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OF THE BIBLE

S-Z

VOLUME 5

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game animals such as deer and gazelle, but that generally involved driving the herd into a triangular-shaped corral or kite and trapping them (a method possibly referred to by *madkhfefah* [מַדְחֶפֶחַ] "hunt down" in Ps 140:11 [Heb. 140:12]). It may be that trapping the hare and the coney, or hyrax, is not explicitly mentioned in the Bible because they are prohibited as unclean from the Israelite diet (Lev 11:6; Deut 14:7). However, there are quite a number of references to laying a snare on a path (Ps 142:3 [Heb. 142:4]; Prov 22:5; Hos 9:8) and that would be an appropriate location to trap small animals as they crossed game trails. This suggests that the practice was known and that supplementing the diet with a little fresh meat while sparing one's domesticated stock seemed to be a plausible strategy, especially in hard times.

The type of hunting most associated with traps or snares in the Bible is fowling. The fowling net or snare (*pakh*) as depicted in Egyptian tomb art consisted of a net spread over a wooden frame that was supported by a stick in such a way that it fell with the slightest touch (Ps 91:3; Amos 3:5). There were also draw nets that required the hunters to coordinate the pulling of drawstrings that would close the net around the birds' legs (see Job 18:8-9 for a similar technique that entraps the wicked).

The sense of the unexpected associated with a trap lends itself easily to the use of these utilitarian devices in metaphorical contexts (Luke 21:34-36). Thus, in Josh 23:13 the Israelite leader warns the people that the foreign nations of Canaan will become a "snare and a trap" for them if they intermarry or fail in their devotion to God. Similarly, the qualifications for a bishop include avoiding the "snare of the devil" (1 Tim 3:7). It is that sense of the unwary quarry that comes clear in the warning to avoid the seductress (Prov 7:23) lest the young man "[rush] into a snare" like a bird (see also Eccl 9:12). Perhaps it is the recognition that life is filled with potential pitfalls that encourages the psalmist to repeatedly bewail the fact that "the wicked have laid a snare for me" (Ps 119:110; compare Pss 140:5 [Heb. 140:6]; 141:9). Jeremiah utilizes this metaphor in his cursing of those who have "laid snares for my feet" and obstructed his ability to freely voice his message (Jer 18:22-23). This type of warning is also employed by the prophets, who speak of the impending judgment upon the peoples of the earth and the fact that even those who manage to clamor out of the pit "shall be caught in the snare" of God (Isa 24:17-18).

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION IN THE NT.** Given that the NT details the growth and expansion of early Christianity from Palestine into the larger Mediterranean world, it contains many references to travel and communication. A survey of these references in the NT reveals that the early Christians largely relied

on the travel structures and communication mediums that were already in place in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. CE.

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#### A. Travel in the New Testament World

Despite notions that travel was unusual or that it was reserved for a very slim minority of the population, it is becoming increasingly evident that people in NT times were more mobile and traveled more extensively than was once thought. The Mediterranean Sea and other bodies of water and rivers provided convenient mediums for travel by boat and ship, and by the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. CE Rome had constructed an extensive network of roads that stretched throughout its vast empire and connected its various cities. The rapid expansion of the early church therefore benefited greatly from the imperial structures that made travel and communication in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. CE much easier than it had been previously.

##### 1. Roads and highways

Long before Rome became master of the Mediterranean world it realized the necessity of a good road system for effective governance. Its roads were therefore well planned and strategically placed to best serve administrative, commercial, and military interests. In newly conquered territories roads were promptly constructed in order to effectively link them with the rest of the empire, although certain areas such as Asia Minor, which already had an efficient road system, remained largely intact with few innovations. Given that the primary purpose of roads was to facilitate governance and communication, roads were usually constructed with an orientation toward local centers. On a larger scale roads were orientated toward the city of Rome in order to effectively link the capital to other parts of the empire and create some degree of imperial cohesion. Consequently, the old proverb "all roads lead to Rome" is not a complete overstatement.

Most Roman roads were completely paved with a flat stone surface, something that was novel in antiquity and ranged anywhere from a little over 1 m to 7 m in width. Roads were usually named after the censor who ordered their construction, or reconstruction, with the most famous road being the Via Appia that ran south from Rome to Capua and was initiated by Appius Claudius in 312 BCE (see *APIAN WAY*; likely traveled

by Paul, see §B.2). Because roads were completely paved they could easily accommodate drawn vehicles, all sorts of pack animals, and considerable human traffic. In the summer months (June to September) travel volume on the roads was exceptionally high; however, during the winter months (November to March) many roads, especially those at higher elevations or through mountain passes, were mostly closed (Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 4.39).

A hallmark of the Roman road system was its directional straightness, despite elevation changes, as it sought to connect two locations by the shortest possible route. Regular markers, or mileposts, inscribed with the distances to and from various cities along the roadway helped to guide travelers toward their destinations, and many of the busier roads were dotted with way stations and hostels to accommodate travelers. At its peak in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. CE the Roman road system spanned more than 50,000 mi. and its enduring remains serve not only as a testament to its workmanship but also to the importance of land travel in the Roman world.

## 2. Waterways

Though travel by sea or river was not as common as land travel, in most cases it tended to be much faster and was an easier form of transportation. During the sailing season (April to October) the Mediterranean was literally dotted with thousands of ships at any one time, most of which were either commercial transport ships or small fishing vessels. During the winter months (November to March) little sailing was done, especially on the open seas, because it was extremely dangerous due to bad weather and unpredictable winds (Pliny, *Nat.* 2.122; Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 4.39). Passenger ships were virtually unknown in NT times; if someone desired to travel by boat they had to book passage on a freighter and make the necessary arrangements with its captain.

Most ships sailed along the coastline and tended to anchor at night, either in a port or a little ways offshore. During the sailing season the prevailing northerly winds made it easier to sail southeast. Accordingly, ships usually sailed in a clockwise flow around the Mediterranean (Rome to Greece to Turkey to Palestine to Egypt and back to Rome). While most ships were sailing vessels they were almost always equipped with oars. The largest ships on the sea were grain transport ships, many of them moving back and forth from Egypt to Rome since Egypt supplied the capital with approximately one-third of its annual grain, and could range anywhere from 130–150 ft. in length (Tactitus, *Ann.* 2.59). Such large ships could host a number of passengers in addition to its crew. Josephus reports being on a ship with 600 passengers (*Life* 15.3) and one of Paul's ships reportedly carried 276 passengers (Acts 27:37). See SHIPS AND SAILING IN THE NT.

## 3. Reasons for travel

People in NT times traveled for all sorts of reasons: to find work, conduct business, transport merchandise, carry correspondence, visit loved ones, attend school, and to fulfill various government and religious obligations and duties. Leisure travel was extremely rare and was undertaken only by a very small minority of the population who had the necessary means.

Partly facilitated by the newly established Roman peace (*pax Romana*), which made travel safer and much easier than it had been previously, commerce flourished and afforded people opportunities all over the empire. Skilled artisans and laborers of all kinds traversed the Mediterranean as various projects required their special skills, and merchants traveled extensively importing and exporting goods. There is the notable example of the merchant Flavius Zeuxis from Hierapolis in Phrygia who traveled extensively and who is reported to have voyaged from Asia Minor to Rome some seventy-two times on business (*CIG* 3920).

While certain types of work might require that people travel great distances, with many occupations people might travel only locally but frequently. In the agricultural industry, which was by far the largest industry in antiquity, people would have to travel constantly in order to tend to crops, obtain supplies, or transport produce to markets. At tax time, which tended to coincide with the harvest, travel volume was especially high as produce was being moved about and tax collectors and landlords went about collecting dues.

In NT times religious motives also served as important reasons for travel, and this travel was not limited to either Jews or Christians. Worshipers of Greek and Roman deities might travel regularly to particular shrines or temples to venerate and invoke certain gods and goddesses. The cult of Asclepius, the Greek demigod of medicine and healing, frequently attracted a number of pilgrims to his various shrines because they were thought of as places of healing. The many inscriptions and votive offerings found at the shrines (most notably Epidaurus) show that his devotees often traveled great distances to seek his healing powers. People also traveled to attend various festivals and games for particular deities, since attendance was often seen as an act of devotion and offered entertainment typically in the form of games and contests.

For Jews in NT times religious travel was most often brought about by one of the three pilgrimage festivals: Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. During such times Jews from all over the Mediterranean world were known to travel to Jerusalem to partake in the festivities. In Acts 2:5-13 it is reported that Jews from all over the Diaspora came to Jerusalem to celebrate Pentecost, and Josephus reports that so many Jews would travel to Jerusalem for Passover that the city was literally overflowing with visitors during the time of its celebration (*J.W.* 6.423–25).

#### 4. Private and public correspondence

In the NT world the most common form of long-distance correspondence was epistolary, and individuals, both lay and professional, were frequently employed to transmit such correspondence. In many cases private letters were transmitted via a mutual friend or acquaintance to the receiving party. With the letters of Paul and Peter this seems to have been done by a close friend or associate who was a member of their inner missionary circle (Rom 16:1; 1 Pet 5:12). On occasion private correspondence might also be sent via a complete stranger who happened to be passing by in the direction in which the letter was traveling. Consequently, many personal letters did not always make it to their final destination. The wealthier in society who owned slaves would frequently employ them to transmit correspondence. Cicero frequently employed his slaves to transmit his letters and the wealthy Epicurean Papius Paetus, who exchanged numerous letters with Cicero, reportedly had two slaves retained solely for such errands (Cicero, *Fam.* 9.15.1).

While the Roman Empire had an official postal system (*cursus publicus*), which was modeled on the earlier Greek and Persian systems that employed mounted horsemen operating between relay stations, it was used only for official government and military business. In NT times the courier assigned to convey a particular message transported it the whole distance to its final destination and received fresh horses at each relay station along the way (Suetonius, *Aug.* 49.3). Though this system was reserved for official business, on rare occasions prominent persons could use it for personal communications (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.120, 121).

#### 5. Rates of travel and communication

By modern standards travel and communication in NT times was extremely slow. It has been estimated that the ordinary person going on foot could cover about 20 mi. per day, but this average could easily change depending on terrain, weather conditions, or a number of other factors (Sabbaths, stopovers, sickness, etc.). For shorter trips a 20 mi. per day average was certainly realistic; Peter's trip from Joppa to Caesarea (about 40 mi.) took two days (Acts 10:23-30) and Josephus reports that a journey from the southern edge of the Galilee to Jerusalem (about 65 mi.) took three days (*Life* 269). However, for longer trips it cannot always be assumed that such a rate was always maintained. Likewise, this rate could certainly be increased if necessity required.

For the most part, travel by donkey, mule, or even camel moved at about the same rate as walking. Wagons and chariots tended to move a little quicker provided one stayed on a paved road, and travel by horse was much quicker as one could average about 50 mi. per day. However, horses were rarely used by anyone except the military and *cursus publicus*. Since speed was one of the main purposes of the imperial post, on rare occasions when important correspondence had to be

relayed a rider could cover a distance of 100 to 150 mi. in a single day, but this was very unusual. In 9 BCÆ the future emperor Tiberius was able to cover a distance of about 500 mi. in three days using horses and relays supplied by the imperial post when he learned that his brother Drusus was on the point of death (Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 5.3).

In favorable conditions ships could average about 7 mi. an hour. In such conditions a boat leaving Rome could make it to Alexandria in about ten days (Philo, *Flaccus* 27). However, a return trip against the winds could easily take at least twice as long. Luke reports in Acts 16:11-12 that a voyage from Troas to Philippi with favorable winds took two days, while the return trip took five (Acts 20:6). While ships could move at a fairly swift speed, the frequent loading and unloading of cargo, unfavorable winds or storms, waiting for connecting ships, and unscheduled stops could substantially prolong a voyage.

#### 6. Perils of travel

Despite the advent of the Roman peace, in NT times travel could still be quite perilous and had to be undertaken with forethought and care in order to ensure one's safety. Consequently, most people opted to travel in groups because it tended to afford more safety (Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.91). Paul's summary of some of the many dangers he faced on his various missionary journeys is certainly indicative of the types of perils many travelers faced in NT times (2 Cor 11:26-27). Gangs of bandits frequently preyed along ancient high-ways looking for their next victim (Luke 10:30-36), and though Julius Caesar had done an effective job purging the Mediterranean of pirates, they continued to be a threat to those traveling by ship. Disturbances such as local fighting or war greatly added to the perils of travel by causing instability in certain regions (Suetonius, *Aug.* 32), and all sorts of troublemakers were known to frequently hang out on the roadways (Plutarch, *Mor.* 304e). Severe weather always posed a problem for travelers, by land (Seneca, *Ep.* 57.1-2; 96.3) and by sea (Acts 27), and roadside inns, which might seem like a place of relative safety, were often filthy and usually frequented by people of unscrupulous character (Pliny, *Nat.* 9.154; Cicero, *Div.* 1.27; *Inv.* 2.4.14-15).

### B. Travel in the New Testament

#### 1. Jesus

In the Gospels Jesus is depicted as traveling most frequently throughout the Galilee, and on occasion into parts of Phoenicia, Paneas, Samaria, the Decapolis, and Judea. While these regions were mostly connected via a number of footpaths (smaller roads and minor highways that primarily served local traffic), at least one major highway ran south from Damascus through Capernaum and Tiberias and then in a southwest direction through the plain of Esdraelon to Megiddo before it reached Caesarea and continued south along the coast to Egypt.

Consequently, a number of these smaller roads hooked up with this international trade route at various junctures.

Both Matthew and Luke give the impression that Jesus traveled quite extensively as a child. After his parents had gone from Nazareth to Bethlehem to register for the census (Luke 2:1-5) Matthew reports that as a small child Jesus' parents took him to Egypt to escape Herod (Matt 2:13-14). Sometime later, after Herod's death, they returned to settle in the village of Nazareth in the Galilee (Matt 2:19-23). On at least one occasion, it is reported that as a youth Jesus made the trek from Nazareth to Jerusalem for Passover (Luke 2:41-42).

While Jesus' formal ministry appears to have begun in Judea with the baptism by John, most of his subsequent ministry was spent traversing the Galilee. Among the notable villages he traveled among were Bethsaida (Mark 8:22; Luke 9:10), Cana (John 2:1-11; 4:46), Capernaum (Matt 4:13; 8:5; 17:24; Mark 1:21; 2:1; 9:33; Luke 4:31; 7:1; John 2:12; 6:59), Nain (Luke 7:11) and Nazareth (Matt 13:53-58; Luke 4:16). While Jesus' most common mode of transportation between these villages was by foot (Matt 10:10-14), he sometimes made these trips via boat across Lake Tiberias (Matt 9:1; 15:39). On the Sunday before his crucifixion he is reported to have entered Jerusalem riding a donkey (John 12:12-15), the only time that Jesus is ever presented traveling via a pack animal.

Occasionally Jesus' ministry took him outside of the Galilee. On at least three occasions Jesus passed through Samaria (Luke 5:51-45; 17:11-16; John 4:3-43), he went to Caesarea Philippi (Matt 16:13; Mark 8:27), twice into the region of the Decapolis (Mark 5:1-20; 7:31-37), and on one occasion he went as far north as the region of Tyre and Sidon (Matt 15:21-28; Mark 7:24-30). However, after the Galilee, Jesus spent most of his time in Judea, even if he sometimes avoided travel there because of hostility toward him (John 7:1). In the Gospels Jesus is depicted as going to Judea, and more specifically to Jerusalem, most often to attend one of the pilgrimage festivals (John 2:13; 7:2, 10). Besides Jerusalem, which was the center of Jesus' activities in Judea (Matt 16:21; Luke 5:1; 12:12; 13:22), he also spent time in Bethany (John 11:1-18), Bethpage (Matt 21:1), Ephraim (John 11:54), and Jericho (Mark 10:46).

## 2. Paul

While Paul's letters offer some clues to the extent of his travel itinerary, any picture of his travelogue has to be constructed primarily from Acts. Here Paul is depicted as an avid traveler, logging some 6,200 mi. on his various missions in order to carry the gospel "to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). Acts gives the impression that as a youth Paul was already a seasoned traveler, as he was raised in Tarsus but was educated in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3); when he first emerges as a character in the book (other than a brief appearance in Acts 7:58) he

is on the road traveling from Jerusalem to Damascus (Acts 9:1-8).

Acts 13:1-14:28, which details the first formal missionary activities of Paul, shows how he carried the gospel to parts of Asia Minor, particularly to a number of cities in Pisidia. Starting out from Antioch and sailing from Seleucia he spent time in Cyprus and in the cities of Salamis and Paphos before sailing north to the port of Perga in Pamphylia. From there he went by land to Pisidian Antioch, which was a well-connected Roman colony with many major roads, and presumably took the military road leading east, which took him to Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.

During the initial part of Paul's next missionary travels (Acts 15:40-18:23a) he returned to Pisidia. However, he opted to travel from Antioch by land through Syria and Cilicia (Acts 16:1). Making his way to Tarsus via the Cilician Gates that lead through the Taurus mountain range, he then went on to Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch. From there Acts reports that he headed in a northwesterly direction through Phrygia until he arrived at the port city of Troas on the Aegean (Acts 16:8). At Troas Luke may have accompanied Paul's party since it is at this point that the narrative begins to employ the "we" passages (Acts 16:10). From there Paul sailed across the Aegean to Neapolis in Macedonia and then took the Via Egnatia west to Philippi and Thessalonica. Owing to Thessalonian troubles Paul departed and went south, apparently via ship (Acts 17:14), to Athens. After spending a short time in Athens he moved on to Corinth, where he stayed eighteen months (Acts 18:11), and then set sail for Caesarea with a brief stopover in Ephesus.

In Paul's last missionary journey (Acts 18:23b-21:15) he departed from Antioch and presumably took the same inland route through Syria and Cilicia he had formerly taken to Pisidia. However, upon reaching Pisidian Antioch he continued east until he reached Ephesus (Acts 19:1). Following a three-year sojourn (Acts 20:31) he carried on to Macedonia and Greece. While this trip is hastily reported, making his travel itinerary here uncertain (Acts 20:1-2), the return trip to Miletus is given with considerable detail (Acts 20:3-16). Likewise, Paul's voyage from Miletus to Caesarea is equally detailed as it contains a number of particulars about his route, stopovers, and travel times (Acts 20:17-21:8).

Acts 27, which contains an in-depth travelogue of Paul's treacherous voyage from Caesarea to Rome, is recounted with considerable detail. So much information is relayed that it may be regarded as one of the best sources from antiquity detailing ancient seamanship. Acts reports that Paul's ship, leaving from Caesarea, sailed to Sidon and then onto Myra, a port city of Lycia, where Paul changed ships and boarded one bound for Italy. Passing by Cnidus the ship made its way to Crete, intending to harbor for the winter, but was caught in a severe storm and was driven into the open sea by a

fierce northeast wind. After days of intense weather and unable to obtain an astronomical bearing all seemed lost for the crew and passengers. However, land was eventually spotted and the ship made a treacherous crash landing on what turned out to be the island of Malta. Following a three-month stay, Paul was boarded on another ship that eventually made it to Italy and landed at Puteoli. After disembarking Paul and his company took the Via Appia north (Acts 28:15) some 135 mi. to Rome where Acts concludes (Acts 28:30-31). In Rom 15:24, 28 Paul had expressed his intention to carry the gospel to Spain. While Acts says nothing of a trip to Spain and there is no conclusive evidence that Paul ever made it there, *1 Clem.* 5:5-7 may suggest otherwise.

Finally, it must be emphasized that Paul did not travel alone but that he had a number of associates who traveled with him and who helped him keep in touch with certain congregations. Paul employed Phoebe, a servant of the church in Cenchreae, to transport his letter to the Romans and a scribe by the name of Tertius to help him compose it (Rom 16:1, 22). If tradition can be trusted, then Luke, whom Paul identifies as a "fellow worker" (Phlm 24), may have accompanied Paul in his later missionary efforts and on his trip to Rome. Likewise, Sosthenes, Silvanus, Barnabas, John Mark, and a host of other named individuals are depicted both in Acts and the letters as vital figures of Paul's inner circle, whom he used to keep his mission going and to keep communication flowing. However, in his letters it appears that Timothy may have played the most important role in Paul's inner missionary circle. Paul employed him as a conduit of communication among certain communities and occasionally used him to transport letters. When Paul heard of the Corinthian trouble from those of the house of Chloe (1 Cor 1:11), he sent Timothy from Ephesus to investigate (1 Cor 4:17), and while in prison in Rome he sent Timothy to Philippi to carry word of Paul's condition (Phil 2:19).

### 3. Other early Christians

Given the nature of the works preserved in the NT, the travels and correspondences of Paul receive the most attention; nevertheless, there is evidence that a number of other early Christians played important roles in the expansion of the gospel to the larger Mediterranean world. Peter is frequently found alongside Jesus traversing the Galilee and Judea. In Acts Peter figures prominently in Jerusalem, Samaria, and the coastal cities of Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea (Acts 8-10). If 1 Peter is authentically Peter's then it may also be supposed that Peter had either traveled to parts of Asia Minor or was in communication with the various Christian groups located there, and that he may have even spent time in Rome. As with Peter, John also appears to have played a significant role in the early church by traveling to various communities in order to evangelize and oversee certain activities. In Acts he appears by Peter's side in Jerusalem and also in Samaria. The John who authored

Revelation had established contacts in Asia Minor, especially the seven churches established in Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (Rev 2-3).

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LINCOLN H. BLUMELL

**TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION IN THE OT.** The earliest stories of the OT reveal a world of travel and travail for humans on the move. Within the context of the ANE, peoples moved long distances along paths and roads discovered by trial and error, formed by the feet of countless travelers. Ancient travel was time-consuming and fraught with complications and danger. Yet large numbers of people traveled the fertile crescent of the ANE well before the call and movement of Abram from Ur to the small, narrow land of Canaan (Gen 12). For the purposes of reading the OT, one should also note that travel was not necessarily a voluntary act; much OT literature centers on the forced exile and dislocation of the Israelite people.

Travel begins with infrastructure and security. Finding the way somewhere was a matter of life and death in the ancient world. Various Hebrew terms are translated "road," "highway," or most commonly, "way." These include: *nathiv* (נָתִיב) and *nethivah* (נֶתִיבָה; Prov 8:2, "crossroads"; Jer 6:16, "ancient paths"); *'orakh* (אֹרֶחַ; "path," "way"); *mesillah* (מִסְלָלָה; "highway," usually denoting an intentionally constructed "built-up" road; Isa 40:3-4; 57:14; 62:10; Jer 31:21); *shevil* (שְׁבִיל; Jer 18:15, "ancient roads"); and *mish'ol* (מִשְׁעוֹל; Num 22:24, "narrow path"). Only in Num 22:24 does a "narrow path" represent a beaten walkway. The most common term used is *derekh* (דֶּרֶךְ, "way," "road," "route," "highway"; Num 20:17, "king's highway"; Isa 9:1 [Heb. 8:23], "the way of the sea"; Ezek 21:21 [Heb. 21:26], "parting of the way").

Often the image of "the way" or a "highway in the desert" that is leveled, open, or straight metaphorically denotes a period of peace, usually a prophetic view of the future. "A voice cries out '... make straight in the desert a highway for our God'" (Isa 40:3). Road systems