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Preparers for the recognition of the inward, invisible Daystar in the heart are we for those souls in the twilight of doubt or the gloom of despair, through the untold action of our influence and the inestimable effect of our personal example, in municipal work, in friendship's ties, in the mutual duties of employment, with the moulding power of a teacher or in the impressionable condition of a listener.

*D.* Finally, in these various cases which can be rendered illustrative of days of the Son of man, we observe a similarity to nature's processes; sometimes progress by leaps, sometimes a slow advance; now rapid and catastrophic, now gradual, by an evolution that can scarcely be registered. But as with the tedious upbuilding of the land or the violent lateral pressures, volcanic and seismic disturbances, they have all alike passed through a preparation beneath the surface, whether of the earth, of a nation's mind, or of an individual consciousness. The agencies of change work unseen. Silently grow the developments of thought, the subtle, far-reaching alterations in religious outlook, whether in the soul of a people or the heart of a

man. We are, however, apt to forget that even the open 'day' of the Lord's manifestation in flesh came and passed virtually unknown to the world; yet men still with fainting hearts pine for the day, amid the visionless misery of pale, crushed lives, and with half-uttered longings miss the radiant joyousness of the divine presence; while we, the few strong in hope, who have seen the dream, strive 'to shape it to action,' and put our puny shoulders to the slow wheel of religious progress that we may hasten the dawn of an advent of sympathy, amity, and love, the blessedness of a rule of 'righteousness and peace and joy.'

We have learnt from the Incarnate the enthusiasm of patience; for the Sufferer reigns, and the 'men of violence' are forgotten; and we are conscious ourselves that the daybreak emerges from within, the Christ-spirit comes to expression in the heart of an individual or the soul of a community. Thus, with a day of the Lord illuminating our own experience, we are content to continue toiling like the weavers on the underside, beneath the cloud that veils our human sight:

'We may not see how the right side looks: we can only weave and wait.'

## Inscribed Hebrew Weights from Palestine.

BY PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

### II.

#### IV. THE KING'S WEIGHT.



AMONG the inscribed weights in the Gezer collection is a small bronze weight of the Persian period, described as 'the frustum of a pyramid' (*E.G.* ii. 285, with fig. 433), and weighing 22.28 g (340 grs.). On it is engraved in Old Hebrew characters למלך 2, i.e. '2 of the king's [shekels or staters].' The king of this inscription is the king of Persia, and the weight represents two staters of the well-known Persian silver standard

of the normal value of 173 grs. Of this stater the ordinary silver coin of the Achæmenid kings, called by the Greeks the 'Median siglos,' or shekel, was one-half (*D.B.* iii. 421). That the siglos, however, notwithstanding its name—a græcized form of the Babylonian *shiklu*, shekel, as it is also termed in the Jewish papyri from Elephantinê—is really a half-shekel is evident on several grounds, among them the fact that in the Elephantinê papyri we are expressly informed that the real shekel (the fiftieth part of the mina) or stater (סחרי) was equal to two 'shekels,' i.e. to two Persian sigloi.

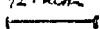
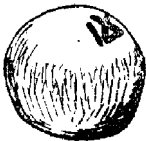
The special interest of the Gezer double stater for the Old Testament student lies in the fact that the 'pounds,' or minas, 'of silver' in the official

lists of Ez 2<sup>69</sup>, Neh 7<sup>16</sup>, were almost certainly weighed by this standard. The mina contained 50 shekels—or 100 sigloi if paid in coins—equal to 560 g, or rather less than 1¼ lb. avoirdupois, of silver. A close parallel to the terms of the inscription on the weight is furnished by an expression in the Elephantinê papyrus Sachau No 28, line 4, where the reference is to a loan of '4 shekels, that is, four, by the weights (lit. "stones," as in Hebrew) of the king.' With this may be compared 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>, where the weight of Absalom's hair is given as '200 shekels after the king's weight (בְּמִשְׁכָּל הַמֶּלֶךְ)'; but the shekel of this passage is the ordinary Persian trade and gold shekel of 130 grs., the shekel of 'the royal standard,' not the exclusively silver shekel of the weight under discussion.

The latter is also the shekel of which 'the third part,' circa 57 grs., was fixed by mutual agreement in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah as the amount of the yearly charge per head 'for the service of the house of our God' (Neh 10<sup>32</sup>). This amount was afterwards practically doubled by being raised to the half of the 'sacred' or Phœnician shekel of 224 grs. on the authority of the Priests' Code (Ex 30<sup>13</sup>). On this Persian silver standard, we may safely assume, was reckoned the daily table allowance of Nehemiah's predecessors in the governorship of Jerusalem (Neh 5<sup>15</sup>, where read 'for bread and wine daily 40 shekels of silver,' a sum equal to four gold darics, or to something over four guineas per day).

#### V. THE X̄ SERIES OF WEIGHTS.

½ inch

This is the place, as will immediately appear, for the examination of a series of weights which have recently come to light in various parts of Southern Palestine. Their common feature is an inscribed symbol X̄, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been advanced,<sup>1</sup> but which

<sup>1</sup> I can only hazard the conjecture that it is another form of the symbol X̄, which, according to Wilcken, *Grundzüge*

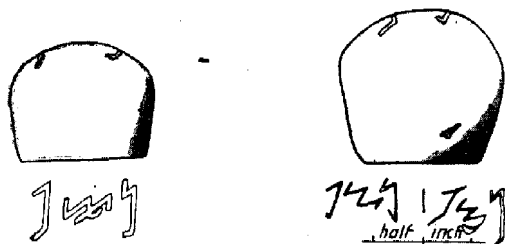
clearly indicates the unit, or shekel, of the series. It is accompanied by other signs belonging to a hitherto unknown numerical notation, viz. I, II, and two signs resembling L and J, which from the values of the weights must stand for our 4 and 8.

In *E.G.* ii. 287 Mr. Macalister has published ten weights of this series—all that are at present known—of which four were found at Gezer in strata belonging to the Persian and Hellenistic periods, three at or near Jerusalem, and two at Tell Zakariya (see *E.P.* 145 f.). Of the ten, two appear to me to be decidedly abnormal or fraudulent; an average of the remaining eight gives a shekel unit of 111.35 g, say 175 grs., clearly the above-mentioned Persian silver standard. Staters, reaching a maximum corresponding precisely to the average of this new series of Palestinian weights, were struck in the Persian period both in Cyprus and at Aradus in Phœnicia.

Of the weights catalogued by Mr. Macalister, at least a fifth may with some confidence be referred to the Persian silver standard, ranging from the quarter and half-shekel, or siglos, up to 15 shekels. At least a fourth of the weights found in the fifth stratum at Megiddo are also on this standard. The two largest (*Tell el-Mutesellim*, 104, Nos. 1 and 2), of 585 and 278.5 g respectively, are evidently a mina, though rather above the standard weight, and a half-mina, the latter with a shekel of 172 grs.

The popularity of this standard for silver payments in the Persian period, as disclosed by its frequency both at Gezer and Megiddo, throws a new light on the much disputed 'shekel of the sanctuary' (see *D.B.* iii. 422). As is there shown, this can only be the shekel of the Phœnician system (see sect. i. above). Now, however, we seem to see why it was necessary for the authors of the Priests' Code to specify so precisely which of the two silver shekels then current in Palestine—the old national shekel or the Persian stater—was that in terms of which the sacred dues of the post-exilic community were to be paid.

*u. Chrestom. d. Papyruskunde*, I. i. xlv, is a symbol for δραχμή in the cursive writing of the Greek papyri from Egypt. For these weights see, besides *E.G.* ii. 287, 291, especially Pilcher and Dalman as cited above; also *P.E.F.St.* 1904, 209 f., 357 ff.; 1905, 192 f.; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine* [*E.P.*] 145 f.

VI. THE נֶזֶפֶחַ (NEZEPH?) WEIGHTS.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient Hebrew Weights from Southern Palestine.

In *D.B.* iv. 904 will be found a short account, with illustrations, of a set of small Palestinian stone weights, four of which bear the puzzling word נֶזֶפֶחַ alone—provisionally pronounced nezeph—while the fifth, known as the Chaplin weight from the name of its first owner, has the longer inscription רֶבַע נֶזֶפֶחַ, 'a quarter of a nezeph.' The legend on the other side of this tiny shuttle-shaped weight, as given *loc. cit.*, viz. רֶבַע שְׁקָלִים, will have to be given up if Professor Lidzbarski is right in his view that the engraver made a mistake in his first attempt to write רֶבַע נֶזֶפֶחַ, then tried to delete the mistake, and, finally wrote the words correctly on the side where they now stand (*Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphik*, i. 13).<sup>2</sup> The weight is given as 39.2 grs., which yields 156.8 (10.16 g) as the weight of the nezeph unit. More recently two other weights, inscribed נֶזֶפֶחַ, have come to light; one weighing almost .10 g from Jerusalem, and the other from Gezer, 'very worn,' and in consequence weighing only 9.28 g (143 grs.). In seeking to determine the standard of these and other small weights, the fact should be kept in mind that they are the weights of retailers of the precious metals, whose interest it was to have their weights below, rather than above, the normal value of the standard.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly I am still of the opinion, first expressed in the article

<sup>1</sup> For full details of these weights see Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, iv. 24-35, and Mr. Pilcher's articles cited above.

<sup>2</sup> In any case the stone has, from the rubbed appearance of the inscription, lost a trifle of its original weight which must have been at least 39½ grs., giving a nezeph of 158 grs. (10.24 g).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Macalister's average of 9.73 g (*E.G.* ii. 292) is for this reason too low—the same applies to Mr. Pilcher's normal value of 156 grs.—and is further vitiated by the inclusion of the 'very worn' Gezer weight. The value assigned *loc. cit.* to the third Zakariya weight, 10.45 g (161¼ grs.), may be a misprint for 9.45 g, the value given in the original publication, *Excavations in Palestine*, 145.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES already referred to, that we have here the Syrian or Hittite standard of 160 grs. (10.37 g), which Professor Flinders Petrie found so largely represented among the weights of Naucratis, Tanis, and elsewhere (see now his art. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES in *Encyc. Brit.*<sup>11</sup>). In my former study I named this newly discovered standard the Syrian, because, in the first place, it is probable that the tribute of the states of Syria to their Egyptian suzerains was paid in terms of this standard (see *D.B.* iv. 904<sup>b</sup>), and, in the second place, several inscribed minas of Antioch of the Seleucid period yield a shekel or didrachm of about 160 grs. (see the art. PONDERA in Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.* ii. 454). Originally, however, this standard may have been, as Petrie suggests, of Hittite origin. Indeed, I venture to suggest that the Antioch minas just mentioned, of *circa* 8000 grs., are the lineal descendants of the 'mina of Carchemish'—the Syrian capital of the Hittites—constantly met with in Assyrian deeds of sale, and there apparently equated with the light Assyrian mina, on the royal standard, of *circa* 505 g, or 7800 grs. (see Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, ii. 268 f.).

The fall in the effective of the Palestinian nezeph weights to 156-157 grs. is perhaps to be explained by the corresponding fall of the Phœnician shekel from 224 to 218-220 grs. (see section i. above). It was necessary to preserve the old-established and convenient ratio between the two contemporary standards, by which five Phœnician shekels were exchangeable for seven of the Syrian nezephs ( $220 \times 5 = 157 \times 7$ ).

This standard I find largely represented among the uninscribed Gezer weights; for not only does it claim many of the weights—not all, I think<sup>4</sup>—of Mr. Macalister's ζ, or nezeph, standard, but it will be found that a fair proportion of those of his α, or Babylonian gold shekel, standard find a better place under the Syrian or 160-grain standard.

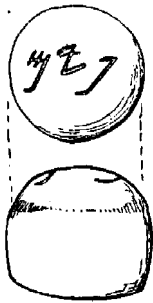
## VII. THE INSCRIBED חֲמֵשׁ (HOMESH) WEIGHT.

In 1907 Professor Barton made known a small bronze weight in the shape of a turtle or tortoise, acquired in Samaria. It weighs 38.58 grs. and is inscribed חֲמֵשׁ, which may be read as 'five' or as 'a fifth.' Since the weight is less than a grain lighter than the Chaplin weight, Mr. Pilcher, in

<sup>4</sup> For the reason of this qualification see the footnote above.

the articles here frequently cited, regards the two weights as of the same theoretical value, the Chaplin weight being one fourth of the nezeph, which he supposes was divided into 20 gerahs; of these the tortoise weight would contain 'five' (חמ"ט). But, inasmuch as this division into twentieths is only attested for the 'sacred' or Phœnician shekel (*D.B.* iii. 422), and in view of the fact that the sea-turtle, and later the land-tortoise, are inseparably associated with the coinage of Aegina (Head, *Hist. Numorum*, 2nd ed., 394 ff.), it seems better to read חמ"ט, 'a fifth,' and to identify Professor Barton's weight with one-fifth of the Aeginetan stater or shekel ( $38.6 \times 5 = 193$  grs.) discussed above under section ii.

### VIII. THE פים (?) WEIGHTS.



Quite the most perplexing of the inscribed weights from Gezer is one catalogued (*E.G.* ii. 285) as '7.27 [g]: dome-shaped, marble, inscribed פים on top (fig. 431).' It was first published in the *P.E.F.St.* 1907, 266, with illustration. Five years before this, however, Professor Barton had published a somewhat heavier specimen, found near Jerusalem, weighing 117.43 grs., as compared with the 112.17 grs. of the Gezer weight. In addition to the letters פים it had on the other side, also in Old Hebrew characters, the words לזכריהו יאר, i.e. '(belonging) to Zechariah [son] of Jair.' It is fully described and illustrated by Mr. Pilcher, *P.S.B.A.* xxxiv. 115, plate xi., and *P.E.F.St.* 1912, 186.

The first question that emerges regarding these two weights is this: Has the inscription common to both been correctly read? The reading פים was first suggested by Professor Barton, who proposed to interpret the letters as an abbreviation of לפי משקלם, 'according the (standard) weight,' a view which is extremely improbable. In his

*Recueil* (viii. 105-112) M. Clermont-Ganneau devoted one of his valuable studies to these weights, and especially to the interpretation of the enigmatic פים. This, he suggested, must be the dual form of פה, 'mouth,' in its derived sense of 'portion,' 'part.' In particular he appealed to *Zec* 13<sup>8</sup>, where the Hebrew expression פִּי שְׁנַיִם (lit. 'a portion of two') undoubtedly means 'two-thirds.' Finally, on the strength of the effective value of the weights, he identified them as two-thirds of the nezeph unit discussed above.

Now, while the French savant is so far on the right track, his explanation of the supposed form פים cannot be accepted. In Hebrew, as is well known, the dual is almost entirely confined to organs of the body that naturally occur in pairs. A plural of פה is found, but a dual is impossible; פים, even if correctly read, cannot mean 'two-parts,' i.e. 'two-thirds,' which is expressed either as in *Zec* 13<sup>8</sup>, cited above, or by שְׁתֵּי יָדוֹת (lit. 'two hands'), as in 2 K 11<sup>7</sup>, Mishna, *Kelim*, 17<sup>11</sup>.

Is there, then, no alternative to this impossible reading? No doubt the form of the third letter on both weights is that usually assumed by the Phœnician and early Hebrew Mem; but in later inscriptions the letter Shin begins to develop a shaft on the right until ט and ש become almost indistinguishable (see Lidsbarski, *Handb. d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, pt. i. 177 ff., with the forms of ש in the tables at the end of part ii.; also S. A. Cook, *P.E.F.St.* 1909, 304). From the point of view of Hebrew epigraphy, therefore, there is no objection to reading for the mysterious פים the three letters פיש, which I take to be an abbreviation of Zechariah's phrase פִּי שְׁנַיִם, 'two-thirds.'

The next question is now—'Of what unit are these weights two-thirds? The mean value of the two weights is 114.8 grs., which is two-thirds of a unit of 172.13 grs. (111.5 g). This is no other than the popular Babylonian and Persian silver standard of which the normal weight is 173 grs. (111.22 g), already detected in the 'king's weight,' and in the X series of weights discussed in sections iv. and v. of this essay.

### IX. INSCRIBED WEIGHTS OF THE ATTIC STANDARD.

Since the Seleucid kings of Syria retained for their silver coinage the Attic monetary standard

introduced into the East by Alexander the Great, we should not be surprised to find weights on this standard in use in Palestine in the Seleucid period. Ten per cent. of the Lachish (Tell el-Hesi) weights are on the Attic standard, with an average drachm of 65.6 grs. It is also represented by at least two of the larger weights from the Seleucid town of Sandahannah. The smaller of the two is the leaden market-weight, to which reference was made in section ii. above. It bears on its face, running round a central ornamentation, the legend: ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟ- [ΥC], i.e. 'Of Agathocles, Controller of the Market' (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 61, fig. 28). Its weight of 145 g (2238 grs.) shows it to be a tritemorion, or one-third of an Attic mina, of which the drachm ( $\frac{1}{100}$ ) yields the normal value of 4.35 g, or 67 grs.

The other Sandahannah weight is a large circular bronze, measuring  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and weighing 669.445 g, nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (*loc. cit.*). It represents a mina and a half, slightly over weight, or 150 drachms, of which the mina is 446.3 g. It can scarcely be separated from two of the larger weights of the same period from Gezer, of 223.78 and 553.12 g, which are respectively  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  of the same mina.

Last of all I find a reminiscence of the last days of the Syrian domination in Gezer in another leaden weight (*E. G.* ii. 286, fig. 435). It resembles in shape and style Agathocles' market-weight; on its face it shows two cornucopias crossed—a symbol of the later Seleucid kings,—a  $\Delta$  and four balls symmetrically arranged. It weighs 263.60 g

(over  $9\frac{1}{2}$  oz.). There is no unit so large as 65.9 g, of which it could possibly represent four ( $\Delta$ ). But if we combine with this the four balls, we have a weight of 4 times 4, or 16 Attic tetradrachms of 16.48 g, yielding a drachm of 4.12 g, or nearly 64 grains, a result practically in agreement with the weights of the Seleucid coins in the middle of the second century (Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, clxxxiii.).

#### SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The results of the preceding investigation may be summed up in a word. Apart from the ancient standards of the original Babylonian shekel of 126 grs., and the Egyptian ket of 140–146 grs., of which no *inscribed* examples are known to me from Palestine, we have evidence, in the inscribed weights from Gezer and elsewhere, of the use in Old Testament times of the following weight-standards: (1) the Phœnician shekel with normal values ranging from 218 to 230 grs.—the true Hebrew silver shekel, and 'the shekel of the sanctuary' in terms of which the temple dues were paid; (2) the early Eastern standard, best known as the Aeginetan or Attic commercial standard, originally of 100 grs., more or less; (3) the perhaps equally ancient Syrian or Hittite standard of 160 grs.; (4) the Babylonian and Persian silver standard, of the normal value in the Persian period of 173 grs., the stater, of which the siglos or 'median shekel' was one-half; and (5) in the Seleucid period the Attic monetary standard, of which the tetradrachm shows a maximum weight of 270 grs., and its drachm  $67\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF ACTS.

#### ACTS xi. 24.

For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.

THE Scripture method in narrative is generally dramatic. It does not name the qualities of the heroes it presents to us, but shows their qualities through their words and actions—the meanness of Jacob, the chivalry of David, the impulsiveness of Peter, the courage of John the Baptist. It gives

us by a few strokes and shades a picture so vivid and lifelike that no comment is needed. But in this text the sacred writer describes the character of Barnabas, and says of him that 'he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.'

In thus commending Barnabas, attention is directed to character rather than to gifts. Barnabas was not a man of outstanding ability, or brilliant talents. He was not possessed of a striking personality, such as makes men leaders of great