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A R T I C L E I.

**NOTES ON THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON IN THE REGION OF
NINEVEH.**

By Rev. Henry Lobdell, M. D., late Missionary at Mosul. With an Introductory Notice by W. S. Tyler, Professor in Amherst College.

[These Notes were prepared without any reference to publication. They were designed simply to furnish materials, if not new yet original, because collected on the spot by an original observer, for the use of some teacher or editor of the Anabasis, and were submitted to my disposal, with the request, however, that our mutual friend, Mr. A. M. Gay, master of the High School at Charlestown, might have the benefit of them in his contemplated edition of Xenophon's Anabasis, which we are happy to announce is in preparation, and which, we doubt not, will be a valuable addition to the abundant means which American students already possess for understanding and appreciating that favorite classic. After remaining in Mr. Gay's hands for a time, the Notes are now published with his consent, and with the consent also of Dr. Lobdell, having been revised in accordance with instructions and suggestions furnished by himself for this purpose.

In a note accompanying these corrections and additions, Dr. L. says : " I should most assuredly have written in a much less familiar style, had I written for publication, especially in such a Journal. My sole object in sending the Notes, was to throw a little light upon the topics noticed, for the use of some commentator on the book. If you think, however, that with such a revision of style and matter as you may be willing to give it, the Paper will be worthy of publication, I cannot withhold my consent, with the understanding that you will preface it with a note stating that the writer communicated it to you for a more private purpose. Some apology is due for the *topical* character of the Notes. My whole design was to clear up obscure and doubtful passages, and that as briefly as possible."

It will be seen that the Notes are chiefly archaeological and geographical or topographical ; and, though they seem to be rather disconnected, yet they do, in fact, follow a natural order of arrangement. They begin at the writer's own residence, which was on the Tigris opposite the site of ancient Nineveh, and, diverging from that centre, sweep in a widening circle over the whole field of Xenophon's marches and observations in Mesopotamia.

Classical, not less than sacred geography, history, and antiquities, are deeply indebted to the observations and researches of Christian missionaries. Their residence in the country, their acquaintance with the language or languages there spoken; their repeated excursions and observations, on the spot, of localities, manners, and customs ; their independent and impartial examinations, for themselves, of objects of historical or antiquarian interest, afford advantages for acquiring accurate and reliable knowledge of many distant parts of the world, such as no mere traveller or scholar can possess. To these circumstantial advantages, Dr. Lobdell added some peculiar personal qualifications — a quick eye, an almost intuitive sagacity, a curiosity that never rested, an activity that never tired, an almost ubiquitous presence and observation combined with a no less marvellous power of concentration that enabled him to do an in-

definite number of things in an indefinite number of places, all at the same time, and each with all his heart. A whole man, and interested in whatever concerns man, he united the curiosity of the antiquarian and the tastes of the scholar with the self-sacrificing benevolence of the Christian and the all-pervading zeal of the Christian missionary. "It is only as a recreation from severe missionary labors," he writes, "that I can justify myself in exploring the geography, history, and effete religions of Assyria. However much such studies may interest me, I feel still more interested in the spiritual work for which, dear brother, you helped to prepare me. I never regret that God has cast my lot in Mosul as a missionary rather than as an antiquarian."

Such is the spirit of his letters, such the tenor of his life. At the same time, every letter abounds in the most lively descriptions of Assyrian antiquities and the most earnest discussions of their significance; and his too short life in Assyria has contributed not a little to enrich the museums and the minds of his countrymen with the peculiar treasures of that far-off ancient land. The Nineveh-Room at Amherst is a noble monument, at once of his affection for his Alma Mater, and of his devotion to objects of antiquarian interest. He lost no opportunity for adding to its collections. In a letter, written only a month before his death, and only about a week before he was taken sick, he says : "Sometime ago I wrote Dr. Hitchcock, asking if the college would like a *king* from Nimroud. I have one boxed up, and I am quite disposed to forward it, even before I get his reply. As there is no *king* yet in the *United States*, I shall not venture to send a small *nisroch* and a large winged figure with a horned cap, lest the expense be more than the value to you. I was unable to procure more than one inscribed brick from Babylon, but this shall go to Amherst. Bricks from Nineveh are easily procured."

His last journey, the fatigues of which probably cost him his life, was scarcely less a service to literature, than to religion. It was a tour from Mosul to Baghdad, undertaken for the sake of procuring the intervention of the new British

Ambassador, Mr. Murray, in behalf of the Nestorian Mission (threatened in its existence, almost, by the combined hostility of Catholics and Mohammedans, Jesuits and Russians); but prosecuted from beginning to end with the eye, not more of a Protestant missionary, than of an antiquarian and a scholar. "As soon as I am able to arrange my notes," he writes, "I shall offer Prof. Park a full account of *A Journey from Nineveh to Baghdad and Babylon*, which may perhaps be interesting to the readers of the *Bibliotheca*. I believe I am the only American who has stood upon the Tower of Belus and examined the remains of the palaces and temples of Nebuchadnezzar." But alas! his work, whether for literature or religion, was already done. A few days after writing this, he fell sick, and after lingering three or four weeks, much of the time wandering in his mind, but, when possessed of reason, "rejoicing in the Almighty," he fell asleep. Copious journals of the tour "from Nineveh to Babylon," have been received by his friends, and read with great interest. But the Article for the *Bibliotheca* was probably never written. In an acquaintance of many years with Dr. Lobdell, I never charged him with but one fault. He always would do a week's work in one day; and the consequence was, that he did up his life-work in a few years. He was only twenty-eight at the time of his death.

"Oh what a noble heart was then undone,
When Science' self destroyed her favorite son!
Yes, she too much indulged thy fond pursuit:
She sowed the seed, but Death has reaped the fruit."]

It is natural for me to begin with — 1. *Mέσπιλα* (B. III. c. iv. § 10).¹ This word is *probably* a contraction for *Mέσην-πύλα*, the *Middle Gate*, referring to its geographical position between Armenia and Babylon. It may possibly mean the *Gate of the Medes*. There can be little doubt that the name was given to *Nineveh*, *after* the conquest of the city by the

¹ For convenience of reference I have noted the *paragraphs* mentioned in these *Notes* according to the edition of Dr. Owen, the only edition, indeed, to which I have had access.—H. L.

Medes. The *τεῖχος ἔρημον, μέγα πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον*, must have been the mound named *Koyunjik*, where Layard brought to light the palace of Sennacherib, and Rawlinson that of the Son of Esarhaddon. The mound of Nebbi Yunus (Prophet Jonah) is but a short distance south of Koyunjik, in the line of the western wall of the city, and must have been the town lying near the castle. Mosul is about a mile west of the ruins on the opposite bank of the Tigris, and Rennell and Ainsworth suppose that its name is derived from Mespila. As Mosul is so near to Koyunjik, and as it may possibly have been standing even in Xenophon's time, and as the *p* of the Greek might easily pass into *b* in Hebrew or Syriac, and the *b* of the books into *w* or *u* in the Semitic spoken dialects, I am inclined to adopt this identification. All modern travellers in this region agree in identifying Mespila with the ruins opposite Mosul. The determination of this identity involves the settlement of the position of

2. *Ἄδρισσα* (B. III. c. iv. § 7). This is *Nimroud*, a great mound, six hours southward of Mosul, or, as Xenophon says, six *parasangs*. A small village near the mound of Nimroud bears the name *Dāriūsh*, which I presume was given it by Darius son of Hystaspes, who died about eighty years before Xenophon saw the place. The accent being on the antepenult, by giving it a feminine termination, and allowing for the common change of *s* into *sh*, it would not have been strange, if our author had heard the name of the town *Dāriusa*. If an old MS. could be found, having a *Δ* instead of an *A* in this name, there would remain no question about the matter. Unless this novel derivation be accepted, there is good reason for the opinion (Bochart's, I believe) that Larissa is the Resen of Genesis. Xenophon may have heard the name *Al-Résen*, and simply Grecized it. The Shemitish article (*al—the*) must have been common in this quarter, in those days. It is a very frequent practice for the people, through this region to prefix the *al* to the name of a considerable town; e. g. instead of saying, "he came to *Mosul*," or, "he went from *Mosul*," the people say: "he came to *El-Mosul*,"

"he went from *the-Mosul*." The use of this article, however, depends somewhat on the supposed meaning of the proper name, so that it is *not a general rule* that the article must precede the names of places.¹ In our author's time, the place was reckoned among the *uninhabited* cities, and is said to have been "anciently" occupied by the Medes. If the Medes did not reign in the region of Nineveh till Cyaxares united with Nabopolassar and captured Nineveh, as is maintained by late historical writers, in the year 606 b. c., $\tauὸ\pi\alpha\lambdaαύν$ must here mean *formerly*, rather than anciently.

3. *πυραύλις* (§ 9). This pyramid still remains. Spelman, in a note on this place, thinks the dimensions given are very extraordinary for a pyramid. As a matter of fact, the present cone had, originally, a square base and perpendicular sides, for some forty or fifty feet, though terminating at an apex, after the manner of many Saracenic structures, especially houses of prayer. The base of the "pyramid" was penetrated by Mr. Layard, and some very interesting sculptures were found, near its south-west angle, chiefly of a sacrificial character. The whole pile is supposed to have been erected as a memorial of a monarch buried under it: the great pyramids of Egypt evidently were intended to commemorate not only the living glory, but the sepulchres of the kings who built them.

Tel Nimroud — the pyramid of our author — is remarkable for its grandeur, all through this part of Assyria; and not less remarkable as indicating the site whence has been taken to England and America numerous gigantic specimens of ancient art and history. Its base is just about one hundred feet square — $\tauὸ\muὲν\epsilonὐ\pos\acute{ε}\nu\pi\lambdaὲ\pi\rho\omega\acute{\nu}$ — and its height is now at least one hundred and fifty feet. The wear of centuries has no doubt taken off fifty feet more (making up the $\acute{\nu}\phi\acute{\nu}\delta\acute{\nu}\pi\lambdaὲ\pi\rho\omega\acute{\nu}$ of the author), as the upper part was built of *unburnt* bricks. At the base of the pyramid still remain half a dozen rows of bevelled gray sandstone blocks,

¹ Layard doubts the identity of Reseu and Larissa, but, as it seems to me, simply in order to make out his theory that Nimroud was the Nineveh of Gen. 10: 11, 12. Nineveh and its Remains, Vol. I. p. 27, and Vol. II. p. 197.

about three feet thick, and from three to six feet in length; and above these are great quantities of *fire-burnt* bricks, about fifteen inches square and four inches thick, each of which is stamped, in large cuneiform characters, with the name of Sardanapalus.

The outline of the *wall* yet remains; it is, however, a little less than two parasangs in circuit. Since Layard abandoned the mounds within the enclosure, Col. Rawlinson has had some success in opening his trenches among the priests, and kings, and gods, of the old palace halls; and Wm. Kennett Loftus, of the Assyrian Society, London, has recently discovered, in a room of the south-east palace, a magnificent collection of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Phenician religious emblems, exquisitely wrought in stone, clay, and ivory. The ruins have not, even yet, been fully explored.

Here I may remark, in regard to the wall about the "castle" near Mespila, that the author seems to have made a great mistake in stating it to have been *six* parasangs in length. Possibly in his day the suburbs of the city included immense parks, containing numerous private residences, and this may have led him to suppose the wall embraced them. In reality, the inner wall at Nineveh is less than two parasangs and a half in circuit, and the "circumference of the outer embankment could not have exceeded three and a half parasangs, instead of being six, as the author declares.¹ It is probable that Xenophon, when he got home to Greece, forgot (if he ever knew) that the wall did not embrace the whole suburbs; or perhaps he was led into an error by relying too much on the fabulous statements of Herodotus. The actual length of his marches (*στρατούς*) he would be more likely to note correctly, though in his approach to Trebizond he must have made some errors in his *log*, so to speak, or have taken an exceedingly zig-zag course. The *wall* of Nineveh never could have included the

¹ Compare Gibbon's *Rome*, Vol. II. p. 478: "Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after this expedition, has sometimes betrayed him; and the distances which he marks are often longer than either a soldier or a geographer would allow."

gardens or suburbs. There is no *trace* of a wall, some sixty miles in length, as some have conjectured from Diodorus Siculus and Jonah. The square or trapezium, including the four mounds, Koyunjik, Nimroud, Karamless, and Khorsabad, was no doubt all once included within the limits of Nineveh. That circuit, however, would be more than six parasangs.¹ I see no way but to conclude that the author blundered in that matter. There never was *so long* a wall as he describes, though its materials and general structure are well stated. The base of the wall was built with large blocks of well-faced gray sandstone, *full of shells* (*κορχυλιάτον*). These blocks are often brought across the Tigris to Mosul, and used in building. Some of the giant, human-headed, winged bulls in Nebbi Yunus and Koyunjik are of the same material, though generally they are cut out of soft marble—gypsum. I had sent a large shell to Amherst which I took from the haunch of one of those bulls. The eastern inner wall of the city is almost perfectly straight; but the western is curved, so that its extreme southern end meets the eastern wall at a very acute angle. The northern wall is straight and nearly two-thirds the length of the eastern. Over the blocks of stone still remain the *bricks* (*πλίνθινος τεῖχος*) mentioned by the author, though the upper layers are decomposed, and in parts crops of wheat and barley are seen, instead of the turrets of old.

4. *Kalval* (B. II. c. iv. § 28). This city is now represented by an immense mound on the right bank of the Tigris, four days south of Mosul, named *Kalah Sherghat*, about fifteen parasangs from the *Zabatus* of the next chapter. Some large clay cylinders have recently been discovered there, which carry back the known period of Assyrian history two hundred years further than any records previously found in these mounds. This *Cenæ* is probably the Calah of Gen. 10: 10. Rawlinson formerly located Calah, or Halah, at *Holwan*, near the river *Dialah*, 130 miles north-east of Baghdad; latterly, he places it at Nimroud! He supposes *Resen* to be

¹ Nineveh and its Remains, Vol. II. p. 196.

marked by a small mound, about three miles north of Nimroud, called Selamiyeh.

5. *τὸν Ζάβαρον* (B. III. c. iii. § 6). This is the *Greater Zab*. Its name, in Turkish, is *Zarb* — swift, vehement, wolfish — the ancient *Lycus*. In B. II. c. v. § 1, the width is said to have been four hundred feet, *τετράπων πλέξρων*. In the autumn, this is just about the width, at a ford some twelve miles from Nimroud. At the nearest point, it is about *ten* miles from that place, where it is as large a stream as is the Tigris at Mosul. Its course from Northern Kurdistan is very circuitous; and it is only when within about seventy miles of its mouth that it turns south-westerly, which course it thence follows quite direct to the Tigris, a few miles below Nimroud, at a large Sassanian mound. A few miles above its junction, a large tunnel, constructed by one of the Ninevite kings, once carried a part of the stream over the angular portion of country between Nimroud, the Zab, and the Tigris, and no doubt rendered it exceedingly productive. The canal is nearly filled with rubbish now. The Zab is crossed by rafts of inflated sheep skins, though in the autumn it can be forded by horses without swimming. It is singular that Xenophon makes no mention of the Lower Zab, or of the mode of ferrying his brave Ten Thousand over the Greater Zab. His silence about the lower Zab may have arisen from the fact of there being a bridge over it. There is at present a magnificent arch over the main channel, about thirty-six miles from Arbela, called Altun, or Golden. Some years after the Ten Thousand Greeks passed the Greater Zab, or *the Zab*, as the river is generally called, there was a fine bridge over *it* also, as is evident from the historians of Alexander. The stream is large, swift, impetuous; the old name (*Λύκος*) was very characteristic. Rafts of skins cross it with difficulty.

6. *χαράδραν* (B. III. c. iv. § 1). A channel (of water), not necessarily dry. I feel sure that the author refers to the ancient *Bumadus*, the modern *Khazir*, a small river, near one of the branches of which (the Gomel) I suppose Gaugamela was situated, which was undoubtedly on the plain of *Nav-*

kûr, between the Bumadus and the Zab. At its height, a horse can wade the Khazir, and in the autumn it is very low.

7. τὸν Ἀράξην (B. I. c. iv. § 19). This is the Arabic *Khabour*. There are two streams of this name very near each other. One — this of Xenophon — has one of its sources in *Jebel Tbur*, west of the Tigris, between Mardin and Jezireh, forming the old *Mygdonius*, and another, near *Ras el-Ain* (head of the spring), a few miles south-west of Mardin: — it empties into the Euphrates at the point where stood the Carchemish of Jer. 46: 2. The *Mygdonius* is commonly represented as running *south* of the Sinjar mountains; but it passes by *Nisibin* (the ancient *Nisibis*), in a pretty direct line from its source, touching the *northern* part of the Sinjar range, the *Sangara* of the Egyptian records. Ezekiel is supposed to have prophesied at *Thullaba*, on its bank, though it ought yet to be an open question whether that place represents *Tel Abib*, and whether the prophet may not have lifted his voice near *Zachu*, or near the ruins representing the palace mentioned B. III. c. iv. § 24. The *Khabour* of the Tigris passes by that place; and along its banks once lived the captive *Ten Tribes* of Israel; and who can be *positive* that those of Ezekiel's captivity were not carried as far eastward as their kindred long before?

It is difficult to tell to which of these rivers to refer the *Ἄβόρας* of Strabo, though the *Xαβώρας* of the geographer Ptolemy probably designates the latter, and *not* the Araxes of Xenophon. Indeed, Xenophon's memory may have slipped upon this name, and led him to write *Ἀράξην* instead of *Ἄβόραν*. Cf. the *Aboras* of Marcellinus. Araxes was the name of several rivers, and the author may have mistaken this for one of them; but I am more inclined to think he had forgotten the name as he *heard it*, when he wrote. The mis-spelling of *modern* travellers is notorious. Were the ancient any more accurate?

8. τῆς Συρίας (B. I. c. iv. § 19). This is the Mesopotamia of the Greeks, which is a very different region, and of much greater] extent, than the *Aram Naharaim* of the Hebrews.

Syria, in the time of Pliny, included not only modern Syria, but Mesopotamia and even Adiabene. The palace of *Belesis*, "governor of Syria and Assyria" (B. VII. c. viii. § 25), it appears from B. I. c. iv. § 11, was fifteen parasangs west of the Euphrates, in Syria Proper. In the O. Test., Syria was equivalent to *Aram*. Here it must refer to Lower Mesopotamia, the extreme southerly part of which (B. I. c. v. § 1) the author terms *'Apaßias*. I suppose, he uses this word to designate the country of the Arabs, who then infested that part of Mesopotamia, as they do now, so that it is as properly called Arabia, as any other part of the Arab territory.

9. *ὁρέων* (B. III. c. v. § 15). These are the *Tooree Kardo* of the Syrians, sometimes called *Jebel Jûdi*. The Christians and Jews of Mesopotamia, and the Mohammedans generally, believe that the Ark of Noah rested there. Josephus agrees with them. The Peshito N. Test. reads, instead of Ararat, "the mountains of Cordu." The Hebrew word for the mountain does not decide the question; for Armenia is a very extensive and mountainous country; so the settlement of the true locality is to be made by a weighing of probabilities, in which tradition must have a loud voice. A village on the mountain, called *Themaneen* (so named from the tradition that *eighty* were rescued by the ark), is yearly resorted to by the neighboring Moslems to celebrate the anniversary of the landing of Noah and his family. It is *said* that huge nails are often found there — the very spikes that held the boat together! The olive groves near Jebel Jûdi furnish a strong argument for crediting the Syrian and Moslem opinion, since none are found within a long distance of the giant peaks in Upper Armenia.

10. *Καρδούχοις*. These people are represented, and faithfully too, by the modern *Kurds* — the Gordians of Strabo. Their country embraces the mountainous part of Assyria, and is called Kurdistan. They are divided into many tribes, which are often at war with each other. That the Carduchi of Xenophon were not *subdued* by the Persians, appears from B. III. c. v. § 16; and that they quarrelled

with their neighbors, is plain from B. IV. c. iv. § 1. It is but a few years since they began to yield even a nominal subjection to the Sultan. The *Artooshnai*, a tribe occupying the mountainous region first entered by the Greeks, are the fiercest of any. There are still standing castles built by the Kurds, where their ancestors first rolled down rocks upon the Greeks. The passes of the mountains are often very rugged and narrow; the gorges are terrific. A few men can do great injury to an invading army. The battles between the Kurds and Nestorians have often been terrible from their hand-to-hand character.¹ It was only after long struggles that the strongholds of the Kurds were taken by the Turks. They are a changeless people. They only wait for an opportunity to throw off the yoke placed on their necks by the Osmanlees. They are as independent, in spirit, as were their fathers in Xenophon's day; and no stranger can pass through their country with safety unless he secures the friendship of some powerful chief. They are still as treacherous as ever; and the conduct of the guide, whom Chirisophus struck for not conducting the army to a village, instead of causing them to wander about among the snows (B. IV. c. vi. § 1), has its parallel in these latter days. His restlessness on being beaten, was characteristic of his race. They are bigoted, proud, warlike, suspicious, traitorous.

11. *παρασάρην*. There is no possibility of fixing the value of this term, except by regarding it as *a measure of time*—an hour. Layard agrees in this opinion. Cf. "Babylon and Nineveh," p. 59. Pliny complains of the uncertainty of the parasang, and he was not very scrupulous about accuracy. Dr. Perkins of Oroomiah reckons the *fursakh* (which all allow to be the parasang of the ancients) as equal to "four and a half or two-thirds miles."² Col. Rawlinson says:³ "the fursakh is a very uncertain measurement, but in Susiana may be valued at three and three-quarter miles."

¹ For a parallel to the horrid scenes described B. IV. C. VII. § 13, see Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," Vol. I. pp. 164, 165 and 187. Also Laurie's "Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians," pp. 357, 358.

² Residence in Persia.

³ Note to an Article in Journ. Royal Geog. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 31.

My own opinion is, that it varies with the mode of travel; though the *mule* is the standard, and is equal to THREE miles an hour. Post-horses in Persia go about four and a half miles an hour; in Turkey, not over four. A camel when urged will walk six miles an hour, but the ordinary pace of a caravan of camels is not over *three* miles. An *hour*, in Turkey, is reckoned at *three miles*, which, as I have said, should be reckoned the value of the parasang in Persia also — allowances being made for distance by the pace of the animal ridden. The Commissioners of the English and Russian governments, lately engaged in running the line between Turkey and Persia, also regard the *fursakh*, I have been told by the geologist attached to the Commission, as equal to three miles.

A *day* — a march, *σταδιός* — is about *six hours*, now, in Turkey, as it was in the time of Xenophon, though it varies from *four* to *twelve*! The ancients, in very early times, had no portable instruments for determining the parts of a day; and I presume a *day's journey* was their most exact measure of distance, by sea as well as by land. The days of *old* writers were converted into *stadia*, and hence the inexact calculations of many measurements.¹ Diodorus Siculus says, some reckoned the parasang at 30 stadia, some at 40, and others at 60! This is nearly paralleled by the estimates of Rennell and Jahn, the former making it 2.78 Eng. miles, and the latter *four*.² Xenophon plainly makes it equal to 30 stadia; for he says, at the close of the *Anabasis*, that 34,650 stadia are the same as 1155 parasangs. It is clearly a term of Persian origin. Herodotus has mixed it with the Egyptian and Greek measures, in his account of matters in Egypt, which would lead us to suppose it must have been adopted by the people of that country while subject to the Persians.

Diodorus says that the circuit of Nineveh was 480 stadia, or 60 miles. The trapezium bounded by the four mounds

¹ See a valuable Paper by Leake on the *Stade* in the *Journ. Royal Geog. Soc.* Vol. IX.

² Bib. Arch. p. 124, Am. ed. 1823.

forming the supposed limits of the city, is just about these dimensions. Xenophon makes one side of it—that from Nimroud to Mespila—six parasangs; and as the ends are four parasangs in length, the circuit of the city would be 20 parasangs, which at three miles to a parasang, would make up the 60 miles of Diodorus Siculus.¹ Three miles being the ordinary *hour* in these parts now, it is probable that the parasang was the same in the author's day; at least, it is certain that his parasang was of that length. Other authors *may* have attached a different value to it in his day, as writers do at present to the *fursakh* of the Persians, and ever *must* while it is reckoned by the tread of mules, whose speed is quite as variable as that of locomotives on a railroad.

12. σατράπης. This is a Persian word from شاهزاده shah *trab*—*king vice*, or *vice roy*. I think the Greek Lexicons do not pretend to give the etymology of the word.

13. παράδεισος. This word is applied to gardens in which are herbs, grass and fruit, and ornamental trees. In Turkey and Persia, they are always irrigated from wells, or by the artificial management of brooks. They are often of great extent. I recollect a paradise at Tabriz quite large enough for a royal park. Near the Lake of Oroomiah I noticed, in a park belonging to Melek Kâsim Meerza, an uncle of the present king, numerous strange animals; and on an island in the lake he has a great collection of game for the chase. The country being generally very dry in summer, these parks are paradeses indeed. Esculent herbs and grasses are less characteristic of an Oriental garden, than fruit-trees. In Persia, poplars, willows, and mulberries line the channels of irrigation. Along the western base of Kurdistan, these parks are by no means level, but they are well watered and

¹ I have alluded, under my third topic, to the author's mistake in calling the circuit of the city *six parasangs*. He, or his copyist, also made a great blunder in calling the distance from Cunaxa to Babylon 3060 stadia, B. II. c. ii. § 6. Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.* 8) is nearer right in calling it 500. Τρυπανότοι is surely nearer than τρισχλωι, i. e. 360 than 3060 stadia, provided the reckoning 4650 from Thapsacus to Cunaxa was correct; for $4650 + 360 = 5010$, which is even a little more than the truth, in all probability, though it cannot be a great deal too much.

are full of such trees as the apple, pear, plum, apricot, olive, English walnut, mulberry, pomegranate, and fig, besides a multitude of vines. In Persia, in addition to these are found cherries, almonds, peaches, and nectarines. Olives, figs, and pomegranates are not often seen in the *northern* part of Persia. The tall white poplars and sycamores, which are used as beams to support the mud roofs of the houses, give the cultivated plains the appearance of a forest, from a distance. Near at hand, one sees that they are only palisades to the luxuriant fruits they protect.

14. πλίνθοις ὅπταις ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ χειμέναις (B. II. c. iv. § 12). From Gen. 11: 3, we learn that walls of burnt brick are no novelty. The remains of Babylon and Nineveh reveal the fact that both burnt and raw bricks were employed in building. The walls of the cities were almost invariably built of *fire-burnt* bricks, this term being employed to distinguish them from *sun-burnt*. A brick can hardly remain *raw* under the sun of Assyria, which pushes the mercury of a thermometer up, daily, to 150 deg. Bitumen, "slime," is still used as cement, or mortar, in places near the naphtha pits, which are numerous in Lower Assyria. Those near Nimroud, which, when set on fire, throw out most fearful columns of flame and smoke, furnished cement for the palaces of Pul and Esarhaddon. The brick floors were laid in it, and are as firm to-day as when first constructed, except where they have been disturbed by the hands of the antiquarian. The thirty-seven boats which, united (yoked—διέβανον τὴν γέφυραν, ἔξειγμένην πλοίοις τραχοντα καὶ ἐπτά), formed the bridge, B. II. c. iv. § 24, were no doubt daubed over with bitumen, as are the high-prowed scows which, chained together and to the banks, form the bridge at Mosul. The extreme heat cracks wood-work in pieces, unless protected by this cement. Being somewhat expensive, it is not much used at present in building. The people are poor; the government is a mere system of oppression ; an exact picture of which may be found in the closing chapter of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. The officials sometimes have immense torches of bitumen burning before their residences at night in the open air.

Raw bricks are much employed by the villagers of the plains in building; and from a piece of sculpture recently found in Koyunjik (the drawing is not yet published), it appears that the huts of the small towns were anciently of much the same character as those we now see here. Cut straw—and straw is always cut into little bits in the process of threshing—is freely mingled with the coarse clay; and, being laid in the sun, the bricks soon become sufficiently hardened for use. No rain falls for months in summer, to dissolve the new structures. The bricks are about a foot square and three inches thick. The fire-burnt bricks of Koyunjik and Nebbi Yunus are much larger than this; but those used at Arbeel (Arbela), and some of those employed in Baghdad, are considerably smaller, though few have the longitudinal shape of American brick. In consequence of the scarcity of wood, the bricks which are burnt, are burnt with cut straw, which is very abundant, though not quite so much so as might be expected from the account of Herodotus, who states that Lower Mesopotamia was so fertile that grain yielded from two to three hundred fold.¹ Knowing that great attention was paid to irrigation in his day, and that an almost torrid sun acted on the moistened gypsum which is every winter washed over the country from the region of Nineveh, we can understand the astonishment of the Greek historian; and, though allowing something for the natural amplification of his ideas from travel, we are led, in comparing the fertility of the present with what it must have been in his day, to attach considerable credit to his statements of matters of fact, whatever we may think of the lists of heroes in his history.

15. ἀλεύρων ἡ ἀλφίτων (B. I. c. v. § 6). The relative value of wheat and barley in Mesopotamia is about 1 to .66 or .75: the price of a *toghar* of wheat—about eight bushels—is generally about forty piastres or \$1.60. That of barley does not always vary with that of wheat. In time of scarcity, not only animals but men eat it; but even in the time of famine, its price is never the same as that of wheat.

¹ Her. I. 198.

I would suggest that ἀλφίτων be rendered “cracked wheat” (the *burghoul* of the Arabs), instead of *barley* or *barley flour*. Every village has great mill-stones, the upper one nearly perpendicular, and the lower one horizontal, for cracking wheat. The upper stone is turned by a horse or mule fastened to a bar as an axis. The broken kernels, mixed with a little chopped meat, or with onions and grease, and cooked in solid cakes about four inches in diameter, form the chief food of the people at the present time, especially in winter. The price of this cracked wheat is but a little less than that of flour. The laws of the Medes and Persians were unchangeable, it is said; and I am sure that many of the customs of this day are traceable further back than the days of Cyrus the Younger; and no doubt this of slightly pounding wheat, instead of always separating the husk from the flour, was prevalent when he led his troops along the Euphrates and through the Babylonian Gates, which I suppose are meant by the Πύλας of B. I. c. v. § 5, where the Barbarians were so exorbitant in their charges for provisions.

16. σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον (B. I. c. ii. § 22). Sesame is a leguminous plant, from the seed of which an oil, called *sirej*, is extracted, which is used generally in the villages about Mosul, for lamps and the table. It is sometimes mixed with turpentine and almond oil, and employed as an ointment for chilblains by the mountaineers. Cf. *Anabasis* B. IV. c. iv. § 13. The *μελίνη* I suppose to be the *thira*, a grain sown by Arabs along the banks of rivers, from which a coarse bread is made. Comp. B. I. c. v. § 10: σῖτον μελίνης. The *κέγχρος* is the *millet*, a very abundant grain in Kurdistan, cultivated because of its great productiveness, rather than from any special excellence as food. Its appearance while growing is very like broom-corn. It is often boiled and placed in a large wooden or copper dish; a hole, some six inches in diameter, is made in the top of the heap, for a quantity of melted butter, and every one then dips his wooden spoon into the “sop” and millet (*bachick*), while seated on the floor. The table is the ground, and the table-

cloth is generally the skin of a wild goat. The difference between the thira ($\muελίνη$) and the millet par excellence ($κέγχρος$), is rather specific than generic. The *thira* flourishes on the plains, the grain appearing in *spikes*, while that of the millet, which flourishes only in the more elevated regions, grows in *panicles*.

17. $\deltaνος \acute{α}λέτας$ (B. I. c. v. § 5). I suppose $\deltaνος$ includes mules as well as asses; and if so, there is no doubt that the author intended to represent the men as digging stones for mills moved by these animals, in distinction from stones turned by water or by females. Whether, as some have thought, the $\deltaνος$ of the text has reference to the *upper* stones, as *being the ones turned by the asses*, or to the *lower* stones, as is possible, because of their supporting, ass-like, the heavy burden of the grain and stones alone, I will not pretend to determine. It is *probable* that the upper stone of the mill, being much larger and more expensive than the lower, gave the name to the *mill* as such, and hence that *in the text it includes both*. The mill-stones turned by hand are about twenty inches in diameter and six inches thick, and two women turn the *upper* one, while seated on the earth. Indeed, almost every kind of labor in the East is done by persons in a sitting posture. To this day, great numbers of persons are employed in these regions in digging mill-stones, as those were whom Xenophon saw above Babylon. The stones used for mills in Lower Mesopotamia, are of a light-gray color; are dug out of the plain, and are very hard, I am told; but I cannot say what is their mineralogical character. The stones employed in the hand and mule mills about Mosul, are for the most part brought from the mountains along the Tigris above Jezireh, and are of black basalt (volcanic). There is another kind used for *water-mills*: the blocks are cut into pieces in Kurdistan, and brought several days' journey, on the backs of mules, and then fastened together by iron clamps.

18. $\acute{α}λλὰ ψιλὴ ἡν ἄπασα ἡ χώρα$ (B. I. c. v. § 5). In summer all Mesopotamia is *ψιλή*. The flocks of the Arabs live upon the withered grass, and their camels eat the desert

heaths; but they are all driven northward as the heat appears. When Xenophon travelled from Thapsacus to Cunaxa, the country must have been like a desert, though he kept for the most part near the Euphrates, where there were, of course, many villages. I am surprised that he says nothing about the *heat*, which is like that of an immense oven for more than three months. The natives are unable to work in the fields at mid-day. One may travel for days and never see a tree in Mesopotamia. Water, too, is very scarce; and this accounts for some of the long stages of Cyrus. Comp. § 7 of c. v. Alexander, according to Arrian (Lib. III. c. vii), avoided that route pursued by Cyrus after crossing the Euphrates, on account of the heat, and proceeded directly across the country to the Tigris, fording it between Jezireh and Mosul.

19. *ai διώρυχες κ. τ. λ.* (B. I. c. vii. § 15 and B. II. c. iv. § 13 : διώρυχας δύο). Traces of these canals yet exist. Indeed, the whole of Babylonia is cut up by canals; the most of them at present are, however, dry. Still some of them are, even now, navigable by large barges, though half filled up by the falling in of the banks. A few years since, a small steamer passed from the Euphrates, in a canal leading from the neighborhood of Musaib, a few miles above Babylon, to the Tigris near Baghdad, when the river was at its flood. The number of the old Babylonian canals still existing, half choked up, is astonishing; and it is easy for the observer to imagine that the vast plains for many leagues about Babylon, now barren and almost treeless, were formerly clothed with verdure and fruit-bearing trees. The Arabs continue to open small trenches from the rivers for the irrigation of their fields of rice and millet. Major Rennel doubts if four canals, of the size mentioned by Xenophon (each a hundred feet in breadth, and only one parasang distant from its neighbor), could have been supplied with water from either the Tigris or the Euphrates; but I think the author's statement is confirmed by the fact that near Babylon the Euphrates was divided into five great branches to irrigate the country; so that the natural bed of

the river running through the city was very narrow, and the quantity of water very small. Arrian says (B. II. c. vii) that owing to the great number of canals from the Euphrates, it is but a small river at each of its entrances into the sea. I am unable to confirm the remark of Schneider, that the canals of B. I. c. vii. § 15, non *ex Tigride in Euphratem sed contra, derivatos esse*: because it is well known that the relative level of the two rivers is different in different parts of the plain.¹

20. ἀψινθίου δὲ πλῆρες (B. I. c. v. § 1). Wormwood abounds along the banks of the Greater Zab, and I have seen it growing along the Burnadus, in fields of liquorice—*utile cum dulci!* The herbs of the plains are *generally aromatic*—ώσπερ ἄροματα. The author's ώσπερ Σάλαρρα (§ 1) is the most accurate description of the plain of Mesopotamia I have ever seen. From a high point, as *Mardin* or *Finik* (B. IV. c. i., the place where the Greeks entered the hills, hanging precipitous over the Tigris), the similarity of the plain to the ocean is very striking. It is boundless, hazy, and gently-rolling, *like a sea*.

21. δύοι ἄγριοι (B. I. c. v. § 2). I have seen two of these animals. Their color was lightish-brown, the under part of their necks being nearly white. Their bodies were slender, their backs nearly straight, their hams thin, legs slender, ears shorter than those of the domestic ass, their desire for freedom evident as the Arab's; and their whole appearance indicated that they were what Appian says of their race—"swift as the wind." They can seldom be caught. The English consul at Mosul has one now in his yard, which is designed for the park of Victoria. The Arabs regard the meat of the wild ass as most excellent.

22. ὄρνες (B. I. c. v. § 2). These birds are not very numerous here now. I doubt not the author refers to *bustards*,

¹ This question is doubtless discussed in Capt. Felix Jones's Survey of this region, which was to be published in the Jan. No. of the Royal As. Soc. of London, as well as by Col. Chesney in his Report of the Expedition under his command for the survey of these rivers. I have lately seen the original drawings for the maps of the former, which have been prepared from trigonometrical surveys, and which are as beautiful as they are accurate.

but to a very different sort from those which Pliny calls *damnatas in cibis*. Pliny's bustard may have been the gray, vulture-looking bird which comes around Mosul in the autumn, and sits moping, sometimes alone, sometimes in large flocks. The two authors surely speak of different birds.

23. *δορκάδες* (B. I. c. v. § 2). These are *gazelles*. They abound in this region. They are seen single and in troops of five hundred. Squads of ten or twenty are often seen quite near the city; and in the spring, while the ground is wet, relays of horsemen succeed in taking them. Greyhounds are kept for this purpose; and in winter they are always dressed with a garment extending all over their backs, except while on a hunt. The gazelle is the finest of meat, tender as a rabbit, good at all seasons.

24. *κάνδας* (B. I. c. v. § 8). These are loose external tunics with wide sleeves. The sleeves of this garment, as now worn by the Orientals, are slit open at the elbow and hang loosely over the hand. The sleeves of the shirt are made long, so as to be tied together around the back when in the way. The quality of the article, of course, varies with the *quality* of the wearer.

25. *ἀντικυρίδας* (B. I. c. v. § 8). These are the trowsers of the Orient. The *style* of the Persian trowsers differs from that of neighboring nations; they have them loose, like bags, about the hips and thighs, but narrow around the legs—*shalwār*. They are fastened about the loins by a string run into a hem. They are often highly embroidered. Those of the Turks are nearly concealed by their long togas. The frock coat of the Persians extends scarcely to the knees. Great skill is shown in the embroidery of *vests*, which are fastened by loops over knots of thread, close up to the chin, and are often very gaudy. Purple, yellow, and red are colors of the aristocracy. Christians are seldom allowed to wear rich colors, especially green, this being the *sacred* color of the Moslems. Late events are enabling the Christians to make a show of dignity in this line, as well as their neighbors. Rich girdles and turbans are always reckoned the signs of exalted pedigree or commercial prosperity.

26. *σχεδίας* (B. I. c. v. § 10). With *vavot* understood, this means *rafts*. The idea of filling the tent-skins with *straw* (as I take *χόρτου κούφου* to mean), must have been derived from seeing the natives use sheep and goat skins inflated and fastened to a frame-work of poles, and covered with boards or slender branches, for a like purpose. B. III. c. v. § 9 shows us that a Rhodian had learned a way to ferry bodies of men over the Tigris. The “*invention*” was “ingenious,” indeed; but it is strange the commanders of the troops do not seem to have known that nothing more of the “*invention*” was original with the Rhodian than the application of the ordinary principles of raft construction to the case in hand. From the marbles of Koyunjik, several hundred years older than Xenophon, we see that rafts were constructed, as now, by blowing up skins and fastening them together in squares of from ten to two hundred. Alexander, according to Arrian, used this mode of navigation on the rivers of Persia. A small frame covered with a tent, or pieces of coarse felt, makes a comfortable house; and in spring the passage from Diarbekr (Amida) to Baghdad need not be more than eight days. Natives frequently *cross* the Tigris, by stripping themselves, tying their clothes on their head, and mounting a single inflated skin! Wood, mill-stones, marble, grain, gall-nuts, copper, etc., are conveyed from Diarbekr and Mosul to Baghdad and Busrah, on these goat-skin rafts. The French consul at Mosul is now preparing a raft of a *thousand skins*, to convey one of the gigantic bulls of Khorsabad to Busrah.

27. *βαλάνου* (B. I. c. v. § 10). *φοινίκων* (B. I. c. iii. § 14). *ηλέκτρου* B. II. c. iii. § 15). The date is the fruit of the palm, and is of various species. The palm-groves around Baghdad are immense, and the dates are conveyed to great distances, generally on mules and camels. Those resembling *amber*, are kept *single*, in a *hard* state, “dried for sweet-meats,” as Xenophon says; the rest are pressed together into sacks and skins, and form a *mass of sweet*. Wine is made from them, and also vinegar. Around Mosul, raisins furnish the people vinegar and rum (arrack); but about Baghdad, dates are very much used as a substitute.

There is no fruit richer than the amber-colored dates, which are now, as of yore, selected for the “masters,” and “worthy of admiration for beauty and size.” Dates and bread are the chief articles of food in southern Mesopotamia in winter, if that part of the year may be called *winter* when it is barely *possible* for it to rain, and when the mercury occasionally, at night, gets down to 50 deg., or perhaps to 40. I know of no tree so useful to man as the palm, of whose glories Strabo has spoken at large.

28. *σῖτος* (B. II. c. iii. § 14). This seems, here, to mean *raw wheat*.

29. *τὴν ἀγοράν* (B. I. c. v. § 12). *ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πληθυσαν* (B. I. c. viii. § 1). The market, in all oriental towns, is a dirty square surrounded with stalls for traders. That the *ἀγορά* of the ancients resembled those of the moderns, is clear from sculptures portraying captured towns, exhumed at Nineveh; a specimen of which will soon be published by the British Museum. The productions brought into the market places are generally emptied upon the ground. Huge piles of wheat, barley, and vegetables are often seen in the market place of Mosul about 9 A. M., which is called “full market time.” Produce from the mountains and the villages of the plains, is brought in at night (it being impossible to travel at mid-day), and so the “full market hour” is earlier than in a more northern latitude. As soon as the Tigris gate of the city is open, in the morning, the tide pours into the market. I should think the market hour, near Cunaxa, must have been about 9 A. M. By 11 A. M. it is so hot in these parts that every one seeks the shade of a hut or a bazaar.

30. *σὺν ποδήρεσι ρυλίναις δοπίσων* (B. I. c. viii. § 9). I may quote, further, *Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι*. If they were Egyptian, it is singular that precisely the same sort of shield should have been represented on the marbles of Konyjik, several hundred years previous.¹ What proof is there that the Assyrians took the pattern from the Egyp-

¹ See rather poor specimens in Nineveh and its Remains, Vol. II. p. 269.

tians? Perhaps that fashion had become antiquated at Nineveh, and the Egyptians had adopted it, calling it something new! Some modern new fashions are surely ancient. I think Xenophon was misinformed about those shields, or else he did not intend to represent them as of Egyptian *origin*, but only of Egyptian *use*. That they used them, is clear from the *Cyropædia*, B. VI. c. ii. Perhaps the shields of the Roman *hastati* were a modification of these Assyrian and Egyptian. Cf. Prof. Fiske's *Man. Class. Lit.* p. 274, 4th edition.

31. *τὸν ἀκινάκην* (B. I. c. viii. § 29). This sword was *crooked*, all agree. The sword worn by the modern Persians is *straight*, and its scabbard is about eighteen inches long. I judge the scimitar of Cyrus was of such a style as the Kurds now wear. These Carduchians are only degenerate sons of the old stock, speaking a language nearly allied to the Persian. Every Kurd wears in his girdle a dagger, with an ivory, brass, gilt, or wooden handle projecting above his stomach, the blade being curved and nearly a foot in length. To the scabbard a chain is sometimes attached, and at its other end is hung an ordinary knife. No Kurd is *dressed* without his dagger. I have no doubt that Cyrus considered his dirk a necessary part of his equipment, as well as his chain and bracelets. The Chalybians mentioned in B. IV. c. vii. § 15, used the *μαχαίριον παρὰ τὴν ζώνην*.

32. *Xάλυβες* (B. IV. c. iv. § 18). I know not on what authority Strabo says that the Chalybians of his day had changed their name to Chaldeans. If this was so, the difficulty about the *Xάλυβες* of this place, the *Χαλδαιοὶ* of B. IV. c. iii. § 4, and the Chalybians of B. IV. c. vii. § 15; B. IV. c. v. § 34; and B. V. c. v. § 1, would be greatly diminished.

As the *national* term Chaldean has been, by many modern writers, given to the Nestorians as a *sect*, and by others applied solely to Papal converts from them, it is *possible* that some change of faith—that from Sabéan to fire-worshipper, or *vice versa*—may have led to a change of na-

tional designation.¹ That because the Chalybians of B. V. c. v. were subjects of the Mosyncæcians, *therefore* they could not have been mercenaries of Teribazus (B. IV. c. iv.), as Owen intimates, is a *non sequitur*. It is very common for the chiefs of one tribe of Kurds to bargain with those of another, for aid in marauding expeditions, though *nominally* subject to the Sultan, as their ancestors were to the kings of Persia. "Few in number," as those subject to the Mosyncæci were, they were just the people to be hired out by their masters.

It is quite probable that the *Xαλδαιοι* of B. IV. c. iii. § 4 were the ancestors of the Nestorians, whether in part a remnant of the Lost Tribes of Israel, to whom that name was applied, or a branch of the great Chaldaean family of Babylonia; and that they were designated *nationally*, while the Chalybians were designated *from their business as MINERS*, from whatever tribe. If so, the Greek name for *steel*, instead of being derived from the Chalybians as a race, *may* have given them their appellation. Multitudes of natives are employed at this day, under the direction of European engineers, in working the various mines of Armenia. I know not how Rennell can be positively sure that Xenophon made a mistake in writing *Xάλυβας* instead of *Xαλδαῖος*, B. IV. c. iv. § 18. It should be recollect that in B. VII. c. viii. § 25, the Chalybians are reckoned among the *αιτόνομοι* (though those in Pontus were ruled by the Mosyncæci), as well as the Chaldaeans. In B. IV. c. iii. Xenophon calls the Chaldaeans "a free and warlike people." Until the time of Beder Khan Beg (1844), the Mountain Nestorians were always called *independent*; in this respect quite worthy of their sires.

33. *χαλκώμασι παρπόλλοις* (B. IV. c. i. § 8). These were, doubtless, *copper* utensils. Almost every house, in the Turkish empire, is supplied with copper dishes and kettles.

¹ For proof that the term *Chaldaean* was formerly applied by the Nestorians to the *Sabaeans*, and that the Nestorians always use it as a *national* instead of a religious title, whenever they use it, see Badger's "Nestorians and their Rituals," Vol. I. p. 179, and also Dr. Grant's work on the "Lost Tribes," p. 170.

The Kurds have them as well as the people of the cities. They are generally whitened with an amalgam. I do not think brass has ever been much employed in the Orient. The copper mines of Armenia are very rich.

34. *χιῶν πολλή* (B. IV. c. iv. § 8). The highest peaks of Kurdistan, though at a low *latitude*, are covered with perpetual snow, and Armenia generally is a cold country. I do not wonder that many of the men, wading through the snow (B. IV. c. iv. § 7), were seized with cramps of the stomach (*ἐβούλυμασσαν*), especially as these were empty. This is not uncommon at the present day.

35. *καρβάτιναι* (B. IV. c. v. § 14). Sandals of ox or buffalo¹ hide are the ordinary shoe of the mountaineers. They are made of *raw* hides, as of old. Generally an untanned sole is surmounted by a woollen or goat-hair net-work, a sort of coarse stocking, and the thongs of leather (*οἱ ιμάρτες*) are drawn over the instep and around the *tendo Achillis* and tied. Sometimes loose leather legs are attached to the sole—a kind of greave—and are kept *in situ* by slender straps wound around, or laced into, them. The Kurdish mountains are so difficult of ascent and descent, that such moccasins are necessary for occasional travellers, even more than for the natives.

36. *έκπάθατα* — — *οἱ οίνοχόοι* (B. IV. c. iv. § 21). Every Oriental dignitary has a set of small porcelain cups, which are filled with strong unsettled coffee, placed in brass, silver, or gold holders (as I may call the outside metallic cups), and then passed to those whom he delights to honor, by an honored servant, who bears the whole on a thumb-nail, if he can; if not, by his thumb and two fingers. The master's dignity is determined by the number and dress of his cup-bearers; I ought to add, *and pipe-bearers*.

37. *εὐρυσκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκλαις ἄρτων νευημένων πατρίοις* (B. V. c. iv. § 27). The Assyrians—every race—make their bread about once in two months, spreading the dough into thin sheets about a yard in diameter, and stick-

¹ The buffalo of the East is as domesticated as the occidental cow, and is really of the genus *Bos*.

ing them to the sides of the clay oven (*tannoor*), which is heated by “the grass which to-day is,” by thorns, or by the dung of animals. Recesses of clay, in the walls of the houses, are appropriated to the heaps of bread, the Σησαν-*pol* of the author. It can be kept in an eatable state more than a year. Outside of the villages in these regions, are always to be seen pits for keeping cut straw, and sometimes wheat and barley are put in them, and then covered with clay or mud. These are all the barns the people have, and, I doubt not, Xenophon’s troops found them convenient when helping themselves to provisions in the region of Al-Kosh (the birth-place of Nahum), a few hours north of Mes-pila.

38. οίνος πολὺς ἦν, δν ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἰχον (B. IV. c. ii. § 22). Plastered cisterns, for wine, are not unknown at this day in Assyria. The present French consul at Mosul, M. Place, thinks he has found, at Khorsabad, the wine-jars of Sargon, or his successors. He judges that they held wine from the sediment in them. From B. IV. c. v. § 26, we see that barley-wine was plenty ἐν κρατῆρσιν. Wheat and barley had yielded the palm to *raisins*. The Christians of all sects, nearly all have *stills* in their houses; and tight jars for *arrack* are as necessary as coarse clay vessels for rice and wheat. Where the vine abounds, as it does in all the elevated districts of Turkey and Persia, beer is little used.¹

39. οἰκίαι ησαν κατάγειοι (B. IV. c. v. § 25). All the cattle were within also. I have not seen houses entered by ladders *downward*, in the way the author describes, though I have seen numerous Kurdish villages of the same general character. Sheep, goats, cows, oxen, and fowls occupy stalls just outside of the room used by the people, and help to keep them warm in winter. Sometimes the mercury falls to 25 deg. below zero (Fahr.), and the breath of the animals is of great service where there is little fuel. In general, the houses of the Kurdish villages are built of mud and stone; and the walls between the animals and their masters are exceedingly slender, with apertures for the ingress and egress

¹ Spelman gives an interesting note on this subject in his Version, p. 163.

of the animal heat; sometimes the walls are of reeds, or brush plastered with clay. Around Aleppo, the people have their apartments elevated a foot or so above those of the animals, though all enter at the same door. Some of the huts are mud cones, looking like hay-stacks, having a hole at the apex for the egress of smoke, and a low door at one side for entrance on the knees. In many parts, the hovels are half subterranean, being built on the hill-sides.¹

40. ὑπὲρ γονάτων (B. V. c. iv. § 13). The Kurds all wear just such vests to this day, extending down below the hips nearly to the knees. They are very thick, and are a protection both from heat and cold. They cover their heads with pointed *woollen* caps (helmets), around which numerous many-colored kerchiefs are wound.

41. γέρρα (B. IV. c. vii). Some of the mountaineers still use small shields — iron bars (radii) covered with white raw hides, the hair remaining upon them. I have seen some used by the Arabs made of the hide of the hippopotamus. These shields are swung over the shoulders on a march. Horsemen carry the spear: a chief has attached to his, near the point, a huge black tuft, its size depending on his dignity, which depends upon the number of enemies he has killed. Every native, in Assyria, travels *armed*. Some have guns, some pistols and swords, some spears; others, war-clubs and daggers.

42. ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν (B. IV. c. iv. § 4). Not only kings, but pashas, judges, and other dignitaries, are *lifted* on to their horses, and, though the saddles have stirrups big enough for the whole foot, an attendant walks by the horse's left side, with his right hand on his master's back, while pipe-bearers and *cavasses*, armed with pistols and swords, walk before and behind, to ensure due respect from all. A man's standing is determined by his retinue.

¹ For a full and accurate description of these huts and their inhabitants, and especially of those in the region alluded to by Xenophon, see Dr. Perkins's Residence in Persia, pp. 117, 118. On p. 97 may be found a few lines on the bush from which the honey which so troubled Xenophon's troops (B. IV. C. viii.), was extracted.

43. ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται (B. III. c. iv. § 35). Horses are generally shackled by the two fore-feet; and an additional chain, to which is attached an iron pin to be driven into the ground, is also passed around one leg. No trees or stakes are found in Turkey or Persia to which horses may be fastened. Caravan animals are tied to a rope made fast by iron spikes in the form of a square, and close to the ground.

44. τῇ κρήνῃ γυνάκας καὶ κόρας (B. IV. c. v. § 9). Bringing water is yet the business of females in the Orient. I have sometimes seen half a dozen drawing a rope (to which was attached a great skin of water, passing over a fixed cylinder), by walking a few rods, in a direct line, from the well. They generally use large two-handled jars, which are easily slung over the shoulders. At Mosul, the Arab women carry their water from the river in skins, the throat and legs of which are tied up for the purpose. A few wells supply a whole village; sometimes a single one. They are generally a short distance from the town. Cisterns abound in Mesopotamia — the relics of the past — “broken cisterns that can hold no water.” The females always make an attempt to conceal their faces at the fountains, on the plains; but the Kurdish women are less careful: indeed, they are almost as indifferent as their husbands and fathers to the gaze of strangers. It is strange that so much should still be said of the dignity, grace, and beauty of these water-carriers. Lamartine must be expected to make a picture, but it is time travellers stated *facts*. The village women of the East are generally, in the eyes of their husbands, but one remove from the brute; — would that this estimation were not justified by the actual truth! She is a slave. There has been little change for the better in her condition since the time of Xenophon. The present Protestant movement in the Orient is, however, beginning to elevate her to a state of companionship with man — a movement demanding the sympathies and aid of all true Christians.

ARTICLE II.

REMARKS UPON SOME PASSAGES IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

By Professor R. D. C. Robbins, Middlebury College, Vt.

Chap. 9: 7.

Οἱ δὲ ἀνδρες οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῷ, εἰστήκεισαν ἐννεοι, ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες.

"And the men which journeyed with him, stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man."

22: 9.

Οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες τὸ μὲν φῶς διέδεσαντο, καὶ ἥμφοβοι ἐγένοντο· τὴν δὲ γῆν, ἡκουσαν φωνὴν λαλούσαν πρός με, καὶ λέγουσαν τῷ Ἐβραιὶ διαλέκτῳ Σαοδή, Σαοδή, τί με διάκεις; σκληρὸν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν.

"And they that were with me saw indeed the light and were afraid, but they knew not the voice of him that spake to me."

26: 14.

Πάντων δὲ κατατεστητων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἡκουσαν φωνὴν λαλούσαν πρός με, καὶ λέγουσαν τῷ Ἐβραιὶ διαλέκτῳ Σαοδή, Σαοδή, τί με διάκεις; σκληρὸν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν.

"And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

THE circumstances which attended the conversion of the Apostle Paul, his journey to Damascus with authority and with the full purpose to persecute the new sect, which was everywhere springing up around him, the appearance of the Lord to him on the way, and its influence upon his subsequent course of life, are too familiar to all to require repetition or remark. They are three times repeated in the Acts: once by the Evangelist Luke, in the regular course of his narrative, ch. ix; and twice in the words of the Apostle himself—first, in defending himself before the people at Jerusalem, from the steps of the castle of Antonia, ch. 21: 40 and ch. xxii; and then before King Agrippa at Cæsarea, when he and Bernice had come, "with great pomp, and was entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains and principal men of the city," ch. 25: 22 seq. and ch. xxvi. But our present object is principally to speak of the *apparent* discrepancies which occur in these three different accounts, as exhibited in the verses above quoted in the original, accompanied by our common English Version.

There appears, at first view, to be two almost direct contradictions in these verses : first, in 9: 7 it is said : "the men which journeyed with him *stood* speechless," and in 26: 14, "when *we were all fallen* to the earth;" so that the companions of Paul should seem to stand erect and fall to the earth at the same time. And then in 9: 7 we read, "*hearing* a voice," and in 22: 9, "*but they heard not* the voice of him that spake to me ;" so that they are made both *to hear* and *not to hear* the same thing.

The first apparent discrepancy is frequently accounted for by supposing that Luke in his narrative, ch. 9: 7, had in mind a point of time subsequent to that indicated in ch. 26: 14; and that they had first fallen to the ground, and afterwards risen and stood on their feet. This is the interpretation of Valla, adopted by Kuinoel and others. Kuinoel says : *sed evanescit difficultas, si cum Valla ad 22: 9, statim us comites Pauli ad primum pavorem prolapsos fuisse, continuo vero surgentes stetisse.* Others understand it in inverse order : that they first stood still, and afterwards fell to the ground. So Bishop Bloomfield says : "It should seem that the best solution will be to suppose that Paul's companions at first *stood fixed* and mute with astonishment; and then, struck with awe at what they regarded as indicating the presence, however invisible, of a supernatural Being, fell with their faces to the ground, as Saul had done." Either of these would be a sufficient explanation and reconciliation of the two passages, if no better one were at hand.

The whole difficulty seems, however, to result from the manner in which the Greek word *ειστηκευσαν* is rendered in our English Version. It is made to designate the act of standing, as opposed to sitting, reclining, or prostrating one's self upon the ground ; whereas *ἴστημι*, in the 2 Aor., Perf., *Pluperf.*, and fut. Perf., has the primary meaning *to place one's self, to be placed*, and from this, *to stand*. Hence it is frequently used, even in classical Greek, as an emphatic *είναι, to be, exist*, as, to be in a certain state, condition. Cf. Soph., Ajax 1084 ; Tr. 1145. Homer's Od. B. VII. l. 89 et al. So, in the N. Test. it is used to indicate a *standing still*,

stopping, as opposed to moving on. See Matt. 20: 32, στὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ; and cf. also Mark 10: 49. Luke also uses it, in a similar signification, in his Gospel, 7: 14 : οἱ δὲ βαστάζοντες ἔστησαν, and 19: 40, in the Passive. And in Acts 8: 38, ἐκέλευσε στῆναι τὸ ἄρμα, "He commanded the chariot to stand still." In accordance with classical usage, it might be interpreted here with ἐννεολ, as only more emphatic, but yet parallel with the phrase ἐμφοβοι ἐγένοντο, 22: 9, *they were or became speechless* (from fear). But it is most probable that Luke, intended to indicate that they were arrested, stopped in their course, as well as rendered speechless. And this use is entirely in accordance with the passages quoted above from his Gospel and the Acts, and not at all at variance with the declaration in 26: 14, that they all fell to the ground, πάντων καταπεσόντων ἡμᾶν εἰς τὴν γῆν.

The second discrepancy has also been variously explained. Some, as Vitringa, Rosenmueller, and others, suppose that φωνὴν, in 9: 7, signifies *noise* or *sound*, while in 22: 9 it indicates *a voice, connected words*. Now there cannot be much doubt that the former is a legitimate meaning of φωνή. See Mem. I. 4, 6, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀκοὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν πάσας φωνάς, where it is used of sound generally. So often in the LXX., as in Dan. 3: 5, 7, 10, of the sound of a musical instrument; and, in the N. Test., as of the wind, in John 3: 8; of thunder, Rev. 6: 1. 14: 2, et al. saep.; so that if this apparent discrepancy occurred in a classical writer, as in Plato or Xenophon, this would be a sufficient vindication of the consistency of the writer with himself, although the change of signification should occur in contiguous and nearly related passages. But we have no occasion, here, to rely upon this explanation. Neither would we place very much stress upon the use of the Genitive in 9: 7, which might have a partitive signification : they heard *of the voice*, i. e. had a partial perception of the utterance, but not a full comprehension of its import, although this is an authorized use of the Greek Genitive; for, in 22: 7 we have a similar construction of the Genitive, ἤκουσα φωνῆς, where it cannot have this meaning.

Beza, Er. Schmidt, and others, understand φωνὴν, in 9: 7, of Paul replying to the invisible speaker; while in 22: 9 it is the voice of Christ; but this is so little in accordance with the context, as scarcely to require notice. So Kuinoel says: si de voce Pauli Lucas intelligi voluisse vocabulum φωνή, adjecisset pronomen αὐτοῦ.

The true explanation of the difficulty, it seems to us, is found in the different use of the word ἀκούω in the two passages. The author of the *Acts* uses ἀκούοντες in its most common acceptation of *hear*, perceive with the ears; while the Apostle, in his defence, employs ἡκουσαν to designate the actual understanding, perception by the mind; and, with the following clause, τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι, the understanding the voice (φωνήν), as the words of some intelligent agent addressing Paul, and not as a confused noise, like a human utterance, indeed, but coming from they knew not whither, and signifying they knew not what. The addition of this last clause seems to be a natural occasion for this use of ἀκούω; and the two passages together give us the simple, natural information that the companions of Paul heard a sound as of a human voice, but did not understand it as the intelligent communication of some individual being.

This use of ἀκούω is not unknown to classical writers (see the Lexicons), and in the LXX. and N. Test. many plain instances may be referred to. In Mark 4: 33 we read: And with many such parables spake he the word unto them as they were able to understand it, καθὼς ἤδύναντο ἀκούειν. Paul himself plainly uses it in this sense in 1 Cor. 14: 2, For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh not unto men but unto God; for no man understands him, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει. Other passages, as John 6: 60. Gal. 4: 21, are sometimes referred to. See also Hackett's Commentary on the *Acts*, 9: 7. In the LXX., instances are not rare where ἀκούω is employed in the translation of the Heb. עָשָׂה in the sense of *to hear distinctly*, *to understand*. Comp. Gen. 11: 7. 42: 23 et al., and see Robinson's Gr. and Heb. Lexx.

There seems, then, to be no impropriety in the use of the word ἀκούω in the sense of *to understand*; and this use is

rendered probable here by the connection, i. e. by the use of the phrase *τοῦ λαλοῦντός μου*. And besides the probability that an author who has shown himself in other respects so accurate and trustworthy, should directly contradict himself, is not credible to one who is not wholly given over to scepticism. In a classical writer, we should accept a far less probable explanation than either of those usually adopted by commentators, or even suspect the genuineness of the text.

Two or three phrases in these verses deserve a passing remark : *τῇ Ἐβραῖδι διαλέκτῳ*, lit. "in the Hebrew dialect;" so the vernacular language of the Jews of Palestine, the Aramaean or Syro-Chaldaic, was called, though much changed from the ancient Hebrew. Cf. *Acts* 21: 40. 22: 2, and see *Bib. Repos.* Vol. I. Art. IV. esp. pp. 351 sq.

The general idea of the proverbial phrase, *σκληρόν σὺ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*, "it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," is plain, as well as its application here, namely: Your opposition to my will, will be unavailing, and only end in your injury and ruin. The *κέντρον*, to which allusion is here made, was a stick with a sharp iron point or goad, used in urging forward beasts of burden or draught-animals. It is now often seen in use in the countries upon the Mediterranean and Levant; and the proverb would seem to have been in general use, especially among the Greeks and Romans. See *Aeschylus*, Agamemnon, 1540: *Πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε*; and Prometheus, 323: *πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἔκτενεῖς*; Euripides, Bacch. l. 791; and Pind. Pyth. 2. 173, where the scholiast explains the origin of the expression: *ἢ δὲ τροπὴ ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν· τῶν γὰρ οἱ ἄτακτοι κατὰ τὴν γεωργίαν κεντριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀροῦντος, λακτίζουσι τὸ κέντρον καὶ μᾶλλον πλήγτονται*. So in Latin writers, as Terence, Phormio, 1. 2. 27: "Num quæ inscitia est, Advorsum stimulum calcæs; see also Plautus 4. 2. 55: and Amm. Marc. 18. 5: contra acumina calcitrare. Cf. Hackett's Comm. and Robinson's Greek Lexicon.

Chap. xii. 1—3 and 21—23.

V. 1. Κατ' ἑκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαί τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλεσίας.

V. 2. Ἀνεῖλε δὲ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαρῷ.

V. 3. Καὶ ἵδων ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἔστι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον. ***

V. 21. Τακτὴ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν, καὶ καθίσας, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς.

V. 22. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπεφώνει· Θεοῦ φωνὴ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου.

V. 23. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου, ἀνθ' ὃν οὐκ ἔδωκε τὴν δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος, ἐξέψυξεν.

V. 1. "Now about that time Herod *the King* stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church."

V. 2. "And he killed James the brother of John with the sword."

V. 3. "And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also." ***

V. 21. "And upon a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne and made an oration unto them."

V. 22. "And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god and not of a man."

V. 23. "And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him because he gave not God the glory, and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost."

Herod *the king*, here spoken of, was the elder Herod Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, "the murderer of the innocents," and father of Herod Agrippa the younger, called by both Josephus and the author of the Acts only Agrippa. See Acts 25: 13, 22, 23, 24, 26; 26: 1, 2, etc.; and Josephus, Ant. 19. 9. 1. 2 et al. After the death of his father Aristobulus, his grandfather took charge of his rearing and education, and sent him to Rome to pay his court to Tiberius, then emperor. By his address he soon gained the

favor of that prince and of Antonia the empress, and was familiarly associated with Drusus their son, until his death, when all his friends were compelled to leave Rome, so that the emperor might the less be reminded of his son. But in consequence of his prodigality, Herod was obliged to leave Rome, with large debts unpaid, and was unable to return to Jerusalem in the state to which his birth entitled him. He accordingly retired to the castle of Massada, near the Dead Sea, where his uncle, Herod the tetrarch, assisted him with large sums of money and with authority, until, wearied with his profusion, he rebuked his extravagance. But this was more than the pride of the youth could brook, and he resolved to leave Judea and again return to Rome. Cordially received by Tiberius, whose grief for his son was assuaged by time, he had an apartment in the royal palace assigned him, and he succeeded in obtaining from the empress money to refund what he had borrowed from the royal treasury in Judea. Having thus appeased the temporary anger of the emperor, he had leisure and opportunity to ingratiate himself into the favor of the young Caius Caligula, grandson of Antonia, and son of Germanicus, whose future elevation he seems to have foreseen. He soon made himself necessary to the happiness of Caligula, and when Tiberius died four years after, A. D. 39, Caligula rewarded him with a crown and title of king, and the rule of the provinces which his uncle Philip and Lysanias had possessed. On the accession of Claudius, he received all of Judea and the kingdom of Chalcis, and thus held, perhaps, a wider sway than even his grandfather.

The accuracy of Luke as a historian is thought to be specially conspicuous in his allusions to this Herod. Archbishop Paley, in his "Evidences of Christianity" (Part II. ch. vi. § 4), says: "The accuracy of the sacred writer, in the expressions which he uses here, is remarkable. There is no portion of time, for thirty years before, or *ever* afterwards, in which there was a *king* at Jerusalem, a person exercising that authority in Judea, or to whom that title could be applied, except the three last years of Herod's life, within

which period the transactions in the Acts is stated to have taken place." The predecessor of Herod Agrippa — Herod Antipas — was never properly king, although sometimes so designated, simply as ruler; and his successor, Agrippa II, although king, was not king at Jerusalem or over Judea, but over the provinces which his father at first possessed, viz. Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, etc. See Josephus 20. 7. 1 and 20. 8. 4. Neither could Herod Agrippa I. have been properly designated "king at Jerusalem," "until during the last three years of his life." Josephus says that Claudius, in the beginning of his reign (A. D. 41), in return for favors done him by Agrippa, not only confirmed him in his previous dominions, but "added to them the territory over which Herod his grandfather had reigned, namely, Judea and Samaria" (19. 5. 1). This happened three years previous to the transactions recorded in the last paragraph of the 12th chapter of Acts: Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city of Cæsarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower, and there exhibited shows in honor of Cæsar, etc. (Jos. Ant. 19. 8. 1, 2.) Sometime within these three years, and probably but a short time before the close of them, the death of James and the imprisonment of Peter must have taken place.

An incidental allusion, in verse 3d of ch. 12, shows plainly the author's knowledge of the character of Agrippa: "he killed James the brother of John with the sword; and because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also." Now according to profane history this Herod endeavored, unlike his uncle Herod Antipas (who was evidently "more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews,"—Jos. 19. 7. 3.), in every way, to conciliate the Jews; he repaired and strengthened the walls of Jerusalem, appeared to love to dwell there, and was careful in conforming to all the Jewish laws and observances. Cf. Josephus 19. 7. 2, 3.

The occurrences recorded in verses 21—23 are fully substantiated and enlarged upon by Josephus. This "set day," *τακτὴ ἡμέρα* (lit. *arranged, fixed*), was the second day

of the games instituted in honor of Cæsar, and probably on the 12th of Aug. (see Conybeare and Howson's Life of Paul), "when a great multitude were assembled, in Cæsarea, of the principal persons and such as were of dignity throughout this province." Early in the morning, as it was known that Herod was to appear in state, in the royal theatre built by Herod the Great (Ant. 15. 9. 6.), the people, all, as we may suppose, filled with excitement and expectation, were assembled and arranged upon the semicircular massive stone seats, rising one above another. Herod soon appeared in his royal robe, ἐνδυσάμενος ἑσθῆτα βασιλικήν, which, as Josephus tells us, was on this occasion made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful. "As the morning rays of the sun fell upon it, it shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him" (Ant. 19. 8. 2).

He proceeded to the raised platform (*βῆμα*, from *βαῖνω*, to go; hence a *step*, and then a place which is reached by steps), or tribune, where the speaker was accustomed to address the assembled multitude, now doubtless fitted up as a throne; and, taking his seat, he made an address (*ἐδημηγόρει*, from *δῆμος* and *ἀγορεύω*) to the people, or, more probably, to the deputies. The words which had been here and there heard from his admirers and flatterers, now were upon the lips of the assembled multitudes: ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπεφώνει, and the people shouted: Θεοῦ φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. So Josephus says, more generally: "presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place and another from another (though not for his good), that 'he was a god,' and they added, 'Be thou merciful to us; for, although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature."

In verse 22 Luke gives, in few words, the sequel to this occurrence, namely, a direct visitation of God in the infliction of disease; the occasion of it, his receiving, without rebuke, the reverence due to God only; and its result, the death of Herod.

First, the angel of God immediately smote (struck) him, *Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου*. The verb *πατάσσω*, which originally means *to strike, beat*, when designating the action of God directly or mediately by his angel, signifies “to afflict with disease or calamity,” see Rev. 11: 6, and so often in the LXX. for the Heb. הִנֵּה Hiph. of הַנָּה. Cf. Gen. 19: 11. Num. 14: 12 et al., and see Robinson’s Hebr. and Gr. Lexicons, s. v. What is meant, in this verse, by ἄγγελος κυρίου? God is frequently represented as accomplishing his purposes by means of angels, messengers. The passages are too numerous, both in the Old and New Testaments, and too familiar to all, to need citation. In this same chapter, verse 7 sq., an angel is represented as appearing for the liberation of Peter. And in this case, without question, there was a visible appearance: Behold the angel of the Lord (came and) *stood* before him * * * and *touching* the side of Peter, he *roused* him from sleep, *saying*, etc. Here there was need of a visible agent for the easy and ready accomplishment of the result designed. But not so in the present instance. The disease was inflicted in the ordinary way of an attack of disease, yet so as to make it evident that it was a direct visitation of God, by means of his unseen messengers, who ever stand ready to do his will. See Stuart in Bib. Sacra, No. I. 1843, and cf. Gen. 19: 1—23. 2 Sam. 24: 16. 1 Chron. 21: 12, 15, et al. saep.

The next clause, ἀνδ’ ὅν οὐκ ἔδωκε τὴν δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ, *because he gave not God the glory*, i. e. because he accepted the homage of the people, which belonged to God only. Josephus says, a little more at length: “Upon this [the homage that was paid him], the king did neither rebuke them nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterwards looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope, over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was a messenger of ill tidings,” etc. He adds: “A severe pain also arose in his bowels, and began in a most violent manner.” Herod himself seems to have connected this visitation of God with the preceding transaction; for, according to Josephus, “he looked upon his friends and said:

'I, whom you call a god, am commanded immediately to depart this life; while Providence thus reprobates the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death.'

The result, as far as Herod is concerned, is naturally passed over by the author of the *Acts*, in few words, as he is not writing an account of the life of Herod, but of the treatment which Peter had received from him, and its results. The brief notice of his disease and death: *καὶ γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν*, *and being eaten of worms, he died*, seems at first almost to be at variance with the more detailed account of Josephus, who says that in consequence of the violence of his disease, "he was carried from the theatre into his palace, and the rumor went abroad everywhere, that he would certainly die in a little time." * * * And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his bowels for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh of his reign." 19. 8. 2.

It is plain that there is really no contradiction between the author of the *Acts* and Josephus in respect to the nature of the disease. Josephus says: "Pain arose in his bowels," "his pain became violent," and "when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his bowels," all general declarations not at all inconsistent at least with the one more definite declaration in Luke of the nature of the disease that produced his death, but rather related as the effect: the severe pain; and the cause: eaten by worms. Josephus's prejudice in favor of Herod might naturally lead him, without design even, not to mention any unnecessary details of an unpleasant nature connected with his death. When this is taken into view, the manifest divine interference through natural causes for the punishment of Herod is made very certain, since not even his adviser can help acknowledging the connection between the sudden attack of this most loathsome disease, and the arrogant assumptions of Herod. The account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in 2

Mac. 9: 5 sq. seems to give a just commentary upon this, reconciling the account of Luke and Josephus: 'Ο δὲ πανεπόπτης Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνιάτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ πληγῇ ἅρπι δε αὐτοῦ καταλήξαντος τὸν λόγον, ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀλγηδῶν, καὶ πικρὰ τῶν ἔνδου βάσανοι,

* * * * *

"Ωστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς σκώληκας ἀναξέιν,
καὶ ζῶντας ἐν ὁδύναις καὶ ἀλγηδόσι τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ διαπίπτειν,
ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ὀσμῆς αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον βαρύνεσθαι τῇ
σαπρᾳ.

The disease of Herod the Great seems to have been the same, and according to Josephus was inflicted as a judgment for his sins. See the account which is too loathsome to repeat, in Antt. 17. 6. 5.

There is nothing in Acts 12: 23, at all inconsistent with the statement of Josephus that Herod lived five days after the attack of disease in the theatre. Luke merely commemorates the fact that he died, ἐξέψυξαν, *breathed out* (his life) as a consequence of his disease. This was all that his object required, merely to show the care that God exerted over his cause and his servants, by whom this cause was promoted. Whether Herod was instantly removed or continued in pain five or ten days, was not material for his purpose; since in either case, it was a manifest visitation of God. But we might gather from the Acts, that Herod's death was not instantaneous. Since in that case it would not be unnatural to look for a word, as *παραχρῆμα*, to indicate the fact; and besides, the nature of the disease as designated by Luke, *σκωληκόθρωτος*, would naturally imply a considerable time before the strength of a man, in the vigor of life, would be exhausted, and his life's blood consumed.

The conclusion of the narrative concerning Herod is worthy of a passing notice. "But," i. e. in contrast with this fate of its opposer Herod, the word of God (here designating, says Hackett in his Comm. in h. l. "the complex idea of doctrine and disciples,") "grew" (*ηὔξανε*, the figure taken from the growth of plants) i. e. gained in power and

extent of influence, and applying specially to the instruction of the Apostles; and “multiplied” (*ἐπληθύνετο*, lit. became many) naturally applying to those who embraced the gospel. This new doctrine not only in spite of the opposition of its opponents, but in contrast with their success, spread abroad and became daily more and more influential both among Jews and Gentiles.

Chap. xiii. verses 6, 7.

V. 6. *Διελθόντες δὲ ὅλην τὴν νῆσον ἄχρι Πάφου, εὗρον ἀνδρα τινὰ μάγον, ψευδοπροφήτην Ἰουδαίον, φένομα Βαριησοῦν,*

V. 7. *Ος ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνδυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ, ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ. Οὗτος, προσκαλεσάμενος Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σαῦλον, ἐπεξήγησεν ἀκούσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

V. 6. “And when they had gone through the isle unto Paphos, they found a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name was Barjesus.”

V. 7. “Which was with the deputy of the country, Sergius Paulus, a prudent man, who called for Barnabas and Saul and desired to hear the word of God.”

In the beginning of the 13th chapter we read, that while certain prophets and teachers, the leading persons in the church at Antioch, were performing religious services (*Λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ*) and fasting, they were commanded by the Holy Spirit to set apart for the work “whereunto they were called,” Barnabas and Saul. When they had been ordained by laying on of hands, accompanied by suitable devotional exercises, they went forth under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and followed by the good wishes and prayers of the brethren, to the specific work of converting the Gentiles. They turned their steps, for what reason we need not now stop to inquire, towards the sea-coast, and embarked, for the island of Cyprus, at Seleucia. A few hours’ sail brought them in sight of Salamis so familiar to Barnabas, a native of Cyprus. John, surnamed Mark, accompanied them; since we read, in the first account of their labors in the synagogues of the Jews, that “they had John also as their assistant.” But it should seem that they

did not remain long in Salamis, a town filled with Jews and Jewish synagogues. They turned their faces to Paphos, at the opposite extremity of the island, the residence of the Roman governor, and hence an important post for exerting an influence as missionaries to the Gentiles. The hundred miles, or thereabouts, intervening between Salamis and Paphos, on a great public thoroughfare, we may suppose, in the first zeal of their important undertaking, was passed over with only the necessary delays for attention to physical wants, and for scattering seed by the wayside as opportunity might offer.

When they arrived at Paphos, their attention seems to have been specially arrested by a certain Magian, a Jewish false prophet, whose name was Barjesus, "which," according to our English Version, "was with the deputy of the country (the proconsul) Sergius Paulus, a prudent man, who called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear the word of God." This Roman governor, it should seem, had been desirous of learning in respect to the great truths that pertain to divine influence and agency, and to the future state of existence; but not, as a discerning man (*συνερός*), being able to give his full confidence to the magician, gladly availed himself of this new opportunity of "hearing the word of God." It is plain that, from the first, Elymas perceived that Sergius Paulus was inclined to listen favorably to the apostles; for we read that "he withheld them, seeking to turn away the deputy from the faith," i. e. he endeavored to prevent the mind of the ruler from falling under the influence of their divine teachings. Cf. Conybeare and Howson's Life of St. Paul, Vol. I. p. 148. This, as we should expect, roused the energies of the Apostle Paul; and, "filled with the Holy Ghost, he set his eyes upon him, and said: O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt become blind, not seeing the sun for a time." These words were no sooner spoken, than their truth was verified, and "forth-

with there fell upon him mist and darkness;" so that he who had so recently attempted to guide others, now looks about for those who will even direct his footsteps away from him whom he had, so lately, boldly withheld. But out of his darkness a light arose and shone upon the Proconsul; for, "when he saw what was done, he believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord," i. e. at this manner of teaching the word of God, as in Mark 1: 22. The influence exerted by the teaching of Paul, substantiated by this plain miracle, must have extended far beyond the Roman magistrate. The sacred historian has, however, given us no further particulars; but, in the next verse, speaks of "Paul and his company" as leaving Paphos for Perga in Pamphylia.

There are several things worthy of more extended notice in this narrative, particularly in the verses quoted above. Verse 6: *τινα μάγον*. The word *μάγος*, Plur. *μάγοι*, *magi*, from the Heb. *מָגֵג* *mag* (Pers. *mogh*, fr. *mih*, Zend. *meh*, Sanscrit *mahat*, *mahā*, see Ges. Thesaur.), from which the Greek *μάγος* is derived, was the common name for the priests and wise men among the Medes, Persians, and Babylonians, i. e. the *great*, the *powerful*. And hence it is used as a general term for *magician*, *sorcerer*, *fortune-teller*, and corresponds to the Heb. and Chald. *בָּבֶל* (comp. the LXX. Tr., Dan. 1: 20. 2: 2, 27, etc.) and the Syr. *ܒܰܒܰܠܴ*. *ψευδόπροφήτης*, lit. a false (*ψευδής*) prophet (*προφήτης*); but as *προφήτης* is used in a more general sense, for one who speaks from a special divine impulse or inspiration; so this word may designate one who falsely pretends to have supernatural aid in speaking. This man, it seems, was a Jew by descent ('*Ioudaion*), and was named Barjesus (*Βαρτησους*, i. e. *Bap-* *יְהוּשָׁעַ*, son, '*Iησοῦς* *יְהוּשָׁעַ* of Jeshua or Jesus). It may be proper to remark here, that, in verse 8, this man is called Elymas (*Ἐλύμας*), which signifies the magician (*μάγος*). This name is, doubtless, derived from the Arabic word meaning "the wise;" but whether this name had been given him as a testimony to his wisdom, or because he had previously been a resident in Arabia; or whether he had assumed it to give

consequence to his character as magician, we cannot decide. Nor is it of any serious importance.

Verse 7. *“Ος ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, κ. τ. λ.* Two things, here, are of consequence to discuss: the fact that such a man *was with* (*ἦν σὺν*), i. e. was an attendant upon, attached to the court of the Roman magistrate; and the title here given to Sergius Paulus: *ἀνθυπάτῳ*.

It might, at first, appear strange that a man of the station of the Roman magistrate, and moreover a cultivated and discriminating man (*συνέρος*), should encourage such impostors, or give them place about his person. This however, is explained by inquiring a little into the customs and “intellectual and religious tendencies of the age.” Mr. Howson, in his Life of St. Paul, says: “For many years before this time, and many years after, impostors from the East, pretending to magical powers, had great influence over the Roman mind. All the Greek and Roman literature of the Empire, from Horace to Lucian, abounds in proof of the prevalent credulity of this sceptical period. Unbelief, when it has become conscious of its weakness, is often glad to give its hand to superstition. The faith of educated Romans was utterly gone. We can hardly wonder, when the East was thrown open,—the land of mystery,—the fountain of the earliest migrations, the cradle of the earliest religions, that the imagination both of the populace and the aristocracy of Rome, became fanatically excited, and that they greedily welcomed the most absurd and degrading superstitions. Not only was the metropolis of the empire crowded with “hungry Greeks,” but “Syrian fortune tellers” flocked into all the haunts of public amusements. Athens and Corinth did not now contribute the greatest or the worst part of the “dregs” of Rome, but (to adopt Juvenal’s use of that river of Antioch we have lately been describing) the Orontes itself flowed into the Tiber.”

Every part of the East had its representatives in the Roman capital. The Egyptian idolaters (Lucan’s Pharsal. lib. viii. l. 830 sq.), the Chaldean, Syrian, and Jewish Astrologers were congregated where both ruler and people gave

credence to their impostures. Even Cicero bears witness to the fact that Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar were accustomed to consult the lying astrologers of the East. See *De Divinatione*, lib. ii. 47 : *Quam multa ego Pompeio, quam multa Crasso, quam multa huic Cæsari a Chaldæis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi in senectute, nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum ? ut mihi permirum videatur, quemquam exstare, qui etiam nunc credat iis, quorum prædicta quotidie videat re et eventis refelli.* Tacitus, too, gives his testimony to the influence of astrologers, when he says of them : *Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus falax, quod in civitate nostra et vitabitur semper et retinebitur,* Hist. Juvenal, in his Satires, has many passages showing that even Jews were not rarely employed in the same way at Rome, as vi. 426—431 :

——— *Cophino foenoque relicto,
Arcanum Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida internuntia coeli.
Implet et illa manum, sed parcus; aere minuta
Qualiacunque voles Judaei somnia vendunt.*

Cf. also vi. 437 sq. ; iii. 13 sq. ; x. 93 etc. ; Horace Sat. i. 2. 1 ; Lucian's Life of Alexander of Abonoteichus, et al. ; and see Neander's Ch. History, Torrey's Transl. Vol. I p. 30 sq. All along through the earlier ages of Christianity, as Socrates, in his age, was both an opponent of the sophists and confounded with them, so the Christians were both everywhere in conflict with and stigmatized as jugglers and artful deceivers. Cf. Neander's Ch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 92 et al. No one can be surprised, after knowing the influence of soothsayers and enchanters at the seat of Roman authority, to find that the magistrate of a distant eastern province had such an appendage to his court as Elymas the sorcerer.

We find that the title here given to Sergius Paulus, *ἀντίταρος*, translated in our Eng. Vers. by the indefinite term *deputy*, and repeated in verses 8 and 12, is only found elsewhere in the N. Test. in Acts 19: 38, while the correspond-

ing verb ἀνθυρατεύω is used in 18: 12. Other Roman magistrates never receive this title, but the more general one of ἡγεμών. See Acts 23: 24, 26, 33, 34. 24: 1, 10. 26: 30 et al. What is the ground of this distinction? A reference to Roman History will explain it. Augustus, in order to establish an imperial government with the semblance of a republic, deemed it best to retain the principal offices and titles already in use. Accordingly we find the name Praetor and Consul still employed as designations of office at Rome, and, with the modifying *pro*, instead of, in the place of, applied to the governors of provinces. So Dion Cassius, LIII. 13. says: Τῶν δύο τούτων ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλείστουν ἐν τῇ δεμοκρατίᾳ ἀνθησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ, τοῖς αἱρετοῖς, ὡς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρκαίου προσῆκον, ἔδωκεν, Ἀντιστρατήγους σφᾶς προσειπών· τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ὑπάτων, τοῖς ἑτέροις, ὡς καὶ εἰρηνικωτέροις, ἀνθηπάτους αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας. Αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὄνόματα, τό τε τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντας, ὡς καὶ ἀντ' ἑκείνων ἀρχοντας προστηγόρευε. He granted, he said, the administration of those provinces where no military authority was necessary, to the senate and people, and retained the appointment of the others to himself. So Suetonius says: Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit; cætera Proconsulibus sortito permisit, et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum.—Vita Aug. 47. So Dion Cassius: Τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα, ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀπόλεμα, ἐπέδωκε τῇ Βουλῇ· τὰ δὲ ἰσχυρότερα, ὡς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα, καὶ ἅποι πολεμίους τιὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα, ἥ καὶ αὐτὰ καδ' ἔαντα μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα, κάτεσχε κ. τ. λ. LIII. 12. Cf. also Strabo xvii. 3. 840 and Gibbon's Rome, Vol. I. p. 39, and Wenck's note, p. 481. Milman's Ed.

The Greek title found in our text, ἀνθηπάτος, αὐτὶ and ὕπατος (ὁ ὕπατος = Lat. *consul*) corresponds to the Latin *Proconsul*. Does the use of this word in the Acts, correspond to the imperial regulations? In 19: 38 ἀνθηπάτοι is used in the plural generically, merely meaning: we have the officer before which such cases are tried; let them bring the case

before him, ἀνθύπατοι εἰσιν. ἐγκαλεῖτωσαν ἀλλήλους. Now we have double authority for this use of the title of *proconsul* at Ephesus. Strabo and Dion Cassius say that "Asia" as well as "Achaia" was given to the Senate. See Dion Cassius LIII. 12. Strabo xvii. 3. See also Robinson's Gr. Lex. art. ἡγεμών.

Coins of Ephesus also, of the time of Nero, have been found with the name and title, together with a representation of a temple of Diana on the obverse side to the head of the emperor: "(Money) of the Ephesians, Neocori, Ξεχμόκλεις Αὐιόλα, Proconsul." See Hackett's Com. 19: 38. Chap. 18: 12 needs no remark, as the reference to Strabo and Dion Cassius above shows, that Achaia was a Senatorial province, and hence properly governed by a proconsul.

In the passage with which we are at present more immediately concerned, there seems at first to be more doubt, or Dion Cassius says that Cyprus was retained by the emperor: 'Η Σύρια, ἡ κοιλὴ καλουμένη, ἡ τε Φοινίκη, καὶ Κιλκία, καὶ Κύπρος, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερὶδὶ τότε ἐγένοντο. LIII. 12. From this declaration some have denied the accuracy of Luke as an historian (see Grotius and Hammond Ann. on Acts xiii.) ; but the very sentence following the one above cited in Dio Cassius, proves the entire correctness of the sacred narrative, where any one not accurately acquainted with the relation of the different provinces of the Roman Empire in the East, would have been especially exposed to err. It seems that Augustus subsequently gave up to the people Cyprus, in exchange for Dalmatia: "Τοτερον τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δῆμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δαλματίαν ἀντέλαβε. LIII. 12. Here also the ancient coins and inscriptions corroborate the testimony of the secular historian. The fac simile of a coin is given in Akerman's Numismatic Illustrations, p. 41, on one side of which is a head of Claudius Cæsar, accompanied by his name, and on the obverse a name with the title: *Proconsul of Cyprus*. Specimens of these coins may be seen in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, or the Bibliothèque Imperiale at Paris. Inscriptions of this age are

also found, in which the names of Proconsuls of Cyprus are preserved; as, for example, one found at Curium in Cyprus, in which is an allusion to the Emperor Claudius, and the names of Julius Cordus and Annius Bassus, Proconsuls, *ΑΝΩΤΙΠΑΤΟΙ*:

*ΚΛΑΤΔΙΩΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΙ ΑΡΚΙΕΡΕΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΙ
ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΧΗΣ ΕΞΟΤΣΙΑΣ ΔΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
ΠΑΤΡΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΟΤΡΙΕΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΚΕΚ[Ρ]ΙΜΕΝΩΝ Τ]ΠΟ ΙΟΤΛΙΟΤ
ΚΟΡΔΟΤ ΑΝΩΤΙΠΑΤΟΥ ΛΟΤΚΙΟΣ ΑΝΝΙΟΣ ΒΑΣ.
[ΣΩΣ ΑΝΘ]ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΕΝ. I.B.*

See Engel's Work on Cyprus (quoted by Howson, Life of St. Paul, Vol. I. p. 154), I. § 459—463. Berlin, 1843.

Acts 26: 28. 'Ο δὲ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἔφη · 'Ἐν δὲ λιγῷ με πεῖδεις Χριστιανὸν γενέσθαι.

V. 29. 'Ο δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν · Εὐχαίμην δὲν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐν δὲ λιγῷ, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ οὐ μόνον σὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντάς μου σήμερον, γενέσθαι τοιούτους ὅποιος κἀγώ εἰμι, παρεκτὸς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων.

V. 28. "Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost [in a short time] thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

V. 29. "And Paul said, I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds."

These are the closing verses of the defence of Paul before Agrippa, in the audience-chamber of the Roman procurator at Cæsarea. He had previously addressed the infuriated populace from the stairs of the castle (22: 1 sq.) in order to show his innocence of the charges brought against him. He had likewise defended himself before Felix and before Festus; and when he found that he could not receive justice at their hands, since they were desirous of pleasing the Jews rather than of doing right, he had appealed to the higher tribunal of the Emperor himself; and this appeal had been accepted. There was no occasion for further defence on his part, as it was now fixed that he should go to Rome, and no change of this decision could be made. But when Fes-

tus desired the advice of Agrippa in reference to the communication to be sent with him, ch. 25: 14 sq., and Agrippa was desirous of hearing what Paul had to say for himself (ch. 25: 22), he nothing loath, entered with courtesy and yet with plainness and dignity, into a defence of his divine commission, as especially indicated by the manner of his conversion and total change of life, and the truth of the doctrines which he had inculcated throughout his ministry.

When the Apostle came to speak of the doctrine of a Messiah, who must be crucified and rise again, thus giving the assurance of the resurrection of others to a spiritual life, ($\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau\sigma$ $\epsilon\xi\ \dot{\alpha}\nu\sigma\tau\acute{a}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \nu\kappa\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$, cf. Col. 1: 18 and 1 Cor. 15: 20,) as inculcated in the writings of the Prophets and Moses, the patience of the Roman ruler could no longer hold out; but, interrupting the speaker, he said with a loud voice : "Paul, thou art beside thyself; much study (or many books) has utterly perverted thy reason." This discourteous interruption, and somewhat grave accusation, did not in the least disturb the equanimity of the Apostle. But with perfect composure and the utmost respect of manner, he replied : "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak the words of truth and soundness of mind (v. 25). Having thus paid suitable respect to the Roman magistrate, and asserted his innocence of the charge made against him, as if it were not worth while to waste further arguments on a heathen, who was not familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, and who, like most of the Romans and Greeks, was not a believer in the doctrine of a resurrection, he turns to Agrippa and says : "The king is familiar with all the facts in reference to the death and resurrection of Christ, and knows that they are attested by such witnesses as cannot be gainsayed, since they have not been done in secret. I therefore speak with the utmost confidence to him." And not this only; but the Apostle appeals to his belief in the Scriptures which foretell not only a suffering, and dying, but a risen and triumphing Messiah. "Believest thou, King Agrippa, the Prophets ? I know thou believest." The Apostle had previously appealed to the King's knowledge of the events attending the mission, suf-

fering, and death of Christ, and now appeals to his belief of the Old Testament, which foretold his coming. But Agrippa, it should seem, feeling that he could not deny either the facts, so well substantiated within his knowledge, or disclaim his belief in the predictions of the prophets, and yet having no sincere desire to yield obedience to the results that must follow from a comparison of the two, wards off conviction by the playful and perhaps a little contemptuous reply : You are very quickly bringing me over to your party, making me out to be a Christian.

The Apostle, with a tact which no one of inferior resources or less confidence in his position and cause, could have exhibited, instead of rebuking the trifling spirit of Agrippa, courteously replies : I could heartily pray to God that not only you, but all who are here present to-day, might become such as I am, i. e. a Christian (except these chains that you see upon me), in a short time, as you say, if it were possible ; but if not, in a long time. I should rejoice to see you becoming a Christian at any time, whether sooner or later. See Hackett's Commentary.

Several words and phrases in the verses require more particular remark. V. 28. '*O δέ.*' The particle *δέ* often, as here, denotes an interruption in discourse, and the introduction of an objection or explanation. See above, v. 24. *ταῦτα δέ*, and v. 28: '*O δέ*', and in the following verse. When a directly contrary sentiment is introduced in the N. Test., as in Classical Greek, *ἀλλὰ* is generally used. See Winer's N. T. Idioms, § 57. 4. — *ἐν ὅλῃ γῳ*. These words are translated, in our English Version, *almost*, and also in some of the old commentators, as Chrysostom, Beza (prope-modum), and Grotius. But it is now generally acknowledged, that if that were the sense, *παρ' ὅλην* or *ὅλην* would have been used (see De Wette's Comm.) ; and besides, the contrasted phrase *ἐν πολλῷ*, which must in that case be rendered *entirely, wholly, admodum plane*, would suggest a different rendering. But whether we should consider this phrase as relating to time or quantity, there is a diversity of opinion among the commentators. Meyer refers it

to quantity : *with little*, i. e. effort or trouble. This is a natural meaning with the ellipsis of $\pi\acute{o}\nu\varphi$; and if with Meyer, following Tischendorf, Lachmann, and others, we read $\acute{e}v\ \mu\acute{e}g\acute{a}\lambda\varphi$ instead of $\acute{e}v\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\varphi$, there would be little hesitation in so rendering it, especially as the general idea in the passage is much the same as when we refer it to time. But on the whole, $\acute{e}v\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\varphi$ seems the most approved reading (see De Wette and Neander), and $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\varphi$ the most natural ellipsis. So Neander says, in his Planting and Training (Eng. Tr.), chap. vii, note: "I understand the words $\acute{e}v\ \acute{o}\lambda\gamma\varphi$ in the only sense [i. e. "*in a short time*"] which they can have, according to the *usus loquendi*, in Paul's answer. The interpretation adopted by Meyer and some others, is indeed possible, but appears to us not so natural. If the reading of the Cod. Alex. and Vulg. which Lachmann approves, be adopted, $\acute{e}v\ \mu\acute{e}g\acute{a}\lambda\varphi$ in Paul's answer, the words of Agrippa must be thus explained: 'With a little or with few reasons (which will not cost you much trouble), you think of making me a Christian,' and the answer of Paul will be: 'Whether with great or with little, for many or few reasons, I pray God,' etc. — $\mu\acute{e}\pi\acute{e}\iota\delta\acute{e}\iota\varsigma$, *you are persuading me*, i. e. going on as you now do, you will make me out to be a Christian. This idea of futurity is not an unusual one in the present. See Kühn. Gr. § 255. R. 3. and Winer's N. Test. Idioms, § 41. 2.

Verse 29. $\acute{e}\acute{v}\ \xi\alpha\acute{l}\mu\eta\acute{\nu}\ \grave{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \grave{\alpha}\acute{e}\acute{\omega}$. This has been criticised as not good Greek, but without reason, as the idea is, as Hackett says: "I could pray to God, i. e. if I obeyed the impulse of my own heart, though it may be unavailing." On this use of $\grave{\alpha}\nu$ with the Optative, see Winer § 43. 1. and Buttmann § 139. R. 15. — $\kappa\alpha\acute{i}\ \acute{e}v\ \acute{o}\lambda\acute{t}\gamma\varphi\ \kappa\alpha\acute{l}\ \acute{e}v\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\varphi$ The other reading, $\mu\acute{e}g\acute{a}\lambda\varphi$, has been spoken of above. The connection by $\kappa\alpha\acute{l}\dots\kappa\alpha\acute{l}$ is used, according to Kühn. (Gr. § 321 (a)), where the single members are independent and forcible; and frequently the last member is emphatic. Here the last is in a sense emphatic, for it is indicated that Agrippa does not doubt that Paul wishes him to become a Christian some time, i. e. in a long time; but

Paul says that he desires it as well in a short as in a long time ; hence the implication is, that it cannot be too soon, and yet he could wish it might be at any time.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ πάντας τὸν ἀκούοντάς μου σήμερον. The persons assembled to listen to the present defence of Paul were, as it seems from 25: 23, in addition to Agrippa and Festus, Bernice with the royal retinue, the commanders of the Roman troops stationed at Cæsarea, and the chief men of the place. With emphasis might the Apostle say he could wish that all these persons of influence might be brought to a belief in Christ the Messiah. — *τοιούτους διπλοὺς καγώ εἰμι, such as I also am.* These words are, of course, limited by the context. Paul does not express a wish that all of his audience might become such as he himself is intellectually or even morally. But he does, in all confidence, wish them to be such as he is in reference to the points now in question, his belief in the truths of the gospel. All of the pomp and power, ostentation and pride, honor and respect, which surround this brilliant assemblage are as nothing and vanity in comparison with the treasure which the captive apostle felt that he possessed. There is a sublimity, in this last scene, of the Apostle's last public address before his departure for his trial before the Roman Emperor, which is worthy of the man and his cause. There is a delicacy, too, in the use of this phrase : "such as I am," instead of repeating the name "Christians," which would needlessly offend his hearers, as a term of reproach and odium, that is as indicative of his good sense as of his kind feeling. — *παρεκτὸς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων.* The Roman manner of securing prisoners, was to have a chain attached to one or both hands, and fastened to one or two soldiers. Paul, when first arrested at Jerusalem, it should seem, had chains fastened to both hands (21: 33), and these were not removed when he was brought before this august assembly ; and the inconvenience of these in speaking, were sufficient to remind him that he was a captive, and to lead him to qualify his wish for his auditors by the phrase, "except these bonds."