israel but was also informed by the influence of Mesopotamian and Egyptian wisdom. Wisdom literature taught a way of life rooted in the fear of the Lord but guided by the principles of cultural wisdom (Job 32:7; Eccl. 12:9; see also the book of Sirach).

During the Babylonian captivity Judaism began to institutionalize its teaching in centers of instruction, or synagogues, in order to preserve the wisdom of the Mosaic law for its people. Those exiles who returned to Judah during the Second Temple period wept to hear their teachers read the "words of the law," which had been preserved under the oppression of the nations (Neh. 8:9). The preservation of instruction during the intertestamental



An illustration from the Haggadah showing Rabban Gamaliel with two pupils (Spain, *ca.* 1300) (Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America)

period took place primarily in the community teaching provided by these synagogues. Teaching became a function of national identity and was the guiding light by which the Maccabean rebellion initiated the restoration of Jewish autonomy. The role of scribe, already prominent by the 5th cent. B.C., developed further in reaction to Hellenism. With the onset of Roman political oppression, teachers of Judaism gained prominence as leaders in society. Under Rome's dominance, however, it became more important — and safer — to study *tôrâ* than to practice it (T. B. *Kiddushin* 40b). As a result, Judaism's self-understanding was shaped by the rabbinic circles, which maintained Scripture as a focal consideration in both public and private spheres. "Scribal learning" was consequently the key to political influence as well as religious authority in Jewish society.

II. In the NT.—The basic assumptions about teaching in the OT appear also in the NT. Whereas Greek society viewed teaching as little more than the transmission of instruction, the OT concept of teaching's total claim upon the pupil continued in the NT. In contrast to the OT, however, the NT's focus of instruction shifts to the message and works of the historical Jesus, concluding with the Resurrection.

The primary NT term for "teach," Gk. *didáskō*, is attested from the time of Homer. The term incorporates various aspects of instruction (training, direction, and discrimination) represented by parallel words in the OT. It does not emphasize imitation of the teacher so much as the development of a pupil's talents and abilities. While the term appears in a religious context only rarely in Greek society, it occurs about one hundred times in the LXX as a translation of Heb. *lāmaḏ*. This suggests that *didáskō* came to have a technical significance for Greek-speaking Jews (see *TDNT*, II, 135f.).

The roles of teacher and student had become well de-

fined by NT times. Jesus' role as *didáskalos* ("teacher," "master"; cf. Mt. 8:19; etc.; teachers of the Mosaic law are most often designated as *nomodidáskalos*) falls within the parameters of the rabbi in first-century Judaism. Several passages mention that Jesus sat while He taught — a pedagogic style typical of contemporary teachers (Mt. 5:1; Lk. 5:3). Indeed, the Synoptics indicate that teaching was one of Jesus' prominent functions (e.g., Mt. 4:23). Thus He appears frequently at synagogues, where facilities for instruction were available (Mt. 9:35; Jn. 18:20; cf. T.P. *Megillah* 73d). The disciples may also be compared to the students of the great Jewish teachers, who themselves transmitted the traditions of *tôrâ*. Unlike the teaching of the scribes, however, Jesus' teaching is not concerned with the *preservation* of *tôrâ*; instead it is oriented toward an interpretation of the tradition that brings the hearer closer to the kingdom of God. Jesus is portrayed as the ultimate teacher. In contrast to His teaching, the teachings of His contemporaries are the "precepts of men" (Mk. 7:7). The Gospels depict Him as a new interpreter of *tôrâ* who shapes His audience's perception of God through both His teaching and His person. He is the catalyst behind the preaching and teaching of His followers (Mt. 28:19f.).

Outside the Gospels, teaching in the NT is based upon Jesus' instruction and the witness of His resurrection. This message underlies, e.g., the baptism of converts (1 Peter; cf. Did. 1–6). Paul considered the function of teaching to be a gift (Rom. 12:6f.) and associated it with the revelation of the risen Christ, which is taught by the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:13) to those who are able to understand it. With the development of offices in the early Christian congregations, the role of teacher (teaching was not distinguished from preaching; *see* PREACH II.B.1.b) became a primary function (cf. Acts 13:1; Eph. 4:11; 2 Tim. 1:11; Jas. 3:1). It was through the teacher that sound instruction was maintained. Thus, the Pastoral Epistles established guidelines for those who were to serve as teachers in the Church: temperance, seriousness, faithfulness, love, steadfastness, reverence, integrity, gravity (Tit. 2:1-15). Such criteria insured the rise of responsible leaders whose authority would be accepted by the community; the prominence of these teachers also led to the development of the office of bishop along a teaching model. As in the Jewish tradition, the context for teaching within the Christian community was ultimately the congregation, the extended family of faith.

See also CATECHIST; EDUCATION; INSTRUCT.

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C. N. JEFFORD

TEAR; TEARS [Heb. *dim'â* (2 K. 20:5; Ps. 6:6 [MT 7]; 39:12 [MT 13]; 42:3 [MT 4]; etc.), *bāḵâ*–'weep' ("beseech with tears," Est. 8:3), *beḵî*–'weeping' (Ps. 102:9 [MT 10]; Isa. 15:3; 22:4), *mayim*–'water' (Ps. 119:136; Lam. 1:16; 3:48), *dālap*–'leak,' 'weep' ("pour out tears," Job 16:20); Gk. *dákryon* (Mk. 9:24 mg.; Lk. 7:38, 44; Acts 20:19, 31; 2 Cor. 2:4; etc.), part. of *klaíō*–'weep' (Phil. 3:18)]; AV also WEEPING, WATER(S); NEB also "turn again and again" (Job 16:20), omits (Ps. 116:8), WEEPING, MISERY (Isa. 22:4), etc.

The biblical literature indicates that the Hebrews did not restrain themselves (as modern Occidentals characteristically do) from expressing emotion through weeping. The shedding of tears was an expresion of anguish due to approaching death (2 K. 20:5 par. Isa. 38:5; Ps. 39:12; 116:8; He. 5:7), oppression (Eccl. 4:1), persecution by enemies (Ps. 6:6; 56:8; Acts 20:19), defeat in battle (Isa. 15:3; 16:9), parting from a loved one (2 Tim. 1:4), penitence (Lk. 7:38, 44; cf. the false penitence of Mal. 2:13), or hopeless remorse (He. 12:17). The prophet Jeremiah has sometimes been called the "weeping prophet" because of the many references in his writings to weeping over the destruction of his people (Jer. 9:1, 18; 13:17; 14:17; Lam. 1:2, 16; 2:18; 3:48; etc.). Paul shed tears of deep anguish and concern when he had to admonish or reprove his converts (Acts 20:31; 2 Cor. 2:4; cf. Phil. 3:18).

Tears are referred to in a variety of figurative expressions. The psalmist described Israel's suffering as feeding on "the bread of tears" and being given "tears to drink" (Ps. 80:5; cf. 42:3; 102:9). Overwhelming grief is sometimes described hyperbolically in terms of a river (Ps. 119:136; Lam. 2:18; 3:48), flood (Ps. 6:6), or fountain (Jer. 9:1) of tears. Ps. 56:8 (MT 9) refers figuratively to God collecting the psalmist's tears in a BOTTLE (i.e., "wineskin" or "waterskin"); the metaphor emphasizes God's close attention to the afflicted one's sufferings and the idea that eventually justice will be done. Conversely, God's final conquest over death and its accompanying sorrow is depicted as the wiping away of all tears from the faces of those who will share in the joy of His kingdom (Isa. 25:8; Rev. 7:17; 21:4).

See also WEEP.

A. MACALISTER N. J. O.

TEAT tēt. AV term for Heb. *šaḏ* (Isa. 32:12), and *daḏ* (Ezk. 23:3, 21). *See* BOSOM; BREAST.

TEBAH tē'bə [Heb. *ṭeḇaḥ*–'(born at the time of a) slaughter' (?)]. Son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, and his concubine Reumah (Gen. 22:24). Presumably he is the ancestral father of the city TIBHATH.

See *BhHW*, III, *s.v.* "Teba" (G. Wallis).

TEBALIAH tēb-ə-lī'ə [Heb. *ṭᵉḇalyāhû*]. The third son of Hosah from the family of Merari (1 Ch. 26:11). He served as a gatekeeper in the temple.

TEBETH tē'beth [Heb. *ṭēḇēṯ* < Akk. *ṭebītu*] (Est. 2:16). The tenth month (Dec./Jan.) of the Hebrew CALENDAR.

TEETH. *See* TOOTH.

TEHAPHNEHES (Ezk. 30:18). *See* TAHPANHES.

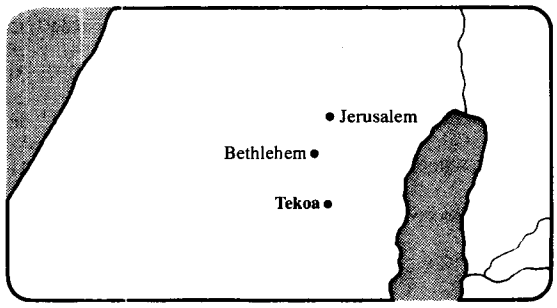
TEHINNAH tə-hin'ə [Heb. *ṭᵉḥinnâ*–'supplication for favor,' 'favor'] (1 Ch. 4:12). Name of a man or a Judahite family. *See* IRNAHASH.

TEIL tēl **TREE** (Isa. 6:13, AV). *See* TEREBINTH.

TEKEL. *See* MENE, MENE, TEKEL, AND PARSIN.

TEKOA tə-kō'ə [Heb. *ṭᵉqôa(ʿ)*, *ṭᵉqôʿî*/*ṭᵉqōʿî*; Gk. Apoc. *Thekōe*] (2 S. 14:9; 1 Ch. 2:24; 4:5; 2 Ch. 11:6; 20:20; Jer. 6:1; Am. 1:1; 1 Macc. 9:33; etc.); AV also TEKOAH, TEKOITE (2 S. 23:26; 1 Ch. 11:28; NEB also TEKOAH (2 S. 14:2, 4); AV Apoc. THECOE; **TEKOITE** tə-kō'īt [Heb. *ṭᵉqôʿî*/*ṭᵉqōʿî*] (1 Ch. 27:9; Neh. 3:5, 27); NEB "man of Tekoa" (1 Ch. 27:9), "men of Tekoa." A city of Judah about 16 km. (10 mi.) S of Jerusalem, known best as the home of the prophet Amos; it was also known as

Thekoue. It is represented today by Teqû', an unexcavated site of 1.5-2 ha. (4-5 acres).



In Josh. 15:59 (LXX and NEB) Tekoa heads a list of eleven cities of Judah, including Ephrathah (Bethlehem). The genealogies of Chronicles give Tekoa as a descendant of Judah and Tamar (1 Ch. 2:3f., 24), and Ashhur as "the father of Tekoa" (2:24; 4:5).

When Absalom the son of David was banished after he killed his brother Amnon (2 S. 13:20-29), Joab brought to David a "wise woman" of Tekoa to plead Absalom's cause adroitly (14:1-20). David restored his son to Jerusalem but for two years would not see him (vv. 23f., 28).

In the list of David's mighty men is "Ira the son of Ikkesh of Tekoa" (2 S. 23:26; 1 Ch. 11:28). He was the captain of the sixth month (1 Ch. 27:9), i.e., for that month he was the officer in charge of a division of 24,000 men and served as chief of military command.

After the division of the kingdom Rehoboam built cities for defense in Judah, including Tekoa and a number of other cities (2 Ch. 11:5f.). The mention of "the wilderness of Tekoa" (2 Ch. 20:20), a part of the wilderness of Judah, associates the city with the rough barren area E of Tekoa; here the men of Ammon, Moab, and Mt. Seir were annihilated by internal strife, after Jehoshaphat exhorted Judah to trust God for deliverance from the threatened invasion (vv. 1-30).

Amos was a shepherd and also a dresser of sycamore trees at Tekoa (Am. 1:1; 7:14) when the Lord called him and commissioned him to be a prophet to Israel. The area about Teqû' is well suited for such pastoral and agricultural pursuits.

In the closing days of the Judean kingdom Jeremiah made an alarming prediction of an imminent Babylonian conquest of the land and told the people to "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa" (Jer. 6:1) as a warning to its inhabitants.

After the Babylonian Captivity, Tekoites helped to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, but their nobles did not take part (Neh. 3:5, 27; cf. *GTTOT*, § 1050).

In Maccabean times, when Jonathan and his brother Simon sought to escape the murderous intentions of Bacchides, "they fled into the wilderness of Tekoa and camped by the water of the pool of Asphar" (1 Macc. 9:31-33).

Josephus recorded that Titus sent him to Tekoa with a thousand horsemen to see if the village was suitable for a camp (*Vita* 75 [420f.]). He also related that Simon of Gerasa established his headquarters at "Thekoue" (i.e., Tekoa) when trying to make the Idumean garrison at Herodium surrender; further intrigue resulted in a general flight of the Idumeans assembled at Alurus (Halhul [Josh. 15:58], 11 km. [7 mi.] SW of Tekoa; *BJ* iv.9.5f. [518-528]).

Eusebius stated that "Thecua" was 12 Roman mi. from Aelia (Jerusalem) and near a wilderness of the same name. In his comments on Jer. 6:1, Jerome noted that the Tekoa of his day was situated on a mountain some 12 Roman mi. from Jerusalem and within view of Bethlehem. In A.D. 508 discontented monks from Mar Saba founded a monastery, the New Laura, in the wadi S of Tekoa. During the Crusades Tekoa became a benefice of the Holy Sepulchre, but in 1138 a band of Turks raided and largely destroyed it. A tradition locates the tomb of Amos here, and references to it are preserved from as late as the 14th century.

The Teqû' site shows surface remains of cut-stone buildings, apparently of medieval date. An octagonal limestone font, 1.1 m. (3.8 ft.) deep and 1.2 m. (4.0 ft.) wide, marks the presence of an ancient church. Many cisterns, grain-storage pits, and rock tombs of earlier date also exist in the vicinity.

With an elevation of about 850 m. (2800 ft.), Teqû' is higher than Bethlehem, Jerusalem, or Herodium. Visible from the site are Bethlehem, the Mt. of Olives, and Nebi Samwil; the Jordan Valley and Transjordan to the northeast can be seen, but rising ground obstructs most of the eastern view.

Bibliography.–*GP*, II, 478f.; *SWP*, III, 314, 368; M. Marcoff and D. J. Chitty, *PEQ* (1929), pp. 171-74; *GTTOT*, §§ 972, 1050.

C. E. DEVRIES

TEL-ABIB tel ā'-bib, tel'ə-vēv [Heb. *tēl'āḇîḇ*]. An unidentified place in Mesopotamia by the CHEBAR canal between ancient Babylon and Erech, near ancient Nippur. Here Ezekiel made his first contact with the Jewish exiles in 597 B.C. (Ezk. 3:15). Though the name in Hebrew is quite intelligible, meaning "hill of ears" (cf. modern Tel Aviv), it should be read here as an adaptation of Akk. *Til-abūbi* (lit. "mound of the flood"), signifying the ruins of an ancient city long abandoned as the result of a flood (?) or a devastating war. Allocated by the Babylonian government, it became a Jewish settlement.

Bibliography.–*GTTOT*, § 1409; M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* (1962), pp. 64, 347; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* (Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979), pp. 94, 139.

J. P. J. OLIVIER

TELAH tē'lə [Heb. *telaḥ*–'fissure' (?)] (1 Ch. 7:25). An Ephraimite; an ancestor of Joshua the son of Nun (cf. v. 27).

TELAIM tə-lā'əm [Heb. *baṭṭᵉlā'îm*–'with the lambs' (?); Gk. *en Galgalois*–'in Galgal'] (1 S. 15:4). A city in southern Judah, close to the land of the Amalekites. Here Saul numbered the people before starting on the campaign against the Amalekites.

It is possibly identical to the place TELEM (Josh. 15:24), although the two Hebrew roots seem unrelated. The LXX and Josephus (*Ant.* vi.7.2 [134]) for an unexplainable reason, read Gilgal (Gk. *Gálgala*) instead of Telaim, but no other Gilgal mentioned elsewhere in biblical texts would have been a suitable starting point for Saul's advance against Amalek.

In 1 S. 27:8, *BH* suggested emending *mē'ôlām*, "from of old" (so RSV), to *miṭṭêlām*, "from Telem" (NEB "from Telaim"), on the basis of some twelve LXX MSS. But these MSS are inferior, and they read Gk. *Telapsour* for the better attested *Gelampsour*, which appears to render Heb. *šûrâ*, "to Shur."

The location of Telaim is not precisely established. Abel suggested Khirbet Umm eṣ-Ṣalefeh, SW of Kurnub (*GP*, II, 478). Another suggestion, eth-Thilma NW of Kurnub, is unlikely, according to Simons (*GTTOT*, §317 [11], §682).

W. S. L. S.

TEL-ASSAR tə-las'sar [Heb. *tela'śśār* (2 K. 19:12), *telaśśār*–'mound of Assur' (Isa. 37:12); AV also

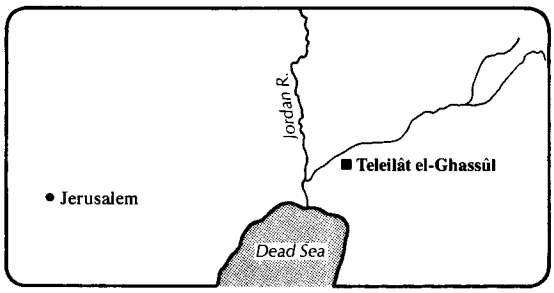
THELASAR (2 K. 19:12). A ruined Aramean city in northern Syria. The name probably refers to the capital Til-Barsip (now Tell el-Aḥmar) or to a major city of the Aramean kingdom known in Assyrian sources as Bit-adini (cf. Am. 1:5). It was situated on the banks of the middle Euphrates at its great western bend. Ostensibly it offered severe resistance to Assyria's imperial expansion westward, but was subjugated and destroyed, thus serving as an example to Hezekiah under similar circumstances.

The suggestions of identifying Tel-assar with Til-Bašir (de Vaux) or with Til-Aššuri in Media (Astour) remain highly questionable (see Malamat) on account of (a) the common form of the name, and (b) its relation to Guzan, Harran, Rezeph, Arpad, and Hamath, all important cities on the major trade route between Assyria and the Mediterranean Sea. No definite identification is possible, but one may assume a location about 90 km. (56 mi.) E of Aleppo.

Bibliography.–J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (*OTL*, 2nd rev. ed., 1970), p. 688; *GTTOT*, §1686; *IDBSupp.*, *s.v.* "Tel-Assar" (M. C. Astour); J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (1957), p. 112f.; A. Malamat, "Aramaeans," in D. J. Wiseman, ed., *Peoples of the OT times* (1973), p. 138; A. R. Millard and P. Bordreuil, *BA*, 45 (1982), 135-141; R. de Vaux, *Les Livres des Rois* (*La Sainte Bible*, 1958), p. 200.

J. P. J. OLIVIER

TELEILÂT EL-GHASSÛL.–A series of low mounds (Arab. *teleilat*) located from 100 to 700 m. (330 to 2300 ft.) S of the Amman highway at a point 6 km. (3.75 mi.) E of the Jordan River bridge, 2 km. (1.5 mi.) NE of the Dead Sea. The Ghassulian culture at the site dates to the Middle Chalcolithic period (late 5th–early 4th millennium B.C.).



The site was excavated for the Pontifical Biblical Institute by A. Mallon and R. Koeppel for seven seasons between 1929 and 1938, and by R. North in 1960. It was most recently (1967, 1975) worked by B. Hennessey for the British School of Archaeology and the University of Sydney, Australia.

No evidence of a protective wall surrounding Ghassûl has yet been found. Buildings were of stone and mudbrick construction. The pottery proved to be distinctive, being handmade with considerable skill, thin, well-fired, and variously painted, incised, molded, and impressed. Large quantities of stone artifacts have been found, many with ground and polished working edges. Projectile points were rare. Utensils and ornaments of bone and shell are indicative of a rich industry.

Thus far unique to Ghassûl in this period are a number of wall paintings, the best-known example being the eight-pointed Star of Ghassûl. Executed in combinations of red, brown, yellow, black, and white mineral paints on both mud- and lime-plastered walls, the designs are both geometric and naturalistic.

The society was pastoral and horticultural. Information from cist graves indicates that the Ghassulians were tall and robust.

There is no truly Ghassulian site outside Palestine-Transjordan (R. North), although the period is roughly contemporaneous with the earliest Amratian (S. D. 30) of Egypt and with the late Halafian or early Obeidian of northern Mesopotamia (see *AP*). The Ghassulian of Palestine is represented at sites throughout the country, including Gezer, Lachish, Meggido, Hedera in the Sharon plain, Soquet (es-Saqati), 15 km. (10 mi.) NE of Beersheba, and probably at Tell es-Sulṭân (OT Jericho) and Beth-shean, although at the last two sites there are problems of pottery chronology. (For a brief discussion of other comparable sites within Palestine, see North, esp. pp. 39-70.)

Bibliography.–*AP*, pp. 45, 64, 65ff.; *EAEHL*, IV, *s.v.* "Tuleilat el-Ghassul" (J. R. Lee); B. Hennessey, *Levant*, 1 (1969), 1-24; R. North, *Ghassul 1960 Excavation Report* (*Analecta Biblica*, 1961).

S. G. DECLAISSÉ-WALFORD

TELEM tē'ləm [Heb. *ṭelem*; Gk. Apoc. B *Tolbanēs*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., TOLBANES. A Levite; one of the gatekeepers who gave up his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. 10:24; 1 Esd. 9:25).

TELEM tē'ləm [Heb. *ṭelem*]. A city in the inheritance of Judah, near the border with Edom (Josh. 15:24). Telem is usually taken as an alternate form of TELAIM. The roots of the two words are not identical, however.

TEL-HARSHA tel här'shə [Heb. *tēl ḥaršā'*; Gk. Apoc. B *Thelersas*, A *Thelsas*]; AV Apoc. THELERSAS (1 Esd. 5:36); NEB Apoc. THELSAS. An unidentified place in Mesopotamia, probably not far from ancient Nippur (Ezr. 2:59; Neh. 7:61; cf. 1 Esd. 5:36). Harsha is Aramaic for "forest," hence, "hill of woods/forest." The name may be an approximation of an ancient city, the ruins (*tell*) of which became the location of the exiles. According to the texts it was a settlement for exiled Jews who lacked proof of ancestry.

Bibliography.–*GTTOT*, § 1705; K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im Persischen Zeitalter* (1964), pp. 98f.; J. M. Meyers, *Ezra. Nehemiah* (*AB*, 1965), pp. 19f.

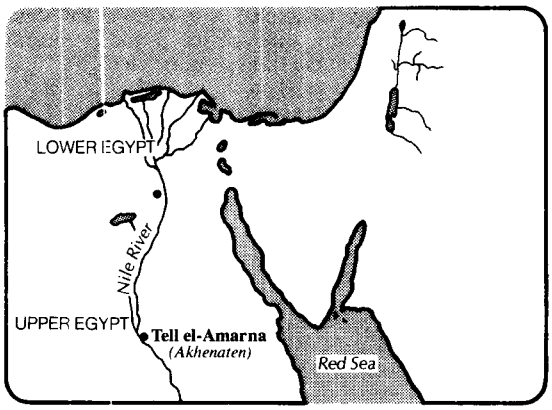
J. P. J. OLIVIER

TELL tel [Arab. *tall*, *tallat*; pl. *tilâl*, *'atlâl*, *tulul*–'hill, elevation']. In biblical or archeological usage, a mound that has resulted from successive layers of human occupation. The common Arabic word does not have this specific meaning. The Hebrew equivalent is *tel(l)* (cf. Josh. 8:28; 11:13; etc.), the Turkish is *tepe*. *See* ARCHEOLOGY V; MOUND.

TELL. *See* TALE.

TELL EL-AMARNA ə-mär'nə. The modern name of the site of ancient Akhetaten ("place of the effective glory of the sun-god"), located about 320 km. (200 mi.) S of modern Cairo. It should be noted that the name "Tell el-Amarna" is incorrect, for the site is not a *tell*. The name was transferred in part from the local village names of et-Till and Beni 'Amrân. El-Amarna is the name now preferred for the location.

Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (*ca.* 1369-1353 B.C.), whose name means "the god Amon is satisfied," embraced a nascent form of monotheism centering in sun-worship and changed his name to Akhenaten, perhaps meaning "it is well with the sun-god." He then built a new Egyptian capital, called Akhetaten, almost 480 km. (300 mi.) N of THEBES, the older pharaonic capital and center of Amon worship. Soon after Akhenaten died, his son-in-law Tutankhaten revived the worship of Amon, changed his



name to Tutankhamen, and moved the capital back to Thebes.

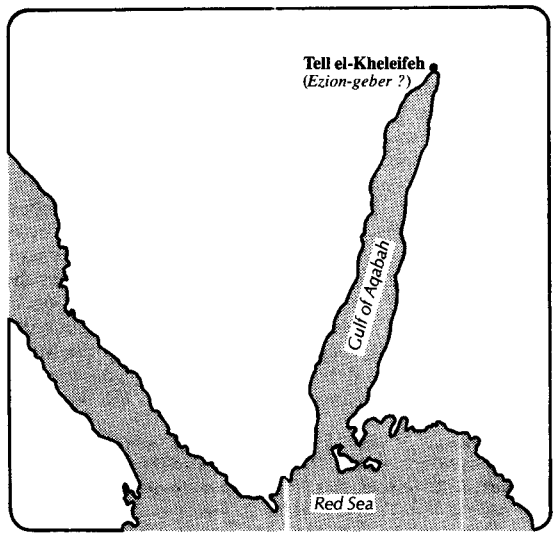
Nevertheless the "Amarna Revolution," with all its aesthetic, intellectual, and religious implications, made a lasting impact on subsequent Egyptian history. Biblical studies have been enriched immeasurably by discoveries beginning in 1887 of a large cache of cuneiform letters known as the AMARNA TABLETS.

See also EGYPT VIII.G. R. F. YOUNGBLOOD

TELL EL-KHELEIFEH kə-lā'fə.

I. Location and Early Exploration of the Site
II. Reappraisal of Glueck's Conclusions
III. Earliest Phase: Casemate Fortress
IV. Last Major Phase of Occupation: Fortified Settlement
V. Dating the Fortified Settlement
VI. Later Occupation
VII. Problem of Identification

TELL EL-KHELEIFEH



I. Location and Early Exploration of the Site.—The Jordanian site of Tell el-Kheleifeh is located approximately 500 m. (550 yds.) from the northern shore of the Gulf of Aqabah, roughly equidistant between the modern cities of Eilat and Aqabah. Tell el-Kheleifeh was first surveyed in 1933 by the German explorer F. Frank (*ZDPV*, 57 [1934], 243-45), who identified the site with biblical EZION-GEBER (Nu. 33:35f.; Dt. 2:8; 1 K. 9:26-28; 22:47f.; 2 Ch. 8:17f.). In 1937 N. Glueck conducted a surface survey of this low mud-brick mound and concluded that the site had been occupied between the 10th and 8th cents. B.C. Glueck directed three seasons of excavation there (1938-1940), discerning six major periods of occupation with three subphases (*BASOR*, 71 [Oct. 1938], 3-17; 72 [Dec. 1938],

The western perimeter of the casemate fortress, the earliest occupational phase at Tell el-Kheleifeh (ASOR Archive: Harvard Semitic Museum)

2-13; 75 [Oct. 1939], 8-22; 79 [Oct. 1940], 2-18; *BA*, 28 [1965], 70-87). The occupational horizons were dated between the Iron I and Persian periods. He accepted Frank's identification with Ezion-geber, and, although his field records and later publications reflect some uncertainty, the identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh as Ezion-geber remained the underlying premise for the interpretation of the site's occupational history.

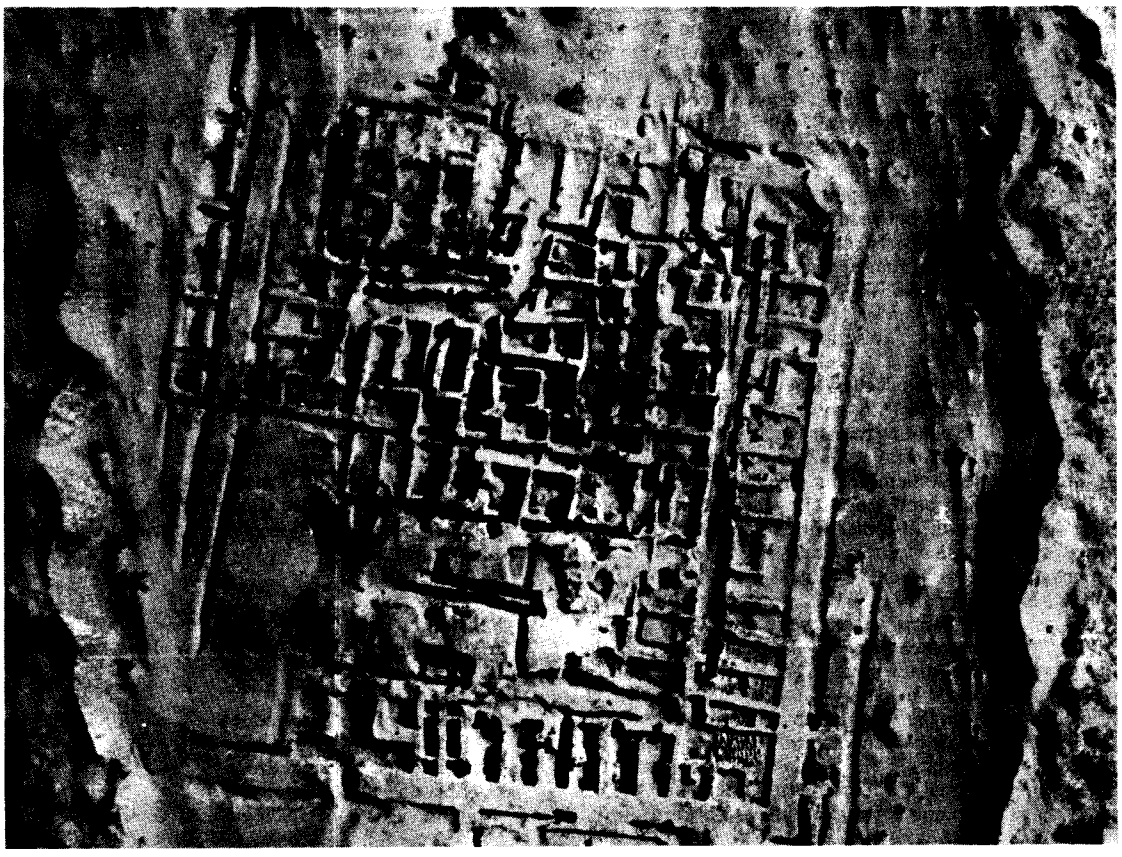
II. Reappraisal of Glueck's Conclusions.–Although Glueck's writings on Tell el-Kheleifeh are numerous (E. K. Vogel, "Bibliography of Nelson Glueck," in J. A. Sanders, ed., *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* [1970], pp. 382-394; *HUCA*, 42 [1971], 85f.; 52 [1981], 49f.), the site's stratigraphy, architecture, pottery, and other artifact data were never published in a technical report. A thorough reappraisal of Glueck's excavations has been completed under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research (G. Pratico, *BASOR*, 259 [Summer 1985], 1-32). This reappraisal has confirmed some of Glueck's conclusions but has also suggested the need for some major revisions and refinements.

III. Earliest Phase: Casemate Fortress.–Tell el-Kheleifeh was occupied in two major architectural phases: casemate fortress and fortified settlement. The casemate fortress was the earliest level. It consisted of two elements: a square of casemate rooms, creating a small fortress of approximately 45 m. (150 ft.) on each side and a large building that was constructed in the middle of the casemate square. This mud-brick building, measuring approximately 12.5 m. (40 ft.) on each side, was constructed on the so-called four-room house plan (Y. Shiloh, *IEJ*, 20 [1970], 180-190; 28 [1978], 36-51). The space between these two architectural elements was devoid of building and served as an open courtyard. The date of the casemate fortress cannot be determined. It appears that the only pottery that was saved from this building was a tradition of handmade wares, now known as "Negevite" pottery, that dates throughout the Iron Age (1200-586 B.C.) with no typological refinement (N. Glueck, *Perspective*, 12 [1971], 45-56; cf. also R. Cohen, *BA*, 44 [1981], 93-104). "Negevite" pottery cannot be used as a chronological indicator.

Do studies in comparative architecture help in the dating of the casemate fortress phase? The plan of this earliest level at Tell el-Kheleifeh is reminiscent of an architectural tradition that is well attested from the central Negeb southward to the site of Kadesh-barnea (Tell el-Qudeirat). Israeli archeologists, including R. Cohen, Z. Meshel, and the late Y. Aharoni, have surveyed and in some instances excavated an extensive network of fortresses in this general region with a concentration in the central Negeb highlands (Y. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 17 [1967], 1-12; R. Cohen, *BASOR*, 236 [Fall 1979], 61-79; *BA*, 44 [1981], 93-104; *'Atiqot* [Eng. series], 11 [1976], 34-50; Z. Meshel, *Tel Aviv*, 4 [1977], 110-135). These fortresses usually feature a casemate fortification that encloses an open courtyard, often with nearby dwellings constructed on the "four-room house" plan.

The basic architectural components, therefore, are

An aerial view of the Tell el-Kheleifeh excavations at the end of the 1940 season (ASOR Archive: Harvard Semitic Museum)



those of Tell el-Kheleifeh's earliest settlement plan with a few variations in detail. These central Negeb fortresses, for the most part, are dated to the 11th or 10th cent. B.C. Herein is a major difference between these fortresses and Tell el-Kheleifeh's casemate fortress level. The earliest pottery at Tell el-Kheleifeh dates only to the 8th cent. B.C. with a few forms that could be dated as early as the 9th cent. B.C. The architectural parallels between the earliest level at Tell el-Kheleifeh and the Negeb fortresses must remain, therefore, a conclusion of comparative architecture and not of chronology.

IV. Last Major Phase of Occupation: Fortified Settlement.–After the destruction of the casemate fortress, the plan of Tell el-Kheleifeh was radically changed. The fortress was replaced by a significantly larger settlement with an offsets/insets wall and a four-chambered gateway. This solid wall was built along an entirely different line from the earlier casemate wall, although the new settlement plan incorporated a large portion of the earlier casemate fortress. The "four-room" building now stood in the northwest corner of the new plan, and sections of the old casemate wall continued in use, though much of this earlier fortification perimeter was abandoned. Unlike the casemate fortress, the solid wall plan appears not to have had large open courtyards. Spaces within the offsets/insets wall were now filled with buildings, thereby creating a true settlement. This solid wall fortress represents the last major architectural level at the site.

V. Dating the Fortified Settlement.–The date of this phase can be established with reasonable certainty from the wheel-made pottery and also from several very important seal impressions (N. Glueck, *BASOR*, 188 [Dec. 1967], 8-38; *Eretz Israel*, 9 [1969], 51-59; "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* [1971], pp. 225-242). Clearly, the wheel-made forms date between the 8th and early 6th cent. B.C. The vessel types are all diagnostic of the late Iron Age: the so-called Edomite cooking pots; inverted-rim kraters; "Assyrian" bowls, carinated cups, bottles and censers; juglets, decanters, saucers, and others. On the basis of the pottery, it is clear that Tell el-Kheleifeh's fortified settlement dominated the region of the southern Arabah between the 8th and early 6th cent. B.C. This chronology is also suggested by nearly two dozen stamp impressions that appear on the handles of certain wheel-made vessels. The small oval stamps read "belonging to Qaus'anal, servant of the king" (*lqws'nl 'bd hmlk*; *see* picture in EDOM). The script is datable to the late 7th or early 6th cent. B.C.

VI. Later Occupation.–Tell el-Kheleifeh shows evidence of occupation after the 6th cent. B.C., though it is very fragmentary. The building remains are scanty at best, consisting of a few mud-brick walls that were constructed on top of the fortified settlement but on a different alignment. A few Phoenician and Aramaic ostraca of the 5th and early 4th cents. B.C., together with a handful of fifth-century Greek body sherds, constitute the most reliable dating criteria for this level (N. Glueck, *BASOR*, 80 [Dec. 1940], 3-10; 82 [Apr. 1941], 3-11). Some sixth-fifth century bowls, jars, and storage vessels were also found.

VII. Problem of Identification.–The chronology of the site's extant wheel-made pottery, 8th-early 6th cent. B.C., raises an important question. Do the ruins of Tell el-Kheleifeh preserve the story of biblical Ezion-geber? The site provides no clear archeological evidence, either ceramic or architectural, for its identification with the Ezion-geber of Israel's wilderness traditions (Nu. 33:35f.) or even of Solomon's reign in the 10th cent. (1 K. 9:26-28); indeed, the site provides only questionable evidence for the 9th cent. (1 K. 22:47f.).

The identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh is both an archeological and a historical problem. One may argue the identification from the perspectives of possibility or probability, but the problem of verification precludes examination of the site in the context of biblical Ezion-geber or Elath. The biblical notices pertaining to these two sites are of special importance, however, for providing a rough chronological framework relative to Judean or Edomite control or influence over the region.

Bibliography.–J. R. Bartlett, *JTS*, 20 (1969), 1-20; *PEQ*, 104 (1972), 26-37; *JSOT*, 4 (1977), 2-27; C. M. Bennett, *Perspective*, 12 (1971), 35-44; "Some Reflections on Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," in R. Moorey and P. J. Parr, eds., *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon* (1978), pp. 165-171; H. J. Franken, *PEQ*, 109 (1977), 3-11; N. Glueck, *BA*, 1 (1938), 13-16; *BA*, 3 (1940), 51-55; *EAEHL*, III, *s.v.* "Kheleifeh, Tell el-"; N. Lapp, *BASOR*, 223 (Oct. 1976), 25-42; B. Mazar, *Eretz Israel*, 12 (1975), 46-48; Z. Meshel, *Eretz Israel*, 12 (1975), 49-56; Z. Meshel and R. Cohen, *Tel Aviv*, 7 (1980), 70-81; G. Pratico, *BASOR*, 259 (Summer 1985), 1-32; *Biblical Archeology Review*, 12 (1986), 24-35.

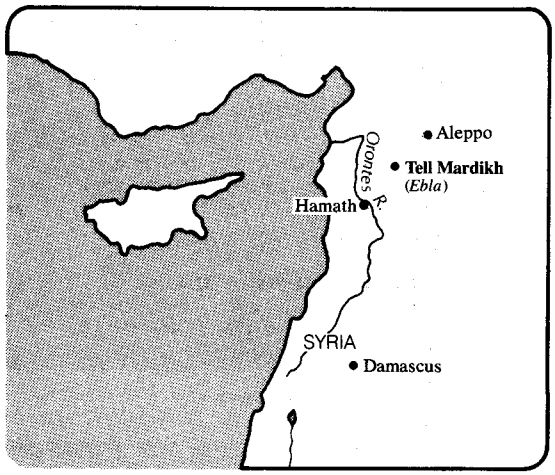
G. PRATICO

TELL MARDIKH mär-dēkh' [Arab. *tell mardiḫ*–'the mound of Mardikh,' a village in northwest Syria]. Location of ancient EBLA, site of an important archeological discovery with bearing on the early history of Syria and implications for biblical studies.

I. The Discoveries
  A. Location and General Description
  B. Discovery and Excavation
    1. Discovery and Identification
    2. Excavations 1964-1973
    3. Excavations 1974-1977
    4. Excavations 1978-1982
II. Royal Archives
  A. General Description
  B. Dating the Tablets
    1. Archeological Evidence
    2. Historical Evidence
    3. Epigraphic Evidence
  C. Tablet Categories
    1. Economic-Administrative Texts
    2. Lexical Texts
    3. Historical and Juridical Texts
    4. Literary Texts
    5. Syllabaries
  D. Scholarly Conflict
  E. Editions and Publications
III. Language of Ebla
  A. Use of Sumerian
  B. Eblaite
    1. Relationship to Northwest Semitic
    2. Vocabulary of Ebla
    3. Ebla as a Scribal Center
IV. Political, Social, and Economic Structure of Ebla
  A. Political
  B. Social
  C. Economic
V. Religion of Ebla
  A. Pantheon
  B. Cult
  C. The Name *Ya[h]*
VI. Evaluation of the Discoveries
  A. Relevance to History
  B. Relevance to Language
  C. Ebla and the Bible

I. The Discoveries.–A. Location and General Descrip-

tion. Tell Mardikh is 3 km. (2 mi.) SE of the village of Mardikh, 70 km. (43.5 mi.) S of Aleppo, just E of the Damascus-Aleppo highway. The mound is trapezoidal in shape, about 1100 by 700 m. (3600 by 2300 ft.), covering an area of 56 ha. (140 acres), rising about 15 m. (50 ft.) from the surrounding plain; thus it is one of the largest mounds in northern Syria and, indeed, in the Middle East. By way of comparison, Hazor, long considered to be one of the largest tells, covers 71 ha. (175 acres), including the large northern portion (the city tell is only 10 ha., 25 acres), and Megiddo, which rises to a height of 21 m. (70 ft.) has a surface area at the top of only 5.25 ha. (13 acres). The "Old City" of Jerusalem (the part within the modern walls) is roughly the size of Tell Mardikh, being approximately 1100 by 800 m. (3600 by 2625 ft.), but because Jerusalem is more nearly rectangular, it comprises a larger area.



The name but not the location of Ebla (or Ibla) had long been known to scholars, since it is found in Old Akkadian texts. It was one of the two or three main centers on the route from Mari to the Mediterranean. It had been conquered by SARGON the Great (see Barton, p. 109) and by Naram-Sin (*ca.* 2250 B.C.; Barton, p. 139 ["Amarnu" should read "Armanu," see the Sumerian text on p. 138]). Gudea of Lagash imported wood "from the city Ursu on the mountain of Ibla" (Barton, p. 185) — a statement that appeared to suggest a location for Ibla on the Upper Euphrates, N of Carchemish. A governor had been appointed in Ebla during the Ur III Dynasty (*ca.* 2060-1950 B.C.); Ebla is mentioned in Alalakh texts from Level VII (*ca.* 1760-1650 B.C.), and again from Level IV, as well as in texts from Boghazköy and Cappadocia. The last reference to Ebla is in a list from Karnak in the days of Thutmose III (1490-1436 B.C.). Even a map showing Ibla, written on a clay tablet, was found at Nuzi (cf. N. Freedman, *BA,* 40 [1977], 32-34).

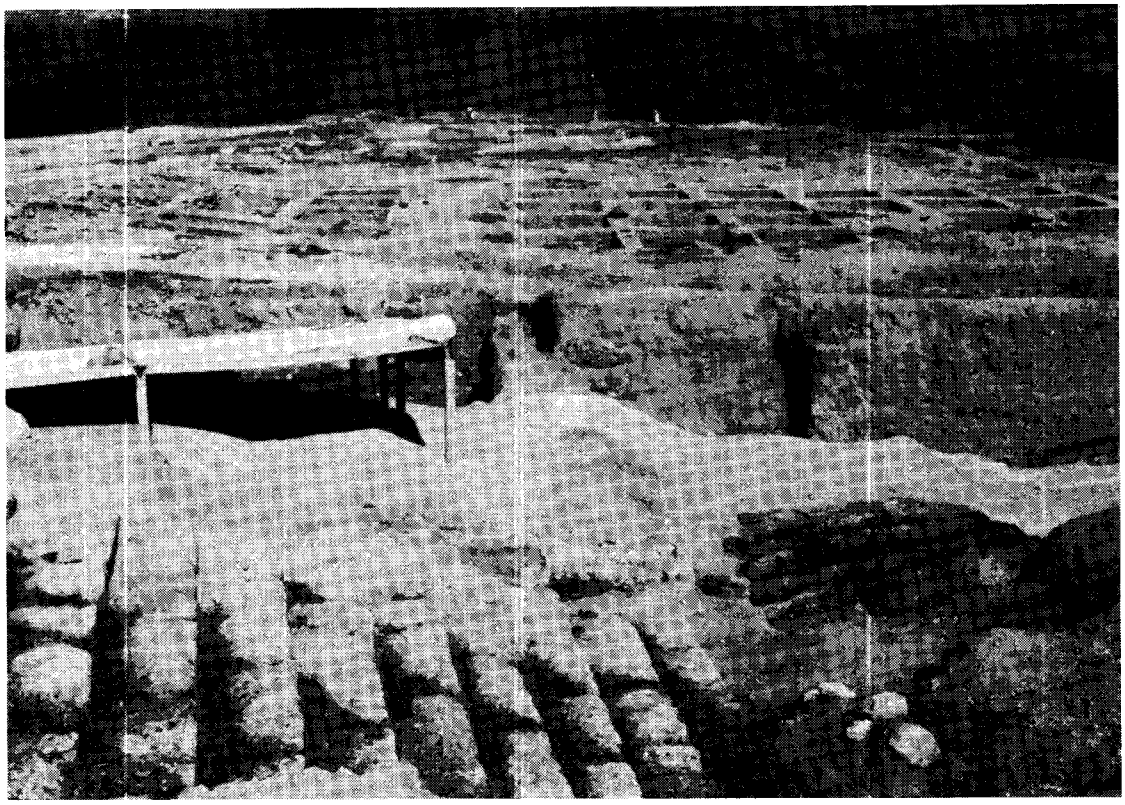
B. Discovery and Excavation. 1. Discovery and Identification. Because of its size, the tell was long considered to be desirable for exploration. Excavations were begun in 1964 by the Italian Archeological Mission in Syria of the University of Rome, with the cooperation of the Director General of Antiquities at Damascus. The chief archeologist was Prof. Dr. Paolo Matthiae, and the chief epigrapher Prof. Dr. Giovanni Pettinato. Excavations during the first ten years uncovered remains of a kingdom in the period of the Amorite dynasties (Middle Bronze I-II, *ca.* 2000-1600 B.C.). Identification of the site as Ebla was proposed when a torso of a male, carved in basalt, was discovered in 1968 with a twenty-six-line Assyrian inscription, of which lines 18-26 are incomplete. It had been dedicated by "Ibbit-Lim, son of Igrish-khepa, king of the Eblaite dynasty" (*šàr me-ki-im éb-lá-i-im*). Ebla was the only city mentioned, and it was mentioned twice. This identification was strongly challenged (cf. M. C. Astour, *Ugarit Forschungen,* 3 [1971], 9-19), but later discoveries supported it.

Naram-Sin mentions Armanum (sometimes identified with Aleppo; cf. *CAH,* I/2 [3rd ed. 1971], 442) and Ibla in connection with a reference to the Amanus, Mountain of Cedars, and the Upper Sea, "from the bank of the Euphrates as far as Ulisum" (cf. *CAH,* I/2, 325). Previously, scholars were inclined to locate this route to the north, with Cappadocia as the objective (p. 326). But if Ulisum is identified with Ullaza of the Amarna letters (Am.Tab. 60:23; on the Mediterranean at about the latitude of Qatna), then his route passed close to or through what is now Tell Mardikh.

2. Excavations 1964-1973. Early discoveries included the great Temple D in the western part of the acropolis, two or three other temples in the Lower City, and the monumental City Gate A at the southwest corner of the tell. It was already obvious that the site was of unusual importance, especially since it lay in an area the early history of which was almost totally unknown.

Excavations in 1973 indicated that an earlier level underlay the M.B. I-II, and in 1974 there was evidence of a large city-state in the period of the Dynasty of Akkad (E.B. IVA, *ca.* 2350-2250 B.C.). Building G on the southwest slope of the acropolis, identified as a palace that had

Ruins of the palace at Tell Mardikh showing the room divisions (L. K. Smith)



The grand stairway to the audience hall in front of the palace at Tell Mardikh (L. K. Smith)

been destroyed by fire, fragments of pottery of Amuq I-J, and other evidence suggested that this was the place that had been conquered and destroyed by Naram-Sin of Akkad *ca.* 2250 B.C., according to an inscription that reads, "Naram-Sin the mighty, king of the four quarters [or earth], conqueror of Armanu and Ibla" (Barton, pp. 138f. [8]). The palace was very large, another indication that Ebla was a major city-state of the period. This article will focus on the E.B. IVA level, because of its relevance to biblical studies.

3. Excavations 1974-1977. Building G was soon identified, by size and architecture, as a Royal Palace, with an "Audience Court," a "Ceremonial Stairway," and of great importance, the "Royal Archives." The first three walls of the archives to be uncovered had been faced with shelving 0.80 m. (26 in.) deep, and 0.5 m. (20 in.) between shelves (the wood, of course, had been consumed, but marks that were left provided the needed evidence). The tablets found *in situ* were heaped in the arrangement that had been made on the shelves, horizontally, with the obverse of the tablets parallel to the walls, much as a modern card file would be kept.

4. Excavations 1978-1982. The imposing building of the Western Palace, or Palace Q, discovered in the Lower City West, and the royal necropolis of the last two centuries of the great city were excavated (cf. P. Matthiae, *BA*, 47 [1984], 18-32). According to Matthiae, the proximity of the tombs to the palace, the Sanctuary B2, and the Temple B1 suggest a cult "dedicated to illustrious royal ancestry, *rp'um* — well known from Ugaritic texts" (p. 19). The *rᵉpa'îm*, "shades, ghosts," are also mentioned in the OT (Isa. 14:9; 26:14); *see* REPHAIM.

The Western Palace was built in M.B. I (2000-1800 B.C.), a huge building 115 m. (380 ft.) N-S by 60-65 m. (200-215 ft.) E-W. The monumental style of buildings at Ebla, Qatna, and Carchemish of this period furnished the basic elements of architectural and urban unity from northern Syria to southern Palestine (p. 20), whereas the temples at Ebla and Alalakh (Stratum IV) provided a tradition that spread over northern Syria and northern Palestine. The style of construction of city gates and earthen ramparts also spread from northern Syria.

***II. Royal Archives.**–A. General Description.* In 1974 the first archives were discovered: forty-two tablets, mostly administrative. In 1975 two other archives were discovered, in one about one thousand tablets, mostly economic, and in the second about fifteen thousand tablets of various types. (It should be noted that "tablets" actually means *tablets or parts of tablets*; when the fragments are "joined" the total may be closer to 4000 or 5000 actual tablets; cf. Pettinato, *Catologo*, xvii.) The approximate date of the archives is E.B. IV, *ca.* 2400-2250 B.C.

The tablets were in various sizes and shapes. Some were round, 2 to 10 cm. (0.8 to 4 in.) in diameter (at Fâra and probably also at Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ, such tablets were incantations; cf. Biggs, *Inscriptions*, p. 41); most were square, 15 cm. (6 in.) on a side; there were also rectangular tablets, 26 by 24 cm. (10.2 by 9.4 in.) to 36 by 33 cm. (14 by 13 in.). For the most part, the tablets were written on both sides, with scribed vertical columns divided into registers (or cases), each register containing from one to eight or more signs. The columns on the front (obverse, recto) were read from top to bottom, from left to right; the tablet was turned bottom to top, and the reverse (verso)

TELL MARDIKH

Palace walls, about 2 m. (6.5 ft.) thick (L. K. Smith)

was read in columns from right to left. In other words, the bottom of the last column of the obverse joined the top of the first column of the reverse.

B. Dating the Tablets. Of the various methods of dating ancient texts, the most significant are the archeological, the historical, and the epigraphic.

1. Archeological Evidence. The archeological site, the level, and other facts will largely determine the relative date of any texts found at that site. Pottery from Ebla is contemporary with Amuq I, which in turn is contemporary with the Dynasty of Akkad. Mesalim of Kish was contemporary with kings of Ebla. A bowl with an inscription containing the name of Khafre (Egyptian pharaoh, 5th Dynasty) and a fragment of a vase with the cartouche of Pepi I (6th Dynasty) were found in Royal Palace G. These data indicate that the tablets found in the Royal Archives come from the period *ca.* 2400-2250 (Pettinato's dates are about 100 years earlier).

2. Historical Evidence. Reference to Iblul-Il of Mari in an Eblaite text (see IV.A below) plus a votive inscription from Mari by a king of the same name in the period immediately before Sargon, confirms the evidence of the pottery (cf. *CAH,* I/2, 323). The last king of the Eblaite dynasty and the destruction of the Royal Palace of Ebla can be dated by Naram-Sin's claim that he conquered Ebla (see IV.A below). The dynasty consisted of five (six?) kings, hence the contents of the Royal Archives are to be fitted into the same time frame. Certain archeological data (described in the preceding paragraph) also furnish historical data.

3. Epigraphic Evidence. The kind of writing (epigraphy), compared with other writing (earlier, contemporary, or later) that comes from a similar site, furnishes evidence that assists in dating the writing. The cuneiform writing on the Ebla tablets is like that of Jemdet Nasr (*ca.* 2800-2700 B.C.), Tell Fâra (Shuruppak), and Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ (Eresh? Kesh?) (*ca.* 2600 B.C.), somewhat different from that of Lagash (*ca.* 2450), and markedly different from that of later periods. The development of CUNEIFORM writing passed through stages: Phase 1, *pictographic* (the graphs are simplified pictures, e.g., Uruk IVa); Phase 2, *logographic* (each sign stood for a word); Phase 3, *syllabographic* (each sign stood for a syllable, e.g., Jemdet Nasr; *see* WRITING III). Thereafter the use of logograms decreased and writing was almost entirely in syllabograms. The system used at Ebla had many logograms, mixed with syllabic writing. It may be noted that Pettinato's earlier dates for Ebla are based on the epigraphic evidence.

THE PHASES OF TELL MARDIKH

Mardikh I *ca.* 3500-2900 B.C.	Protohistoric
Mardikh IIA *ca.* 2900-2400 E.B. I-III	Early Protosyrian
Mardikh IIB1 *ca.* 2450-2200 E.B. IVA	Mature Protosyrian
Mardikh IIB2 *ca.* 2250-2000 E.B. IVB	Late Protosyrian
Mardikh IIIA *ca.* 2000-1800 M.B. I	Archaic Old Syrian
Mardikh IIIB *ca.* 1800-1600 M.B. II	Mature Old Syrian
Mardikh IVA *ca.* 1600-1400 L.B. I	Early Middle Syrian
Mardikh IVB *ca.* 1400-1200 L.B. II	Recent Middle Syrian
Mardikh VA *ca.* 1200-900 Iron I	Neo-Syrian or
Mardikh VB *ca.* 900-720 Iron II	Aramean and
Mardikh VC *ca.* 720-535 Iron III	Neo-Hittite Age
Mardikh VIA *ca.* 535-325	Persian Age
Mardikh VIB *ca.* 325-60	Hellenistic Age
Mardikh VII *ca.* 3rd-7th cent.	Late Roman and Byzantine

(adapted from Matthiae, *Ebla,* p. 52)

C. Tablet Categories. The tablets fall into five categories.

1. Economic-Administrative Texts. These texts deal with rations for palace personnel, offerings for temples and deities, lists of tributes paid to Ebla, agriculture, viticulture, raising of cattle, the metallurgical industry, textiles, wood, and precious stones. Most of the texts so far published fall into this category. International trade documents are unusually large, in some cases consisting of sixty columns of fifty lines, or about three thousand lines on a single tablet.

2. Lexical Texts. There were numerous school exercises, lists of animals, fishes, birds, lists of geographical places, rolls of professions and personal names. They are similar to tablets found at Fâra and Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ (about 19 km. [12 mi.] NW of Nippur), some, indeed, having been written by the same scribes. In fact, more than one hundred lexical texts that were already known from Fâra and Abu Ṣalabīḫ have been identified among the Ebla tablets (Biggs, *BA,* 77). Arrangement was in some instances acrographic, i.e., by the first character of each word (much as we use the first letter of a word to form an alphabetic arrangement). At Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ, literary and lexical texts are unusually large, generally 21 to 23 cm. (8¼ to 9 in.) approximately square (one [AbS-T363] when complete measures about 40 by 40 cm. [16 by 16 in.]), and column widths are relatively constant (2.5 cm., 1 in.), normally made with a core of clay over which a surface layer of fine clay was spread; such tablets usually are written on one side only.

3. Historical and Juridical Texts. There were many royal ordinances and edicts, state letters, lists of cities subject to Ebla, international treaties, purchase-sale contracts, and possibly law codes. One treaty was made by Asshur and Ebla concerning a commercial center — its

identification with Kaneš in Cappadocia is an intriguing possibility. However, Ilushuma (*ca.* 1962-1942 B.C.), by his claim "The freedom of movement of the Akkadians and of their children I established" (*CAH*, I/2, 708; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 43 [1936], 114ff.), seems to have established the *kârum* (an Assyrian enclave similar to a free-trade center in a foreign country) of Kaneš (cf. *CAH*, I/2, 721-23).

4. Literary Texts. Of particular interest to biblical students are the mythological stories, hymns to deities, incantations, and collections of proverbs. One fact that emerged from the discoveries at Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ is of importance for textual studies and critical theories: some of the traditional works of Sumerian literature are as much as eight hundred years older that the copies previously known. The most notable is the Kesh Temple Hymn, which, except for orthography, is virtually unchanged. R. D. Biggs suggested "that other traditional works of literature may also go back in essentially their present form to the last third of the third millennium B.C. at least" (*Inscriptions*, p. 31).

5. Syllabaries. Some texts were designed for learning Sumerian, e.g., grammatical texts with verb paradigms in Sumerian and Eblaite. Most important are thirty-two bilingual vocabularies (Sumerian and Eblaite), one document having eighteen duplicates and listing nearly a thousand translated words. It is reasonable to assume that a scribal tradition extended across Syria and Mesopotamia, developing the same system of writing, using many of the same texts, sometimes with the same arrangement of lines in a column (cf. Biggs, *Inscriptions*, pp. 24-26). (It is to be noted that the Eblaite nouns regularly end in *-um*. In an early report Pettinato stated that such endings were absent in Eblaite — at which I expressed some surprise, for case-endings with mimmation, found in Old Akkadian, continued in use at least through the Old Babylonian and Mari documents and were present without mimmation in Neo-Assyrian and Ugaritic; cf. W. S. LaSor, *Theology News and Notes*, 23 [Dec. 1976], 22.)

D. Scholarly Conflict. One of the most regrettable episodes in modern archeology developed in connection with Tell Mardikh. Because of a number of events — some political, some religious, and some resulting from a clash of personalities — the chief epigrapher, G. Pettinato, resigned (or was forced out), and was replaced by Prof. Alfonso Archi of the University of Rome. Archi's account was published in *Bibl.*, 60 (1979), 556-566, and Pettinato's reply in *BA*, 43 (1980), 203-216. Prof. D. N. Freedman abstracted Archi's article in *BA*, 43, 200-202, and Archi continued to give his side in *BA*, 44 (1981), 145-154 (which originally appeared in *Studi Eblaiti*, 2 [1980], 17-40). The International Committee for the Study of the Ebla Texts published "A Rejoinder to G. Pettinato" in *BA*, 44 (1981), 137, signed by each member of the Committee.

E. Editions and Publications. Pettinato almost immediately began the publication of the texts that had been allocated to him, under the title *Materiali epigrafici di Ebla:* vol. I, a catalog of the texts; vol. II, a selection of administrative texts; vol. III, monolingual lexical texts; vol. IV, bilingual lexical texts. Perhaps his work was done too rapidly; certainly he had not yet gained sufficient experience in reading Eblaite texts to avoid some embarrassing errors; almost certainly he allowed himself to be encouraged to make injudicious statements and claims (notably by M. Dahood and D. N. Freedman). But at least he did get the work out for other scholars to study.

The International Committee for the Study of the Ebla Texts included the following: Paolo Matthiae, Alfonso Archi, Giorgio Buccellati, Dietz O. Edzard, Pelio Fronzaroli, Paul Garelli, Horst Klengel, Jean-Robert Kupper, Fawzi Rashid, and Edmond Sollberger. (Pettinato was originally a member of this committee, but he resigned, following the dispute noted above.) The publications are in a series entitled *Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi.* At the time of this article, four or five volumes have appeared: vol. II, administrative texts of various content, ed. D. O. Edzard; vol. III, administrative texts of various contents, ed. A. Archi and M. G. Biga; vol. V, hymns, oaths, ed. Edzard (?); vol. VI, bilingual Sumerian-Eblaite lexical texts, ed. A. Archi and P. Fronzaroli; and vol. VIII, texts concerning textiles, ed. E. Sollberger. Texts are given in transliteration, but there is no translation. There are excellent photographs of the texts, for those who wish to work on them — a feature that should have been offered a decade ago — and also a glossary, lists of personal names, names of deities, place names, and cuneiform signs.

III. Language of Ebla. *–A. Use of Sumerian.* An early report stated that 80 percent of the tablets were in Sumerian and only 20 percent in Eblaite. This statement may be misleading to those not familiar with cuneiform texts of the region. For example, the Sumerian sign DINGIR, "god," may also be read AN, "heaven"; it was then borrowed by Akkadian for the word *ilu* (*ilu*), "god," and for the syllable *il* (*il* or il_3 — the accent marks and subscript numbers are used simply to differentiate homophones; there are at least five signs that can be read *il*), as well as other values. Frequently a scribe will use a Sumerian logogram (a sign representing a word) to represent an Eblaite or Akkadian word, much as we use "&" (Lat. *et*) for "and."

Sumerian is an agglutinative language. The basic meaning of a sign must be modified by morphs (syllabograms) placed before and after that sign; without these morphs it would convey little meaning in Sumerian (cf. Eng. *row* without context). Of the few texts that I have examined, none is written in the Sumerian *language*, although many are almost entirely in Sumerian signs. (L. Viganò states that some incantations are written completely in Sumerian, *BA*, 47 [1984], 9.)

Pettinato noticed that the signs when read as Sumerian often made no sense. For example, he found tablets with *gál balag* where Sum. *dub gar*, "tablet written," should be. But when he read these signs as syllabograms, they had the values *ik túb*, hence he concluded that they were clearly Northwest Semitic *iktub*, "he wrote." From numerous such observations, he concluded that this was a Semitic language, which he called "Eblaite" (elsewhere I have given my reasons for preferring "Eblean" for the language, and "Eblaite" for the people or products of Ebla).

There are other indications that the texts are not Sumerian. For example, KALAM^{tim} is composed of Sum. KALAM, "land," plus a phonetic complement *tim*, indicating that it is to be read in Eblaite as *mâtim*, "of/to the land." We also use phonetic complements in writing English: "3" (an Arabic character) in English is read "three," but "3rd" is read "third."

B. Eblaite. 1. Relationship to Northwest Semitic. Scholars disagree about where to put Eblaite in the Semitic family of languages. Pettinato thought it was "Proto-Canaanite," closely related to Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Phoenician. I. J. Gelb thought it was more closely related to Akkadian and South Arabic. The evidence is mixed, and possibly Eblaite is to be considered as *both* Northwest and East Semitic — or more likely, *neither*. It clearly has connections with both.

For example, the conjunction "and" in Akkadian is *û* (written *ù*), in Northwest Semitic *wa*; both occur in Eblaite. (The enclitic *-ma*, "and," also occurs in Eblaite as in Akkadian; it probably is found also in Hebrew; cf. C. H. Gordon, *et al.*, in *Eblaitica*, I, 29-41.) The preposition "in" in Akkadian is *in* or *ina*, in Ugaritic and Hebrew it is *ba*; both occur in Eblaite. The king Ibbi-Sipish is called EN or *malikum* and the queen is *maliktum* (i.e., Northwest Semitic), but the ruler of Mari is called LUGAL *šarrum*, the Akkadian word for "king." The word *iktub*, "he wrote," mentioned above, is Northwest Semitic; in Akkadian it would be *ispur*. But at the same time, the morphology of the word, with preformative *yi-* > *i-* for the perfect, agrees with Akkadian; in Hebrew the form would be *katab*. (However, there are many indications in the Hebrew Bible that a *yqtl*-preterite existed also in Hebrew.) The causative stem of the verb is shaphel (Pettinato suggests shiphil), agreeing with East Semitic; Northwest Semitic has hiphil/haphel. There is evidence of "state" in Eblaite: construct (often written the same as the absolute), and indeterminate (*status indeterminatus*), which has no case-ending (Archi calls this "absolute state," *Eblaitica*, I, 14). Divine names, geographical names, and names of months (not always) are found in the indeterminate state. Ugaritic and Hebrew do not have the indeterminate state; Akkadian does. Eblaite *en-ma* introduces direct discourse, similar to *umma* in Akkadian.

Because of the shibboleth/sibboleth story in the OT (Jgs. 12:6), the alternation of *š*/*ś* is well known (but not well understood). There are three original sibilants in Semitic languages (s_1, s_2, s_3), which undergo phonetic shifts in different ways: in Arabic, s_1 and s_3 fall together as *śîn* and s_2 is *šîn*, whereas in Hebrew $s_1 > šîn$, $s_2 > śîn$, and $s_3 > sāmeḳ$. The evidence indicates that Eblaite agrees with Arabic on this point, although the problem of identifying the sibilants with the signs used is not yet fully worked out.

2. Vocabulary of Ebla. The personal pronouns identified are: *an-na*, "I"; *an-ta*, "you" (masc. sing.); *an-ta-nu*, "you" (masc. pl.); *su-wa*, "he"; *si-a*, "she"; *su-nu*, "they" (masc. pl.), *su-wa-ti* (3rd masc. sing. gen./accusative), *su-wa-si* (3rd masc. sing. dative). Again we note a bifurcation: Akkadian uses *anâku* for "I," Hebrew uses *ʾānî* and also *ʾānōḵî*; Hebrew uses *hûʾ* and *hîʾ* for 3rd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing. respectively; Akkadian agrees with Eblaite in all 3rd person independent pronominal forms (cf. A. Archi, *Eblaitica*, I, 13; Archi transcribes the DA = *da/ta* syllabogram as *da*, but the cuneiform is ambivalent on this and many other values where the voiced and surd consonantal phonemes are concerned). The Eblaite verbal forms *i-ti*, "he has given," and NI-*ti* (perhaps *i-ti*), "I have given" (?) suggest that the verb was related to Heb. *ntn* rather than to Akk. *ndn* (the syllabograms *di* and *ti* are entirely different). In addition to Eblaite *mi-at* (Heb. *mēʾâ*), "100," and *rí-bab*, (Heb. *ribbô*) "10,000," Eblaite *ma-i-at*, "100,000" (otherwise unknown in Semitic; but cf. Akk. *maʾâdu*, "to be many") and *li-im* (Akk. *leʾmu*), "1000," are found (cf. Edzard, *Verwaltungstexte*, no. 20, I.3); all forms (in my opinion) are construct, though Archi takes them as indeterminate.

There are about twelve hundred words in the bilingual (Sumerian-Eblaite) lexical texts, popularly called "dictionaries." In some cases the Eblaite has given the meaning to a formerly untranslated Sumerian word; in some cases the meaning of both is still unclear; but in many cases the bilingual texts give us a clear meaning (if not always the pronunciation) of the Eblaite.

3. Ebla as a Scribal Center. Ebla was a center of scribal training, similar to (or even related to) schools at Fâra (Shuruppak), Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ, and other locations in Mesopotamia. (The language at those locations was Sumerian.) The head of the school was called *ummia*, "expert"; the teacher was *dubzuzu*, "knower of tablet"; and the student was *dub sar*, "scribe." The schools had two kinds of documents: exercises, to teach signs, words, paradigms, etc.; and redactions, to copy and/or translate "classical" works.

IV. Political, Social, and Economic Structure of Ebla. *–A. Political.* In the 3rd millennium Ebla was ruled by a succession of five or six kings: Igrish-Khalam, Irkab-Damu, Ar-Ennum, Ebrum, Ibbi-Sipish, and possibly Dubukhu-Ada. Whether they reigned consecutively may be disputed: Pettinato established a pattern that suggested a reign of seven years, during which period there was something like a governing council, consisting of the king, the queen, preceding kings and their children, princes, elders, and ministers of internal affairs and ministers of foreign affairs.

The rise of this Eblaite dynasty antedated Sargon of Akkad. Enna-Dagan of Ebla, probably a military general, waged a campaign against Iblul-El, the sovereign of Mari, who fled to Ḫaššum where Enna-Dagan captured him; Enna-Dagan thereupon proclaimed himself king of Mari. This may have been the occasion for Sargon's march westward to liberate Mari, and possibly the basis for his claim to have conquered Ebla (cf. *CAH*, I/2, 322f.; many of the conjectures in this chapter of *CAH* are in need of correction in the light of the Ebla discoveries). Pettinato suggested that this caused the dethronement of Ar-Ennum of Ebla and the accession of Ebrum, who subsequently retook Mari and made one of his sons its king. (A date formula from Ebla reads: DIS mu *su-ra* lugal ma-ri^{ki}, "The year Shura [Šura-Damu, son of Ebrum] became king of Mari.")

Early reports of the appearance of Sargon's name in an Ebla tablet have been retracted; nevertheless it still seems highly probable that Ebla was conquered and the palace destroyed by Naram-Sin, who boasted that never since the creation of man had any king conquered Armanum and Ebla (*CAH*, I/2, 325).

B. Social. Ebla was composed of an Upper City (acropolis) and a Lower City, and was divided into eight administrative districts, four in the Upper City and four in the Lower. There were four city gates, named for the deities Rasap, Sipish, Baal, and Dagan. The acropolis was divided into four parts: "the house of the king," "the principal house," "the stable" (*gigir*^{ki}), and "the house of the people." The Lower City was divided into four quarters: "Chief Quarter," "Quarter 2," "Quarter 3," and "Quarter 4." The entire complex was known as *sa* X^{ki} *wa íb-lá*^{ki}, suggesting that only the Lower City may have been called "Ebla"; the value of the other sign (X) is at present not known.

The inhabitants of Ebla were divided into two categories, the "sons of Ebla" (*dumu-nita dumu-nita íb-lá*^{ki}) and the "strangers" (BAR.AN-BAR.AN; cf. Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi*, p. 67; Edzard, however, reads BAR.AN as "donkey"; cf. *Verwaltungstexte*, p. 120). Under the category of "strangers," Pettinato lists merchants, scribes, priests, mercenaries, prisoners, and slaves. From the economic tablets we know that Ebla was a commercial center, therefore there must have been many artisans of various skills — an inference also supported by the lists of professions and functions. Evidence from at least two lines (provisions, distribution of population) indicates that there were about 260,000 inhabitants in Ebla — doubtless

Syrian and Mesopotamian Rulers						
Lagash	**Kish**	**Uruk/Ur**	**Umma**	**Akkad**	**Mari**	**Ebla**
Eannatum			Enakalle			
Enannatum I						
		Enshakushanna				Igrish-Khalam
Entemena	Inbi-Ishtar		Ur-Lumma		Iku-Shamagan	
		Lugalkingeneshdudu	II			Irkab-Damu
Enannatum II					Iblul II	
						Ar-Ennum
Enentarzi	Puzur-Sin	Lugaltarsi	Akush			
					Enna-Dagan	
Lugalanda	Ur-Zababa		Lugalzaggesi			
				Sargon		Ebrum
Urukagina				Rimush		
				Maništusu	Shura-Damu	Ibbi-Sipish
				Naram-Sin		[Dubukhu-Ada]
				Šar-kali-šarri		

including the surrounding villages (the area of ten villages was 10 *iku* [57 sq. km., 22 sq. mi.]). Even without complete decipherment of the tablets, we are safe in assuming that the social structure was of two levels: the palace and its retinue, and the workers and farmers.

C. Economic. From the lists of professions, the receipts for goods received or sent out, word-lists of various materials, and the names of places with which Ebla was in contact, one may infer that Ebla was the center of a vast economic network. Stores of lapis lazuli, both worked and unworked, indicate trade with the region known today as Afghanistan. Quantities of gold, silver, tin, and copper indicate trade with Anatolia, Cyprus, and the upper Euphrates region. Many tablets deal with textiles, indicating that the textile industry for which Damascus was famous had its start in north Syria. Carpenters, metalworkers, farmers, shepherds, doctors ($A.ZU_x$), and judges ($DI.KU_5$) are listed among the professions. Ebla was also a center of viticulture. Perhaps most important were the scribes, and some scholars are inclined to believe that Ebla was the center of scribal training that extended to cities in southern Mesopotamia; others hold that the movement was in the opposite direction.

V. Religion.–A. Pantheon. The Ebla texts mention over five hundred deities. The four city gates, named for Rasap, Sipish, Baal, and Dagan, may indicate the importance of these four gods. A number of the deities are known from biblical and Ugaritic sources: Rasap (Resheph), Adad (Hadad), Malik (Molech), Il (El), Ashtar (Ishtar), Kamish (Chemosh, but note *Kᵉmîš* in Jer. 48:7 *Kethibh*; this may suggest that Carchemish was originally Qar-Kamish, "the city of Kamish"; cf. Pettinato, *Oriens Antiquus*, 15 [1976], 11-15). Dagan seems to have special significance. Sipish is Ugar. *špš*, Heb. *šemeš*, the sun-god. (Pettinato reasoned that the basic form in Hebrew must have been **šimš* rather than **šamš*, since the Hebrew is *šimšôn*, "Samson"; however, this analysis overlooks the fact that the earlier form **šamšôn* is supported by LXX and Vulg. *Samson*, the *a* > *i* shift in closed, unaccented syllables in Hebrew took place between the time of the translation of the Vulgate and that of the Masoretic vocalization.) Sumerian and Hurrian deities are also named. The vocabulary (TM.75.G.2000) provides correlation of Mesopotamian and Syrian names of deities. Temples of Dagan, Ashtar, Kamish, and Rasap are specifically named in Ebla.

B. Cult. Description of the cult at Ebla will probably not be available for some time. Early reports from one scholar working on such texts indicated that they are extremely difficult to read, much as Biggs reports concerning similar texts at Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ (cf. *Inscriptions*, ch. 5). Certain months of the Ebla calendar (*itu nidba*$_x$ . . . , "month of the feast of . . .") are named for certain deities, the 2nd month for Aštapi, the 4th month for Ada (Addu/Hadad), the 9th month for Adamma, the 11th month for Ishtar, and the 12th month for Kamish. It follows that celebrations or rituals were observed in those months. Offerings of bread, drink, and animals are referred to, but the details are not yet clear. Various offices of priests and priestesses are mentioned, and two classes of prophets, the *muḫḫû* and *nabi'ûtum* — the latter word related to the biblical word *nabî'*, "prophet," but the morphology suggests an abstraction (prophethood?) — are named.

Calendar from Tell Mardikh	
1 itu be-li	of the Lord
2 itu nidba$_x$ ^{d}aš-ta-pi$_5$	of feast of Ashtapi
3 itu ì-t'um	of the tax
4 itu nidba$_x$ ^{d}'à-ba	of feast of Ada
5 itu *er-me*	of the city
6 itu *hur-mu*	of the taboos
7 itu è	of the exit
8 itu kur$_6$	of provisions
9 itu ^{d}*a-dam-ma-um*	of [feast of] Adamma
10 itu se-gur$_{10}$-ku$_5$	of harvest
10(bis) itu se-gur$_{10}$-ku$_5$-mìn	of harvest (2nd)
11 itu ^{d}AMA-ra	of [feast of] Ishtar
12 itu nidba$_x$ ^{d}*kà-mi-iš*	of [feast of] Kamish

C. The Name Ya[h]. There has been much discussion about the name Yah (Yahweh) in the Ebla tablets. Alternate forms of names such as *Mi-kà-il/Mi-kà-yà*, *En-na-il/En-na-yà*, and *Is-ra-il/Is-ra-yà*, were at first taken as proof that *-il*, "god," and *-ya*, "Ya[h]," were intended. Other scholars objected, saying that *-ya* could be a hypo-

coristicon (a short form, a pet name, like Jackie, Bobby) or a gentilic (the name of a people, like *kᵉna'ᵃnî*, "Canaanite") — but would a personal name be a gentilic, especially if it occurs in a pair, like Enna'il/Ennayah, "god is gracious"? Perhaps a better suggestion is to read the sign NI (= *ni/ì-yà*) in such words as *-i* or *-ni*, "my/me" (Archi, *Eblaitica*, I, 11). It remains to be seen whether this will fit in each instance.

VI. Evaluation of the Discoveries.–*A. Relevance to History.* It was formerly held that the Semites entered Syria (including Palestine) in waves, at intervals of approximately one thousand years (cf. SYRIA IV.B.1). As late as 1971, it was believed that the Semites were the latest comers, who probably did not form any kind of ethnic or linguistic unit (J. Bottéro, *CAH*, I/2 [3rd ed. 1971], 565f.). This view must now be adjusted to the evidence from Ebla. There was a strong Semitic center in Syria, certainly by the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., and because of its well-developed economic, political, and linguistic characteristics, we may safely assume that there had been a prior period — possibly as much as several centuries — during which that development took place (cf. A. Archi in *Eblaitica*, I, 7f.). According to Archi, the vast majority of the personal names are Semitic; there is not a single Hurrian name (p. 15). The theory that the original population of north Syria was Hurrian must therefore be abandoned. Archi's study of the system of weights found at Ebla suggests that there were several different systems, once again leading to the inference that Ebla's trade involved a number of areas each of which had its own standards of weights (cf. *Eblaitica*, I, 49-52).

The Lower City West at Tell Mardikh represents the second and last (based on our present knowledge about the site) stage of Ebla: the Old Syrian period. This period (the age of the Amorites) ended *ca.* 1600 B.C. The Old Hittite kings, Ḫattusilis I and Mursilis I, a half-century earlier, descended into Upper Syria, took Alalakh, Urshu (near Ebla, possibly to be identified with Tell Tuqan), Ebla (almost certainly), and Aleppo, and finally Mursilis I took Babylon, then ruled by the last king of Hammurabi's dynasty.

B. Relevance to Language. Eblaite stands between East Semitic (Akkadian) and Northwest Semitic (Canaanite, Ugaritic, Hebrew). Based on personal names, Eblaite could be identified as a form of Old Akkadian. Other elements — pronominal suffixes, prepositions, and the like — are also nearer to Akkadian. But on the basis of vocabulary, Ebla is clearly in the Northwest Semitic group. The use of *wa* as a tense-indicator ("waw conversive/consecutive") is attested at Ebla — again linking it to Northwest Semitic (C. H. Gordon in *Eblaitica*, I, 21f.); it should be noted, however, that *wa* does not have to be joined to, or stand immediately before, the verb.

Access to a Semitic language that is at least as old as Old Akkadian, centuries older than Ugaritic, and three millennia older than classical Arabic should certainly cause Semitists to discard some of their pet theories and work toward new ones — a process that will take many decades.

C. Ebla and the Bible. When the first announcements were made concerning the tablet-find at Tell Mardikh, claims were made that bordered on the fantastic. The names of OT persons were found (e.g., *ab-ra-mu* [Abram], *is-ra-ilu* [Israel], *e-sa-um* [Esau], *sa-u-lum* [Saul], *da-u-dum* [David]) — although the disclaimer was made that these were not the same persons as those named in the OT. The names of many OT cities and locations were found (e.g., Salim, Hazor, Lachish, Megiddo, Gaza, etc.). Perhaps most exciting was the announcement that the five Cities of the Plain (Gen. 13:12) were found in the same order in which they occur in the Bible: *si-da-mu* (Sodom), *è-ma-ra* (Gomorrah), *ad-ma* (Admah), *si-ba-i-um* (Zeboim), and *be-la* (Bela [Zoar]); cf. Gen. 14:2f. (M. Dahood wrote, "These same five cities appear in the same order in an Ebla tablet!" — *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 129 [1978], 338; cf. *BA*, 41 [1978], 149; Dahood later reported that the third and fourth names were not on the same tablet — a fact of which he had been uninformed; *BA*, 41 [1978], 143). There was a report of the story of a flood that lasted seven days, and of a creation story in which the order was heaven, earth, sun, and moon, as in Genesis. As mentioned above, several deities known from the OT are named, offerings of bread and drink are referred to, and various classes of priests and priestesses are named.

A cautious approach was advised, since the actual texts were not available (e.g., W. S. LaSor, in *Christianity Today* [Sept. 24, 1976], p. 49; *Theology News and Notes* [Dec. 1976], pp. 21f. [written Nov. 6, 1976]). Prof. Archi has been extremely critical of many of Pettinato's claims, and, indeed, Pettinato himself has retracted some of them (e.g., the identification of the "Cities of the Plain"). Even now caution is advised, since many texts have been published without translation, and many words in the vocabularies so far published have either questioned meanings or no meanings at all.

R. Biggs, an expert Sumerologist who has published texts from Tell Abu Ṣalabīḫ, stated, "In my opinion the Ebla tablets will have no *special* relevance for our understanding of the OT" (*BA*, 43 [1980], 85). That depends on the meaning attached to the word *special*. We already know that the history of north Syria has to be rewritten; that the relationship of Egypt, Ebla, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia is much more complex in the 3rd millennium than many scholars have been willing to admit; that Genesis as a whole fits better into the 3rd millennium than it does in the 1st (*pace* T. L. Thompson and J. van Seters). Ebrium of Ebla may not be the ancestor of Abram (Gen. 11:16), but that is not an argument against the historicity of Abraham. In Eblaite matters, as in all other pertinent studies, the person of faith will see relevance where others do not. The careful student will test all things and hold fast only to those that prove to be true.

We await the full publication of all significant texts: photographs, transcriptions (the cuneiform copied by hand by qualified scholars who know what they are reading), transliterations (the cuneiform symbols represented in a standard system of Roman letters), and translations. Seeking to defend his reading of the creation story, Pettinato has published photos of the relevant tablets, transliteration, and translation (*BA*, 43 [1980], 210f.). Those who disagree with his reading or translation must now furnish their own rendering(s). A similar procedure must be followed on all important points.

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W. S. LASOR

TEL-MELAH tel mē'lə [Heb. *tēl melaḥ*–'mound of salt' (Ezr. 2:59; Neh. 7:61); Gk. Apoc. *Thermeleth* (1 Esd. 5:36)]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., THERMELETH. An unidentified place in Mesopotamia, probably not far from ancient NIPPUR; a settlement for exiled Jews who were without proof of ancestry. The Hebrew name probably signifies an area that had become infertile due to salinization, possibly as a result of the execution of a curse after a breach of treaty (cf. Jgs. 9:45). W. F. Albright (*JBL*, 51 [1932], 100f.) suggested that the name may be an adaptation of Akk. *malāḫu*, "hill of sailors." Some have proposed an identification of this site with Thelma (Ptolemy v. 20), but this would appear to be too far from Babylon for a location of Jewish exiles.

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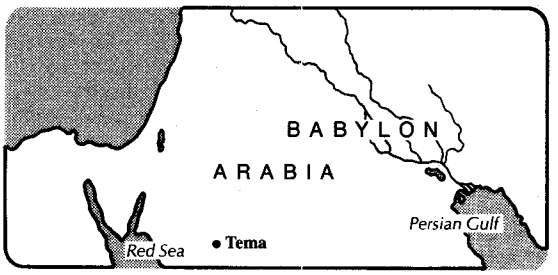
J. P. J. OLIVIER

TEMA tē'mə [Heb. *têmā'*, *têmā'*]; NEB also TEMAN. Son of Ishmael, and a locality in Arabia named for a tribe descended from him (Gen. 25:15; 1 Ch. 1:30). Tema was one of the north Arabian regions against which Jeremiah prophesied (Jer. 25:23). Its desert setting is seen in Job 6:19, which alludes to caravans from Tema needing water, and in Isa. 21:14, which exhorts Tema's inhabitants to provide water and food for their fugitive countrymen — in an apparent reference to Tiglath-pileser III's invasion of Arabia in 738 B.C. According to Assyrian records, this invasion successfully defeated a coalition headed by Samsi queen of the Arabs, comprising Mas'a (the Massa of Gen. 25:14?), the city of Tema, and Haiappa (apparently the Ephah of 25:4). One of Sennacherib's gates at Nineveh was named "Gifts from Sumu'an and Tema Enter through It, the Desert Gate." In 522 B.C. Nabonidus, the final king of Babylon, conquered and destroyed Tema, slaughtering all its inhabitants. According to the "Haran Inscriptions," Nabonidus rebuilt and repopulated the city and established it as his royal residence for perhaps ten years, leaving his son Belshazzar as deputy ruler in Babylon. From Tema, Nabonidus established his control as far S as Yathrib (Medina). By the Persian period Tema had become a cosmopolitan town, as attested by the great variety of ethnic identities represented in the proper names of the "Teima Stele" (at the Louvre).

A detail of the Taylor Prism from Nineveh (691 B.C.) showing the beginning of the quote (continued on next column): "Gift of Samu'an and Tema. Enter through it, the Desert Gate" (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Tema has been identified with modern Teimā, an oasis in the Jebel Shammar province of Nejd, in Saudi Arabia, about 400 km. (250 mi.) SE of Aqabah and 320 km. (200 mi.) NNE of Medina. This strategically located city guards the junction of two important ancient caravan routes: the Medina-Babylon route and the Arabia-Elath-Gaza/Egypt route (*see* ARABIA VII, VIII, and map).

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TEMAH tē'mə [Heb. *temaḥ*; Gk. Apoc. *Thomoi*]; AV THAMAH, TAMAH, Apoc. THOMOI; NEB Apoc. THOMI. The family name of a group of temple servants who returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:53; Neh. 7:55; 1 Esd. 5:32).

TEMAN tē'man [Heb. *têmān*]. The son of Eliphaz and descendant of Esau and Adah. Gen. 36 lists him as one of Eliphaz's sons (vv. 11f.; cf. 1 Ch. 1:36), as one of fourteen chiefs of Edom (v. 15), and as one of eleven chiefs of Edom (v. 42; 1 Ch. 1:53). He heads the first two lists (Gen. 36:11, 15), and one may assume that he was the eldest son and perhaps the most powerful chief. The third list places him eighth (36:42), according to "families and their dwelling places" (v. 40). The list of chiefs in Gen. 36:15-19 demonstrates a shift from the Edomites as a family to a politically structured group (Westermann, p. 564). Wellhausen connected the Judahite Temeni with Teman (1 Ch. 4:6); Bartlett argued that Teman was only a place name, never a personal or clan name.

See also EDOM.

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TEMAN tē'mən [Heb. *têmān*]. A chief city and district of Edom (Ob. 9). In Hab. 3:3 God comes in judgment from Teman and from Mt. Paran; Teman here probably designates the mountainous country of the Edomites. In Ezekiel's prophecy against Edom, God threatens to stretch out His hand "from Teman even to Dedan" (Ezk. 25:13); since DEDAN seems to refer here to a north Arabian tribe living near the southern border of Edom (cf. Jer. 49:7f.), Teman was probably on or near the northern border of Edom. In *Onom.* 96.20, however, Eusebius mentions *Theman* as a town or Roman garrison, 24 km. (15 mi.) from Petra.

N. Glueck proposed the identification with Tawīlân, NE of Elji (*Other Side of the Jordan* [1940], pp. 25f.). F. M. Abel, however, declared this identification "inadmissible" (*GP*, II, 480). Other suggested sites are Ma'an, Tuwaneh, 'Odhroh, and Gharandal. Since Teman is used as a synonym for Edom (e.g., Jer. 49:20) and in parallel with the capital city of Bozrah (Am. 1:12), the possibility that it is another name for Edom's capital should not be ruled out.

The residents of Teman were renowned for their wisdom (Jer. 49:7; Ob. 8f.; cf. Job 2:11; 4:1; etc.; *see also* TEMANITE).

See N. Glueck, *AASOR*, 15 (1934), 82f. W. S. L. S.

TEMENI tem'ə-nī [Heb. *têmᵉnî*–'southerner'(?)]. A Judahite; son of Ashhur by his wife Naarah (1 Ch. 4:6).

TEMPER. In the RSV "temper" nevers refers to moderation (a proper mixture, the meaning related to "temperate") but is always used in expressions that have to do with ANGER. In Prov. 14:17 "quick temper" translates Heb. *qᵉṣar-'appayim*, "short of [in] anger," and in 14:29 "hasty temper" translates *qᵉṣar-rû(a)ḥ*, "short in spirit [mind]." A different expression occurs in 15:18, where "hot-tempered man" translates Heb. *'îš ḥēmâ*, "man of heat [anger]."

TEMPERANCE. For AV Acts 24:25; 1 Cor. 9:25; Gal. 5:23; Tit. 1:8; 2 Pet. 1:6, *see* SELF-CONTROL. For AV Tit. 2:3 (Gk. *sṓphrōn*) the RSV has "sensible."

TEMPERATE. *See* SOBER.

TEMPEST. *See* STORM.

TEMPLE. The thinnest part of the skull, located on each side of the forehead. Heb. *raqqâ* (lit. "thinness") occurs only at Jgs. 4:21f.; 5:26; Cant. 4:3; 6:7. Although the term's meaning is not certain, it probably denotes Sisera's temple, the most vulnerable spot in his skull, in Jgs. 4:21f.; 5:26 (but cf. NEB "skull," "brains"; see also R. G. Boling, *Judges* [*AB*, 1975], p. 98). On Cant. 4:3; 6:7 (RSV "cheeks"; AV "temples"; NEB "lips"), *see* CHEEK. The RSV also uses "temples" in Lev. 13:41 to render Heb. *pānîm* (lit. "face" [so AV]; NEB "scalp") and in 19:27 to render *rō'š* (lit. "head" [so AV]; NEB "side to side").

N. J. O.

TEMPLE [Heb. *hêḵāl*–'palace,' 'temple'; *bayiṯ*–'house'; Gk. *hierón*–'holy place'; *naós*–'temple']. The divine "house," where the deity is perceived as in some sense mysteriously present, and where his cultic worship is carried on.

In the OT, RSV "temple" most frequently renders Heb. *hêḵāl* (or its Aramaic cognate *hêḵal*), "temple," "palace," or *bayiṯ*, "house." When the former term is used of the temple, AV and NEB generally render "temple" as well, though NEB sometimes has "sanctuary" (1 K. 7:21; 2 Ch. 4:22; Neh. 6:10f., etc.) and once "house" (2 K. 23:4). It should be noted that the same Hebrew term is used for the largest compartment in the temple building, rendered "nave" by RSV (1 K. 6:3, 5, 17, etc.).

The Heb. *bayiṯ* basically means "house," and is sometimes so rendered by RSV, even when the reference is clearly to the temple (1 K. 6:1-3, etc.). This is especially true where *bayiṯ* is used in close proximity to *hêḵāl* (2 K. 24:13; Ps. 5:7 [MT 8]; 27:4; etc.). But whereas RSV frequently renders *bayiṯ* as "temple," NEB more often, and AV nearly always, read "house."

Once (Dnl. 11:31) RSV has "temple" for Heb. *miqdāš* (AV, NEB, "sanctuary"). Occasionally RSV supplies "temple" to aid the sense in a context where there is no Hebrew counterpart (2 K. 25:14 par. Jer. 52:18; 1 Ch. 9:33; 28:11 [?]; Ezk. 41:16).

In the NT, "temple" (RSV and AV) renders both *hierón* and *naós*, thus obscuring the fact that the NT writers generally preserve a distinction between the temple complex (*hierón*, Mk. 11:11; 14:49; Acts 3:1, etc.) and the temple building itself (*naós*, Mt. 23:35; 27:51; Lk. 1:9, 21f., etc.; but Mt. 27:5, in spite of *naós*, cannot refer to the temple building). The NEB usually uses "temple" for both terms as well, but does occasionally preserve a distinction: thus *hierón* is rendered "temple precincts" in Mt. 21:12; Jn. 10:23, and "temple court" in Mk. 11:16, 27; *naós* is rendered "sanctuary" in Mt. 23:16f., 21; Lk. 1:9, 22, etc., and "shrine" in 1 Cor. 6:19.

Our concern here is with the Jerusalem temple of Solomon and its successors in biblical times on the same site (*see also* TEMPLES). There is a theological justification (as well as one of convenience) for distinguishing the Jerusalem temple from all other sanctuaries. This is worked out most impressively in what (since Noth) is commonly called the "Deuteronomistic History," i.e., the great historical work which takes its starting-point in Deuteronomy and proceeds from Joshua through 2 Kings. Deuteronomy looks forward to the day when Yahweh will choose a place to "put his name and make his habitation there" (12:5), and makes it clear that that "place" will then be the only legitimate site for cultic worship (12:5-28). The site cannot, however, be marked out and sanctified until the Israelites have entered their "inheritance," and Yahweh has given them "rest" from all their enemies (12:8-11). Though 2 S. 7:1 seems to indicate that such a "rest" was achieved in the time of David, the "Deuteronomist" reserves its perfect fulfillment for Solomon's days: to Solomon Yahweh gave "rest on every side" (1 K. 5:3f. [MT 17f.]; 8:56). Hence it was first in the days of Solomon that the erection of what would henceforth be the sole legitimate sanctuary for Yahweh's cultic worship was possible (cf. 1 K. 3:2; 8:16).

I. Solomon's Temple
A. Sources
B. Location
C. Construction
D. Design
1. Sanctuary
2. Courtyard
E. Parallels
F. Significance
1. National Sanctuary
2. Legitimate Sanctuary
3. Yahweh's Dwelling-Place
4. The Mark of Yahweh's Favor
5. Divine Protection

TEMPLE

II. Ezekiel's Temple
A. Design
1. Temple Mount
2. Courtyards
3. Sanctuary
4. Priests' Chambers
5. Stream
B. Significance
III. Zerubbabel's Temple
A. Sources
B. Construction
C. Design
D. Significance
1. Return of Yahweh's Favor
2. Test of Devotion
3. Problem of Access
E. Later History
F. Qumrân and the Temple
IV. Herod's Temple
A. Sources
B. Construction
C. Design
1. Temple Mount
2. Court of the Gentiles
3. Court of Women
4. Courts of Israel and of the Priests
5. Sanctuary
D. Significance
1. For Judaism
2. For the NT

I. Solomon's Temple.–*A. Sources.* Though incidental references to Solomon's temple are found elsewhere in the OT (particularly in the Psalms and in the works of the great Judean prophets), the main sources for its design are the accounts in Kings (esp. 1 K. 6; 7:13-51) and Chronicles (esp. 2 Ch. 3–4). Some scholars draw heavily on a third source — the prophetic vision of Ezk. 40–48 — rightly assuming that the vision must incorporate many features from the Solomonic temple with which the prophet was familiar. But though the general point must be conceded its application in detail remains hazardous. Hence in the account that follows attention will be drawn at various points to the relevant material in Ezekiel, but details from the latter will not be assumed without further ado to apply to Solomon's temple.

Our primary source for the physical features of the temple complex is thus the account contained within the framework of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (1 K. 6–7). Clearly the temple and its worship occupy a central position in the theology of this work. The detailed, generally unembellished, and obviously contemporaneous description of the temple construction has led a number of scholars to speak of "temple archives" as the ultimate source for much of the material. That very real difficulties remain for an understanding of the temple's design is due to (a) the incompleteness of the account; (b) the use of technical terms whose precise significance sometimes escapes us; (c) textual corruption in places; and (d) the reworking to which the basic source material has at various points been subjected.

One must not think of the parallel passages in Chronicles as a mere summary of, or even a supplement to, the account in Kings. Writing with the needs and interests of his own day in mind, the Chronicler has left his own stamp on the material by his selection and reshaping of the details to be presented. This reinterpretation of the temple and its worship is of great importance theologically, and some of the peculiar concerns of the Chronicler will be noted below. Naturally, however, where the accounts differ, the more contemporary account in Kings must be given precedence for the historical description of Solomon's temple; variants in Chronicles will be noted only parenthetically. A problem is raised at a number of places where the Chronicler includes details not found in the extant (Masoretic) text of Kings. In a few places it is possible that his text of Kings differed from ours. Elsewhere it is difficult to decide whether the Chronicler is following other sources not available to us or is writing independently, perhaps with a view to the tabernacle as described in Ex. 25–40, or to the second temple with which he was familiar. Details will be noted below.

Excavations along the southern wall of the temple mount, with the el-Aqsa Mosque in the background (L. K. Smith)

B. Location. It is clear that the site of today's "Dome of the Rock" on Jerusalem's eastern hill marks the location of Solomon's temple (as well as that of the later structures of Zerubbabel and Herod); but it is difficult to be more precise. Specifically, it is argued whether the huge rock (called the *Sakhra,* and measuring 17.7 by 13.4 m., 58 by 44 ft.) at the highest point of the sacred site was the location of the altar of burnt offering or that of the innermost sanctuary of the temple building (as is perhaps more likely, though questioned by A. S. Kaufman).

Justification for the building of a sanctuary on this site is provided by the account in 2 S. 24 in which an angel of Yahweh appears to David by the threshing floor of Araunah (1 Ch. 21: Ornan). David is commanded to build an altar, and he does so after purchasing the site from Araunah for fifty silver shekels (1 Ch. 21:25: 600 gold shekels). The legitimacy of the site is of special interest for the Chronicler, who notes that fire fell from heaven to ignite David's burnt offering, and David de-

clared, "Here shall be the house of the Lord God and here the altar of burnt offering for Israel" (1 Ch. 21:26; 22:1). By identifying the site further as Mt. Moriah (2 Ch. 3:1; the identification with the site of Solomon's temple may already be implicit in Gen. 22:2, 14), the Chronicler provides a link with another famous act of sacrifice in Israel's past (see Gen. 22).

C. Construction. David's part in the building of the temple, of which only an unfulfilled desire is mentioned in Samuel–Kings (2 S. 7:1-7; 1 K. 5:3 [MT 17]), is developed at great length in Chronicles (primarily in 1 Ch. 22; note also that Chronicles attributes to David the arranging of many details of the temple's cultic worship, 1 Ch. 23–26). Enormous quantities of materials are said to have been gathered already by David (cf. 1 Ch. 18:8). Solomon is given encouragement and instructions for the building of the temple (as are the Israelite leaders, 22:17-19), as well as a plan "in writing from the hand of the Lord" for all that is to be built (1 Ch. 28:11-19).

In 1 K. 5 we have a description of the diplomatic negotiations that preceded the building of the temple. A treaty was established between Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre by which the latter would supply the necessary timber — cedar (for paneling) and cypress (or pine, for the rough building) — cut from the forests of Lebanon by Hiram's skilled subjects and transported to the sea. There it was made into rafts and sent down the coast to a location of Solomon's choosing (2 Ch. 2:16 [MT 15]: to Joppa).

While the wood was supplied from Lebanon, white limestone was taken from the hills surrounding Jerusalem and prepared at the site of the quarries; this was in order that tools of iron would not be required at the temple site (1 K. 6:7). The bronze items with which the temple and its courtyard were furnished were cast in the lower Jordan Valley by a Phoenician named Hiram (whose mother, however, was Israelite).

A description of the work force is given in 1 K. 5:13-18 (MT 27-32); cf. also 1 K. 9:15-23. While Israelites provided the bulk of the laborers and the "chief officers who were over Solomon's work," they were assisted by the skilled workmen of Phoenicia ("Hiram's builders") and by "the men of Gebal" (Byblos). The various statements about forced labor in 1 K. 5 and 9 are perhaps to be interpreted as indicating that, while full Israelites were occasionally compelled to work on Solomon's projects for limited periods of time, they were not subject to permanent serfdom, as were the Canaanites.

The construction work at the temple was carried on over a period of seven years, from Solomon's 4th until his 11th regnal year. The statements that the work was completed in the 8th month (1 K. 6:38) and that the temple was dedicated in the 7th month (8:2) suggest either that the latter followed the completion of the work by eleven months, or perhaps that the temple was dedicated a month before the work (on the bronze furnishings?) was entirely complete.

D. Design. 1. Sanctuary. The temple building itself was rectangular in shape, the longer sides being those to the north and south. The shorter (eastern and western) sides were 20 cubits long (the measurements seem not to include the thickness of the walls). The temple had three compartments. These (proceeding from the east) were the vestibule (or porch, Heb. *'ûlām*), the nave (NEB "sanctuary," Heb. *hêḵāl*), and the inner sanctuary (or cella, also called the "most holy place"; AV "oracle," Heb. *dᵉḇîr*). Each compartment was 20 cubits wide (i.e., the full internal width of the temple). The vestibule was 10 cubits long, the nave 40, and the inner sanctuary 20. (1 K. 6:2 combines the latter two figures, so that the "house" is said to be 60 cubits long.) The height given to the "house" in 1 K. 6:2 is 30 cubits. Nothing is said here of a different height for the vestibule, and it is usually assumed to have had the same height. (According to the MT of 2 Ch. 3:4, the vestibule was 120 cubits high, but this cannot be right, and textual corruption is possible.) On the other hand, the inner sanctuary is later said to have been 20 cubits high (1 K. 6:20). Assuming that the 30 cubits of 1 K. 6:2 applies to the external height, we have either to imagine (a) that the floor of the inner sanctuary was raised 10 cubits above that of the nave, necessitating stairs between the two compartments; or (b) that the inner sanctuary had a ceiling 10 cubits below the roof of the building, the intervening space perhaps being occupied by "upper chambers" (cf. 1 Ch. 28:11; 2 Ch. 3:9). The problems remains, though its dimensions diminish, if we follow the LXX and read 25 cubits in 1 K. 6:2 instead of 30 as the external height.

According to 1 K. 6:5-10 the nave and the inner sanctuary (but not the vestibule) of the temple were surrounded by a three-story "structure" containing a number of side chambers; these latter would have served for the storage of offerings and equipment and perhaps for the accommodation of temple personnel. Each story was evidently 5 cubits high (so at least 6:10 is usually understood). The lowest story was 5 cubits broad, the middle story 6, the upper story 7. The width of the temple walls decreased at the points where the stories for the side chambers became broader, since the floors of the upper two stories were supported in part on ledges formed by recesses made in the walls of the temple building itself. The entrance to this "structure" for the side chambers was from the outside (some scholars assume an inside entrance as well), at the temple's "right" (RSV: the south side). The upper chambers were connected with the lower by *lûlîm*: either a spiral staircase (RSV "stairs," following the LXX) or perhaps "trap doors" (the meaning of the term in postbiblical Hebrew). No indication is given as to the number of chambers in the side structure. In Ezekiel's visionary temple there were ninety.

As noted above, the temple walls receded one cubit where the structure for side chambers became broader. Not only did this construction provide a ledge on which the floor of the upper stories of the side chambers could be supported; it also made the temple walls themselves lighter at the top and thus more stable. The width of the walls must have been considerable to allow such setbacks, but no figure is given. Those in Ezekiel's temple were 6 cubits thick, presumably at the base (Ezk. 41:5).

The temple walls were apparently made of stonework with a row of timber inserted after each three courses of stone (so we may perhaps deduce from 1 K. 6:36; 7:12; Ezr. 6:4; alternatively, walls of mud brick may have been raised above a bedding of cedar which rested on a stone foundation). The interior of the walls was paneled with cedar wood (so 1 K. 6:15; cypress, according to 2 Ch. 3:5) from floor to ceiling and decorated (1 K. 6:18) with relief work of "gourds" (an egg-shaped decoration) and "open flowers" (i.e., the calyxes, or open parts of the flowers; 1 K. 6:29 speaks of "cherubim and palm trees and open flowers," 2 Ch. 3:5f. of "palms and chains" and "settings of precious stones"). 1 K. 6:21f. refers to the inside of the "house" as being "overlaid" with pure gold, though this is often taken to refer to the decoration of the walls with *inlaid* gold, or perhaps simply to gold painted or sprayed on the walls. Similarly the floor, which was covered with planks of cypress, is said to have been "overlaid with gold" (6:30).

"Windows with recessed frames" are mentioned in

1 K. 6:4, but no precise location is given. Presumably they would have been located in the upper part of the temple walls above the side chambers, and would have served not so much for admitting light (the thickness of the walls would have minimized this) as for permitting some circulation of air. The "windows" would of course have been mere openings cut into the walls. It is debated whether the Hebrew rendered "with recessed frames" by RSV in fact refers to a construction by which the windows narrowed toward the outside or to a lattice-work covering for the window.

1 K. 6:9 is difficult. It has been taken to describe the roof of the temple as made up of beams laid in a crisscross pattern, leaving hollow rectangles between the beams which were taken up by recessed panels.

The suggestion that the temple was built on a platform and approached by stairs leading up to the vestibule is plausible in itself but is supported more by statements made about Ezekiel's temple (Ezk. 40:49; 41:8) than by any explicit evidence concerning Solomon's.

A solid wall divided the vestibule from the nave, and another wall (or perhaps a mere wooden partition, as Ouellette argues) divided the nave from the inner sanctuary; so much may be deduced from 1 K. 6:31-35, which speaks of doors between these compartments. No thickness is stated for these walls, though their counterparts in Ezekiel's temple were to be 6 and 2 cubits thick respectively. Similarly, no dimensions are stated for the doors between the compartments, though in Ezekiel's temple the double door between the vestibule and the nave was to be 10 cubits broad, that between the nave and the inner sanctuary was to be 6. We are told that the olivewood doorposts at the entrance to the nave formed a square (so, at least, many interpret 1 K. 6:33); the doors themselves were of cypress. The doorposts at the entrance to the inner sanctuary apparently formed a pentagon (but the Hebrew of 1 K. 6:31 is obscure). All the doors are said to have had carvings of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers, and to be "overlaid" with gold.

Within the nave, and close to the inner sanctuary, was the altar of incense (the "golden altar" of 1 K. 7:48; cf. 2 Ch. 26:16-19; Isa. 6:6), made of cedar wood and overlaid with gold. The nave was also furnished with ten lampstands of pure gold, standing in rows of five on the north and south sides. In the same compartment was placed "the golden table for the bread of the Presence." (2 Ch. 4:8 curiously speaks of ten tables; cf. 4:19 and 1 Ch. 28:16. In other passages, however, the reference is to a single table, 2 Ch. 13:11; 29:18.)

Within the inner sanctuary was placed the ark of the covenant. This was overshadowed by two gigantic cherubim of gold-plated olivewood, each 10 cubits high with a wingspan also of 10 cubits. The wings stretched from the north to the south walls of the inner sanctuary and met in the center above the ark. According to 2 Ch. 3:13, the cherubim faced the nave.

2. Courtyard. According to 2 Ch. 4:9 Solomon's temple was surrounded both by a "court for the priests" and by a "great court" to which the laity would have been admitted. Such a distinction is not, however, apparent in earlier texts referring to Solomon's temple and is usually taken to reflect influence from Ezekiel and the second temple. (Note the frequent adjustments made by the Chronicler to the narrative of Kings out of a concern that the sanctuary and its immediate environs be kept from incursions by foreigners, the laity, or the ritually impure: cf. 2 Ch. 6:13 and 1 K. 8:22; 2 Ch. 8:11 and 1 K. 9:24; 2 Ch. 8:12 and 1 K. 9:25; 2 Ch. 23:2-7 and 2 K. 11:4-8; 2 Ch. 23:19 and 2 K. 11:18; 2 Ch. 24:8 and 2 K. 12:9; 2 Ch. 26:16-21 and 2 K. 15:5; 2 Ch. 27:2 and 2 K. 15:34; also 2 Ch. 29:15f., and note the implications of Ezk. 44:5-9 for practice in Solomon's temple.)

The text of Kings appears to distinguish three courtyards: a "great court" (1 K. 7:12) which surrounded not only the temple but also the royal buildings located at a somewhat lower height in the area south of the temple; a "middle court" (2 K. 20:4; cf. the "other court" of 1 K. 7:8), a kind of "inner court" for the palace south of the temple; and the "inner court" (1 K. 6:36, probably the "upper court" of Jer. 36:10) surrounding the temple itself. This latter court was paved (2 K. 16:17; 2 Ch. 7:3) and fenced about with a wall made of hewn stone held in place by a wood frame. 2 Ch. 20:5 speaks of a "new court" which must have been added recently in the time of Jehoshaphat (note also the "two courts" of 2 K. 21:5; 23:12).

Again we have no clear picture of the gates by which the courtyard was entered (cf. Ps. 24:7; 100:4; 118:19f.). It is usually assumed that there was one at the south side which would have been used by the king when coming from the palace (cf. 2 K. 11:19; 16:18; Jer. 38:14), though 1 Ch. 9:18 mentions a "king's gate on the east side." Clearly there was at one time a gate on the northern side known as the "upper gate" (Ezk. 8:14; 9:2); presumably this was the same as the "upper Benjamin Gate" of Jer. 20:2, where there was a place of confinement. But this was built first in the time of Jotham (2 K. 15:35), a fact that suggests it may be the "New Gate" of Jer. 26:10; 36:10.

The courtyard also contained "chambers" of various descriptions and purposes. Jer. 35:4 mentions "the chamber of the sons of Hanan the son of Igdaliah, the man of God, which was near the chamber of the princes, above the chamber of Maaseiah the son of Shallum, keeper of the threshold." In Jer. 36:10, Baruch is said to read aloud the scroll of Jeremiah "in the house of the Lord, in the chamber of Gemariah the son of Shaphan the secretary, which was in the upper court, at the entry of the New Gate of the Lord's house." There, we are told, he could be heard by all the people in the courtyard. A reference to a chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was situated near "the entrance to the house of the Lord," is found in 2 K. 23:11. The Levites had their own chambers, according to 1 Ch. 9:33. While these were private chambers of temple officials, other references point to storage chambers as well (1 Ch. 9:26; 2 Ch. 31:11f.; cf. 1 Ch. 26:15).

Within the courtyard in front of the temple were several significant items: the bronze pillars, the altar of bronze, the molten sea, the bronze basins with their wheeled pedestals, and the "platform."

At the entrance to the temple were two bronze pillars. Their location is left vague in Kings, though some have interpreted 1 K. 7:19, 21 as implying that the pillars were a structural part of the vestibule, supporting the architrave. This, however, is unlikely, owing to their height (which falls far short of the presumed height of the vestibule), their construction (according to Jer. 52:21, they were hollow, the bronze at the circumference being "four fingers," or about 7½ cm., 3 in., thick), and the presence of similar freestanding pillars at the entrance to other temples in the ancient Near East. The view that sees the pillars as freestanding, one on either side of the vestibule entrance, seems to be supported by 2 Ch. 3:15 as well. *See* picture in TYRE.

Each pillar was 18 cubits in height (so 1 K. 7:15; Jer. 52:21 MT; 35 cubits in 2 Ch. 3:15 and Jer. 52:21 LXX) and 12 cubits in diameter (1 K. 7:15; Jer. 52:21). At the

top of each pillar was a bowl-shaped bronze capital 5 cubits high (1 K. 7:16; 3 cubits in 2 K. 25:17). The descriptions of the ornamentation of the capitals have suffered from textual corruption and are obscure at a number of points. Apparently each capital "bowl" was enveloped in a bronze mesh from which were suspended two chains of ornamental pomegranates, 100 to each chain. Four of these were attached to the capital, and the remaining 96 were left in suspension (so at least Jer. 52:22f. seems to suggest). The texts also speak of "lily-work" ornamentation (1 K. 7:19, 22), which suggests either that the capitals curved outward at the top in a lily shape or that they were adorned by long, narrow "leaves" like those of the lotus, perhaps projecting upward from the bottom of the capital. *See also* JACHIN AND BOAZ.

The "molten sea" was a gigantic basin of bronze supported by twelve statues of bulls and placed in the southeast of the temple courtyard. *See also* SEA, MOLTEN.

A bronze altar is not mentioned in the description of the temple and its furnishings in 1 K. 6–7 (cf., however, 1 K. 8:22, 64; 9:25; 2 K. 16:14f.; also Ps. 118:27), perhaps because Solomon merely rebuilt an earlier altar raised at the temple site by David (2 S. 24:25). According to 2 Ch. 4:1 (which may, however, be colored by knowledge of the altar of the postexilic temple) it was square, 20 cubits long and wide, and 10 cubits high. If its form resembled that of the altar in front of Ezekiel's temple (Ezk. 43:13-17), the altar had a series of terraces. For its later history *see* ALTAR III.C.

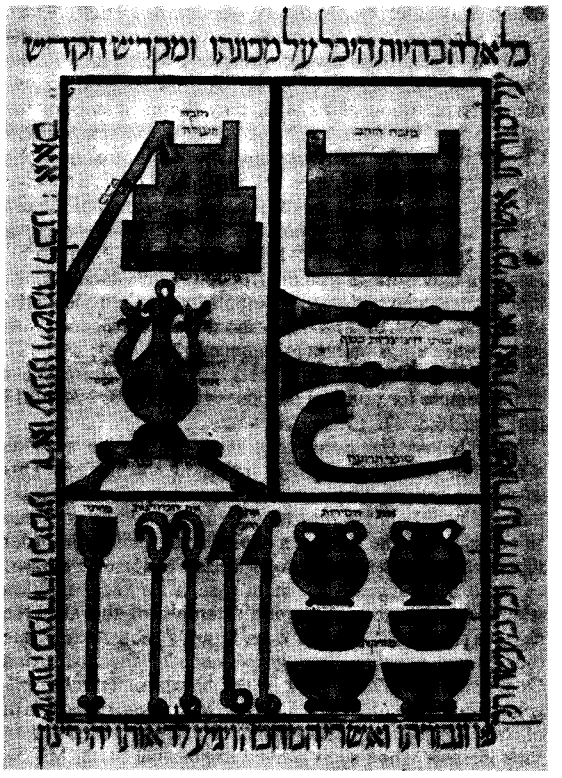
The courtyard also contained ten bronze basins (five on each side of the temple entrance), each with a capacity of 40 baths. According to 2 Ch. 4:6 the basins were used for the cleaning of the sacrificial victims. Each basin was supported on a wheeled stand. The description of the latter in Kings is both protracted and obscure. Each "stand" was 4 cubits long, 4 cubits broad, and 3 cubits high, and had four bronze wheels. The panels of the stand were decorated with carvings of lions, oxen, and cherubim (*see* picture in LAVER). Ahaz later removed the stands from under the basins (2 K. 16:17).

2 Chronicles (but not Kings) mentions a bronze platform in the courtyard on which Solomon stood and offered his dedicatory prayer (2 Ch. 6:13). The Chronicler's statement has been variously understood as drawn from his text of Kings, though omitted from ours by haplography; or as a tendentious attempt to conceal the fact that Solomon was standing at the altar (1 K. 8:22) to which, in the Chronicler's thinking, only priests should approach. (Note that the Chronicler, who has introduced a distinction between a court, *ḥāṣēr*, of the priests and a "great court," *ʿazārâ*, for the laity [2 Ch. 4:9], locates the platform for Solomon in the latter, 2 Ch. 6:13).

See picture in ARCHITECTURE.

E. Parallels. The closest structural parallel to Solomon's temple is that excavated at Tell Tainat on the Orontes River, dating from the 9th cent. B.C. Interestingly, the latter, like Solomon's sanctuary, is part of a temple-palace complex. The ground plan is rectangular and tripartite, the three rooms are of equal breadth, and the entrance is on one of the short sides: in each respect paralleling Solomon's temple. But the inner sanctuary was not square, and, while it contained a raised platform, the whole of its floor was not raised (as we have suggested that of Solomon's may have been). Furthermore two columns were definitely within the vestibule rather than just outside it, as the bronze pillars of Solomon's temple probably were.

Other parallels are less clear. Those most frequently mentioned are the 14th cent. B.C. temple at Hazor (tri-



An illustration in a 12th-century Hebrew Bible from France showing sanctuary utensils. At lower right are the basins for the blood of the sacrifices (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Hebr. 7, fol. 13)

partite, though the three rooms were not of equal width, and the nave was square) and the Arad temple. The latter is particularly important since it represents an *Israelite* temple, built probably in the 9th cent. B.C., and apparently functioning for some time independently of the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Like Solomon's temple, that in Arad had an altar for sacrifice in the courtyard at the front; significantly, the Arad altar conformed with the prescriptions of Ex. 20:24-26, in that it was constructed of packed earth and unhewn stones and had no stairs. Parallels to the Jerusalem temple include the east-west orientation, with entrance to the temple from the east, and the presence of two pillars, comparable to Jachin and Boaz, at the entrance to the nave. But the differences are perhaps more striking. The Arad temple had only one main room (the nave), and it was entered on its broad side. It lacked a built-up vestibule, and the inner sanctuary was a mere niche in the wall of the nave. This niche, which was reached by three steps, was flanked by two altars of incense. It contained a well-formed *maṣṣēḇâ* (pillar). From the perspective of the Jerusalem cult, the sanctuary at Arad was an aberration, and there is some evidence, in the disuse into which the altar and temple at Arad fell, that the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah extended to Arad.

F. Significance. 1. National Sanctuary. Some have suggested that Solomon's temple was rather a royal chapel than a national sanctuary. Certainly it was closely linked to the monarchy. The temple was built by Solomon in a city which David had chosen to be his capital but which had no place in earlier Israelite tradition. It was built in close proximity to Solomon's royal buildings — a proximity

which was later emphatically condemned (Ezk. 43:8). Kings seem to have officiated at important cultic events (1 K. 8; 9:25), their own coronations took place in the temple courtyard (2 K. 11:12-14), and, at least on a common interpretation of Ps. 110, they themselves bore the title "priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Clearly the kings exercised considerable control over the temple priesthood (cf. 1 K. 2:26f.; 2 K. 22:3-7; and note 2 Ch. 24:20-22!), and it was at royal instigation that repairs were made and modifications to the temple were introduced (2 K. 12:4-16 [MT 5-17]; 15:35; 22:3-7; 2 Ch. 15:8). Here we may note as well the freedom with which various kings introduced idolatrous symbols into the temple courtyard (2 K. 16:10-16; 21:4-7) — and the equal freedom with which other kings had them removed (2 K. 18:4; 23:4-12). On a number of occasions the kings used the treasures of the temple for political purposes (1 K. 15:18; 2 K. 12:18 [MT 19]; 16:8, 17f.; 18:13-16).

Nonetheless the Solomonic temple must be seen as a national sanctuary, both in intention and in fact. This is clearly indicated by the reference to Jeroboam's fears that the people of his (northern) kingdom would continue to be drawn to the southern capital of Jerusalem in order to worship there (1 K. 12:26-28; cf. 2 Ch. 11:16). Perhaps, as Noth has suggested, a main reason for the attraction was the presence in Solomon's temple of the ark, the most sacred cultic symbol from Israel's past. At any rate the Psalms provide moving evidence of the place that God's house on Zion held in the hearts of Israelite pilgrims (Ps. 26:8; 61:4 [MT 5]; 65:4 [MT 5]; 84:10 [MT 11]), of their longing to journey there (84:1f. [MT 2f.]; 122:1), their despair when such proved impossible (42:2 [MT 3]; cf. Jonah 2:4 [MT 5]), and their joy when they reached the goal of their pilgrimages (43:4). In the courts of the temple they met to bring their offerings (2 K. 12:4 [MT 5]; 22:4; Ps. 96:8), pay their vows (Ps. 65:1 [MT 2]; 66:13; 116:17-19), worship their God (5:7 [MT 8]; 135:1f.), and behold His beauty (27:4; 63:2 [MT 3]; cf. 96:6). Here too they came to fast in times of crisis (cf. Joel 1:14) and to make (or renew) their covenant with God (2 K. 23:2f.; Jer. 34:15). Not surprisingly the temple courtyard proved a favorite location in which prophets could address crowds of people (Jer. 7:2; 19:14; 26:2; 28:1, 5).

2. Legitimate Sanctuary. In Israelite faith the temple in Jerusalem was not (or not merely) a sanctuary which human beings had chosen to build in order to honor their God. Yahweh Himself had "chosen" to have His sanctuary there (Ps. 78:68f.; 132:13f.). The "Deuteronomist" insists that Jerusalem is the city where Yahweh chose to "put" His name (1 K. 11:36; 14:21; 2 K. 21:4, 7), and that, after He had done so, cultic worship at other sites was illegitimate; but his insistence, far from being a radical innovation, is quite in line with the lofty claims that must have been made for the Jerusalem temple cult from the beginning (cf. Ps. 68:16 [MT 17]; 87:2).

In fact, the so-called Deuteronomistic History emphasizes that the temple was in every respect one of divine appointment. It was made possible when Yahweh had given His people rest, and was thus built at the *time* of His choosing. It was erected, not by David, though he had desired to do so (2 S. 7:1-7), but by Solomon, for whom Yahweh reserved the honor (2 S. 7:12f.; 1 K. 8:17-20). Its location was divinely chosen (cf. 2 S. 24:18-25). Above all, Yahweh showed His approval by filling the temple with His glory (1 K. 8:10f.), deigning to dwell there in the "thick darkness" (1 K. 8:12f.; cf. 6:11-13), and Himself "consecrating" the temple as the appointed place where he could be sought and the ritual in his honor could legitimately be performed (1 K. 9:3, 7).

Something of the Chronicler's concern to show the legitimacy of the Jerusalem sanctuary has been noted above (see I.B). Here we may simply note as a further expression of this concern his efforts to show the *continuity* between Solomon's temple and the authorized worship of an earlier period at the "tent of meeting." This is seen, e.g., in his description of the temple's construction and dedication, which frequently echoes the account of the tabernacle in the "Priestly Code." Compare 1 Ch. 28:11, 19 with Ex. 25:9; 1 Ch. 29:6-9 with Ex. 35:20-29 and 36:2-7; 2 Ch. 2:7, 13f. (MT 6, 12f.) with Ex. 31:1-5; 1 Ch. 28:11 ("mercy seat," nowhere else mentioned in the accounts of the temple) with Ex. 25:17-22; 2 Ch. 3:14 (the "veil," not mentioned in Kings) with Ex. 26:31-33; and 2 Ch. 7:1-3 with Lev. 9:22-24.

3. Yahweh's Dwelling-Place. A number of texts make clear that Yahweh "chose" Zion to be His own dwelling-place (Ps. 132:13f.; cf. 1 K. 8:13; Ps. 9:11 [MT 12]; 46:4 [MT 5]; 74:2; 76:2 [MT 3]; Isa. 8:18, etc.). Zion was the "city of God" (Ps. 48:1f. [MT 2f.]; cf. 99:2). More specifically, Yahweh was said to "reign" as king in Zion (Ps. 48:2 [MT 3]; cf. Jer. 8:19), to be enthroned there (Jer. 14:21; 17:12). It seems clear that the cherubim located within the innermost sanctuary of the temple were envisaged as forming the throne on which Yahweh sat (2 K. 19:14f.; Ps. 80:1 [MT 2]; 99:1; Isa. 6:1-5; etc.), invisible but majestic, with the ark as His footstool (1 Ch. 28:2; Ps. 132:7). It should perhaps be added that Yahweh's "dwelling" on Zion was by no means regarded as a limitation on His power (cf. Ps. 134:3) or on the sphere of His authority (cf. Ps. 47; 48:9f. [MT 10f.]; and note that Ps. 24:7-10 follows 24:1f.).

The relation between Yahweh's "dwelling" in the temple on Mt. Zion on the one hand and in heaven on the other hand is generally left undefined. Certainly there must at all times have been an awareness that the earthly sanctuary was a less than adequate dwelling-place for heaven's king (cf. Ps. 24:7, 9, where the temple "gates" must be raised to allow Him to enter; and note Isa. 66:1f.). There is some evidence for the view that the Jerusalem temple was regarded as a replica of God's heavenly home (Ps. 78:69? implicit in Isa. 6? explicit in any case of the tabernacle in Ex. 25:9, 40, etc.). It is also possible that Mt. Zion was believed to be the place where heaven and earth intersected and ordinary distinctions between the two did not apply. A number of Psalms speak of Yahweh as dwelling on Zion as well as in heaven without any awareness of tension between the two (Ps. 11:4; 14:2, 7; 18:6, 13 [MT 7, 14]; 20:2, 6 [MT 3, 7]; 76:2, 8 [MT 3, 9]).

On the other hand, the "Deuteronomist" did see the language which speaks of Yahweh as "dwelling" in the temple as inviting misunderstanding, and he took pains to clarify the issue. Yahweh's dwelling is repeatedly insisted to be "in heaven" (Dt. 26:15; 1 K. 8:30, 39, 43, 49); in fact, "heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain" Him (1 K. 8:27). The temple was built "for the *name* of the Lord" (1 K. 3:2; 5:3, 5 [MT 17, 19]; 8:44, 48), and only His *name* is said to dwell there (2 S. 7:13 qualifies 7:5; cf. 1 K. 8:16-20, 29; 9:3; 2 K. 21:7). As a result, Yahweh hears prayers which are directed toward the temple where He has put His name, but He hears them "from heaven [his] dwelling-place" (1 K. 8:29f., 33f., 35f., 42-45, 48f.).

4. Mark of Yahweh's Favor. The primary focus of texts which speak of the temple as Yahweh's "dwelling-place" is not, however, to provide an answer to the physical (or metaphysical) problem of where He "lives." Rather these texts point to Yahweh's presence in the midst of His people as proof of His special love for them and

of the favors and privileges He confers upon them. That He has chosen Zion for His dwelling means that He will pour out His bounty upon her people (Ps. 132:13-18). His "blessing" is said to proceed from Zion (Ps. 128:5; 133:3; 134:3). From His dwelling there He offers His shelter and protection (27:5; 61:4 [MT 5]; 68:5 [MT 6]; etc.; see I.F.5 below). In the language of the "Deuteronomist," Yahweh's "eyes" are "open night and day toward this house," so that He hears from heaven prayers offered "toward this place" (1 K. 8:29); but this terminology is merely a refinement based on the widespread practice of directing one's prayers toward God in His temple (cf. 2 K. 19:14f.; Ezr. 10:1; Ps. 5:7 [MT 8]; 28:2; 138:2; Dnl. 6:10), and expecting Him to answer from there (Ps. 3:4 [MT 5]; 14:7; 18:6 [MT 7]; 20:2 [MT 3]; cf. Am. 1:2).

But Yahweh's presence in His temple meant more to His people than the bestowing of material blessings and protection. It opened the possibility for fellowship with Him by the "righteous" who were fit for His presence (Ps. 15; 24:3-6; 118:20). Many Psalms testify to the delight which the pious found in beholding the "beauty of the Lord" in His temple (Ps. 27:4; cf. 42:1f. [MT 2f.]; 63:1f. [MT 2f.]; 84:1-4 [MT 2-5]) and in feasting on His goodness there (36:8f. [MT 9f.]; 65:4 [MT 5]).

5. Divine Protection. Finally we must note the close link between the belief that Yahweh was present in His sanctuary on Mt. Zion and the conviction that He would defend the city against its enemies. This is clearly expressed in Ps. 46:5-11 (MT 6-12); 48:3-8 (MT 4-9); 125:1; the prophet Isaiah made similar statements (e.g., Isa. 8:9f.; 31:4f.; 37:33-35). It must be remembered, however, that Isaiah's statements were directed to specific situations in which he was sure that Yahweh would contend for His people. Other texts make it clear that Yahweh's protection was by no means to be regarded as timeless and unconditional (2:6; 29:1-4, etc.), and in fact Isaiah could denounce the cultic worship of Yahweh's rebellious sons (cf. 1:2) as an abomination in God's eyes (1:10-17).

Nonetheless there is clear evidence attesting to the belief that Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem *guaranteed* the protection of the city. Micah mentions such an assurance, though only to condemn it (3:11). Jeremiah denounced such "deceptive words" (7:4, 8), yet the offense which his denunciation roused is evidence that the belief was deeply rooted in the hearts of many (Jer. 26:9). Such a belief was no doubt fostered by the false prophets who proclaimed Jerusalem's "peace" when there was no "peace" (cf. Jer. 27:16-22; Lam. 2:14).

Against such misconceptions the scriptural prophets pointed out that Yahweh's presence in the midst of His people was rather a guarantee of judgment for the sins they committed than of unconditional protection. Zephaniah believed that Yahweh was in Zion's midst (3:5), but he knew that judgment was coming (3:1). Micah announced that "the mountain of the house" (= temple) would become "a wooded height" (3:12). Jeremiah, noting that the temple had become a "den of robbers" (7:11), and that it had been defiled by the "abominations" erected in it (7:30; 32:34; cf. 23:11), announced that God would treat His house in Jerusalem as He had treated that in Shiloh, the destruction of which was well known to his hearers (7:12-14; 26:6).

When Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians in 587 B.C., the temple was burnt, its treasures carried off to Babylon (2 K. 25:9, 13-17). That the end of the temple represented a shattering blow to Israelite sensibilities is attested in a number of laments, which mourn its defilement (Ps. 74:4, 7; 79:1; Isa. 63:18; Jer. 51:51; Lam. 1:10) and destruction (Ps. 74:3-7; Isa. 64:11 [MT 10]), the slaughter of its officials (Lam. 2:20), and the way in which Yahweh had abandoned His sanctuary (Ps. 74:1f.; Lam. 2:7). Yet faith in Yahweh did not end with the destruction of His sanctuary, no doubt in part because His prophets had predicted the events and proclaimed their place in Yahweh's purposes.

In fact, the prophets did more. Beyond judgment they saw — in Yahweh's time — restoration. And in the restoration of Yahweh's people to the promised land of their forefathers, a new temple — as a mark of Yahweh's renewed favor and blessing — was inevitably a part (Isa. 44:28; 60:7, 13; 62:9; cf. Jer. 31:6, 12, 23; 33:11). Ezekiel's great vision (Ezk. 40–48) was thus only the most detailed expression of a conviction shared by other prophets as well.

II. Ezekiel's Temple.—While the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple may have created a theological crisis for those who regarded them as inviolable, the situation was different for Ezekiel. Years before the catastrophe took place he had denounced the wrongs of his people, including their profanation of Yahweh's sanctuary (see esp. ch. 8; also 23:38f.; cf. 43:7-9). Ezekiel was convinced that the sins of Yahweh's people had driven His presence ("glory") away from the temple (8:66; 9:3; 10:18f.; 11:22f.); its destruction, then, was only to be expected (7:21-23; 24:21-27).

Ezekiel's understanding of what lay behind the tragedy of 587 B.C. was undoubtedly a factor in enabling disconsolate Jews to come to terms with the events. Of equal importance, however, was the portrayal of a glorious future in chs. 40–48 (cf. also 20:40-44; 37:26-28), a vision in which Yahweh again lives in the midst of His people, now in a sanctuary where the distinction between the sacred and the profane is perfectly maintained. This vision was clearly a formative factor in the construction of the postexilic Jewish theocracy.

Here we will first describe the features of the temple of Ezekiel's vision, then briefly discuss its significance.

A. Design. 1. Temple Mount. According to the vision the land once promised to Israel's fathers would again be the inheritance of their descendants (47:14). Each tribe would occupy a piece of land running west to east from the Mediterranean to the Jordan in parallel strips. The placing of the tribal allotments (Ezk. 48) is not related to their historical territories, but apparently follows a principle by which the concubine tribes (Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Gad) are furthest removed from the temple mount. Set apart from the rest of the land is a district 25,000 cubits from north to south, and stretching as far east and west as the tribal allotments extend in those directions (48:8). Seven tribes have their territory to the north of this district, five to its south. The central district contains a square 25,000 cubits on all sides (48:20). The parts of the district remaining to the east and west of the square are assigned as the possession of the coming (lay) "prince" (45:7f.; 48:21f.). The square itself is divided into three portions: the northernmost, stretching 25,000 cubits from east to west and 10,000 cubits from north to south, is to belong to the Levites; directly south of this is a district of equal dimensions for the (Zadokite) priests; the southernmost district, again 25,000 cubits from east to west, but only 5,000 cubits from north to south, is set aside for the city of Jerusalem (45:1-6; 48:8-20).

The center of the Zadokite portion is to be occupied by the temple complex, which is thus no longer a part of the city itself. The walls around the temple complex are to form a perfect square, each side measuring 500 cubits (42:15-20; 45:2). Since these walls are to be a mere 6 cubits high and 6 cubits thick (40:5), they clearly serve

no military purpose but are intended to "make a separation between the holy and the common" (42:20). Further protection of the sanctity of the temple complex is provided by an area stretching 50 cubits beyond the walls on all sides, which is to be left open (45:2).

2. Courtyards. Elaborate gateways through the outer walls lead to the outer court of the temple complex on three sides. The eastern gateway is described in detail in 40:6-16, the northern and southern briefly in 40:20-27. The latter two are intended for normal use (cf. 46:9f.). That to the east is to be used once by Yahweh Himself as He takes possession of His sanctuary (43:1-5, reversing the departure of Yahweh's "glory" through the eastern gate of the Solomonic temple complex, 10:18f.; 11:23), then shut forever (44:1f.).

Seven steps lead up to each gate entrance (40:22, 26); the entrance is 10 cubits wide (but apparently 13 when the gateposts are included, 40:11). From the point of entrance on the outside to the opposite end, which opens onto the outer court of the temple, is a distance of 50 cubits (40:15). This is made up as follows.

First a threshold is passed, 6 cubits (= 1 "reed") in length (i.e., the thickness of the outer wall through which it passes). This is followed by a corridor 28 cubits long. On either side of the corridor are three guard rooms ("side rooms"), evidently to be used by Levites who thus control the entrance to the outer court (cf. 44:10f.). Each guard room measures 6 cubits by 6, and has a "barrier" of some kind 1 cubit thick at its entrance. The distance from the back wall of one guard room to that of the room facing it is 25 cubits. The intervening space (called the "jambs" in 40:10) on each side between the first and second guard rooms, and again, between the second and third, is 5 cubits. Thus the total length for the corridor is (6 x 3 =) 18 cubits (for the guard rooms) + (5 x 2 =) 10 cubits (for the intervening spaces), or 28 cubits. Windows are placed in both the guard rooms and the walls between them. At the inside end of the corridor another threshold 6 cubits long opens onto a "vestibule" 8 cubits long and perhaps 20 cubits wide (but the text of 40:14 is uncertain). Finally the inside walls of the vestibule (i.e., those adjacent to the outer court) are 2 cubits thick (the "jambs" of 40:9, 16).

Passing inward from the outer gates one would enter the outer court, where ordinary Israelites might gather to worship (cf. 46:3). The outer court stretches a distance of 100 cubits from the outer gateways to the gateways leading into the inner court (40:19), access to which is reserved for cultic officials. Thirty "chambers" are located along the inside of the outer wall which encloses the whole temple area (40:17). Typically, no purpose is stated for these "chambers"; perhaps we are to conceive of them as serving for the eating of sacrificial meals by the laity (cf. 46:21-24, where four kitchens for preparing such meals are described, located in the four corners of the outer court). These chambers open onto a stone "pavement" (the "lower pavement" of 40:18) which, like the adjacent outer gateways, extends inward to a distance of 50 cubits from the outside of the outer wall.

Passage from the outer court to the inner court is made by way of "inner gateways," again on the east, north, and south sides (40:28-37). Eight steps lead up to these gateways. The inner gateways are identical to the outer ones with one exception: whereas the vestibules of the outer gateways are on the inside, opening onto the outer court, those of the inner gateways also face the outer court, being the first part of the gateway one enters from the outside.

Adjacent to the vestibule of the north (?) inner gateway is a chamber in which the victims used as offerings are to be rinsed after they are slaughtered (cf. Lev. 1:9). In addition, eight tables are mentioned for the slaughter of the various sacrificial animals: four within the vestibule itself and four outside along its walls. Alongside these tables are four others of hewn stone, each 1½ cubits square and 1 cubit high. On these the implements for sacrifice are to be placed (40:38-43).

On the south side of the north inner gateway is a chamber designated for the use of "the priests who have charge of the temple" (the Levites, according to 44:14; 45:5; cf. 46:24). On the north side of the south inner gateway is a chamber designated for the use of "the priests who have charge of the altar," i.e., the Zadokites (40:44-46). No more specific purpose is indicated.

The dimensions of the inner court, excluding the temple, are 100 cubits by 100 (40:47). In the midst of the court is the altar, a description of which is found in 43:13-17. At the foot of the altar (according to the interpretation followed by RSV) is a platform ("base") a cubit high and one cubit broad (i.e., it extends one cubit on all sides beyond the altar block above it); it had a rim (vv. 13 and 17) one span (= ½ cubit) high around its edge. According to another interpretation the "base" should be understood as a channel at the foot of the altar, one cubit deep and one cubit broad, and surrounded at its outer edge by a border. In the channel would be collected the blood of the sacrifices.

Above this base the altar rises in three tiers. The lowest block rises 2 cubits above the "base" and is 16 cubits square. The middle block rises 4 cubits above the lowest and is 14 cubits square (i.e., the lowest block extends one cubit beyond the middle one on each side). The highest block (called the "hearth") rises 4 cubits higher still, and is 12 cubits square. From the four corners of the hearth rise horns one cubit high (so at least the LXX). The altar had steps to the east.

3. Sanctuary. The temple itself is described briefly, most of the attention being given to its dimensions. The outside dimensions of the temple (including its walls and side chambers) are, from east to west, 100 cubits (41:13). The temple stands on an elevated platform, so that a climb of ten steps is required from the inner court before one can enter the temple vestibule (40:49; 41:8). The temple is divided into three compartments, each 20 cubits broad: these (from east to west) are the vestibule, the nave, and the "inner room" or "most holy place."

The entrance to the vestibule is 14 cubits wide (so 40:48 LXX; according to 41:25, there is a "canopy (?) of wood in front of the vestibule"), leaving 3 cubits of wall ("jambs") on each side. These "jambs" are 5 cubits thick. Two columns (corresponding to Jachin and Boaz of the Solomonic temple) are located alongside the vestibule "jambs." From east to west the vestibule is 12 cubits long (so 40:49 LXX; MT has 11 cubits).

A wall 6 cubits thick divides the vestibule from the nave. The entrance through the wall is 10 cubits in width, leaving 5 cubits of wall on each side. The nave is entered by way of a double door decorated with carvings of cherubim and palm trees (41:23-25). The nave itself is 40 cubits from east to west.

Separating the nave from the "inner room" is a wall 2 cubits thick. The entrance is 6 cubits wide, leaving walls 7 cubits wide on each side of the entrance. Again, a double door provides access to the inner room (41:23-25). The "inner room" is 20 cubits from east to west.

In 41:15-26 there is a brief (and, at places, unintelligible) description of the temple interior. Evidently the interior walls are paneled with wood; there are windows (latticed?

or "with recessed frames"?); carvings of cherubim (each with a human and a lion face) and palm trees adorn the walls. The only furniture mentioned is "the table which is before the Lord," located just outside the inner room and described as "resembling an altar of wood." It is 3 cubits high, its surface being a square with sides measuring 2 cubits. It corresponds to the table for the bread of the Presence in Solomon's temple.

The outside wall of the temple is 6 cubits thick. This measurement presumably applies to its base, for, just as in Solomon's temple, there are setbacks in the wall ("offsets," 41:6) higher up on which rest the supporting bases for each new level of a three-story structure containing side chambers. Hence the middle story of the structure is wider than the 4 cubits of the lowest story (41:5), and the upper story is wider still. Thirty "side chambers" are located in each story. The outside wall of the three-storied structure is 5 cubits thick; it has an entrance on its north and south sides. Beyond this wall the raised platform on which the temple and its side chambers are built extends another 5 cubits. Below this extension is an open space apparently 20 cubits wide.

To the west of the temple, beyond the open space (the "temple yard") just mentioned, is a building 90 cubits (north to south) by 70 cubits (east to west), with walls 5 cubits thick (thus the *outside* dimensions are 100 cubits by 80; cf. 41:15). Again, no purpose for the building is indicated (but cf. the PARBAR of 1 Ch. 26:18). The east-west measurement for the space between the temple and this building (20 cubits) plus the building itself and its walls (80 cubits) thus matches the 100 cubits of the temple's measurement from east to west (41:13).

Similarly, a measurement of 100 cubits is reached for the length from north to south of the temple (its "east front," 41:14) by adding its interior breadth (20 cubits), its two walls (6 x 2 = 12 cubits), the side chambers on the north and south sides (4 x 2 = 8 cubits), the walls of these chambers (5 x 2 = 10 cubits), the open space on the temple platform beyond these chambers (5 x 2 = 10 cubits), and the open space below (20 x 2 = 40 cubits). The perfect symmetry is of course a characteristic feature of the whole vision.

4. Priests' Chambers. In 42:1-14 we have a description of chambers in which priests are to don their holy garments (cf. 44:17-19) before entering the inner court and to remove them before returning to the outer court. In these chambers the priests are also to eat their part of the "most holy offerings" and to store offerings. According to 46:19f. a kitchen in which the priestly portions of the sacrifices are prepared is at the western end of the northern row of these chambers. The text describing the chambers is extremely obscure, and any reconstruction of details is tentative at best.

According to an older view (represented, e.g., by G. Cooke, comm. on Ezekiel [*ICC*, 1936]), the chambers are placed in rows just outside the open space 20 cubits broad and 100 cubits long immediately to the north and south of the temple building; the reference in 42:1 to the "building" opposite the chambers is interpreted by Cooke as referring to the outer temple wall of 40:5, where the same word is used. The rows of chambers thus run exactly parallel to the temple itself. Adjacent to the open space on the temple's north side is a long row of chambers stretching the entire length of 100 cubits. Between this row and another shorter row is a path 10 cubits broad and, again, 100 cubits long (42:4). Then comes a shorter row of chambers 50 cubits long, beginning from the western end (42:8). The 50 cubits remaining to the east alongside the path are occupied by a wall (42:7). These rows of chambers are constructed in three stories (42:3), the uppermost story being narrower than those below, leaving space for a corridor facing inward on that level (42:5f.). The entrance to the row of chambers is at the eastern end (42:9). The dimensions of the two rows of chambers and the path between them are 100 cubits by 50 (42:2). The two rows of chambers (and the path between them) to the south of the temple are identical to those on the north (42:10-12).

A more recent view (worked out by K. Elliger and adopted with some modifications by a number of scholars) places one end of the structures containing the priests' chambers against the outer (western) wall which surrounds the whole temple complex. From this point the chambers run eastward for a distance of 100 cubits along the north and south sides respectively of the "building" mentioned in 41:12, i.e., the one located to the west of the temple. The "building" of 42:1 is thus identified with that of 41:12; and the "temple yard" of 42:1 is applied to the area between the temple's western side and this "building."

If we consider the structure of priests' chambers to the north of the "building" (the one to the south is its exact counterpart), according to Elliger, it is built in three parallel blocks, each running from west to east. Between the southernmost of the three blocks and the "building" runs the path of 42:4. The southernmost block is the highest of the three (42:5), but its area is encroached upon by a projecting rock surface (so Elliger understands the term rendered "gallery" in 42:3, 5). Somewhat lower is the middle block to its immediate north; lowest of the three is the block furthest north. The last two blocks are constructed on terraces because the terrain is uneven (42:6). Since the blocks of chambers extend on the west to the outer wall of the whole temple complex, their northern side is adjacent to the pavement which stretches 50 cubits inward from the outer wall (which also contains chambers, 40:17f.; these latter chambers, according to Elliger, are referred to in 42:8a). Since, however, the northern side of the row of priests' chambers is 100 cubits long, the 50 cubits furthest east extend beyond the pavement, and the priest's chambers here are left exposed to view from the outer court. The wall of 42:7 is thus needed in order to shield the exposed part. The entrance to the whole structure is on the east (42:9). Such at least is Elliger's reading of an extremely difficult passage.

See picture in EZEKIEL.

5. Stream. Finally, an essential feature of Ezekiel's vision is the stream which begins beneath the temple threshold, flows just south of the altar, emerges to the east of the temple complex, and continues east to the Arabah and the Dead Sea (47:1-12). Beginning as a mere trickle (cf. 47:2, NEB), at a distance of 4,000 cubits from the outer wall surrounding the temple area it has become a river bringing life and abundance wherever it flows (cf. Joel 3:18 [MT 4:18]).

B. Significance. Undoubtedly the prime significance of the temple vision is the prophetic assurance that, despite the judgment of the Exile and the destruction of Jerusalem's sanctuary, Yahweh was not through with His chosen people but would return to dwell in their midst and to shower His bounty upon them (43:1-7; 47:1-12). That being said, it must be conceded that it is not clear to what extent the prophet envisaged a literal fulfillment of the details of the vision. Certain features at least must have had a symbolic rather than literal significance from the very beginning: the situation of the temple on a "very high mountain" (40:2; hardly true of Mt. Zion, but a common element in the ideology of sacred sites); the dividing up of the land, irrespective of its geographical

features, into perfectly symmetrical parts (tribal allotments; the temple hill); the stream from the sanctuary that begins as a trickle but is soon a mighty river (though, of necessity, without tributaries from outside the sacred area, 47:12). and so on.

Clearly this prophetic vision represents the embodiment of a number of OT ideals: an undisturbed, eternal dwelling of Yahweh in the midst of His people (43:7); the maintaining of perfect justice (45:9-12) in an environment of peace (note the low walls around the temple complex, 40:5!), health, and material abundance (47:12); the maintaining of distinctions between the sacred and the common, the clean and the unclean (44:19, 23, 25, 31, etc.) — indeed, the strict observance of all God's laws (44:24), etc. As a concrete embodiment of ideals this portrayal was clearly intended to serve the purpose of pointing out the dismal way in which Yahweh's people had fallen short of what He demanded, and so bringing them to shame and repentance (43:10f.). To the extent that the fulfillment of these ideals seems to have been expected in the near future (as a reversal of the Babylonian exile, cf. 43:7f.; 44:6-16), this prophetic vision shares a feature (the "near expectation" of the ideal future) with much of biblical prophecy. That the ideal future is ushered in at God's initiative, as an expression of His purposes and undeserved favor, is also significant (cf. 20:40-44).

On the other hand, the ideal temple worship of Ezk. 40–48 contrasted sharply not only with the sanctuary and cultic worship of Israel's past but also with what was in fact achieved in the period of the second temple. The discrepancy did not go unnoticed, and the belief that the prophetic word must nonetheless find its fulfillment led to the expectation — even before the second temple was destroyed — that a new temple must be raised for the eschatological age (cf. Tob. 14:5, where the new temple is to be built "just as the prophets said of it"). For some it was clear that God Himself would have to create such a temple (1 En. 90:28f.; Jub. 1:15-17, 26-29; cf. 25:21; 11QTemple 29:8-10). Indeed, it seems that the ancient idea that earthly sanctuaries are a copy of God's dwelling in heaven (cf. Ex. 25:9; T. Levi 5:1; Rev. 11:19; 14:17; 15:5, etc.) was combined with the expectation of a new and perfect temple in the age to come, so that the ideal sanctuary was seen as descending from heaven to earth at God's appointed time (suggested in 2 Bar. 4:2-7; 6:1-10; 1 En. 25:3?).

III. Zerubbabel's Temple.—*A. Sources.* Our knowledge of the temple of the restoration period is limited because the sources are so meager. From Ezr. 1–6 and the books of Haggai and Zechariah (chs. 1–8) we learn something of the difficulties encountered in the temple's construction and of the importance which the postexilic prophets attached to the undertaking. The temple's later history can be traced in some detail in the apocryphal books of 1 and 2 Maccabees and in Josephus. But for the temple's design we are dependent on references, scattered and incidental, throughout the literature of the period.

B. Construction. Already in his first regnal year (538 B.C.) Cyrus issued a decree by which exiled Jews were allowed to return to their homeland and rebuild the temple of their God. The authenticity of this decree as preserved in Ezr. 1:2-4 (in Hebrew) and 6:3-5 (in Aramaic) has been much discussed. In general terms we may say that such a decree corresponds to known policies of the Persian monarch (cf. the famous Cyrus Cylinder). More specifically, the authenticity of 6:3-5 as an official memorandum is widely conceded. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the terms of 1:2-4 seem to reflect Jewish faith; it is possible, however, that this form of the proclamation was drawn up for the benefit of their fellow countrymen by Jews holding high office in the Persian court.

According to Ezr. 6:4 the cost of the temple construction was to be borne by the royal treasury; and 3:7 states that Cyrus had given orders for the necessary timber to be supplied from Lebanon. Furthermore, the sacred vessels which had been removed by Nebuchadnezzar from Solomon's temple were to be restored to its successor. The stress placed upon this latter detail (Ezr. 1:7-11; 5:14f.; 6:5; 7:19) suggests that it was seen as an important link providing continuity with the worship of preexilic times.

Ezra 1:8-11 indicates that Sheshbazzar was in charge of the first group of exiles who returned to their homeland, and Ezr. 5:14-16 credits him with beginning the work of rebuilding the temple. Elsewhere, however, that honor is given to Zerubbabel (Zec. 4:9), and Sheshbazzar disappears without account from the record. According to Ezr. 3 the returned exiles, led by Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest, soon erected an altar of burnt offering on the site of its predecessor, and work was begun — under Levite supervision — on the temple itself.

An important note relates that the work was done exclusively by such Jews as had returned from Exile (3:8). In fact, the cooperation of the local inhabitants (the "people of the land" of 4:4, who had been settled there by Assyrian kings, 4:2) was offered but firmly refused. As a result, these "adversaries" (4:1) directed their efforts toward frustrating the work of rebuilding. Their efforts (4:4f.), combined with the apathy of the Jews themselves (cf. Hag. 1:2), resulted in the interruption of the project. (It is important to note that there is no evidence of *official* opposition at this point. A misleading impression has perhaps been created by the introduction of the narrative in Ezr. 4:6-23; this interrupts the story of the temple's rebuilding in order to give a further, though much later, example of the opposition which Jewish construction plans encountered.)

It was first in the reign of Darius that the Jews, led by Zerubbabel and Joshua and inspired by the prophetic words of Haggai and Zechariah, resumed the work of rebuilding the temple (520 B.C.). Their progress led to an inquiry from Tattenai, governor of the province "Beyond the River" (i.e., W of the Euphrates) as to their authorization for building. The work continued, however, while Tattenai sent a report of the matter to Darius (5:7-17). The new king, after searching the royal archives and discovering the terms of Cyrus's initial authorization, gave orders that the work was not to be interfered with, and that funds were to be provided, both for the construction of the temple and the maintenance of its cult, from "the royal revenue, the tribute of the province from Beyond the River" (6:6-12).

Thus in the spring of 515 B.C. the temple was finished "by command of the God of Israel and by decree" of the Persian kings (Ezr. 6:14).

C. Design. That the second temple shared many features with the first may safely be assumed. Indeed, it has recently been suggested that the common view which sees the second temple as vastly inferior to the first (based on texts such as Hag. 2:3; Zec. 4:10; Ezr. 3:12f., all referring, however, to the *early stages* of rebuilding) is an exaggerated one in the light of the support given the project by the Persian authorities.

The dimensions of the temple area are given by Hecataeus (quoted in Josephus *CAp* i.22 [198]) as roughly 150 by 45 m. (500 by 150 ft.). A stone wall marked off the sacred site. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi.4.7 [108]; xiv.16.2 [476]), there were porticoes within the temple

precincts. The sources contain numerous references to chambers used for storage and the accommodation of temple personnel (Ezr. 10:6; Neh. 10:37-39 [MT 38-40]; 12:44; 13:4f.; 1 Macc. 4:38, 57, etc.). These would have been in the temple courtyards and perhaps also in a structure of side chambers like the one attached to Solomon's temple.

The sanctuary was surrounded by more than one courtyard (1 Macc. 4:48; cf. 9:54). Presumably there was an inner court to which only the priests were admitted (cf. 2 Ch. 4:9; Josephus *Ant.* xiii.13.5 [373]). In it was the altar of burnt offering, made of unhewn stone, square, measuring 20 cubits on each side and 10 cubits high (Josephus *CAp* 1.22 [198]). A laver must also have been present (cf. Mish. *Middoth* iii.6).

The temple itself was built with a layer of timber above (each?) three courses of stonework (Ezr. 6:4; cf. 5:8, and see I.D.1 above). Its dimensions are not known, since the text of Ezr. 6:3 is incomplete and probably corrupt. A veil divided the nave from the innermost sanctuary; since there was more than one veil, we are perhaps to assume one at the entrance to the nave as well (1 Macc. 4:51). The nave contained one golden lampstand (contrast the ten of Solomon's temple), a table for the bread of the Presence, a gold altar of incense, and holy vessels (1 Macc. 1:21f.; 4:49-51). The innermost sanctuary was empty (lacking the ark and cherubim of Solomon's temple), but a stone apparently marked the spot where the ark once lay (Mish. *Yoma* v.2).

D. Significance. 1. Return of Yahweh's Favor. As noted above, the main focus of texts which speak of Yahweh as dwelling in His temple in Jerusalem is the divine favor which rests on His people. To the postexilic community Yahweh's presence in its midst meant the *return* of His blessing: the prophetic word proclaiming that God's glory had been withdrawn from Jerusalem was reversed, and new assurance was given of His love for Zion. Thus the material in Haggai and Zechariah is in some ways simply a repetition of the Zion theology of an earlier day, now, however, as divine promise to a discouraged community. Yahweh will again "choose" Jerusalem (Zec. 1:17; 2:12 [MT 16]; 3:2). He will again dwell in the midst of His people (Hag. 2:4f.; Zec. 2:10f. [MT 14f.]; 8:3), be their protection (Zec. 2:5 [MT 9]), and pour out His blessing upon them (Hag. 2:15-19; Zec. 8:9-15). Indeed, there is an eschatological fervor in the words of the prophets; the rebuilt temple is seen as ushering in an era of prosperity when all nations will seek the God of Jerusalem and bring their treasures to Him (Hag. 2:6-9, 20-23; Zec. 2:8-12 [MT 12-16]; 8:1-8, 20-23).

The return of Yahweh's favor to His people is apparent in Ezra-Nehemiah as well. The cooperation of the Persian kings and their desire to adorn the temple is emphasized throughout (Ezr. 7:13-24, 27; 8:25, 36, etc.); but this was possible only because God had "stirred" their spirits (Ezr. 1:1, no doubt echoing Isa. 41:25) and given His people favor in their eyes (Ezr. 6:22; 9:9).

2. Test of Devotion. Texts from the period of the second temple have a new emphasis. They stress that the way in which God's house is treated is an indication of one's devotion to God Himself and hence a crucial factor in the presence or withdrawal of God's blessing (Hag. 1:5-11; 2:15-19; Mal. 3:10-12; and note 2 Ch. 24:18; 28:24; 29:6f.; 31:21). Evidently there was a great temptation, in times of economic hardship and disappointed expectations, to neglect the temple and to concentrate on one's own affairs. This attitude is apparent from the early days of the return, when Haggai insisted that the priorities of a people who themselves lived in "paneled houses" while Yahweh's house remained "in ruins" must be askew (1:4). Malachi accused his contemporaries of being weary with worshiping God and showing contempt for Him by bringing imperfect sacrifices (1:6-14); he demanded that Yahweh be given the honor which is His due. Nehemiah too was confronted by indifference toward the temple and its personnel (Neh. 13:10-14). The concern expressed in these passages should not be attributed to the narrow-mindedness of authors for whom the external cult has become a matter of paramount importance. Rather, they see in attitudes toward the cult a reflection of attitudes toward God Himself.

3. Problem of Access. Here we may note (though we cannot develop) the problem that arose of deciding who was entitled to participate in the cultic worship of the temple. This, as we have seen, was clearly a crucial issue already at the time of the temple's reconstruction (cf. Ezr. 4:1-3). At stake was, on the one hand, the purity of Yahweh's people from pagan defilement (Ezr. 9:1f.; Neh. 9:2; Isa. 52:1; Joel 3:17 [MT 4:17]; etc.); on the other, the accessibility of Yahweh to all who chose to worship Him, regardless of race or physical disability (cf. Isa. 56:3-8). The several courts of Herod's temple ultimately permitted clear distinctions to be drawn; but they enforced in the process various "walls of partition" which limited access to the courts of God.

E. Later History. A major crisis was provoked by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Seleucid king who plundered and desecrated the temple, placing an altar to Zeus Olympus (the "abomination that makes desolate" in Dnl. 11:31) on the altar of burnt offerings (167 B.C.). Three years later Judas Maccabeus recovered control of the temple hill. The sanctuary was repaired and purified before its rededication. The events were celebrated in later years at the Feast of Hanukkah.

In 63 B.C. the temple was again defiled, this time by the entrance of the Roman general Pompey. He did not, however, remove any of the temple's treasures (Josephus *BJ* i.7.6 [152f.]; *Ant.* xiv.4.4. [71f.]). Nine years later the temple was plundered by Crassus (*BJ* i.8.8 [179]; *Ant.* xiv.7.1 [105-109]). Herod caused some destruction of the temple walls when he stormed Jerusalem in 37 B.C. (*Ant.* xiv.16.2 [476]).

F. Qumrân and the Temple. The attitude of the Qumrân sectarians toward the temple in Jerusalem may properly be noted here, since the origins of the sect date from the time when Zerubbabel's temple was still in use. Unfortunately a number of crucial texts are ambiguous. On the one hand, some passages in the Damascus Document seem to presuppose (because they regulate) participation in the Jerusalem cult (9:14; 11:17f.; 16:13; etc.). On the other hand, the Qumrân writings contain passages which speak of the temple's defilement (CD 4:18; 5:6; 20:23; 1QpHab 12:8f.; cf. also Jub. 23:21), roundly condemn the "wicked priests" responsible for the cult (1QpHab 9:4f.; 11:12-14), and appear to indicate the withdrawal of the Qumrân sectarians from any part in it (CD 6:11-16; 11:19-21). A frequent suggestion is that the sectarians at one time participated in the temple worship but were later cut off (or cut themselves off) from it. Clarity on the issue is not aided by Josephus, for the crucial passage in which he discusses the Essenes' relationship with the temple (*Ant.* xviii.1.5 [19]) suffers from textual uncertainty.

Perhaps because at some time in their history the Qumrân sect withdrew from the Jerusalem temple, the sectarian writings frequently emphasize the more "spiritual" aspects of divine service which might be thought to replace cultic worship (1QS 8:4-10; 9:3-5; 4QFlor 1:6f.). Already in the OT a number of texts denounce abuses of the

temple ritual and stress that what is really crucial lies elsewhere: in the maintaining of justice, the showing of compassion, the attitude of the heart toward God, obedience to His will, etc. (Ps. 50:23; 51:15-17 [MT 17-19]; 69:30f. [MT 31f.]; 141:2; Isa. 1:10-17; Jer. 7:21-23; Hos. 6:6; Am. 5:21-27; Mic. 6:6-8). Naturally pious people cut off from the national sanctuary would emphasize such texts. Indeed, some texts speak of the Qumrân community as itself forming the divine sanctuary: the Aaronites were a kind of "holy of holies," while the rest of the community was the equivalent of the holy place. Here atonement was made for the sins of Israel and acceptable worship was offered (1QS 5:1-6; 8:5-10; 9:3-6).

These texts must not, however, be taken to indicate that the Qumrân sectarians had come to "spiritualize" worship in any ultimate way. Their exclusion (if such it was) from the Jerusalem sanctuary was a temporary necessity during a darkened age, but full participation was certainly envisaged once the "sons of light" had prevailed (cf. 1QM 2:1-6). Of particular interest in this context is the Temple Scroll (11QTemple). Written in the 1st person singular as part of God's revelation to Moses on Mt. Sinai, the scroll describes in detail the temple, with its courtyard and cult, as it was one day to be established. Yet it is not the temple of the age to come that is described, for the latter is clearly distinguished from the one here portrayed; it is said that God Himself will create the temple of that day and dwell in it forever (29:8-10). Instead we are dealing with the Qumrân conception of the temple as it should have been, presented as divine instruction to Moses, but in fact the result of an elaborate sifting and amalgamation of the various descriptions of sanctuaries in the OT, all from the sect's own peculiar perspective.

In the very fragmentary section dealing with the temple building itself, a number of elements are familiar: an apparently tripartite sanctuary with a vestibule in front; side chambers in a structure surrounding the temple; a veil (of gold!) separating the nave from the innermost sanctuary; a lampstand, table for the bread of the Presence, altar of incense, and ark with mercy seat and cherubim. The temple is to be surrounded by three courtyards, each a perfect square. The inner court, accessible only to priests, is surrounded by a wall with a gate in the middle of each of its four sides. Columns run along the inside of the wall, and between the columns and wall are tables and chairs for the priests. Within the inner court, east of the temple, is the altar of burnt offering. To the north of this is the "House of Slaughter" (for the slaughtering of animals). To the northwest of the temple is the "House of the Winding Staircase," the upper story of which is connected to the upper story of the temple. Behind the temple (i.e., to its west) are freestanding pillars in two areas (called the *parwar*), where sacrificial animals for the priests and for the people are kept strictly separated from each other. To the southeast of the temple building are the House of the Laver (where priestly garments are deposited) and the House of Vessels (for storing vessels).

The middle court is entered by twelve gates (one for each of the twelve tribes of Israel), three on each side. It is to be accessible only to Israelite men over twenty years of age who have paid their half-shekel fee for the maintenance of the temple. The outer court, which again has twelve gates, is accessible to ritually clean Israelite men and women and to the descendants of proselytes in the third generation. Further isolating the temple from all that might defile is a moat 100 cubits wide surrounding the outside temple wall on all sides. Indeed, the temple city itself, in which presumably the temple is the center, is to maintain the purity standards of the Israelite "camp" in the wilderness.

IV. Herod's Temple.—A. Sources. Descriptions of Herod's temple are to be found both in Josephus (*BJ* v; *Ant.* xv) and in rabbinic literature (primarily in Mish. *Tamid* and *Middoth*). Josephus had the advantage of firsthand knowledge of the temple, though it must be remembered that he was writing after its destruction — thus under the obvious limitations of human memory — and with a patent desire to impress. The accounts in rabbinic literature, though written much later, draw on traditions originating with those who had seen the temple. Again, however, their accuracy is limited by what people could remember (note the engaging remark of Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob in Mish. *Middoth* ii.5: "I forget for what [a certain chamber] was used") as well as by the rabbis' familiarity with the OT accounts of sanctuaries, which tended to color their descriptions. Hence though we may draw on these accounts with some confidence for the general features of Herod's temple, the discrepancies between them and the limitations which accompanied their recording leave us in some doubt as to details. The inevitable attempt will be made below to derive from the various sources a composite picture of Herod's temple; but the reader should bear in mind the imperfections of our sources throughout.

The information we derive from the literary sources can at times be corroborated or supplemented by the results of archeology. To be sure, the site of Herod's temple itself is inaccessible to the archeologist since an Islamic shrine (Ḥaram esh-Sherîf) now occupies it. But a good deal can be learned of the walls which surrounded the temple area, with their gates and porticoes. The more important of these results will be noted below.

B. Construction. Work on the temple began in Herod's eighteenth year, 20-19 B.C. (so *Ant.* xv.11.1 [380]; according to *BJ* i.21.1 [401], it was 3 years earlier). Josephus stated that the temple building itself (*ho naós*) was built in a year and a half, whereas the courts and porticoes required eight years (*Ant.* xv.11.5f. [420f.]). On the other hand, a later reference (*Ant.* xx.9.7 [219]) suggests that work on the temple precincts (*to hierón*) was not completed until the early 60s A.D. Perhaps the latter reference includes repair work and further ornamentation of the temple area which were not taken into account in the other passages. Similarly, Jn. 2:20 may refer to such repair work and ornamentation ("It has taken forty-six years to build this temple [*naós*]": *naós* usually refers to the temple building itself, but the term is required in this context by Jesus' words in 2:19, and it is possible that its usage in v. 20 should be understood as including the whole temple area). Interpreted strictly, the Greek verb indicates that the temple "was built" in forty-six years; but some scholars prefer a looser rendering by which the temple "has been (and still is) in the process of being built" forty-six years after its commencement.

Josephus tells us that Herod went to great trouble to ensure that the temple cult would not be disrupted during the construction work, and that priests would be trained to do the necessary masonry and carpentry in areas to which they alone had access (*Ant.* xv.11.2 [390]). He also tells of the work that was done to enlarge the temple area (*BJ* i.21.1 [401]; v.5.1 [184-89]; *Ant.* xv.11.3 [396-400]). This expansion has found corroboration in excavations at the site. The original area of the temple mount was in fact doubled with the construction of giant supporting walls and the filling in of the intervening spaces, creating a level surface for the (roughly) rectangular temple plat-

form. The leveling process required the lowering of the temple hill in its northwest corner and the filling in of the Tyropoeon Valley to the west and of a valley running southeast to the Kidron. The rock surface at the southeast corner of the temple area was raised about 30 m. (100 ft.) with stones and earth. Above this rise were built huge stone vaults (like "Solomon's stables" which can be seen today) to support the platform.

C. Design. 1. Temple Hill. The temple area was enclosed by a wall. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xv.11.3 [400]), each side was about 180 m. (600 ft.) long (500 cubits, according to Mish. *Middoth* ii.1, though here we may suspect the influence of Ezk. 42:20). The Fortress Antonia was enclosed within this outer wall, in the northwest corner (*BJ* v.5.2 [192]). On three sides (the east, south, and west) the enclosure of the present Ḥaram esh-Sherîf coincides with that of Herod's temple area. The north wall probably began a little to the north of the present Golden Gate. Parts of Herod's wall can be seen to this day, primarily in the lower levels of the (western) Wailing Wall, and in the huge stones (cf. Mk. 13:1) in the southeast corner of the Ḥaram wall. The latter corner, where the top of the wall rises to a "dizzying" height above the valley below (*Ant.* xv.11.5 [412]), is the traditional location of the "pinnacle of the temple" (Mt. 4:5 par.). Since the term for "temple" here is *hierón* (i.e., the whole temple area rather than the temple building itself), this tradition remains a possibility. But nothing more definite can be said than that some high point within the temple area is indicated.

An inscription found among the debris near the southwest corner indicates that, on a tower rising above the wall in this vicinity, a priest would stand to blow a trumpet, announcing the beginning of sabbath (cf. *BJ* iv.9.12 [582]; Mish. *Sukkoth* v.5; *see* picture in ARCHEOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA).

The various references to gates leading through the outer wall are not easy to reconcile. Josephus mentions no gate on the northern side, whereas Mish. *Middoth* i.3 (cf. ii.3) refers to the Tadi Gate — two stones leaning against each other, without a lintel — but says it was not used. On the western side *Middoth* mentions only a Kiponus Gate (according to Mazar, this is today's Barclay's Gate, parts of which remain fairly well preserved). Josephus mentions four gates on the west, and this is confirmed by archeological study. One gate opened from the portico inside the western wall onto a causeway which crossed the Tyropoeon Valley and thus linked the Upper City of Jerusalem with the temple mount. This was at the site of what is today called Wilson's Arch. One gate (at the site of the Warren Gate) lying to the north of this, and one to its south (Barclay's Gate) led from a paved street (running along the outside of the western wall of the temple area) into underground passages which ran beneath the western wall and emerged in the temple courts. The gate furthest south opened from the portico onto what is now called Robinson's Arch. This "arch" was once thought to be a bridge connecting the temple mount with the Upper City; in fact it spanned the paved road which ran alongside the western wall, then descended by way of a stairway to the street below.

Josephus mentions gates on the southern side but does not specify their number (*Ant.* xv.11.5 [411]). *Middoth* refers to two Huldah gates used for public access to the temple area: pilgrims would enter by one gate and exit by the other (i.3; ii.2; cf. Ezk. 46:9). Again, archeology has provided important corroboration for the literary evidence.

Two large stairways led from a broad plaza below to a paved street running along the outside of the south wall of the temple area. The stairway to the west was 65 m. (215 ft.) wide; it ascended some 7 m. (22 ft.) by thirty steps and led up to the western of the two Huldah gates. This gate, also called the Double Gate because of its two arched entrances, was 13 m. (43 ft.) wide. A similar stairway would have led up to the eastern Huldah Gate. The latter was about 15 m. (50 ft.) wide and is also called the Triple Gate, since it evidently had one broad portal flanked on each side by a smaller one. Between the two

A limestone block inscribed "place of the trumpeting" found in the southwest corner of the temple mount (Israel Exploration Society)

The Wailing Wall with Wilson's Arch in the corner (W. S. LaSor)

stairways were a number of ritual baths for the purification of worshipers entering the temple area (*see* MIKVAH). The gateways opened into underground passages which ran beneath the south wall and emerged in the Court of the Gentiles.

Middoth mentions a gate through the eastern wall of the temple area on which was portrayed the palace of Shushan (i.3). It was used by the high priest and his assistants during the ceremony of the red heifer (cf. Mish. *Shekalim* iv.2; *Parah* iii.6). Today's Golden Gate, built much later, is perhaps the successor of the Shushan Gate, though the latter was probably further to the south.

Near the southeast corner of the temple area, in the upper part of the eastern wall, is the remnant of an arch, the counterpart to Robinson's Arch on the western side. It would also have supported a stairway ascending from a road skirting the eastern wall.

At the corners and gates of the outer wall surrounding the temple area Levites stood guard to ensure the ritual fitness of those who entered (Mish. *Middoth* i.1).

2. Court of the Gentiles. The outermost court was that of the Gentiles. Porticoes enclosed the court on all sides, running along the inside of the wall which surrounded the temple area. On three sides (the west, north, and east) the porticoes were 30 cubits broad and had two rows of columns. Each column was made of a single block of white marble some 25 cubits high (*BJ* v.5.2 [190]). The portico on the east side was known as Solomon's (Jn. 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12; cf. *BJ* v.5.1 [185]; *Ant.* xx.9.7 [221]). The famous Royal Portico was on the south side (*Ant.* xv.11.5 [411-415]). Here there were three aisles between four rows of columns, a total of 162 columns in all. Each column was 8 m. (27 ft.) high and had a circumference equal to the outstretched arms of three men. Their capitals were ornamented in the Corinthian style. According to Josephus, the two outside aisles were 9 m. (30 ft.) wide, 180 m. (600 ft.) long, and over 15 m. (50 ft.) high; the middle aisle was twice as high and one and a half times as broad. Panels of cedar with ornamental carvings were used for the ceiling. Many remains have been found from the Royal Portico; their decorations show floral and geometrical designs but no human or animal figures.

The Court of the Gentiles was paved with stone (*BJ* v.5.2 [192]). The dimensions given in *Middoth* would indicate that the open area of the court was greatest to the south and east. The placing of the temple building and the inner courts left much less space to the north and west.

Gentiles as well as Jews were admitted to this outer courtyard. Those excluded were men or women suffering a "discharge" (cf. Lev. 15), women during their periods of menstruation, and women who had not yet been purified after childbirth (Mish. *Kelim* i.8). In the porticoes surrounding the court teachers would address the crowds or engage in discussions (e.g., Mk. 11:27 par.; 12:35 par.). The Court of the Gentiles was the site of Jesus' cleansing of the temple, since here animals needed for sacrifice were sold and moneychangers changed current coinage into the Tyrian shekel required for temple dues.

At the northwest corner of the outer court was a stairway which descended from the Antonia fortress (*BJ* v.5.8 [238-246]). The southeast turret of the fortress provided a view over the whole temple area, enabling the Roman soldiers quartered there to oversee what was going on below and, if need be, to descend by the stairs and intervene to maintain order (cf. Acts 21:30-36).

3. Court of Women. Dividing the Court of the Gentiles from the inner courts (of Women, Israel, and the Priests) was a stone balustrade which, according to Josephus, was 3 cubits high (*BJ* v.5.2 [193]; cf. *Ant.* xv.11.5 [417]; but 10 handbreadths, or about 75 cm. [2½ ft.], high according to *Middoth* ii.3). Along this balustrade at regular intervals were placed slabs with inscriptions in Greek and Latin forbidding Gentiles, on pain of death, to go further (*see* picture in INSCRIPTIONS). It has often been suggested that Eph. 2:14 (the "dividing wall of hostility") contains an allusion to this barrier (cf. also Acts 21:28f.; 24:6). According to Mish. *Kelim* i.8 Jews unclean through contact with a corpse were also forbidden to go beyond this barrier.

Within the balustrade were fourteen steps (*BJ* v.5.2 [195]; cf. *Ant.* xv.11.5 [417]). Beyond these a level terrace stretched for 10 cubits. Then five more steps (on the north and south sides, but fifteen on the east, *BJ* v.5.3 [206]) led up to the gates which passed through walls 25 cubits high into the inner courts. (So Josephus; Mish. *Middoth* ii.2 refers to the terrace or "rampart," 10 cubits broad, but then speaks of twelve steps from the rampart to the gates on the east side of the Court of Women.)

Josephus mentions nine gates leading through the wall and into the inner courts: four on each of the north and south sides and one on the east. (The wall on the western side had no gates leading through it, *BJ* v.5.2. [200].) Since the Court of Women occupied the eastern part of the area marked off for the inner courts, of these nine gates it was only the one gate on the east side and the gate furthest east of the four on each of the north and the south sides that opened into it (cf. *BJ* v.5.2 [198f.]). The Court of Women also had a gate on its western side (the Nicanor Gate of rabbinic tradition) leading into the Court of Israel.

These gates were all overlaid with gold and silver, with the exception of the gate on the east side of the Court of Women, which was of Corinthian bronze. So at least Josephus appears to say (*BJ* ii.17.3 [411]; v.5.3 [201]), though many think his one exception refers to the Nicanor Gate which, according to rabbinic tradition, was on the *western* side of the Court of Women and was made of bronze (cf. Mish. *Middoth* ii.3). It is usually assumed that the famous bronze gate would have been the Beautiful Gate of Acts 3:2, 10, but, because of the apparent discrepancy noted in our sources, it is debated whether this gate was the one on the eastern or the western side of the Court of Women. We may also note here that mothers brought the necessary offering for their purification after childbirth to a priest at the Nicanor Gate (Mish. *Sotah* i.5); hence it is here that the incident in Lk. 2:22-24 would have taken place. (*See* picture in GATE, BEAUTIFUL.)

The Court of Women formed a square, each side measuring 135 cubits; so Mish. *Middoth* ii.5. The same text

refers to unroofed chambers in the four corners of the court (cf. Ezk. 46:21f.). The Court of Women was the scene of great festivity at night time during the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. Mish. *Sukkoth* v.2-4); hence a gallery was erected from which women could observe what happened while the men watched below.

Rabbinic tradition refers to thirteen boxes ("Shofar-chests") placed in the temple in which various offerings could be deposited (Mish. *Shekalim* vi.5). It is usually thought that the "treasury" in Mk. 12:41 par. refers to one of these boxes; if so, they must have been placed in either the outer court (i.e., of Gentiles) or the Court of Women, since a woman had access to it. On the other hand, the "treasury" of Jn. 8:20 may refer to one of the treasury chambers which, according to Josephus (*BJ* v.5.2 [200]; vi.5.2 [282]; *Ant.* xix.6.1 [294]) ran along the inside of the wall surrounding the inner courts. (Jesus would have been "near," not "in," such a chamber.)

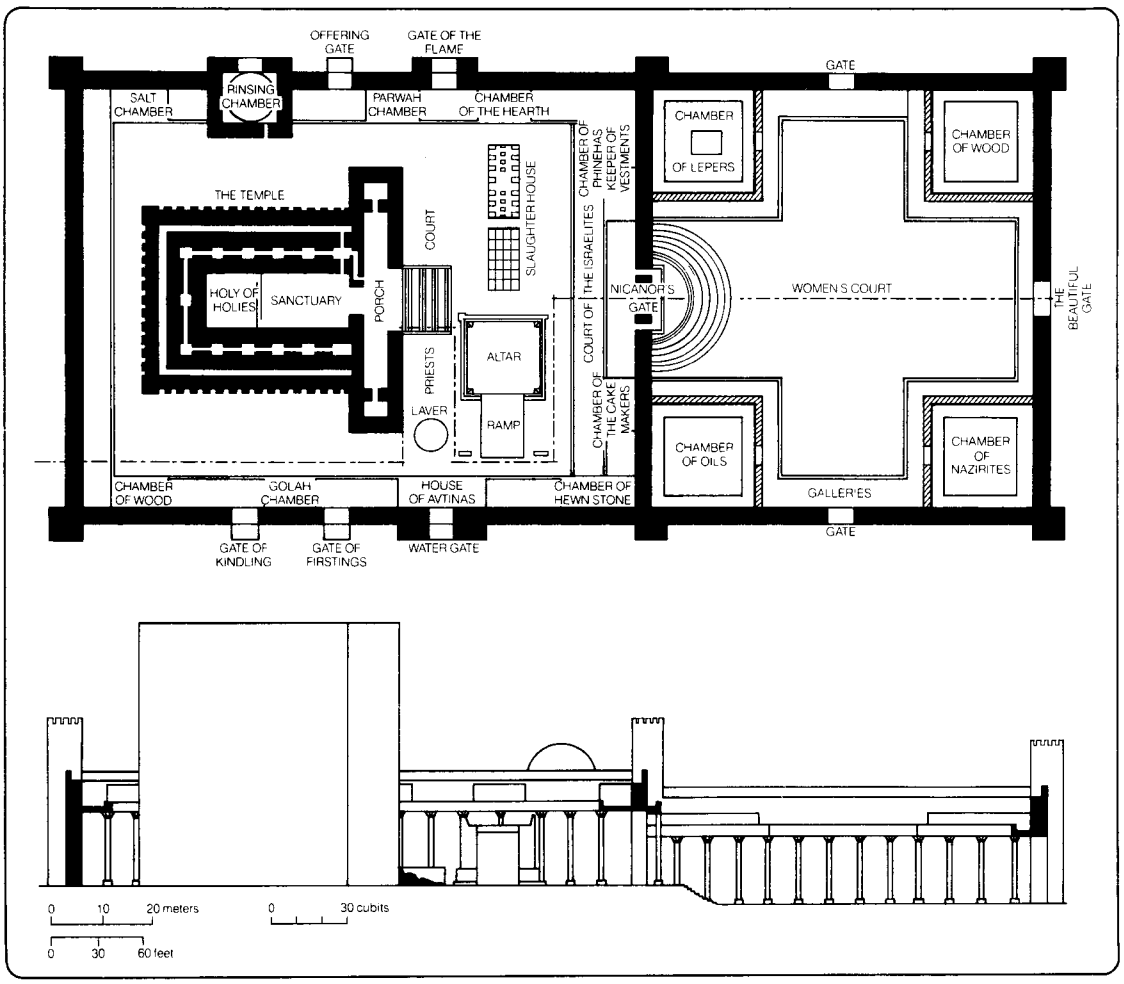
Just as there were porticoes (double and triple) along the inside of the wall surrounding the Court of the Gentiles, so there was a portico with a single row of columns along the inside of the wall surrounding the inner courts, including the Court of Women.

The Court of Women was for the Jews an area of still greater sanctity than the Court of the Gentiles and the rampart that surrounded the inner courts. According to Mish. *Kelim* i.8 no one was allowed to enter it on the day on which he had immersed himself for purification (since his purification was not complete until evening). Josephus speaks in general terms, saying that male Jews were allowed to enter, as were women Jews who were in a state of ritual purity (*CAp* ii.8 [103f.]).

4. Courts of Israel and of the Priests. As we have seen, the Nicanor Gate of rabbinic tradition led from the western side of the Court of Women into the Court of Israel. According to *Middoth* ii.5 fifteen steps, built in a semicircle, led up to the gate; on these the Levite choir used to stand to sing. Chambers located beneath the Court of Israel and opening onto the Court of Women were used for the storage of the Levites' musical instruments (ii.6).

According to *Middoth* ii.6 the dimensions of the Court of Israel were 135 cubits from north to south, but only 11 cubits from east to west. (It is possible, however, that the area accessible to Israelite males included strips to the north and south of the sanctuary up to a barrier beyond which the laity was not permitted; cf. *BJ* v.5.6 [226]). To this court were admitted only ritually pure Israelite men (Mish. *Kelim* i.8; *BJ* v.5.6 [227]; *CAp* ii.8 [103f.]). Here Israelite men would crowd on the afternoon of Nisan 14 for the slaughtering of the Passover lambs.

A plan of Herod's temple, adapted from *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 15 (1971), s.v. "Temple," p. 962



Here too they would gather for worship and prayer, especially at the time of the daily offerings (cf. Lk. 1:21f.; 18:10; Acts 3:1).

A low stone barrier, about a cubit high, divided the Court of Israel from that of the Priests (*BJ* v.5.6 [226]; cf. Mish. *Middoth* ii.6). Normally, lay Israelites were not allowed beyond this marking (for exceptions, see Mish. *Kelim* i.8). According to Mish. *Middoth* ii.6 (cf. v.1) the latter court too was 135 cubits from north to south, and only 11 cubits from east to west; but so narrow a strip is obtained only by distinguishing it from the altar area (the next 32 cubits from east to west) and a space of 22 cubits leading up to the sanctuary itself. These latter areas were also accessible only to the priests.

Since four gates led into the inner courts from both the north and the south sides, and only the easternmost of these opened into the Court of Women, it follows that three gates opened into the "Temple Court" (the *ʿazārâ*, i.e., the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests) on both the north and south sides. These are listed in Mish. *Middoth* i.4. (Cf., however, Mish. *Middoth* ii.6 and *Shekalim* vi.3, where more gates are listed.) For the chambers between the gates, see *Middoth* v.3f. The chamber furthest east on the south side, traditionally rendered the "Chamber of Hewn Stone," is the traditional site for the gathering of the Sanhedrin (Mish. *Sanhedrin* xi.2; *Middoth* v.4); but a location on the western boundary of the temple hill is more likely.

As we have noted, the great altar for burnt offering was located according to Mish. *Middoth* v.1 just to the west of the narrow 11-cubit strip of the Court of the Priests. Josephus gives its dimensions as 50 cubits long and wide, and 15 cubits high (*BJ* v.5.6 [225]). According to *Middoth* iii.1 it was 32 cubits square at the base and tapered toward the top in several stages. Priests would approach the altar by way of a gentle slope on its southern side, 32 cubits long and 16 cubits wide (Mish. *Middoth* iii.3). To the north of the altar was the area in which animals were slaughtered, with six rows of four rings in which the animals were tied, eight pillars with iron hooks for hanging the slaughtered beasts, and marble tables between the pillars on which the animals were flayed. West of the altar and somewhat to the south was the laver in which priests washed their hands and feet.

5. Sanctuary. The temple building itself was approached by twelve steps (*BJ* v.5.4 [207]; according to *Middoth* iii.6, the twelve steps were in three groups, separated by terraces). At its front, the temple was 100 cubits wide and high, but behind the vestibule it was 20 cubits narrower on each side (*Middoth* iv.7: 15 cubits). The vestibule itself was 11 cubits from east to west, according to *Middoth* iv.7, perhaps following Ezk. 40:49 (MT); Josephus gives the measurement as 20 cubits, perhaps including the thickness of the walls. Behind the vestibule came the nave, 40 cubits from east to west, 60 cubits high, and 20 cubits wide (*BJ* v.5.5 [215]). Here were placed the lampstand with its seven lamps, the table for the bread of the Presence, and the altar on which incense was offered each morning and evening (cf. Zechariah's task in Lk. 1:9). Behind the nave was the innermost sanctuary, the holy of holies, a cube measuring 20 cubits on all sides, completely empty, and accessible only to the high priest on the day of atonement.

According to Mish. *Yoma* v.1 (cf. *Middoth* iv.7) two curtains a cubit apart from each other separated the nave from the holy of holies. The "veil" is described in Mish. *Shekalim* viii.5 as being one handbreadth thick, and measuring 40 cubits by 20. A wall 6 cubits thick divided the vestibule from the nave (*Middoth* iv.7). This wall was penetrated by the great temple gate (cf. Mish. *Tamid* iii.7f.), which had a wicket entrance on each side, though that to the south was never used. Above the gate were the famous golden vines with their enormous clusters of grapes. In front of this gate was another curtain of Babylonian tapestry. There is some debate whether the "curtain of the temple" of Mk. 15:38 par. refers to the curtain at the entrance to the nave or to the one which separated the nave from the holy of holies. Commentators usually decide the issue on the basis of the significance they attach to its being torn: when it is seen as foreshadowing the destruction of the temple, the curtain at the nave entrance is preferred, since such an omen should have taken place in public view; if, however, the rending of the veil is symbolic of the free access into God's presence made possible by Jesus' death (cf. He. 10:20), then the veil between the nave and the holy of holies is to be preferred.

Along the two sides and back of the temple building were chambers in three stories, rising to a height of 60 cubits (*BJ* v.5.5 [220f.]). The lowest story was 5 cubits wide, the middle 6, and the uppermost 7. There were fifteen chambers on each of the north and south sides, eight on the west (Mish. *Middoth* iv.3).

The literary sources tell little of the front (facade) of the temple. Perhaps we may infer from representations of the temple on coins from the Bar Cochba period that there were four pillars. The entrance to the vestibule (70 cubits high, 25 wide, according to *BJ* v.5.4 [208]; 40 cubits high, 20 wide, according to *Middoth* iii.7) had no doors, allowing view of the curtain at the entrance to the nave. The temple exterior was adorned on all sides by massive plates of gold. Where there was no gold overlay the enormous white stones used in the temple construction could be seen (*BJ* v.5.6 [222-24]). Sharp golden spikes protruded from the roof to prevent birds from sitting on and polluting the roof.

See Vol. II, Plate 43; *see also* picture in HEROD.

D. Significance. 1. For Judaism. According to an ancient saying preserved in Mish. *Aboth* i.2 the world is "sustained" by three things: the law (Torah), the temple service, and deeds of loving kindness. Here in a nutshell we see both the great significance of the temple for Judaism and one of the reasons why Judaism was able to survive its destruction.

Throughout its history the Jerusalem temple was the focal point of religious interest for Jews wherever they were living. Here was carried on the cultic worship given to Moses on Mt. Sinai. Admittedly, the temple priesthood in the first century seems largely to have been Sadducean, and the Sadducees had little popular support. Yet only extremist groups (as, perhaps, the Qumrân community) withdrew their support from the temple. The Pharisees, for all their differences with the Sadducees, nonetheless remained stoutly loyal to the temple cult, since it was so important a part of the divine law which guided their lives. And from all over the world Jews would gather at the temple in Jerusalem to observe the pilgrimage feasts (cf. Acts 2:9-11). Jewish writings of the period evince not only loyalty to the temple but great pride in its sanctity and splendor.

And yet Judaism survived the destruction of the temple at the culmination of the war with Rome in A.D. 70. Though we cannot enter a study of the later period here, it should be noted that several important factors already in Judaism of the second temple period provided a basis for continuity after the temple's destruction: the local synagogues, which had long since become the decisive center for religious instruction and worship for most Jews; the study

of Torah and the attempt by the faithful to conduct each area of their lives in strict obedience to its prescriptions; the awareness that the crucial matter in one's worship of God was not the externalities of cult but the attitude of the heart; and the hope of Israel's redemption, which continued even after Israel's sanctuary was destroyed.

2. For the NT. NT references to the temple may be summarized under three headings: (a) reverence for the temple as a divine institution; (b) criticism of current abuses of temple worship, together with the expectation that judgment would fall on God's recalcitrant people — a judgment which would include the temple's destruction; and (c) substitutes for the Jerusalem temple and its cult made possible under the new dispensation.

(a) In many ways, the NT shows Jesus and the early Jewish Christians as faithful adherents to the temple and its worship. Jesus is said not only to use the temple as a forum for His teaching (and healing, according to Mt. 21:14), but also to go up to (the temple in) Jerusalem at festival times (Lk. 2:41f.; Jn. 2:13; 5:1; 7:10, 14; 10:22f.; cf. also Paul, in Acts 20:16). The saying in Mt. 5:23f. presupposes the propriety of bringing gifts to the altar; Mt. 5:35 affirms the OT belief that God is resident in a peculiar sense in Jerusalem; and Mt. 23:21 is an even more emphatic insistence on the sanctity of the temple as the divine dwelling-place.

Of all the NT writers, it is Luke for whom temple worship plays the most significant role — naturally enough, for it was clearly his conscious design to portray Christian faith as the legitimate successor of OT piety. Luke's Gospel begins and concludes in the temple (1:9; 24:53). Much of the infancy narratives takes place at the temple (1:8-23; 2:22-38, 46-50). The faithfulness of Zechariah, Joseph, and Mary to the temple worship, and the "temple piety" of Simeon and Anna exemplify expectant Jewish faith at its best. Even after the resurrection of their Lord, the disciples find it appropriate to praise God in the temple and to participate in its services (Lk. 24:53; Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:12, 42; cf. 21:26; 22:17).

Perhaps the most striking demonstration of reverence for the temple is found in the various accounts of the temple "cleansing." Whatever the specific abuses may have been which Jesus' actions were intended to correct, it is clear that he was motivated by "zeal" for God's house (Jn. 2:17).

(b) It is difficult, however, to be more precise about the wrongs which Jesus was attacking. Was it the fact that trade of any kind was being conducted in the temple, as Jn. 2:16 and the apparent allusion to Zec. 14:21 would imply? Was it dishonesty and greed on the part of the traders and moneychangers (thus perverting an otherwise legitimate practice), as the reference to a "den of robbers" (Mk. 11:17 par.) would suggest? Or was it the misappropriation for economic transactions of the one courtyard where Gentiles could worship, thus depriving the temple of its significance as a "house of prayer for all the nations" (cf. Mk. 11:17)? It is even possible that Jesus was acting in conscious fulfillment of such prophecies as Zec. 14:21; Mal. 3:1, and intended to offer a messianic alternative to the corrupt temple practices of the day. We cannot be sure.

There is a measure of uncertainty regarding Jesus' prophecy of the temple's destruction as well. The saying in Mk. 13:2 par. is clear enough (cf. also Mt. 23:38 par.). But according to Matthew (26:60f.; cf. 27:40) and Mark (14:57f.; cf. 15:29), Jesus was accused by "false" witnesses of having said that He would (so Mark; Matthew: He was "able to") destroy the temple (Mark: "made with hands") and in three days build another (Mark: "not made with hands"). The Evangelists must have understood the reference to "three days" as applying to Jesus' resurrection (so also Jn. 2:19-22). It is therefore possible that the new "temple not made with hands" should be understood as Jesus' resurrection body; alternatively, the words may contain an implicit claim that Jesus would be replacing the material temple with the new, spiritual temple of His Church (see below). On either understanding we may wonder why the Evangelists would have considered the testimony of Mk. 14:58 to be "false." Probably it is because Jesus is falsely accused of saying that *He would destroy* the temple, whereas in fact He only announced its destruction as part of God's impending judgment over Israel.

In Acts 6:13f. Stephen is charged by "false witnesses" with saying that Jesus of Nazareth would "destroy this place" (i.e., the temple). While Stephen's defense (7:2-53) contains no direct reference to the charge, he does appear to denounce Solomon's building of a "house" rather than a "tabernacle" (RSV "habitation," 7:46). Presumably this is because a tabernacle would have been more in keeping with the "tent of witness" which had been erected according to a divine plan (7:44); furthermore, a "house" perhaps suggested a permanent divine residence at a local sanctuary, whereas God cannot be so confined (7:48-50; cf. 17:24). Whatever the background of these charges, it is difficult to believe that Luke would have understood them to be a criticism of the temple per se; in Luke's intention at least, contemporary misunderstandings of the divine sanctuary would have been attacked.

(c) Implicit in the claim that Jesus would replace the temple "made with hands" with one "not made with hands" (Mk. 14:58) is the conviction that the Jerusalem temple, whatever role it may once have played in the divine economy, was due to be replaced in the new order brought about by Jesus. The inadequacy of the old order and the superiority of the new are apparent in Mt. 12:6 ("something greater than the temple is here") as well. This theme finds emphatic statement in Jn. 4:20-24. Worship at the temple in Jerusalem was doubtless part of God's purpose at one time, for in the statement that "salvation is from the Jews" (4:22) Jesus in part sides with the Jews in their dispute with the Samaritans over the legitimate cultic site (cf. v. 20). But such a worship belongs in any case to the past, for "the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth." These verses should not be understood as an argument in principle for the superiority of "spiritual" (or internal) to material (external) worship. What is being affirmed is rather that, with the coming of Jesus (the "truth") into the world, the old order of worship is done away and replaced by the worship of those who come to God through His Son (cf. 1:17).

In the NT epistles we meet the conviction that the individual Christian (1 Cor. 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16?) or the Church of Christ as a whole (1 Cor. 3:16f.; Eph. 2:19-22; 1 Pet. 2:5; cf. Mt. 16:18; Rev. 3:12) represents the "temple of God," because here God's Spirit has taken up residence. Curiously, this conviction, which represents the culmination of a great biblical theme — the dwelling of God in the midst of His people — is never itself the subject of discussion but is merely the assumed common ground on which further argumentation is based: that the one who disrupts the unity of the Church will be punished as a destroyer of God's temple (1 Cor. 3:16f., in the context of 1:10–3:23); that the "temple of the Holy Spirit" must not be used for immorality (1 Cor. 6:12-20) or brought into compromising links with unbelievers (2 Cor. 6:14–7:1); that the temple of God is made up of Gentiles as well as Jews (Eph. 2:11-22); that it is the "spiritual

sacrifices" offered in the "spiritual house" made up of believers that are acceptable to God (1 Pet. 2:5). Yet if a measure of obscurity surrounds the origin of this conviction, the OT roots are nonetheless clear (cf. Ezk. 11:19; 36:26f.; 37:26f.; Ps. 118:22; Isa. 28:16), and the identification of the Church of Christ with God's temple is in fact not a great leap from basic Christian positions: that the OT sacrificial system (and with it the temple in which it was carried on) is done away by the perfect sacrifice of Christ; that the gift of God's indwelling Spirit to each believer is a mark of the new age; that God is living and active in the midst of the community of His redeemed people. There is thus no need to suggest that the (rather distant) parallel by which the Qumrân community saw itself as God's temple (cf. III.F above) was the origin of Christian teaching on this point.

See also JERUSALEM.

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S. WESTERHOLM

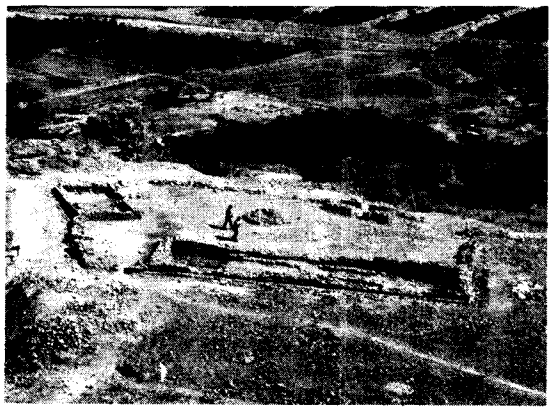
TEMPLES.

I. Introduction
II. Chalcolithic Period
  A. Enclosure of En-gedi
  B. Gilath Temple
III. Early Bronze Age
  A. Megiddo
  B. Acropolis Temple at Ai
  C. Arad
IV. Middle Bronze Age
  A. Hazor
  B. Fortress and Courtyard Temples of Shechem
  C. Nahariyah
  D. Tell Kittan
V. Late Bronze Age
  A. Fosse Temple at Lachish
  B. Area P Temple at Lachish
  C. Tell Mevorakh
  D. Beth-shean
VI. Iron Age
VII. Two Important "High Places"
  A. Gezer
  B. Dan

I. Introduction.–A temple is a building with a cultic function. The distinction must be preserved between the temple institution, conceived of as the god's dwelling place, and the so-called high place (Heb. *bāmâ*, pl. *bāmôt*) or "cultic open place," which usually does not consist of elements of architecture except perhaps for an enclosure wall around the sacred area (see H. H. Nelson, A. L. Oppenheim, and G. E. Wright, "Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East"; M. Haran, "Temples and Cultic Open Areas as Reflected in the Bible," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 31-37). This article will survey the major Palestinian (Canaanite) temples from the Chalcolithic period through the Iron Age. (For discussion of the Jerusalem temple, *see* TEMPLE.) The order of presentation is by chronology and by site, i.e., although the basic organization is by archeological period, a site's total horizon of temple architecture will be presented, beginning with the earliest temple.

Several surveys of Palestinian temples, including classification systems of temple types, are available. Dated, though still of value, are the articles by M. V. Seton Williams and G. R. H. Wright. More recent studies include

TEMPLES



The ruins of the Chalcolithic sanctuary at En-gedi, looking east-southeast (G. Pratico)

A. Mazar, *Excavations at Tell Qasile, I* (1980); M. Ottosson; and E. Stern, *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh, II: The Bronze Age* (1984), pp. 28-39.

II. Chalcolithic Period.–*A. Enclosure of En-gedi.* On a hill terrace, high above the spring of En-gedi, was discovered a building complex that has been identified as a sanctuary or temple dating to the Chalcolithic period. The complex, built of solid stone walls, comprised a main rectangular building (20 by 6 m., 66 by 20 ft.) in the north and a small building of similar design, the "broad-room" plan, on the east. A thin enclosure wall connected the buildings, encompassing also a large open courtyard area to the south. In the center of this enclosed courtyard was a circular stone structure (3 m., 10 ft., in diameter), which likely served a cultic function. On the east side of the enclosure was a small gate leading to Nahal David. A more sophisticated gate was located on the south side of the complex, overlooking the Dead Sea. Discovered in the main "broad-room" building, on the north side, was a niche, surrounded by a low stone wall, that probably served as an altar. The building also yielded charred animal bones, pottery fragments, and an accumulation of ashes. A notable find was a clay statuette of a bull laden with a pair of churns. For further details, see D. Ussishkin, *BA*, 34 (1971), 23ff.; R. Amiran, "Some Observations on Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Sanctuaries and Religion," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 47-53.

B. Gilath Temple. Although technical architectural data are lean, a Chalcolithic temple was discovered at the northern Negeb site of Gilath (see D. Alon, *BA*, 40 [1977], 63-65). This find is particularly intriguing because of the unusually rich repertoire of artifacts found at the site and in its environs, including violin-shaped figures of granite and crystalline chalk veined with green copper, maceheads of granite, basalt, and copper, polished flint axes and hatchets, numerous other clay and stone objects, and a variety of clay vessels. Two pieces are particularly noteworthy. The first is a churnlike vessel, in the shape of a ram (32 cm., 12.6 in., long as preserved), with three goblets on its back. It is painted with horizontal lines and ten triangular horns that point downward from the top of the back to the belly. The second piece is a seated female figure (28 cm., 11 in., high) with a churn on her head. She is seated on a vessel that is modeled in the shape of a censer or pedestal. Braids of hair are represented by red lines. Horizontal lines of red paint on her body could possibly suggest a garment. Her sexual organs are emphasized. These two pieces are likely ritual vessels, perhaps in the worship of Ashtaroth, as the excavator suggested.

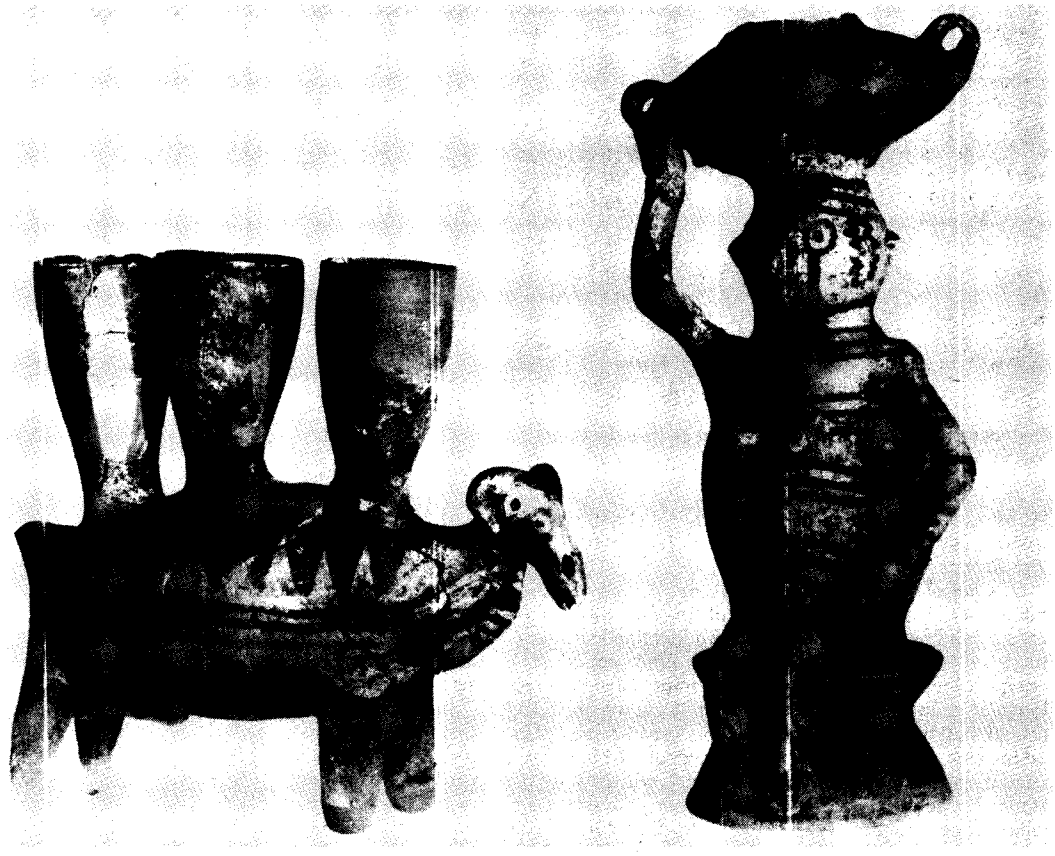
III. Early Bronze Age.–*A. Megiddo.* A series of temples was discovered in the early excavations of MEGIDDO, the great mound strategically located on the southern edge of the Jezreel Valley (see G. Loud, *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935-39* [1948]). One area in particular, Area BB on the eastern side of the mound, yielded a succession of temples, beginning in the E.B. Age (stratum XIX) and ending in the L.B. II period. The sequence was not continuous; there were numerous gaps in the occupational history of this "sacred area." The stratigraphy and chronology of these structures are subjects of considerable debate among archeologists (see K. Kenyon, *Eretz-Israel*, 5 [1958], 51-60; I. Dunayevsky and A. Kempinski, *ZDPV*, 89 [1973], 161-187, esp. n. 3; Y. Aharoni, "Megiddo," in *EAEHL*, III, 837-841; *Archaeology of the Land of Israel* [Eng. tr. 1978], pp. 74-77).

The earliest temple erected in Area BB (Building 4050) was constructed on the "broad-room" plan (see Loud, *Megiddo II*, fig. 390). Opposite the entrance, which was located in the eastern wall, a raised, plastered platform was discovered. Two pillar bases were located toward the center of the rectangular hall. These served as roof supports. A large, sloping courtyard, paved with stone slabs, was located to the east. A contemporary structure (4047), of similar design and features, also may have served a cultic function. This earliest temple has been assigned to stratum XIX (E.B. IA/B-II). Megiddo was an unfortified settlement in this level.

In the E.B. II period (stratum XVIII) Megiddo was fortified with a massive city wall. Scholars assign the earliest phase of the great altar platform to either stratum XVIIIA (E.B. II) or stratum XVII (E.B. IIIA). This is surely one of the most impressive cult installations ever discovered in Syria-Palestine (see Loud, *Megiddo II*, figs. 164f., 180f.). The altar is a round platform (8 m., 26 ft., in diameter), constructed of fieldstones to a height of 1.4 m. (4.6 ft.), with a flight of seven steps on the east side. It is enclosed by a very substantial wall, within which were uncovered numerous fragments of pottery and animal bones. In the E.B. III period, three temples were constructed near the altar platform, one to the north and two in a line to the west (see Loud, *Megiddo II*, fig. 394). Scholars do not agree as to whether these structures were contemporary or were built in various stages. Dunayevsky and Kempinski believed that Temple 4040 was constructed in stratum XVI (E.B. IIIA) or possibly earlier (stratum XVII) with the addition of temples 5192 and 5269 in stratum XV (E.B. IIIB = E.B. IV). On the other hand, K. Kenyon maintained that the western pair of temples (5192 and 5269) was constructed first. Conclusions must be tentative in the light of data available at the time of writing.

These three temples are identical in plan. Each is composed of one "broad-room" unit with a vestibule entrance in front. Their dimensions are also quite similar, approximately 9 by 14 m. (29.5 by 45.9 ft.) for the main rectangular unit. The similarities also extend to internal arrangements. Opposite the entrance to each structure, located on the northeast side, was a rectangular platform. Two pillar bases, which served as roof supports, were also uncovered in each building. The basic plan recalls the Aegean *megaron* type, well-known from E.B. Age Syria and Asia Minor. The later stratigraphical and architectural history of these temples, i.e., through stratum XIIIA (M.B. IIA), will not be detailed further. See the discussion of Dunayevsky and Kempinski, *ZDPV*, 89 (1973), 162-175, especially figs. 1 and 5-11.

This cult precinct in Area BB retained its religious sig-



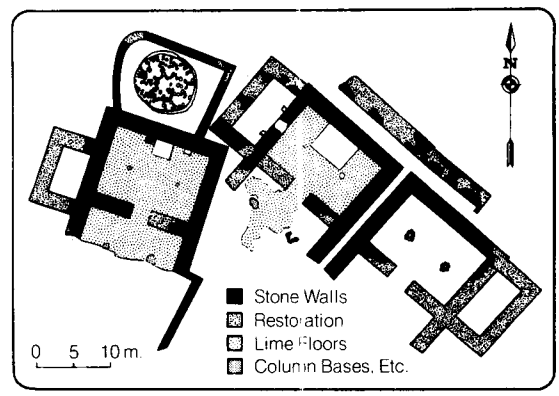
Two clay vessels probably for ritual use, found at the Gilath temple site (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

nificance in later levels (strata XII and XI), though remains of temple buildings were not uncovered. A new temple was built in stratum X (end of M.B.) and continued in use until stratum VIIA (L.B. IIB-Iron IA). The plan of this building (2048) was completely different from the "broad-room" design of the earlier temples (see Loud, *Megiddo II,* figs. 402-404; see also the revised stratigraphy of Dunayevsky and Kempinski, figs. 15 and 16-19). Temple 2048 consisted of a single large room, measuring 9.6 by 11.5 m. (31.5 by 37.7 ft.), with the entrance on the northern side. A niche was cut in the southern wall, directly opposite the entrance. The entryway was flanked on both sides by towers, one of which served as a stairway to the upper level. The building's walls were 3 m. (10 ft.) thick and even more in some places. While retaining its basic plan, the structure underwent a number of changes through strata IX, VIII, VIIB, and VIIA. This temple plan is that of the so-called fortified tower. Similar structures are well-known from Hazor and Shechem.

B. Acropolis Temple at Ai. Monumental buildings have been discovered at the site of Ai (et-Tell), located about 15 km. (9 mi.) NNE of Jerusalem, to which a cultic function has been assigned. The acropolis complex at Site D contains a large rectangular building that many scholars, perhaps most, consider to have been a temple. Site A has also yielded monumental architecture that has been designated as a "sanctuary." The latter will not be presented in detail. The definitive study is J. A. Callaway, *Early Bronze Age Sanctuary at Ai (et-Tell)* (1972). See also the critique of J. Marquet-Krause in G. E. Wright, "Significance of Ai in the Third Millennium B.C.," in A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch, eds., *Archäologie und AT* (1970), pp. 302-306.

The main building of Ai was located just W of the tell's highest point. It was a large rectangular structure (20 by 6.6 m., 65.6 by 21.6 ft.), facing east, with its entrance in the broad wall. This main unit was surrounded by a protective wall, best preserved on the western and southern sides, which curved around the back (western) corners. Four or five pillars uncovered in the main room served as

Plan of the Megiddo temple, stratum XV (1950-1850 B.C.) (adapted from *EAEHL,* III, 833)



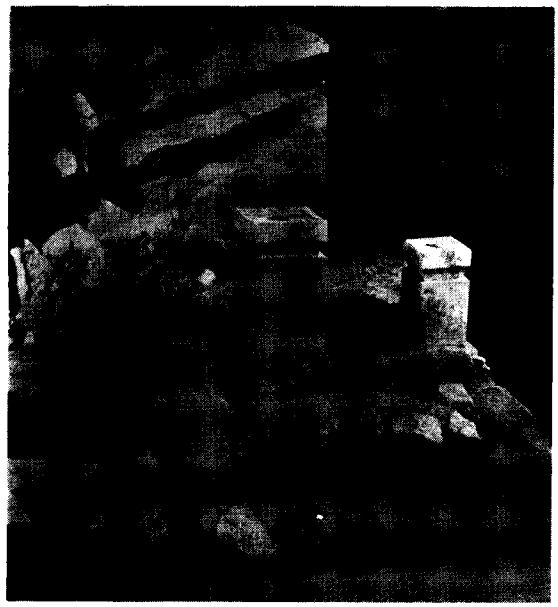
roof supports. Two main architectural phases were discerned, assigned to the E.B. II and III periods. This area was excavated between 1933 and 1935 by J. Marquet-Krause (*Syria*, 16 [1935], 330-33; cf. L. H. Vincent, *RB*, 46 [1937], 231-266). She identified this monumental building as a palace-citadel. Many scholars, however, prefer to identify this structure as a temple (M. V. Seton Williams; W. F. Albright, *AP*, p. 76; G. E. Wright, "Significance of Ai," 299-319; J. A. Callaway, "Ai," in *EAEHL*, I, 36-52, esp. 41).

C. Arad. About 32 km. (20 mi.) NE of modern Beer-sheba are located the impressive ruins of ancient ARAD (see Nu. 21:1; 33:40; Josh. 12:14; Jgs. 1:16; 4:11). This tell is actually a double site, preserving two distinct occupational horizons: a 10-hectare (25-acre) city of the E.B. Age and a small citadel of about 400 sq. m. (1 acre) that preserves a series of fortresses dating to the Iron Age. Both sites yielded important temples.

The temple complex discovered in the E.B. Age city is known as the "Twin Temple" (on this designation, see R. Amiran, "Some Observations on Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Sanctuaries and Religion," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, p. 49). It is composed of two large rectangular halls situated end to end with a short wall in common. Each of the two units is constructed on the "broad-room" plan. Both halls have entrances on their eastern long wall, thereby facing east, and both open onto courtyards. The unit in the north was initially constructed in stratum III (E.B. III) with some significant changes in stratum II (E.B. II). The southern hall was a later addition. Built into the eastern facade of the northern room was a *bāmâ* with a nearby laver. The latter was surrounded by a small enclosure wall. Temples of similar design include the Chalcolithic sanctuary of En-gedi, the E.B. Age temple on the acropolis of Ai (et-Tell), and the twin temple of Megiddo (4050 and 4047). See R. Amiran, "Beginning of Urbanization in Canaan," in J. A. Sanders, ed., *Near Eastern Archaeology in the 20th Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (1970), pp. 83-100; "Arad," in *EAEHL*, I, 74-81; *Early Arad: The Chalcolithic Settlement and Early Bronze City* (1978).

The temple of Arad's Iron Age citadel-fortress was discovered in the northwestern corner of the site. The basic building plan, oriented E-W, consisted of three architectural units: a broad-room that served as the *hêḵāl* ("holy place" or hall), a small niche in the back wall (1.2 by 1.2 m., 4 by 4 ft.) for the *deḇîr* ("holy of holies"), and a square courtyard (10 by 10 m., 32.8 by 32.8 ft.) in front of the broad-room in which was located a sacrificial altar. Two limestone incense altars flanked the entrance to the small niche, and behind them (in the niche) was a small platform with a stele. Plastered benches were constructed along the back wall of the "holy place," opposite the "holy of holies." The sanctuary was an integral part of the fortress. The temple continued in use, with some significant architectural changes, through strata XI (10th cent. B.C.), X (9th cent. B.C.), IX (8th cent. B.C.), VIII (end of the 8th cent., with abolition of the sacrificial altar), and VII (7th cent., with destruction of the "holy of holies"). For the architectural changes that were introduced through the four successive strata, see Y. Aharoni, *BA*, 31 (1968), 2-32; Z. Herzog, *et al.*, *BASOR*, 254 (Summer 1984), 1-3.

While similarities are apparent, comparison with the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem clearly suggests fundamental differences in architectural concept, especially with regard to the *hêḵāl*, or "holy place," the main hall of the temple. At Arad this was a broad-room, whereas the corresponding room in the Jerusalem temple was a long-room. It would appear that the Arad design was modeled



The incense altars of the Arad temple (collection Israel Department of Antiquities, photo Israel Museum/D. Harris)

according to the "four-room house" plan that was common in the Israelite period. See also Y. Aharoni, "Arad," in *EAEHL*, I, 82-89; *Arad Inscriptions* (1981).

It should be noted that Y. Aharoni, the excavator of the Iron Age temple at Arad, believed that a similar sanctuary once existed at Iron Age Beer-sheba. Aharoni's excavations at Beer-sheba did yield a magnificent horned altar, though identifiable temple remains were never found. For details of the discussion, see Z. Herzog, *et al.*, *BASOR*, 225 (Feb. 1977), 49-58; "Israelite Sanctuaries at Arad and Beer-Sheba," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 120-22. Y. Yadin challenged Aharoni's suggestions (*BASOR*, 222 [Apr. 1976], 5-17).

IV. Middle Bronze Age.—*A. Hazor.* The great mound of HAZOR, located some 15 km. (9 mi.) NNW of the Sea of Galilee, is composed of two distinct areas of occupation: the tell proper (6 hectares, 15 acres) and a vast rectangular plateau or lower city (80 hectares, 200 acres) to the north. The tell was occupied almost continuously between the E.B. Age and the Hellenistic period. The remains of the lower city embrace the M.B. II-L.B. IIB periods. A number of temples of various periods were discovered in both the upper and lower cities.

Perhaps the most famous of the Hazor temples is the "Stelae Temple," which was uncovered at the base of the lower city rampart in Area C. Two phases were discerned in the small shrine, dating to the L.B. II period (14th-13th cents. B.C.). Of special interest was a row of ten basalt stelae that were located in the niche in the eastern wall. One of them bore a relief depicting two hands stretched upward. Above the hands was the symbol of a deity that was composed of a crescent within which was a disk. This emblem, together with the inverted crescent that was depicted on the breast of a nearby deity statue, suggested to the excavator that the temple was dedicated to the moon-god (see Y. Yadin, *et al.*, *Hazor, I* [1958], plates XXIX:1-3).

The best-preserved Hazor temple was the Orthostats Temple in Area H (see Yadin, *et al.*, *Hazor, III-IV* [1961], plates CXX:1f.; CXXI:1f.; CXXII:1). The earliest phase of this structure dates to the M.B. IIC period (stratum 3,

17th-16th cent. B.C.). The building underwent several significant alterations until its final destruction in stratum 1A at the end of the 13th cent. B.C. Four successive levels were excavated (strata 3 [M.B. II], 2 [L.B. I], 1B [L.B. II], and 1A [end of L.B. IIB]). The building derives its name from the basalt orthostats that were used in the construction of the stratum 1A temple. These well-dressed stones were undoubtedly used in the earlier structures, perhaps even in the M.B. IIC period (stratum 3) but surely in the L.B. I temple (stratum 2). Similar orthostats are known from Alalakh and Tilmen Hüyük, some 12 kms. (7 1/2 mi.) SE of Zenjirli.

The cult objects that were discovered in the Orthostats Temple were particularly fine, including an incense altar, two libation tables, "liquids" kraters, a carinated basalt krater, an offertory table, a male statue and numerous other cult and votive objects (see *Hazor, III-IV,* plates CXXI-CXXIV; CCCXXIV-CCCXXXII; CCLXXX:11f.; CXXXII:2, 4; CCCXIX-CCCXXII). The "holy of holies" of the stratum 1A temple yielded a fragmented faience scarab with the name of Amenhotep III, thereby providing a definite *post quem* date for that temple.

Although not well preserved, a large temple complex was also discovered in Area F. The earliest structure is known as the "Double Temple" and was assigned to stratum 3 of the M.B. II period (see *Hazor, III-IV,* plates LXIX-LXXVII). As reconstructed, the building was divided into two symmetrical wings. The excavator believed that the temple was dedicated to two deities, though identification is impossible. Above this earliest temple in Area H was constructed a thick-walled building that is now known as the "Square Temple" (*Hazor, III-IV,* plates LXXIII:2; LXXIV-LXXV). It was assigned to the L.B. I period. A conspicuous parallel was provided by the square temple discovered near the old Amman airport in Jordan (see J. B. Hennessy, *PEQ,* 98 [1966], 155-162; E. F. Campbell and G. E. Wright, *BA,* 32 [1969], 104; V. Hankey, *Levant,* 6 [1974], 131-178). The area of these two temples was turned into an open high place in the L.B. II period (14th-13th cent. B.C.).

The last major temple at Hazor was discovered on the tell in Area A (Yadin, *Hazor* [1972], pp. 102-105). The building was a long rectangular structure (16.2 by 11.6 m., 53 by 38 ft.), oriented E-W, with its entrance on the northeastern side. A raised inner platform was discovered against the western wall. This "Long Temple" was first constructed in the M.B. II period and later reused in the L.B. I (16th-15th cent. B.C.). Several cultic installations were uncovered nearby, together with pits containing bones and votive vessels.

Within the horizon of Hazor temples, there are major differences in plan and orientation, even between contemporary structures. Yadin concluded that different deities had different plans and orientation. For a general survey of the Hazor temples, see Yadin, *Hazor,* pp. 67-105.

B. Fortress and Courtyard Temples of Shechem. The Megiddo Temple Towers of strata X-VII, just described, are closely paralleled by massive fortress temples at SHECHEM, the earliest of which dates to the end of the M.B. Age (M.B. IIC). Tell Balâṭah (ancient Shechem) is an impressive mound that is located at the eastern opening of the Nâblus pass, with Mt. Ebal to the north and Mt. Gerizim to the south. The sacred area of Shechem is located in the west-northwestern quadrant of the site. It was in this area, now designated Field V, that a long tradition of temple architecture was uncovered, embracing almost six centuries.

The earliest fortress temple consisted of one long room with two tower chambers, one on each side of a broad

The fortress temple at Shechem, looking south toward the reconstructed courtyard (W. S. LaSor)

entryway. Stairwells were constructed within these high flanking towers. This massive temple measured 26.3 by 21.2 m. (86.3 by 70 ft.) externally, with walls that were approximately 5.1 m. (16.7 ft.) thick. The interior measurements of the main hall or cella were only 13.5 by 11 m. (44.3 by 36.1 ft.). Six column bases for roof supports were discovered in this unit. Two construction phases were discerned in the building. The major architectural differences were observed in the entrance hall and in the arrangement of cult objects outside the entrance. The occupational history of the temple embraces the M.B. IIC period. For further architectural details, see G. E. Wright, *Shechem* (1964), pp. 80-102; figs. 13, 20, 41, 47f.; "Shechem," in *EAEHL,* IV, 1083-1094.

Constructed on the foundations of this fortress temple was a less massive L.B. Age successor. Although the new building was not as well preserved, it appears to have retained the same basic plan. The dimensions of the new hall were estimated at 16 by 12.5 m. (52.5 by 41 ft.). Two phases were also distinguished in this temple, although the second seems to represent only a repair of its predecessor with a new floor and altar. The two phases of this second temple cover the period 1450-1125 B.C.

These two fortress temples of Field V have been presented first because of the monumental character of their construction. They are probably the best known of the Shechem temples but they are not the earliest of the site's sacred buildings. To the east and southeast of the fortress temples was located another sacred area that was called the *temenos* by E. Sellin, one of Shechem's early excavators. This area, now designated Field VI, was carefully studied by the Drew-McCormick Expedition under the direction of G. E. Wright. A succession of courtyard temples was discerned, beginning in the 18th cent. B.C. They were composed of small rooms and a plaza that surrounded a central court (G. E. Wright, *Shechem,* figs. 63f.). Six distinct levels were discerned in this Field VI excavation area prior to the construction of the first fortress temple, which then became the main sacred area.

The first *temenos* level was a preparation stage for the sacred area and consisted basically of a leveling operation. The next four levels yielded a succession of courtyard temples that are known as the simple courtyard temple, casemate courtyard temple, pillared temple, and enlarged courtyard temple. The sacred area next shifts to the sequence of Field V fortress temples. The succession of Field VI temples is dated between the 18th and 17th cents. B.C.

For further details on these early structures and the attempt to integrate the Shechem temples with early bibli-

cal tradition, see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 110-138; E. F. Campbell and J. F. Ross, *BA*, 26 (1963), 2-27. In addition to the excavation reports published season by season in *BASOR*, see R. J. Bull, *BA*, 31 (1968), 50-72; R. G. Boling, *BA*, 32 (1969), 82-103; E. F. Campbell and G. E. Wright, *BA*, 32 (1969), 104-116.

C. Nahariyah. A M.B. Age temple and *bāmâ* were discovered at the coastal site of Nahariyah, about 10 km. (6 mi.) N of Acco. The temple consisted of a large rectangular hall (13 by 8 m., 43 by 26 ft.) on the "broad-room" plan, oriented E-W, with the main entrance located in the southern long wall. Two phases were distinguished (strata IV-III and II-I). Several rooms (storerooms and a kitchen) were added in stratum II-I, primarily to the east of the main hall. The area yielded a rich artifact assemblage, including miniature offering vessels, incense burners, two metal statuettes, clay figurines, and several casting molds. For discussion of the *bāmâ*, see M. Dothan, "Sanctuaries Along the Coast of Canaan in the MB Period: Nahariyah," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 74-81. See also I. Ben-Dor, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, 14 (1950), 1-43; M. Dothan, "Nahariya," in *EAEHL*, III, 908-912; "The Cult at Nahariyah and Canaanite High Places," in *Western Galilee and the Coast of Galilee* (1965), pp. 63-75.

D. Tell Kittan. Three temples, dating to the M.B. and L.B. periods, were discovered at Tell Kittan, 12 km. (7.5 mi.) N of Beth-shean (see E. Eisenberg, *BA*, 40 [1977], 77-81). The earliest temple (stratum V) consisted basically of a square room, measuring 5.5 by 6.9 m. (18 by 22.6 ft.) that was oriented to the east. The actual hall only measured 4.3 by 4.6 m. (14.1 by 15.1 ft.). A row of stelae, made from river stones, was discovered in a courtyard E of the entrance. One of these stelae was in the form of a nude woman, cupping her breasts in her hands. It is believed to be a local representation of the goddess Astarte. This temple is dated to the M.B. IIB period.

A larger temple was constructed in stratum IV, above the earlier structure. This building was rectangular, 11.5 by 14.3 m. (37.7 by 46.9 ft.), and preserved the eastern orientation. The entrance was located in the middle of the eastern wall. Ash piles uncovered outside the entrance contained the bones of animals. This level is also dated to the M.B. IIB period.

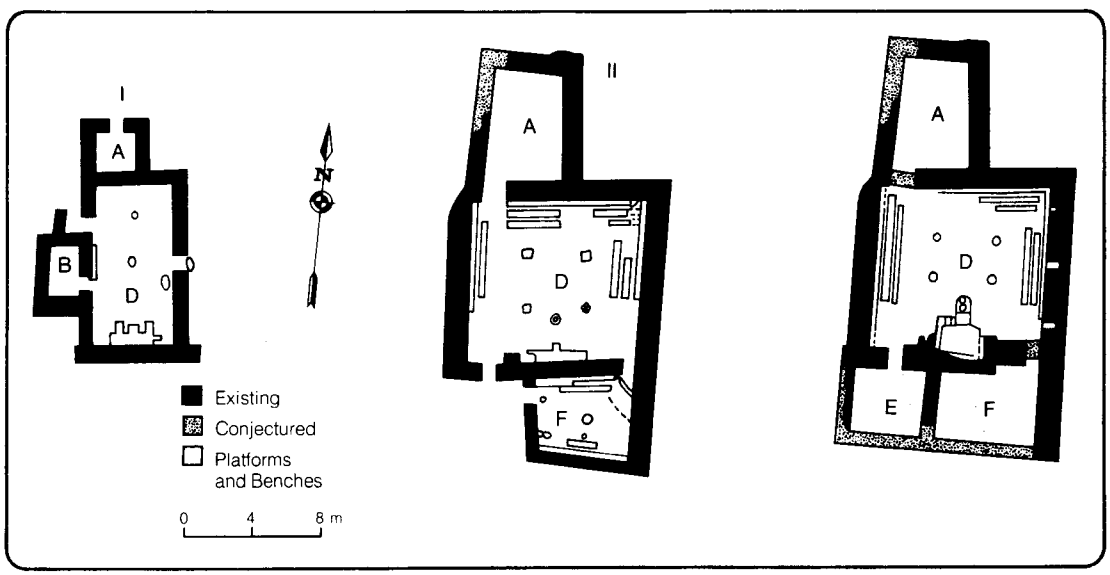
An even larger complex was constructed over the stratum IV temple in stratum III, dated to the L.B. I period. This temple consisted of a main hall with two small rooms on the south and a courtyard on the eastern side. Although the entrance was not discovered, it was believed to be located in the north wall of the complex that had been destroyed. This building yielded a large number of pottery vessels, beads, and jewelry. Stratum III was believed to have been destroyed in one of the campaigns of Thutmose III.

V. Late Bronze Age.–A. Fosse Temple at Lachish. Among the best-known temples of Syria-Palestine are those discovered at the impressive mound known as Tell ed-Duweir, ancient LACHISH. In the M.B. Age the city was protected by a fosse and a plaster-covered glacis that was crowned by a wall. With time the ramparts fell into disrepair and the fosse was allowed to fill with debris. At the beginning of the L.B. Age a small temple was constructed in the fosse. This was the first of three superimposed temples, constructed on the same general plan (see O. Tufnell, *et al., Lachish II: The Fosse Temple* [1940]).

The earliest temple was simple in plan (see plate LXVI in Tufnell). It consisted of a main rectangular sanctuary (10 by 5 m., 32.8 by 16.4 ft.) with two attached rooms, one on the north and the other on the west. Only the latter was entered through the sanctuary. The main entrance to the complex was in the west wall, in the northwest corner. The shrine, or focus of worship, was constructed against the south wall. It consisted of a low bench from which projected three rectangular blocks. It has been suggested that the blocks served as altars and that cult objects were placed on the bench. The chronology of this temple embraces most of the 15th cent. B.C.

Fosse Temple II was a larger complex, constructed on a different plan (see Tufnell, plate LXVII). The size of the main hall was enlarged (10 by 10.4 m., 32.8 by 34.1 ft.), thereby absorbing the small room that had adjoined the earlier sanctuary on the west side. The northern room of the earlier complex was also enlarged (7.6 by 4.3 m., 24.9 by 14.1 ft.), and another room was added on the south

Plan of the fosse temple I-III at Lachish (adapted from *EAEHL*, III, 739)



side. Despite these changes, the position of the shrine remained unchanged. A stone bench and a square altar were constructed against the southern wall of the main room. The other walls were bordered with long, narrow benches. The stone foundations of four pillars (roof supports) were also uncovered in this unit. This middle temple dated from the late 15th to mid-14th cent. B.C.

The changes between Fosse Temple II and III were not as drastic as those between the first two levels (see Tufnell, plate LXVIII). No major changes were introduced in the basic layout of the sanctuary, although the floor level was raised 0.65 m. (2.1 ft.). The stone bases that served as supports for roof pillars were located exactly above those of the previous structure. The adjoining rooms to the north and southeast (Rooms A and F) also remained basically the same. A new room (E) was added to the southwest corner of the complex, thereby balancing Room F. In the main central room, parallel rows of benches were constructed along the northern, eastern, and western walls. The focus of worship was again the south wall. This shrine area was more sophisticated in Fosse Temple III than in the previous levels. A broad platform was constructed against the back (south) wall with a mud-brick altar and three steps adjoining the platform to the north. To the right of the shrine was discovered a narrow "cupboard" of plastered mud containing lamps. A libation stand was situated nearby. The artifact assemblage from this level was particularly rich. Fosse Temple III was destroyed toward the end of the 13th cent. B.C. and thus ended the succession of temples. See also O. Tufnell, "Lachish," in *EAEHL*, III, 735-746; D. Ussishkin, *Tel Aviv*, 5 (1978), 1-97.

B. Area P Temple at Lachish. Although in a poor state of preservation, another L.B. Age temple was discovered at Tell Lachish. It was initially probed in the 1937 excavations of J. L. Starkey (*PEQ*, 1937, pp. 238f.; *Lachish III*, p. 77; plate 19:7). The building was excavated by D. Ussishkin, who considered it reasonably certain that the edifice was a temple, while acknowledging the possibility that it may have served a secular function (see C. Clamer and D. Ussishkin, *Tel Aviv*, 5 [1978], 10-25; "The Newly Discovered Late Bronze Age Temple at Tel Lachish," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 118f.).

The temple is located in Area P, just N of the Judean palace-fort. The building includes a main complex and subsidiary units. The former consists of an antechamber (on the west side), the main hall (16.5 by 13.2 m., 54.1 by 43.3 ft.), and the cella (on the east side). All are built along a straight axis with each unit standing on successively higher ground. The orientation is E-W with the entrance in the western wall of the antechamber. Two circular limestone bases were discovered in the center of the hall. They likely supported roof columns. A monumental staircase of stone slabs led from the main hall to the raised cella, which was poorly preserved. The subsidiary units adjoined the complex to the north. Notable among the artifact finds, which were generally lean, was the "Lady Godiva" plaque, a thin gold sheet (19 by 11 cm., 7.5 by 4.3 in.) depicting a naked goddess standing on a horse.

Several of the features of this stratum VI temple are paralleled in other second-millennium Syro-Palestinian temples. The arrangement of the three units along a straight axis is paralleled by Temple 7300 at Shechem (see W. G. Dever, *BASOR*, 216 [Dec. 1974], 31-52) and also by the stratum IB and IA temples in Area H at Hazor (see Y. Yadin, *Hazor* [1972], pp. 83-91). The feature of a main hall (with two central massive columns) and a staircase leading up to a cella is paralleled in levels VII and VI at Beth-shean (see A. Rowe, *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* [1940], pp. 6-21; plates VI, VIII). Many affinities with Egypt were discerned in the structure's plan, architectural elements, and equipment.

C. Tell Mevorakh. A sanctuary of the L.B. Age was discovered at Tell Mevorakh, a small site on the south bank of the Crocodile River in the Plain of Sharon (see E. Stern, *BA*, 40 [1977], 89-91; *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh, II: The Bronze Age* [1984], pp. 28-39). The earliest phase of this temple consisted of a rectangular hall (5 by 10 m., 16.4 by 32.8 ft.) with an E-W orientation. The structure was built against the inner side of a M.B. Age fortification embankment, similar to the Fosse Temple at Lachish and the L.B. Age temple at Hazor in Area C. A rectangular platform with five steps was located in the northwest corner of the main hall. A plastered bench was found a short distance to the south, against the western wall. A stone-paved court surrounded the temple on the south, west, and east sides. This earliest phase dates to the 15th cent. B.C. Evidence of destruction by fire was clear throughout the temple. The second phase consists of a restoration in the 14th cent. B.C. Dimensions remained basically unchanged, and most of the benches on the north and west sides of the sanctuary continued in use. The platform in the northwest corner was raised, enlarged, and supported with stone walls.

The temples yielded an important horizon of artifacts: faience objects (two cylinder seals in the popular Mitannian style), bronze artifacts (two cymbals, arrowheads, a spear, and a dagger), a large quantity of beads, a large pottery repertoire, and a coiled bronze snake (20 cm., 7.9 in., long), similar to its famous counterpart from Timna' (B. Rothenberg, *Timna: Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines* [1972], plates XIX-XX).

D. Beth-shean. A succession of temples, embracing five continuous strata (IX-V), was also discovered at BETH-SHEAN (Tell el-Husn), an imposing mound situated between the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys. The precise dating of these temples is a subject of controversy, though the excavator's original chronology surely must be revised (see A. Rowe, *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan: The Temples and Cult Objects* [1940]).

The earliest temple (stratum IX) was amorphous in plan with numerous rooms, corridors, courtyards, and altars. This structure should be dated to the 14th cent. B.C. The sacred area yielded numerous artifacts of Egyptian provenance, including a stele erected to "Mekal, the (great) god, the lord of Beth-shan' (see Rowe, *op. cit.*, frontispiece with description on p. 59) and a cartouche bearing the name of Thutmose III. Although a temple was not discovered in stratum VIII, the presence of basalt column bases would suggest monumental architecture, perhaps a sacred building.

A temple was discovered in stratum VII (see Rowe, plates IV-VI) and dated by the excavators to Amenophis III. Other scholars have dated the temple to Ramses II or Merneptah. The plan consisted of a main hall, basically square, with benches constructed against the walls on the west, north, and east sides. Two pillars served as roof supports. To the north was located an elevated sanctuary (the "holy of holies"), approached by a flight of steps. A platform was built against the back wall, directly in front of the steps. An antechamber with two rooms was built on the south side of the main hall. The orientation was N-S, common among L.B. Age Canaanite temples. The artifact horizon for this building indicates strong Egyptian influence with numerous cult objects that belong to Canaanite fertility ritual. The plan of this stratum VII temple has many similarities with small Egyptian shrines of the Amarna period.

The ground plan of the stratum VI temple was basically unchanged from that of stratum VII (antechamber, roughly square main hall and broad-room sanctuary). Some significant changes, however, were introduced, especially in the sanctuary or "holy of holies" (see Rowe, plates IV and VIII). The platform was moved to the center of the room with a new stairway approaching from the main hall. The arrangement of the rooms of the sanctuary was also different, now three units instead of the two in stratum VII. The plan of the antechamber was also quite different. The rich and sophisticated artifact assemblage of this level again attests to the close ties between the city and Egypt. Again, there is disagreement on the chronology of this temple. The excavators dated the stratum to Seti I, while others have suggested Ramses II or III. For technical details on the architecture and artifact horizons of the stratum VII and VI temples, see Rowe, pp. 6-21.

Dramatic changes took place in stratum V. Two new temples were constructed with different ground plans and different orientation from those of their predecessors (see Rowe, pp. 22-30; plate X). The building on the west was the largest (24.1 by 21.6 m., 79.1 by 70.9 ft.). Its ground plan was similar to that of a basilica. Three aisles were created by two rows of pillars. There appears to have been a "broad-room" type of "holy of holies" on the eastern end of the building. The plans reconstruct a platform in this room that was approached by a stairway from the center aisle of the main hall. The entrance was located on the western side. The E-W orientation is common in temples of the Iron Age, the period to which this structure should be assigned. The building to the east was similar in plan but smaller (see Rowe, pp. 31-35; plate XII). Fewer details are available for this structure because it was not well preserved. It is clear, however, that its orientation was also E-W. Both buildings belong to stratum V, which is dated mid-12th-11th cent. B.C. On the basis of associated artifact finds, the largest temple was believed to be the house of Dagon (1 Ch. 10:10). The smaller structure was evidently the house of Ashtaroth (1 S. 31:10). A rich horizon of artifacts and cult objects was discovered in both stratum V temples and in their adjoining buildings.

The cult objects of the Beth-shean temples represent a particularly unique horizon and clearly emphasize the close ties between this city and several Egyptian pharaohs (see Rowe, pp. 37-57; plates XIV-LXXI; G. M. Fitzgerald, *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan: The Pottery* [1930]).

VI. Iron Age.–A. Tell Qasile. A succession of temples, beginning in the 12th cent. B.C., was discovered at Tell Qasile, a small site within the borders of Tel Aviv on the north bank of the Yarkon River (see A. Mazar, *IEJ*, 23 [1973], 65-71; 25 [1975], 77-88; *BA*, 40 [1977], 82-88; "Philistine Sanctuary at Tell Qasile," in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 105-107; *Excavations at Tell Qasile, I: The Philistine Sanctuary, Architecture and Cult Objects* [1980], pp. 13-56, 61-71; hereafter *Qasile I*). The stratum XII temple (Building 319) was a small structure (6.4 by 6.6 m., 21 by 21.6 ft., external dimensions) that was roughly square in plan (*Qasile I*, fig. 4 and reconstruction p. 15). The entrance was located in the eastern wall. Along the interior walls were plastered-covered benches. Opposite the entrance was a raised platform that was likely the focus of the cult in the temple. The area to the east and north appears to have been a spacious courtyard. Building remains, though poorly preserved, were uncovered S and W of the temple. One of the unique artifact finds was an ivory knife handle with a portion of its iron blade still held in place by bronze rivets.

The next temple (Building 200) was constructed in stratum XI over the ruins of the previous structure (see *Qasile I*, fig. 6 and reconstruction p. 23). It was slightly larger (7.75 by 8.5 m., 25.4 by 27.9 ft.) with the entrance located in the northern portion of the eastern wall. Benches lined the central hall as in stratum XII. A deep niche with benches discovered in the northwest corner of the building may have functioned as the holy of holies. The areas to the east and north consisted of open courtyard. The temple yielded a number of important artifacts, including two clay zoomorphic figurines, an anthropomorphic mask, a bird-shaped cult bowl, hundreds of faience beads, and dozens of small votive bowls. Strata XII and XI date to the 12th and 11th cents. B.C. For technical description of a small shrine that was located nearby in this level (Building 300, strata XI-X), see A. Mazar, *IEJ*, 25 (1975), 82f.

The stratum X temple (Building 131) was, in part, a reuse of the earlier stratum XI building (*Qasile I*, figs. 9-12). The northern, southern, and western walls of Temple 200 remained in use. The eastern wall was replaced by a new anteroom. The temple's entrance was located in the northern wall of this anteroom. This level is dated to the end of the 11th and beginning of the 10th cent. B.C. Although poorly rebuilt and preserved, the temple continued in strata IX-VIII (10th-9th cents. B.C.).

The Tell Qasile cult area was founded in the mid-12th cent. B.C. when the site was settled by the Philistines. The strata XII, XI, and X temples continued in use until the beginning of the 10th cent. when stratum X was destroyed by fire. All of them preserved the western orientation and the location of the "holy of holies." A number of sites have yielded temples that preserve architectural reminiscences of the Tell Qasile structures, including Hazor (Area C), the "Fosse Temple" at Lachish, Beth-shean, Tel Mevorakh, Kition, and Enkomi. See also A. Mazar, "Tell Qasile," in *EAEHL*, IV, 968-975.

VII. Two Important "High Places."–Although it is not within the scope of this article to survey installations that are properly classified as "high places," discoveries at two sites deserve special mention.

A. Gezer. The first is the famous high place that R. A. S. Macalister discovered at GEZER. This area is located on the northern side of the site, just inside the so-called Inner Wall. It consisted of a row of ten enormous standing stones or monoliths, some over 3 m. (10 ft.) high, that were erected in a straight, N-S line. Toward the center of the row and W of the line, a large stone block was discovered. It is nearly square with a similarly shaped hole in the center of the upper surface. It may have functioned as a basin or perhaps as a socket for another monolith that has not survived *in situ*. Recent research on the Field V Gezer "high place" has corrected and refined a number of Macalister's theories. Its construction has been assigned to the M.B. IIC period. Although disagreement remains as to the function of these standing stones, a cultic interpretation seems most plausible.

B. Dan. Another well-known "high place" was discovered at Tel Dan in northern Israel at the foot of Mt. Hermon. A massive square platform (18.5 by 9 m., 60.7 by 29.5 ft.) was discovered at the northern edge of the mound. Its sides are constructed of fine, dressed masonry laid in headers and stretchers, a building style characteristic of monumental buildings of the period of the Israelite monarchy. The platform's interior consists of a stone fill. The discovery of several seven-wicked oil lamps and an Astarte figurine suggested early in the excavations that the structure served a cultic function. A few years later, a horned altar was uncovered S of the platform area. The religious significance of the site was also emphasized with

the discovery of a bilingual (Greek and Aramaic) dedicatory inscription that reads: "To the god/ who is in Dan/ Zoilos made a vow" (see A. Biran, "'To the God who is in Dan,'" in Biran, ed., *Temples*, pp. 145-47). The inscription is dated to the late 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C.

Three architectural phases were discerned in this platform. The earliest structure (18.5 by 3 m., 60.7 by 10 ft.) was dated to the late 10th cent. and its construction assigned to Jeroboam I. The second phase of the *bāmâ* (18.5 by 19 m., 60.7 by 62.3 ft.) is dated to the first half of the 9th cent. and ascribed to Ahab. A flight of steps was built against the southern wall in the final phase. This level is dated to the 8th century. It appears that the area preserved its cultic significance even into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The excavator will also allow the possibility of a cultic interpretation for the canopied structure that was discovered in the Iron Age gate complex in Area A (see A. Biran, "Tel Dan," in *EAEHL*, I, 318-321). *See* DAN.

See also HIGH PLACE.

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TEMPLES, ROBBING OF. *See* ROBBING OF TEMPLES.

TEMPT [Gk. *peirázō* (Mt. 4:1 par.; Acts 5:9; 1 Cor. 7:5; 10:13; Gal. 6:1; etc.), *ekpeirázō* (Mt. 4:7 par. Lk. 4:12), *apeírastos*–'incapable of being tempted' ("cannot be tempted," Jas. 1:13)]; NEB also PUT TO THE TEST, UNTOUCHED BY EVIL (Jas. 1:13); **TEMPTATION** [Gk. *peirasmós* (Mt. 6:13 par.; 26:41 par.; Lk. 4:13; 8:13; 1 Cor. 10:13; 1 Tim. 6:9), *skándalon*–'stumbling block' (Mt. 18:7; "temptation to sin," Mt. 18:7; Lk. 17:1); supplied contextually in 1 Cor. 7:2]; AV also OFFENCE; NEB also TEST(ING), TRIAL, CAUSE OF STUMBLING (Gk. *skándalon*).

"Temptation" can connote two different ideas: (1) a testing to determine the inner quality of a person, or (2) an enticement into sin. The RSV uses "tempt" and "temptation" only in the NT and primarily in the second sense. The AV, however, uses these words in the sense of "test" to render several OT terms: Heb. *bāḥan* (Mal. 3:10, 15; RSV "put to the test"), the piel of *nāsâ* (Gen. 22:1; Ex. 17:2, 7; etc.; RSV "test," "put to the proof," etc.), and the noun *massâ* (Dt. 4:34; 7:19; 29:3 [MT 2]; Ps. 95:8; RSV "trial," "Massa").

I. Testing.–During their wilderness wanderings the Israelites often tested God's goodness by demanding that He provide food and water (Ex. 17:2, 7; Nu. 14:22; Ps. 78:18, 41, 56, 95:8f.; 106:14). In every instance where God is the object of the verb, His people are demanding that He prove His goodness. The Scriptures consider this practice sinful (Dt. 6:16; cf. Mt. 4:7). King Ahaz interpreted Isaiah's call to exercise his faith as a temptation to test the goodness of God (Isa. 7:12).

God also puts people to the test, as when He commanded Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:1). Sir. 2:1 admonishes every servant of the Lord to be prepared for such times of testing.

In the NT the Pharisees often placed such tests before Jesus (cf. AV "tempt," Mt. 16:1 par.; 19:3 par.; 22:18 par.; v. 35; Lk. 11:16), seeking an occasion to accuse Him. In such testings, however, Jesus was able to prove His true character. Jesus tested His disciples on occasion to prove their faith (Jn. 6:6). Ananias and Sapphira died when they tested the Holy Spirit (Acts 5:9). Peter claimed that making the demands of Judaism a condition for Christian salvation would put God to the test (15:10).

See also TEST.

II. Enticement to Sin.–The OT has no specific term for temptation as an enticement to sin. While it contains examples of such temptation (e.g., Gen. 3; *see* FALL, THE) and depicts humanity as having a natural inclination to sin, it contains no discussion of human temptation.

The NT makes it very clear that although God tests people He does not entice them to sin (Jas. 1:13). The source of these temptations is SATAN (1 Cor. 7:5), who is also called "the tempter" (part. of *peirázō*, Mt. 4:3; 1 Thess. 3:5). The pattern of Satan's enticements to sin is illustrated by his TEMPTATION OF JESUS in the wilderness (Mt. 4:1-11 par.). Other times Satan works through human beings who entice others to sin — and are condemned for it (Mt. 18:7). Temptation also comes through humanity's physical nature. The source of temptation often rests in human desires (Jas. 1:13f.), e.g., desire for riches (1 Tim. 6:9) or for sexual experience (1 Cor. 7:2, 5); and physical weakness can make one more vulnerable to temptation (Mt. 26:41).

Such temptation is real, and if it is not resisted it can lead to destruction (Jas. 1:13f.; 1 Tim. 6:9). In the parable of the Sower, Jesus warned that the seed sown on the rocky ground withers in the face of temptation (Lk. 8:13). Paul feared that his converts might have fallen into sin, causing his evangelistic efforts to come to nothing (1 Thess. 3:5). Although temptation is a universal experience, God has promised a way for escape in every situation (1 Cor. 10:13). Thus the true responsibility for falling into sin rests with human beings.

The NT admonishes Christians to resist temptation in three main ways. (1) Paul urged each Christian to practice self-examination: "Look to yourself lest you too be tempted" (Gal. 6:1). Such self-examination should lead to the avoidance of situations in which temptation becomes stronger than one can bear. (2) In the Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6:13) Jesus admonished Christians to pray that they not be led into temptation. In Gethsemane He chided the disciples for sleeping when they should have been in prayer so that they could withstand temptation (Mt. 26:41; Lk. 22:40, 46). (3) Hebrews pictures Christ as having faced the same temptations as other human beings but as not having fallen into sin (He. 2:18). This uniquely equips Him to help those who are being tempted. Thus Christians are encouraged to turn to Christ, who will provide help in time of temptation.

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TEMPTATION OF JESUS. ***I. Synoptic Accounts.***–All three Synoptic Gospels record that Jesus was tempted by the devil in the wilderness following His baptism by John. Mark states little more than this: only that the Spirit "drove" Jesus to this location, that Jesus remained there forty days with the wild beasts, and that angels ministered to Him (Mk. 1:12f.). In closely parallel accounts Matthew and Luke elaborate in some detail, describing three main confrontations between Satan and Jesus. In each case Jesus successfully thwarts the devil's ploys (Mt. 4:1-11; Lk. 4:1-13). In response to the challenge to turn stones

into bread, Jesus affirms that God's Word is the ultimate, true sustenance. Replying to the challenge to throw Himself off the wing (not "pinnacle"; probably the southeast portico) of the temple so that the angels could come on a spectacular rescue mission, Jesus cites the commandment not to tempt God. In rejecting the offer of all the world's kingdoms in return for allegiance to Satan, He banishes the devil with the reminder that God alone merits worship.

The relationship between the shorter (Markan) and longer (Matthaean and Lukan) versions of the temptation narrative has been variously explained. Some view the longer version as an expansion and embellishment of the shorter; others see one or both versions as an abbreviation of a longer original. The most common and preferable view is to explain the two as independent traditions, probably stemming from the pre-Markan and Q sources. The main distinctive of Mark's account is its reference to wild beasts. Their presence speaks against the view that the wilderness was a place for serene contemplation, while the idea that they point to Jesus as a second Adam in Paradise finds little support elsewhere in Mark. Rather, the beasts fit in with the austere nature of the wilderness (presumably the Judean desert) hinted at in Mk. 1:1-11, and with the common association of deserts with demonic activity (cf. Lk. 11:24).

The most noteworthy difference between Matthew's and Luke's accounts is the inversion of the sequence of the final two temptations. Matthew's order is almost certainly the most original, for three reasons: (1) Only Matthew uses the potentially chronological Greek connective *tóte* ("then") to connect the first two temptations (Mt. 4:5; cf. *kaí*, "and," in Lk. 4:5); (2) this order corresponds to that of a well-known midrash on the Shema, which links loving God with "heart," "soul," and "might" (Dt. 6:5) with loving despite one's evil (physical) inclinations, and with the possibility of losing one's life or surrendering one's property (see esp. Mish. *Berakoth* ix.5); and (3) Luke's climactic relocation of the second temptation ties in with his redactional interest in the temple as the locus of God's saving activity.

II. Historicity.–Evaluations of the historicity of the accounts have come to diverse conclusions. Many view the story as a creation of the early Church, which supposedly wanted to dramatize Jesus' sinlessness or (as is more commonly held) underline His humanity vis-à-vis those who held too exalted a view of the Christ. More recently the temptations have been associated with an anti-Jewish polemic. On the other hand, several considerations strongly support the historical authenticity of the temptations, including the profound theological coherence of these narratives with the details of the rest of Jesus' ministry, the unlikelihood of the Church inventing an account about the temptation of One they believed to be God (in the light of the consistent OT teaching against putting God to the test), and the narratives' depiction of a kind of vulnerability that contrasted sharply with the messianic expectations of the first disciples.

To affirm the historicity of the temptations does not, however, settle the question of how they were experienced. At least two features suggest that the temptations were some kind of visionary or inward, spiritual experience: (1) the impossibility of someone seeing all of the world from any mountain peak, and (2) the extreme improbability of one who has fasted for forty days embarking on such an arduous journey. The narratives' "historicity is not dependent" on Jesus' "having been taken to a specific geographical location" (R. Mounce, *Matthew* [*Good News Comm.*, 1985] p. 27), although tourists today

The traditional Mount of Temptation near Jericho (W. S. LaSor)

are still shown the traditional "Mount of Temptation" overlooking Jericho.

III. Significance.–More important is the debate over the significance of the temptations. The history of interpretation discloses four main approaches: (1) a parenetic or psychologizing view, in which Jesus' temptations represent the three main categories of all human temptations (cf. 1 Jn. 2:16: "the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life"; cf. also the three appeals of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil for Eve in Gen. 3:6); (2) a christological approach, which stresses the obedient nature of the Son of God; (3) a messianic interpretation, in which Jesus is tempted to reject the way of the cross in favor of following the more political, nationalistic hopes of His countrymen; and (4) a salvation-historical option, in which Jesus obeys the commands of God that Israel had disobeyed in its wilderness wanderings, thus proving Himself to be the true representative of Israel. None of these views necessarily excludes any of the others, although (1) has the least textual support.

Other features of the narratives also have theological significance. The temptation follows the baptism as a strategically located initial test of Jesus' commitment to the role His Father has earmarked for Him. The Spirit leads Jesus to the place of temptation but is not the one who tempts Him, thus displaying God's sovereignty over evil but also His dissociation from it. Each of Jesus' replies quotes Scripture (Dt. 8:3; 6:16; 6:13) as the authoritative answer to the devil's challenges — one of which itself quotes Scripture (Ps. 91:11f.). Satan's departure at the end of the ordeal "until an opportune time" (Lk. 4:13) does not contradict the demonic opposition Jesus continued to encounter in the exorcisms (or even in Peter's rebuke of Mk. 8:33 par.), but it does suggest that such an intense conflict was not to be repeated until Gethsemane and Golgotha.

IV. Later Temptations.–Jesus continued to be tempted (or tested) by questions from the Jewish leaders (e.g., Mt. 19:3; 22:15-18; Lk. 11:53f.), especially by their demands for signs (e.g., Mt. 12:38; 16:1; Lk. 11:16). He was tested also by His brothers (Jn. 7:2-5) and by the crowd that wanted to take Him by force and make Him king (6:15). In the garden He struggled against the temptation to avoid the crucifixion, to the extent that "his sweat became like

great drops of blood" (Lk. 22:44), and on the cross He endured His tormentors' derisive cry, "He saved others; he cannot save himself . . . let him come down now from the cross, and we will believe in him" (Mt. 27:42).

V. Temptation and Sinlessness.–The rest of the NT makes little mention of any of Jesus' temptations, but this is consistent with its general silence on the main events of Jesus' life apart from His crucifixion and resurrection. The two key exceptions both appear in Hebrews. The author stresses in 2:18 that because Jesus "has suffered and been tempted, he is able to help those who are tempted," and in 4:15 adds that Jesus is not "unable to sympathize with our weakness" but is "one who in every respect has been tempted as we are, yet without sinning [lit. "sin"]." The latter statement implies not that Christ suffered every specific temptation that others have faced but rather that He suffered every general category of seducement to sin. His ability to identify with His people's sufferings is not diminished by His sinlessness but enhanced; for only one who has fully resisted temptation's harshest onslaughts can know its full force. These verses admittedly go beyond what could be deduced solely from the Gospel narratives, but they reflect the apostles' growing belief in the full deity and full humanity of Christ.

As with so many questions about the union of Christ's natures, exegesis yields few clear answers and philosophical and logical considerations play a large role. But it would seem from Hebrews that at least two extreme (though often held) positions can be ruled out: (1) that it was impossible for Jesus to sin, in which case His temptations would not have been like ours (since every human being, including Adam before the fall, has had this possibility); (2) that although Jesus never committed specific acts of sin, He actually had a sinful nature (since in this case He could scarcely have made "expiation for the sins of the people" [2:17], and a sinful nature is not essential to humanity, as shown by Adam before the fall). Phrasing positively the correct doctrine is more difficult; perhaps M. Erickson has succeeded as well as any: "while he [Jesus] *could* have sinned, it was certain that he *would* not" (*Christian Theology*, II [1984], 720).

See also TEST; GETHSEMANE.

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C. L. BLOMBERG

TEN. *See* NUMBER V.H.

TEN COMMANDMENTS [Heb. *ʿaśereṯ haddᵉḇārîm*–'the ten words']. The Gk. *hoí déka lógoi* has given the alternative English title, "the Decalogue." The term "ten commandments" is used in Ex. 34:28, Dt. 4:13; 10:4, and the commandments are recorded in Ex. 20:1-17; Dt. 5:6-21.

I. Literary and Historical Context
  A. Literary Form
  B. Critical Debate
II. Legal and Social Context
  A. Survey of Viewpoints
  B. Conclusions
III. Theological Context
  A. Redemption
  B. Righteousness
  C. Covenant

I. Literary and Historical Context.–*A. Literary Form.* As we now have them, the commandments vary greatly in length and are not uniform in form (most are negative; two are positive). That they were called "ten *words*" and could be inscribed on two tablets has led most scholars to believe that originally they were ten short categorical phrases, whose form is best preserved in the sixth, seventh, and eighth. The expansions that take the form of motivation or threat (second and third), theological explanation (fourth), promise (fifth), or detail (tenth), are regarded as secondary additions. Support for this interpretation is that the Decalogue in Deuteronomy shows some variations in these secondary parts (in the fourth and tenth commandments) but not in the basic commandments themselves. Scholars have tried to reconstruct an original form of the Decalogue, but such attempts are bound to remain conjectural and rather pointless.

There have also been various ways of enumerating the Ten Commandments, both within Judaism and the Christian Church (for discussion and tabulation of the differing divisions see Nielsen). The most common enumeration — the one used in this article –- is that of the Protestant Reformed tradition.

B. Critical Debate. In Exodus God gave the Decalogue to the Israelites while they were encamped at Mt. Sinai in the third month after their deliverance from Egypt. Although Moses acted as mediator, as he always did when the law was being given, his role this time was minimal. God Himself inscribed the words on tablets, amidst awe-inspiring phenomena at the mountain. After the people committed apostasy in the golden-calf incident and Moses shattered the tablets, fresh tablets were inscribed, and the covenant was remade (Ex. 32–34). Deuteronomy likewise emphasizes that the covenant established at Horeb (Sinai) was based on the revelation of the Ten Commandments given at that time to Israel through Moses (Dt. 5:2-22). The biblical account, therefore, places the historical origin of the Decalogue *as a whole entity* in the time of Moses, between the Exodus and the Conquest. Literary criticism of the 19th and early 20th cents., however, detached the Decalogue from this context and regarded Mosaic authorship at such an early period as impossible. Critics argued that, with the Decalogue removed, the narrative flows more easily between Ex. 19:25 and 20:18. Source critics regarded 34:11-26 as a cultic decalogue, much earlier than the "ethical" one in ch. 20. They assigned the former to the source document J, and the latter — the extant Ten Commandments –- to E, the later, northern Israelite source. These attributions fitted the then-popular evolutionary view of early religious history, according to which Israel in Mosaic times was a primitive, polydemonistic people. Such features of the Decalogue as the sabbath law, the exclusive and the imageless worship of Yahweh, and especially the profound ethical thrust could not have arisen until after the eighth-century prophetic period, or even later, in the exilic period.

The same consensus about pentateuchal source documents no longer exists, however, and even those who accept these documents have been unwilling to locate the Decalogue of Ex. 20 in any one of them with certainty. The view that ch. 34 is a duplicate account of one original covenant event ignores the narrator's own statement that the covenant was *remade* on the basis of the original ten words (vv. 1, 28). In any case, it is difficult to find a clear decalogue in ch. 34. Furthermore, in the light of the vastly increased knowledge of ancient civilizations, including those of Mosaic and pre-Mosaic times, the idea of straightforward development from primitive to advanced ethics can no longer be held, or used to date such material as the Decalogue. It is as valid to see the Decalogue as the

TEN COMMANDMENTS

foundation of an ethical development as to regard it as the *end product*.

Although a few critical scholars (notably Volz, Gressmann, and Koehler) resisted the dominant position in the earlier 20th cent. the pendulum did not swing back toward a Mosaic (or at least early) origin of the Decalogue until H. H. Rowley published a major article in 1951. Rowley thoroughly examined all the arguments against early origin of the Decalogue and found no real substance in them. Along with Eichrodt and others he confidently accepted the biblical tradition of Moses as the towering figure in Israel's early development and of the Decalogue as originating from Moses' work as lawgiver. Rowley, however, did not overlook the modification and expansion of the original form through the centuries.

A very diverse scholarly debate over Decalogue history continues, however, (cf. the discussion and bibliography in Childs, pp. 385ff., and in Stamm and Andrew). No evidence can *prove* Mosaic authorship, but the biblical tradition on the stature and work of Moses is an important witness that can be accepted without fear of substantial or decisive refutation.

***II. Legal and Social Context.**–A. Survey of Viewpoints.* Twentieth-century scholarly discussion has moved from the issue of date and authorship to that of nature, function, and social context. What kind of law is the Decalogue? How did it function in Israel's life? What illumination can be gained from comparison with non-Israelite legal material? These are the questions that have given rise to most of the original and enlightening work in this century.

In 1927 S. Mowinckel initiated a new departure in Decalogue study. Though adhering to the current majority view that the present Decalogue is a late document (he attributed it to the disciples of Isaiah), he believed that its origins were very ancient and located in the cult. Its ancient prototype was specifically the formal challenge to worshipers such as is found in Pss. 15 and 24 — the "entrance liturgies." More formal (though more conjectural) was the place of an ancient decalogue in the New Year Enthronement Festival, postulated by Mowinckel. This would have been a covenant-renewal festival at which the law was proclaimed — the original Decalogue being this law's focal point or summary. He took as evidence Pss. 50 and 81, with their emphasis on loyalty and obedience and their festival setting. Dt. 31:10-13 likewise supports the link between cult and proclamation of the law. Mowinckel's demonstration of the close relationship between the law and the cult has been widely accepted. There is indeed much clear biblical evidence that the cult was a vehicle for the transmission and dissemination of the law. That evidence, however, does not necessarily point to a solely cultic *origin* of the law or of the Decalogue in particular, but rather to cultic function and use.

The work of A. Alt (1934) is concerned with the whole of OT Law (*see* LAW IN THE OT). By form-critical methods he arrived at two broad classifications of law in the OT: casuistic and apodictic. Casuistic (case) law usually describes a situation ("If . . . ") and then prescribes a penalty or remedy. Alt found many parallels between OT case laws and comparative ancient legal documents and deduced that the Israelites took over much of the Canaanite laws for life on the land when they invaded from the desert. Apodictic law is short, unconditional imperatives and prohibitions that are expressed in universal terms without description of cases or specified penalties. Alt considered apodictic the genuine, indigenous Israelite law, originating in their supposed pre-Canaanite days as wandering desert tribes bound together only by loyalty to Yahweh. This category obviously includes the Ten Commandments in their original form. Like Mowinckel, Alt believed that this form of law was preserved in the cult from the earliest times; he placed it even before the Mosaic era. But Alt regarded the Decalogue itself as a much later development of the apodictic form. In fact his view, also followed by M. Noth, of the early history of Israel leaves little room for the historical role of Moses. Subsequent critics of Alt's work have pointed out that apodictic forms of law were not unique to Israel, and they have dissented from the view of Israel's pre-Canaanite history as that of nomadic, independent, desert tribes. The abiding value of Alt's work is its clear differentiation of case law from law in the style of the Decalogue. The nature of this difference has been taken up by later scholars (e.g., Phillips; see below).

The next major stimulus to the debate was the work of G. Mendenhall, who in 1954 analyzed Hittite vassal treaties of the Late Bronze Age (which coincides with the Mosaic period) and compared them with OT covenantal texts (e.g., Ex. 19–24; Deuteronomy; Josh. 24). Common features that he pointed out include: a preamble identifying the overlord (cf. Ex. 20:1-2a); a historical prologue (cf. v. 2b; Dt. 1–3); stipulations of the treaty (cf. the Ten Commandments and the other laws); provisions for the deposit and reading of the treaty (cf. Ex. 25:16; Dt. 31:9-13); curses and blessings (cf. Dt. 27–28). Mendenhall argued that Israel's understanding of its covenant relationship with Yahweh was modeled on this international, political treaty form, and that Moses, who lived in the Late Bronze Age and knew Egyptian statecraft (Egypt had contact with the Hittite empire), can be credibly regarded as the mind behind the use of this pattern. Much work has been done on ancient Near Eastern treaty texts and their bearing on OT covenants since Mendenhall (*see* COVENANT [OT]). Some of his proposals have been contested — particularly those that correlate treaties and OT texts too precisely and suggest dating OT texts by reference to extrabiblical texts. But many scholars have accepted his insight that the Decalogue, as a summary of stipulations within a covenant relationship, has many of the formal features of a suzerain-vassal treaty.

E. Gerstenberger took yet another approach in 1965. Examining Alt's category of apodictic law, he rejected the view that such law was derived from or connected with treaty stipulations, except in a very secondary way. He abstracted from these laws an even purer, more original form, which he called "the prohibitive," and located its origin in "clan-ethos" — i.e., the authoritative instruction given by elders of the early Hebrew clans. The laws had a pithy form and were collected into short series to aid memorization; they primarily regulated social, sexual, economic, and legal conduct within the family and clan. Gerstenberger stressed parallels with wisdom material — both Israelite and non-Israelite, but he regarded the Sinai traditions and with them the Decalogue as a secondary cultic formulation with little historical value for determining the actual origin of the Decalogue. Gerstenberger rightly emphasized the central importance of the family and clan for understanding of OT law; however, like Mowinckel, he confused use with origin. It is evident in the OT that the family and clan had the major responsibility for transmitting knowledge of the law and that much of the law governs family and societal life. But these characteristics do not entail a purely clan origin for all such law. Gerstenberger simply did not deal with the OT emphasis on Moses' role and the events at Sinai, which were constitutive and initiatory elements in Israel's law, even though the law given then may have incorporated existing

clan ethics. See Stamm and Andrews, pp. 54-62, for further developments of and reactions to Gerstenberger's work.

Finally, A. Phillips attempted in 1970 to account for the special nature of the Decalogue. He argued that it was Israel's "criminal law." A crime is an offense that a state regards as contrary to the best interests of the whole community and accordingly punishes in the name of the highest authority in the state. Criminal law is thus distinct from civil law, which concerns private disputes between citizens. In Israel an offense against the covenant was an offense against the whole community, whose security and preservation were in danger if the covenant was threatened by Yahweh's wrath. Therefore such offenses were severely punished in the name of the highest authority — Yahweh Himself. Since Israel was a theocracy, social and theological realms fused together in the delineation of "crime." The Decalogue was thus both covenant and "criminal" law. Phillips noted that although penalties are not specified in the Decalogue itself, all offenses for which a judicial death penalty was required were either direct breaches of the commandments or closely related to one of them. His arguments and his handling of some specific commandments (particularly the eighth and tenth, which have no death penalty associated with them) are open to criticism (see esp. the articles by B. S. Jackson), but he has convincingly shown that the Decalogue had a definitive status in Israelite law. It defined the nature and extent of what, for Israel, constituted serious "crime" in relation to the covenant.

B. Conclusions. This brief survey of only the major contributions to the scholarly study of the Decalogue shows that there is no single or exclusive way of understanding its origin, function, and importance within Israel. In the words of Stamm: "Whatever one thinks about the authorship, the fact that the Decalogue . . . early held a central position in Israelite life remains as the most important result of recent research. These documents had their place in the festival, and stood in association with the review of the Sinai events as the binding charter expressing the will of the divine Lord of the covenant" (p. 39).

When elements are combined from different theories, the following conclusions emerge. There is no compelling reason to reject the biblical tradition that the Decalogue was introduced to Israel through Moses at Sinai; this event was one of several there that were constitutive of Israel's status as the covenant people of Yahweh. The Decalogue was a simple but comprehensive summary of the essential stipulations of the covenant relationship, which — more than any other section of law — was regarded as coming directly from God Himself. Distinctive in its form, it stood as the "boundary fence" of covenant membership. To transgress it was to threaten or deny the covenant itself — hence the severity of the penalties by which, through other laws, it was sanctioned. To preserve its centrality in the nation's life and public knowledge of it, it was made an integral part of the cult and family, the two aspects of Israel's life with the greatest conservatism and living continuity.

The Decalogue gave the prophets who defended the cult the moral support they needed for their attack upon certain cultic practices that had become divorced from the covenant demands of moral obedience (cf. Jer. 7:1-11, 22f.; Isa. 1:1-17; Ps. 50:16-20). Their attack was also upon the priests, who were not fulfilling their duty to make the moral demands of the law known among the people (cf. Hos. 4:1-9; Mal. 2:1-9).

The Decalogue was shaped by the Israelite family but in turn it makes the family part of God's covenant people. Initially, as Gerstenberger showed, the second group of commandments (fifth to tenth) are drawn from a kind of law whose content is not unique to Israel, but has much in common with ancient family ethics. Respect for parents and the prohibitions of theft, adultery, and even coveting were all known outside Israel and also in "pre-Sinai" Israel — as many narratives in Genesis evince. What the Decalogue does is make these elements of basic social law part of the covenant law of Israel as God's own redeemed people. But the family was given a primary role in the experience and preservation of the covenant relationship — of which these laws now formed the basis, alongside the more specifically God-oriented commandments. They were drawn from the family and then, as it were, reinvested in the family, for the new purpose of preserving and continuing the covenant.

The relationship between Israel and Yahweh was not a merely conceptualized, spiritual entity. It was very deeply rooted in the concrete circumstances of Israel's life — social, economic, and political. The primary symbol of this "concreteness" was the LAND (II), and the family — the household, or "father's house" — formed the basic unit of land tenure, as it did of the social, kinship structure. In many ways — economic, judicial, military, cultic, didactic — this social unit of "household-plus-land" was the basis of Israel's relationship with God. Since, therefore, the family was of pivotal importance in the mediation and enjoyment of the nation's covenant relationship with Yahweh, the family's protection, externally and internally, was important.

Externally, the economic viability of the family was protected by the eighth and tenth commandments, which were supported by other laws. These latter prohibited the removal of landmarks (Dt. 19:14, 27:17; Hos. 5:10; Prov. 23:10), and expressed the general moral abhorrence of theft, even though, like all other property offenses, it was not subject to capital punishment (Hos. 4:2; 7:1; Isa. 1:23; Jer. 7:9f.; Ps. 50:16-18; Prov. 30:9; Zec. 5:3f.). These laws were the basis of the prophetic vituperations against economic injustices that were threatening secure family life on the land. Internally, parental authority and sexual stability were protected by the fifth and seventh commandments, respectively, which are also surrounded by other laws (e.g., Ex. 21:15, 17; Dt. 21:18-21; cf. Prov. 20:20; Lev. 18:1-23; 20:10-21; Dt. 22:13-30), as well as prudential advice in the wisdom literature (Prov. 5:1-23; 7:1-27). (See further Wright, on the social aspects of the Decalogue.)

An understanding of the social context of commandments five through ten and of the importance of the household and its land within the covenant is helpful in two ways. First, one learns why violators of these commandments, which seem to be rather general moral laws, were so severely punished. For Israel the commandments were bound up with the continuance of the covenant and therefore with the survival of the nation. To break them was more than an act of private immorality; it was a threat to, a crime against, the social system on which the covenant rested. The national interest required severe sanctions for violations of these commandments just as much as for violations of the more "religious" ones, such as the prohibition of idolatry.

On the other hand, the social context explains why such penalties no longer have relevance within Christian ethics. The moral force of the Decalogue is fully felt in the NT, but the new covenant relationship between God and His redeemed people is no longer bound to a particular land, state, or social system of family land tenure. It no longer needs protection on that level. Legal penalties enforceable by judicial action were in the OT a social necessity but

have ceased to have moral significance within the new covenant of redemption (though, of course, many areas of secular law may overlap with specific commandments, and there may well be moral principles enshrined in OT punishments that are relevant to modern penal theory).

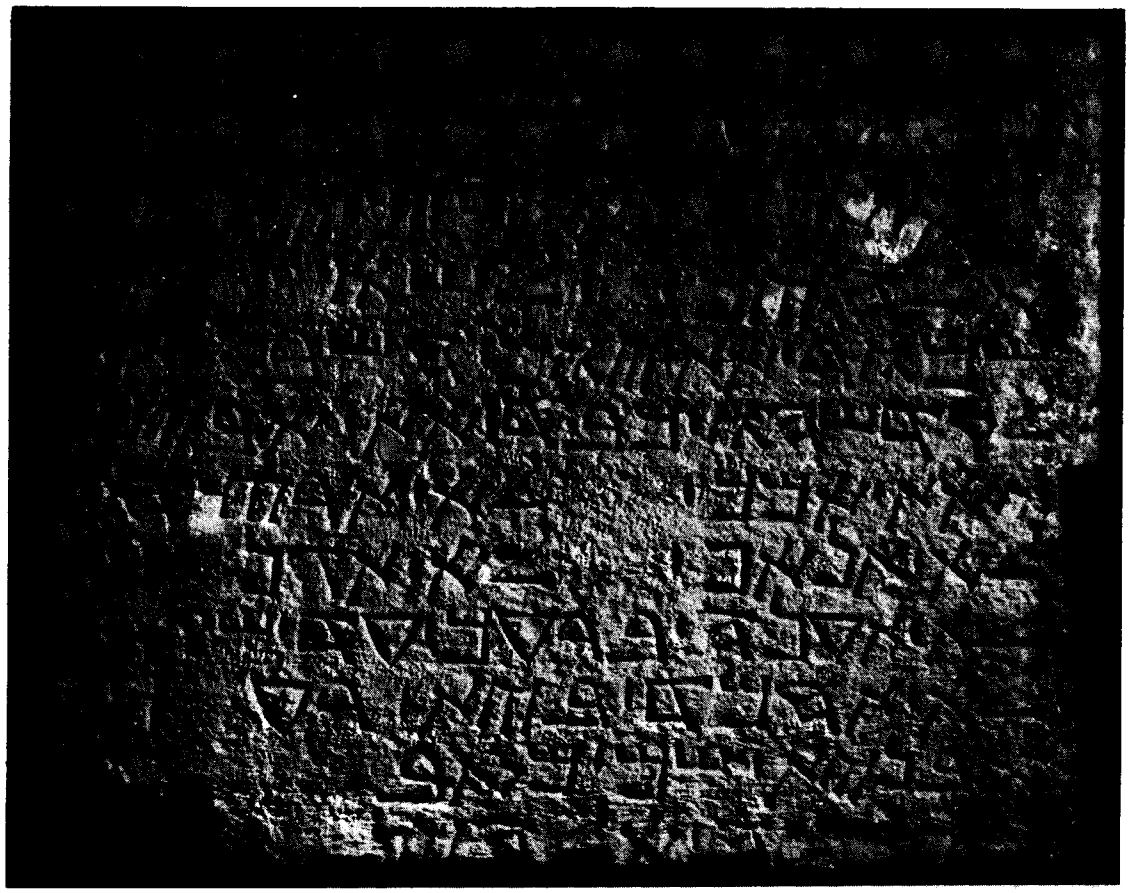
III. Theological Context.–A. Redemption. The Decalogue (in Ex. 20) begins not with the prohibition of other gods but with the statement "I am the Lord your God, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." This brief, historical summary of the previous chapters of Exodus is utterly crucial. The giving of the Ten Commandments (and of the rest of the law) was preceded by God's act of redemption. Moses did not take the tablets of the law down to Israel in Egypt with the promise that if Israel would obey the law, God would deliver the people. God acted first, in an initiative of love and grace and with mighty saving power. Then He said, "Now you have seen what *I* have done; *you* obey my commands and I shall establish a covenant between us" (cf. Ex. 19:3-6).

The giving of the law thus continues God's gracious action toward His people whom He has already redeemed, and Israel's keeping of the law is a response to that grace. Obedience is thus primarily an expression of gratitude for what God has already done and only secondarily a means of maintaining (but never of meriting or manipulating) the relationship established on the basis of God's redemptive act. Furthermore, the events of Ex. 32–34 showed not only that the covenant depended on the initiative of God's redeeming grace but also that its continuance depended on God's forgiving grace. This is also the repeated message of Dt. 1–8.

The Ten Commandments' firm connection to God's prior redemption of Israel is important for modern ethical use of them. Some have described them as the universal Moral Law, the "Maker's instructions" for mankind, and therefore have advocated and appealed to them as the law for even a society that is not Judeo-Christian. It is, of course, undeniable that some if not all of the moral requirements of the Decalogue can be inferred from the creation and patriarchal narratives. Since the God who redeemed Israel and spoke at Sinai was the same God who had created us in His own image, there is nothing surprising about this continuity of moral demand. It is equally undeniable that certain elements of the Decalogue are universally accepted and that the health of any human society is fostered by respect for these basic laws. Nevertheless, it is significant that the Ten Commandments are first promulgated to a people already redeemed and brought by God to Himself (Ex. 19:4). They must be seen primarily as laws for God's own people, whose covenant obedience will show how God intended mankind to live. Therefore they may be used for ethical endeavour and ethical judgment within secular society, but the divine redemption and grace that the preface so firmly inserts as the basis of the commandments themselves must also be proclaimed as necessary (Ex. 20:2; Dt. 5:6).

B. Righteousness. The Ten Commandments gave con-

A Samaritan inscription of the Ten Commandments, 4th cent. A.D. (Israel Museum, photo D. Harris)



crete expression to the righteousness that characterized God's act of deliverance in the Exodus and was to be accepted and grounded in Israel's own practical life. In both these senses right, or righteousness, was the social foundation of Israel.

First, Israel's liberation from Egypt was an act of righteousness. Their Egyptian oppressors had taken away their freedom and rights to enjoy the fruit of their own work, to worship the God of their fathers, and even to keep their male offspring. But God saw and heard, and in the Exodus He granted freedom to a captive people, restoring them to a "right" situation and simultaneously executing righteous judgment on the wrongdoers.

Second, almost immediately after the Red Sea crossing, the whole new experience of freedom was consolidated on a covenant basis at Sinai, with the Ten Commandments as the foundational charter, as has been shown. But the commandments themselves are prefaced by the clear statement that God's redemptive power had won the new freedom for the nation. Thus the two aspects are inseparably bound together — the freedom that redemption achieves, and the obligation that it entails. Both are included in righteousness.

By means of the Exodus, then, God had conferred rights and freedom on His people. But precisely to preserve these rights and freedom, they were translated into responsibilities — the Ten Commandments. Thus those who were freed by God to worship Him (as had been the express purpose of the release from Egypt, Ex. 4:23) had to worship only Him, with exclusive loyalty (first commandment). They had to do so without images or idols, for Yahweh is incomparable and jealous of His unique glory (second commandment). Having witnessed the power of His name at the Exodus, they were forbidden to use that name for their own selfish or malicious ends or in any foolish, worthless way (third commandment). Since they now could work as free people and no longer as oppressed slaves, they had to preserve the right of sabbath rest for themselves, their employees, and even their animals (fourth commandment). Now that they were freed from tyrannous violations of their family life under Pharaoh, they were responsible for preserving parental authority (fifth commandment) and the sexual integrity of marriage (seventh commandment) — not only for the good of the family itself but also for the good of the covenant community. Released from the murderous violence and terror of Egypt, the Israelites were not to tolerate murder among themselves (sixth commandment). Now that they were no longer bearing the stigma of landless aliens but rather had the prospect of a land and property of their own, by God's gift, they were not to steal, or even covet what belonged to a neighbor (eighth and tenth commandments). Since God had acted justly on their behalf and rescued them from the injustice of the "house of bondage," they were to protect from malicious injustice of untruthful witness any fellow Israelite who was under judicial suspicion or on trial (ninth commandment). For more detailed exegesis of individual commandments, see the comm., particularly by Childs and Craigie.

When read thus, the Decalogue can be seen as a table of human (and divine) rights, expressed, in the characteristic biblical way, as responsibilities. These rights at every point stand in glorious contradiction to the injustice and oppression of Egypt. The Decalogue is a kind of bill of rights and responsibilities for a free people. As a gift of grace, as a response to redemption, as an embodiment of righteousness, it is a most positive and liberating charter, not at all the narrow and restricting legalistic document of certain caricatures.

C. Covenant. The Decalogue is the covenant charter par excellence because of its dual purpose: it both explicitly presupposes God's act of grace in redemption and encapsulates the practical response required of God's people. It thus enshrines both the vertical and the horizontal dimensions that are integral to the covenant: God's act, and human obedience expressed in love for God and for one another.

This covenant dimension provides the bridge between the Decalogue in its original OT setting and its usage in the NT. The Decalogue is not a universal moral law standing independent of either Israel or the Church but inexorably imposed upon both; the constant factor is rather the *nature* of the relationship between God and His people. There was an old covenant and there is a new covenant, but they are alike in that they are both *covenants* and combine the prior action of God's redeeming grace with the necessity of the people's response of love and obedience. Therefore the Decalogue, which gave Israel the guidelines of the response required of them, could quite naturally be used, adapted, radically interpreted, and filled with new meaning, not only by Jesus, who preached the ethics of the kingdom of God (Mt. 5:17-48), but also by those who saw that in Christ the promise of the new covenant — "I will put my law within them and . . . write it upon their hearts" (Jer. 31:33) — was indeed fulfilled by the power of the indwelling Spirit. To have experienced the grace of redemption does not make the Christian "outside the law," although he is no longer "under the law" (1 Cor. 9:21). Rather, the result is "that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk . . . according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:4). But the principal fruit of the Spirit is love, and love is the fulfilling of the law, especially of the commandments (Rom. 13:8-10); to love God and one's neighbor as oneself constitute the very essence of the Decalogue as well as the whole Law and the Prophets. The Decalogue, then, retains its theological and moral validity for the Christian because it stands at the heart of the covenant, with its unambiguous call for obedience as the proof of love — love that is the grateful response to grace, which has established that covenant within which believers dwell securely.

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TEN STRINGS. *See* MUSIC II.B.3.

TENDER [Heb. *raḵ* (Gen. 18:7; Dt. 28:54, 56; Prov. 4:3; Isa. 47:1; Ezk. 17:22), *rōḵ* (Dt. 28:56)]; AV also TENDERNESS; NEB also PAMPERED, SOFT-SKINNED; [Gk. *hapalós*] (Mt. 24:32 par. Mk. 13:28); [*splánchnon*] (Lk. 1:78); **TENDER CARE** [Heb. *ṭippuḥîm*] (Lam. 2:20); AV "a span long"; NEB BROUGHT SAFELY TO

BIRTH; **TENDER GRASS** [Heb. *deše'* (Dt. 32:2), *yereq deše'* (2 K. 19:26; Isa. 37:27); Aram. *deṭe'* (Dnl. 4:15, 23 [MT 12, 20])]; AV also TENDER HERB, GREEN HERB; NEB GRASS, GREEN HERB, LUSH GRASS; **TENDER HEART; TENDERHEARTED** [Gk. *eúsplanchnos*] (Eph. 4:32; 1 Pet. 3:8); AV also PITIFUL; NEB also KINDLY; **SPEAK TENDERLY** [Heb. *dibbēr 'al-lēḇ*] (Gen. 34:3; Isa. 40:2; Hos. 2:14 [MT 16]); AV SPEAK KINDLY, SPEAK COMFORTABLY; NEB also COMFORT. In Hos. 11:8 the RSV has rendered the MT *yaḥaḏ niḵmᵉrû niḥûmāy* (lit. "my feelings of pity have become hot all together") with the phrase "my compassion grows warm and tender" (cf. AV "my repentings are kindled together"; NEB "my remorse kindles already").

Hebrew *raḵ*, the term most commonly rendered "tender" (cf. also the noun *rōḵ*), is derived from the verb *rāḵaḵ*, "be soft" (e.g., Ps. 55:21 [MT 22]; cf. RSV "[be] faint," Dt. 20:3; Isa. 7:4; Jer. 51:46 [*see* FAINT]; "be penitent," 2 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 34:27). Like the verb, *raḵ* is used in a variety of ways. It can describe the tenderness of youth: a calf (Gen. 18:7), a shoot (Ezk. 17:22), a child (Prov. 4:3; RSV "frail," Gen. 33:13; "inexperienced," 1 Ch. 22:5; 29:1; cf. *raḵ-lēḇāḇ* [AV "tender-hearted"; RSV "irresolute"] in 2 Ch. 13:7). It can also be used to describe people who are delicate because of their protected and pampered lifestyle (Dt. 28:54, 56; Isa. 47:1). In Gen. 29:17 Leah's eyes are described as *raḵ* (AV "tender"); the term may indicate simply that her eyes were "weak" (RSV) or "dull" (NEB), or it may suggest that she had some form of eye disease (*see* DISEASE III.G).

Hebrew *deše'* (and Aramaic cognate *deṭe'*), derived from the verb *dāšā'* ("be green"; hiphil "cause to sprout forth"), is a general term for fresh, new vegetation or grass (cf. Gen. 1:11, where it includes both "plants" [*'ēśeḇ*] and "fruit trees"). In Dt. 32:2 *deše'* "becomes the symbol of sprouting life and of fertility as a blessing of God" (*TDOT*, III, 309). *Yereq* (cf. *yārāq*, "greens") signifies "green (things)" (*see* COLOR V.E); in 2 K. 19:26 par. Isa. 37:27 the prophet Isaiah uses the familiar figure of green GRASS drying up in the heat to depict the devastation brought about by Sennacherib. In Mt. 24:32 par. Mk. 13:28 Jesus draws a lesson from the FIG tree, whose branches become soft (Gk. *hapalós*) with sap flowing through them and then sprout leaves near the beginning of summer.

Hebrew *ṭippuḥîm* (Lam. 2:20) is a hapax legomenon of uncertain meaning. The AV has related it to *ṭepaḥ* or *ṭōpaḥ*, both of which mean "span" or "handbreadth." The RSV and NEB have interpreted it in the light of the verb *ṭpḥ* (piel) in v. 22, which in the context seems to be referring to bearing or caring for children (see also *CHAL*, p. 125; KoB, p. 356; D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations* [*AB*, 1972], p. 40).

The phrase *dāḇar* (piel) *'al-lēḇ* means, literally, "speak to (the) heart." The same expression occurs in Gen. 50:21 (RSV "comfort"); 2 S. 19:7 (MT 8; RSV "speak kindly"), and 2 Ch. 30:22 (RSV "speak encouragingly"). *See* HEART II.A.

In Lk. 1:78 the phrase "tender mercy" is used to translate Gk. *splánchna eléous*. The plural noun *splánchna* originally denoted the inward parts (i.e., the BOWELS), which were regarded as the seat of emotions. By transferred usage it came to denote tender feelings of compassion. The NT uses *splánchna* (also *splanchnízomai* and *eúsplanchnos*) to express the sense of Heb. *raḥᵃmîm* (lit. "bowels," then "mercy," "compassion"; cf. AV "tender mercies" in Ps. 25:6; 40:11 [MT 12]; 51:1 [MT 3]; 69:16 [MT 17]; etc.). Thus in the NT the *splánchna* word-group has largely replaced the *oiktirmoí* word-group, which is generally used by the LXX to render Heb. *raḥᵃmîm* (see *TDNT*, VII, 552). As God has shown "tender mercy" to His people, so Christ's followers are exhorted to be "tenderhearted" (*eúsplanchnos*, lit. "well-boweled," thus "compassionate") toward one another (Eph. 4:32; 1 Pet. 3:8; cf. *splánchna oiktirmoú* [RSV "compassion"] in Col. 3:12). *See also* COMPASSION; MERCY; PITY.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σπλάγχνον κτλ. (Köster); *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "deshe'" (Ringgren); *TWOT*, I, 199; II, 848.

N. J. OPPERWALL

TENON ten'ən [Heb. *yāḏ*–'hand']. A projection in a piece of material (e.g., wood), which is inserted into a mortise to form a joint. If *yāḏôṯ* is correctly translated "tenons" in Ex. 26:17, 19; 36:22, 24, each wooden frame in the tabernacle was held in place by two tenons that fitted into mortises in the silver bases. A. R. S. Kennedy suggested, however, that the *yāḏôṯ* were not tenons but the upright "arms" that formed the sides of each frame (*HDB*, IV, *s.v.* "Tabernacle"); for a discussion of this theory, *see* TABERNACLE II.C.5.

TENT [Heb. *'ōhel*, also *miškān*–'dwelling' (Cant. 1:8), *dōq* (Isa. 40:22), *yᵉrîʿâ* (1 Ch. 17:1; Ps. 104:2), vbs. *'āhal* ("move [one's] tent," Gen. 13:12, 18; piel, "pitch [one's] tent," Isa. 13:20), *ḥānâ* ("pitch [one's] tent," Nu. 1:52); Gk. *skēné* (Acts 7:43f.; He. 8:2, 5; etc.), *skénos* (2 Cor. 5:1, 4)]; AV also TABERNACLE, DWELLING (PLACE), CURTAIN (*yᵉrîʿâ*), etc.; NEB also TABERNACLE, CURTAIN, HOUSEHOLD, HOME, etc.; **TENT PEG** [Heb. *yāṯēḏ*] (Jgs. 4:21f.; 5:26; Zec. 10:4); AV NAIL; **TENT-CORD** [Heb. *yeṯer*–'sinew,' 'rope'] (Job 4:21); AV "excellency"; NEB "rich possessions"; on the "tent of meeting," "tent of witness," etc., *see* TABERNACLE; on He. 9:2, 6, 8 *see* OUTER TENT. A movable, collapsible shelter used by nomads, soldiers, shepherds, and others who are compelled to relocate frequently. The tent protects occupants from the burning sun, from the rain, and from the cold of night. *See* picture in PAVILION.

The Bible traces the use of tents to very ancient times. Jabal is said to have been "the father of those who dwell in tents and have cattle" (Gen. 4:20). The patriarchs are depicted as nomadic herdsmen who lived in tents (*see* NOMADISM). During the formative period of the wilderness wanderings the Israelites also lived in tents. After the settlement in Canaan tents were used by farmers at harvest time as well as by shepherds and soldiers (cf. Jer. 6:3). Out of faithfulness to the traditions of their ancestors, the Rechabites lived continuously in tents (Jer. 35:7-10).

Most likely the tents described in the Bible were similar to those used by the bedouin today. Thus the covering of the tent was made of "curtains" (*yᵉrîʿōṯ*) of hand-woven black goats' hair sewn together to form one piece. The covering was stretched over supporting poles and held in place by means of ropes that were tied to wooden pegs driven into the ground (cf. Isa. 54:2; Jer. 10:20). Pitching the tent was probably women's work, as it is among the bedouin today; this would explain Jael's facility with the mallet and tent peg in the slaying of Sisera (Jgs. 4:21). Tents were made in various sizes depending on the number of occupants. New sections might be added as the family grew (cf. Isa. 54:2). Some tents probably had separate quarters for women in the back (this is one interpretation of Jgs. 4:21; *see* RUG). Wives in wealthy families apparently had their own tents (e.g., Gen. 31:33).

Even after they settled in permanent dwellings in Canaan, the Israelites continued to use tent imagery. In Hezekiah's prayer the tent is a symbol of the temporary character of human life (Isa. 38:12; cf. Ps. 52:5 [MT

7]). Paul used similar imagery in 2 Cor. 5:1, 4 (cf. 2 Pet. 1:13, RSV mg.). Poetically the heavens are described as stretched out like a tent (Ps. 104:2; Isa. 40:22; cf. Job 9:8; Isa. 42:5; 44:24). As the home of those who live in it, the tent can also be described figuratively as the dwelling place of safety (Job 5:24) or of wickedness (11:14; 22:23; Ps. 84:10 [MT 11]) and bribery (Job 15:34).

The welfare of a people is often described in terms of what happens to its tent (e.g., Jer. 4:20; 30:18; Hos. 9:6; Zec. 12:7). The absence of tents signifies desolation (Isa. 13:20), but the enlargement of the nation's tent symbolizes its prosperity and expansion (54:2). Though the tents of the wicked may appear to enjoy peace (Job 12:6), destruction will come upon them (8:22; 18:6, 14f.; 20:26; 21:28). But God protects the tents of those who are His friends (Job 29:4), those who make Him their refuge (Ps. 91:9f.). Songs of victory are heard in the tents of the righteous (Ps. 118:15), and "the tent of the upright will flourish" (Prov. 14:11).

See also TENTMAKER.

See *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "'ōhel" (Koch).

N. J. OPPERWALL

TENT OF MEETING. *See* TABERNACLE.

TENTH. *See* TITHE.

TENTH DEAL. The AV translation of Heb. *'iśśārôn* in Ex. 29:40; Lev. 14:10, 21; etc. Heb. *'iśśārôn* (lit. "tenth part") probably denotes the tenth part of an EPHAH (cf. RSV Lev. 14:10, 21; etc.). *See* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

TENTMAKER [Gk. *skēnopoiós*]. The occupation attributed to Paul, as well as to Aquila and Priscilla, in Acts 18:3.

The significance of the term *skēnopoiós* for understanding Paul's ministry has been emphasized by the work of R. Hock.

The term is found only at Acts 18:3 in the NT and only rarely outside the NT and the Christian works influenced by it. Since Paul was from Cilicia, some have understood the term to mean that Paul was a weaver who made tents from a rough cloth produced in Cilicia from goats' hair (Lat. *cilicium*), sometimes used for tents. Three factors, however, make this interpretation questionable: (1) it appears that in Paul's time tents were made chiefly from leather (see Hock, pp. 21, 73 n.16); (2) it is difficult to understand why a Pharisee like Paul would have chosen weaving, a despised occupation, as his trade; and (3) this view is not supported by early versional readings or by comments of the early church fathers, all of which indicate that Paul was a leatherworker of some sort. The use of the term "tentmaker" may reflect "a widespread tendency among artisans [of that period] to use specialized titles, even though they made more products than their titles would suggest" (Hock, p. 21). Thus Paul probably made a variety of leather products, including tents.

Leatherworking as practiced in this period involved two basic tasks: (1) cutting the leather with round-edge and straight-edge knives, and (2) sewing the leather with various awls. The fact that these tools were portable allowed the leatherworker a great deal of mobility (see Hock, pp. 24f.).

Although many scholars have assumed that Paul learned his trade as a student of Gamaliel in order to fulfil the rabbinic injunction to combine the study and teaching of Torah with the practice of a trade (Mish. *Pirke Aboth* ii.2; cf. iv.7), it is difficult to establish the existence of this rabbinic ideal before the mid-2nd cent. A.D. More likely, then, Paul learned his trade from his father — a common practice in both Jewish (*Tosephta Qiddushin* i.11) and Greco-Roman society as a whole. The possibility that Paul's father was a leather worker might also explain his family's acquisition of Roman citizenship, since the services of a leatherworker might have proved very useful to the Roman military (see Hock, pp. 22-24).

Various studies have focused attention on the significance of Paul's trade for his ministry. Apparently Paul's general policy was to support his missionary labors by the work of his hands (1 Cor. 4:12; 1 Thess. 2:9). His espistles suggest that on his second and third journeys he plied his trade in Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2:9), Athens (Acts 17:17), Corinth (Acts 18:3; 1 Cor. 4:12), Ephesus (Acts 19:11-12 [the apron and sweat rags probably refer to clothes worn while working]; 20:34f.; 1 Cor. 4:12 [written from Ephesus]), and Corinth again (2 Cor. 12:14). 1 Cor. 9:6 suggests that this was the case for the first journey also, and some understand Acts 28:30 as implying that Paul worked at his trade even while in custody at Rome.

If Acts 18:2 represents a typical pattern, it is possible that Paul, upon arriving at a new city, sought out a fellow artisan with whom he might practice his trade. Such association might have provided Paul with his first contacts in a new city. Furthermore, Paul's workshop may have been the locus of much of his missionary preaching and teaching (17:17). Certainly the nature of his trade would have allowed him to engage in conversation, lecturing, and teaching while working.

Finally, Paul's epistles suggest that working at his trade played a significant role in his self-understanding as an apostle. It allowed him to dissociate himself from the many religious and philosophical charlatans whose primary motivation was avarice (e.g., cf. 2 Cor. 2:17; 11:1-21). Paul's practice of supporting himself seems also, however, to have prompted criticism from his opponents in Corinth and elsewhere, since working with one's own hands was considered the least appropriate of the various means of support commonly employed by religious and philosophical teachers.

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W. H. GLOER

TEPE te'pā. *See* TELL.

TEPHON tē'fon [Gk. *tephōn*] (1 Macc. 9:50); AV TAPHON. A city fortified by Bacchides, probably to be identified with TAPPUAH 2. See J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (*AB*, 1976), pp. 386, 537.

TERAH ter'ə, tē'rə [Heb. *teraḥ*; Gk. *thara*]; AV also THARA. The son of Nahor and the father of Abram (Abraham) and two other sons, Nahor and Haran (Gen. 11:24-26). Terah was a descendant of Shem (Gen. 11:10-26). He lived in Mesopotamia, where, according to Josh. 24:2, he and Abram "served other gods" (cf. Jub. 11–12). According to Gen. 11:31 his home was "Ur of the Chaldeans," evidently the great UR of Lower Mesopotamia, but many scholars think he was a native of the city of Haran in Upper Mesopotamia, the region with which Abram's family seems to be most closely associated. According to Gen. 11:31 Terah moved from Ur to Haran, taking with him his son Abram, his daughter-in-law Sarai, and his grand-

son Lot, the son of Nahor. He died in Haran at the age of 205 (Gen. 11:32), after which Abram and his family set out for the land of Canaan (cf. Acts 7:4).

The name of Terah has been compared to that of Til (ša) Turaḫi, "ruin of the ibex [?]," a town mentioned in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (mid-ninth cent. B.C.). Til Turaḫi was located in the basin of the Balikh River in Upper Mesopotamia, not far from Haran. In the same general vicinity were the towns of Tel Naḫiri (earlier Naḫuru) and Sarugi, also mentioned in Neo-Assyrian documents, which correspond to Nahor, the name of Terah's father as well as his second son, and Serug, the name of his grandfather (Gen. 11:22-24). Many scholars believe that the names of Terah and his kinsmen were derived from the names of these places.

See C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. tr. 1984), pp. 563-65. P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

TERAH ter'ə, tē'rə [Heb. *tāraḥ*] (Nu. 33:27f.); AV, NEB, TARAH. One of Israel's encampment sites on the journey from Egypt to Canaan. Its location is unknown.

TERAPHIM ter'ə-fim [Heb. *t^erāpîm*; Gk. *theraphin; eidōla,* "idols"; etc.]; AV also IMAGE; NEB also HOUSEHOLD GODS. A type of IDOL or image, often associated with DIVINATION. Most scholars think the teraphim were household idols similar to the *penates* of the Romans. The primary basis for this interpretation is the account of Rachel's theft of the teraphim (RSV "household gods") from her father, Laban (Gen. 31:19). Laban calls them his "gods" (v. 30). Some scholars, noting references to household gods in Babylonian inheritance documents from Nuzi, concluded that the possessor of these objects was entitled to inherit the household property, and therefore that Rachel stole her father's teraphim in order to transfer the rights to his estate to Jacob. Closer study of the Nuzi texts, however, has shown that they do not support these conclusions. Rachel's motive is more likely to have been religious loyalty to the gods of her home. The purpose of the story, moreover, may be to ridicule the importance both Rachel and Laban attach to the idols. Note that when they have arrived safely in Canaan, Jacob admonishes his household to rid themselves of the foreign gods they have brought back with them (Gen. 35:2).

The exact appearance and function of the teraphim are unknown. The "image" (RSV; Heb. *t^erāpîm*) Michal placed in David's bed to mislead Saul's soldiers in 1 S. 19:13, 16 seems to have been life-sized. But Laban's household gods were small enough for Rachel to hide under her saddle. Many passages, such as Zec. 10:2, mention teraphim in connection with divination. According to Ezk. 21:21 (MT 26), for example, the consultation of teraphim was one of the divinatory techniques resorted to by Nebuchadrezzar. Moreover, teraphim are especially associated with the EPHOD (Jgs. 17:5; 18:14, 17f., 20; Hos. 3:4), which also had a divinatory function.

It seems safest to conclude that teraphim were small idols kept in private households and consulted in divination. Perhaps they can be identified with the "gods" that adjudicated in clan or household law (cf. Ex. 21:6; 22:8f. [MT 7f.]). Elsewhere, however, their use is condemned (cf. 1 S. 15:23). Josiah attempted to eradicate them as part of his reform (2 K. 23:24).

See also IDOLATRY; URIM AND THUMMIM V.

Bibliography.–P. R. Ackroyd, *Expos.T.*, 62 (1950-51), 378-380; A. R. Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (2nd ed. 1962), pp. 32f., with bibliography; M. Greenberg, *JBL*, 81 (1962), 239-248. P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

TEREBINTH ter'ə-binth [Heb. *'ēlâ*; Gk. *terébinthos*]; AV TEIL TREE (Isa. 6:13), ELM (Hos. 4:13), TURPENTINE TREE (Sir. 24:16). Elsewhere the AV and RSV translate Heb. *'ēlâ* "oak"; the NEB has "terebinth" or "oak." Much confusion exists in translations and comms. about the distinction between the oak and terebinth, even though the trees are quite different botanically (cf. RSV mg. "terebinth" for Heb. *'ēlôn* in Gen. 12:6 and for *'ēlōnîm* in 13:18; 14:13; 18:1; Dt. 11:30). The terebinth is probably referred to only in Isa. 6:13; Hos. 4:13; Sir. 24:16, and in 1 S. 17:2, 19 (lit. "valley of the terebinth"; RSV "valley of Elah"). According to an ancient tradition the "tree" (Heb. *'ēṣ*, Gen. 18:8) under which Abraham served his guests was a giant terebinth near Hebron that was still standing in the 1st cent. A.D. Josephus described it as "a huge terebinth-tree, which is said to have stood there ever since creation" (*BJ* iv.9.7 [533]).

The Palestinian terebinth, *Pistacia terebinthus* var. palaestina (Boiss.) Post, is a large deciduous tree with a thick trunk and heavy branches. It attains a maximum height of 7.5 m. (25 ft.). In its leafless state it resembles an oak, and it is liable to infection by colorful galls. It bears small flowers and red berries. All parts of the tree yield an aromatic resinous juice, the Cyprus turpentine of commerce (cf. Sir. 24:16, AV).

The AV translation "elms" in Hos. 4:13 cannot be correct; the common elm (*Ulmus campestris* L.) grew only in the mountainous areas of Lebanon and Syria, whereas the trees in the text were more common in Palestine. The "teil tree" (Isa. 6:13, AV), an obsolete name for the linden tree, is not native to Palestine.

See also OAK.

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TERESH tir'esh [Heb. *tereš* < Pers. *tarsha*–'desire,' 'greedy' (?)]. One of the two eunuchs who guarded King Ahasuerus's private chambers and plotted his assassination (Est. 2:21). Mordecai learned of the plot and informed Esther, and she in turn informed the king (v. 22). Teresh and his coconspirator were hanged (v. 23), and Mordecai was later rewarded for having saved the king's life (6:2f., 10f.).

TERMINUS ANTE QUEM. A Latin term meaning "limit before which," used to refer to the latest possible date of an event, e.g., the writing of a document. If document A is quoted in document B, then the date of writing of document B forms a "terminus ante quem" of the writing of document A.

TERMINUS POST QUEM. A Latin term meaning "limit after which," used to refer to the earliest possible date of an event, e.g., the writing of a document. If a document refers to an earthquake, then the earthquake forms a "terminus post quem" of the writing of that document.

TERRACE (2 Ch. 9:11, AV). *See* STAIR.

TERRIBLE [Heb. niphal part. of *yārē'*, also *môrā'* (Dt. 34:12), *'arîṣ*–'ruthless,' 'tyrant' (Ezk. 28:7; 30:11; 31:12; 32:12), niphal part. of *'āraṣ* (Ps. 89:7 [MT 8], *'āyōm* (Cant. 6:4, 10; Hab. 1:7), *'êmâ* (Job 39:20), *pele'*–'marvel' (Lam. 1:9); Aram. pass. part. of *d^eḥal*–'fear' (Dnl. 7:7, 19); Gk. *deinos*–'fearfully, terribly' (Mt. 8:6), *kakōs*–'badly' ("terribly," Mt. 17:15), *polýs*–'great' ("terribly," Mk. 9:26)]; AV also TO BE FEARED, FEARFUL, DREADFUL, SORE, etc.; NEB also WORTHY OF AWE, FEARFUL, BEYOND BELIEF (Lam. 1:9), RUTHLESS (*'ārîṣ*), etc.; **TERRIFY (ING); TERRIFIED** [Heb. *bāhēl* (niphal, 1 S. 28:21; piel,

2 Ch. 32:18; Ps. 2:5; 83:15 [MT 16]; hiphil, Job 23:16), piel of *bā'aṭ* (Job 3:5; 7:14; 9:34; etc.), *ḥāṭaṭ* (Hab. 2:17; niphal, Isa. 31:4; hiphil, Job 31:34; 33:16 [as emended by RSV]; Jer. 49:37), *paḥaḏ* (Job 15:21), *pāḥaḏ* (Job 23:15; Isa. 44:11), *'āraṣ* (Isa. 2:19, 21), hiphil of *ḥāraḏ* (Ezk. 30:9; Zec. 1:21), hiphil of *qûṣ*–'tear apart' (Isa. 7:6), hiphil of *šāmēm*–'be awestruck' (1 S. 5:6), *yārē'* (*K*, Isa. 41:23; *Q*, *rā'â*–'see'), *ma'ᵃrāṣâ* ("terrifying power," Isa. 10:33); Gk. pass. of *tarássō* (Mt. 14:26; Mk. 6:50), *émphobos* (Rev. 11:13), pass. of *ptoéō* (Lk. 21:9), mid. part. of *phobéō* + *ptóēsis* (1 Pet. 3:6), *phoberós* (He. 12:21)]; AV also TROUBLE(D), (MAKE) AFRAID, VEX, SHAKE TERRIBLY (Isa. 2:19, 21), BEHOLD (following *Q*, Isa. 41:23), etc.; NEB STRIKE WITH TERROR, AFFRIGHT, ALARM, BREAK (ONE'S) SPIRIT, INSPIRE WITH FEAR, etc.; **TERROR** [Heb. *paḥaḏ* (Job 22:10; 31:23; Ps. 91:5; Isa. 2:10, 19, 21; etc.), *pāḥaḏ*("be in terror," Ps. 14:5; 53:5 [MT 6]), *ballāhâ*– 'sudden terror' (Job 18:11, 14; 24:17; 27:20; 30:15; Ps. 73:19; Isa. 17:14), *'êmâ* (Ex. 15:16; 23:27; Dt. 32:25; Job 20:25; 41:14 [MT 6]; Ps. 55:4 [MT 5]; 88:15 [MT 16]; Isa. 33:18), *māgôr*–'(object of) horror' (Ps. 31:13 [MT 14]; Isa. 31:9; Jer. 6:25; 20:3f., 10; 46:5; 49:29; Lam. 2:22), *mᵉgûrâ* (Ps. 55:15 [MT 16]), *mᵉgôrâ* (Hab. 1:9, as emended by RSV; MT *mᵉgammâ*), *ḥittîṯ* (Ezk. 26:17; 32:23-32), *ḥittâ* (Gen. 35:5), *mᵉḥittâ* (Isa. 54:14; Jer. 17:17), niphal of *ḥāṭaṭ* ("be terror-stricken," Isa. 30:31), *ḥaṯḥaṭ* (Eccl. 12:5), niphal of *bāhēl* ("be palsied by fear," Ezk. 7:27), *behālâ* (Lev. 26:16; Ps. 78:33; Jer. 15:8), *môrā'* (Dt. 4:34; 26:8; Jer. 32:21), niphal of *bā'aṭ* ("be in terror," Est. 7:6), *bᵉ'āṭâ* (Jer. 8:15; 14:19), *bi'ûṯ* (Job 6:4), *'āraṣ* (Ps. 10:18; Isa. 47:12), *zᵉwā'â*–'trembling' (Isa. 28:19), *za'ᵃwâ* (Ezk. 23:46), *dᵉ'āḇâ* (Job 41:22 [MT 14]), *ḥoggā'*–'confusion' (Isa. 19:17), *šammâ*–'something horrible' (Jer. 29:18), *ḥᵃrāḏôṯ* (Ezk. 38:21, as emended by RSV; MT *hāray ḥereḇ*–'my mountains . . . a sword'); Gk. *phóbos* (Rom. 13:3), *phóbētron* (Lk. 21:11), *émphobos* ("in terror," Acts 10:4)]; AV also FEAR, AFRAID, TROUBLE, TERRIBLE(NESS), SORROW (Heb. *dᵉ'āḇâ*), ASTONISHMENT (*šammâ*), etc.; NEB also PANIC, TERRIFYING DEED, BE DUMBFOUNDED (Est. 7:6), FEAR, DISASTER, etc.

The biblical terms listed above refer to a state of intense fear inspired by a variety of beings, forces, and circumstances. The terms are frequently used as synonyms (often in synonymous parallelism), although they carry different nuances of meaning.

The broadest and most common OT term for "fear" is the Hebrew verb *yārē'*. The niphal part. of *yārē'* (*nôrā'*; RSV "terrible") is often applied to God and His deeds. The noun *môrā'* is also derived from *yārē'*. The verb *bāhēl* and cognate noun *behālâ* denote a state of terror often produced by an unexpected event such as the prospect of sudden death (see *TDOT*, II, 4f.). Similarly, the nouns *'êmâ*, *ballāhâ*, *māgôr*, and *mᵉgûrâ* (fem. cognate of *māgôr*), as well as the verb *bā'aṭ* and its cognates *bᵉ'āṭâ* and *bi'ûṯ*, denote a sudden terror that strikes people who are confronted with a being or force that is overpowering and life-threatening. The verb *ḥāṭaṭ* and its cognates (*ḥittîṯ*, *ḥittâ*, *mᵉḥittâ*) are likewise general terms for terror and that which terrifies; often translated by "dismay" (e.g., Isa. 20:5), this word-group is used frequently to describe the panic that besets military forces whose courage has been broken (e.g., 30:31; RSV "panic," 31:9). The verb *pāḥaḏ* and cognate noun *paḥaḏ* describe intense fear that causes trembling; the noun sometimes denotes the external cause of the terror. The verb *ḥāraḏ* and cognate noun *ḥᵃrāḏâ* likewise depict trembling or quaking before a fearsome being or event.

In the NT "terrify" and "terror" most often represent a member of the Greek word-group *phob-* (*phobéō*, *phóbos*, *émphobos*, *phoberós*, *phóbētron*) — terms that the RSV more commonly renders by "fear" or "be afraid." In the LXX *phobéō* and its cognates are the usual translations of Heb. *yārē'* and its cognates; this word-group is also used frequently for Heb. *pāḥaḏ* and *paḥaḏ*. The Greek verb *tarássō* refers to the mental agitation and confusion associated with a frightening event. The verb *ptoéō* and cognate noun *ptóēsis* refer to terror or alarm.

One of the greatest terrors that people faced in biblical times (as in all times) was the threat of sudden, premature death. Saul was paralyzed by fear when he heard Samuel's prophecy (through the medium at Endor) that he and his sons were about to be killed and the Israelites defeated in a battle with the Philistines (1 S. 28:21). Haman was terrified when he realized that his plot against the Jews had backfired and "that evil was determined against him by the king" (Est. 7:6). Such terror could be experienced by the righteous, e.g., by Job (6:4; 7:14; 23:16; 30:15; 31:23) and the psalmists (Ps. 31:13 [MT 14]; 55:4 [MT 5]; 88:15 [MT 16]). More often, however, it is described as the fate of the wicked (e.g., Job 15:24; 18:11, 14; 20:25; 22:10; 27:20; Ps. 14:5; 53:5 [MT 6]; 73:19), and those who trust in God confess that He protects them from things that terrify (e.g., Ps. 91:5; cf. Lk. 21:9). Freedom from fear is promised as one of the blessings of the messianic kingdom (Isa. 54:14).

Many OT texts describe God Himself as "terrible" (*nôrā'*), i.e., "awesome," "inspiring intense fear" (Dt. 7:21; 10:17; Neh. 1:5; 4:14; 9:32; Job 37:22; Ps. 47:2 [MT 3]; 68:35 [MT 36]; 76:7, 12 [MT 8, 13]; 89:7 [MT 8]; Dnl. 9:4; Joel 2:11). His name (Ps. 99:3; 111:9), His angel (Jgs. 13:6), and His works (Ex. 15:11; 34:10; Dt. 10:21; 34:12 [*môrā'*]; 2 S. 7:23; 1 Ch. 17:21; Ps. 66:3, 5; 106:22; 145:6; Isa. 64:3) are likewise described as terrifying (*nôrā'*). Other passages also describe terror in the presence of Yahweh (e.g., Job 23:15f. [*pāḥaḏ*, *bāhēl*]). On terror inspired by God's presence or deeds, *see* FEAR (esp. II.B.3); REVERENCE.

Terror is frequently associated with the horrors of war. Invading armies terrorized their adversaries in order to demoralize them (e.g., 2 Ch. 32:18; Isa. 7:6; Hab. 1:9; cf. Ezk. 26:17; 32:23-32). "Terrors" sent by Yahweh (and His "terrible deeds") play an important role in the accounts of Israel's exodus from Egypt and conquest of Canaan (e.g., Ex. 15:11, 16; 23:27; 34:10; Dt. 4:34; 10:21; 26:8; 34:12; Ps. 106:22; cf. 1 S. 5:6; Isa. 64:3; Jer. 32:21); by means of terror Yahweh confused and paralyzed Israel's enemies, thus bringing about Israel's victory. The prophets also refer to terror as a weapon that Yahweh employs against Israel's enemies (Isa. 19:17; 30:31; 31:9; Jer. 48:43f.; 49:5, 29, 37; Ezk. 38:21; Zec. 1:21). But as punishment for Israel's disobedience, Yahweh also sends His terror against His own people through the invading armies of foreign nations (Lev. 26:16; Dt. 32:25; Isa. 28:19; Jer. 8:15; 14:19; 15:8; 29:18; Ezk. 7:27). On the great DAY OF THE LORD Yahweh Himself will arise in judgment against all His enemies, and no one who has opposed Him will be able to escape His terror (Isa. 2:10, 19, 21; 24:17f.; cf. Joel 2:11, 31 [MT 2:11; 3:4]; Mal. 4:5; Lk. 21:11).

Also terrifying to people in biblical times were life-threatening events of nature, such as powerful winds (Ps. 83:15 [MT 16]) and earthquakes (Rev. 11:13). Darkness was feared as a time when one was vulnerable to surprise attacks by enemies (Job 24:17 [cf. v. 14]; Ps. 91:5; cf. Job 3:5). Powerful animals could also inspire fear (e.g., the horse, Job 39:20; Leviathan, 41:14, 22 [MT 6, 14]; the ten-horned beast in Daniel's vision, Dnl. 7:7, 19). The wilderness through which the Israelites journeyed

was terrifying because of its poisonous snakes, scorpions, and lack of food and water (Dt. 1:19; 8:15; cf. Isa. 21:1).

See also ALARM; AWE; FEAR; HORROR; TREMBLE.

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TERRITORY [Heb. *gᵉḇûl*] (Gen. 10:19; Ex. 13:7; Nu. 20:16f., 21; 33:44; Dt. 2:4; 3:16; 11:24; 12:20; 16:4; 28:40; Josh. 1:4; etc.); AV BORDER, BOUND, COAST, etc.; NEB also BORDER(S), FRONTIER, BOUNDARIES, etc.; [*gᵉḇûlâ*] (Nu. 32:33; Josh. 19:49); AV COAST; NEB FRONTIER; [*gôrāl*–'allotted portion'] ("territory allotted," Jgs. 1:3); AV LOT; [*ḥeleq*–'share'] (2 K. 9:10, 36f.); AV PORTION; NEB PLOT, PLOT OF GROUND; ['*ereṣ*–'land'] (Gen. 20:1; 2 Ch. 34:33); AV COUNTRY; [*môšāḇ*–'residence,' 'abode'] ("territory in which they lived," Gen. 10:30); AV DWELLING; NEB "they lived"; [Gk. *hórion*] (Mt. 4:13); AV BORDER; NEB DISTRICT; supplied in 2 Ch. 26:6; etc.; **BOUNDARY** [Heb. *gᵉḇûl*] (Nu. 21:13, 24; 22:36; 34:3-12; Dt. 2:18; 3:16f.; Josh. 12:2, 5; etc.); AV BORDER, COAST; NEB also TERRITORY, FRONTIER, BORDER, LIMIT, etc.; [*gᵉḇûlâ*] (Nu. 34:12; Josh. 18:20; Isa. 10:13); AV COAST, BOUNDS; NEB also FRONTIER; [*ḥōq*–'limit,' 'ordinance'] (Mic. 7:11); AV DECREE; NEB FRONTIER; [*taklît*–'extremity'] (Job 26:10); AV END; NEB FARTHEST LIMIT; [Gk. *horothesía*–'fixed boundary'] (Acts 17:26); AV BOUNDS; NEB LIMIT; supplied in Ezk. 47:18; etc.

By far the most common term rendered by "territory" and "boundary" in the RSV is Heb. *gᵉḇûl*. Both *gᵉḇûl* and *gᵉḇûlâ* are derived from the root *gbl,* "establish a boundary," "bound (an area)," "border on" (see *CHAL,* p. 54), and both terms can mean either "border" or "territory." Sometimes it is difficult to determine which meaning is intended in a particular passage (cf. AV and NEB variants). *Gᵉḇûl* occurs frequently in passages defining the boundaries of tribes, lands, peoples, or cities (esp. in Numbers, Joshua, and Ezekiel).

The Israelites, like other ancient Near Eastern peoples, had great respect for boundaries. Israel confessed that Yahweh had "fixed the bounds [*gᵉḇulōṯ*] of the peoples" (Dt. 32:8; cf. Acts 17:26). The LAND of Canaan belonged to Yahweh (cf. Lev. 25:23), and it was He who gave it to Israel as an inheritance and defined its boundaries (Nu. 34:1-15; Josh. 13:1-7). When the territories of the tribes were assigned, it was Yahweh Himself who determined the boundaries through Moses and the tribal leaders (Nu. 34:16-29) or through the casting of lots (Josh. 14–19; cf. 22:25). The boundaries of family property were also to be respected: anyone who moved a neighbor's LANDMARK (*gᵉḇûl*) was under a curse (Dt. 27:17; cf. 19:14; Prov. 22:28; etc.).

See also BORDER; PORTION.

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TERTIUS tûr'shi-əs [Gk. *Tertios* < Lat. *tertius*–'third'] (Rom. 16:22). The secretary or scribe (amanuensis) by whom Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans. Nothing else is known of Tertius, although many commentators infer that he was a Roman Christian. This would explain the unique inclusion of his name in this list of greetings to Rome; nowhere else does an amanuensis of Paul identify himself.

The practice of dictating letters to an amanuensis was widespread in the ancient world and was apparently used elsewhere by Paul (cf. 1 Cor. 16:21; Gal. 6:11; Col. 4:18; 2 Thess. 3:17). The measure of stylistic or conceptual freedom permitted to amanuenses is disputed.

See also EPISTLE III.C. C. L. BLOMBERG

TERTULLUS ter-tul'əs [Gk. *Tertyllos,* diminutive from Lat. *tertius*–'third'] (Acts 24:1f.). An orator who traveled with Ananias the high priest to Caesarea to plead the Jews' case against Paul before the governor Felix (Acts 24:1-8; cf. 21:27-36; 23:26-30). Although his Roman name has suggested to some that Tertullus was a Greek or Roman, his use of the first person plural (". . . we enjoy . . . we accept . . . we have found . . . we seized," etc., 24:2-8) implies that he was a Jew; moreover, it was common for Jews to carry Roman names. His position as the one who brought the charge to Felix required that he be well trained and skilled in rhetoric. His opening flatteries follow the rhetorical mode of the day.

The Western text includes as part of Tertullus's speech a statement summarizing the events of 21:33-36; 22:22-24, 30. (The AV includes it in the text [24:6b-8a]; the RSV and NEB print it in the margin.) Its mention of Lysias as the chief captain seems to add authenticity to this statement, but its omission from most texts casts doubt on its originality. If this text is correct, however, it does carry through Tertullus's argument that Paul had tried to profane the temple (v. 6), noting in particular that Paul had been arrested in accordance with Jewish law.

The more important charge, however, was that Paul was a seditious character, an agitator among all the Jews (24:5) and a disturber of the peace. While Felix was expected to allow the Jews to enforce their law properly when it was violated, it was the latter charge that would hold the Roman government's attention, and undoubtedly the Jews from Asia were most concerned to see Paul sentenced for this charge. Tertullus contended that were Felix to interrogate Paul he himself would conclude that Paul was a dangerous enemy, not only of established Jewish law and tradition, but also of the state (v. 8).

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TEST [Heb. usually *nāsâ* or *bāḥan,* also *ṣārap* (Jgs. 7:4; Ps. 17:3; 105:19), *bārar* (Eccl. 3:18), *ḥāqar* (Lam. 3:40), *bōḥan* (Isa. 28:16); Gk. (verbs) *peirázō* (Mt. 16:1; 19:3; etc.), *ekpeirázō* (Lk. 10:25; 1 Cor. 10:9), *dokimázō* (2 Cor. 13:5; 1 Thess. 2:4; etc.), (adjectives) *dókimos* (2 Cor. 13:7; Jas. 1:12), *adókimos* (2 Cor. 13:5), (nouns) *dokimḗ* (2 Cor. 2:9; 8:2; 9:13), *dokímion* (Jas. 1:3), *dokimasía* (He. 3:9)]; AV TEMPT, PROVE, TRY, TRIAL (Ezk. 21:13; 2 Cor. 8:2), MANIFEST (Eccl. 3:18), KNOW THE PROOF (2 Cor. 2:9), EXPERIMENT (9:13), BE REPROBATE (13:5), APPROVE (13:7), TEMPTATION (He. 3:8); NEB also (PUT TO THE) PROOF (Gen. 42:15; Ps. 26:2; 66:10; Mal. 3:10; 2 Cor. 9:13; Rev. 2:2), ASSAY (Jer. 9:7; Zec. 13:9), TRY TO CATCH OUT (Mt. 22:18; Mk. 12:15), CHALLENGE (Dt. 6:16), "separate" (Jgs. 7:4), "be upon" (Ps. 11:4), WEIGH (v. 5), "plunge into" (Eccl. 2:1),VINDICATE (2 Cor. 13:7), EXAMINE (Gal. 6:4), UNDERGO SCRUTINY (1 Tim. 3:10). An evaluation of or challenge to the character or quality of a given object.

In both the OT and NT "test" most commonly appears in the context of an incident or action by which God or a human individual is enabled to determine the moral condition of particular people or objects. The most common OT terms for "test," Heb. *nāsâ* and *bāḥan,* are basically interchangeable; *bāḥan,* however, occurs more often in poetry, usually in religious contexts, and sometimes implies a more intuitive and less mediated comprehension. The

classic OT test involved Abraham's "near-sacrifice" of Isaac (Gen. 22:1; cf. He. 11:17). God also used the wilderness wanderings (Dt. 8:2, 16; Ps. 81:7 [MT 8]), false prophets (Dt. 13:3 [MT 4]), and pagan nations (Jgs. 2:22; 3:1, 4) to test Israel. Afflictions frequently revealed character and were designed to refine or purify God's people (Ps. 66:10; Jer. 9:7 [MT 6]; Zec. 13:9; cf. Jas. 1:3, 12; 1 Pet. 1:7). Examples of human beings doing the testing include Elihu's evaluation of Job's words (Job 34:3), Jeremiah's denunciatory prophecy (Jer. 6:27), the Babylonian officials' assessment of the health of Daniel and his friends (Dnl. 1:12, 14), and the Queen of Sheba's interrogation of Solomon (1 K. 10:1; 2 Ch. 9:1). NT examples include Paul's instructions to the Corinthians concerning a particular sinner (2 Cor. 2:9) and the collection for Jerusalem (9:13), which were tests of their obedience, and also instructions about the need to examine prospective deacons (1 Tim. 3:10), to evaluate doctrinal teaching (1 Jn. 4:1), and to assess alleged prophecy (1 Thess. 5:21).

A quite different use of "test" appears in settings where human beings challenge God through disobedience. The OT paradigm for such rebellion came to be the Israelites' faithless clamoring for water at Massah–the name itself meaning "a place of testing" (Dt. 6:16; 33:8; Ps. 78:18; 95:9; 106:14). In Isa. 7:12 King Ahaz refused to challenge God by asking for a sign to confirm the prophet's words. In Mal. 3:15 evildoers in general are characterized by this rebellious attitude of putting God to the test, but in v. 10 God invites His people to test the sincerity and efficacy of His promises by supplying the commanded tithe.

The three less common OT words for "test" have only slightly different shades of meaning. *Ṣārap* originally meant to "smelt" or "refine"; the figurative sense of "refining" may be implicit in the three occurrences listed above. *Bārar* should perhaps be translated "make clear" (see M. Eaton, *Ecclesiastes* [*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1983], pp. 85f.). *Ḥāqar* may denote a more diligent, extensive probing.

In the MT of Jgs. 7:3 the phrase *wᵉyiṣpōr mēhar haggilʿāḏ* (AV, lit., "and depart early from mount Gilead") appears to be corrupt (Gideon was not fighting anywhere near Gilead). The RSV emends the text (employing *ṣārap*) to read *wayyiṣrᵉpēm giḏʿôn*, "and Gideon tested them"; the NEB prefers a less drastic emendation, "to leave Mount Galud" (a possible name for the area near the spring of Harod). Isa. 28:16 applies the sole use of the adjectival form *boḥan* to the "tested" cornerstone. Not all scholars agree, however, that the word derives from *bāḥan*; a suggested alternative meaning is "strong" or "secure" (cf. NEB "granite block").

Greek *peirázō, dokimázō,* and their derivatives often appear in contexts similar to those for the various OT forms of testing. But both word groups also carry more distinctive meanings in certain contexts. *Peirázō* is the common word for "tempt"; thus its use in 1 Cor. 10:9; He. 3:8f. to refer to the incident at Massah is hardly surprising. Afflictions intended to refine (Rev. 2:10) could also lead to rebellion by those without proper attitudes. The most frequent use of *peirázō* in the sense of "test" is in references to the Jewish leaders' attempts to trap Jesus through questions designed to make Him incriminate Himself (Mk. 8:11 par.; 10:2 par.; 12:15 par.; Mt. 22:35; Jn. 6:6; cf. *ekpeirázō*, Lk. 10:25). The *dokim-* word-group refers originally to the successful outcome of a test (cf. the adjective *dókimos*, "tested," "genuine"), but individual contexts determine how much emphasis should be placed on this etymology. The anonymous brother accompanying the Jerusalem collection has been tried and approved (2 Cor. 8:22), but the testing of a believer's works with fire at the final judgment can clearly have either a positive or a negative outcome (1 Cor. 3:13; cf. Gal. 6:4). 2 Cor. 13:5, 7 employs the antonymous adjectives *adókimos* and *dókimos* for those who, respectively, "fail to meet the test" and those who "have met the test" of perseverance in the Christian life.

See also MASSAH AND MERIBAH; PROOF; TEMPT; TRIAL.

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C. L. BLOMBERG

TESTAMENT. The Greek term *diathékē*, "testament," was used to designate literary works cast as the last words of important persons. The presence or absence of the term *diathékē* in the title of a work, however, does not determine whether the work belongs to the genre "testament." The book entitled *The Assumption of Moses* belongs to the genre "testament," while the book called *The Testament of Abraham* does not. Works cast as the testaments of famous persons commonly have three parts.

(1) The *introductory section* may contain some of the following elements: (a) a title or superscription, (b) a description of the occasion on which the testament was made, (c) a report about the summoning of family members or other persons, (d) a report identifying the persons summoned, and/or (e) a statement about the age of the maker of the testament.

(2) The *body* contains a report of one or more speeches made by the maker of the testament. These testamentary addresses can incorporate elements from narrative, hymnic, wisdom, and apocalyptic genres.

(3) The *concluding section* may include such elements as: (a) a report about the death of the testator, (b) a report of the burial of the famous person, or (c) a report of the family's or community's mourning.

The forms of testaments vary from case to case, and the criteria for the precise definition of the genre "testament" and its relationship to other genres remain a subject for scholarly discussion. Testaments and farewell speeches can share similar external forms as well as common themes or motifs in their contents. The testament, however, seems to presuppose the impending death of the testator, which lends a heightened sense of urgency to the message.

It is in the messages of the testaments — messages intended for the contemporaries of the *authors* and presumably for future generations also — that the intentions of the various texts must be sought. The *Sitzen im Leben,* or settings in life, in which these literary testaments functioned (the settings in which authors sought to communicate their messages to their communities, and in which these communities read and discussed the testaments) must be distinguished from the setting in life pictured in the fiction of a given testament (that of a family gathered at the bedside of a dying patriarch or matriarch).

Testaments play significant roles as parts of larger works in the canonical form of biblical texts (Gen. 49 [Jacob]; Deuteronomy [Moses]; Josh. 23–24 [Joshua]; 1 K. 2:1-10 [David]; 1 Ch. 28–29 [David]; Lk. 22:7-38 [Jesus]; Jn. 13–17 [Jesus]; and Acts 20:17-38 [Paul]). Testamentary characteristics have also been seen in other texts, including 2 Timothy and 2 Peter. Testaments as parts of larger works are also found in the Apocrypha (1 Macc. 2:49-70 [Mattathias]; Tob. 4; 14:1-12 [Tobit; see also ch. 13]) and in the Pseudepigrapha (Jub. 20:1–23:7 [Abraham]; 36:1-18 [Isaac]; Life of Adam and Eve 49:1–51:3 [Eve]; Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo 19:1-16

[Moses]; 24:1-6 [Joshua]; and perhaps also Jub. 7:20-39 [Noah], and 35:1-27 [Rebecca]).

Independent Testaments are also known, such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Testament of Job, the Testament of Isaac, the Testament of Jacob, the Testament of Moses (or Assumption of Moses), the Testament of Solomon, and the Testament of Adam. Fragments of an Aramaic Testament of Amram, the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, were found at Qumrân (4Q'Amram abcde).

By using the fiction of testaments of famous persons, writers in late antiquity were able to lend authority to their own messages for their own communities by drawing upon a genre and upon characters and stories known in the authoritative texts of those communities.

For AV "testament," see COVENANT (NT); WILL (TESTAMENT).

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TESTAMENTS, BETWEEN THE. *See* INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD.

TESTAMENTS OF ABRAHAM, ISSAC, AND JACOB. *See* PSEUDEPIGRAPHA V.C.

TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS. *See* APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE III.C.

TESTIMONY; TESTIFY [Heb. *ʿēḏûṯ, ʿēḏâ*] (Ex. 16:34; Dt. 4:45; 1 K. 2:3; Ps. 25:10; 119:14, 168; etc.); AV also WITNESS; NEB also INSTRUCTION, (SOLEMN) PRECEPTS, (SOLEMN) CHARGE, etc.; [Heb. *ʿānâ*] (Nu. 35:30; Dt. 21:7; 1 S. 12:3; Job 15:6; Isa. 59:12; etc.); AV also ANSWER, (BEAR) WITNESS; NEB also (BEAR) WITNESS, "lay your complaints," "tell me," etc.; [Heb. *ʿûḏ*] (2 Ch. 24:19; Ps. 50:7; Am. 3:13); NEB also DENOUNCE, BEAR WITNESS; [Heb. *teʿûḏâ*] (Isa. 8:16, 20); NEB MESSAGE; [Heb. *ʾālâ*–'oath,' 'curse'] (Lev. 5:1); AV SWEARING; NEB GIVE EVIDENCE AS A WITNESS; [Heb. *ʾôṯ*–'sign,' 'mark'] (Job 21:29); AV TOKENS; NEB SIGNS; [Gk. *martyría*] (Mk. 14:55; Jn. 1:7; 3:11; 5:31f.; 8:13f.; Acts 22:18; Tit. 1:13; 1 Jn. 5:9-11; Rev. 11:7; 20:4; etc.); AV also WITNESS, RECORD; NEB also EVIDENCE, WITNESS, etc.; [Gk. *martýrion*] (Mt. 10:18; Mk. 6:11; Lk. 9:5; Acts 4:33; 1 Cor. 1:6; 2 Tim. 1:8; He. 3:5, etc.); AV also WITNESS; NEB also WARNING, WITNESS, etc.; [Gk. *pseudomartyría*–'false testimony'] (Mt. 26:59); AV FALSE WITNESS; NEB SOME ALLEGATION; [Gk. *martyréō*] (Jn. 4:39; Acts 13:22; 1 Cor. 15:15; 2 Cor. 8:3; 1 Tim. 6:13; He. 7:8; 1 Jn. 1:2; 3 Jn. 12; Rev. 22:16; etc.); AV also BEAR RECORD, (BEAR) WITNESS, HAVE GOOD REPORT (passive); NEB also DECLARE, EXPOSE, EXCLAIM, etc.; [Gk. *diamartýromai*] (Acts 2:40; 10:42; 20:21; 23:11; He. 2:6; etc.); AV also WITNESS; NEB also "pressed his case," AFFIRM, INSIST ON, ASSURE, SPEAK URGENTLY, "there is a solemn assurance"; [Gk. *martýromai*] (Acts 20:26; Gal. 5:3; Eph. 4:17); AV also TAKE TO RECORD; NEB DECLARE, "you can take it from me," "I urge it upon you"; [Gk. *katamartyréō*–'testify against'] (Mt. 26:62; 27:13; Mk. 14:60); AV WITNESS AGAINST; NEB "the charge that these witnesses bring," etc. "Testimony" is supplied by RSV in He. 10:28.

The term "testimony" (Heb. *ʿēḏûṯ* and *ʿēḏâ*) is found most often in Exodus and Psalms. In Exodus the term refers to the two tablets of the law written by the finger of God (Ex. 30:6; 31:18; 32:15f.; 34:29; Nu. 17:10 [MT 25]) and placed in the ark (Ex. 25:16, 21; 40:20). These tablets which contained Yahweh's testimony — His will — were the heart of Israel's worship and of the nation's ethical and religious life. The other important elements of early Israel's worship were named with respect to these tablets of the testimony. The ark was "the ark of the testimony" (Ex. 25:22; 26:33f.; 30:6, 26; 39:35; 40:3; Nu. 4:5; 7:89; *ʿēḏûṯ* is used alone to indicate the ark in a few places: Ex. 16:34; 27:21; 30:36; Lev. 16:13; Nu. 17:4, 10 [MT 19, 25]), the tabernacle was "the tabernacle of the testimony" (Ex. 38:21; Nu. 1:50, 53; 10:11) and "the tent of the testimony" (Nu. 9:15; 17:7f.; 18:2; 2 Ch. 24:6), and the veil was "the veil of the testimony" (Lev. 24:3).

This use of "testimony" for the word of Yahweh came to be more broadly applied. In the Psalms "testimony" or "testimonies" refers to the Torah, God's law or instruction (e.g., Ps. 19:7 [MT 8]; 25:10; 78:5; 99:7; 119:88), and is paralleled by other terms such as "covenant," "ways," and "precepts" (e.g., 119:59, 168; 132:12). In Deuteronomy and the historical books the term is used in much the same way (Dt. 4:45; 6:17, 20; 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 23:3 par. 2 Ch. 34:31). At the coronation of the child king Joash, "the testimony" was given to him (2 K. 11:12 par. 2 Ch. 23:11); this "testimony" may have been a book (perhaps a portion of the law; cf. Dt. 17:18), document, or amulet. The words of God through Isaiah are also called the "testimony" (Isa. 8:16, 20; Heb. *teʿûḏâ*).

A significant number of NT uses of Gk. *martyréō* and related words are concerned with testimony given to the revelation of God in Jesus. In the Gospel of John, in particular, a line of thought is developed with regard to this testimony. John the Baptist gave testimony to Jesus (Jn. 1:7, 19; 5:33). Jesus came as one testifying to what He knew as the one who had come from God (3:31-33; 8:14). The testimony of human beings to Jesus is effective (4:39; cf. 1 Jn. 1:2), but God Himself gave testimony to Jesus through the miraculous works Jesus did (Jn. 5:31-37; cf. 1 Jn. 5:9).

The gospel is to be preached "as a testimony to all nations" (Mt. 24:14). Testimony before rulers in conditions of persecution is considered an aspect of this testimony (Mt. 10:18; 2 Tim. 1:8; Rev. 11:7; 12:11). A prominent part of the presentation of the apostolic mission in the NT is its portrayal as the activity of those who testify to Jesus — to His identity (Acts 10:42; 18:5; 22:18; 23:11; 26:22f.; 28:23; 1 Cor. 1:6; 2:1f.; 1 Jn. 1:2; 4:14), to His resurrection (Acts 4:33; 1 Cor. 15:15), and to the need for repentance and faith in Him (Acts 2:40; 8:25; 20:21, 24; Eph. 4:17; 2 Thess. 1:10).

See also WITNESS.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 1038-1051; *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* μάρτυς (Strathmann). E. E. CARPENTER

TESTIMONY, ARK OF THE. *See* ARK OF THE COVENANT.

TETA tē'tə (1 Esd. 5:28, AV). *See* HATITA.

TETH teth [ט]. The ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encyclopedia as *ṭ*. It also came to be used for the number nine. It was used with *wāw* for fifteen (i.e., 9 + 6) and with *zāyin* for sixteen (9 + 7) to avoid forming the abbreviation for Yahweh. *See* WRITING.

TETRAGRAMMATON te-trə-gram'ə-ton. *See* GOD, NAMES OF II.C.

TETRARCH tet'rärk [Gk. *tetraárchēs* < *tetrás*–'four' + *archē*–'ruler' (Mt. 14:1; Lk. 3:19; 9:7; Acts 13:1), part. of *tetraarchéō*–'be tetrarch' (Lk. 3:1)]; NEB PRINCE. A term that originally meant "ruler of a fourth part" (Strabo *Geog.* xii.5.1 [567]). Euripides provided the first attestation of the tetriarchate in a reference to Thessaly (*Alcestis* 1154; cf. W. Dittenberger, ed., *Sylloge Inscriptionem Graecarum* [4 vols., 3rd ed. 1915-1924], I, no. 274), which was divided into four districts: Thessaliotis, Hestiaeotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis. In the Hellenistic East the term was applied to the four divisions of each of the three Galatian tribes (Strabo xii.5.1 [566f.]).

Gradually, especially in Roman times, the term began to be used more loosely of rulers with status less than that of a king (cf. NEB "prince"). Herod the Great and his brother Phasael were named tetrarchs by Mark Antony in 41 B.C. (Josephus *BJ* i.12.5 [244]; *Ant.* xiv.13.1 [326]). In 37 B.C. the Roman Senate gave Herod the title King of Judea. Herod's last will announced that his son Archelaus was to succeed him to the kingship and that two other sons, Herod Philip and Herod Antipas, were to be assigned tetrarchies (*Ant.* xvii.18.1 [188f.]). Augustus in turn redivided Herod's kingdom. He named Archelaus ETHNARCH (cf. Mt. 2:22. where the vb. *basileúō* is used generically) over half of Herod's territory, including Judea, Idumea, and Samaria; Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* [2 vols. 1903-1905], nos. 416.3; 417.4); and Philip became tetrarch of the northern portion of Herod's kingdom, including Gaulanitis, Auranitis, Batanea, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Iturea (see *BJ* ii.6.3 [93-95]; *Ant.* xvii.11.4 [317-19]).

Luke 3:1 uses the part. of *tetraarchéō* in reference to Herod Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias (of Abilene). Mt. 14 reflects the fluidity in political terminology: v. 1 refers to Antipas with the precise term "tetrarch" (as does Luke in every instance; cf. 3:19; 9:7; Acts 13:1), but v. 9 uses the more popular term "king" (so also Mk. 6:14, 22, 25-27; cf. Polybius xxi.37.1f.; xxi.39.4, in reference to Galatian tetrarchs).

Bibliography.–F. Gschnitzer, *Hermes,* 82 (1954)), 451-464; J. M. Creed, *Gospel According to St. Luke* (1930), 307-309; *HJP*^{2}, I, 333-36 n. 12; B. Niese, *Rheinisches Museum,* N.S. 38 (1883), 583-600; Pauly-Wissowa V/1, 1089-1098. F. W. DANKER

TETTER [Heb. *bōhaq*; LXX *alphós*] (Lev. 13:39); AV FRECKLED SPOT; NEB DULL-WHITE LEPROSY. This term used to be applied in an untechnical manner to various cutaneous disorders such as eczema and lupus vulgaris, but it is now obsolete. The sufferer exhibiting this condition apparently had depigmented patches of skin on his body, described clinically as acquired leucoderma or vitiligo.

See also LEPER III. R. K. H.

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT. The purpose of this article is to document the principal witnesses to the text of the OT, to review the present state of knowledge concerning the transmission history of the OT text from the 3rd cent. B.C. to modern times, and to discuss the application of this data to the practice of OT textual criticism.

I. Witnesses to the OT Text
  A. Hebrew MSS
    1. Dead Sea Scrolls
    2. Nash Papyrus
    3. Cairo Genizah Fragments
    4. Principal Masoretic MSS
    5. Samaritan Pentateuch
  B. Versions
    1. Greek
    2. Aramaic
    3. Syriac
    4. Latin
    5. Others
  C. Citations
II. History of the OT Text
  A. Period of Textual Diversity (*ca.* 300 B.C.-A.D. 100)
    1. Rabbinic Traditions
    2. Parallel Passages
    3. Versions
    4. Dead Sea Scrolls
  B. Period of Textual Stabilization (*ca* A.D. 100-500)
    1. Rabbinic Traditions
    2. Hermeneutics of Rabbi Akiba
    3. Later Versions
    4. Bar Cochba Scrolls
  C. Masoretes (*ca.* A.D. 500-1000)
    1. Consonantal Text
    2. Vocalization
    3. Cantillation
    4. Masorah
  D. Printed Editions
III. Practice of Textual Criticism
  A. Role of the MT
  B. Role of the Dead Sea Scrolls
  C. Role of the Versions
  D. Role of Comparative Philology
  E. Role of Conjectural Emendation
  F. Classical Principles
  G. Common Scribal Errors
  H. Deliberate Scribal Intervention

I. Witnesses to the OT Text.–The source materials for reconstructing the text of the OT consist of Hebrew MSS (including the Aramaic portions), ancient translations called the versions, and citations of the text in early Jewish and Christian writings.

A. Hebrew MSS. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls. The earliest MS evidence available for the OT text is also the most recently discovered. Since 1947 thousands of fragments of MSS, both biblical and nonbiblical, have come to light in the Dead Sea region. The biblical MSS represented range in date from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D. Not surprisingly, these MSS have had an enormous impact on OT textual studies.

The most famous and best publicized discoveries have come from the caves associated with the ruins of ancient Khirbet Qumrân on the northwest shores of the Dead Sea. Altogether, eleven caves have yielded MS material, some of it intact in the form of large scrolls, but most of it consisting of small fragments. To date, close to two hundred biblical MSS have been identified among this material, over one hundred from Cave 4 alone. Every book of the OT canon is represented at Qumrân except Esther, the greatest number of MSS coming from the Pentateuch (15 MSS of Genesis, 15 of Exodus, 9 of Leviticus, 6 of Numbers, 25 of Deuteronomy), the Latter Prophets (18 MSS of Isaiah, 4 of Jeremiah, 6 of Ezekiel, 8 of the Minor Prophets), and the Psalms (27 MSS). Some of the best-known MSS are the two Isaiah scrolls from Cave 1 (1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b), extensive fragments of a Samuel scroll from Cave 4 (4QSam^a), a Psalms scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs^a), and a commentary on Habbakuk also from Cave 1 (1QpHab). The earliest MS is probably that of 4QSam^b, originating in the late 3rd cent. B.C.

While the term *Dead Sea Scrolls* is officially applied only to the corpus of MSS associated with the library of

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT

Qumrân, other sites in the Dead Sea region have yielded significant MS caches. The principal sites are those of Wādī Murabba'ât, Naḥal Ḥeber, and Masada. The MSS from Murabba'ât and Naḥal Ḥeber are particularly interesting since they come from the time of the Second Jewish Revolt under Bar Cochba, (A.D. 132-135).

The official publication of DSS material is found in DJD (1955ff.). For useful classifications of published DSS material see J. A. Fitzmyer, *Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (1975), and J. A. Sanders, "Palestinian Manuscripts, 1947-1972" in F. M. Cross and S. Talmon, eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Texts* (1975).

2. Nash Papyrus. Prior to 1947 the oldest witness to the OT text was a papyrus fragment that W. L. Nash acquired in Egypt in 1902, later donated to the Cambridge University Library. It contains what is probably a liturgical text of the Decalogue (with the sixth and seventh commandments reversed) and the Shema from Dt. 6:4f. Initially dated in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., it was later assigned by W. F. Albright (*JBL*, 56 [1937], 145-176) to the 2nd cent. B.C., a date now universally accepted.

3. Cairo Genizah Fragments. At the end of the 19th cent. Egypt was also the scene of a major MS discovery relating to the text of the OT: the thousands of parchment fragments preserved and uncovered in the genizah (store room) of the Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo, a synagogue built in A.D. 882 on the ruins of a Coptic church sold to the Jews. Most of this material wound up in the libraries of Leningrad and Cambridge, though significant collections are also found in other libraries of the world. According to P. Kahle, who worked extensively on this material, most of the biblical fragments are to be dated between the 6th and 9th cents., i.e., slightly before the main Masoretic MSS detailed below. They have proved especially valuable in illuminating the historical development of the Hebrew vocalization systems.

Numbers 26:12-27 in one of the oldest Masoretic MSS, British Museum Codex Or. 4445 (*ca.* A.D. 850) (The British Library)

4. Principal Masoretic MSS. The Masoretes were Jewish scribes who, in the period between the 6th and 10th cents., labored to preserve and transmit the text of the OT Scriptures. The principal surviving MSS of their work, known as the Masoretic Text (MT), are the following.

The *Cairo Codex of the Prophets* (*Codex Cairensis*) (A.D. 895) contains the Former and Latter Prophets. A colophon or end-note mentions Moses ben Asher as the scribe; it is currently in the possession of the Karaite community in Cairo. See S. Loewinger, ed., *Cairo Codex* (2 vols. 1971).

British Museum Codex Oriental 4445 is an incomplete text of the Pentateuch (Gen. 39:20–Dt. 1:33 with brief lacunae in Numbers), dated variously from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century. Marginal notes frequently refer to (Aaron) ben Asher as an authority.

The *Leningrad Codex of the Prophets* (MS B 3 of the Russian Public Library, Leningrad) (A.D. 916) contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve. It is especially important for the light it throws on the development of the vocalization system.

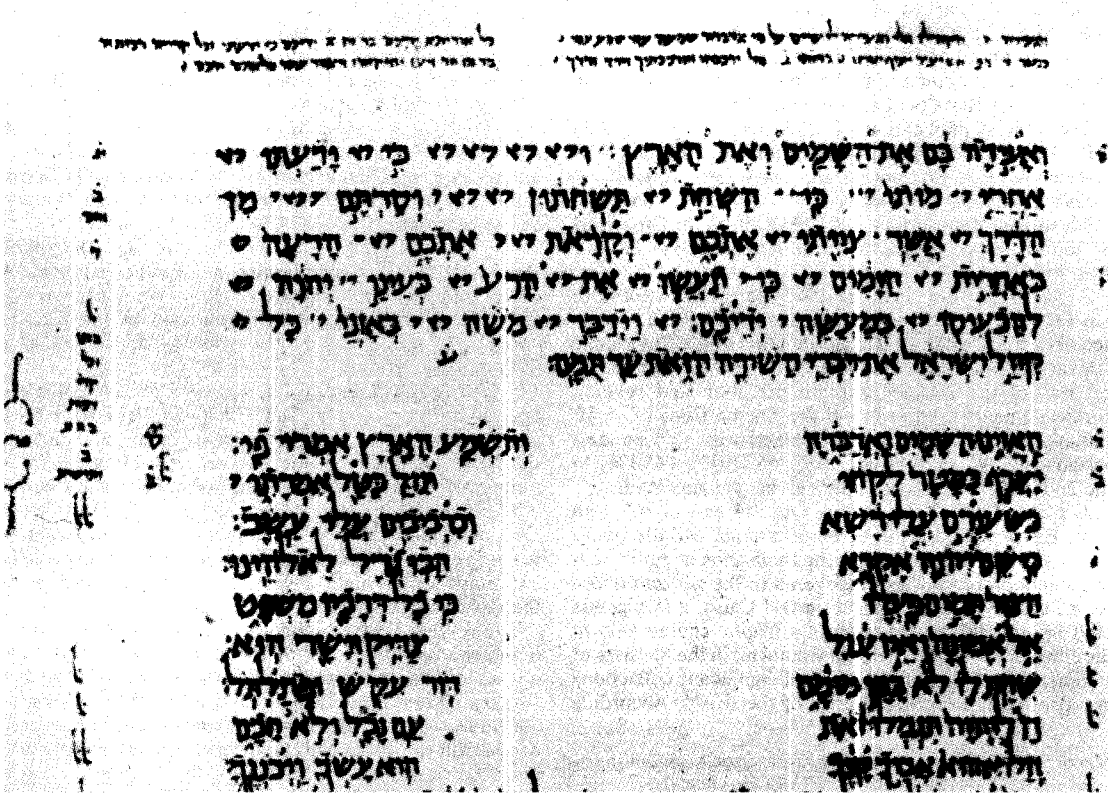
The *Aleppo Codex* originally contained the entire OT; it is generally dated *ca.* 900-925. Till 1948 it was kept in the Jewish synagogue in Aleppo (northern Syria) but was feared lost in the violence attending the founding of the State of Israel. Fortunately it surfaced in Jerusalem a decade later, though with the loss of a quarter of its text (missing was Gen. 1–Dt. 28:16 at the beginning, a few pages in the Prophets, and Cant. 3:12–8:14, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, and Ezra at the end). It may have been the MS designated by Maimonides as the model codex of Aaron ben Asher (cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Textus*, 1 [1960], 17-58; J. S. Penkower, *Textus*, 9 [1981], 39-128). Where extant it constitutes the base text of the edition being prepared by the Hebrew University Bible Project. See M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *Aleppo Codex* (1976).

The *Leningrad Codex* (*Codex Leningradensis*), MS B 19a of the Russian Public Library, Leningrad, contains the complete OT text. According to a colophon it was copied in A.D. 1008/9 from MSS corrected by Aaron ben Moses ben Asher. In 1937 it was adopted as base text for the 3rd ed. of *BH*, a policy continued in *BHS* (1967-1977). See S. Loewinger, ed., *Codex Leningrad B19*^{A} (1970).

Although the above are the most important MSS of the MT, a limited number of other such MSS from the 10th and 11 cents. also exists, several in the state library of Leningrad. Following the 11th cent., however, Hebrew MSS of the Masoretic type become much more common. Many of these have been documented in the great collations of the last two centuries (see II.D below). Collation of Hebrew biblical MSS is currently being carried on especially in Jerusalem in conjunction with the Hebrew University Bible Project. A collateral Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts, which has also been established in the University, aims to have a comprehensive collection of all relevant Hebrew MSS for the study of the OT text. In Claremont, California, a similar institute exists, the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center for Preservation and Research.

5. Samaritan Pentateuch. A special witness to the first part of the OT is that of the Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam.

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT



The top half of a page from the Aleppo Codex (A.D. 900-950) showing Dt. 31:28-32:6 (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

Pent.), the scriptures of the separate Samaritan community with roots going back to the time of the Exile. Accepting the Pentateuch alone as canonical, the Samaritans have preserved this portion of the OT in an independent line of transmission in archaic script resembling paleo-Hebrew.

For many centuries the text of the Samaritans was known only indirectly through comments about it in the writings of the early church fathers such as Eusebius and Jerome. But in 1616 the text was rediscovered in Damascus and published in Europe in the seventeenth-century Paris and London Polyglots. While the largest collection of Samaritan MSS is found in the Russian Public Library in Leningrad, other early MSS are in the possession of the John Rylands Library in Manchester (one is dated A.D. 1211/12) and the University of Cambridge (one codex contains a note to the effect that it was sold in A.D. 1149/50, hence probably copied some centuries earlier). The most important MS, however, is still the Abisha Scroll in the hands of the surviving Samaritan community, the older and more original part of which consists of Nu. 35–Dt. 34 and is probably to be dated to the 11th cent. A.D. The many differences between the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the MT have aroused considerable debate since the time of its discovery.

See also PENTATEUCH, SAMARITAN.

B. Versions. 1. Greek. The earliest translation of the OT into Greek is known as the SEPTUAGINT (LXX). According to the pseudepigraphal Letter of Aristeas, the beginnings of this translation go back to the days of King Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285-246 B.C.), who on the advice of his librarian commissioned the translation of the Hebrew sacred books for his famous library in Alexandria. Although the tale of Aristeas is largely legendary, it points back nonetheless to the translation at least of the Torah some time in the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C. From there the corpus of translated books grew by stages, so that well before the Christian era there was in place a Greek translation of the OT (along with some books not included in the Hebrew canon) essentially the same as the LXX version known to us.

The text of this version is extant in numerous Greek MSS, patristic citations, and daughter versions. The principal uncial MSS of the LXX are the same as those of the NT, e.g., Codex Vaticanus (4th cent.), Codex Sinaiticus (4th cent.), and Codex Alexandrinus (5th cent.). The main contribution of this century to the textual criticism of the LXX, however, has been the discovery of many papyri fragments and scrolls, some of which go back to pre-Christian times. The 20th cent. has also seen the production of improved critical editions of the LXX, primarily in Cambridge and Göttingen. With these and other editions the study of the LXX in relation to the MT has been placed on a much firmer footing than previously.

Although some scholars (e.g., P. Kahle and A. Sperber) have challenged the notion that the extant textual evidence for the LXX points back to an original translation (Ur-LXX) from the Hebrew — preferring instead to view it as the end product of a series of translations and revisions — the consensus of contemporary LXX scholarship is constantly moving in the direction of vindicating the Ur-LXX theory as espoused by such scholars as P. de Lagarde, P. Walters (formerly Katz), and H. M. Orlinsky. On this basis the LXX remains a primary witness to the Hebrew

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT

OT text employed by the translators of the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C., even though its text-critical value varies considerably from book to book.

But the LXX was not the only Greek translation of antiquity. In the 2nd cent. A.D. other translations came into being to challenge the dominance of the LXX; these are commonly known as the Younger or Minor Greek Versions. As the LXX gained circulation among Christians, it proportionately lost favor with Jews, who demanded a more accurate representation of the Hebrew in Greek. This demand was supplied in the extremely literal translation of Aquila, *ca.* A.D. 150. Two other translations in the latter half of the 2nd cent. were those of Symmachus and Theodotion, both of which employed more idiomatic Greek than Aquila. Theodotion may have reworked an existing translation since some Theodotionic readings are attested in pre-Theodotion sources such as the NT.

We know about these translations largely on account of the text-critical labors of the great third cent. scholar Origen, who in his pursuit of a better LXX text than the one current in his day produced the six-columned Hexapla. This was an undertaking of extraordinary proportions with separate columns devoted in turn to the Hebrew text, the same in transliterated Greek characters, the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, Origen's reconstituted LXX text, and finally Theodotion's version. For some books of the OT additional translations were also documented, known as the Quinta, Sexta, and Septima, i.e., the fifth, sixth, and seventh in addition to the basic four.

Origen's LXX column was a synthesis of readings found in current LXX MSS and other readings incorporated from the Minor Greek Versions, the net effect of which was to bring his text into much greater conformity with the current Hebrew text. Although Origen sought to preserve the distinction between the readings adopted from the LXX and other sources, his system of diacritical marks was later misunderstood or ignored, resulting in Hexaplaric MSS (those containing the fifth-column text of the Hexapla only) of very mixed character. Other revisions of the LXX also appeared in the 3rd and 4th cents., the best known being those of Lucian and Hesychius (referred to by Jerome in his preface to Chronicles). Although the Lucianic text is well established for the Former and Latter Prophets, it may not be extant for other parts of the OT. D. Barthélemy has challenged the traditional identification of the text in question as "Lucianic" throughout the OT (*Devanciers*, pp. 126f.). There is even less agreement on which MSS, if any, attest the Hesychian recension.

Other editions of the Greek text have also been identified among the MS material, the most important one being the pre-Christian *Kaige* recension identified by D. Barthélemy in a Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets from the Bar Cochba caves. Although the task of unraveling the relationship among each of the Greek versions and revisions mentioned above is very complex, it is nonetheless an essential undertaking, for each version has its own role to play in the search for the earliest and best possible text of the OT.

2. Aramaic. Even before the appearance of the LXX, oral translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Aramaic was commonly practiced in the synagogues of Palestine. The origins of this custom are not altogether clear, but they may go back to the time of Ezra and perhaps even to the incident recorded in Neh. 8, which states that Ezra's reading of the Law was relayed to the people by Levites who read "clearly" or "with interpretation" (RSV mg.), i.e., "translating it" (NIV mg.) into Aramaic. This process would have been necessary since Hebrew was increasingly becoming a forgotten language to many of the colonizers. In due course this practice of oral translation was formalized in the synagogue, the translator being called a *m^{e}ṯûrg^{e}mān* and his translation a *targûm* (< the verb *targēm*, "translate").

It is to be stressed, however, that for many centuries these translations were strictly oral — lest the translation be invested with the same authority as the original Hebrew. In the main, the translations appear not to have been written down till about the 5th cent. A.D., although there are some Targums, perhaps of an unofficial character, that had been committed to writing already by the 1st cent. A.D.; cf. the partial Targum on Job discovered in Qumrân Cave 11 and other fragments of early Aramaic paraphrases of Job and Leviticus identified in Cave 4.

The principal Targums are those of Targum Onkelos of the Pentaṭeuch and Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel of the Prophets (i.e., the Former and Latter Prophets of the Hebrew canon). Both are thought to have been edited in Babylon around the 5th cent. A.D. and both became official for Judaism. While Targum Onkelos is quite a literal and conservative translation, normally giving the plain sense of the Hebrew, Targum Jonathan tends to be more interpretative. This tendency towards interpretation, paraphrase, avoidance of anthropomorphisms, etc., is even more pronounced in what are called the Jerusalem or Palestinian Targums, such as the "Pseudo-Jonathan" Targum on the Pentateuch and other Targums on the Prophets and the Writings (apart from Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, for which there are no extant Targums). These Targums may go back to an earlier era than those of Babylonian provenance. The study of the Palestinian Targums has been enhanced in the 20th cent. with the discovery of several fragments among the MSS of the Cairo Genizah, as well as by the discovery in 1957 of a complete MS (Neofiti I) in the Vatican Library.

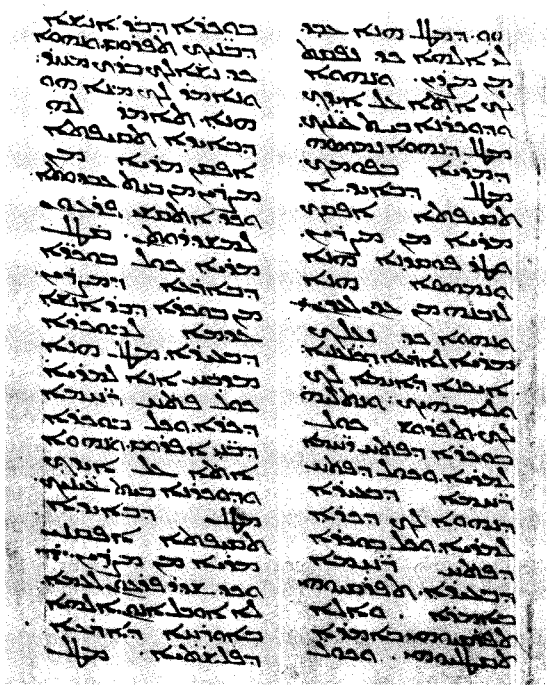
Because of the pronounced tendency toward popular exegesis and expansion in many of the Targums, their value for OT textual criticism is minimized, though certainly not eliminated altogether. The text of the most important Targums may be found in A. Sperber, *Bible in Aramaic*, I-IV (1959-1973).

See also TARGUM.

3. Syriac. While the Targums are written in the dialect known as Western Aramaic, other translations exist written in the dialect of Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the language of northern Mesopotamia in the early centuries of the Christian era with its own distinctive script. The most important of the Syriac translations is the Peshitta, meaning "simple" or "common" version. Although the name itself is unknown before the 9th cent., the beginnings of the translation might go back to the 1st cent. A.D., though whether to Jewish or to Christian circles is uncertain.

The characteristics of this version vary greatly from one book to another, ranging between the extremes of sober literalism, e.g., the Pentateuch and Job, to free-flowing paraphrase, e.g., Chronicles and Ruth, a fact which suggests multiplicity of authorship and, as with other versions, urges caution in its application to OT textual criticism. The picture is further complicated by the existence of two recensions of the text among Peshitta MSS (one more literal and the other more paraphrastic with reminiscences of the Palestinian Targum) and the influence of the LXX on several parts of the Peshitta.

The text of the Peshitta lies at hand in a select number of early MSS, including the British Museum MS Add. 14425, copied in the year A.D. 464 (the earliest known *dated* biblical MS) containing the books of the Pentateuch except for Leviticus. Another extremely important MS is the sixth- or seventh-century codex found in the Ambro-



Exodus 13:8-17 in the Estrangela script of the oldest Peshitta MS, on parchment (A.D. 464) (The British Library, Add. 14425)

sian Library in Milan, published in photographic facsimile by A. M. Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti* (1876). The printed text of the Peshitta is found in the seventeenth-century Paris and London Polyglots as well as in a few nineteenth-century editions, both in whole and in part. A new edition of the Peshitta with a significant critical apparatus is being issued by the Peshitta Institute of the University of Leiden under the general title *OT in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version* (1977ff.).

Besides the Peshitta, other ancient versions of the Syriac OT include the Philoxenian, the Palestinian Syriac, and the translation of Jacob of Edessa, but most notably the Syrohexapla, so called because it was based on Origen's fifth-column text of the Hexapla. This translation was executed by Paul, Bishop of Tella, in A.D. 615-617 and survives in an eighth-century MS — i.e., only a century after the original translation — also published photolithographically by A. M. Ceriani in *Monumenta sacra et profana*, VIII (1874). Because it is an extremely literal translation the Syrohexapla is an important witness (where extant) to the text of the Hexaplaric recension of the Greek OT and hence indirectly to the Hebrew text of Origen's day.

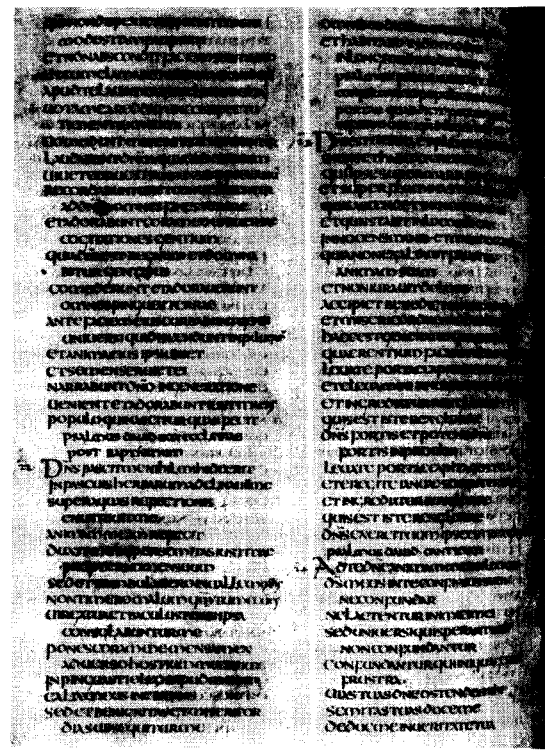
4. Latin. The translation of the Scriptures into Latin was undertaken primarily by the Christian Church, perhaps in north Africa in the middle of the 2nd cent., though Syrian Antioch and Rome have also been proposed. Once the process was begun it soon yielded a number of competing translations rather than one dominant version. This is clear from the considerable divergence of readings in MSS attesting this family of translations — known as the *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin — as well as from comments by Augustine and Jerome a couple of centuries later lamenting the variety and incompetence of translations then in existence. Another feature of the Old Latin translations is that they were based on the LXX rather than on the Hebrew. A modern edition of the *Vetus Latina* is being prepared by the Abbey of Beuron, initially under the editorship of Father Bonifatius Fischer (1949ff.). Another major project, sponsored in Madrid, is *La Vetus Latina Hispana* (1953ff.).

The confusion of translations then existing prompted Bishop Damasus of Rome in A.D. 383 to commission his secretary Jerome to prepare a reliable Latin translation. Although this assignment applied initially only to the NT, it soon became evident to Jerome that it needed to be extended to the OT as well. Jerome began his work on the OT with a superficial revision of the Psalter based on the LXX. Eventually Jerome realized that to translate the OT adequately he must go back directly to the Hebrew — a revolutionary idea at the time that encountered much opposition, not least from Augustine himself. But around the age of 40 Jerome set about to perfect his Hebrew and by A.D. 405 he had completed the translation of the entire OT.

Gradually over the centuries Jerome's eminent translation won the respect of the entire Latin-speaking Church and became known as the *Vulgate*, the common Bible. For the purposes of OT textual criticism the value of this version is undermined somewhat by its own complicated transmission history, being affected by considerable scribal interference and revision. For this reason Jerome's own comments on the text of the OT are sometimes as valuable or even more so than the translation itself.

The Vulgate was among the first books to be printed at the press of J. Gutenberg, the most famous surviving edition being the so-called Mazarin Bible of 1456. Before 1500 more than ninety editions of the Vulgate had appeared in print, but it was not till the end of the 16th cent. that an official version was promulgated, sponsored first by Pope Sixtus V and then amended in 1592 for

Codex Amiatinus, a Vulgate text from *ca.* 700, showing Ps. 22:25–25:5 (Vulg. 21:25–24:5) (Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenzianza, Florence)



Pope Clement VIII. The Clementine edition became the official Latin text of the Roman Catholic Church. In the 20th cent. new critical editions have been undertaken, notably the project sponsored by the Benedictine Order under the general title *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, commencing with the edition of Genesis in 1926. A two-volume text is that of the Württemberg Bible Society (1st ed. 1969; 2nd ed. 1975).

5. Other Versions. As the Church spread geographically it continually encountered new language groups. A typical pattern of evangelization and Bible translation soon developed. For the OT, however, most of this translation was based on the LXX. This fact enhances the importance of these versions for LXX studies, while at the same time providing further indirect witness to the Hebrew text.

The most important of the daughter versions of the LXX are the Coptic (in the Sahidic and Bohairic dialects), the Ethiopic, and the Armenian. Translations of the OT into Arabic also exist, but of very late origin (10th cent. and following). Finally, mention can be made of the translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch into Greek (known as the Samaritikon), Aramaic, and Arabic.

See also VERSIONS.

C. Citations. In addition to Hebrew MSS and ancient versions, large portions of the OT text are also attested in early rabbinic and patristic writings. These citations do not carry the weight of the MS and versional evidence (esp. the Christian writers who quote in Greek or Latin, often very freely) but a comprehensive review of all the textual data must also take account of these sources. Various scholars have investigated rabbinic quotations (see esp. Aptowitzer, who includes variants from the MT in Samuel, Joshua, and Judges). The new edition of the OT being prepared by the Hebrew University Bible Project in Jerusalem takes full account of the rabbinic variants in one of its critical apparati. Patristic quotations are documented in the critical apparatus of a large-scale edition of the LXX such as that of the Göttingen series. An index to patristic citations is now available in *Biblia Patristica*, published by the Centre d'Analyse et de Documentation Patristique in Paris (3 vols., 1975-1980).

II. History of the OT Text.–On the basis of available MS evidence the transmission history of the OT text may be traced through at least four different phases from *ca.* 300 B.C. to modern times.

A. Period of Textual Diversity (*ca.* 300 B.C. - A.D. 100). Although all the medieval MSS of the OT display a Hebrew consonantal text of remarkable uniformity, other lines of evidence point to an earlier period of relative textual diversity. The following are the primary witnesses to this phase of OT text history.

1. Rabbinic Traditions. Several rabbinic sources imply the existence at one time of variant readings in the biblical text or oral tradition. Especially noteworthy are comments dealing with the activity of the Sopherim, the scholars entrusted with the preservation and interpretation of the Scriptures from the time of Ezra. For instance, there are several references to the "Emendations of the Scribes" (*Tiqqune Sopherim*), by which the scribes were supposed to have changed some readings thought dishonoring to God, e.g., Gen. 18:22, "Abraham stood before the Lord," according to this tradition would originally have been "The Lord stood before Abraham." The usual number of such emendations is said to be eighteen; in addition to Gen. 18:22 they are found in Nu. 11:15; 12:12; 1 S. 3:13; 2 S. 16:12; 20:1 (with par. at 1 K. 12:16; 2 Ch. 10:16); Jer. 2:11; Ezk. 8:17; Hos. 4:7; Zec. 2:8 (MT 12); Hab. 1:12; Mal. 1:13; Ps. 106:20; Job 7:20; 32:3; Lam. 3:20. But the witnesses are by no means uniform on which passages or how many are to be included among the *tiqqune*. Nor is it certain that they are all historically reliable. At the very least, however, they probably point to a genuine tradition concerning scribal emendations embedded in the received text; cf. the thoroughgoing study by C. McCarthy, *Tiqqune Sopherim* (1981).

Other textual modifications attributed to the Sopherim are mentioned in T.B. *Nedarim* 37b-38a. The *Miqra Sopherim* ("Readings of the Scribes") are illustrated by three words perhaps of special pronunciation. Under the title of *Itture Sopherim* ("Deletions of the Scribes") are listed five passages (Gen. 18:5; 24:55; Nu. 31:2; Ps. 36:6 [MT 7]; 68:25 [MT 26]) where the scribes presumably omitted the conjunction *waw*. The passage continues with a list of six words "read but not written" (2 S. 8:3; 16:23; Jer. 31:38; 50:29; Ruth 3:5, 17) and five words "written but not read" (2 K. 5:18; Dt. 6:1; Jer. 51:3; Ezk. 48:16; Ruth 3:12). As the Masorah lists additional examples of these categories, it is assumed that these are merely instances of a larger phenomenon.

Further evidence which points to a concern for textual matters by the scribes are the references to "book correctors" associated with the temple of Jerusalem (T.B. *Ketuboth* 106a). One famous account relates how three scrolls of the Law were kept in the temple court and systematically compared. Where there was a discrepancy among the readings of the scrolls, that reading which was found in two of the three scrolls was adopted (e.g., T.P. *Taanith* 4:2; cf. S. Talmon, *Textus*, 2 [1962], 14-27). The antiquity of these traditions, some going back at least to Herodian times, points to a period of textual fluidity antedating the later uniform text of our medieval MSS.

Rabbinic literature also makes reference to codices now lost that contained variant readings from the standard text. One such is the Severus Codex, a MS supposedly brought to Rome in A.D. 70 and later presented by Emperor Severus (222-235) to a synagogue that he had built. A medieval list mentions thirty-two variant readings in the Pentateuch of this codex. Similarly, copies of the Torah made by R. Meir in the 2nd cent. A.D. contained a number of unusual readings.

Along the same lines are the variations between the consonantal text of the Masoretic MSS and passages quoted in the rabbinic literature. For instance, where the MT of Nu. 12:8 reads *ûmar'eh* (usually translated adverbially as "plainly"), several nonbiblical texts have the preposition b^e instead of the conjunction w^e (=*û*), as would be more natural in the context (cf. A. Mirsky, *Textus*, 3 [1963], 159-162). Many such variants have been documented (cf. B. Pick, *ZAW*, 6 [1886], 23-29, 102-121; Aptowitzer); at least some of these readings may go back to ancient biblical MSS now lost or to an oral tradition long since forgotten.

2. Parallel Passages. As is well known, the OT contains a number of parallel passages or deuterographs, e.g., 2 S. 22 par. Ps. 18; 2 K. 18:13–20:19 par. Isa. 36–39; 2 K. 24:18–25:30 par. Jer. 52; Isa. 2:2-4 par. Mic. 4:1-3; Ps. 14 par. Ps. 53; Ps. 40:13-17 (MT 14-18) par. Ps. 70; Ps. 57:7-11 (MT 8-12) par. 108:1-5 (MT 2-6); Ps. 60:5-12 (MT 7-14) par. 108:6-13 (MT 7-14); Ps. 96 par. 1 Ch. 16:23-33; Ps. 105:1-15 par. 1 Ch. 16:8-22; Ps. 106:1, 47f. par. 1 Ch. 16:34-36; not to mention the many parallels between the historical books of Samuel/Kings and Chronicles (cf. P. Vannutelli, *Libri Synoptici Veteris Testamenti* [1931]; A. Bendavid, *Parallels in the Bible* [1969]). Since few of these passages are identical throughout, one must account for instances where they diverge. Some of the variants can no doubt be explained by the different literary con-

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT

texts of the passages; such have little text-critical relevance. Others, however, are more likely explained as witnesses to variant textual traditions. This is probably the case with the proper names in the historical books that include the abhorred name *ba'al* (Baal). In Chronicles the names appear with the *ba'al* form, whereas in the parallel passages of Samuel/Kings they are found with the more acceptable substitute *bōšet* ("shame").

3. Versions. Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, by far the most telling witness to the existence of divergent text forms was that of the ancient versions. Even a casual acquaintance with the best known of these, the LXX, quickly reveals a number of interesting differences between this version and the MT. For example, in Gen. 1–2 the following types of variants can be documented: (1) LXX plusses over against the MT (1:8, "and God saw that it was good"; 1:12, "according to its likeness" and "on the earth"; 1:28, "and all the creatures and all the earth"; 2:15, "which he formed"; 2:25, "the two"; etc.); (2) MT plusses over against the LXX (1:27, "in his image"; 2:4f. 7, 9, 19, 21, the longer divine name "the LORD God" where LXX only has "God" [however, in 2:8, 15f., 18, 22 the LXX also has the longer form of the name]; (3) transpositions ("and it was so" is found at the end of 1:6 in the LXX but at the end of v. 7 in the MT; 2:4, "heaven and earth" in LXX, but "earth and heaven" in MT); and (4) different readings (1:9, MT "to one place" [מָקוֹם], LXX "to one gathering" [probably reading מִקְוֵה]; 2:2, MT "the seventh day," LXX "the sixth day").

These variants are typical of much of the LXX. While many such variants are probably the responsibility of the translators themselves or later scribes (cf. the rabbinic tradition in, e.g., T.B. *Megillah* 9a concerning the "passages which the sages changed for King Ptolemy"), it is clear that not all can be so explained. A number were undoubtedly found already in Hebrew MSS. The same holds true for other versions such as the Aramaic, the Syriac and the Latin, though the LXX remains the most fertile source of significant variants. Often the versions combine to support one another against the received Hebrew text, e.g., the addition of Cain's reply to Abel in Gen. 4:8, "Let us go out to the field," thus reinforcing the likelihood that Cain's statement derives from a divergent Hebrew MS tradition.

The MSS of the Samaritan Pentateuch point in the same direction. When this text was discovered in the 17th cent. it immediately caused a sensation because of its numerous variants from the MT: around 6000, many of which agree with the LXX. While most of these differences have to do with matters of orthography, the presence or absence of conjunctions and the like, a significant number of variants remain in the Samaritan Pentateuch that demonstrate its descent from a Hebrew recension different from that contained in the MT; cf. B. K. Waltke, "Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the OT," in J. B. Payne, ed., *New Perspectives on the OT* (1970), pp. 212-239.

4. Dead Sea Scrolls. The nature of the evidence in each of the sources cited above was indirect. Most scholars presumed that the same kind of textual diversity would be attested in Hebrew MSS from the B.C. era, never dreaming that such would ever come to light. The Nash Papyrus, which has points of agreement with the LXX, was a straw in the wind, but even so F. Kenyon wrote, "There is, indeed, no probability that we shall ever find manuscripts of the Hebrew text going back to a period before the formation of the text we know as Massoretic. We can only arrive at an idea of it by a study of the earliest translations . . ." (*Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* [1895], p. 43). Happily, however, Kenyon lived to see his prophecy proved wrong by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

As research has since shown, the kind of textual diversity suggested by the indirect witnesses is now confirmed by actual Hebrew MSS. With text specimens available from every book of the OT except Esther, it is now clear that in the Qumrân biblical library a variety of textual traditions existed side by side. Some MSS align themselves very closely with the "received text," some show considerable agreement with versional readings, and some apparently go their own way, independent of any previously attested text-type. The situation is best illustrated by reference to a few specific MSS.

Among the first MSS to be discovered and studied were the two famous Isaiah scrolls, 1QIsa^{a} (also known as St. Mark's Monastery Isaiah scroll) and 1QIsa^{b}. 1QIsa^{a} is a beautifully preserved scroll from the 1st cent. B.C. containing practically the whole text of Isaiah in well-formed script. Nevertheless, it attests a large number of variants in comparison with the medieval consonantal text. Many of these have to do with orthographic minutiae such as the large number of *matres lectiones* or vowel letters, the unusual spelling of proper names, or the frequent addition of conjunctions and particles. But larger omissions and additions of words and phrases are also found in considerable number, many apparently due to scribal carelessness. Another characteristic of the MS is the frequent interchange of synonyms or near synonymous expressions, usually in the direction of simplifying or "modernizing" the text. An interesting observation is that a number of its special readings are supported by the LXX. The document has been thoroughly analyzed; see especially E. Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (1974); M. Martin, *Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, I-II (1958ff.).

The situation of 1QIsa^{b} is somewhat different. The MS itself is older and less well preserved, containing many gaps due to rotting. Nonetheless, the text gives evidence of having been carefully copied, with little modernization of orthography or neutralization of difficult readings. Nor does it manifest any special affinity with readings characteristic of the LXX. In general it agrees well with the later MT, though not without a few potentially significant variants.

With the discovery of Cave 4 and its cache of thousands of text specimens representing more than a hundred different MSS, the evidence for the textual diversity of the Hebrew OT in the pre-Christian era was firmly documented. While most of the more than thirty Pentateuch MSS represented reflect a proto-Masoretic text-type (e.g., 4QpaleoEx^{e}), some (e.g., 4QEx^{a} and 4QDeut^{q}) agree with the LXX in several significant details, while others (e.g., 4QpaleoEx^{m} and 4QNum^{a,b}) show interesting agreements with the Samaritan Pentateuch. In the Cave 4 text samples from the historical books, many show a preference for LXX readings where the LXX and MT diverge; cf. especially 4QSam^{a,b,c}, though each in varying degrees. Since it has long been recognized that the received text of Samuel was one of the less successfully preserved portions of the OT, these Qumrân MSS are potentially very useful in the text-critical analysis of this part of the OT.

In the Latter Prophets the Qumrân texts of Ezekiel and the Twelve belong to the proto-Masoretic stream. This is also true for two of the three Jeremiah MSS, 4QJer^{a,c}. But fragments of a third MS of Jeremiah, 4QJer^{b}, attest readings which resemble the presumed Hebrew parent text of the shorter LXX. The text of Psalms in most

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT

Qumrân MSS stands very close to that of the MT; however, the significant Psalms scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs^{a}) has a number of agreements with the LXX.

One of the important results of the scholarly study of the DSS has been a renewed interest in the reconstruction of the transmission history of the OT text on the basis of the new information. Initial response on the part of some scholars to the Qumrân MSS was that these represented "vulgar" or lay texts as opposed to the official texts of Jerusalem.

Other scholars, however, judging this explanation to be inadequate, have sought different approaches. The theory of "local texts," first proposed by W. F. Albright (*BASOR*, 140 [Dec. 1955], 27-33) and later modified and elaborated by F. M. Cross, has gained considerable attention. This theory maintains that the textual diversity encountered in the DSS can best be accounted for on the assumption that the OT was transmitted separately in three distinct geographical areas: Palestine, Egypt, and — more tentatively — Babylon. According to this theory, each of the three areas can be identified by specific scribal traits. Thus the Palestinian text is "characterized by conflation, glosses, synoptic additions, and other evidences of intense scribal activity," so that it is best defined as "expansionistic" (Cross, *IEJ*, 16 [1966], 86). The Egyptian text is related to the Palestinian, having branched off from the latter; it is described as being often a full text, though not to the same degree as the Palestinian. The third type of text — by a process of elimination assigned to Babylon — is generally the shortest and most conservative of the three, least affected by scribal intrusion.

Applied to the Pentateuch, the theory works out as follows. The full Palestinian tradition is represented by the Samaritan Pentateuch and, at Qumrân, by 4QpaleoEx^{m} and 4QNum^{a,b}, each of which show varying degrees of affinity with Samaritan readings. The Egyptian text is represented by the LXX, which occupies an intermediate position between the expansionist Samaritan text and the conservative, pristine Babylonian tradition preserved by the MT and proto-MT MSS at Qumrân.

But in other parts of the OT the picture is not as clear or consistent. For instance, the Babylonian text of Samuel, said to be represented by the MT, is a poor text marked by haplography and other scribal corruption, hence inferior to the longer Palestinian texts represented by the Qumrân MSS from Cave 4. On the other hand, the Egyptian text of Jeremiah, identified with the LXX and 4QJer^{b}, although short, is nevertheless judged superior to the longer Palestinian text of the MT and 4QJer^{a,c}. This lack of consistency in the theory has often been seen as one of its weaknesses.

Other aspects of the theory have also been questioned, e.g., the identification of Babylon as the third locale of textual preservation even though very little is known about scribal activity there during the intertestamental period, the subjective judgment involved in labeling text-types as "expansionistic," etc., or the assumption of an Egyptian provenance for the entire LXX. Furthermore, the very coexistence at Qumrân of separate text-types over long periods puts in question the necessity to postulate geographical isolation as the key to the emergence of distinct textual traditions. For this reason a scholar like S. Talmon has spoken of the preservation of distinct text-types in different socio-religious communities coexisting in the same geographical area (cf. *Cambridge History of the Bible*, I [1970], esp. 193-99).

Reconstructions of this type are necessarily speculative, but they do represent bold and creative attempts to come to terms with the new MS discoveries. Further research and new discoveries will continue to clarify the transmission process of the OT text in the pre-Christian era. For instance, in the light of the great variety of texts attested for many books of the OT among the Qumrân MSS, E. Tov (*HUCA*, 53 [1982], 11-27) has challenged even the relevance of a term like "text-types" — especially the limitation of these to three main types (i.e., the MT, LXX, and Sam. Pent.) — in the description of the biblical text during the period of the second temple. In the meantime the evidence for the existence of consonantal variants in Hebrew MSS prior to the emergence of the MT is beyond question.

B. Period of Stabilization (*ca.* A.D. 100-500). If the pre-Christian era is characterized by relative textual diversity and the medieval MSS by relative textual uniformity, when did the move to standardization occur? Various indications point to the era immediately following the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 as the time in which the consolidation process took place. As before, the testimonies to this phenomenon are both circumstantial and empirical.

1. Rabbinic Traditions. Just as Jewish traditions imply the existence at one time of a relatively fluid text, so other traditions bear testimony to a fixed text. Reference was made above (II.A.1) to the existence of the three temple scrolls with variant readings. But the tradition is also a witness to the standardization process since it speaks of a deliberate choice of the majority reading in the creation of a new temple scroll. With respect to the Sopherim, the passing of time seems to have brought about a subtle change in their text critical role. Instead of being active participants in the process of deciding between variant readings, there are hints that they eventually assumed a more passive role as keepers of the text. Such a change is suggested by the oft-quoted statement from T.B. *Kiddushin* 30a that the Sopherim were so called because they counted the number of letters in the biblical text (the word *Sopherim* comes from the verb *sāpar*, one of its meanings being "count"). This counting of letters and concern for tradition is precisely the development that flowered later in the work of the Masoretes.

But it need not be assumed that the concept of a fixed text was a new phenomenon in Jewish religious history; on the contrary, the ideal was deeply rooted in biblical tradition and given clear expression already in Dt. 4:2, "You shall not add to the word which I command you, nor take from it; that you may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you." There is no reason to doubt that this had always been the guiding principle of Jewish scribal activity, but there were evidently times when the existence of variant readings in MSS was felt not to conflict with that ideal, just as there were later influences that insisted on a more uniform text of Scripture.

2. Hermeneutics of Rabbi Akiba. One of those influences was apparently the school of interpretation associated with Rabbi Akiba (d. *ca.* A.D. 150), a towering figure in the history of Jewish interpretation. With the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 and the establishment of religious centers outside Jerusalem, Jews focused more than ever on the study of Scripture. In this context rules of interpretation and a concern for the purity of the text took on ever greater importance. Although the movement flowered in the first half of the 2nd cent. under the leadership of Akiba, its antecedents can be traced back much earlier. Already during the temple era there is evidence for considerable preoccupation with minutiae such as conjunctions and particles in the interpretation of the text, e.g., the tradition that Zechariah ben ha-Kazzav based legal

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT

decisions on the preservation of a *waw* (T.B. *Sotah* 28a). The legalistic discussions of Hillel the Elder and Shammai in the time of Herod presupposed a text fixed in small details. The same is true of Nahum of Gimzo, Akiba's mentor. Nevertheless, it was Akiba who became the principal spokesman of this concern for textual minutiae. For him the sanctity of Scripture meant that each letter, syllable, and word of the Torah was important. Even the tittle was the inspiration for a multiplicity of interpretative rules.

This approach to Scripture clearly had profound implications for the text of Scripture. An interpretation which took seriously the smallest detail could not tolerate the existence of official MSS with divergent readings. Hence Akiba warned against the teaching from "uncorrected" books (T.B. *Pesahim* 112a) and spoke of the importance of tradition as a hedge around the Torah (*Pirke Aboth* iii.14). His older contemporary, Rabbi Ishmael, urged extreme caution upon scribes lest they omit or add a single letter, for to do so would destroy the world (T.B. *Sotah* 20a, *Erubin* 13a). Given this orientation of Akiba and his colleagues, the nineteenth-cent. scholar P. de Lagarde even went so far as to postulate the existence of one supreme archetype text sponsored by Akiba from which all other MSS were copied. While this theory assumes more than the evidence permits, there can be little doubt that the influence of Akiba on the stabilization of the text was considerable.

3. Later Versions. The move toward stabilization is also reflected in the Greek and Latin versions of the 2nd to 4th centuries. For example, Aquila's slavishly literal translation from *ca.* A.D. 130 agrees very closely with the received text. According to J. Reider (*JQR*, 7 [1916] 289f.), Aquila departs from the MT on the average only once in three verses, and on those occasions that he does differ he frequently agrees with a *qere* reading (see II.2.a below). Tradition says that Aquila was a disciple of Akiba, and this seems plausible given Aquila's pedantic translation of the Hebrew particles, e.g., the translation in certain circumstances of the accusative indicator *'ēt* by the Greek preposition *syn*.

The versions of Symmachus and Theodotion disagree more frequently with the MT than Aquila, but even they approximate it much more than the LXX; cf. the Theodotionic version of Job and Daniel with the LXX. The same approximation to the standard Hebrew text observed in the second-century versions is carried over into Origen's 5th column of the Hexapla since he made his "corrections" of the LXX primarily on the basis of these three. Also Origen's own quotations of the OT tend to agree more with the received text than any other. Finally, mention may be made of Jerome's Latin translations. Especially to be noted are his translations of the Psalms, known respectively as the Roman Psalter (his early revision of the Old Latin based on the LXX), the Gallican Psalter (based on the Hexapla), and the Hebrew Psalter (based on Jerome's Hebrew MSS). What may be observed in these is an ever-increasing correspondence of readings to the standard edition of the Hebrew Bible known to us.

4. Bar Cochba Scrolls. In 1952, in a desert cave at Naḥal Ḥeber, an ancient scroll of the Minor Prophets in Greek was discovered. Archeological evidence shows that it was copied sometime between 50 B.C. and A.D. 50 and placed in its cave at the time of the Bar Cochba rebellion, A.D. 132-135. When D. Barthélemy studied it in detail he discerned a Greek version hitherto unknown. Called the *Kaige* recension after its most characteristic translation (*kaige* represents the Hebrew particle *gam*), it constitutes according to Barthélemy a revision of the LXX in favor of the emerging standard Hebrew text. This conclusion, if correct, shows that the trend to conform the Greek Scriptures to the Hebrew commenced much earlier than previously thought; it also demonstrates an intermediate phase in the standardization process of the official Hebrew text.

The discoveries at Naḥal Ḥeber, Murabba'ât, and Masada also yielded important Hebrew MSS from the time of the Bar Cochba rebellion. These are crucial witnesses in their own right to the OT text, for apart from the usual orthographic variants they are nearly identical with the text preserved in the standard MT MSS. This uniformity is eloquent testimony to the hegemony that the official rabbinic text had achieved already in the first half of the 2nd century.

C. Masoretes (*ca.* A.D. 500-1000). In the course of the centuries following the stabilization of the text, the scholars who busied themselves with the preservation of the sacred writings eventually came to be known as the *ba'ᵃlê hammāsōrâ*, the "masters [or scholars] of the Masorah" or, as noted above, the Masoretes. The term *masorah* (also spelled *massorah*) has been variously explained, but most commonly it has been derived from the postbiblical root *msr*, "to hand down." According to this derivation the phrase "masters of the Masorah" aptly describes the Masoretes as those who handed down the tradition of the sacred text that they had received from previous generations. With centers in the East (Babylon) and the West (Tiberias) the Masoretes labored hard to preserve the consonantal text and to develop a vocalization system, a cantillation system, and a body of the textual notes, itself called the Masorah.

1. Consonantal Text. The supreme task of the Masoretes, to which all other efforts were subordinated, was the preservation of the sacred text of Scripture. The strong notion of an inviolable text meant that nothing could be changed of what had been received — even if the "received" tradition at points contained acknowledged scribal imperfections. Such errors could be corrected in the margins but not in the consonantal text itself. The Masoretes' commitment to the received form of the text meant that they also preserved many of its special features hallowed by tradition, including the following:

a. Suspended Letters. Four words in the MT contain a letter suspended slightly above the line. These are found in Jgs. 18:30, Job 38:13, 15; Ps. 80:13 (MT 14). The first appears to be a pietistic attempt to make the text read Manasseh rather than Moses; the last probably indicates the middle letter of the Psalter; the two in Job are of uncertain significance.

b. Large and Small Letters. In the MSS a number of letters are often written larger than normal size; some are also written smaller than normal size. Some large letters begin the first word of a book (Genesis, Proverbs, Chronicles); others are found in Lev. 11:42 and 13:33 indicating respectively the middle letter and middle word of the Torah; two are found on the first and last words of the Shema in Dt. 6:4. For many of the others (e.g., Gen. 30:42; Nu. 13:30; 27:5; Dt. 29:27) no obvious reason is apparent, though the rabbis did not hesitate to speculate on the reasons with great imagination. The Masorah mentions three cases of a small *nun* in Isa. 44:14; Jer. 39:13; and Prov. 16:28. Other small letters are found in Gen. 2:4; 27:46; Lev. 1:1; Dt. 32:18. The MSS and Masorah lists are not uniform in their designation of odd-sized letters, however, the Aleppo and Leningrad codices being particularly sparing in their use of these.

c. Special Points (*puncta extraordinaria*). The text transmitted by the Masoretes contains fifteen words marked by

a dot or a series of dots either above or below them. The words in question are found in Gen. 16:5; 18:9; 19:33; 33:4; 37:12; Nu. 3:39; 9:10; 21:30; 29:15; Dt. 29:29 (MT 28); 2 S. 19:20; Isa. 44:9; Ezk. 41:20; 46:22; Ps. 27:13. These are the only marks, with one exception, that are permitted in the official synagogue scrolls. In spite of their antiquity, or perhaps because of it, the meaning of these points is uncertain. Normally they are thought to reflect some doubt on the part of the scribes with respect to the words or letters in question. That many words in the DSS MSS are marked with similar dots suggest their use as an ancient text-critical symbol (cf. the Prolegomenon by S. Talmon to the 1969 repr. of R. Butin, *Ten Nequdoth of the Torah* [1906], pp. xix-xxvii).

d. Inverted Nuns. What appears to be an inverted form of the letter *nun* occurs nine times in the body of the MT: before and after Nu. 10:35f., and seven times in Ps. 107:23-28 (21-26 in *Codex Leningradensis*), 40. Again the significance of this symbol is disputed, though in Numbers it may refer to the transposition or misplacement of the verses in question.

e. Divisions. The text edited by the Masoretes also enshrined paragraph divisions of great antiquity. These divisions were connected with the weekly reading of the Law and the Prophets in the synagogue. Two different cycles of readings were practiced, one in Palestine and one in Babylon. In Palestine the custom developed to read through the Torah in approximately three years; hence the Pentateuch was divided into 154 (a variant version is 167) weekly sections called *sedarim*. In Babylon, however, the Torah was completed in one year, being divided into 54 sections called *parashot*. It was the latter cycle that eventually became standard. The beginning of each *seder* is generally marked in the MSS by a large, ornamental *samekh*, while the beginning of a *parashah* is indicated by the abbreviation *prs* (often with some ornamentation) in the margin.

The text was also divided into smaller sections called *pisqot*, designated either "open" or "closed" according to the kind of break separating the sections. Open divisions (in later MSS and printed editions marked by the letter *peh* for *petuḥah*, "open") were presumably considered more important, hence commenced at the beginning of a line, the preceding line being left partly or wholly blank. Closed divisions (marked by the letter *samekh* for *setumah*, "closed") begin at a point other than the start of a line, being separated from the preceding sections merely by a space of several letters. If a *petuḥah* or *setumah* also begins a *parashah* this is sometimes indicated by the threefold *ppp* or *sss*.

2. Vocalization. About the time of the Reformation many held that the vowel marks and other signs in the Hebrew MSS were as old as the consonants. According to popular belief Moses received the signs orally and Ezra reduced them to writing. A contrary view, that the signs were of late invention, had been ventured from time to time in previous centuries, but it was not till the 16th cent. that the traditional view was seriously challenged by the erudite Jewish scholar Elias Levita. This challenge sparked a storm of controversy which lasted well into the 18th cent. and even became a point of bitter dispute between Catholics and some Protestants. Whereas the early Reformers had welcomed Levita's refutation of the antiquity of the signs, later Reformation scholars espoused the opposite view when they felt Catholics applied Levita's views to their own advantage. In Switzerland a law was even passed in 1678 that no person should be licensed to preach the gospel in their churches unless he accepted the integrity of the Hebrew text, including the divine origin of the vowel points and accents! Nevertheless, when the subject could be studied independent of its apologetic overtones and theological implications, the sheer weight of evidence in favor of the late date of the signs was incontrovertible.

The evidence was based primarily on the lack of knowledge of the signs by either Jerome in the 4th cent. or the Talmud in the 5th century. For even though both at times discuss in detail different vocalization possibilities of Hebrew consonants, they never mention any diacritical signs (see Ginsburg, pp. 445-452). It is inconceivable that had such signs existed Jerome and the rabbis should have failed to mention them. Probably they were introduced sometime in the 6th or 7th century.

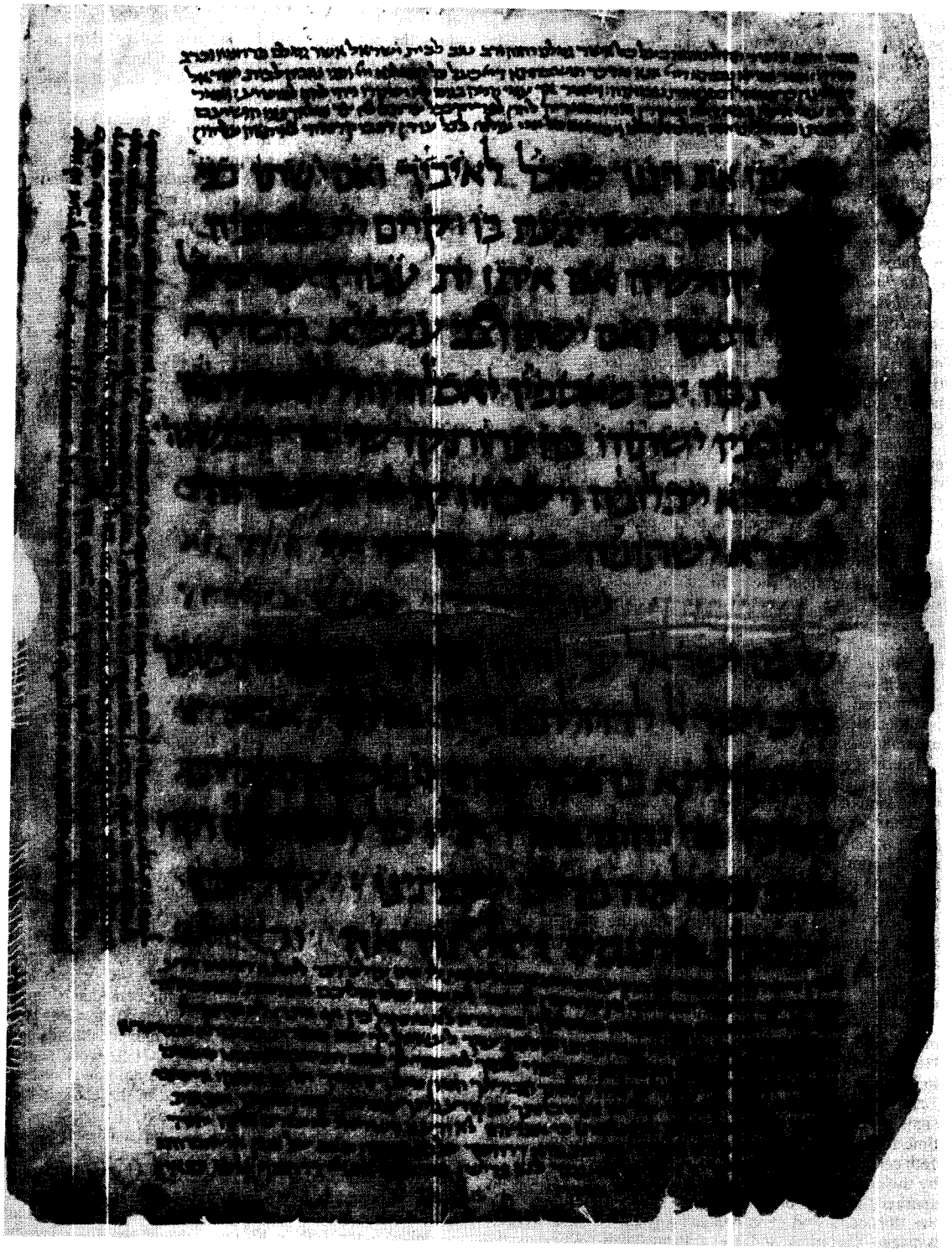
The reason behind the development of a vocalization system at this time is probably the increased need to guard the traditional reading and interpretation of the text, threatened as the Jews were by the loss of Hebrew as a living language, by the waning influence of oral tradition, by the geographical dispersion of the Jewish communities, and by the consequent challenges of new movements such as those of the Karaite Jews. Three schools of Masoretes are known to have emerged in response to these needs — the Babylonian, Palestinian, and Tiberian — all differing from each other in their methods of vocalizing the consonantal text. Although the three schools were apparently alluded to in the twelfth-century *Maḥzor Vitry,* it is only in recent times that a fuller understanding of their origins and development has been obtained.

For much of our reconstructed understanding of the history of the vowel systems we are indebted to the indefatigable scholar P. Kahle and his research on the MSS of the Cairo Genizah. According to Kahle the earliest of the three systems was probably that of the Babylonian school, in which the vowel signs were placed above the consonants. This system may have developed under the influence of Eastern Syrians who used a similar set of vowel marks. The Palestinian system is also supralinear and bears resemblance to the vocalization signs employed in Samaritan MSS. But only a small number of MSS with this kind of pointing have survived (see E. J. Revell, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and Their Accents* [1977]).

The system that was destined to supplant the others, however, and become the "received tradition" familiar to all readers of the Hebrew Scriptures, was the predominately infralinear vocalization adopted by the Tiberian Masoretes. Two families in particular are associated with the development of this system — ben Asher and ben Naphtali. Five or six generations of the ben Asher family are known to have worked on the OT text, the last two of which were the most famous of all, namely, Moses ben Asher and his son Aaron ben Asher. Their work represents the apex of refinement of the Tiberian vowel system and it is this system that is preserved in the earliest surviving Masoretic MSS (see I.A..4 above).

Much less is known about ben Naphtali, since only a few MSS have been associated with this family (e.g., Codex Reuchlinianus, A.D. 1105) and no MS has been definitively so identified. But an important list of variants between the ben Asher and ben Naphtali readings was compiled in the 11th or 12th cent. by Mishael ben Uzziel in the Arabic treatise *Kitab al-Khilaf* (Hebrew title *Sefer ha-Ḥillufim*; see L. Lipschuetz, *Textus*, 2 [1962], אי-נה, and as a monograph in 1965). Nearly all variants, however, have to do with vocalic and accentual minutiae. The predominance of the ben Asher tradition may well be due to the imprimatur which the latter received from the hands of the great medieval authority Maimonides. Whatever

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT



A Haphtarah fragment with Babylonian pointing of Isa 62:8f. and Hos. 14:2f.; each verse is followed by its Targum. In the margins a later scribe has added Isa. 63:7-16, again with each verse followed by its Targum (courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, T-S B15,2)

the reason, the ben Asher text was an extraordinary achievement and it remains an important task of OT textual criticism to ascertain as closely as possible the genuine form of this text.

3. Cantillation. The Masoretes also added other signs as aids in the public reading of the biblical text. Since this reading took the form of a chant, these signs or accents function as melody pointers to the chanter. The accents are not musical notes as such but represent groups of notes or motifs which the chanter adopts to the needs of a particular passage.

Another useful function of the accents is to indicate the point of stress in a word. Since every word unit in the text carries some accent and since these accents — with only a few exceptions — all fall on the stress syllable, this phenomenon greatly facilitates the correct reading of the text. Stress pointers also serve a grammatical function since some forms are distinguished from each other only on the basis of stress differentiation.

The interest of the modern biblical scholars in these signs, however, is not so much in their chant or stress function as in their derivative role as indicators of syntactical relationships. Since the purpose of the chant is to communicate the meaning of the text as clearly as possible, one of the practical uses of the signs was to divide the text into logical word groupings, much like modern punctuation does. It is likely that this Masoretic division of the text into syntactical units was done in conformity with the official rabbinic interpretation of the text.

As with the vowel points, the accent systems varied considerably in the Palestinian, Babylonian, and Tiberian schools. But here too the Tiberian system represents the most elaborate and complete development of the three. The two main categories of accents are disjunctives and conjunctives. Disjunctive accents are marked on the last word of a clause or phrase, indicating a pause or break in the sense. Conjunctive accents are marked on words between the disjunctives to show their cohesion as a word-group, which ends at the next disjunctive. In the Tiberian system, too, a special category of accents exists for the three poetical books of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (cf. W. Wickes, *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three So-called Poetical Books of the OT* [1881, repr. 1970]; *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one So-called Prose Books of the OT* [1887, repr. 1970]). Information on the accentual system is found in some Masoretic works that have survived, the best known of which is *Dikduke ha-Ṭe'amim* (see S. Baer and H. L. Strack, eds. [1879, repr. 1970]; cf. A. Dotan, a work purportedly written by Aaron ben Asher. See Yeivin, pp. 157-274, for a lucid introduction to the subject.

4. Masorah. The Masoretes also collected and systematized large quantities of statistical information pertaining to the text. Much of these data they had received orally from earlier generations of scribes, and to them they added many observations of their own, particularly those having to do with vocalization and accentuation. This body of information may have been catalogued initially in separate treatises such as *Ochlah we-Ochlah* (see S. Frensdorff, ed., *Ochlah W'ochlah* [1864, repr. 1972], F. Díaz Esteban, ed., *Sefer Oklah we-Oklah* [1975]) — a work dealing with homonyms — but eventually the advantages of having the data immediately accessible in the margins of the text broke down the traditional resistance to annotated MSS. In time the Masorah was organized in three separate divisions: the *Masorah Parva*, the *Masorah Magna*, and the *Masorah Finalis*.

The *Masorah Parva* (Small Masorah) is the name given to the body of information contained in the side margins of MT MSS. In the standard MSS a small circle or star over a word signals a marginal notation relating to that word. Since the object of these detailed annotations was the uniform preservation and transmission of the received text, attention was drawn to those words thought especially vulnerable to scribal error. Hence the most common subjects of Masoretic notes have to do with such items as the use of vowel letters, the presence or absence of particles, word combinations in which confusion would be easy, rare or unique forms, variants in parallel passages, and special vocalization or accent forms.

Probably the most significant body of information contained in the *Masorah Parva* — at least from the point of view of modern text-critical scholarship — has to do with the category of entry known as the *qere/kethibh*. In more than 1300 instances the Masoretes indicated that a word should be read (*qere*) differently from the way it was written (*kethibh*) in the consonantal text, the latter being sacrosanct and unalterable. Some of the important types of *qere* readings are the euphemistic replacement of strong language, modernization of archaic, unusual or defective forms, correction of presumed errors such as metathesis, omission and addition of letters, changes in the division of words, and the substitution of whole words. A few words have a form known as the *qere perpetuum* since they are not noted in the margins but are always read in a way different from the text, e.g., the substitution of Adonai ("my Lord") for the sacred name Yahweh (the Tetragrammaton or Four Letters). The resulting vocalization יְהוָה gave rise in translations to the word "Jehovah." A second perpetual *qere* is the pronoun *hî'* ("she") in the Pentateuch, always written הוּא (*hû'*) but read הִיא (*hî'*). For modern textual criticism the importance of the *qere* readings is that many may represent ancient textual variants. If so, they should be treated with the same respect as other variants found in parallel passages, in the major versions, and in the most ancient Hebrew MSS.

Similar to the *qere* readings are those called *sebirin* — "unexpected" or "supposed" forms. Readings so marked often display some unusual grammatical characteristic in the context (e.g., masc. for fem. at Gen. 19:23, or sing. for pl. at Nu. 9:6). These forms, however, were not changed in the public reading of the text, even though Ginsburg (pp. 187-196) argued that in many instances the terms *qere* and *sebir* are in fact interchangeable.

The *Masorah Magna* (Large Masorah) refers to the body of information contained in the upper and lower margins of the early MSS. This masorah is essentially an expansion of the material contained in condensed format in the *Masorah Parva*. For example, where the *Masorah Parva* to Gen. 1:1 states that the form of *b'rē'šîṯ* occurs five times in the Bible, three times at the beginning and twice in the middle of a verse, the *Masorah Magna* gives the exact references where these are found. In modern printed editions such as *BH* only the *Masorah Parva* is actually included in the margins, the *Masorah Magna* being printed in separate volumes (S. Frensdorff, ed., *Die Massora Magna* [1876, repr. 1968]; G. E. Weil, *Massorah Gedolah* [1971]).

The *Masorah Finalis* is the body of Masoretic lists introduced at the end of individual biblical books in the first printed editions of the Masorah. They contain alphabetized lists of data for which the margin of the corresponding page had no room. Other lists are of a summary type, such as those specifying the number of *sedarim* in a given book, the sum totals of words and letters, the

middle verse and letter, etc. In some MSS this kind of information is found at the beginning rather than at the end of the MS.

D. Printed Editions. The invention of printing in the 15th cent. ushered in a new era in the history of the Hebrew Bible. Some pious Jews welcomed this advance as a God-given gift with which to spread the sacred Scriptures. The first printing of any portion of the OT was that of a mostly unpointed edition of the Psalter in 1477, probably in Bologna. With improved printing techniques other portions soon followed, e.g., the Pentateuch (Bologna, 1482), the Prophets (Soncino, 1485/86), and the Writings (Naples, 1486/87). Between 1487 and 1491 the Pentateuch was also printed in Portugal and Spain, especially noteworthy being the magnificent Lisbon edition of 1491. The *editio princeps* of the complete Hebrew Bible, fully pointed and accented, was published at Soncino in 1488, later in Naples in 1491-1493, and in Brescia in 1494 — the last being the edition used by Luther for his translation of the OT into German

The persecution of Jews at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th cents. caused Jewish presses to be inactive for more than a decade. In 1505 a copy of the Pentateuch appeared in Constantinople, but serious printing did not commence till 1511 when work was begun on another edition of the Soncino Bible. The first Christian printing of the Hebrew Bible was undertaken by the reform-minded Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros of Spain as a part of the Complutensian Polyglot (Complutum [Alcalá], 1514-1517), a three-columned Bible containing also the texts of the LXX and the Vulgate.

The work of the Venetian printer Daniel Bomberg, a wealthy Christian merchant from Antwerp, was destined to have the greatest influence on the subsequent history of the printed Hebrew Bible. At the encouragement of a Jewish convert to Christianity, Felix Pratensis of the Order of Augustinian Hermits, Bomberg sponsored the editing and printing in 1515-1517 of what has come to be known as the *First Rabbinic Bible*, a four-volume work fully pointed and accented, with Targums and rabbinic commentaries in the margins. The edition is also noteworthy for having the Christian chapter divisions marked for the first time in a Hebrew Bible, for dividing the books of Samuel, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah into two books each, and for recording the consonants of the *qere* readings for the first time in the margins.

In 1524/25 Bomberg published the even more influential *Second Rabbinic Bible*, edited by the Jewish refugee — later turned Christian — Jacob ben Chayyim. While the text of this edition was heavily dependent on the work of Felix Pratensis, the significant contribution of ben Chayyim's work was that it was the first printed Bible to include the Masorah. For four centuries this became the standard edition of the Hebrew Bible in both Jewish and Christian circles.

Other Polyglots and Rabbinic Bibles continued to be published by a variety of editors through the 16th and 17th centuries. The important Polyglots are those of Antwerp (1569-1572), Paris (1629-1645), and London (1657-1669); these often merged the texts of ben Chayyim and Ximenes. In Basel J. Buxtorf produced an important edition of a Rabbinic Bible (1618-1619) noteworthy for exhibiting a Hebrew text influenced by Sephardic (Spanish/Portugese) rather than the Ashkenazi (Eastern European) MS tradition reflected in the other editions. This text in turn formed the basis for the editions of D. E. Jabłoski (Berlin, 1699) and the German pietist J. H. Michaelis (Halle, 1720). The latter was the first Hebrew Bible in print to contain a significant critical apparatus, listing variants from nineteen printed editions and five Erfurt MSS. A Rabbinic Bible edited on different principles, namely, on the basis of Masorah lists rather than actual MSS, was that of S. Baer and F. Delitzsch (1869-1895). This procedure, however, never met with general acceptance.

The work of collating MSS and noting variants reached its apex at the end of the 18th cent. in the prodigious collations of B. Kennicott and J. B. de Rossi. With the help of assistants Kennicott noted variants from the consonantal text of more that 600 MSS and 52 printed Bibles, while de Rossi and his staff surveyed an even larger field, recording variants from 1475 MSS and editions. The chief result of this enormous investment of time, energy, and money was to verify the negative though important conclusion that most of the variants encountered in the MT MSS are inconsequential and do not affect the interpretation of the text. The editions of C. D. Ginsburg prepared for the British and Foreign Bible Society (1908-1926), containing the ben Chayyim text and a critical apparatus with collation of 73 MSS, yielded very similar results to those of Kennicott and de Rossi.

Although Ginsburg was happy to reproduce the ben Chayyim text as the basis of his editions, others sought to replace it with an even better representation of the ben Asher tradition. The definitive break came in 1937 with the publication of the 3rd edition of (*BH*) in Stuttgart. Unable to obtain access to the preferred Aleppo MS, its editors R. Kittel and P. Kahle opted for the next best alternative, Codex Leningradensis. Use of this MS was continued in the new edition of *BHS* (1967-1977). *BH* contains two separate apparati of variant readings, but these have often been found wanting in the areas of selectivity, accuracy, and proposed emendations (cf. Orlinsky). Even the single format apparatus of *BHS* has not been substantially improved (cf. Wevers). Both *BH* and *BHS* provide the *Masorah Parva* of Codex Leningradensis in the margin, but the Masorah of *BHS* has been freshly edited by G. Weil and keyed in a very helpful way to the *Masorah Magna*.

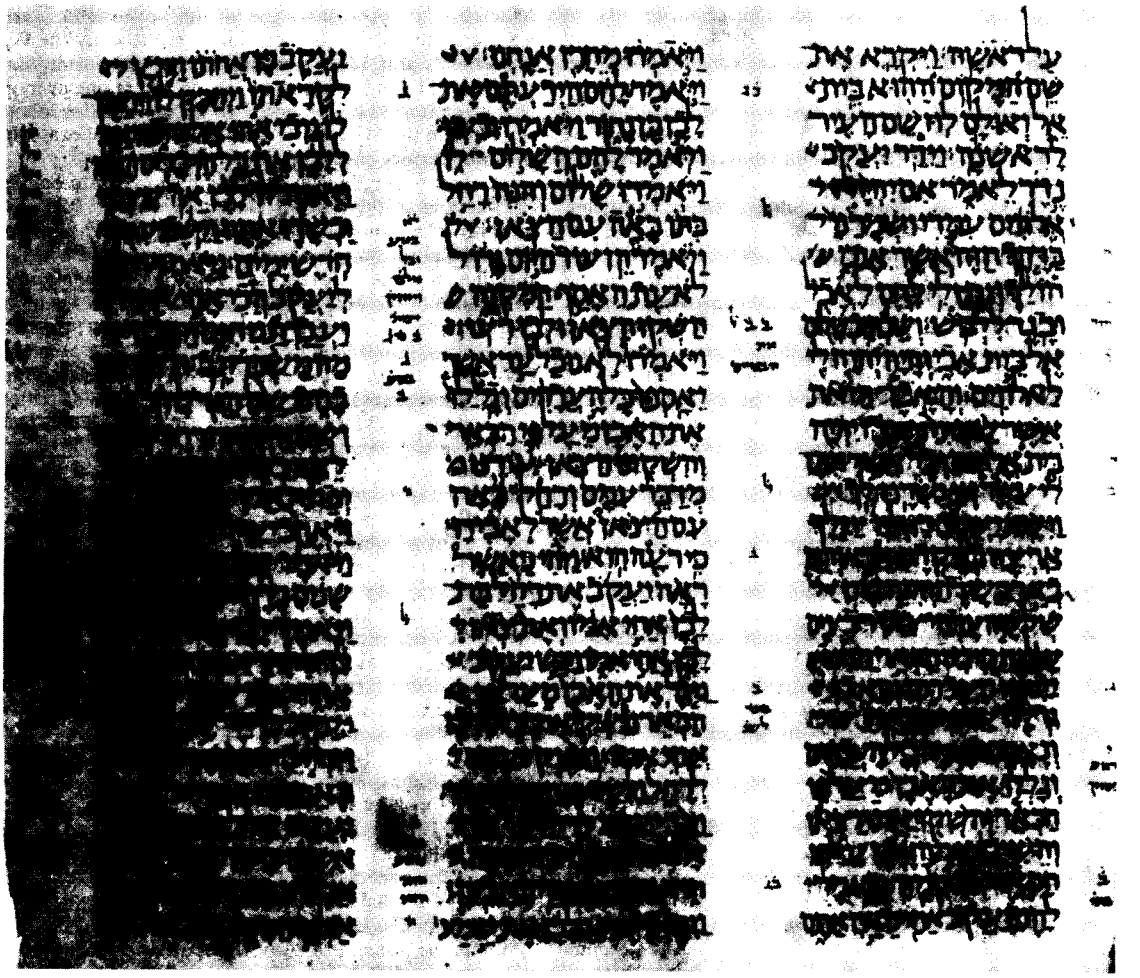
In England the British and Foreign Bible Society invited N. H. Snaith to prepare a new edition to succeed that of Ginsburg. Snaith's text, which appeared in 1958, was based on MSS accessible in the British Museum, primarily MS Or. 2626-2628, written in Lisbon in 1482. In spite of the different MSS employed, the resultant text is very close to that of *BH* (cf. Snaith, *VT*, 7 [1957], 207f.; *Textus*, 2 [1962], 8-13; and the critique by M. B. Cohen and D. B. Freedman, *HUCA*, 45 [1974], 97-132).

In Jerusalem, too, a new text of the OT is in preparation. Under the general editorship of M. Goshen-Gottstein, the Hebrew University Bible Project reproduces the text and Masorah of the famous Aleppo Codex (where extant) along with four comprehensive critical apparati. The first installment of this excellent edition appeared in 1975 (*Book of Isaiah*, Parts One and Two).

The United Bible Societies are also engaged in work on the OT text and hope eventually to publish a successor to *BH* and *BHS* using Codex Leningradensis and the Masorah edited by G. Weil but provided with an entirely new critical apparatus. In the meantime they have published five volumes containing valuable discussion of many textual variants (see D. Barthélemy, *et al.*, *Preliminary*).

III. Practice of Textual Criticism.–A knowledge of the transmission history of the OT text is interesting in its own right, but the ultimate goal of such study is its application to the practice of textual or "lower" criticism — the science of determining the earliest recoverable text form of an ancient document on the basis of the evidence available. As noted above, in the case of the OT this evidence consists primarily of Hebrew MSS and ancient

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT



A page from Codex Leningradensis (*ca.* A.D. 1008) showing Gen. 28:18–29:22. This codex was the basis for *BH* and *BHS* (State Library, Leningrad)

translations. The responsibility of the text critic is to evaluate all relevant sources in the light of established text-critical principles and a knowledge of scribal habits. For the OT the most important considerations in this process are the following.

A. Role of the MT. The phenomenon of the MT is unique in the field of biblical textual criticism. No other stream of scribal transmission, in either the OT or NT, manifests such remarkable uniformity. Intense study of the MT MSS since the late 18th cent. has shown that only a limited number of consonantal variants of substance can be found in the entire tradition. When this observation is seen to hold true not only for the principal MSS of the ben Asher tradition but also for the numerous text specimens of the Cairo Genizah antedating those MSS, the phenomenon is truly extraordinary and bears witness to a genuinely conservative and cautious scribal tradition.

Yet the value of this tradition has been variously judged at different points in history. In the precritical era the MT text as enshrined in the ben Chayyim edition reigned supreme as principal witness to the form of the OT. But with the advent of the modern critical era and its flowering at the end of the 19th cent. this attitude toward the MT was almost completely reversed. The fashion then was to find fault almost at every point with the MT and prefer an alternate reading whether from the versions or on the basis of conjecture.

By contrast, OT textual criticism in the second half of the 20th cent. is characterized by a more balanced approach to the legacy of the Masoretes. This is due in large part to the discovery of the DSS as well as to progress in the field of comparative Semitics. For instance, it has been shown that the MT contains many instances of grammatical forms not found in later Hebrew but now attested in Ugaritic from *ca.* 1400 B.C. As for the vowel system, strong evidence suggests that even here, far from being innovators, the Masoretes were preservers of an ancient system of pronunciation and interpretation (contra Kahle; Barr, pp. 207-222). This new perspective brought on by modern researches does not suggest that the MT is faultless, but it does encourage one to take the MT seriously and to accord its witness a fair hearing. Given the empirical evidence for the longevity, relative uniformity, and conservatism of the MT tradition, one can only regard this new respect as a positive development.

B. Role of the Dead Sea Scrolls. As noted earlier, the DSS attest a Masoretic-type text, and this fact has contributed significantly to the new appreciation for the MT as an archaic text. The case is well illustrated by 1QIsa^{b}. This MS attests not more than a dozen significant variants

from the MT, and only two or three of these may be considered preferable to the MT. At the same time many readings in the DSS are at variance with the MT. How are such variants judged? Close scrutiny shows that many of the attested variants are simply scribal errors without text-critical merit (for a sampling of such errors see Würthwein, pp. 106-108). A number remain, however, which are variants of substance, i.e., they offer a consonantal text which yields a meaning different from that of the MT.

Confronted by such material variants the text critic must evaluate the relative merits of each conflicting reading and decide which one has greater claim to priority. In 1QIsa[a] a limited number of readings seem preferable to those of the MT. The RSV has adopted readings attested by 1QIsa[a] at the following places, five of them without support from any of the versions: 3:24; 14:4, 30; 15:9; 21:8; 23:2; 33:8; 45:2, 8; 49:24; 51:19; 56:12; 60:19. Seven of these are also adopted by the NIV, most of the others being referred to the NIV mg. as alternate readings. In four instances (37:20, 25; 52:5; 53:11) the NIV adopts DSS readings where the RSV did not. Since Isaiah is the book that has received most help from the DSS, one can appreciate that the main function of the DSS is to confirm the antiquity and general reliability of the MT, while providing a means for correcting some of its deficiencies.

C. Role of the Versions. The versions have traditionally been the most important source of variants from the MT, and among these the LXX has been appealed to more frequently than any other. By a process of retroversion scholars attempt to reconstruct the Hebrew text that lay before the translators of a particular version; this reading is then compared with the MT and the relative merits of each reading are weighed. The critical commentaries and the critical apparatus of *BH(S)* are full of examples where such reconstructed readings have been preferred to those of the MT.

It must be recognized, however, that the process of retroversion is not without its own dangers. At least three problem areas may be mentioned. (1) One must determine whether an available edition of a version actually represents the text that proceeded from the hands of the translators. Unfortunately the value of many studies on the versions has been undermined by an inferior textual basis. But in this area the situation continues to improve as more and more attention is devoted to the textual criticism of the versions, resulting in the production of excellent critical editions such as the larger Göttingen edition of the LXX. Nonetheless, the textual criticisim of the versions is a never-ending task so that the possibility of corruption in the transmission history of a particular version remains a factor in several problem passages. (2) One must determine what kind of translation the version represents. Is it a literal or a free translation? The serviceability of the version in OT textual criticism will be in inverse proportion to its literary quality in the receptor language. The more literal a translation the poorer it is as a literary document but the better it is as a text-critical tool — hence the significance of a literal translation like that of Aquila. The problem is complicated by the fact that the mode of translation in most versions varies from book to book. (3) One must determine whether the translator accurately interpreted the parent text or whether for a variety of reasons he may have misread or misunderstood the Hebrew text before him. One must even reckon with the possibility of deliberate alteration or omission at points.

An increasing sensitivity to these problem areas has fostered a more cautious use of the versions in recent textual criticism. But this caution is not to deny the versions their rightful role in the process of text restoration. A significant number of places remain where one or more of the versions have preserved an ancient reading lost or obscured in the MT (see III.G below for several examples of scribal errors corrected in the versions).

The first major English translation seriously to employ the versions in the task of translation was the RSV. But in spite of a generally sober approach to the adoption of versional readings it nonetheless encountered a hostile reaction in some quarters for preferring readings other than those of the MT. A translation which adheres much more strictly to the MT is the NASB. However, the relative lack of controversy over the adoption of versional readings in the even more recent NIV testifies to an increasing awareness of the complexity of the text-critical task and the necessary role that the versions can play in it.

D. Role of Comparative Philology. With the discovery and decipherment of several ancient Semitic languages sharing many features with Hebrew, OT textual criticism entered a new phase. Scholars working in this field have made many suggestions for reinterpreting difficult or unknown Hebrew words in the MT by appeal to a known root in a cognate language. For instance, instead of reading the root *yāḏaʿ*, "know," in places like Jgs. 16:9 and Isa. 53:3, it has been suggested that we understand the Arabic root *waduʿa*, "was low, humbled," to yield better sense. Ugaritic, discovered in 1929, has also been a rich source of Semitic roots with new meanings applied to the OT. Spearheading the application of Ugaritic philology to OT textual criticism has been M. Dahood (cf. *Bibl.* 40 [1959], 160-170). The net effect of this approach is often to affirm the traditional form of the text but to assign it a new meaning. The English translation most influenced by this school is the NEB. For an incisive critique of the positive and negative aspects of comparative philology in the service of OT textual criticism, see Barr.

E. Role of Conjectural Emendation. Conjectural emendation is the attempt to reconstruct an original form of a presumed corrupt MT reading without appeal to Hebrew MSS, versional support, or cognate Semitic roots. Thus it has often been assumed that the MT text of Ps. 2:11f. ("Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the son . . .") has suffered dislocation and can be restored by rearrangement to yield the sense, "Serve the Lord with fear, with trembling kiss his feet" (RSV). Many have felt that the rhetorical question of MT Am. 6:12 "Will one plow with oxen [בַּבָּקָרִים]?" gives the wrong answer "Yes." Hence it is proposed to divide the words differently and read "Does one plow the sea with oxen [בְּבָקָר יָם]?" (RSV). Also appeal is often made to internal criteria such as poetic meter or poetic parallelism. By this means commentators have often excised a word or phrase in the MT because it did not fit the presumed meter or parallelism of the line. But the degree of subjectivity inherent in the latter approach has left it vulnerable to abuse. One should resort to it only in extreme circumstances.

F. Classical Principles. Textual criticism is a science with a long history of application to many different types of literature both inside and outside the field of biblical studies. The knowledge of scribal habits gained through this pooled experience has resulted in the formulation of basic principles to be applied to the restoration of ancient texts. Among the most important of these are to prefer: the shorter reading, the more difficult reading, the older reading, the reading with the best external MS

TEXT AND MSS OF THE OT

support, the reading that best explains the rise of other readings, the reading that best suits the style of the author.

These rules also have relevance for OT textual criticism. For example, it can be shown that scribal additions often make the Samaritan Pentateuch longer than the MT or LXX. The preference for the more difficult reading should act as a restraint on the tendency to prefer an easier reading in the versions and the DSS over against the MT. But one can never apply these rules rigidly. Counteracting the tendency for scribes to add is the equally well-attested phenomenon of haplography or accidental omission. Likewise, a simpler reading in the versions may be preferred over an obviously corrupted reading in the MT. These modifications of the rules are valid for all types of literatures, but perhaps especially for the OT, given its unique transmission history and the care with which the Hebrew Scriptures were copied in comparison with Greco-Roman literature or even the NT. Cf. Tov (*HTR*, 75 [1982], 429-448) and Albrektson for a discussion of the limited usefulness of these rules.

G. Common Scribal Errors. Intense study of Hebrew MSS has made it possible to identify and categorize typical scribal errors. Most of these have to do with accidental errors of the eye and ear.

1. Confusion of Similar Letters. A frequent cause of variant readings in the MSS and versions is the existence of several Hebrew letters of similar appearance. Here distinction has to be made between the archaic Canaanite script used in preexilic times and the later Aramaic square script. One must also recognize that even in the square script the shape of letters was far from uniform (cf. F. M. Cross, "Development of Jewish Scripts," in *BANE*, pp. 133-202). Nonetheless, the evidence shows that the letters most susceptible to confusion in the OT transmission history are *resh/daleth* (ר/ד), *he/heth* (ה/ח), and *waw/yod* (ו/י),though other letters such as *beth/kaph* (ב/כ) are also misread.

A classic illustration of this phenomenon occurs in the MT of Gen. 10:4, where the reading דֹּדָנִים should undoubtedly be רֹדָנִים, as it is in some Hebrew MSS, the par. 1 Ch. 1:7, the Sam. Pent., and the LXX. Similarly, the reading אֲרָם (i.e., Aram or Syria) in 2 S. 8:12f. should be אֱדֹם (i.e., Edom) as shown by the context, a few Hebrew MSS, the par. 1 Ch. 18:12, the LXX, and the Peshitta. The reading עֵדִים, "witnesses," rather than MT עָרִים, "cities," seems to be required by the context of Isa. 33:8, as had been recognized by scholars even before any textual evidence was available. Now, however, the former reading is attested in 1QIsa[a] and freely adopted by modern translations such as RSV, NEB, NIV, NAB. Where MS or versional support is lacking, conclusions are more tentative, but many suggestions for this kind of copyist error have been made, e.g., Ps. 110:3 where the MT has the reading בְּהַדְרֵי־קֹדֶשׁ, "in holy array" (ASV), others prefer the reading בְּהָרְרֵי־קֹדֶשׁ, "upon the holy mountains" (RSV).

2. Transposition of Letters. This scribal error — technically known as metathesis — sometimes produces awkward readings as in Ps. 49:11 (MT 12) where the traditional text has קִרְבָּם, "their inward thoughts." The LXX, Pesh., Tg., and Vulg., however, all presume the reading קִבְרָם, "their tombs," which fits the context much better and is normally adopted by modern commentators and translations (RSV, NEB, JB, NIV). In Isa. 38:11 the word חֶלֶד, "world," is undoubtedly the one intended instead of the MT חֶדֶל, "grave." Often earlier scribes had already detected errors of this type and given instructions in the margin for reading the correct form, e.g., 1 S. 14:27, where the *aleph* and *resh* have been transposed, resulting in the reading *wtr'nh*, "and his eyes saw," rather than the required *wt'rnh*, "his eyes brightened."

3. Incorrect Word Division. In MSS of continuous script it is understandable that words can sometimes be divided differently to yield conflicting readings. This is apparently what has happened in Jer. 23:33, where the MT (adopted by NEB, JB, NIV) reads אֵת־מַה־מַּשָּׂא, "What burden?" but the LXX and Vulg. have divided the words as "You are the burden," אַתֶּם הַמַּשָּׂא (followed by RSV). Another example is found in Ps. 73:4, where the MT reads, "For there are no pangs in their death [לְמוֹתָם]; but their strength is firm" (ASV). But if לְמוֹתָם is divided into two words, לְמוֹ תָם, then the verse can be better read, "For they have no pangs; their bodies are sound and sleek" (RSV; cf. NIV). In Ps. 44:4 (MT 5), instead of MT "Thou are my King, O God; ordain [אֱלֹהִים צַוֵּה] victories for Jacob," it makes better sense in the context to read "Thou art my King and my God, who ordainest [אֱלֹהַי מְצַוֵּה] victories for Jacob" (supported by LXX and Pesh. and adopted by many modern translations).

4. Haplography. Technically this is the name applied to the phenomenon of writing only once what should be written twice. It is a scribal slip that affects single letters, words, and entire phrases. Thus in the MT of 2 S. 22:41 a *nun* is missing, giving the nonsense form תַּתָּה instead of the obviously required נָתַתָּה, "you have given." In Jgs. 20:13 the MT reads simply בִּנְיָמִין, "Benjamin," whereas it is clear that what is intended is בְּנֵי בִנְיָמִין, "the sons of Benjamin," i.e., "the Benjaminites." Even the Masoretes recognized this haplography and inserted the required vowels for the missing בְּנֵי, though by convention the consonants had to be assigned to the margin.

The term "haplography" is also loosely applied to the omission of any word or words in between two identical or similar forms. The scribe's eye jumped from the first to the second occurrence of the form, resulting in the omission of the words in between. Omissions that occur because of similar beginning or ending of two words are technically known as homoioarchton and homoioteleuton respectively. This is one of the most common of scribal errors, and the book of Samuel seems to have been especially affected by this phenomenon. In several instances the LXX appears to have preserved a reading lost in the MT stream of copying. For instance, in 1 S. 10:1 the scribe's eye apparently jumped from the first to the second appearance of "the Lord anointed you," omitting in the process the long passage, "Has not the Lord anointed you to be prince over his people Israel? And you shall reign over the people of the Lord and you will save them from the hand of their enemies round about. And this shall be a sign to you that . . ." (RSV). Other typical examples of probable haplography are 1 S. 13:15 and 14:41.

Sometimes a combination of scribal errors like haplography and confusion of similar letters occurs, e.g., 2 S. 18:20 where בֵּן was omitted by its likeness to בֹּו. Similarly, the word בָּאִים was omitted because of its resemblance to the adjacent נָאֻם in Jer. 31:37 (MT 38).

5. Dittography. This is the phenomenon of writing twice what should only be written once. Like haplography, it may affect letters, words, or phrases. Thus at 2 K. 15:16 the article *he* is repeated at the beginning of the word *hārôṯeyhâ*, "pregnant women," and in Isa. 63:2 *l'ḇûšeḵā*, "your garment," has a dittography of the *lamed*. At Jer. 51:3 the Masoretes recognized that the verb *yiḏrōḵ* ("he will string") was unnecessarily written twice and instructed

that the second occurrence be omitted. It is probable that the MT of Ex. 20:10 repeats by dittography the phrase "if a man commits adultery with the wife of. . . ." The same scribal error explains the repetition of the words "the new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab which was on the hill" in 2 S. 6:3f.

6. Confusion of Similar Sounding Words. In addition to the errors of the eye (ocular), other mistakes are best explained as errors of the ear (aural). Two words particularly vulnerable to this kind of confusion were the words לֹא, "not" and לוֹ, "his/its." A famous example of this occurs in Isa. 9:3 (MT 2) where the AV following the MT reads, "Thou has multiplied the nation and not [לֹא] increased the joy." What is obviously intended, however, is a positive statement about the nation's increase of joy. Hence the required reading is לוֹ as indicated by the *qere* substitution yielding the translation, "thou has increased its joy" (RSV). Similarly, the AV reading of Ps. 100:3, "it is he that has made us, and not we ourselves," is based on the MT לֹא over against the *qere* reading לוֹ, which translates, "It is he that made us, and we are his" (RSV). Similar sounding consonants are also confused, e.g., the *samekh* and *shin* in 1 S. 22:14 or the *qoph* and *gimel* in 2 S. 15:24.

H. Deliberate Scribal Intervention. While the majority of variants and errors in the OT text are undoubtedly accidental, some were also occasioned by deliberate scribal editing. It has already been seen (II.A.1 above) that at least some of the *Tiqqune Sopherim* can confidently be attributed to this kind of intervention, the objective of which was to avoid expressions thought disrespectful to the deity. The insertion of the *nun* in Jgs. 18:30 was prompted by the desire to relieve one of Moses' descendants of infamy. Other examples show a concern to remove logical or historical difficulties in the text, e.g., the reading "sixth day" rather than "seventh" in some versions of Gen. 2:2 — an attempt to avoid the implication that God worked on the sixth day. Assimilation to parallel passages probably accounts for other variants, e.g., Lev. 6:6.

Attempts were also made to explain rare words in the text by the addition or substitution of a more familiar synonym, e.g., Isa. 51:17, 22. In other cases variant readings in the margins were introduced into the body of the text resulting in what are known as "conflate readings" (e.g., perhaps 1 S. 28:13; cf. S. Talmon, *Textus*, 1 [1960], 144-184).

It should be clear that a knowledge of scribal habits and a judicious use of text-critical principles can greatly facilitate the detection of scribal errors, both accidental and deliberate, embedded in the MT. By this means biblical scholarship continues to make progress in the recovery of the earliest possible form of the OT text.

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S. K. SODERLUND

TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT.

The MS evidence for the text of the NT is vastly more abundant than that for any other ancient document. The oldest known MSS of the works of some of the Greek classical authors are copies made a thousand years or more after the author's death. The number of MSS of the ancient classics is also limited: about fifty MSS of the works of Aeschylus, a hundred of Sophocles, and only one each of the *Greek Anthology* and the *Annals* of Tacitus. Of the NT, however, there are almost five thousand MSS of part or all of the Greek text, two thousand Greek lectionaries, eight thousand MSS in Latin, and a thousand additional MSS in other ancient versions. These MSS include extensive parts of the NT copied hardly more than a century after the original, and fifty or more MSS, including two virtually complete NT codices, copied within three centuries after the NT books were originally written. In addition, the writings of the ancient church fathers in Greek, Latin, and Syriac contain thousands of quotations from the NT. Indeed, the available materials for the text of the NT are so extensive that their adequate study is a complicated task, but a task whose result is "to strengthen the proof of the authenticity of the Scriptures, and our

conviction that we have in our hands, in substantial integrity, the veritable Word of God" (Kenyon, *Story of the Bible*, p. 144).

I. Sources of Evidence for the Text of the NT
  A. Greek MSS
    1. Papyri
    2. Parchment MSS
    3. Minuscule MSS
    4. Lectionaries
  B. Versions
  C. Patristic Quotations
II. Necessity of Textual Criticism
  A. Unintentional Errors
  B. Intentional Changes
III. Methods of Critical Procedure
  A. Internal Evidence
  B. External Evidence
IV. History of Textual Criticism

I. Sources of Evidence for the Text of the NT.–A. Greek MSS. 1. Papyri. The original MSS (autographs) of the NT books were doubtless lost at a very early date, but contemporary documents discovered in the 19th and 20th cents. give a fairly clear idea of their probable form. The books of the NT were no doubt written on papyrus. The Gospels, Acts, Revelation, and perhaps Hebrews were very probably written on papyrus rolls, the accepted form for literary publication in the 1st Christian century. The Epistles, being more like private correspondence (*see* picture in LETTERS), were very likely written on papyrus sheets arranged in codex form (similar to the modern book form); the shortest Epistles were perhaps on a single sheet. In any case, at a very early date the codex form came to be used instead of the roll for all NT books. Indeed, although seventy-five papyrus MSS of the NT are extant, none is a papyrus roll (see Roberts, "The Codex," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI, esp. 185f.). Many of these MSS are small fragments of one or a few sheets. But the Chester Beatty and the more recently discovered Bodmer papyri contain large sections of the NT, e.g., virtually the complete Gospel of John, most of Luke and Acts, and extensive portions of the Epistles and Revelation. Under the present international system of enumeration of MSS, papyrus MSS are designated by the letter P followed by a number. (The *ISBE* uses a lowercase, italic, boldface *p*.) The following are some of the more important papyrus MSS of the Greek NT, with their numeric designations. (All have lacunae — places from which the MS material, and thus the text, is missing.) *See* picture of p^{52} in PAPYRUS (III, 654) and of p^{72} in PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

p^{13} He. 2–5; 10–12. 3rd/4th cent., from Oxyrhynchus. British Museum, London.
p^{40} Rom. 1–4; 6; 9. 3rd cent. Heidelberg.
p^{41} Rev. 17–22. 8th cent. Vienna.
p^{44} Mt. 17–18; 25; Jn. 9–10; 12, lectionary. 6/7th cent. New York.
p^{45} Gospels, Acts. 3rd cent. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; Vienna.
p^{46} Pauline Epistles. 3rd cent. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. *See* pictures in GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; CANON OF THE NT.
p^{47} Rev. 9–17. 3rd cent. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
p^{59} Jn. 1; 11–12; 17–18; 21. 7th cent. New York.
p^{61} Pauline Epistles. 7/8th cent. New York.
p^{66} John. 2nd/3rd cent. Papyrus Bodmer 2. Bodmer Library, Geneva. *See* picture in JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.
p^{74} Acts, Catholic Epistles. 7th cent. Papyrus Bodmer 17. Bodmer Library, Geneva.
p^{75} Luke, John. Early 3rd cent. Papyrus Bodmer 14–15. Bodmer Library, Geneva. *See* picture in LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.

2. Parchment MSS. From ancient times tanned leather had been used to receive writing; it was the accepted material for scrolls of the Hebrew OT. Shortly before the Christian era a method was discovered of treating animal skins with lime and drying them in such a way as to produce an exceedingly fine, smooth, and firm writing surface. In precise definitions, vellum is calfskin or similar fine skin treated as described above, while parchment (named for the city of Pergamum, which produced much of it) is made from the more ordinary types of skin. At present, however, the two terms are used interchangeably. By the 4th cent. parchment had become the common material for NT MSS, although papyrus was used to some extent for another two centuries or so.

At the time that the NT was written, two styles of Greek handwriting were in use. One was a cursive or semiconnected hand, used for private purposes. The other, a somewhat rounded capital-letter handwriting known as uncial, was used for literary purposes. The Gospels, Acts, and some other books of the NT were therefore doubtless written in the literary, uncial hand. Although the Pauline Epistles might originally have been written in the cursive hand of private correspondence, they would very soon have been copied in uncials as literature. At any rate, even the earliest known MSS of all parts of the NT are in uncial handwriting.

The handwriting in the papyrus MSS is likewise uncial, but the term "uncial MSS" commonly designates only those written on vellum or parchment. Some two hundred fifty such MSS are now known, dating from the 4th through the 10th centuries.

Uncial MSS were previously designated by English capital letters, Greek capital letters that differ from English letters, and the Hebrew letter ℵ (aleph). Sometimes one letter was assigned to two MSS if their contents did not overlap, as in the use of D for two codices discussed below. In 1890, to provide a system of designation that would not be limited, C. R. Gregory developed the present system of designating all uncial MSS by a number preceded by a zero (e.g., Codex 08, Codex 0156), including those already designated by a letter; e.g., Codex A (02), Codex W (032). It is still common practice, however, to use the letter designations for MSS that have them.

The following are a few of the most important Greek uncial MSS.

Codex ℵ (01), Codex Sinaiticus, 4th cent., found by Tischendorf at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai and now in the British Museum in London, is the only uncial that contains the entire NT. It also contains the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the Shepherd of Hermas, and might also originally have included the Didache. It is written on 147 1/2 leaves of very thin vellum in four narrow columns of forty-eight lines each. The pages measure about 38 by 34 cm. (15 by 13 1/2 in.) with the leaves arranged in quires of four sheets. There is little punctuation and no use of accents or initial letters, but the Eusebian section numbers are found on the margins of the Gospels. The work of several correctors is found in the text. *See* pictures in MARK, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; PASTORAL EPISTLES.

Codex A (02), Codex Alexandrinus, 5th cent., so named because it was supposed to have come from Alexandria,

The end of the Gospel of Luke in Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

was the gift of Patriarch Cyril Lucar to Charles I of England in 1627 and is now in the British Museum. It contains the entire NT except portions of Matthew, John, and 1 Corinthians. It also includes 1 and 2 Clement and the Psalms of Solomon. It is written on thin vellum in two columns of forty-one lines to the page, each page being 32 by 26.3 cm. (12⅝ by 10⅜ in.). This codex uses capital letters frequently and is divided into paragraphs, but has no marginal signs except in the Gospels. The handwriting of several different copyists is evident.

Codex B (03), Codex Vaticanus, 4th cent., which has been since at least 1481 the chief treasure of the Vatican Libary, is the oldest and best MS of the Greek NT. Written on very fine vellum, the leaves are about 25.4 by 26.7 cm. (10 by 10 1/2 in.), with three narrow columns of 40-44 lines per column and five sheets making the quire. Part of Hebrews and all of the Pastoral Epistles and Revelation are lacking. The MS is without accents, breathings, or punctuation. Later scribes have made numerous changes in the text. In the Gospels the divisions are of an earlier date than those in Codex Sinaiticus.

Codex C (04), Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, 5th cent., is one of the most important of the palimpsests (MSS whose original text was scraped off and written over with another text, often not biblical). C originally contained the whole NT. Now, however, approximately half of every book is lacking and 2 Thessalonians and 2 John are entirely gone. It is written on good vellum, with each page of about 23 by 32 cm. (9 by 12 1/2 in.) having one column of forty-one lines in the original text. Several hands have corrected the MS. Brought to Italy from the East in the 16th cent., it came to France with Catherine de' Medici and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. First edited by Tischendorf (1843), it was re-edited by R. W. Lyon (*NTS*, 5 [1959], 266-272).

Codex D or D^{ea} (05), Codex Bezae, probably late 5th cent., was obtained in 1562 by Theodore Beza from the monastery of St. Irenaeus at Lyons. In 1581 Beza gave it to the University of Cambridge, where it remains. It is a Greek-Latin text containing only the Gospels, Acts, and a fragment of 3 John. The Greek text holds the chief place on the left-hand page. Each page measures 20.3 by 25.4 cm. (8 by 10 in.). Both Greek and Latin are written in large uncials and divided into short clauses, corresponding line for line. The hands of several correctors have been traced. The critical questions arising from the character of the readings are among the most interesting in the whole range of biblical criticism and are still unsettled.

Codex D or D^{p} (06), Codex Claromontanus, 6th cent., like Codex Bezae, is bilingual, with the Greek on the left and Latin on the right. Located in Paris, it contains the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews.

Codex W (032), Codex Washingtoniensis, 5th cent., was purchased by C. L. Freer in Egypt in 1906 and is now in the Freer Art Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. It is a complete codex of the Gospels, whose order, as in Bezae, is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. It contains Mark 16:9-20 with an interpolation found in no other MS. It is written in a slightly sloping hand in one column of thirty lines to the page. Pages measure 15.2 by 22.9 cm. (6 by 9 in.).

3. Minuscule MSS. In the 9th cent. a literary hand developed out of the cursive hand that for centuries had been used for private writing. Known as minuscule, it was more formalized than the cursive hand and had the obvious advantage over the uncial of allowing more rapid writing. By the end of the 10th cent. this hand had virtually displaced the uncial.

Minuscule MSS are designated by Arabic numbers. Approximately 2500 of these MSS are known, dating from the 9th cent. until after the invention of printing in the mid-15th century. The earlier minuscules tend to be more carefully written and to have little or no ornamentation, but in the later MSS a tendency toward less care in writing and more ornamentation is noticeable (*see* picture in MARK, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO). Being late in date, relatively few minuscules have a text that is significant for the determination of the original. The following are some of the more significant minuscules.

Codex 1, a twelfth-century codex now in Basel, is one of five or six MSS used by Erasmus in preparing his first edition of the Greek NT. MSS 118, 131, 209, and 1582 have texts very similar to that of 1, and the five MSS together are known as Family 1.

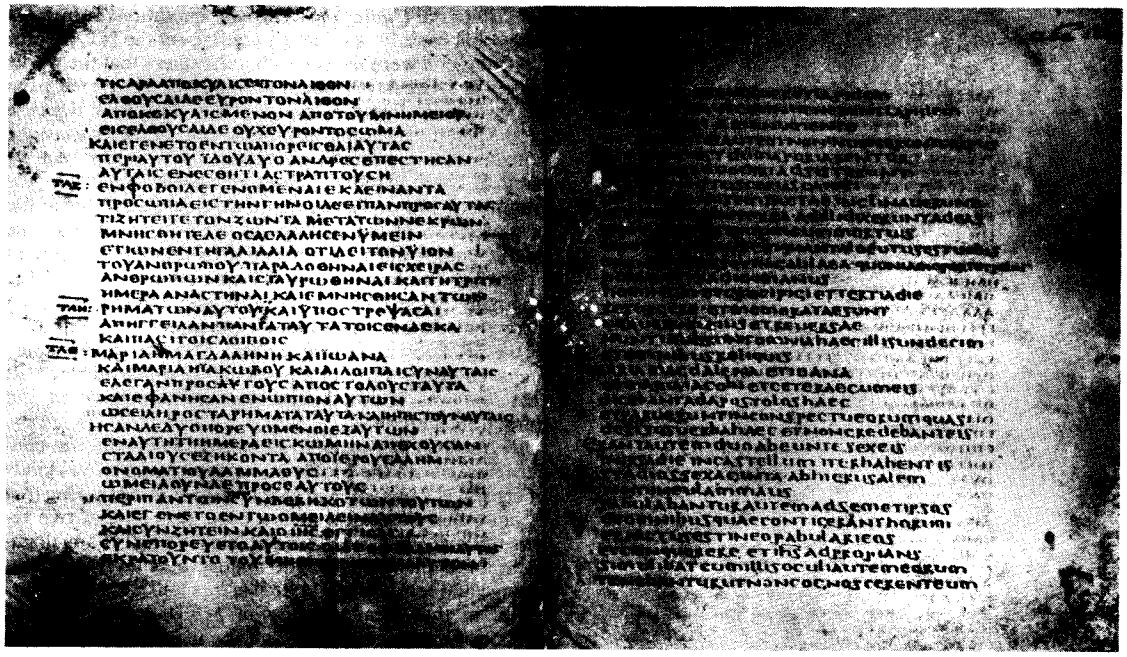
Codex 13, written in the 13th cent., is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The closely-related MSS 13, 69, 124, 346, 543, and a few others are known as Family 13.

Codex 33, a ninth-century MS, also at Paris, has been called "Queen of the Cursives [i.e., minuscules]" because of the excellence of its text.

Codex 565, Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (i.e., "the purple codex of St. Petersburg"), is a MS of the 9th or 10th cent. in the public library of Leningrad. It was written in gold letters on purple vellum, perhaps for Empress Theodora. (*See* Plate 26.)

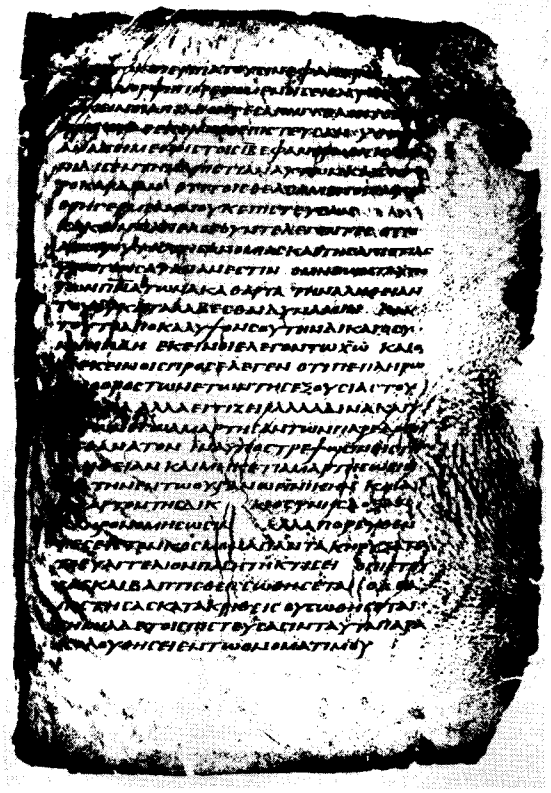
4. Lectionaries. At a very early date much of the NT was divided into sections designated as the Scripture readings for the days of the church year. Later, MSS called lectionaries were prepared, in which the NT was arranged not in its usual order of books and chapters but

TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT



A famous Greek-Latin diglot: Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, showing Lk. 24:1-16 (By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

The end of Mark's Gospel in Codex Freerianus (5th cent.), an uncial codex of the four Gospels. This codex includes the famous Freer Logion, an addition following Mk. 16:14 (courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)

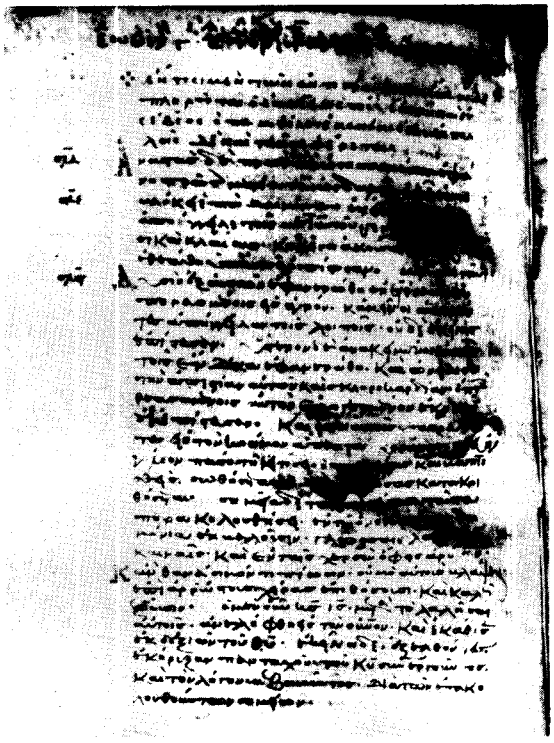


in the order of these readings for each day of the year or for each Saturday and Sunday of the year. Some two thousand Greek lectionary MSS are known at present, two-thirds or more containing the Gospel lessons, some containing the Gospels and Epistles, and the remainder containing lessons from the Epistles. An appreciable number are written in uncials, dating from the 10th cent. and later. Not until the middle of the 20th cent., however, was the significance of lectionaries for textual criticism properly recognized. Lectionaries are designated by an italic *l*, or by the abbreviation Lect., and an Arabic number (e.g., *l* 25, Lect. 299).

B. Versions. Translation of literature was not common in ancient times, and the translation of the Hebrew OT into Greek before the time of Christ occupies a unique place in ancient literature. In contrast, the NT was translated into other languages as early as the 2nd century. The Christian missionaries of the early centuries had the Scriptures translated into local languages wherever Greek would not serve the needs of the people. The most significant versions for NT textual criticism are the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic. (*See* VERSIONS.)

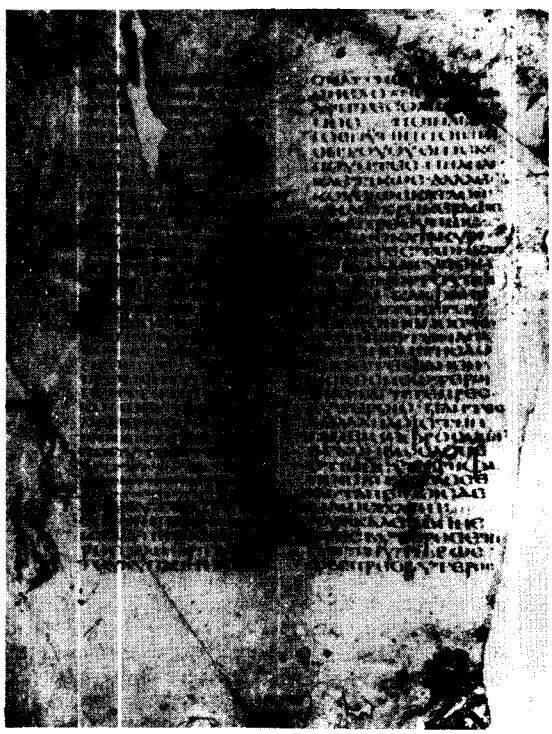
The value of a version in determining the original text of the NT is limited in certain respects. Since, like the NT autographs, all the original MSS of the versions are lost, extant MSS must be subjected to textual criticism to determine as nearly as possible the original wording of the version. Some versions, moreover, cannot reflect the difference involved in certain types of Greek variants. Latin, for example, has no definite article and therefore often will not attest the presence or absence of the Greek article. In addition, a version written in good literary form will not reflect differences characteristic of the Greek text, such as word order. Nevertheless, when a given variant is reflected in a version, it gives evidence that that reading was known in the place and time of the version's origin.

TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT



The ending of Mark's Gospel in an important minuscule, 1 (12th cent.) (Universitätsbibliothek, Basel)

An uncial lectionary (l 1575, 9th cent.) in Greek and Coptic: 1 Pet. 2:24–3:4 in Coptic; 5:1–5 in Greek; and 5:1 in Coptic (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)



C. Patristic Quotations. Patristic quotations furnish an additional basis for evaluating readings of the NT. So able and energetic were the early church fathers that the whole text of the Greek NT could probably be recovered from the quotations found in their writings. But, as in the case of the versions, some questions and cautions must be noted in using patristic quotations. Was it the writer's habit to quote carefully? Does he appear to have copied from a NT MS or did he quote from memory? Since the original MSS of the writings of the fathers are lost, the extant copies must be subjected to textual criticism to determine the form of the NT quotations as the father originally made them, for later copies might have been altered by scribes to harmonize the quotations with texts of the NT known to those scribes. Also like the versions, a church father's use of a particular text is evidence that that text was known in the region where he lived and during his lifetime.

II. Necessity of Textual Criticism.–Textual criticism concerns itself with the problems suggested by various kinds of errors. NT textual evidence is so vast — exceeding that of any other literature, as has been seen — that two results follow: First, since the copying by hand of any document of appreciable length almost inevitably involves change and error, many textual errors and variants will be found in this great quantity of MSS. Second, such a wealth of evidence makes it all the more certain that the original words of the NT have been preserved somewhere within the MSS. Conjectural emendation (suggesting a reading that is not found in any MS), to which editors have resorted in the restoration of other ancient writings, has almost no place in the textual criticism of the NT. The materials are so abundant that at times the difficulty is to select the correct rendering from a number of variant readings in the MSS.

It must not be overlooked, however, that the textual critic deals with a relatively small percentage of the text. With the NT, as with ancient literature in general, the wording of perhaps 85 percent of the text is unquestioned. It is true that if the total number of variant readings of all the MSS were counted, the sum would be many thousand. But the true perspective is probably given by E. Abbot: "About nineteen-twentieths of the variations have so little support that . . . no one would think of them as rival readings, and nineteen-twentieths of the remainder are of so little importance that their adoption or rejection would cause no appreciable difference in the sense of the passages in which they occur." The NT is of such supreme importance, however, that it is worth the attention of the textual critic to improve the text, if possible, even to a small degree.

Of the errors that give rise to variant readings, some are unintentional and others are intentional.

A. Unintentional Errors. 1. Errors of the Eye. The copyist sometimes confuses similar-appearing uncial letters, e.g., Ϲ Ε Θ Ο, Λ Δ Λ, Π with Τ or Γ. The fibrous surface of papyrus could have caused confusion between ΟϹ, "who," and $\overline{\Theta\Ϲ}$, the abbreviation for ΘΕΟϹ, "God," in 1 Tim. 3:16. Homoioteleuton is an error in which the scribe's eye skips from the first to the second nearby occurrence of an identical word or group of letters, omitting all the intervening text. Thus the Greek word underlying the AV in 1 Jn. 2:23 skips from the first "has the Father" (*tón patéra échei*) to the second, with the result that many editions of the AV put the entire second half of this verse in italics, indicating that the words "he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also" are not in the Greek Text. The opposite error sometimes occurs, in which the scribe copies letters or words twice.

TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT

Errors of the eye also include the transposition of letters, producing a different word. In Mk. 14:65 some MSS changed *élabon,* "took," to *ébalon,* "cast." In Acts 13:23 two MSS changed *s̄r̄ān̄,* the abbreviation for *sōtéra Iēsoun,* "a savior Jesus," to *s̄r̄īān̄,* the abbreviation for *sōtērían,* "salvation."

2. Errors of Speech. These errors arise from similarities of pronunciation. For example, from early in the Christian era several Greek vowels were pronounced alike. One result of this "itacism" is confusion of "we/our/us" and "you/your" (plural), e.g., in 1 Jn. 1:4, *chará hēmṓn,* "our joy," or *chará hymṓn,* "your joy."

3. Errors of the Mind. These errors, resulting from misunderstanding or forgetfulness, include: changes in word order; the substitution of synonyms, such as *eípen* for *éphē,* "he said," or *ek* for *apó,* "from"; and such changes as the substitution of *karpós,* "fruit," for the less common word *kárphos,* "speck," in one MS of Lk. 6:42. Some harmonizations of parallel passages might be unintentional, such as the addition in a few MSS of "through his blood" to Col. 1:14 from the parallel in Eph. 1:7. Also, a scribe might have misunderstood an explanatory note in the margin of the MS he was copying and added it to the text of the new MS he was making. This could be the origin of the reference to the troubling of the waters in Jn. 5:3f.

B. Intentional Changes. 1. Linguistic or Rhetorical Corrections. These alterations were no doubt often made in good faith under the impression that a linguistic error had crept into the text and needed correcting (e.g., 2nd aorist endings on 1st aorist verbs).

2. Historical Corrections. These include changes introduced to correct an apparent error of fact, e.g., the change in Mk. 1:2 in many MSS from "Isaiah the prophet" to "the prophets."

3. Harmonistic Corrections. As distinct from unintentional harmonization, these include the apparent intentional assimilation of parallel passages, e.g., the assimilation of the Lord's Prayer in many MSS of Lk. 11:2-4 to the fuller form of Mt. 6:9-13.

4. Doctrinal Corrections. These are among the less frequent deliberate changes. Sometimes readings regarded as embarrassing were changed, e.g., the reference to Jesus' family going to take Jesus in hand and thinking Him mad in Mk. 3:31 was altered in various ways in some MSS of Mark. Other intentional doctrinal changes include the addition to 1 Jn. 5:7f. of the reference to the "three heavenly witnesses" (found in no Greek MS earlier than the 16th cent.), the addition of fasting to prayer in Mk. 9:29, and the addition of "who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" at the end of Rom. 8:1 and "and in your spirit, which are the Lord's" at the end of 1 Cor. 6:20. E. J. Epp has argued that the Western text shows a deliberate "anti-Judaic" tendency in various readings, and has pointed to the need for further investigation of this matter and other possible indications of deliberate doctrinal changes.

5. Liturgical Corrections. Certain changes might have been introduced into the text because of the use of the passage in the liturgy. The addition of the doxology to the Lord's Prayer, "for thine is the kingdom," etc. (Mt. 6:13, AV), might have had this origin.

III. Methods of Critical Procedure.–Textual criticism has gradually evolved certain rules, which are based upon patient classification and weighing of all the documentary evidence available, both internal (i.e., intrinsic probability) and external (i.e., the value of the MSS).

A. Internal Evidence. The basic principle of internal evidence is that the reading from which the other readings could most easily have arisen is probably the original reading. It must be borne in mind that scribes were engaged in copying a MS, not in studying it. Errors could therefore arise through a scribe's superficial grasp of the meaning of what he was transcribing. This basic principle has certain corollaries.

(1) A reading that at first seems more difficult to understand (Lat. *lectio difficilior*), but that on further examination proves to make good sense, is preferable to an easier reading. For example, in Jn. 1:18 "the only-begotten God has set him forth" is certainly more difficult than "the only-begotten Son"; but reflection shows that the author was intentionally referring to Jesus as deity here, and "only-begotten God" is doubtless original.

(2) If an intentional change is involved, the shorter reading is likely to be original. This is because scribes sometimes added clarifying words or phrases but rarely omitted words intentionally. Thus the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6:13, "for thine is the kingdom . . .") is surely a later addition.

(3) If an unintentional change is involved, the longer reading might be original, as in 1 Jn. 3:1, from which "and we are" after "that we should be called children of God" was accidentally omitted by MSS used for the AV, probably because this phrase in Greek uncial letters, ΚΛΙΘΩΜΕΝ, looks so much like the preceding word ΚΛΗΘΩΜΕΝ.

(4) A reading that disagrees with a parallel passage (especially in the Gospels) is more likely original than a reading that harmonizes the parallels. Scribes were inclined to harmonize parallels, not to make them differ. Thus in Mt. 14:24 the correct reading is "many furlongs distant from the land" rather than "in the middle of the lake," read by some MSS, which is identical with Mk. 6:47.

(5) Another principle, that the reading that best accords with the author's style and vocabulary is probably original, can be applied only to an extensive passage. For example, Mk. 16:9-20 and Jn. 7:53–8:11 are clearly different from the rest of their respective Gospels and are surely not original. In single words or phrases, however, an author might by necessity or choice use a form that he does not commonly use.

B. External Evidence. External evidence seeks to determine which reading is supported by the most reliable witnesses — Greek MSS, versions, and patristic quotations. Many of the witnesses can be put into one of four groups or "text-types": Alexandrian, Caesarean, Byzantine, and Western. By examining a large number of textual variants, the scholar can determine the relative reliability of these text-types. Most scholars would put them in the order given above.

The Alexandrian text-type includes ℵ, B, C, L, T, Z, 33, 81, the Bohairic version, Cyril of Alexandria, and Origen in part. It is characterized by readings that are often terse and superficially more difficult and rough, and sometimes by refined and learned grammatical corrections. Although it is the best text-type, its readings must not be accepted uncritically.

The Caesarean text-type (only in the Gospels) has been thought to include Θ, 565, 700, p^{45}, W, the minuscule Families 1 and 13, the Old Georgian and Old Armenian versions, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Origen in part, and other witnesses (see Metzger, *Textual Commentary,* pp. xxix-xxx). It was placed midway between the Alexandrian and Western text-types, although it generally does not show the longer Western variants and omissions. Greenlee's analysis of the Gospel quotations of Cyril of Jerusalem (4th cent.) gave support to the text-type, but some (esp. Hurtado) have raised serious doubts about the

unity of this group and the early date often attributed to the text-type. They believe that they have shown that Codex W, p^{45}, and Family 13, once regarded as representatives of an early stage of the Caesarean text (the "pre-Caesarean" witnesses), are not Caesarean witnesses at all, and they call for a reexamination of the whole Caesarean text hypothesis. Codex Θ and some other witnesses attached to this group do show a somewhat distinctive text that has some connections with both the Western witnesses and the Byzantine text-type.

The Byzantine, or Antiochian, text-type is found in many of the later uncial MSS, almost all of the minuscule MSS, and most of the later church fathers and versions. It formed the basis of the Textus Receptus and therefore of the AV. The Byzantine text is generally smooth and unobjectionable, with parallel accounts often harmonized, difficult readings alleviated, and rough and irregular constructions made smooth. It might have been produced by both intentional revision and unintentional development. It developed and became more prominent between the 4th and 8th cents., and thenceforth was the dominant and almost exclusive text in circulation. The support for some Byzantine readings in earlier witnesses such as p^{66} shows that the scribal tendencies associated especially with the Byzantine text-type began much earlier. Analysis of the Byzantine text was advanced considerably with the development of the "Claremont Profile Method" of classifying manuscripts by F. Wisse and P. McReynolds.

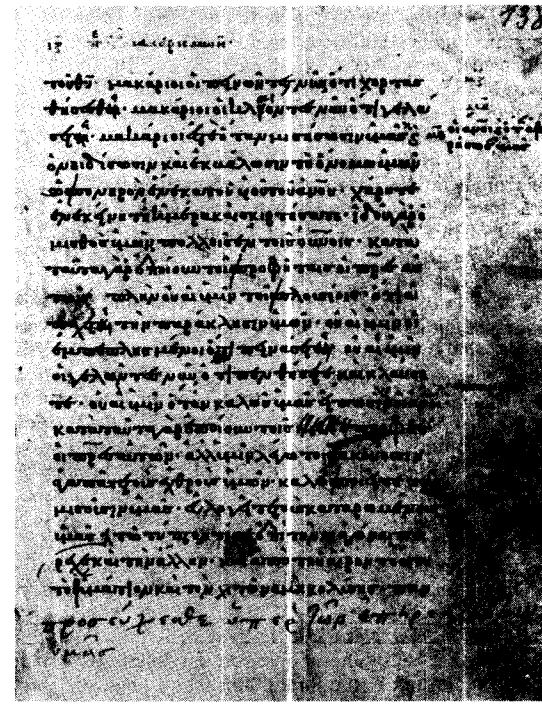
The Western text includes D (05 and 06), the papyri p^{25} and p^{38}, a few minuscules, the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and a few other witnesses. Attested as early as the 2nd cent., it includes, in addition to the more common types of variants, many long additions and paraphrases and some notably long omissions in comparison with other texts. Both the origin and the value of the Western text are much disputed, but most editors have been hesitant to accept readings that have only Western support.

This classification of text-types differs somewhat from the fourfold classification of Westcott and Hort. In place of the Alexandrian they postulated a Neutral text, which was predominantly the consensus of B and ℵ and in their view represented the original in virtually uncorrupted form. Their Alexandrian, whose witnesses (C, L. 33, Coptic version, Alexandrian fathers) they believed represented the original text as modified by grammatical and other minor learned corrections, was supposedly made by literary-minded scribes of Alexandria. They called the Byzantine text the Syrian or Antiochian. Their definition of a Western text is generally acceptable. (The theory of the Caearean text developed after the time of Westcott and Hort.)

H. von Soden, on the other hand, made a threefold division of the witnesses. His Hesychian (H) text corresponds to our Alexandrian. His Koiné (K) corresponds to the Byzantine. In analyzing the various layers in the development of the Byzantine text, von Soden performed a definite service. His Jerusalem (I) text includes the Western, the Caesarean, and other elements and is therefore more amorphous than his other two.

IV. History of Textual Criticism.—The invention of printing from movable type in the 15th cent. brought the age of handwritten MSS to an end. For the first time numerous textually identical copies of a given work could be produced. The first printed Bible was not, however, a Greek Bible but Latin — the famous Gutenberg Bible, of which a number of copies still exist. The first Greek NT was printed in Alcala (Complutum), Spain, in 1514 but was not actually issued until 1522. It comprised the NT volume of

TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT



Luke 6:20-30 in one of the inferior MSS (Greek Gospel Ms. 2, 12th cent.) that Erasmus used in the first edition of the Greek NT (Basel, 1516). In the margins are Erasmus's corrections and notes for the printer (Universitätsbibliothek, Basel)

the polyglot Bible edited by Cardinal Ximenes of Toledo.

Meanwhile, the scholar Erasmus, under the patronage of Froben, the printer of Basel, published a Greek NT in 1516 after only six months of preparation. It reached its third edition by 1522. His text was based on five or six MSS that happened to be available to him. His one MS of Revelation was defective, and he supplied the missing portions, including all of the last six verses of the book, by his own translations from the Latin text. The third edition was the only one to contain the "heavenly witnesses" passage of 1 Jn. 5:7f. (preserved in the AV), but since this was the edition used most by subsequent editors, the passage, which has virtually no Greek support, found its way into the printed Greek text.

The next important step was taken by Robert Estienne (Stephanus), whose third edition of 1550 contained marginal readings from fifteen MSS and was thus the first edition to have a form of critical apparatus. The French Protestant scholar Theodore Beza worked with Stephanus's son Henri to produce nine editions of the Greek NT between 1565 and 1604.

Two Dutch publishers, the Elzevir brothers, published seven editions at Leyden and Amsterdam between 1624 and 1678. In the preface to the second edition (1633) they optimistically stated: *Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum; in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus* ("You have therefore the text now received by all; in which we give nothing altered or corrupt"). This is the source of the familiar term Textus Receptus, for this edition became the standard text for continental Europe, as the 1550 edition of Stephanus became of England and America. Thus began the period of dominance of the TR, from which scholarship would not be freed for three hundred years.

The second period, that of discovery and research, was ushered in by the great London Polyglot of 1657, edited by Brian Walton (later Bishop of Chester), with collations by Archbishop Ussher of fifteen fresh MSS, including A and 59. In 1707 John Mill of Oxford, after thirty years of labor, brought out the Greek TR with fresh collations of seventy-eight MSS, many versions, and quotations from the early fathers. His *Prolegomena* set a new standard for textual criticism. J. A. Bengel published in 1734 at Tübingen a Greek NT containing the first suggestions for genealogical classification of MSS. J. J. Wettstein of Basel and Amsterdam originated the system designating uncial MSS by capital letters and minuscules by numbers. J. J. Griesbach carried Wettstein's classification still farther, clearly distinguishing for the first time a Western, an Alexandrian, and a Constantinopolitan recension.

In the next epoch of NT textual criticism, scholarship successfully went behind the TR and established a text based on ancient sources and critical principles. Carl Lachmann applied the critical methods that he used in editing the classics, and with the help of P. Buttmann he produced an edition in 1842-1850 that led directly toward the goal. But by completely setting aside the TR and failing to state his principles except in an obscure journal, he brought down upon his head the most violent criticism.

Constantin Tischendorf, both as collector and as editor, is one of the foremost in the field. He discovered ℵ, edited or collated many MSS, and produced eight editions of the Greek NT. His eighth edition (1872), together with its *Prolegomena* (completed and published in 1884-1894 by C. R. Gregory), is still a necessity for serious textual study.

Gregory's *Die griechischen Handschriften des NT* (1908) not only gives a wealth of information about the witnesses to the NT but also correlates previously used MS designations to the system of designations now universally used. Meanwhile, S. P. Tregelles was doing prodigious and valuable work in England. F. H. A. Scrivener also did extensive and valuable, though conservative, scholarship.

In 1881 a landmark was reached with the publication of a critical edition of the Greek NT, the joint labor of the Cambridge scholars B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort. This edition, accompanied by a volume carefully detailing the principles upon which they had proceeded, marked the final triumph of the critical text over the TR. There were some defenders of the TR and Byzantine text, notably J. W. Burgon and Edward Miller, supported by Scrivener, and a century later some were again insisting that the TR is the only true NT text. But from that time forward, editors were free to publish a text in accordance with their best judgment of textual principles without being bound in any way to the TR.

The massive work of Hermann von Soden was published in 1913. His extensive critical apparatus included the testimony of many minuscule MSS that had not been available previously. But in many respects his work has been one of the greatest disappointments of modern textual studies. For example, the importance that he attached to the work of Tatian is far out of proportion to what is actually known of it. His critical apparatus is presented not only in a tendentious manner but also in such a way that the actual reading of some of the MSS is impossible to determine. The new MS nomenclature of his apparatus was intended to involve some helpful principles but is exceedingly complex and impedes student use of his materials, since it has not otherwise been adopted.

For half a century after Westcott and Hort scholars tended to lean heavily upon the Neutral text, particularly the agreement of B and ℵ, unless internal evidence strongly indicated otherwise. The current tendency, however, is toward a more eclectic approach. Many scholars now give proportionately more attention to internal evidence. Although the Alexandrian text is still highly regarded, readings with good witnesses from various text-types must be considered as well as those supported by one generally reliable text-type. There is also more conscious recognition that a reading having primarily Byzantine support may occasionally represent an ancient reading whose older testimony is lost. Western readings are scrutinized, but readings with purely Western support are infrequent in recent editions of the Greek NT.

The principles just stated are generally those followed by the Greek NT published by the United Bible Societies in 1966 and in later editions. This NT text is unique in that it was prepared by a committee of scholars rather than by one or two individuals. Its critical apparatus is intended to be of particular help to Bible students and translators. The 3rd edition of the Bible Societies' NT has a text identical with the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland Greek NT (1979), but the latter has a critical apparatus containing many more variants, intended for use by NT scholars.

The work of NT textual criticism goes on and much remains to be done. There is the (Anglo-American) International Greek NT Project, which has published a greatly improved textual apparatus of Lk. 1–9 (1984) and intends to continue this work. The most ambitious and prolific work is being conducted at the Munster Institute for NT Textual Research headed by K. and B. Aland. This group has produced several major studies and tools of NT textual research, is the headquarters for further editions of the UBS and Nestle-Aland Greek texts, and promises additional, major contributions to the study of the NT text.

Although traditionally emphasis has been placed on reconstructing the original (or earliest possible) NT text, some studies have also shown the importance of textual variants as evidence for tracing the history of doctrines and other aspects of early Christianity, and there is room for further investigation of these matters.

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THADDAEUS tha-de'əs, thad'ē-əs [Gk. *Thaddaios* < Heb. *taḏay*–'breast'?] (Mt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18). The name of one of Jesus' twelve disciples. The AV adopts the least probable textual variant of the majority text for Mt. 10:3, "Lebbaeus, whose surname was Thaddaeus," while the NEB prefers the Western text, which reads simply "Lebbaeus" (Gk. *Lebbaios*). Luke's two lists of the Twelve (Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13) replace the name Thaddaeus with "Judas the son of James." These variations gave rise to further textual corruptions in Mt. 10:3 and Mk. 3:18, including "Thaddaeus called Lebbaeus" and "Judas the Zealot." Probably the best solution is to take Judas as his given name and Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus (< Heb. *lēḇ*, "heart") as nicknames of devotion or endearment. The James who is the father of Thaddaeus cannot confidently be identified with any of the other NT persons of that name. The only other NT reference to this "Judas (not Iscariot)" is Jn. 14:22.

In extracanonical literature Thaddaeus is said to have traveled after Christ's ascension to minister to the people of Edessa in Mesopotamia and to their king, Abgar, who had previously written to Jesus asking that He come to them. Thaddaeus preached the gospel, performed miracles, instructed both Jews and Gentiles, baptized many, planted churches, and appointed bishops and deacons. The story is preserved in both Greek and Syriac versions of the Acts of Thaddaeus (*see* APOCRYPHAL ACTS, Other Acts, I; H-S, I, 437-444) and in an earlier account by Eusebius (*HE* i.13; ii.1.6-8). It is possible that Thaddaeus did minister in this area, but the details of these stories are highly unreliable. Eusebius also called Thaddaeus one of the Seventy (*HE* i.13.4, 11; cf. Lk. 10:1) and narrated his further ministry in the Mesopotamian city of Amis and his death in Berytus of Phoenicia (modern Beirut). The Nestorian "Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles" is ascribed in part to "St. Adaeus" (from the Syriac "Addai" for Thaddaeus).

See also JUDAS 7. C. L. BLOMBERG

THAHASH thā'hash (Gen. 22:24, AV). *See* TAHASH.

THAMAH thā'mə (Ezr. 2:53, AV). *See* TEMAH.

THAMAR thā'mär (Mt. 1:3, AV). *See* TAMAR.

THAMNATHA tham'nə-thə (1 Macc. 9:50, AV). *See* TIMNATH.

THANK; THANKFUL(NESS); THANKSGIVING. An expression of gratitude, most often directed to God.

I. In the OT.–In the OT these words almost always represent the hiphil of Heb. *yāḏâ* or the derived noun *tôḏâ*. Both terms are also rendered "praise." The fundamental meaning of the Hebrew root is "confess"; it is used in two basic ways: (1) of confessing (declaring) God's attributes and works, and (2) of confessing sins. When it is used in the first sense, the RSV usually renders it "thanks." The OT has no independent concept of "thanks" as distinguished from "praise" (cf. the AV, which often has "praise" where the RSV has "thank" or "thanks[giving]"). The hiphil of *yāḏâ* often occurs in parallelism with other terms for praise, e.g., the piel of *hālal* and the piel of *zāmar* ("sing with musical instruments"). Moreover, it never has a human being as its object. (See Westermann, pp. 26f.)

The object of *yāḏâ* (hiphil) is always Yahweh or God (e.g., 1 Ch. 16:4, 8, 34f., 41; 2 Ch. 7:3, 6). Frequently a vow of thanksgiving concludes individual laments ("I will give thanks," Ps. 7:17 [MT 18]; 28:7; 35:18; 52:9 [MT 11]; 54:6 [MT 8]; 57:9 [MT 10]; 86:12; 109:30) and communal laments ("we . . . will give thanks," Ps. 79:13; "that we may give thanks," 106:47; etc.). Such vows are fulfilled by the *tôḏâ*, a joyful song of thanksgiving for God's mercy and deliverance (e.g., Neh. 12:27; Ps. 26:7; 42:4 [MT 5]; 69:30 [MT 31]; 95:2; 147:7; Isa. 51:3; Jer. 30:19; Jonah 2:9 [MT 10]). These songs often begin (or occasionally end) with the hiphil of *yāḏâ* ("I will give thanks," Ps. 9:1 [MT 2]; 30:12 [MT 13]; 108:3 [MT 4]; 118:28; 138:1f.; Isa. 12:1; etc.). (*See* PSALMS V.B.)

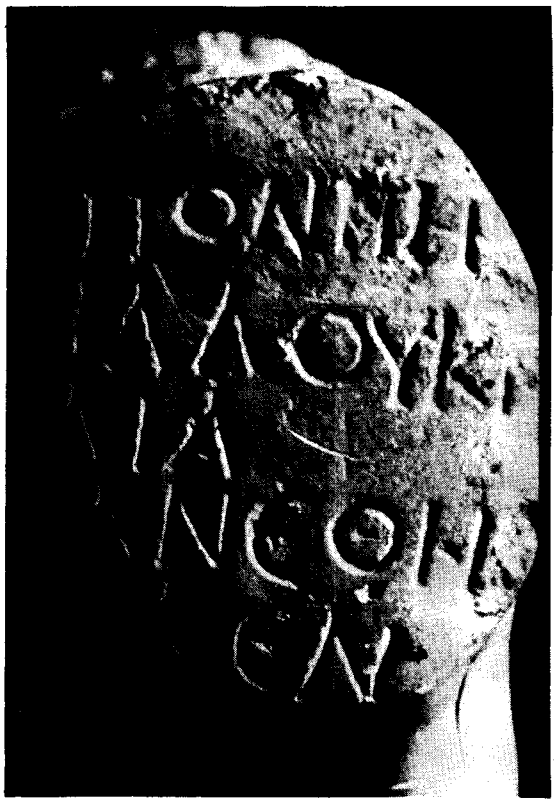
Vows of thanksgiving were normally fulfilled in the context of worship at the temple (cf. Ps. 100:4; 122:1-4), under the direction of the Levites (*see* SONG). Sometimes the song of thanksgiving (which might be sung as one walked about the altar; cf. Ps. 26:6f.) was accompanied by a "sacrifice of thanksgiving" or a "thank offering" (*zeḇaḥ tôḏâ*, Ps. 107:22; 116:17; sometimes simply *tôḏâ*, 2 Ch. 29:31; 33:16; Ps. 50:14, 23 [with the vb. *zāḇaḥ*]; 56:12 [MT 13]; Jer. 17:26; 33:11; Am. 4:5). Lev. 7:12-18 describes how the thank offering, which was a form of the peace offering, was to be presented (*see* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT). Ps. 69:30f. (MT 31f.) indicates, however, that the song of thanksgiving is more pleasing to God than sacrifice.

A summons to give thanks to the Lord (hiphil imperative of *yāḏâ*) is found at the beginning (and sometimes end) of many hymns of praise (e.g., 1 Ch. 16:8, 34; 2 Ch. 20:21; Ps. 105:1; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1-3, 26). Both in these hymns and in individual songs of thanksgiving, the reason for thanking the Lord is often stated in a clause beginning with the particle *kî* ("for . . .").

II. In the Intertestamental Literature.–Among the Greek terms used to render *yāḏâ* (hiphil) and *tôḏâ* in the LXX are *exomologéomai* and the noun *exomológēsis*. In classical Greek *exomologéomai* is used only in the sense of "confess" or "acknowledge"; but under the influence of Heb. *yāḏâ*, the LXX used it also in the sense of "praise" and "thank." *Exomologéomai* is the most common word rendered "thank" in the RSV Apocrypha. The object of thanks is always God (e.g., Tob. 12:6, 20; 13:6, 8, 10; 14:7; Sir. 39:6, 15; 51:1, 12). "Thanksgiving" usually represents *exomológēsis* (Jth. 16:1; Sir. 17:28; 51:11; 2 Macc. 10:38; 3 Macc. 6:35; 7:19).

Another verb that appears in the Apocrypha is Gk. *eucharistéō*. This term has no equivalent in Hebrew and does not occur in the LXX OT (except for *euchāristos* in Prov. 11:16). It specifically denotes the giving of thanks and can refer to thanks directed toward human beings (2 Macc. 12:31) as well as toward God (Jth. 8:25; Wisd. 18:2; 2 Macc. 1:11; 10:7; 3 Macc. 7:16). The same is true of the nouns *cháris* (directed to human beings in Sir. 12:1; 1 Macc. 14:25 [cf. *ácharis* in Sir. 29:25]; to God in 3 Macc. 1:9) and *eucharistía* (directed to human beings in Ad. Est. 16:4 [LXX 8:12d]; Sir. 37:11 [RSV "gratitude"]; 2 Macc. 2:27 ["gratitude"]; to God in Wisd. 16:28).

III. In the NT.–A. Terms. The primary terms for "thank," "thankful," "thanksgiving," etc. in the NT are *eucharistéō* and its cognate noun *eucharistía* (cf. also the adjective *euchāristos*, "thankful," in Col. 3:15). The noun *cháris* ("grace," "favor," "gratitude") is also rendered by



An ex-voto offering found at a bath in Jerusalem with a Greek inscription of thanksgiving from Ponpeia Loucilia (Louvre, photo G. Nalbandian)

"thank(s)," "thankfulness" eleven times (e.g., in the phrase *écho chárin,* lit. "have thankfulness," in Lk. 17:9; 1 Tim. 1:12; 2 Tim. 1:3; cf. He. 12:28 [RSV "be grateful"]). As in the Apocrypha (see II above), these terms can denote thanks directed to human beings. Such uses are rare, however, occurring only four times: (1) in concluding the parable of the unworthy servant, Jesus asks the rhetorical question: "Does he thank the servant because he did what was commanded?" (*échō chárin,* Lk. 17:9); (2) after being healed, the Samaritan leper falls at Jesus' feet, "giving him thanks" (*eucharistéō,* 17:16); (3) as part of his address to Felix, Tertullus politely acknowledges "with all gratitude" (*eucharistía*) Felix's reforms on behalf of the Jews (Acts 24:3); and (4) in Rom. 16:4 Paul expresses thanks (*eucharistéō*) to Priscilla and Aquila for risking their lives on his behalf. In all other instances these terms refer to thanks directed toward God.

Two other NT terms are rendered "thank(s)": *exomologéomai* (see II above) in Mt. 11:25 par. Lk. 10:21, and *anthomologéomai* in Lk. 2:38 (cf. its use in 3 Macc. 6:33; cf. also *anthomológēsis* in Sir. 17:27). Both terms express joyful thanksgiving addressed to God.

B. In the Gospels and Acts. The tone of thanksgiving dominates the prayers of the NT. The Gospels and Acts record several instances in which a prayer of thanksgiving is offered in the context of a meal. Jesus Himself followed this practice. The Synoptics describe His giving of thanks at the feeding of the four thousand (Mt. 15:36 par. Mk. 8:6; cf. the Johannine account of the feeding of the five thousand, Jn. 6:11, 23) and at the Last Supper (Mt. 26:27 par. Mk. 14:23; Lk. 22:17, 19). Acts 27:35 mentions that Paul, as a prisoner on a ship about to be shipwrecked, "took bread, and giving thanks to God in the presence of all he broke it and began to eat."

Other occasions also prompted a response of thanksgiving. Jesus offered a prayer of thanksgiving at Lazarus's tomb (Jn. 11:41); at another time He thanked God for revealing eschatological secrets to His childlike disciples (Mt. 11:25 par. Lk. 10:21). Luke reports Anna's prayer of thanksgiving at seeing the infant Jesus (Lk. 2:38), and the vain prayer of the Pharisee: "God, I thank thee that I am not like other men" (18:11). Paul responded with gratitude to God when he was met at Rome by fellow Christians (Acts 28:15).

On other occurrences of "thank," etc. in the Gospels, see III.A above.

C. In the Pauline Epistles. By far the largest number of references to giving thanks in the NT are in the Pauline Epistles. In the introductions to most of his letters (the only exceptions being Galatians, 1 Timothy, and Titus), Paul expresses thanksgiving to God. This thanksgiving is normally related to the theme of the letter; thus he thanks God "because your faith is proclaimed in all the world" (Rom. 1:8), "because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love" (Eph. 1:15f.; cf. Col. 1:3f.; 1 Thess. 1:2f.; Philem. 4f.), "for your partnership in the gospel" (Phil. 1:5), "because of the grace of God which was given you . . . so that you are not lacking in any spiritual gift" (1 Cor. 1:4f., 7), "because God chose you from the beginning to be saved" (2 Thess. 2:13), and because of "your sincere faith" (2 Tim. 1:3, 5).

For Paul, thankfulness takes its place along with faith and love as the proper and natural response to God's gifts and His grace. God is glorified through the thanksgivings of His people. Thus Paul tells the Corinthians that the goal of his evangelistic ministry is to bring greater numbers into the fellowship in order to increase the prayers of thanksgiving, thereby bringing glory to God (2 Cor. 4:15). In 9:1-12 Paul instructs the Corinthians to prepare an offering for the saints in Jerusalem, concluding: "you will be enriched in every way for great generosity, which through us will produce thanksgiving to God; for the rendering of this service not only supplies the wants of the saints but also overflows in many thanksgivings to God" (vv. 11f.).

According to Paul, it is the duty of all humankind to acknowledge God as Creator and give thanks to Him (Rom. 1:21). Ingratitude is listed among the sins of apostate humanity in the last days (2 Tim. 3:2). On the other hand, when infused with thanksgiving, mundane activities may become acts of worship (Col. 3:17); an example of this is the "blessing" or "giving of thanks" at meals (Rom. 14:6; 1 Cor. 10:30; 1 Tim. 4:3-5).

Thanksgiving should characterize the Christian's life in all circumstances (Phil. 4:6; Col. 2:7; 3:17; 4:2; 1 Thess. 2:13; 5:18). It should also mark corporate worship (cf. 1 Cor. 14:16f.; Eph. 5:19f.; Col. 3:16; 1 Tim. 2:1). Giving thanks must replace unfitting levity and other inappropriate behavior (Eph. 5:4). Christians have good reason to give thanks at all times, for the blessings they have received are superabundant (2 Cor. 9:15; Col. 1:12; 1 Tim. 1:12-14; cf. also Eph. 2:4-7; 3:16-19; Phil. 4:6f.).

D. In Hebrews and Revelation. The writer to the Hebrews urges gratitude for the certainty of "a kingdom that cannot be shaken," and for this reason he exhorts his readers to worship God with reverence and awe (He. 12:28). Hymns of praise and thanksgiving are a common feature in Revelation's descriptions of heavenly worship

in the age to come: "And whenever the living creatures give glory and honor and thanks to him who is seated on the throne, who lives for ever and ever, the twenty-four elders fall down before him . . . and worship him" (Rev. 4:9f.; cf. 7:11f.; 11:16f.).

Bibliography.–R. D. Aus, *JBL*, 92 (1973), 432-38; *DNTT*, III, *s.v.* (J.-H. Esser); *Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology*, III, *s.v.* "Thanksgiving" (A. Stoger); J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Eng. tr. 1966), pp. 175, 177f.; *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* ὁμολογέω κτλ.: ἐξομολογέω, ἀνθομολογέομαι (Michel); IX, *s.v.* χαίρω κτλ.: εὐχαριστέω κτλ. (Conzelmann); *TDOT*, V, *s.v.* "ydh" (Mayer, Bergman, vor Soden); *TWOT*, I, 364f.; C. Westermann, *Praise of God in the Psalms* (Eng. tr. 1965).

C. N. DILLMAN N. J. O.

THANK OFFERING. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT V.

THARA thâr'ə (Lk. 3:34, AV). *See* TERAH.

THARRA thâr'ə [Gk. *Tharra*] (Ad. Est. 12:1). One of the two eunuchs who guarded King Ahasuerus's private chambers and plotted his assassination. In Est. 2:21; 6:2 he is called TERESH.

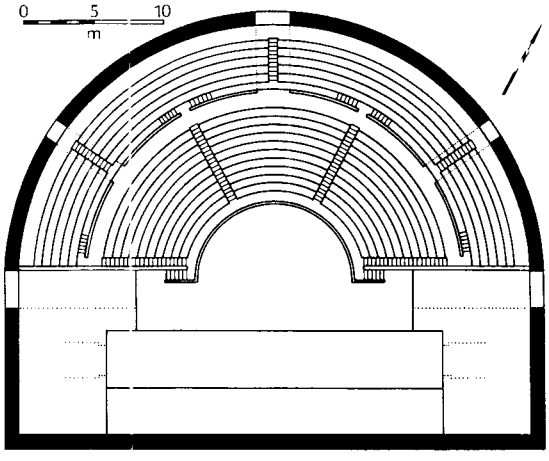
THARSHISH thär'shish (AV 1 K. 10:22; 22:48; 1 Ch. 7:10). *See* TARSHISH; TARSHISH, SHIPS OF.

THASSI thas'ī [Gk. *Thassi*] (1 Macc. 2:3). Surname of Simon the son of Mattathias and brother of Judas Maccabeus (*see* HASMONEANS II.A). The meaning of the name — perhaps transliterated from a shortened Hebrew or Aramaic term — is unknown.

THAT DAY. *See* DAY OF THE LORD.

THEATER [Gk. *théatron*; cf. *theáomai*–'see, look at'] (Acts 19:29, 31). From *ca.* the 5th cent. B.C. the Greeks built theaters for dramatic performances. Unlike the later amphitheaters (round or oval-shaped Roman buildings with tiers of seats completely surrounding an arena used for gladiatorial games; *see* picture in CAESAREA), the earliest Greek theaters consisted simply of an *orchéstra* (circular floor on which the actors and chorus performed) and tiers of seats built in a hillside hollow surrounding about two-thirds of the *orchéstra* (*see* picture in PERGAMUM). Later a raised stage and architectural background (*skēné*; cf. Eng. "scene") were added. In Roman theaters the *skēné* was greatly enlarged, and the *orchéstra* and seating area were constructed in the form of a semicircle (*see* picture in GAMES).

Plan of a small early Roman odeum at Pella (courtesy of the College of Wooster)



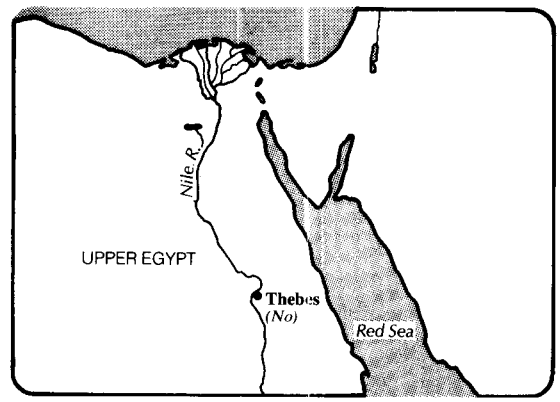
The theater could be used for public assemblies as well as dramatic performances. The enraged Ephesian silversmiths dragged Paul's companions to the municipal theater, where they convened an irregular and disorderly civic assembly (Acts 19:28-41; see F. F. Bruce, comm. on Acts [*NICNT*, 1954], pp. 399-402). For a description and picture of this theater, *see* EPHESUS; Vol. III, Plate 60.

Greek *théatron* could also denote the "play" or "spectacle" presented at a theater or amphitheater. In 1 Cor. 4:9 Paul uses the term ("spectacle") figuratively in a comparison of himself and his fellow apostles to "men sentenced to death" in a gladiatorial contest (cf. the vb. *theatrízō*, "expose publicly," in He. 10:33).

See *Enc.Brit.*, XX, *s.v.* "Theatres (Structures)."

N. J. O.

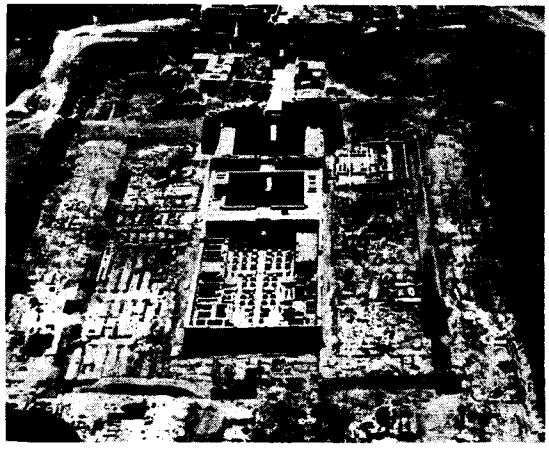
THEBES thēbz [Heb. *nō'*, *nō' 'āmôn* < Egyp. *ni'w[t]-'Imn*–'city of (the god) Amon']; AV, NEB, NO (Jer. 46:25; Ezk. 30:14-16); AV "populous No" (Nah. 3:8); NEB, RSV mg., also NO-AMON (Nah. 3:8). A city in Upper (i.e., southern) Egypt.



After the establishment of Egypt's Middle Kingdom in 1991 B.C., Thebes began to rise to national prominence as the pharaonic royal city. Although the Hyksos conquerors, who founded a new capital in the Delta, caused a temporary decline in Thebes' importance, the pharaohs of the New Kingdom enabled it to surpass its former glory. During their lifetimes they erected magnificent temples there to Amon and to lesser deities, and the pharaohs were buried in lavishly decorated and richly furnished rock-cut tombs in the area. Although all the tombs are located on the west bank of the Nile, and the most impressive temples are on the east bank (in the modern Arab towns of Karnak and Luxor), a few imposing temples are still to be found on the west bank (esp. at Qurneh, Deir el-Baḥrī, and Medînet Habu). Many of the New Kingdom monuments at Thebes remain remarkably well preserved.

The Assyrians under Ashurbanipal destroyed Thebes in 663 B.C. and gradually declined thereafter. Nah. 3:8-10 refers to this event, and this gives a *terminus a quo* for the writing of this prophecy. In their oracles against the nations Jeremiah (Jer. 46:25) and Ezekiel (Ezk. 30:14-16) warned Thebes of further impending doom. The Persian siege under Cambyses and rebellions against Ptolemy V and X merely postponed the eventual devastation of Homer's "Hundred-Gated Thebes" by the Romans in 30 B.C.

R. F. YOUNGBLOOD



The temple at Medinet Habu, viewed from the west (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

THEBEZ thē'biz [Heb. *tēḇēṣ*; Gk. LXX A *Thaibais*, B *Thēbēs, Thamasi*]. A town that was involved in Shechem's revolt against Abimelech and was destroyed by him (Jgs. 9:50; 2 S. 11:21). During the battle Abimelech himself was mortally injured by a millstone that a woman threw from the city's "strong tower," or bulwark. Nothing is known about the earlier or later history of Thebez.

Eusebius described Thebez as 13 Roman mi. from Neapolis on the road to Beth-shean *Onom.* 100.13, and thus it has been identified with the large village of Ṭūbâṣ, 16 km. (10 mi.) NE of Shechem. Ṭūbâṣ is in a valley and is surrounded by large olive gardens and numerous cisterns. The ancient town must have been much smaller than the present village, where no archeological findings have been recorded.

The resemblance of the names Thebez and Ṭūbâṣ is only superficial. But if the ancient name is related to Heb. *bōṣ*, "silt," and *biṣṣâ*, "marsh," it may be connected with the Arabic name, which is related to Arab. *ṭabs*, "mud." Other scholars have derived Thebez from a root related to Arab. *wabaṣa*, "be bright." A. VAN SELMS

THECOE thə-kō'ə (1 Macc. 9:33, AV). *See* TEKOA.

THEE-WARD. An archaic expression used by the AV at 1 S. 19:4, meaning "toward you."

THEFT. *See* STEAL.

THELASAR thə-lā'sər (2 K. 19:12, AV). *See* TEL-ASSAR.

THELERSAS thə-lûr'sas (1 Esd. 5:36, AV). *See* TEL-HARSHA.

THELSAS thel'sas (1 Esd. 5:36, NEB). *See* TEL-HARSHA.

THEME [Heb. *dābār*] (Ps. 45:1 [MT 2]); AV MATTER. The subject of the Psalm is the marriage of the king, whom the NT (e.g., He. 1:8f.) understands as a foreshadowing of Christ.

THEOCANUS thē-ok'ə-nəs (1 Esd. 9:14, AV). *See* TIKVAH 2.

THEOCRACY thē-ok'rə-si [Gk. *theokratía*]. A government in which God is the ruler.

The word "theocracy" itself is not in the Bible — it was apparently first used by Josephus (*CAp* ii.16 [165]) — but the concept underlying it surely is. Some scholars have argued that this idea, more often associated with the "kingdom of God," is among the Bible's most pervasive and unifying motifs (Eichrodt; Bright, p. 7; Wright, pp. 43f.; Mendenhall, pp. 1-31). Israel was the historical embodiment of the rule of God and Jesus made it a main element in His preaching (Mt. 3:17; Mk. 1:15).

Notwithstanding the important ruling functions throughout Israel's history of prophets, priests, sages, and kings, Yahweh was ultimately considered the sole sovereign ruler. Israel's leaders, whether their jurisdiction was political, religious, or social, were judged by the lone criterion of whether they appropriately manifested the divine will. The particular form of government was less crucial than the will of Yahweh which was to be expressed through it.

Thus the Torah depicts Israel as having been made into a "people" (Ex. 19:5f.) which would reflect God's purposes in every aspect of its socio-political existence (Gen. 12–Ex. 19), the details of which are provided in the law (Ex. 20–Nu. 10:10 [including Leviticus]). In the light of the narrative structure of the Torah, this new community Israel may also be seen as God's attempt to provide an alternative to hubristic human rule which systematically ignored or contravened divine purposes and directives for the created order (cf. Gen. 11:1-9; 12:1-3; see Brueggemann, pp. 97-104). In historical and sociological terms the precise details of this form of government can only be inferred (cf. Wilson; Gottwald, pp. 237-386), but in canonical terms the leadership role of Moses is predominant (cf. Beegle, pp. 65ff.; Childs, *Theology,* pp. 108-112; see Ex. 3:1ff.; 18:13ff.; 19:9ff.; 20:18-20; 32-34; Nu. 12:1ff.; Dt. 34:9-12).

The next major canonical section, the Former Prophets (Joshua–2 Kings [excluding Ruth]), also emphasizes the theocratic rule of God. Now that Moses was gone, Joshua assumed the role of his predecessor (Josh. 1:5-9, 16-18; 3:7f.; 4:14; 5:13-15; 8:30-35; 11:23). After Joshua's death Israel was led by a series of "judges" (*šôp^{e}ṭîm*), who were military deliverers divinely summoned to rescue the people from the very enemies into whose hand God had sold them in judgment (Jgs. 2:11-23). This particular form of theocracy was to be sharply distinguished from monarchy, which the famous judge Gideon rejected as an outright violation of Yahweh's own kingship (Jgs. 8:22f.). The subsequent disastrous reign of Abimelech, one of Gideon's sons who came to power by ruthlessly murdering all but one of his seventy brothers, only underscored this pronounced anti-monarchic tradition (Jgs. 9–10). Indeed, Abimelech's doomed experiment prompted one of the most negative assessments of kingship in the Bible: Jotham's parable of the trees (Jgs. 9:7-15; cf. Veijola, p. 103; Malamat).

But it would be facile to see biblical theocracy simply in anti-monarchic terms (cf. Dt. 17:14-20). In fact, while the main thrust of the book of Judges is decidedly anti-monarchic, chs. 17–21 present an opposite point of view, namely, that "law and order" in Israel will be nonexistent until a monarchy is established. This point is made by framing a narrative which reports outrageous misdeeds in Israel with the phrase: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes" (Jgs. 17:6; 21:25; cf. 18:1; 19:1). Similarly, the very next book sees the monarchy as inimical to Yahweh's sovereignty (1 S. 8:7), so that its establishment is the result of a compromise on God's part (1 S. 8:9, 22; 10:17-19; 12:12ff.), but at the same time Yahweh elects the new king and sanctions his rule (1 S. 9:1–10:16). Then, when the first king is pronounced a failure by Samuel (1 S. 13, 15), in-

stead of the monarchy itself being abolished, another, more suitable monarch is chosen (1 S. 13:14; 16:1-13). To be sure, the overall editorial viewpoint of the material found in the former Prophets — Deuteronomy through 2 Kings if the hypothesis of a "Deuteronomist" is correct (Noth) — is such that most of the kings are soundly condemned (even the great Solomon, 1 K. 11; cf. Dt. 17:14-20), and the kingship is regarded as a major disappointment for its inability to promote Yahweh's will in the society. But the monarchy per se is not condemned. Based on compromise or not, it has attained the status of the preferred theocratic form. Indeed, if a king obeys Torah he is superlatively commended (2 K. 23:24f.). Subsequently the monarchy is "eschatologized" and becomes the basis for predictions about the future messianic reign (e.g., Isa. 9:2-7 [MT 1-6]; 11:1-9).

The Chronicler (1, 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah) sees theocracy as a priestly kingdom in which Israel, after initial failure, is restored to the Torah way of life (Childs, *Intro.*, pp. 635f., 644). Chronicles proper depicts the political leaders as most solicitous of Torah, both in moral and liturgical issues, in a way which goes beyond even the presentations in the Former Prophets/"Deuteronomistic History" (e.g., 1 Ch. 15:1-24). When the kingship is destroyed by external forces, the new theocracy is run by priests and official interpreters of the law (Ezra and Nehemiah). In this postexilic situation, however, there is a shift in outlook, in that Israel has to learn to come to terms with being the "kingdom of God" *within* the non-Yahwistic kingdom(s) of this world.

But discussion of the biblical concept of theocracy cannot end here, for this concept is not unique to Israel. Virtually every state or empire in the ancient world also saw itself as a manifestation of the will and purposes of the divine world (Ishida, pp. 6ff.; Cross, pp. 217ff.; Albrektson, pp. 42f.; Mendenhall, pp. 188f.; Gottwald, pp. 591ff.). Without the relatively modern distinction between the sacred and the secular, all reality was collapsed into a single mode of existence: the sacred. In that sense all governments in antiquity were theocracies. Everything they did and everything they were, regardless of the social realm at issue, was "religious." Thus Yahweh's leading the Israelite slaves from Egyptian bondage did not constitute the abandonment of "secular" for "religious" government, but the substitution of one religio-political sphere (Egypt *and its gods*; cf. Ex. 5:2) for another (the kingdom Yahweh would found).

The biblical understanding of theocracy differs from the ancient Near Eastern understanding in the particular way the idea is construed. In the Bible it is clear that Yahweh's will may be manifested through virtually any conceivable socio-political form, though doubtless some forms and structures are more conducive than others to making the value system of the kingdom of God socially functional (Gottwald, pp. 608-649; Mendenhall, pp. 198ff.). In historical Israel there is evidence that some Israelites believed that nonmonarchic forms were preferable to monarchic ones, and vice versa, but in the canon this is relativized. God could work in and through the respective forms, but they were not to be reified and absolutized, so Yahweh may never be completely identified with any particular social form which Israel might have taken. Had the identification been complete, then logically Yahweh would have "disappeared" whenever the particular social form disappeared. But the prophets made it quite clear that Yahweh's existence was not tied to the ongoing existence of Israel in a given socio-political form.

One way of emphasizing Yahweh's transcendence of socio-political forms is the doctrine of the wrath and judgment of God, to which Israel itself was subject, perhaps especially so (Am. 3:2). Even for many Israelites this doctrine was most difficult to swallow, and the prophets who proclaimed this teaching were accordingly subjected to bitter denunciations and worse (Am. 7:10-17; Jer. 7; 18:18). It was one thing to grant God the "right" to issue judgment for covenant violation, but quite another to allow for the possibility that God could and would destroy the very community specially created by that very deity, only to resurrect it later in a completely new form.

After the demise of the Israelite state the notion of theocracy became more and more idealized and projected to the future, though there were always those who appealed to it to legitimate political aims and programs. In apocalyptic literature struggles between reigning temporal powers and the community of faith were seen in cosmic terms — one day these earthly powers would be abolished and by divine initiatives give way to the rule of God (Dnl. 7–12). In the meantime God's people were to realize that they were presently members of two opposing kingdoms, each of which could be given its due unless a conflict emerged, in which case God would have to be obeyed "rather than men" (cf. Mt. 22:21; Acts 5:29). Though earthly kingdoms are viewed as instituted by God and part of God's way of ruling this world (Rom. 13:1-7), the way they often manifest their power is regarded as the very epitome of evil and absolutely antithetical to God's rule (Isa. 14:1-27; Ezk. 28:1-23; Rev. 13).

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THEODOTION thē-ə-dō'shən. *See* SEPTUAGINT III.B.2.

THEODOTUS thē-od'ə-təs [Gk. *Theodotos*].

1. One of three ambassadors sent by the Syrian general Nicanor to Judas Maccabeus to make peace (2 Macc. 14:19).

2. An Aetolian (cf. Polybius v.81) whose plot to assassinate Ptolemy Philopator was foiled (3 Macc. 1:2f.).

THEOLOGY thē-äl'-ə-jē [< *théos*–'god' + *lógos*–'word']. "Theology" etymologically means "a word about God" (the term does not occur in the RSV, AV, or NEB). The God of Christian theology is the OT God, the Father of Jesus Christ, and the word is the divine Word which became flesh in Jesus Christ. Jesus, as witnessed to in the Holy Scriptures, is the revelation of all God's ways and works with humanity. Christian theology, therefore, is concerned not with human words and thoughts about a god, but with all God's creative and redemptive ways and works with humanity in Jesus Christ.

A first principle of Christian theology is that God alone can speak His own word about Himself. Consequently, the first and continuing task of Christian theology is to

listen to and then reflect upon what it hears. When this is faithfully done, Christian theology is the reflective and obedient response of the church to the Word that God speaks about Himself in Jesus Christ.

But theology is also concerned with human response to this Word spoken by God alone. The necessity for this concern is grounded in the nature of the Word of revelation.

God speaks His word in history, and thus His Word is a historical Word. Because it was spoken in the history of Israel, in the history of the primitive Church, and with ultimate finality in the historical person Jesus of Nazareth, the Word of God is always also a human word. The authentic humanity and the concrete historicity of Jesus Christ demand this. Thus the Word of God in both the Holy Scriptures and in Jesus Christ is, though on different levels, both a divine and a human word. Were this not so, the Bible would not call its contents the "faith" once for all delivered to the saints, and theology as the church's reflection upon its faith would not be possible.

Because the Church in obedience has listened to the many forms in which the Word of God has been spoken in history, theology has taken many forms in understanding and shaping these manifold forms of revelation. First, because God's Word about His ways and works with the nation of Israel, and through Israel with all humanity, came to expression in the history of the OT, theology took the form of OT theology. Second, because this ancient Word of God came to a new and full announcement in the person of Jesus Christ and in the apostolic interpretation of Him, a theology of the NT arose. Third, because the Word of God is inextricably incarnated with both the human mind and human actions, both in Jesus Christ and in His Body, the Church, theology in its reflections on the Word of God took the shape both of systematic theology and of practical theology. In practical theology the Church concerns itself with its own life, holding before itself the scriptural norm, seeking both its amendment of life to this norm, and the best pastoral means to fashion the life of the Church increasingly in accordance with the demands of its Shepherd and Lord. During the Church's life the concern of practical theology has developed into special concerns, e.g., theologies of missions, ethics, preaching, counseling, social ethics, and others.

In the early Church, and until quite late in the Middle Ages, theology was less a science to make truth clear to the human mind than a hymn of praise and a meditation on the glories and mysteries of the Christian faith. In the later Middle Ages theology more and more resembled a science in which the truths of faith were synthetically structured into a coherent and systematic whole; theology increasingly came to be regarded as almost synonymous with systematic theology.

Systematic theology subsequently declined into an abstract, deductivistic scholasticism by conceding too much to rationalistic demands, and ceasing to pursue its task within the limits of faith and within the actual life and work of the Church. It had an inordinate interest in system and ignored the elusive aspect of the divine Word that transcends any total capture, containment, and possession by a human system, as it does any human mind. Thus systematic theology became increasingly divorced from the living faith and life of the Church and from pastoral theology. As a result it lost the passion and praise that informed the theology of antiquity as it informs the theology of the Scriptures. To the degree that systematic theology separated itself from the life of the Church and surrendered to the law of logic and metaphysics, it ceased to be a liberating theology of God's grace and truth.

Few modern theologians have great interest in systematic theology, and even fewer attempt to construct one. Systematic theology declined under the weight of its sterile, metaphysical, and rational interests, and under the impact of the modern awareness of history, which indirectly created a new awareness that the biblical revelation is grounded in history. Theologians of the systematic tradition almost overlooked the fact that Christian truth is not a metaphysically necessary truth, but rather the free and gracious decision of a God who freely chose to create and redeem people in Jesus Christ. They forgot that Christian truth is true because it happened, and thus is essentially historical and therefore not wholly reducible to a rational, systematic framework that ignores its temporal and historical ingredients.

Contemporary theology is dominated by the claims of the historical and is preoccupied with the problems of faith and history. Because of its low view of Scripture contemporary theology is largely hermeneutics, which is defined as the task of understanding how a historical Jesus can be the eternal Word of God, or, as some would see it, how a historical truth can be universally valid and significant for all people and all times.

Theology in any of its legitimate forms, and systematic theology in particular, will not flourish until the Church attempts the more modest and yet more difficult task of constructing a systematic, rational presentation of the Word of God, which in its very nature is a *historical* disclosure of the truth about God's ways and works with people, since it not only came through history but is history. Christian truth is not irrational because it is historical. As historical, however, it no more coincides with any human system or human mind than does faith wholly coincide with reason.

This inherent historicity of Christian truth and the consequent necessity of faith for its apprehension determine that theology in none of its forms is a private individual pursuit. A committee cannot write theology, but neither can an individual standing outside the Church. Theology is the mind of the Church, which in faith reflects upon that faith once for all delivered to the saints. It can be pursued successfully, therefore, only by people of faith who stand within the Church's life, work, and long history of theological tradition. The theological work of the church is never done, for no theology is absolutely definitive. Each generation must do theology anew, but always with an ear to tradition, which carries into the present what the Church has done in the past, and with an eye to the future, knowing that what has been done will have to be done anew and afresh in the future.

Theology can accomplish a liberating service for the Church only if it resists the temptation to absolutize itself by identifying itself with the Word of God. True theology is the Church's word about God, which responds to and is controlled by the Word that God Himself has spoken in His self-revelation.

See also BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, HISTORY OF; BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, NATURE OF; JOHANNINE THEOLOGY; PAULINE THEOLOGY. J. DAANE

THEOPHANY the-of'ə-ni. An appearance of God to the human mind. This is not a biblical word. It derives from two Greek terms, *theós,* "god," and *phaínō,* "shine," "give light," but in the passive the verb means "appear," "be revealed." That the divine could and did reveal itself to humanity was generally accepted by both the Hellenistic world and the Near East during the centuries in which both the OT and the NT developed. But the OT and the NT interpretation of the word "theophany" differs pro-

foundly from this general view. In order to delineate the biblical view of theophany, it will be helpful to describe briefly this general view and its background.

I. Background
  A. Greek Thought
  B. Hebrew Thought
II. Theophany in the OT
III. Theophany in the NT

I. Background.–A. Greek Thought. The Greek view of reality had the greatest influence upon Near Eastern cultures, many of which accepted it as the norm. Once Alexander the Great had spread his empire as far east as the Indus Valley (*ca.* 326 B.C.), he settled his veteran warriors in numerous towns across the known world of the east. These Greek-speaking settlers became unwitting missionaries of Hellenic culture to the "barbarians," as the Greeks called other peoples, priding themselves on being the successors of the great Athenian philosophers, the most educated of all peoples.

Plato is the most influential philosopher, even to this day, and his ideas, with modifications, shaped the thought of the whole Roman empire. For Plato, reality comprised two parts, the world of ideals and the world of the actual. Consequently he had to separate heaven from earth, matter from spirit, and body from soul. In fact, some of his disciples made the equation (in Greek) *sōma sēma,* "the body is a tomb," the soul being virtually imprisoned in the material world of the senses.

Modern secularists accept Plato's separation but focus on this material world. They think that life on earth needs no hereafter to follow the natural span of human life and give it meaning. Plato's ideal world is of no concern to them. They are completely unaware that the biblical concept of human life and destiny has no relationship to Plato's. They quietly dismiss the biblical theophanies as mental experiences in high-strung individuals that the science of psychology can explain and explain away. For example, they have treated Ezekiel's strange experiences in this manner.

Before Plato's day the Greeks had come into contact with the Egyptians. They greatly admired the Egyptians's philosophy of life, regarding it as necessarily true because it was ancient! So sure were the Egyptians of their dualistic ways of thinking that they supposed that "the other world" was as real as this one. Their "Book of the Dead" is like a traveler's guide to the afterlife in the other world; people lived here only to die and go there. Plato developed the Egyptian view of life after death. After a period of retribution in Hades, he taught, the soul would be reborn, for "god" had created it immortal.

B. Hebrew Thought. Hebraic thinking dismisses such dualism, with all its consequences, not by arguing against it but by presenting a wholly different view of reality, for which there exists only (a) God, and (b) His creation. The Bible assumes that heaven and earth are one, matter and spirit are one, body and soul are one. Thus the biblical idea of theophany is not the same as that of pagan society, which supposed that the divine enters this life when it "comes" from the "other world." In fact, there cannot be another world in the sense that the Egyptians supposed. The author of Zec. 9:13, writing late in Israel's developing knowledge of God, uttered a truth greater than he knew: "I will brandish your sons, O Zion, over [the philosophical ideas of] your sons, O Greece."

We note with amazement the beliefs of Moses and the Hebrews once they had escaped from slavery in Egypt. Acts 7:22 states that Moses "was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." He must surely have read "The Book of the Dead," which we possess today. Yet in Exodus we find not a trace of any philosophy of a life after death. Nowhere in the OT do we find the idea of a soul temporarily inhabiting a body. The OT does not even have a word for "soul" in this Platonic and Egyptian (and modern Hindu) sense. In the OT a person is a *nepeš,* a total unity of personality. That the RSV, AV, etc. translate this Hebrew word by many different English words ought to restrain us from dogmatically stating what it means. It took centuries for the Hebraic understanding of the loving activities of God to break through the "Egyptian" impasse.

The OT regarded the human *nepeš* as the seat of all human emotions and appetites, both "spiritual" and "carnal" at once. "Like cold water to a thirsty soul [*nepeš*], so is "good news from a far country" (Prov. 25:25). "What he [lit. his *nepeš*] desires, that he does" (Job 23:13b). The word even stands for the "brain" (Ps. 139:14c, AV).

The biblical concept of personality can be expressed more carnally still. Adam is essentially *bāśār,* "flesh." He is made of the dust of the ground (Gen. 2:7), and to dust he must return (Ps. 90:3). So he is no *scintilla dei,* no spark of the divine, which is set within his body of clay and will return to its source when the body dies. In fact, even the various inner organs can represent the whole person. When he saw his beloved city of Jerusalem laid waste, the author of Lamentations could cry: "My liver is poured upon the earth" (the MT of Lam. 2:11b). Similarly when Jeremiah experiences what we would call "desolation of *spirit*" he exclaims: "My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart" (Jer. 4:19a, AV). Even the kidneys can convey a "spiritual" experience: "My kidneys [RSV soul] will rejoice when your lips speak what is right" (Prov. 23:16). Incidentally we should note at this point how misleading the translation of the RSV here can be for modern readers in employing the word "soul."

Space, time, and eternity are other concepts which, when used in the Bible, convey ideas quite different from those inherited from the Greeks, and which form the background of Western teaching. Unlike the gods of the Near East, who dwell either "in heaven" or on top of the "great mountain" in the far north, Yahweh "dwells," as the pictorial Hebraic mind puts it, *above* the heavens.

The Bible regards time and eternity as interrelated. Eternity overarches time as a complete rainbow that covers the earth. Once again, God does not "dwell" in eternity; He created eternity. Both Testaments in fact reveal this unity of time and eternity.

The Heb. *ʿaḏ ʿōlām* or *leʿōlām* means something that we find hard to grasp as the "Hellenists" that many of us are. *ʿŌlām* probably derives from a root meaning "hidden": so *mēʿōlām weʿaḏ ʿōlām* could mean "out of the hiddenness and into the hiddenness." That is why *ʿōlām* is sometimes translated as "ancient" (i.e., in the past) and sometimes as "for ever" (i.e., in the hidden future). With a negative added, it can mean "never" (e.g., Ps. 104:5). At Gen. 9:16, where reference is made to God's overarching covenant with humanity, the covenant is called God's *bᵉrîṯ ʿōlām* ("everlasting covenant"). That is, since God is the living God, and is the same yesterday, today, and "for ever," the covenant is valid into the unknown future but also "up" into eternity. The implication is that what God does with us on earth is significant for all eternity. Any promise or word of God, spoken within time and space, belongs in eternity, and so has reference to both "now" and "then."

We can visualize this reality if we return to *God's* chosen picture of the rainbow as a sign of His everlasting covenant. A perfect bow may remain overhead covering as much of the earth as we can see in space and time. This

pictures for us how any earthly word or act of ours is equally present to the "heavenly" bow. Today we might say that whatever we do on earth is simultaneously valid for all eternity, or is "eschatologically significant." The Bible prefers to use not abstract but picture language to witness to the truth.

God's relationship to His "own possession" (Ex. 19:5) was unique. He was their Savior, Redeemer, Justifier. He justified them by forgiving them their sin, basically that of rebellion against the bonds of the covenant: "Fear not, for I have redeemed you . . . you are mine . . . your Savior . . . and I love you" (Isa. 43:1-4). By grace alone Israel was taught to see life as God sees it. Hence it no longer presupposed a natural, phenomenological division between this world and the other world, or between body and soul. Rather, it became assured that this world, or the reality that we experience now, is but one side of the coin of the total wholeness of God's creation. Israel learned this, not by "scientific" discovery, but by learning from God to see things with redeemed eyes, such as no other people possesses.

Israel thus discovered that certain awesome and even terrifying natural events are actually more than natural, but without being legendary or mythical. We ask, then, in what sense Israel recognized a theophany, and whether it could regard a theophany as an inbreaking of the divine into human experience.

II. Theophany in the OT.–Can the divine enter human consciousness? The answer lies in the biblical use of the concept of "sign," an idea native to Hebraic thinking while unknown to Platonic. God is not part of "the other world" who, from time to time, breaks into this one. He is Creator of both this world and "the other world," for they are one, even as a coin with two sides is one coin. Thus a biblical theophany has nothing to do with necromancy, spiritualism, second sight, the occult, sorcery, etc. For God emphasized to Moses: "you cannot see my face; for man shall not see me and live" (Ex. 33:20). But, adds the Lord, "you shall see my back" (33:23), the outward and visible sign that I have been present with you. A physical sign can thus point to a reality that humanity cannot grasp or understand. The OT expressed the mystery of the language of the "sign" by use of the verbal root *pl'*.

Genesis 18:1 ("And the Lord appeared to him [Abraham] by the oaks of Mamre") reads like a theophany sufficient to defy modern imagination. But we go on to read that in fact Abraham saw three men. These three thereupon addressed Abraham *as if* they were the Lord Himself! (v. 10). The Lord (sing.) then put a question: "Is anything too hard [RSV *mg.*, "wonderful," from the root *pl'*] for the Lord?" (v. 14). The form of the verb here is difficult to translate till we try to think it and "see" it as the Hebrews did. For it means something like "beyond our human capacity to grasp and understand." These three men had "appeared" to Abraham as a "sign" of the appearance or presence of the Lord. Even though they conveyed His Word, they were certainly not the Lord Himself.

In a similar situation Manoah (Jgs. 13:2-24) was faced with "an angel of the Lord," whose name was "wonderful," *pele'* (v. 18). Finally he said to his wife, "We shall surely die, for we have seen God" (v. 32). But they did not die; they had seen only a "sign" of God.

In a word, the OT regards its own theophanies in terms of the idea of "sacrament." Hence K. H. Miskotte could speak of the "presence of the absence" (e.g., pp. 94, 257-264). (See Ballentine, p. 172; Kuntz.) The theophanies of the OT are to be understood in this sense. None is a total revelation of God Himself. At Mt. Sinai Moses "heard" God say: "Man shall not see me and live" (Ex. 33:20). Yet Moses had also "heard" God's promise: "But [*kî*, meaning 'I declare that . . .'] I will be with you" (3:12). Then God continued: "This shall be the *sign* for you . . . you shall serve God upon this mountain." God was indeed present at Mt. Sinai, He did indeed "appear" to Moses, but always in terms of (a) a sign, and (b) through the sound of His word. At Ex. 3:2 we read: "The angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire," yet it was God Himself who called to him out of the bush (v. 4). A theophany therefore could indeed occur through the medium of sight — in this case, by means of the burning bush — but it did not present a view of God Himself. The Word came to Abraham through the "sign" of the three men. Through them he heard the word: "Is anything too hard for the Lord?" Similarly, Jacob "wrestled" all night with a "man" — we note again the Hebraic genius for describing a religious experience in picture form. Along with this "man," a remarkable sign of God's presence, Jacob *heard* God ask his name. The theophany ends with Jacob exclaiming: "For [*kî*, "I declare that"] I have seen God face to face" — yet, of course, only through the sign of a human being (Gen. 32:24-30).

A vitally important theophany is thus the name of God. God Himself actually revealed His name to Moses as I AM. As we have noted, Moses did not "see" God at this point, though he "heard" Him (Ex. 3:12-15; 6:2f.). But he saw God's back, so to speak. He saw God through the historical situation that had been promised him as the sign of God's presence. God had now kept His promise to bring His people out of Egypt: "This shall be the sign for you . . . you shall serve God upon this mountain." Moses had now seen the Word become fact.

From Moses onward the tabernacle that housed the ark was recognized as the specific place where God "abode" in Israel's midst. But over the ark hovered two cherubim (Ex. 25:18-20), the tips of their wings touching above it. Their task was to preserve the holiness of the divine presence from human sight (cf. Gen. 3:24 and Ezk. 28:14). Before the cherubim was placed the so-called bread of the Presence (AV "shew bread"; Heb. *leḥem pānîm*, lit. "bread of the face"). The face of God, yes, but of God Himself it was said: "Truly, thou art a God who hidest thyself"; yet He is in fact the Savior even when hidden from mortal eyes (Isa. 45:15). For God's saving work belongs in the category: "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways" (Isa. 55:8).

The NT recognizes the importance of Elijah as the prophet who received a theophany, not, however, through the "great and strong wind that rent the mountains, and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord," nor did he "see" God in the fire. What Elijah received in a special "presence" of God was conveyed to him in a still small voice (1 K. 19:11f.; Lk. 9:28-36).

If either Moses or Elijah had supposed he had actually "seen" God, because of his sinful human nature he would at once have created in his mind a picture of a "graven image" (Ex. 20:4; cf. Ezk. 33:32), for the sinful human creature cannot possibly envisage the powerful majesty and astonishing (cf. *pele'*) beauty of the all-holy God.

One aspect of the freedom of God, showing that He is not bound to employ any particular spiritual or physical means as a sign of His presence, is that at times He uses fire or thunder and lightning to reveal His presence, and that at times He uses His Spirit, but all of them only as signs of His theophanic revelation of Himself.

The ten so-called great plagues that befell the Egyptians, called in the OT "God's mighty acts," were in fact "signs and portents" of God's infinite might and power,

focused here upon certain moments in history to reveal that God's redemptive love was as infinite as His might, that His might was at the same time His mighty love.

Thus says the Lord is one of the basic utterances of the great prophets. Yet it is not an accurate translation of the original Hebrew (*kōh 'āmar YHWH*), which should be rendered: "thus the Lord has said." He has said it once and for all at Sinai. The prophets simply refer back to that once-and-for-all revealed Word of God given to Moses, and then apply it to the new contemporary situation. Such is the usage of Amos, Isaiah, Habakkuk, or Zephaniah. Thus Habakkuk can say: "I will take my stand to watch, and station myself on the tower, and look forth to see what he will say to *me*" (Hab. 2:1). Thereupon there follows an overwhelmingly powerful "theophany" (Hab. 2:2-5; 3:1-15), a "visitation" from the living God. Habakkuk had "heard the report of thee" from the written record of God's theophany at Egypt and Sinai. On the basis of the once-and-for-all-ness of God's terrible redemptive presence, he now "watched" the judgment and mercy of God "coming" to his contemporary people. A theophany, it seems, can express itself to minds prepared by God to receive it in terms not of direct revelation but of signs and wonders.

Ezekiel's strange visions of "wheels within wheels" occur to him in dreams or visions. Whether he is asleep or awake it is difficult to say. But these visions are not theophanies in the sense that they reveal God at the same level as the word "Thus says (or has said) the Lord." In his book he can say "The word of the Lord came to me" (7:1); but he also says: "The hand of the Lord was [lit. "fell"] upon me, and he brought me." God spoke not to his "soul" but to his whole *nepeš*, body, soul, and spirit (37:1). Ezekiel's visions reveal what Moses had discovered already, that he could behold only the Lord's back. He could not see God Himself, yet he was allowed to grasp what God had done, or was about to do, as the result of His Word uttered in history. Thus in his inaugural vision Ezekiel was careful to say, "there was the *likeness* of a throne," not a throne itself, "in appearance *like* sapphire," not composed of sapphire, "a *likeness, as it were* of a human form" (1:26). This is the kind of language that John the "Seer" used in Revelation. Moreover, both Mk. 13 and Revelation could interpret the advent only through signs and wonders. Hence the "desolating sacrilege" could be a sign at any point in history, in 587 B.C. at the destruction of Jerusalem, in the days of Antiochus at the desecration of the temple, in A.D. 70 when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem, or any other (cf. Lk. 17:31).

III. Theophany in the NT.—We should keep in mind this distinctly Hebraic (not Platonic) awareness of God's chosen means of revealing His mind and purpose when we hear it from the lips of Jesus. Mk. 13 has constantly been misinterpreted by those whose "world view" is based upon the Greek classics. Too often Jesus' apocalyptic pictures have been rejected as "un-Christlike" (!) by scholars who have used *eisegesis* instead of *exegesis* as they have searched the various sections of this chapter for anything and everything except the OT revelation that has been delivered once-and-for-all in the days of Moses.

This chapter is classed as belonging to the category of "apocalyptic." It is sometimes said that it uses apocalyptic language to describe a theophany that has not yet come about. But that would be to describe it in terms of a Platonic view of time. the God of the Bible is the living God; He is the same yesterday, today, and "for ever." He is thus the same for eternity as He is for time. Any theophany of such a God, therefore, evidences how every moment of time as humanity knows it is related to eternity. Jesus puts this reality in picture terms at Mt. 18:10; 25:31-46, in close conformity with the OT manner of expressing truth. Some scholars rightly recognize why Jesus saw no period of time between His coming death and resurrection on the one hand, and the parousia on the other. This is where the Fourth Gospel, "the Gospel of the resurrected Jesus," helps us understand the truth of the matter; for John's Gospel is deeply rooted in the Hebraic understanding of such ideas as theophany, apocalyptic, and eschatology in terms of the OT usage of "signs."

Thus we gather from Jn. 14:3 that Jesus regards the death of individual believers as taking place at the same moment as what we call "the end of the world." He can do so because the rainbow arc of Gen. 9 is equally above and over all the moments in time at which the deaths of all of us occur. This means that in some sense our death becomes a kind of theophany intended for us alone (see, e.g., A. Schweitzer, *QHJ*, p. 387; C. K. Barrett, *Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition* [1947], p. 154; J. Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus* [Eng. tr., rev. ed. 1972], pp. 43f., 55).

Recognizing the danger of isolating any NT passage from Hebraic thought, G. R. Beasley-Murray studied the issues involved carefully and then gave full place to the OT background of Mk. 13 in the mind of Christ (*Comm. on Mk. 13* [1957]). Jesus did not "foretell" the future, any more than did the OT prophets. Like Ezekiel in ch. 6, He could paint an intolerable picture of the "coming" destruction of the Holy City. Ezekiel also depicted people fleeing from the wrath of God as He turns their land into desolation and waste. Mk. 13 makes use of actual words and phrases from Ezekiel and other prophets, though the Hebrew terms appear in the corresponding Greek of the LXX. Jesus recognized that the overarching rainbow always lies over human affairs. Jerusalem will indeed fall, and that soon. But then wicked cities have always fallen and will always fall, and nations will always rise against nations, and there will always be earthquakes, famines, and troubles: "This is but the beginning of the sufferings" (Mk. 13:7f., RSV 1st ed. 1946). Wars and rumors of wars will always be a feature of human life.

Jesus was hailed by His disciples as Son of God, not as a prophet foretelling the future. Paradoxically, however, He was so because He recognized Himself to be Son of man. By this title He revealed that He knew Himself to be "Son of Adam," humanity, made in the image of God as male and female before the fall in the Garden. As such, He was "sinless man." The word "image" in Gen. 1:26 is important, for Jesus was not directly claiming to be God, He was the *image*, the ultimate "sign" of God. Because He was such, His words would not pass away (Mk. 13:31). He could say as much, knowing that from the beginning God had chosen to reveal Himself in theophany after theophany through the utterance of His Word. But now, as He knew, the Word had become flesh in Himself. By clinging to the title Son of man He was emphasizing that "of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father" (v. 32).

At His baptism Jesus "was praying" when He saw the heavens opened. Two events followed, in association with each other, as we would expect: first, the descent of the Holy Spirit, and second a voice from heaven. Mt. 3:16 records that "he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and alighting on him." Mk. 1:10 merely says: "He saw the heavens opened . . . like a dove." At Jn. 1:32 *John the Baptist* reported that he "saw the Spirit descend

as a dove." Clearly the Evangelists are struggling to express the reality that in this theophany the God of Moses, who is the utterly other One, through His Spirit entering space and time and uniting with one particular human consciousness, became in fact "bodily" united with Jesus, in that He was not a mere soul or mind but a whole human *nepeš*. What this theophany was revealing, then, was not God as He is in Himself, but God in the reality of His incarnation in Jesus (cf. Jn. 1:14).

When, at the Last Supper, Jesus broke the bread that was set "before his face," and said, "This is my body" (Mt. 26:26 par.), His disciples would see at once that the bread He held in His hand was not to be identified with His physical body; rather it was a sign of who Jesus was and what He was accomplishing through the cross even while who He Himself was remained hidden, just as God the Father remains hidden from mortal eyes. Thus His action at the Last Supper was but a continuation of what He did from the beginning, when, as John says, He turned the water into wine as a "sign" of His glory (Jn. 2:11).

That a sign was always central to a theophany even of Jesus we observe in the story of the Transfiguration (Lk. 9:28-36). There three disciples, who were already in the fellowship of God's covenant, saw not God-in-Christ but the appearance, *tó eídos*, of His face. His raiment had become dazzling white, not its wearer. "They saw his glory." But the OT frequently uses "glory" as a picture term for God's "outer garment," not for God Himself.

Paul experienced a theophany, which Acts records several times (Acts 9:3; 22:6; 26:13), when "a light from heaven flashed about him." Those who were with him heard the accompanying voice, but the theophany was given to Paul alone. This is possibly the commonest theophany granted to men and women down the centuries and known even in today's secular world. Peter in prison had a similar experience (Acts 12:7). The "words" of interpretation come through a messenger (or angel) of God, acting as a "sign" of God's presence. Like Moses in Ex. 33:11, we notice that Peter did not *see* God. What he saw was a sign of God's presence.

Finally, what about the Resurrection appearances? In explicit agreement with the OT we point to four realities about these. (a) Nowhere is it suggested that the risen Christ is merely "spirit," a soul that has survived death. Platonists and Hindus might take this view, arguing that we must relate the stories to contemporary Jewish thought-forms in the 1st cent. A.D., but interpret them differently today. But we dare not negate the whole Hebraic view of the oneness and wholeness of the human *nepeš* and declare it to be outdated. This Hebraic view would never agree that an entity such as a soul could exist without a body (1 Cor. 15:35-44).

(b) Even the risen Christ is not a direct theophany of the living God, despite Thomas's unpremeditated exclamation "My Lord and my God." Jesus was still other than God the Father (Jn. 20:17). It is in Him that we see the Father (14:9).

(c) While only a sinless and therefore a holy Son of man could ever reveal the nature of God within space and time, even the resurrected Christ made use of the material body to reveal God.

(d) A "Platonic" resurrection of the "soul" of Christ has nothing to say about the nature of God Himself. On the Emmaus road (Lk. 24:10-13) the risen Christ has to interpret the heart of the biblical revelation to the two unnamed disciples by asserting that a revelation, a theophany, of God could not be complete without reference to the cross (vv. 25-27). The cross epitomizes the sufferings of the Christ that were "necessary" before He could enter into His glory, i.e., before He could fully reveal that at the heart of the universe there burns unquenchable fire, a fire of indescribable love (Dt. 4:12, 24; Hos. 11:1-4, 8f.; Isa. 33:14; 43:1-3; Lk. 3:16). The biblical idea of theophany requires a revelation of the very heart of God, both by the hearing of the Word and by an action that can reveal that heart only by signs and wonders. These conceal, just as much as they reveal, what we try in human terms to express as the unsearchable riches of God.

See also SIGN.

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G. A. F. KNIGHT

THEOPHILUS [Gk. *Theóphilos*–'loved of God' (Lk. 1:3; Acts 1:1)]. The one to whom both volumes of the work Luke-Acts are addressed.

The meaning of the name has led some to argue that Theophilus was not a specific individual but any "friend of God" who might have occasion to read the two accounts. According to this understanding, Luke and Acts would have been written to Christian men and women who desired to have a more detailed and orderly account (cf. Lk. 1:3) about Jesus Christ and the origin of the Church. The application of the honorific "most excellent" (Lk. 1:3) to Theophilus, however, makes it more likely that the author is addressing a particular person.

Luke's use of "most excellent" in Acts (applied to the procurator Felix in 23:26 and 24:2; to his successor Festus in 26:25) suggests that Theophilus was a Roman official, or at least a person of some significant social standing. There is evidence that Luke composed his work partially to prove that neither Jesus nor his followers were politically dangerous to the Roman government (see Kümmel, pp. 162f.; Martin, II, pp. 60f.). Some have concluded from this evidence that Theophilus was the magistrate who heard Paul's case in Rome and that Acts was a legal brief in Paul's defense. B. H. Streeter (pp. 535-39) argued that Theophilus was the pseudonym for Titus Flavius Clemens, the cousin of the emperor Domitian, who was a likely inquirer into Christianity and who might have been especially concerned about rumors that this new faith was subversive. These last two views go well beyond the evidence, however, and are best left aside.

The question of whether Theophilus was a Christian continues to be disputed. To some degree the resolution of this question depends upon the proper translation of Lk. 1:4, specifically the verb *katēchēthēs*, which may refer to false information (as in Acts 21:21, 24) or to religious instruction (as in Acts 18:25). The verse may mean either "so that you may know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed" (RSV) or "so that you may learn how well founded the teaching is that you have received" (cf. JB).

The former translation is consistent with an understanding of Theophilus as a non-Christian Roman official concerned about the political effects of the new faith. According to this view, Theophilus would have gotten some information about Jesus and His followers ("the things

of which you have been informed"), perhaps not all of it positive. Luke's purpose in such a case would have been to win him over to a more favorable view of Christianity ("that you may know the truth"), perhaps even to faith.

The latter translation of Lk. 1:4 assumes that Theophilus was a Christian who had received some instruction in the faith ("the teaching"). Luke's purpose in this case would have been to offer more extensive and detailed catechetical instruction. In this scenario Theophilus might have been a Roman official who had already embraced the Christian message or even simply a Christian middle-class Roman citizen who gave Luke the oportunity to write a complete account of Jesus and the early Church.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine which understanding is more likely since the evidence makes good sense from either perspective. It must be enough to say that Theophilus was probably a Roman citizen of some stature who was interested in the events surrounding the beginning of the Church. Such interest, whether that of a Christian or curious pagan, was enough to motivate Luke to pen his two-volume work.

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T. E. PROVENCE

THERAS thûr'əs [Gk. Apoc. *Theras*]. The name of a canal in Mesopotamia where Ezra assembled the Jewish exiles returning to Jerusalem in 428 B.C. (1 Esd. 8:41, 61 [LXX 60]). The canal is probably named after an otherwise unknown town situated somewhere on the banks of the canal. D. J. A. Clines suggested it to be the classical site Scenae, an important caravan junction near Babylon (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* [*NCBC*, 1984], p. 109). Elsewhere it is referred to as AHAVA (Ezr. 8:15, 21, 31).

J. P. J. OLIVIER

THERMELETH thûr'-mə-leth (AV, NEB, 1 Esd. 5:36). *See* TEL-MELAH.

THESSALONIANS thes-ə-lō'-nē-ənz, **FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.**

I. Historical Background
  A. Founding of the Church
  B. Occasion of the Epistle
II. Contents
  A. Outline
  B. Doctrinal Teaching
III. Authenticity
  A. External Attestation
  B. Internal Attestation
  C. Time and Place
  D. Critical Theories
IV. Evaluation

I. Historical Background.–With the possible exception of Galatians, 1 Thessalonians is the earliest of Paul's extant epistles. It was written during Paul's second missionary journey, which took him into Europe after revisiting the churches of Asia Minor. The Epistle is part of the correspondence that Paul maintained with the church after leaving Macedonia for Achaia.

A. Founding of the Church. Paul opened his campaign in Macedonia at Philippi, where he and Silas were arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of activities subversive to Roman rule (Acts 16:11-40). Upon release, Paul and his companions traveled west through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica, where he preached on three sabbaths in the Jewish synagogue (17:1-3). His work was rewarded with some Jewish converts, but most who responded to his message were Greek proselytes (v. 4). The Jewish population, jealous of Paul's success, enlisted the aid of the idle rabble of the streets and attacked the house of Jason, his host, in an attempt to capture Paul for trial before the popular assembly (v. 5). Failing to apprehend him, they dragged Jason and some other Christians before the city officials, accusing them of harboring potential rebels against Caesar, because Paul proclaimed that Jesus was a king (vv. 6f.). The magistrates of the city (Gk. *politárchēs*) exacted a bond from Jason and his fellow believers for the good behavior of Paul and his party and then released them. Rather than risk further trouble with the authorities, the Christians sent Paul and Silas away to Beroea. When the hostile Jews pursued them, Paul went to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy to complete the work in Macedonia.

The Lukan narrative of Acts 17:1-10 is confirmed by allusions within 1 Thessalonians. Paul referred to his painful experience at Philippi (1 Thess. 2:2) and to his subsequent sojourn at Athens (3:1). His exhortation that the recipients of the Epistle greet *all* the brethen and that it be read to *all* (5:26f.), accords with Luke's implication that there were varied social strata in the church that could easily develop into factions. Paul endeavored to avert discord by ministering equally to all the people.

B. Occasion of the Epistle. 1 Thessalonians was written after Silas and Timothy had rejoined Paul (1 Thess. 3:1f.) at Corinth (Acts 18:5). The allusion to Timothy (1 Thess. 3:1f.) may indicate that Timothy visited Paul at Athens during his brief stay there, and that Paul, apprehensive for the safety of the Thessalonian church, had sent Timothy back to encourage them. When Timothy and Silas subsequently brought to Corinth the report that the Thessalonians were strong in faith and that they were making favorable progress (3:6f.), Paul was stimulated to new effort (Acts 18:5). He wrote this Epistle to defend himself against enemies who spread false rumors and to answer the queries of the Thessalonian Christians. His experience with the opposition of the Jews in Corinth, terminating in his expulsion from the synagogue, may well have been the reason for his strong condemnation of them in 1 Thess. 2:14-16. The controversy over the law that had plagued the churches of Galatia had not affected the churches of Macedonia, but Paul's Jewish adversaries had accused him of being a heretic, a deceiver, and a religious adventurer who made a living by victimizing an ignorant public.

II. Contents.–*A. Outline.*

I. Salutation (1:1)
II. Personal Relations (1:2–3:13)
  A. Response of the Church (1:2–10)
  B. Pauline Ministry (2:1–3:13)
III. Church Problems (4:1–5:11)
  A. Moral Irregularities (4:1–8)
  B. Brotherly Love (4:9–12)
  C. State of the Dead (4:13–18)
  D. Day of the Lord (5:1–11)
IV. Concluding Exhortations (5:12–28)

After the initial salutation the Epistle divides naturally into three parts: (1) Paul's personal defense against the accusations of his enemies (1:2–3:13), (2) the topics of ethical or doctrinal interest that relate to current problems in the Thessalonian church (4:1–5:11), and (3) the final exhortations (5:12-28). Probably the first section deals with Paul's reply to Timothy's oral report of the status of the church, the second section with the specific questions raised by the memorandum or letter that Timothy brought

with him, and the third section with the general duties of the leaders whose presence is indicated in 5:12.

B. Doctrinal Teaching. A wealth of doctrinal material fills this Epistle despite its brevity. Although not primarily a theological treatise, it contains allusions to almost every cardinal truth of the Christian faith. It predicates one living and true God (1:9), the Father (1:3), who has loved humanity (1:4) and has revealed Himself to them in His Word (2:13). This Word concerned His Son, the Lord Jesus Christ (1:3, 8, 10), who died and rose again (4:14) for our salvation (5:9f.). The ministry of the Holy Spirit is recognized as imparting joy, authoritative truth, and prophetic wisdom (1:6; 4:8; 5:19). Santification or holiness of life is required of every believer (4:3f.; 5:23). The greatest single doctrinal emphasis concerns the return of Christ, which is mentioned in every chapter (1:10; 2:19; 3:13; 4:13-18; 5:23).

The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith is not discussed in this letter, but the frequent allusions to "the gospel" presuppose that Paul had preached in Thessalonica the same message that he proclaimed elsewhere. Like his other letters, 1 Thessalonians is designed primarily as a treatment of the issue of the moment rather than as a general theological treatise. The totality of the Christian message is contained in the gospel preached by Paul and his associates (1:5; 2:2-4, 8f.; 3:2).

III. Authenticity.–Except for the Tübingen school of German criticism, which flourished in the first half of the 19th cent., no one has seriously challenged the Pauline authorship of 1 Thessalonians. F. C. Baur contended that the Epistle was not genuine because it contains anachronisms, i.e., it reflects a stage in the church's growth that demands a longer time for development than the few weeks that elapsed between Paul's entrance to Thessalonica and the traditional date of writing. Baur also raised the objection that the Epistle represents the opposition to Paul as emanating from the Jews, whereas the other Epistles indicate that Judaizing Christians were his chief adversaries.

Against Baur's first contention, the interval between Paul's departure from Thessalonica and the writing of the letter may well have occupied several months rather than a few weeks, since the missions to Beroea and Athens intervened, and since time must be allowed for the journeys of Silvanus and Timothy. Paul spent eighteen months in Corinth, and even if the letter was written in the first third of his sojourn there, six months could easily have elapsed between his departure from Thessalonica and the composition of this letter. That interval would have provided ample opportunity for the church to grow and for its reputation to spread through Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 1:8).

Baur's objection to the character of the opposition is invalid because there is exact accord between the Epistle and Luke's narrative in Acts 17. Legalism was not the chief problem in Thessalonica, nor had it ever been an issue in the Macedonian churches as it was in Galatia. Apparently the Judaizing element that was powerful in Antioch and the East had not at this time penetrated the West.

A subsequent critic, R. M. Hawkins, has rejected certain paragraphs of 1 Thessalonians (1:10; 2:14-16; 4:13-18; 5:1-10) because they are apocalyptic (*Recovery of the Historical Paul* [1943], p. 292). But such a judgment is too sweeping and arbitrary, for Paul was familiar with the apocalyptic writings of the OT and probably also with those of contemporary Judaism. His use of apocalyptic is not abnormal, especially in a context dealing with eschatology.

A. External Attestation. Echoes of the phraseology of 1 Thessalonians occur in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, although these cannot be identified as absolute quotations. Ignatius may have referred to 1 Thess. 2:4 in Ign. Rom. 2:1 and to 5:17 in Ign. Eph. 10:1. The Shepherd of Hermas possibly alludes to 1 Thess. 5:13f. in Vis. 3:9:2. The correspondence of these passages is precarious, however. Solid evidence is provided by the inclusion of 1 Thessalonians in the Canon of Marcion (*ca.* A.D. 140) and in the Muratorian Canon (*ca.* 180). Irenaeus (A.D. 180) quoted the Epistle by name, and by 200 it was universally recognized as a part of the Pauline collection. Origen (250) and Eusebius (350) listed it among the undisputed books of the NT.

B. Internal Attestation. 1 Thessalonians definitely claims to have been written by Paul (1:1; 2:18). Silas and Timothy, the men associated with him in the authorship, are known to have accompanied him on his second journey (Acts 15:40; 16:19; 17:10, 14; 18:5). Moreover, the occasional personal allusions in the letter agree with what is known of Paul's career at this time. He was acquainted with public opinion in Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 1:6-8); he had encountered opposition at Philippi (2:2); the Jews had been antagonistic throughout the ministry of this journey (2:14-16); he had recently visited Athens (3:1). The references to moral problems and to the Lord's coming may reflect in some degree the predominance of these questions at Corinth where presumably he was writing.

Internal attestations to authenticity also include the vocabulary, which is Pauline. W. Hendriksen (p. 20) pointed out that more than four-fifths of the words used in 1 Thessalonians occur in the four major epistles, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. If the Prison Epistles are included in the indisputably genuine group, almost nine-tenths of the vocabulary coincides.

The close accord with Paul's known activities and personality, plus the general acceptance within the early Church of the Epistle's genuineness, removes any reasonable doubt concerning the Pauline authorship of this Epistle. Forgery is inconceivable; had some anonymous writer been trying to imitate Paul, he would not have represented him as anticipating the Parousia of Christ if the apostle were already dead. The unstudied directness of the Epistle, its numerous coincidences with the life of Paul recorded in Acts, and its general agreement with his doctrinal teachings preclude pseudonymity.

C. Time and Place. The date of 1 Thessalonians can be determined with fair accuracy. An inscription discovered in Delphi in 1909 contains a letter from Claudius to Gallio, before whom Paul was arraigned in Corinth; it dates the proconsulship of Gallio to the twelfth year of Claudius's tribunicial power and before the latter's twenty-seventh acclamation in August, A.D. 52. Since proconsuls usually assumed office in the summer, Gallio probably began his term in midsummer of 51, for he must have held his position for some time prior to the date of the inscription. Just when Paul appeared before him is not stated, but Acts 18:12-18 implies that Gallio's succession took place near the end of Paul's eighteen-month stay in Corinth. 1 Thessalonians was written shortly after his arrival in the city, so that it should probably be dated not later than 51, although some, like Goodspeed (*Intro. to the NT* [1937], p. 11), have believed that 50 is correct. Knowing that Silas and Timothy met Paul at Corinth after their ministry in Macedonia (Acts 18:5), and that they shared in writing 1 Thessalonians, one may conclude that the Epistle was written in the early part of Paul's residence at Corinth, before its church had been completely established.

D. Critical Theories. Concerning the composition of

1 Thessalonians C. Faw (*JBL*, 71 [1952], 217-225) contended that the Gk. phrase *perí dé* ("concerning, as to"), which in 4:9, 13; 5:1 introduces the topics in didactic sections, is used in 1 Corinthians (7:25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1) to introduce replies to definite questions asked by a letter (7:1); this same pattern in 1 Thessalonians should imply the same procedure (the theory of a letter from the Thessalonian church did not originate with Faw, for R. Harris had proposed substantially the same hypothesis more than half a century earlier [*Expos.*, 5th ser., 8 (1898), 157-178], although Faw made a somewhat better case than Harris did). Faw remarked that these topics are inserted abruptly, with little connection between them. One did not originate from the other immediately before it but must have been prompted by an external question. In one or two instances Paul was reluctant to make pronouncements on the subject (1 Thess. 4:9; 5:1). If so, why should he have raised it at all unless the Thessalonians required it?

Faw's hypothesis, however, does not affect authorship or genuineness of the Epistle, but only its format. The similarity with the form of 1 Corinthians does not necessarily prove the theory, although it is plausible. 1 Thessalonians does not directly mention a letter as 1 Corinthians does, and perhaps Timothy simply brought a memorandum to which he referred when he made his report to Paul. A. Plummer found no clear indication that the Thessalonians had written to the apostle before Timothy was sent back to Corinth, or that they had transmitted a letter to Paul through him (p. xviii).

IV. Evaluation–1 Thessalonians is an excellent example of apostolic teaching during the first generation of the Christian Church, less than twenty-five years after the beginning of Jesus' ministry. It not only affirms that Jesus' death and resurrection constitute the core of the gospel, but it also indicates that the eschatological expectation of His return was the hope of the Church. In the light of this expectation the new ethic of Christianity was formulated; idolatry, sexual promiscuity, idleness, and the hopelessness of death were abandoned. The hope of Christ's return was a powerful incentive to holiness. The eschatological teaching is important because it is the one explicit source in the NT, in conjunction with 1 Cor. 15, that deals with the translation of the living believers at the return of Christ, and because it marks the beginning of a new dynamic and philosophy in the Hellenistic world.

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M. C. TENNEY

THESSALONIANS thes-ə-lō'nē-ənz, **SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.**

I. Relation Between 1 and 2 Thessalonians
II. Content
  A. Outline
  B. Doctrinal Teaching
III. Authenticity
  A. External Attestation
  B. Internal Attestation
  C. Time and Place
  D. Critical Theories
IV. Evaluation

I. Relation Between 1 and 2 Thessalonians.–The interval between the writing of 1 and 2 Thessalonians must have been rather short, for the Second Epistle does not presuppose any major changes in the inner constitution of the Thessalonian church nor in the conditions under which Paul was writing. Silas and Timothy were still with him, and since his companions were usually traveling constantly, both Epistles must have been written between missions.

The letter was apparently evoked by alarm on the part of the Thessalonian Christians, who had been informed that the day of the Lord had already arrived. They thought that the tribulation had begun, and that the Lord Himself would soon appear. The agitators who had confused them appealed for authority either to the utterances of inspired prophets within the church, or to some phrases from Paul's writings, or possibly to a forged epistle (2 Thess. 2:1f.). Some of the church members who expected the Lord's momentary return had stopped working and depended on others to supply them with the necessities of life (3:11f.). The church was uncertain of its position because of inexperience and needed reassurance in order to cope with the opposition of pagan culture and with the doubts aroused by erratic interpretation (2:15). Firm discipline was needed to keep the disobedient and lazy from disrupting the community life (3:13-15).

II. Content.–The Second Epistle, in giving the signs that should precede the day of the Lord, is more detailed than the First in its eschatological statements. Evidently the Thessalonians had not retained a clear concept of Paul's initial teaching (2:5), and consequently they were bewildered when confronted by a different doctrine. Paul encouraged them to adhere to the norm of faith embodied in the gospel (1:8), which he had imparted while present with them, or in the "traditions" (2:15; 3:6) incorporated into the Epistle(s) that he had written (3:14).

A. Outline.

I. Salutation (1:1f.)
II. Encouragement for the Church (1:3-12)
  A. Praise for Progress (1:3f.)
  B. Promise of the Lord's Return (1:5-10)
  C. Prayer for the Church (1:11f.)
III. Correction of Misunderstanding (2:1-17)
  A. Misapprehension of the Time of the Day of the Lord (2:1f.)
  B. The Sign of that Day (2:3-6)
  C. The Man of Sin (2:7-12)
  D. Paul's Confidence in the Church (2:13-17)
IV. Concluding Exhortations (3:1-18)

*B. Doctrinal Teaching.*The doctrinal background assumed in 1 Thessalonians appears also in the Second Epistle. God is the Father of humanity (1:1f.) and the righteous Judge (1:5). He is the God of grace and love (1:2; 2:16), who has chosen His people in Christ (2:13). Christ is the Lord (1:1, 8f., 12; 2:14, 16; 3:6, 12, 18), a title that carried the connotations of sovereignty and deity in the Hellenistic world. The emphasis of this letter is chiefly on the return of Christ, when the Church will be gathered to Him (2:1), as the First Epistle states more explicitly (1 Thess. 4:13-18), and when the wicked shall be judged (2 Thess. 1:6-9; 2:8).

Salvation is the work of the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies believers (2:13) so that they may be ready to participate in the glory of Christ.

The teaching concerning the "man of lawlessness" is the central doctrinal concept of 2 Thessalonians. It has been a standing puzzle to exegetes and commentators because the prophecy has never been completely fulfilled. The "man of lawlessness" has no exact counterpart in history, and Christ has not yet destroyed such a person "by his appearing and his coming" (2:8). The "mystery

of lawlessness" was already at work but was restrained by some unnamed power (2:7), so that it might burst forth at any time in uncontrollable fury.

The "man of lawlessness" is a human being who, possessed by diabolical power, arrogates to himself the prerogatives of deity and demands a place in the temple of God because he claims to be God. Perhaps Paul alluded to the persistent tendency of gentile rulers to impose heathen worship on the temple in Jerusalem. Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria had desecrated it in 168 B.C. by dedicating it to the worship of Zeus and by offering a sow upon the altar. Caius Caligula, the Roman emperor (A.D. 37-41), issued orders to have his statue erected in the temple, but the decree was never carried out because of his sudden death; the desire of dictators to be worshiped is generally still current. Accompanying the final apostasy will be a rise of organized evil, culminating in a blasphemous attempt to supplant the worship of God by the worship of a man who will be the final manifestation of Satanic power.

The force that delays the completion of the "mystery of lawlessness" has been variously interpreted as Roman imperial rule, which maintained law and order, or the Jewish nation, which served as a religious and ethical check on paganism, or the Holy Spirit, who strives against evil. Paul did not explain his allusion, probably because he assumed that his readers would understand its meaning in the light of previous teaching. The solution of the puzzle must await the fulfillment of the prophecy.

III. Authenticity.–*A. External Attestation.* The external evidence for the Second Epistle is stronger than that for the First. Polycarp quotes 2 Thess. 3:15 (*Polyc. Phil.* 11), and the Didache possibly alludes to 2 Thess. 3:11 in ch. 12 and to 2 Thess. 2:8-11 in ch. 16. Justin Martyr (*ca.* A.D. 150) in Dial. 110 referred unmistakably to the "man of apostasy" (2 Thess. 2:3-12). Irenaeus (180), when commenting on 2 Thess. 2:8f. (*Adv. haer.* iii.7.2), was the first to mention the Epistle by name and to ascribe it to Paul. Tertullian (200) quoted 2 Thess. 2:1-7 and attributed it to "the apostle" in *De res.* 24. Clement of Alexandria (200) also referred to the Epistle, and it was included in the canon of the Old Syriac and Old Latin versions as well as in the earlier canons of Marcion and the Muratorian Fragment.

B. Internal Attestation. Like the First Epistle, 2 Thessalonians professes to have been written by Paul (1:1; 3:17), whose associates were the same as in the First Epistle. The same general epistolary form is followed. There is a strong affinity in vocabulary between the two letters, and the phrases of the Second Epistle also agree with Paul's diction in his later writings. The attitude of the Epistle accords with Paul's feeling for the church. He gives thanks for the Thessalonians' faith (1:3); he is pleased with their progress (1:4); he desires their sanctification (2:13); he reemphasizes the need of industry among the church members (3:11f.); and he discusses eschatological problems in greater detail. There is no valid reason for denying the Pauline authorship on internal grounds.

C. Time and Place. 2 Thessalonians was written a few weeks, or at most a few months, after the First Epistle. Probably Paul sent it from Corinth after hearing of the Thessalonians' confusion concerning the time of the Lord's coming. Paul's allusion to "wicked and evil men" (3:2) seems to fit the conditions at Corinth, where the divisiveness and corruption of the church created unusual difficulties for him. His reference to working while in Thessalonica (3:8) would apply equally well to Corinth, where he labored as a tentmaker with Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:3; 1 Cor. 9:12-15).

D. Critical Theories. The genuineness of 2 Thessalonians has been disputed much more than that of the First Epistle. A difference in style has been alleged: 1 Thessalonians is informal and friendly; 2 Thessalonians is formal and reserved. The First Epistle encourages and persuades; the Second Epistle commands. Such a difference, if it is real, can be explained by the change in conditions. The first letter was written to a church that had recently been founded, and the questions that it raised grew out of its own immaturity. The Second Epistle was addressed to the church in danger of delusion by false teachers, and a somewhat sterner tone can be expected. The difference is not great enough to warrant the hypothesis of different authorship.

A more serious objection is that of an apparent contradiction in eschatological teaching between the two Epistles. In 1 Thessalonians the return of the Lord is an imminent hope, coming "like a thief in the night" (1 Thess. 5:1f.). In 2 Thessalonians the "day of Christ" will be heralded by an apostasy and by the appearance of the "man of lawlessness," whose rule will be preceded by a gradual falling away from godliness, and by the development of the "mystery of lawlessness," which will be consummated when this person assumes divine honors and demands worship in the temple of God (2:3-10). Some earlier critics claimed that the "man of lawlessness" was an allusion to the Nero *redivivus* myth, in which Nero would return after his reputed death to become the antichrist and rule the Roman world. If this were true, the Pauline authorship would be impossible, for Paul's death preceded that of Nero. Others, like Bousset (*Antichrist Legend* [Eng. tr. 1896]), have found the roots of this teaching in Jewish apocalyptic. But it is more likely that Paul was referring to the prophecies of Daniel and the teaching of Jesus (Mk. 13:14; cf. 1 Thess. 5:2; Lk. 12:39), for he had instructed the Thessalonians in these subjects while he was with them (2 Thess. 2:5). The concepts of 1 and 2 Thessalonians are not incompatible, for Paul's explanations in 2 Thess. 2 fit with his assertion in 1 Thess. 5:1f. that those he addressed were well informed about the signs of the Lord's appearing.

A difference in the two Epistles' destination has been predicated: 1 Thessalonians was directed to Gentiles, while 2 Thessalonians was intended for Jews. According to this argument, in the First Epistle Paul reassured his readers that they were beloved and elected by God (1:4), as if they had doubted their right to His favor; moreover, he said that they "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God" (1:9), which could not be said of Jewish Christians. In the Second, on the other hand, he seems to have been dealing with Jewish apocalyptic. But the reference to Gentiles in 1 Thess. 4:5 does not contrast the readers with Gentiles in general, but with those "who do not know God." Nor does the Second Epistle allude to the OT more than the First, for neither quotes it directly. The objection of an exclusively Jewish destination for the Second Epistle is not valid, for the Greek OT was widely circulated in the Roman world and was used in the preaching of the early Church. Since Paul had instructed the Thessalonians about the Lord's return, there is no reason why Gentiles would not have been as interested in the subject as Jews were. Furthermore, the Thessalonian church had a Jewish minority that would have been schooled in the prophecies of the OT.

Various critical theories have been proffered to account for the problems raised by the foregoing objections. Pseudonymous authorship of 2 Thessalonians can be rejected, for the Epistle's affinity with the other Pauline writings is close enough to establish its genuiness. The argument that its agreement with Pauline style indicates deliberate forgery is totally inadequate. As Hendriksen astutely observed,

"It is not immediately clear why Paul cannot have been the author of an epistle that contains Pauline passages" (p. 19).

A. Harnack and K. Lake suggested that 2 Thessalonians was written for a Jewish community in Thessalonica, while the First Epistle was written to the gentile church. Undoubtedly the church contained both Jewish and gentile elements, as observed above, but there is no indication that Thessalonica had two churches. The difference in emphasis between the two letters is not due to racial or religious antecedents, but to the new problems that had arisen in the interval between them. Paul regarded the Church as one body in which there was neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free (Gal. 3:28). It is extremely improbable that he would have perpetuated a division by writing separate letters to two groups in the same city.

Dibelius suggested that the Second Epistle was written for public reading, whereas the First Epistle was designed for a private group. But both Epistles were expressly intended for "all" the church (1 Thess. 5:27; 2 Thess. 3:16), and thus no such line can be drawn between them.

A number of scholars, beginning with Grotius in the 17th cent. have contended that 1 Thessalonians is really the second in order of writing (for full discussions, see J. C. West, *JTS*, 15 [1913-14], 66-74; E. Thompson, *Expos.T.*, 56 [1944-45], 306f.). Their reasons may be sumarized as follows:

(1) The present order of these epistles is based upon their length, not on priority of time; thus the longer 1 Thessalonians is placed first.

(2) The eschatology of 2 Thessalonians is more crude and Judaistic than that of 1 Thessalonians. The allusion to the day of the Lord in 1 Thessalonians seems more pertinent if it follows rather than precedes the discussion of 2 Thessalonians.

(3) 2 Thessalonians deals with the eschatological questions as if they were new, whereas 1 Thessalonians treats them as a familiar subject.

(4) 1 Thessalonians 5:1, "But as to the times and the seasons, brethen, you have no need to have anything written to you," is more appropriate if it presupposes the teaching of 2 Thess. 2.

(5) If Timothy had taken a letter on his journey from Athens to Thessalonica, 2 Thessalonians would have been a suitable communication.

These objections are subjective rather than objective and are not convincing. The traditional order of the Epistle is sustained by all existing canons of the text, even those that alter the sequence of other books. 2 Thessalonians presupposes previous correspondence (2:2, 15; 3:17); even if spurious epistles of Paul had been circulated, some other genuine writings must have existed to provide a plausible basis for acceptance of a forged epistle. One cannot imitate writings that have never been published.

The eschatological teaching in 2 Thessalonians concerning "the mystery of lawlessness" differs from that in 1 Thessalonians only in its greater detail. Paul merely enlarged upon one aspect of the total scheme that he had explained while present in Thessalonica but that the converts had not perfectly comprehended. Paul's stress on his own final signature (2 Thess. 3:17) does not necessarily imply that it was appended to the first letter sent to a given destination. By analogy with Gal. 6:11 and 1 Cor. 16:21, Paul may have employed this device to underscore his authority when engaged in controversy, whether with Galatian legalists or with Corinthian disbelievers of the Resurrection. Finally, there is no positive reason for thinking that Timothy took a letter from Athens to Thessalonica. Not only is the assumption gratuitous, but Timothy is mentioned in 2 Thessalonians (1:1) as coauthor, not as the messenger.

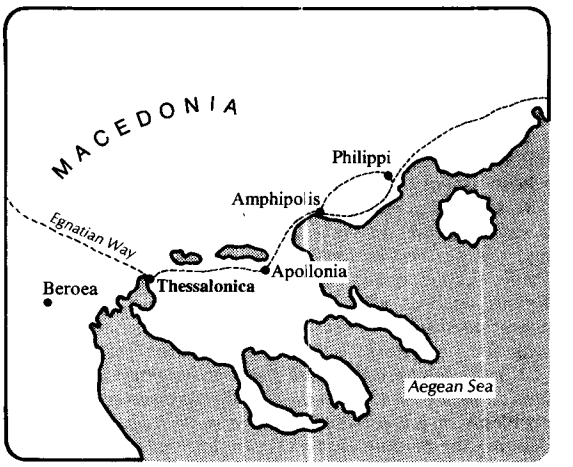
IV. Evaluation.–2 Thessalonians, like 1 Thessalonians, contributes eschatological teaching not found elsewhere in the NT. The concept of the "man of lawlessness" seems to parallel "the desolating sacrilege" of Jesus' Olivet discourse (Mt. 24:15) and the "beast" of Rev. 13. The Epistle predicts a general apostasy, accompanied by a resurgence of demonic power that will consummate the development of evil. No timetable is set for this climax. It was evidently not immediate, since apostasy would require the lapse of time; yet it was possibly imminent, since "the mystery of lawlessness is already at work" (2 Thess. 2:7). In this tension between Satan and Christ the Church must adhere to its faith and wait patiently for the Lord's return.

Bibliography.–*See* THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.

M. C. TENNEY

THESSALONICA theś-ə-lō-nī'kə [Gk. *Thessalonikē*]; **THESSALONIAN** thes-ə-lō'nē-ən [Gk. *Thessalonikeus*). A principal city of ancient Macedonia. Today it is the second largest city in Greece.

I. Geographical Position.–Thessalonica is located on the western side of the Chalcidic peninsula on the Gulf of Salonika, which is on the northwest corner of the Aegean Sea. This gulf was known earlier as the Thermaic Gulf. The Egnatian Way, which linked the leading cities of Macedonia, passed through Thessalonica and continues to be the main thoroughfare of the modern city. The city is built on a productive alluvial plain that was deposited by the Vardar and Vistritza rivers Behind it are mountains, with Mt. Chalcidice to the east and Mt. Olympus to the southwest. This ideal location on the Egnatian Way and the possession of a fine harbor made Thessalonica a commercial and military center. It was, in fact, the chief seaport of Macedonia and is still one of the principal seaports of southeast Europe.



II. In the NT.–It was a three-day journey for Paul and his companions — Silas and Timothy — along the Egnatian Way from Philippi to Thessalonica. Amphipolis and Apollonia, which are mentioned in Acts 17:1, may have been places where they stopped for the night. Finding a synagogue in Thessalonica, Paul preached in it on three sabbaths; he testified that Jesus was the Messiah and supported his assertion with the OT Scriptures. Some Jews as well as many gentile God-fearers and prominent women believed

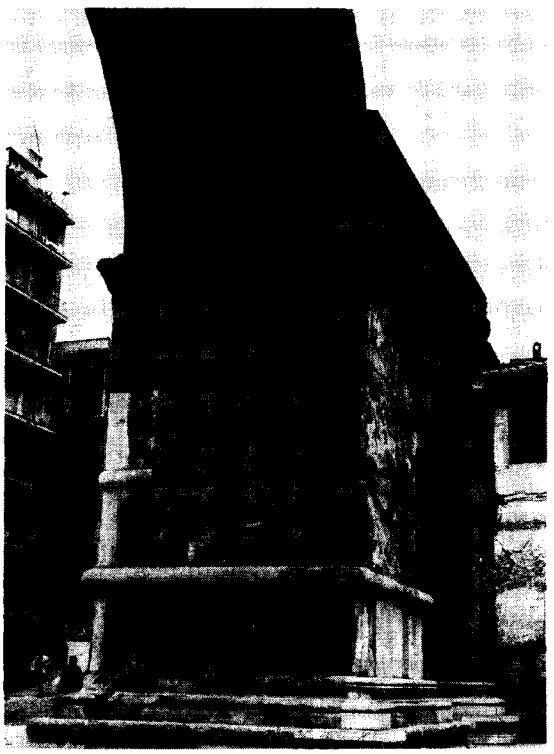
his message, but his success provoked the hostility of the Jews, who then started a riot. When they were unable to find Paul, they brought some of the believers before the local authorities and charged them with disloyalty to Caesar. The believers became fearful for Paul's safety and sent him and Silas to Beroea, where Timothy joined them later (vv. 2-10, 14f.).

The account in Acts 17 suggests that Paul stayed in Thessalonica a little more than three weeks. Nevertheless, the fact that on two occasions the church at Philippi sent material assistance to him in Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16), in addition to his own statement to the Thessalonians that he had worked night and day to support himself while in their midst (1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8), suggests a much longer stay. The guarantee that was demanded from Jason and Paul's other friends probably prevented Paul from returning to the city (Acts 17:9). An extended ministry apart from the synagogue seems to be implied in his assertion that the Thessalonian Christians had turned to God from idols (1 Thess. 1:9). (For a defense of a ministry of only three weeks, see L. Morris, *First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* [*NICNT*, 1959], pp. 16-18.)

Paul wrote two letters to the converts in Thessalonica, the first to express his joy when he heard from Timothy that they were remaining steadfast. The hasty departure that he had been forced to make from Thessalonica had aroused his concern for their spiritual welfare. He sent the second letter to correct concepts and conduct within the church. (*See* THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE; THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.)

Two men from the church at Thessalonica, Aristarchus and Secundus, accompanied Paul as he journeyed to Jerusalem with the offerings from Macedonia and Achaia (Acts 20:4). Aristarchus also accompanied Paul to Rome (27:2), and stayed by Paul in the apostle's imprisonment (Col. 4:10; Philem. 24).

The Arch of Galerius over the Egnatian Way celebrating the Roman victory over the Persians (B. K. Condit)



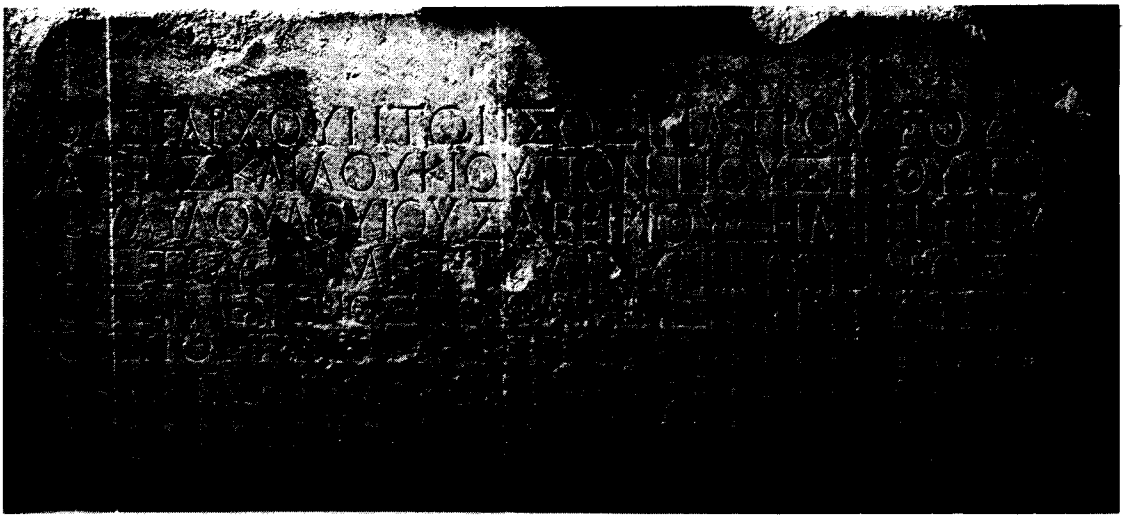
Some Jews from Thessalonica followed Paul to Beroea when they heard that he was preaching there. They stirred up so much trouble that Paul had to leave that city as well (Acts 17:13f.). In 2 Tim. 4:10 Thessalonica is named as the place to which Demas had gone after forsaking Paul.

III. History.–Thessalonica was founded in 315 B.C. by Cassander, a general of Alexander the Great. He named the city for his wife Thessalonica, who was the daughter of Philip of Macedon and the sister of Alexander. Strabo (*Geog.* vii.7.4, vii fragment 24) stated that Thessalonica was built on the site of the older Therma, which received its name from the hot springs in the vicinity. Both Thessalonica and Therma, however, were mentioned by Pliny (*Nat.hist.* iv.36) as existing at the same time.

The favorable location of the city undoubtedly contributed to its rapid growth in population, wealth, and importance. Livy (xliv.10) indicated that the Macedonian navy was stationed there during the war between Rome and Persia. In 168 B.C. Macedonia was divided into four districts by the Romans, and Thessalonica was designated the capital of the second district (Livy xlv.29). It became the capital of all Macedonia in 146 B.C. when this entire territory was made a single Roman province. Anthony and Octavia rewarded the city for supporting them in the Battle of Philippi by making it a free city in 42 B.C. (Pliny *Nat.hist.* iv.36). During Augustus's reign Thessalonica, according to Strabo (vii.7.4, vii. fragment 24), was the most populous town in Macedonia and the metropolis of the province; Lucian (*Asinus* 46), 2nd cent. A.D., called it the greatest city of Macedonia. Located strategically on the main road of communication between Rome and the east, Thessalonica had passed the height of its glory when Constantine moved the seat of the empire to Constantinople.

For centuries the city was famed as "the Orthodox city" because it was a bulwark guarding Christianity and civilization against the attacks of the barbarians and had an important part in the barbarians' conversion to Christianity. Thessalonica became the capital of the first of two divisions into which Macedonia was divided by Diocletian (A.D. 284-305). Emperor Galerius established his palace in Thessalonica in 305. In 390 Emperor Theodosius ordered the massacre of seven thousand citizens for insurrection. For several centuries the city successfully warded off the attacks of various enemies, but in 904 it was captured by the Saracens, who killed or took as prisoners a large number of the inhabitants and burned much of the city. Another massacre occurred when the city was taken by the Normans in 1185. In 1204 Thessalonica became the center of a Latin kingdom under Boniface of Monferrat. It then alternated between Latin and Greek rule until 1430, when Sultan Amurath II captured it. Thessalonica remained in the possession of the Turks until the Greeks regained it in the Balkan War of 1912. Its strategic military importance is seen in that it was the base of Allied operations in the Near East during World War I, and in that the Germans' capture of the city in World War II was an important victory in their conquest of Greece. A disastrous fire on Aug. 17, 1917, destroyed much of the city, including the famous Church of St. Demetrius.

IV. Archeology.–Extant are parts of the Roman-period city wall and two of the three original spans of the arch of Galerius, which was erected in honor of the emperor Galerius across the Egnatian Way where it enters the city from the east. It is made of brick and partially covered marble in which are carved scenes of Galerius's victories



The inscription from the Vardar Gate that lists six of the city officials or *politárchēs*, the term Luke also used in Acts (A D. 143) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

over the Persians. The Vardar Gate, another arch, was built of massive stone and spanned the Egnatian Way where it enters the city from the west. This gate was torn down in 1876 to provide material for the repair of the city walls. An important inscription from it, which is now in the British Museum, contains the word Gk. *politárchēs*, the same term that Luke used to designate the officials (RSV "city authorities") before whom Jason was brought by the mob (Acts 17:6). Since this word has not been found in Greek literature, its discovery on the Vardar Gate is an important evidence of Luke's accuracy as a historian. Finegan (*LAP*, p. 352) gave the probable dates for the inscription as 30 B.C.-A.D. 143 and stated that several other inscriptions from Thessalonica in the time of Augustus also contain this term.

A number of churches from Byzantine times have been preserved in Thessalonica, making the city important for the study of early Christian art and architecture. They also offer silent testimony to the church begun by Paul's ministry there.

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D. H. MADVIG

THEUDAS thōō'dəs [Gk. *Theudas*]. The leader of an unsuccessful rebellion in the area of Judea during the 1st cent. A.D. The only reference to the name in Scripture appears in Acts 5:36, where Gamaliel, in his testimony before the Sanhedrin, indicates that the rebellion associated with Theudas occurred before the uprising led by Judas the Galilean, who "arose in the days of the census" (presumably a reference to the taxation associated with the governor Quirinius, *ca.* A.D. 6; cf. Lk. 2:1f.). A more probable date, however, was provided by Josephus (*Ant.* XX.5.1 [97-99]), who assigned the movement to the rule of the procurator Cuspius Fadus (A.D. 44-46) several years after the death of Gamaliel himself.

Josephus described Theudas as a self-proclaimed prophet who deluded "the majority of the masses" (four hundred men according to Acts) with his promise to divide the Jordan River upon command so that the people could cross with ease, thus repeating the miracle performed by Joshua. The attack of a Roman cavalry regiment soon brought an end to the uprising, however, and many in the movement were either slain or captured. Theudas himself was decapitated.

Some scholars (e.g., F. F. Bruce, *Comm. on the Book of Acts* [*NICNT*, 1954], pp. 124f., n. 47) have suggested that the accounts provided in Acts and Josephus refer to different individuals. But modern attempts to associate the Theudas of Acts with other historical rebels in Palestine, such as Simon (Herod the Great's former slave), Theudion (Herod the Great's brother-in-law), or Matthias (the son of Margaloth, a radical teacher of the law), have proven unconvincing. The name was relatively uncommon, and the significance attributed to the rebellion by the text of Acts certainly characterizes the movement as worthy of reference by Josephus. The disparity between the accounts of Acts and Josephus, with respect to both details and dating, would suggest instead some problem associated with the sources used by the authors.

C. N. JEFFORD

THICK TREES (Lev. 23:40; Neh. 8:15, AV), *See* LEAF.

THICKET thik'-ət [Heb. *s^{e}baḵ* (Gen. 22:13; Isa. 9:18 [MT 17]; 10:34), *s^{e}bōḵ* (Jer. 4:7), *ya'ar* (Isa. 21:13), *'āḇ* (Jer. 4:29)]; AV also FOREST (Isa. 21:13); NEB also HEART (Isa. 10:34), SCRUB (21:13), LAIR (Jer. 4:7). A dense growth of vegetation, especially trees (*see* FOREST). The dense growth that held the ram in Gen. 22:13, the *ya'ar ba'raḇ* ("thickets [AV "forest"] in Arabia") in Isa. 21:13, and the thickets in the other references are among the plants unidentified by *MPB*.

THIEF. *See* STEAL.

THIGH [Heb. *yārēk*] (Gen. 24:2, 9; 32:25, 31f.; etc.); NEB also HIP, "miscarriage" (Nu. 5:21f., 27); [*šôq*] (Ex. 29:22, 27; Lev. 7:32-35; etc.); AV SHOULDER; NEB LEG; [*paḥaḏ*] (Job 40:17); AV STONE; NEB FLANK; [*y^{e}sôḏ*] (Hab. 3:13); AV, NEB, FOUNDATION(S); [Aram. *yar^{e}ḵâ*] (Dnl. 2:32); [Gk. *mērós*] (Jth. 9:2; Sir. 19:12; Rev. 19:16). That portion of the leg that extends from the hip to the knee. It was the place where men wore weapons that were suspended from the waist (Jgs. 3:16, 21; etc.). The thigh of a rider on horseback would probably be covered by a loose girdle on which his name might be embroidered

(Rev. 19:16). The "hollow of the thigh" (Gen. 32:25, 32 [MT 26, 33]) is the socket of the hip. A woman's well-formed thighs were deemed worthy of praise and admiration (Cant. 7:1 [MT 2]).

Among the Hebrews the thighs were associated with human vitality, perhaps because of their proximity to the reproductive organs. Thus children were regarded as offspring of the father's thigh (*yōṣe'ê yerēḵô*, Gen. 46:26; Ex. 1:5; etc.). The mother's thighs were also associated with procreation, as is evident in the so-called jealousy ordeal (Nu. 5:11-31). A woman who was guilty of marital infidelity and was subjected to the ordeal could expect her thigh to "fall away" (v. 22). Precisely what was meant by this expression is uncertain, but it may have implied a miscarriage.

Because of the association of the thighs with procreation, an oath taken with the hand under the thigh (Gen. 24:2, 9; 47:29), i.e., in contact with the genitals, was sworn by the life-power of the individual who requested the procedure. On the two occasions in Genesis where this was done, it is perhaps significant that the oath was exacted by persons approaching death. *See* GESTURE I.

The choice nature of meat from the thighs of sacrificial animals (cf. 1 S. 9:24; Ezk. 24:4) made it an important element in Israelite rituals, e.g., in the ordination offering of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 8:25-27). The Israelites were forbidden to eat that portion of the hip adjacent to the hollow of the thigh (Gen. 32:32) out of respect for Jacob's divine encounter at Peniel, where he received the new name Israel (*see* DISEASE III.F; SINEW).

The thigh was also associated emotionally with pain and grief (Isa. 21:3; Nah. 2:10 [MT 11]), and thus to strike oneself on the thigh was to indicate contrition (Jer. 31:19) or terror (Ezk. 21:12). (*See also* GESTURE II.D.)

R. K. H.

THIMNATHAH thim'nə-thə (Josh. 19:43, AV). An AV misunderstanding of the name Timnah with *h* locale, meaning "toward Timnah." *See* TIMNAH 1.

THINK [Heb. *'āmar*–'say' (Gen. 20:11; Jgs. 15:2; Ruth 4:4; etc.), *ḥāšaḇ*–'reckon, account' (Gen. 38:15; 1 S. 18:25; Job 6:26; etc.), *zāḵar*–'remember' (Job 4:7; 21:6; 41:8 [MT 40:32]; Ps. 63:6 [MT 7]; 77:3 [MT 4]; 119:52; Lam. 1:9; 3:20 [hiphil]), piel of *dāmâ*–'imagine, intend' (Nu. 33:56; Est. 4:13; Ps. 48:9 [MT 10]; 50:21), *rā'â*–'see' (Gen. 20:10; 1 S. 20:3; 2 S. 18:27), piel of *dāḇar*–'menace' (Ex. 32:14), hiphil of *hûn*–'regard as easy' (Dt. 1:41), hithpael of *'āšaṯ* (Jonah 1:6), piel of *pālal*–'decide for an opinion' (Gen. 48:11), piel of *šāḇaḥ*–'congratulate' (Eccl. 4:2), pass. part. of *šûḇ*–'turn back, return' (Mic. 2:8), *tāmam*–'be complete, finished' (Ps. 64:6 [MT 7]); Aram. *seḇar*–'intend' (Dnl. 7:25); Gk. *dokéō* (Mt. 22:17, 42; Jn. 5:37; 1 Cor. 3:18; etc.), *nomízō* (Mt. 5:17; 10:34; 20:10; Acts 8:20; 17:29; 1 Cor. 7:26, 36), *logízomai* (Rom. 14:14; 2 Cor. 11:5; 12:6; Phil. 4:8), *dialogízomai*–'consider, ponder, reason' (Lk. 12:17), *hēgéomai* (Acts 26:2; 2 Cor. 9:5; Phil. 2:25; 2 Pet. 1:3), *phronéō* (Rom. 12:3; 1 Cor. 13:11), *noéō*–'consider,' 'imagine' (Eph. 3:20; 2 Tim. 2:7), *hyperphronéō*–'think too highly of oneself' (Rom. 12:3), *axióō*–'consider suitable, fitting' ("thought best," Acts 15:38), *enthyméomai* (Mt. 9:4), *krínō*–'judge' (Acts 26:8), *mnēmoneúō*–'remember, mention' (He. 11:15), *oíomai* (Phil. 1:17), *peíthō*–'persuade' (Acts 26:28), *pronoéō* (Rom. 12:17)]; AV also SAY, REMEMBER, SEE, PRAISE (Eccl. 4:2), "averse from" (Mic. 2:8), etc.; NEB also SAY, COUNT, CONSIDER, etc.; **THINKING** [(nouns) Gk. *dialogismós* (Rom. 1:21), *phrḗn* (1 Cor. 14:20)]; AV IMAGINATION, UNDERSTANDING; **THOUGHT(S)** [Heb. *maḥᵃšāḇâ* (Gen. 6:5; Job 21:27; Ps. 33:11; etc.), *dāḇār*–'word' (Dt. 15:9; Ezk. 38:10), *higgāyôn*–'whispering' (Lam. 3:62), *ḥešbôn*–'account, device' (Eccl. 9:10), *maddā'*–'knowledge' (Eccl. 10:20), *mᵉzimmâ*–'evil thoughts' (Ps. 10:4), *'aštûṯ* (Job 12:5), *rû(a)ḥ*–'breath, wind, spirit' (Prov. 1:23), *rē(a)'*–'will, intention' (Ps. 139:2, 17), *śē(a)ḥ* (Am. 4:13), *śᵉ'ippîm*–'disquieting thoughts' (Job 4:13; 20:2), *śar'appîm*–'disquieting thoughts' (Ps. 139:23); Aram. *ra'yôn* (Dnl. 2:29f.; 4:19 [MT 16]; 5:6, 10; 7:28); Gk. *dialogismós*–'opinion, reasoning' (Mt. 15:19 par.; Lk. 2:35; 6:8; 9:47; 1 Cor. 3:20; Jas. 2:4), *logismós*–'calculation, reasoning' (Rom. 2:15), *enthýmēsis* (Mt. 9:4; 12:25; He. 4:12), *nóēma* (2 Cor. 10:5; 11:3), *dianóēma* (Lk. 11:17), *énnoia* (1 Pet. 4:1)]; AV also THING, DEVICE, SPIRIT (Prov. 1:23), COGITATION (Dnl. 7:28); NEB also MURMUR (Lam. 3:62), SCHEME, COUNSEL (Prov. 1:23), PURPOSE, etc.

The word "think" in Gen. 26:7; Ps. 59:7; Isa. 36:5; and Jer. 22:15 translates no specific Hebrew terms but derives from the respective contexts. "Thoughtless" in Nu. 30:6, 8 also has no Hebrew equivalent. Often the phrase Heb. *beᵉênê* (lit. "in the eyes of") refers to a person's faculties of cognitive or spiritual understanding (e.g., Nu. 36:6; 2 S. 3:19; 4:10; 10:3; 1 Ch. 19:3; Jer. 40:4f.; cf. *'ayin* in Gen. 45:20). "Thought" in Isa. 57:11 and 1 Tim. 3:7 paraphrases the original texts, and in 1 Cor. 2:11 the RSV twice translates Gk. *tá* (lit. "things"; so AV) by "thoughts."

In the RSV OT over one-half of the occurrences of the verb "think" translate the common Hebrew verb *'āmar*. In most occurrences, the context clearly indicates that inaudible speech (i.e., "saying to oneself") rather than audible conversation is in view, although where the AV retains the translation "say" there is often no reason why both could not be involved (e.g., 2 K. 18:20; Ps. 59:7; Isa. 36:5). The other common verb for "think" is Heb. *ḥāšaḇ*, which refers to the mental process of creative reflection and the generation of new ideas, i.e., it can be a somewhat less static concept than Heb. *bîn* (*see* UNDERSTANDING). When the psalmist, e.g., marvels that God should "think" of man (Ps. 144:3) he refers to the active care and concern that God displays for him. More negatively, when Jeremiah berates the false prophets "who think to make my people forget my name" (Jer. 23:27), he refers to the plan or scheme that they have begun to implement.

Other Hebrew terms for "think" in the RSV OT occur infrequently. *Zāḵar* is the common verb generally translated "remember," which often refers to the "active intellectual engagement of a person with himself" (*TDOT*, IV, 66f.). Heb. *rā'â* (lit. "see") in certain contexts refers to an inward perception, which justifies the translation "think" without excluding the more literal rendition (2 S. 18:27). Similarly *dāḇar*, "speak," one of the most common words in the entire OT, may, like *'āmar*, also occasionally refer to inward speech. In Gen. 48:11 the RSV has "thought" for the piel of *pālal*, where Jacob declares, "I had not thought to see your face." Usually in the hithpael, the verb means "pray," but its derivatives can mean "estimate" or "expect," which fits well here.

When the writer of Ecclesiastes "thought . . . of the dead" (Eccl. 4:2), he was probably "praising" or "commending" them (Heb. *šāḇaḥ*). In Jonah 1:6 the captain of the ship requested Jonah to pray to his God that He "might give [them] a thought" (hithpael of *'āšaṯ*), i.e., care or concern. In Mic. 2:8 "those . . . with no thought of war" literally reads, "those turning back" or "returning" from war, but the metaphorical interpretation of the RSV is equally plausible.

In the RSV NT the usual verb for "think" is Gk. *dokéō*. It refers frequently to the thought directed at that which is

illusory or deceptive (e.g., Mt. 6:7; 1 Cor. 12:23; Gal. 6:3), and often in contexts in which the standards and suppositions of this world contrast with those of God's people and kingdom. In the Gospels Jesus frequently employs the rhetorical, impersonal interrogative Gk. *tí dokeí* ("What do you think?"), especially as an introductory formula to short parables and metaphors (e.g., Mt. 18:12; 21:28), to arouse attention. Another common verb is *nomízō*, which is often used of faulty assumptions, as when Jesus debated with the Pharisees over the Law (Mt. 5:17; cf. 20:10; Acts 8:20; etc.) The only other term to occur with any frequency is *logízomai* and its compound, *dialogízomai*. The former means primarily "reckon" or "credit" and is a standard Pauline term for the imputation of God's righteousness to human beings. In a few contexts, however, it has the less technical sense of "estimate" (2 Cor. 11:5; 12:6) or "consider" (Rom. 14:14), and even the somewhat unusual idea of "reflect" (e.g., "think about these things," Phil. 4:8). Gk. *dialogízomai* can mean "reason" or "debate," often with oneself, and frequently in contemplating evil (Lk. 12:17).

Other terms for "think" include Gk. *enthyméomai*, which usually carries a negative connotation of evil or foolish thought (Mt. 9:4), *hēgéomai*, which can mean "regard" or "consider" (Acts 26:2; 2 Pet. 1:13), and *peíthō*, normally translated "persuade," e.g., in Agrippa's famous reply to Paul, "In a short time you think to make me a Christian" (Acts 26:28). *Phronéō*, a predominantly Pauline term, sometimes refers more to the manner or content rather than the process of thought (1 Cor. 13:11); its compound *hyperphronéō* appears pejoratively in Rom. 12:3 for inflated self-assessment. In Eph. 3:20 Gk. *noéō* refers more to the activity of the mind (*see* UNDERSTAND) and when compounded (*pronoéō*) means "think of beforehand," though often without emphasis on the temporal prefix, except in the secondary sense of making preparation for something (e.g., "take thought for what is noble," Rom. 12:7). In Acts 15:38 *axióō*, "thought best," is literally "deemed worthy" or "fitting." *Krínō* in Acts 26:8 is literally "judge" in its neutral sense of "evaluate."

In the RSV OT the most common substantive for "thought(s)" derives from the verb of the same root. Heb. *maḥᵃšāḇâ* (< *ḥāšaḇ*, "think, account") occurs eighteen times, always in the plural (*see* PLOT).

Less commonly used terms include the plural *śᵉʿippîm* and its variant form *śarʿappîm*, which refer to "disquietings" or "excited thoughts," like those that haunted Job by night (Job 4:13). *Mᵉzimmâ*, from *zāmam* ("purpose," "plot"), usually refers to a person's evil plans or to God's judgment on the wicked. In Prov. 1:23 Heb. *rû(a)ḥ*, the common word for "spirit," a sense that fits well here, has the unusual translation "thought." *Higgāyôn* (< *hāgâ* "mutter") usually means "meditation," but this translation in Lam. 3:62 would attribute more piety to Jeremiah's evil assailants than is due. Aram. *raʿyôn* appears six times, all in Daniel, often in the context of alarming or troubling thoughts.

In the RSV NT most nouns for "thought" are cognates of Greek verbs treated above, with only a few additional nuances in meaning: *logismós* < *logízomai; dialogismós* < *dialogízomai*, virtually always of evil thoughts (e.g., Mt. 15:19), and frequently those known or revealed by Jesus and/or God (e.g., Lk. 6:8); *noēma* (2 Cor. 10:5; 11:3); *dianóēma* (Lk. 11:17, with the negative sense of "hostile thought"); and *énnoia* (1 Pet. 4:1), an attitude of mind or "guiding conviction," < *noéō; enthýmēsis*, that to which the word of God can pierce (He. 4:12) < *enthyméomai*; and *phrḗn*, thinking or understanding (1 Cor. 14:20) < *phronéō*.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 820-26; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* διαλέγομαι κτλ. (Schrenk); *s.v.* θυμός κτλ. (Büchsel); IV, *s.v.* λογίζομαι, λογισμός (Heidland); *s.v.* νοέω κτλ. (Behm, Würthwein); *TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "hāghāh" (Negoiță, Ringgren); IV, *s.v.* "zmm" (Steingrimsson); *TWOT*, I, 329f.

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THIRD [Heb. *šᵉlîšî*; Gk. *tritos*]. The use of the term in Isa. 19:24, "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria," does not mean that Israel will be third in rank after the two great powers of that day but that Israel will be equal with Egypt and Assyria. The rest of the passage indicates that Egypt and Assyria will have come to share the worship of Yahweh with Israel.

For other uses *see* NUMBER IV, V.C. For "third hour" *see* DAY II; HOUR. For "third month" *see* CALENDAR II.

THIRD DAY. Scholars have proposed several views to explain why "the third day" (Gk. *hē tritē hēméra*) became an important part of the early Christians' proclamation of Jesus' resurrection (Acts 10:40; 1 Cor. 15:4; cf. Lk. 24:46). Among these views are claims that it is related to: (1) three-day motifs found in some mystery religion myths; (2) a view that the human soul remained near the body for three days until it departed; (3) apocalyptic expectation that the general resurrection would occur three days after the end of the world (Hos. 6:2); or (4) an idea that evil would triumph for three days, followed by vindication. More likely is the proposal that the "third day" (Heb. *yôm šᵉlîšî*) was associated with the day of salvation and divine manifestation (cf. Gen. 22:4; 42:18; Ex. 19:16; Josh. 3:2; Hos. 6:2; Jonah 1:17 [MT 2:1]). Another interpretation focuses on the significance of Hos. 6:2, which speaks of the national revival of Israel on the third day.

"The third day" is a Semitic idiom referring to an unexpectedly short period of time (cf. Lk. 13:32f.). In His predictions of His passion, Jesus used this idiom to mean that He would be raised "in a short time" (Mt. 16:21; 17:23; 20:19; 27:64; Lk. 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 21, 46). "On the third day" would then mean the same thing as the phrase "in a little while," used in Jn. 16:16-22. The fact that the "third day" prediction was literally fulfilled had such an impact on the disciples that it became a part of their proclamation of the Resurrection.

Bibliography.–B. Lindars, *NT Apologetic* (1961); E. L. Bode, *First Easter Morning* (1970).

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THIRST; THIRSTY [Heb. *ṣāmāʾ*, *ṣāmāʾ*, *ṣimʾâ* (Jer. 2:25), *ṣimmāʾôn* ("thirsty ground," Dt. 8:15; Isa. 35:7; Ps. 107:33), *ʿăyēp* (Prov. 25:25), *šōqēq*–'dried out' (Ps. 107:9), *lōʾ-śāḇᵉʿâ*–'no satiation' (Prov. 30:16); Gk. *dipsáō, dípsos* (2 Cor. 11:27)]; AV also ATHIRST, LONGING (Ps. 107:9), "not filled" (Prov. 30:16), DRY GROUND (Ps. 107:33), DROUGHT (Dt. 8:15); NEB also DRY (Prov. 25:25). In Job 5:5 the AV renders MT *ṣammîm* "the robber"; the RSV ("the thirsty") and NEB ("thirsting") follow Aq., Symm., Syr., and Vulg. in emending the MT to read *ṣᵉmēʾîm*. Literally, the physical sensation of dryness in the mouth and throat caused by lack of fluids, and the resultant craving for liquids.

These terms are used sixty-one times by the RSV. Almost all of the forty-four OT uses translate some form of Heb. *ṣm'*. In the NT the only Greek verb thus translated is *dipsáō*.

The climate of Palestine, especially away from the coastline and the hill country, can often be hot and dry. Occasional sirocco winds bring intense heat from the desert. Maintaining an adequate water supply for human

and animal consumption, as well as for agriculture, was in biblical times a perennial problem. Thirst was a frequent and occasionally life-threatening concern.

The Israelites lacked water on their trek across the wilderness and accused Moses of bringing them, their children, and their cattle out of Egypt "to kill us . . . with thirst" (Ex. 17:3). On at least two occasions God assuaged their thirst with water from a rock (Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:2-13; Neh. 9:15, 20; 1 Cor. 10:41).

Thirst was one of the forms of judgment for disobedience prophesied by Moses (Dt. 28:48), Hosea (Hos. 2:3 [MT 1]), Isaiah (Isa. 5:13), and Ezekiel (Ezk. 19:13). Both Israel and Judah experienced thirst in their defeat and exile (cf. Lam. 4:4). The book of Isaiah promised the exiles, however, that the threat of thirst would be overcome as they made their new exodus from Babylon to their former homeland (Isa. 35:7; 41:17; 44:3; 48:21; 49:10).

Four OT passages on thirst are cited by the NT. All the Gospels quote Ps. 69:21 (MT 22): "They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink" (Mt. 27:34, 48; Mk. 15:36; Lk. 23:36; Jn. 19:29); and John reports that just before receiving the vinegar Jesus said, "I thirst." Rom. 12:20 cites Prov. 25:21 as a counsel against vengeance: "If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat; if he is thirsty, give him water to drink." Jesus appeared to have two texts from Isaiah (49:10; 55:1) in mind when He proclaimed, "If any one thirst, let him come to me and drink" (Jn. 7:37). These texts also lie behind Revelation's promises that God's victorious, redeemed people will hunger and thirst no more (Rev. 7:16) and will drink freely from the fountain of the water of life (21:6; 22:17).

These Isaiah passages (esp. Isa. 55:1) illustrate the spiritual dimension of "thirst" in both Testaments. The psalmist expressed the thirst of his soul for God — a craving that only the experience of God could assuage (Ps. 42:2 [MT 3]; 63:1 [MT 2]; 143:6). In Jer. 2:25 "thirst" describes Judah's craving for foreign gods. Amos foresaw a time when Israel would experience a famine and a thirst for hearing the words of the Lord (Am. 8:11). But in Isa. 44:3 God promises that after the Exile He will pour out His Spirit on His people like water in a thirsty land.

As is evident in the NT passages cited above, Gk. *dipsáō* in the NT has both physical and spiritual connotations, sometimes in the same passage. In His conversation with the Samaritan woman Jesus contrasted the "living water" that He would give her, enabling her never to thirst again, with the water of Jacob's well (Jn. 4:10-14). The woman misunderstood, thinking He had promised her satisfaction from physical thirst and relief from the burden of drawing water (v. 15). But the Gospel of John makes it clear that Jesus is the source of the spiritual refreshment that is ultimately satisfying: one who believes in Him will never thirst, for Jesus is the fountain of the Spirit, and to receive Him is to drink "rivers of living water" (Jn. 6:35; 7:37f. [cf. RSV mg.]).

Matthew's Gospel depicts Jesus' true disciples as having such a strong yearning for righteousness that they hunger and thirst after it (Mt. 5:6; cf. 6:33). One of the proofs of the genuineness of their discipleship is that they give drink to the thirsty (25:35, 37, 42, 44). Those who have done this have served the Son of Man, for "as you did it to the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (v. 40).

In his letters to the Corinthians Paul twice referred to being hungry and thirsty as part of the lot of an apostle (1 Cor. 4:11; 2 Cor. 11:27). Such sufferings were signs of the authenticity of his apostleship and of his Christianity, in contrast both to the unspirituality of the self-important Corinthians (1 Cor. 3:1; 4:8-10) and to the falseness of the "superlative" apostles (2 Cor. 11:5, 13, 22-29).

See also FAMINE; HUNGER.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, II, *s.v.* διψάω, δίψος (Behm, Bertram); *TWOT*, II, 768f. T. F. JOHNSON

THISBE thiz'bē [Gk. B *Thisbē*, A *Thibē*] (Tob. 1:2). Tobit's home in northern Galilee, from which he was taken into captivity by the Assyrians. It is described as lying S of Kedesh in Naphtali (*see* KEDESH 3) and "above Asher" (LXX B *Asēr*), i.e., HAZOR (LXX *Asōr*; cf. NEB). The Vulg. does not mention the city, and the name occurs nowhere in the MT (cf. 2 K. 15:29).

J. Simons (*GTTOT*, §§ 1614f.) suggested that the name Thisbe in Tob. 1:2 was influenced by 1 K. 17:1, and that probably it was originally Heb. *mittôšᵉḇê* ("from the inhabitants of"; cf. RSV mg. "of the settlers," 1 K. 17:1 [RSV "of Tishbe" follows LXX *ek Thesbōn*]) plus a place name. No identification has been proposed for the site.

W. S. L. S.

THISTLE. *See* THORN.

THOCANUS thok'ə-nəs (1 Esd. 9:14, NEB). *See* TIKVAH 2.

THOMAS [Gk. *Thōmás* < Aram. *tᵉ'ômā'*—'the twin']. One of Jesus' twelve disciples. In the Synoptic lists (Mk. 3:18 par.) Thomas is paired with Matthew; in Acts 1:13 he is paired with Philip. John three times refers to him as "Thomas, called Didymus" (Jn. 11:16; 20:24; 21:2), utilizing the Greek word for "twin." Later Syriac and gnostic traditions knew him as Judas Thomas; this development is reflected in the NT by two Syriac MSS that replace the reference to "Judas (not Iscariot)" in Jn. 14:22 with "Thomas" and "Judas Thomas." Many scholars therefore believe that Thomas was not a proper name but a title or nickname, although there is some evidence for the opposite view (see Bauer, rev., p. 367). If Thomas was a twin, no record of his sibling's identity has been preserved. Some apocryphal traditions present Thomas as Jesus' twin, but this claim finds no historical support and is motivated, at least in part, by heretical (esp. Gnostic) theology, which sets forth Thomas as another redeemer figure alongside Jesus.

The only NT information about Thomas's actions comes from the Fourth Gospel. John first introduces Thomas as addressing his fellow disciples, urging them to go with Jesus to Judea so that they might die with Him there (11:16). Thomas recognizes the threat that the Jewish authorities pose, but his reaction seems to reflect more pessimism than perception of what was happening at this stage of Jesus' ministry. His lack of insight reappears in 14:5, where he questions Jesus about how to know the way to the Father; Philip's follow-up question (14:8) proves, however, that Thomas is scarcely the only puzzled disciple. The main incident for which Thomas is remembered occurs after Jesus' resurrection. Having missed Jesus' first appearance to the ten (20:19-24), Thomas refuses to believe that Jesus is alive unless he sees "in [Jesus'] hands the print of the nails," and places his own "finger in the mark of the nails" and his "hand in [Jesus'] side" (20:25). Eight days later "doubting Thomas" has the opportunity to do precisely that (although John does not record whether Thomas actually touches Jesus), and Thomas responds with belief.

C. K. Barrett has described Thomas's reply, "My Lord and my God!" (20:28), as "the climax of the gospel," John's "final Christological pronouncement" (*Gospel Ac-*

cording to St. John [2nd ed. 1978], p. 573). Most Johannine scholars dismiss the account as largely unhistorical; but if its historicity is accepted, it is the earliest recorded example of anyone explicitly confessing Jesus as God (Gk. *ho theós*). In either event, its significance is debated. Is John underlining the importance of Jesus' bodily resurrection for Christian apologetic (L. Morris, *Gospel According to John* [*NICNT*, 1971], p. 854)? Or is he downplaying it, preferring the model of those "who have not seen and yet believe" (20:29) (B. Lindars, *Gospel of John* [*NCBC*, repr. 1982], p. 614)?

Thomas plays a prominent role in extracanonical literature, but few of these later traditions are at all reliable. Most plausible is the claim that Thomas traveled E to Parthia (between the Tigris and Indus rivers; see Eusebius *HE* iii.1.1) and possibly even to India. The Acts of Thomas (*see* APOCRYPHAL ACTS: THE "LEUCIAN" ACTS V) describes his ministry to the Indian King Gundaphorus (whose reign is attested in other historical sources) and his work in the trade of carpentry (in the Roman Catholic Church, Thomas is the patron saint of architects, masons, and stonecutters). For other traditions about Thomas, see H-S, II, 59f. Thomas appears also in the NT Apocrypha: he is the alleged author of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas (*see* APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS II.C), a coauthor of the Epistle of the Apostles (*see* APOCRYPHAL EPISTLES II.A), and the recipient of divine revelation in the Apocalypse of Thomas (see H-S, II, 798-803). Among the Gnostic documents of the Nag Hammadi library, his name is connected with the Coptic Gospel of Thomas (*see* APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS V.J.1) and the Book of Thomas the Contender (Athlete). These later writings, however, add no verifiable facts about the man whose name they borrow.

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THOMAS, GOSPEL OF. *See* APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS V.J.1; II.C.

THOMI tom'ī (1 Esd. 5:32, NEB); **THOMOI** tom'oi (AV). *See* TEMAH.

THONG [Heb. *'aguddâ*] (Isa. 58:6); AV BURDEN; NEB KNOT; [*môsērâ*] (Jer. 27:2); AV BOND; NEB CORD; [Gk. *himás*] (Mk. 1:7 par.); AV LATCHET; NEB "unfasten"; **SANDAL-THONG** [Heb. *śerôk-na'al*] (Gen. 14:23; Isa. 5:27); AV SHOELATCHET; NEB also SHOE-STRING. A strip of leather used for tying. Heb. *'aguddâ* occurs only four times in the OT; its basic meaning is "bundle." In Isa. 58:6 it refers figuratively to the yoke-thongs binding prisoners. Heb. *môsērâ* usually denotes bonds or chains; in Jer. 27:2, like *'aguddâ*, it refers to yoke-thongs binding prisoners (cf. Sir. 33:26). In Acts 22:25 Gk. *himás* shows a similar use: Paul was bound with thongs in preparation for a lashing (cf. 4 Macc. 9:11). Elsewhere in the NT *himás* is used only by John the Baptist, who said he was unworthy to untie the sandal thongs of Jesus (Mk. 1:7 par. Lk. 3:16; Jn. 1:27). Heb. *śerôk-na'al* occurs only in Gen. 14:23, where it is used as an example of insignificant personal property, and in Isa. 5:27, where it is mentioned as one of the items a warrior checks in preparation for battle.

See also SHOE; YOKE. D. M. HOWARD, JR.

THORN [Heb. *'āṭāḏ, ḥēḏeq, ḥô(a)ḥ, na'aṣûṣ, sîr, sallôn, ṣēn, ṣᵉnînîm, qôṣ, qimmāsôn, šayiṯ, meśûḵâ* ("thorn hedge"); Gk. *ákantha, akánthinos* ("of thorns"), *skólops*]; AV also THISTLE (Job 31:40); NEB also BRIAR, THISTLE, "heap of brushwood" (Ex. 22:6), "brushwood" (Ps. 118:12), "barbed hooks" (Josh. 23:13), "panniers" (Job 5:5), THORN-BUSH (Ps. 58:9; Hos. 2:6), WEED (Prov. 15:19), "snares" (Prov. 22:5), CAMEL-THORN (Isa. 55:13), "renegades" (Ezk. 2:6); **THISTLE** [Heb. *dardar, ḥô(a)ḥ; Gk. tríbolos* (Mt. 7:16; He. 6:8)]; AV also BRAMBLE (Isa. 34:13), BRIER (Heb. 6:8); NEB also BRIAR (Isa. 34:13); **BRAMBLE** [Heb. *'āṭāḏ, ḥô(a)ḥ*; Gk. *bátos* ("bramble bush," Lk. 6:44)]; AV also THORN (Cant. 2:2); NEB also THORN-BUSH, THORN (Jgs. 9:14f.; Cant. 2:2); **BRIER** [Heb. *barqānîm, ḥēḏeq, sillôn, sirpād, šāmîr, sārābîm*]; NEB BRIAR, also THORN (Isa. 5:6; etc.), "rebels" (Ezk. 2:6), "rank weeds" (Mic. 7:4); **THORNBUSH** [Heb. *na'aṣûṣ*] (Isa. 7:19); AV THORN; NEB CAMEL-THORN. Much confusion exists concerning the identity of these plants; for a full discussion *see MPB*.

Hebrew *'āṭāḏ* (Jgs. 9:14f.; Ps. 58:9) is probably the European boxthorn (*Lycium europaeum* L.), and Heb. *barqānîm* (Jgs. 8:7, 16) are doubtless true brambles of the genus *Rubus*, either *R. sanctus* Schreb. or *R. ulmifolius* Schott.

Hebrew *dardar* (Gen. 3:18; Hos. 10:8) is a species of true star thistle, perhaps *Centaurea calitrapa* L., *C. verutum* L., or *C. iberica* Trev. The *ḥēḏeq* (Prov. 15:19; Mic. 7:4) is probably the Palestinian buckthorn, *Rhamnus palaestina* Boiss.

A difficult term is Heb. *ḥô(a)ḥ*, for which the RSV has "thorn" (Job 31:40; Prov. 26:9; Hos. 9:6), "thistle" (2 K. 14:9; 2 Ch. 25:18), "bramble" (Cant. 2:2), and "hook" (2 Ch. 33:11; Job 41:2; *see* HOOK). The botanical references are probably to some vigorous thorn or thistle. Species of *Centaurea, Rhamnus*, and the Syrian thistle (*Carduus syriacus* L.) have all been suggested.

The "thornbush" of Isa. 7:19 (Heb. *na'aṣûṣ*, also 55:13) is probably the Syrian Christ's-thorn, *Zizyphus spina-christi* (L.) Willd. Another thorn bush, perhaps *Rhamnus palaestina* Boiss., is mentioned in Ep. Jer. 6:71 (Gk. *rhámnos*).

Hebrew *sîr* (Eccl. 7:6; Isa. 34:13; Hos. 2:6; Nah. 1:10) is perhaps the thorny burnet, *Poterium spinosum*, or the burweed, *Xanthium spinosum* L. The same word can mean "hook," as in Am. 4:2. Heb. *sirpād* in Isa. 55:13 possibly refers to the Palestinian nightshade, *Solanum sanctum* L.

General terms include Heb. *sillôn* (Ezk. 28:24), *sārābîm* (Ezk. 2:6), *ṣēn* (Job 5:5; Prov. 22:5), *ṣᵉnînîm* (Nu. 33:55; Josh. 23:13), *qôṣ* (Gen. 3:18; Ex. 22:6; Jgs. 8:7, 16; 2 S. 23:6; Ps. 118:12; Isa. 32:13; 33:12; Jer. 4:3; 12:13; Ezk. 28:24; Hos. 10:8), *qimmôš* (Prov. 24:31; elsewhere "nettles"), *šayiṯ* and *šāmîr* (Isa. 5:6; 7:23-25; 9:18; 10:17; 27:4; *šāmîr* also in 32:13), and *meśûḵâ* (Mic. 7:4; *see* HEDGE).

In the NT the terms are Gk. *ákantha* (Mt. 7:16; 13:7, 22 par.; 27:29; Lk. 6:44; Jn. 19:2; He. 6:8), *akánthinos* (Mk. 15:17; Jn. 19:5), *bátos* (Lk. 6:44), *tríbolos* (Mt. 7:16; He. 6:8), and *skólops* (2 Cor. 12:7; *see* THORN IN THE FLESH).

The variety of Hebrew terms for thorns and thistles reflects the enormous number of prickly plants in Palestine. Some of these have a striking appearance and often attain a height of 2.5 m. (8 ft.). Neglected fields are quickly overgrown with thorns and thistles (Prov. 24:30f.; cf. the parable of the SOWER, Mt. 13:9 par.), and in prophetic imagery God's defeated and exiled people is sometimes depicted as an overgrown vineyard (Isa. 5:6; Jer. 12:13). Before the peasant can cultivate land he has to burn the thorns and thistles (cf. Isa. 10:17; 27:4). Autumn winds often pick up and blow along masses of star-thistle fragments; perhaps the "thistledown" (NEB; RSV "whirling dust") of Isa. 17:13 refers to this sight. Thorns and thistles are said to be God's curse upon the ground for human sin (Gen. 3:18; cf. Isa. 7:23-25). Their removal and

replacement by more useful plants signify divine blessing (Isa. 55:13; Ezk. 28:24). Jotham's parable compares Abimelech to a useless bramble (prob. *Lycium europaeum* L.), which, unlike the olive tree, fig tree, and vine, yields no fruit and little shade (Jgs. 9:14f.). Similarly, in 2 K. 14:9 par. 2 Ch. 25:18 Jehoash of Israel contemptuously likens Amaziah of Judah to a thistle, which can easily be trodden down by a wild animal (2 K. 14:9). Similarly, the NT uses thorns and thistles as symbols of fruitlessness (Mt. 7:16; He. 6:8).

Thorns and thistles were eaten by goats and camels. Thorns burned quickly (cf. Ps. 118:12; Isa. 9:18 [MT 17]; 33:12) and were widely used as fuel for cooking (Ps. 58:9 [MT 10]; Eccl. 7:6) and for lime kilns. Fields, dwellings, and vineyards were commonly hedged with thorns, including species of *Zizyphus* and *Rhamnus* (cf., e.g., Mic. 7:4; cf. Isa. 5:5). The prickly pear (*Opuntia ficus-indica*), widely used for hedges today, was introduced rather recently to Palestine.

The Savior's thorny crown (Mt. 27:29; Mk. 15:17; Jn. 19:2, 5) was probably made from the twisted branches of a species of *Rhamnaceae*. The Syrian Christ's-thorn (*Zizyphus spina-christi*) is less likely than the *Paliurus spina-christi* Mill., another variety of Christ's-thorn, which does not grow as tall and thus would have been easier to gather.

See Plate 5 in Vol. II. R. K. HARRISON

THORN IN THE FLESH [Gk. *skólops tệ sarkí*] (2 Cor. 12:7); NEB "sharp physical pain." Paul's vague reference to a thorn in his flesh has stirred an enormous amount of discussion. The actual term "thorn" (*skólops*) means "splinter," "thorn," "sharpened stake," or even "cross." It can indicate something tiny or huge, physical or mental; the context does not identify exactly what it is. God permitted Satan to afflict Paul as he did Job (Job 2:6). Paul understood the reason for his suffering to lie in the visions and revelations that he had received (v. 7): these had the potential of making him drunk with elation and therefore proud and boastful. The Lord used Satan's affliction to discipline Paul (cf. He. 12:10) and to demonstrate cogently that His power did not require human effort to be effective (v. 9). The affliction seemed to hamper Paul's work, and he prayed for its removal three times (v. 8). But it was to be permanent, as Paul soon learned, and productive of many blessings (vv. 9f., 12; 13:3).

The thorn, called "a messenger of Satan," could possibly refer to Paul's opponents, who are mentioned so frequently in the context (e.g., 2 Cor. 11:13). But the phrase itself does not require a personal reference: the thorn may equally well be a mental or physical liability. Exactly the same figure of speech occurs in Nu. 33:55; here the reference of the thorns is explicit — the inhabitants of Canaan as potential enemies of Israel. Possibly 2 Corinthians itself offers a clue in its references to Paul's great sufferings in Asia (1:8f.) or even his afflictions in Macedonia (7:5). Nevertheless, the allusion is stubbornly vague.

There has, however, been no dearth of efforts to pinpoint it. Tertullian thought that the "thorn" was an earache or headache (*On Modesty* 13). Chrysostom was sure that it referred to Paul's enemies (*Hom. 26 in 1 Cor.*). Augustine saw in it a general description of Paul's physical sufferings. Influenced by a bad translation in the Vulgate (*stimulus carnis*), many Catholic interpreters detected an allusion to sexual lusts. Among the solutions proposed by modern scholars are an eye affliction (cf. Gal. 6:11), epilepsy (cf. Acts 22:17), hysteria, malaria, and speech impediment. P. H. Menoud believed that Paul referred to the continual anguish caused by Israel's unbelief.

This remarkable confusion has resulted from attempts to supply information that Paul did not provide. Possibly Paul's readers knew his reference. Some interpreters (e.g., Hughes) have refused to guess, and so should we all. The word "thorn" is a general term in Scripture for sorrow and suffering, and nothing in it can indicate whether the suffering was physical or spiritual. Many of the suggested interpretations are clearly possible, but none can be proved or disproved.

Bibliography.—Comms. on 2 Corinthians by C. K. Barrett (*HNTC*, 1973), F. F. Bruce (*NCBC*, 1971), V. P. Furnish (*AB*, 1984), P. E. Hughes (*NICNT*, 1960), and R. P. Martin (*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1986); also P. H. Menoud, *Jesus Christ and the Faith* (Eng. tr., Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 18, 1978), pp. 19-30; N. G. Smith, *Interp.*, 13 (1959), 409-416; *TDNT*, III, *s.v.* κολαφίζω (Schmidt); VII, *s.v.* σκόλοψ (Delling); J. J. Thierry, *Nov.Test.*, 5 (1962), 301-310. C. H. PINNOCK

THOUSAND [Heb. *'eleṗ*; Gk. *chiliás, chílioi*]. *See* NUMBER IV, V. J.

THRACIAN thrā'shən [Gk. *Thrqx*] (2 Macc. 12:35). A person from Thrace. Ancient Thrace was a region in the Balkan peninsula in what is now northeastern Greece, southern Bulgaria, and European Turkey, generally the area between the Strymon (Nestus) and Danube Rivers (*see* Map XVI in Vol. I). The Thracians, who had a reputation for military prowess, were often employed as mercenary soldiers, like the horseman of 2 Macc. 12:35 who rescued Gorgias.

THRASAEUS thrā-sē'əs; **THRASEUS.** The NEB and AV translations, respectively, of Gk. *Thrasaios* in 2 Macc. 3:5; according to these versions, the name of the father of Apollonius. The RSV, however, interprets it as TARSUS, a place name (see J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* [*AB*, 1983], p. 204).

THREAD [Heb. *ḥûṭ*] (Gen. 14:23; Jgs. 16:12; Cant. 4:3); NEB also PACK-THREAD; [*šānî*–'scarlet'] (Gen. 38:28, 30); [*pāṭîl*–'twisted cord'] (Ex. 39:3); AV WIRE; NEB BRAID. The AV, RSV, and NEB differ in their interpretations of Heb. *'ammaṭ biṣ'ēḳ* (lit. "the cubit of your being cut off") in Jer. 51:13. The RSV offers a free translation of the MT: "the thread of your life is cut." The AV ("the measure of your covetousness") understands *biṣ'ēḳ* in terms of the noun *beṣa'* ("gain, profit") rather than the verb *bāṣa'* ("cut off"). The NEB ("your destiny is certain") follows the LXX in reading Heb. *'ĕmeṭ* (lit. "truth," thus "certain") instead of MT *'ammaṭ*. In the MT the phrase is a metaphor from the WEAVING industry: cutting the wool symbolizes death (cf. Isa. 38:12).

See also SEW. N. J. O.

THREE [Heb. *šālōš;* Gk. *treís*]. *See* NUMBER V.C.

THREE CHILDREN, SONG OF THE. *See* SONG OF THE THREE YOUNG MEN.

THREE TAVERNS [Gk. *Treis Tabernai* < Lat. *Tres Tabernae*] (Acts 28:15); NEB TRES TABERNAE. A station on the Appian Way, 33 Roman mi. (48 km., 30 mi.) SE of Rome, between Aricia (16 Roman mi.) and the forum of Appius (43 Roman mi.; cf. *CIL* x,6825). Christians from Rome traveled there to welcome Paul. Horace traveled the same route (*Satires* i.5.1-3) before continuing his way by canal barge through the Pomptine marshes (cf. Strabo *Geog.* v.3.6 [233]). Three Taverns is mentioned several

times in the letters of Cicero (*Ad Atticum* i.13; ii.10, 12). It lay at the crossing of the road from Antium to Norba.

Bibliography.–K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (1916), p. 335; Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd series, IV/2, 1875. C. J. HEMER

THREESCORE. Three times a score (twenty), i.e., "sixty." In the AV "threescore" most often translates Heb. *šiššîm* or Gk. *hexḗkonta* ("sixty"), but "threescore and ten" usually renders Heb. *šiḇʿîm* ("seventy"; cf. RSV Ps. 90:10; *see* NUMBER V.F).

THRESH; THRESHING [Heb. *dûš* (2 K. 13:7; 1 Ch. 21:20; Isa 28:28; 41:15; Hos. 10:11; Am. 1:3; Mic. 4:13; hophal, Isa. 28:27), *dayiš* (Lev. 26:5), *mᵉḏuššâ* ("threshed one," Isa. 21:10), *ḥāḇaṭ* (Isa. 27:12); Gk. *aloáō* (1 Cor. 9:10)]; AV also TREAD (Hos. 10:11), BEAT OFF (Isa. 27:12); NEB also "under foot" (2 K. 13:7), CRUSHING, TREAD OUT, BEAT OUT (Isa. 27:12); **THRESHING FLOOR** [Heb. *gōren* (Ge. 50:10f.; Nu. 15:20; 18:27, 30; etc.), *ʿālâ*–'go up' ("come up to the threshing floor," Job 5:26); Aram. *ʾiddar* (Dnl. 2:35); Gk. *hálōn* (Mt. 3:12 par. Lk. 3:17)]; AV also FLOOR, VOID PLACE (1 K. 22:10 par. 2 Ch. 18:9), CORN (Dt. 16:13), BARN (FLOOR), "come in" (Job 5:26); NEB omits in 1 K. 22:10 par. 2 Ch. 18:9; **THRESHING SLEDGE** [Heb. *môrag* (2 S. 24:22; 1 Ch. 21:23), *ḥārûṣ* (Job 41:30; Isa. 28:27; 41:15; Am. 1:3)]; AV also SHARP POINTED THINGS; NEB also SLEDGE.

The Hebrew verb *dûš* (Gk. *aloáō*) denotes the activity of threshing, i.e., the separation of seed from the husks of the grain. The harvested grain was spread out on a threshing floor (Heb. *gōren;* Aram. *ʾiddar;* Gk. *hálōn*), a hard, level surface in the open air, which was prepared by first removing the stones and then packing down the earth. Circular in shape, these floors usually had a border of stones to keep in the grain. They were located outside the town or village in places where the prevailing breezes would carry away the chaff in the subsequent WINNOWING process. Many threshing floors belonged to individuals (e.g., Atad, Gen. 50:10; Araunah, 2 S. 24:16), but some may have been communally owned (cf. 1 K. 22:10 par. 2 Ch. 18:9; but *see* VOID).

Various implements were used in threshing. The sledge (Heb. *ḥārûṣ* or *môrag*) was a flat, heavy wooden board to the underside of which were affixed sharp stones or pieces of metal. As the sledge was dragged over the grain, with stones or people on top of it to add to its weight, it tore the grain from the husks (e.g., Isa. 41:15). In other instances a cart with toothed rollers was used (e.g., 28:28). The sledge or cart was drawn either by horses (v. 28) or by oxen (which were not to be muzzled, Dt. 25:4). These implements were not used, however, on dill and cummin (Isa. 28:27); because of their delicacy and small quantities, such crops were beaten with a flail (cf. Jgs. 6:11). The verb *dûš* is sometimes used figuratively to express the idea of destruction by pulverization into myriad pieces (e.g., 2 K. 13:7; Mic. 4:13). The cognate noun *mᵉḏuššâ* in Isa. 21:10 denotes a nation that has been "threshed."

Threshing floors were favorite targets for thieves and raiders (1 S. 23:1). Thus farmers had to guard their harvested crops closely, and someone usually slept on the threshing floor through the night (cf. Ruth 3). It seems, however, that such hardships were softened by feasting (3:3) and sometimes by the services of harlots (Hos. 9:1). The threshing season (*dayiš*), usually from May to August, would in good times last until the time of vintage in the fall.

Traditional village threshing in Palestine seems to be virtually identical to that described in the Bible. Threshing carts in Egypt and Palestine are made of a frame with three wooden rollers set with sharp points. Sledges are made of solid wooden planking embedded with similar sharp points and are dragged over the grain.

See also AGRICULTURE III.A.3; GRAIN; HARVEST.

Bibliography.–S. Smith, *PEQ*, 1946, pp. 5-14; *WBA*, p. 185. L. G. HERR

THRESHOLD. *See* HOUSE III.C.

THRESHOLD, KEEPER OF THE [Heb. *šōmēr hassap*] (2 K. 22:4; 23:4; 25:18; 1 Ch. 9:19; 2 Ch. 34:9; Jer. 35:4; 52:24); AV KEEPER OF THE DOOR, KEEPER OF THE GATE; NEB also "on duty at the entrance," GUARD OF THE THRESHOLD, etc. A high-ranking officer among the temple personnel. The importance of this priestly post is suggested by the fact that three keepers of the threshold are mentioned along with the chief priest and the second priest in Jer. 52:24. The primary task of these officers was to guard against the intrusion of Gentiles or any other profane or unclean elements into the temple precincts.

See also GATEKEEPER. N. J. O.

THRONE [Heb. *kissē'* (Gen. 41:40; Ex. 11:5; etc.), *kissēh* < *kissē'* (1 K. 10:19); Aram. *kārsē'* (Dnl. 5:20; 7:9); Gk. *thrónos* (Mt. 5:34; 19:28; etc.), *bḗma*–'speaker's platform' (Acts 12:21)]; AV GOD (Rev. 20:12), HEAVEN (Rev. 21:3), SEAT (Rev. 13:2; 16:10); etc.; NEB also KING (Eccl. 4:14), ROSTRUM (Acts 12:21), RULE (Rev. 13:2), etc.

The Hebrew word has identical cognates in Ugaritic (*ks'*) and Akkadian (*kussû*) and the basic meaning of the root *ks'* is "seat of honor." In the OT the term designates divine thrones (e.g., 1 K. 22:19; Ps. 11:4), royal thrones (e.g., of Egypt, Gen. 41:40; Israel, 1 K. 1:46; Babylon, Jer. 43:10; Assyria, Jonah 3:6; and Persia, Est. 1:2), as well as conveying ideas of kingship, dominion, and authority (2 S. 3:10; 7:13; 2 K. 11:19; Jer. 49:38; Zec. 6:13). The close link between the king and the throne can be seen in 2 S. 14:9, where the association connotes "ruling dynasty," and in 1 K. 16:11, where the authority to reign commences on ascension to the throne.

Generally in the ancient world accession to the royal throne was accompanied by an ENTHRONEMENT festival or ritual. The basic components of the Israelite ritual, which can be reconstructed from the accounts of Solomon's and Joash's enthronements, included the anointing of the king, the blowing of trumpets, sacrifices and feasting, an oath of allegiance by the general populace, and a procession from the holy place to the throne (1 K. 1:32-40; 2 K. 11:4-20; cf. 1 K. 1:5-10, 41-53).

While the throne is the privilege of the king, Heb. *kissē'* is also used in conjunction with the seat of the queen mother (1 K. 2:19) and lesser positions of authority like tribal judgeships (Jgs. 3:20), the jurisdiction of Nehemiah as governor (Neh. 3:7), and perhaps the priesthood (cf. 1 S. 1:9; 4:13, 18; Zec. 6:13).

Royal thrones in the ancient Near East were made of wood and were usually high-backed chairs with armrests and an accompanying footstool (cf., e.g., *ANEP*, nos. 379, 416f., 421f., 458; *see* pictures in ART; FOOTSTOOL; GARMENTS; KISS; MEGIDDO). Adornment included carvings of animal shapes, geometric designs, and astrological signs, along with ivory inlays, gold-leaf overlays, and insets of precious stones. Solomon's throne room was called the "Hall of Judgment" (1 K. 7:7) and his elaborate throne described in detail in 1 K. 10:18-20 appears to be patterned after a Phoenician prototype (cf. *ANEP*, nos.

The throne of Tutankhamen found in his tomb (1361-1352 B.C.). Made of wood, it is overlaid with sheet gold, inlaid with precious stones, and ornamented with animal shapes, such as winged cobras wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo Egyptian Expedition)

456, 458, 460). The throne as a symbol of royal authority was moveable, as the kings of both Israel and Judah held audience on their thrones at the gate of Samaria (1 K. 22:10; cf. Jer. 1:15; 43:10).

Although thrones were symbols of human governments, the Hebrews recognized that all thrones were established by Yahweh, the sovereign ruler of the nations who sets up kings and removes them (Ps. 47:7f. [MT 8f.]; cf. Dnl. 2:20-23). Israelite kingship especially was to mirror the rule of their God, a throne established through justice, mercy, and righteousness — not violence (2 Ch. 9:8; 13:8; Ps. 122:5; Prov. 16:12; 20:8, 28; 25:5; 29:14; Isa. 16:5). In fact, the throne of the Davidic dynasty is called the throne of Yahweh over Israel (1 Ch. 28:5; 29:23; cf. Ps. 45:6f. [MT 7f.]). To this end the throne of David is equated with the throne of Messiah (Isa. 9:6), a throne established in steadfast love and occupied by one who sits in faithfulness, who judges, seeks justice, and is quick to do righteousness (Isa. 16:5; cf. Jer. 33:12-26; Ezk. 37:24-28; Hag. 2:20-22).

The throne of Yahweh is in the heavens (Ps. 11:4; 103:19), and the earth serves as His footstool (Isa. 66:1). The OT conception of the throne of God borrows its imagery from the earthly counterpart as shown by the deliberate juxtaposition of the two in 1 K. 22:10, 19 and 2 Ch. 18:9, 18 (cf. Isa. 6:1-5; Ezk. 1:15-28; 10:1-22). The throne of God is from eternity (Ps. 93;2) to eternity (Lam. 5:19). It is founded on righteousness, justice, steadfast love, and faithfulness (Ps. 9:4 [MT 5]; 89:14 [MT 15]; 97:2), and the authority of His sacred throne extends over all nations (Ps. 47:8 [MT 9]). Yahweh's throne is surrounded by the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders who offer Him praise and worship continually (Rev. 4:2-11). When Israel is restored at the end of the age, Jerusalem shall be called the throne of God (Jer. 3:17), for His divine presence will emanate from His throne in the new temple (Ezk. 43:7).

According to the NT, Jesus as the Son of Man will ascend His glorious throne to rule His kingdom when He returns in the eschaton (Mt. 19:28; 25:31; cf. Dnl. 7:9, 22). Unlike the pardoning mercy that now streams from the throne of grace where Christ is seated at the right hand of God (He. 4:16; 8:1; 12:2), then judgment for the nations will issue from His throne in the form of rewards for the righteous and punishment for the wicked (Mt. 25:32-46). Those who conquer sin and the evil one by faith in the Amen and by righteous living will share in Christ's millennial rule (Rev. 3:21), and their names will be found in the book of life at the judgment at the great white throne, God's final judgment of humanity at the conclusion of the millennium (Rev. 20:11-15).

Elsewhere in the NT, Paul combats false teaching in the church at Colossae by asserting that angels have no power apart from Christ (Col. 1:15-20). The "thrones" mentioned in 1:16 are apparently a high class of angels, perhaps similar to the twenty-four elders who sit on thrones in the presence of God (cf. Rev. 4:4-11; see W. Hendriksen, *Colossians and Ephesians* [1964], pp. 72-74).

Finally, John locates the "throne of Satan" in Pergamum (Rev. 2:13). The difficult phrase has prompted several suggestions, but the most plausible interpretation is to understand Pergamum as the center of satanic activity in the East, even as Rome was in the West due to the combined influences of the widespread pagan idol worship and firmly entrenched emperor cult found there (cf. R. H. Mounce, *Book of Revelation* [*NICNT*, 1977], pp. 96f.). That Satan has a throne is presupposed in Rev. 13:2 when the dragon gives the beast his power, throne, and authority. Later the fifth angel pours his bowl of wrath on the throne of the beast (16:10) and at the second coming of Christ his kingdom of darkness is overcome by the fury of the Word of God (19:9-21).

See also ARK OF THE COVENANT; JUDGMENT SEAT; KING; SEAT.

Bibliography.—*TDNT*, III, *s.v.* θρόνος (O. Schmitz); *TWOT*, I, 448.

A. E. HILL

THRUM. The NEB translation of Heb. *dallâ* in Isa. 38:12 (RSV "loom"). "Thrum" is a technical term of weavers, denoting the threads of the warp hanging down in a loom. *See* WEAVING.

THUMMIM. *See* URIM AND THUMMIN.

THUNDER; THUNDERING; THUNDEROUS [Heb. *ra'am*, hiphil of *rā'am*, *qôl*–'voice,' *rōgez* (Job 37:2), *hāmôn*–'uproar,' 'crowd' (Isa. 17:12; 33:3), *hāmâ*–'make noise,' 'roar' (Isa. 17:12), *te'šu'â*–'noise' (Job 36:29); Gk. *bronté*, *gínomai bronté* (Jn. 12:29)]; AV also VOICE, NOISE, MULTITUDE, TUMULT (Isa. 33:3); NEB also NOISE, ROAR, etc.; **THUNDERBOLT** [Heb. *ha'zîz qôlôṯ*] (Job 38:25); AV "lightning of thunder"; NEB THUNDERSTORM; [*rešep*] (Ps. 78:48); NEB "arrow of pestilence"; **THUNDERPEAL** [Gk. *bronté*] (Rev. 19:6); AV THUNDERINGS; NEB ROARS OF THUNDER.

Thunder and LIGHTNING are normally phenomena of the stormy winter season from October to early April, but in exceptional cases they may occur in late April or even

early May (1 S. 12:17f.). They are often very limited in extent, and a torrential thunderstorm may sometimes soak the fields of one village but leave the fields immediately adjacent completely dry (Am. 4:7). The occasional rain of the desert regions frequently takes the form of a very heavy thunderstorm.

Almost without exception biblical references to thunder and thunderstorms speak of them as the direct activity of God (e.g., Ex. 9:23-34; 1 S. 7:10; Ps. 104:7). Thunder is an awesome manifestation of divine power, altogether beyond human comprehension (Job 26:14; 38:25; 40:9). Sometimes thunder accompanies God's speaking to His people. In Jn. 12:29 the voice of God from heaven is thought by many bystanders to be no more than thunder. When God gave the law upon Mt. Sinai there were "thunders and lightnings and a thick cloud upon the mount" (Ex. 19:16; 20:18), and in the book of Revelation thunder accompanies all the proclamations from heaven (Rev. 4:5; 6:1; 8:5; 10:3f.; etc.).

On Mk. 3:17 *see* BOANERGES.

See also STORM; NATURAL FEATURES VII.

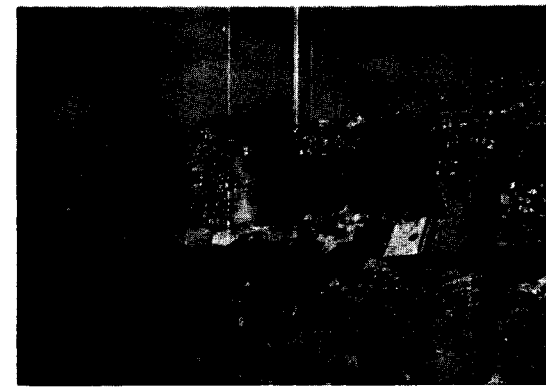
D. BALY

THYATIRA thī-ə-tī'rə [Gk. *Thyateira*] (Acts 16:14; Rev. 1:11; 2:18, 24). A city in Asia Minor, lying off the main highway between Pergamum to the west and Sardis to the southeast (for the NT relevance of this see S. Johnson, *JBL*, 77 [1958], 1), 80 km. (50 mi.) NE of Smyrna on a branch of the Hermus River; today the town of Akhisar. In ancient times the region was sometimes classed as Mysia, although it was more properly in the northern part of Lydia.

Not much is known about the early history of the town. It was apparently first founded as Pelopia, a shrine of the Lydian sun-god Tyrimnus. This solar-deity background might plausibly underlie the description of Christ as having eyes "like a flame of fire" and feet "like burnished bronze" (Rev. 2:18). On coins, however, Tyrimnus is represented simply as a horseman with a (Hittite) double-headed battle-ax. Seleucus Nicator (301-281 B.C.) rebuilt the town and made it an important frontier garrison. It became a center of small manufacture and trade, vassal to Pergamum after 190 and to Rome after 133.

Thyatira was famous in the ancient world both for its highly organized trade unions (actually "cooperatives") and for its special technology for producing "purple" (Turkish red) dye from the madder root rather than shellfish. The first recorded Christian convert beyond Asiatic soil was Lydia at Philippi (Acts 16:14). Since she was from Thyatira, it is not merely coincidental that she was a seller of purple goods. It is going too far to see in her a matriarch inaugurating a "tradition of female leadership" that was abused by an incumbent called Jezebel in Rev. 2:20-25 (E. M. Blaiklock, *Cities of the NT* [1965], p. 110).

Acts 16:14 characterizes Lydia as "a worshiper of God" who prayed with other women on the sabbath by the river outside Philippi. This is usually interpreted to mean that she was a gentile convert to Judaism, and that therefore a colony of Jews had earlier become established at Thyatira. Acts 19:10 states, however, that gentile as well as Jewish residents of the coastal towns of Asia Minor heard Paul's preaching during his two years in Ephesus (*ca.* 52-55), and it is possible that a Christian community was founded in Thyatira at this time.



Ruins of ancient Thyatira (L. K. Smith)

At any rate, the Christian community that was firmly established in Thyatira by A.D. 95 had special local problems arising from the semireligious traditions of the trade guilds (see W. Ramsay, *Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* [1941]). A more general problem was that of eating at banquets meat that had been slaughtered under the invocation of false divinities (Rev. 2:20; cf. Acts 15:29). Some Christian casuists of Thyatira seem to have argued that membership in a trade guild was necessary for earning one's living, and that participation in its banquets did not necessarily involve a religious commitment to the deities being honored. Such Christians probably reasoned that one day their enrollment in a guild would be sufficiently strong to "secularize" it, but this could never happen unless for a time they conformed minimally to existing guild practices.

Some exegetes see these compromises as the "immorality" or "deep things of Satan" that were inculcated by "Jezebel" (Rev. 2:20, 24). Although this view might be correct, the text affords no real proof that the harsh name of JEZEBEL (an allusion to the OT queen) is here applied to an active member of the Christian community rather than, e.g., the known priestess of an oracular Sambethe cult (Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 657ff.). Despite the warning against cooperation with Jezebel, the local churchgoers are specially praised for continuing their faithful works (Rev. 2:19, 24f.). *See also* SEVEN CHURCHES.

Thyatira has a few remains of the temples and other buildings for which Caracalla (A.D. 211-217) received the title "Local Benefactor." Explorers have found smaller monumental remains, mostly columns or tombstones built into humble homes. From *ca.* 200 the city was wholly Christian but Montanist (Epiphanius *Haer.* 51.33; *LTK*, X, 176f.). In 1313 the neighboring Muslim metropolis of Manisa took over Thyatira, thenceforth named *Ak-Hisar* from its "White Castle." It was incorporated into the Ottoman empire after 1425.

See *Der Kleine Pauly* (5 vols., 1964-1975), p. 5804 (E. Olshausen).

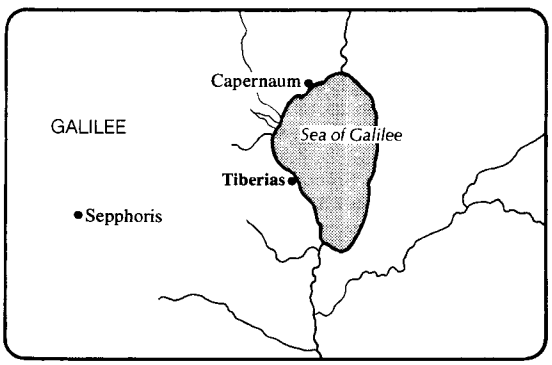
R. NORTH

THYINE thī'in (Rev. 18:12, AV). *See* SCENT, SCENTED WOOD.

TIBERIAS tī-bēr'ē-əs [Gk. *Tiberias*]. A leading city on the west coast of the Sea of Galilee. Built by Herod Antipas

ca. A.D. 18-22 to serve as the capital of his tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea, and named in honor of the emperor Tiberius, the city is mentioned only once in the NT (Jn. 6:23). Although it was the largest and most important city of the region and lay less than 16 km. (10 mi.) along the shore SW of Capernaum, there is no evidence that Jesus ever visited it during His public ministry. This was undoubtedly due to the Greek spirit of the city and Jesus' principle of going to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The modern designations, Arab. Ṭabarîyeh and Heb. Tᵉvaryah, preserve the name Tiberias.

In 4 B.C. Herod Antipas had built Sepphoris as his capital; but later he chose the new site along the western shore of Galilee because it was more central to the two districts under his control and more closely related to the important system of roads. When Tiberias was under construction, workmen stumbled onto an ancient burial place, and the Jews withdrew because of the ceremonial uncleanness of the site (cf. Nu. 19:11-13). By coercion and promises of houses and land, Herod managed to populate the city with an odd assortment of poor people and foreigners (Josephus *Ant.* xviii.2.3 [36-38]). It grew rapidly, nevertheless, and soon boasted many public works of beauty and the "finest synagogue in Galilee."



The modern Tiberias lies near the northern end of the crescent-shaped plain on the west shore of the sea of Galilee. Since it is almost 200 m. (700 ft.) below sea level and shut off from the western breezes by the mountains, the climate is hot and humid. Extensive ruins indicate that the ancient settlement lay S of the plain. Josephus spoke of the "hot spring not far from it in a village called Ammathus" (*Ant.* xviii.2.3 [36-38]). This village is usually identified with the old fortified city of Hammath in Josh. 19:35 and may account for the ancient graveyard encountered in laying the foundations for Tiberias. The ruins include a palace, the famous "Golden House," on the acropolis to the northwest; a long wall on the land side fortified with towers; and the foundations of many buildings. All indications are that the city was a flourishing metropolis in the time of Christ.

When the Jewish War broke out in A.D. 66 the inhabitants of Tiberias remained loyal to the Jewish cause; but when Vespasian laid siege with three legions in 67 they opened their gates to Roman occupation. The city was dishonored by Herod Agrippa II's moving the capital back to Sepphoris.

In the early 2nd cent. Tiberias became a center of Jewish learning. A city once declared unclean by the Jews became one of the four sacred cities in Palestine (Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed being the others). The Sanhedrin was moved there from Sepphoris *ca.* A.D. 150, and several schools of rabbinic study were established. Under

The synagogue at Tiberias looking east to the Sea of Galilee (D. Blatt)

the famous Rabbi Judah the Prince, the Mishnah was compiled (*ca.* 220). Tiberian vowel pointing was developed, and in the 4th cent. the Palestinian Talmud was codified there. Tiberias was the burial place of the great Maimonides, as well as Akiba and, reportedly, 24,000 of his disciples. The Talmud reports thirteen synagogues in Tiberias (*Berakoth* 8a, 30b; *see* Vol. III, Plate 3). Although Constantine built a church and established a bishopric in the city, Christianity has never flourished there. The region is subject to severe earthquakes; on Jan. 1, 1837, Tiberias was almost destroyed.

See *EAEHL*, IV, *s.v.* "Tiberias, Hammath" (M. Dothan).

R. H. MOUNCE

TIBERIAS, SEA OF. *See* GALILEE, SEA OF.

TIBERIUS tī-bē'ri-us [Gk. *Tiberios*]. Successor of Augustus Caesar as the second Roman emperor. Born Tiberius Claudius Nero on November 16, 42 B.C., his father — of the same name — was an officer under Julius Caesar. His mother, Livia Drusilla of the Claudian family, divorced his father in 38 B.C. and became the third wife of Augustus.

Tiberius spent his early life in successful campaigns in the regions of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Armenia, and Gaul. In 12 B.C. he became a consul, receiving proconsular authority three years later. In 11 B.C. he was obliged to divorce his wife, Vipsania Agrippina, to marry the daughter of Augustus, Julia, who was subsequently banished by her father for immorality. After bitter personal and political disputes with Augustus, Tiberius retired in voluntary exile to Rhodes for study (6 B.C.), returning to Rome after eight years. When all hope of direct succession was lost, both he and Agrippa Postumus were adopted reluctantly by Augustus on June 26, A.D. 4, at which time he was renamed Tiberius Julius Caesar and appointed tribune. Eight years later he became military governor of the Roman provinces and soon was raised by special law to a position of co-regency (A.D. 13; A.D. 11 according to Mommsen). At the age of 56, Tiberius was named emperor by the Senate (September 17, A.D. 14), one month after the death of Augustus, and assumed the designation Tiberius Caesar Augustus. In A.D. 26 he retired to the island of Capri where he died on March 16, A.D. 37. He was succeeded as emperor by Caligula.

A statue (A.D. 14-37) of Tiberius Claudius Nero (Vatican Museum, photo Philip Gendreau, NY)

The reign of Tiberius was conservative, primarily preserving the earlier policies of Augustus. Included among the principal events of his twenty-three-year rule are the campaigns of Germanicus and Drusus, the withdrawal of the Romans to the Rhine, the settlement of the Armenian question, the rise and fall of Sejanus, and the submission of Parthia. While lenient in taxation, Tiberius's strict administration of the economy increased the revenues of the empire. He further elevated the standards of civil service and the administration of justice, though a personal fear of conspiracy resulted in numerous death sentences for his rivals. Ancient historians differ in their estimates of Tiberius: contemporary sources are favorable to his reign (Velleius Paterculus 2; Valerius Maximus *Praef.*), though later senatorial historians exaggerate his faults (Tacitus *Ann.* i-vi; Dio Cassius *Hist.* xlvi-xlviii; Suetonius *Tiberius*).

Tiberius is mentioned by name once in the NT (Lk. 3:1) and as "Caesar" in numerous other instances (though Lk. 2:1 is a reference to Augustus). Jesus' public ministry occurred during his reign. Lk. 3:1 places the first appearance of John the Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign, though this leaves unclear the point at which the Evangelist marks the beginning of Tiberius's rule. The silver denarius coin mentioned in the NT (cf. Mt. 22:15-21; Mk. 12:13-17; Lk. 20:20-26; 23:2) no doubt bore the image of Tiberius, accompanied by the inscription "Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus, Augustus" (*see* picture in MONEY). Tiberius himself never laid claim to divinity.

Showing no enthusiasm for foreign religions and cults, Tiberius's reign saw the expulsion of all Jews from Rome in A.D. 19 (Josephus *Ant.* xviii.3.5 [81-84]), though they were allowed to return later in his administration. While he probably had no knowledge of nascent Christianity in Palestine, his policies affected much of the religion's early history there.

Tiberius both appointed Pontius Pilate to Judea in A.D. 26, in accordance with his practice of governing Palestine by Roman procurators, and removed him from office ten years later. Early Christian authors were inspired to record Pilate's report of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus to the emperor (Justin Martyr *Apol.* i.35; Tertullian *Apol.* xxi; Eusebius *HE* ii.2).

Bibliography.–J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant* (1902); F. B. Marsh, *Reign of Tiberius* (1931); *CAH*, X, 607-652; R. Seager, *Tiberius* (1972); A. Lippold, *Kleine Pauly*, V (1985), 814-18.

C. N. JEFFORD

TIBHATH tib'hath [Heb. *tiḇḥaṯ*] (1 Ch. 18:8). A city belonging to Hadadezer the Aramean king of Zobah, whose domain stretched from the central Lebanese Beqaʿ as far as the upper Euphrates. King David of Israel, in the aftermath of his considerable victory over the Arameans, brought to Jerusalem large supplies of bronze taken from Tibhath, Berothai (2 S. 8:8), and CUN; these materials were later used in Solomon's construction. In 2 S. 8:8 the MT reads *beṭaḥ* (Betah) in place of Tibhath, but it should be read *teḇaḥ* with the Syriac (cf. also Lucian). TEBAH, the nephew of Abraham (Gen. 22:24) and ancestor of an Aramean tribe, may have been the founder of this city.

The city is identified with Am. Tab. Ṭubiḫi, a town described as situated in the country of Amurru, i.e., roughly the territory between Tunip and Baalbek.

B. J. BEITZEL

TIBNI tib'nī [Heb. *tiḇnî*] (1 K. 16:21f.). One of three rivals for the throne of Israel after Zimri's assassination of King Baasha. Following Omri's defeat of Zimri, Tibni waged a civil war against Omri for four or five years. The struggle ended with Tibni's death and Omri's ascent to the throne. Some have suggested that Tibni is a nickname meaning "man of straw," a parody of the name *Tabni* (LXX) (see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970], p. 365).

TIDAL tī'dəl [Heb. *tiḏʿāl*; Gk *thargal*; Hitt. *tudḫaliyas*]. The king of GOIIM, who, along with Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, and Chedorlaomer king of Elam, fought a war against the kings of the five "cities of the valley" in the time of Abraham (Gen. 14:1, 9). The name Tidal can be identified with Tudḫaliyas, the name of at least five Hittite kings of the 18th-13th cents. B.C. (*see* HITTITES). The earliest of these, who is thought to have lived before 1700, is known only from a sacrificial list of former rulers. A grandfather and grandson by the name of Tudḫaliyas ruled in the second half of the 15th cent., and one of them — it is not certain which — was responsible for reasserting Hittite power in Syria after a period of domination by the Egyptians and the Hurrian empire of Mitanni. Yet another Tudḫaliyas reigned early in the 14th cent.; though a weak ruler himself, he

was the father of the great Suppiluliuma, who established the Hittite empire. The last known Hittite king with the name Tudḫaliyas lived in the mid-13th century.

It is not clear, however, that one of these is intended by the biblical references to Tidal. The name of his country, Goiim or "Nations," does not refer to the Hittites elsewhere; the king of Goiim mentioned in Josh. 12:23 seems to have ruled somewhere in Galilee (so RSV, following LXX against MT "Gilgal"), perhaps at Harosheth-ha-goiim (Jgs. 4:2). Goiim is sometimes compared to Umman-Manda ("the people of Manda"), a general term in cuneiform texts for the warlike peoples of the northern mountains; but the Umman-Manda were enemies of the Hittites.

P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

TIDINGS [Heb. piel of *bāśar*, hithpael of *bāśar* (2 S. 18:31), *bᵉśōrâ* (2 S. 18:20, 22, 25, 27), *dāḇār*, *šēmaʿ*–'report' (Gen. 29:13), *šᵉmûʿâ*]; AV also (for part. *mᵉḇaśśēr*) MESSENGER, "who publish it," RUMOUR, WORD; NEB NEWS, RUMOUR, MESSAGE, SENTENCE, etc. A piece of news, either good or bad. Heb. *dāḇār* (lit. "word," "matter") refers to bad news in the three passages in which the RSV renders it "tidings" (Ex. 33:4; 1 S. 11:5; Jonah 3:6). Heb. *šᵉmûʿâ* (lit. "something heard," "report") can denote either good news or bad news (cf. RSV "news" in 2 S. 4:4; 1 K. 2:28; Prov. 15:30; 25:25; "rumor" in 2 K. 19:7; Jer. 10:22; etc.; "report" in Jer. 51:46; 1 K. 10:7; etc.). In the passages in which it is rendered "tidings" it always denotes bad news (1 S. 4:19; 2 S. 13:30; Ps. 11:7; Jer. 49:14, 23; Ezk. 21:7 [MT 12]; Dnl. 11:44; Ob. 1).

The root *bśr* in other ancient Near Eastern languages (e.g., Arabic, Aramaic, Ugaritic) generally denotes "good news" (*TDOT*, II, 313). In the OT it usually refers to good news from the battlefield (e.g., Ps. 68:11 [MT 12]), although in 1 S. 4:17 the part. *mᵉḇaśśēr* refers to the messenger who brought Eli the news of Israel's defeat and his sons' death. In 2 S. 18:19-31 the message of Absalom's death is bad news for King David; but it is considered good news by Ahimaaz (v. 19), and the king had expected the news to be favorable (v. 27; cf. 1 K. 1:42). The imagery of Isa. 40:9; 41:27; 52:7; 61:1; Nah. 1:15 (MT 2:1) clearly depicts a messenger who announces joyful news of Yahweh's saving deeds (*see* GOSPEL II).

See also GLAD TIDINGS; GOOD NEWS; MESSENGER.

Bibliography.–KoB, pp. 156f., 985f.; *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bśr" (Schilling).

N. J. O.

TIGLATH-PILESER tig'lath-pil-ē'zer **TIGLATH-PILNESER** tig'lath-pil-nē'zər [Heb. *tiglaṯ pil'eser* (2 K. 15:29), *tiglaṯ pᵉleser* (2 K. 16:7), *tiglaṯ pilnᵉ'eser* (1 Ch. 5:6), *tiglaṯ pilneser* (1 Ch. 5:26); Assyr. *Tukulti-apil-ešarra*, "my trust [is] in the heir of [the temple] E-sharra"; Aram. *tgltplsr*, Zinjirli stela]. The name of three Assyrian kings, only one of whom is significant for biblical studies.

I. Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1115-1077 B.C.).–Tiglath-pileser referred to himself as the son of Aššur-reš-iši (1133-1116), the grandson of Mutakkil-Nusku (1134), and lawful descendant of Aššur-dân (1179-1135?) (Mutakkil-Nusku and Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur were sons of Aššur-dân, and each occupied the throne for a *ṭuppu*, i.e., either an unspecified period or a period of less than a year), and descendant of Urta-apil-Ekur (1192-1180; cf. *ARAB*, I, §§ 255-58). Hence there was considerable stability in the land. He left detailed records for his first five years, and after that we have only scattered inscriptions. We know that his first campaigns were toward the north, against the Muški (Phrygians) and their tributaries, against the Nairi (in the region of Lake Van), even as far as the "Upper Sea," possibly the Black Sea (cf. *CAH*³ II/2, 459 n. 4), and the Muṣṣri (for location, cf. H. Tadmor, *IEJ*, 11 [1961], 143ff.). He then took action against the Aḫlamē, Aramean tribes who long tyrannized the peoples along the Euphrates, and finally against Amurru, a region extending from Tadmor to Sidon. The serious problem of the Aḫlamē, who had been mentioned in records of his predecessors, is pointed up by Tiglath-pileser's statement, "for the twenty-eighth time, in pursuit of the Aḫlamē-Arameans, I crossed the Euphrates, the second time in one year" (*ARAB*, I, § 287). Tiglath-pileser prided himself on being a great hunter, having killed or captured, among other quarry, ten mighty bull elephants (four taken alive), eight hundred lions from a chariot plus 120 on foot, and with a harpoon from a boat in the Mediterranean one narwhal (§§ 247f.). He recorded the most unusual catches in bas reliefs on the royal palaces at Asshur. He rebuilt or restored palaces and temples in Asshur (which he called "my city Assur" (§ 234), restored the walls of Nineveh, and left a collection "in what must be one of the oldest extant libraries" (*CAH*³, II/2, 464).

See *ARAB*, I, 72-104; *CAH*³ II/2, 457-464.

II. Tiglath-pileser II (*ca.* 940 B.C.).–Of this king we know next to nothing. Aššur-dân II (934-912), founder of the Neo-Assyrian empire, refers to himself as "son of Tiglath-pileser, . . . (grand)son of Assur-resh-ishi . . . (great-grand(son) of Assur-rabi)" (*ARAB*, I § 350). It seems clear that toward the end of the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, the Aḫlamē-Arameans were once again active, and probably other enemies of Assyria as well, and the kingdom went into a period of obscurity for about 140 years. See *CAH*², III/1, 247f.

III. Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.). (R. W. Rogers [*History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, 189; *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT* pp. 308ff.], numbers this ruler as Tiglath-pileser IV, the previous as III, and omits II. The Assyrian king lists show this to be erroneous; cf. *CAH*, III [1925], 32 n. 1.) During the reign of Adad-nirari III (810-783) a period of decline is noted which reached its nadir in the reigns of Shalmaneser IV (782-773), Aššur-dân III (772-755), and Aššur-nirari V (754-745). The last two led few foreign campaigns, possibly due to the revolts in Asshur and other cities (cf. *ARAB*, II, 435; "in the land" signifies no foreign campaign). Local officials seem to have exerted more power than kings. Urartu was strong, and the western regions (Syria and Aramean city-states) were restless. At that moment, Tiglath-pileser seized the throne (the eponym list gives the date as 13th of Ayaru [April-May], probably 745 B.C.). Since he does not give his ancestry in any of the extant inscriptions, as is customary, it would appear that he was not of royal lineage.

In the Babylonian King List A the name *Pulu* appears as king before *Ululai* (Shalmaneser) and *Marduk-apluiddin* (Merodach-baladan) (cf. Rogers *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 202). Thus the name "Pul" in 2 K. 15:19 is explained: it was the Babylonian throne-name of Tiglath-pileser. In 1 Ch. 5:26 we should therefore read, "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, *even* [not *and*] the spirit of Tiglath-pilneser king of Assyria, and *he* [note the singular subject] carried them away. . ." The form found in Chronicles, Tiglath-pil*n*eser, may be a dialectal variant of a later period, or possibly a corruption (but it occurs also in 1 Ch. 5:6 and 2 Ch. 28:20). The form in Assyrian and Aramaic supports "pileser" without *n*.

Tiglath-pileser's first campaign (744 B.C.) was against Urartu, which was in the process of nibbling away northern Assyrian territory. Then he turned toward the west. It was probably at this time that Tiglath-pileser captured

Tiglath-pileser III receiving homage from a defeated warrior. A relief from a palace at Nimrûd, 745-727 B.C. (The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Ralph Harmon Booth Fund)

portions of the northern kingdom of Israel (2 K. 15:29), and Menahem of Israel paid tribute (2 K. 15:19f.). Tiglath-pileser listed among those whom he laid under tribute Raṣunu of Aram (Rezin), and Menihimmu of Samerina (Menahem of Samaria, 752-742) (*ARAB*, I, §772; in *CAH*², III/1, 412ff. Rezin is called "Rakhianu" without explanation; the cuneiform character read *ṣun* in *ra-ṣun-nu* is composed of the signs *ḫi* and *a*, hence the name could be read *ra-ḫi-a-nu* — but the Judeans apparently heard the word pronounced in such a way that they consistently rendered it *r'ṣîn* in 2 Kings and Isaiah).

In 739 Tiglath-pileser conducted a campaign in Ulluba (near Bitlis, close to the source of the Tigris River) in an attempt to strengthen his northeastern border, and that was the occasion for the Syrian states to attempt to loosen their Assyrian bonds. The sequence of events is not entirely clear, but it seems that Unqi led a number of other small states, including "nineteen districts of Hamath" (*ARAB*, I § 770) in what the Assyrian king regarded as forgetting "the oath sworn to me." One of the leaders mentioned is "Azriyau of Yaudaya" (*ARAB*, I, § 770; *ANET*, p. 282), sometimes identified as Azariah of Judah (790-740, including coregencies; he is also known as Uzziah), despite the difficulty of waging a campaign over such a great distance (cf. *BHI*, 3rd ed., p. 268, and H. Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 [1961], 232-271). Some scholars have returned to the conclusion of H. Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1 [1897], 1ff.) that this was a little-known king of a small state (cf. *CAH*², III/1, 410f. and references in the footnotes thereto), possibly to be identified with Sam'al, which in inscriptions is also called *y'dy* (cf. Panammu and Barrakib inscriptions from Zenjirli, in G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions* [1903], pp. 159-186; Tiglath-pileser is named in texts 62 and 63; see also *KAI*, nos. 214-221; Tiglath-pileser is named in nos. 215-17).

Tiglath-pileser reorganized north Syria, forming two larger provinces, and instituted (or enlarged upon) the plan of deporting populations (*ARAB*, I, § 770). Then he once again turned to his northern borders with a campaign in Urartu and Nairi. The record increasingly contains references to peoples that he carried off, and places that were resettled with the displaced persons (§ 775). But the Aḫlamē were again troublesome, and after a campaign against the Philistines in 734, he turned his attention to Damascus (733-32). According to the biblical account, Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel waged war against Ahaz of Judah (2 K. 16:5), apparently in an effort to force him into an alliance against Tiglath-pileser. At that time Ahaz was about twenty and had recently become coregent with Jotham (cf. *NBC* [1970], p. 323). Ahaz went to Damascus to solicit his help (16:7), becoming tributary to Assyria (v. 8). Tiglath-pileser lists *Yauḫazi* (Jehoahaz = Ahaz) of Judah among those who paid tribute (*ARAB*, I, § 801; *ANET*, p. 282). Of the fall of Damascus (732) and the death of Rezin we have only the biblical account (2 K. 16:9), but it fits with other details in Tiglath-pileser's annals. The Bible indicates that Hoshea made a conspiracy against Pekah, killed him, and took over the throne of Israel (2 K. 15:30). In a fragmentary text, the Assyrian king records that all the people of *Bit-Ḫumria* (the House of Omri, Israel) and their goods he carried off, *Paqaḫa* (Pekah) their king they deposed, and *Ausi'* (Hoshea) he placed over them as king (*ARAB*, I, § 816; *ANET*, pp. 283f.). There are obvious problems in harmonizing the accounts, but basically they are in agreement.

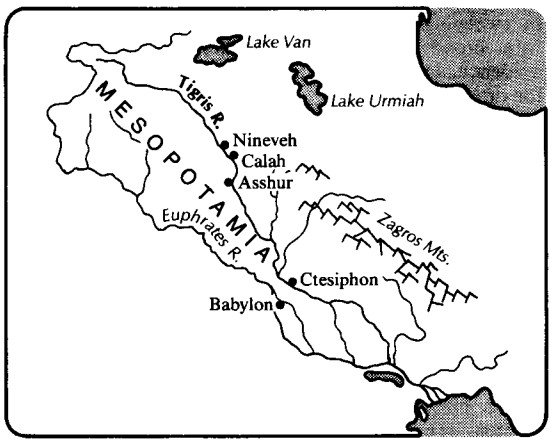
Babylon was relatively quiet during the early part of the reign of Tiglath-pileser, hence he was able to deal with problems in the north and east and in the west. But trouble was brewing, and finally civil war broke out when Nabû-nāṣir (Nabonassar, 747-734) died. He was succeeded by his son Nadinu (Nabu-nadin-zer), who was killed in the revolt after a reign of two years. Nabû-šum-ukin, a rebel, seized the throne, but after a reign of one month and 12 days, Ukīn-zēr (Nabû-mukīn-zēr) seized the throne. Tiglath-pileser moved quickly, placed kings, including Merodach-baladan, under tribute. In 729 he offered sacrifices to Marduk, and took the throne as king of Babylon (*ARAB*, I, § 810; Babylonian Chronicle 1.23). Accordingly, the Babylonian King List A lists him, under the name Pulu, as reigning for two years (728-727), following the reigns of Nabû-šum-ukin and Ukīn-zēr. He was the first

Assyrian king to be called king of Babylon since Tukulti-Ninurta I in 1234 B.C. The Babylonian Chronicle puts the death of Tiglath-pileser in the month of Tebeṭu (December-January) of his second year (1.24; *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 209), and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, Shalmaneser took his seat on the throne in Assyria.

Tiglath-pileser built his palace at Calah (Nimrûd). Excavations at this site have recovered reliefs, including those that portray the king himself in various activities. According to A. L. Oppenheim, it was the first palace to be built in a new style introduced from Syria (*IDB*, IV, 642).

Bibliography.–*MNHK*, p. 75-98. *ARAB*, I, §§ 761-827; II, 436f.; *ANET*, pp. 282-84; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT* (1912), pp. 208-210, 234-36, 308-322. *CAH*, III (1925), 32-42, 380-83; *CAH*², III/1 [1982], 409-415; III/2, ch. 29 (unavailable at the time this article was written). W. S. LASOR

TIGRIS tī'gris [Heb. *ḥiddeqel*; Gk. *Tigris, Tigrēs* (Dnl. 10:4) < Old Pers. *Tigrâ*–'arrow,' originally < Sum. idiglat/idigna–'ever-flowing river,' through Assyr. *i-di-ig-na* or *i-di-ig-lat*]; AV OT HIDDEKEL. The well-known river of eastern Iraq which, together with the EUPHRATES to the west, enclosed "the land between the rivers," MESOPOTAMIA. Gen. 2:14 lists it among the four rivers that flowed from the Garden of Eden. On its banks Daniel received a vision of Israel's fortunes in the latter days (Dnl. 10:4). It is also mentioned in the Apocrypha (Tob. 6:1; Jth. 1:6; Sir. 24:25). The English name follows the Greek transliteration of the Old Persian name, but the Hebrew word derives from the Assyrian and Sumerian cognates. According to Sumerian mythology, Enki, god of the primeval ocean, filled the Euphrates and the Tigris with water and stocked them with fish.



The Tigris originates in the melting snows of the Taurus Mountains in eastern Turkey. (*See* color plate 20.) It flows SE through 480 km. (300 mi.) of mountain gorges and lakes (even underground at one point), then down into the highlands of northern Mesopotamia. Its steep, straight descent makes for a very swift current, hence its Persian name "arrow." Four tributaries from the Zagros Mountains to the east feed it on its 1850-km. (1150-mi.) journey to the Persian Gulf: the Greater Zab, the Lesser Zab, the Adhaim, and the Diyâlā. It passes through three distinct terrains: the river steppes of the north, the broad alluvial plain itself, and the marshy delta in the south. Although today it joins the Euphrates 190 km. (120 mi.) inland to form the Shaṭṭ el-'Arab, in antiquity both rivers emptied directly into the Persian Gulf several miles apart (Pliny *Nat.hist.* vi.31). Earlier scholars thought that centuries of silt deposits had extended the coastline further S than in biblical times, but recent studies suggest that a rise in gulf sea level has probably buried the ancient coastline and created a new one further inland.

The Tigris was the bloodstream that nourished Mesopotamian civilizations. When peasants from the mountain valleys to the east first arrived on the plain (*ca.* 5000 B.C.), they found a very fertile carpet of red-brown loam that had been laid down over centuries by the silt-laden Tigris. Harnessed by a remarkable system of dikes and canals, the Tigris produced extraordinary harvests of barley and wheat on the plain and dense, date-laden palm groves in the delta marshes. Its waters also offered an abundant harvest of fish to enrich ancient diets, as attested by the bas-reliefs of many ancient buildings. The Tigris served as a highway S for boats transporting raw materials (copper, iron, silver, wooden beams) from Asia Minor. Merchant caravans and marching armies washed in and drank from the river. *Ca.* 689 B.C. Sennacherib led a successful amphibious assault on Babylon after sailing down the Tigris from Nineveh to Ctesiphon (Opis).

Unfortunately, the benevolent Tigris can turn into an unpredictable tyrant. Swollen by the spring run-off of mountain snows, from March to May the river violently overflows its banks and floods the plain with forty times its normal volume of water. A major cloudburst in the north and east can raise the water level by 6 m. (20 ft.) in several hours. Such outbursts have reshaped the river's course over the centuries and forced the relocation of royal cities and peasant fields alike. Such an upheaval may underlie the flood accounts of the Bible (Gen. 6-9) and other ancient literatures. The Tigris thus thrust upon its subjects a twin dilemma: they needed to protect themselves from its excess in spring and to conserve its scarcity in summer. Small wonder, then, that Sumerian tablets view mankind as a powerless slave of higher powers.

A voyage down the Tigris takes one past the capitals of ancient empires. On its banks stood Nineveh, Calah, Dūr-Šarrukin, and Asshur: the Assyrian capitals from which successive kings launched military campaigns, including those against Israel and Judah. Further S (below modern Baghdad) were Seleucia, the Greek capital of western Asia built in 312 B.C., and Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire in the West (*ca.* 2nd cent. B.C.).

Bibliography.–BDB, p. 293; M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* (1962); G. L. Harris, *Iraq* (1958); J. Hawkes, *The First Great Civilizations* (1977); *Enc. Brit.* (1970); Herodotus i.193f.; Pliny *Nat.hist. vi.30f.* R. L. HUBBARD, JR.

TIKVAH tik'və [Heb. *tiqwâ*–'hope'; Gk. Apoc. B *Thokanos*, A *Thōkanos*, Lucian *Thekoue*]; AV Apoc. THEOCANUS (1 Esd. 9:14); NEB Apoc. THOCANUS; **TOKHATH** tok'hath [Heb. *Q toqhaṯ, K tôqʿhaṯ*] (2 Ch. 34:22); AV TIKVATH; NEB TIKVAH.

1. The father-in-law of Huldah the prophetess (2 K. 22:14; 2 Ch. 34:22).

2. The father of the Jahzeiah who opposed Ezra's plan for dealing with the problem of intermarriage with foreign women (Ezr. 10:15; 1 Esd. 9:14).

TILES. The RSV translation of Gk. *kerámoi* ("clay," "roof tiles") in Lk. 5:19 (AV, NEB, "tiling"); *see* HOUSE III.E. The AV and NEB use "tile" to translate Heb. *lᵉḇēnâ* in Ezk. 4:1, but the term is more correctly rendered "brick" by the RSV (*see* BRICK).

TILGATH-PILNESER til'gath pil-nē'zər. *See* TIGLATH-PILESER.

TILL; TILLAGE. To work the soil by breaking it up, sowing seed, and raising crops. In the AV and RSV "till" represents the Hebrew verb *ʿābaḏ*, "work, serve" (e.g., Gen. 2:5, 15; 3:23; 4:12; Prov. 12:11; 28:19). "Tillage" in the AV can denote either the operation of tilling the soil (Heb. *ʿăḇôḏâ*, 1 Ch. 27:26; Neh. 10:37 [MT 38]), or ground that has been broken up and cleared (Heb. *nîr*, Prov. 13:23).

See AGRICULTURE.

TILON tī'lon [Heb. *tîlôn*]. Son of Shimon; head of a family of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 4:20).

TILTERS [Heb. part. of *ṣāʿâ* (Jer. 48:12); AV WANDERERS; NEB "men to tilt the jars." Workers in a wine cellar who pour wine from one vessel to another. The metaphor warns that some day Moab, like Judah, will suffer deportation — an experience that Moab had been spared until Jeremiah's time (cf. v. 11).

TIMAEUS ti-mē'əs [Gk. *Timaios*] (Mk. 10:46). A person known only as the father of the blind beggar BARTIMAEUS.

TIMBREL [Heb. *tōp*–'timbrel, tambourine'] (Ex. 15:20; Jgs. 11:34; 1 S. 18:6; Ps. 81:2 [MT 3]; 149:3; 150:4; Isa. 5:12; 24:8; 30:32; Jer. 31:4); AV also TABRETS; NEB TAMBOURINE, TABOR, JINGLES (Jer. 31:4); [part. of *tāpap*–'beat (the timbrel)'] (Ps. 68:25 [MT 26]); NEB TAMBOURINE; **TAMBOURINE** [Heb. *tōp*] (Gen. 31:27; 1 S. 10:5; 2 S. 6:5; 1 Ch. 13:8; Job 21:12); AV TABRET, TIMBREL; NEB also DRUM.

Hebrew *tōp* is an onomatopoetic word for a percussion instrument (*see* MUSIC II.D.1) often used by women while singing and dancing (e.g., Ex. 15:20; Jgs. 11:34; 1 S. 18:6; Jer. 31:4; cf. *tāpap* in Ps. 68:25 [MT 26]). The instrument was used to accompany festive occasions (Gen. 31:27; 2 S. 6:5; 1 Ch. 13:8; Job 21:12; Isa. 5:12; Jer. 31:4), victory celebrations (Ex. 15:20; Jgs. 11:34; 1 S. 18:6), and the worship of the Lord (Ps. 81:2 [MT 3]; 149:3; 150:4).

In Job 17:6 the AV (following Rashi) has "tabret" (NEB "portent") for the hapax legomenon Heb. *tōpeṯ*, which the RSV more accurately renders "spit" (cf. 30:9f.; see N. C. Habel, *Book of Job* [*OTL*, 1985], pp. 266f., 277). In Ezk. 28:13 the meaning of MT *tuppeyḵā* (AV "thy tabrets"; RSV "your settings"; NEB "your jingling beads") remains obscure, and various emendations have been proposed (see comms.).

See *TWOT*, II, 978. G. L. K.

TIME. Study of the biblical words for "time" out of their contexts will not yield a scriptural doctrine of time. Biblical teaching on time (or any given subject) is based not on the linguistic method of treating words in isolation, but upon direct biblical statements and word usage.

Sweeping conclusions have been drawn from supposed contrasts between Gk. *kairós* (time as event) and *chrónos* (time as duration), or between *kairós* and *aiōn* (age), and from the presence or absence of certain key terms in one of the Testaments. Such an approach may distort the actual lexical data and mislead the reader. Scholars are tempted to display a very tidy concept of time, which Scripture does not justify, in order to contrast it sharply with the supposed Greek conception, which is generally distorted in the opposite direction.

I. Biblical Words for Time.–The OT has a wealth of words for time units (hour, day, night, week, month, year) but no abstract term for "time" like Gk. *chrónos*. Hebrew, however, can express the same idea with its own grammatical syntax and terms. Heb *ʿēṯ*, a frequent term in the OT (296 times), expresses a point in time, whether of instant or longer duration (Ex. 9:18; 2 S. 11:1). It corresponds quite closely with Gk. *kairós* in the NT, which can also denote a point in time or a short duration (the LXX translates *ʿēṯ* by *kairos* 162 times). Heb. *môʿēḏ* has more the force of a fixed appointment or appointed date ("time," Ex. 9:5; "appointed [feasts]," Lev. 23:2). More flexible is Heb. *yôm* "day," which in the singular denotes a general time ("on the day when . . . ") and in the plural an extended period. "All the days" really means "always" or "forever"; Heb. *ʿôlām* is used in the same sense. Thus biblical Hebrew possesses numerous terms to indicate linear, chronological time. Neither the OT nor the NT contrasts temporality with timelessness; instead Scripture depicts God as the Lord of time who acts in time.

In the NT Gk. *chrónos* denotes a measurable time interval, either long or short (Mt. 25:19; Rev. 20:3). Gk. *kairos* is most often paired and contrasted with *chrónos*. Basically the contrast is accurate, for *kairós* does usually mean a fixed time or opportunity ("opportunity," He. 11:15; Acts 24:25). But it can also, like *chronós*, denote a longer period ("periods," Acts 17:26). Thus the two terms can overlap and serve as synonyms. Gk. *aiōn* consistently indicates time duration, referring to segments of time in the world's history ("age," Mt. 28:20; "world," 2 Cor. 4:4). *Aiōn* also refers to the age that Christians await, i.e., the messianic age (Eph. 1:21; 2:7), as well as eternity, an unlimited duration of time (e.g., "for ever," Jn. 6:51; Rom. 1:25; 11:36; etc.). The NT uses Gk. *hēméra*, "day," much as the OT uses Heb. *yôm* (*see* AGE; ETERNITY; DAY).

II. Faulty Interpretation.–Before attempting to construct the biblical conception of time, one must clear the way by sweeping aside the various theories of time that arise from broad generalizations on the basis of insufficient evidence, and from illegitimate usage of the biblical words for time.

(1) One category consists of careless or misleading statements. Such statements include these: "The OT has no word for abstract time"; "biblical time is linear, while Greek time is cyclic"; "the biblical concept of time is concrete, the Greek is abstract"; "God is outside time"; "eternity is timeless." Such affirmations are not biblically based. Although Hebrew has no word comparable to Gk. *chrónos*, this does not mean that Hebrew thought lacks a concept of chronological time. On the contrary, the OT expresses this idea continually in its numerous genealogies, its historical narratives, and its special expressions (see I above). Certainly biblical time is usually linear, but the cyclic idea is also present (e.g., Ecclesiastes; see Barr, pp. 137-143). Similarly, while some Greek authors had a cyclic view, many of them used the same terms in linear ways. One must avoid making the contrast sharper than it is. That God is called eternal (Rom. 16:26) does not imply that He is somehow timeless, as though time is real only to humans and not to Him. God is the Lord in the past, present, and future (Rev. 1:4), but this does not mean He exists in all three at once! Pantheism makes history illusory, but biblical theism does not.

(2) The contrast between *kairós* and *chrónos* was vastly overstated by John Marsh, for the two terms, as shown above, overlap in actual usage. The duality that Marsh thought he found compelled him to ignore part of the evidence. His bias against chronological time is inexplicable in the light of extensive OT passages that establish this very concept. The number of terms in either Testament simply does not equal the number of thought nuances

possible. The thought patterns of the Bible are discovered by word usage and not by word occurrence.

(3) O. Cullmann also erred in his contrast between *kairós* and *aiōn*. Here too the absolute contrast is inappropriate. Although *aiōn* always denotes a period and never a point in time, and *kairós* usually denotes a fixed time, *kairós* can also denote a period. The antithesis is therefore artificial, never made in Scripture. Cullmann confused his readers by using *kairós* in an untranslated, transliterated form, thereby giving the word new contexts and nuances in their newly found associations. A single word like *kairós* may convey many meanings (polysemy); thus it is dangerous to select the "real meaning" and exclude the rest. Cullmann may have been correct in interpreting *aiōn* as unlimited time duration and not timelessness, but this is a subtlety that Scripture does not discuss. It is certainly false to charge Plato with using *aiōn* only to mean timelessness, for he often employed the word in the sense of temporal duration.

J. Barr exposed these fallacies and showed that most of them go back to Orelli's work (1871). Barr's own book offers the beginning of a sound linguistic investigation, which is the only possible basis for the biblical concept of time.

III. Biblical Conception of Time.–Primarily, the Bible views time as the limited succession of days in which human experience of the world flows. Human beings are allotted their appointed span of time; the Lord gives, and He takes away (Job 1:21). The steady reduction of years recorded for the lives of the earliest human beings (Gen. 5) indicates the effects of human sin on human vitality. Long life is considered a divine blessing, but sin and death increase life's vanity and transitoriness. Ultimately, God controls human destiny (Ps. 31:15; 139:16). Through sin, history has become the record of the activities of fallen human beings. Even before the fall human life was temporal, however, for the days of history began when God created the world. Again, even after the final triumph of God in history, the time line will continue into the ages to come. Sin did not make human beings temporal, and redemption does not make them immortal (1 Tim. 5:15f.), for nothing in Scripture suggests that in eternity people will not experience the passage of time. Even in their final, glorified state, human beings will still be creatures.

God displays His redemptive grace toward lost humanity through the medium of history. His sovereignty over history (Eph. 1:11) is seen in the historical acts of redemption (Isa. 46:8-10). In the election of Abram God set in motion a historical salvation designed to bless all the families of the earth (Gen. 12:1-3). His actions form a progressive unity proceeding toward His final goals. In "that day," according to the prophets, the Lord will display His righteousness and consummate history. Although cyclic notions of time do occur in the OT, the latter days, despite their similarity to the lost Paradise, have a final character. History does not issue in a new cycle that just repeats the same old story.

Divine ingression into history took place most dramatically in the Incarnation. In this event the hour had come, the time was fulfilled (Gal. 4:4; Mk. 1:15). Jerusalem was punished for not recognizing the "time of [its] visitation" (Lk. 19:43f.). The religious leaders had failed to interpret correctly the "present time" (Lk. 12:56). Jesus' coming, and more particularly the hour of His crucifixion (cf. Jn. 12:27), was fixed by the Father, who alone has this authority (Mk. 13:32; cf. Acts 1:7). At that point the "once for all" act of divine reconciliation occurred (He. 9:26). When Christ's work was accomplished, He sat down at the right hand of God to wait until His enemies are made a stool for His feet (10:12f.). Only after Jesus had been glorified was the Holy Spirit poured out (cf. Jn. 7:39). These facts reveal the strict chronological order within which God acts. Nowhere do the Scriptures give the impression that the time is an illusion, an idea in the mind of God, for He respects its movement and does not violate it. Much evidence demonstrates that God foreknows and predetermines events in history, but none of it suggests that He sees them happening all at one time. One must conclude that time is real to both humanity and God.

The Christian Church exists "between the times," in the interval between the Resurrection and the Parousia. It trusts the Lord for redemption accomplished, looks to the Spirit for the redemption applied, and waits eagerly for redemption consummated (Phil. 3:20f.; 1 Jn. 3:2). The call of the gospel is to heed the urgency of the hour (He. 3:7-9; 2 Cor. 6:2). The calling of the believer is to redeem the time (Eph. 5:15f.) and press toward the prize (Phil. 3:14). God's mighty act in Christ has opened new possibilities for this period of history (Col. 1:26). The fulness of time dawned at Bethlehem (Gal. 4:4), but the fulness of all the times awaits manifestation (Eph. 1:10).

God is the Lord over time and history, but not in a philosophical sense which would mean that He negates time. He is Lord because He created the succession of days (Gen. 1) and supervises their flow. His existence is limitless, and thus a thousand years in His sight are as yesterday (Ps. 90:4). Time, in the sense of days and nights determined by the astral bodies, will pass away with sun and moon (Isa. 60:19). Thus the mode of experiencing time will change (no more night, Rev. 21:25), but time is expected to continue (Eph. 2:7). God's sovereignty over time does not lie in a metaphysical timelessness but in His ability to influence and bring the whole process to His own saving ends.

Thus one ought to be very cautious about stressing the unique biblical view of the nature of time. When the NT preaches Christ it points to what happened in history, not to a theory of time. Making a distinction between Hebraic and Greek views of time was not a concern of biblical writers. The biblical gospel, however, did eventually have a profound effect on the pagan mind in this matter, for the doctrine of creation gave considerable significance to the natural order and human history. The Incarnation revealed the divine concern with time-space history and provided a redemption acted out in flesh and bone. Eschatology in turn offered future hope and an escape from despair. In the last analysis, therefore, the biblical view of time is not to be culled simply from the scriptural words for time, but is found to be embedded deeply in the nature of the gospel itself.

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C. H. PINNOCK

TIME, LAST [Gk. (*en*) *kairṓ eschátṓ* (1 Pet. 1:5), (*ep'*) *eschátou toú chrónou* (Jude 18)]; NEB END OF TIME, FINAL AGE; **LAST DAYS** [Gk. (*en*) *eschátais hēmérais* (Acts 2:17; 2 Tim. 3:1; Jas. 5:3), (*ep'*) *eschátou tṓn hēmerṓn* (He. 1:2), (*ep'*) *eschátōn tṓn hēmerṓn* (2 Pet. 3:3)] NEB also FINAL AGE (OF THIS WORLD), AN AGE THAT

IS NEAR ITS CLOSE (Jas. 5:3); **LATTER DAYS** [Heb. *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ hayyāmîm* (Nu. 24:14; Dt. 4:30; Isa. 2:2; etc.), *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ* (Job 8:7; 42:12); Aram. *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ yômayyā'* (Dnl. 2:28)] AV also LATTER END, LAST DAYS; NEB DAYS TO COME, END, FUTURE DAYS (Ezk. 38:16), END OF THIS AGE (Dnl. 2:28); **LATTER TIME** [Heb. (*'eṯ 'aḥ^{a}rôn*] (Isa. 9:1 [MT 8:23]); AV AFTERWARD; NEB SECOND (INVADER).

I. OT Terms.–The expression "latter days" (usually *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ hayyāmîm*) is used prophetically to describe a time that is future from the writer's perspective. The meaning of the phrase varies with the context, but it commonly designates the messianic age that is to come (BDB, p. 31). In Job 8:7 and 42:12 *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ* refers to the latter part of Job's life — thus the very near future.

Often "latter days" has a double meaning: it refers both to events happening in the nearer future and also to the messianic age. In Nu. 24:14 its immediate reference is to King David's defeat of Moab some four hundred years after Balaam's prophecy; but the prediction in v. 17 of a star that would come out of Jacob suggests that the "latter days" must refer ultimately to the messianic era. In Ezk. 38:16 the phrase, used in a prophecy against Gog, should probably be understood as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes's attack on Jerusalem in 167 B.C.; but, since Gog and Magog are also mentioned in Rev. 20:7-9, its ultimate reference is to the end-time just before the Second Coming. When Daniel told King Nebuchadnezzar that God had made known to him "what will be in the latter days" (Dnl. 2:28), he was referring to a succession of world powers that would arise over the next five hundred years and would be crushed by the Kingdom of God to be established in the messianic age. In 10:14 the phrase refers to events that would climax in the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes in the 2nd cent. B.C., although many interpreters understand these events as culminating in the appearance of the antichrist at the end of the NT era.

In the other instances "latter days" refers to the messianic era of the distant future, in which God's plans for His people will reach their final goal: Dt. 4:30; Isa. 2:2; Jer. 23:20; 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Hos. 3:5; Mic. 4:1.

The expression "latter time" (*hā'aḥ^{a}rôn*) occurs only in Isa. 9:1, where it refers to the time of Christ.

See also ESCHATOLOGY II.A.

II. NT Terms.–"Last days" (usually [*en*] *eschátais hēmérais*) designates the NT era in which believers are now living. Whereas the OT expression "latter days" commonly pointed to the messianic age that lay in the future, the NT believers recognized that the predicted "latter days" had arrived and that they were now living in the "last days." Peter made this clear on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:17), and the author of Hebrews explained that God's final revelation in Christ has come to us "in these last days" (He. 1:2). Although the RSV renders Jas. 5:3 "you have laid up treasure for the last days," both the NEB and the NIV change "for" to "in," which is probably the better rendering; on the basis of this translation, "last days" means the NT era. The "last days" in which slanderers and other evildoers will come, according to 2 Tim. 3:1-5, must mean the days in which Timothy is living, since he is told to "avoid such people" (v. 5; cf. also 2 Pet. 3:3). It is significant, however, that although the NT writers referred to the present era as the "last days," the "last day" (*eschátē hēméra*) is still to come (Jn. 6:39; etc.; *see* DAY, LAST).

The expression "the last time" occurs twice, with different meanings. In Jude 18 it designates the NT era: "in the last time [*ep' eschátou toú chrónou*] there will be scoffers." In 1 Pet. 1:5, however, it describes the time of the final glorification of believers in the resurrection: "a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (*en kairṓ eschátṓ*).

Bibliography.–J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* (*SBT*, 1/33; 1962); O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time* (Eng. tr., 2nd ed. 1964); S. J. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (1975); J. Marsh, *The Fulness of Time* (1952). A. A. HOEKEMA

TIME, (TWO) TIMES, AND HALF A TIME [Aram. *'iddān w^e'iddānîn úp^{e}lag 'iddān* (Dnl. 7:25); Heb. *mô'ēḏ mô'^{a}ḏîm wāḥēṣî* (12:7); Gk. *kairós kaí kairoí kaí hḗmisu kairoú* (Rev. 12:14)]; AV TIME AND TIMES AND THE DIVIDING OF TIME (Dnl. 7:25), TIME, TIMES, AND A HALF (12:7), TIME, AND TIMES, AND HALF A TIME (Rev. 12:14); NEB TIME AND TIMES AND HALF A TIME (Dnl. 7:25), TIME, TIMES, AND A HALF (12:7), THREE YEARS AND A HALF (Rev. 12:4).

I. In the OT.–The RSV translates the OT instances of this expression by "time, two times, and half a time" (most other versions have simply "time, times, and half a time"). In both the Aramaic and the Hebrew the second word (*'iddānîn* and *mô'^{a}ḏîm*, respectively), as pointed in the MT, is plural rather than dual. Most interpreters, however, understand it as a dual ("two times"). One reason for this judgment is that the dual form of nouns became obsolete in later Aramaic, so that the Masoretes would have pointed the word as a plural even if it was originally a dual. The consonantal text of this word in both the Aramaic and the Hebrew could be read either as a dual or as a plural. The RSV rendering, therefore, is probably correct.

The expression is commonly understood as meaning "a year, two years, and half a year" — thus three and a half years. The author of Daniel, however, does not use the word "year" but the word "time." It is therefore probably better to understand the expression as meaning a period of time somewhat analogous to a year, followed by a period that is twice as long, followed by a period that is half as long. It points to a future time of suffering and trial for the people of God which will be intense but of limited duration.

The expression in Dnl. 12:7 is commonly thought to describe the oppression of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes from 168 to 165 B.C., a period of approximately three and a half years. Since, however, Antiochus Epiphanes is a type of the antichrist who is to appear before Christ's second coming, the expression in both Daniel passages (7:25; 12:7) applies also to the future oppression of God's people by the antichrist. The words "half a time" then refer to a sudden end to this oppression; cf. Jesus' words in Mt. 24:22: "for the sake of the elect those days [of tribulation] will be shortened."

The dispensational interpretation understands the expression as pointing to the "great tribulation" of the people of Israel that will occur during the second half of the seven-year tribulation period immediately before Christ's return. This understanding is derived from Dnl. 9:27, "and for half of the week he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease" (*see* SEVENTY WEEKS).

II. In the NT.–In Rev. 12:14 the RSV renders *kairós kaí kairoí kaí hḗmisu kairoú* by "time, and times, and half a time." The expression is obviously taken from Dnl. 7:25 and 12:7, having by this time become a "conventional symbol for a limited period of unrestrained wickedness" (*NIV Study Bible* [1985], p. 1938). The expression refers to the terrible time of persecution by the antichrist, who under the figure of the beast is said in Rev. 13:5 to exercise authority for forty-two months — an obvious parallel to "time, times, and half a time," or approxi-

mately three and a half years (see also 11:2). Rev. 12:14 states that the woman (symbolizing the messianic community) will be nourished and protected in the wilderness (a place of refuge) during the antichrist's cruel reign. The same point is made in v. 6, which says that the woman will be nourished in the wilderness for 1260 days — another parallel expression (cf. 11:3). It should also be noted, however, that some interpreters understand "time, times, and half a time" in 12:14 as referring to the entire NT era.

According to the dispensational interpretation, "time, times, and half a time" in Rev. 12:14 means the second half of Daniel's seventieth week — a time of terrible suffering for the people of Israel, inaugurated when the antichrist breaks his covenant with Israel in the middle of the seventieth week (*see* SEVENTY WEEKS).

A. A. HOEKEMA

TIMES, OBSERVERS OF. *See* MAGIC II.A (5).

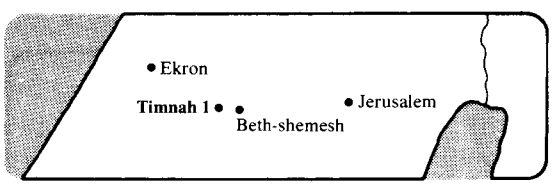
TIMNA tim'nə [Heb. *timna*ʿ; LXX *Tamna*]; AV also TIMNAH (Gen. 36:40; 1 Ch. 1:51).

1. Sister of the Horite clan chief Lotan (Gen. 36:22; 1 Ch. 1:39). She became the concubine of Eliphaz the son of Esau, and the mother of Amalek (Gen. 36:12). 1 Ch. 1:36 lists Timna as one of Eliphaz's sons rather than as his concubine. H. G. M. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* [*NCBC*, 1982], p. 44) has suggested the following explanation for this discrepancy: "Perhaps . . . clarity has fallen victim to compression: the names alone were loosely attached to the preceding list (note that there is an 'and' before Timna in the MT), with the Chronicler . . . relying on his readers' knowledge of Genesis for the full position."

2. A clan chief of Edom (Gen. 36:40; 1 Ch. 1:51). He may have been a son of Eliphaz (1 Ch. 1:36; but see 1 above).

TIMNAH tim'nə [Heb. *timnâ*–'allotted portion']; AV also TIMNATH, THIMNATHA; NEB also TIMNATH. Since Heb. *timnâ* means "portion, allotment," the name was not uncommon, and a tendency to find either too many or too few with this name must be carefully controlled by the contexts.

1. A town identified with Tell el-Baṭâshī, a 40-dunam (10-acre) mound situated in the fertile alluvial plain of the Sorek valley about 7 km. (4 ½ mi.) W of Beth-shemesh (Tell er-Rumeileh). The description of Judah's northern border in Josh. 15:10f. identifies Beth-shemesh, Timnah, and EKRON (Tell el-Muqennaʿ, about 14 km. [9 mi.] W of Beth-shemesh) along that line. Archeological evidence seems to corroborate the identification of Timnah with Tell el-Baṭâshī, the only important mound between Beth-shemesh and Ekron.



Archeological data and the square shape of the mound suggest that Timnah was established as a fortress during the M.B. period (18th-17th cents. B.C.), probably to control traffic along an important road passing from Yabneh near the Mediterranean coast, through Ekron, and on toward Beth-shemesh and Jerusalem to the east. A broad moat and massive earthen ramparts were part of a sophisticated fortification system that not only protected the early residents but also established the town's future shape and size.

The earliest biblical reference to Timnah appears in the account of Judah's illicit relationship with Tamar (Gen. 38:12-14). Although this Timnah has been identified with Khirbet Tibneh, an identification with Tell el-Baṭâshī is both geographically and chronologically possible.

Five distinct layers of Canaanite settlement during the L.B. period (15th-13th cents. B.C.) have been identified at Timnah. The first four towns were destroyed by intense fire, perhaps as the result of conquests or inter-city rivalries during the period of political instability reflected in the AMARNA TABLETS. This series of destruction presumably exhausted Timnah's resources, and so the final Canaanite settlement was poorer. While evidence of violent destruction is lacking, Timnah suffered a decline and possible desertion toward the end of the L.B. period.

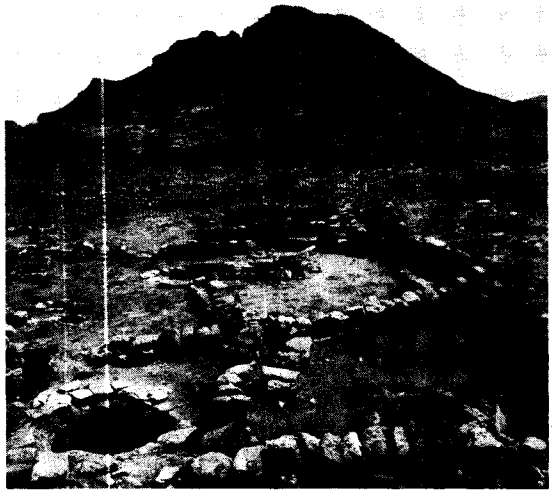
During the 12th-11th cents. B.C. the Philistines occupied the town (Jgs. 14:1f., 5). They appear to have reused Canaanite structures, modifying the inner plans and repaving the floors; their building technique is characterized by mud-brick construction on stone foundations. Architectural and cultural remains suggest that a thriving Philistine town existed at Timnah during the E.I. period.

During the united monarchy (10th cent. B.C.) an Israelite town was built on the ruins of the Philistine city. Archeological evidence suggests that the town was not fortified apart from an outer belt of houses along the crest of the mound. Pottery finds indicate that Timnah was definitely a part of the united kingdom, a fact that justifies its mention in the list of the cities of Dan (Josh. 19:43). The town's demise may be attributed to Pharaoh Shishak's campaign during Rehoboam's fifth year. Following this destruction there seems to be a gap in the site's occupation until the early 8th cent. B.C.

Early in the 8th cent. B.C. a new, fortified city was built at Timnah, possibly in the reign of King Uzziah, who conquered part of Philistia and established cities there (2 Ch. 26:6). The town was protected by a massive fortification system that included a 4-m. (13-ft.) thick wall and a sophisticated composite gate similar to those at Dan, Megiddo, and Beer-sheba. A large collection of *lmlk* ("belonging to the king") jars has been recovered from a storage complex. Well known from other Judean sites, such jars have been dated to the time of King Hezekiah and Sennacherib's invasion in 701 B.C.

The presence of these royal storage jars implies Judean activity at Timnah before Sennacherib's attack. Archeological evidence is lacking for the biblical account of Timnah's capture by the Philistines during the reign of King Ahaz, Hezekiah's father (2 Ch. 28:18). Presumably Timnah was still under Philistine control after the time of King Ahaz, perhaps under the jurisdiction of the city-state of Ekron. Since King Hezekiah forced Ekron to join his revolt against the Assyrians, it is possible that he placed a Judean garrison at the heavily fortified town of Timnah. The *lmlk* jars provide mute evidence of Hezekiah's preparations for the war with Assyria and his attempts to supply troops stationed along his western frontier. The punitive Assyrian attack appears to have inflicted selective structural damage on the town. While the inner gate, the outer revetment wall, and the military storage complex were utterly destroyed, many of the private dwellings continued in use. Timnah soon was rebuilt and flourishing.

Following a major rebuilding, perhaps early in the 7th cent. B.C., Timnah continued to flourish to the end of the century. Since written sources about the city in this



Ruins of an ancient copper workshop at Timnah (ca. 13th cent B.C.) (W. Braun)

period are lacking, one can only speculate that during Josiah's reign Timnah belonged to the kingdom of Judah. A conflagration destroyed the residential quarter a few years after Josiah's death, perhaps during the fateful years after 609 B.C., when a series of Babylonian invasions devastated many sites in the coastal plain. Only an impoverished settlement existed at Timnah during the Persian period, its final occupation.

Bibliography.–G. L. Kelm and A. Mazar, *BASOR*, 248 (Fall 1983), 1-36; *Archaeology*, 37/3 (May/June 1984), 58f., 76, 79; "Tel Batash (Timnah) Excavations — Second Preliminary Report (1981-1983)," in W. E. Rast, ed., *BASOR Supp.*, 23 (1985), 93-120; "Tel Batash (Timnah)" in "Notes and News," *IEJ*, 27-36 (1977-1986). G. L. KELM

2. A city in the southern hill country of Judah, named in a list of ten cities allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:57). Since it is named with other cities tentatively identified, it is to be located SE of Hebron (*LBHG*, p. 312). Owing to a tendency of *m* to shift to *b* and vice versa, it may be identified with Tibnah (*LBHG*, p. 123; cf. GIBEAH 1). Other scholars locate it 24 km. (15 mi.) W by S of Jerusalem, but this does not agree well with the location of other cities named in the context. It has also been identified with the Timnah in Gen. 38:12ff., but see 1 above.

3. Timnah in the Samson story (Jgs. 14:1ff.) has been discussed in connection with Timnah (Heb. *timnāṯâ*) and Ekron in Josh. 19:43, and the suggestion made that this should be read as Timnah of Ekron or Timnath-Ekron (*LBHG*, p. 312; cf. *GTTOT*, §§ 336, 607).

4. In Papyrus Anastasi I, a Timnat located north of Damascus in the Lebanese Beqa' is mentioned (*LBHG*, p. 183).

Bibliography.–*GTTOT*, §§ 314, 319, 336, 397, 607; *GP*, II, 481; *LBHG*, pp. 183, 312. W. S. LASOR

TIMNATH tim'nath [Gk. *Thamnatha*] (1 Macc. 9:50); AV THAMNATHA; NEB TIMNATH-PHARATHON. A city fortified by the Seleucid general Bacchides in 160 B.C., along with Jericho, Emmaus, Bethel, and other sites. It is identified with Khirbet Tibnah, a strategic site about 19 km. (12 mi.) NW of Bethel in the hill country of Ephraim, just N of Mt. Ga'ash.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiv.11.2 [275] Thamna was one of several cities from which Cassius, a conspirator in Julius Caesar's assassination, collected heavy tribute. John the Essene was the commanding officer of the province of Thamna in A.D. 66, when the First Jewish Revolt began (*BJ* ii.20.4 [567]; iii.3.5 [55]; cf. 1 Macc. 9:50f.). In the spring of 68 the province fell to the Romans under Vespasian (*BJ* iv.8.1 [443f.]).

See also TIMNATH-SERAH. R. K. H.

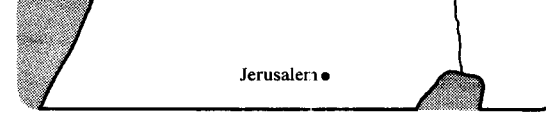
TIMNATH-HERES. *See* TIMNATH-SERAH.

TIMNATH-SERAH tim'nath sē'rə [Heb. *timnaṯ-seraḥ*; Gk. *Thamarcharēs, Thamnathsara, Thamnasachar*, etc.] (Josh. 19:50; 24:30 [LXX 31]); **TIMNATH-HERES** tim'nath hē'rez [Heb. *timnaṯ-ḥeres*; Gk. *Thamnathares*] (Jgs. 2:9). A town in the hill country of Ephraim. It is distinguished from the other localities named Timnah by the genitive *seraḥ*, "overhanging," which indicates that the town was built on the top of a steep declivity. Jgs. 2:9 reads *ḥeres*, which may mean "sun"; many scholars have considered this the original name, assuming that it was intentionally altered to avoid the implication of idolatry. But names like Beth-shemesh ("house of [the sun-god] Shemesh") remained unchanged, and thus it is more likely that *ḥeres* is a spontaneous metathesis, other examples of which include Har-heres (Jgs. 1:35) and *ša'ar ḥarsûṯ* ("gate of the declivity" [Jer. 19:2], rather than the RSV's "Potsherd Gate").

Joshua received Timnath-serah as an inheritance (Josh. 19:49f.); it became his own city and was reckoned to neither Ephraim nor Dan, the tribes whose territory bordered it. Samaria was similarly Omri's private city, and Jerusalem was "the city of David." The fact that Timnath-serah was Joshua's special domain (and later as his burial place) attests to his exceptional status as leader of all the tribes and is a strong argument against the recent theory that he was a "judge" only of Benjamin.

Samaritan and medieval Christian tradition looked for Timnath-serah in the neighborhood of Shechem, but it should instead be identified with Thamna (cf. Eusebius *Onom.* 70.20f.), which is TIMNATH. Thamna played an important role in later times. It was fortified by Bacchides in 160 B.C. (1 Macc. 9:50) and conquered by Cassius in 43 B.C. (Josephus *Ant.* xiv.11.2 [271-75]). It became the capital of a toparchy in Josephus's times (*BJ* iii.3.5 [51-55] and was of military importance (*BJ* ii.20.4 [567f.]); Vespasian occupied it in A.D. 68 (*BJ* iv.8.1 [440-45]).

Timnath-serah is identified with Khirbet Tibnah, 19 km. (12 mi.) ENE of Lod (Lydda) overlooking the deep valley of Wâdī Reiya. The sanctuary of Nebi Ṣaleh, slightly more than 1.5 km. (1 mi.) NE of it, perpetuates the tradition of Joshua's tomb. Six km. (4 mi.) E of Tibnah is a small village, Umm Ṣuffa, which is also called Kefr 'Ishu'a, "village of Joshua." The ancient road, much used in Roman times, goes from Antipatris to the main road between Jerusalem and Nablus; its passing through both Tibnah and Umm Ṣuffa explains the strategic importance of ancient Thamna.



Bibliography.–F. -M. Abel, *RB*, 34 (1925), 205f.; G. Dalman, *PJ*, 10 (1914), 30; G. von Rad, *PJ*, 42 (1933), 32; M. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land* (1966), pp. 95f., 157, 182. A. VAN SELMS

TIMNITE tim'nīt [Heb. *timnî*] (Jgs. 15:6). The designation of Samson's father-in-law, a resident of TIMNAH (1).

TIMON tī'mən, ti'mōn [Gk. *Timōn*]. One of the seven chosen to relieve the apostles by attending to the poor of the church in Jerusalem (Acts 6:5). *See* SEVEN, THE.

TIMOTHEUS ti-mō'thē-us. An AV form of TIMOTHY.

TIMOTHY tim'ə-thē [Gk. *Timotheos*–'one who honors God']; AV also TIMOTHEUS.

1. An Ammonite leader who opposed Judas Maccabeus and was on several occasions severely defeated by him (1 Macc. 5:6-11, 34, 37-44; 2 Macc. 8:30, 32; 9:3; 10:24-38; 12:2, 10, 18-25). These battles took place *ca.* 165-163 B.C. According to 2 Macc. 10:37 Timothy was slain at Gazara after having hidden in a cistern; but in 12:2 a Timothy appears again as an opponent of the Jews. Some have suggested therefore that there were two Ammonite leaders named Timothy (see J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* [*AB*, 1983], pp. 340, 395f.). Others believe that there was only one Timothy and that the discrepancy resulted from carelessness on the part of the author or final editor of 2 Maccabees. N. J. O.

2. An associate and traveling companion of the apostle Paul. Timothy is first mentioned in Acts 16:1, where he is called a disciple (Gk. *mathētēs*). This term means that he was a Christian. How he became a Christian is not clear. On the one hand Paul calls him his "beloved and faithful child" (1 Cor. 4:17) and addresses him as his "true [*gnēsios*] child in the faith" (1 Tim. 1:2), expressions that suggest that Paul, Timothy's spiritual father, was directly responsible for his conversion. Paul also states that Timothy had fully known the severe troubles that had plagued him on his first visit to Antioch and Iconium and implies that his preaching was not lost on Timothy (2 Tim. 3:10f.). On the other hand, 2 Tim. 1:5 tells of Timothy's long heritage of faith — a faith that resided first in his grandmother Lois and then in his mother Eunice, a Jewish-Christian woman (cf. Acts 16:1). 2 Tim. 3:15 calls attention to Timothy's long acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures. Furthermore, Acts 16:1f. states that Timothy was already held in high esteem by the Christian leaders in Lystra, his hometown, and Iconium, a city some 29 km. (18 mi.) away, before Paul came this second time to Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. In addition, 1 Tim. 1:18 (NEB, RSV) suggests that some prophetic utterances about Timothy had first pointed him out to Paul and had encouraged Paul to enlist him as a fellow-worker. Presumably, then, Timothy became a Christian through the influence of his mother and the church elders in Lystra, who in turn had heard the gospel through Paul and Silas on their first missionary journey (cf. Acts 14:20-23). Since Paul was at least indirectly responsible for Timothy's conversion, and since he had such a close working relationship with him, he could justly call him his "true child" (1 Tim. 1:2; cf. Phil. 2:22).

According to Acts 16:1 Timothy's mother was a "Jewish woman who was a believer," i.e., a Jewish-Christian woman. She had married a Greek, i.e., a Gentile. There is no reference to his having faith; hence he would have been considered a heathen by both Jews and Christians. Possibly this marriage, which Jewish law viewed as illegal (SB, II, 741) and which the Christian Church would also have opposed (cf. 2 Cor. 6:14), took place while Timothy's mother was not strictly observing Judaism and before she became a Christian. In spite of the "illegality" of his parents' marriage, Timothy was considered a Jew by the Jews and was therefore liable to be circumcised. The fact that Timothy had not been circumcised implies either that his mother had not taken her Jewish responsibilities seriously, or that his father had refused to allow the performance of this rite on his son. By the time that Paul came to Lystra and invited Timothy to join him in the gospel ministry, Timothy's father may already have died (cf. Gk. *chēras*, "widow," in some MSS of Acts 16:1; see also v. 3b, where the imperfect tense of Gk. *hypárchō* also favors this view).

It is noteworthy, however, that Paul had Timothy circumcised after he asked him to become his co-worker (Acts 16:3). According to the text Paul did this not out of deference to Timothy's mother but on account of local Jews who knew that Timothy had not been circumcised. Timothy's feelings about the matter are not mentioned; it may be assumed, however, that he had no desire to oppose the apostle's decision. Paul's refusal to have Titus, a Gentile by birth, circumcised (Gal. 2:1-5) is not inconsistent with his decision to have Timothy, a Jew by birth, circumcised; both decisions accord with his theology and missionary strategy. Paul considered circumcision per se as nothing, and the same was true of uncircumcision (Gal. 5:6; 6:15). If someone insisted that circumcision was necessary for salvation, Paul fought against this as false teaching and refused to permit the uncircumcised person to be circumcised. But in Timothy's case circumcision was simply a matter of expediency; and since Paul himself was prepared to become all things to all people so as to win some (1 Cor. 9:19-23), he did not hesitate to ask the same of Timothy. Paul would not risk impeding the gospel's progress among the Jews by having an uncircumcised Jewish-Christian as his associate. Had he obstinately done so, he would have alienated his audience immediately and forever. Therefore, Paul regarded Timothy's circumcision not as a means of salvation but as a legal act to remove a serious obstacle to the gospel.

Some time after Timothy had received the laying on of hands by the elders at Lystra (1 Tim. 4:14), he became a nearly constant companion of Paul. This long association began some time during Paul's second missionary journey. Timothy is probably the best known of all of Paul's coworkers, although Acts mentions his name infrequently and does not record all of his movements. But presumably Timothy traveled with Paul from the time of his calling at Lystra onward, at least until Paul's Roman imprisonment at the end of his third missionary journey.

On occasion Paul left Timothy behind while he went on ahead, in order that Timothy might accomplish some unnamed task (Acts 17:14) or, perhaps, act as a decoy, allowing Paul to escape danger (vv. 13f.). On other occasions Paul enlisted Timothy as an emissary to do what he himself could not do. For instance, when the Macedonian Christians were suffering persecution Paul sent Timothy to Thessalonica to strengthen them in their faith (1 Thess. 3:1-3). Later Paul sent him from Ephesus to other Macedonian churches with perhaps the same mission (Acts 19:22). Apparently Timothy was to go from Macedonia to Corinth, perhaps carrying Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (if *épempsa* in 1 Cor. 4:17 is an epistolary aorist; cf. NIV; but see 16:10), in order to remind them in person of Paul's way of life in Christ and to bring order to a confused situation (1 Cor. 4:17-21). Paul also made plans to send Timothy to Philippi (Phil. 2:19). Timothy, however, rejoined Paul as soon as possible after each separation (cf. Acts 17:15). On at least one return journey Timothy brought with him a monetary gift, which seems to have freed Paul from the need to work with his hands (cf. Acts 18:5, NIV; Phil. 4:15f.). Timothy accompanied Paul on his last recorded journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4) and was at his side during his Roman imprisonment. Apparently

the apostle always derived special comfort, encouragement, and strength from Timothy's presence (cf. Phil. 2:20-22).

Paul links Timothy's name with his own in saluting the churches at Corinth (2 Cor. 1:1), Philippi (Phil. 1:1), Colossae (Col. 1:1), and Thessalonica (1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1). This indicates either that Timothy served with Paul in each of these churches, or that he had been sent there by the apostle, or that he had come to be known by them because of his close association with Paul (cf. Rom. 16:21).

As Silas took Barnabas's place as Paul's senior associate on his second missionary journey (Acts 15:36-41), so Timothy replaced Mark as Paul's junior associate. Paul poured his own life into Timothy's, faithfully passing on to him all that he had personally experienced or had learned from others about the gospel. Timothy's response to this training was everything that the apostle could have hoped for: he dedicated himself to learning, grew in the faith, gave his time and energies to evangelism and teaching, and became a trusted and invaluable colleague. He certainly earned Paul's description as *synergós mou*, "my fellow worker" (Rom. 16:21), and *synergós theoú*, "God's fellow worker" (1 Thess. 3:2). Timothy was "faithful in the Lord" (1 Cor. 4:17), genuinely interested in the welfare of others (Phil. 2:19f.), a Christian gentleman of proven worth (2:22). Thus Paul could not refrain from calling him "brother" (2 Cor. 1:1; Col. 1:1) but also "my son" (1 Tim. 1:18; cf. v. 1; 1 Cor. 4:14), and from saying, "I have no one like him" (Phil. 2:20). Timothy was a young man with exceptional potential for missionary statesmanship and church leadership. Thus Paul authorized him to appoint elders and establish order in the Ephesian church and simultaneously to supervise the other churches in Asia Minor.

Despite all this Paul never ranked Timothy with himself in terms of office or authority when he addressed the churches (e.g., "Paul, an *apostle* of Jesus Christ . . ., and Timothy our *brother*," 2 Cor. 1:1; Col. 1:1; but cf. 1 Thess 2:6). Furthermore, certain texts suggest that Timothy was not the fearless, commanding person that one might expect of the leader in Ephesus. He was frequently ill (1 Tim. 5:23), timid (2 Tim. 1:7), and even despised because of his youthfulness (1 Tim. 4:12; cf. 1 Cor. 16:10). He appears sometimes to have been neglectful, for again and again Paul urged him to be diligent in spiritual matters, to stir up the fire of his prophetic gift, and to persevere in the Christian ministry (1 Tim. 4:12-16; 2 Tim. 1:6; 3:14f.). As the apostolic envoy to Ephesus, he needed instruction on how to behave toward various groups of people (1 Tim. 5), on how to control his own inclinations (2 Tim. 2:22f.), and on how to respond to persons in error (3:1-8). Paul also reminded him to set an example by his own conduct in life, love, faith, and purity (1 Tim. 4:12), to fight the good fight (1:18), to keep the faith and a good conscience (1:19), and to keep himself from godless myths and speculations (1:4; 4:7).

It is impossible to fit Timothy's mission to Ephesus into the Acts account of Paul's activities. But this is no problem if the PASTORAL EPISTLES belong to a period of Paul's life that occurred after Acts 28:31. Paul's Roman imprisonment, with which Acts closes, may have ended not with Paul's execution but rather with his vindication and release. If so, then Paul most likely resumed his evangelistic efforts and continued this work until it ended in a second and final Roman imprisonment. This reconstruction, based in part on the silence of Acts and on the testimony of the ancient Church (Eusebius *HE* ii.22; 1 Clem. 5:7; and the Muratorian Canon, which explicitly states that Paul went to Spain from Rome), makes the theory of a second Roman imprisonment most plausible. Paul's request for Timothy to hurry and come to him — i.e., to leave Ephesus and come to Rome at the time of his second imprisonment — shows once again Paul's deep and lasting affection for Timothy and his need for Timothy's sympathy and care, especially at the end of his life (2 Tim. 4:9).

In He. 13:23 a Timothy is also mentioned: "You should understand that our brother Timothy has been released." Whether this Timothy is the same as Paul's associate is not certain. Paul was probably not the author of Hebrews, and no record exists of an imprisonment of Paul's companion Timothy. Nevertheless the writer mentions this Timothy without any explanation of who he is or what had caused his imprisonment, implying that the readers of this epistle were fully acquainted with him and his movements. Very likely, then, he was the same Timothy who had been Paul's companion — who thus was well known to the churches, who was imprisoned sometime after Paul's death, but who, unlike Paul, had escaped the executioner's sword and been set free.

See F. F. Bruce, *Pauline Circle* (1985), pp. 29-34.

G. F. HAWTHORNE

TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO. *See* PASTORAL EPISTLES.

TIN [Heb. *bᵉḏîl*]. A metal separated by smelting from its ore, cassiterite or tin dioxide (SnO_2). In antiquity, however, it appears often to have been the by-product of silver extraction and thus a base metal. The Hebrew root *bdl* means "to separate." The principal use of tin was in the manufacture of BRONZE, an alloy of tin and copper.

The earliest biblical reference to tin is in Nu. 31:22, where Israel is in conflict with Midianite traders. Tin is mentioned among metals taken as booty that must be ritually purified. The source of the tin used in Palestine is not precisely known, although as early as the MARI tablets in the Canaanite period large quantities of tin were being sent to Hazor for the making of bronze. Ezk. 27:12 indicates Tyre imported tin in ships from Tarshish; the Balkans, Spain, and Cornwall (more specifically, the Scilly Islands) have been suggested as sources, but Asia Minor and the Hittites are also possibilities.

The only other certain biblical references are in Ezk. 22:18, 20, which use the figure of worthless base metals, produced by smelting silver, to describe Israel's profaned state. Heb. *bᵉḏîl* occurs also in the description of a plumbline in Zec. 4:10; but this seems to indicate a confusion between tin and the heavier lead, which was most often used for plumblines in antiquity.

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R. A. COUGHENOUR

TIPHSAH tif'sə [Heb. *tipsaḥ*–'ford'; Gk. *Thapsá*].

1. A town of northern Syria located on the western bank of the Euphrates at its great western bend, about 120 km. (75 mi.) S. of Carchemish. Mentioned in 1 K. 4:24 (MT 5:4) as marking the northern border of Solmon's kingdom, it was an important city situated on a well-known E-W trade route. Known in classical times as Thapsacus, it was here that Cyrus the Younger, Darius Codomannus, and Alexander crossed during their campaigns (Xenophon *Anabasis* i.4, 11; Arrian *Anabasis* iii.7). It came to be called Amphipolis under the Seleucids, as it eventually spread over both sides of the river. Now

called Dibseh, this site is still used as a crossing point for modern travelers.

2. (2 K. 15:16, AV). *See* TAPPUAH 3.

K. E. CORLEY

TIRAS tī'rəs, tē'rəs [Heb. *tîrās*; LXX *Thiras*; Luc. *Theiras*]. A son (or descendant, or nation) of Japheth listed in the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:2; 1 Ch. 1:5). Tiras probably should be equated with the Etruscans, who eventually settled in Italy after leaving Asia Minor (Lydia) (according to Herodotus i.94). They were evidently the *Tyrsēnoi* of Greek sources, who raided throughout the Aegean Sea, and the *Turusha* (or *Tursha*, or *Teresh*) of Egyptian records, who fought against Egypt "from the sea" during the reigns of Merneptah and Ramses III. The name may also be related to the Hittite *Taruiša* — possibly ancient Troy, although this is uncertain.

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D. A. DORSEY

TIRATHITES tī'rə-thīts [Heb. *tir'āṯîm*]. According to 1 Ch. 2:55, a family of scribes from Jabez (probably northern Judah) listed along with the Shimeathites and Sucathites. This genealogy identifies the Tirathites as a family from the Kenite tribe and connects them to the tent-dwelling Rechabite clan (cf. Jer. 35). While the genealogy indicates that they were descendants of Hammath, Hammath is known elsewhere only as the name of a village along the Sea of Galilee (Josh. 19:35). Because of the obscurity of 1 Ch. 2:55, several different interpretations of this word have been offered, namely, that it denotes singers (Jerome, Tg.), a musical term (J. Wellhausen), gatekeepers (E. Bertheau), or descendants of an unknown individual, Tira (C. F. Keil).

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K. C. HANSON

TIRE. A term used several times by the AV to designate a woman's hair ornamentation or headband. In Isa. 3:18, AV, "round tires like the moon" renders Heb. *śahᵃrōnîm* (*see* CRESCENT); and in the AV of Ezk. 24:17, 23, "tire" represents Heb. *pᵉ'ēr* (RSV "turban"). In 2 K. 9:30, AV, the verb "tire" means to "adorn the head" (cf. RSV).

See GARMENTS VI, IX.

TIRHAKAH tir-hā'kə [Heb. *tirhāqâ*; Egyp. *Thrq*, prob. read Tiharqo and derived from Meroitic]. King of Egypt and Cush in *ca.* 690-664 B.C.; mentioned in the OT only in 2 K. 19:9 par. Isa. 37:9; extrabiblically known as Taharka.

I. Career.–Tirhakah was the next-to-last pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty, termed "Ethiopian" from its origin in Nubia (northern Sudan; the Greeks called it Ethiopia; the Hebrews called it Cush). He reigned twenty-six years (according to the Apis stele; cf. Parker, *Kush*, 8 [1960], 267-69), seemingly as sole king. But he was first summoned to Egypt while still a prince by his elder brother Shabataka (*ca.* 702-690 B.C.), probably soon after the latter's accession in 701 or 702. Thus he was probably only a prince when he led his troops in an unsuccessful assault on the Assyrians threatening Hezekiah of Judah (2 K. 19:9 par. Isa. 37:9). (*See also* EGYPT VIII.I.)

In accord with the Cushite rule of succession, Tirhakah became king at Shabataka's death: "in Memphis, after the Falcon [=Shabataka, deceased] had ascended to heaven" (Kawa stele V, 15 par.). Apart from the wars with Assyria, Tirhakah's reign was marked by fair prosperity and by notable building projects. Most striking is the surviving

A gold-plated bronze statue depicting Tirhakah presenting a thank offering to the god Khnum (*ca.* 680 B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

column over 18 m. (60 ft.) high — one of a colonnade of ten — in the great forecourt of the Karnak temple of Amun at Thebes. His sixth year was marked by a heavy inundation of the Nile, resulting in a good harvest, thanks to a fourfold blessing attributed to Amun: land in good state, no vermin, no locusts, and no adverse winds. Some of the most important inscriptions of his reign come from the temple of Kawa in Nubia, which he built. In his reign Egypt was invaded by the Assyrians: Esarhaddon in 671 B.C. and Ashurbanipal in 666/665; Ashurbanipal in particular left subject princes and key garrisons in the Delta. Tirhakah had a pyramid tomb at Nuri near ancient Napata.

II. Tirhakah and the OT.–Because 2 K. 19:9 par. Isa. 37:9 refer to "Tirhakah king of Cush" in 701 B.C., while he did not ascend the thrones of Egypt and Cush until 690 B.C., some scholars have considered the OT passages anachronistic. But the term "king of Cush" is merely an identifying epithet applied by the biblical narrators writing after 690 B.C., much as an Englishman might refer to Queen Elizabeth II as being born in 1926. Such proleptic usage in terms of later status is universal and not an error; in fact, in the Kawa stele (IV, 7f.) Tirhakah used "His Majesty" to designate himself when only a prince.

M. F. L. Macadam suggested that Tirhakah was only about nine years old in 701 B.C. and thus unable to lead armies into Palestine in that year. But this is chronologically improbable. Tirhakah's father, King Piankhi, died between 717 and 713, probably in 716, and his son Tirhakah could hardly be born four to seven years after Piankhi's death! In fact, Tirhakah must have been at least twenty by 701 (Kawa stele V, 17 states that he was twenty at Shabataka's accession) and so was able to lead the troops. Thus no error need be supposed. A second Assyrian campaign in Palestine by Sennacherib is theoretically possible but not required by the Egyptian data.

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K. A. KITCHEN

TIRHANAH tûr-hā'nə [Heb. *tirḥanâ*]. A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah (1 Ch. 2:48).

TIRIA tir'i-ə [Heb. *tiryā'*]. A Judahite; son of Jehallelel (1 Ch. 4:16).

TIRSHATHA tûr-shā'thə. The AV transliteration of Heb. *tiršāṯā'* (always with the prefixed article; RSV, NEB, "governor"), the title of the Persian provincial governor in Jerusalem (Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65, 70 [MT 69]; 8:9; 10:1 [MT 2]). *Tiršāṯā'* appears to be a Persian loanword, probably derived from the pass. part. of the vb. *tarš*, i.e., *taršata*, "(the one) feared." This term roughly corresponds to Heb. *peḥâ* (Akk. *piḥatu*) found in Neh. 5:14, 18; 12:26; etc. The references to the *tiršāṯā'* in Ezr. 2:63 par. Neh. 7:65 and Neh. 7:70 appear to be to Zerubbabel. Neh. 8:9 and 10:1 (MT 2) refer expressly to Nehemiah.

D. G. SCHLEY

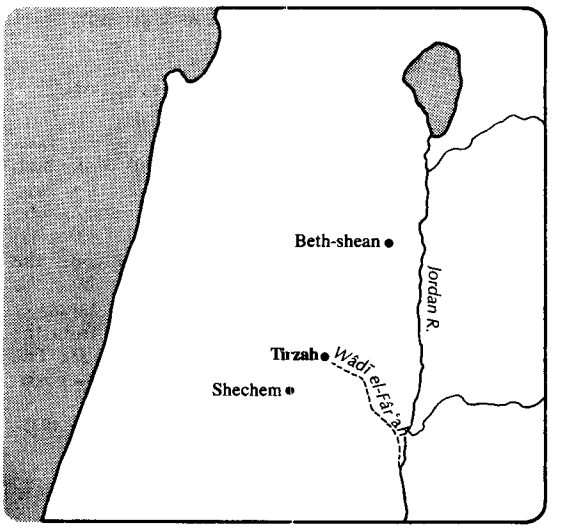
TIRZAH tir'zə [Heb. *tirṣâ*]. One of the five daughters of Zelophehad of the tribe of Manasseh (Nu. 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Josh. 17:3); *see* MAHLAH 1. *See also* TIRZAH (place) II.

TIRZAH tir zə [Heb. *tirṣâ*; LXX usually *Thersa* or *Tharsa*]. An important town in the northern kingdom of Israel.

I. History.–Tirzah was known as a Canaanite city before it was captured by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. 12:24). During the late 10th cent. B.C. Jeroboam I seems to have used it as his capital (1 K. 14:17; cf. v. 12) at least for a time, perhaps before his building operations at Shechem were completed (12:25). The town may have been destroyed during Pharaoh Shishak's campaign, if B. Mazar has correctly read no. 59 of that pharaoh's list (written [*x*]-*rú-ṣa-i3*) as "Tirzah." After assassinating Jeroboam's son Nadab (1 K. 15:25-28), Baasha also made Tirzah his capital (vv. 21, 33) and was buried there (16:6). His son Elah began to reign there but was murdered during the coup d'état by Zimri (16:8-10). Zimri was then opposed by Omri, who had returned from the battle front at Gibbethon and now besieged the capital; Zimri set fire to the royal residence and died in the flames (vv. 17f.). After consolidating his own position as ruler, Omri continued to reign from Tirzah (v. 23) until his new citadel at Samaria was ready (six years after his initial seizure of power), in the mid-9th cent. B.C. About a century later Menahem son of Gadi came from Tirzah (where he was perhaps district governor) to Samaria and seized the throne from Shallum (2 K. 15:14). During the political struggle that ensued, Menahem besieged a certain town (MT *Tipsaḥ*, supported by Josephus *Ant.* ix.11.1 [229]; but cf. LXX B *Thersa*, L *Taphōe* [for Tappuah], A *Tharseila* [a place in Batanaea, Eusebius *Onom.* 102.4f.]) and its territory, which seems to have been contiguous with Tirzah (2 K. 15:16). After this the Bible supplies no more historical details about Tirzah. The city's beauty seems to be celebrated in Cant. 6:4, although the LXX and Vulgate do not take the MT *tirṣâ* as a proper name in this passage.

II. Identification.–The location of Tirzah seems to have been forgotten after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel. Eusebius offered no suggestion for its identification (*Onom.* 98.19f.; 102.3). Various sites have been proposed in modern times, but recent opinion has tended to accept W. F. Albright's identification (published 1931) of Tirzah with Tell el-Fâr'ah at the head of the Wâdī el-Fâr'ah, about 11 km. (7 mi.) NE of Shechem on the road between Shechem and Beth-shean.

In the Samaria ostraca the clan names of Manasseh appear as districts, including both Noah and Hoglah, two of Zelophehad's daughters. Another daughter, Tirzah (Nu. 26:33; 27:1; Josh. 17:3), is not named in these texts, but the omission is probably accidental. One ostracon does mention Shechem, bringing to mind the Manassite named Shechem (MT *šᵉḵem*, Nu. 26:31; Josh. 17:2; 1 Ch. 7:19), who probably had some connection with the city



(MT *šeḵem*). Thus the town of Tirzah evidently is to be associated with the daughter of Zelophehad by the same name. Hoglah's district can be located by the mention of two of its towns in the Samaria ostraca, namely, Yazith (identified with Yaṣîd) and Geba' (Jeba'), both NW of Tel el-Fâr'ah. The Tirzah district is presumbly to the east, facing the Wâdī el-Fâr'ah. If Albright is correct, then the role of Tirzah as capital of the northern kingdom gains new perspective. The earlier kings of Israel may have selected it for its convenient line of communications, via the Wâdī el-Fâr'ah, to their Transjordanian subjects.

III. Excavations.–The archeological evidence from Tell el-Fâr'ah tends to support the site's identification with biblical Tirzah, even though no epigraphic discovery has confirmed it. The site was excavated by R. de Vaux under the auspices of the École Archéologique Française de Jérusalem during nine seasons between 1946 and 1960.

The first human occupation at the site seems to have begun in the Pre-pottery Neolithic Age. Only a poor village of huts or dwelling pits has been attested for the Pottery Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. A true city, with rectangular houses bordering on straight streets and enclosed by a defensive rampart, emerged at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age and was apparently destroyed or abandoned *ca.* 2600 B.C. A new city was founded in the 20th cent. B.C. (M.B. IIA) and enlarged and strengthened in the 18th cent. (M.B. IIB). These strata are poorly preserved, but an underground sanctuary contained pottery of the 18th-16th cents. B.C. The shrine contained pig bones and was evidently a place for offering sacrifices to deities of the underworld (cf. Isa. 55:4; 56:3, 17). The L.B. strata are also badly destroyed, but the meager evidence does show that the Canaanite town lasted until the 13th cent. B.C.

From the Iron Age de Vaux distinguished three major and one intermediate strata. He assigned the earliest (III) to the period under David and Solomon and estimated that it was destroyed at the beginning of the 9th cent. B.C. His intermediate stage followed next, with one large building that seems never to have been completed. After this stage the site was abandoned, only to be reoccupied on a very small scale. The next important rebuilding of the city (Stratum II) was attributed by de Vaux to the 8th cent. B.C. The stratum is well represented and characterized by a rich and a poorer quarter within the city; the settlement ended in a violent destruction. A much poorer stratum (I)

arose on the ruins. This last phase is characterized by Assyrian pottery, which dates it after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. (2 K. 17:5).

The importance of Tell el-Fâr'ah in the pre-Israelite period and its extensive Iron Age remains support its equation with Tirzah. De Vaux's more detailed attempts at correlation with the biblical allusions to Tirzah are interesting but not conclusive. K. M. Kenyon's supposed dovetailing of the biblical material with the stratigraphy of Samaria has been cast in doubt by the severe criticisms of G. E. Wright, Y. Aharoni, and R. Amiran. Until the current debate on the ceramic correlations of the monarchial period is resolved, direct correlations between the strata of Tell el-Fâr'ah and the history of Tirzah must be subject to skepticism.

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TISHBITE tish'bīt [Heb. *(hat)tišbî*; Gk. *Thesbitēs*]; **TISHBE** tish'bē [Heb. *tōšāḇê*] (1 K. 17:1); AV INHABITANTS. ELIJAH is six times described as "the Tishbite" (1 K. 17:1; 21:17, 28; 2 K. 1:3, 8; 9:36). In the first of these references the MT describes Elijah as being "of the settlers [*mittōšāḇê*] in Gilead" (cf. AV, RSV mg.), which the LXX rendered "of Tishbe [Gk. *ek Thesbōn*] in Gilead" (so RSV, NEB). Glueck thought that both texts were corrupt and postulated "Elijah the Jabeshite of Jabesh-gilead" as the correct reading. The strength of Glueck's view lies in the fact that much of Elijah's work did take place in the Wâdī el-Yâbis area of Gilead; the difficulty with this view is that it would involve emending too many references to Elijah as the "Tishbite." To date no site has been identified conclusively with Tishbi, despite attempts to associate it with Listib in the northeast Gilead region. That Listib is an incorrect identification is indicated by the complete absence of a settlement there during the time of the northern kingdom.

Others have suggested that "the Tishbite" (*hattišbî*) is incorrectly vocalized and should read *hattôšᵉḇî*, meaning "a member of the *tôšāḇ* class" (see *IDB*, IV, 653f.). According to Mishnaic tradition the returning exiles were divided into classes, one of which was the *tôšāḇ*. This term described a person who was not a native but had been accorded rights of permanent settlement. It is obviously a mistake, however, to retroject into the kingdom period a social configuration that was unknown until some time after the return from exile. Furthermore, there is no indication in 1 K. 17 that Elijah was anything other than a native inhabitant of the northern kingdom who was pursuing a ministry to that nation.

Bibliography.–*IDB*, IV, *s.v.* "Tisbe" S. Cohen; N. Glueck, *AASOR*, 25-28 (1951), pt. I, 218, 225-27; A. Wiener, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism* (1978). R. K. H.

TISHRI tish'rē [Heb. *tišrî*]. The seventh month of the Jewish year, corresponding to September/October. The Canaanite name was ETHANIM. *See* CALENDAR.

TITANS tī'tənz [Gk. *Titanoi*] (Jth. 16:7). The name of a family of giants in Greek mythology, used here in the general sense of GIANTS. The LXX uses *hē koilás tốn Titánōn* to render Heb. *ʿēmeq rᵉpāʾîm* ("valley of Rephaim") in 2 S. 5:18, 22; thus the Hebrew original of Jth. 16:7 may have read "sons of the Rephaim" (see *APOT*, I, 266). *See* REPHAIM.

TITHE [Heb. *maʿᵃśēr, ʿāśar* (piel, Dt. 14:22; Neh. 10:37; hiphil, Dt. 26:12; Neh. 10:38); Gk. *dekátē* (He. 7:4, 8f.), *dekatóō, apodekatóō* (Mt. 23:23; Lk. 11:42; 18:12; He. 7:5)]. The Hebrew noun *maʿᵃśēr*, literally "tenth part" or "tithe," is a cognate of the verb *ʿāśar*, "take the tenth part." The corresponding Greek noun *dekátē* is a cognate of the verb *dekatóō*, which means "collect tithes" in the active (He. 7:6) and "pay tithes" in the passive (v. 9). The compound *apodekatóō* can mean either "collect tithes" or "pay tithes."

I. In the Ancient Near East
II. Goods Subject to the Tithe
III. OT Perspective
  A. Pentateuch
  B. Prophets
  C. Writings
  D. Theological Implications
  E. Critical Issues
IV. NT Perspectives
V. In Judaism

I. In the Ancient Near East.–Many ancient cultures practiced tithing in some form. Israel was merely one among many ancient Near Eastern peoples who tithed their property, produce, or currency. Egyptians practiced tithing, as did Syrians (1 Macc. 10:31; 11:35), Lydians (Herodotus i.89), Babylonians (Oppenheim, pp. 183-198; Milgrom, pp. 55-62), and Assyrians. The tithe was known in Ugarit (14th cent. B.C.) and among the Carthaginians (Diodorus xx.14). Suetonius and Tacitus used Lat. *decumo* as a technical military term meaning "take every tenth man for punishment [i.e., decimate]" (cf. Lev. 27:32f.).

But despite these often cited parallels, none of the other tithing systems is as defined or as specific as Israel's. Vaguely similar practices do not point to similar motives. Deuteronomy clearly subsumes the purpose of Israel's tithe under the Shema (6:4-9) and love for one's fellow Israelites (14:28f.). Gen. 14:18-20 indicates, however, that before Israel was ever a nation Abram and the high priest Melchizedek were well aware of the practice of tithing. Jacob also promised to give God a tenth of his wealth (Gen. 28:22).

These biblical narratives indicate that tithing generally issued from theological rather than merely political, humanitarian, or economic motives, although in Israel, as in other ancient Near Eastern countries, these motives could not really be separated.

II. Goods Subject to the Tithe.–Typically in the ancient Near East the tithe was taken from a broad range of property, produce, or even currency, but particulars varied from culture to culture. Among property items that were tithed in Israel are listed grain, new wine (Heb. *tîrôš*), olive oil, fruit, cattle, and sheep (Dt. 14:23; Lev. 27:32; etc.), but other items were probably tithed as well. Abram tithed the spoils of battle (Gen. 14:20), and Jacob vowed to tithe all that God gave him (28:22). Throughout the ancient Near East all kinds of objects have been found designated as subject to the tithe: wool, cloth, wood,

weapons, gold, silver, donkeys, etc. In general, the Israelites were to tithe all of the wealth (Heb. *hayil*; also *tôḇ*) of the land that Yahweh gave to them (cf. Dt. 8:18).

III. OT Perspective.–Genesis 1 indicates that God is the Creator of all the earth's wealth (vv. 11f., 16-18, 20f., 24f., 29-31). After mankind's rebellion (3:1-7) the Lord cursed the land (vv. 17-19), but after the great flood He reinstituted His providential blessing and care for His creation (8:17-19, 22). As owner of all the land of Canaan, God could give it to whomever He desired (Dt. 2:5, 10-12, 20-23, 31). He gave the land of Canaan to Israel (4:1), and Israel was expected to give back to Yahweh a *pars pro toto* of the produce and wealth of the land; in some cases this involved the first fruits of the land and in others it involved a tithe of many different items (26:1-15).

The relationship of the first fruits to the tithe is unclear. A. S. Peake distinguished between them (*HDB*, IV, 780), but Guthrie maintained that they had a common origin. The tithe is not mentioned in the book of the covenant, though the two are mentioned together in Dt. 26:1-15. Dt. 18:4 complicates the issue by demanding that the first fruits be given to the priests; no such command is asserted about the tithe (McConville, pp. 68-123). The first fruits (*rē'šîṯ bikkûrîm*) is an offering falling under the general category of Corban, but the tithe is also considered a non-blood offering (J. G. S. S. Thompson, *NBD*, p. 1114).

Hebrew *ma'ᵃśēr* occurs thirty-two times in the OT: seventeen times in the Pentateuch, five times in the Prophets, and ten times in the Writings. The major texts describing the Lord's commands regarding tithing are Lev. 27:30-33; Nu. 18:21-32; Dt. 12:1-18 (esp. vv. 6f., 11f., 17-19); 14:22-29; 18:1-4; 26:12-15. In the final form of the OT canon, these texts are placed in a logical and theological sequence, and they occur early, in the formative years of Israel's history. The relevant texts are presented below in their canonical order.

A. Pentateuch. The first appearance of the word "tithe" is in Gen. 14:17-20 in a context that is both joyful and solemn. Melchizedek plays a priestly role by blessing Abram and providing wine and bread for the victory celebraton (in Israel the Levitical priests pronounced blessings and curses; cf. Dt. 10:8). Abram gave Melchizedek a "tenth of everything" (*ma'ᵃśēr mikkōl*), i.e., of the spoils of battle (Gen. 14:20). He apparently left the rest of the spoils with the king of Sodom (vv. 21-24), refusing to enrich himself at the expense of the king whom he had liberated (v. 23). Abram's giving of the tithe seems to have been theologically motivated: it was a recognition that it was God Most High who had given him the victory (v. 20).

Genesis 28:20-22 records Jacob's vow to tithe all of the increase that God would give him. This was predicated upon the supposition that God would care for him and prosper his way; the Lord would be Jacob's God, and he would give a tenth to confirm that fact. The tithe went to support "God's house," symbolized by the pillar (v. 22); this proleptically demonstrated a major purpose of the tithe in later Israel, namely, the care of God's house.

Leviticus 27:30-33 defines the "tithe of the land" as consisting of a tenth of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the trees (v. 30). More importantly, the passage gives a theological basis for bringing the Lord's tithe: it belongs to the Lord and is holy to Him. Implied is the fact that it is the Lord who produces, owns, and distributes the wealth of the land (cf. Dt. 8:17f.). Anyone who desired to could redeem his tithe of the land, but he had to pay its fair price plus a fifth to the Levites. The tithe of the herds or flocks could not be redeemed (Lev. 27:32f.).

Numbers 18:21-32 identifies the Levites as those who were to receive the tithe in return for their service in the tent of meeting (v. 21). The Levites in turn were to tithe the best of their tithe to the house of the Lord, specifically to the priests as represented by Aaron (vv. 28f.). The tithe of the flock and herds is not mentioned here, but it may be presupposed. The Levites were then free to eat the nine-tenths remaining wherever they wished. These tithes were not to be treated lightly, for Israel was to be a holy people, exclusively following their God's instructions.

Deuteronomy 12:5-19 delineates several things about the tithe: (1) it was to be taken to the place where the Lord would cause His name to dwell (vv. 5f., 11, 18); (2) there, and nowhere else (v. 17), it was to be eaten, with rejoicing, by the household of the one bringing the tithe (vv. 7, 12, 18); (3) it was to be shared with the Levites (vv. 12, 18f.). Deuteronomy envisions Israel in the land in the near future. Whereas the place to which the tithe was to be brought was not a major concern in Leviticus and Numbers, it is a predominant theological concern in these verses because of the need for unity and purity.

Deuteronomy 14:22-29 also presents information about the tithe that is not recorded in Leviticus or Numbers. The deposition of the yearly tithe was as follows: (1) the yearly tithe was to be eaten in God's chosen place, before the Lord, so that Israel would reverence its God (v. 23); (2) when the chosen sanctuary was far away, the worshiper could convert the tithe of various goods into money for the journey and then buy and consume whatever he desired at the proper place (vv. 24-26); (3) the Levites were not to be forgotten in all of this but were still to be cared for (v. 27). The deposition of the tithe every third year was handled differently. In the third year the tithe was to be laid up in the towns of Israel (v. 28) and was to be eaten by the Levite, sojourner, widow, and orphan (v. 29). These tithe laws in Deuteronomy seem to contradict the other tithe laws in Leviticus and Numbers, which say nothing about the worshiper's household eating a portion of the tithe. On these apparent discrepancies, see E below.

B. Prophets. Relevant references to tithing in the Prophets are found at Am. 4:4 and Mal. 3:8, 10. Am. 4:4 points out the hollowness of Israel's continuing to present tithes to the Lord when the people showed no concern for justice and righteousness (cf. 5:6f., 10-15, 21-24). Such a ritual program actually mocked the true motive for giving the tithe. Dt. 14:23, 26, 28f. makes especially clear that the giving of tithes was to be motivated by heartfelt love for God and one's brethren. In Amos's day Israel's tithes still came in, but without the joy, love, and sincerity that were to have marked the giving of the tithe. After the Exile, on the other hand, Malachi (3:8-10) attempted to motivate the people to bring the tithe for the right reasons; only then would they receive the Lord's blessing (cf. Dt. 14:29). Thus, Mal. 3:8-10 stresses the lack of blessing because of not bringing the tithe, while Am. 4:4 emphasizes the lack of blessing because of presenting tithes with the wrong motives.

C. Writings. The ten references to the tithe in these Scriptures occur in 2 Ch. 31:4-12; Neh. 10:36-39 (MT 37-40); 12:44; 13:5, 12. 2 Ch. 31:4-12 describes the reformation under King Hezekiah, who attempted to restore Israel's dedication to the "law of the Lord" (vv. 4, 21). Specifically he required that the tithes due to the priests and Levites, which had been allowed to lapse, be brought in (vv. 4-6, 12). After the Exile, Nehemiah again tried to restore the covenant obligations as written in the law (10:36), including rendering the tithe to the Levites, who would, under the supervision of the priest, bring the tithe of the tithe to the house of God in Jerusalem (vv. 37f.) The

other nine-tenths of the tithe was kept in the various towns where the Levites lived. McConville argued that this tradition in Nehemiah represents the oldest Jewish tradition about the tithe, and that it knew of only one tithe tradition. According to his view (pp. 75f.), Nehemiah draws from both Dt. 14:28f. and Nu. 18 ("D" and "P"), sources that are possibly in agreement about the chronological order and character of the tithe. Of course, outside these few verses very little is known about the policy of tithing in the period of the second temple.

D. Theological Implications. No institution in Israel, including tithing, existed merely to carry out a political, economic, or humanitarian function. By giving the tithe the Israelites were declaring solemnly that they were giving a portion back to the Lord who had prospered them (cf. Dt. 26:10-15). By giving the tithe they also recognized the validity of the priests' and Levites' role as God's representatives and acknowledged their right to receive support for the spiritual service they performed on the people's behalf. The tithe ritual afforded the Israelites an opportunity to remember Yahweh's blessings as He had remembered them, and to imitate their God's care for slaves, the poor, orphans, and widows. The tithe demanded that the Israelites serve their God at a significant cost to themselves. In this amazing system of tithing, Israel's economics became a channel for expressing love to God and love to neighbors, the heart of the Torah (Dt. 6:4-9; Lev. 19:18). Deuteronomy explicitly makes paramount the joy and fellowship of presenting the tithe in a family context (Dt. 14:26). The reforms under Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:4) and Nehemiah (Neh. 10:37; 13:10-14) emphasized the seriousness of neglecting the support of the Levites, God's appointed ministers.

Finally, tithing helped to set Israel apart as Yahweh's people and His alone, a people holy to Him (Dt. 14:22-29; cf. vv. 1-21, esp. 2, 21). Only a holy people could be blessed (v. 29), and the blessing was to reinforce Israel's reverence for Yahweh and sense of belonging to Him. By tithing, therefore, the Israelites fulfilled the desire of their ancestor Jacob: "the Lord shall be my God, and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house; and of all that thou givest me I will give the tenth to thee" (Gen. 28:21f.).

E. Critical Issues. As mentioned above, there appear to be discrepancies among the three main descriptions of the tithe and its deposition in Dt. 14:22-29; Lev. 27:30-33; Nu. 18:21-32. No more than a few of the issues involved can be noted here.

Jewish tradition and some more recent studies (e.g., Landrell, p. 36) have identified two or three different tithes in these passages. (1) A first tithe consisted of the tithe to the Levites (Nu. 18; Dt. 14:27); of this, one-tenth was passed on to the priests or to the house of God. (2) A second tithe (from the remaining nine-tenths) was set apart and eaten by the household, presumably in Jerusalem (Dt. 14:22-26; cf. Mish. *Maaser sheni* ii.1). Those living far from Jerusalem could change the tithe of the land into money, but they then had to add one-fifth to its price (Lev. 27:30f.); food, drink, or oil could be purchased with the money. According to Mish. *Zebahim* v.8, the cattle tithe belonged to this tithe and had to be used in Jerusalem. Landsell refers to this second tithe as the tithe for the sacred celebration. (3) The third tithe, according to Jewish tradition (Josephus *Ant.* iv.8.22 [240-43]; cf. also Landsell), was the tithe for the poor (Dt. 14:28f.), which occurred only in the third year. According to some of these possible scenarios, therefore, the tithing rate could run as high as thirty percent! Many believe that the third-year tithe replaced the second tithe every third year.

J. G. McConville, on the other hand, found the answer to the seeming discrepancies between Deuteronomy and Numbers to lie in the prominent theological and didactic purposes of Deuteronomy, particularly in its presentation of the tithe. He did not suggest a date for the tithe law in Deuteronomy because of its ambiguous language, since the book's purpose was to teach "truths which were fundamental to the situation of Israel in the land" (p. 87). According to his view, Dt. 14 probably assumes Nu. 18 and most likely Lev. 27:30-32 also (p. 72). In other words, McConville perceived a great amount of continuity between "D" and "P" laws, and he concluded that Nehemiah (10:36-39) drew on both (see III.C above).

One theory see two varying views of the tithe in the priestly material of Leviticus (the tithe goes to the priests) and Numbers (the tithe goes to the Levites), and a third view in Deuteronomy, where the tithe becomes almost a "philanthropic gift" (Weinfeld, col. 1161). This theory does not seem to take seriously enough the control that the sanctuary has over the disposition of the tithe in Dt. 14:22-29; nor does it sufficiently consider the tithe's placement within the larger theological framework of Deuteronomy, in which love for one's brother is an expression of love for the Lord (see also Weinfeld, col. 1160). Many critics have concluded that there was more than one basic tithe, but that the discrepancies in the documents arose because of historical evolution. The problem with this approach is that one can argue for either an early or a late date for any of the materials involved. Guthrie, e.g., concluded: "The references to tithing in the OT apparently reflect differing customs in differing times and places, and make it impossible to reconstruct any clear-cut picture of the practice or history of tithing in Israel" (*IDB*, IV, 654). Attempts to solve some of these knotty problems from a more literary or theological perspective may provide an alternative to Guthrie's conclusion. Even if the "search for the historical tithe system" of ancient Israel proves fruitless, it may be possible to develop a satisfactory picture of the institution's theological significance.

IV. NT Perspectives.—Several NT passages refer to tithing, and 2 Cor. 9:7-13 alludes to the practice although it does not specifically mention it. In Mt. 23:23; Lk. 11:42; 18:12 the giving of tithes is cast in a negative light because of the way that it was often practiced with no regard for justice, the love of God, mercy, and faith. Deuteronomy emphasizes the necessity of all virtues as the context in which the tithe is given (see esp. Dt. 14:22-29). By Jesus' time the Pharisees had legalized the whole affair, and Jesus denounced them for paying attention to minutiae while they ignored the realissue of a pleasing moral life before God (Mt. 23:23 par Lk. 11:42). Paul's exhortation to give with a cheerful heart (2 Cor. 9:7) reflects Deuteronomy's instruction about tithing, which emphasizes the importance of rejoicing (e.g., Dt. 12:7, 11f., 17f.; 14:26).

The author of Hebrews (ch. 7) uses the account of Abraham's paying a tithe to the priest-king Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18-20; see III.A above) to show the superiority of Christ's priesthood, which is "after the order of Melchizedek" (He. 7:11, 17). The fact that Abraham — the ancestor of both the Levites and of the Israelites who paid them tithes — gave a tithe of the battle spoils to Melchizedek shows that Melchizedek's priestly order is greater than the Leivitcal priesthood.

V. In Judaism.—Tithing was important in incipient Judaism. Thus the Apocrypha frequently mention tithes, offerings, and first fruits (e.g., 1 Macc. 3:49; 10:31; 11:35; 13:25-27; 32:10-15; Tob. 1:6-8; 5:13; Jth. 11:13; Sir. 35:9; cf. also Jub. 32:4-9). The Mishnah (*Maaseroth* i.1) and Talmud (T.B. *Maaseroth* 1a) delineate the principle of

tithing: "whatsoever is used for food and is kept watch over and grows from the soil is liable to Tithes." The rabbis described carefully the sacred times when things were to be tithed — there was a right time for cattle, land, and fruit from the trees to be presented. The rabbis also emphasized that all of the tithe that was supposed to go to the poor must be conveyed to them (e.g., Mish. *Peah* v.4f.; viii.2f., 8; *Aboth* v.9). In Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* i.6 the rabbis listed the tithe among the three bases upon which the world was created.

Bibliography.—C. Carmichael, *VT*, 19 (1969) 273-289; P. Craigie, *Book of Deuteronomy* (*NICOT*, 1976); *Encyclopedia Judaica*, XIV, *s.v.* (M. Weinfeld); *IDB*, IV, *s.v.* (H. H. Guthrie, Jr.); Y. Kaufman, *Religion of Israel* (Eng. tr. 1960), pp. 189-193; H. Landsell, *The Tithe in Scripture* (1963); J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy* (1984); J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience* (1976); A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948); A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1977); H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon* (1977); *The Might that was Assyria* (1984); *TWOT*, II, 702-704; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1974); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr., repr. 1965); L. Vischer, *Tithing in the Early Church* (1966). E. E. CARPENTER

TITIUS JUSTUS tish'əs jus'təs [Gk. *Titios Ioustos*] (Acts 18:7); AV JUSTUS. *See* JUSTUS 2.

TITLE [Gk. *títlos*]; NEB INSCRIPTION. A term used by the RSV only in Jn. 19:19f. for the sign over Jesus' cross, on which was written the charge (Gk. *aitía*; cf. Mt. 27:37) against Him. Mk. 15:26 and Lk. 23:38 have the Greek term *epigraphḗ* (*see* INSCRIPTION).

Though the wording of the title over the cross varies in the four Gospels, the phrase "King of the Jews" occurs in them all. On this charge Jesus was crucified by the Roman authorities. Jn. 18:33-38 indicates that Jesus claimed to be a king, but not of this world. Nevertheless, the claim was interpreted as a political threat to Roman rule in Palestine and therefore as sufficient grounds for crucifying Him.

The title was also meant as a Roman warning to the Jews and as a taunt against them. It was placed prominently so that all could see it, and was translated into three languages so that all could read and understand it. When the Jewish leaders objected to the title, Pilate responded, "What I have written, I have written" (Jn. 19:21f.).

T. F. JOHNSON

TITTLE. *See* DOT.

TITUS tī'təs [Gk. *Titos*]. A companion of Paul, and the recipient of a Pauline epistle. Little is known about him. That he was a Greek is certain (Gal. 2:3), as is the fact that he was one of Paul's early associates (v. 1). He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their visit to the church in Jerusalem. The occasion may have been the controversy over whether it was necessary for gentile Christians to be circumcised and to keep the Jewish law (cf. Acts 15:1-29). In any case, there were Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who wanted Titus, a Gentile, to be circumcised. Paul would not accede to their wishes, however, and Titus was permitted to continue in the ministry of the gospel without being circumcised (Gal. 2:1-5).

Titus may have been brought to faith in Christ by Paul, for Paul calls him "my true son in our common faith" (Tit. 1:4). Paul also calls him his "brother" (2 Cor. 2:13), emphasizing their close relationship as fellow Christians, and his "partner and fellow-worker" (2 Cor. 8:23), stressing their close association in the gospel ministry. Titus may have accompanied Paul before his second missionary journey and in most of his subsequent travels.

Paul placed a great deal of confidence in Titus, sending him on difficult missions to Corinth in order to correct the problems that existed there. Titus's willingness to go to Corinth (8:17), his genuine affection for the Corinthians (7:15), his deep concern and eagerness to help them (8:16), and his studied care not to take advantage of them (12:18) combined to make him very successful in his various missions to that city. The Corinthians responded to Titus in such a positive way, righting the wrongs and collecting the needed funds (cf. Rom. 15:26), that Paul's fears about them were allayed and he was filled with joy over their response (2 Cor. 7:6-15; 8:6-23).

Titus is never mentioned in the book of Acts (he is not to be confused with the Titius Justus of Acts 18:7), and no satisfactory explanation has been given to account for this strange absence. 2 Tim. 4:10 states that he went to Dalmatia on the West Balkan coast, whereas Tit. 1:5 has him going to Crete to straighten out disorders there, appoint elders, rebuke, encourage, and teach sound doctrine (Tit. 1:5; 2:1, 15).

It is not known precisely when Titus went to Crete. He apparently traveled there with Paul, rather than being sent by him (Tit. 1:5). But Acts has no record of Paul's traveling to Crete except as a prisoner, and then only for a very brief stop at the port of Fair Havens on the way to Rome (Acts 27:7-21). Some scholars therefore conjecture that Paul was tried, exonerated, and set free after his first Roman imprisonment, that he then made a number of missionary journeys with Titus, and that one of these journeys took them to Crete, where Titus remained while Paul proceeded to other destinations. According to this view Paul was later arrested again and sent to Rome, where he was imprisoned a second time and eventually put to death. Others conjecture that the references to Titus serving in Crete and Dalmatia come from the time of Paul's imprisonment in Caesarea or Ephesus.

Perhaps, however, it is best not to make such attempts at precise reconstruction but to recognize that Acts makes no claim to list every city Paul entered or every imprisonment he experienced (cf. 2 Cor. 11:23-27). It could be, then, that at some time not specifically mentioned in Acts, Paul's mission took him and Titus to Crete, where he left Titus to set right the wrongs they found there. From Crete Titus was asked to join Paul once again in Nicopolis, on the west coast of Greece, as soon as either Artemas or Tychicus should arrive to relieve him (Tit. 3:12). Later, when Paul was imprisoned at Rome, Titus was there also to assist him. Apparently from here Paul sent him off on another mission, for in describing to Timothy his personal loneliness, Paul wrote that Titus had gone to Dalmatia (2 Tim. 4:10). There is no hint that Titus had abandoned Paul out of self-interest or that Paul was in any way critical of him for leaving. It appears, therefore, that Titus's final act of service to the apostle was to go as his personal envoy to churches that Paul, perhaps, had never had an opportunity to visit himself.

Although there is insufficient information for an accurate biography of Titus, there is enough to show his genuine Christian character and his leadership qualities. He had the heart of a pastor (Tit. 1:5), the willingness to serve conscientiously in the shadow of more prominent people (no mention of him in Acts), an earnest devotion to the Church of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 2, 7, 8, 12), and devotion to his friends and leaders. Paul's epistle to Titus has been an encouragement and inspiration to many throughout the centuries, especially to ministers of the Church.

According to tradition Titus became the first bishop of Crete. This is stated in a late ninth-century subscription to the Greek text of the epistle to Titus.

See also PASTORAL EPISTLES. G. F. HAWTHORNE

TITUS, EPISTLE TO. *See* PASTORAL EPISTLES.

TITUS JUSTUS. *See* JUSTUS 2.

TITUS MANIUS. *See* MANIUS, TITUS.

TIZITE tī'zīt [Heb. *hattîṣî*]. A designation of Joha, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch. 11:45). The name probably refers to a place, but its location is unknown.

TOAH tō'ə [Heb. *tô(a)ḥ*]. A Kohathite Levite, ancestor of Samuel and of the singer Heman (1 Ch. 6:34 [MT 19]); probably the same as NAHATH (2) in v. 26 (MT 11) and Tohu in 1 S. 1:1.

TOB tob, tōb [Heb. *ṭôḇ*; Gk. *Tōb*, Apoc. *Toubion*]; AV also ISHTOB (for "men of Tob," 2 S. 10:6-8), Apoc. TOBIE; NEB Apoc. TUBIAS; **TOUBIANI** tōō-bē-ä'nē [Gk. *Toubianoi*] (2 Macc. 12:17); AV TUBIENI; NEB TUBIAN (JEWS). An Aramean city and its environs in the southern Hauran. It was at Tob that the elders of Gilead found Jephthah after he had escaped from his half-brothers (Jgs. 11:3, 5). When the Ammonites under Hanun raised a combined force to revolt against David, Tob contributed twelve thousand men (2 S. 10:6, 8). After the Exile Jews settled in Tob. When the Gentiles attacked these Jews, slaying a thousand and taking captive their wives, children, and goods, Judas Maccabeus marched in to liberate the area (1 Macc. 5:9-13, 17). The "Toubiani" of 2 Macc. 12:17, Jews who had ocupied the town of Charax, were probably inhabitants of Tob. In the list of Thutmose III, *t-b* (no.22) seems from its relative position to other names to be Tob, as does *Dubu* in the Amarna letters (EA 205).

The modern village of eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, SE of Der'ā (which was the border-crossing point on the old highway from Damascus to 'Ammân), fits the location and probably preserves the name of Tob. W. S. L. S.

TOBADONIJAH tōb-ad-ə-nī'jə [Heb. *ṭôḇ 'ᵃḏônîyâ*] (2 Ch. 17:8). According to the MT and LXX, one of the Levites sent by King Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah. The name should probably be deleted, however, since it appears to be a dittography from the two previous names, Adonijah and Tobijah.

TOBIAH [Heb. *ṭôḇîyâ*–'Yahweh is good' (cf. TOBIJAH); LXX *Tōbias* Apoc. *Ban* (emended by RSV, 1 Esd. 5:37)]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., BAN.

1. An ally of Sanballat the Horonite and Geshem the Arab, chief opponents of Nehemiah's efforts to rebuild the walls of postexilic Jerusalem (*ca.* 445 B.C.). Tobiah is called "the servant, the Ammonite" (Neh. 2:10). Most scholars understand "the servant" to be an official title designating his role as a representative of Persian authority in the provincial government. He may have been a governor like Sanballat of Samaria and Nehemiah of Judah (cf. v. 9). The reference here to Ammon signifies his jurisdiction over Ammonite territory, not his ancestry.

It is possible that Tobiah was a descendant of Jews who had fled to Ammon after the sack of Jerusalem (Jer. 41:15), since extrabiblical records attest to the prominence of a family by that name in Ammon during the Persian period (see *IB*, III, 676f.; Myers, pp. 98-101). The name Tobiah suggests he was an Israelite whose parents may have had some formal attachment to the temple cult. Bright (p. 383) stated that Tobiah was also a Yahwist on the basis of his son's name, Jehohanan (6:18); but Myers (pp. 98f.) added that he was also a syncretist.

By marriage both Tobiah and his son were related to influential segments of Jewish nobility, many bound to him by oath (politically?), and these spoke well of him to Nehemiah (6:17-19). This may explain why Tobiah was allowed to occupy a chamber in the temple precincts during Nehemiah's absence from Jerusalem (13:4-9). Tobiah is recognized as the ancestor of the Tobiads, who in the 3rd cent. B.C. rivaled the Oniads for the office of high priest in Palestine (see Josephus *Ant.* xii.4 [156-236]).

As a co-conspirator with Sanballat and others,Tobiah sought to thwart Nehemiah's administration first by insinuating his insurrection against the Persian overlords (2:19), and then by public ridicule of the restoration program (4:1-3). When these measures failed to deter Nehemiah, Tobiah was among those who planned military raids against Jerusalem to disrupt the rebuilding of the city walls and to dishearten the builders (4:7-9). When these raids also failed to acomplish their purpose, Tobiah plotted — again unsuccessfully — to lure Nehemiah out of the city in order to assassinate him (6:1-3).

Later Sanballat and Tobiah hired a prophet (and apparently incited others of the prophetic corps) to speak false oracles to Nehemiah in order to lure him into committing a ritual transgression (6:10-14), thereby discrediting himself. Since Nehemiah was probably a eunuch and was certainly a layman, it would have been unlawful for him to enter the temple (Lev. 21:17-24; Dt. 23:1); even to flee to the altar to seek asylum would have been unlawful under the circumstances (cf. Fensham, p. 204). Finally, in league with certain Jewish nobles, Tobiah staged a letter-writing campaign to enhance his own position and frighten Nehemiah (6:18f.).

Nehemiah's unmitigated opposition to Tobiah and his allies may be attributed to both religious and political motivations. Nehemiah's religious reforms (9:1-5; 13:15-22), his concern about personal sin (6:13), his appointment of godly officials (7:1f.), his expulsion of Tobiah from the temple chambers and subsequent purification of those rooms (13:4-9), and his unshakable faith in God (2:20; 4:9; etc.) all indicate his seriousness about maintaining the purity of the temple cult. For this reason he conceded Tobiah and the others no legal or religious authority in Jerusalem (2:20).

Politically Nehemiah intended to look after the welfare of Judah in accordance with the commission granted by Artaxerxes I (2:1-8, 10). Nehemiah incurred the hostility of Tobiah, Sanballat, and Geshem, because by restoring Judah to a place of equal standing with their provinces he was threatening their status and economic power in the region. This was especially a problem for Tobiah, since Judah's lack of provincial sovereignty had permitted his alliance with the priesthood (13:4) and had probably brought him considerable economic gain, given his tie to the Jerusalem aristocracy (6:15-19). Nehemiah could ensure Judah's political future and economic freedom only by severing the administrative tendrils of the surrounding provinces.

2. Eponym of a family or clan numbered among the exiles who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubabbel and Jeshua, and catalogued with those who were unable to prove their Israelite ancestry (Ezr. 2:60; Neh. 7:62; 1 Esd. 5:37).

Bibliography.–*BHI* (3rd ed. 1981), pp. 274, 382-85, 414; D. J. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther (NCBC,* 1984); F. C. Fensham, *Ezra and Nehemiah (NICOT,* 1982); *IB,* III, 676f., 804-808; *IP,* pp. 18n., 19n., 110n., 153; J. M. Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah (AB,* 1965). A. E. HILL

TOBIAS tō-bī'əs [Gk. *Tōbias*–'Yahweh is good'].

1. The son of Tobit. *See* TOBIT, BOOK OF.

2. The father of Hyrcanus; described as "a man of very prominent position" (2 Macc. 3:11).

TOBIE tō'bē (1 Macc. 5:13, AV). *See* TOB.

TOBIEL tō'bē-əl, tō-bī'əl [Gk. *Tobiēl*] (Tob. 1:1). The father of Tobit.

TOBIJAH tō-bī'jə [Heb. *ṭôḇîyâ, ṭôḇîyāhû*–'Yahweh is good']; NEB TOBIAH.

1. One of the Levites King Jehoshaphat sent to teach the law of God in the cities of Judah (2 Ch. 17:8).

2. One of the four exiles who returned from Babylon with silver and gold from which a crown was to be made for Joshua the high priest (Zec. 6:10, 14). In both verses the LXX translates *ṭôḇîyâ* by Gk. *chrēsimoi* ("useful men," from Heb. *ṭôḇeynâ*) instead of taking it as a name.

TOBIT. A didactic or moralizing short story in the Apocrypha extolling a righteous life-style for Jews living in the Diaspora.

I. Title
II. Contents
III. Historicity
IV. Purpose
V. Theology
  A. Attributes and Functions of God
  B. Angels and Demons
  C. Ethics
VI. Unity
VII. Sources
VIII. Date
IX. Place of Origin
X. Canonicity
XI. Text and Versions

I. Title.–The book is called "the book of the Acts [lit. "words"] of Tobit." The name Tobit (Gk. *Tōbit, Tōb[e]lith*) is derived from Heb. *ṭôḇî* ("my goodness") or *ṭôḇîyâ* ("Yahweh is good"). The RSV follows the convention of the Syriac version and LXX in calling the son Tobias, whereas the Latin Vulg. called both father and son Tobias.

II. Contents.–The book concerns the fortunes of two families. The first is the family of Tobit, a righteous Israelite, and includes his wife Anna and their son Tobias. The second is the family of Tobit's cousin Raguel (Tob. 7:3), and includes his wife Edna and their daughter Sarah. In addition, the angel RAPHAEL aids Tobit, while the demon ASMODEUS plagued Sarah. The Assyrians took Tobit into exile at Nineveh in the 8th cent. B.C. He was a generous man (1:3, 6f.), sharing food and clothing with the needy (1:8, 17), and burying dead Jews left exposed by the Assyrians (1:17-19). Performing this service would render him ritually unclean, so on one occasion he slept outside rather than pollute his family and was blinded by droppings from sparrows (2:3-10). Raguel and his family lived in Ecbatana, the capital of Media. Their problem involved their beautiful daughter Sarah, who had been widowed seven times on her wedding nights when the demon Asmodeus killed her grooms before the marriages could be consummated (3:7-9). Both Tobit (3:1-6) and Sarah (3:11-15) prayed to God about their conditions, and He sent the angel Raphael, disguised as a kinsman named Azarias, to rectify matters (3:16f.).

Tobit recalled that he had left a large sum of money with a man named Gabael in the city of Rages (4:1). He sent Tobias with Raphael to fetch the money (4:2–5:21). En route, Raphael told Tobias about Sarah, informing him that he was Sarah's nearest kinsman and ought to marry her (6:9-12). To prevent Tobias from dying on his wedding night, Raphael told him to catch a fish that had thrown itself at his feet and remove its heart, liver, and gall (6:15-17). On his wedding night, Tobias burned the heart and liver on the incense ashes, thus driving away Asmodeus (8:1-3). After Raphael secured the money from Gabael for Tobit (ch. 9), he and the newlyweds returned to Tobit's house, where Tobias anointed Tobit's eyes with the gall, thus healing him (11:7-15). Before Tobit died, he told Tobias to leave Nineveh in order to avoid the destruction proclaimed by Jonah (14:4-15).

III. Historicity.–The presence of several historical errors demonstrates that the book is best understood as a short story written long after the events narrated, rather than as a historical narrative. According to 1:2 Shalmaneser carried Tobit into captivity, while 2 K. 15:29 says that Tiglath-pileser carried away the tribe of Naphtali (in 733), to which Tobit belonged. Further, Tob. 1:4 seems to say that Naphtali broke away from Jerusalem and its temple while Tobit was a young man. That time frame is impossible since the monarchy divided when Solomon died *ca.* 930, and the events of the story occurred after 733 (cf. 14:14). Also, 1:15 names Sennacherib as the son and successor of Shalmaneser V, when in fact Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) succeeded Shalmaneser V, and Sennacherib (705-681) succeeded Sargon II. Finally, 14:15 says that Nebuchadnezzar (king of Babylon, 605-562) and Ahasuerus (Xerxes I, Persian ruler, 485-464) destroyed Nineveh, when actually two kings who broke away from Assyria, Nabopolassar (Babylonian ruler, 626-605) and Cyaxares (Median ruler, *ca.* 625-585), defeated Nineveh in 612.

IV. Purpose.–The story was written for Jews living in the Diaspora, counseling them to follow the law righteously. The book constitutes a defense of Judaism for people tempted by gentile ways. Hence it emphasizes burying the dead (1:17-19; 2:3-10), tithing (1:6-8), observing feasts (1:5f.), prayer (3:1-6, 11-17; 8:4-8, 15-17; 13:1-18), etc.

V. Theology.–A. Attributes and Functions of God. The doctrine of God found in the book of Tobit is quite orthodox. God is praised as the Creator (8:6) and King of heaven and of the ages (13:7-11). Majestically He gave the law (4:5), controls life and death (3:6; 13:2), hears prayers (3:16), and judges all people (3:2; 13:2). Yet in His dealings with His people, He is righteous, merciful, and true (3:1). God dwells in heaven in great glory (3:16). He is worshiped by a host of angels (8:15).

The book of Tobit seems to teach the doctrine of providence, i.e., the idea that God cares for His children with benevolence. In 1:13 God intervened to provide a post in the government of Shalmaneser. When Tobit fell out of favor, his nephew Ahikar was appointed to a high position and restored Tobit (1:21f.). While the text does not state that God intervened directly in Ahikar's promotion, the context certainly implies it. In 3:16f. God hears the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and sends Raphael to rescue them. The remainder of the book shows how God accomplished that task through Raphael. Finally, in 12:11-15 Raphael himself declares that none other than God had instigated his whole mission.

B. Angels and Demons. Instead of intervening directly in Tobit's case, God sent Raphael to carry out His will. The book does not actually teach that each person has a protecting angel, but Raphael functions as such for Tobias. While the book features no Satan or fallen angels, it does depict Asmodeus as a demonic figure capable not merely of harming persons but also of killing them. It was possible to thwart the power of Asmodeus through magic (i.e., the use of earthly material to manipulate the spirit world), but that knowledge came from Raphael. Thus the book seems to suggest that one needed divine assistance to defeat the demonic.

C. Ethics. 1. Marriage. The ethical teachings of the book of Tobit (found largely in ch. 4) focus on keeping the law and living righteously before God. The first requirement in living a righteous life was to marry an Israelite woman. Indeed, before Tobias left for Rages, his father told him to marry a woman from the tribe of Naphtali (4:12), a commandment fraught with danger when the woman turned out to be Sarah (6:13-16). This concern with marrying a kinswoman is reminiscent of the concern of the patriarchs that their sons marry relatives and the actions of Ezra to force the citizens of Jerusalem to divorce foreign wives (Ezr. 9–10).

2. Burial. The book of Tobit makes explicit that God's people should receive a proper burial (*see* BURIAL I). Tobit himself lost his fortune and eventually his eyesight as a consequence of burying his people who had been left unburied. If, as some scholars think, Tobit was written in Persia, the insistence on a proper burial might have been a reaction against the Persian Zoroastrian custom of exposing their dead. One other burial practice enjoined by Tobit seems unusual: placing bread upon the grave of the righteous (4:17). Dt. 26:14 forbids offerings to the dead (cf. Sir. 30:18), but the righteous Tobit seems to recommend either violating that law or perhaps simply limiting its applicability to sinners.

3. General Admonitions. Beyond the rules associated with marriage and funerals, the book of Tobit lists a series of other obligations. One should give alms to the needy (4:7-11, 16), avoid immorality, pride, and selfishness (4:12f.), pay wages daily to one's workers (4:14), refrain from doing to others what one would not want done to oneself (4:15; cf. Mt. 7:12), and avoid excessive use of alcohol (4:15).

In addition to these obligations the book of Tobit teaches that an ethical life is properly founded on religious duties. Two duties receive prominent attention in 1:6-8, where Tobit informs the reader that he had worshiped in Jerusalem and faithfully paid his tithes. In addition, in 4:19 he admonishes Tobias to praise God daily, seek His guidance, and remember His commands.

VI. Unity.–Although most scholars agree on the unity of Tobit, some have denied its integrity, primarily for two reasons. First, 1:1–3:6 is written in the first person, from Tobit's point of view, while the rest of the book is written in the third person. But the break at 3:6 is natural, since 3:7-15 deals with Sarah and her family, not Tobit. That the author never returns to the first person, even though Tobit is prominent in later chapters, may be explained by two observations. (1) The use of the first person in 1:1–3:6 was only a literary device, since the book was written long after the 8th century. (2) While Tobit appears later in the book, the protagonist in chs. 4–14 is Tobias.

Second, the material in chs. 13 and 14 seems secondary. Tob. 13 is a hymn, having nothing to do with Tobit's situation. In fact, Zimmermann (pp. 26f.) argued that the psalm presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. But the discovery of fragments of every chapter at Qumrân (see XI below) testifies to the unity of the book at an early date (see VIII below). Also, it was not unusual for an Israelite writer to place hymns in the mouth of a character (cf. Jonah 2). Thus the hymn is better viewed as a source used by the author rather than as an addition. Tob. 14 relates Tobit's final counsel to Tobias and concludes their story. Its omission from one late text caused Zimmerman (pp. 26f.) to consider it secondary, but it seems congruent with the intentions of the author. Thus no compelling reason remains to deny the final two chapters to the original author, though both might contain expansions (see *APOT*, I, 194-96; Pfeiffer, p. 276).

VII. Sources.–The most obvious source employed by the author of Tobit was the OT. The book quotes Am. 8:10 in 2:6 and Gen. 2:8 in 8:6; and it refers to Lev. 19:13 (or Dt. 24:15) in 4:14 (cf. Jas. 5:4), and the preaching of Jonah in 14:4. Beyond those citations are numerous allusions (see Simpson's list in *APOT*, I, 192 n. 6). In addition, Dnl. 1:8f. may have provided the pattern of Tobit's behavior in 1:10-12 (refusing to eat gentile food), and many scholars (e.g., Pfeiffer, pp. 267f.) hear echoes of the story of Job in Tobit's loss of all his possessions despite his unparalleled piety.

The author of Tobit seems to have drawn on a number of sources outside the OT. Most obvious is the legend of AHIKAR (*see also* AHIKAR, BOOK OF). For example, in 14:10 the author alludes to the story of Ahikar in a way that shows he knew the story and thought his readers would know it too (see further *APOT*, I, 189-192; Pfeiffer, pp. 268f.). Some scholars regard the "Tale of the Grateful Dead," in which creditors refuse to allow a man to be buried until his debts were paid, as providing the author of Tobit with a general outline and some key elements of the plot (see *APOT*, I, 188; Pfeiffer, pp. 269f.). See further *APOT*, I, 187-194; Pfeiffer, pp. 264-271.

Some scholars have also seen parallels to Sirach. For example, both emphasize the efficacy of almsgiving (Tob. 4:11; 12:9; Sir. 3:30; 29:12; 40:24), the importance of proper burial (Tob. 1:17; 2:3, 7; 4:3f.; Sir. 7:33; 38:16), etc. (see further Pfeiffer, p. 268 n. 27; *ISBE* [1929], V, 2992). As other scholars have pointed out, however, these parallels may stem from common tradition rather than direct dependence.

VIII. Date.–Although some scholars defended the historicity of Tobit and thus dated it in the 8th-7th cent. B.C., most scholars now reject its historicity (see III above) and date it much later. It was certainly written before A.D. 70 (contra Zimmerman, pp. 25, 27), because fragments of the book were found at Qumrân, and that community was destroyed during the Jewish wars against Rome. Since 14:5 seems to presuppose the temple of Zerubbabel, the book must be earlier than 25 B.C. The use of the drachma in 5:14 suggests a date after Alexander the Great (late 4th cent. B.C.). Although some scholars (e.g., Pfeiffer, p. 274) argue that Tobit's references to the OT prophets presuppose a date after 200 B.C., as Nicklesburg pointed out (p. 45) these references "need not imply a fixed body of writings" (supposedly the Prophets were canonized *ca.* 200 B.C., though there is little evidence for this assumption). Most scholars date the book of Tobit in the 2nd cent., many between 200 and 170, since it does not mention the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes that provoked the Maccabean revolt *ca.* 168 B.C. (See *APOT*, I, 183-85; Pfeiffer, pp. 273-75). But Richardson (pp. 203f.) argued for a date between 350 and 300 B.C. on the basis of the Aramaic of the Qumrân Scrolls, which is close to that of Ezra.

IX. Place of Origin.–The provenance of Tobit remains unknown, but several places have been suggested. The

setting of the story suggests Mesopotamia (Assyria) or Media, but neither seems very likely. The author appears to think that the Tigris River lies between Nineveh and Ecbatana (5:1), a geographical mistake unthinkable for someone living in Mesopotamia (cf. Richardson, p. 202; Eissfeldt, p. 585; Nicklesburg, p. 45). Milik argued that the story originated in Samaria but was reworked by a Jewish scribe; this interpretation has gained few adherents, however. The emphasis on the Jerusalem temple has led some (e.g., Pfeiffer, p. 275) to assign it a Palestinian origin, but most scholars reject that option because the atmosphere of the book is clearly that of the Diaspora (see Richardson, p. 202). Some scholars (e.g., Deselaers, Simpson) have argued for Egypt, which had a large Jewish population in the Diaspora and could account for several of the book's features (e.g., ignorance of Mesopotamian history and geography, supposed reliance on certain sources). But as Richardson pointed out (p. 202), the reference to Egypt in 8:3 seems to argue against an Egyptian provenance. Finally, some scholars favor Antioch in Syria, which was a Jewish center in the Diaspora that was between Palestine and Mesopotamia (see Richardson, pp. 202f.).

X. Canonicity.–Tobit was part of the LXX, but was never accepted into the Hebrew canon. Its popularity in Judaism is attested not only by its use at Qumrân but also by its later translation into Hebrew (see *APOT*, I, 178-180, 198). In addition, some of the Pseudepigrapha may reflect Tobit (e.g., cf. Tob. 4:12 and Jub. 4:33; see *APOT*, I, 198).

Simpson (*APOT*, I, 199) noted some parallels between Tobit and the NT, but most of these can be explained as part of common Jewish tradition. Several early church fathers referred to it; Clement (*Misc.* ii.23.139) even quoted Tob. 4:16 as "scripture." See further *HJP*^{2}, III/1, 227. Martin Luther rejected it from his Bible, but considered it a helpful book to read. The Roman Catholic church accepted Tobit at the Council of Trent, reversing the opinion of Jerome. The Roman, Orthodox, and Anglican Churches retain the book in their readings for worship, but the Anglican Articles reject its canonicity.

XI. Text and Versions.–The textual tradition of Tobit has received much attention (see *APOT*, I, 174-182; Pfeiffer, pp. 258-260; *HJP*^{2}, III/1, 227-230). The debate about whether the original language was Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic has been partially resolved by the discovery of one Hebrew and four Aramaic fragments of the book among the Qumrân Scrolls, though it is not clear which of these languages was original. It has come down in three Greek recensions, as well as in Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic versions.

Bibliography.–P. Deselaers, *Das Buch Tobit* (1982); O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. tr. 1965); *HJP*^{2}, III/1; J. T. Milik, *RB*, 73 (1966) 522-530; G. W. E. Nicklesburg, "Tobit," in M. E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, II/2 (1984), 40-46; R. Pfeiffer, *HNTT*, pp. 258-284; H. N. Richardson, "Tobit," in C. M. Laymon, ed., *Interpreter's Concise Comm.*, V (1983); D. C. Simpson, "Book of Tobit," in *APOT*, I, 174-241; F. Zimmermann, *Book of Tobit* (1958). P. L. REDDITT

TOCHEN tō'kən [Heb. *tōḳen*–'measure'; Gk. *Thokka* (LXX B*), *Thochchan* (LXX A)].

One of the cities mentioned by the Chronicler as belonging to the tribe of SIMEON (1 Ch. 4:32). Tochen is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT. Ashan, the name following Tochen in the Chronicler's list, is preceded by Ether in the closely parallel list of Simeonite possessions in Josh. 19:7 and in the (apparently later) list of Judean cities in Josh. 15:42. But LXX B gives the additional name of *Thalcha* before Ether in Josh. 19:7, and gives *Ithak* for MT Ether in Josh. 15:42; the last Greek name is very close to MT *ʿāṯāḳ* in 1 S. 30:30, which is also associated with (Bor-)Ashan. Hence, Noth argued that Tochen is identical with Ether, or that both represent variants of still a third name, ʿAtak.

If Tochen is not to be identified with Ether, its location cannot be specified beyond its general situation in the transition between the southern Shephelah and the northern Negeb of Judah. Eusebius identified the Thalka of LXX B Josh. 19:7 with a prominent Judean village called Thala in his day, and located it 16 Roman mi. (23.5 km., 14¾ mi.) from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrîn) into the Negeb (*Onom.* 98.26f.).

Bibliography.–*GTTOT*, § 321; M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (*HAT*, 1953), pp. 110, 113f. J. T. BUTLER

TOGARMAH tō-gär'mə [Heb. *tôgarmâ*]. A name occurring in the TABLE OF NATIONS (Gen. 10:3; cf. 1 Ch. 1:6) with Ashkenaz and Riphath as the sons of GOMER (1) and grandsons of Japheth. In Ezekiel Beth-togarmah is a nation of the north (Ezk. 38:6) that trades in horses and mules (27:14).

The word is variably and confusedly rendered in the LXX MSS, and Josephus identifies the *Thygramaioi* with the Phrygians (*Ant.* i.6.1 [126]). Traditionally the place was thought to be in Armenia, but it is now generally equated with the Hittite Tegarama (Assyr. Til-Garimmu), the region of classical Gauraena (Gürün) in Cappadocia, 110 km. (70 mi.) W of the Hittite Meliddu (Melitene, modern Malatya) on the upper Euphrates (J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *Geography of the Hittite Empire* [1959], pp. 46-48). C. J. HEMER

TOHU tō'hōō [Heb. *tōhû*]. An ancestor of Samuel (1 S. 1:1); probably the same person who is called NAHATH (2) in 1 Ch. 6:26 (MT 11) and TOAH in 1 Ch. 6:34 (MT 19).

TOI tō'ī, toi. *See* TOU.

TOIL [Heb. *ʿiṣṣāḇôn, ʿeṣeḇ*] (Gen. 3:17; 5:29; Ps. 127:2; Prov. 14:23); AV also SORROW, LABOUR; NEB also (HARD) LABOUR; [*ʿāmāl*] (Dt. 26:7; Ps. 90:10; 105:44; Eccl. 1:3; 2:10f., 18, etc.; 3:9, 13; etc.; Jer. 20:18); AV LABOUR, TRAVAIL; NEB also HARDSHIP, LABOUR, TRY; [hiphil of *ʿāḇar* (emended to *ʿāḇaḏ* by RSV and NEB)] (2 S. 12:31); AV "make (one) pass through"; NEB MAKE (ONE) WORK; [*yāgāʿ*] (Josh. 7:3; Job 20:18; Ps. 109:11; Prov. 23:4); AV (MAKE) LABOUR; NEB also GAINS, EARNINGS, SLAVE; [*pōʿal*] (Job 24:5); AV, NEB, WORK; [*maʿaśeh*] (Hag. 2:17); AV LABOURS; NEB HARVEST; [*ḥeḇel*] (Prov. 5:22); AV CORDS; [Gk. *kopiáō*] (Mt. 6:28; Lk. 5:5; 12:27; Acts 20:35; Col. 1:29; 1 Tim. 4:10); AV also LABOUR; NEB also (HARD) WORK, BE HARD AT WORK, LABOUR; [*kópos*] (2 Cor. 11:27; 2 Thess. 3:8; Rev. 2:2); AV WEARINESS, LABOUR; [*móchthos*] (1 Thess. 2:9); AV TRAVAIL; NEB DRUDGE. Strenuous labor that causes fatigue. In Prov. 5:22 "toils" (Heb. *ḥeḇel*) refers to a net or snare.

In Lk. 12:27 the NEB follows a Greek textual variant, reading "they neither spin nor weave" in place of "how they grow; they neither toil nor spin" (RSV; cf. AV). Although critical scholars once preferred the NEB reading (supported by D and other western MSS) because they suspected that the other was an assimilation to Mt. 6:28, they now prefer the AV and RSV readings because of the superior textual support ($\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, ℵ, A, B, etc.).

As a result of the fall and God's curse upon the ground, work that was once a positive and creative part of human

existence became tedious and toilsome (Gen. 3:17; cf. Ps. 90:10). The author of Ecclesiastes struggled with the question of the value of human labor (Eccl. 1:3; 2:10f., 18-23; 3:9; 4:4-9; 5:15 [MT 14]; 6:7; 8:17; 10:15) and concluded that the ability to find enjoyment in one's toil is a gift of God (2:24-26; 3:13; 5:18f.; 8:15; 9:9). The Apostle Paul willingly labored hard to bring to maturity the Christians under his care (2 Cor. 11:27; Col. 1:29; 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8).

See also LABOR; WORK.

G. WYPER
N. J. O.

TOKEN tō'kən [Heb. *ʿarubbâ* (1 S. 17:18), *beṯûlîm* (Dt. 22:14f., 17, 20); AV PLEDGE (1 S. 17:18), MAID, etc.; NEB also PROOFS, PROOF(S) OF VIRGINITY. A token normally comprises a sign or indication of something.

When Jesse sent David to enquire as to the welfare of his brothers at a time when Goliath and the Philistines threatened the Israelites, he sought some assurance of their physical safety (1 S. 17:18).

In the regulations dealing with the treatment accorded to an unchaste bride, some scholars suggest that the required token was a blood-smeared garment or cloth consequent upon a ruptured hymen (cf. *TDOT*, II, 342). Other scholars suggest that the blood-stained cloth verified the young girl's menstruation immediately prior to the marriage, which proved that the young girl was not impregnated before marriage (cf. A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* [*NCBC*, repr. 1981], p. 310; cf. esp. G. J. Wenham, *VT*, 22 [1972], 326-348).

R. K. H.

TOKHATH tok'hath. *See* TIKVAH 1.

TOLA tō'lə [Heb. *tôlāʿ*–'cochineal, crimson worm'].

1. One of the four sons of Issachar (Gen. 46:13; 1 Ch. 7:1), mentioned among those who journeyed to Egypt with Jacob (cf. Gen. 46:8f.); head of the clan of the Tolaites (Nu. 26:23), which was probably the leading clan of Issachar. His descendants in the time of David included 22,600 "mighty warriors" (1 Ch. 7:2). Interestingly, both Tola and his brother Puvah (Gen. 46:13; Nu. 26:23) or Puah (1 Ch. 7:1; Heb. *pûʾâ*, a plant from which a red dye was made) were named after red dyes.

2. A judge from the tribe of Issachar; son of Puah and grandson of Dodo (Jgs. 10:1). He lived at Shamir in the hill country of Ephraim and was buried there after judging Israel for twenty-three years (v. 2). In the succession of judges he is listed between Abimelech and Jair. The fact that Puah and Tola are elsewhere named as two clans of Israel (see **1** above) but are here identified as father and son has suggested to some scholars a confusion between clan and individual names; but these may simply have been popular names within the tribe of Issachar. Although some early critical scholars viewed Tola and some of the other minor judges as unhistorical figures created by a later editor to make up a total of twelve judges, more recent scholarship views them as historical figures.

Bibliography.–R. G. Boling, *Judges* (*AB*, 1975), pp. 186f.; *IP*, pp. 225, 230; G. F. Moore, comm. on Judges (*ICC*, 1895; repr. 1976), pp. xxviii-xxix, 270-73.

E. D. ISAACS
N. J. O.

TOLAD tō'lad [Heb. *tôlāḏ*] (1 Ch. 4:29). One of the cities belonging to the tribe of Simeon. It is probably the same as ELTOLAD in Josh. 15:30 (but there it is allotted to Judah) and 19:4.

TOLAITES tō'lə-īts [Heb. *(hat)tôlāʿî*] (Nu. 26:23). *See* TOLA.

TOLBANES tol-bā'nēz, tol'bə-nēz (1 Esd. 9:25, AV, NEB). *See* TELEM.

TOLL [Aram. *hᵃlāḵ*] (Ezr. 4:13, 20; 7:24); AV CUSTOM; NEB LAND-TAX; [Gk. *télos*] (Mt. 17:25). A tax paid for the privilege of using a road.

The three terms translated "tribute," "custom," and "toll" by the RSV in the Ezra references are probably derived from Babylonian terminology: *mindâ* (RSV "tribute") from *mandattu*, a monetary tax; *bᵉlô* ("custom") from *biltu*, a payment in kind; and *hᵃlāḵ*, of uncertain derivation, but probably a toll collected from those in transit and/or a duty collected on goods being transported. It has been estimated that the Persian king collected the equivalent of $20,000,000-$35,000,000 annually through a system of taxation administered by the Persian satrap of each province. According to Herodotus (iii.89), Darius Hystaspes decreed that the satraps would pay a fixed sum into the royal treasury. One method of collecting this sum was by exacting tolls or customs duties.

In Ezr. 4:13 *hᵃlāḵ* appears in an Aramaic letter to the Persian emperor Artaxerxes (464-423 B.C.) by Rehum the "commanding officer" and Shimshai the scribe in Samaria, in which they opposed the rebuilding of the Jerusalem walls on the grounds that the completion of this work would put the Jews in a position where they could rebel against paying "tribute, custom, or toll" to the king. The loss of that revenue would have been a great financial burden to the king, whose treasury had already been depleted by the wars of Darius and Xerxes. The term recurs in Artaxerxes' reply (4:20), which decrees that the rebuilding should cease until a specific order is issued by the king. In 7:24 the term appears in a letter from Artaxerxes to Ezra, which states that no "tribute, custom, or toll" was to be imposed on the priests, Levites, singers, doorkeepers, temple servants, or other servants of the house of God. That such exemptions were in keeping with Persian practice is attested elsewhere; e.g., in the Gadatas Inscription Darius censured Gadatas for imposing taxes on the priests of Apollo at Magnesia (Olmstead, p. 156). Similar exemptions were granted by Darius Hystaspes to Phoenecia, Cyprus, and Palestine-Syria (Herodotus iii.91), and by Antiochus the Great to the Jews (Josephus *Ant.* xii.3.3 [142]). In later rabbinic literature the rabbis (believing themselves to be heirs of the rights and privileges of the priests) cited Ezr. 7:24 to support their claim to similar exemptions, arguing that taxation would transgress a scriptural precedent (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 8a).

In Mt. 17:25 Jesus asks Peter: "From whom do kings of the earth take toll [Gk. *télos*] or tribute [*kḗnsos*]? From their sons or from others?" The terms employed clearly refer to civil taxes, despite the apparent reference to the temple tax in v. 24 (on this problem, see Bibliography below). The toll (*télos*) is generally understood to refer to the Roman *portorium*, a variety of indirect taxes or tolls that included customs, taxes on special goods entering, leaving, or passing through towns, and tolls for use of roads, bridges, and other public structures. The collection of these tolls was generally farmed out to natives called *publicani*, who leased the customs office for a fixed annual fee (*see* TAX COLLECTOR).

See also TAX.

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TOMB; SEPULCHRE. A place where a corpse is buried. In the RSV OT "tomb" or "sepulchre" usually represents Heb. *qeḇer* or *qᵉḇûrâ* (AV often "grave" or "sepulchre"). Both Hebrew terms are cognates of the verb *qāḇar* ("bury") and denote a grave or burial place. Other Hebrew terms are *ṣārî(a)ḥ* (lit. "chamber," "cellar," "vault," 1 S. 13:6; AV "high place"; NEB "pit"), *gāḏîš* (lit. "heap," Job 21:32), and *bayiṯ* (lit. "house" [so AV], Isa. 14:18; NEB "home"). In the RSV NT "tomb" usually represents Gk. *mnēmeíon* or *mnêma* (AV often "sepulchre" or "grave"). Both Greek terms are cognates of the verb *mimnḗskomai* ("remember") and signify, literally, a memorial or monument connected with remembrance of the dead (see *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* μιμνήσκομαι κτλ. [Michel]). Gk. *táphos* (Mt 23:27, 29; 27:61, 64, 66; 28:1) is a general term for a grave (cf. Rom. 3:13), tomb, or sepulchre.

See BURIAL III. N. J. O.

TOMORROW; MORROW. In the RSV OT "tomorrow" (cf. AV "to morrow") always translates Heb. *māḥār*, a term meaning "the next day." A cognate, *moḥᵒrāṯ*, is usually rendered "[on the] morrow" by the AV (e.g., Gen. 19:34; RSV "[on the] next day"). The AV also uses "to morrow" or "[on the] morrow" to render Heb. *bōqer* (lit. MORNING) in passages in which this term is related to the preceding day (e.g., Lev. 22:30; Nu. 16:5; 22:41; 1 S. 9:19; RSV usually "[in the] morning"). Whereas *māḥār* and *moḥᵒrāṯ* refer to the whole day that follows, *bōqer* generally refers only to the first part of the day (see *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bōqer" [Barth]).

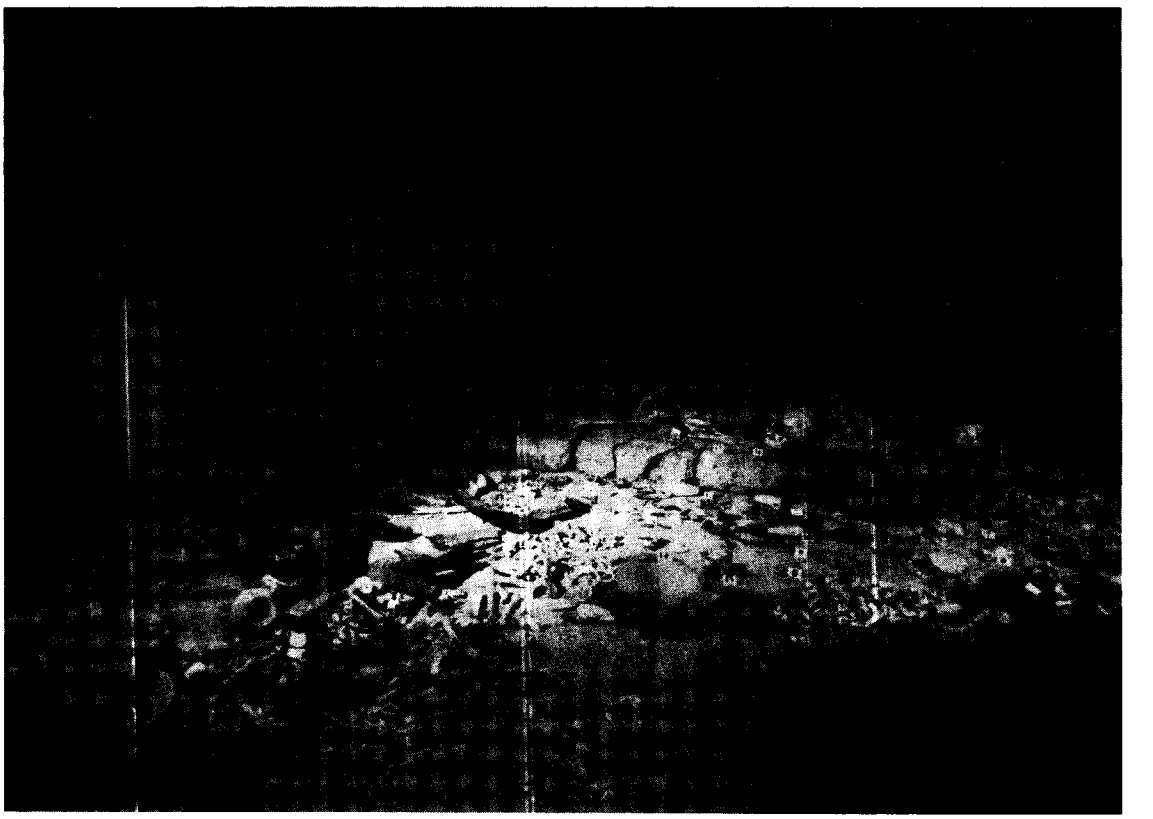
In the NT "tomorrow" usually represents Gk. *aúrion* (lit. "next day"). The AV sometimes uses "morrow" to render *aúrion* (e.g., Mt. 6:34), *epaúrion* (e.g., Mk. 11:12), and *hexḗs* (Acts 25:17), all of which refer to the following day (RSV usually "tomorrow" or "next day"). N. J. O.

TONGS [Heb. *melqāḥayim* . One of the golden implements used in Solomon's temple (1 K. 7:49 par. 2 Ch. 4:21). The dual form (*-ayim*) suggests a tool with two parts, and the term's appearance in Isa. 6:6 (where an angel uses a *melqāḥayim* to take a burning coal from the altar) points to tongs as the instrument referred to. *See also* SNUFFERS.

TONGUE [Heb. *lāšōn* (e.g., Job 5:21; Ps. 5:9 [MT 10]; Prov. 6:17; Isa. 11:15; 66:18; Jer. 9:3, 5, 8); Gk. *glṓssa* (e.g., Mk. 7:33, 35; Acts 2:3f., 11, 26; 10:46; 19:6; Rom. 3:13; 14:11; 1 Cor. 12–14 [21 times]; Phil. 2:11; Jas. 1:26; 3:5f., 8; 1 Pet. 3:10; Rev. 5:9, 7:9; 10:11; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6; 17:15), *heteróglōssos* (1 Cor. 14:21)]; NEB also SPEECH, LANGUAGE, SLANDER, WORDS, etc.

"Tongue" appears in the Bible only rarely in a purely anatomical sense (e.g., Jgs. 7:5; Ps. 68:23 [MT 24]; Isa. 41:17; Mk. 7:33, 35; Lk. 1:64). Even when the meaning seems primarily physical, as in Ps. 22:15 (MT 16; "my tongue cleaves to my jaws") or Job 20:16 ("the tongue of the viper will kill him"), the figurative element is often

A tomb found at Jericho containing some thirty individuals, a table with utensils and food, and a basket with personal items (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)



predominant; Ps. 22:15 (MT 16) refers to the physical, emotional, and spiritual agony resulting from God's absence, while Job 20:16 refers to God's punishment of the wicked. Several times *lāšōn* is used to indicate a long, narrow shape ("bay," Josh. 15:2, 5; 18:19; "bar [of gold]," 7:21). Most often, however, Heb. *lāšōn* is associated with SPEECH by the same process of synecdoche at work in many uses of the words for LIP (Heb. *śāphâ*; Gk. *cheílos*) and for MOUTH (Heb. *peh*; Gk. *stóma*). These uses of "tongue" may be divided into four categories: (1) a particular language or dialect; (2) a person's manner of speaking; (3) speech as the outward expression of a person's inward character; (4) the organ of speech as a powerful instrument for good or evil, thus needing discipline; and (5) "speaking in tongues" (often termed glossolalia, though the word is not found in the NT) as one of the gifts of the Spirit, for which *see* TONGUES, GIFT OF.

The synonymity of "tongue" and "language" (< Lat. *lingua*, "tongue") is so characteristic of Hebrew, Greek, and English that the two words are used interchangeably as translations of Heb. *lāšōn* and Gk. *glóssa*. The RSV and other modern versions usually choose "language" instead of "tongue," which is more frequently used by the AV. Literary style, however, occasionally suggests the translation "tongue," as in the RSV of Ps. 55:9 (MT 10): "Destroy their plans, O Lord, confuse their tongues. . . ." The predominance of "tongue" in all English Versions from Wyclif through the AV reflects the early translators' preference for the blunt vocabulary of Old and Middle English (*tunge*; Gothic *tuggo*) as opposed to the more learned, and hence less accessible, derivatives of Latin. The story of Jgs. 12:1-6 reflects early dialect differences between the Israelites living E and W of the Jordan (*see* SHIBBOLETH).

Only a few uses of "tongue" relate directly to the physical manner of speaking. Moses, shrinking from the Lord's command that he go to Pharaoh on behalf of the enslaved Hebrews, protested that he was "slow" (Heb. *kāḇēḏ*, "ponderous," "heavy") of speech and tongue, which would suggest a speech impediment. Moses' speech problem would certainly be exacerbated by a public appearance before the Egyptian "god" Pharaoh and his court. In Isa. 33:19 foreigners speaking in an unknown language are said to sound as if they stammer (Heb. *lāʿag*). Mk. 7:31-35 describes Jesus' healing of a deaf man who also had a speech impediment. After commanding that the man's ears be opened, Jesus loosed the "string" (so AV; Gk. *desmós*, "cord," "ligature") of his tongue, and "he spoke plainly" (7:35). Had the man's speech problem been the result of lifelong deafness, he presumably would have been described as "mute" or "dumb" (Gk. *kōphós*). Rather, the hapax legomenon *mogilálos* ("having an impediment in one's speech") seems to indicate the condition known as "tongue-tie," a reduction in the tongue's mobility due to shortness of the frenum, which binds the tongue to the floor of the mouth.

The most numerous occurrences of "tongue" relate to the moral, ethical, and spiritual nature of the tongue's utterances. Only God sees the heart; human beings must rely on the outward expression, most importantly on what one speaks. Thus the tongue becomes a kind of barometer of the heart. As the heart of natural humanity "is deceitful above all things and desperately corrupt" (Jer. 17:9), the tongue may become the instrument of a sinful nature. Every kind of iniquity — lying (Ps. 78:36; 109:2; Prov. 12:19; 21:6; 26:28; Jer. 9:5), flattery (Ps. 5:9 [MT 10]; Prov. 28:23), perverseness (Prov. 10:31; 17:20; "wickedness," Isa. 59:3), ridicule (Isa. 57:4), slander (Ps. 15:3; Prov. 25:23), deceitfulness (Ps. 50:19; 52:4 [MT 6]; 120:2f.; Mic. 6:12; Zeph. 3:13), insolence (Ps. 12:3f. [MT 4f.]; Hos. 7:16), strife (Ps. 31:20), mischief (Ps. 10:7; Prov. 17:4) — is given vent and power for evil by the tongue. On the other hand, the tongue of the righteous, whose heart has been renewed by God's forgiving grace, is enabled to glorify and serve God (e.g., Ps. 35:28). Job, asserting his righteousness, appealed to the ultimate evidence: "Is there any wrong on my tongue?" (6:30). Praise (Ps. 51:14 [MT 16]; 71:24), healing (Prov. 12:18), confession of the lordship of Jesus (Phil. 2:11), laughter and joy (Ps. 126:2), preaching of the Word (Ps. 119:172), dissemination of knowledge (Prov. 15:2), and kindness (Prov. 31:26) are among the fruits of the Spirit that manifest themselves by the tongue.

In several OT and NT passages this organ of speech signifies a powerful instrument that can be used for either good or evil according to how it is ruled, whether by the sinful self or by God. James states that only God's grace is powerful enough to tame the tongue, for "no human being can tame the tongue — a restless evil, full of deadly poison" (Jas. 3:8). He describes the tongue as a "fire . . . an unrighteous world among our members, staining the whole body, setting on fire the cycle of nature, and set on fire by hell" (v. 6). The OT as well as the NT enjoins God's people to rule (or "bridle," Jas. 1:26; cf. 3:2) their tongues (e.g., Ps. 34:13; Prov. 21:23) by the power that comes from God (cf. Ps. 51:10-14). C. D. LINTON

TONGUES AS OF FIRE. (Acts 2:3). [Gk. *glóssai hōseí pyrós*] (Acts 2:3). The description of a vision given to the disciples at the PENTECOST event (Acts 2:1-13). In view of the familiar biblical association of fiery apparitions with visions of God (e.g., Ezk. 1:27; Dnl. 7:9f.; *see also* FIRE I.D.), as well as passages such as 1 En. 14:8-15; 71:5, which refer to "tongues of fire" in the context of visions of heaven, the phenomenon in Acts likely symbolizes divine presence and activity, which is seen "distributed" upon the disciples (2:3; AV "cloven" is a mistranslation). The phrasing "*as* of fire" in this description of the inauguration of the Church bears some similarity to the same writer's account of the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Lk. 3:22; there Jesus sees the Spirit descending "in bodily form, as [*hōs*] a dove." The author may have intended to draw a parallel between the two visions that accompany scenes of empowerment by the Spirit.

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TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. *See* BABEL, TOWER OF.

TONGUES, GIFT OF. Cited by Paul as a spiritual gift (Gk. *chárisma*; *see* SPIRITUAL GIFTS), this phenomenon is most frequently represented in the Greek NT by the noun *glóssa* ("tongue"; or by the instrumental *glóssais*, "in" or "with tongues") in combination with the verb *laléō* ("speak"; cf. Eng. "glossolalia.") The RSV translates these words literally as "speak in a tongue" or "speaking in tongues." The AV often adds the interpretive adjective "unknown" (1 Cor. 14:2, 4, 13f., 19, 27), emphasizing the spontaneous and evidently supernatural character of this gift. This understanding is enhanced by the NEB translations "ecstatic speech" (1 Cor. 14:5, 18 [mg.]), "ecstatic language" (v. 6), "ecstatic utterance" (12:10, 28; 14:9, 13, 18f., 26f., 39), "language of ecstasy" (14:2, 4), "tongues of ecstasy" (12:30; 13:8; 14:5; Acts 10:46; 19:6), or "strange tongues" (1 Cor. 14:22f.; Mk. 16:17). In contrast, the NIV parallels the RSV (except at 1 Cor. 13:8, where it translates "tongue" as the physical organ); but it always pro-

vides the alternate reading "language," thereby underscoring its understanding of tongue-speaking as speech in predictable human languages rather than as non-sensible ecstatic speech. A second term, Gk. *diálektos* (cf. Eng. "dialect"), appears in Acts 2:6, 8 (RSV, NEB, NIV, "language"; AV "language," "tongue").

The source, purpose, and value of speaking in tongues, as well as guidelines for their appropriate use, are discussed by Paul at length in 1 Cor. 12–14; this phenomenon may also lie behind the Pauline understanding of the Spirit's intercessions in Rom. 8:26f., and of spiritual songs in Eph. 5:19. Luke does not refer to the ability to speak in tongues as a spiritual gift, but he does describe the phenomenon in Acts 2:1-21; 10:44-46; and 19:1-6; allusions to speaking in tongues are also apparent in 11:15-17; 15:8f.; and possibly 8:14-19, where this phenomenon may explain the magician Simon's request for power to impart the Spirit. The longer ending of Mark (16:17) also makes brief mention of the phenomenon.

I. Ecstatic Speech in the Ancient World
  A. Religion of Israel
  B. Greek Religion
II. Tongues-Speaking in the NT
  A. Pauline Perspective
  B. Lukan Perspective
  C. Markan Perspective
III. In the Church
  A. Early Citations
  B. Modern Manifestations

I. Ecstatic Speech in the Ancient World.–Descriptions of ecstatic speech are common in the study of comparative religions. In some cases the phenomena bear striking resemblance to the glossolalic speech described in the NT. Ecstatic behavior is found most frequently in the shaman, the seer, and the prophet. Generally the ecstatic state is associated with divine or spirit possession and inspiration. Of particular relevance to this discussion are the religions of Israel and of Greece.

A. Religion of Israel. Although Gk. *ékstasis* ("ecstasy") occurs some thirty times in the LXX, it is never used of prophets or prophetic activity. The descriptions of the behavior of the guild of singing prophets and of Saul after the Spirit of Yahweh came upon him and "turned [him] into another man," enabling him to prophesy (1 S. 10:5-13; cf. 19:20-24), are significant, but they do not adequately define ecstasy. More commonly the prophets are pictured as receiving a heightened awareness of Yahweh's voice through vision (Am. 7:1-9), dream (Jer. 23:25), or reflection upon daily activities (Jer. 18:1-11) or contemporary events (Joel 1:1–2:11). Significant, too, is the prophetic consciousness of the distinction between Yahweh and prophet (Isa. 6:1-11).

There is no evidence that the OT writers knew of "speaking in tongues," although they knew of prophetic activity that was associated with a variety of "ecstatic" behaviors. Peter's response to the charge of drunkenness on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:12-18) clearly suggests that he understood "speaking in tongues" to be a form of prophetic speech, for Joel (2:28f.) never mentioned tongues — only visions, dreams, and prophesying.

B. Greek Religion. The Delphic and Pythian religion of Greece understood ecstatic behavior and speech to be evidence of divine inspiration by Apollos. Described in Greek literature by the terms *ékstasis* and *mántis* (cf. Eng. "mantic"), this behavior may provide background to the Corinthian misunderstanding of tongues-speaking. Plutarch (*Moralia* 432, 438, 758) described the Delphic oracle as a mantic who sought divine inspiration that enabled her to speak in an ecstatic manner. A second person, an interpreter (*prophḗtēs*, "prophet"), stood by to make intelligible to paying customers what the mantic had received under inspiration (cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 71f.). Uninterpreted tongues at Corinth were apparently understood by some as sufficient indication of Spirit possession, and hence, of spirituality (1 Cor. 14:4-6, 37f.).

II. Tongues-Speaking in the NT.–*A. Pauline Perspective.* Paul noted that the Holy Spirit has sovereignly bestowed the ability to speak in tongues on various members of the body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:10f., 28, 30) for the good of the community (v. 7). Like other *charísmata*, the ability to speak in tongues is temporary, destined to disappear when that which is perfect (*tó téleion*) has come (13:8-10). Identification of "the perfect" remains a subject of debate, the main theories being that these gifts ceased with the close of the apostolic age (Warfield) or with the completion of the canon of Scripture (Chantry), or that they will cease with the future parousia (Hoekema). The last position is most appropriate in the light of the eschatological language of 13:8-12 (which parallels 1 Jn. 3:2) and the consistent patristic support for this interpretation (Clement of Alexandria *Quis dives salvetur* 38; Origen *Contra Celsum* vi.20; *De oratione* xxv.2; Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* v.15.6; *De patientia* i.10).

During the present age the gift may be manifest in a variety (*génē*, 1 Cor. 12:10) of forms, ranging from human to angelic (13:1). Such diversity helps to explain the ambivalence in translations of *glṓssais laléō*. It may also explain the discrepancies between many modern claims to tongues as a foreign language and the conclusion of recent linguistic analysis that it is *not* a language (Samarin). Whatever form it may take, tongues-speech was conceived by Paul to be a spontaneous, unlearned form of communication to God made in the Spirit (1 Cor. 14:2, 15f.), through which mysteries are spoken (v. 2), prayer is offered (v. 14), and blessing or thanksgiving is made known (vv. 16f.).

1. Its Purposes. According to Paul, the gift of tongues serves a variety of purposes. (1) It provides a form of *personal edification* (1 Cor. 14:4). This was not viewed negatively by Paul (v. 18) except when it was done in the public assembly without the benefit of an interpretation, since only with interpretation could it be a meaningful experience for all who hear it. The nature of this personal edification may lie in the gift's witness to the immanence of God.

(2) It can enable a congregation to enter into a form of *Spirit-directed worship*. Proper interpretation of a "blessing" or "thanksgiving" in tongues, through the complementary gift of interpretation (*see* INTERPRET IV), can lead to the participation of others in the "Amen" to these forms of praise (1 Cor. 14:16). The provision of a hymn (v. 26) is one of several contributions to corporate worship; so too, might be singing in the Spirit (v. 15). As such, the reference to "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" in Eph. 5:18f. might be taken to refer to singing in tongues.

(3) It is a *sign* to observers. While this gift can be a positive sign of God's blessing and presence, as witnessed by its ability to provide personal and community edification when properly used, it also has the potential of becoming a negative sign to the uninitiated or the unbeliever. If it is improperly used, some will witness it but fail to recognize God's hand at work (1 Cor. 14:23). Tongues-speaking without responsible corporate constraint might be construed as community madness.

(4) It may manifest an *intercessory character*. Tongues-speaking is a preconceptual (Montague) or transrational mode of Spirit-assisted prayer (1 Cor. 14:14). This has led

some (e.g., Käsemann) to explore the parallels between 1 Cor. 14:14 and Rom. 8:26f., understanding *stenagmoí alalḗtoi,* the "unutterable groans" of the Spirit, as inherently glossolalic.

2. Guidelines for Its Use. For Paul the ultimate guide to the use of this and all other gifts is love (1 Cor. 12:31b–14:1). Love is eternal and outward looking. Thus mere possession or even frequent exercise of the gift of tongues is no definitive mark of spirituality, for edification of the community is to take precedence over edification of the self (14:12, 24). Without love, tongues-speech is reduced to a noisy intrusion that is both disruptive and irritating (13:1).

Paul's exposition of the proper use of the gift suggests that the tongues-speaker is able to exercise considerable self-control. Hence any suggestion that the speaker participates in an altered state of consciousness, or any concept of tongues as "ecstatic speech," needs to be tempered. Several indications point toward this conclusion. (1) The speaker apparently knows beforehand when she or he will speak in tongues and is encouraged to anticipate the need for an interpreter (1 Cor. 14:28). Should one not be present, the speaker may choose one of two alternatives: remain silent, speaking quietly to God (v. 28); or pray for the gift of interpretation of tongues (*hermēneía*) — a gift that, paired with tongues, is apparently acquired spontaneously through prayer (v. 13). The latter gift allows the utterances of tongues to achieve a value for the Christian community approximating that of prophetic oracles (v. 5). In either case, the tongues-speaker is challenged to exercise self-control in order to provide for community edification (vv. 6-13).

(2) The speaker as well as the community is able to act in accordance with preexisting guidelines. Paul suggested that the number of such utterances be limited to perhaps two or three per meeting. They should be given consecutively rather than simultaneously, and each must be interpreted (1 Cor. 14:27). Those who fail to allow for such regulation or assessment are not to be given the courtesy of public acknowledgement (vv. 37f.).

(3) God is by nature a God of peace, not of confusion (1 Cor. 14:33). Both the tongues-speaker and the community of faith are called upon to exercise and permit the exercise of *charísmata* in a way that reflects the nature of the Giver; i.e., they are to do so decently and in order (v. 40). The speaker in tongues must, therefore, seek the good of the whole body of Christ, and the body must not forbid the appropriate use of this spiritual gift (v. 39). Such forbidding may fall into the category of quenching the Spirit (cf. 1 Thess. 5:19) and deprive the whole community of the benefits this gift might bring to it.

B. Lukan Perspective. Luke's understanding of tongues-speaking shows many similarities to Paul's. This is not surprising since Paul and Luke spent time together (Philem. 24; Col. 4:14). If Luke incorporated the "we" sections of Acts (16:4; 20:5–21:18; 27:1–28:16) from his personal diary, then he joined Paul shortly after Paul had written to the Corinthians (Acts 20:1-4). Like Paul, Luke understood the ability to speak in tongues as originating in the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:4; 10:44-46; 19:6). Both writers used the terms *glṓssa* and *laléō* to describe the phenomenon (cf. 10:46; 19:6), although Luke also used the term *diálektos* in 2:6, 8. The common verb *légō,* "speak," was never used by either writer in conjunction with speaking in tongues. In Acts *laléō* sometimes carries a special significance, being clearly associated with inspired speech (see Jaschke). Like Paul, Luke noted a behavior in tongues-speakers that outsiders or the uninitiated could misunderstand: Paul's mention of the charge of "madness" (1 Cor. 14:23) is paralleled by Luke's description of the charge of drunkenness (Acts 2:13, 15).

Luke had a unique perspective, however. He never used the term *chárisma* to describe the ability to speak in tongues. His concern was not with the misuses of the gift but with its meaning in the light of Pentecost, which he seems to have connected with the Sinai tradition (Ex. 19:18f.; Jub. 6:14-21; 15:1-24; 16:28-30; 1QS 1:1–2:26; T. B. *Megillah* 31a) and with the reversal of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9). On the day of Pentecost the 120 spoke in tongues (Acts 2:1-11), while the wondering multitude asked the agenda-setting question, "What does this mean?" (v. 12). Hence, in Acts speaking in tongues on the day of Pentecost acquires an evidential flavor. It provides adequate evidence for the following points.

(1) According to Peter, a member of Jesus' inner circle of disciples, the long-standing promise of Joel (2:28f.) has been fulfilled. The Holy Spirit has been poured out in the inaugural eschatological event, the inbreaking of the age to come into the present (vv. 16-21).

(2) John the Baptist's prophecy of one who would baptize in Spirit (Lk. 3:16) is continuous with the Spirit-filled ministry of Jesus (4:18-21) and with the anticipated mission of the fledgling Christian community (24:49; Acts 1:4-5, 8). Jesus continues to manifest Himself among His people through the Spirit that has been poured out.

(3) The mission of the Church empowered by the Holy Spirit has begun in earnest. It is a mission that began in Jerusalem and Judea and then moved in ever-expanding circles through Samaria to the farthest reaches of the world (Acts 1:8). Thus it is a mission that ultimately includes the Gentiles.

(4) The Church's message includes the fact that God is satisfied with the work of the crucified, risen, and ascended Jesus. The coming of the Spirit, evidenced by the phenomenon of tongues at Pentecost, demonstrates that the murder of Jesus (Acts 2:23), which should have resulted in a curse, has been transformed by God into a blessing. God has raised Jesus up (vv. 24f.), exalted Him as Lord with a seat at the right hand of God (vv. 33-36), and poured out the Spirit that Jesus promised. As a result, the gift of the Spirit is available to all who are called, who repent, and who identify with Jesus Christ in baptism (vv. 38f.).

(5) The inclusion of the Gentiles in the believing community is assured. The experience of Cornelius and his household including speaking in tongues (Acts 10:45f.), parallels that of the 120 on the day of Pentecost. It is cited to justify Peter's ministry among the Gentiles (11:15-18) and again in the argument to open the way for wider ministry among the Gentiles (15:8f.). The account of the Ephesian "Pentecost" (19:1-6) communicates the continuation of this reality among the Gentiles in Paul's ministry.

C. Markan Perspective. Mark is the only Gospel that mentions speaking in tongues. MS evidence suggests that Mark's longer ending, in which this reference appears (16:17), is of second-century origin. Early MSS do not contain it, but it was known by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* iii.10.5) and quoted by Tatian (*Diatessaron* lv.8-10). This independent witness to the teaching of the risen Lord anticipates tongues-speech to be among those signs (*sēmeía*) that would continue to accompany the believing community. The plural *toís pisteúsasin,* "to those who believe," suggests corporate rather than individual possession. While the NEB renders the adjective *kainós* as "strange" tongues (consistent with its view of tongues as ecstastic speech), the AV and RSV translate it more literally as "new" tongues; the Greek term may indicate the writer's

understanding of tongues as a product of the inbreaking "age to come."

III. In the Church.–*A. Early Citations.* Speaking in tongues has always been in the Church, although with varied levels of expression and acceptance. If Chrysostom pleaded ignorance of such a phenomenon (*Hom. in 1 Cor.* 12:1f.), Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* v.6.1) noted its presence among those who lived according to the precepts of the gospel. Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* v.18.12) enlisted it as an apologetic argument for the validity of orthodoxy, while Origen (*Comm. on Rom.* 1:13; 7.6 var.) viewed it as a bridge to cross-cultural preaching. The phenomenon is cited in several medieval papal bulls and makes repeated appearances among a variety of monastic groups and enthusiastic sects.

B. Modern Manifestations. Early in the 20th cent. speaking in tongues became prominent with the rise of Pentecostalism, which has often, though inaccurately, been called the "Tongues Movement." Pentecostals tend to highlight the differences in Lukan and Pauline perspectives, although more coincidentally than by design. Many understand Acts as teaching that speaking in tongues is *the* initial evidence for a normative, post-conversion, crisis experience available to *all* Christians. It is identified as the "baptism in the Holy Spirit," and its purpose is power for ministry. Paul's writings are understood to teach that speaking in tongues is a gift given only to *some* Christians. This gift may be used devotionally in private praise and intercession for personal edification, and when properly interpreted it may also contribute to public worship and corporate edification. These distinctions between Lukan and Pauline emphases blur at times, especially when the issue of devotional tongues is addressed, since the "gift of tongues" is so closely tied to the doctrine of BAPTISM IN THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Since the 1960's speaking in tongues has been the subject of numerous theological, historical, behavioral, and social scientific studies; this renewed interest was due to the growth of the so-called charismatic movement. This charismatic renewal within the historic churches emphasizes more of the Pauline perspective on tongues as gift, a position shared by nearly all Christians. It encourages intercessory and devotional tongues-speaking and limited (small group, conference, and prayer meeting) public use of this gift. Since "baptism in the Spirit" is generally understood to have taken place at the time of conversion, baptism, and/or confirmation, or as a post-conversion sanctification experience (in the Holiness tradition), the ability to speak in tongues is generally not viewed evidentially within charismatic renewal.

See also SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

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TONGUES, INTERPRETATION OF. *See* TONGUES, GIFT OF; SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

TONSURE. *See* BALDNESS.

TOOLS. Tools are implements used for various kinds of commercial, industrial, craft, or agricultural pursuits. In the ancient Near East tools were made of stone or of metals, e.g., IRON, COPPER, and BRONZE. The earliest Palestinian tools dated from prehistoric times, with implements such as worked flint knives occurring commonly at Neolithic levels. The KNIFE (*ma'ăkeleṯ*) was the least complicated of cutting tools (Gen. 22:6; Jgs. 19:29), and although the smelting techniques of the Hittites made iron implements popular, FLINT continued to be utilized in ceremonial rituals such as circumcision, and also in agriculture. Some commentators have attributed this reluctance to confront new technology to the traditional conservatism of both religion and agriculture, but the real reason was that flint maintained a sharp edge much longer than iron, which became dull quickly. Palestinian knives varied between 15 and 25 cm. (6 and 10 in.) in length, but a limestone mold for a 40 cm. (16 in.) knife was unearthed at Tell Beit Mirsim, indicating that larger knives, perhaps intended for sacrificial purposes, were not uncommon. Knives of this length generally had some sort of handle attached, normally by a tang or by rivets.

Iron Age technology widened the range of tools considerably, as might be expected. The Heb. *ḥereḇ*, "sword," included a range of knives and cutting instruments, hence the rendering "knife" in Josh. 5:2; 1 K. 18:28. While not mentioned in the RSV, the adze, which was an axe with an iron blade set at right angles to the shaft, was almost certainly used for cutting purposes, if a fragmentary iron blade from the Greco-Roman period at Bittîr has been identified correctly. The AXE, of which seven types are mentioned in the OT and one in the NT, included a large chopping implement used by stonemasons (*garzen*), and referred to in the Siloam Inscription. An elaborately designed bronze axehead was recovered from Beth-shean

A relief from Warka depicting a carpenter working with an adze (2nd millennium B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

TOOLS

A wall painting of a man sawing a plank. From the tomb of Rekhmira at Thebes, 18th Dynasty (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

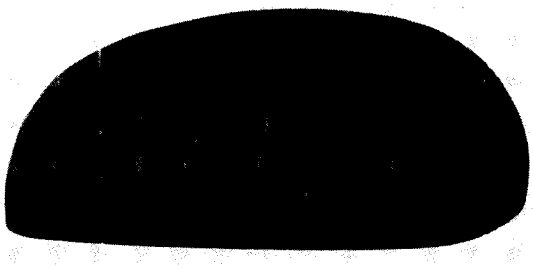
(13th cent. B.C.), while iron axeheads have been found at various Palestinian sites including Ramah. One kind of axehead used in pruning (Jer. 10:3) had a curved blade that could pick up metal objects ("tongs," Isa. 44:12). Axes were also employed as formidable military weapons (Ps. 74:5f.; Jer. 46:22).

Even before the Iron Age commenced, metal saws had been introduced from Egypt where they had been used for centuries in conjunction with special axes for cutting and shaping stone and wood. Egyptian saw blades had teeth that pointed in the direction of the handle, and were normally operated by two people alternately pushing and pulling from opposite ends. Marks left by stonecutters' saws are still visible in some Palestinian quarries. According to tradition Isaiah was executed by being sawn in two (Asc. Isa. 5:1f.; cf. He. 11:37).

Hammers and mauls of various sizes and shapes were used from the Bronze Age onward, and are represented by four Hebrew terms (*see* HAMMER). Originally they were simply roughly shaped pieces of stone used for pounding, but in the Early Bronze Age holes were bored in the stone by means of metal drills, and handles were driven into the apertures. Such hammerheads have been recovered from many Near Eastern sites. Chisels were used by stonemasons and carpenters for both rough and fine cutting, and were made of bronze or iron. The "plane" of Isa. 44:13 was most probably a chisel made of copper (*see* PLANES). Carpenters used a variety of tools, including awls and drills for making holes in wood (Ex. 21:6; Dt. 15:17). The copper drill was actually a bit fastened to a handle, which was rotated by means of a box and a leather thong. The carpenter also used metal files and scrapers for smoothing rough wood. Plumb lines began to be used in the Bronze Age for establishing vertical and horizontal levels (2 K. 21:13; "plummet," Isa. 28:17). Such horizontal "chalk marks" have occasionally been uncovered at Palestinian sites. Amos's vision (7:7f.) depicted the Israelites being measured by God's plumb line to determine the extent of their deviation. *See* MEASURING LINE.

The craft of the POTTER was enhanced considerably by the invention of the potter's wheel *ca.* 4000 B.C. Early forms comprised a small flat stone fixed to a shaft, with a larger stone disk at the opposite end. The potter spun the wheel by hand as he shaped the clay into a symmetrical vessel. Early potters employed tools known as "paddles and anvils" to produce thin-walled, shaped pottery. The anvil, made of clay, stone, or wood, was placed inside the vessel and pressed against the exterior paddle to bring the

A mason's reel and line from the tomb of Lisht at Thebes (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)



The Sumerian "Blau Monument," possibly a pottery scraper, depicts an overseer and workmen kneeling beside anvils (*ca.* 2900 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

vessel to the desired shape and thickness. In the Early Bronze period the so-called tournette was invented, consisting of a low rotary stone or wood stand, and this device accelerated the production of pottery. Excavations have uncovered several specimens of tournettes, while pottery remains from all the archeological periods have enabled a firm schedule of ceramic dating to be established.

A millennium later a more advanced model of a potter's wheel consisted of two wheels one above the other and joined by an axle. The potter seated himself in front of the wheel and kept the lower part in motion with his feet, thus leaving both hands free to shape the clay. This device made a great impression on Jeremiah, who envisaged God as the master potter molding His people Israel (Jer. 18:2-8). Other equipment used by the potter included scrapers, sharp sticks, combs, and polishers, as well as materials for exterior decoration. From a tomb at Saqqârah archeologists recovered a model of an Egyptian potter's workshop in excellent condition, which provided valuable information about the craft in ancient Egypt (*see* picture in POTTER). Potters' wheels have been recovered from numerous Palestinian sites, including Lachish, Megiddo, and Hazor.

Metalworkers of Palestine in the Bronze Age were renowned for their skills, some of which are depicted in the Beni-hasan tableau (*ca.* 1900 B.C.). The scene showed a traveling Semite and his family, and one of the donkeys in the caravan was bearing metallurgical equipment including bellows on its back (*see* picture in BELLOWS). It is not surprising, therefore, that Bezalel and Oholiah were able to do metalworking for the wilderness tabernacle, especially when divinely endowed with skill and energy (Ex. 31:1-11 35:30–36:1). The metalsmith would have available several different types of hammers and mallets, including some suitable for beating out GOLD on an anvil until it assumed the appearance of a very thin sheet. Ironworkers also needed furnaces and hand-bellows, tongs, molds, files, drills, and rudimentary clamps. (*See also* METAL.) Other CRAFTS such as painting, manufacturing jewelry, engraving, and weaving required their own special tools, some of which have been recovered by excavators.

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TOOTH; TEETH [Heb. *šēn*] (e.g., Gen. 49:12; Job 4:10; Prov. 10:26; 25:19; Zec. 9:7); NEB also FANGS, "noose" (Job 13:14); [*mᵉṯallᵉʿôṯ*–'jawbone'] (Prov. 30:14; Joel 1:6); AV JAW TEETH, CHEEK TEETH; NEB also JAWS; [*pîpîyôṯ*–'double edges'] (Isa. 41:15); [Gk. *odoús*] (e.g., Mk. 9:18). In Cant. 7:9 (MT 10) the RSV and NEB follow the LXX, Syr., and Vulg., which read "teeth" (Heb. *wᵉšinnîm*) instead of MT *yᵉšēnîm* ("sleepers"; cf. AV).

Only a few passages refer to teeth in a literal sense (e.g., Nu. 11:33). The loss of a tooth caused permanent disfigurement, and a perfect set of teeth was therefore a mark of rare beauty (Cant. 4:2; 6:6). The OT law of retribution protected Israelites from personal injury by their neighbors by requiring "tooth for tooth" (Ex. 21:24; Lev. 24:20; Dt. 19:21). If a master injured his slave, causing the loss of a tooth, he had to let the slave go free (Ex. 21:27). Ethically, Jesus went beyond the law of "tooth for tooth," exhorting His followers to turn the other cheek instead of avenging injuries (Mt. 5:38f.).

The teeth of wild beasts inspired terror on account of their cruel power (e.g., Dt. 32:24; Job 41:14 [MT 6]) and were therefore a fitting symbol for the power and cruelty of the enemy (e.g., Job 16:9 [here God is the enemy]; Ps. 35:16 [cf. v. 17]; 57:4 [MT 5]; 124:6; Prov. 30:14; Joel 1:6; cf. Dnl. 7:5, 7, 19; Rev. 9:8). Breaking an enemy's teeth symbolized breaking his power (e.g., Job 29:17; Ps. 3:7 [MT 8]; 58:6 [MT 7]). In the OT the gnashing of teeth generally signifies a menacing rage (e.g., Job 16:9; Ps. 35:16; 37:12; 112:10; Lam. 2:16; cf. also Acts 7:54); in the NT it usually describes the misery and despair of those who are forever excluded from the Kingdom (Mt. 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; Lk. 13:28); *see also* GNASH.

"Teeth" appears also in other expressions, including the familiar "by the skin of my teeth" (Job 19:20). In Am. 4:6 "cleanness of teeth" signifies famine and starvation. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel rejected an ancient proverb that stated the principle of collective guilt: "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer. 31:29; Ezk. 18:2). These prophets taught instead the principle of individual responsibility: "each man who eats sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge" (Jer. 31:30; cf. Ezk. 18:3f.). N. J. O.

TOPAZ tō'paz. *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

TOPHEL tō'fəl [Heb. *tōpel*; Gk. *Tophol*]. A place in the wilderness of indeterminate location. Dt. 1:1 mentions Tophel with five other place names, located where "Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Suph, between Parah and Tophel, Laban, Hazeroth, and Di-zahab." Some tentatively identify Tophel with eṭ-Ṭafîleh (e.g., *WHAB*), but Arab. *ṭ* is not reflected by Heb. *t*, and the vowel patterns of the Arabic and Hebrew words differ. Y. Aharoni provisionally located Tophel on the King's Highway between Punon and the Zered brook (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 203 map 14). But if this is intended to locate the place where Moses addressed the Israelites, we should expect it to be "in the land of Moab" (Dt. 1:5; but rejected by *GTTOT*, p. 255 n.233). Possibly Dt. 1:1f. is a mutilated text, although the LXX generally supports the passage. For an attempted reconstruction of the route, cf. *GTTOT*, §§ 430-441.

See H. Cazelles, *VT*, 9 (1959), 412-15. W. S. LASOR

TOPHETH tō'fəth [Heb. *tōpeṯ*–'place of burning']; AV also TOPHET. A place in the Valley of Hinnom where the devotees of Molech, a Semitic deity, offered their children as human sacrifices (*see* HINNOM, VALLEY OF). The name probably derives from Aram. *tēpaṯ* ("burning place"), vocalized in Hebrew with the vowels of *bōšeṯ* ("shame") to emphasize the shameful nature of the rites performed there.

Jeremiah spoke of the HIGH PLACE of Topheth as a

place in the Valley of Ben Hinnom where some Israelites burned their sons and daughters in the fire (Jer. 7:31). He predicted that the name of the place would be changed to the "valley of Slaughter" because of the great many people who would be killed there by an invading enemy. Topheth would be so full of corpses that there would not be room to bury all the dead, and vultures would feed on many of the bodies (7:32f.; 19:6). He further warned that Jerusalem would become, like Topheth, a place of slaughter (19:11-14).

During his great religious reform Josiah desecrated Topheth so it could not be used for human sacrifice (2 K. 23:10). Isaiah referred to a "burning place" (Heb. *topteh*; RSV mg., NEB "Topheth") that was being prepared by Yahweh for the king of Assyria (Isa. 30:33).

Topheth was probably located at the lower end of the Valley of Hinnom (Wâdī er-Rabâbeh) near the junction with the Kidron Valley (*see* JERUSALEM II.B; III.F.2.c).

J. F. PREWITT

TORAH. A Hebrew term, normally rendered "law," and universally recognized as central to OT and postbiblical Jewish piety. Both the meaning of the term and the role Torah has played in the religious thinking of Jews remain, however, subjects of debate.

I. The Term
II. Significance
  A. "Law" in OT Piety
  B. "Law" in Judaism of the Second Temple Period
  C. NT Views

I. The Term.–In his famous *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, S. Schechter contended that Gk. *nómos* and English "law" mistranslate Heb. *tôrâ*. Schechter noted that the rabbis use *tôrâ* to refer to the Pentateuch, to the whole of the Scriptures, or to the entirety of revelation. In each case Torah contains more than law. "Teaching" or "instruction," he claimed, is a better translation.

That *tôrâ* in some contexts may best be translated "teaching" or "instruction" is clear enough (e.g., Ps. 78:1; Prov. 1:8; 4:2; 13:14, where RSV has "teaching"; Job 22:22; Isa. 30:9, where RSV has "instruction"); and when (the) Torah became a designation for a collection of traditional materials for which divine revelation was claimed, the term obviously included more than laws. Nonetheless the general claim that *tôrâ* does not mean "law" is simplistic and misleading. Since Schechter it has become common to view "law" as a distortion of *tôrâ* and to see the mistranslation as at least in part responsible for the common misunderstanding of Judaism as a religion of "legalism." Indeed, since the LXX itself normally translated *tôrâ* with *nómos*, the distortion of Judaism is sometimes said to begin already in Hellenistic Judaism (e.g., Dodd, Schoeps); and Paul's negative views of the law are at times attributed in part to the legalistic distortion of *tôrâ* introduced in the Greek Scriptures (e.g., Herford, Schoeps). Arguments raised in defense of these latter claims are, however, very dubious.

(1) Most questionable are arguments that suggest, on the basis of a proposed etymology of the term, that *tôrâ* "properly" means "instruction," "teaching," or "revelation." Actually the etymology itself remains a matter of dispute (*see* LAW IN THE OT); more importantly, it is a fallacy to suppose that the etymology of a word determines its "proper" or "basic" meaning. The usage of a term, not a history which the users of the language had long since forgotten, is crucial in establishing meaning (Barr).

(2) C. H. Dodd correctly pointed out that the LXX's *nómos* misrendered *tôrâ* where it refers generally to "instruction in the principles of religion" (e.g., Prov. 13:14; Isa. 1:10; 8:16). Such mistranslations should be attributed, however, to the LXX's stereotypical rendering of the term rather than to the exaggerated legalism of Hellenistic Judaism. Above all, we may not conclude from the instances given by Dodd that "law" (or *nómos*) mistranslates *tôrâ wherever* the latter term occurs.

(3) Schechter's own argument, often repeated since, was that, since *the* Torah contains more than legal material, "law" must be a mistranslation of the term. But the use of "the Torah" as a technical term designating a collection of disparate material represents a development in the history of the term. It does not follow that *tôrâ* has never meant "law."

The OT in fact provides us with many instances in which a *tôrâ* is (or *tôrôṯ*, pl., are) said to be "commanded" to be "done" or "kept" and not "transgressed," and where words like "commandment," "statute," and "ordinance" are introduced as parallel terms (Gen. 26:5; Ex. 16:28; Lev. 26:46; Ps. 105:45; etc.). Most significantly, we encounter in Deuteronomy, and in the literature closely related to or influenced by Deuteronomy, the use of *tôrâ* to represent the substance of the Deuteronomic code: the covenantal responsibilities — with the accompanying sanctions — imposed on Israel by Yahweh. The context of the covenant is of course crucial in assessing the nature of Israelite law; moreover, it must be remembered that the demands placed upon Israel encompass areas not included in the laws of many cultures (e.g., morality, religious observance). Nonetheless, the pattern of commands issued by a sovereign to be observed by his subjects, with sanctions to be enforced upon their transgression, all but requires the English term "law" for an adequate rendering (Dt. 4:8; 30:10; 32:46, etc.). Later literature of the OT continues to use *tôrâ* of Israel's covenantal responsibilities, or of the "book" in which these are spelled out (e.g., Dnl. 9:11; Neh. 9:13f.). The LXX can hardly be faulted for rendering *tôrâ* with *nómos* in such cases. Indeed, it should be noted that the LXX translation of *tôrâ* with a term meaning "law" was anticipated by the Aramaic portion of Ezra, where the Aramaic *dāṯ* ("law") is clearly the equivalent of Heb. *tôrâ* (7:12, 14, 21, 26; cf. 7:6, 10).

In a not unnatural development, "the *tôrâ*" (or "the *tôrâ* of Moses," or "this book of the *tôrâ*," etc.), applied originally to the Deuteronomic code, came to be extended to the Pentateuch as a whole, of which it formed an integral part. Hellenistic Judaism, in following suit and referring to the Pentateuch as *ho nómos* ("the law"), can hardly be accused of introducing a distorted notion of its nature. Since the entire normative tradition of rabbinic Judaism was traced to the revelation given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, Torah came to be used to designate the whole tradition. But the more specific Deuteronomistic sense of *tôrâ* as Israel's covenantal obligations — the commands which, as they were met with obedience or rebellion, determined Israel's blessing or curse, life or death — continued to be reflected in the use of both *tôrâ* and *nómos* in the intertestamental and NT periods (e.g., Sir. 24:23; 45:5; 1 Macc. 1:49; 2:20f., 67f.; 2 Macc. 7:30; Bar. 4:1, 12f.; Ps. Sol. 14:2; Josephus *CAp* ii.30 [217f.]; 1QS 5:8; 8:15, 22; CD 7:7f.; Acts 7:53; 15:5; He. 9:19; 10:28; etc.). Paul's use of *nómos* in this sense (e.g., Rom. 2:12f.; 7:7; Gal. 3:12f.; 5:3) is fully in line with Hebrew usage of *tôrâ*.

II. Significance.–***A. "Law" in OT Piety.*** For decades the views of J. Wellhausen dominated the thinking of OT scholars. In the preprophetic period, according to Wellhausen, Israel had no established legislative code. Israel's relationship with its deity was a natural one that did not

depend on the observance of the conditions of a covenant. People conducted themselves according to their own free impulse. The prophetic task, for Wellhausen, was not that of summoning Israel to the observance of God's law, but rather that of purifying Israel's notion of Yahweh: He was God alone, and His concerns were seen to be universalistic, not confined to Israel; ethical rather than cultic: and focused on the hearts of individuals rather than on the laws and institutions of society.

In a sense Deuteronomy represents for Wellhausen an attempt to make concrete the prophetic ideals. But when Deuteronomy gained the status of an authoritative code or law, it spelled (in Wellhausen's view) the end of prophecy — indeed, the end of the earlier spontaneity of the religious spirit and its worship. And when, in exilic and postexilic times, cultic procedure was recorded and included in the law, the "immense retrogression" that marked postexilic Judaism was complete. The "narrow shell" of Ezra's law perhaps served to protect the "kernel" of prophetic insights from foreign influence, but meant at the same time a decline into a preoccupation with the cult and the loss of the freedom and joy of preexilic worship.

A negative assessment of the piety of postexilic Judaism remains fixed in the opinions of many scholars today. Otherwise Wellhausen's sketch of its development has been subjected to major modifications. It is today widely recognized that Israel from the earliest period perceived itself as subject to the demands of Yahweh, demands that set Israel apart from neighboring peoples (Dt. 4:8; Ps. 147:19f.). Uniquely characteristic of Yahwism of all periods, for example, was its intolerance for the worship of any deity but Yahweh. Many scholars believe the proclamation of Israel's basic responsibilities under the covenant was a feature of festival observances from the time of the settlement (Alt, Noth, von Rad, etc.; cf. Dt. 31:10-13). Nor can the message of the prophets be dissociated from Israel's law, denouncing as they did the unfaithfulness of Yahweh's people to the obligations placed upon them, and threatening them with the sanctions that would inevitably follow disobedience.

Israel's religion from earliest times, then, included the conviction not only that Israel was the elect, redeemed people of Yahweh, but also that, as the covenantal people of Yahweh, Israel was subject to His comprehensive demands. They would encounter Yahweh's blessing or curse as they obeyed or disobeyed His law (Ex. 22:23f. [MT 22f.]; 23:21; Dt. 4:23f.; 6:13-15; 28:1-68; etc.).

B. "Law" in Judaism of the Second Temple Period. The prominence of Torah is thus scarcely a postexilic development. Indeed, the frequent references in the later literature to attempts at patterning life and institutions according to what was "written in the law of Moses" (Ezr. 3:2; 6:18; Neh. 8:14; 10:29 [MT 30]; 13:1) themselves imply an endeavor to maintain continuity with preexilic piety. Nonetheless there are important shifts in emphasis. Whereas Israelite religion from earliest times recognized the basic demands of Yahweh as binding on His people, it is in the postexilic period that the divine will came increasingly to be seen as embodied in the very wording of the pentateuchal law codes. The terms of the sacred texts became the subject of casuistic interpretation aimed at defining proper procedure.

A few illustrations may be given. The various regulations that the Pentateuch contains relating to tithing (Lev. 27:30-33; Nu. 18:21-32; Dt. 14:22-29) became a subject of harmonistic exegesis in order to determine the precise scope of the Jew's obligation (cf. Tob. 1: 6-8; Jub. 32:9-15). The legitimacy of divorce in a given case came to be seen as depending on whether "some indecency" (i.e., the relevant phrase in Torah's statute on the matter, Dt. 24:1) had occurred, and the latter phrase became a subject of exegetical debate (cf. *Sifre* to Dt. 24:1; Mish. *Gittin* ix.10). The biblical command that no "work" be done on the sabbath (Ex. 20:10) required a good deal of amplification, since observant Jews needed to know what constituted the "work" that would infringe on the commandment (cf. Jub. 2:29f.; 50:6-13; CD 10:14–11:18). When the terms of scriptural law proved impracticable, resort was had to legal fiction by which the wording of the statute could be thought to be upheld while its undesirable consequences were circumvented (cf. Mish. *Erubin* v.1-9; viii.1f.).

Finally it should be noted that the question of who could authoritatively interpret the terms of Torah divided the "parties" of the Second Temple Period: the Sadducees appear to have maintained that such interpretation was a priestly prerogative, the people of Qumrân supported the claims of the Zadokite priests in their midst (1QS 5:2f., 9), while the Pharisees adhered to the teaching of their "scribes," who were drawn from the ranks of priesthood and laity alike. That the traditions held to be authoritative by the pharisaic scribes went beyond the text of Scripture (the *written* Torah) was recognized by all and became a point of contention (Josephus *Ant.* xiii.10.6 [297]; Mk. 7:8-13). In time the claim would be made that such traditions were part of the *oral* Torah, also given to Moses on Mt. Sinai (T.B. *Shabbath* 31a).

That adherence to the commands of Torah constituted the divine will for Israel appears to have been a conviction held by all pious Jews of the Second Temple Period. It does not follow, however, that Jews believed they were "earning" their "salvation" by the "good works" they performed in keeping the law. Such a notion, based largely on a misreading of the Pauline evidence and widespread among Christian scholars, has been attacked in the works of E. P. Sanders. In a study of early rabbinic materials, the DSS, and the (OT) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Sanders concluded that "covenantal nomism" is characteristic of virtually the whole of the literature: i.e., Israel's standing before God is not perceived as "earned" by human obedience, but as based on the divine election of Israel as His covenantal people; obedience to the laws of Torah was regarded as necessary if the Israelite's position in the covenant was to be maintained, but such obedience was a response to God's grace rather than the means by which salvation was earned.

Sanders's depiction of Judaism in this period has met with widespread, though not universal, acceptance. We must, however, note at least the following three aspects of the view of Torah in the period, each of which undermines to some extent the uniqueness of the Sinaitic revelation.

(1) Hellenistic Judaism engaged in a kind of Torah apologetic in which the Jewish "constitution" (*politeía*) as enshrined in Torah was compared favorably with the laws and constitutions of the Greeks. More ancient than any Greek code (Josephus *CAp* ii.15, 31 [154-56, 226]), the Jewish law had never needed amendment (*CAp* ii.20f. [183f.]; Philo *De vita Mosis* ii.12-16). Every area of life was included in its demands (Josephus *CAp* ii.16f. [171-74]). It was practicable (*CAp* ii.31 [220-25]), embodied a worthy conception of God (*Ant.* Proem 3 [15]; *CAp* ii.16, 33-39 [163, 239-286]), and far surpassed other constitutions in inculcating virtue (*Ant.* Proem 2 [6]; *CAp* ii.14, 16f. [145f., 170-74]; cf. 4 Macc. 2:23; 5:23f.). Moses is thus seen as superior to other lawgivers, but the unique function of Torah within the divine covenant tends to become subordinate.

(2) In both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism, Torah came to be identified with the "wisdom" by which God created the world (cf. Prov. 8:12-31). Hence it was affirmed to be eternal and universal in its scope, though, to be sure, it was perfectly embodied in the revelation given to Israel on Mt. Sinai (Sir. 24:1-23; 4 Macc. 1:16f.; Bar. 3:9–4:4). This universalizing tendency allowed Hellenistic Jews to make the apologetic claim that the Jewish law corresponds fully with the "law of nature," perceived less perfectly by Gentiles (cf. Philo *De opificio mundi* 3; *De vita Mosis* ii.9.51f.; *De Decalogo* 132; *De specialibus legibus* i.155; ii.42, 129; iii.32, 46; *De Virtutibus* 18). A further consequence is that it becomes increasingly difficult to conceive of right behavior in terms other than conformity with Torah, even among those who could not have benefited by the revelation of Sinai: adherence to the commands was widely attributed to the patriarchs — and even to the angels in heaven (e.g., Jub. 2:18, 30; 6:18f.; 15:27; 16:21, 28)!

(3) Though the normal view in Judaism certainly came to be that the revelation of Torah given to Moses on Mt. Sinai was comprehensive and complete, apocalyptic literature in general posits other revelations, and the question has been raised whether the Qumrân sectarians envisaged a "second Torah." Certainly they regarded themselves as those who had returned wholeheartedly to the Torah of Moses (1QS 5:8), as the "doers of Torah" (1QpHab 7:11; 8:1; 12:4f.; cf. 1QS 5:21; 6:18); among their number were those who engaged in intensive study of Torah to determine the divine will (1QS 6:6). But in the course of such study things that were "hidden" from all Israel were "revealed" to the sectarians (CD 3:12-16; 1QS 5:7-12; cf. 8:1f.); and though knowledge of the "hidden things" is here ostensibly derived from inspired biblical exegesis, the question has been raised whether the Temple Scroll, with its implicit claim for direct divine revelation and its extensive regulations in matters not touched upon in pentateuchal law, was not believed to be itself a revealed Torah (Yadin). The debate will doubtless continue.

C. NT Views. From the discussions in the early Church (cf. Acts 15:1-21; Galatians), one might conclude that Jesus never explicitly renounced the validity of Torah's demands — otherwise the issue would have been clear-cut among his followers — but that there were sufficient indications of a critical stance toward contemporary Torah observance to allow His adherents to abandon it. Such conclusions are confirmed by the Gospel traditions. Among His contemporaries, who thought God's will lay in conformity with the terms of Torah's statutes, the Jesus of the Gospels finds cause to denounce the hypocrisy that conforms with statutes outwardly while hearts remain uninvolved (Mk. 7:6; Mt. 23:25-28); the self-sufficiency which imagines that, since the terms of a prescribed code have been met, one is righteous in God's eyes (Lk. 18:9-14); the lack of perspective that loses sight of the "weightier matters of the law" while insisting on details (Mt. 23:23); and the contempt shown for "sinners" whose conduct transgresses the code (Lk. 7:36-50; 15:1-32). Nor does Jesus Himself identify God's will in any direct way with the terms of Torah's statutes: Torah contains provisions necessitated by human evil but falling short of God's will (Mt. 5:33-37; 19:8f.); the ritual uncleanness proscribed by Torah is treated as a matter of relative indifference (Mk. 7:15; cf. v. 19; Mt. 23:25); proper sabbath behavior is not determined by interpreting Torah's prohibition of "work" but by returning to the intention of the Creator and to basic humanitarian concerns (Mk. 2:27; 3:4; Lk. 13:15f.). In short, Jesus assumes the right to interpret the divine will authoritatively; and though the moral demands of Torah are applied radically (e.g., Mt. 5:21f., 27f.), other areas become at best secondary in importance.

Among the NT writers, Paul devotes the most attention to the place of Torah in God's plan. Torah's sanctions did indeed include life for those who observed its precepts (Rom. 2:13; 10:5; Gal. 3:12); but, as a result of human sin, "no human being will be justified in [God's] sight by works of the law" (Rom. 3:20). The actual effect of the law has been to bring knowledge of sin (3:20) — indeed, to provoke and so increase sin (5:20; 7:5, 7-11; 1 Cor. 15:56; Gal. 3:19) — and consign humanity to sin and God's wrath (Rom. 4:15; 5:13; 2 Cor. 3:6f., 9; Gal. 3:22) as a prelude to the revelation of God's mercy in Christ (Gal. 3:22-25; Rom. 3:20-22; 10:4; cf. 11:32). Believers are no longer subject to the demands and sanctions of Torah (Rom. 6:14; 7:1-6; 1 Cor. 6:12; 9:20; Gal. 2:19; 3:13; 4:5; 5:18). They serve God in the new way of "walking in the Spirit" rather than in the old way of conforming with a code (Rom. 7:6; 2 Cor. 3:6; Gal. 5:18). The practical result of a life led by the Spirit is, however, "fruit" that no law can condemn (Gal. 5:22f.); above all, a love that fulfills the very essence of God's demands as embodied in the law (Rom. 8:4; 13:8-10; Gal. 5:14).

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S. WESTERHOLM

TORCH [Heb. *lappîḏ* (e.g., Gen. 15:17), also *pᵉlāḏâ* (Nah. 2:4 [MT 5]); Gk. *lampás*]; AV also LAMP, FIREBRAND; NEB also FIREBRAND (Job 41:19 [MT 11]). A burning stick used to give light (e.g., Jn. 18:3). Although most simply a torch is a highly flammable stick of wood set on fire, sometimes a twist of tow is tied to the end of the stick, dipped in oil, and ignited. Torches were used to strike terror into the hearts of the Midianites in Gideon's surprise nighttime attack (Jgs. 7:16, 20). Samson used torches, tied to the tails of foxes, to set fire to the Philistines' fields (15:4f.). The flaming brightness of the torch provided a poetic figure for the fiery breath of Leviathan (Job 41:19 [MT 11]), for the dazzling eyes of an angelic figure (Dnl. 10:6), for Nineveh's flashing chariots (Nah. 2:4 [MT 5]), for the visibility of Israel's future restoration (Isa. 62:1), for Israel's power to destroy its foes (Zec. 12:6), for a falling star (Rev. 8:10), and for "the seven spirits of God" (4:5; *see* LAMP II). W. Zimmerli has suggested that Ezekiel's vision of fire "like torches moving to

and fro among the living creatures" (Ezk. 1:13) may contain an allusion to Yahweh's sealing of the covenant with Abraham by passing a flaming torch between the pieces of the sacrifice (Gen. 15:17; see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979], p. 127). N. J. O.

TORMAH. A name given in the RSV mg. of Jgs. 9:31. No such place is known. The MT reads *bᵉṭormâ*, which could be translated either "in Tormah" or "in secret" (cf. AV "privily"; NEB "resorted to a ruse"). Many scholars, however, prefer to emend the MT to read *bā'rûmâ*, "at Arumah" (so RSV; see *BHS*), the place mentioned in v. 41 (see comms.).

TORMENT; TORMENTORS [Heb. piel of *'ānâ*] (Jgs. 16:19); AV AFFLICT; NEB TAKE CAPTIVE; [piel of *bā'aṯ*] (1 S. 16:14f.); AV TROUBLE; NEB SEIZE; [*ṣārar*] (2 S. 13:2); AV VEX; NEB DISTRESS; [hiphil of *yāgâ*] (Job 19:2; Isa. 51:23); AV VEX, AFFLICT; NEB also EXHAUST; [*ma'ᵃṣēḇâ*] (Isa. 50:11); AV SORROW; [*tôlāl*] (Ps. 137:3); AV WASTE; NEB CAPTOR; [Gk. *básanos, basanismós, basanízō*] (Mt. 8:29; Mk. 5:7; Lk. 8:28; 16:23, 28; Rev. 11:10; 14:10f.; 18:7, 10, 15; 20:10); **TORTURE** [*basanismós*] (Rev. 9:5); AV, NEB, TORMENT; [*tympanízomai*] (He. 11:35). To cause extreme pain, suffering, or distress.

The OT references to torment range in severity from 1 S. 16:14f., where Saul is terrified by an evil spirit from the Lord, to Jgs. 16:19, where Delilah cuts off Samson's hair and he begins to "be subdued" (NIV) or "grow weak" (LXX; the meaning of the piel of *'ānâ* here is ambiguous; but since Samson remained asleep, the stronger translations seem less likely). 2 S. 13:2 describes Amnon's obsessive passion for his sister Tamar, which made him ill. In Job 19:2 the hiphil of *yāgâ* seems limited to the mental vexation suffered by Job because of his friends' worthless advice; but the same word in Isa. 51:23 describes the physical suffering inflicted on the Israelites as they were taken into exile. Isa. 50:11, however, prophesies that Israel's enemies shall in turn lie down in a "place of pain." Least certain is the meaning of *tôlāl* in Ps. 137:3; the term is perhaps best rendered "mockers" (for a discussion of the options, see L. C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], p. 236).

With the exception of He. 11:35, all the NT references employ a term from the *básanos* word-group. Originally an Egyptian loanword, the term referred to a touchstone used for testing the genuineness of precious metal, especially coins. Applied to human beings, the meaning first passed over to torture used in examination of persons accused of crimes, and then to torment in general. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31) the rich man discovers HADES to be a place of torment (vv. 23, 28). The other Synoptic references occur in the parallel accounts of the Gerasene demoniac's plea that Jesus not "torment" him. Otherwise "torment" appears only in Revelation, in the context of divine, eschatological judgments on the world, the godless who dwell in it, and the demonic powers that have enslaved them. The climax of judgment is pictured in terms of a lake of fire and sulphur that tortures its inhabitants "day and night forever and ever" (Rev. 20:10).

The sole NT use of *tympanízomai* appears in the He. 11 catalog of persecutions endured by the OT "heroes of the faith" (v. 35). The precise type of instrument used in this torture is no longer certain; possibly it was a kind of cudgel.

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TORRENT [Heb. *naḥal*] (Jgs. 5:21; 2 S. 22:5; Job 30:6; Ps. 18:4 [MT 5]; 124:4; Jer. 47:2; Lam. 2:18); AV RIVER, FLOOD, VALLEY, STREAM; NEB also RAVINE; [*šāṭap*] (Job 14:19; 38:25); AV WASH, OVERFLOWING; NEB RAIN-STORM, DOWNPOUR; **TORRENT-BED** [Heb. *nōḥal*] (Job 6:15; 22:24); AV BROOK; NEB MOUNTAIN STREAM, RIVER-BED. A dry stream bed that becomes a channel for water during the rainy season (*see* WADI) and can be extremely treacherous after a storm (Job 6:15; Ps. 124:4; Jer. 47:2). On Jgs. 5:21 *see* KISHON; on 2 S. 22:5 par. Ps. 18:4 (MT 5) *see* PERDITION.

See also RIVER.

TORTOISE (Lev. 11:19, AV). *See* LIZARD.

TOTEMISM. A term John Long adapted in 1791 from the language of the Ojibwa Indians (located in the USA from central North Dakota to the eastern shore of Lake Superior) for a pattern of thought prevalent among some "primitive" or small-scale societies that regard a particular species of animal or type of plant as a member, benefactor (particularly with regard to the food supply), and perhaps even the ancestor of a family, clan, or tribe. In its pure form totemism is found only among isolated tribes in Australia and America. The well-being of human societies in these regions is thought to be intimately linked with the totem (which can be an animal, plant, or inanimate object, e.g., rain or red ochre). Characteristically, the social group bears the name of the totem and in many cases regards it as their ancestor, having developed a myth of descent. Totemism also frequently involves taboos, e.g., the prohibition of intermarriage within the same social group (exogamy), and the prohibition of killing or eating the totem animal or plant (except on certain occasions).

Late nineteenth-century anthropologists and ethnologists were preoccupied with reconstructing the evolutionary development of human culture based on the presupposition that earlier stages of religion and culture were preserved among "primitive" peoples, and that there was an essential uniformity to "primitive" thinking among all nationalities. Totemism first became popular through a series of articles by J. F. McLennan in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1869 and 1870. Articles on "totemism" have become obligatory in dictionaries and encyclopedias of the Bible since the late 19th cent., when W. Robertson Smith and then James G. Frazer sought to reconstruct the history of primitive Israelite and Semitic religion in the light of the then-current tendency among anthropologists to universalize such theories of the most elemental form of religious thought as animism, totemism, *mana*, and ancestor worship. Smith used the totemic clan to explain the organization of the Semitic family and other aspects of totemism to explain the phenomenon of sacrifice. Through the sacrifice and consumption of the totemic animal, the worshiper and the totem became mutually assimilated to one another (cf. the critique of this view in de Vaux, p. 448). This program was carried out (in a particularly random and atomistic way by Frazer) on the supposition that the earlier stages in the history of Semitic and Israelite religion and culture survived through the accidental preservation of archaic rituals and customs due to the conservative nature of religious thought and practice. One particular type of survival was found in the use of names (Caleb means "dog," Deborah means "bee," Jonah means "dove," Nahash means "serpent," etc.). It was proposed that such theriophorous names were originally the names of families or clans and thus provide evidence for totemism among the ancient Semites. Yet such names

are attributed to *individuals*, not families or clans, and come from periods when they cannot be correlated with any other supposed survivals of primitive totemism (de Vaux, p. 44). Since the mid-20th cent. anthropological studies and ethnographical reports have made it increasingly evident that the religious lives of most small-scale societies are actually far too complex to be reduced to either animism, totemism, *mana*, or ancestor worship. Thus totemism is no longer fashionable in the study of ancient Israelite religion and culture.

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D. E. AUNE

TOU tō′o͞o [Heb. *tō'û*] (1 Ch. 18:9f.); **TOI** tō′ī, toi [Heb. *tō'î*] (2 S. 8:9f.). King of Hamath on the Orontes in the time of King David. David's defeat of Hadadezer king of Zobah, an enemey of Tou, prompted Tou to send David congratulations and gifts.

TOUBIANI. *See* TOB.

TOW [Heb. *ne'ōreṯ*] (Jgs. 16:9; Isa. 1:31). The coarser part of flax, with short threads, used as an example of easily flammable material. In Isa. 43:17, AV, "tow" represents Heb. *pištâ*, the usual word for "flax," here used for a wick (as in Isa. 42:3; Mt. 12:20).

TOWER. The translation of several biblical terms with various meanings, but generally denoting a high structure used for purposes of watching, protection, or defense. The most common Hebrew word is *migdâl*, from the root *gdl*, "be great, large." It could designate a WATCHTOWER for guarding a flock (Mic. 4:8) or vineyard (Isa. 5:2), a tower used as a place of refuge in a city (Jgs. 9:51), and possibly a ziggurat (Gen. 11:4). The term is used figuratively of the Lord as a tower of refuge in Ps. 61:3 (MT 4); cf. Prov. 18:10. Canticles likens a woman's neck to "a tower of David" (4:4) and "an ivory tower" (7:4). Towers located at defense points in city walls were often named (Neh. 3:1, 11; 12:38f.). Some such towers became place names, e.g., Migdal-eder, "tower of the flock" (Gen. 35:21; cf. NEB), and Migdal-gad, "tower of Gad," a stronghold in Judah (Josh. 15:37). From the same root come the words *migdôl*, a place on the Egyptian border (Ex. 14:2; Nu. 33:7; Jer. 44:1; etc.), and *magdîl* (*K*; *Q* *migdôl*), a term used figuratively of Yahweh (cf. AV "a tower of salvation"; RSV "great triumphs he gives").

Possibly derived from the root *bḥn* ("examine, test, try") are the words *baḥan* (for **baḥḥan*), "watch-tower" (Isa. 32:14), and *bāḥûn* (*Q*; *K bāḥîn*), "siege tower" (23:13). The siege tower was mobile; it was brought up to try the wall and if possible to breach it. Similarly, from the root *ṣwr* ("besiege") is derived *meṣûrâ*, "siege-works, fortified cities" (e.g., 2 Ch. 11:10f.).

Hebrew *miśgāḇ* ("secure height"), from the root *śgb* ("be high, inaccessible, exalted"), appears frequently in figurative references to God in the Psalms, e.g., 9:9 (MT 10; RSV "stronghold"); 46:7, 11 (MT 8, 12; RSV "refuge"); 48:3 (MT 4; RSV "defense"). It is rendered "high tower" by the AV in three passages (RSV "stronghold"): 2 S. 22:3; Ps. 18:2 (MT 3); 144:2.

A corner tower in an ancient wall between Jerusalem and Samaria (R. H. Smith)

In 2 K. 5:24 the AV uses "tower" to translate *'ōpel* (RSV "hill"), but a more accurate translation would be "acropolis," the higher part of a city (cf. NEB "citadel"). Twice in Zephaniah *pinnâ* ("corner") is translated "tower" in the AV (RSV "battlements," 1:16; 3:6). The corners in a wall structure were often the locations of towers. Exterior corners provided a wide angle for lookout and defensive armaments, while the interior corners were the weaker portions of the wall and therefore in need of buttressing by towers; thus corner walls provided both defense and protection for citizens. *See* pictures in ARCHEOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA; BUILD; NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

In classical Greek *pýrgos*, cognate with Eng. "-burg(h)," refers primarily to a tower that forms part of a wall (*LSJ*, *s.v.*). In Mt. 21:33 par. Mk. 12:1, however, it refers to a watchtower built in a vineyard to provide shelter for a watchman. In this parable Jesus tells of a householder who planted a vineyard, set a hedge around it, and built a tower. The tower of Siloam (Lk. 13:4), on the other hand, must have served a different purpose (possibly a place of refuge for the citizens of Siloam), since its fall caused the death of eighteen persons. Likewise, the tower that a man planned to build in Jesus' parable about counting the cost (14:28) must have been other than a tower in the field, since the latter would have been built of available materials, usually stone.

See also FORTIFICATION. W. S. L. S.

TOWER IN SILOAM si-lō′əm [Gk. *pýrgos en t� ̣ Silōam*] (Lk. 13:4); NEB TOWER . . . SILOAM. A tower in Jerusalem whose collapse killed eighteen people. The tower probably formed part of the fortifications in the old wall of Jerusaelm, which according to Josephus "turned [from the east] southwards above the fountain of Siloam" (*BJ* v.4.2 [145]). *See* SILOAM III. Nothing more is known about the tower or about the disaster referred to by Jesus.

TOWER OF BABEL. *See* BABEL, TOWER OF.

TOWER OF DAVID (Cant. 4:4). *See* JERUSALEM III.C.1.e.

TOWER OF EDAR; TOWER OF EDER. *See* EDER, TOWER OF.

TOWER OF HANANEEL; TOWER OF HANANEL. *See* HANANEL, TOWER OF.

TOWER OF IVORY. *See* IVORY TOWER.

TOWER OF LEBANON [Heb. *migdal hall^ebānôn*] (Cant. 7:4 [MT 5]); NEB TOWERING LEBANON. The phrase appears only in Cant. 7:4 and may refer to a watch tower, a temple, or even a mountain. The designation "overlooking Damascus" in v. 4 suggests a promontory in the east range of the Lebanon mountains looking east toward Damascus.

TOWER OF MEAH mē'ə. *See* HUNDRED, TOWER OF THE; JERUSALEM III.F.2.x.

TOWER OF PENUEL pen-yōō'əl [Heb. *migdāl p^enû'ēl*] (Jgs. 8:17); NEB CASTLE OF PENUEL. A strong tower in the city of Penuel (*see* PENUEL, PENIEL) that was torn down by Gideon in revenge for that city's refusal to provide his men with food as they were pursuing the Midianites (cf. v. 9). J. Gray suggested that the tower "may have been a redoubt attached to an unwalled settlement such as those noticed as a feature of Ammonite settlement west of 'Ammān" (*Joshua, Judges, Ruth* [*NCBC*, rev. ed. 1986], p. 296); see also G. M. Landes, 24 [1961], 58-74).

TOWER OF SHECHEM [Heb. *migdal-š^eḵem* (Jgs. 9:46f., 49); Gk. LXX A *pýrgos Sikimōn*, B *pýrgos Sychem* (Jgs. 9:46f.)]; NEB "castle of Shechem." The stronghold of the house of El-berith destroyed by Abimelech (Jgs. 9:46-49). Excavations at Shechem (Tell Balâṭah) have uncovered the remains of a large temple-fortress that stood atop the acropolis of the M.B. and L.B. city of Shechem. The structure was first built in the mid-17th cent. B.C. to replace a smaller temple complex, and measured 26.3 m. by 21.2 m. (86¼ ft. by 69½ ft.) with walls 5.1 m. (16⅔ ft.) thick. It was destroyed in the mid-16th cent. B.C. during the Egyptian campaign against the Hyksos, but was rebuilt on a smaller scale. In the 12th cent., *ca.* 1125 B.C., Abimelech destroyed the city of Shechem, slaughtered a large number of its inhabitants, and left the temple-fortress in ruins.

See also SHECHEM.

Bibliography.—G. E. Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (1965), esp. pp. 80-102; E. F. Campbell, Jr., and J. F. Ross, *BA*, 26 (1963), 2-27. A. J. COUCH

TOWER OF SYENE. The AV translation of Heb. *migdōl s^wēnēh* in Ezk. 29:10; 30:6. The RSV and NEB read "from Migdol to Syene." *See* MIGDOL 3; SYENE.

TOWER OF THE FURNACES. *See* OVENS, TOWER OF THE.

TOWER OF THE OVENS. *See* OVENS, TOWER OF THE; JERUSALEM III.F.2.d'.

TOWN [Heb. *'îr*–'city' (Dt. 12:12; Josh. 10:37, 39; Ruth 1:19; Ezr. 2:70; Hab. 2:12; etc.), *baṭ* (Josh. 15:45, 47; 1 Ch. 5:16; 7:28f.; 8:12), *qiryâ* (Isa. 22:2), *ḥawwâ*–'tent camp' (Josh. 13:30), *ša'ar*–'city' (Dt. 12:12, 15, 17f.; 14:27-29; 16:5; etc.), *miḇdālôṯ*–'enclaves' (Josh. 16:9), *qereṭ* (Prov. 8:3; 9:3, 14), *'ereṣ*–'land' (Josh. 17:8), *giḇ'â*–'hill' (Josh. 24:33); Gk. *pólis; kōmópolis* (Mk. 1:38)]; AV also CITY, GATES, etc.; NEB also CITY, WALLED TOWN (1 S. 23:7), SETTLEMENTS, etc.

The RSV OT uses "town" most often to render Heb. *'îr*, a term that connotes a fortified permanent settlement without reference to size. Most translations (including the RSV in hundreds of passages) usually render *'îr* as "city," which is now somewhat misleading to English readers since the typical *'îr* in ancient Israel was only 12-25 ha.

Almond trees and the Israelite town of Anathoth (modern 'Anâtâ), Jeremiah's home (R. H. Smith)

(5-10 acres). The feature that apparently distinguished the *'îr* from other types of settlements (*ḥāṣēr*, etc.) was that a surrounding wall fortified it. "Town" is perhaps a more appropriate translation in most cases. Heb. *qereṭ* appears to be more or less synonymous with *'îr*, and also represents a walled urban center (Prov. 8:3). Heb. *bānôṯ* (lit. "daughters" often refers to the satellite villages and hamlets near a large fortified city. In Josh. 24:33 the RSV has "at Gibeah the town" for Heb. *b^egiḇ'aṯ* (cf. LXX). The context supplies "town." The term *giḇ'â* is probably a proper name, "Gibeah," a place name common enough that an appellative might be added (thus "Gibeah . . . of Phinehas" [Josh. 24:33]; cf. Israel's first capital, "Gibeah of Saul" [1 S. 11:14]). *See* GIBEAH 2.

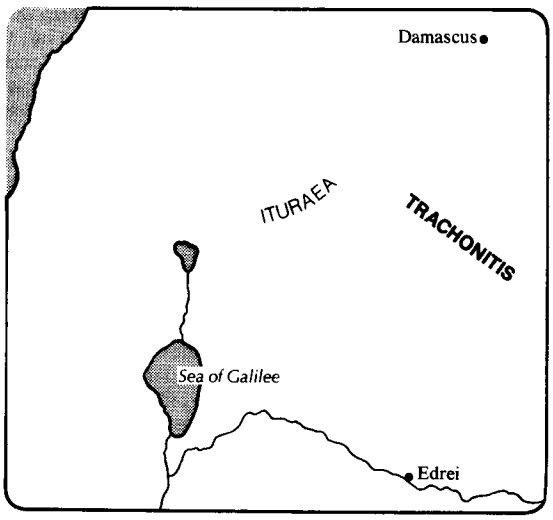
In the RSV NT "town" occurs over twenty times, and in all but one instance renders Gk. *pólis*, which is also the LXX equivalent of Heb. *'îr*. The "towns" mentioned include a Samaritan town (Mt. 10:5), Sodom (Lk. 10:12), Arimathea (23:50), the towns around Jerusalem (Acts 5:16), etc. In Mk. 1:38 Jesus visits the "towns" (Gk. *kōmopóloi*, lit. "village towns" or "market-towns" in the region of Galilee.

See also CITY; VILLAGE. D. A. DORSEY

TRACHONITIS trak-ō-nī'təs [Gk. *Trachōnitis*–'stony region']. A region in northern Transjordan corresponding to the modern el-Lejâ. Trachonitis is mentioned in the Bible only in Lk. 3:1, which says that John the Baptist began preaching in the wilderness when Philip was tetrarch of Ituraea and Trachonitis.

The term is first found in Strabo, who referred to "the Trachones," or rugged, stony tracts (*Geog.* xvi.2.16), and to "two Trachones" (2.20). These two areas are generally identified with el-Lejâ and es-Safa, volcanic areas respectively S and SE of Damascus. But in history (contra Strabo) Trachonitis (i.e., the region around Trachon) is limited to one area, el-Lejâ. Josephus said that Trachonitis's rugged rocks made access difficult, and that robber bands lived in its caves (*Ant.* xv.10.1 [344-48]); the Arabic name el-Lejâ, "the refuge," indicates continued use of the area by outlaws. Targum Jonathan identifies Trachonitis with ARGOB.

El-Lejâ is a triangular (or pear-shaped) area E of the highway from Damascus to Edrei (Dera'a), with its apex to the north. It is about 40 km. (25 mi.) long and 32 km. (20 mi.) wide, covering about 670 sq. km. (260 sq. mi.). Lava from a great eruption has left a well-defined area that rises 15 m. (50 ft.) above the surrounding terrain. (For a detailed description of the formation, see *GP*, I, 47.) The land is virtually untillable, but a few springs and



the rainfall made some areas fertile and able to support vineyards and pasturage for sheep and goats.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* xv.10.1 [344-48]), Zenodorus allowed the brigands of Trachonitis to pillage systematically the property of the Damascenes; this was reported to Caesar, who in turn assigned the territory to Herod, *ca.* 9 B.C. When Herod died (4 B.C.) his son Philip received Trachonitis (*Ant.* xvii.8.1 [188f.]) and ruled it with a firm hand for about thirty-seven years. At Philip's death (A.D. 34) the territory became part of the Roman province of Syria (*Ant.* xviii.4.6 [106-108]), but shortly thereafter Caligula gave it to Herod Agrippa I (*Ant.* xviii.6.10 [237]; *BJ* ii.9.6 [181-83]), who ruled it from 37 to 44. Trachonitis reverted to Roman governance until Herod Agrippa II received it (A.D. 53; *Ant.* xx.7.1 [137f.]; *BJ* ii.12.8 [247-49]. At his death in 100 it passed finally to Roman rule and six years later was incorporated into the new Roman province of Arabia. The cities of Trachonitis are called "black cities" in *Arabian Nights* because of their buildings, made entirely of black basalt. The numerous remains include theaters, temples, and public edifices, which like the well-built roads, belong to the Roman period, particularly to the time of Trajan (98-117).

Bibliography.–*GP,* I, 46f.; II, 156; Strabo *Geog.* xvi.2.16, 20.

W. S. LASOR

TRADE; TRADER [Heb. *sāḥar* (Gen. 34:10, 21; Jer. 14:18; part., Gen. 37:28; 1 K. 10:28 par. 2 Ch. 1:16), part. of *rāḵal* (1 K. 10:15; Ezk. 27:13, 15, 17, 20, 22-24), *markōla* (Ezk. 27:24), *rᵉḵullâ* (28:5, 16, 18), *kinʿan/kᵉnaʿan/kᵉnaʿᵃnî* (Isa. 23:8; Ezk. 16:29; 17:4; Hos. 12:7 [MT 8]; Zeph. 1:11; Zec. 14:21), *nāṯan*–'give' (Lam. 1:11), *ʾᵒnôš tār* (part. of *tûr;* 1 K. 10:15; 2 Ch. 9:14), *ḥabbār*–'associate in a trade' (Job 41:6 [MT 40:30]), *tᵉmûrâ*–'something acquired by exchange' (Job 20:18); Gk. *ergázomai*–'work,' 'do' (Mt. 25:16; Rev. 18:17), *empórion*–'market' (Jn. 2:16), *emporeúomai*–'be a merchant' (Jas. 4:13), *pragmateúomai* –'do business' (Lk. 19:13), *diapragmateúomai* ("gain by trading," v. 15), *téchnē*–'skill' (Acts 18:3), *homótechnos*– 'practicing the same skill' ("of the same trade," v. 3), *méros* (19:27)]; AV also TRAFFIC(KER), MERCHANT (MAN), MERCHANDISE, CANAAN (Ezk. 16:29), CANAANITE (Zec. 14:21), CHAPMAN (2 Ch. 9:14), CRAFT, etc.; NEB also MOVE ABOUT FREELY, MERCHANT, CUSTOMS OFFICER, DEAL(ER), COMMERCE, etc.

In most of the RSV usages "trade" refers to COMMERCE, i.e., the BUYING and selling or bartering of commodities. For discussion of the terms rendered by "trader," *see* COMMERCE II.D; MERCHANT.

In a few instances "trade" denotes an occupation or craft requiring a particular skill. In Job 41:6 (MT 40:30) Heb. *ḥabbār* (< *ḥāḇar,* "be joined, coupled") actually denotes "partners" or "associates" in a company of fishermen. Acts 18:3 states that Paul stayed with Aquila and Priscilla while he was in Corinth because they shared the occupation of tentmaking. In 19:27 "trade" refers to the livelihood (Gk. *méros,* lit. "part," "share") of the silversmiths in Ephesus, who earned their living by manufacturing images of Artemis.

See also MERCHANDISE; TRAFFIC; TRAVEL I, III.

N. J. O.

TRADES. *See* CRAFTS.

TRADITION. The Greek word for RSV "tradition" (AV "ordinance" [1 Cor. 11:2]) is *parádosis,* which can denote both the act by which something is handed down, and the object handed down. The word does not occur with this meaning in the LXX or the Apocrypha but is so used thirteen times in the NT (Mt. 15:2f., 6; Mk. 7:3, 5, 8f., 13; 1 Cor. 11:2; Gal. 1:14; Col. 2:8; 2 Thess. 2:15; 3:6). Gk. *paradídōmi* in various NT passages means "hand down (as tradition)" (Mk. 7:13; Lk. 1:2; Acts 6:14; 16:4; 1 Cor. 11:2, 23; 15:3; 2 Pet. 2:21; Jude 3); and Gk. *paralambánō* can mean "receive (as tradition)" (e.g., Mk. 7:4; 1 Cor. 11:23; 15:1, 3; Gal. 1:9, 12; Phil. 4:9; Col. 2:6; 1 Thess. 2:13; 4:1; 2 Thess. 3:6). The same general idea, however, lies behind many other terms that denote preaching, teaching, scholarly activity, example, and imitation.

I. General Remarks
II. Consolidation of the Jewish Torah Tradition
III. Jesus and the Primitive Church
IV. Development of the Primitive Christian Tradition
V. Origin of the Gospel Tradition

I. General Remarks.–As social creatures, human beings depends not only on a contemporary group and a milieu but also on earlier generations and their living conditions. They receive and benefit from a rich and diversified heritage, which may be called tradition. The very heart of this heritage may be designated "inner tradition" (beliefs, evaluations, insights, reflections, etc.). Inner tradition, however, is connected very intimately with the concrete elements in the tradition, which may be called "outer tradition": (1) institutional tradition (inventions, cultural subjects, organizations, etc.), (2) practical tradition (behavioral patterns, skills, habits, etc.), and (3) verbal tradition (words, sentences, texts). Verbal tradition includes oral and written tradition; this article will disregard the forms of verbal transmission created by modern technology. Inner tradition constantly finds expression in, creates, and (when necessary) changes institutions, customs, and texts; but it is strongly influenced by the way that these things have firmly established themselves in the people's thinking. The concrete forms play a very important positive role in the creation, continuity, and progression of the inner tradition. But they can also continue to exist long after their original intention has been forgotten, and they always make thoroughgoing reforms and beginnings of new spiritual movements much more difficult.

II. Consolidation of the Jewish Torah Tradition.–In order to understand the early Jewish traditionalism, one must begin with the concept of the covenant: the belief that a covenant existed between Yahweh and His chosen people Israel. Both the blessings and obligations of the covenant were thought to be inherited, and to hand them down to

subsequent generations was a solemn duty. The leaders would teach the people, the older would instruct the younger, and the fathers would instruct their sons concerning all that God had done for His people and said to them (cf., e.g., Gen. 18:19; Dt. 4:9f.; 6:6f.; Ps. 78:3-7).

The catastrophes that occurred in connection with the Exile, the infiltration of a foreign culture during the Hellenistic period, and the coercive attempts by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and later the Romans to hellenize the Jewish community increased the Jews' conviction that the tradition inherited from their venerated fathers must be preserved and defended. Now, more strongly than ever before, the Jews felt a loyalty to the covenant and to their cultural heritage that their fathers handed down in its entirety. Institutions, behavior patterns, and holy words had to be maintained as a consciously enforced, living program for life.

Behind the authority of the fathers was seen the authority of God. The religious heritage was God's Torah, which in essence was given at Sinai. The psychological conditions lying behind this development are reflected with great clarity in the books of Maccabees. "Zeal for the Torah" motivated some to defend with weapons the traditional values (both religious and material) of the covenant people. But the same zeal produced an impressive program of instruction and education centered on the holy Torah with all its manifestations — institutions, customs, and texts. A conscious technique of teaching and of transmitting traditional material developed from this, in direct connection with ancient pedagogical methods (learning by rote memory, imitation). By the end of the Amoraic period (late 5th cent. A.D.) the public educational system had become very well-developed in Judaism.

The rabbis made a distinction between written Torah and oral Torah, i.e., between the authoritative Holy Scriptures (the OT) and an orally transmitted authoritative tradition, which interprets, supplements, and sometimes corrects the written Torah (e.g., T. B. *Shabbath* 31a). The NT designates this unwritten tradition as *hē parádosis tôn presbytérōn,* "the tradition of the elders" (Mt. 15:2; Mk. 7:3, 5). Paul's expression *paradóseis tôn patrikôn mou,* "the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. 1:14), refers to the Torah in its entirety, both the written and the unwritten, in keeping with the way that it was practiced in his day. Cf. *tá éthē tá patrṓa,* "the customs of our fathers" (Acts 28:17; cf. 6:14; 15:1; 21:21; 26:3), and *ho patrṓos nómos,* "the law of our fathers" (Acts 22:3), have this same broad meaning.

III. Jesus and the Primitive Church.—The preaching of Jesus and of primitive Christianity simultaneously emphasized the present and looked to the future. The overarching message was that the coming kingdom of heaven is near. Within this framework Jesus demonstrated with radical words and deeds God's love for sinful humanity and His unconditional offer of forgiveness, healing, health, and salvation from the threatening judgment of wrath. At the same time Jesus called for a radical love for God (faith, obedience) and for other people (compassion, self-giving). However, Jesus did not present this as something completely new and unexpected, but as a deep and genuine execution of the intentions of the covenant that He and His people had inherited: the "new" covenant took shape in the framework of a strong feeling of fidelity to the tradition.

Among the verbal traditions that had been handed down "the Holy Scriptures" held a unique position for Jesus. He accepted them without criticism as holy and authoritative, but He reinterpreted them. Although the wording in Mt. 5:17 may be secondary, it summarizes very well Jesus' attitude toward the Scriptures, apparent in everything that He said and did: "I have come not to abolish them but to fulfil them [the Law and the Prophets, i.e., the Holy Scriptures]" (cf. Lk. 4:16-21). In this passage "to fulfil" means to reinterpret; it includes both giving the final meaning and living according to the Scriptures.

The primitive Church continued to work along the same lines, as a result of its assurance that a new covenant was established, and that the Holy Spirit was poured upon the people of the new covenant, the Church (see esp. Lk. 24:13-49; Acts 1:1-8; 2 Cor. 3:4–4:6). It did not interpret this "new" covenant as a different covenant but rather as the true continuation of the old covenant. In the new interpretation of Scripture God's love, grace, and forgiveness are primary, because the good news concerning the suffering and redeeming Christ is understood as Scripture's main message. In a radical way, the Church saw the two commandments enjoining love as the focal point of the legal material in the OT (see esp. Mt. 22:34-40 par.; cf. 7:12; Rom. 13:8-10; Gal. 5:14). The rabbis could also believe that the two commandments pertaining to love summed up the Torah, but they could not carry out this idea radically. They believed that the Jews' duty was to keep every commandment in the written and oral Torah.

The sources do not present a completely unified picture of Jesus' attitude toward the oral decrees of the Torah ("the tradition of the elders"). In His speech compiled in Mt. 23, Jesus recognized the Pharisees and their scribes as authoritative teachers and administrators of Torah. Of course, He criticized them because they did not practice what they preached, interpreted Torah as if it were a burden, and did not put the greatest emphasis on "the weightier matters of the law," instead "straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel" (vv. 23f.). Yet Jesus urged His disciples to "practice and observe" all that these teachers and magistrates said, which must have included their teaching of the oral Torah (v. 3). In Mk. 7:1-23 (cf. Mt. 15:1-20) Jesus issued more severe criticism, and even directly repudiated the oral tradition. He clearly distinguished the commandments of God in the Scriptures from certain decrees of the elders, and on the basis of this distinction He concluded that the oral decrees of the elders were wholly of human origin (note "your tradition," "the precepts of men," and "the tradition of men," Mk. 7:6-13; Mt. 15:3, 6, 9). Jesus' criticism of "the tradition of the elders" came to play an important role in the separation of Jewish Christianity from Judaism (cf. Col. 2:6-23). For the Jews "the tradition of the elders" guided their interpretation of the Scriptures and understanding of their faith. It was inevitable that a different understanding of religion and a different interpretation of Scripture would come into conflict with this oral tradition, even if not with all of its elements.

This role of tradition explains why Jesus had a relatively negative attitude toward the practical and institutional traditions of the Jews. The crucial issue was Jewish loyalty. On the one hand, Jesus stood for central matters that established institutions and persisting customs impeded. On the other hand, His opponents were committed to those institutions and customs even at the expense of central matters. Quite consistent with this, a gradual separation from Judaism characterized the subsequent development of Jewish Christianity.

IV. Development of the Primitive Christian Tradition.—As Christianity spread into the heterogeneous milieu of the Hellenistic world outside Palestine, it assumed different forms in different localities. But Christians felt that they were one (the Church of Jesus Christ), and their unity was not merely a unity "in spirit." It consisted in certain fun-

damental agreements on verbal, practical, and institutional levels.

When a Jew converted to belief in Jesus Christ, his life was radically reoriented (cf. Phil. 3:4-11), but he did not need to abandon the old completely. For a Gentile, conversion involved a much more radical severance with the views, practices, and traditions of his earlier life (cf., e.g., Gal. 4:8-12; Col. 3:5-11; 1 Thess. 4:1-8). On the other hand, the sources show that to a remarkable extent the Church could acknowledge and identify with the ethical ideals and rules of life in the Hellenistic world. Moreover, the Church could give its members a freedom in life-style that was impossible in Jewish congregations, with their regulated customs and rules of life.

With some simplification the growth of the primitive Christian tradition may be outlined in the following way. Primitive Christianity preached a message of salvation and reconciliation that was based on the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus (cf., e.g., 1 Cor. 15:1-11). But Jesus was also proclaimed as universal authority and as the ideal for the right attitude about life. Thus the Christ who gave Himself in death was recognized as the leading creative principle in the formation of the new tradition. References to the example of Jesus already occur in the Gospels, especially in the sayings concerning crossbearing and its consequences (see esp. Mt. 10:38; 16:24; Mk. 8:34; Lk. 9:23; 14:27; Mt. 20:25-28; Lk. 22:24-27; Jn. 13:12-15; 15:12-17). Jesus is set forth as an example in the Pauline letters (Rom. 15:1-7; 1 Cor. 10:33–11:2; 2 Cor. 8:9; Eph. 4:31–5:2, 25; Phil. 2:4-11; Col. 3:13; etc.), in Hebrews (12:2f.), and in the Petrine and Johannine letters (1 Pet. 2:18-25; 1 Jn. 2:3-11; 3:16f.; 4:7-11; etc.). The teaching concerning Christ does not refer merely to the leading principle in His work (His self-giving love), however. It is made specific in quotations of His teachings and in stories about His responses to life situations (cf. V below).

The other leaders in primitive Christianity, especially the apostles, also became models and standards for the formation of the Christian life-style (ethics), ecclesiastical organization, and customs, even though their authority was always thought secondary to Christ's. For example, Paul exhorted his churches to imitate him in everything (with the characteristic addition) just as he imitated Christ (1 Cor. 10:33–11:2; 1 Thess. 1:6; cf. 1 Cor. 4:16f.; 2 Thess. 3:6-13). This exhortation implies first of all that one will accept and obey Paul's teaching (1 Cor. 4:15-17; cf. 11:1f.; Rom. 6:17; 1 Thess. 4:1f.; 2 Thess. 2:15). But the apostle also exhorted the churches to imitate his deeds that they saw him perform (Phil. 4:9; cf. 2 Thess. 3:6-11). He is, however, no unique father of the Church but only a representative of all who accept Jesus Christ as their pattern for life (Phil. 3:17).

The desire of the primitive Christian tradition for unity also appears in efforts to create a uniform practice "in all the churches of the saints" at some points (1 Cor. 11:4f., 16; 14:33-36). Thus, the oldest (Jewish-Christian) churches, especially the mother church in Jerusalem, came to be an example and model (1 Cor. 14:36; cf. 1 Thess. 1:6f.; 2:14). The stabilization of the primitive Christian tradition on the verbal, practical, and institutional levels was already advanced when the Pastoral Epistles were written. These letters regard what was given through Christ as a deposit (*parathḗkē*), which the Church is faithfully to preserve, observe, and obey (1 Tim. 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:12-14; cf. 2:2; 3:14).

On the other hand, Christianity regarded the new covenant as a covenant of freedom, in which shackling and burdensome commandments given without reason are out of place (cf., e.g., Gal. 2:4f.; 4:21–5:1). This freedom allowed differences among the churches and enabled the Church later to develop, change, and reform. Such freedom was also preserved by warnings against attempts to bring Christians into bondage again, i.e., either by precepts that cannot be reconciled with faith in Christ, or by precepts that are genuine but have taken on a wrong value or function (cf. Gal. 5:1; Col. 2:20-23; etc.).

V. Origin of the Gospel Tradition.–Within this framework, the earliest history of the Synoptic tradition took place. The Pauline Epistles show that at an early stage Paul, in establishing his churches, handed down to them a tradition (*parádosis*) containing words of Jesus and stories about Him (1 Cor. 11:23-25; 15:1-8). It is difficult to ascertain the nature and extent of this Jesus tradition, since in his letters Paul usually was building upon the foundation that he had laid long before. He rarely repeated the basic traditions about Jesus (1 Cor. 11:23-25; 15:1-8) or directly cited them (1 Cor. 9:14; 1 Thess. 4:15), although his letters contain many echoes of Jesus' words.

In what way was the tradition about Jesus transmitted to the churches in the earliest period of primitive Christianity, before there was any major written Gospel? Comparisons with contemporary techniques of Jewish teaching and transmission suggest that the teachers passed on the oral texts by reciting them over and over again until those who heard them could recite them faultlessly from memory. It is likely that some records were soon made; notebooks and "secret scrolls" would have been used as aids to the memory. In this way small collections of traditions about Jesus would have emerged. The work of the Evangelists indicates that traditions about Jesus were compiled into large collections and with a panoramic picture of Jesus' work in mind. According to the prologue in the Gospel of Luke (1:1-4), the traditions about Jesus in the Gospels were handed down to the church ultimately by "those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," i.e., by the disciples closest to Jesus and by leading apostles. From a historical perspective this theory certainly is a simplification. But Luke's statement seems to be much closer to the truth than the view of some modern scholars (radical representatives of form criticism) that the traditions about Jesus were created by anonymous persons in the primitive Christian churches who lacked intimate knowledge of what Jesus of Nazareth actually said and did. It indeed seems likely that Jesus Himself taught and did so using the contemporary technique of repetition. *See* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC. *See also* JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO, on the tradition lying behind this book.

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tr. J. T. WILLIS

TRAGACANTH traj'ə-kanth (Gen. 37:25; 43:11, NEB). *See* GUM.

TRAFFIC [Heb. part. of *sāḥar* (Isa. 47:15; Ezk. 27:12, 16, 18, 21), *miṣḥār* (1 K. 10:15), *kēn ʿᵃnîyîm* ("who traffic," Zec. 11:7)]; AV also (BE A) MERCHANT, POOR (Zec. 11:7); NEB also TRADE, (BE A) SOURCE OF COMMERCE, DEALER; **TRAFFICKER** [Heb. *kēn ʿᵃnîyîm*] (Zec. 11:11); AV POOR; NEB DEALER. The verb "traf-

fic" is used by the RSV in the sense of "carry on trade." The noun *mishār* (which should possibly be emended to read *missahar*; see *BHS*; KoB, p. 541) denotes merchandise that is traded or profit from the sale of merchandise. The MT of Zec. 11:7, 11 is unintelligible (cf. AV "poor" as a translation of *ʿanîyîm*), and *kēn ʿanîyîm* should probably be emended to read *kᵉnaʿanîyîm* (see LXX, *BHS*); the latter term means, literally, "Canaanites" but is frequently used in the sense of "traders," since the Canaanites were known as traders par excellence in the ancient world (*see* CANAAN I).

See also BUYING; COMMERCE; MERCHANT; TRADE; TRAVEL I, III. N. J. O.

TRAIN. In Isa. 6:1 (RSV, AV) the Hebrew noun *šûl* denotes the long, trailing skirts of Yahweh's royal robes (cf. NEB "skirt of his robe"). In other passages the RSV uses "train" in the sense of a group of persons who follow someone in a procession. In Ps. 45:14 (MT 15) it refers to the bride's retinue of attendants and friends (Heb. *ʾaḥᵃreyhâ*; AV lit. "that follow her"); cf. the AV's use of "train" in 1 K. 10:2 for the Queen of Sheba's retinue (Heb. *ḥayil*, lit. "wealth," "power," "troops"). In Ps. 68:18 (MT 19) (Heb. *šeḇî*; AV lit. "captive") and Dnl. 11:43 (Heb. *bᵉmiṣʿāḏāyw*; AV lit. "in his steps") "train" denotes a victory procession that includes prisoners of war. N. J. O.

TRAIN; TRAINED; TRAINING [Heb. *ḥānaḵ*–'train, educate' (Prov. 22:6), *ḥānîḵ* (Gen. 14:14), *lāmaḏ*–'teach' (piel in 2 S. 22:35; Ps. 18:34 [MT 35]; 144:1; pual in 1 Ch. 25:7; Hos. 10:11), *yāḏaʿ*–'know' (2 Ch. 2:7, 14), piel of *yāsar*–'discipline' (Hos. 7:15); Gk. *gymnázō*–'exercise, train gymnastically' (1 Tim. 4:7; He. 5:14; 12:11; 2 Pet. 2:14), *gymnasía*–'training of the body' (1 Tim. 4:8), *paideúō*–'educate, discipline' (Tit. 2:12), *paideía* (2 Tim. 3:16), *sōphronízō*–'advise, train the mind' (Tit. 2:4), pass. of *mathēteúō*–'make a disciple' (Mt. 13:52), *oikonomía*–'stewardship' (1 Tim. 1:4)]; AV also INSTRUCTED, SKILFUL, TEACH, EXERCISE, EDIFYING, etc.; NEB also EXPERT, EXPERIENCED, BROKEN IN (Hos. 10:11), DISCIPLINE, etc. Instruction through discipline or drill. The primary goal of education, in the OT (Prov. 22:6) as well as in the NT (1 Tim. 4:7f.; etc.), is to produce a person who is self-disciplined in godly attitudes and habits.

See EDUCATION; TEACH. N. J. O.

TRANCE [Gk. *ékstasis*] (Acts 10:10; 11:5; 22:17). An altered state of consciousness, usually experienced by an individual privately, in which extrasensory sights and sounds, or visions and auditions, are experienced (*see* ECSTASY). The three occurrences of the term in the NT are all closely connected with divine revelation.

The two primary altered states of consciousness may be categorized under the headings "possession" and "trance," or (following the typology of E. Bourguignon in *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change* [1973] and *Possession* [1976]) "possession trance" and "vision trance." The former primarily involves possession by spirits, while "vision trance" may typically involve hallucinations, visions, and out-of-body experiences (including ascents to heaven and descents to the netherworld).

Acts 10:10 and 11:5 are parallel passages that narrate first Peter's experience of a symbolic vision (10:9-16) and later his retelling of this event in very similar terms in the form of a vision report (*see* VISION IV.C) before a gathering of leaders of the church in Jerusalem (11:1-10). The expression *egéneto ep' autón ékstasis* ("he fell into a trance") in 10:10 is simply rendered *en ekstásei* ("in a trance") in 11:5. Like many biblical visions, the content of this vision is symbolic, requiring interpretation. The vision therefore concludes with a short dialogue between the revealer (God) and Peter. In Acts 22:17 Paul is narrating a vision that has formal links to the prophetic call narrative (*see* VISION IV.A [1]).

A conceptual (though not verbal) parallel to these passages is the use of the phrase *en pneúmati* ("in the Spirit") in Rev. 1:10; 4:2; 17:3; 21:10. The problem in interpreting these passages lies in determining whether they refer to an ecstatic state (and so are appropriate parallels to Acts 10:10; 11:5; 22:17) or simply to the experience of revelation in general apart from any ecstatic experience. Most likely they refer to an ecstatic state, since the latter alternative appears somewhat artificial.

Bibliography.–*See* Bibliography in ECSTASY. D. E. AUNE

TRANSFIGURATION [Gk. *metamorphóō*–'transform, change in form']. The Greek word occurs in Mt. 17:2 and Mk. 9:2 in reference to Christ's appearance in splendor on a mountain ("he was transfigured"). The parallel Lukan account does not use the term, instead stating, "the appearance of his countenance was altered" (Lk. 9:29). *Metamorphóō* in Rom. 12:2 ("be transformed") and 2 Cor. 3:18 ("are being changed"; NEB "are transfigured") describes the change in life-style produced by faith in Jesus Christ; in the Symmachus translation of the OT it forms part of the title of Ps. 33 (34 in the English versions), indicating the change in David's countenance in the presence of Abimelech. This article will deal exclusively with Christ's transfiguration.

I. Accounts
II. Interpretation
III. Significance
IV. Observance

I. Accounts.–The Lord's appearance in glory during His earthly ministry is described only in the Synoptics (Mt. 17:1-13; Mk. 9:2-13; Lk. 9:28-36), although 2 Pet. 1:16-18 probably alludes to it. John does not report it, possibly because this Gospel is a "perpetual theophany" (Loisy). But the voice from heaven in Jn. 12:28 has a function similar to that of the Transfiguration in the Synoptics: it is heavenly approval of Christ's task of suffering.

The noncanonical Apocalypse of Peter has a passage descriptive of paradise that some have thought echoes the Synoptic accounts (Akhmim Fragment 4-6). There are also hints of the Transfiguration story in the Acts of John (90f.), the Acts of Peter (20), and the Acts of Thomas (143), although the Gospel of Thomas makes no reference of any kind to it. A later Gnostic document known as Pistis Sophia contains a bizarre reworking of the story, apparently a fusion of the NT Transfiguration and Ascension accounts.

The Synoptic records have seven common elements: Jesus took Peter, James, and John to the top of a mountain; He was transfigured before them; Moses and Elijah appeared; Peter responded with the suggestion that three booths be set up; a cloud overshadowed the whole group; a voice was heard out of the cloud; Jesus was seen alone. These items were treated somewhat differently, however, by each Gospel, as a few statistics demonstrate. Of the 121 words contained in the Markan account, 80 (66 percent) are also found in Matthew, and 65 (54 percent) in Luke. Of Matthew's 144 words, 80 (56 percent) occur in Mark, and 70 (49 percent) in Luke. Of the 165 words in the Lukan version, only 70 (42 percent) are found in Matthew, and 65 (39 percent) in Mark. These figures indicate that

Matthew is more closely related to Mark than it or Mark is to Luke. Luke has by far the most variations.

The three Synoptics differ in areas much more significant than terminology. Only Luke, e.g., states that Jesus' appearance changed as He prayed (9:29). Matthew (17:2) tells that the face of Jesus shone, while Mark notes only the brilliance of His clothing (9:3). Mark alone observes that Jesus' garments were so white that no fuller on earth could duplicate their splendor (9:3). Matthew is content to note that they were white as light (17:2), and Luke describes them as "dazzling white" (9:29; AV "glistering," i.e., glittering or shining with reflected light).

Luke alone gives the detail that the disciples were "heavy with sleep" (9:32). This notice, plus the further statement that they descended on the next day (v. 37), may mean that the incident occurred at night.

There are some significant differences in the words ascribed by the Synoptic writers to the voice from the cloud. Mark has simply, "This is my beloved Son; listen to him" (9:7). Matthew alone inserts after "Son" the clause "with whom I am well pleased" (17:5). Luke more explicitly echoes the Servant Song (Isa. 42:1) by using "my Chosen" for "my beloved" (9:35).

Just as Moses and Elijah were leaving, Peter made his suggestion of building three booths, according to Luke (9:33). The other two Gospels are not so specific but do record the same proposal (Mt. 17:4; Mk. 9:5). In Mark, Peter addresses Jesus as "Master"; Matthew has "Lord" (Gk. *kýrie*, 17:4), and Luke has "Master" (*epistáta*, 9:33). Mark indicates that the disciples were so afraid that Peter did not know what he should say (9:6). On this point Luke observes that Peter did not know what he was saying (9:33). Matthew omits this item completely.

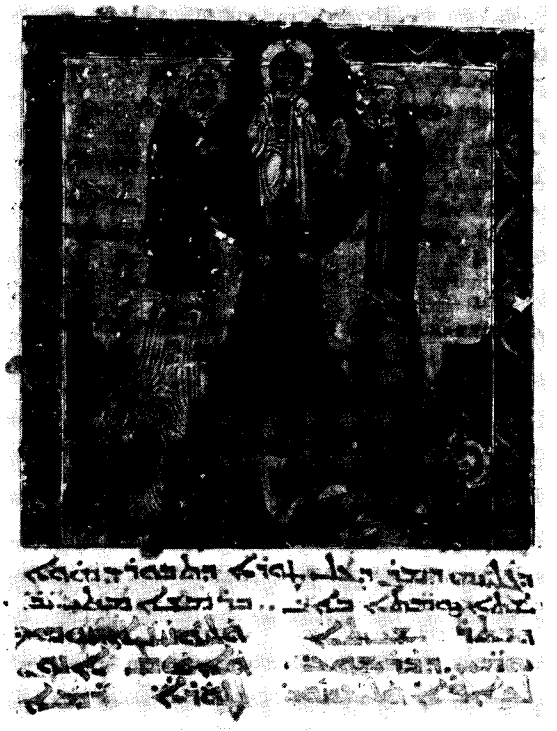
It is clear from these differences that each account has its own emphases. A very evident example is Luke's changing the specific time reference "after six days," found in both Mark (9:2) and Matthew (17:1), to the more general "about eight days after these sayings" (9:28).

The context of the Transfiguration in the Third Gospel is different from that in the other two Synoptics. In both Mark and Matthew the incident occurs just before Jesus' final quick departure from Galilee to Judea (Mk. 10:1; Mt. 19:1) and after Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8:27-30; Mt. 16:13-20). Luke refers to this confession, to be sure, but has no specific reference to Caesarea Philippi (9:18-21). Furthermore, in Luke the journey toward Jerusalem is rather leisurely, designed to inculcate the kind of teaching that is given in other contexts by the first two Gospels (9:51-18:14).

II. Interpretation.–The Transfiguration belongs to the most difficult Gospel materials, which include the accounts of Jesus' baptism and temptation. All three incidents involve the person of Our Lord in a way that provides a unique glimpse into the cosmic proportions of His life and work; and it is largely this extra dimension that complicates the task of interpretation.

Neither the Apostolic Fathers nor the second-century Apologists, in their available works, ever refer to the Transfiguration. The event is first mentioned in Origen's *Contra Celsum* and commentary on Matthew. Tertullian referred to it, John of Damascus has a very profound homily on it, and Chrysostom treated the lection in his regular textual expositions. All of these interpretations, however, are little more than comments on the text.

Not until the beginning of the 19th cent. were attempts made to explain the event comprehensively. Five different views of it can be identified: (1) as an atmospheric phenomenon (H. E. G. Paulus, K. Hase, Friedrich Spitta); (2) as a psychological experience (vision or dream),



An illumination depicting the transfiguration of Christ, from a Jacobite Syrian MS (Vatican Library, Syr. 559)

either of Jesus alone or of Jesus and His disciples (E. Underhill, E. Meyer, A. von Harnack, M. Goguel, B. Weiss, O. Holtzmann, F. J. Badcock, J. Neander); (3) as a bit of "Gemeinde-theologie" ("[church-] community theology"; J. Weiss, M. Dibelius, U. von Williamowitz-Moellendorf, O. Pfleiderer, E. Lohmeyer, J. M. Robinson, A. Meyer, H. J. Holtzmann, Rudolf Bultmann); (4) as a literary creation (B. Bacon, J. Wellhausen, A. Schweitzer, J. B. Bernardin); (5) as an actual occurrence (H. B. Swete, A. M. Ramsey, H. Baltensweiler).

III. Significance.–To do justice to the three Synoptic accounts, one must look at each to determine its particular accents. Some of the major divergences in Luke have already been mentioned. In Mark's sequence the Transfiguration is linked very closely to Peter's confession, "You are the Christ" (Mk. 8:29). This utterance is followed by instructional matter on the fate of the Son of Man and on the cost of discipleship in terms of suffering. As the story of the Transfiguration is about to begin, Mark refers to the coming of the kingdom of God *with power* (9:1).

All the Transfiguration accounts begin with Jesus taking His three closest disciples to be with Him alone on a high mountain; this language is a reminder of the Lord's temptation. Mark's Gospel makes much of Jesus' shining clothes (9:3), a brilliance which symbolizes the heavenly sphere.

In regard to the specific time reference in the story of Jesus' ministry, namely, "after six days" (Mk. 9:1 par. Mt. 17:1), Baltensweiler demonstrated that this phrase was most likely imbedded in the pericope during the latters' oral transmission and remained a fixed part of it, because the original incident occurred at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, on the seventh day of which messianic expectations were given rather pronounced expres-

sion in the worship at Jerusalem. In the original setting, then, Jesus did not go to Jerusalem, because He did not propose to be the kind of Messiah expected there. Instead He withdrew to deal once more with the question of the nature of His messiahship. He was determined to remain true to the Father's will that He suffer and die; this choice received Heaven's approval, as shown by the shining garments and the voice from the cloud.

Mark's account contains more, however. It includes a note of concern that the disciples understand this choice. They were confronted by a vision intended to persuade them that the end time had come and that the kingdom of God consists of His people in both the old and the new dispensations, gathered around Jesus Christ. They were to see that their Lord stood at the very center of time as the fulfillment of all eschatological hopes — hence their awe at the appearance of Elijah and Moses. If the incident occurred during the Feast of Tabernacles, Peter naturally would have thought of building booths, for in the vision he saw the fulfillment of the expectations of the faithful in Israel. He wanted the vision to tarry, not realizing that suffering still lay ahead for the Messiah and His followers.

Matthew's Gospel has somewhat different emphases. For example, Peter's confession is given a longer reading: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16). This incident at Caesarea Philippi includes the *logia* on the rock and the church. The subsequent reference to the Parousia (vv. 24-28) mentions the reward to be given to each but, unlike Mark, has no reference to the kingdom of God coming *with power*.

Matthew describes the Transfiguration as involving splendor shining from Jesus' face and garments (17:2). This description, together with the observation that the disciples were overcome by awe when they heard the voice from the cloud (vv. 5f.), suggests that this Gospel intends to describe Jesus more as the new Moses than as the Suffering Servant. In giving a longer version of the words from the cloud (v. 5), Matthew reveals an interest in validating Peter's confession that Jesus, like Israel, was the son of obedience and, as such, the Lord of the new Israel (16:16). Peter therefore addresses Him as "Lord" (17:4).

As already noted, Luke's account of this incident has a different relationship to the total ministry of Jesus. The Transfiguration does not occur near the end of Jesus' career; nor is the preceding context located at Caesarea Philippi. Peter's confession reads, "[You are] the Christ of God" (9:20). Some instructions on discipleship follow (vv. 23-27). Then comes the opening statement of the Transfiguration account: "Now about eight days after these sayings . . ." (v. 28).

Luke is the only Gospel that depicts Jesus at prayer in the moment of transfiguration (9:29). In fact, it states that Jesus took His disciples to the mountain to pray (v. 28). A clue to the Third Gospel's intention is quite probably its description of the disciples being awed as they observed how the cloud hovering over Jesus, Moses, and Elijah began to move toward them (vv. 33f.). This detail seems to suggest that Luke's chief interest is showing that discipleship involves the kind of suffering that Moses and Elijah discussed with Jesus under the heading of His "exodus" (RSV "departure" for Gk. *éxodos*, v. 31). The voice from the cloud confirmed that God's chosen would suffer, a point that constituted the burden of the instruction given by Jesus in the days preceding (vv. 23-27).

When one attempts to construct some composite significance of the three Synoptic accounts of the Transfiguration, the following points are revealed: (1) the OT has been fulfilled by the coming of the new Moses; (2) the messianic age has come, although its full splendor is to be seen only beyond the cross; (3) the people of God assemble around the Prophet, rather than a priest; (4) both the old and the new dispensations testify to Jesus' being the Messiah, standing as He does at the very center of time; (5) the full splendor of which they saw but a glimpse awaits Jesus and the disciples beyond the cross; (6) political messianism is decisively rejected; (7) the disciples are encouraged to enter a kingdom of suffering rather than of power.

To see the full import of the Transfiguration one must look for a setting in the life of Jesus (*Sitz-im-Leben Jesu*). Ramsey was near the truth when he observed: "But just as the Christian conception of our Lord's Messiahship arose not from an amalgam of current notions but from a history which created them, so in particular the story of the Transfiguration may be the creation not of certain *theologoumena* but of the creative history that molded them." Behind the Gospel accounts is One who is still the "riddle of the NT." To His serving and suffering messiahship the Transfiguration bears eloquent testimony.

IV. Observance.—In the calendar of the church year the Feast of the Transfiguration (*Transfiguratio Domini*) is observed Aug. 6, except in the Lutheran tradition, which observes it on the last Sunday after Epiphany. The feast originated in the Eastern Churches, where it appears to have been at first a local and unofficial observance sometimes known as the *Thaborion*, "Tabor feast." In the West, Pope Callistus III ordered its universal celebration in 1457 to commemorate the victory over the Turks at Belgrade on Aug. 6, 1456.

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M. H. SCHARLEMANN

TRANSFIGURATION, MOUNT OF. The place where Jesus appeared in splendor to three of His disciples (Mt. 17:2; Mk. 9:2; Lk. 9:28). Both Matthew (17:1) and Mark (9:2) call it "a high mountain." Luke (9:28) refers to it as "the mountain," as though it was so familiar that it required no further identification.

The mount of Transfiguration has been identified with four mountains: the Mt. of Olives, Tabor, Jebel Jermuk, and Hermon.

I. Mt. of Olives.—Some commentators have seen in the choice of the three disciples (John, James, and Peter) an inner connection with the account of Jesus' suffering in Gethsemane. Others have regarded the Transfiguration as a Resurrection account projected back into the ministry of Jesus (e.g., *HST*, p. 259), or as an account having some connection with the Ascension, similar to later Gnostic treatments. In all three instances the mountain in question has been identified with the Mt. of Olives.

II. Mt. Tabor.—The traditional site of the Transfiguration is Mt. Tabor (see H. B. Swete, comm. on Mark [repr. 1977], p. 187), and to this day the Feast of Transfiguration

is called the *Thaborion* ("Tabor feast") in the churches of the East. Mt. Tabor, modern Jebel eṭ-Ṭôr, is situated in the northeast corner of the Valley of Jezreel. Although it reaches a maximum elevation of only 562 m. (1843 ft.), its isolation and steep sides give it an air of majesty that invites comparison with Mt. Carmel and Mt. Hermon (Ps. 89:12; Jer. 46:18). Mt. Tabor was perhaps the site of an early sanctuary (Dt. 33:19). In A.D. 326 Helena mother of Constantine built a church on Mt. Tabor to mark the assumed site of the Transfiguration. By the 7th cent. there were three shrines dedicated to Jesus, Moses, and Elijah, respectively, on its summit.

But Mt. Tabor does not seem to have been the mount of Transfiguration, especially since a Roman camp was there during Our Lord's ministry, according to Josephus (*BJ* iv.1.8 [54-61]). Furthermore, it is not a high mountain at all.

See also TABOR, MOUNT.

III. Jebel Jermuk.—In 1907 the *Expository Times* published the suggestion of W. Ewing that Jebel Jermuk best fits the details of the Transfiguration account. Jermuk is the highest mountain in Galilee — 1200 m. (4000 ft.) — and is in the west over against the Safed uplands. The mountain rises from the midst of a district that had many Jews in Jesus' day, and such important Jewish centers as Kefr Bir'îm, Gishcala, and Meiron lay around the mount's base. These centers, Ewing believed, best explain the presence of scribes (Mk. 9:14) at the events after the Transfiguration. In Ewing's opinion Matthew in effect says that the healing of the demoniac took place in Galilee (Mt. 17:14-21). Despite its logic, Ewing's suggestion has received no general acceptance.

IV. Mt. Hermon.—Most contemporary scholars have accepted Mt. Hermon as the locale of the Transfiguration, to the degree that they have accepted the account as representing a historical incident (cf. V. Taylor, comm. on Mark [repr. 1981], p. 388). This mountain, in a region that was largely gentile, rises 2800 m. (9100 ft.) above the sea and is a majestic sight from far away. The Arabs call it Jebel el-Sheikh, "gray-haired mountain," or Jebel el-Thalj, "mountain of the snow." From antiquity it has been a sacred mountain, and even in later periods it was used as a cult place. A Greek inscription has been found describing the local god of the mountain.

Some of the misgivings of Ewing and others for this site may be countered by the observation that the Galilean Jews were not so sharply separated from Gentiles that rather sizable Jewish crowds could not have accompanied Jesus to Caesarea Philippi. The scribes were present perhaps because they were determined to find something in Jesus' actions or words that would compromise Him as a teacher.

Although Mt. Hermon is situated in the region once belonging to Dan, from which traditionally the antichrist would come, Jesus may well have chosen such a place for His transfiguration to symbolize His eventual victory over any anti-Messiah. But His choice may also have been intended to give body to such OT expressions as "Mount Zion, in the far north, the city of the great King" (Ps. 48:2). If this is the case, His choice is indirect evidence of the extent to which the ancient Canaanite view of Mt. Hermon as the cosmic mountain, where heaven and earth met, persisted in the culture of Palestine.

A strong argument for Hermon as the mount of Transfiguration is its proximity to Caesarea Philippi, where, according to Matthew and Mark, Peter made his great confession (Mt. 16:13, 16; Mk. 8:27, 29); this confession is in the immediate context of the Transfiguration.

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M. H. SCHARLEMANN

TRANSFORM [Gk. *metamorphóō*] (Rom. 12:2). Paul's use of *metamorphóō* (in 2 Cor. 3:18 [AV, RSV "changed"; NEB "transfigured"] as well as in Rom. 12:2) represents the thorough change in the nature of a Christian's life as it comes to conform to God's will. This change is contingent on God's mercy (Rom. 12:1) and the action of His Spirit (2 Cor. 3:17f.). It is dependent upon an internal process ("the renewal of your mind") and is paralleled by the the person's differentiation from "the world" (Rom. 12:2). It distinguishes present hope in Christ from that which was available with the "old covenant" under Moses (2 Cor. 3:12-18). This transformation is described in both imperative terms (Rom. 12:1f.) and in indicative passive terms, as that which is done to or for the Christian (2 Cor. 3:18).

For 2 Cor. 11:13-15 (AV "transforming," "transformed") *see* DISGUISE.

See *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* μεταμορφόω (Behm).

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

TRANSGRESSION. An act of "going beyond" or violating a duty, command, or law. Thus the term connotes lawlessness, iniquity, fault, ungodliness, unrighteousness, and wrongdoing.

"Transgression" is used by the AV and RSV primarily to translate Heb. *peša'*. The NEB on the other hand, translates *peša'* as "transgression" only once (He. 2:2), elsewhere using a variety of terms such as "crime" (Gen. 50:17; Mic. 1:5), "rebellion" (Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Isa. 59:20), "offence" (Job 13:23; 14:17; 33:9), "iniquity" (8:4), "folly" (35:15), "disobedience" (Ps. 89:32 [MT 33]) and "sin" (Ps. 32:1; 36:1 [MT 2]; Prov. 10:19; 17:19; 29:6, 16; Isa. 24:20; 57:4). In the NT the RSV uses "transgression" to render Gk. *parábasis* (Rom. 4:15; 5:14; Gal. 3:19; He. 2:2; 9:15) and *paranomía* (2 Pet. 2:16).

The basic meaning of Heb. *peša'* is "rebellion," and it has to do with the violation of a relationship or of the rights of another (Prov. 28:24). Joseph's brothers were fearful for their safety when their father Jacob died, because their brother Joseph, against whom they had transgressed, had the authority to treat them in whatever manner he saw fit (Gen. 50:17; cf. 37:12-36). The psalmist cried out for deliverance from his enemies on the ground that he had not transgressed against them (Ps. 59:3f. [MT 4f.]). On the other hand, Proverbs warns that unguarded lips often lead to transgression (10:19), and those who engage in transgression frequently find their lives marked with needless strife (17:19).

Scripture provides repeated accounts of incidents in which human beings transgress against God. Transgression against God is an act of rebellion (cf. Ex. 23:21; Nu. 14:41; Prov. 29:16; He. 2:2). It is an act of sin to which guilt must be assigned (Job 13:23; 33:9; 34:6; Ps. 36:1 [MT 2]; Isa. 53:8; 57:4; 58:1; Am. 4:4). It generally involves a breaking of the covenant relationship with God, a violation of His commandments and statutes (Ps. 89:31f. [MT 32f.]; Isa. 53:8). The psalmist speaks of individual transgression when he requests that God protect him from presumptuous sins so that he might be found innocent of great transgression (Ps. 19:13 [MT 14]). The prophet Micah, however, speaks of corporate transgression against God when he refers to the transgression of Jacob (Mic. 1:5; 3:8; cf. Isa. 58:1; 59:20).

The term occurs three times in the apocalyptic writings

of Daniel (Dnl. 8:12f.; 9:24). In 8:12f. the Hebrew is obscure, but the "transgression that makes desolate" appears to describe Antiochus Epiphanes's erection of the Zeus altar in the temple in 167 B.C. (cf. 9:27).

The Bible warns that the person who transgresses is under the power of that act. Bildad the Shuhite wondered aloud whether Job's children had been destroyed because God had delivered them into the power of their transgression (Job 8:4). More commonly expressed is the warning that repeated transgression ensnares those who engage in it (Prov. 12:13; 29:6) and (figuratively) weighs them down (Isa. 24:20). Repeated transgression reinforces an attitude of defiance toward God, for there is no longer any fear in the heart of the transgressor (Ps. 36:1 [MT 2]; cf. Isa. 44:20; Rom. 1:18-32; 3:18).

As it is possible for human beings to forgive the transgression of others (e.g., as Joseph did for his brothers, Gen. 50:15-21; cf. Prov. 17:9), so too God forgives those who acknowledge their guilt before Him (Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18). Thus Job sought God's forgiveness for any transgression he might have committed (Job 7:21; 14:17). Isaiah prophesied that the Servant of Yahweh would be stricken for the transgression of Yahweh's people (Isa. 53:8), and he promised redemption for those of Jacob who turned from their transgression (59:20). The psalmist wrote about the blessedness of those who have been forgiven their transgressions (Ps. 32:1; cf. v. 5).

See also SIN.

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, III, 583-86; *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* παραβαίνω κτλ.: παράβασις (J. Schneider); *TWOT*, II, 741f.

C. M. ROBECK, JR.

TRANSLATE [Heb. pass. part. *meṯurgām* < *trgm* (Ezr. 4:7); cf. Akk. *targumānu*–'interpreter'; Gk. *hermēneúō*–'interpret' (Ad. Est. 11:1), *hermēneía*–'interpretation' (prologue to Sirach), *metágō*-'transfer, transport' (prologue to Sirach)]; AV also INTERPRET; NEB also READ ALOUD (Ezr. 4:7), etc.; **TRANSLATION** [Gk. *methermēneúō*–'translate, interpret' (prologue to Sirach), *hermēneúō* (He. 7:2)]; AV INTERPRET, INTERPRETATION; NEB also "means" (He. 7:2).

The RSV uses "translate" (Ezr. 4:7; Ad. Est. 11:1; prologue to Sirach), and "translation" (prologue to Sirach; He. 7:2) to render various Hebrew and Greek words which have essentially the same idea: "give the meaning of one language in that of another." But always involved in this concept of translation is the companion idea of interpretation (cf. also Aram. *pršˀ*, "separate," "distinguish"; NIV "translate" [Ezr. 4:18]), for any true translation requires that the translator not attempt to retain a word-for-word or structure-for-structure rendering of the old into the new. Rather the translator must make every effort to express accurately in the receptor language the precise meaning of the original, a procedure that demands interpretation. The people of biblical times understood this, because all the words noted above that are rendered "translation" or "translate" have as their fundamental meaning "interpretation" or "interpret." The words of Ben Sira's grandson serve as an illustration of this. Clearly he recognized the difficulty, the importance, and the nature of the translator's work when he wrote, upon finishing the translation of his grandfather's book (Ecclesiasticus) from Hebrew into Greek: "Ye are urged . . . to be indulgent in cases where, despite our diligent labor in translating [*hermēneía*], we may seem to have rendered some phrases imperfectly. For what was originally expressed in Hebrew does not have exactly the same sense when translated into another language . . . it seemed highly necessary that I should myself devote some pains and labor to the translation [*methermēneúō*] of the following book, using in that period of time great watchfulness and skill in order to complete and publish the book" (prologue to Sirach). *See* ENGLISH VERSIONS; TARGUM; VERSIONS.

In the AV "translate" appears once in the OT (2 S. 3:10) and three times in the NT (Col. 1:13; He. 11:5), while "translation" appears once (He. 11:5).

In 2 S. 3:10 "translate" (Heb. *ʿāḇar*) has the specialized sense of "take away," "transfer" (so RSV); hence, God "took away" the kingdom from Saul and gave it to David.

In Col. 1:13 "translate" in the AV renders Gk. *methístēmi* (lit. "remove from one place to another"). The expression "God translated us" of Col. 1:13 means that God in His redemptive work removed us from the realm of darkness and "transferred" (RSV) us into the kingdom of His Son. In He. 11:5 the verb Gk. *metatíthēmi*, "convey to another place," refers to Enoch's being "translated," in the sense that he was transferred from earth to heaven without passing through the intermediate experience of death.

In He. 11:5 "translation" (Gk. *metáthesis* < *metatíthēmi*) also refers to God's removal of Enoch from earth to heaven. The Greek term has a secondary meaning as well, namely, "transformation" or "change." Both ideas may be present here, but the writer of Hebrews is silent about what was involved in this transfer of Enoch — about precisely what took place, how it happened, or the nature of any transformation that may have been involved in this unusual experience. G. F. HAWTHORNE

TRAP. *See* SNARE.

TRAVAIL [Heb. *yālaḏ*–'bear, bring forth children' (Gen. 35:16; Ps. 48:6 [MT 7]; Isa. 13:8; 21:3; 42:14; Jer. 6:24; 13:21; 22:23; 31:8; 49:24; 50:43; Mic. 4:9f.; 5:3 [MT 2], *ḥûl/ḥîl*–'have labor pains' (Isa. 23:4; 45:10; 54:1), piel of *ḥāḇal*–'be in travail with' (Cant. 8:5), *ḥālâ*–'be weak, sick' (Jer. 4:31); *ʿāmāl*–'labor' (Isa. 53:11); Gk. *ōdínō* (Gal. 4:19, 27), *ōdín*–'birth pain(s)' (1 Thess. 5:3), *synōdínō* (Rom. 8:22), *tíktō*–'bear, give birth (to)' (Jn. 16:21)]; AV also BRING FORTH (Cant. 8:5; Isa. 45:10); NEB also "in labour," "bringing to birth" (Isa. 45:10), CHILDBIRTH (Mic. 4:10), PANGS (1 Thess. 5:3), etc.; **LABOR (OF CHILDBIRTH)** [Heb. *yālaḏ* (Gen. 35:16f.; 38:28; Jer. 30:6), *ḥûl/ḥîl* (Isa. 66:7f.)]; AV also TRAVAIL; NEB also PAINS, PANGS.

A term for the painful process a woman experiences in giving birth to a child (Gen 35:16, 17), but also used figuratively to describe the anguish and sorrow of disastrous or disappointing circumstances of life (Isa. 13:8; Jer. 4:31; Gal. 4:19). The comparison of such major calamities to the dreaded pain of childbirth illustrates the widespread fear and anxiety in that day caused by childbirth.

In the OT this metaphor sometimes refers to Yahweh's judgment (often sudden) upon disobedient peoples who cannot expect to receive His salvation, but only His punishment (Isa. 13:8; Jer. 49:24). It also expresses the process of rebirth of the nation of Israel that Yahweh accomplishes through pain and suffering (Isa. 45:10; 66:7-9; cf. 26:17f.). The OT often depicts Israel as an expectant mother in painful labor who is delivered from the agony by Yahweh in the messianic age (Isa. 66:7f.; Mic. 4:10; cf. Isa. 26:17–27:1). These ideas no doubt influenced the Qumrân community, for it saw the afflictions of its people as signs of the end times that would come upon the faithful community prior to their birth into the messianic age (1QH 3:7-12; 5:30-32; cf. Jer. 13:21; 30:6; 2 Esd. 4:41-44).

The childbirth imagery also appears in the NT. Jn. 16:21 tells of "travail" of the people of God prior to the joy

of the new age. Paul describes the whole of creation "travailing together" prior to the redemption of the body in the age to come (Rom. 8:22). He also compares the suddenness of labor pangs with the speed with which the Lord's judgment shall come upon those who are self-deceived with false security (1 Thess. 5:3). Paul also employs the childbirth imagery to relate his own toil and anguish in discipling his converts (Gal. 4:19), and to speak of the growth of the Christian community without labor pains through the supernatural power of God (4:27; cf. Isa. 54:1).

See also BIRTH-PANGS. L. M. MCDONALD

TRAVEL; TRANSPORTATION.

I. Reasons for Travel
II. Modes of Travel
  A. On Foot
  B. Donkeyback
  C. Muleback
  D. Horseback
  E. Camelback
  F. Palanquin
  G. Chariot, Carriage
III. Means of Transporting Goods
  A. Donkey
  B. Mule, Camel, and Ox
  C. Wheeled Vehicles
IV. Average Traveling Speeds
V. Traveling Conditions

I. Reasons for Travel.–Although there were certainly periods during Israel's checkered history when travel came to a near standstill (cf. Jgs. 5:6), during normal times traveling was undoubtedly common and frequent. The biblical and extrabiblical records are filled with accounts of personal travel for a great variety of reasons. Individuals traveled for the same kinds of reasons that have motivated people of all times and lands to travel. One finds, for example, mention of travel for such common purposes as courting a young woman (Jgs. 14:5-7), determining the well-being of one's kin (Gen. 37:13f.), procuring food (Prov. 31:14), searching for employment (Jgs. 17:7f.), paying a vow (2 S. 15:7f.), or with destinations such as a wedding (Jgs. 14:8-10), a burial or funeral (Gen. 35:28; 50:1-14; 1 S. 25:1), a sheep-shearing (Gen. 38:13), a banquet (2 S. 13:23-27), or a new residence (1 K. 2:36). For these and countless other reasons the common people of Israel traveled back and forth on the roads of the land. It appears that the thoroughfares were generally bustling with *'ōḇrê dereḵ* ("passers-by"); e.g., Job 21:29; Prov. 9:15; Lam. 1:12; 2:15; cf. 1 K. 13:25).

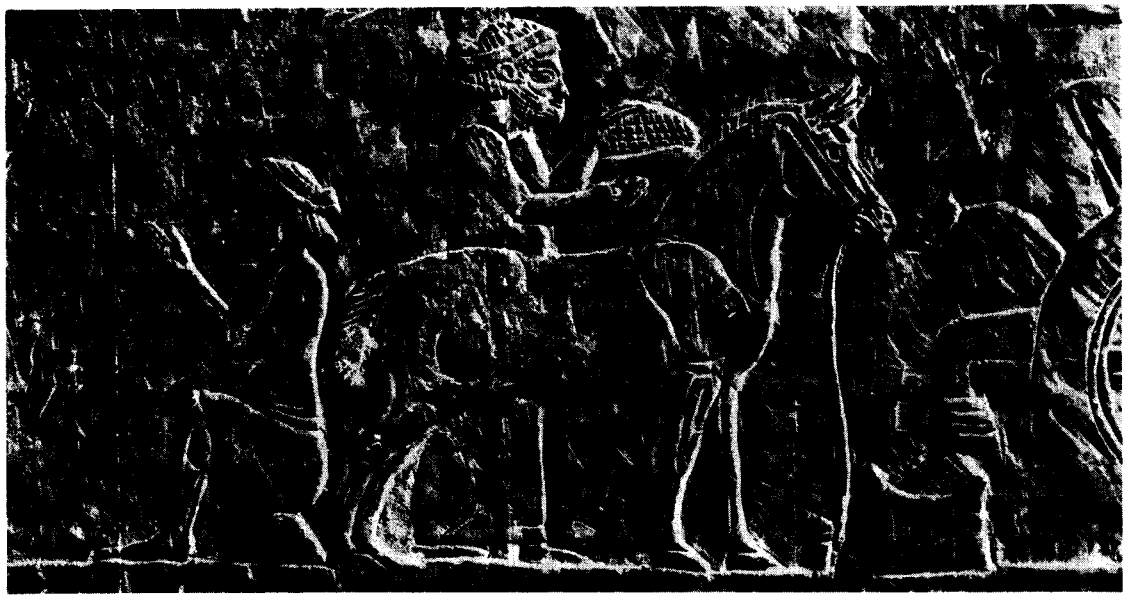
In addition to the multitude of common occasions for travel, four special kinds of travelers are mentioned throughout the biblical and extrabiblical literature: messengers, government officials, merchants, and people on journeys for religious purposes. Royal and governmental messengers are eloquently attested as early as the Amarna period. Of the 379 published Amarna tablets, about 300 are letters brought to Egypt by couriers from officials and rulers of Palestine and Syria. Likewise, the Arad and Lachish ostraca bear witness to the corps of messengers that kept the various officials and military commanders of Judah informed. The Bible is full of references to messengers (Heb. *mal'āḵîm*) and couriers (*rāṣîm*, lit. "runners") traveling among the capitals, kings, and nobles of the lands. David, for example, is said to have sent messengers to potential allies (2 S. 2:5; etc.), to rivals (3:14; etc.), to his military commanders (11:19; etc.), and to many others. Heb. *mal'āḵ*, in fact, occurs fifty-two times in Samuel and Kings alone. During the NT period the extensive *cursus publicus*, the state postal and messenger service, kept the emperors of Rome in contact with all parts of the empire. This system included regular stops along the main highways where horses could be changed (*mutationes*), and larger stations and inns (*mansiones*), which were established about one day's journey (37 km., 22 mi.) apart. It would not be unwarranted to suppose that throughout both OT and NT periods messengers were constantly traveling back and forth.

Travel by government officials, whether state or local, is also well attested in ancient Israel, a natural consequence of the burgeoning bureaucracy. Royal officials and representatives of the king, for example, are frequently found on the move in biblical narratives, visiting foreign dignitaries (2 S. 10:2), taking a census (24:1f.), collecting taxes (2 K. 15:20), traveling to banquets in the country (2 S. 13:23-27), procuring provisions for the palace (1 K. 4:27f.), overseeing the forced labor gangs (4:6; 5:13-17; 11:28f.), traveling as ambassadors (Isa. 30:2ff.; 39; Jer. 27:3), attending conferences (2 S. 3:17), visiting potential allies (v. 20), and pursuing many other such activities (e.g., 1 K. 1:3), independently and for the king. During the Roman period high officials generally traveled by the *cursus velox*, a relatively swift and comfortable system of travel available throughout the empire. Lower government officials employed the more cumbersome ox-drawn *clabulariae*, imperial transport wagons used to carry heavy goods, military equipment, etc.

The royalty, usually with entourages, also traveled frequently. Solomon (1 K. 3:4), Hiram king of Tyre (9:12), the queen of Sheba (ch. 10), Rehoboam (12:1ff.), Jeroboam (12:29ff.), Ahab (18:16, 42-46), and Ahaziah (9:16) are among those whose peacetime travels are mentioned in the books of Kings.

The movement of traders and caravans in ancient Israel is well known. The vigorous development and pursuit of trade within Israel and between Israel and its neighbors during the Iron Age is treated in detail by M. Elat. Local trade primarily involved agricultural products (wheat, barley, olives and olive oil, wine, and various fruits and vegetables) and livestock, which were brought to the cities and towns to sell (cf. 2 K. 7:1), and manufactured products and imported foreign wares, which could be purchased in the cities. In international trade, Israel exported mainly agricultural products, such as olive oil, wine, grain, and dried fruit (1 K. 5:11; Ezk. 27:17), but also commercial products such as woolen cloth and embroidered or woven garments. Imports included tin, lead, silver, copper, iron, gold from southern Arabia (1 K. 9:28; 10:10f., 14f.; 2 Ch. 8:18; 9:9), cedars from Lebanon (1 K. 5:6, 8f.), fine white linen from Egypt (Ex. 9:31; Ezk. 27:7, 16), and precious wood, gems, ivory, spices, and exotic curiosities from Ethiopia and beyond (1 K. 10:2ff.; 2 Ch. 9:9ff.). These exports and imports departed from and arrived in Israel both by caravans and by ship. (Of course shipping was dependent on caravans as well, to transport the goods to and from the ports.) During the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods trade continued to flourish and to account for much of the traffic on the highways.

Travel for religious purposes is well attested in ancient Israel. Incidental references and allusions to journeys made to religious festivals, to feasts, to cultic centers, and to high places abound in the biblical literature. The major religious centers at Shiloh, Dan, Bethel, and of course Jerusalem, were frequented regularly (1 S. 1:3ff.; 2 K. 10:18ff.; 1 K. 12:26-33; Am. 5:4f., 21f.; Lk. 2:41ff.; Jn. 2:13; etc.); and if the vehement, oft-repeated denunciations by the prophets are any indication, the various cultic



Elamite prisoners grooming a mule tied to a two-wheeled wagon. An Assyrian relief from Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh, ca. 668-630 B.C. (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

high places throughout OT Israel had no lack of visitors either. The three annual pilgrim festivals, Passover, Weeks, and Succoth, involved a journey to "the place which Yahweh your God will choose." Recorded celebrations of the Passover during the OT period include those attributed to the reigns of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 30) and Josiah (2 K. 23:21-23; 2 Ch. 35), while Solomon is said to have assembled Israel to celebrate Succoth at the capital (1 K. 8:2, 65). The regular practice of these pilgrim festivals, however, probably did not occur until the second temple period.

In addition to these four special kinds of travel, one other should be mentioned, the movement of military forces. Israel's own armies often moved about within its land and occasionally invaded neighboring countries as well. During the reign of David, for example, the army seems to have been constantly on the march, including campaigns against Jebusite Jerusalem (2 S. 5:6f.), the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim (5:17-25) and in their home territory (8:1; 21:15-21), the Moabites (8:2), Zobah (8:3), Aram (8:4-6), Edom (8:13f.), the Amalekites (8:12), the Ammonites (8:12; 10:1-19; 12:26-31), and the rebels under Sheba at Abel-beth-maacah (ch. 20). The recorded campaigns and battles under subsequent kings of Israel and Judah are numerous, and the evidence indicates that national armies often went on campaigns, both in Israel itself and against neighboring lands. The frequency of these campaigns may account for the almost routine note in 2 S. 11:1 (following *BHS*): "at the turn of the year, when kings go forth [on campaigns]." During the intertestamental and NT periods the movement of armies in and through the land of Israel continued and in fact probably intensified, as witnessed in the works of Josephus.

II. Modes of Travel.–During the biblical period land travel was confined to only a few modes. These included primarily: by foot, donkey, mule, horse, camel, palanquin (rarely attested), and chariot.

A. On Foot. In both the OT and NT periods traveling was normally by foot. Most of the traveling mentioned or alluded to in the Bible is either expressly or presumably by foot, such as that done by the Israelites during the Exodus, wilderness wanderings, and entrance into Canaan Dt. 8:4; 11:24f.; 29:5; Josh. 1:3; 3:13, 15; etc.), the spies (Nu. 13:23), military couriers (1 S. 4:12; etc.; note the term *rāṣ*, "runner," as the standard term for courier), Samson (Jgs. 16:1-3; etc.), David when he departed from Jerusalem (2 S. 15:30), Elijah (1 K. 18:46; etc.), most military men (2 S. 2:18f., etc.), and Jesus and His disciples as they traveled about the country (Mt. 10:10-14; 12:1ff.; 20:29-34; etc.).

Outside Israel the same was true, as Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Hittite literature and art attest. For example, in the scene from the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Benihasan, depicting the arrival of a group of Semites into Egypt, the men and women are all on foot, while donkeys carry the baggage and children (*ANEP*, no. 3; see also nos. 10, 11, 350, etc.). In Mesopotamia able-bodied travelers normally went by foot. Apparently even civil servants usually walked, as analysis of ration lists for government officials shows; only the most important persons were supplied with animals for riding.

B. Donkeyback. Travel by donkeyback is also well-evidenced in the Bible. The wife and children of Moses, for example, traveled back to Egypt on a donkey (Ex. 4:20). Others who are said in the OT to have traveled by donkeyback include: Caleb's daughter (Josh. 15:18; Jgs. 1:14), Abigail, when she rode to meet David (1 S. 25:20, 23, 42), the wives and children of David when they left Jerusalem before Absalom (2 S. 16:1f.), lame Mephibosheth (2 S. 19:26), the lying prophet of Bethel (1 K. 13:13), the feeble captives who were taken from Samaria to Jericho (2 Ch. 28:15), Balaam (Nu. 22:21ff.), the people of Deborah's song (Jgs. 5:10), the Shunammite woman (2 K. 4:22ff.), and the humble king of Zechariah's prophecy (Zec. 9:9). It appears that the donkey was used as a riding animal most often by women and children, or by men who were old (as was the prophet of Bethel) or infirm (as was Mephibosheth). Jesus' selection of a donkey, rather than a chariot, horse, or mule, to make His triumphal entry into Jerusalem was clearly a statement

of His humility and the nonmilitary nature of His kingdom.

C. Muleback. The use of the MULE for traveling is not attested in the Bible before the time of David, probably because of the scarcity of horses in the region. Even during David's time the examples are few. David's sons fled on mules from the scene of Amnon's assassination at Baal-hazor (2 S. 13:29), and Absalom was riding a mule when his hair was caught in the branches of a tree (2 S. 18:9). Young Solomon went to be crowned king on his father's own mule (1 K. 1:33, 38, 44), and lastly, some of the returnees from the Exile would return on mules (Isa. 66:20). From the scarcity of allusions to mule-riding in the Bible it seems that this mode of travel was used primarily by royalty, at least during the OT period. By the Roman period travel by mule became much more common.

D. Horseback. Travel by horseback also seems to have been rare in Israel during the biblical period. Nearly all the references to riding horses in the Bible are in military settings. The practice is not mentioned before the period of the divided kingdom. References to mounted soldiers and riding horseback in military contexts include: 1 K. 20:20; 2 K. 7:13ff.; Isa. 30:16; Jer. 6:23; 50:42; 51:21; Ezk. 23:6, 12, 23; 38:15; Hos. 14:3; Am. 2:15; Hab. 3:8; Hag. 2:22; Zec. 1:8; 10:5. The only possible allusions to horseback riding in times of peace are: Job 39:18 (a horse ridden in hunting), Est. 6:8-11 (a man honored by being placed on the king's own horse to ride through the open square of the city), Est. 8:10 (Persian couriers carry letters by horseback throughout the land), 2 K. 9:18f. (one mounted horseman, then a second, sent from Jezreel to meet Jehu, who is returning from the battle front), and possibly Eccl. 10:7 ("I have seen slaves on horses, and princes walking on foot like slaves").

Thus it appears that horseback riding did not become common in Israel until the 10th cent. B.C., and even then was used mainly for military purposes. This corresponds to the pattern in the rest of the ancient Near East. Horses (and mules) are known from *ca.* 2300 B.C., but were not used as riding animals until shortly before the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. (when pictures of mounted warriors begin to appear). The earliest evidence of Assyrian cavalry units dates from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.). From that time on not only cavalry but horseback riding in nonmilitary situations gradually increased. Messengers rode more and more. Sennacherib claims that he himself rode horseback during his campaign whenever the terrain was too difficult for his chariot (Luckenbill, I:69f.). During the time of Esarhaddon some royal officials were riding about on horses with trappings (see R. F. Harper, ed., *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* [1892], 32:9-17). The SADDLE appeared *ca.* 700 B.C., but the stirrup was not introduced until the Middle Ages. Horseback riding also became popular in hunting. During the Roman period higher government officials often traveled by horseback. *See also* HORSE; BIT.

E. Camelback. Travel by CAMEL in Israel during the biblical period is only scantily attested. In the patriarchal narratives the practice is occasionally mentioned (e.g., Gen. 24:10, 64). During the Iron Age camel-riding is not attested in Israel, except in the cases of nomadic invaders from the east and south (Jgs. 6:5; 7:12; 1 S. 30:17), and once of the returning Jewish exiles (Isa. 66:10). The Israelites of the period apparently did not travel on camels, nor did their armies seem to use camels for riding. The same was true in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Camel-riding in Palestine during the NT period seems to have been equally rare. The camel was more adapted to desert travel than to the rocky terrain of Canaan.

F. Palanquin. Palanquins may have been used occasionally as a means of travel in Israel, since their use is attested elsewhere in the ancient world. The profession of "chair-bearer" (Sum. gu-za-la) is attested as early as the Sumerian period, as is the sedan chair itself, Sum. ^{giš} gu-za sìr-da. During the Assyrian period the royalty on occasion traveled in litters, especially when ill (palanquins provided a smoother ride than other available forms of conveyance). In one campaign Sennacherib rode in a sedan chair in rugged terrain where he could not use his chariot (Luckenbill, IV:4f., 7; see also IV:19). Palanquins were also used by nobles during the period of the Assyrian empire (*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 1285:rev. 18-20). In Egypt palanquins are known to have been used by both nobles and kings (see *ANET,* p. 469; etc.). Thutmose III claims to have taken six palanquins (*kniw*) as part of the booty at Megiddo (Luckenbill, I:101).

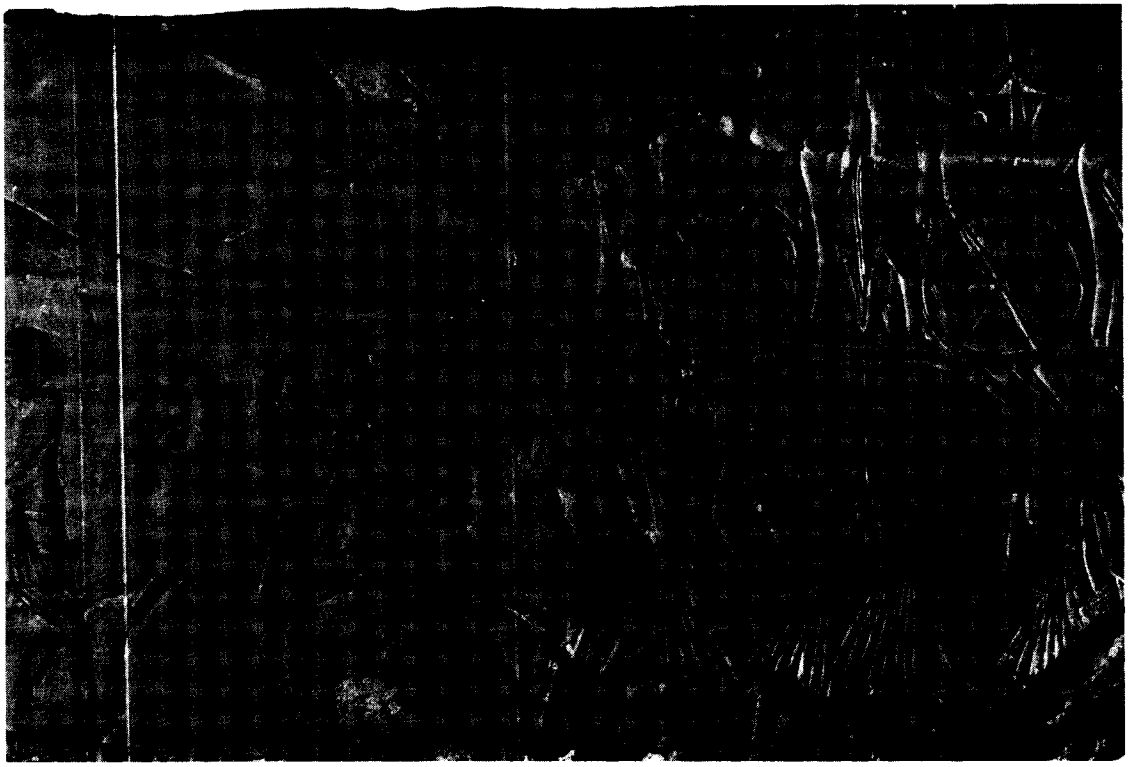
The only biblical mention of a palanquin is in Cant. 3:7-10 (called *miṭṭâ* in v. 7 and *'appiryôn* in v. 9), where the bridal PALANQUIN that Solomon made is described. Apparently the litter was rare in ancient Israel. During the NT period the sedan chair became more common, particularly among the well-to-do.

G. Chariot, Carriage. In addition to travel on foot or on animals, three types of wheeled vehicles also existed in ancient times: the four-wheeled wagon, the two-wheeled CART, and the light CHARIOT. Of these, the first two served primarily to transport goods. The chariot, however, was used mainly as a means of travel.

The light, horse-drawn chariot appeared early in the 2nd millennium B.C., having developed from the heavier riding carts of the 3rd millennium. With its two spoked wheels and light body, pulled by two horses, the chariot had far greater mobility than its predecessors. It became an invaluable vehicle for the armies of the ancient Near East, and remained so for over a millennium. Chariots fill the scenes of warfare in Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, and Egypt. They figure prominently in the royal annals, royal correspondence, and lists of tribute and booty. Kings, whether Egyptian, Assyrian, Hittite, Mitannian, or other, rode out to battle or set out on campaigns in their royal chariots, accompanied by armies containing all-important chariot units. *See* pictures in CHARIOT; HORSE.

Chariots were also used for hunting and for private travel in times of peace, particularly by the wealthy. In the well-known Dialogue of Pessimism, for example, the master commands his slave to fetch his chariot and hitch it up so that he can drive to the palace, then changes his mind and tells his slave to prepare his chariot so that he can ride to the open country (see W. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [1960], p. 144). In the Mari correspondence a certain Ila-Salim writes to request a new chariot from his lord Yasmaḫ-Adad, since his old one has broken down from his constant traveling back and forth from the flatlands to the mountains (*ARM,* V, 66:15f.).

What was true of the rest of the ancient Near East was also true of the land of Canaan. Although Sinuhe encountered no chariots when he traveled through Retenu in the early 2nd millennium B.C., by the Late Bronze Age the land appears to have been filled with them, both Egyptian and Canaanite. In the Letter of the Satirical Scribe (*ANET,* pp. 475-79) Hori takes Amenemope on an imaginary journey by chariot through Syria and Palestine, passing such places as Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acco, Hazor, Rehob, Beth-shean, Megiddo and its pass, Joppa, and Gaza. In the Amarna Letters, chariots are mentioned some sixty times. Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) claims to have faced a coalition in the Levant that included 2000 chariots from Ahab the Israelite (some think the figure



A relief from the Abu Simbel temple (1290-1223 B.C.) depicting a boy riding bareback on a horse and, in the upper right corner, chariots and drivers on uneven terrain (Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna)

is too high) and 1200 chariots from Damascus (*ANET*, pp. 278f.). Throughout subsequent Assyrian, Greek, and Roman records chariots often occur in the travels and movements of armies in Syria and Palestine.

In the light of this extrabiblical evidence it is not surprising that chariots find frequent mention (some 160 times) in the Bible, often for military uses. During the united kingdom, individuals traveled about in chariots even during times of peace. Absalom had his own chariot and horses, with fifty men to run before him (2 S. 15:1), as did Adonijah, David's eldest son (2 K. 1:5; cf. 1 S. 8:11). Such was the surplus in the kingdom that Solomon's traders began selling the chariots imported from Egypt to the kings of Syria and the Hittites (1 K. 10:28f.).

Travel by chariot continued throughout the rest of biblical history. Rehoboam had his chariot with him at the inaugural ceremonies at Shechem, for he fled back to Jerusalem in it (1 K. 12:18). The Syrian army under Benhadad that besieged the city of Samaria brought with it a chariot force of unspecified size (1 K. 20:1). Later, Israel and Judah fought Syria at Ramoth-gilead, and Jehoshaphat was pursued by the captains of the chariots, while Ahab was shot in his own chariot (1 K. 22:29-35). Naaman, commander of the Syrian army, came by chariot from Syria to Samaria in search of Elisha, then from Samaria to Gilgal, and finally home (2 K. 5:9ff.). Jehu traveled by chariot from the battlefront at Ramoth-gilead to Jezreel, and as he approached Jezreel, Joram and Ahaziah rode out to meet him in their own chariots (2 K. 9:16ff.). Ahaziah fled in his chariot toward Jerusalem, but was wounded near Ibleam. Isaiah, describing Judah's wealth and prosperity during his day, states that "their land is filled with horses, and there is no end to their chariots" (Isa. 2:7). Shebna, one of Hezekiah's officials, appears to have owned more than one personal chariot (Isa. 22:18).

Travel by chariot is also well-attested for the NT period, although the NT mentions only one instance — that of the Ethiopian eunuch, who was traveling back to Ethiopia from Jerusalem by chariot when Philip met him (Acts 8:28ff.; cf. also the references to chariots in Rev. 9:9 and 18:13). More common was travel by the carriage, a vehicle used throughout the Roman world, particularly by wealthier citizens. One type, the *verreda*, originally used only by women, was drawn by four mules and could transport two or three persons. A two-wheeled *birota*, on the other hand, had three mules and carried one or two passengers.

III. Means of Transporting Goods.—Goods and materials of considerable size and weight often needed to be transported by farmers, taxpayers, merchants, caravans, government officials, and the like. The means of transportation employed in ancient Israel were varied and relatively efficient.

A. Donkey. By far the most common means of transport was the donkey, which since the earliest periods of Near Eastern history had served in this capacity. The superiority of the donkey in transportation was its ability to travel easily along steep and stony mountain paths, which could not be used by wheeled vehicles and were uncomfortable or dangerous for camels. Donkeys are known in Mesopotamia as early as 3000 B.C. During the Old Assyrian period merchandise was normally transported by donkeys; only in Anatolia, and mainly for transport of larger quantities of copper, were wheeled vehicles em-

ployed. In Old Babylonia, transporting by donkey is well attested, both in Babylonian and Mari archives. Caravans of donkeys are frequently mentioned in these texts.

The same continued to be true throughout ancient Near Eastern history. The Bible contains numerous allusions to transportation by donkey. Abraham, for example, carried the firewood for the sacrifice of Isaac on a donkey (Gen. 22:3, 5). In the Joseph narratives the sons of Jacob transport goods and food between Egypt and Canaan by donkey (42:26f.; 44:3, 13; 45:23), and a special provision appears in the Book of the Covenant dealing with a donkey that has fallen under its load (Ex. 23:5). The Gibeonites brought loaded donkeys with them to Gilgal (Josh. 9:4), as did Abigail when she went to meet David (1 S. 25:18). Jesse sent supplies down to the Israelite camp in the valley of Elah by donkeyback (1 S. 16:20), and Nehemiah saw Judeans transporting grain by donkeys on the Sabbath (Neh. 13:15). Similar examples abound. *See* picture in BELLOWS.

B. Mule, Camel, and Ox. Other beasts of burden include the mule, the camel, and the ox. The Israelites, for example, brought gifts to David "on donkeys, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen" (1 Ch. 12:40). Horses, on the other hand, are never mentioned as pack animals, and mules and oxen only occasionally (1 Ch. 12:40; 2 K. 5:17).

Use of the camel for transportation in Israel during the biblical period was limited. The camel, or more accurately the dromedary (the one-humped *Camelus dromedarius,* or Arabian camel), was apparently domesticated in Arabia in very early times, but not until the very end of the 2nd millennium B.C. did it come into general use in the populated lands of the Near East. The advantage of this animal lay in its ability to carry much greater loads than the donkey, having perhaps five times the capacity of the latter, and to travel for extended periods of time without water, a characteristic that made it especially valuable in desert transportation. The disadvantage of the camel was that its physical make-up, especially its wide, tender hooves, prevented it from being useful in hilly regions and on rugged or rocky mountain paths.

Apart from references in the patriarchal narratives, the dromedary (Heb. *gāmāl*) is mentioned only occasionally in the Bible in connection with transportation. The queen of Sheba, for example, came to Jerusalem accompanied by, among other things, "camels bearing spices" (1 K. 10:2). According to 2 K. 8:9 Ben-hadad, king of Syria, sent "forty camel loads" of goods to Elisha, who was in Damascus at the time. David appointed an Ishmaelite named Obil to be in charge of the camels of the king (1 Ch. 27:30), and Isaiah later pronounced woe upon the Israelites, who carry "their treasures on the humps of camels to a people [Egypt] who cannot help them" (Isa. 30:6). Although there is one reference to Israelites transporting goods locally by camel (1 Ch. 12:40), most transportation appears to have used the donkey.

C. Wheeled Vehicles. In addition to pack animals, the Israelites used wagons and carts to transport goods. Wheeled vehicles apparently originated in Sumer during the Uruk period. The earliest type was a heavy, four-wheeled, ox-drawn wagon, from which developed the two-wheeled cart, a lighter vehicle that could be drawn by horses or mules. Covered wagons, with leather or linen covers, are represented in Sumerian models as early as 2500 B.C., as well as at Carchemish and Asshur. Wagons and carts appear to have been extensively used in the ancient Near East. In the Code of Hammurabi, for example, two laws (§§ 271f.; *ANET,* p. 177) deal with the rental of a wagon (with or without driver and oxen), and at Alalakh "twenty wagons" are mentioned in a Hurrian list of objects. Šamši-Adad sent instructions that the inhabitants of Qattunan transport some goods from Qattunan to Šubat-Enlil in wagons. In fact, the most common Akkadian term for wagon, *eriqqu,* occurs quite frequently in Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, Nuzi, and Late Babylonian (see *CAD,* Vol. E, 296f.). Moreover, the iconography of the times, particularly the period of Assyrian ascendancy, includes a number of representations of carts and wagons. For example, a relief from Nimrûd, depicting a city under attack, shows several two-wheeled, ox-drawn carts carrying away women and children prisoners (cf. *ANEP,* no. 367). A closed, four-wheeled, covered wagon is depicted on Ashurnasirpal's obelisk. For other Mesopotamian examples, see *ANEP,* nos. 169, 303f. Carts and wagons were used especially in the transportation of heavier loads, such as large quantities of copper, timber, and military supplies (cf. Annals of Sennacherib, I:25). For additional evidence of the widespread and varied use of carts and wagons in the ancient Near East, see the entries in *CAD, s.v.* "eriqqu," "magarru," and "ṣimbu."

In Palestine also such wheeled vehicles were used. The relief of Ramses III's battle with the sea-peoples, in which the Philistine warriors are accompanied by caravans of ox-drawn carts (each with solid wheels and drawn by four oxen), shows that these newcomers to Canaan brought with them the practice of using carts for transportation. In the biblical literature wheeled transportation is well evidenced. *See* CART. A two-wheeled cart also appears in Ashurbanipal's relief of the siege of Lachish, drawn by two oxen, carrying two women and two children sitting on top of some bundles. A man walks alongside the left ox, guiding it with a rod. The people are Judean captives departing from Lachish (with their belongings?). It seems likely, therefore, that the use of wheeled vehicles for transportation was fairly common in Israel.

During the Roman period the most common means of land transportation was the ox-drawn wagon, normally drawn by eight oxen or horses in the summer, ten in the winter. Heavy goods, army supplies, products from the imperial estates, lower officials, soldiers traveling great distances, and sick people were all transported by heavy *clabulariae,* which could carry as much as 1500 Roman pounds. Express goods, precious metals, etc., were carried by the swifter *cursus velox* which employed several types of carriages: (1) the *rheda,* a mule-drawn four-wheeled cart (using 8-10 mules) which bore a maximum load of 450 kg. (1000 lbs.); (2) the *carrus,* a four-wheeled cart carrying 270 kg. (600 lbs.); (3) the *verreda,* originally used only by women, which was drawn by four mules and carried two to three persons and up to 135 kg. (300 lbs.) of goods; and (4) the two-wheeled *birota,* with three mules, carrying a maximum of 90 kg. (200 lbs.) and one to two passengers. The *cursus velox* also had riding horses (*veredi*) and pack-horses (*parhippi*), which carried up to 45 kg. (100 lbs.) apiece.

IV. Average Traveling Speeds.—A typical day's journey by foot was about 30 km. (20 mi.), depending on the terrain, road conditions, etc. The claim of the Sumerian king Šulgi to have traveled from Nippur to Ur (160 km., 100 mi.) and back in a single day despite a fierce hailstorm on the return trip is obviously exaggerated. During the Persian period ordinary travelers averaged about 29 km. (18 mi.) a day on the Royal Road, and could cross the empire from Persepolis to the Aegean Sea in about three months. Josephus states that the journey from the southern edge of Galilee to Jerusalem, a distance of about 105 km.

Captives and Assyrian soldiers walking from Lachish with their goods. Ox-drawn wagons and camels with loads are also part of the procession (relief from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, 704-681 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

(65 mi.), was generally done in three days by foot, in two by horseback. The journey of Mary and Joseph from Nazareth to Bethlehem, therefore, probably took three days, if they took the shortest route through Samaria.

Travel by horse or mule was somewhat faster (and less tiring), averaging about three miles per hour in normal terrain. A person could travel 40-50 km. (25-30 mi.) in a day on horseback without too much difficulty, and the couriers of the ancient world covered far greater distances.

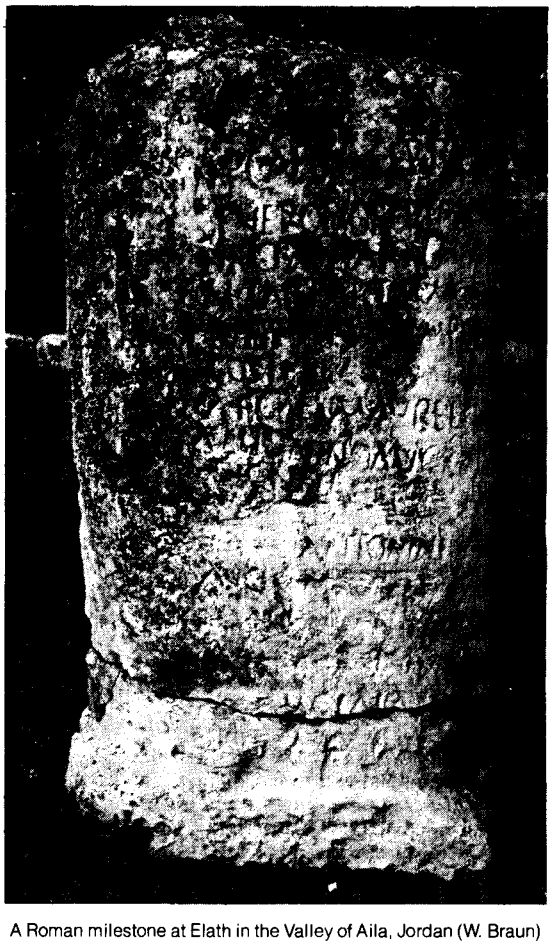
Camels could travel 40 km. (25 mi.) a day, even carrying loads of 225-450 kg. (500-1000 lbs.), and could continue three days without water. When necessary, distances of up to 100 km. (60 mi.) in a single day were possible.

By chariot or carriage 40-50 km. (25-30 mi.) were easily covered in a day, 64-72 km. (40-45 mi.) if one were in a hurry — although such distances would be tiring. In 51 B.C. Cicero traveled at a speed of about 39 km. (24 mi.) a day in his province. Later, carriage travel was made swifter by the paving of the Roman roads. From Toulouse to Carcassone (a distance of 100 km., 62 mi.) a carriage normally took two days, 47 km. (29 mi.) the first day and 53 km. (33 mi.) the second, as shown by the locations of the two main inns along the route.

Messengers and couriers traveled more quickly. Hammurabi, for example, expected an official at Larsa (200 km., 120 mi. away) to travel day and night and to arrive at Babylon within two days; i.e., 100 km. (60 mi.) a day. Imperial Persian messengers covered the Royal Road from Persepolis to Sardis (a distance of about 2510 km., 1560 mi.) in 9 days, averaging about 275 km. (170 mi.) a day. This efficient postal service was set up somewhat like the well-known Pony Express in early America, with regular posting stations about 24 km. (15 mi.) apart, with fresh horses and riders. Roman government couriers averaged 8 km. (5 mi.) per hour (by horse or carriage), 80 km. (50 mi.) per day. Special dispatch bearers sometimes could average 16 km. (10 mi.) per hour, but about 232 km. (144 mi.) is the longest day's journey by courier mentioned in an ancient text.

Armies generally moved at speeds of up to 22-24 km. (14-15 mi.) a day. Thutmose III, for example, crossed Sinai from Sile, Egypt, to Gaza, a distance of about 240 km. (150 mi.), in 9 or 10 days, i.e., about 24 km. (15 mi.) per day. From Gaza to Yaham, a distance of 120 km. (75 mi.), Thutmose averaged only 9-16 km. (6-7 mi.) per day — which suggests his army encountered some Canaanite resistance along this stretch. Alexander the Great's army, famous for its speed, could average 29-32 km. (18-20 mi.) a day, but on certain occasions even marched about 72 km. (45 mi.) in a single day.

V. Traveling Conditions.–Throughout the biblical period travel was generally not as difficult as some have suggested. Even as early as the Sumerian period (3rd millennium B.C.) the main highways had adequate supplies of inns and way stations. Šulgi king of Ur stated that he built along the highways "big houses, planted gardens alongside of them, established resting-places, settled there friendly folk, (so that) [the travelers] might refresh themselves in its cool (shade), the wayfarer who travels the highway at night, might find refuge there like in a well-built city" (*ANET*, p. 585). The Persian royal road had inns and way stations spaced at intervals of 16-24 km. (10-15 mi.), depending upon the terrain. Likewise there is evidence that inns and way stations existed in Israel during the OT period (cf. Josh. 4:3, 8; Isa. 10:29; Gen. 42:27; 43:21; Ex. 4:24; 2 K. 19:23). Some of the excavated



A Roman milestone at Elath in the Valley of Aila, Jordan (W. Braun)

sites along the wilderness roads of ancient Israel (such as Kuntillet ʿAjrūd) appear to have been government-established inns for travelers and merchants.

During the Roman period a fairly adequate network of inns and hostels existed throughout the empire. These serviced the traveler with food, a place to sleep, and care for his animals. There, too, carriages or animals could be rented. Along the Appian Way inns were available, for example, 19 km. (12 mi.) from Rome, at Bovillae, at Aricia, 6 km. (4 mi.) beyond Bovillae, and at Tres Tabernae, another 27 km. (17 mi.) along, where some Christians met Paul on his way to Rome (Acts 28:15). This last town, to judge by its name, had three inns. Normally, larger inns were established at intervals of 40-48 km. (25-30 mi.) in desert and unpopulated areas, much closer in densely settled areas. Usually there was an inn (*mansio*), followed by one or two more simple hostels (*mutationes*, then another larger inn, and so forth. Such an inn is alluded to in Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:34f.).

There is little evidence that signs and markers to assist the traveler were in common use during the OT period, although markers are mentioned in Jer. 31:21 in connection with Israel's journey into captivity. Egypt and classical Greece sometimes used piles of stones ("shrines of Hermes" in Greece, which later were standing stones with a carved likeness of Hermes at the top) to mark their roads. During the NT period the Romans methodically marked the highways of the empire with inscribed milestones, many of which can still be seen along the roads today.

Another development that assisted travelers in the Roman period was the publication of travel handbooks and travel maps. The handbooks (*itineraria*) were lists of inns and way stations along a particular route, with distances between them. The maps were schematic, and indicated not only the stopping places but what each of these places had to offer. The Tabula Peutingeriana is evidently a medieval copy of one of these Roman period maps.

See also BUYING; COMMERCE; ROADS; for travel on water *see* SHIPS.

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D. A. DORSEY

TRAVELER [Heb. *hālaḵ nᵉṭîbâ*–'go on the path' (Jgs. 5:6), *hēleḵ*–'one going,' 'traveler' (2 S. 12:4), *hᵃlîḵâ*–'traveling company' (Job 6:19), part. of *ʿāḇar*–'pass through' (Ezk. 39:11), *minnî-regel*–'by (or from) the foot' (Job 28:4)]; AV also COMPANY (Job 6:19), "of the foot" (28:4), PASSENGER (Ezk. 39:11); NEB also "men who had followed the high road" (Jgs. 5:6), HORDE (Ezk. 39:11), etc. In OT times travel was often difficult and during wartime it could be dangerous (cf. Jgs. 5:6). Traders and armies traveled in groups (cf. Job 6:19); individuals traveled alone only out of necessity. Because the traveler was frequently dependent upon the hospitality of others, hospitality to strangers was considered a sacred obligation in the ancient Near East (cf. 2 S. 12:4; *see* ENTERTAIN).

See TRAVEL.

N. J. O.

TRAVELERS, VALLEY OF THE [Heb. *gê hāʿōḇᵉrîm*]; AV VALLEY OF THE PASSENGERS; NEB VALLEY OF ABARIM. A valley located "east of the [Dead] Sea" that is to be given to Gog as a burial place (Ezk. 39:11). The designation of the valley, "of the Travelers," is appropriate to what is said about the place — that it will no longer be available for travelers to cross because of the great amount of space needed to bury Gog's soldiers. This designation may also have been the name of some Transjordanian valley often crossed by travelers. Because of its use as the cemetery of Gog's army it will come to be called "the valley of Gog's multitude" (vv. 11, 15; Heb. *gê' hᵃmôn gôg*; RSV "the Valley of Hamon-gog").

The NIV combines the designation of the valley with the statement regarding its location to produce: "the valley of those who travel east toward the Sea," in this way attempting to deal with the description of the valley as "a burial place *in Israel*." According to Ezk. 47:18 the Dead Sea will form part of the eastern boundary of ideal Israel. But "in Israel" may not be a difficulty for a Transjordanian location if it be thought of as a statement regarding who

will control the valley (cf. 39:12) rather than a description of the valley's location.

It has been suggested that the vowels of Heb. *ʿōbᵉrîm*, "travelers," be emended to produce *ʿăbārîm*, "Abarim." The highlands of Moab to the east of the Dead Sea were called "the mountain(s) of Abarim" (e.g., Nu. 27:12; 33:47). "The valley of [the] Abarim" (so NEB, JB), if this is what Ezekiel referred to, may have been the valley of the Arnon River (so JB mg.) or the lowland area to the east and northeast of the Dead Sea. J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

TREAD. *See* AGRICULTURE III.A.3; OIL II; WINE PRESS.

TREASON. An attempt to overthrow the ruler to whom one owes allegiance. The RSV uses this term in four passages. In 1 S. 24:11 (MT 12) (Heb. *peša*ʿ, lit. "rebellion"; AV "transgression") David assures King Saul that he has plotted no "treachery" (so NEB) against the king. In 2 K. 11:14 par. 2 Ch. 23:13 "Treason! Treason!" (Heb. *qešer*, lit. "conspiracy") is Queen Athaliah's cry when she sees that her grandson Joash has been crowned king. In Ezk. 17:20 God warns the Israelites that He will severely punish them for "treason . . . committed against [Him]" (Heb. *māʿal*, "act undutifully," "be unfaithful"; for textual problems see *BHS*; cf. AV, NEB). N. J. O.

TREASURE. Wealth that is stored up or hidden.

I. In the OT.–In the RSV OT "treasure" most often represents Heb. *ʾôṣār*. Although it may occasionally refer to a treasure house (2 K. 20:13) or TREASURY (1 Ch. 29:8), in the majority of its many occurrences it simply means "treasure." The other OT words translated "treasure" include Heb. *maṭmôn* (hidden treasure, Gen. 43:23; Job 3:21; Prov. 2:4); *sᵉgullâ* (private property, 1 Ch. 29:3; Eccl. 2:8), *ʿāṯûḏ* (something made ready and thus valuable, Isa. 10:13), *ḥosen* (something stored, Prov. 15:6; Ezk. 22:25), *maḥmāḏ* (something desirable, Lam. 1:11; Joel 3:5), pass. part. of *śāpan* (something concealed, Dt. 33:19), etc.

The RSV OT use of "treasure" is overwhelmingly literal. Some forty occurrences are literal, referring to money (Gen. 43:23), to wealth stored up by nations (Babylon, Jer. 51:13; Assyria and lands it had conquered, Isa. 10:13; many nations, Hag. 2:7; Judah, Jer. 20:5), to natural wealth coming from pursuits such as fishing (Dt. 33:19), to ill-gotten wealth ("treasures of wickedness," Mic. 6:10), to the wealth of kings (1 K. 14:26; 15:18; 2 K. 16:8), to wealth in which people trust rather than in God (Jer. 48:7; 49:4), to hidden wealth ("treasures of darkness," Isa. 45:3), etc.

"Treasure" is used figuratively only twice in the RSV OT. In Job 20:26 "treasure" (Heb. *ṣapûn*) is used in a negative sense, depicting judgment stored up for the wicked. But in Isa. 33:6 the fear of the Lord is said to be a valuable treasure for the people of God.

II. In the NT.–In the RSV NT "treasure" appears twenty-one times, translating Gk. *thēsaurós* (sixteen times), *thēsaurízō*, "store up, gather" ("lay up treasure," Lk. 12:21; Jas. 5:3), and *gáza*, "treasury" (Acts 8:27).

Eight of the RSV NT uses of "treasure" are literal, referring to such things as personal wealth (Mt. 6:19), the wealth of Egypt abandoned by Moses (He. 11:26), a hidden treasure, perhaps of gold or silver (Mt. 13:44), the official funds of the Ethiopian queen (Acts 8:27), and gold and silver and perhaps costly garments (Jas. 5:2f.; such garments were an important form of wealth).

The concept of "treasure" is a natural metaphor for spiritual or moral values, and the RSV NT uses the word in this way eleven times. Jesus advised His disciples to lay up "treasures in heaven" (Mt. 6:20; cf. Lk. 12:33) — a metaphor for eternal values that cannot be destroyed as earthly riches can (cf. Mt. 6:19). He urged the rich young ruler to follow Him and thus gain "treasure in heaven," i.e., the eternal life he was seeking (Mt. 19:21 par.). A person's speech flows from what is stored up in the heart, whether good or bad (Mt. 12:35; Lk. 6:45). Paul characterizes the gospel as a treasure stored in the "earthen vessel" of the body, like gold or silver kept in a first-century clay pot (2 Cor. 4:7). In Christ are all the hidden treasures of spiritual understanding (Col. 2:3). D. W. BURDICK

TREASURER. A word that occurs five times in the RSV OT, referring to an official (Dnl. 3:2f.) whose responsibility it was to handle the moneys, articles, or commodities committed to his care (cf. Ezr. 1:8; 7:21) and to disburse such items to the proper persons (Neh. 13:13). Ezr. 1:8 (Heb. *gizbār*) refers to the treasurer of Cyrus king of Persia, while 7:21 (*gizbār*) refers to local treasurers in the western parts of the empire. Dnl. 3:2f. (Aram. *gᵉḏāḇār*) indicates that there were numerous treasurers in Nebuchadnezzar's governmental organization. Neh. 3:13 (Heb. *ʾāṣar*) mentions several treasurers appointed by Nehemiah.

"Treasurer" appears only once in the RSV NT (Rom. 16:23; AV "chamberlain"), where it translates Gk. *oikonómos*. This term has the general meaning of "steward," but in Rom. 16:23 it may refer to the treasurer of the city of Corinth (Bauer, rev., p. 560), who at his own expense laid a pavement just below the Corinthian theater. D. W. BURDICK

TREASURES OF ALL NATIONS. This phrase in Hag. 2:7 is translated either "desire of all nations" (AV) and given a messianic interpretation (Vulg. and Luther), or "wealth of all nations" (NASB), "treasure(s) of all nations" (RSV, NEB, JB) and understood as God's provision of gold or precious vessels (cf. 2:8) for the temple built by Zerubbabel.

The Hebrew word *ḥemdâ*, "desire, treasure," comes from the root *ḥmd*, "desire, take pleasure in," and is parallel to *taʾᵃwâ*, "appetite, desire," in Gen. 3:6 (cf. *ḥmd* in Ex. 20:17; Dt. 5:21; Prov. 6:25). The word *ḥmd* can describe both evil desires (Josh. 7:21; Prov. 1:22; Isa. 1:29; Mic. 2:2) and good desires (Ps. 19:10 [MT 11]; Dnl. 9:23; 10:11). The participle as well as the masculine and feminine nouns from this root frequently refer to precious or desirable things, but in some cases these forms describe desirable people (Ezk. 23:6, 12, 23; Dnl. 9:23; 10:11, 19). This evidence suggests that either translation (messianic or nonmessianic) is within the realm of semantic possibilities.

The syntactical function of this phrase is complicated by the plural verb "they will come" and the singular "treasure/desire of all nations." The singular "desire" suggests to some a messianic interpretation (see Vulg.), but this does not explain the plural verb. As Smith (p. 156) points out, the LXX reverses the problem by having the subject plural (*tá eklektá*) and the verb singular (*hḗxei*). One could follow the LXX and conjecture a plural Hebrew noun (sing. in Syr., Vulg., and Tg.; cf. *BHS*), or understand the singular noun to be a collective (so Verhoef, pp. 92 n. 12, 103) or translate this phrase as the object rather than the subject of the sentence (NASB "they will come with the wealth of all nations").

The context of this passage seems to be the safest guide to its interpretation. Those who first returned from exile were frustrated in their efforts to build a new temple in Jerusalem until the second year of Darius, *ca.* 520 B.C. (Ezr. 1:1–5:2; Hag. 1:1-15). Once the process of rebuild-

ing began, discouragement set in because the new structure was inferior (Hag. 2:3) when compared to the size and grandeur of Solomon's ornate temple complex (1 K. 6; 1 Ch. 2–4). Haggai encouraged the people with promises of God's presence among them (Hag. 2:4f.) and His sovereign might over all the nations when He appears in theophanic power (2:6). These promises were designed to create hope and to motivate, but the problem of a small and unimpressive temple remained unsolved. If the "treasures of all nations' is related to God's claim in 2:8 that "the silver is mine and the gold is mine" (see KD; Petersen, pp. 67-69), then God's promise is a solution to the problem raised in the people's complaint (cf. Isa. 60:5, 11). God's promises were fulfilled when Darius gave liberally from his royal revenues from the province beyond the river (Ezr. 6:1-12).

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TREASURY. Either a place where valuables are kept (e.g., 1 Ch. 28:11f.) or a collection made up of valuable items (e.g., Ezr. 2:69).

I. Terms.–The usual OT term rendered by "treasury" is Heb. *'ôṣār* (*see* TREASURE). Other terms include Heb. *yôṣēr* (Zec. 11:13; AV "potter"), *ganzaḳ* (1 Ch. 28:11), *genez* (Est. 3:9; 4:7); Aram. *gᵉnaz* (Ezr. 7:20), *bayiṯ* (Ezr. 6:4; AV, lit., "house"). In the RSV NT "treasury" is used to translate Gk. *gazophylakeíon* (Mk. 12:41, 43; Lk. 21:1; Jn. 8:20) and *korbanás* (Mt. 27:6).

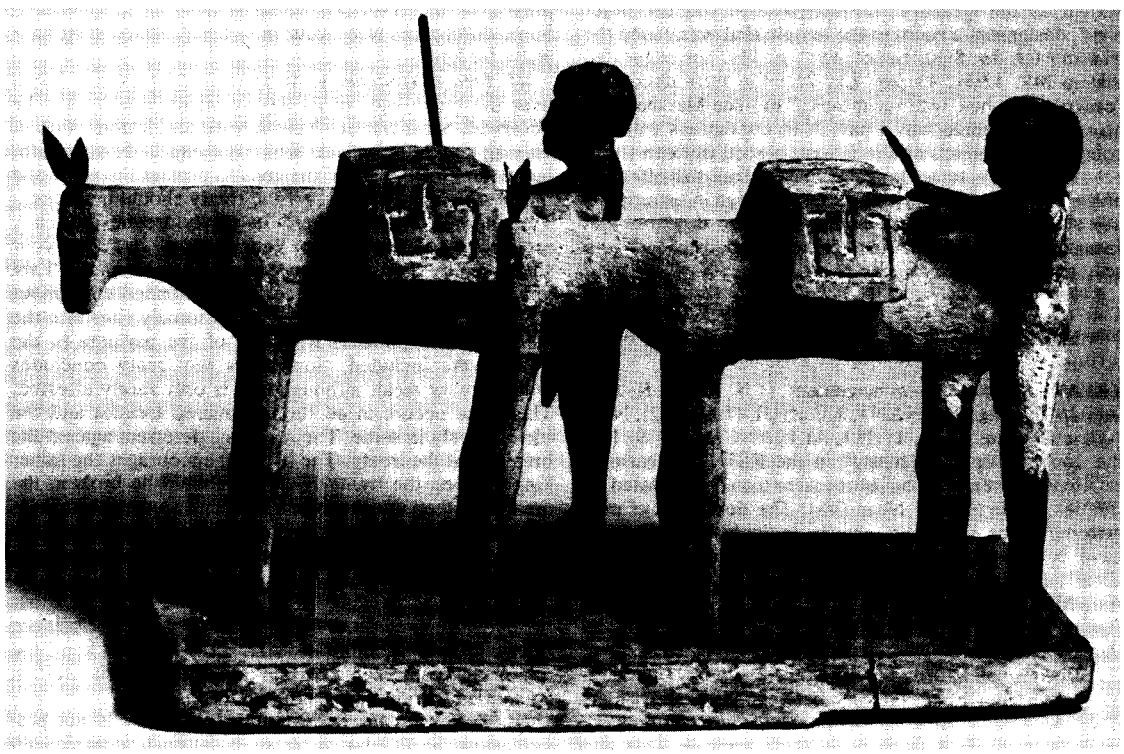
II. Usage.–There are at least ten specific senses in which the word is used literally. (1) The "treasury of the Lord" — probably the same as the "treasuries of the house of God" (1 Ch. 28:12), which were located in the courts of the temple; (see III below); (2) the treasuries of the vestibule (v. 11) — probably storage rooms for materials for temple worship; (3) the treasuries of dedicated gifts (26:20, 26; 28:12), where spoils of battle were stored (26:26f.); (4) the combined temple treasuries, including those of the house of God and those of dedicated gifts (1 Ch. 26:24; 2 Ch. 8:15), all of which were at one time supervised by Shebuel, a descendant of Moses; (5) the royal treasury (2 K. 12:18; 14:14; 18:15; 1 Ch. 27:25; 2 Ch. 25:24; 32:27; Ezr. 6:4; 7:20), which contained the riches of the kings; (6) the treasury of the work (Ezr. 2:69; Neh. 7:70f., i.e., special funds for specific projects such as rebuilding the temple or the city walls; (7) local treasuries in small towns (1 Ch. 27:25), from which gifts to the temple worship could be made; (8) the private treasuries of individuals (Prov. 8:21); (9) royal treasuries of gentile nations (of King Ahasuerus, Est. 3:9; 4:7; of the king of Tyre, Ezk. 28:4); (10) the treasury of a pagan temple (Dnl. 1:2).

In two OT passages the RSV uses "treasury" figuratively. Dt. 28:12 refers to the heavens as God's "treasury" from which He pours out crop-producing rain. The opposite side of God's nature is seen in 32:34, which depicts His treasuries as filled with vengeance waiting to be poured out on the wicked.

In the NT "treasury" always refers to the temple treasury during the time of Herod's temple (see III.D below).

III. Temple Treasury.–A. Tabernacle. The earliest reference to "the treasury of the house of the Lord" is found in Josh. 6:19, 24 in connection with the destruction of Jericho. All of the confiscated "silver and gold, and the

An Egyptian tomb model of two donkeys bearing saddlebags inscribed "Royal Treasury" (20th-18th cents. B.C.) (courtesy, Royal Ontario Museum)



vessels of bronze and of iron," were placed in "the treasury of the house of the Lord" (v. 24). In the days of David several men were in charge of the treasuries of the Lord's house (1 Ch. 26:20-26), indicating that the tabernacle had more than one treasury by this time (see II above).

B. Solomon's Temple. Toward the end of his reign David gave his son Solomon plans for the temple that was to be built (1 Ch. 28:11f.). Included in those plans were facilities designated as "treasuries," which were to be located in the vestibule (v. 11) and in the courts of the house of the Lord (v. 12). One of David's last acts as king was to invite the people to contribute gold and silver to the treasury of the Lord's house for use in the construction of the temple (29:1-9; esp. v. 8). Upon completing the temple, Solomon placed all the dedicated silver and gold and vessels in the treasuries of the Lord's house (1 K. 7:51; 2 Ch. 5:1).

After the glory of the temple dedication, the subsequent history of the treasuries of the Lord's house seems to have been quite dismal. When King Hazael of Syria threatened Jerusalem with conquest, King Jehoash of Judah depleted the treasuries of the Lord in order to buy him off (2 K. 12:17f.). Such depletion occurred on at least six other occasions (1 K. 14:25f.; 15:18; 2 K. 14:14; 16:8; 18:15; 24:12f.).

C. Second Temple. Scripture records little concerning the treasuries of the second temple. Several passages refer, however, to the "chambers" or "storehouse" (Neh. 10:37-39 [MT 38-40]; Heb. *bêṯ hā'ôṣār*) where commodities for the support of temple activities were stored (cf. 12:25 [*'āsōp*], 44 [*'ôṣār*; RSV "store"]; 13:4f.). Nehemiah appointed treasurers over these "storehouses" (*'ôṣārôṯ*, 13:13).

D. Herod's Temple. The NT uses two Greek words to designate the treasury of Herod's temple (see I above). Gk. *korbanás* (Mt. 27:6) seems to refer to moneys used to support the temple program rather than to a specific place known as the treasury. *Gazophylakeíon*, on the other hand, designates a room in the temple that was called the treasury (cf. Jn. 8:20; Bauer, rev., p. 149, has suggested that in Mk. 12:41, 43 par. Lk. 21:1 the term denotes a "contribution box" or "receptacle," but see Marshall and Morris). This room was a part of or contiguous with the court of the women, and in it were placed thirteen trumpet-shaped receptacles for receiving the free-will offerings of the people; each receptacle carried a sign indicating the use of the money placed therein. It was in this area that Jesus observed and commented upon the poor widow who only gave two small copper coins.

Bibliography.–Bauer, rev., p. 149; I. H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke* (*NIGTC*, 1978), p. 751; L. Morris, *Gospel According to John* (*NICNT*, 1971), p. 444. D. W. BURDICK

TREATY [Heb. *bᵉrîṯ*–'arrangement' (1 S. 11:1; 1 K. 5:12 [MT 26])]; AV COVENANT, LEAGUE (1 K. 5:12); NEB "come to terms" (1 S. 11:1f.), ALLIANCE. In 1 S. 11:2 the context supplies "treaty" in the RSV. International relations between two countries were usually regulated by treaties in the ancient Near East. The discovery of new material since the 1950s clearly indicates that treaties have been contracted from the 3rd-1st millennia B.C. Clearly the influence of treaty situations was pervasive in Asia Minor, northern Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, and a knowledge of the treaty situation will certainly enhance a better understanding of Israel's history.

I. Distribution of Material.–The oldest available material has come from Ebla. Treaties between Ebla and Emar, Ebla and Asshur, Ebla and Hama, and Ebla and Edu have been discovered. A diplomatic letter between Ebla and Ḫamazi in northern Iran, 1,000 km. (600 mi.) from Ebla, shows that a treaty existed between these two countries. All this material can be dated *ca.* 2500 B.C. Mesopotamian material indicates that treaties were formed from the 3rd-1st millennia B.C., e.g., from the Mari texts as J. M. Munn-Rankin has shown for the 2nd millennium, and a treaty between Aššur-nirari V of Assyria and Mati'ilu of Arpad in *ca.* 754 B.C. The greatest number of treaties have been discovered in the land of Hittites, all written between *ca.* 1400-1200 B.C. The texts of a few treaties between the Hittite king and the king of Ugarit have been unearthed at Ugarit. We have traces of treaties in Syria from the 2nd millennium (between Yarim-lim of Aleppo and Abba-AN of Yamḫad) as well as the 1st millennium (between Barga'ayah of KTK and Mati'el-Mati'-ilu of Arpad; see Fitzmyer). The Armarna letters' terminology shows that the international treaty was well known in Palestine and vicinity. The OT makes it clear that the treaty between Aššur-nirari V of Assyria and Mati'-ilu of (see below). This same custom was also known to the Egyptians as seen in the treaty between Ramses II and Hattusilis III, as well as the material published by D. Lorton. It was thus a widespread and most persistent international institution of biblical times.

II. Different Kinds of Treaties.–One can make a broad division between treaties, viz., parity and vassal treaties. A parity treaty is between two equals, and a vassal treaty is between a great king and a subordinate. But the phenomenon of treaty-forming was quite diversified, e.g., certain vassal treaties show a remarkable leniency from the great king to his subordinate king (e.g., in calling him "my son"). Some treaties are more politically motivated, others more economically motivated (e.g., the treaty between Ebla and Asshur and between Solomon and Hiram). Through the years the accent on certain aspects of treaties shifted, e.g., the more lenient approach of Hittite vassal treaties can be compared with the rigid approach of the Assyrian vassal treaties of Esarhaddon. Some differences also occur in treaties formed geographically far apart.

III. Treaty Terminology.–In spite of a diversity in forms over the many ages of its development, a unity can be observed. Most treaties have a historical introduction of varying length; provisions which are imposed under oath, invocation for the aid of the gods to protect the oath, and the enumeration of curses if the treaty should be broken. Terminology like "brother" in parity treaties (already present at Ebla) and "I am your servant" or "I am your son" used by the vassal and "I am your master" or "I am your father" used by the great king is applied throughout the history of this institution. Occasionally rites like the marriage of a princess with one of the partners in the treaty were included. Sometimes the treaty concludes with a treaty meal, although this is only rarely attested. The curse occurs in all the discovered treaties and the blessing only in some. The curse is a deterrent against the breaking of the treaty. The blessing encourages the minor king to keep the treaty. But if it should be broken, the great king then attacked the vassal and applied the curses of the treaty on him and his country. The breaking of a treaty was regarded as a major offense since it abrogated the oath made in the names of the gods, who by their presence as witnesses formed the treaty. In treaties that include both curses and blessings, one has a neat balance of two different conditions, viz., if the treaty is kept, the minor king will receive certain favors, but if it is broken, calamities will overtake him.

IV. Treaties in the OT.–A complete treaty is not preserved in the OT but a treaty situation is occasionally

described. Early traces of this situation occur in various OT traditions. In Ex. 18 the meeting between Moses and Jethro possibly refers to a treaty formed between Israel and the Midianites, probably the Kenite faction of the Midianites. Because the Kenites showed covenant solidarity (Heb. *ḥeseḏ*) to the Israelites during the Exodus, Saul endeavored to protect them (1 S. 15:6), an action which suggests such a treaty. According to the tradition in 1 Samuel the Kenites then left the ranks of the Amalekites.

The oldest definite reference to a treaty situation occurs in Josh. 9, which describes a vassal treaty formed between the Israelites and the Gibeonites. In accordance with the protection clause in such a treaty the Israelites attacked the five kings who harassed the Gibeonites (Josh. 10:1-27). In 2 S. 21:1f. the story is told of a famine in Israel as a result of the breaking of this treaty by Saul. David had to make amends to restore the balance.

The Israelites in the time of David, but especially in the time of Solomon, formed a parity treaty with the Phoenicians (1 K. 5:12). Economic reasons, especially funding for the building of the temple and palace, precipitated this action. This treaty continued in the times of Omri and Ahab, which may explain the marriage of Ahab to the Phoenician princess Jezebel. After his victory over Benhadad of the Arameans, Ahab formed a vassal treaty with Ben-hadad in which he received the right to trade in Damascus (1 K. 20:34), the same right granted to Ebla in the treaty between Ebla and Asshur about 1700 years before Ahab.

The books of Kings indicate that when the Assyrians moved into Syro-Palestine they made vassal treaties with the minor kings. Tiglath-pileser III made such a treaty with the northern kingdom of Israel and a little later with the kingdom of Judah. When Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Aram revolted against the Assyrians, Ahaz of Judah remained loyal (2 K. 16). Ahaz called in the Assyrian's aid by referring to his vassalship in very old treaty terminology: "I am your servant and your son" (16:7). In accordance with the protection clause of the vassal treaty, Tiglath-pileser was obliged to assist him. The same treaty relationship existed also in the time of the Babylonians when Nebuchadrezzar came to Judah to punish the Judeans for breaking the treaty after Zedekiah's rebellion (2 K. 25:1; 2 Ch. 36:13; cf. Ezk. 17:16).

See also COVENANT (OT).

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TREE. *See* FLORA.

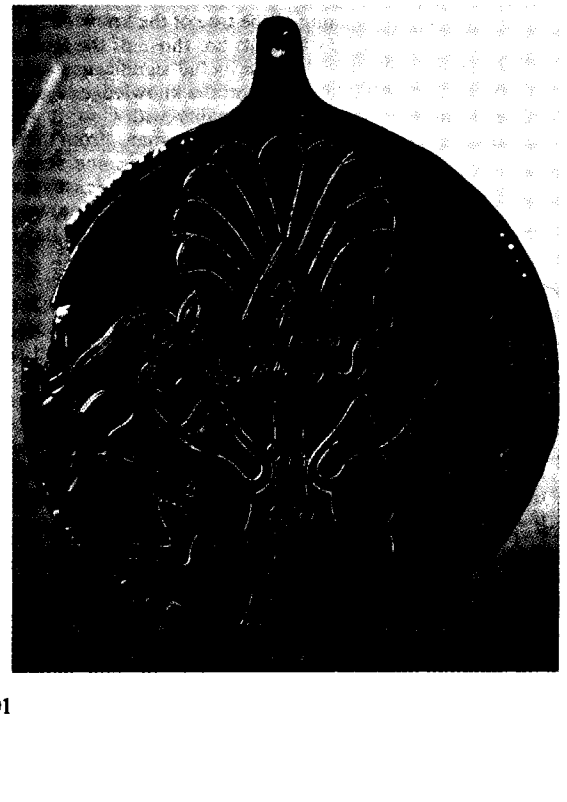
TREE OF KNOWLEDGE [Heb. *ʿēṣ haddaʿaṯ* (Gen. 2:9, 17)]; **TREE OF LIFE** [Heb. *ʿēṣ (ha)ḥayyîm* (Gen. 2:9; 3:22, 24; Prov. 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4); Gk. *xýlon tḗs zōḗs* (Rev. 2:7; 22:2, 14, 19)]; AV BOOK OF LIFE (Rev. 22:19); NEB STAFF OF LIFE (Prov. 3:18; 13:12; 15:4).

The two trees are theologically related, and both appear in Gen. 2 and 3. The tree of knowledge appears only in the account of the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:9, 17); the tree of life appears not only in Genesis (2:9; 3:22, 24), but in Proverbs (3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4), which uses it figuratively of the source of life and happiness (see D. Kidner, *Proverbs* [*Tyndale OT Comms.*, repr. 1978], p. 54). The tree of life appears again in Scripture only in Revelation (2:7; 22:2, 14, 19). The omission of the definite article before the word "life" in the Proverbs references may indicate that its use of the term is not a conscious reference to the Genesis account (cf. *CD*, III/1, 282f.).

A sacred tree motif in ancient Near Eastern art could be linked to the tree of life in the biblical account, but no literature in the ancient Near East clearly supports this identification (see *ANEP*, nos. 88, 667-69, 706, and notes, pp. 260, 329, 334). As for the tree of knowledge, the closest artistic symbol comes from an impression on a cylinder seal where a tree is flanked on one side by a seated god and on the other by a woman, behind whom is what appears to be a snake (*ANEP*, no. 858 and note, p. 381). But no extant literature identifies this seal's religious implications. Speiser (p. 26) points to the Gilgamesh Epic where Enkidu, after yielding to temptation by a courtesan, is described as now possessing "wisdom, broader understanding" and is told, "You are wise Enkidu, you are like a god." But again no tree of knowledge is mentioned in the account. Speiser (p. 27) and others see the tale of Adapa (*ANET*, pp. 101-103) as the major analogue for the tree of life, but no tree of life appears in the account.

One does not have to hold that the trees in the Garden of Eden were legendary to see them as symbolic, even sacramental in character. The tree of life symbolized Adam and Eve's continued relationship with God in maintaining obedience and, therefore, continued bliss. This view denies that inherent virtue resided in the fruit of this tree. Charles Hodge was not certain of the symbolic view

A Persian bronze plaque depicting a tree of life between two prancing bulls. Luristan, 6th cent. B.C. (Rosenthal Art Slides; M/M J. W. Alsdorf)



but he assured us that it is enough to know that in some way the tree secured "the enjoyment of eternal life" (*Systematic Theology* [repr. 1973], II, 125). The most significant thing about the tree of life theologically is that when our first parents broke their relationship with God through disobedience they were driven from the Garden "lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever" (Gen. 3:22). In Rev. 2:7 the tree of life is found still in the midst of the paradise of God and those who overcome are able to eat of it.

Those who uphold a mere legendary view of the account of the Garden of Eden tend to feel that the Hebrews looked upon the tree of life as a source of magical elixir. Somehow the eating of this fruit would produce immunity from disease either by one dose or by continuous partaking. Those who hold this view tend to connect it with Rev. 22:2, where the tree's leaves were for the healing of the nations. But Rev. 22 is full of symbolic language. Rev. 22:14 says, "Blessed are those who wash their robes, that they may have the right to the tree of life and that they may enter the city by the gates." Consuming leaves and washing robes is certainly symbolic, although the prophecy predicts historical events. The Bible here pictures at the end of the world a reversal of the damage done in its beginning. Basically the use of the tree of life in Revelation supports the symbolic view of the tree of life in Genesis. As sacramental, the tree is analogous to the sacrificial system of the later OT. But Adam and Eve were on probation in the Garden and were not in the status of permanent spiritual children of God, i.e., regenerated. Partaking of the tree of life implies not only continued probation (negative obedience) but also a positive commitment analogous to what believers do in the Lord's Supper and what the OT saints did at the sacrifices (on this see J. O. Buswell, Jr., *Systematic Theology* [1962-63], I, 275f.). So Adam and Eve were excluded as sinners for the same reason that unbelievers are excluded from the Lord's Supper. Thus the tree of life stood in the paradise of God as the symbol of blissful eternal life in the presence of God. If the Garden of Eden is a type of heaven, then the tree of life is a type of Christ through whom eternal life may be gained.

The nature and meaning of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil are not as clear as are those of the tree of life. Opinions differ widely as to its full significance. Certain things are clear in the account: the knowledge of good and evil implied some kind of equality with God; it was forbidden to man; and it was secured by man. From these inferences it is necessary to hold that, in some sense, partaking of the tree imparted knowledge or at least symbolized the fact that those who partook of the tree were possessors of a knowledge they did not previously have. And this involved a change in relationship to God. According to the words of God, "Behold, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil" (Gen. 3:22). The serpent also assured the woman that the fruit would open her eyes (3:5), and the woman regarded the fruit as desirable (3:6). The result was that the eyes of the transgressors were opened. But this imparting of knowledge did not have to come from any inherent virtue in the tree itself. It could have been, as Hodge says, "from the appointment of God." Hodge's words are well put: "All that the text requires is that knowledge followed the eating of that fruit" (II, 126).

A number of interpretations suggest what the "good and evil" was. That it was magical knowledge should be ruled out since this was not godlike knowledge and certainly was not universal to humanity in the OT. In some places, Scripture uses the idiom "good and evil" as a way of expressing immaturity without a necessary reference to morality. Cf. Dt. 1:39, "your children . . . have no knowledge of good or evil," and Isa. 7:16, "before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good." A similar use in He. 5:14 clearly implies morality, where mature believers "have their faculties trained by practice to distinguish good from evil." It is difficult to believe, however, that moving out of immaturity is all that the Genesis tree implies.

Another view with some merit is that the tree is dealing with physical good and evil, i.e., happiness and misery: the experiential knowledge of the difference between the bliss they enjoyed in their innocent state and the misery that would become real through disobedience.

The traditional view is that here the good and evil is moral good and evil. While on the surface this seems to be the simplest way to go, it might entail holding to the view that Adam did not originally have a moral nature and that his partaking of the tree simply awakened his moral nature. Why would God want to keep Adam from having a nature that would be able to distinguish between right and wrong? The terminology of Solomon's prayer for a heart to "discern between good and evil" supports the moral view (1 K. 3:9).

Others have tied the tree more closely to God's Word or God's law so that Adam, in partaking of this tree, aspired to know for himself what was good and evil in an attempt to be free of the authority of God. But the problem with this view is that it involves a false knowledge in contrast to true knowledge of God's law. In this sense Adam had less true knowledge after the Fall than he had before. Cf. *CD*, III/1, 284-88.

A modern philological view takes the expression "good and evil" as a merism, i.e., a figure of speech in which opposites express totality. Hence the knowledge is of all things relating to human culture, since Gen. 4 speaks about the expansion of human culture. This view was popular in the early 20th cent. although the merism "good and evil" was not immediately appreciated. This view has some merit but it tends to ignore the seriousness of the offense as sin against God that resulted in the curse on the man, the woman, and the serpent.

Another view maintains that the knowledge does not come through the cultural achievements but through nature. This view includes but is not limited to sexual knowledge. The point is that human beings moved from a primitive state of childlike ignorance and purity (cf. the "immaturity view" above) to knowledge involving total possession of their mental and physical powers. Those who hold this view like to refer to Christ's saying in Mt. 18:3, "unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven."

In 2 S. 19:35 (MT 36) Barzillai's words, "Can I discern between good and evil?" (so AV), suggest that the idiom can refer to the capacity for physical pleasures. Following Ehrlich, Speiser thought that this text supports the view that the Genesis usage refers to the mystery of sex. He noted that Adam and Eve became ashamed of their nakedness only after partaking of the forbidden fruit (*Genesis*, p. 26). But again one must question why God would want to withhold from Adam and Eve full possession of their mental and physical powers.

Each of the above views has some valid features that may be included in the total meaning of this tree in the middle of the Garden. But if we follow the principle of the analogy of Scripture and the NT as divine commentary, then the Genesis text presents the origin of sin as it was understood by the Paul in Rom. 5:12: "Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men

sinned." The word "knowledge" in Hebrew, as in English, can have the connotation of experience and that should certainly be stressed in our understanding of the meaning of the tree of knowledge. But since sexual experience was commanded in Gen. 1:28, it is not that experience that constitutes the knowledge. Nor is it merely the increase of mankind's cultural sophistication, although both of these were affected.

The serpent's insinuation that man would extend his experience beyond the limits set by God at Creation is a key to proper interpretation of the account. When our first parents broke God's simple probation regarding the tree they became rebels. As sinners their perception and experience of all parts of life were affected: their intellectual and cultural life, their sexual life, etc. But most important, sin affected their spiritual life in fellowship with their Maker. G. Vos (*Biblical Theology* [repr. 1980], pp. 37-51) touched the heart of the issue when he pointed out that Adam and Eve were confronted with a choice for or against continued fellowship with God through this simple probation of choosing to be obedient or disobedient with regard to this tree. So the choice of good as well as evil is symbolized in man's relationship to the tree.

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TREES, GOODLY. *See* GOODLY.

TREES, SHADY (Job 40:21f., AV). *See* LOTUS.

TREES, THICK. *See* LEAFY.

TRELLIS [Heb. *sᵉḇōḵ*–'thicket'] (Ps. 74:5); AV THICK TREES; NEB FOREST. The text of this verse is obscure. The *sᵉḇōḵ* was perhaps carved woodwork at the entrance to the temple (cf. 74:6), or a thicket or forest of trees.

TREMBLE; TREMBLING [Heb. *ḥāraḏ* (Gen. 27:33; 42:28; Ex. 19:16; etc.), *ḥᵃrāḏâ* (Isa. 21:4; Ezk. 26:16; Dnl. 10:7), *ḥārēḏ* (Jgs. 7:3; 1 S. 4:13; Ezr. 9:4; 10:3; Isa. 66:2, 5; Ezk. 26:16), qal and hiphil of *rāgaz*–'shake,' 'quake' (Dt. 2:25; 28:65; Ps. 77:16f. [MT 17f.]; 99:1; Prov. 30:21; Isa. 13:13; 14:16; 64:2 [MT 1]; Jer. 33:9; etc.), *rāgzâ*–'agitation' (Ezk. 12:18), *rāʿaš*–'quake' (Jgs. 5:4; Ps. 46:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 24:18; Jer. 49:21; 50:46; 51:29), qal and hiphil of *ḥîl*–'writhe' (1 Ch. 16:30; Job 26:5; Ps. 96:9; 97:4; 114:7; Jer. 5:22), qal and hiphil of *rāʿaḏ* (Ezr. 10:9; Ps. 104:32; Dnl. 10:11), *raʿaḏ* (Ex. 15:15; Ps. 55:5 [MT 6]), *rᵉʿāḏâ* (Job 4:14; Ps. 2:11; 48:6 [MT 7]; Isa. 33:14), *nûʿ* (Ex. 20:18; Isa. 19:1; hiphil, Dnl. 10:10), poal of *rāpap*–'shake' (Job 26:11), hithpael of *pālaṣ*–'shake' (Job 9:6), *sāmar*–'bristle' (Ps. 119:120), *yāraʾ* (Isa. 15:4), *gûr*–'be afraid' (Hos. 10:5), *gāʿaš*–'be in an uproar' (2 S. 22:8 par. Ps. 18:7 [MT 8]), hiphil of *māʿaḏ*–'shake' (Ps. 69:23 [MT 24]), *ḥāpaz*–'resort to flight' (Dt. 20:3), *ḥārag* ("come trembling," 2 S. 22:46 [emended from *ḥāgar*] par. Ps. 18:45 [MT 46]), *piq*–'wobbling' (Nah. 2:10 [MT 11]), *rᵉʿēš* (Hos. 13:1), *zûʿ* (Est. 5:9; Eccl. 12:3; pilpel, Hab. 2:7); Aram. *zûʿ* (Dnl. 5:19; 6:26 [MT 27]); Gk. pass. of *seiō*–'shake' (Mt. 28:4), *trémō*–'tremble,' 'be afraid' (Mk. 5:33; Lk. 8:47), *éntromos* (Acts 7:32; 16:29; He. 12:21), *trómos* (Mk. 16:8; 1 Cor. 2:3; 2 Cor. 7:15; Eph. 6:5; Phil. 2:12)]; AV also FEAR, BE AFRAID, SHAKE, BE MOVED, etc.; NEB also WRITHE IN FEAR, QUAKE, SHUDDER, QUAIL, BE IN PANIC, etc.

The Hebrew words translated "tremble" generally refer to one of two particular situations: a human response of fear before God or some danger (e.g., Gen. 42:28; Ex. 15:14f.; 20:18; Dt. 2:25; Ps. 2:11; 99:1), or the response of nature to God's presence (e.g., an earthquake; cf. 2 S. 22:8; Job 9:6; Ps. 46:3 [MT 4]; 77:16, 18 [MT 17, 19]; Isa. 24:18). People tremble in fear before God because His presence is experienced as awesome and terrible (i.e., fear-inducing), whether He comes as judge (e.g., Isa. 32:11; Joel 2:1) or as savior (e.g., Jer. 33:9). The trembling of mountains, of earth's foundations, or of the earth itself reflects the ancient world's sense that earthquakes, storms, and volcanoes clearly signified God's presence and action. In the presence of God the Israelites felt the overwhelming sense of events or powers being beyond their control or even their comprehension.

The pervasiveness of this "fear and trembling" motif in Scripture explains the variety of terms that the OT uses to speak of these things. The most common verb, *ḥāraḏ* (cf. cognate nouns *ḥārēḏ* and *ḥᵃrāḏâ*) seems to mean "panic"; where "the earth" is the subject (e.g., "the ends of the earth," Isa. 41:5) it is clear that the people inhabiting the earth are meant. The verb *rāgaz*, on the other hand, is used of both human fear and natural tremors (cf. Isa. 13:13; 64:2 [MT 1]), while *rāʿaš* refers only to phenomena of nature. The verb *ḥîl* means "writhe" and is often used of a woman's labor in childbirth (e.g., Isa. 13:8); in 1 Ch. 16:30 par. Ps. 96:9 the NEB has rendered it "dance," apparently emending it to *ḥûl*.

In the NT, Gk. *trémō* and its cognates (*trómos* and *éntromos*) are the usual words for "tremble." *Seiō* usually means "quake" or, in the passive (Mt. 28:4), "be profoundly shaken"; it is most commonly used of tremors of nature (in the LXX it usually translates Heb. *rāʿaš*), including the apocalyptic rumblings and stirrings of the last days.

See also FEAR.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "ḥyl" (A. Baumann); V, *s.v.* "ḥāpaz" (G. André), "ḥāraḏ" (A. Baumann); *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σείω (G. Bornkamm). G. CHAMBERLAIN

TRESPASS [(nouns) Heb. *peša*ʿ–'rebellion, revolt'; Gk. *paráptōma*–'false step, transgression, sin'; (verb) Heb. *māʿal*–'act undutifully, be unfaithful']; AV also OFFENCE, FALL (Rom. 11:11f.), FAULT (Gal. 6:1), SINS, TRANSGRESS (Ezr. 10:10), etc.; NEB SINS, WRONG, WRONGDOING, OFFENCE, OFFEND, MISDEED, LAW-BREAKING (Rom. 5:20), "commit an offence" (Ezr. 10:10), etc. A breach of faith, an act of unfaithfulness, treachery, or transgression.

In the RSV OT "trespass" occurs only in 1 S. 25:28 where it translates Heb. *peša*ʿ, a word the RSV normally renders "transgression" (*see* TRANSGRESSION). In the RSV NT the word "trespass," commonly in the plural, occurs twenty times as the translation of Gk. *paráptōma*.

In the NT Jesus noted that trespasses are acts committed against individuals, but He tied the forgiveness of the trespasses of others to the forgiveness of God. Those who choose not to forgive a breach of faith by another individual will find that God will deal with them in a similar way (Mt. 6:14f.). Instead, Jesus encouraged His disciples to forgive so that their Father in heaven might forgive their own trespasses (Mk. 11:25). While Mk. 11:26 is present in the AV, but absent in the RSV, the NEB, and the bulk of better MSS of most text-types, its presence in some MSS is explained as being a scribal insertion of Mt. 6:15.

As in Levitical law and Jesus' teachings, Paul noted that a trespass can have corporate implications. The entire human race experienced vicariously the trespass of Adam (Rom. 5:15). In like manner, because of the tres-

pass of Israel the message of salvation through Jesus came to the Gentiles (11:11f.).

Paul used Gk. *paráptōma* extensively to refer to the act of Adam by which sin entered into the world (e.g., Rom. 5:15-18). Through Adam's trespass came condemnation (5:18), the result of which was the death of all those who shared in that trespass (5:15; Eph. 2:1, 5; Col. 2:13). The purpose of the law was to increase the trespass (Rom. 5:20). Yet God was at work through the reconciling activity of Christ, not counting human trespasses (2 Cor. 5:19). Jesus was put to death for those trespasses (Rom. 4:25), and by His death and resurrection came acquittal, forgiveness, justification, righteousness, and life for those who had previously been dead in their trespasses (5:15-20; Eph. 1:17; 2:1, 5; Col. 2:13).

Finally, Paul advised the Galatians that when they observed a person overtaken in any trespass, they should carefully and gently seek to restore that individual (Gal. 6:1). Paul further reminded all Christians that a safeguard to the censorious criticism of others' trespasses is a recognition of our own vulnerability to commit similar trespasses.

See also SIN.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 585f.; J. Murray, *Imputation of Adam's Sin* (1959); *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* πίπτω κτλ.: παραπίπτω, παράπτωμα (Michaelis). C. M. ROBECK, JR.

TRESPASS OFFERING. The AV translation of Heb. *'āšām* (RSV "guilt offering"). *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT V.H.

TRESS. In Cant. 7:5 (MT 6) "tresses" (RSV, NEB; AV "galleries") translates Heb. *rᵉhāṭîm*, which in Gen. 30:38, 41; Ex. 2:16 means "runnels" or "watering troughs." In Cant. 7:5 its meaning is uncertain, but the context suggests that it refers to a woman's hair, which is described in terms of flowing water.

TRIAL [Heb. *massâ* < *nsh*, "test, try"] (Dt. 4:34; 7:19; 29:3 [MT 2]); AV TEMPTATION; NEB CHALLENGE; [Gk. *peirasmós*–'test'] (Lk. 22:28; Acts 20:19; Jas. 1:2, 12; 1 Pet. 1:6; 2 Pet. 2:9; Rev. 3:10); AV TEMPTATION; NEB also ORDEAL. An adversity with the potential either to purify or to corrupt.

Although both the Hebrew and Greek terms might elsewhere mean nothing more than an "attempt" or "examination," none of the RSV occurrences of "trial" remains this neutral. The three occurrences in Deuteronomy all refer to the plagues that God brought upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians through Moses. In Luke-Acts, both Jesus and Paul refer to the suffering they have endured; while human hostility is probably foremost in view, natural calamity cannot be excluded (Lk. 22:28; Acts 20:19; cf. 2 Cor. 12:23-27). Jesus' prayer for Peter that his faith might not fail (Lk. 22:32) perhaps explains the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "lead us not into temptation" (Mt. 6:13, also Gk. *peirasmós*, better translated "test"), since Scripture consistently acknowledges the positive value of external affliction. Jas. 1:2 says to count such trials "all joy," and v. 12 declares that those who endure such are "blessed" — both echoes of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:10-12). (That *peirasmós* can have the more negative sense of "enticement" or "temptation" to sin is clear from Jas. 1:13f., but the RSV never uses "trial" with this connotation.) The purifying purpose of "various" kinds of trials is made explicit in 1 Pet. 1:6f.; the Roman persecution of Christians was perhaps the most prominent of these trials. God will nevertheless rescue His people from overwhelming assault (2 Pet. 2:9), and the larger context here describes the characteristic situation of the believer "in a world in which the powers of good and evil confront each other" so that he is continually "exposed to attack from evil" (R. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], p. 253). This attack will intensify in the days immediately preceding Christ's return, often referred to as the great tribulation (from the description of Mt. 24:9-44). Rev. 3:10 promises the faithful in Philadelphia protection from this "hour of trial which is coming on the whole world"; "in the foreshortened view of the future which was taken by the Apostolic age this final sifting of mankind was near at hand, not being as yet clearly differentiated from the imperial persecution which had already begun" (H. B. Swete, *Comm. on Revelation* [repr. 1977], p. 56).

For references involving proceedings in a court of law, *see* COURTS, JUDICIAL; SANHEDRIN; ROMAN LAW III.

See also TEST.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, II, 798-808; *TDNT*, VI, *s.v.* πεῖρα κτλ: πειρασμός (Seesemann); *TWOT*, II, 581. C. L. BLOMBERG

TRIAL OF JESUS. *See* JESUS CHRIST, ARREST AND TRIAL OF.

TRIBE. The English term "tribe" derives originally from Lat. *tribus*, literally a "third part" of the Roman people, namely, any one of the three ethnic divisions of the early Roman state. Later the term applied to any of the thirty-five local tribes into which all Roman citizens were organized for administrative purposes.

I. Terminology
II. Social Structure
III. Tribal Organization in Early Israel
IV. The Twelve Tribe System

I. Terminology.–The Hebrew terms for tribe are *šēḇeṭ/šeḇeṭ* (lit. "staff" 190 times in the OT, 89 in the sense of tribe) and *maṭṭeh* (lit. "staff" 251 times in the OT, 216 in the sense of tribe). Both terms can refer to a "rod" or "staff" as a shepherd's implement (*šēḇeṭ*, Ps. 23:4) or walking stick (*maṭṭeh*, Gen. 38:18). The rod came to be a symbol of authority and power, hence "scepter" (*šēḇeṭ*, Ps. 45:6 [MT 7]). Both terms can designate individual tribes of Israel (sing., e.g., "tribe of Judah," *šēḇeṭ yᵉhûḏâ*, 1 K. 12:20; *maṭṭēh yᵉhûḏâ*, Ex. 31:2) or all the tribes together (pl., e.g., "tribes of Israel," *šiḇṭê yiśrā'ēl*, Dt. 33:5; *maṭṭôṭ yiśrā'ēl*, Nu. 31:4; "tribes of the sons of Israel," *šiḇṭê bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl*, Josh. 4:5, 8; *maṭṭôṭ bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl*, Nu. 36:9). Other phrases include "tribe of the fathers" or "ancestral tribe" (*maṭṭēh 'āḇôṭ*, Nu. 1:16, 47; 33:54), "tribe of your father" (*šēḇeṭ 'āḇîḵā*, 18:2). The Aramaic term for tribe is *šᵉḇaṭ* (Ezr. 6:17).

The Gk. *phylé* (31 times) can designate the "twelve tribes of Israel" (Mt. 19:28; Lk. 22:33; Rev. 21:12; cf. Jas. 1:1, Rev. 7:4; in Acts 26:7 Gk. *dodekáphylon* is a compound term designating the "twelve tribes"), the individual tribes (Asher, Lk. 2:36; Benjamin, Acts 13:21; Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5; Judah, He. 7:14; Rev. 5:5; cf. Rev. 7:5-8 for a list of the twelve tribes by name), and a "nation" or "people" not necessarily Israelite: "tribes of the earth" (Mt. 24:30; Rev. 1:7).

The notions of tribe and tribalism are central to an understanding of Israel's culture and history in the premonarchial period. An examination of "tribe" involves a number of issues, for tribe can designate a population group, a type of social organization, or a geographical area. An understanding of "tribe" has implications for the organization of family and society in ancient Israel and bears profoundly on the historical issues of conquest and settlement. Modern research into the anthropology

and sociology of early Israel and the Near East in general has provided significant insights into the social organization of Israel during this period (see esp. Gottwald and Lemche).

II. Social Structure.–The meaning of "tribe" must be understood in relation to other structures within the context of a comprehensive picture of Israel's social organization. The terminology of Israel's social structure indicates various levels of social organization. The tribe is only one of many levels in the system of relationships.

A. Nation, People. The highest level of structure is the nation, or league of tribes, referred to as Israel, "sons of Israel" (*bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl*; the phrase "sons of Israel" can designate the literal sons of Jacob, Gen. 29:35, or Israel as a nation), or "tribes of Israel" (*šiḇṭê yiśrā'ēl*). The last term and "all the tribes of Israel" (*kol šiḇṭê yiśrā'ēl*; Dt. 29:20; Josh. 24:1) perhaps come closest to a term for the totality of Israelite society. This level of structure is the level of centralized religious institutions.

The terms "Israel" and "Israelites" are virtually equivalent. "Israel" is more often used of the whole nation under the sovereign administration of Yahweh ("Yahweh, the God of Israel," not of the Israelites, e.g., Ex. 5:1); and "Israelites" is used of the people distributively.

Other terms that refer to the people as a whole are *ʿām* and *gôy*. *ʿĀm* is chiefly a social and cultural or religious term, as in "people of Yahweh" (1 S. 1:12). *Gôy* is a political term referring to nation states, usually other than Israel (Gen. 10:5; Dt. 15:6; but cf. Gen. 12:2; 18:18, where it is used of Israel). In Nu. 23:9 both terms are used in such a way as to make the distinction clear. (*See also* NATIONS; PEOPLE.) Terms that refer to Israel as a religious gathering are *qāhāl*, "assembly" (Dt. 5:22), and *ʿēḏâ*, "congregation" (Nu. 1:2, a congregation as assembled for holy war).

B. Tribe. The second level of organization is the tribe. Both *šēḇeṭ*, the most commonly used term in the Deuteronomistic historical sources, and *maṭṭeh*, used primarily in certain priestly traditions and in Chronicles, referred originally to the rod or staff as a weapon, pastoral implement, or ceremonial object. Since staff and scepter have military and political denotations, the terms were presumably extended to apply to the realms over which authority was wielded. As applied to a social unit, the term "tribe" refers to a group with autonomy and political self-rule. Each tribe within the "tribes of Israel" is on the same organizational level. However, this does not imply equality in population size or territorial possession. Individual tribes can be referred to as "the tribe of X" or "the sons of X," e.g., Dan in Ex. 31:6; Nu. 10:25 (RSV "men of"); 26:42.

C. Clan. Mišpāḥâ, while it can be used synonymously with "tribe" (cf. Jgs. 13:2; 18:2), is the most frequent term for the third level of organization. *Mišpāḥâ* is most often translated either "family" or "clan." It is composed of kinsmen bound in a protective association. The book of Ruth contains the best example of the protective function of the clan. Boaz was of the same *mišpāḥâ* as Elimelech, Ruth's father-in-law, but not the same extended family (Ruth 2:1; see below). Consequently Boaz was obligated to function as redeemer (*gō'ēl*) of Elimelech's family.

A tribe consists of from one (Dan) to eight (Manasseh) *mišpāḥôṯ* (cf. Nu. 26). De Geus suggested that the clan was an endogamous unit, and hence was the most important unit in Israel's unilateral, unilinear kinship system. Gottwald preferred the term "protective association of families" to the term "clan."

Mendenhall and Gottwald claimed that *'elep*, another term used in the clan context, has a military organizational meaning. It is traditionally translated "one thousand," but their research suggested that it is not a fixed number of men but a group mustered by the clan (*mišpāḥâ*) on behalf of the tribe to fight in Israel's wars. *'Elep* and *mišpāḥâ* are in fact interchangeable in 1 S. 10:17-27.

D. Extended Family. The "father's house" (*bêṯ 'āḇ*) is the household or extended family. It consists of grandparents, parents, children, and even unmarried uncles, aunts, and cousins. Membership in the extended family was based primarily on consanguinity, though those members were excluded who married into other extended families. *Bêṯ 'āḇ* can also be used as a synonym for "tribe" (*maṭṭeh*), as with Aaron's rod in Nu. 17: twelve rods, one for each "father's house." De Geus claimed that the extended family is an exogamous unit, meaning marriage was outside the family; on the other hand, marriage was probably to take place within the clan.

The four divisions of social organization just described are listed in one literary unit, Josh. 7:16-18, in the process of locating the one who broke the strictures of holy war at Jericho: (1) nation, *bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl;* (2) tribe, *šēḇeṭ* and *maṭṭeh;* (3) clan, *mišpāḥâ*; (4) extended family or "household" (RSV), *bêṯ 'āḇ*.

III. Tribal Organization in Early Israel.–*A. Models of Organization.* Tribalism as a mode of social organization is generally assumed to be the shape of early Israel. But the specific character of this organization is a debated issue. Scholars have developed three prominent models, the choice of which largely determines the perspective on how early Israel came into possession of the land.

1. Pastoral Nomadic Model. The early patriarchs and the group that left Egypt under Moses are generally assumed to be nomads or semi-nomads. This is what might be called the intuitive model of Israel's social character. This model suggests that early Israelites were pastoral nomads who moved seasonally in search of pasturage and water. Nomadism and tribalism are virtually equated here. Using textual and anthropological data, first Mendenhall (in 1962) and then others (de Geus, Gottwald, Lemche) examined the claimed identification of pastoral nomadism and tribalism. They suggested that it is impossible to distinguish absolutely between the farmer (as settled agriculturalist) and the nomad (as traveling pastoralist). According to Gottwald, Israel's tribally organized peoples were settled agriculturalists who also practiced animal husbandry. And this transhumant pastoralism can characterize a settled people. In fact, both farmers and nomads could belong to the same tribe. Evidence for full camel nomadism, involving true migration, appears in the ancient Near East only after 1200 B.C. *See also* NOMADISM.

2. Amphictyony Model. Noth was the first to apply fully the amphictyony model to the structure of premonarchical Israel. Based on the classical Italian-Hellenic amphictyonies, and especially the Delphic amphictyony of central Greece, this model suggests that a religious league consisting of a number of tribal entities banded together around central shrines and common cult festivals. The twelve tribes, under Joshua's leadership, assembled at Shechem to accept Yahweh and to form a religious covenant defined by law. They took oaths of allegiance and agreed to assemble annually at the central shrine, now the home of the ark of the covenant. Thus they were bound together by religious principle rather than by ethnicity or by blood.

Noth's thesis was defended by Alt, but the validity of the hypothesis in the light of the OT evidence has been questioned by de Vaux, Mayes, and de Geus. For example, the existence of a single central shrine in Israel is

disputed. The OT suggests a succession of shrines, including Bethel, Gilgal, and Shiloh. The ark is evidenced only at Shiloh, and none of the sites provides evidence of an all-Israel gathering.

3. Retribalization Model. This model, proposed most forcefully by Mendenhall and Gottwald, suggests that the early Israelites were an ethnically mixed group of people, consisting primarily of settled Canaanite agriculturalists. The majority reorganized themselves into tribes to counter the repression of a feudal system of Canaanite city-states. The villagers and peasant agriculturalists organized into regional tribes to extend mutual aid and to defend themselves better against the political and military power of the city-states.

B. Tribal Organization and the Conquest of Canaan. The origin of Israel as a geographical and ethnic entity is intimately associated with theories of tribal organization. The following are the three primary models of Israel's occupation of Canaan corresponding to the above three models of organization.

1. Conquest Model. The conquest model is based on the pastoral nomadic view of Israel's organization. The presupposition is that the early Israelite tribes were migrating nomads who entered Palestine from outside it and settled in Palestine after conquering it. A twelve-tribe confederation formed on the basis of ethnic and religious solidarity, primarily deriving from the difference between Baalist Canaanites and Yahwist Israelites.

The picture projected by Josh. 1–12 is of a decisive military campaign with all tribes united. The Israelites traveled north through Transjordan and mounted an attack upon the central region at Jericho and Ai. After further forays south and north they secured the land of Canaan and divided it among the tribes.

Archeology has been enlisted (esp. by the Albright school) in support of the conquest model. There is evidence of widespread destruction from the time of the conquest (Late Bronze Age, i.e., late 13th and early 12th cents.) at four sites Joshua is reported to have destroyed: Hazor, Lachish, Eglon, and Debir. Furthermore, the subsequent occupation at those sites is materially poorer and architecturally simpler. This level of culture is assumed to be consistent with a semi-nomadic Israelite population.

Problems with the conquest model arise when Josh. 1–12 is compared with Josh. 13–19 and Jgs. 1. The discrepancies between these lists and a purported total conquest suggest that the invasion was less than total. Furthermore, archeological material from Jericho, Ai, and Gibeon fails to support a military conquest. Jericho was only a small unwalled settlement in the late 13th cent., and neither Ai nor Gibeon was occupied at that time.

2. Immigration Model. This model proposes that Israel came into existence as the result of a long process of peaceful infiltration by a series of separate groups of people. These diverse peoples gradually joined together in an umbrella organization along with certain indigenous Canaanite types. The twelve-tribe system was the organizational framework, and the religion of Yahweh became the official cult of the tribal league. There was a protracted struggle for possession of the land, and only in the time of David did a decisive military operation secure for them unchallenged control.

This view is advocated by the school of Alt and Noth, who formulated most clearly the amphictyony hypothesis; it has been defended more recently by Weippert. The immigration model suggests the early Israelites were seminomadic seasonal migrants into Canaan who later either settled in the unoccupied spaces between the fortified Canaanite city-states, or actually siezed portions of land by force of arms. The infiltrations took place in an uncoordinated way at different times and from various directions. These bedouin-like early migrants are usually viewed much as the *'apiru* of the Amarna Letters (late 15th-13th cents.) who established a presence in Palestine.

3. Social Revolution Model. According to this model, Israel's rise to power in Canaan resulted from the revolt of native Canaanites (aided by a group of invaders from the desert) against their suzerains. The core of the revolt movement was a group of exodus Israelites, but the formation of the nation was a coalition of various groups with separate traditions, including *apiru*, pastoral nomads, and disaffected Canaanite peasants rebelling against city-state overlords. Mendenhall, Gottwald, and Chaney advocate some form of this theory.

IV. The Twelve Tribe System.–Ancient Israel consisted of twelve tribes (Gen. 49:28; Ex. 24:4). The names of the original twelve tribes derive from the names of Jacob's twelve sons by his two wives Leah and Rachel and their handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. 35:23-26). The number twelve making up the nation remains constant, though the specific tribes making up the twelve vary, depending on whether Levi is counted as one of the tribes. If Levi is included there is a tribe of Joseph (Gen. 49; cf. also 29–30; 35:23f.; 46:8-24; Ex. 1:1-5; Dt. 27:12f.; 1 Ch. 2:1f.). If Levi is excluded, Joseph is split into Manasseh and Ephraim (deriving from Joseph's two sons), and in the ordering of the tribes Levi's slot is given to Gad (Nu. 1; 26; cf. also chs. 2; 7; 10; 13). Moses' blessing in Dt. 33 lists ten tribes, including Levi and omitting Simeon and Issachar.

The tribe was a geographic entity as well as a population group. The tribal boundaries are specified in Josh. 13–19, though one can see some fluidity when comparing this allotment with other allocations. The Solomonic administrative system (1 K. 4:7-19) lists twelve officials along with their respective geographical areas. This may reflect a twelve-tribe system, but the areas do not correspond to traditional tribal boundaries, and may rather be tied to a twelve-month royal support schedule. The system of Solomonic districts may in fact be a deliberate restructuring to overcome traditional tribal loyalties and replace them with centralized royal control. Although the Greek amphictyony analogy has been criticized, similar models have been suggested: an Egyptian tax structure for temple support employed by a 22nd Dynasty pharaoh (Redford); a five-member Philistine league centered at the Ashdod Dagon shrine (Rahtjen); and the BALA system (a calendric system of 12 30-day units assigning one or more cities to contribute to the central cult shrine) for the Sumerian League of Ur III times (Hallo, Chambers).

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TRIBES, TERRITORIES OF THE.

I. Introduction
II. Forms of the Literature
III. Southern Tribes
  A. Boundary Descriptions
  B. Town Lists
  C. Benjamin
  D. Dan
  E. Judah
  F. Simeon
IV. Joseph Tribes
V. Northern Tribes
  A. Asher
  B. Zebulun
  C. Issachar
  D. Naphtali
VI. Transjordanian Tribes
  A. Reuben
  B. Gad
  C. Half-Tribe of Manasseh
VII. Levitical Cities
VIII. The Remaining Land
IX. Conclusion

I. Introduction.–The territories of the Israelite tribes will be examined from two aspects: the forms of the literature and the chronology of the texts. Brief examination will be made of scholarly opinion regarding these matters, noting points of unity and of disagreement. The forms of the literature have proven to be most important in understanding the tribal territories. Josh. 13–19 preserves a system of borders and towns for all the tribes. The exception of Levi, in ch. 21, is considered separately. The identification of consistencies in the organization of this material leads to conclusions as to how the lists of places are to be understood. A study of the chronology of these texts in Josh. 13–19 assumes they have had an important place in the historical development of ancient Israel. The value of such discussion is not to be found so much in a determination of when the texts were written; that is a separate question. Rather, the value of a chronological study is to observe those historical junctures at which various parts of Josh. 13–19 may have played key roles in ancient Israel's history and in our understanding of it. In this way the description of the tribal territories becomes, rather than a single event, an ongoing reality.

At the heart of the definition of tribal territories lies the question of the location of the places named as forming the boundaries or territories of each tribe. The identification of the sites named in Josh. 13–19 is too complex to be covered in this article (*see* the articles on individual sites).

II. Forms of the Literature.–A major problem in understanding current thought on Josh. 13–19 concerns the variant approaches of modern scholars to the subject. But dispute over sources and purposes should not obscure the general concern of this material as a focus on the twelve tribes (for Levi, cf. Josh. 21). Surely this number does not first appear with the monarchy (Mowinckel), but considerably predates that period, "since otherwise the order of the birth of Jacob's sons would have followed their relative positon in the country at that stage in Israel's history" (Kallai, *Proceedings*, p. 219). Further, the first half of the book of Joshua fits with the second half as the latter depicts the final stage of settlement in the country (Kallai, *Eretz-Israel*, p. 106). Thus we have a certain contextual and conceptual unity pointing to an early period in Israel's history.

Alt (*KS*, II, 276) first distinguished the two types of material of interest in the descriptions of the tribal territories in Josh. 13–19. First, the individual tribal areas are treated in the form of statements concerning their borders. Simeon, Issachar, and Dan do not have such border descriptions, but otherwise statements drawing boundaries for much of the land are found. Second, the town lists appearing within the tribal areas may suggest administrative divisions within Judah and Israel. Complementary to these two basic categories are the territorial lists, prominent E of the Jordan. These may serve as boundary descriptions or as town lists. Boundary descriptions may also indicate cities where, in fact, the city-state territory is intended. Alt (*KS*, I, 200-202) initiated the suggestions that these two, the city and its territory, may each belong to different tribes in some instances.

Alt (*KS*, I, 193-202) postulated a late premonarchic or early monarchic date for a single document that constituted the boundary descriptions. It emerged from tribal disputes concerning claims to lands. Noth added the concept of fixed border points that determined the boundary. Kallai (*Tribes*) found in the biblical accounts a complete text of the boundary descriptions, although he suggested there may be some abbreviations. He argued that each tribe had its own boundary description. Aharoni (*LBHG*) maintained that all border descriptions have been abbreviated to some extent. He noted the detailed description around Jerusalem on the Benjamin-Judah boundary and suggested that we have here a boundary description in its unabbreviated form. Aharoni argued that the borders of Judah are missing. The southern, eastern, and western boundaries correspond to those of Canaan as found in Nu. 34. The northern boundary of Judah is the same as that of Benjamin. This leaves Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali with border descriptions among the tribes W of the Jordan River. Hence Aharoni found the boundary lists to have originated in a covenant of the northern tribes during the period of the Judges. Thus the discussions suggest an early date for these lists, with at least some material appearing as premonarchic.

In 1925, Alt (*KS*, II, 276-288) noted the variations in town lists according to the region of their origin. The southern tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon have many place names in their town lists. The northern tribes of Asher, Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali have only fragments. In the middle, the Joseph tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh have no town lists. Thus Alt argued that the editor of Joshua used two sources, a southern source and a Galilean source. The southern source was dated by Alt to the time of Josiah. Aharoni (*VT*, 9; *LBHG*) identified two texts from which all town lists derive: a Solomonic district list and a Judean district list. The original purpose of these lists was administrative and the dates assigned to them by scholars have varied from David's time to that of

Josiah. Kallai (*IDBS*, p. 922) observed that, in general, the town lists fit into the boundary division system. Therefore, the two systems should date from the same period. The exceptions to this rule are the town lists of Judah and Benjamin. Kallai found later additions in these lists.

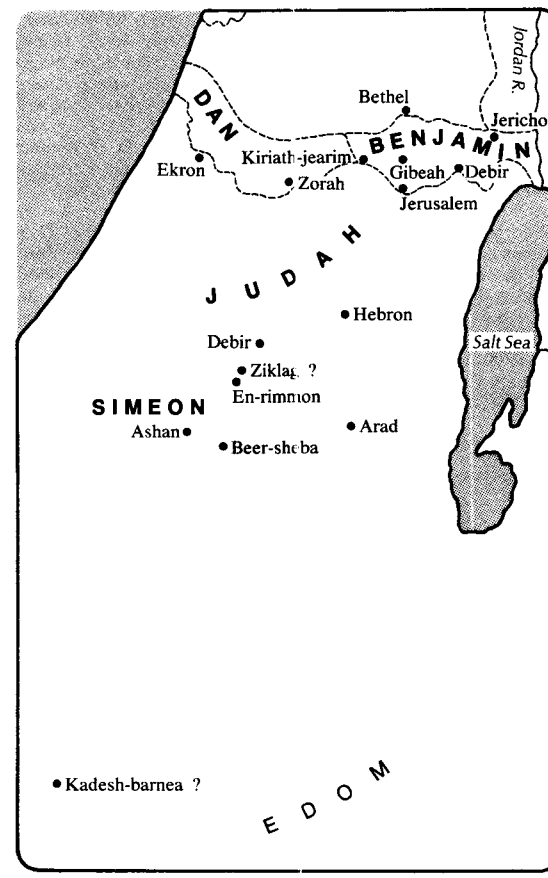
The study of the time and place of tribal settlement must now consider the biblical data on the individual tribes and the issues associated with each of them.

III. Southern Tribes.–A. Boundary Descriptions. The southern tribes include Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan. Judah and Benjamin have the most complete descriptions of any of the tribes. They each have boundary descriptions and town lists of some length. The boundary description of Judah (Josh. 15:1-12) begins in the south and proceeds in a counterclockwise direction, traveling east, north and west. Judah's southern boundary was sometimes an ideal and sometimes a reality throughout the monarchy's history. The eastern border saw virtually no change. But the northern border of Judah has become the subject of some controversy. The matter concerns the Judean districts and the extent to which they included territory in Benjamin and Dan. It is also a matter of dispute as to how far west the border actually extended. When the boundary description reaches the hill country and coastal plain, it has fewer points of description than are found in the mountainous area to the east, including the region around Jerusalem. Thus an early date for the boundary description requires us to understand this western boundary as a theoretical one (Elliger, *IDB*, IV, 704) filled out by the gradually westward movement of the tribe during the monarchy. The boundary description of Benjamin (Josh. 18:11-20) also progresses in a counterclockwise direction, beginning at the north. From Kiriath-jearim to the Jordan, the southern border of Benjamin corresponds to Judah's northern boundary.

B. Town Lists. The town lists of Judah fit within the border outlines. Study of these lists has focused on their division into districts, the date and number of the districts, and their relation to town lists of the remaining southern tribes. Thus the southern district (Josh. 15:21-32) has correspondences with the town list of Simeon (19:2-8). There are three districts in the western hill country, i.e., the Shephelah (vv. 33-36, 37-41, 42-44), which Alt (*KS*, II, 286) found to have been settled early and to have been derived from the territories of three city-states: Adullam, Lachish, and Kegila. Alt assigned the district that lies farther west and reaches to the Mediterranean (vv. 45-47) to Josiah's period. The inclusion of this district in the original list has been widely disputed, however, owing both to the unique form of the description and to the lack of historical evidence for Judah's possession of this area.

Three additional districts are in the southern mountain region (vv. 48-51, 52-54, 55-57). Alt named these districts after their major towns: Debir, Hebron, and Maon. To the north lies the district of Beth-zur (vv. 58f.). We should add to this a district including Bethlehem that is found only in the LXX (v. 59a). The district of v. 60 consists of only two towns. As a result it is often incorporated into a larger district, constructed from town lists of other tribes. Verses 61f. comprise the list of names in the wilderness district. Although various dates may be assigned to the settlement of this region, the survey and archeological evidence point to the 8th and 7th cent. B.C. (e.g., Mazar, *et al.*, *En-Gedi*; Bar-Adon; Stager).

By excluding vv. 45-47 and including the LXX district of Bethlehem, we are left with eleven districts, including the partial district of v. 60. Believing that there were twelve original districts, scholars have sought the remainder in neighboring tribal town lists. For this reason, scholarly opinion regarding the historical context of the Judean districts is closely connected to the town lists of Benjamin and Dan. From the viewpoint of Josh. 13–19, both these tribes are allotted portions on Judah's northern border. A further reason for associating the town lists has been found in the duplications of names among the three tribal town lists. Kiriath-jearim and Beth-arabah are found in both Judah (15:60f.) and Benjamin (18:22, 28). Eshtaol and Zorah are found in both Judah (15:33) and Dan (19:41).



C. Benjamin. The town list of Benjamin (Josh. 18:21-28) includes two districts, one to the east (vv. 21-24) and one to the west (vv. 25-28). Kallai-Kleinmann (*VT*, 8, 139) suggested an original third district, composed of Gibeah, Anathoth, Azmaveth, and Alemuth. These towns are not listed (however, cf. Gibeath of v. 28 with Gibeah), although elsewhere they belong to Benjamin. Since part or all of the town list in Benjamin is regularly included as one or more of the Judean districts, the date of this list is also closely related to the date of the districts.

D. Dan. Dan possesses no boundary description; it has only a town list (19:40-48). As with Benjamin, the list has an eastern (vv. 42-44) and a western section (vv. 45f.). Alt (*KS*, II, 33) had observed that the boundary descriptions for Judah and Ephraim exclude separate space for Dan. He located Dan's city list in the "Ekron district" (15:45-47) of Judah. Yeivin (p. 262) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, p. 299) followed Mazar (*SVT*) in assigning a Davidic origin to the list as the first occasion when this area was conquered. Elliger (*IDB*, IV, 709) found the list to be unhistorical and described its origin as taken from infor-

TRIBES, TERRITORIES OF THE

mation in the narratives of Jgs. 13–18. The Danite list, as portrayed in Josh. 19:40-48, predates the movement of at least a portion of the tribe northward to the city of Dan (= Laish or Leshem; cf. Jgs. 18:11).

E. Judah. Returning to consideration of the Judean districts of Josh. 15:21-62, we see how the Danite and Benjaminite lists play a significant role in the scholarly discussion. As noted above, survey work in the eastern Judean district would suggest a date during the latter part of the Judean monarchy for the occupation of this region. The problem of assigning a date for these lists cannot be resolved without taking into account their function within Josh. 13–19.

These chapters of Joshua present an attempt to outline further the settlement of Israel in the land. This settlement may be realized in different regions at different times. The various chronological schemes reflect attempts to understand this process in relation to one or more historical events (cf. Alt, *KS,* II, 276-288; Cross and Wright; Kallai-Kleinmann, *VT,* 8; Aharoni, *VT,* 9). At the same time, a distinction must be made between the historical process of settlement and the written lists as we now have them in Joshua. The district divisions present a comprehensive scheme for the southern tribes. Since they are administrative documents, their existence provides the members of these tribes with a legal identity in the land, an identity closely tied to the tribal self-perception of this people. That this was of value to the people of Judah is evident from the lists and their retention in the biblical literature. That it was perceived as part of the greater tribal identity is evident from the literary context of the districts within the tribal allotments, the geographical context of the lists of Josiah and Benjamin within the tribal boundaries, and the explicit statements of 15:20; 18:21, 28. Since this identity was part of the people's national awareness, it is reasonable to suppose that the districts outlined here (or something similar) remained a reality from the beginning of Judah's settlement in the land until the end of the period of the monarchy. This is true, as well, for the other town lists in Josh. 13–19, which by their very nature also define distinctive districts.

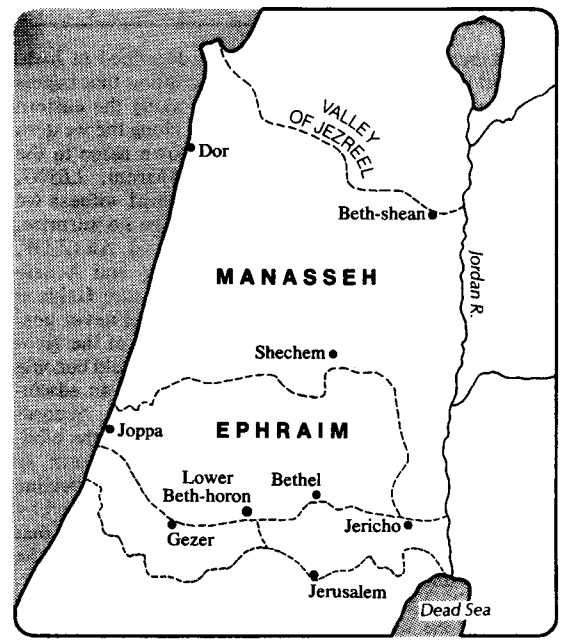
F. Simeon. Simeon, like Dan, has no boundary description, only a list of towns (19:1-9) located within the southern borders of Judah. The list is divided into two districts, an eastern and a western. Closely related to this town list are the lists of Judah's southern (15:26-32) and central Shephelah (15:42) districts, where the same towns appear. Also related is the list of 1 Ch. 4:28-33, which forms the same list and order of towns with some modification. This list explicitly dates Simeon's occupation of these cities to a period preceding David. Rainey (*Tel Aviv,* 7; *Beer-sheba II*) has argued that Simeon originally had only five towns (1 Ch. 4:31f.): Etam, En-rimmon, Tochen, Ether, Ashan. These were situated in the region of Hormah, conquered by Simeon after Israel's defeat (Nu. 14:39-45). The movement into the Negeb towns near Beer-sheba formed part of David's reorganization of the Negeb, the creation of the southern administrative districts. Like their brother tribe, Levi (see below), the members of Simeon may have served as guardians or, more likely, as representatives of the official theology. This would have helped to unite the disparate elements of southern Judah. This function would also help to explain Simeon's unusual posture, located in one region of another tribe.

Along with Simeon, several other groups occupied the southern territory of Judah (Rainey, *Beer-sheba II*). Josh. 15:13-19 describes how Caleb received Hebron and how Debir was conquered by Othniel, son of Kenaz, and future son-in-law of Caleb. Thus the Calebites and Kenizzites conquered the southern hill country, including the Hebron area. This region would later be called the Negeb of Caleb (1 S. 30:14). The Kenites settled in the region around Arad (Jgs. 1:16), in the eastern part of the Beer-sheba Valley. Also in this region were the settlements of the more obscure Jerahmeelites (1 S. 27:10) and the Cherethites (1 S. 30:14). David seems to have encountered these groups and incorporated them into his early kingdom with its center at Hebron. However, there is insufficient evidence for the existence of a unique tribal covenant among them, as Aharoni suggested.

IV. Joseph Tribes.–The Joseph tribes, consisting of Ephraim and Manasseh, settled in the central area of the hill country. To the south lay Dan and Benjamin, and to the north was located the Valley of Jezreel. The territorial information of Josh. 16:1-8 and 17:7-11 contains what appear to be abbreviated lists. The one town list is that of Manasseh (17:11), but here we find only towns outside the tribal border. Simons (*GTTOT*) observed an overall description of the Joseph tribes in 16:1-3 (southern boundary) and 17:10 (western, northern, and eastern boundaries). Within this he noted an outline of the remainder of Ephraim's south boundary (16:5-6a, with a fresh introduction in v. 4), the border between Ephraim and Manasseh (16:6b-8), Manasseh's northern and southern boundaries (17:7-9), a summary (v. 10), and the list of extratribal cities (v. 11). The descriptions are abbreviated, however.

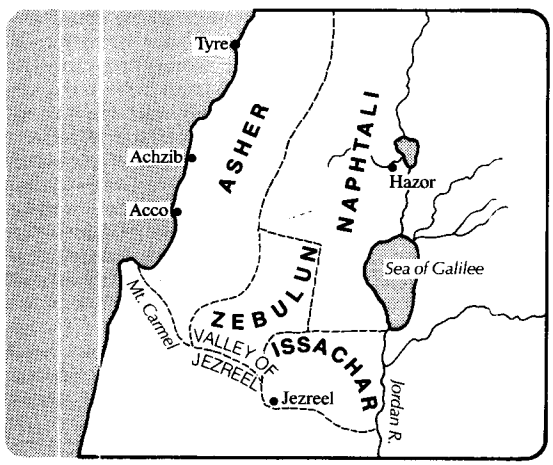
The complete lack of town lists within the territories has given rise to speculation that the destruction of the northern kingdom and subsequent expansion of Josiah's kingdom (Alt, *ZAW,* 45), the early Second Temple period priestly author/redactor's lack of interest in Samaritan regions (Mowinckel), or the outright removal of the material in a later edition (Kaufmann) may have been involved. In any case, the Joseph tribes were among the earliest to settle in their allotment. Their swift movement westward may be reflected in the lack of any details concerning a western boundary.

The southern boundary of Joseph (16:1-3) should match that of Ephraim (16:5). The northern boundary of Ephraim (16:8) correlates with the southern boundary of Manas-



seh. The northern border of Manasseh touches upon Asher and Issachar (17:10). The preposition *b* preceding both Asher and Issachar in 17:11 is probably to be understood as "beside" or "near" (so Kaufmann; not "in," as RSV has it), expressing areas lying outside Manasseh's tribal boundary system but belonging to that tribe. 17:1 describes the assignment of Gilead to Machir, a warlike portion of the Manasseh tribe (cf. 13:29-31). This forms the basis for the allotment of the half-tribe of Manasseh.

V. Northern Tribes.—Asher, Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali represent the tribes with territories in Galilee. Although Dan is also recorded as moving north, the locations in its town list are to the south. Alt (*ZAW*, 45) determined that, in the descriptions of these tribes which are all found in Josh. 19, the boundary descriptions and the town lists are mixed. Cross and Wright (*JBL*, 75) disputed this because they found the fragments left over, once Alt's divisions were applied, to be unacceptable as boundaries or town lists. Of course, Issachar is an example of a tribe that preserves only a town list. Other tribes, such as Asher, may have both boundary descriptions and town lists within their text. In such examples, however, the two have explicit expressions to help identify them.



A. Asher. The territory of Asher is described in Josh. 19:24-30 by means of a boundary description that begins in the south (vv. 24-26), moves north along the eastern border (vv. 27f.), and then travels south along the western coastal border. If it does appear in a town name in the reliefs of Ramses II's eighth year (Aharoni, *LBHG*, p. 181), it would be the earliest extrabiblical witness we have of any tribe of Israel. That would be no surprise, given its key location along the coast. Indeed, Alt (*ZAW*, 45, 77-81) used the coastal cities of Acco and Achzib (Josh. 19:29) to argue for a date for the entire Galilean tribal list document. He suggested that Israel never possessed such cities. Rather, they formed part of the Neo-Assyrian province of Megiddo. Thus, what would become the Galilean tribal territories was recorded in an administrative document of the Neo-Assyrian period. According to Alt this document was incorporated into the biblical material when Josiah extended his kingdom north, as far as Naphtali, during the period of Assyrian decline (2 Ch. 34:6). Other scholars have not been convinced by this explanation, preferring to find here a description that was, at least in large part, realized during the period of the monarchy (cf. Yeivin; Aharoni, *LBHG*, p. 255).

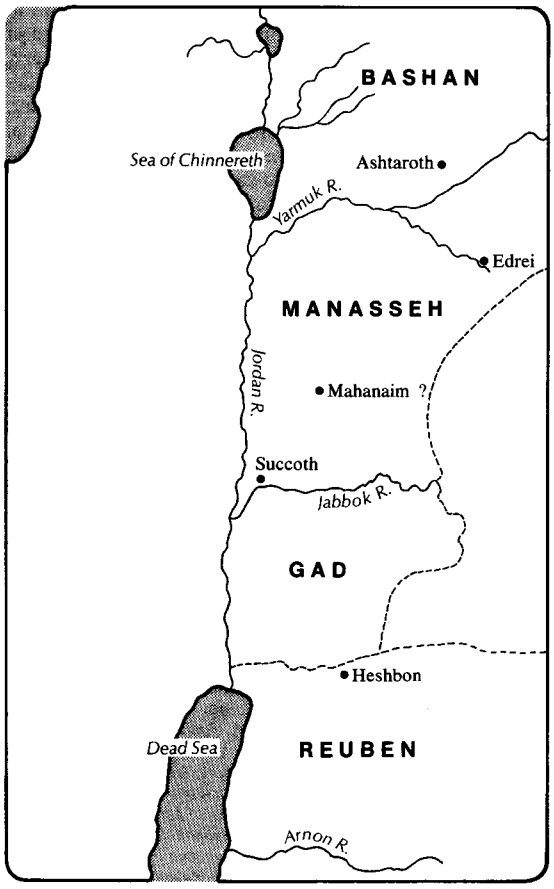
B. Zebulun. The Zebulun description (19:10-16) defines an area in the western region of the Lower Galilee, between the valleys of Jezreel and the Beit Neṭôphāh (Sahl el-Baṭṭauf, the Baṭṭōf depression). The text provides one of the most detailed examples of boundary descriptions that we have in Joshua. The description appears to begin in the south (vv. 10f.), to travel along the eastern perimeter (vv. 12f.), and to turn along a northern line (v. 14). Suggestions to locate the cities of v. 15 along the coast are prompted more from a desire to harmonize the text with Gen. 49:13 than from a realistic appraisal of the site names and their context within the inland outline of Zebulun as sketched in vv. 10-14. At the same time, it may be observed that the number of towns listed in v. 15 is far lower than the count assigned, i.e., twelve. Thus we may have only a fragment of the original town list preserved here. The lack of a western boundary description may suggest a western location for some of these towns. On the other hand, recording the western boundary may have been unnecessary due to the existing description of Asher's eastern boundary (cf. Josh. 19:27f.).

C. Issachar. The information on the tribe of Issachar in Josh. 19:17-23 provides us with a town list. Verse 22 seems to include a fragment of a northern boundary line. Otherwise, Issachar had no boundaries (Alt, *ZAW*, 45) or they were unknown (Mowinckel). In fact, the northeastern border of Manasseh (17:10) and the cities of 17:11 were somehow related to Issachar's southern boundary. This would suggest the inclusion of much or all of the Beth-shean plain in the south as part of Issachar's inheritance. Northward the tribal territory did not extend beyond the Valley of Iphtahel. This comprises much of the eastern part of Lower Galilee and the surrounding valleys. Gal (*Tel Aviv*, 9) has found no evidence for settlement throughout eastern Lower Galilee during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Thus actual settlement of this area did not take place before the 10th cent. B.C. The tribe may have lost its independent existence in later periods and have been absorbed into its neighboring tribes.

D. Naphtali. The description of Naphtali (Josh. 19:32-39) includes both a boundary description (vv. 33f.) and a town list (vv. 35-38). The major issue concerns the border described in v. 33. Is it Naphtali's northern (so Noth, Elliger, and Boling) or southern (so Alt, Mazar, Aharoni, and Yeivin) boundary? Although most of the sites in this verse are of unknown identification, the question comes to a focus with the location of the oak at Zaanannim, which Jgs. 4:11 says is close to Kedesh. If this Kedesh is the major Canaanite city of Kedesh in Upper Galilee, then the oak at Zaanannim should be located in the north and v. 33 should be a northern border. As Aharoni (*LBHG*, pp. 223f.) has observed, however, if Barak, leader of the Israelites in Jgs. 4, was from Kedesh, and if the Kedesh of Galilee was a major Canaanite city opposed to the Israelites (cf. Josh. 12:22), then the Kedesh of Barak should be sought elsewhere. Aharoni proposed a site W of the Sea of Gaililee. Somewhere nearby the oak at Zaanannim might well serve as part of the southern border of the tribe of Naphtali. The date of Naphtali's list should precede the incorporation of two major cities during David's reign, Ijon and Abel-bethmaacah. Although they do not appear in the Josh. 19 list, they would naturally be included in the territory of Naphtali, which comprises eastern Upper Galilee.

VI. Transjordanian Tribes.—A comprehensive inventory of the inheritance of the Transjordanian tribes is found in Josh. 13:8-14. In the following verses the specific inheritances of each tribe are given: Reuben (vv. 15-23), Gad (vv. 24-28), the half-tribe of Manasseh (vv. 29-31). The designated boundary to the south of the tribes was the Arnon River, which lay between Reuben and Moab. To

the west lay the Jordan River. To the east was the desert and the upper reaches of rivers such as the Jabbok. The northern border is a matter of dispute, but it appears to have reached into Bashan and may have extended into the area of Mt. Hermon.



A. Reuben. The inheritance of Reuben (Josh. 13:15-23) is also mentioned in Nu. 32:34-38. The account in Joshua consists of a territorial description (v. 16), a town list (vv. 17-20), and a summary statement (v. 21), which specifies the Jordan River as the west boundary (Simons, *GTTOT,* p. 116). As the town list includes some sites which Nu. 32:34f. designates as having been built by the sons of Gad, Reuben may have made some penetration into Gad's territory. Reuben's territory represents part of that which had been Sihon's with its capital at Heshbon. We read of its conquest by Israel in Nu. 21.

B. Gad. The remainder of Sihon's kingdom was occupied by Gad (Josh. 13:24-28). The description's structure is similar to that of Reuben (Simons, *GTTOT,* p. 119). There is a general statement of districts that the tribe is to receive (v. 25), a town list (vv. 26-27a), and a summary statement (v. 27b) referring to the general region of the inherited towns ("the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon") and the western border ("having the Jordan as a boundary, to the lower end of the Sea of Chinnereth, eastward beyond the Jordan"). However, the northern part of this description overlaps with that of the half-tribe of Manasseh, who occupied the upper Jordan Valley and the area around the Sea of Chinnereth. Gad's settlement seems to have been restricted to the lower Jordan Valley and the southern part of the corresponding ascent to the east. As the forested mountain area between Reuben's border to the south and the Jabbok River to the north comprised the region of Gilead, it is not surprising to find Gad and Gilead used interchangeably to describe identical peoples. For this reason, the earliest settlement of Gad is identified with the Gilead region. In the Levitical town list, towns from both the half-tribe of Manasseh (e.g., Mahanaim) and from Reuben (e.g., Heshbon) are assigned to the tribe of Gad (Josh. 13:38f.). This may suggest an expansion of Gad (at the expense of the other tribes) when Josh. 21 was composed.

C. Half-Tribe of Manasseh. The inheritance of the half-tribe of Manasseh (so called in Josh. 13:29) is described as having been conquered and settled by Machir and Jair, sons of Manasseh (Nu. 32:39-42; Josh. 13:31b). The descriptions of the territory are brief in both Numbers and Joshua. Josh 13:29-31 does not follow the pattern of description evident in the territorial outlines of Reuben and Gad. Instead, two districts (Bashan and Gilead) are named amid four sites (including "the towns of Jair" as one of the four). The central and earliest settlement may have occurred in the region between the Jabbok and the Yarmuk rivers.

VII. Levitical Cities.—Although Levi was always understood as one of the twelve sons of Israel and thus as a legitimate tribe, no territory was assigned to the Levites. This fact is repeatedly stressed throughout the text of Joshua. Instead, Josh. 21 and 1 Ch. 6 record the assignments of towns to this tribe. Although Issachar, Dan, and Simeon also possess towns but no territory, the Levites are singled out for special treatment. Besides being charged with the care of the priestly cult, they are the only tribe to be assigned cities to dwell in which can be found scattered throughout the entire inheritance of Israel. Josh. 21:41 gives the number of Levitical towns as forty-eight, though only forty-four are named. The remaining four may be found in the area of Reuben's allotment, omitted in the Joshua list (cf. 1 Ch. 6:63). Alt (*KS,* II, 306-315) noted that most of these town are located in frontier regions or in areas which were formerly Canaanite. Such towns would have been conquered only during David's reign. These would have been royal lands assigned to the Levites. Alt regarded the list of Josh. 21 as basically historical and assigned its final form to the period of Josiah. Mazar (*SVT,* 7) dated the list to the end of David's reign. He found the purpose of the Levitical towns to be civil and religious. They were both cultic and royal centers of the united monarchy in which the Levites functioned as officers and judges. Peterson's survey of the Levitical towns found that thirty of the forty-eight towns had no tenth-century B.C. pottery. This has called into question a date during the united monarchy. Peterson has argued for an eighth-century date.

The emphasis upon the Levitical towns as administrative (or fortified) centers has been challenged. Peterson observed the problem of administrative centers on the borders of the lands, rather than in their centers. He preferred to regard them as "Yahweh teaching centers." Aharoni also argued that the purpose of these towns was to promote national theology, ideology, and unity. Although the functions of such towns may have changed with time, the theological purpose of their existence is most closely related to the biblical perspective of the Levites as special ministers before God. The dates of specific additions to the list and its final form have been disputed. However, the existence of some form of religious centers must have been envisioned from the very beginning of the settlement process when even a core of Israelites held to the Yahwistic faith of Moses (cf. Josh. 24:15) and sought

to render a clear distinction between it and the Canaanite religion.

See also LEVITICAL CITIES.

VIII. The Remaining Land.–The remaining land is that land not possessed by Israel but lying within the borders of Canaan, which are defined in Nu. 34:1-12. The remaining land is summarized in Josh. 13:2-6 and Jgs. 1. Since Canaan does not include any of the regions occupied by Reuben, Gad, or the half-tribe of Manasseh, these tribes are not mentioned in the discussions. Josh. 13 mentions the regions of the Philistines and Avvim in the south (vv. 2f.); the coastal areas of the Canaanites and Sidonians to the west and north (v. 4); and the region controlled by Byblos (Gebalites) extending eastward through the whole hill country of Lebanon and reaching to Baal-gad below Mt. Hermon and the entrance of Hamath (vv. 5f.). Much of this land was not specifically allotted by the territorial divisions of Josh. 13–19.

Judges 1:21, 27-33 provides a list of unconquered Canaanite cities. That this list parallels the tribal borders of Josh. 13–19 has long been noted. All the Cisjordan tribes with borders are listed as having omissions in their settlement responsibilities (for Judah, cf. v. 19). The omission of any mention of the Philistines, the designation of Jerusalem as Jebusite, and the note concerning Gezer as unconquered all point to an early historical memory for the document.

IX. Conclusion.–The forms of literature that have served as our primary sources of information have been defined as boundary descriptions and as town lists. The distinction between the two is most clear with the southern tribes. Elsewhere it becomes significantly blurred and must be used with caution. Particularly with the northern tribes, there has been a variety of attempts to distinguish the two forms. The greater the difficulty, the greater is the artificiality of retaining the distinction.

The question of chronology has proven to be complex. Three distinctions need to be made. First, there are the historical circumstances reflected in the variety of events which have been associated with the lists. These include the initial tribal settlement, early tribal covenants, the Davidic and Solomonic administration, later administrative reforms under figures such as Jehoshaphat and Josiah, and the foreign influence of powers such as Phoenicia, Philistia, Egypt, and Assyria. Second, to be distinguished from the historical circumstances is the settlement itself. Israelite settlement patterns have been identified where there is an increase in number but decrease in size of settlements, in comparison with the Late Bronze Age Canaanite predecessors. The more recent survey work (cf. Kochavi, *Judea*; Stager; Gal, "Lower Galilee"; Zertal; Zori; Finkelstein, "'Izbet Sartah") suggests that the areas of the Transjordanian tribes and of the Joseph tribes (plus Benjamin) were among the first to experience such settlement. This took place in the Early Iron I, *ca.* 12th cent. B.C. Israelite settlement patterns emerge among the northern tribes during the Late Iron I, *ca.* 11th cent. B.C. Subsequent to this period, during Iron II, Israelite settlement patterns are found in Judah. Of couse, settlement is related to the chronology of the lists, but in no way does it absolutely define that chronology. Along with the historical circumstances, it is a factor which enables us to locate important focal points in defining the function of the texts themselves. The material in Josh. 13–19 may therefore influence and be influenced by such events. The third distinctive element in the chronology is the date of the composition of the material in Josh. 13–19. This is a separate problem requiring its own evaluation.

Theoretically, the process of composition could have taken place in a relatively short or in an extended period of time. As we have seen, scholars have a variety of views regarding this problem. It is therefore important to consider another strand of evidence, the literary context of Josh. 13–19. In general, we find in Joshua an account of the initial settlement in the land. It is a partial account of Israel's taking possession of its divinely given territory, and of that territory's distribution to the tribes. The material does not form the substance of a sacred covenant, such as we may read of in Josh. 24. Rather, the territorial material of Josh. 13–19 serves as a legal and administrative document, something that can be referred to time and again for defining boundaries and population centers within those boundaries. Its importance is such that other administrative reforms are related to it, but none replaces its position at the center of Israel's self-identity. Its legal nature would mean that the initial divisions, once established, would undergo a limited number of changes. Alterations did occur, but as long as tribal self-identity remained, each tribe would naturally seek to maintain the full extent of its allotted territory. Changes would take place, to a larger extent, in the means used to define the boundaries. The method used would undergo adjustments in the designations of the borders according to points of reference contemporary to each generation making use of the texts. In this process the boundaries themselves would remain unchanged. The varied fortunes of the tribes and regions are thus reflected in the material preserved for us.

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TRIBULATION [Heb. *ṣar*–'trouble' (Dt. 4:30), *ṣārâ*–'trouble' (1 S. 26:24), *ṭᵉlā'â*–'trouble' (Lam. 3:5); Gk. *thlípsis*–'affliction,' 'pressure' (Mt. 13:21; 24:9, 21, 29; etc.)]; AV also TRAVAIL, BE AFFLICTED, AFFLICTION; NEB DISTRESS, TROUBLE, PUNISHMENT, SUFFERING, etc. External circumstances that cause an individual a great deal of internal stress.

Hebrew *ṣar* and *ṣārâ* and Gk. thlípsis derive from roots that graphically portray the process in which a person is first limited, then walled in, and gradually squeezed until something must give. Sometimes the tribulation is seen as a punishment for sin (Rom. 2:9; cf. Lam. 3:5), sometimes as a part of life to be expected and tolerated (Rom. 12:12), or even, by God's grace, as a cause for rejoicing (Jn. 16:33; cf. Acts 14:22; Rom. 8:35). The forces applying such pressure may be political enemies (1 S. 10:18f., AV) or personal enemies (1 S. 26:24), predictable troubles in life (Rom. 5:3, AV; 12:12) or times of extreme crisis (Rom. 8:35).

The "Great Tribulation," as a specific period of suffering at the end of earthly history, is hinted at in the OT (Dt. 4:30; cf. Dnl. 12:1), developed by Jesus in His "Olivet Discourse" (Mt. 24:15-31; Mk. 13:14-27), and prophesied in the book of Revelation (Rev. 7:14). Some Christians debate whether the "Great Tribulation" will occur before or after Christ removes His Church from the earth. For a discussion of the various interpretations, *see* PAROUSIA IV.

G. A. VAN ALSTINE

TRIBUNAL. *See* JUDGMENT SEAT.

TRIBUNE [Gk. *chilíarchos*–'leader of a thousand soldiers' (Acts 21:31-33, 37; 22:24, 26-29; 23:10, 15, 17-19, 22; 24:22; "military tribunes," 25:23)]; AV CHIEF CAPTAIN; NEB COMMANDANT, "officer commanding" (Acts 21:31), "commanding officer" (24:22), "high-ranking officers" (25:23). A Roman military leader.

During the period of the Republic, down to 362, the consuls entrusted command of Roman legions to senior officers of the equestrian class, who were given the title *tribunus militum* (military tribune). In 362 six were elected in the tribal assemblies (*comitia tributa*). In 311 the plebs elected sixteen, and after 207 twenty-four, or six to each of the first four legions, which they commanded in rotation (Polybius vi.34.2-6). In the course of the early Principate two groups of these military amateurs emerged: the *laticlavii*, young men of senatorial descent embarking on a senatorial career (Suetonius *Augustus* 38); and the *angusticlavii*, older men of equestrian rank (Suetonius *Otho* 10).

In the time of Julius Caesar (*Gallic War* i.39) the importance of tribunes began to decline. Despite the rise of legates and prefects, however, the responsibilities of tribunes were not reduced, as suggested, e.g., by Appian (*Civil Wars* iii.44) and Tacitus (*Annals* i.37.1; 44.4), to mere supervision of exercises and drills, granting of discharges and furloughs, or keeping of military rolls.

In Acts 21–23, a Claudius Lysias (23:26; 24:22), who headed a cohort based in Jerusalem, is termed a *chiliarchos*. Since the customary term for commanders of auxiliary units, whose recruits were drawn from the provincial population and ordinarily numbered about five hundred to six hundred men, is Gk. *éparchos* (see *BC*, V, 430; *HJP*², I, 366 n.60; Mason, pp. 138-140), the cohort referred to in this section of Acts may have been a *cohors milliaria*, which was double the size of the normal cohort and was ordinarily commanded by a tribune. On the other hand, Acts 25:23 applies the plural *chiliarchoi* ("military tribunes"; NEB "high-ranking officers") to the commanding officers of the five cohorts stationed at Caesarea, and there is no reason to assume that this force totaled more than three thousand men. It is probable that in this latter passage Luke followed the more popular eastern Mediterranean usage and employed the term *chiliarchos* in the more general sense of high-ranking military officers, as in Mk. 6:21; Rev. 6:15; 19:18; and perhaps Jn. 18:12.

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F. W. DANKER

TRIBUTE. *See* TAX.

TRIM. A term used by the AV in the archaic expression "trimmest thy way" (Jer. 2:33), translating Heb. *têṭîḇî* (hiphil of *yāṭaḇ*, "make good") *darkēḵ*. The RSV appropriately renders the phrase "direct your course" (NEB "pick your way").

TRINE (TRIUNE) IMMERSION.

I. Linguistic Basis.–The meaning of Gk. *baptízō* is "dip repeatedly," "immerse" (Thayer; LSJ); it means "bathe" in the middle voice. The NT uses it, with *báptisma*, for "baptism" as the rite of Christian immersion first practiced by the disciples, then commanded by the Lord, and constantly used in the NT.

Threefold immersion is based on the trinitarian baptism commanded in Mt. 28:19 ("in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"). The assumption is that the one baptism involves a separate dipping for each person of the trinity. Some theologians also have seen a reference to Christ's three days in the tomb.

II. Doctrinal Argument.–Trine immersion does not rest on any biblical precept or precedent. It is argued from the consideration that the form of baptism should be most nearly analogous to its trinitarian content. Appeal is also made to the threefold nature of the work of Christ and of

the believer's identification with Him, in death, burial, and resurrection. Sometimes emphasis is laid on the psychological value of a sign thus brought into closer conformity with its meaning.

III. Historical Practice.–There is no evidence that the Jews practiced trine immersion, nor had they doctrinal reason to do so. A threefold scheme is sometimes detected in the sequence of circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice; but this sequence is reflected rather in the baptism, confirmation, and first communion of the early Church.

The NT neither commands trine immersion nor provides any example of it. The only possible connection is with the trinity (Mt. 28:19), but single immersion might equally well be deduced from the reported baptizing in the name of Christ.

Yet trine immersion is undoubtedly early and seems to have established itself quickly as the common practice, though with no apparent appeal to the apostles. Thus the Didache speaks of trine immersion (or affusion): "But if thou hast neither [cold or warm running water], pour water three times [Gk. *trís*] on the head 'in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit'" (7:3). Justin Martyr, too, seems to have hinted at trine immersion (*Apol.* i.61), and it is plainly attested by Tertullian: "And indeed it is not once only, but three times, that we are immersed into the Three Persons, at each several mention of Their names" (*nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina, in personas singulas, tinguimur*; *Adv. Prax.* 26; cf. also *De corona* 3). The Apostolic Constitutions reiterate: "If any bishop or presbyter does not perform the three immersions of the one admission, but one immersion, which is given into the death of Christ, let him be deprived" (xlvii. 50).

At a later stage Gregory allowed single immersion, in Spain, thus giving rise to the famous Toledo ruling much cited by the Reformers. This ruling seems to have been in opposition to a false Arian conception of the three persons and to emphasize their essential oneness in deity. In both Western and Eastern churches trine immersion has continued to be the common practice.

IV. Reformation Teaching.–The Reformers did not object in principle to trine immersion. For Luther it was a neutral matter. Calvin, too, argued for liberty in the matter, although he did not practice trine baptism; he also permitted either immersion or sprinkling (*Inst.* iv.15.19). The principle of a primary conformity to what is actually found in Scripture probably influenced Calvin's own practice.

In England the Sarum Use prescribes dipping, "first on the right side, then the left, then the face." In 1549 the first *Book of Common Prayer* maintains trine immersion; in the 1552 edition dipping remains, but the three dippings are abandoned as of no true moment. T. Becon (*ca.* 1511-1567) granted that the trine practice is ancient, but he listed it among things indifferent, since "Christ left the manner of baptism free in the church" (*Works*, 2, ed. J. Ayre for Parker Society [1843-44]). Later opinion tended to harden against the practice. Thus J. Calfhill (*ca.* 1530-1576), almost certainly erroneously, dismissed it as a "strange invention of Tertullian" (*Works*, 213, ed. Parker Society). Reformation teaching and practice was generally biased against the custom on the ground that it was an addition with no biblical sanction or true theological weight. A principle of liberty was not abandoned, however, except by the narrower Puritans.

The Reformation view seems on the whole to be the most satisfactory. Since trine immersion lacks direct biblical support, it is not a binding obligation. A different baptismal practice does not affect the sacrament and may be preferred by churches that try to exclude what is not biblically enjoined. Nevertheless, trine immersion has impressive historical attestation. It is not devoid of helpful signification and does not corrupt the sacrament. A liberty of judgment may thus be conceded to churches that maintain the practice. In other words, it belongs to the sphere where each church may and should decide for itself the most appropriate form of fulfilling the scriptural ordinance.

See also BAPTISM. G. W. BROMILEY

TRINITY.

I. Introduction
II. Relevant OT Concepts
III. NT Witness to Father, Son, and Spirit
  A. Divinity and Distinctness of Jesus Christ
  B. Status of the Holy Spirit
  C. The Fourth Gospel
IV. History of the Doctrine of the Trinity
  A. Early Church to Nicea
  B. Fourth- and Fifth-century Trinitarianism
  C. Medieval Theories
  D. Modern Trinitarianism

I. Introduction.–Though "trinity" is a second-century term found nowhere in the Bible, and the Scriptures present no finished trinitarian statement, the NT does contain most of the building materials for later doctrine. In particular, while insisting on one God, it presents Jesus Christ as the divine Son in distinction from God the Father, and probably presents the Holy Spirit or Paraclete as a divine person distinct from both. Obvious problems admittedly attach to both claims; indeed, "person" as a trinitarian (threeness) term has itself been controversial since Augustine, and especially in the modern period. Still, the doctrine of the trinity does lie in Scripture "in solution" (B. B. Warfield, *ISBE* [1929], *s.v.*); i.e., the NT presents events, claims, practices, and problems from which church fathers crystallized the doctrine in succeeding centuries.

A classic statement emerges in Augustine (*De trin.* v.8.9) and comes down the centuries as the 15th and 16th verses of the Athanasian Creed: (15) So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; (16) and yet they are not [or, there are not] three Gods, but one God.

II. Relevant OT Concepts.–Pious Christian writers from the time of the church fathers have found covert binitarian or trinitarian thought in some of the expressions and events in the OT, e.g., the language of "my Son" and "my Lord" (Ps. 2:7; 110:1), the tantalizing plurals in quotations of God's thought (Gen. 1:26; 3:22; 11:7; Isa. 6:8), the trisagion (Isa. 6:3), and the mysterious trio that visited Abraham at Mamre (Gen. 18:1-22). None of these references — nor of those to the angel, face, name, or glory of the Lord — indicates certainly, or even probably, OT awareness of hypostatic plurality in God, though several are striking and some reappear in NT christological contexts.

More obviously preparatory for NT materials are the OT concepts of word, wisdom, and spirit. The word of God in the OT is a powerfully creative (Gen. 1:3; Ps. 33:6), redemptive (Isa. 55:11), and commissioning (Jer. 1:4f.) instrument that reveals and performs the purposes of God. Though rarely personified, the OT concept, especially as developed in intertestamental thought, becomes a major Johannine metaphor for the Son of God who reveals God (Jn. 1:14, 18), mediates in creation (1:1-3), and transmits the word of His Father (3:34; 7:16; etc.).

OT wisdom, famously personified in Prov. 8:22-31, serves similarly as a concept available for NT claims of

Jesus Christ's preexistence, mediatorship, and revelatory work (1 Cor. 1:24; Col. 2:3; cf. Mt. 11:19; 12:42; and Hamerton-Kelly, pp. 11f., 68, 130ff., 192).

Spirit in the OT is not only breath or wind, but also divine presence and power — especially animating (Ps. 33:6), activating (Ezk. 36:26f.; 37:1-10), and equipping (Jgs. 3:10; 1 S. 10:6, 10; Isa. 42:1) power. As one might expect, the Spirit and word of God sometimes coalesce (2 S. 23:2; Ps. 33:6), as do Spirit and wisdom (Isa. 11:2; cf. Jn. 1:32f.). Joel 2:28 (MT 3:1) expresses the OT hope of the universal dispensing of God's Spirit, a hope fulfilled at Pentecost (Acts 2:16-21).

OT writers ascribe personal activities and moods to the Spirit (Gen. 6:3; 2 S. 23:2; Neh. 9:20; Isa. 34:16; 63:10), but only occasionally and without easily discernible intent. Still, OT language seems to anticipate the fuller NT attribution to the Spirit of personal acts and properties.

In sum, the concepts of word, wisdom, and spirit come short of complicating the monotheistic thought of the OT, but they do, together with intertestamental developments, produce a hospitable atmosphere for NT recognition of distinct hypostases, or even persons, in God. For they are all ways of expressing the immanence of a transcendent God — an immanence astonishingly focused in Jesus Christ, who "pitches His tent" among us (Jn. 1:14).

III. NT Witness to Father, Son, and Spirit.–*A. Divinity and Distinctness of Jesus Christ.* The NT witness to Jesus Christ's divinity is rich, varied, and impressive. To be sure, the NT writers only rarely apply "God" to Christ (He. 1:8f.; Jn. 1:1, [some MSS of] 18; 20:28; 1 Jn. 5:20; Rom. 9:5; Tit. 2:13; 2 Pet. 1:1), usually reserving Gk. *ho theós* ("the" God) for the Father. Still, Jesus Christ in the NT is "what God is," i.e., He is divine.

Six sorts of ascriptions of divinity may be distinguished: (1) The NT uses three titles for Jesus that are redolent of divinity. Besides "God," which is untypical but sometimes significantly placed (e.g., as a confessional frame in the Fourth Gospel, 1:1 and 20:28), "Son of God" (Jn. 5:18f.; 1 Jn. 4:15; He. 1:3) and "Lord" (Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:9-11; He. 1:10; Rev. 19:16) connote divinity in some NT literature, the latter especially because of the powerful associations derived from its use for *ʾᵃḏōnāy* in the LXX. At least for the Church's gentile mission, "Lord" connotes ontic divine nature (Fuller, pp. 230f.).

(2) In the NT Jesus Christ is described with OT passages formerly applied to Yahweh (e.g., Isa. 45:23 in Phil. 2:10; Ps. 102:25 [MT 26] in He. 1:10; Joel 2:28 [MT 3:1] in Rom. 10:13); His name is placed in formal contiguity with God's (e.g., in Pauline salutations); and He expresses Himself in magisterial "I am" language (e.g., Jn. 8:58) reminiscent of Ex. 3:14.

(3) Jesus Christ performs such uniquely divine works as forgiving sin (Mk. 2:10), creating (He. 1:10), saving (2 Tim. 1:10), cosmically ruling (Phil. 2:10f.), and judging (Rev. 22:12).

(4) Various NT writers make what appear, on balance, to be ontological claims of divinity for Jesus Christ. Thus, Christ is "equal with God" and "in the form of God" (Phil. 2:6); the unique Son (Gk. *monogenés*) of the Father, who is the Father's "exegesis" (Jn. 1:18), bearing "the very stamp of his nature" (He. 1:3); the one in whom dwells all the fulness (Col. 1:19) or the fulness of the Godhead (2:9).

(5) Virtually every layer of the NT contains either plain or implicit testimony that Jesus Christ transcends time (Jn. 1:1; 17:1; He. 7:25; 13:8; Rev. 1:17; 2:8; 22:13; cf. Hamerton-Kelly, *passim*).

(6) In the NT Jesus Christ becomes a center of sacrament (Mt. 28:19; Jn. 6:54), doxology (2 Pet. 3:18; Rev. 1:5), and prayer (Acts 7:59f.; 1 Cor. 16:22). He is, in fact, a proper recipient of worship (He. 1:6). He deserves alone, or with the Father, the reverence one reserves for God (Jn. 14:1; Rev. 5:13; 7:10; cf. also Wainwright, pp. 93-104).

Of course, these ascriptions of divinity raise the problem of monotheism in the NT. Do some of its writers in effect present Jesus Christ as a second God? One long-popular proposed solution to the problem is the theological claim that in the NT Jesus Christ's divinity consists of His transparency to God the Father and His deftness as a tool of divine purpose, work, and love. On this view God the Father is really the only divine agent in the NT. Jesus Christ is His revealer, advocate, human face, representative.

But the NT picture is actually more scandalous. Surely Jesus Christ is transparent to the Father and does represent Him in work, will, and love. But in the NT it is not this — let alone only this — that makes Christ divine. For other great redemptive and revealing mediators such as Abraham and Moses have served God similarly. Yet Abraham was never himself "in everything preeminent" (Col. 1:18). And if "Moses was faithful *in* all God's house as a servant," then Christ was faithful "*over* God's house as a son" (He. 3:5f.). The NT scandal is that Jesus Christ differs not only in degree but also in kind from God's other revealers and agents. Although the NT never calls Him "a second God," He is Himself an object of worship — He, not just the Father in Him, and He with the Father. He preexists in the very form of God; He divinely judges at the end. He is both eschatological judge and protological Lord, both "the Alpha and the Omega" (Rev. 21:6). He is on God's side of the gap between Creator and creature.

Moreover, as suggested above, Jesus Christ is everywhere in the NT distinguished from God the Father. In some full sense of "person" (knower, willer, lover, actor) not only is God the Father a particular divine person — the "high Christology" of the NT literature makes the sober claim that Jesus Christ is another such person. There is one God, the Father; there is also one Lord, Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 8:6). Grace and peace are from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ (e.g., 1 Cor. 1:3). God the Father is "on the throne" (Rev. 4:2). Christ is "at his side," or "in his bosom," or "at his right hand" (Jn. 1:18; He. 10:12f.; 1 Pet. 3:22).

These last citations indicate, still further, that the NT distinction between Christ and God, Son and Father, holds not only for the Incarnation but also for the pre- and postexistent stages of Christ's career. NT literature pointedly claims that Jesus Christ and the eternal divine Son of God are the same person (Jn. 20:31; He. 4:14; cf. Jn. 10:36 and 5:18), and that this person is distinct from the Father.

The problem of monotheism thus raised is handled in two main ways. First, some texts that echo the Shema (Dt. 6:4) and the general prophetic opposition to polytheism (e.g., Isa. 37:19) identify the one God more specifically with the Father. This identification occurs indirectly when Jesus is called the Son of man (Mark), or the Son absolutely (John), over against this one God (Mk. 12:29; Jn. 17:3). And it occurs directly in such places as 1 Cor. 8:6, where Paul refers to the "one God" who is the Father and the one Lord who is Jesus Christ. Such NT habits of speech contribute to the Christian trinitarian tradition of thinking of the Father as the source or head of divinity, even if the Son is also divine (Augustine *De trin.* iv.20.29; Aquinas *Summa theol.* i.33.1-3; Calvin *Inst.* i.13.20).

Second, in Johannine literature the mystery of the divine interpenetration, or "in-ness" (Jn. 10:38; 14:10f., 20; 17:21, 23), represents some primal, ineffable union of Christ and God, Son and Father. But if Father and Son are

one (10:30), they are assuredly not one person. Although there is no precise human parallel, theirs is a unity somewhat like a marriage (cf. Gen. 2:24), or like that of a body or community (Brown, pp. 777f., on Jn. 17:21-23 and the Qumrân concept of communal oneness), or especially like that of a human son and father, the former conceived as "his father all over again." This organic, or familial, or communal concept of the oneness of Father and Son (and, by extension, Paraclete) generates the Christian trinitarian tradition of sometimes using the term "one God" for the whole trinity (Augustine *De trin.* v.8.9).

Of course, the NT writers were not mainly or explicitly interested in the intra-trinitarian ontological status of Jesus Christ. Prevailing descriptions and accounts of Christ have rather a soteriological or eschatological purpose and a functional cast. For instance, "Son of God" in John functions, among other things, as a title of obedience. To Jesus, the Father is "the one who sent me" (7:16; 14:10b). Furthermore, the Gospel of John says less about the derivation of Son from Father than the classic trinitarian statement of eternal generation in the Nicene Creed suggests. Recent translations of Jn. 1:14, 18 and 3:16, 18 render Gk. *monogenḗs* as "only" (RSV) or "one and only" (NIV) rather than "only begotten" (*unicus*, rather than Vulg. *unigenitus*, taken as the proper Latin rendering of *monogenḗs*). Still, ontological claims and implications about Christ remain and, in fact, sometimes follow from functional assertions — as when Jesus Christ is identified as creator or judge.

What is finally remarkable about the NT picture of Christ is that it combines multifaceted difference with broad unity. The NT hardly contains a host of rival Christologies, each backed by a different community, but it does express Christ's uniqueness with a rich, untidy "multiplicity of approximations" (Hengel, p. 57). Biblical writers show no hesitance in describing Jesus as both God and Son of God, or Son of God and Son of man (John), or high priest and apostle (Hebrews), or wisdom and Second Adam (Paul).

Some of the christological literature of the NT is also open to an adoptionist interpretation. Indeed, texts like Acts 2:22, 36; 5:31; 10:42; 13:32f.; 17:31; Rom. 1:3f.; He. 5:8f. are sometimes thought to represent a Christology flatly inconsistent with the preexistence motif of Paul, Hebrews, and John. But this view is myopic, for the key claim in such summary texts as Rom. 1:3f. and Acts 2:36 is that the Resurrection gave Jesus a new function and role. The Resurrection made Him Son-of-God-in-power. This claim in fact fits snugly within the broad, parabola-shaped states-of-Christ Christology as its upward stroke. The conceptually largest pattern is that of the preexistent Son of God condescending to move from riches to poverty; ministering, suffering, and dying; and then by resurrection and ascension being exalted, promoted, and recognized as "Prince and Savior" (Acts 5:31). What thus emerges in accommodating the adoptionistic texts to the larger picture is a biblical process-Christology within the parabola of the states of Christ.

B. Status of the Holy Spirit. The NT treatment of the Spirit is difficult, ambiguous, and sometimes even oblique to the interests of later trinitarianism.

1. Personhood of the Spirit. A number of NT passages seem to treat the Holy Spirit impersonally, reflecting what Bultmann called "dynamistic thinking" (I, 555). Thus the Spirit is able to fill or endow a person (Lk. 4:1; Acts 2:4; etc.), or is granted as a gift (Lk. 11:13; Rom. 5:5; etc.), or is poured out like fluid (Acts 2:17f.; Tit. 3:6). Some such references are anarthrous: what is promised as a gift is not "the Holy Spirit" but "Holy Spirit" (Lk. 11:13). Partitive genitive constructions suggest that Spirit is available in shares (He. 6:4). One obscure passage appears to assert that God's Spirit is to God as a human spirit is to a human being (1 Cor. 2:10f.).

On the other hand, the NT also contains a number of references to the Spirit or Paraclete that are undeniably personal. The Spirit speaks (Acts 21:11), searches (1 Cor. 2:10), bears witness and intercedes (Rom. 8:16, 26), teaches (Jn. 14:26), apportions gifts (1 Cor. 12:11), exercises will (Acts 16:6f.), can be grieved (Eph. 4:30), reflects (Acts 15:28), appoints (20:28), sends (13:4), and is lied to (5:3). The Johannine account of the Paraclete is especially rich in personal language.

Here is a methodological crux. On the one hand, the apparently impersonal statements are not conclusive. For even if the Spirit is a gift, persons can be gifts — as the Son is in Jn. 3:16. And if the Spirit is available in shares, so is Christ (He. 3:14). Indeed, if such titles as "Christ" and "Holy Spirit" are often used to refer to persons, they are also used, especially in Paul, in a sort of depersonifying soteriological synecdoche to refer to those persons' effects: their power, gifts, fruits, or even the whole new situation in history they inaugurate (Vos, pp. 58-61, 163-171; Smedes, pp. 43-77). And this latter usage in no way invalidates the personhood of either Christ or Spirit. On the other hand, perhaps biblical writers sometimes use personal references to the Spirit in a personifying way for what they actually regard as the power or presence of God — as they do elsewhere for God's name, hand, glory, face, finger, wisdom, and word.

What tips the balance in favor of a personal concept of the Spirit in the NT generally is the appearance of the Spirit's name in bi- and triadic formulas. Thus, if in Rom. 8:26, 34 Paul attributes the same intercessory function to Christ and the Spirit, and if intercession is a personal function, and if Christ is a person, then a reasonable inference is that the Spirit is a person too. The same is true of the reference to "another counselor" in Jn. 14:16 (cf. He. 10:5-8, 15-17, 29).

NT triadic formulas (Mt. 28:19; Rom. 14:17f.; Gal. 3:11-14; 4:6; 2 Cor. 1:21f.; 3:3; 13:14; 1 Pet. 1:2; etc.) are similarly suggestive. It is abstractly possible that the authors of these formulas have combined a reference to a faculty or power with references to two persons, but it seems relatively improbable. So one warily concludes that on balance the NT data present and support a personal concept of the Spirit.

2. Divinity of the Spirit. Evidence for the divinity of the Spirit is thinner and hazier than symmetrical fifth-century trinitarian statements suggest (cf. Athanasian Creed, above). The Spirit is called "God" at most once (Acts 5:3). OT passages about Yahweh are not applied to the Spirit. No ontological statements of divinity appear, as they do with regard to Christ. And the Holy Spirit in the NT is never an object of worship or prayer.

Still, the Spirit performs some divine functions. He judges (Jn. 16:8-11), pours out the love of God (Rom. 5:5), gives joy (14:17), hope (8:17-25), peace (8:6), regeneration (Jn. 3:5), and faith (2 Cor. 12:9). Also, the Holy Spirit can be blasphemed (Mk. 3:29; Lk. 12:10), which in the NT is usually an act of verbally injuring someone divine.

Finally, the Spirit is intimately conjoined with Christ, and with God and Christ, in the many NT bipartite and tripartite formulas. Again, the implication is that the authors of these formulas regarded the Spirit as the same sort of being as God and Christ — particularly in those places where similar divine functions or attributes are predicated of them (2 Cor. 13:14; 1 Cor. 12:4-6).

3. Distinction of the Spirit from Christ. In the Pauline literature references to believers "in Christ" and "in the Spirit" are functionally hard to distinguish (cf. Eph. 1:13

with 4:30, and 1 Cor. 1:2 with Rom. 15:16), as are references to the rule of Christ or Spirit over believers (cf. Gal. 2:20; 2 Cor. 13:5; Col. 1:27 with Rom. 8:9; 5:5; 2 Cor. 5:5). In John, as Schweizer observed (*TDNT*, VI, 442f.), Jesus and the Paraclete both "go forth from the Father (16:27; 15:26), teach (7:14; 14:26), witness (8:14; 15:26), convince the κόσμος of sin (3:18-20; 16:8-11), yet do not speak of themselves (14:10; 16:13)."

Still, even here one cannot quite speak of a functional identity. In John the glorified Christ sends the Paraclete, never vice versa. In Paul the exalted Christ reigns as cosmic Lord, but the Spirit only represents Christ. Further, in the Synoptics and early John, as distinct from the later John and Paul, one finds quite different relations of Christ to the Spirit. The pre- and post-Pentecost Spirit has relations coordinate to the pre- and post-ascended Christ. The pre-Pentecost Spirit is the conceiver (Mt. 1:18; Lk. 1:35), identifier (Mk. 1:10), compeller (Mk. 1:12), and inspirer (Lk. 10:21; 12:10) of Jesus (Berkhof, p. 24). On the other hand, the post-Pentecost Spirit is sent by God or the exalted Christ to highlight, reproduce, and apply the life and work of Christ. Thus the Spirit, like Christ, unites believers to "Abba" (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6; cf. Mk. 14:36), provides confession of Christ and articulate prayer (1 Cor. 12:3; Rom. 8:26), accompanies the baptism of Christians (Acts 2:38; 1 Cor. 12:13), imparts life (2 Cor. 3:6), freedom (3:17), glory (3:18), and other benefits of Christ, and, like Christ, directs and empowers the mission of the apostles (Rom. 15:19; 1 Cor. 2:4; etc.; cf. Moule, pp. 27-37).

In all these cases the Spirit is distinguished from Jesus Christ, either as pre-Pentecost sponsor or post-Pentecost agent. But especially in the latter case there are hard passages (e.g., 2 Cor. 3:17) and much functional assimilation of Spirit to exalted Lord. Indeed, the very locutions "Spirit of God" and "Spirit of Christ" (Rom. 8:9) suggest both intimate association and real distinction (Stalder, p. 53).

In sum, the NT does testify to the Spirit's distinct personhood and divinity, but mutedly and ambiguously. The Spirit in the NT is personally less distinct than the Father and Son, and His divinity less clearly stated; He appears as a nearly transparent agent for God and Christ. One properly concludes that the NT is overall clearly binitarian in its data, and probably trinitarian.

C. The Fourth Gospel. Through John's Gospel runs the richest vein in the NT for the Church's doctrine of the trinity — a wide, deep, and subtle account of divine distinction-within-unity. In John, Father, Son, and (usually) Spirit/Paraclete are clearly distinct divine persons who play differentiated roles in the general divine enterprise of life-giving and life-disclosing. Yet their primordial and unexplained unity is revealed and exemplified by common will, work, word, and knowledge, and by reciprocal love (except for the Spirit) and glorifying. The same six phenomena that distinguish the persons — especially by subordination of Son and Spirit — also unite them. This is the emphatic *para-doxa* expressed by Jesus in the juxtapositions of 10:29 with 10:30 and of 14:10f. with 14:28 (Bultmann, II, 50-52).

(1) The Son in John is on a mission: He does not do His own will, but that of His Father, the One who sent Him (4:34; 5:30, 38; 8:29; etc.). Though the Son has a will of His own (17:24), He subordinates it to the Father. The Spirit in John is subordinate in turn to the Son. He functions as pure agent, bestowed by Jesus (1:33; 20:22) and sent as Paraclete (14:26; 15:26; 16:13f.) to combine the functions of advocating legal assistant and comforter to the community of believers.

Yet this very super- and subordination of wills that distinguishes the three also unites them. For only one divine will is expressed — that of the Father who sends the Son and (with the Son) the Spirit. The sending idea itself, given the *šālî(a)ḥ* tradition of the OT and rabbinic Judaism (cf. Isa. 6:8-13), suggests both that "the one who sends is greater than the one sent" (*TDNT*, I, 421) and also that "the one sent by a man is as the man himself" (I, 415).

(2) The Son's work, similarly, is that of His Father (5:19-22, 36; 9:3f.; 14:10). And the Paraclete in a way akin to the *arrabón* of Eph. 1:14 reveals and applies the work of the Son (15:26; 16:8-11, 14). This Father-dominated order of work is itself unifying, but some Johannine expressions also suggest something more like equality, at least between Father and Son. Hence the double indwelling of 14:23 (cf. 1 Jn. 2:24), the double judging of 8:16-18, and the twin consecrations of 10:36 and 17:19. In 5:17 Jesus states the relation with a simple *kaí* coordinate: "My Father is working still and I am working." Precisely the claim of a mutual agency of Father and Son provokes the charge that Jesus is "making himself equal with God" (5:18).

(3) Works and word are closely yoked in John, occasionally almost interchangeably (14:10, though cf. 10:37). The Son utters not His own words, but those of His Father and sender (3:34; 7:16; 8:26; etc.). In fact, reaching deep into the intertwined OT and Hellenistic word and wisdom traditions, John interprets the preexistent Son as *ho lógos* who was with God in the beginning. The Paraclete, in turn, teaches the words of the Word (16:14), functioning eschatologically in declaring what is to come (16:13) and retrospectively in reminding the disciples of all that Christ has said (14:26; cf. 2:22 and 12:16).

Once again the same phenomenon of word, revelation, and teaching both distinguishes and unites. The functional subordination of Son and Spirit insures that only one message is taught. But there is also a true mutuality of witness (Gk. *martyría*). For if the Spirit witnesses to the Son, the Son also witnesses to the Spirit (15:26; 14:26). And if the Son witnesses to or reveals the Father, the Father also witnesses to the Son (17:26; 1:18; 5:36f.). The unity of will, work, and word is summed up with John's use of Gk. *pánta*. The Father authorizes the Son by giving Him "all things" (3:35; 16:15). But eschatologically the believing community receives all these things only via the Paraclete (14:26; cf. 15:15f.), who thus brings life — the Johannine concept of salvation.

Further, the Johannine categories of distinction-within-unity include (4) knowledge (10:14f.), (5) love (3:35; 10:17; 14:31; etc.), and (6) glory (16:14; 17:22, 24). All six categories seem to function as ways of expressing distributive subordination of divine roles in life-giving and also as expressions of primordial divine in-ness or one-ness (10:30, 38) of Father, Son, and Spirit. In-ness or oneness appears to be exhibited by love and glory (17:21-24) and by works/word (14:10f.).

The presentation of both divine subordination and divine unity in John's Gospel was to complicate later trinitarian debate, not least the Arian debate. For on the one hand there is little doubt that John presents a functional "hierarchy," the Father ultimately in control. Son and Spirit seem relatively unoriginal in function. They are always sent. The Spirit never sends the Son on missions (cf. the reverse Synoptic picture above), and neither Son nor Spirit ever sends the Father. On the other hand, the Son appears to be equally divine with the Father. For if the Father is the "only true God" (17:3) the Son is also *theós* (1:1c) and *ho theós* (20:28). He speaks throughout John with "the accent of deity" (Hunter, p. 23). Indeed, Käsemann went so far as to call John's Christology "a naive docetism" (p. 9). And if the divine nature (will, love, glory, etc.) is revealed by heavenly origin and divine work,

then with due hesitation the Paraclete/Spirit, the "other Counselor" (14:16), may be added to the Johannine concept of God. In John's Gospel one finds "the beginning of dogmatic reflection in the strictest possible sense," for John displays real interest in what would later be called the mystery of the holy trinity (Käsemann, pp. 23, 49).

IV. History of the Doctrine of the Trinity.–A. Early Church to Nicea. Until Tertullian in the West (d. *ca.* 220) and Origen in the East (b. *ca.* 185) trinitarianism was marked by formal use of threefold language, occasionally by remarkable confusion about the status of Son and Spirit (as in the Shepherd of Hermas), and also by certain modest, troubled attempts to address the problem of threeness and oneness. Justin Martyr, for instance, argued in his *Dialogus contra Tryphonem* that worship of Jesus Christ is consistent with monotheism, even though the *lógos* (with whom Jesus Christ is in some way identifiable) is "a second God in number" (*Dial.* 128.4).

Tertullian, heir to the work of Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenaeus of Lyons, fixed Latin trinitarian vocabulary and fashioned a mainline answer to the monist heresies that always tempted the West. In his *Adversus Praxeam* Tertullian disposed of Praxeas, a "patripassian monarchian," i.e., a theologian who believed that in God there is exactly one person, and that this one person — the Father and Holy Spirit — suffered in the flesh as Jesus Christ. As Praxeas saw it, if there is only one divine kingdom or monarchy, then there must be only one monarch and thus only one divine person. In so thinking, and in rejecting prophecy, said Tertullian, he "put the Paraclete to flight and crucified the Father" (ch. 1). His error was precisely the supposition that one monarchy entails one monarch, that "the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are the very selfsame person" (ch. 2). On the contrary, said Tertullian, the one trinity (Lat. *trinitas*) consists of three persons (*personae*) of one substance (*substantia*).

The meaning of these terms has been much debated. But at key places Tertullian appears to use "person" in a fairly straightforward sense akin to modern usage (a distinct agent), though without particular psychological overtones. Thus he argued that even in an earthly monarchy several "persons" or "officials" administer it, e.g., a father and son (ch. 3). So also in God: the divine monarchy is not divided by being severally administered by Father, Son, and Spirit. They are not rivals or "many gods," but three persons substantially the same. Though by "substance" Tertullian probably meant a kind of rarefied physical stuff, his logic and his strong use of *persona* both defined the monist heresy and established a convention for orthodox Western trinitarianism. Indeed, by the time of Novatian's *De trinitate* (*ca.* 257), modalism, whether by Praxeas, Noetus, or Sabellius, was routinely dismissed by orthodoxy as monist heresy, i.e., as belief in only "one person," for Father and Son are as plainly two persons as are Paul and Apollos (*De trinitate* xxvii).

In the East before Nicea, Theophilus of Antioch appears to have been the first to use "trinity" (Gk. *triás*) for God (*Ad Autolycum* 2.15), though he had no full theory and what he did have is obscure.

Athenagoras (*ca.* 177) probed the Johannine oneness and in-ness doctrine and declared the knowledge of God's oneness and distinctness the highest ambition of Christian insight (*Supplicatio* 12). Origen's thought — brilliant, fruitful, eccentric — is an amalgam of Christian and Platonist strains, whose influence for Eastern trinitarianism is hard to exaggerate. Main historians of doctrine find in Origen (*ca.* 182-251) the very fount of what is characteristically Greek: the use of *hypóstasis* for each of the three in God; the clear numerical distinction of Father, Son, and Spirit as persons, yet united in will and love as one God; the eternal generation of the Son; and the strong hierarchicalism according to which only the Father can be called true God — Son and Spirit subordinated to the Father not only in function but also in nature. For the Father ontologically transcends the Son and Spirit as much as they, in turn, transcend the created world (*In Ioannem* xiii.25.151; *In Matt.* xv.10; *De prin.* 1.3.5; cited in Kelly, p. 132). Thus, most remarkably, one finds in Origen's trinitarianism the source of both orthodox Cappadocianism and heretical Arianism.

The Arian debate of the 4th cent. centered from the very first on the right interpretation of Prov. 8:22-31 (Pelikan, p. 193). Origen had sometimes suggested that the *lógos*, identified both with the preexistent Son of God and with wisdom, is a creature if wisdom is such in Prov. 8:22 (cf. *In Ioannem* i.19.115). Arius made explicit this Origenist tendency to subordinate the Son metaphysically. For him the Son of God (identified with wisdom) has not always existed in eternal generation, but "before eternal times" was brought into being by the Father. Indeed, God cannot eternally communicate the divine essence to another, for God is absolutely simple and His essence therefore incommunicable. The Son was in fact made by God. He is a "second," a perfect creature (though eventually in principle fallible), the firstborn of all creation, intermediate — a saving mediator — between God and human beings. Like his Nicene opponent Athanasius, who argued that the Son of God had to be very God to save us, Arius may have had partly soteriological motives for his theory (Gregg and Groh).

In a highly charged political atmosphere, Constantine's Synod of Nicea (325) dispatched Arius but puzzled generations to come. For apart from the anti-Arian phrases of the Nicene Creed, which derived in tone from the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel ("God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten, not made"), the central Athanasian and Nicene code word for anti-Arianism turned out to be wonderfully ambiguous. Nicea said the Son was *homooúsios* with the Father, i.e., of one substance or being, but the term fostered as much debate as closure. For it might have meant that the Son and Father were precisely the same being, or else it might have meant that they were the same sort of being. Probably the latter was meant, since the former is modalist and the latter good enough to rout Arius. Nevertheless, as G. C. Stead remarked, the connotations of *homooúsios* were probably complicated by social and organic overtones. The church fathers' favorite images for the Son's relation to the Father were those of rays from sun, twigs from branch, streams from source — and children from parents. So at Nicea the sense of *homooúsios* was probably looser than numerical identity, but stronger than mere common membership in a sort or class (Stead, p. 248). For if the Son is as divine as the Father, He is also the Father's Son. He bears, in addition to common genus membership, an indescribably intimate "of" or "from" relation — as of a child from a parent. Thus the synonymous intention of the biblical ("God of God, Light of Light") and philosophical (*homooúsios*) language.

B. Fourth- and Fifth-century Trinitarianism. For the church fathers of the hundred years after Nicea, the central datum of the doctrine of the trinity is that a particular person, the Son of God, has preexisted with the Father, become incarnate, and has since returned to the Father's glory. This person is one with the Father in an inconceivable Johannine (10:30) and sometimes Neo-Pla-

tonic (esp. Augustine *De trin.* v-vii) sense, but is also distinct and divine relative to the Father as human beings are distinct and human relative to each other or, particularly, as a human son is to a human father (Athanasius *Epistulae ad Serapionem* ii.3; Basil *Epistulae* 38.2; Gregory of Nyssa *Non tres dei*; *Ad Graecos*). Trinitarian thought, as focused by the Nicene controversy, started with the incarnation and deity of Jesus Christ and was pushed beyond binitarianism by reflection on Pentecost and the NT descriptions of the Holy Spirit, as well as by the attempt to defend the Holy Spirit's divine status against the fourth-century Pneumatomachians, or "Spirit Fighters" (Gregory Nazianzus *Oratio* 31.10; 34.11). Greek theologians of the time typically understood the resulting trinitarianism to represent a mediating triumph between Jewish monotheism and pagan polytheism (Gregory of Nyssa *Oratio catechetica* 3).

Foundational fourth- and fifth-century theories of the trinity diverge at several points. Certain historians have sharpened this divergence implausibly. Harnack, for instance, claimed that the Cappadocians reinterpreted the Nicene "same substance" as if it were "like substance" (*homoioúsios* for *homooúsios*); he also stated that Augustine "only gets beyond modalism by the mere assertion that he does not wish to be a modalist" (IV, 130f. n. 1). Surely there are interesting East-West differences in accent and tendency. Greeks tended to see the divine threeness as given and the oneness as the problem or mystery. Latins conceived matters the other way around. Greeks favored social analogies for the trinity, Latins psychological analogies. Eastern theories — especially Cappadocian as contrasted with Augustinian — show less monist-tending pressure from the Neo-Platonist doctrine of simplicity.

But there are also major similarities. For both Greek and Latin trinitarians the routine heresies (to become standard in church history) were Sabellianism or Modalism on the monist side and Arianism on the pluralist side. Arianism, despite its early insistence on the unity and simplicity of God, became the standard tritheist heresy because Arians worshiped Christ and the Spirit while refusing them full metaphysical deity. This made the Son a "bastard" and the trinity a pagan "plurality of gods" (Gregory of Nyssa *Contra Eunomium* i.19). Meanwhile, Sabellius on the modalist side was feared and scorned because he applied three titles to one "subject" (*hypokeímenon*) (Gregory of Nyssa *Contra Eunomium* i.19) or believed in only "one person" (Hilary of Poitiers *De trinitate* ii.23).

Again, while terms naturally differed (one substance or essence = Gk. *ousía* or *phýsis*, Lat. *substantia* or *essentia* or *natura*; three persons = Gk. *hypostáseis* or *prosôpa*, Lat. *personae*), and while there was considerable, sometimes exquisite, cross-linguistic misunderstanding or nervous indifference about these terms (e.g., Augustine *De trin.* v.9.10; vii.6.11), every fourth-century theorist agreed that only one divinity or godhead (Gk. *theótēs*, Lat. *deitas* or *divinitas*) is undividedly present in three persons or hypostases.

The Cappadocian fathers (Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa) fixed the Greek vocabulary (esp. one *ousía*, three *hypostáseis*) and fashioned a powerful theory of the trinity that still reverberates in Eastern Orthodoxy and modern social trinitarianism. For Gregory of Nyssa (the most complete and technical of the Cappadocians) the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God. Yet there is only one God, for the three are "divided without separation and united without confusion" (*Contra Eunomium* ii.2). As the fount of deity, the Father is "God proper," while the Son and Spirit are of or from Him as His "effects" (*Ad Graecos*). Each has an identifying or distinguishing property, usually stated as unbegottenness for the Father, begottenness for the Son, mission or procession for the Spirit.

How are these three one God? Their will is united, their existence is from one cause (the Father), their nature is exactly the same, and their work or operations are perfectly coordinated (*Ad Graecos*; *Non tres dei*). Although three of these oneness factors (will, cause, work) cannot be claimed for human beings, Gregory picks out oneness of nature as a point of comparison between human beings, on the one hand, and Father, Son, and Spirit, on the other. In the typical and controversial Cappadocian analogy, Gregory says that Father, Son, and Spirit are to godhead or godness what Peter, James, and John are to manhood or manness (*tó ánthrōpos*). Indeed, "there are many *hypostáseis* of the one man and [precisely] three of the one God" (*Ad Graecos*).

Gregory's problem was how to think of three who are divine as not three Gods. He argued by analogy: three human persons are, despite appearances and our unfortunate use of "men" for the three, actually only one man — i.e., they are exhibitions or instances of exactly one human nature. Similarly, the three divine persons are, despite appearances and considerations of language, only one God — i.e., they are instances or exhibitions (*deiknýmenoi*) of exactly one ineffable divine nature (*Non tres dei*). Indeed, Father, Son, and Spirit are also one in will, source, and work. Throughout his writings Gregory showed that he conceived of Father, Son, and Spirit as personally distinct agents whose united works and will reflect an unspeakable, superlative, mystery of oneness or in-ness (*Contra Eunomium* i.39; ii.2; x.4). In this way Gregory's theory finally looks like a plausible, if Platonized, extrapolation from the Fourth Gospel.

The general drift or flow of Augustine's massive, difficult trinitarianism goes another way. Formally, Augustine's thought is similar to Gregory's: "the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God, and no one doubts that these words are spoken according to the substance, yet we do not say that there are three gods, but one God, the most exalted Trinity itself" (*De trinitate* v.8.9).

God for Augustine is one nature or essence ("the thing itself that God is") exemplified by the one trinity. The three persons are distinguished as in Gregory according to generation and procession so that "he who is the Father is not the Son. . . . He who is the Son is not the Father; and the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son" (*De trin.* i.4.7). Here and in many other places Augustine speaks of the three in Johannine fashion. Father and Son share a unity of will (not an identity) like that of human beings, and "a society of love" (*De trin.* iv.8.12). "For if the many souls that draw nigh to God are one through charity . . . is it not still truer that the Trinity is one God?" (*In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* xxxix.5). Father, Son, and Spirit must not be imagined as merely three faculties of one divine person. For each is "living"; none lacks perception or understanding. All possess every divine capacity (*De trin.* xv.5.7, 7.12, 14.23, 17.28, 23.43).

Still, Augustine's theory is mixed and, in the end, probably inclined in a monist direction. First, his favorite analogies are psychological. The trinity is like mind, (self-)knowledge, and (self-)love; or like memory, understanding, and will; or like memory, understanding, and love of God (*De trin.* ix.4f.; x.11f.; xiv.4-8). Second, Augustine's doctrine of the trinitarian indivisibility of work

sometimes reaches heroic proportions, as when the Son participates in His own conception and virgin birth, or when in "subjecting all things to the Father" (1 Cor. 15:28) He thereby also subjects them to Himself (*De trin.* ii.5.8f.; i.8.16).

But most importantly, in the sometimes desperately difficult middle books of *De trinitate* Augustine invokes so strong a version of the Neo-Platonic doctrine of simplicity as to blur, or even efface, the trinitarian distinctions he elsewhere maintains. In God there cannot be "three species of the one essence" (vii.6.11). The only way to distinguish the persons is in terms of the self-relations of the divine essence (viii.1), for each person is identical (not just identified) with that essence (v.10.11). At this point he develops the final approach of Gregory's *Non tres dei*, i.e., undifferentiated nature and different causality.

For Gregory the trinitarian mystery was how we can have three persons and still say "one God." Augustine's problem was the opposite. He wanted to know how the identity of the Father, Son, and Spirit with the divine essence allows us still to talk of three persons (*De trin.* vii.4.8). Where Gregory released tension by saying "one man" in the human analogue (willing to be implausible on oneness to protect threeness), Augustine did so by giving less significance to threeness in the divine analogue (willing to be vague on threeness to protect oneness). In God, says Augustine, there must be "three somethings" (*De trin.* vii.4.9). Augustine's trinitarian mystery is really *quid tres* (three what?) (v.9.10), and his explanation of it piously indeterminate for both he and Gregory believed that the trinitarian mystery — however stated — surpasses comprehension and resists human resolution (xv.51).

C. Medieval Theories. Augustine's massive influence was to shape all succeeding Western trinitarianism. In the 6th cent. Boethius defined *persona* as "an individual substance of a rational nature," but he did so in a christological treatise (*Liber contra Eutychen et Nestorium* iii). His *De sancta trinitate* simply compresses Augustine: trinitarian oneness is determined by considerations of simplicity; trinitarian distinctions, neither substantial nor accidental, are relative. Father, Son, and Spirit are in fact names for the self-relations of the divine "thing" (*id quod est*) or essence. Thus, just as a given weapon can be called a sword, brand, or blade, the divine essence can be called Father, Son, and Spirit (*De sancta trin.* iii).

In the seventh-century Creed of the (11th) Council of Toledo, one can see an early example of Augustine's influence on the *filioque* controversy. Augustine had suggested a love analogy for the trinity: Father, Son, and Spirit are like a lover, his beloved, and the love they share (*De trin.* viii.10.14; ix.2f.). Naturally, then, the Spirit as the bond of love (*vinculum caritatis*) between the Father and the Son "is shown to have proceeded at the same time from both, for he is to be acknowledged as the love or sanctity of both" (11th Council of Toledo; Denzinger, p. 527). The Council thus concluded that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son (*filioque*), although Augustine himself would have said "originally" from God the Father (*De trin.* xv.29.47f.).

The Eastern Church rejected the Western practice (*ca.* 625-1000) of including the *filioque* clause in liturgical uses of the Nicene Creed for several reasons: it is absent from the key biblical text (Jn. 15:26), it depends on a given theologian's theory, and it seemed presumptuous for Benedict VIII (the Western pope who officially added the *filioque* claim in 1014) to alter a creed set by an ecumenical council. The resulting schism (1054) between East and West remains unhealed to this day despite discussion of a possible compromise with the phrase "through the Son."

The 12th and 13th cents. saw the apex of Western Augustinian trinitarianism. In his *De trinitate*, Richard of St. Victor at once developed the Augustinian analogy of love in a new direction and consummated a great twelfth-century fascination with mystical love, as in Bernard of Clairvaux, Achard of St. Victor, and Richard's teacher Hugh of St. Victor. Richard's theory *in nuce* is that all love needs both a giver and a receiver. *Agápē* or *caritas* is by nature other-directed. Yet a creature would be an insufficient object for God's love. God therefore cannot fully love unless there are two persons in God Himself. But a good being is willing to share two-personed love with a third. Thus, Richard's remarkable conclusion: "In order for charity to be true, it demands a plurality of persons; in order for charity to be perfected, it requires a trinity of persons" (*De trin.* iii.13). These are three "incommunicable existences" of the one divine essence.

Richard stands somewhat outside the line that runs from Augustine through Boethius and the Athanasian Creed to Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). The latter explicitly rejected Richard's theory that self-love is not properly love at all, maintaining that this is true only of creatures who have niches and needs to fill (*Summa Theol.* i.32.1). Aquinas here followed Augustine, who had taken seriously the possibility of unipersonal divine self-love as a trinity pattern reflected in single human minds; for Augustine the human mind's capacity for remembering, understanding, and loving itself is an image of God (*De trin.* xiv.8.11).

Aquinas's theory climaxed the Western tendency to stake down divine oneness, usually expressed in philosophical terms, and to view trinitarian distinctions as self-relational. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had said that in God there is "one highest, incomprehensible and ineffable thing" and "each of the three Persons is that thing" (Denzinger, p. 804). By this stage of Western thought, tritheism meant not just Arianism, but any denial of simplicity. Indeed, considerations of simplicity determined biblical exegesis: "When the Truth prays to the Father for his disciples, 'that they may be one, as we also are one' (John 17:23) the word 'one' as applied to the disciples is to be taken in the sense of a union of charity in grace, but in the case of the divine persons in the sense of unity of identity of nature" (Denzinger, p. 806).

In his own theory Aquinas spoke of three subsistences or persons in God, relationally distinguished according to the two movements of generation and procession, which Aquinas understood as divine acts of understanding and willing, or of Word and Love (*Summa Theol.* i.27.5). Each person is his own relation (i.39.1), and each person is identical with the whole divine essence, for "everything which is not the divine essence is a creature" (i.28.2). Are the persons really identical with each other, then, since they are each identical with the divine essence? Aquinas denied this conclusion (28.4), claiming that there is still "relational" or "logical" distinction. Suppose, for instance, that Thomas thinks of himself. Though thinker and the one thought are really identical, they are relationally or logically distinct, since the thinker is an active subject and the one thought is a passive object. Thomas believed that such distinctions, although relational, were nonetheless real, and that similarly, Father, Son, and Spirit could be said to be really distinct if relationally distinct. Like Augustine, of course, he constantly stressed the incompleteness of every analogy (e.g., i.27.1).

D. Modern Trinitarianism. The Reformation had no quarrel with medieval trinitarianism, except perhaps to display irritation with its scholasticism. Calvin, for example, said of the array of technical trinitarian terms that he

"could wish they were buried" if people would only agree "that Father and Son and Spirit are one God, yet the Son is not the Father, nor the Spirit the Son, but that they are differentiated by a peculiar quality" (*Inst.* i.13.5). As it is, however, terms such as "trinity" and "person" become "especially useful when the truth is to be asserted against false accusers" (i.13.4).

After the Enlightenment, European Pietism and Socinianism, as well as British-American Deism, tended to minimize the doctrine of the trinity as irrelevant or reject it as flatly absurd. The age of continental *Aufklärung* and British empiricism had progressively less patience with a doctrine whose validity seemed to rest wholly on the authority of biblical revelation and conciliar pronouncement (Franks, pp. 142-161; Fortman, pp. 244-250).

The most immediate factors behind late modern (esp. nineteenth-century) trinitarian reductionism are the emergence of biblical criticism and the sharp turn in theological method that Schleiermacher and his followers made in response to Kant. Thus, after Strauss liberal theology closed down, or at least fenced off, such trinitarian sources as the Fourth Gospel and expressed a critical suspicion of the whole idea that the NT contains a series of revelatory propositons about the life and work of divine persons.

Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and his followers turned instead to the practice of an "empirical," non-deductive method for *Gemeinde Theologie* — a method that focused not on biblical propositions about divine persons but rather upon "the immediate utterances of the religious self-consciousness." This self-consciousness manifests itself in certain "religious affections" (I, 81-83; cf. pp. 76f.). Neither the self-consciousness nor its manifestation was for Schleiermacher immediately or eternally tripartite. Thus Schleiermacher rejected the traditional ecclesiastical doctrine of the trinity, even though he held out for a belief in "the divine in Christ" and "the divine in the church" (I, 738-751). In this position Schleiermacher was generally followed by subsequent German liberal theology (Strauss, Ritschl, Harnack, Herrmann, Häring) and by British-American unitarianism and modalism (Channing, Martineau, Bushnell, Clarke, Brown).

Schleiermacherian theology and its trinitarian reductionism lost its dominance with the rise of Karl Barth (1886-1968) and neoorthodoxy. In a mighty attempt to straighten out "man curved in on himself," Barth freed theological attention from the various forms of pious affections and layers of self-consciousness with which it had become fascinated, and directed it back to the self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ. In his *Church Dogmatics* (I/1), Barth adopted the proposition "God reveals Himself as the Lord" as a formal and material summary of this self-revelation and identified it as "the root of the doctrine of the Trinity." For in the interpretation of revelation, one is inevitably confronted with the Subject who reveals Himself, with the central "event," Jesus Christ, by which He does so, and with a resulting concrete relation that He sets up with humanity. That is, one encounters the ternary not only of Revealer, revelation, and revealedness, but also (correspondingly) that of Father, Son, and Spirit (*CD*, I/1, pp. 306, 310, 297, 299, 312).

Barth not only boldly introduced the doctrine of the trinity into his prolegomena by coaxing it from his analysis of self-revelation; he also made it the frame for his entire massive theology, as the theology of God the Creator, Reconciler, and Redeemer. This doctrine is also an important part of his ethics according to an "analogy of relations"; for the God who coexists "in relationship and fellowship" within His own triune being has created humanity male and female to be in covenant partnership with Him and, simultaneously, to live in cooperation and fellow-humanity with each other (*CD*, III/1, p. 196; III/2, pp. 323f.). For the overall size, suggestiveness, and novelty of his theory, Barth has to be regarded as the major trinitarian theorist of the 20th century.

Yet certain other theologians have vigorously objected to Barth's heavy epistemological categories, to his preference of "modes of being" to "persons" as threeness terminology, and particularly to the monist-tending concept of "the one" God who is "not only I but also I and Thou, i.e, I only in relation to Himself who is also Thou, and Thou only in relation to Himself who is also I" (*CD*, III/1, p. 196). Especially L. Hodgson (*Doctrine of the Trinity*) and J. Moltmann (*Trinity and the Kingdom*) have criticized Barth as reductionist, and suggested, as an alternative, social analogies of the trinity in which each person of the trinity is a distinct I and a Thou, and the whole trinity is more like a three-member society than like a single personality with several self-relations. Although other important twentieth-century theories associated with transcendental Thomism (K. Rahner), process thought (N. Pittenger, J. Bracken), the theology of suffering love (E. Jüngel, J. M. Lochman, H. Mühlen, J. L. Segundo), and analytic philosophy (D. Brown) have appeared, they all tend to gather around either of the major modern models: monist-tending Barthianism, which has difficulty with the threeness, or tritheist-tending social trinitarianism, which has difficulty with the oneness. These options reproduce trinitarian inclinations at least as old as Augustine and the Cappadocians.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; GOD III.E, F; HOLY SPIRIT; PERSON OF CHRIST.

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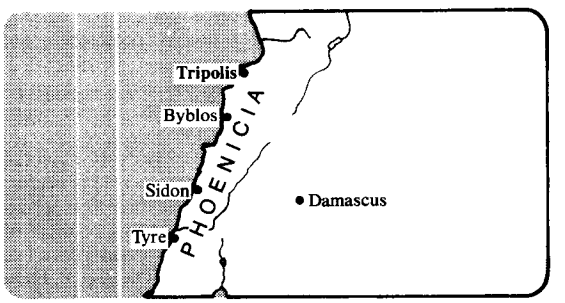
C. PLANTINGA, JR.

TRIPOLIS trip'ə-lis [Gk. *Tripolis*–'three cities']. An important Phoenician and Roman city situated on the tip of a small peninsula along the Lebanese Mediterranean, about 40 km. (24 mi.) N of Byblos. With the sea on three sides and a large deep ditch on the fourth, the city was designed with defensive and commercial advantages in mind. In the Persian period the Phoenician colonies of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre became confederated, and Tripolis was selected as their federal seat (hence its name). Although each city established its own district separated by a distance of exactly 1 stadium (185 m., 607 ft.), the elders of the Phoenician league conducted their general councils and determined crucial political and economic issues at Tripolis.

After fleeing from Rome in 162 B.C., Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV, landed in Tripolis with a large force, captured the kingdom, and killed his cousin Antiochus V together with his guardian Lysias (2 Macc. 14:1f.; cf.



1 Macc. 7:1-9; Josephus *Ant.* xii.10.1 [389f.]). The city regained its independence from the Seleucids in 111 B.C. and became a city-state under Pompey's leadership. During the Pax Romana, Tripolis helped to maintain order in the country and consequently received the right of self-governance. Many new foundations were laid during this time and Herod the Great himself provided resources to build a gymnasium (Josephus *BJ* i.21.11 [422]).

According to the *Pseudo-Clementines* (Recognitions 4.6), Peter's visit to Tripolis required a house able to hold more than five hundred men, to accommodate a crowd that insisted on hearing the apostle. Also, Peter is said to have established a Christian community there (*Pseudo-Clementines* Homily 11.36), and a list of bishops of Tripolis dates from as early as A.D. 325.

The Arab conquest eclipsed a Christian presence and a modest Jewish presence until the Crusaders captured the city in 1109, and Tripolis once again flourished as a municipality with a busy port and commercial quarter. In the 13th cent., however, Mamluk invaders totally razed the city, and the foundation of modern Tripolis (Tarâbulus) was laid on an eastern hill nearby.

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TRIREME trī'rēm [Gk. *triḗrēs*; Lat. *triremis*] (2 Macc. 4:20); AV GALLEY. A large warship developed in the Mediterranean before the 5th cent. B.C. There has been much debate about whether its name refers to three men per bench pulling separate oars or oarsmen on three superimposed banks. Representations of triremes point strongly to the latter (see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* [1971], figs. 99-106, 125, 127-29, 131, and pp. 77-80). The main battle tactic of this vessel was ramming others. During the Hellenistic period it was superseded by the quinquireme.

See SHIPS. E. HILGERT

TRIUMPH. ***I. In the OT.***–In the OT "triumph" (noun and verb) and the related forms "triumphant" and "triumphantly" render words derived from a total of nine Hebrew roots: *g'h* (lit. "rise up"; Ex. 15:1, 21; Dt. 33:29 [AV "excellency"]), *gdl* ("be great"; Lam. 1:9 [with *'ôyēḇ*; AV "magnify himself"]), *yš'* ("save, deliver"; 2 S. 22:51 [AV "salvation"] par. Ps. 18:50 [MT 51; "deliverance"]), *'lṣ* ("rejoice, exult"; Prov. 28:12 [AV "rejoice"]), *ṣdq* ("be righteous"; Jgs. 5:11 [AV "righteous acts"]; Isa. 45:25 [AV "be justified"]; Zec. 9:9 [AV "just"]), *ṣlḥ* ("prosper"; 1 K. 22:12, 15 par. 2 Ch. 18:11, 14 [AV "prosper"]), *r'h* ("see"; Ps. 54:7 [MT 9; with *'ôyᵉḇay*; AV "see his desire"]; 59:10 [MT 11; with *šōrᵉrāy*; AV "see my desire"]; 118:7 [with *śōn'āy*; AV "see my desire"]), *rwm* ("be high, exalted") with *yāḏ* ("hand"; Nu. 33:3 [AV "with a high hand"]; Dt. 32:27 [AV "hand is high"]), and *rw'* ("raise a shout"; Ps. 41:11 [MT 12]; 60:8 [MT 10]; 108:9 [MT 10]).

Perhaps the closest semantic equivalent of Eng. "triumph" in this list is Heb. *yᵉšû'ôṯ*, used in 2 S. 22:51 par. Ps. 18:50 (MT 51) in the sense of "victory" (*see* SALVATION). Elsewhere the notion of triumph has been inferred from the context, sometimes as an abstraction for a more concrete Hebrew expression (e.g., "with a high hand," Nu. 33:3). In several instances, where contextual references to enemies or conflicts are lacking, a more literal translation (such as that of the AV) might have been preferable (e.g., Dt. 33:29; Isa. 45:25; Zec. 9:9).

While the term is used in a variety of literal and figurative ways, it appears most frequently in the context of Yahweh's special relationship with His people. It is used in descriptions of Yahweh's victories over Israel's enemies (Ex. 15:1, 21; Nu. 33:3; Jgs. 5:11; 2 S. 22:51 par. Ps. 18:50; Ps. 60:8; 108:9; 118:7) and of His punishment of Israel through the agency of foreign nations (Dt. 32:27; Lam. 1:9). The term appears in connection with individual Israelites as well. In several of the Psalms individuals celebrate or await Yahweh's triumphant intervention on their behalf against their enemies (Ps. 41:11; 54:7; 59:10).

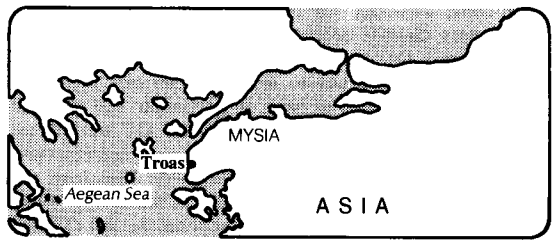
II. In the NT.–In two of its NT appearances "triumph" renders Greek words that are elsewhere translated in a more literal fashion, namely, the passive of *doxázō* (2 Thess. 3:1 [AV lit. "glorified"] and *katakaucháomai* ("exult over"; Jas. 2:13 [AV "rejoice against"]).

Of more significance are the appearances of "triumph" in 2 Cor. 2:14 and Col. 2:15, where it translates the verb *thriambeúō*, the Hellenistic equivalent of Lat. *triumphare*. Used with the accusative the verb means "lead in triumph"; it referred originally to the Roman practice of honoring a victorious general with a triumphal procession through the city, in which captives and other spoils of battle were put on public display. In 2 Cor. 2:14 Paul sees himself as being led in triumph, either as part of God's victorious army or, more probably, as a former opponent who has now become a "slave of Jesus Christ." The metaphor continues through to v. 16, for the idea of the "aroma of Christ" that savors of death to some and life to others is probably drawn from the Roman practice of burning incense along the way of the procession; the fragrance that signified triumph to the victors reminded the captives of the execution that likely awaited them at the end of the procession.

Colossians 2:15 is difficult to interpret, due to uncertainties with respect to the subject of the sentence (either God or Christ), the meaning of the middle form *apekdýomai* (either "disarm" or "divest oneself of"), and the antecedent of *autṓ* ("Christ" or "cross"). The general thrust of the verse as it pertains to the verb *thriambeúō*, however, is clear: in the cross of Christ the powers hostile to God have been defeated, and their defeat is publicly manifested in a triumphal procession with God (or Christ) at the head. T. L. DONALDSON

TROAS trō'as [Gk. *Trōas*, or *Alexandreia hḗ Trōas*] (Acts 16:8, 11; 20:5f.; 2 Cor. 2:12; 2 Tim. 4:13). A large seaport city of Mysia in northwest Asia Minor, 16 km. (10 mi.) S of ancient Troy; in NT times it was the gateway from Asia to Macedonia and Thrace.

Troas was founded by Antigonus (a successor of Alexander the Great) and named Antigonia Troas, but *ca.* 300 B.C. Lysimachus renamed it Alexander Troas in memory of the great conqueror. For a period the Seleucid kings resided at Troas, and of the many coins struck here some



honor Antiochus II as "Theos." The city gradually gained a sense of independence, which was not fully lost during Pergamenian rule. In 133 B.C. the Romans gained control of the city. Because of the legend of Roman descent from the Trojan Aeneas, the Caesars considered moving their capital to Troas ("Ilium") (cf. Suetonius *Julius Caesar* 79). Augustus made Troas an independent Roman colony possessing the landholding privileges and immunities of the *jus Italicum*.

Paul brought Christianity to Troas; there he found an "open door" for preaching (2 Cor. 2:12f.); but apparently he did not stay long. At Troas he received his Macedonian call and set sail to Philippi (Acts 16:7-12). He returned to Troas and there raised Eutychus from the dead before continuing on to Jerusalem and imprisonment (20:4-12). Also, Paul entrusted his cloak, books, and valuable parchments to Carpus at Troas (2 Tim. 4:13).

Today the ruins are known as Eskistanbul (Old Stambul). Although much of the building material has been removed, the remains of the temple of Apollo, the theater, the gymnasium, the aqueduct of Trajan, and the city walls are still discernible.

See RRAM, I, 82f., 472, etc. G. L. BORCHERT

TROGYLLIUM trō-jil'ē-əm, trō-gil'ē-əm [Gk. *Trogylion, Trogyllion*. A promontory and town SW of Ephesus and opposite SAMOS, from which it is separated by a narrow strait. Paul journeyed from Assos to Miletus by ship to avoid spending time in Ephesus. According to the Western text he and his companions "arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium" (Acts 20:15, AV; cf. RSV mg.). The uncial MSS ℵ B A C and p^{74} omit the reference to Trogyllium. The promontory is now known as Santa Maria, and the place of anchorage E of the tip of the promontory is called St. Paul's Bay. W. S. L. S.

TROOPS. *See* ARMY; WAR.

TROPHIMUS trof'ə-məs [Gk. *Trophimos*–'a foster child'] (Acts 20:4; 21:29; 2 Tim. 4:20). An Ephesian Christian who traveled with Paul, probably as a delegate of the Asian churches that participated in the collection destined for the church in Jerusalem (Acts 20:1-5; cf. 1 Cor. 16:1-4). His presence with Paul in Jerusalem was used as an excuse for Paul's arrest (Acts 21:26-31).

Acts 20:4 mentions Trophimus as one of the Asians (the Western text reads "Ephesians") who joined Paul on his third missionary journey. Because of a plot against Paul's life (v. 3), the apostle sailed to Troas from Philippi, while Trophimus and the others went ahead, arriving there five days before Paul (v. 5). Following a week in Troas, the group made their way down the coast of Asia by ship, stopping each night in a port, including Miletus, to meet with local Christians and church leaders. After changing ships several times they sailed from Asia, passing south of Cyprus, and landed in Tyre. From there Trophimus, Paul, and the others made their way southward to Jerusalem, with overnight stops in Ptolemais and Caesarea.

When Trophimus and Paul had been in Jerusalem about one week, certain Jews from Asia stirred up a crowd with accusations aimed at Paul. They had seen him in the temple (Acts 21:27). They had also recognized Trophimus as an Ephesian, and they knew that he had accompanied Paul on his daily excursions throughout the city (v. 29). Thus, they concluded, Paul had committed a capital offense against Jewish law by taking Greeks (NEB "Gentiles") into the temple (v. 28), thereby defiling the holy place.

The charge seems to have had no basis in fact. It is unthinkable that Trophimus would have stumbled past the court of the Gentiles, which was well marked. Also, Paul would not have violated the law, for he was clearly attempting to follow Jewish law on this occasion (Acts 21:26). Yet the incident was neatly managed by those making the charges, with Trophimus, the focal point of the primary charge, now absent. This charge was then supplemented by another, viz., that Paul was teaching against the law (v. 28). Had it not been for the quick action of the local tribune, who had placed Paul in protective custody so that he could ascertain the facts (21:31-36), the mob would have killed Paul.

Trophimus appears again only in 2 Tim. 4:20, where Paul notes that he had left Trophimus ill in Miletus. This passage, however, does not apparently refer to the Jerusalem trip in Acts 20. Paul's entourage had stopped in Miletus (20:15f.), but Trophimus would have had to make a spectacular recovery to have been with Paul so soon after in Jerusalem. More likely Paul's relatively unhindered two-year imprisonment at Rome (28:30) was followed by a later arrest, perhaps in Ephesus or Miletus, and a harsh and lonely imprisonment in Rome, to which 2 Tim. 1:17; 4:6-18 may refer. Probably after this arrest and during their trip to Rome, Paul left Trophimus ill in Miletus.

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TROUGH [Heb. *šōqeṯ*–'watering-trough (for cattle)' (Gen. 24:20; 30:38), *rahaṭ* (Ex. 2:16)]; NEB also WATERING-PLACE, WATER-TROUGH. *See* RUNNEL.

TROW. An obsolete verb meaning "believe," used by the AV to translate Gk. *dokéō* in Lk. 17:9. The words *ou dokō* do not appear in the earliest MSS, however, and are probably a gloss to supply an answer to the preceding question. Therefore the RSV has omitted "I trow not."

TRUCEBREAKER. AV translation of Gk. *áspondos* (lit. "without a libation") in 2 Tim. 3:3. Since a libation always accompanied the making of a treaty in Greek culture, the lack of a libation implied that no treaty had been made. This led to the idea that no treaty, or reconciliation, could be made, so the word came to mean "implacable," as in the RSV. The only other NT occurrence of *áspondos* is in Rom. 1:31 TR (AV "implacable"; RSV and NEB omit), where *áspondos* follows *ástorgos* ("inhuman, heartless"), as in 2 Tim. 3:3.

TRULY [Heb. *'emeṯ, 'ûlām, 'omnām, 'aḵ, 'āḵēn, 'al-kēn*, etc.; Gk. *amḗn, alēthṓs, ep' alētheías*]; AV also VERILY, INDEED, OF A TRUTH, etc. Most uses of "truly" in the RSV represent Jesus' use of "amen" (AV "verily"; Gk. *amḗn*, representing Heb. *'āmēn; see* AMEN). "Truly" represents a number of words and constructions in the

OT, some from the same root as *'āmēn*. In the NT "truly" also represents *alēthōs* and *ep' alētheías*. *See also* TRUTH.

TRUMP; TRUMPET. *See* MUSIC II.A, H.3.

TRUMPETS, FEAST OF. *I. Terminology.*–There is no actual reference to a "Feast of Trumpets" in the OT; however, the designation has been frequently applied to the observance of the first day (new moon) of the seventh month (Tishri) as described in Lev. 23:23-25 and Nu. 29:1-6. In Lev. 23:24 the RSV renders Heb. *zikrôn tᵉrû'â* "a memorial proclaimed with blast of trumpets" (AV "a memorial of blowing of trumpets"). This translation is somewhat interpretative, since the noun *tᵉrû'â* indicates only "blast" or "shout" (cf. NEB "a day of remembrance and acclamation"). There is good reason for the RSV translation, however, since *tᵉrû'â* can designate the sound made by a trumpet (see Nu. 10:5f.; 31:6), and since the new moon of every month was greeted by the blowing of trumpets (Nu. 10:10; Ps. 81:3). The observance of the new moon of the seventh month is called *yôm tᵉrû'â* in Nu. 29:1 (RSV "a day . . . to blow the trumpets"; cf. NEB "a day of acclamation").

II. Ritual.–In addition to designating the new moon of the seventh month as *zikrôn tᵉrû'â*, Lev. 23:24 calls it *šabbātôn*, "a sabbath observance" or "solemn day of rest" (RSV). Although Nu. 29:1 does not use the term, it agrees with Lev. 23:25 that the people "shall do no laborious work" on the new moon of the seventh month. Nu. 29:2-6 goes on to describe the offerings for the day. They consisted of the same offerings as for every new moon (28:11-15) but in additional quantities. As at the observance of every new moon, trumpets were blown (10:10).

III. Significance.–Since the description of the celebration of the new moon of the seventh month appears as one in a series of the "appointed feasts of the Lord" in Lev. 23, it is reasonable to conclude that it was one of the five annual feasts (*see* FEASTS II.B). But the following question still remains: Why was the new moon of the seventh month more special than the new moons of the other eleven months?

Over the past century it has been customary to conclude that the new moon of the seventh month was celebrated as New Year's Day during OT times. The most compelling evidence for this is the fact that the 1st of Tishri was clearly celebrated in postbiblical times as New Years's Day (Mish. *Rosh ha-Shanah* i.1); but the use of rabbinic sources to draw conclusions about OT times is problematical at best. In particular, the question of how time was reckoned during the OT period has proved vexing and no compelling consensus has emerged. The festal calendar in Lev. 23 begins with Passover; this seems to suggest that the year began in the spring (Abib, later Nisan; see Ex. 23:14f.) rather than the fall (Tishri). Ex. 12:1f. also seems to suggest a year beginning in the spring, whereas 23:16 and 34:22 seem to suggest that the end of the year (and presumably the beginning of the next year) was in the fall. Because the biblical evidence is ambiguous and because Lev. 23:23-25 and Nu. 29:1-6 do not specifically describe the new moon of the seventh month as a New Year's Day, modern scholars have questioned the conclusion that the so-called Feast of Trumpets was a celebration of New Year's Day.

As an alternative, some have suggested that the new moon of the seventh month received special attention because it introduced a particularly sacred month, a month that included the Day of Atonement on the 10th of Tishri and the Feast of Booths beginning on the 15th of Tishri. It is also possible that the significance and sacredness of the number seven had something to do with the special attention given to the new moon of the seventh month.

Although the evidence does not permit the conclusion that the so-called Feast of Trumpets was the direct ancestor of Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year's Day, it is clear that the postbiblical observance described in the Mishnah was influenced by the OT celebration of the new moon of the seventh month as described in Lev. 23:23-25 and Nu. 29:1-6.

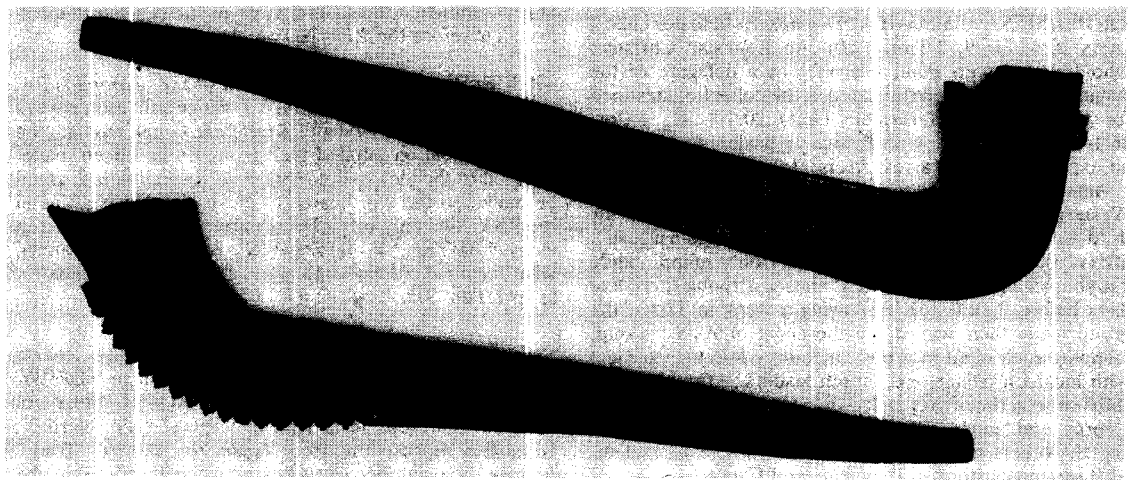
See also CALENDAR III; NEW MOON; NEW YEAR.

Bibliography.–Mish. *Rosh ha-Shanah*; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr. 1961, repr. 1965), II, 502-504.

J. C. MCCANN, JR.

TRUST [Heb. hiphil of *'āman*] (Jgs. 11:20; 1 S. 27:12; Job 4:18; 15:15, 31 Mic. 7:5; niphal, Job 12:20); AV also BELIEVE, TRUSTY; NEB also GRANT; [*'ᵉmûnâ*–'firmness, steadfastness, fidelity'] (1 Ch. 9:22); AV SET; NEB TRUSTWORTHY; [*bāṭaḥ*] (Dt. 28:52; Jgs. 20:36; 2 K. 18:5; 1 Ch. 5:20; Ps. 4:5 [MT 6]; 9:10 [MT 11]; etc.;

Eighteenth-century shophars or trumpets made of bent horns. The top one is engraved and the bottom one has serrated and drilled decoration (Israel Museum, photo D. Harris)



hiphil, Jer. 28:15; 29:31); NEB also FAITH, RELY, BE CONFIDENT, PRESUME; [*beṭaḥ*–'safety,' 'trust'] (Isa. 32:17); AV ASSURANCE; NEB CONFIDENCE; [*miḇṭaḥ*–'confidence'] (Job 8:14; 18:14; 31:24; Ps. 40:4 [MT 5]; 71:5; Prov. 21:22; 22:19; 25:19; Jer. 2:37; 17:7); AV also HOPE, CONFIDENCE; NEB also SAFETY, CONFIDENCE, RELY UPON; [*pāšaʿ*–'trespass'] ("breach of trust," Ex. 22:9 [MT 8]); AV TRESPASS; NEB LAW-BREAKING; [Aram. haphel of *ʾᵃman*] (Dnl. 6:23 [MT 24]); AV BELIEVE; NEB PUT FAITH; [*rᵉḥaṣ*] (Dnl. 3:28); [Gk. *paradídōmi*–'give over, commit'] (1 Pet. 2:23); AV, NEB, COMMIT [*peíthō*] (Mt. 27:43; Lk. 11:22; 18:9; Phil. 2:24; He. 2:13); NEB also RELY ON, SURE OF, CONFIDENT IN; [*pisteúō*–'believe'] (Jn. 2:24; Rom. 4:5); AV COMMIT, BELIEVE; NEB also PUT FAITH IN; **TRUSTED FRIENDS** [Heb. *ʾanšê šālôm*–'men of peace'] (Jer. 38:22); AV, NEB, FRIENDS; [*leḥem*–'bread'] (Ob. 7); AV THEY THAT EAT BREAD; NEB KITH AND KIN; **TRUSTING** [Heb. *biṭḥâ*] (Isa. 30:15); AV CONFIDENCE; NEB STAYING QUIET; **TRUSTINGLY** [*beṭaḥ*] (Prov. 3:29; Mic. 2:8); AV SECURELY; NEB WITHOUT A CARE, CONFIDENCE; **TRUSTWORTHY** [Heb. *ʾᵉmeṯ*–'firmess,' 'truth'] (Ex. 18:21; Ps. 111:7); AV TRUTH, SURE; NEB HONEST, FIRM FOUNDATIONS; [niphal of *ʾāman*–'confirm, support'] (Prov. 11:13); AV FAITHFUL; [Gk. *pístis*–'faith'] (1 Cor. 4:2; 7:25; Rev. 21:5; 22:6); AV FAITHFUL, TRUE.

The Hebrew word for trust used most often in the OT is *bāṭaḥ*. This verb and its derivatives (*beṭaḥ, biṭḥâ, miḇṭaḥ*) basically connote a feeling of security, which often comes through reliance on someone or something. The verb *bāṭaḥ* can be used with either a positive or a negative connotation. Where God is its object, the verb appears most frequently in exhortations to trust in God (e.g., Ps. 4:5 [MT 6]; 37:3; 62:8 [MT 9]; 115:9; Prov. 3:5; Isa. 26:4) and in confessions that one does indeed trust in the Lord (e.g., Ps. 13:5 [MT 6]; 22:4f. [MT 5f.]; 31:6, 14 [MT 7, 15]; 52:8 [MT 10]; 55:23 [MT 24]; 56:3 [MT 4]; 143:8; Isa. 12:2). When referring to reliance on human beings or anything other than God, the term usually carries a negative connotation; these passages generally indicate that such trust is ill-advised. For example, Ps. 41:9 (MT 10) speaks of the treachery of even a trusted friend and 146:3 warns aginst trusting in princes; Jer. 9:4 (MT 3) consuls against trusting one's neighbors, and 46:5 against trusting Pharaoh. Other things in which people trust vainly include their own minds (Prov. 28:26), their weapons (Ps. 44:6 [MT 7]) and chariots (Isa. 31:1; Hos. 10:13), their wealth (Ps. 49:6 [MT 7]), idols (115:8; Isa. 42:17), fortified cities and strongholds (Dt. 28:52; Prov. 21:22; Jer. 5:17; 48:7), and other nations (Jer. 2:37). Jeremiah also warned against a misplaced confidence in the temple's inviolability (Jer. 7:4, 8, 14) and in the deceitful promises of the false prophets (28:15; 29:31; cf. 13:25). On the other hand, Prov. 31:11 speaks positively of the trust that a husband has in the ideal wife.

The other Hebrew verb for "trust" is the hiphil of *ʾāman* which means to have faith in something (or someone) because one is convinced of its (or his or her) reliability (cf. cognate noun *ʾᵉmûnâ*). This verb often stands in parallelism to *bāṭaḥ*. It appears more frequently in the wisdom literature and in the earlier historical narratives than in the prophets. Like *bāṭaḥ, ʾāman* generally carries a negative connotation when it refers to reliance on something other than God. In Job. 4:18; 15:15, e.g., Eliphaz contends that God puts no trust even in His angels, implying that He trusts mortal men still less. In 8:14 Bildad compares the security of godless men to a spider's web, which breaks when one leans on it (cf. vv. 13, 15). Mic. 7:5 warns against trusting even one's friends, on the grounds that good people had perished from the earth (cf. v. 2); only God is the appropriate object of one's trust (cf. v. 7).

In summary then, the OT writers warned their audiences against confidence in their own resources or in mere human beings and urged them instead to trust in God. Such trust, however, was not easy to maintain. Jeremiah wondered whether God was deceiving him (Jer. 15:18). Job questioned whether he could get a fair hearing from the God whom he saw as his afflicter (Job 9:13-35). These examples show why exhortations to trust God outnumber expressions of trust.

Psalm 115:11 seems to counsel both fearing and trusting God. This is not contradictory, since fearing God does not mean quaking before Him in terror but obeying His will, committing oneself to Him (see von Rad, p. 67). Thus the psalm calls on those who have committed themselves to God to trust Him.

In view of the numerous occurrences of "trust" in the RSV OT, it is remarkable that the term occurs so few times in the NT. The reason for this is that the more inclusive term "faith," which seldom occurs in the OT, is used much more frequently in the NT. Trust is only one component of FAITH, a concept that receives much development in the NT. Different NT passages emphasize different aspects of faith, including submission to God, belief in the efficacy of Jesus' death for the forgiveness of one's sins, assent to propositions about God, and hope for the future, as well as confidence or trust in God.

Like the OT, the NT teaches that trust may be ill-placed; e.g., the warrior may trust vainly in his armor (Lk. 11:22), while others may have false confidence in their righteousness (18:9). Authentic trust is directed toward God alone (Rom. 4:5; Phil. 2:24), whose word is eternally trustworthy (Rev. 21:5; 22:6).

See also SECURE.

Bibliography.–*TDNT,* VI, *s.v.* πείθω, πεποίθησις (Bultmann), πιστεύω κτλ. (Bultmann); R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT* (Eng. tr. 1951), I, 315-324; *TDOT,* I, *s.v.* "ʾāman" (Jepsen); II, *s.v.* "bāṭach" (Jepsen); G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. tr. 1972), pp. 65-73.

P. L. REDDITT

TRUST, BREACH OF [Heb. *pešaʿ*–'rebellion'] (Ex. 22:9 [MT 8]); AV TRESPASS; NEB LAW-BREAKING. The crime involved here is one in which a person has given some property ("ox, ass, sheep, clothing") for safekeeping to "his neighbor" (v. 7) and the latter has subsequently "lost" it. The penalty for this crime is double repayment (cf. Code of Hammurabi, §§ 124, 126; *ANET,* p. 171).

This text has two problems. First, the exact meaning of *pešaʿ* in this context is debated. Though it usually means rebellion or revolt, many scholars think that such a meaning does not seem appropriate in this context; hence B. Childs (*Book of Exodus* [*OTL,* 1974], p. 444) translates it "misappropriation"; KoB (p. 785) "impeachment of property" (i.e., contesting the ownership of property); *CHAL* (p. 300) "contesting of ownership." But others assert that *pešaʿ* always refers to human rebellion against the divine will (L. Köhler, *OT Theology* [Eng. tr. 1957], p. 170; N. Snaith, *Distinctive Ideas of the OT* [repr. 1975], pp. 60-65). G. von Rad (*OT Theology, I* [Eng. tr. 1962], 263) tried to accommodate both meanings, saying that *pešaʿ* generally meant rebellion but (on the basis of this passage) may have originally meant impeachment of property. Cf. also *THAT,* II, 489-492.

The second problem concerns the meaning of *ʾᵉlōhîm* (vv. 8f.). Some render it "God" (RSV, NEB; cf. comms.

on Exodus by M. Noth [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1962], J. Durham [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1987]), its usual meaning, while others take it as "judges" (AV, Childs, KD; see also R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [Eng. tr. repr. 1965], I, 157; cf. U. Cassuto, comm. on Exodus [Eng. tr. repr. 1974], pp. 267, 286).

See also BREACH OF FAITH; TRANSGRESSION.

G. A. L.

TRUTH [Heb. *ʾĕmeṯ, ʾĕmûnâ*; Gk. *alētheia, alēthōs, alēthinós, amēn* (cf. also *pístis, ontōs, pistós*); Old Eng. *treow, tryw*, with Teutonic stem *trau* (Ger. *treu*; cf."troth")].

I. In the OT
A. Term
B. Legal Sense
C. Theological Sense
II. In the NT
A. Term
B. Validity
C. Reliability
D. Reality
E. Veracity
F. True Teaching
G. Revelation
H. Practice
III. Truth
A. And Philosophy
B. And Science
C. And Dogma
D. Theological Truth

I. In the OT.–A. Term. Hebrew *ʾĕmeṯ* occurs about 126 times in the OT. It basically denotes a reality that is firm, stable, valid, and binding. Hence *ʾĕmeṯ* is "what is true." The concept has two main developments, the first in the legal sphere and the second in the theological.

B. Legal Sense. In the legal sense *ʾĕmeṯ* denotes the actual truth of a cause, the authentic facts (cf. Dt. 22:20), or an authentic guarantee (Josh. 2:12). More generally, it then describes reality or authenticity, e.g., of the revelation in Dnl. 10:1; from this develops the broad sense of the genuine as opposed to the false. Already, however, "truth" also moves toward the ethical concept of veracity, for a person who tells the truth is a person of truth (cf. Gen. 42:16). For the most part the context shows rather plainly whether the reference is to true facts or to inward truthfulness (cf. 1 K. 17:24; Jer. 23:28). Another extension is to reality in general, i.e., the normal and valid which correspond to divine and human order. Along these lines the term can bear the more abstract sense of validity, of truth as a normative concept.

C. Theological Sense. In the theological sense *ʾĕmeṯ* is used for the truthfulness of God and has a close approximation to "faithfulness." God is rich in love and faithfulness (Ex. 34:6). He swears "a sure oath," i.e., irrevocably (Ps. 132:11). He will never depart from truth or change it (111:7f.). Yet *ʾĕmeṯ* also has a strong implication of righteousness, for God's "ordinances" are true (19:9). They are so in a double sense. What God demands is right; He establishes and guarantees a righteous norm. But God also judges human conduct in a way that corresponds to reality.

A further implication is that God is the true God as distinct from false gods. That God is truthful in this rich and varied sense means that truth is also required of human beings. This demand may be for inward truthfulness or integrity (Ps. 51:6 [MT 8]), for truth as distinct from deceit (Mal. 2:6), for uprightness expressed in conduct (walking in the truth, Ps. 25:5), or for justice ("true justice," Ezk. 18:8).

Two subsidiary developments are also to be noted. In Dnl. 8:12 the truth seems to be true doctrine or the true religion (corresponding to the true God). In Ps. 119:160 God's word is true, probably in the sense that the written word (cf. Dnl. 10:21) is a true record of God and His revelation.

II. In the NT.–A. Term. Greek *alētheia* has behind it not only Hebrew *ʾĕmeṯ*, which it renders, but also a rich Greek and Hellenistic usage, especially in philosophical and theosophical application. One secular sense that finds fruitful employment in the NT is that of nonconcealment, of the disclosure of a thing as it is. But NT usage is determined by the OT more than by secular development. In particular, the abstract philosophical sense found in secular literature is not among the six main connotations in the NT (see *TDNT*, I, 241-45).

B. Validity. In the NT the truth is, first, that which has certainty and force, whether as a valid norm (Eph. 4:21; Gal. 2:14), as judicial righteousness (cf. the adjective), or more generally as uprightness, i.e., practicing the truth. In all these developments the main emphasis is on truth as normative, with perhaps a hint of the Greek sense of "genuine" or "proper."

C. Reliability. A second and closely related use is truth as that on which one can rely. This use may involve the more objective sense of reliability (Rom. 3:4, 7, truth as faithfulness), or it may involve the more subjective sense of sincerity or honesty (2 Cor. 7:14). Either way, one can count on what is said or done. Truth is itself to be relied on, and so is the one who says or does it.

D. Reality. Also closely related is the sense of the real state of affairs as revealed or made known (Rom. 1:18, 25). This is the meaning in words like "rightly" (2:2) and "in truth" (1 Jn. 3:18). The Hebrew and Greek senses overlap at this point, although the idea of disclosure is more clearly suggested by the Greek.

E. Veracity. The idea of the real state of affairs combines with the further sense of accuracy of statement, especially in phrases like "in truth, I tell you" (Lk. 4:25) and "truly teach" (Mk. 12:14). The phrases "certainly," "in truth," and "truly" (cf. Lk. 22:59; Acts 4:27; even Lk. 4:25; 9:27) also carry this implication, though they can, of course, become rather stereotyped. The Pharisees' words in Mt. 22:16 certainly do not ring very true. Yet they did in fact state the truth when they declared that Jesus taught "the way of God truthfully."

F. True Teaching. The truth which is taught is not just true information, and hence arises the further sense of true teaching or belief. This seems to be the sense in 2 Cor. 13:8; Gal. 5:7; 1 Pet. 1:22. The preaching of the gospel is "truthful speech" (2 Cor. 6:7), and to become a Christian is to come to "the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:4). In 2 Thess. 2:9-13 the truth is the Christian revelation, in 1 Tim. 3:15 the Church is "the pillar and bulwark of the truth," and in 2 Pet. 1:12 Christianity is the truth.

G. Revelation. Finally, the truth is divine reality, or revelation. This usage is particularly prevalent in John's writings, where it seems to have a formal similarity to the usage of Hellenistic dualism. One should note, however, that John is in no way speculative, for his concept of truth as reality is controlled by the Logos as the living incarnate Word in whom obedient believers find and know the truth. Moreover, all the other meanings are caught up in John, so that his usage shows a rich and constructive ambiguity.

Thus in 1 John the truth of God in a person is both true reality and truth as distinct from lying. Again, when Jesus speaks the truth, He certainly says what is true,

but He also brings the revelation of God. As revelation, the truth is to be known (Jn. 8:32; 1 Jn. 2:21). But this is more than formal knowledge of factual or theoretical truth. It is knowledge of Jesus Himself as the truth. He brings the truth in Himself (Jn. 14:6), and to know Him is to know the One who is full of grace and truth (1:14). This knowledge is by faith and thus by the Holy Spirit. Hence John closely links the Holy Spirit and truth. The Spirit is the Spirit of truth, and He guides into all truth (15:26; 16:13). His anointing is true (1 Jn. 2:27), and His witness is true, for, like Jesus, the Spirit is truth (5:6). To worship in the Spirit is thus to worship in truth (Jn. 4:23f.). This means supremely not worshiping in spirituality or with pure ideas, but worshiping in conformity with the reality of God revealed in Jesus by the Spirit. Yet one should not forget that truth in this revelatory sense also implies right doctrine (1 Jn. 2:21) and right conduct (3 Jn. 3).

H. Practice. The human practice of truth must take the form of a response to God. Practicing the truth is not restricted to truthful speaking, though this is obviously included (cf. Eph. 4:15). Rather, it implies a whole life and walk in truth. Thus all facets of meaning are reflected in the Christian practice of truth. This practice is according to valid norms. It has inner consistency and integrity on the basis of the divine faithfulness, so that it is reliable. It conforms to the reality of life in Jesus Christ and seeks truthfulness of utterance and action. It derives from and proclaims both true fact and true doctrine. It is rooted in the revelation of God in Jesus Christ and by the Holy Spirit, and it is thus an outworking in life of the knowledge of the living Truth (Jesus Christ) by the living Truth (the Holy Spirit).

III. Truth.–A. And Philosophy. The truth as presented in the Bible is not to be confused with the so-called absolute truth or eternal truths of philosophical abstraction. Without the knowledge of God, human beings can evolve only approximate ideas of truth. To the extent that these ideas are based on the factual data of the created world, they do, of course, contain real elements of truth. To the degree that there is an original revelation of God in creation and in the heart, they may even say some true things about the being and nature of God. But the obscuring of God's original self-revelation by human sin means that a person alone and unaided has no true and reliable data concerning God. Regarding truth in the ultimate sense, i.e., the truth not only of humanity and the world but of humanity and the world in relation to God, human beings can only build insecurely on such fragments as they have; even if they put them together in a fairly coherent scheme, they are dealing only with an abstract construction, not with the true and living God.

One's limited grasp of the truth has wide implications for both thought and action. In the sphere of thought, even the true data and ideas that are available do not make real sense apart from knowledge of God; and because of the lack of true objectivity, relativism holds sway. In the sphere of thought, no genuine ethical absolute is possible apart from that knowledge of human beings, and of God's will for them, which is enclosed in true knowledge of God. Thus humanity is condemned to relativism, to the rule of human law, and at worst to anarchy. Philosophical truth undoubtedly carries with it true ideas and some approximation to truth. But it is neither a substitute for, nor even a real introduction to, the truth as it is in Jesus.

B. And Science. The truth as presented in Scripture is also not to be confused with the truth of science, or empirical truth, although the two kinds of truth do sometimes overlap. The Bible contains some information about the creaturely world, and it presents many historical facts that are obviously open to empirical investigation. But the data of the Bible relate to God and the world, not just to the world. The reality that is the Bible's theme is total, supreme, and genuinely true reality, the reality of God. What God reveals in the Bible is Himself. The facts are not just empirical facts; they are facts about God. The truth may be equated with data and beliefs, but it is finally to be equated with God, with Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit.

In contrast, empirical or scientific truth is necessarily and intrinsically restricted to a narrower field. Its proper sphere is the study of creation, for it has no means by which to apprehend the Creator. To the extent that it is descriptive, it is true. Two and two are seen to make four, and they do make four. Such statements can even be seen as axiomatic truths. Certain causes produce certain effects. Regular patterns may be seen and demonstrated, and even general scientific or logical principles can be discerned. Within the sphere of strict creaturely investigation, these principles are justifiable and valid. Scientific truth ceases to be truth, however, when it advances beyond its proper sphere of observation and reporting to the sphere of attempted ultimate explanation. Science as science cannot deal with any reality except the creaturely. But to explain the creaturely in terms of itself is to be guilty both of making a conclusion out of one's presupposition and also of ignoring a whole body of self-revealed reality, i.e., the reality of God.

Theological truth has no quarrel with the method or the strictly empirical findings of science. It adopts the same method and advances its own empirical findings in its own sphere. Its own sphere, however, is that of the reality of God in His self-revelation, and it cannot allow reality to be ultimately restricted to the creaturely. Theological truth cannot allow this because it knows that such a restriction is false. The real truth of creation — in all the senses of "truth" — cannot be known apart from or beyond the self-revealed truth of the Creator.

C. And Dogma. The truth as presented in the Bible is not even to be equated absolutely with the truth codified in dogmatics or ecclesiastical confessions. But this distinction is much less sharp than that between biblical and scientific truth. Ecclesiastical truth is a coherent presentation of biblical truth, dealing with the same theme and drawing on the same statements. It obviously embodies theological truth. Yet two points are to be noted.

(1) A human element of rearrangement and restatement is necessarily and legitimately added. But this process involves the risk of deviating from the one authentic norm of truth, i.e., Scripture itself. Since the Church has to state biblical truth to its own age, the risk must be taken. The task of dogmatics in every age is to prevent or reduce the deviation in ecclesiastical statement and proclamation. Heresy is deviation to the point of error. But even apart from heresy the dogmatic statement cannot be equated absolutely with the biblical truth.

(2) Ecclesiastical truth cannot claim *ipso facto* to be a presentation in which Jesus Christ, the incarnate Truth, is known by the Spirit of truth. It tends rather to take the form of a body of facts or beliefs for acceptance. There is nothing wrong in this, for the truth does include true fact and true teaching. But the truth is more than a body of beliefs, which can be accepted without any real knowledge of the truth. The truth of God cannot finally be reduced to an intellectualized dogmatic confession which can be handed down by ordinary processes of communication. For this truth is God Himself, and God is always the subject of knowledge as well as the object.

D. Theological Truth. Theological truth is, of course, very close to orthodox ecclesiastical truth. Indeed, a primary concern of a sensitive dogmatics is to safeguard genuine truth both on the objective and also on the subjective side. It does this on the objective side by remembering that the theme of theology is God Himself in His self-revelation, that the self-revelation of God is Jesus Christ, and that the authentic record of Christ is the prophetic and apostolic testimony inspired by the Holy Spirit. It does it on the subjective side by insisting that knowledge of God, even that imparted in true fact and doctrine, is always induced by the Holy Spirit in His true testimony to Jesus Christ. Thus the communication of truth, even in factual or dogmatic instruction, can ultimately take place only with prayer to the Holy Spirit and with a view of the glory of God. The mind, the will, and the emotions are all engaged, and all must be enlightened and moved by the Holy Spirit. God is known as He made Himself known in Christ and as He makes Himself known by the Spirit. God is the subject of truth both as its theme and as its active Subject, controlling its impartation and apprehension. Truth is more than information about God. God Himself is truth.

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G. W. BROMILEY

TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA trī-fē'nə, trī-fō'sə [Gk. *Tryphaina*–'dainty'; Gk. *Tryphōsa*–'delicate'] Paul calls these two women "workers in the Lord" (Rom. 16:12), a contrast to the root of their names, which means "live luxuriously." The names indicate a noble Roman family, although both names occur among slaves at the imperial court of Claudius and in cemeteries of servants of the emperor. Therefore, they might have been in the group that Paul calls the saints of Caesar's household (cf. Phil. 4:22).

They were possibly twin sisters or close relatives. Lightfoot (comm. on Philippians [repr. 1971], pp. 175f.) says that members of the same family were sometimes identified by derivatives of the same root.

Both names are found in Greek and Latin sources (see Bauer, rev., p. 828). Tryphaena is the name of Jewish women in the papyri, and also the name of a queen who befriended Thecla in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (27-41).

B. R. PATTEN

TRYPHO trī'fō [Gk. *Tryphōn*]; AV TRYPHON. The surname of Diodotus, a general who served under Alexander I Balas (150-145 B.C.). The death of Alexander left Demetrius II Nicator (145-138 B.C.) as the sole ruler of the Seleucid kingdom. But Trypho was determined to continue the contest with Demetrius and declared that Antiochus VI Dionysus, the young son of Alexander, was the rightful king (1 Macc. 11:39f.). Trypho proclaimed himself regent, intending eventually to seize the throne. With the aid of Syrian troops that had defected from Demetrius, he was able to drive his opponent from Antioch. Soon after this, Trypho sought the support of Jonathan, the commander of a large Judean army, in his struggle with Demetrius. Demetrius had reneged on certain promises made to Jonathan. When Trypho offered Jonathan and his brother Simon key appointments (11:52-59) and confirmed Judean annexation of certain territories, they agreed to an alliance. The Hasmoneans thus campaigned ostensibly in the name of Antiochus. Jonathan decisively defeated the armies of Demetrius at Hazor (144 B.C.) and Hamath (143 B.C.), while Simon captured the important stronghold of Beth-zur (11:65-74; 12:24-38).

The successes of the Judean forces awakened Trypho to the potential threat they posed to Syrian sovereignty in the region. Thus he marched into Galilee and met Jonathan at Scythopolis. Finding himself greatly outnumbered, Trypho decided to capture Jonathan through treachery. By offering further concessions, he persuaded the Judean leader to accompany him to Ptolemais with only a token force. Once inside the city the Judeans were slaughtered, and Jonathan was taken hostage (1 Macc. 12:39-48). Trypho then invaded Judea, taking the captive Jonathan with him. Not wishing to engage the stronger Judean force (now under the command of Simon), he took a circuitous route toward Jerusalem. But a snowstorm halted his advance, forcing him to retreat across the Jordan and into Gilead. After putting Jonathan to death at Bascama, he returned to Syria *ca.* 143/2 B.C. (13:17-24). When Demetrius was captured by the Parthians, Trypho quickly exploited the situation. He killed Antiochus and proclaimed himself king (13:31). In response to this development, Demetrius's brother, Antiochus VII Sidetes, invaded Syria with an army soon supplemented by deserters from Trypho's forces. He was able to trap the would-be king in the city of Dor, but Trypho escaped the siege. Antiochus pursued him throughout the region and finally captured and executed him at Apamea (15:1-41; Josephus *Ant.* xiii.7.2 [223f.]; Strabo *Geog.* xiv.5.2).

See also ANTIOCHUS VI; ANTIOCHUS VII SIDETES.

Bibliography.–J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* [*AB*, 1976]; *HJP*², II, 183-199; S. Zeitlin, *Rise and Fall of the Judaean State*, I (1978), 135-152.

L. D. HAWK

TRYPHOSA. *See* TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA.

TSADHE tsä'dā. *See* SADHE.

TUBAL tōō'bəl [Heb. *tuḇal*; Gk. *thobel*]. One of the sons of Japheth, son of Noah (Gen. 10:2 par. 1 Ch. 1:5). Tubal represents a region in central Asia Minor called Tabal in Assyrian sources, where it is associated with Muški, biblical MESHECH (cf. Ezk. 27:13; 32:26; 38:2f.; 39:1). Tabal and Muški constituted the eastern portion of the Phrygian empire that held sway in Anatolia from the 12th to the 9th cent. B.C. They were known especially for their metallurgy and trade (cf. Ezk. 27:13).

The Neo-Hittite state of Tabal, called Bit-Burutash by the Assyrians, was situated between the Halys River and the Taurus in central Turkey E of modern Kayseri. It was bordered on the east by Til-garimmu, biblical (Beth-) Togarmah (cf. Ezk. 27:14). With the rise of the Neo-Assyrian empire the Tabalians at first paid tribute, but when resistance began to take shape in Anatolia, they quickly joined the adversaries of the Assyrian kings. In the 8th cent. they threw in their lot with the Urartians, and, after Urartu was defeated by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C., four Tabalian kings formed an alliance against him. Their leader, Uassurme (Wassu-Sarma), the "great king" of Tabal, was deposed by Tiglath-pileser sometime before 730. Subsequently the Tabalians joined the supporters of the Phrygian king Mita (Midas) in an alliance against Sargon II. Eventually, however, both the Phrygians and the remnant of the Urartians succumbed to the invading Cimmerians (biblical Gomer), who had crossed the Caucasus from their home in southern Russia, and Tabal, also threatened, was content to seek the protection of Assyrian suzerainty.

P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

TUBAL-CAIN tōō'bəl-kān [Heb. *tûḇal qayin*; Gk. *thobel*]. A descendant of Cain (Gen. 4:22). Tubal-cain was the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zillah. His sister's name was Naamah. He was "the forger of all instruments of bronze and iron" (RSV), i.e., the inventor of metallurgy. His cousins Jabal and Jubal were also culture heroes, the first to practice pastoral nomadism and to play bucolic music (Gen. 4:20f.).

Many scholars believe that the KENITES ("Cain-ites"), nomads who may have originated as wandering metalworkers, were descended from Tubal-cain; but this is not clear. The second element in his name, "-cain," is a gloss added by a scribe. Its absence from the LXX shows that it was not an original part of the name. The intent of the gloss was probably to distinguish the Tubal of the line of Cain from Tubal son of Japheth (Gen. 10:2). Note, however, that Tabal, the country in Asia Minor whose origin the Bible traces to Tubal son of Japheth, was famous for its metallurgy (*see* TUBAL). It is possible, then, that Gen. 4:22 represents an alternative tradition about the origin of Tabal. If this is correct, the origin of the nomadic Kenites, who are not associated with metalworking in the Bible, should probably be traced not to Tubal-cain but to Cain himself, perhaps through Jabal, "the father of those who dwell in tents and have cattle" (Gen. 4:20). P. K. MCCARTER, JR.

TUBIAN JEWS (2 Macc. 12:17, NEB). *See* TOB.

TUBIAS tū'bi-əs (1 Macc. 5:13, NEB). *See* TOB.

TUBIENI tū-bi-ē'nī (2 Macc. 12:17, AV). *See* TOB.

TULEILAT EL-GHASSUL. *See* TELEILÂT EL-GHASSÛL.

TUMORS [Heb. *ʿᵃpālîm* (1 S. 5:6, 9, 12; 6:4f.), *ṭᵉḥôrîm* (6:11, 17)]; AV EMERODS; NEB also HAEMORRHOIDS (6:11, 17). The terms occur in the account of a plague that devastated the Philistines who were holding captive the ark of the covenant (1 S. 5:6–6:18). Heb. *ʿᵃpālîm* indicates some form of swelling or eminence, while *ṭᵉḥôrîm* relates specifically to hemorrhoids.

The disease, classed in Dt. 28:27 (AV "emerods"; RSV "ulcers") with "scurvy," the "itch," and the boils of Egypt, was physically disfiguring and caused many deaths (1 S. 5:10-12). It was accompanied by an invasion of rodents (6:4f., 17f.) and spread rapidly along lines of communication. The principal symptom mentioned was an inflamed enlargement of the inguinal glands (buboes), which would have been accompanied by a high fever and prostration.

The narrative furnishes a good untechnical description of bubonic plague, a dreaded affliction of antiquity. The virus is conveyed from rats to humans by the rat flea *Pulex cheopis*. Although rats are not specifically mentioned in Scripture, Garstang's discovery at Jericho of skeletons of several species demonstrates their prevalence in antiquity. Herodotus testified to the coincidence of epidemics and rodent invasions (ii.141) by preserving a legend that the army of Sennacherib after entering Egypt was destroyed by the agency of mice. He stated that a statue of Ptah commemoratng the event was extant in his day. The god held a mouse in his hand and bore the inscription, "Whosoever sees me, let him reverence the gods." This event may have been reminiscent of the account in Isa. 37:36f. R. K. H.

TUNIC [Heb. *kuttōneṯ*] (Job 30:18); AV COAT; NEB SHIRT; [Aram. *K paṭṭîš*] (Dnl. 3:21); AV HOSEN; NEB SHIRT; [Gk. *chitṓn*] (Mt. 10:10; Mk. 6:9; Lk. 9:3; Jn. 19:23; Acts 9:39); AV COAT; NEB also COAT, SHIRT. The basic garment, having a collar (Job 30:18) and sometimes seamless (Jn. 19:23). More than one might be worn (Mt. 10:10; Mk. 6:9; Lk. 9:3).

See also CLOAK; COAT; MANTLE; ROBE; GARMENTS.

TURBAN [Heb. *miṣnepeṯ*, also *ṣānîp* (Isa. 3:23), *pᵉʾēr* (Ezk. 24:17, 23; 44:18), *tᵉḇûlîm* (Ezk. 23:15)]; AV MITRE, TIRE, BONNET, DIADEM (Job 29:14; Ezk. 21:26), HOODS (Isa. 3:23), "dyed attire" (Ezk. 23:15); NEB also DIADEM (Ezk. 21:26).

The OT mentions a variety of headgear. The high priest wore the *miṣnepeṯ*, made of linen (Ex. 28:39; 39:28; Lev. 16:4); on it were placed the crown and the sacred signet (Ex. 28:36-38; 29:6; 39:30f.; cf. Lev. 8:9). The etymology of Hebrew *miṣnepeṯ* (< *ṣnp*, "wrap, wind around") indicates that this turban was wound around the head. The high priest's *miṣnepeṯ* is to be contrasted with the CAPS of the other priests (cf. Ex. 28:39f.; 39:27f.). Once (Ezk. 21:26) *miṣnepeṯ* refers to the turban of the king.

Ṣānîp (Job 29:14; Zec. 3:5; cf. Isa. 62:3) is the more general word for wound headgear, including that of women (Isa. 3:23). *Pᵉʾēr* is a still more general word for headgear.

In Ezk. 23:14f. the turbans of the Babylonians portrayed in reliefs are called *sᵉrûḥê tᵉḇûlîm*.

See also GARMENTS VI. D. E. SMITH

TURIN CANON. *See* ARCHEOLOGY OF EGYPT IV.I; EGYPT VI.B.

TURPENTINE TREE (Sir. 24:16, AV). *See* TEREBINTH.

TURQUOISE (Ex. 28:19, NEB). *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

TURTLEDOVE. *See* DOVE.

TUTOR (Gal. 4:2, AV). *See* GUARDIAN.

TWELVE. *See* APOSTLE II; NUMBER V.I.

TWELVE APOSTLES, GOSPEL OF THE. A heretical Gospel referred to by Origen as "the Gospel of the Twelve" (*In Luc. Hom.* i.1) and by Jerome as "the Gospel according to the Apostles" (*Adv. Pelag.* iii.2) and "the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles" (*Comm. in Mt.*). Jerome identified it with the Gospel of the Hebrews (which he equated with the Aramaic Gospel of the Nazarenes). Many scholars consider this testimony unreliable, however, and tend to identify the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles with the Gospel of the Ebionites. (See H-S, I, 131f., 153f., 263-65.)

See APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS IV.

TWELVE PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE. *See* APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE III.C.

TWENTY [Heb. *ʿeśrîm*; Gk. *eikosi*]. *See* Table in NUMBER.

TWILIGHT [Heb. *nešep*] (1 S. 30:17; 2 K. 7:5, 7; Job 24:15; Prov. 7:9; Isa. 21:4; 59:10; Jer. 13:16); AV also NIGHT, DARK; NEB also DUSK, TWILIT; [*ʿereḇ*] (Ex. 16:12); AV EVEN; NEB "between dusk and dark." The period of time between sunset and full night. In Palestine this time is short, because of the low latitude. In Ezk.

12:6f., 12 the AV also has "twilight" for Heb. *'alāṭâ* (RSV "dark").

See also DAY AND NIGHT.

TWIN BROTHERS [Gk. *Dioskouroi* < *díos* + *koúros*–'sons of Zeus (God)'] (Acts 28:11); AV, NEB, CASTOR AND POLLUX. The title for the supposed sons of Tyndareus, king of Sparta, later immortalized in mythology as the offspring of Zeus and Leda. Pollux is the latinized form of Polydeuces.

The Dioscuri, as they are usually called, became most famous as the saviors of mariners; they are often identified with the constellation Gemini and therefore in a position to rescue those in peril on the sea. As with many of the divinized heroes of Greece and Rome, the boundary between history and mythology is lost in antiquity. Tradition sees Castor as a horseman and Pollux as a master boxer; their association with safe travel by ship stemmed from an expedition in which the so-called St. Elmo's fire hovered over them, marking the end of a storm.

Since the cult of Dioscuri was prevalent in Egypt, it is not surprising that the Alexandrian ship carrying Paul on the final leg of his journey to Rome (leaving Malta, with preliminary ports of call at Syracuse, Rhegium, and Puteoli) should have the Twin Brothers as its figurehead (some think instead that the text is identifying the name of the ship, since appellation and insignia often derived from each other). But Acts 27 has made it abundantly clear that from the Christian perspective the true Savior of seafarers is the God of the apostle Paul.

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TWINED. The AV and RSV translation of the hophal part. of Heb. *šzr*, "twist" (NEB "woven"), in passages referring to the fine linen used in the tabernacle and priestly garments (Ex. 26–28, 35–36, 38–39). *See* LINEN III.

TWO [Heb. *šᵉnayim*; Gk. *dýo*] . *See* NUMBER IV, V.B.

TYCHICUS tik'ə-kəs [Gk. *Tychikos*–'chance']. An Asian Christian mentioned five times in the NT (Acts 20:4; Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7; 2 Tim. 4:12; Tit. 3:12) who was a friend of, courier for, and sometime traveling companion of Paul.

In Acts 20:4 Tychicus (*Eytychos* in MS D) is listed together with TROPHIMUS as one of two Asians (the Western text reads "Ephesians") who accompanied Paul on part of his third missionary journey. Tychicus appears to have been Paul's traveling companion on several occasions. He was with him when the apostle wrote the prison epistles from Rome, and he was with him for a time when he wrote in a later imprisonment to Timothy (2 Tim. 4:12), as well as when he wrote to Titus (Tit. 3:12).

Presumably Tychicus was a man of integrity and reliable character who acted as a trusted emissary for Paul on several occasions. As such, Paul described him as a "beloved brother," a "faithful minister" (Eph. 6:21), and a "fellow servant in the Lord" (Col. 4:7). He must have been well suited for the task of strengthening believers (4:8; cf. 2:2).

Tychicus also journeyed on behalf of Paul as a courier of written messages. He was entrusted with the apostle's letter to the congregation at Colossae (Col. 4:7f.), and the letter to the Christian slaveholder, Philemon. He also delivered Paul's letter to the Ephesians, and if that letter was an encyclical, as it may have been, he probably took it also to other churches in Asia.

Finally, Tychicus was probably sent by Paul to Ephesus as an able substitute who could provide ongoing support for the church while Timothy was relieved to work elsewhere (2 Tim. 4:12). Similarly, his dispatch to the island of Crete would have provided a much needed respite for Titus (Tit. 3:12), enabling him to engage in a winter consultation with Paul in Nicopolis.

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TYNDALE'S BIBLE. *See* ENGLISH VERSIONS III.B.

TYPE; TYPOLOGY. A hermeneutical concept in which a biblical place (Jerusalem, Zion), person (Adam, Melchizedek), event (flood, brazen serpent), institution (feasts, covenant), office (prophet, priest, king), or object (tabernacle, altar, incense) becomes a pattern by which later persons or places are interpreted due to the unity of events within salvation-history. While most studies center upon typological links between the testaments, the OT itself has several such correspondences, e.g., the use of the Exodus in Isa. 52:7-12 or the wilderness in Ps. 95:7-12. The "type" is the original person or event and the "antitype" (Gk. *antítypos*; cf. 1 Pet. 3:21) the later "copy" that fulfils the former.

I. Historical Development.–During the biblical period, typology centered upon the historical correspondence between biblical events based upon the principle of analogous fulfillment (the interconnection between events). But the church fathers blended typology with Hellenistic allegory and replaced the historical focus of the biblical period with a spiritual sense. Apart from a couple of exceptions (notably the Antiochenes in the 4th-5th cents. and the Victorenes in the 12th cent.) this method prevailed until the Reformation, although Aquinas would not base doctrine upon a purely allegorical interpretation. The Reformers espoused a literal hermeneutic and utilized typology in christocentric fashion. Especially with Calvin typology became the primary method for espousing the unity between the testaments. In general the Reformers accorded normative significance only to types that had direct biblical support, although others might be used with caution for devotional or homiletical purposes. Thus the flood rated as a valid type of baptism, but the cleansing of Naaman did not.

In the post-Reformation period several distinct schools of thought developed. Among conservative scholars there were three major positions: Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669) applied any OT event or person that resembled a NT parallel, thereby coming close to an allegorical approach; John March (1757-1839) asserted that the only types were those explicitly stated to be types in the NT; and Patrick Fairbairn (1805-1874) mediated between the two by accepting both innate (explicit) and inferred (implied) types, stating that many more correspondences existed in the NT period than happen to be enumerated in the texts themselves. With the rise of the historical-critical method in the 18th cent. nonconservative scholarship repudiated the unity between the testaments and regarded typology as an inferior method, since Scripture contained the disparate religious experiences of diverse groups rather than a unified historical record. This denigration continued until the rise of biblical theology and the salvation-historical school in the second half of the 20th century. Since then typology has been given its proper place in the hermeneutical panoply and is used to trace recurring patterns

in God's acts within history, thus demonstrating continuity between the stages of redemptive history.

II. Linguistic Concerns.–Typology, allegory, and symbol must be distinguished. The relationship between type and antitype is real and historical, based upon an analogous correspondence that exists between them. An ALLEGORY is indirect and implicit, based upon a metaphorical correspondence between spiritual ideas that lie under the text rather than within it. Allegory compares two or more distinct entities in terms of their figurative meanings while a type involves specific parallels between two historical entities. For instance, Melchizedek in He. 7 is a type of Christ because a true parallel exists between Melchizedek's combination of priestly and royal functions and Christ's office. But to view Joseph's ornamental robe (Gen. 37:31-33) as a type of Christ in some fashion (e.g., Jesus' robe or His exaltation) borders on allegory because it is not built upon historical correspondence. Many claim that the hermeneutical technique in the Epistle to the Hebrews is allegory of the Alexandrian type (e.g., Philo), e.g., in the correspondence of the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries in 8:5 and 9:24. But the Platonic terminology and patterns are missing, and Hebrews contains historical rather than metaphorical correspondence. Thus it is built upon typology rather than allegory.

A "symbol" centers upon the semantic field of individual concepts and deals with an abstract meaning rather than an historical correspondence, e.g., cross = life, water = Holy Spirit (in John), fire = judgment. In one sense, some types (e.g., the tabernacle) are "symbols" of later realities, but they are specific and historical in thrust, real rather than metaphorical. In general a symbol deals with the spiritual meaning of terms and a type deals with the deeper concept behind a larger event or institution. Thus types cannot be linked with a symbolic or general expression of spiritual concepts.

III. Specific Issues.–Typology represents the heart of early Christian hermeneutics, built upon the belief that God is in control and has unified His Word and the events in redemptive history. With this view, each biblical tradition or community saw itself in terms of both past and future, linked analogously to the past experiences of God's people, and preparing for similar acts of God in the future. As such, early events, persons, and things foreshadowed those that were to come later. It is questioned whether typology is prospective (the OT type as a divinely ordained prediction) or retrospective (the NT antitype as analogously related but not prefigured in the type). It is likely that the solution lies in the middle. The OT authors and participants did not necessarily recognize any typological force in the original, but in the divine plan the early event did anticipate the later reality. Thus David's coronation (e.g., Ps. 2, 72, 110) did indeed foreshadow Jesus' enthronement as the royal Messiah, though it was not a direct prediction.

The term that best expresses this balance is "promise-fulfillment." The OT type is promissory and the NT antitype fulfils or "fills to the full" the divine purpose implicit in the earlier event. Yet there is no need to posit some form of "double author" (that God had a meaning in the OT type of which the human author was not aware) or "sensus plenior" (that the OT texts had a "fuller sense" or deeper meaning than was realized by the original authors) to explain either prophetic fulfillment or typology. A canonical approach to the problem states that any biblical text can be explicated in terms of its total canonical context. In other words, all of Scripture is analogously related; NT writers could see many parallels between Jesus and the religious experiences of Israel (e.g., David's brush with death in Ps. 16:8-11; cf. Acts 2:25-31) without necessitating any "deeper" thrust in the earlier passage.

Another aspect of this phenomenon may well be some form of corporate identity. Jesus as Messiah is linked with the history and ritual of the nation, and therefore Christ is identified with events (salvific imagery from the Exodus), figures (the righteous sufferer of Pss. 22, 69 or the Suffering Servant of Isaiah), material items (the holy of holies), and ritual (sanctuary and covenant in He. 8–10) as well as persons (Moses, David). But this does not mean that typology is exclusively christocentric. For instance, the rest in the land foreshadows the believer's rest in God (He. 3–4), and (in an interesting reversal of the usual order) the heavenly sanctuary prefigures the earthly tabernacle (8:5, 9, 24). In fact we may speak of horizontal (historical) and vertical (earthly-heavenly) types, with the latter especially predominant in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Moreover, there is a definite ecclesiological dimension. Biblical patterns point to the Church as well as Christ. For example, in 1 Cor. 10 Israel is a type of the Church in the sense of a warning to those who are disobedient, and in 1 Pet. 3:18-22 the eight in the ark point forward to those saved through the water of baptism.

There are several important elements in biblical typology. One is an escalation of force; the NT antitype is an eschatological expansion of its OT counterpart (e.g., the first Adam-second Adam typology of Rom. 5:12-21; cf. "type" [Gk. *týpos*] in v. 14). Also, a soteriological dimension is reflected in the new covenant typology of He. 8–9 and the flood as a type of baptism in 1 Pet. 3:20f. The wilderness is a negative type in this regard, pointing to those who reject the new covenant of Christ (He. 3). Further, typology deals with the essential nature of salvation-history rather than general truths or spiritual trivialities. Much allegorical interpretation in modern preaching fits the latter category.

In a sense it is also valid to speak of a typological relationship between NT imagery and its fulfillment in the eschatological promises of the end times. The imagery of the Lord's Supper points forward to the messianic banquet, and the life of the Church foreshadows the final life of the saints in heaven. In this sense typology is a contemporization of the significance of God's acts in history for the present and the future.

IV. Hermeneutical Principles.–The debate still focuses on both the amount of typology in Scripture and the extent to which the interpreter can identify or utilize typology in the modern sermon. While the interpreter should recognize that there are both innate and inferred types in Scripture, preaching should center upon explicit typology so as to avoid excess. Several rules may help in controlling the methodology: (1) Make certain that the relationship between type and antitype centers upon historical correspondence rather than general spiritual concepts. (2) Study areas of both correspondence and difference between the two so as to determine the exact areas of parallel (e.g., the way in which the brazen serpent foreshadowed Jesus' death in Jn. 3:14f.). (3) Avoid establishing doctrine on the basis of typology, which is normally used in Scripture to illustrate rather than to establish dogma. (4) Do not seek types where the context does not allow them; subjective use leads to allegorizing and is dangerous. (5) Allow the richness of the type to speak anew both of the essential unity of Scripture and of the faithfulness of God to His people in every generation.

See also EXAMPLE; PATTERN.

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G. R. OSBORNE

TYRANNUS tī-ran'əs [Gk. *Tyrannos* < *týrannos*–'tyrant,' 'absolute ruler,' or 'despot']. The name of an Ephesian in whose hall Paul conducted discussions day by day (Acts 19:9). This personal name was not uncommon (see *MM*, p. 646).

This Tyrannus, otherwise unknown, may have been a Jew and his hall his own private synagogue, which he offered to Paul for his use. Or he may have been a Greek — as his name suggests — who owned a place for lecture and discussion that Paul rented. Or he may have been a Christian who readily loaned his facilities to the apostle without charge. He may also have been a teacher of philosophy or rhetoric, perhaps the most famous to have lectured in this hall, and hence, for the fame brought to it by him, it was known as "the hall of Tyrannus."

In Ephesus Paul, as usual, began his teaching about the kingdom of God in a Jewish synagogue (Acts 19:8). He continued there for three months until some Jews, who refused to believe, publicly maligned the Way and opposed his preaching. Apparently the opposition was so intense that Paul felt compelled to leave the synagogue and look for a more neutral place to carry on his ministry, as he had done before in Corinth (18:6f.). He found this place in the hall of Tyrannus.

The RSV term "hall" (AV "school"; NEB "lecture-hall") translates Gk. *scholé*. Originally this word meant "leisure" but here in Acts 19:9 it denotes a lecture hall or school room, "a place of leisure," where teachers (philosophers, orators) and pupils could come together for instruction and discussion. Often these were public places well situated, easy to find, as seems to be true of the hall mentioned in 19:9. Its accessibility and prominence resulted in all the Jews and Greeks who lived in the province of Asia hearing the word of the Lord (v. 10).

That the hall of Tyrannus was a public place of instruction rather than private is not ruled out by the remark that Paul used it "daily," i.e., uninterruptedly, for a period of two years. Evidence shows that public lectures usually began early in the morning and finished about 11:00 A.M. (Juvenal vii.222-26; Martial ix.68; xii.57), and additional textual evidence, though slight, attests that Paul carried on his teaching "from the fifth hour to the tenth," i.e., from 11:00 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. (A few Greek MSS of the Western text-type add this information immediately after Acts 19:9. Although this remark may not have been part of the original text of Acts, it may preserve an authentic recollection, since it accords so well with the living schedule in Paul's day.)

From this, therefore, one may piece together the following course of events: after being forced to leave the synagogue in Ephesus, Paul remained in the city for two years. He may have worked at his trade in the early morning hours and again in the late afternoons (cf. Acts 18:3). Then during the period usually reserved for a meal and rest (11:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M.), he may have rented an otherwise unused lecture hall for a price he could afford, and preached to workers in the trades at a time when they could afford to listen. The content of his message so appealed to the contemporary needs of his hearers that great numbers of people were won to faith in Christ. As a result "all Asia heard the word of the Lord."

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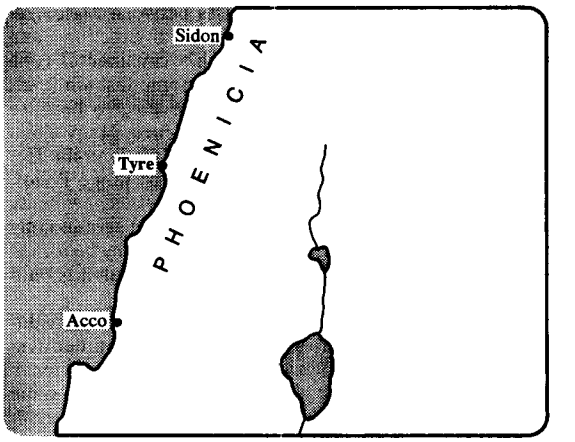
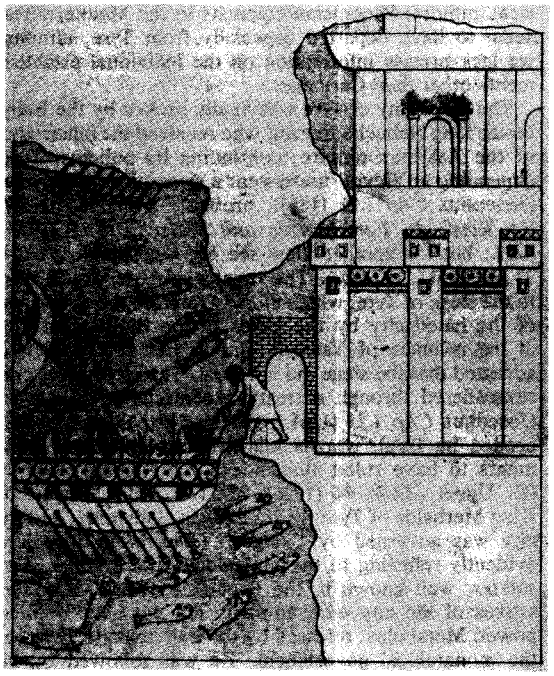
TYRE tīr [Heb. *ṣōr*, *ṣôr*; Ugar., Phoen. *ṣr*; Akk. *ṣurri*; Gk. *tyros*]; AV also TYRUS. An important Phoenician city, modern Ṣur, located between Sidon and Acco.



I. Topography and Archeological Exploration.–The name is of obvious significance ("rock"), adapted to the place — a rocky island (cf. Ezk. 26:4f., 14, "a bare rock, a place for the spreading of nets"). Today it is joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus (an accumulation on the mole built by Alexander the Great in the siege of 332 B.C.). The insular location impressed the ancients, who have left figurative images of it (a relief of Shalmaneser III) and descriptions (Papyrus Anastasi I: "They say another town is in the sea, named Tyre-the-Port. Water is taken [to] it by boats, and it is richer in fish than the sands"; Assyrian texts frequently speak of "Tyre which is in the midst of the sea"; on the simile of Ezk. 27:3-9 comparing Tyre to a ship, cf. S. Smith, *PEQ*, 85 [1953], 97-110). This position was obviously strategically advantageous (and allowed Tyre to resist at length the pressures of mainland kingdoms) but rendered the city dependent on the territories of the mainland for the provision of potable water, food, fuel, and even for burial places. When the mainland had fallen under the control of Sidon, the king of Tyre voiced his concerns: "Zimrida has taken Ushu, and there is no water and no wood, and nowhere to put the dead" (Am.Tab. 149, 155); "the man of Sidon does not permit my men to go to the mainland to get wood or to get water to drink" (Am.Tab. 154); "Let the king my lord [the Pharaoh] reveal his face and give water to drink to his servant, and wood for his servant; let the king my lord know that we are set in the midst of the sea and have neither water nor wood" (Am.Tab. 151).

The city was strongly fortified (see Josh. 19:29, "the fortress of Tyre"; Isa. 23:1, 13f.; Ezk. 26:4, 12). The wealth of the royal palace was proverbial in the 14th cent. B.C. (the king of Byblos wrote to Pharaoh: "Behold the house of Tyre! there is no governor's house like it. It is like the house of Ugarit! Exceedingly great is the wealth within it"). The main temple, dedicated to Melqart, was constructed, according to Josephus (*CAp* i.18 [118f.]), by Hiram I



A drawing by A. H. Layard from a relief at Nineveh (Kuyunjik) depicting the flight of Tyre's King Luli from the Assyrians. The two columns flanking the arch above the city walls may represent the temple of Herakles-Melqart supposedly constructed with gold and emeralds (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

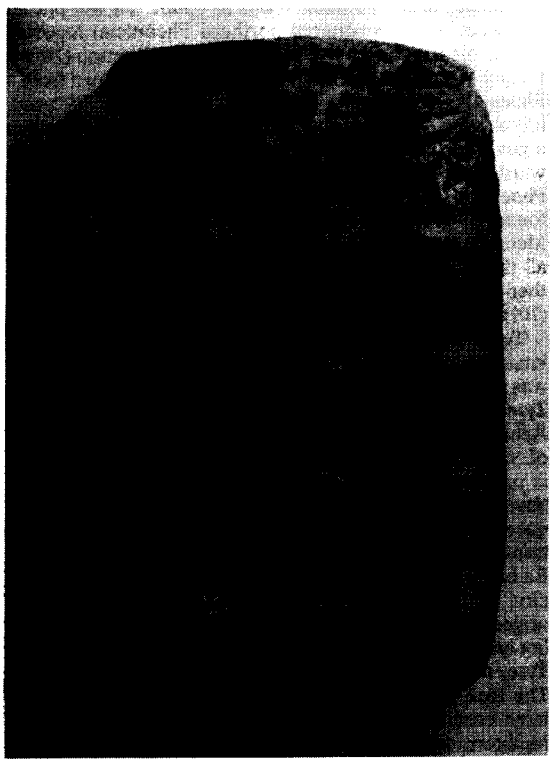
in the 10th century. It was also recorded by Herodotus (ii.44, according to which it was traced back to 2300 years earlier) and was still famous in a later age (E. Will, *Berytus*, 10 [1950-51], 1-12). The city had two ports alternately usable according to the winds: a northern or Sidonian port on the site of the medieval and modern port, and a southern or Egyptian port, sheltered by a man-made mole (identified by Poidebard), which today is submerged. On the mainland,some kilometers further south, was the city of Ushu (*ušu*), to be located at Tell Rašîdîya. It was a city with autonomous beginnings and history, but which in a later age came to be considered a more ancient suburb of Tyre (Palaityros) and placed opposite as a double of the island center.

The site of Tyre has been inhabited from most ancient times until today; the shallow depth of soil which covers the rocky islet and the successive reconstruction of the buildings across the centuries have left nothing of the Phoenician city. The excavations which were undertaken beginning in 1947 (and which at this writing are continuing to a limited extent) on the part of the Lebanese Department of Antiquities under the direction of M. Chéhab, have brought to light the Roman city (cf. periodic notes in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, and M. Chéhab, *Sarcophages à relief de Tyr* [1968]). Thus the major part of the occasional discoveries and the works in the necropoleis of the area are concerned with the Roman period: cf. the sarcophagi in lead (M. Chéhab, *Syria*, 15 [1934], 338-342; E. von Mercklin, *Berytus*, 5 [1938], 27-46), tombs (D. Le Lasseur, *Syria*, 3 [1922], 1-26, 116-133; M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée du Beyrouth*, 18 [1965], 5-51; J. Hajjar, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 18 [1965], 61-104; etc.). The tomb of Rašîdîya, which is properly Phoenician (8th cent.) (*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 6 [1942-43], 86), and Egyptian stele of the 13th cent. from Tyre (Leclant, *Orientalia*, 30 [1961], 394) are still unedited.

II. History.–The earliest reference to Tyre was in Egyptian execration texts (19th cent.). In the Amarna age (14th cent.) Tyre was under Egyptian control, as was all the region, but was especially involved in local strife with Sidon, which at last had the upper hand and took from Tyre Ushu and all the mainland. The king of Tyre, Abi-Milki, repeatedly wrote to the Pharaoh invoking his intervention in this situation, which had become quite critical (cf. W. F. Albright, *JEA*, 23 [1937], 190-203). Tyre appears thus in Ugaritic texts (see esp. C. Virolleaud, ed., *Palais royal d'Ugarit*, [1965], 59, which tells of the shipwreck near Tyre of an Ugaritic ship heading for Egypt); in the topographic lists of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III; in the Papyrus Anastasi I; in the Papyrus Anastasi III v.6, 3 (where a messenger of the king of Tyre, B'lt-rmg, is named, en route to Egypt [*ANET*, p. 258]); and in the account of Wen-Amon (see *ANET*, p. 26). After a parenthesis of Sidon's predominance, Tyre was affirmed as a major port of the Syro-Palestinian region, *ca.* 1000 B.C., thanks to the defeat inflicted by David on the Philistines, who formerly had blocked traffic to the south.

A central figure in this phase of Tyrian power was King Hiram I (Eirōmos son of Abibalos in Josephus *CAp* i.17 [113]), who reigned to the middle of the 10th century. To him can be attributed an intense activity of construction in Tyre itself (according to the so-called Annals of Tyre by Menander of Ephesus which Josephus reported, *CAp* i.18 [116-120]) where temples were erected to Herakles (Melqart) and to Astarte, as well as at Jerusalem by appointment of David (2 S. 5:11) and afterward particularly by Solomon, according to the famous passage in

A letter to the king of Egypt from Abi-Milki, king of Tyre, about affairs in northern Palestine (18th Dynasty) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1924)



1 K. 5:15-31 (cf. also 1 K. 9:10-14). The construction of the temple in Jerusalem demonstrated both the great prestige attained by Tyre in architecture and crafts and the goodwill policy between Tyre and Israel, which was advantageous to two states that had complementary economies. This collaboration is explicit particularly in the commercial naval expeditions, which, departing from Ezion-geber, were dispatched every three years to the land of Ophir (at the extreme southern end of the Red Sea) and which brought back gold as well as ivory, precious wood, precious stones, etc. (1 K. 9:26-28; 10:11, 22).

The successors of Hiram I are listed in the "Annals of Tyre": the immediate descendants Baalbazeros and Abdastartos, the usurpers Astartos, Astarymos, Phelles, and finally the priest of Astarte, Eithobalos, who initiated a new dynasty in the middle of the 9th century. This is certainly the ETHBAAL of 1 K. 16:31 (which more likely should be vocalized *'Itto-ba'al*), father-in-law and ally of Ahab of Samaria. After him reigned Balezoros, Mettenos, and Pygmalion, whose sister founded Carthage in 814 B.C. The precise chronological dates of Menander (which give the duration of each reign) must be harmonized with the inscriptions of the Assyrian king SHALMANESER III which record that in 841 Ba'li-manzer ruled over Tyre, to be identified with Balezoros of Menander. On the complex problems of chronology, cf. J. Liver, *IEJ*, 3 (1953), 113-120; J. Peñuela, *Sefarad*, 13 (1953), 217-237; W. F. Albright, "New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism and the Chronology of Tyre," in *Mélanges I. Lévy* (1955), pp. 1-9: E. Lipiński, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 45 (1970), 59-65; actually, it is very problematical to reconcile the dates (in part corrupt) of the "Annals" either with the dated records of Shalmaneser III or with the biblical synchronisms and the date of the founding of Carthage.

In the 8th cent. the Assyrian presence was more arduous: if in the preceding century it was sufficient to pay tribute on the occasions of Assyrian expeditions, now the very continuing of the autonomy was in doubt. Tiglath-pileser III (who in 743 conquered northern Pheonicia) reported among his tributaries two kings of Tyre, Ḥirummu (Hiram II) and Mitinna (Metten II). Hiram II is also known from a Phoenician inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i.5) as "king of the Sidonians" and had as his dependent a governor of Qart-ḥadašt (Kition?) in Cyprus, and afterward controlled a fairly vast kingdom (all of south-central Phoenicia and part of Cyprus). The same situation is found in the time of Sennacherib, when Luli (Eululaios in Menander), officially "king of the Sidonians," controlled all the coast as far as Acco and had his capital at Tyre, then fled to Cyprus at the approach of the Assyrian troops (701).

Tyre and Sidon were gradually divided into two separate kingdoms, and by the time of Esarhaddon, when Sidon was transformed into an Assyrian province, the king of Tyre, Ba'lu (who controlled the coast from Sarepta to Acco), succeeded in holding his throne, signing a treaty of vassalage with the Assyrian king, the text of which is preserved (*ANET*, pp. 533f.). A few years later (671), however, when Esarhaddon, on his way to Egypt, conquered all the mainland territory belonging to Tyre, he transformed it into a province with its capital at Ushu. Ba'lu resisted the siege and remained king of the island city, in a very difficult situation. Ashurbanipal also beseiged Ba'lu at Tyre (663), without obtaining a surrender but only formal homage. At the end of the Assyrian empire, Tyre, thanks to its island position, was still autonomous. The loss of all its mainland possessions, however, must have contributed to the turning of the city toward the Mediterranean: according to the reports furnished by classical authors, Phoenician colonists in the Mediterranean seem to have departed especially from Tyre, although we lack precise information on the individual establishments other than Carthage.

The autonomy of Tyre was finally broken by the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar, who received the inheritance of the Assyrian empire, continuing its policies. Tyre, depending on Egypt, underwent a siege of thirteen years (Josephus *CAp* i.21 [156]), probably from 585 to 572 (O. Eissfeldt, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 9 [1933], 421f.; but for another view see M. Vogelstein, *HUCA*, 23 [1950-51], 197-220). The oracles of Ezk. 26–28 refer to the siege of Tyre, which already foretold the overthrow of the hated city by the hands of the Babylonian king at the mandate of Yahweh. But in Ezk. 29:18-20 it is admitted that the siege did not exist. The city in fact only surrendered through a treaty. According to Menander (Josephus *CAp* i.21 [156f.]) the king Ittobalos was succeeded by Ba'al, who is known from cuneiform documents to have ruled alongside a Babylonian governor (E. Unger, *ZAW*, 44 [1926], 314-17). From 564 to 556 King Merbalos of Tyre was in exile in Babylonia, and the city was governed by "judges" (*dikastaí* in Josephus; evidently referring to the Phoenician title of *špṭm*, Lat. *sufetes*, well known in the Phoenician west), representatives of the city who normally did not have political power. Merabolos, released by the Babylonians, renewed the monarchical government. He was followed by his brother Eiromos (Hiram III), under whom Tyre passed from Babylonian to Persian dominion (538).

Under the Achaemenids Tyre was an important city, although Sidon had preeminence. The *Periplus* ("Circumnavigation") of Pseudo-Scylax (mid-4th cent.) assigned to Tyre all the coast from Sarepta to the Carmel, plus Ashkelon. The latent rivalry of the Phoenician cities signed the fate of Tyre at the time of the expedition of Alexander: Sidon and the other cities submitted at once to the Macedonians, while Tyre opposed them. A long siege was conducted by sea (with the aid of Sidon) and by land (with the construction of the famous isthmus, which transformed the island to a peninsula) and Tyre was destroyed (Zec. 9:1-4 alludes to this siege).

The city recovered rapidly, and was the major center of the Phoenician coast in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, in part hindered by the commercial plans of Alexandria. Tyre was part of the Ptolemaic kingdom in the 3rd cent., annexed to the Seleucid kingdom of Antiochus III in 198, and finally annexed in 64 to the Roman province of Syria. It had a republican government, a small-town "age" (from 120 B.C.), the status of a free city with the right of asylum (on this last cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 28 [1951], 225-28), up until Augustus (20 B.C.); it had Roman colonial status under Septimius Severus. It was an important Christian center and an episcopal see in the 2nd cent. A.D. and an important strategic port at the time of the Crusades, after which it shared in the general decline of the entire region. The modern city developed on the mainland, while the old city has been progressively expropriated from the Lebanese government to be transformed into a large archeological shipyard.

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M. LIVERANI
tr. W. S. L. S.

TYRE, LADDER OF tīr [Gk. *klímax Tyru*]; AV LADDER OF TYRUS. A prominent landmark referred to by Antiochus VI to define the northern border of the region over which Simon Maccabeus was governor (1 Macc. 11:59). This designation was given to a formation of mountains approximately 19 km. (12 mi.) N of Acre (Josephus *BJ* ii.10.2 [188]). Josephus writes that among the mountains of Galilee and Carmel it "is the highest chain of all." This description poses a problem, for none of the mountains identified as part of the Ladder (Râs el-'Abyadh, Râs en-Nakûrah, and Râs el-Musheirifeh) is as tall as Carmel. The mountain range at the northern end of the Plain of Asher differs from Mt.Carmel in that no passage exists between it and the sea, hence it functioned as a natural barrier between Palestine and the plain of Phoenicia. This barrier aided the peaceful relations between the Hebrews and Phoenicians during most of OT times (e.g., Solomon trading with Hiram, the king of Tyre; cf. 1 K. 5).

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TYROPOEON VALLEY tī-rə-pē'ən [Gk. *pháranx tón tyropoión*—'valley of the cheesemakers']. A name found in Josephus (*BJ* v.4.1 [140]) for the Central Valley in Jerusalem. *See* JERUSALEM II.B; III.G; maps.

TYRUS. *See* TYRE.

TZADDI. *See* SADHE.

U

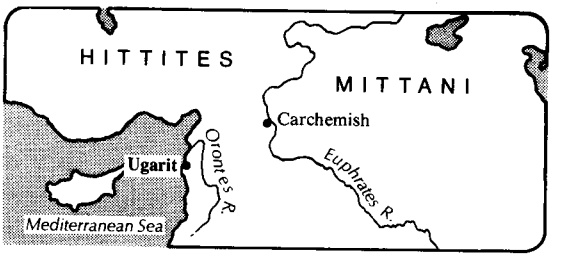
UBIQUITARIANISM [<Lat. ubique–'everywhere']. The Lutheran doctrine, applied particularly to the sacrament of holy communion, that Christ in His human nature is everywhere present. *See* OMNIPRESENCE: HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE III; LORD'S SUPPER VII.

UCAL. *See* ITHIEL.

UEL ū'əl [Heb. *'û'ēl*] (Ezr. 10:34, 43); **JOEL** jō'əl [Gk. *Iouel*] (1 Esd. 9:34f.); AV, NEB, JUEL. Laymen who divorced their foreign wives in the time of Ezra.

UGARIT; UGARITIC ōō'gə-rit, yū-gă'rit. An ancient city-state on the Mediterranean N of modern Latakia. Excavations of the site of RÂS SHAMRAH, ancient Ugarit, which have brought to light a city on the Syrian coast from the 14th and 13th cent. B.C., are of greatest importance for biblical studies. Archeologically and historically Ugarit is the best-known of all sites of the Late Bronze Age in Syro-Palestine, and therefore furnishes the most detailed body of material of the "Canaanite" culture which the Israelite tribes found in the "promised land" at the time of the conquest. But the greatest importance lies in the retrieval of texts in the local script and language ("Ugaritic"), which has revolutionized both the linguistic knowledge of Northwest Semitic in its most ancient stage (and consequently Hebrew), and the knowledge of the terminology, style, and content of Canaanite literature of mythological and religious character, having profound contacts with the OT.

I. History
II. Society
III. Orthography and Language
IV. Religion and Mythology



I. History.–Historical events of Ugarit are representative of a marginal region between the Semitic (Canaanite) and Hurrian linguistic areas, and between the zones of influence of Egypt to the south and the Hittites and Mittani to the north. Accordingly, the small city-state of Ugarit could play only a passive role for the most part. For the archeological reconstruction of the history of the city prior to 1500 B.C., *see* RÂS SHAMRAH.

Political and juridical archives recovered from the royal palace of Ugarit (written mostly in Akkadian, the diplomatic language of the time) make possible the reconstruction of the history in the 14th and 13th centuries. Ugarit was at that time the capital of a kingdom extending from the Mediterranean to the Orontes valley (30-45 km. [20-30 mi.]) and from Jebel el-'Aqra (Mt. Casius) to Shuksi (Tell Sukas) and the Jebeleh plain (where the vassal states of Siyanni and Ushnatu were located) — about 60 km. (35 mi.) of the coastal region.

Ugarit was a vassal of Egypt (as was all the Syrian coast

A letter from the Hittite king Tudḫaliyas IV to the king of Ugarit regarding horses of Hittite messengers who cross the territory of Ugarit on their way to Egypt. It is written in Akkadian, the diplomatic language of the Near East in the 2nd millennium B.C., and carries the seal imprint of the Hittite king (Louvre, photo M. Chuzeville)

and Palestine) from the time of the campaigns of Thutmose III and the succeeding treaty between Egypt and Mitanni that divided control in Syria. In the Amarna Age with the withdrawal of the Egyptian presence, Ugarit was at first involved in the expansionist policy of Aziru king of Amurru (its southern neighbor), with whom Niqmadu II of Ugarit made a compact. Then Ugarit passed into the Hittite orbit as a result of the campaigns of Šuppiluliuma with whom Niqmadu II signed a vassal-treaty (*ca.* 1355). After a brief interval under King Ar-Ḫalbu, Niqmepa (*ca.* 1335), a vassal of Mursilis II renewed the pact; Ugarit was an ally of the Hittites in the battle of Kadesh against Ramses II (*ca.* 1290). Ḫattusilis III and Niqmepa agreed upon important definitive accords, including seasonal residence of Hittite merchants in Ugarit (but prohibiting them from acquiring real estate), and extradition of refugees (*ḫabiru*) in Ugarit by the Hittite king. Under Ammistamru II (*ca.* 1250), a dispute with the Amurru arose out of the marriage of an Amorite princess with the king of Ugarit and the subsequent intrigues by the princess.

About that time Hittite control became less direct and passed in practice into the hand of Ini-Tešub, king of Carchemish, who settled the Ugarit-Amurru dispute, fixed the fines to be paid for the murder of merchants, and functioned as judge in international judicial disputes. With Ibiranu (*ca.* 1230) the fidelity of Ugarit to the Hittite imperial system seemed to waver; but the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi, in the moment of supreme danger (the invasion of the "sea-peoples" *ca.* 1190), did not refuse to send troops and ships to the support of the Hittites who were already under attack. Ugarit accordingly was itself without defense, and was unable to escape the destruction of the city, with the result that it disappeared forever from the historic scene.

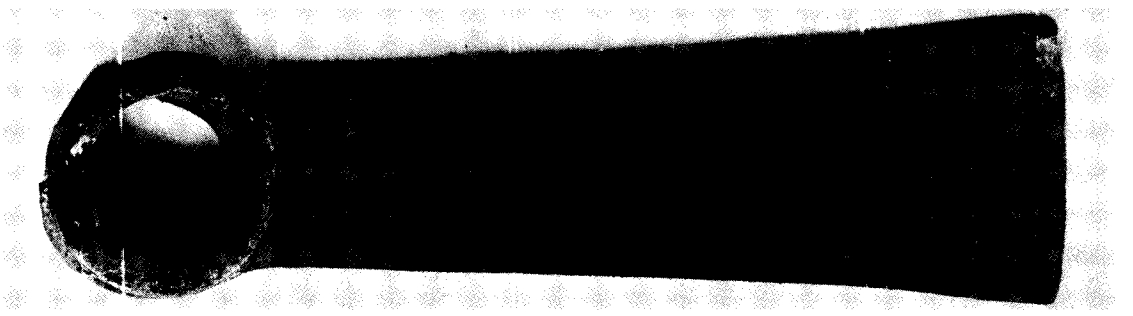
II. Society.—Ugarit was a typical city-state of the "Canaanite" world of Late Bronze. Further south in the same period the Israelite tribes were living on the edges of cities organized in the same manner as Ugarit. Ugaritic society was built on a basic division of the population into two groups: one the "king's men," the other the freemen. The king's men were dependents of the palace, of a higher social stratum than the freemen but economically not free, since they had to work for the palace, which largely controlled the means of production. All specialized work was in palace hands: artisans of various kinds (mostly devoted to the production of luxury goods for the sole use of the palace), merchants, military specialists, cult officials, administrators (and scribal activities). Members of the palace elite were supported by the king through land-grants (sometimes quite large) which rewarded them for the "service" which they rendered. In the wealthier classes of the king's men, such as the warrior nobility and the merchants, there was a trend toward consolidating family estates, thus removing them from dependency on the king.

Outside the palace complex lived the rest of the population, numerically the majority, free because they owned the means of production (actually, the fields which they cultivated), but technologically and culturally more deprived, excluded from any political decisions, tied to the palace by burdensome fiscal dependence (a tithe on the harvest, corvée labor; cf. I. Mendelsohn, *BASOR*, 143 [Oct. 1956], 17-22), and often obliged to choose between debt-slavery and becoming fugitives (cf. M. Liverani, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 77 [1965], 315-336). The freemen were organized into village-communities in which councils of elders controlled internal problems, while a "mayor" handled the contacts with the palace.

The distinction between the king's men and the free population was in fact also a distinction between city and country, for those who were dependent on the king were concentrated in the capital around the palace. The difference in economic interests and the way of life between the palace (the king and the warrior nobles with chariots and horses, and the specialist-complex described above) on the one hand and the village communities on the other was great, and was augmented by the prevalence of debt, to the advantage of the merchants and the palace. Since debt was to the king's advantage, he was no longer issuing decrees of remission (as formerly). As a result there was no longer any solidarity between the palace and the rest of the population — which serves to explain how the Canaanite cities, similarly organized, could be quickly overcome by the Israelites (cf. G. E. Mendenhall, *BA*, 25 [1962], 66-87). The intervention of the tribes initially tended to balance the economic relations (cf. the laws against usury favoring those in debt and the refugee, the sabbatical year and the jubilee, etc.) but eventually society was once again divided into two groups even in Israel: on the one hand the "servants" of the king (i.e., the palace officers) who held the political and technological power, and the "people of the land" who were free in economic simplicity (agricultural and pastoral life), but increasingly subject to burdensome taxation while excluded from political decisions.

III. Orthography and Language.—In Syro-Palestine of the 2nd millennium B.C. the scribal circle of the royal palaces perpetuated the use of syllabic cuneiform writing and the Akkadian language, both for international correspondence and for domestic juridical and administrative documents. The difficulty in learning both the complex cuneiform system and a foreign language limited scribal instruction to a restricted and traditionalist circle. Outside the royal palaces there were various attempts at alphabetic writing, of which the "Proto-Sinaitic" and "Proto-Canaanite" inscriptions are examples suited to private needs (votive inscriptions, proprietary marks, etc.).

A ceremonial adzehead inscribed in the cuneiform alphabet. It reads: "*ḥrṣn rb khnm*," "adze of the high priest" (14th cent. B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



The encounter at Ugarit of the official training of the scribes and the alphabetic principle of popular diffusion produced Ugaritic orthography, which was alphabetic (each graphic symbol represented a consonant) but which also used the technical tools of Mesopotamian origin (clay tablets and stylus, thus producing CUNEIFORM [wedge-shape] signs). The palace adopted alphabetic writing for administrative purposes (registration of goods, lists of people, translations into Ugaritic of letters and judicial documents that were written in Akkadian, etc.), and — of great importance — for redaction of mythological and ritual texts. Traditional scribes, using Akkadian, had been copying literary and religious texts but had not considered writing them in Ugaritic using the syllabic script.

The alphabet consists of thirty consonantal signs without any indication of the vowels except in the case of aleph, which was written with three different signs according to the vocalization (*'a, 'i, 'u*). The order of the letters in some "abecedaries" is the following: *'a b g ḫ d h w z ḥ ṭ y k š l m ḏ n ẓ s ʿ p ṣ q r ṯ ġ t 'i 'u ś* (the last three signs were probably a later addition). This order is substantially that of the Hebrew alphabet (cf. the acrostic Pss. 34, 37, 111, 112, 119), with allowances for phonetic shifts (*ṯ > ṙs*) and the elimination of some of the consonantal sounds (*ḫ š ḏ ẓ ġ ś*). The shapes of the signs, however, are different (taking into account the different writing tools and material), except for the character *ś* (one of the later additions) which was derived from *s* of the Canaanite-Phoenician-Hebrew alphabet.

The Ugaritic language represents an archaic stage of the Northwest Semitic group. There has been long discussion concerning a more precise classification such as "(Late-) Amorite" or "(north-) Canaanite" or even as a separate language, but this is more terminological than substantial. The most important differences are due to the greater antiquity of extant Ugaritic texts vis-à-vis extant Hebrew texts. (1) The consonantal system of Ugaritic is richer, since the consonantal shifts *ġ > ʿ, ḫ > ḥ, ṯ > š, ḏ > z, ẓ > ṣ* had not yet taken place. (2) The vocalic pattern (as far as it is possible to reconstruct it) is simpler in Ugaritic, with only *a, i,* and *u* (in both short and long quantities), possibly reduced diphthongs (*ay > ê, aw > ô*), but without vocalic mutations (*â > ô*, etc.) resulting from stress-accent and alteration in syllabic structure (shewa, segolate pattern, etc.). (3) Inflexion of nouns preserves the case-endings (nominative *-u*, genitive *-i*, accusative *-a*) and the dual. The definite article was not yet in use (*hn* is a deictic pronoun). (4) The verbal system fully preserves mood-indicators (indicative *-u*, subjunctive *-a*, energic *-anna*, jussive *-∅*).

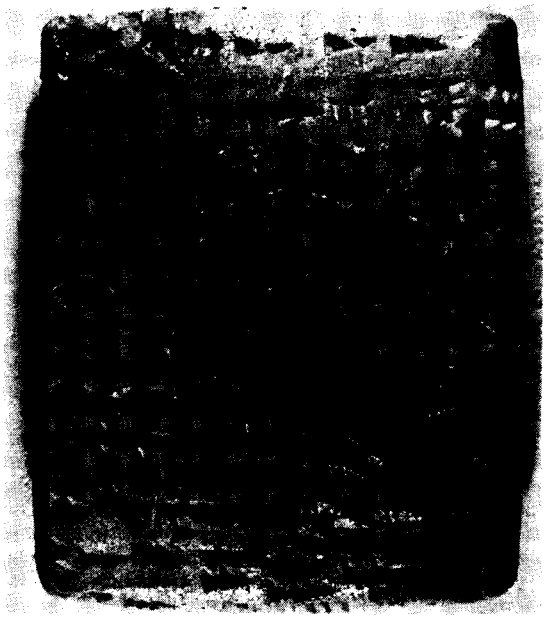
In nonliterary texts there were already active innovative phenomena (phonetic and morphological) which would lead to the somewhat more evolved aspect of Hebrew and Phoenician. The chronological distance between the latest Ugaritic texts (*ca.* 1190) and the earliest Hebrew and Phoenician texts is not great, but in the interval the breakdown of traditional cultural centers (the royal palaces and their scribal schools), which had acted as a brake on the diffusion of innovative elements in the written language, had taken place. Following such crises innovations began to strengthen and spread definitively.

Although the interpretation of Ugaritic texts is still difficult (and in many cases uncertain), and receives much help from comparative study of other Semitic languages (chiefly Hebrew), nevertheless the knowledge of Ugaritic texts has in turn provided clarification for interpretation of the OT. In particular certain morphological and syntactical elements of Hebrew (esp. in the more archaizing poetic material), which were previously doubtful or completely obscure, have become clearer: e.g., enclictic *mêm*, emphatic *lāmed*, directive *hê*, inversion of the prepositions *b-* and *l-* within semantic fields (also relative to *min*), the narrative value of the infinitive absolute, etc. (cf. in general W. L. Moran, "Hebrew Language in Its Northwest Semitic Background," in *BANE*, pp. 54-72). Equally valid is the contribution on the lexical plane: the mythological and ritual texts of Ugarit have conserved the poetic "Canaanite" terminology from which Hebrew poetry borrowed much, whether single terms, or idiomatic phrases, or synonymous pairs in parallelism, etc. (cf. M. Dahood's articles in *Bibl.* from 44 [1963], 289-303, until 51 [1970], 391-404). Comparison with Ugaritic single words, as well as analogy in construction in general, has resulted in modification or defining more precisely the interpretation of many biblical passages, as is evidenced in more recent commentaries and translations.

IV. Religion and Mythology.—The Ugaritic texts constitute the principal source for direct knowledge of Canaanite religion. Cult practices, mythological patrimony, and temple organization can be studied from within, whereas the OT gives a picture colored by polemic. The official sphere of Yahwism was in fact the carrier of a religion of nomadic origin, quite different from Canaanite agricultural religion. Some aspects of Canaanite religion and cult, based on totally diverse concepts, would inevitably appear impious and immoral to the Israelites (e.g., the iconic representations of the deity, some of the ecstatic and orgiastic practices of the cult, fertility rituals, etc.).

Ugaritic religion is substantially built on the expectation of a correct and punctual repetition of the annual vegetation cycle, as well as the fecundity of human beings and animals. The arrival of the seasonal rains was the most important event for agriculture that did not depend on irrigation, and the divine figure connected with atmo-

The reverse of the important *mrzḥ* text from Ugarit reads: "And Šamūmānu is chief. Let not arise a man of the *marzih* and say to Šamūmānu: 'Give money, a shekel, which is in your possession.' Two shekels he will pay. Witness: 'Ihirašpu son of 'Uḏrnn and 'Abdīnu son of Sigilda" (courtesy of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; translation of P. Miller in L. Fisher, ed., *Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets* [1971], pp. 37f.)



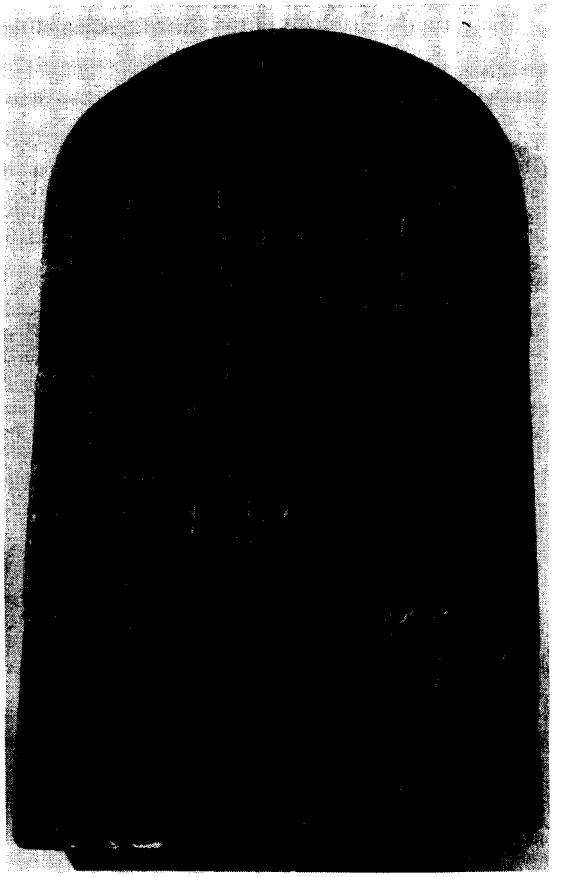
UGARIT

A Phoenician ivory lid found at Ugarit (Minet el-Beida) depicting an Aegean goddess. Dressed in Mycenaean style, she sits between two goats and holds stalks of grain (14th cent. B.C.) (CMNHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

spheric phenomena was head of the pantheon. He was the god Baal ("Lord"), often with the epithet Aliyan (probably "he who prevails"). Various mythological fragments belong to the cycle of Baal and Anat (his sister and consort). The sequence of the episodes is not always clear, but the main part of the story concerns the struggle of Baal against Mot ("Death"). Mot claims and obtains the submission of all the gods. Baal attempts to resist but is killed, and the lamentation of Anat and the entire population spreads over the land. But then Anat confronts Mot, conquers him, and restores Baal to life. The two rivals are at last engaged in a terrible duel which ends in Baal's victory and Mot's death.

This pattern of the death and resurrection of Baal corresponds to the seasonal cycle: the prevailing of Mot symbolizes the summer drought of nature, the final victory of Baal is the realization of expectations both seasonal and eschatological which were the nucleus of the popular religion of Ugarit. Other fragments, such as those on the building of Baal's palace or the victory of Baal over Yam (the sea, the hostile force of the oceanic Abyss over which Yahweh also fights and prevails), are more clearly mythological, whereas the victory of Baal over Mot is suited to be a kind of "libretto" for seasonal rites which propitiate or celebrate the return of the rainy season. Other mythological texts, such as the poems of Yarih (Yerakh) and Nikkal and that of Shahar and Shalim (Shalem ?) seem to have had a special role in the cult.

The two poems of Keret (or Kirta) and of Aqhat seem to be less strictly religious in function. In the former, King Keret, whose family is completely destroyed, receives in a dream from the god El instructions to go elsewhere for the conquest of a distant princess from whom he will have progeny. The disregard of a vow made during the enterprise causes the sickness of the king, and one of the sons was ready and willing to succeed him, but at last Keret recovers his full functions.



A stele dedicated to the god Baal (at left in a conical cap). The inscription reads: "to Seth of Ṣapuna in favor of the royal scribe and keeper of the house of silver, Mami" (1350-1200 B.C.) (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

In the poem of Aqhat there is an old king Danel who obtains from El a descendant. The young hero Aqhat is born, whose fate seems to be sealed by the hostility of the goddess Anat, to whom he has refused to give his bow. Aqhat is killed and nature languishes. The end of the text is missing, but we get a hint that the hero's sister, who had gone to look for him, succeeds in reviving him.

These two poems, which have moreover the tone and plan of folktale, display on the one hand heroic elements of the kingship ideology of the time, and on the other conscious echoes of the concept of kingship as responsible for the proper functions of nature as well as some similarity between the king-hero and the dying-and-rising god. Such a concept, which was totally foreign to the culture and social structure of the Israelite nomadic tribes of the earlier period, will emerge when they become sedentary and partially assimilate the Canaanite ideology, and will constitute in part the royal ideology of the Jerusalem dynasty.

At Ugarit were found many texts of practical content: lists of deities and of sacrifices, descriptions of festivals, etc. The cult practices were centered on the figures of the king and the queen, with processions and sacrifices. Use of wine and music suggests orgiastic cult-acts intended to promote fertility. Sacrifices were of two fundamental types: the holocaust (*šrp*) in which the victim was com-

A metal pendant from Ugarit depicting the goddess Ashtoreth, who is associated with fertility cult practices (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

pletely burned, and the sacrifice of communion (*šlmm*) in which priests and participants shared a common meal. Cult-practices and terminology can be compared, with some limitations, with those of the OT. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

In the temple milieu of Ugarit were defined the canonization and hierarchical precedence of numerous deities. Official lists were compiled and from these were established relative position by kinship (Baal was the son of Dagan, Anat was his sister, etc.) or by actions (based on mythological heritage). The relative importance of the deities was based not only on geography (in Ugarit Baal Ṣaphon was preeminent, whose mythical seat, Mt. Saphon, was a short distance from the city) but also on social milieu, on function, and on cultic context. Thus El, the creator-god, father of the gods and of human beings, is the supreme deity on the theological level but scarcely active in daily life. Baal and Anat are the deities most active in the myth and the cult, and to these are tied the principal religious aspects of the entire community. At the level of folk religion, gods like Resheph and Ḥoron, who are responsible for (and able to heal from) disease and pestilence, snake bites and scorpion stings, had notable weight in the religious life of individuals, which found expression in magical practices (amulets, conjurations, etc.).

Bibliography.–In general, see A. F. Rainey, *BA*, 28 (1965), 102-125; and esp. J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan (SVT, 5*; 2nd ed. 1965) with ample bibliography; M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit* (1962); *CAH*, II/2, ch. 21 (b); G. D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect* (1981). On society: M. Heltzer, in *La Siria nel Tardo Bronzo* (1969), pp. 47-60; *Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (1976). Editions of the texts: *see* bibliography on RÂS SHAMRAH. Grammar and vocabulary: C. H. Gordon, *UT* (1965); S. Segert, *Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (1985); for vocabulary, also J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache* (1963). Alphabet: F. M. Cross and T. O. Lambdin, *BASOR*, 160 (Dec. 1960), 21-26. Translations of mythological texts: C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (1949); H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET* (3rd ed. 1969), pp. 129-155; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (1956; rev. by J. C. L. Gibson, 1978); J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* (2nd ed. 1964); cf. also T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (rev. ed. 1961); J. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu* (1971). On the deities: A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (1952); *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts* (1969); M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (*SVT*, 2; 1955). On the cult: R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice Israélite* (1941), foundational. On sacral kingship: W. Schmid, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* (1961). Relationships with the OT: R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'AT* (2 vols. 1945) was the most accurate but now surpassed by discoveries; E. Jacob, *Ras Shamra et l'AT*; A. S. Kapelrud, *Ras Shamra Discoveries and the OT* (1963); P. Craigie, *Ugarit and the OT* (1983). Ugaritic data and individual biblical books: J. H. Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* (1944); M. Dahood, *Canaanite and Phoenician Influence in Qohelet* (1952).

M. LIVERANI
tr. W. S. LASOR

UKNAZ uk'naz. The AV mg. rendering of the MT *ûqᵉnaz* (lit. "and Kenaz"; cf. AV "even Kenaz") in 1 Ch. 4:15. The text appears to be corrupt. The LXX omits the conjunction "and" (cf. RSV, NEB), but this does not solve the problem of the plural form *bᵉnê* ("sons"). Possibly a name has been lost after "Elah." Another possibility is that MT *'ēlâ* ("Elah") should be read as *'ēlleh* (both forms are *'lh* in unpointed Hebrew) and transposed with *bᵉnê* so as to read "these are the sons of Kenaz" (cf. v. 13; see H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [*NCBC*, 1982], p. 60).

ULAI ū'lī [Heb. *'ûlay*; LXX *Oulai* (Dnl. 8:16; omitted in v. 2); Akk. *U-la-a*; Vulg. *Ulai*; Lat. *Eulaeus* (Pliny *Nat. hist.* vi.27)]. The stream or artificial irrigation canal near Susa, the capital in southwest Persia where Daniel received his vision of the ram and the he-goat (Dnl. 8:2, 16). About 275 m. (900 ft.) wide, the Ulai flows from the Kerkha river (ancient Choaspes) *ca.* 32 km. (20 mi.) NW of the city, passing just to its N or NW. It then joins the Abdizful River (ancient Coprates), which in turn empties into the Karūn (ancient Pasitigris) SE of Susa. Ashurbanipal claimed to have choked the canal with debris and caused its water to turn blood-red with the corpses of men and horses during his invasion of Elam in 640 B.C.

The vicinity of Susa was an appropriate site for Daniel's vision, since the vision concerned the future destiny of the Medes and Persians who had made Susa their winter capital. Lacocque suggested that the name *ûlay* may be a pun on the Hebrew homonym meaning "perhaps" (p. 157). If so, the mention of Ulai may express the possibility of a miraculous reversal of Israel's oppressive exile. In any case, despite Josephus's claims (*Ant.* x.11.7 [263-281]), Daniel was present near Susa in spirit but not in body. His experience parallels other riverside revelations (Gen. 41:1; Ezk. 1:1) and the transportation of other prophets by the Spirit in visions (e.g., 2 K. 2:16; Ezk. 8:3; 11:1; Rev. 17:3). The legendary tomb of Daniel near Susa may be traced to the influence of Josephus's account or another tradition.

Recently several scholars have suggested that Heb. *'ubāl*/*'uḇāl* (RSV "river"; NEB "stream") in vv. 2f., 6 actually means "city gate" (like Aram. *'ᵃḇôl* and Akk. *abullu*; not like Heb. *yāḇāl* in Isa. 30:25; 44:4, or *yuḇāl* in Jer. 17:8). According to this view the vision took place at the Ulai Gate, i.e., the gate whose road ran toward the

canal. Although the LXX and some ancient versions support this translation, the mention of the Ulai alone in v. 16, presumably as the same place mentioned in v. 2, slightly favors understanding *'ûḇāl* as "canal" rather than "city gate."

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ULAM ū'ləm [Heb. *'ûlām*—'first'].

1. Head of a family of the tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch. 7:16f.).

2. Firstborn son of Eshek; head of a large Benjaminite family of warriors renowned for their skill at the bow and arrow (1 Ch. 8:39f.; cf. 2 Ch. 14:8).

ULLA ul ə [Heb. *'ullā'*]. Head of a family of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. 7:39).

UMMAH um'ə [Heb. *'umâ*; LXX A *Amma*, B *Archob*] (Josh. 19:30); NEB ACCO. A town situated in the tribal territory of Asher. Since Acco is not mentioned in this list (cf. Jgs. 1:31), it is generally believed that Ummah is an error for Acco (cf. NEB); this reading is supported by several LXX MSS that have Gk. *Akkō* (see *BHS*). The general location suggests the vicinity of Acco (modern 'Akko or Acre). W. S. L. S.

UMPIRE [Heb. hiphil part. of *yāḵaḥ*— 'decide,' 'judge between')] (Job 9:33); AV DAYSMAN; NEB "one to arbitrate." The Hebrew term denotes an arbiter who can settle a dispute with equity. Laying a hand on each party indicates his authority over both of them (cf. Ps. 139:5). The AV uses an obsolete term for a judge.

UNBELIEF [Gk. *apistía*]; NEB also WANT OF FAITH, INCREDULITY, FAITHLESS, etc.; **UNBELIEVER; UNBELIEVING** [Gk. *ápistos* (1 Cor. 6:6; 7:12-15; 14:24; 2 Cor. 4:4; 6:14f.; etc.), part. of *apeithéō* (Acts 14:2; Rom. 15:31), *apistía* (He. 3:12)]; AV also THAT BELIEVETH NOT, INFIDEL; NEB also UNCONVERTED, HEATHEN (1 Cor. 7:12-15), DISBELIEVER, FAITHLESS. The opposite of FAITH (*pístis*); and the person who fails or refuses to respond in faith to a set of facts or spiritual truths.

Sometimes "unbelief" refers to a response to a specific set of facts (e.g., Mk. 9:24); in such cases it is equivalent to "disbelief." But more often it is used to describe a mental attitude opposed to faith and therefore inclined to reject spiritual truths (e.g., Rom. 11:20, 23; 1 Tim. 1:13; He. 3:19). In these instances the unbelief may not have any specific object. If there were such a word as "unfaith," it might better express the usual meaning of *apistiá*. (*See also* FAITHLESS.)

The fact that "unbelief," "unbeliever," etc. are common terms in the NT but do not occur at all in the OT indicates a significant change, with the establishment of the new covenant, in the criteria by which individuals are judged to be outside of God's Kingdom. The OT tends to view the failure to keep God's law or the infidelity of idolatry as typical evidence that a person has rejected God. The NT is more likely to describe such a person in terms of unbelief.

The verb *apeithéō* expresses the idea of DISOBEDIENCE. The noun *apeítheia* is rendered "unbelief" by the AV in Rom. 11:30, 32; He. 4:6, 11; it is more appropriately rendered "disobedience" by the RSV.

On 2 Cor. 6:14, *see* YOKE. G. A. VAN ALSTINE

UNCERTAIN; UNCERTAINTY. The adjective is used by the RSV in Jn. 13:22 to render the part. of Gk. *aporéomai*, which describes the disciples' "bewilderment" (so NEB; AV "doubting") following Jesus' announcement that one of them was going to betray Him. 1 Tim. 6:17 warns the rich against putting their hope in *ploútoi adēlótētai* (lit. "uncertainty of riches"); cf. the reference in 2 Macc. 7:34 to "uncertain [*ádēlos*] hopes"). Jas. 3:17 states that true wisdom is *adiákritos*, i.e., single-minded, concerned only with the truth; one possessing such wisdom is therefore "straightforward" (NEB), "without partiality" (AV), and "without uncertainty" (RSV). N. J. O.

UNCHANGEABILITY OF GOD. One of the cardinal biblical teachings about God is His unchangeability, or, as commonly expressed in theological language, His immutability. But this concept appears not only in biblical thought; it is found also in secular philosophical thought. Although the secular conception differs basically from the biblical conception, it has often exerted such a perverting influence on the latter as to deprive it of its distinctive biblical feature.

In secular thought God's unchangeability is not a religious, or more specifically a gracious, concept. It is rather an expression for the divine perfection that is defined as completeness and therefore as an unchangeability which does not and cannot include the idea of a divine relatedness to something other than itself. God's unchangeability is defined in terms of God alone. The argument then runs: any change is either for the better or the worse. God cannot change for the better, for what can be better than pefect? Nor can God change for the worse, for that would imply that God is less than perfect. Thus the secular philosophical perception of God's unchangeability excludes the very possibility of a divinely initiated relatedness to the world via creation or via God's temporal presence and historical actions in the world.

The God who possesses or, rather, is possessed by such an unchangeability is not the God portrayed by the Bible. Such a God is self-contained. He is not and cannot be related to what is not God, and He therefore does not and cannot respond to it. Responding to what is not God would itself be an act of relating to what lies outside God. Such a response is an excluded possibility where God's unchangeability is defined wholly in terms of Himself without reference to any other reality.

Such a God of lifeless immobility is not the God of the Bible, who hears and answers prayer, responds to the cry of the needy, reacts to human sin in anger and judgment, repents of His pronounced judgments, withdraws His wrath, extends His compassion and forgiveness, shows His pathos in the tears of Jesus, and in Christ so loves the sinful world that He gives His Son over to death and the anguish of hell for us and for our salvation. Indeed, the secular philosophical concept of perfection that excludes God's relatedness to the world from its definition of divine unchangeability is ingrediential to the perfection of God that shows its relationship to the world by His making the sun rise on the evil and the good, and sending the rain on the just and the unjust (Mt. 5:45).

The Bible leaves no doubt that God is God without any aid of the world. The modern notion of process theology that God is becoming God concurrently with the temporal-historical processes of history is alien to biblical thought. God as the eternal and infinite God is complete in terms of Himself, needing no temporal-historical process in which progressively to actualize Himself. The God of the Bible is the eternal God. He does not and cannot *become* God. The Scriptures conceive of God as a living

UNCHANGEABILITY OF GOD

person who is related to the world and humanity but is absolutely unlimited and unrestricted by humanity, the world, and what happens in the world. God is always Lord over what lies outside Himself. As the infinitely and eternally absolute and self-existent Being, He is exalted above the processes of history and the determinative compulsions of the human race. Nothing conditions or compromises His reality as God. Even His relationships to the world are self-induced and freely established and have a greatness that cannot even begin to exhaust His Being. As an eternal and independent reality God changes neither through an internal process of self-realization nor through an external process of self-actualization in time, which is the "form" of change and mutability. God is God without thanks to anything other than Himself.

The God of Scripture can nonetheless by His free decision *become* what He is not, without ceasing to be the God that He eternally is. God is free to become the Creator. In becoming so He does not cease to be the eternal God; His act of creating mankind and the world neither violates nor compromises His nature as the eternal, unchangeable God. For God is by nature a "Father," i.e., a source or fountain; as such He gives Himself existence and is the self-existent one, as such He eternally generates the eternal Son, and as such with the Son He eternally breathes forth the eternal Spirit. As such a God He reveals His almighty power by becoming the Creator of heaven and earth without ceasing to be what He eternally is, the triune God. God cannot become God, but He can in a real sense become temporal, spatial, and historical without ceasing to be God. He manifested this in the days of Caesar Augustus, in the land of Israel. He did so first through a freely assumed relationship to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and an extended relationship to the people of Israel. Then, through a self-initiated relationship with the Virgin Mary, God became Immanuel, the God who is with us, in order to be for us and our salvation. In short, God in His freedom can and did become man, the man of Nazareth, without compromising His nature and reality as God. In becoming human God did not cease to be God.

In becoming spatial God did not cease to be the God whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain. In sharing human existence, in crying human tears, in sharing human sorrows, in experiencing human death in Jesus of Nazareth, God did not cease to be God. If in becoming a man in Jesus Christ, and thereby becoming an incarnate part of all the aspects of human existence, sin excepted, God had become something contrary to what He eternally is, He would not be Lord over all those aspects of the fallen world and its humanity from which He came to save us by becoming human. Even in His servant form God remains God and Jesus is Lord. God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself through the lowly birth, the tears and suffering, the anguish of Gethsemane, and the hellish terrors of the cross, even as God remained God and Christ remained Lord.

Precisely because God, especially in the Incarnation, relates Himself to the temporal-historical world and yet remains God, the Bible never represents His unchangeableness as a dead immobility, insensitive and unresponsive to what goes on in the world. The Bible never portrays an abstract God who maintains His unchangeability by remaining aloof from the world and unresponsive to what occurs in it. The intent of the Bible's anthropomorphisms is to teach that God's unchangeability cannot be understood as aloof divine noninvolvement. The anthropomorphisms may not be dismissed as merely human ways of speaking; they represent valid expressions of God's personal relationship to the world. To deny this is in principle to deny the Incarnation. If God, while remaining God, became a real man and thereby revealed Himself as the God who could become human while yet remaining God, then anthropomorphic speech is the kind of language required for such a disclosure. The negative view that some have of anthropomorphisms arises from the idea that to make any definite human predications about God is to limit Him. The logical result of this view is to conceive of God as abstract Being or Substance, so that the word "God" becomes only a name for the unknowable. All revelation is essentially anthropomorphic, for all revelation takes on the form of the human, the temporal-historical, the finite and created.

The Scriptures always represent God as a person in concrete, incarnational relationship to the world. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and from that time on He has been the life of the world, especially of His chosen people Israel. Anthropomorphisms are employed to bring out this truth. God comes and goes, reveals Himself and hides Himself. God repents (Gen. 6:6; 1 S. 15:11; Joel 2:13; Am. 7:3). He becomes angry (Nu. 11:1; Ps. 106:40) and lays aside His anger (Dt. 13:17; Hos. 14:4). He sustains a different relation to the godly than to the wicked (Prov. 11:20; 12:22). In the fulness of time — and not before or after — God became incarnate through the Son, and He dwells in His people by His Spirit, their experience of His grace being greater at some times than at others.

It is to God as revealed in Christ that we must ultimately look for the biblical teaching about God's unchangeability and His freedom to become our Creator and Redeemer, to repent, to become angry, and to lay aside His anger. God's unchangeability is bound up with His own reality and purpose in Christ. In Christ God has assumed an unchangeable posture toward the world: a divine, unchangeable, determined stance to be our Redeemer. From this salvific posture God will not recede nor turn aside by changing His mind. God will forever be the God whose face is Jesus Christ. The world will never face another God than the God whose face is revealed in Christ. God has willed to be in Christ the Savior of the world, and He will forever be what He eternally is and what He became in Christ. His gracious salvific promises are sure and irretractable; they find their Yes in Christ (2 Cor. 1:20).

This God, who in all His relationships to the world and all His actions within it remains God, imparts that durative quality of His being to all that He does and speaks in the world. This quality of unchangeability is expressed in the name "I am who I am" that God gave to Moses upon the latter's request, so that Israel might know the God who promised to lead them out of Egypt (Ex. 3:13f.) In biblical thought a name reveals the nature of its bearer. This name discloses who God is and what He will be for Israel in the future. The future tense of the verb "to be" in the name "I am who I am" (or "I will be what I will be") indicates that God will be in the unending future what He has already been in the past: "the Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob . . . this is my name forever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations" (v. 15). The unchangeableness of God's eternal relation to Israel is expressed in the name Yahweh (ASV "Jehovah"; RSV "the Lord"). Since the tense denotes the changeless continuity of the life and nature of God, the "I am" expresses not merely self-existence but also unchangeableness; and this unchangeableness, as the context clearly indicates, is brought into closest connection with God's relation to His people. The same idea of God's immutability is reaffirmed

in the prophecy of Isaiah, where it is connected with the name Yahweh (RSV "the Lord," Isa. 41:4). Here Yahweh affirms that He is the first and the last, the same God, thereby asserting not merely His eternity but also His unchangeability throughout all ages (cf. also 44:6; 48:12). The unchangeableness of the divine nature in relation to God's people is also asserted by Mal. 3:6: "For I the Lord do not change; therefore you, O sons of Jacob, are not consumed." The religious significance of God's unchangeability is His salvific, unfailing faithfulness and commitment to His people.

Because Yahweh's faithfulness to His people finds its Yes in Christ, human unfaithfulness cannot undo God's faithfulness. Paul excludes this possibility with an emphatic "By no means!" (Rom. 3:3f.) God does indeed repent; but His repentance does not relate to His faithfulness and grace. The salvific stance that God has taken in Christ and expressed in the gospel stands forever firm and is worthy of full acceptance (1 Tim. 1:15). God does repent, as He did in the case of the Ninevites, who "turned from their evil way" (Jonah 3:10). God repents and changes His response as it relates to evil, to His wrath and judgments. This is forcefully expressed in Hos. 11:9: "I will not execute my fierce anger, I will not again destroy Ephraim; for I am God and not man." The withdrawal of that fierce anger with its inherent impulse to destroy is, according to Hosea, a characteristic feature of God, one that distinguishes God from humans. Thus divine repentance is not just an anthropomorphism to be brushed aside as a merely human way of speaking about God. By His repentance regarding the execution of His fierce anger, God shows that He is indeed God, the God who will never abandon the salvific stance He has taken toward the world in Jesus Christ. God's very repentance of executing His wrath and judgment only confirms His unshakable determination to be in and through Christ the God of salvation. Hence no individual or nation may ever conceive of itself or another, this side of eternity, as hopelessly under God's inevitable judgment and beyond the possibility of salvation, nor may the Church deny the message of the gospel to anyone yet in this world. God's grace is not undone by human sin and evil. God has pity not only on Nineveh, "that great city," but also on its "much cattle"! God's repentant action even toward cattle reasserts His durative salvific purpose in Christ and re-echoes that His gracious saving promises find their Yes in Christ. J. DAANE

UNCHASTITY. One of the RSV translations of Gk. *porneía* (*see also* FORNICATION; IMMORAL), a term covering all forms of illicit sexual intercourse. Standards of sexual morality were low in Greek society, and thus the APOSTOLIC COUNCIL found it necessary to instruct gentile converts to abstain from unchastity (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25; see also Paul's instructions to the Thessalonians in 1 Thess. 4:3). On Mt. 5:32; 19:9 *see* DIVORCE: IN THE NT.

See also HARLOT; MARRIAGE VII; SEX.

UNCIRCUMCISED; UNCIRCUMCISION. In the OT "uncircumcised" represents primarily Heb. *'ārēl*, although *'orlâ* (lit. "foreskin") is used occasionally. In the NT the term is primarily Gk. *akrobystía*, but *aperítmētos* occurs in Acts 7:51.

In the OT the term sometimes refers to men who are literally uncircumcised (e.g., Gen. 17:14; Ex. 12:48; Josh. 5:7), such as the Philistines (Jgs. 14:3; 15:18; 1 S. 14:6; 17:26, 36; 31:4; 2 S. 1:20; 1 Ch. 10:4). Heb. *'ārēl* also has a figurative meaning, "unclean" or "forbidden," as in Lev. 19:23; "When you come into the land and plant all kinds of trees for food, then you shall count their fruit as forbidden [*'ārēl*; AV, lit., "uncircumcised"]; three years it shall be forbidden to you, it must not be eaten." In Ex. 6:12, 30 Moses describes himself as a person of "uncircumcised lips," indicating his difficulty in making people listen to him. In Dt. 10:16 and Jer. 4:4 God's people are urged to remove the "foreskin" (*'orlâ*) of their hearts in order to be acceptable to God. In Lev. 26:41 they are instructed to humble their "uncircumcised" heart and make amends for their iniquity so that God will remember the covenant. Jer. 6:10 states that the people will not hear the warnings of destruction because their ears are "uncircumcised" (*'ārēl*; RSV "closed"). Jer. 9:25f. (MT 24f.) warns that because Israel and other nations who are physically circumcised do not have uncircumcised hearts, they will be destroyed.

In the NT Paul wrestles with the distinction between the "circumcised" and the "uncircumcised," contrasting the external fact of circumcision with the internal spirit. He states "Circumcision indeed is of value if you obey the law; but if you break the law, your circumcision becomes uncircumcision. . . . For he is not a real Jew who is one outwardly, nor is true circumcision something external and physical. He is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal" (Rom. 2:25, 28f.). Elsewhere Paul affirms that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision (in the physical, outward sense) is of significance (1 Cor. 7:19; Gal. 5:6; 6:15).

Paul's use of "uncircumcision" in a spiritual sense is clearly similar to the figurative use in the OT. The same figurative sense appears also in Stephen's speech: "You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit" (Acts 7:51).

See CIRCUMCISION. A. HICKCOX

UNCLE [Heb. *dôd*–'beloved one,' 'father's brother']. *See* RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY.

UNCLEAN; UNCLEANNESS. *See* CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

UNCLEAN SPIRIT. *See* DEMON; SPIRIT.

UNCLOTHED [Gk. *ekdýomai*] ("be unclothed," 2 Cor. 5:4); NEB "have the old body stripped off." A term used metaphorically by Paul to express the idea of disembodiment of the soul at the moment of death. Whereas the Greek philosophers saw such a bodiless state as desirable, Paul rejected this idea and looked forward instead to being "further clothed" (*ependýomai*) with an immortal body. *See* CLOTHE.

UNCOVER NAKEDNESS [Heb. *gālâ 'erwâ*] (Lev. 18:6-19; 20:11, 17-21; Isa. 47:3; Ezk. 16:36f.; 22:10; 23:10); AV also "discover nakedness"; NEB "have intercourse," "nakedness plain to see," "expose [one's] naked body," etc. Often a euphemism for sexual intercourse. The prohibitions of Lev. 18 and 20 were designed principally to prevent sexual union between close relatives, either within marriage or outside it. One of the sins for which Ezk. 22:10 indicts the princes of Jerusalem is sexual intercourse with their father's wife (cf. Lev. 18:7f.). Elsewhere in Ezekiel the phrase is used metaphorically to describe Judah's unfaithfulness to Yahweh (16:36) and the humiliation that Israel has suffered (23:10) and Judah will suffer (16:37) at the hands of former allies. Similarly, Isa. 47:3 depicts Babylon as a female slave who must endure the humiliation of being raped by any man who desires her.

See also CRIME: Incest; NAKED. N. J. O.

UNCTION (1 Jn. 2:20, AV). *See* ANOINT.

UNDEFILED. The RSV translation of Gk. *amíantos* (lit. "without stain"; cf. the vb. *miaínō*, "spot, stain") in three NT passages, referring to sexual purity (He. 13:4; NEB "inviolate"), to the moral purity of true religion (Jas. 1:27; NEB "without fault"), and to the perfection of the heavenly inheritance (1 Pet. 1:4; NEB "that nothing can spoil").

See DEFILE; *see also* CLEAN AND UNCLEAN V.

UNDERGIRD [Gk. *hypozōnnymi*] (Acts 27:17). To provide a ship with *hypozōmata*, i.e., the cables around a ship's hull that serve to strengthen it in rough waters (Bauer, rev., p. 844). *See* SHIPS III.

UNDERSETTER. An obsolete term used by the AV to render Heb. *kāṯēp* (lit. "shoulder") in 1 K. 7:30, 34. The term refers to "supports" (so RSV; cf. NEB "handles") for the lavers in Solomon's temple.

UNDERSTANDING [Heb. niphal, hiphil, and hithpolel of *bîn, bînâ, tᵉḇûnâ* (with variant *tûḇnâ* in Job 26:12)]; AV also WISE, WISDOM, PRUDENT, DISCRETION; NEB also INTELLIGENT, DISCERNING, INSIGHT, etc.; [hiphil of *śāḵal, śēḵel, śeḵel*] (e.g., 1 S. 25:3; Job 17:4; Ps. 111:10; Prov. 21:16; Jer. 3:15); [*lēḇ, lēḇāḇ*–'heart' (Job 12:3)]; AV HEART; NEB REFLECT DEEPLY; [part. of *šāmaʿ*–'hear'] (1 K. 3:9); NEB WITH SKILL TO LISTEN; [*ḥēqer*–'search'] (Job 9:10); AV FINDING OUT; NEB SEARCHABLE; [*yāḏaʿ*–'know'] (Ps. 53:4 [MT 5]); AV KNOWLEDGE; ['*ēṣâ*–'advice'] (Zec. 6:13); [Aram. *śāḵlᵉṯānû*] (Dnl. 5:11, 12, 14); [Gk. *sýnesis, synetós* (Mt. 11:25 par.), *asýnetos* ("without understanding," Mt. 15:16 par.), *syniémi* (2 Cor. 10:17), *diánoia*–'thought' (Eph. 4:18; 1 Jn. 5:20), *noús*–'mind' (Phil. 4:7; Rev. 3:18), *epistḗmōn* (Jas. 3:13)]; NEB also CLEVER. Insight and applied knowledge, usually involving moral or spiritual as well as intellectual faculties.

I. In the OT.–Eighty-nine of the 113 RSV OT occurrences of the word translate Heb. *bîn* or one of its derivatives. This word-group, from a root meaning "to discern," refers to the sound application of knowledge. It is found predominantly in wisdom literature and to a lesser extent in several of the major prophets. Job and his friends search for understanding (Job 12:12f.; 20:3; 28:12, 20; etc.), the good (upright) men of the Psalms and Proverbs possess it, and the foolish (wicked) lack it (e.g., Ps. 49:3; Prov. 1:2, 5; 28:2). Job 28:28 underlines the moral character of this understanding ("to depart from evil is understanding"), but this does not exclude a cognitive component (cf. Ps. 49:3). Such understanding comes only from studying God's precepts (Ps. 119:104), for it was by understanding that God fashioned all creation (136:5). This word-group appears regularly in conjunction with words for wisdom and discretion. Heb. *śāḵal* and its derivatives are frequently interchangeable with *bîn* but at times put more emphasis on intellectual or rational skills. Three times Aram. *śāḵlᵉṯānû* refers to the ability to interpret dreams (Dnl. 5:11-14).

Hebrew *lēḇ* or *lēḇāḇ* is most often rendered "heart"; it usually refers to the innermost thoughts, feelings, and commitments of an individual. The RSV translates it "understanding" in contexts where rational more than emotional factors come into play. The *lēḇ*/*lēḇāḇ* can be taught (Job 8:10) or enlarged (Ps. 119:32), and it can be lost or taken away (Job 12:24; Hos. 4:11). Some have understood Hebraic anthropology as actually considering the physical organ of the heart to be the seat of understanding or wisdom, but it is perhaps better to take this imagery as idiomatic from the beginning, as it remains even in current English usage.

Other OT words for "understanding" are relatively rare. Heb. *šōmē(a)ʿ* (1 K. 3:9) is the qal part. of the common verb *šāmaʿ* ("hear"), which lies behind many of the RSV uses of the verb "understand" (i.e., hearing with comprehension and insight). The noun *ḥēqer* comes from *ḥāqar* ("search, investigate, examine") and usually appears with a negative modifier to refer to something that is impossible to discover or explain (Job 9:10; cf. "unsearchable," 5:10; 36:26; Ps. 145:3; Isa. 40:28; etc.). *Yāḏaʿ* ("know") is one of the most common verbs in the OT, with a very broad semantic range; in Ps. 53:4 (MT 5) RSV renders it somewhat freely as "understanding." Finally, *ʿēṣâ*, derived from *yāʿaṣ*, ("advise or give counsel"), occurs once in a prophecy about the future relationship between priest and king (Zec. 6:13).

II. In the NT.–Of the seventeen occurrences of "understanding" in the RSV NT, ten employ Gk. *syniēmi* or one of its derivatives. Etymologically the verb means "bring together," but in the NT it is used exclusively in a figurative sense for rational or spiritual perception. It is the closest NT equivalent to Heb. *bîn* and is a common LXX translation of that term. It can signify a positive, spiritual quality, as when Jesus summarizes the law by the love commandment, which must involve all one's understanding (Mk. 12:33), or when it is paired with "spiritual wisdom" (Col. 1:9), or when it is set forth as the key to comprehending an important truth (2 Tim. 2:7). On the other hand, it can refer to a godless intellectualism or a religious piety that in fact sets itself against God's will (Mt. 11:25 par. Lk. 10:21).

Another important Greek word-group for "understanding" includes *noús*, usually translated "mind," and the cognate *diánoia*, "thought." As with Heb. *yāḏaʿ*, however, the meaning of these terms often involves spiritual as well as mental capacities, and the ability to apply as well as to acquire knowledge. Thus Paul proclaims that the Gentiles "alienated from the life of God" are "darkened in their understanding" (Eph. 4:18), while John reassures those who are "in him who is true" that the "Son of God has come and given . . . understanding" (1 Jn. 5:20). In two instances *noús* refers specifically to the ability to discern the secret things of God: when Paul speaks of the "peace of God which passes all understanding" (Phil. 4:7), and when John calls on "him who has understanding" to reckon the cryptic number 666, the mark of the beast (Rev. 13:18).

In Jas. 3:13 "understanding" translates Gk. *epistḗmōn*, a synonym for "wise" with perhaps the additional connotation of "learned" or "expert." In 1 Tim. 1:9 "understanding" renders the aorist part. of the archaic root *eídō*, which in this instance may denote no more than the acquisition of information.

In sum, the biblical view of understanding involves both cognitive and spiritual perception and results in obedience to God. The ability to understand results from the explicit activity of the God of the Scriptures, in whom all understanding originates and resides.

See also HEART; INSIGHT; MIND; THINK; WISDOM.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 122-133; *TDNT*, IV, *s.v.* νοέω κτλ.: νοῦς, διάνοια (Behm, Würthwein); VII, *s.v.* συνίημι κτλ. (Conzelmann); *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bîn" (Ringgren); *TWOT*, I, 103f., 318, 366, 390f., 466f.; II, 877. C. L. BLOMBERG

UNDERTAKE. An AV term used in the archaic sense of "assume responsibility" or "be surety" in Isa. 38:14 (Heb. *ʿāraḇ*; RSV "be security"; NEB "stand surety").

UNEDUCATED. *See* EDUCATED.

UNEQUALLY YOKED (2 Cor. 6:14, AV). *See* YOKE.

UNFAITHFUL. *See* FAITHLESS.

UNFEIGNED (AV 2 Cor. 6:6; 1 Tim. 1:5; 2 Tim. 1:5; 1 Pet. 1:22). *See* GENUINE (2 Cor. 6:6); SINCERE.

UNFORGIVABLE SIN. *See* FORGIVENESS IX; HOLY SPIRIT II.B.1; SIN XI.

UNFRUITFUL. *See* FRUIT.

UNGODLINESS [Heb. *ḥōnep*–'alienation (from God)' (Isa. 32:6), *ḥ^anuppâ* (Jer. 23:15); Gk. *asébeia*–'godlessness, impiety' (Rom. 1:18; 11:26; 2 Tim. 2:16; Jude 15)]; AV also HYPOCRISY, PROFANENESS, etc.; NEB GODLESS, WICKEDNESS, etc.; **UNGODLY** [Heb. *ḥānēp* (Jer. 23:11), *'awwāl*– 'unrighteous one, evil-doer' (Job 18:21); Gk. *asebḗs*– 'godless, impious' (Rom. 4:5; 5:6; 1 Tim. 1:9; 2 Pet. 2:5; 3:7; Jude 4, 15), *asebéō*–'act impiously' (2 Pet. 2:6; Jude 15), *asébeia*–'godlessness, impiety' (Jude 18)]; AV also WICKED, PROFANE, etc.; NEB GODLESS, IMPIOUS, MALEFACTOR, EVIL-DOER, etc. In Job 16:11 "ungodly" (so AV; NEB "malefactors") results from emending the MT *'awîl*, "child," to the more probable *'awwāl*, "unrighteous." Ps. 43:1 uses "ungodly" (NEB "impious") to translate *ḥāsîḏ*, "loyal," and the negative particle *lō'*, "no, not," which literally mean "not loyal." In Ps. 53:5 (MT 6) RSV "ungodly" reflects the emended text of *BHS*, *ḥānēp*, "alienated from God," rather than the MT *ḥōnāḵ*, "him who encamps against you."

"Ungodly" (or "ungodliness") describes those who do not acknowledge or believe in God or obey His laws. It can refer either to the unbeliever or even to the supposed people of God who do not obey His covenant and walk in His ways. It can be a state of mind in which a person actively opposes and struggles against God or passively disobeys and remains indifferent. Yet "ungodliness" is not only a state of mind; it refers to one's actions and manner of life.

Hebrew *ḥānēp* means "be polluted, be inclined away from the right relation to God" (KoB, p. 317). In two instances the RSV has "ungodliness" or "ungodly" for *ḥānēp* and its cognates. In Jer. 23:11 Yahweh declares that "both prophet and priest are ungodly [*ḥānēp*]" for polluting the temple with pagan, immoral acts. Jer. 23:15 indicates the extent of their wicked influence: "for from the prophets of Jerusalem ungodliness [*ḥ^anuppâ*] has gone forth into all the land." In Isa. 32:6 *ḥōnep*, "alienation (from God)," describes the pattern of life practiced by those who oppose God.

In Job 18:21 Bildad rightly declared that a terrible fate awaits the "ungodly" (Heb. *'awwāl* < *'wl*, "deviate from," "act unjustly"; cf. *'awwāl* in Job 27:7; 29:17; 31:3) and those who do not know God.

In the RSV NT "ungodliness" and "ungodly" usually translate Gk. *asebḗs* and its verb and noun forms *asebéō* and *asébeia*. These Greek words are related to the verb *sébomai*, which in the Hellenistic world meant to reverence or worship divine beings, men, and the orders of society. It had a wider reference than the biblical idea of commitment to a single personal God. The antithesis of the biblical meaning would signify the opposition to monotheistic worship. Thus Rom. 1:25 indicates that sinners began to replace the worship of God with the worship of man.

Greek *asébeia* describes the spiritual condition of those alienated from God (Rom. 1:18; Jude 15). It may even refer to the ungodly among God's own people, whether referring to Israel (Rom. 11:26; Jude 15) or to the Christian Church (2 Tim. 2:16; Jude 18). *Asebḗs* refers to persons in relation to the following: (1) justification — God justifies the "ungodly" through the death of His Son (Rom. 4:5); (2) substitutionary atonement — "Christ died for the ungodly" (5:6); (3) the purpose of the law — "the law is not laid down for the just but for . . . the ungodly" (1 Tim. 1:9); (4) judgment — God judged the "ungodly" by the Flood (2 Pet. 2:5) and by fire and brimstone (*asebéō* in 2:6), and will again judge the wicked on the eschatological day of judgment (2 Pet. 3:7); (5) false teachers — God judged those who perverted God's grace, denied the Lord, and practiced various "deeds of ungodliness" (Jude 4, 15).

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, II, 91-94; *TDNT*, VII, *s.v.* σέβομαι κτλ. (Foerster); *TDOT*, V, *s.v.* "ḥānēp" (Seybold); *TWOT*, I, 304f.; II, 652-54.

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UNHOLY FIRE [Heb. *'ēš zārâ*–'alien fire']; AV STRANGE FIRE; NEB ILLICIT FIRE. A characterization of the offering made by the young priests Nadab and Abihu at the public consecration of the Aaronitic priesthood (Lev. 10:1; Nu. 3:4; 26:61). So great was the Lord's displeasure that "fire came forth from the presence of the Lord and devoured them" (Lev. 10:2).

The nature of the fire has provoked considerable discussion among interpreters, some of whom thought the fire to be unholy in the sense of being unlike the special divine fire of Lev. 9:24, which consumed the burnt offering. The text does not indicate, however, that the fire employed by Nadab and Abihu came from any other source than the perpetual altar fire as prescribed in Lev. 6:8-13 (MT 1-6).

A breach of regulations may have involved the incense itself, in that it had not been compounded according to the prescribed recipe (Ex. 30:34-37). Such a breach would result in the prescribed punishment (30:38). Another suggestion is that the "fire" of Lev. 10:1 was a prohibited type of fire offering, but that is clearly not the meaning intended by the text.

The description of the ritual in Lev. 10 implies that the priestly behavior of Nadab and Abihu had made God's name unholy in some manner. The fact that intoxicating drink was forbidden to those entering the tabernacle for ministrations (vv. 9f.) suggests that the two sons of Aaron were intoxicated during their duties, and as such were incapable of distinguishing between holy and unholy, clean and unclean.

According to the Torah, breaches of ritual propriety were generally subject to severe punishment, which is illustrated by the fate of the two priests. Divine worship required strict conduct according to God's instructions.

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "'ēsh" (Bergman, Krecher, Hamp); R. K. Harrison, *Leviticus* (*Tyndale OT Comms.*, 1980), pp. 108-117; J. C. H. Laughlin, *JBL*, 95 (1976), 559-565; G. J. Wenham, *Book of Leviticus* (*NICOT*, 1979), pp.154-56.

R. K. HARRISON

UNICORN. The AV translation of Heb. *re'ēm* in Nu. 23:22; 24:8; Dt. 33:17; Job 39:9f.; Ps. 22:21 (MT 22); 29:6; 92:10 (MT 11); Isa. 34:7. The unicorn is a mythical animal with the head and body of a horse, the hind legs of a stag, the tail of a lion, and a single horn protruding from the middle of its forehead. The AV translation is based on the LXX's use of Gk. *monókerōs* ("single-horned" — perhaps referring to the rhinoceros) in most of the passages above and the Vulgate's use of *unicornos* in Ps. 22:21 (Vulg.

21:22); 92:10 (Vulg. 91:11); Isa. 34:7 (elsewhere the Vulgate uses *rhinoceros*).

See WILD OX.

UNITY. A term used four times by the RSV in the sense of harmony within a community. Ps. 133:1 celebrates the beauty of brothers living "in unity" (Heb. *gam-yāḥaḏ*; *yaḥaḏ* means "together," and *gam* adds emphasis). Some scholars have interpreted this verse as a wisdom saying praising the ancient Hebrew practice of brothers continuing to live together in the same household after marriage (e.g., A. Weiser, *Psalms* [Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1962], pp. 783f.). Others have interpreted it as a celebration of the fellowship of the covenant community at Jerusalem during the pilgrimage festivals (e.g., A. A. Anderson, *Book of Psalms* [*NCBC*, repr. 1981], II, 885). Most plausible, perhaps, is the suggestion that a wisdom saying was put to a new use to celebrate the fellowship of the pilgrims in Jerusalem (see L. C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], pp. 212-15).

The NT places strong emphasis on the importance of Christian unity. Paul exhorts the Ephesian Christians to maintain "the unity [Gk. *henótēs*] of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4:3). By living at peace with one another, they are to preserve the oneness that the Spirit imparts to all who are baptized into the body of Christ — a oneness which, like the oneness of the triune God (vv. 4-6), incorporates diversity (vv. 7-16). Diverse gifts and ministries are provided to build up the community as a whole so that it may attain full spiritual maturity (vv. 11-16) — a maturity marked by "the unity [*henótēs*] of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God" (v. 13). 1 Pet. 3:8, likewise, lists "unity of spirit" (Gk. *homóphrōn*, lit. "of the same mind"; AV "of one mind"; NEB "one in thought") as the first of five essential qualities that should mark the Christian community.

See also HARMONY. N. J. O.

UNIVERSE. In He. 1:3 the Greek term is *tá pánta*, lit. "the all." The RSV translates all other uses of the term in this sense with "all things," as in 2:10 (cf. Rom. 11:36; 1 Cor. 8:6; 15:28; Eph. 3:9; 4:10; Phil. 3:21; Col. 1:16, 17b; Rev. 4:11). The other three uses of "universe" in the RSV (Gal. 4:3; Col. 2:8, 20) translate Gk. *kósmos*, for which *see* WORLD III.A, B.

UNKNOWN GOD [Gk. *ágnōstos theós*] (Acts 17:23). In the opening sentences of his address on the AREOPAGUS Paul referred to an altar inscribed "to an unknown god" that was among the many objects of worship of the Athenians. Paul identified this "unknown god" as the God he proclaimed (Acts 17:23).

The AV has translated the inscription with the definite article, "to the unknown god" (similarly Phillips). In Greek the article may be omitted with nouns designating persons (BDF § 254), but the neuter article and pronoun in 17:23b and the neuter *to theión* in v. 29 favor the translation "to an unknown god" (as in ASV, RSV, NEB, JB, NIV).

The existence of altars to "unknown gods" (plural) in the early Christian centuries is attested. Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) referred to those at Olympia and near Phalerum (v.14.8; i.1.4). Philostratus (3rd cent. A.D.) quoted Apollonius (late 1st cent. A.D.) as referring to such altars in Athens (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4.3). In the ruins of the temple of Demeter at Pergamum (modern Bergama) in Asia Minor was found a partially broken inscription. The preserved portion of the first line, with a plausible restoration, reads *theois agnōstois*.

The absence of the singular "unknown god" in classical literature and inscriptions hardly justifies the suggestion that the NT author changed the plural to the singular (as E. Norden [*Agnostos Theos* (1913)] and others have suggested); the lack of evidence allows nothing more than an argument from silence. R. E. Wycherley (*JTS*, 19 [1968], 620f.) made the novel suggestion that the square pillars — similar to the Herms — excavated in the Athenian agora may represent attempts to placate various unknown deities offended by the disturbance of Mycenaean burials in Athens.

The inclusive character of Greek religion makes such altars to unknown gods plausible (see the summary of evidence in E. des Places, *Bibl.*, 40 [1959], 795-97). Paul capitalized on this feature and effectively used such an altar as a point of contact and an occasion to proclaim the "knowable God" of his religion. The double meaning ("unknown" and "unknowable") of the verbal adjective *ágnōstos* may figure in the further development of Paul's speech (cf. vv. 23-31). In any case, Paul made clear that God is "knowable" from His revelation in creation and providence (v. 27) and hardly deserves the designation "unknown" or "unknowable."

See also ATHENS. B. VANELDEREN

UNLEARNED (Acts 4:13, AV). *See* EDUCATED.

UNLEAVENED. *See* LEAVEN.

UNNI un'ī [Heb. *'unnî*].

1. One of the Levites appointed to play the harp when David brought up the ark to Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:18, 20).

2. (AV, NEB, Neh. 12:9). *See* UNNO.

UNNO un'ō [Heb. *K 'unnô, Q 'unnî*]; AV, NEB, UNNI. A Levite who returned from exile with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. 12:9). The spelling "Unni" (AV, NEB) is probably correct, based on the *qere*.

UNPARDONABLE SIN. *See* FORGIVENESS IX; HOLY SPIRIT II.B.1; SIN XI.

UNQUENCHABLE FIRE [Gk. *pýr ásbestos*]; AV also FIRE THAT NEVER SHALL BE QUENCHED; NEB also FIRE THAT CAN NEVER GO OUT. A phrase that occurs in the words of John the Baptist on the messianic judgment ("the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire," Mt. 3:12 par. Lk. 3:17) and also on the lips of Christ Himself in Mk. 9:43, where "unquenchable fire" is equated with GEHENNA (RSV "hell"). The same idea appears in 9:48 ("the fire is not quenched [*ou sbénnytai*]") and is implied in the numerous allusions to fire as an instrument of punishment in the Gospels and other parts of the NT (e.g., "hell [Gehenna] of fire," Mt. 5:22, etc.; "furnace of fire," 13:42, 50; "eternal fire," 25:41; cf. also 2 Thess. 1:7-9; 2 Pet. 3:7; Jude 7; Rev. 19:20; 20:10, 14f.; 21:8). For OT analogies cf. Isa. 1:31; 34:10; 66:24; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 17:27; 21:12; Ezk. 20:47f.

The language is obviously highly metaphorical, conveying the idea of an awful and abiding judgment, but is not to be pressed as necessarily teaching a destruction in the sense of an annihilation of the wicked. An unquenchable fire is not needed for a momentary act of destruction.

See also FIRE III. J. ORR

UNSPIRITUAL [Gk. *psychikós*] (1 Cor. 2:14; Jas. 3:15); AV NATURAL, SENSUAL; NEB also SENSUAL. That which belongs to the purely natural, earthly sphere and is closed to the sphere of the Spirit. Jas. 3:15 warns

that the "wisdom" that produces jealousy and selfish ambition is demon-inspired (RSV "devilish"), not Spirit-inspired (cf. vv. 14, 16). In 1 Cor. 2:14f. Paul contrasts the "unspiritual man," who sees God's wisdom as foolishness (cf. 1:18–2:7), with the "spiritual man" (*ho pneumatikós*), who can understand spiritual truths because he has been taught by the Spirit (*see* SPIRITUAL).

UNTEMPERED MORTAR. *See* WHITEWASH.

UNTIMELY BIRTH [Heb. *nēpel, nepel*] (Job 3:16; Ps. 58:8 [MT 9]; Eccl. 6:3); NEB also STILL-BORN CHILD; [*nēṣer*] (Isa. 14:19); AV "branch"; NEB "carrion"; **UNTIMELY BORN** [Gk. *éktrōma*] (1 Cor. 15:8); NEB ABNORMAL BIRTH. Several OT passages use this terminology. In the bitterness of his spirit Job asks why he was not as a *nēpel* (3:16), which BDB defines as "miscarriage, abortion" (p. 658). This interpretation is confirmed by the parallel expression, "as infants that never see the light." Ps. 58:8 (MT 9) and Eccl. 6:3 have a similar import; cf. also Nu. 12:12 ("one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he comes out of his mother's womb"). In Nu. 12:12 and Eccl. 6:3 the LXX employs Gk. *éktrōma*, the same word that appears in 1 Cor. 15:8. In Isa. 14:19 the Hebrew literally means "branch"; the RSV conjectures "untimely birth" on the basis of the Tg. and Symmachus.

The interpretation of 1 Cor. 15:8 is extraordinarily difficult. If Paul was comparing himself with the other apostles who preceded him both in seeing the risen Lord and in entering the apostolate, the figure of abortion seems strange, as it calls for early rather than late arrival. His purpose, however, may not have been comparison with the other apostles so much as a concentration on his role as persecutor of the Church (v. 9). If this is so, the term could have been intended to convey the thought of unworthiness and/or wretchedness, since he is speaking of a time before his conversion. This element of time is important, for it makes unlikely the suggestion that Paul was taking up a term used of him by current detractors. Nothing in the immediate context points in this direction. Only in 2 Corinthians do his detractors attain prominence, and there the charge of his having persecuted the Church fails to appear. Some have reasoned that Paul called himself the *éktrōma* to emphasize that he lacked a period of spiritual gestation such as the other apostles had enjoyed under Jesus' tutelage and instead was brought suddenly to birth. Indeed, *éktrōma* is sometimes employed for premature birth, but Paul was speaking not of an act or process but of a result. Rather attractive is the possibility that he used the figure of the *éktrōma* to indicate that until the risen Lord intervened in his life he had not come to spiritual birth, even though he excelled others in the practice of his Jewish faith (Gal. 1:14). He had not experienced the new birth and consequently was dead in sin. E. F. H.

UNTOWARD. The AV translation of Gk. *skoliós* (lit. "crooked"; so RSV, NEB) in Acts 2:40. "Untoward" means "intractable"; it was used by the AV to describe a generation whose heart was not inclined toward the will of God.

UNWASHED. *See* WASH.

UNWORTHY. *See* WORTHY.

UNWRITTEN SAYINGS. *See* AGRAPHA.

UPHARSIN. *See* MENE, MENE, TEKEL, AND PARSIN.

UPHAZ ū'faz [Heb. *ʾûpāz*]; NEB OPHIR. A region where gold was found (Jer. 10:9; Dnl. 10:5), otherwise unknown. Some would emend the text to read "Ophir" (so NEB, following the Tg. and Syriac Hexapla); but to suppose that this happened in texts as widely separated in provenance (and prob. also in time) as Jeremiah and Daniel, and to ignore the canon of the more difficult reading, seems to be unreasonable. More reasonable is the suggestion that Heb. *mē'ûpāz* is to be read as a hophal part. from *pāzaz*, meaning "refined" (BDB, p. 808); the clause would then be rendered "refined gold" (cf. Isa. 13:12). W. S. L. S.

UPPER CHAMBER; UPPER ROOM; ROOF CHAMBER [Heb. *ʿalîyâ* (e.g., Neh. 3:31f.), *maʿalâ* (emended to *ʿalîyâ*, Am. 9:6), *liškâ ʿelyon* (Ezk. 42:5; supplied in v. 6); Aram. *ʿillî* (Dnl. 6:10 [MT 11]); Gk. *anágaion* (Mk. 14:15; Lk. 22:12), *hyperṓon* (Acts 1:13; 9:37, 39; 20:8)]; AV also LOFT, GOING UP, STORY; NEB also ROOF OF THE HOUSE, etc. Hebrew *ʿalîyâ* is the usual OT term for an upper-story room; Gk. *anágaion* and *hyperṓon* are used interchangeably in the NT.

Two-story houses appear to have been common, at least among the wealthy, in biblical times (e.g., 2 K. 1:2; 23:12; Jer. 22:13f.). Because no Israelite houses have been discovered with intact roofs (roofs were made of wooden beams and other combustible materials), the original height of a building is often uncertain. Whereas Israelites used the ground floor for household work, for storage, and for sheltering animals, they generally preferred the roof or upper floor for relaxation and sleeping quarters (e.g., Jgs. 3:20; Dnl. 6:10 [MT 11]; Acts 9:37, 39) and for lodging guests (1 K. 17:19, 23; 2 K. 4:10; cf. Josh. 2:6, 8; 1 S. 9:25). Some of the priests lodged in upper chambers of the temple (1 Ch. 28:11; 2 Ch. 3:9; cf. Ezk. 42:5f.; *see* TEMPLE I.D.1; II.A.4).

Jesus chose a large upstairs guest room as the setting for His last Passover meal with His disciples (Mk. 14:15 par.; *see* JERUSALEM III.H.6). Some have conjectured that this was the same room in which the disciples lodged after Jesus' ascension (Acts 1:13; see comms.; *ODCC*, *s.v.* "Cenaculum"). The "upper chamber" used as a meeting place by the Christians in Troas was on the third floor (Acts 20:8f.).

See also CHAMBER; HOUSE III.E, V. N. J. O.

UPRIGHT [Heb. *yāšār* (2 Ch. 29:34; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; etc.), *yōšer* (Ps. 119:7), *tōm* (Ps. 78:72; Prov. 10:29), *tām* (Prov. 13:6), *ṭôḇ*–'good' (2 Ch. 19:11), *ṣaddîq*– 'righteous' (Hos. 14:9 [MT 10]); Gk. *díkaios*– 'righteous' (Acts 10:22; Tit. 1:8), *dikaíōs* (Tit. 2:12)]; **UPRIGHTLY** [Heb. *yāšār* (Ps. 37:14; Mic. 2:7), *yōšer* (Eccl. 12:10), *tām* (Ps. 84:11 [MT 12]), *mêšārîm* < *yāšar* (Ps. 58:1 [MT 2]; Isa. 33:15)]; **UPRIGHTNESS** [Heb. *yōšer* (Dt. 9:5; Job 33:3; Ps. 25:21; Prov. 2:13; 4:11; 14:2), *yāšār* (1 K. 3:6; 1 Ch. 29:17b; Ps. 111:8), *mêšārîm* (1 Ch. 29:17a), *mîšôr* (Mal. 2:6), *nāḵō(a)ḥ* (Isa. 26:10; 57:2; fem., 59:14), *ṣᵉḏāqâ*–'righteousness' (Jer. 4:2)]; AV also GOOD, INTEGRITY, JUST, etc.; NEB also SCRUPULOUS, SINCERITY, SINGLENESS, etc. In Ps. 73:1 the RSV and NEB emend MT *yiśrā'ēl*, "Israel," to *yāšar 'ēl* (see comms., *BHS*); though this change improves the parallelism, no textual evidence supports it.

This article deals with "upright" in (what is usually considered) the moral sense, not in the physical, positional sense of vertical (e.g., "stand upright"). Like the term "righteous" (usually Heb. *ṣeḏeq*), "upright" has developed ethical connotations that are not always present in the Hebrew terms so translated. An examination of these

terms in their contexts will clarify their meanings by revealing their association with other terms (the semantic field).

By far the most common Hebrew term for "upright" in the RSV OT is *yāšār,* from the root *yšr,* which basically seems to mean "straight" (*see* STRAIGHT). No one English word translates *yāšār* suitably or accurately in all contexts (cf. RSV's various translations: honest, straight, level, right, upright, pleasing, etc.), but in general it seems to mean straightforward, genuine, spontaneous, free, open-minded (see McKane, p. 284; cf. *RTWB, s.v.;* cf. modern American idioms such as "be straight [with me]," i.e., be honest in the sense of straightforward, or "level [with me]," "on the level," "level-headed").

Several texts make wordplays on the literal sense of *yāšār,* "straight, level, easy." In Prov. 4:11 the teacher claims to have taught his pupil the way of wisdom and led him in the paths of uprightness, which are accessible enough that one can walk unhampered and run without stumbling (v. 12; see also 15:19; 28:10).

Many of the references to "upright" occur in the Psalms, which describe both God and human beings as *yāšār.* Several texts describe the effects of God's being *yāšār.* Ps. 25:8 states that because the Lord is "good" (Heb. *ṭôḇ*) and "upright" He "instructs sinners in the way." Here the conjunction of *ṭôḇ* and *yāšār* describes the Lord's character, which motivates Him to teach sinners (see also 84:11 [MT 12]; Mic. 2:7). Another indication that the Lord is *yāšār* is that the righteous flourish, bringing "forth fruit in old age" (Ps. 92:12-15 [MT 13-16]). According to A. A Anderson (II, 664f.), that the Lord is "upright" means that "he is perfect in his relationship with his creatures. The word *yāšār* describes a person as straight in his dealings with others, and it may also suggest the idea of loyalty" (see also 33:4f.).

Human beings are sometimes described as "upright (in, of) heart," which is simply another way of saying "upright person," for Heb. *lēḇ(āḇ),* "heart," refers to "the centre of the consciously living man" (H. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* [Eng. tr. 1974], p. 55; cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* [Eng. tr. 1986], pp. 145f.). God saves the upright in heart (Ps. 7:10 [MT 11]; note the close connection with "righteous" in vv. 9, 11 [MT 10, 12]; see also 36:10 [MT 11]; 94:15; 2 Ch. 19:11). Learning the Lord's righteous ordinances (*mišpᵉṭê ṣeḏeq*) will give one an upright heart to praise Him (Ps. 119:7). A psalmist prays that the Lord will do good (*yṭb*) to those who are good (*ṭôḇ*) and to those who are upright in their hearts (125:4; for similar connections between *ṭôḇ* and *yšr* see 25:8; cf. Mic. 7:4; see also *ILC,* I-II, 341).

A few texts describe kings as "upright." According to Solomon, God showed steadfast love (*ḥeseḏ*) to David because he walked before God in faithfulness (*ʾᵉmeṯ*), in righteousness (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*), and in uprightness of heart (1 K. 3:6); cf. 9:4; 1 Ch. 29:17; Ps. 78:72). In Ps. 58:1 (MT 2) the psalmist asks rhetorically if the rulers (so NEB; cf. RSV) speak or decree rightly (*ṣeḏeq*) and judge men uprightly (*mêšārîm*). On the use of *ṣdq* and *yšr* with reference to royalty, cf. H. Cazelles, "De l'idéologie royale," in D. Marcus, ed., *Gaster Festschrift* (*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* 5; 1973), pp. 59-73.

In 2 Ch. 29:34 the Levites helped the priests complete the sacrifices and offerings because "the Levites were more upright in heart than the priests in sanctifying themselves." Here "upright in heart" seems to mean "conscientious" (see J. Myers, *II Chronicles* [*AB,* 1965], p. 172).

Several psalms connect praise of God with the "upright." The cultic setting of some of these texts suggests that "upright" is probably another term for the congregation, as 111:1 clearly states (see also 32:11; 64:10; 97:11; 119:7). In some texts "upright" parallels "righteous" (33:1; 64:10; cf. 140:12f. [MT 13f.]), and in other texts "upright" parallels "poor" or "needy" (37:14; cf. 107:39-42). All these terms are applicable to God's people, the worshiping congregation (see S. Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship* [Eng. tr. 1962], I, 8, 207-216; II, 86, 91, etc.).

Some texts relate being "upright" with being in God's presence. The upright will behold God's face (11:7), apparently because they do righteous deeds (*ṣᵉḏāqôṯ*), which He loves because He is righteous (*ṣaddîq*). In 140:12f. (MT 13f.) the Lord's justice (*mišpāṭ*) for the needy is connected with the righteous (*ṣaddîqîm*) giving thanks and the upright dwelling in God's presence; though many commentators take this as a reference to worshiping in the Jerusalem temple, according to M. Dahood this is a promise of "eternal union with God in the afterlife" (*Psalms,* III [*AB,* 1970], 306f.). Here again the "upright" seem to be equated with the righteous and the needy. See also 25:21; 112:1-4; Prov. 2:7; Isa. 33:15; Mic. 7:2 (note that Ps. 25:21 and Prov. 2:7 link *tōm,* "integrity," with *yāšār*).

Some texts connect "upright" with the "fear of the Lord" (*see* FEAR). Job was a "blameless [Heb. *tām*] and upright man," a description that is linked with fearing God and turning away from evil (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; see also Ps. 37:37f.; Mal. 2:6). In Ps. 112:1-4 the "upright" seems to be identified with one who fears the Lord and delights in His commandments; such a one will be blessed and "his righteousness [*ṣᵉḏāqâ*]" will endure for ever (see comms. on the difficulties of v. 4; see also 14:2; 111:7f.).

In several texts in Job "upright" seems to have the connotation of straightforward, genuine. In 4:7 and 17:8 "upright" parallels "innocent" (Heb. *nāqî*). Bildad links being upright with being "pure" (Heb. *zaḵ*), seeking God and making supplication to Him; such people cause God to rouse Himself and reward them (8:5-7). In a clearly forensic context Job wishes he could confront God; in court "an upright man could reason" with God and be acquitted (23:1-7). In the difficult text of Job 33:3 Elihu seems to be saying that his words come straight from his heart (or reflect the uprightness of his heart) and his lips declare knowledge purely or sincerely (see NASB, NAB; cf. comms., esp. N. Habel [*OTL,* 1985], pp. 455, 457, 464).

Many texts contrast the WICKED and the "upright." In Prov. 3:32 the PERVERSE, who are an abomination to the Lord, are contrasted with the upright, who are in His confidence. In 15:8 the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, but the prayer of the upright is His delight (see also 1 Ch. 29:17). The end of the righteous is contrasted with the end of the wicked in Prov. 2:20-22: the upright will inhabit the land but the wicked will be cut off from it (cf. Dt. 9:5; Mt. 5:5).

Among these texts that contrast the wicked and the upright are several that connect the upright with deliverance (Prov. 11:5; 12:6; 16:17). The difficult text of 21:18 seems to say that the wicked and the faithless pay the price for or ransom (*kōper*) the righteous (*ṣaddîq*) and the upright (see comms.; on *kōper* cf. 13:8; Ex. 21:30; Ps. 49:7 [MT 8]; Isa. 43:3f.).

According to Eccl. 7:29 "God made man upright, but they have sought out many devices." Since Ecclesiastes is widely recognized as a reflection on Genesis (see, e.g., J. Ellul, *La Raison d'être* [1987], pp. 190-94), the first part of this verse no doubt refers to the creation of mankind. The original nature of mankind as "upright," Heb. *yāšār,* is here contrasted with mankind's seeking "many

devices." Since "devices" (Heb. *ḥiššᵉḇōnôṯ*) derives from *ḥšb*, "think, calculate," *yāšār* here probably means uncalculating, i.e., simple, genuine, straightforward (see W. Vischer, *Valeur de l'AT* [1958], p. 114), in contrast to the human perversity that later developed (see Gen. 6:5, which has the related noun *maḥšᵉḇôṯ*, "thoughts"). See R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* (3rd ed., repr. 1973), p. 285.

In Hab. 2:4 one whose soul is not "upright" shall fail, but the righteous (*ṣaddîq*) shall live by his faith (see Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11, which quote the latter half of the verse; He. 10:38 quotes vv. 3f., inverting the two parts of v. 4 and giving it a messianic application; see W. Vischer, *Le Prophète Habaquq* [1959], pp. 35-38).

The other Hebrew terms translated "upright" have nuances slightly different from *yšr*, though most of these terms occur in contexts with *yšr* (as noted above; see *ILC*, I-II, 341). The term closest in meaning to *yšr* is *nāḵō(a)ḥ*, which also basically seems to mean "straight"; thus it describes how one walks (Isa. 57:2) and is contrasted with perverseness (26:10). See *ILC*, I-II, 337, 529; *see also* STRAIGHT.

As Snaith (pp. 68-74) pointed out, the terms derived from the root *ṣdq* mean more than righteousness or the establishment of justice: *ṣdq* "signifies that standard which God maintains in the world. It is the norm by which all must be judged. . . . it meant more than ethical conduct, and shows a consistent tendency to topple over into benevolence, and easily to have a special reference to those who stand in dire need of a Helper" (p. 77). The close relationship between *ṣdq* and *yšr* is evident in Hos. 14:9 (MT 10), which states that the ways of the Lord are "right" (*yᵉšārîm*) and the "upright" (*ṣaddiqîm*) walk in them, but transgressors stumble in them; here the RSV has inexplicably switched its usual translation of these terms (cf. AV, NEB, JB, etc.).

The Hebrew noun *tōm* and the adjective *tām* (both from the root *tmm*, which basically means "complete") sometimes seem to have the connotation of "peaceful" (e.g., Ps. 84:11 [MT 12]; Prov. 10:29; 13:6; see *CHAL*, p. 391). In several texts it is linked with *yāšār* and translated "blameless" (e.g., Job 1:1, 8) or "integrity" (e.g., Ps. 25:21; Prov. 2:7).

The NT uses "upright" in much the same way. Acts 10:22 describes Cornelius as "an upright [Gk. *díkaios*] and God-fearing man," thus continuing the OT tradition of linking uprightness with fear of God (though *díkaios* is usually translated "righteous," it frequently translates *yāšār* in the LXX). In Tit. 1:8 one of the qualifications of a bishop is that he be "upright"; 2:12 extends that description to all men, who should live "sober, upright, and godly lives."

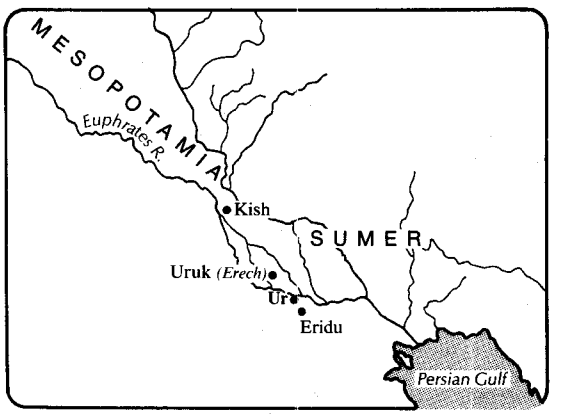
Bibliography.–A. A Anderson, *Psalms* (2 vols., *NCBC*, repr. 1981); *ILC*, I-II; W. McKane, *Proverbs* (*OTL*, 1970); N. Snaith, *Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (repr. 1975); *TDOT*, VI, *s.v.* "yāšar" (Alonso-Schökel, *et al.*); *THAT*, I, *s.v.* ישר (G. Liedke).

G. A. LEE

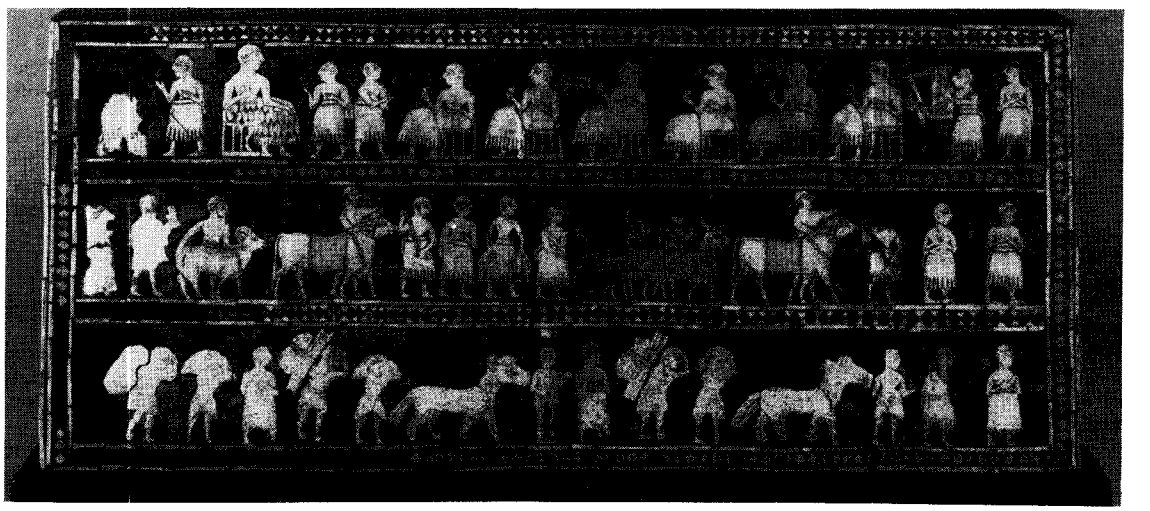
UR ûr [Heb. *'ûr*–'flame, light']. Father of Eliphal, one of David's mighty men, according to the list in 1 Ch. 11:35. In the parallel list in 2 S. 23:24, however, his name is given as AHASBAI.

UR ûr [Heb. *'ûr*; Akk. *uru*; Sum. *urim*]. An ancient city of Mesopotamia, mentioned in the Bible as the birthplace of Abraham (Gen. 11:28, 31; 15:7; Neh. 9:7).

I. Site
II. Prehistory and History
III. Ziggurat
IV. Royal Tombs
V. Relationship of Ur to Abraham



The "Peace Panel" from Ur is a shell mosaic with lapis lazuli and red limestone. The top shows a banquet scene with musicians (one a woman). In the middle, men lead goats and oxen and one man carries fish. At the bottom is a procession with donkeys and men carrying bundles, some supported by bands around their heads (25th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



I. Site.–Some 350 km. (220 mi.) SE of Baghdad, covering an oval area approximately 910 by 730 m. (1000 by 800 yds.), are the ruins of ancient Ur, known in antiquity as Urim. The major mound was called Tell el-Muqayyar ("mound of pitch") by the Arabs because of the bitumen used here and there as mortar for the bricks. Other sites have been suggested as the location of the biblical "Ur of the Chaldeans" (AV "Ur of the Chaldees") but the present site is accepted by almost all scholars, especially because of its association with the southern Babylonian Chaldeans.

The chief deity of the city was Nanna, the Sumerian moon-god; for him and his consort Nin-gal several temples and the great ziggurat were built. It is noteworthy that at Haran, Abraham's ancestral home, the Semitic moon-god Sin was the chief deity worshiped.

Today, and for centuries past, the area of Ur has presented a most unprepossessing aspect. From the top of the ziggurat one looks out in every direction upon a flat barren plain virtually devoid of plant life or human habitation. But four thousand years ago, when the city and its environs encompassed about 10 sq. km. (4 sq. mi.) and had a population of 300,000 to 400,000, the vast plain must have been a patchwork of irrigated fields, orchards, and gardens.

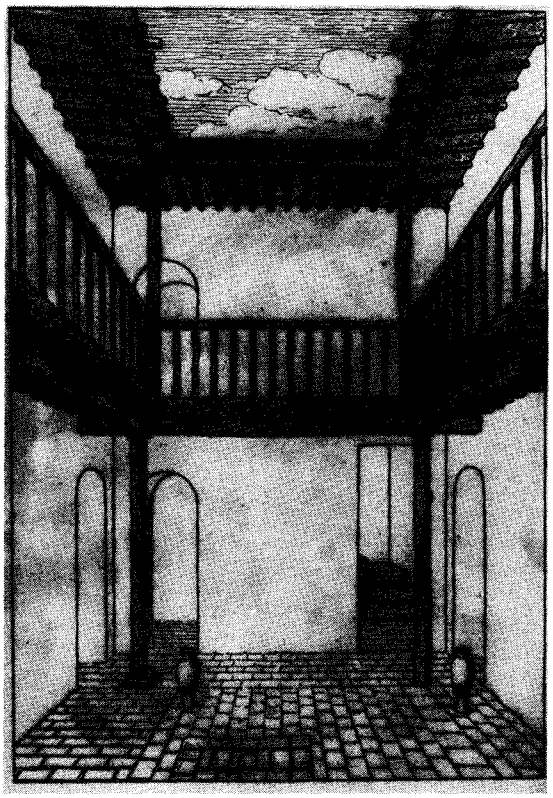
Twice in its history, during its 1st and 3rd dynasties, Ur was "capital of the world." Doubtless the end came when the Euphrates, which originally flowed along the western side of the city in a bed several feet above the level of the plain, broke through its banks and ultimately assumed its present course 19 km. (12 mi.) to the east. If this catastrophe occurred during the declining years of Ur's history, when the inhabitants of the city were either too poor or too weak to remedy the situation, oblivion would have been swift and sure.

Earlier excavations were carried out at Ur and nearby Tell el-Ubaid by J. E. Taylor (1854), H. R. Hall (1918-19), and R. Campbell Thompson (1918); their finds were minor but provided evidence of the importance of the ruins. A joint expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of C. L. Woolley, excavated at Ur for twelve seasons between 1922 and 1934. In addition to the ziggurat and royal tombs (see III and IV below), the excavators recovered the palaces of Ur-Nammu and Šulgi of the 3rd Dynasty, the palace of the Chaldean king Nabonidus, temples from various historic periods for Nanna, Ningal, and Enki, and many private houses from both the Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian periods.

II. Prehistory and History.–Ur was one of the oldest and most important cities in the Sumerian era of Mesopotamian history. Its occupation goes back, however, to the prehistoric Ubaid period. Sedentary occupation in what is now southern Iraq seems to have begun *ca.* 4000 B.C., when Eridu was first inhabited. The prehistoric Ubaid culture gradually developed in Eridu and at several other sites, including Ur. Although no buildings from this period have been uncovered at Ur, the number and variety of Ubaid pottery types found there indicate a sizable population. The next prehistoric periods, Uruk and Jemdet Nasr, are also represented at Ur by pottery and fragmentary walls.

At the very dawn of recorded history there were three important centers in the part of Mesopotamia known as SUMER: Kish, Ur, and Uruk (biblical ERECH). From the Early Dynastic I period several hundred archaic cuneiform tablets have been recovered at Ur.

One document relates that Mes-anne-pada of Ur defeated Agga of Kish and thus established the 1st Dynasty of Ur *ca.* 2600 B.C. Mes-anne-pada and his son Mes-kiag-nunna are both mentioned in later chronicles as kings of this dynasty, and the former name has been found on several seal impressions at Ur. This Ur dynasty is the first historical dynasty in Mesopotamian history known from both later chronicles and contemporaneous archeological materials (see IV below). After about a century of hegemony, however, the 1st Dynasty of Ur fell to the superior power of Gilgamesh of Uruk. There followed a long period in Sumerian history, including a 2nd Dynasty of Ur, for which no names or events survive.



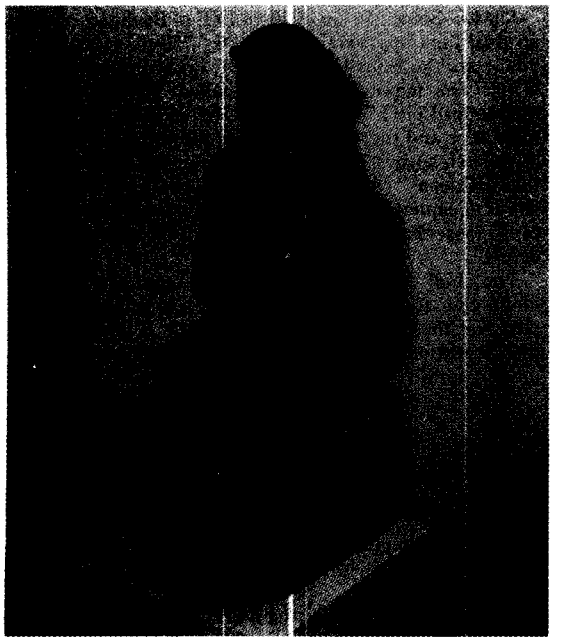
A reconstruction of a two-story house made of plastered and whitewashed brick; the rooms were centered around an open court (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

For an illustrious period of nearly a century the kings (or governors) of Lagash and Girsu, of whom Gudea is best known, ruled Ur. Gutian invaders cut this period short, but Utu-hegal of Uruk eventually repulsed them *ca.* 2120 B.C. A few years later Ur-Nammu of Ur defeated Utu-hegal to found the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, which lasted until *ca.* 2000 B.C. An able general and administrator, Ur-Nammu conquered Lagash and extended his power over Nippur, Uruk, Adab, and Larsa. He also built or rebuilt temples and ziggurats all over Sumer, repaired canals, and restored Ur's foreign trade. He is credited with the first known law code in history. Unfortunately the extant text of this code is brief, containing only a large part of the prologue and five short paragraphs of law.

From a broken tablet describing Ur-Nammu's arrival in the underworld it appears that he died defending Ur against the Guti. In any event, his sixteen-year reign was followed by the forty-eight-year reign of his son Šulgi. Šulgi extended the royal power of Ur over Elam to the east and even over Asshur to the far north. His queen, an able woman with the Semitic name of Abisimti, continued as dowager under Šulgi's successors. Šulgi, like Ur-Nam-

UR

A shell-inlay mosaic set in bitumen on the end of a lyre sound-box. Celebratory scenes (from top to bottom) show: a bull-man wrestling with two bulls a lion and a dog acting as servants, a bear dancing to a lyre played by a donkey, and a scorpion-man walking in front of a gazelle who carries two drinking glasses (25th cent. B.C., from the king's grave) (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)



A statue of the goddess Ningal, wife of the moon-god Nanna (*ca.* 1870 B.C.) (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)

mu, undertook many building projects throughout his realm.

Šulgi was succeeded by his two sons Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin, each of whom reigned for nine years. They both served apprenticeships as governors of lesser cities during Šulgi's reign. Both Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin faced increasing migrations of Amorites, which virtually amounted to invasions of whole tribes. Abraham's ancestors probably came to Ur from their original home in Haran at this time. During the rule of Ibbi-Sin, who followed Šu-Sin, droves of Elamites joined the Amorites. Although Ibbi-Sin held on to his throne for twenty-four years, the power of Ur waned, and the cities that it once controlled were forced one by one to fend for themselves. With the downfall of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur came the rise of the Amorite city-states, which soon led to the 1st Dynasty of Babylon and its illustrious king Hammurabi. His accession marks the end of Sumerian political control of Mesopotamia.

The 3rd Dynasty of Ur was the most prosperous and most literate of the Sumerian period, if not of the entire history of Mesopotamia. A century of relative peace allowed business, agriculture, and the arts to develop. Ur's population is conservatively estimated at about 300,000. Roughly fifteen thousand cuneiform tablets have been published of the approximately 100,000 excavated from many cities during this period. They contain information regarding every conceivable aspect of life; family affairs, government, religion, business, agriculture, medicine, law procedures, arts and crafts, building, mathematics, and various types of literature.

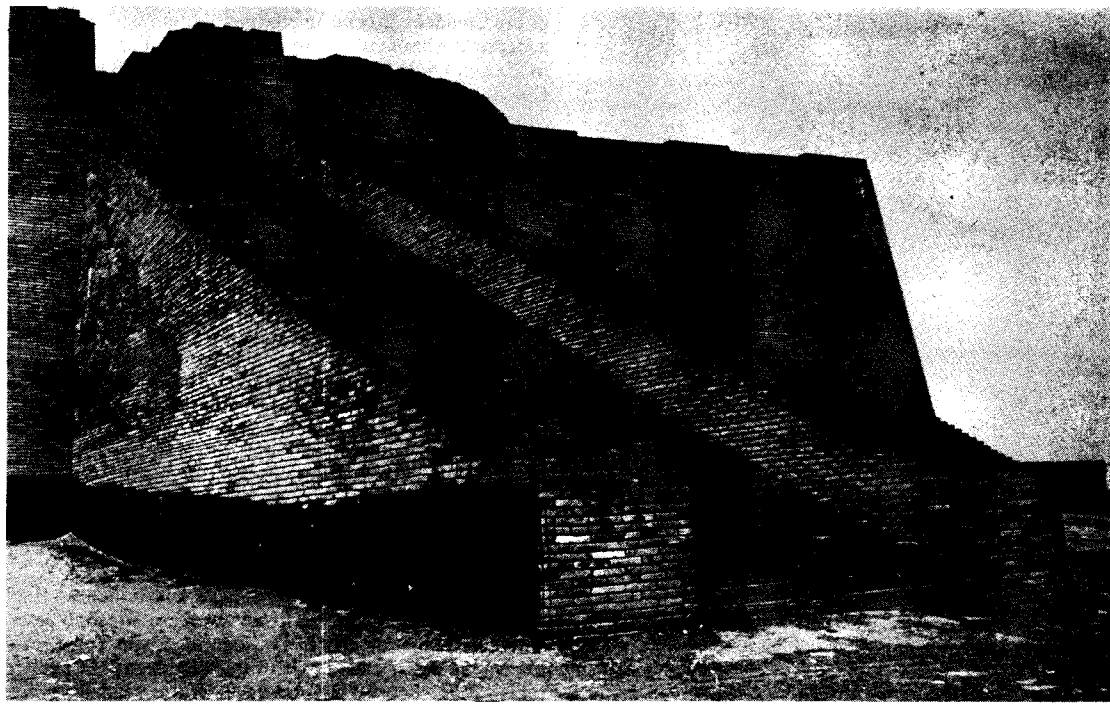
Ur was never again a leading city, although the cult of the tutelary deity, the moon-god Nanna, always retained an important place in the life of Sumer and later Babylonia. Records indicate building in Ur by Old Babylonian, Kassite, Assyrian, Chaldean, and even Persian monarchs. And the city must have had a sizable population down to the time of Cyrus. The latest dated tablet found there is from the twelfth year of Alexander the Great. Afterward, and possibly largely because the river shifted its course, the region disappeared from history.

III. Ziggurat.–The ziggurat of Ur is the best-preserved example in Mesopotamia. The various levels of the terrace indicate that it had antecedents during the Uruk and Early Dynastic periods, but they remain buried beneath the core of the Ur III structure. Ur-Nammu began and Šulgi finished the Ur III ziggurat (2100 B.C.), which was the prototype of many built at this time in other major cities controlled by the kings of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur. A stele celebrating the construction of this ziggurat was restored from many broken pieces found in the debris at its base. It pictures Ur-Nammu receiving instructions (or authorization) for the project from the moon-god Nanna and his consort Nin-gal.

The Ur-Nammu ziggurat apparently consisted of three stages, with a temple to Nanna on the top. The overall measurements were 62 by 43 by 20 m. (203 by 141 by 66 ft.). A long central staircase and two long flanking staircases led to a gatehouse on the first stage. Smaller staircases led to the temple.

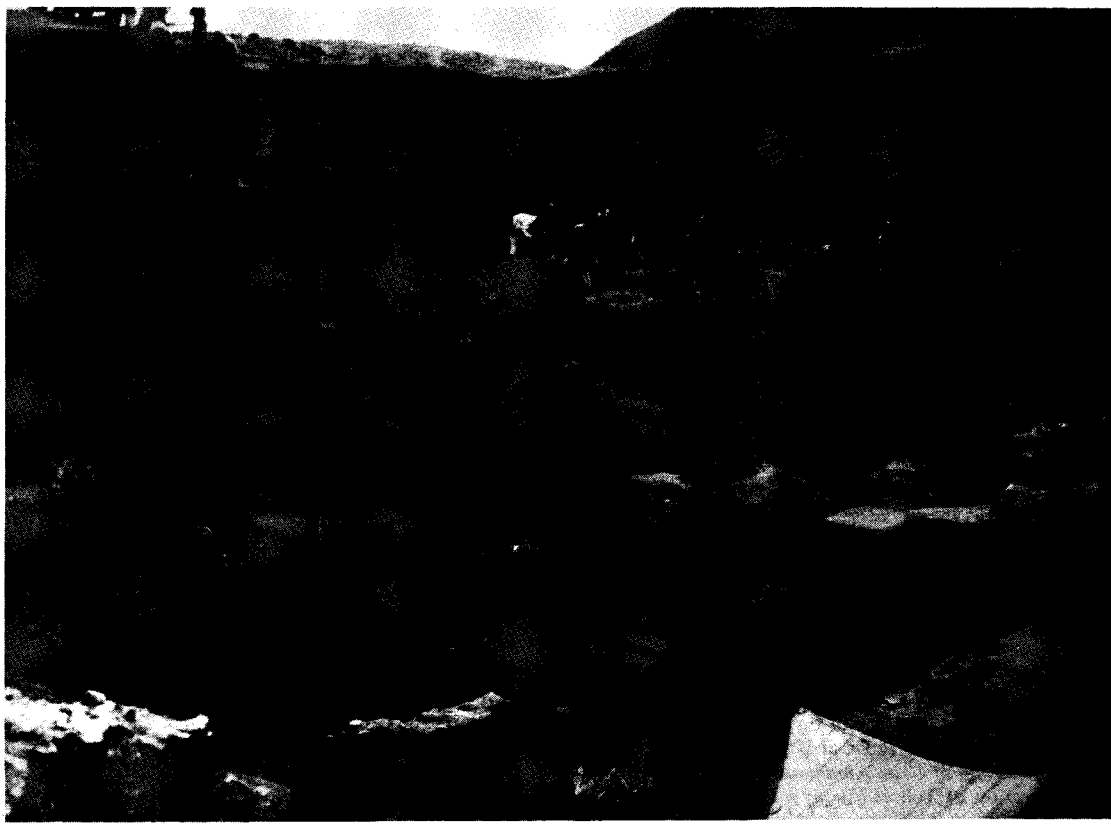
The function of the ziggurat is by no means clearly understood. It was neither a tomb nor an observatory. The separation between the temple at the top and that at the base might have represented the distance between the heavenly and earthly residences of the deity.

IV. Royal Tombs.–Perhaps the best-known discoveries at Ur are the treasures from the royal and private graves and tombs. Surely they are among the richest finds in the history of archeology. These burials span the Early Dy-



The main stairway of the ziggurat at Ur (J. Finegan)

Excavations directed by C. L. Woolley in the great death-pit (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



UR

A drawing of the death-pit as it was found with the arranged skeletons and bull-headed lyres (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

nastic and Sargonid periods, including the 1st Dynasty of Ur. A team found them during the first season in 1922 while searching for the Nin-Mah Temple. But digging was suspended until 1926, when the workmen were better trained and more information was available.

By Woolley's reckoning there were over eighteen hundred private graves and tombs and sixteen royal tombs, including six "death pits" that contained mass burials of retainers. Several of the so-called private tombs, however, rivaled even the royal tombs in the wealth of their funerary furniture. Three of the royal tombs are identified with specific persons (Mes-anne-pada, A-kalam-dug, and Šubad [*see* picture in ORNAMENT]) by inscribed seals and vessels. Nearly all the royal tombs were plundered by robbers in antiquity, but the quantity of the remaining gold and silver vessels, jewelry, and other richly inlaid furniture testifies both to the skill of the ancient craftsmen and to the wealth and power of the aristocracy, since excellent techniques of working stone and metal were employed, and the raw materials (gold [*see* pictures in ART; GOLDSMITH; KNIFE; METAL], silver, lapis, etc.) were imported from great distances.

The mass burials of the death pits pose intriguing questions. Some of them contained chariots and oxen as well as humans, and one contained seven men and sixty-eight women. At first it was thought that these burials were related to the celebration of the "sacred marriage" at the annual New Year Festival. Now, however, they are thought to reflect a time when the servants of the deceased monarch were put to death and buried with him so that he would be properly equipped in the next world. In this respect the burials have parallels in Egypt, where the furniture was customarily included even in private graves; profuse wall reliefs and paintings are also common to the tombs of both Ur and Egypt. In fact, excavations at Saqqârah from the 1st Dynasty of Egypt have shown sacrificial customs similar to those at Ur. F. R. STEELE

V. Relationship of Ur to Abraham.—Since the discovery and excavation of Tell el-Muqayyar, particularly by Sir Leonard Woolley, it has popularly been identified with Ur of the Chaldees. According to the tradition which Stephen accepted, Abraham was in Mesopotamia before he lived in HARAN (Acts 7:2), further described as "the land of the Chaldeans" (v. 3). In Gen. 12:1 God said to Abram, "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house." The word translated "country" is more accurately rendered "land of your birth" (so RSV in 11:28). This is followed by the statement, "Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran" (v. 4). Accordingly, some scholars have held that the call of Abraham, therefore his origin, was in Harran. Hence the connection with Ur of the Chaldeans is a later tradition.

But Gen. 11:28 indicates that Haran (or Terah?) was born in Ur of the Chaldeans, as were Abram and Nahor. Abraham's wife Sarah came from the same place, and Abraham and Sarah accompanied Terah and his family from Ur of the Chaldeans "to go into the land of Canaan," but they settled at Harran, possibly because of Terah's ill-health, which eventuated in his death (11:31f.). The call of Abraham, it would seem, preceded the decision to leave Ur of the Chaldeans, since the goal was Canaan, not Harran (cf. Gen. 15:7). (Harran is the correct form of the place name; cf. Akk. *ḫarranu* and Gk. *Charran*; Hebrew rejects gemination of *r*.)

Some scholars (e.g., Gordon) have questioned whether "Ur of the Chaldeans" was in southern Mesopotamia, since the Sumerian city of Ur, identified with Tell el-Muqayyar, is never called "Ur of the Chaldeans" in ancient texts. It is simply "Ur" (earlier, Urum, read *uru-um*^{ki}; Eannatum, Stele of the Vultures, reverse viii.1; cf. G. A. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* [1929], pp. 32f.; also read u_2-*ri* [^{uru}*seš-ub*^{ki}; cf. P. A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, I/i (1934), 112, or *seš-segunu*^{ki}, II/ii (1930), 589 (261)]). Therefore, it is reasoned, "Ur of the Chaldeans" must have been used to distinguish it from the better-known Ur in southern Mesopotamia. But if not there, then where? A Sumerian word *uru*, written with another logogram, means "city," and was used of a number of cities (much as we might say, "I'm going to the city," meaning any nearby city not named but understood by the hearer). "Ur of the Chaldeans" could mean a city occupied by or in the region of the Chaldeans, and the Heb. *'ûr* could possibly have nothing to do with the Sumerian city of Ur. The LXX translators seem to have so understood it, for they rendered the expression *en tę chōrą tōn Chaldaiōn*, "in the region of the Chaldeans" (Gen. 11:28).

A region in eastern Turkey, in the general vicinity of Lake Van, was occupied by the Khaldi (or Chaldians; other scholars claim that this was the name of the deity, not of the people, who are more properly called Urartians; *see* URARTU; cf. *CAH*, III/1 [2nd ed. 1982], 317). The route from this region to Canaan by way of Harran would be reasonable, whereas the most likely route from the Sumerian Ur, it is claimed, would not go by way of Harran. An older identification of Ur was Urfa, a city 35 km. (20 mi.) NW of Harran, but, as has been pointed out, the linguistic problems in equating Ur with Urfa are formidable. It should also be noted that Khaldi was an Indo-Aryan deity and the Urartians were not Semites; Terah and his family were clearly Semites (Gen. 11:10).

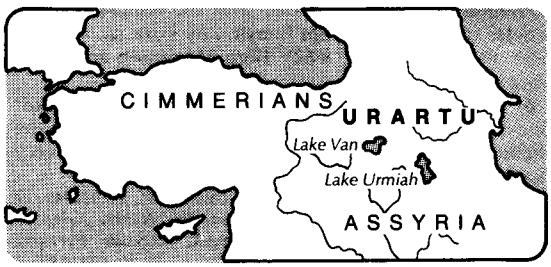
The Kaldu (to be distinguished from the Chaldi, written *ḫaldi*), on the other hand, are well known from antiquity, and while it is true that the name often refers to the Neo-Babylonian (or Chaldean) kings, it also can refer to the people of the Sea-Land at least as early as the 10th cent. B.C. Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) placed the Kaldu S of Babylonia (*ARAB*, I, § 470), and Shalmaneser III spoke of the sea of Kaldu, "which they call Bitter Sea," i.e.,

the Persian Gulf (*ARAB*, I § 641). It is true that the MT reads *'ûr kaśdîm*, but the shift of Assyr. *sd/st* to Bab. *ld/lt* is well documented (cf. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* [1952], § 34; A. Ungnad, *Grammatik des Akkadischen* [1949], § 6i α). Moreover, Ur was associated with the lunar deity (it was the location of a temple dedicated to the moon-god Nanna[r]), as was Harran, and the name "Terah" is probably from the same root as the word for "moon." Abraham's ancestors, and perhaps he himself, worshiped other gods (Josh. 24:2).

Thus the biblical evidence strongly favors the location of Ur of the Chaldeans in a region such as Sumerian Ur, although to claim that this identification is certain would be going beyond the evidence.

Bibliography.–C. L. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur* (1954); *Ur of the Chaldees* (1929); *CAH*, I/2 (3rd ed. 1971), 417-463, 595-643; H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq*, 22 (1960). For an opposing view, cf. C. H. Gordon, "Abraham of Ur," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies* (*Festschrift* for G. R. Driver; 1963), pp. 77-84; *Biblical Archeology Review*, 3/2 (1977), 20f., 52. W. S. LASOR

URARTU ûr-är'tōō [Assyr. *urarṭu*; Bab. *urašṭu*]. Hebrew *'ᵃrārāṭ* (Ararat), the OT name of the mountainous region where Noah's ark grounded (Gen. 8:4), is agreed to be the Urartu of Assyrian texts, roughly the area between Lake Van and Lake Urmiah in Armenia. (Although the MT consistently has an initial *a*, 1QIsa[a] has *hwrrṭ*, showing that the *u* [*w*] was known as late as the 1st cent. A.D. in Palestine; yet Armenian has *Airarat*, and Herodotus iii.94 and vii.79 *Alarodi*.) *See* ARARAT.



Assyrian inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (*ca.* 1250 B.C.) supply the earliest mention of Urartu (as Uratri) and of the area nearest Assyria, known as Nairi (*see* Vol. I, Map X). The absence of the names from the plentiful Hittite records of the two previous centuries, as well as from contemporary Egyptian lists, suggests that the state was established only in the 13th cent. B.C. The people, however, may have lived in the land for some time before. They were closely related to the HURRIANS, who had built up the state of MITANNI *ca.* 1500 B.C.; the Hurrian and Urartian languages are closely akin. Although no native records older than the 9th cent. B.C. have been found, several score are known from the succeeding three hundred years, most carved on stone but a few on clay tablets.

The earliest inscriptions are in Assyrian, probably written by Assyrian-trained scribes; but most are written in the Urartian language in a simplified cuneiform script. These texts reveal that the natives called their land Biaini and themselves Khaldini, "sons of Khaldi," after their national god (hence Urartian is sometimes called Khaldian or Chaldian). The most important temple of Khaldi was at Ardini (Muṣaṣir to the Assyrians) near modern Rowanduz; this may have been the original home of the Urartian tribe. Apart from their names, little is known about the numerous other gods and goddesses that the Urartians worshiped.

Excavations at the capital city Turushpa (now Toprakkale, by Lake Van), at Karmir Blur near Erivan, and at other sites in Anatolia, have revealed that the Urartians had considerable skill in massive masonry construction. They were also fine bronzeworkers — a natural trade in a rich ore-producing region; their great cauldrons, decorated shields, and furniture became trophies in Assyrian triumphs and status symbols in Greece and Etruria. Many of the Urartian artistic motifs originated from Assyrian models; Hittite and Caucasian elements can also be traced.

Urartu rose to its greatest power under the dynasty founded by Sarduri I during the latter half of the 9th cent. B.C., reaching N across the Araxes River and W to the Euphrates. Argishti I (*ca.* 780-760 B.C.) and Sarduri II (*ca.* 760-743) made alliances with the various small states to the west in an anti-Assyrian coalition. Whereas earlier Assyrian kings had contented themselves with occasional raids across the Urartian frontier and isolated marches through the land, Tiglath-pileser III (*ca.* 745-727) found it necessary to stage a major assault; he captured the capital Turushpa, except for the citadel. This was the first of a series of disasters for Urartu. Sargon II of Assyria made a great march through eastern Urartu in 714 B.C., despoiling the shrine of Khaldi, an event that was said to have caused the suicide of the Urartian king Rusa I (*ca.* 735-714; see *ARAB*, II, §§ 155-176). Very soon afterward Cimmerian hordes passed across Urartu, causing further disruption. Nevertheless, the kingdom of Urartu survived. Rusa I was followed by Argishti II (d. *ca.* 685) and by Rusa II (*ca.* 685-645), who was ruling when Sennacherib's murderers sought refuge in Urartu (RSV "Ararat," in 2 K. 19:36f. par. Isa. 37:37f.; AV "Armenia" follows the LXX's correct modernization of the place name).

Three or four more rulers held sway over a shrinking state. Mannean and Median forces pressed from the southeast and Scythians from the northeast, while the Assyrians maintained an official suzerainty from the south. The Phrygian tribe of Armenians are thought to have begun infiltrating from the west *ca.* 600 B.C. At the end of the 7th cent. B.C. the Medes gained control, and Urartu passed from them to the Persians as a province. As such it was summoned by Jeremiah to aid in the overthrow of Babylon (Jer. 51:27).

By the time of Darius (582-486 B.C.) the name Urartu was being replaced by Armenia.

Bibliography.–A. Goetze, *Klein-Asien* (2nd ed. 1957), pp. 187-200; M. van Loon, *Urartian Art* (1966); B. B. Piotrovsky, *Urartu* (1969); F. W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften* (1955-1957). A. R. MILLARD

URBAN ûr'ban (Rom. 16:9, NEB); **URBANE** ûr'bān (AV). *See* URBANUS.

URBANUS ûr-bā'nəs [Gk. *Ourbanos* < Lat. *Urbanus*]; AV URBANE; NEB URBAN. A believer in Rome to whom Paul sent greetings (Rom. 16:9). It is a common Roman slave name, recurring often in inscriptions listing freedmen of the Imperial household (J. B. Lightfoot, comm. on Philippians [repr. 1971], p. 174). The name suggests that Urbanus was a native Roman. Paul, exact with his pronouns, refers to him as "*our* fellow worker." Urbanus was not, therefore, a personal companion of Paul in the same sense as were Prisca and Aquila (v. 3) and Timothy (v. 21), whom Paul calls his own fellow workers (J. Murray, *Epistle to the Romans* [*NICNT*, 1965], II, 230). D. B. PECOTA

URI ū'rī [Heb. *'ûrî*, possibly a contraction of *'ûrîyâ*, "Uriah"].

1. A Judahite; son of Hur and father of Bezalel the master craftsman (Ex. 31:2; 35:30; 38:22; 1 Ch. 2:20; 2 Ch. 1:5).

2. Father of Geber, one of Solomon's twelve provision officers (1 K. 4:19).

3. A Levitical gatekeeper who had married a foreign wife during the Exile (Ezr. 10:24).

4. (1 Esd. 8:62, NEB). *See* URIAH 5.

URIAH ū-rī'ə [Heb. *'ûrîyâ, 'ûrîyâhû*–'Yahweh is my light' or 'light of Yahweh' (if *î* is an epenthetic vowel in construct; cf. URIEL); Akk. *U-ri-ia-a*]; Gk. *Ourias, Oureas*]; AV also URIJAH, NT URIAS.

1. A Hittite officer in David's army, whose death David arranged so that he might secure Uriah's wife Bathsheba as his own (2 S. 11). Uriah was apparently a local Hittite, i.e., one of the "sons of Heth" (Gen. 10:15; 1 Ch. 1:13) as in Gen. 23:3-16, thus a member of a Canaanite sub-group and not an Anatolian Hittite. His name has conjecturally been identified with Hurrian *Ariya,* which he might have changed upon conversion to the Yahwistic "Uriah." Alternatively, his family may have been converted long before his birth. Uriah was a member of "the thirty" (2 S. 23:39; cf. vv. 24-38; 1 Ch. 11:41), an elite corps of commanders, some of whom may have been mercenaries rather than native Israelites. His wife Bathsheba was apparently the daughter of another member of the thirty, Eliam (11:3; 23:34), in which case she would have been the granddaughter of David's famous chief adviser Ahithophel.

Uriah knew and observed the rules of "holy war," including the expectation that warriors in combat would abstain from sexual relations (Dt. 23:10f.; cf. 1 S. 21:4). Thus when David, who had made Bathsheba pregnant in an affair, summoned Uriah from battle in order to get him to sleep with her, Uriah consistently refused. He was so devoted to God and to his fellow soldiers (2 S.11:11) that even after David managed to get him drunk, he slept with the palace servants (v. 13) rather than at home with Bathsheba. David then ordered Joab to place Uriah in the forefront of the battle at the Ammonite capital of Rabbah, leading an attack against Rabbah's well-defended city walls; his fellow soldiers were then to withdraw so that Uriah would be killed. The orders were followed, and Uriah was slain as planned (vv. 14-25).

The entire matter was exposed as a great sin against Yahweh through Nathan's allegorical appeal to David for justice, who as the monarchical "supreme court" condemned in principle his own actions (2 S. 12:1-12; cf. 1 K. 15:5). David and Bathsheba's first son died as an initial punishment (2 S. 12:14), and intrafamilial warfare ("the sword," v. 10) followed David the rest of his life as a continual punishment for his sin against Uriah. Matthew's genealogy of Jesus alludes to the affair by the statement that "David was the father of Solomon by the wife of Uriah" (Mt. 1:6), which emphasizes that Bathsheba was rightfully Uriah's wife, not David's.

See also DAVID II.F.

2. A priest who was employed by Isaiah as one of two "reliable witnesses" to his prophetic oracle, which contained the prophetic name Maher-shalal-hash-baz, a prediction of the Assyrian conquest of Israel and Syria (Isa. 8:1-4). Uriah's witness to the document would enhance its formality and later prove that the prophecy was a genuine divinely-given prediction. See also 3 below.

3. A chief priest in the time of King Ahaz (who reigned 735-715 B.C.), thus a contemporary of Isaiah and probably the same person as 2 above. While Ahaz was in Damascus meeting the Assyrian emperor Tiglath-pileser III, he admired a Syrian (or perhaps Assyrian) style of altar there and sent Uriah a sketch of it with detailed plans for its construction (2 K. 16:10). Uriah had the altar built by the time Ahaz returned from Damascus (v. 11). Ahaz apparently approved, and the new altar, bigger and more ornate than the original Solomonic one, was put into service (vv. 12-16); the Solomonic altar was moved to one side, though it was still used. The account of Ahaz's idolatry and new altars in 2 Ch. 28 would seem to place Uriah's actions in an unfavorable light.

4. A prophet, the son of Shemaiah from Kirjath-jearim in Judah; a contemporary of Jeremiah (Jer. 26:20-23). Uriah was a true Yahwistic prophet who predicted the fall of Jerusalem to Babylon just as Jeremiah did. King Jehoiakim (who reigned 609-598 B.C.) attempted to kill him, so he fled to Egypt. But the king had him brought back and put to death in violation of the implicit principle of prophetic immunity that prevailed in orthodox Israelite circles, and his body was thrown into "the burial place of the common people." In contrast to Jeremiah, Uriah lacked support in influential circles that might have spared his life (cf. 26:24). Along with Zechariah (2 Ch. 24:20-22), Uriah was one of the OT prophets who were killed for faithfully preaching the truth, and he is probably one referent for Jesus' well-known accusation that the Jews' forefathers "killed the prophets" (Lk. 11:47).

5. [Gk. Apoc. *Ouria*]; AV Apoc. IRI; NEB Apoc. URI. The father of Meremoth, who was one of the foremen in charge of rebuilding a section of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah *ca.* 440 B.C. (Neh. 3:4, 21). Uriah's son Meremoth was also entrusted with the temple's sacred articles brought back from Babylon by Ezra *ca.* 458 B.C. (Ezr. 8:33 par. 1 Esd. 8:62). Both Meremoth and Uriah were priests.

6. [Gk. Apoc. *Ourias*]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., URIAS. One of the men who stood at Ezra's right hand during the public reading of the law (Neh. 8:4 par. 1 Esd. 9:43); very likely the same person as 5. above.

Bibliography.–IP, p. 168 n. 1; B. J. Oosterhoff, *Israëlietische Persoonsnamen* (1953), *s.v.*; G. von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (1951), *passim*; K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (1914), *passim.* D. K. STUART

URIAS ū-rī'əs.

1. (1 Esd. 9:43, AV, NEB). *See* URIAH 6.

2. (Mt. 1:6, AV). *See* URIAH 1.

URIEL ū'rē-əl [Heb. *ûrî'el*–'God is my light' or 'light of God' (if î is an epenthetic vowel in construct; cf. URIAH); Gk. *Ouriēl*].

1. A prominent Levite family head in the time of David (1 Ch. 15:5, 11f.). He was descended from Levi through Kohath but not through Aaron (6:1-3, 22-24) and thus was not a priest. After the ark had been left temporarily at the house of Obed-edom following Yahweh's punishment of Uzzah for transporting it improperly (2 S. 6:1-11), Uriel was among those summoned by David to help bring it the rest of the way to Jerusalem — properly this time (1 Ch. 15:11-15; cf. 2 S. 6:12f.).

2. A resident of Gibeah (likely the Gibeah of Benjamin; possibly the Gibeah of Judah mentioned in Josh. 15:57); father of Maacah (so LXX, NEB; RSV "Micaiah," 2 Ch. 13:2), and thus father-in-law of King Rehoboam of Judah and grandfather of King Abijah (*see* MICAIAH 1; MAACAH 4). He may well have been a son-in-law of David's son Absalom, since Maacah is called the "daughter [*bat*] of Absalom" in 1 K. 15:2, 10; 2 Ch. 11:20f. (*bat* probably stands here for "granddaughter"). Uriel was presumably married to Tamar the daughter of Absalom (2 S. 14:27),

and their daughter was Maacah (cf. Josephus, who in *Ant.* vii.8.5 [190]; 10.3 [243f.] says that Rehoboam married Tamar, but in viii.10.1 [249] states that he married Maacah the daughter of Tamar). Uriel himself probably had no blood connection to the house of David.

3. One of several archangels named in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature (esp. Enoch and 2 Esdras), but not mentioned in the canonical books. Uriel has a major role in 1 Enoch as the angel who explains to Enoch many of his visions (e.g., 21:5-10; 27:2-4). He is mentioned in 9:1 (some MSS) with the archangels Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel (cf. 20:2, some MSS), although his name is replaced by that of Phanuel in 40:9. He is the angel who explains the fate of the fallen angels who married human women (19:1f.) and even writes down the laws of astronomy for Enoch (33:4; chs. 72-82). In a lengthy dialogue in 2 Esdras he teaches Ezra about the nature of evil and the unsearchable ways of God (4:1-35); he also commands Ezra to fast and weep (5:20) and interprets Ezra's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem (10:28-57). In the Life of Adam and Eve he is mentioned alongside Michael (ch. 48). In the Prayer of Joseph he is the angel who wrestles with Jacob (see J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *OT Pseudepigrapha*, II [1985], 713f., also 706-711). Midrashic writings portray him, from his name, as the angel of light (e.g., Midr. *Nu. Rabbah* ii.10). D. K. STUART

URIJAH ū-rī'jə. An alternate spelling of URIAH.

URIM AND THUMMIM ū'rim, thum'im [Heb. *'ûrîm, tummîm*] (Ex. 28:30; Lev. 8:8; Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65; in reverse order in Dt. 33:8; *'ûrîm* alone in Nu. 27:21; 1 S. 28:6; both terms lacking in the MT of 1 S. 14:41 [MT has *tāmîm*, "perfection," instead of *tummîm*; cf. AV], but supplied by the RSV and NEB following the LXX). A means of revelation used by the high priest in giving Yahweh's answer to inquiries. There is no description of the object(s) (cf. Lev. 8:8) that constituted this oracular medium.

I. Meaning of Terms.–In antiquity the terms *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* were consistently understood to be related in meaning to Heb. *'ôr*, "light," and *tōm*, "completeness," "perfection." The Masoretic vocalization agrees with the fuller orthography found in Qumrân (4QpIsa^d 1:5; 11QTemple 58:18-21; cf. *'wrtwm* [sing.?] in 1QH 4:6, 23; 18:29) and probably denotes "light(s)" and "perfection(s)" respectively. The LXX translators followed this understanding of the terms in their own way. The earlier translations (in the Pentateuch and 1 Samuel) are descriptive, namely, Gk. *dēlōsis* ("revelation") and *dēloi* ("manifestations") for *'ûrîm*, and Gk. *alētheia* ("truth") for *tummîm* (see also G. B. Caird, *JTS*, 19 [1968], 467; Lee, p. 51), while the later ones are more literal, namely, Gk. *phōtízontes* ("giving light") for *'ûrîm* and Gk. *téleioi* ("perfect") for *tummîm* (so Ezra, while Nehemiah has only *phōtísōn*). (In 1 S. 14:41 Gk. *hosiótēta* ["holiness"] apparently signifies Thummim.) Aquila, Symmachus (with two exceptions), and Theodotion continue the pattern of more literal translations, using Gk. *phōtísmoi* ("lights") for *'ûrîm* and Gk. *teleiótēs* ("perfection"), *teleiótētes* ("perfections"), and *teléōseis* ("completions") for *tummîm*. The LXX of 1 Esd. 5:40; Sir. 33:3; 45:10 continued to use *dḗlōsis, dḗloi*, and *alḗtheia*. The Peshitta and Vulgate essentially follow the understanding of *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* found in the Greek versions (neither specifically mentions this oracular means in Ezra and Nehemiah).

Since the late 19th cent. various scholars have proposed other derivations, using different Hebrew as well as Akkadian, Arabic, and Egyptian roots (see, e.g., surveys in Kennedy [p. 838] and Dosker [p. 723]). More and more scholars now view the origin of the terms as either very uncertain or unknown. Related to this is the idea that the Masoretes vocalized *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* incorrectly, since these terms end with the *m* of mimation and are of an unknown non-Semitic origin (A. Jirku, *Bibl.*, 34 [1953], 79f.; but cf. G. R. Driver, *JSS*, 10 [1965], 116).

II. Their Use.–The Urim and Thummim belonged to God; they were entrusted to Levi (Dt. 33:8) in the person of the high priest and stored in his breastpiece (Ex. 28:30; Lev. 8:8), which was fastened on the EPHOD. The sole mention of the Urim (Nu. 27:21; Lev. 8:8) or of the ephod in the context of inquiring of God (1 S. 23:9-12; 30:7f.) indicates a reference to the Urim and Thummim.

According to the principle found in Nu. 27:21, the civil leader (here Joshua) could inquire of God through the high priest, "who shall inquire for him by the judgment of the Urim before the Lord; at his word they shall go out, and at his word they shall come in." The use of "go out" and "come in" suggests a broad range of activity (cf. Josh. 14:11; 2 Ch. 1:10), indicating that all matters for which the leader needed guidance could be brought to God for revelation.

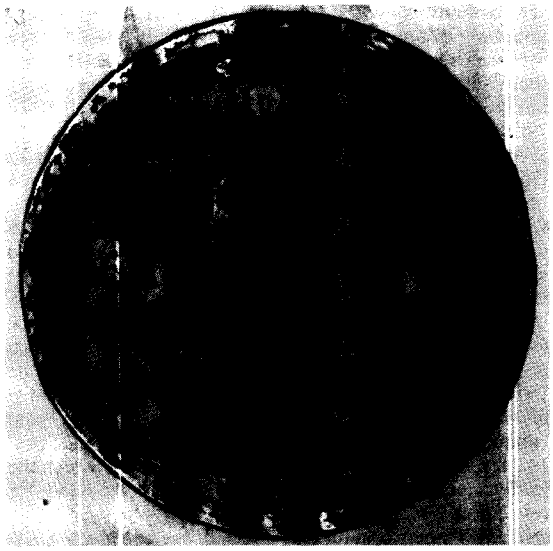
The OT records actual instances of the use of the Urim and Thummim at critical junctures when revelation was needed and sought. Scholars generally agree that the verb "inquire of" (Heb. *šā'al b^e*) followed by "Yahweh" or "God" is a fixed formula referring to the method of inquiry involving the high priest's use of the Urim and Thummim, unless another means of revelation is specifically mentioned. Thus there are records of this means of seeking revelation being used by the people in the absence of a leader (Jgs. 1:1; 20:18, 23, 27f.; 1 S. 10:22), by Saul (1 S. 14:37; cf. 28:6), and by David (22:10 [cf. v. 15]; 23:2, 4; 30:8; 2 S. 2:1; 5:19, 23f.). In each instance the high priest and ephod are either mentioned or may be assumed to have been present. 1 S. 14:18f. (LXX; see KD) mentions an interrupted inquiry. Possibly the Urim and Thummim were also used in 2 S. 21:1.

III. Their Demise.–The OT does not explicitly state when the Urim and Thummim ceased to be used, and opinion has been divided on the matter. Present opinion tends to favor the view that this oracular means was not utilized after the time of David; there is no certain evidence of its use after this period (including Ezr. 2:63 par. Neh. 7:65 and Sir. 33:3). Also the use and high estimation of counselors (2 S. 16:23) suggests the beginning of a new trend (cf. 1 K. 12:6, 8; Jer. 18:18). Furthermore, when King Abijah extolled the prerogatives of the Aaronide priesthood (2 Ch. 13:10-12), he did not mention this means (which Dt. 33:8 had placed first). Finally, the advice of prophets was sought when one would have expected consultation of the Urim and Thummim had they still been used (e.g., 2 K. 22:10-20; Jer. 21:1f.).

The basic reason for their demise seems to have been that God was weaning His people away from a physical means of revelation to a greater dependence on His word as written or as spoken by the prophets. Thus the prophets grew in importance at the expense of the high priest in answering inquiries with divine revelation. This meant that the easy certainty offered by a mechanical aid for revelation (such as the Urim and Thummim in whatever manner they may have functioned) gave way to the more difficult application of the norms of true and false prophecy (Dt. 13:1-4 [MT 2-5]; 18:20-22). This development demanded greater spiritual discernment; consequently the priestly duty of teaching the will of God (Dt. 33:10) received an even greater stress than before (cf. e.g., 2 Ch 15:3; 17:7-9; Mal. 2:7).

IV. Their Identity and Manner of Use.–The form of the

URIM AND THUMMIM



A medieval MS illumination of a consultation with the Urim and Thummim. Aaron is represented by the center figure, who wears the vestments of the high priest, the breastplate of judgment, and a crown that reads "holy unto the Lord." At right a man holds an object that says in Hebrew "Urim and Thummim" (A.D. 1277-78, northern France) (British Library Add. 11639)

Urim and Thummim and the manner of their use are exceedingly difficult to determine. There are many views. In Jewish tradition, for example, the Urim and Thummim have been identified with the breastpiece (Philo *De specialibus legibus* i.88) and with an inscription of the Name (Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan on Ex. 28:30). Revelation was thought to have been given by inspiration (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 122a), by light flashing (Josephus *Ant.* iii.8.9 [215-17]), or by the protruding of certain letters from the breastpiece stones (T.B. *Yoma* 73b). Variations of these views have persisted to the present day, and others have been developed; e.g., the Urim and Thummim have been linked to teraphim (W. R. Smith), the white stone of Rev. 2:17 (F. J. Züllig), the Egyptian Maat pendant (J. G. Wilkinson), and the Babylonian Tablet of Destinies (W. Muss-Arnolt).

At present the most widely accepted view understands the Urim and Thummim as a lot oracle (e.g., *see* DIVINATION III.B). The key evidence is 1 S. 14:41, where the LXX gives a longer text than the MT (cf. AV, RSV) and pictures the Urim and Thummim as lots with two possible answers. A parallel has been found in a seventh-century B.C. Assur text (E. Reiner, *JNES*, 19 [1960], 25). Difficulties with the LXX of 1 S. 14:41 have been pointed out, however. It seems unlikely that so much significant material could have been omitted accidently from the MT; moreover, the LXX has the tendency in 1 Samuel to amplify and interpret. The MT is supported by Tg. Jonathan and the Peshitta. Furthermore the context of God's refusal to answer by Urim and Thummim "that day" (v. 37) argues against their being employed later the same day.

There are also problems with the lot theory as such. Never are the terms associated with lot casting (Heb. *npl, lkd*) incontrovertibly used with the high-priestly oracle. In addition, the use of a lot (with a possible "yes," "no," or "no-answer" response) is difficult to picture when God's answer contained more information than the question (e.g., 1 S. 10:22), and it is unimaginable in 2 S. 5:23f. God's revelation was not bound to the strictures of a lot oracle. Indeed, the answers received with the use of the Urim and Thummim are always conveyed in terms of God's speaking, with nuances and assurances that could be important (e.g., cf. Jgs. 20:18, 23 with v. 28).

Judging from the type of answers given, one could conclude that the divine gift of prophetic inspiration was involved. But the use of the object(s) constituting the Urim and Thummim set the high-priestly oracle apart from prophecy (1 S. 28:6; cf. also 14:19). Some understanding of the vital role that the Urim and Thummim played can be derived from Ezr. 2:62f. (par. Neh. 7:64f.), which states that some "were excluded from the priesthood as unclean . . . until a priest with [*l*^{e}, lit. "for"] Urim and Thummim should appear." Apparently the Urim and Thummim were available but the priest was missing. There was a high priest Jeshua (Ezr. 3:8f.; Hag. 1:1, 12), but he apparently was not receiving revelation using the Urim and Thummim. The waiting was a reminder that this oracular means belonged to God (Dt. 33:8); only He could make it function.

There are indications that the Urim and Thummim were used openly and not in secret (cf. 1 S. 14:36f.; 23:9; 30:7). It is striking that even in the face of repeated defeats, after obeying each time the instructions received by using the Urim and Thummim, the revelation received was not questioned (Jgs. 20:18-28); hence it must have been authenticated in some way. It is noteworthy that no instance of misuse of this oracular means is recorded, nor is there any warning about misuse or false high-priestly revelation (cf., e.g., Dt. 18:20-22). This is especially remarkable considering the relative ease with which the heathen priestly diviners could manipulate the divinatory results.

Nowhere does the OT state how the Urim and Thummim were used. In view of the above factors, however, the following theory can be proposed. If the Masoretic vocalization of *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* is accepted as evidence descriptive of this oracular means, the use of *'ûrîm* by itself (1 S. 28:6) could indicate that light was a vital characteristic of this oracular means, and the terms could be understood as hendiadys with the translation "perfect light." Possibly a special or miraculous light was somehow involved in the functioning of the Urim and Thummim in order to verify that the message given was from God (see, e.g., Josephus *Ant.* iii.8.9 [215-17]). In this way "the judgment of the Urim [light]" (Nu. 27:21) could conceivably have been given. The Urim and Thummim may thus have been a single gem. A special sign of verification associated with the Urim and Thummim would not have been out of place in an age when God more often gave miraculous authenticating signs (Ex. 4:1-9; Nu. 17:1-11 [MT 16-26]; Jgs. 6:14-22, 36-40; 1 S. 2:34; 10:1-7).

V. Relationship to Teraphim.—Illegitimate ephods with teraphim were also used (Jgs. 17:5; Hos. 3:4). The Urim and Thummim are never mentioned with these ephods. Apparently TERAPHIM (which are at times specifically associated with divination and condemned; cf. 1 S. 15:23; 2 K. 23:24; Ezk. 21:21 [MT 26]; Zec. 10:2) served as a substitute for the Urim and Thummim (C. van Gelderen and W. H. Gispen, p. 79). Assuming the correctness of the above hypothesis of an authenticating miraculous light, the question arises whether teraphim were associated with light divination and thus selected as pseudo-Urim and Thummim. The divinatory use of light was known (F. Nötscher, *Orientalia*, 51-54 [1930], 199-214; *CAD*, N/II, 350b), and teraphim have been interpreted as characterized by flashing and shining (**terep* < *rpp* [cf. Arab. *raffa*], with the meaning "shine"; see E. Sellin, *ZAW*, 55 [1937], 296ff.), although the etymology remains disputed. If the teraphim were connected with light divi-

nation, the question could be raised whether God at some time before Moses had graciously accommodated to the weakness and limitations of His people by replacing the teraphim (cf. Gen. 31:19, 30) with the Urim and Thummim. The later use of teraphim would thus be a reversion to an old pagan practice.

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UR-MARKUS o͝or-mär'kəs. According to one theory about the origin of the Synoptic Gospels (*see* GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC II, V), an earlier edition of the Gospel of Mark, used as a source by both Matthew and Luke. This theory explains the absence of some Markan passages in Matthew and Luke.

USURY. The exaction of interest upon loans. The term does not occur in the RSV. In the AV OT "usury" and "usurer" are used to translate two stems: (1) the Hebrew verb *nāšâ* (e.g., Ex. 22:25 [RSV "creditor"; NEB "moneylender"]; Isa. 24:2 [RSV, NEB, "creditor"]; Jer. 15:10 [RSV, NEB, omit]) and the noun form *maššā'* (Neh. 5:7, 10 [RSV "interest"; NEB "pledges for debt"]); (2) a stronger verb, *nāšaḵ,* "bite," "vex," hence "lend upon interest" (so RSV, Dt. 23:19f.; NEB "charge interest"), and the noun form *nešeḵ,* usually rendered "interest" by the RSV and NEB (Ex. 22:25; Lev. 25:36f.; Ps. 15:5; Prov. 28:8; Ezk. 18:8, 13, 17; 22:12). In the AV NT "usury" translates Gk. *tókos* (lit. "offspring"; RSV, NEB, "interest") in the parable of the talents (Mt. 25:27 par. Lk. 19:23).

See INTEREST; *see also* BANK IV; DEBT; LEND.

E. B. POLLARD

UTA ū'tə (1 Esd. 5:30, AV, NEB). *See* UTHAI **2.**

UTENSILS [Heb. *kᵉlî*] (Ex. 25:39; 27:3, 19; 30:27f.; 31:8f.; 35:13f., 16; 37:24; 38:3, 30; 39:33, 36f., 39f.; 40:10; Lev. 8:11; Nu. 4:10, 14; 7:1; 1 Ch. 9:28f.; 2 Ch. 24:14; 29:18f.); AV VESSELS, FURNITURE; NEB FITTINGS, EQUIPMENT, VESSELS, APPURTENANCES, FURNISHINGS. A general term for the gold and bronze implements used in the service of the tabernacle and the temple, including particularly those used with the lampstand, the altar of burnt offering, and the altar of incense.

UTHAI ū'thī [Heb. *'ûṯay*; Gk. Apoc. *Outa* (1 Esd. 5:30), *Outhi* (1 Esd. 8:40)]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., UTA, UTHI.

1. A Judahite, son of Ammihud; one of the first residents in postexilic Jerusalem (1 Ch. 9:4; cf. Neh. 1:4, where he is called Athaiah).

2. Head of a family of temple servants who returned from exile with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 5:30). The name is lacking in par. Ezr. 2:45; Neh. 7:48.

3. One of the sons of Bigvai who returned from exile with Ezra (Ezr. 8:14; 1 Esd. 8:40).

UTHI ū'thī (1 Esd. 8:40, AV, NEB). *See* UTHAI **3.**

UTMOST; UTTERMOST. Both adjectives mean "situated at the farthest point" and are used interchangeably by the AV. "The utmost sea" (Heb. *hayyām hā'aḥᵃrôn,* AV Dt. 34:2; Joel 2:20; "uttermost" in Dt. 11:24) refers to the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. The RSV does not use "utmost" but does use "uttermost" in a few instances to render Heb. *qāṣeh* (lit. "end, extremity"; Dt. 30:4), *'aḥᵃrîṯ* (lit. "end," "farthest"; Ps. 139:9), *yᵉrēḵâ* (lit. "rear portion"; Ezk. 32:23; 38:6, 15; 39:2), and Gk. *éschatos* (lit. "last"; Acts 13:47).

UZ uz [Heb. *'ûṣ*]; AV also HUZ (Gen. 22:21). The name of three persons (tribes): two Arameans (**1, 2**) and one Edomite (**3**).

1. First son of Aram and grandson of Shem (Gen. 10:23). According to the MT of 1 Ch. 1:17 Uz was the son of Shem, but the phrase "the sons of Aram" should probably be restored with LXX A. Since the names in the Table of Nations refer chiefly to tribes, Uz was probably the name of an Aramean tribe. Josephus followed a tradition that made Uz the founder of Trachonitis and Damascus "situated between Palestine and Coele Syria" (*Ant.* i.6.4 [145]). It is possible that Sasi the Uzzite, who submitted to Shalmaneser III when the latter (or rather, his *turtan*) in his twenty-eighth year campaigned against Hattina (Amq or Unqu; see *ARAB,* I, § 585), is to be related to this Uz, although the Amq plain is farther north than the territory described by Josephus.

2. First son of Nahor by Milcah; nephew of Abraham and uncle of Aram (Gen. 22:21). He was probably the head of an Aramean tribe or clan located NE of Palestine near Haran. Some have suggested that this is the same tribe referred to in 10:23 (see **1** above), and that the differences in the genealogies reflect a change in the sociopolitical standings of the various Aramean tribes; more likely, however, they represent different tribes (*see* TABLE OF NATIONS II.C.3).

3. Son of Dishan and grandson of Seir the Horite (Gen. 36:28; 1 Ch. 1:42); one of the early inhabitants of Edom. (*See also* Uz [land] below.) N. J. O. W. S. L. S.

UZ uz [Heb. *'ûṣ*]. The name of an undefined land mentioned in three OT passages. In Jer. 25:20f. its kings are mentioned with those of the Philistines, Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon in Jeremiah's prophecy of the cup of wrath for the nations; in Lam. 4:21 it is the land where the "daughter of Edom" dwelt. In these passages the land of Uz seems to be related to the Edomites and Seir (cf. Gen. 36:28; *see* Uz [person] **3**) and should not be confused with the Arameans by this name in northern Syria (*see* Uz [person] **1, 2**).

In Job 1:1 Uz is said to be the land where Job lived. Is it possible to identify more precisely the land of Job? He was numbered among "the people of the east" (Job 1:3). He lived in a city (29:7), in a region suitable for sheep, camels, oxen, and she-asses (1:3). A strong wind from the *miḏbār* (steppe) destroyed the home of his son (1:19) after attacks by the Sabeans (v. 15) and the Chaldeans (v. 17). Job's friends included Eliphaz from Teman and Zophar the Naamathite (2:11); the LXX places the latter in southern Arabia, but this is unlikely. Tema(n) was an oasis in the desert, halfway between Babylon and Egypt, between Damascus and Mecca (*see* Map in ARABIA; *see also* NABONIDUS V). Later in the story, Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite is introduced (Job 32:2). Buz is listed with Tema and Dedan in Jer. 25:23, preceded in the passage by Edom and followed by the kings of Arabia (vv. 21, 24). Thus the evidence supports the conclusion that Job's land of Uz was E of Edom in the Arabian desert, and not in northern Syria. W. S. L. S.

UZAI ū'zī [Heb. *'ûzay*]. Father of the man named Palal who helped Nehemiah in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:25).

UZAL ū'zəl [Heb. *'ûzāl*]. The sixth son of Joktan of the line of Shem (Gen. 10:27; 1 Ch. 1:21). Since many of the names in the Table of Nations are also names of places, it has been assumed that Joktan was also a place, which may have support from Ezk. 27:19. In Arab tradition, Uzal (Auzal) was the original name of Sanaa, the capital of Yemen in Arabia. But E. Glaser (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* [1890], pp. 309-312, 427-433) concluded on the basis of inscriptions that the name Auzal was used of the city only after the 3rd cent. A.D., and then by Arabian Jews who were influenced by the Bible. Glaser inclined to an identification with Azalla (Asalla), a place mentioned by Ashurbanipal as "in the desert," "a stretch of parched and thirsty (land)" (*ARAB*, II, §§ 823ff.), which is in the general area of Medina.

The passage in Ezekiel offers at least two difficulties. The general style of the prophecy against Tyre is to name the *place* first (Tarshish, v. 12; Beth-togarmah, v. 14; Edom, v. 16, etc.). But v. 19 reads "and wine from Uzal they exchanged for your wares," which does *not* name the place first, nor is Uzal the subject of this clause. Various emendations have been suggested (see comms.), but none avoids this difficulty. Moreover, the context would seem to group Uzal with Damascus and Helbon (iron would probably come from the NW or W; cassia and calamus from the E. possibly via Persia) rather than with Dedan and Arabia (vv. 20f.), suggesting that Uzal, if it is indeed the name of a place, should be located in northern Syria. The MT further complicates the problem, reading "and Dan and Yavan *me'uzzāl*" ("going to and fro," AV). Modern versions emend the vowel pointing to read "from Uzal," following LXX.

To attempt a geographical identification on the biblical evidence seems almost futile. W. S. LASOR

UZZAH; UZZA uz'ə [Heb. *'uzzâ, 'uzzā'*].

1. Son of Abinadab. With his brother Ahio he drove the new cart that was to bear the ark of God from Abinadab's house to Jerusalem in a joyous procession led by David (2 S. 6:3-8 par. 1 Ch. 13:7-11). At a certain threshing floor ("of Nacon," 2 S. 6:6; "of Chidon," 1 Ch. 13:9) the oxen did something unexpectedly (Heb. *šāmaṭ*; "stumbled," RSV; "nearly upset," KoB, p. 986; "dropped [dung]," W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark* [1917], pp. 62f.). Uzzah, standing alongside the cart, stretched out his hand to steady the ark, and died (2 S. 6:6f. par. 1 Ch. 13:9f.). Greatly displeased with the Lord for Uzzah's death, David named the place PEREZ-UZZAH; and taking this event as a warning, he was unwilling to take the ark into the royal city at that time (2 S. 6:11f. par.). For three months the ark remained in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite, a Philistine. But after David learned that blessing rather than harm had come to Obed-edom and all his household, the happy procession was renewed and the ark was brought to Jerusalem (2 S. 6:12; 1 Ch. 15:25).

Why did Uzzah die? The traditional explanation is that he, a non-Levite, had touched the "most holy thing," which is prohibited in Nu. 4:15. It is uncertain, however, whether such a regulation was known in David's time. (For a relevant contemporary Egyptian prohibition, see "The Instruction of Ani" [*ANET*, pp. 420f.]). Some modern scholars (e.g., W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark* [1917], pp. 62f., cited in *IB*, II, 1078f.) have suggested that Uzzah died in what would today be considered an accident, but in OT times Uzzah's death would probably have been regarded as a direct act of God and an omen so likely to portend further disaster that it would have been prudent to delay until God's will was clear.

2. A man whose garden was used as a burial plot for two kings of Judah, Manasseh and his son Amon (2 K. 21:18, 26).

3. Son of Shimei, a Merarite (1 Ch. 6:29 [MT 14]).

4. Descendant of Ehud, a Benjaminite (1 Ch. 8:7).

5. [Gk. Apoc. *Ozios*]; AV AZIA; NEB OZIUS. Head of a family of temple servants who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:49 par. Neh. 7:51 par. 1 Esd. 5:31). P. L. GARBER

UZZEN-SHEERAH uz'ən shē'ə-rə [Heb. *'uzzên še'ĕrâ*–'portion [weighed and measured] of Sheerah' (BDB, p. 25); LXX *kaí huioí Ozán Seēra*–'and the sons of Ozan, Sheera']; AV, NEB, UZZEN-SHERAH. A village founded or rebuilt by Sheerah, daughter of either Ephraim or Beriah, along with Lower Beth-horon and Upper Beth-horon (1 Ch. 7:24). Some scholars have identified the site with the present Beit Sira on the north side of the Wâdī Suleiman, about 5 km. (3 mi.) SW of Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta (Lower Beth-horon), but most believe that the site of Uzzen-sheerah has not yet been identified.

W. H. GARCÍA

UZZI uz'ī [Heb. *'uzzî*–'my strength' (?)].

1. Son of Tola; head of a family in the tribe of Issachar (1 Ch. 7:2f.).

2. Son of Bela; head of a family in the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. 7:7).

3. Son of Michri and father of Elah; head of a Benjaminite family that resided in Jerusalem after the Exile (1 Ch. 9:8).

4. Son of Bani and descendant of Asaph; an overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem sometime after the return from exile (Neh. 11:22).

5. Head of the priestly family of Jedaiah during the time of Joiakim the high priest (Neh. 12:19).

6. A priest — probably a musician — who participated in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:42).

7. [Gk. Apoc. B *Ozias*, A *Ezias* (1 Esd. 8:2); Lat. *Ozias* (2 Esd. 1:2)]. AV Apoc. EZIAS, OZIAS; NEB also EZIAS. An Aaronite priest; a descendant of Eleazar and ancestor of Ezra (1 Ch. 6:5f., 51 [MT 5:31f.; 6:36]; Ezr. 7:4; 1 Esd. 8:2; 2 Esd. 1:2). N. J. O.

UZZIA u-zī'ə [Heb. *'uzzîyā'*]. An Ashterathite who was among David's mighty men (1 Ch. 11:44).

UZZIAH u-zī'ə [Heb. *'uzzîyâ*–'my strength is Yah(weh)' (2 K. 15:13, 30; Hos. 1:1; Am. 1:1; Zec. 14:5), *'uzzîyāhû* (2 K. 15:32, 34; Isa. 1:1; 6:1; 7:1; 2 Ch. 26; 27:2); Gk. *Ozias* (Mt. 1:8f.)]; AV NT OZIAS; **AZARIAH** az-ə-rī'ə [Heb. *'azaryâ*–'Yah(weh) has helped' (2 K. 14:21; 15:1, 7; 1 Ch. 3:12), *'azaryâhû* (2 K. 15:6, 8)].

1. King of Judah *ca.* 791-740 B.C.; an ancestor of Joseph the (legal) father of Jesus (Mt. 1:8f.). Biblical information about the reign of Uzziah/Azariah is limited to 2 K. 14:21f.; 15:1-7; 2 Ch. 26:1-23 (cf. also 2 K. 15:13, 30, 32, 34; 2 Ch. 27:2). Although a total of fifty-two years is allotted to his reign, he was probably sole ruler for only seventeen years, co-ruling the rest of the time with his father Amaziah or with his son Jotham. Uzziah is recognized as one of the most able kings of Judah after Solomon.

To understand Uzziah's place in the 8th-century's checkered political developments the following timetable may be helpful:

798 Jehoash (Joash) succeeds Jehoahaz as king in Israel
797/6 Amaziah succeeds Joash (Jehoash) in Judah
793/2 Jeroboam II is made co-ruler with Jehoash in Israel
791/90 Uzziah begins a co-regency with Amaziah in Judah
790–781 Amaziah is probably held captive in Israel
782/1 Jehoash dies, and Jeroboam II assumes sole rule in Israel; Amaziah may have been released
768/7 Amaziah is slain; Uzziah assumes sole rule in Judah
753 Zechariah succeeds Jeroboam II in Israel
752 Shallum rules one month and is succeeded by Menahem
750 Uzziah smitten with leprosy; Jotham is made co-ruler
740/39 Uzziah dies

Amaziah's disastrous challenge to Israel's military might brought Judah to its lowest point since the division of Solomon's kingdom. The biblical account (2 K. 14:8-14 par. 2 Ch. 25:17-24) records not only an invasion of Judah, during which Jerusalem was plundered and part of its wall demolished, but also the capture of Amaziah and the subsequent transfer of Judean hostages to Samaria. Since in the ancient world the breaching of the city wall signified total subjugation, Amaziah was most likely held captive in Israel as long as Jehoash was king. During this period Uzziah was made king in Judah, i.e., he was made co-ruler in anticipation of his father's release. It is quite probable that when Amaziah did return, Uzziah continued active leadership. In 768/7 B.C. Amaziah fled to Lachish, where he was assassinated (2 K. 14:19 par. 2 Ch. 25:27).

When Uzziah began his co-regency in 791/90, Judah was in a very weakened condition. Uzziah may have rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and reorganized the government, but he presumably did nothing to precipitate further interference from the king of Israel. When Jeroboam II assumed full control in Samaria, Judah's vassalage to Israel must have ended. Certainly after Amaziah's death Jeroboam maintained a policy of friendship with Judah and vastly expanded his kingdom politically and economically at the expense of Syria.

Uzziah promoted long-range economic policies throughout his kingdom, and these brought prosperity. Vitally interested in agriculture and animal husbandry, he had wells dug and towers constructed in the wilderness; under these favorable conditions the vinedressers increased their production (2 Ch. 26:10). Archeology confirms that forts were built in the Negeb during the 8th cent. B.C.

In the wake of this economic expansion Uzziah also organized and equipped his army (2 Ch. 26:11-15). During his reign he not only razed the walls of Gath but also captured Jabneh and Ashdod and pushed onward to defeat the Philistines and Arabians (vv. 6f.). Uzziah not only dominated Edom but advanced his control as far S as Elath on the Gulf of Aqabah (2 K. 14:22 par. 2 Ch. 26:2), opening up extensive commercial opportunities. Mining industries flourished with the reclamation of the copper and iron deposits near the Red Sea that once had been controlled by David and Solomon. Judah controlled trade routes to Arabia, Egypt, and other countries.

In religious matters Uzziah was instructed by Zechariah, a prophet unknown beyond the reference in 2 Ch. 26:5. This influence is said to have contributed to Uzziah's military success. In 750 B.C. Uzziah, who apparently had up to this time maintained a humble attitude toward God, assumed the priestly privilege of burning incense in the temple (2 Ch. 26:16). The priest Azariah, supported

A marble plaque bears an epitaph of King Uzziah. It reads in Aramaic square script: "Hence were brought the bones of Uzziah, King of Judah, and not to be opened" (Jerusalem, late Second Temple Period) (Israel Museum, photo D. Harris)

by eighty associates, withstood the king in vain (vv. 17f.). Uzziah was consequently smitten with leprosy (vv. 19f.). He lived in seclusion during the rest of his reign, and his son Jotham governed the people (v. 21). But Uzziah's international fame as a forceful leader continued.

After Jeroboam's death, *ca.* 753 B.C., Uzziah may have had high hopes of restoring the Solomonic borders of the Davidic dynasty. But the Assyrian advance under Tiglath-pileser III, beginning in 745, soon shattered such national ambitions. After subduing Babylon and defeating Sarduris III king of Urartu, the Assyrian king pushed his campaign westward (743-738). In his annals Tiglath-pileser mentioned fighting at Arpad against Azariah king of Judah; although he reported a victory, he did not claim to have collected tribute from the king of Judah. Since Menahem paid a heavy tribute to appease the Assyrian king, the northern kingdom temporarily provided a buffer state between Judah and Assyria, allowing Uzziah to continue his anti-Assyrian policy. In the course of these developments Uzziah died in 740 B.C.

Several prophets prophesied during the long reign of King Uzziah: Isaiah (1:1; but he is said in 6:1 to have received his call in the year Uzziah died), Hoseah (1:1), and Amos (1:1). Both Amos (1:1) and Zechariah (14:5) referred to a catastrophic earthquake that occurred during Uzziah's reign.

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2. [Gk. Apoc. *Ozias*]; AV, NEB, OZIAS. Chief elder of Bethulia in the time of Judith (Jth. 6:15f., 21; 7:23, 30; 8:9, 28, 35; 10:6; 13:18; 14:6; 15:4).

3. Son of Uriel; a Kohathite Levite (1 Ch. 6:24 [MT 9]).

4. Father of Jonathan, who was one of the stewards in charge of King David's treasuries (1 Ch. 27:25).

5. A priest who divorced his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. 10:21). He is called AZARIAH (**25**) in 1 Esd. 9:21.

6. A Judahite whose son Athaiah lived in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 11:4).

UZZIEL uz'i-əl [Heb. *'uzzî'ēl*–"El (God) is my strength"]; **UZZIELITES** uz'i-ə-līts [Heb. *hā'uzzî'ēlî*] (Nu. 3:27; 1 Ch. 26:23).

1. A grandson of Levi and son of Kohath (Ex. 6:18; Nu. 3:19; 1 Ch. 6:2, 18 [MT 5:28; 6:3]; 23:12); uncle of Aaron and Moses (Lev. 10:4). He was the father of Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri (Ex. 6:22), and the head of the Uzzielites, a division of Kohathite Levites (Nu. 3:27, 30; 1 Ch. 26:23). His descendants were among the Levites who assisted in bringing up the ark to Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:10); their duties in the temple were assigned by David (23:12, 20; 24:24).

2. Son of Ishi; one of the Simeonite captains who led in a successful campaign against the Amalekites (1 Ch. 4:42).

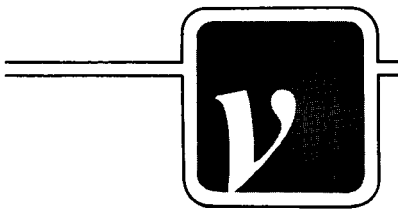
3. Son of Bela; head of a Benjaminite family of mighty warriors (1 Ch. 7:7).

4. A musician, one of the sons of Heman (1 Ch. 25:4). In v. 18 the name is given as Azarel.

5. A Levite of the family of Jeduthun who assisted in cleansing the temple during Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch. 29:14).

6. Son of Harhaiah; a goldsmith who helped to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:8).

N. J. O.



VACILLATING [Gk. *en elaphríą chráomai*] (2 Cor. 1:17); AV USE LIGHTNESS; NEB LIGHTLY CHANGE ONE'S MIND. The expression means literally "act with lightness," i.e., not take a matter (in this case, plans that were changed) seriously enough.

VAGABOND [Heb. piel part. of *hālaḳ*–'rover'] (Prov. 6:11); AV "one that travelleth"; NEB ROBBER. Proverbs 6:11 warns the sluggard that for him poverty will appear as suddenly as the vagabond.

VAHEB vā'heb (Nu. 21:14, NEB). *See* WAHEB.

VAIL. *See* VEIL.

VAIN [Heb. *šāw'*–'worthless'] (Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11; Ps. 60:11 [MT 13]; 108:12 [MT 13]; etc.); NEB also WRONG, etc.; [*rîq*–'empty'] (Lev. 26:16, 20; Job 39:16; Ps. 2:1; etc.); AV also VANITY; NEB also TO NO PURPOSE, WASTED, FUTILE, etc.; [*tôhu*–'without form' (cf. Gen. 1:2)]; (1 S. 12:21); NEB FALSE; [*šeqer*–'falsehood'] (1 S. 25:21; Ps. 33:17; 119:118); AV also FALSEHOOD; NEB A WASTE OF TIME, etc.; [*heḇel*–'breath, vanity'] (Job 9:29; Ps. 31:6 [MT 7]; Prov. 31:30; Eccl. 6:12; etc.); AV also VANITY, NOUGHT; NEB also USELESS, FLEETING, etc.; [*hāḇal*–'carry on what is empty'] (Job 27:12; Ps. 62:10 [MT 11]; NEB TALK EMPTY NONSENSE, etc.; [hiphil part. of *hāḇal*] ("filling with vain hope," Jer. 23:16); AV THEY MAKE VAIN; NEB WHO BOUY UP WITH FALSE HOPES; [*kōzēḇ*, emended by RSV to *kāzāḇ*] (Ps. 116:11); AV LIARS (with MT); NEB FAITHLESS; [*ḥinnām*–'gratis'] (Prov. 1:17; Ezk. 6:10); ['*ayin*–'nothing'] (Prov. 14:6); AV (FIND) IT NOT; NEB (FIND) NONE; [*nō'āš*- 'desperate'] (Jer. 18:12); AV NO HOPE; NEB PAST HOPE; [hiphil of *yā'al*–'resolve,' 'begin to'] ("try in vain," 1 S. 17:39); AV ASSAY; NEB HESITATE; [*te'unnîm*] (Ezk. 24:12); AV LIES; NEB TRY; [Gk. *mátēn*] ("in vain," Mt. 15:9 par. Mk. 7:7); [*mátaios*] (Acts 14:15; Jas. 1:26); AV also VANITIES; NEB FOLLIES, FUTILE; [*eikḗ*] (Rom. 13:4; 1 Cor. 15:2; Gal. 3:4; 4:11); NEB also FOR NOTHING, LOST; [*kenós*–'empty'] (1 Cor. 15:10, 14, 58; etc.); NEB also NULL AND VOID, LOST, etc.; [pass. of *kenóō*] ("prove vain," 2 Cor. 9:3); NEB EMPTY; [*kenós*] (Jas. 4:5); NEB NO MEANING; [*mataiología*] ("vain discussion," 1 Tim. 1:6); NEB WILDERNESS OF WORDS; **VAINLY** [Heb. *heḇel*] (Lam. 4:17). An adjective and adverb indicating futility, worthlessness, or purposelessness, i.e., that which does not achieve its goal. As the list above makes clear, the AV and RSV reduce a wide range of Hebrew and Greek terms to Eng. "vain"; thus some nuances of the original are unavoidably lost.

Theologically, whatever resists God and His authority is "in vain," i.e., futile. The taking of God's name "in vain" means to use the name improperly or to no good purpose: in false oaths (cf. Lev. 19:12), frivolously, or in curses and the like (*see also* NAME C). Such actions constitute a fundamental violation of the sanctity and awesome potency of God's name, which represents the reality of His being and behavior toward human beings. Thus, to worship idols is to worship what is "vain" (Dt. 32:21; Heb. *heḇel*; RSV "idol"). Similarly, in comparison with God's help, the help of humans is "vain" (Ps. 108:12). And without the Lord's blessing, human undertakings are "in vain" (Ps. 127:1).

In Ezk. 24:12 the AV, RSV, and NEB have all attempted to translate MT *te'unnîm hel'āṣ*; most scholars, however, have concluded that these terms are a copyist's dittograph and should be deleted (see *BHS*; comms.).

The NT's use of "vain" follows OT patterns. Idols are called "vain things" (Acts 14:15). Paul affirms that, as a result of the Resurrection, Christians should be unshakable, "abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in the Lord your labor is not in vain" (1 Cor. 15:58; cf. Isa. 65:23).

See also VANITY.

R. C. VAN LEEUWEN

VAINGLORY [Heb. *gā'ôn*]; AV MAJESTY; NEB PRIDE. Pride or confidence in an illusory object. The RSV, in contrast to the AV (cf. AV Phil. 2:3 [Gk. *kenodoxía*; RSV "conceit"]; Gal. 5:26 [*kenódoxos*; RSV "self-conceit"]), uses "vainglory" only in Ezk. 7:20 in reference to the "beautiful ornament" from which Judah made "abominable images." The "beautiful ornament" refers perhaps to the temple (cf. v. 24: "your proud [*gā'ôn*] might"; 24:21: "pride [*gā'ôn*] of your power"; cf. also Jer. 7:4), or, as seems more likely, it may be a collective expression for the gold and silver of v. 19. The expression may even be intended to refer ambiguously to both temple and precious metals as related sources of false pride. Elsewhere the RSV translates similar uses of *gā'ôn* as "pride" (Ezk. 32:12; Isa. 13:11, 19; Zec. 9:6; 10:11; etc.) or "pomp" (Isa. 14:11). *See* PRIDE.

See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (*AB*, 1983), pp. 153-55.

R. C. VAN LEEUWEN

VAIZATHA vī'zə-thə [Heb. *wayzāṯā'*] (Est. 9:9); AV VAJEZATHA. One of Haman's ten sons slain in Susa by the Jews after Haman's attempt to kill all Jews in the Persian empire.

VAJEZATHA və-jez'ə-thə, vaj-ə-zā'thə (Est. 9:9, AV). *See* VAIZATHA.

VALE. *See* VALLEY.

VALIANT [Heb. *'îš-ḥayil*–'man of power' (1 S. 31:12; 2 S. 11:16; 24:9; 1 Ch. 10:12; plural, Neh. 11:6; Isa. 5:22), *ben-ḥayil*–'son of power' (1 S. 14:22; 18:17; 2 S. 2:7; 13:28; 17:10a; plural, 17:10b; 2 Ch. 5:18), *ben-'îš-ḥayil*–'son of a man of power' (2 S. 23:20 par. 2 Ch. 11:22), *beḥayil*–'with power' (2 Ch. 13:3), *'er'ellām* (Isa. 33:7)]; AV also (MEN) OF STRENGTH; NEB also BRAVE, RESOLUTE, FIGHTING, etc.; **VALIANTLY** [Heb. *ḥayil*–'power' (Nu. 24:18; 1 S. 14:48; Ps. 60:12 [MT 14]; 108:13 [MT 14]; 118:15f.)]; AV also "(gather) a host"; NEB also "(display) strength," "mighty deeds."

Most of the occurrences of "valiant" describe military forces in the early monarchy's army. The principal term is Heb. *ḥayil,* which basically means "strength, power," though it does not always refer to military might (see *TDOT,* IV, 349f.). The expression *ben-ḥayil* (lit. "son of power") means "possessor of power" (for *ben* in the sense of "member of a group, belonging to a category," see *CHAL,* p. 42). It sometimes parallels *gibbôr,* "strong (man)" (e.g., 1 S. 14:52; 2 S. 17:10b) or *ḥāzaq,* "strong" (e.g., 2 S. 2:7; 13:28). Similarly, *'îš-ḥayil* usually refers to a warrior or soldier (e.g., the Israelites who rescued Saul's body from the Philistines, 1 S. 31:12; Uriah was sent into the thickest part of battle, where the valiant men were, 2 S. 11:16; Joab counted the "valiant men who drew the sword," 2 S. 24:9; "valiant" parallels *gibbôr,* "hero," in Isa. 5:22). Neh. 11:6 may offer an example of the nonmilitary use of *'îš-ḥayil,* though most commentators take it as "men capable of military service" (see, e.g., D. Clines [*NCBC,* 1984], p. 214).

Two texts are problematic. In 2 S. 23:20 MT *ben-'îš-ḥay,* "son of a living man," is usually emended to *(ben-)'îš-ḥayil* on the basis of the parallel 1 Ch. 11:22 (most commentators follow LXX and omit *ben* from both texts as a variant; see *BHS*). The meaning of MT *'er'ellām* in Isa. 33:7 is uncertain. One common explanation derives it from *'ᵃrî,* "lion," plus *'ēl,* "God," i.e., one as fierce and brave as a divine lion, though such a meaning is not fully convincing in this context, and it does not fit the other contexts in which *'ᵃrî'ēl* occurs (see "Ariel," apparently another name for Jerusalem, Isa. 29:1f., 7; "altar hearth," Ezk. 43:15f.; Moabite Stone, line 12; see comms.).

The expression "do valiantly" (Heb. *'āśâ ḥayil*) always seems to have a military connotation. Sometimes it is used of Israel's conquest of another nation (Nu. 24:18; cf. 1 S. 14:48, where Saul conquered Israel's enemies). In Ps. 60:12 par. 108:13; 118:15f. the contexts are military (cf. 60:6-10 par. 108:7-11; 118:10-14); their use (or re-use) in Israel's liturgy emphasized God's promise of deliverance (cf. Mowinckel, I, 217f., who calls Ps. 60 a national psalm of lamentation, with v. 12 [MT 14] being the customary conclusion that expresses "confidence of being heard"). Ps. 108, a composite from Pss. 57 and 60, is an example of how "the same promise might reappear in different psalms, at different times" (Mowinckel, II, 59). Ps. 118:15f. is a brief song of victory in an individual psalm of praise (so C. Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* [Eng. tr., repr. 1981], pp. 105, 232; cf. Mowinckel, I, 5f., 180f.; II, 28, who categorizes this psalm as one of festal procession).

See also MIGHTY MEN.

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G. A. L.

VALLEY. A geographical designation of a place of low elevation, usually between hills or mountains. The valleys of Palestine vary greatly in shape, from deep gorges to broad plains. "Valley" is used by the RSV and other English versions to render a variety of biblical terms.

(1) Hebrew *biq'â* (Dt. 8:7; 11:11; 34:3; Ps. 104:8; Isa. 41:18; 63:14; etc.; NEB usually "gorge" or "ravine"). This word is used to refer to a river valley cut through the mountains. Among the specific valleys it denotes are the valley of Mizpeh (Josh. 11:8) and the valley of Lebanon (11:17; 12:7).

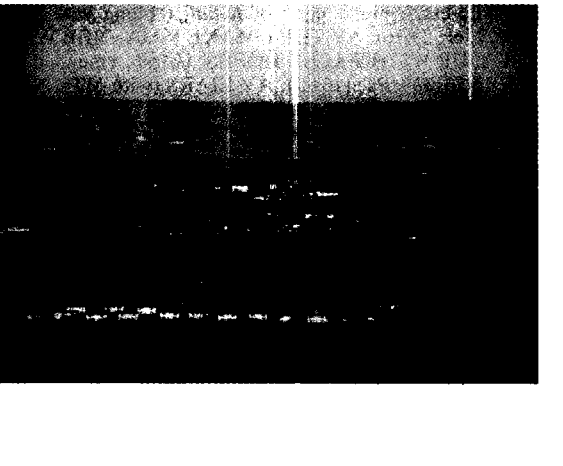
(2) Hebrew *gay'* (Nu. 21:20; Dt. 3:29; 4:46; 34:6; Josh. 15:8; 18:16; etc.). This term, rendered "valley" more than fifty times in the RSV, is used to refer to elongated, flat-bottomed depressions. It occurs in the well-known passage in Ps. 23:4, "though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death . . ." (*see* SHADE). This is the term used to describe the infamous valley to the southwest of Jerusalem where some of the people of Judah caused children to "pass through the fire" — the Valley of Hinnom (*gay'* Hinnom; see 2 K. 23:10; 2 Ch. 28:3; 33:6; Jer. 7:31; etc.). Because of the atrocities that had been performed there, the name of this valley developed into a synonym for hell (*see* GEHENNA).

(3) Hebrew *kikkār* (AV, NEB, "plain"). This word is translated "valley" in the RSV only in Gen. 13:10-12; 19:17-29, where it refers to the area in which Sodom and Gomorrah were located. It describes a broad, flat area (cf. AV, NEB) rather than a depression between mountains.

(4) Hebrew *naḥal* (Gen. 26:17, 19; Nu. 13:23f.; 21:12, 14f.; 24:6; 32:9; Dt. 1:24; 2:24, 36; etc.; AV also "river," "brook"; NEB "gorge," etc.). This is the most widely used Hebrew term for valley. It generally describes a valley with a dry river bed (wadi) that becomes a torrent in the rainy season. Among the place names with which it is used are the Arnon (e.g., Dt. 2:24, 36), Eshcol (e.g., Nu. 32:9), Gerar (Gen. 26:17), Shittim (Joel 3:18), Sorek (Jgs. 16:4), and Zered (Nu. 21:12).

(5) Hebrew *'ēmeq* (Gen. 14:3, 8, 10, 17; 37:14; Nu. 14:25; Josh. 7:24, 26; 8:13; 10:12; 13:19, 27; etc.). This term is used to identify low elevations between hills.

The east view of the Jordan Valley (with the south end of the Sea of Galilee at left) (W. S. LaSor)



While used primarily in combination with place names of specific valleys, it is also used to differentiate the Israelites who lived in the mountains from the Canaanites who lived in the valleys (Nu.14:25; cf. 1 K. 20:28). Some of the specific valleys referred to by this term are Siddim (e.g., Gen. 14:3), Achor (e.g., Josh. 7:24), Aijalon (Josh. 10:12), Jezreel (e.g., Jgs. 6:33), and Elah (e.g., 1 S. 17:2).

(6) Greek *pháranx* (NEB "ravine"). This term is used only once (Lk. 3:5) in a quotation from the LXX of Isa. 40:3-5 (the LXX is translating Heb. *gay'*).

(7) Greek *cheímarros* (NEB "ravine"; AV "brook"). This word is likewise used only once in the NT (Jn. 18:1). It refers to the valley of Kidron, just E of Jerusalem, separating the city from the Mt. of Olives and Gethsemane. The Greek word translates Heb. *naḥal*, which is used regularly in the OT to refer to Kidron.

J. H. WALTON

VALLEY GATE [Heb. *ša'ar haggay'*]; AV also GATE OF THE VALLEY. A gate in the wall of Jerusalem through which Nehemiah left and reentered on his examination of the city walls (Neh. 2:13, 15). Its towers had been built in the time of King Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:9). It was located about 460 m. (500 yds.) from the Dung gate (Neh. 3:13); thus it appears to have been in the south wall near the southwest corner, overlooking *haggay'*, i.e., the Valley of Hinnom. *See* JERUSALEM III.D.2.c, 5.k; III.F.2.a.

J. F. PREWITT

VALLEY, JORDAN. *See* JORDAN; PALESTINE IV.A.6.

VALLEY OF DECISION [Heb. *'ēmeq hehārûṣ*] (Joel 3:14 [MT 4:14]). *See* JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF.

VALLEY OF GIANTS (AV Josh. 15:8; 18:16). *See* REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.

VALLEY OF (THE SON OF) HINNOM. *See* HINNOM, VALLEY OF.

VALLEY OF KEZIZ kē'ziz (Josh. 18:21, AV). *See* EMEK-KEZIZ.

VALLEY OF REPHAIM. *See* REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.

VALLEY OF SLAUGHTER. *See* HINNOM, VALLEY OF; SLAUGHTER, VALLEY OF.

VALLEY OF VISION [Heb. *gê' ḥizzāyôn*] (Isa. 22:1, 5); NEB mg. VALLEY OF CALAMITY. An obscure expression used by Isaiah in his prophecy concerning Yahweh's judgment of Jerusalem. The reference may be to a valley used as an approach to the city of Jerusalem by the invading army (see R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* [*NCBC*, 1980], p. 185). On the other hand, the description is similar to that of the "valley of decision" in Joel 3:14 (MT 4:14; called the "valley of Jehoshaphat" in 3:2, 12 [MT 4:2, 12]), although in Isaiah it is Israel — rather than the other nations — that is being judged (*see* JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF).

VALOR, MAN OF [Heb. *ḥayil* (1 S. 10:26), *gibbôr(ha)ḥayil* (Josh. 1:14; 6:2; 8:3; 10:7; Jgs. 6:12; 20:44, 46; 1 S. 16:18; etc.), *ben-ḥayil* (Dt. 3:18; 2 Ch. 28:6), *'îš ḥayil* (2 K. 24:16)]; AV also VALIANT MAN, MAN OF MIGHT, etc.; NEB also FIGHTING MAN, WARRIOR, BRAVE MAN, MAN OF SUBSTANCE (2 K. 24:16), etc. The noun *ḥayil* basically means "power" or "strength." Most often it refers specifically to military might (*see* ARMY), but it can also be used to describe people who are "able" in other respects; thus a wealthy landowner like Boaz can also be described as an *'îš gibbôr ḥayil* (RSV "man of wealth," Ruth 2:1; cf. 1 S. 9:1). The NEB interprets *'îš ḥayil* in the latter sense in 2 K. 24:16.

See MIGHTY MEN; SOLDIER.

N. J. O.

VALUATION; VALUE [(nouns and adjectives) Heb. *'ēreḵ*–'estimated value' (Lev. 5:15, 18; 27:2-8, 13, 15-19, 23, 25, 27; etc.), *mᵉḥîr*–'price, hire' (1 K. 21:2); Gk. *timḗ*–'honor, value' (Acts 19:19; Col. 2:23), *ōphéleia*–'use, gain, advantage' (Rom. 3:1), *polýtimos*–'very valuable' ("of great value," Mt. 13:46), *ōphélimos*–'useful, beneficial' ("of value," 1 Tim. 4:8)]; AV ESTIMATION, WORTH, PRICE, HONOUR, PROFIT; NEB also "be valued at," "value to be determined"; [(verbs) Heb. hiphil of *'ārak*–'value, tax' (Lev. 27:8, 12, 14), pual of *sālâ*–'be weighed' (Job 28:16, 19); Gk. *diaphérō*–'be worth more than, be superior' (Mt. 6:26; 10:31; 12:12; Lk. 12:7, 24), *ōpheléō*–'help, aid, benefit' ("be of value," Rom. 2:25)]; AV also ESTIMATE, BETTER, PROFITETH; NEB also "make the valuation," "set in the scales," etc. The RSV use of "value(d)" in Lev. 22:14 and Acts 20:24 are contextual and idiomatic readings.

In the OT the RSV terms "valuation" and "value" most often translate Heb. *'ēreḵ*, a term related to a verb that means "set things in order" or "arrange" something relative to other things. Lev. 27 (where "valuation" and "value" occur often) discusses the making of vows. This passage makes it clear that rather than sacrifice a human being who has been vowed to the Lord, an appropriate sum should be paid to the sanctuary. Most of the chapter is devoted to listing the "valuations" of various types of individuals. In order to understand the issue, it is important to realize that relative value is what is being discussed. This ought to be differentiated from human worth. A head of household had more economic value than a slave. Levels of personal worth or dignity are not being set.

The issue of valuation is only pertinent when the thing vowed cannot legitimately be sacrificed. The money value is a substitute. Houses and land may also be redeemed. It is of interest to note that if the vow is more costly than the individual can afford, a modified valuation can be determined by the priest (Lev. 27:8).

Jesus speaks of value on several occasions in the NT. God cares for the birds of the sky, and people are of even greater value (Gk. *diaphérō* in Mt. 6:26; 10:31; etc.).

Paul also spoke of value on various occasions. He counted his life of little value compared to his high calling (Acts 20:24). He did count exercise, godliness (1 Tim. 4:8), and circumcision of value (Rom. 2:25; 3:1), with godliness being of greater value. Finally, he saw regulations as being of no value in "checking the indulgence of the flesh" (Col. 2:23).

J. H. WALTON

VANIAH və-nī ə [Heb. *wanyâ*; LXX B *Ouiechōa*, Gk. Apoc. *Anōs*, Vulg. *Vania*] (Ezr. 10:36; 1 Esd. 9:34); AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., ANOS. One of Bani's sons who had married a foreign wife during the Exile.

VANITY [Heb. *heḇel*] (Eccl. 1:2, 14; etc.); NEB EMPTINESS, NO PURPOSE (Isa. 49:4); [*šāw'*–'worthless'] (Ps. 89:47 [MT 48]; 119:37); AV IN VAIN; NEB IN VAIN, VILE; [*ṣāw*] (Hos.5:11); AV COMMANDMENT; NEB WORTHLESS. *See also* VAIN.

With the exceptions noted above, the RSV uses "vani-

ty" only to translate *hebel,* which is the central keyword in Ecclesiastes (occurring thirty-seven or thirty-eight times). The book begins (1:2) and ends (12:8; excluding the epilogue) with the thematic declaration, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." Within these thematic boundaries (formally an *inclusio*), Ecclesiastes judges a variety of human activities and experiences, some in spite of their seeming goodness, to be "vanity."

The consistent RSV translation of *hebel* in Ecclesiastes as "vanity" goes back to the AV's equivalent of Lat. *vanitas* (cf. LXX *mataiótēs*), a word that connoted emptiness (cf. NEB) and futility. Unfortunately, no one English term quite captures the metaphorical sense of *hebel* in Ecclesiastes (though "vanity" comes close), and scholars dispute its meaning in the original. The non-metaphorical sense of *hebel* is "breath" or "vapor" (*see* VAPOR), as in Isa. 57:13. The path leading to Ecclesiastes's metaphorical use of *hebel* appears in Ps. 144:4: "Man is like a breath, his days are like a passing shadow" (cf. Job 7:7, 16).

M. V. Fox has argued that "vapor" or "breeze" does not usually provide a meaningful metaphor in Ecclesiastes (e.g., in 2:23; 8:14; 12:8). Fox rightly insisted (1) that the meaning of *hebel* must be understood contextually, but (2) that attempts to render the word in Ecclesiastes with a variety of English terms (so New Jewish Version) fail to do justice to the unified perspective of the book, which labels everything human with the metaphor *hebel.* Thus our understanding of and translation of *hebel* ultimately depends on our understanding of the meaning of Ecclesiastes as a whole.

The AV, RSV, JB, and NAB (all "vanity") seem to take the best course by choosing one English metaphor to render the Hebrew metaphor (NEB "emptiness" seems too rigid a metaphor). This option allows the reader to form his or her own judgment of the meaning of the term in the whole book. But other translations that seek to render *hebel* by a modern abstract term run the serious danger of prejudicing the interpretation of the metaphor and imposing modern views on the book as a whole. Thus both Fox's translation "absurd" (i.e., God and the world defy the act-consequence expectations of human reason and activity) and the NIV translation "meaningless" lead the reader to view the book's message as essentially negative.

Some scholars (Gordis, Johnston, Klopfenstein, Whybray), however, have begun to take seriously the positive utterances in Ecclesiastes (2:24-26; 3:12f.; 5:18-20; 8:15; 9:7-10). In this more complex reading of the book, *hebel* expresses the radical limits and woes that qualify even the grandest human existence. Human beings, with such a fragile and impotent life, can only fear (8:12f.) and obey God (12:13f.), and enjoy the good that He gives whether it be work or play.

See also ECCLESIASTES.

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VAPOR [Heb. *hebel*] (Prov. 21:6); AV VANITY; NEB NEEDLESSLY; [Gk. *atmís*] (Acts 2:19); NEB DRIFTING. The RSV OT uses "vapor" only once to render *hebel,* a word that elsewhere is translated as "breath," "vain," or "vanity" (*see* VAIN; VANITY). Though the text of Prov. 21:6 offers difficulties, the meaning is clear: wealth gained by deceit is as solid as smoke and drifts towards death.

The sole NT occurrence of "vapor" is a quotation of the LXX of Joel 2:30 (MT 3:3) in Peter's Pentecost sermon. "Vapor of smoke" (Heb. "columns of smoke") is one of several apocalyptic signs that presage the Day of the Lord. In Jas. 4:14 "mist" also translates Gk. *atmís,* but in a figurative usage comparable to OT *hebel* ("vanity") in Ecclesiastes (*see* MIST). R. C. VAN LEEUWEN

VASHNI vash'nī (1 Ch. 6:28 [MT 13], AV). *See* JOEL 2.

VASHTI vash'tī [Heb. *vaštî* < Persian, either Avestan *vahišta*–'the best' or perhaps a fem. pass. part. of *uas*–'the beloved/desired one']. The queen of King Ahasuerus (Xerxes I, 486-465 B.C.) whose refusal to appear at the king's command (Est. 1:10-12) led to her removal and replacement by Esther the Jew. Whether her removal constituted a "divorce," a demotion to the status of concubine (Heb. *pilegeš*), or an execution is not clear from the text, but Vashti does not reappear in the narrative of Esther. According to Herodotus (vii.61) Xerxes's queen was not Vashti but the Persian Amestris; this discrepancy (as well as others) has led some scholars to question the complete historicity of the book of Esther (*see* ESTHER, BOOK OF VIII). In Esther, Vashti is first seen as hostess of the women's banquet in the house of the king, which coincides with the king's own feast (1:9). During the banquet Ahasuerus, under the influence of wine, commands Vashti to appear before his guests in "a royal crown" in order to display her beauty (vv. 10f.). The reason for the queen's refusal is not indicated in the text and has been much interpreted and psychologized. The king's counselors view her refusal as a threat to the stability and order of the empire (v. 16), since the women of the kingdom, upon hearing of Vashti's action, will be influenced to "look with contempt on their husbands" (vv. 17f.). The queen's removal precipitated a search for a replacement, in which Esther (the Jewish maid Hadassah) was brought with select "beautiful maidens" to the Persian capital. Esther was able so to please the king that she won his heart and became "queen instead of Vashti" (2:17).

G. H. WILSON

VASSAL [Heb. *ʿebed*–'servant,' 'subject'] (2 K. 17:3); AV SERVANT; NEB TRIBUTARY; [*mas*–'forced labor'] (Lam. 1:1); AV TRIBUTARY; NEB FORCED LABOR. A subordinate ruler who must pay homage to another ruler. Often a conquering ruler made a TREATY with the defeated king, allowing him to rule in a subservient position over his own people in exchange for a pledge of fealty and the payment of tribute (*see* TAX).

See also COVENANT (OT) II.

VAT [Heb. *yeqeb*–'wine vat'] (Prov. 3:10; Isa. 5:2; Joel 2:24; 3:13 [MT 4:13]); AV also PRESS, WINEPRESS; NEB also WINEPRESS. Hebrew *yeqeb* often refers to a shallow cavity or sink, either hewn out of rock or lined with rock, that receives the juice of pressed grapes as the juice flows down from the winepress. In several instances this term refers to the actual WINE PRESS itself (e.g., Job 24:11; Isa. 16:10).

VATICANUS vat-ə-kā'nəs, vat-ə-kan'əs. *See* TEXT AND MSS OF THE NT I.A.2.

VAU vou. *See* WAW.

VAULT [Heb. *ḥûg*–'circle' (Job 22:14), *ʿaguddâ* (Am. 9:6)]; AV CIRCUIT (Job 22:14), TROOP; NEB also CEILING (Am. 9:6); **VAULTED** [Heb. *gaḇ* ("vaulted chamber," Ezk. 16:24, 31, 39)]; AV EMINENT PLACE;

NEB COUCH. The term "vault" in architecture describes an arched roof or ceiling of wood or masonry, or a similar dome-like covering of a building. Metaphorically the word was used of the heavens or the sky as the ceiling of the earth. Any vaulted building was characterized by a surmounting structure composed of arches. The "vaulted chamber" in Ezk. 16:24, 31, 39 may refer to some structure, perhaps a shrine or an altar, used in fertility rites and ritual prostitution (see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I* [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979], pp. 327 n. 24, 342). R. K. H.

VAULT OF THE EARTH. *See* EARTH, VAULT OF THE.

VAV väv. *See* WAW.

VEDAN vē'dan (Ezk. 27:19, RSV mg.). *See* DAN AND JAVAN; JAVAN.

VEGETABLE [Heb. *zērō'îm* (Dnl. 1:12), *zēr'ōnîm* (1:16)]; AV PULSE; [*yārāq*] (Dt. 11:10; 1 K. 21:2); AV HERB; NEB omits; [Gk. *láchana*] (Rom. 14:2); AV HERB. Foods produced from the stems, leaves, roots, seeds, or fruits of plants.

The basic meaning of the terms in Daniel is "seeds"; the terms are rendered "vegetables" by metonymy, which the sense obviously requires. What Daniel and his companions were requesting was the plain vegetable fare of the general populace rather than the richer, meaty diet of the royal table. In Dt. 11:10 and 1 K. 21:2 Heb. *yārāq* is a collective noun referring to vegetables, herbs, and green plants growing together in a garden. Gk. *láchana* in Rom. 14:2 is a general term for vegetables as opposed to meat protein.

The principal vegetables with which the Hebrews were familiar are as follows: BEANS (Heb. *pôl*, 2 S. 17:28), probably the popular broad bean *Faba vulgaris* Moench, used widely in the Near East and of great value as a substitute for grain during famines (Ezk. 4:9); chick-peas (*Cicer arietinum*); the CUCUMBER (Heb. *qiššu'â*, Nu. 11:5), of which there were two main varieties, *Cucumis chate* L., and *C. sativus* L. (Nu. 11:5 may refer, however, to the *C. melo*, which was popular in Egypt from an early period); GARLIC (Heb. *šûm*, Nu. 11:5), *Allium sativum* L., which was cultivated in the Near East from an early period; the LEEKS (Heb. *ḥāṣîr*, Nu. 11:5; elsewhere "grass"), both the common leek (*Allium porrum*) that grew widely in Egypt and the more delicately flavored *A. kurrat*, which were remembered with longing by the Israelites in the wilderness; LENTILS (Heb. *'ᵃḏāšîm*, Gen. 25:29-34; 2 S. 23:11f.; etc.), a member of the pea family, the most common variety being the *Lens culinaris* (formerly known as *L. esculenta* Moench); MELONS (Heb. *'ᵃḇaṭṭî[a]ḥ*, Nu. 11:5), the common Egyptian *Citrullus vulgaris* being a popular and inexpensive vegetable, seeds from which have been recovered from Egyptian tombs; ONIONS (Heb. *bᵉṣālîm*, Nu. 11:5), the common *Allium cepa* L., cultivated from the most ancient times in Egypt as a popular dietary item.

See also FOOD II. R. K. H.

VEGETATION. A term used collectively to describe plants and vegetables that grow in a given locality. In Gen. 1:11f. it is a translation of Heb. *deše'* (AV "grass"; NEB "fresh growth"). In Ps. 105:35 *'ēśeḇ* (AV "herbs"; NEB "green thing") describes the growing things attacked by locusts; in Zec. 10:1 the same term (AV, NEB, "grass") is used of crops and other plants that are watered by God's beneficent spring rains. A similar thought is conveyed in He. 6:7 by Gk. *botánē* ("grass, fodder, field plants"; cf. AV "herbs"; NEB "crop"). R. K. H.

VEHEMENT; VEHEMENTLY. "Vehement" (< Lat. *vehere*, "carry," or *ve*, "out of" + *mens*, "mind"), meaning "carried away by the mind or force of passion," occurs in the RSV OT only at Cant. 8:6, "a most vehement flame" (jealousy), as a translation of Heb. *šalheḇeṯ-yāh* (lit. "flame of Yahweh"), which perhaps means lightning. "Vehemently" translates Gk. *ekperissós*, "excessively," in Mk. 14:31 and *eutónōs*, "powerfully, vigorously," in Lk. 23:10.

VEIL [Heb. *ṣā'îp*] (Gen. 24:65; 38:14, 19); [*masweh*] (Ex. 34:33-35); [*massēḵâ*] (Isa. 25:7); NEB PALL; [*ṣammâ*] (Cant. 4:1, 3; 6:7; Isa. 47:2); AV LOCKS; NEB also TRESSES; [*rᵉḏîḏ*] (Isa. 3:23); NEB FLOWING VEIL; [*mispāḥâ*] (Ezk. 13:18, 21); AV KERCHIEF; NEB also LONG VEIL; [Gk. *kálymma*] (2 Cor. 3:13-16). The verb "veil" is used by the RSV to paraphrase Heb. *ḥeḇyôn* (Hab. 3:4; AV "hiding"; NEB "hiding-place"). For Gk. *exousía* in 1 Cor. 11:10 (AV "power"; NEB "sign of authority") the RSV reads "veil," with the explanatory footnote that the Greek means "*authority* (the veil being a symbol of this)." The vb. *katakalýptō* (mid. *katakalýptomai*), occurring twice in 1 Cor. 11:6, is rendered by the RSV "veil (oneself)" and "wear a veil" (AV "be covered"; NEB "wear a veil"). The part. of *kalýptō*, occurring twice in 2 Cor. 4:3, is rendered by the RSV "be veiled" (AV "be hid"; NEB "be found veiled").

Nouns rendered "veil" refer to various types of garments worn as coverings, but their exact nature is often unclear. Heb. *ṣā'îp* is generally taken to denote a large wrapper or shawl that could be drawn up to cover the face. That Rebekah so used it (Gen. 24:65) reflects the custom of covering a bride's face from her groom until they entered the bridal chamber. The *ṣammâ* of Cant. 4:1, 3; 6:7 served the same purpose. The *massēḵâ* of Isa. 25:7 denotes some kind of covering worn while mourning, but it cannot be more closely defined. The *rᵉḏîḏ* of Isa. 3:23 appears to have been a covering outer garment, while the *mispāḥâ* (Ezk. 13:18, 21) was obviously a veil for the head, but apparently one that hung over the body as well. The *masweh* worn by Moses (cf. Gk. *kálymma*, 2 Cor. 3:13-16) concealed the radiance of his face.

See also GARMENTS IV, VI.

Bibliography.—L. M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* (1948), pp. 36-52; M. D. Hooker, *NTS*, 10 (1963/64), 410-416; J. B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (1981), pp. 254-271; R. de Vaux, *Bible et Orient* (1967), pp. 407-423.

S. WESTERHOLM

VEIL (OF THE TABERNACLE) [Heb. *pārōḵeṯ*]. A curtain separating the two compartments (the "holy place" and the "most holy place") of the wilderness tabernacle (Ex. 26:31-35; 27:21; 30:6; 35:12; 36:35; etc.). Made from wool dyed "blue and purple and scarlet" (26:31), the veil was embroidered with cherubim. When the tabernacle and its equipment were moved, the veil was used to cover the ark (Nu. 4:5). According to Lev. 16 (cf. He. 9:7) only Aaron (i.e., the high priest) was to go beyond the veil into the most sacred part of the sanctuary, and he did so only on the Day of Atonement. *See also* TABERNACLE II.C.6.

According to 2 Ch. 3:14 a similar curtain divided the nave from the inner sanctuary of Solomon's temple (cf., however, 1 K. 6:31f.; *see* TEMPLE I.D.1, F.2). For the curtains in Herod's temple, *see* CURTAIN.

S. WESTERHOLM

VEIN (Job 28:1, AV). *See* MINE.

VENGEANCE [Heb. *nāqam*]; AV also AVENGE (Lev. 19:18; Josh. 10:13), REVENGE (Jer. 15:15; Ezk. 25:12); NEB also AVENGE (Gen. 4:15; Jer. 51:36; Ezk. 25:15), SEEK REVENGE (Lev. 19:18); [piel of *bāqaš*] (Josh. 22:23; 1 S. 20:16); AV REQUITE, REQUIRE; NEB EXACT PUNISHMENT, CALL TO ACCOUNT; [hiphil of *yāša'*] (1 S. 25:26, 31); AV AVENGE; NEB GIVING VENT/WAY TO ANGER; [*nāqām*]; NEB also DAY OF PUNISHMENT (Dt. 32:35); [*n*^{e}*qamâ*]; AV also AVENGE (Nu. 31:3; 2 S. 22:48 par. Ps.18:47 [MT 48]); NEB also AVENGING (Jer. 51:11); [Gk. *ekdíkēsis*] (Lk. 21:22; Rom. 12:19; 2 Thess. 1:8; He. 10:30); NEB RETRIBUTION, JUSTICE; **REVENGE** [Heb. *nāqām*] (Prov. 6:34); AV, NEB, VENGEANCE; [*n*^{e}*qāmâ*] (Jer. 20:10); **REVENGEFULLY** [Heb. *binqōm nāqām* (Ezk. 25:12), *binqāmâ* (v. 15)]; AV TAKING VENGEANCE BY REVENGE; NEB TAKE DELIBERATE REVENGE. "Vengeance" means to return an injury for an injury, in punishment or retribution. "Revenge" implies retaliation for an injury against oneself and connotes personal malice and bitter resentment as the moving force.

The word "vengeance" most often translates various forms of the Hebrew root *nqm*. There has been significant debate about the accuracy of such a translation. It has been suggested that *nqm* fundamentally denotes the idea of "(exercising) sovereignty" — i.e., of legitimate authority intervening in a dispute and imposing its will on the disputants. Thus, Dt. 32:35 perhaps ought to be rendered "Sovereignty [*nāqām*] belongs to me," since the context is not narrowly one of retaliation but more broadly one of who has the right to impose life-and-death sentences (cf. v. 39). It is significant that the LXX and NT use Gk. *ekdíkēsis*, from the verb *ekdikéō*, which generally means "put an end to controversy" or "settle a dispute in an authoritative and legitimate manner." G. Mendenhall (p. 76 n. 23) noted that in Roman times *ékdikēs* was the title of a Syrian official who served to mediate relations between the local community and the central government.

In fact, *nqm* has been translated "vengeance" in several passages where returning injury for injury is clearly not an issue. For example, the crime of the Edomites and Philistines in Ezk. 25 cannot be that they "acted revengefully" by "taking vengeance" against Judah (vv.12, 15); since Judah initially had done no injury to either, there was no motive for revenge. Instead, it is said that Edom has "grievously offended" (*'āšam* with infinitive) — a phrase denoting crimes *against God*. In this vein, it could be that Edom and the Philistines "acted with imperiousness" (*'āśâ binqōm nāqām/binqāmâ*) and "presumed themselves to be sovereign" (niphal of *nāqam*) over Judah (although the niphal here is problematic). Their sin was sacrilege: assuming for themselves a sovereignty that rightfully belonged to God. As a consequence God said, "I will establish my sovereignty [*n*^{e}*qāmâ*] over them" (v. 14); in the case of the Philistines it is specifically a "superior sovereignty" (*n*^{e}*qāmôṯ g*^{e}*ḏōlôṯ*; v. 17). The issue is thus not God taking vengeance against them, but rather of their acknowledging (*yāḏa'*, in the legal sense of "submitting to") God's sovereign power (*n*^{e}*qāmâ*, vv. 14, 17).

In its nominal forms, *nqm* appears in parallelism with the piel of *šālam*, "rectify, or set things aright" (Dt. 32:35); *g*^{e}*mûl*, "dispensing fully, or disposal of a matter in a just and permanent way" (Isa. 35:4; Jer. 51:6); *tôḵaḥaṯ*, "a correct and fair (legal) decision" (Ps. 149:7); and *maḥ*^{a}*šāḇâ*, "a strategy or solution to a problem" (Lam. 3:60). All these synonyms of *nqm* point not narrowly to "vengeance" but in a more general way to "sovereignty" — to the authoritative right to intervene in a conflict and to impose one's will upon a situation.

In some contexts, however, much more is involved than the notion of sovereignty in the abstract. In some passages *nqm* more specifically points to how this sovereign intervention is concretely experienced by the disputants themselves. Ideally, such intervention leads to the vindication of the innocent victim and to the punishment of the guilty perpetrator (*see* VINDICATE; RETRIBUTION). This twofold consequence of sovereign intervention means that *nqm* has a double-edged meaning. This is evident in Ex. 21:20f., a law dealing with how the authorities are to intervene when a slave is beaten to death by his master. The subject of the verb *nqm* in both verses is not stated: if it is "the master," then *nqm* clearly means "be punished" (so RSV); if it is "the slave," then *nqm* means "be exonerated" — i.e., (posthumously) to be declared an innocent victim. The two meanings are reciprocals of one another.

Thus, e.g., the final intervention by God on the much-anticipated "day of vengeance" (Isa. 34:8; Jer. 46:10) is synonymous with the anticipated "Day of the Lord." On the one hand, it is visualized as gruesome punishment for the wicked (Isa. 63:4; Lk. 21:20-24); on the other hand, it is celebrated as a time when God's sovereign will (*rāṣôn*) triumphs (Isa. 61:2) and the righteous are vindicated (Jer. 51:6-10). Thus the psalmist noted that "the righteous will rejoice when he sees [God's] *nāqām*," since it heralds destruction for the wicked and reward for the righteous (Ps. 58:10f. [MT 11f.]). Where sovereign intervention frees the innocent from the clutches of their oppressors, *nqm* can be translated "vindicate," "deliver," or "rescue" (cf. Jer. 15:15-21; 1 S. 24:12 [MT 11]; 2 S. 22:48 par. Ps. 18:47 [MT 48]; Isa. 35:4). It has even been suggested that *nqm* appears with this meaning in the Amarna Tablets, where Canaanite princes appeal to Pharaoh to intervene on their behalf against the hostile forces that threaten them (but cf. Pitard). But where sovereign intervention counteracts and restrains the aggressor, *nqm* can be translated "defeat" or "punish" (Josh. 10:13; Mic. 5:15 [MT 14]; Nah. 1:2).

It is only in this latter sense of "punishment" that *nqm* sometimes suggests retaliation (Isa. 47:3; Ps. 94:1) and ought therefore to be translated "vengeance," "avenge," or "revenge"; Lamech (Gen. 4:23f., the Israelites (Nu. 31:3), Samson (Jgs.16:28), Joab (1 K. 2:5), and the cuckold (Prov. 6:34) all sought to punish those who had previously injured them in some manner.

The other biblical terms translated "vengeance" also support a broader view of the issue as involving conflict resolution and authoritative intervention that has both punitive and defensive aspects. In Josh. 22:23 the issue is how God will react to a possibly sinful deed; in 1 S. 20:16 it concerns the fate in store for David's enemies. Both passages use the piel of *bāqaš*, meaning "exact a penalty or punishment." Here the punitive aspect is underscored (cf. also 2 Thess. 1:5-10). But in 1 S. 25, where the issue clearly is David's desire to retaliate against Nabal (cf. vv. 21f., 39), the idea of revenge is expressed not by *nqm* but by the hiphil of *yāša'*, meaning "save" or "deliver." Here the defensive aspect is underscored, even if it appears in the narrower context of self-defense (and self-intervention).

One therefore cannot speak of a biblical concept of "vengeance" without viewing it in terms of the more basic issue of sovereignty. In this regard the NT Church echoed the law of Moses: sovereignty belongs to God (Dt. 32:35; Rom. 12:19; He. 10:30). God may delegate this sov-

ereignty to other agents (Jer. 50:15 and 51:11, "kings of the Medes"; Rom. 13:1-4, "governing authorities"), who are usually ignorant of God's transcending purposes (Isa. 10:5-15) and who always exercise this sovereignty imperfectly for their own limited and selfish ends. It is thus appropriate that the world's first murderer is "conceded" the right to fend for himself (Gen. 4:15); it is the nature of fallen humanity to view oneself as the sole and ultimate arbiter of all one's affairs, and to defend oneself with force against all threats, real or imagined. But this shall not characterize God's people, who are instead to love their neighbors (Lev. 19:18). The fallen desire for *self*-vindication is cancelled by the faith that *God* will vindicate His people (cf. Mt. 5:33-48).

It is certainly ironic (and perhaps intentional) that Christ commands His disciples to practice "forgiveness" (Mt. 18:22) to the same degree that Cain's descendants practice "vengeance" (Gen. 4:24), i.e., "seventy-seven times." For the Christian, therefore, vengeance is not so much repudiated as it is radically redefined in terms of the example set by Christ: "if your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him drink; for by so doing you will heap burning coals upon his head" (Rom. 12:20).

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "biqqēsh" (S. Wagner); VI, *s.v.* "yš'" (H.-J. Fabry, J. F. Sawyer); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* ἐκδικέω (G. Schrenk); N. Füglister, "Gott der Rache?", in T. Sartory, ed., *Entdenkungen im AT* (1970), pp. 117-133; G. Mendenhall, *Tenth Generation* (1973), pp. 69-104; W. Dietrich, *EvTh*, 36 (1976), 450-472; W. Pitard, *Maarav*, 3/1 (1982), 5-25. G. A. HERION

VENISON. The AV, NEB rendering of Heb. *ṣayiḏ* ("game" < *swd*, "hunt") in Gen. 25:28; 27:3, 5, 7, 19, 25, 31, 33 (*Q ṣāyiḏ*, *K ṣêḏâ* in 27:3), which refers to game of various kinds rather than exclusively to deer flesh (cf. LXX *théra*, "wild beasts of the chase, prey, game"). *See* GAME.

VERILY. *See* TRULY.

VERMILION vûr-mil'yən. *See* COLOR III.D; V.J.

VERMIN [Heb. *'āṭâ*–'grasp'] ("clean . . . of vermin," Jer. 43:12); AV "put on"; NEB "scours . . . to rid . . . of lice." The RSV and NEB follow the LXX rendering (Gk. *phtheirízō*, "pick off lice"), while the AV gives the more common meaning of *'āṭâ*. Existing exclusively by sucking the blood of man or cattle, lice thrive in dirt and overcrowded conditions. They are not only a nuisance to their host but also carriers of diseases such as typhus fever.

VERSIONS. The following ancient and medieval translations of Scripture are treated in this article (*see also* SEPTUAGINT; TARGUM).

I. Latin
  A. Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*)
  B. Vulgate
II. Syriac
  A. Old Syriac
  B. Peshitta
  C. Philoxenian Version
  D. Harclean Version
  E. Syrohexapla
  F. Jacob's Version
  G. Palestinian Syriac
III. Coptic
  A. Sahidic
  B. Bohairic
  C. Akhmimic, Fayyumic
IV. Armenian
V. Georgian
VI. Ethiopic
VII. Arabic
VIII. Gothic
IX. Slavonic

I. Latin.–*A. Old Latin* (Vetus Latina). The term Old Latin denotes the Latin versions of the Bible predating the revisions and new translations by Jerome and others. Not only is there no complete OT text of the Old Latin versions, but its very transmission is spotty and fragmentary. The oldest remnants are: a parchment MS, formerly in Constance, Germany, containing a number of fragments (Prophets) probably written in the 5th cent. (A. Dold, ed., *Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten- und Evangelienbruchstücke mit Glossen* [1923]); the Würzburg codex (Pentateuch, Prophets), a palimpsest, written in the 5th cent. (E. Ranke, ed., *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium* [1871]); a palimpsest (parts of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus) written in the 5th cent. (J. Belsheim, ed., *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* [1885]).

This residuum furnishes the complete text only for single books. Prime evidence is that for the Psalter and Canticles. Generally the textual material offers little more than bits and pieces but may be supplemented by sections found in the lectionaries. A complete list of MSS has been prepared by B. Fischer in the Beuron *Vetus Latina* project (*Verzeichnis der Sigel* [1949, 1963]). About the only additional source is the material hidden in the patristic works, which was collected by P. Sabatier (*Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* [3 vols., Rheims, 1743; repr. 1976]) and continued by J. Denk. Upon Denk's death in 1927 the Abbey of Beuron undertook the editing of all the material and has completed Genesis in 1951-1954. The Old Latin Psalter is available in T. Ayuso Marazuela, ed., *Vetus Latina Hispana*, V (1962).

The origin of the Old Latin version is unpreserved in tradition. One must surmise that as the gospel spread among the people who could not understand the Greek idiom it had to find voice in the language of the people, and this prompted the translation of other biblical books.

The oldest evidence for the existence of the Old Latin Bible is in the authors from North Africa. The testimony in the acts of the martyrs of Scillium (in proconsular Numidia) establishes the existence of the Old Latin version before A.D. 180. One of the Christians under questioning reportedly mentioned a chest of "books and Epistles of Paul, a just man." This answer, taking into account the provincial character of the area from which these Christians came, must mean that the Latin translation of the letters of Paul was available to them at that time. Furthermore, if the *Corpus Paulinum* was at hand in Latin, then the Gospels would have been, too. Tertullian obviously knew a Latin translation of at least several OT books. The most important early witness to the Old Latin Bible is Cyprian.

Nonetheless, just how far the origin of the translation can be traced back in time is still unresolved. The suggestion that the first quarter of the 2nd cent. is the most probable period is no more than a postulation. Moreover, the African origin of the earliest evidence does not necessarily mean that North Africa was the first place where the Bible was translated. It just happens that the oldest Christian literature comes from this area, and that thus more light is thrown on this sector of Latin-speaking Christianity.

The problem is this: did the Old Latin version arise as a single original translation or as several? Many reasons

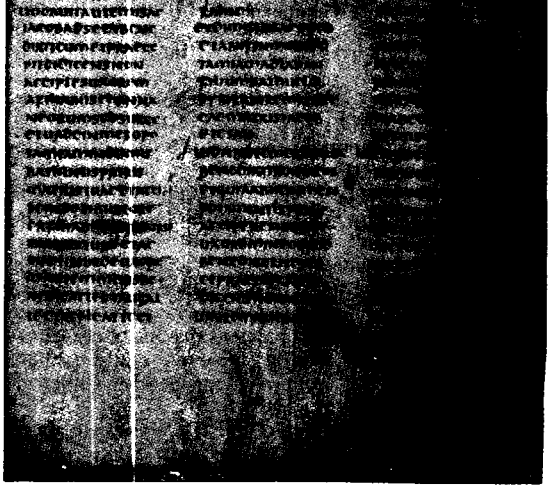
favor a plurality of translations. If the idea of a single translator is shunted aside, it is then natural to postulate that the version originated independently in different places and that its growth was gradual. But a more specific conclusion can be reached only by analysis of the evidence for the origin of each book in the version.

For the Heptateuch, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and Wisdom, all the extant forms of the text go back to one fundamental translation (see A. V. Billen), but for Chronicles there are possibly two or even more (see R. Weber, *Les anciennes versions latines du deuxième livre des Paralipomènes* [1945]). In Sirach three translators have been detected: an African translator in chs. 1–43, 51; a European in 44–50; and a third translator in the preface (see D. de Bruyne, *ZAW*, 47 [1929], 257-263). Some have found in the Psalms evidence of more than one Old Latin form of the Psalter in Africa at an early period.

Available evidence suggests that at about the time of the first translation in North Africa, translation was beginning independently at several other places. In Rome, Greek rather than Latin was used, and the need for a vernacular Latin Bible was not so immediately imperative. Bishop Cornelius wrote to the churches in Greek as late as A.D. 250 — although the movement in the reverse direction began about the same time, as shown by Novatian, who in *De trinitate* quoted a Latin version of the Bible. But the need of Latin for worship and for private use was quite different in other parts of Italy and in south Gaul.

Such a portrait of beginnings is reflected also in the material. We have evidence that in the 3rd cent. several Old Latin versions circulated in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain. These text forms were developed across a broad

Codex Lugdunensis, an Old Latin uncial, showing Gen. 27:46–28:11 (7th cent. A.D., probably written in Lyons). Now mutilated, this codex contains parts of Gen. 16:9–Jgs. 20:31 (Municipal Library, Lyons, Ms. 403, f5r°)



spectrum and the wealth of the tradition was deeply amplified. The text was not yet regarded as official and unalterable, and countless hands were at work on the MSS, whether improving the popular Latin or bringing the texts closer to other forms, thus creating hybrid types and contributing to even wider diversification. Augustine (5th cent.) complained about the "infinite variety" of the Latin translations: "In the early days of the faith, every man who happened to gain possession of a Greek manuscript and who imagined that he had any faculty in both languages — however slight that may be — dared to make a translation" (*De doctrina christiana* ii.11). By "translation" he meant revisions and modifications in the text. Augustine used the term *Itala* (ii.15) to designate a form of text among many in circulation at that time in at least a part of Italy. The term has sometimes been used inappropriately to refer to Vetus Latina (the Old Latin version) in all its ramifications, inclusive of subdivisions such as an African type and a European type.

Indeed, there are differences within the ramifications themselves. For example, the Latin version quoted by Cyprian and that used by Tertullian show numerous divergences. Not only do these modifications display an abundance of forms and much literary freedom, but the character of the version itself has distinctive linguistic features. The Old Latin version is not written in the polished literary language of that time but in the didactic, vernacular idiom of the cult, often reflecting the dialect of the common people. This colloquial flavor is colored also by the Greek idiom, seen in its transliteration of Greek terms and occasionally even in syntax. This Greek influence indicates that the translation was based not on the Hebrew original but on the LXX, prevalent in Christian communities where the Greek idiom had first been used in the cult and where the LXX text was orally translated into Latin for those who could not understand Greek.

The textual picture is equally colorful. The evidence in the historical and prophetic books manifests the Lucianic recension of the LXX. Thus some have even concluded that the version originated in Syria. Since Lucian's text is later than the Old Latin version, the inference is that both have preserved pre-Origenic renderings of the LXX. But one cannot ignore the affinities of the Lucianic text with other elements, which come from the recension of the LXX in MSS B ℵ (see O. Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der LXX* [1910]).

Remarkable points of contact between the Old Latin and the Aramaic Targums raise another problem important for the study of the former's origins. A. Baumstark suggested that the Old Latin version had a long history in Africa, reaching back into pre-Christian times, and that it was later taken over by the Christians. Owing to its very early origin, it constitutes an important witness for textual-critical work in that it opens the way for studies of the form of the LXX before revision and aids those of the pre-Origenic form. Many unique renderings are also substantiated by patristic evidence and thus appear to have preserved a text that must stem from a Greek form no longer extant.

The Old Latin version of the NT enjoys a better attestation. The oldest MS is Codex Vercellensis (a) (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), which in one tradition was written by Eusebius bishop of Vercelli, who was martyred in A.D. 371. Several MSS belong to the 5th cent.; first among them is Codex Bobiensis (k) in Turin (Mark, Matthew with gaps), one of the most important extant texts. Even some codices dating from the 6th to the 12th cent. preserve ancient texts.

The rest of the NT is less represented. For Acts there

are twenty-nine MSS, of which the earliest is the Latin column of Codex Cantabrigiensis (d), written probably in the 5th century. There are thirty-nine MSS attesting material in the Pauline corpus. The oldest text appears in Codex Claromontanus (d), which is probably 6th century. Several sections of the Old Latin NT are available in critical editions; the Gospels by A. Jülicher, A. Matzkow, and K. Aland (*Itala* [1938-1963]); the Catholic Epistles (1956-1969), Ephesians (1962-1964), Philippians (1966), Colossians (1971), Thessalonians (1975-1980), Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews (1982) by the Vetus Latina Institute at Beuron. Another project undertaken is *La Vetus Latina Hispana,* I (1958). The patristic material is in the edition by P. Sabatier, vol. III.

An important problem connected with the origin of the Old Latin NT is the nature of the *Vorlage* for the translation. Particularly complicated is the origin of the Gospels. In one view a Greek text of "Western" character stands behind the translation into Latin; some scholars have opposed this view, however, on the basis of some fascinating discoveries that greatly increase knowledge of the nature of these texts. A minute examination of the Latin column of the Codex Cantabrigiensis reveals that its wording must have been influenced by an Old Latin Diatessaron no longer extant (see H. J. Vogels). Other Old Latin textual witnesses have confirmed that the whole Latin tradition of the Gospels rests on the Diatessaron of Tatian (D. Plooij), which was the first Gospel rendering available to Latin-reading Christians.

No less complicated is the relationship between Marcion's version of the Pauline Epistles and the origin of the Old Latin version. Attention has been drawn to the Marcionite prologues that appear in certain Vulgate MSS. The Marcionite corpus as translated into Latin must have had some corrections with the Latin tradition that ended in the Vulgate version. One quite plausible explanation is that the first initiative for the translation of the Pauline corpus came from Marcion and that this influenced all subsequent development.

Each book or cycle of books in this version has a different origin. The evidence shows that in Acts the MSS go back to one fundamental translation. Similarly the Pauline corpus seems to reveal one original translation (see H. J. Frede). Hebrews was translated by two persons or groups working independently, an understandable occurrence in the light of the history of the canon. The Apocalypse had at least three translations (H. J. Vogels).

The earliest Latin translations of the NT, like those of the OT, show a multitude of adaptations and modifications. The same must be said about the language used, which generally bears the stamp of carelessness. The Greek idiom has also made inroads in the syntax; traits of Semitic coloring emerge as well. Some elements that cannot be explained on the basis of the Greek original may justly be considered astounding. The only explanation is that the Latin must have had some affinities with the Syriac versions.

Linguistically it is instructive to observe that the translation has enriched the Latin vocabulary, producing neo-Latin forms of Greek words so that many new ideas may be expressed. Many terms were created to render the Greek text: e.g., *revelatio, salvator, bene nuntiare, sanctificatio, incorruptio, glorificare, honorificare, clarificare.* Many of these secured a permanent place in the Christian vocabulary. A considerable number of words were simply transliterated from Greek: e.g., *apostolus, baptizo, parabolari, eremus, episcopus, martyr.*

The textual complexion of the version is marked by the boldest departures from the received text. It represents the Western type and goes along with the Codex Cantabrigiensis and the Old Syriac. The deviations vary in the different groups; the African branch displays the greater divergence and the European the lesser. It has also preserved a large number of readings from the Diatessaron, some Marcionite readings, and many apocryphal elements.

Because so much of this version's development is unknown, the student is particularly grateful for the extant traces that bear on its early history. A comparative study of the MSS shows that the extant material stands removed from the original form; only broken particles, splinters, emerge from time to time, here and there.

Because of the vast array of Latin patristic literature available, knowledge of the early history of revision work is correspondingly clearer. For Acts, the evidence in Cyprian and in the Acts text of Codex Gigas demonstrates that a revision of the Old Latin book occurred that determined the entire future development of Acts (see A. Jülicher, *ZNW,* 15 (1914), 163-188). Certain indications fix the revision *ca.* 350. Its purpose was to emend the text for the educated people; Greek barbarisms and African peculiarities were eliminated to do justice to the Latin idiom. The book also underwent a textual change; a Greek codex was its basis, and as a result the Western readings disappeared from the Latin text. An early revision has also been detected in the materials of the Pauline corpus. Analysis has unfolded one archetype that had a second, stylistic revision (see E. Diehl, *ZNW,* 20 [1921], 97-132). Thus, on the one hand, the Old Latin version underwent revision to make the text conform to standards that certainly varied from place to place; on the other hand, the earliest copies continued to exist and helped make the textual history more complicated. Toward the end of the 4th cent. the intermixture of texts could be characterized as *infinita varietas,* to quote Augustine (*Retr.* i.21.3).

The emergence of the Vulgate could not immediately displace or swiftly change the position of the Old Latin. But in the 6th cent. the Old Latin had been forced to yield so much ground that its rival secured an equal position in usage. Despite this setback the Old Latin exercised a certain attraction for several centuries more. The texts that have come down from these centuries bear the marks of this wrestling to stay in the field.

Some areas were especially favorable to its preservation. Spain seems to have received its version, as also its liturgy, from the African Church. Since Christians here were cut off from literary intercourse with other countries, because of the invasion by the Moors, Old Latin continued to flourish. Another isolated area for the Old Latin was Ireland, which became a solid bastion for the version. Not until the 9th cent. did the Old Latin capitulate to the Vulgate, and there are good witnesses that it lingered on in certain places even longer.

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B. Vulgate. The time came when the bewildering variety of texts was felt to be too chaotic to be tolerated any

longer. In *ca.* 383 the aged and masterful Pope Damasus commissioned his theological adviser Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, known as Jerome, to revise the entire Bible. No person more suitable than Jerome could have been selected for this task. Against his will he accepted the assignment, well aware of its magnitude, importance, and difficulty. "The labor is one of love," he said in the prefatory letter to Damasus, "but at the same time both perilous and presumptuous; for in judging others I must be content to be judged by all" (*PL*, XXIX, 557).

In 384 the four Gospels appeared, prefaced by Jerome's dedicatory letter to Damasus in which he also set forth the scope of his work and his method. He described his task as constructing a new Latin text from the old MSS, a revision according to the "true Greek text." The letter indicates that Jerome was given a free hand in choosing the "true Greek text."

The most extensive part by far of Jerome's work was on the OT, a work marked by several stages. Soon after completing the Gospels, he began to revise the Psalter according to the LXX; this was done rapidly. The Psalterium Romanum that gained importance in the Roman liturgy is not to be identified with his first revision of the Psalter (D. de Bruyne; but cf. Würthwein, p. 91 n. 1); A. Vaccari contended that this Psalterium does not derive from him but instead was the textual basis of his revision.

Some years later in Palestine Jerome undertook another revision of the Psalter. On this round he approached the task carefully and based the work on the text of Origen's Hexapla. He made essentially a revision of the Old Latin text. It became known as the Psalterium Gallicanum because of its success and its initial use in the liturgy in Gaul — quite contrary to the translation of the Psalter that he made some years later from the Hebrew that attracted little attention. The Psalterium Gallicanum marks the second stage of Jerome's work, during which he revised other parts of the OT according to the hexaplaric text. The assumption that he then covered the whole OT is unjustified, for evidence exists only for Job, which is preserved with fragments of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; 1 and 2 Chronicles may come into consideration as well.

The most important element in this undertaking is Jerome's realization that the only way to proceed was from the Hebrew original. His real contribution lies in the translation of the OT from its original tongue. He thus inaugurated a new era in the history of the Christian Bible by dethroning the LXX; but the reaction to this decision brought him much disappointment and bitterness.

It is most probable that between 390 and 405/406 Jerome translated most of the OT from the Hebrew and Aramaic — excluding Baruch, Wisdom, Sirach and 1 and 2 Maccabees.

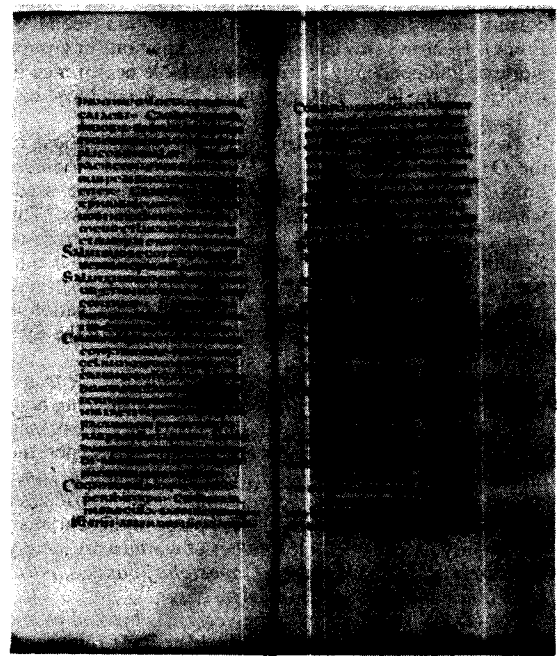
Of the thousands of Vulgate MSS, only a few palimpsest fragments reach back into the 5th century. Among the MSS the most valuable witness is Codex Amiatinus (A), the greatest treasure of the Bibliotheca Laurenziana in Florence. This eighth-century MS of the entire Bible is regarded as the best authority extant for the Vulgate text, heading the Alcuinian family.

Jerome's translation is not homogeneous. Although he based it on the Hebrew, he himself mentioned his use of the LXX and the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. He proves himself an original translator of the historical books, but for the prophetic books and the Psalms, which involved doctrinal difficulties, he deliberately accepted the LXX renderings (see R. H. Pfeiffer, *PIOTT*, p. 124). Occasional side reflections from rabbinic exegesis appear as a result of his consultations with the rabbis. On top of all this, he admitted that he had no desire to displace the well-established phraseology of the Old Latin version. If another aggravation — the later history and development of the text — is taken into account, the value of this material for textual-critical research becomes very complicated because of the extreme difficulty of detecting the Hebrew text that Jerome used.

It is uncertain how much of the NT Jerome revised beyond the Gospels. The other NT books in the Vulgate MSS have prefaces written by scholars other than him. Explanations of the origin of the rest of the Vulgate NT have not achieved much clarity, and there is no consensus. Some have assumed that Jerome covered the entire NT but in a very cursory manner. A number of scholars have agreed with F. Cavallera that only the Gospels in the Vulgate are Jerome's work. The Pauline corpus has been regarded as a pre-Hieronymian text going back to Novatian (so E. Diehl, *ZNW*, 20 [1921], 97-132), or as the work of a group of sixth-century scholars (A. Dufourcq), or as the product of an anonymous reviser from the last years of the 4th cent. who also prepared at least the Catholic Epistles (so H. J. Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* [1964]). Others have tried to show textual evidence of certain uniformly applied principles (J. Chapman); but these arguments are rather general, and as long as there are no more detailed investigations the question must still be regarded as open.

The preservation of the Vulgate text is very good; this version was the most frequently copied throughout the Christian centuries. The oldest extant MS of the Gospels is a portion of Codex Sangallensis (Σ [sometimes n]), thought to be fifth-century. Remnants of Σ (Matthew, Mark, Luke) were found in several libraries, but the main portion was discovered in the Monastery of St. Gallen in Switzerland. In the great mass of textual witnesses that have often gone through a very complicated history, the Italian group, marked by superior calligraphy, is the sur-

The ending of Romans and the beginning of 1 Corinthians in the Latin Vulgate (Codex Fuldensis, A.D. 547) (Landesbibliothek, Fulda)



est guide to the original form of the version. The oldest is Codex Fuldensis (f), written A.D. 546; its text is excellent but in a harmonistic form. Codex Anconitanus (Matthew, Mark, Luke) in the cathedral of Ancona belongs probably to the same century. Wordsworth and White have produced a critical edition of the Vulgate.

In his revision Jerome took a conservative attitude (as he himself admitted), preserving what had become familiar Latin phraseology and making alterations only when absolutely necessary. He corrected wrong renderings, obvious errors, and unwarranted additions and omissions, but he did not submit the Old Latin to a thorough revision. Thus smaller errors slipped through. But one must acknowledge what Jerome's skill achieved. While keeping as much as possible of the Old Latin text and rearranging the textual pattern only slightly, he produced an excellent version worthy of the greatest admiration.

There are various explanations of which type of Old Latin text was used. The problem is complicated; just how complicated has been demonstrated in Lk. 22:39–24:11, where Jerome used various types of texts (H. J. Vogels). It seems clear that he consulted many Old Latin codices on his shelves.

Which "old Greek" MSS Jerome used for the revision is similarly hard to determine. It has been claimed that it was the type represented by B ℵ L (Wordsworth and White), or the three Great Greek recensions (H. von Soden), or the Koine text (H. J. Vogels). A more satisfactory solution is that he used at least two text-types, e.g., the texts in B and A (so F. C. Burkitt, *JTS*, 30 [1929], 412). The evidence for Acts shows that the text generally goes along with A but that the revision is somewhat superficial (J. H. Ropes, *Text of Acts* [1926]). Studies on the rest of the NT have not advanced enough to bring out the profile of the text, except for Revelation, which according to Vogels reflects the text of Codex Sinaiticus.

It was difficult for Jerome to prepare the way for his new version. Certainly some greeted it with applause, even with enthusiasm — e.g., Sophronius of Bethlehem, a personal friend, who translated parts of the new version into Greek. But those outside the circle of his friends and admirers greeted his work quite differently. Jerome was involved in violent quarrels with the clergy, the more so because he was unpopular in higher ecclesiastical quarters; he also had to blame his sharp tongue. The mass of church people, who were suspicious of innovations, naturally preferred the ancient text. When one reads the introductions written by Jerome for the various books, one can guess from his own words into what kind of a whirlwind he sent his version. Trouble even occurred in the churches when the new version was used liturgically. Augustine told Jerome of the tumult that took place at Oea (modern Tripoli, North Africa) when lessons taken from the new version were used in public worship (*Ep.* 71.5).

Jerome's version met with difficulties also among learned circles. The arguments developed into a controversy, as can be seen in Jerome's *Apologia contra Rufinum* ii.24-35, where he answered the objections brought against his version. The most frequent charge was the version's unlawful innovation, even sacrilege, in daring to degrade the LXX. Augustine expressed what was troubling many: that Jerome, by choosing the Hebrew OT as the basis of the version, cast doubts upon the divine inspiration of the LXX, which had been the accepted Bible of Christendom from the beginning and which was also used in the NT, being quoted there (*Ep.* 71.4f.; 82.35). Augustine gradually changed his position (*De doctrina christiana* iv.15; *Civ. Dei* xviii.43), but many remained adamant. The short-tempered author of the version, who showed no patience with the critics and treated their charges and accusations with biting sarcasm, did little to help his own cause.

These circumstances made the progress and acceptance of the Vulgate slow. Important support for the new version came in the 5th cent. from the circle around Pelagius. This acceptance, together with the important fact that the writings of the Pelagians offer the earliest witness to the Vulgate text in certain NT Epistles, led de Bruyne to speculate that the Vulgate text of the Pauline corpus goes back to Pelagius. In any case, Pelagius was the first writer known to use the Vulgate text. In Gaul the efforts of John Cassian, Eucharius of Lyons, Avitus of Vienna, and Gregory of Tours contributed to the selective use of the new version. An important evidence appears in the Lectionary of Wolfenbüttel, which in its *Vorlage* seems to go back to the 5th century.

By the rule of Pope Gregory (d. 604) the Vulgate had won rights equal to those of the Old Latin; Gregory himself quoted both text-types. The same state of affairs is reflected in the MSS. Each text made inroads into the other, thus causing their intermixture; some codices contain in part the Vulgate and in part the Old Latin text. The Old Latin version gradually was forced to give way, but not until the 9th cent. did the Vulgate attain the predominance that made its position henceforth assured. Near the end of the Middle Ages it was finally able to inherit the cherished title "vulgata (versio)," i.e., the common version — the term previously given to the LXX and then to the Old Latin version.

Such a situation contributed to the origin of hybrid texts. The text form that emerged from the wrestling with the Old Latin was a result of serious corruption, adaptation, and contamination. These mixed texts spread abroad via missionary activities and became still more confused in England, where, e.g., ancient Irish texts, introduced by missionaries from Iona, mingled with the Vulgate, which had been brought by Augustine (of Canterbury) *ca.* 604, and with other texts, which were brought from south Italy (H. Glunz). This mixture was again carried back to the continent by diligent missionaries. Corruption was also advanced by marginal comments, by deliberate conflation with the copies of the Old Latin texts, and carelessness in transcription. Finally, bilingual codices might also have had a share in this process.

Cassiodorus (d. *ca.* 583) was the first to recognize the need for preservation of the Vulgate's true text. He reported that he had revised nine codices of the OT and NT books according to ancient codices of the Vulgate (*Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum, PL,* LXX. 1109); he made his revision the official text for his monastery at Vivarium and recommended the correction of other MSS according to it and the principles that he had used. None of his work has survived; even the presence of remnants in Codex Amiatinus (J. Chapman) has been doubted (H. Quentin).

To check the progress of the mounting corruptions within the text others had to follow Cassiodorus's lead; in fact, it was necessary to produce a number of medieval recensions and editions. Charlemagne was greatly concerned about textual conditions. He forbade inexperienced boys at schools to copy biblical MSS. Several attempts were made under his rule to purify the Vulgate; an early witness appears in the Bible copied with considerable care in the Monastery of Corbie under Abbot Maurdramn. At Charlemagne's behest his close associate Alcuin, abbot of St. Martin at Tours, undertook another revision. In 800 Alcuin emended the OT and the NT on the basis of MSS brought from his native England in order

to prepare a standard text for the empire (Alcuin *Ep.* 43, *PL*, C, 208). He purged out many Old Latin interpolations and himself sent revised copies to churches and rulers. Many of the extant MSS contain his text more or less correctly preserved; they do not reveal very great care, and the revision is less correct than that of the Bible of Maurdramn. The monks at St. Martin's who continued Alcuin's work improved the revision somewhat. Another revision was produced by Theodulf bishop of Orléans (d. 821), who used Irish and English MSS (*Carmina* ii, *PL*, CV, 299ff.). His text is scholarly, with variant readings in the margin and data about their sources, and marked by the attempt even to improve the Vulgate by using the Hebrew text (he was aided by a baptized Jew). This version, however, was never used widely.

After the Carolingian revisions others were periodically attempted in various countries. All that is known about the revision of Peter Damian is his own statement that he had corrected the whole Bible but "cursorily" (*Opuscula* 14, *PL*, CXLV, 334). Lanfranc (d. 1089) archbishop of Canterbury prepared a revision of the whole Bible for England and northern France (*Vita*, *PL*, CL, 55), but only traces in portions and glosses survive. Another scholarly edition was produced by Stephen Harding (d. 1134) to serve as the normal text for the Cistercian monasteries; it has survived in four folio volumes in Dijon. Like Theodulf's, it reveals the aspiration of improving the Vulgate occasionally on the basis of the Hebrew text. In the 13th cent. a number of editions furnished with textual-critical apparatus were prepared that were called *Correctoria Biblorum*. Among them the *Correctorium Parisiense* (*ca.* 1226) is the most important, since the undertaking was connected with the University of Paris. It was mainly derived from the Alcuinian recension with subordinate use of the revision of Theodulf and a group of medieval Italian codices (H. Quentin). Through this recension the division into chapters (introduced by Stephan Langton) found general acceptance.

These medieval revisions were undertaken rather unreflectively and spontaneously. The official decision to make the Vulgate the standard text did not come until the Council of Trent (1546), and not until 1590, in the time of Pope Sixtus V, was an authentic edition issued. In 1592 Pope Clement VIII issued a new edition, based on all the copies that could be found; it incorporated some three thousand variants, setting it off from the previous edition. It has remained the official edition of the Roman Church.

The Benedictine Order has been commissioned since 1907 with the preparation of a comprehensive edition of the Vulgate on the basis of the widest possible use of the mass of MSS. The first volume, Genesis, was published in 1926 (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*). In 1933 the work was reorganized; the Abbey of St. Girolamo with its community of experts has produced additional volumes in the project through Isaiah (including several of the Apocrypha). The method and the principles have been made known (H. Quentin) and have received a divided reaction.

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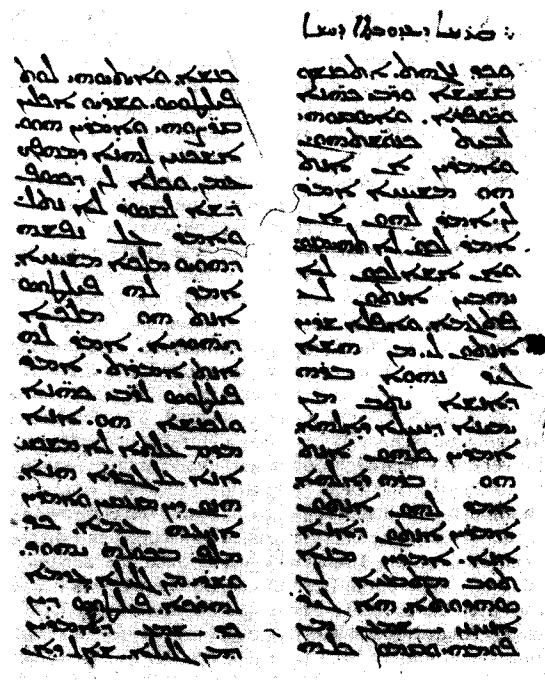
II. Syriac.–*A. Old Syriac.* There are unmistakable clues that Christianity was transmitted to the Syrians through Jewish communities. The gospel most likely reached Adiabene not long after A.D. 100. These beginnings are also reflected in the first translation of the Scriptures. The presence in the Peshitta of a stratum of the targumic traditions was noticed long ago; more systematic analysis (see A. Baumstark, C. Peters) has shown its extent. MS research in the patristic and liturgical materials (see A. Vööbus) has brought an archaic stratum in the Pentateuch into scholars' field of vision. The targumic profile of this older stratum shines through in the Pentateuch and in Isaiah as well. All these findings reveal an Old Syriac form that represents an archaic stratum deriving from the ancient Palestinian targumic traditions and that constitutes the foundation for subsequent revision. It is possible that this stratum has Jewish origins, but more probably it is traceable to the Jewish-Christian beginning of Syrian Christianity.

Initial evidence for the existence of the Old Syriac form of the Gospels emerged via the discovery of two codices: Curetonianus (British Museum Add. 14451), ed. F. C. Burkitt (1904); and Sinaiticus, a palimpsest, ed. A. Smith Lewis (1910). Both MSS date from the early 5th century. Systematic MS research has revealed entirely new and rich materials in patristic sources. A scrutiny of the entire MS tradition has given scholars access to materials previously unknown in the Gospel MSS and liturgical codices.

Both Curetonianus and Sinaiticus represent a very archaic text-type. The Syriac name of the version, *Evangelion da-Mepharrešê*, "the Gospel of the separated," clearly indicates its prehistory and its origin. This text-

The Curetonian Syriac version (5th cent.) showing Lk. 22:66–23:6 (by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)



type must rest on the Diatessaron, the harmonistic work of Tatian. The relationship of these two text-forms has been the subject of a long discussion that has led to conflicting conclusions. But new evidence in the MSS demonstrates quite cogently that the Old Syriac Gospels were developed from the harmonistic pattern; these MSS occasionally preserve the harmonistic pattern better than both Old Syriac MSS. Thus textually the Old Syriac type constitutes a synthesis in which the ancient textual material of the Diatessaron has been poured into the Four-Gospel form. The text is generally of the Western type.

Other features of this text-type, however, cannot be explained in this way. Certain words and paraphrases imply knowledge of Palestinian topography and local customs, and specific terms, idioms, and grammatical forms characterize the Aramaic of Palestinian provenance but are unknown in classical Syriac. In addition, the language of this version preserves in places the color of idiomatic Syriac. These elements are present in this material but not in the later versions.

Examination shows that both the Curetonian and Sinaitic codices are independent textual traditions of the same version. Thus the Old Syriac was gradually modified in accordance with the revised type. As the new materials show, this revision has contributed to the variety of the Old Syriac textual forms.

Discoveries of new MS sources and systematic research have opened up new vistas for the history and influence of the Vetus Syra for centuries.

Systematic search for new MS sources in the Syrian Orient has unearthed remnants of an Old Syriac version of Acts. These are the more important because they come from the commentaries.

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B. Peshitta. 1. Of the OT. The revised text of the Syriac Bible is called the Peshitta — a term that emerged in the 8th century. "Peshitta" means "ordinary" or "simple" (version). In the latter case, it characterizes this version over against the more elaborate later versions.

The attestation in MSS is good, and indeed, very ancient MSS of this type are extant. The oldest are British Museum Add. 14425 (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), 463/4; and Ambros. B21, inf. 6th or 7th cent., ed. A. M. Ceriani (1876). Individual OT books or small groups are represented by codices as early as the 6th or 7th century (see *List of OT Peshitta MSS* [1961]). Editions by S. Lee, *Vetus Testamentum syriace* (1824), of Urmia (1852), of Mosul (1887-1889), and of Beirut (1951), have been printed, but they rest upon a very narrow MS foundation. P. A. H. de Boer is directing the publications of a critical edition by the Peshitta Institute of the University of Leiden; a number of volumes have been published since 1966: Genesis, Exodus, Job, Judges, Samuel, the Psalter, Kings, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezekiel, Twelve Prophets, and Daniel.

There is no doubt that the Peshitta text cannot be the work of one revision but instead must have developed slowly in several stages. The intrinsic evidence indicates that the individual books have different characters. Some render the text quite faithfully (Psalter, Job), others offer a more paraphrastic text (Chronicles, Ruth), and still others display a targumic type of text (Pentateuch, Ezra, Proverbs). Disparate elements appear even in the same books. All these are marks of a very complicated history that involved different bases for redaction and spanned several periods of revision.

The value of the Peshitta for textual criticism is generally acknowledged. It is one of the oldest and most important witnesses to the ancient traditions. The discovery of the text of the Qumrân Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^{a}), which is close to the text of the Peshitta, further substantiates the latter's quality. The problem of LXX influence, however, is very complicated. Whether the LXX influenced the revision from its beginnings or whether the Peshitta belongs to a later evolution is not definitely clarified. In any case, this influence is perceptible already in the earliest texts at our disposal.

2. Of the NT. Many MSS of the NT Peshitta are extant. C. R. Gregory's list (*Textkritik des NT,* II [1902], 508ff., 1298ff.) includes 182 Gospel MSS and more than 150 MSS of the Apostolos; and the total number is actually much larger if one includes the codices preserved by the West Syrian as well as the East Syrian traditions. The earliest witnesses are Paris syr. 296 (Luke), written probably in 463/4; British Museum Add. 14459 (Matthew, Mark) and Add. 17117 (Matthew, Mark), both 5th century. British Museum Add. 14453, 5th or 6th cent., is the earliest to contain all the Gospels. The oldest codices with the text of the Pauline Epistles is British Museum Add. 14479, 6th century. The *editio princeps* of the Peshitta NT is J. A. Widmanstadt, *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii* (Vindobonae, 1555). A critical edition exists only for the Gospels; it was prepared by P. E. Pusey and H. C. Gwilliam (*Tetra-evangelium sanctum* [1901]) and rests on forty-two MSS. The NT was edited by G. H. Gwilliam (*NT in Syriac* [1905, repr. 1950]) and some Catholic Epistles by B. Aland (*Die grossen Katholischen Briefe* [1986]).

The circumstances of the origin of the version are unknown. The axiom that Rabbula bishop of Edessa (411-435) must be credited with this honor (F. C. Burkitt) lacks a historical basis, since the Peshitta was adopted by both the Jacobite and Nestorian branches of the Syrian Church, and a sacred text revised by a man who had mortally insulted the adherents of the Antiochian party never would have been readily accepted by them. The axiom is definitely refuted also by the discovery of remnants of the text that Rabbula himself employed near the end of his life (cf. Vööbus, *Investigations*) and that is a type of the Old Syriac version.

Consequently the origin of the version must antedate Rabbula. This dating is required by the version's canon, which lacks 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. This is the same canon used in the patriarchate of Antioch in the 4th cent. before books were added — so it would seem — just prior to the 5th century. It is significant that some remnants of the Peshitta have emerged (British Museum Add. 12150) that were written in 411 in Edessa. The last decades of the 4th cent. appear the most probable for the origin of the Peshitta.

Further indications for a late-fourth-century date come from intrinsic evidence. Unevenness in textual character, a vocabulary that is not consistently employed, and varying mannerisms and techniques of revision all suggest that several hands were at work on it. It is most natural to think of the centers of Greco-Syriac exegetical studies, the bilingual centers of biblical, theological, and philological learning, as the most likely places for the birth of this version. In such places the revision of the biblical text would have been regarded as imperative. This fits the tradition of the Syrians that the production of this version was anonymous. Moreover, by the late 4th cent. the Old Syriac had developed a variety of recensions; this, too, must have created a need for a uniform Syriac version.

The Peshitta is not a new translation but a revision of the Old Syriac version on the model of the Greek text that was used in the patriarchate of Antioch.

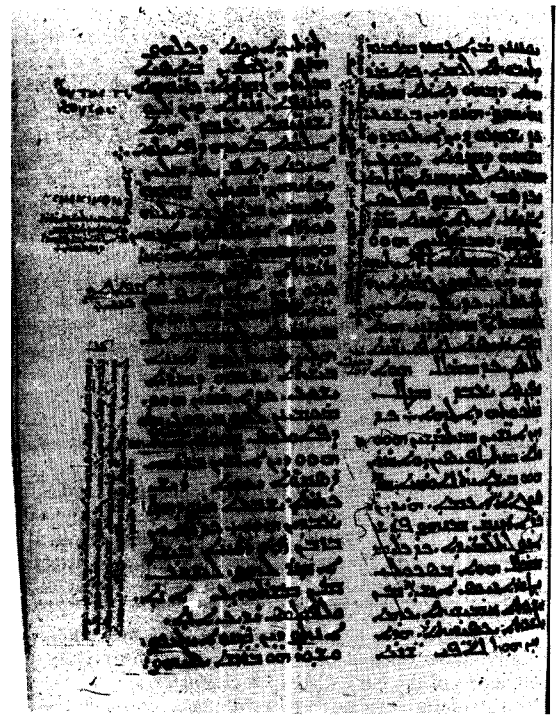
But the revision is not a thorough one; much of the Old Syriac material has managed to hold its position in the text. Some portions of the revision show few variants from the Greek model, but in other sections the archaic textual pattern is much more obvious. Linguistically the revision is smooth and flexible. To be sure, many idiomatic expressions found in the Old Syriac, particularly the use of the conjunctive construction in preference to the infinitive and the predilection for the nominal sentence, have been modified and adapted to the Greek, but a sense of balance and faithfulness to the genius of the idiom have kept the version from relapsing to the level of servility to the Greek text. Thus much of the idiomatic phraseology even to paraphrastic renderings has been retained. These features have contributed to the readability and fluency of this version. Although syntactic constructions of the older language have been kept, room was also left for the later development of Syriac syntax.

The MS evidence shows that the Peshitta took a long time to become an official text, having to compete for centuries with tenacious Old Syriac recensions before finally attaining supremacy.

C. Philoxenian Version. A version of the OT made under the auspices of Philoxenos bishop of Mabbug is mentioned in a Syro-Hexapla MS (Ambros. 313f.). A. M. Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana,* V, 1 [1868], 1-40) ascribed to this version portions of Isaiah in British Museum Add. 17106, which are all that has survived. Significantly, they are the same text-type of the quotations of Isaiah used in the Syriac translation of Cyril's Glaphyra. This translation was prepared by Moshe of Aghel not long after the introduction of Cyril's version. The Syriac text has an interesting character. First, the basis of the revision is not the Peshitta but a more archaic form of the text. Second, the Greek text employed for the revision is not the LXX but the Lucianic text.

The colophons of the Philoxenian version of the NT provide more information than we have for the Peshitta, for they refer to the preparation of this version "in the town of Mabbug, in the year 819 of Alexander of Macedonia [507/8], in the days of St. Mar Philoxenos, confessor, bishop of this town." The colophons do not give the name of the man who actually prepared the version; however, Moshe of Aghel, who was almost a contemporary of Philoxenos, recorded that he was the Chorepiscopus Polycarp. In 1778 J. White published *Sacrorum Evangeliorum versio syriaca Philoxeniana,* and a debate began about whether his text was the version prepared by Polycarp. One side argued that Polycarp prepared the "Philoxeniana," which was later taken over by Thomas of Harqel and furnished with a textual-critical apparatus (Clark, S. New, Lagrange), and the other contended that the text published by White is actually that of Thomas, and the text of Philoxenos is lost (Gwynn, Zuntz).

This problem of two centuries' standing can be solved with the help of remnants of the Philoxenian version discovered in British Museum Add. 14534, a codex of the first quarter of the 6th cent. (Vööbus, *New Data*). These remnants are of the commentary of Philoxenos, who used the recently prepared version as a basis for his exegetical work. They reveal that this version is not a new translation but a revision based on the Peshitta and aimed at greater conformity with the Greek original, even when in general the Peshitta agreed with the Greek. Not every avenue toward attaining greater accuracy was exhausted, however.



Acts 19:4-16 in the Harclean version, with asterisks and obeli in the text and variant Syriac readings and some Greek words in the margin (11th cent.) (by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

J. Gwynn assumed that the texts of the minor Catholic Epistles not originally included in the canon of the Peshitta (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) actually stem from this version. Gwynn made the same textual assumption about Revelation (Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John* [1897]). Printed editions of the Peshitta frequently contain these books in order to fill the gaps.

D. Harklean Version. The Harklean version is connected with the labors of Thomas of Harqel. When thousands were fleeing Khosrou's invading armies, Thomas found refuge at the Enaton, a monastic community near Alexandria. Here during these stormy years Thomas produced his version, completing it in 616. This information comes from the colophon that Thomas himself added to the text.

The version has good attestation. The earliest codex is Vat. syr. 268, which once was regarded as the autograph but probably is later, of the 7th century. This codex includes the textual-critical apparatus, as do many other MSS; another stream of the tradition leaves out the apparatus, and of this type the oldest representative is Laur. I, 40, A.D. 757. The MS evidence is rich, including a number of ancient codices of the 7th and 8th centuries. There is no critical edition, however; the only edition available is J. White, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio syriaca* (1778); *Actuum apostolorum et epistolarum* (1799-1803), which rests on three MSS of the 11th century. The section on Hebrews was edited by R. L. Bensly (*Harklean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. XI.28–XIII.25* [1889]). The Harklean version of Revelation was discovered and edited by A. Vööbus (*The Apocalypse in the Harklean Version. A Facsimile Edition* [1978]).

The discoveries of remnants of the Philoxenian version settle a very old problem (see II.C. above) and open the

VERSIONS

way for understanding what Thomas's colophon intends to say about his work. He took the version of Philoxenos as a basis for comparison with two (in some MSS three) Greek MSS in his preparation of a new text. Textually the Harklean version represents the Byzantine type, and in it the process of hellenization triumphs. It is strange how little respect is shown for the Syriac idiom and linguistic taste: the version is such a slavish adaptation to the Greek that even clarity itself is sometimes sacrificed. But the version is a scholarly one of great value for textual criticism. Many words in the text are equipped with an obelus, asterisk, or metobelus, and the margin contains a great number of variant readings. The apparatus is of special value, particularly in Acts, where it is one of the most important witnesses to the Western text-tyupe, second in importance only to Codex Bezae.

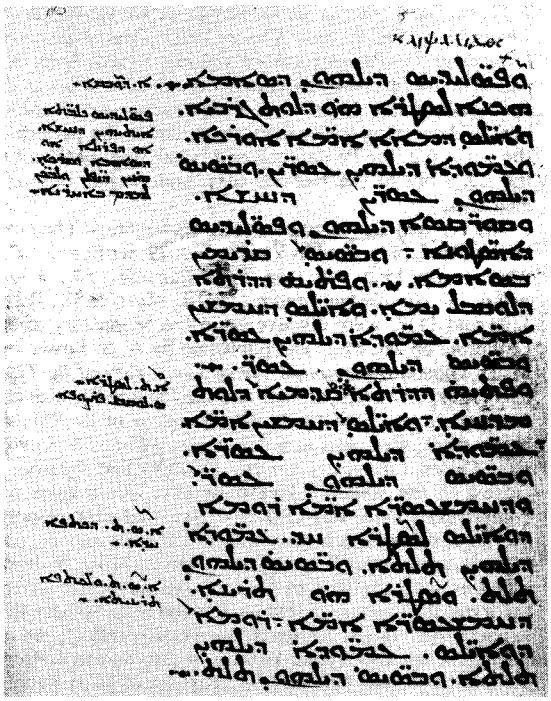
The MSS reveal that in the transmission of the text the Peshitta affected the Harklean version. Direct evidence appears in Beatty syr. 3, which states that about two centuries after the version appeared the copies in circulation had to be modified, and thus it was necessary to restore the text to its original purity. The source for such a development is apparent: the Harklean MSS are furnished with liturgical rubrics, and lectionary MSS with this text are extant, too. A version so hellenized in character and so strange in type, insinuating itself into the exclusive area of liturgy, naturally had to pay a price for the privilege.

E. Syrohexapla. The version called Syrohexapla is the translation of the fifth column of the Hexapla of Origen. The version was prepared by the order of Athanasius I, patriarch of Antioch. According to Bar Ebraya, Paul bishop of Tella is the author of this version; A colophon in Paris syr. 27 provides the important information that Paul translated Kings in February, 616.

There are reasons for assuming that Paul was not alone but that the work was carried out by a team, with a Deacon Thomas apparently taking a leading role. The colophon of Paris syr. 27 relates that this work was finished in 615/17 in a monastery at the ninth milestone near Alexandria. The version is very important, since it is a literal translation produced with great care and accuracy. It is a very valuable witness to the text of the Hexapla, which exists only in fragments. Only the second volume of the Syrohexapla is known — it is in Ms. Ambros. C 313 (Job, Wisdom, Prophets, some apocryphal books), 9th cent., ed. A. M. Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana,* VII [1874]). Of the books in the first lost volume some sections are available (Exodus, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Genesis, Numbers, and Joshua with lacunae, and Leviticus, Deuteronomy, 1 and 2 Samuel only in fragments). A continuous exploration in the Syrian Orient by Vööbus was crowned by startling discoveries. See A. Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla: Very Important Discoveries for Septuagint Research* (1971); *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla* (1964); *The Book of Isaiah in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla* (1983); *The Lectionary of the Monastery of Aziza'el in Tur 'Abdin* (1985); *A Syriac Lectionary of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin* (1986).

The translation took over the sigla of Origen for the textual apparatus. The obeli are used for readings that appear in the Greek version but not in the Hebrew text, and the asterisks mark the omissions in the Greek text. The textual-critical material, however, is no longer always reliable since it has suffered from subsequent copying. In the margins readings in Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus are noted.

The Syrohexapla version found its way into the liturgical realm, being employed even by the East Syrians. Ishodad of Merv (*ca.* 850) quoted it as "the Greek." Certain features point to a revision toward the Syriac idiom.



This Syrohexapla MS of Ex. 27:10-15 preserves the hexaplaric signs (obelos in lines 7, 13, 14f., 20; asterisk in line 12) and notes the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in the margins. According to its colophon it was written by a scribe named Lazarus in A.D. 697 (The British Library)

F. Jacob's Version. This version is by Jacob bishop of Edessa (d. *ca.* 708), one of the greatest scholars of West Syrian Christianity. MS evidence dates it *ca.* 705; in any case, a note in the MSS indicates that the translation of 1 Samuel (so British Museum Add. 14429) and Daniel (so Paris syr. 27) was completed in this year. Only portions of this version have survived: Paris syr. 26, the Pentateuch; British Museum Add. 14429, 1 and 2 Samuel and the beginning of 1 Kings; Add. 14441, Isaiah; Vatican syr. 5, Ezekiel; Paris syr. 27, Daniel. All these MSS, written 719-720, come from the same set.

The version is a revision with the help of the Hexapla, and as such it represents an eclectic text, which was produced to provide a more palatable version of the Syriac idiom. The version has annotations about the pronunciation of particular words and explanations derived from the exegetical explications of Severus of Antioch. It also offers data about the variants.

G. Palestinian Syriac. This version is written in the Palestinian Syriac dialect, which differs slightly from Syriac and belongs rather to Western Palestinian Aramaic, and whose script is a hybrid form of Syriac and Hebrew. The version has survived almost entirely in lectionaries; the rest is in fragments. Most of the MSS were discovered by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai.

In the OT the most important lectionary has the text of the Pentateuch, Job, and Proverbs, ed. A. S. Lewis (*Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* [1897]). The best-represented book is the Psalter, with forty-two complete Psalms and some fragments. From Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophets smaller portions and fragments have survived (see

VERSIONS

J. N. P. Land, ed., *Anecdota syriaca*, IV [1875]; A. S. Lewis, ed., *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments* [1900]). All known remnants have been collected in the edition by Goshen-Gottstein, *The Bible in the Syro-Palestinian Version I: Pentateuch and Prophets* (1973). According to the intrinsic evidence the pattern of the version in the Pentateuch and Isaiah goes back not to the LXX but to the Hebrew text, and reveals targumic elements.

The NT text also appears only in lectionaries. The most ancient text, preserved in Vatican syr. 29, written in 1029, was known long ago (see P. de Lagarde, ed., *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* [1892]). More MSS, dated 1104 and 1118, were discovered in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai and published by A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson (*Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels* [1899]). The text of Acts and the Pauline Epistles has emerged in two codices, in the lectionary of the OT, already mentioned, and in a palimpsest MS (A. S. Lewis, ed., *Codex Climaci rescriptus* [1909]). The version is closest to the standard Byzantine text, yet it does not completely follow this text-type. Its character is polymorphic; sometimes it goes with the ancient uncials, and often it agrees with B against the mass of MSS. It shows affinities with the text of Origen, and advocates of the theory of the Caesarean text have found features here that support their views. Although this version reflects the influence of the Old Syriac version, it also shows a strong inclination toward hellenization. Instead of using Semitic names, as one would naturally expect in an Aramaic version, it transliterates the Greek form of the names; Greek terminology has intruded deeply, too.

The home of the version has been suggested as Antioch (F. C. Burkitt, *JTS*, 6 [1904/1905], 91-98), Egypt (T. Marshall, *JTS*, 5 [1903/1904], 437-445), Palestine (M. J. Lagrange). Since the first publication of this version, Palestine has been widely regarded as the most natural land of origin. Support seems to come from the idiom, which in grammatical forms resembles the dialect of the Palestinian targums. In the vocabulary Hebrew-Jewish borrowings play a considerable role. Finally, the liturgical features in the lectionary that contains the text of Acts and the Pauline Epistles reflect the liturgial praxis taken over from the church of Jerusalem. The discoveries of a Palestinian inscription of the 6th or 7th cent. (Milik) and a letter from a Syro-Palestinian monk strengthen these considerations.

The date of the version is obscure. MS evidence in the palimpsests leads to the 9th cent., but older traces in the earliest extant prose work in the Arabic language, written by ibn-Ishaq (Baumstark), indicate that the version existed before 700. Possibly a remark in Jerome's letter on the burial of St. Paula in Bethlehem, *Graeco Latino Syroque sermone psalmos in ordine personabant* ("One after another they chanted the psalms, now in Greek, now in Latin, now in Syriac," *Ep.* 108.30), is the earliest echo of the existence of this version.

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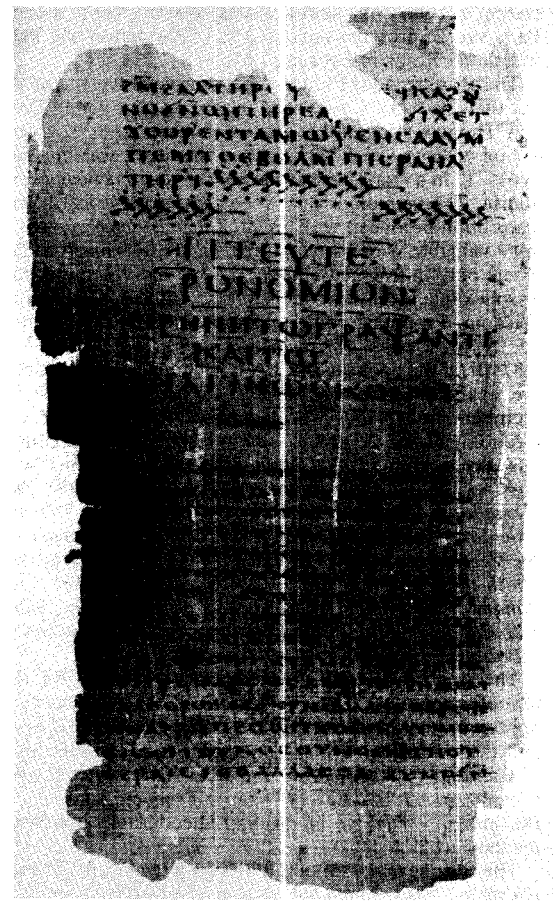
III. Coptic.–*A. Sahidic.* The date and origin of the Sahidic version, written in the dialect of Upper (i.e., southern) Egypt, are still debated. It is traditionally dated in the 2nd cent., but the 3rd cent. is much more likely, since Anthony (*ca.* 251-356) read the Gospels in Coptic, and a papyrus codex, British Museum orient. 7594, was written *ca.* 300 or a little later. It is reasonable to suppose that a translation in the local idiom was needed more in the south, where Hellenism had not permeated, than in the north, where a considerable segment of the Coptic-speaking Christians knew and understood Greek. Through the translation of Gnostic works written in Greek the idiom of

A Coptic (Sahidic) papyrus codex (4th cent. A.D.) showing Dt. 34:11f. and Jonah 1:1-4; between these texts is the title "Deuteronomy," followed by a blessing in Greek on both the scribe and the reader (The British Library)



the southern Egyptians became a literary language, and this favored the undertaking.

The most ancient important witness appears in British Museum orient. 7594, a papyrus codex written *ca.* 300 that contains Deuteronomy, Jonah, and Acts. A cycle of very ancient papyrus codices has emerged in the Bodmer collection, almost all of them from the 4th cent., edited by R. Kasser: Proverbs (1960); Joshua (1963); Jeremiah and Lamentations (1964); Isaiah (1965). This amazing material contains Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Proverbs, Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Baruch, or portions of these books. The Coptic version of the OT was made from the LXX, but certain parts, e.g., Job, the Prophets in many renderings, and Kings reveal that the basis was a pre-Hexaplar Greek text.

In the NT the Gospels certainly were translated first and then the rest of the NT. Not all the Gospels were translated at the same time, however; the patristic evidence suggests that Mark was quite late.

When G. Horner published the NT in Coptic (*Coptic Version of the NT in the Southern Dialect,* I-VII [1911-1924]) he had to combine the text from fragments, as one constructs a mosaic, since no complete codex of the whole NT was known. Since that date the material has increased greatly. The most important MSS are British Museum orient. 7594 (Acts), written *ca.* 300-320; Bodmer 19 (portions of Matthew, Romans), a papyrus codex written in the 4th or 5th cent. (ed. R. Kasser); a papyrus codex (John) found near Assiut, early 5th cent. (H. Thompson, ed., *Gospel of St. John According to the Earliest Coptic MS* [1924]); Chester Beatty A (Paul, John), B (Acts, John), C (Matthew, beginning), *ca.* 600; Morgan 570 (Paul), 571 (Paul), 572 (Catholic Epistles), all 9th century.

The underlying Greek text has a complex character, but in general it reflects the Alexandrian type with an admixture of Western readings. In Acts the Western readings are especially strong, but Antiochian elements also occur. In the light of the most ancient fragments it must be agreed that the version has been revised throughout the centuries. The version is noted for Greek influence in vocabulary as well as syntax.

B. Bohairic. This dialect was spoken in the environs of Alexandria and originated in the province of Beḥêre — hence its name. The literature in this dialect did not develop to the same degree as that in Sahidic, but historically Bohairic is important because it became the liturgical language of the Monophysite Church in Egypt.

The origin of the version cannot be placed in the 2nd cent., as the old consensus adjudged, nor in the 7th or 8th cent. (F. C. Burkitt, *EB,* IV [1903], 5008f.; J. Leipoldt, *Church Quarterly Review,* 62 [1906], 292-322), for when Hierakas (d. *ca.* 360) composed his commentaries in both Greek and Coptic he seems to have had the Bohairic version at his disposal. The version is an independent translation from Greek; the possible influence of the Sahidic version on certain parts of this version has not yet been clarified.

The OT text is not completely extant. Among the papyri, the Bodmer Papyrus III contains only Gen. 1:1–4:2. The first truly critical edition of any part of the Coptic Pentateuch was prepared by M. K. H. Peters, *Critical Edition of the Coptic (Bohairic) Pentateuch* (1983). The NT textual materials are even richer than in Sahidic. The Bohairic version is represented by a number of MSS, most of them very late, belonging to the 12th or later centuries. But discoveries in the 20th cent. have yielded much earlier fragments. From the early 4th cent. is a school text including part of Rom. 1 (see E. M. Husselman, *JNES,* 6 [1947], 129-151). The earliest extensive source is a fourth-century copy of John's Gospel, Papyrus Bodmer III (R. Kasser, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer III* [1958]). Papyrus Ryland copt. 421 (Gospels), 10th cent., contains a few fragments. Complete Gospel codices are much later, the earliest being Oxford Huntington 17, A.D. 1174. For the rest of the NT the situation is even worse. For the complete Bohairic text see G. Horner, ed., *Coptic Version of the NT in the Northern Dialect,* I-IV (1898-1905).

This version has not extensively used Greek vocabulary in order to preserve the Coptic idiom. Textually it follows the Alexandrian version, particularly the text represented by L. However, the present form of the text is the consequence of a complicated history. Two streams are noticeable in the MSS, one represented by the group of MSS faithful to the Greek text at the expense of Coptic style and revealing linguistic features nearer to the Sahidic dialect, and the other displaying a more polished Coptic at the expense of the literal rendering and betraying as well the influence of the Koine text. In certain fragments (Romans, Philippians) bits of an unrevised Bohairic text emerge for the first time, thus pointing toward the rather complicated history of the version.

C. Akhmimic, Fayyumic. Only fragments have survived from the Akhmimic version, written in the dialect spoken in Akhmim, and from the Fayyumic version, written in the dialect of the country round about Lake Moeris. Relatively recently a cycle of fragments (Luke) came to light, written in the 4th or 5th cent. and exhibiting a textual pattern that differs greatly from the Sahidic version (see H. Queke; *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch* [1977]).

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IV. Armenian.–The ancient Armenian translation was the first work after the introduction of the Armenian alphabet. Sahak and Mesrop did most of the translating, with the assistance of their subordinates and disciples. The first completed book was Proverbs. Shortly after 400 (or perhaps *ca.* 412-414) the translation of the Bible was accomplished and inaugurated an admirable burst of literary activity in the Armenian idiom.

Most of the books in the Armenian OT were translated from the Syriac texts and later revised according to the Greek MSS. Several books, e.g., 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Canticles and Sirach, have survived in their primitive form, and some parts of the first version of the Psalter exist in the Armenian breviary.

In regard to the *Vorlage* of the Armenian NT, F. Macler's thesis, which rests on the grecophile Lazaros of Parpi, and claims that the Armenian was originally a Greek version, is now obsolete. The evidence shows that the translation goes back to an Old Syriac version whose textual complexion must have been more archaic than both Old Syriac codices (Curetonianus, Sinaiticus), thus standing closer to the textual pattern of the Diatessaron.

The earliest version has not survived except in the ancient patristic sources and liturgical texts. Very valuable remnants of Romans have been found in the Armenian translation of Irenaeus (B. Kraft). The remnants of the Gospels and Epistles are characterized by harmonistic readings and a Semitic flavor. MS C of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore has retained such archaic elements (C. Roszko).

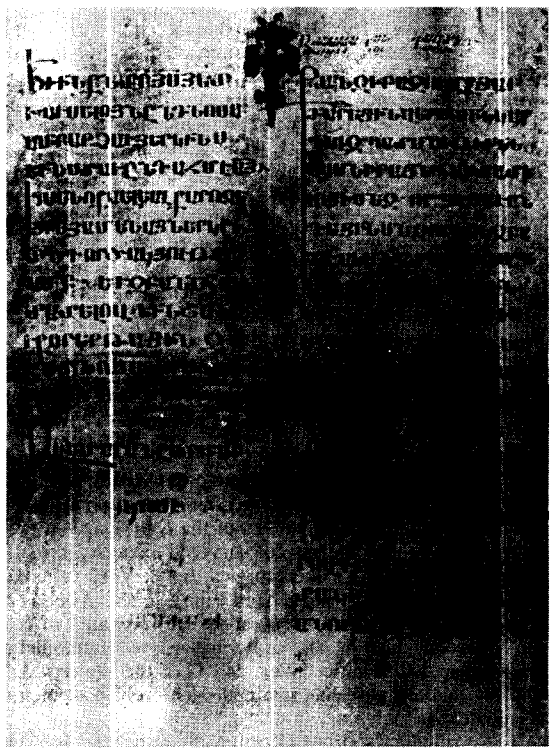
The Armenian sources (Koriun, etc.) suggest that the

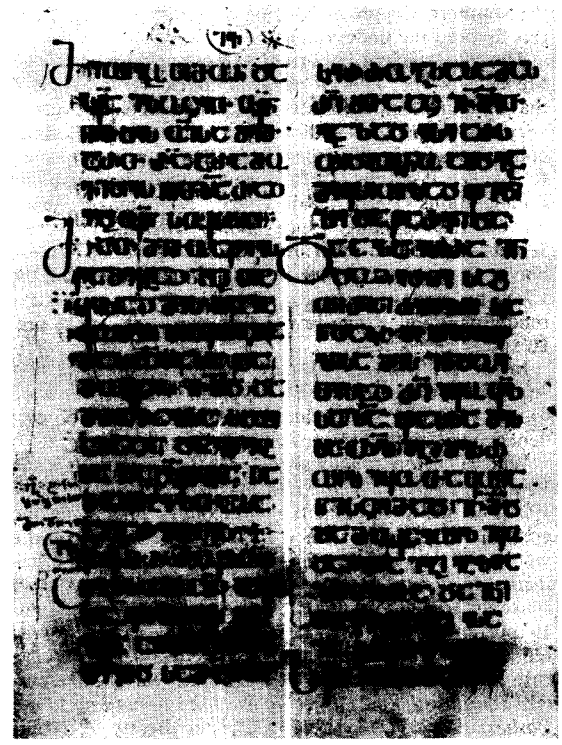
first translation was revised soon after the Council of Ephesus (431), but other evidence indicates a more complicated process. In the Apocalypse Conybeare has detected as many as five different revisions. In general the revised version is a faithful adaptation to the Greek of the Byzantine type and is the most idiomatically pleasing of the versions. The syntax, however, does sometimes reveal a Semitic form of construction and even occasional Syriacisms. Both versions must have been used for centuries before the ecclesiastical text prevailed.

The earliest MS is a tetraevangelium of 887, which belonged to the Lazareff Institute at Moscow and is available in a facsimile edition by G. Khalathiantz (1899). Several other tetraevangeliums (some mutilated) were written in the 9th-10th centuries. Another parchment codex, San Lazzaro 1144, was copied in 902; two codices were written, respectively, in Constantinople in 966 and in Erzerum in 986, and a fourth, Etchmiazin 299, was copied in 989 (ed. F. Macler [1920]). The first edition of the Armenian Bible by Oskan (Amsterdam, 1668) is useless for scholarly purposes, although it has preserved some early variants. The edition by J. Zohrab (1805), resting on a codex of the year 1319, has a good text, to which eight complete Bible MSS, thirty Gospel MSS, and four lectionaries were collated; unfortunately the textual apparatus does not give the desired data about the MSS where the variants occur. An old text of Revelation was edited by F. Murad (1905).

Bibliography.–P. Essabalian, *Le Diatessaron de Tatien* (1937); B. Kraft, *Handes Amsorya*, 41 (1927), 641ff.; S. Lyonnet, *Les Origines de la version arménienne* (1950); F. Macler, *Le Texte arménien de l'évangile d'après Matthieu et Mark* (1919); B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions of the NT* (1977), pp. 153-171; C. Roszko, *Studii biblici franciscani*, 13 (1973), 151-166; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the NT* (1954), pp. 133-171.

The ending of Mark's Gospel and the beginning of Luke's in an Armenian MS (A.D. 989) (Erevan Library)





The oldest Georgian MS (Codex A), written in 897, showing Acts 8:24-29 (Leningrad State Library)

V. Georgian.–The earliest version in Georgian, an agglutinative language not known to be related to any other, dates from the first half of the 5th cent. and was a result of the Christianization of this Black Sea region of the Caucasus Mountains. Among the first books translated were the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Psalms; the prophetic books and Nehemiah and Ezra were translated gradually during the following centuries, and some of the books appeared quite late, 1 and 2 Maccabees even in the 18th century. The first Georgian version was based on the Armenian version (though some have argued for Greek or Syriac as the base). Revision became necessary by the end of the 6th cent., when the Georgian Church had definitely freed itself from Armenian influence and turned its eyes to Byzantium. The new version was based on the Greek texts — not only the LXX but also the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. For 1 and 2 Maccabees even the Slavonic version was used.

The Old Georgian version in the Gospels is represented by a cycle of ancient MSS containing the four Gospels: Adysh 897; Opiza 913; and Tbeth' 995 (see R. P. Blake and M. Brière, eds., *Old Georgian Version* [1929-1955]). An early version of Acts has been preserved in several codices (see G. Garitte, ed., *L'Ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres* [1955]). The Pauline Epistles are extant in some ancient MSS and in palimpsest and lectionary fragments. The earliest records of the NT in the palimpsest fragments are in J. Molitor, ed., *Monumenta Iberica antiquiora* (1956).

The intrinsic evidence makes clear that the Georgian NT was based on the Old Armenian version. This pattern shines through the earliest text — in the Adysh MS — and also through the *han-meti* and *hae-meti* palimpsests, though these do not go beyond the earliest codex. A lec-

tionary in Sinai georg. 37 reveals still older strata that exhibit Syriac influence and harmonistic tendencies (Vööbus, *Zur Geschichte*). The same textual pattern of the Old Armenian, which was derived from the Old Syriac, can be detected in the Old Georgian texts in Acts and the Pauline Epistles.

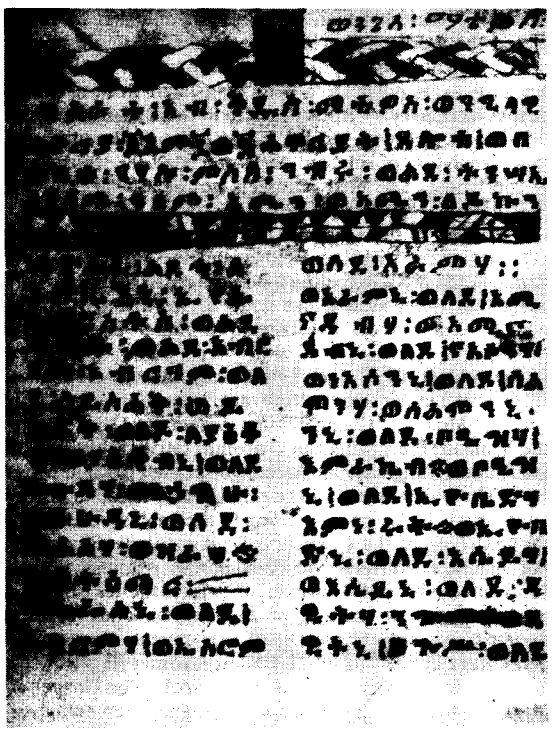
In *ca.* 975 began a new and important period for the spiritual, literary, and cultural life of Georgia: the Byzantine age. For textual history this age culminated in the 11th cent., when a revised ecclesiastical text based on the original Greek text was produced at the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos.

The first edition of the Georgian Bible by Duke Wachuscht (Moscow, 1743), reprinted in Moscow (1816), St. Petersburg (1818), and Tiflis (1879), was revised according to the Slavonic-Russian Bible and as such is of no value for scholarly purposes.

Bibliography.–F. C. Conybeare, *ZNW*, 12 (1912), 131ff.; S. Lyonnet, *Les Origines de la version arménienne* (1950), pp. 144ff.; B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions of the NT* (1977), pp. 182-198; G. Peradze, *ZNW*, 29 (1930), 153ff.; A. Vööbus, *Zur Geschichte des altgeorgischen Evangelientextes* (1953); *Early Versions of the NT* (1954), pp. 173-209; F. Zorell, *Handes Amsorya*, 41 (1927), 669ff. On the *han-meti* fragments see J. Molitor, *Oriens Christianus*, 46 (1962), 19-24.

VI. Ethiopic.–Numismatic and epigraphic sources show that *ca.* the mid-4th cent. Ēzānā king of Aksum in Abyssinia was won over to the Christian faith. Some early translations of the Scriptures — however modest and limited — may belong to this period. The same evidence implies, however, that many people resisted the new religion, so that the king had to follow a policy of opportunism. All the available sources suggest that the endeavors of Frumentius (4th cent.), the missionary to the Abyssinians, were slowed almost to stagnation, and that an Ethiopic translation had to await the arrival in the latter 6th cent. of the Syrian monks. The names of these men have been immortalized in the Chronicle of the Kings and the Synaxarium, and in a series of Ethiopian documents they are celebrated as the fathers of Christianity in Abyssinia, whose influence and impact covered the entire field of ecclesiastical life. In the light of these historical premises it is natural to conclude that translation took centuries to complete.

The beginning of Matthew's Gospel in an Ethiopic MS (17th cent., Munich) (Staatsbibliothek, Munich)



The basis as well as the history of the version is shrouded in complications. In general the LXX was the basis of the translation, but the underlying text as well as the method and quality of translation vary from book to book. In 1 Kings the text-type is very close to Codex Vaticanus but reflects Lucianic influence; in the Minor Prophets the text agrees with the Alexandrian witnesses to the LXX (J. Ziegler). Since the Ethiopic is a Semitic translation, the Hebrew original must also be taken into account; many renderings agree with the Hebrew against the LXX. The critical edition of Daniel by O. Löfgren reveals, besides an ancient Ethiopic text, a vulgar form influenced by the Arabic version and a third form revised according to the Hebrew text.

Scholars have been divided over which text formed the basis of the Ethiopic NT. Some have suggested the Greek text (A. Dillmann, L. Hackspill, I. Guidi), pointing out the Greek form of names as well as mistranslations that are possible only if the Greek text was used. But patristic material and the earliest strata in the transmission of the text preserved in Paris aeth. 35, Oxford aeth. c. 1, Cambridge Add. 1165, etc. offer contrary evidence. These strata reveal an Aramaic coloring in the vocabulary, Syriac terms, transliteration of Syriac terms, mistakes that only the Syriac text can elucidate, and Syriac textual traditions that are still perceptible beneath the accumulated layers that have covered the earliest form of the text.

D. M. Davies discovered the earliest Ethiopic MSS at Abba Garima in Ethiopia: three MSS of the Gospels, from the 10th-11th centuries. The revised version is represented by many codices but the most ancient, Paris aeth. 32, is not older than the 13th century. There are clear indications that more than one revision has taken place. The texts reveal Greek, Coptic, and Arabic influence. There are several editions, prepared by A. Dillmann (*Biblia Veteris Testamenti aethiopica*, I-V [1853-1894]), F. Prätorius (*Novum Testamentum aethiopice* [1899, 1914]), and F. de Bassano (1920), but no critical one. J. Hoffmann published a critical edition of Revelation, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse* (1967).

Bibliography.–H. F. Fuhs, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha* (1967); I. Guidi, "La traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico," in *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 275 (1888), 5-76; L. Hackspill, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 11 (1896), 117ff., 367ff.; J. Hofmann, *Die äthiopische Johannes-Apokalypse kritisch untersucht* (1969); B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions of the NT* (1977), pp. 215-240; J. A. Montgomery, *HTR*, 27 (1934), 169ff.; A. Vööbus, *Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes* (1951); *Early Versions of the NT* (1954), pp. 243-269.

VII. Arabic.–It is not known how early Arabia came into contact with the Christian faith. Philostorgius (*Hist. eccl.* iii.4.5) indicated that the earliest influence was Abyssinian, but Arabian contact with regions to the north cannot be overlooked.

The origin of the Arabic versions of the Bible, like the beginnings of Christianity in these areas, is shrouded in darkness. The first evidence of an Arabic translation of any part of the OT is the statement in Midr. *Siphre* on Dt. 34:3 that the Torah was given to Israel in four languages,

Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Aramaic. Some have inferred from this source that an Arabic translation of the OT existed even in pre-Islamic times, but the earliest extant fragment of an Arabic OT is preserved in an eighth-century bilingual text of a Greco-Arabic Ps. 77 (78), which was discovered in the Omayyid mosque in Damascus (see B. Violet, ed., *Ein zweisprachiges Psalmenfragment aus Damaskus* [1902]).

The most important Arabic translation is the MT-based version prepared by Saadya ha-Gaon (d. 942), head of the rabbinic school at Sura in Babylonia. This version was adopted by the Christians in Egypt. It is marked by efforts to clarify readings and by talmudic exegesis; it contains colloquial terms that deviate from classical Arabic syntax and would appeal to ordinary readers. The extant part includes the Pentateuch, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, and Daniel. The edition was started by J. Derenbourg (*Version arabe du Pentateuque de R. Saadia* [1893]).

There are traces of an Arabic version based on the Targums. Versions of separate books were made from the Greek, the Bohairic Coptic, and Syriac; even a cycle of translations was made from the Peshitta. Special mention should be made of the Syro-hexapla version prepared by al-Ḥārit ibn-Sinān ibn-Sinbāt.

The textual picture in the NT is quite varied, and the history and the transmission are very complicated. Particularly for the Gospels there are many translations, the earliest perhaps from the pre-Islamic period. The premier codex is Vatican arab. 13, whose oldest portions are 9th cent. and which includes portions of the Gospels and all the Pauline Epistles. Evidence that the Old Syriac version was the basis for the Arabic version is found in a number of codices, e.g., Vatican arab. 13, Sinai arab. 82, Vatican arab. 82, and Berl. or. quart. 2101. The Peshitta was also translated into Arabic, the earliest witness being Leipzig Univ. or. 1075, a codex of the 9th cent.; in fact, the Peshitta has been translated several times. Even the Harklean version caught the eye of the Arab translators, for MSS as well as lectionaries have preserved its text or portions of it. British Museum arab. Suppl. 5 is the earliest, belonging to the 12th century. Several translations were made from the Greek; a group of codices headed by Vatican Borg. arab. 95 represents a faithful translation of the Veritas Graeca. The earliest texts that circulated among the Arabic-speaking Monophysites in Egypt were translated from Coptic, more exactly from the Bohairic version. Texts that circulated among the Mozarabic Christians in Spain and Morocco were translated from the Latin base, prepared by Isaac Valasquez, a Spanish Christian of Cordova, in 946. MS Mon. arab. 238 shows that its *Vorlage* was an Old Latin text of archaic character. MS Sinai arab. 151, containing the Pauline corpus, Acts, and Catholic Epistles, with archaic features, was edited by H. Staal (*Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151* [2 vols., 1983, 1984]).

Bibliography.–G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlich-arabischen Literatur*. I (1944), 85ff.; P. Kahle, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen* (1904); B. Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelienübersetzung* (1938); B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions of the NT* (1977), pp. 256-268; J. F. Rhode, *Arabic Version of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt* (1921); E. Robertson, in *Saadya Studies* (1943); A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the NT* (1954), pp. 271-297.

VIII. Gothic.–Philostorgius (*Historia ecclesiastica* ii.5) honored Ulfila (d. 383) with having invented the Gothic alphabet, partly from the runic and partly from the Greek and Latin script, so that he could translate the Scriptures. But scholars suspect that the Arian author has excessively glorified the hero of the Arian faith, for a short biography of Ulfila, written by his disciple Auxentius and antedating Philostorgius by almost a generation, never mentions the translation or the invention of the alphabet.

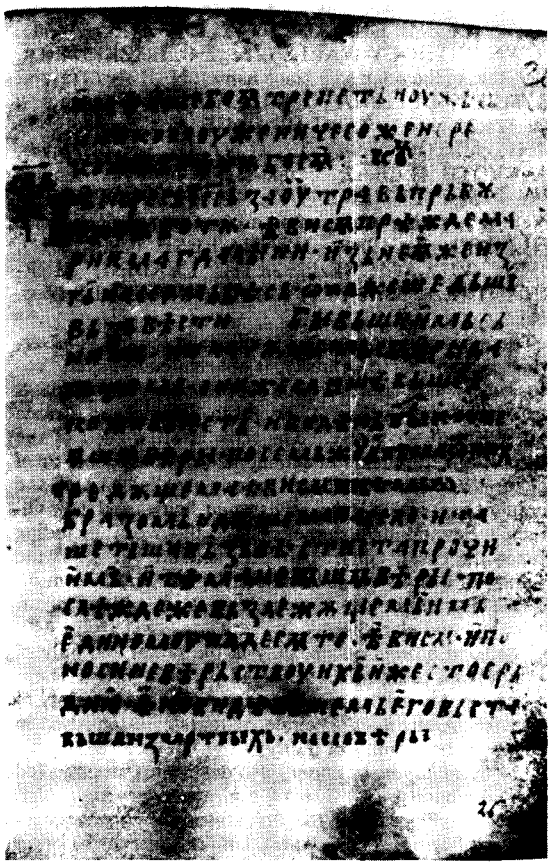
From the Gothic OT only two portions of Ezra and Nehemiah have survived. They are based on a Lucianic text. The only considerable MS — Codex Argenteus in Uppsala, 5th or 6th cent. — retains large portions of the Gospels (in the Western order: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark). The Pauline Epistles are represented only by small sections here and there in palimpsest codices that seem to have originated in north Italy; Acts, Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and Revelation have no representation at all. An edition of all the remains was prepared by W. Streitberg (*Die gotische Bibel* [1950]).

The text-type of the version constitutes no problem: it is of the Byzantine family. But it has a surprising number of readings from the Western text, most of which agree with the Old Latin version. The Gothic version is characterized by a systematic correspondence with the Greek, which is not congenial to the Gothic idiom; many renderings must have been unintelligible to a reader who could not go back to the Greek originals. The Epistles exhibit much greater freedom from the Greek than do the Gospels. Some evidence points to a revision or revisions of the original text; indeed, the Gospels in Codex Argenteus are based partly on an older form and partly on a later type. Furthermore, a Latinization of the Gothic version during its history may be considered certain.

Bibliography.–G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *Gothic Version of the Gospels* (1926); *Gothic Version of the Epistles* (1939); B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions of the NT* (1977), pp. 375-388; E. Müller, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 37 (1926), 210ff.; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the NT* (1954), pp. 299-309.

IX. Slavonic.–The beginnings of the Old Slavonic version are only partly perceptible. Traditionally Methodius and Cyrillus, the apostles to the Slavs, are credited with the earliest translation, prepared in the 9th cent. and employing the new alphabet invented by Cyrillus. The *Vita* of Cyrillus furnishes significant data: that he translated the "Gospel," that he began with Jn. 1:1, and that he completed the work on the "ecclesiastical cycle." These elements indicate that the first translation was of the lectionary type — it must have been translated from a Greek gospel lectionary — whose system in the Byzantine tradition begins also with Jn. 1:1. The *Vita* of Methodius says that translation of selected parts preceded the translation of the whole. The next phrase is not clear, but one can postulate that additional texts were translated to produce the full text of the Gospels, the rest of the NT, and the OT, beginning with the Psalms and the Prophets. Evidence in the MSS reflecting a different textual profile suggests that other translators were at work and that the whole version grew together in a rather complicated history.

The oldest MSS are Tetraevangelium Zographense (11th cent.) in Moscow, tetraevangelium Marianum (11th cent.) in Moscow, Evangeliarium Assemani (11th cent.) in the Vatican, Evangeliarium Ostromiri (1056/57) in Leningrad, and Evangeliarium Archangelscense (1092) in Moscow. The oldest traces of the original text unfold a different textual character. According to the analysis of J. Vajs the text-type of the Gospels is fundamentally Byzantine but includes Western and Alexandrian readings. Other MSS have emerged, however, in which the text pattern reveals a greater number of Alexandrian and Western variants. An ancient lectionary text reveals the highest percentage of pre-Byzantine variant readings (this lectionary includes 90 percent of John's Gospel). The Gospel of Mark, on the other hand, shows the highest percentage of



An Old Slavonic MS (12th cent.) showing Mk. 16:8-14 (State Library, Leningrad)

Byzantine readings (only one-fourth of this Gospel was included in the lectionary system). Such a situation seems to indicate that the nonlectionary Greek original was used at a somewhat later date to supplement all the Slavonic Gospels in order to bring about a nonlectionary Slavonic text.

The rest of the NT unfolds a text that is substantially the Byzantine Koine (V. Jagić), though the case is different with Revelation, which was not translated until the 12th century. Furthermore, the original text of the translation, insofar as the oldest traces are concerned, seems to display different revisions. This history is marked by revisions of differing sorts that have replaced many idiomatic turns with a literal imitation of the Greek model, at the expense of smoothness. A mechanical process was at work in the transmission of the text, but it was different in different lands. In the Balkans the revision was influenced by the official Byzantine text. The Croatian glagolitic texts reveal the influence of the Vulgate. The most archaic textual pattern is preserved in the Bogomile Gospel, in which, however, the syntax has suffered from hellenization.

See also TEXTS AND MSS OF THE OT; TEXTS AND MSS OF THE NT.

Bibliography.–G. Bonfante and B. M. Metzger, *JBL*, 73 (1954), 217ff.; V. Jagić, *Zum altkirchenslavischen Apostolus* (1919); M. Lacko, *Sts. Cyril and Methodius* (1963); B. M. Metzger, *Early Versions of the NT* (1977), pp. 394-431; J. Vajs, *Byslav*, 1 (1929), 1-9; 4 (1932), 1-12.

A. VÖÖBUS

VESSEL. For Isa. 18:2 *see* PAPYRUS; for Acts 27:41 *see* SHIPS; for pottery vessels *see* POTTER, POTTERY.

VESTIBULE [Heb. *'ûlām*/*'êlām*–'porch' (1 K. 6:3; 1 Ch. 28:11; 2 Ch. 3:4; Ezk. 40:7-9, 15f.; Joel 2:17; etc.), *'ayil*–'pillar' (Ezk. 40:14, 37f.), *misdᵉrôn* (Jgs. 3:23)]; AV PORCH, ARCH, POST, etc.; NEB also PORCH, etc. A room or hall by which entrance is gained to a structure. Apart from its usage in Jgs. 3:23 (where the meaning of the Hebrew term so rendered is quite uncertain, "vestibule" derives from LXX), "vestibule" occurs in the RSV only in connection with the temple. (For other renderings of Heb. *'ûlām*, *see* HALL; PORCH). In 1 Kings and Chronicles (also Joel 2:17), the vestibule is the easternmost of the three compartments in Solomon's temple (1 K. 6:3; 7:12; etc.). *See* TEMPLE I.D.1. In Ezekiel the word sometimes refers to a similar compartment in the prophet's visionary temple (40:48f.; 41:15, 25f.; *see* TEMPLE II.A.3), and sometimes to vestibules that formed part of the gateways entering onto its courtyards (40:7-40; *see* TEMPLE II.A.2).

S. WESTERHOLM

VESTMENTS; VESTURE. General terms for clothing. "Vestments" is used by the RSV as a translation of the Heb. pual part. of *lāḇaš* ("clothe"; Ezr. 3:10; AV "apparel") and the cognate nouns *lᵉḇûš* (2 K. 10:22b) and *malbûš* (v. 22c); "vesture" renders *sûṯ* (from *kāsâ*, "cover") in Gen. 49:11 (AV "clothes"). The AV also uses the terms to translate Heb. *beged* (Gen. 41:42) and *kᵉsûṯ*; Gk. *himátion* (Rev. 19:13, 16), *himatismós*, and *peribólaion*. *See* GARMENTS II.B.1.

VESTRY. *See* WARDROBE.

VEXATION [Heb. *kaʿas* (1 S. 1:16; Ps. 10:14; etc.; emended from *kāʿas* in Eccl. 5:17 [MT 16]), *kaʿaś* (Job 5:2; 6:2; 10:17)]; AV GRIEF, WRATH, INDIGNATION, SPITE, SORROW; NEB MISERY, ANGRY PASSIONS, GROUNDS FOR RESENTMENTS, ANGER, etc.; **VEXED** [Heb. *qāṣar*–'be shortened,' 'become impatient'] (Jgs. 16:16); NEB WEARYING; [*sar*–'sullen'] (1 K. 21:4f.); AV HEAVY, SAD; NEB SULLEN; [Gk. *basanízō*–'torment'] (2 Pet. 2:8); NEB TORTURED. A state of distress or agitation.

Whereas the AV uses "vexation" to render Heb. *rᵉʿût* (Eccl. 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; etc. [RSV "striving"]), *raʿyôn* (Eccl. 1:17; 2:22; 4:16 [RSV "striving," "strain"]), *mᵉhûmâ* (Dt. 28:20; 2 Ch. 15:5; Ezk. 22:5 [RSV "confusion," "disturbances," "tumult"]), *zᵉwāʿâ* (Isa. 28:19 [RSV "terror"]), and *šēḇer* (Isa. 65:14 [RSV "anguish"]), the RSV uses this translation only for *kaʿas* (and the dialectical variant *kaʿaś*), which is derived from the root *kāʿas* ("be discontent, irritated, angry"). The noun *kaʿas* denotes the anger or distress that a person experiences in response to suffering (esp. when one receives undeserved ill-treatment). Although it is used most often to describe God's response to human unfaithfulness (*see* PROVOCATION; cf. Job 10:17), the RSV generally translates it "vexation" only when it describes a human response to suffering, e.g., to childlessness (1 S. 1:16), calamity (Job 6:2), oppression (Ps. 10:14), and the human condition in general (Eccl. 1:18; cf. 2:23; 5:17 [MT 16]; 11:10). Wisdom literature warned against the foolishness of being easily vexed (Job 5:2; Prov. 12:16).

The AV uses "vex" and "vexed" to render more than twenty Hebrew and Greek terms with a broad range of meanings, e.g., Heb. *bāhēl* (lit. "terrify, be terrified"; niphal in Ps. 6:2f., 10 [MT 3f., 11]; piel in 2:5), the hiphil of

yānâ ("oppress"; Ex. 22:21; Lev. 19:33; etc.), *ṣārar* ("be hostile toward"; Nu. 25:17f.; 33:55; etc.); Gk. *daimonízomai* ("be possessed by a demon"; Mt. 15:22), *kataponéomai* ("be oppressed, worn out"; 2 Pet. 2:7). The RSV uses "vexed" much less often. The Hebrew noun *sar* is derived from *sārar*, "be stubborn, rebellious"; in 1 K. 21:4f. it describes Ahab's sullen response to being rebuffed. By contrast, Lot's vexation was a righteous response to the lawlessness that surrounded him (2 Pet. 2:8). N. J. O.

VIAL [Heb *paḵ*] (1 S. 10:1); NEB FLASK. A ceramic container used by Samuel in the anointing of Saul. Heb. *paḵ* (< *pāḵaḥ*, "trickle") denotes a juglet used for holding oil-based perfume. The same term refers to the juglet used for Jehu's anointing (2 K. 9:1, 3; RSV, NEB, "flask"; AV "box").

The AV also uses "vial" to render Gk. *phiálē* in Rev. 5:8; 15:7; etc.; *see* BOWL.

VICTUALS. *See* FOOD.

VILE; VILENESS. In the RSV these terms represent a contextual rather than a literal translation. The nine occurrences correspond to seven or eight Hebrew and Greek constructions: Heb. *nᵉḇālâ* ("vile thing," Jgs. 19:23; *dᵉḇar hannᵉḇālâ* in v. 24), *zullûṯ* ("vileness," Ps. 12:8 [MT 9]), *rāʿâ* (lit. "wickedness"; "vile," Jer. 3:2; Ezk. 8:9), *mᵉzimmâ* ("vile deeds," Jer. 11:5), *šōʾār* (a hapax legomenon; "vile," Jer. 29:17), *qālal* (lit. "be small, of no account"; "be vile," Nah. 1:14), Gk. *phaúlos* (lit. "worthless, base"; "vile," Jas. 3:16).

In Jgs. 19 23f. the "vile thing" refers to the (proposed) homosexual rape of a Levite (cf. 20:10, where *hannᵉḇālâ* is translated "wanton thing"); *nᵉḇālâ* refers to sexual aberrations (RSV "folly") also at Gen. 34:7; Dt. 22:21; Jer. 29:23; and 2 S. 13:12 ("wanton folly"). In Jer. 3:2 (lit. "your prostitution and your wicked acts"; cf. NIV) the meaning is similar. In Ps. 12:8 (MT 9) the hapax legomenon *zullûṯ* has been variously interpreted and emended (see A. A. Anderson, *Book of Psalms*, I [*NCBC*, repr. 1981], p. 127; P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], p. 137; M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I [*AB*, 1965], 75, for discussions and bibliography), but the MT is intelligible as it stands. In Ezk. 8:9 the "vile abominations" are idolatrous cultic aberrations (cf. vv. 5-18). Jer. 29:17 reverses the tradition of the fig tree as a sign of blessing (cf. 1 K. 4:25 [MT 5:5]; Zec. 3:10; etc.; see also Jer. 8:13 [cf. Mk. 11:12-14 par.] and Jer. 24); in the OT the image of bad figs seems to be limited to Jeremiah.

In Nah. 1:14 the prophet reports the divine decision to destroy Nineveh (Assyria), giving as the reason only that Nineveh is "vile"; the frequently proposed emendation from *kî qallôṯā* (lit. "for you are small") to *qîqālôn* (RSV "shame," Hab. 2:16) or *qîqālôṯ* is unnecessary (see W. A. Maier, *Book of Nahum* [1959], p. 216). Both Jer. 11:15 and Jas. 3:16 refer to vile deeds and vile practices in a very general way. In 2 Macc. 4:19; 15:32, "vile" translates Gk. *miarós* (lit. "polluted," "abominable," "disgusting").

Bibliography.—*TDOT*, IV, *s.v.* "zmm" (S. Steingrimsson); *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum AT*, V, *s.v.* "nāḇāl" (Marböck).

H. T. C. SUN

VILLAGE [Heb. *ḥāṣēr*, *baṯ*–'daughter' (only in pl.), *hawwâ* (Nu. 32:41; Dt. 3:14; 1 K. 4:13; 1 Ch. 2:23), *kāpār* (1 Ch. 27:25; Cant. 7:11 [MT 12]), *kōper pᵉrāzî* (1 S. 6:18), *kᵉpîr* (Neh. 6:2; Ezk. 38:13), *ʿîr pᵉrāzî* (Est. 9:19), *pᵉrāzâ* (Ezk. 38:11; Zec. 2:4); Gk. *kṓmē*]; AV also TOWN, SMALL TOWN (Nu. 32:41), COUNTRY VILLAGE (1 S. 6:18), YOUNG LION (Ezk. 38:13), UNWALLED TOWN (Dt. 3:5), UNWALLED VILLAGE (Ezk. 38:11), TOWN WITHOUT WALLS (Zec. 2:4), HAZERIM (Dt. 2:23, taking the noun as a place name); NEB also TOWN, HAMLET, DEPENDENT VILLAGE (for "daughter"; Nu. 21:25, etc.), TENT-VILLAGE (for *ḥawwâ*; Nu. 32:41, etc.), OPEN SETTLEMENT (Dt. 3:5; 1 S. 6:18), HAVVOTH (1 Ch. 2:23, taking the noun as a place name), SETTLEMENT (1 Ch. 4:32), HAKKEPHIRIM (Neh. 6:2, taking the noun as a place name), REMOTE VILLAGE (Est. 9:19), HENNA-BUSH (Cant. 7:11), OPEN VILLAGE (Ezk. 38:11), LEADING MERCHANT (Ezk. 38:13), CITY WITHOUT WALLS (Zec. 2:4).

The most common word for village in the OT is *ḥāṣēr*, which, according to Orlinsky, is not related to *ḥāṣēr*, "enclosure" (which comes from a root meaning "encompass, surround"), but rather to the Proto-Semitic and Arabic root *ḥḍr*, "dwell, settle." The term is often used of the temporary settlements of seminomadic tribespeople or of the unwalled satellite villages around a walled city (cf. the frequent expression *ʿārîm wᵉḥaṣrêhen*, "cities and their villages"). Several place names contain this word, including Hazor and Hazar-addar. Unwalled satellite villages in the vicinity of a city were also called the "daughters" (*bānōṯ*) of that city; references to a city "and its daughters" occur in Joshua and elsewhere.

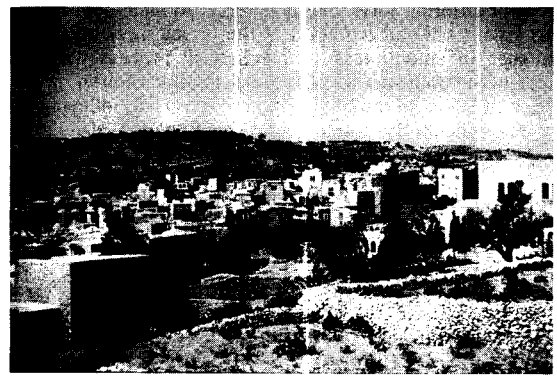
The term *ḥawwâ* occurs only in the plural and only of certain rural settlements in Gilead (*ḥawwōṯ yāʾîr*). These were probably more or less permanent villages, mainly of tents (cf. Arab. *ḥiwāʾ*, "circle of tents"), established in groups in the vicinity of a city.

The noun *kāpār*, or *kōper*, also designates an unwalled rural community. In 1 S. 6:18, e.g., the *kōper happᵉrāzî*, "unwalled villages," of the Philistines are contrasted to their fortified cities (*ʿîr miḇṣār*). Unlike some of the other terms for "village," *kāpār* is never used of a seminomadic type of settlement. In later Hebrew this term became the most common word for village; and among the many NT period place names containing this element is Capernaum.

It is possible that *pᵉrāzâ*, normally meaning "open country," occasionally designated a countryside village. In Ezk. 38:11 reference is made to people living in *pᵉrāzōṯ*, which are said to have "neither walls nor gates nor bars."

In the NT the term *kṓmē* is consistently used to designate villages and towns of smaller size then the *pólis*. The word is used, e.g., of the villages around Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8:27) and of the villages of the Samaritans (Acts

Modern Hebron, about 50 km. (30 mi.) from Jerusalem, is a village similar to those in the biblical period. It was settled ca. 1700 B.C. (R. H. Smith)



8:25); and Bethlehem is referred to as a *kōmē* in Jn. 7:42. Beth-saida, Bethany, and Emmaus are among villages mentioned in the NT.

Villages were generally unwalled and dependent upon nearby fortified cities for refuge during times of danger. Major cities such as Megiddo (1 Ch. 7:29), Taanach (17:29), Gath (18:1), Gezer (7:28), Shechem (7:28), and Beth-shean (Josh. 17:11; Jgs. 1:27) had their own "daughter" villages. During times of enemy attack the cities would swell with the populations of surrounding villages. Villagers also looked to the city for marketing their produce and for purchasing various supplies. Agriculture was the main occupation of the typical village, but other economic activities such as shepherding, pottery making, and carpentry would have characterized many rural settlements.

Archeological surveys have revealed that Israel's countryside was dotted with hundreds of unwalled villages throughout the OT and NT periods. Most villages were less than 2 hectares (5 acres) in size, with only a few houses. The unwalled Iron Age village at et-Tell was about 1 hectare (2.75 acres) and had about twenty houses. Nearby Khirbet Raddana was even smaller, with only six houses. The population of these two villages was probably about one hundred fifty and fifty inhabitants respectively. Village houses were usually simple, often not even as large as the typical four-room Israelite house. Water supply sometimes came from the village spring or well, but often individual houses had their own private cisterns (such as those at et-Tell). Sheep and goats were quartered within the village, with each family's flock kept in an enclosure adjacent to the house.

See also CITY; TOWN.

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VILLAINY [Heb. *zimmâ*–'loose conduct'] (Hos. 6:9); AV LEWDNESS; AV mg. ENORMITY; NEB OUTRAGEOUS; [*bᵉlîyaʿal*–'worthless,' 'wicked'] (Nah. 1:11); AV, NEB WICKED; [Gk. *rhadiourgía*–'wickedness'] (Acts 13:10); AV MISCHIEF; NEB RASCAL. A catalogue of priests' crimes in Hos. 6:9–7:2 includes Heb. *zimmâ*, a strong word that refers here either to idolatry or to sexual vice (cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea* [*AB*, 1983], p. 442). In Nah. 1:11 "villainy" aptly describes the malevolent Assyrian ruler Sennacherib, though *bᵉlîyaʿal* may also be taken as the proper name "Belial" (cf. *bᵉlîyaʿal* [RSV "the wicked"] in Nah. 1:15 [MT 2:1]). In Acts 13:10 association with the devil, among other things, led to Elymas's fraudulent and deceptive actions. G. L. K.

VINDICATE [Heb. qal and hiphil of *ṣāḏaq, šāpāṭ, dîn*, niphal and piel of *qāḏaš* ("vindicate holiness," Ezk. 36:23; 38:16; 39:27); Gk. *ekdikéō* (Lk. 18:3, 5), *poiéō ekdíkēsin* (vv. 7f.), *dikaióō* (1 Tim. 3:16)]; AV JUSTIFY, JUDGE, SANCTIFY (Ezk. 36:23; etc.), AVENGE (Lk. 18:3-8); NEB also GIVE JUSTICE, DEMAND JUSTICE (Lk. 18:3), GIVE JUDGMENT (Ps. 43:1), JUDGE (35:24), ACQUIT, CLEAR THE NAME (Isa. 50:8), SEE RIGHTED (Lk. 18:5), BE RIGHT (Job 11:2), HALLOW (Ezk. 36:23), etc.; **VINDICATION** [Heb. *ṣeḏeq, ṣᵉḏāqâ, mišpāṭ* (Ps. 17:2), *kᵉsûṭ* (Gen. 20:16)]; AV RIGHTEOUSNESS, RIGHTEOUS CAUSE (Ps. 35:27), SENTENCE (17:2), COVERING (Gen. 20:16); NEB also RIGHTEOUSNESS, INTEGRITY (Job 6:29), JUSTICE (Ps. 24:5), INNOCENCE (Jer. 51:10), "triumph of right" (Isa. 62:2), "right has won the day" (63:1), "judgment in (my) cause" (Ps. 17:2), "turn a blind (eye)" (Gen. 20:16). A process whereby the innocent are cleared of wrongdoing while the guilty are punished.

Most of the biblical words, like Eng. "vindication," have unmistakably legal connotations. Heb. *dîn* and *šāpāṭ* mean to render a legal decision or verdict, while *ṣāḏaq* can mean to be acquitted or pronounced "innocent" (or "righteous," i.e., "in the right"). Gk. *ekdikéō* means to resolve a dispute officially in a just and legal manner. These words suggest (in an idealized way) the legal processes of the ancient Near East, in which a legitimate authority intervenes in a dispute (1) to produce evidence of the victim's innocence and thus clear the victim of suspicion of guilt, and then (2) to act decisively to rescue the innocent and punish the guilty.

These idealized legal processes seem to be presumed in Solomon's prayer dedicating the temple (1 K. 8:31f. par. 2 Ch. 6:22f.), in the third servant song (Isa. 50:4-11), and in Jesus' parable of the unjust judge (Lk. 18:1-8). Similarly, "vindication" in the book of Job (e.g., 6:29) must be understood in the context of Job's consuming desire to gain a hearing before God (9:1-35; 13:1-19) and of his unshakable confidence that he has a "witness" in heaven who will testify to his integrity (16:18f.) and a "redeemer" or "vindicator" (Heb. *gō'ēl*) who will rise to his defense (19:23-27).

This context also seems to be presumed in the imprecatory psalms, where the innocent but beleaguered psalmist yearns for God's judgment. In these psalms Heb. *špṭ* is associated with other legal terms, e.g., *bāḥan*, "scrutinize or investigate (evidence)" (RSV "try," Ps. 17:3; "prove," 26:2); piel of *nāsâ*, "conduct a trial" ("try," 26:2); *pāqaḏ*, "investigate or intervene in a matter" ("visit," 17:3); and *rîḇâ rîḇî*, "plead my case" ("defend my cause," 43:1). It is significant that the "vindication" of the psalmist entails not only a verdict of "innocent" on his behalf and his rescue, but also the punishment of the guilty oppressor (cf. Pss. 17, 26, 35, 43, 54). Thus "vindication" is both defensive ("deliverance") and punitive ("vengeance") at the same time (cf. also Ps. 37:6f.; Isa. 63:1; Jer. 51:10), although often the emphasis is placed primarily on its salvific aspects (Ps. 98:2; 103:6; Isa. 62:1f.). This double-edged emphasis is further suggested in Dt. 32:36 (par. Ps. 135:14), where "vindication" (*dîn*) is associated with God's exercise of sovereignty (*see* VENGEANCE); here it is used in parallel with the hithpael of *nāḥam* (RSV "have compassion"), which can mean to "provide relief by removing the source of aggravation or oppression." Thus God's rescuing of His people goes hand in hand with His punishment of His (and their?) adversaries (Dt. 32:41).

Finally, "vindication" can refer specifically to evidence that supports or substantiates a claim. For example, in Ps. 24:5 "vindication" (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*) is parallel to "blessing," and it refers to the reward that confirms or "proves" the integrity of the righteous person. Similarly, Gen. 20:16 refers to the thousand pieces of silver that Abimelech gave to Sarah as a *kᵉsûṭ ʿênayim* (lit. "covering for the eyes"), i.e., as proof of her guiltlessness (with respect to adultery), and perhaps also as Abimelech's public apology for compromising her virtue. In Joel 2:23 the early rain confirms Israel's favored status. According to the prophet Ezekiel, God's holiness will be visibly proven to the nations through His actions restoring Israel (36:23; 38:16; 39:27). Similarly, 1 Tim. 3:16 confesses that in Christ, God "was manifested in the flesh, vindicated [*dikaióō*] in the Spirit"; i.e., the evidence confirming or justifying Christ's divinity lay in His spirit, which was God's Spirit.

Bibliography.—G. Mendenhall, *Tenth Generation* (1973), pp. 69-104; *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δίκη κτλ.: δικαιόω (G. Schrenk), ἐκδικέω (Schrenk). G. A. HERION

VINE [Heb. *gepen, gepen hayyayin* (Jgs. 13:14), *śōrēq* (Isa. 5:2; Jer. 2:21), *śōrēqâ* (Gen. 49:11); Gk. *ámpelos*; Lat. *vinea* (2 Esd. 5:23; 16:43)]; **UNDRESSED VINE** [Heb. *nāzîr*] (Lev. 25:5, 11); NEB UNPRUNED VINES; **GRAPEVINE** [Heb. *gepen hayyayin*; Gk. *ámpelos*]; AV VINE TREE (Nu. 6:4), VINE (Jas. 3:12); NEB VINE; **VINE-ROWS** [Heb. *šārôṯ*] (Jer. 5:10); AV WALLS; **VINEYARD** [Heb. *kerem*; Gk. *ampelṓn*; Lat. *vinea* (2 Esd. 16:30)]; AV also VINES (Cant. 2:15; Jer. 31:5), "thy blood" (Ezk. 19:10); **VINTAGE** [Heb. *bāṣîr* (e.g., Lev. 26:5), *kerem* (Isa. 16:10); [Gk. *ómpelos* (Rev. 14:19)]; AV also VINE; NEB also GRAPES, "harvest"; **VINE-DRESSER** [Heb. *kōrēm*; Gk. *ampelourgós* (Lk. 13:7), *geōrgós* (Jn. 15:1)]; AV also HUSBANDMAN (Jn. 15:1); NEB also GARDENER (Jn. 15:1).

The common term for vine, usually the cultivated grapevine, is Heb. *gepen* (e.g., Gen. 40:9f.; Dt. 8:8; Jgs. 9:12; Job 15:33; Ps. 78:47; Cant. 2:13; Isa. 7:23; 16:8f.; Jer. 6:9; Ezk. 17:6-8; Mic. 4:4; Mal. 3:11). Bright red grapes are apparently indicated by Heb. *śōrēq* and *śōrēqâ*, the "choice vine" of Gen. 49:11; Isa. 5:2; Jer. 2:21. The "undressed" or 'unpruned" vine is the one left to grow wild.

The flower or blossom on the vine is called Heb. *peraḥ* ("blossom," Isa. 18:5) and *niṣṣâ* ("flower," Isa. 18:5; cf. Gen. 40:10), and *sᵉmāḏār* (AV "tender grape," Cant. 2:13, 15; 7:12).

References to vineyards include Ezk. 19:10 in the RSV, which follows two MSS in reading *karmᵉḵâ* for *bᵉḏāmᵉḵâ* (AV "thy blood"), easily confused in the original.

The common grapevine is mentioned in Scripture from the time of Noah. The *Vitis vinifera* L. may have been native to northern Persia, but its origin is very obscure. A characteristic product of the Promised Land, it became an important item of the Hebrew economy (Dt. 8:8; cf. 6:11; Josh. 24:13; Neh. 9:25); wine represents one of God's best gifts to human beings (Jgs. 9:13; Ps. 104:15). Jacob's blessing on Judah shows the suitability of the latter's portion of the land for cultivating vines (Gen. 49:11f.). During the captivity the poor were left behind as vinedressers and plowmen (2 K. 25:12; Jer. 52:16) lest the land become completely desolate. When the captives returned, however, this duty would fall to "foreigners" (Isa. 61:5).

Viticulture has always been prominent in the hill country of Samaria and Judea where the natural contours provide excellent terraces (cf. Isa. 5:1f.). In early days the vine lay along the ground or trailed over walls and rocks (cf. Gen. 49:22), but later it was supported by poles or trellises (cf. 1 K. 4:25; Mic. 4:4; Zec. 3:10). Constant care was necessary to ensure a fruitful vine. After the rains any damage to the terraces was repaired, and the ground was dug and cleared of weeds. Because of the delicate structure of the vine, damage was easily sustained by the plant, whether from storms, animal depredations, or the destruction caused by trespassers or pillagers. Fallen vines were lifted (Jn. 12:2, *aírei*, from *aírō*, "to lift," *not* from *airéō*, "to catch, take away," as in all Eng. versions) into position with meticulous care and allowed to heal.

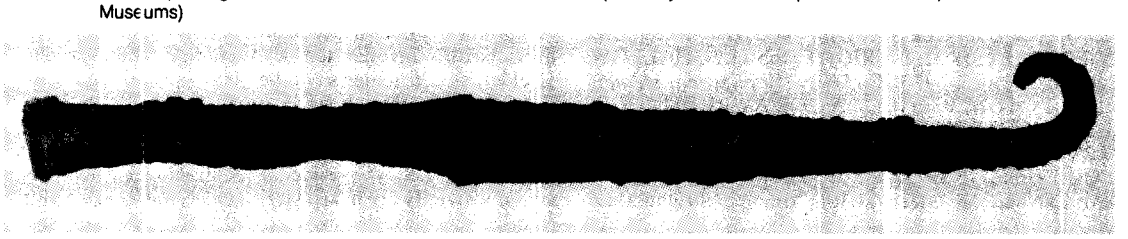
As in other plants, the quality of the fruit was safeguarded by the pruning of the branches. This operation was performed with pruning hooks (Heb. *mazmērôṯ*, Isa. 2:4; 18:5; Joel 3:10; Mic. 4:3) which were small sickle-shaped knives that may have been weapons originally, and could certainly be converted to such purposes quickly were an enemy attack to threaten. Dead branches were pruned in spring (Lev. 25:3f.; Isa. 5:6) and were gathered for burning (Jn. 15:6). Foxes and jackals menaced the ripening grapes (Cant. 2:15), and in some districts wild boars damaged growing vines (Ps. 80:8, 12f.[MT 9, 13f.]). In the vineyards one or more stone towers were erected, in which the vinedressers lived (Isa. 5:2; Mt. 21:33 par. Mk. 12:1).

The vintage season usually began in September and was a joyful occasion. Towns were often practically deserted as the people moved to temporary lodges in the vineyards. The grapes were gathered and carried in baskets or on a yoke to the big stone winepresses, which usually consisted of two containers, one above the other, hewn out of the solid rock (Joel 3:13 [MT 4:13]; Isa. 5:2; Mt. 21:33 par. Mk. 12:1). The grape juice that exuded into the lower vat through the weight of the grapes was the highly prized "new" or "sweet" wine (Hos. 4:11; Am. 9:13; Acts 2:13) and was kept separate from the juice pressed out subsequently. The later operation was performed by barefooted men who trampled the grapes and shouted encouragement to each other (Isa. 16:9f.; Jer. 25:30; 48:33) as their feet, legs, and loincloths became stained with juice (Gen. 49:11; Isa. 63:2f.). The expressed liquid flowed into the lower vat and was collected in vessels. Some of the unfermented juice ("must") was drunk as a beverage, but most of it fermented through the enzymatic action of the wine-ferment yeast, *Saccharomyces ellipsoideus*. *See* WINE.

Dregs (RSV "lees") from old wine were added to fermented juice that would be stored for a time. Before old wine could be served the lees had to be removed by straining (Isa. 25:6). "Mixed" wine, flavored with spices and herbs, was used at feasts and other important occasions (Prov. 9:2, 5; 23:30; Isa. 5:22; Jn. 2:1-11). From early days wine was an ordinary item of hospitality (Gen. 14:18) and under Levitical law accompanied the daily sacrifices (Ex. 29:38-40), the first fruits of the land (Lev. 23:10, 12f.), and other ceremonial offerings (Nu. 15:5). Wine was subjected to tithing (Ex. 22:29; Dt. 18:4). *See* WINE.

In the Bible the vine symbolizes national peace, prosperity (1 K. 4:25; Mic. 4:4; Zec. 3:10), and settled habitation (2 K. 19:29; Ps. 107:37; Am. 9:14; etc.). To plant but not reap the fruits is a misfortune (Dt. 20:6; cf. 1 Cor. 9:7) and may indicate divine displeasure (Dt. 28:30; Zeph. 1:13; Am. 5:11). Joseph is described as a "fruitful bough" (Gen. 49:22), while Israel was a vine (Isa. 5:1-10) brought out of Egypt (Ps. 80:8f.; Jer. 2:21; 12:10). Vine leaves and

An iron pruning hook from the 7th cent. B.C. found at ʿAtlît (courtesy, the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)



grape clusters are prominent features of later Jewish architecture and coins.

Three of Christ's parables refer to vineyards (Mt. 20:1-16; 21:28-32; 21:33-46 par. Mk. 12:1-12; Lk. 20: 9-14). He made the vine a sacred Christian symbol by teaching about the true vine (Jn. 15:1-17).

See also GRAPE. R. K. HARRISON

VINEGAR [Heb. *ḥōmeṣ* < *ḥāmēṣ*–'be sour' (Nu. 6:3; Ps. 69:21 [MT 22]; Prov. 10:26; 25:20); Gk. *óxos*; cf. *oxýs*–'sharp'(Mt. 27:48 par.)]. Vinegar is formed when a saccharine fluid passes through a fermentation that produces acetic acid. Since pure vinegar is undrinkable, the biblical texts are probably best understood as referring to sour wine. As such, it was forbidden to Nazirites (Nu. 6:3). It was often used as a condiment in which bread was dipped (Ruth 2:14, AV; cf. *TDOT*, IV, 491f.).

The book of Proverbs uses vinegar's acidic, irritating nature in two comparisons. In 10:26 vinegar's effect on teeth is compared with the irritation a sluggard causes to those who send him (see McKane, p. 417). Most scholars follow the LXX and interpret the difficult text of 25:20 as comparing vinegar's effect on a wound with the effect of a song on a sad heart, i.e., as vinegar burns a wound, so a song irritates someone who is sad (see KD). But as Kellermann (*TDOT*, IV, 491) pointed out, the MT terms in their usual sense (*neṭer* means natron or carbonate of soda; see BDB, p. 684) would refer to vinegar (an acid) neutralizing soda (an alkali). Thus Kellermann suggested that this verse compares the neutralizing effect of vinegar on soda with the neutralizing effect of a song on a sad heart (cf. 1 S. 16:17-23, where David's music dispelled Saul's melancholy). But this interpretation fails to explain the other comparison in the verse ("like one who takes off a garment on a cold day"), which seems clearly to refer to making matters worse, not better.

In Ps. 69:21 (MT 22) the psalmist states that his enemies have given him poison for food and vinegar to drink; the parallelism indicates clearly the unpalatable nature of vinegar. A hymn from Qumrân (1QH 4:11) seems to apply this verse to the enemies of the community who withhold "the draught of knowledge from the thirsty ones and for their thirst they made them drink vinegar" (M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns* [1961], p. 124). According to some scholars the Gospels quoted (or alluded to) Ps. 69:21 in their account of the crucifixion, though they may have radically reinterpreted it.

When Jesus was on the cross He was offered vinegar on a sponge (Mt. 27:48; Mk. 15:36; Lk. 23:36; Jn. 19:29f.). But the significance of this action is uncertain, for the Gospels differ in their accounts of this incident. In Matthew and Mark a bystander gives the vinegar to Jesus, in Luke a soldier mockingly offers it to Jesus, and in John someone gives it to Jesus in response to His statement "I thirst." It is unclear whether this was an effort to antagonize and mock Jesus (either by giving Him something undrinkable or by giving him a drink that would prolong His life and hence His suffering), as Luke clearly intends, or to be merciful, as the other Evangelists (esp. John) imply. In either case "vinegar" was probably the Roman *posca*, a mixture of water, egg, and vinegar that was effective in quenching thirst and popular among soldiers and the poor (see *TDNT*, V, 288f.; W. Lane, *Gospel of Mark* [*NICNT*, 1974], pp. 573f.). As F. F. Bruce noted (*Gospel of John* [1983], pp. 372f.), John (as well as the other Evangelists) uses *óxos*, the same word used in Ps. 68:22, LXX (= Ps. 69:21). It is possible, as R. Schnackenburg pointed out, that "the bitter drink which Jesus takes is an image for the knowingly accepted pain of death" (comm. on John, III [Eng. tr. 1982], 283f.). See R. Brown, comm. on John, II (*AB*, 1970), 927-931, for a thorough, sensible analysis of the Gospel accounts.

In 1717 John Baskett, the royal printer, produced a version of the Bible that became known as the "Vinegar Bible" because of a misprint in which the parable of the vineyard (Lk. 20:9-16) is called the "Parable of the Vinegar."

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G. A. L.

VINEYARD. *See* VINE.

VINTAGE. *See* VINE.

VIOL. The AV translation of Heb. *nēḇel/neḇel* (RSV "harp") in Isa. 5:12; 14:11; Am. 5:23; 6:5. *See* MUSIC II.B.2.

VIOLENCE; VIOLENT; VIOLENTLY [Heb. *ḥāmās* (Gen. 6:11, 13; 49:5; Jgs. 9:24; 2 S. 22:3, 49; Job 16:17; etc.), *ḥāmas* ("do violence," Jer. 22:3; Ezk. 22:26; Zeph. 3:4; niphal, "suffer violence," Jer. 13:22), *šōḏ* (Prov. 21:7; 24:2; Hos. 12:1), piel of *šāḏaḏ* (Prov. 19:26; 24:15), *pārîṣ*–'robber' (Ps. 17:4; Dnl. 11:14), pass. part. of *gāzal*–'take away by force' ("taken by violence," Mal. 1:13; "violently taken away," Dt. 28:31), *gēzel* ("violently taken away," Eccl. 5:8 [MT 7]), *kō(a)ḥ*–'strength, power' (Job 30:18), *bāṣa'* ("get gain by violence," Prov. 1:19), *mᵉrûṣâ*–'extortion' (Jer. 22:17), *'awlâ*–'wickedness' (2 S. 7:10; 1 Ch. 17:9), *'ārîṣ*–'tyrant' (Prov. 11:16), *bᵉyāḏ*–'with (violent) hand' (Isa. 28:2), *ḥārāḏ ḥᵃrāḏâ gᵉḏōlâ*–'tremble with great trembling' ("tremble violently," Gen. 27:33), *bᵉḥozqâ*–'with power' (Jgs. 8:1), *ṭalṭēlâ*–'throwing to a great distance' ("hurl away violently," Isa. 22:17), infinitive with hithpolel of *môṭ*–'reel, totter' ("be violently shaken," Isa. 24:19); Gk. *bía* (Acts 5:26; 21:35; 24:7 mg.), *biastḗs* ("man of violence," Mt. 11:12), *biázomai* ("suffer violence," Mt. 11:12; "come violently," mg.; "enter violently," Lk. 16:16), *hórmēma*–'impulse' (Rev. 18:21), *diaseíō*–'shake violently' ("rob by violence," Lk. 3:14), infinitive of *kakóō*–'do harm to' (Acts 12:1), *plḗktēs*–'pugnacious person' (1 Tim. 3:3; Tit. 1:7), *polýs*–'many, great' (Acts 23:10), *kath' hyperbolḗn*–'to excess' (Gal. 1:13), *sphodrôs*–'vehemently' (Acts 27:18)]; AV also CRUELTY, ROBBER(Y), INJUSTICE, WRONG, FORCE, WASTE, DESTRUCTION, "be made bare" (Jer. 13:22), DESOLATION, WICKEDNESS, STRIKER (Gk. *plḗktēs*), etc.; NEB also MURDER, TALK DOWN (Prov. 19:26), RAID (24:15), "be uncovered" (Jer. 13:22), TYRANNY (Jer. 22:17), LAWLESSNESS, HOTHEAD (Dnl. 11:14), etc.

I. In the OT.-The primary OT term for "violence" is Heb. *ḥāmās*. The RSV has rendered this noun by "violence" or "violent" in fifty-five of its sixty occurrences. The verb *ḥāmas* is rendered "do violence" in three of its seven occurrences in the qal, and "suffer violence" in its single occurrence in the niphal (Jer. 13:22). The basic meaning of *ḥāmās* is not destructive force but social injustice or oppression. The term denotes an unscrupulous assault upon the rights (sometimes even the life) of another. It often — though not necessarily — involves the use of physical violence (see *TDOT*, IV, 482). With the possible exception of Job 19:7 (where Job seems to be accusing God of *ḥāmās*), the subject of *ḥāmās* is always human and usually male (cf. the phrase *'îš ḥāmās/ḥᵃmāsîm*, 2 S. 22:49; Ps. 18:48 [MT 49]; 140:1, 4, 11 [MT 2, 5, 12]; Prov. 3:31; 16:29). The victims of *ḥāmās* are also generally human, although Ezk. 22:26 and Zeph. 3:4 refer to priests

who "do violence" (*ḥāmas*) to God's law, i.e., exploit it for their own ends.

Genesis makes clear that human violence was an immediate consequence of the fall (cf. the murders committed by Cain [4:8] and Lamech [v. 23]). By the time of Noah the earth had become "filled with violence [*ḥāmās*]" (6:11, 13), and it was this form of wickedness (v. 5) that provoked God to send the Flood (*see also* WICKED). Violence persisted after the Flood, however. It continued to be one of the fundamental human sins that called forth God's judgment.

In the OT violence (*ḥāmās*) is generally associated with one of two motivations: GREED or hatred (*see* HATE I.A). Greed motivated the rich and powerful to exploit the powerless (esp. "the alien, the fatherless, and the widow," Jer. 22:3), robbing them of their rightful property (cf. Ps. 72:13f.; 73:6; Jer. 22:17; Ezk. 7:11; 28:16; 45:9; Mic. 6:12). Amos condemned the wealthy leaders of Samaria for storing up "violence and robbery in their strongholds" (Am. 3:10; cf. 6:3). Various proverbs warn against following the path of those who enrich themselves by exploiting others (e.g., Prov. 4:17; 13:2; 16:29). *See also* EXTORT; OPPRESS; POOR; RICHES I.B.

Hatred was the second motive for violence (cf. the phrase *śin'aṯ ḥāmās* [RSV "violent hatred"] in Ps. 25:19). Violence of this sort often involved the physical destruction of the enemy's life; thus *ḥāmās* can refer to cold-blooded MURDER. In Gen. 49:5, e.g., Simeon and Levi's "violence" is the slaughter of the Shechemites in retaliation for the rape of their sister Dinah (cf. ch. 34); Abimelech's *ḥāmās* in Jgs. 9:24 is the murder of his seventy brothers (cf. vv. 1-6). This meaning of *ḥāmās* is clear also in passages where it occurs in parallel with *dām*, "blood" (e.g., Ps. 72:14; Jer. 51:35; Ezk. 7:23; Hab. 2:8, 17; see *TDOT*, IV, 480, 482). Thus, in the OT "violence" never denotes simply the taking of human life; where it indicates the destruction of life it is always the shedding of "*innocent* blood" (cf. Isa. 59:6f.; Joel 3:19 [MT 4:19]), motivated by hatred or greed. Such violence may be committed by whole nations as well as by individuals (e.g., Jer. 51:35, 46; Ezk. 7:23; 12:19; Ob. 10; Hab. 1:9; 2:8, 17).

Instead of committing murder directly, a person might take his enemy to court and seek the death penalty on false charges (cf. the references to the *'ed-ḥāmās* [RSV "malicious witness"] in Ex. 23:1; Dt. 19:16; Ps. 35:11; *see* MALICE). Thus, in many of the Psalms *ḥāmās* is associated with lies and persecution of the innocent (e.g., Ps. 27:12; 58:1f. [MT 2f.]; 140:1-5, 11 [MT 2-6, 12]; cf. 7:14-16 [MT 15-17]; 25:19-21; 55:9 [MT 10]). Prov. 10:6, 11 state that "the mouth of the wicked conceals violence." Victims of violence cried out "*ḥāmās!*" (Job 19:7; Jer. 6:7; 20:8; Hab. 1:2), but they did not always find justice in the courts. The prophets condemned rulers and judges who failed to protect the innocent from such injustice (e.g., Isa. 59:6 [cf. vv. 1-8]; Hab. 1:3f.; cf. Ps. 58:1f.); but Isa. 60:18 prophesies of a time of salvation when the cry of "violence" will no longer be heard in the land.

The OT writers viewed *ḥāmās* not only as a social crime but also as a crime against Yahweh. They looked to God for deliverance from those who plotted violence against them (e.g., Ps. 27:12; 55:9 [MT 10]; 74:20; 140:1, 4 [MT 2, 5]; Hab. 1:1-3; cf. 2 S. 22:3, 49; Ps. 18:48 [MT 49]), confident that God hated violence (cf. Ps. 11:5) and that He would punish the perpetrators of violence (e.g., Jgs. 9:23f.; Ps. 7:16 [MT 17]; cf. 58:1f., 10f. [MT 2f., 11]; 140:11 [MT 12]).

Another word-group occasionally rendered "violence" is the noun *šōḏ* and cognate verb *šāḏaḏ*. *Šōḏ* often occurs in synonymous parallelism with *ḥāmās* (cf. RSV "desolation," Isa. 59:7; "devastation," 60:18; "destruction," Hab. 2:17); sometimes the terms are paired (*ḥāmās wāšōḏ*, Jer. 6:7; 20:8; Ezk. 45:9; Am. 3:10; *šōḏ wᵉḥāmās*, Hab. 1:3). This suggests that the terms are synonymous and that *šōḏ*, like *ḥāmās*, connotes social injustice. The contexts of Prov. 21:7 and 24:2 (cf. also *šāḏaḏ* in 19:26; 24:15) clearly suggest oppression of the poor and the righteous.

The verb *gāzal* means literally "snatch away forcefully and illegally" (*see* ROB). Thus the passive participle can refer to something that has been stolen (Dt. 28:31; Mal. 1:13). Similarly, the derived noun *gēzel* denotes robbery (Eccl. 5:8 [MT 7]). Prov. 1:11-19 describes "the ways of those who get gain by violence [*bāṣa'*]" (v. 19). *Bāṣa'* can mean "make a profit" in a neutral sense, but most often it refers to making an illegal profit (*see also* GAIN).

II. In the NT.—The most common NT terms for violence are Gk. *bía* and its cognates, *biázomai* and *biastḗs*. The noun *bía* occurs only in Acts (5:26; 21:35; 24:7 mg.; 27:41 [RSV "surf"]), where in each case it denotes a violent force that is a potential threat to human life. The verb *biázomai* generally refers to an exercise of hostile force. In the middle voice it usually means "force, compel," "act with violence," or "press hard"; in the passive it generally means "be overpowered," "suffer violence." The rare noun *biastḗs* denotes a person who seizes what he desires through force.

The meaning of *biázomai* and *biastḗs* in Mt. 11:12 has occasioned much discussion and a variety of interpretations. Many have interpreted the verb as an intransitive middle: the kingdom of heaven "breaks in with force." The problem with this reading is that it requires interpreting *biastaí* in a positive sense ("those who press toward it violently" seize the kingdom), whereas it generally denotes a hostile force. The same problem is encountered if *biázomai* is interpreted as a passive in a favorable sense: the kingdom of heaven "suffers violence" by men who strive for it vehemently. Because of the prominent theme of persecution in Matthew and in this specific context (John's imprisonment), it seems best to interpret *biázomai* as a passive in a negative sense: the kingdom of heaven "suffers violence," and "violent men" (persecutors) plunder it or try to snatch it away (*harpázō*; cf. *harpázō* in 13:19). (See comms. on Matthew; *DNTT*; *TDNT*.)

The saying has a different context and somewhat different form in Lk. 16:16. This passage has also received a variety of interpretations. Here *biázomai* is followed by the preposition *eis*, suggesting "press forcefully into" (middle) or "be pressed into" (passive) rather than "exert force against." Moreover, the phrase *pás eis autḗn biázetai* parallels "the good news of the kingdom of God is preached [*euangelízetai*]." Thus, it appears best to abandon efforts to harmonize this saying with that in Mt. 11:12. In the light of Luke's missionary emphasis, the best translation may be "everyone is pressed to enter it" (i.e., by means of an urgent invitation; see J. A. Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* [*AB*, 1985], pp. 1117f.).

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, III, 711f.; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* βιάζομαι, βιαστής (Schrenk); *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "bṣ'" (Kellermann), "gāzal" (Schüpphaus); IV, *s.v.* "chāmās" (Haag); *TWOT*, I, 122f., 297; II, 906.

N. J. OPPERWALL

VIPER [Heb. *'ep'eh* (Job 20:16; Isa. 30:6; 59:5), *šᵉpîpôn*—'horned snake' (?) (Gen. 49:17), *'akšûḇ* (Ps. 140:3 [MT 4]); Gk. *échidna* (Mt. 3:7; 12:34; 23:33; Lk. 3:7; Acts 28:3)]; AV also ADDER (Gen. 49:17; Ps. 140:3); NEB also SAND-VIPER (Isa. 30:6), HORNED SNAKE (Gen. 49:17), SPIDER (Ps. 140:3), etc.

Vipers include snakes in the family *Viperidae*, which is characterized by the presence of poisonous fangs fused to a movable maxilla (upper jaw). All species in the *Viperidae* family are very poisonous. Their venom is strongly hemolytic, which acts to destroy blood corpuscles and vessels. Thus they pose a real danger to human beings. While most vipers are terrestrial creatures, there are several aquatic, arboreal, and burrowing species. The majority of vipers give birth to fully developed offspring, while only a few species lay eggs (oviparous).

The exact identification of vipers in the Scriptures is difficult since many of the references occur in figurative or prophetic contexts (e.g., Job 20:16; Ps. 140:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 30:6; 59:5). Yet several passages do indicate dangerous venomous snakes (Job 20:16; Ps. 140:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 30:6).

In the RSV OT "viper" most frequently translates Heb. *ʾepʿeh* (cf. Arab. *ʾafʿan*). Some have identified this with *Echis colorata*, the carpet viper (KoB, p. 78).

In Gen. 49:17 "viper" (Heb. *šepîpôn;* cf. Akk. *šippu*) occurs in the context of several animal metaphors (cf. vv. 9, 14f.). Jacob describes the tribe of Dan as a "serpent" in v. 17, which is made more specific by the parallel term "viper." Perhaps this refers to the "horned viper," *Cerastes cerastes* (cf. Gk. *cerástēs* in Jerome), a small but very dangerous species. The metaphor thus appropriately describes the victorious struggle of a relatively small tribe (Dan) against larger foes (Canaanites, Philistines).

The OT hapax legomenon *ʾakšûḇ* (Ps. 140:3 [MT 4]; cf. LXX 139:4, *aspís*, "asp") may be the species known as *Cerastes cornutus*, a sand viper (cf. KoB, p. 703). The parallelism of the passage indicates that the creature is a snake, though Jewish tradition suggests that it is a spider (cf. Tg., 11QPs^{a}).

In the RSV NT Jesus and John the Baptist usually use "vipers" in reference to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and scribes (Mt. 3:7 par. Lk. 3:7; Mt. 12:34; 23:33); the exception is Lk. 3:7, where John calls the multitude of people "vipers." In view here are "poisonous serpents" (see *TDNT*, II, 815), not mere harmless snakes. Perhaps the attribution of "viper" comes from the way that these creatures flee when either harvesters enter the fields or when fire approaches. Thus, rather than giving evidence of true repentance, the Jewish leaders were "fleeing from the coming wrath."

See also SERPENT; ADDER; ASP.

See F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), pp. 65f.

G. L. KNAPP

VIRGIN. A person (usually female) who has not had sexual intercourse. The usual OT clause specifying such a woman is "who has not known a man" (e.g., Gen. 19:8; Nu. 31:18, 35; Jgs. 11:39; 21:12); the NT has a specific word, Gk. *parthénos*. The RSV OT uses "virgin" only to translate Heb. *bᵉṯûlâ*, while other versions (e.g., AV) use it also as a rendering of *ʿalmâ*; but this is certainly not the aptest translation of *bᵉṯûlâ*, and the precise meaning of *ʿalmâ* remains somewhat obscure.

I. In the OT.*—*A. Bᵉṯûlâ. The RSV most frequently translates *bᵉṯûlâ* "virgin," but sometimes it prefers "maiden" (e.g., Ps. 78:63; 148:12; *see* MAID, MAIDEN); rarely the NEB translates it "girl" (e.g., Jer. 2:32; 31:13; 51:22). None of these translations is really accurate. "Girl" is too general, as it covers any female from birth to adulthood. "Virgin" implies that the female in question is sexually chaste. In biblical society sexual chastity would certainly be assumed of a woman who was not married; but a *bᵉṯûlâ* could be married, so this suggests that another English term is required. Closest in semantic range to *bᵉṯûlâ* is Eng. "maiden," although this term is archaic. *Bᵉṯûlâ* denotes a girl of marriageable age, one who has recently passed puberty and is therefore at the height of her strength and beauty. An approximate English equivalent would be a "girl in her teens," although this definition is probably overly chronological and may well suggest connotations of psychological and other problems that are not present in the Hebrew term.

That the right meaning of *bᵉṯûlâ* is "girl of marriageable age" rather than "virgin" is demonstrated by several considerations. First, this is the likeliest meaning of similar words in other Semitic languages. Akk. *batultu* means "adolescent, nubile girl." In Ugaritic Baal's wife is called *btlt*. An Aramaic text speaks of a *btwlt*ʾ in labor.

Second, in Hebrew poetry *bᵉṯûlôṯ* often stand in parallel with "young men" (*baḥûrîm*) as opposed to young children on the one hand and the elderly on the other (Dt. 32:25; Isa. 23:4; Lam. 1:18; 2:21). This suggests that the distinction of age is primary here.

Third, Joel 1:8 ("Lament like a *bᵉṯûlâ* . . . for the husband of her youth") shows the inappropriateness of rendering *bᵉṯûlâ* as "virgin." The *bᵉṯûlâ* is a young widowed wife, not merely a fiancée as English versions misleadingly suggest by translating *baʿal* here as "bridegroom" instead of "husband," its normal meaning.

Finally, the references to *bᵉṯûlâ* in the legal texts (e.g., Ex. 22:16f. [MT 15f.]) make just as much sense rendered "marriageable girl" as "virgin." Of course, in biblical society girls married young and premarital sex was viewed with contempt, so girls were expected to be virgins when they married; but that is not what *bᵉṯûlâ* refers to. It indicates age and eligibility for marriage. Similarly, when cities (e.g., Jerusalem, Isa. 37:22; Babylon, 47:1) or nations (e.g., Egypt, Jer. 46:11) are apostrophized as "virgin daughter of . . . ," the allusion is to their beauty, strength, and maybe their fecundity, not their purity.

B. Tokens of Virginity (Bᵉṯûlîm). The phrase "tokens of virginity" (NEB "proofs of virginity") occurs five times in Dt. 22:13-21. The RSV translates the same Hebrew word (*bᵉṯûlîm*, an abstract plural of *bᵉṯûlâ*) three times "virginity" (Lev. 21:13; Jgs. 11:37f.) and twice "virgin breasts" (Ezk. 23:3, 8). Its use in Deuteronomy gives the clearest clue to its exact meaning.

A brief summary of the context in Dt. 22:13-21 is necessary. A newly wed man claims that his wife has been unfaithful to him. Commentators have usually supposed that premarital intercourse is being alleged. V. 21 makes it clear that the charge is unfaithfulness by a betrothed woman while she was still living with her parents before her wedding. Unfaithfulness at this stage was considered adultery and warranted the death penalty (cf. vv. 23f.). In proof of the charge of unfaithfulness, the husband claims that he has found no "tokens of virginity" in his wife. The young woman's parents then produce the tokens if they can. Their production disproves the charge and leads to the husband being whipped and having to pay crippling damages. But if the parents fail to produce the tokens, the young woman is executed.

Often commentators have supposed these tokens to be the blood-stained sheet of the wedding night. But such an explanation is inadequate. Not only would blood stains on this sheet be a poor proof of virginity, but if this were the garment in question, the husband would surely know whether his father-in-law had it. More likely *bᵉṯûlîm* should be translated "evidence of menstruation." Thus the husband is claiming that his new wife was already pregnant when he married her. He has found in her no "evidence of menstruation" (v. 14). So her parents try to produce a garment stained with blood from her last menstrual cycle before her marriage. On this view *bᵉṯûlîm*

means "(tokens of) nubility" rather than "(tokens of) virginity." The root *bᵉṯûlâ/bᵉṯûlîm* again indicates primarily a girl's age rather than her chastity.

C. 'Almâ. Hebrew *'almâ* is used in reference to girls seven times in the OT. The AV translates it four times as "virgin" (Gen. 24:43; Cant. 1:3; 6:8; Isa. 7:14) and elsewhere as "maid" or "damsel." The RSV and NEB never render it "virgin" (except Isa. 7:14, RSV mg.) but prefer "young woman," "girl," or "maiden." The rarity of its usage makes determining its meaning very difficult. The masculine *'elem* occurs only twice and is translated, "lad," "stripling," or "youth." This may suggest that *'almâ* is another term denoting a girl of a particular age — but of what age is uncertain. In Ex. 2:8 the girl could be younger than a teenager, but in Gen. 24:43 Rebekah is already of marriageable age (cf. v. 16 [*bᵉṯûlâ*]). In no case is it clear that an *'almâ* is married: indeed, Cant. 6:8 contrasts the king's wives ("queens" and "concubines") with the "maidens [*'ălāmôṯ*] without number." So possibly *'almâ* means "virgin," since all unmarried girls in Israel were expected to be chaste. Often it has been argued that since *bᵉṯûlâ* denotes "virgin," *'almâ* cannot have this technical sense. But if *bᵉṯûlâ* means "teenage, nubile girl," then it is not impossible that *'almâ* means "virgin."

The meaning of *'almâ* has occasioned much discussion because of its occurrence in Isa. 7:14, which has been translated either as "Behold, a virgin shall conceive . . ." (AV, RSV mg.), or as "Behold, a young woman shall conceive . . ." (RSV, NEB). The first translation implies a miraculous conception, the latter does not. This one verse has received more discussion than any other passage in the OT, yet without any consensus emerging among commentators. While Christians agree that it refers ultimately to the birth of Christ, they remain divided about its original and primary meaning, i.e., what Isaiah meant when he first spoke about an *'almâ* conceiving. Was he thinking of some young woman he knew (e.g., the queen, his wife, or somebody else in eighth-century Jerusalem)? Or was he looking further ahead into the future?

It would certainly help the discussion if the meaning of *'almâ* were clearer. Unfortunately, the evidence is too meagre to be decisive. It is not certain what differentiates *'almâ* from other Hebrew terms for younger females. Elsewhere *'almâ* is never used for girls who are definitely married (Prov. 30:19 is equivocal), so this may weigh against interpretations that suppose that Isaiah was thinking of the king's wife or his own wife. But the lexical evidence is not strong enough to rule out such possibilities. Certainly Isaiah's use of *'almâ* contributes to making this a striking and mysterious prophecy.

It is also clear that Isa. 7:14 is essentially an oracle of judgment against Ahaz and the Davidic house. Invited by Isaiah to ask for a sign to confirm his faith, Ahaz rejects the offer, displaying his unbelief. So a sign is imposed on him, evidently a proof that the Lord is no longer Ahaz's God (v. 13). The conception and birth of this child must therefore presage calamity for the Davidic house (cf. the judgments predicted in vv. 17-25 and the reference to the stump of Jesse in 11:1). Yet the name given to the child, Immanuel ("God is with us"), is full of hope: if God is with His people, then they can expect victory and salvation. Thus this whole prophecy must have been a puzzle to its first hearers, and it is perhaps not surprising that its original meaning is still obscure to us.

For further discussion of Isa. 7:14, *see* IMMANUEL.

II. In the NT.–The LXX usually translates Heb. *bᵉṯûlâ* by Gk. *parthénos*, and twice (including Isa. 7:14, quoted by Mt. 1:23) it uses this term to translate Heb. *'almâ*. Like *bᵉṯûlâ*, Gk. *parthénos* originally meant a "girl of marriageable age," but in later Greek it came to denote a chaste girl, i.e., a virgin. It has this latter sense throughout the NT. Mt. 1:18, 25 and Lk. 1:27-38 assert Mary's virginity at the time that she conceived Jesus. Similarly, in 2 Cor. 11:2 Paul speaks of presenting the church as a "chaste virgin" (RSV "pure bride") to Christ, and in Rev. 14:4 the term is applied to men "who have not defiled themselves with women" (cf. RSV mg.). Mt. 25:1, 7, 11 uses it to describe the bridesmaids at a wedding, presumably the unmarried friends of the bride.

The only problematic use of the term occurs in 1 Cor. 7:25-38, where the differences between the English versions highlight the difficulties. The AV consistently translates *parthénos* "virgin"; the RSV oscillates between "unmarried," "girl," and "betrothed"; the NEB uses "celibacy," "virgin," "partner in celibacy," and "virginity." The major interpretative issues are the identity of the *parthénoi* and their relationship to the men whom Paul is also addressing in this passage. According to some interpreters Paul is giving advice to the fathers of aging spinsters; others read him as dealing with the custom of Levirate marriage (cf. Dt. 25:5-10); and still others believe that he is addressing married partners who live together without sexual relations (cf. NEB). The most probable view, however, is that Paul is addressing engaged couples who are wondering whether they should delay marriage or proceed with it (cf. RSV, NIV). Paul advises them to be guided by their conscience (1 Cor. 7:36-38).

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VIRGIN BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST.

I. Definition
II. Textual Considerations
III. Historical-Critical Considerations
  A. Biblical Witness
  B. Postapostolic Witness
IV. Meaning of the Virgin Birth
  A. Dogmatic Interpretations
  B. Salvation-Historical Interpretation

I. Definition.–The term "Virgin Birth" is the designation for the NT teaching that Jesus was born without the agency of a human father, being conceived by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin Mary and subsequently born while Mary was yet a virgin. This teaching has been affirmed by the Christian Church throughout its history, and is included in most of the major ecumenical confessions. It is not to be confused with the "Immaculate Conception," the Roman Catholic doctrine that teaches that Mary was conceived without original sin. *See* MARY 6. VI.D.3

II. Textual Considerations.–The NT witness to Jesus' birth is found in the Gospels of Matthew (1:18-25) and Luke (1:26-56; 2:1-7). The position of these texts in the canonical literature is virtually undisputed. L. M. Sweet's verdict of fifty years ago still stands: "if we are to allow any weight at all to textual evidence there is no question as to the infancy narratives, either in whole or in part. Their position is flawless and unassailable" (p. 3052).

Matthew's birth narrative clearly teaches that Jesus was born without the agency of a human father (Mt. 1:18, 20, 23, 25). The language of Matthew's genealogy (1:1-16) underscores this as well. While seeking to establish Jesus' legal right to the messianic throne of David through Joseph, Matthew shifts in v. 16 from the active "begot" (*egénnēsen*) to the passive "was born" (*egennéthē*) to account for Jesus' birth. He thus breaks the normal genea-

VIRGIN BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST

logical pattern by stating that Jesus was born of Mary, not begotten by Joseph.

Luke 1:27 indicates that Mary was still a virgin (*parthénos*) at the time of the Annunciation, being betrothed but not yet married to Joseph. The repetition of *parthénos* at the end of v. 27 serves to emphasize Mary's virginity. Since it was normal for a betrothed Jewish maiden to be a virgin, it seems likely that Luke repeats this word to highlight the miraculous nature of Jesus's conception. (Vv. 34f. prove that *parthénos* can only mean "virgin" in this context.)

The only textual variants relevant to the question of Jesus' Virgin Birth are found in Mt. 1:16. B. M. Metzger's discussion of these variants follows:

"There are three principal variant readings: (1) 'and Jacob begot Joseph *the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born, who is called Christ,*' is supported by a wide representation of textual families in early Greek and versional witnesses, including p^1 ℵ B C W vg syr^{p,h,pal} cop$^{sa,(bo)}$ geo.

"(2) 'and Jacob begot Joseph, *to whom being betrothed the virgin Mary bore Jesus, who is called Christ,*' is supported by Caesarean and several Old Latin witnesses (Θ f^{13} it$^{a,(b),c,d,(k),q}$). . . .

"(3) 'Jacob begot Joseph; *Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, begot Jesus who is called the Christ,*' is attested by the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript" (pp. 2f.).

Of these three readings, only 3 states specifically that Joseph begot Jesus, thus apparently denying the Virgin Birth. Yet even some who accept this solitary reading as nearest the original form of the genealogical tradition affirm that Matthew's genealogy always intended to attest to the Virgin Birth of Jesus (so, e.g., L. M. Sweet, p. 3052). In any event, "there is no evidence that reading 3 ever existed in a Greek manuscript of the first Gospel" (Metzger, p. 7). Perhaps this variant arose from a desire to balance the genealogy by mentioning Joseph's name twice, in conformity with every other name in Matthew's list.

As for reading 2, Metzger posits that it arose because the original reading, "Joseph the husband of Mary" 1, was considered misleading in a genealogical context. For this reason, "lest the hasty reader assume that Jesus was the physical son of Mary and her husband Joseph, the text was altered to bring it into conformity with v. 18 where the verb μνηστεύεσθαι ["betrothed"] is used to describe the relationship of Mary to Joseph." As for the possibility that 2 is the original reading, Metzger counters: "it is exceedingly difficult to imagine why any scribe would have substituted reading (1) for such a clear and unambiguous declaration of the virginity of Mary" as is found in reading 2. (pp. 6f.).

Thus on the basis of both external and internal textual evidence, reading 1 is almost certainly the original. The problem of Joseph being called the "husband" of Mary while she was still a virgin is not insuperable, and in any event provides further evidence that reading 1 is the original, as it constitutes a difficulty that later copyists would have been tempted to resolve through emendation.

III. Historical-Critical Considerations.–A. Biblical Witness. Those who deny the historicity of the Virgin Birth cannot do so on the basis of the meaning of the text itself. For this reason such denials tend to speculate on the origins of the birth accounts. The most common theory, which assumes a variety of forms, is that the Virgin Birth was not a historical event at all but rather a theological interpretation of who Jesus was (so, e.g., Barclay, p. 6). This theological interpretation, so the theory runs, was a later addition by the Evangelists to earlier (purely naturalistic) traditions about Jesus' birth, and reflects in story form a developed Christology similar to those set forth in Paul and John (who themselves never mention the Virgin Birth).

This theory is not without its difficulties, however. For example, the NT evidence indicates that the family of Jesus lived in Jerusalem at least through the early 60's, with James the Lord's brother being the leader of the church there. The prominence of Jesus' relatives in the Jerusalem church makes it virtually impossible that any spurious traditions about Jesus' birth would gain credibility. Indeed, who would feel free to invent such an account under those circumstances?

For this reason many who deny the historicity of the Virgin Birth hold that Matthew and Luke wrote the Infancy narratives late, between A.D. 80 and 90. But here another problem arises: both accounts are thoroughly Hebraic in character. This feature stands out particularly in Luke's account, which differs from the first-person introduction to his Gospel. This prologue (Lk. 1:1-4) exemplifies the best contemporary Greek literary style, whereas the Infancy narrative that follows is consistently Jewish in both style and outlook. Thus the source of the tradition is almost certainly early Palestinian. A reasonable theory is that Luke gathered the materials for his account while in Palestine between the time of Paul's final journey to Jerusalem and the apostle's voyage to Rome.

Other critics have argued that, while Luke's narrative is basically Hebraic, the Virgin Birth is a later theological interpolation within that historical account. But this misses the point of the narrative as a whole. The story of Jesus' conception and birth is juxtaposed with that of John the Baptist throughout the first two chapters of Luke's narrative. For this reason it is difficult, if not impossible, to regard those portions of Luke's narrative that mention the supernatural origin of Jesus as later additions forced upon an earlier historical account. From a strictly literary point of view, the Virgin Birth of Christ is the climax of the narrative. The annunciation to Zechariah and the birth of John are set forth by Luke not merely out of concern for historical thoroughness, but both in concert with and in contrast to the events surrounding Jesus' coming (see IV.B below). To regard as interpolation that toward which the entire narrative progresses is a highly dubious theory.

The notion that the miraculous nature of Jesus' birth was a later doctrinal development of the Church is likewise rendered doubtful by the fact that neither account is a doctrinal treatise. While each does indeed contain theological elements, the framework is not one of christological dogma but of salvation-historical fulfillment of God's promises to Israel. Neither Matthew nor Luke draws any conclusions about the meaning of the Virgin Birth as it relates to the person of Christ (e.g., His deity or humanity).

This lack of christological exposition is particularly noteworthy in Luke. Despite the fact that Luke was Paul's traveling companion throughout much of the apostle's ministry, nothing of Pauline influence stands in the narrative. To the contrary, the Christology of Lk. 1–2 can best be described as thoroughly Jewish and undeveloped (as is also the case with Matthew). Luke does not even insert the earliest Jewish-Christian Christology, which he himself recorded in Acts 1–4 (cf. "servant" in Acts 3:13, 26; 4:25, 27, 30), back into the history of Jesus' birth. And the salvation mentioned in Luke's account of Jesus' birth is directed not toward all humanity, Jews and Gentiles alike, but toward the Jews as God's covenant people ("to *all* the people," Lk. 2:10). This is even more remarkable

when one considers that, of the Synoptic Gospels, Luke's most emphasizes the universal scope of Christ's salvation.

That only Matthew and Luke mention the Virgin Birth of Christ is taken by some as evidence that the tradition was unknown to the other NT writers. This is an argument from silence, however, and carries no force when we keep two things in mind: (1) only Matthew and Luke write anything at all about Jesus' birth, and (2) the Birth narratives are historical accounts, not theological interpretations. Thus we would not necessarily expect to see any reference to the Virgin Birth in the heavily theological Pauline writings, nor in the two Gospel accounts (Mark, John) that choose not to deal with the years before Jesus' public ministry.

Nevertheless, a few NT statements may allude to the Virgin Birth of Jesus. Mk. 6:3, e.g., refers to Jesus as the "son of Mary," an unusual designation in a culture where a son was called by his father's name unless his paternity was uncertain or unknown. Paul likewise spoke of Jesus in an unconventional way, "born of a woman" (Gal. 4:4). And in Jn. 8:41 Jesus' opponents insist, "We were not born of fornication." Here "we" (Gk. *hēmeís*) is emphatic, perhaps by way of contrast: "not we, but you?" Thus Jn. 8:41 may reflect early suspicions about Jesus' parentage, which Jewish polemics later made explicit.

B. Postapostolic Witness. Aside from the aforementioned Jewish polemics and scattered heretical Christian denials (e.g., Carpocrates and Cerinthus), the Virgin Birth was accepted by second-century Christian writers. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and Aristides all regarded this teaching as fundamental to Christianity. This could hardly have been for apologetic reasons, as the Virgin Birth proved a hindrance rather than an aid to faith for some. Justin Martyr, e.g., argued with the Jew Trypho that it is illogical for Jews to reject the messiahship of Jesus simply because they reject His Virgin Birth. Apparently Justin's strategy was to induce the Jews to accept Jesus' messiahship first, in hopes that they would eventually accept the Virgin Birth as well. Origen, too, had to contend with the taunt of Celsus that the Virgin Birth was invented to cover up Mary's adultery with a Roman soldier (*Contra Celsum* i.28.32).

The teaching that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, while not part of the first-century Church's central proclamation of Christ (the kerygma), began to attain confessional status in the 2nd century. The first to treat the Virgin Birth as a confessional element appears to have been Ignatius, *ca.* A.D. 112 (Ign. Eph. 7:2). The fourth-century "Old Roman Creed," whose origin probably dates back to the 2nd cent. and which forms the basis of our Apostles' Creed, likewise lists the Virgin Birth as a confession of the Church. To be sure, the fourth-century creeds formulated by Eusebius and the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) make no mention of Jesus' Virgin Birth. Nevertheless, what we now call the "Nicene Creed," which appears to have originated with Cyril of Jerusalem and was confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, does describe Jesus' birth as "of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary."

It is therefore debatable whether "the Church does not insist that we believe this doctrine" (Barclay, p. 6). If this means merely that people can be saved without believing the Virgin Birth, this is most certainly true, since those who first heard the apostolic gospel message knew nothing of the Virgin Birth. On the other hand, the Virgin Birth is taught both in the NT and in the major ecumenical creeds. To reject it, then, is to reject a teaching close to the heart of the historical-biblical Christian faith.

IV. Meaning of the Virgin Birth. *–A. Dogmatic Interpretations.* While the Bible says that Jesus was born of a virgin, it does not specify why. Throughout Church history theologians have endeavored to answer that question, usually by relating the Virgin Birth to some aspect of Christ's person.

Some have argued that Christ's deity required the Virgin Birth. The NT, however, bases His divine Sonship not on the Virgin Birth but upon His preexistence. K. Barth rightly noted that the Virgin Birth is a sign, not the basis, of Jesus' Sonship. We must distinguish between the temporal "conceived by the Holy Spirit" and the eternal "begotten by the Holy Ghost" (*CD*, IV/1, p. 207).

Others believe that the Virgin Birth accounts for the sinlessness of Christ. This view is weak on at least two counts. First, the NT links Jesus' sinlessness to His obedience, not to an unpolluted human nature. Second, there is no necessary connection between the Virgin Birth and the doctrine of Christ's sinless human nature. Whose human nature did He take on, after all, if it was not that of Mary? Barth underscored this point in his argument that Jesus, although sinless, did indeed assume a fallen human nature; otherwise, how could He become the mediator between God and sinful humanity? (*CD*, IV/2, pp. 89f.). NT passages such as Rom. 8:3 and 2 Cor. 5:21 lend support to Barth's view. Again, the Virgin Birth is a sign, not a cause, of God's grace.

B. Salvation-Historical Interpretation. We have already noted that the Birth narratives are not dogmatic theology in story form, but rather are historical narratives. For this reason a more promising solution to the meaning of the Virgin Birth would seem to lie in its role as a sign of God's grace in His history of salvation. We believe both Matthew and Luke viewed the Virgin Birth in just this way, as the first sign that God has now fulfilled His promise of salvation to His covenant people.

For Luke, the Virgin Birth of Jesus Christ was the second and greater of two extraordinary births heralding the arrival of the messianic age of salvation. The first birth, that of John the Baptist, was a sign that the promised messianic age would come soon, within the lifetime of John. But the birth of Jesus went beyond that of John the Baptist in its supernatural character because it was precisely the fulfillment of that salvation that God had promised to His covenant people from the time of Abraham up to the coming of John the Baptist. (Note the parallel between God's promises to the two aged fathers-to-be, Abraham and Zechariah.)

Matthew likewise saw the Virgin Birth as a sign that God had fulfilled His promise to save His people. It does not appear, however, that Matthew viewed Jesus' birth as a one-to-one fulfillment of the prophecy concerning "Immanuel" found in Isa. 7:14. Rather, he cited Isaiah's prophecy of Israel's imminent deliverance from Syria as a foreshadowing, or type, of an even greater event (antitype): the coming of the true "Immanuel" and Israel's deliverance from the bondage of sin (Mt. 1:21).

This sort of Jewish *pesher* typological interpretation is common in Matthew's Gospel and is predicated on Jewish ideas of corporate solidarity and typological correspondences in history. According to R. N. Longenecker, "By the employment of such concepts, Jesus is portrayed in Matthew's Gospel as the embodiment of ancient Israel and the antitype of earlier divine redemption" (p. 142).

Thus Matthew, like Luke, viewed the Virgin Birth as the first sign of what O. Cullmann called the "mid-point," or central *kairós*, of redemptive history: the inauguration of the messianic age. The coming of Messiah is that toward which all of redemptive history points, the greatest

among all of God's saving acts. Thus the Virgin Birth, as a salvation-historical antitype, surpasses in wonder and glory the earlier event that Matthew viewed as constituting its type, i.e., the birth of "Immanuel" and subsequent defeat of Syria to which Isaiah referred in 7:14f.

Thus no conflict exists between Matthew's use of "virgin" (Gk. *parthénos*) in his citation of Isa. 7:14, and Isaiah's use of "young maiden" (Heb. *'almâ*) in the original prophecy, since Matthew was not claiming a one-to-one correspondence between Isaiah's words and the fulfillment they found in the Virgin Birth of Christ. Further evidence of this is B. S. Easton's observation that while the "LXX took *'almāh* as meaning 'virgin' (*parthénos*)," in Isa. 7:14, "the Jews never interpreted the verse as a prediction of a virgin-birth — a proof that the Christian faith did not grow out of this passage." Thus Matthew cited Isa. 7:14 not to provide a proof text for the claim that Jesus was virgin-born, but to interpret the meaning of the Virgin Birth as a sign of God's salvation within the framework of Israel's history as God's covenant people. (For the view that Isa. 7:14 is indeed a prophecy of the Virgin Birth see Carson, pp. 77-81.)

See also IMMANUEL; VIRGIN.

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VIRTUE. A term that occurs only five times in the RSV: twice as a translation of Gk. *areté* in 2 Pet. 1:5 and three times as a translation of the preposition *katá* ("in virtue of," 2 Tim. 1:9; Tit. 3:5). In addition to 2 Pet. 1:5, *areté* appears only three other times in the NT: in Phil. 4:8 and 2 Pet. 1:3 (RSV "excellence"), and in 1 Pet. 2:9 (RSV "wonderful deeds"). The NT thus stands in marked contrast to the rest of the Hellenistic world, where *areté* was widely used as an ethical term. (*See* ETHICS: PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS II.A; HELLENISM VI.)

In its original classical usage *areté* denoted either the quality of excellence (in any sphere) or the renown that such excellence duly receives. In addition, the plural form was used, often with reference to the gods, in the sense of "mighty deeds" or "manifestations of power." Later, in Greek ethical philosophy the term came to be used in a more specific and restricted sense to represent the most comprehensive category for *moral* excellence ("virtue"), the general heading under which more specific virtues were arranged.

Used in this ethical sense, *areté* achieved some currency in Hellenistic Judaism, especially in writings with an apologetic bent (notably Philo, Wisdom of Solomon, 4 Maccabees). But probably because it connoted a moral excellence that was the result of human achievement rather than of obedience to God's Torah, it remained a marginal term in Jewish moral discourse, subordinate to and often qualified by the OT concept of "righteousness" (Gk. *dikaiosýne*). The LXX does not use *areté* in its ethical sense at all: in its six appearances the word has the older and more general meaning of "praise, majesty," "praiseworthy deeds" (rendering Heb. *tᵉhillâ* and *hôḏ*).

The restricted role of *areté* in Hellenistic Judaism is repeated in the NT. In 1 Pet. 2:9 *tás aretás* is part of a phrase drawn from the LXX of Isa. 43:21, where it refers to God's "praises" or "praiseworthy deeds." 2 Pet. 1:3 is more Hellenistic in tone; here *areté* is closely associated with *dóxa* ("glory") and *theía dýnamis* ("divine power"), so that it denotes the manifestation of divine power by which Christ (or, less likely, God) calls Christians into "life and godliness." *Areté* has the sense of "moral virtue" only in Phil. 4:8 and 2 Pet. 1:5, where it appears in the context of ethical lists that are strikingly different from other NT lists (though not from those in later Christian literature) in their Hellenistic tone. The list in 2 Pet. 1:5-7, however, is given a specifically Christian form by the opening and closing terms ("faith" and "love"; cf. 2 Cor. 8:7; Shep. Herm. Vis. 3:8:7). Paul's choice of *areté* in Phil. 4:8 (his only use of the term) probably results from his desire to be as inclusive as possible in his description of the Christian ideal.

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VISION [Heb. *ḥāzôn, ḥāzôṯ*–'record of visions,' *ḥāzûṯ*–'conspicuous appearance,' *ḥizzāyôn, maḥᵃzeh, mar'â, mar'eh, rō'eh, šāw'*–'deception, fraud' (Ezk. 13:9, 23; 21:29 [MT 34]; 22:28), *dāḇār*–'word, thing' (Jer. 38:21), *tāp̄ēl*–'tasteless, unsatisfying things' (Lam. 2:14); Aram. *ḥᵉzû*–'apparition, vision'(Dnl. 2:19, 28; 4:5; etc.); Gk. *hórama* (Mt. 17:9; Acts 9:10; 10:3, 17, 19; 11:5; 12:9; 16:9f.; 18:9), *hórasis* (Acts 2:17; Rev. 9:17), *optasía* (Lk. 1:22; 24:23; Acts 26:19; 2 Cor. 12:1)]; AV also WORD (Jer. 38:21), FOOLISH THING (Lam. 2:14), VANITY, etc.; NEB also WHAT (Jer. 38:21), PAINTED SHAM (Lam. 2:14), etc. In Jer. 24:1 the context supplies "vision" in the RSV. In Col. 2:18 the RSV has "vision" for the Greek phrase *há heóraken* (lit. "things he has seen").

I. Definition.–The vision trance (*see* TRANCE), as distinguished from the possession trance (*see* ECSTASY) and dreams (*see* DREAM), is an altered state of conciousness in which extrasensory audiovisual experiences, usually revelatory in character, are perceived in private by individuals, often prophets or seers. The visions themselves may be experienced as occurring within an earthly setting or may involve apparent out-of-body experiences such as ascents to heaven or descents to the netherworld.

II. Terminology.–All the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek terms translated "vision" in modern versions of the Bible are terms that primarily denote "appearance" or "sight" in contexts that refer to normal visual perception. Only the context reveals when the "vision" refers to a psychological or revelatory experience in which the subject privately "sees" that which is not physically present to ordinary unaided sense perception.

A. In the OT. The most important group of words in the OT translated "vision" in the RSV includes both Hebrew and Aramaic cognates formed from the root *ḥzh*, "see." The cognates translated "vision" occur fifty-eight times and include Heb. *ḥāzôn* (e.g., 1 Ch. 17:15; 2 Ch. 32:32; Isa. 1:1; Lam. 2:9; Ezk. 12:22-24, 27; Dnl. 8:1f., 13, 17, 26; 9:21, 24; Ob. 1; Nah. 1:1; etc.), *ḥizzāyôn* (2 S. 7:17; Job 4:13; 7:14; 20:8; 33:15; Isa. 22:1, 5; Joel 2:28 [MT 3:1]; Zec. 13:4), *maḥᵃzeh* (Gen. 15:1; Nu. 24:4, 16; Ezk. 13:7), *ḥāzôṯ* (2 Ch. 9:29), *ḥāzûṯ* (Isa. 21:2; 29:11), and Aram. *ḥᵉzû* (Dnl. 2:19, 28; 4:5, 10, 13 [MT 2, 7, 10]; 7:1f., 7, 13, 15). Heb. *ḥāzôn* is often used in the singular of individual revelatory experiences and reports of such experiences (Ps. 89:19 [MT 20]; Jer. 14:14; Dnl. 1:17; 8:15), and is also used in the plural (Jer. 23:16; Dnl. 1:17; Hos. 12:10 [MT 11]). Yet at other times the singular form seems to be used generically (Isa. 29:7; Mic. 3:6) or collectively (1 S. 3:1).

Another important group of words in the OT that the

RSV translated "vision" includes cognates of the stem *r'h*, "see." This root, like *ḥzh*, "is used for vision in general as well as for unusual experiences, as, for instance, at the beginning of Isaiah's vision [6:1]" (*TDOT*, IV, 282). Included in this group are *mar'â* (Gen. 46:2; Nu. 12:6; 1 S. 3:15; Ezk. 1:1; Dnl. 10:7f., 16; etc.) and *mar'eh* (Ezk. 8:4; 11:24; 43:3; Dnl. 8:16, 26f.; 9:23; 10:1). For Heb. *rō'eh* in Isa. 28:7 (the only use of this term in the OT) the NEB has "topers," since the parallel lines in the context suggest the meaning "drink" or "drunkards" (see J. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], p. 361)

B. In the NT. "Vision" usually translates Gk. *hórama*, which refers to "the thing seen, the vision (Matt. 17:9; Acts 18:9) and also the vision seen in a dream (Acts 16:9). . . . the NT represents its effects on the visionary as pardoning, encouraging, commissioning (Acts 10:3; 9:10, 12; cf. Hermas, *Vis.* 3, 10, 6)" (*DNTT*, III, 515). Gk. *hórasis* simply means "vision" (Acts 2:17; Rev. 9:17). Gk. *optasía*, referring to "the appearance of the vision, that which God lets man see, is found in Lk. 1:22; 24:23 of the appearances of angels, and in 2 Cor. 12:1 probably of ecstatic experiences" (*DNTT*, III, 515; cf. *TDNT*, V, 353, 357, 373). Surprisingly, the term "vision" occurs only one time in the Revelation of John (9:17). But the author uses the phrase "and I saw" (Gk. *kaí eídon*) nearly forty times in contexts that clearly refer to visionary revelations.

III. Usage of the Terms.–The Hebrew and Aramaic terms in the OT translated "vision" in most modern versions have one of three primary meanings. First, a "vision" can refer to psychological or religious experiences, often of a revelatory nature and often the explicit basis of prophetic revelatory experience (Lam. 2:9; Ezk. 13:16; Dnl. 8:1, 15; 9:21, 24; Hos. 12:10). Second, "vision" can be used as a rhetorical term for the oral presentation of visions, usually by prophets, to an audience (Isa. 21:2; Jer. 14:14; 23:16; Ezk. 7:26). Even though visions are always private experiences, they are frequently formulated for public presentation. Third, "vision" can be used as a literary term referring either to visions in written form (Isa. 29:11) or to visions that are intended to be put in written form (Dnl. 8:17, 26; Hab. 2:2f.). The clearest instances of the literary use of the term "vision" appear in the superscriptions to several OT prophetic books (Isa. 1:1; Ob. 1; Nah. 1:1; cf. Rev. 1:1). Occasionally shortened titles featuring the term "vision" are used to refer to such books (2 Ch. 9:29; 32:32). These usages suggest four categories for the discussion of the phenomenon of the vision in the OT and NT: (1) visions as psychological or religious experiences, (2) visions as oral narratives, (3) visions as written narratives, and (4) literary visions that are based on literary conventions rather than religious experiences (particularly applicable to some Jewish apocalypses, which often consist of a number of vision reports).

Although the various Hebrew and Aramaic terms translated "vision" refer primarily to the faculty of sight, auditions are usually assumed as well. This is clear from Am. 1:1, which refers to the *words* that Amos *saw*. Similarly Nah. 1:1 consists of two titles, "An *oracle* concerning Nineveh. The book of the *vision* of Nahum of Elkosh." As a revelatory medium, a vision is closely related to a dream; the terms are occasionally used as synonyms (Isa. 29:7; Dnl. 2:28; 4:5 [MT 2]). Daniel frequently mentions night visions or visions experienced in bed (Dnl. 2:19, 28; 4:10, 13 [MT 7, 10]; 7:1f., 7, 13). Terms for "vision" and "dream" may appear as synonyms in the same context (Isa. 29:7).Terms for visions and revelations can be used as synonyms (2 Cor. 12:1).

IV. Types of Visions.–In the absence of comprehensive studies of the form and function of revelatory visions in either Israelite or Greco-Roman culture, it may be appropriate to list several types of visions found in the OT and NT. Some formal features characterize most of these types of visions, including first-person narration, an indication of the setting of the vision, i.e., the narrative framework of the visionary experience, the presentation of the vision itself, and finally the reaction of the prophet to the vision.

A. Prophetic Call Narratives. These revelatory visions exist in two types: (1) the narrative type, which consists of a dialogue between the prophet and Yahweh (Jer. 1:4-10; Ex. 3:1-12; Jgs. 6:11-17), and (2) the throne theophany type, which includes a vision of the heavenly throne of Yahweh (1 K. 22:19-22; Isa. 6:1-13; Ezk. 1:1–3:15).

B. Symbolic Dream Visions. These visionary experiences occur at night and are closely associated with dreams; what is seen in the vision requires interpretation, usually provided by an interpreting angel (Dnl. 7–8; 1 En. 83–84, 85–89; 4 Ezr. 11–12; 2 Bar. 35–47, 53–77; cf. Collins, pp. 6-8).

C. Vision Reports. These are autobiographical accounts of the revelatory experience of what a prophet sees and/or hears through extrasensory perception (2 K. 8:7-15; Ezk. 14, 20; Jer. 38:21f.). They consist of two main structural elements: (1) the announcement of the vision and (2) the vision sequence itself, often introduced with the term "behold." Often a question-and-answer dialogue is based on a visionary image (Am. 7:7f.; 8:1f.; Jer. 1:11-14; Zec. 5:1-4).

D. Oracles of Assurance. Also called dream or vision oracles, these represent a type of revelatory vision experience found in the OT, the NT, and the Greco-Roman world. They consist of a narrative setting, an admonition pronounced by a supernatural revealer introduced with stereotyped phrases such as "fear not" or "have courage," and a promise that provides grounds for the admonition (Acts 18:9f.; 23:11; 27:23f.).

E. Otherworldly Journeys. This form involves a journey to heaven or to the netherworld (Rev. 4:1–22:6; 1 En. 1–36, 37–71, 72–82; 2 Enoch).

F. Theophanies or Epiphanies. This form consists primarily in the description of a divinity or supernatural being (Ex. 19; Mic. 1:3f.; Hab. 3:3-6; 1 En. 1:3-7; Rev. 1:9-20).

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VISIT; VISITATION [Heb. (verbs) *pāqaḏ, rā'â, šālam*, (noun) *pᵉquddâ*; Gk. (verbs) *episképtomai, (pros)érchomai, historéō*, (nouns) *episkopḗ, eísodos*]. In 2 Ch. 22:7 the RSV supplies "visit."

"Visit" and "visitation" in English versions most often

represent Heb. *pāqaḏ* and *pᵉquddâ*. These words are broadly applied, however, being used also, e.g., of the numbering of soldiers in a muster or of population in a census (e.g., 1 S. 11:8) and of the appointment of a person to an office (e.g., Gen. 39:4f.). *Pāqaḏ* can be used of human beings visiting human beings (Jgs. 15:1), as can Heb. *rā'â* (AV "see": Gen. 34:1; 2 K. 9:16) and *šālam* (10:13; AV "salute"; NEB "greet"). *Pāqaḏ* can also be used of human beings visiting God, i.e., seeking His help (Isa. 26:16; RSV "sought"; NEB "sought out").

But *pāqaḏ* is more commonly used of the manifestation or results of God's involvement with particular persons or groups of people. "Attend to" (as in Jer. 23:2, RSV) is the translation of *pāqaḏ* that perhaps best signifies the idea involved in the disparate instances of divine visitation. Divine presence is generally not implied by *pāqaḏ* and *pᵉquddâ*. (In Isa. 29:6 [NEB "punishment"], however, the divine visitation appears to be His theophanic presence.) God's visitation implies His knowledge of human affairs, and in some instances divine knowledge is all that is in view in a use of *pāqaḏ*, whether that knowledge be awareness of what His people are undergoing (Ex. 3:16; RSV "observed"; NEB "turned my eyes"; 4:31; NEB "shown his concern"; Ps. 80:14 [MT 15]; RSV "have regard for"; NEB "take thought for") or His examination of individuals (Job 7:18; NEB "punish"; Ps. 17:3; NEB "watched"; cf. 8:4 [MT 5]; RSV and NEB "care for").

Most often, however, divine visitation is God's action that has definite effects in human affairs, whether it be His dispensation of salvation and blessing or His response to sin with punishment. Context determines whether blessing or punishment is in view, and ambiguity, perhaps ominous ambiguity, is intended in at least one use of *pāqaḏ* (Jer. 32:5; NEB "turn my thoughts").

When divine visitation for blessing is mentioned (Gen. 21:1; NEB "showed favour"; 50:24f.; NEB "[not fail to] come to your aid"; Ex. 13:19; 1 S. 2:21; NEB "show his care"; Job 10:12; RSV "care"; NEB "providence"; Jer. 15:15; 27:22; RSV "give attention to"; NEB "recall"; 29:10; NEB "take up your cause"; Zeph. 2:7; RSV "be mindful of"; NEB "turn to"), it is nearly always God's people as distinct from other peoples which are visited. (An exception is Ps. 65:9 [MT 10]: God visits the earth, giving it rain.) Sometimes this distinction is significant for what occurs in a given context (so Ruth 1:6; NEB "cared for").

More often than for divine blessing, *pāqaḏ* is used for divine punishment, in which cases English versions often represent it with "punish" (e.g., Job 35:15; Ps. 59:5 [MT 6]; numerous instances in the prophets, esp. Jeremiah; *see also* PUNISH). A form of expression used in Isa. 10:3; Jer. 8:12 (and at numerous other points in Jeremiah); and Hos. 9:7 combines an expression of time (*yôm*, "day"; *yāmîm*, "days"; *'ēṯ*, "time"; or *šānâ*, "year") with *pᵉquddâ* to produce a reference to an impending specified time of divine judgment.

The distinction between God's attention to His people, His "visitation" of them which is to be expected, and the *manner* of His visitation, whether it be for blessing or for punishment, is recognized by the two uses of *pāqaḏ* in Ex. 32:34 (combined in NEB), the first speaking only of God's expected intervention, the second of the manner of that intervention — judgment (cf. v. 35). *Pāqaḏ* is sometimes qualified with a phrase (e.g., "the iniquity of the fathers upon the children" in Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Nu. 14:18; "their sins upon them" in Ex. 32:34; "with destruction" in Isa. 26:14; cf. 1 S. 15:2; AV "remember"; Ps. 89:32 [MT 33]) that makes it clear that God's punishment is in mind as the manner of His visitation.

The LXX most often translates *pāqaḏ* with Gk. *episképtomai* and related words. Two representatives of this word-group are also used in the NT to represent the idea of the divine visitation. While OT language is thus consciously used for an OT idea (and Ps. 8:4 [MT 5] is quoted in He. 2:6; RSV "carest for"; NEB "hast regard to"), divine punishment is never the content of the divine visitation in the NT.

The focus of the divine visitation in the writings of Luke, where it is most prominent, is on the eschatological salvation and blessing in the coming of Christ (Lk. 1:68; NEB "turned to"; cf. RSV mg. on v. 78), which is evidenced by Jesus' power to heal (7:15f.; NEB "shown his care"). The coming of the gospel to Gentiles is described as God's visitation (Acts 15:14; NEB "took notice of"). The failure of the people of Jerusalem to give recognition to Jesus, is, on the other hand, portrayed as their not knowing the time of their visitation (Gk. *episkopḗ*; NEB "God's moment when it came"), which had already occurred; this failure will lead to punishment (Lk. 19:43f.). The "day of visitation" spoken of in 1 Pet. 2:12 (NEB "the day when he comes to hold assize") is, however, yet to come.

Episképtomai is also used of human beings visiting one another (Acts 7:23; NEB "look into the conditions of"; RSV and NEB supply the noun in v. 13), specifically of the obligation of believers to visit those who are in need (Mt. 25:36, 43; NEB "come to my help"; Jas. 1:27; NEB "go to the help of"), as are *érchomai* (Mt. 25:39; AV "came unto") and *prosérchomai* (Acts 10:28; AV "come unto"). A significant task carried out by Paul and his associates was that of visiting communities of believers (verbs *episképtomai*, 15:36; NEB "see how our brothers are faring"; *érchomai*, 1 Cor. 16:5, 12; NEB "come to," "go to"; 2 Cor. 1:16; 2:1; noun *eísodos*, 1 Thess. 2:1; AV "entrance in"; cf. 2 Cor. 13:2 ["visit" supplied in RSV and NEB]). When Paul wrote concerning his visit to Peter in Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18; AV "see"; NEB "get to know"), he used Gk. *historéō*, which implies not just a simple meeting of two people, but an effort on the part of those people to establish knowledge of each other.

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J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

VOCATION [Lat. *vocatio* < *voco*–'call, summon']. The English word "vocation" is strictly an equivalent of "call" or "calling." In common usage, however, it has taken on two specialized senses, although these can be properly understood only against the background of the basic meaning. Theologically, the concept is based on the ordinary meaning of the Gk. (LXX and NT) *kaléō* (noun *klḗsis*), "to call" in the sense "to summon," "invite" (Mt. 2:7; 22:1-10). In both the OT and the NT, this calling is God's invitation or summons to His (chosen) people, to which they respond in faith and obedience. The called are a larger company than the chosen (Mt. 22:14), for the chosen are those who make a positive response to the call. The Church is the assemblage of the called and the chosen.

An important point in the OT, and even more so in the NT, is that the call is not merely an invitation to salvation but also summons to service. Evidence of this is the calling of, e.g., Moses and Isaiah in the OT, the disciples and Paul in the NT. Yet not merely individuals but also the people as a whole are invited to serve. Thus Israel in the OT is raised up to bear witness to God ("You are my witnesses," Isa. 43:10) and the NT specifically designates

Christians as "a chosen race, . . . that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light" (1 Pet. 2:9). For further details on calling in Scripture, *see* CALL.

From this brief survey of the biblical usage it is evident (1) that the primary meaning of vocation must be God's calling of His people. The primary subject is God Himself; in a true theological understanding, God's vocation of His people is paramount. Only secondarily can the word be linked with its object and become the vocation of the people of God or of individual believers.

It is also plain (2) that this vocation is in the first instance the summons or invitation to salvation. It is the calling of the Holy Spirit, either in the sense of the general call of the gospel, which goes out to all people, or in the more specific sense of the effectual call, which implies positive response and not just neutral reception. God's vocation is the invitation or summons that goes out and is received, irrespective of the response, and it is also the invitation or summons to which positive response is made. Or, to put it in terms of an objective genitive, vocation is the sinner's summons to salvation that he may accept or ignore, and it is the believer's vocation to salvation to which he has responded.

But if vocation is vocation to salvation, then the latter is in turn (3) vocation to service. Here is more familiar ground, for (apart from the use of Lat. *vocatio* for effectual calling) "vocation" is mainly used in relation to service. In Scripture a new or special vocation is not meant, however. To be sure, God does issue a special call to special types or spheres of service (e.g., Rom. 1:1; Acts 13:2). But the important point is that God's people are always called both to salvation and to service. No Christians can say that they are called only to salvation. Nor can any Christians say that they have a vocation whereas other Christians do not. God calls all His people to service in and with and by the very fact that He calls them. His vocation is to all, and all have this divine vocation.

This raises the question whether a great theological disservice has not been done by the religious specializing of the term "vocation" to mean vocation to the ministry or the monastic life. The words "call" and "calling" can also bear this narrower sense. The sense itself is not incorrect, for within the broad and general vocation of all Christians there is obviously the special vocation. Not every believer is called to be a prophet or apostle, nor every prophet or apostle an Isaiah or a Paul. The point is, however, that every Christian does have a vocation to service, i.e., to Christian ministry in the broad sense. Hence it is wholly and utterly wrong to suggest that, while all have a calling to be Christians, not all have a vocation. The words "call" and "vocation" are equivalent, not merely in the sense that the minister or monk may be said to have a call or a vocation, but also in the sense that the call to any kind of Christian service, or to salvation itself, is also a vocation. This rules out the common but in every way unfortunate distinction between the laity and the clergy, or the secular and the religious, or the people and the Church, which has caused so much mischief in both doctrine and practice.

Luther perceived the need to end this distinction, and thus he introduced his magnificent emphasis that all useful spheres of activity, not just the ordained ministry and the monastic life, are a vocation for the Christian. The teacher has a vocation, the physician, the plumber, the farmer, the housewife, the maid who sweeps the rooms or washes the dishes. With this insight Luther severed the root of sacerdotal and monastic separation. He replaced it by the genuinely biblical doctrine that all things are to be done in the name of, for the sake of, and to the glory of Christ, and that true witness is borne by work well done as well as by words of testimony or acts of love and mercy. This idea has the further advantage of giving a new dignity and meaning to work, of putting it in a new dimension and under new criteria, so that even those in the lowliest positions in the Church or the world can have a true sense of calling and worth.

The essential truth of Luther's teaching cannot be disputed. Nor is it untrue to say that a specific or individual vocation can be the calling to be a judge or shopkeeper or cook as well as the calling to be a pastor or missionary. Nevertheless, certain weaknesses in this presentation call for notice. In the first place, it is obvious today that the passage on which the Reformers relied heavily for their understanding (1 Cor. 7:20) cannot be given the sense suggested (cf. esp. *TDNT*, III, 491f. n. 1). Second, this perspective maintains an artificial distinction between the broader "call" or "calling" and the narrower "vocation." While it allows that every Christian has a vocation, it primarily stresses the individual vocation of the Christian, not the general vocation to service implied in the vocation to salvation. It thus tends to sever the essential contact between vocation and the calling to faith and salvation, and in so doing it opens the way for the secular usage of "vocation" as simply the equivalent of profession, or job, or goal in life, quite irrespective of the context of the gospel or the Christian commission.

The general use of words is not wholly under the control of the Christian, and the secularization of the word "vocation" is something that cannot easily be reversed. Yet it is important that Christians, in their attempt to think, speak, and live in NT terms, should in fact break away from this generalized usage, not in a reaction that will revive the distorted emphasis on vocation to the ministry or the monastic life, but in a genuine return to the true biblical use and understanding. For this purpose, it is essential that the separation between vocation and calling should be abandoned. Vocation is first and always vocation to salvation, which implies inescapably vocation to ministry or service. Within this general vocation is the individual vocation to particular functions of service, whether in the ministry of word, prayer, and sacraments, the general service of the congregation, or the broader witness to Jesus Christ in the world. Indeed, there is also the more specific narrowing to a particular place or task, e.g., a vocation to serve God as a preacher or teacher in this particular continent, country, or parish. Particular vocations are obviously flexible. The Holy Spirit may call one to a lifelong work, but He may also call one to this task or place today and to another place or task tomorrow. But the vocation to service, like the vocation to salvation, is unchanging and irrevocable; and this is the aspect of vocation upon which the primary emphasis must fall.

Vocation need not involve any particular change in the circumstances of life. For some, like the Evangelist Matthew, it means an immediate and decisive change. For others it may mean a later change. For still others the opportunity of fulfilling the vocation is in the circumstances in which they already are when their calling comes (1 Cor. 7:20). But circumstances are not of primary significance so long as people are sensitive to the leading of the Holy Spirit. What is important is that vocation itself is the same for all. All are called to salvation and all are called to service. This is vocation in the biblical sense. Specific vocations are simply the detailed outworking.

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VOICE [Heb. *qôl*] (Gen. 3:17; Ex. 19:5; Dt. 4:12; etc.); AV also THUNDER, etc.; NEB also SCREAM, CRY, SPEECH, etc.; [*qawwām*–'line,' emended by RSV to *qôl*] (Ps. 19:4 [MT 5]); AV LINE; NEB MUSIC; [*śāpâ*–'lip'] (Ps. 81:5 [MT 6]; AV LANGUAGE; NEB omits, mg. LANGUAGE; [Aram. *qāl*] (Dnl. 4:31 [MT 28]); [Gk. *phōnḗ*] (Mt. 3:17; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 4:33; Jn. 10:3; Rev. 1:10, 12, 15; etc.); AV also NOISE, CRY; NEB also SHOUT, CRY, SOUND, ROAR, etc.; [*phthóngos*] (Rom. 10:18); AV SOUND; [*stóma*–'mouth'] (Rom. 15:6); AV MOUTH; supplied contextually by the RSV in Isa. 29:4; 42:11. In over a hundred cases where the RSV translates *qôl* as "voice," the NEB does not translate the word (cf., e.g., RSV "obey his voice," Dt. 26:17; NEB "obey him").

I. In the OT.–In 271 of the 274 instances in which the RSV translates an original Hebrew or Aramaic word as "voice," the original word is *qôl*. Heb. *qôl* can mean any kind of SOUND or NOISE, but the sense of "voice" is primary when the sound is produced by a living thing. When the sound is made by animals the NEB supplies a translation such as "roar" (Job 4:10), "chirping" (Eccl. 4:12), or "cooing" (Cant. 2:12). More frequently, however, the reference is to the human voice — heard in ordinary speech (Gen. 3:17; 1 S. 26:17), shouting or screaming (Ex. 39:14f., 18; 2 Ch. 20:19), urgent appeal (Ps. 28:2, 6; 130:2; 140:6 [MT 7]), or weeping (Gen. 21:16; Ruth 1:9, 14; 2 S. 13:36).

Of more theological significance are the approximately one hundred references to the voice of God. In pre-Israelite and early Israelite tradition, the divine voice was associated with the sound of thunder. The sevenfold repetition of *qôl yhwh* in Ps. 29 has the onomatopoeic effect of imitating the sound of a Mediterranean thunderstorm crashing into the coast of Palestine (see also 1 S. 7:10; Job 37:2-5; 40:9; etc.). The tradition of the theophany at Sinai also associates the divine voice with the raw power associated with thunder (see Ex. 19:19, where the RSV translates *bᵉqôl* "in thunder"); but the Sinai tradition emphasizes the intelligibility of the divine voice that gave the commandments and established the covenant (Ex. 19:20–31:17; Dt. 4:12-14; 5:22-26). Another theophany at Sinai further qualifies the connection between the divine voice and powerful natural forces: in 1 K. 19 Elijah discovered that the Lord was not present in wind, earthquake, or fire but rather in "a still small voice" (v. 12), a voice that addressed him personally and intelligibly (vv. 13-18). Later prophets also described theophanies in which they were addressed by the intelligible voice of the Lord (e.g., Isa. 6:4, 8; Ezk. 1:25, 28–3:11; etc.). The movement toward the intelligibility of the divine voice is complete in portions of Deuteronomy, the so-called Deuteronomistic History, and Jeremiah, where the divine voice is equated with covenant stipulations. The standard phrase "obey [*šm*ʿ] the voice of the Lord" means essentially to obey the commandments (Dt. 30:10-20; Josh. 24:24; 2 K. 18:12; Jer. 26:13; etc.).

The use of Aram. *qāl* in Dnl. 4:31 (MT 28) seems to be related to the later rabbinic concept of a *baṯ qôl* (lit. "daughter of a voice"), a heavenly voice that was heard apart from other theophanic elements. *See* BATH KOL.

II. In the NT.–In 114 instances the RSV translates Gk. *phōnḗ* as "voice." These occurrences are concentrated in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (7 in Matthew, 6 in Mark, 13 in Luke, 24 in Acts), the Gospel of John (14 times), and Revelation (42 occurrences). There are also five occurrences in Hebrews and three in 2 Peter.

In the Synoptics and Acts *phōnḗ* can denote the sound of the human voice in ordinary speech (Acts 12:14) or in praise (Lk. 11:27; 17:15; 19:37), petition (Lk. 17:13; Acts 7:60), proclamation (Acts 2:14), or complaint (Lk. 23:23; Acts 7:57). The "voice" can also be the sound of demons resisting exorcism (Mk. 1:26; 5:7; Acts 8:7) or that of Jesus crying from the cross (Mt. 27:46, 50; Mk. 15:34; Lk. 23:46). It can also be the heavenly or unidentified voice, presumably that of God, which speaks at Jesus' baptism and transfiguration (Mk.1:11; 9:7; etc.), at Paul's conversion (Acts 9:4, 7, etc.), and at Peter's call to reach out to the Gentiles (Acts 10:13, 15, etc.). This heavenly or unidentified voice shows some similarity to the concept of *baṯ qôl*.

In the Gospel of John *phōnḗ* refers most frequently to the voice of Jesus (5:25, 28; 10:3-5, 16, 27; 11:43; 18:37). Jesus' voice has the authority of God's voice (5:37); it is the source of life for those who hear and follow (5:25, 28; 10:27f.). The voice "from heaven" in 12:28, 30 confirms Jesus' glorification by the Father.

The book of Revelation is full of voices. In some cases the voice clearly belongs to the Son of Man (1:10, 12, 15; 3:20; 4:1); in other cases it belongs to angels (5:2, 11; 7:2; 14:7; etc.), an eagle (8:13), the martyrs (6:10), the multitude of the redeemed (7:10; 19:1, 6), or one of the four living creatures surrounding the throne (6:1, 7). In still other cases the voice is unidentified (8:5; 11:15, 19; 12:10; 16:18) or is identified only as a voice "from the throne" (4:5; 19:5; 21:3), "from the altar" (9:13), "from the temple" (16:1, 17), or "from heaven" (10:4, 8; 11:12; etc.); presumably it represents the voice of God or, perhaps, in some cases the voice of the Son of Man.

In several instances the NT retains the association of the divine voice with thunder (e.g., Jn. 12:28-30; Rev. 8:5). Even when this connection is not explicit, the NT's frequent description of voices (whether of humans, demons, angels, or God) as *megálē*, "loud" (Mt. 27:46; Mk. 1:26; Jn. 11:43; Acts 7:60; Rev. 1:10; etc.), may reflect in some way the original association of the divine voice with powerful natural forces, in that the loudness of the voice indicates the transcendent importance of the speech or speaker. Directly or indirectly, the NT voices all point to the conviction that Jesus is the new and decisive revelation of God's will for humankind.

See *TDNT*, IX, *s.v.* φωνή (O. Betz).

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VOID. A term used by the RSV only in the usual sense of "empty, vacant" (for Heb. *bōhû* in Gen. 1:2; Jer. 4:23; *ʾāḇaḏ* in Dt. 32:28) or "having no legal effect, invalid" (e.g., for the hiphil of *pārar* in Nu. 30:8, 12f., 15; *bāqaq* in Jer. 19:7; Gk. *akyróō* in Mt. 15:6; Mk. 7:13; *píptō* [lit. "fall"] in Lk. 16:17; *katargéō* in Rom. 4:14; Gal. 3:17). In Job 26:7 "void" is a noun denoting "emptiness" (Heb. *tōhû*); *see* CHAOS.

The AV of 1 K. 22:10 par. 2 Ch. 18:9 states that the kings of Israel and Judah sat on their thrones "in a void place" (Heb. *bᵉgōren*) at the entrance to the city gate. Although *gōren* is usually associated with threshing, the location at the city gate has caused some dispute about the translation "threshing floor" (so RSV) in this instance. Various emendations of the text have been proposed, including the omission of *bᵉgōren* (so NEB). J. Gray has suggested, based on a parallel usage in Ugaritic, that *gōren* here signifies a public open space inside (or possibly just outside) the city gate.

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N. J. O.

VOLUME (Ps. 40:7; He. 10:7, AV). *See* SCROLL.

VOLUNTARY. For the AV term "voluntary" in Lev. 7:16 (RSV, NEB, "freewill") and Ezk. 46:12 (RSV "freewill";

NEB "voluntary") *see* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT. In Lev. 1:3 the AV construes Heb. *liṛṣônô* (lit. "for his [its] acceptance") as "of his own voluntary will" (RSV "that he may be accepted"; NEB "so as to secure acceptance for himself"). Here "voluntary" augments "will" but appears extraneous as it does not translate any specific Hebrew word.

VOPHSI vof'sī [Heb. *wāpsî*; LXX *Iab(e)i*] (Nu. 13:14). Father of the spy Nahbi, a Naphtalite sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan. The LXX variants, however, suggest an obscure Hebrew text.

See *IP*, pp. 8, 241.

VOW [Heb. (verb) *nāḏar* (Gen. 28:20; 31:13; Nu. 6:2; 21:2; 30:2; Jgs. 11:30; 1 S. 1:11; 2 S. 15:7; etc.), (noun) *neḏer/nēḏer* (Gen. 28:20; 31:13; Lev. 22:18, 21; 27:2; Nu. 6:2, 5, 21; 15:3, 8; etc.; supplied contextually in Jgs. 11:35)]; NEB also PRAYER (Prov. 31:2); [*rabbîm*–'many' (emended by RSV to *nᵉḏārîm*, following LXX)] (Jer. 11:15); AV "many"; NEB "fat offerings" (emending to *bᵉrîyîm*); [*yāṣā' mippeh*–'go forth from (the) mouth'] (Jer. 44:17); AV GO FORTH OUT OF (ONE'S) MOUTH; NEB BIND (ONESELF); Aram. hithpaal part. of *nᵉḏaḇ* – 'be willing'] (Ezr. 7:16); AV OFFERING; NEB OFFER; [Gk. *omnýo*–'swear'] (Mk. 6:23); AV, NEB, SWEAR; [*euchḗ*] (Acts 18:18; 21:23); **VOTIVE OFFERING** [Heb. *neḏer/nēḏer*] (Lev. 7:16; 22:23; 23:38; Nu. 29:39; Dt. 12:6, 11, 17, 26); AV VOW; NEB also VOW, (CHOICE) GIFT; **VOTIVE GIFT** [Heb. *qōḏeš*–'holy thing'] (1 K. 15:15; 2 K. 12:18; 2 Ch. 15:18); AV (HALLOWED) THING; NEB VOTIVE OFFERING, GIFT . . . VOWED. A solemn promise that some gift (votive offering) or service will be given to God, always (except in the case of the Nazirite vow) conditional upon God's prior fulfillment of a specific request by the worshiper.

Vows were an integral part of many ancient Near Eastern cultures. Artifacts from throughout this area have been identified by archeologists as "votive offerings." Textual evidence of vow-making is known from Mesopotamia (commonly in the context of prayer), Egypt (thanksgiving inscriptions), Hittite (the prayer of Puduhepas), Ugaritic (the Keret epic), Phoenician (many votive stelae), and others. Both Jonah 1:16 and Jer. 44 offer biblical evidence of the cross-cultural popularity of vow-making. The prophet Jeremiah criticized a group of Hebrew refugees in Egypt for participating through vow-making in the cult of the QUEEN OF HEAVEN (usually identified with the Babylonian goddess Ishtar, known in Canaanite as Astarte).

Vow-making was of some importance in both personal piety and corporate worship during every period of Israelite history: the patriarchs (Gen. 28:20-22), the Exodus (Nu. 21:2), the judges (Jgs. 11:30f.; 1 S. 1:11, 21), and the monarchy (2 S. 15:7f.; cf. also Ps. 22:25 [MT 26]; 50:14; 56:12 [MT 13]; 61:5, 8 [MT 6, 9]; 65:1 [MT 2]; etc.) Vows are mentioned by the prophets from Isaiah (19:21) and Jeremiah (44:25) to Nahum (2:1) and Malachi (1:14). The postexilic priestly writers propounded or preserved extensive legislation to govern votive practices (Lev. 27; Nu. 6, 30), and as late a source as the sage Qoheleth warned against delay in the payment of vows (Eccl. 5:4f.). The NT mentions vows in the context of Paul's temporary Nazirite vow (Acts 18:18; 21:23).

The Hebrew root for "vow," *ndr*, appears as a verb some thirty-one times in the OT, always in the qal stem, and most often with the noun form as a cognate accusative. Thus the typical expression is to "vow a vow" (so, literally, AV; NEB "make a vow"; RSV "make a vow" or "vow a vow"). The noun form occurs sixty times in the OT and may bear either an abstract or a concrete sense. In passages in which the noun is used in conjunction with other types of offerings it is translated "votive offering" by the RSV and (usually) NEB, but the AV retains "vow" throughout. The noun occurs also as the object of "perform" (*'āśâ*, Jgs. 11:39; Jer. 44:25) or more commonly "pay" (piel of *šālam*, 2 S. 15:7; Job 22:27; Ps. 22:25 [MT 26]; 50:14; etc.). In five instances it is used with the root *pl'*, which seems to indicate that the vow is either "special" or "difficult," depending on whether *pl'* is in the piel or hiphil stem (cf. BDB, p. 810). The NEB routinely translates the phrase "special vow" (mg. "discharge a vow") in both cases, while the RSV renders the piel "fulfil a vow" (Lev. 22:21; Nu. 15:3, 8) and the hiphil "special vow" (Lev. 27:2; Nu. 6:2); the AV prefers "perform a vow" but also uses "singular vow" (Lev. 27:2) and "separate themselves" (Nu. 6:2). What made these vows "special" was apparently that they involved costly animal sacrifices (Lev. 22:21; Nu. 15:3, 8). The most "difficult" (hiphil, Lev. 27:2; Nu. 6:2) involved the vowing of persons.

In biblical usage one might SWEAR to another person (*see also* OATH), but one vowed only to God. Thus vows always took place within the context of prayer. With the possible exception of the enigmatic NAZIRITE vow, biblical vows were always conditional promises whose fulfillment was required only when and if God answered the petitioner's request. Narrative vows uniformly have an "if . . . then" structure in which the protasis states the petition and the apodosis contains the promise. Poetic vows as found in the Psalter are often described as unconditional, but the conditional structure is still present; the poetic syntax replaces the "if" clause with imperative or jussive verbs in the protasis, and the later promise of praise or sacrifice may be understood as the apodosis.

Vows generally arose from times of distress, and the promised gift was often related to the petitioner's request. Jacob vowed allegiance to Yahweh, the building of a sanctuary, and the payment of tithes in return for provision during his journeys and a safe return home (Gen. 28:20-22). A similar motive was the apparent reason for Absalom's purported vow to offer service to God if he should return safely to Jerusalem (2 S. 15:7f.). The distress of war prompted Israel's vow to enforce the *ḥerem* ban at Hormah (Nu. 21:2), as well as Jephthah's vow to sacrifice the first person to greet him when he returned safely from battle with the Ammonites (Jgs. 11:30). Hannah's barrenness led to her request for a son, whom she vowed to give back to the Lord (1 S. 1:11; cf. Prov. 31:2). Psalms that mention vowing allude to various kinds of personal and physical distress (e.g., Pss. 66, 116). Sometimes, however, vows appear as a habitual practice unrelated to any specific trouble (1 S. 1:21; Ps. 61:8 [MT 9]), often in conjunction with the yearly feasts (Lev. 23:38; 1 S. 1:21; Nah. 1:15 [MT 2:1]).

The object of a vow was often a sacrifice, e.g., a burnt offering (cf. Lev. 7:16; 22:18; Ps. 66:13-15). Several texts mention the votive offering in close connection with other voluntary offerings such as the "free will offering" (Lev. 7:16; 22:18, 21; Nu. 15:3; 29:39; Dt. 12:6). In time, at least within the psalmists' circles, promises of public praise to God became more popular than animal sacrifices (Ps. 40:6 [MT 7]; 50:12-15; 51:15-17 [MT 17-19]; 69:30f. [MT 31f.]; etc.). Lev. 27:1-8 attests the vowing of persons, although it is unclear how this relates to the Nazirite vow of separation. Hannah's promise to give Samuel for temple service at Shiloh was couched in terms of Naziriteship. But

A fragment of the Stele of the Vultures from Telloh (mid-3rd millennium B.C.). Vultures carry heads and an arm of the slain from a battlefield (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

Jephthah's vow — despite many efforts to ameliorate its intent and outcome — was unambiguously one of human sacrifice.

The offering of vows was explicitly voluntary, but once made, vows became binding (Dt. 23:23f.; Eccl. 5:3f.). It appears that up through the early monarchical period vows could be paid at any sanctuary (cf. Jacob at Bethel, Hannah at Shiloh, Absalom at Hebron). Later, however, vows were paid at Jerusalem when it was identified as "the place which the Lord your God will choose" (Dt. 12:6, 11, 17, 26). Vows of men and independent women (widows and divorcees) were automatically binding (Nu. 30:2, 10 [MT 3, 11]), but the vows of young unmarried women and those of married women could be annulled, respectively, by their fathers or husbands (vv. 9, 15 [MT 10, 16]). In any case a vow to Yahweh was considered a serious matter, not to be made rashly (Prov. 20:25). In time, however, a system was developed by which persons or gifts that had been (rashly?) vowed could be redeemed by monetary payments (cf. Lev. 27).

The making of vows clearly played a significant role in the cultic life of Israel and seems to have been especially prevalent in the domain of individual piety. This is illustrated by Isaiah's prophecy (19:21) that when the Egyptians come to know Yahweh, they will demonstrate their allegiance by worshiping Him with sacrifice and burnt offerings (cultic responsibilities as a part of the community) and by making and performing vows (individual piety). By the rabbinic period, however, vows in popular usage had degenerated in significance, so that they were often used only to reinforce a spiteful pledge or in payment of a casual wager (Mish. *Nedarim* iii.2; *Nazir* v.5).

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T. W. CARTLEDGE

VOYAGES OF PAUL. *See* PAUL THE APOSTLE VII.D-G; SHIPS III.

VULGATE. *See* VERSIONS.

VULTURE [Heb. *nešer*] (Prov. 30:17; Lam. 4:19; Hos. 8:1); AV EAGLE; [*peres*] (Lev.11:13; Dt. 14:12); AV OSSIFRAGE; NEB BLACK VULTURE; [*qā'aṯ*] (Ps. 102:6 [MT 2]; Zeph. 2:14); AV PELICAN, CORMORANT; NEB DESERT-OWL, HORNED OWL; **CARRION VULTURE** [Heb. *rāḥām* (Lev. 11:18), *rāḥāmâ* (Dt.14:17)]; AV GIER EAGLE; NEB OSPREY. Any of several large BIRDS OF PREY belonging to the Accipitridae family.

In the ancient Near East there were over a dozen different varieties of vultures. One of these, the Cinereous vulture (*Aegypius monachus*) of southern Europe and central Asia, was about 1.1 m. (42 in.) long and had black feathers and a contrasting bald pink head. A similar bird, the griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), ranged from North Africa and the Levant to Asia and was not easy to distinguish from the Cinereous vulture except at fairly close range. The Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) was considerably smaller, being only about 60 cm. (2 ft.) in length with a bald yellowish head, white feathers, and black wings. Egyptian vultures were known for their ability to carry rocks in their curved beaks and drop them on ostrich eggs in order to break them.

Although vultures are ugly birds, they exhibit striking grace as they soar high in the sky in wide circles, looking for prey. They serve as scavengers by feeding on carrion. Despite this function, they do not appear to transmit infectious diseases to any extent. They have excellent eyesight and a well-developed sense of smell, both of which enable them to locate food readily. When migrating they travel in flocks, but at breeding time they stay with their mates and nest in rocky shelters or on cliffs. The black vulture, the bearded vulture, and the griffon have been longtime residents of Palestine; the Egyptian vulture is a summer migrant for breeding purposes.

The only thing that can be said with certainty about the biblical vultures is that they were regarded as unclean for food because they fed on carrion and prey (Lev. 11; Dt. 14). Attempts to identify others than the most obvious species are self-defeating. Heb. *nešer* appears to include eagles as well as vultures, but differentiating between them in translating is often speculative (*see* EAGLE). The "eagles' wings" of Ex. 19:4 is probably a reference to the magnificent wingspread of vultures. These same birds also seem to be intended by the reference to "eagles" (Gk. *aetoí*) gathering over the prey (Mt. 24:28), since eagles are normally solitary birds.

For G. R. Driver's identification of the birds represented by these terms, *see* ABOMINATION, BIRDS OF.

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W

WADI wä'dē [Arab. *wâdī*]. A valley through which water runs during the rainy seasons and which is dry the rest of the year. The term frequently is used in the names of watercourses (e.g., Wâdī en-Nâr, "river of fire," which is the valley through which the confluence of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys flows). The Hebrew equivalent is *naḥal*, whose translation "torrent, torrent valley" is appropriate only during flash floods (cf. Jgs. 5:21). W. S. L. S.

The Wadi Shu'aib in the as-Salt vicinity, Amman (R. H. Smith)

WAFER [Heb. *rāqîq*–'thin cake' < *rqq*–'be thin' (Ex. 29:2, 23; Lev. 2:4; 7:12; 8:26; Nu. 6:15, 19; 1 Ch. 23:29), *ṣappîḥîṭ*–'flat cake' (Ex. 16:31)]; AV also CAKE (1 Ch. 23:29); NEB also FLAT CAKE. All references to "wafer" in the RSV (except Ex. 16:31) are associated with various offerings. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT; BREAD IV.

WAGES [(vb.) Heb. *śāḵar* (Hag. 1:6); (subst.) Heb. *śāḵār* (Gen. 30:28; Ezk. 29:19; Mal. 3:5), *maśkōreṯ* (Gen. 29:15; 31:7, 41), *pᵉʿullâ* (Lev. 19:13), *pōʿal* (Job 7:2), *mᵉḥîr* (Dt. 23:18 [MT 19]; Gk. *misthós* (Rom. 6:23), *opsṓnion* (Lk. 3:14)]; AV also HIRE (Gen. 30:32f.; 31:8; 1 K. 5:6 (MT 20); Zec. 8:10; Mt. 20:8; Lk. 10:7; Jas. 5:4), PRICE (Zec. 11:12), WORK (Job 7:2), REWARD (Rom. 4:4; 1 Cor. 3:8; 1 Tim. 5:18), LABOR (Prov. 10:16); NEB also PAY (Ex. 2:9; Jn. 4:36), PROFIT (Prov. 11:18). Recompense for services rendered.

The Hebrew verb *śāḵar* and its derivatives, *śāḵār* and *maśkōreṯ*, in the OT always refer to literal payment, although money, per se, dates only to the introduction of coinage in the late 8th cent. B.C. Thus while Zechariah can speak of his wages as thirty shekels of silver (Zec. 11:12 — a passage applied to Jesus' betrayal by Judas in Mt. 27:9), earlier wages include Laban's cattle (and daughters!) for Jacob (Gen. 29:15; 30:28), wheat and oil for King Hiram (1 K. 5:11), and the land of Egypt and its booty for Nebuchadrezzar's army (Ezk. 29:19).

From the Hebrew verb *pāʿal* ("make," "work") derive the substantives *pōʿal* and *pᵉʿullâ*. The former often refers to God's mighty acts in history or to a person's moral actions. Thus Prov. 11:18 speaks of "deceptive wages" that the wicked earn. Elsewhere, though, only ordinary recompense seems in view — the slave longing for his day's wage (Job 7:2) and the neighbor not receiving payment for his service (Jer. 22:13). *Pᵉʿullâ* is used twice as a clear synonym for *śāḵar* (in the otherwise antithetical parallelism of Prov. 11:18, and as the pay which a hired servant must receive before nightfall each day lest he go hungry in Lev. 19:13).

The origin of Heb. *mᵉḥîr* is uncertain, perhaps from the root *mḥr* (see BDB, pp. 563f.). Its basic meaning seems to be "price" or "reward" (cf. Job 28:15; Isa. 45:13; 55:1; Mic. 3:11).

In the NT all but one of the occurrences of "wages" translate the Gk. *misthós*. Again the term may refer to literal payment, as in the parable of the vineyard laborers (Mt. 20:8), where the only scriptural reference to a standard wage appears — the daily denarius for a common field laborer (v. 2). So too Jesus cites Levitical precedent (cf. Jgs. 17:10) to argue that "the laborer deserves his

wages" (Lk. 10:7 — in this context food and drink for the seventy itinerant preachers), a saying quoted by Paul (as Scripture!) encouraging churches to provide for their elders (1 Tim. 5:18). James echoes a common complaint of OT prophecy — the rich are defrauding the poor of a decent wage (Jas. 5:4; cf. esp. Mal. 3:5). Ancient Israel regularly had a large working class exploited by a few rich landowners with very little "middle class" in between.

On the other hand, the NT "wage" frequently takes on spiritual or symbolic overtones. Paul declares that "to one who works, his wages are not reckoned as a gift but as his due" (Rom. 4:4), applying the literal meaning of "work" and "wage" to the spiritual realm, and contrasting justification by legalism with that of grace. In his famous dictum, "the wages of sin is death" (Rom. 6:23), only this symbolic usage remains, as eternal death is directly contrasted with the free gift of eternal life. Similarly, Jesus' disciples receive "wages" as they accomplish the work of God and "gather fruit for eternal life" (Jn. 4:36).

In one instance, however, *misthós* in this symbolic sense seems to refer to more than just eternal life and death. Paul speaks of the rewards Christians will receive according to the type of works they have erected upon the foundation of faith in Christ (1 Cor. 3:8-14). Many interpreters believe that Paul envisaged different levels of reward above and beyond life in heaven itself. But this seems to contradict the conclusion of the above-mentioned parable of Jesus that graphically illustrates how first and last shall receive equal "pay" (Mt. 20:16). It is better, therefore, to see the reward for good works as the endurance rather than destruction of those works when tested by fire, and of the satisfaction of seeing one's activity produce lasting results, rather than to interpret it as degrees of further recompense in heaven.

The final NT use of "wages" translates *opsónion*, which originally referred to payment for food, primarily in military contexts. This is how John the Baptist uses it when he tells a soldier to be content with his rations (Lk. 3:14). In sum, Scripture strongly supports fair payment for human labor, but recognizes that for spiritual work, merit pay can lead only to condemnation. Only God's intervening grace can save, but subsequent Christian living produces rewards of many types in this life.

See also HIRE; MONEY.

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C. L. BLOMBERG

WAGON [Heb. *ʿagālâ*–'chariot, cart' (Gen. 45:19, 21, 27; 46:5; Nu. 7:3, 6-8), *galgal*–'chariot wheel' (Ezk. 23:24; 26:10)]; AV, NEB, also WHEEL. *See* CART.

WAHEB wā'heb. In Nu. 21:14 Heb. *wāhēḇ bᵉsûpâ* is apparently the first of a group of lines (vv. 14f.) from "the Book of the Wars of the Lord" identifying a region centered on the Arnon River, the northern boundary of Moab (cf. v. 13). RSV "Waheb in Suphah" and NEB "Vaheb in Suphah" take it as such and understand the two terms as place names. In this they are most likely correct, although precise identification of the places represented is not possible (see the comms.). The LXX (*Zōob*) and Old Latin versions reflect a Hebrew text reading *zāhāḇ*, one of the places mentioned in Dt. 1:1. AV "what he did in the Red Sea" follows Vulg. (which follows, in turn, early Jewish treatment of the words reflected in the Targum) and may take *wāhēḇ* as a form of the root *yhb*, which is, however, known not in Biblical Hebrew but in later Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic. (The AV reading also takes *sûpâ* as *yam sûp*, "Red Sea.")

See also SUPHAH.

J. W. S.

WAIL; WAILING [Heb. hiphil of *yālal*, (noun) *yᵉlālâ*] (Isa. 15:2; Jer. 4:8; Joel 1:5; etc.); AV HOWL; NEB also HOWL, "derided" (Isa. 52:5, reading *yᵉhullᵉlû* [from *hālal*] for *yᵉhêlîlû*), etc.; [Heb. *mispēḏ*] (Am. 5:16f.; Mic. 1:11); AV also MOURNING; NEB also LAMENTATION; [Heb. *nāhâ, nᵉhî, nî*] (Jer. 9:10, 18f. [MT 9, 17f.]; Ezk. 27:32; 32:18; Mic. 2:4); AV also LAMENT; NEB also LAMENT(ATION); [Heb. *zāʿaq*] (Est. 4:1; Ezk. 27:30); AV CRY; NEB CRY, EXCLAIM; [Gk. *thrēnéō*] (Mt. 11:17 par. Lk. 7:32); AV MOURN; NEB WEEP AND WAIL; [Gk. *alalázō*] (Mk. 5:38); [Gk. *klauthmós*] (Mt. 2:18); AV WEEPING; [Gk. *kóptō*] (Rev. 1:7; 18:9); AV and NEB also LAMENT. In Hos. 10:5 RSV "wail" and NEB "howl" are based on emendation of MT *yāgîlû* (from *gîl*, "rejoice," followed by AV) to *yaylîlû* (from *yālal*).

"Wail" in the RSV most often represents the Hebrew root *yll* (hiphil of *yālal* and the noun *yᵉlālâ*), which is found only in the prophetic books (except for *yᵉlēl* in Dt. 32:10). *Yll* designates a scream or cry of agony or despair and appears where the people of Israel are called to the community's assembly for prayer and repentance responding to or anticipating disaster (Jer. 4:8; 25:34; Joel 1:13; Zeph. 1:10f.; Zec. 11:2f.). *Yll* is not used in connection with mourning for the dead; a consistent feature of its use is that a disaster affecting a whole community elicits the wail of despair (Isa. 52:5; Jer. 25:36; 47:2; Ezk. 21:12; Joel 1:5, 11; Am. 8:3; Mic. 1:8). But Jer. 51:8 (cf. Rev. 18:2, 9) suggests that it might have been used outside Israel in reference to mourning for individuals. Its use in relation to idolatry in Hos. 7:14 again suggests that *yll* might have been associated with foreign practices. The summons to community wailing also appears in oracles against foreign nations — as a part of a prediction of unavoidable catastrophe rather than as a call to repentance (Isa. 13:6; 14:31; 16:7; 23:1, 6, 14; Jer. 48:20; 49:3; Ezk. 30:2; cf. Isa. 15:2f., 8). Isa. 65:14 distinguishes between the obedient and the rebellious in a single community, referring to the latter as those who will wail.

Other OT words translated "wail" or "wailing" also signify lamentation for disasters experienced by entire communities (Est. 4:1; Jer. 9:10, 18f.; Ezk. 27:30, 32; 32:18; Am. 5:16f.; Mic. 1:11; 2:4).

In the NT "wail" is generally used in references to practices of community mourning for the dead (Mt. 2:18; 11:17 par. Lk. 7:32; Mk. 5:38; Rev. 1:7). Matthew's use of Jer. 31:15 in Mt. 2:18 has provoked much discussion, for Matthew seems to misapply that prophecy. But as several commentators have noted, Matthew has reapplied this OT text to a NT situation in a way that emphasizes the key theme of salvation (cf., e.g., R. E. Brown, *Birth of the Messiah* [1977], pp. 216f., 221-23; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew* [1982], pp. 35-37).

See also BURIAL; LAMENT; WEEP.

Bibliography.—*TDOT*, VI, *s.v.* "yll" (Baumann); H. W. Wolff, *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 48-56.

J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

WAIT [Heb. niphal, piel, and hiphil of *yāḥal* (Jgs. 3:25; 1 S. 13:8; Job 6:11; 14:14; Ps. 31:24 [MT 25]; Isa. 42:4; Lam. 3:26; etc.), piel of *hāḵâ* (2 K. 7:9; Job 32:4; Ps. 106:13; Isa. 8:17; 30:18; 64:4; Dnl. 12:12; Hos. 6:9; Hab. 2:3; Zeph. 3:8), qal and piel of *qāwâ* (Gen. 49:18; Job 30:26; Ps. 27:14; 56:6 [MT 7]; 119:95; Isa. 25:9; Lam. 3:25; etc.), hithpalpel of *māhah*–'linger' (2 S. 15:28), piel of

šāḇar–'hope,' 'wait' (Ruth 1:13), *yāšaḇ*–'sit' (Ruth 3:18; 1 S. 1:23), *'āmaḏ*–'stand' (Nu. 9:8; 2 S. 17:17; 1 K. 1:2; 20:38), *šāmar*–'watch' (Job 24:15; Prov. 8:34), *nû(a)ḥ*–'rest,' 'wait' (1 S. 25:9; Hab. 3:16), hithpael of yāšaḇ–'take one's stand' (Ex. 8:20 [MT 16]), niphal of *nāṣaḇ*–'stand' (Ex. 5:20; 7:15), *hāyâ*–'be' (Ex. 24:12; 2 K. 5:2), *dāmam*–'stand still' (1 S. 14:9), *dûmîyâ*–'silence' ("wait in silence," Ps. 62:1, 5 [MT 2, 6]), piel of *šāraṯ* ("wait on," Gen. 40:4), *ṣāḏâ* ("lie in wait," Ex. 21:13), *yāšaḇ 'ereḇ* ("lie in wait," Job 38:40), *'āraḇ* ("lie in wait," Dt. 19:11; Jgs. 9:32; Prov. 1:11; Lam. 3:10; etc.); Gk. *aphíēmi*–'let go,' 'leave' (Mt. 27:49 par. Mk. 15:36), *ekdéchomai*–'wait for' (Acts 17:16; 1 Cor. 11:33; He. 10:13; Jas. 5:7), *apekdéchomai*–'expect eagerly' (Rom. 8:19, 23, 25; 1 Cor. 1:7; Gal. 5:5; He. 9:28; 1 Pet. 3:20), *prosdéchomai*–'accept,' 'expect' (Lk. 12:36; Acts 23:21; Jude 21), *ménō*–'stay,' 'wait' (Acts 20:5), *anaménō*–'wait for' (1 Thess. 1:10), *periménō*–'wait for, endure' (Acts 1:4), *méllō*–'be about to' (Acts 22:16), *prosdokáō*–'wait for, expect' (Lk. 1:21; 8:40; Acts 28:6; 2 Pet. 3:12-14), *enedreúō* ("lie in wait," Lk. 11:54), *proskarteréō* ("wait on," Acts 10:7)]; AV also TARRY, STAY, STAND STILL, LET BE, WATCH, etc.; NEB also LINGER, DELAY, WATCH, LAY SNARES, etc.

The verb "wait" occurs in different contexts and has a variety of meanings. The distinctions among these various senses often, but not always, reflect different underlying biblical terms.

Several Hebrew verbs, primarily *qāwâ* (usually piel), *ḥāḵâ* (piel), and *yāḥal* (usually piel or hiphil), signify waiting with hope or expectation. Heb. *qāwâ*, the most clearly defined of the group (cf. the derived noun *tiqwâ*, "hope"), occurs only in poetry, being common especially in Isaiah (25:9; 26:8; 33:2; etc.) and the Psalms (25:5, 21; 27:14; 37:34; etc.). Its object is almost always "the Lord" (*see also* LOOK I). In Ps. 56:6 (MT 7) and 119:95, however, this verb seems to mean waiting in ambush. Similarly, in Hos. 6:9 *ḥāḵâ* seems to mean "lie in wait (for ambush)" (although the text is open to question), but elsewhere this verb means to wait patiently. Although it is used in a variety of contexts, in the Psalms and prophetic books it often has Yahweh as its object. *Yāḥal* (cf. derived noun *tôḥeleṯ*, "expectation, hope") is often used in synonymous parallelism with *qāwâ* (cf. Job 30:26; Ps. 130:5; Isa. 51:5; Lam. 3:25f.; etc.). Although it is sometimes used with other objects (e.g., human beings, Job 29:21, 23; Mic. 5:7 [MT 6]) or with no object (e.g., Gen. 8:10, 12; 1 S. 10:8), this verb also occurs frequently with Yahweh or God as its object (2 K. 6:33; Ps. 37:7; 38:15 [MT 16]; 69:3 [MT 4]; etc.).

Underlying the expression "wait for the Lord/God" is the faith that Yahweh is a God who delivers those who put their HOPE in Him. But this expression also implies a faith that is willing to operate on God's time rather than one's own. The emphasis may be on waiting with endurance and patience (which does not exclude the frequent cry, "How long, O Lord?") or on confident assurance (e.g., cf. Ps. 27:13f.). But in each case the biblical author recognizes that it is God's people who must conform to God's design for history.

In the NT the expression "wait for the Lord/God" does not occur, but the theme of expectant waiting is strong, particularly with reference to the eschatological hope. Christian expectation centers on the return of Christ (1 Cor. 1:7; 1 Thess. 1:10; cf. Lk. 12:36; Jude 21), on the "coming day of God" that will usher in "new heavens and a new earth" (2 Pet. 3:12-14), and on the full manifestation of those who have been adopted as "sons of God" (Rom. 8:23; cf. vv. 19, 25). (*See also* ESCHATOLOGY IV, X.)

"Wait" has negative connotations when it is used in the expression "lie in wait." This is a common translation of Heb. *'āraḇ*, which has the same overtones of violence and treachery that the phrase "lie in wait" has in English. Its NT counterpart, Gk. *enedreúō*, is used only twice: once literally, of the Jews' plot to assassinate Paul (Acts 23:21; RSV "lie in ambush"), and once figuratively, of the Pharisees' attempt to trap Jesus with words (Lk. 11:54). Heb. *ṣāḏâ*, on the other hand, might be translated more generally as "go hunting," with either stalking or ambush as a possible meaning. The RSV supplies "lie in wait" in Jer. 5:26; here the context refers to evildoers trapping the innocent, but the text is corrupt.

The third major sense of "wait" is that of domestic service, to "wait on" someone. Although in Gen. 40:4 Heb. *šāraṯ* (piel) is used of Joseph's service to other prisoners, it is more commonly used of the temple service of the priests and Levites. To "wait on" someone can also be expressed with the Hebrew verbs for "stand" (*'āmaḏ*, 1 K. 1:2) or "be" (*hāyâ*, 2 K. 5:2) in someone's presence. The NT equivalent is Gk. *proskarteréō* (lit. "adhere to," "attach oneself to"; Acts 10:7).

Bibliography.–*TDOT*, III, *s.v.* "dāmāh II" (A. Baumann); IV, *s.v.* "chākhāh" (C. Barth); VI, *s.v.* "yāḥal" (C. Barth); *TDNT*, II, *s.v.* δέχομαι κτλ. (W. Grundmann).

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WALK [Heb. *hālaḵ*–'go, walk' (Gen. 24:65; Ex. 18:20; Lev. 18:3; etc.), *sāḇaḇ*–'march around' (Ps. 48:12 [MT 13], *'āšar*–'walk straight (ahead)' (Prov. 9:6), *ṣā'aḏ*–'step, march' (Jer. 10:5), tiphel of *rāgal*–'teach to walk' (Hos. 11:3), *'āḇar*–'go by, pass' (Zeph. 3:6); Aram. *hᵃlaḵ* (haphel, Dnl. 3:25; 4:37 [MT 34]); pael, 4:29 [MT 26]); Gk. *peripatéō*–'go about, walk around', *poreúomai*–'go, proceed, travel' (Lk. 1:6; Acts 9:31; 14:16; Jude 11), *stoichéō*–'hold to, agree with, follow' (Gal. 5:25; 6:16), *prodgō*–'go before, lead, precede' (Mk. 10:32)]; AV also GO, PASS BY, etc.; NEB also FOLLOW, BEHAVE, CONFORM, GO, etc.

I. In the OT.–*A. Terminology.* The term most frequently translated "walk" in the RSV OT is Heb. *hālaḵ*, which occurs in various forms: in the qal nearly two hundred times, in the piel eleven times (e.g., Ps. 81:13 [MT 14]; 86:11; 89:15 [MT 16]; Prov. 6:28; 8:20; Eccl. 11:9; Ezk. 18:9), in the hithpael ("go to and fro," "go about") thirty-three times (e.g., Gen. 3:8; 5:22, 24; 6:9; 17:1; Lev. 26:12; 2 K. 20:3; Job 1:7; 2:2; Ps. 26:3; Prov. 6:22), and in the hiphil ("cause to go," "bring") three times (Lev. 26:13; Jer. 31:9; Ezk. 36:12). It refers literally to the walking of persons or animals, but it can also be used figuratively in the sense of "live," especially in regard to one's moral or religious life. "Walk" also appears in anthropomorphic statements (e.g., Gen. 3:8; Job 1:7; 2:2).

In Hos. 11:3 the form of the Hebrew verb *rāgal*, "teach to walk," may be a tiphel (see GKC, § 55h; but cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea* [*AB*, 1980], p. 579).

B. OT Use of Hālaḵ. *1. Literal Uses.* Examples that indicate the concrete spatial meaning include walking backward (Gen. 9:23), through the land (13:17), in a field (24:65), beside a river (Ex. 2:5), on dry ground (14:29; 15:19), upon a roof (2 S. 11:2), in a house (2 K. 4:35), on hot coals (Prov. 6:28), or in the streets (Lam. 4:18).

2. Figurative Uses. Ps. 1:1 declares "Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked." This represents only one of many references for the figurative use of *hālaḵ*. Others include walking in darkness (Ps. 82:5;

Prov. 2:13; Isa. 59:9), in fellowship with another person (Ps. 55:14 [MT 15]), in the midst of trouble (138:7), with sinners (Prov. 1:15), and in pride (Dnl. 4:37 [MT 34]). Figurative uses of "walk" occur in the following common phrases.

a. Walking in God's Laws/Statutes/Commandments/Ordinances/Truth. "Walk" frequently occurs in phrases referring to walking in God's law (Heb. *tôrâ*); e.g., those who walk in the law of the Lord are blessed (Ps. 119:1). Obedience to the Lord characterizes a proper walk (Ex. 16:4). 2 Ch. 6:16 states that the Lord made certain promises to David if his sons would "walk in my law as you [David] walked before me." Ps. 78:10 says that the Ephraimites "did not keep God's covenant, but refused to walk according to his law" (cf. Neh. 10:29 [MT 30]). Jer. 26:4f. indicates that those who did not obey God's voice or walk in His law would receive His judgment (also see 32:23; 44:23; cf. 2 K. 10:31).

"Walking in God's statutes" (Heb. *ḥuqqâ*, "something prescribed") also appears frequently (e.g., Lev. 18:4; 26:3; 1 K. 6:12; Ezk. 11:12; 18:9, 17). Ezk. 5:6f. indicate that God's people (Jerusalem) had not walked in His statutes or kept His ordinances; 20:13, 16 say that Israel rebelled in the wilderness and refused to walk in His statutes (cf. 20:18f., 21); but God's gracious provision of a new heart and a new spirit would give new motivation to His people to walk in His statutes, keep His ordinances, and obey Him (Ezk. 11:20; cf. esp. 36:26f.).

Several other phrases also occur, including "walking in God's commandments [Heb. *miṣwâ*]"; e.g., in 1 K. 6:12 the Lord affirms to Solomon that He will dwell with His people if Solomon walks in His statutes; Prov. 6:22 says that a father's commandments guide the walk of a faithful son. Ps. 89:30 (MT 31) states that punishment awaits those who fail to walk in God's ordinances (Heb. *mišpāṭ*). In Ps. 86:11 the psalmist prays for guidance: "Teach me thy way, O Lord, that I may walk in thy truth ['*ĕmeṭ*, "faithfulness"]."

Although the ideal conduct is to walk in the laws of God, it is also possible to walk in the "statutes" (Heb. *ḥuqqâ*) of foreign gods (Lev. 18:3), as well as the "customs" (*ḥōq*) of other gods (Lev. 20:23; 2 K. 17:8, 19; see esp. 2 K. 17:7-18).

b. Walking in God's Way(s). This phrase occurs quite frequently (e.g., Dt. 5:33; 8:6; 11:22; 19:9; 26:17; 1 K. 2:3; 3:14; 8:58, 61; 2 Ch. 6:31; Isa. 30:21; Jer. 6:16; 7:23; Zec. 3:7). The term "way" (Heb. *derek*) in this phrase refers to the conduct required by God. In 1 K. 3:14 God promises longevity to Solomon if he walks in His ways; 1 K. 11:33 reveals Solomon's failure to do so. Ps. 81:13 (MT 14) parallels listening to God with walking in His ways. Ps. 119:3 testifies, "Blessed are those . . . who also do no wrong, but walk in his ways," while 128:1 declares, "Blessed is every one who fears the Lord, who walks in his ways!" Similarly, in Jer. 7:23 God commands His people to walk in His way, "that it may be well with [them]." "In the last analysis, what we are concerned with here is adherence to Yahweh alone and exclusive fidelity to him" (*TDOT*, III, 396).

c. Walking before the Lord. In Gen. 17:1 the Lord commands Abram to "Walk before [Heb. *lepānay*, lit. "to the face of"] me, and be blameless" (see esp. 1 K. 2:4; 3:6; 8:23, 25; 9:4 and par. in 2 Ch. 6–7). "God orders Abraham (now representing Israel) to live his life before God in such a way that every single step is made with reference to God and every day experiences him close at hand" (C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* [Eng. tr. 1985], p. 259). Gen. 24:40 and 48:15f. testify to the faithful walks of Abraham's servant (Eliezer?), Abraham, and Isaac before the Lord. In 2 K. 20:3 (par. Isa. 38:3) King Hezekiah claims that he also walked before the Lord in faithfulness. "By itself *hālakh/hithhallēkh* means "live"; in conjunction with *liphnê yhvh* . . . it refers to the way of life God requires" (*TDOT*, III, 393).

d. Walking after the Lord. Appearing in a context of warnings against idolatry, Dt. 13:4 (MT 5) commands, "You shall walk after the Lord your God and fear him, and keep his commandments and obey his voice, and you shall serve him and cleave to him." Also, in 2 K. 23:3 Josiah agreed "to walk after the Lord and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes, with all his heart and all his soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book; and all the people joined in the covenant." In the phrase "walk after the Lord" the word "after" translates Heb. *'aḥ^{a}rê*, which means "in accordance with"; thus in this phrase it indicates a relationship that is governed by a norm. When it applies to other gods "following after" means cultic worship, but "when it applies to Yahweh, it means fulfilment of God's law, especially the commandments to accept Yahweh exclusively" (*TDOT*, III, 395; also see I, 204-207).

e. Walking with God. The OT mentions several notable individuals who "walked with God," e.g., Enoch (Gen. 5:22, 24) and Noah (6:9). In Enoch's case this expression may suggest that he "stood in a direct and immediate relationship to God" (C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* [Eng. tr. 1984], p. 358). Noah, who was "righteous" (Heb. *ṣaddîq*) toward human beings and "blameless" (*tāmîm*) before God, also "walked with God." This seems to imply a very intimate and personal fellowship between God and Noah. The LXX uses the Greek verb *euarestéō*, "be well pleasing," to translate Heb. *hālak*. In Mic. 6:8 one of the Lord's requirements is "to walk humbly with your God," a stipulation that "goes beyond the summons to do justice and love kindness; it means setting God at the center of human life" (*TDOT*, III, 395). Also, "peace and righteousness" characterized Levi's walk with the Lord (Mal. 2:6).

f. Walking contrary to God. This particular phrase appears only in Lev. 26, a chapter that concludes the Holiness Code (chs. 17–26) with various divine warnings and promises. The RSV has "contrary" for Heb. *q^{e}rî*, "(hostile) encounter, meeting" (KoB, p. 855), a term that implies fighting against another person. The passages state that if God's people "walk contrary to [Him]" (vv. 21, 23, 27, 40), then He will "walk contrary to [them]" (vv. 24, 28, 41), i.e., He will mete out various punishments to discipline His people.

g. Walking in One's Integrity. Both Psalms and Proverbs refer to individuals who walked in integrity; e.g., David maintained that he walked in his integrity (Ps. 26:1, 11). In this phrase in the RSV "integrity" translates Heb. *tōm* and *tāmîm*, both of which are cognate with the verb *tāmam*, "be complete." In the OT "integrity" essentially means "'soundness of character and adherence to moral principle,' i.e., uprightness and honesty" (*ISBE*, II, 857). OT individuals who possessed this noble quality included Abraham (Gen. 20:5f.), David (1 K. 9:4), Job (Job 2:3, 9; 4:6; 27:5; 31:6), and psalmists (Ps. 7:8; 25:21; 41:12; 101:2). In Proverbs "integrity" typifies the upright person; e.g., God protects those who possess it (2:7); those who walk in it are assured security (10:9; 28:18; cf. 2:21; 20:7); it is preferable to material wealth (19:1; 28:6).

h. Walking in the Ways of Israel's Rulers. The OT frequently mentions the failures of Israel's leaders and kings. Samuel's sons, e.g., did not walk in his (righteous) ways, but "took bribes and perverted justice" (1 S. 8:3, 5). Jgs. 2:17 rehearses Israel's apostasy, viz., how they failed to

walk like their fathers, who had obeyed God's commands. Very often the OT speaks about the kings of Israel and Judah who "walked in the [evil] way(s) of his father" (e.g., Nadab, 1 K. 15:26; Ahaziah of Israel, 22:52; Amon, 2 K. 21:21), or "in the sins/way of Jeroboam" (e.g., Baasha, 1 K. 15:34; Zimri, 16:19; Omri, 16:26; Ahab, 16:31; Jehoahaz, 2 K. 13:6; Jehoash, 13:11; the people of Israel, 17:22), or "in the way of the kings of Israel" (e.g., Jehoram, 2 K. 8:18 par. 2 Ch. 21:6; Ahaz, 2 K. 16:3). The OT makes occasional reference to a king who did act righteously, e.g., Jehoshaphat, who "walked in all the way of Asa his father; he did not turn aside from it, doing what was right in the sight of the Lord" (1 K. 22:43); yet even he did not take down the "high places." Also, King Josiah "did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, and walked in all the way of David his father" (2 K. 22:2 par. 2 Ch. 34:2).

II. In the NT.–A. Terminology. In the RSV NT "walk" most frequently translates Gk. *peripatéō,* which means "go about, walk around." This is the customary meaning in the LXX and the almost exclusive meaning in classical Greek. This verb occurs nearly one hundred times in the NT, although it is not always translated "walk"; its NT usage is almost evenly divided between literal and figurative meanings (see below).

In the RSV NT "walk" translates Gk. *poreúomai* only four times. Like *peripatéō* it may also include both literal and figurative meanings, but where the RSV translates *poreúomai* as "walk," it reflects only the figurative sense, "conduct oneself, live, walk"; e.g., Lk. 1:6 applies a familiar OT form of expression to Zechariah and Elizabeth: "they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless." Also, in Acts 9:31 Luke describes the early Palestinian church as "walking in the fear of the Lord." Acts 14:16 states that God previously allowed the Gentiles to conduct their lives ("walk") as they wished (see 17:30), yet not without a witness to divine truth. In Jude 11 one may understand the phrase "walk in the way of Cain" as either the imitation of Cain's sin or as a euphemism for death (see R. J. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1983], pp. 80f.).

The RSV translates Gk. *stoichéō* as "walk" twice. Gal. 5:25 manifests the typical Pauline interaction of the indicative and the imperative: "we live by the Spirit (granted); therefore let us keep in step [*stoichéō*] with the Spirit" (F. F. Bruce, comm. on Galatians [*NIGTC,* 1982], p. 257; see also Gal. 6:16).

In Mk. 10:32 Gk. *proágō* (RSV "walking ahead"; lit. "go before, lead, precede") portrays Jesus' resolute decision to "go up to Jerusalem" and do God's will; this portrayal of Jesus vividly contrasts with the disciples who hesitantly and fearfully followed behind.

B. NT Use of Peripatéō. *1. Literal Uses.* In a number of instances the RSV NT uses "walk" (*peripatéō*) in the literal sense, e.g., walking by the sea (Mt. 4:18), on the sea (Mt. 14:25f.; 14:29 [Peter]; Mk. 6:48f.; Jn. 6:19), and in the temple (Mk. 11:27; Jn. 10:23). The RSV also uses "walk" in the absolute sense (e.g., Jn. 1:36); where this is so, the context frequently involves the miraculous healings of lame human beings, events that proclaim the coming of God's kingdom (e.g., Mt. 9:5-7 par.; 11:5 par.; 15:30f.; 5:42; Jn. 5:8f., 11f.; Acts 3:6-10; 14:8, 10).

2. Figurative Uses. When used figuratively, *peripatéō* means one's conduct or walk of life, i.e., the manner in which one conducts oneself (cf. 2 K. 20:3; Prov. 8:20). This use is especially characteristic of Paul, who further qualified it and grouped it into two categories that fundamentally oppose one another; e.g., he speaks about walking according to the Spirit or according to the flesh (Rom. 8:4; see also Gal. 5:16; cf. v. 25, *stoichéō*); accordingly, one may walk in good works (Eph. 2:10), in love (Rom. 14:15; Eph. 5:2), as children of light (Eph. 5:8), in new life (Rom. 6:4), or "by faith, not by sight" (2 Cor. 5:7); or one may walk in sins (Eph. 2:2; Col. 3:7). Cf. RSV "lead a life" for Gk. *peripatéō* in Eph. 4:1; Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:12.

Bibliography.–R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT,* I (Eng. tr. 1951), 330-340; *DNTT,* III, 943-47; *TDNT,* V, *s.v.* πατέω (Seesemann, Bertram); VI, *s.v.* πορεύομαι C. 6 (Hauck, Schulz); VII, *s.v.* στοιχέω (Delling); *TDOT,* III, *s.v.* "hālakh" (Helfmeyer).

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WALL. In a number of places AV has "hedge(s)" where RSV has "wall(s)" for Heb. *gāḏēr* (Ps. 80:12 [MT 13]; Ecc. 10:8; Ezk. 13:5; 22:30; otherwise, AV usually has "wall" for *gāḏêr*) and *gᵉḏērâ* (Ps. 89:40 [MT 41]; cf. Heb. *gāḏar* in Lam. 3:7; AV "hedged about"; RSV "walled about"). *Gāḏēr* and related words most often refer to defensive walls built of stone, whether a simple structure built around a vegetable plot or the walls of a city.

See FORTIFICATION; GALLERY (Ezk. 41:15); HOUSE IV.A.

WALLET. *See* BAG.

WANDER [Heb. *tāʿâ* (Gen. 20:13; 21:14; 37:15; Job 12:24; 38:41; Ps. 107:4, 40; Prov. 21:16; Isa. 47:15; Lam. 4:14), *nûḏ(a)ʿ* (Nu. 32:13; 2 S. 15:20; Ps. 109:10; Prov. 5:6; Jer. 14:10; Lam. 4:14f.; Am. 4:8; 8:12), *nāḏaḏ* (Job 15:23; Ps. 55:7 [MT 8]; Hos. 9:17), *šāgâ* (Ps. 119:10, 21; Ezk. 34:6), *nûḏ* (Gen. 4:12, 14; 2 K. 21:8; Jer. 49:30), *hālaḵ*–'walk' (1 Ch. 16:20 par. Ps. 105:13; Eccl. 6:9), *nāsaʿ* (Jer. 31:24; Zec. 10:2), *yāraḏ*–'descend' (Jgs. 11:37), *naʿar*–'youth' (Zec. 11:16), *ʾāḇaḏ* (Dt. 26:5), *bāḏaḏ* (Hos. 9:9), *ṭāʿâ* (Cant. 1:7, following Syr., Vulg., Symm.; MT *ʿōṭyâ*–'veiled' < *ʿāṭâ*); Gk. *(apo)planáō* (1 Tim. 6:10; He. 11:38; Jas. 5:19), *planḗtēs* (Jude 13), *apostréphō* (2 Tim. 4:4), *ektrépomai* (1 Tim. 1:6)]; AV also BE MOVEABLE, BE A VAGABOND, GO UP AND DOWN, ERR, MOVE, GO, GO FORTH, GO DOWN, TURN (ASIDE), "the young one" (Zec. 11:16), "ready to perish" (Dt. 26:5), "alone" (Hos. 9:9), etc.; NEB also TAKE LEAVE OF, STUMBLE OFF, BE A VAGABOND, "croak" (Job 38:41), "lost their way" (Ps. 107:4), etc.

Words translated "wander" are used in three significant contexts: for the nomadic life of the patriarchs (Gen. 20:13; 21:14; 37:15; Dt. 26:5; cf. Jer. 31:24; He. 11:38), for the Israelites' experience in the wilderness before their entry into the Promised Land (Nu. 32:13; 1 Ch. 16:20 par. Ps. 105:13), and metaphorically for life characterized by sin, sometimes despite exposure to God's truth (Ps. 119:10, 21; Prov. 5:6; 21:16; Eccl. 6:9; Jer. 14:10; Zec. 10:2; Jude 13; Jas. 5:19). The Pastoral Epistles use the same metaphor, but with more specific identification of the direction of the wandering, which is generally doctrinal (1 Tim. 1:6; 6:10; 2 Tim. 4:4). Being made to wander in the desert is regarded as a punishment for sin (Gen. 4:12, 14; 2 K. 21:8; Job 12:24; Ps. 107:40; 109:10; cf. Lam. 4:14), as is the wandering of the Diaspora (Lam. 4:15; Hos. 9:17). But to wander in the wilderness could also be thought of as a way of finding refuge from the conflicts of settled areas (Ps. 55:7 [MT 8], in contrast to Ps. 107:4).

See also WILDERNESS.

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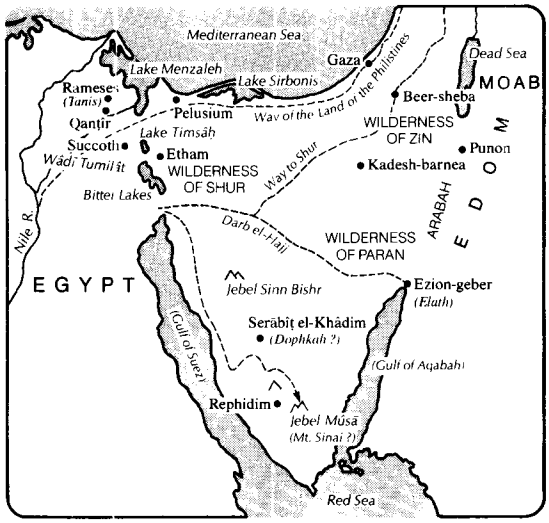
WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL. The formative religious experiences of Israel occurred in the context of a series of journeys termed the "wanderings of Israel." The primary

WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL

biblical materials giving the specifics of the journeys are found in Ex. 12–19; Nu. 10–22; and Dt. 1–2. Other scattered references supply a few more details. Nu. 33 gives a comprehensive list of the encampments along the way, but the precise nature of this chapter is much debated. The journeys began in the northwest Delta of Egypt and concluded in the plains of Moab just NE of the Dead Sea.



I. Preliminary Concerns
  A. Southern Route Theory
  B. Number of Participants
II. Geographical and Historical Background
  A. Geographical
    1. Sinai
    2. Kadesh-barnea
    3. Arabah and Southern Transjordan
  B. Historical
III. Journey from Egypt to Sinai
  A. From Rameses to the "Sea of Reeds"
  B. From the "Sea of Reeds" to Mt. Sinai
IV. From Mt. Sinai to Kadesh-barnea
  A. Route to Kadesh-barnea
  B. Sojourn at Kadesh-barnea
V. From Kadesh-barnea to the Plains of Moab
  A. Possible Approaches
  B. Archeological Discoveries

I. Preliminary Concerns.–A. Southern Route Theory. This article is a continuation of the article EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE, which describes and briefly evaluates the major route theories proposed for the Exodus, and it should be read in conjunction with that article.

Any attempt to trace the itinerary of these journeys faces formidable critical and geographical problems that render all such attempts hypothetical (*see* esp. EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE I). The widely varying options given by competent authorities demonstrate the complexity of the issues. In an article such as this no attempt can be made to deal with all the alternatives. Rather, this article assumes the position that the narrative of the journeys as it presently stands supports the theory of a southern route. Some of the basic reasons for this assumption must be summarized.

The key issue is the location of Mt. Sinai. The beginning of the journeys at Rameses is well established, as is the location of a major hiatus in the journeys at Kadesh-barnea. Further, although the journey from Kadesh-barnea to the plains of Moab presents its own difficulties, the general area and some precise locales are well known. It is the uncertainty regarding the location of Mt. Sinai that permits different route theories.

That Mt. Sinai should be located in the southern part of the peninsula seems to be indicated by the following observations. First, most of the sites mentioned are found only in the Exodus narrative. This suggests they were distant from the areas normally controlled by Israel or used in travel to Egypt. Even the precise location of Mt. Sinai was lost after the time of Elijah (9th cent. B.C.). At times the land under Israel's control extended to Kadesh-barnea and Ezion-geber, but no mention is made of these sacred sites. Second, a northern locale for the route and Mt. Sinai seems to be precluded by the specific statement that the Israelites were not to travel by the "way of the land of the Philistines" (Ex. 13:17), a reference to the great trunk route through the coast of Sinai connecting Sile with Gaza. Third, the statement that Mt. Sinai was n eleven days' journey from Kadesh-barnea (Dt. 1:2) best fits a locale in the south. Fourth, the probability that a few of the encampments (e.g., Dizahab, identified with Dhahab, and Jotbathah, identified with Ṭabeh) can be plausibly located in central or southern Sinai argues for a location in the south. Finally, although the Christian tradition placing Mt. Sinai at Jebel Mûsā dates only from the 4th cent. A.D., this tradition conflicts with the normal practice of locating sacred sites in easily accessible areas. It now appears certain that the tradition of a sacred mountain in south Sinai is older than the 4th cent. A.D., and that Christians built upon previously existing traditions. (*See also* EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE IV.C.).

But how far south was Mt. Sinai? Harel developed the view that Mt. Sinai should be located at Jebel Sinn Bishr, about 48 km. (30 mi.) SE of Suez. This view accommodates the inference that Mt. Sinai was a three days' journey from Egypt (Ex. 5:3), avoids the problem of Amalekites appearing so far south, and presents plausible identifications of the encampments between the crossing of the sea and Elim. Only a few scholars (e.g., Wenham) have adopted this theory. It is difficult to accommodate the numerous stations listed in the itineraries; nor does Jebel Sinn Bishr fit well the statement in Dt. 1:2 that Horeb (Sinai) was eleven days' journey from Kadesh-barnea. A mountain located farther south seems to be required.

B. Number of Participants. Scholars continue to debate how to interpret the figures given concerning the number of participants involved in the wanderings. Ex. 12:37 mentions the figure 600,000 — a number that agrees closely with the two census figures given in Numbers (chs. 1, 26). Since these figures apply only to adult males, it has been traditionally assumed that the total number of participants including women and children, was on the order of 2.5 million. To many scholars such a large figure seems troublesome at several points. First, the sheer size of the group presents serious logistical problems in the Sinai. Second, estimates of the strength of the Egyptian army at the battle of Kadesh in 1286 B.C. suggest a figure of twenty thousand — a number that presents a striking contrast to the fighting men available to Israel. Third, some biblical materials are hard to understand if the group was so large, e.g., the implication that only two midwives served the needs of the group (Ex. 2:15), or the statement that Israel represented a nation of few people (Dt. 7:7).

These reasons and others have led some scholars to propose other ways to understand the figures. Some have argued that the Hebrew term *'elep* normally translated "thousand(s)," originally carried another meaning such as "family" (Petrie) or a tribal subunit upon which a military

draft was levied (Mendenhall). Thus Petrie suggested, e.g., that the number of 74,600 for the tribe of Judah meant seventy-four families comprising a total of six hundred people. Mendenhall believed that the figures signified seventy-four sub-sections of the tribe, with a combined military levy of six hundred fighting men. Albright proposed that the figures are basically correct but represent the population of Israel at the time of David. Still others have argued that the numbers are purely symbolic and have employed gematria or some other scheme to derive the meaning of the figures. None of these theories is free of difficulty; it is fair, however, to say that the majority of scholars favor some interpretation of the figures that results in a much smaller group than 2.5 million people.

II. Geographical and Historical Background.–*A. Geographical. 1. Sinai.* For a brief description of the geography of the Sinai Peninsula *see* EXODUS, ROUTE OF THE II. This article will amplify the description of some conditions of the peninsula and describe the major routes that cross the region. The latter point is of particular importance, since travel in Sinai by a group of any size is limited to certain geologically defined tracks.

The lack of available water in the Sinai is a point emphasized by the biblical writers. Today the entire region receives less than 10 cm. (4 in.) of rainfall yearly. This rainfall tends to be confined to brief, often violent cloudbursts occurring in the winter months. Most of the water evaporates or runs off along the innumerable wadis, such as the system forming the Wâdī el-ʿArîsh, which drains the vast central section of the peninsula northward to the sea. At least one-quarter of the rainfall, however, percolates downward to form a considerable reservoir of water or aquifer. Interestingly, a few records have noted that the collapse of thin rock material in the Sinai has resulted in immediate access to this underground reservoir; this brings to mind the incidences in the wanderings in which a rock was struck and water produced (Ex. 17:1-7; Nu. 20:8-13). In a few areas this water flows to the surface in the form of springs, allowing an oasis to break the monotony of the arid landscape. Important springs are found in the south of the peninsula in the Wâdī Feiran and beneath Jebel Mûsā. Smaller springs are scattered over the north and south of the peninsula but are rarer in the central region known as the Badiyat et-Tīh.

Movement within the Sinai Peninsula is restricted by the nature of the terrain to a few routes or tracks capable of use by significant groups of people. The major routes are all located in the northern third of the peninsula. As the connecting link between Egypt and Palestine, this was the most heavily traveled region. The major artery was the coastal road that began at Sile (Pelusium) and continued to Gaza, apparently referred to as the "way of the land of the Philistines" (Ex. 13:17). The Egyptians secured this route by maintaining a series of fortified outposts along the way; the pharaohs of the New Kingdom used this road often for military operations in Palestine and Syria. Another important route began near modern Ismailia (Wâdī Tumilât) and led to Beer-sheba, perhaps the "way to Shur" (Gen. 16:7) generally favored by the patriarchs in their migrations to and from Egypt. A third route led from modern Suez to Elath and is today known as the Darb el-Hajj, a Moslem pilgrim-route connecting north Africa to Mecca. Little evidence suggests that this route was used extensively in antiquity, although branches of the route extend NE to the region of Kadesh-barnea.

Southern Sinai, much more isolated, has no routes comparable to those in the north. During the Bronze Age the Egyptians mined turquoise at Serābîṭ el-Khâdim. Later, during the Roman period, the Nabateans traveled in south Sinai, probably in their trade endeavors. Christian pilgrimages to the region began during the 4th cent. A.D. Access to the southern peninsula from Egypt is gained down the east coast of the peninsula along the gulf of Suez. This route intersects two east-west tracks that lead to the granite peaks that form the heart of southern Sinai. The most important of these tracks is the Wâdī Feiran, which leads to the region of Jebel Mûsā by the Wâdī esh-Sheikh and the Watiya Pass. The wadis Baʿbaʿa and Mukattab join this system from the north. A less direct and more difficult approach to the southeast mountains is via Wâdī Ṭaiyiba and the sandy plain Debbet er-Ramleh. On the other hand, two possibilities exist for movement from the region of Jebel Mûsā to the east or northeast. Wâdī Naṣb extends almost due E to Dhahab. The second route leads northwest by the Watiya Pass along the wadi Saʿal, Ṣafra, Haggag, Hudera, Ghazala to Wâdī Watīr, thence to Elath.

An aerial view of the Red Sea and the east coast of the Sinai Peninsula (L. T. Geraty)

2. Kadesh-barnea. As indicated, the location of Kadesh-barnea has been established with reasonable certainty at ʿAin el-Qudeirât, approximately 88 km. (55 mi.) SW of Beer-sheba. Israel spent a considerable amount of time in this region as the faithless generation perished (Nu. 14:33; Dt. 1:46). Several important events are connected with the stay at Kadesh-barnea, including the reconnoitering of the land (Nu. 13), an abortive attempt to enter Palestine from the south (Nu. 14; Dt. 1:41-44), and the death of Miriam (Nu. 20).

The immediate environs of Kadesh-barnea provide adequate resources for a prolonged stay. Although ʿAin el-Qudeirât possesses the largest spring in the area, two other good sources of water are located at ʿAin Qedeis, 8 km. (5 mi.) SW, and ʿAin Qoseimeh. The former site retains the ancient name, and some favor identifying it with Kadesh-barnea. Possibly all of the springs in the immediate vicinity were included in the name Kadesh-barnea. Winter rains could be collected and conserved, allowing some small scale crop production, and areas for grazing can be found. Routes passed nearby to allow movement in several directions. The "way to Shur" gave access to Beer-sheba, another route led from Kadesh to Arad, while yet another linked Kadesh with the top of the Gulf of Aqabah. The latter probably is the "way to the Reed Sea" (*yam sûp*) taken by the Israelites upon leaving Kadesh (Nu. 21:4; Dt. 2:1).

The broader region in which Kadesh-barnea is located is quite inhospitable. Kadesh is variously described as being in the desert wastes known as the Wilderness of ZIN

or the Wilderness of PARAN. The former term refers to the area N and E of Kadesh, which is practically devoid of vegetation, lacks significant water supplies, and never was permanently settled. The deep wadis that criss-cross the region make travel difficult.

3. Arabah and South Transjordan. For a description of the geography of the lands through which the Israelites journey after leaving Kadesh-barnea, *see* ARABAH; EDOM; MOAB.

B. Historical. To appreciate the obstacles posed by an attempted escape from Egypt, a few historical observations are important. The northeast Delta, the biblical land of Goshen, had long attracted seminomadic groups that are variously referred to in Egyptian sources as Asiatics or Shasu. These peoples came to Egypt across the Sinai with their herds and flocks, seeking the abundant water resources and pasturage afforded by the Delta. Trade between these groups also occurred, as depicted in the Beni-hasan tomb drawings. This migratory activity became troublesome for the Egyptians, especially after the First Intermediate Period. To monitor the migrations, the rulers of the Middle Kingdom (12th Dynasty) built the "Wall of the Prince," referring to a system of checkpoints using fortified outposts, or possibly to a system that used a (rediscovered) canal as a barrier to control access (see Sneh and Weissbrod). Egypt's vulnerability to infiltration across the Sinai from the northeast was highlighted during the Hyksos Period (*see* EGYPT VIII.F). Upon the expulsion of the Hyksos by the 18th Dynasty, the New Kingdom pharaohs continued to monitor closely access to and from the Delta.

In addition, New Kingdom pharaohs like Thutmose III, Amenophis II, and Ramses II asserted Egyptian influence in Palestine, Syria, and Transjordan. Through a series of campaigns launched from the northeast Delta and utilizing the coastal road across Sinai, the New Kingdom rulers ranged northward to southern Syria and beyond. Control of the eastern border and the major routes of Sinai were important matters to Egypt both militarily and economically.

The Exodus began in the northeast Delta probably during the resurgent 19th Dynasty (but *see* EXODUS, DATE OF THE). This powerful group of rulers included Seti I (*ca.* 1305-1290 B.C.), Ramses II (*ca.* 1290-1224), and Merneptah (*ca.* 1224-1214). During their reigns the administrative capital of Egypt was moved to the eastern Delta. This move was designed to enhance access to Palestine and Syria in the face of mounting pressure from the Hittites. New building projects were initiated by Seti I and energetically continued by his son and successor Ramses II.

III. Journey from Egypt to Mt. Sinai.–A. From Rameses to the "Sea of Reeds." The administrative focus of the 19th Dynasty was Rameses, Egyp. *pr-rʿ-ms-sw* ("house of Rameses"), the originating point of the Exodus (Ex. 12:37). Once there was much debate about whether the correct site of Rameses was at Tanis (Ṣân el-Ḥagar) or at Qanṭîr/Tell el-Dabʿa, but excavations at the latter site have confirmed it as the logical choice (see Bietak). The new capital was an impressive expansion of the older Hyksos capital Avaris, which had been neglected by the 18th Dynasty. At Qanṭîr a large palace begun by Seti I has been identified, along with houses belonging to high officials under Seti I and Ramses II. Although the remains have been seriously disturbed, it is clear that within the larger area centering upon Qanṭîr/Tell el-Dabʿa, the rulers of the 19th Dynasty built palaces and temples worthy of the capital. Also constructed were support facilities necessary for provisioning the royal household and bureaucracy, as well as military facilities. In this sense Rameses and Pithom could be described accurately as Heb. *ʿārê miškᵉnōṯ* ("store-cities," Ex. 1:11), a term perhaps derived from Akk. *maškantu* or *maškattu*, meaning "provision" (Soggin, p. 111).

From Rameses the Israelites moved SE to Succoth (Ex. 12:37; Nu. 33:5), a site conceded by most to be the Egyp. *Ṯkw* (*see* SUCCOTH 2). Identified with Tell el-Maskhûṭah, the site lies in the eastern portion of Wâdī Ṭumilât. This wadi was a major conduit extending from the eastern Nile branches to the frontier near Ismailia. Groups crossing the Sinai by the "Way of Shur" entered Egypt by this wadi. A papyrus document dating *ca.* 1190 B.C. details the passage of Shasu tribes with their herds from Edom via *Ṯkw* — an event dutifully recorded by a frontier official (*ANET*, p. 259). The same document mentions a *Pr-Tm*, probably PITHOM.

The narrative of the journey from Succoth to the crossing of the sea contains some detailed geographical information that is unfortunately susceptible to varying interpretations (for details see Cazelles, de Vaux, and Davies). Four sites are mentioned in connection with two encampments: Etham, Pi-hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon (Ex. 13:20; 14:2). None can be identified with certainty, and the last two terms could have been used to describe more than one site in the region. Papyrus Anastasi V (*ANET*, p. 259), however, relates the story of two fugitive slaves and their pursuit by a frontier official. Their route took them S of *Ṯkw* (Succoth). The official tracked them until his arrival at *Ḫtm* (Etham?), where he learned that the slaves had slipped past the Migdol of Seti, presumably into the desert; hence the pursuit was discontinued. Possibly three of the sites mentioned in the Exodus account are found here in order: *Ṯkw* may be Succoth, *Ḫtm* may be Etham, and Migdol of Seti I may be Migdol. Unfortunately, the equation of Egyptian *Ḫtm* with Etham is philologically difficult. The document does, however, suggest two important points: (1) the way S of *Ṯkw* was known and used by fugitive slaves, and (2) a Migdol was located S of *Ṯkw*.

Many scholars, however, prefer to identify Migdol with Tell el-Ḥeir, 13 km. (8 mi.) S of Pelusium, and Baal-zephon with either Mohammediyeh or Râs Qasrun, both located on the narrow bar of land N of Lake Sirbonis. It is probable that Tell el-Ḥeir was known as Migdol, perhaps the one mentioned later in the prophetic writings (Jer. 44:1; Ezk. 30:6). But the fact remains that such a line of march would invite Egyptian intervention, and it would fail to account adequately for Ex. 13:17. Acceptable, even preferable, alternatives can be given for Migdol and Baal-zephon in the central portion of the isthmus. Several Migdols are mentioned in and around the eastern Wâdī Ṭumilât. Baal-zephon can be located at Tell Defneh near Qantrah or perhaps even further south (Davies, p. 81). It seems preferable to assume that the Hebrews proceeded S of *Ṯkw* (Succoth) along a route similar to that of the two slaves.

The miraculous deliverance occurred at the *yam sûp*, best translated as "Sea of Reeds." A clue to the location of *yam sûp* may be found in the command to "turn back" (Ex. 14:2). This probably meant that the group changed directions and headed north — but how far north? Since only one encampment is mentioned prior to the crossing of the sea, the distance could not be great (perhaps 16 km. [10 mi.]). This would mean that the miracle should be located at one of the bodies of water between Lake Menzaleh and the Bitter Lakes. The area near Lake Menzaleh is in the vicinity of the marsh regions referred to in Egyptian documents as the "papyrus region" (*Pa-Tjoufy*)) which may be related to the Hebrew term *yam sûp*. But

the Lake Menzaleh region appears to be too far north; a better candidate would be Lake Timsâḥ near Ismailia in the center of the isthmus. Another possibility is the Bitter Lakes somewhat further south, but this is difficult to harmonize with the command to "turn back."

B. From the "Sea of Reeds" to Mt. Sinai. After the miraculous sea crossing, the Israelites journeyed for three days without water in the Wilderness of Shur (Ex. 15:22). The term refers to the northwest Sinai Peninsula, where some of the characteristics of the coastal plains intrude south. Sand and scrub dominate the area and water is scarce; the region contrasts sharply with the abundant water of the Delta lying just to the west.

The journey south followed the route along the east coast of the Sinai Peninsula. Nu. 33 lists seven stops between the sea crossing and Mt. Sinai (although Mt. Sinai is not actually mentioned). Exodus records information about four of the encampments. None can be identified with certainty, but several springs and small oases along the coast have invited attempts to locate sites mentioned in this portion of the journey. Marah (Ex. 15:23) traditionally has been placed at ʿAin Ḥawârah, a small spring, but some prefer the more copious spring at ʿAin Mûsā, 14 km. (9 mi.) S of Suez. Wâdī Gharandel, some 95 km. (60 mi.) S of Suez fits the description given of Elim with its twelve springs and seventy date palms (Ex. 15:27). The encampment by the sea (Nu. 33:10) has been placed either at the entrance to Wâdī Ṭaiyiba or near el-Merkhah, 8 km. (5 mi.) S of Abu Zeneimeh. At the latter site have been found the remains of a small Egyptian settlement used in the Late Bronze Age.

Within the area the Israelites first experienced the divine provision both of manna and of quail (Ex. 16). Both miracles may have been related to natural phenomena known to occur within the Sinai. The scale and timing of the phenomena revealed to the Israelites the sustaining hand of Yahweh. The yearly migration of quail between Europe and Arabia is well known. In the fall the quail land on the coast of northern Sinai, exhausted after their flight over the Mediterranean Sea. The appearance of the quail so far south may be explained by the fact that the Israelites encountered them in the spring not the fall. Also, in another instance (Nu. 11:31) the text indicates that the quail were brought to the Israelites by a wind, suggesting that the quail were blown off their normal migration route.

Upon departure from the encampment by the sea, the group continued into the Wilderness of Sin before reaching Rephidim. Nu. 33:12-14 mentions two stations, Dophkah and Alush, along the way. This clearly implies a turn in a more easterly direction and penetration into the rugged terrain of the interior peninsula. Two possible routes for this segment of the journey are feasible. The group could have entered the interior by the Wâdī Ṭaiyiba or the Wâdī Baʿbaʿa and moved past the Egyptian turquoise mining center at Serābîṭ el-Khâdim into the sandy tract known as Debbet er-ramleh. Dophkah has been identified with Serābîṭ el-Khâdim on the supposed basis of a philological similarity with the Egyptian word for turquoise. This appears to be an unacceptable philological argument, however, and it has now been abandoned. On the other hand, Debbet er-Ramleh is a suitable locale for the Wilderness of Sin. Yet, access to the interior of southern Sinai is more easily achieved through the wadis Sidri and Mukattab, which bypass the more difficult terrain to the north and east and interconnect with Wâdī Feiran. This seems preferable logistically, but it leaves Dopkhah unidentified.

The Wâdī Feiran is the most important track from the west leading to the center of the southern Sinai. The name Feiran recalls the more general term Paran. The wadi is rather wide in the west and narrows as it gently slopes upward to the east. The largest oasis of the southern peninsula is found at Pharan, some 26 km. (16 mi.) E of the point where Wâdī Mukattab joins Wâdī Feiran. Rephidim must be located in this area, possibly in or near the Wâdī Refâyid, which may still preserve the name. The obvious problem with identifying Rephidim with Pharan, as was often done earlier, is that Israel complained at Rephidim about the lack of water. This complaint is difficult to harmonize with the abundant water sources at Pharan. Interestingly, the similar episode in Nu. 21 (if it is not a doublet, as many would contend) occurs at Kadesh-barnea, where water sources are abundant. In both cases the people's complaint is underscored by the use of onomastic etiologies: Massah, "test," and Meribah, "contend" (Ex. 17:7; Nu. 20:13; cf. Dt. 6:16; 9:22).

At Rephidim the Amalekites attacked Israel (Ex. 17:8-13). Since the Amalekites normally are associated with northwest Sinai and the Negeb, this incident is used to support a northern route theory. The Amalekites are well known for their seminomadic character, however; possibly they were attempting to control access to the large oasis at Pharan and hence came into conflict with the Israelites.

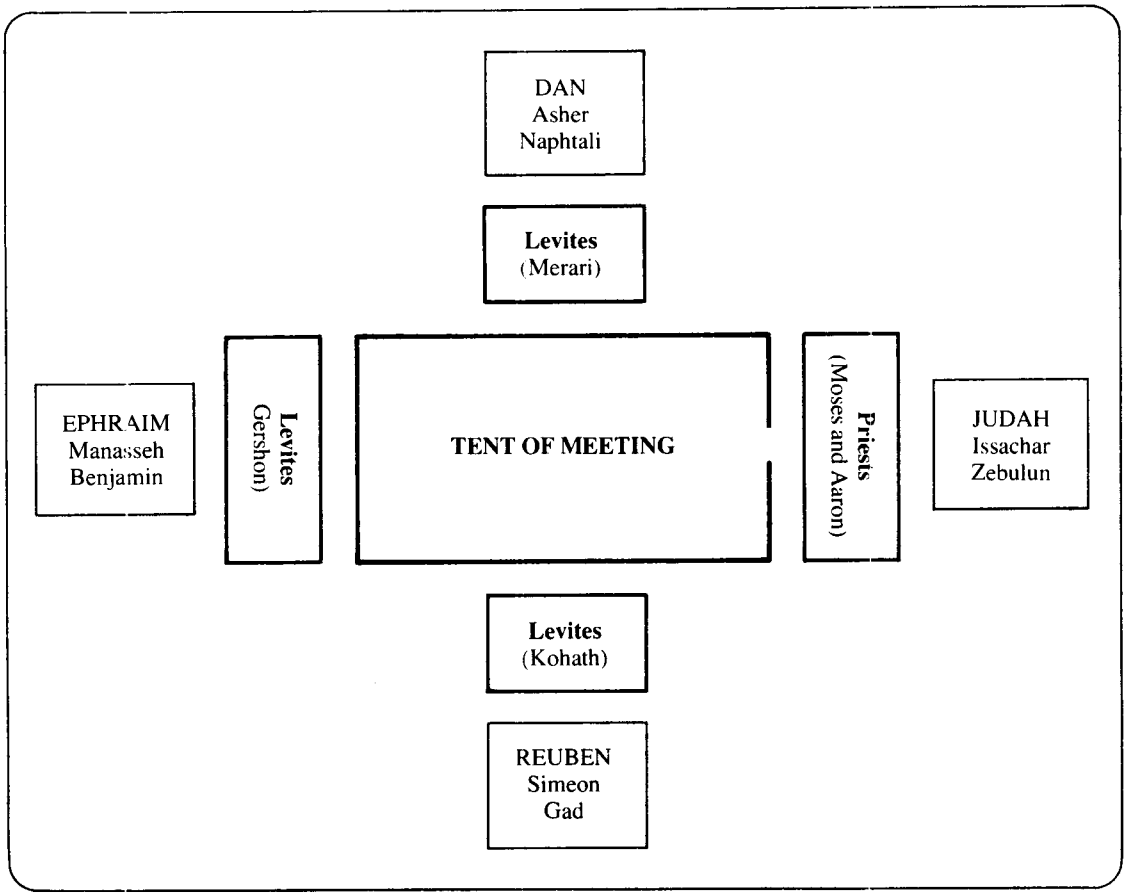
The passage from Rephidim to Mt. Sinai probably was accomplished through the Wâdī esh-Sheikh and the Watiya Pass. Over six weeks after leaving Egypt the Israelites arrived at Mt. Sinai in the Wilderness of Sinai (Ex. 19:1f.). The site of the theophany and of Israel's covenanting with Yahweh must be sought on one of the several majestic red granite peaks situated at the apex of the peninsula. Among these peaks some of the more impressive are: Jebel Katerîn (2634 m., 8641 ft.), Jebel Umm Shomar (2585 m., 8482 ft.), and Jebel Mûsā (2281 m., 7482 ft.). The latter has traditionally been equated with Mt. Sinai. The small plain er-Râḥa below Râs es-Ṣafṣefeh affords space for encampment, while numerous springs in the area make a long-term stay feasible.

***IV. From Mt. Sinai to Kadesh-barnea.**—A. Route to Kadesh-barnea.* Leaving the peaks of southern Sinai, the Israelites headed toward Kadesh-barnea, a distance of approximately 240 km. (150 mi.). The main narrative gives very little information concerning this segment; in fact, only three place names are mentioned. On the other hand, Nu. 33 lists twenty encampments between Mt. Sinai and Kadesh-barnea. Aside from the paucity of information, a key question is whether the Israelites came to Ezion-geber before arriving at Kadesh-barnea, as stated in Nu. 33. Those who hold a northern route theory find such a detour impossible, and some have adopted Ewald's suggestion that Nu. 33:36b-41a has been dislocated and originally stood after v. 30a. But the apparent difficulty is removed if a southern route is accepted.

Before the Israelites left Sinai, Yahweh gave them a plan of encampment and method of march (Nu. 1:52-2:34; see diagram). The arrangement clearly assumes that representatives of all twelve tribes were involved in the theophany at Mt. Sinai. Since many critical reconstructions will not admit this assumption, the arrangement is widely regarded as being artificial, intended to symbolize that Israel as the people of Yahweh was gathered in His presence. But if one allows that representatives of all twelve tribes were at Mt. Sinai, then additional evidence for this camp arrangement has been discovered in a contemporary parallel from the time of Ramses II, in which pharaoh's tent is the central focus and the various military units form a square around it.

The line of march from Mt. Sinai to Kadesh-barnea would again be determined by the available routes. Two

WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL



possibilities exist. A track to the east of Jebel Katerīn, Wâdī Naṣb, leads to the area of Dhahab on the Gulf of Aqabah. From Dhahab, access to Ezion-geber could be obtained along the coast. This line of march would be strongly suggested if Dizahab could be equated with Dhahab (Dt. 1:2). This route is more difficult than the alternative, however, and initially moves away from the intended goal of Kadesh-barnea.

A second and more likely alternative is an inland route that stays W of a longitudinal range of mountains along the east coast of Sinai. Leaving the central granite region by the Watiya Pass, this route continues northeast by wadis Sa'al and Ṣafra past Wâdī Haggag and Wâdī Hudera to Wâdī Ghazala. The Wâdī Watīr intersects Wâdī Ghazala NW of Nuweibe and affords relatively easy access to either Kadesh-barnea or the coast. Numerous Nabatean, Jewish, and Christian inscriptions have been found along this route, especially in Wâdī Haggag (see Negev). Moreover, the name Hazeroth (Nu. 11:35; 33:17) may well be preserved at 'Ain Hudera in the Wâdī Hudera. The pleasant spring and relatively wide wadi make such an identification attractive.

Along the way several incidents occurred, including a second visitation of quail (Nu. 11:31-35) and the continued provision of manna (Nu. 11:4-9). Again, the murmuring motif appears prominently in connection with these provisions, resulting in further onomastic etiologies, e.g., Taberah, "burning" (Nu. 11:3), and Kibroth-hattaavah, "graves of greediness" (Nu. 11:35; cf. Dt. 9:22). Both Miriam and Aaron rebelled at Hazeroth, and Miriam suffered an affliction as punishment (Nu. 12).

The term "wilderness of Paran" occurs with some frequency in this section (Nu. 10:12; 12:16). The Israelites' first contact with Canaan originated in the Wilderness of Paran as the spies were sent out (Nu. 13); the same account places Kadesh-barnea in the wilderness of Paran to which the spies returned. Both Aharoni and de Vaux regard the term as a general name, perhaps ancient, which was applied to large portions of the Sinai. This would account for its frequency of occurrences, but it would also explain the vagueness with which it is used.

B. Sojourn at Kadesh-barnea. According to Nu. 33:35f. the Israelites arrived at Kadesh-barnea from the southeast by way of Ezion-geber, a site identified with Tell el-Kheleifeh at the top of the Gulf of Aqabah or with the Jezirat Faraun, an island in the gulf 16 km. (10 mi.) south. Kadesh-barnea is the site of an important cluster of traditions that detail how Israel rejected the leadership of both Moses and Yahweh, with the result that Yahweh forbade the faithless generation to enter Canaan, necessitating a prolonged stay in the region. (Nu. 14:26-35; Dt. 1:26-40). Both Miriam and Aaron died in or near Kadesh, although the precise location of Mt. Hor, upon which Aaron died, is much debated.

It is not necessary to insist that all of the Israelites stayed at Kadesh; undoubtedly smaller family or tribal units sought pasturage and water in the surrounding springs and wadis in the region. Similarly, Dt. 2:14 refers

WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL

explicitly to extended wanderings during the thirty-eight years preceding the crossing of the Zered. This suggests a complex historical process that positioned the tribes for penetration into the settled territories — a process from which only a few paradigmatic events are narrated.

Among the recorded incidents was an unsuccessful attempt to enter Canaan from the south (Nu. 14:39-45; Dt. 1:41-46). This effort was beaten back by the seminomadic Amalekites and the settled Canaanites inhabiting the Negeb, who defeated the Israelites at Hormah in the general vicinity of Beer-sheba. This episode represented a rebellion against Yahweh in that He had previously condemned those involved to perish before Israel could possess Canaan (Nu. 14:20-35).

The motif of rebellion appears again in the account of how Korah led some 250 people to resist Moses, resulting in their death (Nu. 16:1-35). The narrative states that the earth opened up and swallowed the leaders of the rebellion (vv. 31-33). Some have tried to explain this incident in terms of a peculiarity of the Arabah region: mud flats crust over in the heat, forming a thin surface that masks a treacherous condition (Hort). This feature, it is suggested, accounts for the earth "swallowing" the leaders of the rebellion along with their possessions. This explanation seems forced, however, and it is difficult to harmonize with the narrative.

V. From Kadesh-barnea to the Plains of Moab.—*A. Possible Approaches.* The final segment of the wanderings of Israel began at Kadesh-barnea and terminated in the plains of Moab with Israel poised to penetrate Canaan from the east. The basic description of this part of the journey occurs in Nu. 20–21; 33; Dt. 1–2; and Jgs. 11:12-28. The narrative describes a rather lengthy detour around the territories of the Edomites and Moabites to a point N of the Arnon and then details a series of conflicts with certain Amorite kingdoms occupying land promised to Israel. Once the Arnon was crossed, Israel entered a new phase of history as the promise of land began to become a reality.

Yet the information in the biblical texts is often difficult to harmonize with a single line of march. Especially problematic is the relationship between the itinerary of Nu. 38:37-49 and that in chs. 20–21. Several proposals have been developed to deal with the problems. One hypothesis favored by several Israeli scholars posits that the accounts relate two different routes taken by different groups at different times (Mazar; *LBHG*). According to this theory Nu. 33 describes a route that crossed the Arabah at Zalmonah and continued to Punon. From Punon it joined the King's Highway northward through Edom and Moab. Since no protest from either Edom or Moab is mentioned, it is assumed that the group that took this route did so before the settlement of these kingdoms in Transjordan, probably in the 14th cent. B.C. On the other hand, it is argued that chs. 20–21 (supplemented by Dt. 2 and Jgs. 11), which presume the presence of Edom and Moab, detail a great detour S to Ezion-geber and then E along the desert's edge. The group that took this route is dated to the 13th cent. B.C. and is associated with the conquest of the Amorite kingdoms and the figure of Moses.

Another approach regards the attempt to trace a continuous journey in these narratives as useless, since the narratives reflect originally disparate tribal or clan traditions that have been combined much later and given an "all Israel" orientation (Noth). While not denying that some of the material contains valid recollections of tribal life in the desert steppes, this approach emphasizes that these traditions reflect a prolonged, gradual movement of various groups out of the steppes into more settled territory — a process that by its very nature could not involve a continuous journey. De Vaux affirmed the existence of mutually exclusive routes embedded in the narratives, parts of which were perhaps borrowed or invented to fill in gaps. He maintained that the data permits no firm conclusion as to the route taken by Moses from Kadesh to the Arnon (de Vaux, pp. 551-564).

A final approach does not regard the attempt to reconstruct a line of march as futile and attempts to reconcile the various traditions (*GTTOT*; *GP*). While recognizing the complexity of the material and the possibility that the larger group may have broken up at times, this approach seeks to establish a general route involving a detour of Edom and Moab.

Because the issues are so complex, an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of these various positions is impossible in a brief article. The discussion will be limited to a few remarks regarding the narratives. The biblical texts affirm that the Israelites attempted both unsuccessfully and successfully to enter Palestine from the south (Nu. 14:39-45; 21:1-3). Yet there remains the strong tradition that Canaan could not be penetrated permanently from that direction and that a major effort was made from the east. This is consistent with the presence of strongly fortified sites in the south that undoubtedly deterred the advance. Also, at several points the narrative presents a tradition that Israel was not permitted to pass through the territories of Edom and Moab, and that this necessitated a lengthy detour (Nu. 20:14-21; Dt. 2:8f.; Jgs. 11:17f.). Admittedly the itinerary in Nu. 33, with its description of a direct line of march from Kadesh through the Arabah, Edom, and Moab to the plain of Moab, appears to go against this tradition; but discussions regarding the nature of this list suggest that such an interpretation might not be necessary (see below). Further, a persistent tradition indicates a line of march following the "way to the *yam sûp*" (Nu. 14:25; 21:4; Dt. 2:1), which in this case must refer to the Gulf of Aqabah; Ezion-geber is also mentioned in connection with this route (Dt. 2:8).

That the Israelites moved from Kadesh to near Ezion-geber is thus strongly suggested, but the exact route is not clear. Since, as Aharoni has pointed out (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], pp. 201f.) Mt. Hor should be located NE of Kadesh, an initial movement in that direction must have ended in a turn to the southeast, perhaps as a result of the Edomite refusal. It is possible that the sites mentioned in Nu. 33:30b-36a belong to this section (*GTTOT*, p. 259). This might account for the mention of (Beeroth) Bene-jaakan (cf. Dt. 10:6), which is sometimes identified with el-Birein, 19 km. (12 mi.) N of Kadesh.

At Ezion-geber a command to "turn north" (Dt. 2:3) can be interpreted in two ways. The more likely alternative is that the group headed north along the eastern Arabah to the area of Punon, almost certainly in or near modern Feinân; then they continued between Edom and Moab along the Zered (Wâdī el-Ḥesā), near which Oboth and Iye-abarim must be located (Nu. 21:10-12). This theory permits the bronze serpent episode (vv. 4-9) to be located in the Arabah, where copper deposits are available. An alternative theory is that the group skirted E of both Edom and Moab and only penetrated the settled lands N of the Arnon. In this case it is possible that they attempted to enter Moab by traveling W down the Zered (thus accounting for the references to Oboth and Iye-abarim) but were forced back to the desert and later traveled to the Arnon.

WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL

A Red Sea shoal near Elath on the Gulf of Aqabah (W. Braun)

The events N of the Arnon involving Heshbon and Dibon are more easily followed; both places were located on the King's Highway. In the high fertile tableland N of the Arnon the Israelites defeated Sihon, an Amorite king who evidently had seized Moabite territory somewhat earlier (Nu. 21:21-35; Dt. 2:26-35). The detailed list of Nu. 21:16-20 diverges from that of ch. 33, and this has led to some speculation that at this point the larger group split. In any case, the wanderings ended in the plains of Moab, where the Israelites made a final encampment between Beth-jeshimoth and Abel-shittim (33:49). Nearby on Mt. Nebo Moses died after being allowed the privilege of viewing the land promised to his ancestors (Dt. 34:1-8).

B. Archeological Discoveries. At least two archeological discoveries are of interest in relation to Israel's wanderings from Kadesh-barnea to the plains of Moab. First is Rothenberg's excavation of the smelting site of Timna' in the southern Arabah. The excavation uncovered the remains of a small temple used by the Egyptians, which had been destroyed and subsequently reused. Rothenberg concluded that the Midianites were responsible for this reuse and that the structure was converted to a tent shrine. Moreover, among the votive gifts and offerings Rothenberg found a 12-cm. (5 in.) copper serpent with a gilded head. In the light of the relationship that Moses sustained with the Midianites, the tent shrine and copper serpent are remarkable, the former recalling the tent of meeting used in the wanderings and the latter the episode of the bronze serpent (Nu. 21:6-9).

Even more surprising are the Aramaic texts found at Tell Deir 'allā, which include prophetic materials of Balaam the son of Beor. This must certainly be a reference to the same figure hired by Balak to pronounce a curse upon the Israelites (Nu. 22–24; 31:8, 16; Dt. 23:4f.; Josh. 13:22; 24:9f.). The texts, dated to the 7th cent. B.C., were found in a building interpreted as a sanctuary and testify to the importance of the ancient seer (see Hoftijzer and Van Der Kooij).

Finally, archeological work in Transjordan suggests that Glueck's theory regarding settlement in the region is in need of revision. Contrary to his theory, parts of Transjordan did contain settled urban populations during the Middle and Late Bronze ages, although more data and further analysis are required before the precise patterns can be established. Moreover, there appears to have been no upsurge of urban sites connected with the 13th cent., as proposed by Glueck and others. In fact, all arguments concerning the date or routes of the Exodus based upon a sudden emergence of Edom and Moab in the 13th cent. B.C. cannot be considered valid. On the other hand, the narratives of Israel's wanderings do not require a settled urban population; tribal groups led by a primary figure or "king" could have effectively refused passage through their lands.

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T. V. BRISCO

WANTON [Heb. *nᵉḇālâ* ("wanton crime," Jgs. 20:10; "wanton folly/fools," 2 S. 13:12f.), *pᵉṯayyûṯ* (Prov. 9:13), *pûš*–'(playfully) paw the ground' (Jer. 50:11), qal part. of *zānâ*–'be unfaithful' (Ezk. 6:9), qal part. of *pāḥaz*–'be insolent, loose' (Zeph. 3:9); Gk. *katastrēniáō* (1 Tim. 5:11), *strēniáō*–'live in luxury, live sensually' ("played the wanton," Rev. 18:7; "were wanton," v. 9)]; AV also FOLLY, FOOL, SIMPLE, WHORISH, LIVE DELICIOUSLY (Rev. 18:7, 9), etc.; NEB OUTRAGE, SIMPLETON, RECKLESS, WALLOW IN LUXURY (Rev. 18:7, 9), etc.; **WANTONLY** [(verb) Heb. qal part. of *zānâ*–'have illicit intercourse' (Nu. 15:39; Ezk. 6:9), hiphil of *pāraʿ*–'let grow without restraint' ("dealt wantonly," 2 Ch. 28:19), piel part. of *śāqar*–'ogle' ("glancing wantonly," Isa. 3:16), (adverb) *rêqām*–'in a vain manner' (Ps. 25:3), *ḥinnām*–'without cause, undeservedly' (Prov. 1:11)]; AV WHORING, "made naked" (2 Ch. 28:19), "without cause," "wanton eyes" (Isa. 3:16); NEB also "had been unbridled" (2 Ch. 28:19), "without cause," "wanton glances" (Isa. 3:16), etc.; **WANTONNESS** [Heb. *rāṣôn*–'desire, will' (Gen. 49:6), *nᵉḇālâ* (Jgs. 20:6); Gk. *strḗnos*–'sensuality, luxury' (Rev. 18:3)]; AV SELFWILL, FOLLY, DELICACY; NEB also BLOATED. In Ps. 106:14 the RSV "wanton craving" (AV "lusted exceedingly") translates the cognate accusative of Heb. *wayyiṯʾawwû ṯaʾᵃwâ* (lit. "desire a desire").

The terms that are translated "wanton" and its derivatives in the OT and the NT often refer to actions that are both selfish and contrary to the will of God, whether by direct opposition to Yahweh through idolatrous actions (Zeph. 3:4), or in senseless and willful harm of human beings (2 Ch. 28:19) or animals (Gen. 49:6).

The Hebrew words often have sexual/sensual connotations (Gen. 49:6; Jgs. 20:6, 10; 2 S. 13:12f.; Prov. 9:13; Isa. 3:16), but also are used figuratively to refer to Israel's idolatrous practices (2 Ch. 28:19; Ps. 25:3; Ezk. 6:9; Zeph. 3:4), to the arrogance with which Babylon brought havoc upon Judah (Jer. 50:11), to insatiable desire which has selfish intent (Nu. 15:39; Ps. 106:14), and also to the evil intent of one lying in wait to kill another (Prov. 1:11).

In the NT Gk. *katastrēniáō* in 1 Tim. 5:11 refers to younger widows whose loyalty to serving Christ may be threatened by the possibility of remarriage. In the OT those who pull back from serving the Lord are sometimes likened to an unfaithful wife (Ezk. 6:9; Zeph. 3:4). Here also this comparison is made with those who would retreat from faithful service to Christ in the church. In Rev. 18 the cognates *strḗnos* and *strēniáō* refer to the excessive self-indulgence and luxurious life-styles of Babylon (vv. 3, 7) and the kings of the earth (v. 9). L. M. MCDONALD

WAR; WARFARE.

I. Terminology
II. Purposes of War
III. Personnel of War
IV. Paraphernalia of War in Antiquity
V. Military Operations
VI. Warfare in the Intertestamental Period
VII. War in the NT

I. Terminology.–In the RSV OT the term most frequently translated "war" is Heb. *milḥamâ*, "fight, battle" (e.g., Gen. 14:2), a word that occurs over three hundred times in the Hebrew OT. Cognate to *milḥamâ* is the verb *lāḥam*, "fight, do battle," whose niphal form is often rendered "make war" (e.g., Dt. 20:19; Josh. 10:5; Jgs. 11:4f.; etc.). Heb. *ṣāḇāʾ*, "service in war," also is translated "war" (esp. in Nu. 1). The RSV also renders *qᵉrāḇ* ("hostile approach, fight") as "war" (e.g., Ps. 55:21 [MT 22]; 68:30 [MT 31]; 144:1; etc.).

The RSV NT usually renders the Greek noun *pólemos* as "war." This term applies both to armed conflicts (e.g., Mt. 24:6; He. 11:34; Rev. 11:7; 12:17; 13:7; 19:19; etc.) and to interpersonal quarrels or strife (e.g., Jas. 4:1). The cognate verb *poleméō*, "make war, fight," also refers both to intense wars (e.g., Rev. 2:16; 17:14; 19:11) and to interpersonal hostilities (Jas. 4:2). In 2 Cor. 10:3; Jas. 4:1; and 1 Pet. 2:11 "war" translates Gk. *strateúomai*, "do military service, serve in the army." The latter two verses apply the term figuratively to personal internal struggles. In Rom. 7:23 the Greek verb *antistrateúomai*, "be at war," refers to the battle waging between the authority of the law of God and the power of sin. In 2 Cor. 10:4 and 1 Tim. 1:18 the RSV "warfare" translates the Greek noun *strateía*, "military campaign," a term used only figuratively in the NT.

II. Purposes of War.–Wars are fought between groups of people. The purposes that move a collection of individuals to engage in armed conflict reflect the motives in the individual. As early as the story of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:1-16) the Bible reveals the human tendency toward violence against another person. The general explanation is that unfulfilled desire and envy lead to aggression and murder (Jas. 4:1f.). Transferred to social groups — clan, tribe, and nation — this human tendency results in war.

Depending upon the level of group organization, the purposes of war vary from tribe to kingdom to empire. All three levels of sociopolitical organization are reflected in biblical wars. Conflicts may occur between small groups, such as families, clans, or tribes, over matters of food, territory, self-preservation, domination, independence, and the maintenance of social solidarity within the group. For larger groups, such as kingdoms and nations, the drives toward wars are predominantly over territory, for adventure, to dominate another people, and to maintain a ruling class in power. The latter involves an individual sense of identity with the ruling social group. Religious factors permeate the idea of social solidarity and group loyalty. These drives toward conflict on the part of one group induce a defensive action by the threatened group.

See WAR, IDEA OF.

III. Personnel of War.–The first reference to war in the Bible is of a coalition of four Mesopotamian kings who invaded and sacked the five cities of the plain in the Dead Sea region (Gen. 14:1-12). Abraham marshaled a force of 318 men who pursued the invading force and rescued the captives and the booty (vv. 13-16). Although the leaders of the coalition are called kings, their combined forces

A relief from Zenjirli (ca. 8th cent. B.C.) showing two soldiers in a chariot: one drives in the front and the other with a drawn bow and a spear stands in the back. Beneath the horse is an enemy pierced with arrows (Archaeological Museum, Istanbul)

were apparently little more organized than a major raiding party. Abraham's rescue team consisted of retainers who were loyal to him as essentially a tribal leader.

The tribal leader determined when to go to war and functioned as the leader in combat. The men of the tribe, who normally were herdsmen and hunters, were obligated to follow the leader. The famous wall painting of the Benihasan tomb in Egypt, depicting Middle Bronze Age Semites entering Egypt under the leadership of a certain Ibsha, is a reminder of clan and tribal organization in which the men of the group were responsible for its defense and for aggressive activities. The weapons and training of tribal warriors were unsophisticated and traditional since they were only occasional soldiers.

Before Israel's conquest of Canaan, the sociopolitical organization was primarily that of the small city-state, consisting of a walled urban area with outlying villages and fields and pasture land within a moderate walking distance from the city and villages. City-state organization tends to break down family, clan, and tribal loyalties, replacing them with loyalty to the larger group and allegiance to the ruling family and king. Petty kings of Late Bronze Age Canaanite city-states maintained small armies of professional soldiers, including foot-soldiers and charioteers. At Ugarit each village was required to supply a number of men for military service on a regular basis, thereby supplementing the professional forces. The number of professional soldiers was apparently small in Canaan. In several of the Amarna Letters Canaanite princes request that Pharaoh send "one hundred garrison troops" to Megiddo (Am.Tab. 244:34f.), a garrison of "fifty men" to Jerusalem (Am.Tab. 289:42f.), and one troubled prince mentions fifty chariots from Acco and Achshaph that have come to his help in Hebron (Am.Tab. 366:20-25; see *ANET*, pp. 485, 487, 489). The specifics of military organization are lacking, although they must have existed. The numbers "fifty" and "one hundred" suggest an organization along the lines of Israel under Moses (Ex. 18:25).

The Israelites were organized as military units based on the tribal structure. Under the leadership of Moses and Joshua this tribal confederation functioned as a formidable fighting force in the conquest of Canaan. With the division of the land among the tribes (Josh. 13–21), military organization reverted to the tribal pattern (cf. Jgs. 5:12-18). No organized army existed during the period of the Judges until the time of Samuel and Saul. Instead several tribes might be united in a military force to confront a common threat, as in the case of Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Ephraim under the leadership of Gideon (Jgs. 6:35; 7:24), and the tribes that were called to arms by Deborah and Barak (4:6f.; 5:14f.). When the horrible incident at Gibeon occurred (ch. 19), all the tribes of Israel joined in the retaliation except the men of Jabesh-gilead (21:8f.). One of the results of the tribal condition, when "every man did what was right in his own eyes" (21:25), was the military weakness that permitted the organized army of the Philistines to threaten Israel. In part, the people demanded a king to provide strong military leadership (1 S. 8:20).

David learned the arts of war both as a fugitive outlaw leader (1 S. 22:1f.) and as a refugee among the Philistines (27:1-3; 29:1-11), who were better organized and equipped

than the Israelites during Saul's reign. Later, under David, who is described as "a warrior" (1 Ch. 28:3), the Israelite army developed into the most powerful force in the region with a core of exceptional fighting men, apparently professional soldiers (2 S. 23:8-39), and a contingent of mercenaries from the conquered Philistines (2 S. 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23; 1 K. 1:38, 44), including six hundred men from Gath (2 S. 15:18). Solomon added a contingent of chariotry (1 K. 10:26) to the professional army, which had previously consisted of foot soldiers.

The innovations of both David and Solomon were in line with the military practices of the Canaanites, Egyptians, Hittites, and Assyrians. The use of both chariot forces and mercenaries in Judah was practically eliminated after the conquest of Sennacherib in 701 B.C., so that the Judean forces were primarily conscripts. The annals of Nebuchadrezzar mention only "men of war," rather than mercenary or chariot forces. Only in the Hasmonean period do sources mention cavalry as a part of the Jewish army (1 Macc. 16:4, 7), and in the early Roman period Herod had at his disposal thirty thousand infantrymen and six thousand cavalry (*BJ* i.17.9 [346]). In this period provincial military forces reflected the organization and training of the Roman legions throughout the empire and existed only with the permission of the central government.

IV. Paraphernalia of War in Antiquity.–The weapons of combat consisted of personal offensive and defensive arms for the individual soldier. Cain may have slain Abel with a stone from the field. The sling must have been used by hunters from the very earliest times. Among the earliest manufactured weapons were flint knives and spearheads followed by the invention of the bow during the Natufian period (*ca.* 15,000-8,000 B.C.). Gradually warriors improved the sling, knife, and bow and arrows, and developed new weapons such as composite and compound bows, improved arrows, javelins, spears, swords, maces, and battle axes. These new weapons enabled the individual warrior to strike a piercing blow to the enemy in hand-to-hand combat or at a distance.

For defense against an opponent's blows an individual warrior might carry a shield, usually a wooden frame covered with leather that required maintenance with oil (2 S. 1:21). Helmets and armor made of tough leather and metal scales were also developed for personal protection (1 S. 17:5).

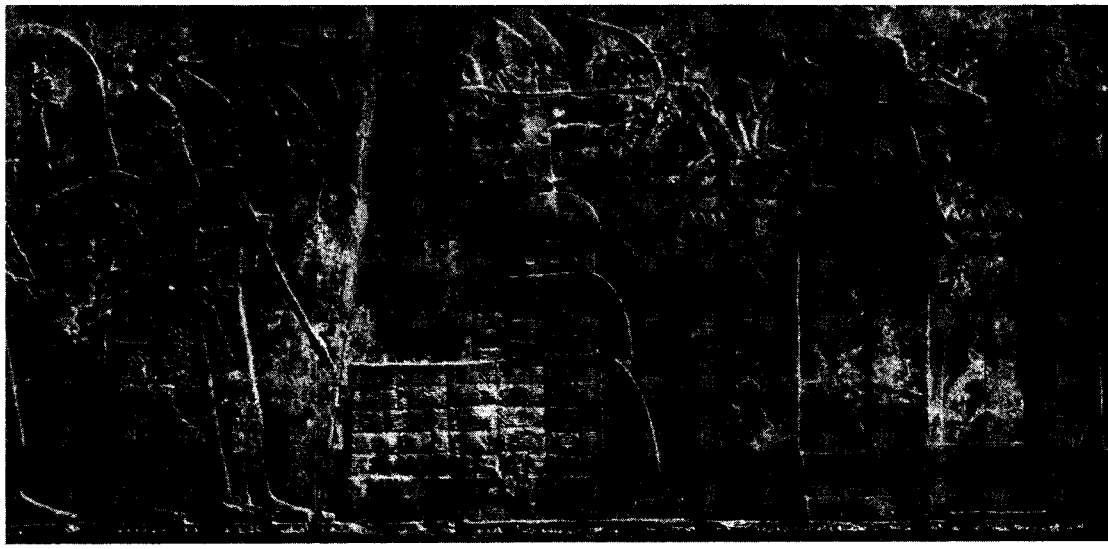
Apart from the individual soldier, more complicated war machines were invented. The wheel and axle were invented a little before 3000 B.C. in the vicinity of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley. The earliest carts had two or four solid wheels. Both models had a central pole, indicating they were powered by a team (of oxen or wild asses). By 3000 B.C. people used these vehicles for war as well as domestic purposes, as indicated in models, reliefs, and cylinder seals from Sumer.

Chariot warfare was revolutionized in the M.B. Age (*ca.* 2000-1800 B.C.) by the introduction of spoked wheels and the use of horses. This new development has been attributed to the Hittites in Anatolia, who brought the technology with them in their migration from central Asia. The new war machine soon spread to the Assyrians, the Achaeans, and the Egyptians, and it became a major factor in the development of early empires (*see* pictures in BABYLONIA; HORSE). In Gen. 41:43 Pharaoh raised Joseph to power and provided a chariot for his use. The NT mentions chariots several times with the last reference alluding to the thunderous sounds of horses and chariots (Rev. 9:9), but the predominant period for Israelite chariot warfare was that from Solomon to Hezekiah. Until Solomon, the Israelites burned captured chariots and lamed the war horses (Josh. 11:6; cf. 2 S. 8:3f.). *See* CHARIOT.

Domesticated asses and horses were used as pack animals and carried riders, but the earliest evidence of a mounted warrior is a decoration on a Cretan burial urn dating to the Mycenaean period. Cavalry were introduced into warfare by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C., but chariotry continued to be the predominant form of highly mobile forces throughout the biblical era.

The battering ram in a primitive form may have been in use by the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. The first illustrations of this war machine appear in the Beni-hasan tomb paintings (*ca.* 1900 B.C.), and the improved offensive

Ashurbanipal's assault on a city using a six-wheeled battering ram with wicker shields and a metal-tipped battering-pole. Behind the battering ram is a mobile assault tower with two archers who provide cover fire for the battering-ram operators (orthostat from Ashurnasirpal II's northwest palace at Nimrûd, 883-859 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



weapon, designed to aid in the penetration of city walls, is confirmed for Syria-Palestine by the appearance of the ramparted city walls of the M.B. II A/B period, dating to the same era as the Egyptian tomb painting (*see* FORTIFICATION). A visual representation of the Iron Age II Assyrian battering ram appears on the reliefs recovered from the palace of Sennacherib in the Nineveh excavations (*see* picture in LACHISH; *see also* SIEGE).

Concurrent with the employment of the battering ram, the siege tower was often used. Another important attack weapon against city walls was the ladder (*see* picture in HAMATH). In combination with the personal weapons of the combat forces, the mechanical and structural war engines advanced the art of ancient warfare.

Every army has the problem of logistics, and a certain number of personnel in an armed camp are noncombatants, left behind to guard the baggage while the main force goes forth to engage the enemy. In the more primitive style of warfare carried on with tribal units from the time of Joshua to the establishment of the monarchy, the men were summoned to war by the call of the trumpet (Jgs. 3:27), the word of a messenger (6:35), or even by a symbolic act (1 S. 11:7). They brought with them their own simple weapons, usually swords and slings. Jgs. 5:8 indicates that in Deborah's day neither shield nor spear was to be found among the forty thousand of Israel. Apparently the men took a small supply of food with them, but in the field they lived off the land, supplemented from time to time with food from home (1 S. 17:17). With the establishment of a professional army in the reign of David, the army was equipped with supplies from the store-cities before departure to the field (1 K. 9:19; 20:27).

An integral part of ancient warfare was the plundering and collection of booty by the conquering warriors. They carried off everything of value: flocks (1 S. 14:32), possessions of dead soldiers (31:8), booty in the enemy camp (2 K. 7:16), and people (5:2).

The booty was shared according to custom (Nu. 31:26-47; Jgs. 5:30), but David liberalized the share of booty that the camp guards were to receive (1 S. 30:24f.). The most valuable articles became the possessions of the king or were placed in the sanctuary (2 S. 8:7f., 11f.).

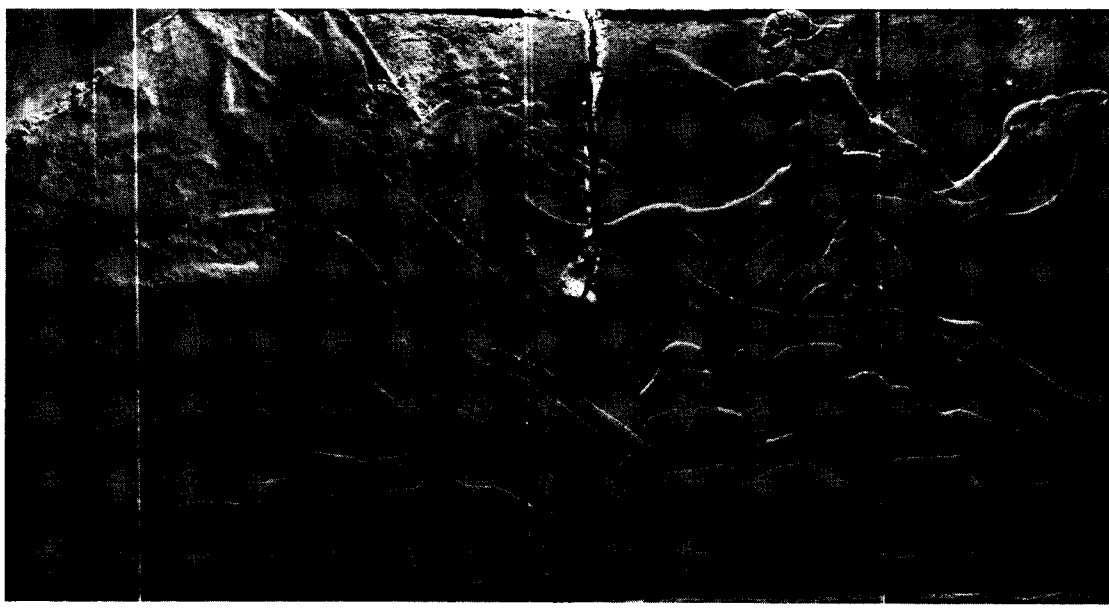
*V. **Military Operations.***—Warfare in the Bible reflects a wide variety of operations, depending upon the historical period in which each conflict took place, the geographical setting, the objectives of the attackers and the defenders, the weapons and training of the combatants, and especially the motivation of the warriors.

A powerful motivating force for war was the link between religion and war that permeated all the peoples of antiquity. Because Israel saw itself as the chosen people of God, all of its institutions were vested with religious significance, including war (*see* WAR, IDEA OF). Thus preparations for war included religious rites to sanctify the military activity (1 S. 7:8-10; 13:9), and the prophets saw armies as summoned and consecrated by God to the avenging task (Isa. 13:3; Jer. 6:4-6). The armed camp of Israel was holy because of the Lord's presence within it, and only the ritually pure could participate in it (Dt. 23:10-14). This was the reason why Uriah could not go in to Bathsheba, even though David urged him to do so (2 S. 11:9-11). The combatants went forth certain of victory, for the Lord had already given the enemy into their hands (Josh. 6:2; Jgs. 3:28; 1 S. 23:4; etc.). The warriors had to have faith and be without fear (Josh. 8:1), and in battle they believed that the Lord fought for Israel (10:14; 1 S. 7:10). The ark of God represented the presence of the Lord. It was taken into battle at Ebenezer with unexpected and disastrous results (4:1-11) because of the sins of Eli's sons Hophni and Phinehas, but at Michmash a notable victory was won (14:18). Later the prophet of the Lord might be consulted to determine the divine will on a projected campaign (1 K. 22:5-12; 2 K. 3:11).

An armed force could move into the field organized in units of one thousand, one hundred, fifty, and ten men (2 S. 18:1; 2 K. 1:9; 2 Ch. 25:5; etc.) and divided into groups (1 S.11:11; 2 S. 18:2; etc.). One group acted as a rear guard (Nu. 10:25; Josh. 6:9), and the main body was likely preceded by an advance party. The clash with a hostile force could occur either in open terrain or in conjunction with a siege operation.

Israel's first military engagements were wars of con-

Galloping over dead enemies, Assyrian horsemen armed with spears pursue a camel rider (relief from Nimrûd, Tiglath-pileser III, 744-727 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



quest, taking possession of the Promised Land with God's help (Nu. 21:21-35; 31:1-12; Josh. 1–12; etc.). The Israelite troops were primitive desert warriors pitted against the occupants of cities "great and fortified up to heaven" (Dt. 1:28) with professional troops who fought from ironclad chariots (Josh. 17:16-18). By various stratagems the Israelites defeated the superior Canaanite forces, conquering and destroying even fortified cities. Ai was conquered by a combination of ruse and ambush (Josh. 8), while a spy operation contributed to the fall of Jericho (ch. 2; 6:15-27). A surprise attack combined with the intervention of God defeated the southern coalition of Canaanite kings (10:9-14).

The Israelites fared badly in open battles in the period of the Judges (1 S. 4:1-11; 31:1-7), but frequently succeeded with daring attacks, bold tricks, and ambushes by small groups of armed men (Jgs. 6:33–7:22; 1 S. 14:1-23). In this fashion they occupied the highlands but stopped short of the plains where fortified cities and chariots were major obstacles (Josh. 17:12, 16; Jgs. 1:19, 27-35). As late as the 9th cent. B.C. the Syrians believed the Israelites were practically unbeatable in the hills but vulnerable in the plain (1 K. 20:23).

The conflicts of Israel during the period of the Judges and early monarchy were defensive wars against the counterattacks of the Canaanites and later against the encroachments of the Philistines, who were professional military men and armed with superior weapons (1 S. 13:19-23). But David adopted a policy of conquest with the professional army and mercenaries (see III above). His military operations included raids and sorties while he was in the service of Saul (18:25-29) and the Philistines (27:8-12). His fight with Goliath illustrated the ancient alternative to a general battle — the contest between two champions (ch. 17).

David's army fought in open battle, defeating both foot soldiers (2 S. 5:17-21) and chariot forces (10:17-19). Information about combat tactics in such battles remains quite scanty. Trumpets were used for signaling, and the infantry, chariots, and cavalry were coordinated in the attack. The battle opened with a battle cry on signal (1 S. 17:20; Jer. 4:19; 49:2; etc.), and the din of battle (Nah. 3:2f.) filled the air until the vanquished fled (cf. 2 S. 10:13f.).

David's forces under the command of Joab also besieged cities; the siege of the Ammonites' citadel is given in some detail (2 S. 10–12). For details on actions against fortified cities, *see* SIEGE.

The more sophisticated armaments and military operations instituted by David saw further development under his successors. Solomon established fortified chariot cities and store-cities at strategic locations in his kingdom (Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Lower Beth-horon, Baalath, Tamar and Jerusalem [1 K. 9:15-19]), although he never fought a war. Most of these had been Canaanite chariot cities, so Solomon continued a military tradition. Egyptian chariots carried a driver and a warrior, but Israelite chariots were manned by a crew of three — a driver, a combatant, and a shield-bearer (22:34; 2 K. 9:25). With the division of the kingdom, the bulk of the chariot cities came under the control of Israel and reached their greatest importance under Ahab. At the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.) he fielded two thousand chariots against the Assyrians, a number that exceeded the combined total provided by the other members of the coalition in which he participated (cf. *ANET*, p. 279).

Rehoboam strengthened his own defenses with fortified cities (2 Ch. 11:5-11). Although chariot centers are not mentioned, Judah developed that line of defense (2 K. 8:21) so that in Isaiah's time the centers were numerous (Isa. 2:7). Judah continued a decline that began with the conquest of Sennacherib (701 B.C.). When Nebuchadrezzar and his army approached Jerusalem, the Judean military forces were physically weakened and spiritually bankrupt. The Lord had deserted the camp of Israel (2 K. 23:27; 24:3, 20) and even fought against them, contributing to their defeat (Jer. 21:5). The mighty had indeed fallen.

This Greek marble relief shows a warrior with a shield standing over a combatant with a dagger (late 5th cent. B.C.) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund)

VI. Warfare in the Intertestamental Period.—Warfare in the intertestamental period became the province of the Persians and Greeks and, subsequently, the Greeks and Romans.

The Greek armies were superbly trained and included contingents of chariots, elephants, cavalry, and a navy (1 Macc. 1:17). With them the Greeks defeated the Persian armies. In a revolt against the oppressive policies of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Jews took up arms against the Syrians under the leadership of Judas Maccabeus (3:1). Some of the characteristics of the holy war surfaced in this conflict as Mattathias, the patriarch of the Maccabees, called upon "everyone who is zealous for the law and supports the covenant" to follow him (2:27). The Maccabean war was essentially a guerrilla action that reverted back to the ruse, ambush, and similar tactics (cf. 3:23), but the conflict developed into a politically motivated struggle and the organization of a regular fighting force (3:55).

The Maccabean revolt led to the establishment of an independent Jewish kingdom ruled by the Hasmonean dynasty, combining the offices of both high priest and king. The Second Jewish Commonwealth has a bloodstained history with conflicts both within and without as the Jews adopted the war-making techniques and weapons of the Hellenistic Age, which were raised to exceptional heights by Herod the Great with the help of Rome.

The Maccabean revolt also produced a fragmentation of

Judaism into a number of sects. One of these established a community near the northwest corner of the Dead Sea. In 1947 an amazing document popularly known as "The War Scroll" was discovered (*see* DEAD SEA SCROLLS I.A; II.H). The work, one of several scrolls produced by the community, dates to the 1st cent. B.C. and gives rules for the apocalyptic war at the end of time between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, i.e., between the members of the community on the side of God, and all the pagan nations (including the established priesthood at Jerusalem) on the other. The battle depicted reflects military organization and actions similar to those known from contemporary Roman practices.

VII. War in the NT.–The world of the NT knew the Pax Romana, but Roman military power and prowess was ever present in Roman-occupied Judea. As one of the signs of the last days, Jesus gave the existence of "wars and rumor of wars" (Mt. 24:6). He used an illustration of the total commitment required by a king who would attempt a war as an example of the commitment required of one of His disciples (Lk. 14:31-33). Jesus prophesied the siege and fall of Jerusalem (19:41-44), and He spoke of Himself figuratively as bringing not peace but a sword (Mt. 10:34). Yet He warned that "all who take the sword will perish by the sword" (26:52) the religion of Jesus is essentially a call for peace rather than war.

The NT traces war to the selfishness and greed that dominate people (Jas. 4:1f.). The early Christians were taught that the true warfare takes place within the individual: the base passions of the flesh war against the soul (1 Pet. 2:11). The armor of the Christian is the armor of God, intended to enable one to stand against the forces of wickedness in this present darkness (Eph. 6:10-17). The Bible closes with an apocalyptic book that anticipates the end of war, for "Death and Hades," who have received those slain in war, will be cast into the lake of fire (Rev. 20:14). And the gates of the new Jerusalem will remain open, the threat of siege forever ended (21:25).

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K. N. SCHOVILLE

WAR, IDEA OF.

I. Theory and Practice of War
  A. Definition
  B. Theory of War
  C. Practice of War
II. Near Eastern Background
  A. Theological Perspectives
  B. Practical Perspectives
III. War in Israel
IV. God and War in the OT
V. Holy War
VI. War and the State
VII. Prophetic Perspectives on War
  A. New Covenant
  B. Apocalyptic Dimension of Warfare
VIII. War and Peace
IX. NT and the Idea of War
  A. Kingdom of God
  B. Spiritualization of the Language of Warfare
  C. War and Political Theology
  D. Apocalyptic Ideas of War

I. Theory and Practice of War.–A. Definition. War is a form of hostile conflict between two or more nations, or parties within nations, employing the force of arms. Warfare in various forms has been undertaken throughout the known history of the human race and is not peculiar to any one culture or civilization.

B. Theory of War. In modern times warfare has become a subject of theoretical, even philosophical, reflection; notable modern theorists include Carl von Clausewitz (*On War* [Eng. tr. 1968], published first in German in 1832), and Baron de Jomini, *The Art of War* (Eng. tr. 1832). In the ancient Near East and in OT times the theory of war was generally implicit in religious and historical texts, rather than explicit (see II and V below). In general, war was recognized as a concomitant necessity of the existence of a nation-state; it was also frequently interpreted as an earthly expression of heavenly conflict. For the most part, Near Eastern and biblical texts contain laws of war, historical accounts of war, and religious interpretations of war, rather than strictly theoretical reflections on the causes and nature of warfare.

C. Practice of War. War was practiced by all known nations in the Near Eastern world and by Israel in biblical times. While sometimes war was positively embraced as a means to achieve some stated goal, frequently it was simply accepted regretfully as a necessity of historical existence.

II. Near Eastern Background.–Warfare was practiced by all Israel's neighbors during the biblical period; the ideas of war prevalent in Near Eastern nations can be deduced from religious and historical texts that have been discovered largely as a consequence of archeological exploration and excavation.

A. Theological Perspectives. Many Near Eastern cosmologies employ the notion of warfare to describe the emergence of an ordered and created world out of primeval chaos. Thus in the Babylonian creation myth *Enuma Elish* order is eventually secured by the god Marduk by virtue of his conquest of the deities of chaos. Warfare and victory are thus seen as the means by which an orderly cosmos has been established by the gods; concurrently, the order that was to be preserved in the human world was to be secured and maintained by means of warfare. As the forces of chaos were to be kept at bay by the warrior-king Marduk, so too the human king, Marduk's earthly counterpart, was to employ warfare in the establishment and maintenance of his god's kingdom on earth. This cosmological understanding of warfare, with local variations in expression, is present in various Near Eastern creation texts and provides an ideological and religious background to (and sometimes justification of) the practice of war in the Near Eastern nations. Stemming from this fundamental notion, the chief god of a state was normally also a war-god; numerous minor deities in a pantheon might also serve as war-gods.

B. Practical Perspectives. Thus warfare in the ancient Near East was consistently perceived from a theological or religious perspective. As warfare was an instrument of the state, and as the state in turn was the possession of a god or gods, it follows that religious dimensions thoroughly penetrated the actual practice of warfare. Prior to departing for war a Near Eastern king would consult his gods (through omen-priests) on the appropriateness of going to war and would solicit divine aid for the coming battles. On the battlefield as such the presence of the gods would be symbolized by standards and images and also by the presence of priests (who functioned as military advisors, not chaplains). Following victory in warfare a thanksgiving service was held to honor the gods who had given the victory. Thus a religious perspective influenced every aspect of a state's undertaking of war in the ancient Near Eastern world.

III. War in Israel.–The history of the nation of Israel, as

it is expressed in the OT narratives, can be interpreted as a history involving different experiences of warfare. In the narratives describing the emergence of a monarchy in the time of King Saul, warfare was a principal method by which the state was established. By means of invasion and attack, the Hebrew people had settled in the land that was to become Israel, making it their own by expelling or defeating the former residents, the Canaanites. While a detailed study of Israel's early history makes it clear that war was not the only method employed in the settlement of the Promised Land, it is evident that without the use of force the state of Israel would not have come into existence.

With the establishment of the united monarchy (Saul, David, and Solomon), and throughout the history of the separate kingdoms of Israel (922-722 B.C.) and Judah (922-586 B.C.), war continued to be a frequent characteristic of the history of the Hebrew people. War was now principally a means by which the safety and continuity of the state could be secured, though aggressive warfare continued to be employed from time to time in attempts to extend or recapture the territorial possessions of the nation.

Just as warfare had contributed to the emergence and survival of the Hebrew kingdoms, so too the demise of the states of Judah and Israel came about in warfare. The northern state of Israel was defeated by the Assyrian armies in 722 B.C. (2 K. 17:1-6); it never reemerged as an independent Hebrew state. The southern state of Judah survived a little longer; it was defeated eventually by the armies of the Neo-Babylonian empire in the war of 587-586 B.C. and ceased to exist as an independent Hebrew kingdom (2 K. 25; Jer. 52). The states that had begun in wars of aggression and had survived largely through wars of defense finally ended in warfare at the hands of more powerful warrior nations.

IV. God and War in the OT.–The OT narratives consistently identify God with Israel's experience of warfare. In the celebration of the Exodus from Egyptian slavery God is called a "man of war" (Ex. 15:3), through whose victorious acts freedom had been secured. In the later hymnody of the Hebrew monarchy God was celebrated as "the Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord, mighty in battle" (Ps. 24:8). And one of the most common epithets for God in the OT is the "Lord of hosts" (lit. "Lord of armies"), an expression used more than two hundred times in the biblical text.

The association of God with warfare in ancient Israel is integral to the fundamental theology of the Hebrews, namely, that God participated in and through this historical experience. Their liberation from slavery, their possession of the Promised Land, and eventually their loss of independent nationhood were all understood in direct relationship to God, i.e., His will and purpose as expressed in the covenant, and their own obedience and disobedience with respect to the covenant stipulations. Such was the Hebrew conception of divine immanence that inevitably God was perceived in all the experiences of human existence, of which warfare was only one.

V. Holy War.–In much contemporary OT scholarship Israel's wars have been labeled "holy wars" (see esp. G. von Rad). The description "holy wars" emerges not only from the generally religious language in which war is described in the OT, but specifically from the observation that war in ancient Israel was undertaken as a cultic act, the conscious ritual act of a religious community. The expression "holy war" is nevertheless misleading, implying that warfare as such may be considered "holy." Increasingly scholars are coming to recognize that a more appropriate designation for Israel's wars would be "Yahweh War" (cf., e.g., G. H. Jones, R. Smend); such a designation conveys the religious character of Israel's warfare without implying that the conduct of war had moral or religious worth. The purpose of warfare in ancient Israel, including wars that ended in defeat, can be understood within the context of "salvation-history"; while salvation was the goal of human history, warfare as such was evil, yet through both its victories and defeats the goal of salvation would ultimately be achieved within the divine providence.

VI. War and the State.–As with many other Near Eastern nations, the state of Israel was conceived as a theocracy; though the state was ruled by a human king, its ultimate head was God. Thus one of the principal themes of Hebrew thought is the "kingship of God," which is found in both early and late texts. And the kingship of God inevitably has associations with warfare, both in the early texts (Ex. 15:18) and in the texts of the monarchy (e.g., Pss. 47, 93, 96–99, the so-called enthronement psalms). The kingship of God presupposes the notion of the kingdom of God, which in turn was identified in OT times (prior to 586 B.C.) with the nation-state(s) of the chosen people.

The theocratic notion of the state in Israel, and the understanding of the state as the kingdom of God, inevitably led to the further identification of God with warfare (see IV above). No human state, whether in the ancient or modern world, can exist without the contingent possibility of warfare. To oversimplify a complex set of possibilities, states come into existence, survive, and eventually decline and die, in direct relation to the existence and use of force in such activities as warfare. Such was the case with ancient Israel, and thus at each point in Israel's history God as head of state was inevitably associated with Israel's experience of warfare. The God of Israel, however, was conceived to be not only a national God but also a universal God; it was this broader conception that eventually made possible a new understanding of the nature of the kingdom of God and of the kingship of God following the demise of the kingdom of Judah in 586 B.C.

VII. Prophetic Perspectives on War.–The demise of the kingdoms of Israel (722 B.C.) and Judah (586 B.C.) evoked in the Hebrew tradition a radical rethinking of the nature of God, of the relationship between divine kingship and human kingdoms, and indeed of the fundamental nature and role of warfare in human history. Defeat in war precipitated this radical theological revolution; the bitter experience of warfare and defeat secured new perspectives from which new insights emerged that are perpetually relevant to all thinking about warfare. The pioneers in this radical theological revolution were those who lived through the demise of the state of Judah, notably Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the prophets who succeeded them in subsequent generations.

Two themes are particularly important in the context of these new ideas of the nature of warfare in relation to religion: the notion of a new covenant, and the emergence of apocalyptic thought conveyed in military language and imagery.

A. New Covenant. While earlier prophets anticipated the notion of the new covenant, that which Jeremiah (Jer. 31:31-34) expressed is particularly pertinent to the transformation of the idea of war in ancient Israel. Whereas the original Mosaic covenant, and then the later Davidic covenant, had anticipated the formation of a nation-state of God's chosen people, with the contingent necessity of warfare (see, e.g., the laws of war in Dt. 20:10-18), the new covenant anticipated a different kind of human com-

munity. The new covenant would involve an inward transformation of the covenant members and a new knowledge of God. While Jeremiah does not amplify fully his concept of a new covenant community, it appears to be distinct from that of the nation-state and thus does not contain within it the contingent necessity of warfare. From a human perspective, one may say that Jeremiah's perception of the failure, in war, of the kingdom of God as a human state (the failure being a consequence of human evil) led him to perceive the necessity of a kingdom of God not identified with a nation-state. This notion of the state and of warfare was to be influential in the earliest Christian community and indeed central in the teaching of Jesus.

B. Apocalyptic Dimension of Warfare. While apocalyptic thought does not begin with the prophet Ezekiel, his book is particularly pertinent because, as with Jeremiah, it is set against the backdrop of Judah's final defeat in warfare. In Ezekiel's apocalyptic description of the restoration of Israel (Ezk. 38–39), God's final transformation of human history is to be effected by means of warfare. Whether the language of apocalyptic battle is to be interpreted literally or figuratively, it is equally appropriate to the theme. The battle between good and evil has marked all human history; the final conquest of evil is thus set on a field of battle, in which God the warrior destroys the forces of evil. This apocalyptic notion of warfare also influenced early Christianity, not least the book of Revelation, which draws extensively on the imagery of Ezekiel.

VIII. War and Peace.–The notion of peace (*šālôm*) in the OT is a broad one; while the word *šālôm* can imply peace as distinct from warfare it has the fundamental notion of "wholeness, integrity." Thus, while a kind of peace may exist simply in the absence of warfare, complete peace presupposes the full health of a society, the absence of evil and injustice, and the presence of both righteousness and justice. As Jeremiah observed, people may say "peace, peace," when in reality there is no peace (Jer. 6:14).

The ideal of peace is given expression from time to time in the writings of the prophets. The well-known vision of swords being beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks (Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3) is shared by two eighth-century prophets and may antedate both of them. But the prophets were not pacifists; their vision of distant peace was balanced by the contemporary reality of warfare. Both Isaiah and Micah, who shared the ancient vision of peace, affirmed the judgmental role of God in contemporary warfare. In other prophetic writings the notion of peace is more or less absent; the dominant theme is warfare in its instrumental role within the scheme of divine judgment (e.g., Nahum).

Peace is thus recognized in the OT as an ideal, something for which to strive and hope; it would come not only in the absence of war but also in the wholeness and integrity of human society. But this ideal of peace, mellowed by the contemporary realities of violence in the time of the prophets, became eventually a part of the apocalyptic and eschatological traditions in Israel (see VII.B above). Peace was to be a part of God's final work in the transformation of Israel and the nations. In the normal political and daily life of the Hebrew kingdoms, however, a continuing tradition that could be called a peace movement, or any tradition of pacifism, was absent.

IX. NT and the Idea of War.–A. Kingdom of God. Fundamental to the teaching of Jesus, and indeed to the meaning of Jesus, His life, death, and resurrection, is the theme of the kingdom of God. It is a principal theme of His preaching (Mk 1:13f.); by His death and resurrection the kingdom is established. The theology of the kingdom of God in the NT follows principally upon the notion of the new covenant as expressed by Jeremiah, rather than returning to the older notion of the kingdom as a nation-state. Thus the Christian conception of the kingdom of God must be kept separate from the notion of state (though such has not always been the case in Christian history), which in turn means that the kingdom cannot legitimately be engaged in warfare. Indeed, central to the foundation of the kingdom of God is the death of Jesus, which exemplifies the receipt of violence, rather than its exercise. Thus the kingdom of God, identified in a limited sense with the Church, required the rejection of the use of war and violence by its members, and also their willingness to become the recipients of violence.

B. Spiritualization of the Language of Warfare. Christianity's development of the notion of the kingdom of God grew and was nurtured by the OT Scriptures. The appropriation of the OT material concerning war involved the transformation of that language into the account of spiritual warfare, both in the positive sense of "fighting the good fight" and in the negative sense of fighting against the forces of evil. Thus Paul describes his spiritual life in the metaphor of fighting (1 Cor. 9:26), and he encourages Timothy to "fight the good fight of the faith" (1 Tim. 6:12). And Peter writes of the "passions of the flesh that wage war against your soul" (1 Pet. 2:11), and therefore which must be resisted.

C. War and Political Theology. While the NT provides a very complete description of the kingdom of God, it gives a less comprehensive account of Christian political theology, or of the relation of the Christian and the Church to the state. The matter is important since the relation of the Christian to the state determines the relation of the Christian to war, which normally is conducted by the state. On the one hand, the teaching of Jesus concerning the recognition of the authority of Caesar (Mt. 22:21) and Paul's discourse on the divinely ordained authority of the state (Rom. 13:1-7) have sometimes been taken as a basis for permitting Christians to participate in the warfare waged by the state. On the other hand, Jesus' own rejection of force and His receipt of violence in the crucifixion have been taken by others to imply the total rejection of warfare by Christianity. The tension between these two views reflects the difficulty of the dual citizenship to which the Christian is called. Citizenship in the kingdom of God involves the rejection of violence and war; citizenship in a nation-state, as the OT so clearly demonstrates, involves the contingent possibility, if not necessity, of the use of violence and war by the state. The two principal traditions with respect to the idea of war in Christianity reflect the polarity between these two points of tension. The tradition of pacifism has taken as preeminent the principles of the kingdom of God; the tradition of the "just war" has sought to recognize also the responsibilities of citizenship in a nation state, and to live with a certain tension with respect to the two poles of NT teaching. But in both cases, despite how one interprets the biblical data on war, peace is the Christian's primary goal toward which the whole Bible points.

D. Apocalyptic Ideas of War. As in the OT, NT apocalyptic literature (esp. the book of Revelation) employs warfare as one of the principal metaphors for conveying its understanding of the end of human history and the consummation of the kingdom of God. And just as surely as war is the metaphor of apocalyptic vision, so too peace is the principal term to describe the reality lying beyond the conflict that ends all conflicts.

In whatever manner one interprets apocalyptic literature, the language of warfare is clearly appropriate to the

subject. Evil, by its very nature, seems to war against good, whether literally or figuratively. And the persistence of evil is such that it does not simply go away; it must be conquered. Thus, lying behind the harsh language of warfare in the apocalyptic account of the Revelation, is a vision of a world in which peace would reign in perpetuity.

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WAR, MAN OF. Another designation for a WARRIOR (*see also* SOLDIER). Celebrating Yahweh's victory over Pharaoh's army at the Red Sea, the song of Moses says, "The Lord is a man of war [Heb. *'îš milḥāmâ*]" (Ex. 15:3). The OT frequently depicts Yahweh as a mighty warrior who fights for His people and delivers them from their enemies. *See* WAR, IDEA OF IV.

See P. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (1973).

WARDROBE [Heb. *šōmēr/šômēr habbᵉgādîm*] (2 K. 22:14; 2 Ch. 34:22). The keeper of the wardrobe (e.g., Shallum, husband of the prophetess Huldah, in 2 K. 22:14; 2 Ch. 34:22), employed at the palace or the temple, took care of the costly garments used for important state and religious events. 2 K. 10:22 refers to "him who was in charge of the wardrobe" (Heb. *ʾᵃšer ʿal-hammeltāḥâ*; AV "him that was over the vestry"; NEB "the person who had charge of the wardrobe"), i.e., an official who took care of the garments worn by Baal worshipers. In Jer. 38:11 the RSV and NEB emend the MT *taḥaṯ* (AV "under"; NEB mg. "underneath") to read *meltaḥaṯ*, "wardrobe."

G. L. K.

WARES [Heb. *ʿizzāḇôn*] (Ezk. 27:12, 14, 16, 19, 22, 27, 33); AV also FAIRS; NEB also STAPLE WARES; [*maʿᵃrāḇ*] (Ezk. 27:9); AV MERCHANDISE; [*meḵer*] (Neh. 13:16); NEB MERCHANDISE; [*mimkār*] (Neh. 13:20); NEB TRADERS; [*maqqāḥôṯ*] (Neh. 10:31 [MT 32]); NEB MERCHANDISE; [*migdānôṯ*] (Ezr. 1:6); AV PRECIOUS THINGS; NEB GIFTS; [*kᵉlî*] (Jonah 1:5); NEB THINGS; "wares" is supplied contextually by the RSV and NEB in Rev. 18:15. Marketable goods and commodities.

The majority of the RSV's references to "wares" occur in Ezk. 27, which describes the extensive trading enterprises of the city of Tyre. The variety of goods brought to Tyre by caravan and ship indicates the "great wealth of every kind" (v. 12) that was to be found there, e.g., refined metals and vessels made from them, precious stones, grain, spices, animals, and cloth. Geographically, Tyre's trade reached from Tarshish to Asia Minor, and from Damascus to Sheba.

Accustomed to trading with Tyrians (Neh. 13:16) and other foreigners who did not observe the Sabbath, the postexilic Jews of Jerusalem succumbed to the temptation to set aside their covenantal Sabbath obligation (10:31) in favor of the greater prosperity that could be achieved by trading every day (13:15-18). Nehemiah instituted reforms to prohibit trading on the Sabbath (vv. 19-22).

The attitude of the exiles of Ezr. 1:6 contrasts with that of the postexilic Jerusalemites. These exiles generously supported with their gifts their neighbors who were returning to Jerusalem to rebuild the house of Yahweh.

The lament over Babylon (Rome) in Rev. 18 is reminiscent of the lament over Tyre in Ezk. 27. although the saints rejoice over the fall of Babylon (Rev. 18:20), the merchants mourn because of the loss of their profitable trade (v. 15).

See also COMMERCE; MERCHANDISE; MERCHANT.

G. WYPER

WARFARE. *See* WAR, WARFARE.

WARP [Heb. *šᵉṯî*] (Lev. 13:48-59). The long threads extended lengthwise in the loom to form the basis of the web. The threads of the "woof" (Heb. *ʾēreḇ*) are interlaced with the warp at right angles. *See* WEAVING.

WARRIOR [Heb. *gibbôr, gibbôr (ha)ḥayil*] (Jgs. 11:1; 1 Ch. 5:24; 7:2, 5, etc.; 8:40; 12:8; 28:1; 2 Ch. 32:21; Job 16:14; Ps. 33:16; 120:4; 127:4; Cant. 4:4; Jer. 20:11; etc.); AV MIGHTY MAN (OF VALOUR), MIGHTY ONES, GIANT, STRONG, VALIANT MEN (OF MIGHT); NEB also FIGHTING MEN, MEN OF ABILITY, ABLE MEN, VALIANT MEN, TROOPS, BODYGUARD; [*gibbôrê milḥāmâ*] (2 Ch. 13:3); AV VALIANT MEN OF WAR; NEB TROOPS; [*ʾîš milḥāmâ*] (1 Ch. 28:3); AV (lit.) MAN OF WAR; NEB FIGHTING MAN; [*tōpsê hammilḥāmâ*] (Nu. 31:27); AV (lit.) "them that took the war upon them"; NEB FIGHTING MEN; [*ʿāśâ milḥāmâ*] (1 K. 12:21; 2 Ch. 11:1); [*sō'ēn*–'tramp, tread']) (Isa. 9:5 [MT 4]); NEB SOLDIERS; [qal pass. part. of *qārā'*–'call'] (Ezk. 23:23); AV RENOWNED; NEB STAFF OFFICERS; [*ʿizzûz*] (Isa. 43:17); AV (lit.) POWER; NEB MEN OF VALOUR; [*mišmān*] ("stout warriors," Isa. 10:16); AV (lit.) "fat ones"; NEB "sturdy frame"; [*pārāz*] (Hab. 3:14); AV (lit.) "villages"; [pl. of *qᵉrāḇ*] (Ezk. 23:6, 12); AV "neighbours"; NEB STAFF OFFICERS.

At the beginning of Israel's history every physically fit man could be called upon to fight for the tribe or the nation. As society became more complex under the monarchy, the army developed into a professional one of mercenaries and conscripts. G. E. Wright (*OT and Theology* [1969]) underlined the biblical theme of God as warrior, which he saw as the reverse side of His nature as lover and redeemer; God is a warrior because His redemption is resisted in the sinful world. See also P. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (1973).

Several texts call for comment. In Isa. 10:16 the MT has "fat ones"; the RSV supplies "warriors," apparently on the basis of the context (see E. J. Young, *Book of Isaiah*, I [2nd ed. 1972), 365f. and n. 46). But as commentators have pointed out, such an interpretation is unnecessary, for the prophet may simply be referring to Assyria in general (see, e.g., O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* [Eng. tr., 2nd ed., *OTL*, 1983], pp. 238f.).

In the difficult text of Hab. 3:14 the RSV follows the versions; the MT *pārāz* is ueally taken to mean "country folk" (see, e.g., W. F. Albright, "Psalm of Habakkuk," in H. H. Rowley, ed., *Studies in OT Prophecy* [*Festschrift* T. H. Robinson, repr. 1957], pp. 13, 17), but such a meaning does not fit the context well. Thus other meanings have been sought on the basis of Arabic cognates (see KoB,

3rd ed., p. 908; *see also* PEASANTRY), or the text has been emended (see comms.).

Finally, two verses in Ezk. 23 are problematic. The RSV takes *qᵉrôḇîm*, the last word of (MT) v. 5, as the first word of v. 6 (see also *BHS*) and derives it from *qᵉrāḇ*, "war" (cf. Akk. *qurbūti*, "guardsmen"; see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, I [Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1979], p. 472 n. c; see also v. 12) The AV "neighbours" reflects a derivation from *qārôḇ*, "near," following the versions; the problem with this interpretation is, of course, that Assyria was not Israel's neighbor. In v. 23 the RSV reads *qᵉrôḇîm*, as in vv. 5f. and 12, for MT *qᵉrû'îm*, "called" (see RSV mg.), but according to Zimmerli (p. 475 n. c) the MT may be understood as "highly respected men" and need not be emended.

See also SOLDIER; WAR; WAR, IDEA OF.

G. WYPER G. A. L.

WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE [Heb. *sēper milḥᵃmōṯ YHWH*] (Nu. 21:14). Numbers 21:14f. and possibly vv. 17f.; 27-30 suggest that this document was a collection of popular songs about the early Israelite victories, with the Lord Himself as commander-in-chief (cf. Josh. 24:12f.; Am. 2:9). The LXX omits the reference. References such as this indicate that the present OT documents were partially based on earlier writen documents.

See also JASHAR, BOOK OF.

See D. Christensen, *CBQ*, 36 (1974), 359f.

WASH. Words translated "wash" find their use mainly in connection with the ceremonial cleansings and sacrificial procedures of OT religion, in figurative language having to do with sin and guilt, and in connection with the practice of footwashing.

Hebrew *rāḥaṣ* is broadly used. It can refer to foot washing, which is usually connected with customs of hospitality (Gen. 18:4; 19:2; 24:32; 43:24; Jgs. 19:21; 1 S. 25:41; 2 S. 11:8), but also with religious ceremony (Ex. 30:18-21; 40:30f.; cf. 2 Ch. 4:6), and to bathing one's whole body, usually in preparation for some important event, or, by a woman, in preparation for being with a man (Ex. 2:5; Ruth 3:3; 2 S. 11:2; 12:20; 1 K. 22:38b; Ezk. 23:40). The descendants of Aaron were bathed in preparation for their consecration as priests (Ex. 29:4; 40:12; Lev. 8:6). The high priest and others were also bathed as part of the ceremony on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:4, 24, 26, 28). Washing one's hands as a symbol of a claim of innocence had its beginning in sacrificial procedure (Dt. 21:6; Ps. 26:6; 73:13; cf. Ex. 30:18-21; 40:30f.). The legs and internal organs of sacrificial animals intended for the burnt offering were washed before being offered on the altar (Ex. 29:17; Lev. 1:9; 8:21; 9:14).

Rāḥaṣ is also used of cleansing from ceremonial uncleanness brought by "leprosy" (Lev. 14:8f.; 2 K. 5:10-13) or other sources of defilement (Lev. 15; 17:15; 22:6; Nu. 19:7f., 19; Dt. 23:11 [MT 12]). It is found in other literal uses (Job 29:6; Ps. 58:10 [MT 11]), and is used figuratively, e.g., for cleansing of sin (Job 9:30; Isa. 1:16; 4:4; Prov. 30:12; cf. also Cant. 5:12; Ezk. 16:4).

Hebrew *kāḇas* (in the piel) is used of the washing of clothes, whether as part of the ceremonial of worship (Ex. 19:10, 14; Lev. 6:27 [MT 20]), of ordination (Nu. 8:7, 21), or of meeting royalty (2 S. 19:24 [MT 25]), or as part of the ritual for "leprosy" (Lev. 13:6, 34, 54-58; 14:8f., 47) and other forms of uncleanness (Lev. 11:25, 28, 40; 15:8, 11, 13, etc.; 16:26, 28; 17:15f.; Nu. 19:7f., 10, 19, 21; 31:24). A picture of great plenty is provided by a reference to washing garments in wine (Gen. 49:11). The only uses of *kāḇas* for washing anything other than garments are figurative uses for cleansing of sin (Ps. 51:2a, 7b [MT 4b, 9b]; Jer. 2:22; 4:14).

Other less common Hebrew words sometimes translated "wash" are *šāṭap*, "overflow, flood" (1 K. 22:38a; Job 14:19; Ezk. 16:9; NEB also "swilled out," "scours"), *dû(a)ḥ*, "rinse off blood" (Ezk. 40:38), *māhah*, "destroy" (Nu. 5:23; AV "blot out"), and *yāṣaq*, "pour" (Job 22:16; AV "overflown"; NEB "flowing away").

It has been suggested that some or all of the figurative references to washing in the NT (except Gk. *plýnō* in Rev. 7:14; 22:14) are intended to be references to baptism (*apoloúō*, 1 Cor. 6:11; *loúō*, He. 10:22; 2 Pet. 2:22; *loutrón*, "washing," Eph. 5:26; Tit. 3:5). This would appear to be especially likely in Acts 22:16 (*apoloúō*), where "wash away your sins" is parallel to "be baptized." But even there it is likely that "wash away" refers to an inward or spiritual cleansing that is not simply accomplished by the physical act of baptism.

In the NT washing also occurs in reference to rites of Judaism (*níptō*, Mt. 15:2; Mk. 7:3f. [cf. "unwashed," *ániptos*, Mt. 15:20; Mk. 7:2]; a nontechnical use of *baptízō*, Lk. 11:38), part of the action of a healing by Jesus (*níptō*, Jn. 9:7, 11, 15), the preparation of a body for burial (*loúō*, Acts 9:37), the washing of nets by fishermen (*plýnō*, Lk. 5:2), a person's personal washing of the face to appear in public (*níptō*, Mt. 6:17), the cleansing of an injured person's wounds (*loúō*, Acts 16:33), Pilate's washing of his hands as a symbolic claim of innocence (*aponíptō*, Mt. 27:24), and foot washing (*níptō*, Jn. 13:5-14; 1 Tim. 5:10), now partly a symbolic rite within the Church.

See also ABLUTION; BATHE; FOOT WASHING.

G. A. GAY

WASHBASIN [Heb. *sîr raḥaṣ*–'vessel for washing']; AV WASHPOT; NEB WASH-BOWL. A basin used for washing feet. In the oracle cited in Ps. 60:8 (MT 10) and 108:9 (MT 10) Yahweh says, "Moab is my washbasin," i.e., Moab is to be so disgraced that it will be a tub in which the conqueror's feet are washed.

WASHING OF THE FEET. *See* FOOT WASHING.

WASP [Gk. *sphḗx*] (Wisd. 12:8); NEB HORNET. Perhaps a general term denoting both wasp and hornet. The Palestinian hornet is larger than the wasp and in great numbers has caused cattle to stampede. Stinging swarms among an army might be able to change the outcome of battle. *See also* HORNET.

WASTING SICKNESS [Heb. *rāzôn*] (Isa. 10:16; "wasting disease," Ps. 106:15); AV LEANNESS; NEB also DISEASE. Possibly pulmonary tuberculosis in both references. M. Dahood, however, understood Ps. 106:15 as indicating the result of prolonged hunger (*Psalms*, III [*AB*, 1970], 71).

WATCH [nouns: Heb. *'ašmûrâ*/*'ašmōreṯ* (Ex. 14:24; Jgs. 7:19; 1 S. 11:11; etc.), *mišmār* (1 Ch. 26:16; Neh. 12:24; Jer. 51:12), *šimmurîm* ("watching," Ex. 12:42), *mišmereṯ* ("duty of watching," 1 Ch. 9:27), *niṣṣᵉrâ* (Ps. 141:3), *ṣippîyâ* ("watching," Lam. 4:17); Gk. *phylakḗ* (Mt. 14:25; Mk. 6:48; Lk. 2:8; 12:38), *agrypnía* (2 Cor. 6:5)]; AV also WARD, CHARGE, OBSERVED, etc.; NEB also GUARD, VIGIL, etc.; [verbs: Heb. *šāmar* (Jgs. 7:19; 1 S. 19:11; 26:15f.; Job 14:16; etc.), *ṣāpâ* (Gen. 31:49; 2 S. 13:34; Ps. 37:32; etc.; piel, 1 S. 4:13; Ps. 5:3 [MT 4]; etc.), *rā'â* (Jgs. 21:21; 1 S. 6:9; Ps. 142:4 [MT 5]), *šō'ēr* ("who

keep watch," Neh. 11:19), *šāqaḏ* (Job 21:32; Prov. 8:34; Isa. 29:20; etc.), *nāṣar* (Ps. 61:7 [MT 8]; Prov. 2:11; 22:12; 24:12), piel of *pālas* (Prov. 5:21), piel of *nāḥaš* (1 K. 20:33); Gk. *grēgoréō* (Mt. 24:42f.; 25:13; 26:38, 40f.; Mk. 13:34f., 37; etc.), *tēréō* (Mt. 27:36, 54), *paratēréō* (Mk. 3:2; Lk. 6:7; 14:1; 20:20; Acts 9:24), *agrypnéō* (Mk. 13:33; Lk. 21:36; He. 13:17), *theōréō* (Mk. 12:41; Lk. 23:35)]; AV also SEE, BEHOLD, KEEP, PRESERVE, etc.; NEB also BE POSTED, PRESERVE, etc.; **BE WATCHFUL** [Gk. *grēgoréō*] (1 Cor. 16:13; Col. 4:2; 1 Pet. 5:8); AV also BE VIGILANT; NEB BE (ON THE) ALERT, WITH MIND AWAKE; **WATCHER** [Heb. part. of *nāṣar* (Job 7:20); Aram. *ʿîr* (Dnl. 4:13, 17, 23 [MT 10, 14, 20])]; AV also PRESERVER (Job 7:20). In Ezk. 34:16 the MT reads *šāmaḏ* (AV lit. "destroy"); the RSV follows the LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate with "watch." In Ps. 119:82, 123; Lam. 4:17 the RSV supplies "(with) watching."

I. The Noun.–The Hebrew nouns *ʾašmûrâ (ʾašmōreṯ), mišmār, mišmereṯ,* and *šimmurîm* are all derived from the verb *šāmar* (see below). The noun *ʾašmûrâ* denotes a division of the night. In OT times the night was divided into three "watches" (cf. Ps. 63:6 [MT 7]; 90:4; 119:148): the first watch (Lam. 2:19), the midnight watch (Jgs. 7:19), and the morning watch (Ex. 14:24; 1 S. 11:11; cf. Ps. 130:6). By NT times the Jews were following the Roman custom of dividing the night into four watches: evening, midnight, cockcrow, and morning (Mk. 13:35; cf. Gk. *phylakḗ,* Lk. 12:38; Mt. 14:25 par. Mk. 6:48). The "watching" (pl. of *agrypnía,* "wakefulness") mentioned in 2 Cor. 6:5 refers to sleepless nights. *See also* DAY AND NIGHT.

"Watch" can also denote a guard placed on watch (e.g., Heb. *mišmār,* 1 Ch. 26:16 par. Neh. 12:24); in Ps. 141:3 the hapax legomenon *niṣṣᵉrâ* (from vb. *nāṣar*) is used figuratively in parallel with *šomrâ* (RSV "guard"). "Watch" can also refer to a guard post (*mišmār,* Jer. 51:12) or to the duty of guarding (*mišmereṯ,* 1 Ch. 9:27). The meaning of *ṣippîyâ* (from *ṣāpâ*) in Lam. 4:17 is uncertain; some scholars have interpreted it to mean a "watchtower" or "lookout" (see *CHAL,* p. 309; *TWOT,* II, 773), while others have read it as a reference to the act of watching (so AV, RSV; KD, *ad loc.*).

II. The Verb.–The Hebrew verb most frequently rendered "watch" in the RSV OT is *šāmar,* "guard," "keep," "watch," "give heed to." Both *šāmar* and *nāṣar,* a less common synonym of *šāmar,* are often rendered by Gk. *phylássō* in the LXX. Heb. *ṣāpâ* has a more specific meaning; it "conveys the idea of being fully aware of a situation in order to gain some advantage or keep from being surprised by an enemy" (*TWOT,* II, 773). *Rāʾâ* is a common verb meaning "see," "look at," while *šāqaḏ* emphasizes the idea of being alert and watchful.

In the RSV NT the verb "watch" most often represents Gk. *grēgoréō.* This verb and the cognate *agrypnéō* are both derived from the verb *egeírō,* "awaken," "arise," and they mean "be awake," "be alert, vigilant." *Theoréō* ("observe," "perceive") sometimes occurs in its original sense of "watch as a spectator." *Paratēréō,* a compound form of *tēréō* ("guard," "keep"), has a range of meanings, including "observe" (cf. Gal. 4:10), "lie in wait," "keep watch over"; in the NT it usually means "watch maliciously" or "watch lurkingly" (see Bauer, rev., p. 622; *TDNT,* VIII, 147f.).

The verb "watch" is used in various senses in the English versions. It can mean simply to observe closely in order to see what will happen (e.g., 1 S. 4:13; 6:9; Ps. 142:4 [MT 5]; Jer. 48:19), or to watch as a spectator (e.g., Mk. 12:41; Lk. 23:35). To "(keep) watch over" means to "guard," "protect," or "take care of." Thus the king's bodyguard had the responsibility of protecting his master's life (1 S. 26:15f.). To "keep watch over" can also mean keeping someone in custody (e.g., Mt. 27:36, 54).

Some "watching" has malicious intent. Several psalmists complain that their enemies watch them, waiting for an opportunity to ambush them (Ps. 56:6 [MT 7]; 71:10; cf. 10:8; 37:32; Isa. 29:20; Jer. 20:10). Saul sent messengers to watch David's house so that they might kill him (1 S. 19:11). Similarly, some Jews watched the gates of Damascus so that they could kill Saul (Paul) when he left there (Acts 9:24). The scribes and Pharisees watched Jesus for an opportunity to accuse and arrest Him (Lk. 6:7 par. Mk. 3:2; Lk. 14:1; 20:20).

Scripture also speaks of God "watching over" human beings, usually in the positive sense of protecting or guarding them. God "watches over," i.e., protects and cares for, those who trust in Him (Job 29:2; Ps. 127:1; 146:9; Prov. 5:21; 24:12). When Jacob and Laban made their covenant, Laban said, "The Lord watch between you and me, when we are absent one from the other," i.e., the Lord will ensure that both parties keep their agreement (Gen. 31:49f.). At the time of the Exodus the Lord "watched" to bring His people out of Egypt, and the people remembered His watching by thenceforth keeping their own watch on Passover (Ex. 12:42). The psalmist prayed that God would guard his lips to prevent him from speaking evil (Ps. 141:3; cf. also 61:7 [MT 8]; Prov. 2:11; 6:22). (In Ezk. 34:16 the MT has *ʾašmîḏ,* "I will destroy," but most commentators follow the LXX and other versions, which presuppose *ʾešmōr,* "I will watch over" [see RSV mg., *BHS*].)

The implicit threat in God's watching over us, i.e., that He not only will see danger and protect us but that He also will see our sin and could punish us for it, is explicit in a few texts. God can "watch over" people for evil as well as for good (Ps. 66:7; Prov. 15:3; Jer. 31:28; 44:27; cf. 1:12). Job is especially conscious of this (Job 13:27; 14:16; cf. 33:11) and complains directly to God, the "watcher of men" (7:20).

In Gethsemane Jesus asked His disciples to watch with Him (Mt. 26:38), but they fell asleep (vv. 40f.). In these texts "watch" (Gk. *grēgoréō*) connotes "stay awake, be vigilant." Several times Jesus exhorted His disciples to "watch" (Mt. 24:42; 25:13; Mk. 13:33, 35, 37; see also 1 Cor. 16:13; Col. 4:2; He. 13:17; 1 Pet. 5:8; cf. Ps. 119:82, 123; Hab. 2:1), sometimes linking it with "pray" (Mt. 26:41; Mk. 14:38; Lk. 21:36). Following Barth (e.g., *CD,* III/4, 95), J. Ellul asserted that the two actions "watch and pray" are indissolubly united: "Prayer is an act of vigilance and the vigilance is a consequence of prayer" (*Prayer and Modern Man* [Eng. tr. repr. 1979], pp. 134f.; see also pp. 99-137; in commenting on the use of *grēgoréō* in Rev. 3:2f. Ellul stated that the watching or vigilance is "a manifestation of life . . . a matter of not being lulled into security"; *Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation* [Eng. tr. 1977], p. 138).

See also GUARD; HEED; KEEPER; OBSERVE.

N. J. O. G. A. L.

III. Watcher.–The Aram. *ʿîr* occurs in Dnl. 4:13, 17, 23 (Mt. 10, 14, 20). The term has been connected to the Phoen. *spy šmym,* "watcher of heaven" (the *Zōphasēmin* of Philo Byblius preserved in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10), but this inference seems unlikely. Today most commentators assume *ʿîr* is related to the Hebrew root *ʿwr,* "be awake" (cf. Jgs. 5:12; Ps. 7:6 [MT 7]), hence the understanding "watcher." The cognates Ugar. *ʿr* and Akk. *êru* support this meaning.

In the OT these watchers are celestial beings; they descend from heaven and are probably equated with the

"holy ones" (Dnl. 4:13). Elsewhere in the OT "holy ones" (*qᵉḏōšîm*) refers to God's angels (Job 5:1; 15:15; Ps. 89:5, 7 [MT 6, 8]; Dnl. 8:13; Zec. 14:5; *see* ANGEL). The watchers are servants of the Most High, possess a certain joint authority to speak the decrees of God, and apparently form a heavenly council who listen to God's word and then act as divine messengers to bring these commands and revelations to human beings (Dnl. 4:17). Some see the watchers as a special classification of angels who are agents and supervisors employed by God as He controls governments, perhaps even involved in decision making and the execution of decrees that affect world affairs (C. F. Dickason, *Angels: Elect and Evil* [1975], p. 59).

Intertestamental literature describes the watchers with considerably more detail. According to the pseudepigraphic book of 1 Enoch the watchers were angels who fell from heaven and changed the order of their nature by lusting after and fornicating with women, thus corrupting the sons of men and prompting the great flood (1 En. 10:8-10; 12:4; 15:9; cf. T. Naph. 3:5; Gen. 6:1-8). Part of Enoch's ministry was to reprimand and pronounce judgment on the eternal watchers (1 En. 1:5; 10:15; 12:2; 13:10; 14:1, 3; cf. 39:12f.; 40:2). The book of Jubilees affirms this identification of the heavenly watchers (Jub. 4:15, 22), and adds that the watchers violated the law of their ordinances when they lusted after women (7:21), their polygamous relationships with women produced monstrous offspring, and they practiced forms of astrology (8:3; cf. T. Reub. 5:6). The Qumrân literature contains similar accounts of these watchers (cf. CD 2:17-19; 1QapGen, 2:1).

While the precise meaning and exact etymology of Heb. *ʿîr* remain uncertain, the origin of the concept of angels as "watchers" or "wakeful ones" proves even more difficult to trace. According to Gaster (*IDB*, IV, 806) the sleeplessness of celestial beings was a common belief in the ancient world, documented of the Vedic Adityas (Rig Veda II, 27:9), of the Persian Mithra (Yasht 10:7) and Ahuramazda (Videvdat 19.20), and of the Greek Zeus (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, 702; although T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* [1961], p. 69, found it in Greek literature as early as Hesiod). Given the acknowledged indebtedness of Jewish angelology to Zoroastrianism, Gaster suggested that the OT here reproduces a yet unidentified Persian expression. Others relate the watchers to the seven Amesha Spentas of Zoroastrianism, a type of guardian angel (see A. Lacocque, *Book of Daniel* [Eng. tr. 1979], pp. 78f.; cf. A. Barnes, *Notes on the OT: Daniel*, [repr. 1950], 1, 251f.).

But one need not go outside Judaism for the origin of the concept since the biblical idea of heavenly beings who watch the earth appears to have originated in Babylon (Ezk. 1:15-20; cf. Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* 48; T.B. *Rosh ha-shanah* 24b, where according to tradition the names of angels were brought to Palestine by Jews from Babylon). The possible influence of Babylonian religious teachings notwithstanding, Ezekiel's vision of a God who has the capacity to see everywhere became a theological necessity for Israelite captives exiled far from the covenant land. Indeed, it is possible these angels may be mere reflectors of Yahweh Himself. He is the keeper of Israel who never slumbers nor sleeps (Ps. 121:4), and the One whose eyes range throughout the whole earth (Zec. 1:10; 3:9; 4:10).

Bibliography.–J. A. Montgomery, comm. on Daniel (*ICC*, 1927), pp. 231-35; *TWOT*, II, 655. A. E. HILL

WATCHMAN [Heb. part. of *nāṣar*–'keep watch, guard, protect'] (Job 27:18; Jer. 31:6); AV also KEEPER; [part. of *ṣāpâ*–'keep guard, observe intently'] (1 S. 14:16; 2 S. 18:24-27; 2 K. 9:17f., 20; Isa. 21:6; 52:8; 56:10; Jer. 6:17; Ezk. 3:17; 33:2, 6f.; Hos. 9:8; Mic. 7:4); NEB also SENTRY, LIE IN WAIT, etc.; [part. of *šāmar*–'watch, protect, guard'] (Ps. 127:1; 130:6; Isa. 21:11f.; 62:6; Jer. 51:12; Cant. 3:3; 5:7); AV also THEY WHO WATCH; NEB also POST A WATCH; [*pᵉquddâ*–'guard, sentry'] (2 K. 11:18; 2 Ch. 23:18); AV OFFICE, OFFICER; NEB WATCH, DOOR-KEEPER; [Gk. part. of *phylássō*–'watch, guard'] (Jth. 13:11); NEB SENTRY; [*skopós*–'one who watches'] (Sir. 37:14).

In the OT times watchmen protected vineyards and fields during harvest season (Jer. 31:6). They erected huts as shelters from the elements (Job 27:18) and towers to facilitate observation (cf. Sir. 37:14; *see* WATCHTOWER).

Watchmen were also posted on city walls (2 K. 9:17-20; Cant. 5:7) and at city gates (2 S. 18:24-27; Jth. 13:11) to scan the horizon for runners with messages for the king (2 S. 13:34; 18:24). The skilled watchman was able to identify individual runners by their stride (18:27). The watchman also guarded the walls day and night against enemy attack or siege (1 S. 14:16; Isa. 21:6-8; Jer. 51:12); he was responsible for warning the citizens of impending attack by sounding a trumpet (Jer. 6:17); Ezk. 33:2, 6). Watchmen apparently made rounds in Jerusalem during the night watches (Cant. 3:3, 5:7).

Acknowledging the providential hand of God in human affairs, the psalmist recognized the watchman's vigil was useless unless the Lord watched over the city (Ps. 127:1). Another psalm figuratively depicts the righteous as watchmen who expectantly watch for God's mercy and deliverance (130:6).

The OT prophets functioned as God's watchmen over Israel (Jer. 6:17; Hos. 9:8; cf. Isa. 21:6-8, 11f.). Ezekiel, e.g., was commissioned as a "watchman" and charged to warn the nation of threatening judgment because of their sin (Ezk. 3:17; 33:7). While the prophets often signaled certain (and sometimes imminent) disaster because of covenant violations, they also announced the good news of the Lord's return to Israel and His restoration of Zion (Isa. 52:8). Additionally, the prophet carried the heavy burden of accountability to God for the careful execution of His mandates (Ezk. 33:1-9); false prophets are labeled "blind watchmen" (Isa. 56:10). Ironically, the judgment forecasted in Micah's oracle against Israel was to arrive the same day that watchmen were posted (Mic. 7:4).

For interpretations of two difficult passages, Isa. 21:11f. and 62:6, see the commentaries.

Bibliography.–*THAT*, II, *s.v.* נצר (G. Sauer); *TWOT*, II, 594f., 773, 939f. A. E. HILL

WATCHTOWER [Heb. *migdal* (2 K. 17:9; 18:8; Isa. 5:2), *miṣpeh* (2 Ch. 20:24; Isa. 21:8), *baḥan* (Isa. 32:14); Gk. *skopḗ* (Sir. 37:14)]; AV also (HIGH) TOWER; NEB Apoc. TOWER. A TOWER on which a WATCHMAN can stand in order to gain a better view of the surrounding countryside. Many stone watchtowers have been excavated in Palestine and other ancient Near Eastern countries. Towers constructed in fields and vineyards usually included sleeping quarters, since a watch had to be kept day and night during harvest. Towns and cities also had towers in which watchmen looked for messengers and warned of approaching enemies. *See* FORTIFICATION I.B.

On the use of "watchtower" in Isa. 21:5, AV, *see* RUG.

N. J. O.

WATER [Heb. *mayim*; Gk. *hýdōr*]. Water is the most abundant of all earth's natural resources, covering its surface to about 70 percent. This common, versatile substance alone appears in three different forms, namely,

gaseous (water vapor), solid (ice), and liquid (rain). From the beginning of the world water has helped to shape the environment (Gen. 1:2-22), maintaining a proper temperature balance, and through the salt water of the oceans preventing the earth from succumbing to putrefaction. A single drop of water is a miracle of chemical design, consisting of tightly bonded atoms and molecules. Plants, animals, and human beings depend upon water to maintain their fluid balances, and this situation has presented problems throughout history because of the uneven distribution of rainfall.

The earliest Near Eastern cultures lived beside rivers, and used the waters to irrigate the nearby land and make it fertile. While the rivers sustained life, they also brought death with them when polluted. The ancient Hebrews lived predominantly in areas where water was scarce, and the successful excavation of a deep WELL was cause for great rejoicing as the people took possession of it (Nu. 21:17f.). Sometimes the ownership of wells was a matter of vigorous dispute among nomadic peoples, and often resulted in violence (cf. Gen. 26:15-22).

The ancients were well aware of the qualities of water as a life-giving source and as a cleansing agent. These two themes recur constantly in Scripture when water is being alluded to in a figurative or a spiritual sense. This type of imagery enriched the thought of the Hebrews, and consequently furnished such figures of speech as similes and metaphors (potential or implied similes). Examples of this activity include the doubter being tossed like an ocean wave (Jas. 1:6), or death making life as irretrievable as water poured out on the ground (2 S. 14:14). A similar usage is seen in the dying Jacob's assessment of his son Reuben's character (Gen. 49:4) as fundamentally unstable.

These vigorous images grew out of the people's awareness of the basic importance of water for sustaining human life. Thus to speak of "bread and water" (e.g., 1 K. 18:13) was at once to suggest the parameters of diet and also to reduce food to its basic components. Consequently the promise to the Israelites of the wilderness period that they would inherit through God's grace a land in which one could drink water without need of stringent economy and eat bread without scarcity (Dt. 8:7-9) was indeed an assurance of rich and varied provision for their needs.

That God was the provider and sustainer under the covenant agreement was impressed upon the Israelites at all times. Among the promises listed was an open sky that would provide seasonal rains as long as the Israelites obeyed God's commandments scrupulously (Dt. 28:12). By contrast, disobedience on the part of God's covenant people would result in drought, replacing the expected rains with an environment of powder and dust (Dt. 28:24).

This was a particularly sensitive matter for the Israelites when they remembered that, in an earlier age, God had punished the wickedness of the people on the earth by drowning them in a devastating flood (Gen. 6:5, 7, 13). At that time the fury of the outpoured skies had combined with saturating springs from below the water table (Gen. 7:11) to wreak the promised havoc. While God remained true thereafter to His promise never to destroy the earth again (Gen. 8:21), He used periodic droughts and famines to chastise His apostate, idolatrous people (cf. Am. 4:7; Joel 1:10-12; Hag. 1:10f.).

The perils associated with shortages of water were brought home to the twelve tribes during the wilderness wanderings on two distinct occasions (Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:11). The doubts that the people entertained about God's ability to provide were dispelled when Moses obeyed God's instructions, although on the second occasion not quite so meticulously as required (Nu. 20:12). For failing to hallow God in implicit obedience, Moses forfeited the privilege of leading God's people into the Promised Land.

One of the mighty works that God accomplished for His people, and which is commemorated still in Jewish rituals, was connected with water. This involved the liberating of the Israelites who had been oppressed by the Egyptians in the time of Moses, and who under his leadership passed safely through the waters of the Re(e)d Sea. Once across the marshy area, God allowed the water to return to its normal level, thereby destroying the pursuing Egyptians. The event was celebrated on that occasion by the triumphal "song of the sea" (Ex. 15:1-18) and the song of Miriam (Ex. 15:21), which furnished the impetus for a triumphal dance. In both compositions the miracle of God's power in piling up the waters in a totally unexpected fashion to drown the enemies of Israel formed the focal point of the celebration, expressed in language which has much in common with Amarna-age Ugaritic poetry.

The prophets of the 8th and 7th cents. B.C. used metaphors involving water to lend emphasis to their messages. Isaiah promised punishment upon the nation because the people had spurned God's love and protection, symbolized by the hidden, quietly flowing waters of the underground aqueduct that tapped the spring of Gihon and terminated in the lower pool of Siloam (Isa. 8:6). Instead, they had sought the company of Rezin, the last king of Syria (*ca.* 750-732 B.C.), and also of Pekah of Israel (*ca.* 740-732 B.C.), the son of Remaliah (Isa. 7:1). For this apostasy the Israelites would suffer the fate of the Egyptians by being engulfed in a flood of soldiery from the Euphrates (Isa. 8:7f.). This calamity could be averted, however, if the people would repent of their sins and come to draw water from the wells of salvation (Isa. 12:3; 55:1).

In a passionate plea for his countrymen to return to the covenant ideals of justice and mercy, Amos employed the water imagery of justice and righteousness flowing regularly and consistently, as contrasted with the intermittent watercourses (Am. 5:24). Jeremiah denounced the Judeans for their apostasy in rejecting the One who was the fountain of living (i.e., running) waters and trusting instead in leaking cisterns (Jer. 2:13; 17:13). At the same time the prophet was compelled on one occasion to wonder whether God would Himself prove to be an intermittent stream rather than a continually flowing river (15:18), but was consoled by the Lord's assurance that He would be with him to save and deliver His servant (v. 20).

Water was not merely a life-sustaining agent but a cleansing one. In this regard its use was prescribed in certain purification rituals as part of the legal enactments drawn up with a view to sedentary occupation of the Promised Land. Some of these rituals prescribed small quantities of "living" water, that is, fresh running water from a stream or fountain that would be intrinsically cleaner than water from a stagnant pool or cistern (cf. Lev. 14:5f., 50-52). The ceremonies of cleansing following the healing of a discharge (Lev. 15:1-13) involved the washing of the individual's clothes and bathing in running water which would cleanse the defiled body and also symbolize the complete carrying away of the affliction. By contrast, running water was not prescribed specifically for a woman who was engaging in purification rituals after feminine discharges (Lev. 15:19-33).

A diagnostic ritual for a woman suspected of marital infidelity by a jealous husband (Nu. 5:11-31) involved the "water of bitterness." This consisted of dust from the tab-

ernacle floor dissolved in water, and was administered under oath by a priest to the woman in the Lord's presence. If guilty, the woman would suffer divine execration with concomitant abdominal symptoms, which may have included miscarriage. The water ritual was accompanied by a grain offering of jealousy (Nu.15:25) to complete a ceremony replete with powerful psychological suggestion.

Another rite involving water was associated with the prescriptions for removing ceremonial defilement, whether from a priest through his participation in the sacrifice of a red heifer (Nu. 19:1-10) or from contact with a dead body (19:11-22). The cleansing agent was made of ashes from the sacrifice of an unblemished red cow which were dissolved in clean water from a spring or fountain, and applied through the use of hyssop as an aspergillum to the person and property of the defiled. The "living water" was intended to offset the effects of the impurity occasioned by contact with death. An even more significant use of water as a cleansing agent was promised to Israel through Ezekiel (36:24f.). In the restoration of national life God would sprinkle running water on the people and thereby cleanse them symbolically from their filthiness and sin, a situation for which Isaiah had pleaded in vain (1:16).

While water was frequently depicted as symbolizing divine blessing, redemption, and cleansing, certain narratives of a poetic nature represented water as a foe that God had already vanquished. The passages concerned involve references to a water-dwelling serpent named LEVIATHAN (Job 3:8; 41:1ff. [MT 40:25ff.]; Ps. 74:14; 104:26; Isa. 27:1; Ezk. 29:3ff.) and a dragon-like beast with the title of RAHAB (Job 9:13; 26:12; 38:8ff.; Ps. 87:4; 89:10 [MT 11]; Isa. 30:7; 51:9). When Ugaritic studies began, the similarity of these two creatures to certain mythological figures in Canaanite literature was noted (cf. T. H. Robinson, "Hebrew Myths," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth and Ritual* [1932], pp. 172-196). Scholars who had previously attributed the biblical figures to Mesopotamian origins now began to affirm the direct influence of Canaanite legends upon the corresponding OT narratives. But unlike Babylonian cosmogonic and other materials, the Hebrew narratives transformed references to Leviathan and Rahab from creation to the redemption of Israel from Egypt (cf. Ps. 89:10; Isa. 51:9) to the point where Rahab was used as a synonym for Egypt (Ps. 87:4; Isa. 30:7; cf. Ezk. 29:3). Leviathan has also been interpreted to symbolize the vicious enemies of God's people (Egypt; Ps. 74:13f.; the Assyro-Babylonian empire; Isa. 27:1), but others (e.g., M. Dahood, *Psalms*, III [*AB*, 1970], 45) have seen it as merely a favorite animal of God's, depending upon Him for sustenance.

It would appear that Isaiah, at all events, intended Leviathan to symbolize the eschatological defeat of evil by God (cf. M. G. Kline, *Kingdom Prologue* [1981], pp. 56-59). Without denying the obvious linguistic and literary relationship between Ugaritic materials and the Hebrew Bible, the fact remains, as Gordon stated, that Canaanite mythology furnished little more than a literary background for the poetic images of the Hebrew writers (C. H. Gordon, *Intro. to OT Times* [1953], p. 82).

The assurance that God was lord of the deep and its contents was of great comfort to His people in times of trouble (Ps. 69:1f., 14f., [MT 2f., 15f.]; 124:1-5; Isa. 43:2). In this confidence they could count on Him to engulf arrogant Tyre (Ezk. 26:19-21; cf. 27:26) just as He had destroyed the forces of Egypt at the Exodus. In another eschatological figure, Daniel observed the winds of heaven stirring up the great sea (Dnl. 7:2), from which emerged four beasts. These creatures ultimately succumbed to the judgment of the Ancient of Days, and were described to a perplexed Daniel as representing four kings who would exercise power before the saints ultimately possessed the kingdom forever (Dnl. 5:15-18, 27).

The efficacy of water as a cleansing fluid led to its use by the Jews in the pre-Christian period for initiating proselytes into Judaism. The origin of BAPTISM is at best obscure, however, and while Jesus Himself had been baptized (Mt. 3:13; Mk. 1:9-11; Lk. 3:21-23), He never made baptism a condition of discipleship. At all events, the new birth by water and the Spirit (Jn. 3:5) implied repentance, purification from sin, and a commitment to a way of life under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The precise way in which the water was applied is unknown and may not even have been restricted to any particular method, but the symbolism of the act in terms of spiritual renewal and divine sustenance was unmistakable. As against the *ex opere operato* view of baptism, by which the act wrought a work of divine regeneration by being performed, the uniform biblical view was truly sacramental, regarding it as an external sign of inward spiritual grace. Though entire families are said to have been baptized in the primitive church (Acts 16:15; 1 Cor. 1:16; etc.), there is no NT teaching on infant baptism as such.

The OT idea of "living waters" was clearly in Christ's thoughts when He promised the Samaritan woman (Jn. 4:14) such a gift, thereby reaffirming God's gracious promises in Isa. 12:3 to all who believe on Him (cf. Jn. 4:42). The pool of Beth-zatha was credited with possessing healing properties, but Jesus healed a chronically ill man there without recourse to the water (Jn. 5:2-9). On another occasion He used a mixture of clay and saliva on a blind man and instructed him to wash in the pool of Siloam and be healed (Jn. 9:1-11). This event may have reminded some observers of the way in which Naaman had been healed by washing in the Jordan many centuries earlier (2 K. 5:1-14).

In an eschatological discourse, Christ used the illustration of Noah and the Flood to warn His disciples concerning conditions in the end times (Mt. 24:38f.; Mk. 13:32-37; Lk. 21:34-36). In the new heaven (Rev. 21:6) God promised to supply living water freely to the thirsty, because a pure river of crystal-clear water was available to all who desired it (Rev. 22:1, 17).

See also WATERWORKS.

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R. K. HARRISON

WATER HEN [Heb. *tinšemeṯ*] (Lev. 11:18; Dt. 14:16); [LXX *porphyríôn, íbis*]; AV SWAN; NEB LITTLE OWL. One of those birds cited as an abomination and not to be eaten by the Israelites. The precise meaning of this Hebrew word is uncertain, a fact vividly illustrated by the wide variety of translations. The AV "swan" follows the Vulgate's *cygnus*, while the RSV reflects the LXX. G. R. Driver's proposal that *tinšemeṯ* is a type of owl (see Driver, p. 15,where he suggests "little owl") has been followed in a number of more recent translations (note also the "horned owl" of the older RV and ASV). *Tinšemeṯ* also appears in the list of unclean "swarming things" in Lev. 11:30 where the context would seem to demand an entirely different animal (so RV, RSV, NEB, NIV "chameleon").

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J. HUDDLESTUN

WATER OF BITTERNESS [Heb. *mê hammārîm*] (Nu. 5:18f., 23f.); AV BITTER WATER; NEB WATER OF CONTENTION. *See* ADULTERY II; JEALOUS II.A.2.

WATER OF SEPARATION. The AV translation of Heb. *mê niddâ* in Nu. 19:9, 13, 20f.; 31:23 (RSV "water for impurity"; NEB "water of [ritual] purification"). *See* HEIFER, RED.

WATER SHAFT [Heb. *ṣinnôr*] (2 S. 5:8); AV GUTTER; NEB "grappling-iron." The meaning of *ṣinnôr* is uncertain; the LXX renders it "dagger" and Aquila "watercourse" (*see* CATARACT). A water shaft has been discovered that extends from the spring of Gihon into the city of Jerusalem. *See* JERUSALEM III.C.1.a; WATERWORKS.

WATERCOURSE [Heb. *'āpîq*–'water channel'] (Ps. 126:4; Ezk. 31:12; 32:6); AV STREAM, RIVER; NEB also STREAM. A natural or man-made channel through which water flows. In the above passages *'āpîq* denotes a wadi, i.e., a deep valley through which a stream or river flows during rainy seasons. Ps. 126:4 uses the image of a dry wadi that could suddenly become a raging torrent to depict a dramatic change in Israel's fortunes (see *LBHG*, rev., p. 26). The AV uses "watercourse" to render Heb. *yiḇlê mayim* in Isa. 44:4 (RSV, NEB, "flowing stream"), *môṣā' mayim* in 2 Ch. 32:30 (RSV "outlet of the waters"; NEB "outflow of the waters"), and *te'ālâ* in Job 38:25 (RSV, NEB, "channel").

See also RIVER; WATERWORKS. N. J. O.

WATERPOT. The AV translation of Gk. *hydría* in Jn. 2:6f.; 4:28 (RSV "jar," "water jar"). *See* JAR II; POTTER, POTTERY.

WATERS. *See* WATER.

WATERS OF MEROM. *See* MEROM, WATERS OF.

WATERS OF STRIFE. *See* MASSAH AND MERIBAH.

WATERSKIN [Heb. *nēḇel*]; AV BOTTLE; NEB CISTERN. In Job 38:37 a common term for a container of liquids (*see* JAR) is applied to the clouds as sources of rain.

WATERSPOUT. The AV translation of Heb. *ṣinnôr* in Ps. 42:7 (MT 8). *See* CATARACT.

WATERWORKS. Water is the lifeblood of the cultures of the Near East. The river valleys of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt had a continuous supply of water, but it had to be harnessed through irrigation canals, small dams, and systems of sluice gates to broaden the areas of cultivation. In Syro-Palestine the river systems were of lesser consequence and more difficult to tap for irrigation. Thus much depended upon annual rainfall amounts in this region. The amounts of precipitation varied, however, from one area to the next. Desert and steppe zones like the Negeb averaged only 15-20 cm. (6-8 in.) per year, and this often came in a space of a few days, leaving entire months or even years dry. The more favored green zone of the Galilee region (90-100 cm. or 35-40 in. per year) also faced water shortfall problems. Here, and in the rest of Palestine, rainfall was concentrated into a few wet months from November to March. As a result, water had to be hoarded and channeled to insure a ready supply year round. Hillsides were terraced, springs and wells were tapped, and cisterns were built to catch and store rain runoff. To provide water to the larger, urban population centers and insure a continuous supply during times of siege, water tunnels were constructed from inside the walls to nearby springs. In later periods aqueducts were built to bring water to the cities from sources many miles away.

I. Irrigation Methods
  A. Mesopotamia
  B. Egypt
  C. Syro-Palestine
II. Springs and Wells
III. Water Storage Methods
  A. Cisterns
  B. Pools
  C. *Miqwā'ôṯ*
IV. Engineered Water Systems
  A. Water Tunnels
  B. Water Shafts
  C. Aqueducts

I. Irrigation Methods.–The history of civilization in the Near East begins with the development of methods for manipulating water and bringing it to where it would be most useful. (*See also* IRRIGATION.)

A. Mesopotamia. An elaborate network of canals to carry water from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to outlying fields was constructed by the people of Mesopotamia as early as 3000 B.C. Private channels to the fields were then dug; these paralleled and radiated away from the main canals. A lever and counterweight apparatus known as a *šaduf* allowed the farmer to lift water in a skin or basket from the canal into his channel (*see* pictures in IRRIGATION). The development of such a sophisticated irrigation system required organization of labor resources and a strong government. The rulers of the city-states of Sumer, Babylon, and Assyria all set the canal system as one of their major governmental priorities. Royal inscriptions, e.g., those of the Assyrian King Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), boast of the construction of networks of canals linking fields and cities to the rivers (cf. Isa. 32:2).

Constant maintenance of the irrigation system was made necessary by the sandy soil of the Mesopotamian flood plain, which allowed the canals to become clogged with silt and the channel walls to collapse. The year-name inscriptions of both Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, rulers of Babylon in the 18th cent. B.C. include statements of their commitment to keep the water flowing. For instance, Hammurabi named both the twenty-fourth and thirty-third years of his reign in honor of his refurbishing of canals. Year thirty-three reads: "He redug the canal (called) 'Hammurabi-(spells)-abundance-for-the-people, the Beloved-of-Anu-and-Enlil,' (thus) he provided Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Uruk (and) Isin with a permanent and plentiful water supply" (*ANET*, p. 270).

Many texts from ancient Mesopotamia refer to the importance of constant vigilance over the small dams, sluice gates,and local canals that managed the irrigation network. For instance, in one of the Mari Letters (*ca.* 1750 B.C.) a special overseer (*rabi Amurrim*) is appointed by King Zimri-Lim to conscript laborers to complete work on a dam project (*ARM*, XIV, 22:23-25). Even the Babylonian creation epic, *Enuma Elish*, contains a passage describing irrigation management. The chief god Marduk, after defeating the forces of chaos represented by the salt-water-goddess Tiâmat, placed a "bar" to stem the flow of her waters over the land and appointed several of the gods to guard the operation of the canal (*ANET*, p. 67; cf. Ps. 29:10: "The Lord sits enthroned over the flood").

B. Egypt. Similarly, in Egypt large numbers of workers (generally not slave laborers) were used in the construc-

WATERWORKS

tion and repair of elaborate water systems. Their preparations were designed to take advantage of the regular flooding of the Nile Valley (*see* EGYPT III.D). After the flood waters of the Nile began to recede, large quantities of water and silt were left behind in specially designed storage basins. Canals were dug from these basins to carry the Nile's enriching water and mud to outlying farm areas.

The inundation of Egypt by the Nile River was more predictable than the flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in Mesopotamia. Despite the Nile's regularity Egypt did experience some dry years (Gen. 41:25-31), and strict control was needed to insure that enough water reached the fields. Egyptian texts speak of officials who were required to "examine water supplies on the first day of every ten-day period" (James, p. 115). An inscription from the tomb of such an official from the First Intermediate period (*ca.* 2100 B.C.) states: "I made the arable lands (well watered?), while everything on both sides (of my territory) was parched" (James, p. 116).

C. Syro-Palestine. There is some evidence of channeling of the rivers of Lebanon, the Jordan, and Transjordanian streams. Since the Jordan is below sea level, however, most areas of Syro-Palestine had to rely upon rainfall and water sources other than rivers for agricultural and personal needs (cf. Dt. 11:11). The two main methods of irrigation were: (1) channels from springs and wadis, and (2) terraced hillsides.

Irrigation canals were built from springs, like those at Jericho (2 K. 2:18-22), to water fields and animals. Archeologists have also uncovered evidence of farm settlements and local forts in the Judean wilderness near Qumrân that channeled water from the wadis to their cisterns and terraced fields during the rainy season.

The pattern of precipitation in Syro-Palestine is seasonal: a wet winter and early spring followed by a dry summer and fall. While some regions received rainfall amounts comparable to well-watered areas of Europe (at both London and Jerusalem the average is 53 cm. [21 in.]), the nearly complete lack of rainfall during several months of the year necessitated a close husbandry of resources. In much of Palestine, therefore, the hillsides were terraced (cf. Isa. 5:1) in strips 3-4.5 m. (10-15 ft.) wide. This provided more arable land for cultivation and also insured a more even distribution of moisture from one level to the next. Some irrigation ditches were also constructed to help carry the rain water between terraces or to pools or cisterns where it could be collected.

II. Springs and Wells.–Human occupation and economic activity centered around natural water sources. Rivers, streams, and lakes were usually choice sites for villages and towns. Along the rivers, fords were jealously guarded to protect against invaders (cf. Jgs. 12:5f.) and to control river traffic (*ARM,* XIII, 58). Where rivers and streams did not exist, settlements could receive a constant supply of water from a spring, such as the Gihon near Jerusalem. A hot spring bubbling from the earth, like that near Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, drew people to settle and to bathe in its medicinal waters (*Ant.* xviii.2.3 [36]). The combination of a well-watered site with a strategic and defensible location meant generations of occupation despite repeated sieges; e.g., excavations at Megiddo have revealed twenty cities built one on top of the other.

Pastoral nomads and village herdsmen used their knowledge of the locations of perennial streams (cf. Job 6:15) or wells in tending their flocks in semiarid regions (cf. Gen. 26:18-22). Wells were given names (26:22), and the knowledge of their locations was passed on from one generation to the next (v. 18). Since wells were needed for watering flocks and herds, which could not go more than two days without drinking, contention could always arise between herding groups or between nomadic groups and villagers (21:25; 26:15, 19f.).

A stone was sometimes placed as a cap over a well to help prevent evaporation and control the use of the well (Gen. 29:2f.). Deeper wells, like that at Beer-sheba, had sides coursed with stone. Ropes were used to draw up jars or leather buckets (cf. Gen. 21:19) to fill drinking troughs for the animals (24:20; Ex. 2:16). These ropes gradually scored the stones with deep cuts and ridges. The well was visited several times a day by village women (Jn. 4:6f.), herdsman, and travelers. It thus became a natural gathering place for young women, who sometimes met their future husbands in the course of their daily activities there (Gen. 29:2-12; Ex. 2:16-21). *See also* JERUSALEM II.C; WELL.

III. Water Storage Methods.–*A. Cisterns.* Throughout the ancient Near East cisterns were constructed to hold the rainwater and its runoff collected from roofs (cf. Prov. 5:15). The technology required for constructing and plastering cisterns was introduced in Palestine *ca.* 1200 B.C. Prior to this cisterns had been cut into bedrock, since the limestone underlying many of the hill country settlements was too porous to hold water (cf. Jer. 2:13). Plastering allowed for the digging of relatively deep, bell-shaped cistern pits that could be capped to preserve large quantities of water. They were then tapped by lowering a jug or cup on a rope. In some cases (e.g., at Ai and Raddana) a system of interlocking cisterns was constructed, bringing water from a succession of pits into private dwellings. A certain degree of filtration was accomplished by placing small stones in the bottom of each pit to hold some of the sediment. The opening leading into the next cistern was placed slightly above the bottom of the container, again leaving some impurities behind.

The roofs of most houses had channels to direct water

A partially excavated Iron II/Persian reservoir (viewed from the north) at Heshbon. The cut bedrock is visible on the east side (P. J. Bergsma, Heshbon Expedition)

into cisterns or storage pits in the ground (cf. 2 K. 18:31). The Philistine city of Gezer, as well as other excavated sites in the Shephelah and central hill country, was honeycombed with cisterns. In these cities and towns communal cisterns were constructed to hold water for emergencies such as a fire or siege (cf. Jer. 41:9). These large pits often had broader rims than private cisterns, and some had staircases for easier access. They were susceptible to silting (cf. 38:6) and had to be cleaned out periodically.

The wealth and power of kings and their kingdoms were sometimes judged by the defenses of their cities, the size of their herds, and the number of cisterns they constructed (2 Ch. 26:10). This can be seen in the Moabite Stone, an inscription written in honor of a victorious campaign by King Mesha *ca.* 830 B.C. As a way of strengthening the defenses of the newly captured city of Qarḥoh, Mesha ordered each man to carve out "a cistern for himself in his house" (*ANET*, p. 320).

See also CISTERN.

B. Pools. Artificial and natural pools also functioned as water sources, serving the city's needs in peacetime and during prolonged sieges. Conduits were built from springs to carry water into the city and into these holding areas (cf. Isa. 7:3). The pool of Siloam (Jn. 9:7) and several other pools in Jerusalem (2 K. 18:17; Neh. 3:15; Isa. 22:9) were fed with water from the spring GIHON (2). In the Roman period these pools were generally rectangular in shape and they were seldom very deep. Groups of pools were sometimes constructed or appeared naturally because of a nearby spring. For instance, the pool of BETHESDA consists of several linked pools, some of which may have been used for ritual bathing (Jn. 5:2). This pool was said (vv. 3f. in some texts) to be a place of miraculous healing for the person who could enter it first after its waters had been disturbed by an angel (perhaps an intermittent spring).

In arid regions like the Judean desert site of Buqei'a near Qumrân, pools were formed by the construction ofsmall dams. In this way the people could take advantage of runoff from nearby wadis (cf. 2 K. 3:16-20) during the occasional rain storm. Water was then easily channeled into the city's reservoirs, pools, and cisterns. The importance of the pool in the city's life also made it a place for community assembly and a site of justice; e.g., David hung the bodies of the murderers of Ishbosheth at the pool of Hebron (2 S. 4:12).

See also POOL.

C. Mikwā'ôṯ. Some of these rain- or spring-fed pools served specifically as places for ritual cleansing (cf. Lev. 16:4, 24). The MIKVAH, or ritual bath, was a small pool or series of pools used for purifying oneself after having sex or coming into contact with a corpse (cf. 15:2-30). Mikwā'ôṯ were also used by worshipers before they entered the temple. The mikvah often had a divided or double staircase, which allowed the ritually unclean person to enter on one side and depart on the other side after being cleansed. (See W. S. LaSor, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 13/1 [1987], 52-59.)

IV. Engineered Water Systems.—Cities were often constructed on hills or promontories for their defensive advantage. This made it necessary, however, to dig deep wells within the city or to channel rainwater into cisterns or pools. Springs or streams also provided a portion of the city's water supply, but these were usually outside the walls. During the heat of summer, when the cisterns were nearly empty, enterprising merchants carried water-laden jugs from the springs for sale in the city (cf. Isa. 55:1). In some places paved walkways were built to the spring, like that built by Solomon at Megiddo.

In wartime the spring could be easily captured, and the city would then have to rely on its wells and cisterns to survive the siege. To alleviate this problem, many cities in Palestine resorted to complex engineering stratagems.

A. Water Tunnels. One solution was the construction of a water tunnel leading from inside the city walls to a nearby spring. Excellent examples of this type of tunnel have been found at Megiddo and Jerusalem. These cities were often besieged and thus needed a reliable source of water. In each case their principal spring's opening was disguised or covered over, leaving the only access through the tunnel.

The Megiddo tunnel, built by King Ahab in the 9th cent. B.C., consists of two parts: (1) a shaft with a winding staircase driven 35 m. (115 ft.) down to the level of the spring at the bottom of the hill, and (2) a horizontal tunnel 61 m. (200 ft.) long leading from the city to the spring. This tunnel, like the more famous SILOAM tunnel constructed by Hezekiah in the 8th cent. B.C. at Jerusalem, was dug by two teams working from opposite directions toward each other. Hezekiah's tunnel was constructed in preparation for a siege by the Assyrian King Sennacherib (2 K. 18:13–19:37). It used only a small portion of the older Jebusite water system as it wound 533 m. (1749 ft.) from the City of David to the Gihon (2 K. 20:20). The shaft, which in places is 45 m. (150 ft.) below the ground, was graded so that the waters of the spring would be directed to a pool inside the city (2 Ch. 32:30). The length and circuitous route of the tunnel may be due to the difficulties of boring through the rock, or it may have been an attempt to increase the volume of water held in the tunnel. If the spring were stopped up, there would still be about 285 cubic m.

A *mikvah* or ritual bath at Masada installed during the rebel occupation (The Estate of Yigael Yadin)

WATERWORKS

The water tunnel at Megiddo built during Ahab's time (9th cent. B.C.) (L. K. Smith)

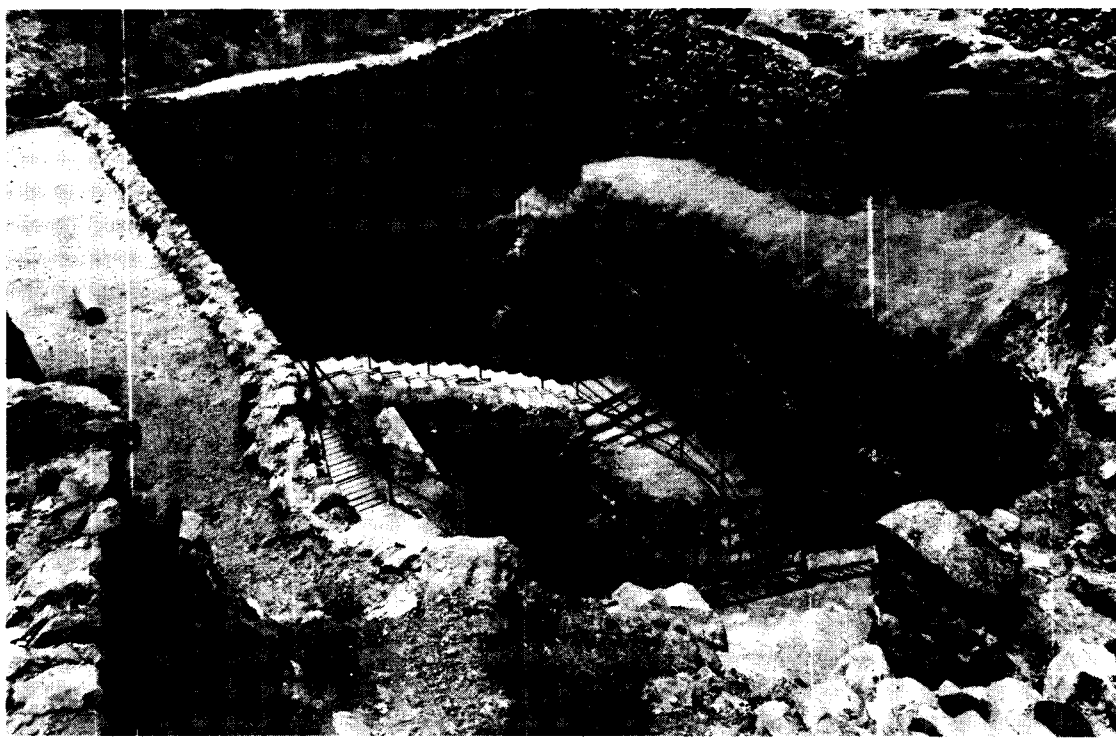
(10,200 cubic ft.) of water stored in the channel. *See also* JERUSALEM III.D.2.e-f.

B. Water Shafts. The long water tunnel had a defensive drawback. If the entrance to the spring was discovered, enemy soldiers could use the shaft to enter the city, as David's forces might have done in capturing the Jebusite city of Jerusalem (2 S. 5:8; but *see also* JERUSALEM III.C.1.a). By cutting a water shaft down through the layers of the mound to the water table, this weakness was eliminated. Engineers in the 9th cent. B.C. had learned that groundwater sources could be tapped if the shaft was cut deep enough.

This technology of "stairs-to-water-table" (Cole, p. 21) may have been borrowed by the Canaanites from the Mycenaeans in the Late Bronze period (14th cent. B.C.) and then rediscovered by the Israelites in the 9th century. The skill of these engineers is demonstrated by the sure carving of shafts through the bedrock at Gezer and Hazor, with no false starts or abandoned tunnels. The massive Hazor water system begins with five flights of stairs, which descend 29 m. (95 ft.) as they wind around the walls of the shaft. From this point a tunnel 24 m. (80 ft.) long slopes westward through the rock down to the water table 40 m. (130 ft.) below the ground.

Gezer's shaft is not as monumental in construction as Hazor's. It was first built by the Canaanite inhabitants in the 14th cent. B.C. Gezer was partially destroyed in an Egyptian raid *ca.* 950 B.C., and it became an Israelite fortress city in Solomon's time (1 K. 9:15-17). During this period the shaft may have been filled with debris, but in the 9th cent. it was cleared and put to use once again. The shaft is 11 m. (35 ft.) deep and is connected to a staired ramp 15 m. (48 ft.) long, which slopes down to a groundwater-fed pool.

The stairway entrance to the water system at Hazor (8th cent. B.C.) (W. Braun)



Gibeon's water system was constructed during several periods in the city's history. Its earliest engineering project (12th-11th cents. B.C.) was a "pool" (2 S. 2:13), a cylindrical shaft about 11 m. (36 ft.) in diameter and 11 m. (36 ft.) deep with a winding staircase, which served as a large cistern. In the 10th cent. B.C. a staired tunnel was constructed from inside the city to a rock-cut chamber, which in turn was connected by a 12 m. (40 ft.) feeder tunnel to a spring. (*See* pictures in GIBEON.) When defensive considerations prompted further modifications, an attempt was made to connect the cistern shaft with the water tunnel. During this project the engineers struck the water table, thereby providing the city with ample reserves of water without the need to complete the tunnel system. This happy discovery may have provided the impetus for the construction of the similar "shaft-to-groundwater" systems at Hazor and Gezer. In any case, the reliability of the "pool" of Gibeon is evident from its continued use at least until Jeremiah's time, more than four hundred years after the original shaft was dug (Jer. 41:12).

C. Aqueducts. The construction of aqueducts made it possible to channel water from storage areas (such as the spring-fed "Pools of Solomon" near Bethlehem) to major population centers or desert outposts. The technology for these projects, first introduced by the Romans, was utilized by Herod the Great (30-4 B.C.) to funnel water to his Judean wilderness fortress of Herodium (*Ant.* xv.9.4 [323-25]) and, by a series of concrete channels and hollow, arched bridges to his capital at Caesarea. (See picture in SHARON.)

Archeologists have uncovered the remains of two aqueducts that were built to add to Jerusalem's water supply. Both channeled water from sources to the south. The "upper" and more recent channel dates to A.D. 165, when the city had become a Roman outpost known as Aelia Capitolina. Its construction (by Roman legionnaires) can be compared with that of the rock-cut conduits and bridge of the aqueduct built to carry water to Sebaste (Samaria) *ca.* A.D. 200. The "lower" aqueduct is probably the one built by Pontius Pilate (*Ant.* xviii.3.2 [60-62]; *BJ* ii.9.4 [175]). His use of temple funds (*Corbonas*) to pay for the project led to rioting by the Jews. The channel covered a distance of about 37 km. (23 mi.; twice as long in the *BJ* passage). Like other ancient aqueducts, the conduit may have been sealed with a mortar consisting of a mixture of lime and lead (Jeremias, p. 14).

See also JERUSALEM III.G.2.

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A Roman aqueduct near Perga in Asia Minor (B. K. Condit)

(1935); W. LaSor, *Biblical Archaelogy Review*, 13/1 (1987). 52-59; V. Matthews, *BA*, 49/2 (1986), 118-126; J. Pritchard, *Water System of Gibeon* (1961); N. Shaheen, *PEQ*, 111 (1979), 103-108.

V. H. MATTHEWS

WAVE OFFERING. *See* SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS IN THE OT.

WAW wou [ו]. The sixth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encyclopedia as *w* (elsewhere sometimes as *v*). It came also to be used for the number six, and it stands at the head of the sixth section of Ps. 119 (cf. AV). *See* WRITING.

WAX. The noun appears in four RSV OT poetic passages as a translation of Heb. *dônag* (Ps. 22:14 [MT 15]; 68:2 [MT 3]; 97:5; Mic. 1:4). Each passage uses a simile referring to wax's property of melting quickly when exposed to heat. In the Apocrypha it is used similarly in Jth. 16:15 (Gk. *kērós*) and 2 Esd. 13:4 (here the RSV follows the Syr. rather than the Vulg.).

As a verb "wax" appears frequently in the AV in the sense of "grow," "increase," or "become." In the RSV the verb occurs only in Dt. 32:15, where the phrase "wax fat" twice renders Heb. *šāman* (NEB lit. "grow fat").

WAY. This common English word is used by the RSV over 550 times in the singular and about two hundred times in the plural. In the OT it usually represents Heb. *derek*, but occasionally it translates *'ōraḥ* (e.g., Job 16:22; 19:8; Ps. 44:18 [MT 19]; Isa. 26:7). In a few instances "way" represents another term, e.g., Heb. *ʰalîqâ* (Prov. 31:27; Hab. 3:6), *maʿgāl* (Prov. 5:6), *'ereṣ* (Gen. 48:7). In the NT the primary term is Gk. *hodós*, the term most commonly used by the LXX to render Heb. *derek*. Other Greek terms include *trópos* (Rom. 3:2; Phil. 1:18; 2 Thess. 2:3; 3:16), *propémpō* ("send/speed on one's way," e.g., Acts 15:3; 2 Cor. 1:16; Tit. 3:13), *hoútos* ("in this way," e.g., Mt. 1:18; Jn. 21:1), *hypágō* ("go one's way," Mk. 7:29; 10:52; Lk. 10:3), *poreúomai* ("go [on] one's way," e.g., Mt. 2:9; Lk. 8:14; 10:38), etc.

I. In the OT.–In the OT Heb. *derek* is sometimes used in a literal sense to denote a route of travel such as a path or road (e.g., the *derek* to the Red Sea, Nu. 21:4; the *derek* to Bashan, Dt. 3:1; the *derek* of the sea, Isa. 9:1 [MT 8:23]). In Isa. 40:3 *derek* (RSV "way") occurs in parallel to *mᵉsillâ* ("highway") and refers to a road in the desert by which Yahweh will lead His people home from exile in Babylon.

More broadly, "way" (*derek* or *'ōraḥ*) represents "the course [a person] followed through life, the direction of his going, and the manner of his walking" (Muilenberg, p. 33). This use of "way" — often in parallel with "path" (*see* PATH) — is especially common in the wisdom literature, including the wisdom Psalms. Job complained: "He [God] has walled up my way [*'ōraḥ*], so that I cannot pass" (Job 19:8). Frequently "way" has an ethical dimension; it can be characterized as good or evil, depending on the direction and manner of one's life. The psalmist declared, "I will guard my ways, that I may not sin with my tongue" (Ps. 39:1 [MT 2]). The book of Proverbs advises seeking wisdom, which can deliver one "from the way of evil, from men of perverted speech, who . . . walk in the ways of darkness, . . . men whose paths are crooked, and who are devious in their ways" (Prov. 2:12-15). By pursuing wisdom "you will walk in the way of good men and keep to the paths of the righteous" (v. 20). (*See also* PERVERSE.)

"Way" was also used in this sense by the prophets. Isa. 26:7 confesses: "The way [*'ōraḥ*] of the righteous is level; thou dost make smooth the path of the righteous." Jeremiah proclaimed Yahweh's call to the people to turn from their "evil way" (Jer. 18:11; 23:22; 25:5; 26:3; 35:15; 36:3, 7). *Derek* is especially common in the book of Ezekiel, which warns that God will judge people according to their ways (e.g., 7:3f., 8f.; 18:30; 22:31; 33:20) and calls upon the wicked to turn from their ways and live (e.g., 3:18f.; 13:22; 18:23; 33:8f., 11).

Of special significance are the OT references to the "way(s)" of God. Used in this sense the term often denotes God's deeds (e.g., Ps. 145:17), especially His saving deeds (e.g., Ps. 67:2 [MT 3]; 103:7). Most memorable was God's saving act in leading His people out of Egypt and into the Promised Land: "And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness" (Dt. 8:2; cf. Ps. 77:19 [MT 20]; Isa. 43:16; 51:10; Jer. 2:17). Isaiah proclaimed that the Lord would again make a "way" through the wilderness so that His people could return from exile and live in peace (Isa. 40:3; 43:19; 45:13; 57:14; 62:10; cf. 35:8-10). God's way is acknowledged to be holy (Ps. 77:13 [MT 14]), perfect (18:30 [MT 31]), right (Hos. 14:9), and just (cf. Ezk. 18:25, 29; 33:17, 20). His saving ways are beyond human comprehension (Isa. 55:8f.).

In other passages God's "way" is something that is practiced by human beings. Here the term is almost synonymous with God's will as it is revealed in His commandments (see, e.g., 1 K. 2:3; 8:58; Ps. 119:1, 3, 14f., 27, 30, etc.; Jer. 5:4; cf. Gen. 18:19; Ex. 32:8). The Israelites were often exhorted to "walk in" or "keep" the way(s) of the Lord (e.g., Dt. 5:33; 8:6; 10:12; 11:22; 19:9; 26:16f.; 28:9; 30:16; 1 K. 11:38; Jer. 7:23). Sometimes God's people assert that they have kept God's ways (e.g., Job 23:11; Ps. 18:21 [MT 22]; 44:18 [MT 19]; cf. Job 31:7f.; Ps. 17:4f.); at other times they pray that God will teach them His ways (e.g., Ps. 25:4; 27:11; 86:11; 119:33; 143:8).

Human beings are thus confronted with a choice of which course they will follow in their lives: the good way, i.e., the way of the Lord (cf. Gen. 18:19; 1 S. 12:23; 1 K. 8:36; 2 Ch. 6:27; Ps. 18:21 [MT 22]; 25:8f., 12; Prov. 2:20; Jer. 6:16; etc.), or the evil way that rejects God's commands (cf. Gen. 6:12; Nu. 22:32; Jgs. 2:19; 1 K. 13:33; 15:26; Job 22:15; Ps. 36:4 [MT 5]; Prov. 4:14, 19; 8:13; Isa. 53:6; 65:2; 66:3; Jer. 3:21; etc.). The way of God leads to salvation and life (e.g., Dt. 30:15f.); turning from His way leads to destruction (cf. Dt. 30:17f.; Ps. 1:6; 146:9; Prov. 28:18; Ezk. 3:18f.; etc.).

Although the OT does not contain the explicit "two ways" terminology found in later Jewish literature, the idea is present in several passages (e.g., Ps. 1; cf. Dt. 11:26-28; 30:15-19; Ps. 119:29f.; 139:24; Prov. 4:18f.; 12:28; 14:2; 15:19). The earliest known Jewish use of this terminology appears in T. Ash. 1:3 (cf. v. 5). The metaphor also appears in the DSS (e.g., 1QS 3:20f.; 4:15, 17; 5:10f.) and in the rabbinic literature (e.g., Mish. *Aboth* ii.9). The idea of the two ways is clearly present in Mt. 7:13f., where Jesus contrasts the "easy" way that "leads to destruction" with the "hard" way that "leads to life." The theme receives further development in the Apostolic Fathers (see esp. Did. 1:1; Barn. 18:1).

II. In the NT.–In the NT Gk. *hodós* is used in the literal sense primarily in the Synoptic Gospels, which describe various incidents and teachings of Jesus as taking place "on the way," i.e., as He was en route to a destination. Although Jesus traveled from place to place throughout much of His earthly ministry, the roads He used are never mentioned.

In general the NT use of *hodós* is similar to the use of

Heb. *derek* in the OT. Often the NT quotes OT passages. For example, the Gospels (Mt. 3:3 par.; cf. Jn. 1:23) quote Isa. 40:3; by applying the title "Lord" to Jesus, they interpret the work of John the Baptist as a fulfillment of this prophecy. As in the OT, the "way" of God can refer to His saving deeds (e.g., Rom. 11:33; He. 3:10; Rev. 15:3) or to His will as expressed in His commandments (Mt. 22:16; Mk. 12:14; Lk. 20:21).

In addition to Mt. 7:13f., several NT passages use *hodós* to denote a direction or manner of life. In 1 Cor. 4:17 Paul refers to "my ways in Christ," meaning the life of conformity to Christ that he both practiced and taught. In 12:31 the "more excellent way" refers to a life-style governed by love (ch. 13). In Rom. 3:17 Paul quotes Isa. 59:8 ("the way of peace"), referring to a manner of life in which one strives to live at peace with one's neighbors (cf. Lk. 1:79). In Mt. 21:32 Jesus says that John the Baptist "came to you in the way of righteousness," i.e., practicing and teaching a life of obedience to God's will. 2 Peter refers to Christianity as "the way of truth" (2:2), "the right way" (v. 15), and "the way of righteousness" (v. 21) and warns against false teachers who have left this way to follow "the way of Balaam" (v. 15; cf. Jas. 5:19f.). Similarly, Jude 11 warns against heretical teachers who "walk in the way of Cain."

A unique use of *hodós* occurs in Jn. 14:4-6, where Jesus calls Himself "the way" to the Father. Jesus' disciples can enjoy fellowship with the Father only if Jesus takes them to Him.

The author of Hebrews also refers to Jesus as providing believers with access to God. During the age of the old covenant there was no direct access to God, as symbolized by the fact that the "way into the sanctuary" (holy of holies) was not open to worshipers (He. 9:8). But Christ through His sacrifice opened a "new and living way" (10:20) so that believers can now "enter the sanctuary" (v. 19) with confidence.

Another unique NT usage occurs in Acts, where an absolute use of "way" (*hē hodós*) is applied to the Church (9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22). This term was evidently used by the early Christians to denote their movement, since in both its teaching and its manner of life the Christian community expressed the "way of salvation" (16:17; cf. 2:28) and the "way of God" (18:25).

See also ROADS; WALK.

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V. R. GORDON N. J. O.

WAY, COVERED (2 K. 16:18). *See* COVERED WAY.

WAYFARER [Heb. *'ōrē(a)ḥ* (e.g., Jgs. 19:17), *'ōraḥ*–'way' (emended to *'ōrē[a]ḥ*, Job 31:32)]; AV WAYFARING MAN, TRAVELLER; NEB TRAVELLER, "by the wayside" (Jer. 9:2 [MT 1]); **WAYFARING MAN** [*'ōḇēr 'ōraḥ*] (Isa. 33:8); NEB TRAVELLER. One who is "journeying" (*'ōrē[a]ḥ*, part. of *'āraḥ*) or "passing through" (*'ōḇēr*, part. of *'āḇar*) a region. Because there were no inns in OT times (Jer. 9:2 probably refers to a simple shelter without a resident host), the TRAVELER had to depend upon the hospitality of local residents, who were expected to ENTERTAIN him (e.g., 2 S. 12:4; Job 31:32). Those who violated this important obligation to travelers were condemned (cf. the Gibeathites' treatment of the Levite and his concubine, Jgs. 19:13-30). During times of war or enemy occupation travel was not safe (Isa. 33:38; cf. Jgs. 5:6; Jer. 6:25; Zec. 7:14). In Jer. 14:8 the prophet complains that Yahweh shows no more interest in the land than a wayfarer who has merely stopped for the night. *See* TRAVEL.

N. J. O.

WAYMARK [Heb. *ṣîyûn*] (Jer. 31:21); NEB CAIRN. A sign set up to mark a route. The Israelites were told to mark the road by which they went into exile so that they could return by the same route. The "waymarks" were probably stones; cf. 2 K. 23:17 (RSV "monument") and Ezk. 39:15 (RSV "sign"), where *ṣîyûn* denotes a stone or pile of stones marking a grave.

WEALTH. *See* RICHES.

WEAN [Heb. *gāmal*] (Gen. 21:8; 1 S. 1:22-24; 1 K. 11:20; Isa. 11:8; 28:9; Hos. 1:8); NEB YOUNG CHILD. The completion of the process of nursing a child. The length of time for nursing varied considerably over the ages. The process was apparently lengthy in ancient times. 2 Macc. 7:27 refers to a period of three years. Babylonian practice and 1 S. 1:21-27 seem to suggest that this nursing period was widespread in the ancient Near East. Abraham celebrated Isaac's weaning by preparing a great feast (Gen. 21:8). The young child was then able to leave the immediate care of his mother (Gen. 21:9; cf. 1 S. 1:24-28). Once one child was weaned, the mother was free to bear another (Hos. 1:8; see *TDOT*, III, 26). 1 K. 11:20 attests the use of wet nurses to wean children.

In Isa. 28:9 the term is metaphorically applied to God's rebellious people.

G. WYPER

WEAPONS OF WAR.

I. Introduction
II. Offensive Weapons
  A. Hand-held Weapons
    1. Club
    2. Mace
    3. Axe/Battle Axe
    4. Spear
    5. Lance
    6. Trident
    7. Sword
    8. Sickle Sword
  B. Medium-range Weapons
    1. Stone
    2. Throwing Stick
    3. Dart/Javelin
  C. Long-range Weapons
    1. Bow and Arrow
    2. Sling and Stone
III. Defensive Armaments
  A. Shield
  B. Buckler
  C. Armor
    1. Coat of Mail
    2. Helmet
    3. Breastplate
    4. Greaves
IV. Symbolic Use of Weapons
  A. Bow
  B. Sling and Stone
  C. Sword
  D. Armor
  E. Shield

I. Introduction.–Since the dawn of history human beings have used some sort of weaponry to hunt (*see* HUNTING) and to protect themselves from man and beast alike. The materials from which weapons were made differed according to the technology known at a given period. From the Paleolithic period through the Early Bronze Age (*ca.*

The "Warrior Vase" from Mycenae depicts early Greek soldiers leaving home equipped with helmets, spears, and shields. At far left is a woman in dark clothes with her right hand raised to her head in sorrow (12th cent. B.C.) (National Museum, Athens)

10,000-3000 B.C.) weapons and related implements were made of wood and stone. During this period there was virtually no difference between hunting and battle implements. Even after the introduction of copper and bronze, stone was widely used for weapons. Gradually the weapons became more sophisticated and deadly. As different weapons were invented and used in military situations, defensive counter-measures became necessary. Thus weapons can be divided into two major categories: offensive and defensive. In response to the increased offensive capabilities (esp. the bow), defense systems were constructed around settlements. Jericho's stone walls and defense tower, which date to *ca.* 7000 B.C., are the earliest example of a large-scale defense system (*see* JERICHO). By the E. B. Age most cities in Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia were encircled by walls. The response to this development was siege warfare, with a range of weapons (*see* SIEGE; WAR) designed to penetrate the city walls by undermining their foundations, smashing through them (or the gates) with the ram, and going over them with scaling ladders.

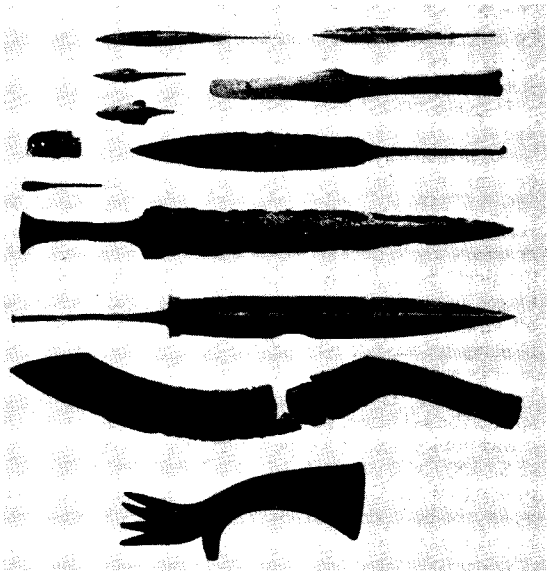
As early as *ca.* 3000 B.C. the Sumerians used wheeled vehicles in battle. Wider use of the CHARIOT was not known until the second quarter of the 2nd millennium, when chariots became lighter and their mobility was maximized.

The weapons of the Bible must be studied in the wider context of ancient Near Eastern armaments since similarities exist. An abundance of pictorial sources and surviving implements has enhanced our knowledge of ancient weaponry and allows for better visualization of weapons mentioned (though usually not described) in the Bible.

II. Offensive Weapons.—These can be divided into three classes. First, hand-held weapons, used in hand-to-hand combat or for attacking or protecting one's self from wild animals, represent without a doubt the earliest weapons. Second, warriors developed throwing weapons for hunting purposes, enabling them to catch game. Third, warriors created long-range weapons, which virtually allowed an attacker to strike without being seen by the victim.

A. Hand-held Weapons. 1. Club. This instrument is made from a single piece of wood, usually larger at the striking end, and is probably one of the most primitive weapons known. The availability of wood and the simplicity of making a club allowed for a long history of this implement. Early representations of clubs being used in combat come from Egypt in the Late Gerzean Period (3400-3200 B.C.) tomb (no. 100) at Hierakonpolis (see *AWBL*, I, 117) and the Jebel el-'Araq knife handle of the same period (see *AWBL*, I, 116). "Club" (so NEB), "war club" (RSV), and "maul" (AV) are translations of Heb. *mēpîṣ* (prob. *mappēṣ*; Prov. 25:18). This word derives from the root *nāpaṣ*, "shatter" (KoB, p. 553). *Tôṯaḥ* in Job 41:29 (MT 21), a hapax legomenon, should probably be rendered "club" (so RSV, NEB; cf. AV "dart"). The word *paṭṭîš*, "hammer," is not usually applied to military con-

WEAPONS OF WAR



Weapons from Palestine including arrowheads, top and left. Also depicted are a small piece of armor, two spearheads, two daggers, a sword, and (from Beth-shean) a bronze ceremonial axehead in the form of a hand (*ca.* 13th cent. B.C.) (courtesy, Department of Antiquities and Museums, Israel)

texts, except perhaps in Jer. 50:23. The NT includes "clubs" (Gk. *xýlon*; AV "staves") among the weapons used in arresting Christ in Gethsemane (Mt. 26:47, 55, Mk. 14:43).

2. Mace. This weapon is a hand-held stick with a stone attached to the striking end, a small but effective variation of the club. Generally the mace head was made of stone and less often of metal, and shaped as a sphere, pear, or disk. Found both in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the mace is shown in action in the above-mentioned knife handle, in a tomb (no. 100) at Hierokonpolis, and on the hunter's palette (*AWBL*, I, 118f.). These all date to the period before 3000 B.C. The famous Narmer slate palette, from about 3000 B.C., depicts the monarch striking the head of his enemy (*see* picture in ARCHEOLOGY OF EGYPT; Gardiner, plates XXI-XXII). This motif became a standard way of portraying the victorious pharaoh. By the Old Kingdom the mace in Egypt had largely become a ceremonial implement. In Mesopotamia the victory stele of Eannatum shows him striking the head of an enemy (Frankfort, p. 73). It is doubtful that a Hebrew word for mace has survived in the OT. JB renders *mappēṣ* in Jer. 51:20 and *mēpîṣ* in Prov. 25:18 as "mace." This is certainly plausible, but no firm evidence supports it. An allusion to the mace may be found in Hab. 3:13 in the Hebrew expression *māḥaṣ rō'š*, "break the head," and Ps. 68:21 (MT 22) might represent the well-known scenes of pharaoh smiting the head of his foe (see Hoffmeier, "Egyptian Motifs," pp. 55f.). The defensive counterpart to the mace in Egypt was the parrying stick, which has been identified as the *mks* stick. The *mks* is included in ceremonial scenes where the pharaoh holds a mace as well as in some of the head-smashing scenes (cf. J. K. Hoffmeier, *"Sacred" in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt* (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 59, 1985), pp. 5f., and figures 4-6). (*See* picture in SMITE.)

3. Axe/Battle Axe. The axe is a very old implement that served for both domestic and military purposes. The earliest axes were hand-held stone blades that date to the Paleolithic period throughout the Near East. Precisely when the axe blade was secured to a handle cannot be determined, but with this development the axe became a significantly more lethal weapon. The hunter's palette reveals an early instance of a hunter wielding an axe, the blade of which appears to be shaped like the number 8 on its side (see Emery, p. 113, for a detailed drawing). Thus it likely had a sharpened edge on both sides.

Copper blades have been found from the early part of the 3rd millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Various shapes of the axeheads are attributable to their function. A broad semicircular blade can be found in the hand of Egyptian warriors during the Old Kingdom (*ca.* 2350 B.C.) while assaulting fortified cities (*AWBL*, I, 146f.). This type of blade would have been sunk into the handle and tied (cf. Wolf, plate 10). The battle axes for the same period in Mesopotamia had socketed blades into which the handle was secured. The blades were longer and narrower. An evolution in the broad circular blade can be detected. By the beginning of the 2nd millennium the shape had been narrowed, looking like a duck bill. Not only was this type known in Egypt, it was used by West Semites as the Beni-hasan relief shows (*AWBL*, I, 166f.). The effectiveness of this type of axe was limited when armor was introduced by the mid-2nd millennium. For this reason, blades became narrower (esp. the Hittite axes) and there was considerable experimentation with shapes to find blades that could penetrate the scale armor.

A socketed axehead with animals molded on the handles. From Tell el-Aḥmar, Syria, 3rd millennium B.C. (Louvre; photo M. Chuzeville)

The OT uses numerous Hebrew terms for AXE (e.g., *garzen, ma'aṣār, qardōm, barzel,* etc.). Most of these were used primarily for cutting wood and quarrying and shaping stone. *Mappēṣ* in Jer. 51:20 may be "battle axe" (so AV, NEB; RSV "hammer"). For the range of extant axe-heads, see Petrie, plates I-XIII.

4. Spear. The spear, a sharp blade affixed to the end of a stick, is a hand-held stabbing weapon used as early as Paleolithic times. (Only blades have survived). Again the hunter's palette preserves one of the earliest depictions of spears, although European cave art shows what appear to be spears lodged in felled animals. The spear was widely used by the Sumerians, as witnessed by a number of early scenes such as the "Standard of Ur" (*see* picture in BABYLONIA) and the Eannatum stele (*AWBL,* I, 132-35). The spear (or lance; see II.A.5 below) was used by defenders of besieged cities to keep shock troops at bay when they tried to scale the wall by ladders (*AWBL,* I, 229; II, 346f.).

Spears were still used during the Roman period. Jn. 19:34 records that a Roman soldier took a spear (Gk. *lógchē*) and pierced the side of Christ to ensure that He was dead. Paul received the protection of a unit of spearmen (Gk. *dexiolábos*) who escorted him from Jerusalem to Antipatris (Acts 23:23).

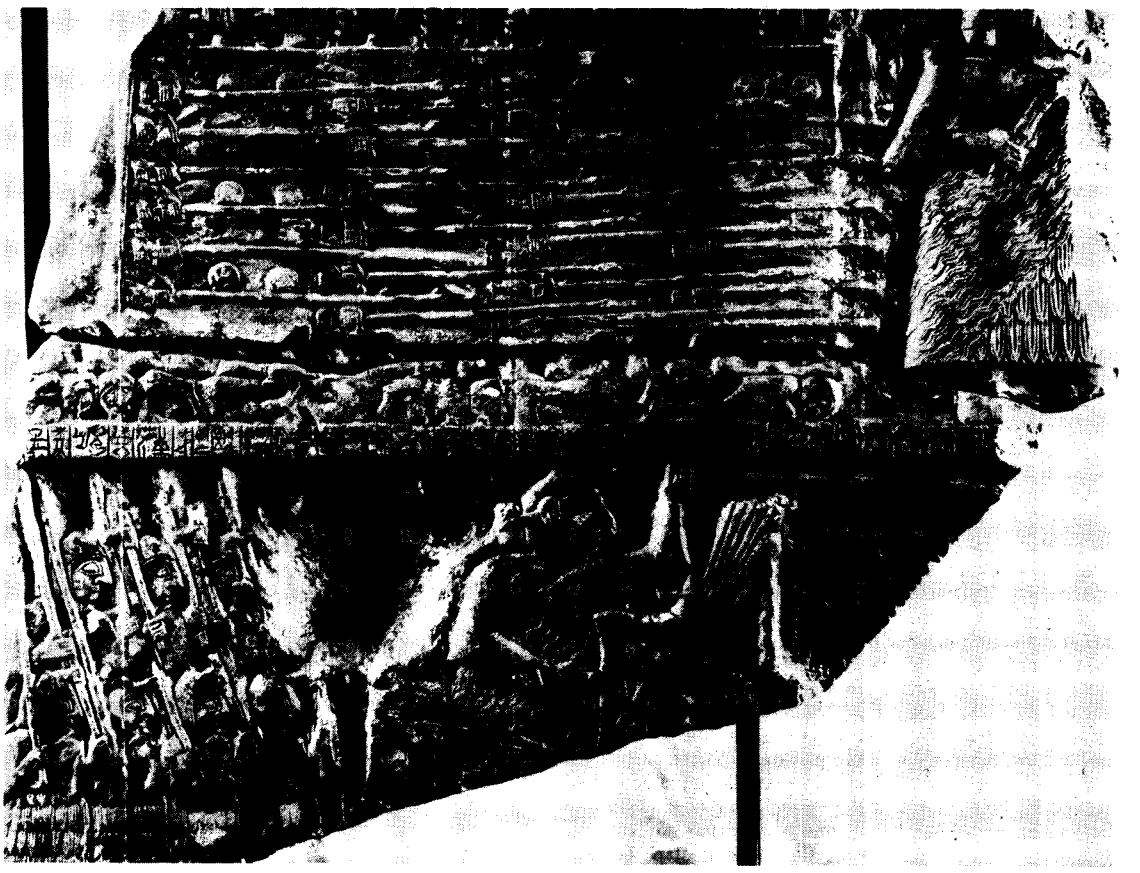
The AV translates such other terms as Heb. *rōmaḥ* and *kîḏôn* as "spear," but they should probably be rendered "lance" and "javelin," respectively (see II.A.5 and II.B.3 below). Petrie's collection contains a variety of spear heads from the ancient Near East and Europe (see plates XXXVII-XL).

5. Lance. The difference between a spear (Heb. *ḥ'nîṯ*) and lance (*rōmaḥ*) is the length of the shaft (*'ēṣ*). The lance was considerably longer and would have been used by a phalanx of soldiers, as witnessed in the Eannatum stele from *ca.* 2550 B.C. While standing in a chariot Ramses III is shown stabbing a wounded wild bull with a lance. Longer spears would be required by soldiers in the rows behind the shield carriers that formed the front of the array. The longer shaft of the lance would make it ideal for fending off attackers scaling defense walls during a SIEGE. It is difficult to conclude whether the spear or lance would be used in such situations.

6. Trident. The trident in essence is a three-pronged spear. The evidence, pictorial and linguistic, suggests that it was not a common weapon. Some think that the *ṣinnôr* (2 S. 5:8), used by Joab to take Jerusalem, refers to a trident (*AWBL,* II, 268). *Ṣinnór* meaning "water shaft" still makes the best sense despite Y. Shiloh's (p. 23) objection to this explanation.

Tridents are virtually unknown in the iconography, although a Hittite weather-god may be holding one (cf. Gurney, plate 28). Generally weather-gods wield lightning bolts or spears. Since these deities are also war-gods, the

The Eannatum Stele from Telloh shows helmeted troops with long spears marching over their dead enemies. In the top and bottom sections they follow their leader Eannatum, who carries a sickle sword and wears a more elaborate helmet. The chariot below is equipped with an axe and a quiver with arrows (mid-3rd millennium B.C.) (CNMHS/ ARS, NY/SPADEM)



WEAPONS OF WAR

object held by the above-mentioned Hittite god could be a trident made to look like a thunder bolt. In any event, the trident can hardly have been a very important weapon of war since most battle scenes that have survived do not show it in use. A trident has been found at Lachish (*AWBL*, II, 268), but the use of this implement for military purposes must have been limited indeed.

7. Sword. The primary Hebrew word for "sword" is *ḥereḇ*. It occurs over four hundred times in the OT, attesting its importance as a weapon throughout OT times.

Technically the sword and dagger are the same weapon, but the latter was considerably shorter (40.5 cm. [16 in.] or less). Extant examples and illustrations show that the sword was initially rather small. In Jgs. 3:16 Ehud the judge has a sword that is a cubit (about 44.5 cm. [17.5 in.]) long. This could be regarded as a dagger, and yet it is a *ḥereḇ*. No apparent distinction appears in Hebrew between sword and the sickle sword. The two-edged sword (cf. Ps. 149:6; Prov. 5:4) would be understood as a rapier or thrusting sword, not the sickle type that would be for slashing, since it only had a single sharpened edge.

The sword is usually thought to have developed along with the innovation of metallurgy. The earliest blades were made of copper in the 3rd millennium B.C., but bronze, gold, and even the isolated iron blade are known from *ca.* 2500 B.C. in Mesopotamia and Anatolia (*AWBL*, I, 140-42). In Egypt the small sword or dagger can be traced back to the beginnings of the historical period. An ivory label of Pharaoh Den of the 1st Dynasty (*ca.* 2900) shows the dagger hieroglyph is written for the word "first" (Egyp. *tp*), probably a homonym of the most ancient word for dagger. Its use as a hieroglyph at this early date suggests that the sword or dagger can be traced to an even earlier date. Pharaoh Sekhemkhet (*ca.* 2650) is shown wearing a dagger under his belt in a relief from Wâdī Maghara in the Sinai (A. H. Gardiner and T. E. Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* [1955], plate I). This type of dagger was made of copper and had no midrib. The dagger possibly evolved from earlier flint knives of the type used in the battle scene on the Jebel el-'Araq knife handle. (For examples of swords and daggers see *AWBL*, I, 140-42, and Petrie, plates XXXII-XXXVI; *see also* pictures in ECBATANA; IRON; KNIFE.)

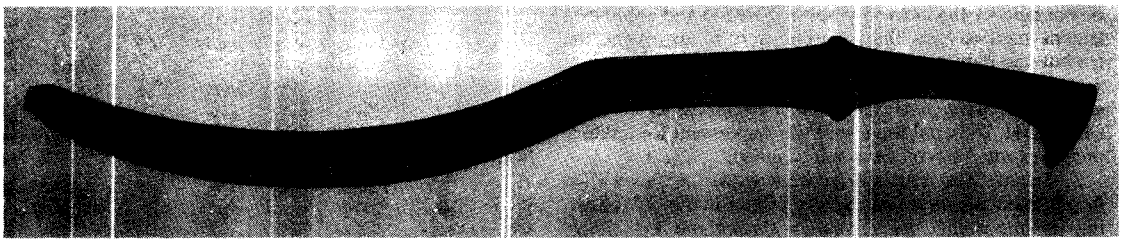
By the mid-2nd millennium B.C. swords used by peoples of Aegean origin became a heavy and long implement (up to 1 m. [3 ft.] in length). These swords originated in Anatolia and the sea-peoples used them in their ill-fated invasion of Egypt in the early part of the 12th cent. B.C. (see N. K. Sandars, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 65 [1961], 17-28; *Sea Peoples, Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* [1978]). Although iron appears in weapons and tools *ca.* 1200 B.C. (the round figure for the beginning of the Iron Age in Syria-Palestine), iron and even steel swords are known much earlier on a limited basis (H. Maryon, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 65 [1961], 173-184). Daggers and swords were generally kept in a sheath or scabbard (Heb. *ta'ar*) as in 1 S. 17:51 and Jer. 47:6.

Swords continued to be an important weapon of warfare into Roman times. The Greek terms *máchaira* (Mt. 26:47, 51; Rev. 6:4; etc.) and *romphaía* (Lk. 2:35; Rev. 1:16; etc.) are both translated "sword" in the RSV NT. The former term refers perhaps to a smaller sword than the latter.

8. Sickle Sword. This sword gains its name from its unusual curved shape. The scimitar used by Turks and Arabs in more recent history had the sharpened part on the outside of the C-shaped blade, whereas the ancient sickle sword's cutting edge was on the inside of the C (*AWBL*, I, 10). It was used for striking or hacking a foe rather than for stabbing. It probably functioned like the battle axe, but would have been easier to handle. The sickle sword is attested in Sumer as early as 2500 B.C. (*AWBL*, I, 134-37). The use of this weapon circulated around the Fertile Crescent, arriving in Egypt several centuries later. In the Middle Bronze Age this sword had a rather small blade, but by the Late Bronze period it had a larger striking edge (cf. *AWBL*, I, 172, 206). The Egyptian infantry used it considerably during the New Kingdom, and the Hebrews may have employed it during the conquest. The expression "smiting a person (or a city) with the edge of the sword" (cf. Josh. 10:28, 30, 32, 37) suggests that the sickle sword was in the mind of the biblical writers. Extant specimens of this type of sword have been discovered in Canaanite sites of the L. B. (*AWBL*, I, 10).

Two bronze swords from Egypt; the sword on the left has an ivory pommel and silver studs (ca. 1800 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

B. Medium-range Weapons. Hand-held weapons were effective only in hand-to-hand combat. A more effective attack on another person or a fortified city required armaments that could travel some distances and still inflict a wound. Medium-range weapons are those that could be



An Assyrian bronze sickle sword with a short handle and a long curved blade. It is inscribed for Adadnirari, king of Assyria (1310-1280 B.C.) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan)

thrown by the hand and occasionally whipped by a hand-held string.

1. Stone. No doubt the earliest weapon that would have been thrown was the stone, since stones were available nearly everywhere and required no shaping. But the development of the sling and bow rendered the stone alone less effective. In historical times stones proved to be an effective weapon in defending a fortified city. A number of Egyptian siege scenes (11th Dynasty [*ca.* 2100 B.C.]-early 12th Dynasty) show defenders of cities pelting the attackers with rocks (see D. Arnold and J. Settgast, figure 2; *AWBL,* I, 158f.). This practice was well-known in Canaan as evidenced by Egyptian reliefs depicting attacks on cities in Canaan and Syria (*AWBL,* I, 229). Abimelech the son of Gideon was killed while besieging the fortified tower at Thebez when a woman threw the upper part of a millstone from the wall (Jgs. 9:51-53). 2 S. 11:16-21, which recapitulates Jgs. 9:51-53, implies that Uriah the Hittite died in like manner. In Assyrian reliefs of beseiged cities (e.g., Lachish by Sennacherib; see Ussishkin, p. 100), soldiers throw stones at the Assyrian soldiers. 2 Ch. 26:15 indicates that Uzziah's engineers invented a device mounted on the wall that shot arrows and stones. The RSV seemingly suggests that a catapulting machine is in mind, but this seems unlikely in view of the absence of additional evidence for such weaponry until several centuries later (cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [*NCBC,* 1982], pp. 337f.). Thus the inventions were possibly platforms from which warriors could shoot arrows and throw stones at those attempting to scale the walls (*see* SIEGE IV).

2. Throwing Stick. This wooden implement is usually associated with fowling in the marshy areas of Egypt as a means of recreation (*see* picture in FOWL). Attested as early as the hunter's palette (mentioned above), the throwing stick looks similar to a boomerang. But the throwing stick was used in battle situations as witnessed in the paintings from the Beni-hasan tombs (*ca.* 1900 B.C.), where soldiers wield them as they approach a fortified city (*AWBL,* I, 158f., 169). The celebrated scene of Semitic travelers in the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Beni-hasan shows two men carrying throwing sticks along with their bows and spears (*see* picture in BELLOWS; *AWBL,* I, 166f.). This indicates that the throwing stick was used in military situations, not just for hunting, and that it was used outside the Nile Valley. If flung properly, the throwing stick did apparently return like a boomerang, for Pharaoh Senusert I said of Sinuhe (who had just returned from a self-imposed exile in Palestine), "he has come back like an Asiatic ['*3m*]," which is a wordplay on '*m3*, the word for throwing stick (cf. *ANET,* p. 22).

3. Dart/Javelin. Although the dart and javelin look like spears, they were thrown and are generally smaller. A dart is essentially a long arrow and could have feathers to give greater accuracy. The javelin, which did not include feathers, was used at an early date in Mesopotamia (*ca.* 2500 B.C.; cf. *AWBL,* I, 134f.) and probably in Egypt too. Beginning at the end of the 14th cent. B.C. in Egypt, chariots regularly had two long quivers for storing javelins (*AWBL,* I, 231-34, 240).

The RSV usually renders Heb. *kîḏôn* "javelin" (e.g., Josh. 8:18, 26; 1 S. 17:6, 45). The AV and RSV translate *ḥᵃnîṯ* as "spear" in the David and Goliath clash (1 S. 17:45), perhaps because it was so much larger than what one would expect for a javelin.

The effective range of the javelin was limited. This can be seen in the story of Sinuhe when he fought with the champion of Retjenu, i.e., Syria (cf. *ANET,* pp. 18-22). Sinuhe kept his distance from the champion and was able to dodge an armful of javelins that were successively thrown at him. Sinuhe drew a single arrow, fired it from the bow and felled the champion. Similarly, David had the advantage of being able to stay out of the effective range of Goliath's javelin (he apparently did not have a bow) and was able to strike him dead with a sling stone (1 S. 17:49).

1 Samuel 17:7 describes the shaft of Goliath's javelin as being like a "weaver's beam." Yadin (*AWBL,* II, 354f.) was probably correct that this refers to a leash that would have been looped on the shaft. When hurled it would increase the distance of the missile and would be more accurate due to the spinning motion caused by the leash. In support of this interpretation Yadin pointed to illustrations of strings attached to Aegean javelins that range in date from the Mycenaean period down to the 5th cent. B.C. (*AWBL,* II, 354f.).

Other Hebrew terms that the RSV translates "javelin" or "dart" include *sēḇeṭ* (2 S. 18:14; Job 41:26 [MT 18]), and *massāʾ* (Job 41:26 [MT 18]).

In the RSV NT "dart" renders Gk. *bélos* (Eph. 6:16).

C. Long-range Weapons. Among ancient weapons the bow and arrow and the sling achieved the greatest effective range. These weapons allowed a warrior a tactical advantage over an enemy's medium-range weapons as seen in Sinuhe's use of the bow and David's skill with the sling (see II.B.3 above).

1. Bow and Arrow. Despite its simplicity, the bow and arrow is a very effective weapon in hunting and warfare. Flint arrowheads have been found that date to Neolithic times (*ca.* 7000 B.C.), demonstrating the antiquity of this weapon. (*See* picture in WAR.)

The Hebrew word for bow is *qešeṯ,* a term that applies to the rainbow (cf. Gen. 9:13f.) as well as to the weapon. This suggests that the term itself may derive from a root that describes the curved shape rather than its function. The bow is not mentioned in the actual conquest narratives in Joshua, but in a retrospective statement Josh. 24:12 indicates that neither the bow nor the sword had been the decisive factor in Israel's victories in Canaan.

WEAPONS OF WAR

Rather it was God's own intervention that gave Israel the land they now possessed. Jonathan used a bow in battle (2 S. 1:22) as well as for sending signals to David (1 S. 20:18-23, 35-37). In 2 S. 22:35 and Ps. 18:34 the bow of bronze does not likely refer to a solid metal bow. Rather, it could refer to the decorative metalwork on composite bows (see W. McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn* [1970], plates III-VII), or the metal handle or tips found on self bows (see W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle From the Tomb of Tutankhamūn* [1982], plate I), or it could be symbolic of a powerful bow. The bow was a regular weapon of Israel's army during the monarchy (cf. 1 Ch. 12:2; 2 Ch. 14:8; 17:17; 26:14).

Two distinct types of bows are known from the ancient Near East. The first and earliest type was the self bow which was made of a single piece of wood. The second was the composite bow, a later development and more powerful weapon, which was made of laminated wood, horn, and sinew (W. McLeod, *Journal of the Society of Archer Antiquaries,* 12 [1969], 19-23). The earliest illustrations of bows in use from Mesopotamia and Egypt date to around or just before 3000 B.C. (*AWBL,* I, 118f.). At this early date different shaped bows are found, the arcus (simple curved) and the double convex. A painting from the tomb of Khnumhotep shows that the double convex bow was still in use by the Semites 1000 years later (*AWBL,* I, 167). The self bow continued in use long after the introduction of the composite bow.

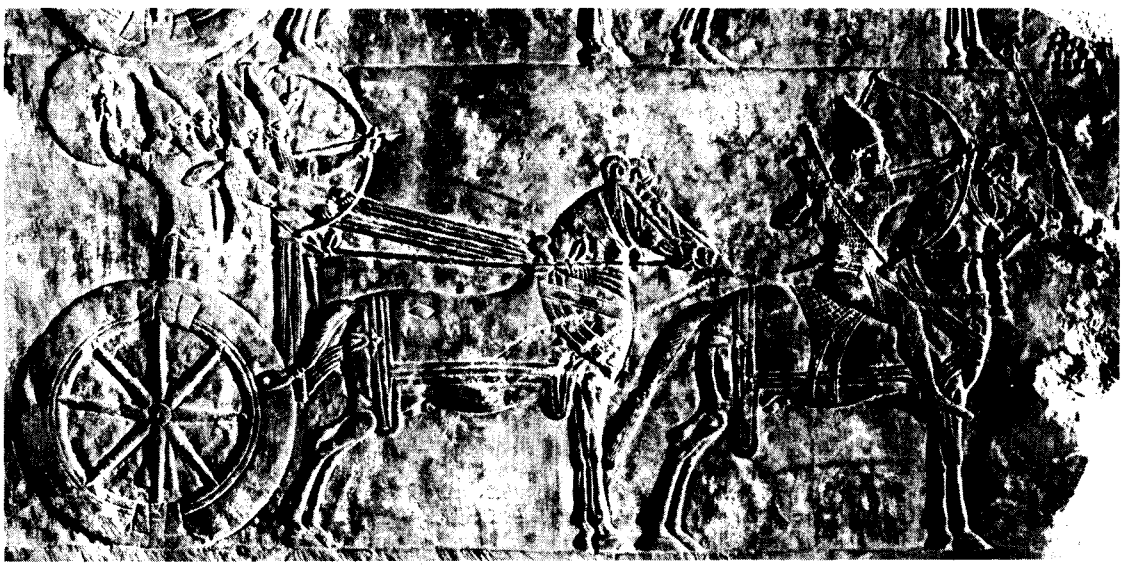
The origins of the composite bow are obscure. The earliest representation of a composite bow is incised on a block discovered at Mari that dates to the early dynastic period, *ca.* 2700-2500 (Yadin, *IEJ,* 22 [1972], 89-94). This particular relief is especially significant because the bow is the Scythian or double-curved type, which was previously unknown before the Neo-Assyrian period (9th-8th cents. B.C.). In the period 2300-2000 B.C. numerous examples of the single-curve type of composite bow appear in Mesopotamian reliefs (*see* picture in ARCHER; *AWBL,* I, 150f.). The composite bow gradually made its way to Palestine and then Egypt, with the Hyksos generally being credited for its introduction to Egypt. But no actual evidence supports this view. Since composite bows or representations do not appear until the 18th Dynasty (after 1550 B.C.), it is assumed that the Hyksos must have introduced them. An abundance of self and composite bows have survived from ancient Egypt (W. McLeod, *American Journal of Archaeology,* 62 [1958], 397-401; 66 [1962], 13-19; *Journal of the Society of Archer Antiquaries,* 12 [1969], 19-23), and the tomb of Tutankhamen alone yielded thirty-two composite and fourteen self bows.

The composite bow was a powerful weapon that had an effective range of 160-175 m. (525-575 ft.), and classical sources indicate that an exceptional shot could reach 500 m. (1640 ft.; cf. W. McLeod, *Phoenix,* 19 [1965], 1-14; *Phoenix,* 26 [1972], 78-82). No doubt the deadly force of the composite bow altered the nature of warfare and led to the improvement, if not the introduction, of body armor.

The composite bow was especially sensitive to heat and moisture, which could cause the laminated materials to separate. For this reason, the bow was kept in a case when not in use. Three types of bow cases are attested in antiquity: the hand-held type (*AWBL,* I, 185, 199), the shoulder case that resembled a large Assyrian QUIVER (*AWBL,* II, 430), and the type that was attached to a chariot (*AWBL,* I, 186f., 192-94). A highly decorated bow case was found among the archery trappings in the tomb of Tutankhamen (see W. McLeod, *Self Bows,* plates VI-XVI).

Of course, the arrow propelled by the bow caused the actual damage. It consisted of three parts: arrowhead, shaft, and fletching (feathers). The shaft was usually made of a reed of some sort of wood. The light weight and straightness of the shaft was imperative for accuracy and attaining great distance. The heads varied in style and material, the earliest being made of different stoney materials. The introduction of metals (first copper, then bronze and iron) did not lead to the obsolescence of the flint arrowhead. Metal heads cost more than stone, and because arrows were easily lost, metal tips were not used

Assyrian soldiers with shields and bows and arrows ride in a chariot and on horseback. At far right is a pile of stones for slinging and a slinger (below, fragmented). A relief from the northern palace at Kuyunjik (Nineveh), period of Ashurbanipal, *ca.* 668-633 B.C. (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



WEAPONS OF WAR

Slingers at the siege of Lachish, depicted on a relief from the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (704-681 B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

regularly until the metal in question was more readily available and cheaper. The introduction of metal tips appears to parallel the appearance of the composite bow. Since the metal heads would have been heavier than their flint counterparts, a bow with a heavy pull would have been required to deliver the metal-tipped arrow to its target accurately.

Included in the cache of weapons found in Tutankhamen's tomb were over three hundred arrows, each made of a single piece of wood or a reed. Seven different types and shapes were found (see McLeod, *Self Bows*, pp. 58f.). The wooden arrows were usually sharpened to a point. Some had a flared wooden tip and may have been used for hunting fowl. Bronze and lithic blades (chisel-shaped) are also included (for illustrations see McLeod, *Self Bows*, plates IV-VI). Flint blades were widely used in Egypt until the mid-2nd millennium in Egypt. Thereafter it seems that the self bow and flint blade arrows were used in hunting while the composite bow with metal-tip arrows were used in battle. The composite bow and metal-tipped arrow were used throughout the biblical world during the 1st millennium B.C. The numerous Assyrian battle reliefs and scores of iron arrowheads discovered in excavations at Lachish bear this out (see Ussishkin, pp. 54f.).

2. Sling and Stone. The use of the sling complemented the bow as the other long-range weapon used in the ancient Near East. Slingers and archers stand side by side in scenes from the early 2nd millennium in Egypt (*AWBL*, I, 159) as they do in the relief of Sennacherib's attack on Lachish (*AWBL*, II, 434f.; Ussishkin, p. 66).

The OT mentions the use of the sling (Heb. *qela'*) and stone (*'eḇen*). The David and Goliath story is certainly the most memorable description of the use of a sling in the Bible (1 S. 17:48-50). During the judges period, the militia of Benjamin had seven hundred left-handed slingers who were especially proficient (Jgs. 20:16). When fighting against the Moabites the armies of King Jehoshaphat of Judah and King Jehoram of Israel used slings in besieging Kir-hareseth (2 K. 3:25). 2 Ch. 26:14 says that Uzziah furnished his army with "stones for slinging."

These references make it clear that the sling was a significant part of the arsenal of ancient Israel's armies. Although it did not have the range of the bow and arrow, the sling was an effective and inexpensive long-range weapon. The sling could be made of woven materials, such as wool or palm fiber rope, or of leather. David's example (1 S. 17:40) indicates the availability of smoothed stones from brooks. Excavations in Israel, especially around fortification systems, usually reveal hundreds of sling stones from assaults against a city. Often the stones were worked to make them as round as possible, and they range from about 5 to 7.5 cm. (2 to 3 in.) in diameter. Stones flung from a sling by an accomplished warrior could reach speeds of 160 to 240 km. per hour (100 to 150 mi. per hour), making the stone a lethal force.

III. Defensive Armaments.—As offensive weapons developed, combatants quickly learned that defensive countermeasures had to be taken in order to ensure a degree of security in battle. The types of defensive armaments used depended on the offensive weapon of the attacker, on the weapon that complemented the defensive weapons, on the mobility required, and on the nature of the battle (e.g., siege or open field).

A. Shield. The most common word for shield in the RSV OT is Heb. *māgēn*. The RSV also gives "shield" for Heb. *šeleṭ* (e.g., 2 S. 8:7; 2 K. 11:10; Jer. 51:11; etc.), which may simply be a synonym for *māgēn*. The context of some occurrences of *šeleṭ* (e.g., 2 S. 8:7; Ezk. 27:11) suggests that this type of shield may have been ornamental.

Basically warriors employed two types of shield: the small shield, used in hand-to-hand combat, that covered approximately half the body of the defender, and the large shield, used mostly in sieges. The offensive counterparts to the small shield were the sword, battle axe, spear, or similar weapon. The shield had to be light enough to allow for mobility and yet hard enough to ward off blows of an attacker. Leather, wood, and metal were among the materials used to make shields.

Representations of shields over the centuries reveal a variety of shapes, which sometimes are indicative of a particular ethnic group. The Egyptians preferred a shield that was rounded at the top and flat on the bottom. The Hittites used shields shaped like the number 8 (cf. *AWBL*, I, 238f.), while the soldiers in Syria and Palestine in the mid-2nd millennium employed rectangular-shaped shields (*AWBL*, I, 192f.). The round shield was extremely popular, and may have had its origins in the Aegean, for the sea-peoples used them (*AWBL*, II, 336f.), as did the Sheredan mercenaries, who were from the Aegean and were in Egypt during the 13th cent. (Wolf, p. 64). The circular shield continued as the primary defensive weapon of the Assyrians, but the rectangular shield was also used (*AWBL*, II, 390f., 406, 410). The round shield was also used by the neo-Hittites at Carchemish (*AWBL*, II, 368).

The long, full-length shield had a more specialized use. It was most widely employed by besiegers as they approached a city wall so that archers could fire arrows and still be protected (*AWBL*, II, 407, 418f., 434f.; *see* pictures in ARMY, ROMAN; LACHISH; SIEGE). Often a king would be protected by such a shield as he fired arrows at the enemy (*AWBL*, II, 388). The Sumerians utilized large rectangular shields to form the defensive part of their phalanx (*AWBL*, I, 134f.). Some think that Heb. *ṣinnâ* was the word for the large shield (*NBD*, p. 82; Keel, pp. 222-24).

In Eph. 6:16 the "shield of faith" is likely a large shield since the word *thyreós* derives from the word *thýra*, "door." This suggests that the *thyreós* shield was long and rectangular like a door. The Latin *scutum* was a large shield used by Roman soldiers.

B. Buckler. Technically the buckler is a small rounded shield usually worn on the forearm rather than carried in the hand (*see* BUCKLER). The RSV translates Heb. *ṣinnâ* as "buckler" (Ps. 35:2; 91:4; Ezk. 23:24; 38:4). But this

WEAPONS OF WAR

An orthostat from the palace of Kapara at Tell Halâf depicting an Aramean rider with a pointed helmet. He carries a small round shield slung over his shoulder (10th cent. B.C.) (Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 8851)

understanding seems unlikely and the large shield is the favored interpretation (BDB, p. 857; *CHAL*, p. 308; *NBD*, p. 82; Keel, pp. 222-24). The AV also renders *māgēn* as "buckler" in 2 S. 22:31; Job 15:26; etc. But there is no proof of this identification, and the association with the small round shield is preferable. In Ps. 91:4 *sōḥērâ* is translated "buckler" in AV, RSV and JB. But "wall" (*CHAL*, p. 255), "rampart" (NEB, NIV), and "bulwark" (NASB) are other suggested meanings for *sōḥērâ*. In 1 Ch. 12:8 (MT 9) the AV translates *rōmaḥ* as "buckler," but "lance" (see II.A.5 above) is more probable.

Close observation of ancient Near Eastern depictions of shields do not indicate that shields had a strap on the forearm (which would make it a buckler), although there is evidence from Greece for such shields (cf. *AWBL*, II, 355). Thus it seems doubtful that the buckler was known in the ancient Near East or used by the Israelites in OT times.

C. Armor. The purpose of body armor is to protect vital parts of the body while still allowing for mobility of a soldier's arms and legs.

1. Coat of Mail. Mail is made either of interlocking rings or small scales that are tied together by thongs. Surviving fragments and artistic representations from the ancient Near East indicate that the latter type was known in OT times. Scaled armor appeared in the ancient Near East during the mid-2nd millennium B.C. (cf. *AWBL*, I, 196f.; Wolf, pp. 96-99). The Hebrew word the RSV translates "coat of mail" is usually *širyôn*/*širyān* (1 S. 17:5, 38; 2 Ch. 26:14; Neh. 4:16 [MT 10]; cf. also *siryôn* in Jer. 46:4; 51:3; AV "brigandine"). These metal coats were heavy, as seen in the case of young David wearing the larger King Saul's *širyôn* (1 S. 17:38). Thus leather jackets were also probably used and would have provided some protection. Such jackets appear to have been worn by soldiers of the invading sea-peoples and the Egyptian defenders in 1186 B.C. (*AWBL*, II, 340f.). Yet a direct hit on scale armor by an arrow could pass between the scales and injure a warrior (cf. *AWBL*, I, 196; Wolf, p. 96). Ahab died as a result of an arrow that had penetrated between his breastplate and his coat of mail (1 K. 22:34; 2 Ch. 18:33). Thus even armor had vulnerable points. In certain instances the AV renders *širyôn* as "habergeon," a medieval term (2 Ch. 26:14; Neh. 4:16; cf. Job 41:26). (*See* picture in SCALE ARMOR.)

In 1 S. 17:38 the RSV and AV render Heb. *maḏ* as "armor," yet this word usually applies to a cloth garment (KoB, p. 495). Perhaps the *maḏ* was a tunic worn under the mail, as suggested by the fact that David was dressed with the *maḏ* and then the coat of mail (1 S. 17:38). The NASB, NEB, and NIV have recognized *maḏ* as a garment of some sort rather than armor. Heb. *taḥra'* (found only in Ex. 28:32; 39:23) is thought to be a "coat of mail" (so NASB, JB) or "habergeon" (AV). The limited usage of this word makes this identification uncertain, but the context suggests that this term applied to a leather garment (*CHAL*, p. 389). Thus it could be a leather counterpart to the *maḏ* or a leather protective jacket.

The Heb. *kᵉlî*, "utensil, vessel," also serves as a general term for offensive or defensive weapons (e.g., 1 S. 14:1, 6; 17:54; 20:40 [AV "artillery"]; 31:9f.; 1 Ch. 10:9f.). Presumably one called an "armor-bearer" (Heb. *nōśē' kᵉlî*) would carry high-ranking soldier's weapons, as in the case of Jonathan (1 S. 14:7, 12f., 17). The English expression "armor-bearer" conveys the image of a medieval squire carrying the plated armor of a knight, yet the expression *nōśē' kᵉlî* should be understood as primarily an "arms-bearer." The tomb of Senbi at Meir in Egypt contains a scene of the tomb owner engaged in a hunt while his retainer or "arms-bearer" stands behind him holding a battle axe, a quiver, and a water bottle (*AWBL*, I, 155).

The RSV NT translates Gk. *hóplon* (Rom. 13:12) and *panoplía* (Lk. 11:22; Eph. 6:11, 13) as "armor." The former word derives from *hoplízō*, which means "to arm." The latter term refers to the full armor of an armed soldier (see IV.D below).

2. Helmet. Helmets, usually made of metal, offered vital protection for the head. The Sumerians utilized them as early as the mid-3rd millennium B.C. (*AWBL*, I, 134f., 137). By the 2nd millennium the helmet was found in Syria-Palestine (cf. *AWBL*, I, 192f.; 222f.). For some reason the Egyptians of pharaonic times never widely adopted the use of the helmet. Egyptian scenes show the helmet in use by non-Egyptian mercenaries (*AWBL*, I, 192f.; II, 340f.). Helmets do appear with greater frequency on Egyptian soldiers in the 13th and 12th cent., but still their use was not widespread. The so-called Blue Crown worn exclusively by pharaohs of the New Kingdom may have originally been a helmet.

Goliath (1 S. 17:5) and King Saul (17:38) are said to have worn a helmet (Heb. *kôḇa'*) made of bronze. 2 Ch. 26:14 and Jer. 46:4 suggest that the helmet was a regular part of the Hebrew soldier's defense (*AWBL*, II, 430-33).

In the RSV NT "helmet" translates Gk. *perikephalaía* (lit. "something around the head") in Eph. 6:17 and 1 Thess. 5:8. Both NT occurrences are allusions to Isa. 59:17. The helmets worn by Roman soldiers would have been made of iron and decked with plumes or hair.

3. Breastplate. Greek *thṓrax* (Eph. 6:14; 1 Thess. 5:8; Rev. 9:9, 17) was a piece of metal armor worn by Greek and Roman soldiers that covered the neck and torso area (a second piece would protect the back area). Paul's use of the word comes from Isa. 59:17, where the LXX has Gk. *thṓrax* for Heb. *širyān*, but the Hebrew term applies to scaled armor, not to the plate armor that would have

WEAPONS OF WAR

Two Persian soldiers carrying shields and spears and wearing undecorated, pointed helmets. A relief from the palace at Persepolis (5th cent. B.C.) (Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, DDR, Vorderasiatisches Museum 2987)

been common when the LXX was translated. But this does not mean that there were no antecedents to the breastplate of Greco-Roman times, for there are a few examples of Egyptian warriors wearing an oval-shaped disk (probably of leather) over the chest area that was held in place by leather straps (E. Naville, *El Bersheh* I [1907], plates 13, 29).

4. Greaves. Practically unknown in the ancient Near East, greaves were shin guards that protected the legs. The OT mentions this protective device only as a part of the giant Goliath's armor (1 S. 17:6). Some representations include greaves as part of the armor of Greek soldiers (*AWBL*, II, 355).

IV. Symbolic Use of Weapons.—Since weapons for offensive and defensive purposes formed a significant part of life in the ancient Near East, the Bible often employs them in symbolic ways. Some of the more common are discussed below.

A. Bow. Because the bow was such a powerful weapon, it symbolized a nation's power. When used in this manner in the OT it generally applies to the power of the nation being broken (e.g., 1 S. 2:4; Ps. 37:15; Jer. 49:35; Hos. 1:5). In ancient thought the bow was closely related to the men of a tribe, and thus corporately to the nation itself (E. Uphill, *Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux,'* 19 [1955], 393). To break a nation's bow was to destroy the nation directly (cf. also Hoffmeier, "Egyptian Motifs," 56f.). In Zec. 9:13 Judah is a bow that is about to shoot an arrow (Ephraim) at Greece.

Jeremiah lamented about the verbal abuse he received from his fellow Israelites, pointing out that their tongues were bent like bows (Jer. 9:3), and later he complained that the tongue is a deadly arrow (9:8). The psalmist uses similar imagery in Ps. 64:3-4 (MT 4-5), where he says that evildoers "aim bitter words like arrows."

In Hab. 3:11 and Zec. 9:14 lightning is described as arrows. Depictions of storm-gods (e.g., Baal [Hadad] and Resheph) show them hurling bolts of lightning. In some instances arrows or spears replace the thunderbolt (Keel, pp. 212-221). In Ps. 76:3 (MT 4) the RSV renders Heb. *rišpēy-qāšeṭ* as "flashing arrows," which possibly relates to the mythological storm-god who throws lightning, i.e., flaming arrows.

Psalm 127:4f. compares arrows to sons. Sons were regarded as a sign of God's favor on a man (127:3). Just as arrows defended a man under attack from a foe, so the presence of sons demonstrated God's blessings, and this provided a formidable defense of a man's integrity.

B. Sling and Stone. In Jer. 10:18 the Hebrew verb *qāla'*, "sling," describes the exile of Judah to Babylon. In the same way that one hurls a stone from a sling, so too would the Lord fling Judah into exile.

C. Sword. The sword figures prominently in the OT as a symbol of destruction and judgment (e.g., Ex. 5:3). Like the bow and arrow, the sword is associated with the cutting capability of the tongue (Ps. 57:4 [MT 5]; Prov. 5:4; 12:18). In the NT this meaning takes on a slightly different nuance as it applies to "the word of God" that can penetrate and pierce soul and spirit (He. 4:12). The exalted Christ of Rev. 1:16 and 2:12 has a double-edged sword (Gk. *romphaía*) extending from His mouth. This usage reminds the reader that God's word has a harsh and judgmental aspect to it. This agrees with Jesus' statement in Mt. 10:34 that He came not "to bring peace but a sword [*máchaira*]." The same metaphorical use of "sword" in Rom. 13:4 is extended to human rulers who bear the sword "to execute his [God's] wrath on the wrongdoer." The idea of associating the sword with justice may be associated with this concept.

D. Armor. Paul exhorts the believer to put on the "whole armor [Gk. *panoplía*] of God" in Eph. 6:10 and 13, in order to withstand the attacks of the evil one, the devil. He then systematically describes the various defensive armaments of the Roman soldier (6:14-17). *Panoplía* applies to all of the implements mentioned in this section. Thus the translation "whole armor" (so RSV, AV) is accurate. Paul may have Isa. 11:5 in mind for the imagery of the belt of truth around the waist. He relies on Isaiah for the next piece of equipment, the "breastplate [*thórax*] of righteousness" (cf. Isa. 59:17; 1 Thess. 5:8; for futher discussion of this part of the armor see III.C.3 above). Shodding the feet with the gospel of peace (Eph. 6:15) relates to the footgear worn by Roman soldiers. Shoes provided protection for the feet and enhanced mobility; thus the Christian "soldier" would be equipped to go anywhere with the gospel. The "shield [*thyreós*] of faith" (see III.A above) was required to quench the flaming darts (*bélos*) of the evil one (6:16). This shield was a large one that provided ample protection against hostile missiles. The fiery or flaming darts reflect the practice of igniting a projectile before firing it. These particular darts come from the evil one (6:16). The helmet (*perikephalaía*) provides requisite protection for the head and is called the "helmet of salvation," a direct quotation from Isa. 59:17 (cf. 1 Thess. 5:8). In Isa. 59:17 God is the warrior who wears this helmet, but now believers can be equipped with it.

The spiritual warrior also wields offensive armaments that include the "sword [Gk. *máchaira*] of the Spirit," which is identified as the "word of God" (Eph. 6:17). This statement, combined with He. 4:12 and Rev. 1:16 and 2:12, indicates that Scripture is the intended meaning of "word of God" by Paul (so Simpson, pp. 150f.).

E. Shield. In the OT the shield symbolizes God's protection of the nation or individuals. After Abram's victory

over the coalition of Mesopotamian kings (Gen. 14:14-17), God says to him, "Fear not, Abram, I am your shield [Heb. *māgēn*]" (Gen. 15:1).

The psalter uses "shield" similarly (e.g., Ps. 3:3; 18:2, 30, 35 [MT 3, 31, 36]; 28:7; 59:11 [MT 12]; etc.). M. Dahood (*Psalms,* I [*AB,* 1966], 16-18) argued that the word should be vocalized *māgān* and thus would mean "suzerain." He applied his argument not only to the occurrences in the psalter, but also to Gen. 15:1. In a suzerainty-vassal relationship, the suzerain was responsible for the protection of his vassal (cf. Ex. 23:22; Josh. 10:6f.). Although *māgēn* and *māgān* are etymologically and semantically related (P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* [*Word Bible Comm.,* 1983], p. 71), it is difficult to decide emphatically for "shield" or "suzerain." By using *māgān* God implies He is protecting His covenanted party. Perhaps a deliberate wordplay is at work in the choice of *māgēn.*

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J. K. HOFFMEIER

WEASEL [Heb. *ḥōleḏ*] (Lev. 11:29); NEB MOLE-RAT. A member of the family *Mustelidae,* which includes animals such as the badger, otter, mouse, and skunk. In Lev. 11:29 it is listed among the unclean "swarming things" that the Israelites were forbidden to touch. Since Heb. *ḥōleḏ* occurs only here in the OT, it is difficult to define precisely as the variety of English translations illustrates (cf. NJV; NASB, JB "mole"; NAB "rat"). *Ḥoleḏ* may derive from the Semitic root *ḥld,* "to dig, creep" (not attested in Biblical Hebrew, but present in Syriac, Aramaic, and Rabbinic Hebrew; see Jastrow, p. 464). The rendering "weasel" is supported by the versions (including the LXX, Vulg., and Pesh.). More recent translations (excluding NIV, which retains "weasel"), however, have chosen "mole" (*Spalax ehrenbergi*) or "mole-rat" (*Spalax typhlus*) over the traditional "weasel." As with many other hapax legomena, certainty in meaning is impossible without further evidence.

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J. HUDDLESTUN

WEATHER [Gk. *eudía*–'fair weather' ("fair weather," Mt. 16:2); Gk. Apoc. *cheimón* ("bad weather," 1 Esd. 9:6), *eudía* ("fair weather," Sir. 3:15)]; AV, NEB mg., FAIR WEATHER; AV Apoc. FOUL WEATHER (1 Esd. 9:6), FAIR WARM WEATHER; NEB Apoc. WINTER (1 Esd. 9:6), SUNSHINE. The RSV uses the word "weather" once in the NT (Mt. 16:2) and twice in the Apocrypha (1 Esd. 9:6; Sir. 3:15). In Mt. 16:1-4 (vv. 2f. are textually suspect; cf. Lk. 12:54-56) Jesus contrasts the ability of the Pharisees and Sadducees to predict the weather with their inability to discern the more crucial "signs of the times," a condition that prompts His rebuke. 1 Esd. 9:5f. indicates winter weather that was cool enough to cause "shivering," while the "fair weather" in Sir. 3:15 was warm enough to melt the frost. Sir. 43:11-22 has an impressive list of weather phenomena, all of which reveal the glory and power of God.

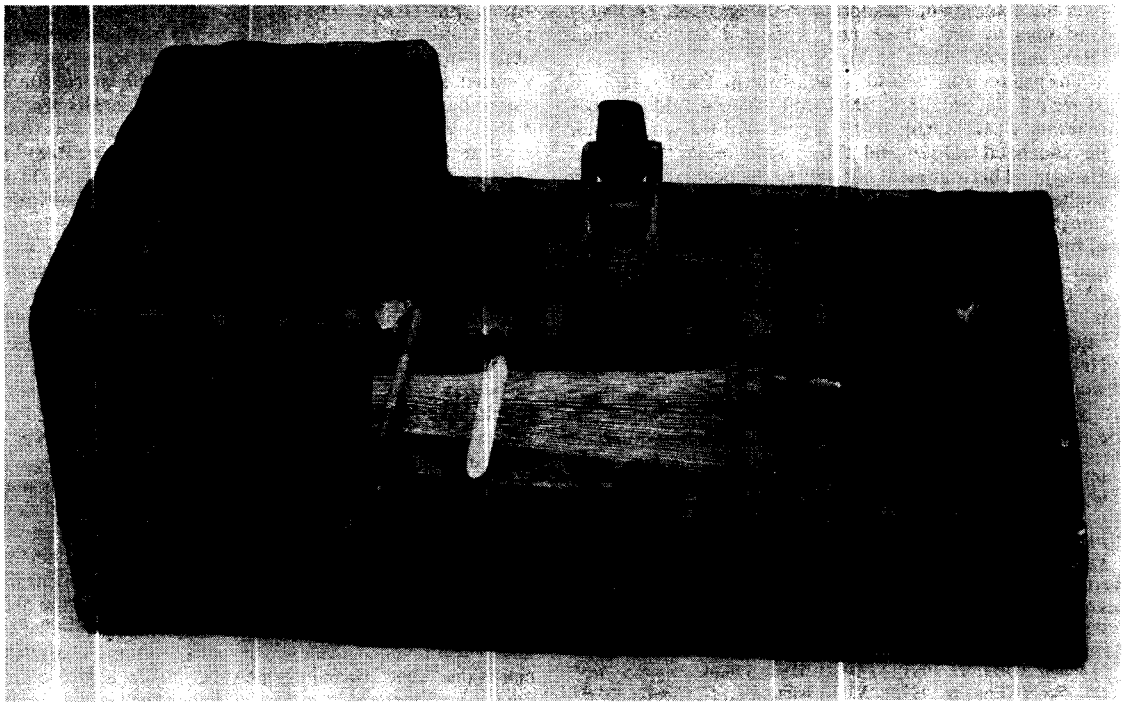
See also NATURAL FEATURES VII; SEASONS.

D. BALY

WEAVING. The process of interlacing previously spun lengthwise threads with previously spun crosswise threads to form cloth. Unlike basketweaving or braid, which can be held in the hands while being done, weaving requires a frame, called a loom. The purpose of the loom is to hold the lengthwise threads, called the warp, taut and evenly spaced from each other while the cross-wise threads, called the weft or woof, are being inserted alternately over and under the warp threads. Rather than putting each weft thread over, then under, each warp thread, weavers learned early to lift up all alternate threads at once by tying each odd thread individually to a stick as long as the width of the cloth being woven. When this stick, the heddle, was lifted, all the odd threads at once were pulled up above the level of the even threads, forming a division called the "shed" through which the shuttle, a stick carrying the weft threads, was passed. When the heddle was let down, the odd threads were below the even threads, forming the opposite shed, and the shuttle was passed through in the other direction. After each weft thread was passed through, it was "beaten up," i.e., pressed into the threads already woven with a small slightly pointed and hooked tool. The discovery of the earliest textile remains at Çatal Hüyük attests to weaving in the ancient Near East from *ca.* 6000 B.C. *See* LINEN; WOOL.

Of the two types of looms known to have been used in the biblical period, the horizontal is the earliest and the easiest to set up. The weaver drives four stakes into the ground in the shape of an elongated rectangle, the first pair about a yard apart (a little farther apart than the width of the cloth to be woven) and the second pair the same distance apart, distant from the first pair by the length of the cloth to be woven. A stick is placed on the outside of each pair, and the warp thread is run from the first, over the second, under the first, over the second, and so on until the entire warp is complete. Although the upper and lower warp threads are thus separated by several inches, a stick of wood is run through to hold them apart. Then the lower threads are tied individually with pieces of string to the heddle, which when not in use lies on the top warp threads. When the heddle is lifted and each end set on a rock, it pulls the bottom warp threads up above the top warp threads, forming a shed. After the shuttle is passed through the weft and beaten up, the separating stick is removed, the heddle is lowered, and the opposite shed formed. Then the shuttle can be passed back through, the weft beaten up, and so on.

Since all the parts of this simple loom are of wood, no archeological evidence for its use in the biblical period remains. This type of loom is well known, however, because it is still used by Palestinian village women, and by the bedouin women of the Sinai Peninsula, the Negeb, and southern Jordan. Further, Egyptian tombs from the Middle Kingdom often contain wall paintings or little wooden models of people engaged in daily work, and several such



A model of an Egyptian weaving shop showing a horizontal loom (Middle Kingdom, from northern Egypt) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

replicas show the horizontal loom complete in all its parts, with even a little bit of linen cloth in the loom.

This horizontal loom, lying on the ground, is surely the one referred to in Jgs. 16:13f., where Delilah weaves Samson's hair into her cloth as he sleeps; when she cries out that the Philistines are upon him, he jumps up, pulling the loom apart. Textual difficulties here may be due to the fact that approximately from the period of the Hebrew monarchy on (*ca.* 1000 B.C.) the vertical loom gradually replaced the horizontal, at least in cities, so that later scribes and translators would have found this text very hard to understand.

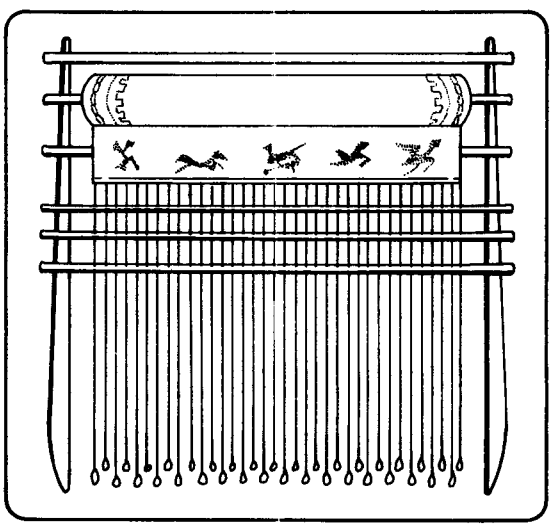
The horizontal loom, which takes up a little more space than the length of the cloth, was too big to set up indoors as a general rule. Therefore weaving on this loom is summer work: no rain at all falls during the dry season from April to October, and the ground is dry. Also, there is less farm work during the dry season, leaving more time for weaving.

The vertical loom is suspended from a crosspiece between two poles. The warp threads are tied at the top to a crossbar, which can be turned in order to roll up the cloth as it is woven. The warp threads at their lower end run around a second crossbar, which can also be turned as the upper one is turned, and tension is provided by a series of weights tied to the warp threads below the crossbar. These clay weights, 7-10 cm. (3-4 in.) in diameter, with a hole through the middle to run the threads through, are the only archeological remains of such looms. They are found at virtually every excavation from the Iron Age and later. The heddle is simply another crossbar to which alternate warp threads have been tied. The crossbars are supported on pegs driven into the uprights.

The vertical loom has significant advantages over the horizontal: (1) Since the cloth can be wound up as weaving progresses, there is virtually no limit to the length that can be woven in one long strip. Long warp threads can be looped up and tied to each loom weight, to be released as needed. (2) This loom takes up little floor space, and thus is well suited to indoor use, so that it can be used all year round. These two features combine to lead to specialization and industrialization.

Excavations have yielded evidence for decorative weaving. Bone tools have been identified as needle shuttles and pattern sticks. These were used to insert colored threads into the warp, independent of the shed formed by the heddle, making possible a variety of colored patterns.

A drawing of an ancient vertical loom, adapted from a Greek vase painting, 5th cent. B.C.



Fortunately, we have wall paintings at two sites that also furnish examples of the earliest textiles, Neolithic Çatal Hüyük, and Chalcolithic Teleilat el-Ghassul in the Jordan Valley. These murals show people dressed in elaborately patterned and very colorful clothing. From the Late Bronze Age we have the colored garments of the nomads in the Beni-hasan tomb paintings (*see* picture in BELLOWS). The weaving tools used to make such cloth have been found at Megiddo, Jericho, Lachish, Hazor, and many other sites. the OT terms for colored weaving and tapestry are *rāqam* (Ex. 26:36; 27:16; 28:39; etc.) *ḥāšaḇ* (Ex. 26:1, 31; 28:6, 15; etc.) It is not possible to know exactly what process each of these terms, or any of the less common terms, referred to.

See also CHECKER WORK; DESIGN; EMBROIDERY.

After being woven, the cloth needed to be washed or bleached, especially if it had been woven on a horizontal loom. This washing procedure was a trade in itself, known as "fulling." Fullers washed the cloth by trampling it with their feet in shallow pools of water, and afterward spreading it out to dry (*see* FULLER). The workplace of Jerusalem fullers is referred to in 2 K. 18:17, Isa. 7:3; 36:2 (*see* FULLER'S FIELD). Fulling became a paradigm for cleanliness and whiteness (Mal. 3:2; Mk. 9:3).

Bibliography.–G. Crowfoot, "Bone Tools from Cave 4067," *Megiddo,* II, (1948), p. 140, plate 165:1; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* V (repr. 1964), 94-129; K. Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho* (1958), pp. 57f.; A. Mallon, R. Koeppel, R. Neuville, *Teleilat Ghassul,* I (1934); J. Mellaart, *Çatal-Huyuk: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (1967), pp. 119f., plates 116-18. S. Weir, *Spinning and Weaving in Palestine* (1970). D. IRVIN

Several texts use weaving as imagery. Isa. 59:5 and Mic. 7:3 compare unjust and dishonest plots to natural evils, including the weaving (Heb. *'ārag, 'āḇaṭ,* respectively) of a spider's web. Isa. 38:2 compares the abrupt end of a person's life to the weaver's cutting of the cloth from the loom. Similarly, Job likens the swift passing of his life to the rapid movement of a weaver's shuttle (Job 7:6; see comms. on the difficulty of v. 6b).

Three other texts must also be mentioned. In Ex. 35:35 Moses tells the people that God has given Bezalel and Oholiab the ability to do all kinds of craftwork, including weaving. The problematic 2 K. 23:7 apparently refers to ritual garments woven for the cult of Asherah (see NEB; cf. 10:22; on the textual and interpretative problems see comms.). Finally, Jn. 19:23 refers to Jesus' tunic as "without seam, woven [Gk. *hyphantós*] from top to bottom," i.e., it was one piece, hence the soldiers had to cast lots for it. Although some church fathers and commentators have interpreted this seamless garment as symbolizing the unity of Christ's teaching or of the Church, or as referring to Christ as high priest (the high priest's tunic was of one piece; see Josephus *Ant.* iii.7.4 [161]), it is perhaps best to take the text at its face value, for such seamless garments were common under clothing (see R. Brown, comm. on John, II [*AB,* 1970], 903, 920-22). G. A. L.

WEB. *See* SPIDER'S WEB; WEAVING.

WEDDING. *See* MARRIAGE IV.C; WEDDING GARMENT.

WEDDING GARMENT [Gk. *éndyma gámou*] (Mt. 22:11f.). The nature of this garment is unknown. The Greek expression does not occur elsewhere in the NT or the LXX. In the long text of Joseph and Asenath 20:6 (which might have been influenced by the NT) it is used for the clothing of the bride, not of a guest. Some have suggested that it was a special garment — which the host would have had to supply if he expected a guest taken unexpectedly from the street to be wearing it. Others (e.g., J. Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus* [Eng. tr., rev. ed. 1972], p. 187) have maintained that it was merely a garment newly washed for the occasion, not a special garment. While the background might have been better understood by the original hearers of the parable, the general meaning of the garment — something required for the final acceptance of those who respond to the invitation — remains clear. For detailed interpretation see the comms. and studies of the parables. E. W. S.

WEDGE OF GOLD. The AV rendering of Heb. *lešôn zāhāḇ* ("tongue of gold") in Josh. 7:21, 24. The phrase refers to a bar of gold, one of the forms in which gold was used before the invention of coins for money. In Isa. 13:12 the AV's use of "golden wedge" for Heb. *keṯem* has insufficient grounds; the RSV and NEB have simply "gold."

WEEDS. The translation of several OT and NT terms.

(1) **FOUL WEEDS** [Heb. *bo'šâ* < *bā'aš*–'stink'; Gk. *bátos*] (Job 31:40); AV COCKLE; NEB WEEDS. The Hebrew root seems to indicate foul-smelling weeds rather than the attractive corn cockle; the latter is nonetheless a troublesome, vigorous weed and is Moldenke's choice for this passage (*MPB,* pp. 29f.). Many different weeds have been suggested; perhaps no particular plant is intended.

(2) **POISONOUS WEEDS** [Heb. *rō'š*; Gk. *ágrōstis*] (Hos. 10:4); AV HEMLOCK. The Hebrew word is elsewhere rendered "gall" in the AV; the RSV has "gall" in Lam. 3:19 and "poison" or "poisonous" elsewhere. *See* GALL; POISON.

(3) [Heb. *sûp*] (Jonah 2:5). The context indicates an underwater seaweed. Moldenke (*MPB,* p. 249) identified it as the eelgrass, *Zostere marina* L., which has the required characteristic of tending to become wrapped around a swimmer's body.

(4) [Gk. *zizánia*] (Mt. 13:25-27 etc.); AV TARES; NEB DARNEL. The bearded darnel (*Lolium temulentum* L.) is a vigorous grass closely resembling wheat or rye. The seeds are particularly noxious if infected with the mold ergot, producing vomiting, malaise, and even death. Thus tares have to be separated very carefully from the wheat, but usually only as harvest approaches. R. K. H.

WEEK [Heb. *šāḇu(a)'*–'unit of seven'] (Gen. 29:27f.; Ex. 34:22; Lev. 12:5; Nu. 28:26; Dt. 16:9f., 16; 2 Ch. 8:13; Jer. 5:24; Dnl. 9:24-27; 10:2f.); NEB also SEVEN DAYS, SEVEN DAYS' FEAST, SEASONS, etc.; [*šabbāṯ*] (Lev. 23:15; 25:8); AV NEB also, SABBATH; [Gk. *sábbata, sábbaton*] (Mt. 28:1; Mk. 16:2, 9; Lk. 18:12; 24:1; Jn. 20:1, 19; Acts 17:2; 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2); AV also SABBATH DAY; NEB also SABBATH, SUNDAY, SATURDAY NIGHT. A cycle of seven days.

The origin of the seven-day week is disputed. Despite many theories, there is thus far no conclusive evidence that it originated prior to the existence of Israel. It is clear, however, that the seven-day week, culminating in the Sabbath, was an important calendrical unit in Israel from its earliest days. During the period of the Roman empire the use of the seven-day week became widespread, probably through the influence of Jews and Christians.

See CALENDAR II.A.3; SABBATH I, II. G. WYPER

WEEKS, FEAST OF [Heb. *hag šāḇu'ōṯ*]; NEB PILGRIM-FEAST OF WEEKS. *See* PENTECOST.

WEEKS, SEVENTY. *See* SEVENTY WEEKS.

WEEP; WEEPING [Heb. *bākâ* (Gen. 21:16; 23:2; etc.; piel, Jer. 31:15; Ezk. 8:14), *bᵉkî* (Gen. 45:2; Dt. 34:8; Ezr. 3:13; etc.), *bᵉkîṯ* (Gen. 50:4), *dāmaʿ*–'shed tears' (Jer. 13:17), *dimʿâ*–'tears' (Ps. 6:6 [MT 7]; Lam. 2:11), piel of *kālâ*–'use up, exhaust' ("weep out," 1 S. 2:33), *sāpaḏ*–'mourn, lament, beat the breast' (Zec. 12:10); Gk. *klaíō* (Mt. 2:18; 25:75; Mk. 5:38f.; etc.), *klauthmós* (Mt. 8:12; 13:42, 50; etc.), *dakrýō*–'shed tears' (Jn. 11:35)]; AV also BEWAIL, MOURN, WAILING, TEARS (Ps. 6:6; Lam. 2:11), CONSUME (2 S. 2:33), etc.; NEB also WAIL(ING), CRY(ING), GROW DIM (1 S. 2:33), TEARS, STREAM WITH TEARS (Jer. 13:17), etc. To express intense emotion (as sorrow or grief) by shedding tears.

I. In the OT.–Several kinds of circumstances could be occasions for weeping. The loss of a loved one, particularly of a close family member, elicited weeping; cf. Gen. 21:16 (Hagar, for the impending death of Ishmael; here the RSV follows the LXX, in which the child, not Hagar, weeps); 23:2 (Abraham for Sarah); 37:35 (Jacob, on recognizing Joseph's bloody tunic); 50:1 (Joseph at Jacob's death); 2 S. 12:16-21 (David over his infant son); 13:36 (David over Amnon); 18:33 (MT 19:1; David over Absalom).

Intense emotion at reuniting with a close relative or friend could be expressed by weeping as well as by kissing the other's neck, as at Jacob's reunion with Esau (Gen. 33:4) and Joseph's reunions with Benjamin (45:14), his other brothers (v. 15), and his father Jacob (46:29). Weeping and kissing also characterized emotional partings, as at Naomi's dismissal of her daughters-in-law (Ruth 1:9, 14) and David's final meeting with Jonathan (1 S. 20:41).

Weeping could also be a sign of intense personal sorrow. Esau wept after learning that he had been cheated out of his blessing (Gen. 27:38). Hannah likewise wept over her barrenness (1 S.1:7, 10). Saul wept with remorse upon hearing David's voice inside the cave (1 S. 24:16), and Nehemiah cried over the ruined condition of the temple and walls in Jerusalem (Neh. 1:4). Job's three friends wept when they first saw him because his sores had made him unrecognizable (Job 2:12). As in expression of contrition, weeping could be accompanied by fasting (2 S. 1:12; 12:21f.) or by the rending of one's garments (2 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 34:27).

The death of an important leader was an occasion for collective weeping by a tribe or nation. The Egyptians mourned Jacob's death seventy days (Gen. 50:3). The Israelites mourned the deaths of Aaron (Nu. 20:29) and Moses (Dt. 34:8) for thirty days. Similarly, David led the Israelites in national mourning over the fall of Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1:11f., 24) and the slaying of Abner (3:32-35). Other events could also occasion collective weeping. The Israelites came together to weep after the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin (Jgs. 21:2). Some of the exiles wept together "by the waters of Babylon" when they remembered the destruction of Jerusalem (Ps. 137:1). Communal weeping in response to a disaster (cf. Dt. 1:45; Jgs. 20:23, 26) could also serve as a ritual expression of contrition, which it was hoped, would bring about a return to divine favor (cf. Jer. 3:21). Thus in Esther's time the Jews responded to the news of the coming genocide with "fasting and weeping and lamenting" (Est. 4:3).

The prophets often wept over the coming (or present) sufferings of their people (e.g., Isa. 22:4; Jer. 9:1; 13:17). Rachel's weeping for her children (prob. referring initially to the exiled northern tribes, Jer. 31:15) stands in the same tradition; this text was later applied to Herod's massacre of the children of Bethlehem (Mt. 2:18). Conversely, Isaiah wept mockingly over the fate of Moab (Isa. 16:9; cf. 15:2, 5).

II. In the NT.–The NT refers to weeping in contexts similar to those of the OT. Thus the loss of a loved one is a common occasion for weeping as an expression of grief; e.g., cf. the deaths of the widow of Nain's son (Lk. 7:13), of Jairus's daughter (8:52), of Lazarus (Jn. 11:31, 33; in v. 35 Jesus Himself weeps), of Jesus (Jn. 20:11, 13, 15), and of Dorcas (Acts 9:39). In Rev. 18:9, 11, 15, 19 the kings, merchants, and seamen of the earth weep over the loss of their fortunes as a result of the fall of the allegorical Babylon. Jas. 4:9 advocates weeping and mourning as a proper beginning to repentance, while 5:1 calls on the rich to "weep and howl" over their coming doom. In the prophetic tradition, Jesus wept over the impending destruction of Jerusalem (Lk. 19:41). Peter wept bitterly in remorse for having denied Jesus (Mt. 26:75; Mk. 14:72). The elders of the church at Ephesus wept and kissed Paul when they bade him farewell (Acts 20:37).

Unique to the NT, however, are references to "weeping and gnashing of teeth." According to Matthew and Luke, Jesus warns that those cut off from the Kingdom will find themselves in the "outer darkness" (Mt. 8:12; 22:13; 25:30), in the "furnace of fire" (13:42, 50), among the hypocrites (24:51), or simply being "thrust out" of the Kingdom (Lk. 13:28); and there they will "weep and gnash their teeth" in sorrow over their loss. The Lukan beatitudes promise a reversal of fortunes, however, for those who now weep (— either due to oppression or, possibly, in contrition 6:21); the opposite fate awaits those who now laugh (v. 25).

See also BURIAL II.C; III.D; LAMENT; TEAR.

D. G. SCHLEY

WEIGHT [Heb. *mišqāl*, also *mišqôl* (Ezk. 4:10), part. of *šāqal*–'weigh' ("feel the weight," 2 S. 18:12), *tōraḥ* (Dt. 1:12), *sāmaḵ* ("lean [his] weight," Jgs. 16:29), *ʾeḇen*–'stone,' *kāḇôḏ* (Isa. 22:24); etc.; Gk. *báros* (2 Cor. 4:17), *ónkos* (He. 12:1)]; AV also ENCUMBRANCE (Dt. 1:12), GLORY (Isa. 22:24), etc.; NEB also HEAVY (Dt. 1:12), etc.

The practice of trade by barter led in time to the use of coins, which essentially are guaranteed weights of valuable metals (*see* MONEY). The use of weights in commerce presupposes the invention of the BALANCE, which was used to weigh the goods purchased as well as the metal (silver or gold) used for payment. With no governmentally established standards of weights (but cf. 2 S. 14:26, "king's weight") or regular official inspections, customers in antiquity needed constantly to be concerned with "just" balances and weights (lit. "stones," Lev. 19:36; Dt. 25:13-15; Prov. 11:1; 20:10, 23; Mic. 6:11; etc.). Archeological evidence seem to show that until *ca.* 1500 B.C. balances were useful but not sensitive enough to be wholly accurate. Since the shekel, the basic unit for weighing, was comparatively light, some have suggested that weighing may have originated with jewelers and workers of gold and silver (see Isa. 46:6; Job 28:15).

In figurative usage "beyond weight" (2 K. 25:16; Jer. 52:20; cf. 1 Ch. 22:3, 14) suggests quantity beyond human ability to measure (cf. Eng. "priceless"). A similar phrase occurs in 2 Cor. 4:17, "weight of glory beyond all comparison." In the NT "weighty" (Gk. *barýs*, 2 Cor. 10:10) and "weightier" (*barýteros*, Mt. 23:23) indicate importance. Heb. *nēṭel* in Prov. 27:3 and Gk. *ónkos* in He. 12:1 denote an encumbering burden.

See also WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. P. L. GARBER

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. The use of weights and measures is as old as civilization, since common standards of length, volume, area, and weight must be used in

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

all human cooperative projects, from building a house to sowing a plot of land. The more complex the society and the greater its extent, the more formal are its systems of measurement. "As long as my arm" or "enough seed to fill the pot" will not suffice for complicated architectural or commercial operations. Hence, every society has a more-or-less standardized system of weights and measures. The study of weights and measures is called metrology.

I. Evidences for Ancient Weights and Measures
  A. Archeological
  B. Literary
II. In the OT
  A. Linear Measures
    1. Cubit
    2. Span
    3. Handbreadth
    4. Finger
  B. Measures of Capacity
    1. Homer
    2. Kor
    3. Lethech
    4. Ephah
    5. Bath
    6. Seah
    7. Hin
    8. Omer and Issaron
    9. Kab
    10. Log
    11. System of Measures
    12. Modern Equivalents
  C. Measures of Area
  D. Weights
    1. Talent
    2. Mina
    3. Shekel
    4. Beka
    5. Gerah
    6. Other Weights
    7. Modern Equivalents
III. In the NT
  A. Linear Measures
  B. Measures of Capacity
  C. Weights

I. Evidences for Ancient Weights and Measures.—The study of biblical weights and measures is complicated, partly because metrologies are themselves complicated. Weights and measures change in their values over time without necessarily changing their names, and some become obsolete and fall out of use altogether. Different nations may use the same name for different weights and measures; e.g., British gallons, pints, bushels, etc., are slightly larger than the U.S. measures of the same name. The same term may be used concurrently in the same nation for a different measure; e.g., the U.S. has pounds troy and pounds avoirdupois, long tons and short tons, statute miles and nautical miles, dry quarts and liquid quarts, and so on. The same practices were in use in ancient times and must be taken into account when reconstructing their systems of weights and measures.

Two kinds of evidence are available for reconstructing ancient systems of weights and measures: archeological and literary.

A. Archeological. Archeological excavations sometimes turn up artifacts — either the measuring instruments themselves or objects made according to a standard — that cast light on the metrological standards of the society. Ancient weights in particular, since they were made of stone or metal, are often well preserved. If they are inscribed with the weight standard used, the value of the ancient standard can be determined in terms of modern systems. The same is true of capacity measures, but since the vessels were made of more fragile materials such as pottery or woven reeds, they are rarely found intact. Standards of length can sometimes be inferred or estimated from the dimensions of excavated buildings, or measured exactly from artifacts such as the cubit rod. Inscriptions found on the ancient remains, such as the Siloam tunnel inscription (see II.A. 1 below), can provide valuable information.

B. Literary. Ancient literature sometimes contains explicit formulations of a metrological system or uses expressions from which a system can be inferred. Of course, modern equivalents cannot be determined in this way. There is no single verse or chapter in the Bible that describes the metrological system of ancient Israel. By comparing occasional statements of equivalence (e.g., Ex. 38:26, where a beka is said to be half a shekel) with others, one may construct at least a partial system of biblical metrology. Where the Bible itself does not give information, the ancient translations (e.g., the LXX, Vulg., Pesh., or Tgs.) sometimes throw light on certain words or expressions. Later Jewish tradition preserved in the writings of Josephus or the Mishnah can be helpful as well.

When all is said and done, we are still in the dark about several aspects of biblical metrology — partly because the archeological evidence is insufficient or ambiguous at certain points, or because it does not agree with inferences made from the biblical text, or because the text is itself

Weights shaped like a cow and a goat reclining, 14th-13th cent. B.C., found at Ugarit (Louvre; photo M. Chuzeville)

hard to interpret. Keeping these reservations in mind, however, we have a tolerably clear picture of the weights and measures of the Bible.

II. In the OT.–A. Linear Measures. The basic unit of length was the cubit or "forearm." In the absence of a measuring instrument the forearm or parts of the arm itself might have been used, but normally a cane or rod (Heb. *qᵉnēh middâ*, "reed of measure," Ezk. 40:5) one or several cubits long was employed. It is highly improbable that "the architects, masons and craftsmen measured with their own arms" (de Vaux, p. 197). A number of cubit rods made of wood or stone have been found in Egypt. In Mesopotamia, too, cubit rods were sometimes kept in a central place for public use. A tablet from Nuzi says, "they have taken the copper cubit which is (kept) at the city gate of Nuzi, and they have measured the orchard according to the copper cubit" (*CAD*, I/2, 74).

Lengths sometimes came to be described in "rods" or "canes," as if the instrument itself were the unit of measure (e.g., Ezk. 40:5-7). Larger multiples of cubits were measured by rope (Heb. *ḥeḇel middâ*, "measuring rope," Zec. 2:1 [MT 5]), twine or string (*qaw hammiddâ*, "measuring line," Jer. 31:39), thread (*ḥût*, Jer. 52:21), or the like. Such flexible instruments were particularly useful for measuring round objects like pillars (Zec. 2:1 [MT 5]) or square areas such as a parcel of land (Am. 7:17).

The following paragraphs describe the standard measures in use in the OT, from the largest to smallest.

1. Cubit. The cubit (Heb. and Aram. *'ammâ*; Akk. *ammatu*; Ugar. *'mt*) was the basic measure of length in Israel and the ancient Near East. The word denoted originally the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The word is found 247 times in the OT, giving the measures of, e.g., the height of a man (1 S. 17:4) or of a statue (Dnl. 3:1), the depth of the flood (Gen. 7:20) or of a pile of quail (Nu. 11:31), the length of a bed (Dt. 3:11) or of a scroll (Zec. 5:2). Most of the references, however, are to the dimensions of buildings, particularly the tabernacle or temple (Ex. 25–27, 36–38; 1 K. 6–7; 2 Ch. 3–4; Ezk. 40–48).

Two kinds of cubit were in use in ancient Israel, the ordinary cubit and a longer cubit. Ezekiel mentions a measuring reed six cubits long, "each being a cubit and a handbreadth" (Ezk. 40:5; cf. 43:13), i.e., the longer cubit. This practice was common in ancient times. The ancient Egyptians also had two cubits, the royal cubit of seven handbreadths and the ordinary one of six handbreadths. In Mesopotamia, too, there were two cubits, the "great cubit" (*ammatu rabîtu*) and the ordinary cubit (*CAD*, I/2, 74; Scott, *JBL*, 77 [1958], 207f.). The Mishnah knows of different sizes of cubit: a five-handbreadth cubit and a six-handbreadth cubit (Mish. *Kelim* xvii.10), but it is likely that the OT cubits were of six and seven handbreadths, like the Egyptian cubits.

The OT terminology for its cubits is obscure. The bed of Og was said to have been nine cubits long and four cubits wide, "according to the *'ammaṯ 'îš*" (Dt. 3:11). This "cubit of a man" is generally thought to be the ordinary shorter cubit of six handbreaths. This is possible; but the word *'îš*, "man," can also mean "an important man," and so Tgs. Onkelos and Neofiti translate the phrase "by the royal cubit" (cf. Pesh. "by the hero's cubit"; Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan "by his own cubit," i.e., as measured by Og's own larger-than-normal forearm). The LXX translates literally, as does the AV. The RSV has "by the common cubit," while the NEB leaves out the phrase altogether.

2 Chronicles 3:3 gives the dimensions of the temple as sixty by twenty cubits "by the former measure" (*bammiddâ hāri'šônâ*; AV "after the first measure"; RSV "by the old standard"). It is uncertain whether this refers to the longer or shorter cubit.

Ezekiel 41:8 notes that the foundations of the side chambers of the temple measured "a full reed of six long cubits ['*aṣṣîlâ*]." The word *'aṣṣîl* means "upper arm." Ezekiel's "cubit and a handbreadth," then, might be understood here as "the cubit to the upper arm," i.e., its measure extended from the middle finger to the upper arm rather than to the elbow (cf. AV "six great cubits"; RSV "six long cubits"; NEB "six cubits high").

A different word, Heb. *gōmeḏ*, is used to measure the length of Ehud's sword (Jgs. 3:16; AV, RSV, "cubit"; NEB "only fifteen inches long"). The Aramaic cognate *garmîḏâ'* is sometimes used as an equivalent to a cubit (see Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan on Ex. 16:29); but the context clearly indicates a weapon small enough to be hidden under clothing, hence probably shorter than a cubit as defined below. The LXX translates it with Gk. *spithamḗ*, "span" (see 2 below); the Vulgate interprets it as meaning "palm."

The length of the shorter cubit in today's measures is generally accepted to be about 4.4 cm. (17.5 in.). This measure is based on information from the Siloam tunnel inscription; this tunnel was built in Jerusalem in the time of King Hezekiah (2 K. 20:20). The inscription gives the tunnel's length as 1200 cubits. Since the tunnel is about 533 m. (1749 ft.) long, this yields a cubit of 44.4 cm. (17.49 in.) long, about equal to the Egyptian common cubit of 44.2–45.0 cm. (17.4–17.7 in.); *see* CUBIT. The long Israelite cubit, then, was presumably equal to the long Egyptian cubit (about 52.3–542.6 cm., 20.6–20.7 in.) as well.

Scott (*JBL*, 77 [1958], 212-14) has interpreted the dimensions of excavated buildings in Palestine in terms of the shorter cubit. Barkay (*Biblical Archeology Review*) has found that the dimensions of two preexilic burial complexes near Jerusalem divide evenly into the cubits of the lengths stated above — one according to the common cubit, and the other according to the longer cubit.

2. Span. The span (Heb. *zereṯ*) is mentioned seven times in the OT. The priest's breastplate was to be a span square (Ex. 28:16; 39:9). The rim of the altar in Ezekiel's vision was a span thick (Ezk. 43:13). Goliath's height was "six cubits and a span" (1 S. 17:4). Isa. 40:12 says that God has "marked off the heavens with a span."

In anatomical terms the span is the distance from the thumb to the little finger with the fingers outspread. In later Hebrew *zereṯ* refers to the little finger itself; a popular but implausible etymology derives it from *zᵉʿereṯ*, "little."

The span was half a cubit long, about 22.2 cm. (8.75 in.). It seems to have been little used as a measurement, since the OT mentions "half a cubit" three times as often as the "span." *See* SPAN.

3. Handbreadth. The handbreadth or palm (Heb. *ṭepaḥ*, *ṭōpaḥ*) was considered the breadth of the four fingers of the hand excluding the thumb and was one-sixth of a common cubit, thus about 7.4 cm. (2.9 in.). It is mentioned eight times in the OT. The framework of the table for the bread of the presence (Ex. 25:25; 37:12) was one handbreadth wide (Vulg. "four fingers"). The thickness of the bronze sea was one handbreadth (1 K. 7:26; 2 Ch. 4:5). The stone tables for sacrifices in the temple were to be supplied with hooks a handbreadth in length (Ezk. 40:43). The shortness of the handbreadth is indicated by the psalmist: "Behold, thou hast made my days a few handbreadths, and my lifetime is as nothing in thy sight" (Ps. 39:5 [MT 6]).

4. Finger. The finger (Heb. *'eṣbaʿ*) is used as a measure of width in Jer. 52:21, where the hollow pillars of the

temple are said to be "four fingers" thick, i.e., one handbreadth. There would be twenty-four fingers in a cubit at 1.85 cm. (0.73 in.) per finger.

The following system emerges from the above measures:

	cubit(s)	span(s)	handbreadth(s)	finger(s)
1 cubit (44.4 cm., 17.5 in.)	1	2	6	24
1 span (22.2 cm., 8.75 in.)	1/2	1	3	12
1 handbreadth (7.4 cm., 2.9 in.)	1/6	1/3	1	4
1 finger (1.85 cm., 0.73 in.)	1/24	1/12	1/4	1

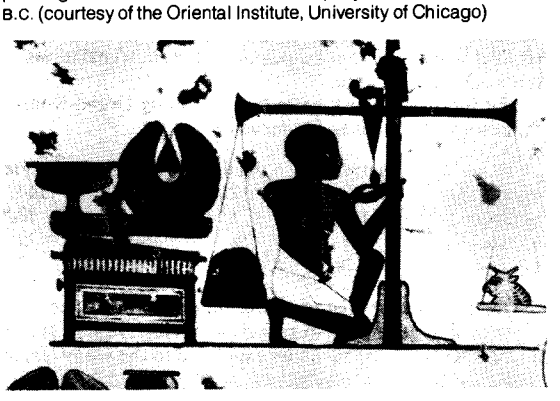
The larger cubit of Ezekiel probably did not imply correspondingly larger sub-units.

B. Measures of Capacity. Dry and liquid measures were measured by containers holding the specified unit of measure. Thus, for instance, an ephah was not only a dry measure of capacity but also a kind of basket. Such containers were used in measuring out grain and other materials for buying and selling, and to tamper with them was a crime. The Egyptian "Instruction of Amenemope" admonishes the hearer, "Beware of robbing the grain measure/To falsify its fractions/ . . . May you have it measure exactly as to its size,/your hand stretching out with precision./Make not for yourself a measure of two capacities, /For then it is toward the depths that you will go" (Simpson, p. 257). Likewise an Akkadian text condemns a "merchant who lends barley or silver, and when lending it he uses a small weight for the silver, and a small *sūtu* for the barley, but on taking receipt he uses a large weight for the silver, and a large *sūtu* for the barley" (*CAD*, XV, 421). Dt. 25:14 condemns the practice of using "two different measures [lit. ephah-baskets], a large and a small," and Prov. 20:10 says, literally, "Two different weights, two different ephah-baskets — both of them are an abomination before the Lord" (*see* DIVERSE).

It is possible that ancient Israel distinguished between units of dry measure and units of liquid measure, but such a distinction is not always clear in our sources. It may be a matter of chance that certain measures are associated with only one kind of material. It is also possible that some dry and liquid measures with the same name differed in their capacity. The discussion below will make no attempt to differentiate systematically between dry and liquid measures.

The following are the measures of volume mentioned in the OT, from the smallest to the largest.

A man weighing gold rings against an ox-head-shaped weight. A plummet hangs from a tongue attached to a beam. From a wall painting in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky at Thebes, 1411-1375 B.C. (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



1. Homer. Hebrew *ḥōmer* (Akk. *imēru*; Ugar. *ḥmr*) is apparently related to *ḥᵃmôr*, "ass," and so originally meant "ass-load." It is, with the kor, the largest unit of measure for volume mentioned in the OT. The homer is mentioned only in connection with measuring barley (Lev. 27:16; Ezk. 45:13; Hos. 3:2) and wheat (Ezk. 45:13); but one of the Arad ostraca from the monarchical period mentions "a full homer of wine" (Arad Letter 2, line 5), and Ezk. 45:14 states that there are ten baths — a liquid measure — in a homer. The equivalent measure in Assyria, the *imēru*, was both a liquid and a dry measure (*CAD*, VII, 114). Therefore, although the homer is generally considered a dry measure, it probably served to measure both dry and liquid materials.

Ezekiel 45:11, 14 prescribes the proper proportions of the principal volume measurements, but unfortunately these verses are rather obscure. Literally, they say, "The ephah and bath shall be one measure, the bath containing a tenth of a homer, and the tenth of a homer being an ephah. The homer shall be the standard. . . . Now the proper portion of oil — the bath of oil — is a tenth of a bath from the kor, ten baths a homer, for [*kî*] ten baths are a homer." It seems clear that v. 11 means to say that the ephah equals the bath, and both are one-tenth of a homer. All the versions have trouble with v. 14. Tg. Jonathan has, "And that which is proper to take of oil in the liquid measure is a tenth of a bath from the kor, the bath being a tenth of the kor, for ten baths are a kor." The Peshitta has, "And as for the oil, from ten measures which are a kor they shall take a tenth, one measure." The LXX reads, "A bath [Gk. *kotýlē*] of oil from ten baths, for ten baths are a homer." None of these ancient translations preserves a better text; they are all attempts to interpret the Hebrew. Probably the first *ḥōmer* in the text should read *hakkōr* ("the kor"), and *kî* should be interpreted as "just as," so that the text reads: "The proper portion of oil, the bath of oil, shall be a tenth of a bath from the kor; the ten baths are the kor just as ten baths are a homer." This makes explicit the implied equation of homer and kor taken for granted in the ancient versions, many of which translate *ḥōmer* as *kōr*.

2. Kor. The Heb. *kōr* (< Akk. *kurru* < Sum. GUR; AV "cor," Ezk. 45:14; elsewhere "measure"), as noted above, was equal to the homer in its volume. The word occurs nine times in the OT, as a measure for flour (1 K. 4:22 [MT 5:2]), wheat (5:11 [MT 25]; 2 Ch. 2:10 [MT 9]; 27:5; Ezr. 7:22), oil (1 K. 5:11 [MT 25]), and barley (2 Ch. 2:10 [MT 9]; 27:5). Hence it was used, like the homer, for measuring both dry and liquid material. Trinquet (*DBSup.*, V, col. 1222) theorized that the kor was not a liquid measure until Ezekiel's time (see Ezk. 45:14), citing the LXX reading of 1 K. 5:11 ("twenty *baths* of oil" instead of "kors"), but this hypothesis is not necessary.

3. Lethech. Hosea 3:2 says that the prophet bought his wife back for "fifteen shekels of silver and a homer and a lethech of barley." The lethech (Heb. *leṯeḵ*; cf. Ugar. *lṯḥ*) is translated by the Vulgate and later Greek versions as half a kor/homer (thus AV "half a homer"). The LXX reads Gk. *nebel oínou*, "a skin of wine," apparently reflecting a different text (followed by the NEB). Due to the lethech's obscure relation to the metrological system, it will not be included in the reconstructions below.

4. Ephah. The ephah (Heb. *ʾêpâ*, *ʾēpâ* < Egyp. *ʾpt*) was equal to the bath (Ezk. 45:11), one-tenth of the homer/kor. It is the most frequently mentioned measure of capacity in the Bible. It was used to measure flour (1 S. 1:24), barley (Ruth 2:17), and roasted grain (1 S. 17:17), and so is generally considered a dry measure. "Ephah" also denotes the container holding an ephah's worth of

material; the ancient and modern versions have often translated it "measure" in texts referring to the container rather than the unit of measure (e.g., Dt. 25:14f.; Prov. 20:10; Mic. 6:10).

The ephah ceased to be used in the postbiblical period, and the ancient versions vary greatly in their translations of it. Tg. Onkelos usually translates it simply as "three seahs," and so does the LXX in Isa. 5:10; Ex. 16:36 and the Vulgate in Isa. 5:10; Ruth 2:17. The Peshitta often translates simply (and erroneously) as "seah." In Ezk. 45:24; 46:5, 11 the LXX translates it as Gk. *pémma*, "cake," wrongly assuming an etymology from the verb *'ph*, "bake." The Mishnah considered it necessary to explain that the ephah is three seahs (Mish. *Menahoth* vii.1).

5. Bath. Although the form of Heb. *baṯ*, "bath," is identical to *baṯ*, "daughter," Scott's suggestion that the bath "was about the capacity of the water jars carried from the well by the daughters of the household" (*BA*, 22 [1959], 29) is farfetched. It is probably true that *baṯ*, like *'ēpâ*, was originally the name of a vessel such as a jar. Ezekiel demanded "an honest bath" (Ezk. 45:10), meaning (like the "ephah" in the same passage) not the volume in the abstract but the container, perhaps the large type of jug found in archeological excavations (see II.B.12 below).

The bath was unambiguously a liquid measure and is mentioned as a measure of oil (Ezr. 7:22; Ezk. 45:14), wine (2 Ch. 2:10 [MT 9]), and water (1 K. 7:26). As noted above, the bath was one-tenth of a homer/kor (Ezk. 45:14).

The LXX translators did not render Heb. *baṯ* consistently. In 1 K. 7:26, 38 it is translated *choús*, an ancient Greek measure comprising twelve *kotýlai* (one *kotýlē* holding about half a pint). Within four verses in Ezk. 45, the LXX translates *baṯ* by Gk. *métron* ("measure," v. 10), *choínix* (v. 11, a Greek measure of three or four *kotýlai*), and *kotýlē* itself (v. 14). In Isa. 5:10 it is rendered *kerámion*, "jar." Hence it appears that the Greek translators had no very clear idea of what the bath was. The Peshitta is similarly inconsistent.

6. Seah. The seah (Heb. *se'â*) is mentioned as measuring a quantity of fine meal (Gen. 18:6), of barley (2 K. 7:1, 16, 18), and of roasted grain (1 S. 25:18); thus it is generally considered a dry measure. But the equivalent measure in Mesopotamia, the *sūtu*, is both a liquid and a dry measure (*CAD*, XV, 420), and in the Mishnah the seah serves as a liquid measure (e.g., Mish. *Mikwaoth* i.7). Probably in ancient Israel it was a liquid as well as a dry measure. The LXX normally translates it *métron*, "measure," which is followed by the English versions (AV, RSV, NEB). As mentioned above (II.B.4), the ancients considered the seah to be a third of an ephah. In 1 S. 25:18 the LXX uses Gk. *oiphi*, "ephah," perhaps implying that its text was different from the MT.

The text of Isa. 27:8 reads, literally, "you will contend with them by sending them off *bᵉsasseʿâ*." The Peshitta, Tg. Jonathan, and Vulgate interpret this word as *bis'â seʿâ*, "seah by seah" (AV "in measure"; RSV "measure by measure"). The seah may also be referred to in Isa. 40:12, where God is said to have "enclosed the dust of the earth in a *šālîš* [lit. "third"]." Since the seah was one-third of an ephah, the prophet may have been referring to a vessel holding one seah.

7. Hin. The hin (Heb. *hîn* < Egyp. *hn, hnw*) is mentioned primarily in texts prescribing the proper amount of a liquid to be used in ritual. The hin was used to measure olive oil (Ex. 30:24) and wine (29:40). The Egyptian measure from which the hin takes its name was both a dry and liquid measure. The ancient versions and modern translations generally use the transliteration "hin."

8. Omer and Issaron. Hebrew *'ōmer* appears in the OT only in Ex. 16:16, 18, 22, 32f., and 36 in the story of the gift of manna; it is defined there as a tenth of an ephah (v. 36). McCarter (pp. 281, 393) has suggested that *'ōmer* originally stood in the Hebrew text in 1 S. 16:20 (MT *ḥᵃmôr*, "ass") and 25:18, on the basis of the LXX reading *gomor* in those verses; it is equally as likely, however, that Heb. *ḥōmer* is to be read, since the LXX transliterates both words by the same term (cf. NEB "a homer of bread," 1 S. 16:20). The term *'ōmer* evidently was not in general use in the Bible, since *'śîrîṯ hā'êpâ* ("a tenth of an ephah," Lev. 5:11; 6:20 [MT 13]; Nu. 28:5) occurs where *'ōmer* might have served just as well.

The term *'iśśārôn* (< the root *'śr*, "ten"), which occurs over thirty times in the Pentateuch as a measure of flour (e.g., Lev. 14:10, 21; Nu. 15:4, 6, 9), is very likely a tenth of an ephah, hence equivalent to an omer. The AV always translates it "tenth deal"; the RSV and NEB usually have "tenth of an ephah."

9. Kab. The kab (Heb. *qaḇ*; AV "cab"; RSV, NEB, "kab") is mentioned only in 2 K. 6:25, which states that during a famine in Samaria a quarter-kab of dove's dung sold for five shekels of silver. Despite its solitary mention in the Bible, the kab was known in postbiblical Judaism as a dry and liquid measure (cf. Mish. *Eduyoth* i.3) equivalent to one-sixth of a seah (see Jastrow, II, 1307). The word is evidently related to the Akk. *qa*, used as both a dry and liquid measure.

10. Log. The log (Heb. *lōg*; Ugar. *lg*) is mentioned five times in Lev. 14 (vv. 10, 12, 15, 21, 24) as a measure of oil (cf. Mish. *Menahoth* ix.2f.); the Ugaritic cognate also is used as a measure of ointment.

11. System of Measures. The Hebrew measures of volume are difficult to make into a system. We know that the ephah and the bath were equal and that each of these was a tenth of a homer, the homer itself being equivalent to a kor (Ezk. 45:11, 14). Ex. 16:36 states that the omer was a tenth of an ephah; in all probability it was identical to an *'iśśārôn*. The unanimous witness of the ancient versions and Jewish tradition is that the seah was a third of an ephah. Set out in chart form, these data appear as follows:

	homer(s)/ kor(s)	ephah(s)/ bath(s)	seah(s)	omer(s)/ 'issaron(s)
1 homer = kor	1	10	30	100
1 ephah = bath	1/10	1	3	10
1 seah	1/30	1/3	1	3 1/3
1 omer = 'issaron	1/100	1/10	3/10	1

This is as much as can be inferred from the biblical data and ancient translations alone. For the relative values of the hin, kab, and log the only sources are ancient extrabiblical works and the various inconsistent translations of the LXX and Vulgate.

The following chart gives the prevailing Greco-Roman metrology of dry capacity measures:

	metrētēs	choús	xéstēs	kotýlē
1 *metrētēs*	1	12	72	144
1 *choús*	1/12	1	6	12
1 *xéstēs*	1/72	1/6	1	2
1 *kotýlē*	1/144	1/12	1/2	1

The first-century historian Josephus stated that the bath was equal to seventy-two *xéstai* (*Ant.* viii.2.9 [57]). If this is accurate, then the bath corresponded to the *metrētēs*; in

fact, Josephus stated elsewhere (xv.9.2 [314], following a commonly accepted emendation) that the kor was equivalent to ten *metrētaí* (baths). The LXX does translate the bath as *metrētḗs* in 2 Ch. 2:9 (although, as noted above, it also uses *kotýlē, choús,* and *choínix* in other passages). Josephus also said that the hin was equal to two *chóes* (iii.8.3 [197]). Such a hin would be a sixth of a *metrētḗs*/bath/ephah.

Two other data allow us to round out the picture. The Vulgate always translates Heb. *lōg* as Lat. *sextarius* (= Gk. *xéstēs*). Josephus equated the *xéstēs* with the one-fourth kab mentioned in 2 K. 6:25 (*Ant.* ix.4.4 [62]). The equation would then be that one *xéstēs* equaled one log, and four logs equaled one qab. Josephus indirectly confirmed this equation by giving the measure of a seah (Gk. *sáton*; twenty-four log) as one and a half *módios*, i.e., twenty-four *xéstai* (ix.4.5 [85]).

The Hebrew chart, filled out with inferences from these data, appears below.

Further indirect confirmation of this reconstruction can be derived from the Neo-Babylonian metrology. Its units of *kur, sūtu,* and *qa* are philologically cognate to the Hebrew measures *kōr, sᵉ'â,* and *qaḇ,* and their proportions of one *kur* = thirty *sūtu* = 180 *qa* are the same as the Hebrew system.

This reconstruction should not be regarded as absolutely certain. Many of the relative proportions are derived by inference from works of different dates and backgrounds, and the biblical data are often of uncertain interpretaton. It is certainly not clear that this particular system prevailed at all times and in all places in ancient Israel, but it is a plausible reconstruction.

12. Modern Equivalents.–Determination of the modern values of the ancient Israelite measures of capacity is even more uncertain than a reconstruction of their relative proportions. Archeology has uncovered no easily measurable inscribed artifact from ancient times to serve as an equivalent to the Siloam tunnel inscription.

Some scholars have begun from the evidence of Josephus. His writings imply that the ephah/bath equaled one Greco-Roman *metrētḗs,* which we know contained about 39 liters (41 U.S. liquid, 35 dry quarts). That would produce a homer/kor of 390 l. (412 liquid, 354 dry quarts), a seah of 13 l. (13.7 liquid, 11.8 dry quarts), a hin of 6.5 l. (6.9 liquid, 5.9 dry quarts), an omer/'issaron of 3.9 l. (4.1 liquid, 3.5 dry quarts), a kab of 2.2 l. (2.3 liquid, 1.9 dry quarts), and a log of a little more than half a liter (0.57 liquid, 0.49 dry quarts). An intact jar found at Qumrân was marked to contain "two seah and seven log" (Milik); the ephah/bath inferred from the jar's volume would be 43-45 l. (45-48 liquid, 39-41 dry quarts) — too large for the *metrētḗs,* but close enough to support the kind of vague equivalence that Josephus might have intended.

On the other hand, jars from the 1st cent. A.D. found near Jerusalem, although unmarked, support a bath of 21 l. (22 liquid, 19 dry quarts) (Segrè, p. 357 n.2), roughly half of the bath according to the Josephan evidence. W. F. Albright also estimated the bath to be around 22 l. (23 liquid, 20 dry quarts), based on the estimated capacity of fragmentary jars marked *bt* ("bath") and *bt lmlk* ("royal bath") in the Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim excavations. The jars date from the 8th cent. B.C.

A 22-liter bath would yield a homer/kor of 220 l. (232 liquid, 199 dry quarts), a seah of 7.3 l. (7.7 liquid, 6.6 dry quarts), a hin of 3.6 l. (3.8 liquid, 3.3 dry quarts), an omer/*'iśśārôn* of 2.2 l. (2.3 liquid, 2.0 dry quarts), a kab of 1.2 l. (1.3 liquid, 1.1 dry quarts), and a log of 0.30 l. (0.32 liquid, 0.27 dry quarts). On the other hand, jars marked simply *lmlk* ("for the king" or "royal") were found at Lachish with a 44-liter capacity (46 liquid, 40 dry quarts), falling more into line with the "Josephan" bath described above.

Although most authorities today tend to favor the 22-liter ephah/bath, the presently available evidence does not make a final decision possible. Possibly some sort of bath, at least at some times and places, was twice as big as the 22-liter bath. An analogous situation prevailed in Egypt during the Old Kingdom, which had a *ḥq3t,* and a double-*ḥq3t,* ten of which made, respectively, a "sack" (*ḫ3r*) and a "double-sack" (*Lexicon der Ägyptologie,* III, col. 1207). Thus Israel may have had both a bath and a double-bath.

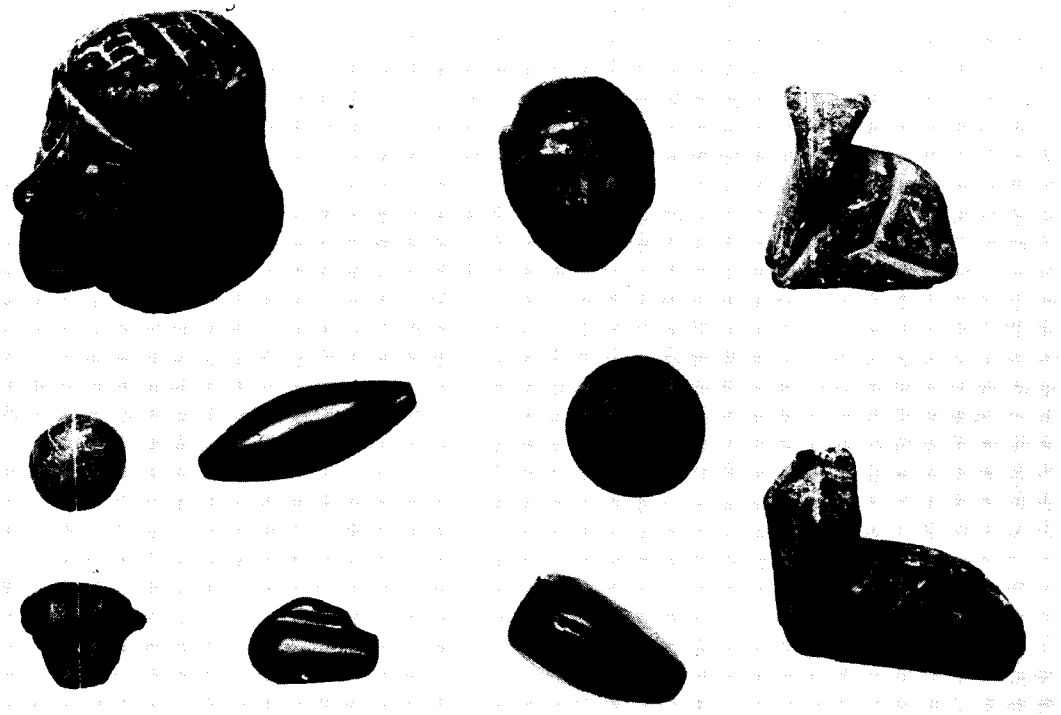
C. Measures of Area. In biblical times areas were often measured as they are measured today, in terms of length and breadth in linear measures (e.g., 1 K. 6:2-6, 20; Ex. 40:25, 29f., etc.).

Another method was to estimate the extent of an area in terms of how much a yoked pair (*ṣemeḏ*) of oxen could plow in a given amount of time. Thus Isa. 5:10 says that a vineyard of ten yoked pairs (RSV "ten acres") will produce only one bath of wine. According to the traditional interpretation of 1 S. 14:14, Jonathan and his armor-bearer killed twenty men "within as it were half a furrow's length in an acre [*ṣemeḏ*] of land" (RSV); the verse is generally deemed corrupt, however, and McCarter (p. 236), following the LXX, reads "with darts and crude flint weapons." In any case, the translation "acre" is purely conventional; there is no reliable method of determining how large the *ṣemeḏ* was in Israel.

Yet another method was to describe an area in terms of how much seed it took to sow it. Ample attestations are found in Mesopotamian literature as well as in postbiblical Jewish tradition, which speaks, e.g., of a "four-kab area" or a "one-kor area" (Krauss, II, 392). A trace of this practice is found in 1 K. 18:32, where Elijah makes a trench enclosing a two-seah area (*tᵉ'ālâ kᵉḇêṯ sā'tayim zera'*) around the altar (the English versions imply that the trench itself would hold two seahs of seed, but this is incorrect). A late Jewish tradition makes a two-seah area equal to 5000 sq. cubits (T.B. *Erubin* 96a), but this equivalence cannot be verified for the biblical period.

D. Weights. Weights were measured on balances (*see* picture in BALANCE). The material to be weighed was placed into one of the pans of the scale, and the weights, often marked with weight-units as well as the owner's name, were placed in the other. The Hebrew word for "stone" (*'eḇen*) also means "weight," and in fact most weights found in Palestine are made of stone (usually pink

	homer(s)/kor(s)	ephah(s)/bath(s)	seah(s)	hin(s)	omer(s)/'issaron(s)	kab(s)	log(s)
1 homer/kor	1	10	30	60	100	180	720
1 ephah/bath	1/10	1	3	6	10	18	72
1 seah	1/30	1/3	1	2	3 1/3	6	24
1 hin	1/60	1/6	1/2	1	1 2/3	3	12
1 omer/'issaron	1/100	1/10	3/10	3/5	1	1 4/5	7 1/5
1 kab	1/180	1/18	1/6	1/3	5/9	1	4
1 log	1/720	1/72	1/24	1/12	5/36	1/4	1



Hematite weights of distinctive shapes (Ugarit, Late Bronze Age) (Louvre; photo M. Chuzeville)

or white limestone, more rarely basalt or hematite), although a number of iron weights have also been discovered. Palestinian scale weights are usually dome-shaped, but occasionally they are rectangular, spindle-shaped, or carved into the likeness of animals (Barkay, *IEJ*, 28 [1978], 216).

It must have been difficult to make such stones exactly the same. Many stones of the same putative weight vary widely in their actual weight. This could be the fault of the stonecutter or the result of abrasion and wear from constant use, but fraud must have been both easy and tempting. The Bible contains numerous exhortations to fair dealing: "You shall have honest scales, honest-weight stones, an honest ephah basket, and an honest hin jar, says the Lord" (Lev. 19:36, author's translation; cf. Ezk. 45:10). Prov. 16:11 states: "A just balance and scales are the Lord's; all the weights in the bag are his work" (Prov. 16:11; cf. 11:1; 20:23). The prophets denounced merchants who "make the ephah-basket small and the shekel-stone large and deal corruptly with deceitful balances" (Am. 8:5, author's translation; cf. Mic. 6:11).

Because of these variations, the parties in a commercial transaction had to agree as to whose weights were to be used — the buyer's, the seller's, or some third party's. Perhaps this is what is meant in Gen. 23:16, which states that Abraham weighed out to Ephron the Hittite four hundred shekels of silver "according to the weights current among the merchants" (Heb. *ʿōḇēr lassôḥēr*), i.e., using the merchant's weight-stones (*see* MONEY, CURRENT).

2 Samuel 14:26 speaks of "the king's weight-stone," referring not to a weight standard different from the ordinary standard, but simply to the weight-stones used by the king and palace officials (Rainey). Certain Aramaic contracts from the fifth-century B.C. Jewish community at Elephantine in Egypt refer to items weighed with the "king's weight-stone" (*'bny mlk'*), indicating that royal weights were available to the public (Porten, p. 63). The Bible also refers to the "shekel of the sanctuary" (*šeqel haqqōḏeš*, Ex. 30:24), probably referring to the shekel weights kept at the temple or other sanctuary for weighing offerings. It is possible, however, that the shekel of the sanctuary was heavier than the ordinary shekel, since it was fitting to give more for sacred purposes.

The weight units of ancient Israel, from largest to smallest, are as follows.

1. Talent. The talent (Heb. *kikkār*; Aram. *kakkār*; Ugar. *kkr*) was the largest unit of weight. The Hebrew word denotes something round and is used to describe loaves of bread (e.g., in Jer. 37:21) and the flat alluvial plain in which Sodom or Gomorrah were located (RSV "valley," Gen. 13:12), as well as the large flat ovals used for weighing. Eng. "talent" is derived from Gk. *tálanton* and Lat. *talentum*, the LXX and Vulgate renderings of *kikkār*. The *tálanton* in the Greco-Roman world was roughly equivalent to the Heb. *kikkār*.

The talent was used particularly for weighing out gold (Ex. 37:24) and silver (1 K. 20:39) to be used in building (Ex. 38:27), as a gift (1 K. 10:10), as tribute (2 K. 23:33), and in commercial transactions (1 K. 16:24).

The relation of the talent to the shekel, the basic Israelite weight unit, can be calculated from Ex. 38:25f. The half-shekel (beka) brought by each of 603,550 men amounted to one hundred talents and 1775 shekels; hence it may be inferred that the talent was equivalent to three thousand shekels. Such a proportion might be due to Canaanite contact, since the Ugaritic talent was also composed of three thousand shekels, unlike the Akkadian talent (*biltu*), which was divided into 3600 shekels.

2. Mina. The mina (Heb. *māneh*; AV usually "pound," but "maneh" in Ezk. 45:12; RSV, NEB, "mina") is mentioned five times in the OT, in references to measuring the amount of gold in some shields Solomon had made (1 K.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

A man walking with open balance scales in one hand and folded scales in the other. A Hittite funerary stele, 9th cent. B.C. (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

10:17) and measuring the amount of silver given by the elders and people for the reconstruction of the temple (Ezr. 2:69; Neh. 7:71f.), as well as in the metrological passage of Ezk. 45:12. Since most of the occurrences are in undoubtedly exilic or postexilic passages, some have concluded that the mina was not used in Israelite metrology until this period. There is not enough evidence to prove this theory, but it is possible. In the Ugaritic texts the mina (*mn*) is occasonally mentioned, but almost all weights are given in terms of shekels and talents.

Ezekiel 45:12b gives the value of the mina in shekels. The Hebrew reads, "twenty shekels, twenty-five shekels, fifteen shekels the mina shall be for you" (cf. RSV mg.). The total is sixty shekels. The Babylonian mina (*manû*) also consisted of sixty shekels (*see* picture in MINA). It has been argued that Ezekiel introduced an innovation in the division of the mina, since, on the analogy of the 6:5 proportion between the Mesopotamian talent and the Israelite talent, we would have expected an Israelite mina of fifty shekels, as at Ugarit and in the Greek world (where the talent consisted of three thousand didrachms and the mina of fifty didrachms). LXX A in fact reads, "five shekels are five, and ten shekels are ten, and fifty shekels the mina shall be for you" (cf. RSV; LXX B, though differing from the Hebrew, affirms the sixty-shekel mina). The whole question may be irrelevant if, as mentioned above, the mina was not in regular use before the Exile. Ezekiel may have been defining the mina rather than redefining it. In any case, there is no direct evidence for or against a fifty-shekel mina; it remains a possibility. Scott (*BA*, 22 [1959], 32) argued for a fifty-shekel mina because, he said, "sums of 50 shekels and upwards . . . always are divisible by 50 and not by 60." His examples of multiples of supposed fifty-shekel units (e.g., four hundred in Gen. 23:15 [= eight minas]; five hundred in Ex. 30:24 [= ten minas]) are tendentious, since counterexamples in sixty-shekel units can be found (e.g., 2400 in Ex. 38:29 [= forty minas]; thirty in Lev. 27:4 [= one-half mina]; six hundred in 1 S. 17:7 [= ten minas]).

Assuming a sixty-shekel mina and a three-thousand-shekel talent, the mina must have been one-fiftieth of a talent. This, too, is in tension with the surrounding metrologies, which had sixty-mina talents.

3. Shekel. The shekel (Heb. *šeqel*; Aram. *teqēl*; Akk. *šiqlu*; Ugar. *tql*) is derived from the root *šql*, "weight," and thus it is "the weight" par excellence. At times the word "shekel" must be supplied in translation, since in the Hebrew text it is often taken for granted. "Shekel" appears explicitly in the MT eighty-eight times, compared to over 130 times in the AV.

In commercial transactions the shekel was used to weigh out silver (Gen. 23:15f.; Jgs. 17:10) or gold (1 Ch. 21:25) for payment. It was also used to assess the weight of other objects, e.g., utensils (Nu. 7:13f., 19f., etc.), spices (Ex. 30:23f.), armor and weapons (1 S. 17:5, 7; 2 S. 21:16), hair (2 S. 14:26), and nails (2 Ch. 3:9).

4. Beka. The beka (Heb. *beqa'*, from the root *bq'*, "split, break," hence "piece, fraction") is explicitly defined in Ex. 38:26 as "half a shekel." It is also mentioned in Gen. 24:22 as the weight of a gold nose ring (AV, RSV, NEB, "half [a] shekel"). Beka weights have been found in excavations of ancient sites (see 7.b below).

5. Gerah. The gerah (Heb. *gērâ*; Akk. *girû*) is mentioned five times in the OT, always defined as one-twentieth of a shekel (Ex. 30:13; Lev. 27:25; Nu. 3:47; 18:16; Ezk. 45:12).

The following chart shows the relative values of the weights discussed above:

	talent(s)	mina(s)	shekel(s)	beka(s)	gerah(s)
1 talent	1	50(60?)	3,000	6,000	60,000
1 mina	$^1/_{50}$ ($^1/_{60}$?)	1	60 (50?)	120	1,200 (1,000?)
1 shekel	$^1/_{3000}$	$^1/_{60}$ ($^1/_{50}$?)	1	2	20
1 beka	$^1/_{6000}$	$^1/_{120}$ ($^1/_{100}$?)	$^1/_2$	1	10
1 gerah	$^1/_{60,000}$	$^1/_{1200}$ ($^1/_{1000}$?)	$^1/_{20}$	$^1/_{10}$	1

6. Other Weights. Two additional weights, the pim (Heb. *pîm*) and the *qeśîṭâ* should be discussed here. The pim is mentioned in 1 S. 13:21. The Israelites, when they went to the Philistines to have their implements sharpened, had to pay "a pim for the plowshares and for the mattocks" (so RSV; AV "file," based on Tg. Jonathan; NEB "two-thirds of a shekel"). A number of pim weights have been found in Israel, but, as will be seen, their place in the ancient metrological system is obscure (see 7.d [2] below).

Jacob had to pay a hundred *qeśîṭâ* for a piece of land near Shechem (Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32); when the Lord restored Job's fortunes, Job received as a present from each person who visited him a gold ring and a *qeśîṭâ* (Job 42:11). The ancient versions (including the very old Job Targum from Qumrân) uniformly translate this word as "lamb," contrary to the modern versions' interpretation as "money," and this ancient translation seems likely. If *qeśîṭâ* designated "a weight of unknown value" (de Vaux, p. 207), one would expect to find mention of the material weighed.

7. Modern Equivalents. The difficulty in assessing the absolute values of OT weights in modern metrologies is

not that there is a paucity of evidence, as with the measures of capacity, but that there is so much evidence. Scores of ancient weights have been found in Israel; some are inscribed, some are not, and some have markings difficult to interpret. Although many details remain obscure, the general values of the principal Israelite weights are clear.

a. Shekel. The starting point is the value of the shekel. Many weights found in Israel have a peculiar sign on them (ɣ), which has been variously interpreted, e.g., as a stylized scarab (Yadin) or as a sketch of the bag in which weights were kept (Scott, *BA*, 22 [1959], 36). Whatever its origin, it unquestionably signifies the shekel. Shekel weights in denominations of one, two, four, and eight — signified by Egyptian hieratic numerals (Aharoni) inscribed next to the shekel sign — are the most common. From them, experts have determined the weight of the shekel to be in the neighborhood of 11.4 gm. (0.4 oz.).

b. Beka. A number of beka weights have been discovered. Their average weight is 6.1 gm. (0.22 oz.), a little heavier than would be expected for a shekel of 11.4 gm. (0.40 oz.), but it was difficult in ancient times to make weights conform precisely to an absolute standard. Ancient weighing instruments were not as exact as modern ones; probably a weight needed to be only generally correct. The important thing was not that all weights of the same type be exactly equal, but that the same weight-stones be used for buying and selling, for lending and paying back.

c. Gerah. This range of allowable variation is illustrated in the case of gerah weights as well. Barkay (*Eretz-Israel*) published a study of small weights marked only with numbers, in denominations of two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, ten, and eleven. Their size makes it probable that they are gerahs. The average gerah implied by these weights is a little smaller than the expected gerah of 0.57 gm. (0.02 oz.), but not so small as to invalidate the equation of the gerah with one-twentieth of a shekel.

In all probability, instead of giving a particular weight as the "ideal" for a shekel and its subdivisions, we should speak of an ideal range. The ideal range for a shekel would be 11-12 gm. (0.38-0.42 oz.), for a beka 5.5-6.0 gm. (0.19-0.21 oz.), for a gerah 0.55-0.60 gm. (0.019-0.021 oz.). Even these ideal ranges have been violated in some cases by some grams or tenths or hundredths of a gram, but not enough to cast doubt on the general picture.

The approximate values of the weights, then, would be as follows: talent: 33-36 kg. (73-79 lbs.), mina: 550-600 gm. (19-21 oz.) (50 shekels), or 660-720 gm. (23-25 oz.) (60 shekels), shekel: 11-12 gm. (0.4 oz.), beka: 5.5-6 gm. (0.2 oz.), gerah: 0.5-0.6 gm. (0.02 oz.).

d. Other Weights. Two additional kinds of inscribed weights have been found in archeological excavations in Israel: the pim, mentioned above, and the *nṣp*, not mentioned in the OT. The pim stones average 7.8 grams (0.27 oz., about two-thirds of an average shekel), and the *nṣps* average 9.8 grams (0.35 oz., about five-sixths of an average shekel). Scholars have had great difficulty fitting these standards into the Israelite metrological system described above.

(1) *Nṣp.* The word *nṣp* is mentioned in Ugaritic texts in association with the Ugaritic shekel. The Arabic cognate means "half," so Ugar. *nṣp* may be half an Ugaritic shekel. Since in Ugarit there was evidently a heavy shekel twice as heavy as the light shekel, Scott (*BASOR*, 200 [Dec. 1970]) plausibly proposed that the *nṣp* was the Syrian light shekel. This identification is supported by a weight found in Samaria bearing the inscription *rbʿ nṣp*, "quarter *nṣp*," and on the other side *rbʿ š[q]l*, "quarter shekel."

Scott went on to suggest that the *nṣp* was the standard shekel in Judah and Israel before a reform in Josiah's reign increased the shekel's weight. Later on, Ezekiel reintroduced the *nṣp*-shekel (Ezk. 45:12) as the sanctuary standard, reducing the shekel by one-sixth as well as increasing the gerah to one-twentieth of a shekel from one-twenty-fourth of a shekel. This complicated theory founders on a number of facts: (a) There is no evidence for the posited Josianic weight reform; (b) the preexilic gerah weights examined by Barkay (see c above) confirm that the gerah was one-twentieth of a shekel even before Ezekiel; and (c) it is unlikely that Ezekiel would have made the sanctuary shekel *lighter* than the standard shekel.

Ben-David suggested that the *nṣp* was a Philistine weight, since *nṣp* stones have not been found outside of the Philistine sphere of influence. The above-mentioned Samarian weight tells against this idea. It is probably true, however, that the *nṣp* is an intruder from an alien metrology (Phoenician?) with no systematic relationship to the Israelite weights, although it was recognized to correspond to the shekel in some way. These weights have been found at Israelite sites because the Israelites used them to conduct business with outsiders.

(2) Pim. The stones marked *pym* have been vocalized *payim* (= *pî-šᵉnayim*, "two-thirds," Zec. 13:8, therefore two-thirds of a shekel) by some scholars on the grounds that internal consonants used as vowel letters were unknown in the preexilic period; this is now known to be inaccurate (Sarfatti, pp. 59, 73). The MT vocalization *pîm* is more likely. Probably the word is non-Hebrew, and the weight, like the *nṣp*, belongs to a non-Israelite metrology — perhaps, as Ben-David has argued, to the Philistines, which would suit the context in 1 S. 13:21.

III. In the NT. —The NT contains few passages of metrological significance. It is sometimes difficult to reconstruct the systems used by the writers, since they used not only Semitic terms but also Greco-Roman terms that themselves have complicated histories and provenances.

A. Linear Measures. The Roman cubit used in first-century A.D. Palestine was about the same size (44.4 cm., 17.5 in.) as the Israelite cubit. The cubit (Gk. *pēchys*) is used in Jn. 21:8 to indicate the distance of the disciples' fishing boat from the shore (AV "as it were two hundred cubits"; RSV, NEB, "about a hundred yards"). In Rev. 21:17 the walls of the new Jerusalem are to be 144 cubits high "by a man's measure [lit. "cubit"], that is, an angel's." The cubit is also used in Mt. 6:27 par. Lk. 12:25 in a metaphorical sense.

In Acts 27:28, as the sailors approach the land they take soundings of twenty Gk. *orguiaí*, then of fifteen *orguiaí*. In Greco-Roman metrology the *orguiá* was composed of four cubits; therefore it was equal to about 1.8 m. (5.8 ft.). The English translation "fathom" (AV, RSV, NEB), i.e., 6 ft., is therefore quite appropriate.

The *stádion* is the most frequently used measure of distance in the NT. It was composed of 600 ft., and, since the foot of Hellenistic times varied from place to place, the stadion had different values; we know of the Olympic *stádion* (192 m., 630 ft.), the Alexandrian or Ptolemaic *stádion* (185 m., 607 ft.), the Epidauran *stádion* (181 m., 594 ft.), and the Delphic *stádion* (177.6 m., 583 ft.).

Many favor the Alexandrian *stádion* as the one used by the writers of the NT (*see* FURLONG). Segrè (p. 369) has proposed a stadion of 205-213 m. (673-699 ft.), but this is clearly too long. If the Roman foot of 29.6 cm. (11.7 in.) was used as a standard in first-century A.D. Palestine, then the Delphic *stádion* is more likely. The Delphic measure also has the advantage of being exactly equivalent to four hundred Palestinian cubits of 44.4 cm. (17.5 in.). In Lk. 24:13 Emmaus is said to be sixty stadia from Jeru-

salem (AV "threescore furlongs"; RSV, NEB, "about seven miles"). According to Jn. 6:19 Jesus came walking on the sea to the disciples' boat over a distance of twenty-five or thirty stadia (AV "five and twenty or thirty furlongs"; RSV, NEB, "about three or four miles"). Bethany was about fifteen stadia from Jerusalem (Jn. 11:18; AV "about fifteen furlongs"; RSV "two miles"; NEB "just under two miles"). In the book of Revelation the flow of blood from the winepress extends 1600 stadia (14:20; AV "a thousand and six hundred furlongs"; NEB "two hundred miles"), while the sides of the new Jerusalem are twelve thousand stadia each (21:16; AV, NEB, "twelve thousand furlongs"), about 2220 km. (1380 mi.) according to the Alexandrian standard, 2131 km. (1324 mi.) according to the Delphic.

The Roman mile or *mílion* (Mt. 15:41, AV, RSV, NEB, "mile") had a standard length (1479 m., 4854 ft.); the local variations of the smaller measures did not affect it. It was about 9 percent shorter than the English mile of 5280 feet.

A "sabbath day's journey" — the maximum distance one was permitted to travel on a sabbath (Acts 1:12) — was, based on Jewish interpretation of Nu. 35:5, two thousand cubits (Mish. *Sotah* v.3), i.e., about 888 m. or a little over half an English mile.

B. Measures of Capacity. Some of the volume measures in the NT are the same as those encountered in the OT, while others are derived from Greco-Roman measures.

The *bátos* (AV, RSV, NEB, "measure") of oil and the *kóros* (AV, RSV, NEB, "measure") of wheat in Lk. 16:6f. are the bath and kor of Semitic metrology, just as the three *sáta* of Mt. 13:33 par. Lk. 13:21 are three seahs. (See II.B.2, 5f. above.)

The water jars of Jn. 2:6 contained "two or three *metrētai*" (AV "firkins"; RSV, NEB, "twenty or [to] thirty gallons") apiece; this is the same *metrētḗs* (about 39 l., 10.3 gals.) encountered in the LXX (see II.B.11f. above).

The *choínix* was one-thirty-sixth of a *metrētḗs*, therefore about 1.08 l. or a little more than a quart. It is mentioned in Rev. 6:6, where the writer hears the voice of famine calling, "A *choínix* [AV "measure"; RSV, NEB, "quart"] of wheat for a denarius, and three *choínikes* of barley for a denarius." since a DENARIUS was a laborer's daily wage, the price is extremely high.

In Mt. 5:15 Jesus says that people do not place a lighted lamp under a *módios* (AV, RSV, "bushel"; NEB "meal-tub"), i.e., a container holding one *módios* (from Lat. *modius*), a measure of about 6.4 l. (1.7 gal.). According to Mk. 7:4 (cf. v. 8 in some witnesses) the Jews had many rules governing the washing of *xéstai* (AV, RSV, "pots"; NEB "jugs"), i.e., vessels holding one *xéstēs* apiece, about 546 ml. or just over a pint.

C. Weights. By the NT period coins were used for money in Israel instead of the ingots that had earlier been weighed out by the shekel and its subdivisions. Weights were still used, of course, for large quantities of coins, metal, and other materials.

The talent (Gk. *tálanton*) holds a central place n the parable of the talents (Mt. 25:15-30) and is mentioned in 18:24 to quantify a huge monetary debt. The weight of the Greco-Roman talent — if in this passage it is not simply the Israelite *kikkār* (see II.D.1, 7.c above) — ranged from 26.4 kg. (58 lbs.) to 37.8 kg. (83 lbs.) in different periods. It is not known what standards prevailed in NT Palestine.

The mina (Gk. *mná*; AV, RSV, NEB, "pound") appears in the parable of Lk. 19:12-27, which is similar to the parable of the talents. The Greco-Roman mina weighed from 420 to 630 g. (14.8 to 22.2 oz.).

In Jn. 19:39 Mary brings a *lítra* of nard to anoint Jesus' feet, and Nicodemus brings a mixture of spices weighing about a hundred *lítra*. The *lítra* (AV, RSV, "pound") weighed 340 gm. (12 oz.).

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E. M. COOK

WELL [Heb. *bᵉʾēr*] (e.g., Gen. 16:14; 21:19, 25, 30; 2 S. 17:18, 21; Cant. 4:15); AV also PIT, FOUNTAIN; NEB also SPRING, WATER-HOLE etc.; [*bôr*] (1 S. 19:22; 2 S. 23:15f.; 1 Ch. 11:17f.); NEB also CISTERN; [*ʿayin*] (Neh. 2:13); NEB SPRING; [*maʿyān*] (Isa. 12:3); NEB SPRING; [*qûr*] ("dig wells," 2 K. 19:24; Isa. 37:25); AV DIG; [Gk. *pēgḗ*] (Jn. 4:6); [*phréar*] (Lk. 14:5; Jn. 4:11f.; AV also PIT. A deep hole or shaft dug into the earth to tap the water table.

By far the most common word translated "well" is Heb. *bᵉʾēr*. Although it most frequently means a shaft to reach the water table (e.g., Gen. 21:30; 26:15-18; Nu. 21:16), it can also refer to a cistern (cf. 2 S. 17:18, where David hides in a cistern dug beneath a house) or an open mine pit (Gen. 14:10). Several passages use this term together with *ʿayin* ("spring") to refer to the same feature (e.g., Gen. 24:13, 16), possibly indicating a well that opened a spring. Because the *bᵉʾēr* tapped the water table far beneath the surface of the earth and thus produced "living water" (i.e., flowing water; cf. Cant. 4:15), it was sometimes depicted as providing access to the cosmic underworld river (RSV "pit," Ps. 55:23 [MT 24]; 69:15 [MT 16]). The word was used in many place names: Beer in Moab (Nu. 21:16), Beer in Israel (Jgs. 9:21), Beer-elim (Isa. 15:8), Beer Lahai-roi (Gen. 16:14), Beeroth in Sinai (Dt. 10:6), Beeroth in Benjamin (e.g., Josh. 9:17), and Beer-sheba (e.g., Gen. 26:15). In addition, Beera (1 Ch. 7:37), Beerah (5:6), and Beeri (Gen. 26:34) are said to be names of persons but probably were place names.

b Hebrew *bôr*, usually translated "cistern" or "pit," was probably a cistern which, when dry, could be viewed as a pit. It could be large enough to be regionally famous (1 S. 19:22) or publicly owned (2 S. 23:15f.). Both *ʿayin* and *maʿyān* should be translated "spring," although the former appears in a place name that was probably translated "well" by the RSV because of the traditional rendering ("Jackal's Well," Neh. 2:13).

Greek *pēgḗ* is usually translated "spring." Again, it probably was translated "well" twice in Jn. 6:4 because of the traditional rendering of the name "Jacob's Well" (but cf. v. 14, where it is translated "spring"). The meaning of *phréar* is ambiguous. Although it is deep and water can come from it (Jn. 4:11f.), an ox can fall into it (Lk. 14:5), and it can refer to a bottomless pit with smoke spewing from it (Rev. 9:1f.).

A well at Beer-sheba from the biblical period (L. K. Smith)

As in modern villages of the Middle East, most wells were covered with stones to protect people and animals from falling into them and to keep out dust and debris (Gen. 29:10). Their favored location was in wadi beds, where underground pools could gather (26:19); they could be constructed with a wheel for a windlass above. Although the limestone topography of the hill country is not conducive to wells and cisterns are thus much more common, shafts could nonetheless be sunk to the water table. Examples are the wells at Hazor and Gezer, which were probably dug during the Iron Age (the water shafts at Megiddo, Jerusalem, and Gibeon went to springs and were thus not "wells"). Deep wells have been excavated at Beer-sheba and Arad in the Negeb; both of these date from the biblical period, but it is difficult to date the construction of such features specifically.

See also CISTERN; PIT; WATERWORKS.

See D. Cole, *Biblical Archaeologist Review*, 6 (1980), 8-29. L. G. HERR

WELL, JACOB'S. *See* JACOB'S WELL.

WELLSPRING. A spring that is the source of a continual supply of water. The AV uses this term to render Heb. *māqôr* in Prov. 16:22; 18:4. *See* FOUNTAIN.

WEN. The AV's mistranslation of Heb. *yabbāl*, "running," i.e., a suppurating sore, in Lev. 22:22 (cf. NEB "running sore"; RSV "discharge").

WENCH. The AV translation of Heb. *šiphâ* in 2 S. 17:17 (RSV "maidservant"). "Wench" was formerly a common term for a female servant. *See* MAID.

WEST. ***I. OT Usage.***–In the OT three methods are used for designating the direction west. (1) Most common is the geographical reference to Heb. *yam*, "sea" (i.e., Mediterranean Sea), for the obvious western boundary of Israel. *Yam* is often coupled with the terms for the other three compass points (e.g., Gen. 13:14; 28:14; Nu. 35:5; 1 K. 7:25). It is found with the *hê directive* to indicate direction or movement "toward" the west and with the preposition *min* to indicate motion "from" the west. (2) Solar terms for west are also used, though less frequently. Heb. *māḇô'* (lit. "entrance, place of entry") is coupled with *šemeš*, "sun" (Dt. 11:30; Josh. 1:4; 23:4; Ps. 50:1; 113:3; Zec. 8:7; Mal. 1:11), to designate west as the place in which the sun sets. The similar term *ma'ᵃrāḇ*, "place of [the sun's] going in" (cf. *'ereḇ*, "evening"), is also connected at least implicitly with *šemeš* (Isa. 45:6; 59:19), although it sometimes appears entirely alone (Isa. 43:5; 1 Ch. 7:28; 12:15 [MT 16]; 26:18, 30; 2 Ch. 32:30; 33:14; Dnl. 8:5). (3) Relative to the position of the speaker, *'āḥôr* ("back, behind") can also assume the meaning "west," especially in opposition to *qeḏem*, "in front of," "east" (Isa. 9:12 [MT 11]).

II. NT Usage.–The NT knows a single term to designate west. Gk. *dysmḗ* (lit. "setting," from *dýnō*, "sink, set"), like Heb. *māḇô'* and *ma'ᵃrāḇ*, relates to solar movements and is used antithetically to Gk. *anatolḗ* ("rising"; cf. Mt. 8:11; 24:27; Lk. 13:29; Rev. 21:13, where both terms occur).

See also ORIENTATION. G. H. WILSON

WESTERN SEA. *See* MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

WHEAT [Heb. *bar* (Jer. 23:28; Am. 5:11; 8:5f.), *ḥiṭṭâ*; Aram. *ḥinṭîn* (Ezr. 6:9; 7:22); Gk. *sítos, pyrós* (Jth. 3:3; Sir. 39:26)]; NEB also GRAIN.

Hebrew *ḥiṭṭâ* is the specific term for wheat, *Triticum aestivum* L. (Gen. 30:14; Ex. 34:22; etc.). It was the chief grain of patriarchal times (Gen. 30:14). Five varieties of wheat are native to Palestine; probably abundant in antiquity were *Triticum monococcum* L., *T. thaoudar* Reut., and *T. hermonis* Cook. The "wheat harvest" was one of the regular divisions of the ancient calendar (Ex. 34:22; Jgs. 15:1; 1 S. 12:17), following the barley harvest (Ex. 9:31f.), and occurring between April and June, depending upon the altitude. During the winter months, in November and December, the wheat sowing took place, the grain being scattered by hand and pressed down or trodden in lightly (cf. Isa. 32:20). The sowing of wheat in fairly straight rows (Isa. 28:25) was not very common.

Wheat was used from the settlement period onward as an item of Israelite commerce, some of it being exported to Tyre (Am. 8:5) and other areas of the Levant. Under Jotham the local production was supplemented by a tribute of 100,000 bushels of wheat demanded from the Ammonites. Wheat exports were still flourishing in NT times (Acts 27:38).

Wheat formed an important part of the sacrificial offerings (Lev. 2:1; 24:5-7), being ground as required into fine flour. A cereal offering to the Lord consisted of flour mixed with oil and frankincense, part of which was burned as a memorial portion upon the sacrificial altar, and the remainder allocated to Aaron and his sons. Even if the offering had been baked in an oven or cooked in a pan, finely ground flour was still required. Such grain of-

ferings were regarded as a most holy part of the Lord's fire offerings.

The twelve cakes of shewbread (so AV; RSV, NEB, NIV, "bread of the Presence") placed on the golden table in the tabernacle and dusted with pure frankincense were also made of fine flour and became a priestly perquisite. When the offerings for the dedication of the tabernacle in the wilderness were made, they included cereal offerings of fine flour mixed with oil (e.g., Nu. 7:13).

Wheat was used in Christ's parables to signify something of a choice nature, reflecting the OT sacrificial prescriptions. In Mt. 3:12 the time of the final harvest will witness a separation of the wheat from the chaff, the former being stored for useful purposes but the latter burned as refuse. The kingdom of heaven was compared to a farmer sowing good wheat in his field (Mt. 13:24-31), only to have it contaminated deliberately by tares, a poisonous grass resembling wheat but bearing much smaller seeds. Once the contamination had been discovered it was more prudent to wait for the harvest before separating the two grains. On this basis the farmer instructed his workers to burn the tares, having once isolated them, but to store the wheat in his barn.

The imagery of threshing wheat at harvest was applied by Jesus to Simon Peter (Lk. 22:31f.), who was to be sifted as wheat by Satan. Jesus promised him spiritual support in that critical hour of trial, and urged Peter to strengthen his associates once he had become regenerated. Christ also employed a familiar agricultural concept of gestation to explain to His disciples how His forthcoming death would in the end produce an abundant harvest (Jn.12:24). This same thought of growth through death was applied by Paul to the idea of the resurrection body (1 Cor. 15:35-43). This glorious configuration is to the earthly body what the stalk of ripe wheat was to the grain kernel that was sown.

In Rev. 6:6 wheat was part of the vision of the third seal, in which an apocalyptic voice demanded of a mounted rider a quart of wheat for a denarius, but three quarts of barley for the same sum, thereby demonstrating the relative value of wheat as a choice grain. Fine flour and wheat were also included in the wares of the "merchants of the earth" (Rev. 18:13), who were bewailing their loss of business transactions because mighty Babylon, the dwelling place of demons (18:3), had fallen under God's judgment owing to her wickedness.

R. K. HARRISON

WHEEL [Heb. *'ôpān* (Ex.14:25; 1 K. *7*:30, 32f.; Prov. 20:26; Isa. 28:27; Ezk. 1:15f.; etc.), *galgal* (Eccl. 12:6; Isa. 5:28; Jer. 47:3; "whirling wheel," Ezk. 10:2, 6, 13, [*gilgāl*] (Isa. 28:28), *'ob̲nayim* (Jer. 18:3); Aram. *galgal* (Dnl. 7:9)].

Hebrew *'ôpān* could represent wheels of various types: chariot wheels (Ex. 14:25; Nah. 3:2), wheels for the bronze lavers of the temple (1 K. 7:30, 32f.; these included axles, rims, spokes, and hubs), wheels on threshing carts (Isa. 28:27), and wheels giving mobility to the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision (Ezk.1:15-21; 10:6, 9-19). Many suggestions have been made about how to visualize the latter wheels ("their construction being as it were a wheel within a wheel," 1:16; cf. 10:10), ranging from a set of double wheels to wheels at right angles in a kind of gyroscopic design that would allow them to move in four directions (1:17; 10:11). Some scholars have interpreted these wheels as forming a chariot (see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* [Eng. tr. *Hermeneia,* 1979], pp. 128-130).

Hebrew *galgal* could also be used of chariot wheels (Isa. 5:28), the wheels of the cherubim (Ezk. 10:2, 6, 13), and cart wheels (cognate *gilgāl,* Isa. 28:28); but in Eccl. 12:6 it appears to indicate the windlass of a well. It is frequently used to describe a "whirlwind" and may thus emphasize the rolling or moving aspect of a wheel (cf. Ezk. 10:2, 6, 13). In a usage reminiscent of that in Ezekiel, the Aramaic cognate appears in Daniel's description of a visionary fiery throne supported by wheels (Dnl. 9:7; cf. also En. 14:18). *'Ob̲nayim* (lit. "two stones") denotes a potter's wheel in Jer. 18:3 (see below).

The wheel was apparently invented in Sumer; it spread abroad rapidly because of its many uses. The earliest pictured wheels from Mesopotamia (mid-3rd millennium B.C.) were made of solid wooden planks (usually three) pegged together and were used on chariots. Lighter spoked wheels (six or eight spokes) were used for chariots at least by the 15th cent. B.C. in Egypt, where they were perhaps brought by the Hyksos. These wheels may have been invented *ca.* 2000 B.C.

The earliest potter's wheel was a single disk (*tournette*) and seems to have been invented in the 3rd millennium B.C., when pottery first shows signs of wheel manufacture. One of these wheels is depicted on the famous Egyptian relief of itinerant Asiatics from a tomb at Beni-hasan, which dates to *ca.* 2000 B.C. The potter's wheel with a flywheel (two stones), suggested by the dual form in Jer. 18:3, is pictured on an Egyptian relief that shows the god Khnum fashioning a man as a potter would form a vessel; this representation is strikingly similar to the message of Jer. 18, namely, that God fashions what He wills. A few potter's wheels have been found at Megiddo, Tell el-'Ajjûl, Lachish, and Hazor, but they are generally quite rare.

See also POTTERY V.

L. G. HERR

WHELP [Heb. *gûr*] (Gen. 49:9; Dt. 33:22; Ezk. 19:2f., 5); NEB also CUB; [*gôr*] (Jer. 51:38; Nah. 2:12 [MT 13]); [*bēn*–'son'] (Job 4:11). One of the young of a carnivorous animal; in the Bible it always refers to a lion cub.

All biblical references to lions' whelps are figurative. Judah is pictured as a lion's whelp because of his strength (Gen. 49:9). Similarly, in Ezk. 19:1-9 Judah is depicted as a lioness and its princes (particularly Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin) as whelps that became powerful lions (kings) but were taken captive. In Dt. 33:22 the tribe of Dan is apparently compared to a young lion leaping forth from Bashan; some, however, have suggested that *bāšan* should be understood as a cognate of Ugar. *bṯn* ("snake"), in

A votive chariot with solid wheels. From Tell Kheweyrat, 4th-3rd millennium B.C. (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; photo W. S. LaSor)

which case the metaphor may signify not aggression but timidity: Dan "shies away from the viper" (see F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *JBL*, 67 [1948], 191-201).

Conversely, the imagery of lions and lions' whelps is used to depict the rapacious nations of Assyria (Nah. 2:11-13) and Babylon (Jer. 51:38-40), which had destroyed and devoured other peoples but were now about to be slaughtered by Yahweh. Eliphaz uses a similar metaphor to portray the fate of the wicked (Job 4:10f.).

See also LION. G. WYPER

WHIP [Heb. piel of *yāsar*–'chastise, discipline'] (Dt. 22:18); AV CHASTISE; NEB PUNISH; [*šôṭ*–'whip'] (1 K. 12:11, 14; 2 Ch. 10:11, 14; Prov. 26:3; Nah. 3:2); [niphal of *nāḳā'*–'be whipped, beaten'] (Job 30:8); AV "viler"; NEB "hounded"; [Gk. *phragéllion*] (Jn. 2:15); AV SCOURGE. *See* SCOURGE.

WHIRLWIND [Heb. *sᵉʿārâ* (2 K. 2:1, 11; Job 38:1; 40:6; plural, Zec. 9:14), *sûpâ* (Job 27:20; 37:9; Prov. 1:27; Isa. 5:28; 29:6; Jer. 4:13; Am. 1:14; Nah. 1:3; plural, Isa. 21:1; var. *sûpāṯâ*, Hos. 8:7), *galgal*–'wheel' (Ps. 77:18 [MT 19]), *sāʿar* ("come like a whirlwind," Hab. 3:14; "scatter like a whirlwind," Zec. 7:14), hithpael of *śāʿar* ("rush like a whirlwind," Dnl. 11:40)]; AV also TEMPEST, STORM, "heaven"; NEB also STORM, HURRICANE, TEMPEST, STORM-WIND, "drove out."

When two air currents from opposite directions meet, the resulting circular motion is called a whirlwind. But most of the biblical references do not imply a circular motion, and most of the terms translated "whirlwind" are the general terms for "storm, tempest" (note the use of synonymous terms in, e.g., Isa. 29:6 — "tempest," *sᵉʿārâ;* Am. 1:14 — "tempest," *sāʿar;* Nah. 1:3 — "storm," *sᵉʿārâ*). According to D. Baly (*GB*, p. 64) *sûpâ* in Job 37:9 refers to "the bitter southwest wind of a winter cyclone" (see also Prov. 1:27), but the same term in Isa. 21:1 "suggests the grim fury of a sandstorm"; and *sᵉʿārâ* in 2 K. 2:1, 11; Job 38:1; 40:6 describes "the devastating onslaught of a thunderstorm."

Most of the biblical references are figurative. Several texts compare chariots (or chariot wheels) to a whirlwind (Isa. 5:28; Jer. 4:13; Dnl. 11:40; cf. Hab. 3:14). Frequently God's coming in judgment is compared to a whirlwind (Isa. 29:6; Hos. 8:7; Am. 1:14; Nah. 1:3; Zec. 7:14; 9:14).

Two texts are problematic. The difficult text of Job 27:20-23 apparently describes the fate of the rich man: he is blown about by a strong wind (cf. N. H. Tur-Sinai, *Book of Job* [Eng. tr., rev. ed. 1981], pp. 392-94, who offered the sensible interpretation that the rich man's possessions were blown about by the wind). In Ps. 77:18 (MT 19) Heb. *baggalgal* (lit. "in [or with] the wheel") seems to make no sense (cf. *CHAL*, p. 60), and scholars have made various suggestions. Many modern versions translate it as "whirlwind" (e.g., RSV, NEB, NIV), apparently on the basis of the stormy context and the connection with the root *gll*, "roll." But nowhere else does *galgal* mean "whirlwind," and other suggestions seem more cogent. The AV "heaven," which at first seems improbable, has some support from postbiblical Hebrew, in which *galgal* can mean "globe, celestial sphere" (Jastrow, I, 245; see also M. Dahood, *Psalms*, II [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1973], 232, who offered an interesting analysis of the parallelism). Another suggestion is that *galgal* means "rolling," i.e., the thunder rolled (so JB; J. Perowne, *Book of Psalms* [3rd ed. 1882], II, 53, 56).

See also STORM; WIND. G. A. L.

WHISPER; WHISPERING [Heb. hithpael of *lāḥaš* (2 S. 12:19; Ps. 41:7 [MT 8]), pilpel of *ṣāpap* (Isa. 29:4), *dibbâ*–'rumor,' 'slander' (Ps. 31:13 [MT 14]; Jer. 20:10), *šēmeṣ* (Job 4:12; 26:14); Gk. *eis to oús*–'to the ear' (Mt. 10:27), *laléō prós to oús*–'speak to the ear' (Lk. 12:3)]; AV also SLANDER, DEFAMING, LITTLE (*šēmeṣ*), IN THE EAR (NT); NEB also SQUEAK (Isa. 29:4); **WHISPERER** [Heb. niphal part. of *rāgan*–'slander, backbite'] (Prov. 16:28; 18:8; 26:20, 22); AV also TALEBEARER; NEB TALE-BEARING, GOSSIP, TALE-BEARER.

Whispering is usually associated with the telling of secrets that one does not wish to have overheard (e.g., 2 S. 12:19; Ps. 31:13 [MT 14]; Mt. 10:27 par. Lk. 12:3). Sometimes it refers specifically to gossip (e.g., Ps. 41:7 [MT 8]; Jer. 20:10). Several proverbs warn about the destructiveness of malicious GOSSIP, which is eagerly devoured by those who hear it (Prov. 18:8; 26:22) and has great power to create strife and alienate friends (16:28; 26:20).

Hebrew *šēmeṣ* occurs in the OT only at Job 4:12; 26:14; although most translate it "whisper," some prefer "a little" based on its use in the Talmud (cf. AV). In each instance it refers to hearing only a fragment of what has been said. In Isa. 29:4 the pilpel of *ṣāpap* refers to the unnatural voice used by necromancers to represent the voice of a ghost (*see* DIVINATION III.G.; MEDIUM).

N. J. O.

WHITE. *See* COLOR V.1.

WHITE HORSE. *See* HORSE, WHITE; REVELATION, BOOK OF II.

WHITEWASH [Heb. *tāpal*] (Job 13:4); AV FORGER; NEB SMEAR; [*tāpel*] (Ezk. 13:10f., 14f., 22:28); AV UNTEMPERED MORTAR; [Gk. *koniáō*] (Mt. 23:27; Acts 23:3); AV WHITED. A solution of lime in water used for whitening walls.

Both the verb *tāpal* and its derived noun *tāpel* are used to illustrate hypocrisy. Ezk. 13:10-16 states that the false presentations of some prophets are whitewashed to look more attractive than they really are. In the NT, likewise, Gk. *koniáō* refers figuratively to the pretenses that hide evil and lies.

Most lower-class houses were not whitewashed in antiquity; instead the normal brown, streaked, and patchy mud daubing was visible. A coating of whitewash tended to indicate a higher-class occupant. Tombs were often white-washed to make them appear conspicuous. Thus whitewash was a natural metaphor for hypocrisy. In Acts 23:3 the high priest sported a posture of piety that lent an appearance of sanctity to an evil heart.

Because whitewash is so ephemeral, being quickly washed off by rain, signs of its use are discovered only rarely by archeology.

See also LIME. L. G. HERR

WHOLE; WHOLESOME. "Whole," originally "hale," had at first the meaning now expressed by its derivative "healthy." In this sense "whole" and "make whole" are fairly common in the AV, but the RSV usually changes the translation to "heal," "healed," or "well" (cf. Josh. 5:8; Job 5:18; Mt. 9:12, 21f.; 14:36; 15:28; Mk. 5:34; Jn. 5:6, 9, 11, 14f.; etc.). From this meaning of "whole" developed the modern meaning "complete, entire," which is the most common sense of the term in the RSV (but cf. the original meaning in RSV Mt. 12:13; 15:31) and also appears frequently in the AV. "Wholesome," however, is derived from the earlier meaning of "whole." It is used by

the RSV in 2 K. 2:21f. (Heb. niphal and piel of *rāpā'*; AV "heal") and Prov. 15:31 (*marpē'*).

B. S. EASTON N. J. O.

WHORE. *See* HARLOT; FORNICATION.

WICK [Heb. *pištâ* (Isa. 42:3; 43:17); Gk. *línon* (Mt. 12:20)]. The twisted fibers that provide a steady supply of oil for the flame in a LAMP. Both *pištâ* and *línon* usually mean FLAX.

WICKED; WICKEDLY; WICKEDNESS [Heb. *rāšā'*–'wicked, guilty,' qal and hiphil of *rāša'*–'be guilty, unjust,' 'act wickedly,' *reša'*–'wrong, injustice,' *riš'â*–'guilt, wickedness,' *mirša'aṯ* ("wicked woman," 2 Ch. 24:7), *ra'*–'bad, evil,' hiphil of *rā'a'*–'do evil,' *rā'â*–'perverseness, wickedness,' *rō(a)'*–'badness, evil' (Hos. 9:15), *'āwen* (Job 22:15; etc.), *'awlâ*–'perversity' (e.g., Job 11:14; 24:20; Ps. 89:22 [MT 23]), *b'lîya'al*–'worthlessness, wickedness' (Job 34:18; Nah. 1:15 [MT 2:1]), *zimmâ* (e.g., Lev. 18:17), *'āšām*–'guilt' (Prov. 14:9), *hawwâ*–'(cause of) calamity,' 'wickedness' (Ps. 94:20), hiphil of *'āwâ*–'do wrong' (2 S. 24:17), *'ōṣeḇ*–'pain' (Ps. 139:24; AV and RSV follow LXX); Aram. *bi'yš*–'evil' (Ezr. 4:12); Gk. *ponērós* (e.g., Acts 17:5; 1 Cor. 5:13; 2 Jn. 11), *ponēría* (e.g., Lk. 11:39), *adikía* (e.g., Acts 1:18), *kakós* (Mt. 24:48), *kakía* (Acts 8:22; Jas. 1:21), *áthesmos* (2 Pet. 2:7), *átopos*–'out of place, improper' (2 Thess. 3:2), *anomía* (Mt. 24:12)]; AV also EVIL, UNGODLY, EVILDOER, INIQUITY, VANITY, UNRIGHTEOUSNESS, etc.; NEB also BAD, GUILTY, WRONG, WORTHLESS, RUFFIAN, LEWDNESS, INJUSTICE, etc.

The Hebrew adjective *rāšā'* is the most common OT term used to designate wicked persons. Occasionally the RSV supplies a noun such as "man" in translating *rāšā'* (e.g., Ps. 109:6; 112:10), but usually it simply has "the wicked." The frequent antithetic parallelisms contrasting the "wicked" with the "righteous" (e.g., Gen. 18:23, 25; Ps. 1:6; 11:5; 37:16, 21; 68:2f. [MT 3f.]; 75:10 [MT 11]; Prov. 3:33; 4:18f.; 10:3, 6f., 11, 16, 20, 24f., 28) indicate that *rāšā'* is an exact antonym of *ṣaddîq* (*see* RIGHTEOUSNESS I). The wicked are consistently characterized in terms of their actions: they give evil counsel (Ps. 1:1), pursue the poor (10:2), renounce the Lord (vv. 3f., 13), curse and lie (v. 7), murder the innocent (v. 8; 11:2; 37:14, 32), despoil others (17:9), plot against the righteous (37:12), and are often overbearing (v. 35). The AV sometimes translates *rāšā'* as "ungodly" (e.g., Ps. 1:1, 4-6); while this word may be archaic, it correctly emphasizes that the action of the wicked is against God and His covenant. The wicked are also frequently contrasted with the poor who are their victims (e.g., Ps. 37:14, 16; 82:4; 94:3-6; 146:9). While this contrast obviously does not mean that there was an exact correlation between the poor and the righteous or between the wealthy and the wicked, it does suggest that many of the wealthy were wealthy because they wickedly oppressed the vulnerable members of their society, and many of the poor were poor because they refused to follow wicked ways. Although the OT writers were sometimes disturbed by the present prosperity of the wicked (e.g., Job 9:24; 10:3; 21:7-34; Ps. 73:3-14; Eccl. 7:15; 8:14; Jer. 12:1), the OT consistently expresses the faith that God will eventually vindicate the righteous and destroy the wicked (e.g., Job 20:4-29; 27:7-23; Ps. 1:4-6; 11:5f.; 37:1f., 9f., 12-17; 73:18-20; Ps. 92:7 [MT 8]; Prov. 2:21f.; 10:24-30; Eccl. 8:12f.; Isa. 3:11; 13:11; Jer. 23:19). The prophet's task was to call upon the wicked to forsake their evil ways and turn to the Lord that they might find salvation (e.g., Isa. 55:7; Ezk. 3:17-19; 18:20-23, 27; 33:7-19).

The OT clearly makes no simple identification of Israelites with the righteous and non-Israelites with the wicked. The examples of wicked Israelites are too numerous to mention, and many non-Israelites receive approval (e.g., Melchizedek, Jethro, Rahab, Ruth, the widow of Zarephath). The Qumrân literature shows a clear tendency to identify the wicked with one group and the righteous with another, for the followers of the Wicked Priest (*hakkōhēn hārāšā'*) are set against the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness (cf. 1QpHab 8:8; 9:9). The OT, however, restricts the identification *rāšā'* to those who act wickedly, and these can be found in any nation or class; therefore the message is that all must repent and turn to the Lord.

Also occurring frequently are the cognates of *rāša'*: the verb *rāša'* and nouns *reša'* and *riš'â* (cf. also the fem. noun *mirša'aṯ*, occurring only in 2 Ch. 24:7). In 1 S. 24:13 (MT 14) David quotes an ancient proverb: "Out of the wicked [*rāšā'*] comes forth wickedness [*reša'*]," i.e., wicked deeds are performed by wicked people (and this is why David did not commit the wicked deed of slaying King Saul). Other proverbs warn of the self-destructive consequences of wickedness, e.g., "the wicked [*rāšā'*] falls by his own wickedness [*riš'â*]" (Prov. 11:5; cf. 10:2; 12:3; 18:3; 26:26). Several texts show the close association of "wickedness" (*reša'*) with social injustice (e.g., Eccl. 3:16; Ezk. 7:10f.; Mic. 6:10f.). The OT writers affirm that wickedness is totally opposed to God's character (e.g., Job 34:10; Ps. 5:4 [MT 5]; 45:7 [MT 8]).

Hebrew *ra'* and the cognate noun *rā'â* are rendered by the RSV as "evil" more frequently than as "wicked(ness)." There appears to be no clear reason for this choice; frequently the RSV has changed the AV translation "wicked" to "evil," and vice versa. This illustrates how closely synonymous "evil" and "wicked" are in the English language (*see* EVIL). At times *ra'* or *rā'â* indicates an unacceptable condition, at other times unacceptable actions (cf. the cognate verb *rā'a'*, which in the qal means "be bad, displeasing," and in the hiphil means "do evil, act wickedly"). That which is *ra'* is contrary to God's will and is injurious to His creation; thus it damages the relationship between God and human beings and relationships among human beings. Frequently *ra'* and *rā'â* denote harmful and unjust actions against other persons (e.g., Gen. 38:7; 1 S. 30:22; Est. 7:6; Jer. 15:21). One who persistently chooses the pathway of *ra'* will be destroyed, and only divine power can redeem such a person (2 Ch. 7:14). In the time of Noah human wickedness had reached such massive proportions that God decided to destroy most of the human race with the Flood (Gen. 6:5). *See also* VIOLENCE.

According to Bernhardt (*TDOT*, I, 141), the bas of *'āwen* is "power used in relation to a community or an individual with a negative effect or intention." Often it refers to social injustice (e.g., Job 22:15 [cf. vv. 6-11]; 34:36 [cf. v. 28]; Mic. 2:1).

Hebrew *'awlâ* denotes an act that is wrong, contrary to what is right (cf. the frequent RSV translation "wrong," e.g., Job 6:29f.; 36:23; Ps. 119:3; 125:3; Mic. 3:10; Zeph. 3:5, 13; Mal. 2:6). It is frequently used for violent and unjust deeds such as murder (2 S. 3:34), oppression (Ps. 107:42), and false testimony (Isa. 59:3); cf. the RSV translations "injustice" (Prov. 22:8; Hos. 10:13) and "perversion of justice" (2 Ch. 19:7).

The noun *zimmâ* appears to have two different meanings in the OT: sometimes it denotes a "plan" or "device"

(cf. vb. *zāmam*; see RSV Job 17:11; Ps. 26:10; Prov. 24:9; Isa. 32:7); more often, however, it denotes "disgraceful or infamous behavior" (cf. "wicked devices," Isa. 32:7). The term occurs three times in Leviticus (18:17; 19:29; 20:14), each time referring to a sexual offense (*see also* LEWD). (See KoB, 3rd ed., p. 261; *TDOT*, IV, 89f.)

In the NT the RSV renders Gk. *adikía* by "wickedness" seven times and by "wicked" once. The AV never translates *adikía* by these terms but commonly uses "unrighteousness" -- an appropriate translation (in old English, at least), since *adikía* is the opposite of *dikaiosýnē* ("righteousness," "justice") and denotes opposition to God's just order. Elsewhere the RSV translates it by "iniquity" (Lk. 13:27; Acts 8:23; etc.), "unrighteous(ness)" (Lk. 16:9; 18:6; 2 Thess. 2:12; etc.), "wrong(doing)" (1 Cor. 13:6; 2 Pet. 2:13, 15; etc.), "injustice" (Rom. 9:14), etc. In Acts 1:18 *misthós tḗs adikías* (RSV "reward of wickedness") refers to the thirty pieces of silver that Judas received for betraying Jesus. In Rom. 1:18 *adikía* (paired with *asébeia*, "ungodliness") is used to characterize heathen humanity in its rebellion against God. In v. 29 it stands at the head of a list of vices as a comprehensive term for all forms of immorality. In 2:8 obedience to *hē adikía* is contrasted with obedience to *hē alētheía* ("the truth"; cf. 2 Thess. 2:10), and in Rom. 3:5 and 6:13 *adikía* is contrasted with the *dikaiosýne* of God (*see* RIGHTEOUSNESS III.B).

In six instances the RSV uses "wicked" to render *ponērós* -- a term it usually renders "evil" (cf. the AV, which uses "wicked" nineteen times). *Ponērós* is synonymous with *kakós*, which the RSV renders by "wicked" only once, usually preferring "evil." Both *ponērós* and *kakós* are common LXX translations of Heb. *raʿ*, and both terms are rendered "wicked" in references to worthless servants (*kakós* in Mt. 24:48; *ponērós* in 18:32; 25:26; Lk. 19:22) and other depraved persons (Acts 17:5; 1 Cor. 5:13; cf. also 2 Jn. 11). The nouns *ponēría* and *kakía* (the two common translations of Heb. *rāʿâ* in the LXX) are also synonymous, both being general terms for depravity or moral deficiency (cf. *ponēría* in Acts 3:26; Eph. 6:12 and *kakía* in Acts 8:22; Jas. 1:21). Both terms appear in NT lists of vices: *ponēría* in Mk. 7:22; Rom. 1:29 (RSV "evil") and *kakía* (RSV usually "malice"; *see* MALICE) in Rom. 1:29; Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8; 1 Pet. 2:1.

The adjective *áthesmos* (lit. "apart from or contrary to statute," thus "lawless" or "unlawful") is used as a substantive in 2 Pet. 2:7, where it is applied to the people of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. 3:17 [RSV "lawless"], where it is applied to heretics). Similarly, the noun *anomía* means literally "apart from or contrary to (the) law," thus "lawlessness" (cf. RSV 2 Thess. 2:3, 7; etc.). In Mt. 24:12 the term denotes a general state of rebellion against God's reign. *See* LAWLESS.

See also EVIL; INIQUITY; SIN.

Bibliography.--Bauer, rev.; *DNTT*, I, 561-67; III, 573-76; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἄδικος κτλ.: ἀδικία (Schrenk), ἄθεσμος (Oepke); III, *s.v.* κακός κτλ.: κακός, κακία (Grundmann); IV, *s.v.* νόμος κτλ.: ἀνομία (Gutbrod); VI, *s.v.* πονηρός, πονηρία (Harder); *TDOT*, I, *s.v.* "ʾāven" (Bernhardt); IV, *s.v.* "zmm" (Steingrimson); *TWOT*, II, 652f., 854-56, 863f.

C. J. VOS N. J. O.

WIDOW [Heb. *ʾalmānâ*, also *ʾalmānūṯ*--'widowhood' (Gen. 38:14), *ʾiššâ*--'woman,' 'wife' (Ruth 4:5, 10; 1 S. 27:3; 30:5; 2 S. 2:2; 3:3); Gk. *chḗra*, also *gynḗ*--'woman,' 'wife' (Mt. 22:24), *neótera*--'younger' ("younger widow," 1 Tim. 5:14)]; AV also WIFE (Heb. *ʾiššâ*; Gk. *gynḗ*), YOUNGER WOMAN (*neótera*); NEB also WIFE.

I. In the OT.--Hebrew *ʾalmānâ* denotes a woman whose husband has died and who has no adult male relative (e.g., husband's brother, grown son) to serve as her legal protector (*TDOT*, I, 288f.). The term thus connotes not only the death of a woman's husband but also her abandonment and helplessness.

There were four ways in which a woman whose husband had died might find economic security: (1) if she had no sons, by the law of levirate marriage her HUSBAND'S BROTHER (or another relative) was expected to marry her, although he could refuse to perform this duty (Dt. 25:5-10; Ruth 3--4; *see also* MARRIAGE IV.A.2); (2) she could return to her father's house (Gen. 38:11; cf. Ruth 1:8); (3) she might marry again, especially if she was young or wealthy (e.g., 1 S. 25:39-42; 2 S. 11:26f.; cf. Ruth 1:9, 13); (4) either by necessity or by her own choice she might remain unmarried and attempt to support herself and any children she might have.

Without a legal protector, the position of the widow in Israelite society was precarious; she was often neglected or exploited. Part of the reason for the harsh treatment of widows may have been the common view that widowhood was a reproach from God Himself (Ruth 1:13, 20f.; Isa. 54:4). The high priest could not marry a widow (Lev. 21:14), and in Ezekiel's ideal cult no priest could marry a widow unless she was the widow of another priest (Ezk. 44:22).

If a woman's husband died when her children were young, she became a "widow" and her children became "orphans" (*see* ORPHAN). Although the widow without grown sons inherited the property of her deceased husband, and in rare instances the widow could be quite wealthy (cf. Jth. 8:4, 7), she was almost always very poor, since she was vulnerable to being defrauded of whatever property she did possess (e.g., Job 22:8f., 24:2f., 21; Isa. 10:1f.; cf. Mt. 23:14 par.). If she had a son, however, her lot was not as hopeless, for as soon as her son reached manhood he would inherit his father's property and assume the responsibility of caring for his mother. Thus the death of a widow's only son was a calamity indeed (1 K. 17:20; cf. 2 S. 14:5-7).

In the ancient Near East widows, orphans, and other disadvantaged groups were given special consideration. Thus Hammurabi boasted that his laws provided justice for widows (see *ANET*, p. 178), and the Ugaritic texts mention "judging the cause of the widow" as a mark of a good ruler (see *ANET*, pp. 149, 151, 153; see also Fensham).

In the OT, widows, along with other disadvantaged groups such as orphans and aliens, are an object of special concern to God and to the righteous. God is said to be their protector (Ps. 68:5 [MT 6]; 146:9). He maintains the widow's boundaries (Prov. 15:25) and executes justice for her (Dt. 10:18). OT law forbids exploiting the widow (Ex. 22:22 [MT 21]) or taking her garment in pledge (Dt. 24:17). Other laws are designed to provide her with a minimal level of support. The widow is to receive a share of the tithe every third year (Dt.14:28f.; 26:12f.), and she is among those for whom gleanings are to be left in the field during harvest season (Dt. 24:19-21; cf. Ruth 2:1f.).

Despite these protective laws, widows were the victims of harsh oppression (Ps. 94:6; Ezk. 22:7), and their cause was seldom heard in court (Isa. 1:23). In fact, the exploitation of widows was so common that this sin could be used to typify the general wickedness of mankind (Job 22:9; 24:3, 21; 31:16). In addition, the term "widow" was applied symbolically to cities and nations to describe their desolation and oppression (Babylon, Isa. 47:9; Jerusalem, 54:4; Lam. 1:1; 5:3f.; cf. Rev. 18:7 [Babylon/Rome]).

The prophets strongly condemned oppression of the widow, the orphan, and the alien and warned that Israel faced exile unless it returned to the ways of justice (Jer. 7:6f.; 22:3-5; Zec. 7:8-14). Because God had rescued His people from oppression in Egypt, they were now required

to help the helpless or be returned to foreign oppression themselves. Malachi warned that on the Day of the Lord, God Himself would come in judgment against those who oppressed the widow and orphan (Mal. 3:5).

II. In the NT.–The social and legal position of the widow in NT times was no different. Widows were typically poor (Lk. 21:2-4 par. Mk. 12:42-44; Acts 6:1). they were victims of exploitation even by religious leaders (Mk. 12:40 par.) and were unable to secure justice (cf. the parable in Lk. 18:1-5). They were representative of oppressed people; thus James, continuing OT teaching, defined true religion as aiding "widows and orphans" i.e., the helpless and oppressed (Jas. 1:27). Jesus demonstrated this concern in a unique way by raising the only son of the widow of Nain (Lk. 7:11-15), thereby restoring her protector and provider.

Widows sometimes served as examples of the righteous POOR who looked to God for their deliverance. One such widow, Anna the prophetess, was an early witness to Jesus as the fulfillment of Israel's hope (Lk. 2:36-38). Jesus pointed out the poor widow who gave as an offering her last two copper coins as an example of true devotion to God (Mk. 12:41-44 par. Lk. 21:1-4).

Care for the widows became an important priority in the NT Church (Acts 6:1; *see* SEVEN, THE). Dorcas is an example of an individual who devoted herself to this type of ministry (9:39). By the time that the Pastoral Epistles were written an official order of widows had been established, which was supported by the Church and probably assigned a particular ministry in the Church (1 Tim. 5:3-16). Although the nature of the widows' task is uncertain, the qualifications for enrollment in the order (v. 10) suggest a ministry of hospitality and service to others. It is specified that only "real" widows, i.e., widows with no relatives to provide for them, are to be enrolled (vv. 3-8, 16). Moreover, whereas Paul in 1 Cor. 7:8f. had advised widows, if possible, not to remarry, the younger widows are here urged to remarry (1 Tim. 5:14). To be enrolled, a widow was to be at least sixty years old and was to have demonstrated a commitment to remain unmarried and give herself to the service of God (vv. 5f., 9-15). Thus in the NT Church the widow was cared for and placed in a position of responsibility.

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WIFE. *See* FAMILY; MARRIAGE; RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY; WOMAN.

WIFE, BROTHER'S. *See* BROTHER'S WIFE.

WILD BEAST [Heb. *ḥayyâ*] (Ps. 74:19; Zeph. 2:15); AV "multitude of the wicked," BEAST; NEB also BEAST; [*ḥayyaṯ haśśādeh*] (Ex. 23:11, 29; Lev. 26:22; Dt. 7:22; 2 K. 14:9 par. 2 Ch. 25:18; Job 39:15; 40:20; etc.); AV also BEAST OF THE FIELD; NEB also WILD ANIMAL; [*ḥayyâ rā'â*] (Gen. 37:20, 33; Ezk. 5:17; 14:15; 34:25); AV EVIL BEAST, NOISOME BEAST; NEB also BEAST OF PREY; [*ḥayyaṯ hā'āreṣ*] (1 S. 17:46); [*bahᵃmôṯ śādeh*] (Joel 1:20); AV BEAST OF THE FIELD; NEB CATTLE IN THE FIELD; [*ṣî*] (Isa. 13:21; 23:13; 34:14; Jer. 50:39); AV also "them that dwell in the wilderness" (23:13); NEB MARMOT, "ship" (23:13; cf. mg.); [*ṭᵉrēpâ*–'animal torn by predators'] ("that which was torn by wild beasts," Gen. 31:39); AV ". . . of beasts"; [Gk. *thērion*] (Mk. 1:13; Rev. 6:8); AV BEAST.

Although Heb. *ḥayyâ* is a general term for "animal," it sometimes designates a wild animal as distinguished from a domesticated animal (*bᵉhēmâ*), especially when it is qualified by *haśśādeh* or *hā'āreṣ*. These terms all refer to the ancient population of non-domesticated Palestinian fauna. The heavy settlement of Palestine in modern times, coupled with the gradual deforestation of the Palestinian hills, has driven out many of the species native to the area in earlier times. The ancient Palestinian fauna, however, resembled a blend of East African, Mediterranean, and Eurasian types. Predators included lions, leopards, cheetahs (not distinguished in the Bible from leopards), bears, wolves, jackals, hyenas, and foxes. Among the herbivores were the wild ass (Syrian onager), various kinds of deer, gazelles, antelopes, the ibex, and the wild ox. Wild boar, the Syrian coney (hyrax), and several kinds of rodents also deserve mention.

The humanitarian concern of the Mosaic law extended to herbivorous wildlife as well as to the poor: every seventh year the fields were to lie fallow, and whatever grew in them was to be for the poor and the "wild beasts" (Ex. 23:11). Conversely, Yahweh's threat "to let loose the wild beasts among you, which shall rob you of your children, and destroy your cattle, and make you few in number" (Lev. 26:22) refers to predators (cf. Dt. 7:22), which posed a limited threat to human life (cf. 2 S. 23:20; 1 K. 13:24f.). 2 K. 17:25 relates how Yahweh sent lions to ravage those whom the Assyrians settled in Samaria in place of the Israelites. Rev. 6:8 similarly envisions the loosing of "the wild beasts of the earth" upon the human population as one of the scourges during the last days. Predators and scavengers of the open country are referred to in 1 S. 17:46, which speaks of leaving the bodies of those slain in battle to "the birds of the air and the wild beasts of the field" (an ancient form of desecration). *Ḥayyâ rā'â* (lit. "evil beast") is a general term for predator.

The term *ṣî* (pl. *ṣiyyim*) may designate an actual species, but it is obscure. It receives diverse renderings in the LXX and other versions, and scholars have likewise offered various interpretations, e.g., "demons" (cf. LXX Isa. 34:14), "desert animals" (cf. Arabic *ḍayūna*, perhaps a form of wildcat), or "inhabitants of the desert." The RSV reflects the LXX usage at Isa. 13:21 (*thēría*, "animals") and Jer. 50:39 (LXX 27:39; *indálmata*, "species").

See also BEAST; ZOOLOGY.

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WILD OLIVE. *See* OLIVE, WILD; OLEASTER.

WILD OX [Heb. *rᵉ'ēm, rêm*] (Nu. 23:22; 24:8; Dt. 33:17; Job 39:9; Ps. 22:21 [MT 22]; 29:6; 92:10 [MT 11]; Isa. 34:7); AV UNICORN. Hebrew *rᵉ'ēm* is thought to refer to the wild bovine mammal known to the Europeans as aurochs, of the species *Bos primigenius* Bojanus. A magnificent wild animal with a dark brown or blackish coat and long curved horns, the aurochs was widely distributed in Europe, central Asia, and areas of North Africa. In Assyria it was known as Akk. *rimu*; hunting the *rimu* was a favorite sport of the Assyrian monarchs. The aurochs is generally regarded as the progenitor of modern domesticated cattle.

Although bones of aurochs have been found in Palestine from earlier periods (see Bodenheimer, p. 22), there is some question as to whether the animal still existed in Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age. Biblical allusions to it may have derived from the lore attached to wild oxen in Egypt, where the aurochs was hunted as late as the 12th

cent. B.C. In the OT the wild ox is a symbol of strength and vigor (Nu. 23:22; 24:8; Ps. 29:6). Its powerful, dangerous horns (cf. Ps. 22:21 [MT 22] are attributed poetically to Joseph, who had the majesty and strength of a firstborn bull (Dt. 33:17). Job 39:9-12 describes the contrast between wild and domesticated oxen. Isaiah, in prophesying divine vengeance upon Edom, classes the wild ox with the ceremonially clean animals that will fall victim to the sword (34:7). The psalmist rejoices that God has endowed him with power as fearsome as the horns of the wild ox (Ps. 92:10 [MT 11]).

The AV rendering "unicorn" is unfortunate in that it associates a purely mythical beast with the real prehistoric wild bull. *See* UNICORN.

See F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), pp. 22, 51, 102-104, 108, 123. R. K. H.

WILDERNESS [Heb. *miḏbār*] (Gen. 14:6; 16:7; 21:14, 20f.; etc.); AV also DESERT (e.g., Ex. 3:1), SOUTH (Ps. 75:6); NEB also DESERT (e.g., Nu. 21:5), PASTURES, OPEN PASTURES (e.g., Ezk. 34:25), OPEN (Joel 1:19f.), WASTE (e.g., Joel 3:19 [MT 4:19]), WILD (Jer. 23:10), "inhospitable" (Jer. 2:31); [*yᵉšîmôn*] (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 68:7 [MT 8]); NEB VOID; [*ṣîyâ*] (Ps. 74:14); NEB "sharks" (conjecturing that *leʿām leṣîyîm* should read *leʿamleṣê yam*; see *BHS*); [Gk. *érēmos*] (Mt. 3:1, 3; 4:1; 11:7; etc.); AV also DESERT; NEB also WILDS (e.g., Lk. 1:80), OPEN PASTURE (Lk. 15:4), LONELY PLACES (Lk. 5:16), DESERT (e.g., Jn. 6:31); [*erēmía*] (2 Cor. 11:26); NEB COUNTRY. Land of varying degrees of aridity, not suitable for permanent dwelling.

I. Geographical Designation
II. Biblical Motifs
  A. In the OT
  B. In the NT

I. Geographical Designation. The Israelite concept of "wilderness" (primarily Heb. *miḏbār* and Gk. *érēmos*) included several types of terrain. It included the arid regions surrounding Palestine on the east and south (e.g., the ARABAH the Transjordan plateau, and the Sinai peninsula). These were not vast sandy deserts like the Sahara, but desolate areas where rainfall was minimal. The wildernesses of ZIN in the Negeb, of PARAN farther south, of Sin in Sinai, and of SHUR toward Egypt were also examples of the this type of terrain (*see also* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL). (Dt. 32:10 [Heb. *yᵉšîmôn*] probably refers to Israel's wilderness experience at Sinai.) The term also included the steppeland where sheep and goats might be pastured.

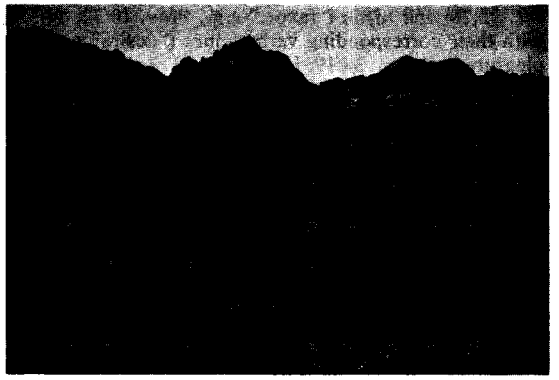
Several passages refer "pastures in the wilderness" (e.g., Jer. 9:10; Joel 1:19f.; 2:22; cf. also 1 S. 17:28; Lk. 15:4). It was through this steppeland that the nomads and caravans passed. Even areas of arable land were classified as wilderness. Bezer, one of the cities of refuge, is described as being in the *miḏbār* on the Transjordan tableland, even though it was within the bounds of cultivable land (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 20:8). From year to year the boundaries of arable land probably advanced or receded as the quantity of rainfall increased or diminished.

The term *miḏbār* was especially applied to rugged areas — whether or not they had minimal rainfall. Joab and Abishai pursued Abner toward the wilderness of Gibeon, i.e., the rough, uncultivated countryside N of Jerusalem (2 S. 2:24). "Wilderness" is linked with "forest" in contrast to "fruitful field" in Isa. 32:15f. (cf. 29:17, which has "Lebanon" — famous for its forests — in place of "wilderness"). The association of "wilderness" with forest or woods (Ezk. 34:25) suggests that the term connotes not just a desolate or lonely place but also a place where people may become disoriented (see *GB*, rev., pp. 103, 108).

The wilderness in the Valley of Jericho with the Jordan River in the foreground (Philip Gendreau, NY)

II. Biblical Motifs.—A. In the OT. The wilderness is regarded both positively and negatively in the OT. Negatively, the wilderness through which Israel journeyed to Canaan was "great and terrible" (Dt. 1:19), a place of "flinty rock" and "no water" populated by "fiery serpents and scorpions" (8:15), a "howling waste" (32:10). In the wilderness Israel rebelled against Yahweh. The murmuring motif that runs through the Exodus narratives describes open rebellion, not merely disgruntlement (see Coats). Frequently complaining that God had brought them into the wilderness to die (e.g., Ex. 14:11f.), the generation that left Egypt brought upon themselves the destruction that they feared. Because of their disobedience, Yahweh condemned them to wander in the wilderness for forty years (Nu. 14:33) and to perish there. The memory of that experience was kept alive throughout Israel's history. Both psalmist and prophet returned to that theme (e.g., Ps. 78:40; Ezk. 20:13).

The wilderness experience also had its positive side. Not only was it "great and terrible": it was where the mountain of God was located (Ex. 4:27). The desert was the route by which the Israelites escaped their bondage in Egypt; here Yahweh guided them (Dt. 1:31; Ps. 78:52), fed them (Ex. 16:32), and established his covenant with them (Ex. 19:1-6; cf. Acts 7:36, 44). Moreover, God promised through the prophets that in the future He would make the wilderness to be so well watered that forest and cultivated trees would grow there, and it would be a place where justice and righteousness would dwell (Isa. 32:15f.; 41:18f.).



A pass through the wilderness of Sinai (A. H. Tolhurst)

Because of the extensiveness of the wilderness theme, some biblical scholars have perceived a desert ideal in the OT. In 1895 K. Budde coined the phrase "nomadic ideal" and used it to refer to the style of life reminiscent of the journey from Egypt to Canaan; this lifestyle was practiced by the Rechabites (Jer. 35) and was pointed to by Jeremiah, Hosea, and Isaiah as a solution to the social and religious ills of their times. In 1923 J. Flight expanded the thesis of Budde and others so that the "essential element" of the prophets' earlier and later messages was that Israel be brought back to "the simple and uncorrupted faith of their fathers" that had been exemplified by God's people during the golden age of its nomadic existence (p. 223). Jesus Himself was viewed as elevating the ideal to its highest point by His proclamation of the "simplicities" of faith and love. More recently, in 1974, M. Seale proposed that nomadic culture be viewed not so much as an ideal to which to return, but as the interpretative key to the OT. In his opinion the failure to understand the Hebrews as a nomadic people has continued to cause problems in translation and interpretation.

The presence of such an ideal has been disputed by other scholars. First, some have cast doubt on the thesis that Jehonadab the son of Rechab and his followers represent the historical beginning of the ideal in its concrete form. The Rechabites' living in tents, abstinence from wine, and refusal to engage in agriculture, which are usually set forth as indicators of their nomadic life-style, need not be interpreted as such. An alternate explanation is that they were permanently mobilized for holy war (see Frick, p. 214). In any case, Jeremiah's approbation of the sect (Jer. 35:14-16) concerned their loyalty to their spiritual forebear's command and not their living patterns as such. Scripture merely describes the Rechabite way of life; it does not present it as a model.

Again, the prophets' purpose as they attacked the degeneration of the covenantal relationship between Israel and its God was not to urge a return to the desert way of life. Although Am. 2:10 and 5:25 may seem, at first glance, to be longing for such a return, further examination reveals that they describe Yahweh's care for Israel and Israel's departure from that care. Similarly, Jer. 2:2, often a touchstone of the nomadic ideal thesis, has been analyzed as pointing to God's love for Israel during the wilderness period rather than to Israel's devotion to God (see Fox). Israel must return not to the wilderness but to the God who led them through the wilderness to the Promised Land.

B. In the NT. Several NT passages allude to the wilderness wanderings of Israel. Some compare God's care for His people during that period with His greater provision in Christ (Jn. 3:14; 6:49f.; cf. Acts 7:30-44). Others note the hardening of the Israelites' hearts and God's testing of them in the wilderness (He. 3:8) in order to warn Christians against giving themselves over to the same unbelieving disposition.

Like Israel, Jesus also was tested in the wilderness (Mt. 4:1) — in His case by the devil; the Spirit drove Jesus there for that very purpose (Mk. 1:12). There, like Moses and Elijah before Him (Ex. 34:18; 1 K. 19:4-8), He fasted forty days, although His circumstances were very different. Occasionally He withdrew from the crowds in order to pray in a LONELY place (e.g., Mk. 1:35; cf. Lk. 5;16). Once it became dangerous for Him to go about openly because of the opposition against Him, He withdrew to a town overlooking the *érēmos* to the east (Jn. 11:54).

John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, was in the wilderness until the beginning of his public ministry (Lk. 1:80). Some have suggested that John was raised in the sectarian desert community of Qumrân, but the evidence for this is inconclusive. Clearly, though, John's ministry as the one who prepared "the way of the Lord" (Mk. 1:3; cf. Isa. 40:3) took place at various wilderness locations.

Acts 21:38 mentions an Egyptian who "stirred up a revolt and led the four thousand men of the Assassins out into the wilderness." Josephus referred to this Egyptian (*Ant.* xx.8.6 [169-172] and to other impostors who led their followers to the wilderness with promises of performing marvels and signs for them (xx.8.6 [167f.]). The magician Theudas claimed that the Jordan would separate at his command and his people would cross on dry ground, but cavalry sent by the procurator Cuspius Fadus crushed his revolt (xx.5.1 [97-99]). Acts 5:36f. mentions an earlier Theudas and a Judas the Galilean whose insurrections were likewise crushed. Jesus warned His disciples against such false Christs and prophets: "If they say to you, 'Lo, he is in the wilderness,' do not go out" (Mt. 24:26; cf. vv. 23-25). Jesus seems, therefore, to have roundly rejected any expectation of messianic salvation coming from the wilderness.

It might appear, however, that Rev. 12:6, 14 supports just such a wilderness eschatology. The woman who bears the male child "who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron" (v. 5) flees into the wilderness to a place God has prepared, in order to be nourished by Him. But the point of this passage is to present an Exodus typology rather than a wilderness eschatology (cf., e.g., R. Mounce, *Book of Revelation* [*NICNT*, 1977], p. 245). The motif of God's care during Israel's wilderness journey is expressed, e.g., in His provision of the manna for nourishment (cf. v. 6) and in His leading, which is described as bearing Israel "on eagles' wings" (cf. Ex. 19:4; Rev. 12:14). God's judgment displayed in the earth's swallowing the Korahites, who had opposed His purposes (Nu. 16:31-33), parallels the earth's swallowing the river that the dragon had sent forth to sweep away the woman (Rev. 12:16). The reverse side of the Exodus symbolism is seen in Rev. 17, in which John from the wilderness (v. 3) sees a vision of the destruction of "Babylon the great, the mother of harlots" (v. 5). The two strands of wilderness experience are brought together: God's protection and sustenance of His people and His relentless judgment of those who oppose His purposes.

See also DESERT.

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WILDGOATS' ROCKS [Heb. *ṣûrê hayye'ēlîm*] (1 S. 24:2 [MT 3]); AV, NEB, ROCKS OF THE WILD GOATS. Ledges near En-gedi on the western shore of the Dead Sea, favored as vantage points by the ibexes of the region. Here David cut off the skirt of Saul's robe to show Saul that he wished him no harm.

WILFUL; WILLFULLY [Heb. *zîḏ*] (Ex. 21:14); AV PRESUMPTUOUSLY; [Gk. *authádēs*] (2 Pet. 2:10); AV SELFWILLED. The RSV usually translates Heb. *zîḏ* by "presumptuous(ly)," as does the AV at Ex. 21:14. "Willfully" better expresses the idea of "with malice aforethought" in "premeditated" murder, distinguished from the killing that occurs in the heat of passion, described in v. 13. The concept of self (Gk. *aut-*) is integral to the term in 2 Pet. 2:10, which is translated "arrogant" in Tit. 1:7.

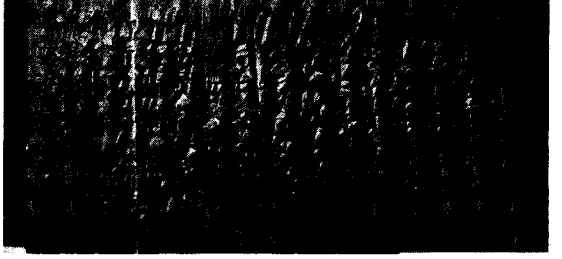
WILL (TESTAMENT) [Gk. *diathékē*] (He. 9:16f.); AV, NEB, TESTAMENT. A legal expression of a person's wishes for disposition of his or her property after death. The Greek word, which is regularly used in the LXX for Heb. *bᵉrîṯ*, "covenant," is elsewhere in the RSV NT translated "covenant." The argument in He. 9:15-22 uses the term in both senses, which the RSV expresses by changing the translation to "will" in vv. 16f. and using a footnote to indicate the identity of the underlying Greek word with the word translated "covenant" in vv. 15, 18, 20. The NEB uses "covenant, or testament," at the first appearance of the term in v. 15a, "testament" in vv. 16f., and "covenant" in vv. 15b, 18, 20. E. W. S.

WILL OF GOD. The biblical understanding of God as a person who created human persons in "His" image recognizes in God the characteristic of desiring, or delighting in, certain things or people, as well as the capacity to choose and initiate one course of action in preference to another. Psychology has traditionally grouped these capacities under the heading of "the will."

I. Terminology
II. In the OT
III. In the Gospels
IV. In Early Christianity
V. God's Will and Human Will

I. Terminology.–It is significant that there is no one Hebrew word for "will." The principal expressions used are the nouns *ḥēpeṣ* ("delight" or "pleasure," e.g., 1 S. 15:22; Jer. 22:28) and *rāṣôn* ("favor," e.g., Prov. 10:32; 14:35), with their corresponding verbs *ḥāpēṣ* ("desire" or "take pleasure in," Gen. 34:19; Isa. 1:11) and *rāṣâ* ("be pleased with," e.g., Gen. 33:10). Related ideas are occasionally conveyed by the verbs *'āḇâ* ("consent," "be willing," e.g., 1 K. 22:50 [MT 51]), the hiphil of *yā'al* ("begin," "intend," e.g., Hos. 5:11), *bāḥar* ("choose," e.g., Ps. 135:4), *'āhaḇ* ("love," e.g., Hos. 3:1), and *ḥāšaq* ("love," or "desire," 1 K. 9:19), among others.

Part of a will from Mesopotamia stating which property belongs to a certain man after the paternal property has been divided among him and his brothers (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)



Greek terminology is more uniform. By far the most common Greek noun for "will" in the LXX and NT is *thélēma* ("will" or "desire") from the verb *thélō*. *Thélēma* can be used objectively for what is willed or desired (e.g., Mt. 6:10) or subjectively for the act of willing or desiring (e.g., 1 Pet. 3:17; cf. also *thélēsis* in He. 2:4). *Thélēma* in the sense of "desire" must be carefully distinguished from *epithymía*. Both terms can refer to either good or evil desires, but *epithymía* is never used in the NT for the will of God (although in Lk. 22:15 it does refer to Jesus' desire for the Passover meal).

Other Greek terms for "will" are *boulé* (e.g., Acts 2:23; 4:28) and *boúlēma* (e.g., Rom. 9:19), both in the sense of "plan" or "intention," with the corresponding verb *boúlomai* ("wish," "want," or "decide"; e.g., 1 Cor. 12:11); also *eudokía* ("good will" or "favor"; e.g., Mt. 11:26) with its verb *eudokéō* ("be pleased," "delight in"; e.g., Gal. 1:16), *próthesis* ("purpose," e.g., Rom. 8:28), *arestós* (e.g., "what pleases," 1 Jn. 3:22) with its compound *euárestos* (e.g., "pleasing," Eph. 5:10), and *euprósdektos* (e.g., "acceptable," 1 Pet. 2:5). Some NT passages accentuate the divine sovereignty by combining two or more of these roughly equivalent words into a single expression (e.g., Rom. 12:1f.; Eph. 1:5, 11; He. 13:21; see IV below).

II. In the OT.–The terminology of complying with someone else's wishes is used in the OT both of human relationships and of relationships between human beings and God. In the former sense, Hiram of Tyre agrees to do all that Solomon desires (Heb. *ḥēpeṣ*; LXX *thélēma*) with regard to "cedar and cypress timber" in return for Solomon carrying out Hiram's wishes (Heb. *ḥēpeṣ*; LXX *thélēma*) with regard to food supplies (1 K. 5:8f. [MT 23f.]; cf. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in 2 Ch. 9:12).

Similarly, the OT expects God's people to do the will of God (e.g., Heb. *rāṣôn* in Ps. 40:8 [MT 9]; 143:10; cf. Gk. *thélēma* in 1 Esd. 9:9; 2 Macc. 1:3; 4 Macc. 18:16). This is also expected of God's angelic hosts (Ps. 103:21). Even foreign kings acknowledge that the Jews live "according to the will of your God" (1 Esd. 8:16). The psalmist praises God because He "fulfils the desire [i.e., does the will] of all who fear him" (Ps. 145:19; cf. Mish. *Aboth* ii.4, attributed to Rabban Gamaliel: "Do his will as if it was thy will that he may do thy will as if it was his will").

Above all, however, the OT states that God does His own will. God fulfils His covenant with His people because it pleases Him to do so. In human affairs only fools (Eccl. 8:3) and kings (Dnl. 11:3, 16, 36; cf. 8:4) do whatever they please; but "whatever the Lord pleases [Heb. *ḥāpēṣ*; LXX *thélō*] he does, in heaven and on earth, in the seas and all deeps" (Ps. 135:6; cf. 115:3). The same idea (with Gk. *thélēma*) appears in 1 Macc. 3:60 ("But as his will in heaven may be, so will he do") and in Theodotion's version of Dnl. 4:35 ("he does according to his will"). The God of Israel "performs his purpose [Heb. *ḥēpeṣ*; LXX *thélēma*]" even on Israel's enemies (Isa. 48:14). Thus God's will initiates creation, redemption, and all that happens in heaven and on earth; and the people with whom God has made His covenant are called to live according to His will as this has been revealed to them in the law,

wisdom teaching, and prophetic utterances. In the last analysis, to "delight" (Heb. *ḥāpēṣ*) in doing God's will (*rāṣôn*; LXX *thélēma*) is the same as having God's law written in one's heart (Ps. 40:8 [MT 9]; cf. Jer. 31:31-34), and such willing obedience takes precedence even over the sacrifices and burnt offerings prescribed in the tradition (cf. Ps. 40:6 [MT 7]).

III. In the Gospels.–The theme of the will (Gk. *thélēma*) of God is almost as central to the teaching of Jesus as that of the kingdom of God. In the Matthaean form of the Lord's Prayer the third petition ("Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven," Mt. 6:10) explains and virtually defines the first two ("Hallowed be thy name," and "Thy kingdom come"). The idea of the universality of heaven and earth as the sphere where God's will is realized was not new to the Judaism of Jesus' day (cf. Ps. 135:5f.; 1 Macc. 3:60). But rabbinic Judaism more often assumed that God's will would inevitably be done, and therefore simply prayed, "May it be Thy will . . ." (cf., e.g., the series of prayers appended by different Rabbis to the *Amidah* or *Eighteen Benedictions* in T. B. *Berakoth* 16b-17a).

In Matthew, Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane echoes the prayer that He taught His disciples: "My Father, . . . not as I will, but as thou wilt. . . . thy will be done" (Mt. 26:39, 42). In Mark's Gospel, which does not record the Lord's Prayer, Jesus prays at Gethsemane, "not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mk. 14:36), but does not use the specific phrase "Thy will be done." Luke preserves this petition in a slightly different form: "Father, if thou art willing [Gk. *boúlomai*], . . . nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done" (Lk. 22:42). Although Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer lacks the petition about God's will (11:2), Luke's awareness of the "will of God" terminology in prayer (particularly in times of crisis) can be seen not only in his Gethsemane account but also in Acts 21:14, where Paul, on being warned of the danger of death if he goes to Jerusalem, says, "The will of the Lord be done" (cf. also M. Polyc. 7:1).

Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer accents a link between the theme of God's will and that of God as Father — whether of Jesus or of His disciples. The Sermon on the Mount closes with the warning that "Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven" (Mt. 7:21). The context suggests that the one who does God's will is the same as the one "who hears these words of mine and does them . . . like a wise man who built his house upon the rock" (v. 24). Jesus' teaching is the decisive embodiment of God's will for His hearers precisely because God is His Father. In Mark, Jesus says, "Whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Mk. 3:35), but in Matthew the phrase becomes "whoever does the will of my Father in heaven" (Mt. 12:50). The same idea is expressed in a parable (21:31) in which Jesus asks which of two sons "did the will of his father" (referring in the parable to their own father, but in Jesus' application to God the Father; cf. Luke's play on the phrase, "the will of his lord" [RSV "his master's will"], in a different parable, Lk. 12:47).

These examples show that the distinctly Matthaean form of the Lord's Prayer (particularly the words "Our Father who art in heaven. . . . Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven") stands close to the heart of that Gospel's understanding of Jesus as the one who both teaches and does the will of God. Surprisingly, the Gospel that most nearly approaches Matthew's perspective on this point is John. The principal difference is that John roots the "will of God" more emphatically in the mission of Jesus. If the keynote of Matthew's Gospel is the "will of the Father" (i.e., of God as Father to both Jesus and the disciples), the keynote of John's is "the will of him who sent me" (i.e., God in relation to Jesus in particular). In Samaria, Jesus tells His disciples, "my food is to do the will of him who sent me," i.e., "to accomplish his work" (Jn. 4:34). Later, in language reminiscent of the Synoptic Gethsemane accounts, Jesus defends His judgment as being just, "because I seek not my own will but the will of him who sent me" (5:30). He presents Himself to the crowds as the bread of life who has "come down from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me" (6:38); He then concretely defines the "will of him who sent me" (v. 39), or "the will of the Father" (v. 40), as the realization of corporate and individual salvation for all who believe in Him: "that I should lose nothing of all that he has given me, but raise it up at the last day" (v. 39; cf. v. 40). In John's Gospel the will of God is nothing less than the entire work of Jesus, the Son of God sent from heaven to secure eternal life for all whom the Father has given Him (cf. the summary of how Jesus "accomplished the work" of the Father in 17:1-8; see esp. v. 3).

Only twice in John's Gospel (7:17; 9:31) is the will of God understood as a more generally applicable ethical standard; but even in these two passages Jesus' mission is not far from the author's mind. The formerly blind man simply voices conventional Jewish wisdom when he reminds the Jewish authorities questioning him about his healing that "if anyone is a worshiper of God and does his will, God listens to him" (9:31); it is clear from what immediately follows (vv. 32f.), however, that he is referring specifically to Jesus. Earlier, Jesus Himself had reminded a similar group of authorities that "if any man's will is to do [God's] will, he shall know whether the teaching is from God or whether I am speaking on my own authority" (7:17). There the context, quite characteristically, was Jesus' claim that "my teaching is not mine, but his who sent me" (v. 16). Although John's Gospel is often remembered as the one that particularly stresses "knowing" God, this passage demonstrates that to this author (like the author of Matthew) "doing" is just as important as "knowing," both for Jesus and for His disciples (cf. 13:15, 17).

IV. In Early Christianity.–Paul introduces himself in several of his letters as an apostle of Jesus Christ "by [*diá*] the will of God" (1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1; 2 Tim. 1:1; cf. Gal. 1:1, "by Jesus Christ and God the Father"; 1 Tim. 1:1, "by the command of God our Savior and Christ Jesus our hope"). Because an "apostle" is one who is sent, the formula recalls Jesus' reference to "the will of him who sent me" in the gospel of John. Paul's use of it suggests that he viewed his apostolic calling as an extension of the mission of his Lord. More specifically, he viewed the prospect of his visiting the church at Rome (Rom. 15:32), and also the Macedonian Christians' full participation in the collection for poor believers in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8:4f.), as possible only "by [*diá*] the will of God." The same preposition occurs in Rev. 4:11, the only NT passage that links God's will to creation: "for thou didst create all things, and by [*diá*] thy will they existed and were created" (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6b: "Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist").

Other prepositions are also used with *thélēma*. Paul's hope of visiting Rome "by the will of God" can be expressed with the preposition *en* (lit. "in") as well as *diá* (Rom. 1:10). Epaphras prays that the Colossians may stand mature "in all the will of God" (i.e., in every single thing that God wants for them, Col. 4:12; cf. Paul's description of David in Acts 13:22). Gal. 1:4 states that the

redemptive plan by which Jesus Christ "gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age" is "according to [*katá*] the will of our God and Father" (cf. Ign. Smyrn. 1:1). More elaborately, redemption is described as "according to the purpose [*eudokía*] of his will [*thélēma*]" (Eph. 1:5) and "according to the purpose [*próthesis*] of him who accomplishes all things according to the counsel [*boulé*] of his will [*thélēma*]" (Eph. 1:11). He. 2:4 refers to God's testimony through "signs and wonders and . . . gifts of the Holy Spirit distributed according to his will [*thélēsis*]."

The nouns *boúlēma* and *boulé* are also used for God's redemptive plan as a whole. "For who can resist his will [*boúlēma*]?" Paul asks in Rom. 9:19 in connection with God's sovereign choice of Jacob over Esau. In Acts *boulé* is used twice of God's plan with regard to the crucifixion of Jesus by Jewish and gentile authorities (2:23; 4:28), once in connection with David as the instrument of God's plan in his own generation (13:36), and once to describe the message ("the whole counsel of God") that Paul proclaimed at Ephesus (20:27). Elsewhere *boulé* is used of God's purpose implicit in His promise to Abraham (He. 6:17) and of God's intent that people should accept the baptism of John the Baptist (Lk. 7:30). In Jas. 1:18 the Christian experience of new birth by the "word of truth" is explicitly connected with the purpose or initiative of God (vb. *boúlomai*; cf. Jn. 1:13, which contrasts being born "of the will of the flesh [*thélēma*]," or "the will of the male," with being "born of God").

Several of these passages suggest that God's plan is a mystery, or something contrary to human expectations. Nowhere is this point more clearly made than in Mt. 11:25f. par. Lk. 10:21, where Jesus gives thanks to God for having "hidden these things [i.e., the kingdom of God at work in His ministry] from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will" (*eudokía*, lit. "well pleasing before thee").

Twice in 1 Thessalonians Paul defines God's will concretely. In 4:3 he states, "For this is the will of God, your sanctification: that you abstain from immorality"; in 5:18 he identifies the "will of God" with the command to "Rejoice always, pray constantly, give thanks in all circumstances" (vv. 17f.). Similarly, in 1 Pet. 2:15 God's will is defined concretely as "doing right," so as to "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." The precise definition of God's will depends on the specific situation. To some extent, however, it seems to be related to the ancient concept of sacrifice, i.e., the offering to God of something holy: the "sanctification" of oneself rather than ceremonial offerings in 1 Thess. 4:3, "thanksgiving" (perhaps already regarded as a bloodless Christian sacrifice) in 5:18, and good deeds (possibly regarded in a similar way) in 1 Pet. 2:15 (cf. the sacrificial imagery in vv. 5, 9). In any case, the notion that praise to God and good deeds to fellow human beings are "sacrifices . . . pleasing [*euarestéō*] to God" is explicit in He. 13:15f.

Paul himself explicitly connects God's will with sacrifice in Rom. 12:1f. with its decisive appeal "to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable [*euárestos*] to God, which is your spiritual worship. . . . be transformed by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what is the will [*thélēma*] of God, what is good and acceptable [*euárestos*] and perfect." As in 1 Thessalonians, Paul is attempting to define God's will, but here he is referring to God's general will in all circumstances, and therefore it is defined less concretely. God's will for His servants is always obedience, the giving of oneself to Him as an instrument for righteousness (cf. Rom. 6:13, 19). What that means concretely must be discovered in the situation, but for Paul this is the only appropriate "sacrifice" for those who have accepted the gospel. He. 10:5-10 draws out the contrast between offering sacrifices and doing the will of God. After quoting Ps. 40:6-8, the author highlights two statements: "Thou hast neither desired nor taken pleasure in sacrifices and offerings . . ." (Heb. 10:8), and "Lo, I have come to do thy will" (v. 9). He then concludes, "He [Christ] abolishes the first [sacrifices] in order to establish the second [doing God's will] (v. 9b), with the observation that "by [*en*] that will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (v. 10). Sacrificial language appears even in the closing benediction of Hebrews: "Now may the God of peace . . . equip you with everything good that you may do his will [*thélēma*], working in you that which is pleasing [*euárestos*] in his sight . . ." (13:20f.).

In early Christianity *thélēma* was so closely identified with God's will that the term was sometimes used without modifiers for "what is acceptable" or "what is required," with the understanding that the will of God was meant. Paul, e.g., rebukes those in Judaism who "know the will [*tó thélēma*] and approve what is excellent" (Rom. 2:18). In explaining why Apollos has not come to Corinth, Paul states that "it was not at all *thélēma* [i.e., acceptable or fitting] for him to go now. He will come when he has opportunity" (1 Cor. 16:12). Jesus' pronouncement in Mt. 18:14, "So it is not *thélēma* [i.e., acceptable] before your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish," probably belongs in this category as well. The expression "if it be *thélēma* [God's will] . . ." is common in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch (Ign. Eph. 20:1; Ign. Rom. 1:1; Ign. Smyrn. 11:1; Ign. Polyc. 1:1; cf. Jas. 4:15 with the vb. *thélō*). But more often the whole phrase, "will of God," was used because Christians were aware of other wills and other forces in their world. It was possible to be caught in the devil's trap and to do his will (*thélēma*, 2 Tim. 2:26), and there was a time when gentile Christians followed the "desires [*tá thelḗmata*] of the flesh and of the senses" (Eph. 2:3). Jesus Himself was "delivered up to the will [*thélēma*]" of those who demanded his death (Lk. 23:25).

As a characterization of Christian believers, expressions like "doing the will of God" are as common in the rest of early Christian literature as in the teaching ascribed to Jesus. Eph. 6:6 urges servants to "do the will of God from the heart." He. 10:36 reminds readers that "you have need of endurance, so that you may do the will of God and receive what is promised" and 1 Jn. 2:17 assures its readers that though "the world passes away, and the lust of it, yet whoever does the will of God remains forever." Prayer offered to God "according to his will" is not only heard but answered (5:14). 1 Pet. 4:17 assures those who "suffer according to God's will" that their "faithful Creator" will protect and vindicate them in the end (cf. 3:17).

In order to do the will of God one must first know it, and most NT writers assume that the knowledge of God's will, once the prerogative of the Jews (Rom. 2:18), has now been made available to the Gentiles. Ananias reminded Paul before his baptism that he had been appointed by God "to know his will" (Acts 22:14). Paul in turn prays for the gentile believers at Colossae that they "may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding" (Col. 1:9), and he commands other Christians, "do not be foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is" (Eph. 5:17). 1 Pet. 4:2f. sums up the aspiration of the earliest gentile Christians: they tried (not always successfully) to stop doing "what the Gentiles want" (the *boúlēma* of the Gentiles, v. 3) and to "live for the rest of the time in the flesh no longer by human pas-

sions [*epithymíai*] but by the will [*thélēma*] of God" (v. 2). It was indeed the "will of God," a concept long familiar to the Jews and now revealed to the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that had transformed their lives and made of them a new community with a new religion.

V. God's Will and Human Will.–The Jewish and Christian notion of "the will of God" has implicatons for the philosophical issue of human "free will." A common approach has been to place human freedom in tension with forces outside or beyond humanity, whether these forces are attributed to nature (i.e., determinism) or to a personal deity (i.e., predestination or "the will of God"). Though Jewish and Christian philosophers have struggled with this tension as much as anyone, the Bible provides little basis for even posing the question in terms of "tension," as if human freedom and divine freedom mutually limited each other. Instead, human freedom is viewed as a corollary of divine freedom. Human beings are free — or, rather, are set free — precisely by the freedom of God. The NT writers viewed the "free" choices of their pagan contemporaries as choices leading to "slavery." They saw the world around them as locked in bondage to sin and death, a bondage from which they believed themselves delivered through God's free intervention in the person of Jesus Christ. A person might have all kinds of choices, but never the choice not to die. Only redemption through Jesus Christ for the Christian, and for the Jew obedience to the will of God revealed to Moses, made that choice possible.

When Jews and Christians reflected back on creation, they concluded that human free will was the result of humanity's creation in the image of God. To the extent that God's image had been obscured or damaged by sin, human freedom was limited. Only in obedience to a personal God who was free and who had freely provided salvation could the image be restored and freedom regained. Free will is therefore defined not as the freedom to move in whatever direction one's impulses might lead, but as the realization — partial though it be — of God's purpose for one's life. The first is the freedom of fools (cf. Eccl. 8:3), while the second is the freedom of kings — or at least of those who inherit a Kingdom!

From the standpoint of philosophical thought, the "tension" admittedly still stands. It will not go away at the bidding of faith or theology. But to Christians and Jews the tension is there because twice — in creation and in redemption — God ventured to share with human creation the freedom that first belonged to God alone.

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WILL WORSHIP (Col. 2:23, AV). A literal rendering of Gk. *ethelothrēskía,* translated "rigor of devotion" in the RSV. *See* RIGOR OF DEVOTION.

WILLOW [Heb. *ṣapṣapâ*; cf. Arab. *ṣafṣāf*] **WILLOWS** [Heb. *ʿărāḇîm*; Gk. *itéa*–'willow'] (Lev. 23:40; Job 40:22; Ps. 137:2; Isa. 15:7; 44:4); NEB also POPLARS (Job 40:22; Isa. 44:4), ARABIM (Isa. 15:7). Leviticus 23:40 and Ps. 137:2 probably refer to the Euphrates aspen (*Populus euphratica* Oliv.), a tall tree with spreading branches that is common along river banks from Syria to southern Arabia. This tree was probably also the "balsam" of 2 S. 5:23f. par. 1 Ch. 14:14f. The remaining references are to some species of *Salix* or true willow, either *S. fragilis* L., *S. safsaf* Forsk., *S. alba* L., or *S. acmophylla* Boiss. These are shrubs or small trees, with reddish branches and oblong-elliptic or lanceolate leaves. They grow by watercourses (Job 40:22; Isa. 15:7) and flourish in the Jordan Valley. Of the approximately twenty-one species of willows that grow in Palestine, the most common is the Palestine willow (*S. safsaf*). This is probably the "willow" of Ezk. 17:5. The "weeping willow" (*S. babylonica* L.) was introduced into Palestine from the Orient long after the Exile and cannot be the species referred to in Ps. 137:2.

See MPB, pp. 183, 216-18. R. K. H.

WILLOWS, BROOK OF THE [Heb. *naḥal hāʾărāḇîm*]; NEB GORGE OF THE ARABIM. A name mentioned only in Isa. 15:7, obviously as one of Moab's boundaries; thus it may be the brook ZERED. The RSV rendering has been questioned, and the NEB is probably wise in transliterating the name. H. L. ELLISON

WIMPLE. A cloth that is worn over the head and around the neck. The AV uses this term to translate Heb. *miṭpaḥaṯ* in Isa. 3:22 (RSV, NEB, "cloak"). *See* GARMENTS IV.

WIND [Heb. *rû(a)ḥ*; Gk. *ánemos,* also *pneúma* (Jn. 3:8), *pnoé* (Acts 2:2), *pnéousa* (Acts 27:40)].

I. Wind in Palestine.–Wind is caused when heated air rises and air from around moves in to take its place. The conjunction of land and sea in Palestine and close juxtaposition of highlands and lowlands cause great differences of temperature and consequently an almost constant movement of air. Periods of stagnant air are short.

Wind is most regular in the summer when the general movement of air over the eastern Mediterranean is from west to east, bringing with it no rain, but often heavy dew to the coastal areas and seaward slopes. The day begins with complete calm, but as the sun heats the land a strong sea breeze develops. It tops the central ridge at about midday and pours into the central rift in a torrent, heated by descent. At about 3 P.M. it surmounts the eastern plateau, once more cool and refreshing. The farmer depends upon this very regular wind for winnowing the grain (Isa. 41:16). The contrary land breeze at night is decidedly weaker.

In winter the atmosphere is much less stable and powerful cyclones move eastward across the Mediterranean bringing with them strong winds, sometimes of gale force, and often torrential rain or even snow. Intervening periods are relatively calm with brilliantly clear air. In the two transitional seasons comes the *ḥamsîn,* an intensely hot and dry east wind, filling the air with a haze of yellow dust, and lasting for about three to five days, though occasionally longer. It is exceedingly exhausting and destructive to vegetation (e.g., Isa. 27:8; Jer. 4:11; Jonah 4:8), and pouring down the slopes of the Lebanon mountains could destroy the ships of Tarshish in Tyre harbor (Ezk. 27:26).

II. The Symbolism of Wind.–In Israelite understanding only God could control the wind (Job 28:25; Ps. 147:8; 148:8), which comes from His storehouse (Ps. 135:7; Jer. 10:13; Am. 4:13) and upon which He rides (2 S. 22:11). Men and animals are helpless before it (Jer. 49:32). But it is symbolic also of emptiness and folly (e.g., Job 6:26; Prov. 11:29; Eccl. 1:6; Isa. 26:18), of false prophets (Jer. 5:13), of useless foreign policy (Hos. 12:1), and especially

of idols and idolatry (e.g., Isa. 41:29; 57:13; Jer. 5:13). The uncertainty of human life is sometimes compared to wind (Ps. 78:39; 103:16).

III. Wind and Spirit.–The Heb. *rû(a)ḥ* and the Gk. *pneúma* can both mean "spirit" as well as "wind." This double meaning is contained in the description of primeval chaos at creation (Gen. 1:2; AV and RSV "Spirit of God"; NEB "mighty wind"), the account of Ezekiel prophesying to the "wind" (AV and NEB; RSV less suitably "breath"), and in the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus (Jn. 3:5-8).

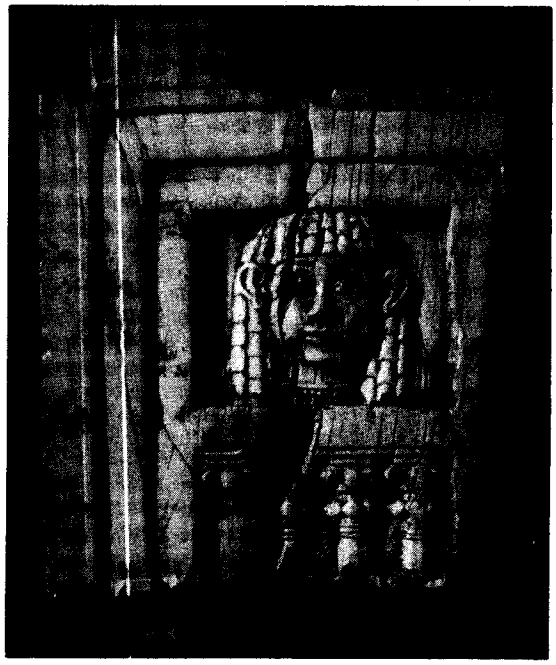
See also RAIN; STORM; NATURAL FEATURES VI, VII.

D. BALY

WINDOW [Heb. *ḥallôn*] (Gen. 8:6; Josh. 2:15; 2 S. 6:16; Prov. 7:6; Ezk. 40:16; etc.); NEB also EMBRASURE, OPENING, TRAP-DOOR; [*ʾarubbâ*] (Gen. 7:11; Eccl. 12:3; Isa. 60:8; Hos. 13:3; etc.); AV also CHIMNEY; NEB also CHIMNEY, DOVECOTE; [*meḥezâ*] (1 K. 7:4, 5); [*ṣōhar*] (Gen. 6:16); RSV footnote; [Aram. *kawwâ*] (Dnl. 6:10 [MT 11]); [Gk. *thyrís*] (Acts 20:9; 2 Cor. 11:33). An opening in a building, vehicle, ship, etc., usually for admitting light and air.

Ancient houses probably contained windows much like the small rectangles in old stone houses of the region today. Those on the ground floor would have been high on the wall and may have been barred to keep out thieves (Joel 2:9). The *ḥallôn* was large enough to allow a man to pass (Josh. 2:15; 1 S. 19:12). Some windows were closable by a lattice shutter (Prob. 7:6; Cant. 2:9) and others, especially in temple architecture, were set into recessed frames (1 K. 6:4; Ezk. 41:16). The latter is illustrated by ivories found at Nimrûd but possibly from Samaria. The term *ʾarubbâ* is used primarily for the openings in heaven through which heavy rain is seen to fall (Gen. 7:11; etc.). Both Hebrew words are associated with birds (Zeph. 2:14; Isa. 60:8), probably reflecting the habit of birds to use window sills as perches (there is no reason to extend the meaning to "dovecote" with NEB).

An ivory carving from Nimrûd showing a woman (possibly the goddess Astarte or a harlot) in a window. The frame is recessed with four decorative columns underneath for support (first half of the 8th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



The RSV translates *ṣōhar* "ROOF" but footnotes "window" as a possible alternative. The term *meḥezâ* is used only with Solomon's palace. The Aram. *kawwâ* appears only once, but seems to be a shuttered window that was openable.

The Gk. *thyrís* is the standard term for window corresponding to Heb. *ḥallôn*.

L. G. HERR

WINDOWS OF HEAVEN. *See* HEAVEN, WINDOWS OF.

WINE. The fermented juice of grapes or another plant product.

I. Terminology and Types
  A. Wine
  B. Red Wine
  C. New Wine
  D. Sweet Wine
  E. Sour Wine
  F. Mixed and Spiced Wine
  G. Locale
II. Use
  A. Personal
  B. Religious
    1. Offerings and Libations
    2. OT Feasts
    3. Lord's Supper
  C. Medicinal
  D. Commercial
III. In Biblical Imagery
  A. Blessing
  B. Judgment

I. Terminology and Types.–Wine can be named and classified according to certain varietal characteristics, including type of grape, color, and place of origin. The type is also dependent on the time allowed for fermentation and the age of the wine.

A. Wine. The common terms for wine are Heb. *yayin* (141 times), Aram. *ḥamar* (six times, Ezr. 6:9; 7:22; Dnl. 5:1f., 4, 23), and Gk. *oínos* (thirty-four times). Additional terms are *sōḇe'* in Isa. 1:22 and *ḥemer* in Dt. 32:14 and Isa. 27:2 (RSV "pleasant vineyard," but lit. "wine vineyard"). The origin of Heb. *yayin* is uncertain. Most scholars posit a non-Semitic base (possibly Hittite) underlying the Semitic root *wyn* or *yyn*. They believe that this gave rise to Heb. *yayin* and to Gk. *oínos* and other Indo-European cognates (Lat. *vinum*; German *Wein*; Eng. "wine") derive. In the minority, van Selms has suggested a Semitic root *yānâ*, "to press," deriving from the method of production.

Wine was generally made from juice of the common *Vitus vinifera* L. grape, but other types of wine are also attested. The Talmud mentions a wine made from raisins (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 97b), and wine could also be made from dates, figs, and pomegranates. A drink called "mead" (Gk. *méthy*) was made from fermented honey mixed with water and herbs.

Wine is frequently mentioned with other foodstuffs. It appears in the Chronicler's tribute lists, royal storehouse lists, and temple commodity lists alongside oil, grain, honey, incense, oxen, and sheep (1 Ch. 12:40; 2 Ch. 31:5; Neh. 10:37; cf. Rev. 18:13). The phrase "bread and wine" is found in Gen. 14:18; Dt. 29:6; Jgs 19:19; Neh. 5:15; cf. Lk. 7:33.

Wine is paired with "strong drink" thirteen times in the OT (Heb. *šēḵār*) and once in the NT (Lk. 1:15; Gk. *síkera*, from Sem. *šēḵār*; cf. Akk. *šikaru*, "barley beer").

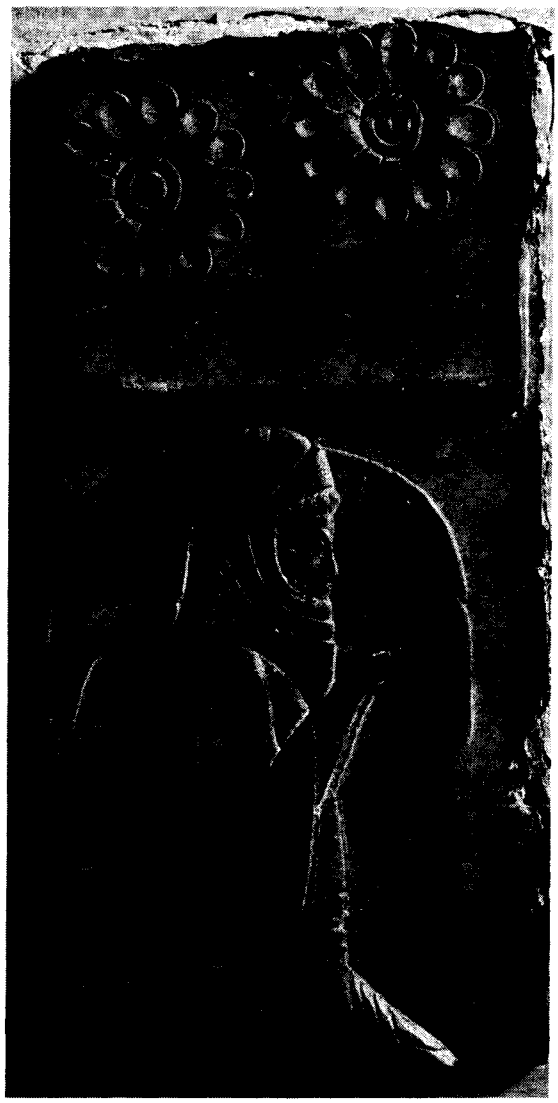
The phrase "wine and strong drink" is usually found in contexts warning against or forbidding the use of alcoholic beverages (cf. Lev 10:9; Nu. 6:3; Dt. 29:6; Jgs 13:4; 1 S. 1:15; Isa. 5:11, 22; 24:9). Strong drink is probably beer rather than a distilled liquor (but *see* DRINK, STRONG). Synonyms for wine are "new wine (see I.C below), "blood of grapes" (Gen. 49:11; Dt. 32:14), and "fruit of the vine" (Lk. 22:18; cf. Isa. 32:12). "Wine on the lees" (Heb. *šᵉmārîm*, Isa. 25:6; cf. Ps. 75:8 [MT 9]; Jer. 48:11) is wine that has been matured in one vessel, resting undisturbed on the dregs or solid particles of the wine-making process that have settled out of suspension.

B. Red Wine. The color of wine depends in part on the color of the grape skin. Red wine gets its color from being fermented in contact with the crushed grape skins. But white wine can also be made from red grapes, if the macerated skins are removed quickly before fermentation takes place.

Several passages suggest that wine was typically red. Prov. 23:31 attests a red wine. The poetic parallel "blood of grapes" (Heb. *dam ʿanāḇîm*) occurs in Gen. 49:11 (cf. *dam ʿēnāḇ*, Dt. 32:14 [MT 15]; Gk. *haíma staphylḗs*, Sir. 39:26; 50:15; Ugar. *dm ʿṣm*, "blood of trees/grapevines"). In Isa. 63:2 the garments of the treaders turned red from their work. An inscription on a wine decanter removed from a burial tomb in the Hebron area reads *lyḥzyhw yyn kḥl*, translated by Demsky "Belonging to Yaḥzeyahu dark wine." Citing similar words in Gen. 49:12 (RSV "his eyes shall be red with wine") and Prov. 23:29f., Demsky has suggested that "dark" here designates a dark-colored wine produced in the Judean hills. Such wine is mentioned in Mishnaic sources (*Berakoth* vii.5; *Niddah* ix.11), and "dark-colored wine" (Akk. *karānu da'mu*) is mentioned in cuneiform documents from the time of Darius (see S. M. Paul). The analogy of bread and body, wine and blood in the Lord's Supper (Mk. 14:22-25 par.; 1 Cor. 11:23-26) also suggests that wine was typically red. White wine is not mentioned in the biblical sources, although rabbinic sources refer to "white wine" and "clear wine" (T.B. *Yoma* 18a; *Zebahim* 78b; *Kerithoth* 6a; *Baba Bathra* 97b; *Shabbath* 109a, 139b; *Gittin* 69a). The "choice vine" (Heb. *śōrēq*) of Gen. 49:11; Isa. 5:2; and Jer. 2:21 produces a red variety of grape.

C. New Wine. The biblical terms for "new wine" are Heb. *tîrôš* (Hos. 9:2; Hag. 1:11; Zec. 9:17), Gk. *oínos néos* (Mt. 9:17; Mk. 2:22; Lk. 5:37f.), *gleúkos* Acts 2:13). New wine was wine from the most recent harvest, while old wine was wine from the previous year. The AV and RSV render Heb. *tîrôš* simply by "wine" or by "new wine." This OT term for wine is frequently paired with "grain" (Heb. *dāgān*, Gen. 27:28, 37; Ps. 4:7 [MT 8]) and/or "oil" (Heb. *yiṣhār*, Dt. 7:13; 11:14; 12:17; Jer. 31:12) in contexts extolling productivity and abundance. Both *yayin* and *tîrôš* are fermented grape juice with alcoholic content; hence both are able to cause intoxication (cf. Hos. 4:11) and are to be distinguished from "must" or unfermented grape juice. In the saying about new wine in old wineskins (Mt. 9:17 par.) the new wine is the recent product of the harvest, which should not be placed in brittle, unpliant wineskins because it may burst them. In the process of fermentation carbon dioxide gas is released, creating pressure within the container (cf. Job 32:19). The "new wine" (Gk. *gleúkos*) of the Pentecost account (Acts 2:13) was the vintage of the recent harvest; the thrust of the taunt requires that it refer to wine that can cause intoxication.

D. Sweet Wine. Biblical terms for sweet wine are Heb. *yayin haṭṭôḇ* (AV, RSV, lit. "best wine," Cant. 7:9 [MT 10]; cf. Ugar. *yn ṭb, UT,* 1084:1, 4, 6, 9), Heb. *ʿāsîs* (Joel



A Persian official carrying a wineskin on his shoulder. From a relief on a staircase at Persepolis, 485-465 B.C. (courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mrs. Lillian Henkel Haas)

1:5; 3:18 [MT 4:18]; Am. 9:13; cf. *ʿaṣîs rimmōn*, "juice of pomegranate," Cant. 8:2), and *mamtāqqîm* (Neh. 8:10). Rabbinic sources (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 97b; Mish. *Menahoth* viii.6) mention a sweet wine produced by exposing the grapes in the sun for three days and then treading them in the midday heat.

E. Sour Wine. Wine that has turned sour was called VINEGAR. Vinegar was used for seasoning foods (Ruth 2:14) and pickling vegetables, as an inferior drink and as a medicine (Jn. 19:29f.). The "wine" mentioned in Ruth 2:14, RSV, is vinegar (Heb. *ḥomeṣ*; cf. *ḥomeṣ yayin*, Nu. 6:3 [RSV "vinegar made from wine"]; Gk. *óxos*, "vinegar," Mt. 27:48; Mk. 15:36; Lk. 23:36; Jn. 19:29f.). Vinegar could be deliberately produced by encouraging extra fermentation of new wine in the open air. Or wine would simply turn into vinegar, since acetic bacteria in wine turn wine sour when it is exposed to the air for any great length of time. Because impermeable containers with tight stoppers were nonexistent, wine frequently turned sour. The

Greeks first solved the problem by using large clay vessels called amphorae, sometimes lined with pitch and stoppered with wax, to store wine and keep its taste intact.

F. Mixed and Spiced Wine. The terms for mixed wine are Heb. *meseḵ* (Ps. 75:8), *mezeg* (Cant. 7:2 [MT 3]), and the vb. *māsaḵ* (Prov. 9:2, 5; 23:30, Isa. 65:11; wine mixed with milk, Cant. 5:1; wine mixed with water, Isa. 1:22; cf. 2 Macc. 15:39). The most common mixture was wine diluted with water. The ratio of water to wine varied, but the quantity of water was almost always greater than that of wine. The favored mixture for the Greeks was one part wine and three parts water. The normal drink at meals at Qumrân was wine (*tîrôš*) after it was blessed (1QS 6:4ff.; 1QSa 2:17f., 20; 1QH 10:24). During Roman times the ordinary table beverage was wine mixed with water (see Ferguson). Since the water was not always completely safe to drink, mixing wine with water had a purifying effect on the water (cf. 1 Tim. 5:23). Wine mixed with myrrh was offered to Jesus as He hung from the cross (Mk. 15:23), but He refused to drink it. Did. 13:6 mentions wine mixed with oil.

Spices could be added to wine to improve its aroma and taste (cf. "spiced wine," Heb. *yayin hāreqaḥ,* Cant. 8:2). Sometimes wine was given increased aroma by rubbing the wine press with wood resin. The Talmud mentions various kinds of mixed wine: old wine mixed with clean water and balsam, wine mixed with honey and pepper, wine added to oil and garum, and wine mixed with spices (T.B. *Abodah Zarah* 30a; Mish. *Shabbath* xx.2).

G. Locale. The "wine of Helbon" mentioned in Ezk. 27:18 (RSV "wine from Uzah," following the LXX) is attested also in Mesopotamian and classical sources. The village of Helbon NW of Damascus is still today a wine-producing center. "Wine of Lebanon" (Hos. 14:7 [MT 8]) was renowned for its bouquet. Other wine producing areas were Jezreel (1 K. 21:1), Samaria (Jer. 31:5), the Valley of Eshcol (Nu. 13:23f.; Heb. *'eškôl* denotes a cluster of grapes), and Sibmah (Isa. 16:8; Jer. 48:32). The *s'māḏar* of Cant. 2:13, 15; 7:13 is apparently a type of wine or vine. Samaria ostraca 53f. mention "wine of Keremhattel," and the Talmudic sources refer to "wine of Sharon" (Mish. *Niddah* v. 7) and "wine of Carmel" (T.B. *Niddah* 21a). Seal impressions marking the place of origin or the owner of the vineyard are widely attested on wine storage jar handles.

II. Uses.--A. Personal. Wine is not attested as the normal table beverage of OT times. It seems generally to have been reserved for special occasions, such as the meal when Isaac was to transfer the patriarchal blessing to Esau (Gen. 27:25). Wine is associated with times of joy and feasting (e.g., the feasting of Job's children, Job 1; Ahasuerus's banquet, Est. 1; Belshazzar's feast in Babylon, Dnl. 5; cf. also Isa. 22:13). Wine was served at coronations (1 Ch. 12:39f.) and at weddings (Jn. 2). A banquet hall is called a *bêṯ mištēh hayyayin* (lit. "house for drinking wine," Est. 7:8), and a "feast" is literally a "drinking" (Heb. *mišteh,* Gen. 21:8; Jgs. 14:10; 1 S. 25:36; 2 S. 3:20); *see also* BANQUET. Wine was viewed as a blessing from God "that gladdens the heart of man" (Ps. 104:15; cf. also Eccl. 2:3; 9:7; 10:19; Zec. 10:7). It is mentioned along with grain and oil as a gift of God and a sign of His blessing (Gen. 27:28; Dt. 7:13; Ps. 104:15).

But drunkenness was a potential problem against which especially the writer of Proverbs warned (20:1; 21:17; 23:30f.; see also Isa. 5:11f.; Hab. 2:5; Sir. 19:1f.). The episode of Noah's drunkenness (Gen. 9:20-27) showed that sin was still present after the Deluge, and it became the occasion for the cursing of the progenitor of the Canaanites. According to 1 Pet. 4:3 "drunkenness" (Gk. *oinophlygía*) is one of the characteristic vices of the Gentiles. Leaders are counseled not to drink wine (Prov. 31:4f.; 1 Tim. 3:3, 8). Overindulgence leads to reeling and vomiting (Isa. 28:7f.), hallucinations, and ultimately addiction (Prov. 23:28-35). Some of the Rabbis held that the "tree of knowledge" from which Adam and Eve partook was a vine (Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* XV.7).

According to pagan belief, wine was especially appreciated by the gods (cf. Jgs. 9:13: "wine which cheers gods and men"; cf. also Dt. 32:37f.). Consequently it was a frequent component of offerings to the gods. In the Ugaritic text RS 24.258 (see J. Nougayrol, ed., *Ugaritica, V* [1968], text 1) the god 'El arranges a banquet at which he himself drinks too much wine (*yn* and *trt*) and becomes drunk; eventually he loses control of his bodily functions and begins hallucinating (see Pope).

Wine was forbidden to priests when they ministered in the central sanctuary (Lev. 10:9; Ezk. 44:21); and those under a Nazirite vow (Nu. 6:1-4; cf. Samson, Jgs. 13:4f.; cf. also Am. 2:11f.) were not allowed to have wine, strong drink, or any produce of the vine, including grapes or raisins. They were to be animated instead by the Spirit of the Lord. The Rechabites (Jer. 35) practiced total abstinence as part of a countercultural desert-nomad life-style that set them apart from the urbanized Judeans. Planting vineyards, sowing fields, and building houses were viewed as a betrayal of their traditional life-style. Daniel and his three friends abstained from the king's wine (Dnl. 1) either because it was not kosher or because it was associated with the pagan cult. John the Baptist was also distinguished by his abstinence from wine (Mt. 11:18 par. Lk. 7:33). On the day of Pentecost the empowerment of the Spirit of God was mistaken for the effects of alcoholic spirits (Acts 2:1-13). Eph. 5:18 contrasts inebriation by wine with animation by the Holy Spirit. Although total abstinence from wine is not required in the age of Christ, since everything is redeemed, Paul suggested that it may be right at times to abstain in order to keep a brother or sister from stumbling (Rom. 14:20f.; cf. 1 Tim. 3:8). Jesus Himself did not disapprove of or abstain from wine, as evidenced by the miracle of abundant wine at the Cana wedding (Jn. 2; cf also Mt. 11:19 par. Lk. 7:34).

Wine, like other liquids, was measured by the bath (2 Ch. 2:9), equivalent to about 22 liters (23 quarts), and the hin (Ex. 29:40, Lev. 23:13), equivalent to about 3.6 l. (3.8 quarts). Wine was stored in jars or wineskins (1 S. 1:24; 10:3; Mt. 9:17). Normally it was drunk from a cup (Heb. *kōs,* Gen. 40:11; Prov. 23:31; Gk. *potḗrion*) made out of pottery. Only royalty, the rich, and the divine would have vessels made of precious metals (Dnl. 5:1-4).

B. Religious. 1. Offerings and Libations. In sacrifices of petition, thanksgiving, and expiation (Ex. 29:38-41; Nu. 15:2-15) wine was poured out as a LIBATION or "drink offering" (Heb. *nāsaḵ yayin,* Lev. 23:13; Dt. 32:38; Hos. 9:4; cf. Gen. 35:14; Nu. 28:7, 14). The drink offering could be an act in its own right or could accompany a burnt offering. Wine was also one of the firstfruits brought to the sanctuary as a tithe (Neh. 10:36-39).

2. OT Feasts. The Feast of Tabernacles (or Ingathering) was celebrated in the autumn at the end of the grain and vine harvest (Dt. 16:13; Lev. 23:39). (The Canaanites celebrated the season with eating and drinking in the temple of their pagan god; see Jgs. 9:27). The first evidence for the use of wine at PASSOVER comes from the Hellenistic period (Jub. 49:6). According to Jewish tradition the Passover feast was celebrated with four cups of wine (Mish. *Pesahim* x), symbolizing the four expressions of redemp-

An Egyptian wall painting showing a banquet scene. At left are tables laden with fruits, meats, and poultry with flasks of beer and wine underneath. Above, a servant girl serves wine in a shallow bowl. Below, she carries a pitcher for refilling and a napkin, as does the servant boy at right (from the tomb of Nedjannu at Thebes, late 15th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

tion found in Ex. 6:6f. It also became a tradition to set aside one cup of wine for Elijah in anticipation of his coming, which would precede the final redemption. In accordance with a tradition derived from Prov. 31:6 (cf. the "cup of consolation" for mourners in Jer. 16:7), wine was also offered to the bereaved after a funeral at the meal of comforting. *See also* FEASTS.

3. Lord's Supper. The Synoptic Gospels present the Last Supper within the context of the Jewish Passover (cf. Mk. 14:12-16). When Jesus hosted the Last Supper He appropriated the elements of the Jewish Passover, which by this time included the use of wine. The use of bread at the Passover derived from the feast of unleavened bread (*ḥag hammaṣṣôṯ,* Ex. 12:17-20; Lev. 23:5-8; Nu. 28:16-25). The wine of Passover, as Jesus appropriated it, symbolized the blood of the slaughtered pascal lamb (although it is not clear that this was the case in the Jewish Passover). In the Gospel and Pauline accounts of the Last Supper "the cup" stands for wine, which in turn symbolizes the shed blood of Jesus (Mk. 14:22f. par.; 1 Cor. 11:25).

Wine functions in three significant ways in the Lord's Supper. Insofar as the Lord's Supper is a memorial to Jesus' death, the wine symbolizes His blood poured out ("proclaiming the Lord's death"). The Lord's Supper is also the fellowship meal of the early Church, affirming Jesus' continuing presence among the believers and confirming God's covenant with them; in this mode wine functions as a traditional table drink. Finally, the Lord's Supper looks toward the future. It is the anticipation of the messianic banquet that is to come. At the Last Supper Jesus says, "from now on I shall not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes" (Lk. 22:18). Eschatological salvation in the kingdom of God is pictured as a banquet or feast (cf. Mt. 8:11; Lk. 13:29f.), and wine is shared with the guests in jubilation. The parables of the marriage feast (Mt. 22:1-14; Lk. 14:7-14) and the great banquet (Lk. 14:15-24) anticipate the festivity of eschatological salvation. Expectations of an eschatological feast celebrated in the Lord's presence (undoubtedly including wine, which was an essential part of feasting in the biblical tradition) appear abundantly in the OT and in later Judaism (Ex. 24:8-11; Isa. 25:6; 65:13; 1 En. 62:14; 2 En. 42:5; 2 Bar. 29:8).

C. Medicinal. Wine was apparently used to revive those who were fainting, for when David was fleeing Absalom, Ziba brought him wine "for those faint in the wilderness" (2 S. 16:1f.). Both oil and wine served as dressings on open wounds (cf. the parable of the good Samaritan, Lk. 10:34). Paul urged Timothy to "use a little wine for the sake of your stomach and your frequent ailments" (1 Tim. 5:23), apparently suggesting that he mix wine with his water to purify it (see I. F above). Jesus was offered wine mixed with myrrh (Mk. 15:23; cf. Mt. 27:34, which changes this to *cholé,* "gall," to demonstrate the literal fulfillment of LXX Ps. 68:22 [MT 69:22]) but He refused it, choosing instead to bear the full pain of the cross. The Talmud states that "wine is the greatest of all medicines: where wine is lacking, drugs are necessary" (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 58b).

D. Commercial. Israel's wine became a significant commercial product. As partial payment for Hiram of Tyre's manpower and material assistance in building the temple, Solomon provided twenty thousand baths of wine (2 Ch. 2:10, 15). Wine served as a notable gift (e.g., Melchizedek gave bread and wine to Abram, Gen. 14:18; cf. also 1 S.

25:18) and as tribute to a king (1 Ch. 12:40). According to Rev. 6:5f. the plague of the third seal would destroy all the foodstuffs except wine and oil; but on the day of Babylon's fall wine, along with all the other merchant goods, will go unsold (18:13).

III. In Biblical Imagery.–*A. Blessing.* The Bible uses an abundance of wine as a symbol of blessing from God (Gen. 27:28, 37). The grape harvest and wine making were times of joyous celebration (cf. Isa. 16:10; Jer. 48:33), and the filling and overflowing of the wine vats represented the epitome of rich blessing (Joel 2:24). The fulness of blessing connected with the return from the Babylonian exile was symbolized by the possibility for everyone to "buy wine and milk without money and without price" (Isa. 55:1). In Canticles the sweetness of love is said to be better than wine (1:2, 4; 4:10; 7:9).

B. Judgment. In several passages the images of wine-making jubilation are turned into an expression of judgment. The Lord will roar in judgment from heaven and shout like those who tread the grapes (Jer. 25:30). God's judgment on the wicked will be like the treading of grapes in a winepress (Isa. 63:1-6; Lam. 1:15; Joel 3:13; Rev. 14:18-20; 19:15). The cup of wine in God's hand is a frequent expression of His wrath against Israel and other nations; He forces them to drink from the cup filled with the wine of His wrath, which causes them to stagger (Jer. 25:15f.; cf. Ps. 75:8; Isa. 51:17, 22; Jer. 25:27f.; 49:12; Ezk. 23:31-34; Hab. 2:16; Rev. 14:10; 16:19). The book of Revelation depicts the nations that have entered into illicit relations with Rome as having drunk the "wine of [Babylon's] impure passion" (14:8; 18:3) and the "wine of [Babylon's] fornication" (17:2), which has corrupted them and made them ready for destruction.

See also VINE.

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WINE FAT. *See* WINE PRESS.

WINE PRESS; WINEVAT. Wine presses and winevats were used in the process of wine making. Grapes were harvested in August and September and were spread out for up to fourteen days in the sun to increase their sugar content. The grapes were then placed in a wine press, where they were trodden with bare feet (Isa. 16:10; Jer. 48:33). The time of grape harvest was a time of rejoicing, and grapes were pressed to songs and cries of jubilation (Isa. 16:9f.; Jer. 48:33).

The process of making WINE required at least two vessels, one larger and higher than the other. Archeologists have discovered many of these square or circular pits, which were either hewn out of rock or dug out of the ground and then lined with rocks and sealed with plaster. The upper vessel was the wine press (Heb. *gaṯ*, Neh. 13:15; Isa. 63:2 [AV "wine fat"] Lam. 1:15; Joel 3:13 [MT 4:13], Gk. *lēnós*, Mt. 21:33; Rev. 14:19f.; 19:15; Gk. *hypolénion*, Mk. 12:1 [AV "wine fat"]) in which the grapes were placed and trampled. The juice then flowed through a channel or conduit into the lower vessel, the winevat (*yeqeḇ*; the Hebrew term first designates the lower vat, but it can also designate the wine press; cf. Job 24:11; Isa. 16:10). The winevat functioned as a collecting and fermenting container for the must (grape juice). The terms "wine press" and "winevat" are frequently found in association with "threshing floor" (Heb. *gōren*; Nu. 18:27, 30; Dt. 15:14; 16:13; 2 K. 6:27; Hos. 9:2; Joel 2:24); wine and wheat represented two of the chief agricultural products of Palestine. Gideon threshed out his wheat underground in a wine press (*gaṯ*) to hide his activity from marauding Midianites (Jgs. 6:11). Wine presses may also have been used for the production of beaten olive oil (see *WBA*, p. 185).

In the warm climate of Palestine fermentation began almost immediately after the grapes were pressed. The first stage of fermentation took place in the winevat. Then the wine was separated from the LEES (i.e., deposits of dead yeast, tartar crystals, small fragments of grape skins, and other solids that had fallen out of suspension; cf. Ps. 75:8; Isa. 25:6; Jer. 48:11). The wine was strained through a sieve or piece of cloth (cf. Mt. 23:24) before it was put into clay jars (Heb. *neḇel*, Jer. 13:12 or animal skins (*nō'ḏ*, Josh. 9:4, 13; 1 S. 16:20; Gk. *askós*, Mt. 9:17 par.; *see* SKIN) for storage and further fermentation.

Bibliography.–G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, IV (1935), 291-413; H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient* (1922). B. L. BANDSTRA

WINEVAT. *See* WINE PRESS; VAT.

WINEBIBBER [Heb. *sōḇē' yayyin*] (Prov. 23:20); NEB DRUNKARD. One who is addicted to wine. The proverb warns that excessive drinking leads one to poverty (v. 21). Jesus was falsely accused of being a glutton and a "winebibber" (AV Mt. 11:19 par. Lk. 7:34 [Gk. *oinopótēs*]; RSV "drunkard"; NEB "drinker") because, unlike John the Baptist, He ate and drank with others.

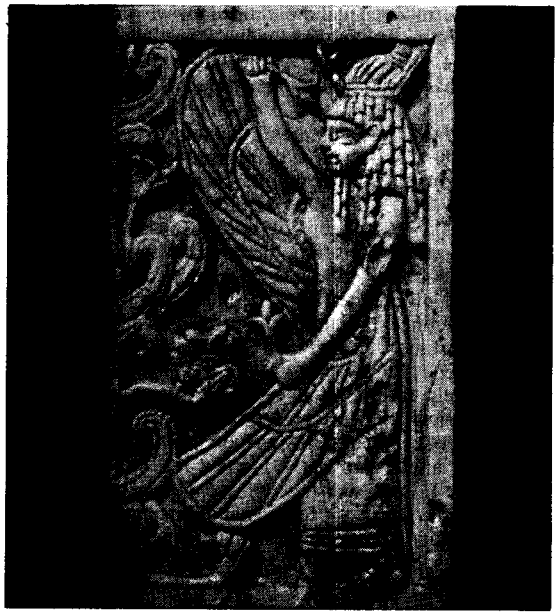
See DRUNKENNESS.

WINESKIN. *See* SKIN.

WING [Heb. *kānāp*]; AV also OVERSPREADING (Dnl. 9:27); NEB also WING-TIP, PINION, TRAIN (Dnl. 9:27), etc.; [*'ēḇer*] (Ps. 55:6 [MT 7]; Isa. 40:31); [*ṣîṣ*] (Jer. 48:9); NEB "warning"; [*pāšaṭ*] ("spread wings," Nah. 3:16); AV "spoil"; NEB SPREAD OUT; [Aram. *gap*] (Dnl. 7:4, 6); [Gk. *ptéryx*] (Mt. 23:37; Lk. 13:34; Rev. 4:8; 9:9; 12:14); supplied by the RSV in 1 Ch. 28:18 and Ezk. 1:11. One of a pair of movable feathered or membranous appendages by means of which a creature (e.g., a bird or insect) may fly.

The term is used frequently in descriptions of symbolic winged creatures such as the CHERUBIM (Ex. 25:20; 37:9; 1 K. 6:24, 27; 2 Ch. 3:11-13; 5:7f.; Ezk. 1:5-25; 10:5, 8, 16, 19, 21; etc.), the SERAPHIM (Isa. 6:2), the "four beasts" of Dnl. 7:3-6, and the "four living creatures" of Rev. 4:6b-8 (*see* CREATURE, LIVING II). Such winged creatures appear frequently in the mythology and monuments of the ancient Near East (*see* Vol. I, Plate 4; picture in CHERUBIM).

The remaining references to wings are also primarily figurative. The wings of the eagle, untiring in flight and capable of carrying heavy burdens, were a favorite symbol of strength, endurance, and speed (e.g., Prov. 23:5; Isa. 40:31; Rev. 12:14; cf. Dt. 28:49; 2 S. 1:23; Job 9:26f.; Ps. 103:5; Jer. 4:13; Ob. 4). The eagle was also renowned for its devotion to its young and its method of teaching them to fly: it will drop one of the young birds from a great height, then swoop underneath to catch the fledgling and carry it on its strong wings. This imagery provided the metaphor of Yahweh carrying the Israelites out of Egypt on eagles' wings (Ex. 19:4; Dt. 32:11). But the eagle's wings can also symbolize destruction: Jer. 48:40 and 49:22



An ivory furniture ornament showing a winged female figure next to a sacred tree. From Arslan Tash, Syria, 9th cent. B.C. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund)

prophesy that an enemy will "spread his wings against" Moab and Edom as an eagle swoops down to seize its prey.

The Psalms speak frequently of finding protection under the "wings" of Yahweh (Ps. 17:8; 36:7 [MT 8]; 57:1 [MT 2]; 61:4 [MT 5]; 63:7 [MT 8]; 91:4; cf. Ruth 2:12). Although a few scholars have sought to relate this image to the wings of the cherubim above the ark of the covenant (e.g., see A. Weiser, *Psalms* [Eng. tr. *OTL*, 1962], pp. 41, 309), the psalmists were more likely comparing God to a mother bird who gathers her chicks under her wings to protect them from danger; cf. Jesus' use of this simile in Mt. 23:37 par. Lk. 13:34.

In Ps. 55:6 (MT 7) the psalmist expresses his wish to escape like a dove, which finds safety in inaccessible precipices. The reference in Ps. 68:13 (MT 14) to "the wings of a dove covered with silver, its pinions with green gold," is enigmatic, and widely divergent interpretations have been suggested (see comms.). The MT of Job 39:13 is obscure; possibly the point is that the ostrich can flap its wings but cannot fly (see comms.).

Several passages poetically refer to Yahweh riding on the "wings of the wind" (2 S. 22:11; Ps. 18:10 [MT 11]; 104:3). Hos. 4:19 uses the metaphor of a wind that has caught the Israelites in its "wings" (i.e., currents) and drives them toward their doom. In Zechariah's vision of the ephah, two women with wings like a stork's are borne along by the wind, Yahweh's agency of movement (Zec. 5:9; see D. L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* [*OTL*, 1984], p. 259).

In two passages "wings" seems to refer to the rays of the sun. Ps. 139:9 speaks of "the wings of the morning" — probably a reference to the sun's first rays at dawn (*see* MORNING, WINGS OF THE). Mal. 4:2 (MT 3:20) prophesies that on the day of judgment, "for you who fear my name the sun of righteousness shall arise, with healing in its wings." Many scholars have suggested that the imagery in this verse derives from the winged sun disk that appears on many monuments throughout the ancient Near East as a symbol of the deity's protection (see comms., e.g., *IB*, VI, 1142f.; see also *ANEP*, nos. 355, 653, 705f., 855, etc.).

The expression "upon the wing of abominations" in Dnl. 9:27 is enigmatic. Some scholars, following the LXX and Vulgate, have interpreted "wing" as a wing of the temple; others have understood it as referring to a winged idol; still others have emended the text to read "and instead thereof" or "in their place" rather than "on the wing" (see comms., e.g., *IB*, VI, 498f.).

The description of Cush as a "land of whirring wings" in Isa. 18:1 has also occasioned various interpretations. According to some the expression describes Cush as a land notable for its insects. Another prominent interpretation follows the LXX and Targum in reading "wings" as a reference to ships (cf. the common reference to sails as "wings" by sailors); this view fits well with the context in vv. 1f. (see J. N. Oswalt, *Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* [*NICOT*, 1986], pp. 359f.).

Scholars have disagreed on both the translation and the interpretation of Jer. 48:9. Although *ṣîṣ* came to mean "wing" in later Hebrew, it means "blossom" in biblical Hebrew (KoB, p. 802); moreover, the translation "fly away" in the next line is also dubious. Some scholars have suggested reading *ṣîyûn*, "signpost," in place of *ṣîṣ*, following the LXX (*sēmeía*; see *BHS*; KoB). Others have followed W. L. Moran's suggestion (*Bibl.*, 39 [1958], 69-71), based on Ugaritic evidence, that *ṣîṣ* means "salt"; the verse would then refer to the ancient practice of sowing cities with salt as a sign of their destruction (cf. Jgs. 9:45; see J. Bright, *Jeremiah* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1984], p. 320; J. A. Thompson, *Book of Jeremiah* [*NICOT*, 1980], pp. 700, 704).

See *TWOT*, I, 446f. N. J. O.

WINK. *See* GESTURE V.B.

WINNOWING [Heb. *zārâ*] (Ruth 3:2; Isa. 30:24; 41:16; Jer. 4:11; 15:7); AV also FAN; [piel of *zārâ*] (Prov. 20:8, 26; Jer. 51:2); AV SCATTER (AWAY), FAN; NEB also SIFT; [*ben-gōren*–'son of the threshing floor'] (Isa. 21:10); AV "corn of (the) floor'; [Gk. *diaskorpízō*] (Mt. 25:24, 26); NEB SCATTER; **WINNOWER** [Heb. part. of *zārâ*] (Jer. 51:2); AV FANNER; **WINNOWING FORK** [Heb. *mizreh*] (Jer. 15:7); AV FAN; NEB SCATTER; [Gk. *ptýon*] (Mt. 3:12; Lk. 3:17); AV FAN; NEB SHOVEL. The separation of CHAFF and straw from the grain, usually by means of tossing it into the wind. *See* Color Plate 21.

Hebrew *zārâ* could apparently be used for any activity involving scattering to the wind, including the scattering of chaff and straw during the winnowing process. The various contexts suggest that after the grain stalks were threshed, the resulting mixture was winnowed (Isa. 41:15f.). A fork and then a shovel (Isa. 30:24) were used to throw the chaff and grain into the wind, which usually blew strongest in the late afternoon and evening (Ruth 3:2). A time of plenty is described in terms of the cattle being fed winnowed grain (Isa. 30:24). The winnowing process was also used figuratively to picture the judicial function of discriminating between good and evil and destroying what is evil (e.g., Prov. 20:8, 26, Jer. 15:7; 51:2; cf. Mt. 3:12 par.).

Greek *diaskorpízō*, should be translated "scatter" (its usual meaning) in Mt. 25:24, 26, where it refers to the scattering of seed (so NEB).

Modern Arab villagers and bedouin still practice this ancient manner of winnowing at their threshing floors.

See also AGRICULTURE III.A.3; THRESH.

L. G. HERR

WINTER. *See* SEASON.

WINTER HOUSE [Heb. *bêṯ haḥōrep*]; NEB also WINTER APARTMENTS. Either a separate residence used during the cold season, or a heatable room or apartment within a larger building (so KoB, p. 122). Some houses are known to have had two stories, with a heatable lower floor and a cooler roof chamber (cf. Jgs. 3:20). The *bêṯ haḥōrep* used by King Jehoiakim (Jer. 36:22) was located in the palace precinct of Jerusalem and was equipped with a brazier. Very likely the royal palace had an apartment that was specially built and furnished for the cold season (see NEB; Thompson). In Am. 3:15, however, the context suggests separate dwellings for the summer and winter seasons. King Ahab had a second palace in the warmer plain of Jezreel as well as his palace in Samaria (1 K. 21:1), and quite possibly by Amos's time the upper class was also able to enjoy the luxury of two residences.

Bibliography.–J. A. Thompson, *Book of Jeremiah* (*NICOT*, 1980), pp. 626f.; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (Eng. tr., *Hermeneia*, 1977) pp. 201f. N. J. O.

WISDOM. In the Bible the most common, technical terms for wisdom are Heb. *ḥokmâ* in the OT and Gk. *sophía* in the NT. Alongside these expressions exists a wide variety of other words and phrases that express the same or related ideas. Because the understanding of these terms changed over time and differed in various sociocultural settings, the semantic field of these terms is not historically constant. For that reason, synonyms and related "wisdom" vocabulary vary throughout the biblical traditions. A full appreciation of the significance of "wisdom" in the Bible depends on a recognition of this historical complexity. At the same time, comprehension of "biblical wisdom" must not lose its peculiar focus on "wisdom" as an essential idiom and as a particular literary manifestation within the composition of Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

I. Wisdom in the Ancient Near East
  A. Egyptian Wisdom
  B. Mesopotamian Wisdom
  C. Canaanite-Phoenician Wisdom
II. Wisdom in Ancient Israel
  A. Essential Characteristics and Historical Development
  B. A Learned Discipline
  C. Wisdom Influences
III. Wisdom in the OT
  A. Proverbs
  B. Ecclesiastes
  C. Canticles
  D. Outside the Solomonic Books
IV. Wisdom Between the Testaments
V. Wisdom in the NT
  A. In the Formation of the NT
  B. "Wisdom" Books in the NT
VI. Wisdom in the Rabbinic Tradition
VII. Wisdom in Early Christian Interpretation

I. Wisdom in the Ancient Near East.–Ancient Israelites often borrowed forms of wisdom from non-Israelite sources, through oral and literary interactions with Edom, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and other nations. At present, the only extensive extrabiblical examples of wisdom literature are texts from Egypt and Mesopotamia. Tablets from Ebla may change this picture, but these are not yet available for our consideration (*see* TELL MARDIKH). With large fertile river valleys and prime geographic locations, Egypt and Mesopotamia had numerous economic advantages over Israel. In prosperous times they exercised tremendous political influence, and their cultural standards undoubtedly spread throughout the lesser nations in the Near East. International reputations for wisdom expertise could be attained both by individuals (see Solomon below) and by whole nations, suggesting that despite many variations in what each culture might value as particular manifestations of wisdom, some degree of consensus existed among nations. At a minimum, this internationally recognized wisdom would have comprised technical skills, a general knowledge of the world, and a great facility in the use of proverbs and riddles (*see* PROVERB; RIDDLE).

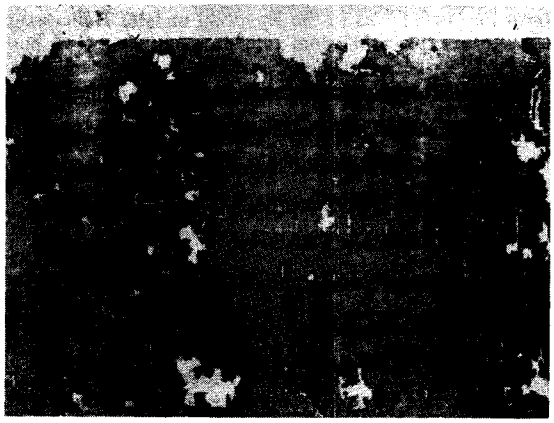
Despite some conceptual consensus internationally about the nature of wisdom, there is no common linguistic term for "wisdom" throughout the ancient Near East. Substantial differences occur from nation to nation regarding its conception, its social provenance, and its literary manifestation. In Egyptian texts the verbs *śȝȝ* and *śbk* parallel the Hebrew conception of wisdom, though *ma'at* most closely resembles *ḥokmâ* but with a much wider religious view of truth, order, and justice than in the OT sense of wisdom. In Mesopotamia the stative verb *emequ(m)* and its cognates include the idea of "being wise," like *ḥokmâ*, and the term *nemequ(m)* describes a kind of wisdom familiar to gods and humanity. But these terms can also denote the religious inspection of omens and participation in cultic ritual. The voluminous Egyptian wisdom texts reflect only a limited number of genres; conversely, Mesopotamian "wisdom" is associated with a smaller group of extant examples, though they exhibit a much greater variety of literary types. Canaanite-Phoenician wisdom is no longer accessible as part of a specific wisdom literature, though epigraphic survivals demonstrate the use of proverbs and other wisdom types familiar in the biblical tradition.

The most common, extensive literary form of wisdom shared among the nations consisted of "instructions" addressed to "my son" or to "children" from a "father," occasionally including references to the teaching of a mother. The author of this instruction is usually a high political official or the king himself, so that one might conceive the purpose of these lessons to be the formal training of courtiers or administrative advisors. While instructional literature seems to derive from the official schools in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, its lofty prologues present the proverbs as an ideal for the training of children generally, regardless of social status.

A. Egyptian Wisdom. Though we do not have from Egypt a corpus explicitly labeled "wisdom literature," scholars have taken note of several types of school literature that conform generally to the pragmatic, utilitarian character of wisdom. Among this literature we find texts designated as *sebayit* or "teaching." The most prominent examples of this "teaching" are didactic texts that sustained popularity from 2300 to 100 B.C. Intended to provide training in *ma'at* ("order, justice, truth"), these earliest texts of didactic prose and learned sayings, which in later periods contained an increasing number of aphorisms, are usually presented in the form of advice from a prominent official to his son. This pattern corresponded conveniently to the teacher-student relationship in Egyptian scribal schools. Accordingly, the school setting became a surrogate for common education in the home. Some texts, such as *The Instruction of a Man for His Son*, portray vividly the classroom setting of scribes to whom these "teachings" belong as part of their educational resources.

Similarities between Egyptian and biblical wisdom became obvious in the modern period with the discovery of the instructional text of a minor official, Amenemope (probably belonging to the 18th Dynasty). This text, or an oral counterpart, appears to have been the source for

WISDOM



A section of Papyrus Anastasi I: a satirical letter from the scribe Amenemope to the royal official Hori, used as instruction for apprentice scribes (end of the 13th cent. B.C.) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

much of Prov. 22:17–23:14 (*ANET*, pp. 421-25). Derived originally from the 13th or 12th cent. B.C., if not earlier, the style corresponds to the father-son pattern of instruction found in Proverbs. The close resonance of a part of Proverbs with this Egyptian text confirms that Israel freely borrowed and adapted wise sayings from other nations in the composition of a distinctly Israelite "wisdom" literature.

Other Egyptian literature designated as "teaching" includes advice specifically directed to scribes. These compositions incorporate essays based on various carefully structured genres, "onomastica" (encyclopedia-like lists of items belonging to the same general class), and polemical texts such as the so-called Satire on the Trades (*ANET*, pp. 432-34). A number of parallels can be found to Israelite wisdom. The partial lists in Prov. 30:15f., 18-20, 24-31 may show familiarity with specific Egyptian onomastica or, at least, with that genre within international wisdom circles. Other "teachings" in the Egyptian schools were of a didactic sort, including sarcastic texts in the form of letters. These texts explored the limits and ironies of life itself. Their tough-minded, even bitter, scrutiny corresponds in many ways to the "skeptical wisdom" of the biblical books Ecclesiastes and Job.

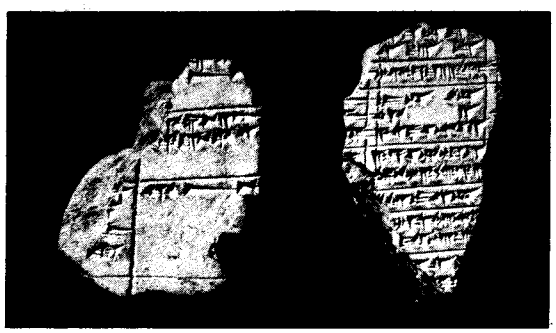
Outside of "teaching" literature, a number of rhetorical exercises, pessimistic treatises, and eloquent discourses have been found that derive from scribal sages. These may reflect a personal or general political despondency, or, as in *The Protests of the Eloquent Peasant* (*ANET*, pp. 407-410), they may contain a critique of social injustices. Whether or not these texts are technically "wisdom" literature, scholars have found in them thematic and stylistic resemblances to Job or Ecclesiastes. The scribal schools seem to have been open to a wide range of genres familiar to Israelite wisdom, though correspondences between these texts and the biblical wisdom traditions remain, at most, partial and sporadic.

B. Mesopotamian Wisdom. Scribal schools in Mesopotamia provided a formal setting for wisdom training, as they did in Egypt; however, an even wider variety of genres might be considered candidates for "wisdom" literature. Instructional literature, like that found in Egyptian and biblical texts, appears from the earliest period until the latest. The oldest known text contains the teaching of a father, Shuruppak, to his son, Ziusudra, the hero of the Sumerian flood epic (*ANET*, pp. 594-96). The most famous example of Mesopotamian wisdom literature is the instructional treatise attributed to a certain AHIKAR, later mentioned in Tobit (1:22; 14:10). His work, allegedly dating from the 8th cent. B.C., circulated widely and in various languages throughout the Near East until well into the Christian period. The famous Ahikar served as a royal adviser under the Assyrian administrations of Sennacherib (704-681) and Esarhaddon (680-669). Proverbs and aphoristic advice in Ahikar's instruction appears to have been a resource for Prov. 23:13f. and 27:3 (*ANET*, pp. 427-430).

Alongside this specific type of literature, there exist numerous collections of proverbs analogous to the biblical Proverbs and a wide variety of religious texts, such as *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom* (*ANET*, pp. 434-37), that offer advice to those who suffer. The latter text reminds us that the scribal schools were attached to temples and that wisdom in Mesopotamia was overtly related to worship. Leo Purdue has pursued similar associations between Israelite wisdom and religious observance in the temple. At the very least, a description of Israelite wisdom as "secular" is neither required according to the international evidence nor accurate according to a careful treatment of the book of Proverbs itself.

C. Canaanite-Phoenician Wisdom. Besides the evident contribution of the major southern and northern neighbors to the cultural milieu of Israelite wisdom, we would expect similar exchanges among the nations with Syria-Palestine. Our extant resources for observing this phenomenon are quite limited. Despite the large number of texts from UGARIT (14th-13th cent.), a city located beside the coast of Syria on the Mediterranean Sea, no specifically didactic literature has been found. Nevertheless, a significant number of distinctive words, pairs of words, and formulaic language in Proverbs can be found in the Ugaritic mythological and legendary materials. In the cuneiform AMARNA TABLETS, exchanged in the same period between Egypt and cities in Syria-Palestine, proverbs occur occasionally. Furthermore, scholars have repeatedly pointed to the similarities of ideas and expressions between biblical wisdom and these extant materials. Thus W. F. Albright asserted, "Proverbs teems with isolated Canaanitisms" (p. 9); and H. L. Ginsburg argued that the term *ḥoḵmôṯ*, for personified Wisdom in Prov. 8, is Phoenician, analogous to the title for a deity, *millôṯ* (instead of **milkaṯ*), "Queen." It is likely that much of wisdom was orally borrowed or shared among nations, and that the bulk of the sayings in Proverbs could go back to a time before Solomon. Some of their original aesthetic features and semantic import may well have been forgotten over

An Akkadian tablet inscribed with various proverbs, e.g., "The strohg man is fed through the price of his hire, the weak man through the price of his child" (translation from *ANET*, p. 425) (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



time, only to be revised or "upgraded" later in association with Solomon and his successors.

II. Wisdom in Ancient Israel.–A description of wisdom in Israel during the preexilic period must inevitably rely on critical reconstructions of prebiblical traditions that have been preserved as part of a much later Hebrew Scripture (OT). Through them one can seek to envision life in ancient Israelite society and ponder the changing circumstances through which different understandings of wisdom evolved. For this purpose a convenient distinction can be made among general conceptions of wisdom, wisdom as a learned discipline, and the influence of wisdom upon non-wisdom traditions preserved in the Bible.

A. Essential Characteristics and Historical Development. The most common term for wisdom in the OT, *ḥokmâ,* predominately refers to an educated discipline or skillful performance in the world. This term occurs commonly throughout the OT traditions to denote almost any acquired skill or learned craft. It includes an ability in waging war (Isa. 10:13), tailoring (Ex. 28:3), cloth making (Ex. 35:26), metalwork and carpentry (Ex. 31:1-5), navigation at sea (Ps. 107:27), and political administration (Dt. 34:9). *Ḥokmâ* may also concern one's level of intelligence; the absence of it explains why the ostrich lacks the common sense expected of other animals (Job 39:17). Conversely, certain prophets and magicians are led astray because of poor judgment (Jer. 47:10; Dnl. 1:4, 17, 20). "Wisdom" is designated as an attribute of God (Job 38:36), the acquisition of some famous persons, and a distinguished asset of some nations. A mundane, practical wisdom (cf. Prov. 10ff.) within Israelite understanding may have preceded in time a more articulate expression of its religious nature (Prov. 1–9). Undoubtedly, some substantial changes in the religious interpretation of wisdom occurred within the history of Israel. Certainly in the exilic and postexilic periods a transformation took place in the relationship of wisdom to the Torah, and eventually in the perception of its relation to other biblical traditions. Occasionally this way of seeking to derive biblical wisdom from scriptural traditions that were not "wisdom" according to either genre or designation is invited by late editorial additions (e.g., Hos. 14:9; Ps. 1; 2 S. 23:1-7). These historical modifications in the understanding of "wisdom" are difficult to recover solely from the book of Proverbs because the sayings in it lack historical references and accentuate their gnomic, universal nature.

At least by the postexilic period, Wisdom became personified both as a preexistent companion of God at creation (cf. Prov. 8:22-31) and as an itinerant female teacher who searches out humanity at the gate and in the city streets with the offer of knowledge, discipline, long life, happiness, success, and wealth (cf. 1:20-33; 8:1ff.; 9:1ff.). Scholars have long debated whether the preexistence of Wisdom implies a true personification, a hypostatic expression of God Himself, or a restructuring in monotheistic terms of an older tradition of Wisdom as a Hebrew goddess. Whatever may be the prehistory behind this presentation in Proverbs, the counterpoint with "a foolish woman" (8:13-18) now suggests the role of a personification. The exact relation of Wisdom to creation in Proverbs remains uncertain. In Prov. 8:29 Wisdom, whom God "created at the beginning of his work" (v. 22), is portrayed either as a "child" or a "craftsman," depending on how one translates the word *'āmôn* (v. 30a). Again, the context, as well as a parallel element in Egyptian goddess speeches, makes the image of a playful child more likely, for she is God's "delight" and "rejoices" before Him (cf. v. 30b). In this portrayal, Wisdom does not appear to help God with the activity of creation, and there is no explicit term for "order," as in the Egyptian or later Hellenistic sense, to explain Wisdom's relation to what God has made. Elsewhere, however, Wisdom is described more explicitly as a participant in creation itself (cf. Job 28:23-28; Prov. 3:19). Wisdom, then, constitutes knowledge and practical expertise that corresponds to the world God has made and, much as the Torah, provides a guide to the obedient life.

A specialized "wisdom" knowledge in Scripture is more than just a naturalistic or humanistic appraisal, for it presumes an awareness of the limits to wisdom in relation to what is revealed elsewhere and the freedom of God to intervene in ordinary affairs (e.g., Prov. 21:30f.). Therefore, the domain within which wisdom finds its crucial place and efficacy in Scripture is circumscribed by an awareness of its own distinctive contribution and its point of departure in "the fear of the Lord" (e.g., Prov. 1:7; 1:27).

B. A Learned Discipline. In various degrees, Israel and Judah thought that they shared a common understanding of "wisdom" with the other nations and that they could compete with their neighbors for recognition in this area. Riddles provided one acceptable test for evaluating a person's sapiential expertise. Solomon's fame as a sage allegedly induced the Queen of Sheba to journey from Egypt for the purpose of verifying his reputation by testing him with riddles (1 K. 10; cf. Prov. 1:6). Similarly, Israelites acknowledged certain specific wise men and women among the Egyptians and the nations to the east (cf. Gen. 41:8; Ex. 7:11; 2 K. 4:30 [MT 5:9f.]; Isa. 19:11-15; Dnl. 2:12ff.). From Israel's perspective, Phoenicia (cf. Zec. 9:2) and Edom (cf. Jer. 49:7; Ob. 8) were centers of wisdom. While fully accepting the international nature of wisdom, Israel retained an awareness of the indigenous religious and political limits to its usefulness. The prophets warn against depending on wisdom alone (cf. Isa. 47:10; Jer. 8:9), acquiescing in foreign wisdom when it leads to apostasy (cf. Jer. 8:9), and trusting in advice apart from a reliance on God's own guarantee of national security (Isa. 31:1-3).

Within Israel itself, regions and persons achieved national reputations according to Israel's own standards of wisdom. The area around Tekoa may have gained such notoriety. It was the home of the "wise woman" whom Joab employed to speak with King David on behalf of Absalom (2 S. 14:2). Perhaps the indication of Amos's home (Am. 1:1) as Tekoa reflects an association of him with a territory known for its expertise in folk wisdom. The outstanding number of sayings or rhetorical expressions typical of wisdom in the book of Amos would support this assumption. Some scholars have speculated that Amos's background in wisdom is an essential component of his prophetic message. (*See* PROPHET III.C.)

Individuals could be elevated in public status nationally because of their demonstrated sagacity. Solomon, the most famous of "the wise" in the Bible, can be compared to "Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol" (1 K. 4:31; cf. 1 Ch. 2:6f.). David's adviser Ahithophel had a comparable reputation, for his counsel could be trusted "as if one consulted the oracle of God" (2 S. 16:23). Daniel is presented as one trained in wisdom (Dnl. 1:17), which included an ability to interpret dreams and visions. Elsewhere, Jeremiah seems to describe a distinct social class of "wisemen," alongside "prophets" and "priests" (Jer. 18:18). In the OT, however, no social group of "sages" appears consistently or vividly in connection with formal schools. Throughout the Bible "scribes" are frequently mentioned in a variety of public roles without the necessity that they all belong to a partic-

ular official class of "the wise," in contrast to other functionaries.

A major factor in discussing wisdom in ancient Israel turns precisely on how one assesses the existence and activity of scribal or sage schools. The biblical traditions say nothing specific about such schools, in sharp contrast to the many textual references to official education and examples of discursive school texts in the literature from ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. While limited epigraphic evidence of crude Israelite abecedaries suggests that some kind of formal education may have been pervasive, no archeological attestation of schools or scriptoriums has been discovered from the Israelite period. Proverbs depicts the provenance of wisdom instruction to be the home. Both "mother" and "father" teach their children; we have no reason to assume that references to "father" and "mother" are exclusively employed only as metaphors for professional "teachers" conducting schools outside the home under official sanctions of priest, prince, or king.

Some impressions of official "teachers" outside the home do belong to the later levels of biblical tradition. According to 2 Ch. 17:7-9, five princes, nine Levites, and two priests who were appointed by King Jehoshaphat took the law through various cities and "taught the people." Similarly, the epilogue to Ecclesiastes, though itself probably postexilic, notes that "besides being wise, the Preacher taught the people" (12:9). These instances convey a general public instruction having little or no connection with an official "school." The first unambiguous reference to such a school occurs in a second-century B.C. description of Ben Sira's "house of instruction" (*bêṯ midraš;* cf. Sir. 51:23). Here wisdom is recommended as a principal means by which one can engage in a devout "study of the law of the Most High" (39:1ff.). Ben Sira's "house" may be thought of as a "wisdom school" only in the sense that he exploits in a sapiential direction the identification of the written Torah with Wisdom. In other words, wisdom is used hermeneutically as a biblical idiom through which all of Scripture can be interpreted. The result is instruction in the Torah cast in wisdom forms.

In Ben Sira's school most of the present OT was recognized as authoritative Scripture that could be interpreted by means of combining citations and allusions to biblical texts in the style of an anthological midrash. A motivation for its wisdom orientation may have been the need for a religious response to the cultural impact in Palestine of hellenization. Just as ancient wisdom had borrowed from the wisdom of the nations, this hermeneutical form of wisdom exegesis did not hesitate to learn and borrow from extrabiblical resources, ancient and contemporary (19:2-4).

Evidence of the presence of aesthetic rules governing the editing of biblical traditions points to the existence of long-established literary conventions typical of a professional guild of writers/editors. Various titles attached both to whole biblical books and to various internal subsections, topical organization of materials, inner-biblical dislocations and plays upon key motifs, as well as fixed patterns for organizing diverse traditions, all betray self-conscious conformity to laws of beauty and competence among the anonymous editors of biblical traditions. In Prov. 25:1 the phrase "the men of Hezekiah" probably refers to such a professional group. Nevertheless, little information survives about particular scribal guilds, much less any assurance that they were directly related to any formal training in "wisdom."

We can readily imagine a wide variety of formal and informal settings in which people may have learned to read and to write. The imagery of "Wisdom" wandering the streets and calling out at the city gates for disciples may well reflect how itinerant teachers could have summoned children to study with them. Perhaps parents would have paid for such instruction of the young on their behalf, though we have no account of that situation — only the assurance that one should seek to acquire wisdom with money (e.g., Prov. 23:23, 17:16). We might imagine that classes could have been conducted under the shade of a tree or in rooms of a house. Such instruction might have been viewed as an extension of education in the home that is superintended by the father and mother. Hence teachers may have, in fact, gained reputations on an *ad hoc* basis and been recognized loosely as an elite group performing a social service, without maintaining any relation to "official" schools. *See* EDUCATION.

C. Wisdom Influences. Since the 1930's biblical scholars have carried out a programmatic search for wisdom sayings discernible by form-critical methods as well as wisdom themes, elements, features, or orientations in traditionally non-wisdom OT books. Particularly if one relies on the evidence of the practice of wisdom in the ancient Near East and attempts a strictly historical reconstruction of the role of wisdom in Israelite society, then the perception of wisdom's influence outside the corpus of Solomonic books increases. For example, Job appears to be intentionally composed as wisdom literature at many places (esp. Job 28), and wisdom themes seem constitutive of the Joseph story (Gen. 37–50), the Succession Narrative (2 S. 9–1 K. 2), and the book of Esther. Some of the prophets, especially Isaiah and Amos, employ numerous wisdom sayings and what might be called sapiential rhetoric (Isa. 10:15; Am. 3:3-6, 8; 5:13). Conversely, Canticles, though Solomonic in ascription, shows few of these characteristic wisdom features.

Such evidence raises questions about the provenance of wisdom in Israel before the promulgation of "scripture" in the postexilic period. R. N. Whybray, for example, has suggested that "wisdom" in ancient Israel really is the entire intellectual tradition that arises from various places in society. Other scholars, e.g., W. McKane, have sought to define it more narrowly as a learned discipline with a social history, from a preexilic "old wisdom" — empirical, mundane advice in association with state advisers — during the Exile to a later, postexilic "theological wisdom." At times wisdom has been viewed as deriving from groups disillusioned with the failure of prophecy and committed to an alternative "creation humanism," but this view remains highly speculative, suspiciously modern, and, in any case, is without warrant in the present place of wisdom in Jewish and Christian Scripture. In sum, while there is consensus on some basic wisdom forms, scholars lack agreement regarding the definition and role of wisdom in ancient Israelite society. Not every tradition in the Solomonic books (e.g., Canticles) can be considered to be wisdom literature historically; conversely, many non-Solomonic traditions prove historically to be the product of sages or, at least, strongly influenced by them.

III. Wisdom in the OT.–In the earliest period of Jewish interpretation, "wisdom" — as a term derived from Scripture — came to signify a religious construct or idiom comparable to the Torah and the Prophets. Though the Torah is not confined to a religious assessment of the first five books of Scripture, its association with Moses provided a fundamental contextual indication regarding both the nature of the Torah and how other books potentially related to it. Since Moses is portrayed as the prophet par excellence who cannot be superseded by any future prophet (Dt. 34:10), no other prophetic books could threaten the

essential content of the Torah. The biblical prophetic books placed after the Torah were subordinated as commentary upon it. As Moses came to be associated with the literary locus of the Torah, so Solomon became linked with a set of "wisdom" books: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. According to the narrative traditions, Solomon is given an exceptional, divine gift (1 K. 3:12f.) and is presented as the sage par excellence (1 K. 4:29-34; 10:23). This wisdom is not self-sufficient, for it must be accompanied by obedience to the revealed Torah (1 K. 3:14).

The biographical dimension in these two instances cannot be reduced simply to a modern notion of authorship; modern critics have properly questioned whether a historical Moses or Solomon could have actually written all the literature associated with their names. Regardless of how one decides this latter issue, the biographical dimension concerning Moses and Solomon belongs integrally to the canonical context in order to express the form and function of these ancient traditions as part of a larger Scripture. This dimension helps to delimit how diverse ancient traditions came to be read biblically, and, apart from that context, one may legitimately ask whether they should be called "biblical" at all. Hence "biblical wisdom" is not to be uncritically identified with the historical development of wisdom in ancient Israel, for within Scripture it finds its own special, semantically differentiated place in its relation to the Torah and the Prophets. In Scripture the five "books of Moses" now circumscribe the principal witness to the revealed Torah, and the Solomonic books provide the specific locus of "biblical wisdom."

In pre-modern Jewish and Christian interpretation this contextual nature of wisdom in Scripture was recognized in a variety of ways. The Solomonic books were repeatedly called the "didactic books" and interpreted for, among other concerns, their distinctive contribution to "wisdom" in the context of the Torah or the gospel. Rabbinic tradition called each of the three Solomonic books *ḥokmâ* and occasionally labeled them collectively as *ḥokmâ*, in a tripartite division of Scripture into Torah, Prophets, and Wisdom (cf. *Yalkut Shimeoni Tehillim* 702). Later rabbinic tradition speculated that Solomon wrote Canticles in his youth, Proverbs in his maturity, and Ecclesiastes as a cynical old man (Midr. *Cant. Rabbah* i.1.10). Christianity inherited this contextual orientation toward the Solomonic books. Only in the modern period, when the historical connections between these books and their "authors" came under criticism, did this biblical context of wisdom become lost or depreciated. One need not return to pre-modern interpretations of authorship in order to value these key hermeneutical clues regarding the context of wisdom within the larger claims of Jewish and Christian Scripture.

A. Proverbs. The superscription in Prov. 1:1 is only one of many that attribute parts of the book to various known and unknown authors (30:1; 31:1; 22:17; 31:10ff.). In addition, the notation in 25:1 regarding Solomonic proverbs collected during the time of Hezekiah indicates a complicated tradition history. Prov. 1:1 significantly now introduces the book by highlighting Solomon's historical identity as "the son of David," recalling the narrative traditions in the Deuteronomistic History and attesting to the antiquity of wisdom from the beginning of the monarchy. The international character of wisdom mentioned in 1 Kings is here confirmed by titles assigning portions to sources outside Israel (Prov. 30:1; 31:1). Again, the narrative tradition about wisdom, being complementary but different from obedience to the Torah (1 K. 3:10-14), appears confirmed by the prologue to the book and its description of a goal different from that typical of the Torah (Prov. 1:1-6). Both the Torah and these Solomonic traditions "teach" things integral to the life of the believer. Lest these two guides to the obedient life, Torah and Wisdom, be construed either as alternatives or opposing paths or norms, a biblical editor placed, after the initial prologue and before the first polemical appeal to the readers/hearers, a summarizing statement: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; fools despise wisdom and instruction" (1:7).

According to this orientation of Proverbs, all the wisdom that follows is presented as part of a larger scripture that participates in a common understanding of the "fear of the Lord" (cf. Ex. 20:20; Dt. 31:12f.). Mirroring the narrative about Solomon, the wisdom literature is presented as instruction self-conscious of a distinction between territory belonging essentially to the revealed Torah and the domain more appropriate to wisdom like that shared with the other nations. In the Solomonic books basic features of salvation-history are omitted, while other topics, not directly touched upon by the Mosaic Torah, come into view. At some points there are overlaps, such as the judgment against those who falsify weights and measures (e.g., Prov. 11:1; 16:11; 20:10; cf. Lev. 19:36). Though both the Torah and the Solomonic Proverbs distinguish between the actions of the righteous and the wicked, the wisdom texts treated this pair virtually as a dualism corresponding to the wise and the foolish. Both the wisdom of the teacher and the revealed Law delivered by Moses require obedience, which is a matter of life and death (Prov. 3:1f.; 8:36; cf. Dt. 5:33; 32:47). Traditions in Prov. 1–9 derive from the exilic period or, at least, have been edited in that period to form a religiously explicit prologue to the collections of proverbs in the probably older traditions of Prov. 10ff. The effect is to incorporate fully even proverbs that have been borrowed from international resources into the specific context of a Jewish scripture and into the religious quest of postexilic Judaism.

This transformation of older traditions is registered in Prov. 30:5f., which gives an editorial response to the fundamental question of international wisdom. A sage expresses despair regarding his lack of wisdom and inability to know what only "the Holy One" could comprehend. He asks rhetorically if anyone knows a sage or the son of a sage who really can claim to have grasped wisdom: "Who has ascended to heaven and come down?" (v. 4). Prov. 30:5 responds with quotes from other parts of Scripture, in v. 5 from 2 S. 22:31 (= Ps. 18:30 [MT 31]) and in v. 6a from Dt. 4:2. This answer confirms what is known already about the Torah in Dt. 30:12, "It is not in heaven, that you should say, 'Who will go up for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear and do it?'" By citing Scripture in affirmation of the revealed "word of God" and its accessible presence among an elect people ("Do not add to his words," v. 6a), the editor answers the question by referring to the Torah and the Prophets. Wisdom is neither something entirely independent of the Torah nor, because God's word has been made available in the Torah and in the Prophets, is it a heavenly object too distant for humanity to affirm and to obey. The same implication is entailed in the song of wisdom in Prov. 8 that relates wisdom to the Genesis traditions solely by claiming that wisdom was preeminent to creation. This contextual ambiguity over exactly how wisdom relates to God's activity at creation, and to the events that follow, naturally became a matter of interest within the later history of Jewish and Christian interpretation.

Consequently, Proverbs shows signs of an intentional

distinction between wisdom and other books of the Torah and the Prophets, combined with a certain acquiescence in the Torah through an acknowledgment of wisdom's limits. Nevertheless, this scriptural context of Proverbs leaves remarkably unharmonized and uninterpreted precisely *how* these different perspectives in Scripture are to be related to each other. If, as some scholars have argued, there are a considerable number of very subtle plays upon other biblical books in Prov. 1–9, then those responsible for such inner-biblical interpretation must have self-consciously sought to avoid any overt and easily recognizable connection between this "wisdom" book and the other biblical traditions. Later conflicts over the interpretation of wisdom within Judaism and Christianity illustrate the options generated, but not simply resolved, by this contextual relationship of understated complementarity within Scripture.

See also PROVERBS, BOOK OF.

B. Ecclesiastes. The voice of this collection is identified by an unusual epithet, a participial form based on the root *qhl* ("call an assembly, gather"). Transliterated "Qohelet(h)," the terminal morpheme *-et(h)* suggests that this term denoted some kind of office. The LXX rendered it *Ekklēsiastēs,* "the one calling an assembly," while in more recent times it has popularly been translated "the Preacher" (Luther). In any case, the superscription ("the son of David") makes an identification with Solomon unequivocal, as do the other internal references in the opening section regarding this person as "surpassing [in wisdom] all who were over Jerusalem before me" (1:16; cf. 1 K. 4:26ff). The formula at the beginning and end of the poetic core — "Vanity of vanities, says the Preacher, all is vanity" — elevates the despair unrelentingly (cf. 1:2 and 12:8). Only in the epilogue do we find a description of the teacher (12:9-11) reminiscent of 1 K. 4:32-34. Just as in Prov. 1:7, a summary is offered that locates this wisdom in the context of the Torah: "The end of the matter. . . . Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man" (Eccl. 12:13).

In the talmudic literature this dimension in the prologue and the epilogue of the book proved instrumental in support of its canonicity. Rabbi Judah (A.D. 260-300) argued in the name of Rab (220-250) that it should not be withdrawn from Scripture despite its allegedly contradictory character because "it begins with the words of Torah and it ends with words of Torah" (T.B. *Shabbath* 30b). As with Proverbs, this link between parts of Scripture remains only suggestive and leaves to the history of interpretation any detailed explication. The apparent cynicism within Ecclesiastes, in contrast to the optimistic thrust of Proverbs and the assurances of the Torah, continues to be a matter of debate for scriptural interpretation. At a minimum, a stark vision of daily life blunts the driving edge of optimism based on belief, fantasy, or revelation.

See also ECCLESIASTES.

C. Canticles. The opening title of the book marks it as Solomon's (cf. 8:11). The phrase "Song of Songs" attributes to this song a superlative quality, as the best of Solomon's song compositions. According to the description of his work in 1 K. 3, Solomon's songs "were a thousand and five" (v. 32). Unlike Ecclesiastes, Canticles contains several explicit references to Solomon (e.g., 3:7). At numerous places the song seems to entail the words of both Solomon and his lover, who is described only vaguely as "my bride" (e.g., 4:8) and as a Shulammite woman (6:13). Likewise, the prose description of Solomon in 1 Kings corresponds well with the claim here that "love is strong as death" (8:6). It helps to explain the apostasy of someone so wise. According to 1 K. 11:2, he "clung to these [foreign wives] in love" and idolatry followed. Certainly in the Torah and the Prophets restrictions and prohibitions can be found that presume the strong, irrational powers of erotic love. But only in Canticles do we find a celebration of it as territory not condemned per se and outside the direct address of either the Torah or the Prophets. Just as Dame Wisdom seductively calls to men in Prov. 8, it is left to wisdom to contemplate areas of sexuality that are pertinent to an international appreciation of human love.

In the context of a Solomonic book, the mystery and irrational dimension of love belong positively to the riddle of life that the wise seek to understand and to affirm. The tenacity of erotic human love became within Jewish and Christian interpretation a paradigmatic analogy to explain God's clinging to Israel and Christ's showing undiminished love for the Church. Hence a sapiential knowledge and appreciation of erotic love as a this-worldly gift of creation came to provide by a figural correspondence a source of hope that God's love will not depart from a wayward elect. Once again, the relationship between the prohibitions and restrictions of the Torah and the unbridled celebration of erotic love in Canticles remains a subject provoking much interpretation later. No ethic of sexuality can be found here alone; at the same time, the issues it raises now belong to a larger arena in which wisdom, law, and gospel accompany the interpretation of it as Scripture. The lack of a facile harmonization of this book with others deepens the demand for interpretation of its subject matter, away from a shallow moralistic reading.

See also CANTICLES.

D. Outside the Solomonic Books. The context of Scripture marked out a special place for wisdom in the Solomonic books and, as we have seen, some editorial indicators within these compositions show that the traditions contained in them were read in connection with other parts of Scripture. The implications, from the standpoint of subsequent scriptural interpretation, are threefold. First, in the formation and fixation of a scripture, older, once independent, traditions were put into a specific context with each other and therefore were read in a new and decisive way. A fresh set of criteria arose among religious believers to determine when the sense of a tradition *as part of scripture* is considered explicit, vague, ambiguous, unharmonized, or contradictory.

Second, the context of Hebrew Scripture at a minimum elevated certain idioms — Torah, Prophecy, and Wisdom — as principal expressions for how Scripture could be pragmatically appropriated as a testimony or oracle of God's revelation. Though the definitive locus of each of these idioms pertains most closely to certain sub-collections within Scripture — the Mosaic Pentateuch, the prophetic books, and the Solomonic books — the assumption that the parts of Scripture complemented each other allowed for the possibility of reading all of Scripture through any one of these idioms. Therefore, within Judaism and early Christianity these categories or "hermeneutical constructs" allowed one to read the extra-pentateuchal parts of Scripture as commentary on the Torah (cf. Ps. 1), or to read the Torah (cf. Dt. 4:6) and prophetic texts as sources of wisdom, or to read the Solomonic books as complementary guides to the explication of the legal portions of the Torah or as a source of prophetic hope.

Third, books such as Job, Psalms, or Esther contextually maintained a multivalent character. They could be fully appreciated for their wisdom orientation or interpreted in direct connection with the Torah and the Proph-

ets. Evidence here and there of standard wisdom forms (e.g., proverbs) outside the Solomonic books only confirmed the ability to interpret Scripture through other Scripture in service to the totality of revelation, in terms of Wisdom, Law, and Word of the self-same God. Of course, literature that is form-critically of an ancient Near Eastern wisdom type can often be found in books associated primarily with the Torah or the Prophets, while traditions of originally non-wisdom genres (e.g., the love songs of Canticles) may form part of a biblical "wisdom" book. The semantic import of "Scripture" depends less on this evidence of a retention of pristine forms than on the compositional transformation of them into a new canonical context, in which they attain a new authority and significance for the religious communities that treasure and interpret them as Scripture.

IV. Wisdom Between the Testaments.–The religious understandings regarding wisdom in early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism find rootage in the period prior to the NT. The identification of Wisdom and Torah became a common theme. Most Jewish interpretation viewed the wisdom books as commentary on the Torah. Thus *Pirke Aboth* vi.10 answers the question, How do we know that Torah is one possession? "Because it is written, The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old" (cf. Prov. 8:22). In the opposite direction, the Torah could be read as commentary on wisdom. For example, the wisdom song of Sir. 24 interprets Dt. 33:4 as support for the claim that "all this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law which Moses commanded" (v. 23). This wisdom song is modeled on Prov. 8, but unlike the latter it interprets the narrative traditions of the Torah so that wisdom is present in the various symbols of the numinous (e.g., the misty cloud at creation, the pillar of cloud, incense in the temple). Interpretation could move in both directions or emphasize one over the other.

Whole books could be modeled after biblical wisdom or directly identified as additional Solomonic books. Both Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon are based generally on the style of Proverbs. Bar. 3:9–4:4 concentrates on the signficance of wisdom analogous to Sir. 24. 4 Maccabees and Judith are self-consciously "biblical" reflections on wisdom themes or the human dilemma. The Letter of Aristeas, in support of the LXX, contains answers to questions addressed to the seventy sages that suggest sapiential principles. While the conception of wisdom in some of this literature departs from biblical depictions by reflecting a very different Hellenistic, philosophical milieu (e.g., the Wisdom of Solomon), the biblical context of Solomonic wisdom still exercises strong influence on these later attempts to continue or to interpret the biblical tradition under new circumstances. Much of their identity as "wisdom" tradition depended on overt imitation of the Solomonic books in form, style, or content.

V. Wisdom in the NT.–As with the discussion of wisdom in the OT, a consideration of wisdom in the NT involves attention both to the historical understandings of "wisdom" within various periods and to the crystallization of canonical, religious views of wisdom within a Scripture that evokes its own unique postbiblical history of interpretation. In the Greco-Roman world, wisdom as *sophía* occurs as a synonym for "philosophy" generally, or for reasoned rhetoric, occasionally viewed in a pejorative sense by Paul. Among the Stoics the goal of being a *sophós* often reflected an ideal, including skill in divine matters that not every philosopher could attain. Any attempt to describe wisdom in the NT traditions confronts these newer conceptions of wisdom, in addition to the older inheritance of the competing Jewish interpretations of biblical wisdom. "Wisdom" common to the predominate Hellenistic culture could be wedded to indigenous Jewish understandings in a great variety of ways.

A. In the Formation of the NT. Investigations since the 1960's make an impressive case for viewing a "Q" tradition shared by Matthew and Luke, though not Mark, as cast in the genre of the "Words of the Wise" (Prov. 30:1; 31:1). With J. M. Robinson, one might speculate on a long history for this genre that runs from sub-collections within the book of Proverbs, to *Pirke Aboth*, to Q, and finally to the Gnostic Gospel of Thomas, and other orthodox traditions among the rabbis and early Christian fathers. Without giving attention to the passion of Jesus, Q could be viewed as a collection of sayings that stresses Jesus' role as someone, at last, wiser than Solomon (cf. Mt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31). One might contrast this wisdom view of Jesus with the prophetic interpretation in the book of Hebrews that emphasizes Jesus as one greater than Moses, therefore, a bearer of new Torah. If this description of Q is correct, it is significant that this view of Jesus has now been complicated by its incorporation into a presentation of His teaching in connection with His passion, though the ascription of wisdom to Jesus has not been diminished.

Moreover, the Jewish background of debate over the relationship between the Torah and Wisdom in Scripture seems fully reflected in the teachings of Jesus. The Sermon on the Mount, for example, is strongly reminiscent in style and content to sayings in Sirach. At least one major area of conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees may be best understood as a difference in how each related Torah to Wisdom. The Pharisees are portrayed as using wisdom to help in the interpretation of the legal portions of the Torah, while Jesus appears to assess the essence of the Torah in terms of wisdomic revelation rather than Halakic or legal deliberation. In other words, if Pharisees read wisdom as commentary on the Torah, Jesus seems to do the reverse. Of course, Jesus' teaching also exceeds the normal bounds of the usual biblical interpretation since He speaks as one claiming direct and special revelation from God.

From the standpoint of the OT, numerous motifs and forms of wisdom can be detected in the NT. The parables and sayings of Jesus might be viewed in this light. Aphorisms found in collections occur at various places (e.g., Mt. 5–7; Rom. 12; James), as well as succinct treatises on the obedient life (e.g., He. 3:12-19; 4:11-13; 6:1-12b; Jas. 2–3). Though neither the Gospel of John nor the Johannine Epistles employ the term "wisdom," many scholars have suggested that a Jewish wisdom understanding may lie behind the Johannine prologue (Jn. 1:1-5). In both cases "Wisdom" and "the Word" are described as preexistent and, consequently, able to be related to the first acts of God at creation.

In the Pauline and "Deutero-Pauline" Epistles wisdom constitutes a key motif. Among these texts, 1 Cor. 1:10–4:21 represents the only systematic treatment on the subject of wisdom in the Pauline corpus, providing part of Paul's polemical defense of himself as the Corinthians' true teacher. While many scholars agree that a key matter of dispute turns on the nature of wisdom and its relationship to the cross, H. Conzelmann proposed that Paul was the founder of a "wisdom school" from which the subsequent "Deutero-Pauline" traditions derive. Reminiscent of the "father-son" metaphor for the teacher-student relationship in OT wisdom literature, Paul addresses the Corinthians as "my beloved children." While acknowledging that they have "countless guides," he argues that these are not "many fathers" because: "I became your father in

Christ Jesus through the gospel" (1 Cor. 4:14f.). The pattern of the argument parallels in a number of respects the Jewish wisdom homily of Bar. 3:9–4:4 with wisdom no longer manifested by the Torah but by the crucified Christ (1 Cor. 1:23f., 30). Paul's disputations seem to view Hellenistic "worldly wisdom" as ineffective because it either lacks or assumes an inadequate place for the cross. Nevertheless, by advocating a hidden "divine wisdom" revealed in the cross, Paul appears to share a Jewish-Hellenistic tradition that thinks of wisdom as once belonging to creation, and later removed from the world to become inaccessible due to humanity's rejection of it (Sir. 1:20-32; 1 En. 42:1-3; 84:3). For some Jewish interpreters this hidden wisdom remains accessible only through the revealed Torah (Sir. 24; Bar. 3:9; 4:2) or becomes available again only when the righteous and the elect diligently seek it (Wisd. 7:24-27f.; cf. also Sir. 1:10, 15; 6:20-22).

Clearly, for Paul this hidden wisdom of God is revealed in Jesus Christ "whom God made our wisdom" (1 Cor. 1:30). Due to the rejection of divinely given wisdom by humanity (cf. 1:19f.) wisdom had disappeared only to reemerge in the world through the "foolishness" of Jesus' death on the cross (1:27). A contrast is established between the wisdom of the present world and that of a hidden wisdom revealed through Christ (2 Cor. 2:6-8). For the structure of his argument Paul depends on a familiar Jewish debate concerning the accessibility of law and wisdom (cf. Dt. 30:12-14; Bar. 3:9ff.; Rom. 10:6-13; 2 Esd. 4:7-12). Similarly, 1 Cor. 13 might be called a "wisdom discourse," which mentions neither God nor Christ. As Canticles focuses on erotic love, so 1 Cor. 13 propounds an eloquent, didactic statement about "love." Many other cases of wisdom orientation, motifs, or traces have been suggested. The problem in critically judging such evidence is analogous to similar concerns in the investigations of wisdom influence familiar in OT studies.

B. "Wisdom" Books in the NT. Conzelmann has also suggested that Colossians and Ephesians "could almost be characterized as Christian wisdom literature" because of how wisdom is presented as an alternative to misleading "philosophy" (Col. 2:8). This judgment turns more on the topical preoccupation of these letters with wisdom themes than on evidence of distinctive wisdom genres. By far the best candidate for an NT wisdom book remains that of James. It seems to stand conspicuously within the tradition of Jewish wisdom instruction, only twice referring to Christ and composed of a series of independent sayings and short treatises. More than any other NT book, James conforms to the restraints familiar in Jewish wisdom instruction. Like Sirach, James interprets various parts of Scripture in order to explicate biblical wisdom, while avoiding topics more peculiarly central to the Torah, Prophets, or the Christian gospel. This attempt to maintain a place for revealed wisdom informed by but distinct from either law or gospel conforms to the pattern of the Solomonic books in the context of Hebrew Scripture. Like Paul, James distinguishes between a wisdom "from above" and "wisdom" in pagan society that is "earthly, unspiritual, devilish" (3:15). As with the Solomonic books, the absence of "revelatory" claims within this book contributed to some ambiguity about its reception by the Christian Church as a full part of an inspired NT.

VI. Wisdom in the Rabbinic Tradition.–After the destruction of the second temple in A.D. 70 and the events leading to the sharp separation between Judaism and Christianity by the mid-2nd cent., rabbinic Judaism arose with its own distinctive conceptions and forms of wisdom. Without altering the biblical heritage, two new factors played a special role. First, the Pharisees, who had been a minority group in the time of Jesus, emerged as the chief architects of indigenous Judaism. Among the literature attributed to them, there is a surprising lack of proverbial collections reminiscent of biblical wisdom. In their place came midrashic commentary and a talmudic style of religious deliberation. In midrashic commentary and in the early editions of the oral Torah (Mishnah and Talmud), Solomon took on a less celebrated role as a model of wisdom than that of the sages among the Tannaim and their predecessors: Hillel the Elder, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Joshua ben Hananiah, Rabbi Meir, and Rabbi Akiba. An antiapocalyptic tendency, perhaps partly in reaction to Christianity, was accompanied by a more practical emphasis on the "Tradition of the Elders." This chain of authoritative instruction allegedly extended back to the time of Ezra and the so-called Council of the Great Synagogue and, according to Jewish beliefs, found its true origin in the passing of oral tradition by Moses to his appointed seventy elders. Precedent for this way of interpreting can be found in pre-Christian Jewish texts, such as *Pirke Aboth.* The importance of this oral tradition diminished the importance of appeals made solely to Scripture and put the weight of Jewish interpretation on the Mosaic Torah, oral and written.

The other factor stems from the enormous impact on the Near East of Greco-Roman culture. The "rabbis" or "sages" in Judaism after the formation of Christianity often sought to emulate famous Greco-Roman thinkers from Socrates to Aristippus. Philo's view that the Solomonic literature lacked divine authority helps to explain his endeavor to find in Abraham and Moses, rather than in Solomon, the primary resources for wisdom rivaling those of the Hellenists. Building on the earlier, postexilic identification of wisdom and Torah, Moses came to be viewed as a sage par excellence. Philo, among others, attributed to the oral teaching of Moses some of the ideas of Plato and Aristotle. While acknowledging the value of international wisdom, the rabbinic sages retained the special relation of the Torah to wisdom. Without the Torah a complete grasp of wisdom was impossible. Just as Christianity linked true wisdom to the gospel revealed only through the crucified Christ, so Judaism believed the ultimate locus of all wisdom to be found only in the revealed Torah.

Prior to the medieval period, rabbinic literature included no large collections of wisdom sayings analogous to Proverbs. In the rabbinic tradition, "wisdom" included knowledge of the oral Torah, biblical interpretations, as well as skills valued commonly in the world. Proverbs, fables, riddles, and other biblical forms of wisdom continued to be used primarily for rhetorical purposes in rabbinic argumentation and homily. In this respect, wisdom's definition had been enlarged to embrace the whole encyclopedia of religious and non-religious knowledge, skill, and diplomacy. Members of the Sanhedrin were considered "sages" — equally versed in Jewish religious lore and in foreign languages, mathematics, zoology, and the philosophical heritage recognized by the contemporary culture. Only in the Middle Ages would the biblical wisdom books of Solomon reassert themselves forcefully as models of divinely given wisdom, though inevitably in close association with the center of Jewish Scripture, the Torah of Moses.

VII. Wisdom in Early Christian Interpretation.–Like Judaism, Christianity valued the Solomonic books as didactic books in Scripture and found in them guidance for an obedient life. When Christianity turned away from the ritual observance of the Torah, biblical wisdom provided an alternative discipline for believers. The content of the

gospel, described as secret or hidden wisdom now revealed, was often mediated in the form of collected "sayings" of Jesus or in later collections of wisdom sayings that might include words of Jesus. The Didache (end of the 1st cent.) takes up a Jewish document on the "Two Ways" and gives it a Christian slant. The result is the oldest known proposal for church order, one that is cast in a wisdom framework rather than a legal orientation like that familiar later in canon law. The importance of the role of wisdom in Christianity, again, shows up clearly in the Gnostic interpretations of the Gospel of Thomas and the Dialogue of the Savior. Core traditions in these works may go back to the end of the 1st century. The Dialogue, for instance, includes sayings that seek to detect a deeper, esoteric wisdom resident in some of the words of Jesus. Even when Irenaeus first appropriated from Marcion the idea of a "New Testament" in the 2nd cent., he proposed in addition to the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles a subdivision entitled "the Sayings of the Lord." Undoubtedly the importance of collections of wisdom-like sayings of Jesus early in the history of Christianity helped stimulate later forms of Christian sapiential tradition.

Hellenistic cultural and philosophical traditions strongly colored the development of Christian thought, as they had in Judaism. In the various expressions of Christian wisdom, older biblical conceptions and the newer Greco-Roman philosophical views intermingled. Some church fathers, e.g., Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, were heavily indebted to the Greco-Roman philosophical traditions, while others, e.g., Clement of Alexandria, seemed more constrained to cast their wisdom in familiar biblical forms.

Among the outstanding examples of early Christian wisdom literature is a collection of wise sayings written in Greek from the end of the 2nd cent. known as "The Sentences of Sextus." As with the biblical Proverbs many of these sayings are borrowed verbatim from non-Christian Hellenistic sources, although frequently reworked by a Christian editor. While some of the sayings derive from the NT itself, the name of Jesus is not mentioned. Again, just as the Solomonic books lack key vocabulary indicative of the Torah, despite signs of accommodation to the same, so "The Sentences" lack overt Christian terminology peculiar to the gospel. This type of literature may have met certain apologetic needs, besides offering a selection and orientation of approved wisdom in an awareness of the limits imposed on it by the crucial revelation of the gospel itself. The early debate over the relation of the gospel to Wisdom and Law in Christian traditions and in the context of Scripture provided the specific milieu out of which a later concern with "ethics," "practical" or "pastoral theology," "philosophical theology," and other disciplines arose within the churches.

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G. T. SHEPPARD

WISDOM, BOOK OF. *See* WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

WISDOM LITERATURE. *See* WISDOM.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

I. Name
II. Authorship and Language
III. Provenance and Date
IV. Literary Characteristics and Genre
V. Structure
VI. Message
VII. History of Interpretation and Canonicity
VIII. Text

I. Name.–Due to a long and varied history of interpretation, this book has many different titles. It is known as the "Wisdom of Solomon" in the Greek MSS (*Sophía Salōmṓnos* in B; *Sophía Solomṓntos* in A and V; *Sophía Salomṓntos* in ℵ). It is known in the Syriac Peshitta as the "Book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon, son of David," in Arabic as the "Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, son of King David, who ruled over the children of Israel," and in the *Vetus Latina* as the "Book of Wisdom" (*Liber Sapientiae*). Patristic sources refer to it as "Solomon" or the "Wisdom of Solomon" (Cyprian), or as the "Divine Wisdom" (Clement and Origen).

II. Authorship and Language.–The author is unknown, but he was surely steeped in both the Jewish biblical tradition and Greek philosophical teachings. Pseudonymity was a common characteristic of late postexilic Jewish writing, and this book's central concern with wisdom made Solomon an ideal choice for authorship. It is not clear whether the final author was a member of a wisdom school (as, e.g., Jesus ben Sira); but the book's intentional identification with Solomon, the wisest of kings, would surely have functioned to legitimate its teaching and to secure its place in such wisdom settings.

The uneven character of its content and style has led to much debate about whether the book is the work of a single author or a composite creation. The earlier chapters have often been seen as a translation of a Hebrew original, while the latter chapters have almost always been viewed as an original Greek composition. In the 20th cent. there has been a growing consensus for a single Greek author, with the divisions within the book attributed to the sources and particular concerns of this author. The pervading influence of Greek philosophical teaching and the presence of Greek literary devices throughout the book confirm the premise that it was composed by a Greek writer.

III. Provenance and Date.–Despite the presence of Hebraisms in the text, virtually all commentators locate the place of final composition as Alexandria. The book is,

WISDOM OF SOLOMON

therefore, a sterling example of Hellenistic Jewish writing. An important characteristic of such writing is its mixture of Greek literary style and philosophical teaching with the Jewish biblical tradition.

The book's date is subject to debate. It was surely not written before the 3rd cent. B.C. (cf. the use of the LXX of Isaiah in 2:12 and 15:10) or later than A.D. 50. The two most significant criteria for determining its date are the nature and extent of the Greek thought found within it and the situation of Jewish strife that it presupposes. Given the Alexandrian provenance, Winston has argued persuasively for an early 1st cent. A.D. date; the author is then seen as dependent upon Philo's teaching and as speaking to Jews suffering persecution under Gaius "Caligula" (A.D. 37-41).

IV. Literary Characteristics and Genre.–The Wisdom of Solomon contains many different literary conventions and styles common to both Hebrew and Greek writing of the period. Some of the early poetry uses parallelism (*see* POETRY, HEBREW III) as well as a few Hebraisms (e.g., 1:1; 2:9, 15). On the Greek side there are compound words, iambic or hexameter rhythms, epithets, alliteration, assonance, homoioteleuton, paranomasia, anaphora, and much philosophical terminology (e.g., 6:24; 7:17). Chiasm (e.g., 1:1; 3:15), inclusio (e.g., 1:1-15), antithesis (e.g., 3:5; 4:16), and various forms of exhortation are found throughout the work and are common to both Greek and Hebrew literary traditions. Larger literary forms include comparisons (*synkrisis*; e.g., 11–19), ode (e.g., 10:1-21), diatribe (e.g., 1:4-6; 18:15), and speeches (e.g., 7:1-22a).

Many have characterized the entire work as an exhortatory discourse. While surely such a designation adequately characterizes the book's intention (i.e., to exhort), it does not define its form, which sometimes includes speech forms (e.g., chs. 6–9) as well as extended historical comparisons (e.g., 11:1–12:2). It is difficult, and perhaps unwise, to place the entire work under the rubric of one genre.

V. Structure.–The book is divided into three major sections: (1) wisdom and immortality (1:1–5:23), (2) Solomon's quest for wisdom (6:1–9:18), and (3) wisdom and history (10:1–19:22). This threefold structure reflects the author's general concerns, although commentators have made several subdivisions.

The first major section (1:1–5:23) commends wisdom and its attributes to the righteous. It is characterized by the wisdom tradition's fundamental distinction between the righteous and the wicked and is colored by an eschatological hope for immortality in the light of present oppression.

The second major section (6:1–9:18) highlights the figure of Solomon as a seeker after and obtainer of wisdom. It is characterized by speech forms that exhort others to follow his lead and learn from him.

The structure and intention of the final section (10:1–19:22) are debated by the commentators. This section focuses on the role of wisdom in the history of Israel, giving special attention to the Egyptian experience and drawing contrasts and comparisons between the fortunes of the Egyptians and those of the Israelites. Idolatry receives extended treatment (13:1–15:19).

Although the book's larger divisions and their internal structure are subject to interpretation, its threefold concern to commend wisdom, to see Solomon as a paradigm of the wise, and to emphasize the role of wisdom in history (esp. in Egypt) is compatible with the provenance of the work. The overall intention is clearly to provide for Alexandrian Judaism a historical, philosophical, and theological guide that is firmly grounded in the biblical traditions.

VI. Message.–Any attempt to set forth the major concerns and teachings of this book must keep in mind the interrelationships between the Hebrew and Greek thought contained within it. On the one hand, the author is heir to biblical teaching, especially as mediated through the wisdom traditions (Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Sirach; *see* WISDOM). The centrality of Torah (even its equation with wisdom; cf. Sir. 24:23-29) and the emphases on the Exodus event, Solomon, and a retributional theological system are all a part of the author's biblical heritage. On the other hand, concerns with the hope for immortality (also present in some late portions of the OT), the soul's relationship to the body, and free will and determinism are all part of the author's Hellenistic heritage. The writer has drawn on both traditions to address a particular people in its own historical situation. The resulting message is a peculiar mixture of past and present, Greek thought and Hebrew thought. While certain characteristics and sources point toward one tradition or the other, the two traditions are often incapable of being separated.

The most central theme in the entire book is the concept of wisdom. Wisdom is portrayed as something separable from human beings but capable of dwelling in the righteous (e.g., 6:12-16). Under the influence of Greek thought, wisdom is seen as emanating from — but not equated with — God. As in both Hebrew and Egyptian wisdom traditions, wisdom is found in and is responsible for the rhyme and reason of the created order. Although wisdom is not explicitly equated with the teachings and Scriptures of Jewish tradition, the biblical writings are compatible with and reflective of wisdom's teaching (cf. 6:4, 9; 11:1). Study and careful attention to Scripture are surely one way to attain wisdom, but the ability to reason and understand is no more important than prayer and the recognition of wisdom's source. For this writer wisdom is the source of understanding but also an elusive, unattainable characteristic of God.

Combined with this focus is an eschatological hope that those who trust in wisdom will receive immortality despite the suffering of the present age (e.g., 4:16–5:23). Such a teaching reflects the influence of the Greek hope for an afterlife as well as that of the Hebraic apocalyptic visions current in other Hellenistic Jewish literature (cf., e.g., Enoch). For the Jewish wisdom tradition in which this author stood, such an eschatological emphasis was new. Most earlier sages had emphasized the present rewards of following wisdom; Ecclesiastes had even disparaged any hope of future reward for being righteous or wise. In his desperate situation the author of this work developed new ways of understanding the character of wisdom, thereby creating an appeal to the righteous that goes beyond the traditions of the past while still affirming their basic ethical teachings.

While the righteous may have to wait for their ultimate reward, the history of Israel provides a clear perspective on their present plight and their appropriate response to it. The emphasis on the Egyptian experience is explainable not only in terms of the author's Alexandrian setting but also because it is the saving event par excellence in the Torah, central to all Jews. This wisdom teacher makes no radical separation between this age and the next; in spite of his eschatology, the past and present remain primary in ascertaining the will and action of God, who has "not neglected to help [the Israelites] at all times and in all places" (19:22).

The author continues in the mainstream of the Jewish wisdom tradition by affirming a long-standing "two ways"

retributional theology. Despite appearances, God rewards the righteous and punishes the evil; the history of the Jews confirms this judgment. For those who gain wisdom, the actions of personified wisdom in the created order assure the right results. While the author is surely not nationalistic or chauvinistic, the teachings of the Jewish tradition are a primary source for such a conception of God. Although he sometimes uses Greek philosophical teaching to complement the message of books such as Ecclesiastes or Job, which raise radical questions about God's justice and mercy, this author finally stands within the mainstream of the sages as found in Proverbs and Sirach.

VII. History of Interpretation and Canonicity.–As a Jew steeped in the biblical tradition and in Greek thought, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon sought to present a picture of wisdom and Jewish history that would provide both comfort in present trials and direction for the future. The resultant message was ultimately not acceptable to mainstream Palestinian Judaism, but the way that it relates past teaching to present need is characteristic of all Jewish and Christian teaching to the present day.

The book was used extensively by the early Church, although its formal place in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox canon was not official until the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and the synod of Jerusalem (1672). Because it characterizes wisdom as emanation and closely connects it with the *logos* concept, the book lends itself easily to christological readings.

Although the Reformers excluded it from the canon, the book continues to have an important status in some Protestant Churches, as witnessed by its presence in the lectionary cycle. Whether "inspired" in the fullest sense or not, the Wisdom of Solomon contains an interpretation of wisdom and the biblical tradition that repays careful study with important insights into contemporary issues and the nature of God.

VIII. Text.–The basic critical text of the Wisdom of Solomon is found in the Göttingen version of the LXX (1962). The most important Greek MSS are A B C ℵ and V. Several other Greek MSS contain fragments of the text, and Syriac, Arabic, and Latin versions are also valuable for textual criticism.

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D. F. MORGAN

WISE. *See* WISDOM.

WISE MEN (OT). The international character of wisdom is well established. Much of Israel's own wisdom literature could easily cross national boundaries and find close parallels in the literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The biblical corpus itself gives evidence that Israel knew of foreign wise men and valued their insights. Job of Uz is generally considered non-Israelite, as are Agur and Lemuel, whose wisdom is recorded in Prov. 30–31. It has long been noted that Prov. 22:17–23:18 owes considerable debt to the Teaching of Amenemope of Egypt (*see* PROVERBS I.C). It was therefore possible for an Israelite to be initiated into the intricacies of foreign wisdom and to excel in its practice without condemnation (e.g., Daniel and his friends in the book of Daniel, and Moses according to Acts 7:22). Where foreign wisdom and wise men failed according to biblical critique was in their refusal to recognize or to acknowledge YHWH as the source of true knowledge. "[Foreign wise men] are both stupid and foolish; the instruction of idols is but wood!" (Jer. 10:8). "I am the Lord . . . who frustrates the omens of liars, and makes fools of diviners; who turns wise men back, and makes their knowledge foolish" (Isa. 44:24f.). Foreign wise men most often appear in contexts of competition in which this negative critique is clearly expressed through their inability to compete with the Israelite wise man who is aware of the source of his knowledge (Gen. 41:8; Ex. 7:11; Dnl. 2:27; 5:15). Lack of knowledge of YHWH leads these wise men into association with magic, divination, and astrology, practices condemned by Israel and God (Dt. 18:9-14).

For the wise men of Mt. 2, *see* WISE MEN (NT).

G. H. W.

WISE MEN (NT) [Gk. *mágoi*] (Mt. 2:1, 7, 16); NEB ASTROLOGERS. An indeterminate number of individuals who saw an unusual astronomical phenomenon, and journeyed from the east to Jerusalem to worship the newborn king of the Jews (Mt. 2:1f.).

I. Greek and Persian Background.–According to Herodotus, *mágoi* were members of a Persian priestly caste who specialized in astrology, interpretation of dreams, and magic (i.101, 107, 120; iii.65, 73, 79; vii.19, 37, 113). In a more general sense, a *mágos* in the Hellenistic world had supernatural knowledge and ability and was sometimes a practitioner of magic (Philo *De specialibus legibus* iii.101) or an interpreter of dreams (Josephus *Ant.* x.10.2 [195]; x.10.6 [216]).

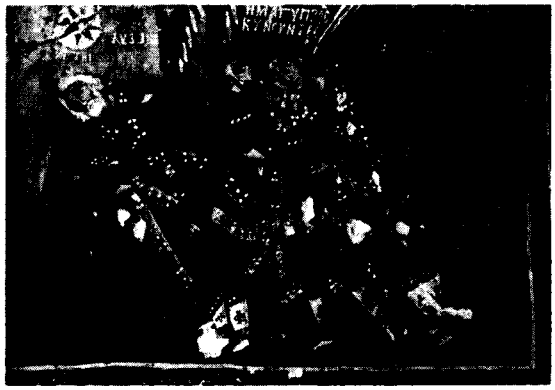
II. Jewish and OT Background.–In rabbinic literature a *mágos* is usually a magician (*SB*, I, 76). In the LXX the "enchanters" or "necromancers" (Heb. *'aššāp*/Aram. *'ašāp*) of Dnl. 2:2, 10 are called *mágoi*. Of special significance is the second-century A.D. translation of Theodotion, which uses *mágos* to translate *'aššāp*/*'ašāp* in Dnl. 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7; 5:7, 11, 15.

Astrology was prevalent throughout the ancient world and, despite the OT condemnation of its practice, affected Judaism to some degree. Josephus mentioned stars on the veil of the temple (*BJ* v.5.4 [214]), and numerous synagogue excavations have turned up the sign of the zodiac (*see* picture in ASTROLOGY). Aramaic fragments of an astrological treatise have been found in Qumrân Cave 4. Thus the wise men and their experience would have been tremendously significant to Matthew and his readers, especially because Nu. 24:17, ". . . a star shall come forth out of Jacob," was being interpreted messianically by the rabbis (cf. Tgs.).

The name chosen by the leader of the Jewish uprising in A.D. 130-135 also illustrates this interest. Bar Kosba (which probably means "son of a young ram") changed his name to Bar Cochba, "son of the star" (cf. W. F. Albright and C. F. Mann, *Matthew* [*AB*, 1971], p. 15). When his "messianic" mission failed, the rabbis called him Bar Kosiba ("son of the lie").

III. In the NT.–Apart from Mt. 2 *mágoi* are mentioned only twice in the NT; a man named Simon amazed the Samaritans with his works (*mágeia;* Acts, 8:9-11); and on Cyprus Paul confronted Elymas (Bar-Jesus) the *mágos* (13:6). Both of these men are pictured as deceivers and charlatans.

In contrast to the *mágoi* in Acts, the visitors in Mt. 2 are presented with approval. They understood the implications of the star and acted appropriately, coming with gifts and worshiping the child. Two details seem to suggest that as much as two years had passed since the birth of Jesus. First, Herod questioned the wise men about when the star had appeared (v. 7) and then ordered the



A fresco in one of the rock churches in Gōreme in Cappodocia (Turkey) depicting the three wise men, late 5th-7th cent. A.D. (B. Van Elderen)

slaughter of all the children in the Bethlehem region who were two years and under, "according to the time which he had ascertained from the wise men" (v. 16). Second, at the time of the visit the family of Joseph was living in a house (vv. 10f.). Herod may only have been giving himself a margin of safety, but certainly the visitors from the east arrived appreciably after Jesus' birth (cf. the wording of v. 2). *See also* INNOCENTS, MASSACRE OF THE.

The wise men's interest in the Messiah may well have arisen from contact with the Jewish exiles in the east and from knowledge of the OT. Several OT passages foreshadow these events, although Matthew does not mention them. The Messiah is a star who will come forth out of Jacob (Nu. 24:17); the nations shall come to His light and kings to the brightness of His rising (Isa. 60:3). Kings are to come worshiping and bearing gifts (Ps. 68:29 [MT 30]; 72:10-15; Isa. 60:6). The notion that the wise men were kings rests upon an inference from these passages, and that there were three of them rests upon the number of gifts — gold, frankincense, and myrrh. There is no unanimity in the tradition about their number, however; it has been represented as anywhere from two to twelve. By "from the east" (2:1) Matthew probably meant that they came from Persia or Mesopotamia, although Arabia is also a possiblity. It is not explicitly stated that they were Gentiles, and attempts to name them (e.g., Gaspar, MELCHIOR, and Balthasar) rest upon legends.

W. W. BUEHLER

WISH. In only a few instances in the RSV OT does "wish" translate a specific Hebrew term of that meaning. "Wish" represents the verb *ḥāpēṣ* ("want, desire") in Dt. 25:7f.; Job 9:3, and the cognate noun *ḥēpeṣ* in 1 K. 5:9 (MT 24). The noun *nepeš* ("breath," "life," "desire") carries a similar force in Dt. 23:24 (MT 25), where *kᵉnapšᵉḵā* (lit. "according to your desire") is rendered "as you wish." In 1 S. 2:16 "you wish" represents *napšeḵā* ("your soul," "your desire") with the piel of *'āwâ* ("crave"). In Job 37:20 the RSV translates *'āmar* ("say") by "wish."

Elsewhere in the RSV OT "wish" represents no particular Hebrew term. Sometimes it is used in translating idiomatic expressions: Heb. *lû*, a particle expressing a wish or prayer, is rendered "I wish" in Nu. 22:29, and *mah-llāḵ* (lit. "what to you?") is translated "what do you wish?" in Josh. 15:18 par. Jgs. 1:14. More often "wish to" is supplied to convey the sense of certain verbal forms. In Lev. 27:13, 19, 31 the infinitive absolute of *gā'al* ("redeem") together with the imperfect is rendered "wish to redeem." In vv. 15 and 20 this phrase is used simply to convey the sense of continuing action indicated by the imperfect tense of *gā'al;* since the process of redeeming involves negotiation and an uncertain outcome, it is natural in English to say that one "wishes" to redeem it. Similarly, the context indicates that "wish to offer" is an appropriate translation of *'āśâ* ("make," "prepare") in Nu. 15:14, and that "wish to become" is the intended meaning of the part. of *hāwâ* ("become") in Neh. 6:6.

The situation is quite different in the NT. Here the Greek verb *thélō* ("will, wish") lies behind nineteen of the thirty-two occurrences of "wish" (Mt. 7:12 par. Lk. 6:31; Mk. 6:22; Jn. 12:21; Acts 25:9; 1 Cor. 7:7, 36, 39; etc.), and the nearly synonymous verb *boúlomai* (which in older Greek meant to "plan") accounts for nine more occurrences (Mk. 15:15; Acts 17:20; 18:27; 19:30; Jas. 4:4; 2 Pet. 3:9; etc.). The verb *zētéō* ("seek," "desire") is rendered "wish" once (Jn. 4:27).

In Rom. 9:3 the RSV uses "wish" to render *eúchomai,* which is better translated in its usual sense of "pray" (so NEB). Precisely when Paul is making profoundly clear his concern for his fellow Jews and his willingness to give up his own salvation on their behalf, the strength of *eúchomai* needs to be retained (for a discussion of the problems of translating this phrase, see C. E. B. Cranfield, *ICC* on Romans [1979, repr. 1983], II, 454-57). The form *óphelon* functions as a particle expressing a wish ("would that"). Used with the imperfect indicative, as in 2 Cor. 11:1, it expresses an unattainable wish (BDF §359). When used with the future indicative it expresses an attainable wish (BDF §384); so strong were Paul's feelings against those who were preaching the necessity of circumcision that he expressed the sarcastic wish that they would mutilate themselves (Gal. 5:12).

See also DESIRE.

Bibliography.—*TDOT,* V, *s.v.* "ḥāpaś" (F. Maas, G. J. Botterweck); *TDNT,* I, *s.v.* βούλομαι (G. Schrenk); III, *s.v.* θέλω (G. Schrenk).

G. CHAMBERLAIN N. J. O.

WIST. *See* WIT.

WIT; WITTY; UNWITTINGLY. The verb "to wit" in the AV is interchangeable with "to know" and is conjugated with a present "wot" and a past "wist." This inflection is derived from more complicated forms in the older English, and in post-Elizabethan times it has become quite obsolete (but cf. the roots in "wisdom," "witness"). The noun "wit," then, means simply "knowledge," and "witty" is "having knowledge," although the noun and the adjective have acquired more narrowly specialized uses in modern English. Even in Elizabethan English, however, the indicative of "to wit" was becoming displaced by "know," and "wot" and "wist" together occur only twenty-four times in the AV (not at all in the AV Apocrypha). The infinitive "to wit" is still in use (chiefly in legal formulas) before an apposition, and the AV has supplied it rather frequently to clarify a construction (e.g., Josh. 17:1; 1 K. 2:32); the RSV has not retained it. In the two instances where the AV uses this infinitive to translate Heb. *yāḏaʿ* the RSV has replaced it with "to learn" (Gen. 24:21) and "to know" (Ex. 2:4). The very obsolete expression in 2 Cor. 8:1, AV, "We do you to wit" (i.e., "We cause you to know"), has become in the RSV "We want you to know."

The noun "wit" occurs in the RSV only at Ps. 107:27 in the phrase "at their wits' end," translating Heb. *ḥoḵmâ,* "wisdom," "technical skill." The phrase means "their skilled seamanship cannot cope with the danger." The AV also uses "wit" in 1 Esd. 4:26 (Gk. *diánoia,* "mind");

2 Esd. 5:9 (Lat. *sensus*, here "intelligence"); Sir. 31:20 (Gk. *psychḗ*, "soul," with the force of "reason").

"Witty" does not occur in the RSV, but the AV uses it in three passages: in Prov. 8:12 it uses "witty inventions" to translate Heb. *mᵉzimmâ*, "discretion" (so RSV); in Jth. 11:23 it has the phrase "witty [Gk. *agathós*, "good"] in thy words," probably meaning "you have spoken sound sense"; and in Wisd. 8:19 it has "witty child" (RSV "a child . . . well endowed"; Gk. *euphuḗs*, "well grown," "of a good disposition," "clever"). The AV uses the adverb "wittingly" in Gen. 48:14, interpreting Heb. *śāḵal* as belonging to a root meaning "act intelligently"; the RSV ("cross") interprets it as belonging to a different root meaning "exchange," "cross."

The RSV uses the adverb "unwittingly" to translate Heb. *šᵉgāgâ* ("sin of inadvertance") in Lev. 4:2, 22, 27; 5:15, 18; Nu. 15:24-29 (AV usually "through ignorance"), the piel of *śāgâ* in Lev. 4:13 (RSV "commit sin unwittingly"; AV "sin through ignorance"), and *biḇlî ḏaʿaṯ* (lit. "without knowledge") in Josh. 20:3, 5. All these passages refer to sins or crimes committed inadvertently. Although OT law viewed inadvertent wrongdoings as less serious than those committed deliberately (cf. Josh. 20:2-6), it did not exuse them. Inadvertent sins were seen as incurring guilt, and a sacrifice was required before they could be forgiven (Lev. 4–5; Nu. 15:22-29). They were clearly distinguished, however, from sins committed "with a high hand" (v. 30), i.e., deliberately; for such sins there was no sacrifice and no atonement. *See also* IGNORANCE.

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WITCHCRAFT, PRACTICE (Lev. 19:26). *See* MAGIC II.A.(5).

WITHER; WITHERED (AWAY) [Heb. *yāḇēš*] (Job 8:12; Ps. 90:6; 102:4, 11 [MT 5, 12]; 129:6; Isa. 15:6; 40:7f., 24; Jer. 12:4; Ezk. 17:9, 10; 19:12; Joel 1:12; Am. 1:2; 4:7; Jonah 4:7; Zec. 11:17); AV also CLEAN DRIED UP; NEB also PARCHED, SHRIVELLED, BLIGHTED, IS DESPERATE, IS DRIED UP; [Heb. *nāḇēl*] (Ps. 1:3; 37:2; Isa. 1:30; 24:4; Jer. 8:13; Ezk. 47:12); AV also FADE (AWAY); NEB also FADE; [Heb. *šāḳaḥ*] (Ps. 137:5); AV FORGET; [Heb. *nāpal*–'fall'] (Prov. 11:28); AV FALL; NEB "is riding for a fall"; [Heb. *nāmal*] (Job 14:2; 18:16; 24:24); AV BE CUT DOWN/OFF; NEB also BE LAID LOW; [Heb. hithpolel of *mûl*] (Ps. 58:7 [MT 8]); AV CUT IN PIECES; [Heb. *ṣānam*] (Gen. 41:23); NEB SHRIVELLED; [Heb. *qāmal*] (Isa. 33:9); AV HEWN DOWN; NEB CRUMBLING; [Gk. *xēraínō*] (Mt. 13:6; 21:19, 20; Mk. 3:1, 3; 4:6; 11:20f.; Lk. 8:6; Jn. 15:6; Jas. 1:11; 1 Pet. 1:24); AV also DRIED UP; [Gk. *xērós*] (Mt. 12:10; Lk. 6:6, 8).

The principal words translated "wither" or "wither away," Heb. *yāḇēš* and Gk. *xēraínō*, refer to both the wilting of plants which have not received enough water and to the paralysis of human limbs resulting from various conditions (including 1 K. 13:4; RSV, AV "dried up"; NEB "paralysed"). The former is most often mentioned as a figure of speech for the expected result of wickedness (Job 8:12; Ps. 129:6; Ezk. 17:9f.; 19:12; Am. 1:2; Jn. 15:6; cf. Mt. 13:6 par.), for human suffering in general (Ps. 90:6; 102:4, 11 [MT 5, 12]), or for what is temporary in contrast to what is permanent (Isa. 40:8, 24; Jas. 1:11; 1 Pet. 1:24). It is also mentioned as a literal result of wickedness (Jer. 12:4; Am. 4:7). *Yāḇēš* appears three times in Joel 1:12 (RSV has "fails" for the third; NEB paraphrases "none make merry"). The curse in Zec. 11:17 mentions paralysis together with blindness in one eye, which might suggest posterior spinal sclerosis (*see* DISEASE III.C). The hand of the man healed by Jesus in a synagogue (Mt. 12:9-14 par. Mk. 3:1-6; Lk. 6:6-11) may have been shrunken by an affliction such as anterior poliomyelitis (*see* DISEASE IV.B).

Because Nah. 1:4b must begin with *d* in order to take its place in the incomplete acrostic poem that begins with v. 2, suggested replacements for *ʾumlal*, "fade" (which may be duplicated from the end of the verse in place of an original word which has dropped out), include *dāʾaḇ*, "mourn," *duḵʾû*, "are crushed," and *dallû*, "are dried up," "are brought low" (so *BH*). The last of these may be the basis of RSV "wither." AV follows MT with "languisheth" in both the third and fourth clauses of the verse (NEB "languish" and "wither" in these two clauses). LXX *ōligṓthē* can be considered evidence for the correctness of *ʾumal*.

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WITHS (Jgs. 16:7-9, AV). *See* BOWSTRINGS, FRESH.

WITNESS. A noun and verb used by the RSV almost two hundred times in reference to attestation of a fact or event by a human or divine being or by an inanimate object. Heb. *ʿēḏ* and cognates (e.g., *ʿûḏ*, *ʿēḏûṯ*, *ʿēḏâ*) and Gk. *mártys* and cognates (e.g., *martyréō*, *martyría*, *martýrion*) underlie most of the uses.

The Pentateuch contains the greatest number of OT references to witnesses or testimony in forensic matters. False witness is forbidden (Ex. 20:16; 23:1; Dt. 5:20; cf. Prov. 6:19; 19:5, 9; 21:28; 25:18); it is to be punished according to the law of retaliation (Dt. 19:16-21). A flagrant instance of false witness is Jezebel's action against Naboth (1 K. 21:10-13). Those who are witnesses but refuse, after an official summons, to testify are culpable (Lev. 5:1; cf. Prov. 29:24). The practice of requiring two or three witnesses to establish evidence is enjoined in Dt. 19:15 (cf. 17:6; Mt. 18:16; Jn. 8:17; 2 Cor. 13:1; 1 Tim. 5:19; He. 10:28). In the absence of human witnesses, God might be called upon to attest an agreement (Gen. 31:50; cf. 1 S. 20:12; *see* COVENANT [OT]). The witnesses against persons indicted of capital crimes were required to take the leading role in the execution (Dt. 17:7; cf. Jn. 8:7; Acts 7:58), thereby demonstrating their confidence in their own testimony. Ex. 23:7 voices a strong warning against false charges in capital cases. When a person was condemned to be stoned, all the witnesses were first required to lay their hands on the head of the condemned (Lev. 24:14). Mark's account of Jesus' trial (Mk. 14:56-60) suggests that the tribunal disregarded the principle of invalidating contradictory evidence. Other NT references to witness in judicial matters include Mt. 18:16; 26:60, 65 par.; Acts 6:13; 7:58; 2 Cor. 13:1; 1 Tim. 5:19.

Biblical terms for witness are also used in a variety of contexts outside the public legal forum. A tone of uncommon solemnity pervades the narrative when God is invoked as witness. The divine witness may be either affirmative (1 S. 12:5; cf. He. 11:4) or negative (Jer. 29:23; 42:5; Mic. 1:2). Paul frequently called on God to attest his deportment and attitudes (Rom. 1:9; 2 Cor. 1:23; Phil. 1:8; 1 Thess. 2:5). God (or the Holy Spirit) authenticates the mission of Jesus (Jn. 5:37, etc.; 1 Jn. 5:7-9) and affirms the people of God (Acts 15:8 [referring to the Gentiles]; Rom. 8:16; He. 2:4; 10:15; 11:4). Jesus also attested Himself (Jn. 3:11, 32; 8:13f.) and His own word of grace (Acts 14:3). He testified about what He knew and had seen (Jn. 3:11), i.e., the Father's character and purpose (cf. Rev. 1:5, 9). John the Baptist bore witness to the messianic "light" (Jn. 1:7) and to the "truth" (5:33). The people could testify that

John did not lay claim to messianic credentials (3:28). The crowd attested Jesus' raising of Lazarus (12:17), and the disciples witnessed His entire ministry (15:27). An eyewitness testified that blood and water came out of Jesus' side (19:35; cf. 21:24). Many witnessed Timothy's instruction by Paul, according to 2 Tim. 2:2. Perhaps on the same occasion Timothy made a "good confession in the presence of many witnesses" (1 Tim. 6:12). Tit. 1:12f. cites a Cretan author who indicts his own islanders.

Benefactors and administrators in the Greco-Roman world sometimes received commendation for their services. Permission to honor them might come in answer to testimonials by a grateful public. Similarly, in the NT God, Jesus, and leading figures in the Christian communities receive adulation for their character and performance (cf. 3 Jn. 12). The apostles proclaimed the gospel on the basis of Jesus' words and deeds, with special reference to His death and resurrection (Lk. 24:48; Acts 1:22; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39; 26:16; cf. 1 Pet. 5:1). According to He. 12:1 the saints are a "cloud of witnesses" who attest God's faithfulness in the face of a variety of perils. Paul calls on his readers for a character reference in 1 Thess. 2:10 (cf. Acts 26:5); in turn, he commends his readers in Gal. 4:15, and Epaphras in Col. 4:13.

Inanimate things can also serve as witnesses, especially in cultures that do not depend primarily on written documents as evidence for a transaction. A heap of stones serves Laban and Jacob (Gen. 31:48, 52; cf. Abraham's seven ewe-lambs, 21:30). Other impersonal witnesses include a song (Dt. 31:19, 21), an altar (Josh. 22:27f., 34), a pillar (Isa. 19:19f.), Jesus' works (Jn. 5:36), the Scriptures (Dt. 31:26; Jn. 5:39), and the "tent of witness" (Acts 7:44; Rev. 15:5).

The use of Gk. *mártys* (RSV "witness") in Acts 22:20 (of Stephen) and Rev. 2:13 (of Antipas; cf. 11:3) in connection with testimony that imperils a witness prepares the way for the more specific denotation of the transliterated term "martyr" (so AV; cf. Rev. 17:6). *See* MARTYR.

See also TESTIMONY.

Bibliography.–F. W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and NT Semantic Field* (1982), pp. 442-47; *DNTT*, III, 1038-1051; *TDNT*, III, *s.v.* μάρτυς κτλ. (H. Strathmann); A. A. Trites, *NT Concept of Witness* (1977). F. W. DANKER

WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT. ***I. Biblical Usage.***–The phrase "witness of the Spirit" does not occur in Scripture, but three NT passages speak of the Spirit bearing witness. Jn. 15:26 states that the Counselor, as the Spirit of truth, has the function of testifying to Jesus in the sense of speaking about Him (cf. 16:14). The following verse then associates the disciples' witness with that of the Spirit. Acts 1:8 is a parallel, for although this does not refer to the Spirit's witness, it is when the disciples receive the Spirit's power that they are to become witnesses to Christ, so that the force of their testimony depends on the operation of the Spirit.

The statements in 1 Jn. 5:7ff. are similar to those in Jn. 15:26f. After referring to Christ, who came by water and blood (v. 6), the author describes the Spirit as a witness, a reliable witness because the Spirit is truth (v. 7). To meet the demand for more than one witness, three are mentioned: the Spirit, the water, and the blood (v. 8). This threefold witness, being divine, surpasses human testimony: "this is the testimony of God that he has borne witness to his Son" (v. 9). The faith that responds to this witness of the Spirit, or of God, carries with it an inner testimony, an assurance that the witness is indeed true (v. 10), for in faith God's people have eternal life in Christ, the giving of which is the content of the testimony (v. 11).

Paul's thinking runs along similar lines when he makes perhaps the most familiar reference to the witness of the Spirit in Rom. 8:16. He is arguing that Christians are no longer slaves. Led by the Spirit, they are the children of God, crying "Abba, Father" (v. 15). The Spirit bears witness with our spirit to this new status (v. 16). Exactly what Paul meant has given rise to much discussion, reflected in the different renderings. He certainly cannot have taught that the Spirit confirms a general impression of the human spirit that all people are God's children. But does the Spirit merely corroborate what the believer's spirit already knows, or does He bear the witness that is the basis of that knowledge, making possible the crying to God as Father? The comms. of both Cranfield (*ICC*, 1975) and Murray (*NICNT*, repr. 1973) insist with some cogency that the real force of the verb is "witness to," the believer being enabled to address God as Father only because the Spirit bears witness to this truth in the gospel and its promises. Translations like the RSV which closely link the cry to the Spirit's witness tend in this direction inasmuch as it is only in and by the Spirit that the believer can make the cry, just as it is only by the Spirit that he or she can say "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor. 12:3). Both Barrett (*HNTC*, 1957) and Käsemann (*Comm. on Romans* [Eng. tr., 1980]) find here a liturgical context, suggested by the word "cry." Impelled by the Spirit, and possibly in response to the reading and preaching of the Word, the believer invokes or acclaims God as Father, possibly in the Lord's Prayer, but possibly in Spirit-directed prayer (Barrett) or in a shout of acclamation (Käsemann). True worship of the Father is worship in the Spirit (Jn. 4:24), so that a link between liturgical expression and the Spirit's witness has much to commend it, avoiding as it does the danger of misleading subjectivism.

In sum, the Spirit's witness in the NT is witness to Christ, in whom God grants believers eternal life as His children. Accepting this witness, and therefore knowing the truth of God's promises, believers have inner assurance of their acceptance by God. They are thus bold to call upon Him or to acclaim Him as Father in an outward expression of their inner confidence. In the gospel of Christ the Spirit says to the believer: "Thou art God's child," and in faith the believer confidently replies to God in the Spirit, both inwardly in the heart and outwardly with the lips: "Thou art my Father."

II. Historical.–A special use of the phrase "witness of the Spirit" developed in Reformation and post-Reformation theology. It related specifically to the authenticity of canonical Scripture, the reliability of its promises, and the unique authority of its teaching. Zwingli prepared the way with his stress on the illuminating ministry of the Spirit (*LCC*, XXV, 75, 82). Calvin worked out the thought with a more direct reference to the Spirit's witness, sometimes described as "inward," as the only sure basis of confidence that Scripture is God's Word. Human arguments, for Calvin, could serve as "useful aids," but the Word would find acceptance only as "sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit" (*Inst.* i.7.4). Naturally Calvin had in view not merely intellectual acceptance but a "saving knowledge" which could rest only on the "inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit," who gives "the chief and highest testimony" (i.8.13).

Reformed confessions quickly followed Calvin's lead, the Gallican referring to the Spirit's "testimony and inward illumination" (Art. IV) and the Belgic to the Spirit's witness in the heart (Art. V). Later theologians, both Lutheran and

Reformed, maintained this stress on the Spirit's witness as the ultimate basis of confidence in Scripture and its promises, though attaching more weight to indications or criteria in reply to objections. The Westminster Confession gave a fine summary of the doctrine when it spoke of the "inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing witness in and with the Word in our hearts" (I, v).

In later centuries rationalist attacks tended to push the appeal to the Spirit's witness into the background, especially as it came to be equated increasingly with an unsubstantiated feeling or experience, but Barth revitalized the Reformation teaching in the 20th cent., boldly claiming that he found here, not the Achilles' heel of the Protestant system as D. F. Strauss had alleged, but "its indestructible strength" (*CD*, I/2, 537).

The charge of subjectivism gains force from the fact that the modern stress on religious experience tends to merge the Spirit's witness into an inner feeling or intuition. The biblical texts are sometimes taken in this way, and the Reformation use of the word "inward" can also lend itself to this understanding. In Scripture, however, the Spirit's witness clearly differs from the believer's self-witness, and the Reformers saw plainly that although the Spirit does an inward work by bringing God's Word and its truth home to believers, both He and His witness are external to believers. Far from being the same thing as the believers' persuasion, the Spirit's witness is the basis of this persuasion, inward insofar as it involves personal application, outward insofar as it is a work of God Himself in and through His Word.

A second problem that became acute with the literary and historical criticism of Scripture is that this witness provides no obvious protection against the undermining of the Bible's authority by the discovery of apparent mistakes, contradictions, and dubious authorships. If the claim is to hold up that the Bible is God's Word, are not convincing explanations needed? Can the Spirit's witness be anything more than confirmation after solid evidence is produced or a temporary prop until it is? The Reformers, of course, had no doubt that Scripture demonstrates its unique character even at the human level, and they could appreciate the need to respond to critical objections. They also saw, however, that considerations of this kind, though they might demonstrate the uniqueness of the Bible, do not alone establish it as God's Word. Furthermore, they believed firmly that to receive the Spirit's witness is to know beyond question that Scripture is God's Word, so that difficulties at the human level will not cause undue alarm. First and last the authenticity of the Bible rests, not on the ability of believers to resolve difficulties, but on the Spirit's own attestation of the truth of its message.

A final and more radical objection to the Reformation doctrine is that it has itself no obvious biblical basis. Neither John, 1 John, nor Romans refers to the authenticating of Scripture by the Spirit's witness. The Reformers might advocate Scripture as a norm, but they offered little biblical support for their specialized use of the phrase "witness of the Spirit." They did not do so, however, because they regarded the matter as self-evident. Commenting on Jn. 15:26, Calvin found a reference to "the inward and secret testimony of the Spirit," and added that "he retains and settles our faith in Him [Christ] alone," and "wherever He speaks, He frees men's minds from all doubt and fear of deception" (Comm. on John, Eng. tr., *ad loc.*). But how does the Spirit speak? He speaks in and by the written Word which He Himself inspired, and in the spoken Word for which He empowered the disciples. This Word carries the promises on which the self-witness of believers rests, along with the assurance with which they can call upon God as Father. Giving this divine witness by the Word, the Spirit does not merely speak words. He gives the weight of divine authority to the words, so that, taught by Him, believers know them to be the Word of the living God who fulfilled His promises in the incarnate, crucified, and risen Son. Thus the witness of the Spirit, with which the apostolic witness is associated and which underlies the self-witness spoken of in 1 John and the assurance of adoption spoken of in Romans, has as such the irrefutable force of testimony to Scripture as God's Word, definitively establishing for believers its authenticity and authority. The Spirit's witness is naturally and necessarily a witness to Scripture inasmuch as it provides it with the supreme proof, "that God in person speaks in it" (*Inst.* i.7.4), God being Himself "the sole and proper witness of himself" (i.11.1; cf. Hilary *De trinitate* i.18).

G. W. BROMILEY

WITTY. *See* WIT.

WIZARD. *See* MEDIUM.

WOE [Heb. *'ôy* (Nu. 21:29; 1 S. 4:7f.; Prov. 23:29; etc.), *'ôyâ* (Ps. 120:5), *hôy* (Isa. 5:8, 11, 18, 20-22; 10:1; 28:1; etc.; Jer. 22:13; 23:1; etc.), *hî* (Ezk. 2:10), *'al·lay* (Job 10:15; Mic. 7:1); Gk. *ouaí* (Mt. 11:21 par.; 18:7 par.; 23:13-16, 23-29 par.; 26:24 par.; Lk. 6:24-26; 1 Cor. 9:16; Jude 11; Rev. 8:13; 9:12; etc.)]; NEB also ALAS, TOO LATE!, SHAME, OH, AH, TROUBLE, etc. An interjection expressing great distress or sorrow; or a noun signifying a condition of deep suffering due to a calamity that has befallen or will befall a person or community.

The term is used frequently by the prophets in oracles of judgment against cities (e.g., Jer. 13:27; Ezk. 24:6, 9; Zeph. 3:1; Nah. 3:1; cf. Mt. 11:21 par. Lk. 10:13), nations (e.g., Jer. 48:46; Zeph. 2:5; cf. Nu. 21:29), erring spiritual leaders (e.g., Jer. 23:1; Ezk. 13:3; cf. Mt. 23:13-30 par. Lk. 11:42-52), and other classes of people who have forsaken God and His law (e.g., Isa. 3:11; 5:8, 11, 18, 20-22; 10:1; 29:15; 30:1; 45:9f.; Jer. 22:13; Ezk. 13:18; 16:23; Hos. 7:13; Am. 6:1, 4; Mic. 2:1; Hab. 2:9, 12, 15, 19; cf. Lk. 6:24-26). Sometimes the interjection is used to express one's own grief or despair (e.g., 1 S. 4:7f.; Ps. 120:5; Isa. 6:5; Jer. 4:13, 31; 6:4; 10:19; 15:10; Lam. 5:16; cf. 1 Cor. 9:16).

In Rev. 8:13; 9:12; 11:14 the term is a classification of punishments that will be inflicted upon the earth's inhabitants (*see* REVELATION, BOOK OF IV.C). Similar end-time catastrophes, commonly called "messianic woes," are mentioned frequently in Jewish apocalyptic literature (e.g., 2 Esd. 4:51–5:13, 18, etc.; 2 Bar. 24; 27:1–29:8; 1 En. 80:2, etc.; 94:6, etc.; 95:4, etc.; 99:11, etc.).

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WOLF [Heb. *z^e'ēḇ* (e.g., Gen. 49:27; Isa. 11:6); Gk. *lýkos* (e.g., Sir. 13:17; Mt. 7:15)]; cf. also Heb. *z^e'ēḇ* as the proper name of a Midianite chieftain ("Zeeb," Jgs. 7:25; 8:3; Ps. 83:11 [MT 12]). A member of the family of predatory mammals known as *Canidae*, larger than the related JACKAL and all but a few breeds of dogs. Known for their savagery and voracity, wolves hunt either singly or in packs.

The European wolf (*Canis lupus lupus*) was native to ancient Palestine and was a scourge to the flocks that pastured in the hill country. Although the Bible recounts no incidents directly involving wolves, it makes ample use of the imagery of wolves falling upon flocks or devouring their prey. Thus, Jacob's blessing likens the tribe of Ben-

A gold and electrum wolf's head from Tepe Gawra, *ca.* 3200 B.C. (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania)

jamin to "a ravenous wolf, in the morning devouring the prey, and at even dividing the spoil" (Gen. 49:27). Jeremiah prophesied that because of Judah's unfaithfulness and immorality, "a lion from the forest shall slay them, a wolf from the desert shall destroy them" (Jer. 5:6). Ezekiel likened the rulers in Jerusalem to "wolves tearing the prey, shedding blood, destroying lives to get dishonest gain" (Ezk. 22:27). Similarly, Zephaniah wrote of Jerusalem that "her judges are evening wolves that leave nothing till the morning" (Zeph. 3:3), referring to the wolf's habit of lying low until dusk, when it begins its prowl (cf. also Hab. 1:8), as well as to its tendency to gorge itself.

2 Esdras 5:18 introduces the motif of the irresponsible leader described as a "shepherd who leaves his flock in the power of cruel wolves." Jesus also used this metaphor, contrasting Himself, the "good shepherd [who] lays down his life for the sheep" (Jn. 10:11), with the hireling, who "sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees; and the wolf snatches them and scatters them" (v. 12). Jesus also described false prophets (probably the messianic pretenders who arose in first-century Judea) as "ravenous wolves" who came to believers in sheep's clothing (Mt. 7:15). Paul likewise referred to the false teachers who would descend upon his churches after his departure as "fierce wolves [that] will come in among you, not sparing the flock" (Acts 20:29). Both Mt. 10:16 and Lk. 10:3 preserve the tradition of Jesus sending forth His apostles "as sheep/lambs in the midst of wolves" — a figure that suggests the perils they could expect to encounter on their mission.

Finally, as a sign of the peace and security of the messianic age, Isa. 11:6 reverses the image of the wolf devouring the sheep: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb." This theme is echoed in 65:25: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox." Both passages look forward to an end of the predation of stronger animals on the weaker and a return to the vegetarian order of creation (cf. Gen. 1:30).

D. G. SCHLEY

WOMAN.

I. Terminology
II. Background
  A. Israel's Neighbors until 323 B.C.
  B. Hellenistic Age
III. In the OT and Apocrypha
  A. General Attitudes
  B. Marriage, Divorce, and Sexual Role
  C. Women in the Religious Life of Israel
  D. Women as Leaders in Society
  E. Woman as a Theological Symbol
IV. In Later Judaism
V. In the NT
  A. Attitudes toward Women and Their Religious Role
    1. Evangelists
    2. Jesus
    3. Acts
    4. Pauline Epistles
    5. Other NT Writings
  B. Marriage and Divorce
  C. Woman as a Theological Symbol
VI. Later Developments
VII. Conclusion

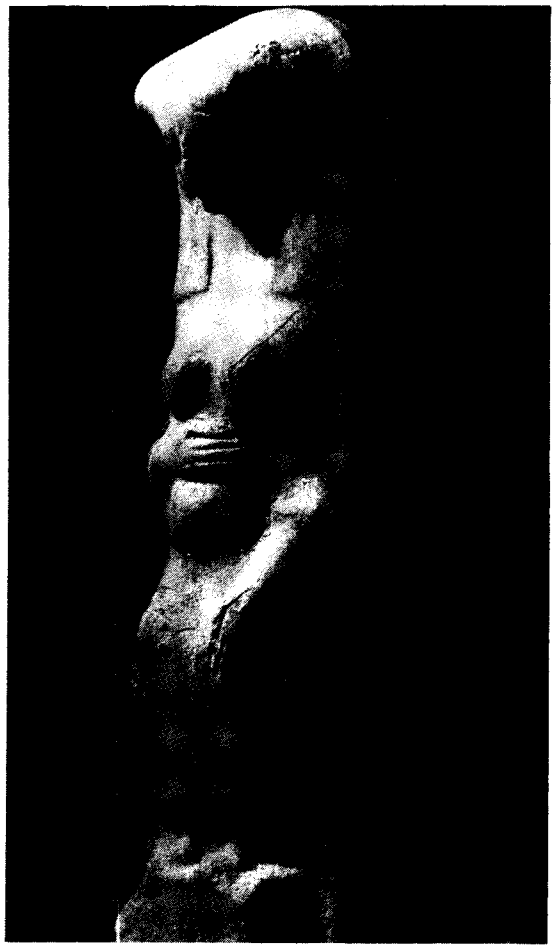
I. Terminology.—*A. Hebrew.* The most common term is *'iššâ* (occurring about 775 times), which is used for (a) "woman" without regard to age or marital status; (b) "wife" or "bride"; (c) female animals. Its meaning can be made specific by an accompanying noun in apposition (e.g., *'iššâ zônâ*, "harlot" [Josh. 2:1; Jgs. 11:1; etc.], *'iššâ 'almānâ*, "widow" [2 S. 14:5; 1 K. 17:9; etc.], *'iššâ pîlegeš*, "concubine" [Jgs. 19:1], *'iššâ nᵉḇî'â*, "prophetess" [Jgs. 4:4]) or by a qualifying adjective or participle (e.g., *'iššâ zārâ*, "strange [i.e., loose] woman" [Prov. 2:16; etc.], *'iššâ mᵉnā'āpeṯ*, "adulteress" [Prov. 30:20], *'iššâ mêneqeṯ*, "wet nurse" [Ex. 2:7]). The noun *nᵉqēḇâ*, "female," occurs where contrast with "male" is specially required (e.g., Gen. 1:27; 5:2).

Hebrew also has many specific terms for women of different ages and functions, notably *bᵉṯûlâ*, *naʿᵃrâ*, and *'almâ* ("young woman," "virgin"), *'ēm* ("mother"), *malkâ* ("queen"), *'āmâ* and *šipḥâ* ("female slave"). *Baṯ* ("daughter") is used as a term of kindly address (e.g., Ruth 3:10), for women of a particular city or people (e.g., Isa. 3:16, "daughters of Zion"), and for women more generally (e.g., Isa. 32:9). Heb. *'āḥôṯ* ("sister") may be a term of endearment (Cant. 4:9; etc.).

B. Greek. In the LXX *gynḗ* regularly translates *'iššâ*. In the NT it occurs about 225 times for "woman" or "wife," sometimes ambiguously (e.g., 1 Cor. 9:5; 1 Tim. 3:11). Lk. 4:26 uses *gynḗ* with *chḗra* ("widow") Hebraistically; usually distinct terms are used for women of different ages and marital status, e.g., *parthénos* ("virgin"), *doúlē* and *paidískē* ("female slave"), *nýmphē* ("bride"), *thygátēr* ("daughter"), *mḗtēr* ("mother"), *pórnē* ("prostitute"), *mathḗtria* ("woman disciple," Acts 9:36), *prophḗtis* ("prophetess," Lk. 2:36; Rev. 2:20). For many functions one term serves for both sexes, e.g., *país* ("child"), *diákonos* ("servant," "deacon"). *Adelphoí* ("brothers"), when used of Christian believers, may include women, although *adelphḗ* ("sister") occurs occasionally for a woman believer. Where both male and female persons are involved, Greek grammatical usage demands the masculine form. In 2 Tim. 3:6 the diminutive *gynaikárion* occurs with the sense "foolish woman."

See also DAUGHTER; FEMALE; MAID; MOTHER; RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY; VIRGIN; WIDOW.

II. Background.—*A. Israel's Neighbors until 323 B.C.* Nowhere in the ancient Mediterranean or Near East were women accorded the freedom that they enjoy in modern Western society. The general pattern was one of subordination of women to men, just as slaves were subordinate to the free, and young to old. Women's life centered on marriage, children, and the home. Domestic tasks were time-consuming, involving spinning, weaving, fetch-



A Phoenician pottery figurine of a pregnant woman, from Akhzir, 8th cent. B.C. (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

ing water, grinding corn, baking bread, washing clothes, care of children, etc. Women also worked in the fields or produced goods for sale in the home; in wealthy families they supervised female slaves.

Male children were more highly esteemed than female, and baby girls were sometimes left to die by exposure. Boys received a better education than their sisters. Marriages were generally arranged, with girls being betrothed to husbands older than themselves, thus perpetuating the pattern of subordination. Various forms of dowry were used. Polyandry (plurality of husbands) is attested in early Sumer; polygyny (plurality of wives) occurred in some classes in the Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian periods, and in Middle Kingdom Egypt. Assyrian and Persian kings regularly had harems. Where monogamy prevailed, the husband had much greater sexual freedom than the wife: in the code of Hammurabi: (*see* HAMMURABI V.C) and the Middle Assyrian Laws he could keep a concubine or resort to prostitutes, but the wife was expected to remain faithful (*ANET*, pp. 171, 181f.); his children by female slaves could be made legal heirs (*ANET*, pp. 173, 183; cf. Gen. 16). At Athens a wife might have to compete for her husband's affection with a *hetaíra* ("companion") and a concubine. In his speech *Katá Neaíras* (122) Demosthenes argued that *hetaírai* were kept for pleasure, concubines (*pallakaí*) for personal service, and wives for the production of legitimate children. In most societies divorce was widespread, operating in favor of the husband. The Middle Assyrian Laws state: "If a seignior wishes to divorce his wife, if it is his will he may give her something; if it is not his will, he need not give her anything; she shall go out empty" (*ANET*, p. 183).

Not all societies permitted women to own property: sometimes women engaged directly in trade, but sometimes they operated only under male "guardianship." The economic rights of women were particularly limited in Classical Athens (see Schaps, *passim*). Descent was reckoned in the male line (Lycia was an exception); frequently women inherited only when male heirs were lacking, and then with restrictions (cf. Nu. 27:7f.). Women had few political rights: in the Athenian democracy they had no vote; in Athens and elsewhere they were excluded from councils of elders and similar bodies. Wives of kings and leading officials sometimes exercised political influence from behind the scenes, however. Hatshepsut, who ruled Egypt in her own right from 1503 to 1482 B.C., was an exception to the general pattern. Other unusually powerful figures include Siptu of Mari, the Hittite queen Puduhepa, Semiramis of Assyria, and Artemisia of Caria.

All of Israel's neighbors were polytheistic, worshiping female as well as male deities. Some cults, especially Egyptian, had only male priests; others had priestesses. Sacred prostitution was common in fertility cults (*see* ASHERAH), but sacral virginity was also known. Religious festivals provided opportunities for women to partake in activities outside the home.

Attitudes toward women varied. The Egyptian *Instruction of Ani* (before 1100 B.C.) urges kindness to both mother and wife (*ANET*, pp. 420f.). Egyptian artistic representations show connubial affection, but women often appear on a smaller scale than men, indicating their lower status. In Attic tragedy women sometimes act with initiative and freedom, but silence and discretion are held up as ideals for them (Sophocles *Ajax* 293; Euripides *Heracleidae* 476). Other sources suggest a low social status for Athenian women: Pericles is reported to have said that the greatest glory for a woman is to be talked of as little as possible (Thucydides ii.45). Aristotle stated that man is by nature superior to woman and more fitted to command (*Pol.* i.2.12f., 5.2). See further *TDNT*. I, 777f.; *IDB* Supp., p. 963.

B. Hellenistic Age. During this period the condition of women seems to have improved. Papyri from Egypt attest marriage contracts where husband and wife are treated equally (see Pomeroy, pp. 127f.). The wives of the Ptolemies were politically powerful (cf. Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII). Occasionally there were even women magistrates. Women's rights to own and dispose of property increased. At Rome, where women traditionally enjoyed a higher status than at Athens, they were sometimes well educated; satirists lampooned learned women (Juvenal vi.434-456). Some philosophical schools admitted female pupils. A few women acquired great wealth and became public benefactors. But inequalities continued: under Augustan law adultery was a public offense for a woman but not for a man; a father could make his daughter divorce her husband against her will; for many purposes a woman remained under male "guardianship" (see Pomeroy, pp. 149-204, esp. p. 159; Balsdon, esp. pp. 77f.).

III. In the OT and Apocrypha.–A. General Attitudes. In the creation narrative of Gen. 1 (ascribed to "P"), man and woman are created equal, both made in God's image and as the crown of creation (note the generic use of "man" [Heb. *hā ʾāḏām*] and the plural "them" in 1:26f.). In the narrative of Gen. 2–3 (ascribed to "J") woman is created after man; she first takes the forbidden

A carved ebony head of the consort of Amenophis III, Queen Tiy, a common woman who rose to power (Medinet Habu, *ca.* 1360 B.C.) (Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum)

fruit; both she and the man are cursed — he to toil and she to pain in child-bearing and subjection to her husband. Scholarship has shown that woman's designation as "helper" does not denote inferiority, but rather man's incompleteness without woman; the making of Eve from Adam's rib symbolizes their essential unity. The woman's subjection *describes* rather than *prescribes* the role of women after the fall (cf. J. C. L. Gibson, *Genesis*, I [1981], esp. 118). Nevertheless, the second creation account was used in later Judaism to support the principle of female subjection to men and to condemn woman as the first sinner (Sir. 25:24; Life of Adam and Eve; see IV and V.A.4 below; but cf. 1 Cor. 15:22, where Paul wrote: "in Adam all die").

The OT documents were composed over many hundred years, and attitudes naturally changed and developed. They were all, apparently, written by men, and all (except parts of Canticles) from a male viewpoint, as can be seen, e.g., in the wording of the Decalogue (Ex. 20:17; Dt. 5:21) and of certain Psalms (e.g., 1:1; 127:5; 128:3). It should be remembered that the OT books were written for a specific theological purpose and were not designed to give future generations a complete picture of the role of women. Their evidence is therefore both complex and partial; they suggest, however, that women faced increasing restrictions on their public and religious roles as the law became codified and as the Jerusalem temple cult evolved.

At all periods of Israel's history women were legally subject to men, as they were in the ancient world generally. They were valued chiefly as wives and mothers. Prov. 31:10-31 paints a vivid picture of the ideal wife (AV "virtuous woman"): while her wisdom, charm, kindness, and fear of the Lord are all mentioned, prime emphasis is on her industriousness and on the credit and profit she brings to her husband (see also Prov. 18:22; 19:14; Sir. 7:19; 26:1-4). Apart from industriousness, the qualities most frequently admired in women are beauty, quietness ("a silent wife is a gift of the Lord," Sir. 26:14), modesty, shrewdness, marital fidelity, and fecundity. Abigail is praised for her intelligence and good sense (1 S. 25:3, 32; contrast her husband's behavior), and Judith for her wisdom and piety (Jth. 8:8, 28-31). Women are prominent in the patriarchal narratives, in some of the early historical books, and in writings named after them (Ruth, Esther, Judith, Susanna). They are least sympathetically portrayed in the Prophets, which compare weak men to women (e.g., Isa. 19:16; Jer. 51:30; Nah. 3:13) and strongly condemn extravagant, drunken, and wanton women (e.g., Am. 4:1; Isa. 3:16ff.), and in wisdom literature, both canonical (e.g., Prov. 9:13; 21:9, 19; 27:15; Eccl. 7:26) and apocryphal. Negative sentiments are particularly common in Ben Sirach (e.g., 25:16-26; 26:6-12; 42:9-14). (See also Nunally-Cox; J. G. Williams.)

B. Marriage, Divorce, and Sexual Role. Israelite society was strongly patriarchal. A woman was always under the authority of a man, initially her father and later her husband, who was known as her *baʿal* or "lord." A young woman's father could sell her into a form of slavery (Ex. 21:7), although not into prostitution (Lev. 19:29). Her father or husband could annul her vows (Nu. 30:3-15). Jephthah acted legally when he sacrificed his own daughter to fulfil a vow (Jgs. 11). To protect his male guests, Lot offered his unmarried daughters for the sexual pleasure of strangers (Gen. 19:8); a Levite's concubine died after continual sexual abuse in similar circumstances (Jgs. 19:1-26). Abraham drove Hagar out into the desert, and she was saved from death only by divine intervention (Gen. 21).

Throughout OT times polygyny and concubinage were legal. Solomon reputedly had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. Bigamy was practiced by ordinary people and frequently caused tension (1 S. 1:6; Dt. 21:15-17; cf. Gen. 30). Marriages were arranged, the groom's father paying a bride price or marriage present (Heb. *mōhar*) to the bride's father (e.g., Gen. 34:12); occasionally it is mentioned that a parting-gift or dowry (*šillûḥîm*) was given by the bride's father (e.g., 1 K. 9:16). Tob. 7:14 refers to a written contract (Gk. *syngraphē*; cf. the Heb. *kᵉṯûḇâ* of rabbinic Judaism).

Women captured in war could be treated as wives and were protected from subsequent sale as slaves (Dt. 21:10-14). But intermarriage with foreign women was discouraged because it might lead to idolatry (e.g., Ezr. 9:14); Ruth the Moabitess provided an exceptional example of fidelity. Levirate marriage (known also among Assyrians, Hittites, Hurrians, and in parts of Greece) provided for widows (*see* MARRIAGE IV.A.2); the woman had no right to refuse her brother-in-law, but he could reject her. Judith was exceptional in that she refrained from remarriage and was able to retain her own property (Jth. 16:21-23).

Deuteronomic legislation permitted a man to divorce his wife if he found something "indecent" in her (Dt. 24:1); she could not, however, divorce him. In cases of adultery both partners were liable to death by stoning (Lev. 20:10; Dt. 22:22). A husband who suspected his wife of adultery could subject her to a humiliating ordeal (Nu. 5:11-31; cf. *ANET*, pp. 171, 181); but no reciprocal right existed for her, and she received no compensation if proved innocent. The apocryphal story of Susanna is remarkable for relating the vindication of an innocent woman. The penalty for raping an unbetrothed virgin was that the man had to marry the woman and pay a fine to her father (Dt. 22:28f.). A betrothed virgin who was raped was presumed innocent only if the attack occurred in the country where she could not summon help (Dt. 22:23-27). Prostitution

was condemned for Israelite women (Lev. 19:29), but harlotry is frequently mentioned, suggesting that it was fairly common. Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Jacob, may have disguised herself as a cult-prostitute (Gen. 38:14f.). *See* HARLOT.

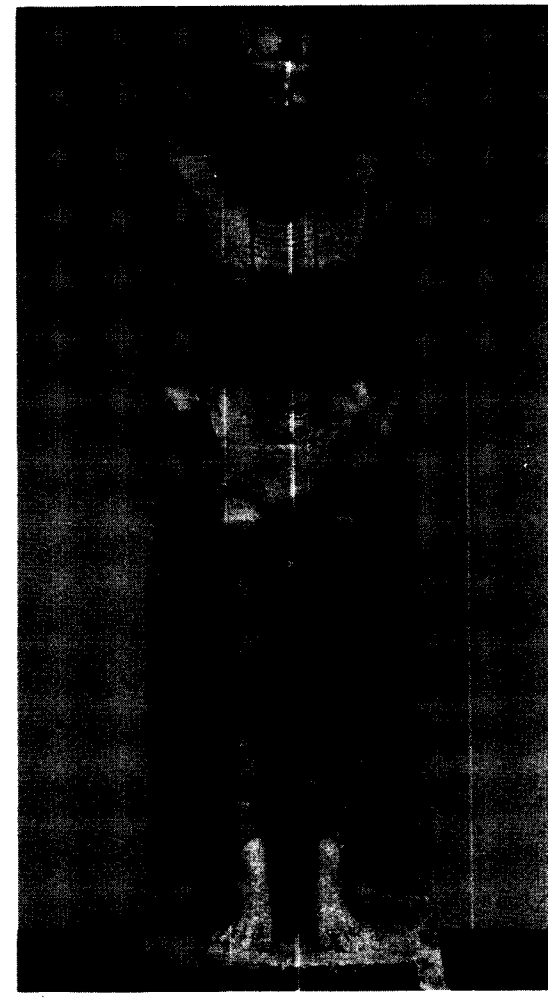
The OT never denigrates the physical aspect of marriage, nor does it extol the ideal of perpetual virginity; it warmly appreciates married love (Prov. 5:18f.; Eccl. 9:9). Isaac's love for Rebekah and Jacob's love for Rachel are sympathetically portrayed (Gen. 24:67; 29:20, 30); Michal's love for David is also mentioned (1 S. 18:20f.). Canticles bears eloquent witness to the joy of heterosexual love; the woman's part is depicted with special understanding.

See also MARRIAGE; DIVORCE: IN THE OT; SEX.

C. Women in the Religious Life of Israel. Women and children formed an integral part of the community; like the men they were called upon to hear and obey the law and were liable to punishment for transgression (Dt. 17:2-7; 31:12; Neh. 8:2). But there were far-reaching restrictions on women's public religious role. Circumcision, symbolizing Yahweh's covenant relationship with His people (Gen. 17:11), was exclusively for men; no special ceremony marked a woman's membership in the religious community. Only males had to appear three times a year before the Lord (Ex. 23:17), although women were also bidden to keep feasts (Dt. 16:9-15). In the special vows of persons, a woman was valued at half the price of a man (Lev. 27:1-8).

Women were restricted by laws concerning ritual purity. Bodily functions such as menstruation and childbirth rendered a woman ceremonially "unclean," and everyone and everything she touched became "unclean" (Lev. 15:19-33). This ritual impurity had no moral connotations and may have originated in a sense of awe at woman's mysterious biological functions, since blood, for a Jew, stood for life. Comparable purity laws applied to men with regard to seminal emissions (cf. Lev. 15:16-18), but the laws much more seriously restricted the active life of women, especially their part in public worship: "Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness; lest they die in their uncleanness, by defiling my tabernacle that is in their midst" (Lev. 15:31).

The extent to which women participated in public cult is not fully clear. Miriam played the timbrel and sang to the Lord (Ex. 15:20f.). Two hundred male and female singers are mentioned in Ezr. 2:65 (cf. Neh. 7:67). They may have formed part of the temple choir, although some think that they were employed only at banquets and funerals (cf. 2 S. 19:35; 2 Ch. 35:25). Certain texts refer to "women who ministered at the door of the tent of meeting" (Ex. 38:8; 1 S. 2:22). Their function has been much debated: roles as diverse as singing and dancing, sweeping and cleaning, and even sacred prostitution, have been suggested. It should be noted that these women served (or assembled) *at the door.* Eli was sitting by the doorpost when he observed Hannah praying at the Shiloh temple (1 S. 1:9, 12); it is not clear whether she actually entered the temple precincts. Later she personally brought a sacrifice when she dedicated Samuel (vv. 24-28). Many sacrifices were offered only by men, on behalf of their families, but women brought their own offerings for their "purification" to the door of the tent of meeting (Lev. 12:6; 15:29). (Men also brought purificatory offerings to the door, 14:11; 15:14). The priesthood was restricted to men. Most of the prophets were also men, but Miriam (Ex. 15:20), Deborah (Jgs. 4:4), Huldah (2 K. 22:14), and Isaiah's wife (Isa. 8:3) are all described as prophetesses. Several early narratives attest that women regularly approached God in private prayer; sometimes they received revelations and angelophanies (Gen. 16:7-14; 25:22f.; Jgs. 13:2-7).



A statue of the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut, who ruled as pharaoh in the 15th cent. B.C. (from the temple to Hatshepsut, Thebes) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift)

D. Women as Leaders in Society. Israel's social organization presupposed male leadership; yet exceptions occurred at all periods. Miriam was remembered along with Moses and Aaron as a national leader (Mic. 6:4); she publicly rebuked Moses for marrying a Kushite woman (but she was stricken with leprosy, Nu. 12:1-15). Deborah was a judge as well as a prophet (Jgs. 4:4f.). She took the initiative in rousing her people against the Canaanites, and Barak agreed to go to war only if she accompanied him; her leadership is celebrated in a victory song (ch. 5). A decisive part in that struggle was played by another woman, Jael the wife of Heber, who killed Sisera with a tent peg (4:17-22; 5:25-27).

Some queens and queen mothers were particularly influential, e.g., Bathsheba (1 K. 1:11-40), Ahab's wife Jezebel, famous for extending the cult of her own Phoenician gods (18:4, 13, 19; 19:1f.; 21:25f.; 2 K. 9:22), and the bloodthirsty Athaliah, who reigned both as Jehoram's consort and as queen regnant (2 K. 8:18; 11:1-16). Notable

among foreign queens was the Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, exchanging gifts with him and testing him with "hard questions" (1 K. 10:1-13). *See also* QUEEN; QUEEN MOTHER.

Huldah the prophetess was a woman of high standing who was consulted by Josiah's chief men (2 K. 22:14-20). Her outspoken words to the king may have influenced him to initiate his reforms. Esther used her influence to save her people from the Persians, and the Feast of Purim was established to commemorate her courageous actions (Est. 9). Similarly Judith became a national heroine for her assassination of Holofernes; she is depicted as a model of prayer, fasting, piety, and trust, as well as of bravery (Jth. 8–16). 2 Macc. 7 vividly describes the "manly" courage (Gk. *ársēn thýmos*) and faith of a Jewish mother who was martyred with her seven sons. Such women were the subject of story because of the exceptional character of their reputed deeds. One can only surmise what personal or political influence may have been exercised by women from behind the scenes.

E. Woman as a Theological Symbol. The OT frequently personifies the community of Israel as a woman. Israel's sufferings are compared to labor at childbirth (Isa. 26:17f.; 66:7; Jer. 4:31; Mic. 4:9f.). Yahweh is often pictured as Israel's husband, and Israel's unfaithfulness to the covenant relationship is described as adultery or prostitution (e.g., Jer. 3:1-3). Hosea represents God as repudiating Israel because of her adultery, but then accepting her back into a new relationship (ch. 2) in which she no longer calls Him *ba'al,* "master," but *'îš,* "husband" (2:16 [MT 18]. Isaiah similarly depicts God's enduring love in terms of the marital relationship: "'Your Maker is your husband . . . [He] will call you back, as if you were a wife deserted and distressed in spirit — a wife who married young, only to be rejected,' says your God. 'For a brief moment I abandoned you, but with deep compassion I will bring you back'" (Isa. 54:5-8, NIV). Ezekiel uses sexual imagery with exceptional boldness, picturing Israel as a baby girl who is abandoned by her mother in a field, her umbilical cord still uncut (ch. 16). But God sees her and says, "Live." He washes the blood from her, provides her with clothes, and she grows to womanhood. When she turns to prostitution, God threatens punishment, but He promises that He will not abandon His covenant (16:59-63). Another passage (ch. 23) speaks of Yahweh marrying two sisters, both prostitutes, who bear Him children. According to Jewish exegesis, the book of Canticles is an allegory of God's love for Israel.

In some passages feminine imagery is applied to God. Isaiah describes God's love as greater than that of a woman for the child she has breast-fed (49:15) and compares God's care to that of a woman comforting her son (66:13); the prophet also applies the image of the travailing woman to God (Isa. 42:14; cf. Nu. 11:12). Several passages speak of God's care for Israel from the moment of birth, possibly using the metaphor of a midwife (e.g., Ps. 22:9 [MT 10]; 71:6; Isa. 46:3). Hos. 11:3 depicts God as teaching Ephraim to walk (an image that could represent either parent). A tender passage in Baruch speaks of God suckling His sons and daughters (4:8, 11; in v. 8 Gk. *tropheúō* may refer to a wet nurse).Wisdom literature regularly personifies divine wisdom as a woman (Prov. 1:20-33; 8:1–9:6). Such passages show that, even coming from a patriarchal society, the biblical imagery applied to God is not exclusively masculine; for many women they have a special significance today (cf. Mollenkott, pp. 56f.).

IV. Later Judaism.–In the intertestamental and Roman periods, perhaps as a reaction against the growing freedom of women in Hellenism, Jewish attitudes tended to become more negative and women's everyday life more restricted. The women of the Hasmonean and Herodian court circles, including SALOME Alexandra (who herself reigned 76-67 B.C.), Bernice, and Herodias, are exceptions to this rule. The Pseudepigrapha express some strongly misogynistic sentiments: women are "rash . . . prone to change their minds suddenly through false reasoning, and by nature weak" (Letter of Aristeas 250; cf. Vergil *Aen.* iv.568f.); "women are evil" (T. Reub. 5); they entice men by their beauty and stratagems. Eve, not Adam, was corrupted by the serpent, and she was therefore the primary sinner (2 En. 31:6; see also Swidler, *Women in Judaism,* pp. 47f.).

According to Philo the Essenes rejected marriage because woman is "a selfish creature, immoderately jealous, and skilled at seducing the morals of her husband" (*Hypothetica* xi.14). Nevertheless, some married in order to propagate the human race: Josephus explained that they had no intercourse with their wives during pregnancy, "demonstrating that their motive in marrying was not pleasure but the procreation of children" (*BJ* ii.8.13 [161]; contrast Canticles, where the woman is loved for her own sake). The Dead Sea Scrolls denounce harlots in strong language, reject polygamy, and apply strictly the Levitical laws on uncleanness and incest (4QWiles [4Q184]; CD 4–5). Among the Therapeutae at Alexandria men and women lived apart. Philo reported that they were separated in their regular worship by a screen some five feet high, but every seventh week men and women sang and danced together at a special service (*De vita contemplativa* 32f., 83-89).

In orthodox Judaism the Mosaic laws on women were applied in elaborate detail. Women continued to experience inequalities in betrothal, polygamy, levirate marriage, suspected adultery, earnings, and ownership of property, but a written contract (*kᵉṯûḇâ*) fixed the sum for a woman's support if she was divorced or widowed (Mish. *Ketuboth*). Rabbis debated whether a woman might be divorced for trivial offenses, such as burning her husband's dinner, or only for sexual misconduct (Mish. *Gittin* ix.10). In public and in private life a woman remained under male tutelage and control.

Women's participation in public worship was limited. In Herod's temple they were confined to an outer court fifteen steps below the men's. It is generally believed that they were separated also in synagogue worship, though the evidence for this is not fully conclusive (no specific regulation prescribes segregation; the remains of some early synagogues lack evidence of galleries or separate halls, while in others the archeological evidence is ambiguous; see Brooten, pp. 103-138; Swidler, *Women in Judaism,* pp. 88-91). Perhaps custom varied at first; but eventually separation became normal, as it is in orthodox Judaism today.

Rabbinic writings attest other restrictions. Women did not count as part of the *minyan* (quorum for a congregation); by custom they were not called upon to read lessons at worship; they could not act as legal witnesses; they could not pronounce the blessing at meals; they were discouraged from studying the law, the special privilege and delight of a Jew. Rabbi Eliezer is reported to have said, "If a man gives his daughter a knowledge of the Law it is as though he taught her lechery" (Mish. *Sotah* iii.4). A woman's first obligation was to enable her husband and sons to study, even if this involved abstaining from sexual relationships (the Talmud permitted men to leave their wives, without their permission, for up to three years to study Torah; longer periods are attested where the wife consented). Every day a Jewish male thanked

God that he had not been created a gentile, slave, or woman. Women received little education; Beruria, the wife of Rabbi Meir (2nd cent. A.D.), was remembered as a rare example of a learned woman.

Women were restricted in their social as well as their religious life. Philo believed that they should stay indoors as much as possible, "not meddling in affairs outside the household management" (*De specialibus legibus,* iii.169-171). In public they were expected to be veiled; an uncovered head in public could make a woman liable for divorce. Their social relationships were mostly confined to other women. Women did not eat with male guests, and men were discouraged from talking with women. Jose ben Johanan (1st cent. B.C.) advised, "Talk not much with womankind"; such talk, even with one's wife, could lead to Gehenna (Mish. *Aboth* i.5). Conversation with a woman in a public place was particularly scandalous, even if she were a member of one's own family. These restrictions led to the isolation of women and made any kind of religious leadership exceedingly difficult. Nevertheless, a good wife was appreciated (see III.A above). Rabbi Jacob said, "He who has no wife lives without good, or help, or joy, or blessing, or atonement" (Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* xvii.2); similar sayings are recorded of other rabbis (see Swidler, *Women in Judaism,* pp. 72f.; Montefiore and Loewe, pp. 507-515). Many rabbis were monogamous and deprecated divorce. But the more positive affirmations of women remain in the context of their relationship to husband and children.

In some parts of the Hellenistic world Jewish women may have had slightly greater freedom than what is implied by Philo and the rabbinic texts. Inscriptions from the 1st to 6th cents. A.D.refer to women as synagogue leaders (Gk. *archisynágōgos, archēgissa, presbytéra*; Lat. *mater synagogae, pateressa*). B. Brooten has recently argued that such titles were not merely honorific but implied active religious roles. Certainly at Elephantine in Egypt women had greater equality in marriage and property ownership (5th cent. B.C.), but this exceptional situation seems not to have influenced mainstream Judaism.

V. In the NT.–A. Attitudes toward Women and Their Religious Role. 1. Evangelists. There are no striking differences in the attitudes of the four Evangelists: all preserve many stories about women and relate them sympathetically. Whereas Jewish genealogies normally included only males, Matthew's genealogy of Jesus mentions four women: Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, Bathsheba (Mt. 1:3, 5f.). Matthew tells the birth narrative primarily from Joseph's viewpoint, while Luke tells it from Mary's. Luke portrays both Mary and her relative Elizabeth with understanding, highlighting Mary's positive and ready acceptance of God's will in contrast to Zechariah's skepticism (Lk. 1:18-20, 38, 45). He relates that Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit upon seeing Mary (vv. 41-45), and he records Mary's prophetic song of praise (vv. 46-55). Luke alone tells of the aged prophetess Anna (2:36-38). John's sympathetic portraits of women (see V.A.2 below) have been interpreted as evidence for women's equality in the Johannine Church (see Brown, Appendix II), but most likely they also represent Jesus' own attitudes.

2. Jesus. All the Gospels portray Jesus as one who fully accepted women. Regardless of their social or marital status, He was unfailingly courteous and compassionate towards them. When a woman, ritually unclean with a hemorrhage, touched Him on the way to the house of a synagogue leader, He stopped to heal her and commended her faith, addressing her affectionately as "Daughter" (Mk. 5:34 par.). He affirmed the dignity of a crippled woman, calling her "daughter of Abraham" (Lk. 13:16). He repeatedly responded to women's needs no less than to men's: He healed Peter's mother-in-law (Mk. 1:29-31 par.), Jairus's daughter (5:35-43 par.), Mary Magdalene (said to have been possessed by seven devils, Lk. 8:2), and the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter (even though she was a Gentile, Mk. 7:24-30 par.). Moved with compassion for the widow at Nain, He told her not to weep and restored her son to life (Lk. 7:11-15). He commended a poor widow as an example of generous giving (Mk. 12:41-44).

Jesus used women's activities to illustrate the character of the Kingdom, mentioning the baking of bread (Lk. 13:20f.), grinding of corn (17:35), wedding festivities (Mt. 25:1-13), and sweeping of a house to find a lost coin (Lk. 15:8-10; this parable, paralleling that of the lost sheep, uses a woman's activity to illustrate God's character). No saying of Jesus ever denigrates or belittles women; in the parable of the unjust judge the widow stands for the faithful who persist in prayer (Lk. 18:1-8).

In a society in which women were not counted as full members of a congregation and were discouraged from studying the law, Jesus taught women alongside men (Mt. 14:21; 15:38; etc.). Whereas some rabbis laid down that a man should not even speak to a woman in a public place, Jesus shared a drinking vessel with the Samaritan woman and spoke to her of the deepest spiritual things (Jn. 4:1-30). He similarly revealed Himself to Martha, who declared her faith with the words, "I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God" (11:27; cf. Peter's confession in Mt. 16:16 par.). While it is likely that John exercised some literary freedom in relating these episodes, one cannot doubt that they represent Jesus' own attitude, which contrasted with contemporary Jewish teaching and even with some later Christian teaching.

Though not originally part of John's Gospel, the story of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. 7:53–8:11) may also preserve an authentic memory. Jesus shows characteristic compassion, understanding, and astuteness as He silences the woman's accusers, then assures her of forgiveness: "Neither do I condemn you; go, and do not sin again." Luke similarly records Jesus' acceptance of sinful women. When a woman who was a sinner (prostitute ?) lavishly anointed His feet and wiped them with her hair, He accepted her service and commended her love (Lk. 7:47; cf. Mk. 14:3-9; Mt. 26:6-13; Jn. 12:1-8). He encouraged Mary to sit at His feet and listen to His teaching, and He declined Martha's request that He bid her sister help her with the serving, saying: "It is Mary who has chosen the better part; it is not to be taken from her" (Lk. 10:41, JB). He thus affirmed a woman's right to be a disciple and not to be concerned solely with domestic affairs.

In the Gospels Jesus nowhere stresses the importance of motherhood. When a woman in a crowd called out, "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked," He replied, "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it" (Lk. 11:27f.). He taught that the family of the Church is of even greater importance than the nuclear family: when His mother and brothers asked for Him, He turned to those around Him saying, "Here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Mk. 3:31-35; note the inclusion of "sister").

The twelve apostles were all men, and there is no evidence that any of the Seventy were female; this is hardly surprising in the prevailing social conditions. Nevertheless, some women did leave their homes to follow Jesus: Lk. 8:1-3 records how Mary Magdalene, Joanna the wife of Herod's steward, Susanna, and others minis-

tered to His material needs. Women stood by Jesus at the crucifixion (Mt. 27:55f.; Lk. 23:49, 55; Jn. 19:25; contrast Jesus' male disciples, who "all forsook him and fled," Mk. 14:50). Women were the first witnesses of the Resurrection, though some of the men were skeptical (Mk. 16; Mt. 28:1-10; Lk. 24:1-11, 22-25; Jn. 20). This Gospel testimony is all the more significant, because in Jewish law the witness of women was not admissible (cf. 1 Cor. 15:4-8, where no women are mentioned).

Jesus not only accepted the service of women, but He also used them to spread the gospel: Mary Magdalene was sent as the *apostola apostolorum* (Jn. 20:17f.; cf. Mt. 28:10); the Samaritan woman spread the news of Jesus in her village, so that "many Samaritans believed in him because of the woman's testimony" (Jn. 4:39).

3. Acts. In Acts the pattern continues: women are full members of the Church. Luke specifically records that both women and men were baptized (Acts 8:12; cf. 16:15). Women, including Jesus' mother, joined with the men in prayer (1:14). They were present at Pentecost (2:1). Quoting from Joel, Peter referred to "daughters" and "maidservants" prophesying (2:17f.); the Holy Spirit is said to fall on all (2:4). Saul persecuted both men and women (8:3; 9:2; 22:4). Acts frequently mentions women converts, including Timothy's mother (16:1; cf. 2 Tim. 1:5); Lydia, a wealthy woman who gave Paul hospitality (Acts 16:13-15); Damaris at Athens (17:34); and women of high social standing at Philippi (v. 4) and Beroea (v. 12). Women were miraculously healed (9:36-42; 16:16-18). The Church cared for its widows (6:1-6); Dorcas herself dispensed charity (9:36, 39, 41). The Church met for prayer at the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark (12:12); Luke provides a graphic description of Rhoda's joy at Peter's release (12:13-16). Sapphira was held responsible for sharing in her husband's deception (5:1-11). Philip had four daughters who prophesied (21:9).

In spite of the frequent references to women, the early Church's leadership, as depicted in Acts, was mostly male. (Luke wrote selectively, focusing on the spread of the Church through its great leaders, esp. Peter and Paul.) An exceptional figure is Priscilla, who with her husband instructed the learned Apollos (Acts 18:2, 18, 26; cf. Rom. 16:3f.; 1 Cor. 16:19; 2 Tim. 4:19).

4. Pauline Epistles. The attitude of Paul in the Epistles is more difficult to determine because of the variety of teaching found there, given in response to specific situations. The key to his teaching is Gal. 3:25-29, the "Magna Carta of humanity" (Jewett, p. 142), which states: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (v. 28). The context shows that Paul was speaking of the new relationship that comes through faith and Christian baptism. His use of "male" and "female" echoes Gen. 1:27, where both man and woman are made in God's image. The threefold affirmation recalls — and utterly transforms — the traditional Jewish prayer in which a man thanks God that he has not been created a gentile, slave, or woman (see IV above). Here we have the abolition not of sexual differences between men and women but of their religious inequality (F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Galatians* [*NIGTC*, 1982], pp. 187-191).

Paul's recognition of women as full members of the Christian community is further illustrated by his affectionate greetings to them — e.g., "the beloved Persis" (Rom. 16:12), "Apphia our sister" (Philem. 2), Rufus's mother, "a mother to me too" (Rom. 16:13, NIV) — and his references to them as fellow workers. Phoebe (Rom. 16:1f.) is described as *diákonos*, a "deacon" or "minister," "servant" of the church at Cenchreae (cf. 1 Tim. 3:8; Phil. 1:1; Eph. 6:21; Col. 1:7; etc.), and as Paul's "patron" (Gk. *prostátis*; cf. masc. *prostátēs*, "leader," "chief," "patron," and the related verb *proístēmi*; see Prohl, pp. 70f.). Priscilla, Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, Euodia, and Syntyche are all described as fellow workers or laborers in the gospel (Rom. 16:3, 6, 12; Phil. 4:3; the term *synergós* is used of both men and women). Junia (Rom. 16:7) is said to be "outstanding among the apostles." (The evidence that this name should be read as feminine is overwhelming; see Chrysostom *Hom. 31 in Rom.*; C. E. B. Cranfield, *ICC* on Romans (1979, repr. 1983), II, 788f.; Brooten, "Junia . . . Outstanding among the Apostles," in Swidler, *Women Priests*, pp. 141-44; no example of this name in the masculine has ever been attested.)

Nevertheless, some passages suggest limitations on women's freedom and religious role. (a) In 1 Cor. 11:2-16 Paul argues that a man should pray with his head uncovered, a woman with hers covered. It is not clear whether he is prescribing the wearing of veils (so RSV and many comms.) or requiring that women arrange their long hair decorously on top of their heads (so Hurley and O'Connor). His essential point is that the customary distinctions in the outward appearance of men and women should be observed. (Paul may have been concerned about sexual license or possible homosexual tendencies at Corinth.) The reasons he adduces to support his view, namely, that woman is the glory of man, having been created from him (vv. 7-9; cf. the rabbinic exegesis of Gen. 2, on which see Jewett, pp. 119-128), and that by nature and custom women universally wear their hair long (vv. 13-15), have posed difficulties for interpreters. To some commentators it is clear that Paul's arguments are designed for a particular audience in a particular situation and cannot be applied as a general principle, while others think it unlikely that Paul would invoke such arguments in support of purely local customs. It is important to note that Paul assumes that women will be praying aloud and prophesying in the congregation (v. 5); their head covering (whether long hair or veil) is a sign of their authority to do so (cf. M. D. Hooker, *NTS*, 10 [1963/64], 410-16, and O'Connor, defending the authenticity and logic of the passage).

(b) 1 Corinthians 14:33b-35 enjoins women to keep silence in the churches and be subordinate: "If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home." It is not clear whether women are here prohibited from all public speaking or only from chattering. The passage presupposes that all are married (but cf. 1 Cor. 7) and contains an uncharacteristic appeal to the Jewish law. Many commentators suspect it of being non-Pauline on textual and other grounds. If it is genuine, and if Paul is not contradicting what he said in 1 Cor. 11:5, it must be assumed that he is here permitting women to pray and prophesy, but not to disturb the congregation with unnecessary questions.

(c) The author of 1 Tim. 2:8-15 states categorically: "I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent." The reason given is that Adam was formed first and that Eve, not Adam, was deceived (note again the dependence on late Jewish exegesis of Gen. 2–3). The Pauline authorship of the Pastorals has been widely questioned. If this passage is deutero-Pauline, it may be a restatement of traditional Jewish limitations on female religious leadership; if it is Pauline, it may be a reaction against license caused by the declaration of Gal. 3, or it may be a strongly worded limitation for a particular context (cf. D. Williams, pp. 112-14). 1 Timothy elsewhere presupposes a ministry of women (see 3:11, where *gynaíkas* probably refers to female dea-

cons rather than to women in general or the wives of ministers; see *DNTT*, III, 1065; Daniélou, p. 14).

Though both 1 Cor. 14:33b-35 and 1 Tim. 2:8-15 were later used by the Church to discourage women's public ministry, these passages must be understood in the light of Paul's fundamental teaching in Galatians and of his clear recognition of women as ministerial colleagues, as evidenced in both the Epistles and Acts.

For further discussion of these passages, *see* WOMEN IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP.

5. Other NT Writings. The author of Hebrews used two OT women (Sarah and Rahab) as examples of faith (11:11, 31). 1 Pet. 3:7 cites Sarah as an example of wifely obedience and speaks of husband and wife as "joint heirs of grace" (see also V.B.below). James cites Rahab along with Abraham as an example of faith completed by works (2:25) and urges loving care toward widows (1:27) and other Christian sisters in need (2:15). 1 John gives the impression of being addressed primarily to men (cf. 2:12-14), but terms such as "beloved" and "little children" might well include sisters (see I.B above). 2 John is addressed to "the elect lady and her children" (v. 1; cf. vv. 4f., 13). Though frequently interpreted today as the personification of a church, there is much to be said for the older view that the "elect lady" is an individual (cf. 3 Jn. 1) who was in a position of leadership within a Christian group (cf. other references to churches meeting in the houses of individual women, e.g., Acts 12:12). For references to women in Revelation, see V.C below.

B. Teaching on Marriage and Divorce. In contrast to the OT, which permitted polygamy, Jesus upheld strict monogamy, emphasizing the oneness of the married couple with His citation of Gen. 2:24: "The two shall become one flesh" (Mk. 10:8 par. Mt. 19:5f.). Mark records that He added: "Whoever divorces his wife and marries another, commits adultery against her; and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery" (Mk. 10:11f.). This statement is problematic, since in Jewish law only a man could initiate divorce, and adultery was an offense against the husband. Either the Markan formulation is an adaptation of Jesus' words to a gentile, possibly Roman, setting, or Jesus is here radically differing from the Jewish position by placing the woman on an equal footing with the man. According to Matthew (5:32; 19:9) Jesus permitted divorce in case of *porneía* (usually "fornication," here perhaps "adultery"), but many interpreters view this as a softening of Jesus' teaching to meet a pastoral situation. Paul in 1 Cor. 7:10-16 presupposes a dominical teaching of no divorce; he permits separation only when an unbelieving partner takes the initiative. *See also* DIVORCE: IN THE NT.

Some have held that Paul teaches a low view of marriage in 1 Cor. 7, where he writes, "It is well [*kalón*] for a man not to touch a woman" (7:1), and wishes that all were single like himself (vv. 7f.), implying that he is either unmarried or widowed. It is important to see Paul's words in their context: he is responding to specific questions raised by the Corinthians, not giving a full theology of marriage. In 7:1 (where *kalón* means "advantageous," "profitable," rather than "morally good") he may be quoting the Corinthians' own words. He wrote probably in the expectation that the Parousia would occur soon (for how could the human race continue if all remained celibate?), and to encourage Christian harmony, devotion, and sexual morality. He also believed that an unmarried person experiences less distraction from "the affairs of the Lord" (vv. 32-35), but he did not enforce celibacy.

Concerning marriage the Pauline Epistles teach the need for the subordination of the wife to the husband within a relationship of love and respect (cf. Eph. 5:21). Paul explicitly discourages sexual abstinence within marriage for ascetic reasons, except by mutual agreement for short periods as an aid to prayer (1 Cor. 7:3f.). Teaching on subordination appears in the so-called *Haustafeln* or Household Codes, which follow a definite pattern illustrated by Eph. 5:21–6:9: (1) wives be subject to husbands . . . husbands love wives; (2) children obey parents . . . fathers do not anger children; (3) slaves obey masters . . . masters treat slaves justly. Other examples are Col. 3:18–4:1; Tit. 2:1-10; and 1 Pet. 2:13–3:7 (where obedience to civil authorities is also enjoined); cf. also 1 Tim. 2:8-15; 5:1f.; 6:1f.

Such codes teach conformity to existing patterns of social behavior and are closely paralleled in Stoic and other Greek philosophical sources, as well as in Hellenistic Judaism. D. L. Balch has brought out clearly the missionary and apologetic purpose of these codes: the hope is that unbelieving husbands may be converted by the chaste and modest behavior of their wives (1 Pet. 3:1f.) and that opponents may be silenced by the sobriety and conscientious work of Christians (Tit. 2:7f.). The codes also enshrine the basic Christian principles of putting others first: they stress *mutual* care and respect in the Lord (Eph. 5:21; cf. Rom. 12:10).

C. Woman as a Theological Symbol. Ephesians compares a husband's love for his wife to that of Christ for the Church (5:23-33; cf. the OT image of Yahweh as Israel's husband; see III.E above). In 1 Cor. 11:2 he speaks of betrothing the Corinthian church to Christ "as a pure bride to her one husband." In Gal. 4:26 he refers to "the Jerusalem above" as "our mother" (cf. the allegorical use of Hagar and Sarah for the two covenants in vv. 22-31).

Woman appears frequently as a theological symbol in Revelation. The great harlot, "arrayed in purple and scarlet" and "drunk with the blood of the saints" (Rev. 17), represents the Roman empire; in contrast the woman "clothed with the sun" (ch. 12) is the mother of the Messiah and a figure for the messianic community. Her flight to the desert and conflict with the dragon represent both Christ's victory over Satan and the continuing struggle of the Church (possible symbolic use of the figure of the Virgin Mary is explored further by R. Brown, *Gospel According to John* [*AB*, 1966], I, 107-109; II, 924-27). Rev. 19:7f. uses the image of the marriage feast of the Lamb, the Church being the bride who is clothed in pure linen, i.e., "the righteous deeds of the saints." The climax is in 21:2, where John sees the new Jerusalem "coming down out of heaven . . . prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."

VI. Later Developments.—Among Gnostic thinkers negative attitudes toward women prevailed; even within marriage sexual intercourse was often seen as evil (see Pagels, p. 66). In the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas (logion 114) Peter asks that Mary be sent away, "For women are not worthy of Life"; Jesus replies that He will make her male, "so that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males." On the other hand, some Gnostics prayed to a divine Mother, identified with the Holy Spirit, Grace, or Thought (Pagels, pp. 48-57). Tertullian attested that some Gnostic women taught, exorcized, and baptized (*De praescriptione haereticorum* 41, etc.)

Thecla, Marcellina, and Maximilla were famous female leaders in the early Church; Blandina and other women gained renown as martyrs. In some groups women became priests and bishops (for some relevant archeological evidence, see Nunally-Cox, pp. 128f.). Various inscriptions refer to women as deacon, subdeacon, teacher, and *presbytis* (see Horsley, p. 121; Gryson, pp. 90f.). Promi-

nent women like Helena and Theodora also played an important part in church affairs, less happily in the case of the empress Eudoxia.

It is clear, however, that in mainstream Christianity the comparative freedom of NT times was followed by a period of some restriction with regard to women's leadership, with more attention paid to the scriptural injunctions to female silence than to Jesus' recognition of women or Paul's proclamation of equality in Gal. 3:28. Old social customs and stratification continued: husbands were urged to direct their wives to what is good, women to be silent and modest and to see to their proper tasks of childbearing and house-keeping. Chrysostom asserted that affairs of state and outdoor activities belong to men, while domestic activities like cooking and spinning belong to women; but he also affirmed a woman's right to teach privately and to serve as deacon (*Quales ducendae sint uxores* 3; *Hom. 31 in Rom.*; *Hom. 1 in Prisc. et Aq.* 3).

Other texts reaffirm the prohibition on women's teaching and even forbid women to bear witness or administer justice. Jerome considered it "against nature" for a woman to speak in an assembly of men (*Comm. in 1 Cor.* 14). Virginity became more prized than marriage. The work of deaconesses became limited to minor liturgical roles and to ministry to women (see Gryson, *passim*).

There appear to have been several reasons behind these limitations: a growing tendency to interpret Christian ministry in terms of the Jewish priesthood, an overly literal or one-sided understanding of Paul's teaching (including 1 Cor. 7), a strongly culturally conditioned sense of what is appropriate, and a reaction against the excesses of some heretical sects. Some of the church fathers were openly misogynistic: Tertullian called women "the devil's gateway"; Epiphanius castigated them as "a feeble race, untrustworthy, and of mediocre intelligence" (see Daniélou, p. 25). This is a far cry from Jesus' attitude in the Gospels and the role of women in the first-century Church.

VII. Conclusion.–However high a view is taken of the Bible's inspiration, it is clear that its teaching must be understood in its social setting. While some Christian leaders and scholars (e.g., Clark, Hurley) believe that the OT and NT references to wifely subjection were intended as permanent instructions for posterity, other Christians today would see male headship as a culturally orientated teaching, and a loving partnership of equals as the ideal for Christian marriage (e.g., Jewett, Pape) — especially in a society where men and women are legally recognized as equals. Similarly, while some exegetes argue that passages on women's subordination presuppose restricted active religious leadership for women, others have drawn attention to passages indicating that they did in fact fulfil leadership roles in both social and religious contexts. The important point is not, e.g., the precise circumstances in which Paul permitted a woman to speak, but the general principles underlying the biblical message as a whole. Increasing emphasis is being put on the fundamental biblical teaching that both men and women are made in God's image; that Jesus Christ died for all humanity; that both women and men are called to be full members of the Church; and that both are endowed with spiritual gifts equipping them for ministry. In the modern context this is seen by many scholars and church members as entailing the eligibility of women for ordination beyond the rank of deacon. (See further Howe, Langley, Mollenkott, Nunally-Cox, and D. Williams.)

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WOMB [Heb. *beṭen* (Gen. 25:23f.; 30:2; 38:27; Jgs. 16:17; Job 1:21; 3:10; etc.), *reḥem* (Gen. 20:18; 29:31; 30:22; Ex. 13:2, 12, 15; 34:19; Nu. 3:12; 8:16; 12:12; 18:15; etc.), *raḥam* (Gen. 49:25; Prov. 30:16; Isa. 46:3), *mē'eh* (Ruth 1:11), *'āṣar* ("shut the womb," Isa. 66:9), *mašbēr bānîm* ("mouth of the womb," Hos. 13:13); Gk. *koilía* (Lk. 1:15, 41f., 44; 2:21; 11:27; 23:29; Jn. 3:4), *métra* (Lk. 2:23; Rom. 4:19), *gastḗr* (Lk. 1:31)]; AV also MATRIX (Ex. 13:12, 15; 34:19; etc.). BREAKING FORTH OF CHILDREN (Hos. 13:13); NEB also paraphrases (e.g., "birth"), omits.

The most specific OT term for "womb" is Heb. *reḥem/raḥam*, which is related to the root *rḥm*, "love deeply," "be compassionate," and is rendered "womb" by the RSV twenty-seven times. The other common term, *beṭen* (rendered "womb" twenty-five times), seems to have the basic meaning "interior" (see KoB, p. 119). It can denote the belly or stomach as well as the womb; thus it has a much broader range of meaning than *reḥem/raḥam*. *Beṭen* and *reḥem* often appear in parallelism (e.g., Job 10:18f.; 31:15; Ps. 58:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 46:3). *Mē'eh* generally refers to the "inward parts," e.g., the intestines (*see* BOWELS) or the belly; in Ruth 1:11, however, it clearly refers to the female reproductive organs. The verb *'āṣar* means to "restrain" or "shut"; the English versions have supplied "womb" as the verb's object in Isa. 66:9. *Mašbēr* is derived from the root *šbr*, "break," and denotes the "place of the breach" (Hos. 13:13; cf. AV lit. "breaking forth of children [*bānîm*]"), thus the "mouth of the womb" (so RSV, NEB). To depict the desperate situation of Ephraim, the prophet used the image of a fetus that is in the wrong position and thus fails to emerge from the womb despite the mother's labor pains.

Greek *koilía* and *gastḗr* (both lit. "hollow") are the two terms used almost exclusively by the LXX to render Heb. *beṭen*. Both terms can refer to the belly or stomach as well as the womb. Gk. *métra*, derived from the term for "mother" (*métēr*), refers more specifically to the womb.

In Scripture it is clearly God who controls conception and birth. It is God who opens (e.g., Gen. 29:31; 30:22) or closes (e.g., Gen. 20:18; 1 S. 1:5f.) the womb. In recognition of this fact and also of God's deliverance when He "passed over" their firstborn in Egypt, the Israelites were instructed to set apart to God every animal or child that "opens the womb [*reḥem*]," i.e., the firstborn. The animals were to be sacrificed and the human children were to be redeemed (Ex. 13:2, 12, 15; 34:19; etc.; cf. Lk. 2:23).

The writers of Scripture confessed that God's people are the objects of His care from their conception until their death (e.g., Isa. 44:2, 24; 46:3). One psalmist confessed, "Thou didst knit me together in my mother's womb [*beṭen*]" (Ps. 139:13); and Ps. 22:9 (MT 10) states, "Yet thou art he who took me from the womb [*beṭen*]." Some persons were chosen for a special calling while they were yet in the womb. When Jeremiah was called to be a prophet, Yahweh told him: "Before I formed you in the womb [*beṭen*] I knew you, and before you were born [*yāṣā' mēreḥem*] I consecrated you" (Jer. 1:5; cf. Isa. 49:1; Lk. 1:15).

In biblical times the woman's most important role was the bearing of children, and to be BARREN was the worst fate a woman could suffer. Jesus, however, rejected the reduction of women to the reproductive role. When a woman called out, "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breast that you sucked!" Jesus responded, "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it" (Lk. 11:27f.). *See* SEX III.D; IV.C.

See also BELLY; SEX II.B.5.

Bibliography.–*TDNT*, III, *s.v.* κοιλία (J. Behm); *TDOT*, II, *s.v.* "beṭen" (D. N. Freedman, J. Lundbom); *TWOT*, I, 102f.; II, 842.

N. J. O.

WOMEN IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP. The question of whether it is proper for women to preach or exercise leadership in the church has received much attention in recent decades. Some denominations permit and even encourage the unrestricted use of women's gifts in all the offices of the church, while others, based on passages such as 1 Tim. 2:9-15, 1 Cor. 11:2-16, and 14:33-36, consider it unbiblical for a woman to preach or exercise authority over an ecclesiastical body that includes men.

Several passages figure prominently in the debate. The passages cited above seem to imply a subordination of women in the church; others, it is argued (esp. Gal. 3:28), seem to point in the direction of equality of the sexes. Moreover, the Bible contains a number of impressive examples of women exercising political and spiritual leadership over men. This article will summarize some of the chief arguments on both sides of the issue as they relate to these often-cited passages.

I. Galatians 3:28.–Many scholars have interpreted this passage and others (e.g., 1 Cor. 11:11f.; 1 Pet. 3:7) as teaching the abolition of all inequality between the sexes within the church (e.g., see Stendahl, pp. 32-35; Scanzoni and Hardesty, pp. 106-111, 204f.; Jewett, pp. 142-49). Scholars who maintain that the Scriptures prohibit women from holding a teaching or ruling office within the church have argued that these passages, if they even bear on the issue, at most support an ontological or salvific equality of men and women and do not contradict the functional subordination of women in the domestic and ecclesiastical spheres as required by other texts. S. Clark (pp. 137-163) has pointed out that Gal. 3:28, while certainly having social implications, nevertheless is concerned to insist not on the *equality* of the sexes but on the *unity* of all believers in Christ (so also Boucher, p. 56; Davis [1976], p. 202; Knight, p. 39).

II. Biblical Examples of Women in Authority.–Scholars who defend the subordination of women in the church often urge that the biblical examples of women exercising authority over men (e.g., Deborah, Abigail, the Queen of Sheba, the prophetess Huldah, Queen Esther, the four prophesying daughters of Philip, Priscilla, Phoebe, Junia, etc.) need to be interpreted in the light of relevant didactic passages.

For example, some scholars dismiss Deborah the wife of Lappidoth, who was a prophetess and judge (presiding elder over Israel), as a regrettable exception to a preferred male leadership by appealing to Isa. 3:12: "My people — children are their oppressors, and women rule over them." This passage appears to concede female leadership but interprets it as a rebuke to Israel. These scholars also point to Barak's reluctance to go to war against Sisera without Deborah in Jgs. 4:8f. (cf. LXX). The MT of Isa. 3:12, however, in addition to its problematic vocabulary, appears to be textually corrupt (see *BHS*). The NEB offers a preferable rendering: "Money lenders strip my people bare, and usurers lord it over them." Moreover, it should be noted that Deborah is introduced as judging Israel before Barak's failure to take leadership (Jgs. 4:4-7).

Another approach to the striking example of Deborah has been offered by J. H. Gerstner, *et al.*, who view Deborah's authority as the result of "God's exceptional appointment" but warn against setting aside biblical norms to build a church polity on such an exception. Still other scholars point out that even if women governed in the OT and prophesied in both Testaments, this is not the same as their leading in worship.

Scholars who maintain that the Scriptures support women in ruling and teaching offices do not so readily dismiss these and other biblical examples. In the NT they call attention especially to three of the ten women commended by Paul in Rom. 16:1-23: (1) Phoebe (vv. 1f.), who can plausibly be identified as a "deacon" (Gk. *diákonos*; RSV "deaconess," so also Ford, pp. 670-72, 676f.; but cf. Cranfield, pp. 781; Hurley, p. 124; cf. also E. E. Ellis, pp. 441-45); (2) the remarkable Priscilla (vv. 3-5), who is listed before her husband here as well as in Acts 18:18, 26, possibly indicating that she had the more prominent role in teaching Apollos (but cf. Knight, p. 52); and (3) Junia(s) (v. 7), who may well have been a female apostle (so Cranfield, pp. 788-790; Scholer [1980], pp. 5f.; for the opposing view *see* JUNIAS).

III. 1 Timothy 2:9-15.–Four major approaches to 1 Tim. 2 and the other "subordination texts" may be discerned among scholars supportive of women exercising authority in the church. (For a discussion of the relevant hermeneutical issues raised by these approaches, see also Swartley, pp. 183-191, and esp. Foh, pp. 5-49.)

(1) Some scholars simply deny Pauline authorship to 1 Timothy (so Scroggs; but cf. Spencer, p. 221; *see also* PASTORAL EPISTLES) and assume that this undermines the authority of this text. With similar intent, some scholars identify as a post-Pauline interpolation both 1 Cor. 11:2-16 (so Walker and Cope; but cf. O'Connor) and 14:34-35 (so Bittlinger, and Schweizer; but cf. Grudem, pp. 240-255). But even apart from the question of whether these passages are actually Pauline, such an approach lacks conviction in that it appears to confuse issues of authorship with canonicity.

(2) A second approach, like the first, begins by agreeing that these texts do in fact plainly forbid women in church leadership, but it argues that they are not so much un-Pauline as unchristian — i.e., that they are superseded by the fuller insight set forth in the equality texts. K. Stendahl (pp. 32-37; cf. Jewett, pp. 111-147, and Mollenkott, pp. 20-25) has taken such an approach. He concluded that the texts that speak of subordination merely reflect Paul's rabbinic training and deeply ingrained cultural bias, analogous to the prevailing attitude toward slavery, whereas those that speak of equality, beginning with the breakthrough of Gal. 3:28, reflect a more authentically Christian reversal of the order of creation.

This approach commits a kind of "genetic" fallacy, as-

WOMEN IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

suming that the derivation of a NT teaching from earlier Jewish convictions would be grounds for rejecting its authority (cf. Cowling, p. 27; Clark, pp. 356f.). Moreover, there appears to be a growing scholarly consensus that Paul's insight in Gal. 3:28 may not constitute after all so radical a departure from the Judaism of his day (see Boucher; Barth, pp. 655-662; Brooten). Brooten has offered a provocative reassessment of the inscriptional evidence for female leadership, including elders, among Jews during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

(3) A third approach asserts that 1 Cor. 11 and 14 and 1 Tim. 2 record culturally relative applications of what may well be abidingly valid principles (hence Paul's appeal to creational norms), but that in any case these injunctions ought not be applied uncritically to the often radically dissimilar situation of the modern church. A. Spencer, e.g., has suggested that 1 Tim. 2 actually marks a radical and liberating departure from the repressive Jewish practice of the time, which discouraged teaching women the Scriptures, since women are here encouraged to study the Word ("learn in silence, v. 11"). As for Paul's prohibition of women teaching, Spencer argued that this is based solely on the regrettable similarity between the women of Ephesus and Eve, in that the Ephesian women had been deceived (cf. 2 Tim. 3:6f.) and were promoting false doctrine. After the women received further instruction, however, such a parallel would happily break down and so the prohibition would be made void. Similar interpretations have been offered by Olthuis (p. 142f.), Scholer (1975), Williams (p. 111), and Davis (1979); cf. also N. Hommes. Arguments have been brought against this view by S. Foh (pp. 122-29). In addition, R. Forsyth (p. 237) has warned against the overly simplistic picture of the Jewish or Greek cultural background that is often assumed by scholars following this approach (so also Boucher, pp. 50-58; Barth, pp. 655-662); e.g., certainly Eunice and Lois (2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15) knew the Scriptures better than might be inferred from the Jewish practice adduced by Spencer.

(4) A fourth approach differs from the other three in that it begins by contesting the exegesis of these subordination passages. Thus M. Griffiths (p. 196) has appealed for a closer study of these passages, convinced that they admit of a "more positive exegesis." For example, when Paul insists in 1 Cor. 14:33-36 that "the women should keep silent in the churches," the context of this requirement may well limit its scope to the particular kind of disturbing or self-serving questions Paul considered to be best asked by wives when they got home (v. 35; but cf. Hurley, pp. 188-193). Certainly a similar contextual limitation on the command to remain silent is demanded in vv. 28, 30. Interpreted in this manner, Paul's statement does not contradict his earlier comments about women praying and prophesying publicly (11:5).

Similarly, as Griffiths has suggested, while 1 Tim. 2:8-15 possibly intends to exclude women from church office (since ch. 3 is concerned with church polity), this may not be its intention. The terms rendered "man" and "woman" in the RSV (Gk. *anḗr* and *gynḗ*) can as easily be rendered "husband" and "wife" throughout these verses, and such renderings are entirely suited to the present passage (cf. H. C. Oswald, ed., *Luther's Works*, XXVIII [Eng. tr. 1915], 276; Prohl, p. 80; Hommes, p. 13; Zerbst p. 51). The RSV appears to exclude this possibility by its unwarranted plural translation of *anḗr* in v. 12: "I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men." A better translation would be: "I permit no wife to teach or to have authority over her husband."

Favoring this suggestion, it may be noted that elsewhere in Paul's writings *anḗr* occurs fifty times and *gynḗ* occurs fifty-four times in close proximity within eleven distinct contexts, and in each case these terms bear the meanings "husband" and "wife" rather than "man" and "woman" (so G. K. Beale, oral communication). Indeed, it may be argued that, if Paul had intended to speak about man in relation to woman in 1 Tim. 2, rather than about husband in relation to wife, he would have used *ánthrōpos*, "man," rather than *anḗr*, in contrast to *gynḗ*, as he did in 1 Cor. 7:1. Alternatively, Paul could have used the very terms that most stress gender, *ársēn*, "man," in contrast to *thḗlys*, "woman," as he did in Rom. 1:26f.

B. W. Powers has recently argued that the widely held assumption that 1 Tim. 2:8-15 concerns behavior in public worship is far from self-evident, and he has suggested instead a reference specifically to the home. Elsewhere in the NT (Eph. 5) Adam and Eve are paradigmatic for marriage, not for male-female relations in general. Against those who would disparage marriage and the homemaking role as unspiritual (1 Tim. 4:3; 5:14), Paul in 2:15 urges that childbearing — clearly an activity outside the worship service — need be no detriment to salvation (Powers [pp. 57f.] prefers instead to interpret *sṓzō*, "save," as a reference to physical safety in childbirth), provided that such a woman "continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty." Certainly Powers is correct in pointing out that the prayer with uplifted hands "in every place" (v. 8) need not be restricted to formal church gatherings, for nowhere else in the NT does this expression require such a restrictive definition.

Guthrie (p. 77), finding it impossible that Paul would command silence for wives in the home, has insisted that 1 Tim. 2:12 must be concerned with public worship. But such an objection strangely overlooks a passage such as 2 Thess. 3:12, where Paul enjoins men to "silence" (RSV "quietness") without implying a total ban on speech; cf. also 1 Tim. 2:2.

Interpreting 1 Tim. 2:8-15 in terms of the home is especially attractive in light of the often overlooked but extensive verbal parallels that this passage has with 1 Pet. 3:1-7 (so Powers, p. 58), where the sphere for submission is clearly domestic. These parallels are so impressive that Selwyn (pp. 432-35), among others, assumed "dependence of both on a common source." It is noteworthy that both passages include not only a concern for wifely submission but also a warning that husbands avoid domestic strife that would undermine their prayer life.

For a more general discussion of the roles of women in biblical times, *see* WOMAN.

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change, 17 (1975), 55-59; R. Prohl, *Woman in the Church* (1957); L. Scanzoni and N. Hardesty, *All We're Meant to Be* (1974); *Soundings*, 53 (1970), 374-78; D. M. Scholer, *Daughters of Sarah*, 1 (1975), 7f.; 6 (1980), 3-6; E. Schweizer, *Interp.*, 13 (1959), 400-408; R. Scroggs, *Christian Century*, 89 (1972), 307-309; E. G. Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter* (2nd ed. 1947); A. Spencer, *JETS*, 17 (1974), 215-222; *Beyond the Curse* (1985); K. Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women* (Eng. tr. 1966); W. M. Swartley, *Slavery, Sabbath, War, and Women* (1983); W. O. Walker, Jr., *JBL*, 94 (1975), 94-110; D. Williams, *The Apostle Paul and Women in the Church* (1977); F. Zerbst, *Office of Woman in the Church* (Eng. tr. 1955). G. P. HUGENBERGER

WONDER; WONDERFUL; WONDROUS(LY) [Heb. *môpēṯ*, niphal, hiphil, and hithpael of *pālā'* (esp. niphal pl. part. *niplā'ôṯ*), *pele'*, *pelî* (Jgs. 13:18; Ps. 139:6), *miplā'â* (Job 37:16), niphal of *pālâ* (Ps. 139:14), hithpolel of *šāmēm* (Isa. 59:16), hithpael of *tāmah* (Hab. 1:5); Aram. *t^{e}mah* (Dnl. 4:2f. [MT 3:32f.]; 6:27 [MT 28]); Gk. *téras*, *thaumázō*, *thaumastós* (Rev. 15:1, 3), *thaumásios* (Mt. 21:15), *thaúma* (2 Cor. 11:14), *thámbos*–'astonishment' (Acts 3:10), *aretḗ*–'excellence' ("wonderful deed," 1 Pet. 2:9), *potapós*–'of what sort' ("what wonderful," Mk. 13:1); supplied in Acts 5:24]; AV also MARVEL, MARVELLOUS(LY), MIRACLE, SECRET (Jgs. 13:18), WHAT MANNER (Mk. 13:1); NEB also PORTENT, MIRACLE, etc.

I. In the OT.–In the OT "wonder," etc., usually represent Heb. *môpēṯ* or a form of the word-group *pl'*. *Môpēṯ* (also rendered "miracle" or "portent" by the RSV, e.g., Ps. 78:43; 105:5, 27; Joel 2:30 [MT 3:2]) occurs frequently in combination with *'ôṯ*, "sign" (as in the expression "signs and wonders," Ex. 7:3; Dt. 6:22; 26:8; etc.). It generally refers to a miraculous event through which Yahweh reveals His power in history. Frequently it denotes the extraordinary events associated with Israel's exodus from Egypt (Ex. 7:3; 11:9f.; Dt. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 26:8; 29:3 [MT 2]; 34:11; Neh. 9:10; Ps. 135:9; Jer. 32:20f.; cf. also 1 Ch. 16:12). In Dt. 13:1f. (MT 2f.), however, it refers to a miraculous act performed by a false prophet or dreamer. In 28:46 the reference is to the curses that will come upon the Israelites if they are disobedient, causing them to become a spectacle illustrating the rewards of disobedience. *See* MIRACLE I.A; SIGN III, IV.

The stem *pl'* refers to things or events that are extraordinary and beyond human capabilities and thus evoke a response of astonishment (*TWOT*, II, 723). The reference is "not to the subjective experience of wonder, but to the objective fact" (*TDNT*, III, 31). Both the verb and the substantives are applied primarily to the mighty acts of God, either in creation or in history. The verb does not occur in the qal; the basic meaning of the hiphil is "cause a wonderful thing to happen" (Jgs. 13:19; 2 Ch. 2:9 [MT 8]; Ps. 17:7; 31:21 [MT 22]; Isa. 28:29; 29:14; Joel 2:26), while the hithpael means "show oneself marvelous" (Job 10:16) and the niphal connotes "be wonderful," "be too marvelous for" (e.g., 2 S. 1:26; Job 42:3). Most common is the niphal plural participle *niplā'ôṯ*, "wonderful works, miraculous deeds" (Ex. 3:20; Josh. 3:5; Jgs. 6:13; Ps. 9:1 [MT 2]; 26:7; 40:5 [MT 6]; 71:17; 72:18; 75:1 [MT 2]; 78:4, 32; etc.), which is used synonymously with *pele'* (pl *p^{e}lā'îm*; e.g., Ex. 15:11; Ps. 77:11, 14 [MT 12, 15]; 88:10, 12 [MT 11, 13]; 89:5 [MT 6]; 119:129; Isa. 9:6 [MT 5]; 25:1).

The basic meaning of Heb. *tāmah* is "be astounded." In Hab. 1:5 the use of both the hithpael (RSV "wonder") and the qal (RSV "be astounded") of *tāmah* "serves to strengthen [the verb], so as to express the highest degree of amazement" (KD, *in loc.*) — i.e., amazement at the terrible work that Yahweh is about to perform. In Dnl. 4:2f. (MT 3:32f.) and 6:27 (MT 28) the cognate Aramaic noun *t^{e}mah* is linked with Aram. *'āṯ* (in the phrase "signs and wonders") in the same way that Heb. *môpēṯ* is linked with *'ôṯ*. The references are to Yahweh's miraculous deliverances from the fiery furnace and the lion's den.

The root idea of *šāmēm* is to be appalled and DESOLATE due to a great disaster (*see also* HORROR). In Isa. 59:16 the hithpolel of this verb describes Yahweh's dismay at finding no leader who could set things right for His people.

In general, the OT uses of "wonder," etc., point to the unique activity of God. The psalmists call forth the memory of God's mighty acts in exhortations to joyous faith and obedience (e.g., Ps. 9:1 [MT 2]; 40:5 [MT 6]; 77:11 [MT 12]; 78:4; 105:5; 107:8, 15, 21, 31; 145:5). This theme appears also in the historical and prophetic literature (e.g., 1 Ch. 16:9, 12; Neh. 9:10, 17; Isa. 25:1; Dnl. 4:2f. [MT 3:32f.]; 6:27 [MT 28]). More frequently in the prophetic literature "wonder" expresses anticipation of God's future action — whether that be judgment (e.g., Hab. 1:5) or redemption (e.g., Isa. 29:14; cf. 9:6). The wisdom literature employs the concept of wonder in the sense of things beyond human comprehension. A proverb states: "Three things are too wonderful for me; four I do not understand: the way of an eagle in the sky, the way of a serpent on a rock, the way of a ship on the high seas, and the way of a man with a maiden" (Prov. 30:18f.). In Job 37:14, 16 the young Elihu challenges Job: "Hear this, O Job; stop and consider the wondrous works of God. . . . Do you know the balancings of the clouds, the wondrous works of him who is perfect in knowledge?" And in 42:3 Job at last says, "I have uttered what I did not understand, things too wonderful for me, which I did not know."

II. In the NT.–In the NT "wonder," etc., represent predominantly the Greek noun *téras* or a form from the *thaumázō* word-group. *Téras* occurs sixteen times in the NT (nine times in Acts), exclusively in the plural and always linked with Gk. *sēmeía* ("signs"); in a few instances it is additionally linked with *dynámeis* ("mighty works," Acts 2:22; 2 Cor. 12:12; "miracles," He. 2:4). Its meaning in the NT is governed by its use in the LXX as a translation of Heb. *môpēṯ* (which is frequently linked with *'ôṯ*, "sign"). As with *môpēṯ*, Gk. *téras* always includes the idea of God's self-revelation. Although the Synoptics consistently refer to Jesus' miracles simply as *dynámeis* and John refers to them as *sēmeía*. Acts 2:22 uses all three terms, emphasizing the divine source of these acts: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst" (cf. v. 19). "Signs and wonders" performed "through the apostles" also served to accredit their ministry as being from God (2:43; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12; cf. 4:30; Rom. 15:19; 2 Cor. 12:12; He. 2:4). Jesus warned His followers not to be deceived, however, by false messiahs and prophets who will attempt to validate their claims through performing "signs and wonders" (Mt. 24:24 par. Mk. 13:22). Paul also warned that "the coming of the lawless one by the activity of Satan will be with all power and with pretended signs and wonders" (2 Thess. 2:9).

The Greek verb *thaumázō* is translated "wonder" about fifteen times in the RSV NT; elsewhere it is rendered "marvel" (twenty-four times) and "be astonished" (two times). It is most common in the Gospels, where it is used to describe the spectators' reaction to the surprising and unexpected events in Jesus' birth, ministry, and resurrection. Often such wonder is accompanied by fear; but the reaction is not entirely negative, for the persons affected are not driven away.

According to the Lukan Infancy narrative, wonder

attended the events surrounding Jesus' birth. The people were surprised at Zechariah's delay in coming out of the temple to give them the priestly blessing (Lk. 1:21). Astonishment was the response of all who heard the shepherds' Christmas story (2:18). (Cf. also the use of *thaumázō* [RSV "marvel"] in 1:63; 2:33.)

The element of surprised wonder is frequent in accounts of Jesus' ministry. When through His miraculous deeds He fulfilled the great signs of the messianic age, the crowds "wondered" and glorified God (Mt. 15:31; cf. 9:33 [RSV "marvel"]). Jesus' words also evoked a response of wonder, e.g., His words of grace in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk. 4:22; cf. Mt. 22:22 par.; Jn. 3:7 [RSV "marvel"]). Pilate was greatly amazed at Jesus' silence in response to his questioning (Mt. 27:14; Mk. 15:5); he was also astonished at how quickly Jesus died (15:44). When Jesus appeared to the disciples after His resurrection, they were unable to believe for joy and amazement (Lk. 24:41; cf. the uncertain text of v. 12).

The supernatural signs that marked the Spirit's presence in the young Church likewise met with wonder (*thaumázō*, Acts 2:7; 3:12; cf. v. 10, where "wonder" represents *thámbos* and "amazement" represents *ékstasis; see also* AMAZE). Similarly, the extraordinary boldness of the apostles Peter and John, who were otherwise very ordinary men, evoked the amazement of the members of the Sanhedrin (4:13). The recipients of 1 John were told that they should not be surprised if the world hates them (3:13).

The related noun *thaúma* can describe a response of amazement (cf. Rev. 17:6), but in 2 Cor. 11:14 it denotes an object of wonder. In vv. 13-15 Paul says that it should come as no surpise to the Corinthians that his opponents disguise themselves as apostles of Christ, since they are servants of Satan, the master deceiver. The adjective *thaumásios* occurs only in Mt. 21:15, where the substantive form *tá thaumásia* refers to the "wonderful things" (i.e., miracles of healing) accomplished by Jesus in the temple. The synonymous adjective *thaumastós* is rendered "wonderful" in Rev. 15:1, 3 (elsewhere it is rendered "marvelous"). In v. 1 it is used to describe John's vision of seven angels with seven plagues — awe-inspiring symbols of God's wrath; in v. 3 it describes God's redemptive deeds, which excite wonder not only because of their greatness but also because of their righteousness. (Cf. the reaction of the people of the world in 13:3, who follow the beast "with wonder" [*thaumázō*].)

See also ASTONISHMENT; MARVEL; MIRACLE; SIGN.

Bibliography.—*DNTT*, II, 620-26, 633f.; *TDNT*, III, *s.v.* θάμβος (Bertram), θαύμα κτλ. (Bertram); VIII, *s.v.* τέρας (Rengstorf); *TWOT*, II, 723, 936f., 972, 1085. C. N. DILLMAN N. J. O.

WOOD. *See* FLORA; FOREST; TREE.

WOOL [Heb. *ṣemer*; Gk. *érion*]. Wool and linen were the most common fibers woven into cloth for garments (Lev. 13:47f., 59; Prov. 31:13; Hos. 2:5), although any blending of the two was expressly forbidden (Dt. 22:11). The priests were required to wear linen rather than woolen clothing in the inner temple court to prevent perspiration. (Ezk. 44:17f.).

Wool was of considerable commercial value and was accepted as tribute from Moab by the king of Israel (2 K. 3:4; Isa. 16:1). The "white wool" of Damascus was valuable merchandise (Ezk. 27:18 — a wool of tawny color, Heb. *ṣaḥar*; cf. BDB).

Wool provided clothing for the rich (Jas. 5:2, by implication), in contrast to the rough sheepskin clothing of the destitute (He. 11:37). The skins were useful material for tents, and the tabernacle had a covering of rams' skins dyed red (Ex. 26:14). Scarlet wool, together with hyssop, was used in ritual sprinkling of blood (He. 9:19f.; cf. Lev. 14:1-7; Nu. 19:5f.).

Since wool was commonly used in Israel, similes were naturally derived from it. The earth and unbelieving men will be consumed, as a woolen garment is by moths, but God's salvation is everlasting (Isa. 51:6-8). The whiteness of wool makes it a suitable comparison for snow (Ps. 147:16), for forgiven sins (Isa. 1:18), and for the hair of the ancient of days (Dnl. 7:9) and son of man (Rev. 1:14).

G. I. EMMERSON

WORD [Heb. *dāḇār, 'ēmer, 'ōmer, 'imrâ, nᵉ'um, millâ*; Aram. *mᵉ'mar, millâ*; Gk. *lógos, rhêma*]. The words, speech, sayings, or message of human beings; the message, command, or revelation of God; also, the Christian gospel; title of Christ.

I. Terminology
  A. Hebrew
  B. Aramaic
  C. Greek
  D. English Versions
II. In the OT
  A. Human Words
  B. God's Word as Prophetic Revelation
  C. Creative and Effective Word of God
  D. God's Word as Law
III. Intertestamental Developments: Later Jewish and Hellenistic Thought
  A. Greek Philosophy
  B. LXX, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha
  C. Philo
  D. DSS and Rabbinical Literature
  E. Gnosis and Similar Thought
IV. In the NT
  A. Human Words
  B. OT Word in the NT
  C. Divine Revelation through Voice and Vision
  D. Words of Jesus
  E. Word as Christian Message
  F. Word as a Title of Christ
V. Later Developments
  A. Developed Gnostic Thought
  B. Patristic Doctrines

I. Terminology.—"Word" is used in the English versions of the Bible to translate a substantial number of different words, some of which have a wide range of meaning.

A. Hebrew. Most frequent is *dāḇār* (about 1430 times), which generally means "matter," or "thing," but also applies to the spoken word, or written communication. Other Hebrew words are *'ēmer, 'ōmer,* and *'imrâ* (< *'mr*, "say"), which occur mostly in poetic passages, *nᵉ'um*, "ecstatic or divine utterance" (361 times, mostly in the Prophets), and *millâ* (< *mll*, "speak"), largely in poetic passages.

B. Aramaic. The word *millâ* in Daniel has the sense of both "word" and "thing," and *mᵉ'mar* in Dnl. 4:17 (MT 14) and Ezr. 6:9 has the sense of "word."

C. Greek. The two chief nouns are *rhêma* (cf. Lat. *verbum*), used for the spoken word (sometimes in LXX and NT to render *dāḇār*, "thing"), and *lógos*, (< *leg-*; cf. the common verb *légō*, meaning originally "pick up," and hence "count," "tell," "speak"). *Lógos* embraces an exceptionally wide semantic field, including the ideas of account, proportion, explanation, principle, reason, thought, as well as continuous statement (e.g., narrative, story, speech, history), individual utterance (e.g., proverb, maxim, command), discussion, debate, and, as a grammatical term, phrase or sentence. It is not normally

used in the sense of a single word; it is sometimes set in antithesis to *érgon* (deed, fact) or to *mýthos* (story, fiction). In the LXX no special distinction exists in the theological uses of *rhéma* and *lógos*; *rhéma* is more common in the Pentateuch, *lógos* is more frequent in the Prophets and Writings. In the NT *rhéma* is used mostly for individual spoken utterances, and in OT citations and echoes; *lógos*, occurring more frequently (331 times, in all NT writings except Jude and Philemon), is used for God's word in all its senses, for Christ's words, for ordinary human words, and with other non-theological meanings. The diminutive *lógion* occurs in both the LXX and NT, usually in the sense of God's words.

D. English Versions. All translations, but especially more recent versions, render these same Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek words by a great variety of expressions. According to context they may appear as SPEECH, COMMAND, PROMISE, PROPHECY (IV.B), etc.; sometimes they are rendered by a verbal phrase, such as "what you say," or "thus says the Lord." This article focuses on special theological uses of "word," though brief mention will be made of other uses.

II. In the OT.–A. Human Words. "Word" is used regularly and frequently for ordinary human communication, whether written (e.g., a letter [Est. 9:26], scroll [Isa. 29:11, 18], or historical acts [2 Ch. 12:15; etc.), or oral, such as the words of poems and songs (e.g., Dt. 31:30), the sayings of wise men (e.g., Prov. 1:6; 22:17), and the ordinary spoken utterances of men and women. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two senses of *dāḇār*, "word" and "matter" (e.g., Dt. 22:20). In Ex. 4:10 Moses protests that he is "not eloquent" (lit. "no man of words"), but God replies that He will be with Moses' mouth (v. 12).

B. God's Word as Prophetic Revelation. The Word of God (*deḇar YHWH, deḇar ʾĕlōhîm*) is one of the key OT concepts. God's direct revelation comes to mankind either orally or visually — "word" and "vision" respectively, with the idea of oral or verbal communication predominating. The sense of having heard God actually speak is so strong that when the child Samuel was called, he thought that Eli was speaking to him (1 S. 3:2-14). The prophet's own words are thus readily identified with God's words: the prophet may preface his message with the phrase "Thus says the Lord," or he may conclude it with "oracle of Yahweh" (*neʾum YHWH*; NEB "This is the word of the Lord"). A frequent expression (over 120 times) is the so-called word-event formula — "The word of the Lord/God came to. . . ." This may be used of an individual message to a prophet (e.g., 1 K. 12:22), or it may be adapted to preface a whole prophetic book (e.g., Hos. 1:1; Joel 1:1). Sometimes word is combined with the idea of vision: "the word (*dāḇār*) which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw" (Isa. 2:1). God's communication of the word to the prophet may also be symbolized by the touching of his mouth (Jer. 1:9; cf. Isa. 6:7), or it may be considered so much a part of his being that he is actually described as eating it (Jer. 15:16; Ezk. 2:8–3:3).

The word that comes with such clarity is never simply a piece of information, but rather the will of God in a particular situation. It may come as a message of salvation, exemplified par excellence in the words of Isa. 40:1: "Comfort, comfort my people, says your God." It may be, and often is, a sober message of warning or judgment, as when Amos denounced the transgressions of the nations and of Israel, and pronounced God's judgment on them: "Hear this word which I take up over you in lamentation, O house of Israel" (Am. 5:1). We are told that Amaziah the priest of Bethel complained to the king that the land was not able to bear Amos's words (7:10); yet a prophet felt compelled to deliver his divine message, no matter how unpopular he or it might be. As Balaam says in Nu. 22:38, "The word that God puts in my mouth, that must I speak" (cf. Ezk. 12:25; 33:7f.). Although God's word to the prophet might be a joy and delight (Jer. 15:16), it could also be a torturous burden. Jeremiah complains: "For the word of the Lord has become for me a reproach and derision all day long. If I say, 'I will not mention him, or speak any more in his name,' there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with holding it in, and I cannot" (Jer. 20:8f.).

Although false prophets may speak lying words, the word of the Lord that comes to His true prophets is utterly dependable. When Elijah told the widow of Zarephath that the jar of meal and cruse of oil would not fail until the Lord sent rain, then that was precisely what happened "according to the word of the Lord which he spoke by Elijah" (1 K. 17:16).

C. Creative and Effective Word of God. Closely related to the concept of the word as God's will or command revealed to His spokesman the prophet in a particular situation is the concept of the dynamic word by which creation is effected. Ps. 33:6 expresses the idea vividly: "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth" (cf. Gen. 1:3; Ps. 148:5, etc.).

Not only is the initial act of creation effected through God's word, but He regularly "speaks" through the forces of nature. In Ps. 29 the voice (Heb. *qôl*) of the Lord is described as "powerful" and "full of majesty"; it is heard in the thunder; it breaks the cedars and shakes the wilderness. In Ps. 147:16-18 God's word is again associated with meteorological phenomena: "He gives snow like wool . . . He casts forth his ice like morsels . . . He sends forth his word, and melts them." The concept is slightly different in Ps. 19:1-4 where the whole created order "tells" the glory of God, and their "words" go out to the ends of the earth.

It is a small step from this concept of the word effective in creation and nature to that of God's word effective in history. In what has been called "the most profound statement about God's word to be found in the OT" (Whybray, p. 194), God says: "For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven, and return not thither but water the earth, making it bring forth and sprout, giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater, *so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose,* and prosper in the thing for which I sent it" (Isa. 55:10f.). As the context makes clear, the word is God's message of salvation. Cf. the powerful statement about the permanence of God's word in Isa. 40:6-8.

Much has been written about the origins of this concept of the creative and effective word of God. Von Rad, Procksch, and others have stressed that, in contrast to the "abstract" understanding of the modern Western world, ancient peoples thought of words as concrete and powerful entities, almost material forces (von Rad, II, 81-85; cf. *TDNT*, IV, 93). It is true that in many civilizations certain utterances, especially blessings and curses, are thought of as having a power of their own, so that once spoken they cannot be revoked (cf. Gen. 27:32-38), and striking parallels to the OT idea of the creative word are found in Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources (see *TDOT*, III, 84-94). The idea of the supposed power of words in Hebrew thought has nevertheless been challenged, notably by James Barr and A. C. Thiselton (see Bibliography), who argue that it rests upon a mistaken view of the linguistic evidence (esp. the double meaning of *dāḇār* as "word" and "thing"; cf. I.A

above). The dynamic and effective word of God may be more closely related to the "performative utterances" of modern language study (phrases like "I hereby bequeath," or "I will" of the Marriage Service) than to primitive magic. Only in special cases in biblical thought are human utterances conceived as automatically effective; while the effectiveness of God's word depends ultimately on the biblical concept of His character rather than anything intrinsic to words themselves. *See also* NAME I.

D. God's Word as Law. A further important way in which the terms "word(s)," and "God's word" are used in the OT is with reference to His commands to His people about their behavior, especially in the context of the covenant relationship. The Ten Commandments, given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, are called simply the "ten words" (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 4:13; 10:4). The "word" has indeed a special part to play in the message of Deuteronomy where it is used both for the individual commandments of God, and for the law as a whole. This "word" is the people's life (32:47); they are continually urged to obey it, warned of the penalties for disobedience, and reminded of the blessings of obedience. Nor is this "word" to be thought of as something inaccessible or difficult: "For this commandment which I command you this day is not too hard for you, neither is it far off. . . . But the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it" (Dt. 30:11, 14; cf. Rom. 10:8).

In many poetic passages of the OT "law" and "word" occur in synonymous parallelism (e.g., Isa. 2:3 par. Mic. 4:2). The identification of the word with the law is particularly striking in Ps. 119, where "word" (*dāḇār* or *'imrâ*) appears continually in parallel with various words for law (e.g., "precept," "command," "statute"). For the psalmist God's word is a lantern to his feet; His words are sweeter than honey in his mouth; His word is true, firmly fixed in the heaven; it brings him hope and strength in affliction. This Psalm, a lengthy and elaborate acrostic poem, is more than a literary tour de force; it is a spiritual classic, an eloquent testimony to the inspiration which God's word as law provided to a devout Jew.

III. Intertestamental Developments: Later Jewish and Hellenistic Thought.–A. Greek Philosophy. 1. The Classical Background. In Greek philosophical writing *lógos* takes on a special significance as early as the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus, "the obscure" (*ca.* 500 B.C.), who seems to have used the term for an underlying coherence or principle of the universe. Heraclitus's works survive only in short fragments, and it is doubtful what he intended precisely by his *lógos* (see Kirk, Raven, and Schofield, pp. 186-88; Barrett, *NT Background,* pp. 54f.), but Stoic philosophers of the Hellenistic Age looked back to his enigmatic words as the source of their *lógos* doctrines.

In the mid-5th cent. B.C. the Sophists (influential teachers of rhetoric) used *lógos* in a broad sense to include both the rational faculty, which makes cultural and political life possible, and the art of public speaking or presenting arguments. Gorgias in particular stressed the power of the *lógos,* describing it in quasi-personal terms as a great ruler (*dynástēs mégas*), capable of effecting the most divine deeds in the smallest body (see *TDNT,* IV, 82).

Neither Socrates nor Plato made any major direct contribution to a doctrine of the *lógos,* but Plato's theory of "ideas" (belief in the existence of an eternal world, absolute, changeless and perfect, which contrasts with the visible, changing world of the senses) was to influence later philosophical *lógos* doctrines. Aristotle's contribution here was likewise small: he used *lógos* (among other things) for the mental faculty of reason, possessed by human beings alone as opposed to the animals, enabling them to express themselves in speech (*Pol.* i.1.1253a). Also in the 4th cent. B.C. Antisthenes, founder of the Cynic school of philosophy, defined *lógos* as "that which sets forth what a thing was or is" (see Guthrie, III, 210).

2. Hellenistic Developments. More important developments occurred among the Stoics, whose school of philosophy was founded at Athens by Zeno (*ca.* 300 B.C.). Recalling Heraclitus, Stoic philosophers regularly used *lógos* as a technical term for the underlying principle of natural order pervading the universe. Zeno, Cleanthes, and others identified this with Zeus, the supreme god of the Greeks, and interpreted *lógos* as a pantheistic world soul (see texts in Barrett, *NT Background,* pp. 61-65). Sometimes *lógos* was also identified with Hermes the messenger god.

In developed Stoic thought, various types of *lógos* were distinguished, namely, *lógos orthós* (true reason), the principle of cosmic order which gives human beings the power of knowledge, *lógos spermatikós* (seminal reason), being the creative principle and source of ideas and growth, *lógos prophorikós* (expressed reason), used especially for ideas in general, and *lógos endiáthetos* (immanent reason), used for unexpressed thought.

B. LXX, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha. As already noted, *lógos* occurs frequently in the LXX to translate Heb. *dāḇār.* J. N. Sanders has suggested (see *IDB,* IV, 870) that, for Jews familiar with Greek philosophy, this would in itself bring with it connotations of the Stoic doctrine of the *lógos,* particularly in the accounts of creation.

A significant development in this literature is the vivid personification of *Sophía* or Wisdom (cf. Prov. 8–9), described as the "breath of the power of God" and the "reflection (or "effulgence") of eternal light" (Wisd. 7:25f.); she is said to be with God, knowing His works (9:9), and to have come from the Most High to make her dwelling in Israel (Sir. 24:7-12). Since Wisdom was closely associated with creation and is used in synonymous parallelism with Word (e.g., Wisd. 9:1f.), it is easy to see how *lógos* also became personified. This occurs most strikingly at Wisd. 18:15f.: "Thy all-powerful word leaped from heaven, from the royal throne, into the midst of the land that was doomed, a stern warrior carrying the sharp sword of thy authentic command, and stood and filled all things with death. . . ." It should, however, be noted that here *lógos* is the destructive agent of judgment, not the creative word.

The pseudepigraphic Odes of Solomon describe the word as existing in God before time, as the means of creation, as powerful and active in the universe, as a source of light and truth, and as revealing God's thought (see esp. Odes 12:1-3; 16:19; 41:11-14). An important verse states, "For the dwelling-place [tabernacle] of the Word is man [or a son of man], and his [or its] truth is love (12:12). The background of the Odes (1st or 2nd cent. A.D. [?]) has been much debated; Jewish, Gnostic, and even Christian origins have been postulated. It seems clear that at some stage they were used in the Christian church, and direct Johannine influence on them cannot be excluded.

Other Pseudepigrapha do not greatly extend our picture, "word" being used mostly in senses already discussed.

C. Philo. An important figure for the development of later Logos doctrines is the Alexandrian Jew Philo Judaeus (*ca.* 20 B.C.-A.D. 50), who uses the term *lógos* over thirteen hundred times in his extensive writings. Sometimes it is used simply for the spoken word, or for "reason," or in some other non-technical sense; but it is also used with the epithets *theíos* ("divine") and *hierós* ("holy"), or with dependent genitive *theoú* ("of God"), in

a special religious sense for the manifestation or expression of God's activity in the world. This *lógos* is said to be God's image (*eikón*), and is sometimes described metaphorically in personal terms as His first-born son (*De agricultura* 51) or High Priest (*De gigantibus* 52). Sometimes *lógos* seems to be equated with the whole world of Platonic "ideas"; elsewhere it seems to be used more in a Stoic sense for the ordered principle of the universe. We also see it used for the mind of God with which every human being has a kinship, being a copy, fragment, or ray (*apaúgasma*) of His nature (*De opificio mundi* 145f.). In the plural it is used for God's guidance, which directs the searching soul in the path of goodness (e.g., *De somniis* i.69). By a process of allegorization *lógos* is identified with the fiery sword of the cherubim, guarding the entrance to Eden (*De cherubim* 21-39).

Philo's writings were composed on a wide variety of subjects, over a period of time, resulting in no coherent doctrine of the *lógos*. But his flexible and imaginative use of the term to express Jewish and Greek philosophical ideas undoubtedly influenced early Christian fathers, and his influence has also been postulated on Hebrews and John (see IV.E and F.1 below; *see also* PHILO JUDAEUS III).

D. DSS and Rabbinical Literature. There are no significant developments in the DSS. Heb. *dāḇār* is used, as in the OT, with reference to God's word as His command or promise; human speech is seen as a special gift from Him (1QH 1:28f.).

In the Aramaic Targums of the OT, *mēmrâ* (cf. biblical Aram. *mĕ'mar*) occurs very frequently in the phrase "word of the Lord." This has sometimes been interpreted as referring to a divine hypostasis or intermediary, but probably represents no more than a reverential periphrasis for God in His dealings with humankind ('so Barrett, comm. on John, p. 153). Possibly more important for understanding the development of Johannine doctrine is rabbinical Torah theology, by which the OT "word" became increasingly interpreted as the Law, described in elevated terms as pre-existent and the life of the world; sometimes Torah is personified as the daughter of Yahweh (see Hoskyns and Davey, p. 155; Schnackenburg, I, 484f.).

E. Gnosis and Similar Thought. 1. Corpus Hermeticum. The Hermetic Texts from Egypt, written in Greek and dating mostly to the 2nd-3rd cent. A.D., contain a complex amalgam of Greek and oriental (including Jewish) ideas, in which *lógos* appears fairly frequently. It is used both for the rational human faculty (and as such intimately associated with *noús*, "mind"), and for the agent of creation, imagined as a divine intermediary. The tract *Poimandres* describes how the "holy word" falls on a sea of darkness and fire, and creation follows (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.5). The language here and in the dialogue *The Bowl* is reminiscent of Gen. 1, which appears to have been interpreted in the light of Stoic and Platonic philosophy.

2. Mandean Texts. These religious texts, which date from a period much later than the NT, belong to an unusual Baptist sect with strong gnostic affinities. "Word" appears frequently in many senses, most notably for the means of creation: "The sublime King of Light pronounced his word, and everything came into being by his word." "True words" are said to come from the "place of light"; the "word of life" comes with power to rule and command (Foerster and Wilson, *Gnosis*, II, 157, 183, 212, 223; see further Schnackenburg, I, 138-143, 489). (For the Odes of Solomon see III.B above; for the Nag Hammadi Texts see V.A below.)

IV. In the NT.–A. Human Words. Both *lógos* and *rhéma* are used for ordinary human utterances, which may take the form of question, warning, rumor, command, discourse, teaching, etc.; occasionally they are used for the written word (e.g., Acts 1:1, where *lógos* refers to Luke's earlier book, i.e., his Gospel). Although "word" normally implies a rational utterance, it is also used for ecstatic speech "in tongues": in 1 Cor. 14:19 Paul says that he would rather speak five intelligible words that instruct others in the church than ten thousand words in a tongue. Sometimes words are seen as complementary to actions, or the two are contrasted, as in 1 Jn. 3:18, where we find the classical antithesis between word and deed.

Specific NT teaching about the use of words includes Jesus' warning that at the Last Judgment people will be held responsible for every idle word they have spoken: "For by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned" (Mt. 12:37). He taught in the Sermon on the Mount that the Christian's word should be so reliable that oaths are unnecessary (5:37). Various warnings in the Epistles indicate the danger of using corrupt or lying words (e.g., Eph. 4:29; 2 Pet. 2:3). James stresses the importance of controlling the tongue (Jas. 1:26; 3:5f.). 2 Tim. 2:14-17 warns not to dispute about words (*logomachéō*), contrasting the "word of truth" with the godless chatter of those who have gone astray, whose "talk" (*lógos*) is compared to a "gangrene." In 1 Cor. 1–4 Paul contrasts the word of the gospel with the empty words of human wisdom.

A specific use of *lógos* in the sense of "account" is found in set phrases (e.g., *lógon [apo]dídonai*, "render account"), used particularly in connexion with the doctrine of final judgment (see Rom. 14:12; He. 13:17; 1 Pet. 4:5).

B. OT Word in the NT. In a number of passages "the word" or "the word of God" is used with the same theological connotations as in the OT. The "word-event" formula (see II.B above) appears as such only in Lk. 3:2 where the word of God (*rhéma theoú*) comes to John the Baptist. Elsewhere in the NT the idea of direct divine revelation is expressed in other ways (see IV.C, D below). The concept of the dynamic word creating and sustaining the universe (cf. II.C above) appears most strikingly at He. 1:3 and 11:3, 1 Pet. 1:23-25 (citing Isa. 40:6-9), and 2 Pet. 3:5 (note that in this context *lógos* and *rhéma* appear interchangeable). Quite frequently God is said to have spoken through David or the Prophets; sometimes individual OT passages are referred to as God's word (e.g., Mk. 7:13; Jn. 10:34f.; Rom. 9:6); but sometimes they are attributed to named individuals, such as Isaiah (e.g., Lk. 3:4; Jn. 12:38). Study of the relevant passages shows that, whatever the formula, God is regarded as the one speaking in OT Scripture (cf. *TDNT*, IV, 109-113). A classic passage on biblical inspiration (2 Pet. 1:19-21) refers to the "prophetic word made more sure," which is compared to a lamp shining in the dark.

C. Divine Revelation through Voice and Vision. At times the NT portrays God as communicating to humanity through a heavenly voice and through the medium of angels. The Gospels tell of a voice from heaven (cf. Dnl. 4:31) on three occasions, all major turning points in Jesus' ministry — His baptism (Mk. 1:11 par.), His transfiguration (Mk. 9:7 par.; cf. 2 Pet. 1:17), and before His passion (Jn. 12:28) (*see* BATH KOL). Other significant events — Christ's birth and resurrection — are marked by the appearance of angels, who convey their message through ordinary human words. The book of Acts regularly portrays God as communicating to individuals through dreams and visions, e.g., in Acts 26:14 Paul hears the voice of the risen Jesus speaking in the Hebrew language. In the book of Revelation divine communication comes by

means of a heavenly voice (e.g., 1:10; 21:3), through angelic intermediaries (e.g., 5:2), and through the words of the glorified Christ (e.g., 22:16). Although the terms *lógos* and *rhéma* are used only incidentally in these accounts (e.g., Lk. 1:29, 38), the divine communication performs the same function as the "word" which came to the prophets or the words which God spoke to Abraham, Moses, etc. God's supreme communication in the NT, however, is expressed in the person of Jesus Christ Himself, who speaks God's word and makes Him known (cf. Jn. 1:18; He. 1:2).

D. Words of Jesus. The entire NT lays stress on the need for the spoken word as the means of proclaiming the Good News. The "word-event" formula of the OT prophets is never used of Jesus or of the apostolic preaching (see IV.B, C above). This is probably because Jesus' teaching is seen as something new, going far beyond the prophetic revelation. The NT often notes that Jesus spoke with remarkable authority (Mk. 1:22; cf. Mt. 5:21-48; etc.); He assures His hearers of the reliability of His words by the "Amen formula" — "Truly, I say to you . . ." (Mk. 3:28; etc.); He explicitly claims that His words provide a firm foundation for faith (Mt. 7:24) and will not pass away (Mk. 13:31; Lk. 21:33). They call people to a point of decision, so that they either accept or reject them (Mt. 15:12; Mk. 10:22; cf. 8:38). Their effect on the believer is particularly emphasized in the Fourth Gospel, where "word" is associated with eternal life: "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life" (Jn. 5:24); Jesus' disciples are urged to abide in His word, and to let His words abide in them (8:31; 15:7).

Jesus' words are identified with God's word in the Synoptic Gospels (Lk. 5:1), in Acts (11:16), and especially in John (3:34; 14:24; 17:14, 17). A particularly interesting usage in Mark's Gospel is that of "word" used absolutely for Jesus' teaching (Mk. 2:2; 4:33).

Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God, which is central to His mission, includes not only teaching and preaching, but also healing: His word alone is sufficient to cast out evil spirits (Mt. 8:16) and heal from a distance (e.g., 8:8).

E. Word as Christian Message. It is a short step from describing Jesus' own preaching as the word of God to describing the early Christian preaching about Him as the Word of God. This usage is already implied in the Synoptic explanations of the parable of the Sower (Mk. 4:14-20 par.); it is commonly found in Acts and the Pauline Epistles where the apostolic preaching is called "the word of God" (e.g., Acts 6:2; 1 Cor. 14:36), "the word of the Lord" (e.g., Acts 8:25; 1 Thess. 1:8), or simply "the word" (e.g., Acts 17:11; Gal. 6:6) (full statistics in *TDNT*, IV, 115).

Preaching this word is a matter of urgency (2 Tim. 4:2), not to be prevented by threats or imprisonment (Acts 4:13-31; 2 Tim. 2:9); people cannot hear without a preacher (Rom. 10:14). OT passages about the word of God are freely applied to Christian preaching (10:15; 1 Pet. 1:23-25).

The content and effect of the proclaimed word are indicated by descriptive genitives, such as "word of life" (Phil. 2:16; cf. 1 Jn. 1:1), "word of his grace" (Acts 14:3; 20:32), "message [*lógos*] of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19). Emphasis is placed on the death of Jesus — "the word of the cross" — "folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved . . . the power of God" (1 Cor. 1:18).

An interesting usage is that found three times in Acts (6:7; 12:24; 19:20), where the word is said to "grow" or "increase." J. Kodell has shown that here "word" means more than just the Christian message: it is somehow the whole Christian community. Even more important is the way in which the word is almost identified at times with Christ Himself: Paul talks equally freely about preaching the word (or gospel) and preaching Jesus or Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 1:23; 2 Cor. 11:4; Gal. 2:2; 6:6). "The word of Christ" (Col. 3:16) is used in parallel with "Christ" (Eph. 3:17). Such usages may well have facilitated the development of the Johannine doctrine of the word as Christ Himself.

In Hebrews the author warns his readers not to be like the Israelites in the wilderness, who failed to avail themselves of the word; he urges them rather to strive to enter into God's rest: "For the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the division of soul and spirit . . ." (4:12). The precise significance of "word" here has been much discussed: it is probably a mistake to see, along with certain early church fathers, a direct allusion to the Johannine doctrine of the Logos; but "word" here is clearly more than OT Scripture or merely the Christian message. The writer may have been influenced by Philonic language, but probably the vivid imagery derives directly from the OT doctrine of the effective word of God applied in a new context (for the sword imagery cf. Isa. 49:2; Philo, *De cherubim* 30; Eph. 6:17; Rev. 1:16).

F. Word as a Title of Christ. In the NT this seems to be confined to the Johannine writings.

1. Jn. 1:1-18. The prologue introduces and encapsulates the Gospel itself. It presents the person of Christ *sub specie aeternitatis* as the incarnate Word (*lógos*), who makes God known to the world. The Word is described as preexistent, as the agent of creation, source of grace and truth. He is fully God (1:1), yet He also became flesh (*sárx*; 1:14).

The background of this momentous concept has been very fully explored (*see* JOHANNINE THEOLOGY). While scholars earlier this century made much of the affinities with Stoic thought (see III.A.2 above), in later decades more emphasis has been laid on the OT and Jewish background. The Johannine doctrine would seem to relate closely to the OT concepts of the creative word of God (II.C above) and the Word as God's revelation and law for the world (II.B, D above). The author may well have been influenced also by developments in later Jewish thought, especially the personification or hypostatization of *Sophia* (Wisdom) and *Torah* (Law) (see III.B, D above). Early Christian usage of "the word" as a technical term for the gospel (see IV.E above) may also have facilitated the identification of Christ as the *lógos*.

It is perhaps wrong to dismiss completely the possibility that the Fourth Evangelist might also have been influenced by Stoic doctrines. These were widely known in popular religious thought, and if he had lived at Alexandria, Antioch, or, as is widely believed, at Ephesus, he could hardly have failed to be aware of them. Such Stoic influence might well have been derived from Hellenistic Judaism rather than through any direct knowledge of actual Stoic writings. Dependence on Philo (see III.C above) has sometimes been suggested, but close examination of the parallels shows that the differences between John's *lógos* and that of Philo are substantial, and most scholars today think direct Philonic influence unlikely (so Dodd, *Interpretation*, pp. 73, 276f.; Schnackenburg, I, 485-87).

Another possibility that has been explored in detail, especially in German scholarship, is that the Fourth Evangelist was influenced by gnostic thought. Drawing on the Odes of Solomon (see III.B above), the Mandean Texts (see III.E above), and other writings, R. Bultmann argued

that John's prologue incorporates a gnostic Baptist hymn on the *lógos* as heavenly revealer and redeemer (see his comm. on John, pp. 14-18). The hypothesis of a gnostic hymn has been sharply criticized (though the idea of a Christian hymn has been fairly widely accepted: so Schnackenburg and Brown; contra Barrett). The question remains whether the prologue incorporates any gnostic thought. A major problem here is chronology: the gnostic or semi-gnostic writings that have been compared to the Fourth Gospel are all to be dated later than it, some of them much later. It is a matter of speculation which of their ideas might have been current in the 1st cent. A.D. R. Schnackenburg has argued that there is a good case for accepting the existence of a pre-Christian gnostic myth that used the term "word" for an envoy sent from the heavenly world and that influenced both Jewish Wisdom speculation and John's prologue (comm. on John, I, 488-493). Others hold that the case for any dependence of John on postulated early oriental Gnosticism is extremely tenuous (so Brown, I, lvi). The differences between John's *lógos* and that of the Gnostics should certainly not be underestimated; in view of the late date of the texts in question, it seems most likely that the similarities that exist are due to parallel development of thought, or, in some cases, to Johannine influence (see further Dodd, *Interpretation*, pp. 34f., 50f., 53 on John and the Hermetic Texts).

The most reasonable conclusion in our present state of knowledge is that the Fourth Evangelist was influenced primarily by his OT, Jewish, and Christian background. But he could have been aware of the wider connotations of *lógos* for both Jews and pagans in the Hellenistic world, so that he might have deliberately chosen this term (in preference to *sophía*, which in any case presented problems, being a feminine noun) for the purpose of conveying additional meaning to those familiar with Greek philosophy and the syncretistic religious thought of his contemporaries.

2. 1 Jn. 1:1-4. These verses contain a reference to "the word of life" (*ho lógos tḗs zōḗs*, v. 1) which has been interpreted either as referring simply to the gospel message (so most recently R. Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 164f., comparing Phil. 2:16) or to Christ Himself as the personal Word. The distinction between these two meanings is not so great as might be supposed (cf. IV.E above); the affinities of thought between the Johannine Gospel and Epistles are strong, so that it would seem plausible (especially in view of the verbs of seeing and touching) to assume that the author intended both meanings (cf. I. H. Marshall, pp. 102f.).

3. Rev. 19:11-16. In an apocalyptic vision the prophet John sees a rider on a white horse, who judges and makes war, leading out the heavenly armies to smite the nations. He is called Faithful and True, and his name is said to be "the Word of God" (*ho lógos toú theoú*, v. 13). The passage describes the glorified Christ in judgment. He is identified both by His epithets and His personal description ("eyes . . . like a flame of fire," v. 12) with the heavenly Son of Man of the author's letters to the churches (1:14; 2:18; etc.). The vivid description combines the OT picture of God as a warrior and vintager (cf. Isa. 63:1-6; Joel 3:9-13) with the OT concept of the Davidic Messiah, crushing the nations in judgment (Ps. 2:9; Isa. 11:4).

The relationship of the passage to Jn. 1:1-18 is uncertain. If Revelation could be dated earlier than John, it might be seen as a partial anticipation of the *lógos* doctrine there; if later, then it serves as an echo of it. But the function of Christ as *lógos* in Revelation is really very different from that in the Gospel prologue. It seems more plausible, especially if we accept separate authorship, to assume that its concept is derived directly from OT tradition as developed in the intertestamental period. (Cf. the image of the all-powerful Word [*lógos*] of Wisd. 18:15 and the thought of He. 4:12.) Certainly Revelation's picture of Christ as the Word of God coming in eschatological judgment at the consummation of all things fittingly complements the Gospel's picture of Him as the creative Word that existed from the beginning.

V. Later Developments.–A. Developed Gnostic Thought. In the elaborate gnostic systems of the 2nd cent. A.D. Logos appears as one of a number of aeons or emanations, which together make up the *plérōma* (*see* GNOSTICISM). According to Ptolemaeus, Logos emanated from Nous and united with Life to emit Man and the Church. In the *Gospel of Truth*, recovered from Nag Hammadi and probably also from Valentinian circles (*see* NAG HAMMADI LITERATURE), the Word appears as a savior who is in the mind and thought of the Father, and who brings redemption and the gift of knowledge to the ignorant; in one passage (26.8) he is said to have "become a body." The role of the Word is further developed in the *Tripartite Tractate*. It is possible that such texts incorporate elements from earlier pre-Christian oriental Gnosticism (see Schnackenburg, I, 194), but as they stand they clearly postdate the Gospel of John and show signs of dependence on it.

B. Patristic Doctrines. The early church fathers took up the concept of the Logos, which they interpreted and developed in the light of Greek philosophy and their own theological insights. Ignatius (Magn. 8:12) spoke of Jesus Christ as the Logos proceeding from silence; Justin understood it as the rational power of God generated for the work of creation and active in both the OT and in pagan thinkers. Clement of Alexandria made much of the Logos concept, while Theophilus used Stoic terminology to distinguish between *lógos endiáthetos*, reason immanent in God before creation, and *lógos prophorikós*, the expressed word (see III.A.2 above). Irenaeus sharply criticized gnostic speculations; Origen wrestled with the relationship of the Logos to the Father; Athanasius castigated Arius for believing that "there was when the Logos was not." Although the word *lógos* does not occur in it, the Nicene Creed (*see* CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS IV.B) owes much to the doctrine of the Logos as shaped by Athanasius and other orthodox fathers.

It may be noted that a trinitarian reference to the Logos as one of the three heavenly witnesses became at some time incorporated into some Latin versions of 1 Jn. (i.e., 5:7), and was for a period accepted as an authentic part of the text. Though appearing in the AV, this verse is now rightly omitted on textual grounds.

Bibliography.–In addition to the standard commentaries and lexicons (BDB, KoB, LSJ, Bauer) see J. Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Langauge* (1961); C. K. Barrett, *NT Background: Selected Documents* (1956); *Gospel according to St. John* (2nd ed. 1978); R. Brown, *Gospel according to John*, I (*AB*, 1966); *Epistles of John* (*AB*, 1982); R. Bultmann, *Faith and Understanding*, I (Eng. tr. 1969), 286-312; *Gospel of John* (Eng. tr. 1971); J. H. Charlesworth, *Odes of Solomon* (1973); *DNTT*, III, 1078-1146; C. H. Dodd, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953); W. Foerster and R. McL. Wilson, *Gnosis* (2 vols., 1972-1974); W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* (6 vols., 1962-1968); E. C. Hoskyns and F. N. Davey, *The Fourth Gospel* (2nd ed. 1947); *ISBE* (1929), *s.v.* "Logos" (Alexander); G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield, *Presocratic Philosophers* (2nd ed. 1983); J. Kodell, *Bibl.*, 55 (1974), 505-519; I. H. Marshall, *Epistles of John* (*NICNT*, 1978); L. Morris, *Gospel according to John* (*NICNT*, 1971); G. von Rad, *OT Theology* (2 vols., Eng. tr. 1962-1965); A. Richardson, *Intro. to the Theology of the NT* (1958), pp. 155-168; J. M. Robinson, ed., *Nag Hammadi Library*

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WORK.

I. Terminology
  A. In the OT
  B. In the NT
II. Work(s) of God
  A. In the OT
  B. In the Gospel of John
  C. Through the Church
III. Works of the Law and Good Works
IV. Daily Work and Occupations

I. Terminology–A. In the OT. The Hebrew words most commonly translated "work" in the RSV are the verb *ʿāśâ* and the nouns *maʿaśeh* (related to *ʿāśâ*) and *meleʾkâ*.

ʿĀśâ is a very common word in the OT, usually translated "do" or "make" and usually referring to the production or preparation of some tangible object. When context requires it is given a more specific translation, such as "sacrifice" (Ex. 10:25) or "deal (kindly)" (Jgs. 1:24; AV "show [mercy]"; NEB "see that you come to no harm"). Where *ʿāśâ* is translated "work," it usually refers to the work of people in projects such as the tabernacle, the temple, the furnishings of the tabernacle or temple, or the walls of Jerusalem (e.g., Ex. 31:4; 36:1; 1 K. 9:23; Neh. 2:16). It is also used of God's activities as these are perceived by human beings (see II below).

Maʿaśeh is used for "work" both as activity (e.g., Ex. 5:4; 23:24) and, more often, as what is produced by activity (Ex. 39:8 [twice]; Ps. 135:15). It is often used for the work of God, again both as activity (e.g., Eccl. 8:17), in which case it is often translated "deed(s)" (e.g., Dt. 11:3; AV "acts"), and as what is produced (e.g., Ps. 138:8). In a few contexts, *maʿaśeh* represents the style in which an artifact is fashioned (Ex. 28:8; 39:5; Nu. 8:4; 1 K. 7:8; RSV "workmanship").

Meleʾkâ, like *maʿaśeh*, refers both to the activity of working (e.g., Ex. 35:29) and to the products of that activity (e.g., Ex. 39:43). The "work" from which God rested on the seventh day is called *meleʾkâ* (Gen. 2:2f.), and the work from which the Israelites were to rest on the sabbath and on feast days subject to the sabbath regulations is usually called *meleʾkâ* (e.g., Ex. 12:16; 20:9f; 31:14f.; Jer. 17:22) or *meleket ʿăbōdâ* (RSV "laborious work"; AV "servile work"; e.g., Lev. 23:7; Nu. 28:18; *maʿaśeh* in Ex. 23:12). *Meleʾkâ* often represents skilled and artistic labor (e.g., Ex. 31:5; 35:24; 1 K. 7:22), though, as with the sabbath regulations, it could be used quite generally and could include the most menial labor (so also in 1 S. 8:16; 1 Ch. 27:26) and great building projects (e.g., Ezr. 6:22; Neh. 4:15). When a project was done by a large number of people for a ruler, it could be referred to as the ruler's *meleʾkâ* (e.g., 1 K. 7:51; 2 Ch. 16:5); the same manner of speaking is used of "the work of the Lord" in Jer. 48:10.

The Hebrew verb *ʿābad* and the noun *ʿăbôdâ* are related to *ʿebed*, "servant, slave," and generally carry the same idea of service rendered for one of superior status. They are, therefore, most commonly translated "serve" and "service." This focus is also reflected where these words are translated "work" (*ʿābad:* Ex. 5:15; 2 Ch. 2:18; *ʿăbôdâ:* Ex. 5:9, 11; Neh. 3:5; AV sometimes "service"), which may be in mind where *ʿăbôdâ* is used of the work of the Levites (Ex. 38:21; Nu. 4:23-47) and temple musicians (1 Ch. 25:1) and the work of the people of Israel in providing for the tabernacle (Ex. 39:32, 42). They are also used of laborious agricultural work (*ʿābad:* Ex. 34:21; Dt. 15:19; 21:3; *ʿăbôdâ:* Ex. 1:14). The related noun *maʿăbād* is found in Job 34:25, where it refers to human activity in general, and (in Aramaic) in Dnl. 4:37 (MT 34), where it refers to the works of God. The related Aramaic noun *ʿăbîdâ* is used of the construction of the second temple in Jerusalem (Ezr. 4:24; 5:8; 6:7).

The Hebrew verb *pāʿal* is used almost exclusively in poetic contexts and bears a broad range of meaning similar to that of *ʿāśâ*. Its participle is commonly used in phrases such as "workers of iniquity" (*pōʿălê ʾāwen*, variously translated in, e.g., Job 31:3; Ps. 141:4 [and seventeen other times in the Psalms]; Prov. 10:29; Isa. 31:2). This use reflects the verb's concentration on abstract objects of positive or negative value that is also seen in the designation of God as the one who is "working salvation" (Ps. 74:12). *Pāʿal* is also used of the work of the ironsmith making an idol in Isa. 44:12.

Nouns related to *pāʿal* are *pōʿal*, *peʿullâ*, and *mipʿāl(â)*. *Mipʿāl(â)* refers in all of its OT appearances to the actions of God (Ps. 46:8 [MT 9]; 66:5 [RSV "what God has done"]; Prov. 8:22b [RSV "acts"]), as does the much more common *pōʿal* in about one-third of its appearances (e.g., Dt. 32:4; Ps. 92:4a [MT 5a]; Isa. 45:11). Otherwise, *pōʿal* is used broadly of human work and deeds (e.g., Dt. 33:11; Ps. 9:16 [MT 17]; Isa. 41:24). *Peʿullâ* most often represents the recompense from God for work done by humans, but in some cases represents the work itself (2 Ch. 15:7; Ps. 17:4; Jer. 31:16). It is used of God's works in Ps. 28:5a.

Among other Hebrew words translated "work" in the RSV are *yād* (usually "hand" or "power"; Ex. 14:31), *ṣābāʾ* (usually "host" or "army"; Nu. 8:25; AV "waiting"; NEB "regular"), and *yegîaʿ* (usually "labor"; Job 10:3; NEB "fruit").

A number of Hebrew terms are represented by Eng. "work" in the sense of a type of product of the craftsman's

A wall painting of harvest workers, from the Tomb of Menna, *ca.* 1420 B.C. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

skills. *Miqšâ* is metalwork shaped by hammering (e.g., Ex. 25:18; Nu. 10:2). It is not clear what *śᵉḇāḵâ* is or even that it represents the same kind of product in all its OT appearances (*see* CHECKER WORK). Other examples are *riqmâ*, "dyed work" (Jgs. 5:30; AV "needlework"; NEB "striped stuff") or "embroidered work" (Ezk. 27:16, 24; AV "broidered work"; NEB "brocade"), the pual part. of *ḥāqâ*, "carved work" (1 K. 6:35), *maʿᵃśēh šarśᵉrôṯ*, "chain work" (7:17), *maʿᵃśēh môrâd*, for which the RSV has "beveled work" (v. 29; *see* BEVELED WORK), and *maʿᵃśēh šûšan*, "lily-work" (vv. 19, 22; *see* LILY-WORK).

B. In the NT. Most often "work" and derivatives of "work" in the NT represent Greek words of the *erg*-group. The most common of these are the noun *érgon*, which represents "work" both as activity and as the products of activity, and the verb *ergázomai*, "work, do." Others are the verbs *energéō, katergázomai* ("work"), and *synergéō* ("work [together] with") and the nouns *enérgeia* ("working," Eph. 1:19; 3:7; 4:16; Col. 2:12; AV also "effectual working," "operation"), *energḗs* ("effective work," 1 Cor. 16:9; AV "effectual"), and *enérgēma* ("working," 1 Cor. 12:6, 10; AV also "operation").

Words translated "work" by the RSV only in particular contexts are the noun *cháris* (usually "grace"; translated "gracious work" in 2 Cor. 8:6f., 19) and the verbs *heurískō* (usually "find"; passive translated "work" in 2 Cor. 11:12), *kopiáō* ("labor, become weary"; translated "work hard" in Rom. 16:6, 12; 1 Cor. 15:10), and *poiéō* ("do"; translated "work" six times). RSV "workmanship" represents *érgon* (1 Cor. 9:1) and *poíēma* (Eph. 2:10). For "mighty work" (*dýnamis* thirteen times; *megaleíos* only in Acts 2:11), *see* POWER II.

II. Work(s) of God.–A. In the OT. The Hebrew words most often used for the work(s) of God are *maʿᵃśeh* and the related verb *ʿāśâ*. God is known as the one who works first of all in His work of creation. The creation and maintenance of all that exists are the "works" of God (Job 36:24 [Heb. *pōʿal*]; 37:7, 14, 16 [*pālāʾ*]; Ps. 86:8; 96:3 [*pālāʾ*]; 104:13, 24, 31; 139:14).

It was by His word of commandment that God created (Ps. 33:6, 9; 148:5); God is one who speaks, not one who brings things into being by physical labor like that of human beings. In this way the sovereignty of God in the work of creation is communicated. But the image of the Creator as a potter (Isa. 45:9; 64:8) and the portrayal of creation as work (Heb. *mᵉlāʾḵâ*), after which God rested (Gen. 2:2f.), set forth another aspect of the event of creation, the close involvement of the Creator with what He creates. A common anthropomorphic figure refers to what God has created as the work of His hands (e.g., Job 10:3 [*yᵉgîʿa*]; 14:15; 34:19; Ps. 8:6 [MT 7]; 28:5 [*pᵉʿullâ*]; 102:25 [MT 26]; 138:8; Isa. 19:25; 29:23; 45:11; cf. Ps. 8:3 [MT 4]; Isa. 45:12). When personified Wisdom speaks of God's work of creation (Prov. 8:22-31), it speaks of itself as a "master workman" by God's side (v. 30 [*ʾāmôn*]; AV "one brought up"). *See* CREATOR.

That God does His work is the presupposition of human beings' reception of revelation and salvation. Just as creation brought the human race into being, so also its experience of God's redemption does not begin with human seeking or working, but with the work of God on its behalf. "The works of God" are, therefore, the works of redemption as well as the works of creation, and include the deliverance of the people of Israel from Egypt (Ex. 14:13, 31 [*yāḏ*]; Dt. 11:7; Josh. 24:31; Jgs. 2:7, 10; Ps. 74:12 [*pāʿal*]; 77:14 [MT 15]; 95:9 [*pōʿal*]; 106:7 [*pālāʾ*], 13), the giving of the law (Ex. 32:16), His driving out the inhabitants of Canaan before Israel (34:10), and His other acts done for deliverance of Israel (e.g., 1 S. 14:6; Jer. 51:10). The work of God the Redeemer in general, without reference to any particular actions, is often referred to (Dt. 32:4 [*pōʿal*]; 1 Ch. 16:9 [*pālāʾ*]; Ps. 33:4; 46:8 [MT 9, *pāʿal*]; 73:28 [*mᵉlāʾḵâ*]; 77:12 [MT 13, *pōʿal*]; 78:7 [*maʿᵃlāl*]; Isa. 43:13 [*pāʿal*]).

Since it is often by miraculous or extraordinary events that God's actions on behalf of His people are recognized, God is known as one who does mighty works and works wonders (Dt. 3:24; Jgs. 13:19; 1 Ch. 16:12, 24 [*pālāʾ*]; *see* MIRACLE; SIGN; WONDER). When individuals ask for God's intervention in their own troubles, they ask for God to work (Ps. 90:16 [*pōʿal*]; cf. 88:10 [MT 11]); when they have been helped they are grateful for His work(s) (Ps. 92:4f. [MT 5f., *pōʿal, maʿᵃśeh*]). In Hab. 3:2 the prophet expresses his awe of God's redemptive work (*pōʿal*) and asks God to renew it. Ps. 111 is a litany of praise to God for His works (*maʿᵃśeh, pōʿal, niplāʾâ*) of providence and redemption (cf. Pss. 107 [*pālāʾ*], 145).

Judgment as well as redemption can be called the work of God (Isa. 5:19; 10:12; Jer. 48:10 [*mᵉlāʾḵâ*]; 50:25 [*mᵉlāʾḵâ*]), but Isa. 28:21 shows that for those who believed in God's salvation of His people, judgment of Judah could only be understood as God's "strange deed" (*zār maʿᵃśeh*) and "alien work" (*nāḵrîâ ʿᵃḇōḏâ*; cf. Hab. 1:5 [*pōʿal*]).

According to Prov. 16:11 honest weights are God's "work"; standard weights were often authorized by a king, but the effort to maintain honesty in the matter of weights gives to them the authorization of God Himself. Qoheleth speaks of the work of God as that which is irresistible because it comes from the sovereign one (Eccl. 7:13; cf. Isa. 43:13) and as that which cannot be understood by human beings (Eccl. 8:17; 11:5).

B. In the Gospel of John. A matter of significant concern in the Gospel of John is the interconnection between the works of God and the works of Jesus (terms used are Gk. *érgon* and *ergázomai*). Jesus' presence in the world is the particular occasion for the works of God to be made manifest (Jn. 9:3); when Jesus is no longer present, that occasion will be gone (v. 4). Jesus' life has no other purpose than to do the work God has given Him to do (4:34; cf. 17:4). Because "the Father" works on the sabbath, Jesus works on the sabbath (5:16f.; cf. Lk. 13:14-16).

A fundamental reason for this concern for the interconnection between God's works and Jesus' works is the idea that miraculous works should give attestation to anyone who seeks to be heard as a spokesman for God (cf. Jn. 5:36; 6:30; 7:3; 10:37f.). Jesus takes this further: the works He does should attest to the mutual indwelling of Jesus and the Father (14:10f.) and to the very nature of the Father (15:24). But this proves to be ineffective with many, those who do not believe (10:25f.) and who seek to do away with Jesus (vv. 32f.).

There is also concern in the Gospel of John for the relationship between the works of God and the person who has been exposed to the message of Jesus. The response that is called for by the message — that which means that a person's works are done "in God" (Jn. 3:21) or that he does the works of God (6:28) — is a response of belief in Jesus (6:29). The works of healing done through Jesus point beyond themselves; "greater works" will be done, first of all, in that Jesus will give life to those who believe, (5:20f.) and second, in that those who believe will themselves do even greater works than Jesus has done (14:12).

For the "mighty works" of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels and in Acts (e.g., Mt. 11:20; Acts 2:22) *see* POWER II.

C. Through the Church. Because God's redemption is present in the spread of the gospel and in the Church, the

writers of some of the NT epistles speak quite freely of their own missionary activity and the activity of the churches as products or evidences of God's working (*energéō, érgon, synergéō, synergós, kopiáō*). Thus God works through Peter and Paul in their preaching of the gospel (Gal. 2:8; cf. 1 Cor. 16:10; Phil. 2:30); preachers of the gospel can be called God's co-workers (1 Cor. 3:9; 2 Cor. 6:1; cf. 1 Cor. 16:16); God works miracles among the Galatian Christians (Gal. 3:5); God or His Spirit or His word is at work in believers to accomplish His purposes (Eph. 3:20; Phil. 1:6; 2:13; 1 Thess. 2:13; He. 13:21); service for the Church can be called work "in the Lord" (Rom. 16:12 [cf. v. 6]; 1 Cor. 9:1); and the peace and growth together of the Christian community is the work of God (Rom. 14:20). In a generalized closing exhortation Paul refers to the work of the Church as "the work of the Lord" (1 Cor. 15:58).

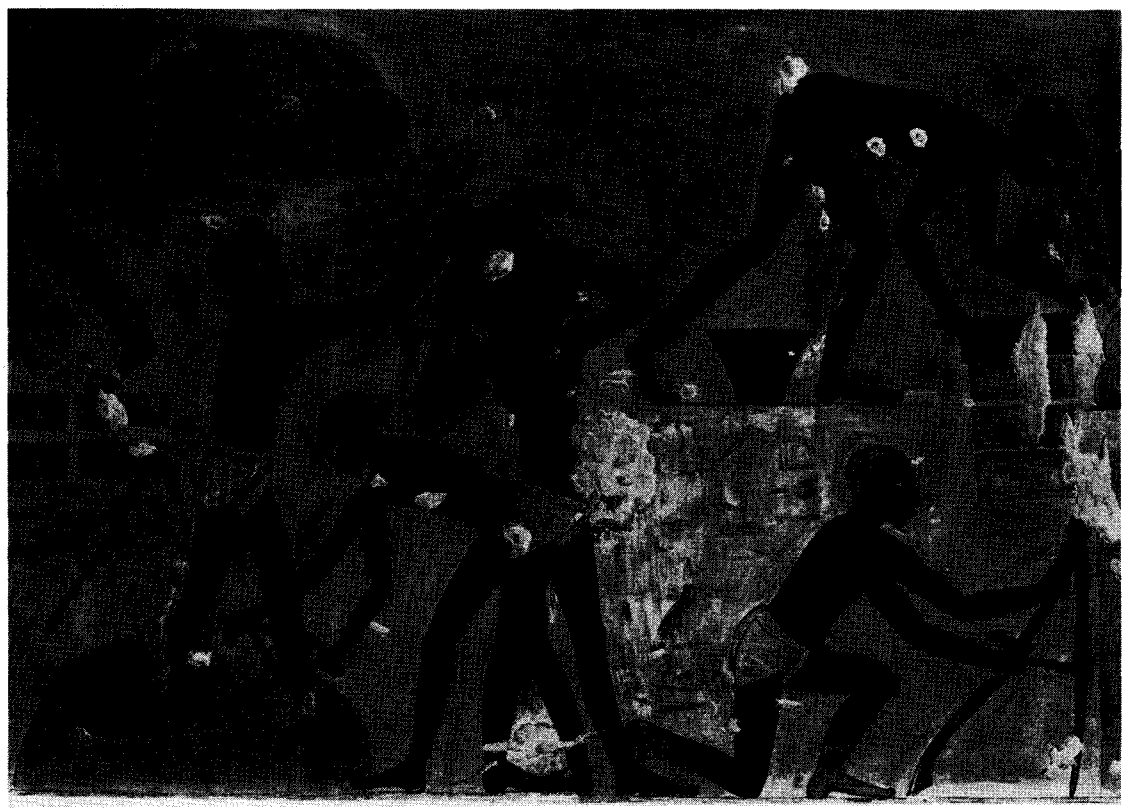
III. Works of the Law and Good Works. Basic to Paul's understanding of the state of affairs brought about by the coming of the eschatological age of salvation is that faith in Jesus Christ is the one condition for the reception of the justification that God has effected. Because of the circumstances that arose among Gentile Christians (partly, at least, as a result of the activity of Jewish Christian missionaries who attempted to bring Gentile Christians more completely into the Jewish fold), Paul set up an opposition between God's calling and faith in Christ, on the one hand, and "works of the law" (sometimes just "works"; Gk. *érga [nómou]*), on the other hand (Rom. 3:20, 27–4:6; 9:11, 32; Gal. 2:16; 3:2-12; Eph. 2:8f.; 2 Tim. 1:9). The problem with works of the law is that they can bring into a person a sense that what he or she receives from God is due as payment, in effect, for the person's working (Rom. 4:4f., *ergázomai*).

This opposition between justification and works seems to be consciously broken down in Jas. 2:14-26. While the most important aspect of the solution to this apparent conflict between Paul and James is the recognition that "faith" bears a different meaning for James than it does for Paul, it should also be said that "works" are not for James "works of the law" by which one vainly hopes to win God's favor, as they are in Paul's exposition of justification by faith. They are, rather, the works of charity that Paul and every NT writer expect as the outcome of faith in Christ. *See* JAMES, EPISTLE OF I.B.3; JUSTIFICATION.

"Works" is, indeed, a characteristic term in the activist view of the life of the Christian and of the Christian community found in the NT. There are "works of darkness" (Rom. 13:12; Eph. 5:11), "works of the flesh" (Gal. 5:19), "dead works" (He. 9:14), "works of the devil" (1 Jn. 3:8), and "wicked work" (2 Jn. 11). But there are also "good works" (Acts 9:36; 2 Cor. 9:8; Eph. 2:10; Col. 1:10; 2 Thess. 2:17; 1 Tim. 2:10; 5:10, 25; 6:18; 2 Tim. 2:21; 3:17; Tit. 1:16; 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14; He. 10:24; 1 Pet. 2:12; RSV sometimes "good deeds"), the "work of the Lord" (1 Cor. 15:58; 16:10), the "work of ministry" (Eph. 4:12), the "work of faith" (1 Thess. 1:3; 2 Thess. 1:11), and "any honest work" (Tit. 3:1).

This distinction between good and evil works comes to have eschatological significance with the assumption of Paul and other NT writers that the final judgment will be a judgment of human "works" (Rom. 2:6; 1 Cor. 3:13-15; cf. Mt. 16:27; Gal. 6:4f.; Rev. 2:23, 26; *see* JUDGMENT, LAST VI). Jesus criticized those who would make an osten-

A wall painting from Egypt depicting brickmakers (facsimile from the tomb of Rekhmira, 18th Dynasty, Thebes) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

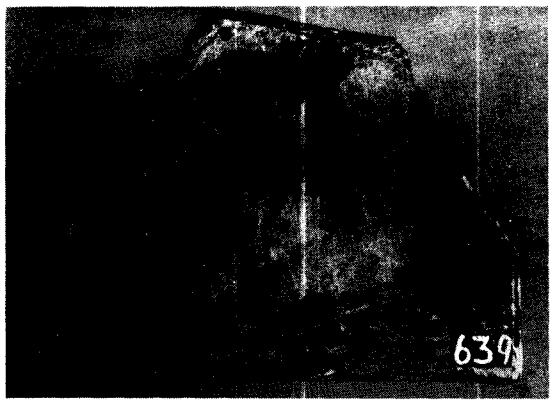


tatious show of good works (Mt. 23:5; RSV "deeds"), but He also regarded the visibility of His disciples' good works among people as a positive thing (5:16; cf. 1 Pet. 2:12).

IV. Daily Work and Occupations.–God is a worker, and He established people on earth to work (Gen. 2:5-8, 15, 18). The Bible maintains a positive view of people at work (*see* LABOR), while recognizing the results of the fall (3:19).

In urban settings persons of a particular craft would often be gathered into one neighborhood (Isa. 7:3; Jer. 37:21; cf. Neh. 11:35). But many forms of work were done in each household by nonprofessionals. The great majority of the population, especially those living outside cities, performed many tasks that might in other situations be identified with professionals. The life of the ordinary rural person might often be filled with a number of different tasks.

AGRICULTURE was, of course, basic to the economy of the biblical peoples. The growing of grain, vegetables, and herbs involved plowing (*see* PLOW), sowing (*see* SOW), cultivating, IRRIGATION, harvesting (*see* HARVEST), and, with grain, threshing (*see* THRESH; WINNOWING). Some of the tasks of viticulture are described in Isa. 5:1-6 (*see* VINE). Care for trees, such as Amos's work with sycamores (Am. 7:14), was also important. Of particular importance was the OLIVE TREE. Care of livestock was the occupation of many of the people of Israel, both when they were seminomadic (Gen. 46:34; 47:3) and after they had settled in Palestine, much of which is not suitable for crops. A wealthy man's riches could be measured in the number of his livestock, and he might have large numbers of herders working for him (Job 1:3; *see* CATTLE; GOAT; HERDSMAN; SHEEP). Food was also provided by fishermen (*see* FISH; FISHING) and hunters (*see* FOWLER; HUNTING).



A terra-cotta tablet depicting a miner at work. From Corinth, 6th cent. B.C. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antiken-Sammlung)

Preparing food — grinding grain, baking BREAD, butchering meat, and cooking (*see* COOK) — might be specialized occupations in wealthy households or, in the case of baking and butchering, also in cities. But for most people, these tasks were performed within the household. Much the same can be said with regard to winemaking (*see* WINE) and brewing of beer.

Like food preparation, the manufacturing of some items used in all or nearly all households was often done by each household for itself but in some circumstances by persons specializing in particular crafts. This includes the manufacture of cloth of plant and animal fibers (*see* SPINDLE; WEAVING), dyeing (*see* DYE; FULLER), and the making of GARMENTS. EMBROIDERY was used to decorate fine fabrics. Other work involving the use of plant and animal

A stevedore loading an amphora onto a Roman vessel. From a mosaic on a trading company floor at Ostia (1st cent. A.D.) (Superintendent of Ostia Archaeology)

fibers included carpet making and rope making (*see* ROPE). Pottery making (*see* POTTER) was another type of work that could be done by individuals for their own household but was quite often done by full-time potters (cf. Jer. 18:2-4). There were specialized potters, such as lamp makers. Basketry (*see* BASKET) was another such field of work.

Some branches of manufacturing were, by the time of the biblical narrative, done almost invariably by persons specializing in those fields. These included perfumery (*see* PERFUME), leather working (*see* LEATHER; TANNER; TENTMAKER), and GLASS manufacture and working. Metallurgy (*see* METAL) called for a number of specialized workers, including mining engineers, miners (*see* MINE), refiners (*see* REFINE; SMELTING), smiths to work the different metals (*see* SMITH), and jewelers (*see* JEWEL, JEWELER). Woodworking also involved a number of specialized workers from forest to finished product, including the carpenter, the carver (ivory was also carved), the furniture maker, and the boat builder.

Carpenters were also engaged in building, which involved a number of specialized workers and unskilled laborers (*see* BUILD). Among these were engineers and designers, brickmakers (*see* BRICK), stone quarriers, masons (*see* MASON), sculptors, and plasterers (*see* PLASTER). Some of the same occupations were also involved in building waterworks.

Goods produced and sold locally were generally sold by those who produced them; the potter sold pots, the silversmith sold objects of silver, etc. But when products were moved over great distances, another group of occupations comes into view, those involved with shipping and trade. In addition to the traders, shippers, and merchants themselves (*see* COMMERCE; MERCHANT) were those who worked for them, such as sailors and camel drivers. Trade over borders and other circumstances of a money economy necessitated the services of money changers and banks (*see* BANK, BANKING). Travelers were also served by innkeepers (*see* INN).

The services of magicians, diviners, and the like might be sought for a number of reasons (*see* DIVINATION; MAGIC), often for the same reasons as a PHYSICIAN (*see also* DISEASE) or an apothecary (*see* PERFUME) might be sought. There were full-time barbers (*see* BARBER). Midwives were called on at the time of birth, and the embalmer and the professional mourner when a person had died (*see* BURIAL). Writing was a professional skill that supported SCRIBES in most communities. Though much teaching might occur in the home, teaching was practiced as a full-time occupation by some (*see* EDUCATION; TEACH).

Many people were employed by rulers to contribute their skills to the task of governing and to serve the normally elaborate and wealthy households of rulers (*see* GOVERNMENT). A KING and subordinate rulers (*see* PRINCE; RULER) would normally have a number of advisors, including prophets (*see* PROPHET), diviners, and astrologers (*see* ASTROLOGY). Emissaries and interpreters aided communication among governments. Scribes were significant at all levels of government, as were judges (*see* JUDGE) and other local officials. Servants and slaves of widely varying status and duties, including court musicians (*see* MUSIC), dancers (*see* DANCE), cooks, servers, guards, and attendants, were a normal part of the households of rulers. Some of these servants might have authority in the functioning of the government. Tax collectors were either employed directly by the government or served contractually (*see* TAX; TAX COLLECTOR). A constant function of government was military defense and conquest, which involved people in a number of professional and nonprofessional occupations (*see* ARCHER; ARMOR-BEARER; ARMY; OFFICER; SOLDIER; WAR).

The corporate practice of religion in most communities involved full-time workers. This was particularly so since worship was almost invariably sacrificial. These included priests (*see* PRIESTS AND LEVITES), the various classes of those who assisted the priests, including the Levites and NETHINIM, cult prostitutes (*see* HARLOT), and prophets attached to the cult.

Wet-nursing (*see* NURSE) and prostitution were occupations filled, of course, only by women (though there were male cult prostitutes). Midwifery and mourning were also exclusively female occupations. In the normally patriarchal societies of the ancient Near East, most nonslave women filled the roles of wife and mother, which involved many of the tasks that have been named above, some of which were, indeed, usually done by women. If there were slaves or servants in the household, such a woman might bear much of the task of directing the work of the household. Few occupations were absolutely closed to women, but the woman who carried on an activity normally that of a man or who had the prominence attainable by men was rare (*see* WOMAN).

Begging and gleaning are distinguishable as occupations specifically of the non-slave poor (*see* POVERTY). Lastly, crime should be mentioned as a category of work.

See also CRAFTS; SERVANT; TOOLS.

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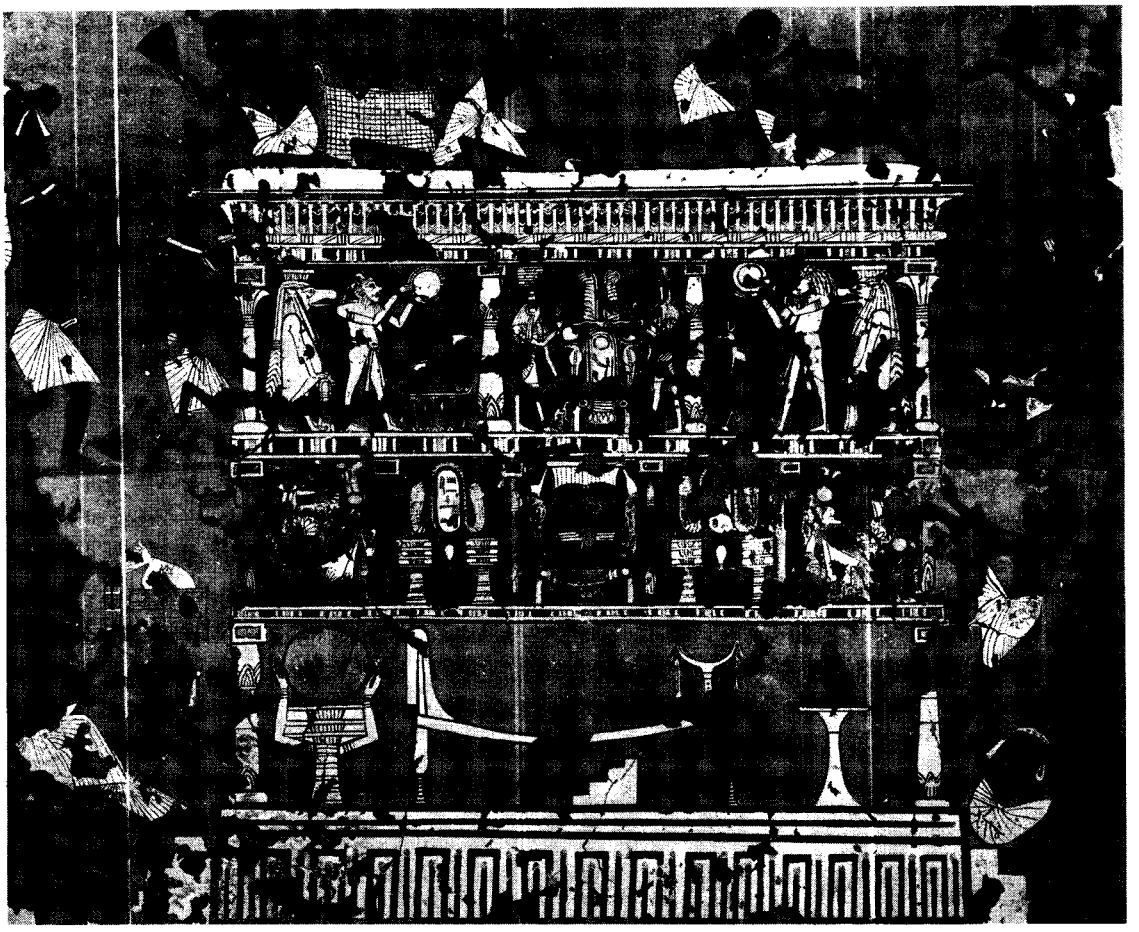
J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

WORKER; WORKMAN [participles of Hebrew vbs. *ʿāśâ* (often followed by *mᵉlāʾkâ*–'work'), *ḥāraš, ʿāḇaḏ, pāʿal,* and *yāṣar*; Hebrew nouns *ʿāmēl, ḥārāš, ʿaḇôḏâ, ḥāḵām, ʿeṣeḇ, ʾāmôn*; Gk. *ergátēs,* part. of *kopiō*]; AV also HE THAT WORKETH, HE THAT LABOURETH, CUNNING MAN, "them that wrought," "them that do the work"; NEB also ONE WHO WORKS, CRAFTSMAN, etc.; **FELLOW WORKER** [Gk. *synergós,* part. of *synergéō*]; AV also HELPER, WORKFELLOW, LABOURERS TOGETHER, FELLOWHELPER, COMPANION IN LABOUR, FELLOWLABOURER, ONE THAT HELPETH; NEB also FRIEND IN THE FELLOWSHIP, COLLEAGUE, ASSOCIATE, etc. RSV supplies "workers" in 1 Cor. 12:28.

Literal references to workers include those who made the tabernacle and its furnishings (Ex. 35:35; 36:8), those involved in the construction and repair of the temple (1 K. 7:14; 2 K. 12:14f. [MT 15f.]; 2 Ch. 34:10, 17; Ezr. 3:9), and craftsmen who made idols (Isa. 40:19; Hos. 8:6; Hab. 2:18). Typical figurative uses are "worker of treachery" (Ps. 52:2 [MT 4]), "workers of iniquity" (Job 31:3; Lk. 13:27), and "workers of evil" (Ps. 6:8 [MT 9]; 28:3). While Gk. *ergátēs* was commonly used of agricultural laborers and vine tenders (as in Mt. 9:37; 20:1), the NT uses it also for those who proclaim the gospel (Mt. 10:10; RSV "laborer"; 2 Tim. 2:15). Paul's opponents may have used this term of themselves; he refers to them as "deceitful workers" (2 Cor. 11:13). Paul spoke often of his co-workers, usually persons who were, like him, involved in itinerant ministry at least some of the time (Rom. 16:3, 9, 21; 1 Cor. 16:16; 2 Cor. 8:23; Phil. 2:25; 4:3; Col. 4:11; Philem. 1, 24; cf. 3 Jn. 8). It is possible but not certain that with "God's fellow workers" in 1 Cor. 3:9 Paul is referring to himself



Carpenters making a catafalque for the deified Amenhotep I. At upper right a comrade wakes up a sleeping fellow worker; and at lower left, a worker has his eyes made up. Facsimile of a wall painting from the tomb of Ipuy, 19th Dynasty (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

and Apollos as those who, figuratively speaking, work alongside God in their preaching and teaching.

See also WORK. L. D. HAWK

WORKMANSHIP. *See* WORK I.

WORLD.

I. In the OT
   A. Terms and General Meaning
   B. Creation and Cosmogony
II. In the Apocrypha
III. In the NT
   A. Terms and General Meaning
   B. In the Pauline Epistles
   C. In the Johannine Writings
IV. In the Early Church

I. In the OT.–A. Terms and General Meaning. The concept of world or cosmos in ancient Israelite religion stands, with the concepts of history and covenant, as an integral part of the framework within which His people understood the relationship with Yahweh. Unlike the Greek NT, where *kósmos* can indicate the entire created universe, the OT has no single Hebrew word for the "universe," but links *šāmayim* ("heavens") with *'ereṣ* ("earth") in what amounts to a technical term for the entire created order: *haššāmayim wᵉhā'āreṣ*. This phrase designates the entire created order in both Creation accounts (Gen. 1:1; 2:1, 4), in passages referring to God as ruler and possessor of all things (Gen. 14:19, 22; Ps. 89:11 [MT 12]), in subsequent references to the creative work of God (2 K. 19:15; Ps. 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6; Isa. 37:16; Jer. 32:17) and to the absolute power of God over His creation (Isa. 65:17; 66:1; Joel 2:30 [MT 3:3]; 3:16 [MT 4:16]; Hag. 2:6, 21), and also in oaths, commands, and prayers representing Yahweh as exclusive sovereign (Dt. 3:24; 4:26, 39; 5:8; 30:19; 31:28; 1 K. 8:23; Neh. 9:6). These uses of "the heavens and the earth" manifest the theological underpinnings of biblical cosmology. Scripture does not simply describe the world for its own sake, but it describes the world as belonging and as related to God.

In the concrete imagery characteristic of the OT, the universe was described as having three levels: the heavens, the earth, and the regions under the earth. On the one hand, this imagery was grounded in the ancient world view that Israel held in common with its neighbors. On the other hand, it was a vehicle for the expression of divine transcendence and immanence, a description of the theater of divine and human activity. This dual implication must be kept in mind by the reader of Scripture. First, the basic world view ought not to be juxtaposed to its disadvantage with that of modern science, but seen functionally

and practically as a description of the world simply as it appears to the eye and relates to the individual. The language of the three levels belongs not only to simple observation, but also to a profound feeling for the way the world is arranged around humanity and to poetic and religious insight. Second, since the language is frequently the expression of poetic and religious impressions of the world order, it ought not to be understood rigidly, as if all biblical descriptions of heaven and earth and the lower parts of the earth could be harmonized into a single structural portrait of the universe. This point will become clear in the following discussion of the three levels and the terms used to describe them.

The term "heavens," *šāmayim,* refers to all that is above the earth; the air and the clouds, the firmament, and the spaces above the firmament. In the Creation account (Gen. 1:6-8) the "firmament" (*rāqîa*ʿ) is called, by extension, "heaven" (v. 8), and is described as a vault that divides waters above from water below. On a theological level, this is a clear statement of the power of God over impending chaos, the power to create a stable world and to isolate the forces that would impinge destructively upon it. In the story of the Flood (Gen. 7–9) and in the Isaiah apocalypse (Isa. 24:18) the destruction of the sinful world is accomplished by God breaking the firmament, opening "the windows of (the) heavens," and allowing the waters above to inundate the earth in a resumption of chaos. On a purely physical and descriptive level, the OT writers are quite aware that rain comes from the clouds in the air under the firmament (Jgs. 5:4; Ps. 77:17), and they can even describe the water cycle of evaporation, cloud formation, and rain (Job 36:27f.). The FIRMAMENT itself is variously described as a solid vault (37:18) upon which the heavenly luminaries are fixed (Gen. 1:14-18) or as a tent or a curtain (Ps. 104:2; Isa. 40:22). Nor are the heavenly bodies always said to be "set" or fixed; they can be described as coursing through the heavens (Jgs. 5:20; Job 31:26; Ps. 19:5f.). In addition, the firmament may be described as resting on pillars (Job 26:11), perhaps signifying the strength and stability of its construction, or as resting upon the earth at the circle of the horizon (Prov. 8:27f.; cf. Job 26:10), implying a more visual picture of its structure.

The heavens are also the dwelling place of God (Ps. 11:4; 14:2; Eccl. 5:2; Lam. 3:50), and the imagery of pillars in the heavens may indicate the palace of God built in the "upper chambers" of the sky (Am. 9:6; cf. Ps. 104:3). Stadelmann (e.g., pp. 41f.) noted that Hebrew thought, as distinct from Babylonian, did not speculate concerning structures or levels in the heavens, although poetry could speak of "the highest heaven" (Ps. 148:4; Eccl. 16:16). Instead, references to God in the heavens point to the divine transcendence and to the demythologization process within the OT. HEAVEN is part of creation and its phenomena are under the control of Yahweh. He rages in anger and shakes the pillars of heaven. He transcends even the heavens: the "highest heaven" cannot contain Him (1 K. 8:27 par. 2 Ch. 6:18; Neh. 9:6). The very heavens can pass away, can "wear out like a garment," but God endures forever (Ps. 102:26f.). Despite the continuing language of a "heavenly court" (Job 1:6; 2:1; Ps. 82:1), heavenly beings such as gods of the sun and moon, rain and thunder are excluded. Ps. 82 actually describes the summoning of deities to the heavenly dwelling for their judgment and undoing at the hands of Yahweh.

The idea of an ordered, habitable world is conveyed by *ʾereṣ* and *tēḇēl.* The former term has several usages. It can occasionally be equivalent to *ʾăḏāmâ,* "ground"; it is a technical term for the land of the promise or for the territories of other nations and is used in such phrases as "the people of the land"; finally, as considered here, it indicates the habitable world, the sphere of divine and human activity (cf. Gen. 11:1, 4, 8f.; Ex. 9:14-16; Ps. 19:4 [MT 5]; 24:1; Isa. 18:3; etc.). Heb. *ʾerēṣ* (e.g., Isa. 10:14; 11:4; 24:4-6; Jer. 23:5; 33:25; Am. 5:7; 8:9), with *tēḇēl* (e.g., Ps. 9:8 [MT 9]; Isa. 13:11), is that portion of "the heavens and the earth" in which God and humanity relate under categories such as dominion, stewardship, covenant, and promise. Typical of ancient peoples, Israel could speak of the earth as a flat disk with the temple of God at its center (Jgs. 9:37; Ex. 38:12) or resting upon pillars sunk deep into the primeval sea below (Job 9:6; Ps. 24:1f.; 104:5-9). The expanse of the earth could be described as circular (Isa. 40:22) and as "dry land" encompassed by the ocean (Gen. 1:9f.) or, figuratively, as having "ends" or "corners" relating to the points of the compass (Isa. 11:12; Dt. 33:17; Job 37:3; Ps. 19:6 [MT 7]). *See also* EARTH.

More important than any physical description of *ʾereṣ,* or *tēḇēl,* is the sense of "world" as an orderly creation distinct from but always dependent upon Yahweh. Not only does the entire creation rest upon the will of Yahweh, but it also manifests His presence: "faithfulness will spring up from the ground, and righteousness will look down from the sky" (Ps. 85:11 [MT 12]). God, the creator and sustainer of the order, stands against chaos and for His creatures. He creates a world, a dry expanse of earth upon which humanity can flourish. His creation is also, as Knierim points out, a paradigm against which history and present-day humanity can be evaluated, indeed, the larger reality to which both humanity and its history belong. This theology of the created order in turn explains the sense of the world, found in the Prophets, as a sphere of existence tainted by human disobedience and either tending toward destruction or dramatic, apocalyptic redemption (Isa. 24; 65:17-25; Joel 2:10; 3:16-18 [MT 4:16-18]).

The final component in the structure of the world order is the underworld, which consists of the place of the dead (Heb. *šeʾôl*), the waters under the earth and, in the graphic language of ancient cosmology, the pillars upon which the earth itself is founded (cf. Job 38:4; Ps. 104:5; Prov. 8:29). In general terms, the underworld is called "the depths of the earth" (Ps. 63:10 [MT 11]; 139:15; Isa. 44:23; cf. Ezk. 26:20; 31:14, 16). This is a place of shadow, desolation, emptiness, distance, and even alienation from God. Heb. *šeʾôl,* the common grave of all the departed in which there is no praise and from which there is no escape, describes precisely this sense of alienation and half-existence. The waters under the earth, the *tᵉhôm,* also represent desolation, even the threat of chaos, for this is the primeval sea, the "deep" of Gen. 1:2 over which the Spirit moved before the formation of the dry land. Yet even this underworld cannot ultimately shut out the divine presence, for even in *šeʾôl* God's hand is felt (Job 11:7-9; 26:5f.; Ps. 139:8; Prov. 15:11). *See also* NETHER WORLD; SHEOL.

Other terms, occasionally translated as "world," such as *ḥelēḏ* (Ps. 17:14; 49:1 [MT 2]; Isa. 38:11) and *ʿôlām,* "indefinite time" (Eccl. 3:11 and Ps. 73:12, AV only), have some interest insofar as they indicate the transitory character of worldly life and approximate the meaning of Gk. *aiṓn.* They do not contribute greatly to the OT conception of "world."

B. Creation and Cosmogony. The OT contains two cosmogonies or CREATION accounts (Gen. 1:1–2:4a and 2:4b-7) and numerous other cosmogonic passages (e.g., Job 38; Ps. 104; Prov. 8:22-31; Isa. 45:18). All maintain the distinction between God and His creation and the absolute dependence of the created order upon God. The cosmogony in Gen. 1:1–2:4a can be elucidated in its relation

to the cosmogony of the Babylonian epic *Enuma Elish*. In the Babylonian account the lineage and descent of the gods (theogony) precedes the cosmogony as a prologue, setting the stage for the idea of a world. Genesis knows only the one God. Commentators differ over the punctuation of Gen. 1:1, but if it is taken as a separate sentence, summarizing and defining the work of creation, it stands in agreement with the general perspective of Israelite religion on the sole sovereignty of Yahweh insofar as it will allow no preexistent materials over against God. Genesis, in contrast to *Enuma Elish*, presents no cosmic battle and no production of the material order from the bodies of defeated deities. The structure of the universe is much the same in both documents — the heavens and the firmament, the earth and the lower regions — but the interpretation is entirely different. Genesis refers to the "deep" (*tᵉhôm*) as a chaotic waste upon which God acts creatively, whereas the Babylonian cosmogony refers to the defeat of the goddess Tiamat and the rise in power of the Babylonian pantheon. The philological relation between Heb. *tᵉhôm* and Tiamat alone remains — and that may be part of a purposeful demythologization underlying the biblical narrative. Israel's neighbors viewed the heavenly bodies, the great sea-creatures, and the animal life of air and earth mentioned in the narrative as gods. Here they are all manifest as creatures dependent upon God. The narrative stands as an anti-theogony. Creation comes into being by divine fiat. God is not part of the world process.

The second Creation narrative, assigned by higher criticism to the older, "Yahwistic" source, states briefly the fact of God's creative act (2:4b) and passes on immediately to discuss the place of humanity in the created order. Whereas the first narrative introduces man (male and female) as the apex of creation, given dominion in God's image, this account presents man as a steward or caretaker whose tilling of the soil parallels and supplements the divine gift of rain. If the first narrative argues human power with responsibility to God, this narrative argues responsibility coupled with partnership.

Also worthy of independent mention is the cosmogony included in the great theophany of Job 38. The underlying theme of the passage is the omnipotence and transcendence of God. The cosmos itself appears to Job as an impenetrable mystery: he did not exist when the foundations of the world were laid and lacks understanding (38:4). But the God who announces the mystery was there as creator and orderer; He is beyond the mystery of origins: transcendent, incomprehensible.

II. In the Apocrypha.—In 2 Maccabees and Wisdom, the term *kósmos* first appears as a reference to the material world, the place of human life (2 Macc. 7:23; 13:14; Wisd. 1:14; 5:20; 7:17; 9:3). Following the Genesis narrative, God is termed "creator of the world" (2 Macc. 13:14) and man is denominated the delegated ruler whose task is to superintend the world "in holiness and righteousness" (Wisd. 9:3). We see here on the one hand a philosophical conception of a world order, *kósmos*, which crystallizes in Hebrew thought with the adoption of the Greek language (Wisd. 11:17; cf. 9:1ff.), and on the other, a norm of created goodness, an expectation of righteousness. The latter idea develops into a sense of world-corruption because of human sin (14:13, 21). Here, too, we encounter explicit reference to the devil and his envy as the beginning of death in the world (2:24).

Two important developments in cosmology also occur in the Apocrypha. Wisd. 11:17 states that the "all-powerful hand" of God created the world out of "formless matter" (*amórphou hýlēs*). 2 Macc. 7:28 is also an explicit reference to creation *ex nihilo*. Both passages ought to be viewed as doctrinal extrapolations within the bounds of the Creation account in Gen. 1. Eichrodt (II, 102) argues that creation *ex nihilo* is the correct conclusion to be drawn from the text. Wisdom's conception of the creative informing of formless matter may have affinities with Platonic philosophy, but it also fairly represents the biblical view of God ordering the primeval chaos. Rather than seeing here a clash of Hebrew and Greek world views, we should set aside the inaccurate dichotomy and think in terms of a natural affinity of thought forms resting on the common oriental background of Hebrew and Greek cultures and on the profound interpretation of ancient cultures that took place at least as early as the 8th cent. B.C.

III. In the NT.—A. Terms and General Meaning. The term most frequently translated as "world" in the RSV NT is Gk. *kósmos*. This is significant in view of the preference of the LXX for *gḗ* (the usual equivalent for Heb. *'ereṣ*) and *oikouménē* (generally rendering Heb. *tēbēl*). In the first place, *kósmos* has a broader meaning than *gḗ* and can more easily refer to the entire material universe; second, *oikouménē* functioned in NT times as a term for the Greco-Roman world and was restricted in its use. This restriction is clearly seen in Luke (2:1; 4:5) and Acts (17:6; 19:27; 24:5). In the frequent Pauline references to "world," *oikouménē* occurs only in Rom. 10:18, which is a quotation from the LXX. Third, a shift in usage had already occurred in between the LXX (*ca.* 280 B.C.) and Wisdom (*ca.* 50 B.C.), with *kósmos* replacing *oikouménē* as the favored term. This shift can be explained by the above reasons, compounded with the preference of Greek philosophy for *kósmos* in passages signifying the material universe. In addition to these terms, the NT also occasionally uses *aiṓn*, "age," in a sense that can be rendered "world."

The NT uses the term *kósmos* in three distinct ways. First, it can denote the universe or world order that God created according to His purposes; it is, therefore, the place where His eternal plan is put into operation (cf. Mt. 24:21; 25:34; Lk. 11:50; Rom. 1:20). The fullest cosmological reference and most positive use of *kósmos* as the material universe is surely Paul's Areopagus speech, "the God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth . . ." (Acts 17:24). The passage draws on ideas familiar to the Greek mind — Paul cites the poet Aratus (v. 28) — but it also echoes the language of the OT cosmology in the equation of *kósmos* with "heaven and earth." This use of *kósmos* also frequently includes reference to the work of Christ as part of the underlying pattern and meaning of the created order (Lk. 11:50; Eph. 1:4; Heb. 4:3; 9:26; 1 Pet. 1:20), thereby associating the work of creation with the work of redemption.

Second, *kósmos* can be used in the sense of *oikouménē*, in reference to the habitable world. This usage appears in the Synoptic Gospels, e.g., "all the kingdoms of the world" in Mt. 4:8 (*kósmos*) and its parallel in Lk. 4:5 (*oikouménē*). There is also some relation between this usage and an ethical usage (see below). Jn. 16:28 says that Jesus is "come into the world" and is "leaving the world." And children are "born into the world" (16:21; cf. 1:9; 3:19; 1 Cor. 5:10). These references may simply indicate the world of humanity, but they may also have overtones of a world in need of redemption.

Third, *kósmos* indicates the ethical order in which human responsibility and human sinfulness stand in relationship to God. Thus "world" can have a highly negative connotation, indicating a place of corruption, a place antagonistic and antipathetic to God, a place in the grip of the demonic "powers." It is, nevertheless, the very place that God has chosen as the theater of redemptive activity,

an activity that takes place in the midst of human history. This third meaning is the principal theological usage in the Pauline and Johannine writings.

The noun *oikouménē* translated in the RSV as "world" appears only fifteen times in the NT, eight times in Luke-Acts. The whole *oikouménē* is taxed (Lk. 2:1). When Satan offers political power to Christ, he offers the kingdoms of the *oikouménē* (4:5), and the apostles are viewed as radicals who disturb the political status quo in the *oikouménē* (Acts 17:6; 19:27; 24:5). The word points in two directions: first, the Greco-Roman world and the realms of political powers, and second, by extension, a realm of satanic dominion. By way of exception, Mt. 24:14 refers to the preaching of the gospel throughout the whole *oikouménē*, and He. 2:5 refers to the coming *oikouménē* as subject to Jesus. Matthew refers simply to the inhabited world, and if Hebrews gives the word a political connotation, that connotation is not negative. Three other references (Rev. 3:10; 12:9; 16:14) use the term to denote the political world as perverted by Satan and the demons.

By way of contrast with the two preceding terms, *aiōn*, refers not to the spatial world but to the world viewed from the perspective of time. The sphere of human activity and of bondage to sin is the present "age." An important theological connection between *aiōn* and the third meaning of *kósmos* appears in the phrase, "the age of this world," *tón aiōna toú kósmou toútou* (Eph. 2:2; cf. 1 Cor. 1:20), during which disobedience rules. Whereas the *kósmos*, God's creation, will be redeemed from its sins, this *aiōn*, in which sin, death, and devil rule, will pass away. In language of great contrasts, the NT juxtaposes the rulers, wisdom, and evils of this age with the godliness, blessing, and divine rule of the age to come (Mt. 12:32; Mk. 10:30; Lk. 18:30; 2 Cor. 4:4; Gal. 1:4). *Aiōn* tends to have a more fully ethical connotation than *kósmos*, since "this age" can be totally identified as the antithesis of the coming kingdom.

B. In the Pauline Epistles. Paul is so certain of the sovereignty of God in His creation that, despite the presence of sin and the demonic "powers," he can view the entire created order as given to humanity for its use. Nothing is ultimately forbidden as unclean (1 Cor. 10:23-31; Rom. 14:14, 20). In accord with this principle Paul can speak positively of the *kósmos* as the place where the gospel bears fruit (Col. 1:6) and as the object of the divine work of reconciliation (Rom. 11:15; 2 Cor. 5:19; 1 Tim. 1:15). Nevertheless, the *kósmos* is so tainted that it lies under judgment (Rom. 3:6; 19; 1 Cor. 6:2). The whole creation (*ktísis*) groans "in travail" awaiting redemption (Rom. 8:21f.), but this new cosmic birth, under judgment, is so radical that Paul can also state that "the form of this world is passing away" (1 Cor. 7:31). It may be a sign of the depth of sin that Paul does not speak of a new or renewed *kósmos*.

This problematic nature of the *kósmos* as presently experienced accounts for the majority of Pauline references to *kósmos*. The world, given to the human race for its use, has been perverted through its fall and sin (Rom. 5:12-21). The *kósmos* now is the place of sin, sorrow, and bondage to the powers (4:15; 5:11; 1 Cor. 2:12; 5:10; 6:2; 7:31; Gal. 4:3). Its very patterns of thought contrast radically with the truth and wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:20, 21, 27; 4:9, 13). A "spirit of the world" exists (2:12) that is not from God. In view of this dichotomy, Christians must not be of the world even though they dwell in it. Christians belong to Christ (3:21-23) and are conquerors of the powers (Rom. 8:31-39; Col. 2:8-15). They therefore live in a paradoxical relation to the world: they "mourn as though they were not mourning" and "deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it" (1 Cor. 7:30f.).

C. In the Johannine Writings. Much like Paul, John describes Christians as present in the world (Jn. 17:11) but liberated from its darkness by the Son, who is the "light" sent into the world (12:46). Neither the world nor the things of the world ought to be loved by Christians. The *kósmos* and its lusts are not of the Father, but will pass away (1 Jn. 2:15-17). Bultmann (II, 17) explains this antithesis as resting on a pre-Christian Gnostic dualism; and it is undeniable that John's Gospel contains profound contrasts of God and world, divine truth and worldly falsehood, God's light and cosmic darkness. Nevertheless, the dualism is not absolute and does not rest upon a cosmogonic myth like those of the Gnostics. If the *kósmos* stands apart from God in darkness and ignorance (Jn. 1:5; 3:19; 12:35; 1 Jn. 2:8), it exists because of God and His word (Jn. 1:3, 10), and the Word incarnate has been sent into the *kósmos* to redeem it (1:29; 3:16-19; 12:46f.; 17:21, 23; 18:37). "This world" (*ho kósmos hoútos*), the present condition of things (8:23; 9:39; 11:9), lies under the rule of the devil (12:31; 14:30; 16:11), but he and his rule are presently under judgment and are being "cast out" (12:31). No power of the world can overcome the love of God for the world and for those in the world that He has chosen (3:16; 17:6-26). In John, as in Paul, we see an ambivalence toward the world, a sense of its evil, its rebellion from God, but also a reluctance, which stops short of dualism, to pronounce the *kósmos* as essentially evil. Judgment comes upon the unredeemable, but redemption is also available (cf. Rev. 3:10f.).

Implicit in the foregoing discussion of the NT view of "world" has been the absence from the NT of a fully stated cosmology or cosmogony. This fact ought never to obscure the concern of the NT for a positive view of the creation as God's handiwork and as the sphere of divine activity in which all things tend toward God despite the evils of the present age (Col. 1:15-20). Steck argued (*World and Environment*) that the saving work of Christ, the goal and climax of God's work, must be viewed within the framework and as the fulfillment of OT faith. The concentration of the NT upon the work of redemption does not exclude the cosmology of the OT but rather presupposes it.

IV. In the Early Church.—The negative sense of *kósmos* found in both John and Paul carries over into the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. In the Didache we find a radical dichotomy between the worldly "way of death" and the godly "way of life" (chs. 1–6). The same views appear in the Epistle of Barnabas (chs. 18–20). Life under the imminent threat of persecution and death was conducive to the equation of world, the Greco-Roman *oikouménē*, with the domain of the powers. In the early 3rd cent. A.D., Tertullian (*De spectaculis* viii.9) could state the case simply: Satan and his angels filled the entire world (*totum saeculum*). But this negative view must be balanced against a positive concept of the divinely created world order, found as early as 1 Clement (ch. 20), *ca.* A.D. 95. Clement combined a sense of the harmony of the world order, possibly of Stoic origin, with a sense of the divine governance of the world and the relation of that benevolent governance to the greatest divine gift of peace and mercy in Christ Jesus.

The Apologists of the 2nd cent. provide more insight into early Christian cosmology than do the Apostolic Fathers. The biblical theme of divine transcendence is supplemented by Platonic and Stoic philosophy, with the result that the creation can be defined as a mediated work of God performed by the Logos. The Apologists thus con-

front the problem of interpreting biblical and philosophical cosmologies in relation to one another. Justin Martyr (*ca.* 150 A.D.) manifested the opinion that the creation myth of Plato's *Timaeus* represents a contact between Greek and Hebrew culture and, indeed, a borrowing from the Mosaic account (*Apol.* i). Justin accepted Plato's teaching but modified it by denying the eternity of the world and identifying God as the sole ingenerate being. He accepted the philosophical premise that the divine work is the informing and ordering of matter without answering the implied question of a creation *ex nihilo* (chs. 59–60). Justin strongly represented the world as an order governed by the *Logos*. While these doctrines follow the more positive and philosophical pattern of Clement, Justin also taught the NT view of the *kósmos* as troubled and tainted, as ruled in this *aiṓn* by the powers or demons. The redemptive work of the Logos is of cosmic significance in that it is a victory over the powers and the reestablishment of the true wisdom of the world principle, the Logos (cf. chs. 14, 23, 46, 56).

From this period, Tatian's *Discourse to the Greeks* (A.D. 172) and Athenagoras's *A Plea for Christians* (A.D. 177) are noteworthy for their cosmological discussions. Tatian defined God as "alone without beginning" and "the beginning of things." He is the maker of all material things and of the forms of the material world. Tatian explicitly affirmed the creation *ex nihilo* by means of the Logos (cf. chs. 4–5). Athenagoras's cosmology stands in substantial agreement with Tatian, insisting that God is transcendent, beyond the world order, but sustaining it by His providential care. Athenagoras also added — a point of common knowledge in the classical world — that the world is spherical and "confined with the circles of heaven" (ch. 8). Athenagoras viewed this cosmology as proof of the oneness and sole rulership of God.

It is significant, and a sign of better grasp of meaning than often encountered in our age, that the fathers who held to a Ptolemaic theory of the spherical universe accepted also the bibical narrative of creation and its so-called three-level universe without worry over "scientific" problems. The fathers also accepted, as biblical, the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, quite against the philosophical tendencies of their day. Thus no matter how strong the influence of philosophy, the biblical doctrine of divine transcendence and of the priority of God over world was maintained. In general, the fathers of the 2nd cent. A.D. represented well the balance of the biblical teaching, while avoiding on the one side a Gnostic dualism, and on the other any loss of the NT sense of the sinfulness of the present age.

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WORLD, END OF THE. *See* ESCHATOLOGY.

WORLDLY [Gk. *kosmikós* (Tit. 2:12), *sarkikós* (2 Cor. 10:4), *psychikós* (Jude 19), elsewhere rendering variants of three whole phrases, *katá (tén) sárka*–'according to the flesh' (1 Cor. 1:26; 2 Cor. 1:17; 10:2f.; 11:18), *tḗ sarkí*–'in the flesh' (1 Cor. 7:28), *(tá) toú kósmou*–'(the things) of the world' (1 Cor. 7:33f.; 2 Cor. 7:10)]; AV also CARNAL, SENSUAL, ACCORDING TO THE FLESH, OF THE WORLD, etc.; NEB also EARTHLY, UNSPIRITUAL, BODILY, etc. The RSV here groups ideas expressed by a variety of words in the Greek, whereas the AV and (in part) the NEB preserve more of the verbal distinctions.

Both world and flesh (Gk. *kósmos, sárx*) are used in the NT in a variety of nuances ranging from neutral to negative, i.e., indicative of opposition to God. Thus in the *kósmos* word-group the "worldly" is opposed to the "godly" (*katá theón*) (2 Cor. 7:10), and to the things "of the Lord" (1 Cor. 7:34). The "world" in this sense denotes the whole human system of things as organized apart from the factor of God.

The derivatives of "flesh" are contrasted in varying ways with those of "spirit" (*pneúma*). "Flesh" sometimes stands for earthly life neutrally (Rom. 15:27; 1 Cor. 9:11; etc.), but its use in Rom. 7:14; 1 Cor. 3:1-3; etc. speaks of sinful humanity, separated from God. Similar contrasts are made between the "natural" (*psychikós*) and the "spiritual" (1 Cor. 2:14; 15:44, 46; Jude 19). In fact, the NT, and especially the Pauline Epistles, contains a series of overlapping expressions of the fundamental contrast between the divine and human orders (cf. also 1 Cor. 15:48f.; Gal. 5:16-26; Col. 3:2).

Thus the NT expressions of the idea of "worldliness" are fluid. Pagan or LXX usage provides no clear precedent; e.g., *kosmikós* is absent from the LXX, and *kósmos* itself figures mainly in later books. *Kósmios* always retains a favorable sense, "seemly," "dignified" (as in 1 Tim. 2:9; 3:2). In the fathers, however, *kosmikós* is more particularly "worldly," "secular."

The rendering "worldly" is appropriate where the stress is upon the practical outworking of standards unrelated to the fact of God. Thus believers may be worldly in this sense if their conduct is motivated by fallen human nature (1 Cor. 3:3).

See FLESH; WORLD.

See *TDNT*, III, *s.v.* κοσμικός (Sasse); IX, *s.v.* ψυχικός (Schweizer). C. J. HEMER

WORM [Heb. *tôlē'â* (Ex. 16:20; Dt. 28:39; Ps. 22:6 [MT 7]; Job 25:6b; Isa. 14:11d; 41:14; 66:24; Jonah 4:7), *rimmâ* (Ex. 16:24; Isa. 14:11c; Job 7:5; 17:14; 21:26; 25:6a), *sās* (Isa. 51:8); Gk. *skṓlēx* (Mk. 9:44, 46, 48), *skōlēkóbrōtos*–'eaten by worms' (Acts 12:23)]; RSV, NEB also MAGGOT (Job 25:6a; Isa. 14:11c); NEB also GRUB (Dt. 28:39; Isa. 51:8). The Hebrew words translated "worm(s)" do not refer to worms, properly speaking (e.g., earthworms, *Oligochaeta*), but to the larvae of various insects, especially flies (*Diptera*), beetles (*Coleoptera*), and butterfly-moths (*Lepidoptera;* the Hebrews did not regard butterflies and moths as separate types).

These "worms" fell into two categories: those which fed upon vegetation or non-animal matter (Ex. 16:20, 24; Dt. 28:39; Isa. 51:8; Jonah 4:7), and those which devoured decaying flesh (Job 7:5; 17:14; 21:26; 25:6; Ps. 22:6; Isa. 14:11; 41:14; 66:24; Mk. 9:44, 46, 48; Acts 12:23). With regard to the "worms" which infested old manna, MT uses both *tôlā'îm* (Ex. 16:20) and *rimmâ* (v. 24). The use of these two terms in parallel in reference to maggots (i.e., the larvae of flies) in Isa. 14:11 and Job 25:6 justifies the NEB translation "maggots" in Ex. 16:20, 24. Nevertheless, there is no indication that the manna in the wilderness was flesh, so that meal worms or the like might also have been meant. In either case, both the plural *tôlā'îm* and the collective noun *rimmâ* refer to the mass of moving larvae upon decaying matter and evoke a profound sense of revulsion. This sense is a recurring element

in the book of Job, and results in the use of these terms as expressions of deprecation. Thus Isa. 41:14 and Ps. 22:6 compare humanity, the highest form of created life, with the worm, which the Hebrews seem to have viewed as the lowest. Similarly, 1 Macc. 2:62 speaks of the sinner's wealth as turning into "dung and worms."

It is in the book of Isaiah, however, that one finds the most graphic allusions to the worm-infested end of those upon whom God's judgment falls. Thus it is said of the king of Babylon, brought down to Sheol, "maggots are beneath you, and worms are your covering" (14:11). Isa. 66:24 describes the eternal death of those who have rebelled against Yahweh: "Their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh."

This refrain is taken up in Mk. 9:48 (vv. 44, 46 are textually suspect, and accordingly have been dropped from the RSV, NEB, NIV, NASB, etc., though they are retained in the AV), where it also serves as a figure for eternal death. In both cases, "their worm" refers to the twitching, teeming mass of maggots, eternally gorging themselves upon the corpse. Herod Agrippa, who died suddenly in A.D. 44, is described in Acts 12:23 as having been "eaten by worms" (*skōlēkóbrōtos*). While this fate has not yet been medically determined, other Hellenistic authors mention men being eaten by worms (*skólēkes;* Lucian *Alexander the False Prophet* 59; Josephus *Ant.* xviii.6.5 [169]; 2 Macc. 9:9). *See* DISEASE IV.E.

For Mic. 7:17 (AV "worms") *see* CRAWLING THINGS.

See F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), pp. 73, 78. D. G. SCHLEY

WORMWOOD [Heb. *la'ᵃnâ* (Prov. 5:4; Jer. 9:15 [MT 14]; 23:15; Lam. 3:15, 19; Am. 5:7; 6:12); Gk. *apsínthion/ ápsinthos* (Rev. 8:11)]; AV also HEMLOCK (Am. 6:12); NEB also UPSIDE DOWN (Am. 5:7), POISON (6:12). Several plants in Palestine within the genus *Artemisia,* all of which are bitter in taste. Several species and varieties grow in Palestine, but those mentioned in the Bible are most likely *Artemisia herba alba* Asso, *A. Judaica* L., or *A. absinthium.* Used figuratively of bitter things, the term denotes the result of illicit sexual relations (Prov. 5:4), God's punishment due to sin (Jer. 9:15; 23:15; Lam. 3:15, 19), and perverted justice (Am. 5:7; 6:12). In Dt. 29:18 (MT 17) the AV translates Heb. *la'ᵃnâ* as "wormwood" (RSV "bitter") in a description of the bitter results of practicing idolatry. Also, Heb. *la'ᵃnâ* often parallels Heb. *rō'š,* a term that frequently refers to a bitter and poisonous herb (Dt. 29:18 [MT 17]; Jer. 9:15 [MT 14]; 23:15; Lam. 3:19; *see* GALL). In Rev. 8:11 "wormwood" describes the resultant quality of water into which the star named "wormwood" fell. R. H. Mounce said that "although wormwood itself is not poisonous, its bitter taste suggests death" (*Book of Revelation* [*NICNT,* 1977], p. 188).

See *DNTT,* II, 27-29; *MPB,* pp. 48f. G. L. K.

WORSHIP.

I. Definition and Word Usage
  A. Hebrew
  B. Greek
II. Patriarchal Period
III. Mosaic Worship and the Exodus
IV. Settlement in Canaan
V. Davidic Period
VI. Psalms
  A. Their Collection and Function
  B. Types and Styles of Psalms
VII. From Solomon to the Exile
VIII. Exile and Restoration
  A. Developments in Worship
  B. Place of Law
IX. Early Judaism (200 B.C.–A.D. 100)
  A. Hellenism
  B. Worship in NT Times
X. Jewish Inheritance in the Temple and Synagogue
  A. Praise
  B. Prayers
  C. Instruction
XI. Prayers and Praises of the NT
  A. Contents of Prayers and Praises
  B. Corporate Prayer in the Epistles
  C. Special Words for Prayer
XII. Hymns and Spiritual Songs
  A. Nativity Hymns
  B. Distinctive Christian Compositions
    1. Ephesians 5:14
    2. 1 Timothy 3:16
    3. Philippians 2:6-11
    4. Colossians 1:15-20
    5. Hebrews 1:3
XIII. Early Creeds and Confessions of Faith
XIV. Baptism in Jesus' Teaching
  A. He Submitted to Baptism
  B. He Sanctioned Baptism
  C. He Interpreted Baptism
  D. He Commanded Baptism
XV. Apostolic Practice of Baptism
  A. Baptism in Acts
    1. In the name of Jesus
    2. Coming of the Spirit
    3. Spiritual Effects
    4. Summary
  B. Paul's Doctrine of Baptism
XVI. Background and Significance of the Upper Room Supper
  A. Words of Institution
  B. New Covenant
  C. Command to Repeat
XVII. Paul's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper
  A. Fellowship
  B. Remembrance
  C. Future hope
XVIII. Some Theological Aspects of Christian Worship
  A. The Holy Spirit and Jesus' Lordship
  B. Role of the Spirit
  C. Aspects of NT Worship
    1. Charismatic
    2. Didactic
    3. Eucharistic
  D. Conclusion

Worship as traced in both the OT and NT originates in salvation-history (*Heilsgeschichte*); i.e., worship begins with God. God the creator, the rescuer, and the redeemer initiates our human approach to Him. The remembered events of the Exodus, the Passover, the crucifixion, and the Resurrection evoke a response from God's people. The response is worship. Hence, worship originates with God in its theological roots as opposed to anthropological initiation from the human side.

I. Definition and Word Usage.—The origins of the word "worship" aid in defining its meaning and usage. "Worship" is from the Saxon/Old English word "weorthscipe" or "weordhscipe," which means "worthship" or worthiness. This connotes actions motivated by an attitude that reveres, honors, or describes the worth of another person or object. In the context of the OT and NT worship refers

specifically to worship of the divine. Worship is seen as reverent devotion and service to God motivated by God's saving acts in history.

A. Hebrew. While no one Hebrew term is an equivalent for worship, many Hebraic ideas define the activity of worship in the OT. The verb *'ābad* means "serve"; the corresponding noun means "service, adoration." *Hištaḥᵃwâ* is another verb in the liturgical vocabulary that means "prostrate oneself" (cf. *TDOT*, IV, 248-256). The Hebrew terms that are used synonymously for the word worship are verbs that indicate some type of activity.

See OBEISANCE.

B. Greek. The Greek word *proskynéō* is probably the term most closely related to the English word "worship." This word depicts the posture of kissing the ground, a reverent act used mainly in reference to worship of a deity. The NT seldom uses this word, perhaps because of its close connection with pagan worship. The word demands a visible act, a concrete gesture of reverence to a visible deity. The image is used in the Synoptic Gospels and in the eschatological references of Revelation. Since apostolic worship is a joyous experience, the key here is one of glad access to God rather than an uncertainty and dread in His presence.

The *gónу* ("knee")/*gonypetéō* ("bend the knee") word-group reflects a GESTURE of worship. From the Latin form of this word we get the English word "genuflect," meaning the bending of the knee or even full prostration. This gesture of worship expresses an inner attitude of humility and self-abasement. OT usage illustrates a broader context than the cultic setting of worship. 2 K. 1:13 and 1 Ch. 29:20 respectively record men falling on their knees before holy men and the king. 1 K. 8:54 and Dnl. 6:10 describe this position as a worship position before Yahweh. The NT uses *gónу* and *gonypetéō* to depict the act of bowing the knee in prayer to God (Lk. 22:41), making petitions to the Lord (Mt. 17:14), greeting a teacher (Mk. 10:17), and paying homage to the pagan deity Baal (Rom. 11:4), and to Jesus (Lk. 5:8). The word connotes an inner attitude of adoration, respect, and humility spontaneously expressed in a physical manner.

The *latreúō* ("serve")/*latreía* ("service") word-group refers to the offering of sacrifice or service with no thought of reward. Generally this term refers to specific cultic preparations. Dt. 10:12, however, roots this service in a deep commitment of the heart. The OT view reflects the holistic nature of service and sacrifice to Yahweh. The lack of this commitment in later cultic worship was the major complaint of the prophets (esp. Hosea and Jeremiah). In its best sense, service to Yahweh has a cultic and ethical expression that involves the whole of the worshiper's life. The OT uses this word in reference to specific acts of service: the service of prayer and fasting, the service of work, and the specific service ministries of the temple priests (Nu. 16:9; Josh. 22:27). The NT also emphasizes the demand from God for service in a totally committed way. The apostle Paul insisted on the need of dedication of one's whole life, which includes both the inward motivational aspect and the outward expression of cultic devotion (Rom. 12:1f.). True service must include both.

The definition of service also can be applied to the *leitourgía* ("service")/*leitourgéō* ("serve") word-group. This term generally refers to service rendered on behalf of a people or a nation. It has a technical meaning in the Greek mystery cults. Liturgies were performed to the gods. The word had an official governmental aspect when it spoke of compulsory service rendered in state or community. This general or classical aspect of the word is not used in the LXX. By this time the word referred to God, His temple, tabernacle, or altar as the object of the liturgy. A liturgy was rendered to God in the form of a public service on behalf of the whole people. Owing to the sacrificial connotations associated with this word it was not used much in NT description. Most of the NT examples (Lk. 1:23; He. 9:21; 10:11) pick up the OT usage.

Worship, then, is the dramatic celebration of God in His supreme worth in such a manner that His "worthiness" becomes the norm and inspiration of human living. Defined in this way worship (1) places God at the center because of His worthiness; (2) avoids the tyranny of subjectivism; (3) allows for the reexamination of the self in the light of God's knowledge of us. From the beginning Israel's worship is a response to Yahweh for the acts He has performed in its history. Israel's whole history is a life of "co-existence with God," a partnership in a historical drama. The emphasis is on Yahweh as the initiator, but Israel responds. The people address Yahweh in a personal way. They offer praise, ask questions, complain about suffering, and converse with Him about all the issues of life. This conversation of worship is recorded throughout the Scriptures, binding Jewish history together in celebration of this relationship with the Creator God. In the NT church the emphasis falls on the historical acts of the triune God, with the central focus on the incarnation, the cross, and exaltation of Jesus Christ the Lord, made real by the Holy Spirit (Eph. 1:3-14; 2:18).

II. Patriarchal Period.—The book of Genesis records the history of Israel's ancestors from their nomadic beginnings. Abraham was called by Yahweh to leave his country and travel to a new land. A promise was given to Abraham that his name would be great and his family would become a mighty nation (Gen. 12). These themes originate in Genesis and weave throughout the whole of Israel's history. The fulfillment of these promises became the impetus for the people's response of worship and thanksgiving.

At Hebron, Abraham built the first altar to Yahweh in thanksgiving for the promise of the land (Gen. 13:18). Worship was offered to Yahweh after Abraham defeated the four kings (14:17-24). The worship was "led" by Melchizedek, "the priest of God Most High." Bread and wine were part of the worship. Melchizedek pronounced a blessing on Abraham (cf. He. 7:1-3). Abraham responded by giving the high priest a tithe of everything he had. At this early offering of thankful worship to Yahweh, the basic elements of Israel's worship form were present. From its nomadic beginnings Israel's worship included theophanies, promises of the land, the practice of marking important places with an altar, the figure of a high priest, and a cultic celebration using bread and wine. The following chapter (Gen. 15) and the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22) rooted the cultic practice of sacrifice in Israel's tradition, though as a protest against human sacrifice.

III. Mosaic Worship and the Exodus.—Worship forms became more formalized in the book of Exodus. Yahweh's active intervention into Israel's history is characterized in the contest with Pharaoh. The deliverance from Egypt embodied the essence of Yahweh's relationship with His people; the "Song of Moses" (Ex. 15) enshrined deep-seated truths. One of Israel's great festivals looks back to this experience of liberation. The remembrance of the Passover incorporates Jews of every generation as actual participants in the Mosaic Exodus (Mish. *Pesahim* x.1-9).

Despite their murmurings through the desert wanderings the Israelites learned to know Yahweh as He provided food for them and called them His own. The desert experience became in later worship symbolic of God's

Gold leaf covers this bronze statue of a man kneeling in worship (2nd millennium B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

provision and care (Dt. 8:1-20). God's instructions for the building and arrangement of His dwelling in the tabernacle, and the details pertaining to the priesthood, the sacrifices, and the worship service were very specific. Many chapters of the Pentateuch are dedicated to the details of the tabernacle's construction (Ex. 25–31). Worship and the manner in which worship was offered were evidently extremely important to Yahweh.

The tent of meeting illustrated the mobility of Yahweh. Unlike the pagan gods who were deities of limited geographical areas, Yahweh went with His people as an ever-present reality through their wanderings. In the desert wanderings Yahweh led Moses and the people to Mt. Sinai. Here an encounter with Yahweh grounded Jewish worship in an event that would profoundly affect the rest of Judeo-Christian history. The covenant of the Sinai bound the whole nation of Israel to Yahweh. The nation received the law, i.e., the decalogue, and the book of the covenant, which would direct its future. The covenantal relationship and the commitment to the law of Yahweh became the stamp of Judaism. Ironically, what is one of the historic highpoints of Yahweh's relationship with His people also revealed the sin and the alien worship that God's people were tempted to embrace later (Ex. 32). The golden calf became a reminder of the syncretistic nature of God's people. From this point forward "false" versus "true" worship would be a theme for the worshipers of Yahweh.

The event of the Exodus was a fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham (Gen. 12:1-3). The book of Exodus is pivotal in describing the central experience of the Jewish people. This story records the celebrations and ritual acts of Israel that arose in response to the liberation event that gave freedom to a nation. Exodus records the transformation of the old pagan notions into new forms, such as covenant and law, that brand Israel as unique among nations, with the Passover rite (Ex. 12) at the heart of all.

IV. Settlement in Canaan.–Syncretism, the mixture of foreign elements with the Yahwism of Israelite worship, became an increasing problem as the people of God moved from the wilderness to the promised land of Canaan. The religious procession to the land can also be seen as a military movement that collided with the cultures already existing in the area (see *BHI* [3rd ed.], ch. 3). Among other peoples, the Israelites encountered and settled near a Semitic people called the Canaanites. The Canaanite culture is thought to have existed in this area from perhaps as early as 3000 B.C. The Canaanite gods quickly became competitors for the loyalty and worship of the Israelites. The desert incident of the golden calf only foreshadowed the problem of idolatry that would intensify during this period of settlement.

For the OT writers the word "idolatry" meant veneration of an object other than the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Since Scripture records Canaanite cultic centers at all the major cities and towns, including Dan, Gilgal, Shechem, Bethel, Shiloh, and Jerusalem, the temptation of idolatry for the Israelites was great (see, e.g., Am. 4:4f.). The difficulty for God's people was identifying what idolatry was. Syncretistic practices crept into the worship of the Israelites almost without their awareness. Scripture records examples of this pervasive and subtle cultural lure (see esp. Hos. 2:1-23).

One of the Canaanite deities was a god designated as BAAL (see 1 K. 18:21). The Heb. *baʿal* can mean "owner," "master," "lord," or "husband." Baal's power was over a particular locality. Thus Baal was the deity of a settled people. As the Israelites moved into a more settled lifestyle, they confronted the beliefs of Baal worship. The domain of the local baals lay in the fertility cycles of human beings, animals, and agriculture. Baal power was closely linked with nature, particularly the bringing of rain to Palestine's parched landscape. The influence of the Baal cult led to extreme forms of worship such as child sacrifice (Jer. 19:5) and ritual prostitution (Jgs. 2:17; Jer. 7:9; Am. 2:7).

The origins of Baal worship are uncertain but evidence indicates that the Amorites brought their gods with them on their migration into Canaan in the 2nd millennium B.C. Another Canaanite god, El, is mentioned as the original head of the Canaanite gods in the Râs Shamrah texts. El, however, was the distant source, the "Father of years" in the pantheon description. Baal symbolized the vigor and power behind the natural cycles of life-giving powers. ASHERAH became the feminine counterpart to Baal by the time of Judges (Jgs. 3:7).

Baal was often depicted with some characteristics of a bull, which was the ancient symbol of strength and fertility. Baal statues exhibit helmets with horns of a bull or picture the god as riding a bull. The statues show Baal with a club in one hand, most likely representing thunder, and a spear with leaves in the other depicting lightning and fertility (*see* picture in BAAL).

Israelite worship was constantly threatened by the foreign aspects of Baal worship that conflicted with Yahweh's prescribed law. Syncretism was a serious issue for two major reasons. First, the Israelites settled in the land with the Canaanites and often intermarried with the Baal worshipers. This brought the seductive elements of the cult closer, even into the Israelites' homes. Second, the way in which Yahweh was viewed as the god of the wanderings posed a threat. Owing to Baal worhsipers' polytheistic background, it was a natural tendency to view the gods as having power along geographical lines. Since the Israelites were dependent on the land once they settled in

Canaan, it might have seemed wise to pay homage to the god of that land, a feature recognized in David's confession (1 S. 26:19) and Naaman's request (2 K. 5:17f.).

These syncretistic tendencies can be seen in Scripture itself (Jgs. 3:5-7; 6:25f.). Many of the names in Scripture have elements of the Canaanite gods: Esh-baal, Meribbaal (1 Ch. 8:33f.), and Beeliada (14:7). It is difficult to know whether these references directly refer to the Canaanite deity or whether the term was used in reference to the lord Yahweh as owner and master. In time the syncretistic tendency became so blurred that the Israelites banned the use of *ba'al* in reference to the lordship of Yahweh.

The syncretistic tendency was particularly prominent in the northern kingdom according to the scriptural authors. This area was more exposed to pagan elements and more agricultural than the south. The north was therefore more susceptible to elements of the Baal worship. In the northern kingdom the golden calves at Dan and Bethel horrified those who were seeking true worship of Yahweh. Even the southern kingdom eventually experienced the influence of the Canaanite worship despite the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. Scripture indicates that even Jerusalem itself was influenced (2 K. 21:7). One of the most blatant attempts of syncretism was a deliberate ploy by Queen Jezebel to make Baal the official god of the land. Scripture states that only seven thousand Israelites resisted her to follow the true religion of Yahweh (1 K. 19:18). Throughout the 8th cent. the prophets constantly reminded the people of the syncretistic danger that was on all sides. It seems that the people of Yahweh did not recognize the apostasy in which they were involved (Jer. 2:23; Hos. 2:16f.).

Although syncretism posed a threat and led to a struggle throughout Israel's history, periods existed in which Yahweh's place of centrality in the life of His people and their worship was stronger and clearer. One of these periods was that of the Davidic monarchy. David had been blessed by Yahweh from a young age and had been ordained to be Israel's king after a unstable period when it was administered by the judges and then by Saul. David united the kingdom under one central government headquartered in Jerusalem in place of Hebron. King David linked this political move to the center of cultic worship by bringing the ark of the covenant to Zion.

V. Davidic Period.—This period focused primarily on King David during a politically stable period in Israel's life. David is credited primarily as the one who organized Israel as a worshiping community. While the biblical narratives do not spare David's sinful side, they show a man who is willing to confess and be forgiven for his sin. In later literature this then became the biblical example of a true worshiper of Yahweh. Perfection of ethical and moral character was thus not indispensable for faith. Rather Yahweh desired an honest worshiper who could confess and praise Him in sincerity and truth (Mic. 6:6-8). David becomes the example par excellence of a true worshiper, the traditional author of "the psalms of David" (e.g., 24, 150) that express cultic acts of worship.

David's political strategies established a monarchy with its cultic center in Jerusalem. David brought revival to a people and a faith that had experienced a low period lacking unity and strength. The ark of the covenant had disappeared in the Aphek disaster (Ps. 78:60) where the Israelites were defeated by the Philistines. David recovered the ark and purchased Araunah's threshing floor in Jerusalem (2 S. 24) for its new home. The ark reminded the people that Yahweh was not represented in wood or stone, but that He is a living presence with His people. The basis of the whole practice of worship in Israel looked back to the covenantal relationship established in the Exodus and celebrated in the tabernacle that had been the ark's previous dwelling place. The ark was also a reminder that worship alone is not enough. A broad requirement of service to Yahweh involves ethical implications of justice and mercy. In the reestablishment of the ark in a cultic center of worship, David laid a foundation for the royal ideology and the theme of a unique covenant established with David's lineage.

From the Chronicler's viewpoint David made a central contribution to Israel's worship. Jerusalem became the holy city, the religious capital of the tribes of Israel. The temple began to take form and structure under David. This temple was completed and embellished in *ca.* 950 B.C. by the king's successor and son, Solomon. David assigned to the Levites the official duties of leading the community in praise and prayer. The priesthood began to take on a stratified hierarchy of functions. The priesthood would eventually be represented by the Zadokites (functioning in the sacrificial capacity), the high priests, the priests, and the Levites. While the major components of worship remained constant, according to the tradition, David instituted some changes, especially the addition of instrumental worship (1 Ch. 23–27).

David is said to have been skilled on the lyre. He is considered the composer of many songs and laments that were incorporated into the temple worship. From allusive indications, music guilds may have been established during this period (1 Ch. 25:6f.) and given a special role in the service. The collection of these Davidic compositions and other songs is known as the Psalter, with David as the traditional author.

VI. Psalms.—A. Their Collection and Function. The Hebrew word *tehillîm*, "songs of praise," is used to describe this collection. It is part of the Hebrew Scripture known as Kethubhim, or "writings." *Mizmôr*, a Hebrew term which precedes fifty-seven of the Psalms, refers to a musical accompaniment of the hymns (*see* MUSIC III.B.1). The term "songs" seems to be a special reference to the "Songs of Ascent" used as the worshiping community approached the temple (Pss. 120–134). Gk. *psaltérion* refers to the string instrument used for the accompaniment of these songs or psalms, utilizing the Greek verb *psállō*, "pluck the strings" (*see* MUSIC II.B.2).

The collection is from a broad historical period, some of it even dating from the conquest period (1250 B.C.). The final collection was not made until postexilic times. King David quite probably authored many of the Psalms. Because the content of the Psalms conveys the whole of Israel's history the Psalter was used as the devotional guide for Israel in many situations, and became the hymn book of the second temple. Worship was one natural setting for using the Psalms, for the Psalms represent the entire range of emotion; from anguish to hope, from fear to joy, from national pride to anger at Yahweh. The Psalms embrace adoration, thanksgiving, and supplication, all focused on glorifying the Creator in worship. The Psalms were Israel's response to Yahweh's active presence.

The Psalms brought a new meaning to the cultus. Incorporated into the Psalms is an eschatological element that bridges the significant events and periods of Israel's history, concentrating the range of history into a single cultic act. In the Psalms, past, present, and future are brought together to witness Yahweh's presence and power to the world. The great themes of the history of Israel, creation, the kingship of Yahweh, the promise of the land, and the future promise of salvation are attested in the Psalms. All

these themes are bound together by the Israelite notion of "remembrance" by which the past is made to come to life in the present and to anticipate the future (see B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* [*SBT*, 1/37; 1962]).

Music had a place within Israel's worship from the beginning. The festivals of Yahweh were celebrated with song and dance (Jgs. 21:19-21; 2 S. 6:5, 16). Temple worship had cantors as part of worship. Through all social and historical changes Israel's primary identity was that of a worshiping community. The Psalms epitomized this. The covenant community's primary bond as an identifiable group was in the worship of Yahweh as expressed in the Psalms.

B. Types and Styles of Psalms. The Psalms are fluid and expressive and as such cannot be neatly labeled into categories. But some general characteristics shared by many of the Psalms summarize common elements.

1. Liturgical Hymns. Hymns are used as an imperative call to worship as in Ps. 117. The Heb. *kî*, "for," indicates a ground for praise (e.g., 117:2), a reason that Yahweh's people should come together and worship in song. Hymns are also used to renew a summons of praise.

2. Sacred History Hymns. This type of hymn expresses *Heilsgeschichte*, "the salvation-history" of Yahweh's actions throughout Israel's history (Pss. 7, 8, 105, 106, 135, 136). These songs depicted the liturgical act of recitation at festivals and temple worship. Israel's remembrances were built into the cultic worship so that the past became the present and Yahweh's saving acts were not only celebrated but actually experienced afresh in the lives of the people as if they were contemporary with the events (as in the Passover Haggadah). The nature of this continuity is expressed by the present tense of the verbs used in many of the historic Psalms. The cultic use of the Psalms indicates that these were not private prayers to Yahweh as modern individualism might view them, for only as the Israelite entered into the commnity of worship, did he/she share the promises and obligations of the covenant with Yahweh. Thus the *Sitz im Leben* of many of the songs is the worshiping community, the cultic celebration of the people together, even when the language form is the singular "I". H. Wheeler Robinson found here a good illustration of what he called "corporate personality" or social solidarity where one voice speaks for the group (*The Cross in the OT* [1955], pp. 76-78, 83).

3. Laments. These Psalms call out to Yahweh in times of trouble. They include an invocation to God in difficult situations. Ps. 44 illustrates a typical pattern for a Psalm of lament. It begins with a complaint to Yahweh. Following the complaint the writer confesses trust in Yahweh because He has shown His faithfulness in the past. The worshiper offers supplication for help and forgiveness and concludes with a vow to praise Yahweh in spite of trouble or abandonment (see Pss. 3, 13, 22, 31, 54, 56, 102).

4. Thanksgiving Psalms. Although other types of Psalms have thanksgiving in them, this type of Psalm has thanksgiving as its main theme (Pss. 18, 21, 20, 33, 34, 40, 65–68, 92, 116, 118, 124, 138, 144). Some of these Psalms are group laments, while others are individual. Thanksgiving is offered for danger that Yahweh has averted, for answered prayers, for the gift of harvest, for divine favor shown to the king. This genre would play an important role in the Hymn Scroll of the Qumrân community.

5. Royal Psalms. These are Psalms or prayers on behalf of the king. The king of the Israelites was divinely anointed (Ps. 2). The king was seen as one who is blessed by Yahweh to rule His chosen people. The dynasty of David and the promises made to his lineage foreshadow the Messiah (esp. 2 S. 7), the One without equal. Therefore the royal Psalms after the fall of the monarchy were adapted only slightly and used as messianic Psalms that pointed to the eschatological King of kings that Yahweh would send to His people (Pss. 2, 20, 21, 45, 72, 110).

VII. From Solomon to the Exile.–David's son and successor to the throne was Solomon. During his reign Solomon continued to focus on the cultic worship of the temple, adding ornamentation to the building of such glory and splendor that all who visited Israel marveled at its beauty. Solomon's emphasis on beautifying the temple was not only because he was dedicated to the worship of Yahweh and desired to show his gratitude, but because he had also begun to be influenced by surrounding foreign powers. The temple and its ornamentation were a sign to foreigners of the wealth and cultural elements of Solomon's court. Scripture attests to these foreign influences during the reign of Solomon. This accentuated the syncretistic tendency that the Israelites had been dealing with since they had first covenanted to be the people of Yahweh. Solomon often allowed civil policy to dictate ecclesiastical practices. He married foreign wives in order to establish alliances. These wives brought their alien gods into court (1 K. 11:1-8).

The foreign influences from within the country cumulatively resulted in disaster. The northern kingdom's destruction (722 B.C.) and the demise of the southern kingdom, including Jerusalem and the temple (587 B.C.), were viewed by the postexilic writers in the light of the corrupt worship practice that had infiltrated the practices ordained by Yahweh. The religion of Israel before the Exile is depicted as a headlong spiraling decline leading to disaster. Ahab had allowed Jezebel's Sidonian influences to foster idolatry and despotism (1 K. 16:32). Intermarriages between Jezebel's family and the southern kingdom continued to spread the destructive influences. The situation, viewed in hindsight, was so severe and irreversible that it necessitated the destruction of both kingdoms, the temple, and the city of Jerusalem to reestablish the pure remnant of Yahweh's chosen. The essentials of worship had been lost. The word of God, prayer, praise, confession, and forgiveness had become empty rituals that had lost the inner meaning and therefore impeded access to Yahweh.

VIII. Exile and Restoration.–*A. Developments in Worship.* The nature of worship in the exilic period is much debated. One theory postulates that the absence of the temple and the deportation to a new land forced the faithful to restructure worship to accommodate the new situation. The Psalms speak to the discouragement of those in exile and their longing for the land of Zion (e.g., Ps. 137:3-6). Historically it seems that not all Jews desired to return as earnestly as the author of Ps. 137, for not all Jews did return to Jerusalem when they were eventually allowed to do so by an edict of Cyrus (538 B.C.). It also appears that not all Jews were deported from the land in the Exile. Tension developed between the returning Babylonian Jews and those who had remained behind and intermarried with other peoples.

The Persian armies under Cyrus swept across the eastern frontier of the Babylonian empire in 539 B.C. and reached as far as the Egyptian frontier. He was one of the most truly enlightened rulers of ancient times. His aim, as far as it was possible, was to allow subject nations to enjoy cultural autonomy within the framework of his empire. His successors tended to follow in his steps. By means of a complex civil and military bureaucracy a firm control was established over the empire, but within this framework local customs were respected, established

cults were fostered and protected, and responsibility was entrusted to native rulers. In the first year of his reign Cyrus issued a proclamation permitting the Israelites to return to their homeland, ordering the rebuilding of the temple and inviting Jews remaining in Babylon to assist with contributions. Although this edict would seem to have been received with overwhelming gratitude, and a mass exodus back to Israel was expected, this did not happen.

Many of the Jews had become well established in Babylon and had no wish to leave, particularly on a long journey with uncertain goals. The initial wave of returnees was not large, and though they were reinforced by later immigrations, Jerusalem was still thinly populated and in a state of ruin seventy-five years after the edict. The inhabitants of the land, Judeans who had been left behind in the Exile, plus Edomites who had moved to fill the vacant land, were not happy to have these returnees move back. The Samaritans to the north were antagonistic, claiming that they had held fast to true worship while their exiled kin had become polluted with Babylonian influences. The Samaritans and the Judeans, who had remained in the land, had absorbed pagan customs into their worship and in these ways began to infect some of the returnees. The leadership feared for the integrity of the community and sought to end all contact with the native population.

With the return of the exiles came a renewed interest in temple worship. The building of the second temple commenced *ca* 520 B.C. and was completed in 515 B.C., overseen by the high commissioner Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua. Nehemiah and Ezra the priest played important roles in the gradual return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the community of faith. Although the temple was rebuilt and worship, priestly sacrifices, and pilgrimages were reestablished at the cultic center, the enthusiasm was never to be of the same intensity. The frailty of a faith focused on one central location had been demonstrated in the fall and destruction of the temple a half-century earlier. The noncultic aspect of this faith, particularly as expressed through emerging synagogue worship developed greater importance during the Exile; and Ezekiel and the prophet of Isa. 40–55 had known God's presence in a strange land, without the use of the temple.

Synagogue worship had a distinctive pattern. Wisdom and the study of Torah became the goal and focus of the synagogue. A crisis existed in the faith of the Jews who had been without a temple for the greater part of a century. A new form was needed to adapt to the new circumstances. The synagogue became the *ekklēsía,* i.e., the assembly, congregation. The worship in the synagogue stressed reading and exposition of the Torah, prayer, recitation of the *Shema* (based on Dt. 6:4), and reciting of Psalms. *See* SYNAGOGUE.

Ezra's reorganization brought a fundamental change to Israel. No longer was Israel's identity centered on a national cult. Rather its identity from this point forward would be seen as that of a religious remnant who rallied around the Torah. Judaism did not change the basic elements of worship during the Exile and return; the focus and stress, however, were simply heightened to accent one feature of the tradition. Law/Torah became the organizing principle.

B. Place of Law. For the Israelite the giving of the law was a cause for joyous celebration. The Torah was seen as a source of joy and life. The law was Yahweh's way of expressing His love for His people. The boundaries and limits provided by the law were a gift from God to prevent destruction and harm from coming to the lives of the Israelites. The importance of Torah interpretation was highly valued throughout Israel's history. The later midrashim, or commentaries and lengthy rabbinic debates over legal situations, illustrate the centrality of the law. God's commands were examined and applied to life in a dynamic process of discovery. The Torah fenced the life of a Jew but it was not seen as a static, rigidly set boundary. Rather, the Jew viewed the Torah as the living word, the pulse and heartbeat of life. The idea of "dancing with the law" embodies the celebration and the joyous guidance that adherence to Torah could bring. It was a gift from Yahweh, a gift of love. Jews rejoiced over the law in a celebration that they still practice each fall. The reading and exposition of the Torah became increasingly an important focus for worship. Neh. 9 illustrates the ceremony of covenant renewal that wed the remnant to Yahweh through His word.

In time legalism did develop. The rituals of worship tended to become empty forms that stifled the spirit of prophecy. Preoccupation with the letter of the law robbed the Torah of its beauty and grace (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6). The externalism of worship that emphasized performance versus the examination of the inner spirit was an abomination to Yahweh. The prophets saw this tendency and confronted the discrepancy between word and action, inner and outer commitment (1 S. 15:22; Am. 5:21). This critique is powerfully expressed in postexilic Judaism (e.g., in Malachi).

The empty formalism, coupled with syncretism, was the major theme of these prophetic complaints. This hypocrisy was sin to the Israelites because it destroyed the covenantal relationship with Yahweh. The call was for joyful admission to the cult, not requirements of a ritual nature.

***IX. Early Judaism* (200 B.C.–A.D. 100).**–During this period Palestine came under the rule of Alexander the Great. Following the Exile, Cyrus had opened the way for the reestablishment of the Jews in Judah. The Persian rule under Cyrus had been positive for the Jews. Under imperial order Ezra and Nehemiah had reestablished the people in Jerusalem and made the "law of Moses" the civil law of the Jews. Even though many Jews did not live in Judah, those in the Diaspora accepted the "law of Moses" as their law. The land continued to be an important part of Jewish identity and worship.

Jerusalem became the center for Jewish ritual life, in spite of the fact that a large number of writings were written outside of Israel. Jerusalem was the authoritative center for the Jews. The legal tradition developed under Ezra and Nehemiah, and the court of the law known as the Sanhedrin with its priests, elders, and scribes had their roots in Jerusalem centered on the temple.

As a result of renewed interest in and tremendous value placed on the law of Moses, the art of translation, interpretation, and study was developed. The language of the Persian empire, Aramaic, was used to translate the Pentateuch into Aramaic (*see* TARGUM). During this period the seeds were planted for the emergence of Beth ha-Midrash "house of interpretation," later to be schools for the study of Scripture and the debating of the traditions of the fathers. The synagogue, as previously mentioned, was also taking structural shape during this period.

A. Hellenism. The Persians began to lose control of their empire during the latter part of the 4th cent. B.C. The great warrior from Macedonia, Alexander the Great, conquered the whole of the Persian empire. Alexander did not change the situation that the conquered peoples had experienced under Cyrus. What he did bring to the empire was a new way of thinking. Alexander was a student of Aristotle and as such had been steeped in Greek thought. Alex-

ander not only wanted to conquer the whole world, but he also wanted to hellenize it and bring all the known world under a single ethos.

Hellenization influenced the Hebrew culture in many ways. Education, especially in science and anthropology, strongly influenced the formation of Jewish thought after Alexander. The Greek language became the lingua franca, replacing Aramaic as the language of trade and education in the empire. *Koine,* or spoken Greek, emerged as a language used throughout the ancient world. Along with language came Greek literature. Schools developed and were probably related to synagogues. Some suggest that many similarities existed between the method of teaching and even the pattern of argument within the synagogues and the institutions of Greek learning. The most important result of Greek impact on Palestinian Judaism was the formation of a Jewish intelligentsia, different from the priesthood and not dependent on the sanctuary. The new class was known as "scribes."

The movement toward a literate public was strong in the Greek polis, or city, and even though the Jews had already been a literate people as early as the Babylonian Exile, the Greek ways of education, logic, and organizing left their mark. The Greek forms were accepted and allowed Judaism a vehicle for the expression of its ideas.

The process of hellenization placed Israel in the position of determining the difference between survival within a culture and syncretistic adoption of the culture, which threatened the true worship of Yahweh. This struggle between faith and culture can be seen in the divisions that emerged within this period. The Hasidim ("loyal" or "pious ones") emerged as a group determined to keep the Jewish faith pure from the negative impact of the Greek world.

Acculturation might have occurred gradually if not for Antiochus IV and his outlawing of Jewish worship in 167 B.C. This instigated the Maccabean revolt. After a period of years the Jews regained control of the land, securing the freedom to worship in their own ways. But hellenization had affected the Hasmonean dynasty and Judaism was represented by a new order. The Sanhedrin became the governing body. Internal tensions developed during this period among the Sadducees, who sought tolerance and compromise, the Pharisees, who originated from the Hasidim and stood for legalism and separatism, and the Zealots, who were revolutionaries attempting to overthrow the politically oppressive structures. Into this arena a child was born in Bethlehem who would bring into being a new system of worship.

Jewish worship had been influenced by Persian customs, laws, purification rites, mythology, cosmology, angelology, and eschatology. The Greek influence, especially in education and thought forms, can be seen in the life of the synagogues. Although the cultures surrounding the Israelites had changed drastically, the central motif of the worship of Yahweh had allowed flexibility in a faith that sustained itself through crisis and domination by numerous foreign powers. Elements within the worship pattern grew to have more or less emphasis in differing situations, yet the praise and continuing echo of corporate and private worship express the soul of the people of Israel.

B. Worship in NT Times. The lines between Jewish worship and Christian worship are not clearly distinguishable until late into the 2nd cent. A.D. Because the first Christians were Jewish, Christian worship had many similar elements to temple and synagogue worship. The Gospels presuppose forms of worship that were native to Palestinian Judaism in the 1st cent. A.D. The temple was still important (cf. Zachariah in Lk. 1:5; Joseph and Mary in 2:21; and Jesus, who is said to have gone to the temple when He came of age at bar mitzvah time). Throughout the Gospels Jesus is shown as a Jew who participated in the feasts and lived within the framework of the life and practice of Israel (Lk. 4:16-31). Jesus prophetically criticized aspects of the legalism and external show that prohibited true worship. But His goal was to fulfil the law, not to destroy it (Mt. 5:17; Jn. 1:17). Yet His attitude to the temple was ambivalent. He reverenced it, but foretold its destruction (Jn. 2:19).

In order to examine worship in the NT one must see the intimate connection between Judaism and the early worship forms of the church. Acts 2:46 records that the earliest Christians attended the temple together and broke bread in their homes. The difference might have been expressed first in the communal meal. The sacrificial element of the temple was also eventually rejected by the Christians, for they viewed Jesus' self-offering as a once-for-all sacrifice for all sins.

The synagogue, the local center of worship in postexilic Judaism, gave Christianity much of its worship form in the inheritance of Scripture reading, preaching, singing, and prayer. The service of the synagogue consisted of a service of the word that proclaimed the creedal Shema (6:4). This service included Scripture reading and exposition, prayer, and benedictions, which we shall now investigate.

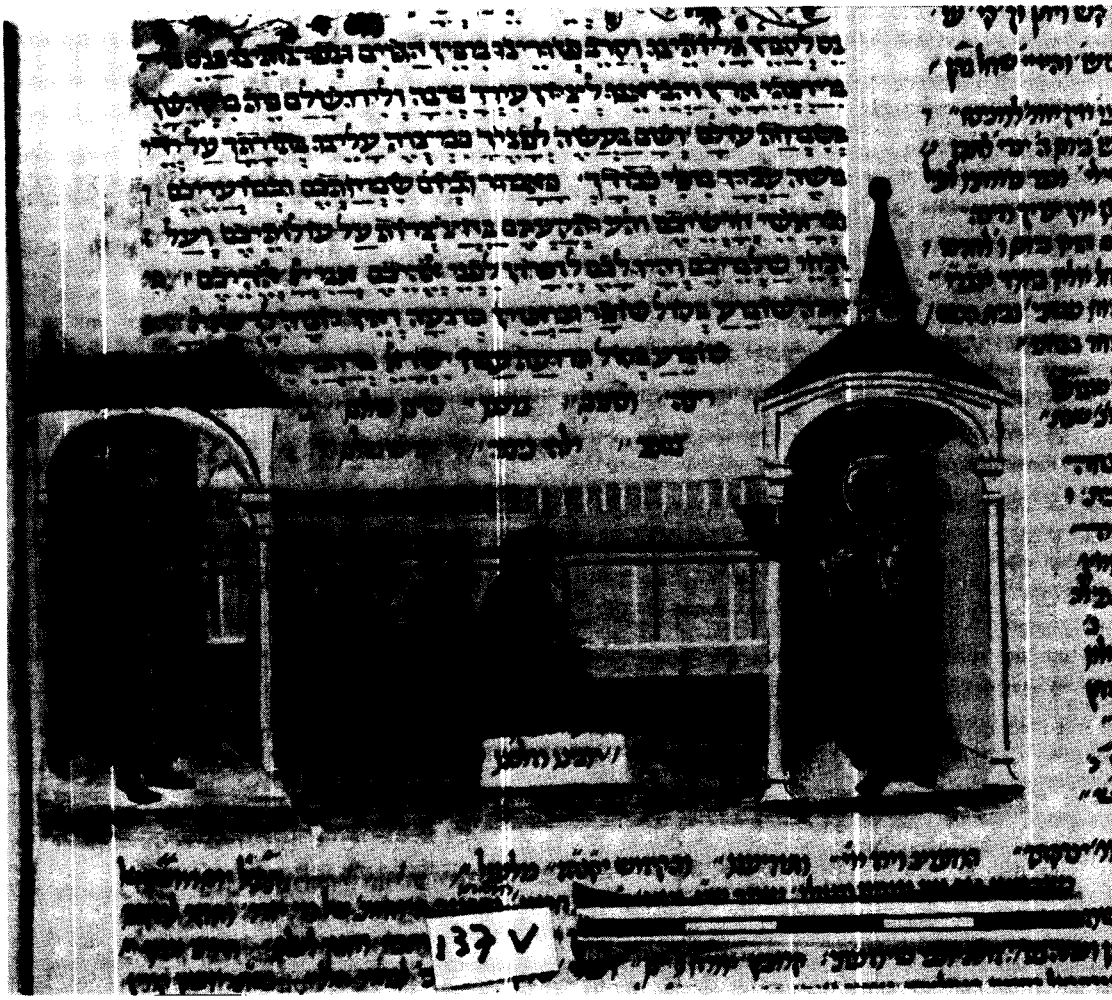
X. Jewish Inheritance in the Temple and Synagogue.—Jewish scholars have helped to form a picture of the essential pattern of synagogue worship; some details, however, are debatable. For the period before the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 a most valuable source of information is found in the NT (esp. Lk. 4:15-21). Even if very few precise details are given in any contemporary document, the general picture is tolerably clear. Three main elements stand: praise, prayer, and instruction. (Two straightforward accounts are G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua* [Eng. tr. 1929], and P. P. Levertoff, "Synagogue Worship in the First Century," in W. K. L. Clarke, ed., *Liturgy and Worship* [1932]).

A. Praise. Corporate praise is the note that opens the service; and this accords with the principle laid down in the Talmud: "Man should always first utter praises, and then pray." It is illustrated in the synagogue liturgy for morning prayer, called *Alenu*: "It is our duty to praise the Lord of all things."

The "ruler" summons the "minister" (see Lk. 4:20) to invite someone from the congregation to commence the service with this "call to worship." He begins with the cry: "Bless ye the Lord, the One who is to be blessed;" and the people respond with the benediction: "Blessed be the Lord . . . for ever," in the spirit of Neh. 9:5.

B. Prayers. Prayers in Jewish worship fall into two parts. The first group comprise two lovely utterances (the *Yotzer,* which means "He who forms" and takes up the theme of God as Creator of all things; and the *Ahabah,* which means "love" and is concerned both to recall God's love for His people and to pledge their obligation to love Him in return. It ends: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hast chosen Thy people Israel in love"). Immediately following these prayers comes the Shema, which is both a confession of faith and a glad benediction. The title for the Shema derives from the opening word in Dt. 6:4: "Hear [*šᵉma*], O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord." The term "one" emphasizing the unity of God has always been the central Jewish confession. It receives, therefore, a special prominence in the liturgy.

The second division of united prayer comes next. The way for it is prepared by the reciting of the prayer known as "True and firm", with its reminder that God's promises



A 15th-century MS page showing a rabbi sounding the shofar for the day of prayer at the Jewish New Year (Rothschild MS from Italy) (Israel Museum)

are sure and dependable to His people. At this point the "minister" summons a member of the assembly to lead in "Prayer proper," i.e., the Eighteen Benedictions. These cover a wide range of themes. They are partly an expression of praise, partly supplication for those in need (exiles, judges and counselors, and the chosen people). We may catch the tone of these prayers by considering the last one: "Grant peace upon Israel Thy people and upon Thy city, and upon Thy inheritance, bless us all together [lit. "as one"]. Blessed art Thou O Lord, the Maker of peace."

C. Instruction. Once the prayers were said, the service assumed a form that has given the synagogue its distinctive ethos. Indeed, the Jews themselves called it "the house of instruction," for nothing is more in keeping with Jewish worship than the emphasis that is placed upon Scripture reading and exposition. Instruction was given by two means. First, the Law and the Prophets were read by members of the congregation who came up and shared the task (according to the length of the portion involved). As the ancient language of Hebrew was not understood by all persons present, a translator would turn the Scripture lessons into the vernacular, usually Aramaic. Second, a homily followed that was based on the passages read. Any person in the assembly who was considered suitable was invited to deliver this "sermon" — as proved the case both at Nazareth (Lk. 4:21-29) and at Antioch (Acts 13:15-41). The service concluded with a blessing and the congregational "Amen."

Seasons and the day of the week sometimes altered this basic pattern (market days, Monday and Thursday, had shorter Scripture lections). But the ingredients that provided the staple diet of synagogue worship — praise, prayer, and instruction — are found in every case.

XI. Prayers and Praises of the NT.—Two types of prayer are known in the teaching and example of the NT Church. First, the NT includes private prayer in the secret place of personal communion between the believer and his or her Lord. Included here are the prayers of Jesus Himself, which are eloquent testimony to the reality and power of prayer, and equally a guide and inspiration to us today in our prayer life. Second, the NT records the Church's corporate prayer as the united assembly of believers voices its praise and supplication.

The book of Acts describes the prayer fellowship of the earliest believers. Acts 2:42 refers to the practice of their corporate assembly, whether at home (2:46; 4:23-31; 5:42) or in the temple (3:1, 11; 5:12, 42). It is interesting to

observe the circumstances that drew Christians together, and the thoughts that found expression in articulate prayer and praise. They needed and sought guidance (1:14, 24). They came together under the duress of persecution and hostility (4:23-31), and requested the strengthening grace of their Lord to continue their witness for Him. They took the arrest and imprisonment of Peter (12:5) as a challenge to earnest intercession. They gathered at Antioch to worship the Lord, seeking the guidance that came in the Spirit's summons, "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul" (13:2); and with further united prayer these men, who later hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus (15:26), were sent forth to the work of the gospel in Asia Minor and the Christian mission was launched on its epoch-making way (13:1-3). Other allusions to the united praying of the people of God are in 20:36 and 21:5 — both touching scenes of tender pathos.

A. Contents of Prayers and Praises. The historical records contain little to guide us when we try to discover the contents of the prayers in the early Church. The prayers of the Church in Acts are *ad hoc* utterances, heartfelt praises and petitions called forth by the demands of the hour.

The use of the Psalter was important to the early Christians, who, like their Lord (Lk. 24:56), turned to the Psalms for language in which to express their deepest emotions. Perhaps in both cases the synagogue liturgy was the abiding influence. Acts 13:1f. indicates that the church at Antioch offered worship to the Lord. It is tempting to relate this to the worship of Jesus, a calling upon Him in devotion and supplication, as did both Stephen (Acts 7:59) and Paul (2 Cor. 12:8). Many scholars find Christ-hymns (e.g., Phil. 2:6-11; 1 Tim. 3:16) in which Jesus is praised with a worship that belongs properly to God Himself. The phrase "call upon the name of the Lord" (see Acts 2:21; 9:14; 22:16; Rom. 10:13f.) points in the same direction, for it seems to show that Jesus was hailed in worship as One worthy of adoration and surrender. The phrase likely comes from the OT Scripture, where it denoted to "practice the cult of Yahweh," "to be a worshiper of . . . the true God" (Gen. 4:26; 21:33; etc.).

One piece of evidence that occurs in 1 Cor. 16:22 is of considerable interest and value. There we read the strange-sounding transliterated Aramaic term *maranathá* (*see* MARANATHA), which our English translations render as either "our Lord cometh" (RV mg.) or "our Lord, come!" (RSV). It seems fairly certain that the second alternative is to be preferred and that this phrase is a prayer of invocation addressed to Jesus. Similar language is found in Rev. 22:20: "Come, Lord Jesus," and the Didache uses the formula for a service preparatory to the Lord's table (10:6). The use of an Aramaic phrase can be satisfactorily explained only on the assumption that *maranathá* is an ancient watchword which takes us back to the earliest days of the Church in Palestine where Aramaic was the spoken language, for we can hardly imagine why Paul would trouble to include a foreign Aramaic term in a letter written to those who spoke and understood Greek; perhaps, in fact, *maranathá* had become accepted as a liturgical term from the earliest days of the Church.

The evidence of this ancient Christian invocation to Christ throws a flood of light on the way in which the Jewish Christians worshiped their Lord. Not only is *maranathá* the oldest recorded Christian prayer, but it also indicates that those who had previously invoked the name of their covenant God as "Lord" in the synagogue liturgy now came to apply the same divine title to Jesus the Messiah.

B. Corporate Prayer in the Epistles. We are assured that the first communities of Christian people called upon the name of their risen Lord as they met to worship. In 1 Cor. 1:2 Paul reminds the church that they are united with all the other assemblies in the world who "call on the name of" a common Lord. The phrase used in this verse implies a public invocation of Jesus and a profession of faith in Him as the exalted Head of His people. But have we any examples of the sort of prayer and praise that was offered to Him?

It is true that no objective description of an early Christian service of worship exists. Perhaps the nearest we get to that is the account of Paul's visit to Troas (Acts 20:7-12). Yet it seems clear that Paul had before his mind's eye, as he wrote or dictated his letters, a picture of the Church assembled for public worship. The introductory greetings and opening prayers of thanksgiving are couched in no commonplace language but reflect the liturgical life of the churches by their fulness of expression and unusual vocabulary. The passage in Eph. 1:3-14 well illustrates this.

Yet another line of evidence exists. From 1 Cor. 5 we learn that Paul regards himself as no detached and impartial observer of the life of his converts. In a solemn mood he enjoins what must be done at Corinth as though he himself were personally present in the congregation. Indeed he is present in the midst (v. 4) as he shares with them in spiritual communion. This is no isolated incident occasioned by the seriousness of the situation at Corinth, as Col. 2:5 shows: "For though I am absent in body, yet I am with you in spirit, rejoicing to see your good order." Thus his reported prayers may be the shared possession of all his churches.

C. Special Words for Prayer. 1. Abba. This term suggests our Lord's Gethsemane prayer (Mk. 14:32-39): "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee." As was the case with *maranathá* in 1 Cor. 16:22, this Aramaic word recurs in transliterated form in Paul's Greek letters (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6). *See* ABBA.

Our Lord's favorite designation for God is "Abba," and it has been the subject of much scholarly research (for the discussion on its meaning, see *TDNT*, I, 5f.). While Abba was the child's word for its earthly father, no evidence shows that pious Jews ever used precisely this form (meaning "dear father," "daddy") of God. Instead, they used a variant form, and avoided "Abba" because it was thought to be too daring and familiar an expression. The so-called Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6:9-13; Lk. 11:2-4), which we should notice is more the disciples' prayer than the Lord's, became accepted very early in the Church's history as a pattern prayer and was backed by dominical authority. As early as the Didache, compiled as a manual of church order and practice (early 2nd cent. A.D.), this prayer had become an integral part of Christian worship: "As the Lord commanded in his Gospel . . . pray thus three times a day" (Did. 8:2f.). It was intended to be said corporately, "when ye pray, say," as Cyprian pointed out in a later century (*De Dominica Oratione*; discussed in Bradshaw, ch. 3); and Tertullian (*ca.* A.D. 150-225) speaks of "common prayers and united supplications," probably with the Lord's Prayer in mind (*De Oratione* 10).

2. Amen. This familiar Christian term means literally "be firm, true," and is connected with the verb "believe." It occurs most obviously at the close of the NT doxologies that ascribe praise to God and His Christ (Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 16:27; Gal. 1:5; Eph. 3:21; Phil. 4:20; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim. 4:18; He. 13:21; 1 Pet. 4:11; 5:11; Jude 25; Rev. 5:14). Rev. 5 portrays a dramatic scene and probably reflects the worship of the Church militant as well as the Church triumphant in heaven.

2 Corinthians 1:20f. pictures a scene that most likely takes us back to early worship. "That is why, when we give glory to God, it is through Christ Jesus that we say 'Amen' . . . it is God also who has set his seal upon us, and as a pledge of what is to come has given the Spirit to dwell in our hearts" (NEB). The liturgical terminology of the whole passage is especially rich, and quite possibly Paul is alluding to the rite of Christian baptism under the figure of the "seal."

In 1 Cor. 14:16 Paul rebukes the church for their unbridled indulgence in the more exotic "gifts of the Spirit" in public assembly: "How will the plain man who is present be able to say 'Amen' to your thanksgiving when he does not know what you are saying?" This clearly shows that worshipers commonly used "Amen" to give assent to what they heard from the lips of their fellow believers.

3. *Thanksgiving.* 1 Cor. 14:16 also contains a reference to the prayer of "thanksgiving." The presence of the definite article in "*the* thanksgiving" seems to suggest that a particular type of praying is envisaged, as distinct from the general use of the term "give thanks" (e.g., 2 Cor. 1:11; 9:12; 1 Thess. 5:18). Little is said about the content of such a prayer of thanksgiving, but the prayer at the Lord's table is possibly in mind, for 1 Cor. 14:17 employs the verb Gk. *eucharistéō,* "give thanks," a term that has given the name Eucharist to the Lord's Supper as an occasion when, in a preeminent way, the Christian Church offers praise and thankful acknowledgment of the blessings of redemption in Christ (see XVIII.C.3 below).

XII. Hymns and Spiritual Songs.—Christian song did not break forth upon a world that had been hitherto dumb and in which hymns were unknown. The Church was cradled in Judaism and borrowed many of its forms of worship from the temple and synagogue. Antiphonal singing goes back to the preexilic period of Jewish history (Ex. 15:21; Nu. 21:17; 1 S. 18:7). Many of the Psalms were intended to be sung in the congregational worship of the temple (e.g., Pss. 24, 118, 134, 145). Postexilic writings indicate a well-ordered arrangement for responsive singing between two choirs of musicians: "and they sang responsively, praising and giving thanks to the Lord" (Ezr. 3:11; cf. Neh. 12:24, 31). Also, in the 1st cent. B.C. the sect of the Therapeutae developed hymnic worship (Philo *De vita contemplativa* 80–85).

The community that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls also had musical features in their worship. One scribe wrote, "I will sing with knowledge and all my music shall be for the glory of God. (My) lyre (and) my harp shall sound for His holy order and I will tune the pipe of my lips to His right measure" (1QS 10:9).

Some doubt exists, however, about the extent to which the singing of divine praises had developed in first-century A.D. Palestinian synagogues. The synagogues of the Dispersion — the exiled Jews who lived and worked outside the Holy Land — were probably more advanced in the use of psalmody than their more conservative Palestinian counterparts. But no doubt exists that the early believers in Jesus inherited the desire to express their gratitude to God in the offering of vocal praises.

A. Nativity Hymns. A section of NT literature that evidences the influence of OT lyrical writing is the Nativity and Infancy preface to Luke's Gospel. Four canticles in Lk. 1–2 have a distinct poetic form and may be arranged in strophes as a species of early Christian hymnody that takes us back to the Jewish-Christian Church.

Luke 1:46-55 contains the hymn known to Christian worship as the MAGNIFICAT, a designation that comes from the opening word of the Vulgate translation in v. 46. The Psalm of Zachariah in 1:68-79 is called the Benedictus, also from the opening Latin word of the Vulgate text. Two shorter hymnic tributes occur in ch. 2. The Gloria in Excelsis (2:14) is a memorable statement of angelic jubilation at the coming of the Redeemer. This paean of praise quickly found a place in the Church's corporate worship, and became a regular feature of its morning worship, according to the fourth-century Apostolic Constitutions, which was an early church order. The Nunc Dimittis ("Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace") of the venerable Simeon in Lk. 2:29-32 is also given in the Apostolic Constitutions as an evening hymn of the Church's liturgy.

B. Distinctive Christian Compositions. 1 Corinthians 14:26 gives the injunction for the assembly at Corinth: "When you come together [for public worship], each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation." Col. 3:16 and Eph. 5:19f. go together, and show the existence of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."

Scholars have looked for passages that have a lyrical quality and rhythmical style, an unusual vocabulary that differs from the surrounding context of the letter in which the passage appears, some distinctive piece of Christian doctrine, and hints that the passage in question finds its natural setting in a baptismal or communion service. From these features it is possible to identify and classify with a reasonable degree of accuracy and certainty the following NT hymns.

1. Ephesians 5:14. This verse is usually regarded as the most cogent example of early Christian hymnology. Good grounds support this confidence. The introductory words, "therefore it is said," read as though they were added expressly to prepare for the citation of a familiar passage, well known to Paul's readers. The verse naturally falls into three lines on the grounds of style, with a swinging trochaic rhythm in the Greek and the employment of a rhetorical device by which the first two lines end with the same sound. As a whole the verse contains an invocational appeal addressed to Christians and summoning them to action. At the same time it offers them the promise of divine favor and aid. The first two lines are a rousing summons to moral activity, and the third line an accompanying promise of God. The lines would then be the concomitant chant to the actions of the baptismal service when the believers were buried in the water with Christ and raised again to newness of life (Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12); and this leads several biblical commentators to submit that such a verse as Eph. 5:14 would be fixed indelibly upon the heart and mind of the converts as they emerged from the baptismal water. Paul recalls it in his appeal to the Ephesian Christians.

2. 1 Timothy 3:16. After the introductory sentence, "Great indeed, we confess, is the mystery of our religion," the verse falls into six lines of rich truth concerning the person and action of Jesus Christ. By a series of antithetical couplets in which a second line complements the thought of the first line, the gospel message of the Church's Lord is set forth. It treats of two world orders, the divine and the human; and shows how Christ has brought together the two spheres by His coming from the glory of the Father's presence into this world ("manifested in the flesh"; cf. Jn. 1:14; Rom. 8:3) and by His lifting up of humanity back again into the divine realm. Thus heaven and earth are joined, and God and humanity reconciled. His victory is acknowledged in the heavenly regions as the angelic powers confess Him, and upon earth as the gospel is proclaimed to the nations and accepted in faith.

3. Philippians 2:6-11. A similar idea of the binding together of the divine realm from which the preexistent

Christ comes and the human domain into which He enters at His birth runs through Phil. 2:6-11. This is one of the finest christological portions in the NT, and powerfully portrays the drama of Christ's pretemporal glory with the Father, His abasement and obedience upon earth, even to the death of the cross, and His exaltation to God's presence and cosmic triumph and lordship, which all the spiritual powers confess. In its original form the Philippians hymn possibly consisted of a series of couplets and belonged to an early tribute to Christ's divine person. Paul incorporated it into his letter and drew out the important teaching by the insertion of certain interpreting words and phrases.

4. Colossians 1:15-20. As early as 1913 the German scholar E. Norden (*Agnostos Theos* [repr. 1956], p. 252) had arranged these verses into a hymnic form and detected certain liturgical traits. His analysis produced the following arrangement: Strophe A (vv. 15-18a); Strophe B (vv. 18b-20). This division shows that these two stanzas cover two subjects: Christ and creation (A), and Christ and the Church (B). Moreover, the two parts are comparable in a number of ways and certain stylistic peculiarities are present that cannot be there by chance. We may note, e.g., the repetition of words and phrases in the two halves, and in some cases the words are repeated in exactly the same position in each stanza.

5. Hebrews 1:3. As a final example of what may be adduced as NT odes to Christ, we may cite He. 1:3. Again the telltale marks of style are evident, such as the use of the relative pronoun ("Who," AV) and participles ("being," "upholding," "had . . . purged," AV), and the elevated, ceremonial style on which Norden writes, "It is instructive to notice how this style is the best among NT authors" (Norden, p. 386). The vocabulary, too, is rare, and the sonorous ending of v. 3 contains a splendid climax. By the threefold test of theological content, stylistic construction, and unusual vocabulary we may confidently classify this passage as a "hymn to Christ."

It is just as important to notice that these hymns to Christ have a common pattern of thought that makes their presence in the NT of highest value (to the passages above may be added: Jn. 1:1-14; 1 Pet. 1:18-21; 2:21-25; 3:18-22; Rev. 5:9f., 12; 12:10-12; 19:1-3, 6-8). These hymns relate to the person and mission of Christ Jesus and tell how He existed in the preexistent glory of His Father and was the agent in creation. He became man and accomplished redemption for the world through His suffering and death. At length He is exalted and enthroned and in a solemn acclamation receives from God the supreme name. This celestial enthronement as Lord of the universe and of all the cosmic spheres, which according to the thought of the 1st cent. controlled human destiny by means of the stars, receives universal acknowledgment in heaven, on earth and in the realm of evil spirits. Thus the cosmic dominion of the Church's Lord is hailed as the answer to the deep need of the human beings who were held in the iron grip of "Fate" and whose nerve had failed. If one motif pervades the NT hymns, it is the ringing assurance that Christ is victor over all our enemies, and is rightly worshiped as the image of the God who is over all.

In the 2nd cent. A.D. the Roman governor Pliny told of Christians in Bithynia who sang a hymn to Christ as God (*Ep.* x.96). That practice, we may believe, goes back to the NT Church (see H. H. Rowden, ed., *Christ the Lord: Studies in Christology Presented to Donald Guthrie* [1981], chs. 3 [R. P. Martin], 4 [R. T. France], 14 [D. R. Carnegie]).

XIII. Early Creeds and Confessions of Faith.—We turn to consider what evidence the NT Scriptures contain for other credal and confessional forms. The Church in the NT is already a believing, preaching, and confessing community of men and women; and this fact implies the existence and influence of a body of authoritative doctrine (although in an embryonic form in certain matters, such as the belief in the trinity) that was the given and shared possession of those who formed the nascent Christian communities in the world of the Roman empire.

In NT times, a corpus of distinctive doctrines was held as a sacred deposit from God. The references to such a web of saving truth are set forth with a fulness of description and variety of detail, although the evidence must not be pressed to suggest that there was anything approaching the later creeds that are couched in a style and language different from the NT. The following shows the diversity of credal terminology used by the early Christians: "the apostles' teaching" (Acts 2:42); "the standard of teaching" (Rom. 6:17); "the word of life" (Phil. 2:16); "the words of the faith and of the good doctrine" (1 Tim. 4:16); "the pattern of the sound words" (2 Tim. 1:13); "sound teaching" (2 Tim. 4:3); "sound doctrine" (Tit. 1:9).

The body of doctrine is referred to in certain contexts as material that is to be utilized in the public proclamation of the Christian message (e.g., Phil. 2:16; 2 Tim. 2:15). The most celebrated credal passage that contains the crystallization of apostolic teaching on the basic elements of the gospel is 1 Cor. 15:3-5.

Vernon H. Neufeld has subjected all the NT confessions of faith to a close inspection (*Earliest Christian Confessions* [1963]) and has concluded that the earliest form of Christian witness may be taken back into the period of the Gospel record to the utterance, "Jesus is the Christ" (see Mk. 8:29). The question of Jesus' messiahship was a live issue in the period covered by the book of Acts and the Christian mission to the Jews of the Dispersion, and it is not surprising that the confession "Jesus is the Messiah" is found as a major theme in the early parts of the NT (e.g., Acts 9:22).

As the Church moved out into a gentile environment the debate concerning messiahship became an irrelevant issue; therefore, in Paul's dealings with the gentile churches of the Roman empire the messianic status of Jesus was a secondary concern. The confession "Jesus Christ is Lord" may be placed in the setting of the Church's worshiping life.

In Phil. 2:11 Paul quotes the confessional acclamation: "Jesus Christ is Lord." As already noted, this cry comes as the climax of the hymnic adoration of the cosmic Christ as all creatures throughout the universe bow down and submit to His dominion. A study of the passage by the Scandinavian scholar J. Jervell (*Imago Dei. Gen. 1.26s im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* [1960], pp. 206-209) has sought to place this hymn and its closing acclamation in a baptismal context. The line of reasoning runs as follows. The confession of Jesus Christ as Lord by converts may well have betokened for them the passing from the domain of the spirit-powers by which their old life was controlled (cf. 1 Cor. 12:2; Gal. 4:3-9) into the liberty and joy of the gospel (see Rom. 8:15, 21, 38f.; Gal. 5:1-26; Col. 1:21f.; 2:8-15). If this attempt to place the Phil. 2 hymn in such a setting is correct, it would provide yet one more endorsement of the general view that the affirmation "Jesus Christ is Lord" belongs to the cultic life of the early Christians as they engaged in their worship of the sovereign Master of their lives and of the universe.

The NT confessions extend from the simple "Jesus is Lord" to the detailed summaries of 1 Cor. 15:3-5; Rom. 1:3f.; 4:24f.; 8:34; Phil. 2:6-11; 1 Tim. 3:16 and 1 Pet.

3:18-22. As confessions of Christ, they comprehend the various aspects of His person (both preexistent and incarnate), His mission (His death, burial, descent into Hades), and His victory and exalted status and role as Intercessor and Lord of all. Extant binitarian creeds also unite the Father and the Son (1 Cor. 8:6; 1 Tim. 2:5f.). Nor should we overlook the implicit trinitarian fragments such as Mt. 28:19; 1 Cor. 6:11; 12:4-6; 2 Cor. 1:21f.; 13:14. Also, a triadic scheme in several verses set out the "division of work" of the trinity — the Father who sends, the Son who is sent, and the Spirit who applies the work of salvation (see Gal. 3:11-14; 4:4-6; He. 10:29; 1 Pet. 1:2). These constitute the raw materials of the later fully developed trinitarian creeds, which bid us praise the name of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (see Wainwright, chs. 2, 6).

XIV. Baptism in Jesus' Teaching.—Our immediate concern is with the worship of the NT Church. This delimiting of our interest means that we may pass over the meaning of the term "sacrament" and the significance of the sacraments in present-day discussion and ecumenical debate. Our task is much simpler. We have to inquire into the NT teaching in as impartial a way as possible.

The use of water in religious ceremonial is age-old. Ritual ablutions are very prominent in the OT, both in the cases of religious impurity (in Leviticus *passim*; Nu. 19), and in those instances when a ritual washing was part of the ceremony that a person practiced in approaching God (e.g., the high priest in Ex. 40:12-15; Lev. 8; Nu. 8). But, in addition to these ceremonial acts, a number of graphically worded texts bring out the need for moral cleansing (e.g., Ps. 51:7; Isa. 1:16; Ezk. 36:25; Zec. 13:1). And other verses look forward to the day when God will renew His people (Isa. 4:2-6; Jer. 33:8; Ezk. 36:25-33; 37:23).

The more spiritually sensitive among Israel's people looked for a time of national renewal and hope. It is therefore not surprising that some "sectarian" groups (the Essenes are the best-known examples; see 1QS 3:4-9; 4:21; 5:13) made much use of the baptismal lustrations in order to secure a holy people. The documents of the covenanters of Qumrân give some vivid instances of this fervent hope and of the serious preparations that they made to fit themselves for the part they would play in God's new order. But the sectaries of Qumrân knew that water alone could not cleanse the soul; the Holy Spirit working within the community must bring about the essential purification.

Another line of development that also prepared the Jews of the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D. for the advent of the gospel and its accompanying ceremonial acts was the practice of proselyte baptism. This ceremony made it possible for a Gentile to enter the fold of Judaism. The candidate was required to accept the demands of the law, to receive circumcision (if he were a male), and later to be baptized in the presence of witnesses as a prelude to the offering of sacrifice. The entire procedure was a means of entry into the new religion; but the "point of no return" came in the moment when the proselytes emerged from the water. Thenceforth they were regarded as newly born children of Abraham's family. (Cf. W. S. LaSor, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 13/1 [Jan.-Feb. 1987], pp. 52-59.)

Both sectarian and proselyte baptism are important for an understanding of John's baptismal practices. No single baptism is more significant than his receiving and baptizing his cousin, Jesus of Nazareth (Mt. 3:13-17; Mk. 1:9-11; Lk. 3:21f.; Jn. 1:29-34). This event provides us — as it provided the first generations of Christian believers — with a fixed starting-point in regard to the full import of the Christian ordinance.

A. He Submitted to Baptism. The account in Mt. 3:13-17 is not easy to interpret; some evidence from the apocryphal gospels shows that the early Church was puzzled by the fact that the sinless Lord should submit to a baptism "for the remission of sins" (Mk. 1:4f.). The difficulty is eased if, with T. W. Manson (*Servant-Messiah* [1956], pp. 46f.), we recall that the people who came to John's baptism did so with a great variety of motives. John's most illustrious candidate saw in the revival movement on Jordan's banks the sign that His public ministry was about to begin. He came, therefore, to identify Himself openly with John as "a man sent from God" (Jn. 1:6), the predestined herald of Messiah's coming (Mt. 11:6-15; Lk. 7:24-30; Mk. 9:9-13), and also with the people whom He came to save (Jn. 1:11).

B. He Sanctioned Baptism. The Synoptic Gospels have no record that our Lord or His disciples actually baptized. But Jn. 3:22-26; 4:1f. clearly indicate it. Above all, this Johannine tradition confirms the importance of a practice of baptism in this initial stage of the ministry, about which W. F. Flemington has written, "If baptism were practiced (in this early stage of the public ministry of Jesus) with the approval of Jesus, it becomes easier to explain why, immediately after Pentecost, baptism took its place as the normal rite of entry into the Christian community" (*NT Doctrine of Baptism* [1948], p. 31).

C. He Interpreted Baptism. Although the first three Gospels do not record the practice of baptism as an integral part of the public mission of Jesus, the word (used in a figurative sense) is found twice upon the lips of the Master. Both sayings are significant, for both are explanations of His Passion (Mk. 10:38f.; Lk. 12:50).

The saying of Lk. 12:50 ("I have a baptism to undergo. What tension I suffer, till it is all over!" [Moff.]) shows us how the Lord in His true humanity reacted, as at Gethsemane, to the horror of sin-bearing which loomed before Him. But another meaning may be present. Since the OT looked forward to God's renewal of His people in terms of a baptismal renewing, Jesus may have foreseen that His death and victory would usher in the kingdom of God and inaugurate the final chapter of God's dealing with humanity. At all events, He clearly interpreted His death as a baptismal action, full of deep significance both for Himself and His Church. It cannot be without an intended connection that Paul uses exactly the same two terms, baptism and death, in reverse order, as he interprets Christian baptism as a sharing of Christ's death and resurrection (Rom. 6:3-11; Col. 2:12).

D. He Commanded Baptism. Matthew 28:19f. contain what are among the most important — and the most controverted — words of Jesus Christ. All sorts of objections have been brought against this text — literary, textual, historical, and theological; and no consensus of agreement prevails among the commentators. James Denney makes an important point when he comments on the congruity of the Lord's command to baptize both with what has gone before in the Gospels and with what will follow in the other NT literature and the practice of the apostolic Church (*Death of Christ* [1959], p. 74). Flemington agrees with this reasoning (although he is more skeptical about the veracity of the actual words of Jesus in the text), and finds the key in the authority of Jesus that the early Church claimed as they, following the pentecostal preaching, began immediately to baptize the converts. Such an authority must go back to some dominical word, and this word, we may hold, lies in Mt. 28. Thus we may continue to see in these words at the end of Matthew "a supreme expression of the Christian belief that baptism is no human rite, but rests upon an authority no other than that of Jesus himself" (Flemington, p. 129).

XV. Apostolic Practice of Baptism.—*A. Baptism in Acts.*

The following are the salient points of the baptismal practice in the Acts.

1. In the Name of Jesus. Baptism was administered "in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:38; 10:48), or "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (8:16; 19:5). Much discussion has been evoked by the reference to the "name" in these contexts and in Mt. 28:19.

Acts 22:16 suggests that the name of Jesus was invoked by the baptizands in the act of their baptism, or even that the name of Jesus Christ was called over the candidates as they made their baptismal profession.

2. Coming of the Spirit. Baptism is connected with repentance (Acts 2:38), the offer of forgiveness (2:38; cf. 22;16), and the gift of the Spirit (2:38; cf. 10:44-48), although there is no strict order of sequence. Sometimes the Holy Spirit is given with baptism; at other times baptism follows the descent of the Spirit (10:44-48). The laying on of hands marked the coming of the Spirit in Samaria (8:14-17) and Ephesus (19:5f.) after baptism, and in Damascus (9:17f.) before baptism.

3. Spiritual Effects. The blessings of the new age that baptism makes real — forgiveness, entry into the Church, the fellowship of believers, and that conquering newborn joy that is denoted by the words "exultation" (Gk. *agallíasis*) and "boldness of speech" (Gk. *parrhēsía*) — were offered by the apostolic preaching as people "heard the word" and "believed."

The sequence of "hearing," "believing," and "being baptized" is preserved throughout the book of Acts; and the frequency of mention gives an impressive continuity to the apostolic practice (2:37f., 41; 8:12f., 35f.; 10:44; 11:14f.; 16:14f., 32f.; 18:8; 19:5).

4. Summary. All in all, allowing for certain deviations from this regular pattern, the witness of Acts is straightforward. Baptism (with or without the laying on of hands — a practice recorded in 8:15-17, which some scholars describe as a rudimentary "confirmation" of believers) is the rite of initiation into the visible Church, if this term is allowable. Its mode follows that of Jewish proselyte baptism, namely, immersion (8:38f.). The Greek terms for "baptize" and "baptism" mean strictly "douse" or "saturating"; yet from the use of the language employed a lack of decisiveness persists as to the mode of baptism.

Other studies, however, have paid more attention to the meanings that underlie the baptismal actions. While the thought of baptism (= "washing") from the defilement of sin is attested (e.g., Acts 22:16; see also 1 Cor. 6:11; Eph. 5:26; Tit. 3:5f. and possibly Rev. 1:5 [AV]; 7:14), the more important emphasis for the theology of baptism falls on the idea of baptism (= "immersion in the sea of death") as typifying a death to the old life and a new creation, as J. Ysebaert phrases it (*Greek Baptismal Terminology* [1962], p. 53). The metaphor is linked with the removal of clothes before entering the baptismal bath, and the putting on of fresh garments upon emergence from the water. Paul often pictures such a divestiture and reclothing (Gal. 3:27; Col. 3:9f., 12) in a context of death and new life (cf. Rom. 13:14; Col. 3:3, 9f., 12); and the entire thought is related to Christ's death and baptism (Eph. 4:22-24; Col. 2:11f.).

The households mentioned in regard to baptism in Acts are those of Lydia (16:15) and the Philippian jailer (16:33). The texts (esp. 16:31-34) seem to presuppose that entire "families" (used in the wide sense to include servants and kinsfolk) became committed to the faith.

No countenance is given to any magical or superstitious notions of baptismal efficacy (see, e.g., 8:13, 21f.). Moreover, we should observe that baptism is never presented as an option to Christian discipleship. It follows directly upon the initial act of faith, and may be said to be complementary to it. The call "Why do you wait? Rise and be baptized" (22:16) is the order that early Christians accepted with alacrity. Prebaptismal instruction and the catechumenate came later — although some scholars find an allusion to the preparation of candidates in He. 6:2 and even traces of a baptismal service in 1 Peter and 1 John.

B. Paul's Doctrine of Baptism. The chief contribution of Paul was to enlarge the understanding of his converts and fellow believers as to the deeper significance of what they already knew and experienced. He assumes that baptism is "in" or "into" the name of Christ, and is a symbol of cleansing (1 Cor. 1:13; 6:11; Eph. 5:26). As Acts also depicts the rite, the Pauline literature regards baptism as the outward sign of admittance into the fellowship of the Church. The positive and negative contributions of Paul, however, are made in terms of the drawing out of some latent implications, and the stating of some drastic basic truths in relation to an accepted Christian practice. Three points call for comment.

First, a negative, though important, consideration is that Paul recoils from any superstitious use of the sacraments. The Corinthians imagined that to have been baptized by some important person (like Peter, Apollos, Paul himself) was an occasion of great benefit to them. They seem to have had a strange practice of baptizing Church members for their deceased relatives and friends (1 Cor. 15:29; on this verse see R. P. Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation* [1984], pp. 118-121). Paul dissociates himself from the implied superstition of the first idea. No magical bond is set up between the baptizer and his convert — a notion that continued in the pagan religious customs of his day (1:13-17).

Second, two passages demonstrate the meaning of baptism as a means of entry into the community of the Church, Christ's body (12:13; Gal. 3:27; on these verses see R. P. Martin, pp. 19-25).

Third, the clarion call to live as those who are dead to self and alive to God is sounded in Rom. 6:1-4 in a baptismal context. Baptism clearly means this as the snatch of baptismal hymnody in Eph. 5:14 makes plain. The convert is plunged into the water — this means a dying with Christ. He or she remains for a moment under the surface — this means that one is buried with Him. The Christian emerges from the water — this means that he or she is raised with Him.

Paul describes in Rom. 6:1-4 what really happens in baptism, which (in the early Church) followed so closely upon conversion that the two experiences could be spoken of in the same breath and as virtual synonyms. Baptism is no empty symbol or "bare sign," but a genuine sacramental action in which God works, applies the saving efficacy of the death and resurrection of Christ in which we died and rose again, and places us in that sphere of divine life in which sin is conquered (6:7, 9-11).

In summary, two sides to Paul's baptismal teaching issue forth from the above texts. The ordinance "re-presents" the saving acts and events of the gospel, portraying in a dramatic way the death and rising of Jesus. In so far as conversion and baptism are two sides of the same coin, the sacrament brings to the participant the reality it signifies. But this is done not in any mechanical fashion, as though the mere performance of the rite guaranteed its inevitable efficacy. The subjective side is always needed. What God has done (in the gospel) and does (in the baptism) requires a personal appropriation; and this means, on the human side, the indispensability of faith (Col. 2:12; Eph. 2:8).

XVI. Background and Significance of the Upper Room Supper.–Although many precedents for a meal occurred between Jesus and His own followers in the course of the Galilean ministry, this meal was unique. The Lord's own words reveal His attitude to it: "How I have longed to eat this Passover with you before my death!" (Lk. 22:15, NEB). The special significance of this Passover, which stamped it with an unforgettable importance (1 Cor. 11:23), was not in what He did, but in what He said. At certain places in the customary service He interjected His words of interpretation and thereby illuminated three topics.

A. Words of Institution. With the bread on the table before Him and the disciples, they heard Him say, "This is my body which is for you"; and after the meal, over a closing cup of wine, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (1 Cor. 11:23; cf. Mt. 26:26-28; Mk. 14:22-24; Lk. 22:19f.).

The key to His words lies in the Passover interpretation of Dt. 16:3. While Jewish tradition says that the bread and the wine in the various paschal cups stand for the past redemption that is thereby brought into the present and made to relive, Jesus declares that the bread in His hands represents His body, shortly to be yielded up in the service of God's redeeming purpose (He. 10:5-10); and that the cup of blessing on the table represents His blood, poured out in death, recalling the sacrificial rites of the OT. Both dishes are invested with a new significance — a parabolic one — as they speak of (and bring into the present for personal appropriation by the Church, as often as the Lord's table is spread) the new Exodus that He effected for His people.

B. New Covenant. The cup is associated with the covenant (Ex. 24:3-11) that God made with the nation of Israel. But this compact failed because of Israel's defection (Jer. 3:20; 31:32) and rebellion (Isa. 1:2; Hos. 6:7f.). Jeremiah spoke, therefore, of a new covenant that the Lord would make (Jer. 31:31-34); and Jesus announced the fulfillment of this hope in the upper room, with the emphasis falling on those elements that Jeremiah had predicted: the inwardness of faith, personal responsibility, and the pledge of full forgiveness.

With many nuances to be understood from the use of the cup, it is not possible to say exactly what was in the Lord's mind as He pointed to red wine on the Passover table and exclaimed, "This cup means My covenant-blood." Certainly, we should see in this allusion an interpretation of His death as inaugurating the new covenant of Jeremiah. But while His work is solitary and unique, He calls His followers to share the benefits and avail themselves of the fruits of His Passion; for in drinking the cup (as in eating the bread) they will be appropriating His life laid down in sacrifice and taken up in newness of power. Jn. 6:32-35 preserves this teaching that His work does not avail unless it is received, even as food does not nourish until it is assimilated.

C. Command to Repeat. Because Jesus attached such significance to His death and its parabolic enactment in the bread and the cup, it is natural that He should go on to command that His actions at the table be perpetuated. Lk. 22:19 (AV) contains the words: "This do in remembrance of me," an instruction renewed in Paul's account of 1 Cor. 11:24f. At the table of remembrance, the Church does not simply reflect (as a mental exercise) upon the cross of Calvary, but relives the accomplished redemption, returns to the upper room and the hill, and shares in that saving work that it knows as a present reality — because its Author is the living One in the midst of His ransomed people.

XVII. Paul's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.–In this subject Paul was no innovator. He did not introduce a teaching that his contemporaries suspected as newfangled and foreign to the gospel they had known. Theologians in the early part of the 20th cent. cherished the notion that Paul was such a novel teacher. But the evidence is against it, and the theory that the apostle was a Hellenist who foisted on the Church a sacramental doctrine that was modeled on the Greek Mystery practice of a meal in honor of a cult deity is rightly discredited.

The clearest proof we have of Paul's faithful exposition of the doctrine is the way in which he unfolds all that is implicit in the Lord's own teaching in the upper room. Three features marked this dominical teaching, as we noted: (1) there was a common meal and table-fellowship; (2) as bread and wine were taken, the Lord's presence was to be recalled "in remembrance of Me"; (3) the simple rite pointed beyond itself to a future hope in the kingdom of God. Paul's contribution lies in an application of these basic ideas.

A. Fellowship. Nothing is more characteristic of the apostle's sacramental teaching than his use of the term "fellowship" (Gk. *koinōnía*). In baptism we are united with Christ in His death and risen life; in the Lord's Supper we share in His body and blood. This is the plain sense of 1 Cor. 10:16. By reception of the bread and wine and in response to faith — for the elements have no inherent efficacy or magical power to produce the blessing they signify — the believer is united to the sacrifice of Christ. Paul seems to view the bread and wine as signifying to the Christian what the Passover dishes mean to the Jew. Ex. 13:8 is a confession of "what the Lord did for me," even though the participant of later Passover feasts had never personally set foot in Egypt, and had never known the wonder of the Red Sea miracle. The Corinthian believers had never been to the Palestine of Jesus' earthly ministry, had never seen Him in His human form in the days of His flesh (He. 5:7), and had never sat at His table nor stood at His Cross. Yet by taking into their hands the things that He handled and hearing the words that He spoke, and realizing that He is present by the Holy Spirit, they were united with Him in His atoning sacrifice and its potent benefits.

But the fellowship has a horizontal as well as a vertical reference. As we are knit with an unseen yet present Lord at His table, so we are united with His people. This is the meaning of 1 Cor. 10:17: "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread."

In 1 Cor. 10:14-22 Paul relates the teaching of the Supper to some pressing needs of his readers. The most obvious is the glaring disunity of the Church (1 Cor. 1:10-13; 3:3; 4:6f.; 6:1-8; etc.). He meets this need by pointing out how fellowship at a common table, and eating from a single loaf, are both meaningless practices unless the Church realizes that its unity should be expressed in tangible ways.

B. Remembrance. The tradition that Paul received contained the words: "Do this in remembrance of me" (1 Cor. 11:24f.). His account goes on to interpret this command: "you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (v. 26). Both sentences are of consequence for our understanding of the ordinance; and both are to be seen on a Passover backcloth.

"To recall," in biblical thought, means to transport into the present an action that is buried in the past, and to do it in such a way that its original potency and vitality are not lost. "In remembrance of me," then, is no bare historical reflection upon the cross, but a recalling of the crucified and living Christ in such a way that He is personally pres-

ent in all the fulness and reality of His saving power and is appropriated by the believers' faith. The question now presses, how is this done?

The apostolic answer lies in the words: "you proclaim the Lord's death." The verb Gk. *katangéllō* is the same as in 1 Cor. 2:1, and indeed the verb is a usual one for the proclaiming of an event, the announcement of the gospel. It is the death that is preached at the table, not the dying of Jesus that is reenacted. This emphasis has obvious links with the Passover liturgy.

Provided we insist on the importance of a living communion by faith, we may agree (in the light of the strong realism of 1 Cor. 10:16) with Hauck's interpretation: "For Paul the bread and wine are vehicles of the presence of Christ" (*TDNT*, III, 805).

C. Future Hope. "Until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:26) points to the future. The gospel ordinance belongs to the Church age that will run its course until the inbreaking of the final kingdom. The table bids the Church look to that day when the kingdom will be fully consummated; and our invocation of "Maranatha" ("Our Lord, come!") as a prayer for the end and the establishment of the kingdom naturally found a place in the communion services of the early Church (see Did. 10:6). The double thought of the Lord's presence at the table and at the end of the age runs through this primitive watchword.

Past, present, and future are thus gathered up in one sacred and joyful festival of the Lord's table in the apostolic practice and teaching. "Indeed, in this Sacrament the whole of what our religion means is expressed" (C. H. Dodd, *Christian Worship* [1936], p. 82); for one Lord Jesus Christ, incarnate, atoning, and triumphant, is the sum and substance of it all.

XVIII. Some Theological Aspects of Christian Worship.– At the close of our study, we revert to the meaning of Christian worship. At its most elemental level, worship may be defined (as by E. Underhill, *Worship* [3rd ed. 1937], ch. 1) as "the response of the creature to the eternal" or "an acknowledgment of Transcendence." That response or acknowledgment is best interpreted and expressed in terms of adoration as the worshiper, conscious of his or her creatureliness and finiteness, bows before the transcendent and wholly other being who is God.

It is true that this definition of worship as "response to transcendence" has been assailed in recent times. The so-called crisis of worship, which was discussed at the Uppsala sessions of the World Council of Churches in 1968, has arisen partly because the secular version of the gospel calls in question the relevance of worship in its traditional form (see *Studia Liturgica*, 7 [1970], for collected essays on this theme) and partly because the concept of transcendence and the "numinous" has been challenged (as by J. G. Davies, *Every Day God* [1973]). To discuss these issues here would take us too far afield, and it must be sufficient to say that a modernizing of worship forms has so far failed to gain acceptance among Christians generally, and that the critique of transcendence leaves an empty space in our understanding of the divine that no updated version of immanence or idea of God as the "ground of being" can fill. (See further R. P. Martin, *Worship of God* [1982], pp. 2-6.)

We may return to the accepted definition of worship as the creature's response to the Creator who is at once above and yet graciously near. Two important aspects of worship are already implicit in this opening statement. One is the *theocentric* nature of Christian worship. It is an exercise of the human spirit that is directed primarily to God; it is an enterprise undertaken not simply to satisfy our need or to make us feel better or to minister to our aesthetic taste or social well-being, but to express the worthiness of God Himself. And this observation corresponds with the derivation of the very word we use, which has, incidentally, no semantic equivalent in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or any modern European language. As noted, "worship" means by its Anglo-Saxon etymology "worth-ship." We may recall that in the Marriage Service of Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*, the prospective husband's promise is, "With my body I thee worship." This is a pledge of utter loyalty and devotion to his bride who is worthy of this, at least in his eyes. Now if we elevate this thought to the realm of divine-human relationships, we have a working definition of "worship" ready-made for us. To worship God is to ascribe to Him supreme worth, for He is uniquely worthy to be honored in this way. For confirmation of this proposal we need only glance at the hymnbook of the second temple: "Ascribe to the Lord the glory due his name" (Ps. 96:8). Because the Lord is great, He is "greatly to be praised" (v. 4). "Extol the Lord our God, and worship at his holy mountain" is the call of Ps. 99:9, with the reason for this invitation to worship supplied as "for the Lord our God is holy!"

The other side of worship is derivative and secondary, but nonetheless important in its place. Because God is eminently praiseworthy and worshipful, those who address worship to God in an act of acclamation and devotion will want to offer their very best and to demonstrate, by that offering of praise, prayer, and giving, the seriousness with which this religious exercise is regarded. If the theocentric aspect of worship heads the list of priorities, a second element will be that Christians intend by what they do in worship to make *a thoughtful, costly, and worthy offering,* appropriate to the high occasion and in line with the serious intent of their coming into the presence of the all-holy, all-gracious God. (The character of God determines the nature of worship, as the present writer has tried to show in *Worship in the Early Church* [rev. ed. 1974], pp. 12ff.) The OT rituals and ceremonies heavily accent this need for the worshiper's preparation for and participation in the various prescriptions and requirements that have to be met. Consider David: "I will not offer burnt offerings to the Lord my God which cost me nothing" (2 S. 24:24). "You cannot serve the Lord" was Joshua's admonition (Josh. 24:19) to a people who in their easygoing, idolatrous ways had forgotten that "he is a holy God; he is a jealous God," who requires a wholehearted and unshared dedication to His name and a commitment to His cause in terms of a full allegiance and avowal. Put into modern terms, these biblical verses stress the seriousness of our worship and the imperious claim it lays upon us. A flippant attitude to worship is obviously out of place and shows only that we have not yet even begun to understand what the worship of God is intended to be and do. Conversely, a deep sense of privilege in our approach to God will mean that our worship will be ordered with careful thought and thus will be acceptable to Him.

With this introduction we may turn to see how the Holy Spirit plays His role in promoting just these two heartfelt desires within the worshiping body of Christ. He leads the Church to think on God as central and to direct its thought from self-centered ways and works to a God-oriented perspective. Furthermore, it is a mark of His leading that we are disposed to worship at all, and to do so in a manner that is worthy of the enterprise to which we set ourselves. Both these ministries of the Spirit may be covered by Paul's general rubric, stated with clarity and force in Phil. 3:3 (RSV mg.): "We . . . worship by the Spirit of God," and read out from the familiar verse of Jn. 4:24: "God is

spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth."

The NT teaching on the offices of the Holy Spirit is organized only in a loose fashion. No systematic statement is present, and our task is to draw together the various threads that hang down from a number of passages in the hope of weaving them into a pattern. The overall impression we gain is that the first Christians had a vivid awareness of the Spirit's presence and power, and their worship stood within the "magnetic field of the Holy Spirit" (W. C. van Unnik, "*Dominus Vobiscum,*" in A. J. B. Higgins, ed., *NT Essays,* [1959], p. 294). To justify this notable description we may note the following features of the Spirit's activity.

A. The Holy Spirit and Jesus' Lordship. "No one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:3) is usually taken to mean that it is the Spirit's gracious work to lead a person by way of conviction of sin (Jn. 16:8) and apprehension of the truth of the gospel to the place of faith in Christ and confession of His name. But the context of Paul's writing is that of the exercise of spiritual gifts in the Church and it is more likely that the cry "Jesus is Lord" echoed in a meeting for congregational worship when also the heretical ejaculation "Jesus is damned" was heard. Paul's reply is to indicate that no influence of the Spirit of God in the Corinthian assembly would ever lead to this blasphemy, which probably reflects an attempt to tear apart the Jesus of the Gospel tradition from a heavenly Christ-figure whom the Corinthian Gnostics exaggerated at the expense of the former. "Jesus is Lord" is Paul's counterstatement of apostolic confession; and such a tribute, he remarks, can be made only as the Holy Spirit works in the Church at worship. Alternative possibilities of the meaning of this text do exist. But whether it is the danger of uncontrolled enthusiasm expressed in speaking in ecstatic language (cf. 1 Cor. 14), or the specific temptation of being enticed to deny the faith under cross examination, it seems clear that Paul's rebuttal of any suggestion that he regards as blasphemous is to be found in the invocation of the lordship of Jesus that the Spirit alone can make possible.

B. Role of the Spirit. According to Pauline teaching the Holy Spirit pervades Christian worship. He inspires the Church to pray, helping believers in their weakness (Rom. 8:26f.), and, in a mysterious way that Paul does not explain, interceding for Christians by apparently interpreting before God the hidden secrets and unspoken requests that we find hard to articulate in words. "Praying in the Spirit" (Eph. 6:18; cf. 1 Cor. 14:15) carries this sense of calling upon His assistance in prayer and allowing Him to express through our spirits the desires that accord with God's will for our lives and the well-being of His people. Our entire access to God through Christ the Son depends upon the vivifying ministry of the Spirit who makes the nearness of the Father real and vital in our experience as we plead the intercessory work of the Redeemer. So, in a summarizing statement, "Through him [Christ the Lord] we both [Jews and Gentiles, now one in the new man] have access in one Spirit to the Father" (Eph. 2:18). "The Spirit gives life" (2 Cor. 3:6) is a well-attested Pauline conviction (Rom. 8:2, 11; Gal. 5:25).

C. Aspects of NT Worship. 1. Charismatic. This element is prominent in the Corinthian correspondence. By this term we understand the offering of enthusiastic praise and prayer under the direct afflatus of the Holy Spirit, whether in intelligible speech — what Paul calls "speaking . . . with my mind" (1 Cor. 14:19) — or in ecstatic speech — what he refers to as the gift of tongues (14:2, 6ff.). While Paul does not condemn the latter practice, he is sensitive to its apparent dangers of exhibitionism and meaninglessness (14:20-23); he knows how easily such an exuberance can get out of hand (14:32f.); and how in this way the motif of worship on its human side can be defeated, as a selfish lust for spiritual experience cancels the believer's concern for the upbuilding of the whole community (14:12). Paul, in fact, sets some controls by his channeling of glossolalia into the realm of the Christian's private devotion (clearly 14:2. 18); and whenever the gift is practiced "in church" (14:19, 28), where worship is a public affair as Christians come together (vv. 23, 26), Paul insists that there shall be a corresponding interpretation to explicate the tongue and make its message plain and meaningful, so that in this way the body of Christ may be edified (14:5). "Interpreting" the esoteric message of a tongue is itself a gift of the Spirit (12:10). This is part and parcel of the apostle's basic interest: "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (12:7). (On the situation that called forth this Pauline statement see R. P. Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation* [1984], ch. 2.)

2. Didactic. Congregational worship in the Pauline churches has its didactic side. This term covers all ministry by the spoken word that aimed at clarifying the will of God for His people. Various verbs show how seriously Paul took this ministry of instruction and Christian education: teaching (1 Cor. 12:8; 14:26; Eph. 4:11; 1 Tim. 3:2; 4:13; 5:17), instructing (1 Cor. 2:13), prophesying (which, from 1 Cor. 11:4, 5; 14:3, 31, looks as though it meant what we today call preaching), and discerning the truth and testing the content of prophetic utterances (1 Cor. 14:29; 1 Thess. 5:21). This ability to speak the word of wisdom and knowledge, to prophesy, and to distinguish the genuine oracle from the spurious utterance (see 1 Jn. 4:1) is made possible as those who engage in it "are inspired by one and the same Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:11). He is Christ's gift to the church (Eph. 4:7) and He makes Christ's bestowal of ministry (4:11f.) effectual. And once more Paul's insistence stands, "Let all things be done for edification" (1 Cor. 14:26).

3. Eucharistic. This feature of corporate worship strikes the note of praise, for which the term eucharistic conveys the exact sense. From the Greek verb *eucharistéō,* "thank" or "praise," this description applies equally to prayers of thanksgiving (referred to as "blessing [God] in the Spirit"; 1 Cor. 14:16), to hymns of praise inspired by the Spirit (Eph. 5:19f.; Col. 3:16f.), and to the occasion par excellence when believers met to celebrate with thankful spirits the festival of redemption at the Lord's table. At Corinth, party rivalries and selfish behavior marred the assembling for the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:20), and the very objective that the eucharistic gathering should have achieved, namely, a true fellowship between believers, was never attained. The purpose of edification and mutual enrichment within the body of the Lord was frustrated. To that extent the desire of the Spirit to achieve a unity within the body (1 Cor 12:13; Eph. 4:3f.) failed of its purpose because of this massive breakdown of fellowship and concord. Not "discerning the body" (1 Cor. 11:29) sums up the tragic denial of the Spirit's work to create *koinōnía* at Corinth (see R. P. Martin, "Spiritual Gifts," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* [forthcoming]).

D. Conclusion. Our conclusion seems an inevitable one. Whatever the outward forms or expressions of worship, the work of the Holy Spirit was to promote the well-being of all participating members of the one body in Christ and to build up that body in its true oneness. The thought that the church at worship is an accidental convergence in one place of a number of isolated individuals

who practice their own private devotional exercises, is alien to the NT picture.

Two consequences can be drawn from Paul's insistence that worship on its "human" side is to be understood as upbuilding. First, Christian worship is a truly corporate experience. It is not a case of the individual seeking his or her own ends. That person must remember that he or she worships as an individual who is a member within the body of Christ. This rule puts a check upon selfishness and the gratification of personal taste. Second, we all have a part to play. Eduard Schweizer has shown that most of modern worship is defective at this point. "It is completely foreign to the NT to split the Christian community into one speaker and a silent body of listeners" (E. Schweizer, *Reformed and Presbyterian World*, 24 [1957], 295), when we have regard to Paul's full exposition of the Spirit-in-the-community-at-worship in 1 Cor. 12 and 14:26-33. The opposite extreme is hinted at in 14:33-40, on which J. Moffatt comments, "Worship is not to be turned into a discussion-group, he insists" (*First Corinthians* [*MNTC*, 1938], p. 233).

In the final section we may deduce some practical considerations that may be stated categorically as summarizing conclusions.

(1) The centrality of God-in-Christ in the pattern of NT worship emphasizes the function of the Spirit's ministry to enable us to emerge from the straitjacket of our oversensitive preoccupation with our "feelings" at any given time, and rise into the presence of God through a contemplation of Him in His goodness, beauty, and truth, and especially in His redeeming acts. The Johannine Paraclete helps us to achieve this goal (Jn. 16:13f.).

(2) Our reliance upon the Spirit to arouse in us a desire to worship God will mean that we will then want to offer our best, and to turn away from an indifferent, casual, or mechanical observance of our holy offices of praise.

(3) The gifts of the Spirit are all personal, and this reminds us that the Holy Spirit acts upon the worshiping company as persons. He respects us as personalities made by God and for God. True worship, therefore, will disown any practice that suggests a manipulation of people, a cajoling of them to accept what the preacher says or what the priest offers, or an unhealthy play upon the emotions.

(4) The polarization of "liberty" versus "liturgy" (see the balanced discussion in S. F. Winward's *Reformation of Our Worship* [1964], ch. 5) is really a false one, since the Spirit is greater than all our forms and can work both through them and apart from them. The Pauline emphasis on upbuilding is more important, and the use (or nonuse) of service books, set prayers, sung responses and ceremonial acts needs to be decided in the light of the prior question: What is the pattern of worship that best conveys the richness of divine grace, faithfully interprets the gospel in our modern world, and helpfully consolidates the body of Christ?

(5) Congregational participation follows directly from the teaching on the gifts of the Spirit, for the gifts are imparted not to a spiritual elite or a ministerial caste but to the entire body. This gives a dignity to the worshiping company in the exercise of its priestly function (1 Pet. 2:1-10) and makes real in our modern church life the fulfillment of that ancient promise that God will pour out His Spirit upon all flesh (Joel 2:28-32 [MT 3:1-5]; Acts 2:16-21).

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WORSHIPER [Heb. part. of *'ābaḏ*–'serve,' 'worship' (2 K. 10:19-23; Ps. 97:7); Gk. part. of *latreúō*–'serve,' 'worship' (He. 9:9; 10:2), part. of *proskynéō*–'prostrate oneself before' (Rev. 14:11), *proskynētḗs* (Jn. 4:23)]; AV also SERVE, DO SERVICE; NEB also MINISTER; **WORSHIPER OF GOD** [Gk. *theosebḗs*–'God-fearing' (Jn. 9:31), *sebómenos tón theón*–'one who fears God' (Acts 16:14; 18:7); NEB also DEVOUT.

See DEVOUT; FEAR IV.B.1; WORSHIP.

WORTH [Heb. *ḥayil*–'power, wealth' (Ruth 3:11), *kᵉmô*–'like, as' (2 S. 18:3), *(ki)mᵉʿaṭ*–'a little, few' ("little worth," Prov. 10:20), pual part. of *sālā'*–'be paid' ("worth their weight," Lam. 4:2); Gk. *áxios* ("worth comparing," Rom. 8:18), *dokimḗ*–'test, proof' (Phil. 2:22), part. of *hyperéchō*–'rise above, surpass, excel' ("surpassing worth," Phil. 3:8)]; AV also VIRTUOUS, COMPARABLE, PROOF, EXCELLENCY, etc.; NEB also CAPABLE, TRASH (Prov. 10:20), RECORD, etc.; **WORTHLESS** [Heb. *('iš/bᵉnê) (hab)bᵉlîyaʿal*–'(man/son of) uselessness' (1 S. 2:12; 10:27; 2 S. 16:7; 20:1; Job 34:18; Prov. 6:12; 16:27; 19:28), *rêq*–'empty, unsteady' (Jgs. 9:4; 11:3; "worthless pursuits," Prov. 12:11; 28:19), *heḇel*–'vanity' (Isa. 30:7; Jer. 10:15; 16:19; 51:18), *'ĕlîl*–'nought, vain' (Job 13:4; Ps. 97:7), *qᵉlōqēl*–'contemptible' (Nu. 21:5), *šāw'*–'vain, unfounded' (Job 11:11), *'ĕwilî*–'useless' (Zec. 11:15); Gk. *achreíos*–'useless' (Mt. 25:30), *adókimos*–'counterfeit, worthless' (He. 6:8); (vbs.) Heb. *hāḇal*–'be vain, empty' (Jer. 2:5), part. of *zālal* (Jer. 15:19)]; AV also VANITY, VAIN, REFUSE, SONS/CHILDREN/MAN OF BELIAL, UNGODLY, etc.; NEB also SCOUNDREL, IDLE, WORTH NOTHING, "of no value," etc.; **WORTHLESSNESS** [Heb. *heḇel*–'vanity' (Jer. 2:5)]; AV VANITY; NEB EMPTY PHANTOM; **WORTHY** [Heb. *qāṭōn*–'be small' (Gen. 32:10 [MT 11]), *ḥayil* (1 K. 1:42, 52); Gk. *áxios* (Mt. 10:11, 13, 37f.; Lk. 15:19, 21; Jn. 1:27; Acts 13:25; 1 Tim. 1:15; He. 11:38; Rev. 3:4; etc.), *hikanós*–'sufficient, adequate, large enough', *axíōs*–'worthily' (Eph. 4:1; Phil. 1:27; Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:12), (vbs.) *axióō*–'consider worthy, deserving, suitable, fitting' (2 Thess. 1:11; 1 Tim. 5:17; He. 3:3), *kataxióō*–'consider worthy' (pass., Lk. 20:35; Acts 5:41; 2 Thess. 1:5)]; AV also VALIANT, MEET (Acts 26:20), etc.; NEB also FIT, HONOURABLE, DESERVE, etc.; **UNWORTHY** [Gk. *achreíos*–'useless, worthless' (Lk. 17:10), *ouk* + *áxios*–'not worthy' (Acts 13:46), *anaxíōs* (1 Cor. 11:27)]; AV also UNPROFITABLE, UNWORTHILY (1 Cor. 11:27); NEB also "deserve no credit" (Lk. 17:10), UNWORTHILY (1 Cor. 11:27). The words "worth" and "worthy" are derived from their respective contexts in Gen. 23:15; Ezr. 8:26f.; Mk. 6:37; and Phil. 4:8. In Isa. 7:23 the Hebrew preposition *bᵉ-* (RSV, NEB, "worth"; AV "at") implies price or exchange (see R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*

[2nd ed. 1976], § 246, p. 45). In Jer. 14:14 Heb. *'ĕlûl* should probably read *'ĕlîl*, "nought, vain." In Zec. 11:17 the RSV emends *'ĕlîl*, "idol" (so AV), to *'ĕwîlî*, "useless" (see *BHS*). See the comms. for "worthy" in 2 S. 22:4 par. Ps. 18:3 (MT 4), and "worthless" in 1 S. 15:9.

In the RSV OT a significant term translated "worth" is Heb. *ḥayil*. In Ruth 3:11 Boaz uses this term to describe Ruth's sterling character, which was known by all of Boaz's fellow townsmen (for similar uses of *ḥayil*, see "good" in Prov. 12:4; 31:10). In 1 K. 1:42, 52 the RSV translates *ḥayil* as "worthy"; in v. 42 it refers to one who possesses social and economic status, but in v. 52 it seems to refer to one who is trustworthy (see S. J. DeVries, *1 Kings* [*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1985], p. 20; *TDOT*, IV, 350).

The most significant term translated "worthless" in the RSV OT is Heb. *heḇel*. Jeremiah frequently uses it in reference to idols (e.g., Jer. 10:15; 51:18; "worthless things," 16:19; cf. "false," 10:3; "idols," 8:19; 10:8). Also, "worthlessness" (cf. "Lord Delusion" in J. Bright, *Jeremiah* [*AB*, 2nd ed. 1984], p. 15) translates *haheḇel* in Jer. 2:5, which may function as a pun on "Baal" (Heb. *habba'al*) in v. 8 (see W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* [*Hermeneia*, 1986], pp. 86, 89; also Bright, p. 15).

The RSV OT also translates Heb. *rêq* as "worthless." In Jgs. 9:4 and 11:3 it refers to individuals who perhaps were "without visible evidence of material success" (J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth* [*NCBC*, rev. ed. 1986], p. 302; cf. 1 S. 22:2). Prov. 12:11 and 28:19 use it in reference to ventures that lack serious accomplishment or profit.

In the RSV NT thirty-six of the forty-eight words translated "worthy," etc., derive from the *áxios* word-group. "Worthy" (*áxios*) usually applies to people, e.g., a house (i.e., people) that is not "deserving" (Mt. 10:13), uncommitted people who do not deserve to be disciples of Jesus (10:37f.), guests who are not "worthy" or deserving of the host's graciousness (22:8), the prodigal who no longer deserved to be called a son (Lk. 15:19, 21), people who view themselves as unsuitable to perform a task (Jn. 1:27; Acts 13:25; cf. Gk. *hikanós* in Mt. 3:11 par.), masters who deserve honor from their servants (1 Tim. 6:1), the Lamb and the Lord who are in a position to receive glory, honor, and power (Rev. 4:11; esp. 5:12), the Lamb who alone deserves to open the scroll (Rev. 5:2, 4, 9), etc.

The cognate verb *axióō* occurs three times. In 2 Thess. 1:11 Paul prays that God may make the Thessalonians deserving of His call. In 1 Tim. 5:17 the author states that Timothy should regard elders who rule well as "worthy" and act accordingly toward them. Also, Jesus' superiority to Moses means that He deserves more glory than Moses (He. 3:3).

"Worthy" also translates the related adverb *axíōs*. Paul implores his readers to lead lives that correspond to their calling (Eph. 4:1) and to the gospel of Jesus Christ (Phil. 1:27), and to live in a way deserving of the Lord (Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:12).

Greek *anaxíōs*, translated "unworthy" in 1 Cor. 11:27, is significant. It does not refer to a moral quality but to an attitude determined by the gospel (*TDNT*, I, 380). The self-examination encouraged by Paul as a corrective to eating and drinking in an "unworthy manner" is not a plea for personal introspection; rather it is a call to remember the true nature and purpose of Christ's sacrificial death on the cross and the meaning of this for the community of the Church. The AV rendering "unworthily" is unfortunate in that it can shift the focus of the Supper onto the communicant and fosters a highly individualistic and pietistic response to the Lord's Supper. See G. Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (*NICNT*, 1987), pp. 559-561.

The RSV NT translates Gk. *hikanós* as "worthy" five times (Mt. 3:11; 8:8; Mk. 1:7; Lk. 3:16; 7:6). It functions as a confession of the supreme authority and messiahship of Jesus (*TDNT*, III, 294).

The Greek term *achreíos* basically means "useless." The RSV NT translates it as "worthless" (Mt. 25:30) and "unworthy" (Lk. 17:10); in both instances it refers to servants but with significant differences. In Matthew it appears in a dominical saying of judgment, whereas in Luke it reflects the disciples' humility.

Bibliography.–*DNTT*, III, 728-730; *TDNT*, I, *s.v.* ἄξιος κτλ. (Foerster); III, *s.v.* ἱκανός (Rengstorf). G. L. KNAPP

WORTHIES. AV term meaning "prominent persons," used to translate Heb. *'addîrîm* (RSV "officers"; NEB "leaders") in Nah. 2:5 (MT 6). *See* OFFICER.

WOT. *See* WIT.

WRATH; ANGER [Heb. *'ap, 'ānap, ḥēmâ, 'eḇrâ, qeṣep, zā'am, za'ap, ḥārôn, rōgez*; Gk. *orgḗ, thymós*]; AV also FURY, INDIGNATION, HOT DISPLEASURE, etc. *See also* SLOW.

I. Human Anger.–The OT contains numerous examples of human anger, generally without comment on the abstract rightness or wrongness of anger apart from specific situations in which it arises. Moses is notable in often being spoken of as angry (e.g., Ex. 11:8; 16:20; 32:19-22; Lev. 10:16). His anger, though it was motivated by concern for the people's allegiance to the God of Israel and was often simply a reflection of the divine wrath (as in Nu. 16:15-49 [MT 16:15–17:14]), did not unvaryingly accomplish God's purposes (Ps. 106:32f.; cf. Nu. 20:10-12).

The NT shows a desire to deal with human anger as a problem of ethics and behavior, regarding it entirely negatively. Jesus regarded anger and insults as of serious eschatological consequence, even though they are less serious than murder, and He extended the Law to them (Mt. 5:21-22). Eph. 4:26f. appears to support a milder attitude by recognizing the inevitability of human anger, but calling for vigilance against its dangers and for it not to be nursed beyond the end of one day. But the same pericope goes on to say forcefully that anger should be "put away" (v. 31). According to James, anger must be carefully controlled, because it does not accomplish God's righteous purposes (Jas. 1:19f.). A similar insistence on control of anger appears in the OT wisdom literature (e.g., Prov. 15:18; 19:11; 29:11). The NT message of love for enemies includes the abandonment of human vengeance (Rom. 12:19-21).

II. God's Wrath.–God's wrath is such an essential aspect of the biblical message that biblical writers can speak of "(the) wrath," meaning God's wrath, without specifying that His wrath is in view (e.g., 2 Ch. 28:13; Mt. 3:7; Lk. 21:23; Rom. 12:19; 13:4). It has been thought that this usage indicates that "wrath" is considered an impersonal force, "merely an inevitable process of cause and effect in a moral universe" (Dodd, p. 23). But because the terms for God's response to sin are terms used for human emotions and behavior (esp. in a graphic description of emotion such as Isa. 30:27f.), His judgments are not portrayed as impersonal; a personality like that of human persons is behind the judgment of sin. Furthermore, God's wrath is not pictured as a constant without variation; the revelation that God's wrath is, in the final analysis, far outweighed by His love does not wait for the NT, but is already a fundamental part of the OT message, most clearly in the Prophets (Isa. 54:8; Hos. 11:8-11; Mic. 7:18; cf. also Ps. 103:8-12).

A. OT. God's wrath is most simply His displeasure, understood as the basis of every kind of human misfortune, such as leprosy (Nu. 12:9f.), plague (2 S. 24:1f. 10-25), drought (Dt. 11:17), the desolation brought by war (Isa. 13:13-18), exile (2 K. 23:26f.), the destruction of an established social and cultural order (Ps. 60:1-3 [MT 3-5]; Lam. 4:11; Ezk. 5:15), and death (Ps. 88:6-7 [MT 7-8]; 90:7-12). What is involved is the understanding of all events as having their cause in the will of God (cf. Am. 3:6).

But because God had come to be known as the holy One who has called His people into a covenant relationship with Him, His wrath was distinguishable from the usual arbitrary maliciousness of deities of other ancient Near Eastern religions. It was understood as His response to sin, the antipathy of the holy toward that which is unholy, directed especially against Israel's breaches of the covenant (Dt. 11:17; 29:24-28 [MT 23-27]; Ezr. 8:22; Neh. 13:18; Ps. 78:21-31, 58-64; Jer. 21:12), but also against the hostility shown by other peoples toward the covenant people (Ps. 2; 79:6f.; Isa. 10:24-26; 63:3-6).

God's wrath is, therefore, a principle of rational retributive justice that explains the disasters which come upon individuals and nations. David's resort to mere chance in speaking of Uriah's death (2 S. 11:25) places the king for that moment outside the developing biblical pattern of thought. The covenant itself means that God's will is discernible and that the calamities which befall the covenant people must be understood as God's response to the sins of His people (Am. 3:2). (It is true, though, that ignorance of God is itself considered an inducement of the divine wrath [Job 42:7; Ps. 78:21f.; cf. Rom. 1:18-25].) But retributive justice is not its own end in the OT; the basis of the covenant is God's desire to love a particular people, and a rational doctrine of reward and punishment did not exhaust Israel's understanding of its God (cf. Hos. 11:9; Mic. 7:18). Because of God's righteous upholding of His covenant with His people, He is able to turn His wrath away from them (Dnl. 9:16; cf. Ps. 78:38; 85:2f. [MT 3f.]; Isa. 48:9).

It is true, however, that God's wrath came to be thought of as especially concentrated in the eschatological future, which could be portrayed as a "day of wrath" (Zeph. 1:15, 18; 2:2f.; cf. Lam. 1:12). In this there is little resort to God's covenant love as the more fundamental divine characteristic. Just as human sin came to be thought of as a fixed state of affairs, divine wrath came to be thought of as a fixed state, waiting for the eschatological moment to be released in worldwide punishment. But even this thought was communicated as a call to repentance (as in Zeph. 2:3).

B. NT. The OT understanding of God's wrath is taken for granted by the NT writers. Paul states as axiomatic that God's wrath is universally revealed, now and always, against human impiety and injustice, inasmuch as these spring from human suppression of the truth concerning God's eternal power and divinity (Rom. 1:18-21). This revelation of wrath is an essential aspect of the revelation of God's righteousness, His justification of the ungodly through the coming of Christ (v. 17; 4:5). Paul adduces the vices of the gentile world as signs both of human sin and of God's abandonment of the human race to sin, which is itself an expression of His wrath (1:24, 26, 28). He also sees wrath as active in relation to the OT revelation: the Mosaic law itself produced wrath by defining transgression (4:15).

The coming of salvation in Christ does not mean that divine wrath has been eliminated. Rather, the gospel proclamation, in calling hearers to repentance, speaks of the wrath to come (Acts 17:30f.; Rev. 14:6f.). The salvation that comes through Christ is salvation from wrath (Rom. 5:9). The association of wrath and judgment specifically with the eschatological day of wrath is more definite in the NT (e.g., Mt. 3:7; Rom. 2:5; 5:9; 1 Thess. 1:10; Rev. 6:17), but wrath is in certain respects already resting on humankind (Jn. 3:36; 1 Thess. 2:16), because the eschaton has already been initiated by the coming of Jesus and the preaching of the gospel. In Revelation the eschatological wrath (*thymós*) of God is portrayed as wine (Rev. 14:10, 19; 19:15) or a cup (i.e., of wine, 16:19) — an image based on the intoxicating effect of wine which is also found in the OT (e.g., Ps. 60:3 [MT 5]; 75:8 [MT 9]; Jer. 25:15-27) — or as a series of seven bowls to be poured out (Rev. 15:7; ch. 16), an image which emphasizes the multiform character of the eschatological sufferings brought on by the wrath of God.

See also ANGER; FIERCE; FURY; INDIGNANT; JUDGMENT; RETRIBUTION.

Bibliography.—*APC*, pp. 147-154, 174-184; C. H. Dodd, comm. on Romans (*MNTC*, 1932), pp. 20-24; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*, I (Eng. tr., *OTL*, 1961), 258-269; Lactantius, "Treatise on the Anger of God," *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII (1886), 259-280; C. R. Schoonhoven, *Wrath of Heaven* (1966); R. V. G. Tasker, *Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (1951); *TDNT*, V, *s.v.* ὀργή κτλ. (Kleinknecht, *et al.*). J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

WREATH [Heb. *gᵉḏilîm* (1 K. 7:17), *lōyâ* (1 K. 7:29f., 36); Gk. *stéphanos* (1 Cor. 9:25)]; AV also "addition," CROWN; NEB also FESTOON, SPIRAL DESIGN, SPIRAL WORK.

The OT references to wreaths concern various decorations in Solomon's temple. The exact nature of these decorations remains uncertain. According to J. Gray (*I & II Kings* [*OTL*, 2nd ed. repr. 1976], p. 185) Heb. *gᵉḏilîm* means "festoons" (so NEB), apparently a plaited design (cf. Dt. 22:12, where the same term refers to tassels on a garment). Heb. *lōyâ* is more problematic; many scholars propose reading *lᵉwāyôṯ*, another term for "crown," for MT *lōyôṯ* (see comms. on Kings by J. Montgomery and H. Gehman [*ICC*, 1951], pp. 179f.; G. H. Jones [*NCBC*, 1984], p. 186; cf. J. Gray, p. 195).

Using an image from athletic contests, Paul exhorts his readers to strive for self-control in order to win an imperishable wreath, in contrast to the perishable wreath for which athletes strive (1 Cor. 9:24f.). The "perishable wreath" may be the crown of pine or celery (often already wilted) that victorious athletes received in the Isthmian games, which were held near Corinth (see G. Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* [*NICNT*, 1987], pp. 433-37). Paul's point is that if athletes can discipline themselves and strive for such a perishable goal, so Christians should do the same for the imperishable — the coming kingdom of God (see *CD*, IV/2, 376f.; K. Barth, *Christian Life* [Eng. tr. 1981], p. 262). G. A. L.

WRESTLE; WRESTLING [Heb. niphal of *pāṯal*] (Gen. 30:8); NEB "play a trick"; [hiphil of *'āḇaq*] (Gen. 32:24f. [MT 25f.]).

When her handmaid Bilhah bore a second son to Jacob (Gen. 30:7f.), Rachel named him NAPHTALI, a play on the root *ptl*, "twist" (see BDB, p. 836). Such wordplay in naming was common among the Hebrews (*see* NAMES, PROPER I.B.1.a); here Rachel sees the birth of this second son as a victory in her struggle with her sister Leah. (The NEB rendering reflects another development in the meaning of *ptl* — twisted in the sense of crooked, perverse, or wily; cf. Job 5:13; Ps. 18:26 [MT 27]; Prov. 8:8.)

On Jacob's famous wrestling match (Gen. 32:24-32), *see*

GAMES II.A; on wrestling in general in the ancient world, *see* GAMES. G. A. L.

WRINKLE [Gk. *rhytís*] (Eph. 5:27). Paul uses this rare Greek word (which occurs only here in the NT and not at all in the LXX) figuratively in referring to the Church as a bride "without spot or wrinkle." The emphasis here is not on youth (cf. *ISBE*, IV, *s.v.*) but on the cleansing and purifying of the Church that Christ has accomplished (see M. Barth, *Ephesians 4–6* [*AB*, 1974], pp. 627f.; F. F. Bruce, comm. on Ephesians [*NICNT*, 1984], pp. 389-391). G. A. L.

WRISTS [Heb. *'aṣṣîlê yāḏay*–'joints of my hands'] (Ezk. 13:18); AV "armholes." *See* ARMPIT.

WRITING.

I. Definition and Functions
II. Precursors of Writing
III. Writing Systems
  A. Criteria
  B. Logographic Systems
  C. Phonemic Systems
    1. Phonologization of Logographic Systems
    2. Syllabic Systems
    3. Alphabetic Systems
      a. Diacritical Signs for Phonemes
      b. Doubled Consonants and Long Vowels
      c. Aspiration
      d. Signs for Accents
      e. Indication of Vowels in West Semitic Alphabets
        (1) Special Letters for Vowels
        (2) Vowels Indicated by Letters for Related Consonants
        (3) Graphical Modification of Consonant Letters
        (4) Special Signs for Vowels
    4. Alphabet Tablets
  D. Graphical Signs Outside the Systems
IV. Writing Media
  A. Hard Writing Surfaces
    1. Stone
    2. Ceramics
    3. Plaster
    4. Metal
    5. Ivory
    6. Wood
  B. Soft Writing Surfaces
    1. Clay
    2. Wax
    3. Papyrus
    4. Paper
    5. Leather and Parchment
    6. Textiles
  C. Forms of Written Texts
    1. Clay Tablets
    2. Scrolls
    3. Books in Codex Form
  D. Writing Instruments and Techniques
    1. Stylus and Similar Instruments
    2. Brushes and Pens
    3. Stamps
    4. Writing Fluids
    5. Containers
V. Shapes of Graphical Signs
VI. Direction of Writing
VII. Text Divisions
  A. Division of Words
  B. Division of Verses and Sentences
VIII. Development of Writing Systems in the Ancient Near East and in the Greco-Roman World
  A. Sumerian Cuneiform
  B. Akkadian Cuneiform
  C. Cuneiform in Ebla
  D. Cuneiform in Syria and Palestine
  E. Hurrian and Hittite Cuneiform
  F. Egyptian Writing
  G. Hittite "Hieroglyphs"
  H. Cretan Writings: "Hieroglyphic" and Linear
  I. Iranian Writing Systems
  J. West Semitic Alphabet
    1. First Attempts
    2. Ugaritic Alphabet
    3. Phoenician Alphabet and Its Local Variants
      a. Palestine
      b. Aramaic
        (1) Aramaic Script in Judaism
        (2) Local Aramaic Scripts
        (3) Aramaic Script Adopted by Non-Aramaic Peoples
    4. South Arabian Alphabet
    5. Greek Alphabet and Derived Alphabets
IX. Study of Writing
  A. Subdisciplines
  B. Decipherment of Forgotten Writing Systems
    1. Successful Decipherments
    2. Ongoing Attempts at Decipherment
X. Writing in the Bible
  A. Biblical Words for Writing
  B. Ways of Writing
    1. Writing Media
    2. The Book
    3. Writing Procedures
    4. God and Writing
    5. Unusual and Metaphorical Writing
  C. Kinds of Written Documents
    1. Laws and Legal Documents
    2. Letters
    3. Lists
    4. Historical Records
    5. Literary Records
  D. Use of the Alphabet
  E. Quotations
    1. In the OT
    2. In the NT
  F. Writing in the NT

I. Definition and Functions.–A general definition of writing, based on that of Gelb, is *a system of human intercommunication by means of conventional visible signs associated with conventional word meanings and sounds of language*. In principle, writing has to be considered written language — at least in the biblical world — even if it does not reach the ideal, to be the exact counterpart of spoken language. The basic function of writing is to express the sounds of speech in visible, durable signs: speech is fixed in writing. In many writing systems certain signs express whole words (such as & or %); particularly common are special signs for numbers.

From ancient times, writing, which preserves the spoken word from forgetfulness or change, has served to make various economic and administrative records, to fix agreements between persons and communities, and, along with other special marks, to denote weights and volumes of vessels. Even in times when knowledge of writing was

limited, written seals bearing the names of persons served for identification in place of handwritten signatures.

Ancient peoples used writing to identify buildings and their function, as well as to display publicly the names and functions of gods, achievement of rulers, and commemorations of the deceased for future generations. Many such public inscriptions are protected by special clauses at the end calling down curses against anyone who would destroy or change the monuments (see Rev. 22:18f.).

Later, literary works began to be fixed in writing. Literature, especially poetry, was transmitted in the ancient Near East for generations by oral tradition. Danger to the bearers of the traditions might have compelled them to secure the poems' survival by fixing them in written form.

Even texts placed where they could not be read (foundations of buildings, burial caves) were considered to have special value. Another kind of value was ascribed to writing in magical texts.

Another advantage of writing is that written messages can be transported to some distance. At a time when the ability to read and write was not as widespread as it is today, the role of the messenger was important. The formulas at the beginning of letters and also some other data show that the messenger read the letter aloud for the addressee. The written form of the letter could then be used to verify the message.

Some written remains indicate how beginners learned to write. Various texts in which an untrained hand repeated lists of letters and words or copied model texts show the care devoted to this learning. More complicated writing systems, such as cuneiform word-syllabic writing in Mesopotamia, or Egyptian hieroglyphic and its later variations, required many years of training for a professional scribe.

While in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia the knowledge of writing was limited mostly to professional scribes and priests, the ability to use simple alphabetic writing was more widespread. Even so, this knowledge in ancient Israel was apparently limited. From Isa. 29:11f. it appears that not everyone was able to read; cf. also Ps. 71:15, and, for the Hellenistic period, Sir. 44:4 and 38:27.

The administrative records on ostraca found in Samaria, seals on jars, and especially occasional records and letters on sherds found in Lachish and Arad, attest to wide use of writing in the Israelite and Judean kingdoms, as do various funeral inscriptions. Graphical and orthographical imperfections in some of these written records show that they were not produced by professional scribes.

The knowledge of writing was more widespread in NT times. Reading and study of the Scripture required knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic writing. The penetration of Greek culture was accompanied by wider knowledge of Greek writing. Contacts between Jewish and later Christian communities in the Diaspora were kept by frequent sending of letters.

The three languages of the inscription on the cross (Jn. 19:19-22) and information about "Syriac" (to be understood as Aramaic) additions to the book of Job in its Greek version (Job 42:17b) also demonstrate literacy in at least four languages for Palestine in Roman times.

II. Precursors of Writing.–Writing systems must be distinguished from communication by graphical signs not bound to a definite language. Such devices are known from various areas and times (e.g., the modern system of traffic signals).

Especially characteristic for this type of communication are the rock drawings (petroglyphs) of primitive peoples. To indicate more than one object of the same kind, the pictures were simply repeated as often as necessary; no special number signs were used. The term *ideographic* is used for this type of communication.

The ideographic signs can be understood and "read" (decoded) in different languages. Ideographic signs remain, as archaisms, even in writing systems developed to express words of a certain language. Ideographic features can be observed also in signs that do not belong to a writing system but that are used along with it, such as numerals.

Into this category come the small clay objects used for counting, sometimes impressed on clay tablets as used in prehistoric Mesopotamia and Elam; some have claimed that these are the actual precursors of writing (P. Amiet, D. Schmandt-Besserat). Other signs proposed are proprietors' marks (E. Speiser).

III. Writing Systems.–*A. Criteria.* Writing systems can be classified according to the language units expressed by individual graphical signs: (1) *logographic* systems, in which one sign expresses one word; (2) *phonemic* systems, in which one sign or *grapheme* may express either (a) groups of phonemes, mostly in syllabic systems, or (b) one phoneme, as in the alphabetic systems.

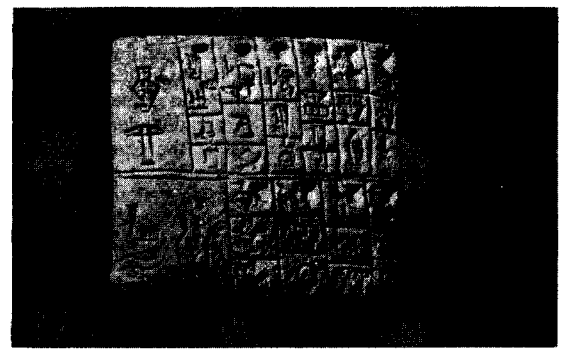
Writings of all systems have many inconsistencies. Often elements of more than one system appear together. Some features of an archaic system, such as signs for words (logograms), occur in phonemic syllabic or alphabetic writings (e.g., & = "and"). For one writing system several different systems of graphical signs could be used. For instance, the ancient Egyptian writing based on word units and groups of phonemes was written first in pictorial hieroglyphs (to which were added alphabetic or phonetic signs), later also in linear hieratic, then in demotic signs. Cuneiform signs were used for the ancient Sumerian logographic system, for later Mesopotamian and other syllabic writings, and also for the Ugaritic alphabet.

B. Logographic Systems. In such systems, one sign equaled one word. The sounds of a language thus cannot be recognized from a pure logographic system; only after some phonemic features are introduced can sounds be determined.

Some problems of the logographic system can be demonstrated from samples of ancient Sumerian pictorial and early cuneiform writing, as documented on clay tablets from Uruk, written *ca.* 3000 B.C.

The original signs depicted an object. For this purpose objects easily relatable to a noun were preferred. Then it was possible to use these noun signs for related nouns indicating entities or concepts not directly visible, e.g., the sign for "sun" was used also for "day," that for "star"

A clay tablet with pictorial writing. From Uruk, *ca.* 3000 B.C. (Iraq Museum, Baghdad; photo W. S. LaSor)



also for "sky," "heaven" also for "god" (DINGIR). The signs for nouns could be used for related verbs, e.g., the sign for "leg" (DU) could mean also "to stand" (GUB), "to go" (GIN), and "to carry off" (TUM). The meaning of signs could be modified, e.g., parallel strokes were added to the sign for "head" (SAG), and the resulting sign meant "mouth" (KA), or "foot" (ŠU), or "nose" (KIRI), or the verb "speak."

Two logograms were combined to indicate one word, either simple, e.g., "mouth" (KA) + "food" (GAR) = "to eat" (KU), or compound, e.g., "man" (LU) + "great" (GAL) = "king" (LUGAL).

Even on a logographic level, "determinatives" (semantic indicators) were introduced to distinguish words written by identical signs. The sign originally depicting a plow could be understood either as "plow" (APIN), if combined with the determinative for "wood" (GIŠ), while the same basic sign connected with that for "man" (LU) indicated "plowman" (ENGAR).

In a strictly logographic system, the number of graphical signs should equal the number of words, a requirement difficult to comply with. The number of word-signs attested in ancient Sumerian writing is estimated at two thousand.

Similar devices were used in ancient Egyptian writing.

C. Phonemic Systems. 1. Phonologization of Logographic Systems. Besides the semantic devices within the logographic system mentioned above, another much more effective device was introduced: a sign was used not only for the depicted object but also for a word of different meaning that was pronounced similarly. The Sumerian sign TI, "arrow," could be used also for the word "life," pronounced [ti]. Since in Sumerian many words were formed by one syllable, this "phonologization" led to a development of a syllabic kind of writing. The syllables, composed of consonants (C) and vowels (V), were of different types: CV, VC, CVC, or V only. Some signs contained more than one syllable, e.g., URU, "city," DINGIR, "god."

Syllabic signs were then used in the Sumerian writing as phonological complements to indicate the pronunciation of often ambiguous logograms: e.g., "crown" (MEN [+ EN]); the sign "leg" (DU) followed by BA had to be read GUB, "to stand"; similarly DU/GIN(NA), "to go," DU/TUM(MA), "to bring."

If a writing system developed for one language was adopted by another language, the logographic elements could be accepted without change in meaning, but they were pronounced differently. The Sumerian sign for "mountain" was pronounced [kur], while the same sign with the same meaning was pronounced [šadū] in Akkadian. The same sign was used in Akkadian in its syllabic value *kur*, e.g., in *iz-kur* "he said," *kur-ru*, a measure.

Phonological components were then used to avoid ambiguity in the meaning of some signs adopted from Sumerian, e.g., the Sumerian sign DINGIR, "god," was used in Akkadian with the same meaning; but to indicate that the sign should now be read *ilu*, the phonetic element *lu* could be added: DINGIR-*lu* = *ilu*. If the reading *šamē*, "heaven," was required for the same sign, the phonetic complement *ē* was added: DINGIR-*e*.

The phonologization of the Sumerian system led to the development of a prevalently syllabic system, even if many logographic signs were retained in their original function.

Since in the ancient Egyptian language the role of vowels was apparently less significant than that of consonants, the phonologization here led to the development of signs indicating consonants and their combinations, while vowels were not indicated.

2. Syllabic Systems. It seems appropriate to distinguish two kinds of syllabic systems, one developed from a logographic system in which various types of syllable signs coexist, and another "pure" syllabic system in which only CV combinations appear. The first kind is represented in the ancient Near East by the Sumerian system and its adaptations to other languages — Semitic Akkadian, Indo-European Hittite, and Hurrian. In all these languages, logograms were frequently used along with syllabic signs. The number of signs is large, more than six hundred in the Sumerian and more than three hundred in the Akkadian syllabary.

The second kind of syllabic system appears in Cretan Linear B and in the Cypriote syllabary. Both these related systems were used for archaic Greek dialects. The Cretan and Cypriote syllabic signs can be presented in a grid: on the left side the consonant (among them also zero for signs consisting of a vowel only), on the upper side the vowels. The number of signs of the type CV (or V) is in principle the multiple of the number of consonants times the number of vowels, in Cretan Linear B thirteen times five, i.e., sixty-five. Actually eighty-nine signs are known, some of them not yet determined. This general regularity was instrumental in the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris.

3. Alphabetic Systems. The principle of any alphabetic system is the correspondence of grapheme (graphic sign) to one phoneme, i.e., a meaningful sound, either a consonant or a vowel. Accordingly, even systems in which not all phonemes are indicated by corresponding graphemes are considered alphabetic. The most important is the West Semitic alphabet, in which originally only consonants, not vowels, were indicated. Later, various devices for indicating vowels were introduced.

Even in simple alphabetic systems various inconsistencies can be detected. For instance, if a language adopted an alphabet from a language that had fewer consonantal phonemes than itself, some graphemes were ambiguous. This was the case in Early Aramaic, which had more consonantal phonemes than the twenty-two represented in the borrowed Phoenician alphabet. The use of two graphical signs for one phoneme is observable for the aspirates in some archaic Greek alphabets, *k + h, p + h,* and later for the spirant *ch* in Roman writing. On the other hand, two phonemes could be written by one sign, in Greek /k + s/ = ξ, /p + s/ = ψ; cf. Roman *x*.

The number of letters in the alphabetic system is much less than that of signs in logographic and syllabic systems. The Ugaritic alphabet had twenty-seven letters for consonants and three letters for vowels in combination with the glottal stop, altogether thirty letters. Because of a smaller number of consonantal phonemes, the number of letters in the Phoenician alphabet is only twenty-two. This number was preserved in the Hebrew and Aramaic alphabets, even when the number of phonemes was slightly higher in some dialects. The Old South Arabic alphabet has twenty-nine consonants (one more than the Classical Arabic alphabet). As the Greeks adopted the West Semitic alphabet, they omitted some letters and added some new ones; after a period of change lasting several centuries, the number of Greek letters stabilized at twenty-four. The same number eventually appeared for the ancient Roman alphabet, although not all of its letters corresponded to the Greek ones.

In various alphabets the letters had specific names. In the Phoenician and Hebrew alphabet the names are remi-

niscent of the original shapes of letters depicting certain objects, e.g., *aleph,* "ox," *beth,* "house," *ayin,* "eye." The principle of acrophony is applied here: the letter is named after the first consonant of the name. The West Semitic names were then adopted in a slightly changed form for the Greek alphabet. In the Roman alphabet the names of the letters consist of the named consonant or vowel with some addition (as in our alphabet); the same principle is used in the Arabic alphabet.

4. Alphabet Tablets. Alphabet sequences, complete or partial, are preserved both from various West Semitic areas and from countries where the Greek alphabet was used. Most of the complete series are written on tablets of stone or other hard material. There are also incomplete sequences of letters in alphabetical order, mostly from the first part of the alphabet.

The complete alphabets that are written very carefully probably served as models for students. To this category apparently belongs one of the oldest of such lists, on a small clay tablet from Ugarit (*ca.* 13th cent. B.C.). A clay tablet with cuneiform letters of the Ugaritic type but in the sequence of the South Arabic alphabet was found in excavations at Beth-shemesh in Palestine. A Greek alphabet very carefully written on the upper part of an ivory writing tablet, which could be filled with wax to form a writing surface, was found at Marsiliana d'Albegna in Italy. It served to transmit the Greek alphabet to the Etruscans.

Less careful and often incorrect alphabetic lists attest to attempts by students to imitate the models. Such exercises are preserved on clay tablets from Ugarit. Also, some stone tablets with carved letters may be mentioned here, e.g., the alphabet of 'Izbet Ṣarṭah near Aphek in Palestine (11th cent. B.C.), written from left to right, and several tablets and inscribed sherds from Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, with letters of Phoenician, Palestinian, or Aramaic type.

Both Semites and Greeks also used letters of the alphabet for numerals. (*See* NUMBER.)

a. Diacritical Signs for Phonemes. If there were more phonemes in a language than in the adopted alphabet, it was customary in antiquity to endow unnecessary letters with new values or to create new letters (as in Greek, Coptic, Etruscan, Latin, Gothic, Old Church Slavonic). Diacritical signs for distinguishing two letters of the same shape were introduced either for graphical reasons (if two originally distinct letters became indistinguishable) or to indicate phonological values similar to that of the basic letter.

The first phenomenon appears in some later Semitic alphabets. In Aramaic, the originally different letters for *d* and *r* became identical; in Syriac, a later Aramaic dialect, a dot above the ambiguous letter indicated *r*; a dot below, *d*. The graphical simplification of Classical Arabic letters made necessary an elaborate system using one, two, or three dots above or below letters for distinguishing convergent shapes and phonological differences.

Diacritical signs were introduced in the Hebrew alphabet, probably in the 8th cent. A.D., for distinguishing the letter *shin* (ש) in its original value ("sh") from the variant *sin* (ש) that eventually merged in pronunciation with the consonant pronounced [s] (*samech,* ס). Originally small *shin* and *samech* letters were set above the basic letter; later they were replaced by a dot above the right upper corner for *shin* and a dot above the left upper corner for *sin*.

The Syriac plosive consonants *b, g, d, k, p,* and *t* were marked by a dot above the letter, their spirant variants by a dot below the letter. The Hebrew plosive consonants were marked by a dot in the center of the letters in the Tiberian tradition; the spirant variants were either left unmarked or were indicated by a horizontal stroke above the letter.

b. Doubled Consonants and Long Vowels. The doubling of consonants was indicated in some systems (Ugaritic rendering of Akkadian words, Greek, Latin) by writing the doubled consonant twice. In the Hebrew tradition the doubling consonant was marked by the sign *dagesh* (a dot in the middle of the letter), which was used also for the plosive pronunciation. In the Arabic alphabet a special sign for doubling is used.

The length of vowels in the Roman script was considered of lesser importance; in Greek new letters were introduced only for long *ē* and *ō*. Various diacritical signs for the length of vowels have developed only since the late Middle Ages.

c. Aspiration. Greek signs for distinguishing aspiration, /h/, or lack of aspiration with a vowel at the beginning of a word (so-called *spiritus asper* or *lenis*) were introduced in late antiquity.

d. Signs for Accents. Special signs for word stress in Hebrew and Syriac were introduced for the liturgical cantillation of sacred texts. In addition to marking stress, some of them also functioned as punctuation signs.

e. Indication of Vowels in West Semitic Alphabets. In the linear West Semitic alphabet originally only consonants were represented while the vowels were not indicated. Both ancient and modern readers of such texts had to supply the vowels from their knowledge of the word structure or from transliterations into other writing systems that indicated vowels.

In most instances the explicitly written consonant is implicitly followed by a vowel (CV). This situation led some scholars to classify the West Semitic alphabets among the syllabic systems (Gelb). But these languages also have closed syllables (CVC), written with two consonant letters; one consonant letter cannot be considered a sign for such a syllable.

The relationship between alphabetic and syllabic systems can be observed in Ugaritic words attested from the 13th cent. B.C. They are written mostly in alphabetic cuneiform, but many words are also represented in the quadrilingual vocabularies written in syllabic cuneiform. For the coincidence of consonantal letters with open syllables, see, e.g., *šmm* (alphabetic) and *ša-mu-ma* (syllabic), "heavens"; *lbn, la-ba-nu,* "white." The word for silver is written *ksp* alphabetically, *kas-pu* or *ka-as-pu* syllabically. The second person singular masculine pronoun "you," probably pronounced ['atta] or ['at], is written *at-ta* or, alphabetically, *at*.

Because the original West Semitic alphabet was limited — most probably following its Egyptian model — to indicating consonants only, various devices for completing this alphabet by signs for vowels were introduced. The strictly consonantal orthography was preserved only by the Phoenicians in their homeland and in their inscriptions in the eastern Mediterranean.

The principal devices for indicating vowels in the West Semitic and derived alphabets are as follows.

(1) Special Letters for Vowels. The first device was already tried in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet, the oldest major corpus of West Semitic alphabetic texts known to us. Ugaritic possessed, alongside twenty-seven letters for consonants, three letters expressing the vowels *a, i,* and *u* in combination with the glottal stop *aleph*. The introduction of these three signs — ascribed to an inventor whose name in Grecized from is given as Eisirios — is

SEMITIC ALPHABETS

1. Ugarit	2. Ahiram	3. Cypriote	4. Old Aramaic	5. Moabite Stone	6. Samaritan	7. Elephantine	8. Square Script
𐎀	𐤀	𐠀	𐡀	𐤀	𐤀	𐡀	א
𐎁	𐤁	𐠁	𐡁	𐤁	𐤁	𐡁	ב
𐎂	𐤂	𐠂	𐡂	𐤂	𐤂	𐡂	ג
𐎃	𐤃	𐠃	𐡃	𐤃	𐤃	𐡃	ד
𐎄	𐤄	𐠄	𐡄	𐤄	𐤄	𐡄	ה
𐎅	𐤅	𐠅	𐡅	𐤅	𐤅	𐡅	ו
𐎆	𐤆	𐠆	𐡆	𐤆	𐤆	𐡆	ז
𐎇	𐤇		𐡇	𐤇	𐤇	𐡇	ח
𐎈	𐤈		𐡈	𐤈	𐤈	𐡈	ט
𐎉	𐤉	𐠉	𐡉	𐤉	𐤉	𐡉	י
𐎊	𐤊		𐡊	𐤊	𐤊	𐡊	כ
𐎋	𐤋	𐠋	𐡋	𐤋	𐤋	𐡋	ל
𐎌	𐤌	𐠌	𐡌	𐤌	𐤌	𐡌	מ
𐎍	𐤍	𐠍	𐡍	𐤍	𐤍	𐡍	נ
𐎎	𐤎	𐠎	𐡎	𐤎	𐤎	𐡎	ס
𐎏	𐤏	𐠏	𐡏	𐤏	𐤏	𐡏	ע
𐎐	𐤐	𐠐	𐡐	𐤐	𐤐	𐡐	פ
𐎑	𐤑		𐡑	𐤑	𐤑	𐡑	צ
𐎒	𐤒	𐠒	𐡒	𐤒	𐤒	𐡒	ק
𐎓	𐤓	𐠓	𐡓	𐤓	𐤓	𐡓	ר
𐎔	𐤔	𐠔	𐡔	𐤔	𐤔	𐡔	ש
𐎕	𐤕	𐠕	𐡕	𐤕	𐤕	𐡕	ת

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SEMITIC, GREEK, AND LATIN ALPHABETS

Hebrew Name	Phoenician 8th Cent. B.C.		Ancient Greek 8th Cent. B.C.	Ancient Hebrew *ca.* 600 B.C.	Greek Name	Greek	Latin
ALEPH					ALPHA	A	A
BETH					BETA	B	B
GIMEL					GAMMA	Γ	G
DALETH					DELTA	Δ	D
HE					EPSILON	E	E
WAW					(DIGAMMA)		V
ZAYIN					ZETA	Z	Z
HETH					ETA	H	H
TETH					THETA	Θ	
YODH					IOTA	I	I
KAPH					KAPPA	K	K
LAMEDH					LAMBDA	Λ	L
MEM					MU	M	M
NUN					NU	N	N
SAMEKH					XI	Ξ	
AYIN					OMICRON	O	O
PE					PI	Π	P
SADHE					(SAMPI)		
QOPH					(KOPPA)		Q
RESH					RHO	P	R
SHIN					SIGMA	Σ	S
TAW					TAU	T	T

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a violation of two principles of the West Semitic alphabet: its limitation to consonants and its strict one-to-one relationship between phonemes and graphemes. This was mitigated by the phonetic character of the consonantal component of the signs; the glottal stop ['] is an interruption of the sonation stream (corresponding to the definition of a "consonant"); it is usually audible only between vowels (cf. Eng. "co-operate," "re-enter").

With the destruction of the city of Ugarit and its culture *ca.* 1200 B.C., this device (aleph with its vowel) disappeared from the West Semitic alphabet. Much later a similar device was used in some late Punic inscriptions written in North Africa in the first centuries A.D., in which the letter for *aleph* was used for various long vowels at the ends of words.

Special letters for vowels were used consistently in the Greek alphabet from its very beginning. They were apparently inspired by their West Semitic (Aramaic, to be precise) models of so-called vowel letters (see below), but unlike them they were used exclusively for vowels, not for consonants as well. This use of special letters for vowels was then adopted, together with the Greek alphabet as a whole, by Etruscans, Romans, Copts, and other communities using the alphabet derived ultimately from the Greek (including our own).

(2) Vowels Indicated by Letters for Related Consonants. The indication of vowels by related consonants, especially long vowels at the end of words, was tried already in the Ugaritic alphabet. It was used sporadically in some late nonliterary texts and more regularly in alphabetic texts rendering Akkadian words. Probably this device was inspired by the practice in the Akkadian syllabary of writing the vowel sign in addition to signs ending in the same vowel, e.g., *la-a* for /lā/, *ki-i* for /kī/.

In Aramaic, from the oldest inscriptions on (from *ca.* 850 B.C.), some consonants were used for phonologically related vowels: *y* for *ī* and *ē*, *w* for *ū* and perhaps *ō*, *h* for final *ā* and *ē*, and perhaps *aleph* for *ā*. This system was used also in Hebrew and related inscriptions from Palestine, but less consistently. The frequency of vowel letters (*matres lectionis*) became higher in Hellenistic and Roman times, as attested by some Hebrew and Aramaic MSS from the Qumrân area. The only West Semitic writing system that reached consistency in indicating vowels in this way was Mandaic, an Eastern Aramaic dialect that has survived from ancient times to the present day.

(3) Graphical Modification of Consonant Letters. The indication of vowels by graphical modifications of the basic letter forms is used in the Ethiopic writing system. In the oldest Ethiopic inscriptions (3rd-4th cent. A.D.) only consonants are expressed. In the 6th cent. a new system was introduced in which the basic letter forms indicated Consonant + *a*, while for other Consonant + Vowel combinations modifications of the basic letter were introduced, such as extending or shortening of the letter on one side or adding a special graphical feature. Since this system corresponds to that used in the Indian writing system (itself developed indirectly from an Aramaic model), and since there were contacts between India and Ethiopia in late antiquity, it is probable that the Ethiopic system of indicating vowels was inspired by the Indian model.

(4) Special Signs for Vowels. The use of consonants for indicating vowels in the Northwest Semitic languages, especially Hebrew and Syriac, provided only partial help in attempts to ascertain the correct pronunciation of traditional texts in later times, when the original language was no longer spoken (Hebrew) or was exposed to the influence of the spoken dialect and its changes (Syriac and other Aramaic languages).

The first device, used in Syriac texts since *ca.* A.D. 400, was only a partial solution: words with full vowels, especially *a*, or with long vowels, especially *ā*, were marked by a supralinear dot, while words with the same consonants, but with short or no vowel in the corresponding positions, were left unmarked or marked with a sublinear dot.

This partial device was superseded by the introduction of specific signs for individual vowels set below or above the letters in Eastern Syriac texts. This innovation, attested since the beginning of the 7th cent. A.D., was followed shortly after by a similar system of the Western Syrians, who eventually adopted the Greek vowel capital letters, placed above or below the line, for the appropriate corresponding vowels.

The oldest attempts at indicating vowels in Hebrew texts imitated the Eastern Syriac system in principle and also in the shapes of some signs. It was introduced by Jewish scholars in Babylonia, where Jews spoke an Eastern Aramaic dialect similar to Syriac. This simple supralinear system was followed by a more complicated system that introduced additional signs, including those for reduced vowels.

The Babylonian supralinear vocalization was used in Babylonian centers of Jewish learning; later, in the Middle Ages, it was adopted by Jews in Yemen. The most ancient and most reliable MSS of the Aramaic Targums (translations or paraphrases of the Bible) are provided with Babylonian vocalization.

Another simple system for vocalization originated in Palestine *ca.* A.D. 800: the use of vowel signs was limited to some words. MSS using it are only sporadically preserved.

Both of these vocalization systems were superseded by the system introduced — probably *ca.* A.D. 850 — in the city of Tiberias at the Sea of Galilee. The Tiberian system is sublinear (for the most part): the signs, consisting of dots and short strokes, are put under the consonant letters. The system is more exact and consistent than its predecessor, indicating the qualities of the vowels and also the reduced vowels exactly according to the required pronunciation. The Tiberian scholars also consistently introduced signs for the exact pronunciation of consonants and musical accents; hence the correct recitation of the Hebrew biblical texts in accordance with old tradition has been ascertained. The results of the Tiberian school are present in Bible MSS, in the notes and collections accompanying them, and also in special treatises. The Tiberian vocalization system was eventually adopted by all Jewish communities; it was also used for nonbiblical texts, especially for poetry.

A vocalization system using vowel signs above or below consonant letters is also used in Arabic texts, especially in religious writings, Christian and Moslem, and in poetry.

D. Graphical Signs Outside the Systems. In different types of writing systems, besides syllabic or alphabetic signs indicating sounds, there are special graphical signs outside the system.

A specific system of its own is that of numbers. In the old Mesopotamian cuneiform texts special signs are based on the sexagesimal system — sixty lower units form a higher unit. In later Mesopotamian texts and also in the Ugaritic alphabet, cuneiform signs were used for the decimal system based on the number ten. Signs for the fractions ½ and ⅓ are also attested. In some alphabetic Phoe-

WRITING

A granite statue of Haremhab with a papyrus scroll unrolled in his lap. The statue pedestal is inscribed with prayers to various gods (18th Dynasty, probably from Memphis) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Everit Macy, 1923)

nician and Aramaic inscriptions and papyri special signs for the numbers one, ten, and one hundred were used. Among them were proprietary signs on various objects, masons' marks, and signs on weights (those in Palestine probably derived from Egyptian demotic signs).

Sometimes letters in alphabetical order were used to indicate a sequence. An old testimony of this practice was found on a Phoenician ship near the island of Motye (now Mozia) at the western shore of Sicily: wooden planks are marked by letters beginning with *aleph,* the first letter of the Phoenician alphabet. The same principle is applied in the alphabetic sequence of first letters of verses and verse groups in some Psalms (9–10; 25; 37; 111; 112; 119; 145), Lamentations (1–4), and some other biblical poems (Prov. 31:10-31; Nah. 1:1-8).

In Hellenistic times letters of the Greek alphabet began to be used for numbers. In order to cover all digits 1-9, all tens 10-90, and all hundreds 100-900, it was necessary to supplement the standard Greek alphabet by a few archaic letters. The Hebrew system had to manage with twenty-two letters of the alphabet: *'-ṭ* for 1-9, *y-ṣ* for 10-90; but only four letters *q-t* were left for 100-400; therefore higher hundreds were indicated by combinations of *t* (400) and the other hundred-signs. *See* NUMBER.

IV. Writing Media.—*A. Hard Writing Surfaces. 1. Stone.* Inscriptions were written on natural rocks, on stones in buildings, on the pedestals of stone statues, on stone vessels or on stone plates made especially to serve as writing surfaces. Most stone inscriptions were carved. In some inscriptions from northern Syria, in the Aramaic alphabetic writing, and in Hittite "hieroglyphs," the letters are not incised but sculpted as reliefs above the surface. Writings painted on stone have been found in Egypt and in western Asia.

Sometimes ordinary rock surfaces were preferred instead of especially prepared surfaces. The occasional rock inscriptions of Aramaic and Arabic nomads are often very sketchy. Inscriptions in funeral caves or in other subterranean rooms, such as that in the water tunnel at the Siloam spring in Jerusalem, are more carefully done. Even more carefully prepared were royal inscriptions, such as the sequence of inscriptions on a rock overlooking the Mediterranean at the river Eleutheros (Nahr el-Kelb) in Lebanon N of Beirut where various invaders glorified their conquests. Inscriptions of Persian Achaemenian kings at Behistun (Bisitun) are carved in large regular spaces high in the rocks.

Building inscriptions appear usually on visible places, to indicate who built the structure and why. They invoke the protection of gods against those who would destroy or alter the structure and the inscription. Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of temples and tombs, carved or painted, accompany reliefs and paintings. Assyrian and Aramaic inscriptions were carved also on the stone statues of gods and kings, usually on their garment. In Greece and also later in the Near East, pedestals were used for dedicatory and other inscriptions.

Inscriptions on stone stelae (pillars) erected on graves are relatively frequent in antiquity. Thousands of them were found, with Punic inscriptions, in Carthage and in Punic cities in Sardinia.

Inscriptions on stone vessels and plates are carved or painted. Among those carved may be mentioned the Gezer calendar in Hebrew from *ca.* 1000 B.C. Painted Aramaic inscriptions are found on the bases of alabaster cultic vessels from Persepolis.

For inscriptions on stone, cooperation of two or more persons was necessary. A scribe drafted the shapes of the sign on the surface, and a craftsman chiseled or engraved them. Some inscriptions were engraved according to written models.

The quality of the stone affected both the techniques used and the durability of the writing. Hard stones such as granite or basalt were difficult for the engraver. It was easier to carve letters into limestone or sandstone, but inscriptions on them became less legible after a time due to weathering.

Special skills were required for engraving tiny letters in negative into small seals, cylindric or flat, made from stone — often precious stone — or sometimes metal.

2. Ceramics. Inscriptions may be carved, painted, or stamped onto a ceramic surface before burning, thus becoming part of the vessel, or they may be carved or painted on the vessel or its sherds after baking.

Inscriptions on potsherds have been found in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Greece. These sherds were the least expensive writing material available and were used for short occasional records and messages. Due to the durability of the material they survived longer than many contemporary formal written documents. These inscribed sherds are called OSTRACA (pl. of Gk. *óstrakon*).

The writing was sometimes carved, as on the archaic Greek sherds from Mt. Hymettos. More frequently signs were written in ink, as in the Demotic and Aramaic ostraca from Elephantine in southern Egypt, those found in Samaria, Lachish, Arad, and Beer-sheba in Palestine, and the seventh-century Aramaic ostraca from Asshur.

WRITING

In Middle Kingdom Egypt the names of enemies were written on breakable clay figurines; destroying the figurines magically destroyed the enemies. In Mesopotamia, ceramic bowls from late antiquity have inner surfaces covered with Aramaic magical texts in a spiral or circular arrangement.

3. Plaster. Inscriptions on plaster covering stone are mentioned in the OT (Dt. 27:2-4). A long Aramaic inscription in black and red ink from *ca.* 700 B.C. on the plastered wall of a sanctuary was found at Tell Deir 'allā E of the Jordan at the river Jabbok.

4. Metal. Bronze, silver, gold, and lead were used with some frequency for writing surfaces.

Bronze statues or plaques with reliefs were provided with inscriptions identifying images of gods or men, or giving the names and desires of those dedicating them. Because of their durability metal plaques were used for very important religious and secular laws and treaties, especially in Greece and Rome. Metal vessels were inscribed with the owners' names or dedications to the gods. Owners' names also appear on metal adzes, spearheads, and arrowheads from Syria and Palestine. Short inscriptions were written also on plaques, disks, jewelry, and amulets.

Inscriptions written on thin gold sheets are known, *inter alia,* from Pyrgi (Santa Severa) in central Italy, with inscriptions in Phoenician and Etruscan from the 5th cent. B.C. Greek religious texts in later times were written on such "lamellae." (*See ISBE,* I, Plate 5.)

Lead sheets, because of pliability and ease of writing, were used as writing surfaces. The oldest Mandaean texts and various magical writings were written on such scrolls.

Short inscriptions appear on various metal weights in geometric or in animal forms, usually indicating the weight units by letters or special signs.

A list of hidden treasures etched on a copper scroll was found in Qumrân Cave 3.

Inscriptions on coins of bronze, silver, and gold are particularly interesting. Their "legends" were first carved in hard dies; on the coins the letters appear generally in relief. Coins with Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew inscriptions (often in archaic letters) generally indicate the name of the ruler or of the city, the monetary unit, sometimes the year, such as the "year of liberation" on Jewish coins from the time of the wars against the Romans (A.D. 66-70, 132-135). *See also* MONEY.

5. Ivory. Inscriptions appear on reliefs and carvings on ivory that adorned the royal furniture in Canaanite and Aramaic kingdoms. Some of them were found among the booty brought to Assyria from the conquered royal residences.

Ivory was also used for writing tablets. The tablet found at Marsiliana d'Albegna in central Italy has an archaic Greek alphabet at its top; in antiquity the surface in the center between the frames was filled with wax.

6. Wood. Wooden objects with inscriptions written in ink have been found in Egypt. In other countries wood did not survive. Wooden tablets were used as a writing surface in Egypt and elsewhere.

Tablets for which the wood itself did not serve as a writing surface but as a base and frame have also been found in Egypt. The writing was done not on the wood but — as on the ivory tablets — on a flat surface framed on borders and filled with wax. Some of these writing tablets (often only two of them) were bound together to form a kind of booklet.

B. Soft Writing Surfaces. 1. Clay. Clay tablets can be classified as both hard and soft writing material. The writing, with a stylus, was done when the clay was wet and soft; after the tablets dried or were baked in an oven, their surface hardened. Both this hardness and minimal usefulness for other purposes account for the survival of a great number of clay tablets.

Usually local clay was used. Sometimes, by chemical analysis and comparison of results, the provenance of tablets can be determined. An oven for baking cuneiform tablets was found in Ugarit; it was abandoned *ca.* 1200 B.C. with some tablets in it still unbaked.

Most common were flat clay tablets, generally oblong with rounded edges; often the rounded edges were also used as writing surfaces. Many of the smaller tablets were not flat but convex.

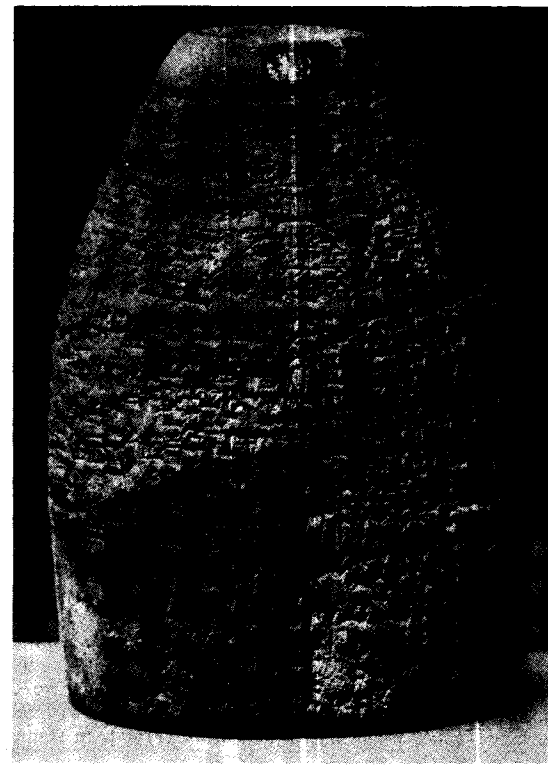
Clay tablets were used in Mesopotamia for pictorial writing in the archaic period, later for cuneiform writing. The dimensions varied considerably. The smallest have sides of only a few centimeters; the dimensions of a very large tablet could be 30 by 20 cm. (12 by 8 in.). The form and arrangement of clay tablets, along with cuneiform writing, were adopted in Syria and Asia Minor.

Flat clay tablets were also used for different scripts in other areas. At Tell Deir 'allā clay tablets from the Iron Age with inscriptions in a still undeciphered script have been found.

Besides flat clay tablets, clay prisms and cylinders were used in Mesopotamia, often for historical records. Inscriptions on mushroom-like clay objects were set into building foundations.

Clay was also used as a writing surface in Bronze Age Crete. Pictorial signs were stamped on the clay disk of Phaestos. The clay tablets with Cretan Linear B were of

A clay prism from Babylon with an Akkadian inscription describing the restoration of the temple Esagila and the ziggurat Etemenanki at Babylon, 7th cent. B.C. (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



oblong form with rounded left and right ends; they were dried, not baked.

2. Wax. Wax writing surfaces were used for temporary records. The written surface could be easily flattened for reuse. The base and frame of the tablets were usually made of wood; expensive ones were made of ivory. Such writing surfaces are known from ancient Egypt and from the Greco-Roman world. The wax itself has survived only in traces, but its use is known from pictorial and literary sources.

3. Papyrus. Papyrus, a frequently used writing surface, survived only under especially favorable conditions. In the very dry climate of Egypt numerous papyrus texts in ancient Egyptian, Coptic, Aramaic, Greek, Phoenician, and Latin have been found. In the moister climate of other countries the organic fibers decomposed. They were preserved only under special circumstances, such as the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek papyri in the caves of the Judean desert and the Greek papyri carbonized by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in Herculaneum (Villa dei Papiri).

Papyrus was made in Egypt from the inner pith of the reed *Cyperus papyrus* (Heb. *sûp*), which grew abundantly in the river Nile in antiquity. Papyrus stems were cut and the pith cut into strips. They were put into parallel rows, and another layer of strips running at right angles was put over them. Both layers were then pressed together, probably without being pasted. The product was a smooth white writing material. For longer texts the strips of papyrus were pasted together and then rolled into scrolls.

The Greek word for papyrus as a writing material is *chártēs*; the word *pápyros* was used for the plant and some products from it. The word *papyrus* is derived from an Egyptian word meaning "that of the king (pharaoh)," indicating the royal monopoly on papyrus production. Papyrus was exported already in the 2nd millennium B.C. from Egypt to the Phoenician city of Gubla and from there re-exported further to Greece. From the Greek name of Gubla, Byblos, the Greek word *býblos*, later *bíblos*, for the papyrus plant, pith, and writing material itself is derived, as well as *byblíon* or *biblíon* for a sheet, scroll, or book.

Papyrus was often reused after the original writing was washed away. The term for such writing surface, derived from Greek, is "palimpsest" ("scraped again").

See also PAPYRUS.

4. Paper. The production of paper from rags was invented in China and brought to the Near East only in early Islamic times. Early medieval Jewish texts on paper were preserved in the Cairo Genizah. Only after *ca.* A.D. 1000 were biblical and other MSS written on paper, which was more durable than papyrus and less expensive than parchment.

5. Leather and Parchment. Animal skins were used for writing in ancient Egypt and in western Asia. Aramaic letters written on leather sent by the Persian governor Arshama (Arsames) in 408-407 B.C. from Persia or Mesopotamia have been found in Egypt, perserved because of the dry climate. Hundreds of Hebrew and Aramaic leather scrolls have been found in the Judean desert; they remained there from the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. in the caves at Qumrân, in the vicinity of En-gedi, and in the ruins of Masada.

In general, the thinner skins of young goats were preferred. Sheets were sewn together into long scrolls, imitating those of papyrus. In dry climates leather survived relatively well, even when it became brittle. Many leather scrolls were damaged by parasites.

A special treatment of skins provided very thin, durable, and pliable white writing material. The name "parchment," Latin *pergamena (charta)*, is derived from the name of the city of Pergamon in western Asia Minor. The books of the famous library there of King Eumenes were written on parchment because it was difficult to get papyrus from Egypt. In the NT the word *membránai* (pl.; of Latin origin) is used.

See also LEATHER; PARCHMENT.

6. Textiles. Textiles were used only rarely as a writing surface. Some texts were written on linen in which mummies were wrapped in Egypt. On such linen is preserved the longest Etruscan inscription, now in the museum of Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

C. Forms of Written Texts. 1. Clay Tablets. See IV.B.1 above.

2. Scrolls. Scrolls for longer texts were made by pasting together sheets of papyrus or by sewing together leather sheets. They were most often written on one side, usually in columns. When rolled together, writing was on the inner side. Often empty sheets were used at the beginning of the scroll to protect it. In Greece and Rome the scrolls were rolled on a wooden rod. The Hebrew scrolls of the Law used in the Jewish synagogal services have two rods.

The scrolls had several disadvantages. They suffered from the constant rolling and unrolling. Damaged scrolls were mended by patches attached to the outer side (visible on some Qumrân scrolls). Another disadvantage was the difficulty in finding passages quickly; the scrolls were better suited for continuous reading than occasional reference.

See also SCROLL.

3. Books in Codex Form. The book in the form known to us (for which the Latin technical term *codex* is used) appeared only in the early Christian period, first in Egypt. Its predecessor and probable model was the *diptychon*, wax-coated wooden or ivory tablets joined together for easy opening and reading. The oldest books had their papyrus sheets put one on the other and then were sewn together in the center. This inconvenient arrangement was then improved by using shorter quires for a book. It cannot be said with certainty that the books in this practical form were introduced by Christians, but it proved very useful for them when it was necessary quickly to find various passages of Scripture for teaching or discussion.

Pages in codices were arranged in sequence corresponding to the direction of writing. In smaller codices one page contains only one column of text. In larger parchment codices two, three, or even four columns were written on a page.

D. Writing Instruments and Techniques. 1. Stylus and Similar Instruments. Chisels or similar sharp metal instruments were used for engraving signs into hard surfaces like stone, ceramic, or metal. Instruments of this kind preserved in Egypt and Greece are mostly of bronze. Sharp bronze writing instruments were also used for writing on wax tablets. Job 19:24 mentions iron as material for a stylus.

For inscriptions on very hard stones, such as granite or diorite, and also for fine stone seals, some kind of drilling instrument had to be used. Letters in relief were probably produced with the help of both chisel and drill.

The cuneiform signs on clay tablets were written with a stylus of angular shape, quadrangular or triangular in cross sections, made of wood or reed. The tablets were held in the left hand, probably on a 45 degree angle from the horizontal. With their triangular head, wedges had to begin on the left or upper side of the tablet.

2. Brushes and Pens. For writing with various fluids, brushes and pens were used. In Egypt brushes were made of rushes with an end split by chewing. Reed pens used by

Greeks were cut at the end to a point and split into two. Pens made from bird feathers (quills) were introduced only in the early Middle Ages.

Writing on a surface with a brush was similar to painting. Painting itself was used for inscriptions on vessels before firing, especially on Greek vases. The use of a soft brush was favorable to the rounded shapes of graphical signs.

The technique of painting or writing letters on plaster as attested in the Aramaic inscriptions from *ca.* 700 B.C. found at Tell Deir 'allā was studied very carefully by J. van der Kooij. He was able to demonstrate the sequence and direction in which the traces of individual letters were written.

Scribes using a reed pen formed the signs according to the angle in which the pen was held and the direction of the writing. The requirement of fast writing led to connecting some letters together (ligature); this typical cursive feature can be seen in Western Syriac (Jacobite) *serto* and Eastern (Nestorian) writing, as well as in Arabic.

Writing of larger manuscripts required cooperation. One scribe wrote the basic text, others revised it and supplied signs for vowels and accents. Special scribes provided Masoretic notes.

Techniques prescribed for writing Hebrew scrolls of the Law (Torah) are presented in the post-Mishnaic treatise *Sopherim*, "Scribes." These regulations are followed until the present time.

See also PEN.

3. Stamps. The use of stamping was very limited. The only long text produced by stamping is the isolated clay disk of Phaestos (Crete) with stamped pictorial signs arranged in spirals. Smaller stamps served in ancient Israel for marking ceramic vessels containing deliveries, probably of oil or wine, "to the king," (*lmlk*). Impressions of stamps survived on clay. Stamps were used for clay bricks in ancient Mesopotamia and in the Roman empire.

4. Writing Fluids. Writing fluids were used mostly for soft surfaces such as papyrus and skin, rarely for writing on hard surfaces.

Black ink used for writing on papyrus in Egypt, western Asia, and the Greco-Roman world was made from carbon, probably a fine soot mixed with liquid glue, mostly gum of plant origin. Because of the chemical and physical stability of carbon, this type of ink survived well.

In Palestine some texts were written with ink made from ferrous salts and organic acids, roughly comparable to common modern inks. It preserved well on ceramic surfaces, such as the Lachish ostraca (see IV.A.2 above). But if writing on leather was exposed to moisture, the components of the ferrous ink reacted with it and damaged or even dissolved the leather. In the Aramaic scroll of the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumrân Cave 1 (1QapGen), some columns are visible only as empty contours after the skin under the ink had decomposed.

Red inks were used on papyrus scrolls in ancient Egypt, on the Aramaic plaster inscriptions found at Tell Deir 'allā (see IV.A.3 above), and on some Qumrân scrolls.

See also INK.

5. Containers. The ancient Egyptian scribes used wooden palettes with two cavities, one for black ink and one for red. They also had cases for their writing instruments; such cases are also known from Assyrian reliefs and are mentioned in the OT (Ezk. 9:2f., 11).

Stone inkpots were found in the ruins of the scriptorium at Khirbet Qumrân, similar to the inkpots used in Roman times. Also in the scriptorium were found plaster tables that the scribes probably used. In other cases the scribes did not need special furniture. In Egypt they would sit with crossed legs while writing, as attested by statues (*see* picture in EDUCATION). Occasionally short scrolls or tablets were written while standing, as shown by Assyrian reliefs.

V. Shapes of Graphical Signs. —In ancient writing systems, the shapes of the graphical signs were determined by their original function, but then were often modified to conform to new writing techniques, surfaces, and instruments as they were developed.

In the oldest logographic systems (see III.B above), real objects are often clearly reflected, as in the oldest Sumerian writing in lower Mesopotamia and the oldest writing of Crete. The objects depicted on the oldest Sumerian tablets were gradually simplified as the linear signs were written with a sharply pointed instrument.

Real objects were depicted in considerable detail and with great care in the Egyptian hieroglyphic (the term means "sacred carving") writings carved on stone or written on papyrus scrolls. These shapes persisted for three thousand years without considerable change, to the very end of the use of the Old Egyptian writing system. For certain documents, the hieroglyphics were graphically simplified into *hieratic* ("priestly" writing), in which only a few signs remained of the original pictures. A further radical simplification of the sign in the *demotic* ("popular," "ordinary") script led to a set of graphically simple signs, some of them quite unlike their old models.

For the mostly syllabic Hittite writing, the term *hieroglyphic* is also used due to the external similarity — but not affinity — with the Egyptian signs. Real objects can also be recognized in some "pseudo-hieroglyphic" signs from Byblos and in some Proto-Sinaitic signs.

While the use of writing with pens or brushes on soft surfaces enhanced the tendency to form linear signs often with rounded features, writing or carving of letters on hard surfaces, such as stone, ceramics, or metal, required geometric forms, preferably straight strokes with sharp angles.

Even more demanding in this direction was the technique of writing on clay tablets with a stylus angular at the end, which left on the clay either short lines beginning with a wedge, or angle wedges only. The CUNEIFORM signs appear as combinations of a few basic wedge-formed elements, arranged in certain directions only. In this way, in nearly all cuneiform signs the connections to original pictures were obliterated.

In the fully developed Mesopotamian cuneiform writing, only two basic forms of wedges appear, the long stroke with a wedge at its beginning, and the angle wedge, in the form of an isosceles triangle pointing to the left. As the directions of the long wedge were more and more limited — vertical with wedge on top and horizontal, oblique with wedge on the left — the resulting signs had to be highly stylized. Very few relationships to the original pictograms can be observed.

For the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet, only the minimal number of basic signs was selected and put together in simple combinations; the requirement of graphical simplicity prevailed.

A change of signs from prevalently pictorial to linear occurred in the West Semitic alphabet. Many ancient signs in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions reflect real objects, some of them according to their Egyptian hieroglyphic stylization. In the later West Semitic alphabets used in Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria these original signs were simplified. A graphic simplification of the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet in a different direction led to the development of the ancient South Arabic letters.

A similar transition from pictorial "hieroglyphic" signs

Pictographs on a rock face at Serābît el-Khâdim on the west side of the Sinai Peninsula (L. T. Geraty)

to linear writing systems (labeled A and B) can be observed also on Crete during the 2nd millennium B.C.

In the Aramaic alphabet, adopted also by the Jews and other Semitic communities in western Asia, linear letters were gradually simplified in a cursive direction. This eventually led to similar forms which had to be distinguished by diacritical marks (see III.C.3.a above).

In late antiquity and in the early Middle Ages, the Jews tried to shape their alphabetic letters of Aramaic origin into a square or quadrate frame. This writing, used for the Torah scrolls and other biblical MSS, is therefore called "square script." It has been adopted since the 15th cent. A.D. for printed Hebrew letters. A more cursive type of Hebrew writing was used for medieval biblical commentaries and MSS, later in printed books (the so-called Rashi script).

In Greek writing, adopted from the West Semitic alphabet, one can observe a tendency to make the letter more symmetrical; some are symmetrical to the vertical axis (e.g., A, Δ, Λ), some to the horizontal axis (e.g., B, Σ), and some to both (O, Ξ, X). Such a tendency is observable also in the Roman alphabet and in the South Arabic alphabet.

The tendency to symmetry was stronger in monumental inscriptions in which each letter was separated. In cursive writing the linking of letters and attempts to make the writing fluent and fast led again to some violation of symmetry. This can be observed in Greek and Latin minuscules in late antiquity and in the early Middle Ages.

In the time of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance (*ca.* A.D. 800) the return to classical forms led to more regularity. In the period of Gothic art the shapes of letters followed also the general tendency to more angular forms with accentuation of vertical strokes. In the late Middle Ages the distinction between capital and small letters was introduced.

Some changes in the shape of signs in various systems were caused by changes in writing direction, in writing technique, and in the arrangement of writing surfaces. As the writing direction in ancient Mesopotamia changed from vertical to horizontal, the signs were accordingly turned 90 degrees. Also the Greeks, after they adopted the West Semitic alphabet, turned some letters 90 degrees; thus the Greek A is symmetrical to the vertical axis, while the West Semitic *aleph*, pointing to the left, is symmetrical to the horizontal axis.

VI. Direction of Writing.—In most ancient Near Eastern writing, the signs were arranged in horizontal lines, in some writing systems going from left to right, in other systems usually from right to left. In the oldest Mesopotamian written documents the signs are arranged in a vertical direction from top to bottom of the written surface. The oldest Egyptian writing is also arranged vertically. The vertical arrangement reappeared much later, at the beginning of the Christian era, in Syriac rock inscriptions.

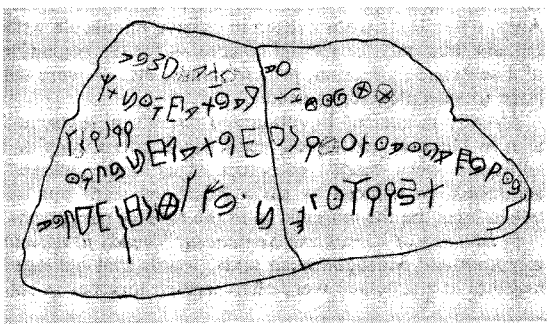
Most written texts from the biblical period are arranged in horizontal lines. The signs go mostly from right to left in ancient Egyptian texts, whether hieroglyphic, hieratic, or demotic. The same right-to-left direction was adopted for the West Semitic alphabet and used with very few exceptions by Phoenicians, Israelites and Judeans, and Arameans. The most ancient Greek inscriptions followed their West Semitic models in this respect.

A left-to-right arrangement in horizontal lines was used in nearly all kinds of cuneiform writing, by Sumerians and Akkadians in Mesopotamia, by Hurrians in northern Syria, and by Hittites in Asia Minor. This direction was also used in alphabetic cuneiform systems, either consistently, as in the Ugaritic alphabet, or partially, as in Old Persian.

There are a very few instances of the left-to-right direction for the West Semitic alphabet; one of them is the alphabet on the stone tablet dated *ca.* 1100 B.C. from 'Izbet Ṣarṭah near Aphek (Antipatris), about 25 km. (15 mi.) E of Jaffa.

A combination of horizontal lines written alternatively from right to left and then left to right, like the furrows plowed in a field — hence called in Greek *boustrophēdón*, "as the ox turns" — was tried in the beginning of their alphabetic writing by the Greeks, but was soon abandoned. (The same practice is attested also in Hittite hieroglyphic writing and in some Old South Arabic inscriptions.) Eventually in the Greek alphabet and in the alphabets derived from it — Latin, Coptic, Gothic, and Old Slavonic — the left-to-right system prevailed.

A Hebrew abecediary found at 'Izbet Ṣarṭah, 1200-1000 B.C., the oldest Hebrew inscription discovered (The Institute of Archaeology, Tel-Aviv University; photo M. Weinberg)



VII. Text Divisions.–A. Division of Words. In the oldest Mesopotamian and Egyptian writing systems, each word was expressed by a special word-sign (logogram; see III.B above).

In the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, the phonological signs for consonants and their combinations were added as closely as possible to the logograms; no word dividers were used. (The names of gods and kings were written within a "cartouche," an oval frame.) In logographic, syllabic, and related writings the word boundaries could be recognized without the use of special dividers.

Dividers appeared in the oldest larger alphabetic texts. In the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet small vertical wedges were used in nearly all written texts. Particles containing one consonant only were written together with the following word, although in some nonliterary texts they were separated by the word dividers.

A similar system was used in the oldest West Semitic alphabetic linear inscriptions. Words were divided by vertical strokes (Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos, 10th cent. B.C.; Aramaic inscriptions from Hamath, 8th cent. B.C.), or combinations of two or three dots arranged vertically (Aramaic inscription from Tell Fekheriyeh, *ca.* 850 B.C.). In the inscription of King Mesha of Moab (*ca.* 850 B.C.) words are separated by dots, while the vertical stroke served to separate sentences. In Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from Sam'al (Zenjirli) in north Syria (8th cent. B.C.) dots or very sharp vertical strokes were used as word dividers. In most Hebrew preexilic inscriptions and ostraca words are separated by dots, not always consistently. This system was continued in conservative postexilic Hebrew texts using preexilic types of letters, in some Qumrân scrolls, and even later in the Samaritan inscriptions and MSS.

In the Aramaean script adopted by the Judeans in the postexilic period, five letters (*k, m, n, p, ṣ*) have different forms when written at the end of a word.

In later Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions word dividers were not used. This continuous writing (*scriptio continua*) makes the reading sometimes ambiguous.

Most of the ancient Greek texts written on stone, papyrus, and parchment from late antiquity are in continuous writing. Because a Greek word can end only on *n, r, s,* or a vowel, the reader could distinguish the words rather easily. (Cf. variants in Rom. 7:14; 1 Tim. 3:16.)

In the 1st cent. A.D. the words began to be divided by short spaces. This system was then gradually adopted for writing in the Greek and Latin alphabets, though some MSS in the 4th cent. A.D. (e.g., Vaticanus, Sinaiticus) still did not have word dividers. In the later scripts derived from the Greek and Latin alphabets, words are divided by spaces.

Neither in the Semitic alphabets nor in the ancient Greek and Roman alphabets were special forms developed for initial letters of words or sentences. This differentiation began only with Roman letters in the late Middle Ages, when texts were written in cursive minuscule writing and then only for special reasons — for the beginning of a sentence or section, proper names, etc. — were the large (majuscule) letters used.

Already in ancient Egyptian and cuneiform texts, and also in Hebrew and Greek texts, some corrections and additions were made. Incorrect signs were ereased, scratched, or marked by dots. Additions were put between lines, on the margins, or at the ends of paragraphs.

B. Division of Verses and Sentences. Already in ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts, words that belonged together in a sentence were often written together in columns or lines, sometimes separated by thin lines drawn between them.

In Akkadian and then in Ugaritic cuneiform tablets, verses or cola were often set on separate lines. In some Akkadian poetic texts verses and half-verses were marked by vertical signs. In the Ugaritic poem about the wedding of two lunar deities (*UT,* 52) half-verses are marked by dividers while the words are mostly written together. Some psalms and some other poetic texts in the Qumrân Scrolls are written in lines reflecting the verse structure. In traditional Hebrew biblical MSS only some poetic passages, such as Dt. 32, are written in lines coinciding with poetic verses.

Major Greek biblical MSS from the 4th cent. A.D. present most poetic OT books in stichic arrangement, each verse on one line.

Certain accent signs used in the Hebrew biblical MSS since the 9th cent. A.D. can be conveniently used as help for delimiting clauses and sentences, even if they were not primarily meant for this purpose. The division of Hebrew biblical texts into so-called verses by a sign and into half-verses and their parts by a very elaborate system of accent signs serves primarily for the cantillation of biblical sections in synagogue worship.

Punctuation signs for indicating limits of sentences and their parts in Greek were introduced first in the Hellenistic period, but stabilized only in the late Middle Ages. An interrogative sign has been used only since *ca.* A.D. 800. The punctuation in the modern editions of the Greek NT was introduced by modern scholars; many of the variants listed in the apparatus of the critical editions affect the meaning significantly. The punctuation in Latin texts followed Greek models.

In MSS of the Masoretic Hebrew Bible additional information about words is given on margins, with longer remarks on the tops and bottoms of pages.

VIII. Development of Writing Systems in the Ancient Near East and in the Greco-Roman World.–The following survey presents those writing systems that are for various reasons important for the study of the Bible. In general their sequence is chronological. For the background of the OT the logographic systems of Mesopotamia and Egypt are important. The West Semitic alphabet and the Greek alphabet were used for writing the biblical books in their original languages. Writing systems in which the ancient versions of the OT and the NT were transmitted are also mentioned.

The following survey is in many points based on relatively little data. Only a fraction of the ancient written documents has survived until the present day and only a small fraction of them has been discovered. While the cuneiform texts on clay tablets survived well and thousands of them were accordingly unearthed, comparable papyrus and leather documents had less chance to survive.

The principles of the main writing systems — logographic, syllabic, and alphabetic — have been outlined above (III; see also Gelb).

A. Sumerian Cuneiform. The oldest written documents appeared in lower Mesopotamia at the end of the 4th millennium B.C. Since the original signs expressed entire words, while no phonological features were indicated, it is not immediately clear what language was fixed in these documents. Most probably it was Sumerian, the language that is contained in somewhat later texts, according to their phonological complements. Many of these archaic texts were found in the ruins of the city of Uruk (biblical Erech, now Warka), in the strata from the time shortly

before 3000 B.C. These oldest written documents were purely logographic: one word, one sign, Additional signs were used as determinatives or semantic indicators (see III.B above).

Even a high number of logograms in the old Sumerian writing — about 2000 — did not suffice to express all words. Therefore the system was gradually phonologized, as described above (III.C.1).

Sumerian, which is not related to any other known language, is agglutinative, i.e., grammatical morphemes are added to the core words without changing them. A graphical system using both logograms and syllabograms was thus very convenient for this type of language. It seems that some rare consonants were not clearly distinguished from similar sounds. Since some syllabic signs consisted of one vowel only, this syllabic system had enough flexibility to indicate also words of foreign origin. This flexibility made it possible later to adapt this syllabic-logographic system for other languages. Even the retaining of logograms provided some convenience comparable to the use of graphical symbols (such as $ or &) or abbreviations. The use of the same type of writing contributed greatly to economical and cultural contacts between different areas and peoples of the ancient Near East.

But the cuneiform word-syllabic system was still very complicated. It was necessary to master several hundred signs, some of which were used for more than one word or syllable. Many of these signs could be read in more than one way. Although some simplification was reached through selective use of signs and their values in various local scribal schools and traditions, the ability to write and to read was always limited to a small segment of the population, especially to professional scribes and priests.

B. Akkadian Cuneiform. People who came in contact with the Sumerians began to adopt the Sumerian writing system on clay tablets, often with some adaptations. The inhabitants of ancient Elam discontinued use of their old syllabic linear writing in favor of the Sumerian cuneiform writing system.

The Semitic Akkadians who lived near or among the Sumerians used first not only the Sumerian writing but also the Sumerian language for their written records. Their identity is visible from their Semitic names, written mostly by syllabic signs.

The Akkadians accepted from the Sumerians both logographic and syllabic cuneiform signs, and gradually developed a principally syllabic form of writing (see III.C.2 above).

While in the Sumerian language the function of consonants and vowels in word formation was not in principle different, in the Semitic languages the consonants convey the basic meaning of words and the vowels serve to modify them. The number of consonantal phonemes in Old Akkadian and in later dialects was greater than in Sumerian. As Sumerian syllabic signs were adopted they often served indiscriminately for syllables with related but not identical Akkadian consonants; e.g., the dentals, voiced /d/, unvoiced /t/, and emphatic /ṭ/, were not always distinguished in syllabic signs used by Akkadians. But the vowel components of syllabic signs adequately expressed the Akkadian vowel system. Combinations of syllabic signs were also occasionally used for indicating long vowels and doubled consonants, which are important in the formation of Semitic words.

By the frequent use of syllabic signs and a more limited use of logograms the number of cuneiform signs used in different variants of Akkadian writing (Old Akkadian, and Old, Middle, and Late Babylonian and Assyrian) was more than five hundred. Thus in Akkadian cuneiform, elements of two systems, logographic and syllabic, and of two totally different languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, were mixed together.

The requirements for learning and using such a complicated system remained high; thus literacy remained limited. The difficulties were enhanced by the ambiguity of many signs that could be read either as words or as syllables with different values. For example, one sign, which originally depicted the rising sun, could be read as one of seventy different words, as an element in one of more than two hundred word-signs, or as one of several dozen different syllables (e.g., *ud, ut, uṭ, tu, du, ta, tam, ṭam, pir, par, laḫ-, liḫ-, maḫ-*; see G. R. Driver). On the other hand, one syllable could be represented by many different signs, e.g., for *du* not less than thirteen signs are attested.

Cuneiform syllabic writing was used for the Akkadian language until both came to an end. The last cuneiform Akkadian documents were written in the middle of the 1st cent. A.D.

The number of preserved Akkadian cuneiform texts, mostly on clay tablets, some on stone, amounts to many thousands. They have been found not only in the areas where the Akkadian language in its various dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian, was spoken, but also in colonies, such as Assyrian commercial settlements at Kanesh (Kültepe) in Cappadocia in the early 2nd millennium B.C., or where Akkadian and cuneiform writing were used for international contacts and local administration, as in Mari, Alalakh, and Ugarit in Syria during the 2nd millennium B.C. Akkadian letters, documents of various kinds, and even literary works were found in many sites outside Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and even Egypt.

C. Cuneiform in Ebla. Since 1974 many thousands of cuneiform tablets have been discovered by Italian archeologists at TELL MARDIKH in central Syria, in the ruins of ancient Ebla or Ibla, capital of a kingdom powerful in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. The language spoken in this kingdom was Semitic, but its precise character is not yet determined. It shares many features with the East Semitic Akkadian in its old stage, while some other features can be found in ancient West Semitic Canaanite languages. The main reason for the uncertainty is the use of Sumerian cuneiform in Ebla. In the texts published until 1983 the logographic signs are principally used, in some documents almost exclusively. The meaning of such texts can be recognized, but the very limited use of syllabic signs for indication of Semitic inflectional morphemes gives only partial information about the local Semitic language. More language is contained in Semitic personal, divine, and geographical names, written mostly by syllabic signs. This type of cuneiform writing for the Eblaite language was used only for a limited time, *ca.* 2500-2300 B.C.

D. Cuneiform in Syria and Palestine. In the 2nd millennium B.C. the Akkadian language, mostly in its Middle Babylonian dialect, served as a diplomatic, administrative, commercial, and cultural language in Syria and Palestine. It was written in Babylonian cuneiform, with some local peculiarities, some of which can be explained by the traditions of scribal schools, some by influence of the locally spoken Northwest Semitic languages of the Canaanite type. In these syllabic cuneiform texts many Northwest Semitic geographic, personal, and divine names are preserved, and also some general words (sometimes marked as glosses) and sentences.

From the first part of the 2nd millennium B.C., a great

WRITING

number of cuneiform texts was preserved in the ruins of MARI (Tell el-Ḥarîrī) on the middle Euphrates in east Syria. These texts, unearthed by French archeologists, provide ample information about the history, administration, social structure, and religion of this area; also thousands of Amorite personal names are known from these sources. From the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. cuneiform Akkadian texts from Alalakh (Tell 'Atshânah) in northwest Syria (near Antioch) provide ample documentation about the local Canaanite kingdom.

The Akkadian language in syllabic cuneiform was used in the 14th cent. B.C. for correspondence between the kings of Egypt and their vassal kingdoms in Syria and Palestine and also with rulers of independent states in this area. About four hundred letters from places such as Ugarit, Byblos, Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, Jerusalem, and Lachish were found at Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt (*see* AMARNA TABLETS). Some of these texts contain Canaanite forms and expressions. From the 14th and 13th cents. B.C. hundreds of syllabic cuneiform texts were preserved and excavated at Ugarit. Such texts attest to the international and local use of cuneiform syllabic writing for diplomatic, administrative, commercial, and religious purposes.

Assyrian and Babylonian domination of Syria and Palestine in the 8th to 6th cents. B.C. left a few texts there.

E. Hurrian and Hittite Cuneiform. Mesopotamian cuneiform writing was adopted by the Hurrians, a people living in the 2nd millennium B.C. in upper Mesopotamia and in north Syria. Hurrian texts using mostly syllabic signs are preserved mostly from the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. A long Hurrian letter from the kingdom of Mitanni in north Syria was found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. A few Hurrian texts in local Ugaritic alphabetic writing were found at Râs Shamrah. The texts in both these writing systems can be read, but since Hurrian is a language unrelated to other languages except Urartian, the meaning of many words and texts remains unknown.

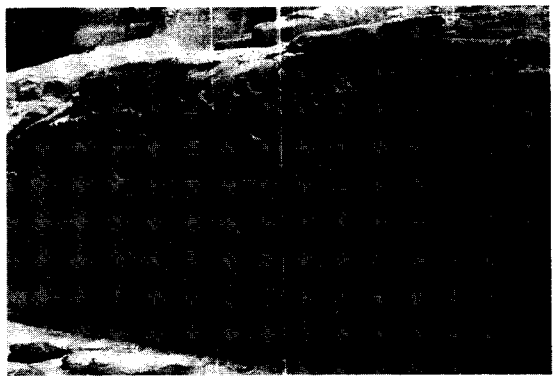
The Urartian language was used in the country called in antiquity Urartu (biblical Ararat, 2 K. 19:37; Jer. 51:27; also Gen. 8:4), modern Armenia. For this language cuneiform writing with mostly syllabic signs was used in the manner similar to the related Hurrian.

As the Indo-European Hittites settled in the center of Asia Minor in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., they adopted the cuneiform writing probably from their Hurrian neighbors. Syllabic signs were convenient for indicating Indo-European inflectional morphemes, while the logograms in Hittite texts provided the clue for determining the character of this language. Cuneiform was used for official documents of the Hittite empire and also for religious texts. Many texts of this kind were found at Ḫattušas (Boghazköy) in central Anatolia.

Syllabic-logographic cuneiform was used not only for Indo-European Hittite, called by the Hittites *nasili,* "Nesian," but also for the old Anatolian languages of this area called *ḫattili,* "Hattic."

Cuneiform was no longer used after the collapse of the Hittite empire *ca.* 1200 B.C., but syllabic pseudo-hieroglyphic writing, used for stone inscriptions, survived it for five centuries. These texts are in a language closely related to "cuneiform" Hittite and even more to Luwian, another language known from some Boghazköy cuneiform texts.

F. Egyptian Writing. The beginning of the Egyptian writing system can be dated shortly before 3000 B.C. It is probable that the general idea of expressing words of a language in writing was brought to Egypt from Sumerian Mesopotamia. The oldest written monuments attest the purely logographic stage, but in the oldest texts understandable to modern scholars, phonological signs appear in connection with the logograms.



Egyptian hieroglyphs from Abu Simbel, temple of Ramses II (1301-1234 B.C.) (D. H. Condit)

Egyptian logograms carefully depicted real objects. Very soon these signs were used also for other words or their parts that were pronounced with the same consonants. While these "phonological complements" in Sumerian writing were mostly syllabic, in Egyptian writing only vowelless consonants were indicated. This disregard of vowels was prompted by the structure of the Egyptian language, in which, as with the Semitic languages, the basic meaning of the words is expressed by consonants, while the vowels modify the basic concepts.

The number of logograms in the oldest stage of Egyptian writing was about one thousand; there were also determinatives, as in Sumerian, and signs for singular, dual, and plural, consisting of one, two, or three short strokes.

The phonological complements could repeat some or all consonants of the words written by word-signs, e.g., the word for "good" was written by the word-sign *nfr* with added complements for all its consonants: *nfr.n.f.r.*

Egyptian word-signs could contain one consonant — e.g., *r,* "mouth," probably pronounced [ra] — or two consonants — e.g., *pr,* "house," probably pronounced [paru] — or three consonants — e.g., *nfr,* "good." Many of these same logograms were also used for indicating consonants, individually or in groups of two or three. Although the Egyptians had in their inventory of signs more than twenty for individual consonants, they never took the opportunity to create a consonantal alphabet.

The Egyptian script took three forms: hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic (see V above).

Egyptian writing was not used for other languages. It even proved difficult for writing names and words of foreign origin; for this purpose signs for phonetically weak consonants were used to indicate some vowels.

In the kingdom of Meroë S of Egypt (now in north Sudan) a writing system imitating the Egyptian system in forms but using Greek alphabetic principles was in use from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 4th cent. A.D.

Christians in Egypt replaced the ancient script by the Coptic script, which was derived from the Greek alphabet, with the addition of a few signs for specific Coptic sounds.

G. Hittite "Hieroglyphs." A system using syllabic signs with some word-signs, similar to hieroglyphs in shape, is preserved in Hittite texts since the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. Most monuments were found in the late Hittite states of the 10th to 8th cents. in north Syria.

H. Cretan Writings: "Hieroglyphic" and Linear. On the island of Crete, during the 2nd millennium B.C., two writing systems were introduced: the so-called Cretan hieroglyphic writing and its successor, Linear writing A, which in turn was followed *ca.* 1500 B.C. by Cretan Linear writing B. The oldest written records of the Greek language used Linear B. The syllabic Linear B did not adequately express all sounds of archaic Greek. It does not indicate many syllable-closing consonants.

Linear B was used for economic and administrative records. In the upheavals after 1200 B.C. caused by the invasion of Peloponnesus and Crete by a new Greek wave, the Dorians, the knowledge of writing was virtually lost. It survived with some modifications on the island of Cyprus, where this syllabic system is represented by inscriptions from the 7th-3rd cents. B.C.

I. Iranian Writing Systems. Several writings systems were used for the Indo-European Iranian language and its dialects in antiquity. One imperfect attempt to overcome the complicated system of syllabic-logographic cuneiform was made by the Persians. The inscriptions of kings Darius (522-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) are written in a system consisting of twenty-one syllabic signs and of thirteen signs indicating one consonant only to which a vowel can be added in reading; four special signs, such as for "king," are a relic of the logographic system. Three signs express vowels only: *a, i, u.* This type of writing, known only from royal inscriptions, was used only for a limited time. Most of these Old Persian inscriptions are accompanied by Elamite and Babylonian versions in syllabic cuneiform.

Greek letters were used by eastern Iranians in the Hellenistic period. The Persians in other areas utilized the Aramaic alphabet; the shapes of letters were considerably simplified, so that some were not sufficiently distinguished. In the Pahlavi writing in Persia (since the 3rd cent. B.C.) and in the Sogdian type used in areas E of the Caspian Sea, a new logography appeared: words written in Aramaic letters were read in Persian according to their meaning, e.g., *mlk,* Aram. *malkâ*, "king," was read as the Persian word for "king" (*šah*). Persian phonological complements indicated inflectional morphemes. In this type of writing the Zoroastrian sacred books (Avesta) were preserved, and it is still used by the Parsis.

J. West Semitic Alphabet. 1. First Attempts. A radical simplification of writing systems developed in an area where both the Egyptian and the Akkadian writing systems were known. From the Egyptian model the principle of graphical signs expressing one single consonant, and most probably some shapes of signs, was adopted; from the Mesopotamian cuneiform writing was derived the concept of adapting a writing system or its elements to another language.

About the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. in Palestine and in the Canaanite cities on the western shore of the Mediterranean Sea several attempts were made to introduce a new, simple writing system. The ancient tradition preserved in Greek sources locates the invention of this new writing in Byblos. This important commercial center formed intensive connections at sea with Egypt and later also with the Aegean area. Inscriptions have been found that are probably remains of an attempt for a simple writing system with a limited number of signs. In inscriptions from the mid-2nd millennium B.C. more than one hundred signs are represented. This number may point to a syllabic system (see IX.B.2 below).

The largest set of inscriptions from the mid-2nd millennium B.C. in which an alphabetic writing with fewer than thirty consonantal letters may be sought, was found at the Egyptian turquoise mines at Serābîṭ el-Khâdim in the western part of the Sinai Peninsula. Semites who worked in the mines probably made the inscriptions carved on rock and on stone statues. For these old inscriptions the term "Proto-Sinaitic" is used, in order to distinguish this writing from the much later Sinaitic Aramaic inscriptions.

Similar inscriptions from the mid-2nd millennium B.C. with signs similar to some Egyptian hieroglyphs or some letters of the West Semitic alphabet were found in Palestine, at Gezer, Lachish, Shechem, Hazor, and some other sites. Very old specimens of this type are short inscriptions from *ca.* 1600 B.C. found during the excavations of Gezer. The fragment of Lahav in southern Palestine may be a little older.

2. Ugaritic Alphabet. A West Semitic alphabet consisting of thirty letters was discovered at the excavation at Râs Shamrah on the north Syrian coast. While the previously mentioned alphabetic writings are of the linear type, the alphabet of the ancient city of Ugarit is written in cuneiform signs. It is attested, mostly on clay tablets, from the last two centuries of the existence of this wealthy Canaanite political and commercial center, destroyed *ca.* 1200 B.C. The first tablets were discovered in 1929, and the alphabet was deciphered one year later. The letters are written, as in the other cuneiform writings, from left to right, with very few exceptions. The identity of the letters was determined and confirmed due to the affinity of this north Canaanite language with other Semitic languages.

On several clay tablets all thirty letters of the Ugaritic alphabet are presented in their traditional order, which corresponds in general to the order of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Five more consonants represent consonants not represented in the Phoenician and Hebrew inventory of consonants. As they are more or less evenly distributed throughout this alphabetic list, the Ugaritic alphabet and its order is obviously more original than that of twenty-two letters. Three letters at the end of the alphabet are clearly late additions. The very last one imitates by its form the West Semitic letter *s* (*samech*); it stands for the syllable /su/. The two signs preceding it indicate the glottal stop (Heb. *aleph*) plus the vowels /i/ and /u/: *i* and *u*. The first sign of this Ugaritic alphabet is used for the glottal stop plus the vowel /a/: *a*.

For more about the Ugaritic alphabet, see III.C.e above; *see also* CUNEIFORM; UGARIT.

A few short inscriptions in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet were found in Lebanon (Sarepta, Kumid el-Loz), in Palestine (Mt. Tabor, Taanach, Beth-shemesh), and on Cyprus (Hala Sultan Tekke near Larnaka-Kition).

3. Phoenician Alphabet and Its Local Variants. Phoenician and Palestinian inscriptions from the Iron Age (after *ca.* 1200 B.C.) are written in a linear alphabet consisting of twenty-two consonantal letters only. (Originally, Phoeni-

A receipt for grain on a tablet inscribed in alphabetic cuneiform. From Taanach, early 12th cent. B.C. (Taanach Expedition, courtesy A. Glock)

cian probably had twenty-seven consonantal phonemes.) From the 12th/11th cent. B.C. only a few short inscriptions on bronze arrowheads from Lebanon and from el-Khadr near Bethlehem are known.

The oldest Phoenician inscriptions were found in the ancient city of Byblos (Gubla). The inscription of the stone sarcophagus of King Aḥiram is now dated to *ca.* 1000 B.C. Inscriptions from later periods were found in Sidon, ʿAmrit, and other Phoenician sites at the coast and in their colonies on Cyprus. In the Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean, archaic writing is attested on the inscriptions from Sardinia (Nora) and Spain. A later type of writing used in Carthage is called Punic. The Phoenician language and alphabet were also used for inscriptions in areas where Phoenician merchants lived (Crete, Greece) and for official inscriptions in north Syria (Sam'al/Zenjirli) and Asia Minor (Karatepe).

a. Palestine. In Palestine the Phoenician alphabet was adopted with slight changes: the shapes of some letters were slightly modified, and at the end of some words "weak" consonants were used to indicate long final vowels.

The inscription from *ca.* 1100 B.C., found at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah near Aphek, about 24 km. (15 mi.) E of Jaffa, contains an alphabet of twenty-two letters in the sequence known from later Hebrew tradition with a slight variant (*peh* before *ayin*), but written from left to right. From a slightly later time the so-called Gezer Calendar and texts written on sherds (ostraca) found at Tell el-Qasîleh on the northern outskirts of Tel Aviv are preserved.

For writing on sherds (ostraca) and on perishable media, cursive shapes of letters were developed, as the Samaria ostraca attest. On seals and letters, shapes similar to those on stone inscriptions were used. Most of the inscriptions on stone from Palestine are written in carelessly carved letters. Longer inscriptions are known from the vicinity of Jerusalem (Siloam spring, Silwan) and from the Negeb (Kuntillet ʿAjrūd). An ostracon found at Yavneh Yam, S of Jaffa, contains a complaint of a laborer named Hoshayahu against withholding of wages (cf. Dt. 24:15). Ostraca with a rather cursive Hebrew writing were found in greater numbers at Lachish (SW of Jerusalem), Arad (SE of Hebron), and Beer-sheba (in the Negeb). Their cursive writing is characterized by the rounded shapes of letters, with dots for word dividers. The long inscription of King Mesha of Moab from the middle of the 9th cent. B.C., found in Dibon in 1868, exhibits forms of letters corresponding to those in contemporary Palestine (*see* MOABITE STONE). Moabite and Edomite seals, too, were written in such letters.

The Palestinian type was used as the traditional script even in the postexilic period for special purposes. Coins of some Hasmonean kings were inscribed in the archaic Hebrew script, as were coins struck during the uprisings against Roman rule (A.D. 66 and 132). Among fragmentary scrolls found in Qumrân caves 4 and 11, those in old Hebrew (Paleo-Hebrew) script represent Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Job. In some nonbiblical Qumrân MSS written in the script of Aramaic origin, the divine names *yhwh,* "Lord," and *ʾl,* "God," are written in archaic Hebrew letters.

Samaritans also have used this type of script since the Roman period for their inscriptions and their books in Hebrew and Aramaic.

b. Aramaic. When the Arameans adopted the Phoenician alphabet at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., they did not immediately change the shapes of the letters; only gradually did unique Aramaic types develop. But from the very beginning the Arameans introduced an innovation of great importance: they started to indicate vowels — at first long final vowels and later medial vowels as well — by letters used for phonetically related consonants (see III.C.e.[2] above). This violation of the alphabetic principle — one letter for one phoneme — was made easier by a similar inconsistency in writing the consonants: Early Aramaic possessed a few more consonantal phonemes than the twenty-two expressed by the same number of letters in the Phoenician alphabet.

This Aramaic stone inscription from Sfire (8th cent. B.C.) is part of the treaty between Mati'el king of Arpad and Bir-Ga'yah, a Mesopotamian suzerain (W. S. LaSor)

From the early period (10th-7th cents. B.C.) are preserved stone inscriptions from north Syria, Tell Fekherîyeh and Tell Ḥalâf in the northeast, Sfire near Aleppo, Hamath in central Syria, and Damascus in southern Syria. In the northern Syrian kingdom of Sam'al (Zenjirli in southern Turkey), Phoenician, standard Aramaic, and a local Aramaic dialect were all used for inscriptions, but the shapes of the letters did not differ significantly. Aramaic inscriptions are also known from the Jordan Valley, from Dan, from Ein Gev, and from Tell Deir ʿallā on the river Jabbok.

The forms of the Aramaic letters also influenced the Ammonites. A few short inscriptions in their language close to Hebrew are written in letters similar to the Aramaic type.

Aramaic language and writing were also used on ostraca and clay tablets in Mesopotamia. In the Neo-Babylonian empire during the 6th cent. B.C. the Aramaic language was also used for administrative purposes. When the Persians conquered Babylon, they made Aramaic the official language in major parts of their empire. This "Imperial (or Official) Aramaic" was used in many areas of the Persian empire, from India to Asia Minor, from Caucasus to Egypt. Aramaic inscriptions are known from areas where Aramaic was not commonly spoken, such as India, Afghanistan, Caucasus, Lydia, and Arabia; some of them are accompanied by parallel texts in other languages.

In Egypt official letters sent from Persia (the Arsham correspondence) and administrative Persian documents on leather and papyrus have been preserved, as well as private letters (e.g., the papyri from Hermopolis). The greatest number of Aramaic papyri and ostraca from the 5th cent. B.C. was found on the island of Yeb (called in Greek Elephantine, in the river Nile near Sewen, Greek Syene, now Aswân). In this Jewish military colony, which guarded the southern border of Egypt for the Persians, Aramaic was used for legal documents, private letters, and for religious purposes. *See* ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.

(1) Aramaic Script in Judaism. In the Babylonian exile

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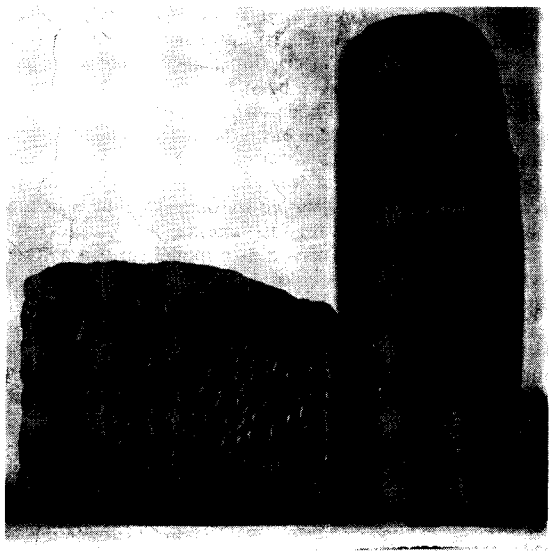


Cuneiform tablets with Aramaic dockets and seal impressions of Darius II of Persia (courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylania)

and after the return to Palestine, the Jewish community replaced their old Palestinian script with the Aramaic script.

This newer script is attested in some inscriptions and also in the papyri left by the Samaritans who were besieged by the soldiers of Alexander the Great in the caves of Wâdī Dâliyeh E of Nâblus. Jewish Hebrew and Aramaic scrolls left by the Jewish religious community in the Qumrân caves are written in this type of writing, with only a few exceptions, as are the texts left in the caves in the Judean desert from the Bar Cochba war (A.D. 132-135). Jewish inscriptions on ossuaries (bone boxes) and other funeral inscriptions in the vicinity of Jerusalem and in the necropolis of Beth-shearim (E of Haifa) as well as synagogal inscriptions from Palestine and other countries were written in a more formal type of writing that developed from the Aramaic type. The form that developed by regularizing cursive letters into square frames is called "square" script. It was used for rather formal purposes, in books and inscriptions.

(2) Local Aramaic Scripts. After the end of the Persian empire (332 B.C.), the uniformity of the Aramaic language and writing was no longer upheld by a central official use, and several local dialects and types of script developed. Some of them became very important for the further development and extension of alphabetic writing.

The NABATEANS, an Arabic people living in Hellenistic and Roman times E and SE of the Dead Sea, used the Aramaic language and script for their inscriptions. Later this type of writing was adopted by the other Arabs. The oldest Arabic inscription is preserved from the end of the 4th cent. A.D. The Arabs later simplified and schematized the shapes of letters. They developed various types for monumental inscriptions and a cursive that is very convenient for rapid writing.

Another local variant of Aramaic writing is attested by many inscriptions from the Roman period in the oasis of Tadmor (Palmyra) in the Syrian desert, an important commercial, administrative, and religious center.

Yet another local type of Aramaic language and script developed in Hatra in northern Mesopotamia. Inscriptions, mostly from the 2nd cent. A.D., offer much data about the religion of this city.

The local dialect and script of the city of Orhay (Greek Edessa, now Urfa in southeast Turkey) were well developed even before Christianity was adopted by the local rulers *ca.* A.D. 200. The Syriac dialect of Aramaic became the language of an important branch of Christianity. The old type of script (*estrangela*) developed in two directions, according to main trends and groups in which Syriac Christianity was divided, Eastern (Nestorian) and Western (Jacobite). Each of them developed a special type of writing with special systems for indicating vowels by signs below or above the letters. Besides a large number of MSS, Syriac inscriptions from pre-Christian and Christian times are preserved.

The Gnostic community of Mandeans that survived in small numbers in Iraq and adjacent areas of Iran used and preserved its own type of Aramaic alphabet. It is characterized by a consistent use of consonants for all vowels. Besides many MSS, old inscriptions on lead scrolls are also known.

Various types of Aramaic writing were used on magic bowls with inscriptions in various Eastern Aramaic dialects written in spirals or concentric circles on their inner sides (more rarely the outer); many such texts have been found in Iraq.

(3) Aramaic Script Adopted by Non-Aramaic Peoples. The Aramaic alphabet was also adopted by many non-Aramaic peoples for languages of various linguistic groups. These developments followed political and later religious lines. The Aramaic script was adopted in Hellenistic and later times by various Iranian peoples (see VIII.H above). After the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Aramaic script penetrated as far as India. In northwestern India it served as a model for the Brahmi script. In this system the vowels were indicated by graphical variants of basic forms of the consonants. From this ancient script many other scripts further developed that were used for the Indo-European and Dravidian languages in India and for various languages of India.

A kind of alphabet of Aramaic origin, perhaps Pahlavi, was used as model and source for the invention of the Armenian alphabet, ascribed to Mesrob. The Georgian alphabet was developed on a similar basis. Both the Indo-European Armenians and the Caucasian Georgians adopted Christianity in the 4th cent. A.D. The Bible translations and other religious texts in their respective languages deserve to be studied, as they preserve some old traditions otherwise lost.

Manichaean and later Christian (Nestorian) missions brought their sacred texts written in Syriac or related alphabets to various peoples of central and east Asia. Through the translations of religious literature and through imitations of the Aramaic alphabet, several new alphabetic scripts were developed, which were used at least temporarily by various Turkish peoples. Mongolian and Manchurian writing goes back to the Aramaic alphabet.

The Aramaic type of the West Semitic alphabet thus survived after the Phoenician and Palestinian types were long forgotten and served as the basis for many scripts, some of them important directly (Hebrew, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian) or indirectly (Mandean, Pahlavi of Avesta, Manichaean) for biblical studies.

4. South Arabian Alphabet. From a comparison of the forms of the letters and their number, it can be determined that the alphabetic writing attested in southern Arabia (now Yemen) developed from an older alphabetic writing similar to that known from the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions. The number of consonantal letters is twenty-nine. The forms of the letters vary slightly according to the local types, Minaean, Sabean, Himyaritic, and Hadramautic.

The inscriptions, mostly on stone buildings and statues, date from about the 8th cent. B.C. (or earlier) to the rise of Islam in the 7th cent. A.D. Very regular monumental letters are arranged from right to left, left to right, or both alternately in boustrophedon. *See* pictures in SABEANS.

This type of writing in cursive form was used from the 6th cent. B.C. by nomadic north Arabic tribes, Thamudaeans and Lihyanites in the oases and Dedanites in the Ṣafa region. Those inscriptions carved on rocks provide information about their ancient religion.

The Ethiopians, who migrated from Arabia to Africa about the beginning of the Christian era, used at first the South Arabic consonants only. From the 3rd cent. A.D. they began to indicate vowels by graphical modification of the consonants. Christian Ethiopic literature preserved some pseudepigraphic books, such as the book of Jubilees and 1 Enoch.

5. Greek Alphabet and Derived Alphabets. Both ancient traditions and the comparison of the shapes and values of the alphabetic letters clearly indicate that the Greeks derived their alphabet from the Western Semites. They called these letters "Phoenician"; tradition connected them also with the name of Kadmos, the mythical newcomer from the east to Thebes. The oldest Phoenician written document found on Greek soil is a short inscription on a bowl found in a tomb at Tekke in south Crete, dated from the type of its letters to *ca.* 1000 B.C. The oldest Greek alphabetic texts can be dated to *ca.* 750 B.C. It is not clear when the Greeks adopted their alphabet, but it seems prudent not to go much beyond the oldest written texts.

Already the oldest Greek written alphabetic texts from the 8th cent. B.C., the inscription on a ceramic vase from Athens and the inscribed sherds from Mt. Hymettos, show consistent use of special letters for vowels. The Greek alphabet is based on the principle of "one sound, one letter"; its innovation against the West Semitic alphabet is the consistent use of letters for vowels in all positions in the word. Both short and long vowels were indicated in the beginning by the same letters; only later were additional letters for two long vowels, *ē* and *ō*, introduced (see III.C.3.e.[4] above).

The order of letters in the Greek alphabet derives from the West Semitic alphabet of twenty-two letters. The names of the letters are evidently of Phoenician (or Aramaic) origin; many of them were slightly modified to fit the Greek word structure. The shapes of the letters in most ancient Greek inscriptions are similar to those used in Phoenician texts of the northern periphery; most of these letters are also similar to those of Aramaic texts from north Syria.

While the Phoenicians in their homeland indicated only consonants, the Arameans already in the 9th cent. B.C. used some consonant letters for vowels (see III.C.3.e above). Some of these Aramaic vowel letters, *aleph, he,* and *yodh,* correspond to the Greek vowel letters *a, e,* and *i* in their form and value. This device was introduced by the Greeks to supplement the strictly consonantal alphabetic system, since in Greek the communicative function of vowels is higher than in the Semitic languages. Some letters not necessary for Greek were gradually omitted. Signs of Semitic origin were used for the combination of two sounds, [k] + [s] and for the aspirate [th]. Eventually a few additional signs were introduced, for [p] + [s] and [k] + [h] and for the long vowels [ē] and [ō]. The functions of some additional signs were different in various geographical variants of the Greek alphabet.

The introduction of the Greek alphabet coincides with the beginning of Greek colonization to the east and the west. In the oldest Greek colony in the western Mediterranean, Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia in the bay of Naples, besides Greek inscriptions, short Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions have been found. The Greeks also came in contact with Phoenicians and Arameans in the commercial centers on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. It is difficult to determine the place where the Greek alphabet was first conceived. Probably the tablets containing the twenty-two letters of the alphabet in the traditional sequence were instrumental in this process.

The Greek alphabet served as a model for the writing systems of several peoples of Asia Minor, the Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, and Pamphylians.

The Etruscans introduced some minor changes in the shape and value of letters. Their alphabet was adopted by the Romans for their Latin language. Again some changes in the shape of letters, in values, and in the sequence of letters appeared.

Important biblical versions are preserved from antiquity in Coptic, the latest stage of the Egyptian language; in Gothic, a Germanic language used at the Black sea; and in Old Church Slavonic (Cyrillic letters), used in the Balkans and in central and eastern Europe. For the other alphabet used in Church Slavonic texts, "glagolitic," no pedigree could be determined.

IX. Study of Writing.–There is no generally accepted term for the study of writing. "Grammatology," the term introduced by I. J. Gelb and used also by J. Derrida (based on Gk. *grámma,* "letter"), fits well into the system of terms for various scientific disciplines. "Graphemics" has been proposed as a term for the study of graphical signs.

A. Subdisciplines. Among the special disciplines of the study of writing, paleography and epigraphy are important as tools for better understanding the Bible and its background. Both of these terms derive from Greek: *palaiós,* "ancient," *graphḗ,* "writing," *epigraphḗ,* "inscription." Their areas are not exactly determined and in practice often overlap.

Paleography is the study of ancient and medieval MSS. This term is sometimes limited to those in Greek and Latin, but this method can be applied to Hebrew MSS as well. Especially important is the comparison of the types of the letters and the tracing of their development. It is possible to establish a typological series; on the basis of them, if a document can be dated in terms of absolute chronology, it provides a fixed point for the other parts of the series. Reliable results have been reached in this way for dating the Hebrew and Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls and of Greek and Coptic biblical papyri from Egypt.

Epigraphy is defined as the study of inscriptions, of records written on hard material. Sometimes its use is extended to clay tablets from Mesopotamia, Syria, and Crete. Epigraphic methods have been successfully applied to Hebrew and other inscriptions from the biblical period.

Several disciplines deal with inscriptions written on objects with a special function. Sphragistics is the study of seals. Numismatics is the study of coins and their inscriptions, called "legends." Recently the hybrid term "codicology" has been used for the study of MSS and printed books.

B. Decipherment of Forgotten Writing Systems. The writing systems used for the canonical texts of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic of the OT, Greek of the NT, were transmitted through copying, reading, and studying by religious communities, Jewish and Christian respectively, from antiquity until the present time. Also, the writings in which the most important ancient biblical versions were

fixed have been used without interruption (Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Old Church Slavonic; an exception is Gothic).

Many writing systems used widely in the ancient Near East for long periods did not survive the end of their language or of the existence of their national or religious communities. The most recent documents in Egyptian hieroglyphs and in Akkadian cuneiform were written probably in the 1st cent. A.D. Other writing systems important for biblical studies went out of use even before that time. Some writing systems survived only in a form changed so considerably that they were no longer understood. In general, the survival of the understanding of a written system was conditional on the existence of a community using it actively or at least passively.

Some written monuments have been known and accessible since antiquity, even if no longer understood. Egyptian hieroglyphs on obelisks — several of them carried to Rome already in antiquity — and on temple walls remained the focus of interest. But inscriptions visible on rocks in remote areas of Syria, Asia Minor, and Persia were forgotten. Many written documents, especially smaller ones, were buried for many centuries and discovered, some by chance, some in systematic excavations only in modern times.

Most of the major writings of the ancient Near East have been successfully deciphered. Those writings that have defied decipherment are represented by a small number of monuments that do not allow a reliable confirmation of proposed readings or cannot be related to any known language.

1. Successful Decipherments. Since the 18th cent. various methods of decipherment have been successfully applied. Some attempts have been aided by the similarity of the unknown writing system with a better-known writing system. Most helpful has been the affinity of the new language with an already known language. Where neither graphical similarity nor related language was available, the decipherment did not succeed.

First among those forgotten writings deciphered were two West Semitic alphabets. The French scholar Jean-Jacques Barthélemy was able to determine the values of the alphabet used in the inscriptions in the Aramaic language in the Syrian oasis city Palmyra, written in the 1st-3rd cents. A.D. This successful decipherment in 1754 was followed four years later by his decipherment of the Phoenician alphabet, for which some partial results had previously been reached. Both these writing systems are alphabets of twenty-two signs corresponding in their values and their system to those of well-known related Semitic languages, Biblical Aramaic or Syriac and Hebrew, respectively, but they were deciphered with the help of parallel texts in Greek.

The writing of the Old South Arabic inscriptions from pre-Islamic times — some of them written already in the 8th cent. B.C. if not earlier — was identified in the 19th cent. with the help of its later descendant, the Ethiopic alphabet. The scripts derived from the South Arabic alphabet used by North Arabic tribes, Safaitic and Thamudic, were then deciphered by Enno Littmann at the beginning of the 20th century.

The decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and its graphically simplified later stages was long hampered by the persuasion — based on Chinese writing studied in Europe since the 18th cent. — that the hieroglyphic pictorial signs expressed whole words only. The clue to the decipherment was provided by the inscriptions on the stone found at Rosetta in the Nile Delta during Napoleon's expedition in 1799. It contains three parallel texts: two Egyptian, one in hieroglyphic writing, the other in demotic writing, and their Greek version. It took François Champollion some twenty years to combine these data with those contained in Coptic alphabetic texts and achieve a successful decipherment, presented in 1822.

The first information about cuneiform writing reached European scholars in the 17th century. Copies of inscriptions of this type of rock were available only at the end of the following century. The first attempts — shortly after 1800 — to decipher Persian inscriptions in a very simple syllabic cuneiform system were presented by Georg Friedrich Grotefend, a high school teacher in Göttingen. He identified the names of some Persian kings known already from Greek sources, but did not fully succeed because of the then insufficient knowledge of the ancient Persian language that survived in the Avesta and other religious writings.

The cuneiform inscriptions and tablets from Mesopotamia became available in larger quantities only during the first half of the 19th cent. after they were excavated from the ruins of ancient Assyrian sites. The multiple values of many word-signs and syllable-signs, as well as the scripts from different periods, hindered the decipherment. But it was helped by ancient cuneiform lists in which the meaning of word-signs was indicated by syllabic signs. It was recognized that the language of most cuneiform tablets from Assyria and Babylonia was Semitic, and the comparison with Hebrew and Arabic words helped to determine the meaning of words of the ancient East Semitic language, later called Akkadian. Among the scholars who participated in the decipherment, shortly after 1850, the names of Edward Hincks and Henry Creswick Rawlinson are prominent.

Once the system of cuneiform word-syllabic writing used for Semitic Akkadian was established, it was possible to apply its syllabic and logographic values to cuneiform texts in other languages. This cannot be considered as a true decipherment of writing, but as the discovery of a previously unknown language and the determination of its structure and of word meanings.

This process led eventually to the understanding of the texts in the Sumerian language, spoken in lower Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium B.C. and known as a sacred and literary language until the 1st millennium B.C. Names and loanwords appearing in both Sumerian and Akkadian helped in this effort. The task was difficult because Sumerian is not related to any other known language, and various dialects and systems of scribal devices appeared in the texts. Many translations or texts of Sumerian origin preserved in Akkadian helped to solve the problems and confirm the results. Only at the beginning of the 20th cent. was a fairly satisfactory understanding of Sumerian achieved, although some texts are still not understood.

Cuneiform tablets found at Boghazköy in central Asia Minor could be read but not understood. In 1915 B. Hrozný recognized that they render a language belonging to the Indo-European family. This discovery of Hittite provided the basis for the decipherment of "Hittite hieroglyphics," the other writing used in Hittite territories. The efforts of several scholars were summarized and extended by I. J. Gelb in the 1930's. Previous results were to a great extent confirmed after parallel texts in hieroglyphic Hittite and Phoenician were found at Karatepe in southeast Turkey in 1947.

Cuneiform texts in the Hurrian language from north Syria and adjacent countries can be read, but the structure of the language and the sense of the texts have been only partially determined, since this language is not related to any other better-known language.

The less complicated a writing system, the sooner it can be deciphered. This was demonstrated in the case of the cuneiform tablets found at Râs Shamrah (Ugarit) on the north Syrian coast in 1929. In the following year, three scholars, Hans Bauer, Paul (Edouard) Dhorme, and Charles Virolleaud, working independently but each using some results of the others, reached the conclusion that the cuneiform represented an alphabet of the West Semitic type. The affinity of Ugaritic to Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages made this rapid decipherment possible. The results were confirmed thirty years later by a tablet containing Ugaritic alphabetic letters provided with close syllabic cuneiform equivalents.

Bilingual texts can aid a rapid decipherment. Phoenician texts helped not only to confirm the decipherment of Hittite hieroglyphs after 1947, but seventy years before provided a clue to the decipherment of the Cypriote syllabary used by the Greeks. Inscriptions in this writing are preserved from the 7th-3rd cents. B.C. from various sites on Cyprus.

A relatively long time separated the find of the first inscriptions in Cretan Linear B, *ca.* 1900, from its decipherment, achieved in 1954 by British architect Michael Ventris. The names of places and persons known from Greek sources helped identify some syllabic signs. It was not expected that the language of these texts from the 15th-14th cent. B.C. found at Knossos on Crete would be identified as Greek, but with the help of classical philologist John Chadwick the structure of this most archaic Greek dialect was determined. The application of the results to documents in this writing found in Pylos on the Greek mainland confirmed the results.

2. Ongoing Attempts at Decipherment. Decipherments of several writings have been presented but not unanimously accepted. The consensus is stronger in some instances than in others.

The decipherment of the West Semitic Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions from the mid-2nd millennium B.C., begun by Alan Gardiner in 1915 and completed by W. F. Albright in 1948, can be supported by the similarity of the alphabetic signs with those of later Phoenician or Palestinian type; it is also possible to draw a line to the ancient South Arabic alphabet, which had twenty-nine consonants.

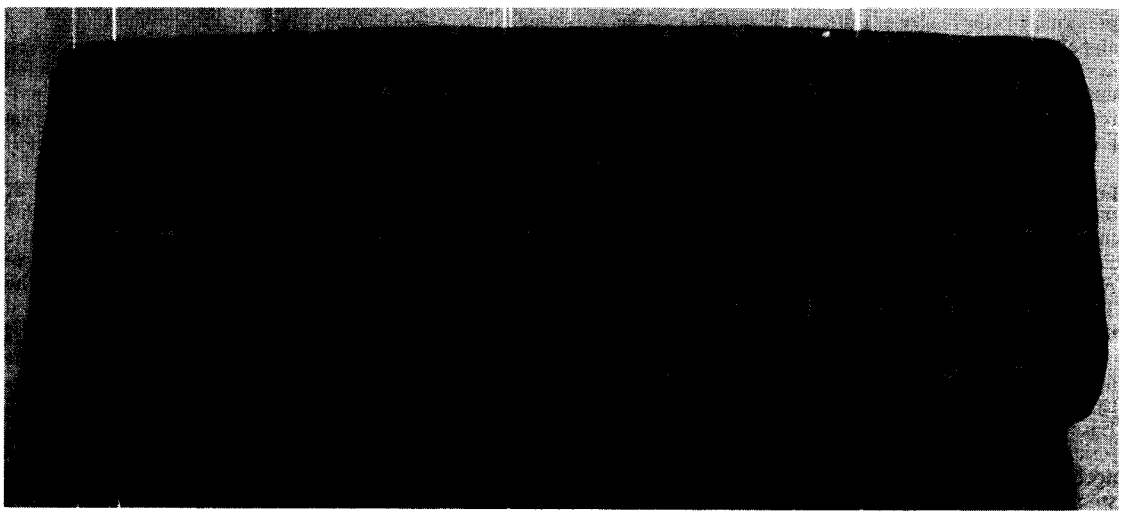
The so-called pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions from Byblos, which in general precede the alphabetic Phoenician inscriptions from the same site, can be considered syllabic because of the relatively large number of signs. The attempt to interpret them as being written in a rudimentary alphabet, presented by one of the decipherers of Ugaritic, Edouard Dhorme, in 1946, is now abandoned. After several preliminary announcements, G. E. Mendenhall published his decipherment in 1985. He presented a list of syllabic characters in which twenty-four consonants are combined with the vowels *a, i,* and *u*. The texts represent, according to Mendenhall, an archaic West Semitic language of the coastal area.

The writing attested on some documents from the Late Bronze Age found in Cyprus and also in Ugarit is called Cypro-Minoan, because of the similarity of some of its signs to the systems of the Aegean area. A decipherment presented by Emilie Masson seems to fit the requirements for a successful solution.

Even though the values of the Cretan Linear A writings correspond to those of Linear B, no attempts to interpret these texts in a Semitic or other language is considered successful. The difficulty lies probably not in the writing system but in the strange character of the language; the situation seems to be similar to that of cuneiform texts in Hurrian, or to that of Etruscan written in readable Greek letters.

Besides these not yet deciphered scripts, represented by a relatively large quantity of inscriptions, some monuments bear obviously graphical signs, which are either totally isolated or represented in very small quantities. Short and mostly fragmentary inscriptions on stone and ceramic from the Late Bronze Age found in southern Palestine contain some graphic signs similar to those of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions; some seem to be closer to the later standard West Semitic alphabet. From the area E of the Dead Sea a badly worn stone stele found near Bālū', perhaps from the 11th cent. B.C., is known. Its characters are similar to the South Arabic alphabet. During Dutch excavations at Tell Deir 'allā several clay tablets from about the 11th cent. B.C. were found, with graphical signs not similar to any hitherto known. Divisions by lines seem to indicate boundaries of words or sentences. In Late

A clay tablet from Tell Deir 'allā, ca. 11th cent. B.C., inscribed in a presently undeciphered (though apparently alphabetic) script (Department of Antiquities, Jordan)



Bronze Age Crete, besides two types of linear writing (A and B) and two older "hieroglyphic" types, some isolated remains of other systems have been found. Very interesting is a clay disk from Phaestos on which the signs, in a spiral arrangement, are not written but stamped in clay.

X. Writing in the Bible.–The writing used for the biblical books in their original languages is alphabetic: the West Semitic alphabet for the OT in Hebrew and Aramaic, and the Greek alphabet of the NT.

The heading "writing" covers both the activity and the results of it and also some terms relating to them, indicating the writing system — such as "alphabet" — or characteristic products of writing, such as "book" and "scroll."

A. Biblical Words for Writing. In the OT the English verb "write" reflects the Hebrew verb *kāṯaḇ*; verbs of similar meaning are *rāšam*, "record," and *ḥāraṭ*, "engrave." The root *ktb* also occurs in Biblical Aramaic. The original meaning of Hebrew and Aramaic *ktb* was apparently "to carve," as it indicated writing on hard surfaces with the help of a sharp instrument. The Greek equivalent *gráphō* and words derived from it appear in the LXX and in the NT.

In the OT the verb *kāṯaḇ* is used in connection with material on which someone writes (writing *on*), or with a document that is produced by writing (writing a letter, book, etc.), less frequently with the person to whom the writing is addressed (writing *to*). Often the person who writes is the author; scribes taking dictation from another person are also mentioned.

The use of the root *ktb* in the Aramaic passages of the OT corresponds to that in Hebrew; it is used for writing on the plaster of the wall (Dnl. 5:5), writing down of names (Ezr. 5:10) or of a dream (Dnl. 7:1), writing of edicts or letters (Dnl. 6:25 [MT 26]; Ezr. 4:8; cf. also Ezr. 5:7, 6:2). The Aramaic verb *rᵉšam* also means "write," but specifically what is written or inscribed (Dnl. 6:8f. [MT 9f.]; 5:24f.). In Dnl. 10:21 (Hebrew) this verb is used in the same way.

In the Greek OT the verb *gráphō* is used regularly for *ktb*. In accordance with its original Greek meaning it can also be used for "carve," translating Hebrew *qlʿ* (cf. 1 K. 6:29). The use of *gráphō* for "write" in the apocryphal books corresponds to that in the books represented in the Hebrew canon: to write a document (Tob. 6:14; 13:1; 1 Macc. 10:17; 15:24), to write down in a list (1 Macc. 8:20).

In the Greek NT the verb is provided with prefixes in *engráphō*, "write in" (Lk. 10:20), and *prográphō*, "write before" in time (Rom. 15:4; Eph. 3:3) or publicly (Gal. 3:1).

Hebrew nouns derived from *ktb* are *kᵉṯāḇ* and *miḵtāḇ*, indicating mostly "writing" as a written document. The word *kᵉṯāḇ* is used for a kind of script in the Persian empire (Est. 1:22; 3:12; 8:9; cf. also Ezr. 4:7). The word *miḵtāḇ* can be used also for writing or ornaments engraved on some object (cf. Ex. 32:16; 39:30). Both these Hebrew words for written documents are translated in the AV by "writing," while the RSV tries to distinguish their various kinds, such as "edict" or "decree" (Est. 8:8; 4:8), "register" (Ezr. 13:9), "letter" (Ezr. 4:7).

Greek NT nouns related to *gráphō* are mostly translated into English by other words than "writing": *grámma*, "letter" — but "writings (of Moses)" Jgs. 5:47; *graphḗ*, "scripture(s)"; cf. also *grammateús*, "scribe."

B. Ways of Writing. 1. Writing Media. Specific writing surfaces are mentioned in the Bible. The stone tablets (pl. *lûḥôṯ*) on which the Decalogue was written are understood as simple stone surfaces in which the writing (*miḵtāḇ*) was carved (pass. part. *ḥārûṯ*); cf. Ex. 32:16. According to Dt. 27:2-4 the laws were to be written on big stones covered with plaster on which the letters were written (*ktb*). A large writing tablet (*gillāyôn*) is mentioned in Isa. 8:1.

In the NT, the priest Zechariah wrote the name John for his son on a writing tablet (*pinakídion*, Lk. 1:63). Writing tablets made of wood also appear in the Latin apocryphal book 4 Ezr. (2 Esdras) 14:24; rapid scribes had to use these tablets to write ninety-four books at Ezra's dictation in forty days.

The tool for engraving letters on hard surfaces, probably a piece of metal with a sharp point, is indicated by the Hebrew word *ḥereṭ* (Isa. 8:1); see also Ex. 32:5, "stylus" (cf. NEB mg. on Isa. 8:1; "pen" is not an adequate rendering). Another Hebrew word for this instrument is *ʿēṭ* (Jer. 17:1; Job 19:24; cf. also Ps. 45:1 [MT 2]). In the Greek translation general terms for writing instruments are used: *graphís* (Isa. 8:1) and *grapheíon* (Job 19:24). Since in Hellenistic times reed pens were used by scribes (*graphikós kálamos*, 3 Macc. 4:20), the term *kálamos*, "reed/pen," is also used in rendering Ps. 45:1 (MT 2; LXX 44:2) and in the NT (3 Jn. 13). A "diamond point" (*ṣippōren šāmîr*), mentioned in parallel with "stylus" in Jer. 17:1, served for engraving (*ḥrš*) hard surfaces.

The function of lead (*ʿōpereṭ*) mentioned in Job 19:24 together with the iron stylus is not clear. Probably the carved letter shapes were filled with lead, as it is done in a small part of King Darius's inscription at Behistun. In later times lead sticks were used for writing on soft surfaces, like pencils much later.

For black ink the word *dᵉyō* is used in the OT (Jer. 36:18), *mélan* in the NT (1 Cor. 5:11; 2 Jn. 12; 3 Jn. 13). Red ink was used in OT times, in the Aramaic Deir ʿallā inscription, and in some Qumrân scrolls, but the Hebrew word *šāšar* is used only for red paint in the OT (Jer. 22:14; Ezk. 23:14).

The scribes had their tools in a writing case (*qeseṭ*), which could be fastened at their waist (Ezk. 9:2). This Hebrew word is derived from the Egyptian word for the scribe's palette, *gst(y)*.

2. The Book. The Hebrew word most frequently translated as "book," *sēper*, indicates any written document. It can be a document of divorce (Dt. 24:3; Isa. 50:1), a genealogical list (Neh. 7:5), or a historical record or book (Mal. 3:16; Est. 6:1).

The book is characterized by its content, e.g., of the words of the Lord (Nu. 21:14), of the words of Solomon (1 K. 11:41), of the covenant (2 K. 23:2); often the book of the law (Dt. 28:61; Josh. 8:34), or of the law of God (Josh. 24:26; cf. Neh. 8:18), or of the law of Moses (Josh. 8:31), or simply the book of Moses (Neh. 13:1). In the postexilic books these expressions refer to the canonical books of the Law; this reference is clear in 2 Macc. 2:23, where five books are mentioned. In many instances the word "book" refers to those represented in the Hebrew biblical canon, such as books of Kings (2 Ch. 16:11) or the Kings of Judah and Israel (2 Ch. 25:26); cf. also the book of Lamentations (2 Ch. 35:25).

The Greek equivalent of "book," *biblíon*, is used in the Apocrypha also for the book of the law or of Moses (1 Macc. 1:56f.; Tob. 7:12f.) or for the apocryphal books themselves (cf. Tob. 1:1; Bar. 1:3; and esp. the translator's prologue to Sirach).

The scroll as a special form of a written document, especially a book, is mentioned many times in Jer. 36 (cf. also Ps. 40:7 [MT 8]; Ex. 2:9). As poetic metaphors the flying scroll (Zec. 5:1f.) and a scroll that must be eaten (Ezk. 3:1-3) are mentioned. The Hebrew word for scroll,

mᵉgillâ, which indicates something that can be rolled, is rendered in Greek as *chartíon* or *chártēs* (Jer. 36, LXX 43; cf. also 2 Jn. 12), the word for papyrus. Another writing material, parchment (*membrána*) is mentioned in 2 Tim. 4:13.

In the NT the words for "book," *biblíon* and *bíblos*, indicate OT books (Mk. 12:26; Lk. 4:17; 20:42), the books of the NT (cf. Jn. 20:30; 21:25; Rev. 1:11; 22:7, 18f.; cf. also Mt. 1:1), "the book of life" (cf. Rev. 13:8; 20:15), and books of judgment (Rev. 20:12).

3. Writing Procedures. Usually writing was put on only one side of the writing surface; rarely are instances of the use of both sides mentioned (Ex. 32:15; Jer. 36:2; Rev. 5:1).

A detailed description of how the writing was done and even how it could be destroyed is recorded in Jer. 36; the prophet Jeremiah dictated "from his mouth" to his friend Baruch who wrote on a book in the form of a scroll (*mᵉgillaṯ sēper*). The book was then read by the king's counselors and then by King Jehoiakim himself. As he did not like the message, he cut the columns of the book with the scribe's knife and then burned them in the fire. The material may have been papyrus, which smells pleasant when burnt, while leather would have produced a bad odor. The destroyed book was then replaced by a new one.

4. God and Writing. While the Egyptians credited the god Thoth with the invention of writing and the Babylonians ascribed it to the god Nabû, writing is not considered a divine gift in the Bible. God used it as an instrument in revealing His law to Israel, written on stone tablets (*lûḥôṯ hā'eḇen*, Ex. 24:12). The book (*sēper*) written by God is mentioned in Ex. 32:32.

5. Unusual and Metaphorical Writing. Besides regular writing materials, such as stone tablets and books in the form of scrolls, some unusual writing surfaces for special purposes are mentioned.

Writing on doorposts (Dt. 6:9) had to be perhaps performed on their wood; this biblical prescription was later obeyed by fixing small scrolls with biblical quotations in small boxes on the doorposts (cf. Heb. *mᵉzûzâ*). Writing on rods is also mentioned (Nu. 17:2f. [MT 17f.]). In Isa. 44:5 writing on the hand (or by hand?) is mentioned.

Not only in the framework but also in the narrative sections of the book of Revelation writing appears frequently: the names of the faithful are written down (19:12), they bear the name of God on their foreheads (14:1; 17:5; cf. 3:12) and also on their robes (19:6).

Metaphorical uses include writing on the tablet of the heart (Prov. 3:3 and 2 Cor. 3:2; Jer. 31:33 and He. 8:10).

Writing on earth (Jer. 17:13) indicates something futile. Jesus' writing on sand is mentioned in the adulteress pericope (Jn. 8:6), perhaps symbolizing the impermanence of the particular word.

In the Hebrew OT a code called *'aṯbaš* was used to conceal some names. Instead of the first letter of the alphabet, the last was written; instead of the second, the next-to-last; etc. Thus the name *ššk* (*šēšāḵ*), "Sheshak," in Jer. 25:26; 51:41 stands for *bbl* (*bāḇel*), "Babylon," and *lb qmy* (*lēḇ qāmāy*), "heart/midst of them that rise against me," in Jer. 51:1 for *kśdym* (*kaśdîm*), "Chaldeans." Thus the name of the enemy was presented in cipher. *See also* ATHBASH.

By a device called *not(a)rikon* the consonants of a word could be understood as initial letters of other words. Such interpretation of *'yk* (*'ēḵ*), "how," in Jer. 3:19 as *'[āmēn] y[hwh] k[î]*, "so be it Lord, for," is attested in the LXX *génoito kýrie hóti*. In Jer. 7:4, *hmh*, "they," could be interpreted as *h[am]m[āqôm] h[azzeh]*, "this place."

Later Hebrew poetry has examples of the acrostic arrangement, in which the initial letters of lines in a passage can be read together as a name or other word. Aside from alphabetical acrostics, the attempts to find examples in the Hebrew OT (e.g., Psalm 4) may be considered unsuccessful. *See* ACROSTIC.

By a device called in Hebrew *gᵉmaṭrᵉyā'* (from Gk. *geōmetría*) numerical values of letters were used for interpretation of some numbers in Hebrew biblical texts. The number 603,550 for the Israelites in Nu. 1:46 is explained as the numerical value of *bny yśr'l kl r'š*, "sons of Israel, every head/person" (cf. Nu. 1:2). According to talmudic tradition the number of Abraham's servants (318) gives the numerical value of the name of his chief servant *'ly'zr*, "Eliezer" (cf. Gen. 14:14). Another interpretation of the same number 318 (Gk. TIH) is given in the Greek Epistle of Barnabas: T (300) indicates the cross, and I (10) and H (8) are the first two letters of the name of Jesus, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.

The Solomonic collection has 375 proverbs (cf. Prov. 10:1–22:16). This number can be explained as the numeric value (300 + 30 + 40 + 5) of the letters in the name *šlmh* (*šᵉlōmō[h]*), "Solomon" (Prov. 10:1).

C. Kinds of Written Documents. 1. Laws and Legal Documents. Among the documents written by human beings, the laws appear as very important. The law of Moses was written on stones by Joshua (Josh. 8:32) and by the king in a book (Dt. 17:18). Various legal documents were written: covenant (Neh. 10:1 [MT 9:38]), judgment (Ps. 149:9), bill of divorce (Dt. 24:1, 3; cf. Mk. 10:4), marriage contract (Tob. 7:14). Also the edicts of the Persian kings were written to be sent out (cf. Ezr. 1:1-4; Est. 3:12-15).

Edicts of foreign kings, Babylonian and especially Persian, were written in the form of letters (Dnl. 3:29; 4:1; Est. 3:12-15; 8:5, 8-10, 13f.). Such edicts of Persian kings are preserved in the book of Ezra, in their Aramaic text, from Artaxerxes (4:17-22; 7:12-26) and Darius (6:6-12) or, in Hebrew, like the edict of Cyrus (1:1-4).

2. Letters. Letters were carried by messengers (2 K. 19:9, 14) and were read by them to the addressee (cf. Ezr. 4:33). As already mentioned, the decrees of Persian kings were formulated as letters. They were often issued as answers to letters from officials in the provinces (cf. Ezr. 4:7-16; 5:6-17).

Letters were also used for religious purposes, for announcing festivals such as Purim (Est. 9:20-32), Passover (2 K. 24:21), and celebration of the purification of the temple of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Macc. 1:1–2:18). An Aramaic letter concerning the date and the manner of the celebration of Passover was found at Elephantine.

Letters as religious messages could be issued in the name of an assembly (Bar. 1:3f.), to be read in another place in a Jewish religious assembly. This custom, which was continued in Judaism in NT times, is beyond the function of most NT epistles.

Many letters are mentioned or quoted in the apocryphal books: of King Demetrius and to the Jewish nation (2 Macc. 10:25-45; 15:1-9), of King Alexander to Jonathan (1 Macc. 10:59); of Jonathan to the Spartans (12:5-18) and the answer (12:19-23); letters of the Roman consul (15:15-24); letters of Jews in Jerusalem to Jews in Egypt (2 Macc. 1:1–2:18).

In NT times communication by letters was common between Romans (cf. Acts 23:24-30), Jews (Acts 9:2; 22:5), and Christians. Very important was the letter sent out at the council of the apostles to Christians in Antioch and other cities (Acts 15:20, 23-29).

Paul wrote some letters with his own hand (Philem. 19). At the end of the letter to the Galatians (6:11), he indi-

cated that he wrote it in very large letters. For other letters Paul used the help of scribes to whom he dictated; Tertius wrote the letter to the Romans (16:22). In many other passages in which Paul mentions that he wrote or is writing (cf., e.g., 1 Cor. 5:9, 11; 14:37; 2 Cor. 2:3; 9:1) the authority of the sender is implied (cf. also Eph. 3:3).

The Pastoral Epistles have relatively less mention of writing (cf. 1 Tim. 3:14, similar to 2 Cor. 9:1). The Catholic Epistles also mention writing: the scribe Sylvanus is named in 1 Pet. 5:12; cf. also 2 Pet. 3:11, 15; Jude 3.

See also EPISTLE; LETTERS.

3. Lists. The OT has many lists of different kinds that attest intensive scribal activity. The detailed description of tribal territories with indications of their boundaries in Josh. 15–19 is probably based on ancient administrative records. There were various kinds of lists of persons (cf. 1 Ch. 4:41), such as court officials (e.g., 2 S. 8:16-18; 20:23-26; 23:8-39), priests and Levites (1 Ch. 24–26; cf. Neh. 12:22f.), and exiles who returned (Ezr. 2:1-70). Genealogical records were considered very important; large parts of the books of Numbers and Chronicles are devoted to them; cf. also NT genealogies in Mt. 1:1-17; Lk. 3:23-28. There are many references to written registers of different kinds (cf. Nu. 11:26; Ps. 87:6). In Elephantine lists of persons who contributed to the local Jewish temple are preserved.

4. Historical Records. Historical events were recorded as a memorial in a book (cf. Ex. 17:14; cf. also Mal. 3:16). Kings of Israel and Judah held court records or chronicles for which a special scribe was responsible; cf. those of Solomon (1 K. 11:41), of the kings of Israel (1 K. 14:19), and of Judah (1 K. 14:29).

5. Literary Records. A song of Moses was put in writing and taught to the people of Israel (Dt. 31:19). The proverbs were also written (Prov. 22:20). In the Book of Jashar ancient poems were collected (Josh. 10:13; 2 S. 1:18). Writing was also important for the preservation of prophecies. Prophets were summoned to write their visions (Hab. 2:2; cf. Rev. 1:11) or dreams (Dnl. 7:1). The individual prophecies were fixed in writing (cf. Jer. 45:1). The writing down of Jeremiah's prophecies (Jer. 30:2; 51:60) was mentioned above (X.B.3).

See also SCRIBES.

D. Use of the Alphabet. The concept of the alphabet as a series of letters was used in the Bible for various purposes.

The series of twenty-two Hebrew letters served to mark the beginning of verses or verse groups in an ACROSTIC or alphabetic poem: half-verses (Pss. 111; 112); verses (Pss. 25; 145; Prov. 31:10-31; cf. also Nah. 1:2-8 and Sir. 51:13-30); two verses (Pss. 9–10; 37; Lam. 4); three verses (Lam. 1; 2); each of three subsequent verses (Lam. 3); each of eight subsequent verses (Ps. 119). In some of these poems the sequence of letters differs slightly from common use: *peh* precedes *ayin* in Ps. 10 and in Lam. 2, 3, and 4 (see VIII.I.3.a above on the Izbet Ṣarṭah inscription). The alphabetic arrangement could serve as help for the memory; perhaps its original purpose was to indicate that the poem is as complete as the alphabet.

The original meaning of the words *'ûrîm* (Ex. 28:30; 1 S. 28:6) and *tummîm* (Lev. 8:8; Ezr. 2:63), used as a tool for obtaining instructions from God, is not clear; the first of these words begins with the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the other with the last one; perhaps alphabetic completeness was thereby indicated.

Similar use of the first and last letter of the alphabet appears in the Greek NT; Christ is the *alpha* and the *omega* (Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13), beginning and end.

E. Quotations. 1. In the OT. Already in the OT references to the "book of the law," "law of the Lord," or "law of Moses" appear (e.g., Ezr. 3:2; Neh. 8:13-15; 2 Ch. 16). Quotations from the book of the law are introduced by fixed formulas, e.g., "it is written" (2 Ch. 25:4; 10:35; Dnl. 9:13; cf. Josh. 8:31, 34). Also, some prophecies and prophetic books refer to written texts from which the written form of the source is sometimes visible (2 Ch. 32:32), but not always (cf. Jer. 26:18, 20f.; Ezr. 1:1).

2. In the NT. Most introductory formulas for biblical quotations in the Greek NT are similar in style to the contemporary Jewish formulas and quotations, as attested in the Hebrew MSS from the Qumrân caves. In some NT formulas for quoting Scripture words for speaking are used (e.g., *légō*), even when the quotation does not point to God or a person who spoke but to a written source (e.g., Jas. 4:5f.).

Frequently these formulas expressly mention that a written text is quoted. Passive forms of the Greek verb *gráphō*, "write," are used, the perfect *gégraptai*, "it was/is written," or perfect participle *gegramménon*, "written," corresponding to the passive participle *kāṯûḇ* in contemporary Hebrew formulas.

Most frequent, attested already in the Greek OT (2 K. 14:6), is *kathós gégraptai*, "as it is written," e.g., Lk. 2:23; Acts 15:15; Rom. 1:17; 1 Cor. 1:31; cf. also similar formulas in Mk. 7:6; 1 Cor. 10:7; Rom. 3:4. Formulas with the passive participle appear in the LXX in Dnl. 9:13; in the NT in 2 Cor. 4:13 and Jn. 6:31. Similar formulas with an explanatory particle such as *gégraptai gár*, "for it was written," appear, e.g., in Mt. 4:6; Acts 1:20; Gal. 4:27; cf. also v. 22.

Some quotations mention the source: the book of Moses (Mk. 12:26; cf. Gal. 3:10; Jn. 10:34); "the book of the prophets" (Acts 7:42; cf. also Mk. 1:2; Jn. 6:45), "the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet" (Lk. 3:4), the Book of Psalms (Lk. 20:42). Sometimes even texts that are not part of the canonical OT are introduced by a formula used for quotation of the Scriptures, e.g., Mt. 2:23; 1 Cor. 2:9; Eph. 5:14; Jas. 4:5.

F. Writing in the NT. The use of the verb "write" in the Greek NT is very similar to that in the Hebrew OT.

As the author of a Gospel, Luke writes about his purpose (1:3; cf. also Acts 1:1), and mentions previous attempts to compile a narrative from the traditions (Lk. 1:1f.).

The notion of writing is more visible in John's Gospel: the disciple has written the events (21:24); in this book the signs and things could be written only in part (20:30f.; 21:25). The stress on writing appears characteristic for the other NT books marked with the name of John. In the Epistles occur expressions like "I am writing" (e.g., 1 Jn. 2:1), "I write to you" (1 Jn. 2:12f.; cf. 2 Jn. 1; 3 Jn. 13). This graphical character is stressed in 2 Jn. 12, where the writing media papyrus (*chártēs*) and ink (*mélan*) are mentioned. The written character of the message is stressed in the book of Revelation. The letters in chs. 2–3 were to be written (cf. 2:1 to 3:14) to the seven churches, and further the instructions to write are given several times (e.g., 1:11; 10:4; 21:5). Especially important appears the blessing for those keeping what is written therein (1:3) and the formula of protection for what was written in this book (22:18f.); nothing is to be added and nothing taken away. This formula is very similar to those used for protection of Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.

The inscription giving the reason for Jesus' crucifixion is mentioned in the Gospels (Mk. 15:33; Mt. 27:37; Jn. 19:19-22). According to Jn. 19:20 this inscription was written in three languages, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek.

The notion of a book in which the names of the faithful are written is mentioned in Lk. 10:20. *See also* BOOK OF LIFE.

See also INSCRIPTIONS.

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WRITING CASE [Heb. *qeseṭ (hassōpēr)* (Ezk. 9:2f., 11)]; AV INKHORN; NEB PEN AND INK. Hebrew *qeseṭ* is apparently a loanword from Egyp. *gst(y)*, "palette." *See* WRITING X.B.1.

WRITING TABLET [Gk. *pinakídion égrapsen*] (Lk. 1:63); AV WRITING TABLE; [Lat. *buxos*] (2 Esd. 14:24); AV "box tree."

Immediately following the birth of his son, Zechariah, who had been struck dumb because he did not believe Gabriel's announcement that Elizabeth would bear a son (Lk. 1:13-20), responded to the people's inquiries about the name of his son by writing on a small tablet (Gk. *pinakídion* is the diminutive of *pinakís*), which was probably covered with wax (*see* WRITING IV.A.6; B.2). He thus confirmed his wife's naming of the child, in accordance with Gabriel's instructions, and hence regained his speech (see K. Barth, *Great Promise. Luke I* [Eng. tr. 1963]).

In 2 Esd. 14:24 the AV's apparently nonsensical "box trees" is a literal translation of Lat. *buxos*, but here *buxos* probably translates Gk. *pyxíon*, which refers to a tablet made of box-wood (see *APOT*, II, 622). G. A. L.

WYCLIF BIBLE. *See* ENGLISH VERSIONS II.C.

X

XANTHICUS zan'thi-kəs [Gk. *Xanthikos*] (2 Macc. 11:30, 33, 38). The name of a month that corresponds to Nisan (March/April) of the calendar used by the Jews. *See* CALENDAR II.A.2.

XERXES zûrk'sēz [Old Pers. *xšayāršan*; Elamite *ik-še-ir-iš-ša*; Akk. *ḫi-ši-'-ar-ša*; Heb. *'aḥašwērôš*; Gk. *Xerxēs*]. The name of two Persian kings.

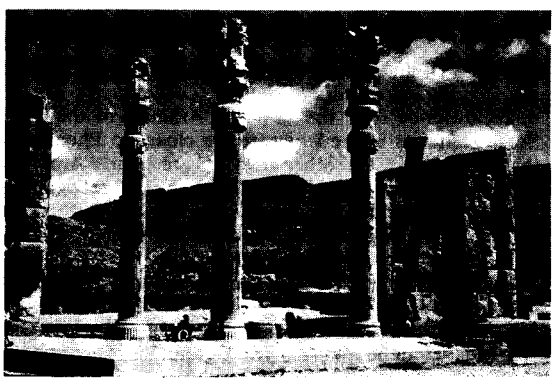
1. Xerxes I, son of Darius the Great and Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus the Great and sister of Cambyses. Xerxes was designated heir-apparent by his father and served as satrap of Babylon from 498 B.C. to his accession in 486. He is portrayed with his father on the reliefs at Persepolis, where Darius sits on his throne in his robe of state and behind him stands the crown prince (*see* picture in FOOTSTOOL). The winged Ahura-Mazda floats above the scene. This sculpture confirms Xerxes's statement that his father "made me the greatest after himself."

Xerxes lacked the toleration and sensitivity of CYRUS and the foresight of DARIUS (2). Soon after his accession he brutally crushed revolts in Egypt and Babylon. Xerxes did not have the military ability of his predecessors, but urged on by bad advisers he began an assault on Greece in 480 B.C. Herodotus's description of Xerxes' army (vii.56-99) is a most valuable ethnographic document; although he exaggerated the number of soldiers (1,700,000, excluding naval forces), his figure of 1200 ships is confirmed by Aeschylus. Xerxes' preparations included digging a canal near Athos and having a bridge built over the Hellespont by Phoenician and Egyptian engineers. When a storm destroyed the bridge Xerxes ordered the engineers' heads cut off and the waters of the Hellespont given three hundred lashes. A new double bridge was built, and the army crossed over. After being delayed by the Greeks at Thermopylae, the Persians pushed on to Athens and burned the city. Later that year the Persian fleet suffered a disastrous defeat at Salamis, and Xerxes ordered the execution of the Phoenician admiral; after this both the Phoenician and Egyptian fleets deserted him. Xerxes withdrew from Greece, leaving the army in the hands of his general Mardonius. In 479 the Greeks defeated the Persian army at Plataea and, on the same day, the Persian fleet at Mycale. In 466 the Persians were defeated again and forced to give up all the territory that Darius had gained outside of Asia Minor. Xerxes returned home and concentrated on building at Persepolis and Susa. Construction attributed to him at Persepolis includes the completion of the Apadana, his own palace, and the harem (*See* pictures in ARCHEOLOGY OF IRAN).

Xerxes inherited an empire that was basically sound, but he was not equal to the task of maintaining its vitality. The description of his character in Esther (where he is called King AHASUERUS [1]) agrees with evidence from other sources. His undisciplined temper and moral weakness cost him everything he had gained. He died by the hand of an assassin in 465 B.C.

See also PERSIA III.E.

The three main pillars of the gatehouse of Xerxes at Persepolis (L. A. Willis)



Part of the audience hall at Persepolis, begun by Darius and finished by Xerxes (W. S. LaSor)

2. Xerxes II son of Artaxerxes and Damaspia, who was killed after a reign of forty-five days (424 B.C.) by his half-brother Secydianus.

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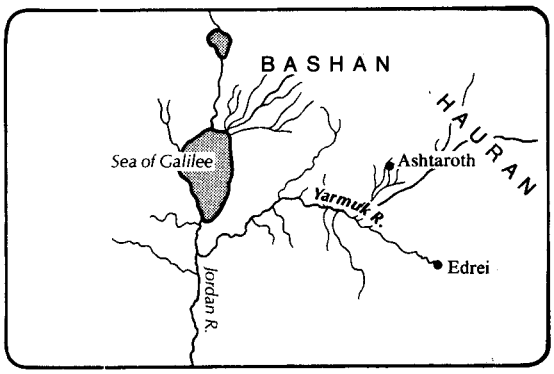
Y

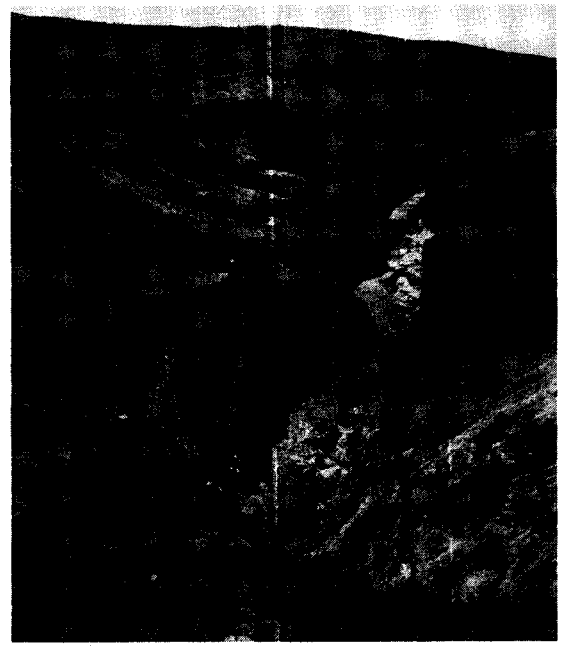
YAHWEH. *See* GOD, NAMES OF II.C.

YARMUK yär'mək. The chief river of Transjordan. It is not mentioned in any Jewish writings until Mishnaic times. The first literary appearance of the name is in Pliny *Nat. Hist.* (1st cent. A.D.). Its lack of mention in the OT may be explained by Israel's early loss of control over the plateau of BASHAN. Hence the Yarmuk did not serve as a frontier for Israel, even though in times of strength Israel's territory reached the river or even beyond (cf. mention of Ashtaroth in 1 Ch. 6:71 [MT 56]).



The Yarmuk's tributaries drain virtually the whole of Bashan and Hauran. Like the Jabbok, Arnon, and Zered rivers the Yarmuk has cut a deep gorge through the Transjordanian plateau (*see* PALESTINE IV.A.7). Where the Yarmuk joins the Jordan about 6.5 km. (4 mi.) S of the Sea of Galilee, they are both about 9 m. (30 ft.) wide although the Yarmuk is deeper. The two main towns of the Yarmuk basin were Ashtaroth and Edrei (cf. Dt. 1:4 [LXX, Vulg., RSV, NEB]; Josh. 12:4). H. L. ELLISON

YA'UDI yä-o͝o'dē [Assyr. *ya-ú-du, ya-ú-di, ya-u-di*; Zenjirli inscription *y'dy*], **YA'UDIANS** [Assyr. *ya-ú-da-a-a* (read *yaudaya*)]. A place mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II of Assyria, and those of Panammu and Barrakib from Zenjirli, and the people of

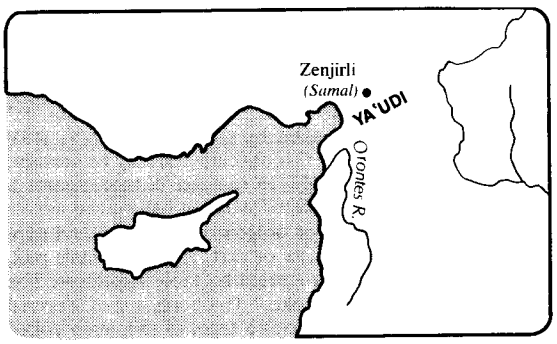


The gorge of the Yarmuk River through the Transjordan plateau (W. Braun)

that place. In 2 K. 14:28 the NEB reads JAUDI rather than Judah.

I. Language.–The inscriptions from Zenjirli are written in a language or dialect that has been classified as Phoenician (J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik* [1951], pp. 2f., 153-162) and as Old Aramaic (G. A. Cooke, *Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* [1903], pp. 159-185, and many scholars since; F. M. Cross, and D. N. Freedman, *Early History Orthography* [1952], p. 29, describe it as the standard Aramaic of the day). Some elements in the language are closer to Phoenician than to Aramaic, and other elements are clearly Aramaic, as both Friedrich (p. 153) and Cooke (p. 185) recognized. It probably should be described as a local dialect (the term is used by both Friedrich and Cooke), neither Phoenician or Aramaic but closely related to both.

II. Location.–Zenjirli, also known as Samal (Assyr. *samallu* (*ARAB*, II, § 197], is located in the KaraSu, a valley N of Antioch-on-the-Orontes and E of the mountains that separate Karatepe from Zenjirli. Certain kings are known:



Kilamuwa (840-830) Panammu I, Panammu II (? - 733), and Barrakib, from their own inscriptions; Khaianu (858-853) and Panammu II from Assyrian, Urartian, or Babylonian sources. Samal became an Assyrian province in the days of Sargon II.

III. The Biblical Problem.–According to an inscription of Tiglath-pileser, he concluded a campaign in Ulluba, near Bitlis and a source of the Tigris, in order to strengthen his eastern border. At that time the Syrian states attempted to break loose from Assyria. One of the leaders of this revolt was "Azriyau of Yaudaya" (*ARAB*, I, § 770; *ANET*, pp. 282f.). This has provoked a long discussion about his identity. Some claim that he was Azariah of Judah, also known as Uzziah, whose reign, including co-regencies, extended from 790 to 740 (cf. *BHI* [2nd ed. 1972], p. 268; and H. Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 [1961], 232-271). For a period this was the commonly held view. More recently, some scholars have returned to the conclusion set forth by H. Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1 [1897], 1ff.), that Azriyau was a king of a small city-state (cf. *CAH*, III/1 [2nd ed. 1982], 410-12 and the footnotes), perhaps to be identified with Samal, which is also called *y'dy*.

The arguments supporting the identification with Azariah of Judah can be reduced to the simple statement that there would likely not be two rulers with similar names ruling over two kingdoms with similar names at the same time. Moreover, the word *ya-ú-da-a-a* is precisely the word used for Judah or Judean (cf. Sennacherib's account of his attack on Jerusalem, Taylor Cylinder, iii, 12; *ARAB*, II, § 240; *ANET*, p. 287). This appears to be a weighty argument.

The arguments against this identification, however, are also weighty. (1) The distance between Judah and Samal is great, and would stretch the lines of communication exceedingly. Moreover, the northern kingdom lay in the way, and at that time it was quite likely a tributary of Tiglath-pileser. (2) In an inscription on a statue honoring his father Panammu, Barrakib refers to the conspiracy in his father's house, the death of his father and the destruction of his house and devastation of the land which resulted, and it was Tiglath-pileser the king of Assyria, named in the inscription, who placed him, Barrakib, on the throne. (3) The city-state is called *y'dy* and also *sm'l* in the two inscriptions (Cooke, nos. 62, 63). (4) Sargon,

An inscription of King Kilamuwa telling of his accomplishments as king over Ya'udi. From the entrance to the large palace at Zenjirli, ca. 825 B.C. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR)

in his Nimrûd inscription, refers to himself as the subduer of the land of Yaudu (often taken to mean Judah; cf. *ARAB*, II, § 137). but in a parallel account he calls the city "Samalla" (taken by some to refer to Samaria, but this is rather unlikely; cf. *ARAB*, II, § 197). (5) Ya'udi uses the *hê* in all other words where the same character would occur in Hebrew. We should therefore expect "Judah/Judean" to be written *yhdy* in Ya'udi. The reason why Assyrian represents both words in the same form is due to the fact that ' is regularly used for *h*, since there is no orthographic way of representing *h* in any of the Akkadian dialects.

See also INSCRIPTIONS II.D; TIGLATH-PILESER III.

Bibliography.–In addition to the works mentioned above, see P. E. Dion, *La langue de Ya'udi* [1974]; E. R. Thiele, *MNHK* (2nd ed. 1965), pp. 93f. and bibliography in n.7.

W. S. LASOR

YEA; YES. "Yea" is an archaic form of "yes." Both denote affirmation or assent (like Ger. *ja*). Biblical Hebrew has no single word meaning simply "yes," though *kēn* ("surely," Isa. 53:4; "even so" or "behold," Ex. 39:43), *gam* ("yes," e.g., Gen. 27:33), *'ap* ("yea," e.g., Dt. 33:3), *kî* ("yes," e.g., Jgs. 18:10), and *w^e* (lit. "and"; "yea," e.g., Ex. 6:1) convey direct affirmation. Simple affirmation in the OT is often expressed by a declarative sentence ("yes," 1 S. 9:12a, NEB), often repeating a portion of the question or assertion just uttered (1 K. 20:32f.). Most of the appearances of "yea" and "yes" in the RSV OT, including the thirty occurrences in the Psalms, serve a rhetorical purpose, to emphasize and elaborate through parallel repetition, rather than to give mere neutral assent.

In the NT Gk. *naí* has the nearest meaning to modern English "yes," and is usually so translated in modern versions (e.g., Mt. 5:37; 9:28; Jn. 11:27; 2 Cor. 1:17-20; Jas. 5:12). Other Greek terms and expressions translated "yea" or "yes" include *kaí ge* (lit. "and indeed," "even," Acts 2:18) and *éti* (lit. "still, yet"; "yes" in Lk. 14:26; AV "yea"). In some contexts Gk. *allá* (lit. "but") conveys a positive assertion ("yes," Lk. 24:21; 2 Cor. 3:15; Phil. 1:19). Similarly, Gk. *mállon dé* (lit. "but more," "but rather") can introduce an expression "that supplements and thereby corrects what has preceded" (Bauer, rev., p. 489), as in Rom. 8:34.

C. D. LINTON

YEAR [Heb. *šānâ*, also *yāmîm*–'days' (e.g., Josh. 13:1); Aram. *š^enâ*; Gk. *étos, eniautós*]. *See* CALENDAR.

YEARS, SEVENTY. *See* SEVENTY YEARS.

YELLOW. *See* COLOR V.J.

YIRON yir'ən [Heb. *yir'ôn*]; AV, NEB, IRON. A fortified city belonging to the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. 19:38). It has been identified with modern Yārûn in northern Galilee, about 10 km. (6 mi.) WSW of Tell Qades (Kedesh, v. 37).

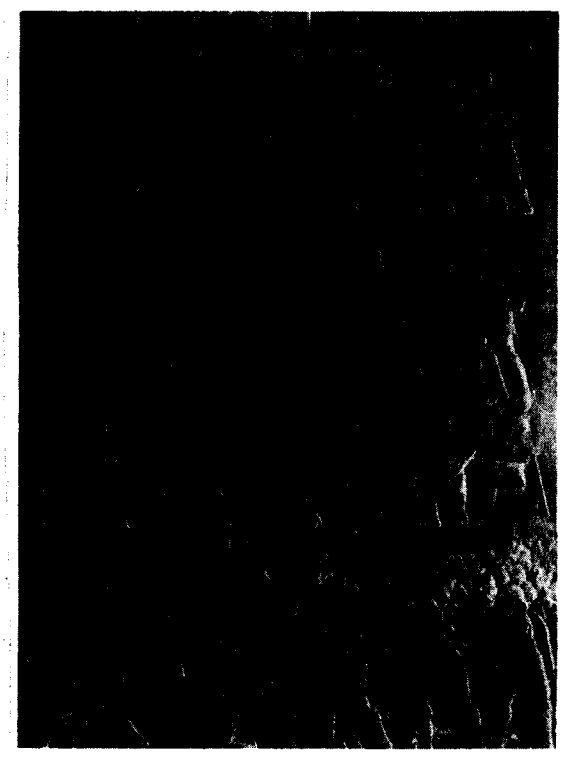
YODH yōd [י]. The tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encylcopedia as *y*. It came also to be used for the number ten, and it stands at the beginning of the tenth section of Ps. 119 (cf. AV). *See* WRITING.

YOKE; YOKE-BAR [(nouns) Heb. *'ōl*, also *môṭâ*–'pole,' 'collar' (Isa. 58:6, 9; Jer. 27:2; 28:10, 12), *môṭ* (Nah. 1:13), *k^elî*–'equipment' (2 S. 24:22; 1 K. 19:21), *ṣemeḏ* (1 S. 11:7; 1 K. 19:19, 21; Job 1:3; 42:12), (vbs.) niphal of *ṣāmaḏ*–'join,' 'attach oneself to' (Nu. 25:3, 5), *'āsar*–'bind' (1 S. 6:7, 10), hiphil of *rāḵaḇ* ("put to the yoke," Hos. 10:11); Gk. *zygós* (Mt. 11:29f.; Acts 15:10; etc.), *zeúgos* (Lk. 14:19)]; AV also INSTRUMENT (*k^elî*), HEAVY (Isa. 58:6), TIE (*'āsar*), JOIN (niphal of *ṣāmaḏ*), "make to ride" (Hos. 10:11), etc.; NEB also THRESHING-SLEDGE (2 S. 24:22), WOODEN GEAR (1 K. 19:21), "join in the worship of" (Nu. 25:3, 5), etc. In Lam. 5:5 "with the yoke" is supplied by the RSV (cf. AV, RSV mg.). The text of Hos. 11:7 is obscure and may be corrupt; the RSV has emended MT *'al* to read *'ōl* (see comms.).

The noun denotes a shaped wooden bar placed across the necks of two oxen (or other draft animals) and connected by a beam to a plow or cart. As the animals pull, the weight of the load is carried by their shoulders. The verb means "join with a yoke." The noun *ṣemeḏ*, derived from the verb *ṣāmaḏ*, denotes a team of two oxen yoked together (cf. also Gk. *zeúgos*, Lk. 14:19). *Ṣemeḏ* can also be used to denote the land area that can be plowed by a team of oxen in one day (*see* ACRE).

The term is used infrequently in the literal sense (e.g., Nu. 19:2; Dt. 21:3; 2 S. 24:22; 1 K. 19:21). Most often it is used as a symbol for slavery or political oppression (e.g., Dt. 28:48; 1 K. 12:4, 9-11, 14 par. 2 Ch. 10:4, etc.; Isa. 47:6; Jer. 28:14; Lam. 5:5; Sir. 33:26; 1 Macc. 8:18, 31; 1 Tim. 6:1). Breaking or removing the yoke thus symbolizes liberation from oppression and servitude (e.g., Gen. 27:40; Lev. 26:13; Isa. 9:4; 10:27; 14:25; 58:6, 9; Jer. 30:8; Ezk. 34:27; Nah. 1:13; 1 Macc. 13:41). Jeremiah was told by the Lord to make and wear "thongs and yoke-bars" as a demonstration that Judah and surrounding nations were to submit to the authority of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (Jer. 27:1f.). This may have been an actual yoke such as those borne by oxen, or it is possible that the Babylonians had designed a special yoke to constrain slaves or captives. Most likely, however, Jeremiah constructed a small-scale model of an ox-yoke that he could

An Assyrian relief showing captives in yokes straining with a heavy burden (from a palace at Khorsabad, 8th cent. B.C.) (CNMHS/ARS, NY/SPADEM)



carry around for dramatic effect. To emphasize his rejection of Jeremiah's message and dramatize his call for rebellion against Babylon, the false prophet Hananiah broke the yoke that Jeremiah had been carrying (28:1-11). God vindicated Jeremiah, however, and reemphasized His somber message (vv. 12-17).

The yoke can also represent bondage to sin (Lam. 1:14). In Sirach it sometimes refers to sufferings produced by slander (28:19f.) or other hardships (26:7; 40:1). Such sufferings can have the value of producing self-discipline (cf. Lam. 3:27).

The yoke is also a symbol for obedience to the law of God (Sir. 51:26) or to Wisdom (6:30). Thus rebellion against God's law can be pictured as "breaking the yoke" (Jer. 2:20; 5:5). The "yoke of the law" was a common expression in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Pirke Aboth* 3.6; see SB, I, 608-610). With their legalism the Pharisees of NT times made the law of God a very heavy yoke (Acts 15:10; Gal. 5:1). By contrast, Jesus stated that the yoke of His discipline was refreshing and easy to bear (Mt. 11:29f.).

The verb "yoke" can be used as a graphic symbol of a close alliance or union. The Israelites were severely punished for yoking themselves to (i.e., worshiping) Baal of Peor (Nu. 25:3, 5). In 2 Cor. 6:14 Paul warns believers not to be "mismated" (Gk. *heterozygéō*; AV, lit., "unequally yoked") with unbelievers. Paul is not encouraging aloofness from unbelievers, which he sees as neither possible nor God's will (1 Cor. 5:9f.), but he is warning against alliances in matters where important Christian principles would be compromised. In his first letter he had mentioned some such instances: marrying an unbeliever (7:12-15), eating in the homes of unbelievers meat that had been offered to idols (10:27f.), and taking legal matters involving fellow believers before secular courts (6:5-8). Believers are never to forget the radical difference between the dynamic of their life in Christ and the operating principles governing the world. Forming alliances that unite these two alien motivations is like plowing a field with an ox (a "clean" animal) and an ass (an "unclean" animal) yoked together (see Dt. 22:10; cf. 14:3-8).

G. A. VAN ALSTINE N. J. O.

YOKEFELLOW [Gk. *sýzygos* (for *sýnzygos*)–'yoked with']; NEB COMRADE. In extrabiblical Greek, a companion in any enterprise: a marriage partner, a comrade in arms, a business associate. The only NT occurrence is in Phil. 4:3, where Paul addresses a person residing or ministering at Philippi and encourages him to help solve a conflict between two women in that church, Euodia and Syntyche. The identity of the "true yokefellow" addressed by Paul is unknown. Various conjectures have been made.

Some have suggested that the "true yokefellow" was one of several persons known to have been connected with the church at Philippi. The most prominently mentioned are: Epaphroditus, who was a messenger between Paul and the Philippian church (Phil. 2:25; 4:18); Luke, who seems to have stayed in Philippi after the "we" section of Acts (Acts 16); and Lydia, in whose home the church at Philippi probably held worship services (16:40). Clement of Alexandria insisted that this strong term of kinship could refer only to Paul's wife. In the mid-19th cent. E. Renan revived this view, identifying Paul's spouse as Lydia (*Saint Paul* [4th ed. 1866], p. 148). Two facts argue against this suggestion, however: (1) clear biblical indications that Paul was not married (1 Cor. 7:8; 9:5), and (2) the use of the masculine form of the adjective "true."

Other scholars have suggested that Gk. *sýzygos* is really a proper name. Westcott and Hort's Greek NT includes this possibility as a marginal reading. Synzygus is nowhere found as a Greek name, although Zygus is. If Paul is here addressing an otherwise unknown church leader by the name of Synzygus, he may be reminding him of the meaning of his name and asking him to express it in action: "Synzygus, here is a chance to live up to your name. Be a *true* yokefellow and bring back together these two women who have in the past worked side by side with me in the gospel yoke." For a similar application of the meaning of an individual's name, see Paul's evaluation of the runaway slave Onesimus (meaning "useful") as formerly "useless," but now "useful" because of his conversion to Christ (Philem. 11). G. A. VAN ALSTINE

YOM KIPPUR yōm ki-pōōr', yom kip'ər. *See* ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

YOUNG(ER) (MAN) [Heb. *bāḥûr* (Dt. 32:25; Jgs. 14:10; Ruth 3:10; etc.), *naʿar* (Gen. 14:24; Nu. 11:27; etc.), *yeleḏ* (Gen. 4:23; 1 K. 12:8, 10, 14); Gk. *neanías* (Acts 7:58; 20:9; 23:17), *neanískos* (Mt. 19:20, 22; Mk. 14:51; 16:5; Lk. 7:14; Acts 2:17 [Joel 3:1, LXX]; 5:10; 23:18, 22; 1 Jn. 2:13f.), *neóteros* (Lk. 15:12f.; Jn. 21:18; Acts 5:6; 1 Tim. 5:1; Tit. 2:6; 1 Pet. 5:5; "youngest," Lk. 22:26]; AV also LAD, BOY, etc.; NEB also YOUNG SON, YOUNG WARRIOR, ARMY, SERVANT, BOY, CHILD, MAN, etc.; **YOUNG(ER) (WOMAN)** [Heb. *naʿᵃrâ* (Dt. 22:15; Ruth 4:12; etc.), *ʿalmâ* (Gen. 24:43; Isa. 7:14; etc.); Gk. *néa* (Tit. 2:4), *neóteros* (1 Tim. 5:2, 11, 14)]; AV also DAMSEL, MAID(EN), VIRGIN; NEB also GIRL, MAIDEN, LADY-IN-WAITING, etc.; **YOUTH** (abstract noun) [Heb. *beḥûrôṯ* (Eccl. 11:9; 12:1), *neʿûrîm* (Gen. 8:21; 1 S. 12:2; 2 S. 19:7 [MT 8]; etc.), *nōʿar* (Job 36:14; Ps. 88:15 [MT 16]; Prov. 29:21; "youthful vigor," Job 33:25), *neʿurôṯ* (Jer. 32:30), *ṣeʿîrâ* (Gen. 43:33), *yalḏûṯ* (Ps. 110:3; Eccl. 11:9f.); Gk. *neótēs* (Mk. 10:20; Lk. 18:21; Acts 26:4; 1 Tim. 4:12)]; AV also CHILDHOOD; A CHILD('S); NEB "his/their prime," BOYHOOD, "so on down to the youngest"; **YOUTHFUL** [Gk. *neōterikós* (2 Tim. 2:22)]; NEB OF YOUTH. Words used in the Bible for young persons are not clearly delineated from each other and do not signify the age of a person with exactness.

Hebrew *naʿar* and its feminine counterpart, *naʿᵃrâ*, are quite broad in their application. *Naʿar* is used of Moses at three months (Ex. 2:6; AV and RSV "babe"), of Samuel as a small child (1 S. 1:22, 24) and as a boy receiving God's revelation (2:11, 18, 21), of Jacob and Esau as boys growing up (Gen. 25:27), of Ishmael as a lad of more than fourteen years (21:17), of Joseph at seventeen (37:2), and of Joshua as a young adult in service to Moses (Ex. 33:11). The *naʿar* was often but not always an adult.

Naʿᵃrâ appears as a qualifier of *beṯûlâ*, a term for young women of marriageable age generally translated "virgin," in which case *naʿᵃrâ* is translated "young" (Jgs. 21:12; 1 K. 1:2; Est. 2:2). By itself *naʿᵃrâ* can be used of a virgin (Gen. 24:14, 16, 28; Dt. 22:15ff.), a married woman (Ruth 4:12), or a concubine (Jgs. 19:3ff.; RSV "girl").

Like *naʿar*, *bāḥûr* was used of one in the prime of manhood (1 S. 9:2; Prov. 20:29), but, unlike *naʿar*, not of a person any younger. It appears paralleled with *beṯûlâ*, "virgin" (e.g., Dt. 32:25; Ps. 148:12; Ezk. 9:6), and seems, therefore, to be a term for unmarried young men of marriageable age (cf. Isa. 62:5). Where both *naʿar* and *bāḥûr* appear, *naʿar* represents the younger group (Ps. 148:12; Jer. 51:22).

Hebrew *ʿalmâ* refers to a young woman of marriageable age (e.g., Prov. 30:19) and possibly a girl of less than marriageable age. Heb. *ʿelem*, the masculine counterpart of *ʿalmâ*, occurs only twice in the OT and apparently refers to boys who have not reached or who have just

reached adulthood (1 S. 17:56; 20:22; AV "stripling," "young man"; RSV "stripling," "youth"; NEB "lad"). Heb. *yeled* normally referred to a child, even an infant (e.g., Ex. 2:9), but could be used of a young man as an insult (Gen. 4:23; 1 K. 12:8, 10, 14).

Hebrew *neʿûrîm, nōʿar,* and *neʿûrôṯ* are abstract nouns related to *naʿar* that can be translated "youth." They are often used as a reference point for what one claims to have practiced or experienced during all of one's responsible life (e.g., Gen. 46:34; Ps. 88:15 [MT 16]; Ezk. 4:14; cf. Prov. 29:21; Jer. 32:30) and in referring to the strength and vigor of youth as opposed to old age (e.g., Job 33:25; Ps. 103:5).

The value of young men to society was, indeed, found mainly in their physical strength, that of older men in their experience and ability to give counsel and guide the affairs of the community (Prov. 20:29). Youth was thought to be characterized by inexperience (Jgs. 8:20; 1 S. 17:33; 1 Ch. 22:5; 2 Ch. 13:7; Jer. 1:6) and lack of wisdom (Prov. 1:4; 7:7; 22:15) in contrast to old age. This conception of youth is the basis for hyperbolic use of *naʿar* in Solomon's prayer (1 K. 3:7) and stands behind the account of the beginning of Rehoboam's reign — not only did the young king reject the natural wisdom of age, he also adopted the reckless forcefulness of youth (1 K. 12:6-14; cf. Isa. 3:4f.).

The frequent use of "young man" as equivalent to "soldier" (e.g., Gen. 14:24; 1 S. 30:17; 2 Ch. 36:17; Jer. 11:22) shows how vital the strength and daring of youth were. (According to Nu. 1:3 a man could be a soldier from the age of twenty.) The use of *naʿar* for servants (Jgs. 7:10; 1 K. 18:43) also reflects an emphasis on the physical strength of young people. Youth was also expected to be the time of intense enjoyment of life's pleasures (Eccl. 11:9), and of intense devotion (Jer. 2:2; Ezk. 16:43).

In the NT the Greek comparative *neóteros* is used of adult or nearly adult persons, but usually with some contrast between such persons and those who are older (Lk. 15:12; Jn. 21:18; 1 Tim. 5:1f., 11, 14 [cf. v. 9]; Tit. 2:6 [cf. v. 2]; 1 Pet. 5:5). The same can be observed concerning the use of the feminine absolute (non-comparative) form of the word (*néa*) in Tit. 2:4 (cf. v. 3). When Jesus said that the greatest should become as the youngest (Lk. 22:26, *neóteros*), He had in mind the usual obligation of the young to perform more humble tasks (cf. Acts 5:6, 10).

That Paul was a *neanías* when Stephen was stoned (Acts 7:58) is probably mentioned to explain the secondary role he takes in the stoning. He was, however, apparently a young adult rather than a child, ready soon after to take on great responsibilities (8:3; 9:1f.). Eutychus, on the other hand, is described not only as a *neanías* (20:9) but also as a *país* (a child, v. 12; RSV "lad") and so was apparently not an adult. Paul's nephew was a *neanías* and a *neanískos* at the time of Paul's Jerusalem imprisonment (23:17f., 22); that the tribune took him by the hand before questioning him (v. 19) may indicate that Paul's nephew was still a child. But a man whom Luke called "rich" and a "ruler" (Lk. 18:18, 23) was a *neanískos* according to Mt. 19:20, 22. (Matthew also omits the man's reference back to the time of his "youth" [cf. Mk. 10:20; Lk. 18:21, *neótēs*], which may show a particular interest on the part of Matthew in portraying the man as young.) Other uses of *neanískos* give no more exactness to the term except to distinguish those designated by it from those older or younger (Acts 2:17; 1 Jn. 2:13f.).

See also CHILD; VIRGIN.

See H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. tr. 1974), pp. 120-23.

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Z

ZAANAIM zā-ə-nā'əm (Jgs. 4:11, AV). *See* ZAANANNIM.

ZAANAN zā'ə-nan [Heb. *ṣa'ᵃnān*; Gk. *Sennaar*] (Mic. 1:11). A fortress city mentioned only in Micah's lament mourning the Assyrian army's systematic seizure of Judah's main lines of defence in the Shephelah. (see *LBHG* [2nd ed. 1979], p. 392). It has often been identified with Zenan (Heb. *ṣᵉnān*) of Josh. 15:37, since both are in the Shephelah and named along with Lachish. On the basis of the Arabic version reading (el-ʿAraq), F.-M. Abel located it at ʿArâq el-Kharab (*GP*, II, 455); but this identification has not been generally accepted.

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ZAANANNIM zā-ə-nan'im, **OAK IN** [Heb. *K 'ēlôn bᵉṣaʿᵃnannayim* or *baṣʿannîm*, *Q 'ēlôn bᵉṣaʿᵃnannîm*]; AV ALLON TO ZAANANNIM (Josh. 19:33), PLAIN OF ZAANAIM (Jgs. 4:11); NEB ELON-BEZAANANNIM. A place on the southern border of Naphtali in the vicinity of the Jabneel valley (Josh. 19:33); possibly the same as the site of Heber the Kenite's encampment near Kedesh (Jgs. 4:11).

Textual problems make the reading difficult. The RSV reads Heb. *'ēlôn* as a noun ("oak") and *bᵉ* as a preposition ("in"), but *'ēlôn* could also be read either as a place name in its own right (cf. AV "Allon") or as a construct, in which case *bᵉ* would be read as part of the name Bezaanannim (cf. LXX B *Besemiim*, A *Besenanim* in Josh. 19:33; in Jgs. 4:11 the LXX translates *pleonektoúntōn* [B] or *anapauoménōn* [A], assuming the Hebrew root to be *bṣʿ*), or as the first element of a compound name (so NEB). The absence of the definite article before *'ēlôn* favors reading "oak of Bezaanannim" or "Elon-bezaananim." The place may have been a cultic center (see B. Mazar, *JNES*, 24 [1965], 297-303; *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 227).

The exact location of the site is unknown; the problem is complicated by uncertainty about the identification of Kedesh in Jgs. 4:11. Some have identified Bezaanannim with Lejjun, about 4 km. (2½ mi.) N of Taanach, between Megiddo and Tell Abû Qedeis (*see* KEDESH 2). Others have argued for an identification with Khirbet Bessûm on the plateau W of the Sea of Galilee, about 5 km. (3 mi.) NE of Tabor, not far from Khirbet Qedish. Based on a derivation of the name *ṣaʿᵃnannîm* from the root *ṣʿn* ("pack up"; thus "of the caravanners"), and a tentative identification of the other places mentioned in Josh. 19:33, still others have favored an identification with Khan et-Tujjar, a caravan station on the road from Beth-shan to Damascus, located about 6.5 km. (4 mi.) SE of Adam (Khirbet Dâmiyeh).

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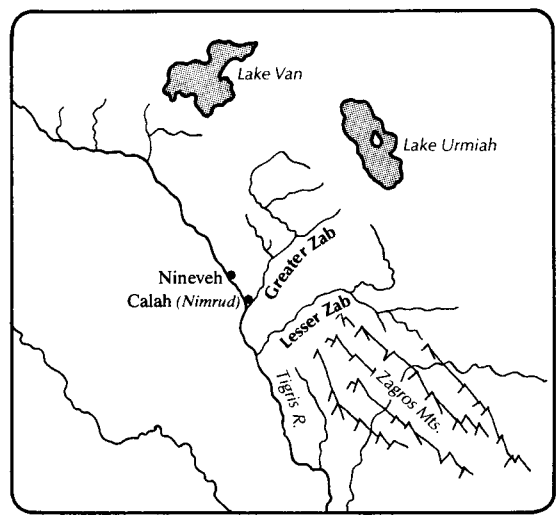
ZAAVAN zā'ə-van [Heb. *zaʿᵃwān* < *zāwaʿ*–'tremble'(?)]; AV also ZAVAN; NEB ZAVAN. Son of Ezer; a Horite clan chief who descended from Seir (Gen. 36:27; 1 Ch. 1:42).

ZAB, GREATER AND LESSER zāb [Assyr. *zabu šupalu* (Lower Zab) and *zabu elu* (Upper Zab); Lat. *Lycus* and *Absithris* (Pliny *Nat. hist.* vi.30); Gk. *Lykos* and *Kapros* (Strabo *Geog.* xvi.1.4)]. Two tributaries of the TIGRIS River which, flowing from the east, join it in upper Mesopotamia. The Greater (Upper) Zab rises in the snowy Zagros mountains along the Turkish-Iranian border midway between Lake Van and Lake Urmiah. Its 425 km. (265 mi.) journey through southeastern Turkey and northeastern Iraq passes first through rugged, forested mountain canyons and past occasional waterfalls, then through wide, fertile river valleys. It meets the Tigris near Calah (ancient Nimrud) about 32 km. (20 mi.) S of Nineveh (modern Mosul). The Lesser (Lower) Zab originates in



the mountains of western Iran near Lake Urmiah and courses through similar terrain parallel to the Greater Zab. It joins the Tigris about 80 km. (50 mi.) S of the Greater Zab after a journey of about 400 km. (250 mi.).

Though not mentioned in the Bible, the Zab rivers played a crucial role in the birth of the Mesopotamian civilizations from which Abram later came. Indeed, if the Tigris-Euphrates valley is "the cradle of civilization," the upper regions of the Zab rivers are its womb and their river valleys its birth canal. Skeletons of a Neanderthal type have been found in the Shanidar cave near the Greater Zab, and prehistoric rock inscriptions at Zaban (modern Altun Kupri) on the Lower Zab. The inhabitants of these sites lived in caves and fed themselves by hunting and gathering food. But sites like Zawi Chemi Shanidar (*ca.* 8500 B.C.), 5 km. (3 mi.) from the cave on the east bank of the Greater Zab, and Jarmo (*ca.* 5000 B.C.) S of the Lesser Zab, reflect a radically different life-style. Their inhabitants had learned to build their own houses, farm their own crops, and breed their own livestock. This development, the so-called neolithic revolution, formed the basis of civilization. The migration of these farmers down the river valleys of the two Zabs to the Mesopotamian plain (*ca.* 5000 B.C.) gave birth to the later Sumerian, Akkadian, and Assyrian cultures.

In historical times the Zab rivers are periodically mentioned in Assyrian records. Kings reported crossing them enroute to and returning from their battles. Shalmaneser III (*ca.* 860 B.C.) apparently used the Greater Zab for his advance into Urartu. At times the rivers served as informal borders of the Assyrian empire during its many periods of expansion and contraction. Sargon II (*ca.* 700 B.C.) cited the Lesser Zab as the northern frontier of one of his provinces. No doubt Shalmaneser I (mid-13th cent. B.C.) founded the city of Calah where the Greater Zab meets the Tigris because of the natural moat provided by the two rivers. Later Ashurnasirpal II (*ca.* 680 B.C.) tapped the Greater Zab with a canal 10 km. (6 mi.) long to water his newly planted orchards outside Calah.

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R. L. HUBBARD, JR.

ZABAD zā'bad [Heb. *zāḇaḏ*, perhaps a contraction of *zᵉḇaḏyâ*–'Yahweh has given,' or of *zaḇḏî'ēl*–'God is my gift'(?); *see* ZABDIEL].

1. Son of Nathan, a Jerahmeelite of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 2:36f.).

2. An Ephraimite; son of Tahath and father of Shuthelah (1 Ch. 7:21).

3. Son of Ahlai; one of David's mighty men (1 Ch. 11:41).

4. Son of Shimeath the Ammonitess (2 Ch. 24:26); one of the men who assassinated King Joash in revenge for the stoning death of Zechariah the son of Jehoiada (cf. vv. 20-22, 25). In 2 K. 12:21 (MT 22) he is called Jozacar, although some MSS have *yôzāḇāḏ* (Jozabad; see *BHS*).

5. [Gk. Apoc. *Sabathos*]; AV Apoc. SABATUS; NEB Apoc. SABATHUS. Son of Zattu; one of the Israelite laymen who divorced the foreign wives they had married during the Exile (Ezr. 10:27; 1 Esd. 9:28).

6. [Gk. Apoc. A *Sabannaious*, B *Bannaious*]; AV Apoc. BANNAIA; NEB Apoc. BANNAEUS. Son of Hashum; another layman who divorced his foreign wife (Ezr. 10:33, 1 Esd. 9:33).

7. [Gk. Apoc. *Zabadaias*]; AV Apoc. ZABADAIAS; NEB Apoc. ZABADAEAS. Son of Nebo; another layman who divorced his foreign wife (Ezr. 10:43; 1 Esd. 9:35).

See *IP*, pp. 22, 46f.

N. J. O.

ZABADAEAS zab'ə-dā'əs (1 Esd. 9:35, NEB); **ZABADAIAS** (1 Esd. 9:35, AV). *See* ZABAD 7.

ZABADEANS zab-ə-dē'ənz [Gk. *Zabadaioi*]. An Arab tribe (or Arab inhabitants of a town Zabad or Zabadai) who were "crushed" and "plundered" by Jonathan in his campaign against Demetrius (1 Macc. 12:31). Since Jonathan's campaign took him to "the region of Hamath" (v. 25), and the forces of Demetrius escaped by crossing the Eleutherus River (v. 30), then after plundering the Zabadeans Jonathan went on to Damascus (v. 32), the Zabadeans must have been NW of Damascus. According to Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah (*Macmillan Bible Atlas* [rev. ed. 1977], map 203) the Zabadeans were located at Beth-zabdai (ez-Zebdani) in the land of Chalcis, about 30 km. (18 mi.) NW of Damascus. Josephus apparently referred to the same people as "Nabateans" (*Ant.* xiii.5.9 [179]), an impossible identification since at that time the Nabateans were located considerably farther south. Oesterley inexplicably read Gabadeans, though he noted that the versions read Zabadeans (*APOT*, I, 112). See also J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (*AB*, 1976), pp. 464f.

W. S. L. S.

ZABBAI zab'ī [Heb. *zabbay*; Gk. Apoc. B *Zabdos*, A *Iōzabados*]; AV Apoc. JOSABAD; NEB Apoc. OZABADUS.

1. Son of Bebai; one of the Israelite laymen who divorced the foreign wives they had married during the Exile (Ezr. 10:28; 1 Esd. 9:29).

2. Father of a certain Baruch who repaired a section of the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:20). The *qere* reads *zakkay* (Zaccai).

ZABBUD zab'ud (Ezr. 8:14, AV, NEB). *See* ZACCUR 5.

ZABDAEUS zab-dā'əs (1 Esd. 9:21, NEB); **ZABDEUS** zab-dē'əs (1 Esd. 9:21, AV). *See* ZEBADIAH 9.

ZABDI zab'dī [Heb. *zaḇdî*–'(Yahweh) has given'(?), 'gift (of Yahweh)'(?); *see* ZABAD].

1. A Judahite of the family of Zerah; ancestor of Achan (Josh. 7:1, 17f.). In 1 Ch. 2:6 (and also some LXX MSS of Josh. 7:1, 17f.) he is called Zimri, probably due to confusion in transmission (Heb. *b* and *m* are easily confused phonetically, *d* and *r* graphically). *See* ZIMRI 3.

2. Son of Shimei; head of a Benjaminite family (1 Ch. 8:19).

3. One of David's officers, called a SHIPHMITE; he was in charge of "the produce of the vineyards for the wine cellars" (1 Ch. 27:27).

4. A Levite of the family of Asaph; ancestor of Mattaniah (Neh. 11:17). In 1 Ch. 9:15 he is called Zichri, probably due to confusion between Heb. *b* and *k* and between *d* and *r*.

N. J. O.

ZABDIEL zab'di-əl [Heb. *zaḇḏî'ēl*–'El (God) is my gift' (?) or 'God has given'(?); Gk. Apoc. *Zabdiēl*].

1. Father of Jashobeam and descendant of Perez (1 Ch. 27:2; cf. v. 3).

2. Son of HAGGEDOLIM; overseer of a division of priests (Neh. 11:14).

3. An Arabian who beheaded Alexander Balas and sent his head to Ptolemy (1 Macc. 11:17). Josephus calls him a chieftain (*Ant.* xiii.4.8 [118]).

See *IP*, pp. 33-35, 46f.

ZABUD zā'bud [Heb. *zāḇûḏ*–'bestowed'] (1 K. 4:5). One of Solomon's administrative officials. He is called the son of Nathan, who may have been Nathan the prophet

(2 S. 7) or one of David's sons (cf. 2 S. 5:14). If the latter, Zabud would have been Solomon's nephew. Zabud is described as priest and king's friend. The title "king's friend" is thought to represent an office — a counselor — rather than an honorific title. *See* FRIEND OF THE KING. Textual variants (some Hebrew MSS *zakkûr*, Lucian Gk. *Zachour*, Syr. *Zakur*) have led some commentators (e.g., J. Gray [*OTL*, rev. ed. 1970], pp. 131, 133) to read the more common name Zakur rather than Zabud (the two names would have looked quite similar in ancient Hebrew script).

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ZABULON zab'ū-lən [Gk. *Zaboulon*]. The AV form of ZEBULUN in Mt. 4:13, 15; Rev. 7:8, following the Greek spelling.

ZACCAI zak'ī [Heb. *zakkay*–'Yahweh has remembered'(?); perhaps a shortened form of Zechariah]. Head of a family of 760 people who returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:9; Neh. 7:14).

See *IP*, pp. 39, 187.

ZACCHAEUS za-kē'əs [Gk. *Zakchaios* < Heb. *zakkāy*–'pure, righteous']; AV also ZACCHEUS (2 Macc. 10:19).

1. An officer in the army of Judas Maccabeus, one of a group given the task of besieging two towers in which Idumean forces had taken refuge (2 Macc. 10:19).

2. A wealthy "chief tax collector" at whose house in Jericho Jesus stayed (Lk. 19:1-10). Zacchaeus was most likely a collector of tolls on merchandise moving through Jericho. He may have been the one who held the contract from the Roman government for the collection of these tolls, and he probably made use of a number of subcontractors in the collecting of them. At any rate, his position made him wealthy, but it also subjected him to a large measure of the contempt that fell on collectors of Roman taxes from most Jews in Palestine. (Zacchaeus's name indicates that he himself was Jewish, as would be expected.)

What caused Zacchaeus to attempt to see Jesus was apparently simple curiosity, but this curiosity, coupled with his short stature, was enough to cause him to sacrifice his dignity to the point of climbing a tree in the attempt (vv. 3f.). Jesus' response to Zacchaeus and His going to the tax collector's house prompted the usual negative response to Jesus' contact with those bearing little respect in society (vv. 5-7; cf. 5:29f.; 15:1f.). As in similar situations, Jesus made this negative response the occasion for teaching concerning the nature of His mission (19:9f.; cf. 5:31f.; 15:3-32). What is notable in the encounter with Zacchaeus is that Jesus very clearly takes the initiative in going into Zacchaeus's home. Jesus' unambiguous statement concerning the salvation of Zacchaeus (19:9) is probably intended by Luke as a reflection of, and partial answer to, the question raised earlier concerning the possibility of a rich man being saved (18:24-28).

Zacchaeus indicated his own response to Jesus' receiving him by promising to rid himself of much of his wealth and give it to those who could most benefit from it (the poor) and those to whom some of it rightfully belonged (those who had lost it to Zacchaeus through his dishonest means — not surprising in one of his profession). His multiple restoration to the latter is in line with both OT-Jewish (e.g., Ex. 22:1 [MT 21:37]) and Roman legal practices. For Zacchaeus, however, the fourfold restitution is not required by a judicial procedure but made voluntarily in response to Christ's coming to him.

See also TAX COLLECTOR.

See W. P. Loewe, *CBQ*, 36 (1974), 321-331. J. W. SIMPSON, JR.

ZACCHUR zak'ər (1 Ch. 4:26, AV). *See* ZACCUR **2.**

ZACCUR zak'ər [Heb. *zakkûr*–'remembered'(?)].

1. Father of Shammua the Reubenite spy (Nu. 13:4).

2. A Simeonite, descendant of Mishma (1 Ch. 4:26).

3. A Levite of the family of Merari; son of Jaaziah (1 Ch. 24:27).

4. A Levitical singer descended from Asaph (1 Ch. 25:2, 10; Neh. 12:35).

5. [Heb. *K zāḇûḏ, Q zakkûr*]; AV, NEB, ZABBUD. A descendant of Bigvai who accompanied Ezra on the return to Jerusalem from Babylon (Ezr. 8:14). In 1 Esd. 8:40 he is called Istalcurus and is named as the father of Uthai.

6. Son of Imri; one of those who helped to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:2).

7. A Levite who signed the covenant under Nehemiah (Neh. 10:12 [MT 13]).

8. Son of Mattaniah and father of a certain Hanan who was appointed as an assistant to the treasurers by Nehemiah (Neh. 13:13).

9. [Gk. Apoc. *Bakchouros*]; AV, NEB, BACCHURUS. A temple singer who divorced his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (1 Esd. 9:24). N. J. O.

ZACHARIAH zak-ə-rī'ə. The AV rendering of two names: ZECHARIAH **(1)** the king of Israel (2 K. 14:29; 15:8, 11) and ZECHARIAH **(2)** the grandfather of King Hezekiah (2 K. 18:2 par. 2 Ch. 29:1).

ZACHARIAS zak-ə-rī'əs. The AV Apoc. and NT rendering of ZECHARIAH and once (1 Esd. 5:8) of SERAIAH.

ZACHARY zak'ə-rē (2 Esd. 1:40, AV). *See* ZECHARIAH **19.**

ZACHER zā'kər (1 Ch. 8:31, AV, NEB). *See* ZECHER.

ZADOK zā'dok [Heb. *ṣāḏôq*–'righteous]; AV also SADDUC (1 Esd. 8:2), SADOC (2 Esd. 1:1).

1. One of David's high priests. His ancestry is uncertain, for there are apparent discrepancies among the texts that record it. 2 S. 8:17 lists "Zadok the son of Ahitub and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar" as priests when David began to reign over all Israel (cf. 1 Ch. 18:16). But other texts record Abiathar as the son of Ahimelech (1 S. 22:20; 23:6; 30:7), and Ahitub as the father of Ahijah/Ahimelech (1 S. 14:3; 22:9, 11, 20). If these references are considered accurate and 2 S. 8:17 and 1 Ch. 18:16 are corrupt, then Zadok is left without genealogy. But genealogies in 1 Ch. 6:1-8 (MT 5:27-34); 6:50-53 (MT 6:35-38); and Ezr. 7:2-5 all speak of Zadok as a son of Ahitub and, more significantly, as a descendant of Aaron. Some scholars suppose that these genealogies merely repeat the error of 2 S. 8:17. The problem is to determine whether 2 S. 8:17 and corroborating texts are accurate historically or whether they are ill-fated attempts to provide a genealogy for Zadok that goes back to Aaron. Several attempts have been made to solve this puzzle.

One influential theory posits that Zadok did not have any Israelite ancestry (see Hauer, Rowley). Rather, he was the priest of the Jebusite sanctuary in Jerusalem when David captured the city. By appointing him priest David sought to unite the old city with its conquerors. Evidence for this view is found in the association of names similar to

Zadok in Jerusalem's history: the king during the time of Joshua was Adoni-zedek (Josh.10:1, 3), and Melchizedek was priest-king during the time of Abraham (Gen. 14:17-20). Criticisms of this position, however, are cogent. Thus, if Melchizedek was Zadok's ancestor, why did the later Zadokites recognize Aaron as their ancestor instead of Melchizedek? Also, it seems unlikely that David would appoint a non-Israelite to the most important position in Israelite religion.

F. M. Cross's reconstruction of 2 S. 8:17 salvages Zadok as an Aaronide and posits his origin in Hebron among the Aaronides as their leader. David brought him to Jerusalem as priest, after Zadok had shown his faithfulness to David in Hebron. Cross's assumptions and the complexity of his reconstruction are problematic, but his thesis has much to commend it.

In 1 Ch. 12:26-28 a Zadok appears as "a young man mighty in valor," who was among those men of war who declared David king in Hebron (1 Ch. 12:38-40). Some have suggested that the solution to Zadok's ancestry is found if he is considered to be a successful military adventurer whom David raised to the rank of priest. The problem with this theory is that the identification of this Zadok with Zadok the high priest is uncertain; if the identification is accepted, then 1 S. 2:27-36 would have been composed as a *vaticinium ex eventu* to justify the replacement of Abiathar and the house of Eli by Zadok.

The biblical texts emphasize the faithfulness of Zadok to David, and the name Zadok ("righteous") implies the character of the man. During the rebellion of Absalom, Zadok showed unswerving loyalty to David, as did his son (2 S. 9:11-14; 15:24-29, 36; 17:17-20: 18:19, 22, 27). David appointed Zadok to serve in the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Ch. 16:39). He sided with Solomon against Adonijah (1 K. 1), while Abiathar supported Adonijah.

After David, Zadok and his sons became the ruling priestly line in Jerusalem (cf. 1 K. 4:2; 2 Ch. 31:10). The descendants of Zadok are listed in 1 Ch. 6:1-15 as follows: Zadok, Ahimaaz, Azariah, Johanan, Azariah, Amoriah, Ahitub, Zadok, Shallum, Hilkiah, Azariah, Seraiah, Jehozadak. This genealogy seems to differ from similar material recorded in Kings/Chronicles. But no detailed chronological checks should be attempted with a stylized list such as this.

It is generally accepted that the descendants of Zadok held the priesthood in Jerusalem till the Exile. Four references to sons/family of Zadok in Ezekiel (40:46; 43:19; 44:15; 48:11) highlight the future service that the sons of Zadok will have at the restored sanctuary because of their faithfulness to Yahweh.

2. A "young man mighty in valor," apparently a Levite, who came to Hebron to make David king (1 Ch. 12:26-28, 38). Josephus identified him with Zadok the priest (*Ant.* vii.2.2 [56]); see **1** above.

3. Son of Ahitub and father of Shallum, a descendant of Zadok the priest (1 Ch. 6:12 [MT 5:38]). See also **1** above.

4. Son of Meraioth and father of Meshullam (1 Ch. 9:11; Neh. 11:11); perhaps the same as **3** above; see also **1** above.

5. Father of Jerusha(h), who was mother of King Jotham of Judah (2 K. 15:33; 2 Ch. 27:1); perhaps the same as **3** or **4** above.

6. A scribe whom Nehemiah appointed as one of the three treasurers over the storehouses (Neh. 13:13).

7. One of the chiefs of the people who signed Nehemiah's covenant (Neh. 10:21 [MT 22]); perhaps the same as **4** above.

8. A descendant of Baana who helped repair the wall of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:4; cf. Ezr. 2:2).

9. A descendant of Immer who helped repair the wall of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:29; cf. Ezr. 2:37).

10. [Gk. *Sadōk*]; AV SADOC. Son of Azor and father of Achim, an ancestor of Joseph the husband of Mary (Mt. 1:14).

Bibliography.–A. Cody, *History of OT Priesthood* (1969), pp. 88-93; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973), pp. 195-215; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr. repr. 1965), II, 372-76; C. E. Hauer, *JBL*, 82 (1963), 89-94; H. H. Rowley, *JBL*, 58 (1939), 113-141; "Melchizedek and Zadok," in W. Baumgartner, *et al.*, eds., *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (1950), pp. 461-472.

E. E. CARPENTER

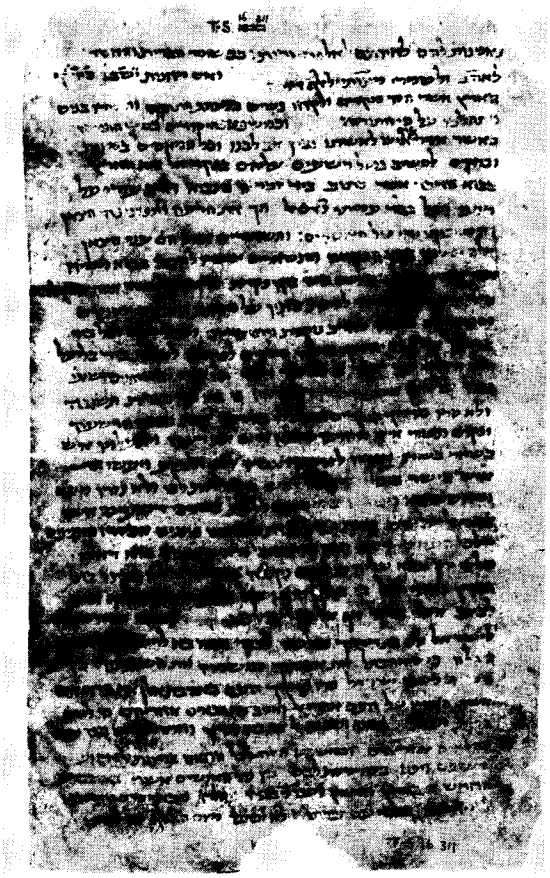
ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS zā´ də-kīt. Two copies of a Hebrew document (or documents) discovered in the Genizah (a storage place for Scriptures that were no longer usable but too sacred to destroy) of the Ibn Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo in 1896-97 and taken to the library at Cambridge University. Solomon Schechter published them in 1910, and Chaim Rabin reedited them in 1954 (*Zadokite Documents*).

I. Name.–Various names have been given to these MS fragments. Schechter published them as *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Because of their description of a sect that sojourned for a time at Damascus, the MSS were given the name Damascus Document. When the DSS were discovered, the relationship between the Zadokite Fragments and the Qumrân scrolls became apparent, and the former were called the Cairo Damascus Document, and given the symbol CDC. Later, when the *sigla* for the Qumrân documents were standardized, the Cairo MSS were given the symbol CD and fragments of the same document that were found at Qumrân were given the symbols 4QD, 5QD, and 6QD, indicating that they came from Qumrân caves 4, 5, and 6.

The sect responsible for CD placed emphasis on Zadok, high priest under Solomon (2 S. 8:17), and the "sons of Zadok," described by Ezekiel as the priests who will minister in the new temple (Ezk. 40:46; 44:15; CD 3:21–4:5). For this reason, Schechter used the name "Zadokite." The use of the term "sons of Zadok," with reference to the Qumrânians, led some to identify them with the Sadducees, but most scholars have rejected this identification.

II. The Fragments.–The fragments were parts of two different MSS, conveniently labeled A and B, A being dated on paleographic grounds to the 10th cent. A.D. and B to the 11th-12th cent. A.D. According to C. Rabin, MS A consists of two entirely different writings, the admonitions, preserved almost in their entirety, and the laws, of which both the beginning and ending are lacking (p. x). The admonitions are contained in cols. 1-8 of A, supplemented by cols. 19-20 of B. The laws constitute cols. 9-16 of A. Efforts to conflate the two documents have resulted in several "editions," as well as various methods of numbering that are unnecessarily confusing. C. Rabin has published the English translation and Hebrew text on facing pages, and his system of dual numbering where A and B are commingled is reasonably clear. The vocalized text published by A. M. Haberman (*mᵉgillôṯ miḏbar yᵉhûḏâ* [1959]), on the other hand, has been completely renumbered, making it difficult to locate passages from standard references.

The A document consists of eight folios of parchment (sixteen pages), approximately 21.5 by 19 cm. (8½ by 7½ in.), with twenty-one to twenty-three lines of text, written on both sides. The B document is a single folio with two pages of thirty-five lines each. These columns were arbitrarily numbered 19 and 20. Column 19 parallels in part and complements in part cols. 7-8 of A, whereas B 20 is almost entirely additional material.



The B document of the Zadokite MSS (11th-12th cent. A.D.) (by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

III. Relation to the DSS.–Immediately following the publication of the first scrolls from Qumrân, the relationship between the two sets of documents was recognized. But it was not until fragments of the same writings were discovered at Qumrân (caves 4, 5, and 6) that identification of the originators of the Zadokite Fragments with the Qumrânians was established beyond doubt. (For references to these Qumrân fragments, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* [2nd ed. 1977].)

All the problems concerning this relationship have not yet been solved. The Zadokite Fragments were found in a Qaraïte synagogue. The Qaraïtes (Karaïtes) were a Jewish sect that flourished in the Middle Ages, characterized by their rejection of talmudic tradition and their study of the Scriptures alone. What was the link between Qumrân and the Qaraïtes? Possibly the protests against the "builders of the wall," the priests of the Jerusalem cult, may offer some explanation. But a study of Rabin's work, particularly his notes, seems to show a relationship between Qumrân teachings, particularly as contained in the Damascus Document, and talmudic law. We must keep in mind that the Talmud did not come into existence until several centuries after Qumrân was a flourishing community. But according to rabbinic tradition the materials of the Mishnah and the Gemara already existed in oral form. Again, the laws in the second half of document A (CD 9–16) appear to be a kind of legalism. But it was partly because of the difference between mishnaic teachings and Qumrân that S. Zeitlin so strongly insisted that the DSS were a product of the Middle Ages. Evidence of several kinds has proved him wrong in his dating the DSS, but the schism between Qumrân Judaism and Jerusalem Judaism of the closing days of the second temple is clear.

The only direct evidence for the origins of the Qumrân community, the importance of the Teacher of Righteousness in its formative days, and certain specifics of membership is found in CD, supplemented by 1QS and 1QSa. These works, the Manual of Discipline (1QS), the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), and the Damascus Document (CD) form the basis for most of our knowledge of the Qumrânians. Much of the rest of what has been written about the Qumrânians is hypothetical, ranging from conclusions based on careful critical study to the fantastic.

We must still face the facts that (1) the Zadokite Fragments were part of the literature of the Qumrân community. This is demonstrated by the number of fragments of the Damascus Document that were found in caves 4, 5, and 6 of Qumrân, indicating the importance that the Qumrânians placed on this work. And (2) the Zadokite Fragments were found in a Cairo Genizah. We can therefore conclude that some person or group of persons took the document (or, more likely, documents) of which the Zadokite Fragments were copies (or copies of copies) to Cairo. That the agents were refugees from Qumrân at the time of its destruction, who escaped possibly with those who made their way to Masada (cf. Y. Yadin, *Masada* [1966], pp. 187-190), seems unlikely. Because of the Qumrânian rule against making known the truth to those outside the community (1QS 9:17f.), we may not assume that Qumrân missionaries had gone out from Qumrân.

Evidence indicates that some scrolls were discovered in a cave in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea *ca.* A.D. 800 (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *TLZ*, 74 [1949], cols. 597ff.; H. H. Rowley, *Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1952], p. 22 n. 4). Further, Qirqisani (Ḳirḳisani), a Qaraïte of the 10th cent. A.D. refers to a Jewish sect called "al-Maghariya" ("cave sect"), which may provide a link between the Qumrân writings and the Qaraïtes (cf. Rowley, pp. 23-29). But if a scroll or scrolls were found in a Qumrân cave *ca.* A.D. 800 and made their way to the Qaraïte community in Cairo, it would require some continuity of the community making use of the document(s) to account for copies made in the 10th-12th cents. A.D. We may therefore assume some kind of link between the Qaraïte community in Cairo and the Qumrân community, but it remains unclear whether it was anything more than an attraction to the views presented in CD.

IV. Research on the Zadokite Fragments.–Between the time Schechter published the fragments and the discovery of the Qumrân scrolls, scholars produced much work on the fragments. (For a thorough bibliography, see L. Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift* [1933]; H. H. Rowley, *Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1952].) Since the discovery of the Qumrân materials, research on CD has been fully integrated with that on the DSS. It is therefore needless to discuss it separately in this article. For subsequent bibliography, see W. S. LaSor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948-1957* (1958); Ch. Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer*, II (*BZAW*, 89, 1965).

One or two points, however, should be emphasized. The relationship of the Teacher of Righteousness to the origin of the Qumrân community is clearly spelled out in the Zadokite Fragments — and often overlooked by scholars working on the DSS. The Teacher of Righteousness was not the founder of the sect, although this is often asserted. CD 1:1-6 speaks of the sinful nature of Israel and the remnant that remained. Then God visited them and

caused a "root" to possess His land, but they were like the blind "for twenty years" (1:10). Then God "raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them in the way of His heart and to make known to the last generations that which He would do to the last generation, the congregation of the faithless" (1:10-12). The sect was already conscious of its existence for two decades before the Teacher appeared. For the origins of the Qumrân community, see H. H. Rowley, *BJRL*, 49 (1966), 203-232. For the relationship of the Teacher of Righteousness to the Qumrân community, see W. S. LaSor, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the NT* [1972], chs. 8–9; H. H. Rowley, *BJRL*, 40 [1957/58], 114-146.

See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

Bibliography.–S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, I. Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (1910; repr. 1970); S. Zeitlin, *Zadokite Fragments* (1952); C. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents* (1954); *APOT*, II, 785-834 (seriously out of date). W. S. LASOR

ZAHAM zā'ham [Heb. *zaham*–'loathsome']. A son of King Rehoboam by Mahalath (2 Ch. 11:19).

ZAIN zā'yin. *See* ZAYIN.

ZAIR zā'ēr, zā'ər [Heb. *ṣā'îr*–'little, insignificant'; Gk. *Siōr*]. A place to which Joram "passed over" with all his chariots when Edom revolted against Judah (2 K. 8:21). It is possibly to be located in Edom, and some have suggested reading "Seir." There are textual points to consider, however. The parallel passage (2 Ch. 21:9) has "with his commanders" (*'im-śārāyw*) instead of "to Zair." The LXX of 2 K. 8:21 reads *Siōr*, which has led some to identify Zair with ZIOR, modern Sa'îr or Si'îr, 8 km. (5 mi.) NE of Hebron. But this site does not fit well with the context (Joram "passed over" to Zair). Moreover, the suggestion that *ṣā'îr* is related to Sā'îr ignores the fact that in Arabic as well as in Hebrew *ṣ* and *ś* (= Arab. *š*) do not sound at all alike; they merely look similar in transliteration. W. S. L. S.

ZALAPH zā'laf [Heb. *ṣālāp*–'caper-plant']. Father of a certain Hanun who helped to repair the well of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:30).

ZALMON zal'mən [Heb. *ṣalmôn*–'dark'(?)]. An Ahohite, one of David's thirty mighty men (2 S. 23:28). In 1 Ch. 11:29 he is called Ilai. See W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (*HAT*, 1955), p. 100.

ZALMON zal'mən [Heb. *ṣalmôn*–'dark'(?); Gk. *Selmōn*, some MSS *Ermōn* (Jgs. 9:48)]; AV also SALMON (Ps. 68:14 [MT 15]).

1. A mountain near Shechem (Jgs. 9:48). Some have identified it with Mt. Ebal; but its modern name, Jebel Eslāmîyeh, bears only superficial resemblance to *ṣalmôn*. Other scholars have identified it with et-Tenanir at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, immediately S of Balâṭah (the site of ancient Shechem), where a Middle Bronze Age villa has been discovered (cf. *AP*, fig. 17); but any identification can be only tentative.

Bibliography.–E. Sellin, *ZAW*, 50 (1932), 305-307; J. Nagele, *JPOS*, 12 (1932), 152-161.

2. A mountain mentioned in Ps. 68:14 (MT 15), in a very difficult context. Some scholars have identified it with 1 above; but since Bashan is mentioned in the next verse, others have looked for it in the Hauran region, where Ptolemy located a mountain *Asalmanos*.

Bibliography.–J. G. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (1860), p. 90; W. F. Albright, *HUCA*, 23 (1950/51), 23. A. VAN SELMS

ZALMONAH zal-mō'nə [Heb. *ṣalmōnâ*–'dark, gloomy']. The site of an Israelite encampment in the wilderness, between Mt. Hor and Punon (Nu. 33:41f.). Its identification is uncertain, although some have suggested Bir Madhkur, E of Harun. *See* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

ZALMUNNA. *See* ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA.

ZAMBIS zam'bis. The AV transliteration of Gk. *Zambris* in 1 Esd. 9:34. The RSV emends the text to read Amariah in harmony with Ezr. 10:42 (see RSV mg.). *See* AMARIAH 7.

ZAMBRI zam'brī (1 Macc. 2:26, AV). *See* ZIMRI 1.

ZAMBRIS zam'bris. The NEB transliteration of Gk. *Zambris* in 1 Esd. 9:34. The RSV emends the text to harmonize with Ezr. 10:42. *See* AMARIAH 7.

ZAMOTH zā'moth (1 Esd. 9:28, AV, NEB). *See* ZATTU.

ZAMZUMMIM zam-zum'əm [Heb. *zamzummîm;* Gk. *Zochommin, Zomzommein, Zommein*; cf. Arab. *zamzama*–'talk gibberish']. A name given to the REPHAIM by the Ammonites who dispossessed them (Dt. 2:20). If the Arabic etymology is accepted (cf. *BDB*, p. 273), it may be assumed that they spoke another language that sounded like gibberish to the Ammonites, who spoke a Semitic language. They have often been identified with the ZUZIM (Gen. 14:5), but this has no firm basis. The Rephaim, who occupied Transjordan and parts of Palestine prior to the coming of the Semites, were divided into various groups: the Emim (Dt. 2:10), Anakim (v. 11), and Zamzummim (v. 20), and possibly others (Horites, v. 12; Avvim, v. 23). These peoples were described as tall, 6 or 7 cubits in height (3-3.5 m., 9-10½ ft.) (F.-M. Abel, *GP*, I, 325-29, also 277f.). Outside the Bible the Zamzummim are unknown. See *GTTOT*, § 211. W. S. LASOR

ZANOAH zə-nō'ə [Heb. *zānô(a)ḥ*].

1. A town listed in the northernmost district of the Judean Shephelah (Josh. 15:34), along with identifiable towns such as Zorah (Ṣar'ah) and Eshtaol (Eshwa'). It was also occupied in the postexilic period (Neh. 11:30); its association with Jarmuth (Khirbet Yarmûk) and Adullam (esh-Sheikh Madhkûr) strengthens the location in the northern Shephelah.

Inhabitants of Zanoah repaired the Valley Gate of Jerusalem during Nehemiah's great building project (Neh. 3:13). In the NT period the fine flour from this town (Heb. *ṣ^enôḥā'*, with textual variants) was of the highest quality and like that of Michmash was used for the sacred loaves of the bread of the Presence (Mish. *Menahoth* viii.1).

Eusebius and Jerome indicated that Zanoah was on the northeastern border of the metropolitan district of Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrîm) (*Onom.* 92.13f. and 93.13f. respectively). Robinson noted the presence of Khirbet Zānû', which stands on the west side of Wâdī en-Nejîl; Albright noted also the pronunciation *Zānûḥ*. The presence of not only Byzantine but also late Iron Age pottery on the surface of this site strengthens its identification with Zanoah.

Bibliography.–*GP*, II, 489; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 18 (Apr. 1925), 11; E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1856), II, 61; *SWP*, III, 404.

2. A place in the southeastern district of the Judean hill country, facing the wilderness (Josh. 15:56); it was founded by Jekuthiel (1 Ch. 4:18). The MT of Josh. 15:56,

which distinguishes Zanoah from Cain (prob. Khirbet Benī Dâr, formerly known as Khirbet Yaqîn), is preferable to the corrupt rendering of LXX B (Gk. *Zakanaim*), which seems to conflate the two names. The proposed identification with Khirbet Zānûtā, 16 km. (10 mi.) SW of Hebron, would place the town too far W and in the wrong district; the name is also phonetically suspect. The alternate suggestion, Khirbet Beit 'Amrā' about 2 km. (1¼ mi.) NW of Jutah (modern Yaṭṭā), is also without archeological support, although the section of Wâdī el-Khalîl on which it is situated, called Wâdī Abū Zennâkh, may preserve an echo of the biblical name Zanoah.

Bibliography.–*GP,* II, 489; *SWP,* III, 351, 410f.

A. F. RAINEY

ZAPHENATH-PANEAH zaf-ə-nath-pə-nē'ə [Heb. *ṣāp^{e}naṭ pa'^{a}nē(a)ḥ*]; AV ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH. The name given to Joseph by Pharaoh when he appointed Joseph to a position of high authority over the land of Egypt (Gen. 41:45). The conferring of a new name commonly accompanied promotions of this sort. Discussion about the meaning of the name has produced widely divergent theories. Many favor G. Steindorff's suggestion that it represents Egyp. *ḏd-pȝ-ntr-wȝf-'nh* ("the god speaks and he [Joseph] lives"), although names of this type were not common until at least the 12th cent. B.C. (see comms. on Genesis, e.g., J. Skinner [*ICC,* 2nd ed. 1930]; G. von Rad [*OTL,* Eng. tr. 1972]). For another interpretation *see* JOSEPH II.D.

N. J. O.

ZAPHON zā'fon [Heb. *ṣāpôn*–'north'; Gk. B *Saphan,* A *Saphōn*]. A city E of the Jordan in Gad (Josh. 13:27). There the men of Ephraim met with Jephthah to rebuke him but were struck down by Jephthah and the other men of Gilead (Jgs. 12:1; the AV translates "northward" instead of "to Zaphon").

The Talmud (T.P. *Shebuoth* ix.2) identified Zaphon with 'Ammata, which the *Onomasticon* places 21 Rom. mi. (30 km., 19 mi.) S of Pella. This identification has been followed by several scholars, although Abel declared it "inadmissible" (*GP,* II, 448). Glueck, however, showed in detail that the Talmud was not far wrong, for Zaphon is almost certainly to be identified with Tell el-Qôs, which is less than 1.2 km. (¾ mi.) from 'Ammata. Asophon, a town mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii.12.5 [338]), and located N of 'Ammata and less than 2.5 km. (1½ mi.) from Tell el-Qôs, appears to preserve the name Zaphon. For full discussion see Glueck, *AASOR,* 25 (1951), 297-300, 350-55.

W. S. L. S.

ZAPHON zā-fŏn', zā'fon, **MOUNT.** In Ugaritic literature the term *ṣapānu* refers to a specific location, Mt. Casius (Jebel el-'Aqra'), about 40 km. (25 mi.) NNE of Râs Shamrah. It also refers to the cosmic mountain where Baal reigns (cf. Isa. 14:13). According to Kapelrud, the tower in a temple dedicated to Baal may have been named Zaphon in order to enhance its sacredness. Since this mountain was in the north, *ṣapānu* came to have the secondary meaning of "north." This became the primary meaning of Heb. *ṣāpôn*. In a few OT texts, however, this term carries its mythopoetic meaning, i.e., the highest mount where God reigns. Thus the NEB renders Ps. 89:12a (MT 13a), "Thou didst create Zaphon and Amanus" (RSV "The north and the south, thou hast created them"); this means that Yahweh has created even the most distant, ominous places and, therefore, no place lies beyond His rule. In Ps. 48:2 (MT 3) the psalmist lauds Zion as the center of Yahweh's universal reign by comparing it to the utmost heights of Zaphon (see NEB mg., NIV). A few scholars have advocated that *ṣāpôn* be rendered Zaphon in two other texts: Isa. 14:13, which speaks of the highest mountain in the north where the supreme God rules over the assembly, and Job 27:6, which speaks of God spreading out *ṣāpôn* over chaos.

See also NORTH.

Bibliography.–R. J. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT* (1972); C. Grave, *Orientalia,* 51 (1982), 161-182; A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Eng. tr. 1952); J. Roberts, *Bibl.,* 56 (1975), 554-57; A. Robinson, *VT,* 24 (1974), 118-123; J. de Savignac, *VT,* 3 (1953), 95f.; *THAT,* II, *s.v.* צפן (W. H. Schmidt).

J. E. HARTLEY

ZARA zâr'ə (Mt. 1:3, AV). *See* ZERAH 2.

ZARACES zâr'ə-sēz (1 Esd. 1:38, AV). *See* ZARIUS.

ZARAH zâr'ə (AV Gen. 38:30; 46:12; NEB Mt. 1:3). *See* ZERAH 2.

ZARAEAS zə-rā'əs (NEB); **ZARAIAS** zə-rī'əs, zə-rā'əs (AV).

1. (1 Esd. 5:8, NEB). *See* SERAIAH 8.
2. The NEB and AV renderings of Gk. *Zaraias* (LXX A) in 1 Esd. 8:2. The RSV omits, following LXX B.
3. (1 Esd. 8:31, NEB, AV). *See* ZERAHIAH 2.

ZARATHUSTRA zar-ə-thōōs'trə. *See* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: PERSIA V.

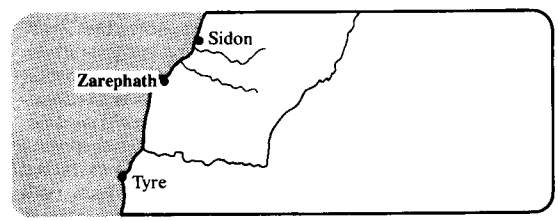
ZARDAEAS zâr-dā'əs (1 Esd. 9:28, NEB). *See* ZERDAIAH.

ZAREAH zâr'ē-ə (Neh. 11:29, AV). *See* ZORAH.

ZAREATHITES zâr'i-ə-thīts (1 Ch. 2:53, AV, NEB). *See* ZORATHITES.

ZARED zâr-ed (Nu. 21:12, AV, NEB). *See* ZERED.

ZAREPHATH zar'ə-fath [Heb. *ṣār^{e}paṭ*; Gk. *sarepta*; Akk. *ṣariptu* < vb. *ṣarāpu*–'to dye'] (1 K. 17:9f.; Ob. 20; Lk. 4:26); AV NT, NEB NT, SAREPTA. A city-state situated near the tip of a promontory along the Lebanese Mediterranean some 13 km. (8 mi.) S of Sidon and 21 km. (13 mi.) N of Tyre. From its earliest occupation near the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, Zarephath enjoyed a prosperous and relatively peaceful existence for more than two millennia. An inscription recovered near the site indicates that its name is preserved in the modern village Ṣarafand, located in the hills immediately to the SE of the somewhat inconspicuous tell.



Zarephath is listed in a thirteenth-century B.C. Egyptian papyrus as the site of a Phoenician harbor (see *ANET,* p. 477). When Zarephath surrendered peaceably to Sennacherib's vast hordes in 701 B.C., he described it as a walled city belonging to the king of Sidon (spelled Zaribtu, *ANET,* p. 287). In the time of Esarhaddon (*ca.* 680-669 B.C.) the city was transferred to Tyre's control. Located only some 80 km. (50 mi.) N of Mt. Carmel, Zarephath was

A wall painting from the Dura-Europos synagogue depicting Elijah reviving the widow's child at Zarephath (Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection)

the city to which Elijah went during the severe drought that occurred in Ahab's reign (1 K. 17:9). There he found lodging with a widow, miraculously provided her with a constant supply of oil, and eventually revived her dying son (1 K. 17:10-24). This latter event is commemorated in a mural painting in a third-century A.D. synagogue at DURA-EUROPOS on the Euphrates. The prophet Obadiah identified Zarephath as the northern extremity of Canaan (Ob. 20). Reading in the synagogue at Nazareth, Jesus referred to the Zarephathite widow to illustrate that a prophet is unwelcome in his own land (Lk. 4:26).

From as early as the late 4th cent. A.D. pilgrims journeyed to Zarephath. A tower was erected to mark the "upper chamber," in which Elijah had lived. Later, Theodosius (*PPTS*, II, 16) spoke of a large church in the city, and Antoninus Martyr of Placentia (*PPTS*, II, 3) described it as "a very Christian city." Still later a text delineating a Crusaders' route mentioned Zarephath as a walled city (*PPTS*, XII, 13).

Recent archeological excavations have shown that Zarephath was a sizable commercial city during both the Phoenician and Roman occupations. It possessed residential, religious, and industrial quarters; the latter was predominantly concerned with the production of textiles and ceramics. A highly developed maritime industry exported grain, wine, oil, and above all the red-purple dye extracted from shellfish (cf. Pliny *Nat. hist.* v.70) for which both the city and Phoenicia ("red-purple") itself were named. A large and technically sophisticated Roman port was discovered, dating from the 1st to 6th cents. A.D. Overlooking this port was found a shrine of the goddess Tanit (= Astarte?); some scholars have associated this shrine with ceremonies involving child sacrifices, a practice strongly condemned by Scripture (Jer. 7:31f.; 19:3-6; 2 K. 23:10).

See also PHOENICIA II.

Bibliography.—*PPTS = Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (14 vols., 1897); J. B. Pritchard, *Expedition*, 14 (1971), 14-23; "Sarepta in Tradition and History," in J. Reumann, ed., *Understanding the Sacred Text* (1972), pp. 101-114; *Recovering Sarepta: A Phoenician City* (1978).

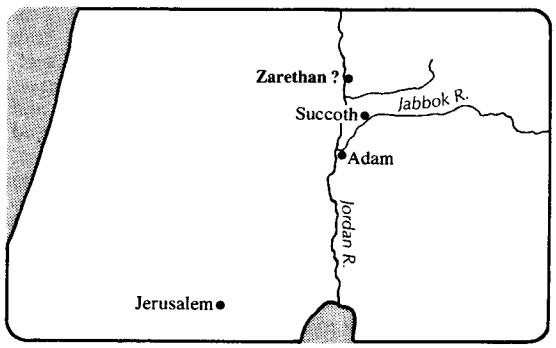
B. J. BEITZEL

ZARETAN zâr'ə-tən (Josh. 3:16, AV). *See* ZARETHAN.

ZARETHAN zâr'ə-than [Heb. *ṣar^{e}ṯān*–'great (or lofty) rock' (?); Gk. *Sarthan, Sirdathai*]; AV ZARETAN, ZARTANAH, ZARTHAN; NEB also ZARTANAH. A city located in the central Jordan Valley E of the Jordan River in the neighborhood of ADAM (Tell ed-Dâmiyeh), mentioned in connection with the blockage of the Jordan when Joshua and the Hebrews crossed into Canaan (Josh. 3:16). 1 K. 4:12 states that Zarethan was "beside" Beth-shean and "below Jezreel." In Solomon's time the valley between Zarethan and Succoth was the region where the bronze vessels were cast for the Jerusalem temple (7:46). In the par. 2 Ch. 4:17 Zarethan is called "Zeredah" (AV "Zeredathah"). Jgs. 7:22 states that Gideon pursued the Midianites "as far as Beth-shittah toward Zererah" (AV "Zererath"), which is probably a misreading of "Zeredah" resulting from the similarity of the Hebrew letters *dāleṯ* (*d*) and *rēš* (*r*).

Scholars have debated the exact identification of Zarethan. J. Simons (*GTTOT*, pp. 565f.) placed it W of the Jordan River, while others have located it on the eastern side. A. Mazar and Y. Aharoni have supported Tell Umm Ḥamîd, a large site between Adam (Tell ed-Dâmiyeh) and Succoth (Tell Deir ʿallā). N. Glueck and J. B. Pritchard have preferred Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh, a site that W. F. Albright and Aharoni identified as Zaphon.

Pritchard conducted four seasons of excavations at Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh from 1964-1967. His efforts revealed artifacts or structures from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age periods. Numerous copper objects of the 13th-12th cents. B.C. support this site as a bronze-working center, perhaps in later use during Solomon's time (cf. 1 K. 7:46). Extensive



remains of an Israelite city (10th-8th cents. B.C.) have been uncovered, including a 17-ft.-thick casemate wall, a weaving room, and an elaborate covered water system. Tombs from the E.B., L.B., and E.I. periods were also discovered. Although there is no agreement about the location of Zarethan, the evidence suggests Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh as a likely candidate.

Bibliography.–Y. Aharoni, *LBHG,* (rev. ed. 1979), pp. 34, 123, 284 n. 222; *EAEHL,* IV, *s.v.* "Tell es-Sa'idiyeh" (J. B. Pritchard), N. Glueck, *AASOR,* 25-28 (1951), 340-47; *GP,* II, 448; *GTTOT,* pp. 462, 565f., 839; A. Mazar, *Eretz-Israel,* 3 (1954), 26.

W. L. THOMPSON, JR.

ZARETH-SHAHAR zâr'eth shā'här (Josh. 13:19, AV). *See* ZERETH-SHAHAR.

ZARHITES zär'hīts (AV, NEB, Nu. 26:13, 20; etc.). *See* ZERAHITES.

ZARIUS zâr'i-əs [Gk. B *Zarios,* A *Zarakēs*]; AV ZARACES. Brother of King Jehoiakim of Judah, according to 1 Esd. 1:38 (LXX 36), which appears to be a confused account of the events recorded in 2 Ch. 36:4. In Chronicles Neco takes Jehoahaz to Egypt; in 1 Esdras Jehoiakim takes his brother Zarius out of Egypt.

ZARTANAH zär-tan'ə, zär'tan-ə (1 K. 4:12, AV, NEB). *See* ZARETHAN.

ZARTHAN zär'than (1 K. 7:46, AV). *See* ZARETHAN.

ZATHOE zath'ō-i (1 Esd. 8:32, AV, NEB). *See* ZATTU.

ZATHUI zath'o͞o-i (1 Esd. 5:12, AV, NEB). *See* ZATTU.

ZATTHU zath'o͞o (Neh. 10:14, AV). *See* ZATTU.

ZATTU zat'o͞o [Heb. *zattû'*; Gk. Apoc. *Zathoui* (1 Esd. 5:12), *Zathoēs* (8:32), *Zamoth* (9:28)]; AV also ZATTHU; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., ZATHUI, ZATHOE, ZAMOTH. Head of a lay family of which some members returned to Jerusalem from Babylon (Ezr. 2:8 par. Neh. 7:13; 1 Esd. 5:12; Ezr. 8:5 par. 1 Esd. 8:32). Some of the men of this family divorced the foreign wives that they had married during the Exile (Ezr. 10:27 par. 1 Esd. 9:28). Zattu himself was one of the chiefs who signed the covenant under Nehemiah (Neh. 10:14).

ZAVAN zā'van (1 Ch. 1:42, AV, NEB). *See* ZAAVAN.

ZAYIN zä'yin [ז]. The seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet, transliterated in this encyclopedia as *z*. It came also to be used for the number seven, and it stands at the beginning of the seventh section of Ps. 119 (cf. AV). *See* WRITING.

ZAZA zā'zə [Heb. *zāzâ'*]. Son of Jonathan, a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2:33).

ZEAL [Heb. *qin'â*] (2 K. 10:16; 19:31; Ps. 69:9 [MT 10]; 119:139; etc.); AV also ENVY (Isa. 26:11); NEB also "bitter enemies," RESENTMENT; [*qānā'*] (2 S. 21:2); [Gk. *zēlos*] (Jn. 2:17; Rom. 10:2; 2 Cor. 7:7, 11; 9:2; Phil. 3:6); AV also "fervent mind"; NEB also "long for," EAGERNESS; [*haplótēs*] (Rom. 12:8); AV SIMPLICITY; NEB "exert yourself"; [*spoudḗ*] (Rom. 12:11; 2 Cor. 7:12); AV BUSINESS, CARE; NEB ENERGY, DEVOTED; **(BE) ZEALOUS** [Gk. *zēlōtḗs*] (Acts 21:20; 22:3; Gal. 1:14; Tit. 2:14; 1 Pet. 3:13); AV also FOLLOWER; NEB STAUNCH UPHOLDER, ARDENT, etc.; [*spoudázō*] (2 Pet. 1:10; 3:14); AV GIVE DILIGENCE, BE DILIGENT; NEB EXERT ONESELF, DO ONE'S UTMOST; [*zēleúō*] (Rev. 3:19); NEB "be on your mettle." Impassioned devotion to a person or cause, which may be either worthy or unworthy. At times the orginal term would be better translated "jealousy"; under certain conditions jealousy is justified (e.g., God's jealousy for His people), but selfish jealousy is sinful (*see* JEALOUS).

Isaiah 9:6f. attributes the realization of the messianic hope, from the birth of the King to the consummation of His kingdom, to "the zeal of the Lord of hosts." According to Jn. 2:17, Jesus' cleansing of the temple so strongly impressed the disciples that they came to associate His act with Ps. 69:9 (MT 10), "Zeal for thy house has consumed me" (the quotation in John follows the LXX, which reads "will consume"). Some interpreters have understood this as a prediction that Jesus' zeal would lead to His death at the hands of the authorities He had antagonized by His action; others have taken it simply as a messianic prophecy peculiarly fitting as a description of Jesus' motivation for the act.

According to Paul the Jewish people in NT times were zealous for God (Acts 22:3), but unfortunately they failed to understand that the righteousness of God was attained through Jesus Christ (Rom. 10:2-4). In his early days Paul himself was zealous to master the traditions handed down by the great teachers of Judaism and to order his life accordingly (Gal. 1:14). Loyal to this cause, he saw Jesus' followers as a dangerous rival to his own faith, and so his zeal took a negative and violent form (Phil. 3:6). But when his confrontation with the risen Lord disclosed the better way of trust in an all-sufficient Savior, the zealot for Judaism was transformed into a zealot for Christ and the gospel.

See also ZEALOT.

E. F. H.

ZEALOT [Gk. *zēlōtḗs*]; AV ZELOTES. A designation of the disciple Simon in Luke's lists of the twelve (Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13), where it serves to differentiate him from Simon Peter. In the parallel lists he is designated the "Cananaean" (Gk. *Kananaios,* Mt. 10:4; Mk. 3:18; AV "Canaanite"; NEB "a member of the Zealot party"), which is clearly a Greek transliteration of *qn'n'*, the Aramaic equivalent of *zēlōtḗs*. The word-group to which *zēlōtḗs* belongs refers to a passionate devotion to a person or a cause, combining within its semantic range senses both of "jealousy" and of "zeal" (*see* JEALOUS; ZEAL). The LXX uses *zēlōtḗs* only in the former sense and only of God (e.g., Ex. 20:5). In the NT it is used in a general way of those who are "eager" for manifestations of the Spirit (1 Cor. 14:12; AV "zealous"), or "zealous" for good deeds (Tit. 2:14; NEB "eager") or for what is right (1 Pet. 3:13; AV "followers"; NEB "devoted"). It also appears in the more specifically Jewish sense of one who is "zealous" for the Torah and the traditions of Judaism (Acts 21:20

[NEB "staunch upholders"]; 22:3 [NEB "ardent"]; Gal. 1:14 [NEB "devotion"]).

In popular usage "Zealot" has come to be used of all who participated in Jewish resistance to the Roman rule of Palestine from the time of Judas of Galilee (A.D. 6) through to the war of 66-70. Such usage, however, is inaccurate and misleading. On the one hand, "Zealot" does not appear as the designation of an identifiable rebel group until sometime after the outbreak of the war, and even then it refers to only one of several rebel factions. There is no real evidence of a Zealot party in the pre-war period. On the other hand, the zealot ideal — willingness both to use and to suffer violence for the sake of the Torah — was widespread within Judaism from Maccabean times. Even in the 1st cent. A.D. the term did not necessarily designate one as an advocate of rebellion against Rome. Popular usage, then, is both too broad and, in another sense, too narrow.

I. "Zeal" in Second Temple Judaism
II. The Rebellion Against Rome
  A. The Popular View Reconsidered
  B. Identifiable Resistance Groups
  C. Common Motives and Features
III. Zealots and the NT
  A. Simon the Zealot
  B. Jesus
  C. Paul
  D. Jerusalem "Torah Christians"

I. "Zeal" in Second Temple Judaism **(ca. 500 B.C.–A.D. 10).**–By adopting the name "Zealots" as a self-designation, the Jewish revolutionaries described in *BJ* iv.3.9 (160f.) were identifying with a widely held Jewish ideal and laying claim to an honored tradition. Farmer was probably right in his assertion that the Maccabean revolt was responsible for the prominence of this ideal in subsequent history. Certainly the Maccabees embodied central features of the ideal: both the willingness to use violence to defend the Torah and the hope that God would reward such faithfulness with success. Moreover, the language of zeal was explicitly linked with Mattathias and his sons by the author of 1 Maccabees, who was evidently an admirer and close associate of the Hasmonean regime. Not only does he describe Mattathias's original resistance to the edict of Antiochus as an act of zeal (2:24, 26), but he attributes zeal language to Mattathias himself. "Let everyone who is zealous for the law and supports the covenant come out with me" was Mattathias's rallying cry (2:27), and later on his deathbed he urged his sons to "show zeal for the law and give your lives for the covenant of our fathers" (v. 50). The concept of zeal did not originate with the Maccabees, however. It appears in earlier literature of the Hellenistic period (Sir. 45:23; 48:2), and it is deeply rooted in the OT, especially in connection with Phinehas (Nu. 25, esp. vv. 11, 13) and Elijah (1 K. 18–19, esp. 19:10, 14), both of whom, along with Simeon and Levi, served as prototypes for the developing tradition. Nor was the ideal limited to the descendants of the Maccabees and their supporters. As the texts cited in this section amply illustrate, the zealot ideal appears across a broad spectrum of the Judaism of the period.

As has been mentioned, the developing zeal tradition looked to several OT figures as models and prototypes. Phinehas's reputation for zeal stems from his violent opposition to Baal worship as recounted in Nu. 25: to purge Israel of this contamination he slew Zimri the Israelite and the Midianite woman with whom he was "playing the harlot" (cf. v. 1), as they were engaged in the very act (vv. 6-8). Elijah's zeal was demonstrated in his slaughter of the prophets of Baal and of Asherah, who had induced Israel to forsake the covenant, throw down the altars of Yahweh, and kill Yahweh's prophets (1 K. 19:10, 14). Both Phinehas and Elijah were held up as exemplars of zeal, and of the divine reward accompanying such faithfulness, in Mattathias's deathbed speech (1 Macc. 2:54, 58) and elsewhere in the literature of the Second Temple Period (on Phinehas, see Sir. 45:23f.; 1 Macc. 2:26; 4 Macc. 18:12; cf. Pseudo-Philo 47:1; Mish. *Sanhedrin* ix.6; on Elijah, see Sir. 48:1f.). The Genesis account of the vengeance that Simeon and Levi wreaked on the men of Shechem in retaliation for the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen. 34) is somewhat critical of their actions, and the language of zeal appears in neither the MT nor the LXX of this passage. In the Second Temple Period, however, the slaughter of the Shechemites was seen as an act of zeal, qualifying Simeon and Levi for full membership in the ranks of the zealous (Jub. 30:18; T.Levi 6:3; Jth. 9:2-4). This reinterpretation of Gen. 34 probably resulted from the confluence of two factors: the glorification of the house of Levi, characteristic of the Hasmonean period; and the priestly orientation of much of the zeal tradition (both Levi [Jub. 30:18; T.Levi 5:2] and Phinehas [Nu. 25:12f.; Sir. 45:24; 1 Macc. 2:54] were awarded the hereditary priesthood as a reward for their zeal). The fact that Jth. 9:2-4 attributes zeal only to Simeon, however, demonstrates that zeal was not exclusively a priestly tradition (cf. Gal. 1:14; Acts 22:3; 2 Bar. 66:5).

It should be clear from these OT prototypes that the developing zealot tradition was characterized by more than just a fervent devotion to the Torah and the traditions of Judaism. While this was certainly its starting point (2 Macc. 4:2; 1QS 4:4), a zealot was one whose fervent devotion involved him or her (in the case of Judith) in violence. In the first instance, a zealot was one prepared to use violence against those who were contravening, subverting, or opposing the law, whether these were Jews

A sherd inscribed "ben-Ya'ir" (possibly Eleazar ben-Ya'ir) found at Masada. It may have been one of the lots used for the rebels' mass suicide (The Estate of Yigael Yadin)

(e.g., Phinehas; 1 Macc. 2:23f., 26; 2 Bar. 66:1-8; Mish. *Sanhedrin* ix.6; cf. *Ant.* xviii.1.6 [23]), Gentiles (e.g., Simeon and Levi; Judith; 1 Macc. 2:25), or the wicked in general (e.g., T.Ash. 4:2-5; 1QS 9:23; 1QH 14:4; Philo *De Specialibus Legibus* ii.253). In addition, the zealot ideal embraced a willingness to suffer and die for the sake of the Torah (1 Macc. 2:50-60; 2 Macc. 7:2; 8:21; 4 Macc. 18; cf. 1 Macc. 1:63; 2:32-41; *Ant.* xviii.1.6 [23f.]), even to the point of committing suicide (2 Macc. 14:37-46; cf. *BJ* vii.8.6–9.1 [320-401]).

Such zealous activity was undergirded and motivated by a compelling theology of zeal. It was believed that God would reward such faithfulness with honor, righteousness, and renown (1 Macc. 2:50-64; Jub. 30:18-20; 2 Bar. 66:6; 4 Macc. 18). Further, it was believed that divine assistance would be forthcoming to those who took up the sword in defense of the Torah: "It is not on the size of the army that victory in battle depends, but strength comes from Heaven" (1 Macc. 3:19; cf. *Ant.* xviii.1.1 [5]). But perhaps the most significant motivating factor was belief in the atoning value of zeal. Those who "burned with zeal for the law as Phinehas did" (1 Macc. 2:26) did so in the expectation that they too would "turn back [God's] wrath from the people of Israel" (Nu. 25:11). Zeal itself would atone for the sins of Israel (cf. 4 Macc. 17:20-22; Midr. *Nu. Rabbah* xxi.3).

It should be clear, then, that in the 1st cent. A.D. the term "zealot" (e.g., Simon the Zealot) would not necessarily refer to someone advocating the overthrow of Roman rule. Certainly many would have seen such rebellion as an expression of zeal, in keeping with the inherited tradition; it is not surprising that revolutionaries would adopt the term as a self-designation. But as the case of Paul demonstrates (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:6), one could be a zealot for the tradition without being a revolutionary. Indeed, that Paul could use the term *zēlōtés* of himself without further explanation demonstrates that the term did not at this time refer exclusively to revolutionaries, just as Luke's casual use of the term in the post-war period (Acts 21:20; 22:3) suggests that the emergence of the Zealot party during the war did not completely obliterate the older sense of the term.

II. The Rebellion Against Rome.–*A. The Popular View Reconsidered.* According to the popular view the "Zealots" were a clearly identifiable party of national liberation, founded by Judas of Galilee in A.D. 6, which agitated for resistance to Roman rule until it succeeded in provoking the populace to widespread revolt. The various terms used by Josephus in connection with revolutionary activity ("Zealots," "fourth philosophy," Sicarii, "brigands") are to be taken as references to a single religio-political movement. This view developed as a result of the work of such nineteenth-century scholars as Graetz, Jost, and especially Schürer (*HJP*), and it continues to find scholarly advocates (e.g., with differences in detail, Cullmann, Hengel, Brandon, Merkel, the revised Schürer).

The validity of this synthetic approach is open to serious question, however, as has been demonstrated by a growing number of scholars (e.g., Jackson and Lake, Smith, Rhoads, Borg, Horsley and Hanson). The question is more than just one of terminology. This newer approach goes beyond the recognition that there is no evidence of "zealot" being a party designation in the pre-war period, to assert that there was no single, cohesive revolutionary party in this period at all. Rather, it is argued, the evidence points to widespread social unrest and discontent, directed not only at Rome but also at the ruling Jewish elite, which gave rise to a variety of spontaneous and unconnected social movements and events, which ultimately precipitated open revolt.

The older reconstruction rests on a foundation provided by two aspects of Josephus's account. The first is the statement in *Ant.* xviii.1.1 (9) that Judas of Galilee, who with Saddok the Pharisee started "an intrusive fourth school of philosophy," was thereby responsible for "planting the seeds of those troubles which subsequently overtook" Judea. While this statement mentions no organic or organizational link between the "fourth philosophy" and the later rebel groups, the older view understands this lack to be supplied by a second aspect of Josephus's account, namely, the participation of other members of Judas's family in rebel activity. Two sons, James and Simon, were put to death by Tiberius Alexander (A.D. 46-48) for unspecified crimes (*Ant.* xx.5.2 [102]). Menahem, another son (or grandson), led a band of supporters, armed with weapons plundered from Masada, into Jerusalem in the early days of the revolt; he proceeded to play a leading role until he was assassinated by followers of Eleazar the son of the high priest, who objected to his royal pretensions (*BJ* ii.17.8f. [433-448]). Another relative, Eleazar the son of Jairus, led the remnant of Menahem's followers to Masada (ii.17.9 [447]), where they remained throughout the war. It is argued that these references supply evidence not only of the continued existence of the party founded by Judas but also of the basic equivalence of Josephus's terms. The link between "Zealots" and Sicarii is argued on the basis of the Menahem account. His followers are in one instance described as "armed zealots" (*BJ* ii.17.9 [444]), but once they retreat to Masada they are referred to consistently as Sicarii (e.g., vii.8.1 [252]). Since Menahem at one point acted as "the leader of the revolution" (ii.17.8 [434]), it is argued that the Sicarii were a sub-group that separated from the larger Zealot party to which it had formerly belonged. Some would go further and posit a link between the brigands and the "fourth philosophy" by identifying Judas of Galilee with Judas the son of the brigand chief Hezekiah, who according to *BJ* ii.4.1 (56) followed in his father's footsteps.

But the evidence will not support the weight of the hypothesis. There is nothing to suggest that Menahem's followers used the term "zealot" as a self-designation; the term is Josephus's, and it means no more than "ardent follower." Nor can Judas be identified with the son of Hezekiah. Josephus made no connection between them; indeed, he described them quite differently ("sophist" and "brigand"). While a link between Judas's "fourth philosophy" and the Sicarii is probable, the brigands and the Zealots were separate phenomena. Josephus's statement blaming the whole rebellion on Judas of Galilee must be read in the context of his apologetic purpose: to convince the Romans that the Jewish war was the responsibility of a small fanatical minority, not of the people as a whole. He may have meant to say only that Judas was the first to call for resistance to Roman rule and that he had an influence on all who followed. But if it is argued that Josephus wanted his readers to see Judas as the founder of a single party, it must be replied that his actual narrative shows no evidence of its existence. He provided no name for such a group, no evidence of coordinated rebel activity between A.D. 6 and 44, and no indication that the moderate party that set out to organize for war had to deal with another organized group. What does emerge from his narrative is a situation of widespread social unrest that gave rise to a variety of groups and movements.

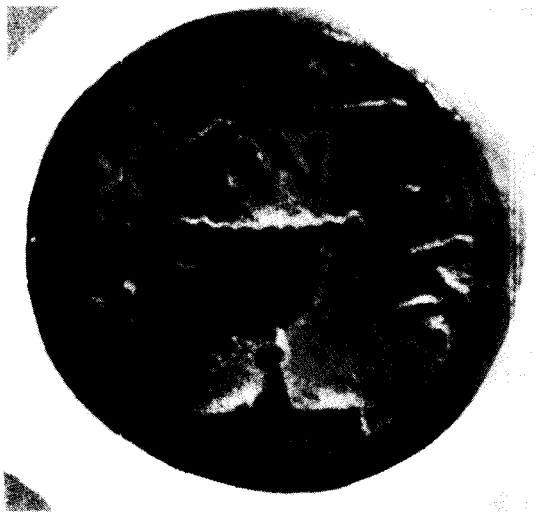
B. Identifiable Resistance Groups. 1. Brigands. Both the NT and Josephus provide evidence for the widespread activity of brigands during the period. While Josephus's account presents them as ordinary robbers with purely

mercenary motives, they are more accurately seen as a socio-political phenomenon of a type frequently found in peasant societies when the perceived injustice of the social system reaches a certain intensity. It is clear from Josephus's account that they were popular with the common people and that their brigandage was directed mainly against the ruling Jewish elite. As well as adding to the general social unrest, they made two specific contributions to the rebellion against Rome. The brigands and common people who fled to Jerusalem after the collapse of Galilee helped to overthrow the moderate revolutionary government under Ananus (*BJ* iv.3.3ff. [135ff.]). And a brigand chief, Simon bar Giora, became the dominant figure in the later stages of the war.

2. Sicarii. In contrast to the brigands, the Sicarii were a largely urban group who engaged in terrorist tactics of selective assassination, plunder of the wealthy, and kidnapping for ransom. Emerging in the time of Felix, their name derives from the short dagger (Lat. *sica*) that they used in their activity. Probably linked with Judas of Galilee through hereditary leadership and ideology ("no lord but God"), they contributed to the revolt mainly by aiding in the initial overthrow of the pro-Roman establishment in A.D. 66 (*BJ* ii.17.6-9 [425-443]). When their leader Menahem was himself assassinated, the Sicarii retreated to Masada, where they sat out the war until they fell to the Romans in A.D. 73 or 74.

3. Zealots. An identifiable Zealot party is an integral element in Josephus's narrative from the winter of A.D. 67-68 to the end of the war. Brigands from Galilee and the countryside of Judea fled to Jerusalem where, with the help of the Idumeans, they overthrew the moderate government, assassinated the high priest Ananus, and set up a revolutionary government with a new high priest chosen by lot. This Zealot party was joined for a while by John of Gischala, but it eventually broke with him and continued as a smaller rebel faction under the leadership of Eleazar son of Simon. Smith, followed by Horsley and Hanson, saw the Zealots as composed mainly of brigand refugees. But there are several reasons to believe that the group also contained a Jerusalem component with strong priestly orientation. First, Eleazar, the main Zealot leader and a priest, was a major player in the initial defeat of Cestius's Roman troops, and was thus not a refugee. Further, even before the incursion of the brigands the term "zealot" was used of the radical faction in Jerusalem in a way that suggests a party name ("so-called Zealots," *BJ* ii.22.1 [651]). It is possible that the Zealot party went through three phases: (1) a group of Jerusalem radicals with a strong element of lower-status priests, formed in reaction against the moderate party, which had excluded them from power (cf. *BJ* ii.20.3 [564]); (2) a coalition with the brigand refugees; (3) a continuing group, smaller in number, after the break with John of Gischala and his followers.

A rare coin from Year 4 of the Second Jewish Revolt (The Estate of Yigael Yadin)



4. John of Gischala. John, a prominent Galilean with highly placed Jerusalem friends, resented the appointment of Josephus as commander of Galilee and worked to undermine his authority. After the fall of Galilee he fled to Jerusalem, where he initially aligned himself with the moderate government of Ananus. Apparently desirous of power, he forged secret alliances with the Zealots, identifying with them fully once the moderate party had been overthrown. Unwilling to share power with the Zealot leaders, he broke away and formed his own group, which strove with the Zealots and with Simon bar Giora for supremacy within Jerusalem. Captured by the Romans, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

5. The Idumeans. A contingent of Idumeans played an important part in the power struggles within Jerusalem during the war. Initially invited in by the Zealots, they provided decisive assistance in the overthrow of the moderate government of Ananus. Distressed by the subsequent reign of terror, many of them returned home. Those who remained sided at first with John of Gischala, but later they joined some of the remaining chief priests in attempting to wrest control of Jerusalem from John and the Zealots by inviting Simon bar Giora into the city. The identity and motives of this group are not clear. Perhaps there was some connection with Eleazar the son of the high priest, who had precipitated the revolt by refusing to offer the usual sacrifice on behalf of the emperor, and who was later appointed commander of Idumea (*BJ* ii.20.4 [566]).

6. Simon bar Giora. This brigand chief first appears in Josephus's account in connection with the rout of Cestius's army. During the early years of the war he gained a following among the lower classes, who were attracted by his attacks on the wealthy and his promise of benefits for the poor. He was aligned with the Sicarii at Masada for a time, and his power grew until he controlled much of southern Judea and Idumea. Invited into Jerusalem, he engaged in a year-long power struggle with John and the Zealots for control of the city. During the Roman siege he demonstrated strong and disciplined leadership, and he emerged as the acknowledged commander of the defense of the city. He was executed in Rome after being put on display in Titus's triumphal parade.

C. Common Motives and Features. Despite the evident differences among the groups, there were common elements that should not be overlooked. First, much of the rebel activity appears to have had a socio-economic basis; the revolt was as much a reaction against perceived oppression by the ruling Jewish elite as it was a revolt against Roman rule. It is not incidental that one of the first acts of the Jerusalem insurgents in A.D. 66 was to destroy the debt records held in the public archives (*BJ* ii.17.6 [427]). Violence against the wealthy, the nobility, and the higher-status priestly circle was carried out by the Sicarii, the brigands, and the Zealots alike. Further, despite Josephus's obvious contempt for the rebels, it is possible

to perceive common religious motivations. All groups showed an evident concern for Torah and temple and saw themselves as acting to defend both from "contamination," confident that God would vindicate their faithfulness (e.g., *BJ* ii.16.4 [391-93]); i.e., they were motivated by the ideals of zeal. In addition, several aspects of Josephus's account — e.g., the rebels' confidence that God would come to their aid (ii.16.4 [391]; v.9.4 [403]) and the role of eschatological prophets in stirring up revolutionary fervor (ii.13.4f. [258-263]) — suggest the presence of an eschatological motivation as well: the expectation that the war would culminate in the arrival of the Kingdom.

III. Zealots and the NT.–*A. Simon the Zealot.* If the preceding analysis is correct, Simon's nickname in no way identifies him as "a member of the Zealot party" (NEB). During the time of Jesus' ministry such a party did not exist, nor was the term *zēlōtēs/qn'n'* necessarily linked with revolutionary activity. The nickname originated, undoubtedly in Christian circles, because of Simon's identification with the type of zealous adherence to Israel's tradition described in section I above. The presence of zeal language in Christian usage (Jn. 2:17; Acts 21:20) suggests that the characteristics that gave rise to the nickname were not necessarily restricted to his pre-disciple days. The precise form in which his zeal came to expression, however, is open to speculation.

B. Jesus. From the time of Reimarus down to the present (notably the work of Brandon) there have been attempts to demonstrate that Jesus, if not a Zealot, was at least in fundamental sympathy with the goals and methods of the anti-Roman rebels. The main foundations for such hypotheses are the following: (1) Jesus' execution by Rome on a charge of political sedition ("the King of the Jews"); (2) Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem, with its royal overtones, followed by an assault on the temple; (3) Jesus' identification with the common people, criticism of the wealthy, and conflict with the powerful; (4) the presence within Jesus' band of disciples of at least one "Zealot." Other aspects of Jesus' ministry are then appealed to in a secondary way, e.g., the command to procure a sword (Lk. 22:36) and the statement "not peace but a sword" (Mt. 10:34). Since there is also much in the Gospels' depiction of Jesus that does not conform to this picture, such hypotheses contend that the Gospels were written in part to disguise and conceal the true nature of Jesus' mission.

Although the discussion is still going on, it is clear to most scholars that the Zealot hypothesis cannot be sustained. (1) The strongest piece of favorable evidence is the execution of Jesus as a royal pretender. But its significance is virtually nullified by the fact that the Romans showed no interest whatsoever in rounding up Jesus' disciples or curtailing the activity of the early Church. They apparently viewed the Jesus movement as posing no military or revolutionary threat. The execution of Jesus does not in and of itself identify Him as an advocate of armed revolt. Anyone in the flammable political environment of first-century Palestine who proclaimed a kingdom, gathered crowds, and annoyed the power elite was courting death. (2) No one seriously contemplating revolution would have thought of attacking the temple, which had impregnable fortifications, with anything less than a full-scale military assault. Jesus' entry into Jerusalem and His subsequent activity in the temple are much more plausibly seen as prophetic signs than as revolutionary actions. (3) While Jesus shared the social orientation of the revolutionaries, His message — centered on a kingdom established by God, and a kingdom ethic demanding love even of enemies — cannot possibly be construed in terms of armed insurrection. (4) The argument from Simon's nickname is, as has been demonstrated, without value.

To dissociate Jesus from political revolution is not, however, to dissociate Him from Israel's zeal tradition. Like other "zealots" (cf. Jn. 2:17), He identified fully with Israel's history, plight, and hope. He was not a teacher of timeless truths who just happened to be Jewish. Rather, His mission was to announce to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" the dawning of the long awaited era of salvation. Like other exhibitors of zeal, He was willing to suffer violence and death for the sake of God's cause and even to see such suffering as having atoning value (Mk. 10:45; cf. 4 Macc. 17:20-22). Jesus' mission cannot be understood solely in terms of the zeal tradition, of course. But this tradition may serve to provide sharper definition to some facets of it.

C. Paul. Paul described his violent persecution of the Church as an act of "zeal" (Phil. 3:6), and this clearly conforms to the traditional use of the term. He felt that "the traditions of the fathers" were threatened by this movement, and as a "zealot" for those traditions (Gal. 1:13f.) he resorted to violence to defend them. The nature of the perceived threat, however, is not clear. Was the Church already admitting uncircumcised Gentiles? Were Jewish Christians criticizing Torah observance in the name of Christ? Or was the message of a crucified Messiah in itself seen as an affront to Torah (cf. Dt. 21:23; Gal. 3:13)? Since Paul's reasons for objecting to the Christian faith must be seen as the starting point for his developing theology once he became convinced that the crucified Jesus was indeed God's Messiah, an answer to this question should shed light on his subsequent thought concerning the law, the Gentiles, and the cross.

D. Jerusalem "Torah Christians." The Jerusalem church included many Christians who advocated circumcision of Gentiles (Acts 15:1; Gal. 2:3-5) and who resisted any weakening of Torah observance among Jewish Christians (Acts 21:20). With some justification, Luke calls them "zealots for the law" (Acts 21:20), but there is no evidence that their zeal included the use or advocacy of violence.

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T. L. DONALDSON

ZEBADIAH zeb-ə-dī'ə [Heb. *z^eḇaḏyāhû, z^eḇaḏyâ*–'Yahweh has given'; Gk. Apoc. *Zabdaios* (1 Esd. 9:21)]; AV Apoc. ZABDEUS; NEB Apoc. ZABDAEUS.

1. Son of Beriah; head of a Benjaminite family (1 Ch. 8:15).

2. Son of Elpaal; head of a Benjaminite family (1 Ch. 8:17).

3. Son of Jeroham of Gedor; a Benjaminite recruit of David's at Ziklag (1 Ch. 12:7 [MT 8]).

4. Third son of Meshelemiah; a gatekeeper of the Levitical family of Korah during the reign of David (1 Ch. 26:2).

5. Son and successor of Asahel as the officer in charge of one of the twelve divisions of David's army (1 Ch. 27:7).

6. One of the Levites sent by King Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the towns of Judah (2 Ch. 17:8).

7. Son of Ishmael; described as "the governor of the house of Judah" (2 Ch. 19:11), which may mean simply that he was the leading person in the tribe of Judah. He was appointed by Jehoshaphat to preside over civil cases at a court of appeal in Jerusalem.

8. Son of Michael; head of a family that returned from Babylon to Jerusalem with Ezra (Ezr. 8:8). He is called Zeraiah in 1 Esd. 8:34.

9. Son of Immer; one of the priests who divorced his foreign wife in Ezra's reform (Ezr. 10:20 par. 1 Esd. 9:21).

N. J. O.

ZEBAH zē'bə [Heb. *zeḇaḥ*–'sacrifice' or 'victim of sacrifice'] **AND ZALMUNNA** zal-mun'ə [Heb. *ṣalmunnā'*–'protection refused']. Two Midianite kings slain by Gideon in revenge for their murder of his brothers (Jgs. 8:5-21; Ps. 83:11 [MT 12]). The original Midianite names were probably distorted in the Hebrew to form word-plays alluding to the two kings' fate, i.e., abandonment by their god. The first element in "Zalmunna" (*ṣalm*) may represent the name of an Arabic deity; cf. the name *ṣlmšzb* ("Salm has delivered"), which was discovered in a north Arabian inscription at Teima.

Zebah and Zalmunna were presumably the leaders of the camel-riding bedouin who had been making raids on Israelite farms for seven years (Jgs. 6:1-6). (*See also* MIDIAN.) The story of their encounter with GIDEON follows the account of Gideon's successful surprise attack on the Midianites with a band of only three hundred Israelite warriors (7:19-25). Pursuing the two kings and the remnant of the Midianite army (which according to 8:10 had been reduced from 135,000 to 15,000), Gideon and his men crossed the Jordan and requested supplies from the elders of Succoth and Penuel (8:4-9). These officials refused, probably because of fear of Midianite reprisals, saying sarcastically: "Are the palms of Zebah and Zalmunna already in your hand, that we should give bread to your army?" (v. 6). The RSV and NEB emend the MT *hᵃḵap* ("the palm") to the interrogative particle *ha'ap*; but the MT should probably be retained (so AV) in the light of evidence from Egypt and Râs Shamrah that the hands of captured enemies were often cut off as a trophy of victory (see Nötscher; Gray, p. 295).

Vowing vengeance against Succoth and Penuel, Gideon and his famished soldiers continued their pursuit and caught the Midianite army off guard at Karkor (8:10f.). Taking Zebah and Zalmunna with him as captives, Gideon returned to carry out his retribution against Succoth and Penuel (vv. 12-17).

Gideon then addressed himself to avenging the murder of his brothers (8:18-21). The words of Zebah and Zalmunna in vv. 18, 21 show them to have been proud warriors who were ready to meet their death. Gideon offered his son Jether the privilege of avenging his uncles' death, but the boy shrank from the task, sparing Zebah and Zalmunna the ignominy of having been slain by a boy. Instead they died an honorable death at the hands of Gideon himself.

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N. J. O.

ZEBAIM zə-bā'əm (AV Ezr. 2:57; Neh. 7:59). *See* POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

ZEBEDEE [Gk. *Zebedaios* < Aram. *zaḇday*; Heb. *zᵉḇaḏyā*–'gift of Yah(weh)'] (Mt. 4:21 par.; 10:2 par.; 20:20 par.; 26:37; 27:56; Jn. 21:2). A Galilean fisherman; the father of James and John, two of Jesus' twelve disciples. Zebedee and his sons were partners with Peter and Andrew in the fishing trade (Lk. 5:10). The fragmentary Gospel of the Nazarenes (fol. 35ʳ; see H-S. I, 152) calls him a "poor" fisherman, but the reference to hired servants in Mk. 1:20 suggests that more likely he was fairly well-to-do. There is no record that he protested his sons' decision to leave the business and follow Jesus.

The close parallelism between Mt. 27:56 and Mk. 15:40 suggests that the "mother of the sons of Zebedee" was Salome, although the mention by both Gospels of other unnamed women at the cross makes this equation less than certain. If it is accepted, then Salome was Zebedee's wife. The parallel in John (19:25) refers to a sister of Jesus' mother, and some have equated her with Zebedee's wife as well; in this event Zebedee would have been an uncle of Jesus by marriage. But in light of the many differences between John's Gospel and the Synoptics, this additional equation is more dubious.

See also JAMES, 1; JOHN THE APOSTLE.

C. L. BLOMBERG

ZEBIDAH zə-bī'də, zeb'i-də [Heb. *K zᵉḇîḏâ, Q zᵉḇûḏâ*–'gifted']; AV ZEBUDAH. Daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah, and mother of King Jehoiakim (2 K. 23:36). In 2 Ch. 36:5 the MT lacks the name, but the LXX has Gk. *Zechōra*, which in Hebrew would be *zᵉḵûrâ* (Heb. *k* is easily confused with *b*, and *r* with *d*). This fact, and also the occurrence of the masculine form *zāḇûḏ* (*see* ZABUD), suggest that the *qere* (Zebudah) may be the preferred form.

ZEBINAH zə-bī'nə [Aram. *zᵉḇînā'*–'bought' (i.e., a child bought from his parents)]. Son of Nebo; one of those who divorced their foreign wives in the reform of Ezra (Ezr. 10:43). The name does not appear in 1 Esd. 9:35.

See *IP*, p. 231.

ZEBOIIM [Heb. *ṣᵉḇōyim, ṣᵉḇōyyim, ṣᵉḇō'yim*] (Gen. 10:19; 14:2, 8; Dt. 29:23 [MT 22]; Hos. 11:8); AV also ZEBOIM; NEB ZEBOYIM. One of the five CITIES OF THE VALLEY. In Gen. 10:19 Zeboiim and the other four cities are listed as defining the southeastern boundary of Canaan. In the time of Abraham, Shemeber king of Zeboiim joined his four fellow kings in an abortive rebellion against a Mesopotamian coalition led by Chedorlaomer king of Elam (14:1-12). Later Yahweh destroyed Zeboiim along with Sodom, Gomorrah, and Admah in a fiery overthrow (19:24-29). Both Moses (Dt. 29:23 [MT 22] and Hosea (Hos. 11:8) cited Zeboiim as an example of Yahweh's judgment. Its precise site is unknown, but it was likely S or SE of the Dead Sea. *See* SIDDIM, VALLEY OF.

D. M. HOWARD, JR.

ZEBOIM zə-bō'əm [Heb. *ṣᵉḇō'îm*–'hyenas'].

1. A Benjaminite town occupied after the return from the Exile, listed between Hadid and Neballat (Neh.

11:34). Khirbet Sabieh in the maritime plain N of Lydda has been suggested as a possible site of this town.

2. A valley located in Benjamin NE of Jerusalem and SE of Michmash. A company of Philistine raiders followed a route overlooking this valley (1 S. 13:18). Several valleys are named after the hyena; most are associated with the Wâdī Qelt and its tributaries. The Wâdī Abū Dabā', "Valley of the Father of the Hyenas," and the Sheikh ed-Dabā', "Ravine of the Hyenas," both join the Wâdī Qelt. Running parallel to the Wâdī Qelt is the Wâdī Dabā', "Valley of the Hyenas." The exact location of the biblical reference is unknown though Sheikh ed-Dabā' is most probable. K. L. C. R. BURTON

ZEBUDAH zə-bōō'də (2 K. 23:36, AV). *See* ZEBIDAH.

ZEBUL zē'bul [Heb. *z^ebûl*–'exalted,' 'lord' (?); Gk. *Zeboul*] (Jgs. 9:28, 30, 36, 38, 41). The deputy of Abimelech the son of Gideon at Shechem. After murdering his half-brothers, Abimelech had had himself made "king" of the city-state of Shechem and its territory. Abimelech himself lived at Arumah (Jgs. 9:31, 41), and Zebul governed Shechem as his *pāqîḏ* ("officer," v. 28) or *śar-hā'îr* ("ruler of the city," v. 30; cf. the same title, rendered "governor of the city," in 1 K. 22:26 par. 2 Ch. 18:25; 2 K. 23:8; 2 Ch. 34:8).

When a certain Gaal and his clan moved into Shechem and fomented rebellion against Abimelech, Zebul informed his master of the sedition and suggested a plan for drawing Gaal and his followers into combat in the open fields (Jgs. 9:26-33). Following Zebul's plan, Abimelech came by night and concealed his troops in the fields near the city. The next morning they arose from their ambush and advanced toward the city. Gaal spotted the troops and reported his discovery to Zebul, but the latter attributed their distant movements to Gaal's imagination (vv. 35f.). When they had approached closer however, and Gaal could see that they were coming from different directions, Zebul taunted him by reminding him of his previous boasts against Abimelech (vv. 37f.); thus Gaal was compelled to go out and fight or lose face with the Shechemites. The rebels were routed in the ensuing battle, and Gaal was forced to flee for his life. Thus Gaal and his clan were banished from Shechem, and Zebul continued to govern the city as Abimelech's deputy (v. 41). N. J. O.

ZEBULONITE zeb'yə-lə-nīt (AV Nu. 26:27; Jgs. 12:11f.). *See* ZEBULUNITE.

ZEBULUN zeb'ū-lən [Heb. *z^ebûlûn*; Gk. *Zaboulōn*]; AV NT ZABULON (Mt. 4:13, 15; Rev. 7:8). The tenth son of Jacob, the sixth borne by Leah in Paddan-aram; and the tribe named for him. Gen. 30:20 suggests two derivations of the name: Leah exclaims, "God has endowed [*zāḇaḏ*] me with a good dowry"; now my husband will honor [*zāḇal*] me."

I. The Patriarch.–Nothing is known of this patriarch's life, except insofar as it coincides with that of his brothers. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan says that he was first of the five brothers presented to Pharaoh by Joseph when Israel and his house arrived in Egypt (Gen. 47:2). Three sons, Sered, Elon, and Jahleel, were born to Zebulun in Canaan and went to Egypt with him during the famine; these became the ancestors of the three main divisions of the tribe (46:14).

II. The Tribe.–The position of Zebulun in the wilderness was E of the tabernacle, next to Issachar in the division of Judah (Nu. 2:7). This division led the march (v. 9). At the first census Zebulun numbered 57,400 men of war (1:30); the leader of the tribe was Eliab the son of Helon (2:9). At the second census the men of war numbered 60,500 (26:27); but *see* NUMBERS, BOOK OF III. Zebulun was represented among the spies by Gaddiel son of Sodi (13:10). Elizaphan the son of Parnach was the Zebulunite chosen to assist in the division of the land (34:25). During the covenant renewal ceremony at Shechem, Zebulun (the descendants of Leah's youngest son) stood with Reuben (whose personal disgrace [Gen. 35:22] attached to his tribe) and the tribes descended from Jacob's concubine to hear the curses, while the other six tribes, who traced their descent to Rachel and Leah, stood on Mt. Gerizim for the blessing (Dt. 27:12f.).

III. Its Territory.–At the second division of territory the lot of Zebulun came up third, and the tribe was assigned a beautifully diversified stretch of country in the north (Josh. 19:10-16). Although the general area of its possession is clear enough, the boundaries cannot be defined exactly. According to S. Yeivin two lists have been combined, as in the case of other tribes' allotments: one describes the boundaries, the other lists the towns within the territory. The northwestern part of the Valley of Esdraelon was, in any case, within the territory, as was the western part of southern lower Galilee. An important town on the southern border of Zebulun was Sarid (Tell Shadûd). From there the border ran W toward the lower course of the Kishon in the direction of Jokneam (Tell Qeimûn); and E from Sarid the border ran toward Chesulloth (modern Iksâl) and Daberath (Debûriyeh) up to Mt. Tabor. From there it turned N to Japhia and then, in a broad easterly sweep, to Gath-hepher (which Yeivin identified with the village of Mašad). From there the border ran to Rimmon in the Valley of Netophâh and then to Hannathon (Tell el-Bedeiwîyeh) at the western end of the valley. The western border is not mentioned at all in the OT.

Zebulun's territory is said to have included twelve towns (v. 15); since only five are mentioned, part of the list must have been lost.

See also TRIBES, TERRITORIES OF THE.

IV. Its Later History.–Elon the judge is the only Israelite leader from the tribe of Zebulun of whom there is any record (Jgs. 12:11f.). But the Zebulunites were brave and skillful in war, and for the battle against Sisera they provided, according to the Song of Deborah, "those who bear the marshal's staff" (5:14). They sent fifty thousand dedicated, experienced, and well-equipped warriors, to David at Hebron (1 Ch. 12:33); and from their rich land they brought stores of provisions (v. 40). The tribe's chief officer in David's time was Ishmaiah son of Obadiah (27:19). By Hezekiah's time the Zebulunites had fallen away from God, but some of them responded to the king's summons and went to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (2 Ch. 30:10f., 18f.). Although Zebulun is not named in 2 K. 15:29, its people were probably taken captive with those of Naphtali in the invasion of Tiglath-pileser.

In intertestamental times the men from these breezy uplands lent strength and enterprise to the Jewish armies. Jotapata (Khirbet Jefât), the scene of Josephus's heroic defense, was in Zebulun, as was Sepphoris (Ṣaffûriyeh), which for a time was the capital of Galilee (Josephus *Ant.* xviii.2.1 [27]; *BJ* vii; iii.2.4 [30-34]). Nazareth, Jesus' boyhood home, is sheltered among the lower hills of Zebulun.

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A. Alt, *PJ*, 21 (1925), 42 n. 4; 22 (1926), 59ff.; *ZAW*, 45 (1927), 59-81; 25 (1929), 39ff.; M. Noth, *ZDPV*, 58 (1935), 215-230; *Das Buch Josua* (1938), pp. 84ff.; *GP*, II, 62ff.; S. Yeivin, *Encyclopedia Miqraith*, II (1954), cols. 695-900 (in Hebrew).

A. A. SAARISALO

ZEBULUNITE zeb'yə-lə-nīt [Heb. *hazzᵉḇûlōnî*] (Nu. 26:27; Jgs. 12:11f.); AV ZEBULONITE. A member of the tribe of ZEBULUN.

ZECHARIAH zek-ə-rī'ə [Heb. *zᵉḵaryâ, zᵉḵaryāhû*–'Yahweh remembers'; Gk. *Zacharias*]; AV also ZACHARIAH (2 K. 14:29; 15:8-12), Apoc. and NT ZACHARIAS, ZACHARY (2 Esd. 1:40); NEB Apoc. also ZACHARIAS.

1. Son of Jeroboam II (2 K. 14:29), and king of Israel for six months during the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (Uzziah) king of Judah (15:8). His reign was characterized by a continuation of his father's practices (v. 9) at a time when the southern kingdom was enjoying a partially righteous reign (cf. vv. 3f.). Zechariah was assassinated by the usurper Shallum son of Jabesh (v. 10). As foretold to Jehu (10:30) and threatened by Amos during the days of Jeroboam II (Am. 7:8f.), Zechariah was the fifth and last king in the line of Jehu (2 K. 15:12). R. J. WAY

2. The father of Abi the mother of King Hezekiah (2 K. 18:2 par. 2 Ch. 29:1).

3. Head of a Reubenite family (1 Ch. 5:7).

4. First son of Meshelemiah; a Korahite Levite appointed by King David to serve as gatekeeper at the entrance of the tent of meeting (1 Ch. 9:21; 26:2). In 26:14 he is called "a shrewd counselor."

5. A Benjaminite (1 Ch. 9:37). In a parallel list in 8:31 he is called Zecher.

6. A Levite appointed by David to play the harp before the ark of the Lord as it was brought to Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:18, 20) and later when it was stationed in the tabernacle (16:5).

7. A priest appointed to blow the trumpet before the ark as it was brought to Jerusalem (1 Ch. 15:24).

8. A Levite, son of Isshiah (1 Ch. 24:25).

9. Fourth son of Hosah; a Merarite Levite appointed by King David to serve as a gatekeeper at the house of the Lord (1 Ch. 26:11).

10. A Manassite of Gilead; father of Iddo (1 Ch. 27:21).

11. One of the lay officials ("princes") sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the town of Judah (2 Ch. 17:7).

12. A Levite of the family of Asaph; son of Benaiah and father of Jahaziel who prophesied in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20:14).

13. Fourth son of King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 21:2). He and his other brothers were granted cities and treasures by Jehoshaphat, but they were all slain by their oldest brother Jehoram when the latter ascended to the throne (vv. 3f.).

14. Son of Jehoiada the priest. During the reign of King Joash he was led by the Spirit of God to rebuke the people publicly for their apostasy. As a result of this he was stoned by the people at Joash's command (2 Ch. 24:20f.). As Zechariah was dying he called upon the Lord to "see and avenge" (v. 22). His death was avenged by two servants who assassinated Joash (vv. 25f.). As 2 Chronicles is the last book of the Hebrew OT, Zechariah was regarded as the last of the OT martyrs. In Mt. 23:35 par. Lk. 11:51 Jesus cites Zechariah as one of the martyrs for whose blood the scribes and Pharisees (who were in Jesus' day rejecting and murdering those sent by God) would be judged. In Mt. 23:35 the words "son of Barachiah" may have been a marginal note that at some point became incorporated into the text (based on a mistaken identification with the postexilic prophet [see **19** below]; cf. Zec. 1:1); or they may represent a conflation by Matthew of the two Zechariahs for literary-theological reasons (cf. the citation of Zec. 11:12f. in Mt. 27:3-10; see R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Comm. on His Literary and Theological Art* [1982], p. 471).

15. A man who instructed King Uzziah "in the fear of the Lord" in the early years of Uzziah's reign (2 Ch. 26:5); probably a prophet. As long as he followed Zechariah's instruction, the king prospered.

16. A Levite of the line of Asaph who assisted in the cleansing of the temple in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29:13).

17. A Kohathite Levite who was one of the overseers in the repair of the temple under King Josiah (2 Ch. 34:12).

18. One of three high-ranking priests who donated animals for the celebration of the Passover during the reign of Josiah (2 Ch. 35:8; 1 Esd. 1:8).

19. A postexilic prophet, contemporary with Zerubbabel and the prophet Haggai (1 Esd. 7:3; 2 Esd. 1:40). He was a grandson of Iddo (Ezr. 5:1; 6:14; and 1 Esd. 6:1 call him the "son of Iddo," but "son" often means "descendant") and the son of Berechiah (Zec. 1:1, 7). If, as seems likely, this Iddo is the same person who is listed as head of a family of priests who returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:4), then Zechariah was a priest as well as a prophet (v. 16). His recorded prophetic activity took place during the reign of Darius I (Zec. 7:1, 8). (On Mt. 23:35, see **14** above.) *See* ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.

20. Son or descendant of Parosh; head of a family that returned from exile with Ezra (Ezr. 8:3; 1 Esd. 8:30).

21. Son or descendant of Bebai; head of another family that returned from exile with Ezra (Ezr. 8:11; 1 Esd. 8:37).

22. One of the "leading men" sent by Ezra to obtain Levites from Casiphia (Ezr. 8:16; 1 Esd. 8:44); probably the same as **24**, and possibly the same as **20** or **21**.

23. A layman of the family of Elam; one of those who divorced their foreign wives in the reform of Ezra (Ezr. 10:26; 1 Esd. 9:27).

24. One of the men who stood at Ezra's left hand at the public reading of the law (Neh. 8:4; 1 Esd. 9:44); probably the same as **22.**

25. A Judahite, son of Amariah; ancestor of a family that lived in Jerusalem after the Exile (Neh. 11:4).

26. Another Judahite, son of "the Shilonite"; ancestor of a family that lived in Jerusalem after the Exile (Neh. 11:5).

27. Son of Pashhur; a priest, some of whose descendants lived in Jerusalem after the Exile (Neh. 11:12).

28. Son of Jonathan and descendant of Asaph; a Levite who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 12:35).

29. A priest who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:41).

30. Son of Jeberechiah; one of two "reliable witnesses" called upon by Isaiah to attest the time at which he disclosed the name Maher-shalal-hash-baz (Isa. 8:2), so that when its message proved true they could support the prophet's claim to have foretold the defeat of Syria and Ephraim (cf. Dt. 18:22).

31. The name of one of the three leaders of the temple singers, according to 1 Esd. 1:15. In 2 Ch. 35:15 (cf. also 1 Ch. 15:17; 25:1; 2 Ch. 5:12) he is called HEMAN (**1**).

32. Father of the Joseph who was one of the commanders of the Maccabean forces (1 Macc. 5:18, 56).

N. J. O.

ZECHARIAH (NT) zek-ə-rī'ə [Gk. *Zacharias*].

1. The father of John the Baptist. Zechariah appears exclusively in Luke's nativity account as the first person to witness the dawn of the messianic age (Lk. 1:5, 12f., 18, 21, 40, 59, 67). His image recalls that of the elderly Elkanah and Hannah, who gave birth to the prophet Samuel at an advanced age (1 S. 1). Zechariah and his wife Elizabeth are similarly older and without child; but God promises them a son whose name will be John. As Samuel anointed Israel's King Saul (1 S. 10:1) and King David (16:13), so John will anoint Israel's messianic king (Lk. 3:15-22).

The organization of priests in the 1st cent. followed the OT order of twenty-four families (1 Ch. 24:7-18). Even though only four of these families returned from the Exile (Ezr. 2:36-39), Nehemiah implies that the twenty-four OT names and divisions were reinstituted (Neh. 12:1-7). Hence Zechariah was of the eighth division (called "Abijah," Lk. 1:5), which like the other divisions served the temple for one week every six months. (Jeremias estimates that there was a total of 18,000 priests and Levites in first-century Jerusalem [*Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Eng. tr. 1969), pp. 200f.].)

Lots were cast among the priests to select who would burn the twice daily incense offering on the golden altar within the inner temple (cf. Ex. 30:1-10; 37:25-29; 1 Macc. 1:21; 4:49; Mish. *Tamid* iii.6, 9; vi.3). Zechariah was chosen. While he was serving at the altar, an angel (later identified as Gabriel, Lk. 1:19) appeared to him revealing that God had heard his prayers and that he and Elizabeth would have a son named John. The song of Gabriel in Lk. 1:14-17 indicates John's character ("filled with the Holy Spirit," and "great before the Lord" [v. 15]) and his task of preparing the people in the power of Elijah.

Zechariah was incredulous at all of this and sought a sign to confirm the reality of the promise (1:18), which Gabriel provided: the priest was struck dumb for the duration of Elizabeth's pregnancy (1:20). This judgment on Zechariah was fulfilled, to the amazement of those who greeted him when he left the temple.

Following Elizabeth's conception of John (1:24) and the visit of Mary (1:39), Luke recorded John's birth (1:57). On the eighth day it was customary to circumcise a boy (Gen. 17:12) and in Hellenistic times the child was also given a name that was the same as that of his father or grandfather. Elizabeth and Zechariah employed a new name and broke with custom. In fact, once Zechariah publicly embraced the instructions of Gabriel ("His name is John," 1:63), his silence was lifted. The "fear" of the crowds (1:65) is a typical reaction in Luke to God's intervention (cf. 5:26; 7:16; 8:25, 37). In this case God removed Elizabeth's barrenness in her old age as well as loosened Zechariah's tongue. Zechariah's first audible words were a hymn of praise (1:67-79) extolling God for His saving visitation.

Zechariah appears in the apocryphal Protoevangelium of James (chs. 23–24) in an interesting passage where he is slain in the temple forecourt as a result of Herod's wrath. But this story is a conflation of the Zechariah of Lk. 1 with the OT reference in 11:51 (see below). (Christian tradition has sometimes identified Zechariah's tomb in Jerusalem's Kidron Valley, but this is a 2nd cent. B.C. tomb of the priestly family of the Bene Hezir.)

2. The son of Jehoiada. Matthew and Luke record detailed criticisms that Jesus voiced against the Jewish authorities during His ministry. Jesus denounced the crimes of murder in Israel, which spilled "righteous blood" whenever God's messengers spoke. As an illustration he referred to "Zechariah . . . , whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar" (Mt. 23:35; Lk. 11:51). The story comes from 2 Ch. 22–24. During the reign of King Joash, the high priest's son (Zechariah, son of Jehoiada) was filled with the Spirit and as a result denounced the apostasy and disobedience of the people. Zechariah was killed on the instigation of the king; but since Jehoiada had originally aided Joash's accession to power (ch. 23), the priest avenged the death of his son by taking Joash's life (24:25).

For Jesus this was a poignant reminder of God's judgment upon sin, especially the sin of Jerusalem, which murders God's messengers. The judgment upon Joash will be the judgment of Jerusalem: it too will be destroyed (Mt. 24). (Matthew calls Zechariah "the son of Barachiah," thus making the martyr the postexilic minor prophet [see Zec. 1:1]. Jesus' illustration, however, is clearly from 2 Ch. 24. Some have resolved this historical problem by identifying Zechariah as the "son of Baruch," who was killed in the temple by Zealots in A.D. 67 [Josephus *BJ* iv.5.4 (334-344)]. Thus the murders of Judaism are chronicled up to contemporary times. But this solution is not compelling.)

G. M. BURGE

ZECHARIAH zek-ə-rī'ə, **BOOK OF.** The next-to-last book of the Minor Prophets.

I. Title
II. Historical Background
III. Contents
IV. Composition
V. Character
VI. Place in the Canon
VII. Text
VIII. Message
IX. Zechariah in the NT

I. Title.–The book is named after the prophet Zechariah, who prophesied after the Exile. In Zec. 1:1, 7 he is called "the son of Berechiah" and grandson of Iddo. This is probably the same Iddo who is listed among the priests who returned with Zerubbabel in 536 B.C. (Neh. 12:4, 16); if so, Zechariah was both priest and prophet, like Ezekiel and Jeremiah. In Ezr. 5:1; Neh. 12:16 Zechariah is called the son of Iddo rather than his grandson; but this is not contradictory to Zec. 1:1, since the expression "son of" is sometimes used for a descendant rather than an actual son.

II. Historical Background.–Two definite dates are mentioned in connection with Zechariah's prophesying, namely, the second year of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, 520 B.C. (1:1, 7), and the fourth year of his reign, 518 (7:1). It is probable, however, that the prophet was active before 520 and long after 518.

The book of Zechariah is best understood in its historical context. In 538 B.C. (eighteen years before Zechariah's recorded prophecy) the mighty and glorious kingdom of the Babylonians was destroyed by Cyrus (Heb. *kôreš*, Isa. 45:1) the Great. Uninterested in ruling his people, Nabonidus king of Babylon had given the responsibility to his son Bel-shar-usur (called Belshazzar in Daniel). Babylon was taken without any major military operation because of the weakness of its rulers. The new king, Cyrus, was tolerant toward the religions of other nations, especially those who had been oppressed. Some scholars have suggested that the Jews were allowed to return in order to strengthen Palestine against Egypt and to form a buffer state. Meanwhile the Persian king gained control over almost the entire Near East. Cyrus died in 528, possibly of a wound inflicted by nomads during a campaign.

He was succeeded by his son Cambyses II. Cambyses was not nearly as successful as his father. He lacked Cyrus's strong personality and magnanimity, and had he not reigned so briefly he would have destroyed the Persian

empire. His greatest achievement was defeating Psammetichus III of Egypt and occupying that country. But this action was contrary to the usually tolerant Persian policy, and it was never forgotten or forgiven by the Egyptians. As a result of his cruel policy, the Egyptians continually tried to overthrow the Persian overlords.

During Cambyses's reign the situation was no better at home. He murdered his brother Bardiya (Smerdis) but kept the deed secret. After he went to Egypt resentment grew at home. A Magian named Gaumata arose, claiming to be Bardiya, and gained popular support. A rebellion started Mar. 11, 522. Afterward Cambyses died, but, according to the chronicle of Darius, confessed on his deathbed to his brother's murder, hoping thereby to unmask the pretender and ensure that the new king would come from the ranks of the Achaemenians. His hopes were not in vain. A young officer named Darius returned to Persia from Egypt and killed Gaumata in a carefully planned conspiracy. Darius, who was somehow linked to the family of Cambyses, succeeded in gaining control on Sept. 29, 522.

The change of ruler caused widespread confusion, for only two satraps were loyal to Darius. Media formed its own government; Parsa, homeland of Darius, became unfaithful; and Elam declared its independence. Darius turned against Babylon, which had rebelled under the so-called Nebuchadnezzar III (Nidintu-Bel), and defeated the rebels on Dec. 18, 522. Early in 521 he was in control of the entire empire. Later that year another Babylonian pretender tried to gain control, but he was defeated and the rebel leaders were impaled.

This situation and the accompanying confusion aroused new hopes of liberty among the smaller nations. To the returned Jews at Jerusalem it gave new hope for accomplishing the rebuilding of the temple, which had been interrupted. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah played a very important role in kindling enthusiasm for this work. The whole episode of the building and the protest of the governor of the western part of the kingdom are vividly described in Ezr. 5–6. When the original document of Cyrus was found, Darius commanded the governor to withdraw his accusation (Ezr. 6:6f.; cf. F. Rundgren, *ZAW*, 70 [1958], 213). The Jews were allowed to continue their work, and in the sixth year of Darius (516/15) they completed it. Zechariah's night vision played a particularly important role in this outstanding accomplishment.

This historical background throws some light on the first part of Zechariah, chs. 1–8; but the second part, 9–14, is very difficult to associate with any definite period, as will be shown.

III. Contents.—The prophecies of Zechariah can be subdivided in three sections: chs. 1–8, 9–11, and 12–14.

A. Chs. 1–8. 1. General Introduction (1:1-6). These verses issue a special message of repentance to the Jews. According to 1:1, Zechariah delivered it in the eighth month of the second year of Darius, i.e., 520 B.C.

2. Eight Visions of the Night (1:7–6:15). The date attached to this part is the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Darius — three months after the first prophecies and two months after the cornerstone of the temple had been laid (1:7; cf. Hag. 2:18). All these visions encourage the people to rebuild the temple.

a. The Four Horsemen and the Man Among the Myrtle Trees (1:7-17). In this first vision the horsemen announce that the world is at peace (in 520). But this is not a promising message, because Jerusalem is still oppressed. The comforting news, however, is that Yahweh is again turning to Jerusalem in compassion and the temple will be built (v. 16).

b. The Four Horns and Four Smiths (1:18-21 [MT 2:1-4]). The horns symbolize the world powers that carried the Jews into exile. The smiths are sent by God to destroy these powers.

c. Man with a Measuring Line (2:1-5 [MT 5-9]); Appendix (2:6-13 [MT 10-17]). The vision of a man with a measuring line indicates that Jerusalem will be rebuilt. No wall is necessary because the Lord Himself will protect the inhabitants (cf. also Dt. 32:10). The second part of the vision can be subdivided into two parts: vv. 6-9, which refer to the Exile and the impending punishment of Judah's oppressors; and vv. 10-13, which promise that the Lord will dwell in the midst of His people as soon as the temple is built.

d. Trial of Joshua the High Priest (3:1-10). In the fourth vision Joshua the high priest, with filthy garments indicating his sins and those of his people, is accused by Satan and acquitted by the Lord.

e. The Lampstand and the Two Olive Trees (4:1-14). This vision can be subdivided into three parts: vv. 1-5, which give the vision of the lampstand and two olive trees, referring to the restoration of the temple service; vv. 6-10, which show that nothing will stop Zerubbabel from rebuilding the temple; and vv. 11-14, in which the prophet is told that the vision refers to the two anointed ones (generally thought to be Zerubbabel and Joshua).

f. The Flying Scroll (5:1-4). The outsized scroll announces that sinners will be cut off from Judah.

g. The Woman in the Ephah (5:5-11). The woman, symbolizing the nation's sins, is carried away to Babylon, the seat of sins.

h. The Four Chariots (6:1-8). This vision stands in close connection with the first. The difference is that the horses return in the first vision, while the chariots do not.

3. Miscellaneous Prophecies and Historical Events (6:9–8:23). a. Coronation of Joshua (6:9-15). The crowning of the high priest symbolizes the beginning of the messianic age and the rebuilding of the temple.

b. True Righteousness Superior to Fasting (ch. 7). In 7:1 a new date is given, the fourth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Darius, thus 518 B.C. A historical exposition of Jewish history stresses that unrighteousness will be punished. Zechariah delivered this message after a deputation came to the priests and prophets to ask about fasting over the fallen city and the ruined temple.

c. Promise of Glorious Blessings (8:1-23). This prophecy sketches a glorious future for the remnant of Israel. When the messianic age dawns on Judah and Jerusalem, there will be manifold blessings (vv. 1-17). Then the Jews will hold their fasts in great joy and the heathen will join them in seeking the Lord (vv. 18-23).

B. Chs. 9–11. 1. God's Judgment on the Nations N and W of Judah (9:1-8).

2. The Messianic Kingdom and the King's Triumphant Procession (9:9-17).

3. God Alone the Giver of Rain (10:1f.).

4. The Triumphant Deliverance and Return from Exile (10:3–11:3). These verses emphasize that God's anger is turned against the oppressors of Israel. 11:1-3 describes their fall.

5. Good and Bad Shepherds (11:4-17). In symbolic words and acts, this enigmatic passage prophesies the judgment of God's unfaithful people.

C. Chs. 12–14. 1. Future Deliverance and Blessing (12:1-14). In the far future enemies of God's people will march against Jerusalem, but God will obliterate them (cf. Ezk. 38–39).

2. The Rooting Out of Idolatry and False Prophecy (13:1-6).

3. National Purification (13:7-9). The death of the shepherd (leader) will lead to the scattering of but a faithful remnant will remain.

4. Last Battle of the Host of Yahweh (14:1-21). Foreign nations will march against Jerusalem on "a day of the Lord," but they will be defeated by God. The people of God will live in peace in Jerusalem, and other nations will come to celebrate with them the Feast of Tabernacles.

IV. Composition.–Most modern scholars do not regard Zechariah as a unity. Only the first part, chs. 1–8, is commonly ascribed to the propeht Zechariah son of Berechiah. Some scholars have thought that a redactor contributed to this part, but this is very difficult to prove. Both 1:1 and 7:1 ascribe the prophecies of this part to Zechariah.

The real difficulty lies with the second part, chs. 9–14. Mt. 27:9 quotes Zec. 11:12f. but attributes the passage to Jeremiah. This point was noticed by J. Mede (1586-1638), who ascribed the whole of the second part to Jeremiah. At the end of the 19th cent. this view was commonly accepted (e.g., by F. Hitzig, S. Davidson, C. A. Bruston, C. von Orelli, H. L. Strack), on the grounds that the great powers of Egypt and Assyria are frequently mentioned and that the northern kingdom seems still to have existed. The theory is still advocated by a few scholars (see *SQE*, no. 335, lines 15f.).

In 1824 J. G. Eichhorn, the famous critical scholar of the OT, wrote that 9:1-8 might refer to the conquest of Alexander the Great (*Einl. in das AT* [1824], pp. 444ff.). This view was not immediately accepted. In the first issue of *ZAW* (1881/82) B. Stade demonstrated that the second part of Zechariah must definitely be placed after Ezekiel; this assumption led to the commonly accepted view that chs. 9–14 are much later than 1–8. But there is considerable variety of opinion about the exact date of chs. 9–14. Proposals include the days of Alexander the Great, the wars of the Diadochi, the Ptolemaic period in Palestine, the time of Antiochus the Great's invasion of Palestine, and the age of the Maccabees. The dates range, therefore, from 330 to 166. The latter date, 166, commonly accepted by scholars, is very improbable because already in 190 B.C. Sirach (49:10) wrote of the Book of the Twelve (Minor Prophets). This illustrates how dangerous it is to make any far-reaching conclusions from vague expressions in certain chapters.

Some scholars have dated 9:1-12 to the time of Alexander the Great's siege of Tyre. According to C. C. Torrey, an event of such importance must have left some impression on the literature of the OT. But this argument does not prove the point, because many important events in world history are never mentioned in the OT, although contemporaneous with the writers. Since scholars have disagreed on the dating of almost every part of chs. 9–14, possibly the utterances are from anonymous persons and were affixed to the book of Zechariah later. But such assumptions can hardly be based on internal evidence, because no definite historical event is mentioned in these chapters.

Some arguments for certain dates are built on stylistic and linguistic differences. But the short and fragmentary character of the various utterances makes final conclusions difficult. Moreover, some places use the idiom of apocalyptic writings, which is difficult, strange, and basically the same over a long period; thus drawing conclusions from the cryptic allusions in this literature is very dangerous.

It is far better to abstain from hypotheses on a possible date for these utterances. They might postdate Zechariah, or possibly they were written by Zechariah after he recorded the prophecies of the first part. There is some connection in style between 6:9–8:23 and the second part. Zechariah may have written the second part in two consecutive sections: first chs. 9–11, and then chs. 12–14. It is also possible that Zechariah used earlier prophecies, e.g., those of Jeremiah, and blended them with his own. This assertion lacks proof, however, and a definite conclusion must await the discovery of new evidence.

V. Character.–Zechariah is one of the few OT books with definite apocalyptic characteristics. Various visions are described in other prophetic books, but Zechariah's eight night visions must be regarded as unique. They are written in language that is symbolic and sometimes almost cryptic. There are horses with different colors, an outsized book or scroll, an ephah, a mysterious lampstand, and two olive trees; sometimes an explanation is offered, but sometimes it is withheld. All these visions symbolize important expectations. The symbolism is artificial, however, as is common in apocalyptic literature. Frequent reference is made to angels, and the role of an interpreting angel is especially emphasized; these features are common in later apocalyptic literature. Zechariah differs from apocalyptic literature, however, in that Babylonian and Persian influences are almost completely absent (see Rignell's convincing illustration). Mythological material is also sparse.

When Zechariah is compared with other apocalyptic literature, it is obvious that this book had a very great influence on the formation of the apocalyptic tradition. Zec. 1–8 originated in a time of uncertainty and danger for the Jewish nation. The Jews did not know what attitude they might expect from Darius, the new king. Thus it was better to speak in symbols than in unambiguous terms; most other apocalyptic literature, significantly, also originated in dangerous times (e.g., Daniel).

VI. Place in the Canon.–Zechariah forms part of the Twelve Minor Prophets (Heb. *śᵉnê ʿāśār*), which are the fourth collection in the Latter Prophets. The order in the Greek Bible is different from that in the Hebrew Bible, which is roughly chronological but by no means accurate. The place of Zechariah in both the LXX and MT is the same: it comes after Haggai and is the second to last of the Minor Prophets.

VII. Text.–There are no major difficulties with the text and versions of the book of Zechariah. The text of the Twelve Minor Prophets discovered in the caves of Wâdī Murabbaʿât near the Dead Sea is unfortunately quite mutilated, and Zechariah is represented only by the beginnings of six lines up to 1:4. The consistent characteristic of this damaged scroll is its close affinity to the MT, as F. M. Cross pointed out (*Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* [1958], p. 14 n. 33).

VIII. Message.–The prophecies of Zechariah brought a powerful message to the people of his time. They were a small group of disappointed Jews who went to Jerusalem to rebuild their sanctuary but were stopped before completing the work. According to Ezr. 5:1; 6:14, Zechariah and Haggai were responsible for new hope and renewed activity among the Jews. Typically Zechariah began by calling the Jewish people to repent, saying that their dilemma was due to their sins and unfaithfulness (cf. also Jer. 3:14, 22, etc.). With vigor and faith he fired the hopes of his people; his night visions especially stirred them to recommence building.

One of the main strands in Zechariah's message is the expectation of salvation for the Jewish nation. Sometimes employing apocalyptic language, the prophet sketched the final war between the people of God and the hostile powers. In this war God alone will defeat the enemy. To

an oppressed nation that had become almost resigned to servitude, this message brought new hope for a blissful future. Messianic expectation also plays a very important role and should be noticed in the NT references to Zechariah. The prophet was a staunch believer in the power of the almighty God and His control of world affairs, even of the acts of mighty kings.

IX. Zechariah in the NT.–Reference has already been made to the quotation of Zec. 11:12f. in Mt. 27:9 and the ascription of it to Jeremiah. The NT contains forty-one other citations and allusions to Zechariah, which reveal the book's important role in eschatological literature. Revelation echoes Zechariah twenty-one times, and some of its symbols resemble those of the OT book, e.g., horses of different colors (Rev. 6:1-8). It is not always clear to what extent Revelation uses the symbols of Zechariah or borrows common apocalyptic terminology that was influenced by Zechariah.

The NT refers in a very few instances to the OT for predictions of the passion of Christ; e.g., Jn. 19:37 and Rev. 1:7 cite Zec. 12:10. From these few examples it is clear that Zechariah exercised a profound influence on NT thought, especially on its eschatology.

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P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration* (*OTL*, 1968), pp. 171-217; P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (1961); S. B. Frost, *OT Apocalyptic* (1952); P. D. Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic* (rev. ed. 1979), pp. 240-401; E. Lipiński, *VT*, 20 (1970), 25-55; R. G. Rignell, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (1950); E. Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898).

F. C. FENSHAM

ZECHER zē'kər [Heb. *zeḵer*, pausal *zāḵer*]; AV, NEB, ZACHER. A Benjaminite (1 Ch. 8:31). In 9:37 he is called Zechariah.

ZEDAD zē'dad [Heb. *ṣeḏāḏ*; Sam. Pent. *ṣerāḏ*; Gk. B *Saradak*, A *Sadadak* (Nu. 34:8), B *Seldamma*, A *Eldamma* (Ezk. 47:15)]. A place on the northern border of Canaan (Nu. 34:8; Ezk. 47:15). Two sites have been suggested. A few scholars (following the Sam. Pent. and LXX) identify Zedad with Khirbet Ṣerādā, N of Dan and E of Merj Ajûn; but this would place the border too far south. Most scholars identify it with the village of Ṣadâd, 56 km. (35 mi.) NE of Lebweh (Lebo-hamath; cf. NEB; RSV "entrance of Hamath"), near the Damascus-Homs highway (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], pp. 72f.).

D. E. WARING

ZEDECHIAS zed-ə-kī'əs (1 Esd. 1:46, AV). *See* ZEDEKIAH 2.

ZEDEKIAH zed-ə-kī'ə [Heb. *ṣiḏqîyāhû*, *ṣiḏqîyâ*–'Yah(weh) is my righteousness'; Gk. *Sedekias*]; AV also ZIDKIJAH (Neh. 10:1), SEDECIAS (Bar. 1:1, 8), ZEDECHIAS (1 Esd. 1:46).

1. Son of Chenaanah. Zedekiah was the leader of a band of four hundred prophets attached to the court of Samaria whom Ahab and Jehoshaphat consulted as they prepared their military campaign against Ramoth-gilead. These prophets in unison supported Ahab's intention to attack, and Zedekiah dramatically depicted the prophecy by placing horns of iron on his head to signify how Ahab would defeat the Arameans (1 K. 22:11; 2 Ch. 18:10). When Jehoshaphat insisted on hearing from another prophet of Yahweh (1 K. 22:7; 2 Ch. 18:7), Micaiah the son of Imlah was summoned, and he opposed the campaign. In response Zedekiah slapped Micaiah and asked sarcastically, "How did the Spirit of the Lord go from me to speak to you?" (1 K. 22:24; cf. 2 Ch. 18:23).

2. The last king of Judah (*ca.* 597-587 B.C.), third son of Josiah (1 Ch. 3:15), whom Nebuchadrezzar established as king in the place of his exiled nephew Jehoiachin (2 K. 24:8-17; Jer. 29:3).

According to 2 K. 24:17 his original name was Mattaniah (as in Lachish Letter no. 1; see J. Gibson, *Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1975], I, 36); he received the name Zedekiah from Nebuchadrezzar as a sign of vassalage (cf. Ezk. 17:12-14). The AV and RSV designate him the "brother" of Jehoiakin in 2 Ch. 36:10, but the NIV correctly translates Heb. *'āḥ* by the more general designation "relative" (the NEB emends to "father's brother").

Little is known of Zedekiah's kingdom from historical records. Babylonian materials (*ANET*, pp. 301-308; *see* picture in CAPTIVITY) provide a few details of contemporary events from a Babylonian perspective. The biblical historical books deal with the king in an abbreviated manner. Royal annals incorporated into the earlier portions of Kings and Chronicles were apparently unavailable for this period. Kings merely evaluates him as an evil ruler and turns directly to the fall of Jerusalem (2 K. 24:18–25:21). The Chronicler adds only a few details not found in the Kings account (2 Ch. 36:11-21).

For these reasons the primary sources for reconstructing the events of Zedekiah's reign are the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah viewed the king from the vantage point of one residing in Jerusalem, and Ezekiel from the perspective of one in Babylon. The prophets shared similar outlooks on the king. Their descriptions of Zedekiah's reign include his initial appointment by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 24; Ezk. 11:15; 17:12-14), disappointing events associated with the beginning of his reign (Jer. 27–29), and prophecies given at different points in the period (Jer. 21; 34:1-7; 51:59; Ezk. 4–7; 8–12; 17:11-21). The siege and eventual defeat of Jerusalem is a particular focus in both books (Jer. 32; 37; 38; 39:1-10; Ezk. 24:1-2; 33:21f.).

Zedekiah ruled under difficult circumstances. He was only twenty-one years old when he became king of Judah. He took power after Nebuchadrezzar had deported most of the nobility to Babylon, leaving a vacuum of wise counsel for the king (Jer. 24; cf. 2 K. 24:14-17; Ezk. 17:13f.). These factors, along with serious flaws in his character, contributed to making him a deceitful and inept king. His negative qualities can be seen in his dealings both with the prophet Jeremiah and with King Nebuchadrezzar.

Zedekiah's relationship with Jeremiah is a mixed picture. He frequently sought the prophet's direction but often lacked the fortitude to carry it out. In response to prophetic warnings of divine judgment, Zedekiah promised the release of Hebrew slaves in accordance with Mosaic legislation; nevertheless, he did not fulfil his promise and was condemned by the prophet (Jer. 34:8-22). He also feared public knowledge of his interest in Jeremiah's advice (37:17; 38:24-26). He allowed the prophet to be mistreated and imprisoned (37:15; 38:4-6). It is no wonder that the prophetic outlook on the king was negative. Ezekiel called him "unhallowed wicked one, prince of Israel" (Ezk. 21:25).

The other major source of conflict in Zedekiah's life was Nebuchadrezzar. Zedekiah was king of Judah solely

by the decree of Nebuchadrezzar: he was a vassal sworn to full allegiance in the name of God (2 Ch. 36:13; Ezk. 17:13; 1 Esd. 1:48). Yet he was unfaithful to this oath. Babylonian records indicate that Nebuchadrezzar had to deal with a revolt in Babylonia and other disturbances in his empire during the early years of Zedekiah's reign. Very likely the emperor's preoccupation with these matters aroused the Judeans' hope for the rapid demise of the Babylonian empire. As a result, in the fourth year of his reign Zedekiah contemplated breaking his oath of loyalty by joining an alliance with Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon (Jer. 27:1-12). False prophets had assured victory (chs. 37–38), but Jeremiah warned against the coalition (28:1). This rebellion never materialized, but it surely called Zedekiah's loyalty into question in Babylon.

In 589 B.C., however, Zedekiah openly rebelled against Nebuchadrezzar. This event is particularly noted in the historical accounts of his reign (2 Ch. 36:13; 2 K. 24:20), since it constitutes the historical impetus for the destruction of Jerusalem. In response to this rebellion the Babylonian army laid siege to Jerusalem. Zedekiah asked Jeremiah if God would intervene on his behalf, but the prophet responded that defeat was sure (Jer. 21). Zedekiah sought to appease God by promising to release all Hebrew slaves; but when the Babylonians temporarily lifted the siege due to the approach of the Egyptian army (cf. 37:5), he refused to keep his agreement (34:8-22). As a result, the Babylonians returned and continued the siege.

Although Jeremiah continued to advise submission to Babylon (e.g., Jer. 21:9; 38:2, 17f.), Zedekiah and his army refused to surrender. In the summer of 587 B.C. the food supply in Jerusalem was depleted and the wall was breached by the Babylonians (2 K. 25:1-21; Jer. 39:2-20; 52:1-10). Zedekiah fled during the night, but he and his sons were captured (Jer. 39:4f.). On the orders of Nebuchadrezzar Zedekiah's sons were executed before their father's eyes; Zedekiah was subsequently blinded and taken captive to Babylon, where he died (39:6f.; 52:1-11).

Bibliography.–*BHI* (3rd ed. 1981), pp. 327-330; *WBA*, pp. 177-182.

3. An otherwise unknown son of Jehoiakim (1 Ch. 3:16).

4. Son of Maaseiah; one who prophesied falsely in the days of Jeremiah (Jer. 29:21-23). He and another false prophet, Ahab the son of Kolaiah, predicted a quick return of the captives from Babylon. Jeremiah accused them of false prophecy and immoral living and prophesied that they would die at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar.

5. Son of Hananiah (Jer. 36:12); a prince of Judah before whom Jeremiah's scroll was read by Baruch and later by Jehudi (vv. 14-21).

6. One of the prominent leaders of Judah who sealed the covenant in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:1 [MT 2]).

7. An ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1:1).

8. Son of Josiah king of Judah. According to Bar. 1:8 he made silver vessels for the temple after Nebuchadrezzar took into captivity Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) and the leading men of Judah. R. L. PRATT, JR.

ZEEB zē'əb, zēb [Heb. *ze'ēḇ*–'wolf']. A Midianite prince captured and killed by the Ephraimites after Gideon's surprise attack had routed the Midianite forces (Jgs. 7:25; 8:3). The Ephraimites, summoned by Gideon to cut off the retreat of the Midianites, seized the two Midianite princes OREB and Zeeb, beheaded them, and presented their heads to Gideon. The winepress at which Zeeb was slain was apparently named after him (7:25); its location is not known. This Israelite victory is recalled in Ps. 83:11 (MT 12), which petitions God to make Israel's enemies "like Oreb and Zeeb."

ZELA zē'lə [Heb. *ṣēla'*–'rib' (?)]. One of a group of fourteen cities of Benjamin (Josh. 18:28), named between Taralah and Ha-eleph; the burial place of Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 21:14). Some scholars have favored joining Zela with the following name in Josh. 18:28, reading "Zela ha-eleph." This reading has the support of the LXX (*Selaleph*), but the list would not then add up to "fourteen cities" (v. 28).

Since the tomb of Saul's father Kish was located in Zela (2 S. 21:14), this town was probably Saul's birthplace. Both passages require a location in the region NW of Jerusalem. One suggested site is Khirbet Salah between Jerusalem and the high place of Gibeon (L. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* [Eng. tr. 1965], p. 165). *See also* ZELZAH. W. S. L. S.

ZELEK zē'lek [Heb. *ṣeleq*]. An Ammonite who was one of David's mighty men (2 S. 23:37; 1 Ch. 11:39).

ZELOPHEHAD zə-lō'fə-had [Heb. *ṣᵉlopḥāḏ*–'shadow (protector) from terror'(?)]. Son of Hepher; a Manassite who died in the wilderness without a male heir (Nu. 26:33; 1 Ch. 7:15). Upon his death his five daughters came to Moses and Eleazar and successfully pleaded for recognition as heirs (Nu. 27:1, 7; Josh. 17:3). This became the occasion for a law providing that in the case of a man who died without sons, the inheritance passed to his daughters so that his name would be perpetuated. Most likely this law did not abrogate the law of levirate marriage (*see* MARRIAGE IV.A.2) but rather provided for situations in which the wife had also died or there was no brother to marry the widow. A further regulation, stipulating that daughters who had inherited property must marry within the same tribe as their father, averted the danger that tribal possessions might be lost to another tribe (Nu. 36:1-9). The daughters of Zelophehad complied with this regulation, and Zelophehad's inheritance remained in the tribe of Manasseh (vv. 10-12).

Bibliography.–P. J. Budd, *Numbers* (*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1984), pp. 299-303, 387-390; *IP*, p. 256. N. J. O.

ZELOTES zə-lō'tēz (AV Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13). *See* ZEALOT; SIMON (NT) **3.**

ZELZAH zel'zə [Heb. *ṣelṣaḥ*–'leaping'(?); Gk. *alloménous megála*–'leaping mightily'(?); Vulg. *in meridie*–'at noon,' 'in the south'] (1 S. 10:2). The location of the first of three signs given to Saul to confirm Samuel's annunication that he was to be prince over Israel. Zelzah was "by Rachel's tomb in the territory of Benjamin" (v. 2). From there Saul was to go on to the oak of Tabor for the second sign (vv. 3f.) and then to Gibeath-elohim for the third sign (vv. 5f.); finally he was to go to Gilgal (v. 8). For a map of this circuit, see Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-yonah, *Macmillan Bible Atlas* (rev. ed. 1977), Map 86. This route would rule out any site such as Beit Jala or the traditional RACHEL'S TOMB just N of Bethlehem (cf. Gen. 35:19), requiring instead a location N of Jerusalem.

Because of the variant readings in the LXX and Vulgate, and because no satisfactory site has been proposed for Zelzah, some scholars have suggested emending the text to read ZELA. But another possibility, in view of these readings, is that Heb. *ṣelṣaḥ* may not be a place name at all. W. S. L. S.

ZEMARAIM zem-ə-rā'əm [Heb. *ṣᵉmārayim*; Gk. A *Semrim*, B *Sora* (Josh. 18:22), *Somorōn* (2 Ch. 13:4)]. The name of a place and of a mountain, probably in the same region.

Zemaraim was one of the cities of Benjamin, named between Beth-arabah and Bethel (Josh. 18:22). In 2 Ch. 13:4, however, Zemaraim is the name of a mountain: in a war against Jeroboam of Israel, Abijah of Judah "stood up on Mount Zemaraim which is in the hill country of Ephraim" and rebuked Israel and its king. In 25:13 "Samaria" should probably be emended to "Zemaraim," based on geographical references in the context (*GTTOT*, §§ 996f.).

F.-M. Abel suggested that the border between Ephraim and Benjamin followed approximately a line between Ataroth Addar and Beth-horon (*GP*, II, 256), and that the city of Zemaraim gave its name to the nearby summit of the "mountain [Heb. *har*] of Ephraim" (RSV "hill country of Ephraim"). According to Y. Aharoni, the border between Judah and Israel after the division of the monarchy extended from Mizpah to Zemaraim-Bethel (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 315; cf. VT, 9 [1959], 232-34). The "mountain of Ephraim" consisted of a chain extending from Shechem to Bethel, a branch of which lay between Jericho and Bethel; a summit of this branch was Mt. Zemaraim (*GP*, I, 359). Thus a city of Benjamin could quite readily give its name to a mountain "in the hill country of Ephraim."

An earlier identification of Zemaraim with Khirbet es-Samrah is now generally rejected. Abel thought Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion of Râs ez-Zeimara, between eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh and Rammûn, "more likely" (*GP*, II, 454), and J. Simons accepted it (*GTTOT*, § 77). Aharoni, however, preferred Râs eṭ-Ṭaḥûneh (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 443), at or near el-Bîreh, E of Ramallah and S of Beitîn (Bethel).

W. S. L. S.

ZEMARITE [Heb. *ṣᵉmārî*; cf. Akk. *Ṣimirra*; Am.Tab. *Ṣumur*]. Descendants of Canaan and "brothers" of the Arvadites and Hamathites (Gen. 10:18 par. 1 Ch. 1:16). The Zemarites settled on the Phoenician coast near the mouth of the Eleutheros River (Nahr el-Kebir) at the site of the modern hamlet of Sumra, located between Arvad and Tripolis just N of the Syrian-Lebanese border. Assyrian and Egyptian records show that in the biblical period the site was a strategic provincial city within the Amurru district and represented a vital Egyptian base prior to the battle of Kadesh (1285 B.C.; cf. references to Simirra and Simyra in *ANET*, pp. 239, 282-85, 477).

See *LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], pp. 7, 75, 158, 164, 171-73.

B. J. BEITZEL

ZEMIRAH zə-mī'rə [Heb. *zᵉmîrâ*]; AV, NEB, ZEMIRA. A Benjaminite, son of Becher (1 Ch. 7:8). Some scholars have suggested that the names in this passage originally belonged to the genealogy of Zebulun, which is otherwise lacking. This is unlikely, however, due to the extensive emendations that this theory would require.

ZENAN zē'nan [Heb. *ṣᵉnān*–'place of flocks']. A town in the Shephelah of Judah (Josh. 15:37); probably the same as ZAANAN.

ZENAS [Gk. *Zēnas*, contraction of *Zēnodōros*–'gift of Zeus']. A person mentioned only in Paul's concluding instructions to Titus: "Do your best to speed Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way; see that they lack nothing" (Tit. 3:13). The verb *propempō* can mean either "accompany, escort" (as in Acts 20:38; 21:5) or "send on one's way" with the idea of equipping the traveler with the things necessary for the journey (as in 3 Jn. 6; Rom. 15:24; 1 Cor. 16:6, 11). While it is possible that Paul was instructing Titus to bring Zenas and Apollos with him to Nicopolis (cf. v. 12), Paul's instructions were to equip them for continuing their missionary journey to an undisclosed destination. Possibly Zenas and Apollos carried Paul's letter to Titus as part of a larger mission to Crete.

The description of Zenas as a "lawyer" (*nomikós*) does not make clear whether he was an expert in Jewish or non-Jewish (prob. Roman) law. The other NT uses of this term refer to experts in Jewish law. In the papyri and inscriptions, however, the term is used frequently for anyone from an eminent jurist (see Plutarch *Sulla* 36) to a humble notary (see MM, pp. 428f.), and the historical setting in which the reference occurs suggests that the term may refer to a jurist. Those who hold that Zenas was an expert in Jewish law point to Paul's instruction in Tit. 3:9 to avoid "quarrels over the law" (*máchas nomikás*), which is understood as referring to the Mosaic law. They also argue that if Zenas, like Apollos (assuming this to be the same Apollos mentioned in Acts 18:24), was a converted Jew, he may have retained his former designation as an expert in Torah. Zenas's association with Apollos in no way requires that Zenas was a converted Jew, however; and if Zenas was a Gentile, the law he practiced would have been Greek or Roman law. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Paul would have referred to Zenas as an expert in Torah when the retention of rabbinic methods was apparently anything but a recommendation in Paul's eyes (cf. 1 Tim. 1:7, where *nomodidáskalos* has a negative connotation). Thus Zenas may well have been a practicing jurist rather than an expert in Torah. His profession may have been mentioned here for the purpose of distinguishing him from another Zenas.

Some have attempted to identify Zenas with Zenon the son of Onesiphorus (cf. 2 Tim. 1:16f., 4:19), who according to the apocryphal Acts of Paul lived in Iconium. Later tradition identified Zenas as the first bishop of Diospolis (NT Lydda) and the author of the apocryphal Acts of Titus; but this tradition has little credibility.

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W. H. GLOER

ZEND-AVESTA zen-də-ves'tə. The Avesta and commentary. *See* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: PERSIA III.B.

ZEPHANIAH zef-ə-nī'ə [Heb. *ṣᵉpanyâ*, *ṣᵉpanyāhû*–'Yahweh has treasured'; Lat. Apoc. *Sofoniae*]; AV Apoc. SOPHONIAS (2 Esd. 1:40).

1. Son of Maaseiah; the second priest in rank in the days of Jeremiah. Twice he was part of a delegation sent by King Zedekiah to consult the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 21:1; 37:3). He was apparently not hostile to Jeremiah, for he received from the exiled prophet Shemaiah a letter rebuking him for not having imprisoned Jeremiah (29:24-28). Zephaniah read this letter to Jeremiah and did not imprison him (v. 29). Moreover, Zephaniah is not listed among those who demanded Jeremiah's execution (38:1-4). After the fall of Jerusalem he was among the leaders of Israel who were taken to the king of Babylon at Riblah and put to death (2 K. 25:18-21; Jer. 52:24-27).

2. A Kohathite Levite; ancestor of the singer Heman (1 Ch. 6:36 [MT 21]).

3. Son of Cushi; a prophet during the reign of King

Josiah (Zeph. 1:1; 2 Esd. 1:40). *See* ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.

4. Father of Josiah, one of the exiles who returned from Babylon (Zec. 6:10, 14). N. J. O.

ZEPHANIAH, APOCALYPSE OF. A Jewish pseudepigraphal work written originally in Greek, probably sometime between 100 B.C. and A.D. 70. Like several other apocalyptic writings (e.g., *see* APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE III.A.F; APOCRYPHAL APOCALYPSES II.D), the work consisted of the seer's description of a cosmic journey on which he witnessed the splendors of heaven as well as the torments of sinners receiving their just punishment.

Although the complete text has been lost, the work is known from its mention in three ancient lists and from three fragments that have been preserved. It is listed as an apocryphal work in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus, the *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* of Pseudo-Athanasius, and the *Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books*; in each list it is closely associated with the Apocalypse of Elijah. The only fragment preserved in Greek is a short quotation by Clement of Alexandria that describes the seer's visit to the fifth heaven (*Stromata* v.ii.77). Two Coptic MSS, one in the Akhmimic dialect from the end of the 4th cent. and another in the Sahidic dialect from the beginning of the 5th cent., contain the text of the Apocalypse of Elijah as well as fragments of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah. The short Sahidic fragment describes the seer's vision of a soul being tormented in Hades, followed by a vision of a "broad place." The much longer Akhmimic fragment contains various travel scenes, including a visit to Hades in which the seer observes a sea of fire (6:1-3; 10:3). Much discussion has focused on the problem of the relationships among these documents, since the fragments do not overlap and there appear to be some contradictions in details between the Clement quotation and the Coptic fragments.

See O. S. Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zechariah," in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *OT Pseudepigrapha*, I (1983), 497-507. N. J. O.

ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF. Zephaniah (Heb. *ṣᵉpanyâ*; LXX *Sophonias*) is the last of the nine minor prophets written before the Exile. Its main features are clear, so that there has been relatively little scholarly debate over the book. Nevertheless, this brief book is well worth careful study for its vigorous prophecy and for its sensitive depiction of the mystery of God's judgment and redemption joined.

I. Background
  A. Date
  B. The Prophet
  C. Authenticity
II. The Book Itself
  A. Text
  B. Style
  C. Structure
  D. Themes
  E. Canonicity
III. Interpretation

I. Background.—*A. Date.* Little mystery obscures the dating of Zephaniah. Despite an occasional proposal to redate it to another era, most scholars have accepted a date within the period stated in 1:1, namely, the reign of King Josiah (640-609 B.C.). Many scholars have suggested that Zephaniah can be dated more specifically within that thirty-one-year reign. G. A. Smith and others have argued that the widespread degeneracy Zephaniah depicts in Judah is possible only in the early years of Josiah's rule, before 622 B.C., when Josiah began refurbishing the temple and reinstating the rule of the Torah (2 K. 22–23). Yet Keil and others have argued that the phrase "the remnant of Baal" (Zeph. 1:4) points to a time when Josiah had already decimated Baal's people, namely, after 622 B.C. The evidence is insufficient to decide this debate. The phrase "remnant of Baal" is appropriate not only to historical description but also to emphatic threats of future judgment.The sins Zephaniah condemns persisted through Josiah's reign (cf. Jer. 44). Surely the prophet approved of Josiah's reforms, and he did not include Josiah among the leaders deserving condemnation. Still, Zephaniah's perspective seems to have been more like that of Huldah and the compiler of Kings (2 K. 22:14-20), namely, that Josiah's reforms were a glorious respite that came too late in Judah's mad rush to ruin. The royal reforms did not reach the heart of the sin depicted by Zephaniah's prophecy—sin that continued before, despite, and after Josiah's reign.

B. The Prophet. All that is known about the prophet himself is also contained in 1:1, and it is very little. It is not known how old Zephaniah was when he prophesied, what his profession was, or what friends or enemies he had. His description of Jerusalem's quarters (1:10f.) suggests that he probably lived in the city, but even that is not certain. In short, the prophet's personality is not presented; only his message is put forward. Nor should it be assumed that Zephaniah's character can be perceived through the coloring of his prophecy; for even in instances where more is known about a prophet (e.g., Jeremiah), the prophecy may run strongly counter to the prophet's own preference and character.

The only aspect of Zephaniah's biography that is given in detail is his lineage: 1:1 names his forefathers to the fourth generation. This genealogy, unique for a prophet, has led many interpreters to suppose that Zephaniah's ancestors must have been very important; in particular, many have concluded that Zephaniah's great-grandfather must have been King Hezekiah. Other explanations have been offered (cf. Rudolph, *in loc.*); but they have all been too contrived, and none has convinced many scholars. In support of this theory, enough time elapsed between King Hezekiah and Zephaniah for four generations (Amon and Josiah were both quite young when their successors were born). Also, King Hezekiah would bring not only prestige but also justice and true religion to Zephaniah's lineage. The major problems are that the text does not call Hezekiah "king" and that none of the early interpreters identified him as the king, even as late as the 4th cent. A.D. In fact, Ibn Ezra (d. 1167) seems to have been the first to suggest that Zephaniah's ancestor was the king. With such gaps in the evidence the identification can be only probable, not certain.

C. Authenticity. From time to time some scholars have questioned the authenticity of various parts of the book. Some early modern scholars (e.g., Wellhausen, 1892) interpreted Zephaniah's message as a consistent one of doom for Judah and thus questioned the more hopeful passages, such as 2:8-11; 3:9-20. More recently G. Krinetzki (*Zefanjastudien* [1977]) attempted to delineate several stages of editing and various smaller interpolations (e.g., 1:12a; 2:5f.; 2:9i-j; 3:10b).

Yet virtually all of Zephaniah is intelligible as spoken in Josiah's reign. Although many scholars have judged that Zephaniah underwent later editing, there has been no convincing convergence of their views on any large number of verses. While there seems to be a critical consensus that the references to the scattered ones, the exiles, or the Diaspora (e.g., 2:7, 9; 3:10, 19f.) were added during or after the Exile, there is otherwise a growing tendency to see Zephaniah himself as the composer of longer passages

ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF

A papyrus of Zeph. 1:11–3:6 found in a cave of Wâdī Murabba'ât (ca. A.D. 135) (courtesy, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

or even of the whole book (cf. Kapelrud, van der Woude).

II. The Book Itself.–A. Text. The MT of Zephaniah seems to have come to us in good condition. The LXX is occasionally helpful for recovering an earlier reading (as in 1:4, where "with the priests" could be a gloss), but there are not many such passages. The MT is the best form of the text available, and it is probably the basis of all the versions.

B. Style. Zephaniah's style is relatively plain. He did not use extended metaphors or very detailed descriptions. In fact, his work contains only remnants of the standard prophetic speech forms that are discernible in Amos or in Nathan's speeches. Instead Zephaniah constructed longer passages by the accumulation of charges and threats, borne along by the constantly recurring *qînâ* (3,2) rhythm. He added emphasis and interest to several shorter sections by the use of repetition, either identical (e.g., *bᵉṭerem* three times in 2:2f.) or slightly varied (e.g., day of the Lord, day of wrath, day of distress and of anguish, etc., in 1:14-16), and by the use of wordplay (e.g., "Gaza [*'azzâ*] shall be deserted [*ʿazûḇâ*]," 2:4). Only once does the work use moderate speech, when it urges that perhaps the humble may be hidden on the day of wrath (2:3). Apart from this, every sentence is a direct and forceful assertion, whether of accusation, judgment, or promise. The hearer is driven along and challenged down to the final verse.

C. Structure. The book's structure is a matter of controversy among scholars. For instance, within a few years of each other Kapelrud, Rudolph, and van der Woude published three careful and significantly different analyses. Some of these controversies, particularly among the early critical scholars, arose from insoluble debates about the book's authenticity and editing. But another cause of disagreement is that two kinds of structure are observable in Zephaniah.

The first and most apparent ordering principle is the following schema: (1) prophecy against Israel (1:2–2:3); (2) prophecy against the nations (2:4-15); (3) prophecy of salvation (3:9-20). This schema fits the bulk of the passages. It is observable in the major prophets, and it may have been traditional for prophecy by Zephaniah's time. Crossing through this traditional form, however, is another structure that is more particularly Zephaniah's. This structure may be outlined as follows:

1:2–2:3 Judgment on all, especially Judah
  1:2-18 Mingled threats and accusations
    1:2-3 Universal destruction
    1:4-13 Destruction of Judah and various sinners within
    1:14-18 Variations on "the Day of the Lord"
  2:1-3 Response to the threat: call to repentance
2:4–3:13 Purging of the nations, including Judah
  2:4-15 Destruction of foreign powers
  3:1-8 Against the powers in Jerusalem
  3:9f. Purification of the nations
  3:11-13 Purification of Israel
3:14-20 Response to the purification: call to rejoice

D. Themes. In important respects Zephaniah's prophecy stands in the mainstream of Israel's prophecy and repeats several of its most insistent themes (*see* PROPHET IV.C). Yet there are also several themes to which this work brings a new or distinctive word. The most prominent example is its treatment of the Day of the Lord (1:7-18). Zephaniah confounds the popular hope that that day will be simple joy for all Israelites (cf. Am. 5:18-20) and then drives the message of disaster home with powerful rhythmic repetition. After Zephaniah's prophecy this phrase will always be associated with a vast (1:2f.) and complete (1:8f.) judgment on Israel as well as on other peoples.

Next, it is striking that Zephaniah speaks of the purification of the nations, not merely their obliteration: the book depicts all the peoples calling on the Lord with pure speech (3:9). In speaking of their purification — even as Israel must become pure — Zephaniah reminds readers of the Lord's openness to the Gentiles as well as Israelites.

The prophet Zephaniah brought a particular insight to the spiritual struggle between pride and humility. Many prophets were indignant about the oppression of the poor, and Zephaniah especially turned the worldly values upside down. He declared that the poor and humble might be the only ones to live and be blessed (2:3; 3:12). While he did not require literal poverty, he did urge his hearers to care for the humble and to seek humility. Pride, however, he damned and mocked. He compared the proud with the sludge in a wine vat (*see* LEES), too stupid to care or to respond to what the Lord required (1:12f.); their elimination would purify Israel (3:11-13). Significantly, he depicted the judgment of the Gentiles as reaching a climax against the blasphemous pride of Nineveh, which left no option but complete desolation (2:13-15). Thus Zephaniah showed both the stupidity of self-confidence and the confidence that the humble may have in God.

A related but smaller topic in Zephaniah's prophecy is the vanity of trust in wealth. The foreign fashions are an offense (1:8); the goods of the proud will be plundered (v. 13). Their silver and gold will be useless to save them (v. 18), and the traders will be no more (v. 11). Even the difficult phrase *lō' niḵsāp* in 2:1 (RSV "shameless") makes sense as a play on *keseṗ* ("silver," "money") in 1:18, suggesting (in modern terms) that those who live for the dollar aren't worth a nickel.

Finally, the book persistently portrays the holiness and grace of God. God's holiness appears in the contrasts between Him and the proud sinners: they pretend to rule, but God judges with inexorable power; they hold office,

but the Lord gives unfailing justice (3:1-5). God's grace appears chiefly in the two passages (2:1-3; 3:11-20) that offer hope and salvation to a nation (and possibly even Gentiles) that has just been rightly condemned to complete desolation.

E. Canonicity. Zephaniah probably had canonical authority from the time of its composition — at least among a significant group of Judeans. Initially preserved as a word of the Lord, within thirty years it was confirmed when Jerusalem fell on a terrible "day of the Lord." O. Eissfeldt (*The OT: An Intro.* [Eng. tr. 1965], p. 425) remarked that Zephaniah "gives a good impression of the purity and depth of the movement which led to the reform of Josiah." This is surely true, and probably members of that movement were the first to treasure this book. When the reform dissolved, Zephaniah remained, because it was more than simply a tract for a national religious policy. Its author saw to the heart of the matter. In G. A. Smith's memorable phrase, Zephaniah saw that "the elements were loose" (p. 49) — that no human rearranging could save Israel. Although Zephaniah supported religious reforms, his book urges hope in the Lord, not in movements. It thus has permanent value as well as an occasional value for Israel. By the end of the Exile apparently the whole Jewish people had acknowledged Zephaniah as canonical.

III. Interpretation.–The earliest extant perspective on Zephaniah appears in the NT. The four NT passages that allude to Zephaniah (Mt. 13:41 [cf. Zeph. 1:3]; Rev. 6:17 [cf. Zeph. 1:14-18]; 14:5 [cf. Zeph. 3:13]; 16:1 [cf. Zeph. 3:8]) all deal with the Last Judgment, when God's wrath will remove the causes of sin and gather the pure. Thus it appears that Matthew and John saw Zephaniah primarily as an announcement of the Last Day. Although Zephaniah's contemporaries had surely referred "the Day of the Lord" to Jerusalem's fall in 587 B.C., later generations — including the NT writers — saw that Zephaniah's prophecies still awaited a complete fulfillment that God would effect at the end of the age. Parallelling this NT usage, the apocalyptic interpretation of Zephaniah shows up in a late apocalypse attributed to Zephaniah and also in some rabbinic usage (*Pesikta Rabbathi* 8; T. B. *Baba Bathra* 10).

Apocalyptic interpretation of Zephaniah continues to this day, but the book has been used in other ways as well since the early cents. A.D. Clement (*Paed.* ii.13) cited Zeph. 1:18 to warn against pride and idolatry in silver and gold jewelry, counseling instead simplicity and care for the poor. Cyprian repeatedly drew on Zephaniah as proof that flagrant sinners, even apostates, should be called to penitence (cf. Zeph. 2:1ff.; 3:1-3), and that the faithful should not seek early or private vengeance, for the Lord will avenge all evil (*Treatise on Patience* 21; *Testim.* iii.47, 106). The Talmud made a similar moral use of Zephaniah in its statement that the Messiah will not come until there are no conceited men in Israel (T. B. *Sanhedrin* 98a). Thus Zephaniah has provided not only an announcement of the Last Judgment but also practical help for present life in anticipation of that Day.

Augustine also quoted Zephaniah (2:11; 3:9-12) to support the doctrine that salvation comes to the Gentiles (*Civ. Dei* xviii.33). This became commonplace in Christian commentaries; but it is also worth emphasizing that Jewish tradition had affirmed this interpretation of Zeph. 3:9 in its own way (T. B. *Berakoth* 57b).

The medieval Latin hymn *Dies Irae*, composed by Thomas of Celano on the basis of Zeph. 1:14ff., echoes some of the terror of that passage and offers a reflective Christian response; it provides a sober note of hope in the requiem mass and has been translated into many hymnals.

From the Renaissance to the present, preachers have also related Zephaniah to contemporary institutions, calling upon the authorities to make sweeping and effective reforms lest the judgment threatened by Zephaniah befall the present government. This use of the book is scattered through Calvin's comm. on Zephaniah and it is also observable in G. A. Smith's vigorous preaching (ch. 3).

Bibliography.–Comms. by J. Calvin, G. A. Smith (*Expos.B.*, 1928), W. Rudolph (*KZAT*, 1975), A. S. van der Woude (1978), R. L. Smith (*Word Biblical Comm.*, 1984), P. C. Craigie (*Daily Study Bible*, 1985), and E. Achtemeier (*Interpretation*, 1986); also K. Sullivan, *Worship*, 31 (1957), 130-39; A. S. Kapelrud, *Message of the Prophet Zephaniah* (Eng. tr. 1975); see also the bibliographies in Kapelrud, Rudolph, and van der Woude.

D. A. SCHNEIDER

ZEPHATH zē'fath [Heb. *ṣᵉpaṯ*]. A Canaanite city in the Negeb of Judah near Arad (Jgs. 1:17). The tribes of Judah and Simeon totally destroyed the city and renamed it HORMAH ("destruction").

ZEPHATHAH zef'ə-thə, **VALLEY OF** [Heb. *gê' ṣᵉpaṯâ*]. A valley near Mareshah in which King Asa of Judah defeated Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Ch. 14:10 [MT 9]). Mareshah may have been only one of a chain of cities along this valley fortified by Rehoboam in the 9th cent. B.C. (cf. 11:5-10). As pointed in the MT the *hê* appears to be adverbial ("toward Zephath"); the LXX *katá borrán* supports the adverbial reading with the emendation of *ṣᵉpaṯâ* to *ṣapônâ* ("toward the north," i.e., N of Mareshah). On this basis J. Simon identified this valley with the valley of the Terebinth (Wâdī es Sanṭ; RSV "valley of Elah," 1 S. 17:2, 19; 21:9 [MT 10]; see *GTTOT*, § 254). Other scholars have identified it with Wâdī Sâfiyeh (see *WHAB*, p. 130).

This Zephath(ah) should not be confused with the city of Zephath mentioned in Jgs. 1:17. J. E. MCKENNA

W. S. L. S.

ZEPHI zē'fī [Heb. *ṣᵉpî*; LXX *Sōphar*] (1 Ch. 1:36); **ZEPHO** zē'fō [Heb. *ṣᵉpô*; LXX *Sôphar*] (Gen. 36:11, 15). Third son of Eliphaz; an Edomite chief.

ZEPHON zē'fon [Heb. *ṣᵉpôn* < *ṣāpâ*–'watch'(?)]; **ZEPHONITES** zē'fə-nīts [Heb. *haṣṣᵉpônî*]. The oldest son of Gad (called ZIPHION in Gen. 46:16) and the family descended from him (Nu. 26:15).

ZER zûr [Heb. *ṣēr*; Gk. *Tyros*–'Tyre' (assuming Heb. *ṣōr* instead of *ṣēr*)]. A fortified town in Naphtali. In Josh. 19:35 it is listed between Ziddim (near Ḥaṭṭîn?) and Hammath (Ḥammâm Ṭabarîyeh), just W of the Sea of Galilee. Some have suggested that Zer be identified with Madon (Qarn Ḥaṭṭîn), but this identification is uncertain. A Zer is mentioned, along with sixty-four other place names, in the Egyptian Execration Texts (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 146); but this Zer is in Bashan and thus cannot be the Zer of Josh. 19:35. The exact location of the site is unknown.

D. E. WARING

ZERAH zē'rə [Heb. *zeraḥ*–'shining forth' (?); Gk. *Zara* (Mt. 1:3)]; AV also ZARA (Mt. 1:3), ZARAH (Gen. 38:30; 46:12); NEB NT ZARAH.

1. An Edomite chief; son of Reuel and grandson of Esau and Basemath the daughter of Ishmael (Gen. 36:13, 17; 1 Ch. 1:37).

2. Father of an early Edomite king named Jobab; a resident of Bozrah (Gen. 36:33; 1 Ch. 1:44).

3. One of the twin sons born to Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen. 38:30; 46:12; 1 Ch. 2:4; Neh. 11:24).

His name is attributed to something that happened at his birth: his hand was the first to appear and the midwife tied a scarlet thread around it; but then he withdrew his hand and his brother Perez was born first (Gen. 38:28-30). It is difficult to establish a linguistic link between the name and "scarlet," however. Zerah was ancestor of a family called the Zerahites (Nu. 26:20; cf. 1 Ch. 2:6), which included Achan (Josh. 7:1, 18, 24; 22:20) and Pethahiah (1 Ch. 9:6). His name appears in a genealogy of Jesus (Mt. 1:3).

4. A son of Simeon and head of a Simeonite family called the Zerahites (Nu. 26:13; 1 Ch. 4:24). In Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15 he is called Zohar.

5. A Levite of the family of Gershom (1 Ch. 6:21, 41 [MT 6, 26]).

6. An "Ethiopian" (so AV, RSV; NEB "Cushite"; Heb. *hakkûšî*) military leader who invaded Judah with a large army ("million" may simply be an expression for a huge number) and was completely routed by King Asa at Mareshah (2 Ch. 14:9).

Various theories have been proposed regarding his place of origin. Although Heb. *kûš* (*see* CUSH) usually denotes a region of Africa (Nubia or Ethiopia), some scholars have proposed that *hakkûšî* here refers to an Arabian who led a band of Bedouins in a raid against Judah in order to gain better pasture land for themselves. The mention of tents and camels in v. 15 is cited in support of this theory. The association with Libyans in 16:8, however, strongly suggests an origin in Africa. The theory that identified Zerah with the Libyan pharaoh Osorkon I (or Osorkon II; see, e.g., *ISBE* [1929]) has been discredited on both linguistic and historical grounds (see *FSAC*, pp. 46f.). It is possible, however, that Zerah was an Ethiopian general leading an army of Ethiopian and Libyan mercenaries on behalf of Osorkon I, who was attempting to duplicate the earlier success of his father Sheshonq (Shishak, 2 Ch. 12:2-4).

Bibliography.—K. A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (1973), p. 309; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (*NCBC*, 1982), pp. 263-65. N. J. O.

ZERAHIAH zer-ə-hī'ə [Heb. *zᵉraḥyâ*—'Yahweh has shone forth'; Gk. Apoc. *Zaraia*]; AV Apoc. ZARAIAS; NEB Apoc. ZARAEAS.

1. A priest, son of Uzzi and descendant of Eleazar (1 Ch. 6:6, 51 [MT 5:32; 6:36]); an ancestor of Ezra (Ezr. 7:4; AV, NEB, 1 Esd. 8:2 [omitted by RSV, following LXX B]). He is called Arna in 2 Esd. 1:2.

2. Father of Eliehoenai, whose family returned from exile with Ezra (Ezr. 8:4; 1 Esd. 8:31).

ZERAHITES zer'ə-hīts [Heb. *hazzarḥî*]; AV ZARHITES; NEB ZARHITE FAMILY, CLAN (or FAMILY) OF ZERAH.

1. The family of a Simeonite named Zerah (Nu. 26:13). *See* ZERAH 4.

2. The family of Zerah the son of Judah (Nu. 26:20). Achan (Josh. 7:17) and two of David's mighty men (1 Ch. 27:11, 13) belonged to this family. *See* ZERAH 3.

ZERAIAH zə-rā'yə [Gk. *Zaraias*]; AV ZARAIAS; NEB ZARAEAS. Son of Michael; head of a family that returned from exile with Ezra (1 Esd. 8:34). He is called Zebadiah in Ezr. 8:8.

ZERDAIAH zər-dī'ə [Gk. *Zerdaias* (Rahlfs), B *Zeralias* A *Zardaias*]; AV SARDEUS; NEB ZARDAEAS. One of the sons of Zamoth who had married foreign wives, apparently the same person as AZIZA in Ezr. 10:27.

ZERED zer'ed [Heb. *zered*; LXX B *Zaret*, A *Zare*]; AV also ZARED (Nu. 21:12); NEB ZARED. The wadi that marked the end of the Israelites' wanderings (Dt. 2:13f.), and the valley where they camped before reaching the Arnon (Nu. 21:12). Earlier authorities identified it with a tributary of the Wâdī Kerak or of the Arnon, but scholars now usually identify it with the Wâdī el-Ḥesā, the larger stream flowing into the southeast corner of the Dead Sea that formed the boundary between Edom and Moab. The identification depends in part on the interpretation of the details of Israel's route. *See* WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL V.

The "Brook of the Willows" in Isa. 15:7, the "Brook of the Arabah" in Am. 6:14, and the "dry streambed" in 2 K. 3:16 (cf. v. 22) are probably all to be identified with the Zered (see *GB*, pp. 62f. [2 K. 3]; see comms.).

H. L. ELLISON

ZEREDAH zer'ə-də [Heb. *ṣᵉrēḏâ*]; AV ZEREDA, ZEREDATHAH.

1. The birthplace of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and his residence prior to his revolt against Solomon (1 K. 11:26; omitted by LXX). The identification of Jeroboam as an "Ephraimite" indicates that the town was in the hill country region between Jerusalem and Shechem. Several sites have been proposed for its location, including the modern Deir Ghassâneh (about 24 km. [15 mi.] SW of Shechem) and the nearby 'Ain Ṣeridah, which are both located in Wâdī Deir Ballut (but cf. W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, 5 (1925), 33 n. 37, 37 n. 41).

2. A variant spelling of ZARETHAN in 2 Ch. 4:17 (cf. par. 1 K. 7:46). Most scholars also believe that "Zeredah" is also the correct spelling of ZERERAH in Jgs. 7:22.

W. L. THOMPSON, JR.

ZEREDATHAH zer-ə-dā'thə (2 Ch. 4:17, AV). *See* ZEREDAH 2.

ZERERAH zer'ə-rə [Heb. *ṣᵉrērâ* (MT *ṣᵉrērāṯâ*—'toward Zererah')]; AV ZERERATH. A place to which the Midianite army fled after their defeat by Gideon (Jgs. 7:22). Some MSS read *ṣᵉrēḏâ*; thus the correct spelling may be ZEREDAH (2) (cf. 2 Ch. 4:17), which is probably a variant of ZARETHAN.

ZERESH zer'esh [Heb. *zereš*—'gold' (from Pers.)]. The wife of Haman (Est. 5:10). She was apparently one of his chief advisers (5:14; 6:13).

ZERETH zer'eth [Heb. *ṣereṯ*]. A Judahite; first son of Helah the wife of Asshur (1 Ch. 4:7).

ZERETH-SHAHAR zer'eth shā'här [Heb. *ṣereṯ haššaḥar*; Gk. B *Serada kaí Siōr*, A *Sarth kaí Siōn*]; AV ZARETH-SHAHAR. A town originally ruled by Sihon king of the Amorites, assigned by Moses to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. 13:19). It is described as "on the hill of the valley" (Heb. *bᵉhar hā'ēmeq*), possibly designating one of the hills overlooking the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. Scholars have cautiously accepted the identification with ez-Zārât, the hot springs of Callirhoë near Machaerus. See *GP*, II, 457.

W. S. L. S.

ZERI zer'ī [Heb. *ṣᵉrî*—'mastic' (*IP*, p. 223)]; NEB IZRI. One of the sons of Jeduthun who prophesied with the lyre in the temple (1 Ch. 25:3). He may be the man called Izri (cf. NEB) in v. 11.

ZEROR zē'rôr [Heb. *ṣᵉrôr*]. Son of Becorath and father of Abiel; an ancestor of King Saul (1 S. 9:1).

ZERQĀ zer'kə The Arabic name (meaning "blue") of three streams in Palestine and Transjordan.

1. The Zerqā Māʿîn, a small stream that flows into the Dead Sea on its eastern side about halfway between the Arnon and the Jordan. Like the other streams flowing into the Dead Sea from the east, it has cut a gorge for its waters; it is remarkable for its cataract of hot water. Some scholars have identified it with NAHALIEL, a stopping place of the Israelites on their journey to the Promised Land (Nu. 21:19).

2. Wâdī or Nahr ez-Zerqā, the JABBOK.

3. The Crocodile River (Nahr ez-Zerqā), which rises in the Carmel range W of Megiddo and flows into the Mediterranean between Dor and Caesarea. It is not mentioned in the Bible. H. L. ELLISON

ZERUAH zə-rōō'ə [Heb. *ṣᵉrûʿâ*–'leprous' (*IP*, pp. 227f.)]. Mother of King Jeroboam I (1 K. 11:26).

ZERUBBABEL zə-rub'ə-bəl [Heb. *zᵉrubbāḇel*; Akk. *zēr-bābili*–'seed (descendant) of Babylon' (cf. J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* [1939], pp. 40ff., 269f.; *CAD*, XXI, 95); Gk. *Zorobabel*]; AV Apoc. and NT ZOROBABEL. Descendant of David and grandson of Jehoiachin; governor of postexilic Judah during the restoration of the temple.

I. Family and Birth.–Zerubbabel is usually called the son of Shealtiel, Jehoiachin's eldest son (Ezr. 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh. 12:1; Hag. 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23; Mt. 1:12; Lk. 3:27), but in 1 Ch. 3:19 he appears as the son of Pedaiah, Jehoiachin's third son. Since Chronicles is dated later than Haggai and yet puts Zerubbabel in a less exalted position, both traditions should probably be taken seriously. Several suggestions have been advanced to harmonize these traditions; all of them make Zerubbabel the literal son of Pedaiah and link him with Shealtiel by some legal device such as levirate marriage (cf. Dt. 25:5-10).

The Jehoiachin Tablets (cf. *DOTT*, pp. 84-86) suggest that Zerubbabel's father may have been born early in Jehoiachin's captivity. If so, Zerubbabel himself could have been born any time after *ca.* 575 B.C., which would have made it quite possible for him to lead a return from Babylon to Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus (538) or soon after.

II. Suggested Identity with Sheshbazzar.–Josephus (*Ant.* xi.i.3 [13f.]) identified Zerubbabel with SHESHBAZZAR (Ezr. 1:8-11; 5:14-16), and some scholars have followed this suggestion, since both men appear to have performed similar functions at the same time although they are never mentioned together: each is given the title *peḥâ*, "governor" (Ezr. 5:14; Hag. 1:1; 2:2), has led a return from Babylon to Jerusalem in 538 B.C. (Ezr. 1:11; 2:1f.), and each is said to have played a role in supervising the laying of the foundations of the temple (Ezr. 3:8; 5:16).

This identification is to be rejected, however, for two main reasons. (1) Although some individuals were known by two names (e.g., Daniel/Belteshazzar, Dnl. 1:7; 2:26), it is highly unlikely that a member of the Jewish royal line would have had two Babylonian names. (2) Ezr. 5 seems to distinguish the two men. According to vv. 2f. Zerubbabel was personally involved in the controversy with Tattenai over the rebuilding of the temple, but vv. 14-16 refer to Sheshbazzar in language designed to introduce him as someone not known to Tattenai and not present at the time. (Against the further attempt to identify Sheshbazzar with Shenazzar, Zerubbabel's uncle, see P. -R. Berger, *ZAW*, 83 [1971], 98-100.)

III. His Life.–No question concerning Zerubbabel raises more difficulties than the date of his journey to Jerusalem. Two main views are possible.

(1) According to the traditional approach, Ezr. 1–6 is read as a straightforward account of the following events: Zerubbabel led the first return to Jerusalem, as authorized by Cyrus in 538 B.C. (chs. 1–2); soon after his arrival the rebuilding of the temple was begun, but this was abandoned because of opposition (chs. 3–4); the work was not resumed and completed until many years later, under the stimulus of the preaching of Haggai and Zechariah (chs. 5–6).

(2) A second approach has attempted to do greater justice to the variety of source materials in Ezr. 1–6. This approach notes, e.g., that the list of returned exiles in ch. 2 is composite, and that several features suggest that it was intended as a summary of all who returned during 538-515 B.C. Ezr. 3:1–4:5 is regarded as a separate unit, again without any absolute date; its main purpose, indicated by allusions in the passage, is to parallel the building of the second temple with the building of the first under Solomon. 4:4f. has been identified as a "summary notation," a literary device that "recapitulate[s] the contents, and thus also delineate[s] the extent of a preceding textual unit" (cf. *IDBSupp.*, p. 322 [S. Talmon]). If this is so, then the reference in 4:4 to the "people of the land" making the Jews afraid to build is a recapitulation of 3:3 rather than a further development of the narrative, and 4:4f. indicates that building did not begin until the reign of Darius. 3:8-13 can then be read as parallel with, not prior to, the Aramaic account in chs. 5–6. According to this view the date of Zerubbabel's journey to Jerusalem could have been later than 538.

It is extremely difficult to decide between these two approaches, and the issue cannot be argued in full here. Both approaches come together, however, on the most important point, namely, that Zerubbabel in association with Joshua the high priest led the intensive work of rebuilding the temple in 520-515 B.C. The two men were encouraged by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, whose oracles accord well with Ezr. 5–6, and no doubt also by the financial assistance of the Persian authorities, who conformed to Cyrus's decree of some twenty years earlier. The successful completion of this work (6:13-15) undoubtedly constitutes Zerubbabel's chief historical significance (cf. Sir. 49:11f.).

The biblical records are silent about Zerubbabel's life after the completion of the second temple. Undoubtedly, considerable excitement attended the rebuilding, and the people may well have drawn parallels between the work of this descendant of David and the earlier work of (and promises to) Solomon. Moreover, Hag. 2:20-23, a prophecy directed to Zerubbabel, seems to have messianic overtones; and many scholars have contended that Zec. 6:11-14 originally described the symbolic coronation of Zerubbabel rather than of Joshua (see comms., e.g., *IB*, VI, 1079f.). Coupling these passages with the lack of references to Zerubbabel at the dedication of the temple (Ezr. 6:16-22) or thereafter, some have conjectured that he became involved in a messianic conspiracy and was removed from office, or even executed, by Darius.

Several factors, however, indicate that such speculations are unwarranted. (1) All such arguments are based entirely on silence. The weakness of these arguments is shown by the fact that there is also no mention of Joshua the high priest at the dedication of the temple,

but nobody has contended that he was removed from office. (2) Darius confirmed Zerubbabel in his role as governor and temple builder despite the inquiry of Tattenai and his associates (Ezr. 6:6f.). Darius would not have granted this permission had there been any suspicion of seditious activity. (3) Ch. 4 implies that "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" waited until the reign of Artaxerxes before accusing the city and its inhabitants of being "rebellious and wicked." This delay would be hard to explain had there been earlier occasion for such an accusation. (4) Several commentators have rejected the former view that Zechariah entertained royal or messianic hopes for Zerubbabel (see esp. W. Rudolph's interpretation of Zec. 6:12f. in *Haggai — Sacharja 1-8/9-14 — Maleachi* [1976]).

One may thus conclude that Zerubbabel himself kept well clear of any politically questionable involvement; indeed, the biblical material gives the impression that he did not seek to advance himself but rather waited for others to motivate him to act. It is thus appropriate that nothing of his personal history is known after his significant role in rebuilding the second temple.

IV. Other Traditions.—Historical knowledge about Zerubbabel is confined to the sources already discussed — principally Ezr. 1–6 with the support of Hag. 1:1–2:9 and Zec. 4:6-10, which record how the prophets prompted and encouraged him in his task of temple building. In addition, the messianic title "signet ring" (cf. Jer. 22:24) and the anticipated overthrow of the nations in Hag. 2:20-23 suggest that Haggai may have entertained what proved to be exaggerated hopes of Zerubbabel. Naturally enough, he was not followed in this by subsequent writers, but there is evidence that Zerubbabel continued to be held in high esteem in early Jewish tradition.

1 Esdras is an apocryphal work based largely on 2 Ch. 35–36, Ezra, and Neh. 8. Its relationship with the canonical texts is disputed. One of its major deviations from the biblical record is the insertion (1 Esd. 3:1–5:6) of the story of a dispute at the court of Darius in which three of the king's bodyguards contest "what one thing is strongest" (3:5). The third bodyguard, who turns out to be Zerubbabel, wins the contest with his proposition that "women are strongest, but truth is victor over all things" (3:12); he is thus granted permission to lead a return to Jerusalem.

It is generally agreed today that this story is among the latest elements to be included in 1 Esdras and that in the process of its inclusion the name of Zerubbabel was added to what was originally an independent wisdom tale. It is thus unwise to use the story as evidence for the date of Zerubbabel's journey to Jerusalem (cf. III above). Together with added references in 1 Esd. 5:7f., 14; 6:27, however, it is valuable as evidence of the honor in which Zerubbabel continued to be held as an influential leader of his people and indeed as one who (unlike at Sir. 49:11f.) is put on a pedestal above Joshua the high priest. The influence of such figures as Daniel and Nehemiah is also apparent. Since in his account of the postexilic restoration Josephus (*Ant.* xi) followed 1 Esdras rather than the biblical book of Ezra, it is not surprising to find that Josephus continued this process even further (cf. S. Japhét, *ZAW*, 95 [1982], 218-229).

Bibliography.—Comms. on Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah; also S. A. Cook, "Age of Zerubbabel," in H. H. Rowley, ed., *Studies in OT Prophecy* (1950), pp. 19-36; F. I. Andersen, *Australian Biblical Review*, 6 (1958), 1-35; J. S. Wright, *Building of the Second Temple* (1958); K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (1964); A. Gelston, *VT*, 16 (1966), 232-35; P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration* (1968), pp. 138-152; K.-M. Beyse, *Serubbabel und die Königserwartungen der Propheten Haggai und Sacharja* (1972); S. Japhét, *ZAW*, 94 (1982), 66-98; H. G. M. Williamson, *JTS*, N.S. 34 (1983), 1-30; W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, eds., *Cambridge History of Judaism*, I (1984). H. G. M. WILLIAMSON

ZERUIAH zə-rōō'yə [Heb. *ṣᵉrûyâ, ṣᵉruyâ* (2 S. 14:1; 16:10) –'perfumed with mastic' (*IP*, p. 227)]. Mother of Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, three commanders of David's army (1 S. 26:6; 2 S. 2:13, 18; 3:39; 8:16; etc.). These men are always identified as sons of Zeruiah and never by the name of their father. This may have been due to her husband's early death (although it does not mention his name, 2 S. 2:32 states that his tomb was in Bethlehem), or it may indicate that she was the stronger personality. Some scholars have seen here a preservation of the ancient custom of tracing descent through the line of the mother. In 1 Ch. 2:16 Zeruiah and ABIGAIL (2) are called sisters of David; but they may have been only his half-sisters by the same mother, since 2 S. 17:25 calls Abigail the daughter of Nahash. Perhaps Nahash the father of Zeruiah and Abigail died, and his widow then became the wife of Jesse. N. J. O.

ZETHAM zē'thəm [Heb. *zēṯām*–'olive tree' (*IP*, p. 242)]. A Gershonite Levite, called the son of Ladan in 1 Ch. 23:8 but the son of Jehieli in 26:22. Possibly the MT of 26:22 should be repointed to read, "Jehiel and his brothers Zetham and Joel . . ." (so NEB). Zetham and his brother(s) were in charge of the treasuries of the temple.

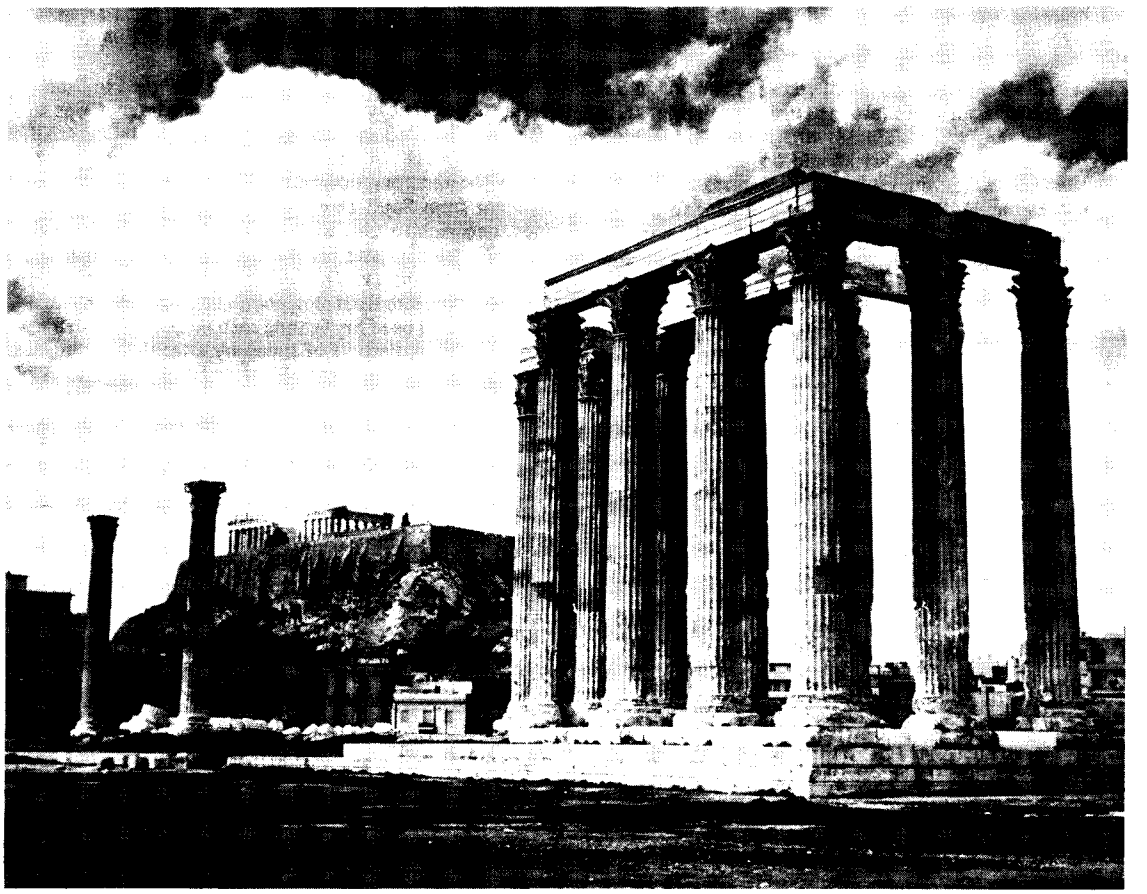
ZETHAN zē'thən [Heb. *zêṯān*–'olive tree' (*IP*, p. 242)]. Son of Bilhan; a Benjaminite (1 Ch. 7:10). *See* ZEMIRAH.

ZETHAR zē'thär [Heb. *zēṯar* < Pers. *zaitar*–'conqueror' (?) (BDB, p. 285)]. One of the seven eunuchs of King Ahasuerus (Est. 1:10).

ZEUS zōōs [Gk. *Zeus*, genitive *Dios*] (Acts 14:12f.); AV, NEB, JUPITER. One of the principal deities in the Greco-Roman pantheon. To the Romans he was known as Jovis or Jupiter.

Of Indo-European origin, Zeus was originally associated with the sky and atmospheric phenomena. He was not the ancestor of gods or people, but as the supreme deity, ruler of gods and humanity, he functioned among the Greeks as benefactor, especially to those engaged in agricultural pursuits (see, e.g., the anonymous *Hymn to Zeus Diktaios*, so termed from the Cretan mountain Dicte, E. Diehl, ed., *Anthologia Lyrica* [1925], II, 279-281). Identified as "Father," a term applied to kings in their role of concern for the needs of their subjects, Zeus served as the protector especially of the suppliant and the guest (cf. the title "Friend of Strangers," 2 Macc. 6:2). He was recognized as the god of the courtyard and of the household. Closely associated is his interest in political freedom, which earned him such titles as Soter and Eleutherios. Homer celebrated his majestic authority in *Iliad* i.528-530: "Then nodded Kronos' son with darkened brow and from his head immortal rolled in waves ambrosial locks, and great Olympus trembled at his bidding." Hesiod, recognizing Zeus as the protector of laws and morals, invoked him as a champion of justice (*Opera et dies* 213-285). From Zeus emanated all revelation.

Ancient Christian writers were quick to refer to variations of a story about Zeus's alleged grave. Callimachus, whose *Hymnus in Jovem* rivals that by Cleanthes as one of the loftiest expressions of piety in the history of devotion, had centuries earlier exposed the story as a Cretan deception. Aeschylus expressed an idea that was echoed in



The temple to Olympian Zeus built in the 2nd cent. B.C. beneath the acropolis at Athens. Originally surrounded by over one hundred Corinthian columns, this was the largest temple in Greece (Philip Gendreau, NY)

the reference to an "Unknown God" (Acts 17:23): "Zeus, whoever He may be, if that name please Him well, by this I now address Him" (*Agamemnon* 160-62). In the Hellenistic age Zeus's name was freely bestowed on the chief deity of any non-Greek tribe or region (cf. 2 Macc. 6:2). Through the cultic fusion of Greek and Egyptian piety initiated by Ptolemy I Soter (*ca.* 301-286 B.C.), Zeus gradually gave way — as did numerous other Greek deities — to Sarapis.

Acts 14:13 appears to suggest that a statue of Zeus was stationed at the gate of Lystra. Codex Bezae (D) here reads *toú óntos Dios pró póleōs*, "of the Zeus that is known as '[Zeus] Before-the-city.'" This reading appears to be secondary, reflecting knowledge of a locative title, *Zeus pró póleōs* (for inscriptions with such usage, see Wikenhauser, p. 363). A third-century A.D. inscription attests the association of Zeus with Hermes in Lycaonia (at Sedasa, about 40 km. [25 mi.] SW of Lystra). In harmony with Greco-Roman writers, Luke's account associates oxen and garlands with the cult of Zeus (see Wettstein, p. 543).

In Acts 19:35 the AV renders Gk. *diopetḗs* (used of meteorites or other objects sent from the skies) with the paraphrase, "fell down from Jupiter" (RSV "sacred stone"; NEB "fell from heaven"). *See* SACRED STONE.

Bibliography.—W. M. Calder, *Classical Review*, 24 (1910), 77; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I-III (1914-1940); W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1924-1937), VI, *s.v.*; J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, II (1752, repr. 1962), 542f.; A. Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte und Ihr Geschichtswert* (1921), pp. 362-63. F. W. DANKER

ZIA zī′ə [Heb. *zî(a)ʿ*—'trembler' (?) (*IP*, p. 242)]. Head of a Gadite clan (1 Ch. 5:13).

ZIBA zī′bə [Heb. *ṣîḇā'*, *ṣiḇā'* (2 S. 16:4)—'planting' or 'branch' (?)] (2 S. 9:2-4, 9-12; 16:1-4; 19:17, 29). A former servant of Saul who managed his estate after his master's death, assisted perhaps by his fifteen sons and twenty servants (2 S. 9:10). When David inquired if any member of Saul's family was left to whom he might show kindness for Jonathan's sake (cf. Jonathan's request and David's oath, 1 S. 20:14-17), Ziba informed him of Jonathan's crippled son Mephibosheth, who was thereupon given Saul's estate with Ziba continuing as manager (2 S. 9).

Later, during Absalom's revolt, when David was fleeing from Jerusalem, Ziba met him near the Mt. of Olives and gave him provisions and transport for the journey (16:1f.). When asked about his master Ziba accused Mephibosheth of treachery, saying that he was remaining in Jerusalem to take the kingdom (v. 3). This probably was untrue. But David, always fearing a threat from Saul's house, believed Ziba and gave him his master's estate (v. 4). When David was returning to Jerusalem, Ziba, assisted by his sons and servants, helped him cross the Jordan River (19:17f.). Soon after, Mephibosheth was able to give his version of the story, whereupon David, perhaps

not knowing whom to believe, divided the property between them (vv. 24-30). J. A. BALCHIN

ZIBEON zib'ē-ən [Heb. *ṣiḇ'ôn*–'hyena']. Third son of Seir, and father of Aiah and Anah; a Horite clan chief (Gen. 36:2, 14, 20, 24, 29; 1 Ch. 1:38, 40). The MT calls him a "Hivite" in Gen. 36:2; this should be emended to read "Horite" (cf. NEB) with vv. 20, 29 (*see* HIVITES; HORITES). In vv. 2, 14 the AV follows the MT in referring to Anah as the "daughter" of Zibeon. The RSV and NEB correctly follow the LXX, Sam. Pent., and Syr. in reading "son" (cf. also vv. 24, 29; 1 Ch. 1:40).

ZIBIA zib'ē-ə [Heb. *ṣiḇyā'*–'gazelle' (*IP*, p. 230)]. A Benjaminite; one of the sons that Shaharaim had by his wife Hadesh in the land of Moab (1 Ch. 8:9).

ZIBIAH zib'ē-ə [Heb. *ṣiḇyâ*–'gazelle' (*IP*, p. 230)]. Mother of King Joash of Judah; a native of Beer-sheba (2 K. 12:1 [MT 2]; 2 Ch. 24:1).

ZICHRI zik'rī [Heb. *ziḵrî*–'remembrance' (?); possibly a shortened form of ZECHARIAH (see *IP*, pp. 38, 187)].

1. A Kohathite Levite of the family of Izhar (Ex. 6:21).
2. A Benjaminite, son of Shimei (1 Ch. 8:19).
3. A Benjaminite, son of Shashak (1 Ch. 8:23).
4. A Benjaminite, son of Jehoram (1 Ch. 8:27).
5. A Levite of the family of Asaph (1 Ch. 9:15). He is called ZABDI (4) in Neh. 11:17.
6. A Levite descended from Eliezer; son of Joram and father of Shelomoth (1 Ch. 26:25).
7. A Reubenite; father of the Eliezer who was chief officer for his tribe in the time of David (1 Ch. 27:16).
8. A Judahite; father of the Amasiah who served as a commander of Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch. 17:16).
9. Father of the Elishaphat who was a commander in the army in the time of Jehoiada (2 Ch. 23:1).
10. A "mighty man of Ephraim" in the army of King Pekah of Israel. He is reported to have slain King Ahaz's son and two of his high officials as punishment for Ahaz's idolatry (2 Ch. 28:7).
11. A Benjaminite, father of Joel (Neh. 11:9).
12. Head of the priestly family of Abijah in the days of Joiakim, following the return from exile (Neh. 12:17).

N. J. O.

ZIDDIM zid'im [Heb. *ṣiddîm*–'sides']. A fortified town in Naphtali, W of the Sea of Galilee. It is mentioned in Josh. 19:35 along with Zer and Hammath. The Talmud identifies Ziddim with Caphar Hittaia (modern Ḥaṭṭîn el-Qadim), which is N of Qarn Ḥaṭṭîn (the "Horns of Ḥaṭṭîn") and about 8 km. (5 mi.) WNW of Tiberias; but this identification is not certain. The exact location of the site is unknown.

See *GP*, II, 460f. D. E. WARING

ZIDKIJAH zid-kī'jə (Neh. 10:1, AV). *See* ZEDEKIAH 6.

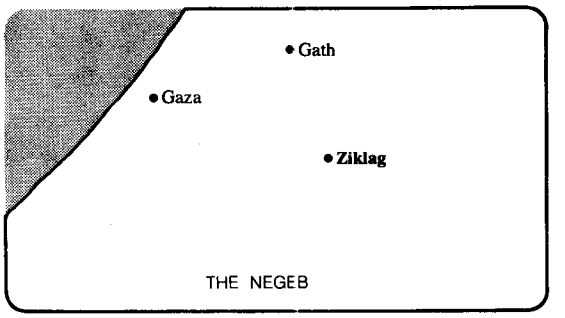
ZIDON zī'dən; **ZIDONIANS** zī-dō'nē-ənz. *See* SIDON.

ZIF zif (1 K. 6:1, 37, AV). *See* ZIV.

ZIHA zī'hə [Heb. *ṣîḥā'*, *ṣiḥā'* (Neh. 7:46); Gk. Apoc. *Esau* (1 Esd. 5:29)]; AV Apoc., NEB Apoc., ESAU. Head of a family of temple servants that returned from the Exile (Ezr. 2:43; Neh. 7:46; 1 Esd. 5:29). He is probably the same person that is called an overseer of the NETHINIM in Neh. 11:21.

ZIKLAG zik'lag [Heb. *ṣiqlag*, *ṣiqlāg* (2 S. 1:1), *ṣîqlag* (2 Ch. 12:1, 20); Gk. *Sekelak*, *Sikelag*, etc.]. A town in the western Negeb.

According to Josh. 19:5 Ziklag was assigned to Simeon (within the territory of Judah, v. 9), but later it was apparently absorbed into the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 4:30f.; cf. Josh. 15:31). In the time of Saul, however, it was within the territory occupied by the Philistines. During his flight from Saul, David found refuge with the Philistines, and Achish king of Gath gave him Ziklag as a fief (1 S. 27:6). David and his men lived in Ziklag for a year and four months (v. 7), during which time they were joined by warriors from Benjamin and Judah (1 Ch. 12:1-8 [MT 9]). David used his fighting men in aggressive defense of the southern districts of Judah by attacking the hostile tribal elements in northern Sinai and the highlands S of the Negeb (1 S. 27:8f.), but he reported to Achish that he was raiding the settled areas of Judah and its satellite tribes (v. 10). While David was at the Philistine assembly point in Aphek, the Amalekites raided the Negeb and destroyed Ziklag (30:1-3). After an exhausting pursuit David and four hundred men took the Amalekites by surprise and rescued the women and children (vv. 4-20). Under the monarchy Ziklag remained royal property (27:6). During the postexilic period Ziklag was resettled by returning Jews and listed among the cities of Judah (Neh. 11:28).



The location of Ziklag is still uncertain. It must have been in the western Negeb, because at one time it belonged to the Philistines (1 S. 27:6). Moreover, it could not have been in the central or eastern Negeb where the Judeans, Jerachmeelites, and Kenites lived, because David was ostensibly making war on them. Therefore Tell el-Khuweilfeh — often proposed as the site of Ziklag — is out of the question, since it is too far east. More likely is Tell esh-Sherî'ah (Tel Sera'), about 33 km. (20 mi.) ESE of Gaza on the Wâdī esh-Sherî'ah (Naḥal Gerar). Excavations there have shown that it was occupied in the periods during which Ziklag appears in the historical record. A stratum of Philistine occupation is especially noteworthy. No conclusive proof for this identification has been discovered, however.

Bibliography.–W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 17 (Feb. 1925), 6; A. Alt, *JPOS*, 15 (1935), 294-324; I. Press, *Topographical-Historical Encyclopaedia of Palestine*, IV (1955), 806f. (Hebrew); A. F. Rainey, *Eretz-Israel*, 12 (1975), 71f.; *EAEHL*, IV, *s.v.* "Esh-Shari'a, Tell" (E. D. Oren); E. Oren, *BA*, 45 (1982), 155-166; A. F. Rainey, "Early Historical Geography of the Negeb," in Z. Herzog, ed., *Beer-sheba*, II (1984), 100-102. A. F. RAINEY

ZILLAH zil'ə [Heb. *ṣillâ*–'shadow']. The second wife of Lamech (Gen. 4:19, 23); mother of Tubal-cain and Naamah (v. 22).

ZILLETHAI zil'ə-thī [Heb. *ṣillᵉṯay*–'(Yahweh is) a shadow (i.e., protection)' (*IP*, pp. 39, 152)]; AV, NEB, ZILTHAI.

1. A Benjaminite, son of Shimei (1 Ch. 8:20).
2. A Manassite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. 12:20 [MT 21]).

ZILPAH zil'pə [Heb. *zilpâ*]. Mother of Gad and Asher (Gen. 30:10-13; 35:26; 46:16-18). Laban gave her to Leah as a maid (Gen. 29:24; 46:18), and Leah gave her to Jacob as his "wife" (concubine) after Leah herself had stopped bearing children (30:9; cf. 37:2).

ZILTHAI zil'thī (AV, NEB, 1 Ch. 8:20; 12:20). *See* ZILLETHAI.

ZIMMAH zim'ə [Heb. *zimmâ*–'(Yahweh has) planned' (see *IP*, pp. 39, 176)]. A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 6:20, 42 [MT 5, 27]; 2 Ch. 29:12).

ZIMRAN zim'ran [Heb. *zimrān*]. A son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. 25:2; 1 Ch. 1:32), understood as a gentilic for a tribe or region by that name. Since the other names in Gen. 25:2-4 are probably to be located in Arabia, this is a likely place for Zimran. LXX B of 1 Ch. 1:32 reads Gk. *Zembran*, possibly the Zembram of Ptolemy (*Geog.* vi.7.5), a region of Cinaidocolpites on the Red Sea not far from Mecca, or the Zamareus of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vi.158). The Latin texts of both these references can be found in K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (1931), pp. 20, 32. Zimran has been identified with Zimri in Jer. 25:25, but while v. 25 mentions "the kings of Zimri" after "the kings of Arabia and all the kings of the mixed tribes that dwell in the desert" (v. 24), v. 25 groups "the kings of Zimri" (omitted by LXX) more closely with "the kings of Elam, and all the kings of Media" (v. 25); hence the identification with Zimri is not fully convincing. W. S. LASOR

ZIMRI zim'rī [Heb. *zimrî*; Gk. *Zambri, Zambrei*]; AV Apoc. ZAMBRI (1 Macc. 2:26). Apparently a Semitic name, perhaps a truncated form of Zimri-el on the analogy of Zimri-lim at Mari (see Huffmon; cf. *zkr'l* in Jackson) or Zimri-yahu (cf. Diringer). The exact etymology of the name is uncertain. Some have proposed that it means "my protection," based on the Arabic root *ḏmr* (cf. Job 35:10). Noth (*IP*, p. 176) attributed the name to the Hebrew and Aramaic root *zmr*, "sing" (hence Zimri means "my song"; cf. Ex. 15:2; Isa. 12:2; 25:5; Ps. 118:14). J. Gray suggested that the ending *-î* may merely signify a nickname (p. 361). G. B. Gray related the name to *zmrn*, "mountain sheep" (cf. *zemer*, Dt. 14:5; Zimran, Gen. 25:2; 1 Ch. 1:32).

1. Son of Salu; a Simeonite elder who shamelessly committed adultery with Cozbi, a Midianite princess (Nu. 25:14). By slaying both Zimri and Cozbi, Phinehas stayed the plague that God had sent upon Israel (cf. 1 Macc. 2:26; 1 Cor. 10:8).

2. King of Israel for seven days in Tirzah, and successor of Elah son of Baasha, whom he assassinated. Zimri was the commander of half the Israelite chariotry, and he usurped the throne while Elah was in a drunken stupor in Tirzah and the remainder of the Israelite army was besieging Gibbethon (1 K. 16:9f., 15; cf. 15:27). Upon establishing himself as king, Zimri systematically exterminated all potential rivals from the extended family of Baasha in accordance with the oracle of the prophet Jehu (16:11f.). The persistent idolatry of Baasha and Elah was cited as the reason for God's judgment (v. 13; cf. vv. 1-4, 7). Zimri's assassination of Elah was later alluded to by Jezebel, who greeted Jehu with the words: "Is it peace, you Zimri, murderer of your master?" (2 K. 9:31).

When the Israelite troops at Gibbethon heard of the coup in Tirzah they immediately installed Omri, the commander-in-chief, as a rival king (presumably with the support of "all Israel," 1 K. 16:16). Then Omri withdrew from Gibbethon and besieged Tirzah (v. 17). Seeing Omri's certain victory, Zimri went into the citadel of the palace and burned the building down over him, thereby committing suicide (v. 18).

These events are dated to the twenty-seventh year of Asa's reign (16:10). Some scholars, e.g., J. Gray (p. 64) and E. Theile (*MNHK*, pp. 62-64), assuming synchronism between the records of Judah and Israel, have placed Zimri's brief reign in 885 B.C. Others, e.g., W. F. Albright, followed by J. Bright (*BHI* [3rd ed. 1981], p. 239), have regarded the synchronism as a secondary factor (since it is omitted in the LXX) and have placed Zimri's rebellion in Asa's thirty-eighth year (*ca.* 876 B.C.). (*See* CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT V.A, B.)

Like the other kings of Israel, Zimri was judged by the biblical author as evil for perpetuating the bull-god cult of Jeroboam (16:19f.). While Zimri probably had little opportunity to "walk in the way of Jeroboam," given his one-week reign, he may have issued a formal statement of adherence to Jeroboam's religious policy.

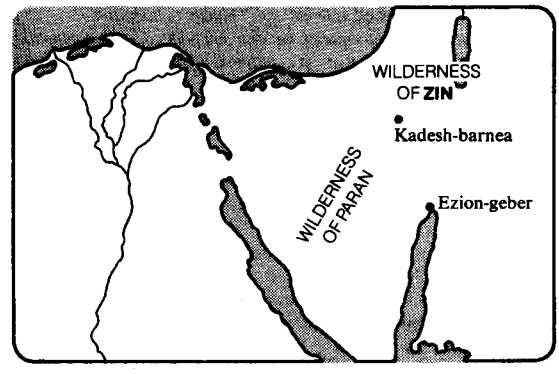
3. Son of Zerah and grandson of Judah and Tamar (1 Ch. 2:6). In Josh. 7:1, 17f. he is called ZABDI (1).

4. Son of Jehoaddah (1 Ch. 8:36; called Jarah in 9:42); a descendant of King Saul through Jonathan and Meribaal (Mephibosheth).

Bibliography.–W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 100 (Dec. 1945), 16-22; D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche Palestinesi* (1934), pp. 25, 43 n.18, 211; G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Names* (1896), p. 154; J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (*OTL*, 2nd ed. 1970), pp. 361-65; H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (1965), pp. 187f.; K. P. Jackson, *Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* (*Harvard Semitic Monographs*, 27; 1983), no. 43; J. M. Miller, *JBL*, 86 (1967), 76-88; J. A. Montgomery, *ICC* on 1 and 2 Kings (1951), pp. 283-290. A. E. HILL

ZIMRI zim'rī [Heb. *zimrî*]; NEB ZAMRI. A region or tribal district of uncertain location, listed with Elam and Media in Jer. 25:25. The phrase "all the kings of Zimri" is lacking in the LXX. The records of Sargon of Assyria (*ARAB*, II, §§ 20, 155) mention a Mt. Zimur somewhere on the border of Urartu and Mannai, perhaps SE of Lake Urmiah. *CAH*, III, Map 5 locates Zimri directly S of Lake Urmiah and between the Lower Zab and Adhan Rivers. Some commentators (e.g., J. A. Thompson, *Book of Jeremiah* [*NICOT*, 1980], p. 518) have even suggested reading "Zimki," an athbash for Elam (cf. Jer. 49:34-39). A. E. HILL

ZIN zin [Heb. *ṣin*]. An area of "wilderness" (Heb. *miḏbār*) through which the Israelites passed on their way from Egypt to Canaan. The wilderness of Zin was the locale of



several biblical events. Moses sent the twelve spies to reconnoiter the land "from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob, near the entrance of Hamath" (Nu. 13:21). Kadesh-barnea was in the wilderness of Zin (e.g., 33:36; but cf. 13:26, which places this oasis in the wilderness of PARAN). Miriam's death (20:1) and the incident at Meribah for which Moses was denied entrance to the Promised Land (27:14; Dt. 32:51) are both placed at KADESH (1) in the wilderness of Zin.

These references indicate that the wilderness of Zin was located S of Canaan in an area including Kadesh-barnea. Its location is further defined in a description of the southern boundary of the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:1-4; cf. Nu. 34:3f.). Unfortunately, the precise location of the ascent of Akrabbim is disputed. In the itinerary of Nu. 33 the Israelites journey into the wilderness of Zin from Ezion-geber, located at the tip of the Gulf of Aqabah. Thus the wilderness of Zin appears to have been located W of the Arabah, S of the Salt Sea, and NW of the Gulf of Aqabah.

T. V. BRISCO

ZINA zī'nə. *See* ZIZAH.

ZION zī'ən [Heb. *ṣîyôn*; Gk. *Siōn*]; AV also SION. An ancient name attached to different sites within JERUSALEM in various periods of the city's history.

I. Origin
II. Semantic Development in the OT
  A. Geographical Designation
    1. Jebusite Fortress
    2. Temple Mount
    3. Jerusalem
  B. Soteriological Application
III. Semantic Development in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Times
  A. Intertestamental Period
    1. Temple Mount
    2. "Citadel"
  B. First Century A.D.
  C. Later Developments
IV. Modern Research

I. Origin.–The etymology of the ancient Hebrew term is uncertain, but among the several proposals two are particularly attractive. J. Wetzstein derived it from the Semitic root preserved in Arabic as *ṣâna*, "protect" — i.e., from a hypothetical **ṣîyân*, "fortress," or the like (see F. Delitzsch, *Genesis* [4th ed. 1872], p. 578). G. A. Smith took as his starting point the Arabic name for Mt. Zion, Jebel Ṣahyûn. He did not mention Syr. *Ṣehyôn*, which probably gave rise to the Arabic form; but he cited Arab. *ṣahweh*, "tower on top of a mountain," and noted the well-fortified site on the edge of a hill in Lebanon called *Ṣehyûn*. The following derivation might thus be posited: Heb. **ṣîyôn* ("fortified tower") < **ṣîyân* < **ṣihyân*.

II. Semantic Development in the OT.–A. Geographical Designation. Whatever its etymology, "Zion" was primarily a topographical designation.

1. Jebusite Fortress. It was David who conquered the "stronghold of Zion" (Heb. *mᵉṣûḏaṯ ṣîyôn*) and there established his own royal residence, calling it "the city of David" (2 S. 5:7, 9 par. 1 Ch. 11:5, 7). This stronghold was lower than the temple and palace complex built by Solomon, since it was necessary to "bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, which is Zion" (1 K. 8:1 par. 2 Ch. 5:2). Pharaoh's daughter also "went up from the city of David to her own house which Solomon had built for her" (1 K. 9:24; cf. 2 Ch. 8:11, which alludes to the ark's former presence in the city of David). Furthermore, the "city of David" must have been above the Gihon spring; i.e., it was apparently identical with the Ophel (Heb. *ʿôpel*), the ridge extending S from the temple mount (2 Ch. 33:14).

See Vol. I, Map XXIV.

2. Temple Mount. With the establishment of the ark first in the Jebusite fortress and then in the newly built temple, Zion became known as the sacred dwelling place of Israel's Lord, the One "who dwells in Zion" (Ps. 9:11 [MT 12]). The divine oath to establish the Davidic dynasty is linked with His choice of Zion as His abode (Ps. 132, esp. vv. 13f.); and though these oracular pronouncements originally referred to Salem, the pre-Israelite city (cf. Gen. 14:18), as Yahweh's residence (Ps. 76:2 [MT 3]), the emphasis soon changed to "Zion, my holy hill" (Ps. 2:6). The Lord of Hosts dwells at Mt. Zion (Ps. 74:2; Isa. 8:18; 18:7) and reigns from there (Mic. 4:7b). Mt. Zion and Jerusalem are sometimes named together (Isa. 10:12; 24:23; Joel 2:32 [MT 3:5]; Zec. 1:14), but whether the terms are synonymous or refer to separate entities is hard to decide. Zion is called "the city of our appointed feasts" (Isa. 33:20); the capital, Jerusalem, is evidently meant here, since it was the focal point for the three great annual pilgrimages. Nevertheless, in the postexilic era the City of David was limited to that lower part of the ridge on the south (Neh. 3:15f.).

See Vol. I, Map XXV.

3. Jerusalem. Eventually the term "Zion" was extended to include the entire city, but this synecdoche usually occurs in poetic passages. "Zion" can stand in juxtaposition to the "cities of Judah" (Ps. 69:35 [MT 36]), or it can occur in parallelism with "Jerusalem" (Isa. 4:3f.; 52:1f.), most notably in Ps. 48, where "the city of our God, his holy mountain" is "Mount Zion, . . . the city of the great King" (vv. 1f. [MT 2f.]). Mt. Zion is even exalted to the status of the mysterious *yarkᵉṯê ṣāpôn*, literally, "the remotenesses of the North" (v. 2 [MT 3]) — a figurative allusion to the old West Semitic abode of Baal in the recesses of Mt. Zaphon, attested in Ugaritic literature of the 14th cent. B.C. (*ṣrrt ṣpn* or *mṛym ṣpn*).

More frequently, however, the city itself is called the "daughter of Zion" as distinct from the actual "mount." For example, the approaching foe will "shake his fist at the mount of the *daughter* [MT *K* and versions] of Zion, the hill [LXX "hills"!] of Jerusalem" (Isa. 10:32; see also 16:1).

Besides "daughter of Zion" (Isa. 1:8; 52:2; 62:11; Jer. 4:31; 6:2, 23; Mic. 1:13; 4:10, 13; etc.), the city is known as "the virgin daughter of Zion" (2 K. 19:21; Isa. 37:22; Lam. 2:13) and "inhabitant of Zion" (*yôšeḇeṯ ṣîyôn*, Isa. 12:6; Jer. 51:35). The Lord calls the citizenry of Jerusalem "sons of Zion" (Lam. 4:2; Joel 2:23; Zec. 9:13) and "daughters of Zion" (Isa. 3:16f.; 4:4). The senior members of the society are called "the elders of the daughter of Zion" (Lam. 2:10).

That the "daughter of Zion" means the city of Jerusalem is clear from allusions to her wall (Lam. 2:8) and gates (Ps. 9:14 [MT 15]). Zion itself is sometimes characterized as a fortified city with gates (Ps. 87:2), towers, ramparts, and citadels (Ps. 48:12f. [MT 13f.]). These latter expressions are somewhat uncertain, however, since the palace-temple complex that Solomon built within the city itself was also a fortified citadel with the same architectural elements.

B. Soteriological Application. The sociological application of the term "Zion" to the population of Jerusalem is naturally extended to denote the people of God. The basis for this development is Zion's position as the focal point of God's soteriological activity, His deliverance of His holy abode from many adversaries (Isa. 33:5; 34:8; 52:8).

Development of this usage received special impetus from the Exile, particularly since it was the captive population of Jerusalem (and Judah) that produced the prophetic and literary spokesmen who used the term (cf. Ps. 126:1; 129:5).

III. Semantic Development in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Times.–A. Intertestamental Period. 1. Temple Mount. In this period "Zion" clearly designates the height occupied by the temple, which was cleansed by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. 4:36-61, esp. vv. 37, 60; cf. also 5:54; 6:48, 62; 7:33; 10:11; 14:27; apparently also Jth. 9:13; Sir. 24:10). Undoubtedly only the eastern hill is meant, since the Seleucid enemy was holding a strong point on the western side of the Tyropoeon Valley, opposite the temple.

2. "Citadel." In 167 B.C. the Seleucid army built a heavily fortified enclosure around what was now called the City of David; this fortress they called Acra ("citadel"; Gk. *ákra,* 1 Macc. 1:33-36). The liberation of the temple mount by Judas leaves no doubt that the Acra was on the western hill; Judas had to employ some of his troops against the Seleucids in the citadel during the cleansing of the temple area (1 Macc. 4:41). Thus the city of David cannot have been in its former position on Ophel, for otherwise the Jewish forces could hardly have gained access to the temple.

The construction of a fortress on the western ridge may have coincided with the attempt to establish there a Hellenistic polis or city-state (2 Macc. 4:7-17). V. Tcherikover noted that the Jewish hellenizers' request for Antiochian citizenship and the founding of Hellenic institutions such as the gymnasium point to the organization of such a municipal entity with all the civil and religious status that entailed; he was probably correct in assuming that the new polis was to be called "Antiochia in Jerusalem." Only in 141 B.C. was the troublesome citadel conquered by Simon Maccabeus (1 Macc. 13:49-53). The surrender of the fortress gave the anti-Hellenist Jews access to the former polis on the western ridge, which by then was firmly established in local parlance as the City of David (1 Macc. 14:36). The dismantling of the Seleucid stronghold was evidently carried out by one of the later Hasmonean rulers (Josephus *BJ* v.4.1 [137-39]) and not by Simon himself (cf. *BJ* i.2.2 [50]; *Ant.* xiii.6.7 [215-17]). On the site of the Acra the Hasmoneans built their own palace which was later taken over by the Herodian dynasty (*Ant.* xx.8.11 [189f.]). This must have been where Herod Antipas resided during the Passover season when Jesus was led before him (Lk. 23:6-12).

B. First Century A.D. Josephus placed the City of David, also known in his day as the Upper City, unequivocally on the western ridge. He asserted that here was the "fortress" (Gk. *phroúrion,* his rendering for Heb. *mᵉṣûḏâ*) that David had occupied, but that his own contemporaries called the place "the upper market." This "Davidic" fortress-market area he clearly distinguished from the promontory projecting E from the western ridge toward the temple mount, i.e., the Acra of the former Seleucid citadel (*BJ* v.4.1 [137-39]).

See Vol. I, Map XXVI.

The monumental "tomb of David" is usually (though not unanimously) presumed to have been on the western ridge, just as one of Herod's mighty towers, named after his brother Phasael (*BJ* v.4.3 [166-69]), is still popularly known as "David's Tower." Josephus recorded that the impressive Tomb of David was deprived of its treasures by Hyrcanus (*BJ* i.2.5 [61]; *Ant.* vii.15.3 [392f.]; xiii.8.4 [249]) and later by Herod (*Ant.* xvi.7.1 [179, 181, 188]). None of these passages (nor Acts 2:29) states that the tomb was actually on the western hill. On the contrary, a rabbinic testimony contends that the tombs of the prophetess Huldah and King David both had underground channels (Heb. *mᶜḥillôṯ*) that carried their uncleanness down to the Kidron (Rabbi Akiba in Tosefta *Baba Bathra* i.11f.). Since Huldah's tomb was presumably near the two gates on the temple enclosure's south side (which are named after her, Mish. *Middoth* i.3), the Davidic funerary monument thus should also be on the eastern ridge, S of the temple mount. Rabbi Akiba's statement that both tombs were connected with the Kidron via subterranean channels strengthens the impression that the eastern location of David's tomb was still recognized at the end of the 1st cent. A.D.; i.e., the biblical tradition (Neh. 3:16) was still alive. The structure fell into ruin during the Bar Cochba revolt (A.D. 135), as reported by Dio Cassius (*Hist.* lxix.14), and Christians long tended to place David's burial site in Bethlehem.

Remarkably, Josephus did not use the term "Zion." He may have been influenced by the sharp distinction between the temple mount (i.e., the eastern ridge) as Zion and the western ridge as the City of David — a distinction already in vogue during the Hasmonean period (see III.A above).

The NT writers usually referred to Zion only in quotations from the OT, e.g., Mt. 21:5 and Jn. 12:15 (= Zec. 9:9); Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:6 (= Isa. 28:16; cf. 8:14f.); Rom. 11:26 (= Isa. 59:20; note Heb. *lᵉṣîyôn* rendered by Gk. *ek Siōn,* "from Zion," perhaps reflecting an ancient prepositional usage). None of these passages implies a connection with any particular ridge or hill within Jerusalem. On the other hand, twice in the NT "Zion" has a spiritual meaning. In He. 12:22 it represents the Christian fold as the abode of the living God, i.e., the "heavenly Jerusalem," and Rev. 14:1 makes Mt. Zion the focal point of the messianic reign. This latter concept is also expressed in contemporary Jewish apocalyptic (e.g., Jub. 1:28), which considered Zion the navel of the earth (8:19).

C. Later Developments. Origen continued to identify Zion with the temple mount (*In Ioannem* iv.19f.), and Jerome may have done the same in one passage (*In Esai* xxii.1f.). Eusebius stated merely that *Siōn* was "a mountain in Jerusalem" (*Onom.* 162.12), but Jerome translated "*the* mountain *of* Jerusalem" (*Onom.* 163.14); the Greek original may imply that Zion was considered separate from the temple hill, but the evidence is tenuous. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) clearly called the western ridge *Sion,* referring to both the southern portion outside the city wall of his day and also the northern part inside the city. Epiphanius (d. A.D. 392), reputedly basing his statement on Hegesippus (2nd cent. A.D.; though perhaps a work by Aristo of Pella stands behind the tradition), claimed that when Hadrian came to Jerusalem (A.D. 130) he found the entire city, including the temple mount, in ruins, except for Zion. This testimony makes good sense, in view of Josephus's statement that Titus had left only Herod's three towers (beside the present-day Jaffa Gate) and part of the western wall (*BJ* vi.9.1 [413]; vii.1.1 [1-4]); the 10th Legion camped on the western ridge. Therefore both Epiphanius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim have transferred the name Zion to the western ridge. Epiphanius referred to the "little church of God" commemorating the site where the disciples had assembled after the Ascension; subsequent church writers were unanimous in this testimony.

Apparently several factors led to the transfer of the name "Zion" to the western hill. First, in Hasmonean times the "City of David" was located on the western hill in contradistinction to the temple mount, which remained Mt. Zion. Then the Romans destroyed the entire city on

the eastern ridge, including the temple. The western ridge survived the disaster of A.D. 70 and after 135, when Hadrian expelled the Jews from the city and defiled the temple mount with his pagan shrine, the Christians were left with the southern promontory of the western ridge as the focal point for their own worship; meanwhile they kept alive the tradition that the site of the crucifixion was N of the northern extremity of the same ridge. Their own apologetic needs led them to interpret various passages (e.g., Isa. 2:3 and 59:20 as reflected in Rom. 11:26) as proof that their community was the new Zion, the center of revelation and redemption for the world.

Since the 10th cent. A.D. the tomb of David has also been located on the southwest spur of the western ridge. Moslem writers of the 10th and 11th cents. alluded to Christian (and Jewish) traditions in this regard. In the 12th cent. Benjamin of Tudela recorded the story of the tomb's "discovery" during excavations for repairs on the church on that site. The present structure houses the Cenaculum or "upper room," evidently the building shown on the Madeba Map as attached to the basilica of Mt. Zion. Archeological investigation has shown that the original structure was a late Roman synagogue that was subsequently converted into a mosque.

IV. Modern Research.–After his second visit to Jerusalem, the nineteenth-century scholar E. Robinson asserted that the identification of Zion with the western ridge was unassailable (*Later Biblical Researches*, p. 206). Others were already beginning to question this point, however, and during the ensuing decades many scholars contributed to a lively debate on the subject. F. F. Birch (*PEQ*, 1878ff.) published a series of articles in which he argued strongly for the location of the City of David and Zion on the Ophel, i.e., the eastern ridge. Many others followed suit, including C. Wilson and C. Warren, two leading investigators of Jerusalem's topography. Significant among Catholic scholars was the definitive essay by M. J. Lagrange (*RB*, 1 [1892], 17-38), whose expert knowledge of the city and its historical sources was unimpeachable. He demonstrated the prior claims of the eastern ridge and explained the transfer of the name in early Christian times as a natural outgrowth of the contemporary physical situation in the new Aelia Capitolina and of the Church's spiritual aspirations. Thus both the demands of historical topography and the respect for ecclesiastical tradition were satisfied.

From 1948 to 1967 the southern spur of the western ridge was the only part of Old Jerusalem occupied by the Israelis. Because the Israelis were denied access to their holy places in the Jewish quarter, the Tomb of David became the focal point for pilgrimage and prayer. Modern Jews, Christians, and Moslems still use the name "Mt. Zion" for this southwest spur, and the gate opening onto it is known as the "Zion Gate." The associations of Zion with the northern continuation of the western ridge, so fundamental to E. Robinson and others in the 19th cent., are practically forgotten. Scholarly circles generally acknowledge the claims regarding the eastern ridge as reflected in the biblical sources. Though archeological excavations shed new light on problems of Jerusalem's topography from year to year, the most significant point for the location of Zion on the Ophel is the conclusive evidence that the pre-Israelite city, i.e., the Jebusite citadel conquered by David, was on the eastern ridge.

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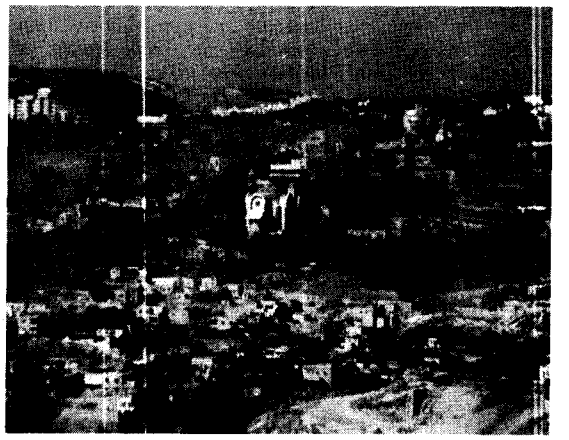
The southwestern hill of "Zion" showing the mosque built over the crusader church on the traditional site of David's tomb and the Last Supper (W. S. LaSor)



ZIOR [Heb. *ṣî'ōr*–'little, insignificant'; Gk. LXX A *Siōr*, B *Sōrth*]. A town in the hill country of Jodah, part of a district of nine cities that apparently extended to the SW of Hebron (Josh. 15:52-54). The site cannot be identified with confidence. The common association of biblical Zior with modern Si'īr is beset with numerous difficulties: the location of the modern village, 8 km. (5 mi.) NE of Hebron, appears to be more consonant with the district described in Josh. 15:58f. (Halhul, modern Ḥalḥûl, is located between Hebron and Si'īr); the confirmed spelling of the Arab. *Si'îr* (not *Ṣâ'îr*, as in BDB, p. 859; cf. *GTTOT*, §319 B/9) is phonetically dissimilar to the Heb. *ṣî'ōr*; finally, the modern village lies in a valley, an uncharacteristic site for biblical cities, and shows no clear evidence of pre-Byzantine settlement.

See also ZAIR.

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J. T. BUTLER

ZIPH zif [Heb. *zîp*].

1. Son of MARESHAH (1) (or Mesha; cf. RSV mg., AV, NEB) and grandson of Caleb (1 Ch. 2:42). Although listed in the context of Caleb's genealogy, Ziph probably refers here to a town in Judah "founded" (cf. NEB) by Mareshah or Mesha. *See* ZIPH (place) 1.

2. Son of Jehallelel and head of a clan in Judah (1 Ch. 4:16); possibly a reference to a town in Judah (*see* ZIPH [place] 1).

ZIPH (place) [Heb. *zîp*; Gk. LXX A *Ziph*, B *Ozeib*].

1. A town in the easternmost district of the hill country of Judah, adjacent to the wilderness region leading down to the Dead Sea. The "wilderness of Ziph" figures prominently in the accounts of David's flight from Saul: here David receives a renewed pledge of loyalty from Saul's son Jonathan (1 S. 23:14-18); he is betrayed by the Ziphites, who send to Saul at Gibeah to disclose David's whereabouts (1 S. 23:19-24; 26:1; cf. the title of Ps. 54 [MT 1f.]); when Saul comes in pursuit of him, David wins his blessing

by sparing his life (1 S. 26:2-25). The town is also mentioned as one of fifteen fortified by Rehoboam in order to secure Judah and Benjamin after the defection of the northern tribes (2 Ch. 11:8). Ziph is one of four place names occurring in an extensive series of stamped jar-handles, recovered from a number of southern sites, which bear the expression *lmlk* ("pertaining to the king"); although the precise significance of these stamps is disputed, they suggest that Ziph was of importance during the 7th and early 6th cents. as a center of administrative or economic activity under royal sponsorship.

Ziph is almost certainly to be located in the vicinity of modern Tell Zîf, an imposing mound 7 km. (4 mi.) SE of Hebron. The site has strategic significance for protecting the southeast approach to Hebron and central Judah, and the fertile plain to the west was undoubtedly of agricultural importance in antiquity. No excavations have been conducted, but pottery shards typical of Iron II (monarchical period) have been found.

Bibliography.–H. J. Stoebe, *ZDPV,* 80 (1964), 9f.; P. Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel* (1969).

2. A town in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15:24). Although it is sometimes identified with ez-Zeifeh (SW of Kurnub/Mampsis), the site cannot be located with certainty (cf. *GTTOT,* §317, 10). J. T. BUTLER

ZIPHAH zīf'ə [Heb. *zîpâ*]. Son of Jehallelel and head of a clan in Judah (1 Ch. 4:16).

ZIPHIMS zif'imz (superscription of Ps. 54, AV). *See* ZIPHITES.

ZIPHION zif'ē-ən [Heb. *ṣipyôn*]. First son of Gad (Gen. 46:16). The Sam. Pent. and LXX support the reading "Zephon," which occurs at Nu. 26:15.

ZIPHITES zif'īts [Heb. *(haz)zîpîm, (haz)zipîm*]; AV also ZIPHIMS (superscription to Ps. 54; NEB omits). Inhabitants of ZIPH (1) in the hill country of Judah. When David was hiding from Saul in the wilderness of Ziph, the Ziphites informed the king about his hiding place and offered to assist in his capture (1 S. 23:19f.). Saul requested that they provide more exact information (vv. 21-24), and they fulfilled this request by returning later with a further report on David's hiding place (26:1). The superscription to Ps. 54 appears to be a later addition to a psalm that pleads for God's protection from enemies that seek the psalmist's life. N. J. O.

ZIPHRON zif'ron [Heb. *ziprôn*]. A place on the northern boundary of the Promised Land, between Zedad and Hazar-enan (Nu. 34:9). Its exact location is unknown.

ZIPPOR zip'ôr [Heb. *ṣippôr*–'bird']. The father of Balak king of Moab (Nu. 22:2, 4, 10, 16; 23:18; Josh. 24:9; Jgs. 11:25).

ZIPPORAH zi-pôr'ə, zip'ə-rə [Heb. *ṣippōrâ*–'sparrow' or 'swallow']. Daughter of Reuel/Jethro the priest of Midian; Moses' wife (Ex. 2:21). The Midianites were descendants of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25:1f.). They lived in Sinai and northern Arabia in the area around the Gulf of Aqabah. Moses met the daughters of Reuel while fleeing from the wrath of Pharaoh (Ex. 2:15f.).

Zipporah was the mother of Moses' sons Gershom (Ex. 2:22) and Eliezer (18:2-4). As Moses was returning to Egypt to liberate the Hebrews, he (or possibly his son) was attacked by the Lord (4:24). The reason for this attack is not clear, but Zipporah perceived that somehow the Abrahamic covenant had been violated (Gen. 17:14); so she circumcised her son (Ex. 4:25), and God's judgment stopped.

Zipporah is mentioned a third time in Ex. 18:2, which states that she and her sons had been sent back to her father's home but now, after the exodus from Egypt, were rejoining Moses. The narrative does not disclose the circumstances that led to Zipporah's return to Midian, but probably her safety was the concern.

Some scholars think that during Zipporah's absence Moses married another woman, the CUSHITE WOMAN who was the object of Aaron and Miriam's scorn (Nu. 12:1f.). The fact that "Cushite" usually refers to Nubians or Ethiopians supports this view. In Hab. 3:7, however, "Cushan" and "Midian" occur in parallelism, which suggests that the terms could be synonyms. Since the peoples of Nubia and Ethiopia were black-skinned, possibly the term was applied to other darker-skinned nomadic peoples like the Midianites. Therefore the "Cushite" woman of Nu. 2:1f. could well have been the Midianite Zipporah.

See also MOSES II.B, E. J. K. HOFFMEIER

ZITHRI zith'rī (Ex. 6:22, AV). *See* SITHRI.

ZIV ziv [Heb. *ziw*] (1 K. 6:1, 37); AV ZIF. The second month of the Canaanite calendar. *See* CALENDAR II.A.2.

ZIZ, ASCENT OF [Heb. *ma'ᵃlēh haṣṣîṣ*]. A pass used by a coalition of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites to ascend from the shore of the Dead Sea at En-gedi against the forces of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem (2 Ch. 20:16). This route through the difficult terrain of the Judean wilderness has traditionally been identified with the course of the Wâdī Ḥaṣâṣah, by which there is access from En-gedi to the road connecting with Tekoa, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. A survey of this ascent found evidence of an ancient road from Israelite times with some Roman improvements. The road rises 328 m. (1076 ft.) from En-gedi, and with its cutbacks it is 1680 m. (5512 ft.) long. The natural 45 percent gradient of the slope is improved by the road to an average of 19.5 percent.

See M. Harel, *IEJ,* 17 (1967), 18-26. J. T. BUTLER

ZIZA zī'zə [Heb. *zîzā'*, prob. a name of endearment, using reduplication of a shortened form of the name (see *IP,* pp. 40f.)].

1. A Simeonite chief whose family participated in their tribe's expansion toward Geder (1 Ch. 4:37; cf. vv. 38-41).

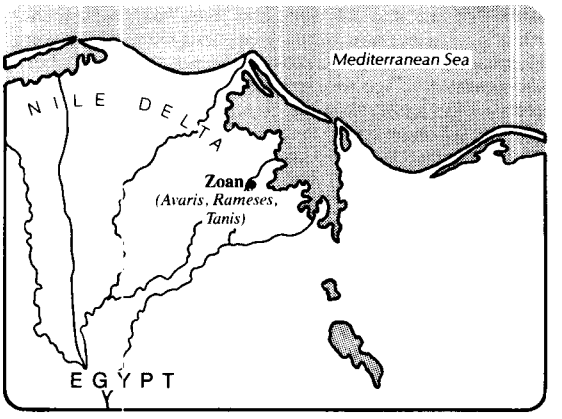
2. A son of King Rehoboam by Maacah (2 Ch. 11:20).

ZIZAH zī'zə [Heb. *zîzâ; see* ZIZA]. A Gershonite Levite, son of Shimei (1 Ch. 23:11). In v. 10 he is called Zina (Heb. *zînā'*), but this is probably a transcriptional error. The LXX and Vulgate have *Ziza* in both verses, and one Hebrew MS has *zîzā'* in v. 10. Thus "Ziza" should be read in both verses (cf. NEB).

ZOAN zō'an [Heb. *ṣō'an*; Gk. *Tanis*; Copt. *Djaane,* etc.; Egyp. *Ḏ'nt, Djane(t)*]. An Egyptian city in the northeastern Delta, identified with Ṣân el-Ḥagar, which J. Yoyotte labeled "the most famous site in the Delta" (*Encyclopedia of Egyptian Civilization* [1959], p. 279).

I. Other Names and Identifcations.–The site has had a plethora of names and identifications. It was once commonly regarded as the site of Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos, but most scholars now identify Avaris with Tell el-Dab'a (see Baines and Málek, pp. 175f.). Many also identify it with Pi-Ra'messe, the Delta residence of Ramses II, and with Rameses, the store-city built for the Egyp-

tians by Israelite slave labor (Ex. 1:11), although Qanṭîr is now the generally accepted site of Pi-Ra'messe (see Baines and Málek, pp. 175f.).



The name Zoan constitutes a minor biblical textual problem, for the Egyp. *D'nt* is not known before the 21st Dynasty (*ca.* 1085-945 B.C.); if this is truly the earliest date for the name, attributable to the 21st Dynasty builders at Ṣân, its presence in the biblical text may be explained by a copyists's updating of a place name.

II. Biblical References.–Zoan is mentioned in the Pentateuch only in Nu. 13:22, which says, "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." Unfortunately, the date of the founding of neither city is known, but the evidence indicates that both cities were very ancient.

In an oracle concerning Egypt (Isa. 19) Isaiah asserted, "the princes of Zoan are utterly foolish" (v. 11; cf. v. 13). Chapter 30 graphically portrays the futility of Israel's trusting in Egypt rather than in the Lord; although Pharaoh's officials are at Zoan, reliance upon Egypt will lead only to disgrace and humiliation (vv. 4f.).

Ezekiel also pronounced a prophecy against Egypt, and in 30:14 the Lord declares: "I will make Pathros a desolation, and will set fire to Zoan, and will execute acts of judgment upon Thebes."

The only other biblical reference to Zoan is the expression "the fields of Zoan" (Ps. 78:12, 43), referring to the place where God wrought the miracles and plagues that preceded the Exodus. Parallels to this expression are found in Egyptian sources.

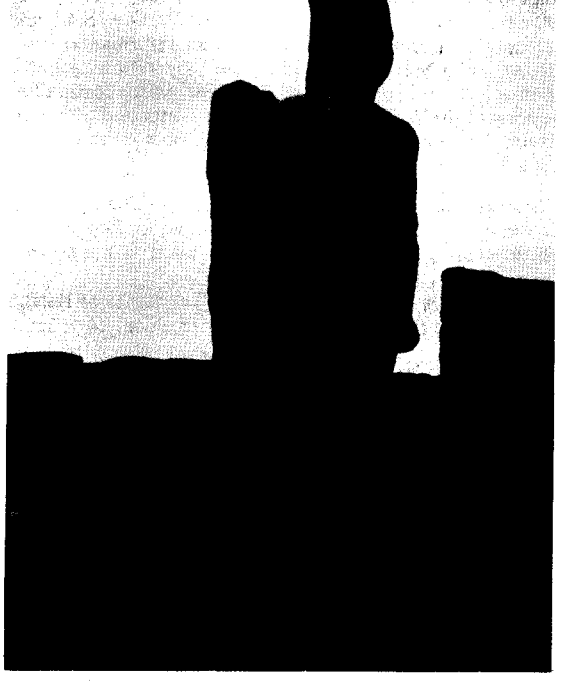
III. Archeological History.–Modern archeological interest in Ṣân el-Ḥagar dates to the expedition of Napoleon (1798) and the work of the savants who produced the *Description de l'Égypte*. In the 19th cent. the antiquities hunters were at work, and monuments from this site began to appear in the museums of western Europe. J. F. Champollion recognized the importance of the place, and the early investigators felt that this city was the residence of the pharaoh who persecuted the Israelites. In 1860 A. Mariette undertook excavations with brilliant results, including the finding of colossi, sphinxes, and stelae (one of which was the celebrated 400-Year Stele), as well as a granite edifice of Ramses II. In 1884 W. M. F. Petrie worked at this site for the Egypt Exploration Fund. The results were published in two memoirs, which included descriptions of many of the objects unearthed by Mariette but incompletely published. The most extensive investigation of Ṣân el-Ḥagar was conducted by P. Montet, who began excavating in 1929 and continued for more than twenty seasons, with remarkable finds to reward his efforts.

IV. History of the City.–The site is an excellent example of how monuments were reused or usurped in antiquity. The oldest remains date to the time of Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty (*ca.* 2300 B.C.), but Petrie argued convincingly that they were brought to Zoan from another site at a later date. There was beautiful statuary of the Middle Kingdom, mostly 12th Dynasty (*ca.* 1991-1786 B.C.). Among the remains of colossi are parts of a statue of Amenemhet II, which Petrie regarded as in some respects the finest Egyptian statue known. The striking red granite sphinxes (now at Cairo and the Louvre) were later appropriated by Merneptah and Sheshonq I (Shishak). Many of the works of this period were usurped by later kings, particularly of the 19th Dynasty (esp. Ramses II). The crude craftsmanship of the later period contrasts markedly with the fine work of the Middle Kingdom.

In the 19th Dynasty Ramses II (*ca.* 1304-1227 B.C.) did much building at Ṣân. He constructed a large temple and appropriated many of the monuments of his predecessors, but no remains of a palace or royal residence have been found. The site of the Delta residence (Pi-Ra'messe) of Ramses II is uncertain; the leading alternatives appear to be Ṣân el-Ḥagar (supported by Montet, Gardiner, Albright, *et al.*) and Qanṭîr (favored by M. Hamza, W. C. Hayes, P. Courroyer, L. Habachi, *et al.*), about 19 km. (12 mi.) to the south. J. Yoyotte stated that the claims are about even and wisely suggested that further excavation at both sites is necessary. It has been proposed that Pi-Ra'messe took in both sites, with Qanṭîr having the palace and Ṣân being the religious center (see A. Alt, *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker* [1954]. pp. 3-13; cf. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 175).

Yoyotte also observed that Ramses II built so many cities bearing his name that it is not certain which was the biblical Rameses (Ex. 1:11). On the other hand, propo-

The granite statue of Ramses II uncovered at Ṣân el-Ḥagar, the site of Zoan (J. Finegan)



nents of the early date of the Exodus do not regard Ramses II as the king for whom the store-city was built. The identification of the biblical site is of interest not only to biblical geography but also to the chronology of biblical events, especially of the Exodus (*see* EXODUS, DATE OF THE).

Tanis flourished until Roman times. In the 21st Dynasty (*ca.* 1085-945 B.C.) it was the seat of government, contemporaneous with the priest-kings of Thebes; it was also the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt. In the southwestern corner of the great temple Montet found the undisturbed burials of a number of kings, including Psusennes I of the 21st Dynasty. This was an opulent burial, with sarcophagi of pink granite, black granite, silver, and silver overlaid with gold, and with many other items of metal, stone, and pottery. Also discovered were impressive burials of Psusennes II and Amenemopet of the 21st Dynasty, and Osorkon II and Sheshonq III of the 22nd Dynasty.

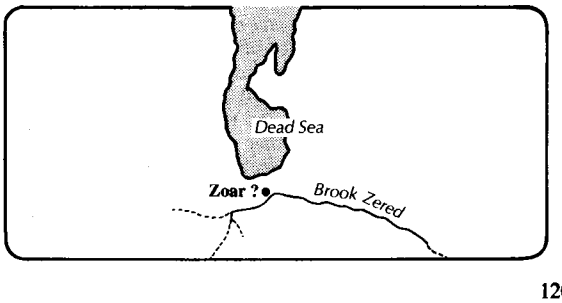
See also EGYPT VIII.G.

Bibliography.–J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (1980), esp. pp. 176f.; J. von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (1951); A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (1947), II, 171-75, 199-201; *JEA*, 5 (1918), 127, 179, 242; 10 (1929), 87-96; P. Montet, *Les Nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)* (1933); *Tanis, douze années de fouilles dans une capitale oubliée du delta égyptien* (1942); *Le Necropole royal de Tanis*, I-III (1947-1960); *Les Énigmes de Tanis* (1952); W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis*, I (2nd ed. 1889); *Tanis*, II (1888).

C. E. DEVRIES

ZOAR zō'är [Heb. *ṣō'ar, ṣô'ar*–'little'; Gk. *Sēgōr*, also *Zogor, Zogora*]. The only one of the five CITIES OF THE VALLEY that was not destroyed in the fiery upheaval described in Gen. 19:24-28; the city to which Lot escaped from Sodom (vv. 20-23, 30). It was apparently less significant than the other four cities. It is the only one whose king is not named in 14:2, which lists the five kings who fought unsuccessfully against a coalition of four Mesopotamian kings (vv. 1-12). Furthermore, 19:20 describes Zoar as "little"; indeed, its name is related to Heb. *ṣʿr*, a root meaning "be small, insignificant." The MT of 14:2, 8 also calls it Bela. (Some have proposed emending the MT so that Bela would be the name of Zoar's ruler. This emendation is unnecessary, however, because of the plain sense of the MT and Zoar's already-mentioned insignificance.)

As with its four sister cities, the exact site of biblical Zoar is unknown, although it is likely S or SE of the Dead Sea. The description of the lands that Moses saw from Mt. Nebo (Dt. 34:1-3) places Zoar in the same relationship to the "plain, the valley of Jericho," that Dan had to Gilead; i.e., just as Dan was far N of Gilead (and not visible from Mt. Nebo), so Zoar was far S of the "plain, the valley of Jericho" (and likewise not visible from Nebo). Isa. 15:5 and Jer. 48:34 associate Zoar with cities of Moab. The RSV and NEB also mention Moab and Zoar together in Jer. 48:4, following the LXX (*eis Zogora*, "as far as Zoar"; cf. AV "her little ones," following the MT).



Zoar is mentioned frequently in postbiblical sources, and this evidence also suggests a southern location. Josephus (*BJ* iv.8.4 [482]) placed *Zoara* at the south end of the Dead Sea and stated that it was still called *Zoōr* in his own day (*Ant.* i.11.4 [204]). Other Jewish sources refer to the destruction of the cities and mention Zoar as having survived this (cf. Midr. *Gen. Rabbah* xlii.5). The Mishnah (*Yebamoth* xvi.7) calls it "the City of Palms." Ptolemy (*Geog.* v.17.5) stated that it was part of Arabia Petraea. Eusebius also placed it S of the Dead Sea and stated that it had a garrison of Roman soldiers and was known for its balsam and date palms (*Onom.* 231, 261). It apparently had some ecclesiastical significance around this time, for it had a bishop in the 4th cent. and was represented at the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

Since Byzantine times Zoar has been identified with eṣ-Ṣâfī, a site on the Wâdī el-Ḥesā (Brook Zered), about 8-9 km. (5-5 1/2 mi.) S of the Dead Sea. The sixth-century Madeba Map pictures it as a fortress city surrounded by palm trees, lying SE of the Dead Sea. Medieval Arab geographers often referred to it (by the name *Zughar*) as an important commercial center S of the Dead Sea, two days from Jericho on the well-traveled trade route between Jericho and the Gulf of Aqabah; it was known for its dates, indigo, and sugar. At eṣ-Ṣâfī the remains of a flourishing medieval town still exist, including ruins of old sugar mills and slag from old smelting operations. The Crusaders also mentioned encountering a pleasant town of *Segor* (cf. LXX *Sēgōr*), which had many palm trees.

This medieval town is apparently not the exact site of biblical Zoar, since soundings there have revealed only Byzantine and Arabic ruins. Eṣ-Ṣâfī is a large site, however, and it has not yet been fully excavated. Thus biblical Zoar was very likely at another area of the site, since there are indications that parts of the site were occupied in biblical times (in both the Early Bronze Age and the Iron Age). It is also possible that biblical Zoar was not on the Wâdī el-Ḥesā at all but rather on one of the other perennial streams nearby that flow into the southeastern end of the Dead Sea.

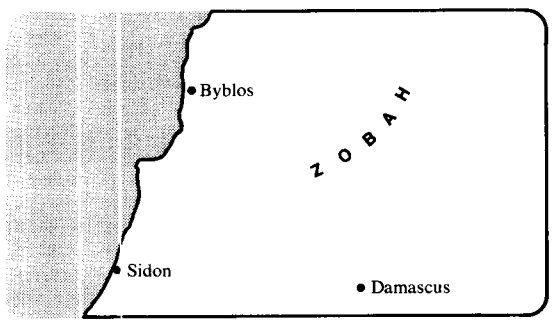
See also SIDDIM, VALLEY OF.

Bibliography.–F.-M. Abel, *RB*, 40 (1931), 380-400; 41 (1932), 255-57; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 14 (Apr. 1924), 4f.; M. Avi-Yonah, *Madeba Mosaic Map* (1954); *HDB*, IV, *s.v.* (S. R. Driver); D. M. Howard, Jr., *JETS*, 27 (1984), 385-400; E. Power, *Bibl.*, 11 (1930), 49-62, 149-182; W. E. Rast and R. T. Schaub, *ADAJ*, 19 (1974), 9-11, 15-17.

D. M. HOWARD, JR.

ZOBAH zō'bə [Heb. *ṣôḇâ, ṣôḇā', ṣôḇâ*; Gk. *Souba*; Akk. *Ṣubiti* < *ṣubītu*–'dyeing (cloth),' 'soaking (fields)']; AV also ZOBA; **ARAM-ZOBAH** âr'əm zō'bə [Heb. *ʾaram ṣôḇâ*] (superscription to Ps. 60 [MT 60:2]); NEB omits. A dominant Aramean city-state in the central Lebanese Beqaʿ valley, established in the 11th cent. B.C. At its apex its boundaries extended from the upper Euphrates to the Yarmuk, and it encompassed much of central Lebanon. Moreover, it was rich in vineyards, grain fields, and valuable minerals, particularly copper (cf. 2 S. 8:8).

It was inevitable that Zobah, situated along Israel's northern perimeter and ruled by aggressive kings, should come into conflict with Israel's nascent monarchy. Saul first encountered Zobah and won an Israelite victory (1 S. 14:47). David warred against Hadadezer king of Zobah (2 S. 8:3-12 par. 1 Ch. 18:3-11), and his stunning victory brought important natural resources under Israel's control; the superscription to Ps. 60 refers to this event. Later David's commander Job defeated a massive Ammonite coalition that included 20,000 mercenaries from Zobah (2 S. 10:6-8; cf. 1 Ch. 19:6-9). David's defeat of



Hadadezer marked the end of Aram-Zobah's hegemony in Syria; but in Solomon's time Rezon, a fugitive from the king of Zobah, founded the kingdom of Aram-Damascus and became a powerful adversary to the Jerusalem monarch (1 K. 11:23-25).

According to 2 S. 23:36 one of David's thirty mighty men was "Igal the son of Nathan of Zobah." The LXX, however, has *dynámeōs* instead of *Souba*; thus some have suggested that the MT *ṣōḇâ* should be emended to read *ṣāḇā'*, "army" (see P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* [*AB*, 1984], p. 493). B. J. BEITZEL

ZOBEBAH zō-bē'bə [Heb. *haṣṣôḇēḇâ*]. A family of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 4:8). The name has the definite article prefixed.

ZOHAR zō'här [Heb. *ṣōḥar* < *ṣāhōr*–'tawny, yellowish-red' (?)].

1. Father of Ephron the Hittite (Gen. 23:8; 25:9).

2. A son of Simeon (Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15). In Nu. 26:13; 1 Ch. 4:24 he is called ZERAH (**4**).

ZOHELETH zō'hə-leth, **STONE OF** (1 K. 1:9, AV). *See* SERPENT'S STONE.

ZOHETH zō'heth [Heb. *zôḥēṯ*–'proud' (*IP*, p. 229)]. A Judahite, son of Ishi (1 Ch. 4:20).

ZOOLOGY. The Bible makes frequent reference to various species of animals that do or did live in the region of Palestine. Zoology or the study of animals deals with living organisms ranging from simple forms such as sponges, corals, and worms to more complex invertebrates, such as insects and spiders, to what are commonly called animals, the birds and mammals. The fauna of the Bible lands has been treated in several books and numerous articles, but most references are incomplete or have numerous inaccuracies.

I. Animals in Relation to Human Beings
II. Problems of Identification
  A. General
  B. Faunal Changes
III. Fauna of the Bible
  A. Phylum *Porifera*
  B. Phylum *Cnidaria*, Class *Anthozoa*
  C. Worms
  D. Phylum *Mollusca*
  E. Phylum *Arthropoda*
    1. Class *Arachnida*
    2. Class *Insecta*
  F. Phylum *Chordata:* Vertebrates
    1. Class *Osteichthyes:* Fish
    2. Class *Amphibia:* Frogs and Toads
    3. Class *Reptilia:* Lizards, Snakes, and Crocodiles
    4. Class *Aves:* Birds
    5. Class *Mammalia:* Mammals
IV. Fiery Serpent

I. Animals in Relation to Human Beings.–Animals hold a special place in the biblical writings because of their creation by God and because of their role in relation to people. God views animals as representatives of His marvelous creative activities (Job 40:15–41:34 [MT 41:26]). He created them to have a special relationship with human beings, and so brought them to Adam to be named (Gen. 2:19).

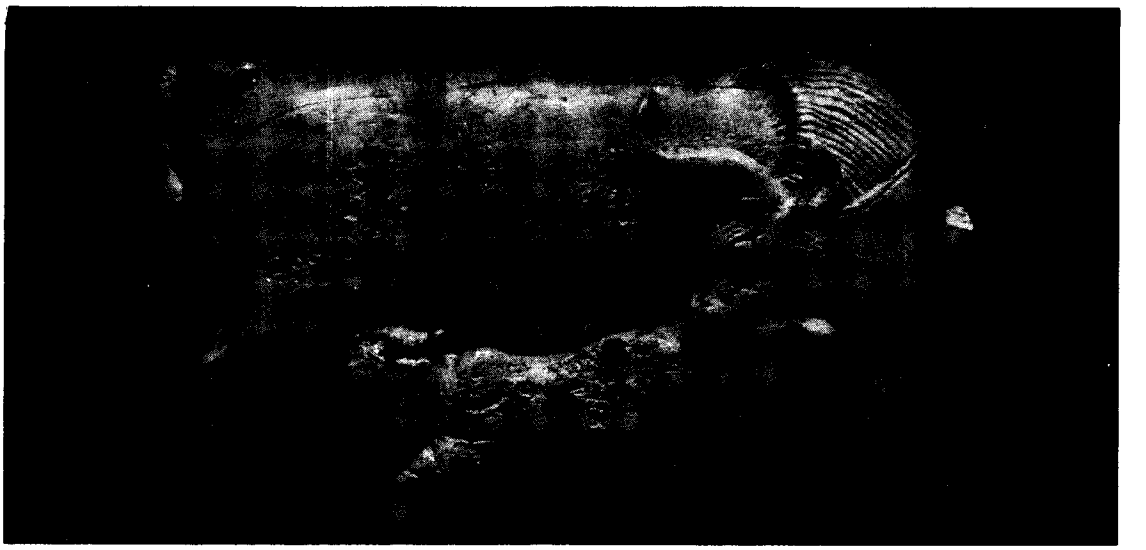
Animals were not originally intended as food; in the garden God mentioned only plants as food (Gen. 2:9, 16) and did not give animals as food until after the flood (9:3). The Bible enjoins proper care for the needs of domestic animals (Prov. 12:10), helping an enemy's animal with its load if it cannot bear it (Ex. 23:5), allowing animals to rest on the sabbath (Dt. 5:14), and not taking both a mother bird and her eggs for food (22:6f.).

The most important distinctions among animals according to the OT are between "clean" and "unclean" animals (*see* CLEAN AND UNCLEAN) and between domesticated and wild animals. Animals considered clean, i.e., suitable for human consumption, include mammals that have a split hoof and chew the cud and animals in general that do not feed on fecal matter or other animals. Most insects are considered unclean, though grasshoppers and their relatives are acceptable because their posterior legs are bent for jumping. Domesticated animals considered clean, among which were cattle and sheep, were raised for food and other products such as wool. Wild animals considered clean include many fish and birds, some insects, and wild mammals, especially deer, ibex, and gazelles.

Unclean domesticated animals include beasts of burden (e.g., the ass, camel, and horse) and pets (e.g., dogs). Other unclean animals, such as swine, were domesticated or hunted for food by peoples living around the Israelites. Some unclean wild animals were common and well known to those living in Palestine, and are frequently mentioned in the OT. Some of these are mentioned most in connection with the harm they can cause, such as damage to crops by locusts, birds, and rodents, damage to fabrics by moths and rodents, and more direct harm to human beings and their domestic animals by lions, leopards, bears, wolves, snakes, crocodiles, scorpions, hornets, and leeches. In most cases the relationship between human diseases and animals that carried diseases was not known, but the relationship of rats to bubonic plague apparently was (see III.F.5.d below).

II. Problems of Identification.–*A. General.* Almost one hundred eighty Hebrew and over fifty Greek words are used in the Bible for various animals. Many of the identifications of these names with precise animal species are best considered "uncertain." Each translation, commentary, or faunal study has sought to apply names to the animals in the biblical accounts with varying degrees of accuracy. In many cases the biblical name is simply not understood, so that any designation is guesswork. Other names are used in a very general sense and applied to any of a number of related species of animals.

Furthermore, most biblical authorities have had no training in zoology. Names used are often those that a given author is familiar with and refer, therefore, to animals common in Europe rather than in Palestine. The complex fauna of Palestine includes representatives of European, Asian, and African faunas. Mistaken names or misunderstandings of zoological literature have resulted in some misinterpretations.



A cow and suckling calf. A Phoenician ivory furniture carving from Arslan Tash, Syria, 9th cent. B.C. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1957)

B. Faunal Changes. The great diversity of animal species and the faunal changes that have taken place also make certain identification difficult. Species that formerly occurred have become extinct in the area, and other species have become established since biblical times.

Faunal changes occurred already during the time of the Bible (*see* FLORA II). A fauna typical of African savannahs and grassland, including lions, leopards, hyenas, and gazelles, is presented in the early OT. Later, particularly in the NT, the large mammal fauna is more characteristic of deserts and arid grasslands. This process has continued since NT times and has been accelerated in the 20th cent., though attempts in the latter half of this century to protect wild animals in Israel may help reverse this decline.

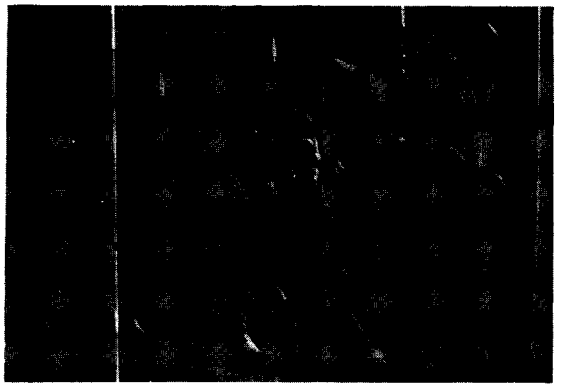
The reasons for this faunal change are now understood to include possible minor changes in weather patterns and human encroachment on and destruction of animal habitats. Shifting weather patterns have probably contributed to the desertification of northern Africa and the Middle East. While these shifts have not been as strong as those of the Pleistocene Epoch (the glacial age, *ca.* 1,000,000–9000 B.C.), the climate has continued to undergo constant slow change.

The development of sedentary agriculture brought human beings into contact with animals in new ways. Animals that fed on crops or livestock were decimated and pushed into restricted habitats. The development of cities also restricted animal habitats. Desertification has also been partly a result of agriculture and settlement. By deforestation (cf. Josh. 17:14-18), overgrazing, and other misuses of the land, some of which could have been kept in check by observation of the Sabbatical Year and the Jubilee, the soil was exposed to wind and rain erosion, thus destroying the habitats of many animals. Modern Christian scientists and theologians are urging a return to "earthkeeping," i.e., a biblically based stewardship of the environment.

Another cause of faunal change is the increase in species and numbers of domesticated animals and wild animals that flourished in an environment shaped by human settlement. In addition to those raised for food, other domesticated animals have become established during and since biblical times. Cats were almost unknown in Palestine, though revered in Egypt, but in the past several centuries they have become widespread in the Middle East. Dogs and camels were familiar but not common, and both increased following NT times. The brown rat, usually found in human settlements, has become widespread, and has diminished the population of black rats, which were more common during OT times.

III. Fauna of the Bible.–An outline of the fauna of the Bible follows, but reference should be made to articles on specific animals and general categories of animals for additional information.

Goat herdsmen depicted in a wall painting (facsimile) from the tomb of Ipuy, 19th Dynasty. At lower left a man untangles a goat from some branches (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)



A relief on the stairs at Persepolis depicting a lion attacking a bull (W. S. LaSor)

A. Phylum Porifera. A sponge (Gk. *spóngos*) was used to offer vinegar to Jesus on the cross (Mt. 27:48 par.). This is the dried protein remains of a simple marine animal that has been used throughout history to soak up and hold fluids until the development of modern rubber reduced its popularity.

B. Phylum Cnidaria, *Class* Anthozoa. CORAL is the limestone produced by small, simple animals that thereby form reefs in warm sea and ocean waters. Several types of black and red coral were used as semiprecious stone for jewelry (Ezk. 27:16).

C. Worms. Terms translated "worm" may refer to any of a number of animals including worms from several phyla or the larvae of insects (*see* WORM). Larvae (maggots) of houseflies or of one of the bluebottle flies are commonly found living on dead animal matter; texts that mention worms of the phylum *Nematoda* that frequently live in the larvae (Job 7:5; Isa. 14:11), though these references may also indicate internal parasitic worms, especially roundworms of the phylum Nematoda that frequently live in the intestines of human beings (see also IV below). Many parasitic worms are common in the area of Palestine including the following nematodes: *Ascaris lumbricoides* (the intestinal roundworm), several species of hookworm, *Enterobius vermicularis* (the pinworm), *Dracunculus medinensis* (the guinea worm), and *Trichuris trichiura* (the whipworm). Each of these is a widespread cause of disease. Parasitic worms of the phylum *Platyhelminthes*, including tapeworms and flukes, may have been common causes of disease.

The worms that afflicted and ate Herod Agrippa (Acts 12:23) could have been some form of ascarid nematodes. Since his death was sudden it appears more likely to have been a case of intestinal blockage, such as that caused by ascarids, rather than myiasis caused by fly larvae, which normally feed only on dead tissue and are usually found only on the exterior of the body.

One of the many types of earthworms (phylum *Annelida*, class *Oligochaeta*) is probably in view where humankind is likened to a worm (e.g., Job 25:6). Earthworms are widespread and common in moist soils and in piles of organic matter. They burrow into soil and were probably quite common when the topsoil of Palestine was still thick, but have been greatly reduced by the loss of topsoil that has occurred since OT times. The LEECH (phylum *Annelida*, class *Hirudinea;* Prov. 30:15) attaches itself to animals when they walk in or drink from water in order to suck their blood for its own sustenance. It does not reproduce internally as some sources indicate.

D. Phylum Mollusca. Snails (class *Gastropoda*) of genera *Murex* and *Purpura* from the Phoenician coast of the Mediterranean were the sources of the economically important purple and blue or violet dyes (e.g., Ex. 25:4; 39:29, 31). Pearls are formed from secretions of various oysters or clams that are mollusks of class *Bivalvia*. The secretions are normal protective mechanisms to surround a foreign object in the shell to render it harmless. *See also* DYE; PEARL.

E. Phylum Arthropoda. *1. Class* Arachnida. This class includes both scorpions and spiders. Scorpions are common inhabitants of desert and tropical areas and are represented by over a dozen species in Palestine and surrounding areas. Most references allude to the pain and danger associated with being stung by the tail of the scorpion. While the sting of scorpions is painful, it is not deadly except in persons weakened by other diseases. Spiders are very common worldwide. Their habit of spinning silk webs is mentioned in Job 8:14; 27:18; Isa. 59:5f. *See* SCORPION; SPIDER'S WEB.

2. Class Insecta. Insects occur everywhere on earth and are referred to often in the Bible. Flies (order *Diptera*) are mentioned as the fourth plague of Egypt (Ex. 8:21-24 [MT 17-20]) and as a nuisance in general. The third plague (vv. 16-18 [MT 12-14]) has been thought to consist of gnats (i.e., small flies; so RSV), or lice (order *Anoplura;* so AV), which are wingless, strictly parasitic insects, or ticks (class *Arachnida*), which are also external parasites. Most likely this was a plague of small members of order *Diptera,* such as biting flies (families *Psychodidae,* the sand flies, or *Simuliidae,* the blackflies or buffalo gnats) or mosquitoes (family *Culicidae*), which would be a nuisance and explains why they occurred on man and beast. It has also been suggested that this plague consisted of a midge (family *Chironomidae*) that may have caused problems simply by their huge numbers and annoying habit of flying into the faces, mouths, and noses of the Egyptians. The "gnats" strained out of wine to prevent ritual defilement (Mt. 23:24) were small flies similar to what we call fruit flies that were attracted to sweet alcoholic wine. Words translated "worm" frequently refer to fly larvae. *See* FLY; GNAT; PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

Order *Lepidoptera* includes the clothes moth, which is mentioned as destroying clothes and possessions (Job 13:28; Mt. 6:20; Lk. 12:33). Members of order *Hymenoptera,* bees and wasps, are common insects. Particularly referred to are the honey bee and hornet. The Bible often refers to locusts and grasshoppers (order *Orthoptera*) and their destruction to crops. *See also* ANT; BEE; HORNET; LOCUST; MOTH.

F. Phylum Chordata: *Vertebrates. 1. Class* Osteichthyes: *Fish.* Palestine has a limited amount of suitable habitats for fish. A wide variety of fish species, many of them edible, occurs in the Mediterranean. Several lakes and ponds, excluding the Dead Sea, and the few rivers of Palestine support fish, including edible species. Heb. *dāg(â)* and *dā'g,* "fish," were also used to refer to other aquatic animals (e.g., shrimp and clams) and aquatic mammals (e.g., seals). *See also* FISH; FISHING.

2. Class Amphibia: *Frogs and Toads.* Amphibians require an aquatic habitat for the development of their eggs and normally must keep their skins moist. Thus they are usually found only in areas where there is standing fresh water for at least part of the time. Palestine has, therefore, few amphibians, with two frog species and one species each of toads, salamanders, and newts. Frogs are mentioned as the second plague of Egypt. *See also* FROG.

3. Class Reptilia: *Lizards, Snakes, and Crocodiles.* These land-dwelling animals are fairly common in the

Locusts in Palestine (W. Braun)

Middle East with over eighty different species recorded. Because of the small, secretive nature of many reptiles and the fear that many, especially snakes, engender, they were poorly observed and understood. Names and species are frequently confused. Eighteen Hebrew names are thought to represent reptiles, though many of these can be assigned only with great uncertainty.

Hebrew *liwyāṯān,* RSV "Leviathan," should probably be identified with the Nile crocodile, which occurred not only in the Nile but also along the Mediterranean in biblical times, and is primarily aquatic. Though tortoises and turtles occurred in the area, they do not appear to be mentioned in the Bible. *See also* LEVIATHAN.

A number of Hebrew words for lizards appear in Lev. 11:29f.: *ṣāḇ,* probably large spiny-tailed lizards of the genus *Uromastix; ʾᵉnāqâ,* possibly the gecko or any of several species of small lizards that occur on buildings and in many natural settings; *kō(a)ḥ,* possibly the common chameleon of Palestine, which is able to change color and blend well against backgrounds so that it is hard to see (not to be confused with the American chameleon, which is not a true chameleon); *leṭā'â,* probably the lacertids, which are typical lizards; *ḥōmeṭ,* perhaps the skink; and *tinšemeṯ,* another term for the chameleon. *See also* LIZARD. For snakes *see* DRAGON; SERPENT (cf. IV below).

4. Class Aves: *Birds.* Many of the biblical references to birds cannot be assigned with any certainty to any of the over four hundred species of birds identified in Palestine. All birds lay eggs for reproduction and most are able to fly using their wings. *See also* ABOMINATION, BIRDS OF; BIRDS; BIRDS OF PREY; BIRDS, UNCLEAN; BUZZARD; CHICKEN; COCK; CORMORANT; CRANE; DOVE; EAGLE; FALCON; FOWL; HAWK; HERON; HOOPOE; IBIS; KITE; NIGHTHAWK; OWL; PEACOCK; PELICAN; PIGEON; QUAIL; RAVEN; SEA GULL; SPARROW; STORK; SWALLOW; VULTURE; WATER HEN.

A terra-cotta libation vessel with incised depictions of fish and a turtle. From Larsa, 2nd millennium B.C. (RMN/ARS, NY/SPADEM)

a. Order Struthioniformes: *Ostrich.* The ostrich, the largest bird in the world, occurred in Palestine and was familiar to the OT writers. Two certain terms for ostrich are Heb. *yaʿēn* (Lam. 4:3) and *rᵉnānîm* (Job 39:13). Other terms have also been so translated.

b. Order Pelecaniformes: *Pelicans and Cormorants.* The cormorant and the pelican are large fish-eating birds (Heb. *šālāḵ* and *qāʾāṯ*) that are listed among the unclean birds (Lev. 11:17f.).

c. Order Ciconiiformes: *Herons, Bitterns, Storks, Ibises.* Heb. *ḥᵃsîḏâ* refers to storks and *ʾᵃnāpâ* to herons. These are listed among the unclean birds (Lev. 11:19), and the migrations of the first are noted by Jeremiah (Jer. 8:7). The AV has "bittern" for Heb. *qippōḏ* (Isa. 14:23; Zeph. 2:14), but a more likely identification is the hedgehog. The RSV has "ibis" for Heb. *yanšûp* (Lev. 11:17), but "owl" (so RSV in Dt. 14:16; Isa. 34:11) is a more likely identification.

d. Order Anseriformes: *Swans, Geese, Ducks.* Over two dozen types of swans, ducks, and geese pass through Palestine on their migrations. The people of biblical times were probably familiar with them, but there is no clear mention of any of them in the Bible.

e. Order Falconiformes: *Vultures, Hawks, Eagles, Falcons, Kites.* All birds of prey were considered unclean, and many are mentioned, though it is difficult to assign definite species to the Hebrew names. See the discussions under the specific names.

f. Order Galliformes: *Grouse, Quail, Peacock, Chicken.* The chicken or cock was a domesticated source of food. Peacocks (Heb. *tukkîyîm*) were brought to Solomon (1 K. 10:22). The quail is a migratory bird that was widely used for food and was familiar to the Israelites (Heb. *śᵉlāw*, Nu. 11:31).

A heron depicted on a mosaic from the Benedictine Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha, 4th cent. A.D. (J. Finegan)

g. Order Gruiformes: *Cranes.* The crane is probably represented by Heb. *ʿāgûr*, and its migrations may be mentioned by Jeremiah (Jer. 8:7). Cranes may have sometimes remained in the southern portions of Palestine for the winter. As a noncarnivore it is not listed among the unclean birds. Its loud voice is mentioned in Isa. 38:14.

h. Order Charadriiformes: *Sandpipers, Plovers, Curlews, Gulls, Terns.* The gull and tern group is migratory with some species nesting in Palestine. They feed on many sources, including refuse and carrion; thus they might be included in the list of unclean animals (as Heb. *šaḥap*). The wading birds (e.g., the sandpipers and plovers), also migratory, have over forty representatives in Palestine, but are probably not represented by any of the biblical words for birds.

i. Order Columbiformes: *Pigeons, Doves.* Doves and pigeons are known by a number of Hebrew and Greek names. *See* DOVE; PIGEON.

j. Order Strigiformes: *Owls.* Heb. *kôs* and *yamšûp* are clearly owls. Other Hebrew words have also been taken to represent owls in general or specific species, but with less certainty. Owls are listed among the unclean birds because of their predatory habits. They were not familiar birds because of their nocturnal habits.

k. Order Caprimulgiformes: *Nightjars.* Nightjars are similar to swifts and might have been mistaken for them.

l. Order Apodiformes: *Swifts.* Swifts are probably represented by Heb. *sûs* (Isa. 38:14; Jer. 8:7 [*Q sîs*]), but the designation "swallow" (so RSV in both passages) may be correct; the two species are easily confused.

m. Order Coraciiformes: *Kingfishers, Hoopoes, Bee-eaters.* These birds were considered unclean due to their diets, including, for the hoopoe, worms from refuse and garbage.

n. Order Passeriformes: *Songbirds.* This is the largest group of birds and includes many familiar species. Sparrows and swallows are two groups of birds that were common in Palestine and were regarded favorably. The raven and its relatives were not looked upon as favorably because of their scavenging habits and their being a cause of damage to crops.

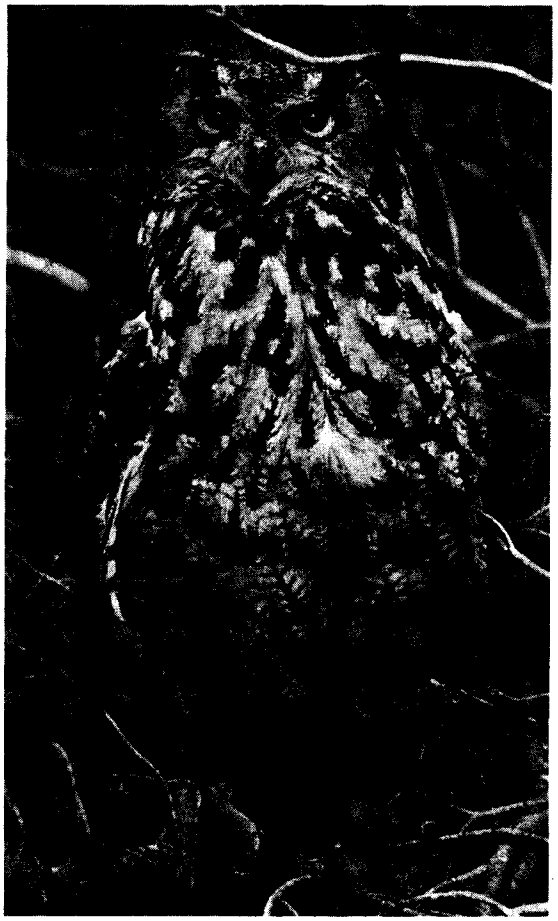
5. Class Mammalia: *Mammals.* These animals, which includes human beings, are those that have hair and in which the fetal development occurs inside the mother with a placental connection.

a. Order Insectivora. Heb. *qippōḏ* represents the HEDGEHOG, or, as has also been suggested, the porcupine, which is a rodent.

b. Order Chiroptera. Over twenty species of bats (Heb. *ʿᵃṭallēp*) are known in Palestine. They are nocturnal and feed on insects or fruit. *See also* BAT.

c. Order Carnivora. These flesh-eating mammals are often mentioned in the Bible because of their ability to harm human beings and domestic animals. Included is the dog family, *Canidae*, of which the domestic DOG, FOX, HYENA, JACKAL, and WOLF are all members. The brown BEAR is in the family *Ursidae*. Weasels and badgers are in the *Mustelidae* (*see* ROCK BADGER; WEASEL). The CAT, cheetah, LEOPARD, and LION belong to the *Felidae*.

d. Order Rodentia. Mice and rats are common rodents that live in close association with human settlement. Together under Heb. *ʿaḵbār* they are mentioned as unclean animals (Lev. 11:29; *see* MOUSE). Rats of the genus *Rattus* were the principle carriers of bubonic plague, which is transferred by the flea *Xenopsylla cheopis*. Five golden "mice," actually rats, were offered by the Philistines (1 S. 6:4f., 11, 18) in response to bubonic plague that afflicted them when they had the Ark of the Covenant, causing tumors (buboes) and death. *See also* MOLE.



A Great Owl in Palestine (W. Braun)

e. Order Lagomorpha. The hares and rabbits belong to this order, not with the rodents. Several species of hares (Heb. *'arnebet*) occur in the Middle East. They were considered unclean because they ingest their own feces (*see* HARE). Rabbits do not occur in Palestine, and references in translations to rabbits, badgers, or coneys (an old name for rabbits) should probably be to the rock hyrax, which belongs to a small separate order.

f. Order Proboscidea. The use of elephants in warfare is mentioned in 1, 2, and 3 Maccabees (e.g., 1 Macc. 11:56). Ivory from elephant tusks is referred to often in the Bible. *See* ELEPHANT; IVORY.

g. Order Perissodactyla. These hoofed mammals with odd numbers of toes include three that were domesticated as beasts of burden, the HORSE, the Ass or donkey, and the MULE, which is a hybrid of the horse and donkey.

h. Order Artiodactyla. These even-toed hoofed mammals include many species of large domestic and wild animals. Domesticated forms include camels, cattle, oxen, goats, sheep, and swine (*see* BULL; CAMEL; CATTLE; COW; GOAT; OX; SHEEP). Wild forms mentioned in the Bible include the ANTELOPE, BOAR, DEER, FALLOW DEER, IBEX, MOUNTAIN-SHEEP, and WILD OX (*see also* BEHEMOTH; ROEBUCK; STAG).

i. Order Primates. Human beings are classified in this order, as are monkeys, baboons, and apes. *See* APE.

IV. Fiery Serpent.–During the wilderness wanderings the Israelites rebelled against God for prolonging their travels. In response to the rebellion, the Lord sent fiery serpents (Heb. *nāḥāš śārāp*) among them (Nu. 21:6f.). While this is normally interpreted to mean a poisonous snake, an alternative interpretation might provide a better understanding.

Nāḥāš usually means "snake" ("serpent") but may also mean any crawling or snakelike animal. The fiery serpent may indicate a nematode parasite known as the Guinea worm (*Dracunculus medinensis*). This parasite is acquired from drinking water that contains the immature stages of the worm, and the developed form eventually finds its

Jackals in Palestine (W. Braun)

A Hyrax or Syrian Hare in En-gedi, Israel (Anat Rotem)

way into the skin of the arms or legs and causes a sore to develop. If the sore becomes infected, a burning pain results that could easily be recognized as fiery. Removal of the worm requires rolling it gently onto a stick intermittently over a period of days. The bronze serpent erected by Moses would then be less likely to act as an idol, but would instead represent the healing power of God as demonstrated in those individuals to whom He gave the knowledge and skill to remove the worms (Nu. 21:8f.; cf. Jn. 3:14).

Bibliography.—F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (1935); *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Eng. tr. 1960); G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (1970); R. Pinney, *Animals in the Bible* (1964). R. J. WOLFF

ZOPHAH zō'fə [Heb. *ṣôpaḥ*—'bellied jug' (*IP*, p. 226)]. Head of a family in the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. 7:35f.).

ZOPHAI zō'fī [Heb. *ṣôpay*]. A Kohathite Levite; an ancestor of Elkanah and of Samuel (1 Ch. 6:26 [MT 11]). In 1 S. 1:1, 1 Ch. 6:35 (MT 20) he is called ZUPH.

ZOPHAR zō'fär [Heb. *ṣôpar, ṣôpar*; Gk. *Sōphar*] (Job 2:11; 11:1; 20:1; 42:9). The third of Job's friends, who came to "condole with him and comfort him" (Job 2:11). His name, like Bildad's, is of uncertain meaning, although some have suggested "young bird" (cf. *ṣippôr*, "bird"). Nor can his home, Naamah, be identified with certainty; the Judean Naamah (Josh 15:41) can be ruled out, however (*see* NAAMATHITE). Like Job's other two friends, Zophar was almost definitely from Transjordan, but there are no definite grounds for linking him with Edom, unless the LXX reading in Gen. 36:11, 15 (Gk. *Sōphar*) be accepted in place of the MT (*ṣepô*; RSV "Zepho").

Although Zophar, like Eliphaz and Bildad, is presented primarily as a wise man, he was doubtless a rich chief. His being mentioned always last and his merciless attitude toward Job both suggest that he may have been the youngest of the three. He was a man of common sense, suspicious of words (Job 11:2) and of undue interest in the mysteries of God (vv. 7f.). He was the first to charge Job openly with wickedness, going so far as to suggest that his punishment had been reduced (v. 6). Although he too held out to Job the hope of restoration (vv. 13-19), the bitter gibe of v. 12 betrays his true feelings.

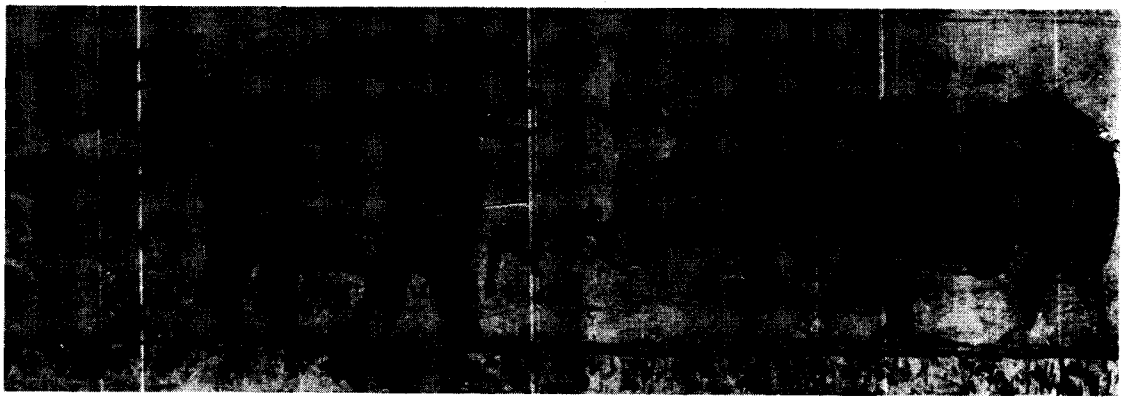
As the text of Job stands, Zophar speaks only twice (chs. 11, 20); it is usually assumed that his common sense held him back from further argument, once he saw that Job was incorrigible. There can be little doubt, however, that the text of chs. 25–27 is in some confusion, and part of it may have been lost. Perhaps 27:7-23, or else vv. 13-23, is Zophar's last speech, in whole or in part. Certainly the words suit him far better than Job, whose views it flatly contradicts. Both here and especially in ch. 20 Zophar typifies the man of common sense for whom facts take second place to preconceived ideas. H. L. ELLISON

ZOPHIM zō'fim, **FIELD OF** [Heb. *śᵉḏēh haṣṣōp̄îm*—'field of the watchers']; NEB FIELD OF THE WATCHERS. The place near or on the top of PISGAH to which Balak took Balaam to curse Israel (Nu. 23:14). Possibly the Hebrew should be translated "field of the watchers" and not as a proper name (cf. LXX *agroú skopía*), although some have suggested that modern Tal'at eṣ-Ṣafa may preserve the name.

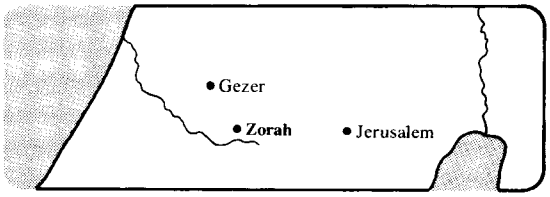
For Ramathaim-zophim (1 S. 1:1), *see* RAMAH 2; ZUPH (place). W. S. L. S.

ZORAH zôr'ə [Heb. *ṣorʿâ*; Gk. *Saraa*]; AV also ZOREAH, ZAREAH. A city in the Shephelah; the home of Manoah the father of Samson (Jgs. 13:2). Zorah (modern Ṣar'ah) was located in the northernmost district of the Shephelah, 2.5 km. (1½ mi.) W of Eshtaol (Eshwa') and 6 km. (4 mi.) S of Latrun. Overlooking the valley of Sorek (Wâdī eṣ-Ṣarâr), it was important to the defense of Judah throughout the history of Israel. Zorah, originally a Canaanite city, is mentioned in the Amarna Letters as one of

An elephant and a rhinoceros, painted on the last section of the animal frieze in tomb 1 at Maresha, Israel, probably from the Seleucid era (from the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund)



the cities ruled by the king of Gezer (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], p. 174).



According to Josh. 15:33 Zorah was allotted to Judah when the Israelites invaded Canaan. Apparently, however, it was assigned first to the tribe of DAN (Josh. 19:41), which encountered stiff opposition from the Amorites (and later the Philistines) when it attempted to occupy the region (Jgs. 1:34f.). The story of Samson, a Danite born in Zorah, is set in this region (13:2, 24f.). After struggling his entire life against the Philistines, Samson was buried in the city of his birth (16:31). Eventually the Danites decided to migrate north, and they sent out spies from Zorah to survey the land (18:2, 8, 11).

Centuries later, Rehoboam fortified Zorah as part of Judah's western line of defense (2 Ch. 11:10). This line of fortresses served as an effective defense system for Judah in several wars during the next two or three generations (*LBHG* [rev. ed. 1979], pp. 330-33). When the Jews returned from exile in Babylon they occupied the site once again. Even the Crusaders found it an important site for their campaigns in Palestine. Located 335 m. (1100 ft.) above sea level and 244 m. (800 ft.) above the valley of Sorek, Zorah (Arab. *Ṣar'ah*) has retained its strategic value throughout the centuries. J. E. MCKENNA

ZORATHITES zôr'ə-thīts [Heb. *ṣor'āṯî*; Gk. *Sarathaioi*]; AV, NEB, ZAREATHITES. A clan listed in the genealogy of Judah as having descended from Shobal (1 Ch. 2:53; 4:2). They were inhabitants of the city of ZORAH.

ZOREAH zôr'ē-ə (Josh. 15:33, AV). *See* ZORAH.

ZORITES zôr'īts [Heb. *ṣorʿî*]. A family of Judahites descended from Salma (1 Ch. 2:54); possibly the same as half the clan of the MANAHATHITES. The Zorites were probably not the same as the Zorathites of v. 53.

ZOROASTRIANISM zôr-ō-as'tri-ən-izm. *See* RELIGIONS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: PERSIA.

ZOROBABEL zə-rob'ə-bəl (AV Mt. 1:12f.; Lk. 3:27). *See* ZERUBBABEL.

ZORZELLEAS zôr-zel'i-əs (1 Esd. 5:38, NEB). *See* BARZILLAI 1, 2.

ZUAR zōō'ər [Heb. *ṣûʿār*–'little one']. Father of the Nethanel who was head of the tribe of Issachar in the wilderness (Nu. 1:8; 2:5; 7:18, 23; 10:15).

ZUPH zōōf [Heb. *ṣûp*–'honeycomb'(?), also *K ṣîp* (1 Ch. 6:35 [MT 20]). An ancestor of Elkanah and SAMUEL, identified as an Ephraimite in 1 S. 1:1 and as a Kohathite Levite in 1 Ch. 6:35 (MT 20) (also in v. 26 [MT 11], where he is called Zophai). Various attempts have been made to explain this discrepancy. Perhaps Zuph was a Levite by descent but an Ephraimite in the sense that he resided in Ephraim. Alternatively, many scholars have suggested that Zuph was an Ephraimite by descent (*see* ZUPH [place]), but that in later times Samuel and his ancestors were adopted into the Levitical genealogy because of Samuel's priestly functions.

ZUPH zōōf [Heb. *ṣûp*]. A region in which Saul searched for his father's asses (1 S. 9:5) and found the home of Samuel (vv. 6-14). Elkanah the father of Samuel was a descendant of an Ephraimite named Zuph (1:1; *see* ZUPH above). It may be assumed, therefore, that the region had once belonged to Elkanah's ancestor and was in Ephraim. In 1:1 J. Simons and other scholars have emended the MT *ṣôpîm* (in "Ramathaim-zophim") to *ṣûpî*, i.e., "the Zuphite Ramathaim" (assuming that the *m* is due to dittography from the following word; cf. LXX *Armathaim Zipha*). Simons suggested that Ramathaim-zuphi was so called to distinguish the Ramah/Ramathaim of Samuel from the Ramah in Benjamin. Following Eusebius (*Onom.* 288.11f.), he identified Ephraimite Ramah with Rentîs, 14 km. (8½ mi.) NE of Lydda (Ludd). He suggested that this was confirmed by the existence, until recently, of a clan named *riġâl ṣûfā* about 5 km. (3 mi.) N of Rentîs (*GTTOT*, §§ 646f.; see also *WHAB*, pp. 42, 65, 126). W. S. L. S.

ZUPHITE zōō'fīt (1 S. 1:1, NEB). *See* ZUPH (place).

ZUR zûr [Heb. *ṣûr*–'rock'].

1. A Midianite chief; father of Cozbi, the Midianite woman who was slain with the Israelite Zimri by Phinehas (Nu. 25:15). This event was followed by a war in which Midian was punished for having led Israel into religious apostasy (cf. vv. 16-18; 31:1-3). According to Nu. 31:8 Zur was one of five Midianite kings slain in this war. Josh. 13:21 links the slaying of these kings with the campaign against Sihon king of the Amorites.

2. A Benjaminite from Gibeon; son of Jeiel and brother of Kish the father of Saul (1 Ch. 8:30; 9:36).

ZURIEL zoo'ri-əl [Heb. *ṣûrîʾēl*–'my ROCK is God (El)']. Son of Abihail; head of the clan of Merari during the journey through the wilderness (Nu. 3:35).

ZURISHADDAI zoo-ri-shad'ī [Heb. *ṣûrîšadday*–'my ROCK is Shaddai' (*see* GOD, NAMES OF II.B.1)]. Father of the Shelumiel who was the leader of the tribe of Simeon during the journey through the wilderness (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19).

ZUZIM zōō'zim [Heb. *zûzîm*; LXX *éthnē ischyrá*–'strong nations']. One of the peoples subdued by Chedorlaomer and the three kings allied with him (Gen. 14:5). According to the Hebrew text they were located in "Ham" (Heb. *bᵉhām*), which is named between Ashteroth-karnaim and Shaveh-kiriathaim. Ham has been identified with the *huma* mentioned in the list of Thutmose III (*ANET*, p. 242), and with modern Hâm, 6 km. (4 mi.) SW of Betharbel (Irbid) in Gilead on the King's Highway (see *LBHG*, pp. 55, 435; *GP*, II, 36). This identification has been questioned, however (*see* HAM). Some have suggested emending Zuzim to read ZAMZUMMIM. This idea gained some support from 1QapGen 21:29, which reads *b'mn*, "in Ammon," in place of MT *bᵉhām*; but this was probably influenced by Dt. 2:20, which states that the Rephaim (cf. Gen. 14:5) were former residents of Ammon and were called Zamzummim by the Ammonites (see J. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I* [rev.ed. 1971], pp. 164f.). There is no basis for this emendation in any text of Genesis; moreover, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is in places quite fanciful and therefore hardly a valid textual witness. The Zuzim are otherwise unknown. W. S. LASOR