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and kissed my feet."¹ But the wily Chaldean was not overwhelmed by the glory of Assur, as Tiglathpileser boasts; he was only biding his time to rise up, seize the throne of Babylon, and for twelve long years defy the arms of the great Sargon, a Prince whose military activity was such that the prophet Isaiah has aptly compared him to "a fiery flying serpent."² But as this portion of the history of the Kaldi is very closely connected with the remarkable prophecy of Isa. xxi. 1-10—"The Burden of the Wilderness of the Sea"—I reserve it for a future paper.

Our study of the history of the Kaldi so far has brought us down to the era of Tiglathpileser, towards the close of whose reign Isaiah spoke of Babylon as

"The glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldeans' pride."

At this point, then, we may suitably pause, and, turning aside to examine the Babylonian dynasties, endeavour to gain from them a yet clearer idea of the extent of the connection of this people with the throne of Babylon.

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

(To be continued.)

ART. II.—THE BOATS OF THE GOSPEL STORY.

IN the August number of the *CHURCHMAN* the Rev. J. E. Green endeavours to throw a new light on the nature of the fishing craft used by the Apostles by claiming a technical distinction between *πλοῖον*, "boat," and *πλοιάριον*, "little boat." The ordinary view of the vessels in which Peter and the sons of Zebedee pursued their calling receives a drastic correction, and we are presented with a picture of the Apostles plying "fishing-smacks" large enough to be served by (and therefore also to carry) "dinghies." The former are supposed to be called in the Gospels *πλοῖα*, the latter *πλοιάρια*. As Mr. Green cites a remark of mine in a former number of the *CHURCHMAN*, to the effect that "John vi. 22-24 shows that there is no distinction in his use of *πλοῖον* and *πλοιάριον*," and as I am convinced that the specific identity of these craft is recognisable all through the Gospel story, I propose to occupy a few pages with a consideration of this somewhat revolutionary theory.

¹ Nimrud Inscription, lines 26, 27, R.P., N.S., vol. v., p. 123.

² Isa. xiv. 29.

I shall confine my discussion to the passages selected by the writer. In each of them the question is complicated somewhat by the fact that *πλοῖον* repeatedly in the Gospels alternates as a *varia lectio* with *πλοιάριον*, and *vice versâ*. Without discussing this phenomenon, which itself, perhaps, is an argument for identification, I shall try to pursue my argument on the basis of the readings accepted by Mr. Green himself. We will follow him in reading the diminutive form in Luke v. 2 (where it is rather doubtful), as well as in John vi. 22, 24, xxi. 8 (where it is well accredited), and see whether it be indeed the malign "atmosphere of grammars, lexicons, and commentaries" that has blinded us to this larger view of the Apostles' fishing operations. It will be found that the "smack and dinghy" theory introduces into two of these scenes elements of obscurity and confused narration which with the present view of the Apostles' craft are happily absent. It will be found that in all the passages the identity of the *πλοῖα* and *πλοιάρια* is really unassailable, and in one passage (with the reading Mr. Green prefers) is almost as clear as words can make it. It will be found, too, that as neither were the *πλοῖα* vessels of large burden that kept away from shore, nor the *πλοιάρια* vessels with the small capacity of a "dinghy," these relations of smack and dinghy become a thing impossible. In his search for technical nautical terminology, Mr. Green has merely unearthed a verbal distinction without specific difference.

I cannot pretend to explain how these two terms came to be used indifferently. Possibly by a seaman all the fishing-boats in question would have been technically called *πλοιάρια*, just as the piece of water on which they floated would certainly have been called by him a "lake." It is not very hard to conceive of local usage occasionally raising the *πλοιάρια* to the dignity of *πλοῖα* in common speech, just as it certainly dignified that inland water with the title "sea." And with this choice of two practically synonymous terms before them, the Evangelists may have used now one and now the other, just as indifferently as we vary such terms as "ship" and "vessel," and without in the least staking their "technical accuracy" by such use. But this I merely hazard as a conjecture. What I am sure of is that the explanation of the evangelists' diction does not lie in the broad distinction suggested by Mr. Green.

Small boats of the "dinghy" order, I may say here, nowhere happen to appear in the Gospel story. But Josephus seemingly mentions them as plying on the lake under the designation *σκάφος*. The feminine form *σκάφη* is the term which Luke actually uses, when in the narrative of St. Paul's ship-

wreck he tells us of a dinghy launched from the deck of the imperilled vessel. This term would probably appear, at all events in Luke's story, if the Apostles' fishing operations were on the scale of magnificence postulated by Mr. Green, and if we were to think of fishing-smacks served by dinghies for the purpose of embarking or disembarking. But let us now test the merits of the case by the passages Mr. Green has cited.

I. The first scene is the story of the great draught of fishes in Luke i. 1-8. I claim that (with the reading *πλοιάρια*) it is decisive for the identity of the two terms in question as far as Luke's diction is concerned. If this be so, we shall be cautious how we introduce those distinctions "smack" and "dinghy" in the Gospel of St. John. I claim, too, that, even without that reading, this passage tells us how impossible it is to enlarge the Apostles' *πλοιά* to the proportions desiderated by Mr. Green. St. Luke says that our Lord saw "two little boats" (*πλοιάρια*) standing by the lake, whose occupants had left them and were washing their nets. Next he says that Jesus entered into "one of the boats" (*πλοίου*), which was Simon's, and asking him to put out a little from the land, taught the people therefrom. Simon is afterwards told to put out into deep water and cast his nets, and he is rewarded with an extraordinary haul. The crew beckon to the partners, the sons of Zebedee, "in the other boat" (*πλοίου*) for help.

On the commonly accepted view, there is here a plain, unbroken story, which few probably have failed to understand throughout. I say this because Mr. Green apparently boggles at Luke's implying (instead of saying distinctly) that when Jesus entered the boat which was Simon's, He asked Simon, who was washing his nets hard by, to enter it too.

Nor could words much more plainly express the identity of the *πλοίου* and the *πλοιάριον*. It is as clear that *one* and the *other* (in vers. 3, 7) must take us back to the *two* in ver. 2 as it is in Luke xxi. (where, again, we have *δύο, εἰς, ὁ ἕτερος*) that "one" and "the other" take us back to the "two" robbers previously mentioned as crucified with Jesus. Nor, apart from arbitrary theories of "technical" terminology, is there any difficulty in the slight variation from *πλοιαρίων* to *πλοίου*. Just in the same way in his account of the healing of a palsied man in chap. v. 18, 19, Luke calls the man's couch in one verse *κλίνη*, "bed," and in the next *κλινίδιον*, "little bed." But if we are to stumble at the variation of term, let us consider this story from Mr. Green's premises, that *πλοιάριον* means an attendant "dinghy," and *πλοίου* a "smack," its proprietor.

Luke will, then, intend to express *two* couples of vessels *scil.*, two dinghies and two smacks. Our first difficulty will

be that his mention of the dinghies in ver. 2 is utterly irrelevant. They had not helped the Apostles to disembark, nor do they help them to re-embark, Peter's *πλοῖον* being itself upon the lake shore (ver. 3). Why, then, does Luke fix our attention on "two dinghies" at all, when our interest in the story is really focussed on the two smacks? "He next observed some smacks," says Mr. Green, to bridge over this chasm. But Luke supplies nothing of the kind, and he would have to say "two," not "some," smacks, to give any sense to the phrase "the other smack" in ver. 7. Finally, Simon's partners are somehow transferred from the vicinity of their dinghy to their smack (which presumably Mr. Green puts out at sea), when all we know of them is that they were near the "dinghy" washing their nets. I need scarcely remark that all this is to make that usually perspicuous writer Luke express himself confusedly — so confusedly, indeed, that he has been utterly unintelligible till now, if Mr. Green be right.

Few of my readers will doubt that only one couple of vessels is mentioned by St. Luke when the passage is allowed to tell its own story, and that if *πλοιάρια* be the reading, its identity with *πλοῖα* is a certainty. In fact, Mr. Green's cause would have been better served by adopting in ver. 2 the reading *πλοῖα* (attested by BND, and received into their text by Westcott and Hort), and altogether putting aside this damaging passage in getting evidence for his "dinghies." But I note besides that, even after this change, the passage is subversive of his theory of "fishing-smacks" of sufficient burden to make the service of such dinghies requisite. The *raison d'être* of the supposed "dinghies" is that they are "able to approach nearer to the shore" than the supposed "smacks." But this passage tells us (twice over, if *πλοῖα* be read in ver. 2) that Peter's *πλοῖον* was itself by the shore. Nor was it in deep water. Even after Peter had gone out a little he is still in a comparatively shallow sea, and has to put out yet further before his nets can be cast "into the deep." The passage is itself, then, an indication that these vessels were of no great draught, and were something quite different from "smacks" needing to be served by dinghies.

Lastly, there is a statement in ver. 7 which Mr. Green has probably overlooked, but which is itself fatal to his theory: "They came and filled both the boats, so that they began to sink." It is simply inconceivable how a single haul of the nets full of fish could have thus filled two smacks large enough to carry dinghies. It could hardly have filled one. Substitute the usual idea of fair-sized fishing-boats for these supposititious "smacks," and this difficulty of course vanishes.

From this scene, then, we may safely infer that the craft

used by Peter and the sons of Zebedee were not smacks, but fishing-boats, and that this sort of boat was called by Luke indifferently *πλοῖον* and *πλοιάριον*.

II. The next passage is John vi. 15 *et seq.* After the feeding of the five thousand on the plain near Bethsaida Julias, we are told that Jesus was harassed by the obtrusive admiration of the crowd. He sends His disciples away by sea, and secures privacy by retirement to the hillside. The disciples "entered" their *πλοῖον* (according to Mr. Green, by the aid of a dinghy, though John's readers would not suspect it), and as they crossed towards Capernaum were distressed by a contrary gale. Jesus appeared to them walking on the sea, and joined them; and, the wind ceasing (Matt. xiv., Mark vi.), the vessel was "straightway *at the land* whither they were going." (The words italicized show that, at all events, they did not need a dinghy to disembark.)

Matthew and Mark also give accounts of this memorable voyage. From neither of them should we have guessed that the disciples were put on board their so-called "smack" by the aid of a "dinghy." How, then, is its existence here discoverable? From the passage John vi. 22-25, says Mr. Green, which we will now consider. These verses tell us how the multitude, having noticed that there was but one *little boat* on the shore the day before, and that Jesus did not enter the *boat* with His disciples, were at a loss to know where He had gone. We have hitherto recognised here merely another proof that the words *πλοιάριον* and *πλοῖον* are used indifferently for one vessel, *scil.* that in which the Apostles crossed the lake. But Mr. Green's interpretation of the matter is this: The people had noticed that there was but one smack's "dinghy" on the shore, and also that Jesus did not go away by its means in the "smack" itself with His disciples. This seems at first sight to account well for the change of expression, although, as I shall show presently, such variations are eminently characteristic of the diction of St. John. But, in view of all that has been said under I., we shall probably want strong proof that *πλοιάριον* means "a dinghy," or that the *πλοῖον* used on this occasion was anything specifically different from that indicated by St. Luke. Now, this very passage happens to give a striking testimony in an opposite direction. For it goes on to tell us how certain vessels had run over to that north-east coast all the way from Tiberias. It tells, too, how these numerous seekers after Jesus solve their perplexity by using these vessels to follow on the Apostles' track, and how they at last find Jesus at Capernaum. And the vessels in which all this was done are themselves called *πλοιάρια*.

I can scarcely believe that Mr. Green has realized what this implies. These so-called dinghies were capable of crossing on that stormy morning all the way from Tiberias, a distance of some fifteen miles. They were able to transport the crowd six miles to Capernaum. Surely such voyages could not have been made by "dinghies" of the small kind attached to fishing-smacks. The *πλοιάριον*, one feels at once, must be a boat of more pretentious dimensions. In fact, this incident leaves on one a strong impression that boats must be meant of the same class as that in which the Apostles made their own passage to Capernaum, and that for John, as for Luke, the terms *πλοῖα* and *πλοιάρια* are interchangeable. If we follow the text of Westcott and Hort this conjecture becomes a matter of certainty. For their text in ver. 23 actually gives us the word *πλοῖα* for these vessels, which in ver. 24 are called *πλοιάρια*. If John can thus interchange the terms in the case of the transit of these "seekers after Jesus," it is plain that in his allusion to the transit of the Apostles *πλοιάριον* and *πλοῖον* cannot be differentiated as respectively "a dinghy" and "a smack."

As Mr. Green makes some mention of supposed topographical difficulties in connection with this section of St. John, and seems to be unaware of the identification of Bethsaida Julias, I here go outside the purpose of my paper to make two remarks: (1) The language in John vi. 23 certainly means that the vessels had come *to* not *from* the vicinity of the spot where our Saviour had worked the miracle of feeding. They had crossed from Tiberias on the south-west side to the coast at the north-east corner of the lake. (2) For the site of the "city" Bethsaida Julias, near which that miracle was worked, we have no need to resort to "conjecture" or the authority of "Grimm's Lexicon." Its ruins have been in recent times identified by Reland at "Telui," itself a corruption of "Tel Julias." "Close by" this Telui, says Dean Farrar, "is the green, narrow, secluded plain of El Batihah, which exactly answers to the description of the Evangelists." The importance of this discovery in relation to supposed difficulties in the Gospel story is noticed in Farrar's "Commentary on St. Luke."

III. The third passage is John xxi. 1 *et seq.* Here we have the story of the Risen Saviour's appearance to seven Apostles fishing and of the second draught of fishes. We are told that the seven embarked in a boat (*πλοῖον*), which was presumably one of the two of which we heard on the occasion of the first draught, and probably that belonging to Peter. When the form of the Risen Jesus is detected on the bank by John, Peter leaps into the sea. The remaining six follow "in

the little boat" (ἐν τῷ πλοιαρίῳ), still hauling at their net, which has been cast at the word of Jesus and is filled with fish. To an English reader a transition from πλοῖον to πλοιᾶριον seems more startling than from πλοιᾶριον to πλοῖον, and many an incautious student has doubtless surmized that some other vessel is intended here than that from which the cast has just been made. But in the Greek the harshness of the variation is no greater from πλοῖον to πλοιᾶριον than *vice versa*. The transition of Luke v. from κλίνη, "bed," to κλινίδιον, "little bed," in the cure of the palsied man, presents an exact parallel. But Mr. Green, of course, claims here a substantial evidence for the existence of a "dinghy" running between the Apostles' "smack" and the shore. What we have learnt from Luke v. 1 *et seq.* of the nature of the craft from which the Apostles fished confutes the hypothesis, even if we do not read (with Mr. Green) πλοιᾶριον in Luke v. 2. But I think, quite apart from the two passages I have already discussed, a little consideration of this story of John xxi. is sufficient to exclude Mr. Green's theory. For (1) this story suggests the same conclusion as the last anent the size of a πλοιᾶριον. A vessel that could not only contain six men, but allow of all this work of hauling and rowing going on in it simultaneously, could hardly be a dinghy trailing at the smack's stern, and of necessity small enough to be shipped¹ in stormy weather on the smack itself. (2) *Per contra*, the story does not raise the πλοῖον to the dignity of Mr. Green's smacks. Even 153 big fish would not be a very heavy haul for the long net of a smack equipped with a dinghy, and the words, "for all they were so many, yet was not the net broken," seem to lose their point. (3) On the other hand, the transfer of the operation of handling a net so laden from a smack's deck to the bottom of a dinghy, whether floating or suddenly launched, would be so difficult that it is hard to conceive of its successful accomplishment at all. (4) Nothing is said about the Apostles casting anchor. And certainly no other men but the seven Apostles can be conceived of as occupying the "smack" on the occasion of this revelation of the Risen Lord. On Mr. Green's theory, then, what becomes of the "smack" itself? Are we to suppose her to be left adrift? (5) Peter would scarcely put on his "fisherman's coat" to get it drenched in the sea, and we usually conceive of him on this occasion as wading in comparatively shallow water. But in that case the πλοῖον must have been of but small draught,

¹ How the "smack" itself fared in a storm may be gathered from Mark iv. 37; Luke viii. 23. Such a storm would necessarily wreck a dinghy towed astern.

and, again, a fishing-smack of the pretensions postulated by Mr. Green seems to be excluded from consideration.

John xxi. 1 *et seq.*, then, in no way modifies the conclusions we reach from the other passages in respect to the variations *πλοῖα* and *πλοιάρια*. The latter term is practically synonymous with the former, and the "technical accuracy" of the Gospels is not concerned. There is no occasion to alter the received view of the boats used on the Lake of Galilee. Expositors and artists have done rightly in conceiving of them as large fishing-boats. We cannot imagine them capable of containing many more than the thirteen persons who, on certain well-known occasions, were conveyed in a *πλοῖον* or *πλοιάριον* across the lake. Still less can we conceive of their being vessels carrying their own dinghies. The Lilliputian craft familiar to us in Raphael's cartoon doubtless does not do justice to the proportions of Peter's vessel. But even this is not so specifically faulty as Mr. Green's conception of a dinghy-served smack. Our Revisers have certainly done well in altering the "ship" of the Authorized Version to "boat" in the case of *πλοῖον*. And they would have done better if they had rendered *πλοιάριον* always by this word "boat," as is actually done in John vi. 17, 23, and not confused us by occasional retentions of "little boat," as in Mark iii. 9; John xxi. 8. For, from a general consideration of all the passages, it is plain the terms are used indifferently. Nowhere can we say with confidence that an Evangelist uses *πλοιάριον* rather than *πλοῖον* because he has in mind a fishing-boat of comparatively small size.

A comparison of our best critical texts shows how impossible it is to speak always decisively as to the true reading amid these repeated variations of *πλοῖα* and *πλοιάρια*. In this matter even our best uncials appear to have suffered from the attempts of transcribers to present a harmonious account. The difficulty of deciding here may be realized when I state that in every single case where *πλοιάριον* is used in the Gospels there is *some* manuscript evidence for *πλοῖον*. It is perhaps, *prima facie*, improbable that John in all these passages really varied *πλοῖον* with *πλοιάριον* to the extent that our best textual critics postulate. Still—and this must be my answer to Mr. Green's dictum: "It is hard to imagine why St. John should have used these two words in describing one boat"—such insignificant verbal variations are undeniably a characteristic of this Apostle's writings. Others besides myself have doubtless noticed how repeatedly St. John's own diction¹ varies, a phrase recently used without any appreciable

¹ This feature occurs in S. John's own narrative. On the other hand, in his report of speeches, any subsequent citation repeats the first expres-

alteration of meaning. But as this feature well illustrates his interchanges of *πλοῖον* and *πλοιάριον*, I cite here a few instances, using the text of Westcott and Hort. In 1 John i. 3, 5, we find *ἀπαγγέλλομεν* altering into *ἀναγγέλλομεν*; in vers. 5, 6, *σκοτός* altering into *σκότια*; in *ibid.*, ii. 12, 14, *τεκνία* into *παῖδια*; in *ibid.*, v. 16, *αἰτήσει* followed not by *αἰτήση*, but by *ἐρωτήση*. Similarly in the Gospel in i. 11, 12, *παρέλαβον* changes to *ἔλαβον*; in vers. 30, 34, *τεθέαμαι* to *ἑώρακα*; in vers. 42, 43, *ἔστι μεθερμηνευόμενον* to *ἐρμηνεύεται*; in ver. 48, *λέγει* to *εἶπεν*; in vers. 48, 50, *ὑπο τὴν σукήν* to *ὑποκάτω τῆς σукῆς*; in iv. 32, 34, *βρώσις* to *βρώμα*; in iv. 50, 51, *υἱός* to *παῖς*. Similarly in the very passage (chap. xxi.) considered above, if the boat is now a *πλοῖον*, now a *πλοιάριον*, the subject of the miracle is now *ὄψαρια* (ver. 10; cf. ver. 9), now *ἰχθύες* (vers. 8, 11). It is probable that these slight variations are due mainly to a desire to secure euphony and avoid tautology. In translating it is hardly necessary and may be quite misleading to try to reproduce them. This mention of translations suggests an illustration intelligible to readers unacquainted with Greek. Such readers will realize how these subtle "euphonic" influences affect even a faithful version, if they will notice the words italicized in the following passages from our Authorized Version, and bear in mind that in each verse one Greek word has two different translations: "These shall go into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into life *eternal*" (Matt. xxv. 46); "He that exalteth himself shall be *abased*, and he that humbleth himself shall be *exalted*" (Luke xiv. 11); "Bear unto the *governor of the feast*. . . . When the *ruler of the feast* had tasted the water . . ." (John ii. 8, 9).

There is no deep design in such variations. Neither is there any in the alternations *πλοῖον* and *πλοιάριον*. Once we admit that they had become for practical purposes as synonymous in Galilæan idiom as the words italicized above are to us in their respective contexts, the change of diction becomes merely a substitution of other coinage without change of value.

It is not worth while to extend this article by illustrations of the question in its philological bearings. But I may add that the most straightforward inferences from diminutive forms are often the most misleading. All our ideas of size are comparative, and the standard of comparison is not to all the same. Diminutives, too, have a strange trick of adapting themselves to new lines of thought in which all ideas of size, and even of etymology, are lost. *Παίδιον* is strictly a "little

sions verbatim. I scarcely find any deviation from this rule, except the one in i. 48-50, cited with the other instances above.

child," yet Mark applies this term to Jairus's daughter (whom Luke calls *παῖς*), and nevertheless knows that she is of an age at which Oriental females marry. *Οψάρια*, one of the two words for "fish" in that miracle of John xxi., is itself a diminutive, yet immediately afterwards John tells us that the haul consisted of 153 "great" fish. The *γυναικάρια*, or "silly women," whom St. Paul describes in 2 Tim. iii. 6, as so ready to run after pernicious teachers, may doubtless have lacked mental development, but are not generally conceived to have been females of defective stature. And possibly even Mr. Green, whom I know to be alike an experienced sailor and an exemplary ecclesiastic, forgets occasionally that in English his "vessel" must always suggest a "*little vase*," and his "chasuble" a "*little cottage*."

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.



ART. III.—THE MIRACLES OF JOSHUA IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN DISCOVERIES.¹

IT is scarcely worth while considering the miracles of Joshua unless we believe them to be recorded in an authentic history; and it is clear from internal evidences that the book is such a history.

It is called the Book of Joshua because it contains an account of his doings. But it is distinctly stated that he himself wrote some portions of it. Thus, in xxiv. 26 we read: "And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God." And the rest cannot have been written long after his death, for Rahab the harlot was still living at the time (vi. 25). And the same expression, "unto this day," occurs in many other cases.

Like the writings of Xenophon and Cæsar the narrative is often in the third person, but in many cases the date is suggested by the use of the first person. Thus, Rahab "hid the messengers which *we* sent" (vi. 17). "Wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan to deliver *us* into the hand of the Amorites to cause *us* to perish? Would that *we* had been content and dwelt beyond Jordan! Oh, Lord, what shall *I* say," etc. (vii. 7, 8).

Then, the little incident of the erection of the altar of witness by the trans-Jordanic tribes would never have been inserted by any other than a contemporary writer, even if

¹ A paper read to the Winchester Clerical Association by the Rev. Canon Huntingford, D.C.L.