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### Micah's Capucinade

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IN the notes to his translation of the Minor Prophets<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen calls Micah 1 9-16 a *capucinade*. He seems to think that this term denotes a discourse with numerous paronomasias;<sup>2</sup> but this view is erroneous. A *capucinade* is a weak sermon; so this designation is not applicable to Micah's spirited poems. Wellhausen may have been under the impression that the term *capucinade* is derived from the *Kapuzinerpredigt* in Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager*; but the word was used long before the appearance (1798) of *Wallensteins Lager*, by Lesage in his *Gil Blas*, which was published 1715-1735, and T. G. Smollett retained the term in his English translation of this romance, which appeared in 1761.

In Becherelle's *Nouveau Dictionnaire National* (Paris) *capucinade* is explained as follows: *Discours de capucin. Instruction morale et religieuse plate et triviale, comme les capucins avaient coutume d'en faire à la populace.* The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* gives the phrase: *Ce sermon n'est qu'une capucinade.* The passage in *Gil Blas* (book 7, chapter 4) is: *L'homélie de l'archevêque de Grenade était un discours diffus, une rhétorique de régent usé, une capucinade.* The word may mean also *sermon hors de propos, manifestation*

*religieuse instantanée dont on a lieu de suspecter la sincérité.* Littré's *Dictionnaire* gives the following definition of *capucinade*: *Plate tirade de morale ou de dévotion. Affectation de dévotion*, and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* states: *Il se dit d'un plat discours de morale ou d'une dévotion outrée.* In the sixth edition of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 10 (Leipzig, 1905), *Kapuzinade* is explained as *possenhafte, derbe Strafpredigt.* Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Kapuzinerpredigt-capucinade* says: *sprichwörtlich von einer derben, halb launig, drollig gehaltenen Strafpredigt.* There is nothing of this sort in Micah's elegy on the invasion of Sennacherib.

The *Kapuzinerpredigt* in Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* is a subsequent insertion. Goethe wanted *Wallensteins Lager* for the inauguration (October, 1798) of the renovated Weimar theatre. For this purpose this dramatic poem was somewhat expanded. Schiller's *Kapuzinerpredigt* is based on the sermon *Auf, auf ihr Christen!* which Abraham a Sancta Clara preached, in 1683, against the Turks threatening Vienna, just as the Assyrians blockaded Jerusalem in 701 B.C. In this respect there is a certain similarity between Micah's elegy and the prototype of Schiller's *Kapuzinerpredigt*. Abraham a Sancta Clara, however, was not a capuchin, but an Augustinian; nor is Schiller's *Kapuzinerpredigt* characterized by constant paronomasia: in the 132 lines there are but a dozen puns, less than 10 per cent.

In Mic. 1 9-16, which Wellhausen calls a *capucinade*, there are but four cases of paronomasia,<sup>3</sup> and one of them is a gloss. The clause *lo-yaç'áh yošévth Ç'ánán* in v. 11 is a misplaced gloss on v. 9 in which only the following words are genuine: <sup>4</sup>

*Anušóth makkóthehén*                    *'adh-sá'r 'ammí.*  
Their deadly wounds extend    to the gates of my people.

*Their* refers to the daughters of Jerusalem, *i.e.* the Judean cities<sup>5</sup> in the *Shephelah*.<sup>6</sup> Sennacherib states in the cuneiform account<sup>7</sup> of his campaign against Hezekiah of Judah that he besieged and captured forty-six fortified cities, castles, and smaller towns belonging to Hezekiah, whereupon

Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage. Zion was blockaded by the Assyrians, all ingress and egress was stopped, and the Egyptian allies<sup>8</sup> of Hezekiah could not relieve Jerusalem. Zaanan is a by-form of Zion.<sup>9</sup> Both Zion and Zaanan mean Protection, Security, Stronghold.<sup>10</sup> *Lo-yaç'áh yošévth Ça'nán*, the inhabitants of Zaanan could not go out, means that Zaanan, the well-guarded city of Zion, was blockaded by the Assyrians, so that the inhabitants of Jerusalem could not go out. We might imitate the paronomasia by translating: The guarded place was placed under guard.

In *lě'aphráh 'aphar hithpallási*, at the end of v. 11, we have no paronomasia, but an undeleted corrigendum:<sup>11</sup> *'aphár* is a correction of the preceding *'aphráh*, in which the final *h* is due to dittography. The original text was simply *lü'aphár*<sup>12</sup> *hithpallási*, hide<sup>13</sup> in the dust! We must read in v. 10:<sup>14</sup> *Bakhô bëkhâ*<sup>15</sup> *běnoháikh*<sup>16</sup> | *lü'aphár*<sup>12</sup> *hithpallási*.<sup>13</sup> For thy daughters<sup>17</sup> bitterly weep | and hide<sup>13</sup> in the dust!<sup>18</sup> The sequel of v. 10 is the last verse of this chapter.<sup>19</sup> This couplet, consisting of vv. 10 and 16, must be inserted between vv. 8 and 9, and the second line to v. 9 appears in the received text at the end of the second chapter. The whole stanza, which is composed of three couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line,<sup>20</sup> may be translated as follows:

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 1 8  | Therefor <sup>21</sup> I wail and howl,<br>I make a wail like jackals     | unclad <sup>22</sup> and barefoot; <sup>23</sup><br>and daughters of deserts. <sup>24</sup> |
| 10   | For thy daughters <sup>17</sup> bitterly weep <sup>15</sup>               | and hide <sup>13</sup> in the dust! <sup>18</sup>   |
| 16   | For thy charming <sup>25</sup> daughters <sup>17</sup> poll <sup>26</sup> | thy head <sup>27</sup> like a griffin! <sup>28</sup>  |
| 9    | Their <sup>17</sup> deadly wounds extend <sup>4</sup>                     | to the gates of my people; <sup>29</sup>  |
| 2 13 | The batterer <sup>30</sup> came up before them, <sup>17</sup>             | their <sup>31</sup> king <sup>32</sup> at their <sup>31</sup> head.                         |

In the second stanza, which also consists of three couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line,<sup>20</sup> the poet apostrophizes five cities in the *Shephelah*,<sup>6</sup> viz. Saphir, Lachish, Gath, Achzib, and Mareslah.

Saphir (which means Beautiful<sup>33</sup>) is now represented by the three villages known as *Sawáfír*,<sup>34</sup> northeast of Ashkelon, southeast of Ashdod, on the road from Ashkelon to Jerusalem.

Lachish seems to be the present *Tel el-Hesy*<sup>35</sup> on the road from Mareshah (Eleutheropolis) to Gaza, sixteen miles east of Gaza, a little to the north, and ten miles from Eleutheropolis. Sennacherib sent the Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem.<sup>36</sup> A cuneiform legend on an Assyrian relief,<sup>37</sup> now in the British Museum, reads: *Šin-axe-rība*<sup>38</sup> *šar kiš-sati šar mât Aššûr ina kussî nîmêdi*<sup>39</sup> *ûšib-ma šallat âl Lakîsu mazaršu êtiq*,<sup>40</sup> Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, sat on a high throne<sup>39</sup> while the spoil of Lachish passed before him. Lachish is repeatedly mentioned in the Amarna tablets; <sup>41</sup> it was at the extreme southwest of Judah, and commanded the road to Gaza and to Egypt. *Tel el-Hesy* was excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1890, and his work was continued by Dr. Bliss.<sup>42</sup>

Mareshah, the birthplace of the prophet Micah, appears to be the present *Tel Sandaḥanna*, i.e. the southeastern hill of the three hills between which the modern village of *Bêt Jibrîn*, northeast of Lachish, is situated. *Bêt Jibrîn*, i.e. *House of Gabriel*, is on the road from Hebron to Gaza, 4 hours from Hebron, and  $8\frac{3}{4}$  from Jerusalem. Mareshah was the capital<sup>44</sup> of the *Shephelah*.<sup>6</sup> Instead of Micah the Morasthite<sup>43</sup> we must read Micah of Mareshah (Heb. *Mikhâh ham-Mârêšathî*).<sup>44</sup> There is no city of Moresheth. In *môrêsth Gâth* (Mic. 1 14) *Gâth* is an appositional genitive like Zion in *Bath Çiyôn*, the maiden Zion, or *nêhâr Pêrâth*, the river Euphrates.<sup>45</sup> *Môrêsth* (or rather *môrêsth*, with *Sîn*; cf. my remarks in ZDMG, 34. 763) is not a proper name, but a common noun meaning *betrothed, affianced* or *bride-elect* (= *mê'ôrasâh*).<sup>46</sup> *Môrêsth* (or *môrasâth*) *Gâth* means *Gâth, the bride* (elect).<sup>47</sup> Similarly we must read instead of the following *bâttê*<sup>48</sup> *Akhzîv*, the houses of Achzib, *bath Akhzîv*, the maiden Achzib.<sup>49</sup> This is not the Phœnician city, 9 miles north of Accho, near the promontory of *Râsan-nâkûrah*, but the city which is mentioned in conjunction with Mareshah and Keilah in Josh. 15 44. It cannot be 'Ain el-Kezbe, northeast of *Shuwêke*, the ancient Socoh; or *Kuweizîb*,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of *Halhûl* toward Hebron; or *Kussâbe*, southeast of *Tel el-Hesy*. It must have been a

place between Mareshah (Eleutheropolis) and Keilah (*i.e.* *Khirbet Kîlâ*, 7 miles east of Eleutheropolis and about 7 miles northeast of *Halkûl*). There were no doubt a number of places known as *Achzib*, *i.e.* channel of a watercourse which is dry except in the rainy season. In the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38 5) this *Achzib* appears as *Chezib* (cf. ZDMG, 63. 518, note 26).

Gath was one of the five royal cities of the Philistines; but (according to 1 Chr. 18 1) David took Gath and her *daughters* out of the hand of the Philistines, and his grandson Rehoboam fortified Gath as well as Mareshah and Lachish (2 Chr. 11 7-9). According to St. Jerome (*ad Mic.* 1 10) Gath was situated on the road from Eleutheropolis (Mareshah) to Gaza. It may be the modern '*Arâk al-Munšîye* between Eleutheropolis and Lachish, less than two hours from *Tel el-Hesy*. Hezekiah had been victorious over the Philistines, but Sennacherib deprived him of the cities he had conquered in the *Shephelah*,<sup>6</sup> and attached them to the territories of three Philistine kings, viz. Mîitint of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Çil-Bel of Gaza.<sup>7</sup>

In the statement 2 K. 18 8: *Hezekiah smote the Philistines even unto Gaza and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city*, the last clause means, of course, both the detached forts (or castles) and the fortified cities.<sup>50</sup> Heb. *mîghdâl nôçërim* corresponds to Assyr. *dûru*,<sup>51</sup> and '*ir mivçâr* to Assyr. *âlu dannu* (KB, 2. 94, l. 13). Sennacherib besieged and captured the Judean strongholds in the *Shephelah*,<sup>6</sup> in order to prevent the Egyptian allies<sup>8</sup> of Hezekiah from bringing efficient help to Jerusalem.

Micah's patriotic poem, which Wellhausen styles a *capucinade*, was written prior to the capture of those cities. The poet addresses in the first place the inhabitants of Saphir in the north, saying, Pass ye<sup>52</sup> away from<sup>53</sup> Saphir; this<sup>54</sup> post will be taken.<sup>55</sup> Saphir will be the first to succumb to the Assyrians; it will be impossible to hold this position; therefore the poet advises the inhabitants of that place to evacuate it.

In the same way he says to the inhabitants of Lachish, south of Saphir, between Gaza and Hebron: *Bind<sup>56</sup> the chariot to the swift beast<sup>57</sup> or Attach the cart to the steed,<sup>58</sup> that is, Pack up your goods, load them on carts, if you desire to save them.<sup>59</sup> The city will fall into the hands of the Assyrians. Here we have a paronomasia in the word for *steed* (Heb. *rächsh*)<sup>57</sup> and the name *Lachish*.<sup>60</sup> We might imitate this by translating: *Pack off with bag and baggage, | ye men of Lachish!* Dr. Furness, to whom I am indebted for a number of valuable suggestions, proposes: *In carts bestow what ye lack, ye dwellers of Lachish!**

The next couplet begins: *So<sup>61</sup> give now parting gifts to Gath, the bride.* After the fall of Saphir and Lachish it will be impossible to hold Gath, which has been *betrothed* to Judah; Gath will swear allegiance to the Assyrian king, and Judah must part with her. The bridegroom paid for his bride;<sup>62</sup> but the bride received some parting gifts or farewell presents<sup>63</sup> from her parents. In an old German song of Prince Eugene and the City of Lille, entitled *Die vermeinte Jungfrau Lille*, this famous Austrian general, who captured Lille in 1708, says:<sup>64</sup>

Prinz Eugen bin ich genennet,  
Der zu dir in Liebe brennet,  
Lill', du allerschönste Braut.

Lille answers:

Lieber Herr, fort packet euch,  
Gehet in das deutsche Reich;  
Denn ich habe zum Galanten,  
Zum Gemahl und Caressanten,  
König Ludwig von Frankreich.

But Prince Eugene says in the last stanza but one:

Lill', mein Engel und mein Lamm,  
Ich weiss dir den Bräutigam,  
Kaiser Karl, der Weltbekannte,  
Ich bin nur sein Abgesandte  
Und des Kaisers General;

whereupon Lille concludes:

Ei wohlan, so lass es sein,  
Karle sei der Liebste mein;

Denn der Ludewig veraltet,  
Und die Lieb' ist ganz erkaltet,  
Karl ist noch ein junger Held.<sup>65</sup>

A fortress that has never been taken is called a *maiden*,<sup>66</sup> and a virgin is regarded as a fortress. In the Biblical Love-songs the maiden says of her brothers :

Albeit a wall am I thus far,  
my bosom is (now growing) like towers,  
And to them I am verily seeming  
ready to surrender (the fortress).<sup>67</sup>

In Goethe's *Faust* (897) we read: *Mädchen und Burgen müssen sich geben.*

The second half of Mic. 1 14 is: *Achzib is an achzab*<sup>68</sup> to the king of Judah.<sup>65</sup> An *achzab* is a deceitful brook, that is, a stream which is dry during the summer. The *achzab* deceives and disappoints the wanderer who expects to refresh himself with its water; Achzib will disappoint the king of Judah;<sup>65</sup> she will practice deception in love, and will jilt her former lover. In modern Palestinian songs a maiden is often called a well or a fountain.<sup>69</sup> Water-wheels and buckets symbolize the enjoyment of love. The beloved is said to have a water-wheel in her palate, because her kisses are so refreshing.<sup>70</sup> The bride is the fountain of pleasure, the source of delight, the wellspring of happiness, the cistern of bliss, the stream of enjoyment,<sup>69</sup> and we find similar hydraulic figures in the Old Testament. Ecclesiastes (12 1) says: *Remember thy well in thy youth*, i.e. Do not neglect your lawful wife.<sup>71</sup> In Prov. 5 15-20 we read :

- 15 Drink water from thine own cistern,<sup>72</sup>  
and the flow from thine own well !
- 16 Should<sup>73</sup> thy springs<sup>74</sup> be scattered abroad,<sup>75</sup>  
thy streams<sup>74</sup> in the open places ?<sup>76</sup>
- 17 Let them<sup>74</sup> be for thyself alone,  
and share them<sup>74</sup> not with strangers !<sup>77</sup>
- 18 Let thy fountain<sup>74</sup> be unpolluted !<sup>78</sup>  
enjoy the wife of thy youth !
- 19<sup>79</sup> Let her breasts quench thy thirst,<sup>80</sup> at all times !  
drink in<sup>81</sup> her love for ever !
- 20 Why shouldst thou err<sup>82</sup> with a stranger,  
and embrace a harlot's<sup>83</sup> bosom ?<sup>84</sup>

We may imitate the paronomasia in the line Mic. 1 14 b, *Achzib is an achzab to the king of Judah*<sup>85</sup> by translating: *Nevermore will Achzib accede | to Judah's wooing.* Dr. Furness suggests: *Deceitfully acts Achzib | toward the king of Judah.*<sup>85</sup>

The next line is: *The heir will go in to thee,*<sup>86</sup> *O maiden*<sup>87</sup> *Marešah*, that is, Sennacherib will inherit (or take possession of) this daughter of Judah. Among the ancient Hebrews the heir appropriated even the concubines of his father. A man's widow could be inherited like chattel. Sennacherib will go in to this daughter of the kingdom of Judah, just as Absalom went in unto David's concubines.<sup>88</sup> There is a paronomasia in the word for *heir* (Hebrew *yôresh*) and the name *Marešah*.<sup>89</sup> This may be imitated by rendering: *A new lord will be marshaled | into Marešah's borough.* Dr. Furness suggests: *To thy chamber marches the heir | O city*<sup>87</sup> *of Marešah.*

These are the three cases of paronomasia in Micah's elegy. They certainly do not justify the term *capucinate*.<sup>90</sup>

The Hebrew text of this poem (meter 3 + 2)<sup>20</sup> should be read as follows:

MICAH 1 11-15

11	'Ivrû <sup>52</sup> lakhém <sup>91</sup> miš-Šaphir, <sup>53</sup>	iqqáh <sup>55</sup> 'emdathô ; <sup>92</sup>
13	Rathôm <sup>56</sup> ham-märkavâh la-rákhš <sup>60</sup>	yôšévth Lakhîš ! <sup>93</sup>
14	La-khén <sup>61</sup> tittēni šilluhim <sup>63</sup>	lě-môrésēth <sup>46</sup> Gáth ;
	Báth <sup>49</sup> Akhziv lě-akhzáv <sup>68</sup>	lě-malkhē Yēhudhâh. <sup>85</sup>
15	<sup>94</sup> Hai-yôrés yavô eláikh <sup>86</sup>	báth <sup>87</sup> Marešâh ; <sup>89</sup>
	'Adhé <sup>95</sup> 'ólám <sup>96</sup> yôvédh <sup>97</sup>	kěvôdh <sup>85</sup> Yēhudhâh. <sup>98</sup>

This may be translated as follows:

- 11 Pass ye<sup>52</sup> away from<sup>53</sup> Saphir ;<sup>83</sup>  
     this<sup>54</sup> post will be taken !<sup>55</sup>
- 13 Pack off with bag and baggage,<sup>99</sup>  
     ye dwellers of Lachish !<sup>42</sup>
- 14 So<sup>61</sup> give now parting gifts<sup>63</sup>  
     to Gath, the bride.<sup>47</sup>  
 Nevermore will Achzib accede  
     to Judah's<sup>85</sup> wooing.<sup>100</sup>

- 15 A new lord will be marshaled  
 into Mareshah's<sup>44</sup> borough.<sup>101</sup>  
 Forever and aye<sup>96</sup> will perish<sup>97</sup>  
 the glory of Judah.<sup>85</sup>

This is certainly not a burlesque *capucinade*, but a patriotic elegy.

It should be preceded by the denunciation of the oppressors of the poor in Jerusalem, which follows in the second chapter of the received text,<sup>21</sup> while the first patriotic poem of Micah, arraiging the unjust rulers and false prophets in Jerusalem, is preserved in the third chapter. This first poem consists of two stanzas, each stanza is composed of two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line.<sup>102</sup> The second poem in the second chapter, on the other hand, consists of six couplets, with 2 + 2 beats in each line, which must be grouped in three stanzas. This introduction to Micah's elegy may be translated as follows:

- |     |     |  |  |
|-----|-----|--|--|
| i   | 2 1 | Woe to them that plan mischief<br>In daylight they do it;            | upon their beds <sup>1</sup><br>for it is in their power.                                |
|     | 2   | For fields they lust,<br>Oppressing men,                             | at homes they snatch,<br>their homes and heritage.                                       |
| ii  | 8   | Against my <sup>103</sup> people<br>From peaceful men <sup>104</sup> | ye rise as foes,<br>ye strip their mantles. <sup>106</sup>                               |
|     | 9   | Our <sup>106</sup> wives ye chase<br>From tender children            | from blissful homes, <sup>107</sup><br>ye take my <sup>103</sup> mothers. <sup>108</sup> |
| iii | 8   | Against this clan <sup>109</sup><br>Wherefrom they will              | He'll <sup>103</sup> plan some thing <sup>110</sup><br>not slip their necks.             |
|     | 4   | They'll utter verses<br>"We be utterly spoiled,                      | and mourning songs:<br>they divide our lands!" <sup>111</sup>                            |

This was originally followed by Micah's elegy,

Therefor<sup>21</sup> I wail and howl      unclad<sup>22</sup> and barefoot,<sup>23</sup>

with the apostrophe of the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*,<sup>6</sup> threatened by Sennacherib.<sup>7</sup>

The poem which precedes Micah's elegy in the received text is a Maccabean<sup>112</sup> psalm celebrating John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C.<sup>113</sup> The introductory poem at the beginning of the Book of Micah was written about 107,<sup>19</sup> whereas the genuine poems of Micah were composed about 701. The three genuine poems of Micah exhibit three different meters, 3 + 3, 2 + 2, and 3 + 2.<sup>20</sup> Similarly we have a Maccabean<sup>112</sup> alphabetic psalm at the beginning of the Book of Nahum, and we find the same variety of meters in this festal liturgy for Nicanor's Day:<sup>14</sup> 3 + 3, 2 + 2, and 3 + 2.<sup>115</sup>

The Maccabean<sup>112</sup> psalm at the beginning of the Book of Micah consists of three couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line, and may be translated as follows:

- i 1 2 Hear ye, all ye peoples!  
       hearken, O earth, and her dwellers!
- 3 Lo, He came<sup>116</sup> out of His place,  
       and strode o'er the heights of the earth.
- ii 4 'Neath Him the mountains melted,  
       while vales were cleft (and fissured)  
       As wax before the fire,  
       as a waterfall over a slope.<sup>117</sup>
- iii 6 I made<sup>118</sup> Samaria a heap,  
       pouring down her stones to the valley.
- 7 All her images<sup>119</sup> shall be shattered,  
       and all her gifts<sup>120</sup> be burned.<sup>121</sup>

Samaria was so utterly destroyed and burned that there was a stream of stones flowing down from the crest of the hill like a stream of lava. Josephus (*Ant.* 13. 10. 3) says of John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C. that the Maccabean conqueror captured the city after a siege of one year. He was not satisfied with the capture, but he destroyed the city utterly so that it was swept away in torrents. *He razed it in such a way that it fell into the rushing streams,*<sup>122</sup> and it looked as though there could never be a city again in that place. This passage seems to be based on the introductory hymn at the beginning of the Book of Micah. There was no destruction of Samaria in the pre-Grecian

period. Samaria was destroyed by Ptolemy Lagi in 312,<sup>123</sup> and by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 296;<sup>123</sup> but when Sargon captured Samaria in 721 he did not destroy the city.<sup>124</sup> Therefore Josephus says, Hyrcanus was not satisfied with the capture of Samaria, but destroyed it.<sup>122</sup> The long siege of Samaria reminded the Maccabean compiler of the festal liturgy for the celebration of Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria of the ancient poet Micah's lines alluding to Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem and his capture of the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*,<sup>6</sup> especially as Hyrcanus besieged Samaria because the Samaritans had attacked the people of Micah's birthplace, Mareshah,<sup>43</sup> who were Jewish colonists and Hyrcanus' allies.<sup>125</sup> The city of Samaria was not inhabited by Samaritans at that time, but by descendants of the Macedonian colonists whom Alexander the Great had settled there in 331 B.C.<sup>126</sup> Both Samaria and Beth-shean, at that time known as Scythopolis, were Hellenistic cities.<sup>123</sup>

The first three chapters of the Book of Micah, in which only 32½ lines are genuine, are more corrupt than any other Old Testament text I ever studied. I cannot discuss in the present paper all the corruptions, dittographies, haplographies, transpositions, displacements, expansions, glosses, etc.<sup>127</sup>

Some Hebraists may be inclined to say that I have practically rewritten the Book of Micah. The same criticism has been made with regard to my restoration of the Biblical Love-songs<sup>128</sup> and the Book of Ecclesiastes;<sup>129</sup> but the excision of later additions and exerecences is not tantamount to rewriting a book. The restoration of an old master merely restores the pristine beauty; and if I rejoin displaced and scattered lines, this restoration is as legitimate as the reconstruction of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's altar of Ghent,<sup>130</sup> parts of which are now preserved at Ghent, Berlin, and Brussels. The restoration of the original connection and the elimination of subsequent additions is not a radical destruction of the original, but a conservation. Many an old ceiling carved by the hand of a master has been daubed with plaster and cheap frescoing. If we remove this layer, we do not impair the beauty of the original.

## NOTES

(1) See J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 5 (Berlin, 1892), p. 132, l. 5; third edition (1898), p. 134, below.

(2) Cf. Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Tübingen, 1904), p. 269, *ad* 10-15, l. 4, and Sievers' *Alttestamentliche Miscellen*, X (cited below, note 115), p. 89.

(3) Cf. I. M. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (Boston, 1894), and note 52 to my paper *Moses' Song of Triumph* in *AJSL*, 20. 169; also H. Reckendorf, *Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen* (Giessen, 1909).

(4) We must cancel *kî* at the beginning of this verse, and read the plural, *anûšôth*, instead of *anûšâh*, and the plural suffix, *makkôthêhên*, instead of *makkôthêhâ*. Both *naghâ* (or, more correctly, *naghê'û*) and '*adh-Yêrûsalêm*' are glosses to '*adh-ša'r 'ammî*', and the clause *kî-vâ'âh 'adh-Yêhûdhâh* is a tertiary gloss to the clause (*naghâ* or *naghê'û*) '*adh-ša'r 'ammî*'. A late (theological) gloss to v. 9 is found in v. 12: *hâlah lē-tôv | yôšéeth marôm || kî-yâradh râ | me-'êth Yahwêh*, lit., She who dwells on high writhed for good, evil came down from *יְרִיחַ*; i.e. it was a good thing for the inhabitants of Jerusalem that they were in anguish; the calamity was sent by *יְרִיחַ* Himself: whom the Lord loveth, He correcteth. *Kî* before *hâlah* (cf. Mic. 4 10) is an erroneous repetition of the *kî* at the beginning of the second half of this verse; also *lê-ša'r Yêrûsalêm*, at the end of the verse, is a tertiary addition. It is possible, however, that the second half of v. 12 is a prosaic gloss to '*adh-ša'r 'ammî*' in v. 9. For *lê-tôv* (or *lê-tôvâh*) cf. Deut. 30 9, Ps. 119 122, Gen. 50 20, Jer. 24 5; it means lit. *for a good thing, for a good purpose, as a benefit*. It was a wholesome fright inspired by *יְרִיחַ*. For the religious effect of the blockade and deliverance of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. cf. EB, 2244, § 35. Instead of *marôth* we must read *marôm*; cf. Is. 26 5. The glossator read in v. 9 *makkôthêhâ*, her wounds (Jerusalem's) instead of *makkôthêhên*, their wounds (referring to the daughters of Judah, i.e. the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*). The suffix *-hen*, it may be supposed, was written *-h* with a mark of abbreviation; cf. *Nah.* 25, end of first paragraph *ad* 1 11.

A tertiary gloss (or illustrative quotation; cf. *AJSL*, 26. 10) to the gloss in Mic. 1 9 appears in Mic. 4 9:

4 9	'Attâh lamâh	tharî'i rê' ?
	Hâ-mêlkh en-bâkh	im-yo'çêkh avâdh
	Kî-hâhziqekh hîl	kai-yôledhâh ?
10	Hûli wa-ghôhi	bâth Ciyôn ! <sup>a</sup>
	Kî-'atûh theçî <sup>β</sup>	wê-sakhânt has-sadhêh
	U-vâth 'adh-Bavêl	šam-tinnaçêli. <sup>γ</sup>

(a) 4 10 *kai-yôledhâh*  
(γ) *šam-igh'alêkh ôô*

(β) *miq-qiryâh*  
*mik-kâph oyevâikh*

(ôô) *Yahwêh*

4 9	Now why dost thou	cry out aloud ?
	Hast thou no king ?	is thy counselor gone ?
	That pang have seized thee	like a woman in travail ?

10 Suffer pangs and labor, Now must thou forth, <sup>β</sup> Must go to Babel!	O maiden Zion! α and dwell in the field, there thou wilt be rescued.
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(α) 4 10 as a woman in travail	(β) the city	
(γ) There He δδ will redeem thee	from the hand of thy foes	(δδ) Juvv

*Gôhi* in v. 10 is an intransitive imperative like *bôšî* (for *bâšî*), be ashamed, or *bô'î*, enter. In Ps. 22<sup>10</sup> we must read *măghîhî*. This Hiphil *hegîh* is a synonym of Assy. *uššuru* = *muššuru*, the Piel of the stem from which the term *Masorah* is derived; see JAOS 16. cvi, *Numbers* 63 15, ZAT, 29. 74, 216. For another misplaced gloss (or variant) at the end of the fourth chapter, see below, note 27.

(5) In v. 9 they are called *daughters of the neighborhood*, i. e. dependent cities in the adjacent region of the Foothills (cf. note 6). The clause *miš-pâlh bēnôth* (not *bêth!*) *ka'êql* is a gloss to *ê'sh mišpâlh kat-tannim* in v. 8. For *êql*, propinquity (= Arab. *waql* connection, union), cf. Jer. 41 17 (OLZ, 12. 65 below).

(6) The region of the foothills between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean.

(7) See KB, 2. 95, 13; EB, 4364. 4368; RE, 14. 118; cf. also Professor Kemper Fullerton's article, *The Invasion of Sennacherib*, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1906.

(8) Cf. KB, 2. 93, 73 and Is. 20 5, 2 K. 18 21 19 9; also IN, 466. Contrast RE, 14. 118, 1.

(9) Similarly, we have in Syriac: *šânâ*, peace, tranquillity, security, instead of *š'ânâ* whence Heb. *š'ânân*. Heb. *šyân* corresponds to Arab. *šyân*, an infinitive form of *šâna*, *yašânu*, to guard, protect; the intensive form *šâurana* means especially *to surround with a wall*. The *h* in the Syriac form *šihyân* is secondary; cf. AJSI, 1. 178, n. 4; 20. 171; 22. 205 and 250 below; 23. 245; *Nah.* 40 (*nahug* = *na'ag* = *nagag*).

(10) This is also the connotation of *Sumaria* and *Beth-shean*, more correctly: *Beth-shân*; see *Kings* 77. 43, 274. 19. *Šân* is connected with *š'ânân*, and *Samaria* (Heb. *Šômron*, originally *Šamirânû*) is derived from *šamér*, to guard. For Jerusalem = Place of Security, see OLZ, 12. 248.

(11) For undeleted corrigenda see *Kings* 194. 29; cf. *Nah.* 35 (*gôv gôvâi*).

(12) It is by no means necessary to say *hâ'-aphâr hîthpallâ'i*; cf. Jer. 6 2: *hîthpallâ'i va'êphr*. The preposition *bê* instead of *lê* in this case is Aramaic rather than Hebrew; *lâ'-aphâr hîthpallâ'i* is idiomatic Hebrew. We read in Job 7 21, *ki'-attûh lâ'-aphâr âskâr*, for now I lie down in the dust. In Ps. 7 6 we find: *u-klrodhî* (cf. ZDMG, 63. 515, l. 23) *lâ'-aphâr yaškôn*, let him lay my soul in the dust, with the preceding gloss *wa-irmôš la'-ârç hâiyâi*, let him trample my life to the earth. We say also in English *to cast (fall, sink) to the ground*. Electricians speak of conductors *put to earth*. In Ps. 44 26 we have: *ki-šâyah lâ'-aphâr naphšenu | dawqâh la'-ârç bîynenu*, our soul is bowed down to the dust, our body cleaves to the ground. Cf. also Is. 21 9 25 12 28 2, Ez. 19 12 26 11 38 26, Am. 3 14 5 7, Ps. 89 45 143 3, Lam. 2 11. In Jer. 11 2 we must read *qadhûdhû la'-ârç*, they are bowed down to the ground = Assy. *qaqqarîš qubtudû*; cf. HW, 580<sup>b</sup>. 592<sup>b</sup>. The

received text *qadhêrû la-'ârç* cannot mean *sind tiefgebeugt zur Erde hin* (Giesebrecht). The Peshita has *nêphâl(u) bê-'ârâ*. For the graphic confusion of *r* and *d* see below, note 108, and for Syr. *qê'idh*, to bend (esp. the knees) = Assyr. *qadâdu*, cf. AJSL, 23. 245. Arab. *qâ'ada*, to sit, means originally *to squat*; for Arab. *qâ'ida*, concubine, cf. Syr. *nêphâl 'am*, to have sexual intercourse with.

(13) That is, *lie concealed, bury thyself*. Cf. Symmachus' rendering *ὑποστέλλεσθαι*, to retire, in Jer. 25 34. The original meaning is *burrow*. The renderings *sprinkle* (LXX, *καταπάττειν, στρωνόνναι*; Vulgate, *conspargere, aspergere*; Peshita, *ithpâlûl or ittêpûl*) or *wallow, roll* are gratuitous.

(14) The clause *Tell it not in Gath* (cf. above, p. 89), at the beginning of this verse is a marginal quotation (BL, 80, l. 6) from David's elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan (JHUC, No. 163, p. 55<sup>b</sup>).

(15) The negative in *bakhô al-tivkû* of the received text, instead of *bakhô bêkhhû*, is due to the preceding illustrative quotation *bê-Ghath al-taggidhu*.

(16) *Bê-vêth* in the received text is a corruption of *bênôthâikkh*. The words *bêth, bath, bènê, bènôth* are often confounded; cf. note 25. For *bath* = *baith*, cf. Is. 10 32 and *Est.* 20, last note on 2 7. Ruth 2 7 we must read instead of *šivtâh hab-baith mē'ât*, which is meaningless, *šavêthâh hab-bath mē'ât*, the girl rested little. For *bath* = girl, cf. Cant. 6 8, Gen. 30 13. Similarly we must read in Mic. 1 14 *Bath-Akhziv*, the maiden Achziv, instead of *bâtê Akhziv*, the houses of Achziv; cf. below, note 49. *Bakhâh*, to weep, may be construed with the accusative (cf. Dent. 21 13: *bakhêthâh âth-avîha vê-'âth-immâh*) just as we may use *weep* instead of *bewail, bemoan* (cf. *unwept*).

(17) The *daughters of Jerusalem* are the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*, captured by Sennacherib; cf. note 5.

(18) Cf. *Pur.* 25 3, *Est.* 37 = AJSL, 24. 133; see also below, note 26.

(19) According to *Marti*, v. 16 is the sequel of v. 9; he combines vv. 5<sup>b</sup> b. 6. 8. 9. 16. But v. 5<sup>b</sup> is one of the latest glosses in the Book, and v. 6 belongs to the introductory (Maccabean) psalm which glorifies John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C. Cf. note 121.

(20) For lines with 3 + 2 beats in English poems see my paper *The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets* in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1908), p. 270; cf. BL, xliii, n. † and the remarks on the anapestic pentameter in Browning's *Saul* on p. 25 of *The Elements of English Versification* by J. W. Bright and R. D. Miller (Boston, 1910).

(21) For the Assyrian invasion of the *Shephelah*, cf. note 17. This elegy was originally preceded by 2 4.

(22) That is, *scantily clad*, with nothing on but a loin-cloth; cf. our *undressed* and above, note 18. A misplaced gloss to *'ârôm* is *'âryâh* in v. 11; cf. *'êrôm vê-'âryâh*, Ez. 16 7. 22. 39 23 29. *Bošth* in Mic. 1 11, which is wanting in LXX, is a tertiary gloss to *'âryâh*. Without the gloss *'âryâh* the adjective *'ârôm*, naked, might be mistaken for *'arôm*, cunning; and without the tertiary gloss *bošth*, the noun *'âryâh* might be misread *'arêhâ* = LXX *τὰς πόλεις ἀτήρῃς*. For both *'ârôm* and *'êrôm* we had better read throughout *'irôm*; cf. *râšôn* = *rôšôn*, *tikhôn* = *tôkhôn*, *hîçôn* = *hûçôn*, *Pîšôn* = *Pûšôn*; see *Nah*.

36, last but one paragraph of notes on v. 18. The original form was 'ārām (for 'āwārām). This became, with obscuration of the ā-vowels, 'ōrām, and then, with dissimilation, 'īrām.

(23) The Heb. text has *barefoot and unclad*; the order has been reversed in the English translation for the sake of the rhythm. Heb. *šōlāl* means *stripped*, especially *unshod* (Jer. 2 25), i.e. *without shoes*. The imperative *šal* (nē'alēkha), Ex. 3 5 (cf. Josh. 5 15), must be derived from *šālāl*, and it would be better to read *šōl* instead of *šal*. *Šōlāl* is a synonym of *yahēf*; cf. Is. 20 2. *Elēkhāh* before *šōlāl* in the present passage is a gloss.

(24) That is *ostriches*. At night the ostrich emits a hoarse, melancholy note resembling the lowing of an ox in pain; cf. Job 30 29. In Arabic the ostrich is called *abu 'ṣ-ṣahārā*, father of the deserts.

(25) For 'al-bēnē ta'nūghāikh we must read 'al-bēnōthi ta'nūghāikh; cf. notes 16 and 49. Cant. 7 7 the beloved is called *bath-ta'nūghīm*, daughter of delight, i.e. a delightful maiden, a delightful girl; cf. also note 107. The omission of the final *t* of *bath* there and of *bēnōth* in the present passage is due to haplography.

(26) Heb. *wa-ghōzzi*, shave, is a gloss to the preceding *gorhī*, tonsure, make bald! The hair was cut off as a sign of mourning; cf. Lev. 21 6, Is. 15 2, Ez. 7 18. Originally a man in grief would tear his hair; afterwards it was merely tonsured as a conventional sign of mourning; see *Pur.* 25. 1; cf. above, note 18, and the conclusion of note 27.

(27) Lit. *tonsure thy tonsure*; the imperative *harhīvi* before *gorhāthēkh* is a gloss like *elēkhāh* before *šōlāl* in v. 8. Also *ka-ighlū mimmēkh*, because they will be deported from thee, at the end of this verse, is a gloss. The omission of the preformative of the imperfect after *kī* is due to haplography. A misplaced gloss to this verse is preserved at the end of ch. 4, where we must read: 'attāh hithgōdhēdh hithgōdhādhi | maṣōr sam-'alēnu || baš-šērt yakkū 'al-lēhi | ūh-sōphē! Isrā'el, Now lacerate thy flesh, | he has laid siege against us. || With a rod on the cheek they'll smite | the ruler of Israel. *Israel* stands for *Judah*; cf. note 85. This ruler (or *regent*) of *Judah* is *Zedekiah* (2 K. 25 6). *Jerusalem* is to lacerate her flesh in mourning, because she is besieged by the Chaldeans; cf. Jer. 47 8 16 6 41 6, Deut. 14 1, 1 K. 18 28. For laceration of the flesh in mourning see EB, 971. The mourners did not shed their blood to feed the manes of departed friends, but originally mourners were so excited that they scratched themselves till the blood ran; afterwards they made merely some symbolical incisions; cf. above, note 26, and the remarks on the covering of the mustache in note 102. Another misplaced gloss (to 1 12) in the fourth chapter has been pointed out at the conclusion of note 4.

(28) That is, a griffin vulture (*Gyps fulvus*). Vultures have their head and neck more or less bare of feathers.

(29) The siege and capture of the Judean cities in the *Shephelah* endangers *Jerusalem*. *Jerusalem* was afterwards blockaded by *Sennacherib*.

(30) The Assyrian besiegers. Lit. *breaker*, i.e. *one who makes breaches* in the walls, etc. Cf. Πολιορκητής and *The Hammer* (Nah. 2 1).

(31) The Assyrians.

(32) *Sennacherib*.

(33) Saphir has the same meaning as Jaffa; *šaphîr* (later *šappîr*) means *beautiful* in Aramaic, and *yaphô* (for *yaphâh*) is the feminine of Heb. *yaphêh*, beautiful. The name Shapira is Aramaic, the name Jaffé is Hebrew. Philipp Jaffé was a distinguished contributor to the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. For Shapira cf. E. König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Bonn, 1893) § 7. Saphir was the name of a well-known Jewish journalist who died at Vienna in 1858; but his name was derived from *sapphire*, Heb. *sappîr*; cf. Rubinstein, etc.

(34) This is an Arabic plural form of *Saphîr*; cf. e.g. Arab *fâris*, horseman; plur. *fawâris*.

(35) Arab. *ḥasy* (or *ḥisy*, *ḥesy*) means *level ground saturated with water*.

(36) Cf. 2 K. 18 14. 17 19 18, Is. 36 2.

(37) See the plate facing p. 48 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible.

(38) For the name *Sennacherib* see my paper *Midian and Sinai* in ZDMG, 63. 517, note 18, and my paper *The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 48, p. 359, n. 19.

(39) A *kussî nîmêdi* is a (high) chair with a footstool; see my paper *Some Assyrian Etymologies* in AJSL, 26. 7, § 6.

(40) Bezold's and Delitzsch's renderings *received* (KB, 2. 115) and *reviewed* (HW, 159<sup>a</sup>) are impossible. *He caused to proceed* would be *ušêtiq*.

(41) See J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908), Nos. 328 and 329, also Nos. 287, l. 15; 288, l. 43. For the cuneiform tablet found at *Tel el-Ḥesy* see *ibid.* No. 333; cf. OLZ, 2. 6, 54, 73, and p. 53 of the translation of *Joshua* in the Polychrome Bible.

(42) Cf. F. J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities; or Tell el-Hesy excavated* (London, 1898).

(43) In Mic. 1 1 *Dêvâr Yahwêh ašûr hayâh âl-Mikkâh ham-Mârêšathî bîmê Yêhîzqiyâh mâlkh Yêhûdhâh* represents a secondary addition, and *Yôtham Ahâz* as well as the second relative clause *ašûr ḥazâh 'al-Šômêrôn w-Îrûšalêm* are tertiary or quaternary glosses. The clause *ašûr ḥazâh 'al-Šômêrôn w-Îrûšalêm* is based on a misinterpretation of the introductory (Maccabean) hymn; cf. note 121. The addition of the names *Yôtham Ahâz*, which may be derived from Is. 1 1, is still later. The secondary addition may be pre-Maccabean, but the tertiary and quaternary glosses may be post-Maccabean. The addition of *Yôtham Ahâz* necessitated the reading *malkhê Yêhûdhâh* instead of *mâlkh Yêhûdhâh*. In *lê-malkhê Isra'êl* (for *Yêhûdhâh*; cf. note 85) at the end of v. 14, the plural ending is due to dittography. For the origin of the termination *-ê* see *Kings* 260. 34; 270, n. \*; cf. *Nah.* 42, n. †; for the original meaning of the name *Yêhûdhâh* cf. ZDMG, 63. 513, n. 1; and for the difference between *Israel* and *Judah* cf. *ibid.* 507, ll. 1-7. 29-32. 33-42; 512, l. 41-513, l. 8. Also in Jer. 26 18 we must read *ham-Mârêšathî*; the *Waw* before the *Resh* is due to dittography; cf. ZDMG, 63. 515, l. 19. The fragmentary couplet in Jer. 26 18, *Çiyôn sadhêh theḥarêš | w-Îrûšalêm 'iyîm tîhyêh || wê-har-hab-Bâith lê-vâmâth yâ'r | \* \* \* \* \* ||* is not quoted from Mic. 3 12, where it is not connected either with what precedes or what follows, but it has been added in Mic. 3 12 from Jer. 26 18. In 1 K. 22 28, on

the other hand, *šim'û 'ammîm kullâm* represents a late insertion from Mic. 1 2; see below, note 121; cf. *Kings* 173 15. For the accusatives *sadhêh* and 'iyîm, see GK, § 117, ii; WdG, 2, 49, A. For *sadhêh* cf. OLZ, 12, 214, n. 15; AJSL, 26, 8, § 8.

(44) The *â* of the prefix *mâ* in *Mârêšâh* is unchangeable as it is in *mâ'ôz*, *mâghên*, etc. Cf. *Nah.* 19, below. *Mârêšâh* is connected with *rôš* (Aram. *rêš*), head (cf. Josh. 15 4), and means *capital*; cf. Lat. *caput regionis* and Heb. *rôš Arâm Dammêsq* (Is. 7 8). For the etymology of the name *Damascus*, see AJSL, 26, 26.

(45) Cf. French *le fleuve de l'Euphrate*; GK, §§ 128, k; 130, e; OLZ, 12, 213, note 11.

(46) Cf. *môdh* for *mê'ôdh* (*Nah.* 27) and *Bêth-šân* for *Bêth-šê'ân* (see above, note 10).

(47) Cf. my paper *Some Germanic Etymologies* in *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. 27, p. 162.

(48) For the plural *bâtîm*, houses, and the singular *baith* (for *bêth*, *bâth*, *bât*) see *Nah.* 20, l. 4; cf. GK, 295, below. For the change from *â* to *ê* cf. Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 19. The lower classes in London say *taibl* instead of *têbl* = *table*; cf. the pronunciation *now* (*nau*) for *no*, etc.

(49) Cf. above, notes 16 and 25.

(50) Cf. Jud. 15 5: *mig-gadhîš wê-'adh-qâmâh*, both the shocks and the standing grain; or Gen. 31 24: *miš-tôe 'adh-ra'*, either good or bad; contrast Is. 1 6: *mik-kaph rûghl wê-'adh rôš*, from the sole of the foot to the head.

(51) For *dârû*, cf. KAT<sup>2</sup>, 501; BA, 3, 579. Xenophon calls the Acropolis of Nineveh *τεῖχος*; see JAOS, 28, 99, n. 4; cf. *Nah.* 8, l. 12. *Bît* before *dârânû* in col. 3, l. 13 of Sennacherib's prism is a silent determinative.

(52) We must, of course, read 'irvî instead of 'irî. The singular 'irvî is due to the preceding *hithpallêšî*; cf. above, note 13.

(53) Read *miš-Šaphîr*; the omission of the preposition is due to haplography; *miš-Šaphîr* was preceded by *lakhêm*. The intervening *yôšêrth* must be canceled; it is an erroneous repetition of *yôšêrth* in the following glosses (*yôšêrth Çû'nân* and *yôšêrth marôm*; cf. note 4) and in the second line of this couplet (*yôšêrth Lakhîš*). In v. 15<sup>a</sup> we must read *bath Mârêšâh* instead of *yôšêrth Mârêšâh*.

(54) Lit. *its post*; cf. *Kings*, 299, 30.

(55) Lit. *he* (= some one) *will take it*; cf. *Nah.* 30 (*ad v. 3*). *Mik-kêim* after *iqqâh* is a gloss. For the additional glosses inserted between *iqqâh* and *Šaphîr*, viz. *ârjâh (bôšth)* — *lo-yaç'âh yôšêrth Çû'nân* — *mišpâdh bîth ha-êçl*, see above, notes 5 and 22, also p. 86, l. 20. A misplaced gloss to 'irvî *lakhêm miš-Šaphîr*, *iqqâh 'âmdayh* appears in 2 15: *qûmu u-lekhû, ki-lo-zôth ham-munhâh*, Arise and go, for this is no safe place! For *mîudlâh*, tranquillity, comfort, security, see AJSL, 21, 141, note 21, and for the article, cf. OLZ, 11, 123. The second half of Mic. 2 15 must be read: *ba-râr tum'âh tchubbêlû rê-hâel nîmrâç*, because of impurity (i.e. transgression of the moral law) ye will be ensnared in a deadly snare. This is a misplaced gloss to 2 1. *Hinnô hošêv* | *'al-ham-mišpâhâh* | *lo-tamišu miš-sâm* | *çawwêrthokhêm*, Lo, against this clique | He'll plan something | wherefrom they will not | slip their

necks. Also *hāvl* between *mašlikh* and *gōrāl* in v. 5 is a misplaced gloss to *lo-yamīšu miš-šām šawwērōthekehēm*. For *hāvl nimirāç* cf. *mēçūdhāh rā'āh* Eccl. 9 12; *nimirāç = nahlāh* Nah. 3 19. For *wēç-hāvl* instead of *wē-hāvl* (*bè-hāvl*) contrast OLZ, 12. 214, note 15. Cf. below, note 110.

(56) For *rēthōm* we must read the inf. abs. *rathōm*; cf. GK § 113, bb.

(57) For Heb. *rākḥš*, see *Est.* 61 = AJSL, 24. 157.

(58) We should rather say, *Attach the steed to the cart*, harness the horse to the vehicle (Lat. *equos ad currum*, or *plaustrum, jungere*); French *atteler des chevaux à une voiture*; Arab. *'allaqa 'l-xāila fi-'l-'ūjalati*, but Livy says *currus albis equis junctus*, and Cicero, *reda equis juncta*.

(59) In the description of Sennacherib's second invasion of Southern Palestine from the north (Is. 10 28-32) this idea is explained by *he'izū*, they bring into safety, they save. This (non-Isaianic) poem (which consists of two stanzas, each of which is composed of two couplets, with 2 + 2 beats in each line) may be translated as follows:

28	He is come to Aiath,	he is passed to Migron;
29	He musters { } at Michmash, <sup>a</sup>	Geba is the night-camp. <sup>β</sup>
	Ramah is frightened,	and γ Gibeah flees,
31	Madmenah takes flight,	the δ Gebites pack off.{ε}
30	Now call for help, Listen, Laishah!	O maiden Gallim! answer her, Anathoth!
32	This very day His fist he shakes	he'll halt at Nob, 'gainst the mount of the Temple.ζη

(a) 29 they have passed the pass (β) where they spend the night (γ) Saul's  
(δ) 31 inhabitants (ε) 28 their belongings (ζ) 32 Zion (η) the hill of Jerusalem

For the second campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem, see EB, 4368; RE, 14. 119, l. 6; cf. also the conclusion of Professor Fullerton's paper cited above, note 7. — Aiath (= Ai) is probably the low hill *Khirbet Haiyân*, just S of *Dêr Dîwân*, E of Beth-el, about 9 miles from Jerusalem. — Migron = *Makrân*, north of Michmash. — Michmash is the modern *Mukhmâs*, 7 miles N of Jerusalem. It is separated from Geba by a very steep and rough valley at the bottom of which is the Pass of Michmash. A glossator has therefore added *they have passed the pass*; cf. 1 S. 14 4. 5. — Geba is the modern *Jeba'*, 5½ miles N from Jerusalem. It stands on the top of a rocky ridge, commanding an extensive view, and was therefore suitable for a bivouac. — Ramah is the modern *er-Râm*, 5 miles north from Jerusalem, 2600 feet above the level of the sea. — Gibeah, the birthplace of Saul, is *Tel-el-Fûl*, a bare conical hill about 4 miles N of Jerusalem. — Madmenah, Geb, Gallim, Laishah, Nob have not been identified. Madmenah means *dung-hill*; Geb = *pit, cistern*; Gallim = *wells*; Laishah = *lion*; Nob = *hollow*. — Laishah may be the modern *el-'Îsâwiyeh*, a small village on the eastern slope of a mountain to the NNE of the Mount of Olives, less than an hour's walk from Anathoth, the birthplace of Jeremiah, i.e. the modern *'Anâtâ*, NE of Jerusalem.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

ISAIAH 10 28-32					
23	Bâ 'al-'Aiyâth	'avâr lē-Mighrôn			
29	Bē-Mikhmás iphqôdh {} <sup>a</sup>	Géva' malôn. <sup>b</sup>			
	Hâredhâh ha-Râmâh	Giv'âth r nâsâh			
31	Nôdhâdâh Madhmenâh	hag-Gevim he'izu.{} <sup>c</sup>			
30	Çahlî qôlêkh Haqšivi Lâišah	bâth Gallim 'ânîha 'Anuthôth.			
32	'Odh hai-yôm Yênôphéph yadhô	hē-Nôv lu'môdh 'al-hâr hab-Bâith. <sup>d</sup>			
(a) 29	'aršrû ma'barâh	(3) lánû	(γ) Š'ûl	(δ) 31	yôšrê
(e) 28	kelûu	(5) 32	Çiyôn	(η)	giv'âth Yrûšalêm

We must transpose the prepositions prefixed to *Mighrôn* and *Mikhmás* (v. 23). For *yaphqôdh* read the Qal *iphqôdh*, he musters (his army). *Kelûu* is a misplaced gloss to *he'izû* at the end of the first stanza. For *iphqôdh* without an object, cf. I S. 14 17. *Iphqôdh* was probably written *plene*; cf. the *scriptio plena* of *ya'môdh*, Nah. 1 6 (see Nah. 19 and AJSJ, 26. 10) and *tirôš* for *tirâš* (Mic. 6 13; see note 89; cf. also note 96). For the perfect forms *hâredhâh*, *nâsah*, *nâdhâdhâh*, we must read the participles; contrast note 116. Verse 31 must be inserted before v. 30. For *çahlî qôlêkh*, cf. GK, § 117, s, and Nah. 39, l. 6. The prefixed *l* in *lu'môdh* (v. 32) is the emphatic *la* = verily; cf. *Est.* 56, l. 4, and below, note 68. Before *har* we must insert 'al'; cf. *Pur.* 5. 29; 33. 28. *Bâith* should have the article; cf. Mic. 3 12. *Çiyôn* is secondary, and *giv'âth Yrûšalêm* is a tertiary gloss. In *'ânîha Anuthôth*, perhaps also in *nôdhâdhâh Madhmenâh*, we have paronomasia; but not in the first three hemistichs of v. 30, or in the first hemistich of the second couplet of the first stanza, nor is there any intentional paronomasia in *Nov* and *yênôphéph*; Duhm's renderings *Erregt ist Harama, Gelle laut. Bath Gallia, lausche Laischa*, etc., are therefore gratuitous. We might imitate the paronomasia (cf. note 3) in *nôdhâdhâh Madhmenâh* by the rendering *Madmenah is menaced*, or *Like mad runs Madmenah*. The paronomasia, however, may be accidental; at any rate this poem, which is later than u.c. 600, cannot be called a *capucinade*.

I was reminded of the complet

Ramah is frightened,      and Gibeah flees,  
Madmenah takes flight,    the Gebites pack off.

by a paragraph in the cablegrams from Paris, Jan. 25, 1910, describing the enormous damage in France done by the raging waters: *Melun is in darkness, Verdun-S-Le Doubs is partially flooded, Verdun is submerged, and Chambéry is threatened*. The majority of the names in this cablegram are just as corrupt as a great many names in the Old Testament (cf. e.g. *Est.* 68). The names should, of course, read *Melun, Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, Verdun, Chambéry*.

(60) The assonance of *rākḥš* (or, in pause, *rākḥš*) and *Lakhîš* is not very striking. If we read in the first hemistich *Ta'ôn rēkhûv ba-rēkhûš*, we should have a better paronomasia, but *rathôm merkavâh la-rākḥš* is no doubt original. *Ta'ôn* (cf. Gen. 45 17) is an Aramaic word; the genuine Hebrew form would be *ça'ôn* (cf. Is. 33 20) = Assy. *çēnu*; see *Nah.* 25, l. 2; 35, l. 3; *Est.* 47 (ad 6 s). For Heb. *rēkhûš*, property, cf. *Est.* 61. *Rēkhûv* (Ps. 104 s) appears in Assyrian as *rukûbu*; cf. HW, 620 a; *Kings* 175. 2.

(61) In the present passage *lakhên* is not the common word meaning *therefore*, but the adverb *kên*, thus, with prefixed emphatic *l*, so that *lakhên tittēnî* means *verily thus thou wilt give*, or *so thou must indeed give*; cf. the remark on *lâ'môdh* above, note 59. This *lakhên*, such being the case, under these circumstances, accordingly, has about the same meaning as *bēkhên*; cf. *Est.* 22 (ad 2 13). For *scriptio plena* of this emphatic particle, see OLZ, 10. 305. In the Talmud (e.g. Pes. 54 a; Yôm. 22 b; Sanh. 40 b; cf. BT, 2. 511 b, l. 19; 811 b, l. 9; 7. 168 b, l. 2) we find *lai*, verily, which is a contraction of *lâ-hî*. The explanation (*not so!*) given in Levy's Talmudic dictionary (2. 462) is wrong; contrast Dalman's *Wörterbuch*, p. 202 a; cf. also Levias' grammar, § 163, end (= AJSL, 13. 70). Another Talmudic particle which has not been explained is *ammâi*, why (e.g. Shabb. 48 a, 80 a; Erub. 70 a, 97 a). This corresponds to Assy. *ammîni*, why? for *ana mîni*, for what? Contrast HW, 407 a; AG<sup>2</sup>, 217.

*Lakhên* has four different meanings in the Old Testament: (a) *therefore*; — (b) *verily thus*; — (c) *not at all*; — (d) *all right*.

In (a) *lakhên*, therefore, the prefixed *la* is the preposition *lê*, for (cf. *la-zôth*, Job 37 1, Jer. 5 7), while the second element represents the adverb *kên*, thus. This *kên*, thus, appears in Arab. *lâkinna* (see below, c) and in Syr. *hâkhannâ*, thus. Assy. *kî'âm* (HW, 326 a) shows that *kên* is a contraction of *kî'â-ma*, i.e. the adverbial accusative of *kî* (KAT<sup>2</sup>, 505) with the emphatic *-ma* which appears in Hebrew as *-nâ* (GK, 318, n. 3). *Kî'â-ma* became *kiamma*, *kianna*, *kanna*, or *kinna*, and finally *kin*, *kên*.

We find the same adverb in (b) *lakhên*, verily thus; but the prefixed *la* in this case is the emphatic particle; cf. e.g. Num. 16 11, 1 S. 3 14, Mic. 2 5 5 2, Job 34 25 42 3; cf. also Is. 26 14 61 7.

Also in (c) *lakhên*, not at all, by no means, we have this adverb *kên*, thus; but here the prefixed *la* represents the negative, so that *lakhên* means originally *not so* (= *lô khên*, Gen. 48 18). LXX οὐχ οὐτως in Gen. 4 15, Job 20 2, Jud. 11 8 (where *u-maddû' bâthém elâi 'attûh ka'sûr çar lakhém* is a gloss) is quite correct; contrast Driver ad 1 S. 3 14 28 2. The Vulgate renders Gen. 4 15 correctly: *nequaquam ita fiet*, and the Peshita has: *lâ hâ-khannâ*. In Arabic this *lakhên* appears as the adversative particle *lâkinna*; Arab. *jû'anî Zaidun lâkinna 'Amran lam yaji'* (WdG, 2. 333, D) means originally *Zaid came to me; not so Amr: he did not come*.

In (d) *lakhên*, all right (e.g. Gen. 30 15, Jud. 8 7, 1 S. 28 2, 1 K. 22 19, 2 K. 1 4. 6, Is. 7 14), the prefixed *la* is the emphatic particle as in (c) *lakhên*, verily thus; but the *kên* in this connection is the adjective *kên*, straight (cf. HW, 322 b). This *lakhên* means originally *quite correct*, lit. *verily* (it is) *correct*. It would, of course, be possible to explain this *lakhên*, all right, as *quite so*, lit. *verily* (it is) *so*; on the other hand, *lakhen*, not at all, might

be taken as a compound of *la*, not, and *khen*, correct; but I believe that the second element of *lakhén*, all right, is the adjective *kên*, right (from the stem *kân*), while the second element of *lakhén*, not at all, is the adverb *kén* (= *k'á-ma*), thus.

In the third edition of Professor Kautzsch's German translation of the Old Testament *lakhén* is correctly rendered *nun gut* in Jud. 8 17, or *gut* in 1 S. 28 2; nor are the translations *meinetwegen* in Gen. 30 15, or *somit* in Num. 16 11, or *so . . . denn* in 1 S. 3 14 inappropriate; but the renderings *ebendarum* in Gen. 4 15, or *ja* in Jud. 11 8, or *darum* in 1 K. 22 19, 2 K. 1 4, 6, Is. 7 14 are erroneous.

(62) Cf. BL, 111.

(63) Cf. Jud. 1 12, Josh. 15 16. The same word (Heb. *šillûhîm*) is used in 1 K. 9 16.

(64) See p. 396 of Grisebach's new edition of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, cited *Pur.* 40, l. 36; BL, 48, l. 5.

(65) When Prince Eugene captured Lille in 1708, Charles VI was but 23 years old, while Louis XIV was 70.

(66) The name of the German fortress *Magdeburg* means *Maiden Castle*.

(67) See *Cant.* 6, 32, 60, 84, BL, 5, 41, 117, 133.

(68) The prefixed *lê* is the emphatic particle; cf. above, note 61, and below, note 111, end.

(69) See *Cant.* 68; BL, 89.

(70) In one of these songs the maiden says: When thou art thirsty, there is the water of my breasts which are like water-wheels, *i.e.* If you desire me, my charms will satisfy you; see BL, 89, l. 6; 72, l. 6; 126 (*ad p.* 73). Cf. also Hos. 2 4, and below, note 80.

(71) See Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 44, n. 15; cf. *Oriental Studies* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1894), p. 276, note 63; contrast Professor G. A. Barton's commentary on *Ecclesiastes* (New York, 1908), p. 195.

(72) That is, Have no carnal connection with any other but thy lawful spouse; let her be thy sole wellspring of happiness. Thou must not commit adultery.

(73) For interrogative clauses without an interrogative particle cf. *Cant.* 74; BL, 111; GK, § 150, a. It would be better to prefix *al* to *yaphûçu*; the omission of the negative which we find in LXX may be due to a misunderstanding of the passage.

(74) That is, the women with whom thou hast sexual intercourse. Thy source of (sensual) pleasure must be a sealed fountain, inaccessible to any one but thyself; see BL, 88, note 31; cf. also the Talmudic passage discussed in *JBL*, 21, 54.

(75) Beyond the walls of thy house, in the street. Cf. *Ecclesiasticus* 9 7.

(76) Bring no sacrifices to *Venus vulgivaga*; have no intercourse with a prostitute who walks the streets and squares.

(77) Have no carnal connection with a woman who has a number of paramours.

(78) We must read *barûr*, pure, instead of *barûkh*, blessed.

(79) *The lovely hind, the charming wild goat* (the female of the *ibex* or

*steinbock*) at the beginning of this verse are glosses (or variants) to *the wife of thy youth*. Cf. BL, 75, n. 32; 86, n. 20.

(80) Lit. *water thee*; cf. above, note 70.

(81) The first *tisgêh* (v. 19) is a mistake for *tisbê*, from *savâ*, to drink (*tertiæ Aleph*). For the confusion, at the hands of the scribes, of different expressions in two hemistichs cf. OLZ, 12. 212, l. 10 (in Cant. 8 6 we must read *kaṭ-ṭabbâṭh*, like a signet, instead of the second *kaḥ-hôthâm*, like a seal; cf. MT, 9, n. 6), and for this use of *savâ*, to drink, cf. Prov. 7 18 (BL, 74, n. 24) and the Talmudic *sarûph* (= Arab. *šárība*) in Berakhoth 62<sup>a</sup>. Also in Prov. 20 1 we must read *savû*, drunk, instead of *šôghêh*: wine mocks, strong drink is exciting; he who gets drunk is unwise (Heb. *Leç-yâin, homêh šekhâr | savû-vo lô yûhkmân*). *Wê-khol* before *savû* is scribal expansion. In Prov. 5 23, on the other hand, *išgêh* is a corruption of *issaphêh*; see *Proverbs* 39 19.

(82) Cf. the modern German term *Eheirrung*.

(83) Lit. *a strange woman's*. The majority of the prostitutes at that time, it may be supposed, were foreigners.

(84) The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

15 <i>Šêtheh-mâim mil-lév bôrêkha</i>	<i>wê-nozlîm mit-tôkh bêrêkha.</i>
16 <i>Yaphûçu má'ynothekha hûçah</i>	<i>ba-rhóvoh pálghe máim ?</i>
17 <i>Ihyû lêkha lévaddêkha</i>	<i>we-ên lē-zarîm itákh.</i>
18 <i>Yêhî mēçôrkhá varâr</i>	<i>u-smáh me-êsth nē'urêkha.</i>
19 <i>Daddêha yêrauwûkha vê-khol-êth</i>	<i>bē-ahvathâh tisbê thamûdh.</i>
20 <i>Lámah thišgêh vê-zarâh</i>	<i>u-thêhâbbeq héq nokhriyâh ?</i>

In the first hemistich meter and parallelism require the insertion of *lév*, heart, interior, before *bôrêkha*; cf. AJSL, 23. 258, note 3. *Hêq* means *lap* rather than *bosom*; see JBL, 21. 23, 46; cf. our phrase to *take to one's bosom* = to marry. For the explanation, in the second triplet, of the imagery of the first triplet cf. *Nah.* 29, l. 3.

(85) *Israel* is a scribal error for *Judah*; cf. notes 27 and 93.

(86) Read *yavô 'eláikh* for *avî lákh*. The omission of the initial *Aleph* of *elaikh* was due to haplography; cf. *Est.* 47 (*ad v.* 4).

(87) We must read *bath* instead of *yošévth*; cf. above, note 53.

(88) See 2 S. 16 22; cf. EB, 2948.

(89) There is no etymological connection between *Mareshah* and *yôrêš*, heir. *Mareshah* is connected with *rôš*, head (cf. note 44), whereas *yôrêš*, heir, is connected with *tîrôš*, must, the unfermented juice pressed from the grape. The original meaning of the stem *yarás*, to inherit, is to *press, squeeze, extort, rob, bereave*. In Mic. 6 15 we must read *tîrâš*, instead of *tîrôš*, as a verb in the sense of *thou wilt press* the juice from the grapes. The *Waw* is due to dittography of the *r*; cf. the remarks on the *scriptio plena* of *iphqôdh* in note 59. We must read this late passage: *Tôkhâl wê-lô thisbâ' | (attâh) tizrá wê-lô thiçôr || (attâh) tidhrókh (zaith) wê-lô thasûkh (šâmn) | wê-thîrâš wê-lô thištêh (yain), i.e.* Thou wilt eat and not be sated; | thou wilt sow, but thou wilt not reap; || thou wilt tread, but thou wilt not anoint; | thou wilt press, but thou wilt not drink. This couplet should be inserted after vv. 13, 14, and for the 2 masc. we may read the 2 fem.

- (90) Cf. the conclusion of the last but one paragraph of note 59.
- (91) Cf. GK, § 119, s; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 224. This *dativus com- modi* is by no means late or colloquial.
- (92) For the glosses in this verse see above, note 55; and for the late (lifelogical) gloss in the next verse (12) cf. note 4.
- (93) The second half of this verse (*rešîth hattâth-hi | lē-vâth Çiyôn || kî-vâkh nimçê'û | piš'ê Yêhudhâh*, The primary sin | is Zion's, the maiden's; || in thee were found | Judah's transgressions) is a late (tertiary) gloss to v. 5 which is a secondary (theological) addition to the last couplet (vv. 6. 7) of the introductory (Maccabean) psalm celebrating John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C. Juven says: *I made Samaria a heap, | pouring down her stones to the valley*, and a (theological) glossator (who erroneously referred this to Sargon's capture of Samaria in 721 B.C.) added in v. 5: *All this is due to Jacob's transgression, to the sins of the Israelitish nation*. This is followed by the gloss *W<sup>ho</sup>* (represents) *Jacob's transgression?* *Is it not Samaria?* and by the gloss *W<sup>ho</sup>* (represents) *the heights of Judah?* *Is it not Jerusalem?* This last gloss refers to *wê-dharâkh 'al-bamôthe ha'ârç* at the end of v. 3. We must not substitute the singular *hattâth* for *hattôth* in v. 5; nor can we read *Bêth-Yêhûdhâh* instead of *Bêth-Isra'êl*, and *hattâth Yêhûdhâh* instead of *bamôth Yêhûdhâh*. Marti regards this late gloss in v. 5<sup>b</sup> as the first genuine line of Micah. Contrast note 102.
- (94) 'Ôdh at the beginning of this verse is incorrect dittography of 'adh at the beginning of the following line.
- (95) For 'adhê instead of 'adh cf. *minnê* for *min*, AJSJ, 19, 133, below.
- (96) 'Adhullîm instead of 'ôlûm is due to the common graphic confusion of *Waw* and *Daleth*; cf. the remarks on the *scriptio plena* of *iphôdûh* in note 59 and below, notes 97 and 108.
- (97) *Yacô* is corrupted from *yôvâth* (with *Waw* for *Daleth*, and *Aleph* transposed).
- (98) The following verse (13) is the second line of the second couplet of the first stanza of this elegy; see above, p. 87.
- (99) Lit. *Attach the cart to the steed*; cf. notes 56-60.
- (100) Lit. *Achzih is indeed* (cf. note 68) *an achzih* (i.e. a deceitful brook which dries up during the summer) *to the king of Judah*; cf. above, p. 91.
- (101) Lit. *the heir will go in to thee, O maiden Mareshah*; cf. notes 86-89.
- (102) The text of this poem must be restored as follows:

A	i	3	9	<i>Ha-mthâ' avim mišpât</i>	<i>w-eth-kôl hayšarûth yî' aqqêšu</i>
			10	<i>Bonê Çiyôn bê-dhamîm</i>	<i>w-Îrûšalêm bê'aulûth.</i>
	ii		2	<i>Hay-gozîm 'orâm me-'alehém</i>	<i>wê-serâm me-'al-'âçmothâm</i>
				<i>W-eth-'açmôthehém piççêhu</i>	<i>kî-vasâr be-thôkh qallâth.</i>
				[ <i>uôskhîm</i>	
B	iii		5	<i>Ham-math'im eth-'ammî, han-</i>	<i>bê-šinnehém, wê-gar'û šalôm!</i>
				<i>Wa'sêr lo-ttêu 'al-pihém</i>	<i>wê-qiddêšû 'olâu mihamâh.</i>
				[ <i>hazôn</i>	
	iv		6	<i>Lakhen-lôilah lakhém me-</i>	<i>wê-hašekhâh lakhém miq-qâsm!</i>
			7	<i>U-rôšu kah-hozîm wê-haphêru</i>	<i>wê-'atû 'al-sophâm kullôm.</i>

For the *enjambement* in the first line of the second stanza (v. 5) cf. *Nah.* 29 (*ad* 2 1).

This poem may be rendered as follows :

- A i 3 9 O ye who detest what is right,  
                   perverting whatever is straight !  
 10 Who build up Zion with blood,  
                   Jerusalem with outrage.
- ii 2 Who strip the skin from the poor,  
           the flesh from off their bones,  
 And chop their bones to pieces,  
           as though it were flesh in a pot.
- B iii 5 Ye who lead my people astray ;  
           have they aught to bite, they cry : Good !  
 But if one put nought in their mouth,  
           they open war against him.
- iv 6 Night will be for you, beyond vision  
           and darkness, beyond divination.  
 The seers will be shamed and abashed ;  
           they will all cover up their mustaches.

The mustache was covered as a sign of mourning ; cf. *Ezek.* 24 17 and above, note 26 ; *night* and *darkness* mean *disaster*. The outlook will be so gloomy that even the false prophets will not be able to prophesy anything favorable. The last but one stanza means : as long as the false prophets have something to eat they extol the prosperity of the kingdom. For the opening stanza cf. *Hab.* 2 12, *Is.* 1 15 59 3, *Jer.* 2 34, *Ez.* 23 45 ; also 1 *K.* 21 15. 19, 2 *K.* 21 16. Zion may be built up and embellished, Jerusalem may be enlarged and enriched, but the rulers are responsible for many bloody deeds and flagrant outrages.

(103) The prophet speaks, not *יהוה*. The original reading in the second hemistich of couplet iii was not *hinnēnī* (or *hinnī*) *hōšēv*, but *hinnō* *hōšēv*, he will plan, and this may be impersonal : some one will plan, it will be planned.

(104) We must read *šēlemâh* instead of *salmâh* ; cf. my remarks on *Am.* 1 9 in *OLZ*, 10. 308. *Šēlemâh* is explained by the gloss *me-’ōvērīm bāth* (*šēvī milhamâh*) at the end of the verse.

(105) Even when a man seized the upper garment of a poor debtor, he was bound to restore it to him at sunset ; cf. *Ex.* 22 26, *Deut.* 24 13.

(106) Lit. *my wives* (Heb. *našai*). A glossator who took exception to this plural, added ‘*ammī*, thus reading *nēšē ‘ammī*. He referred the suffixes, of course, to *יהוה*, not to the prophet. Cf. note 103.

(107) This denotes especially the places of connubial bliss, the conjugal chambers, the harems ; cf. note 25. In a cuneiform incantation against evil spirits (*iv. R.* 27, No. 5 ; cf. *HW*, 513<sup>b</sup>, 696<sup>a</sup>) we read : *They startle the maid in her chamber, they drive the lord from his harem*, lit. *from the house of her union*, i.e. *union with her* (*GK*, § 128, h). *Prov.* 21 9 (25 24) means : *A corner on the roof is better than a termagant’s conjugal chamber*, Heb.

*Tov-la-šévth 'al-pínnath gágh mē'ésth mēdhunim u-veth-háv.*

The two lines in the cuneiform incantation are :

*Ardata ina-mastakiša usēlū  
edla ina-bit emūtiša usēqū.*

For *usēlū*, they startle, cf. BL, 80; for *mastaku*, chamber, cf. *Kings* 231. 40; for *bit emūti*, harem, Heb. *bēth hāvr*, see *Kings* 161. 47.

(108) For *hadharī*, My glory (with the subsequent gloss *lē'ólām*, for ever), we must read *hōrōthāi*, my pregnant women; the *r* was miswritten *d*, and the *t* corrupted to *r*; cf. *AJSL*, 24. 105; 26. 10 and the remarks on Jer. 14 2 in note 12; also note 96. We find confusion of *Taw* and *Resh* e.g. in *Icler* = *Yēthēth*, Gen. 36 4. For *hōrāh* = *em*, mother, cf. Hos. 2 7; Cant. 3 4 (see BL, 5, viii; 19 δ). Heb. *harāh*, to be pregnant, is connected with Arab. *āriya*, to burn, which is used of anger, or of a pot, the lower portion of which has been burned black; cf. Arab. *arra* = *ānqada* and *jāma'a*; also Ps. 51 7: *bē-heṭ yāhmāthni immi*, in sin did my mother conceive me. Another Arabic word derived from the root *ar* is *urhūn*, a menstruant girl.

(109) That is, *clique*.

(110) *Rā'āh* as well as the preceding demonstrative pronoun *haz-zōth* and the following relative pronoun *āsār* represent explanatory glosses. For the misplaced glosses to this passage, which we find in v. 5 (*hāvl*, snare) and v. 15<sup>b</sup>, see the conclusion of note 55.

(111) The Hebrew text must be read as follows :

A 2 1	<i>Hoi-hōšve ān</i> <i>Bē'ōr ya 'sūhu</i>	<i>'al-miškēvothām</i> <i>ki-yēs l-el-yadhām.</i>
2	<i>Wē-hamdū sadhōth</i> <i>Wē-āšqu gāvr</i>	<i>wē-ghazlū vattim</i> <i>bethō wē-nahlatō.</i>
B 8	<i>W-attēm le-'ammī</i> <i>Mim-mūl šelcmāh</i>	<i>ayēv tithqomānu</i> <i>adbarōth taphsūtūn</i>
9	<i>Nāsōi tēgharsūn</i> <i>Me-'al'ōlalehēn</i>	<i>mib-beth-tā nughelēn</i> <i>tiqhū horothāi.</i>
C 8	<i>Hinnūh hōšev</i> <i>Lo-thamīsu miš-šām,</i>	<i>'al-ham-mišpahāh</i> <i>zavēl rōthi khēm.</i>
4	<i>Issā masāl</i> <i>Šadhōdh nēšadlōnu,</i>	<i>wē-nahā nūh :</i> <i>sadhēnu yehallēq.</i>

A glossator has added (in v. 5) to the last line: *lakhēn lō-ihyēh lēkhā māstikh gōrāl bi-qhāl Yahwēh*, Thus (cf. n. 61) thou wilt have none who casts the lot [cf. *J* = h. 18 11] in the congregation of *Juvu*. — Another glossator remarks (in v. 5) : *Lo-yattīphū kha-'ēlēh, lo-yassīgh kēlīmōth bēth Yā'qōb*, They ought not to talk such things, the House of Jacob cannot experience (lit. attain, from *hissīgh*, *Hiphil* of *wasāgh*, with *Stn*) dishonor. *Yattīnhūn* and *attattīphū* are variants (cf. *Nth.* 40 5; BL, 26. 3) to *lō yattīfū*. — A third glossator asks (in v. 7) : *Hy'ōmār, qāqēr rūh Yahwēh 'im-*

*ēlēh bē-ma'lēlēhēm ? hālō dhēvarāu yēlīvū 'im-hai-yašār hah-hōlēkh ahrāu ?*  
Am I to think that JHVH has become impatient with them? Are not His words kind with him who is upright and follows Him? — Finally a glossator has added (in v. 11) :

<i>Lū-īš halōkh</i>	<i>wē-rūh kizzév</i>
<i>Attīph lēkhá</i>	<i>lai-yáin wē-laš-šekhár</i>
<i>Wē-hayāh mattīph</i>	<i>ha-ám haz-zēh !</i>

If a man should come with windy lies :  
"I'll talk to thee both wine and mead,"  
He would be the talker for such a people !

*Lū rūh kizzév* means literally *if he lied wind*, i. e. if he uttered idle and untrue words; *wa-šār* is an explanatory gloss to *rūh*. For the perfect in conditional clauses see GK, § 159, g. x; SB, §§ 157, 159. The *l* prefixed to *hai-yáin* and *haš-šekhár* corresponds to the Assy. *lū . . . lū = sive . . . sive* or *et . . . et*; see JHUC, No. 114, p. 107<sup>b</sup>, below; GK, § 143, c; cf. above, note 68.

(112) For Maccabean psalms see my remarks JHUC, No. 163, p. 54<sup>r</sup>; AJSL, 23. 225, 256; MT, 6.

(113) See GJV, 1. 268; 2. 196.

(114) See my paper in ZDMG, 61. 275; cf. *Nah.* 1.

(115) Contrast Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* and Sievers' *Alttestamentliche Miscellen*, X (in the *Berichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, May 4, 1907), pp. 76–80.

(116) We must read the perfect *yašā* instead of the participle *yōšē*; cf. *halākh* for *hōlēkh* in 2 u; see note 111.

(117) This couplet refers to a volcanic eruption, with streams of lava and earthquakes, whereby JHVH manifests Himself as in times of yore at Mount Sinai; cf. p. 361 of my paper, *The Burning Bush*, cited above, in note 38, and ZDMG, 63. 520, n. 36.

(118) We must read *wē-sām̄ti*, I made, and *wē-higgárti*, I poured down, instead of *wē-samtī*, I shall make, and *wē-higgartī*, I shall pour down.

(119) Of Greek gods.

(120) Votive offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) set up in the Greek temples of Samaria.

(121) The Hebrew text must be read as follows :

i	1	<i>Šim'ā 'ammīm kullām</i>	<i>haqšivi érç u-mi'ō'āh !</i>
	3	<i>Ki-hinnēh yašā mi-mqomō</i>	<i>wē-dharākh 'al-bamōthe árç.</i>
ii	4	<i>We-namāssu hā-harīm tahtāu</i>	<i>wē-ha-šamaqim iħbaqqā u</i>
	5	<i>Kad-douāgh mippēnē ha'ēs</i>	<i>kē-māim muqqarim bē-morādħ</i>
iii	6	<i>Wē-sām̄ti Šomērōn lē-awwāh</i>	<i>wē-higgárti laq-gūi āvanēħa</i>
	7	<i>Wē-khōl pēsileħu yukkáttu</i>	<i>wē-khōl ethnannēħa issarēphu.</i>

For the glosses in vv. 1 and 5 see notes 43 and 93.

(122) The passage in *Italics* seems to be an explanatory gloss to the preceding clause. The Greek text reads as follows: Ἰσραὴλ μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν, ἐναντιῶ πολιορκήσας, οὐκ ἠρέσθη μόνω τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἠφάνισεν, ἐπικύστων τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας (διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτήν, ὥστ' εἰς χαράδρας μεταπεσεῖν) τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἀφείλετο. Cf. *Flavii Josephi Opera* ed. B. Niese, vol. iii (Berolini, 1892), p. 203.

(123) See GJV, 2. 196.

(124) Sargon says (KB, 2. 54, l. 23): *Samerina almī akšud*, I besieged and captured Samaria.

(125) See Josephus, *Ant.* 13. 10, 2.

(126) See GJV, 2. 18, 195.

(127) The Hebrew text of the Book of Micah, with critical notes, will be published in AJSL, July, 1910, the translation, with explanatory notes, will appear in AJSL, October, 1910.

(128) Georg Beer says in his most appreciative review of BL, published in the *Theologische Rundschau*, vol. 12, part 8 (Tübingen, 1909), pp. 300-302: *Was er uns hier anbietet, kommt fast einer Umdichtung des Hoheliedes gleich. II teilt das Hohelied in zwölf Gesänge auf, wobei er nicht bloss zum Teil recht gewagten Umstellungen von Versen, sondern auch einer ganz anderen Anordnung der Lieder das Wort redet. . . . Haupt meint, dass die Lieder von Anfang an wohlgeordnet waren. Auch macht er sich anheischig, ihre ursprüngliche Reihenfolge und Gestalt wiederherzustellen. Eine Nötigung zu der von ihm als ursprünglich empfohlenen Reihenfolge der Lieder liegt aber nicht vor. . . . Jedenfalls ist der strikte Beweis, dass die Lieder III bis XI nur an der von Haupt ihnen zugewiesenen Stelle einst gestanden haben können, nicht erbracht. . . . Besser steht es mit der Gestalt, die II. den einzelnen Liedern giebt.* Professor Beer has misunderstood me. I stated (*Cant.* 19 = AJSL, 18. 209):

While I admit that it may be impossible to recover the original songs and to retrace the plan of the collector, I believe that the traditional arrangement may be very much improved, and the Received Text freed from a great many subsequent additions and superfluous repetitions which have crept into the text. In this re-arrangement the songs certainly become much more intelligible than they are in their traditional 'charming confusion.' It makes very little difference in what order the various songs follow each other. The object of the present study is not the restoration of the sequence of the songs in the original collection, but the restoration of the individual songs. Whether No. 2 is placed before No. 8, or *vice versa*, is immaterial. It seems, however, that No. 9 is the sequel of No. 8. No. 11 might be inserted after No. 5, but this is of minor importance. . . . I do not claim to have restored the original order of the Book. The arrangement may have varied at an early date; it may even have been injudicious and inappropriate from the beginning. We have in *Cant.* not a *diran* collected by the poet himself, but a collection of popular songs by various authors, made by a later compiler. Consequently the main task of the Biblical critic is not, to restore the sequence of the various poems in the original collection, but to restore the original text of the individual poems.

*Sapienti sat!* Beer has forced an open door.

(129) Cf. Geo. A. Barton's commentary on Ecclesiastes (New York, 1908), p. 29.

(130) Cf. the plate facing p. 338 in vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1902) of Brockhaus' *Konversations-Lexikon (Neue revidierte Jubiläums-Ausgabe)*. Also the copy, which Michael Coexie made for Philip II of Spain, is scattered: parts of it are preserved in the Royal Museum of Berlin, others are in the Pinakothek of Munich.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (Chicago).—BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, edited by Delitzsch and Haupt.—BL = Paul Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907).—BT = Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*.—E = east.—EB = Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*.—GJV = E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, fourth edition (Leipzig, 1901-1909).—GK = Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Grammatik*, 28th edition (Leipzig, 1909).—HW = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896).—IN = Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906).—JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.—JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.—JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore).—K = *Kings*.—KAT = E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition (Berlin, 1903).—KAT<sup>2</sup> = second edition (Giessen, 1883).—KB = E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.—MT = Haupt, *A Maccabean Talisman in the Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909).—N = North.—OLZ = F. E. Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig).—RE = *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, edited by A. Hauck (Leipzig, 1896-1909).—S = south or Samuel.—SB = Socin-Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik*, sixth edition (Berlin, 1909).—SBOT = Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.—W = West.—WdG = Wright-de Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge, 1896).—ZAT = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen).—ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).

*Cant.* = Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) = AJSL, 18, 193-245; 19, 1-32.—*Est.* = Haupt, *The Book of Esther* (Chicago, 1908) = AJSL, 24, 97-186.—*Nah.* = Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) = JBL, 26, 1-53.—*Pur.* = Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA, 6, part 2.

The (unabbreviated) names of Biblical books, e.g. *Genesis*, *Numbers*, *Kings*, *Proverbs*, refer to the Critical Notes on the Hebrew text in SBOT; the first number after the name of the book refers to the page; the second indicates the line. Cf. vol. xxvi of this JOURNAL, p. 49.

## Notes on Some Ritual Uses of the Psalms

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1. *Tehillim*.

The Hebrew title of the Book of Psalms, *tehillim* (תהלים), is in itself an indication of ritual use. In connection with sacrifice among the ancient Arabs there was a cry of praise, called *tahlil*, from the verb *hallal*. Even in the case of the killing of wild animals, such as a gazelle, the sacrificial idea was present and a *tahlil* was uttered. The same use seems to have prevailed among the Hebrews. From the most primitive time the *tehillah*, or shout of praise, formed an essential part of the ritual of sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> There was the moment of silence awaiting the coming of the deity, and then the *tehillah*, or burst of praise, presumably much the same as among the Arabs. The Psalms, by their constant use of and reference to the *tehillah*, evince its importance in connection with worship; and because of its relation to so intimate a part of the worship as sacrifice, indicating as it does the coming of the presence of God in connection with sacrifice, it comes to be now and then used as a synonym for the presence of God. So we find it used as the equivalent of the *Name*.<sup>2</sup> Again we find such phrases as "Inhabiter of the *tehilloth* of Israel."<sup>3</sup>

With the development of the ritual among the Hebrews, the *tehillah*, which, as stated, is practically identical with the Arabic *tahlil*, both of them from the root *h-l-l*, was developed into a Psalm. As a Psalm title *tehillah* is applied only to Psalm 145, apparently, however, not as applying to that Psalm only, but to the last collection of Psalms in the Psalter,

<sup>1</sup> For the later use cf. 2 Chron. 29 26 ff.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. Job 2 106 47, Isa. 48 9.    <sup>3</sup> Ps. 22 4.

viz. Psalms 145–150. Of these Psalms 146–150 begin and end with *hallelu-Yah*, which is, I presume, the original *tehillah*, the simple shout of praise to Yah. These Psalms themselves are presumably late, but in the *tehillah* on which they are based they preserve an ancient liturgical form of words. That is the reason why we have in them the more primitive form of the sacred name, *Yah* or *Yahu*, instead of *Yahaweh*. This is not, however, the only collection of *hallelu-Yah* psalms in the Psalter. 111–117<sup>4</sup> and 135 also begin and end with the *tehillah*.<sup>5</sup> These Psalms, with the Thank Offering Psalms, which we shall consider presently, form a large element in the last books of the Psalter, and they indicate the influences which finally prevailed in molding the Psalter. The later Psalms were in large part composed to be sung at the sacrifices in the Temple, and the Psalter as a whole came to be regarded as a part of the sacrificial ritual. Hence the name *tehillim*, a curious masculine plural of *tehillah*, the plural used in classical Hebrew being commonly the feminine *tehilloth*, was ultimately applied to the Book of Psalms as a title, in place of the earlier, less technical and more general titles applied to the earlier collections in the Hebrew, and to the whole Psalter in the Greek translation.

## 2. *The Tehillah of the Thank Offering.*

Besides the very simple and general sacrificial praise cry already discussed we find another, used apparently especially in connection with the thank offering, and second in popularity and familiarity only to the *hallelu-Yah tehillah*, namely the *hodhah*,<sup>6</sup> which has also been embodied in a number of Psalms. Jeremiah 33 11 is evidence that the sacrificial cry used in connection with the *todhah*, or thank offering, was: “Praise Yahaweh Şabaoth, for Yahaweh is good, for His

<sup>4</sup> This was a *hallel* collection, or collection of *tehilloth*, to which properly Psalm 117 was the doxology. As they stand at present the headings of some of these Psalms are lost in the endings of their predecessors.

<sup>5</sup> For a technical use of the word *tehillah* in the earlier books of the Psalter cf. 65 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hab. 3 3, Neh. 12 46.

mercy endureth forever.”<sup>7</sup> We have in the later books of the Psalter a number of Psalms developed on this theme, which were evidently intended to be used in the ritual in connection with the *todhah*, the essential part of these psalms, constituting the actual *tehillah* for the thank offering, being the words: “Praise Yahaweh Šabaoth,” etc. In the slightly varied form we find the same cry in the last two verses of Psalm 100. This Psalm is noted in the heading as intended to be sung at the *todhah*, or thank offering, and the ritual use is not difficult to reconstruct from the words of the Psalm itself. The first three verses are a general praise song, sung apparently before the actual slaughter of the victim. The fourth verse suggests a processional movement, entering in through the gates into the courts of the Temple, and then at the moment of the slaughter of the victim, or rather immediately thereafter the proper *tehillah* (note the use of this word in vs. 4) for the thank offering. This suggestion of the ritual use contained in the words of Psalm 100 is confirmed by an actual ritual direction embedded in the text of another Psalm. Psalm 118 is evidently a processional hymn of a very elaborate character. Like Psalm 100 it indicates the entrance of the sacrificial procession through the Temple gates into the courts. Then occur the words (vs. 27 b.): “Bind the sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar.” Rhythmically this is clearly not a part of the Psalm text proper. The text is corrupt; corrupted in the effort to work a misunderstood rubric into the Psalm text. The words contain an old rubric or ritual direction with regard to the sacrifice, which is to be made at this point; and the verses following are in fact the *tehillah* of the thank offering, preceded by a verse of a character similar to that which precedes the same *tehillah* in Psalm 100; and with the *tehillah* proper the Psalm closes, precisely as the Halleluiahs Psalms all close with the *Hallelu-Yah tehillah*.<sup>8</sup> One Psalm, 106, combines in its theme expression the simple *hallel tehillah*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Chronicles, and especially 2 Chron. 7 a. 6, which appear to show that this formula was at that time used with other sacrifices also.

<sup>8</sup> Psalm 136 presents another slight variant of the Thank Offering *tehillah*.

with the *hodhah tehillah*; and several Psalms (so 105, 106) which are clearly *todhah* Psalms, have at the close the more general *hallel tehillah*, instead of the *hodhah tehillah* proper, suggesting a certain interchangeability of the two, the more general and the special.

There are a few headings of the Psalms, as is well known, indicating ritual uses, to which those Psalms were appropriated. So Psalms 38 and 70 are designated, by the headings, for the *Azkara* or memorial offering (Lev. 24 7. 8); Psalm 22 perhaps for the morning sacrifice. These Psalms, however, do not seem to have been written primarily for the purpose of those sacrifices, but rather to have been appropriated to such use ritually after the Psalter had come to be a Temple and specifically a sacrificial hymn book. The *Hallel* and *Todhah* Psalms of the later books, on the other hand, were specifically written for sacrificial purposes and are inspired by or expansions of technical sacrificial formulæ.

### 3. *A Babylonian and Hebrew Ritual Phrase.*

Attention has been called to the ritual rubric in Psalm 118. Here and there we find such rubrics or ritual directions, either in the heading of a Psalm, or inserted in its text, as in this case. More often, however, no tradition has come down to us and we have to reconstruct the ritual as best we can out of the Psalms themselves. The same is very largely true of the Babylonian ritual hymns and psalms which have come down to us. A few have here and there ritual directions. More often, while it is clear that they were used for ritual purposes, the ritual direction is wanting.

There are certain curious similarities which every one has noticed between Babylonian and Hebrew Psalms, and among these there are some which belong, I think, to ritual use. Langdon, in his discussion of a "Lament to Enlil,"<sup>9</sup> points out the various redactions that Psalm has undergone, which might be readily paralleled by not a few of the Hebrew Psalms. In his introduction to the translation of this Lament, he says: "The chief features of a song service were

<sup>9</sup> *Babyloniaca*, Tome II.

the recitation of the so-called heroic names of the god or goddess to whom the song service was dedicated interspersed with hymns to this divinity, legends of his or her heroic deeds, and at the end a ritual to be performed. It seems evident that extensive song services of this kind, interspersed by litanies and rituals, began to be evolved by the Sumerians themselves." In fact, you find, in the Babylonian hymns and psalms, the recitation of the names of gods to the point of more than satiety. That something of the same sort existed in Hebrew ritual becomes plain when we read the Hebrew Psalms and observe the continual reference to the *name* of the divinity, as for instance in Psalm 48 11: "As is Thy name so is Thy *tehillah*." In the prelude to Psalm 18 we find in a degree the same magnification of the deity by a repetition of His names which is so common in the Babylonian psalms, except only that there is one deity mentioned in the one case with many epithets and in the other a number of different deities with a great variety of epithets. The ritual conception is the same, however, and indeed Langdon's description of a Babylonian song service would apply with that modification to more than one of the Hebrew Psalms.

In further comment on the ritual use of the Hymn to Enlil, Langdon adds: "After a few lines of lamentation . . . the scribe cites the first lines of the ancient Sumerian hymn . . . giving a Semitic translation and then says: 'Sing the 42 heroic names,' that is lines, meaning of course that the song to Enlil should here be taken into the service." This reminds one curiously of the rubric in Psalm 68 12, apparently directing certain officiants to introduce at this point a hymn (or series of hymns), which is indicated by the titles in the following two or three verses of its sections or parts (or of the separate hymns, if it is to be regarded as a series of hymns). The Hebrew Psalms, like the Babylonian, were intended for or adapted to ritual use to an extent not heretofore appreciated, I think; and in that ritual use is to be sought the explanation of not a few of those phenomena which now perplex the Psalm commentator; not only pe-

culiar headings like ללמד ("to teach"), Psalm 40,<sup>10</sup> but also some now impossible and untranslatable verses and passages in the Psalm texts themselves.

One such ritual phrase in the Psalm texts, in regard to which Hebrew and Babylonian psalmody have been mutually elucidative, is the common cry: "How long." This occurs over and over again in Babylonian penitential psalms as a ritual phrase, well understood words which do not need to have their context given. These words are used in the Hebrew in at least two cases in the same way, without any text to make sense, because they are ritually so familiar. The two cases are Psalms 6 4 and 90 13. Elsewhere in Hebrew the words are used with other words attached to them, which make in themselves a complete whole, as, for instance, in Psalm 74 9 b. 10 a.; "And there is none among us that knoweth how long. How long, O God! shall the enemy rage?" But even such verses as this are not quite satisfactory without the attribution of a special ritual significance to the words: "How long." When it is understood that these words have a ritual value, *i.e.* that they are words which are well understood in ritual use, themselves significant to the people and indicating a certain regular and definite thing in the ritual for which the Psalm was appropriated, this phraseology takes on a new meaning to the reader.

#### 4. *The Ritual of the Penitential Psalms.*

Psalm 6, one of the two Psalms in which the words "How long" occur in what seems to be entirely a ritual use, has occasioned no little trouble, because these words taken by themselves are there undoubtedly incomplete. Literally Psalm 6 4 reads "And I (my soul) am sore vexed, and thou Yahaweh, how long?" Now I am inclined to think that this Psalm, one of the famous penitential Psalms of the Church, by the way, was part of the ritual connected with the sacrifices for unwitting sins or "secret sins," to use the phraseology so familiar to us in the Psalms. The specifications for

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also 2 Sam. 1 18 and Deut. 31 19.

the sacrifices to be offered in connection with these unwitting sins are contained, it will be remembered, in Leviticus 4 and 5. This Psalm was, I think, a ritual to be said by priest and penitent in connection with those sacrifices. If it be compared with the Babylonian penitential psalms, it will be found that in certain points it is not dissimilar in idea to those psalms, with their prayers for forgiveness for the sin which is not known to the sacrificer, and with the use of the phrase "How long" to mark some step or phase in the ritual.

Jastrow, in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, following Zimmern, has analyzed ritually one of these Psalms as follows :

The penitent addressing his goddess :

I, thy servant, full of sighs, call upon thee ;  
 The fervent prayer of him who has sinned do thou accept.  
 If thou lookest upon a man, that man lives.  
 O all-powerful mistress of mankind,  
 Merciful one, to whom it is good to turn, who hears sighs !

Then the priest prays to the goddess thus :

His god and goddess being angry with him, he calls upon thee,  
 Turn towards him thy countenance, take hold of his hand.

Then the penitent continues :

Besides thee, there is no guiding deity,  
 I implore thee to look upon me and hear my sighs.  
 Proclaim pacification, and may thy soul be appeased.  
 How long, O my mistress, till thy countenance be turned towards me.  
 Like doves, I lament, I satiate myself with sighs.

Then the priest :

With pain and ache, his soul is full of sighs ;  
 Tears he weeps, he pours forth lament.

I would suggest a somewhat similar analysis of the 6th Psalm of our Psalter. Vss. 1-3 a. seem to be an appeal for

mercy and healing for the suppliant, and that God may turn away His wrath :

Yahaweh, rebuke me not in thine anger,  
Neither chasten me in thy wrath.  
Pity me, Yahaweh, for I languish away.  
Heal me, Yahaweh, for my bones are vexed.  
All of me is vexed sore.

Then a cry for deliverance of the penitent from the danger of death, apparently by the priest, introduced by the ritual phrase : " How long ! " (vss. 3 a.-5),

And thou, Yahaweh, how long !  
Turn, Yahaweh ; deliver me,  
Save me, because of Thy love.  
For in death Thou art not named :  
In hell who thanketh Thee ?

Then, in vss. 6, 7, the suppliant presents a new picture of his misery, or one standing for the suppliant presents it for him.

I am weary with my groaning ;  
Each night wash I my bed ;  
I water my couch with my tears.  
Mine eye hath wasted through grief,  
Hath aged because of my foes.

The ritual closes with a declaration, presumably by the priest, of the answer to the petition (vss. 8, 9), coupled with a prayer (vs. 10) for the punishment of the enemies, who are in some way connected with the calamity which had befallen the suppliant :

Depart from me, all ye doers of evil,  
For Yahaweh hath heard the voice of my weeping.  
Yahaweh hath heard my entreaty.  
Yahaweh receiveth my prayer.  
Ashamed and sore confounded be all mine enemies ;  
Turned back, put to shame suddenly.

In comparing the Babylonian and Hebrew, it is worthy of note that in the Babylonian Psalms the calamity comes from a god or the gods, not necessarily with any connection with outside foes. In this and similar penitential Psalms in the

Hebrew, while Yahaweh is the source of the calamity, yet in some manner the foes of the suppliant are concerned in that calamity, and the ritual regularly involves a prayer for their destruction and overthrow.

The heading of Psalm 102, "Prayer of a man in trouble," indicates that it was ritually assigned to the same use as a penitential Psalm. In Psalm 51, vs. 9 seems to indicate a ritual act in connection with the cleansing of the penitent.<sup>11</sup>

It should be added that in the long use of these Psalms in the synagogue, much that was primarily ritual has been forgotten or rubbed away; and in the case of more primitive ritual practices, for which some of them were originally composed, or to which they were adapted, their use in the Temple has effaced many of the marks of their original purpose.

#### 5. *Selah*.

Psalm 3 appears to furnish an object lesson on the meaning of *selah* as a rubrical or ritual direction, which has, I believe, been generally overlooked. The Psalm consists of four stanzas of two full verses each. At the close of stanzas 1, 2 and 4 there is a *selah*; but none after stanza 3. The first verse of the fourth stanza (8) contains four phrases, instead of the two phrases of which every other verse is composed. The first two phrases of the last stanza (8 a.) are, moreover, doxological in character, and stand in no intimate grammatical or sense relation to the rest of the verse. These phrases occupy in relation to the third stanza the same place which the *selah* occupies in relation to each other stanza, and are in fact the *selah*. The Psalm originally consisted of three stanzas. At the close of the last stanza was written the refrain, to be used after each stanza: "Arise, Yahaweh, save me, O my God," the place for its use after the other stanza being indicated by *selah*. Later a fourth stanza was added, and the use of the refrain after that also was indicated by a *selah*, the refrain itself remaining as before after the third stanza.

<sup>11</sup> Among its numerous headings Ps. 88 has one, לטעח, which indicates its use as a penitential hymn.

6. *Mas̄kil*.

In Psalm 47 we have a unique use of the word *מַשְׁכִּיל* (*mas̄kil*), evidently as a terminus technicus. It has commonly been supposed by commentators to have here the same meaning which it has as the title of certain Psalms, and so it is rendered by them "make melody with a *mas̄kil*," or a "meditation," or whatever may be the interpretation which they have given to *mas̄kil* as a Psalm heading. This Psalm is a ritual hymn, sung originally in connection with the "going up" of God (vs. 6, 10).<sup>12</sup> After a stanza, ending with a *selah*, of general praise of the might of God, who has given to Jacob, whom He loves, his heritage, comes a refrain or chorus (vs. 6):

Make melody to God, make melody;  
Make melody to our King, make melody.

Then follows our verse (7):

For God is king of all the earth;  
Make melody, *mas̄kil*.

Then follow three verses which, commencing with a reassertion of His kingship over all peoples, represent Him as seated on His throne, with the princes of the nations gathered about Him, and the people of the God of Abraham; the whole closing with the words *נִשְׁלַח נְעֻמָּה*, literally "exceedingly is He gone up," or "has He been brought up," indicating the close of the ceremony of His "going up" or "bringing up." A study of the rhythm of this Psalm shows at once that vs. 7 b. is truncated. Briggs has recognized this and cut out of whole cloth and inserted, to complete the meter, the words "to Yahaweh"; and he accordingly translates: "Make melody to (Yahaweh) with a *mas̄kil*"; which would be certainly a unique use. I think it is clear that what we should expect here is a repetition of the refrain or chorus immediately preceding this part of the Psalm, accompanying the actual ritual act of the "going up" with a loud and repeated chorus of praise. The word *mas̄kil* is, I think, a

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the appropriation of this Psalm in 1 Chron. 15 28 to the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem by David.

rubric or direction to indicate the repetition one or more times of the refrain at this point. Vss. 6 & 7 would then have been sung in actual use somewhat thus:

God has gone up with a shout;  
Yahaweh with the sound of the horn.

(Chorus:)

Make melody to God, make melody;  
Make melody to our King, make melody.  
For God is king of all the earth.

(Chorus:)

Make melody to God, make melody;  
Make melody to our King, make melody.

Thus the kernel of this Psalm was a great outburst of melody, accompanying the central ritual act, preceded and succeeded by more regular stanzas declaring the honor and power of God and His love to Jacob. The *shôh* at the close of vs. 9 may be regarded as indicating the introduction at that point of such an outburst of praise as we actually have in the middle verses, 6-8.

It must be confessed, however, that this is also a unique use of *maskil*; and yet it is one for which we can find, I think, some support in a study of the uses of the word elsewhere. In general, the root meaning of שָׂכַל appears to be "cleverness," "knowledge." In connection with the *hiphil* forms the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius remarks, however: "meanings hard to classify: scholars differ greatly." Similarly, the noun שָׂכַל (*sekel*) means, as shown by its parallelisms, "prudence," "understanding," etc. But in the later use of Chronicles and Nehemiah, which is the use nearest in time and sense to the ritual and musical annotations of the Psalter, both the verb (*hiphil*) and the noun come to be used in a different sense. In 1 Chronicles 28 19 and Nehemiah 8 13 it has the same meaning as the Aramaic *sakal*, viz. "teach"<sup>13</sup> or still better, perhaps, "repeat," which may be

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Dan. 11 23, 25 probably "teachers"; and Dan. 9 13 where the verb with ב gives the best sense if rendered "execute," "practice," "perform." Neh. 8 8 שָׂכַל seems to mean "interpretation," or "teaching." In

said to be a development of "teach," *i.e.* the repeating over and over again. In 1 Chronicles 26 14 and 2 Chronicles 30 22 it has become a *terminus technicus*, as has also מִשְׁכִּיל (*maskil*), applied to skilled musicians, who "execute," "perform," "render," "conduct," "repeat" (or whatever the correct rendering may be), musical compositions.

This technical use of שֶׁכֶל (*sekel*) and מִשְׁכִּיל (*maskil*) in connection with the lists of singers, and particularly Korahite singers, in the Book of Chronicles suggests also the interpretation of the term *maskil* in Psalm headings, where it has commonly been rendered "meditation," although the Psalms having that heading are not meditations in any sense of the word common to the English language. The Psalms thus headed are 32, 42-45, 52-55, 74, 78, 88, 89, and 142.<sup>14</sup> Of these thirteen Psalms (or fourteen, 43 is really a part of 42, and hence has no separate heading), it will be observed, three (or four) belong to the Korahite collection proper, two (88 and 89) to the Korahite supplement, two to the Asaphite collection, and four to the Prayers of David, son of Jesse, the collection next most closely related to the Korah and Asaph collections. Eleven (or twelve) out of the thirteen (or fourteen) belong to the middle books of the Psalter, one to the great David Psalter, book 1, and one to that puzzling little David Psalter of the 5th book (Psalms 138-144) which alone of all the collections of the last two books is provided (very imperfectly, it is true) with musical annotations. In contents, and in meter, these thirteen Psalms are very various. In this only they agree: they have been arranged for musical rendition, and are provided with refrains, either fully expressed or indicated. This suggests that the meaning of the heading *maskil* is similar to the meaning of *maskil*

Ps. 101 אֲשֶׁלִיבָה<sup>2</sup> at the commencement of one verse follows immediately אֶמְרָה at the end of the preceding verse, a juxtaposition somewhat like that in Ps. 47 suggesting at least a possible allusion to or consciousness of a technical musical sense.

<sup>14</sup> To the LXX Greek translators the technical sense of *maskil*, as of the musical annotations of the Psalter in general, was unknown, and the word is rendered according to its root sense, *σύνεσις*, "understanding." This heading is wanting in Psalms 45 and 55 in the LXX.

and *sekel* in the musical lists of the Chronicler, indicating a Psalm prepared for musical rendition. *Maskil* would have, therefore, very much the same meaning as *למנצח* (*lammenasseah*) so common in the first book, the one being used in one musical circle or period, the other in another, just as we find Psalms designated in different circles and periods by the titles, song (שיר), psalm (מומר), prayer (תפלה), and praises (תהלים).

NOTE. — Psalm 46 of the Korah Psalter furnishes another similar example of the use of *selah*. This Psalm consists of three stanzas, one, vss. 2-4, two, vss. 5-8, and three, vss. 9-12. The refrain, which occurs in connection with stanzas two and three, consists of the words "Yahaweh of hosts is with us, our refuge, the God of Jacob." This refrain is not written at the close of the first stanza, but merely a *selah* which indicates the place of the refrain. To this extent the arrangement in this Psalm differs from that in Psalm 4: that at the close of stanza two and three the *selah* is added after the refrain. Psalm 84 vs. 5 gives a slight variation of the use of *selah* as a ritual direction, but one very suggestive as showing its value. It follows an imperfect half verse (vs. 5 b.) which ends with the word: "They shall praise thee, *selah*" (יהללוך סלה), the *selah* marking the *hallel*s or praises which are to be sung at that point.

## Antiochus IV, Epiphanes

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ANTIOCHUS IV, surnamed Epiphanes,<sup>1</sup> the historical prototype of the Antichrist myth, though not undeserving of the punning nickname Epimanes,<sup>2</sup> was yet a sovereign of no mean ability.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he was a man with an idea. His ambition was the unification of an Asiatic empire<sup>4</sup> on a basis of Greek manners and ideals. Unsuccessful, his name has come down to us only as one of the world's great persecutors for religion's sake. Yet he was no Oriental zealot; far from it, he was irreligious,<sup>5</sup> or rather unreligious himself.<sup>6</sup> His devotion to the worship of Zeus<sup>7</sup> was but part of his

<sup>1</sup> That is, *ἐπιφανής*, 'God manifest,' the title appearing on his coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxvi. 1 (Teubner edition, 1905): 'Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπιφανής μὲν κληθεῖς, Ἐπιμανής (i.e. 'insane,' or, as he would be called to-day, 'a paranoiac') δ' ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὀνομασθεῖς.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxviii. 18: 'Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος, καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος ἄξιος.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 1 41: "And king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws."

<sup>5</sup> Dan. 11 37: "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god, for he shall magnify himself above all."

<sup>6</sup> Polybius, xxvi. 1: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας. To this extent he did indeed show honor to the gods, a mere act of diplomacy, in no wise inconsistent with his sacrilegious behavior at other times, *ιεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἱερῶν*, *ibid.* xxx. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Livy, xli. 20. 9: *Antiocheae Iovis Capitolini magnificentum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis lamina inauratum, . . . non perficit; cf. Granius Licinianus, xxviii.: Duos colossos duodenum cubitorum . . . unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi decoraverat.* Some support indeed he lent to the local cults of Apollo (cf. note 29) and of Bacchus (cf. 2 Macc. 6 7), yet it was his evident intention to establish on a firm basis the cult of Zeus as the patron of his empire; cf. Dan. 11 33-39: "But in

idea that there be, instead of divers local and tribal faiths, a formal state religion, to become a powerful unifying factor, as a means of giving securer basis of solidarity to his empire.<sup>8</sup> A shrewd diplomat,<sup>9</sup> and possessed of a keen understanding of human nature, he neglected, however, to take into account the irreconcilable psychological incompatibility between Hebrew and Hellene, owing to his inability to recognize the fact that in peoples as in individuals, are differences of temperament as far removed from each other as is East from West.

With rare insight, many of the Jews, chief among whom as an opponent of Antiochus was the unknown author of the beautiful apocalypse of Daniel,<sup>10</sup> already foresaw that his idea was doomed to failure, for other reasons indeed than because it assumed the fusion of temperamental and psychological opposites,<sup>11</sup> namely, because it involved a conflict of ideals. The Dionysiac ideal of the life active, the ideal of "rights," was on the wane; a powerful and growing under-

his estate shall he honor the God of forces, and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things"; also 2 Macc. 6 2. 7.

<sup>8</sup> It is further to be noted that his persecution of the Jews involved not only the suppression of the rites and ceremonies of the Hebrew religion (cf. 1 Macc. 1 44-47), but also the abandonment of time-honored social and semi-religious manners and customs (cf. 1 Macc. 1 48-50), anti-Semitism of a different sort, and sprung from a different motive than that which has from time to time prevailed to the disgrace of a more enlightened age.

<sup>9</sup> Dan. 8 23-25: "And . . . a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences . . . through his policy . . . shall cause craft to prosper in his hand." Cf. Polybius, xxx. 27: ἤκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον πρεσβεύοντες κατασκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν, οἷς οὕτως ἐπιδειξίως ἀπήντησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὥστε μὴ ὁλον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ὑποπτεύσαι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικὸν ἢ παρατριβῆς ἐμφασιν ἔχον . . . καίπερ οὐκ ὦν τῇ προαιρέσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.

<sup>10</sup> Dan. 11 21: "And . . . shall stand up a vile (LXX, εὐκαταφρόνητος, Vulg., despectus, in intentional contrast to ἐπιφανής) person."

<sup>11</sup> Dan. 2 32: "They shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay," that is, the idea of Antiochus will not prevail in an empire made up of peoples as unlike as iron and clay, but will meet with obstacles even before the intervention of God; *ibid.* vs. 34: "A stone . . . cut out without hands . . . smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them in pieces"; cf. 7 25, 8 26, in which it is said of Antiochus: "he shall be broken without hand," 11 45.

current of the ideal of "right" was asserting itself. To this ideal the Jews were irrevocably committed, and in the days of the Antiochian persecution were unflinchingly loyal.<sup>12</sup> Theirs was the vision of God's kingdom on earth.<sup>13</sup> Loyalty to their ideal, and faith in the ultimate triumph of right,<sup>14</sup> is the chief lesson taught by the apocalypticist, who beside giving us an attempt at a psychological theory of history, has transmitted to posterity a unique example of a Hebrew political pamphlet, the type of revolutionary propaganda of his day. The doctrine of passive resistance to evil, destined in after time to become so large a part of Christian philosophy, is most strongly and consistently urged.<sup>15</sup> Submission to the will of God is reinforced by the abiding trust that the evil is to continue for but a short time.<sup>16</sup> Nor is there wanting also a spirit of zealous anti-Hellenism. Fearful for his cause, the author realized the need for his purpose of a powerfully awakened public sentiment to reinforce the psychological incompatibility. From his point of view it appeared

<sup>12</sup> Dan. 12 10: "Many shall be purified, and made white and tried, . . . but the wise shall understand." Cf. 3, 6, also the story of Mattathias and his sons (1 Macc. 2), of Eleazer (2 Macc. 6 18-31), and of the martyrdom of the seven brethren (*ibid.* 7).

<sup>13</sup> Dan. 7 21 f.: "I beheld and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." Cf. also 2 35, "The stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth." That is, "The universal and eternal kingdom of the holy people of God, a kingdom which (ch. 7) contrasts with all previous kingdoms as man contrasts with beasts of prey" (Driver, *Daniel*, p. lxxxvi).

<sup>14</sup> Dan. 12 1: ". . . thy people shall be delivered . . . (vs. 3) and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 3, 6, and 12 12, "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." The author is unequivocally committed to this doctrine, believing that the persecution of Antiochus is permitted of God for the punishment of Israel's iniquity (cf. 9 12); deliverance must and will come from God, nor can man hasten the day of its coming.

<sup>16</sup> 12 7: "And I heard the man clothed in linen . . . when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half." Cf. 7 25 8 14 9 27 12 11, the period being a mystic cycle, having for its *terminus a quo* the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus, 25 Chislew (Dec.), 168 B.C.

a national calamity, imperilling the solidarity of his race and loyalty to their ideal, that there were among his people individuals of selfish and mercenary ambitions, not averse to take advantage of the opportunities for personal advancement in the kingdom consequent upon the renunciation of the outward forms of Judaism,<sup>17</sup> and whose assistance Antiochus was quite ready to accept in the execution of his momentous and far-reaching policies.<sup>18</sup> It was necessary, then, that there be created not only a feeling of hatred for the tyrant himself, by magnifying out of all proportion to his idea the importance of the suppression of the Hebrew religion,<sup>19</sup> but also a sense of disgust at all things Greek.<sup>20</sup> Wherefore, far from being accidental, it is very likely that the introduction of Greek words in 3 5. 7. 10. 15 is indeed intentional.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> 12 10: "The wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand." Cf. 1 Macc. 1 11 ff.: "In those days there came forth out of Israel transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles that are round about us, for since we were parted from them, many evils have befallen us. And the saying was good in their eyes . . . and they . . . forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil."

<sup>18</sup> Dan. 11 22: "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries." 9 27: "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week." Cf. 1 Macc. 1 13 2 18, 2 Macc. 7 24.

<sup>19</sup> Dan. 11 31: "And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate." Cf. 8 12 9 27 12 11, 1 Macc. 1 51, 2 Macc. 6 2. Hoffman, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, p. 80, essays to compare Antiochus and Julian. In so far as the ideas of both were out of harmony with the spirit of the times, there is an apparent similarity between the persecutions of Antiochus and of Julian, far less, however, than the dissimilarity, owing to the fact that whereas Julian sought the extinction of Christianity as an end, Antiochus sought the extinction of Judaism but as a means to an end. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 8: *Rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare admissis, quo minus terrorsimam gentem in melius mutaret . . . prohibitus est.*

<sup>20</sup> Especially Greek manners and customs, of social and semi-religious as well as of religious nature; cf. 2 Macc. 4 9-16, the introduction of Greek dress and athletics by the renegade high priest Jason. The number of apostates is doubtless exaggerated; now there were, however, to render the orthodox fearful for their cause.

<sup>21</sup> If it be argued that *psalterin* and *sumponyâh* are but used in the absence of Semitic words for *psaltery* and *bagpipe*, then why *kitharos*, a

An ideal in harmony with the spirit of the times, and reinforced by public opinion is, as the apocalypticist foresaw, quite invincible.<sup>22</sup> Henceforth the contest was not to be one of man against man, nor indeed of race against race, and ideal against ideal; it was to be a contest of idea against idea—the Hebrew idea of eternal world empire<sup>23</sup> against the Antiochian idea, with the odds of battle in the long run against Antiochus. He had neither rightly judged the spirit of the times, nor estimated the intensity of the Hebrew temperament, and from the first he encountered determined, if not indeed active resistance to the progress of his idea from the loyal and orthodox Jews.<sup>24</sup> No doubt it was a new experience to him to meet with loyalty to an ideal beyond the power of persecution or largess to destroy. He was early made to realize, however, that this loyalty was the distinctive feature of the Jewish character, represented by the faithful Eleazer and the incorruptible Mattathias,<sup>25</sup> by the victims of the Sabbath-day massacre, not by the selfish renegades who had allied themselves with his cause, and were quite as ready to desert him; that behind it was a definite purpose, as apparent in the sporadic tendency to resist by more active means.<sup>26</sup> The time was, in fact, ripe for revolt.<sup>27</sup>

mere synonym for *kinnōr*? *Šumpōnyāh*, at least, name and thing, is reminiscent of Antiochus; cf. Polybius, xxvi. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Dan. 2 35 7 27.

<sup>23</sup> 7 18: "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom, for ever, even for ever and ever"; cf. 7 14, 22. 27.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Macc. 1 62-63: "And many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves, not to eat unclean things. And they chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant, and they died." This was the first actual persecution of the Jews, following the royal edict of December, 168 B.C.; the loot of the Temple in 170 B.C. was but an act of war, consequent upon the defection of Jason.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Macc. 2 18: "Thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy sons shall be honored with silver and gold and many gifts. And Mattathias answered and said, . . . (vs. 21) Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words."

<sup>26</sup> Dan. 11 34: "Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help." Cf. 1 Macc. 2 24 f.: "And Mattathias . . . showed forth his wrath according to judgment, and ran and slew him upon the altar. And the

Ere a year had passed since the publication of the royal decree in 168 B.C., placing the Jewish religion under the ban, Antiochus, had he realized the full meaning of the opposition to his idea, might have observed that there needed but a spark to set off the magazine. His idea, however, was now more to him than an idea; it was an obsession; nor cared he aught (who was indeed Antiochus the Mad) if thereby the imperial treasury were depleted and the nation plunged into civil war.

The next important step in the direction of establishing Greek manners and culture in his dominions was taken near the close of the year 167 B.C.<sup>28</sup> At that time Antiochus instituted a great festival at Daphne, the pleasure suburb of Antioch, where he had built a magnificent and costly temple to Apollo.<sup>29</sup> This festival, lasting for a full month, surpassed in splendor and brilliancy even the memorable festival inaugurated a few months earlier at Amphipolis by Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the Roman proconsul of Macedonia.<sup>30</sup> Not mere prodigality, as the historian would have us believe, was his object; it was rather the establishment at any cost of a formal state religion, centring about the worship of

king's officer who compelled them to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and pulled down the altar . . . , (vs. 4) And they took counsel on that day, saying, Whosoever shall come against us to battle on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him."

<sup>27</sup> 1 Macc. 2 44 ff. : "And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger and lawless men in their wrath. . . . And Mattathias and his friends went round about and pulled down the altars . . . and they pursued after the sons of pride and the work prospered in their hand."

<sup>28</sup> Granius Licinianus, xxviii. *Asturcone pompa ducebat.* The festival at Amphipolis was celebrated at some time in the summer of the year 167 B.C.; that at Daphne must have been at least several months later, and previous, as Polybius (xxxi. 27) states, to the coming of the Roman embassy under Tiberius, which reached Antioch before the end of the same year.

<sup>29</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi, 13, i: *Eodem tempore diem xi Kal. Nov. amplissimum Daphnensi Apollinis sumum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus, rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiperans magnitudinem, subita vi flammarum exustum est.* (A.D. 362.)

<sup>30</sup> Polybius, xxx, 25: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οἶτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ συντελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγού, βουλόμενος τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ἐπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον . . . .

Zeus,—part of his idea,—towards which the impression of barbaric splendor and magnificence,<sup>31</sup> that the festival must leave in the mind of the populace, Jew as well as Gentile, would, as he thought, give an impulse well-nigh irresistible. Unreligious to a degree himself, there was, as far as he was concerned, no immoral principle involved in robbing Peter to pay Paul, by partially defraying the cost with loot from the Temple,<sup>32</sup> though the unwisdom of his course seems not to have occurred to him. The apocalypticist historian, however, was possessed of a greater degree of discernment. It is not surprising that in his allegories of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar he should have, by divers covert allusions to events in that memorable month of pagan festivities, gibbeted Antiochus for all time.<sup>33</sup>

The following year saw the beginning of the end of Antiochus. His star had set; his idea was already discredited. Foiled in his designs of foreign conquest by the Romans,<sup>34</sup> he was now confronted with a revolution at home. The spark had set off the magazine. Exasperated beyond endurance, the Jews had found in Judas Maccabæus<sup>35</sup> a coura-

<sup>31</sup> Polybius, xxx. 25: τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσιμάτων καὶ ἀργυριμάτων πλήθος οὕτως ἄν τις ὑπονόησειεν ὅσον ἦν. Elsewhere he states the approximate number of participants, amounting to nearly *sixty thousand*.

<sup>32</sup> Athenæus, *Deipn.*, p. 195 f. : Περὶ οὗ φησι Πολύβιος . . . ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο, . . . τὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Φίλων συμβαλλομένων, ἱεροσυλῆκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἱερῶν.

<sup>33</sup> In Dan. 3 1 ff., the reference to the image of gold is reminiscent of an incident in the festival: πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων προσέτι δ' ἠρώων, εἶδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα τὰ δ' ἡμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαχρύσεισιν (Polybius, xxx. 25). Likewise in chap. v, it is not unlikely that the feast of Belshazzar was pictured, lest the Jews forget the great banquet of Antiochus, an orgy of barbaric splendor and crass indecency, from which even the king's guests were constrained to retire in disgust. (Polybius, xxx. 26.)

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Livy, xlv. 10, the expulsion of Antiochus from Egypt by Popilius Lænas in 168 B.C.

<sup>35</sup> 1 Macc. 2 70: "And he (Mattathias) died, in the hundred and forty and sixth year" (B.C. 167); 3 1: "And his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, rose up in his stead." The story of the war of liberation, begun by Judas Maccabæus in 166 B.C., forms a brief, but one of the most splendid chapters in all history; the victory thereby won for the ideal of "right" paved the way for Christianity.

geous and high-minded leader. The day of passive resistance ended, armed resistance was now become their purpose, in defense of their ideal and for the advancement of their idea. At this time, however, the financial resources of the empire were well-nigh exhausted by the vast expense of the festival.<sup>36</sup> In consternation the king at last saw his mistake and realized his danger; for never lay crowned head more uneasy than the head of him who had found himself in the possession of a powerful army and a depleted treasury.<sup>37</sup> "And he was exceedingly perplexed in his mind, and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money."<sup>38</sup> Leaving behind, as he thought, a sufficient force to hold the Jews in check, he set off, in the year 166 B.C.,<sup>39</sup> on what was little better than a two years' freebooting expedition, from which he never returned. Impenetrable obscurity shrouds the events in his career during these two years.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> 1 Macc. 3:29: "And he saw that the money failed from his treasures . . ."; cf. also Polybius, xxxi. 9.

<sup>37</sup> 3:27 ff.

<sup>38</sup> 3:31.

<sup>39</sup> 3:37: "And the king . . . removed from Antioch, from his royal city, the hundred and forty and seventh year (n.c. 166), and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries."

<sup>40</sup> Hitherto, it has been supposed that certain of the last acts of Antiochus are to be found in the visions of Daniel, — 7:25-26 (cf. 12:7), 8:12-14 (cf. 12:11-12), 9:27, and particularly 11:43 ff., in which it is stated: "And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, — and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horse men and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. But tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him, — therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace (Heb. *appéden*, from Pers. *apadāna*) between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him."

Porphyry alone excepted, no ancient historian mentions an expedition of Antiochus into Egypt in 166-165 n.c.; on the contrary, that Persia was the

scene of his activities during these two years, is the unanimous testimony of Polybius, Appian, and both books of the Maccabees, to which should be added the statement of Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 8: *Rex Antiochus . . . quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est.* Aside from the absence of positive evidence thereto, one must take into account the improbability that Antiochus, his empire involved in civil war, and his treasury empty, would have at this time ventured to attack Egypt, a virtual declaration of war with Rome. Moreover, Porphyry was writing for a purpose, — to confound the Christians, and if not ignorant himself of the testimony of Polybius, etc., unwisely counted upon the ignorance of his opponents concerning pagan history, and chose to assume, without proof, that the book of Daniel was written later than 165 b.c., accepting as history the incidents in the prediction of 11<sup>40-45</sup>, which never happened, to the absurd extent of misinterpreting *appéden* as the name of a place, to wit, Apedno. Therein he overreached himself, and is justly dismissed by St. Jerome as a history faker: *in hoc loco, Porphyrius tale nescio quid de Antiocho somniat* (Jer., Dan. 11<sup>44-45</sup>, Migne 35, col. 575).

It is to be noted also that whereas the several predictions concerning the duration of the Antiochian persecution appear inconsistent, this inconsistency is only apparent, due to the fact that the period is expressed in the terms of the mystic cycle of  $\pi$  years. This cycle may be numerically expressed by the mystical formula — unity, plus duality, plus unity divided by duality. (Cf. Dan. 12<sup>7</sup>, “a time, times and a half.”) In the author’s mind it is coincident with the length of time in which the services in the Temple are to be suspended, — 7<sup>25</sup>: “He shall . . . think to change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.” 12<sup>7</sup>: “It shall be for a time, times and a half, and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.” Cf. also 8<sup>14</sup> 9<sup>27</sup> 12<sup>11-12</sup>.

“The numbers . . . in various prophecies are only computations of the number of the cycle on the basis of different principles” (Paul Carus, “The Number  $\pi$  in Christian Prophecy,” *Monist*, xvi. p. 418). Were the book written as late as the death of Antiochus, in 164 b.c., or even as late as the restoration in 165 b.c., all the admonitions contained therein would be purposeless. Accordingly the *terminus ad quem* is as indeterminate as the length of the period. According to the author’s point of view, it lay in the future, events of which he ventured to predict in 11<sup>40 ff.</sup>, assuming for himself as a *terminus ad quem* the coincidence of three momentous incidents; to wit, the death of Antiochus, the restoration of the Temple, and the commencement of the eternal world-empire, under the domination of Israel. Between antecedent prediction and subsequent history are aye discrepancies! As it happened, the restoration took place 25 Chislew (Dec.), 165 b.c., and Antiochus died in 164 b.c. — events distant respectively three years, and three years plus, from the date of profanation. Wherefore, since the author gave not one, but several numerical approximations to the mysterious square of the circle, as applied to the determination of a mystic cycle, in his uncertainty, whether the period were one of lunar or of solar years, whether or not account were to be taken of intercalary days, etc., in effect

Antiochus died in the year 164 B.C.<sup>41</sup> after a turbulent reign of eleven years. Myth-making historians early set their wits to work on the manner and cause of his death.<sup>42</sup>

leaving the determination of his meaning to the ingenuity of commentators, it is not surprising that all have so consistently lost sight of his viewpoint and the meaning of the cycle itself, as reckoned in his prophecies.

An analytical table of important events in the years 167-164 will show most clearly that the book of Daniel contains no reference to incidents of later date than B.C. 167.

167 B.C.	Revolt of Mattathias	Dan. 11 34	1 Macc. 2 24 f.
	The festival at Daphne	Dan. 3 5	
	Embassy of Tiberius		Polyb. xxx. 27
166	Judas defeats Apollonius		1 Macc. 3 10
	Antiochus in Persia		auct. omn.
165	Judas defeats Lysias		1 Macc. 4
	The Restoration		1 Macc. 4 52
164	Death of Antiochus		1 Macc. 6 16

From the above, it is evident that the book of Daniel must have been written at some time in the latter part of the year 167 B.C., most probably during the festival, which in the author's mind appeared to be the climax of the Antiochian persecution, and before the coming of the embassy under Tiberius. It is not possible to suppose that in 11 34, "when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help." there is a reference to so important an event in the early part of the Maccabean uprising as the defeat and death of Apollonius, — the killing of the king's officer by Mattathias in 167 is more fittingly described as "a little help." From the author's viewpoint the book is a *Tendenzschrift*, including not only a psychological theory of history, but also what may be called a theory of the science of prophecy. Into his predictions of the end entered two factors — his faith in the mystic period as the constant of time, and his firm belief that Antiochus who was to him the embodiment of the arrogantly irreligious, was to perish by the hand of the Lord. (Cf. 2 25 8 25 11 45.)

<sup>41</sup> 1 Macc. 6 16: "And king Antiochus died there, in the hundred and forty and ninth year" (B.C. 164).

<sup>42</sup> 1 Macc. 6 12-13: "I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and . . . I perceive that on this account, these evils are come upon me, and behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land." Cf. also 2 Macc. 9 5: "But the All-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, smote him with a fatal and invisible stroke." Herein lies an attempt to make fact agree with the prophecy in Dan. 11 45: "Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." Josephus (*Antt.* xii. 9 1), though admitting the credibility of Polybius, adds: *πολύ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν ἱεροσολίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα*. The climax of myth-making is reached in 2 Macc. 9 2: "Out of the body of the impious man, worms swarmed, and while he was still living, in anguish and pains, his flesh fell off, and by reason of the stench, all the army turned with loathing from his corruption."

Fortunately there remain the sober and impartial statements of Polybius<sup>43</sup> and Appian,<sup>44</sup> whereby it is possible, even at this late day, to get at the facts, to separate truth from fiction in the more highly colored narratives of the books of Maccabees, provided one allows for the influence of superstition, and retains an understanding of the motive for myth making; namely, an obvious desire to mete out poetic justice even at the expense of truth.

It appears that while on his campaign in Persia he found the country much disaffected. Needing funds as he did, the richness of the temple hoards was too great a temptation for his unreligious and ambitious soul. At Elymais was a temple of the Babylonian-Persian goddess Nannaë-Anahid,<sup>45</sup> in which was much treasure and many trophies dedicated to the goddess by Alexander the Great.<sup>46</sup> An attempted raid was repulsed by the natives,<sup>47</sup> and Antiochus was forced to retreat to Tabæ,

<sup>43</sup> Polybius xxxi. 9: Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς βουλόμενος εὐπορῆσαι χρημάτων προέθετο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαῖδα, παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, καὶ διαψευθεὶς τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τῇ παρανομίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς οἰκοῦντας περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀναχωρῶν ἐν Τάβαις τῆς Περσίδος ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, δαιμονήσας, ὡς ἔτι οἱ φασὶ, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς ἐπισημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν παρανομίαν.

<sup>44</sup> Appian, *Syriaca*, 66: ὁ μὲν δὴ καταπλαγείς ἀνέζηυξε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε. The date (B.C. 168, at the time of the embassy of Popilius) is wrong; it should be 164.

<sup>45</sup> Nanæa of 2 Macc. 1 13 ff., worshiped in Persia, Armenia, Syria, etc., variously identified by Greek writers with Artemis and Aphrodite (cf. Polybius, *l.c.*, Appian, *l.c.*, Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, p. 19). Also cf. Granius Licinianus, 28: "Et se simulabat Hierapoli Dianam ducere uxorem, et ceteris epulantibus . . . abstulit in dotem excepto . . . quem unum omnium deae donorum reliquit." The text is very corrupt, yet serves to establish the authenticity of 2 Macc. 1 14 ff.

<sup>46</sup> 1 Macc. 6 1: "And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries, and he heard say that in Elymais in Persia there was a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold, and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly, and that therein were golden shields and breastplates and arms, which Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Greeks, left behind there."

<sup>47</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 9; cf. 1 Macc. 6 3: "And he came and sought to take the city and to pillage it, and he was not able, because the thing was known to them of the city, and they rose up against him to battle"; also 2 Macc. 9 1 ff. In 2 Macc. 1 16, Antiochus is said to have been slain by the priest of Nanæa, — an inaccuracy due to confusion of Antiochus IV with his father,

where he was met with the news<sup>48</sup> of the crushing defeats inflicted upon the Syrian forces by Judas, who had subsequently rebuilt the Temple and restored the daily sacrifice.<sup>49</sup> Supernatural manifestations of divine anger, according to Polybius,<sup>50</sup> presently drove him insane. This statement may be qualified, — Antiochus was already insane. A strange combination of genius and degenerate ;<sup>51</sup> reckless, possessed of a degree of self-confidence amounting to megalomania ;<sup>52</sup> ambitious, yet short-sighted, deficient in self-control and mental balance, without the power to react in the presence of adversity. His emotions in his last days cannot have been repentance for his irreligious life, — that were inconsistent with his unreligious temperament, — rather he saw his idea, to which he had given his life, discredited, his kingdom divided, his enemies victorious, his treasury empty, with prospect of an army in mutiny and the loss of his throne. In place of arrogant self-confidence was a morbid sense of his own helplessness,<sup>53</sup> amounting to delusions of

Antiochus III, who according to a tradition first appearing in Diodorus, xxix. 15, was killed in a raid on the temple of Bel at Elymais. This tradition, in turn, is probably but a reflection into the past of the sacrilege of Antiochus IV. In Dan. 11 19, namely, it is said of Antiochus III: "He shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land, but he shall stumble and fall and not be found"; cf. Jerome, Migne, 35, col. 564: "Victus ergo Antiochus . . . ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes, cumque adversus Elimaeos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu."

<sup>48</sup> 1 Macc. 6 6.

<sup>49</sup> 1 Macc. 6 7; cf. 4 36-61.

<sup>50</sup> Antiochus may have seen Halley's comet. It was observed a.c. 240, 87, and 11. Assuming a mean period of 76.5 years, there should have been an apparition about b.c. 164. Comets, as messengers of divine wrath, were much dreaded in ancient times. The great comet of a.c. 43, with its attendant meteoric shower, was numbered among the signs of heaven's anger at the murder of Julius Caesar.

<sup>51</sup> Polybius, *op. cit.* Diodorus, xxxi. 16. 2: . . . ἀπιστεῖν εἰ περὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ὑπάρξει δυνατόν εἶσθαι.

<sup>52</sup> 2 Macc. 9 8: "And he that but now supposed himself to have the waves of the sea at his bidding, so vainglorious was he beyond the condition of a man, and that thought to weigh the heights of the mountains in a balance" . . . , the reference being to his assumption of divine honors, with the title θεὸς ἐπιφανῆς.

<sup>53</sup> 1 Macc. 6 8: "And he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for. And he was there

persecution, leading to excessive mental and nervous depression, exhaustion, and death.<sup>54</sup>

It cannot be said that Antiochus was a good king. His ambition was that of a Napoleon or an Alexander, in whose eyes humanity lived but to work out his idea, the idea that perished with him. His place in history is as a precursor of Christianity, — in him the ideal of “rights” made a last stand. History was henceforth to record the steady, if gradual and slow progress of the ideal of “right,” — the first victory of which was the Maccabæan war of liberation, — and the worldwide spread of the Hebrew idea of world empire, interpreted in a spiritual sense. Indeed, the apocalypticist builded better than he knew. To him who wrote with the abiding faith in the divine destiny of man, and knew that least among misdirected human agencies the persecution of Antiochus was powerless to turn back the tide of human progress, was given the vision, “Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days. . . .”<sup>55</sup>

many days, . . . and he made account that he should die”; cf. 2 Macc. 9 11: “Hereupon, therefore, he began in great part to cease from his arrogance, being broken in spirit.”

<sup>54</sup> Appian, *l. c.*, *φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε*; cf. Granius Licinianus, 28: *terrore perit nocturno*. The horrible story in 2 Macc. 9 9 ff. is a fanciful exaggeration of the pitiable delusions of a neurasthenic. Nor is this all of myth-making, though in 2 Macc. 9 28-29 it is written: “So the murderer and blasphemer . . . ended his life, . . . and Philip, his foster brother, conveyed the body home.” There was not wanting a tradition that Antiochus was denied the rites of burial; cf. Granius Licinianus, 28: *corpus eius, cum Antiochiam portaretur, exterritis subito iumentis, in fluvium abreptum, non comparuit*.

<sup>55</sup> Dan. 7 13.

## Linguistic Evidence for the Lucan Source L

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## PREFACE

THE incentive to the present study was supplied by the investigations of Bernhard Weiss, as published, in particular, in the three works, *Evangelium des Lukas* (Göttingen, 1901), *Die Quellen des Lukaevangelioms* (Stuttgart, 1907), and *Die Quellen der synoptischen Ueberlieferung* (Leipsic, 1908). In these three treatises, Dr. Weiss has set forth in the fullest detail his theory of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels, which, as far as it relates to St. Luke, asserts the existence of three written sources (Mc., Q, and L) as explaining practically the entire contents of the Third Gospel. This third written source, L, is a contribution of Dr. Weiss' own to the Synoptic Problem,—at least in so far as its length and completeness are concerned,—and he has supported his contention with a number of extremely cogent arguments, chief among which (probably) is the linguistic.

Briefly, his contention is this. It is admitted that a single hand can be found running through all parts of our Third Gospel. Certain characteristics of a rather peculiar and individual style can be seen almost everywhere. But from this it does not follow that the entire Gospel is the word of a single author writing freely. On the other hand, these stylistic touches in themselves need not establish anything more than unity of editorship, of a fairly thorough-going kind.

In two cases positive proof is possible that St. Luke's work was, in part, at least, that of an editor, for the use

by him of two documents, Mc. and Q, may be demonstrated. And in regard to Mc., we are in the fortunate situation of being able to compare the original source with Lc.'s treatment of it. In the case of Q the matter is not so simple, for the source must be reconstructed by a comparison of Lc. with Mt., but, within certain limits, this reconstruction can be performed with a very fair degree of certainty. Consequently, it is incumbent on the student of the Synoptic Problem to subject the other matter in Lc. to a close examination with a view to determining how much else may possibly belong to a source rather than to Lc.'s free composition.

An examination of this kind is always a very delicate matter and the results always more or less uncertain. But in the case of the Third Gospel, there are certain factors that simplify the problem somewhat. The author of the Third Gospel was palpably a Gentile, writing for Gentiles. This follows not only from the tradition regarding the author but from an examination of the Gospel itself (omission of matter of purely Jewish interest from Mc., etc.). The material, however, deals so often with purely Jewish matter in such an entirely familiar way as to establish a strong probability in favor of its being of Jewish origin. Again, it appears evident from many stylistic usages throughout the Gospel that the editor had a fairly keen feeling for a rather good Hellenistic style, so that evidences of a fondness for Jewish (especially Septuagint) vocabulary or constructions must be viewed rather with suspicion. Again, even apart from matters of Jewish or Gentile Greek, Lc.'s style is so characteristic that it can be tabulated to a rather considerable extent, so that differences from it may be noted and traced out.

These factors are of the very greatest assistance in literary-critical work of this kind, but they are not the only factors. Much can be done, for instance, by a study of the relation of the tradition in the individual portions of the Third Gospel to the traditions in the other New Testament writings. It is found, to a noteworthy degree, that certain passages ex-

hibit a strong affinity to the Johannine tradition. Again, the "ætiological motive" of the author in many parts points to his having written under not Gentile but Palestinian conditions of A.D. 40-60. Finally, there are the tests that are usually applied in literary-critical work,—the problems of "doublets," the interdependence of the various parts of what is suspected to be a single source, and (for Gospel problems) the furnishing of the proper material for the "Evangelic Tradition."

All of these factors in literary-critical work have been applied by Dr. Weiss in his studies, and he has claimed that their convergence has established his contention that there exists in the Third Gospel a source which he has named L, and he has effected a tentative reconstruction of the Greek text of this source. As yet, however, no critique has been published of his results and it is the purpose of the present study to supply this lack.<sup>1</sup>

The most important part of the evidence presented by Dr. Weiss is that which relates to the linguistic peculiarities of the source L. The data that he has collected make out a really strong *prima facie* case for an author of L whose style differed notably from that of Lc. Unfortunately, the manner in which Dr. Weiss has arranged this evidence is about as awkward as possible. A short table is drawn up on pp. 197-198 of the third of his books cited above, in which some of the material is collected, but this table is by no means complete and the figures quoted not always accurate. The rest of the material is scattered through the book in footnotes, in which the evidence as quoted often seems to be contradicted by that offered by a concordance (cf. especially p. 167 below). Consequently, if the value of the arguments offered is to be given any just appraisal, the first step needed is a collection and thorough sifting of the data.

This work has been undertaken in what follows, and on

<sup>1</sup> Stanton in *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II (1909), p. 224, misstates Weiss' position. Nicolardot (*Les Procédés de Rédaction des trois premiers Évangélistes*, 1908) in a very obvious reference to Weiss (p. 182) appears also to miss Weiss' point.

it some elaboration has been made. For the present purposes there have been examined all the statistics of the words and phrases belonging to the following classes: (*a*) all of those used by Weiss (143 in number, by my count); (*b*) all of those classed as characteristic of Lc. by Hawkins (151 in number, but in part coinciding with those in Weiss,—*Horae Synopticae*, 2d edition, pp. 15–23); (*c*) all words classed by Hawkins as common in Lc., but not in A.; (*d*) all words belonging to Biblical Greek only; (*e*) a selected list of all words that might seem characteristic (particles in especial); (*f*) Dalman's "possible Hebraisms"; (*g*) every word in Moulton and Geden's Concordance, pp. 1–424 (through Zeta). This examination has yielded results of such a definite character that it has not seemed worth while to carry the Concordance study further at present, as it could yield only cumulative evidence.

In work of this sort, naturally, a mere mechanical count would have been worthless. It is necessary to know not only how often Lc. uses a given phrase, but the source from which he takes it,—a document or his own preference. When, for instance, a word from Mc. is taken over into Lc. in connection with the rest of the Marcan passage, no conclusion for Lc.'s fondness or otherwise for that word may be drawn, and it should be barred out of such lists as the present. The same is true for words in Q, where their existence in Q is guaranteed by their occurrence in the parallel passage in Mt. However, for completeness' sake I have invariably given such uses with a reference to their source or parallel (chapter and verse of Mc. or Mt.). On the other hand, the changes made in Mc. by Lc., where we may be reasonably sure that they are really Lucan changes and are not due to some parallel account, are of the very greatest service. When, as in the case of *ἄρχω*, we find Lc. systematically avoiding or altering a common Marcan phrase, we may decide with real certainty that Lc. objected to that particular word or phrase. Consequently, the present study has involved counting and comparing the words in Mc. as well as those in Lc., and I trust it has recorded every case

where a word that occurs in L has not been copied where it occurs in Mc. Again, the insertion by Lc. of words or phrases into the Marcan narrative is of great importance, as indicating a predilection on Lc.'s part for such words. Where, for instance, such a case occurs in a word of not many occurrences in all, the assignment of that word to L becomes less certain. For words of high number of occurrences this is not of so much importance, as frequent copying of the same word tends to introduce it into one's own vocabulary. All such cases have been recorded, with the reference given to the place in Mc. into which Lc. has made the insertion as well as to the place in Lc. Strictly speaking, each example should be accompanied by a discussion as to the appropriateness of the word in each context, but such a method is out of the question. Not only is the bulk of cases so great as to be prohibitive, but, in the vast majority of instances, the discussion would be so subjective as to destroy its value. Consequently, attention has been called to reasons other than purely stylistic only in certain very prominent cases.

All evidence offered by Acts has been duly tabulated. To my mind it is convincing as an additional proof that Lc. and A. have a common author. But it also points to the use of sources in the first twelve chapters of A. and in the speeches throughout the Book. Most notably does this appear to be true in the case of St. Stephen's speech, to which attention is usually directed.

In referring a word to Mc. rather than to Q, the possibility must always be borne in mind that Mc. and Lc. may be both quoting from Q. Weiss maintains this in a large number of cases (and in certain of these I feel that he has made out a case), but for the present purposes this is immaterial. In most places, however, I have used the reference "Mc. (or Q)," but not invariably. As to the matter of Q passages in Lc. only, I have simply followed Weiss, with a reference to the page of his discussion. Without committing myself as to whether or not these passages belong to Q, it is enough to say that the evidence collected at least seems to show that most of them do not belong to L.

For the limits of L, I have used simply the reconstruction given by Weiss. As his list of words differs somewhat from the one in the present work and as his proofs for L are only in part linguistic, his tests and those here are in large part independent. To judge from the tests I have made, Weiss has certainly included in his reconstruction of L all that properly belongs to it, with the exception, perhaps, of the Transfiguration narrative. On the other hand, it is possible that he has included a little too much; but these questions as to the precise extent of L must be left open for the present. My interest has lain in the proofs for the existence or otherwise of the document, and the precise determination of its limits (if the problem is capable of solution at all) can hardly be settled by linguistic considerations alone. In one respect, Weiss has consequently not been followed; namely, his elimination of small sections inside the L narrative. In other words, there has been studied not the text as reconstructed by Weiss, but the Lucan text of the passages that Weiss has attributed to L. Otherwise there would have been the danger of a *petitio principii*, especially where Weiss has discarded phrases for linguistic reasons. In a few cases, which are noted, Weiss seems to have assigned phrases to Lc. which in reality belong to his source.

It is proper to add that the three treatises of Weiss differ slightly from each other in the matter they assign to L. I have, of course, noted all these differences, but it has seemed needless to record them here. I have tried to adapt my own data to the limits as set forth in the last of the three books, but possibly I have not succeeded invariably. In one case (the first few words of Lc. 19 29) I have followed the book of 1907 (p. 211) for a matter that is not mentioned in the book of 1908. All references otherwise, unless specially designated, are to the book of 1908, in particular the page-numbers in parentheses that follow the words in my first four lists. Where matter in these first four lists is not in Weiss I have noted the fact. The matter in the other lists is independent of Weiss.

#### A. WORDS AND PHRASES ESPECIALLY CHARACTERISTIC OF L

1. *ἀμαρτωλός* (not in Weiss). Occurs eighteen times in Le., not at all in A. Two occurrences (5 30, 32) are from Me. (2 16, 17). Once (7 34, Mt. 11 19) from Q. 15 7, 10 are probably from Q or from Le.'s own hand. The remaining thirteen instances (5 8 6 32, 33, 34 (twice) 7 37, 39 13 2 15 1, 2 18 13 19 7 24 7) are all in L. In 5 29 the word is dropped from Me. 2 15.

2. *ἀναπίπτω* (123, 137, 150). Occurs four times in Le., not at all in A. The four occurrences (11 37 14 10 17 7 22 14) are all in L. In 9 15 the word is rejected from Me. 6 40 and *κατακλίνω* substituted.

3. *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* (151, 157). Five times in Le., once (18 6) in A, elsewhere only 2 Cor. 5 16 and [Jn. 8 11]. The five occurrences are all in L, — 1 48 5 10 12 52 22 18, 69.

4. *ἀπολαμβάνω* (125, 127). Four times (or five) in Le., not at all in A. The four occurrences (6 34 15 27 16 25 23 41) are all in L. If the word is read in 18 30, it is there an insertion by Le. into Me. 10 30, but WH and Weiss read the simple verb there.

5. *ἄρχω*. Thirty-one times in Le., ten times (1 1, 22 2 4 8 35 10 37 11 4, 15 18 26 24 2 27 35) in A. The distribution in Le., however, seems very significant. The word is used twenty-five times by Me. and sixteen of these occurrences are in passages copied directly by Le. But only three (Me. 11 15 12 1 14 19) of these sixteen are taken over by Le. (19 45 20 9 22 23) and in the other thirteen cases (Me. 1 45 2 23 5 17, 20 6 2, 7, 34 8 31 10 28, 32, 47 13 5 14 69) the word is omitted or modified into some other construction (imperfect, etc.). Twice the word is inserted by Le. (5 21 9 12) into Me.'s narrative (2 6 6 25), but in the second of these cases (at least), — *ἡ ἡμέρα ἤρξατο κλίνειν*, — the word has its proper force and cannot be regarded as a mere periphrasis. Twice the word is certainly due to Q (7 24, Mt. 11 7; 12 45, Mt. 24 49) and in 3 8 (cf. Mt. 3 9) it is altogether probable that the word belongs to Q and the alteration is due to Mt. The origin of the two cases in 13 25, 26 is not clear, — Weiss

(pp. 57-58) prints the second as part of Q and attributes the first to Lc. The case 11 29 is dubious, — it is in a Q context. But the remaining twenty cases (3 23 4 21 7 15. 38. 49 11 53 12 1 14 9. 18. 29. 30 15 14. 24 19 37 21 28 23 2. 5. 30 24 27. 47) are all L. The fact that so many cases occur in so small a part of the Gospel, especially when contrasted with the much thinner distribution elsewhere in the Gospel and in A. and when contrasted with the frequency with which the word is rejected from Mc., seems to me to be of particular significance. Weiss, as far as I have been able to discover, does not notice this word as a characteristic of L.

6. Ἐγένετο followed by καί. Eleven (or twelve) times in Lc., not at all in A. (the case A. 5 7 is quite different). Of these cases, eight (5 1 8 1 9 51 14 1 17 11 19 15 24 4. 15) are in L. The cases 5 12. 17 are to be referred to the influence of 5 1, — the three consecutive paragraphs begin alike. 8 22 may be explained in the same way from 8 1 or may be from Q. Also 9 28 may belong here (Q?, L?, — text? Cf. B 15).

7. ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ followed by infinitive. Twenty-one times in Lc., once (19 1) in A. (or twice, if 9 3 is counted, but it probably should not be included). The three cases 9 29. 33 11 1 are in a Q context, but there seems to be no evidence for the phrase in Q (it is not found in Mt.). In 3 21 and 9 18 it is probably from Lc.'s own hand (but in the former of these two passages I feel that there is something to be said for a source). 5 12 is due to 5 1, as above. The remaining fifteen occurrences (1 8 2 6 5 1 9 51 10 38 (but the text here is dubious) 11 27 14 1 17 11. 14 18 35 19 15 24 4. 15. 30. 51) are all L. It is also worthy of note that in the only occurrence of this phrase in Mc. (4 4), it is changed in Lc. (8 5). Weiss does not recognize this phrase as characteristic of L, — on the contrary (*Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, p. 132), he treats it as a Lucan phrase, — but the statistics seem convincing.

NOTE. On combining the results of this section with those of the preceding, a particularly significant result is given for the very un-Greek combination “ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ with the infinitive followed by καί.” There are eight occurrences

in Lc. and no others in the New Testament. Of these eight cases, seven (5 1 9 51 14 1 17 11 19 15 24 4. 15) are in L and the only other case (5 12) seems to be due to 5 1.

8. ἐγγίζω (124, 143, 147, 153, 165). Eighteen times in Lc., six in A. (7 17 9 3 10 9 21 33 22 6 (identical with 9 3) 23 15). Of the eighteen occurrences, two (10 9. 11) are certainly from Q. In 18 40, Lc. inserts the word into Mc. 10 50 (influence of 18 35?). The remaining fifteen cases (7 12 12 33 15 1. 25 18 35 19 29. 37. 41 21 8. 20. 28 22 1. 47 24 15. 28) are all in L. The significance here lies in the large number of the cases. While the number of occurrences in A. shows that Lc. did not entirely disuse the word, yet the number is too small, especially when the character of the narrative (with its journeyings) is considered, to account for the enormously greater proportion in L.

Among special uses, Weiss (p. 147) calls attention to ὡς ἐγγίζω. The phrase is found four times (7 12 15 25 19 29. 41), not at all in A. (but 7 17 has καθὼς ἤγγιζεν, — in temporal, not local, sense, however, and in St. Stephen's speech besides) nor in the rest of the New Testament, — something not noted by Weiss. I may add ἐγγίζω εἰς, 18 35 19 29 24 28, — all L, — not found in A. (and poor Greek, — LXX).

9. ἐτοιμάζω (119). Fourteen times in Lc., once (23 23) in A. Of these fourteen occurrences that in 3 4 is from the Septuagint. 22 9. 12. 13 are from Mc. 14 12. 15. 16. 22 8 is almost certainly due to the following three cases, as Lc. seems to have formed this whole verse out of what follows. 12 20 Weiss (p. 48) prints as from Q. The remaining eight instances (1 17. 76 2 31 9 52 12 47 17 8 23 56 24 1) are all in L. Cf. ἔτοιμος, 14 17 22 33 (both L) and 12 40 (Q, Mt. 24 44).

10. εὐλογέω (113). Thirteen times in Lc. (omitting 1 28 and counting 24 53), twice in A. (3 25. (text?) 26), but both cases due to Septuagint. Consequently it should not be counted as occurring in A. Of the thirteen instances, 9 16 and 19 38 are from Mc. 6 41 and 11 9. One case (13 35, Mt. 23 39) is from Q. Of the remaining ten cases, nine (1 42. (twice) 64 2 28. 34 6 28 24 30. 50. 51) are certainly from L and 24 53 may be. Weiss attributes this verse to Lc., but in any case the use of

εὐλογέω (if the text is right) is due to vs. 50. Note also εὐλογητός in 1 68, — the only one of the cognates in the Lucan writings.

11. καὶ αὐτός, nominative, where αὐτός has no real intensive force and where καί is merely copulative. Thirty-six cases in Lc., none at all in A. Of these thirty-six cases no less than twenty-nine appear to be in L, — 1 17. 22 2 28. 37. 50 3 23 (a very awkward case) 5 1. 37 6 20 7 12 8 1 9 51 11 46 (?) 14 1 15 14 16 24 17 11. 13. 16 18 34 19 2 (twice, — the second especially un-Greek) 22 23. 41 24 14. 25. 28. 31. 35. The other cases, with one exception (4 15, — Lc.?), seem to be due to the influence of a preceding case in L; namely, 5 14. 17 due to 5 1; 8 22. 42 (text?) due to 8 1; 24 52 due to the other cases in cp. 24. There should be added 9 36 in a Q (?) passage (but the phrase in this sense is not found in Mt.). It is to be noted, moreover, that where Lc. (8 23 9 20 22 12) meets the phrase in Mc. (4 38 8 29 14 15) he either omits or modifies it, a fact telling against Lc.'s having any fondness for the combination.

A peculiarly un-Greek combination is found in καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, followed by a participle. L has four instances, — 1 22 3 23 5 1 14 1. The only case in Lc. outside of L is in 5 17, apparently modeled on 5 1.

For the sake of completeness, the other occurrences of the phrase in the Synoptists, where there is a real intensive force, may be given. Mt. 20 10 21 27 25 44 27 57. The last of these is taken over from Mc. 15 43, which is avoided, despite the better sense, in Lc. 23 51. Lc. 1 36 14 12 16 28 19 9 24 15 (text uncertain). All of these examples (five) are likewise from L. In A. there are eight occurrences (8 13 15 32 21 24 22 20 24 15. 16 25 22 27 36), all of which are quite distinct from the first use quoted.

In Mc. 6 47 there is one further example of the first use, but the passage is not in a Lucan context.

Weiss does not class this phrase among those characteristic of L; indeed, he often removes αὐτός from the L narrative as a Lucan word. (*E.g.* on p. 125.) But he has not distinguished between the uses of the word.

12. *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος* (152). Three times in *Lc.*, not in the rest of the New Testament. The Lucan cases (1 9 2 42 22 39) are all *L*. Despite seven occurrences of the word *ἔθος* in *Acts* the phrase does not recur, — in 15 1 21 21 the simple dative is used in the same sense.

13. *Κύριος*, of Christ, in the Evangelist's narrative (134, 137, 144, 156, 164). Fifteen times in *Lc.* (if 24 3 is included); no comparison with *A.* is possible. Of these occurrences, twelve are in *L*, — 7 13. 19 10 1. 39. 41 11 39 13 15 17 5. 6 19 8 22 61 (first occurrence) 24 3. The second occurrence in 22 61 may be from *Lc.*, but it is of course due to the first occurrence. The two other cases are 12 42, — one of *Lc.*'s characteristic transition-questions, — and 18 6, possibly a Lucan insertion in *Q*. The title is never inserted by *Lc.* in *Me.*

14. *λύτρωσις* and cognates (166). All in *L*: *λύτρωσις* in 1 68 2 28; *ἀπολύτρωσις* in 21 28; *λυτρόομαι* in 24 21. None of these words are in *A.* and the only cognate is *λυτρωτής* (7 35), which occurs, moreover, in St. Stephen's speech.

15. *οὐχί, ἀλλά* (133, 137). Five times in *Lc.*, not at all in *A.* The five cases are all in *L*. — 1 60 12 51 13 3. 5 16 30. To these probably should be added *ἀλλ' οὐχί*, also in *L* and not in *A.* (*Lc.* 17 8).

16. *παρά* with accusative in sense of "beyond," "more than" (133). Four times in *Lc.*, not at all in *A.* The four cases (3 13 13 2. 4 18 14) are all *L*. Contrast the use of *ὑπέρ* in same sense in 6 40 (*Q*, — *Mt.* 10 21), 16 8 (*Q* or *Lc.*, probably), *A.* 26 13.

17. *ποιέω ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ* (122). In *Lc.* 1 72 10 37. Compare *ἐμεγάλυνεν τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτῆς* in 1 58. Besides, the word *ἔλεος* is 1 50. 51. 78 and not at all in *A.* All these passages in *Lc.* are in *L*.

18. *στραφεῖς* (136, 156, 161). Seven times in *Lc.*, not at all in *A.* (*Lc.* 10 22 is not included.) Of these seven cases, five (7 44 9 35 14 25 22 61 23 28) are in *L*. Of the other two, 7 9 is in a mixture of *Q* and *L*, and 10 23 is either *Lc.* or *Q*.

B. WORDS AND PHRASES PROBABLY CHARACTERISTIC  
OF L

1. ἄγγελος as "messenger" (119). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these cases, 7 27 is a Septuagint quotation (Mt. 11 10 Mc. 1 2). The other two (7 24 9 52) are L.

2. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ γείτονες (133). Lc. 14 12, — cf. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι in 21 16, — both in L.

3. αἶνος, αἰνέω (143, 146). The verb occurs Lc. 2 13. 20 19 37, — all L, — and possibly 24 53 (Lc.), but εὐλογοῦντες is the much more probable reading. Also in A. 2 47 3 8. 9, — all in the very early part. The noun is found Lc. 18 43 (L), not in A.

4. ἀμήν (not in Weiss). Six times in Lc., not at all in A. Three of these cases (18 17. 29 21 32) are from Mc. (10 15. 29 13 30), the other three, all with λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι, are from L (4 24 12 37 23 43). Lc. 22 18 omits the word from Mc. 14 25 (used in part, at least, by Lc. here), and in 9 27 21 3 he substitutes ἀληθῶς for it in Mc. 9 1 12 43. Five times in Q passages the word stands in Mt. (Mt. 5 26 8 10 10 15 11 11 13 17), where the corresponding Lc. passage (12 59 7 9 10 12 7 28 10 24) omits it. For ἀμήν in Mt. 23 36 Lc. has ναί in 11 51 and ἀληθῶς 12 44 (Mt. 24 47). This relation between Mt. and Lc. would seem to denote that ἀμήν was fairly common in Q, and was retained by Mt. but either dropped or altered by Lc., as in the three cases in Mc. Hence the examples from L acquire still greater weight.

5. ἀνακλίνω (not in Weiss). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these cases, Lc. 13 29 is from Q (Mt. 8 11), the other two (2 7 12 37) are in L. In Mc. 6 39, Lc. (9 14) alters to κατακλίνω.

6. ἀνακύπτω (134). Twice in Lc. (13 11 21 28), both in L. Elsewhere in New Testament only [J. 8 7. 10].

7. ἀντίκειμαι (133, 135). In Lc. 13 17 21 15, both L, and both times in the phrase οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ. Not in A.

8. ἀπέχω, in the sense "be distant from" (165). Three times in Lc. (7 6 15 20 24 13), all in L. The verb occurs A. 15 20. 29, but in both cases in the *middle* and not in a local

sense. Cf. also *μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος* (125) in 7 6 15 20 and (not in Weiss) *ἀπέχω ἀπό* 7 6 24 13.

9. *ἀπορία, ἀπορέω* (164). Neither in A. Noun 21 25, verb 24 4.

10. *ἀρχιερεύς* not used in the singular (154). Plural in L in 22 4. 52. 66 23 4. 10. 13 24 20. The only exceptions are 3 2, where the word means "highpriesthood" and 22 54, in the phrase *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*. Note that in the last case Mc. 14 53 (used in part by Lc.) has *πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα*.

11. *ἀριστάω, ἄριστον* (124). Verb 11 37, noun 11 38 14 12. All three in L, neither word in A.

12. *ἀφαιρέω* (120). Four times in Lc., not at all in A. Of the four cases 22 50 is from Mc. 14 47 ("cut off"). The other three cases have the meaning "take away." 16 3 (*middle*) Weiss (p. 53) prints as part of Q, the other two (1 25 10 42) are from L.

13. *βασιλεύω ἐπί* with accusative (145). In New Testament only Lc. 1 33 19 14. 27. The verb not elsewhere in Lc. or A.

14. *ἐγένετο* followed by a finite verb. Twenty-one (or twenty-two) cases in Lc., none in Acts. (Lc. 10 38 should probably not be counted.) Fifteen of these (1 8. 23. 41. 59 2 1. 6. 15. 46 7 11 11 27 17 14 18 35 19 29 24 30. 51) are in L. Of the other six (or seven), three (9 18. 28. (text? cf. A 6) 37) are printed by Weiss (pp. 64, 65, 66) as part of Q, but cf. Note 4, *infra*. 20 1 seems an insertion into Mc. 11 27, and 9 33 is perhaps another. 11 1 and 11 14 are in Q context, and the phrase here is possibly Q and possibly Lc. There is no *certain* case of the phrase in Q, but Mt. (7 28 11 1 13 53 19 1 26 1) uses it five times in a Q context and nowhere else. However, if the number of occurrences in L were not quite so large, the classification of the phrase here might seem unjustified. But the large number and the absence of the phrase from A. make a strong impression. Moreover, in the two cases (3 21 and 8 5) where Lc. meets the phrase in Mc. (1 9 4 4) he alters it. (Not in Weiss.)

NOTE 1. A combination of this phrase with *ἐν τῷ* and the infinitive appears in L seven times (1 8 2 6 11 27 17 14

18 35 24 30. 51), elsewhere only in 9 18. 33, as above. (Not in Weiss.)

NOTE 2. The phrase ἐγένετο ὡς is found only in this combination and only in the L section of Lc. (not at all in A.). The places are 1 23. 41 2 15 19 29, — four in all. (Not in Weiss.)

NOTE 3. An interesting contrast is afforded by the use of ἐγένετο followed by the infinitive, — five times (3 21 6 1. 6. 12 16 22) in Lc., sixteen times in A. Lc. 6 1 is from Mc. 2 23. 6 6 and 6 12 are clearly insertions by Lc. into Mc. 3 1 and 3 13. 3 21 is probably an insertion into Mc. 1 9. 16 22 is the only occurrence in an L passage. ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ with infinitive in this construction is found in 3 21, A. 19 1 only.

NOTE 4. If the special matter in the Transfiguration narrative be assigned to L (cf. p. 169, *infra*), then of the 21 (or 22) cases in Lc., 16 (or 17) are found in L, — a high proportion (adding 9 28 (text?) 33).

15. γνωρίζω, γνώσις, γνωστοί (197, — for the third of these). The first of these twice in Lc., — 2 15. 17, both L. Twice in A., but in 2 28 the word is from a Septuagint quotation; in 7 13 it is in St. Stephen's speech and the text is doubtful. The second in Lc. 1 77 (L), 11 52 (Lc.). The third in Lc. 2 44 23 49 (both L), not at all in A., despite ten occurrences of the word in the neuter (not found in Lc.).

16. γογγύζω, διαγογγύζω (110). Simple verb Lc. 5 30 (L), not at all in A. (noun in A. 6 1, not in Lc.). Compound verb (an exclusively Septuagint form) in 15 2 19 7, not elsewhere in New Testament. In all three cases λέγοντες follows.

17. δέησις (111). 1 13 2 37 5 33, — three cases in Lc., all L, not at all in A.

18. διακονέω (138). Eight times in Lc., twice (A. 6 2 19 22) in A. Of these cases in Lc., one (4 39) is from Mc. (1 31). Three times, in immediate conjunction and as noun (ὁ διακονῶν), the word is found in a Q passage (22 26. 27 (twice)), where the word may be Q and may be due to Lc. (Mc. 10 43, Mt. 20 26 has διάκονος). The other four instances (8 3 10 40 12 37 17 8) are in L. The construction with the

dative is found in 4 39 8 3 12 37 17 8 only, with the possible addition of A. 6 2 (*τραπέζαις*).

19. *δοκέω* (133, 144). The interrogative *δοκεῖτε* is found three times, all with *ὅτι*, in Lc., — 12 51 13 2. 4, — all L, — and not at all in A. Otherwise, six times in Lc. and nine in A. Of these six times, 1 3 (preface) and 8 18 (insertion in Mc. 4 25) are certainly from Lc. 22 24 is Lc. or Q. 10 56 19 11 24 37 are L. The interrogative form alone can be classed as probably L. (On p. 197, Weiss states that the word occurs five times in L. This is a slip for *six*, — cf. pp. 121, 131, 133 (twice), 144, 167 of his reconstructed text.)

20. *δόξα* (not noted by Weiss). Thirteen times in Lc., four times in A. Of these four times, however, two (7 2. 55) are in St. Stephen's speech. The other cases are A. 12 23 22 11. Of the thirteen cases in Lc., two (9 26 21 27) are from Mc. (8 38 13 26). Twice the word is from Q (12 27, Mt. 6 29; 4 6, Mt. 4 8). 9 38 is an insertion into Mc. 11 10, doubtless under the influence of 2 14. Twice (9 31. 32, — in conjunction) the word may be Q, Lc., or L. The remaining six cases (*i.e.* six out of the uncertain nine) are all L, — 2 9. 14. 32 14 10 17 18 24 26.

21. *ἐκλείπω* (152, 162). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three occurrences (16 9 22 32 23 45) are all L.

22. *ἐλεέω* (not noted by Weiss). Four times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these cases, two, in immediate conjunction (18 33. 39), are from Mc. (10 47. 48). The other two (16 24 17 13) are both L. The word is omitted by Lc. (8 39) in his reproduction of Mc. 5 19. Cf. also the statistics for *ἔλεος* in A 17.

23. *ἐλεημοσύνην* with *δίδωμι* (139). Twice (11 41 12 33) in Lc., both L. Not at all in A., which uses *ποιέω ἐλεημοσύνην* (A. 9 36 10 2 24 17).

24. *ἐμπαίζω* (159, 162). Five times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these occurrences, one (18 32) is from Mc. (10 34). The other four (14 29 22 63 23 11. 36) are all in L.

25. *ἔμπροσθεν* (not noted by Weiss). Ten times in Lc., twice (10 4 18 17) in A. Of these ten cases, four (7 27,

Mt. 11 10; 10 21, Mt. 11 26; 12 8 (twice), Mt. 10 32 (twice)) are from Q. The case 5 19 may be Q but is much more probably Lc. (added to Mc. 2 4). The remaining five cases (14 2 19 4, 27, 28 21 36) are all L. It should be noted moreover that in 5 25 this word in Mc. 2 12 is changed to *ἐνώπιον*, and a similar change seems to have been made in Q, — cf. Mt. 10 33 with Lc. 12 9. The word occurs also in Mc. 9 2 but not in the parallel Lc. 9 29, but here the whole narrative is changed.

26. *ἐναντίον* (149, 165). Three times in Lc., twice in A. But of the occurrences in A., 7 10 is in St. Stephen's speech and has a textual uncertainty, 8 32 is a Septuagint quotation. Consequently, the word scarcely belongs to the vocabulary of A. The three occurrences in Lc. (1 6 20 26 24 19) are all L.

27. *ἐξουσία* with subjective genitive (159). Three times in Lc., once in A. (26 18). The three Lc. occurrences (20 20 22 53 23 7) are all L.

28. *ἐπαίρω* (127, 128, 168). Six times in Lc. (all L), five times in A. Of the A. occurrences, however, three (2 14 14 11 22 22) are in the phrase *ἐπαίρω τὴν φωνήν*, also in the Gospel 11 27. On the other hand, the phrase *ἐπαίρω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς* is three times (6 20 16 23 18 13) in Lc., not at all in A. The other Lucan occurrences are Lc. 21 28 24 50, A. 1 9 27 40. And note *ἐπαίρω εἰς*, 6 20 18 13.

Consequently, only *ἐπαίρω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς* can be classed as an L phrase.

29. *ἐπισκέπτομαι, ἐπισκοπή* (117, 147). Verb three times in Lc., four times in A. In Lc., however, it has uniformly the sense of "favor" (1 68, 78 7 16), a sense that in A. it has only 15 14, in St. Peter's speech. In A. 7 23 15 36 it has the sense "inspect"; in A. 6 3 that of "seek out." The three occurrences in Lc. are all L. The noun occurs Lc. 19 44 in the sense of "favorable visitation," in A. 1 20 (a Septuagint quotation) it means "office."

30. *εὐφραίνω* (not noted by Weiss). Six times in Lc., twice in A. Of the occurrences in A., however, 2 26 is in a Septuagint quotation, 7 41 is in St. Stephen's speech. The

Le. occurrences (12 19 15 23, 24, 29, 32 16 19) are all L except 12 19 (Q?). Only the clustering of the four cases in cp. 15 has made it seem unwise to place this word in class (A).

31. *ἐχθροί*, in the plural (147). Seven times in Le., once in A. The occurrence in A. (2 35), however, is in a Septuagint quotation. Of the cases in Le., one (20 43) is from Mc. (12 36) and is a Septuagint quotation. Once (6 27, Mt. 5 44) the word belongs to Q, and 6 35 is a repetition of 6 27. The other four cases (1 71, 74 19 27, 43) are all L. Particularly to be noted is the word in the sense "Gentiles" (1 71, 74 19 43), not elsewhere in the Gospels.

32. *ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου* (134). Three times in Le., not at all in A. The three cases (13 14, 16 14 5) are all L. Contrast *ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων* in A. 13 14 16 13 (also in Le. 4 16, — L).

33. *θανμάζω ἐπί* (not in Weiss). Four times in Le., once (3 12, in St. Peter's speech) in A. Of the four occurrences, one (20 26) is from Mc. (12 17, — *ἐκθανμάζω ἐπί*). The other three (2 33 4 22 9 43) are all in L.

34. *Ἱεροσαλήμ* (142). Twenty-six times in Le., thirty-nine times in A. Of these cases in A, twenty-three are in the first twelve chapters. Of the occurrences in Le., one (13 34, Mt. 23 37) is certainly Q. Two (4 9 13 33) are in Q passages, and of these 13 33 (at least) is almost certainly due to Q. In 6 17 the word is changed from Mc.'s *Ἱεροσόλυμα* (Mc. 3 8), and in 5 17 it is added to Mc. 2 2. 18 31 would seem to be a change from Mc. 10 33, but Weiss (p. 142) prints the word here as from L. 24 52 is from Le., but is, of course, due to the four occurrences of the form earlier in the chapter. 9 31 is uncertain, — Q? Le.? L? The remaining eighteen cases (2 25, 33, 41, 43, 45 9 51, 53 10 30 13 4 17 11 19 11 21 20, 24 23 28 24 13, 18, 33, 47) are all in L, with 18 31 as another possible case. The use of *Ἱεροσόλυμα* may be contrasted. In Le. it occurs four times. 13 22 seems to be a transition verse from Le.'s own hand. 19 28 is apparently a reminiscence of Mc. 10 32. 2 22 and 23 7 are in L. In A. the form occurs twenty-five times, but only five of these are in the first twelve chapters. *Le.* where Le. is most certainly writ-

ing without documents, the Greek form is more frequently used, as would be expected.

It is also perhaps worth noting that of the sixteen occurrences in the Hebrew form in A., outside of the first twelve chapters, all except 15 2. 4 20 16 21 12. 31 25 3, are in the speeches. And in these six residuary cases, 21 12 is due to 21 11 and the text of 15 4 and 20 16 is uncertain.

35. *καταφιλέω* (125). Three times in Lc., once in A. The three cases in Lc. (7 38. 45 15 20) are all L. The case in A. (20 37) is a virtual copy of that in Lc. 15 20.

36. *κλαίω ἐπί* (161). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The occurrences in Lc. (19 41 23 28 (twice)) are all L. The whole use of *κλαίω* (not noted by Weiss) may be compared. Omitting the uses just cited, there are eight occurrences in Lc. and two (9 39 21 13, — omitting 8 24) in A. Three of the cases in Lc. (8 52 (twice) 22 62) are from Mc. (5 38. 39 14 72). Once (7 32) the word is either Lc. or Q, — cf. Mt. 11 17. The other four cases (a total of seven), namely 6 21. 25 7 13. 38, are all L.

37. *πᾶς ὁ λαός*, viewed as eager supporters of Christ (149). Four times in Lc., no comparison with A. possible. Of these cases, three (18 43 19 48 21 38) are L. The remaining case (7 29) is of dubious origin, — Weiss (p. 19, footnote) regards it as a Lucan insertion in Q.

38. *μιμνήσκομαι*, aorist passive with active sense (127, 162, 164). Six times in Lc., once (A. 11 16) in A. The six cases (1 54. 72 16 25 23 42 24 6. 8) are all L. Contrast the same form in the passive sense in A. 10 31, the use of *ὑπομιμνήσκομαι* in Lc. 22 61 (substituted for *ἀναμιμνήσκομαι* in Mc. 14 72), and the use of *μνημονεύω* in 17 32 (Q?); A. 20 31. 35.

39. *ὁμοίως* (133). Eleven times in Lc., not at all in A. Of the occurrences in Lc., one (17 31) is probably from Lc., — an interpolation into Mc. 13 16. Possibly the same is true of 5 10, — an interpolation into a reminiscence of Mc. 1 19, but it is in an L context. In three cases (6 31 — cf. Mt. 7 12 — 17 28 22 36) the doubt seems to lie between Q and Lc., — noting, however, that there is no certain case of the

word in Q, and noting on the other hand that the case 6 31 is printed by Weiss (p. 113) in parentheses as being possibly from L, despite the parallel in Mt. The remaining six cases (3 11 5 33 10 32. 37 13 3 16 25) are all L, — *i.e.* certainly six and possibly eight cases. It is to be noted, besides, that Lc. 8 13 avoids the word in Mc. 4 16 and possibly Lc. 23 35 avoids it in Mc. 15 31, but in the second case the use of Mc. is not quite so certain. And note ποιέω ὁμοίως, 3 11 6 31 10 37.

40. οἷς, — εἰς τὰ ὄτα (119). The phrase is found Lc. (1 44 9 44), — cf. ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν, Lc. 4 21. All these passages are L. The phrase is found again in A. 11 22, however. But contrast the use of the singular in Q (Lc. 12 3, Mt. 10 27). The entirely different (literal) use of the phrase Mc. 7 33 has no Lucan context.

41. περιζώννυμι (138). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (12 35. 37 17 8) are all L. Contrast the simple verb in A. 12 8.

42. πίμπλημι in temporal sense (not in Weiss). Five times in Lc., not at all in A. The five cases (1 23. 57 2 6. 21. 22) are all L. Contrast the use of πληρόω, Lc. 21 21 (L), A. 7 23. 30 (St. Stephen's speech) 9 23 24 27, and συμπληρόω, Lc. 9 51 (L), A. 2 1. (The reference in Weiss, p. 141, to this verb I have put in class *D*.)

43. πόρρω, πόρρωθεν (166). The former Lc. 14 32 24 28. The latter 17 12. All three cases L. Neither word occurs in A.

44. πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (119). Three times (or twice) in Lc., once (A. 13 24, in St. Paul's speech) in A. The cases in Lc. are 1 76 (with dubious text) 9 52 10 1, — all L. There should be added the case Lc. 7 27 (Mt. 11 10), — a Septuagint quotation in Q.

45. προσδέχομαι (138). Five times in Lc., twice (A. 23 21 24 15, — in St. Paul's speech) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (23 51) is from Mc. (15 43). The other four (2 25. 38 12 36 15 2) are all L. The first three are present participles. It may be noted, however, that in the case 15 2 Weiss (p. 124) substitutes the simple verb for the compound on account of

the difference in meaning, — “receive” instead of “expect.”

46. *σκιρτάω* (113). Three times (1 41 1 44 6 23, — all L) in Lc., not at all in A.

47. *σπλαγχνίζομαι* (125). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (7 13 10 33 15 20) are all L. Note, moreover, that in Lc. 5 13 the word is omitted from Mc. 1 41. The other occurrences in Mc. (6 34 8 2 9 22) have no proper Lucan reproduction of context.

48. *στηρίζω* (127, 152). Three times in Lc., once in A. The three cases (9 51 16 26 22 32) are all L. — The case in A is 18 23.

49. *συγγενεύς* and cognates (not in Weiss). *συγγενεὺς* in Lc. 2 44 only. *συγγενίς*, Lc. 1 36 only. *συγγενής* four (or three) times in Lc., once (10 24) in A. Of these four cases, one (21 16) is possibly due to Lc., — an insertion into Mc. 13 12, — but the context is L. The other three (or two) cases (1 58 2 44 (text dubious) 14 12) are all L. *συγγένεια* in Lc. 1 61, A. 7 3. (Septuagint) 14, — both in St. Stephen’s speech.

NOTE. — In Lc. 2 44 the readings vary between *συγγενεῦσιν* and *συγγενέσιν*. Consequently in appraising the above data, both of these must not be counted.

50. *συνμπορεύομαι* (136, 165). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three occurrences (7 11 14 25 24 15) are all L.

51. *τίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, etc. (133). Three times in Lc., namely: *ἔθεντο ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, 1 66; *θέσθε εἰς τὰ ὦτα*, 9 44; *θέτε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, 21 14. In A. only *ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, 5 4.

52. *τόπος* after *ἐπί* (152). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (19 5 22 40 23 33) are all L. Cf. also *κατὰ τὸν τόπον* in 10 32 (L), not in A.

53. *ὥστε* with infinitive of purpose (119, 148). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (4 29 9 52 20 20) are all L.

#### C. WORDS AND PHRASES CITED BY WEISS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF L, AND POSSIBLY CORROBORATIVE

1. *ἀναδείχνυμι*, *ἀνάδειξις* (120). Verb 10 1 (L), A. 1 24, noun 1 80.

2. *ἀνθ’ ὧν*, meaning “because” (157). Lc. 1 20 19 44 (both

L), A. 12 23. In Le. 12 3 the phrase is used differently (?), — due to Le. in Q (cf. Mt. 10 27)?

3. ἀπολύω (123, 157). Thirteen times in Le.; fifteen in A. (all parts). Of the cases in Le., two (16 18 twice, Mt. 5 32 twice) are from Q. Three cases (9 12, Mc. 6 33 23 18, 25, Mc. 15 11, 15) are from Mc. Once (8 38) Le. introduces the word in Mc. 5 19. Twice (23 20, 22) the word may be due to the case 23 18 (from Mc.). The remaining five cases (2 29 6 37 13 12 14 4 23 16) are in L, but there are too many cases in A. for any real conclusion to be drawn, and 23 16 and 23 22 are duplicates.

4. ἀπόστολοι (110, 137, 150). Six times in Le. no comparison with A. possible. Of these six cases one (9 10) is from Mc. (6 30). One case (6 13) is either from Mc. or is an insertion into Mc. (3 14) by Le., — depending on the proper reading in Mc. 3 14. (There seems to be some L context, however, cf. Weiss, pp. 110-11.) Once (11 49, Mt. 23 34) we have almost certainly a Lucan insertion into Q. The other three cases (17 5 22 14 24 10) are in L. As nothing would have been easier than reading back this title of the Twelve, these data evidently must be taken cautiously.

5. ἄροτρον, ἀροτριῶ (137). Noun 9 62, verb 17 7. Both L, neither word in A.

6. ἄρχοντες (162, 165). The phenomena for the plural are curious for it occurs four times in Le. and seven in A. The A. cases are 3 17 4 5, 8, 26 (Septuagint) 13 27 14 5 16 19. The cases in Le. are 14 1 23 13, 35 24 20, all of which are in L. The plural is not found in Mt. or Mc. (Mt. 20 25 is different). There are too many cases in A., however, to class the word as certain for L.

The singular is found Le. 8 41 (Le. in Mc. 5 22 or else from Q), 11 15 (Mt. 12 24, Mc. 3 22, from Q or Mc.) 12 58 (probably Le. in Q, — cf. Mt. 5 25) 18 18 (Le. in Mc. 10 17). Also A. 7 27, 35 (twice) (all three in St. Stephen's speech) 23 5 (Septuagint).

7. ἀρόματα (164). 23 53 24 1, — both L. Not in A.

8. φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς (110). In this order 5 30 15 2, — both L. Also Mt. 15 1, Mc. 7 1, 5 9 11 (dubious text). In

reverse order Lc. 5 21 (Lc. in Mc. 2 6) 6 7 (Lc. in Mc. 3 2) 11 53 (L), not at all in Mc., nine times in Mt. In A. the combination does not occur in either order.

9. *δαπάνη*, *δαπανᾶω* (136). Noun 14 23, verb 15 14, — both L. Verb also A. 21 24.

10. *διατάσσω*, passive participle (137). Three times in Lc. (3 13 17 9, 10, — all L), once (23 31) in A. The immediate conjunction of the two cases in cp. 17 tells against much significance here.

11. *δύστημι* (168). Twice (22 59 24 51, — both L) in Lc., once (27 28) in A.

12. *δυνατός*, masculine (165). Three times in Lc. (1 49 14 31 24 19, — all L), three times (7 22 18 24 25 5, plural) in A. Particularly alike are Lc. 24 19 and A. 7 22, but the latter is in St. Stephen's speech.

13. *ἐγείρω* in the sense "make effective" (117). Twice (1 69 7 16, — both L) in Lc., once (13 22) in A.

14. *εἰρήνη* of literal (military) peace (136, 147). Twice (12 51 14 32, — both L) in Lc., not at all in A. The phrase *τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην* is found Lc. 14 32 19 42 (both L), but the text of 14 32 is very uncertain. The phrase is not found in A.

15. *ἐκδίκησις*, "punishment" (141). In Lc. 21 22 only (L), not in A. Contrast the sense "vengeance" in 18 7. 8 (Q?), A. 7 24 (St. Stephen's speech).

16. *ἐκμυκτηρίζω* (162). Lc. 16 14 23 35 (both L) only in NT.

17. *ἐμπίμπλημι* (113). Twice in Lc. (1 53 6 25, — both L), once (14 17) in A.

18. *ἔντιμος* (123). Twice (7 2 14 8) in Lc. (both L), not in A.

19. *ἐξουθενέω* (159). Twice (18 9 23 11, — both L) in Lc., once (4 11) in A.

20. *ἐπανέρχομαι* (121, 145). Twice (10 35 19 15, both L) in Lc., not elsewhere in NT.

21. *ἐπιστρέφω* (137, 152). Seven times in Lc., eleven times in A. (all parts). Of these occurrences in Lc., one (17 31) is from Mc. (13 16). One (8 55) is a Lucan addition

to Mc. (5 42). The other five cases (1 16. 17 2 39 17 4 22 32) are in L. Lc. (8 45) avoids the word in Mc. 5 30 (the occurrences in Mc. 4 12 (Septuagint) and 8 33 have no proper Lucan context).

22. *ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας* (137). Only in Lc. 17 4, —quoted (?) from Ps. 119 164. (This seems to have little significance.)

23. *ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με*, metaphorical, of Christ (115). Lc. 6 47 14 26. Both L. No comparison with A. possible.

24. *ἔρωτάω*, "make request" (118, 127, 135, 136). Nine (or ten) times in Lc., six times (3 3 10 48 16 39 18 20 23 18. 20) in A. Of the cases in Lc. (8 37) is a Lucan insertion in Mc. 5 17. The other eight (or nine) (5 3 7 3. 4 (text dubious) 36 11 37 14 18. 19. 32 16 27) are all L. The value of this number is destroyed as evidence, however, by the fact that this use of the word is almost the uniform custom in A. — six out of seven cases, — A. 1 6 is the only example of the other use. Of special uses, though, *ἔρωτάω ἵνα* is found in Lc. 7 36 16 27 (not at all in A. — both Lc. cases are L), and *ἔρωτάω ὅπως* in Lc. 7 3 11 37 (both L) and A. 23 20.

25. *ζάω*, "become alive" (125). Lc. 15 32, cf. *ἀναζάω* in same sense 15 24. (This seems rather pointless.)

26. *ἡλικία*, "stature" (144). Lc. 2 52 19 3 (both L), not in A. Contrast Lc. 12 25 (Mt. 6 27 — in Q), "length of life."

27. *θεμελιον τίθημι* (136). Lc. 6 48 14 29 (both L). Not in A. (In A. is there any occasion for the phrase?)

28. *ίκανός*, "much," "great," etc. (116). Six (or seven) times in Lc. seventeen times in A. (all parts). Of the cases in Lc., two (8 27. 32) are Lucan insertions in Mc. (5 2. 11, — the second a deliberate change). The other four (or five) (7 11, text dubious, 12 20 9 23 8. 9) are in L. Contrast the use of the word as "sufficient" in Lc. 3 16 (from Mc. 1 7 or from Q) 7 6 (Mt. 8 8, in Q) 22 33 (Q?). Also in A. 17 9 ("security"). The use of A. is almost uniformly (always, except 17 9) what Weiss has given as the L use.

29. *Ἰουδαία* as the province, not Palestine (117). Weiss' data here depend on very subtle exegesis, — too subtle to be very convincing.

30. ἴστημι in the aorist passive (165). The participle is found three times in Lc. and six times (2 14 5 20 11 13 17 22 25 18 27 21) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (18 40) is a Lucan change in Mc. 10 49. The other two cases (18 11 19 8) are in L. These data obviously tell rather against an L use than for it. Other moods of the aorist passive are found in 21 36 (infinitive) 24 17 (indicative). Both cases are L. No other cases in A.

31. ἰσχύω (136, 149). Eight times in Lc., six times in A. The cases in Lc. all are negatived and are followed by the infinitive. A. 6 10 15 10 25 7 are negatived and have the infinitive; A. 27 16 has the infinitive, A. 19 16. 20 are used absolutely. Of the cases in Lc., one (8 43) is a Lucan change made in Mc. 5 26. Two cases (13 24, infinitive implied, 16 3) are classed by Weiss (pp. 57, 53) as from Q. The remaining five cases (6 48 14 6. 29. 30 20 26) are in L.

32. καλούμενος, of persons (150). Five times (6 15 8 2 10 39 19 2 22 3,—all L) in Lc., five times (1 23 7 58 13 1 15 22. 37) in A. To these may be added the same phrase of *places* in Lc. 7 11 (L) 9 10 (Lc.?,—cf. Mc. 6 32) 23 33 (L), A. 3 11 27 8. 16, and of a *wind* in A. 27 14. There may have been a correspondence between the usage of Lc. and L in this form, but certainly nothing can be proved; and cf. also No. 45, below.

33. κοιλία, "womb" (197). Seven times in Lc. (1 15. 41. 42. 44 2 21 11 27 23 29,—all L) in Lc., twice in A. (3 2 14 8). But the large number of cases in L is due to the character of the narrative. On p. 197 of Weiss for "8" read "7,"—Lc. 15 16 (even if the text is right) is a different (classical) use. It may be noted that the phrase ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ occurs Lc. 1 15, A. 3 2 14 8.

34. κόλπος, "bosom" (127). Three times in Lc. (6 38 16 22. 23,—all L), not at all in A. (in 27 39 the word means "cove"). If the two cases 16 22. 23 had not been conjoined, this word would have belonged to class B.

35. κρίμα (165). Three times in Lc., once (24 25) in A. Of the three cases, one (20 47) is from Mc. (12 40). The other two (23 40 24 20) are both L.

36. *κρύπτω* (147). Three times in Lc. (omitting 11 32), not at all in A. The two cases 18 34 and 19 42 are L. In the Q passage 13 21, Mt. 13 33, Lc. has the simple verb while Mt. has *ἐγκρύπτω*, in the Q passage 10 22, Mt. 11 25, Mt. has the simple verb while Lc. has *ἀποκρύπτω*.

37. *λεγόμενος*, "called" (153). Twice in Lc. (22 1. 47, — both L), once (6 9) in A.

38. *λεπρός* (139). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. (no occasion). Of the three cases, one (7 22 Mt. 11 5) is from Q. The other two (4 27 17 12) are L. In 5 12 Lc. explains the word where he meets it in Mc. 1 40.

39. *λιμός ἐγένετο* (125). Twice (4 25 15 14, — both L) in Lc., not at all in A. Contrast with *ἔσται* in Lc. 21 11 (L), A. 11 28 and with *ἦλθεν* in A. 7 11 (St. Stephen's speech).

40. *οἱ μισοῦντες* (113). Twice (1 71 6 27, — both L) in Lc., not at all in A.

41. *ἤμελλον* (144). Four times in Lc., three times (12 6 16 27 27 33) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (9 31) is of dubious origin, — Weiss (pp. 65–66) makes it a Lucan addition to Q and reads *ἔμελλεν*. The other three cases (7 2 10 1 19 4) are L. *ἔμελλον* only in A. 21 27, — possibly in A. 27 33.

42. *Ναζαρά* (106). Lc. 4 16 only, — *Ναζαρέτ* (= *ρέθ*) in 1 26 2 4. 39. 51 (all L). *I.e.*, Lc. omitted to change the one form?

43. *ὄπτασία* (166). Lc. 1 22 24 23 (both L), A. 26 19.

44. *ὄρθρος*, etc. (166). *ὄρθρος*, Lc. 24 1, A. 5 21. *ὄρθρίζω*, Lc. 21 38. *ὄρθρινός*, Lc. 24 22. All three cases in Lc. are L.

45. *τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν* (146, 149). Lc. 19 37 22 39. (So in Mc. 11 1, Mt. 21 1; Mc. 13 3, Mt. 24 3; Mc. 14 26, Mt. 26 30.) Contrast the use of *τὸ ὄρος καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν* (= *όν*) in Lc. 19 29 21 37, A. 1 12 (form?). But all *four* of these cases in Lc. are in L.

NOTE. Probably these examples of the use of *καλούμενος* should be added to those of No. 32, above.

46. *τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην* (127, 134). Five times with prospective use of *ταύτην* in Lc., no comparison with A. possible.

Of these five cases, one (20 9) is an insertion in Mc. (12 1). The other four (4 23 13 6 15 3 18 9) are all L. With retrospective use, twice, both from Lc. (12 41, a Lucan transition question, 20 19, an addition to Mc. 12 19). Of these cases, three (15 3 18 9 20 19) have *εἶπεν*. The same phrase is found in the nominative in 8 9 (added to Mc. 4 10) and 8 11 (from Mc. 4 13.). In both of these last cases the use is retrospective. The prospective use, to introduce a parable, may be characteristic of L, but it seems almost too accidental.

47. *παραγίνομαι* (135). Eight times in Lc., twenty (all parts) in A. Of the eight cases (8 19), one seems to be a Lucan change in Mc. (3 31). One (11 6) is probably from Q. The other six cases (7 4. 20 12 51 14 21 19 16 22 52) are L. But the great number in A. outweighs this evidence.

48. *παρατηρέω*, active (148). Lc. 20 20 only (L), but with doubtful text. Contrast the middle in 6 7 (change to middle of active in Mc. 3 2) 14 1 (L), A. 9 24.

49. *παρέρχομαι*, "come" (138). Lc. 12 37 17 7 only both L,—and aorist participle in both cases. In A. only in the spurious verse 24 7.

50. *πέμπω* (127). Ten times in Lc., eleven (all after cp. 9) in A. Of the cases in Lc., three (20 11. 12. 13) are Lucan insertions in Mc. (12 4. 5. 6) probably, but they may be due to Q (cf. Weiss, p. 59, for the third of these). Once (7 19, Mt. 11 2) the word is from Q or (possibly) L. The other cases (4 26 7 6. 10 15 15 16 24. 27) are in L. Avoided 8 32 in Mc. 5 12.

51. *πληγή* (138). Lc. 10 30 12 48,—both L. Also A. 16 23 (apparently copied from Lc. 10 30.) 33. (due to v. 23).

52. *πλήθος* (197). Eight times in Lc, sixteen (or seventeen, if A. 21 22 is read) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (6 17) is from Mc. (3 7). Once (8 37) the word is inserted into Mc. 5 17. The other six cases (1 10 2 13 5 6 19 37 23 1. 27) are in L. In Weiss, p. 197, for "8" read "6."

53. *ποίει* (= *εἶπω*) *ὁμοίως* (122). Lc. 3 11 10 37,—both L. Also 6 31, L or Q (cf. Mt. 7 12). Not in A.

54. *πολίται* (145). Lc. 15 15 19 14,—both L. Also A. 21 39 in singular.

55. *πρέσβειαν ἀποστέλλω* (145). Lc. 14 32 19 14, — both L. No occasion in A.

56. *πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ* (157). Lc. 22 66 (L), — explained and (according to Weiss) misunderstood by Lc. The word *πρεσβυτέριον* again in A. 22 5.

57. *προέρχομαι* (153). Lc. 1 17 (text dubious) 22 47, — both L. Probably again in A. 20 13, with less likelihood in A. 20 5, and with still less likelihood in A. 12 13, — textual questions in all three of these cases in A. Avoided 22 41 in Mc. 14 35 (but text of Mc. dubious, and Weiss, p. 152, maintains that Lc. follows L here). The example in Mc. 6 33 has no proper Lucan context.

58. *προσέχετε (ἐάντοίς)* without *ἀπό* (137, 142). Lc. 17 3 21 34, — both L. Also A. 5 35 (with *ἐπί*) 20 28 (with infinitive).

59. *σιωπάω* (147). Lc. 1 20 19 40, — both L. Also A. 18 9. Omitted 6 9 8 24 9 46 from Mc. 3 4 4 39 9 34. Changed 18 39 in Mc. 10 48. (Mc. 14 61 has no Lucan context.) Contrast the use of *σιγάω* in 9 36 (cf. Mc. 9 9) 18 39 (changed in Mc. 10 48, as above) 20 26 (added to Mc. 12 17), A. 12 17 15 12. 13.

60. *σπύσας* (144). The aorist active participle only in Lc. 2 16 19 5. 6, — all L. The verb otherwise only in A. 20 16 22 18.

61. *στρατεύματα*, "soldiers" (159). Lc. 23 11 (L) only. In A. 23 10. 27 the word (in the singular) means "troop." Contrast the use of *στρατιῶται* in Lc. 7 8 (Mt. 8 9, — Q) 23 36 (L), A. 12 4 (?) 18 21 32 (twice) 35 23 23. (?) 31 27 31. 32. 42.

62. *στρατηγοί*, as Temple officials (150). Lc. 22 4. 52, — both L. Also A. 4 1 5 24. 26, but in all three cases in the singular. The word in A. 16 (five times) means "praetors."

63. *συκοφαντέω* (144). Lc. 3 14 19 8, — both L. Not in A.

64. *συνζητέω* (165). Lc. 22 23 24 15, — both L. Also A. 6 9 9 29. Omitted 9 37 from Mc. 9 14, changed 4 33 from Mc. 1 27. Mc. 8 11 9 10. 16 12 28 have no proper Lucan context.

65. *τόπος ἐστίν*, "there is room" (135). Lc. 2 7 14 22, — both L. Not in A.

66. *τύπτω τὸ στήθος* (163). Lc. 18 13 23 48, — both L. Not in A.

67. *ὑποδέχομαι* (120, 144). Lc. 10 38 19 6, — both L, A. 17 7. In the cases in L the form both times is *ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν*.

68. *ὑπολαμβάνω* (121). Meaning "imagine" in Lc. 7 43 (L), A. 2 15, "reply" Lc. 10 30 (L), "receive" A. 1 9.

69. *φάτνη* (134). Lc. 2 7. 12. 16 13 15. Not elsewhere (is there any occasion for its use?).

70. *φόβος* (197). The phrase *φόβος ἐπιπίπτει ἐπὶ* Lc. 1 12, A. 19 17. *φόβος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ* Lc. 1 65, A. 5 5. 11. *φόβος ἐγένετό τινι* in A. 2 43. *φόβος ἔλαβεν πάντας* Lc. 7 16. Otherwise the word is found in Lc. 5 26 8 37 (Lucan additions to Mc. 2 12 5 17) 2 9 21 26, A. 9 31. These examples do not seem to prove anything.

71. *φόρος* (197). Lc. 20 22 23 2, — both L. Not in A.

72. *φωνήν αἶρω* (139). Lc. 17 13 (L); A. 4 24. *φωνήν ἐπαίρω* Lc. 11 27 (L), A. 2 14 14 11 22 22.

73. *χάρις* (114). The distinctions in meaning that Weiss draws depend on very subtle exegesis.

74. *εἰς χώραν μακράν* (144). Lc. 15 13 19 12, — both L. Not in A.

75. *ἡ ὥρα* with genitive (154). Lc. 1 10 14 17, — both L. Also A. 3 1.

The following were omitted from their order by an oversight: —

76. *ἔρχομαι ἐπὶ* (164). Lc. 19 5 23 33 24 1, — all L. A. 8 36 12 10. 12. Verb in aorist in all six cases.

77. *ὀπίσω* with genitive (141) Lc. 9 23 (from Mc. 8 34) 14 27 19 14 21 8 (these three all L), A. 5 37 20 30.

78. *τελέω*, passive, aorist and future (143, 198). Lc. 12 50 18 31 (both L) 22 37 (Q?). Not in A.

The following are not very clear: —

79. Compare *πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων* in Lc. 19 37 with Lc. 9 43 (*ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ*). (Weiss, p. 146.)

80. The "plastic" phrase *ἡ χεῖρ . . . ἐπὶ τ. τραπ.* (151). Unless the word in question here is *χεῖρ* (for which I can detect no significant use), I am unable to understand Weiss' point.

D. WORDS AND PHRASES CLASSED BY WEISS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF L ON INSUFFICIENT (?) EVIDENCE

1. *γόνυ* (152). Lc. 5 8 22 41, — both L, A. 7 60 9 40 20 36 21 5. The occurrence of the noun is of no importance and all cases in A., with Lc. 22 41, have it in the form *θεῖς τὰ γόνατα*.

2. *ἔμφοβος γενόμενος* (167). Lc. 24 5. 37, A. 10 4 24 25.

3. *ἐπιγινώσκω* (*ὄτι*) (159). With *ὄτι*, Lc. 1 22 7 37 23 7 (all L), A. 3 10 4 13 (these two have object of person also) 19 34 22 29 24 11 28 1. Not elsewhere in the Gospels except Mc. 2 8, and so highly probably due to Lc., not L. Otherwise the verb is found Lc. 5 22 (from Mc. 2 8, — Lc. drops Mc.'s *ὄτι*) and in 1 4 (Lc.'s preface), 24 16. 31 (both L). And seven times in A. (9 30 12 14 22 24 23 28 24 8 25 10 27 39) besides the six cases above.

4. *ἐπιπίπτω ἐπί* (125). Lc. 1 12 15 20, — both L. A. 8 16 10 44 11 15 19 17 20 37. Without *ἐπί* only 20 10 (with dative).

5. *ἔσθῆς* (159). Lc. 23 11 24 4, A. 10 30 12 21. *ἔσθῆς λαμπρά*, Lc. 23 11, A. 10 30. Cf. *ἔσθησις*, A. 1 10.

6. *ἐφίστημι* (142, 164). Seven times in Lc., eleven in A. Of the seven cases, two (4 39 20 1) are additions of Lc. to Mc. (1 31 11 27). The other five cases (2 9. 38 10 40 21 34 24 4) are in L.

7. *παρὰ τοὺς πόδας* (139). Lc. 7 38 17 16 (in L), 8 35. 41 (Lucan alterations in Mc. 5 15. 22), A. 4 35. 37 (dubious text) 5 2 7 58 22 3.

8. *π(μ)πλημι*, in general use (141). For this word in temporal sense cf. (B 42). Otherwise the word occurs eight times in Lc. and nine times in A. Of these cases, the following are of the form *πλησθῆναι πνεύματος ἁγίου*, — Lc. 1 15. 41. 67, A. 2 4 4 8. 31 9 17 13 9. Of the remaining five cases in Lc., two (5 26 6 11) are Lucan alterations of Mc. (2 12 3 6). There remain only three further cases to represent L (4 28 5 7 21 22) with a corresponding four in A. (3 10 5 17 13 45 19 29).

9. *πληρώω* in temporal sense (119). The data collected in (B 42) would prove this use characteristic of Lc. rather than L.

10. *συνβάλλω* (136). Lc. 2 19 14 31, A. 4 15 17 18 18 27 20 14.

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHARACTERISTIC WORDS

The distribution of the characteristic words and phrases within the various sections of L can be seen from the following tables. The first column contains the number of the most characteristic words and phrases in the verses as noted, *i.e.* those of Class A, and those of Notes 1 and 2 of No. 14, and those of No. 38 in Class B. The second column contains the numbers for the remaining words and phrases of Class B with the exception of Nos. 10, 34, 40, and 51. These last four are less clear than the others in the class, and they are not counted. The third column contains the percentage of the total frequency per verse of the words counted in the first two columns.

(a) Words found in L passages where admixture from Mc. or Q is not suspected:

1 5-25	8	6	.67	13 1-9	5	3	.89
1 26-45	3	5	.40	13 10-17	1	4	.63
1 46-56	4	0	.36	14 1-6	5	2	1.17
1 57-66	3	4	.70	14 7-14	2	4	.75
1 67-80	5	5	.71	14 28-33	2	2	.67
2 1-7	2	5	1.00	15 1-3	2	2	1.33
2 8-20	1	7	.62	15 11-32	6	7	.59
2 21-38	6	6	.67	16 14-15	0	0	.00
2 39-52	2	3	.36	16 19-31	4	5	.69
3 10-14	1	1	.40	17 3-4	0	0	.00
3 23	3	0	3.00	17 5-10	5	2	1.17
3 24-38	(Genealogy)			17 11-19	8	4	1.33
4 16-30	1	3	.27	18 9-14	2	1	.50
5 1-11	7	1	.73	19 1-10	4	3	.70
7 11-17	5	5	1.43	19 11-15	3	1	.80
7 36-50	5	3	.53	19 27	0	3	3.00
8 1-3	2	1	1.00	19 37-44	4	5	1.12
9 51-56	6	4	1.67	21 34-35	0	1	.33
9 61-62	0	0	.00	21 37-38	0	1	.50
10 1	1	1	2.00	22 31-34	0	2	.50
10 29-37	1	3	.44	23 4-12	1	2	.33
10 38-42	2	2	.80	23 27-32	2	2	.67
11 27-28	2	1	1.50	23 39-43	2	1	.60
11 53-54	1	0	.50	24 13-35	15	6	.91
12 1a	1	0	2.00	24 36-43	0	0	.00
12 35-38	0	6	1.25	24 44-51	5	1	.75

Total for these 408½ verses, omitting the Genealogy: 150  
139 .70.

NOTE. In almost all of the above cases, a reminiscence or a short quotation from Me. is probable. If this were deleted in each case, the averages would be raised slightly.

In the above list the proportion is almost invariably higher than one characteristic word or phrase in every two verses. Where the proportion is less than this (omitting very short extracts) we have the following passages: 1 26-45 (The Annunciation and Visitation), 1 46-56 (The Magnificat), 2 39-52 (The Child in the Temple), 3 10-14 (The Baptist's Charge), 4 16-30 (Synagogue in Capernaum), 10 29-37 (Good Samaritan), 21 34-36 (Warnings of End), 23 4-12 (Christ and Herod), 24 36-43 (Appearance in Jerusalem).

The significance of these last figures, if they have any significance, must be left an open question here.

(b) Words found in L passages where there is evidence of admixture from other sources :

6 29-38	7	6	.68	21 25-28	3	2	1.25
7 1-10	1	1	.20	22 1-6	1	0	.17
7 18-22 a	1	0	.22	22 14-19a	2	0	.36
9 43-45	0	1	.33	22 21-23	1	0	.33
11 37-52	2	4	.38	22 39-42	2	1	.75
12 33-34	1	1	1.00	22 45-63	1	1	.22
12 49-53	2	1	.60	22 64-65	3	1	.33
14 16-24	1	0	.11	22 66-71	1	0	.17
14 25-27	1	1	.67	23 1-2	1	0	.50
18 31-34	1	0	.25	23 13-25	0	0	.00
20 27-37	0	3	.43	23 33-38	0	2	.33
20 34-38	0	0	.00	23 45-49	0	2	.40
21 12-15	0	3	.37	23 59-56	1	0	.14
21 27-24	1	0	.20	24 1-12	7	1	.67

As was to be expected, the proportions are lower in this case than in the last, as the introduction of extraneous matter naturally "dilutes" the L vocabulary.

(c) L words in non-L passages.

The occurrence of L words outside of L is so small as to be negligible, except in the passage 9 28-36 (the Transfiguration). The proportion here is (5 3 .89) with *Ἱεροσολήμ*, once. A comparison with Mt.-Mc. reveals the rather interesting fact that all of the eight cases are in matter peculiar to Lc. (or due

to the introduction of such matter, v. 33). Moreover, the matter peculiar to Lc. here does not consist of stylistic improvements, but in the addition of new details. Consequently, the supposition lies close at hand that L contained a Transfiguration account which Lc. here has combined with that in Mc. (or Q, — so Weiss).

The above tables give very strong evidence for the substantial unity of L as a source. Certain sections perhaps should be omitted, but, as a whole, Weiss' case seems to be made out.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF WORDS BELONGING ONLY TO ECCLESIASTICAL GREEK IN THE LUCAN WRITINGS

The following list contains those words marked by Moulton and Geden (1st edition) either with a simple dagger or a dagger and a double asterisk. Words belonging to a direct quotation from the Old Testament or copied by Lc. directly from Mc. are omitted. On the other hand, for the sake of the statistics, words plainly quoted by Lc. from Q are included.

(a) Words found only in L in the Lucan writings :

1. ἀγαθοποιέω. Lc. 6 33. 35.
2. ἀλλογενής. Lc. 17 18.
3. ἀναζάω. Lc. 15 24 (text slightly dubious).
4. ἀνταπόδομα. Lc. 14 12.
5. ἀνταποκρίνομαι. Lc. 14 6.
6. ἀντιπαρέρχομαι. Lc. 10 31. 31.
7. βδέλυγμα. Lc. 16 15.
8. διαγογγύζω. Lc. 15 2 19 7.
9. δυσβάστακτος. Lc. 11 46. (If read in Mt. 23 4, this word may be from Q.)
10. ἐκζητέω. Lc. 11 50. 51.
11. ἐκμυκτηρίζω. Lc. 16 14 23 35.
12. ἐκριζόω. Lc. 17 6.
13. ἐξουθενέω. Lc. 18 9 23 11.
14. ἐπισκοπή. Lc. 19 44.
15. ἐπιφώσκω. Lc. 23 54. (Mt. 28 1 not parallel.)

16. ἐφημερία. Lc. 1 5. 8.
17. λαξευτός. Lc. 23 53.
18. λύτρωσις. Lc. 1 68 2 38.
19. ὀρθρίζω. Lc. 21 38.
20. πλήμμουρα. Lc. 6 48.
21. προσρήγνυμι. Lc. 6 48. 49.
22. ῥομφαία. Lc. 2 35.
23. σίκερα. Lc. 1 15.
24. συγγενεύς. Lc. 2 44. (Probable reading.)
25. συνανάκειμαι. Lc. 7 49 (L?) 14 10. 15.
26. ὑπερεκχύννομαι. Lc. 6 38.
27. χαριτόω. Lc. 1 28.

## (b) Words found only in Q in the Lucan writings :

1. περίσσευμα. Lc. 6 45, Mt. 12 34.
2. σάτον. Lc. 13 21, Mt. 13 33.

## (c) Words found only in L and Q :

1. εὐδοκία. Lc. 2 14. Lc. 10 21, Mt. 11 26.
2. θυσιαστήριον. Lc. 1 11. Lc. 11 51, Mt. 23 35.
3. οὐαί. Lc. 6 24. 25. (twice) 26. For use in Q, cf. Lc. 11 42-52, Mt. 23 13-29. Also Lc. 10 13, Mt. 11 21; Lc. 17 1, Mt. 18 7.

## (d) Words of doubtful source found in the Gospel only :

1. ἀγαπή. Lc. 11 42, — Lc. or Q.
2. βάτος. 16 6, — Q?
3. γένημα. 12 18, — text very dubious, — Q?
4. γογγύζω. 5 30, — L?
5. ἐκπειράζω. 10 25, — Q?
6. ἐξαστράπτω. 9 29, — Q? L?
7. καύσων. 12 55, — Q?
8. μακροθυμέω. 18 7, — Q?
9. σκάνδαλον. 17 1, probably Q, — Mt. 18 7.
10. χρεοφιλέτης. 7 41 (L) 16 5, — Q?

## (e) Words certainly due to Lc. in the Gospel only :

1. ἀφυπνόω. 8 23, added to Mc. 4 35.
2. πληροφορέω. 1 1, — in the Preface.
3. ὑστέρημα. 21 4, for ὑστέρησις in Mc. 12 44.

## (f) Words in A., cpp. 1-12 only :

## i. In the speeches.

1. διαταγή. 7 53.
2. ἐνωρίζομαι. 2 14.
3. θεόμαχος. 5 39.
4. κατάσχεσις. 7 5. 45.
5. λυτρωτής. 7 35.
6. ὀλοκληρία. 3 16.
7. πατριάρχης. 2 29 7 8. 9.
8. πρόγνωσις. 2 23.
9. σκληροτράχηλος. 7 51.

## ii. In the narrative.

1. ἀκροβυστία. 11 3.
2. γογγυσμός. 6 1.
3. κατανύσσομαι. 2 37.
4. κράββατος. 5 15 9 33.
5. ὀπτάνομαι. 1 3.
6. συνοδεύω. 9 7.

(No significance attaches to περιτομή, 7 8 10 45 11 2.)

## (g) Words only in A., cpp. 13-28 :

## i. In the speeches.

1. ἀπρόσκοπος. 24 16.
2. βίωσις. 26 4.
3. γνώστης. 26 3.
4. ἐκτένεια. 26 7.
5. κατακλρονομέω. 13 19.
6. παρεκτός. 26 29.
7. παροιμία. 13 17.
8. τροποφορέω (τροφ-). 13 18.
9. φυλακίζω. 22 19.

## ii. In the narrative.

1. ἀναθεματίζω. 23 12. 14. 21.
2. ἀναστατόω. 17 6 21 38.
3. ἀνετάζω. 22 24. 29.
4. εἰδωλόθυτος. 15 29 21 25 (technical term).
5. ἐξαρτίζω. 21 5, — "We."

6. *περικρατής*. 27 16, — "We."

7. *συμβούλιον*. 25 12.

(h) Words found in all parts of A. but not in the Gospel:

1. *ἐπαύριον*. 10 9, 23, 24 14, 20, 20 7 ("We") 21 8 ("We") 22 30, 23 32, 25 6, 23.

2. *περιαστράπτω*. 9 3, 22 6, — identical passages.

3. *προσήλυτος*. 2 11, 6 5, 13 43 (technical term).

(i) Words in L and in A., cpp. 1-12:

1. *ἀγαλλίασις*. Lc. 1 14, 44, A. 2 46.

2. *δεκτός*. Lc. 4 24, A. 10 35 (speech).

3. *διερμηνεύω*. Lc. 24 2, 7, A. 9 36.

4. *ἐλαιών* (-ῶν). Lc. 19 29, 21 37, A. 1 12.

5. *ἔναντι*. Lc. 1 8, A. 7 10 (text dubious, — St. Stephen's speech) 8 21.

(j) Other words found in both Lc. and A.:

1. *ἀγαλλιᾶω*. Lc. 1 47 (L) 10 21 (Q?), A. 16 34.

2. *γρηγορέω*. Lc. 12 37 (L) 12 39 (Q, but unlikely reading), A. 20 31 (speech).

3. *ἐκχύννομαι*. Lc. 5 37 (Lc., change in Mc. 2 22) 11 50 (L or Q, cf. Mt. 23 35), A. 1 18, 10 45, 22 20, — all three in speeches.

4. *ἐνώπιον*. Twenty-two times in Lc., thirteen times in A., in all parts of both.

5. *ἐξομολογέω*. Lc. 10 21 (Q, — Mt. 11 25) 22 6 (L), A. 19 18.

6. *θέλημα*. Lc. 12 47 (twice) 22 42, 23 25 (all four L); A. 13 22 (speech) 21 14, 22 14 (speech). (The longer form of the Lord's Prayer has influenced some of these cases.)

7. *καθαρίζω*. Lc. 4 27 (L) 7 22 (Q, — Mt. 11 5) 11 39 (Q, — Mt. 23 25) 17 14, 17 (both L), A. 10 15, 11 9 (these two identical) 15 9 (last two in speeches).

8. *λιθοβολέω*. Lc. 13 34 (Q, — Mt. 23 37), A. 7 58, 59, 14 5.

9. *ὄπτασία*. Lc. 1 22, 24 23 (both L), A. 26 19 (speech).

10. *πρεσβυτέριον*. Lc. 22 66 (L), A. 22 5 (speech).
11. *πειρασμός*. Lc. 4 13 (Lc. in Q?) 8 13 (Lc. in Mc. 4 17) 11 4 (Q, — Mt. 6 13) 22 28 (Q?) 22 40 (probably due to quotation from Mc. 14 38 in 22 46), A. 20 19 (speech).
12. *προσευχή*. Lc. 6 12 (L?) 22 45 (L?); seven times in A. 1–12, otherwise only 16 13. 16, in the sense of a *place*.
13. *ψευδοπροφήτης*. Lc. 6 26 (L?), A. 13 6.

SUMMARY. In both Lucan writings, ninety-seven; in the Gospel only, forty-five; in A. only, thirty-four; in both, eighteen. In L only, twenty-seven; total number of cases certainly in L, forty-three.

In other words, almost half of the total number of cases are found in L, whose extent is only about one quarter of the two writings combined.

NOTE. In Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* (3d edition, 1909), pp. 46–75, there is given a list of "ecclesiastical" words that have been discovered in non-Jewish sources. These data will delete from the lists above the following words: From list (a) *αναζάω*, Deissmann, p. 64 (the case is not so clear for *ἀλλογενής*, p. 51). From list (d) *ἀγάπη*, p. 48. From list (e) *πληροφορέω*, p. 56. From list (f) *διαταγή*, p. 59; *ὀπτάνομαι*, p. 54. From list (g) *ἀναστατώω*, p. 55 (the case for *ἀναθεματίζω*, p. 63, is not clear). From list (i) *ἐλαιών*, *ἔναντι*, p. 48. From list (j) *ἐνώπιον*, *καθαρίζω*, *προσευχή*, p. 48.

The summary will now read: In both Lucan writings, eighty-six; in the Gospel only, forty-two; in A. only, thirty-one; in both, thirteen. In L only, twenty-six; total number of cases certainly in L, thirty-eight. The average is about the same as it was before the deletions.

Of course, the purely "ecclesiastical" character of a word does not admit of precise enough proof to allow of accurate computation. But the figures, none the less, are not without significance.

POSSIBLE HEBRAISMS IN THE LUCAN WRITINGS, AS  
CLASSED BY DALMAN

A very interesting corroboration of the results reached, by a comparison of statistics drawn up from an entirely distinct standpoint, can be attained by using the lists drawn up by Dalman, in his *Words of Jesus*, English translation, pp. 20-36. (Cf. also Moulton's *Prolegomena*, pp. 14-17.) The following words are classed as possible Hebraisms.

1. ἐλθών, ἐρχόμενος, redundantly used with a finite verb. In collecting data of this sort, the question as to the redundancy or otherwise of each particular case naturally arises. I have allowed the presumption to lie on the side of redundancy, including *good* uses rather than excluding them, but have taken it as a general principle that where the participle has a modifier, it cannot properly be held redundant. However, in this and all following cases, I have quoted all of Dalman's examples.

There are twelve cases in Lc. and none at all in A.; A. 16 37. 39 approach most closely to the use, but the "coming" has especial emphasis there and the participle cannot be classed as redundant. Of the cases in Lc., three, 11 25 (Mt. 12 44) 12 43 (Mt. 24 46) 19 23 (Mt. 25 27) are certainly quoted by Lc. from Q. One case (18 5) is of dubious origin (Q?). The other eight cases (5 7 7 3 10 32 12 36 13 14 14 9 15 25 16 21) all are found in L.

For πορευόμενος, πορευθείς there are nine examples in Lc. and (again) none at all in A. One case (7 22, Mt. 11 4) is from Q. Twice (8 11 22 8) the use is certainly from Mc. (4 19 14 12); and in 9 13 the use is to be referred to the influence of Mc. 6 36-37, especially with the modifications in Lc. 9 12. The case 13 32 is of uncertain origin but probably from Q. The remaining four cases (9 52 14 10 15 15 17 11) are all in L.

2. καθίσας, καθήμενος. The two examples from chapter 5 cited by Dalman, 5 3. 27, hardly seem to be redundant in any proper sense (and the second is from Mc. 2 11), and it may be noted that an example (A. 16 13) is found in the "We"

sections of A. Really redundant cases seem to occur in Lc. 7 32 (Mt. 11 16, — Q) 16 6 (Q?) 14 23. 31, — the last two the best marked cases and both L.

3. *ἑστώς, σταθείς*. Seven times in Lc., six times in A. Of the Lucan passages, one (18 40) is a slight modification of Mc. (10 49, — *σταθείς* for *στάς*). One (9 27) is from Mc. (9 1). The other five cases (1 11 5 1 18 11 19 8 24 17) are in L. In A. the use is found 2 14 5 20 16 9 17 22 25 18 27 21, and consequently this cannot safely be classed as an L use. On the other hand, the very awkward phrases (Lc. 23 10. 35) quoted by Dalman both belong to L and seem to have no parallel in A. Cf. *C* 30, *supra*.

4. *ἀναστάς, ἐγήρθεις*. The first of these words unmistakably belongs to Lc.'s (not L's) vocabulary, as it is found sixteen times in Lc. and eighteen times in A., and in all parts of each, except the "We" sections of A. The second word is found only in Lc. 11 8 (probably in Q and probably not redundant) and not at all in A.

5. *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν*. This phrase is so extremely common in all parts of the Gospels (Jn. included) and A. that no weight can be attached to it.

6. *λέγων* after a verb of speaking. Dalman's examples of Lucan use (24 6-7 14 3) are both in L. But note A. 8 26 26 31.

7. *ἤρξατο, ἤρξαντο*. That this word belongs to L and not to Lc. has been shown in (*A* 5).

8. *εὐθύς*, etc. As Dalman maintains that the excessive frequency of this word in Mc. "is due probably to Greek rather than Jewish-Aramaic influence," and as the word is cited for a demonstration of Aramaic rather than Hebrew (not Greek) influence, this use is of no importance for present purposes.

9. *πρόσωπον*. Only the cases cited by Dalman are of importance here. Lc. 7 27 (Mt. 11 10) is in an explicit Septuagint quotation (in Q). The other citations in Dalman are Lc. 1 76 (text?) 9 52 10 1 21 35 20 21 9 51, and these are all L. 9 53, by Dalman's reasoning, should be classed as a Lucan editing of L. The phrases in A. (3 19 5 41 7 45 13 24) are all very simple, and all but 5 41 are in speeches. Cf. *B* 14.

10. ἐνώπιον. Discarded by Dalman as evidence and referred to the Κοινή.

11. καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δέ. These uses have been studied fully in (A 6, B 14; cf. A 7) and referred there to L.

12. ἐν τῷ with the infinitive. One special use of this phrase has been discussed in (A 7). There remain eleven cases in Lc. and six in A., all in the first twelve chapters (2 1 3 26 4 30 8 6 9 3 11 15). Of the cases in Lc., one (8 5) is from Mc. (4 4). 8 40. 42 are apparently Lucan insertions into Mc. 5 21. 24. 12 15 is of dubious origin (Q?). 9 34. 36 are also of dubious origin, but on p. 169 I have suggested that other evidence points to L for this passage. The remaining five cases (1 21 2 27. 43 10 35 11 37) are in L.

It may be questioned, however, how far this use of the infinitive is to be classed as a Semitism. Allen's *The Infinitive in Polybius* (Chicago, 1907) gives examples of both the temporal and the local use of the phrase in an author where there is no Semitic influence, and has counted twenty-four occurrences in all (pp. 37, 48). Cf. also Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 14, 215.

13. The emphasizing of a verb by its cognate substantive. As a concordance is useless for checking up these instances, I have contented myself with the examples given by Dalman. The two cases in Lc. cited by him (2 9 22 15, — particularly characteristic) are both L. Of the occurrences in A., 23 14 is a technical term in the mouth of Jews; 4 17 has very uncertain text (but Weiss reads the word); 7 34 (Septuagint) is in St. Stephen's speech, and 5 23 is again in the mouth of Jews.

14. εἶναι with the participle. It seems impossible to draw up reliable statistics here; cf., for instance, Blass, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, pp. 202 ff., and Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff., for the difficulty of deciding whether or not a given case is really periphrastic. Suffice it to say that in Lc. out of a total of forty-five cases (omitting 24 27) of the imperfect of εἶναι with the participle, twenty-eight are found in L. (Only two seem certainly due to Mc., — 5 17 8 32.) The most awkward cases seem to be 3 23 9 53 13 11 23 8 23 53, all L.

SUMMARY. Nos. 1, 2, 7, 11, 12 (the really Semitic uses), 13 are certainly L phrases, Nos. 3, 9, 14 are so in part. Nos. 5, 8, 10 are irrelevant. Only Nos. 4 and 3 (in part only) really belong to Lc.

### THE THIRD GOSPEL AND ACTS

On pp. 179-180 of Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae* (2d edition) are drawn up lists of words found frequently in the Third Gospel but not at all or very infrequently in A. Hawkins deduces from these lists, in conjunction with the three others given on pp. 177-178, that a considerable interval must have elapsed between the production of the two works, if they are to be ascribed to the same author. The force of this argument, however, as far as it is supported by the fourth and fifth lists, is considerably broken by the statistics as they have been discussed in the present tables.

Hawkins gives fourteen words in his last two lists. Exactly half of these have been shown to belong to L, not Lc., namely: *ἀμαρτωλός, ἐγένετο* with a finite verb, *ὁμοίως, στραφεῖς, ἐγένετο* with *καὶ* (this should have been in Hawkins' fourth list), *ἐν τῷ* with the infinitive (in the only cases that give Lc. much preponderance over A., — cf. also No. 12, *supra*), *καὶ αὐτός*. Cf. A 1, B 14, B 39, A 18, A 6, A 7, A 11.

Of the other cases listed by Hawkins, certain words owe their frequency entirely to the character of the narrative in Lc. and not to questions of style. The frequency of *εἶπον δέ, εἶπεν δέ* is due to the great frequency of the short quotations of a speaker in Lc., something which has no parallel in A. Hawkins gives as the ratio 59:15, and the words of a speaker, surely, are introduced four times as frequently in Lc. as in A. Much the same is true of *ἐαυτοῦ*, as there is far more occasion for the accentuation of persons in the Gospel than in A.

*Πλούσιος* naturally affords no evidence for style in a comparison of Lc. and A., especially when it is observed that of the eleven occurrences in Lc., one (21 1) is from Mc. 12 41 and five cases (12 16 16 1. 19. 21. 22) are in parables.

*ἐξέρχομαι ἀπό* is found thirteen times in Lc. The number,

however, is due to the fact that it has been used as a technical term in exorcisms nine times:—4 35 (twice), 41 8 2, 29. (text?) 33. 35. 38 11 24 (Q, Mt. 12 43),—exactly as it is in A. 16 18 (a "We" passage). Moreover, in 4 35 (twice) 8 29 it is simply a correction of Mc.'s awkward ἐξέρχομαι ἐξ (Mc. 1 25. 26 5 8). Removing these exorcism uses there remain only four cases in Lc. (5 8 8 46 9 5 17 29) and two in A. (16 30 28 3), a disproportion that may be neglected.

There remain three words only in Hawkins' list. The full statistics may be given.

*ἀγαπάω*. Thirteen times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these twelve cases, four are in the verse 6 32 (L) and twice in the immediate context (6 27. 35), also in L. Of the other six cases, one (10 27) is a Septuagint quotation (from Q?); 16 13 (Mt. 6 24) is from Q. The other five cases (7 5. 42. 47 (twice) 11 43) are in L. If it had not been for the suspicion of strong Q admixture in 6 27-35, I should have included this word in Class B, at least. Probably it belongs there.

*ἀντὸς ὁ*. This combination is found principally in the phrase, *ἀντῆ τῆ ὄρα*,—2 38 10 21 12 12 13 31 20 19 24 33, A. 16 18 22 13, and may safely be set down to Lc. (20 19 is an insertion into Mc. 12 12). Of the same type are *ἀντῆ τῆ ἡμέρα*, 23 12 24 13, and *ἀντῶ τῶ καιρῶ* in 13 1. The other cases are 1 36 10 7. Here a predominance of numbers in Lc. over A. certainly exists that is not easily explicable by the character of the narrative. But the first uses cited may be due to attempts to give the sources a chronology.

*πλήν*. Of the fifteen cases in Lc., two (10 14, Mt. 11 22, 17 1 (text?), Mt. 18 7) are certainly from Q; 22 22 is an insertion into Mc. 14 21, but copied exactly after 17 1, still more closely after the form in Mt. 18 7. The four cases, 6 24. 35 19 27 23 28 are in L, as is 11 41 (probably), and 22 21 (possibly). The remaining five cases (10 11. 20 12 31 13 33 19 27) are all in passages that Weiss considers part of Q, and the word certainly is used in Q. Finally, in 22 42 (L?) the text is doubtful. The cases in A. (8 1 15 28 20 23 27 22) are all quite different, and the use of the word is rather that of a preposition than that of a conjunction. Consequently,

deductions are hard to draw. To me it seems as if there were here a fairly abundant source-use (both L and Q), copied by Lc. but dropped in A.

SUMMARY. — Of the fourteen examples given by Hawkins, only two, — the last two, — have much cogency. The others are explained either by the character of the narrative or are due to the fact that the word in question is copied by Lc. from a written source.

## An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul

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THE traveler who spends a day or more wandering through the ruins of the old city of Ephesus, as they are now uncovered, visits a square tower on a small elevation, and learns from his fluent guide that it is "the prison of St. Paul." Not recollecting anything in the New Testament which speaks of any such imprisonment, and noting the remark of the guide-book that the tradition is "pure fancy," he dismisses it from his mind.<sup>1</sup>

But how did such a legend arise? Its appearance is all the more difficult to account for because of the absence of any direct allusion to it in the New Testament. If there were any mention of it in the canonical accounts of Paul's life, we should set the guide's identification aside as one more groundless attempt to make definite a biblical reference. Of course I am not here concerned with the little elevation remarked upon by the fluent guide, for that can hardly have been a prison. Our concern is with the larger question as to the historical probability of any imprisonment of the apostle anywhere in Ephesus. For there must have been a traditional imprisonment already in men's minds when they located it at this particular spot.

Such a tradition may be found in the so-called Acts of Paul and Thecla. Professor Bacon has kindly reminded me of the imprisonment of Paul at Ephesus mentioned in these Acts. Professor Ramsay is of the opinion that

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion for this article I owe to Professor Deissmann of Berlin, who holds Ephesus to be the place of writing of the four imprisonment epistles (mainly on the ground of the statements in regard to Onesimus, which Paul makes in the epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon).

much of the local detail in the Acts is historically accurate (cf. *E.B.* art *Apocrypha*). The legendary sufferings of Paul which are a part of the tendency of the time to picture the Apostles as martyrs may most naturally be regarded as founded upon some basis of historical fact. In these Acts it is, in fact, "hard to distinguish where history ends and romance begins" (Ramsay, *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 26; cf. also p. 106). The ruin at Ephesus to-day and the imprisonment mentioned in this document are two witnesses, quite possibly independent of each other, both testifying to the existence of a tradition that Paul was at some time imprisoned in Ephesus.

For those of us who are not quite convinced by Harnack's latest word and who still hold to the Ephesian destination of the sixteenth chapter of Romans, Rom. 16 7 is another indication of an imprisonment of Paul at Ephesus. "Salute Andronicus and Junius, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners." It would at least not be unnatural to suppose that in sending greetings to these men of Ephesus who had been in imprisonment with him, he is referring to an Ephesian imprisonment. If not, where had these men been in prison with Paul?

Further we note in this chapter that he salutes Prisca and Aquila (vs. 4), "who," he says, "for my life laid down their own necks." As Paul is writing this also to Ephesus it was probably in Ephesus that these two had risked their lives to save Paul. They had been with Paul during his whole three years of work in Ephesus, on his third journey (cf. Acts 18 19 with 1 Cor. 16 19).

There are many other indications of the trouble which Paul had in Ephesus. The account in Acts would indicate serious persecution at two different points in his Ephesian sojourn, once when he was obliged to leave the Synagogue and go to the School of Tyrannus (Acts 19 9, "Some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude"); and a second time when Demetrius, the silversmith, invoked the mob spirit in order to save his business, vs. 23 ff. Of particular interest in connection with

the latter uprising is the fact that Aristarchus was one of those seized by the mob (Acts 19 29), and that in Col. 4 10 Paul mentions Aristarchus, certainly the same man, as his fellow-prisoner, "Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you." (I shall refer to this verse again.)

Further, 1 Cor. 16 9 (written from Ephesus) speaks of *ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί*, "many adversaries." Again in 1 Cor. 15 32 (*ἐθνηρομάχησα*), he says he has fought with wild beasts in Ephesus.

In 2 Cor. 1 8 ff., he speaks of his *θλίψις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*, "our affliction which befell us in Asia . . . that we despaired even of life. . . . We . . . have had the sentence of death within ourselves . . . (but) God delivered (*ἐρύσατο*, rescued) us out of so great a death," language whose most natural interpretation points to the apostle's having been held in durance and having been subsequently delivered.

In the same letter he says (11 23) that he has been very often in prison (*φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως*). (He said that before either the Cæsarean or the Roman imprisonment.) If we suppose an imprisonment in Ephesus, we are but localizing one more of these imprisonments of which he speaks.<sup>2</sup>

The epistles of the captivity are commonly dated from Rome. Now how much better does an imprisonment at Ephesus suit the conditions presupposed in these writings. Paul was in prison when he wrote the little note to Philemon about the runaway slave who had come to him. The accepted way of deciding where the letter to Philemon was written, is to take the two great imprisonments of Paul (one at Cæsarea, and one at Rome) and to ask the decisive question, as Jülicher does, "Where would a runaway slave from Colossæ be most likely to make his way, to Cæsarea? or to Rome?" And Jülicher decides that he would be more likely to run to Rome than to Cæsarea. *Ergo*, the letter was

<sup>2</sup> Those who accept the theory that the author of the Book of Acts desired to exhibit the Roman government in a favorable attitude toward Christianity will on that theory be easily able to account for the omission of an Ephesian imprisonment of Paul if it took place, as is most likely, at the hands of the Roman authorities.

written at Rome. Of course, in seeking to settle the question a great many special matters ought first to be thoroughly studied, *e.g.* the free distribution of bread at Rome, and whether there is discoverable any marked tendency of runaway slaves in all parts of the Empire, to go to the imperial capital.

But with the data which we have is it not a hard supposition that Onesimus would run either to Cæsarea or to Rome? Think of the distance from Colossæ in the interior of Asia Minor to the Ægean coast, a week's journey, even with good horses! And then think of the distance from that coast, whether by sea or by land to Rome, on the west coast of the second great Mediterranean peninsula! Where would a poor slave get the money to make this journey which to-day would perhaps be paralleled, if a boy from a St. Louis family ran away to London or Paris. And how would Paul get the means to send him such a long journey back? These have always been serious difficulties in the Rome-hypothesis. But Cæsarea could offer nothing better. Ephesus, on the other hand, would be a most natural destination for the escaping slave. He would make for the nearest town. In Onesimus' day there was no well-known free soil to which he could flee and be safe, as our negroes fled to Canada before the Civil War. Onesimus' horizon would not be large. He would want to go far, but Ephesus, of which he must have known and heard not a little, would surely be his limit. He could go the whole distance on foot. He would not need to be at the expense or risk the exposure of embarking on board a ship. He would have been more or less familiar by hearsay with Ephesus, the greatest city of Asia, while none of his fellows are likely ever to have been in Rome.

There are other facts which would speak for Ephesus as the place of writing. Paul expresses to Philemon a lively hope (vs. 22) that he will soon visit him. "Get ready the guest-room," he says, "for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you." The request would sound perfectly natural and reasonable if written at Ephesus and

in the expectation of a near release, but written from Rome it would have an artificial, unrealistic, and almost jesting air totally foreign to the intense and practical soul of Paul. Paul's plan of operation, moreover, so far as we know it, was to go from Rome westward to Spain (Rom. 15 28). The only reason scholars (*e.g.* Lightfoot) have had for supposing him to have changed that general plan lies in the long-standing theory that the epistles of the captivity were written from Rome, a supposition which, of course, begs the whole question at issue.

Wherever we put the letter to Philemon we must put the letter to the Colossians and the letter to the Ephesians (granted their genuineness). Paul would not, of course, have written a letter to the Ephesians from Ephesus. But that Ephesus was the sole destination of "Ephesians," I think scarcely any one would hold in view of the textual uncertainty of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ and the impersonal nature of the letter. Marcion's identification of this letter with the letter to Laodicea mentioned in Colossians (4 16) appeals to me very strongly. The introductory sentence in Ephesians would seem to indicate a particular church which he had not yet visited, "Having heard of the faith in the Lord which is in you."

Colossians and Ephesians each mention his bonds (Eph. 3 1 4 1 6 20, Col. 4 3. 18). Ephesians mentions them as something so well known and so near at hand that the readers are like to "faint" at his "tribulations" (3 13), and he writes to "comfort" their "hearts" (6 22). This language, if addressed to a comparatively near church like that of Laodicea, would very fittingly describe an Ephesian imprisonment. On the other hand, does it not seem unnatural, to say the least, to think of the apostle as using such expressions in a letter which would take several weeks to reach its destination? To the present writer there is to be felt in them a sense of relative nearness in distance like that already referred to in the words "Get ready the guest-room" (Phile. 22).

Again, considering the statement in Acts, that Paul

carried on the evangelization of Asia from Ephesus as a center (cf. Acts. 19 10), it would seem natural for him to say (Col. 2 1) "how greatly I strive for you and for them at Laodicea and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh," *i.e.* in Asia. But written from Rome it would be a little strange that he should speak in general of all those who had not seen his face, *i.e.* all in the whole empire. From the view point of Ephesus the classification of the people in Colossæ and Laodicea, and perhaps we may say western Asia Minor in general, among those who had seen his face and those who had not, seems reasonable and natural, for he had covered that territory fairly well. But such a classification of the entire population of the Roman Empire seems a little absurd notwithstanding the apostle's Herculean efforts to reach its many provinces.

Here may be added a consideration of the personal salutations in Colossians 4 (= Phile. 24). Three, only, of the names have any bearing on the question. Tychicus (Col. 4 7) is with Paul. Apart from two indefinite references to Tychicus in the pastoral epistles, all we know of him comes from Acts 20 4. That is, the only definite information we have concerning him is that he was with Paul at Ephesus and accompanied him when he left Ephesus for Macedonia.

Aristarchus (Col. 4 10) is a fellow-prisoner of Paul at the time he writes. Now Aristarchus we know from Acts to have been in Ephesus, and to have been seized by the mob at the time of the uprising (Acts 19 29). And further we know from Acts that he left Ephesus at the time Paul did. The only other mention of Aristarchus in Acts or in the New Testament is that he sailed in the same boat with "us" from Cæsarea. That boat went only as far as the coast of Asia. There is no indication that he was a prisoner on the boat, or that he ever went to Rome, much less that he was in prison in Rome with Paul. In fact, the positive indication of Acts 27 2 is that Aristarchus went only as far as Asia, for the statement that Aristarchus was with "us" is in the same sentence with, and in a way subordinated to,

the statement that the ship was sailing "to the places on the coast of Asia," for he was "a Macedonian." The explanation of his presence on the boat is that he was on his way home.

Further, Epaphras, whose home is at Colossæ (Col. 4 12, "who is one of you"), is Paul's fellow-prisoner (Phile. 23). Certainly it is far more natural to suppose that a man of Colossæ would be in prison in the great center of Asia Minor than in Rome.

The problem of Philippians stands by itself. There may have been a detachment of the "Pretorian guard" in Ephesus. The phrase "Cæsar's household" would make no great difficulty. *οικία* is not the word for palace, and imperial officers were in later inscriptions called slaves of Cæsar. But the general situation of Paul is different in Philippians, and we may perhaps concede that it was written from Rome while still holding to an Ephesian origin of the other three. He is much less hopeful than in Philemon and Colossians. Nevertheless we ought perhaps also to remember that it would be much easier for the Philippians to hear of Paul's need in Ephesus and minister to it, than that word should travel four times between Rome and Philippi, a journey of several weeks at least. The whole paragraph (Phil. 2 19-30) receives new light and meaning if read with the possibility in mind that it may have been written at Ephesus. May we not use again in this connection the argument that the supposition of a place at a much shorter distance from Philippi than Rome was, gives a decidedly more practical atmosphere to the apostle's hope of seeing his readers again and to his thanks for their solicitude and for their actual ministrations?

Though the evidence gives no mathematical certainty, the writer does not doubt that when the question has once been carefully and frankly considered, Ephesus will appear to be a far more probable place for the writing of Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians than either Rome or Casarea. The argument is cumulative. That Paul was at some time imprisoned in Ephesus is first suggested by

the ruin of his "prison" pointed out there to-day. The suggestion is upheld by the existence of an early tradition that he was imprisoned there (Acts of Paul and Thecla). Paul's mention of Aristarchus, who was seized by the Ephesian mob, as a fellow-prisoner, his mention of fellow-prisoners in Rom. 16, and many other references to trouble in Ephesus make an imprisonment there highly probable. And immediately the possibility is fairly grasped, it appears how much better such an imprisonment explains many facts in connection with the letters to Philemon, to the Colossians, and to the Ephesians. Onesimus runs from Colossæ, not to Cæsarea or to Rome, but much more naturally to Ephesus. Paul's vivid expectation of soon visiting Colossæ is more intelligible. Epaphras, a man of Colossæ, is then imprisoned in Ephesus, not in distant Rome. Tychicus we know definitely to have been aiding Paul in Ephesus, and Aristarchus because of his championing Paul was imprisoned there. All three of these men are with Paul as he writes.

The transfer of the authorship of the imprisonment epistles from Rome to Ephesus is an opinion that will progress but slowly even if a very great preponderance of evidence in its favor should be accumulated. Bible students will be slow to take leave of the mistress of the world and go even to the metropolis of Asia Minor. It has been a great delight to think of the gospel as spreading through the Pretorian guard and so into the Italian legions at large. But after all anything that makes the life and work of Paul more natural and clear must ultimately be welcomed. Indeed, we may say, the glories of old Rome are not by any means lost through the Ephesus theory from the portrayal of Pauline Christianity; for Paul of course wrote his epistle to the Romans, and went there himself. On the other hand, is there not a great and new interest added to the picture of Paul's work in Asia Minor, and is there not fresh light thrown upon the imprisonment epistles by thinking of them as written, like the other epistles of Paul, from a point relatively close to the people for whom they were destined? And is not the very fact that our theory thus brings these

short epistles into the same class with Paul's other letters something of an argument in favor of the theory itself? He was not so very far from Rome when he wrote Romans, not so very far from Corinth when he wrote Corinthians, probably not so very far from Galatia when he wrote Galatians, not so very far from Thessalonica when he wrote Thessalonians. It would at least introduce the element of consistency in the matter of writing his letters from places reasonably near to their destination if we were willing to say that Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, and perhaps Philippians were written from Ephesus.

## On an Obscure Quotation in the First Epistle of Clement

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READERS of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians will remember a perplexing quotation at the end of the seventeenth chapter, in which Moses is made to say (it is the concluding proof of his lowliness of mind and personal humility),

ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ κύβρας,  
*But I am smoke from a pot.*

The quotation is immediately connected with a previous one from Ex. 4 10, in which Moses refers to his lack of eloquence and hesitancy of speech, and with this quotation the former words are definitely connected by the sequence, 'And again he says,' so that we should naturally expect to verify the quotation somewhere in the Pentateuch; but no one, as far as I know, has ever succeeded in making an identification of the passage quoted.

If it is not to be found in the Pentateuch, it would seem natural to look for it in some other writing attributed to Moses; accordingly Hilgenfeld refers it, without any hesitation, to the *Assumption of Moses*: 'Verba Mosis, procul dubio e Mosis Assumptione desumpta.'<sup>1</sup> But in discussing the matter more at length in connection with the text of Clement, he speaks less confidently, and only says that it seems to be from the *Assumption of Moses*. For convenience I transcribe the part of the note that bears on the question:

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra can. rec.*, p. 93 (*Annot. ad Clem. Rom.*, ch. i.).

ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι ἀτμῖς ἀπὸ κίθρας, haec Mosis verba a sacro codice frustra quaeruntur. quae enim Hos. 13 3 apud LXX. cod Al. et Theodotionem leguntur: ὡς ἀτμῖς καπνοδόχης (Vat. καπνοδόχης ὡς ἀτμῖς ἀπὸ δακρύων, var. lect. ἀκρίδων), neque Mosis sunt neque ea quae quaeruntur. etiam in libro Jubilaeorum, qui λεπτὴ γένεσις appellatur, neque aethiopico (vernacule edito a Dillmanno in Ewaldi Jahrb. d. bibl. Wiss. ii. 131 sq., iii. 1 sq.) neque latino (in Monumentis sacris et profanis ex codicibus praesertim bibliothecae Ambrosianae, tom. i, fasc. i, ed. Anton. Maria Ceriani, Mediolani, 1861, p. 8-54 et in Hermanni Roenschii libro: das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, Lips. 1874), neque in veterum scriptorum excerptis (cf. Fabricii cod. pseudepigr. V. T. i. 849 sq., ii. 120 sq.) illa reperiuntur itaque cum Cotelerio atque Hefelio et ipse (apost. Väter, p. 101) hic animadverti ῥητόν τι ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζον (Phot. Bibl. cod. 126). quum autem Mosis effatum laudetur, e Mosis Assumptione haustum esse videtur.

Hilgenfeld, then, affirms that the words we are in search of are not to be found in the Scriptures, nor in the *Book of Jubilees*; if, then, they are really Moses' words, we should expect to find them in the *Assumption of Moses*. But of this book only fragments are extant. So the conjecture remains unverified, and we are no further on than a marginal query. Next let us see what Lightfoot has to say upon the passage. For convenience I again transcribe the note:

ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι ἀτμῖς, κτλ.] This quotation is not found in the Old Testament, or in any apocryphal book extant whole or in part. The nearest parallel is James 4 14, ποῖα γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν: ἀτμῖς [γάρ] ἐστὶ ἢ πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινομένη, κτλ. Compare also Hosea 13 3, 'As smoke from the chimney' (or 'the window') where the LXX seems to have translated originally ἀτμῖς ἀπὸ ἀκρίδων (see Simson's *Hosea*, p. 44), corrupted into ἀπὸ δακρύων in B and corrected into ἀπὸ καπνοδόχης from Theodotion in A; and Ps. 119 83, 'I am become like a bottle in the smoke,' where again the LXX mistranslates ὡσεὶ ἀσκὸς ἐν πάχνῃ. In none of these passages, however, are the words very close, nor are they spoken by Moses. Perhaps, therefore, this should be reckoned amongst S. Clement's quotations from apocryphal books, on which Photius (*Bibl.* 126, ῥητά τινα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζοντα παρσιάγει) remarks; see also §§ 8, 13, 23, 30, 46 (notes). Hilgenfeld supposes that the words were taken from the *Assumption of Moses*. This is not

impossible; but the independent reason which he gives for the belief that Clement was acquainted with that apocryphal work is unsatisfactory; see the note on the phoenix below, § 25. I have pointed out elsewhere (§ 23) another apocryphal work, from which they might well have been taken. The metaphor is common with the Stoics; see Seneca, *Troad.* 392 sq.: 'Ut calidis fumus ab ignibus Vanescit . . . sic hic quo regimur spiritus effluit'; M. Anton. x. 31, καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν; xii. 33, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός; so also Empedocles (in Plut. *Op. Mor.* p. 360, c, quoted by Gataker on x. 31) had said, ὠκύμοροι καπνοῦ δίκην ἀρθέτες ἀπέπταν.

From the foregoing it appears that Lightfoot agrees with Hilgenfeld in looking for the origin of the passage in some apocryphal work; but, while admitting the *Assumption of Moses* as a possible origin, was rather disposed to think that the lost book of *Eldat and Modat* would be a better suggestion. And in this uncertainty the matter seemed likely to rest. Let us see, however, whether there may not be an easier solution.

My first thoughts were that the reference to Moses might lead us to the Prayer of Moses the man of God in the 90th Psalm, for here we have a reference to the brevity of human life under the terms of 'a tale that is told,' against which the Targum suggests the equivalent, 'like the breath of the mouth in winter'; and the idea naturally arose to one's mind that perhaps the 'smoke from a pot' might be a similar targumistic elucidation of the passage. But there was nothing to confirm the suggestion. The LXX interpreters render the Hebrew by the words 'like a spider,' so that they also were in perplexity over the meaning of the Hebrew.

If, however, the explanation does not lie in this direction, however attractive the reference to Moses in the headline of the Psalm may be, let us set Moses altogether on one side and go a little further afield.

In the first book of Chronicles, ch. 29, we have a famous prayer of David, in connection with the presentation of gifts for the Temple, in which the same theme of human mutability and the brevity of human life is introduced; "We are strangers before thee and sojourners, as all our fathers



icles, but he suggests that the Syriac Clement has done so in making the translation. The difficulty, however, remains as to how the Syriac version of 1 Chron. can be made to contribute a Greek text for Clement of Rome to quote. Is it possible to claim a Greek origin for the midrashic elements in the Syriac version of Chronicles? The first step towards lightening the difficulty has been taken for us by Dr. Barnes' study of the Syriac text, in which it is shown, by collation of the oldest Syriac Mss., that the peculiarities of the version go back to the origin of the version, and are not to be credited to later editorial hands; so we are carried back at least as far as the time when the Syriac version was made. There remains the question of the sources from which the version was made, and the possibility that Greek as well as Hebrew elements are present in it. It would be very interesting if we could prove that a targumized Greek version of Chronicles existed in the early times, but at this point we are without further light or leading.

Returning to Clement's text, we are met with a further difficulty, as to how Clement, supposing he quoted David's Prayer in Chronicles, could have referred it to Moses.

When we examine Clement's text, we see that after giving the passages which prove Moses' lowliness of mind, ending with the 'smoke from the pot' passage, he takes as his next example of humility, amongst those to whom testimony has been borne, King David. "And now what are we to say of the well-reported David, to whom God said, I have found David, the son of Jesse, etc., and David also himself says to God, Have mercy upon me, etc.," whereupon Clement quotes the whole of the 51st Psalm.

Here, then, we have David following Moses, and the suggestion is an obvious one that the passage about the 'smoke from the pot' has been misplaced, and that it really belongs lower down, at the end of the next chapter. How the displacement took place we have no means of determining; but it seems clear that a displacement has occurred, either in Clement's materials or in the transcription of his book. Perhaps the former is the easier supposition, since the dis-

placement already existed in the copy from which Clement of Alexandria makes extracts. The coincidence between the suggested authorship of David through the text of Chronicles, with the fact that David's name and speeches follow in the Clementine Epistle is one that can hardly be ignored. It is almost a verification of the correctness of the solution.

What remains to be settled is (i) how a Greek ancestry can be found, at least in part, for the peculiar Syriac version of Chronicles, (ii) how Clement, quoting the supposed Greek Chronicles, can have made the misplacement in question; the latter difficulty is much slighter than the former.

## Some Remarks on Professor Schmidt's Article Kadesh-Barnea

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UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

**M**AY I offer a few remarks on Professor Nathaniel Schmidt's very interesting and valuable paper on Kadesh in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xxix, part one, which has just reached me?

*First*, on the name Kadesh-Barnea. The Semitic etymologies suggested for this name are not only far from obvious, but more or less fanciful. Dr. Schmidt's ingenious proposal is, to me, not more convincing than the others. May not Barnea belong to the number of apparently *non*-Semitic place-names which occur in the region between Beersheba and the gulfs of 'Aḳaba and Suez, for example, the thrice-repeated Gharandel (cf. the Arabian tribe of Garindaei mentioned by Strabo, *Geog.* xvi. iv. 18).

*Second*. To a hill southeast of 'Ain Kudeis Musil's map attaches the name Forni. This appears to me a possible echo of Barnea'. If Musil, or his Bedawee reporters, be right in omitting the 'Ayin from Forni, we may remember that in many other place-names modern Arabic has dropped the 'Ayin, found in their ancient equivalents.

*Third*. It is interesting that Professor Schmidt's vocalization of the modern name 'Ain Kdês is practically the same as that reported by Seetzen and Rowlands, and confirmed by Musil, in opposition to the various forms given by other travelers.

*Fourth*. Professor Schmidt justly suspects 'Ain Kudeis (or Kdês) as the exact site of Kadesh; on the grounds of the scanty fertility of the site in contrast with neighboring wells and wâdies, and of the well-known fact that place-

names tend to drift in Syria. Musil, who visited 'Ain Ḳudeis thrice, doubts its identity with Ḳadesh, and suggests a site considerably further north (*Edom*, i. 212). Yet he admits that the most fertile landscapes in all the region are found in the neighborhood, describes the wâdies as either cultivated or full of the relics of ancient cultivation, and even reports one of them as more fertile than the plain about Gaza.

*Fifth.* Professor Schmidt says that the name of the mountain ridge (or range?) Jebel 'Eneka "appears to go back to ענקה." In a course of lectures delivered at Chicago University last summer I made this suggestion, but dismissed it in favor of another, that the word as a place-name is rather due either to the height or to the shape of the locality so designated. This appears probable, not only from the fact that more than one place-name is so designated—besides Jebel 'Eneik south of 'Ain Ḳudeis there is 'Ain 'Eneḳ, south of Ma'an,—but also from the meanings of the root in Arabic. 'Anaḳa, in that language, is "to overtop." 'Unḳ is "neck," the plural means "outstanding men." A'nak is "long necked," "tall." The applicability of the term to the configuration of the ground is, therefore, obvious.



## PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1909

**T**HE forty-fifth meeting of the Society was held in Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on Monday and Tuesday, December 27th and 28th, 1909. The first session began at 2.15 P.M., President Smith being in the Chair. The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Professor Bewer reported for the Publishing Committee. The report was accepted. The President appointed President Brown, Professor Peritz, and Professor Grant a Committee to nominate officers. The Recording Secretary read his report, which was accepted. Professor Jackson reported for the Committee of Arrangements for this meeting; the report was accepted.

At 2.35 Professor H. P. Smith gave the President's address, on "Old Testament Ideals." From 3.20 to 5 papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Torrey: "The Date of the Samaritan Schism." By Professor Mead: "Paul on the Resurrection of Christ." By Professor Bacon: "The Purpose of Mark's Gospel." Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

**Monday Evening.**—Met at 8.05. Professor Prince presented the Treasurer's report. The Recording Secretary presented his financial statement. These two reports were referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Professors Ropes and Frame. At 8.10 Professor Prince read a paper on "The Name Hammurabi." At 8.20 Professor Schmidt read a paper on "Alexandrium," illustrating it with the stereopticon. At 8.40 Professor Lyon read a paper on "The Harvard Excavations at Samaria in 1909." This paper also was illustrated by the stereopticon. Adjourned at 9.30.

**Tuesday Morning, December 28.** — The Society met at 9.35. The Council reported that they had elected Prof. J. A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting would be held in New York City during the Christmas holidays of 1910, the Committee of Arrangements to consist of Professors Bewer, Prince, and Jackson. On nomination by the Council, the following active members were elected :

Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, Scranton, Pa.  
 Prof. James F. Day, San Anselmo, Cal.  
 Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, New York City.  
 Rev. Raymond C. Knox, New York City.  
 Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 Rev. John T. McFarland, D.D., New York City.  
 Rev. Carl S. Patton, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Prof. A. T. Robertson, Louisville, Ky.  
 Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Louisville, Ky.  
 Prof. E. F. Scott, Kingston, Canada.  
 Rev. Dr. Samuel Shulman, New York City.  
 Rev. Fred. A. Vanderburgh, Ph.D., New York City.  
 Prof. Charles B. Williams, Waco, Texas.

Professor Frame reported for the Auditors that the accounts of the Treasurer and the Recording Secretary were correct and the vouchers satisfactory. The report was accepted. Professor Peritz, for the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected :

D. G. Lyon,	<i>President.</i>	
E. D. Burton,	<i>Vice-President.</i>	
W. H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>	
J. D. Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>	
H. P. Smith,	} <i>Additional Members</i>	
I. F. Wood,		<i>of the</i>
J. A. Montgomery,		<i>Council.</i>
G. A. Barton	} <i>To Represent the Society</i>	
N. Schmidt,		<i>on the Board of the</i>
M. Jastrow, Jr.		<i>Palestine School.</i>

Professor Lyon gave a statement in regard to excavations at Samaria, after which the following resolution was adopted, on motion of Professor Bacon :

“The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis have

heard with satisfaction the account of the excavations carried on at Samaria in 1908, 1909. They regard this work as one of great interest and importance to history and biblical study, and they hope that the work may be carried on to completion."

The thanks of the Society were returned to Columbia University and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for this meeting.

From 10 to 12 papers were read and discussed as follows :

By W. H. Cobb : "Note on a Hebrew Conception of the Universe." By Dr. Robinson : "An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul." By Dr. Guthrie : "Four Short Notes for Comparative Religion." By Dr. Peters : "Notes on Some Ritual Uses of the Psalms." By Professor Ropes : "An Investigation of the Greek Text of James."

Adjourned at 12 o'clock.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

*Recording Secretary.*

## REPORT

OF

## FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

## Receipts

Balance, Dec. 29, 1908 . . . . .	\$ 80 28
Sales of Journal for the year . . . . .	302 35
Sales of offprints . . . . .	8 00
	<hr/>
	\$390 63
	<hr/> <hr/>

## Disbursements

1909.

Jan. 4, Berwick & Smith, Journal of 1908, part 2 . . . . .	\$ 62 75
Jan. 6, Thomas Todd, printing programmes and postals . . . . .	11 25
Feb. 4, Berwick & Smith, reprinting vol. xvi . . . . .	40 25
June 18, Distributing Journal of 1909, part 1 . . . . .	12 00
July 6, Berwick & Smith, Journal of 1909, part 1 . . . . .	59 79
Dec. 24, Postage and expressage for the year . . . . .	17 20
Balance, in Shawmut Bank, Boston . . . . .	187 39
	<hr/>
	\$390 63
	<hr/> <hr/>

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 27, 1909.

J. H. ROPES, }  
 J. E. FRAME, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT  
OF  
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE  
AND EXEGESIS

*December, 1908, to December, 1909*

**Receipts**

1909.	
Jan. 1,	Carried forward . . . . . \$ 412 08
	Dues . . . . . 576 00
	Initiations . . . . . 56 00
	Total . . . . . <u>\$1044 08</u>

**Disbursements**

1908.	
Jan. 1,	Cushing, vol. xxvii, part 2 . . . . . \$ 201 53
Jan. 1,	Columbia janitor . . . . . 2 25
Jan. 2,	W. H. Cobb, sundries . . . . . 16 00
Jan. 13,	Buskirk, stationery . . . . . 15 52
June 22,	Cushing, vol. xxviii, part 1 . . . . . 246 98
Dec. 6,	Dutton, stationery . . . . . 20 50
	Total . . . . . <u>\$1044 08</u>

The above Report for 1909 is herewith respectfully submitted Dec. 27, 1909.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited, and found correct.

J. H. ROPES, } *Auditors.*  
J. E. FRAME, }

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY<sup>1</sup>

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 Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.  
 Prof. H. J. Holtzmann, D.D., Baden.  
 Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.  
 Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.  
 Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.  
 Pres. S. Schechter, Litt.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.  
 Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow.  
 Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.  
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 (425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 (462) '10 Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, 845 Monroe Ave., Scranton, Pa.  
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 (341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N.J.  
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 (326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 (343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.  
 (318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.

<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to Oct. 3, 1910. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

<sup>2</sup> The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

- (306) '96 Rev. Chas. L. Biggs, Henderson, Ky.  
 (19) '80 Prof. John Binney, D.D., Middletown, Conn.  
 (398) '07 Rev. Francis B. Blodgett, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
 (380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.  
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- (393) '06 Nicholas A. Koehnig, 80 W. 12th St., N.Y. City.
- (315) '97 Rev. Kaufmann Kohler, D.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.
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- (214) '92 Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Hartford, Conn.
- (319) '98 Prof. John E. McFadyen, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.
- (461) '10 Rev. John T. McFarland, D.D., 150 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. City.
- (300) '96 Prof. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
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- (336) '00 Rev. Henry C. Meserve, Danbury, Conn.
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- (35) '80 Prof. H. G. Mitchell, D.D., 36 Pinckney St., Boston, Mass.
- (236) '92 Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Ph.D., 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa.
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- (419) '08 Mrs. Juliet E. O. Munsell, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
- (241) '92 Rev. C. S. Murkland, D.D., Wolfeboro', N.H.
- (214) '91 Prof. W. Muss-Arnolt, Ph.D., Public Library, Boston, Mass.
- (160) '86 Prof. H. S. Nash, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
- (346) '00 Rev. James B. Nies, Ph.D., London City and Midland Bank, Ltd., Threadneedle St., London, Eng.
- (240) '92 Prof. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
- (459) '10 Rev. Carl S. Patton, Ann Arbor, Mich.

- (154) '86 Prof. Wm. L. Pearson, Ph.D., Friends Univ., Wichita, Kan.  
 (323) '98 Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Ph.D., Syracuse, N.Y.  
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 (107) '84 Rev. Llewellyn Pratt, D.D., Norwich, Conn.  
 (176) '87 Prof. Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 (245) '92 Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.  
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 (83) '83 Rev. J. F. Riggs, D.D., 56 Halstead St., E. Orange, N.J.  
 (105) '84 Prof. J. S. Riggs, D.D., Auburn, N.Y.  
 (455) '10 Prof. A. T. Robertson, D.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.  
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 (284) '95 Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill.  
 (180) '88 Prof. R. W. Rogers, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.  
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 (285) '95 Prof. James H. Ropes, D.D., 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass.  
 (387) '05 Prof. Elbert Russell, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.  
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 (187) '88 Pres. F. K. Sanders, D.D., Topeka, Kan.  
 (377) '05 Prof. Wm. C. Schaeffer, D.D., Lancaster, Pa.  
 (190) '88 Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Ph.D., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.  
 (457) '10 Rev. Samuel Schulman, D.D., Jewish Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

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CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

## VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

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BY-LAWS

## I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

## II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

## III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

## IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

## V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

## VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

## VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

## VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

## IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

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The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

*Resolved:* That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

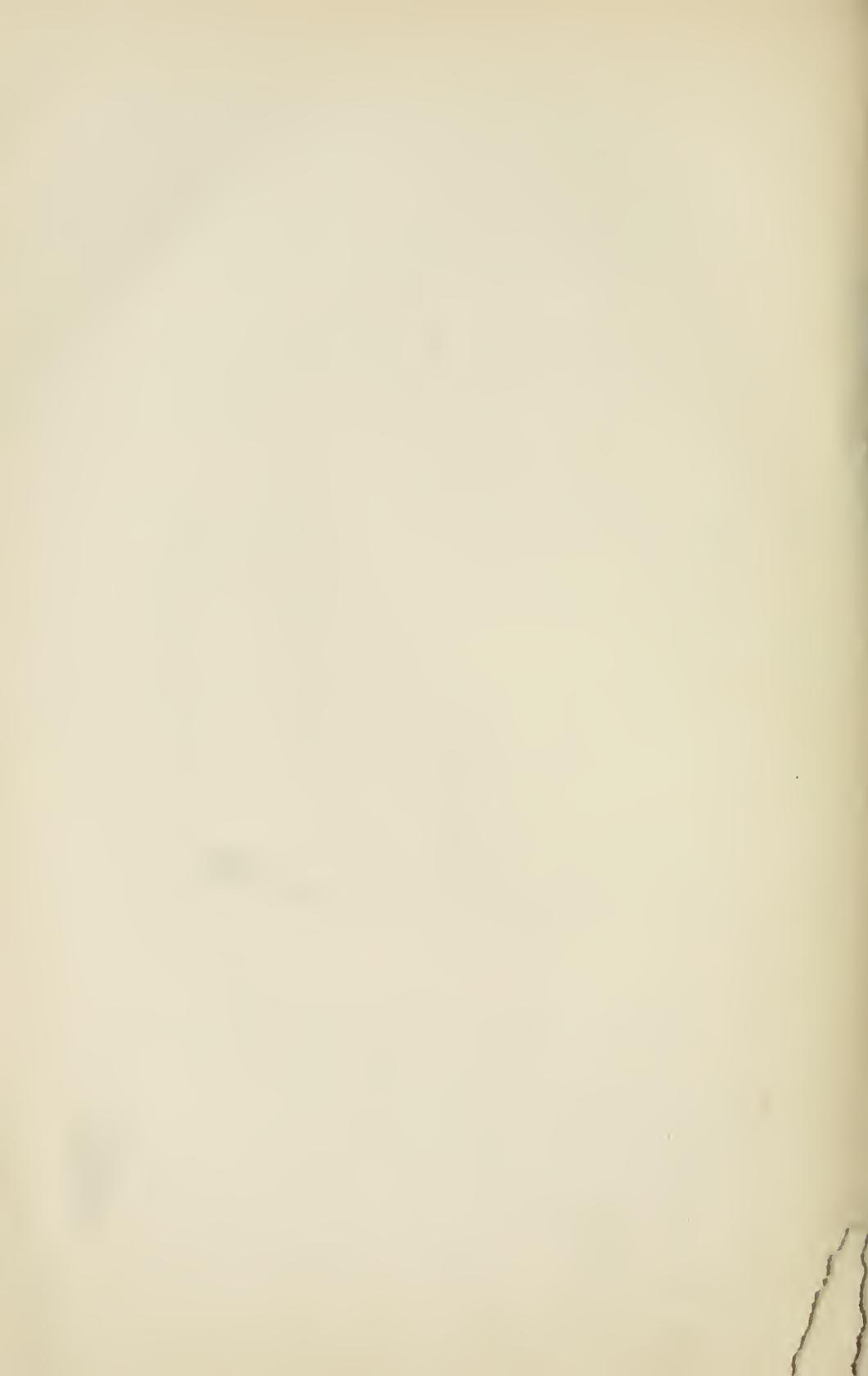
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Part One

	PAGE
Old Testament Ideals . . . . . <i>Henry Preserved Smith</i>	1
The Name Hammurabi . . . . . <i>J. Dyneley Prince</i>	21
Note on a Hebrew Conception of the Universe . . . . . <i>William H. Cobb</i>	24
The Dedication Feast in the Old Testament . . . . . <i>James A. Montgomery</i>	29
The Purpose of Mark's Gospel . . . . . <i>Benjamin W. Bacon</i>	41
Kadesh Barnea ( <i>Illustrated</i> ) . . . . . <i>Nathaniel Schmidt</i>	61
Alexandrium ( <i>Illustrated</i> ) . . . . . <i>Nathaniel Schmidt</i>	77

### Part Two

Micah's Capucinade . . . . . <i>Paul Haupt</i>	85
Notes on Some Ritual Uses of the Psalms . . . . . <i>John P. Peters</i>	113
Antiochus IV. Epiphanes . . . . . <i>Phillips Barry</i>	126
Linguistic Evidence for the Lucan Source L . . . . . <i>Burton S. Easton</i>	139
An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul . . . . . <i>Benjamin W. Robinson</i>	181
On an Obscure Quotation in the First Epistle of Clement <span style="display: block; text-align: right;"><i>J. Rendel Harris</i></span>	190
Some Remarks on Professor Schmidt's Article <i>Kadesh Barnea</i> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;"><i>George Adam Smith</i></span>	196

---

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1909	i
List of Members . . . . .	vii
Constitution and By-Laws . . . . .	xvi



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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR ORIENTAL STUDY AND RESEARCH IN PALESTINE was founded in 1900, and is affiliated with the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and the Archaeological Institute of America. It is supported by a number of American Universities, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries, and by private subscriptions. The School is established in Jerusalem, and offers to properly qualified persons excellent opportunities for the study of the Semitic languages, and of the geography, archaeology, and history of Syria. The Thayer Memorial Fellowship, with a stipend of \$600, is awarded annually on examination. The Director of the School for 1910-1911 is Professor C. R. BROWN of Newton Theological Institution. The Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships is Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. A list of books recommended to candidates for the Fellowship and copies of recent examination papers will be found in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY, vol. xi. 1907, Supplement.

For further information address the Chairman of the Managing Committee,

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