even saw from the mountain ridges the onset and the victory; and then at last, when the day dawns, and the chosen warriors of Israel come sweeping over the hill and hem him round, I believe that he bore himself nobly; though I cannot think of him as raising hand or weapon against the host whose oncoming he had so greatly blessed. I think of him as coming out unarmed and majestic to meet the last stroke, and dying as he had lived, undismayed.'

Inscribed Hebrew Weights from Palestine.

By Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., University of Edinburgh.

The publication by Professor Macalister, in his great work, *The Excavation of Gezer* (abbreviation *E.G.*), of a unique catalogue of weights, some twelve score in all, suggests that the time has come for a fresh examination of the whole subject of the weight-standards of Palestine in Old Testament times. This renewed study of the material seems all the more necessary, since it does not appear, to the present writer at least, that the learned and versatile excavator has been altogether successful in his admittedly tentative identification of the various standards represented by the Gezer weights.

These, he suggests, are seven in number, indicated by letters of the Greek alphabet from α to ζ (see *E.G.* ii. 287 ff. and the summary, p. 292). The most serious objection to Mr. Macalister's scheme is the unnecessary multiplication of standards. Thus his standards α and δ are really one and the same, the heavy and light forms of the Babylonian shekel of the so-called 'royal' standard (for which see the arts. Money in Hastings' *D.B.* iii. 419, and Weights and Measures, *D.B.* iv. 902 f.). The same applies to his standards β and $\bar{\chi}$, explained below. It is also impossible to admit the 'Phœnician silver shekel of 14·9*g*' (230 grs.)[1] as a standard γ distinct from ϵ, 'the Hebrew shekel, 14·55*g*' (224 grs.).

On the other hand, one or two important weight-standards have been overlooked, as I shall try to show. Further, any identification of ancient weights that brings out results showing 11, 13, and 17 units is open to the gravest suspicion.

It is not my intention to attempt a re-allocation of the Gezer weights to their respective standards, but only to justify in part the criticism here passed on their identification in the official publication, and more especially to discuss the *inscribed* weights recovered in recent years from Gezer and other parts of Palestine. Has not Professor Macalister said of his own efforts in this department of metrology—'that this bewildering subject is exhausted here cannot be claimed'?

I. The Phœnician Standard.

The best attested of all the weight-standards of Palestine is, of course, the Phœnician with its shekel unit of 224 grs. (14·5 *g*). That this was also the national Hebrew silver standard is beyond dispute. The Phœnician shekel, and no other, was 'the shekel of the sanctuary,' or 'sacred shekel,' of the priestly legislation (see *D.B.* iii. 422). The effective weight of the Phœnician shekel or tetradrachm varied considerably in different places and at different times. The best coins of the Phœnician cities yield an average shekel of about 220 grs. (14·25 *g*), with a maximum of 224. The same may be said of the famous Jewish shekels and half-shekels. Professor Flinders Petrie estimates the average of the long series of tetradrachms issued by the Ptolemies of Egypt on this standard at 218 grs. (*Encyc. Brit.*,[11] art. Weights and Measures).

On the other hand, when Darius introduced his gold coinage on the higher or 'royal' standard, with a shekel of 260 grs., as compared with the ordinary shekel of 252, the Phœnician silver shekel —15 of which were equivalent to 2 gold darics of 130 grs. each, on the ratio of gold to silver of 40 : 3 —rose at Aradus, in Cyprus and elsewhere, to 230 grs. (14·9 *g*). Two of the Jerusalem weights published by Sir Chas. Warren (*P.E.F.St.* 1870,

[1] In this paper *g* in italics will be used to denote grammes, in terms of which all the Gezer weights are expressed, while grs. will signify grains. A gramme contains 15·43 grains; 7*g* = 108 grs. A 'French penny' (10 centimes) weighs 10*g*.

330; 1906, 266 ff.), of 5698 and 5674 grs. respectively, appear to be half-minas, yielding a shekel of 226–227 grs.

We thus obtain for this standard a range of values from 218 to 230 grs. for good and honest weights, with a considerable margin on either side for imperfect and fraudulent specimens. Inasmuch, therefore, as any weight yielding a unit from, say, 210 to 235 grs. may belong to this standard, it follows, as has been already pointed out, that it was unnecessary to postulate two different standards, γ and ϵ, as Mr. Macalister has done, the former based on a shekel of 230 grs., the latter on one of 224 grs.

A large proportion of the Gezer uninscribed weights, from $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel upwards, belongs, as we should expect, to the Phœnician standard. Of 61 weights found by Dr. Bliss at Tell el-Hesy (Lachish), no less than 27, or 44 per cent., with a mean value of 217 grs., have been assigned by Professor Flinders Petrie to this system (*P.E.F.St.* 1892, 114). By far the largest weight found at Megiddo weighed 2775 *g* (6 lb. 2 oz.), evidently four somewhat light Phœnician minas, otherwise 200 shekels of 13·87 *g*, or 214 grs.

To the same standard belongs the only example known to me of a Hebrew weight of the highest denomination, the talent. It is a cylindrical stone weight of 42,533 *g*,[1] about 93½ lb., with a Hebrew inscription, and was found in Jerusalem in 1891. The corresponding shekel ($\frac{1}{30000}$) is one of 14·18 *g*, or 218·8 grs., the average weight of the tetradrachms coined at Tyre in our Lord's day, a fact which shows the remarkable stability, notwithstanding the fluctuations above referred to, of this standard in Palestine. Besides the interest attaching to these Phœnician tetradrachms as the shekels in terms of which the sacred dues were estimated and paid in the days of the second temple, it may be recalled that one of them was the stater or 'piece of money' (R.V. 'shekel') found by St. Peter in the fish's mouth (Mt 17^{27}), and that the 'thirty pieces of silver' paid over to Judas Iscariot from the Temple treasury (26^{15}) were almost certainly contemporary Tyrian tetradrachms (see *D.B.* iii. 428^{b}).

[1] Art. TALENT in Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, with a reference to the *Rev. Biblique*, 1892, 416–432. The inscription has been read as 'Weight of King David, 3000 shekels'!! (H. Loewe, *Jewish Chronicle*, August 16, 1912, with illustration of the stone and inscription—undecipherable?).

II. THE GEZER MARKET WEIGHT.

Perhaps the most interesting weight in Professor Macalister's collection, and certainly the weight which has the most to say for itself, is one that may be best described as the Gezer market weight. It is a square-shaped leaden disc, weighing 319 *g*, say 11¼ oz., and is inscribed 'L** ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΟC CΩCΙΠΠΑΤΡΟΥ Μ' (*E.G.* ii. 286, with illustration, fig. 436). It is entered by its finder as 'a light mina' (p. 292) on the ζ or nezeph standard (see below, sect. vi.). Unfortunately Mr. Macalister has failed to note the sign for ½ which clearly follows Μ at the end of the inscription. The asterisks represent two doubtful letters which, as they denote the unit and the ten of a date, can from their outline be only ΔΠ or ΛΓ. The former seems the more probable reading, and accordingly I translate the legend thus: 'Year 84, Sosipater being Controller of the Market: ½ Mina.' A similar square leaden weight, found near Gaza, with the inscription, 'Year 164, Dikaios being Controller of the Market,' was described by M. Clermont-Ganneau in *P.E.F.St.* 1893, 305 f. Contemporary with these, although undated, is the market weight from Tell Sandahannah, which will meet us at a later stage (sect. ix.). The 'year 84' can hardly be other than the year 84 of the Seleucid era, *i.e.* B.C. 229–228.

In Sosipater's half-mina, then, we have an official weight of the city of Gezer, one of a well-known series of Greek weights issued under the authority of the city officials known as the Agoranomoi. In the Greek cities the office of Agoranomos, or Controller of the market, was one of great dignity and considerable emoluments. From 2 Mac 3^{4}, according to the better reading (ἀγορανομίας for παρανομίας), it appears that a dispute regarding this lucrative office in Jerusalem

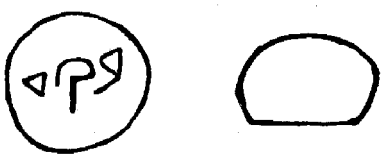
was one of the contributing causes of the Maccabean revolt. We know also that 'the spendthrift adventurer,' who afterwards became King Agrippa I. (Ac $12^{1.\ 20ff.}$), was glad to accept the controllership of the market of the recently founded city of Tiberias (Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 2).

The Controller was charged not only with the preservation of order, the inspection of goods offered for sale and the regulation of prices, but with the inspection and attestation of all weights and measures, and the punishment of those found in possession of fraudulent standards. The inscription on the Gezer market weight is therefore a guarantee of its accuracy. Its value of close upon 5000 grs. ($\frac{5}{7}$ lb. avoir.) reveals the standard known as the Aeginetan, from the circumstance that the earliest silver coins of Europe, those of the island of Aegina, were struck on this standard. It is now known, however, that from time immemorial weights on this standard with a mina of 10,000 grs. or over, and a drachm of 100 grs., were in use round the whole eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, including Egypt and Cyprus. Although displaced at Athens as the monetary standard by Solon (see below, sect. ix.), it remained the ordinary standard of commerce not only in Greece, but throughout the Near East.

The Gezer market weight, then, is the half of the Greek commercial mina of 638 *g* ($1\frac{2}{5}$ lb.), of which the drachm is 6·38 *g*, say 99 grs. It is natural to expect that among the uninscribed weights from Gezer lower denominations of this standard would be found, and such is the case, although unfortunately Mr. Macalister has failed to recognize it. Of the weights from Tell el-Hesy, Flinders Petrie has assigned about 30 per cent. to the Aeginetan system (*P.E.F.St.* 1892, 114). Of those recovered by the Germans from the site of the ancient Megiddo, several may also be confidently referred to the same standard as the Gezer market weight; such is the series weighing 9·50, 19, and 38 *g* (Schuhmacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 104), and representing $1\frac{1}{2}$, 3, and 6 Aeginetan drachms.

Sosipater's weight, finally, along with those of Gaza and Sandaḥannah, gives us an interesting glimpse of the municipal organization of the towns of Palestine in the third and second centuries before our era, and of the ever-widening influence of Hellenism. The Jews followed, to some extent at least, the Greek model, for Jerusalem, as we have seen, and other Jewish cities also had their רב שוק, or Market-Controller (Krauss, *Talmud. Archäologie*, ii. 373).

III. THE INSCRIBED בקע (BEḲA') WEIGHTS.



Tracing of Inscription on Beḳa' Weight from Jerusalem. (From *Z.D.P.V.* xxix. 94.)

To the same period—the Persian and Hellenistic—of the history of Gezer as Sosipater's half-mina belongs a small stone weight of 6·11 *g* (94·3 grs.), having inscribed on the top the word בקע (beḳa') —see *E.G.* ii. 285, fig. 430, *P.E.F.St.* 1904, 210 f. Two other weights similarly inscribed have been published in recent years, one of 5·87 *g*, or 90·58 grs. (*P.E.F.St.* 1904, 279), the other of 6·65 *g*, or 102·7 grs., described and figured by Professor Dalman in the *Zeitschrift d. deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxix. (1906), 93 f. All three are of the same dome-shaped type. Since their average weight is close on 96 grs., there need be no hesitation in recognizing in these beḳa' weights three drachms of the Aeginetan or Attic commercial standard discussed in the foregoing section. Their average weight is too low for them to be 'light or worn beḳa's [*i.e.* half-shekels] of the Phœnician standard,' as Dr. Driver has suggested (*Comm. on Exodus*, 394).

Mr. E. J. Pilcher, who has recently examined the whole subject of the 'Weights of Ancient Palestine' in *P.E.F.St.*, 1912 (cf. his shorter treatment in the *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, xxxiv. (1912) 114 ff.), deliberately rejects the natural identification with the Aeginetan standard on the ground that 'it is difficult to see how a Greek standard could have penetrated into Palestine—at any rate before the time of Alexander' (*P.E.F.St.* 1912, 188). But, as has been already pointed out, this standard is not exclusively Greek; indeed, it is probably found in Egypt as early as the time of Khufu, the builder of the great pyramid (Hultsch, Petrie). Mr. Pilcher then proceeds in a somewhat violent manner to give בקע the sense of 'two-thirds,' viz. of the Egyptian ket of 140–146 grs. (*P.S.B.A.* xxxiv. 116 f.).

Now, although it is true in the abstract that 'the root בקע could be a division of any kind, and need

not be limited to a half,' it is impossible to set aside the express testimony of Ex 38^{26}, that בֶּקַע denotes 'half a shekel' (cf. Gn 24^{22}, the only other occurrence in O.T.), or, as the LXX translators render the passage, 'one drachm per head, the half of a shekel.'[1] The three inscribed beḳa's, therefore, are drachms, consequently each one half of the stater or shekel of the same standard as the Gezer market-weight. From this it follows that Mr. Macalister, like Dr. Driver, is mistaken in identifying his beḳa' standard (ϵ) with 'the Hebrew shekel of 224 grs.' On the other hand, he is doubtless justified in assigning a number of the ordinary uninscribed Gezer weights, from half a drachm upwards, to the same standard as the beka' weights. One weight in particular, 'marked with five strokes' and weighing 64·47 *g*, is clearly five staters or shekels, 25 of which make up Sosipater's half-mina. The Aeginetan standard, therefore, must henceforth find a place in any future presentation of the weights and weight-standards of Palestine in Old Testament times. (For another weight of this standard see sect. vii. to follow.)

(To be continued.)

[1] The shekel here is expressly defined as 'the shekel of the sanctuary,' *i.e.* the native Phœnician and old Hebrew shekel of 220–224 grs. (*D.B.* iii. 422), but the equation בקע = δραχμή remains.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE PSALMS.

Psalm xxxi. 15.

My times are in thy hand.

It is an ancient opinion, that this Psalm was written by David immediately after an experience of special peril from Saul's enmity, and his deliverance therefrom. The men of Ziph had brought the vindictive but unhappy monarch down to their neighbourhood by information that David and his men 'hid themselves' near them, 'within strongholds in the woods.' He was in sufficient force to surround the son of Jesse, and 'search him out throughout all the thousands of Judah.' The peril was so imminent that we read: 'And Saul went on this side of the mountain, and David and his men on that side of the mountain: and David made haste to get away for fear of Saul; for Saul and his men compassed David and his men round about to take them.' At this juncture, when, as we read in the Psalms, his life was spent with grief, and his years with sighing, his strength failed because of his trouble, and his bones were wasted; he was a reproach to his enemies, and a burden to his associates;—at this juncture, when there seemed an end of hope, and he felt that he would assuredly be caught in the snare laid for him, we read: 'But there came a messenger unto Saul, saying, Haste thee, and come; for the Philistines have invaded the land. Wherefore Saul returned from pursuing after David, and went against the Philistines.' Amid such scenes of terror, of rushing to and fro, and of deliverance, how sustaining the assurance: 'My times are in thy hand.'

Two distinct lines of thought are suggested by the words 'my times' and 'thy hand,' and we shall consider the text under the headings—

I. The Times that make up our Life.
II. The Hand that controls our Times.

I.

The Times that make up our Life.

The Psalmist does not merely mean by 'times' the succession of moments, he wishes to emphasize the view that these are epochs, sections of 'time,' each with its definite characteristics and its special opportunities, unlike the rest that lie on either side of it. Each life is made up of a series, not merely of successive moments, but of well-marked epochs, each of which has its own character, its own responsibilities, its own opportunities, in each of which there is some special work to be done, some grace to be cultivated, some lesson to be learned, some sacrifice to be made; and if it is let slip it never comes back any more. 'It might have been once, and we missed it, lost it for ever.' The times pass over us, and every single portion has its own errand to us. Unless we are wide awake we let it slip, and are the poorer to all eternity for not having