tribes are to occupy the northern region from the borders of the enlarged Judah as far as Sarepta near Sidon (ver. 20). What or where Sepharad is no one knows. The LXX., perhaps by an error of a copyist, read Ἐφραθά. St. Jerome's Hebrew tutor told him the Jews held it to be the Bosporus. St. Jerome himself thinks it is derived from an Assyrian word meaning "bound" or "limit," and understands it as signifying "scattered abroad." So Maurer, who compares οἱ ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ of Jam. i. 1. Hardt, who has devoted a volume to the consideration of the question, is in favour of Sipphara in Mesopotamia. The modern Jews pronounce for Spain. Schultz is probably right in saying that it is some town or district in Babylon, otherwise unknown.

The question is asked, Have the prophet's denunciations of the Edomites been fulfilled, and has his vision of Zion's glories been realised? Typically, partially, and imperfectly they have been fulfilled, but, as Rosenmüller justly says, they await a fuller accomplishment. The first fulfilment of the denunciation on Edom in all probability took place a few years after its utterance. For we read in Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, §7) that five years after the capture of Jerusalem Nebuchadnezzar reduced the Ammonites and Moabites, and after their reduction made an expedition into Egypt. This he could hardly have done without at the same time reducing Idumaea. A more full, but still only partial and typical, fulfilment would have taken place in the time of John Hyrcanus, who utterly reduced the Idumaeans, and only allowed them to remain in their country on the condition of their being circumcised and accepting the Jewish rites, after which their nationality was lost for ever (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, §1). Similarly the return from the Babylonish captivity would typically and imperfectly fulfil the promise of the restoration of Zion and the extension of her borders. But "magnificentior sane est haec promissio quàm ut ad Sorobabelica aut Macabaica tempora referri possit," says Rosenmüller on ver. 21. And "necessitas cogit ut omnia ad praedicationem evangelii referamus," says Luther.

The full completion of the prophetical descriptions of the glories of Jerusalem—the future golden age towards which the seers stretched their hands with fond yearnings—is to be looked for in the Christian, not in the Jewish Zion—in the antitype rather than in the type. Just as the fate of Jerusalem and the destruction of the world are interwoven and interpenetrate each other in the prophecy uttered by our Lord on the mount, and His words are in part fulfilled in the one event, but only fully accomplished in the other; so in figure and in type the predictions of Obadiah may have been accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, Zerubbabel, and Hyrcanus, but their complete fulfilment is reserved for the fortunes of the Christian Church and her adversaries. Whether that fulfilment has already occurred in the spread of the Gospel through the world, or whether it is yet to come (Rev. xx. 4), or whether, being conditional, it is not to be expected save in a limited and curtailed degree, is not to be determined here.

The book of Obadiah is a favourite study of the modern Jews. It is here especially that they read the future fate of their own nation and of the Christians. Those unversed in their literature may wonder where the Christians are found in the book of Obadiah. But it is a fixed principle of Rabbinical interpretation that by Edomites is prophetically meant Christians, and that by Edom is meant Rome. Thus Kimchi, on Obadiah, lays it down that "all that the prophets have said about the destruction of Edom in the last times has reference to Rome." So Rabbi Bechai, on Is. lxvi. 17; and Abarbanel has written a commentary on Obadiah resting on this hypothesis as its basis. Other examples are given by Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* in voc. אֱדוֹם, and *Synagoga Judaica*). The reasons of this Rabbinical dictum are as various and as ridiculous as might be imagined. Nachmanides, Bechai, and Abarbanel say that Janus, the first king of Latium, was grandson of Esau. Kimchi (on Joel iii. 19) says that Julius Caesar was an Idumaean. Scaliger (*ad Chron. Euseb.* n. 2152) reports, "The Jews, both those who are comparatively ancient and those who are modern, believe that Titus was an Edomite, and when the prophets denounce Edom they frequently refer it to Titus." Aben Ezra says that there were no Christians except such as were Idumaeans until the time of Constantine, and that Constantine having embraced their religion the whole Roman empire became entitled Idumaean. St. Jerome says that some of the Jews read רוֹמָה, Rome, for יוֹמָה, Dumah, in Is. xxi. 11. Finally, some of the Rabbis, and with them Abarbanel, maintain that it was the soul of Esau which lived again in Christ.

The colour given to the prophecies of Obadiah, when looked at from this point of view, is most curious. The following is a specimen from Abarbanel on ver. 1:—"The true explanation, as I have said, is to be found in this: The Idumaeans, by which, as I have shown, all the Christians are to be understood (for they took their origin from Rome), will go up to lay waste Jerusalem, which is the seat of holiness, and where the tomb of their God Jesus is, as indeed they have several times gone up already." Again, on ver. 2: "I have several times shown that from Edom proceeded the kings who reigned in Italy, and who built up Rome to be great among the nations and chief among the provinces; and in this way Italy and Greece and all the western provinces became filled with Idumaeans. Thus it is that the prophets call the whole of that nation by the name of Edom." On ver. 8: "There shall not be found counsel or wisdom among the Edomite Christians when they go up to that war." On ver. 19: "Those who have gone as exiles into the Edomites', that is, into the Christians' land, and have there suffered affliction, will deserve to have the best part of their country and their metropolis as Mount Seir." On ver. 20: "Sarepta" is "France;" "Sepharad" is "Spain." The "Mount of Esau," in ver. 21, is "the city of Rome," which is to be judged; and the Saviours are to be "the [Jewish] Messiah and his chieftains," who are to be "Judges."

The first nine verses of Obadiah are so similar to Jer. xlix. 7, &c., that it is evident that one of the two prophets must have had the prophecy of the other before him. Which of the two wrote first is doubtful. Those who give an early date to Obadiah thereby settle the question. Those who place him later leave the question open, as he would in that case be a contemporary of Jeremiah. Luther holds that Obadiah followed Jeremiah. Schnurrer makes it more probable that Jeremiah's prophecy is an altered form of Obadiah's. Eichhorn, Schultz, Rosenmüller, and Maurer agree with him.

See Ephrem Syrus, *Expl. in Abd.* v. 239, Rome 1740; St. Jerome, *Comm. in Abd.* Op. iii. 1455

Paris, 1734, Luther, *Enarr. in Abd.* Op. iii. 538, Jenae, 1612; Pfeiffer, *Tract. Phil. Antirrabin.* Op. p. 1081, Ultraj. 1704; Schnurrer, *Dissertatio Philologica in Obadiam*, Tübing. 1787; Schultzius, *Scholia in Vet. Test.* Norimb. 1793; Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.* Lips. 1813; Maurer, *Comm. in Vet. Test.* Lips. 1836; Jaeger, *Ueber das Zeitalter Obadja's*, Tübing. 1837. [F. M.]

10. (עֹבַדְיָהוּ: Ἀβδιού: *Abdias.*) An officer of high rank in the court of Ahab, who is described as "over the house," that is, apparently, lord high chamberlain, or mayor of the palace (1 K. xviii. 3). His influence with the king must have been great to enable him to retain his position, though a devout worshipper of Jehovah, during the fierce persecution of the prophets by Jezebel. At the peril of his life he concealed a hundred of them in caves, and fed them there with bread and water. But he himself does not seem to have been suspected (1 K. xviii. 4, 13). The occasion upon which Obadiah appears in the history shows the confidential nature of his office. In the third year of the terrible famine with which Samaria was visited, when the fountains and streams were dried up in consequence of the long-continued drought, and horses and mules were perishing for lack of water, Ahab and Obadiah divided the land between them and set forth, each unattended, to search for whatever remnants of herbage might still be left around the springs and in the fissures of the river beds. Their mission was of such importance that it could only be entrusted to the two principal persons in the kingdom. Obadiah was startled on his solitary journey by the abrupt apparition of Elijah, who had disappeared since the commencement of the famine, and now commanded him to announce to Ahab, "Behold Elijah!" He hesitated, apparently afraid that his long-concealed attachment to the worship of Jehovah should thus be disclosed and his life fall a sacrifice. At the same time he was anxious that the prophet should not doubt his sincerity, and appealed to what he had done in the persecution by Jezebel. But Elijah only asserted the more strongly his intention of encountering Ahab, and Obadiah had no choice but to obey (1 K. xviii. 7-16). The interview and its consequences belong to the history of Elijah [vol. i. p. 527]. According to the Jewish tradition preserved in Ephrem Syrus (Assemani, *Bibl. Or. Clem.* p. 70), Obadiah the chief officer of Ahab was the same with Obadiah the prophet. He was of Shechem in the land of Ephraim, and a disciple of Elijah, and was the third captain of fifty who was sent by Ahaziah (2 K. i. 13). After this he left the king's service, prophesied, died, and was buried with his father. The "certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets" who came to Elisha (2 K. iv. 1) was, according to the tradition in Rashi, his widow.

11. (Ἀβδίας.) The father of Ishmaiah, who was chief of the tribe of Zebulon in David's reign (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

12. A Merarite Levite in the reign of Josiah, and one of the overseers of the workmen in the restoration of the Temple (2 Chr. xxxiv. 12). [W. A. W.]

OBAL (עֹבָל: Ἐυάλ: *Ebal*). A son of Joktan, and, like the rest of his family, apparently the founder of an Arab tribe (Gen. x. 28), which has not yet been identified. In 1 Chr. i. 22 the name is written EBAL (עֵיבָל: Alex. Γεμλαν: *Hebal*), which Knobel (*Genesis*) compares with the *Gebanitae* of Pliny, a tribe of Southern Arabia. The similarity of the name with that of the *Avalitae* a troglodyte tribe of East Africa, induced Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 23) to conjecture that Obal migrated thither and gave his name to the *Sinus Abalites* or *Avalites* of Pliny (vi. 34). [W. A. W.]

OBDI'A ('Οβδία: *Obia*). Probably a corruption, the form in which the name HABAIAH appears (comp. 1 Esdr. v. 38 with Ezr. ii. 61).

O'BED (עוֹבֵד: Ὠβήδ: *Obed*). 1. Son of Boaz and Ruth the Moabitess (Ruth iv. 17). The circumstances of his birth, which make up all that we know about him, are given with much beauty in the book of Ruth, and form a most interesting specimen of the religious and social life of the Israelites in the days of Eli, which a comparison of the genealogies of David, Samuel, and Abiathar shows to have been about the time of his birth. The famine which led to Elimelech and his sons migrating to the land of Moab may naturally be assigned to the time of the Philistine inroads in Eli's old age. Indeed there is a considerable resemblance between the circumstances described in Hannah's song (1 Sam. ii. 5), "They that were hungry ceased, so that the barren hath born seven," and those of Obed's birth as pointed at, Ruth i. 6, and in the speech of the women to Naomi: "He shall be unto thee a restorer of thy life, and a nourisher of thine old age; for thy daughter-in-law which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him:" as well as between the prophetic saying (1 Sam. ii. 7), "The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich: He bringeth low, and lifteth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory:" and the actual history of the house of Elimelech, whose glory was prayed for by the people, who said, on the marriage of Ruth to Boaz, "The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel, and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem." The direct mention of the Lord's Christ in 1 Sam. ii. 10, also connects the passage remarkably with the birth of that child who was grandfather to King David, and the lineal ancestor of Jesus Christ.

The name of Obed occurs only Ruth iv. 17, and in the four genealogies, Ruth iv. 21, 22; 1 Chr. ii. 12; Matt. i. 5; Luke iii. 32. In all these five passages, and in the first with peculiar emphasis, he is said to be *the father of Jesse*. It is incredible that in David's reign, when this genealogy was compiled, his own grandfather's name should have been forgotten, and therefore there is no escape from the conclusion that Obed was literally Jesse's father, and that we have all the generations recorded from Nahshon to David. [JESSE; NAHSHON.] [A. C. H.]

2. (Alex. Ἰωβήδ.) A descendant of Jarha, the Egyptian slave of Sheshan in the line of Jerahmeel. He was grandson of Zabad, one of David's mighties (1 Chr. ii. 37, 38).

3. (Ὠβήθ; Alex. Ἰωβήδ.) One of David's mighty men (1 Chr. xi. 47).

4. (Ὠβήδ; Alex. Ἰωβήδ.) One of the gatekeepers of the Temple: son of Shemaiah the firstborn of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxv. 7).

5. (Alex. Ἰωβήδ.) Father of Azariah, one of the captains of hundreds who joined with Jehoiada in the revolution by which Athaliah fell (2 Chr. xxiii. 1). [W. A. W.]

OBED-EDOM (עֹבֵד אֱדֹם: Ἀβεδδαρά in Sam., Ἀβδεδεμ in Chr.; Alex. Ἀβεδδαδόμ in 2 Sam. vi. 11: *Obed-edom*). 1. A Levite, apparently of the family of Kohath. He is described as a Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10, 11), that is, probably, a native of the Levitical city of Gath-Rimmon in Manasseh, which was assigned to the Kohathites (Josh. xxi. 45), and is thus distinguished from "Obed-edom the son of Jeduthun," who was a Merarite. After the death of Uzzah, the ark, which was being conducted from the house of Abinadab in Gibeah to the city of David, was carried aside into the house of Obed-edom, where it continued three months, and brought with its presence a blessing upon Obed-edom and his household. Hearing this, David, at the head of a large choir of singers and minstrels, clothed in fine linen, and attended by the elders of Israel and the chief captains, "went to bring up the ark of the covenant of Jehovah out of the house of Obed-edom with joy" (1 Chr. xv. 25; 2 Sam. vi. 12).

2. "Obed-edom the son of Jeduthun" (1 Chr. xvi. 38), a Merarite Levite, appears to be a different person from the last-mentioned. He was a Levite of the second degree and a gatekeeper for the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18, 24), appointed to sound "with harps on the Sheminith to excel" (1 Chr. xv. 21, xvi. 5). With his family of seven sons and their children, "mighty men of valour" (1 Chr. xxvi. 4-8), he kept the south gate (1 Chr. xxvi. 15) and the house of Asuppim. There is one expression, however, which seems to imply that Obed-edom the gatekeeper and Obed-edom the Gittite may have been the same. After enumerating his seven sons the chronicler (1 Chr. xxvi. 5) adds, "for God blessed him," referring apparently to 2 Sam. vi. 11, "the Lord blessed Obed-edom and all his household." The family still remained at a much later time as keepers of the vessels of the Temple in the reign of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 24). [W. A. W.]

OBETH (Ὠβήθ: om. in Vulg.). Ebed the son of Jonathan is so called in 1 Esdr. viii. 32.

OBIL (אוֹבִיל: Ἀβίας; Alex. Οὐβίας: *Ubil*). An Ishmaelite who was appropriately appointed keeper of the herds of camels in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 30). Bochart (*Hieroz.* pt. i., B. 2) conjectures that the name is that of the office, *abâl* in Arabic denoting "a keeper of camels."

OBLATION. [Sacrifice.]

OBOTH (אֹבֹת: Ὠβώθ: *Oboth*), one of the encampments of the Israelites, east of Moab (Num. xxi. 10, xxxiii. 43). Its exact site is unknown. [Wilderness of the Wandering.]

OCHI'EL (Ὀχιῆλος; Alex. Ὀζιῆλος: *Oziel*). The form in which the name Jeiel appears in 1 Esdr. i. 9 (comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 9). The Geneva version has Chielus.

OCIDE'LUS (Ὠκόδηλος; Alex. Ὠκείδηλος: *Jussio, Reddus*). This name occupies, in 1 Esdr. ix. 22, the place of Jozabad in Ezr. x. 22, of which it is a manifest corruption. The original name is more clearly traced in the Vulgate.

OCI'NA (Ὀκεινᾶ; and so Alex.: Vulg. omits). "Sour and Ocina" are mentioned (Jud. ii. 28) among the places on the sea-coast of Palestine, which were terrified at the approach of Holofernes. The names seem to occur in a regular order from north to south; and as Ocina is mentioned between Sour (Tyre) and Jemnaan (Jabneh), its position agrees with that of the ancient Accho, now *Akka*, and in mediaeval times sometimes called Acon (Bocardus; William of Tyre, &c.). [G.]

OC'RAN (עָכְרָן: Ἐχράν: *Ochran*). The father of Pagiel, chief of the tribe of Asher after the Exodus (Num. i. 13, ii. 27, vii. 72, 77, x. 26).

O'DED (עוֹדֵד: Ὀδήδ; Alex. Ἀδάδ: *Oded*). 1. The father of Azariah the prophet in the reign of Asa (2 Chr. xv. 1). In 2 Chr. xv. 8, the prophecy in the preceding verses is attributed to him, and not to his son. The Alex. MS. and the Vulgate retain the reading which is probably the true one, "Azariah the son of Oded." These are supported by the Peshito-Syriac, in which "Azur" is substituted for Oded.

2. A prophet of Jehovah in Samaria, at the time of Pekah's invasion of Judah. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 12, §2) calls him Ὠβηδάς. On the return of the victorious army with the 200,000 captives of Judah and Jerusalem, Oded met them and prevailed upon them to let the captives go free (2 Chr. xxviii. 9). He was supported by the chivalrous feelings of some of the chieftains of Ephraim, and the narrative of the restoration of the prisoners, fed, clothed, and anointed, to Jericho the city of palm-trees, is a pleasant episode of the last days of the northern kingdom. [W. A. W.]

ODOL'LAM (Ὀδολλάμ: *Odollam*). The Greek form of the name Adullam; found in 2 Macc. xii. 38 only. Adullam is stated by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Adollam") to have been in their day a large village, about 10 miles east of Eleutheropolis; and here (if *Beit-jibrin* be Eleutheropolis) a village with the name of *Bet Dûla* (Tobler, *Bethlehem*, 29; *Dritte Wand.* 151) or *Beit Ula* (Robinson, 1st ed. App. 117) now stands.

The obstacle to this identification is not that Adullam, a town of the Shefelah, should be found in the mountains, for that puzzling circumstance is not unfrequent (comp. Keilah, &c. vol. ii. p. 9), so much as that in the catalogue of Joshua xv. it is mentioned with a group of towns (Zoreah, Socoh, &c.) which lay at the N.W. corner of Judah, while *Bet Dûla* is found with those (Nezib, Keilah, &c.) of a separate group, further south.

Further investigation is requisite before we can positively say if there is any cavern in the neighbourhood of *Bet Dûla* answering to the "cave of Adullam." The cavern at *Khureitûn*,* 3 miles south of Bethlehem, usually shown to travellers as Adullam, is so far distant as to put it out of the question. It is more probable that this latter

* Dr. Bonar has suggested to us that the name *Khureitun* represents the ancient Hareth (*Khareth*). This is ingenious, and may be correct; but Tobler (*Umgebungen*, &c., 522, 3) has made out a strong case for the name being that of Chareitôn, or Kreton, a famous Essene hermit of the 3rd or 4th cent., who founded a Laura in the cavern in question. (See *Acta Sanct.* Sept 28.)

is the cavern in the wilderness of Engedi, in which the adventure[b] of Saul and David (1 Sam. xxiv.) occurred. Everything that can be said to identify it with the cave of Adullam has been said by Dr. Bonar (*Land of Promise*, 248-50); but his strongest argument—an inference, from 1 Sam. xxii. 1, in favour of its proximity to Bethlehem—comes into direct collision with the statement of Jerome quoted above, which it should be observed is equally opposed to Dr. Robinson's proposal to place it at *Deir-Dubbân*.

The name of Adullam appears to have been first applied to *Khureitun* at the time of the Crusades (Will. of Tyre, xv. 6). [G.]

ODONAR'KES (marg. Odomarra: Ὀδομηρά, Ὀδοαρῆς: *Odares*), the chief of a nomad tribe slain by Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 66). The form in the A. V. does not appear to be supported by any authority. The Geneva version has "Odomeras." [B. F. W.]

OFFERINGS. [SACRIFICE.]

OFFICER.[c] It is obvious that most, if not all, of the Hebrew words rendered "officer," are either of an indefinite character, or are synonymous terms for functionaries known under other and more specific names, as "scribe," "eunuch," &c.

The two words so rendered in the N. T. each bear in ordinary Greek a special sense. In the case of ὑπηρέτης this is of no very definite kind, but the word is used to denote an inferior officer of a court of justice, a messenger or bailiff, like the Roman viator or lictor. Πράκτορες at Athens were officers whose duty it was to register and collect fines imposed by courts of justice; and "deliver to the officer"[d] means, give in the name of the debtor to the officer of the court (Demosthenes (or Dinarchus) *c. Theocr.* p. 1218, Reiske; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Practores," "Hyperetes;" Jul. Poll. viii. 114; Demosth. *c. Arist.* p. 778; Aesch. *c. Timarch.* p. 5; Grotius, on Luke xii. 58).[e]

Josephus says, that to each court of justice among the Jews two Levites[f] were to be attached as clerks or secretaries, *Ant.* iv. 8, §14. The Mishna also mentions the crier and other officials, but whether these answered to the officers of Josephus and the N. T. cannot be determined. Selden, from Maimonides, mentions the high estimation in which such officials were held. *Sanhedr.* iv. 3, vi. 1; Selden, *de Synedr.* ii. 13, 11. [PUNISHMENTS; SERJEANTS.]

The word "officers" is used to render the phrases οἱ ἀπὸ (or ἐπὶ) τῶν χρειῶν, 1 Macc. x. 41, xiii. 37, in speaking of the revenue-officers of Demetrius. It is also used to render λειτουργοι, Ecclus. x. 2, where the meaning is clearly the subordinates in a general sense to a supreme authority. [H. W. P.]

OG (עוֹג: Ὠγ: *Og*), an Amoritish king of Bashan, whose rule extended over sixty cities, of which the two chief were Ashtaroth-Karnaim and Edrei (Josh. xiii. 12). He was one of the last representatives of the giant-race of Rephaim. According to Eastern traditions, he escaped the deluge by wading beside the ark (Sale's *Koran*, ch. v. p. 86). He was supposed to be the largest of the sons of Anak, and a descendant of Ad. He is said to have lived no less than 3000 years, and to have refused the warnings of Jethro (Shoaib), who was sent as a prophet to him and his people (D'Herbelot, *s. vv.* "*Falasthin*," "*Anak*"). Soiouthi wrote a long book about him and his race, chiefly taken from Rabbinic traditions, and called *Aug fi khaber Aoug* (Id. *s. v.* "*Aug*"). See, too, the *Journal Asiatique* for 1841, and *Chronique de Tabari trad. du persan, par Dubeux*, i. 48, f. (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 306).

Passing over these idle fables, we find from Scripture that he was, with his children and his people, defeated and exterminated by the Israelites at Edrei, immediately after the conquest of Sihon, who is represented by Josephus as his friend and ally (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 5, §3). His sixty proud fenced cities were taken, and his kingdom assigned to the Reubenites, Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 1-13; Num. xxxii. 33. Also Deut. i. 4, iv. 47, xxxi. 4; Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10, xiii. 12, 30). The giant stature of Og, and the power and bravery of his people, excited a dread which God himself alleviated by his encouragement to Moses before the battle; and the memory of this victory lingered long in the national memory (Ps. cxxxv. 11, cxxxvi. 20).

The belief in Og's enormous stature is corroborated by an appeal to a relic still existing in the time of the author of Deut. iii. 11. This was an iron bedstead, or bier, preserved in "Rabbath of the children of Ammon." How it got there we are not told; perhaps the Ammonites had taken it in some victory over Og. The verse itself has the air of a later addition (Dathe), although it is of course possible that the Hebrews may have heard of so curious a relic as this long before they conquered the city where it was treasured. Rabbath was first subdued in the reign of David (2 Sam. xii. 26); but it does not therefore follow that Deut. iii. 11 was not written till that time (Hävernick *ad loc.*). Some have supposed that this was one of the common flat beds [BEDS] used sometimes on the housetops of

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[b] Van de Velde (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 33) illustrates this charming narrative more forcibly than is his wont. The cave, he says, has still "the same narrow natural vault-like entrance, the same huge chamber in the rock, probably the place where Saul lay down to rest in the heat of the day; the same side vaults, too, where David and his men lay concealed, when, accustomed to the obscurity of the cavern, they saw Saul enter, while Saul, blinded by the glare of light outside, saw nothing of them."

[c] 1. נָצִיב, Νασίβ, Vulg. *super omnia*, from נָצַב, "to place."

2. From same, נְצָב, part. plur. in Niph. נִצָּבִים, κατεστημένοι, *praefecti*, 1 K. iv. 7.

3. סָרִיס, Gen. xl. 2, εὐνοῦχος. [EUNUCH.]

4. פֶּחָה, Esth. ii. 3, κωμάρχης; Gen. xli. 33, τοπάρχης; Neh. xi. 9, ἐπίσκοπος; *praepositus*; A. V. "overseer."

5. פְּקֻדָּה, προστάτης, concr. for abstr.; properly, office, like "authority" in Eng. Both of these words (4) and (5) from פָּקַד, "visit."

6. רַב, οἰκονόμος, *princeps*, Esth. i. 8, joined with סָרִיס, Dan. i. 3.

7. שֹׁטֵר, part. from שָׁטַר, "cut," or "inscribe," Ex. ii. 6, γραμματεύς, *exactor*; Num. xi. 16, γραμματεῖς, Deut. xvi. 18, γραμματοεισαγωγεύς, *magister*, Josh. i. 10 *princeps*.

8. The word "officer" is also used, Esth. ix. 3, to render מְלַאכָה, which is joined with עֹשֵׂי, marg "those that did the business," γραμματεῖς, *procuratores*.

In N. T. "officer" is used to render, (1) ὑπηρέτης *minister*, (2) πράκτωρ, Luke xii. 58, *exactor*.

[d] παραδοῦναι τῷ πράκτ.

[e] Πράκτωρ is used in LXX. to render נֹגֵשׂ, Is. iii. 12; A. V. "oppressor," one who persecutes by exaction.

[f] ὑπηρέται.

Eastern cities, but made of iron instead of palm-branches, which would not have supported the giant's weight. It is more probable that the words עֶרֶשׂ בַּרְזֶל, *eres barzel*, mean a "sarcophagus of black basalt," a rendering of which they undoubtedly admit. The Arabs still regard black basalt as iron, because it is a stone "ferrei coloris atque duritiae" (Plin. xxxvi. 11), and "contains a large percentage of iron." [IRON.] It is most abundant in the Hauran; and indeed is probably the cause of the name Argob (the stony) given to a part of Og's kingdom. This sarcophagus was 9 cubits long, and 4 cubits broad. It does not of course follow that Og was 15½ feet high. Maimonides (*More Nevochim*, ii. 48) sensibly remarks that a bed (supposing "a bed" to be intended) is usually one-third longer than the sleeper; and Sir J. Chardin, as well as other travellers, have observed the ancient tendency to make mummies and tombs far larger than the natural size of men, in order to leave an impression of wonder.

Other legends about Og may be found in Ben-Uzziel on Num. xxi. 33, Midrash Jalqût, fol. 13 (quoted by Ewald), and in Mahometan writers: as that one of his bones long served for a bridge over a river; that he roasted at the sun a fish freshly caught, &c. An apocryphal book of king Og, which probably contained these and other traditions, was condemned by Pope Gelasius (*Decret.* vi. 13, Sixt. Senensis, *Bibl. Sanct.* p. 86). The origin of the name is doubtful: some, but without any probability, would connect it with the Greek Ogyges (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 306, ii. 269). [F. W. F.]

O'HAD (אֹחַד: Ἀώδ; Alex. Ἰαωαδί in Ex.: *Ahod*). One of the six sons of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15). His name is omitted from the lists in 1 Chr. iv. 24 and Num. xxvi. 14, though in the former passage the Syriac has ܐܘܪ, *Ohor*, as in Gen. and Ex.

O'HEL (אֹהֶל: Ὀόλ: *Ohol*). As the text now stands Ohel was one of the seven sons of Zerubbabel, though placed in a group of five who for some cause are separated from the rest (1 Chr. iii. 20). Whether they were by a different mother, or were born after the return from Babylon, can only be conjectured.

OIL.[a] i. Of the numerous substances, animal and vegetable, which were known to the ancients as yielding oil, the olive-berry is the one of which most frequent mention is made in the Scriptures. It is well-known that both the quality and the value of olive-oil differ according to the time of gathering the fruit, and the amount of pressure used in the course of preparation. These processes, which do not essentially differ from the modern, are described minutely by the Roman writers on agriculture, and to their descriptions the few notices occurring both in Scripture and the Rabbinical writings, which throw light on the ancient Oriental method, nearly correspond. Of these descriptions the following may be taken as an abstract. The best oil is made from fruit gathered about November or December, when it has begun to change colour, but before it has become black. The berry in the more advanced state yields more oil, but of an inferior quality. Oil was also made from unripe fruit by a special process as early as September or October while the harder sorts of fruit were sometimes delayed till February or March, Virg. *Georg.* ii. 519; Palladius, *R. R.* xii. 4; Columella, *R. R.* xii. 47, 50; Cato, *R. R.* 65; Pliny, *N. H.* xv. 1-8; Varro, *R. R.* i. 55; Hor. 2 *Sat.* ii. 46.

1. *Gathering.*—Great care is necessary in gathering, not to injure either the fruit itself or the boughs of the tree; and with this view it was either gathered by hand or shaken off carefully with a light reed or stick. The "boughing" of Deut. xxiv. 20 (marg.),[b] probably corresponds to the "shaking"[c] of Is. xvii. 6, xxiv. 13, *i. e.* a subsequent beating for the use of the poor. See Mishna, *Shebiith*, iv. 2; *Peah*, vii. 2, viii. 3. After gathering and careful cleansing, the fruit was either at once carried to the press, which is recommended as the best course; or, if necessary, laid on tables with hollow trays made sloping, so as to allow the first juice (Amurca) to flow into other receptacles beneath, care being taken not to heap the fruit too much, and so prevent the free escape of the juice, which is injurious to the oil though itself useful in other ways (Colum. *u. s.* xii. 50; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, i. 8, 2).

2. *Pressing.*—In order to make oil, the fruit was either bruised in a mortar; crushed in a press, loaded with wood or stones; ground in a mill; or trodden with the feet. Special buildings used for grape-pressing were used also for the purpose of olive-pressing, and contained both the press and the receptacle for the pressed juice. Of these processes, the one least expedient was the last (treading), which perhaps answers to the "canalis et soles," mentioned by Columella, and was probably the one usually adopted by the poor. The "beaten" oil of Ex. xxvii. 20; Lev. xxiv. 2, and Ex. xxix. 40; Num. xxviii. 5, was probably made by bruising in a mortar. These processes, and also the place and the machine for pressing, are mentioned in the Mishna. Oil-mills are often made of stone, and turned by hand. Others consist of cylinders enclosing a beam, which is turned by a camel or other animal. An Egyptian olive-press is described by Niebuhr, in which the pressure exerted on the fruit is given by means of weights of wood and stone placed in a sort of box above. Besides the above cited Scripture references, the following passages mention either the places, the processes, or the machines used in olive-pressing: Mic. vi. 15; Joel ii. 24, iii. 13; Is. lxiii. 3; Lam. i. 15; Hag. ii. 16; *Menach.* viii. 4; *Shebiith*, iv. 9, vii. 6 (see Ges. p. 179, *s. v.* בר); *Terum.* x. 7; *Shabb.* i. 9; *Baba Bathra*, iv. 5; Ges. pp. 351, 725, 848, 1096; Vitruvius, x. 1; Cato, *R. R.* 3; Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 346, 350; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 122, pl. xvii.; Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii. 196; Wellsted, *Trav.* ii. 433. [GETHSEMANE.]

3. *Keeping.*—Both olives and oil were kept in jars carefully cleansed; and oil was drawn out for use in horns or other small vessels (CRUSE). These

[a] 1. יִצְהָר, from צָהַר, "shine" (Ges. 1152-3), πιότης, ἔλαιον, *oleum*, clear olive-oil, as distinguished from

2. שֶׁמֶן, "pressed juice," ἔλαιον, *oleum*, from שָׁמַן, "become fat" (Ges. 1437); sometimes joined with זַיִת, ἔλαιον ἐξ ἐλαιῶν, *oleum de olivetis*, distinguishing olive-juice from oil produced from other sources. Also sometimes in A. V. "ointment" (Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 279).

3. מִשְׁחָה, Chald. ἔλαιον, *oleum*, only in Ezr. vi. 9, vii. 22.

[b] פֵּאָה. נָקַף, καλαμήσατε.

vessels for keeping oil were stored in cellars or storehouses; special mention of such repositories is made in the inventories of royal property and revenue (1 Sam. x. 1, xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39, xvii. 16; 2 K. iv. 2, 6, ix. 1, 3; 1 Chr. xxvii. 28; 2 Chr. xi. 11, xxxii. 28; Prov. xxi. 20; *Shebiith*, v. 7; *Celsus*, ii. 5, xvii. 12; Columell. *l. c.*).

Oil of Tekoa was reckoned the best (*Menach.* viii. 8). Trade in oil was carried on with the Tyrians, by whom it was probably often re-exported to Egypt, whose olives do not for the most part produce good oil. Oil to the amount of 20,000 baths (2 Chr. ii. 10; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §9), or 20 measures (*cors*, 1 K. v. 11) was among the supplies furnished by Solomon to Hiram. Direct trade in oil was also carried on between Egypt and Palestine (1 K. v. 11; 2 Chr. ii. 10, 15; Ezr. iii. 7; Is. xxx. 6, lvii. 9; Ez. xxvii. 17; Hos. xii. 1; S. Hieronym. *Com. in Osee*, iii. 12; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §9; *B. J.* ii. 21, §2; Strabo, xvii. p. 809; Pliny, xv. 4, 13; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 28, sm. ed.; Hasselquist, *Trav.* pp. 53, 117). [COMMERCE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

ii. Besides the use of olives themselves as food, common to all olive-producing countries (Hor. 1 *Od.* xxi. 15; Martial, xiii. 36; Arvieux, *Trav.* p. 209; *Terumoth*, i. 9, ii. 6), the principal uses of olive-oil may be thus stated.

1. *As food.*—Dried wheat, boiled with either butter or oil, but more commonly the former, is a common dish for all classes in Syria. Hasselquist speaks of bread baked in oil as being particularly sustaining; and Faber, in his Pilgrimage, mentions eggs fried in oil as Saracen and Arabian dishes. It was probably on account of the common use of oil in food that the "meat-offerings" prescribed by the Law were so frequently mixed with oil (Lev. ii. 4, 7, 15, viii. 26, 31; Num. vii. 19, and foll.; Deut. xii. 17, xxxii. 13; 1 K. xvii. 12, 15; 1 Chr. xii. 40; Ez. xvi. 13, 19; S. Hieronym. *Vit. S. Hilarion.* c. 11, vol. ii. 32; Ibn Batuta, *Trav.* p. 60, ed. Lee; Volney, *Trav.* i. 362, 406; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 80, 119; Harmer, *Obs.* i. 471, 474; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 232; Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, *Early Trav.* p. 332; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Arab.* i. 54; *Notes on Bed.* i. 59; Arvieux, *l. c.*; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 84; Niebuhr, *Voy.* ii. 302; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 132; Faber, *Evagatorium*, vol. i. p. 197, ii. 152, 415). [FOOD; OFFERING.]

2. *Cosmetic.*—As is the case generally in hot climates, oil was used by the Jews for anointing the body, *e. g.* after the bath, and giving to the skin and hair a smooth and comely appearance, *e. g.* before an entertainment. To be deprived of the use of oil was thus a serious privation, assumed voluntarily in the time of mourning or of calamity. At Egyptian entertainments it was usual for a servant to anoint the head of each guest, as he took his seat [OINTMENT], (Deut. xxviii. 40; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ruth iii. 3; 2 Sam. xii. 20; Ps. xxiii. 5, xcii. 10, civ. 15; Dan. x. 3: Is. lxi. 3; Mic. vi. 15; Am. vi. 6; Sus. 17; Luke vii. 46). Strabo mentions the Egyptian use of castor-oil for this purpose, xvii. 824. The Greek and Roman usage will be found mentioned in the following passages: Hom. *Il.* x. 577, xviii. 596, xxiii. 281; *Od.* vii. 107, vi. 93, x. 364; Hor. 3 *Od.* xiii. 6; 1 *Sat.* vi. 123; 2 *Sat.* i. 8; Pliny, xiv. 22; Aristoph. *Wasps*, 608, *Clouds*, 816; Roberts, pl. 164. Butter, as is noticed by Pliny, is used by the negroes and the lower class of Arabs for the like purposes (Pliny, xi. 41; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 53; *Nubia*, p. 215; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr* ii. 375; see Deut. xxxiii. 24; Job xxix. 6; Ps. cix. 18).

The use of oil preparatory to athletic exercises customary among the Greeks and Romans, can scarcely have had place to any extent among the Jews, who in their earlier times had no such contests, though some are mentioned by Josephus with censure as taking place at Jerusalem and Caesarea under Herod (Hor. 1 *Od.* viii. 8; Pliny, xv. 4 Athenaeus, xv. 34, p. 686; Hom. *Od.* vi. 79, 215 Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, §1, xvi. 5, §1; *Dict. of Antiq.*, "Aliptae").

3. *Funereal.*—The bodies of the dead were anointed with oil by the Greeks and Romans, probably as a partial antiseptic, and a similar custom appears to have prevailed among the Jews (*Il.* xxiv. 587; Virg. *Aen.* vi. 219). [ANOINT; BURIAL.]

4. *Medicinal.*—As oil is in use in many cases in modern medicine, so it is not surprising, that it should have been much used among the Jews and other nations of antiquity for medicinal purposes. Celsus repeatedly speaks of the use of oil, especially old oil, applied externally with friction in fevers, and in many other cases. Pliny says that olive-oil is good to warm the body and fortify it against cold, and also to cool heat in the head, and for various other purposes. It was thus used previously to taking cold-baths, and also mixed with water for bathing the body. Josephus mentions that among the remedies employed in the case of Herod, he was put into a sort of oil-bath. Oil mixed with wine is also mentioned as a remedy used both inwardly and outwardly in the disease with which the soldiers of the army of Aelius Gallus were affected, a circumstance which recalls the use of a similar remedy in the parable of the good Samaritan. The prophet Isaiah alludes to the use of oil as ointment in medical treatment; and it thus furnished a fitting symbol, perhaps also an efficient remedy, when used by our Lord's disciples in the miraculous cures which they were enabled to perform. With a similar intention, no doubt, its use was enjoined by St. James, and, as it appears, practised by the early Christian Church in general. An instance of cure through the medium of oil is mentioned by Tertullian. The medicinal use of oil is also mentioned in the Mishna, which thus exhibits the Jewish practice of that day. See, for the various instances above named, Is. i. 6; Mark vi. 13; Luke x. 34; James v. 14; Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 6, §5; *B. J.* i. 33, §5; *Shabb.* xiii. 4; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* pp. 11, 526; Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 9; Corn. à Lap. on James v.; Tertull. *ad Scap.* c. 4; Celsus, *De Med.* ii. 14, 17; iii. 6, 9, 19, 22, iv. 2; Hor. 2 *Sat.* i. 7; Pliny, xv. 4, 7, xxiii. 3, 4; Dio Cass. liii. 29; Lightfoot, *H. H.* ii. 304, 444; S. Hieronym. *l. c.*

5. *Oil for light.*—The oil for "the light" was expressly ordered to be olive-oil, beaten, *i. e.* made from olives bruised in a mortar (Ex. xxv. 6, xxvii. 20, 21, xxxv. 8; Lev. xxiv. 2; 2 Chr. xiii. 11; 1 Sam. iii. 3; Zech. iv. 3, 12; Mishna, *Demai*, i. 3; *Menach.* viii. 4). The quantity required for the longest night is said to have been ½ log (13·79 cubic in. = ·4166 of a pint), *Menach.* ix. 3; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 159. [CANDLESTICK.] In the same manner the great lamps used at the Feast of Tabernacles were fed (*Succah*, v. 2). Oil was used in general for lamps; it is used in Egypt with cotton wicks twisted round a piece of straw; the receptacle being a glass vessel, into which water is first poured (Matt. xxv. 1-8; Luke xii. 35; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 201).

C. *Ritual.*—*a.* Oil was poured on, or mixed with the flour or meal used in offerings.

i. The consecration offering of priests, Ex. xxix. 2, 23; Lev. vi. 15, 21.

ii. The offering of "beaten oil" with flour, which accompanied the daily sacrifice, Ex. xxix. 40.

iii. The leper's purification offering, Lev. xiv. 10-18, 21, 24, 28, where it is to be observed that the quantity of oil (1 log, = ·833 of a pint,) was invariable, whilst the other objects varied in quantity according to the means of the person offering. The cleansed leper was also to be touched with oil on various parts of his body, Lev. xiv. 15-18.

iv. The Nazarite, on completion of his vow, was to offer unleavened bread anointed with oil, and cakes of fine bread mingled with oil, Num. vi. 15.

v. After the erection of the Tabernacle, the offerings of the "princes" included flour mingled with oil, Num. vii.

vi. At the consecration of the Levites, fine flour mingled with oil was offered, Num. viii. 8.

vii. Meat-offerings in general were mingled or anointed with oil, Lev. vii. 10, 12.

On the other hand, certain offerings were to be devoid of oil; the sin-offering, Lev. v. 11, and the offering of jealousy, Num. v. 15.

The principle on which both the presence and the absence of oil were prescribed is clearly, that as oil is indicative of gladness, so its absence denoted sorrow or humiliation (Is. lxi. 3; Joel ii. 19; Rev. vi. 6). It is on this principle that oil is so often used in Scripture as symbolical of nourishment and comfort (Deut. xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 24; Job xxix. 6; Ps. xlv. 7, cix. 18; Is. lxi. 3).

b. Kings, priests, and prophets, were anointed with oil or ointment. [OINTMENT.]

7. *a.* As so important a necessary of life, the Jew was required to include oil among his first-fruit offerings (Ex. xxii. 29, xxiii. 16; Num. xviii. 12; Deut. xviii. 4; 2 Chr. xxxi. 5; *Terum.* xi. 3). In the Mishna various limitations are laid down; but they are of little importance except as illustrating the processes to which the olive-berry was subjected in the production of oil, and the degrees of estimation in which their results were held.

b. Tithes of oil were also required (Deut. xii. 17; 2 Chr. xxxi. 5, Neh. x. 37, 39, xiii. 12; Ez. xlv. 14).

8. Shields, if covered with hide, were anointed with oil or grease previous to use. [ANOINT.] Shields of metal were perhaps rubbed over in like manner to polish them. See Thenius on 2 Sam. i. 21; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 625; Plautus, *Mil.* i. 1, 2; and Gesen. p. 825.

Oil of inferior quality was used in the composition of soap.

Of the substances which yield oil, besides the olive-tree, myrrh is the only one specially mentioned in Scripture. Oil of myrrh is the juice which exudes from the tree Balsamodendron Myrrha, but olive-oil was an ingredient in many compounds which passed under the general name of oil (Esth. ii. 12; Celsus, *u. s.* iii. 10, 18, 19; Pliny, xii. 26, xiii. 1, 2, xv. 7; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 23; Balfour, *Plants of Bible*, p. 52; Winer, *Realw.* s.v. Myrrhe. [OINTMENT.] [H. W. P.]

[a] 1. *Shemen.* See OIL (2).

2. רֶקַח, *μύρον, unguentum*, from רָקַח, "anoint."

3. מִרְקַחַת or מִרְקָחָה, *μύρον, unguentum* (Ex. xxx. 25). Gesenius thinks it may be the vessel in which the ointment was compounded (p. 1309)

OIL-TREE (עֵץ שֶׁמֶן, *ets shemen*: ξύλα ἐλαίου, ξύλα πρίσσος, ξύλα κυπαρίσσινα: *lignum olivae, frondes ligni pulcherrimi*). The Hebrew words occur in Neh. viii. 15, 1 K. vi. 23, and in Is. xli. 19. In this last passage the A. V. has "oil-tree;" but in Kings it has "olive-tree," and in Nehemiah "pine-branches." From the passage in Nehemiah, where the *ets shemen* is mentioned as distinct from the *zaïth* or "olive-tree," writers have sought to identify it with the *Elaeagnus angustifolius*, Linn., sometimes called "the wild olive-tree," or "narrow-leaved oleaster," the *zackum*-tree of the Arabs. There is, however, some great mistake in this matter; for the *zackum*-tree cannot be referred to the *elaeagnus*, the properties and characteristics of which tree do not accord with what travellers have related of the famed *zackum*-tree of Palestine. We are indebted to Dr. Hooker for the correction of this error. The *zackum* is the *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, a well-known and abundant shrub or small tree in the plain of Jordan. It is found

Balanites Aegyptiaca.

all the way from the peninsula of India and the Ganges to Syria, Abyssinia, and the Niger. The zackum-oil is held in high repute by the Arabs for its medicinal properties. It is said to be very valuable against wounds and contusions. Comp. Maundrell (*Journ.* p. 86), Robinson (*Bib. Res.* i. 560): see also BALM. It is quite probable that the *zackum*, or *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, is the *ets shemen*, or oil-tree of Scripture. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 309) understood by the Hebrew words any "fat or resinous tree;" but the passage in Nehemiah clearly points to some specific tree. [W. H.]

OINTMENT.[a] Besides the fact that olive-oil

4. מִשְׁחָה, χρίσις, χρῖσμα, *unguentum, unctio*, in A. V. "oil."

5. מְרוּקִים: in A. V. "things for purifying" (Esth. ii. 12); LXX. σμήγματα; by Targum rendered "per-

a itself a common ingredient in ointments, the purposes to which ointment, as mentioned in Scripture, is applied agree in so many respects with those which belong to oil, that we need not be surprised that the same words, especially 1 and 4, should be applied to both oil and ointment. The following list will point out the Scriptural uses of ointment:—

1. *Cosmetic.*—The Greek and Roman practice of anointing the head and clothes on festive occasions prevailed also among the Egyptians, and appears to have had place among the Jews (Ruth iii. 3; Eccl. vii. 1, ix. 8; Prov. xxvii. 9, 16; Cant. i. 3, iv. 10; Am. vi. 6; Ps. xlv. 7; Is. lvii. 9; Matt. xxvi. 7; Luke vii. 46; Rev. xviii. 13: *Yoma*, viii. 1; *Shabb.* ix. 4; Plato, *Symp.* i. 6, p. 123; see authorities in Hofmann, *Lex.* art. "Ungendi ritus"). Oil of myrrh, for like purposes, is mentioned Esth. ii. 12. Strabo says that the inhabitants of Mesopotamia use oil of sesame, and the Egyptians castor-oil (kiki), both for burning, and the lower classes for anointing the body. Chardin and other travellers confirm this statement as regards the Persians, and show that they made little use of olive-oil, but used other oils, and among them oil of sesame and castor-oil. Chardin also describes the Indian and Persian custom of presenting perfumes to guests at banquets (Strabo, xvi. 746, xvii. 824; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 43, 84, 86; Marco Polo, *Trav.* (*Early Trav.*), p. 85; Olearius, *Trav.* p. 305). Egyptian paintings represent servants anointing guests on their arrival at their entertainer's house, and alabaster vases exist which retain the traces of the ointment which they were used to contain. Athenaeus speaks of the extravagance of Antiochus Epiphanes in the article of ointments for guests, as well as of ointments of various kinds (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 78, pl. 89, i. 157; Athenaeus, x. 53, xv. 41). [ALABASTER; ANOINT.]

2. *Funereal.*—Ointments as well as oil were used to anoint dead bodies and the clothes in which they were wrapped. Our Lord thus spake of His own body being anointed by anticipation (Matt. xxvi. 12; Mark xiv. 3, 8; Luke xxiii. 56; John xii. 3, 7, xix. 40; see also Plutarch, *Consol.* p. 611, viii. 413, ed. Reiske). [BURIAL.]

3. *Medicinal.*—Ointment formed an important feature in ancient medical treatment (Celsus, *De Med.* iii. 19, v. 27; Plin. xxiv. 10, xxix. 3, 8, 9). The prophet Isaiah alludes to this in a figure of speech; and our Lord, in his cure of a blind man, adopted as the outward sign one which represented the usual method of cure. The mention of balm of Gilead and of eye-salve (*collyrium*) point to the same method (Is. i. 6; John ix. 6; Jer. viii. 22, xlvi. 11, li. 8; Rev. iii. 18; Tob. vi. 8, xi. 8, 13; Tertull. *De Idololatr.* 11).

4. *Ritual.*—Besides the oil used in many ceremonial observances, a special ointment was appointed to be used in consecration (Ex. xxx. 23, 33, xxix. 7, xxvii. 29, xl. 9, 15). It was first compounded by Bezaleel, and its ingredients and proportions are precisely specified; viz. of pure myrrh and cassia 500 shekels (250 ounces) each; sweet cinnamon and sweet calamus 250 shekels (125 ounces) each; and of olive-oil 1 hin (about 5 quarts, 330·96 cubic inches). These were to be compounded according to the art of the apothecary [b] into an oil of holy ointment (Ex. xxx. 25). It was to be used for anointing—1. the tabernacle itself; 2. the table and its vessels; 3. the candlestick and its furniture; 4. the altar of incense; 5. the altar of burnt-offering and its vessels; 6. the laver and its foot; 7. Aaron and his sons. Strict prohibition was issued against using this unguent for any secular purpose, or on the person of a foreigner, and against imitating it in any way whatsoever (Ex. xxx. 32, 33).

These ingredients, exclusive of the oil, must have amounted in weight to about 47 lbs. 8 oz. Now olive-oil weighs at the rate of 10 lbs. to the gallon. The weight therefore of the oil in the mixture would be 12 lbs. 8 oz. English. A question arises, in what form were the other ingredients, and what degree of solidity did the whole attain? Myrrh, "pure" (*dĕrôr*),[c] free-flowing (Ges. 355), would seem to imply the juice which flows from the tree at the first incision, perhaps the "odorato sudantia ligno balsama" (*Georg.* ii. 118), which Pliny says is called "stacte," and is the best (xii. 15; Dioscorides, i. 73, 74, quoted by Celsus, i. 159; and Knobel on Exodus, *l. c.*).

This juice, which at its first flow is soft and oily, becomes harder on exposure to the air. According to Maimonides, Moses (not Bezaleel), having reduced the solid ingredients to powder, steeped them in water till all the aromatic qualities were drawn forth. He then poured in the oil, and boiled the whole till the water was evaporated. The residuum thus obtained was preserved in a vessel for use (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Oleum"). This account is perhaps favoured by the expression "powders of the merchant," in reference to myrrh (Cant. iii. 6; Keil, *Arch. Hebr.* p. 173). Another theory supposes all the ingredients to have been in the form of oil or ointment, and the measurement by weight of all, except the oil, seems to imply that they were in some solid form, but whether in an unctuous state or in that of powder cannot be ascertained. A process of making ointment, consisting, in part at least, in boiling, is alluded to in Job xli. 31. The ointment with which Aaron was anointed is said to have flowed down over his garments (Ex. xxix. 21; Ps. cxxxiii. 2: "skirts," in the latter passage, is literally "mouth," *i. e.* the opening of the robe at the neck; Ex. xxviii. 32).

The charge of preserving the anointing oil, as well as the oil for the light, was given to Eleazar (Num. iv. 16). The quantity of ointment made in the first instance seems to imply that it was intended to last a long time. The Rabbinical writers say that it lasted 900 years, *i. e.* till the captivity, because it was said, "ye shall not make any like it" (Ex. xxx. 32); but it seems clear from 1 Chr. ix. 30 that the ointment was renewed from time to time (*Cheriith*, i. 1).

Kings, and also in some cases prophets, were, as well as priests, anointed with oil or ointment; but Scripture only mentions the fact as actually taking place in the cases of Saul, David, Solomon, Jehu, and Joash. The Rabbins say that Saul, Jehu, and Joash were only anointed with common oil, whilst for David and Solomon the holy oil was used (1 Sam. x. 1, xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39; 2 K. ix. 1, 3, 6, xi. 12; Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*,

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ointment," from מָרַח, "rub," "cleanse" (Ges. p. 489).

In N. T. and Apocrypha, "ointment" is the A. V. rendering for μύρον, *unguentum*.

[b] רֹקַח. μυρεψός, *unguentarius, pigmentarius*.

[c] דְּרוֹר. ἐκλεκτη, *electa*.

i. 4; Carpzov, *Apparatus*, p. 56, 57; Hofmann, *Lex.* art. "Ungendi ritus"; S. Hieron. *Com. in Osee*, iii. 134). It is evident that the sacred oil was used in the case of Solomon, and probably in the cases of Saul and David. In the case of Saul (1 Sam. x. 1) the article is used, "the oil," as it is also in the case of Jehu (2 K. ix. 1); and it seems unlikely that the anointing of Joash, performed by the high-priest, should have been defective in this respect.

A person whose business it was to compound ointments in general was called an "apothecary" (Neh. iii. 8[d]; Eccl. x. 1; Ecclus. xlix. 1). The work was sometimes carried on by women "confectionaries" (1 Sam. viii. 13).

In the Christian Church the ancient usage of anointing the bodies of the dead was long retained, as is noticed by S. Chrysostom and other writers quoted by Suicer, *s. v.* ἔλαιον. The ceremony of Chrism or anointing was also added to baptism. See authorities quoted by Suicer, *l. c.*, and under Βάπτισμα and Χρῖσμα. [H. W. P.]

OLA'MUS ('Ωλαμός: *Olamus*). MESHULLAM of the sons of Bani (1 Esd. ix. 30; comp. Ezr. x. 29).

OLD TESTAMENT. This article will treat (A) of the Text and (B) of the Interpretation of the Old Testament. Some observations will be subjoined respecting (C) the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New.

A.—TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. *History of the Text.*—A history of the text of the O. T. should properly commence from the date of the completion of the Canon; from which time we must assume that no additions to any part of it could be legitimately made, the sole object of those who transmitted and watched over it being thenceforth to preserve that which was already written. Of the care, however, with which the text was transmitted we have to judge, almost entirely, by the phenomena which it and the versions derived from it now present, rather than by any recorded facts respecting it. That much scrupulous pains would be bestowed by Ezra, the "ready scribe in the law of Moses," and by his companions, on the correct transmission of those Scriptures which passed through their hands is indeed antecedently probable. The best evidence of such pains, and of the respect with which the text of the sacred books was consequently regarded, is to be found in the jealous accuracy with which the discrepancies of various parallel passages have been preserved, notwithstanding the temptation which must have existed to assimilate them to each other. Such is the case with Psalms xiv. and liii., two recensions of the same hymn, both proceeding from David, where the reasons of the several variations may on examination be traced. Such also is the case with Psalm xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii., where the variations between the two copies are more than sixty in number, excluding those which merely consist in the use or absence of the *matres lectionis*; and where therefore, even though the design of all the variations be not perceived, the hypothesis of their having originated through accident would imply a carelessness in transcribing far beyond what even the rashest critics have in other passages contemplated.

As regards the form in which the sacred writings were preserved, there can be little doubt that the text was ordinarily written on skins rolled up into volumes, like the modern synagogue-rolls (Ps. xl. 7; Jer. xxxvi. 14; Zech. v. 1; Ez. ii. 9). Josephus relates that the copy sent from Jerusalem as a present to Ptolemy in Egypt, was written with letters of gold on skins of admirable thinness, the joins of which could not be detected (*Ant.* xii. 2, §11).

The original character in which the text was expressed is that still preserved to us, with the exception of four letters, on the Maccabean coins, and having a strong affinity to the Samaritan character, which seems to have been treated by the later Jews as identical with it, being styled by them כתב עברי. At what date this was exchanged for the present Aramaic or square character, כתב אשורית, or כתב מרבע, is still as undetermined as it is at what date the use of the Aramaic language in Palestine superseded that of the Hebrew. The old Jewish tradition, repeated by Origen and Jerome, ascribed the change to Ezra. But the Maccabean coins supply us with a date at which the older character was still in use; and even though we should allow that both may have been simultaneously employed, the one for sacred, the other for more ordinary purposes, we can hardly suppose that they existed side by side for any lengthened period. Hassencamp and Gesenius are at variance as to whether such errors of the Septuagint as arose from confusion of letters in the original text, are in favour of the Greek interpreters having had the older or the more modern character before them. It is sufficiently clear that the use of the square writing must have been well established before the time of those authors who attributed the introduction of it to Ezra. Nor could the allusion in Matt. v. 18 to the *yod* as the smallest letter have well been made, except in reference to the more modern character. We forbear here all investigation of the manner in which this character was formed, or of the precise locality whence it was derived. Whatever modification it may have undergone in the hands of the Jewish scribes, it was in the first instance introduced from abroad; and this its name כתב אשורית, *i. e.* Assyrian writing, implies, though it may geographically require to be interpreted with some latitude. (The suggestion of Hupfeld that אשורית may be an appellative, denoting not *Assyrian*, but *firm*, writing, is improbable.) On the whole we may best suppose, with Ewald, that the adoption of the new character was coeval with the rise of the earliest Targums, which would naturally be written in the Aramaic style. It would thus be shortly anterior to the Christian era; and with this date all the evidence would well accord. It may be right, however, to mention, that while of late years Keil has striven anew to throw back the introduction of the square writing towards the time of Ezra, Bleek, also, though not generally imbued with the conservative views of Keil, maintains not only that the use of the square writing for the sacred books owed its origin to Ezra, but also that the later books of the O. T. were never expressed in any other character.

No vowel points were attached to the text: they were, through all the early period of its history, entirely unknown. Convenience had indeed, at the time when the later books of the O. T. were written, suggested a larger use of the *matres lectionis*: it is thus that in those books we find them introduced into many words that had been previously spelt without them: קודש takes the place

[d] רָקָח: *pigmentarius.*

of קדש, דויד of דוד. An elaborate endeavour has been recently made by Dr. Wall to prove that, up to the early part of the second century of the Christian era, the Hebrew text was free from vowel letters as well as from vowels. His theory is that they were then interpolated by the Jews, with a view of altering rather than of perpetuating the former pronunciation of the words: their object being, according to him, to pervert thereby the sense of the prophecies, as also to throw discredit on the Septuagint, and thereby weaken or evade the force of arguments drawn from that version in support of Christian doctrines. Improbable as such a theory is, it is yet more astonishing that its author should never have been deterred from prosecuting it by the palpable objections to it which he himself discerned. Who can believe, with him, that the Samaritans, notwithstanding the mutual hatred existing between them and the Jews, borrowed the interpolation from the Jews, and conspired with them to keep it a secret? Or that among other words to which by this interpolation the Jews ventured to impart a new sound, were some of the best known proper names; *e. g.* Isaiah, Jeremiah? Or that it was merely through a blunder that in Gen. i. 24, the substantive חיה in its construct state acquired its final ה, when the same anomaly occurs in no fewer than three passages of the Psalms? Such views and arguments refute themselves; and while the high position occupied by its author commends the book to notice, it can only be lamented that industry, learning, and ingenuity should have been so misspent in the vain attempt to give substance to a shadow.

There is reason to think that in the text of the O. T., as originally written, the words were generally, though not uniformly, divided. Of the Phœnician inscriptions, though the majority proceed continuously, some have a point after every word, except when the words are closely connected. The same point is used in the Samaritan manuscripts; and it is observed by Gesenius (a high authority in respect of the Samaritan Pentateuch) that the Samaritan and Jewish divisions of the words generally coincide. The discrepancy between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint in this respect is sufficiently explained by the circumstance that the Jewish scribes did not separate the words which were closely connected: it is in the case of such that the discrepancy is almost exclusively found. The practice of separating words by spaces instead of points probably came in with the square writing. In the synagogue-rolls, which are written in conformity with the ancient rules, the words are regularly divided from each other; and indeed the Talmud minutely prescribes the space which should be left (Gesenius, *Gesch. der Heb. Sprache*, §45).

Of ancient date, probably, are also the separations between the lesser Parshioth or sections; whether made, in the case of the more important divisions, by the commencement of a new line, or, in the case of the less important, by a blank space within the line [BIBLE]. The use of the letters ס and ם, however, to indicate these divisions is of more recent origin: they are not employed in the synagogue-rolls. These lesser and earlier Parshioth, of which there are in the Pentateuch 669, must not be confounded with the greater and later Parshioth, or Sabbath-lessons, which are first mentioned in the Masorah. The name Parshioth is in the Mishna (*Megill.* iv. 4) applied to the divisions in the Prophets as well as to those in the Pentateuch. *e. g.* to Isaiah lii. 3-5 (to the greater Parshioth here correspond the Haphtaroth). Even the separate psalms are in the Gemara called also Parshioth (*Berach. Bab.* fol. 9, 2; 10, 1). Some indication of the antiquity of the divisions between the Parshioth may be found in the circumstance that the Gemara holds them as old as Moses (*Berach.* fol. 12, 2). Of their real age we know but little. Hupfeld has found that they do not always coincide with the capitula of Jerome. That they are nevertheless more ancient than his time is shown by the mention of them in the Mishna. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, their disaccordance with the Kazin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which are 966 in number, seems to indicate that they had a historical origin; and it is possible that they also may date from the period when the O. T. was first transcribed in the square character. Our present chapters, it may be remarked, spring from a Christian source.

Of any logical division, in the written text, of the prose of the O. T. into Pesukim, or verses, we find in the Talmud no mention; and even in the existing synagogue-rolls such division is generally ignored. While, therefore, we may admit the early currency of such a logical division, we must assume, with Hupfeld, that it was merely a traditional observance. It has indeed, on the other hand, been argued that such numerations of the verses as the Talmud records could not well have been made unless the written text distinguished them. But to this we may reply by observing that the verses of the numbering of which the Talmud speaks, could not have thoroughly accorded with those of modern times. Of the former there were in the Pentateuch 5888 (or as some read, 8888); it now contains but 5845: the middle verse was computed to be Lev. xiii. 33; with our present verses it is Lev. viii. 5. Had the verses been distinguished in the written text at the time that the Talmudic enumeration was made, it is not easily explicable how they should since have been so much altered: whereas, were the logical division merely traditional, tradition would naturally preserve a more accurate knowledge of the places of the various logical breaks than of their relative importance, and thus, without any disturbance of the syntax, the number of computed verses would be liable to continual increase or diminution. by separation or aggregation. An uncertainty in the versual division is even now indicated by the double accentuation and consequent vocalization of the decalogue. In the poetical books, the Pesukim mentioned in the Talmud correspond to the poetical lines, not to our modern verses; and it is probable both from some expressions of Jerome, and from the analogous practice of other nations, that the poetical text was written stichometrically. It is still so written in our manuscripts in the poetical pieces in the Pentateuch and historical books; and even, generally, in our oldest manuscripts. Its partial discontinuance may be due, first to the desire to save space, and secondly to the diminution of the necessity for it by the introduction of the accents.

Of the documents which directly bear upon the history of the Hebrew text, the two earliest are the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, and the Greek translation of the LXX. For the latter we must refer to the article SEPTUAGINT: of the former some account will here be necessary. Mention had been made of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and incidentally, of some of its peculiarities, by several of the Christian Fathers. Eusebius had taken note of its primeval chronology: Jerome had recorded its

insertions in Gen. iv. 6; Deut. xxvii. 26: Procopius of Gaza had referred to its containing, at Num. x. 10 and Ex. xviii. 24, the words afterwards found in Deut. i. 6, v. 9: it had also been spoken of by Cyril of Alexandria, Diodore, and others. When in the 17th century Samaritan MSS. were imported into Europe by P. della Valle and Abp. Ussher, according with the representations that the Fathers had given, the very numerous variations between the Samaritan and the Jewish Pentateuch could not but excite attention; and it became thenceforward a matter of controversy among scholars which copy was entitled to the greater respect. The co-ordinate authority of both was advocated by Kennicott, who however, in order to uphold the credit of the former, defended, in the celebrated passage Deut. xxvii. 4, the Samaritan reading Gerizim against the Jewish reading Ebal, charging corruption of the text upon the Jews rather than the Samaritans. A full examination of the readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch was at length made by Gesenius in 1815. His conclusions, fatal to its credit, have obtained general acceptance; nor have they been substantially shaken by the attack of a writer in the *Journal of Sacred Lit.* for July 1853; whose leading principle, that transcribers are more liable to omit than to add, is fundamentally unsound. Gesenius ranges the Samaritan variations from the Jewish Pentateuch under the following heads:—grammatical corrections; glosses received into the text; conjectural emendations of difficult passages; corrections derived from parallel passages; larger interpolations derived from parallel passages; alterations made to remove what was offensive to Samaritan feelings; alterations to suit the Samaritan idiom; and alterations to suit the Samaritan theology, interpretation, and worship. It is doubtful whether even the grains of gold which he thought to find amongst the rubbish really exist; and the Samaritan readings which he was disposed to prefer in Gen. iv. 18, xiv. 14, xxii. 13, xlix. 14, will hardly approve themselves generally. The really remarkable feature respecting the Samaritan Pentateuch is its accordance with the Septuagint in more than a thousand places where it differs from the Jewish; being mostly those where either a gloss has been introduced into the text, or a difficult reading corrected for an easier, or the prefix ו added or removed. On the other hand there are about as many places where the Septuagint supports the Jewish text against the Samaritan; and some in which the Septuagint stands alone, the Samaritan either agreeing or disagreeing with the Jewish. Gesenius and others suppose that the Septuagint and the Samaritan text were derived from Jewish MSS. of a different recension to that which afterwards obtained public authority in Palestine, and that the Samaritan copy was itself subsequently further altered and interpolated. It is at least equally probable that both the Greek translators and the Samaritan copyists made use of MSS. with a large number of traditional marginal glosses and annotations, which they embodied in their own texts at discretion. As to the origin of the existence of the Pentateuch among the Samaritans, it was probably introduced thither when Manasseh and other Jewish priests passed over into Samaria, and contemporarily with the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim. Hengstenberg contends for this on the ground that the Samaritans were entirely of heathen origin, and that their subsequent religion was derived from Judea (*Genuineness of Pent.* vol. i.): the same conclusion is reached also, though on very different grounds, by Gesenius, De Wette, and Bleek. To the hypothesis that the Pentateuch was perpetuated to the Samaritans from the Israelites of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and still more to another, that being of Israelitish origin they first became acquainted with it under Josiah, there is the objection, besides what has been urged by Hengstenberg, that no trace appears of the reception among them of the writings of the Israelitish prophets Hosea, Amos, and Jonah, which yet Josiah would so naturally circulate with the Pentateuch, in order to bring the remnant of his northern countrymen to repentance.

While such freedom in dealing with the sacred text was exercised at Samaria and Alexandria, there is every reason to believe that in Palestine the text was both carefully preserved and scrupulously respected. The boast of Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8), that through all the ages that had passed none had ventured to add to or to take away from, or to transpose aught of the sacred writings, may well represent the spirit in which in his day his own countrymen acted. In the translations of Aquila and the other Greek interpreters, the fragments of whose works remain to us in the Hexapla, we have evidence of the existence of a text differing but little from our own: so also in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. A few centuries later we have, in the Hexapla, additional evidence to the same effect in Origen's transcriptions of the Hebrew text. And yet more important are the proofs of the firm establishment of the text, and of its substantial identity with our own, supplied by the translation of Jerome, who was instructed by the Palestinian Jews, and mainly relied upon their authority for acquaintance not only with the text itself, but also with the traditional unwritten vocalization of it.

This brings us to the middle of the Talmudic period. The learning of the schools which had been formed in Jerusalem about the time of our Saviour by Hillel and Shammai was preserved, after the destruction of the city, in the academies of Jabneh, Sepphoris, Cesarea, and Tiberias. The great pillar of the Jewish literature of this period was R. Judah the Holy, to whom is ascribed the compilation of the Mishna, the text of the Talmud, and who died about A.D. 220. After his death there grew into repute the Jewish academies of Sura, Nahardea, and Pum-Beditha, on the Euphrates. The twofold Gemara, or commentary, was now appended to the Mishna, thus completing the Talmud. The Jerusalem Gemara proceeded from the Jews of Tiberias, probably towards the end of the 4th century: the Babylonian from the academies on the Euphrates, perhaps by the end of the 5th. That along with the task of collecting and commenting on their various legal traditions, the Jews of these several academies would occupy themselves with the text of the sacred writings is in every way probable; and is indeed shown by various Talmudic notices.

In these the first thing to be remarked is the entire absence of allusion to any such glosses of interpretation as those which, from having been previously noted on the margins of MSS., had probably been loosely incorporated into the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint. Interpretation, properly so called, had become the province of the Targumist, not of the transcriber; and the result of the entire divorce of the task of interpretation from that of transcription had been to obtain greater security for the

transmission of the text in its purity. In place, however, of such glosses of interpretation had crept in the more childish practice of reading some passages differently to the way in which they were written, in order to obtain a play of words, or to fix them artificially in the memory. Hence the formula אל תקרא כן אלא כן, "Read not so, but so." In other cases it was sought by arbitrary modifications of words to embody in them some casuistical rule. Hence the formula יש אם למקרא, יש אם למסרת, "There is ground for the traditional, there is ground for the textual reading" (Hupfeld, *in Stud. und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 554 seqq.). But these traditional and confessedly apocryphal readings were not allowed to affect the written text. The care of the Talmudic doctors for the text is shown by the pains with which they counted up the number of verses in the different books, and computed which were the middle verses, words, and letters in the Pentateuch and in the Psalms. These last they distinguished by the employment of a larger letter, or by raising the letter above the rest of the text: see Lev. xi. 42; Ps. lxxx. 14 (*Kiddushin*, fol. 30, 1; Buxtorf's *Tiberias*, c. viii.). Such was the origin of these unusual letters: mystical meanings were, however, as we learn from the Talmud itself (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 109, 2), afterwards attached to them. These may have given rise to a multiplication of them, and we cannot therefore be certain that all had in the first instance a critical significance.

Another Talmudic notice relating to the sacred text furnishes the four following remarks (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, 2; Buxt. *Tib.* c. viii.):—

מקרא סופרים, "Reading of the scribes;" referring to the words מצרים, שמים, ארץ.

עיטור סופרים, "Rejection of the scribes;" referring to the omission of a ו prefix before the word אחר in Gen. xviii. 5, xxiv. 55; Num. xxxi. 2, and before certain other words in Ps. lxviii. 26, xxxvi. 6. It is worthy of notice that the two passages of Genesis are among those in which the Septuagint and Samaritan agree in supplying ו against the authority of the present Hebrew text. In Num. xxxi. 2, the present Hebrew text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan, all have it.

קריין ולא כתיבן, "Read but not written;" referring to something which ought to be read, although not in the text, in 2 Sam. viii. 3, xvi. 23; Jer. xxxi. 38, l. 29; Ruth ii. 11, iii. 5, 17. The omission is still indicated by the Masoretic notes in every place but Ruth ii. 11; and is supplied by the Septuagint in every place but 2 Sam. xvi. 23.

כתיבן ולא קריין, "Written but not read;" referring to something which ought in reading to be omitted from the text in 2 K. v. 18; Deut. vi. 1; Jer. li. 3; Ez. xlviii. 16; Ruth iii. 12. The Masoretic notes direct the omission in every place but Deut. vi. 1: the Septuagint preserves the word there, and in 2 K. v. 18, but omits it in the other three passages. In these last, an addition had apparently crept into the text from error of transcription. In Jer. li. 3, the word ידרך, in Ez. xlviii. 16, the word חמש had been accidentally repeated: in Ruth iii. 12, כי אם had been repeated from the preceding כי אכנם.

Of these four remarks then, the last two, there seems scarcely room for doubt, point to errors which the Jews had discovered, or believed to have discovered, in their copies of the text, but which they were yet generally unwilling to correct in their future copies, and which accordingly, although stigmatized, have descended to us. A like observation will apply to the Talmudic notices of the readings still indicated by the Masoretic Keris in Job xiii. 15; Hag. i. 8 (*Sotah*, v. 5; *Yoma*, fol. 21, 2). The scrupulousness with which the Talmudists thus noted what they deemed the truer readings, and yet abstained from introducing them into the text, indicates at once both the diligence with which they scrutinized the text, and also the care with which, even while acknowledging its occasional imperfections, they guarded it. Critical procedure is also evinced in a mention of their rejection of manuscripts which were found not to agree with others in their readings (*Taanith Hierosol.* fol. 68, 1); and the rules given with reference to the transcription and adoption of manuscripts attest the care bestowed upon them (*Shabbath*, fol. 103, 2; *Gittin*, fol. 45, 2). The "Rejection of the scribes" mentioned above, may perhaps relate to certain minute rectifications which the scribes had ventured, not necessarily without critical authority, to make in the actual written text. Wähner, however, who is followed by Hävernick and Keil, maintains that it relates to rectifications of the popular manner in which the text was read. And for this there is some ground in the circumstance that the "Reading of the scribes" bears apparently merely upon the vocalization, probably the pausal vocalization, with which the words ארין, &c., were to be pronounced.

The Talmud further makes mention of the euphemistic Keris, which are still noted in our Bibles, *e. g.* at 2 K. vi. 25 (*Megillah*, fol. 25, 2). It also reckons six instances of extraordinary points placed over certain words, *e. g.* at Gen. xviii. 9 (*Tr. Sopher.* vi. 3); and of some of them it furnishes mystical explanations (Buxtorf, *Tib.* c. xvii.). The Masorah enumerates fifteen. They are noticed by Jerome, *Quaest. in Gen.* xviii. 35 [xix. 33]. They seem to have been originally designed as marks of the supposed spuriousness of certain words or letters. But in many cases the ancient versions uphold the genuineness of the words so stigmatized.

It is after the Talmudic period that Hupfeld places the introduction into the text of the two large points (in Hebrew סוף פסוק, *Soph-pasuk*) to mark the end of each verse. They are manifestly of older date than the accents, by which they are, in effect, supplemented (*Stud. und Krit.* 1837, p. 857). Coeval, perhaps, with the use of the *Soph-pasuk* is that of the *Makkeph*, or hyphen, to unite words that are so closely conjoined as to have but one accent between them. It must be older than the accentual marks, the presence or absence of which is determined by it. It doubtless indicates the way in which the text was traditionally read, and therefore embodies traditional authority for the conjunction or separation of words. Internal evidence shows this to be the case in such passages as Ps. xlv. 5, ועניו־צדק. But the use of it cannot be relied on, as it often in the poetical books conflicts with the rhythm; *e. g.* in Ps. xix. 9, 10 (cf. Mason and Bernard's *Grammar*, ii. p. 187).

Such modifications of the text as these were the precursors of the new method of dealing with it which constitutes the work of the Masoretic period. It is evident from the notices of the Talmud that a number of oral traditions had been gradually accumulating respecting both the integrity of particular passages of the text itself, and also the manner in which it was to be read. The time at length arrived when it became desirable to secure the permanence of all such traditions by committing them to writing.

The very process of collecting them would add greatly to their number; the traditions of various academies would be superadded the one upon the other; and with these would be gradually incorporated the various critical observations of the collectors themselves, and the results of their comparisons of different manuscripts. The vast heterogeneous mass of traditions and criticisms thus compiled and embodied in writing, forms what is known as the מסרה, *Masorah, i. e.* Tradition. A similar name had been applied in the Mishna to the oral tradition before it was committed to writing, where it had been described as the hedge or fence, סייג, of the Law (*Pirke Aboth*, iii. 13).

Buxtorf, in his *Tiberias*, which is devoted to an account of the Masorah, ranges its contents under the three heads of observations respecting the verses, words, and letters of the sacred text. In regard of the verses, the Masorets recorded how many there were in each book, and the middle verse in each: also how many verses began with particular letters, or began and ended with the same word, or contained a particular number of words and letters, or particular words a certain number of times, &c. In regard of the words, they recorded the Keris and Chethibs, where different words were to be read from those contained in the text, or where words were to be omitted or supplied. They noted that certain words were to be found so many times in the beginning, middle, or end of a verse, or with a particular construction or meaning. They noted also of particular words, and this especially in cases where mistakes in transcription were likely to arise, whether they were to be written *plene* or *defective*, *i. e.* with or without the *matres lectionis*: also their vocalization and accentuation, and how many times they occurred so vocalized and accented. In regard of the letters, they computed how often each letter of the alphabet occurred in the O. T.: they noted fifteen instances of letters stigmatized with the extraordinary points: they commented also on all the unusual letters, viz. the *majusculæ*, which they variously computed; the *minusculæ*, of which they reckoned thirty-three; the *suspensæ*, four in number; and the *inversæ*, of which, the letter being in each case נ, there are eight or nine.

The compilation of the Masorah did not meet with universal approval among the Jews, of whom some regretted the consequent cessation of oral traditions. Others condemned the frivolous character of many of its remarks. The formation of the written Masorah may have extended from the sixth o seventh to the ninth or eleventh century. It is essentially an incomplete work; and the labours of the Jewish doctors upon the sacred text might have unendingly furnished materials for the enlargement of the older traditions, the preservation of which had been the primary object in view. Nor must it be implicitly relied on. Its computations of the number of letters in the Bible are said to be far from correct; and its observations, as is remarked by Jacob ben Chaim, do not always agree with those of the Talmud, nor yet with each other; though we have no means of distinguishing between its earlier and its later portions.

The most valuable feature of the Masorah is undoubtedly its collection of Keris. The first rudiments of this collection meet us in the Talmud. Of those subsequently collected, it is probable that many were derived from the collation of MSS., others from the unsupported judgment of the Masorets themselves. They often rested on plausible but superficial grounds, originating in the desire to substitute an easier for a more difficult reading; and to us it is of little consequence whether it were a transcriber or a Masoretic doctor by whom the substitution was first suggested. It seems clear that the Keris in all cases represent the readings which the Masorets themselves approved as correct; but there would be the less hesitation in sanctioning them when it was assumed that they would be always preserved in documents separate from the text, and that the written text itself would remain intact. In effect, however, our MSS. often exhibit the text with the Keri readings incorporated. The number of Keris is, according to Elias Levita, who spent twenty years in the study of the Masorah, 848; but the Bomberg Bible contains 1171, the Plantin Bible 793. Two lists of the Keris—the one exhibiting the variations of the printed Bibles with respect to them, the other distributing them into classes—are given in the beginning of Walton's Polyglot, vol. vi.

The Masorah furnishes also eighteen instances of what it calls תקון סופרים, "Correction of the scribes." The real import of this is doubtful; but the recent view of Bleek, that it relates to alterations made in the text by the scribes, because of something there offensive to them, and that therefore the rejected reading is in each case the true reading, is not borne out by the Septuagint, which in all the instances save one (Job vii. 20) confirms the present Masoretic text.

Furthermore the Masorah contains certain סברין, "Conjectures," which it does not raise to the dignity of Keris, respecting the true reading in difficult passages. Thus at Gen. xix. 23, for יצא was conjectured יצאה, because the word שמש is usually feminine.

The Masorah was originally preserved in distinct books by itself. A plan then arose of transferring it to the margins of the MSS. of the Bible. For this purpose large curtailments were necessary; and various transcribers inserted in their margins only as much as they had room for, or strove to give it an ornamental character by reducing it into fanciful shapes. R. Jacob ben Chaim, editor of the Bomberg Bible, complains much of the confusion into which it had fallen; and the service which he rendered in bringing it into order is honourably acknowledged by Buxtorf. Further improvements in the arrangement of it were made by Buxtorf himself in his Rabbinical Bible. The Masorah is now distinguished into the *Masora magna* and the *Masora parva*, the latter being an abridgment of the former, and including all the Keris and other compendious observations, and being usually printed in Hebrew Bibles at the foot of the page. The *Masora magna*, when accompanying the Bible, is disposed partly at the side of the text, against the passages to which its several observations refer, partly at the end, where the observations are ranged in alphabetical order: it is thus divided into the *Masora textualis* and the *Masora finalis*.

The Masorah itself was but one of the fruits of the labours of the Jewish doctors in the Masoretic period. A far more important work was the furnishing of the text with vowel-marks, by which the traditional pronunciation of it was imperishably recorded. That the insertion of the Hebrew vowel-points was post-Talmudic is shown by the absence from the Talmud of all reference to them. Jerome also, in recording the true pronunciation of any word, speaks only of the way in which it was *read*,

and occasionally mentions the ambiguity arising from the variety of words represented by the same letter (Hupfeld, *Stud. und Krit.* 1830, pp. 549, seqq.). The system was gradually elaborated, having been moulded in the first instance in imitation of the Arabian, which was itself the daughter of the Syrian. (So Hupfeld. Ewald maintains the Hebrew system to have been derived immediately from the Syrian.) The history of the Syrian and Arabian vocalization renders it probable that the elaboration of the system commenced not earlier than the seventh or eighth century. The vowel-marks are referred to in the Masorah; and as they are all mentioned by R. Judah Chiug, in the beginning of the eleventh century, they must have been perfected before that date. The Spanish Rabbis of the eleventh and twelfth centuries knew nought of their recent origin. That the system of punctuation with which we are familiar was fashioned in Palestine is shown by its difference from the Assyrian or Persian system displayed in one of the eastern MSS. collated by Pinner at Odessa; of which more hereafter.

Contemporaneous with the written vocalization was the accentuation of the text. The import of the accents was, as Hupfeld has shown, essentially rhythmical (*Stud. und Krit.* 1837): hence they had from the first both a logical and a musical significance. In respect of the former they were called טעמים, "senses;" in respect of the latter, נגינות, "tones." Like the vowel-marks, they are mentioned in the Masorah, but not in the Talmud.

The controversies of the sixteenth century respecting the late origin of the vowel-marks and accents are well known. Both are with the Jews the authoritative exponents of the manner in which the text is to be read: "Any interpretation," says Aben Ezra, "which is not in accordance with the arrangement of the accents, thou shalt not consent to it, nor listen to it." If in the Books of Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, the accents are held by some Jewish scholars to be irregularly placed,[a] the explanation is probably that in those books the rhythm of the poetry has afforded the means of testing the value of the accentuation, and has consequently disclosed its occasional imperfections. Making allowance for these, we must yet on the whole admire the marvellous correctness, in the Hebrew Bible, of both the vocalization and accentuation. The difficulties which both occasionally present, and which a superficial criticism would, by overriding them, so easily remove, furnish the best evidence that both faithfully embody not the private judgments of the punctuators, but the traditions which had descended to them from previous generations.

Besides the evidences of various readings contained in the Keris of the Masorah, we have two lists of different readings purporting or presumed to be those adopted by the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews respectively. Both are given in Walton's Polyglot, vol. vi.

The first of these was printed by R. Jacob ben Chaim in the Bomberg Bible edited by him, without any mention of the source whence he had derived it. The different readings are 216 in number: all relate to the consonants, except two, which relate to the Mappik in the ה. They are generally of but little importance: many of the differences are orthographical, many identical with those indicated by the Keris and Chethibs. The list does not extend to the Pentateuch. It is supposed to be ancient, but post-Talmudic.

The other is the result of a collation of MSS made in the eleventh century by two Jews, R Aaron ben Asher, a Palestinian, and R. Jacob ben Naphtali, a Babylonian. The differences, 864 in number, relate to the vowels, the accents, the Makkeph, and in one instance (Cant. viii. 6) to the division of one word into two. The list helps to furnish evidence of the date by which the punctuation and accentuation of the text must have been completed. The readings of our MSS. commonly accord with those of Ben Asher.

It is possible that even the separate Jewish academies may in some instances have had their own distinctive standard texts. Traces of minor variations between the standards of the two Babylonian academies of Sura and Nahardea are mentioned by De Rossi, *Proleg.* §35.

From the end, however, of the Masoretic period onward, the Masorah became the great authority by which the text given in all the Jewish MSS. was settled. It may thus be said that all our MSS. are Masoretic: those of older date were either suffered to perish, or, as some think, were intentionally consigned to destruction as incorrect. Various standard copies are mentioned by the Jews, by which, in the subsequent transcriptions, their MSS. were tested and corrected, but of which none are now known. Such were the Codex Hillel in Spain; the Codex Aegyptius, or Hierosolymitanus, of Ben Asher; and the Codex Babylonius of Ben Naphtali. Of the Pentateuch there were the Codex Sinaiticus, of which the authority stood high in regard of its accentuation; and the Codex Hierichuntinus, which was valued in regard of its use of the *matres lectionis*; also the Codex Ezra, or Azarah, at Toledo, ransomed from the Black Prince for a large sum at his capture of the city in 1367, but destroyed in a subsequent siege (Scott Porter, *Princ. of Text. Crit.* p. 74).

2. *Manuscripts.*—We must now give an account of the O. T. MSS. known to us. They fall into two main classes: Synagogue-rolls and MSS. for private use. Of the latter, some are written in the square, others in the rabbinic or cursive character.

The synagogue-rolls contain, separate from each other, the Pentateuch, the Haphtaroth, or appointed sections of the Prophets, and the so-called Megilloth, viz. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. The text of the synagogue-rolls is written without vowels, accents, or soph-pasuks: the greater parshioth are not distinguished, nor yet, strictly, the verses; these last are indeed often slightly separated, but the practice is against the ancient tradition. The prescribed rules respecting both the preparation of the skin or parchment for these rolls, and the ceremonies with which they are to be written, are exceedingly minute; and, though superstitious, have probably greatly contributed to the preservation of the text in its integrity. They are given in the Tract Sopherim, a later appendage to the Babylonian Talmud. The two modifications of the square character in which these rolls are written are distinguished by the Jews as the Tam and the Welsh, *i. e.*, probably, the Perfect and the Foreign: the former is

[a] Mason and Bernard's *Grammar*, ii. p. 235. The system of accentuation in these books is peculiar; but it will doubtless repay study no less than that in the other books. The latest expositions of it are by Bär, a Jewish scholar, appended to vol. ii. of Delitzsch's *Comm. on the Psalter*; and by A. B. Davidson, 1861.

the older angular writing of the German and Polish, the latter the more modern round writing of the Spanish MSS. These rolls are not sold; and those in Christian possession are supposed by some to be mainly those rejected from synagogue use as vitiated.

Private MSS. in the square character are in the book-form, either on parchment or on paper, and of various sizes, from folio to 12mo. Some contain the Hebrew text alone; others add the Targum, or an Arabic or other translation, either interspersed with the text or in a separate column, occasionally in the margin. The upper and lower margins are generally occupied by the Masorah, sometimes by rabbinical commentaries, &c.; the outer margin, when not filled with a commentary, is used for corrections, miscellaneous observations, &c.; the inner margin for the Masora parva. The text marks all the distinctions of sections and verses which are wanting in the synagogue-rolls. These copies ordinarily passed through several hands in their preparation: one wrote the consonants; another supplied the vowels and accents, which are generally in a fainter ink; another revised the copy; another added the Masorah, &c. Even when the same person performed more than one of these tasks, the consonants and vowels were always written separately.

The date of a MS. is ordinarily given in the subscription; but as the subscriptions are often concealed in the Masorah or elsewhere, it is occasionally difficult to find them: occasionally also it is difficult to decipher them. Even when found and deciphered, they cannot always be relied on. Subscriptions were liable to be altered or supplied from the desire to impart to the MS. the value either of antiquity or of newness. For example, the subscription of the MS. Bible in the University Library at Cambridge (Kenn. No. 89), which greatly puzzled Kennicott, has now been shown by Zunz (*Zur Gesch. und Lit.* p. 214) to assign the MS. to the year A.D. 856; yet both Kennicott and Bruns agree that it is not older than the 13th century; and De Rossi too pronounces, from the form of the Masorah, against its antiquity. No satisfactory criteria have been yet established by which the ages of MSS. are to be determined. Those that have been relied on by some are by others deemed of little value. Few existing MSS. are supposed to be older than the 12th century. Kennicott and Bruns assigned one of their collation (No. 590) to the 10th century; De Rossi dates it A.D. 1018; on the other hand, one of his own (No. 634) he adjudges to the 8th century.

It is usual to distinguish in these MSS. three modifications of the square character: viz. a Spanish writing, upright and regularly formed; a German, inclined and sharp-pointed; and a French and Italian, intermediate to the two preceding. Yet the character of the writing is not accounted a decisive criterion of the country to which a MS. belongs; nor indeed are the criteria of country much more definitely settled than those of age. One important distinction between the Spanish and German MSS. consists in the difference of order in which the books are generally arranged. The former follow the Masorah, placing the Chronicles before the rest of the Hagiographa: the latter conform to the Talmud, placing Jeremiah and Ezekiel before Isaiah, and Ruth, separate from the other Megilloth, before the Psalms. The other characteristics of Spanish MSS., which are accounted the most valuable, are thus given by Bruns:—They are written with paler ink; their pages are seldom divided into three columns; the Psalms are arranged stichometrically; the Targum is not interspersed with the text, but assigned to a separate column; words are not divided between two lines; initial and unusual letters are eschewed, so also figures, ornaments, and flourishes; the parshioth are indicated in the margin rather than in the text; books are separated by a space of four lines, but do not end with a סוף; the letters are dressed to the upper guiding-line rather than the lower; Rapheh is employed frequently, Metheg and Mappik seldom.

Private MSS. in the rabbinic character are mostly on paper, and are of comparatively late date. They are written with many abbreviations, and have no vowel-points or Masorah, but are occasionally accompanied by an Arabic version.

In computing the number of known MSS., it must be borne in mind that by far the greater part contain only portions of the Bible. Of the 581 Jewish MSS. collated by Kennicott, not more than 102 give the O. T. complete: with those of De Rossi the case is similar. In Kennicott's volumes the MSS. used for each book are distinctly enumerated at the end of the book. The number collated by Kennicott and De Rossi together were, for the book of Genesis, 490; for the Megilloth, collectively, 549; for the Psalms, 495; for Ezra and Nehemiah, 172; and for the Chronicles, 211. MS. authority is most plenteous for the book of Esther, least so for those of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Since the days of Kennicott and De Rossi modern research has discovered various MSS. beyond the limits of Europe. Of many of these there seems no reason to suppose that they will add much to our knowledge of the Hebrew text. Those found in China are not essentially different in character to the MSS. previously known in Europe: that brought by Buchanan from Malabar is now supposed to be a European roll. It is different with the MSS. examined by Pinner at Odessa, described by him in the *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alt. gehörenden ältesten heb. und rabb. MSS.* One of these MSS. (A. No. 1), a Pentateuch roll, unpointed, brought from Derbend in Daghestan, appears by the subscription to have been written previously to the year A.D. 580; and, if so, is the oldest known Biblical Hebrew MS. in existence. It is written in accordance with the rules of the Masorah, but the forms of the letters are remarkable. Another MS. (B. No. 3) containing the Prophets, on parchment, in small folio, although only dating, according to the inscription, from A.D. 916, and furnished with a Masorah, is a yet greater treasure. Its vowels and accents are wholly different from those now in use, both in form and in position, being all above the letters: they have accordingly been the theme of much discussion among Hebrew scholars. The form of the letters is here also remarkable. A facsimile has been given by Pinner of the book of Habakkuk from this MS. The same peculiarities are wholly or partially repeated in some of the other Odessa MSS. Various readings from the texts of these MSS. are instanced by Pinner: those of B. No. 3 he has set forth at some length, and speaks of as of great importance, and as entitled to considerable attention on account of the correctness of the MS.: little use has however been made of them.

The Samaritan MSS. collated by Kennicott are all in the book-form, though the Samaritans, like the

Jews, make use of rolls in their synagogues. They have no vowel-points or accents, and their diacritical signs and marks of division are peculiar to themselves. The unusual letters of the Jewish MSS. are also unknown in them. They are written on vellum or paper, and are not supposed to be of any great antiquity. This is, however, of little importance, as they sufficiently represent the Samaritan text.

3. *Printed Text.*—The history of the printed text of the Hebrew Bible commences with the early Jewish editions of the separate books. First appeared the Psalter, in 1477, probably at Bologna, in 4to., with Kimchi's commentary interspersed among the verses. Only the first four psalms had the vowel-points, and these but clumsily expressed. The text was far from correct, and the matres lectionis were inserted or omitted at pleasure. At Bologna there subsequently appeared, in 1482, the Pentateuch, in folio, pointed, with the Targum and the commentary of Jarchi; and the five Megilloth (Ruth—Esther), in folio, with the commentaries of Jarchi and Aben Ezra. The text of the Pentateuch is reputed highly correct. From Soncino, near Cremona, issued in 1486 the Prophetae priores (Joshua —Kings), folio, unpointed, with Kimchi's commentary: of this the Prophetae posteriores (Isaiah—Malachi), also with Kimchi's commentary, was probably the continuation. The Megilloth were also printed, along with the prayers of the Italian Jews, at the same place and date, in 4to. Next year, 1487, the whole Hagiographa, pointed, but unaccentuated, with rabbinical commentaries, appeared at Naples, in either small fol. or large 4to., 2 vols. Thus every separate portion of the Bible was in print before any complete edition of the whole appeared.

The honour of printing the first entire Hebrew Bible belongs to the above-mentioned town of Soncino. The edition is in folio, pointed and accentuated Nine copies only of it are now known, of which one belongs to Exeter College, Oxford. The earlier printed portions were perhaps the basis of the text. This was followed, in 1494, by the 4to. or 8vo. edition printed by Gersom at Brescia, remarkable as being the edition from which Luther's German translation was made. It has many peculiar readings, and instead of giving the Keris in the margin, incorporates them generally in the text, which is therefore not to be depended upon. The unusual letters also are not distinguished. This edition, along with the preceding, formed the basis of the first edition, with the Masorah, Targums, and rabbinical comments, printed by Bomberg at Venice in 1518, fol., under the editorship of the converted Jew Felix del Prato; though the "plurimis collatis exemplaribus" of the editor seems to imply that MSS. were also used in aid. This edition was the first to contain the Masora magna, and the various readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. On the Brescian text depended also, in greater or less degree, Bomberg's smaller Bibles, 4to., of 1518, 1521. From the same text, or from the equivalent text of Bomberg's first Rabbinical Bible, was, at a subsequent period, mainly derived that of Seb. Münster, printed by Froben at Basle, 4to., 1534-5: which is valued, however, as containing a list of various readings which must have been collected by a Jewish editor, and, in part, from MSS.

After the Brescian, the next primary edition was that contained in the Complutensian Polyglot, published at Complutum (Alcala) in Spain, at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, dated 1514 17, but not issued till 1522. The whole work, 6 vols. fol., is said to have cost 50,000 ducats: its original price was 6½ ducats, its present value about 40*l*. The Hebrew, Vulgate, and Greek texts of the O. T. (the latter with a Latin translation) appear in three parallel columns: the Targum of Onkelos, with a Latin translation, is in two columns below. The Hebrew is pointed, but unaccentuated: it was taken from seven MSS., which are still preserved in the University Library at Madrid.

To this succeeded an edition which has had more influence than any on the text of later times—the Second Rabbinical Bible, printed by Bomberg at Venice, 4 vols. fol., 1525-6. The editor was the learned Tunisian Jew, R. Jacob ben Chaim: a Latin translation of his preface will be found in Kennicott's Second Dissertation, pp. 229 seqq. The great feature of his work lay in the correction of the text by the precepts of the Masorah, in which he was profoundly skilled, and on which, as well as on the text itself, his labours were employed. Bomberg's Third Rabbinical Bible, 4 vols. fol., 1547-9, edited by Adelkind, was in the main a reprint of the preceding. Errors were, however, corrected, and some of the rabbinical commentaries were replaced by others. The same text substantially reappeared in the Rabbinical Bibles of John de Gara, Venice, 4 vols. fol., 1568, and of Bragadini, Venice, 4 vols. fol., 1617-18; also in the later 4to. Bibles of Bomberg himself, 1528, 1533, 1544; and in those of R. Stephens, Paris, 4to., 1539-44 (so Opitz and Bleek: others represent this as following the Brescian text); R. Stephens, Paris, 16mo., 1544-6; Justiniani, Venice, 4to. 1551, 18mo. 1552, 4to. 1563, 4to. 1573; De la Rouviere, Geneva, various sizes, 1618; De Gara, Venice, various sizes, 1566, 68, 82; Bragadini, Venice, various sizes, 1614, 15, 19, 28; Plantin, Antwerp, various sizes, 1566; Hartmann, Frankfort-on-Oder, various sizes, 1595, 8; and Crato (Kraft), Wittemberg, 4to. 1586.

The Royal or Antwerp Polyglot, printed by Plantin, 8 vols. fol. 1569-72, at the expense of Philip II. of Spain, and edited by Arias Montanus and others, took the Complutensian as the basis of its Hebrew text, but compared this with one of Bomberg's, so as to produce a mixture of the two. This text was followed both in the Paris Polyglot of Le Jay, 9 vols. fol. 1645, and in Walton's Polyglot, London, 6 vols. fol. 1657. The printing of the text in the Paris Polyglot is said to be very incorrect. The same text appeared also in Plantin's later Bibles, with Latin translations, fol. 1571, 1584; and in various other Hebrew-Latin Bibles: Burgos, fol. 1581; Geneva, fol. 1609, 1618; Leyden, 8vo. 1613; Frankfort-on-Maine (by Knoch), fol. 1681; Vienna, 8vo. 1743; in the quadrilingual Polyglot of Reineccius, Leipsic, 3 vols. fol. 1750-1; and also in the same editor's earlier 8vo. Bible, Leipsic, 1725, for which, however, he professes to have compared MSS.

A text compounded of several of the preceding was issued by the Leipsic Professor, Elias Hutter, at Hamburg, fol. 1587: it was intended for students, the servile letters being distinguished from the radicals by hollow type. This was reprinted in his uncompleted Polyglot, Nuremberg, fol. 1591, and by Nissel, 8vo. 1662. A special mention is also due to the labours of the elder Buxtorf, who carefully revised the text after the Masorah, publishing it in 8vo. at Basle, 1611, and again, after a fresh revision, in his valuable Rabbinical Bible,

Basle, 2 vols. fol. 1618-19. This text was also reprinted at Amsterdam, 8vo. 1639, by R. Manasseh ben Israel, who had previously issued, in 1631, 1635, a text of his own with arbitrary grammatical alterations.

Neither the text of Hutter nor that of Buxtorf was without its permanent influence; but the Hebrew Bible which became the standard to subsequent generations was that of Joseph Athias, a learned rabbi and printer at Amsterdam. His text was based on a comparison of the previous editions with two MSS.; one bearing date 1299, the other a Spanish MS, boasting an antiquity of 900 years. It appeared at Amsterdam, 2 vols. 8vo. 1661, with a preface by Leusden, professor at Utrecht; and again, revised afresh, in 1667. These Bibles were much prized for their beauty and correctness; and a gold chain and medal were conferred on Athias, in token of their appreciation of them, by the States General of Holland. The progeny of the text of Athias was as follows:—*a*. That of Clodius, Frankfort-on-Maine, 8vo. 1677; reprinted, with alterations, 8vo. 1692, 4to. 1716. *b*. That of Jablonsky, Berlin, large 8vo. or 4to. 1699; reprinted, but less correctly, 12mo. 1712. Jablonsky collated all the cardinal editions, together with several MSS., and bestowed particular care on the vowel-points and accents. *c*. That of Van der Hooght, Amsterdam and Utrecht, 2 vols. 8vo. 1705. This edition, of good reputation for its accuracy, but above all for the beauty and distinctness of its type, deserves special attention, as constituting our present *textus receptus*. The text was chiefly formed on that of Athias: no MSS. were used for it, but it has a collection of various readings from printed editions at the end. The Masoretic readings are in the margin. *d*. That of Opitz, Kiel, 4to. 1709; very accurate: the text of Athias was corrected by comparing seventeen printed editions and some MSS. *e*. That of J. H. Michaelis, Halle, 8vo. and 4to. 1720. It was based on Jablonsky: twenty-four editions and five Erfurt MSS. were collated for it, but, as has been found, not thoroughly. Still the edition is much esteemed, partly for its correctness, partly for its notes and parallel references. Davidson pronounces it superior to Van der Hooght's in every respect except legibility and beauty of type.

These editions show that on the whole the text was by this time firmly and permanently established. We may well regard it as a providential circumstance that, having been early conformed by Ben Chaim to the Masorah, the printed text should in the course of the next two hundred years have acquired, in this its Masoretic form, a sacredness which the subsequent labours of a more extended criticism could not venture to contemn. Whatever errors, and those by no means unimportant, such wider criticism may lead us to detect in it, the grounds of the corrections which even the most cautious critics would adopt are often too precarious to enable us, in departing from the Masoretic, to obtain any other satisfactory standard; while in practice the mischief that would have ensued from the introduction into the text of the emendations of Houbigant and the critics of his school would have been the occasion of incalculable and irreparable harm. From all such it has been happily preserved free; and while we are far from deeming its authority absolute, we yet value it, because all experience has taught us that, in seeking to remodel it we should be introducing into it worse imperfections than those which we desire to remove, while we should lose that which is, after all, no light advantage, a definite textual standard universally accepted by Christians and Jews alike. So essentially different is the treatment demanded by the text of the Old Testament and by that of the New.

The modern editions of the Hebrew Bible now in use are all based on Van der Hooght. The earliest of these was that of Simonis, Halle, 1752, and more correctly 1767; reprinted 1822, 1828. In England the most popular edition is the sterling one by Judah D'Allemand, 8vo., of high repute for correctness: there is also the pocket edition of Bagster, on which the same editor was employed. In Germany there are the 8vo. edition of Hahn; the 12mo edition, based on the last, with preface by Rosenmüller (said by Keil to contain some conjectural alterations of the text by Landschreiber); and the 8vo. edition of Theile.

4. *Critical Labours and Apparatus.*—The history of the criticism of the text has already been brought down to the period of the labours of the Masorets and their immediate successors. It must be here resumed. In the early part of the 13th century, R. Meir Levita, a native of Burgos and inhabitant of Toledo, known by abbreviation as Haramah, by patronymic as Todrosius, wrote a critical work on the Pentateuch called *The Book of the Masorah the Hedge of the Law*, in which he endeavoured, by a collation of MSS., to ascertain the true reading in various passages. This work was of high repute among the Jews, though it long remained in manuscript: it was eventually printed at Florence in 1750; again, incorrectly, at Berlin, 1761. At a later period R. Menahem de Lonzano collated ten MSS., chiefly Spanish, some of them five or six centuries old, with Bomberg's 4to. Bible of 1544. The results were given in the work אור תורה, "Light of the Law," printed in the שתי ידות, Venice, 1618; afterwards by itself, but less accurately, Amsterdam, 1659. They relate only to the Pentateuch. A more important work was that of R. Solomon Norzi of Mantua, in the 17th century, גודר פרץ, "Repairer of the Breach:" a copious critical commentary on the whole of the O. T., drawn up with the aid of MSS. and editions, of the Masorah, Talmud, and all other Jewish resources within his reach. In the Pentateuch he relied much on Todrosius: with R. Menahem he had had personal intercourse. His work was first printed, 116 years after its completion, by a rich Jewish physician, Raphael Chaim, Mantua, 4 vols. 4to. 1742, under the title מנחת שי: the emendations on Proverbs and Job alone had appeared in the margin of a Mantuan edition of those books in 1725. The whole was reprinted in a Vienna O. T., 4to. 1813-16.

Meanwhile various causes, such as the controversies awakened by the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, and the advances which had been made in N. T. criticism, had contributed to direct the attention of Christian scholars to the importance of a more extended criticism of the Hebrew text of the O. T. In 1746 the expectations of the public were raised by the *Prolegomena* of Houbigant, of the Oratory at Paris; and in 1753 his edition appeared, splendidly printed, in 4 vols. fol. The text was that of Van der Hooght, divested of points, and of every vestige of the Masorah, which Houbigant, though he used it, rated at a very low value. In the notes copious emendations were introduced.

They were derived—(*a*) from the Samaritan Pentateuch, which Houbigant preferred in many respects to the Jewish; (*b*) from twelve Hebrew MSS., which, however, do not appear to have been regularly collated, their readings being chiefly given in those passages where they supported the editor's emendations; (*c*) from the Septuagint and other ancient versions; and (*d*) from an extensive appliance of critical conjecture. An accompanying Latin translation embodied all the emendations adopted. The notes were reprinted at Frankfort-on-Maine, 2 vols. 4to. 1777: they constitute the cream of the original volumes, the splendour of which was disproportionate to their value, as they contained no materials besides those on which the editor directly rested. The whole work was indeed too ambitious: its canons of criticism were thoroughly unsound, and its ventures rash. Yet its merits were also considerable; and the newness of the path which Houbigant was essaying may be pleaded in extenuation of its faults. It effectually broke the Masoretic crust of ice wherewith the Hebrew text had been encrusted; but it afforded also a severe warning of the difficulty of finding any sure standing-ground beneath.

In the same year, 1753, appeared at Oxford Kennicott's first Dissertation on the state of the Printed Text: the second followed in 1759. The result of these and of the author's subsequent annual reports was a subscription of nearly 10,000*l.* to defray the expenses of a collation of Hebrew MSS. throughout Europe, which was performed from 1760 to 1769, partly by Kennicott himself, but chiefly, under his direction, by Professor Bruns of Helmstadt and others. The collation extended in all to 581 Jewish and 16 Samaritan MSS., and 40 printed editions, Jewish works, &c.; of which, however, only about half were collated throughout, the rest in select passages. The fruits appeared at Oxford in 2 vols. fol. 1776-80: the text is Van der Hooght's, unpointed; the various readings are given below; comparisons are also made of the Jewish and Samaritan texts of the Pentateuch, and of the parallel passages in Samuel and Chronicles, &c. They much disappointed the expectations that had been raised. It was found that a very large part of the various readings had reference simply to the omission or insertion of the *matres lectionis;* while of the rest many obviously represented no more than the mistakes of separate transcribers. Happily for the permanent interests of criticism this had not been anticipated. Kennicott's own weakness of judgment may also have made him less aware of the smallness of the immediate results to follow from his persevering toil; and thus a Herculean task, which in the present state of critical knowledge could scarcely be undertaken, was providentially, once for all, performed with a thoroughness for which, to the end of time, we may well be thankful.

The labours of Kennicott were supplemented by those of De Rossi, professor at Parma. His plan differed materially from Kennicott's: he confined himself to a specification of the various readings in select passages; but for these he supplied also the critical evidence to be obtained from the ancient versions, and from all the various Jewish authorities. In regard of manuscript resources, he collected in his own library 1031 MSS., more than Kennicott had collated in all Europe; of these he collated 617, some being those which Kennicott had collated before: he collated also 134 extraneous MSS. that had escaped Kennicott's fellow-labourers; and he recapitulated Kennicott's own various readings. The readings of the various printed editions were also well examined. Thus, for the passages on which it treats, the evidence in De Rossi's work may be regarded as almost complete. It does not contain the text. It was published at Parma, 4 vols. 4to. 1784-8: an additional volume appeared in 1798.

A small Bible, with the text of Reineccius, and a selection of the more important readings of Kennicott and De Rossi, was issued by Döderlein and Meisner at Leipsic, 8vo. 1793. It is printed (except some copies) on bad paper, and is reputed very incorrect. A better critical edition is that of Jahn, Vienna, 4 vols. 8vo. 1806. The text is Van der Hooght's, corrected in nine or ten places: the more important various readings are subjoined, with the authorities, and full information is given. But, with injudicious peculiarity, the books are arranged in a new order; those of Chronicles are split up into fragments, for the purpose of comparison with the parallel books; and only the principal accents are retained.

The first attempt to turn the new critical collations to public account was made by Boothroyd, in his unpointed Bible, with various readings and English notes, Pontefract, 4to. 1810-16, at a time when Houbigant's principles were still in the ascendant. This was followed in 1821 by Hamilton's *Codex Criticus*, modelled on the plan of the N. T. of Griesbach, which is, however, hardly adapted to the O. T., in the criticism of the text of which diplomatic evidence is of so much less weight than in the case of the N. T. The most important contribution towards the formation of a revised text that has yet appeared is unquestionably Dr. Davidson's *Hebrew Text of the O. T., revised from critical Sources*, 1855. It presents a convenient epitome of the more important various readings of the MSS. and of the Masorah, with the authorities for them; and in the emendations of the text which he sanctions, when there is any Jewish authority for the emendation, he shows on the whole a fair judgment. But he ventures on few emendations for which there is no direct Jewish authority, and seems to have practically fallen into the error of disparaging the critical aid to be derived from the ancient versions, as much as it had by the critics of the last century been unduly exalted.

It must be confessed that little has yet been done for the systematic criticism of the Hebrew text from the ancient versions, in comparison of what might be accomplished. We have even yet to learn what critical treasures those versions really contain. They have, of course, at the cost of much private labour, been freely used by individual scholars, but the texts implied in them have never yet been fairly exhibited or analysed, so as to enable the literary world generally to form any just estimate of their real value. The readings involved in their renderings are in Houbigant's volumes only adduced when they support the emendations which he desired to advance. By De Rossi they are treated merely as subsidiary to the MSS., and are therefore only adduced for the passages to which his manuscript collations refer. Nor have Boothroyd's or Davidson's treatment of them any pretensions whatever to completeness. Should it be alleged that they have given all the *important* version-readings, it may be at once replied that such is not the case, nor indeed does it seem possible to decide *primâ facie* of any version-reading whether it be im-

portant or not: many have doubtless been passed over again and again as unimportant, which yet either are genuine readings or contain the elements of them. Were the whole of the Septuagint variations from the Hebrew text lucidly exhibited in Hebrew, they would in all probability serve to suggest the true reading in many passages in which it has not yet been recovered; and no better service could be rendered to the cause of textual criticism by any scholar who would undertake the labour. Skill, scholarship, and patience would be required in deciphering many of the Hebrew readings which the Septuagint represents, and in cases of uncertainty that uncertainty should be noted. For the books of Samuel the task has been grappled with, apparently with care, by Thenius in the *Exegetisches Handbuch*; but the readings are not conveniently exhibited, being given partly in the body of the commentary, partly at the end of the volume. For the Psalms we have Reinke's *Kurze Zusammenstellung aller Abweichungen vom heb. Texte in der Ps. übersetzung der LXX. und Vulg.*, &c.; but the criticism of the Hebrew text was not the author's direct object.

It might be well, too, if along with the version-readings were collected together all, or at least all the more important, conjectural emendations of the Hebrew text proposed by various scholars during the last hundred years, which at present lie buried in their several commentaries and other publications. For of these, also, it is only when they are so exhibited as to invite an extensive and simultaneous criticism that any true general estimate will be formed of their worth, or that the pearls among them, whether few or many, will become of any general service. That by far the greater number of them will be found beside the mark we may at once admit; but obscurity, or an unpopular name, or other cause, has probably withheld attention from many suggestions of real value.

5. *Principles of Criticism.*—The method of procedure required in the criticism of the O. T. is widely different from that practised in the criticism of the N. T. Our O. T. textus receptus is a far more faithful representation of the genuine Scripture, nor could we on any account afford to part with it; but, on the other hand, the means of detecting and correcting the errors contained in it are more precarious, the results are more uncertain, and the ratio borne by the value of the diplomatic evidence of MSS. to that of a good critical judgment and sagacity is greatly diminished.

It is indeed to the direct testimony of the MSS. that, in endeavouring to establish the true text, we must first have recourse. Against the general consent of the MSS. a reading of the textus receptus, merely as such, can have no weight. Where the MSS. disagree, it has been laid down as a canon that we ought not to let the mere numerical majority preponderate, but should examine what is the reading of the earliest and best. This is no doubt theoretically correct, but it has not been generally carried out: nor, while so much remains to be done for the ancient versions, must we clamour too loudly for the expenditure, in the sifting of MSS., of the immense labour which the task would involve; for internal evidence can alone decide which MSS. are entitled to greatest authority, and the researches of any single critic into their relative value could not be relied on till checked by the corresponding researches of others, and in such researches few competent persons are likely to engage. While, however, we content ourselves with judging of the testimony of the MSS. to any particular reading by the number sanctioning that reading, we must remember to estimate not the absolute number, but the relative number to the whole number of MSS. collated for that passage. The circumstance that only half of Kennicott's MSS., and none of De Rossi's, were collated throughout, as also that the number of MSS. greatly varies for different books of the O. T., makes attention to this important. Davidson, in his *Revision of the Heb. Text*, has gone by the absolute number, which he should only have done when that number was very small.

The MSS. lead us for the most part only to our first sure standing-ground, the Masoretic text: in other words, to the average written text of a period later by a thousand or fifteen hundred years than the latest book of the O. T. It is possible, however, that in particular MSS. pre-Masoretic readings may be incidentally preserved. Hence isolated MS. readings may serve to confirm those of the ancient versions.

In ascending upwards from the Masoretic text, our first critical materials are the Masoretic Keris, valuable as witnesses to the preservation of many authentic readings, but on which it is impossible to place any degree of reliance, because we can never be certain, in particular instances, that they represent more than mere unauthorized conjectures. A Keri therefore is not to be received in preference to a Chethib unless confirmed by other sufficient evidence, external or internal; and in reference to the Keris let the rule be borne in mind, "Prodivi scriptioni praestat ardua," many of them being but arbitrary softenings down of difficult readings in the genuine text. It is furthermore to be observed, that when the reading of any number of MSS. agrees, as is frequently the case, with a Masoretic Keri, the existence of such a Keri may be a damage rather than otherwise to the weight of the testimony of those MSS., for it may itself be the untrustworthy source whence their reading originated.

The express assertions of the Masorah, as also of the Targum, respecting the true reading in particular passages, are of course important: they indicate the views entertained by the Jews at a period prior to that at which our oldest MSS. were made.

From these we ascend to the version of Jerome, the most thoroughly trustworthy authority on which we have to rely in our endeavours to amend the Masoretic text. Dependent as Jerome was, for his knowledge of the Hebrew text and everything respecting it, on the Palestinian Jews, and accurate as are his renderings, it is not too much to say that a Hebrew reading which can be shown to have been received by Jerome, should, if sanctioned or countenanced by the Targum, be so far preferred to one upheld by the united testimony of all MSS. whatever. And in general we may definitely make out the reading which Jerome followed. There are, no doubt, exceptions. Few would think of placing much reliance on any translation as to the presence or absence of a simple ו copular in the original text. Again in Psalm cxliv. 2, where the authority of Jerome and of other translators is alleged for the reading עַמִּים, "peoples," while the great majority of MSS. give עַמִּי, "my people," we cannot be certain that he did not really read עַמִּי, regarding it, although wrongly, as an apocopated plural. Hence the precaution necessary in bringing the evidence of a version to bear upon the text: when used

with such precaution, the version of Jerome will be found of the very greatest service.

Of the other versions, although more ancient, none can on the whole be reckoned, in a critical point of view, so valuable as his. Of the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, we possess but mere fragments. The Syriac bears the impress of having been made too much under the influence of the Septuagint. The Targums are too often paraphrastic. For a detailed account of them the reader is referred to the various articles [VERSIONS, &c.]. Still they all furnish most important material for the correction of the Masoretic text; and their cumulative evidence, when they all concur in a reading different to that which it contains, is very strong.

The Septuagint itself, venerable for its antiquity, but on various accounts untrustworthy in the readings which it represents, must be treated for critical purposes in the same way as the Masoretic Keris. It doubtless contains many authentic readings of the Hebrew text not otherwise preserved to us; but, on the other hand, the presence of any Hebrew reading in it can pass for little, unless it can be independently shown to be probable that that reading is the true one. It may, however, suggest the true reading, and it may confirm it where supported by other considerations. Such, for example, is the case with the almost certain correction of תחנך, "shall keep holyday to thee," for תחנר, "thou shalt restrain," in Psalm lxxvi. 10. In the opposite direction of confirming a Masoretic reading against which later testimonies militate, the authority of the Septuagint, on account of its age, necessarily stands high.

Similar remarks would, *à priori*, seem to apply to the critical use of the Samaritan Pentateuch: it is, however, doubtful whether that document be of any real additional value.

In the case of the O. T., unlike that of the N. T., another source of emendations is generally allowed, viz. critical conjecture. Had we any reason for believing that, at the date of the first translation of the O. T. into Greek, the Hebrew text had been preserved immaculate, we might well abstain from venturing on any emendations for which no direct external warrant could be found; but the Septuagint version is nearly two centuries younger than the latest book of the O. T.; and as the history of the Hebrew text seems to show that the care with which its purity has been guarded has been continually on the increase, so we must infer that it is just in the earliest periods that the few corruptions which it has sustained would be most likely to occur. Few enough they may be; but, if analogy may be trusted, they cannot be altogether imaginary. And thus arises the necessity of admitting, besides the emendations suggested by the MSS. and versions, those also which originate in the simple skill and honest ingenuity of the critic; of whom, however, while according him this licence, we demand in return that he shall bear in mind the sole legitimate object of his investigations, and that he shall not obtrude upon us any conjectural reading, the genuineness of which he cannot fairly establish by circumstantial evidence. What that circumstantial evidence shall be it is impossible to define beforehand: it is enough that it be such as shall, when produced, bring home conviction to a reasoning mind.

There are cases in which the Septuagint will supply an indirect warrant for the reception of a reading which it nevertheless does not directly sanction: thus in Ez. xii. 11, where the present text has the meaningless word מקום, "place," while the Septuagint inappropriately reads מאור, "light," there arises a strong presumption that both readings are equally corruptions of מקור, "fountain," referring to a water-gallery running along the walls of the Temple exactly in the position described in the Talmud. An indirect testimony of this kind may be even more conclusive than a direct testimony, inasmuch as no suspicion of design can attach to it. In Is. ix. 3, where the text, as emended by Professor Selwyn in his *Horae Hebraicae*, runs הרבית הגיל הגדלת השמחה, "Thou hast multiplied the gladness, thou hast increased the joy," one confirmation of the correctness of the proposed reading is well traced by him in the circumstance that the final ל of the second and the initial ה of the third word furnish the לה, "to it," implied in the δ of the Septuagint, and according with the assumed feminine noun הרבית, τὸ πλεῖστον, or with תרבית or מרבית which was substituted for it (see this fully brought out, *Hor. Heb.* pp. 22, sqq.).

It is frequently held that much may be drawn from parallel passages towards the correction of portions of the Hebrew text; and it may well be allowed that in the historical books, and especially in catalogues, &c., the texts of two parallel passages throw considerable light the one upon the other. Kennicott commenced his critical dissertations by a detailed comparison of the text of 1 Chr. xi. with that of 2 Sam. v., xxiii.; and the comparison brought to light some corruptions which cannot be gainsaid. On the other hand, in the poetical and prophetical books, and to a certain extent in the whole of the O. T., critical reliance on the texts of parallel passages is attended with much danger. It was the practice of the Hebrew writers, in revising former productions, or in borrowing the language to which others had given utterance, to make comparatively minute alterations, which seem at first sight to be due to mere carelessness, but which nevertheless, when exhibited together, cannot well be attributed to aught but design. We have a striking instance of this in the two recensions of the same hymn (both probably Davidic) in Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii. Again, Ps. lxxxvi. 14 is imitated from Ps. liv. 3, with the alteration of זרים, "strangers," into ידים, "proud." A headlong critic would naturally assimilate the two passages, yet the general purport of the two psalms makes it probable that each word is correct in its own place. Similarly Jer. xlviii. 45, is derived from Num. xxi. 28, xxiv. 17: the alterations throughout are curious, but especially at the end, where for וקרקר כל־בני־שת, "and destroy all the children of Sheth," we have וקדקד בני שאון, "and the crown of the head of the children of tumult;" yet no suspicion legitimately attaches to the text of either passage. From such instances, the caution needful in making use of parallels will be at once evident.

The comparative purity of the Hebrew text is probably different in different parts of the O. T. In the revision of Dr. Davidson, who has generally restricted himself to the admission of corrections warranted by MS., Masoretic, or Talmudic authority, those in the book of Genesis do not exceed 11, those in the Psalms are proportionately three times as numerous; those in the historical books and the Prophets are proportionately more numerous than

those in the Psalms. When our criticism takes a wider range, it is especially in the less familiar parts of Scripture that the indications of corruption present themselves before us. In some of these the Septuagint version has been made to render important service: in the genealogies, the errors which have been insisted on are for the most part found in the Septuagint as well as in the Hebrew, and are therefore of older date than the execution of the Septuagint. It has been maintained by Keil, and perhaps with truth (*Apol. Versuch. über die Bücher der Chronik*, pp. 185, 295), that many of these are older than the sacred books themselves, and had crept into the documents which the authors incorporated, as they found them, into those books. This remark will not, however, apply to all; nor, as we have already observed, is there any ground for supposing that the period immediately succeeding the production of the last of the canonical writings was one during which those writings would be preserved perfectly immaculate. If Lord A. Hervey be right in his rectification of the genealogy in 1 Chr. iii. 19. seqq. (*On the Geneal.* pp. 98–110), the interpolation at the beginning of ver. 22 must be due to some transcriber of the book of Chronicles; and a like observation will apply to the present text of 1 Chr. ii. 6, respecting which see Thrupp's *Introd. to the Psalms*, ii. p. 98, note.

In all emendations of the text, whether made with the aid of the critical materials which we possess, or by critical conjecture, it is essential that the proposed reading be one from which the existing reading may have been derived: hence the necessity of attention to the means by which corruptions were introduced into the text. One letter was accidentally exchanged by a transcriber for another: thus in Is. xxiv. 15, בארים may perhaps be a corruption for באיים (so Lowth). In the square alphabet the letters ד and ר, ו and י, were especially liable to be confused: there were also similarities between particular letters in the older alphabet. Words, or parts of words, were repeated (cf. the Talmudic detections of this, supra: similar is the mistake of "so no now" for "so now" in a modern English Bible); or they were dropped, and this especially when they ended like those that preceded, *e.g.* יואל after שמואל (1 Chr. vi. 13). A whole passage seems to have dropped out from the same cause in 1 Chr. xi. 13 (cf. Kennicott, *Diss.* i. pp. 128, seqq.). Occasionally a letter may have travelled from one word, or a word from one verse, to another: hence in Hos. vi. 5, ומשפטיך אור has been supposed by various critics (and so Selwyn, *Hor. Heb.* pp. 154, seqq.), and that with the sanction of all the versions except Jerome's, to be a corruption for ומשפטי כאור. This is one of those cases where it is difficult to decide on the true reading; the emendation is highly probable, but at the same time too obvious not to excite suspicion; a scrupulous critic, like Maurer, rejects it. There can be little doubt that we ought to reject the proposed emendations of Ps. xlii. 5, 6, by the transference of אלהי into ver. 5, or by the supply of it in that verse, in order to assimilate it to ver. 11 and to Ps. xliii. 5. Had the verses in so familiar a psalm been originally alike, it is almost incredible that any transcriber should have rendered them different. With greater probability in Gen. xxvii. 33, Hitzig (*Begriff der Kritik*, p. 126) takes the final יהיה, and, altering it into והיה, transfers it into ver. 34, making the preceding word the infinitive. That glosses have occasionally found their way into the text we may well believe. The words בידם in Is. x. 5 have much the appearance of being a gloss explanatory of מטה (Hitzig, *Begr.* pp. 157, 158), though the verse can be well construed without their removal; and that Deut. x. 6, 7, have crept into the text by some illegitimate means, seems, notwithstanding Hengstenberg's defence of them (*Gen. of Pent.* ii.), all but certain.

Wilful corruption of the text on polemical grounds has also been occasionally charged upon the Jews; but the allegation has not been proved, and their known reverence for the text militates against it. More trustworthy is the negative bearing of that hostility of the Jews against the Christians, which, even in reference to the Scriptures, has certainly existed; and it may be fairly argued that if Aquila, who was employed by the Jews as a translator on polemical grounds, had ever heard of the modern reading כארי, "as a lion," in Ps. xxii. 17 (16), he would have been too glad to follow it, instead of translating כארו, "they pierced," by ὤρυξαν.

To the criticism of the vowel-marks the same general principles must be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, as to that of the consonants. Nothing can be more remote from the truth than the notion that we are at liberty to supply vowels to the text at our unfettered discretion. Even Hitzig, who does not generally err on the side of caution, holds that the vowel-marks have in general been rightly fixed by tradition, and that other than the Masoretic vowels are seldom required, except when the consonants have been first changed (*Begr.* p. 119).

In conclusion, let the reader of this or any article on the method of dealing with errors in the text beware of drawing from it the impression of a general corruptness of the text which does not really exist. The works of Biblical scholars have been on the whole more disfigured than adorned by the emendations of the Hebrew text which they have suggested; and the cautions by which the more prudent have endeavoured to guard against the abuse of the licence of emending, are, even when critically unsound, so far commendable, that they show a healthy respect for the Masoretic text which might with advantage have been more generally felt. It is difficult to reduce to formal rules the treatment which the text of the O. T. should receive, but the general spirit of it might thus be given:—Deem the Masoretic text worthy of confidence, but do not refuse any emendations of it which can be fairly established: of such judge by the evidence adduced in their support, when advanced, not by any supposed previous necessity for them, respecting which the most erroneous views have been frequently entertained; and, lastly, remember that the judgment of the many will correct that of the few, the judgment of future generations that of the present, and that permanent neglect generally awaits emendations which approve themselves by their brilliancy rather than by their soundness. (See generally Walton's *Prolegomena*; Kennicott's *Dissertatio Generalis*; De Rossi's *Prolegomena*; Bp. Marsh's *Lectures*; Davidson's *Bib. Criticism*, vol. i.; and the *Introductions* of Horne and Davidson, of De Wette, Hävernick, Keil, and Bleek.)

B. INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. *History of the Interpretation.*—We shall here endeavour to present a brief but comprehensive sketch of the treatment which the scriptures of the O. T. have in different ages received.

At the period of the rise of Christianity two opposite tendencies had manifested themselves in the interpretation of them among the Jews; the one to an extreme literalism, the other to an arbitrary allegorism. The former of these was mainly developed in Palestine, where the Law of Moses was, from the nature of things, most completely observed. The Jewish teachers, acknowledging the obligation of that law in its minutest precepts, but overlooking the moral principles on which those precepts were founded and which they should have unfolded from them, there endeavoured to supply by other means the imperfections inherent in every law in its mere literal acceptation. They added to the number of the existing precepts, they defined more minutely the method of their observance; and thus practically further obscured, and in many instances overthrew, the inward spirit of the law by new outward traditions of their own (Matt. xv., xxiii.). On the other hand at Alexandria the allegorizing tendency prevailed. Germs of it had appeared in the apocryphal writings, as where in the Book of Wisdom (xviii. 24) the priestly vestments of Aaron had been treated as symbolical of the universe. It had been fostered by Aristobulus, the author of the Ἐξηγήσεως τῆς Μωϋσέως γραφῆς, quoted by Clement and Eusebius; and at length, two centuries later, it culminated in Philo, from whose works we best gather the form which it assumed. For in the general principles of interpretation which Philo adopted, he was but following, as he himself assures us, in the track which had been previously marked out by those, probably the Therapeutae, under whom he had studied. His expositions have chiefly reference to the writings of Moses, whom he regarded as the arch-prophet, the man initiated above all others into divine mysteries; and in the persons and things mentioned in these writings he traces, without denying the outward reality of the narrative, the mystical designations of different abstract qualities and aspects of the invisible. Thus the three angels who came to Abraham represent with him God in his essential being, in his beneficent power, and in his governing power. Abraham himself, in his dealings with Sarah and Hagar, represents the man who has an admiration for contemplation and knowledge: Sarah, the virtue which is such a man's legitimate partner: Hagar, the encyclical accomplishments of all kinds which serve as the handmaiden of virtue, the pre-requisites for the attainment of the highest wisdom: her Egyptian origin sets forth that for the acquisition of this varied elementary knowledge the external senses of the body, of which Egypt is the symbol, are necessary. Such are Philo's interpretations. They are marked throughout by two fundamental defects. First, beautiful as are the moral lessons which he often unfolds, he yet shows no more appreciation than the Palestinian opponents of our Saviour of the moral teaching involved in the simpler acceptation of Scripture. And, secondly, his exposition is not the result of a legitimate drawing forth of the spiritual import which the Scripture contains, but of an endeavour to engraft the Gentile philosophy upon it. Of a Messiah, to whom the O. T. throughout spiritually points, Philo recked but little: the wisdom of Plato he contrives to find in every page. It was in fact his aim so to find it. The Alexandrian interpreters were striving to vindicate for the Hebrew Scriptures a new dignity in the eyes of the Gentile world, by showing that Moses had anticipated all the doctrines of the philosophers of Greece. Hence, with Aristobulus, Moses was an earlier Aristotle with Philo, an earlier Plato. The Bible was with them a storehouse of all the philosophy which they had really derived from other sources; and, in so treating it, they lost sight of the inspired theology, the revelation of God to man, which was its true and peculiar glory.

It must not be supposed that the Palestinian literalism and the Alexandrian allegorism ever remained entirely distinct. On the one hand we find the Alexandrian Philo, in his treatise on the special laws, commending just such an observance of the letter and an infraction of the spirit of the prohibition to take God's name in vain, as our Saviour exposes and condemns in Matt. v. 33-37. On the other hand, among the Palestinians, both the high-priest Eleazar (ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* viii. 9), and at a later period the historian Josephus (*Ant. prooem.* 4), speak of the allegorical significance of the Mosaic writings in terms which lead us to suspect that their expositions of them, had they come down to us, would have been found to contain much that was arbitrary. And it is probable that traditional allegorical interpretations of the sacred writings were current among the Essenes. In fact the two extremes of literalism and arbitrary allegorism, in their neglect of the direct moral teaching and prophetical import of Scripture, had too much in common not to mingle readily the one with the other.

And thus we may trace the development of the two distinct yet co-existent spheres of Halachah and Hagadah, in which the Jewish interpretation of Scripture, as shown by the later Jewish writings, ranged. The former (הלכה, "repetition," "following") embraced the traditional legal determinations for practical observance: the latter (הגדה, "discourse") the unrestrained interpretation, of no authentic force or immediate practical interest. Holding fast to the position for which, in theory, the Alexandrian allegorists had so strenuously contended, that all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, including their own speculations, were virtually contained in the Sacred Law, the Jewish doctors proceeded to define the methods by which they were to be elicited from it. The meaning of Scripture was according to them, either that openly expressed in the words (משמע, *sensus innatus*), or else that deduced from them (מדרש, דרשה, *sensus illatus*). The former was itself either literal, פשט, or figurative and mystical, סוד. The latter was partly obtained by simple logical inference; but partly also by the arbitrary detection of recondite meanings symbolically indicated in the places, grammatical structure, or orthography of words taken apart from their logical context. This last was the cabbalistic interpretation (קבלה, "reception," "received tradition"). Special mention is made of three processes by which it was pursued. By the process Gematria (גימטריא, *geometria*) a symbolical import was attached to the number of times that a word or letter occurred, or to the number which one or more letters of any word represented. By the process Notarjekon (נטריקון, *notaricum*) new significant words were formed out of the initial or final words of the text, or else the letters of a word were constituted the initials of a new significant series of words. And in Temurah (תמורה, "change") new significant words were obtained from the text either by anagram (*e. g.* משיח, "Messiah" from ישמח, Ps. xxi. 2), or by the alphabet Athbash, wherein the letters א, ב, &c.,

were replaced by ת, ש, &c. Of such artifices the sacred writers had possibly for special purposes made occasional use; but that they should have been ever applied by any school to the general exegesis of the O. T. shows only into what trifling even labours on Scripture may occasionally degenerate.

The earliest Christian non-apostolic treatment of the O. T. was necessarily much dependent on that which it had received from the Jews. The Alexandrian allegorism reappears the most fully in the fanciful epistle of Barnabas; but it influenced also the other writings of the sub-apostolic Fathers. Even the Jewish cabbalism passed to some extent into the Christian Church, and is said to have been largely employed by the Gnostics (Iren. i. 3, 8, 16, ii. 24). But this was not to last. Irenaeus, himself not altogether free from it, raised his voice against it; and Tertullian well laid it down as a canon that the words of Scripture were to be interpreted only in their logical connexion, and with reference to the occasion on which they were uttered (*De Praescr. Haer.* 9). In another respect all was changed. The Christian interpreters by their belief in Christ stood on a vantage-ground for the comprehension of the whole burden of the O. T. to which the Jews had never reached; and thus, however they may have erred in the details of their interpretations, they were generally conducted by them to the right conclusions in regard of Christian doctrine. It was through reading the O. T. prophecies that Justin had been converted to Christianity (*Dial. Tryph.* pp. 224, 225). The view held by the Christian Fathers that the whole doctrine of the N. T. had been virtually contained and foreshadowed in the Old, generally induced the search in the O. T. for such Christian doctrine rather than for the old philosophical dogmas. Thus we find Justin asserting his ability to prove by a careful enumeration that all the ordinances of Moses were types, symbols, and disclosures of those things which were to be realized in the Messiah (*Dial. Tryp.* p. 261). Their general convictions were doubtless here more correct than the details which they advanced; and it would be easy to multiply from the writings of either Justin, Tertullian, or Irenaeus, typical interpretations that could no longer be defended. Yet even these were no unrestrained speculations: they were all designed to illustrate what was elsewhere unequivocally revealed, and were limited by the necessity of conforming in their results to the Catholic rule of faith, the tradition handed down in the Church from the Apostles (Tert. *De Praescr. Haer.* 13, 37; Iren. iv. 26). It was moreover laid down by Tertullian, that the language of the Prophets, although generally allegorical and figurative, was not always so (*De Res. Carnis*, 19); though we do not find in the early Fathers any canons of interpretation in this respect. A curious combination, as it must seem to us, of literal and spiritual interpretation meets us in Justin's exposition, in which he is not alone, of those prophecies which he explains of millennial blessings; for while he believes that it is the literal Jerusalem which will be restored in all her splendour for God's people to inhabit, he yet contends that it is the spiritual Israel, not the Jews, that will eventually dwell there (*Dial. Tr.* pp. 306, 352). Both Justin and Irenaeus upheld the historical reality of the events related in the O. T. narrative. Both also fell into the error of defending the less commendable proceedings of the patriarchs—as the polygamy of Jacob, and the incest of Lot—on the strength of the typical character assumedly attaching to them (Just. *Dial. Tr.* pp. 364 seqq.; Iren. v. 32 seqq.).

It was at Alexandria, which through her previous learning had already exerted the deepest influence on the interpretation of the O. T., that definite principles of interpretation were by a new order of men, the most illustrious and influential teachers in the Christian Church, first laid down. Clement here led the way. He held that in the Jewish law a fourfold import was to be traced; literal, symbolical, moral, prophetical (*Strom.* i. c. 28). Of these the second, by which the persons and things mentioned in the law were treated as symbolical of the material and moral universe, was manifestly derived from no Christian source, but was rather the relic of the philosophical element that others had previously engrafted on the Hebrew Scriptures. The new gold had not yet shaken off the old alloy; and in practice it is to the symbolical class that the most objectionable of Clement's interpretations will be found to belong. Such are those which he repeats from the Book of Wisdom and from Philo of the high-priest's garment, and of the relation of Sarah to Hagar; or that of the branches of the sacred candlestick, which he supposes to denote the sun and planets. Nor can we commend the proneness to allegorism which Clement everywhere displays, and which he would have defended by the mischievous distinction which he handed down to Origen between πίστις and γνῶσις, and by the doctrine that the literal sense leads only to a mere carnal faith, while for the higher Christian life the allegorical is necessary. Yet in Clement's recognition of a literal, a moral, and a prophetical import in the Law, we have the germs of the aspects in which the O. T. has been regarded by all subsequent ages; and his Christian treatment of the sacred oracles is shown by his acknowledging, equally with Tertullian and Irenaeus, the rule of the tradition of the Lord as the key to their true interpretation (*Strom.* vii. c. 17).

Clement was succeeded by his scholar Origen. With him biblical interpretation showed itself more decidedly Christian; and while the wisdom of the Egyptians, moulded anew, became the permanent inheritance of the Church, the distinctive symbolical meaning which philosophy had placed upon the O. T. disappeared. Origen's principles of interpretation are fully unfolded by him in the *De Princip.* iv. 11 seqq. He recognizes in Scripture, as it were, a body, soul, and spirit, answering to the body, soul, and spirit of man: the first serves for the edification of the simple, the second for that of the more advanced, the third for that of the perfect. The reality and the utility of the first, the letter of Scripture, he proves by the number of those whose faith is nurtured by it. The second, which is in fact the moral sense of Scripture, he illustrates by the interpretation of Deut. xxv. 4 in 1 Cor. ix. 9. The third, however, is that on which he principally dwells, showing how the Jewish Law, spiritually understood, contained a shadow of good things to come; and how the N. T. had recognized such a spiritual meaning not only in the narrative of Moses, and in his account of the tabernacle, but also in the historical narrative of the other books (1 Cor. x. 11; Gal. iv. 21-31; Heb. viii. 5; Rom. xi. 4, 5). In regard of what he calls the soul of Scripture his views are, it must be owned, somewhat uncertain. His practice with reference to it seems to have been less commendable than his principles. It should have been the moral teaching of

Scripture arising out of the literal sense applied in accordance with the rules of analogy; but the moral interpretations actually given by Origen are ordinarily little else than a series of allegorisms of moral tendency; and thus he is, unfortunately, more consistent with his own practice when he assigns to the moral exposition not the second but the third place, exalting it above the mystical or spiritual, and so removing it farther from the literal (*Hom. in Gen.* ii. 6). Both the spiritual and (to use his own term) the psychical meaning he held to be always present in Scripture: the bodily not always. Alike in the history and the law, he found things inserted or expressions employed which could not be literally understood, and which were intended to direct us to the pursuit of a higher interpretation than the purely literal. Thus the immoral actions of the patriarchs were to him stumbling-blocks which he could only avoid by passing over the literal sense of the narrative, and tracing in it a spiritual sense distinct from the literal; though even here he seems to reject the latter not as untrue, but simply as profitless. For while he held the body of Scripture to be but the garment of its spirit, he yet acknowledged the things in Scripture which were literally true to be far more numerous than those which were not; and occasionally, where he found the latter tend to edifying, as for instance in the moral commandments of the Decalogue as distinguished from the ceremonial and therefore typical law, he deemed it needless to seek any allegorical meaning (*Hom. in Num.* xi. 1). Origen's own expositions of Scripture were, no doubt, less successful than his investigations of the principles on which it ought to be expounded. Yet as the appliances which he brought to the study of Scripture made him the father of biblical criticism, so of all detailed Christian scriptural commentaries his were the first; a fact not to be forgotten by those who would estimate aright their several merits and defects.

The labours of one genuine scholar became the inheritance of the next; and the value of Origen's researches was best appreciated, a century later, by Jerome. He adopted and repeated most of Origen's principles; but he exhibited more judgment in the practical application of them: he devoted more attention to the literal interpretation, the basis of the rest, and he brought also larger stores of learning to bear upon it. With Origen he held that Scripture was to be understood in a threefold manner, literally, tropologically,[a] mystically: the first meaning was the lowest, the last the highest (tom. v. p. 172, Vall.). But elsewhere he gave a new threefold division of Scriptural interpretation; identifying the ethical with the literal or first meaning, making the allegorical or spiritual meaning the second, and maintaining that, thirdly, Scripture was to be understood "secundum futurorum beatitudinem" (tom. vi. p. 270). Interpretation of this last kind, vague and generally untenable as it is, was that denominated by succeeding writers the anagogical; a term which had been used by Origen as equivalent to spiritual (cf. *De Princ.* iv. 9), though the contrary has been maintained by writers familiar with the later distinction. Combining these two classifications given by Jerome of the various meanings of Scripture, we obtain the fourfold division which was current through the middle ages, and which has been perpetuated in the Romish Church down to recent times:—

> "Littera gesta docet; quid credas, Allegoria;
> Moralis quid agas; quo tendas, Anagogia"—

and in which, it will be observed, in conformity with the practice rather than the precept of Origen, the moral or tropological interpretation is raised above the allegorical or spiritual.

The principles laid down by master-minds, notwithstanding the manifold lapses made in the application of them, necessarily exerted the deepest influence on all who were actually engaged in the work of interpretation. The influence of Origen's writings was supreme in the Greek Church for a hundred years after his death. Towards the end of the 4th century Diodore, bishop of Tarsus, previously a presbyter at Antioch, wrote an exposition of the whole of the O. T., attending only to the letter of Scripture, and rejecting the more spiritual interpretation known as θεωρία, the contemplation of things represented under an outward sign. He also wrote a work on the distinction between this last and allegory. Of the disciples of Diodore, Theodore of Mopsuestia pursued an exclusively grammatical interpretation into a decided rationalism, rejecting the greater part of the prophetical reference of the O. T., and maintaining it to be only applied to our Saviour by way of accommodation. Chrysostom, another disciple of Diodore, followed a sounder course, rejecting neither the literal nor the spiritual interpretation, but bringing out with much force from Scripture its moral lessons. He was followed by Theodoret, who interpreted both literally and historically, and also allegorically and prophetically. His commentaries display both diligence and soberness, and are uniformly instructive and pleasing: in some respects none are more valuable. Yet his mind was not of the highest order. He kept the historical and prophetical interpretations too widely apart, instead of making the one lean upon the other. Where historical illustration was abundant, he was content to rest in that, instead of finding in it larger help for pressing onward to the development of the spiritual sense. So again wherever prophecy was literally fulfilled, he generally rested too much in the mere outward verification, not caring to enquire whether the literal fulfilment was not itself necessarily a type of something beyond. In the Canticles, however, where the language of Scripture is directly allegorical, he severely reprehends Theodore of Mopsuestia for imposing a historical interpretation upon it: even Diodore the literal interpreter, Theodore's master, had judged, as we learn from Theodoret, that that book was to be spiritually understood.

In the Western Church the influence of Origen, if not so unqualified at the first, was yet permanently greater than in the Eastern. Hilary of Poitiers is said by Jerome to have drawn largely from Origen in his Commentary on the Psalms. But in truth, as a practical interpreter, he greatly excelled Origen; carefully seeking out not what meaning the Scripture might bear, but what it really intended, and drawing forth the evangelical sense from the literal with cogency, terseness, and elegance. Here too Augustine stood somewhat in advance of Origen; carefully preserving in its integrity

[a] That is, morally. The term τροπολογία, which had in Justin and Origen denoted the doctrine of tropes, was perhaps first applied by Jerome to the doctrine of manners; in which sense it is also used by later Greek writers, as Andreas.

the literal sense of the historical narrative of Scripture as the substructure of the mystical, lest otherwise the latter should prove to be but a building in the air (*Serm.* 2, c. 6). It seems therefore to have been rather as a traditional maxim than as the expression of his own conviction, that he allowed that whatever in Scripture had no proper or literal reference to honesty of manners, or to the truth of the faith, might by that be recognized as figurative (*De Doctr. Chr.* iii. 10). He fully acknowledges, however, that all, or nearly all, in the O. T. is to be taken not only literally but also figuratively (ib. 22); and bids us earnestly beware of taking literally that which is figuratively spoken (ib. 5). The fourfold classification of the interpretation of the O. T. which had been handed down to him, literal, aetiological, analogical, allegorical, is neither so definite nor so logical as Origen's (*De Util. Cred.* 2, 3; *De Gen. ad Lit.* lib. imp. 2): on the other hand neither are the rules of Tichonius, which he rejects, of much value. Still it is not so much by the accuracy of his principles of exposition as by what his expositions contain that he is had in honour. No more spiritually-minded interpreter ever lived. The main source of the blemishes by which his interpretations are disfigured, is his lack of acquaintance with Hebrew; a lack indeed far more painfully evident in the writings of the Latin Fathers than in those of the Greek. It was partly, no doubt, from a consciousness of his own shortcomings in this respect that Augustine urged the importance of such an acquaintance (*De Doctr. Chr.* ii. 11 seqq.); rightly judging also that all the external scientific equipments of the interpreter of Scripture were not more important for the discovery of the literal than for that of the mystical meaning.

But whatever advances had been made in the treatment of O. T. scripture by the Latins since the days of Origen were unhappily not perpetuated. We may see this in the Morals of Gregory on the Book of Job; the last great independent work of a Latin Father. Three senses of the sacred text are here recognized and pursued in separate threads; the historical and literal, the allegorical, and the moral. But the three have hardly any mutual connexion: the very idea of such a connexion is ignored. The allegorical interpretation is consequently entirely arbitrary; and the moral interpretation is, in conformity with the practice, not with the principles, of Origen, placed after the allegorical, so called, and is itself every whit as allegorical as the former. They differ only in their aims: that of the one is to set forth the history of Christ; that of the other to promote the edification of the Church by a reference of the language to the inward workings of the soul. No effort is made to apprehend the mutual relation of the different parts of the book, or the moral lessons which the course of the argument in that pre-eminently moral book was intended to bring out. Such was the general character of the interpretation which prevailed through the middle ages, during which Gregory's work stood in high repute. The mystical sense of Scripture was entirely divorced from the literal. Some guidance, however, in the paths of even the most arbitrary allegorism was found practically necessary; and this was obtained in the uniformity of the mystical sense attached to the several scriptural terms. Hence the dictionary of the allegorical meanings—partly genuine, partly conventional—of scriptural terms compiled in the 9th century by Rabanus Maurus. An exceptional value may attach to some of the mediaeval comments on the O. T., as those of Rupert of Deutz († 1155); but in general even those which, like Gregory's Morals, are prized for their treasures of religious thought, have little worth as interpretations.

The first impulse to the new investigation of the literal meaning of the text of the O. T. came from the great Jewish commentators, mostly of Spanish origin, of the 11th and following centuries; Jarchi († 1105), Aben Ezra († 1167), Kimchi († 1240), and others. Following in the wake of these, the converted Jew Nicolaus of Lyre, near Evreux, in Normandy († 1341), produced his Postillae Perpetuae on the Bible, in which, without denying the deeper meanings of Scripture, he justly contended for the literal as that on which they all must rest. Exception was taken to these a century later by Paul of Burgos, also a converted Jew († 1435), who upheld, by the side of the literal, the traditional interpretations, to which he was probably at heart exclusively attached. But the very arguments by which he sought to vindicate them showed that the recognition of the value of the literal interpretation had taken firm root. The Restoration of Letters helped it forward. The Reformation contributed in many ways to unfold its importance; and the position of Luther with regard to it is embodied in his saying "Optimum grammaticum, eum etiam optimum theologum esse." That grammatical scholarship is not indeed the only qualification of a sound theologian, the German commentaries of the last hundred years have abundantly shown: yet where others have sown, the Church eventually reaps; and it would be ungrateful to close any historical sketch of the interpretation of the O. T. without acknowledging the immense service rendered to it by modern Germany, through the labours and learning alike of the disciples of the neologian school, and of those who have again reared aloft the banner of the faith.

In respect of the O. T. types, an important difference has prevailed among Protestant interpreters between the adherents and opponents of that school which is usually, from one of the most eminent of its representatives, denominated the Cocceian, and which practically, though perhaps unconsciously, trod much in the steps of the earlier Fathers, Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. Cocceius, professor at Leyden († 1669), justly maintained that a typical meaning ran throughout the whole of the Jewish scriptures; but his principle that Scripture signifies whatever it can signify (quicquid potest significare), as applied by him, opened the door for an almost boundless licence of the interpreter's fancy. The arbitrariness of the Cocceian interpretations provoked eventually a no less arbitrary reply; and, while the authority of the N. T. as to the existence of scriptural types could not well be set aside, it became a common principle with the English theologians of the early part of the present century, that only those persons or things were to be admitted as typical which were so expressly interpreted in Scripture—or in the N. T.—itself. With sounder judgment, and not without considerable success, Fairbairn has of late years, in his Typology of Scripture, set the example of an investigation of the fundamental principles which govern the typical connexion of the Old Testament with the New. (See, for further information, J. G. Rosenmüller's contemptuous *Historia Interpretationis ob Apostolorum Actate ad Literarum Instaurationem*, 5 vols.

1793-1814; Meyer's *Gesch. der Schrifterklärung wit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*, 5 vols., 1802-9; Conybeare's *Bampton Lectures*, 1824; Olshausen's little tract, *Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn*, 1824; and Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, 1843.)

2. *Principles of Interpretation.*—From the foregoing sketch it will have appeared that it has been very generally recognized that the interpretation of the O. T. embraces the discovery of its literal, moral, and spiritual meaning. It has given occasion to misrepresentation to speak of the existence in Scripture of more than a single sense: rather, then, let it be said that there are in it three elements, coexisting and coalescing with each other, and generally requiring each other's presence in order that they may be severally manifested. Correspondingly too there are three portions of the O. T. in which the respective elements, each in its turn, shine out with peculiar lustre. The literal (and historical) element is most obviously displayed in the historical narrative: the moral is specially honoured in the Law, and in the hortatory addresses of the Prophets: the predictions of the Prophets bear emphatic witness to the prophetical or spiritual. Still, generally, in every portion of the O. T. the presence of all three elements may by the student of Scripture be traced. In perusing the story of the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness, he has the historical element in the actual occurrence of the facts narrated; the moral, in the warnings which God's dealings with the people and their own several disobediences convey; and the spiritual in the prefiguration by that journey, in its several features, of the Christian pilgrimage through the wilderness of life. In investigating the several ordinances of the Law relating to sacrifice, he has the historical element in the observances actually enjoined upon the Israelites; the moral in the personal unworthiness and self-surrender to God which those observances were designed to express, and which are themselves of universal interest; and the spiritual in the prefiguration by those sacrifices of the one true sacrifice of Christ. In bending his eyes on the prophetical picture of the conqueror coming from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah, he has the historical element in the relations subsisting between the historical Edom and Israel, supplying the language through which the anticipations of triumph are expressed; the moral element in the assurance to all the persecuted of the condemnation of the unnatural malignity wherewith those nearest of kin to themselves may have exulted in their calamities; and the spiritual, in the prophecy of the loneliness of Christ's passion and of the gloriousness of his resurrection, in the strength of which, and with the signal of victory before her, the Church should trample down all spiritual foes beneath her feet. Yet again, in the greater number of the Psalms of David he has the historical element in those events of David's life which the language of the psalm reflects; the moral, in the moral connexion between righteous faith and eventual deliverance by which it is pervaded; and the spiritual, in its fore-embodiment of the struggles of Christ, in whom it finds its essential and perfect fulfilment, and by her union with whom the Christian Church still claims and appropriates the psalm as her own. In all these cases it is requisite to the full interpretation of the O. T. that the so-called grammatico-historical,[b] the moral, and the spiritual interpretation should advance hand in hand: the moral interpretation presupposes the grammatico-historical, the spiritual rests on the two preceding. If the question be asked, Are the three several elements in the O. T. mutually coextensive? we reply, They are certainly coextensive in the O. T., taken as a whole, and in the several portions of it, largely viewed; yet not so as that they are all to be traced in each several section. The historical element may occasionally exist alone; for, however full a history may be of deeper meanings, there must also needs be found in it connecting links to hold the significant parts of it together: otherwise it sinks from a history into a mere succession of pictures. Not to cite doubtful instances, the genealogies, the details of the route through the wilderness and of the subsequent partition of the land of Canaan, the account of the war which was to furnish the occasion for God's providential dealings with Abraham and Lot (Gen. xiv. 1-12), are obvious and simple instances of such links. On the other hand there are passages of direct and simple moral exhortation, *e. g.* a considerable part of the book of Proverbs, into which the historical element hardly enters: the same is the case with Psalm i., which is, as it were, the moral preface to the psalms which follow, designed to call attention to the moral element which pervades them generally. Occasionally also, as in Psalm ii., which is designed to bear witness of the prophetical import running through the Psalms, the prophetical element, though not altogether divorced from the historical and the moral, yet completely overshadows them. It is moreover a maxim which cannot be too strongly enforced, that the historical, moral, or prophetical interest of a section of Scripture, or even of an entire book, may lie rather in the general tenour and result of the whole than in any number of separate passages: *e. g.* the moral teaching of the book of Job lies pre-eminently not in the truths which the several speeches may contain, but in the great moral lesson to the unfolding of which they are all gradually working.

That we should use the New Testament as the key to the true meaning of the Old, and should seek to interpret the latter as it was interpreted by our Lord and His apostles, is in accordance both with the spirit of what the earlier Fathers asserted respecting the value of the tradition received from them, and with the appeals to the N. T. by which Origen defended and fortified the threefold method of interpretation. But here it is the analogy of the N. T. interpretations that we must follow; for it were unreasonable to suppose that the whole of the Old Testament would be found completely interpreted in the New. Nor, provided only a spiritual meaning of the Old Testament be in the New sufficiently recognized, does it seem much more reasonable to expect every separate type to be there indicated or explained, or the fulfilment of every prophecy noted, than it would be to expect that the N. T. should unfold the historical importance or the moral lesson of every separate portion of the O. T. history. Why indeed should we assume that a full interpretation in any single respect of the older volume would be given in another of less

[b] Convenience has introduced, and still sanctions, the use of this somewhat barbarous word. The reader will mention being reminded that the term *grammatical* is the equivalent of *literal*; being derived from γράμμα, "letter" not from γραμματική, "grammar."

than a quarter of its bulk, the primary design of which is not expository at all, and that when the use actually made of the former in the latter is in kind so manifold? The Apostles nowhere profess to give a systematic interpretation of the O. T. The nearest approach to any such is to be found in the explanation of the spiritual meaning of the Mosaic ritual in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and even here it is expressly declared that there are many things "of which we cannot now speak particularly" (ix. 5). We may well allow that the substance of all the O. T. shadows is in the N. T. contained, without holding that the several relations between the substance and the shadows are there in each case authoritatively traced.

With these preliminary observations we may glance at the several branches of the interpreter's task.

First, then, Scripture has its outward form or body, all the several details of which he will have to explore and to analyse. He must ascertain the thing outwardly asserted, commanded, foretold, prayed for, or the like; and this with reference, so far as is possible, to the historical occasion and circumstances, the time, the place, the political and social position, the manner of life, the surrounding influences, the distinctive character, and the object in view, alike of the writers, the persons addressed, and the persons who appear upon the scene. Taken in its wide sense, the outward form of Scripture will itself, no doubt, include much that is figurative. How should it indeed be otherwise, when all language is in its structure essentially figurative? Even, however, though we should define the literal sense of words to be that which they signify in their *usual* acceptation, and the figurative that which they intend in another than their usual acceptation, under some form or figure of speech, still when the terms literal and figurative simply belong (to use the words of Van Mildert) "to the verbal signification, which with respect to the sense may be virtually the same, whether or not expressed by trope and figure," and when therefore it is impossible to conceive that by persons of moderate understanding any other than the figurative sense could ever have been deduced from the words employed, we rightfully account the investigation of such sense a necessary part of the most elementary interpretation. To the outward form of Scripture thus belong all metonymies, in which one name is substituted for another, *e. g.* the cause for the effect, the mouth for the word; and metaphors, in which a word is transformed from its proper to a cognate signification, *e. g.* when hardness is predicated of the heart, clothing of the soul; so also all prosopopeias, or personifications; and even all anthropomorphic and anthropopathic descriptions of God, which could never have been understood in a purely literal sense, at least by any of the right-minded among God's people. Nor would even the exclusively grammatico-historical interpreter deem it no part of his task to explain such a continued metaphor as that in Ps. lxxx. 8 seqq., or such a parable as that in Is. v. 1-7, or such a fable as that in Judg. ix. 8-15. The historical element in such passages only comes out when their allegorical character is perceived; nor can it be supposed that it was ever unperceived. Still the primary allegorical meaning in such passages may itself be an allegory of something beyond, with which latter the more rudimentary interpretation is not strictly concerned. An unexpectant Jewish reader of Is. v. 1-7 might have traced in the vineyard an image of the land of his inheritance, fenced off by its boundary heights, deserts, and sea from the surrounding territories—might have discerned in the stones the old heathen tribes that had been plucked up from off it, and in the choice vine the Israel that had been planted in their place—might have identified the tower with the city of David, as the symbol of the protecting Davidic sovereignty, and the wine-press with the Temple, where the blood of the sacrifices was poured forth, as the symbol of Israel's worship; and this without inquiring into or reckoning of the higher blessings of which all these things were but the shadows. Yet it is not to be denied that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to draw the exact line where the province of spiritual interpretation begins and that of historical ends. On the one hand the spiritual significance of a passage may occasionally, perhaps often, throw light on the historical element involved in it: on the other hand the very large use of figurative language in the O. T., and more especially in the prophecies, prepares us for the recognition of the yet more deeply figurative and essentially allegorical import which runs, as a *ὑπόνοια*, through the whole.

Yet no unhallowed or unworthy task can it ever be to study, even for its own sake, the historical form in which the O. T. comes to us clothed. It was probably to most of us one of the earliest charms of our childhood, developing in us our sense of brotherhood with all that had gone before us, leading us to feel that we were not singular in that which befell us, and therefore, correspondingly, that we could not live for ourselves alone. Even by itself it proclaims to us the historical workings of God, and reveals the care wherewith He has ever watched over the interests of His Church. Above all the history of the O. T. is the indispensable preface to the historical advent of the Son of God in the flesh. We need hardly labour to prove that the N. T. recognizes the general historical character of what the O. T. records. It is everywhere assumed. The gospel-genealogies testify to it: so too our Lord when He spoke of the desires of the prophets and righteous men of old, or of all the righteous blood shed upon the earth which should be visited upon His own generation; so too Stephen and Paul in their speeches in the council-chamber and at Antioch; so too, again, the latter, when he spoke of the things which "happened" unto the Israelites for ensamples. The testimonies borne by our Lord and His apostles to the outward reality of particular circumstances could be easily drawn out in array, were it needful. Of course in reference to that which is not related as plain matter of history, there will always remain the question how far the descriptions are to be viewed as definitely historical, how far as drawn, for a specific purpose, from the imagination. Such a question presents itself, for example, in the book of Job. It is one which must plainly be in each case decided according to the particular circumstances. Scenes which could never have any outward reality may, as in the Canticles, be made the vehicle of spiritual allegory; and yet even here the historical element meets us in the historical person of the typical bridegroom, in the various local allusions which the allegorist has introduced into his description, and in the references to the manners and customs of the age. In examining the extent of the historical element in the prophecies, both of the prophets and the psalmists, we must distinguish between those

which we either definitely know or may reasonably assume to have been fulfilled at a period not entirely distant from that at which they were uttered, and those which reached far beyond in their prospective reference. The former, once fulfilled, were thenceforth annexed to the domain of history (Is. xvii.; Ps. cvii. 33). It must be observed, however, that the prophet often beheld in a single vision, and therefore delineated as accomplished all at once, what was really, as in the case of the desolation of Babylon, the gradual work of a long period (Is. xiii.); or, as in Ezekiel's prophecy respecting the humiliation of Egypt, uttered his predictions in such ideal language as scarcely admitted of a literal fulfilment (Ez. xxix. 8-12; see Fairbairn *in loco*). With the prophecies of more distant scope the case stood thus. A picture was presented to the prophet's gaze, embodying an outward representation of certain future spiritual struggles, judgments, triumphs, or blessings; a picture suggested in general by the historical circumstances of the present (Zech. vi. 9-15; Ps. v., lxxii.), or of the past (Ez. xx. 35, 36; Is. xi. 15, xlviii. 21; Ps. xcix. 6, seqq.), or of the near future, already anticipated and viewed as present (Is. xlix. 7-26; Ps. lvii. 6-11), or of all these, variously combined, altered, and heightened by the imagination. But it does not follow that that picture was ever outwardly brought to pass: the local had been exchanged for the spiritual, the outward type had merged in the inward reality before the fulfilment of the prophecy took effect. In some cases, more especially those in which the prophet had taken his stand upon the nearer future, there was a preliminary and typical fulfilment, or, rather, approach to it; for it seldom, if ever, corresponded to the full extent of the prophecy: the far-reaching import of the prophecy would have been obscured if it had. The measuring-line never outwardly went forth upon Gareb and compassed about to Goath (Jer. xxxi. 39) till the days of Herod Agrippa, after our Saviour's final doom upon the literal Jerusalem had been actually pronounced; and neither the temple of Zerubbabel nor that of Herod corresponded to that which had been beheld in vision by Ezekiel (xl. seqq.). There are moreover, as it would seem, exceptional cases in which even the outward form of the prophet's predictions was divinely drawn from the unknown future as much as from the historical circumstances with which he was familiar, and in which, consequently, the details of the imagery by means of which he concentrated all his conscious conceptions of the future were literally, or almost literally, verified in the events by which his prediction was fulfilled. Such is the case in Is. liii. The Holy Spirit presented to the prophet the actual death-scene of our Saviour as the form in which his prophecy of that event was to be embodied; and thus we trace in it an approach to a literal history of our Saviour's endurances before they came to pass.

(Respecting the rudiments of interpretation, let the following here suffice:—The knowledge of the meanings of Hebrew words is gathered (*a*) from the context, (*b*) from parallel passages, (*c*) from the traditional interpretations preserved in Jewish commentaries and dictionaries, (*d*) from the ancient versions, (*e*) from the cognate languages, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic. The syntax must be almost wholly gathered from the O. T. itself; and for the special syntax of the poetical books, while the importance of a study of the Hebrew parallelism is now generally recognized, more attention needs to be bestowed than has been bestowed hitherto on the centralism and inversion by which the poetical structure and language is often marked. It may here too be in place to mention, that of the various systematic treatises which have by different generations been put forth on the interpretation of Scripture, the most standard work is the *Philologia Sacra* of Sol. Glassius (Prof. at Jena, †1656), originally published in 1623, and often reprinted. A new edition of it, "accommodated to their times," and bearing the impress of the theological views of the new editors, was brought out by Dathe and Bauer, 1776-97. It is a vast storehouse of materials; but the need of such treatises has been now much superseded by the special labours of more recent scholars in particular departments.)

From the outward form of the O. T. we proceed to its moral element or soul. It was with reference to this that St. Paul declared that all Scripture was given by inspiration of God, and was profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness (2 Tim. iii. 16); and it is in the implicit recognition of the essentially moral character of the whole, that our Lord and His apostles not only appeal to its direct precepts (*e. g.* Matt. xv. 4; xix. 17-19), and set forth the fulness of their bearing (*e. g.* Matt. ix. 13), but also lay bare moral lessons in O. T. passages which lie rather beneath the surface than upon it (Matt. xix. 5, 6, xxii. 32; John x. 34, 35; Acts vii. 48, 49; 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10; 2 Cor. viii. 13-15). With regard more particularly to the Law, our Lord shows in His Sermon on the Mount how deep is the moral teaching implied in its letter; and in His denunciation of the Pharisees, upbraids them for their omission of its weightier matters—judgment, mercy, and faith. The history too of the O. T. finds frequent reference made in the N. T. to its moral teaching (Luke vi. 3; Rom. iv., ix. 17; 1 Cor. x. 6-11; Heb. iii. 7-11, xi.; 2 Pet. ii. 15-16; 1 John iii. 12). No doubt it was with reference to the moral instruction to be drawn from them that that history had been made to dwell at greatest length on the events of greatest moral importance. The same reason explains also why it should be to so large an extent biographical. The interpreter of the O. T. will have, among his other tasks, to analyse in the lives set before him the various yet generally mingled workings of the spirit of holiness and of the spirit of sin. He must not fall into the error of supposing that any of the lives are those of perfect men; Scripture nowhere asserts or implies it, and the sins of even the best testify against it. Nor must he expect to be expressly informed of each recorded action, any more than of each sentiment delivered by the several speakers in the book of Job, whether it were commendable or the contrary; nor must we assume, as some have done, that Scripture identifies itself with every action of a saintly man which, without openly condemning, it records. The moral errors by which the lives of even the greatest O. T. saints were disfigured are related, and that for our instruction, but not generally criticized: *e. g.* that of Abraham when, already once warned in Egypt, he suffered the king of Gerar to suppose that Sarah was merely his sister; or that of David, when, by feigning himself mad, he practised deceit upon Achish. The interpreter of Scripture has no warrant for shutting his eyes to such errors; certainly not the warrant of David, who himself virtually confessed them in Ps. xxxiv. (see especially ver. 13). He must ac-

knowledge and commend the holy faith which lay at the root of the earliest recorded deeds of Jacob, a faith rewarded by his becoming the heir of God's promises; but he must no less acknowledge and condemn Jacob's unbrotherly deceit and filial disobedience, offences punished by the sorrows that attended him from his flight into Mesopotamia to the day of his death. And should he be tempted to desire that in such cases the O. T. had distinguished more directly and authoritatively the good from the evil, he will ask, Would it in that case have spoken as effectually? Are not our thoughts more drawn out, and our affections more engaged, by studying a man's character in the records of his life than in a summary of it ready prepared for us? Is it in a dried and labelled collection of specimens, or in a living garden where the flowers have all their several imperfections, that we best learn to appreciate the true beauties of floral nature? The true glory of the O. T. is here the choice richness of the garden into which it conducts us. It sets before us just those lives—the lives generally of religious men—which will best repay our study, and will most strongly suggest the moral lessons that God would have us learn; and herein it is that, in regard of the moral aspects of the O. T. history, we may most surely trace the overruling influence of the Holy Spirit by which the sacred historians wrote.

But the O. T. has further its spiritual and therefore prophetical element, the result of that organic unity of sacred history by means of which the same God who in His wisdom delayed, till the fulness of time should be come, the advent of His Son into the world, ordained that all the career and worship of His earlier people should outwardly anticipate the glories of the Redeemer and of His spiritually ransomed Church. Our attention is here first attracted to the avowedly predictive parts of the O. T., of the prospective reference of which, at the time that they were uttered, no question can exist, and the majority of which still awaited their fulfilment when the Redeemer of the world was born. No new covenant had up to that time been inaugurated (Jer. xxxi. 31-40); no temple built corresponding to that which Ezekiel had described (xl. seqq.); nor had the new David ere that arisen to be a prince in Israel (ib. xxxiv.). With Christ then the new era of the fulfilment of prophecy commenced. In Him were to be fulfilled all things that were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning Him (Luke xxiv. 44; cf. Matt. xxvi. 54, &c.). A marvellous amount there was in His person of the verification of the very letter of prophecy—partly that it might be seen how definitely all had pointed to Him; partly because His outward mission, up to the time of His death, was out to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the letter had not yet been finally superseded by the spirit. Yet it would plainly be impossible to suppose that the significance of such prophecies as Zech. ix. 9 was exhausted by the mere outward verification; and with the delivery of Christ by His own people to the Gentiles, and the doom on the city of Jerusalem for rejecting Him, and the ratification of the new covenant by His death, and the subsequent mission of the apostles to all nations, all consummated by the final blow which fell within forty years on the once chosen people of God, the outward blessings had merged for ever in the spiritual, and the typical Israelitish nation in the Church Universal.

Hence the entire absence from the N. T. of any recognition, by either Christ or His apostles, of such prospective outward glories as the prophecies, literally interpreted, would still have implied. No hope of outward restoration mingled with the sentence of outward doom which Christ uttered forth on the nation from which He Himself had sprung (Matt. xxi. 43, xxiii. 38, xxiv. 2); no old outward deliverances with the spiritual salvation which He and His apostles declared to be still in store for those of the race of Israel who should believe on Him (Matt. xxiii. 39; Acts iii. 19-21; Rom. xi.; 2 Cor. iii. 16). The language of the ancient prophecies is everywhere applied to the gathering together, the privileges, and the triumphs of the universal body of Christ (John x. 16, xi. 52; Acts xv. 39, xv. 15-17; Rom. ix. 25, 26, 32, 33, x. 11, 13, xi. 25, 26, 27; 2 Cor. vi. 16-18; Gal. iv. 27; 1 Pet. ii. 4-6, 10; Rev. iii. 7, 8, xx. 8, 9, xxi. xxii.); above all, in the crowning passage of the apostolic interpretation of O. T. prophecy (Heb. xii. 22), in which the Christian Church is distinctly marked out as the Zion of whose glory all the prophets had spoken. Even apart, however, from the authoritative interpretation thus placed upon them, the prophecies contain within themselves, in sufficient measure, the evidence of their spiritual import. It could not be that the literal Zion should be greatly raised in physical height (Is. ii. 2), or all the Holy Land levelled to a plain (Zech. xiv. 10), or portioned out by straight lines and in rectangles, without regard to its physical conformation (Ez. xlv.); or that the city of Jerusalem should lie to the south of the Temple (ib. xl. 2), and at a distance of five miles from it (ib. xlv. 6), and yet that it should occupy its old place (Jer. xxxi. 38, 39; Zech. xii. 10); or that holy waters should issue from Jerusalem, increasing in depth as they roll on, not through the accession of any tributary streams, but simply because their source is beneath the sanctuary (Ez. xlvii.). Nor could it well be that, after a long loss of genealogies and title-deeds, the Jews should be reorganized in their tribes and families (Zech. xii. 12-14; Mal. iii. 3; Ez. xliv. 15, xlviii.), and settled after their old estates (Ez. xxxvi. 11). Nor again, that all the inhabitants of the world should go up to Jerusalem to worship, not only to the festivals (Zech. xiv. 16), but even monthly and weekly (Is. lxvi. 23), and yet that while Jerusalem were thus the seat of worship for the whole world, there should also be altars everywhere (Is. xix. 19; Zeph. ii. 11; Mal. i. 11), both being really but different expressions of the same spiritual truth—the extension of God's pure worship to all nations. Nor can we suppose that Jews will ever again outwardly triumph over heathen nations that have long disappeared from the stage of history (Am. ix. 11, 12; Is. xi. 14; Mic. v. 5; Ob. 17-21). Nor will sacrifices be renewed (Ez. xliii. &c.) when Christ has by one offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified; nor will a special sanctity yet attach to Jerusalem, when the hour is come that "neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem" shall men worship the Father; nor yet to the natural Israel (cf. Joel iii. 4), when in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, all believers being now alike the circumcision (Phil. iii. 3) and Abraham's seed (Gal. iii. 29), and the name Israel being frequently used in the N. T. of the whole Christian Church (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; Rom. xi. 26; Gal. vi. 16; cf. Rev. vii. 4, xxi. 12).

The substance therefore of these prophecies is the glory of the Redeemer's spiritual kingdom: it is

but the form that is derived from the outward circumstances of the career of God's ancient people, which had passed, or all but passed, away before the fulfilment of the promised blessings commenced. The one kingdom was indeed to merge into rather than to be violently replaced by the other; the holy seed of old was to be the stock of the new generation; men of all nations were to take hold of the skirt of the Jew, and Israelitish apostles were to become the patriarchs of the new Christian community. Nor was even the form in which the announcement of the new blessings had been clothed to be rudely cast aside: the imagery of the prophets is on every account justly dear to us, and from love, no less than from habit, we still speak the language of Canaan. But then arises the question, Must not this language have been divinely designed from the first as the language of God's Church? Is it easily to be supposed that the prophets, whose writings form so large a portion of the Bible, should have so extensively used the history of the old Israel as the garment wherein to enwrap their delineations of the blessings of the new, and yet that that history should not be in itself essentially an anticipation of what the promised Redeemer was to bring with him? Besides, the typical import of the Israelitish tabernacle and ritual worship is implied in Heb. ix. ("The Holy Ghost this signifying"), and is almost universally allowed; and it is not easy to tear asunder the events of Israel's history from the ceremonies of Israel's worship; nor yet, again, the events of the preceding history of the patriarchs from those of the history of Israel. The N. T. itself implies the typical import of a large part of the O. T. narrative. The original dominion conferred upon man (1 Cor. xv. 27; Heb. ii. 8), the rest of God on the seventh day (Heb. iv. 4), the institution of marriage (Eph. v. 31), are in it all invested with a deeper and prospective meaning. So also the offering and martyrdom of Abel (Heb. xi. 4, xii. 24); the preservation of Noah and his family in the ark (1 Pet. iii. 21); the priesthood of Melchizedek (Heb. vii., following Ps. cx. 4); the mutual relation of Sarah and Hagar, and of their children (Gal. iv. 22, seqq.); the offering and rescue of Isaac (Rom. viii. 32; Heb. xi. 19); the favour of God to Jacob rather than Esau (Rom. ix. 10-13, following Mal. i. 2, 3); the sojourn of Israel in Egypt (Matt. ii. 15); the passover feast (1 Cor. v. 7, 8); the shepherdship of Moses (Heb. xiii. 20, cf. Is. lxiii. 11, Sept.); his veiling of his face at Sinai (2 Cor. iii. 13); the ratification of the covenant by blood (Heb. ix. 18, seqq.); the priestly character of the chosen people (1 Pet. ii. 9); God's outward presence with them (2 Cor. vi. 16); the various events in their pilgrimage through the desert (1 Cor. x.), and specially the eating of manna from heaven (Matt. iv. 4; John vi. 48-51); the lifting up of the brasen serpent (John iii. 14); the promise of the divine presence with Israel after the removal of Moses, their shepherd, from them (Heb. xiii. 5, cf. Deut. xxxi. 6); the kingdom of David (Luke i. 32, 33); and the devouring of Jonah (Matt. xii. 40). If some of these instances be deemed doubtful, let at least the rest be duly weighed, and this not without regard to the cumulative force of the whole. In the O. T. itself we have, and this even in the latest times, events and persons expressly treated as typical: *e. g.* the making the once-rejected stone the headstone of the corner (probably a historical incident in the laying of the foundation of the second Temple, Ps. cxviii. 22); the arraying of Joshua the high priest with fair garments (Zech. iii.), and the placing of crowns on his head to symbolize the union of royalty and priesthood (Zech. vi. 9, seqq.). A further testimony to the typical character of the history of the Old Testament is furnished by the typical character of the events related even in the New. All our Lord's miracles were essentially typical, and are almost universally so acknowledged: the works of mercy which He wrought outwardly on the body betokening His corresponding operations within man's soul. So too the outward fulfilments of prophecy in the Redeemer's life were types of the deeper though less immediately striking fulfilment which it was to continue to receive ideally; and if this deeper and more spiritual significance underlie the literal narrative of the New Testament, how much more that of the Old, which was so essentially designed as a preparation for the good things to come! A remarkable and honourable testimony on this subject was borne in his later years by De Wette. "Long before Christ appeared," he says, "the world was prepared for His appearance: the entire O. T. is a great prophecy, a great type of Him who was to come, and did come. Who can deny that the holy seers of the O. T. saw, in spirit, the advent of Christ long beforehand, and in prophetic anticipations of greater or less clearness had presages of the new doctrine? The typological comparison too of the Old Testament with the New was no mere play of fancy; and it is scarcely altogether accidental that the evangelic history, in the most important particulars, runs parallel with the Mosaic" (cited by Tholuck, *The Old Testament in the New*).

It is not unlikely that there is in many quarters an unwillingness to recognize the spiritual element in the historical parts of the O. T., arising from the fear that the recognition of it may endanger that of the historical truth of the events recorded. Nor is such danger altogether visionary; for one-sided and prejudiced contemplation will be ever so abusing one element of Scripture as thereby to cast a slight upon the rest. But this does not affect its existence; and on the other hand there are certainly cases in which the spiritual element confirms the outward reality of the historical fact. So is it with the devouring of Jonah; which many would consign to the region of parable or myth, not apparently from any result of criticism, which is indeed at a loss to find an origin for the story save in fact, but simply from the unwillingness to give credit to an event the extraordinary character of which must have been patent from the first. But if the divine purpose were to prefigure in a striking and effective manner the passage of our Saviour through the darkness of the tomb, how could any ordinary event, akin to ordinary human experience, adequately represent that of which we have no experience? The utmost perils of the royal psalmist required, in Ps. xviii., to be heightened and compacted together by the aid of extraneous imagery in order that they might typify the horrors of death. Those same horrors were more definitely prefigured by the incarceration of Jonah: it was a marvellous type, but not more marvellous than the antitype which it foreshadowed: it testified by its very wondrousness that there are gloomy terrors beyond any of which this world supplies the experience, but over which Christ should triumph, as Jonah was delivered from the belly of the fish.

Of another danger besetting the path of the spiritual interpreter of the O. T., we have a warning

in the unedifying puerilities into which some have fallen. Against such he will guard by forgoing too curious a search for mere external resemblances between the Old Testament and the New, though withal thankfully recognizing them wherever they present themselves. His true task will be rather to investigate the inward ideas involved in the O. T. narratives, institutions, and prophecies themselves, by the aid of the more perfect manifestation of those ideas in the transactions and events of gospel-times. The spiritual interpretation must rest upon both the literal and the moral; and there can be no spiritual analogy between things which have nought morally in common. One consequence of this principle will of course be, that we must never be content to rest in any mere outward fulfilment of prophecy. It can never, for example, be admitted that the ordinance respecting the entireness of the passover-lamb had reference *merely* to the preservation of our Saviour's legs unbroken on the cross, or that the concluding words of Zech. ix. 9, pointed *merely* to the animal on which our Saviour should outwardly ride into Jerusalem, or that the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, in its evangelic reference, had respect *merely* to the temporary sojourn of our Saviour in the same country. However remarkable the outward fulfilment be, it must always guide us to some deeper analogy, in which a moral element is involved. Another consequence of the foregoing principle of interpretation will be that that which was forbidden or sinful can, so far as it was sinful, not be regarded as typical of that which is free from sin. We may, for example, reject, as altogether groundless, the view, often propounded, but never proved, that Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter was a figure of the reception of the Gentiles into the Church of the Gospel. On the other hand there is no more difficulty in supposing that that which was sinful may have originated the occasion for the exhibition of some striking type, than there is in believing that disobedience brought about the need of redemption. The Israelites sinned in demanding a king; yet the earthly kingdom of David was a type of the kingdom of Christ: and it was in consequence of Jonah's fleeing, like the first Adam, from the presence of the Lord, that he became so signal a type of the second Adam in his three days' removal from the light of heaven. So again that which was tolerated rather than approved may contain within itself the type of something imperfect, in contrast to that which is more perfect. Thus Hagar, as the concubine of Abraham, represented the covenant at Sinai; but it is only the bondage-aspect of that covenant which here comes directly under consideration, and the children of the covenant, symbolized by Ishmael, are those only who cleave to the element of bondage in it.

Yet withal, in laying down rules for the interpretation of the O. T., we must abstain from attempting to define the limits, or to measure the extent of its fulness. That fulness has certainly not yet been, nor will by us be, exhausted. Search after truth, and reverence for the native worth of the written Word, authorize us indeed to reject past interpretations of it which cannot be shown to rest on any solid foundation. Still all interpretation is essentially progressive; and in no part of the O. T. can we tell the number of meanings and bearings, beyond those with which we are ourselves familiar, which may one day be brought out, and which then not only may approve themselves by their intrinsic reasonableness, but even may by their mutual harmony and practical interest furnish additional evidence of the divine source of that Scripture which cannot be broken.

C. Quotations from the Old Testament in the New Testament.

The New Testament quotations from the Old form one of the outward bonds of connexion between the two parts of the Bible. They are manifold in kind. Some of the passages quoted contain prophecies, or involve types of which the N. T. writers designed to indicate the fulfilment. Others are introduced as direct logical supports to the doctrines which they were enforcing. In all cases which can be clearly referred to either of these categories, we are fairly warranted in deeming the use which has been made of the older text authoritative; and from these, and especially from an analysis of the quotations which at first sight present difficulties, we may study the principles on which the sacred appreciation and exegesis of the older scriptures has proceeded. Let it only be borne in mind that however just the interpretations virtually placed upon the passages quoted, they do not profess to be necessarily complete. The contrary is indeed manifest from the two opposite bearings of the same passage, Ps. xxiv. 1, brought out by St. Paul in the course of a few verses, 1 Cor. x. 26, 28. But in many instances also the N. T. writers have quoted the O. T. rather by way of illustration, than with the intention of leaning upon it; variously applying and adapting it, and making its language the vehicle of their own independent thoughts. It could hardly well be otherwise. The thoughts of all who have been deeply educated in the Scriptures naturally move in scriptural diction: it would have been strange had the writers of the N. T. formed exceptions to the general rule.

It may not be easy to distribute all the quotations into their distinctive classes. But among those in which a prophetical or typical force is ascribed in the N. T. to the passage quoted, may fairly be reckoned all that are introduced with an intimation that the Scripture was "fulfilled." And it may be observed that the word "fulfil," as applied to the accomplishment of what had been predicted or foreshadowed, is in the N. T. only used by our Lord Himself and His companion-apostles, not by St. Mark nor St. Luke, except in their reports of our Lord's and Peter's sayings, nor yet by St. Paul (Mark xv. 28, is not genuine). It had grown familiar to the original apostles from the continual verification of the O. T. which they had beheld in the events of their Master's career. These had testified to the deep connexion between the utterances of the O. T. and the realities of the Gospel; and, through the general connexion in turn casting down its radiance on the individual points of contact, the higher term was occasionally applied to express a relation for which, viewed merely in itself, weaker language might have sufficed. Three "fulfilments" of Scripture are traced by St. Matthew in the incidents of our Saviour's infancy (ii. 15, 18, 23), He beheld Him marked out as the true Israel, the beloved of God with high destiny before Him, by the outward correspondence between His and Israel's sojourn in Egypt. The sorrowing of the mothers of Bethlehem for their children was to him a renewal of the grief for the captives at Ramah, which grief Jeremiah had described in language suggested by the record of the patriarchal grief for the loss of Joseph: it was thus a present token (we need account

& no more) of the spiritual captivity which all outward captivities recalled, and from which, since it had been declared that there was hope in the end, Christ was to prove the deliverer. And again, Christ's sojourn in despised Nazareth, was an outward token of the lowliness of his condition; and if the prophets had rightly spoken, this lowliness was the necessary prelude, and therefore, in part, the pledge of his future glory. In the first and last of these cases the evangelist, in his wonted phrase, expressly declares that the events came to pass that that which was spoken "might be fulfilled:" language which must not be arbitrarily softened down. In the other case the phrase is less definitely strong: "Then was fulfilled," &c. The substitution of this phrase can, however, of itself decide nothing, for it is used of an acknowledged prophecy in xxvii. 9. And should any be disposed on other grounds to view the quotation from Jer. xxxi. 15, merely as an adornment of the narrative, let them first consider whether the evangelist, who was occupied with the history of Christ, would be likely formally to introduce a passage from the O. T. merely as an illustration of maternal grief.

In the quotations of all kinds from the Old Testament in the New, we find a continual variation from the *letter* of the older Scriptures. To this variation three causes may be specified as having contributed.

First, all the N. T. writers quoted from the Septuagint; correcting it indeed more or less by the Hebrew, especially when it was needful for their purpose; occasionally deserting it altogether; still abiding by it to so large an extent as to show that it was the primary source whence their quotations were drawn. Their use of it may be best illustrated by the corresponding use of our liturgical version of the Psalms; a use founded on love as well as on habit, but which nevertheless we forgo when it becomes important that we should follow the more accurate rendering. Consequently, when the errors involved in the Septuagint version do not interfere with the purpose which the N. T. writer had in view, they are frequently allowed to remain in his quotation: see Matt. xv. 9 (a record of our Lord's words); Luke iv. 18; Acts xiii. 41, xv. 17; Rom. xv. 10; 2 Cor. iv. 13; Heb. viii. 9, x. 5, xi. 21. The current of apostolic thought too is frequently dictated by words of the Septuagint, which differ much from the Hebrew: see Rom. ii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 55; 2 Cor. ix. 7; Heb. xiii. 15. Or even an absolute interpolation of the Septuagint is quoted, Heb. i. 6 (Deut. xxxii. 43). On the other hand, in Matt. xxi. 5; 1 Cor. iii. 19, the Septuagint is corrected by the Hebrew: so too in Matt. ix. 13; Luke xxii. 37, there is an effort to preserve an expressiveness of the Hebrew which the Septuagint had lost; and in Matt. iv. 15, 16; John xix. 37; 1 Cor. xv. 54, the Septuagint disappears altogether. In Rom. ix. 33, we have a quotation from the Septuagint combined with another from the Hebrew. In Mark xii. 30; Luke x. 27; Rom. xii. 19, the Septuagint and Hebrew are superadded the one upon the other. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, which in this respect stands alone, the Septuagint is uniformly followed; except in the one remarkable quotation, Heb. x. 30, which, according neither with the Hebrew nor the Septuagint, was probably derived from the last-named passage, Rom. xii. 19, wherewith it exactly coincides. The quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9 seems to have been derived not directly from the O. T., but rather from a Christian liturgy or other document into which the language of Is. lxiv. 4, had been transferred.

Secondly, the N. T. writers must have frequently quoted from memory. The O. T. had been deeply instilled into their minds, ready for service, whenever needed; and the fulfilment of its predictions which they witnessed, made its utterances rise up in life before them: cf. John ii. 17, 22. It was of the very essence of such a living use of O. T. scripture that their quotations of it should not of necessity be verbally exact.

Thirdly, combined with this, there was an alteration of conscious or unconscious design. Sometimes the object of this was to obtain increased force: hence the variation from the original in the form of the divine oath, Rom. xiv. 11; or the result "I quake," substituted for the cause, Heb. xii. 21; or the insertion of rhetorical words to bring out the emphasis, Heb. xii. 26; or the change of person to show that what men perpetrated had its root in God's determinate counsel, Matt. xxvi. 31. Sometimes an O. T. passage is abridged, and in the abridgment so adjusted, by a little alteration, as to present an aspect of completeness, and yet omit what is foreign to the immediate purpose, Acts i. 20; 1 Cor. i. 31. At other times a passage is enlarged by the incorporation of a passage from another source: thus in Luke iv. 18, 19, although the contents are professedly those read by our Lord from Is. lxi., we have the words "to set at liberty them that are bruised," introduced from Is. lviii. 6 (Sept.): similarly in Rom. xi. 8, Deut. xxix. 4 is combined with Is. xxix. 10. In some cases still greater liberty of alteration is assumed. In Rom. x. 11, the word πᾶς is introduced into Is. xxviii. 16, to show that that is uttered of Jew and Gentile alike. In Rom. xi. 26, 27, the "to Zion" of Is. lix. 20 (Sept. ἕνεκεν Σιών) is replaced by "out of Sion" (suggested by Is. ii. 3): *to* Zion the Redeemer had already come; *from* Zion, the Christian Church, His law was to go forth; or even from the literal Jerusalem, cf. Luke xxiv. 47; Rom. xv. 19, for, till she was destroyed, the type was still in a measure kept up. In Matt. viii. 17, the words of Is. liii. 4 are adapted to the divine removal of disease, the outward token and witness of that sin which Christ was eventually to remove by His death, thereby fulfilling the prophecy more completely. For other, though less striking, instances of variation, see 1 Cor. xiv. 21; 1 Pet. iii. 15. In some places again, the actual words of the original are taken up, but employed with a new meaning: thus the ἐρχόμενος, which in Hab. ii. 3 merely qualified the verb, is in Heb. x. 37 made the subject to it.

Almost more remarkable than any alteration in the quotation itself, is the circumstance that in Matt. xxvii. 9, Jeremiah should be named as the author of a prophecy really delivered by Zechariah: the reason being, as has been well shown by Hengstenberg in his Christology, that the prophecy is based upon that in Jer. xviii., xix., and that without a reference to this original source the most essential features of the fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy would be misunderstood. The case is indeed not entirely unique; for in the Greek of Mark i. 2, 3, where Mal. iii. 1 is combined with Is. xl. 3, the name of Isaiah alone is mentioned: it was on his prophecy that that of Malachi partly depended. On the other hand in Matt. ii. 23; John vi. 45, the comprehensive mention of the prophets indicates a reference not only to the passages

more particularly contemplated, Is. xi. 1, liv. 13, but also to the general tenour of what had been elsewhere prophetically uttered.

The above examples will sufficiently illustrate the freedom with which the apostles and evangelists interwove the older Scriptures into their writings. It could only result in failure were we to attempt any merely mechanical account of variations from the O. T. text which are essentially not mechanical. That which is still replete with life may not be dissected by the anatomist. There is a spiritual meaning in their employment of Scripture, even as there is a spiritual meaning in Scripture itself. And though it would be as idle to treat of their quotations without reference to the Septuagint, as it would be to treat of the inner meaning of the Bible without attending first to the literal interpretation, still it is only when we pay regard to the inner purpose for which each separate quotation was made, and the inner significance to the writer's mind of the passage quoted, that we can arrive at any true solution of the difficulties which the phenomena of these quotations frequently present. (Convenient tables of the quotations, ranged in the order of the N. T. passages, are given in the Introductions of Davidson and Horne. A much fuller table, embracing the informal verbal allusions, and ranged in the contrary order, but with a reverse index, has been compiled by Gough, and published separately, 1855.) [J. F. T.]

OLIVE (זַיִת: ἐλαία). No tree is more closely associated with the history and civilization of man. Our concern with it here is in its sacred relations, and in its connexion with Judaea and the Jewish people.

Many of the Scriptural associations of the olive-tree are singularly poetical. It has this remarkable interest, in the first place, that its foliage is the earliest that is mentioned by name, when the waters of the flood began to retire. "Lo! in the dove's mouth was an olive-leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth" (Gen. viii. 11). How far this early incident may have suggested the later emblematical meanings of the leaf, it is impossible to say: but now it is as difficult for us to disconnect the thought of peace from this scene of primitive patriarchal history, as from a multitude of allusions in the Greek and Roman poets. Next, we find it the most prominent tree in the earliest allegory. When the trees invited it to reign over them, its sagacious answer sets it before us in its characteristic relations to Divine worship and domestic life. "Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?" (Judg. ix. 8, 9). With David it is the emblem of prosperity and the divine blessing. He compares himself to "a green olive-tree in the house of God" (Ps. lii. 8); and he compares the children of a righteous man to the "olive-branches round about his table" (Ps. cxxviii. 3). So with the later prophets it is the symbol of beauty, luxuriance, and strength; and hence the symbol of religious privileges: "His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive-tree," are the words in the concluding promise of Hosea (xiv. 6). "The Lord called thy name a green olive-tree, fair, and of goodly fruit," is the expostulation of Jeremiah when he foretells retribution for advantages abused (xi. 16). Here we may compare Ecclus. l. 10. We must bear in mind, in reading this imagery, that the olive was among the most abundant and characteristic vegetation of Judaea. Thus after the captivity, when the Israelites kept the Feast of Tabernacles, we find them, among other branches for the booths, bringing "olive-branches" from the "mount" (Neh. viii. 15). "The mount" is doubtless the famous Olivet, or Mount of Olives, the "Olivetum" of the Vulgate. [OLIVES, MOUNT OF.] Here we cannot forget that the trees of this sacred hill witnessed not only the humiliation and sorrow of David in Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xv. 30), but also some of the most solemn scenes in the life of David's Lord and Son; the prophecy over Jerusalem, the agony in the garden (GETHSEMANE itself means "a press for olive-oil"), and the ascension to heaven. Turning now to the mystic imagery of Zechariah (iv. 3, 11-14), and of St. John in the Apocalypse (Rev. xi. 3, 4), we find the olive-tree used, in both cases, in a very remarkable way. We cannot enter into any explanation of "the two olive-trees . . . the two olive-branches . . . the two anointed ones that stand by the Lord of the whole earth" (Zech.); or of "the two witnesses . . . the two olive-trees standing before the God of the earth" (Rev.): but we may remark that we have here a very expressive link between the prophecies of the O. T. and the N. T. Finally, in the argumentation of St. Paul concerning the relative positions of the Jews and Gentiles in the counsels of God, this tree supplies the basis of one of his most forcible allegories (Rom. xi. 16-25). The Gentiles are the "wild olive" (ἀγριέλαιος), grafted in upon the "good olive" (καλλιέλαιος), to which once the Jews belonged, and with which they may again be incorporated. It must occur to any one that the natural process of grafting is here inverted, the custom being to engraft a good branch upon a bad stock. And it has been contended that in the case of the olive-tree the inverse process is sometimes practised, a wild twig being engrafted to strengthen the cultivated olive. Thus Mr. Ewbank (*Comm. on Romans*, ii. 112) quotes from Palladius:

> "Fecundat sterilis pingues oleaster olivas,
> Et quae non novit munera ferre docet."

But whatever the fact may be, it is unnecessary to have recourse to this supposition: and indeed it confuses the allegory. Nor is it likely that St. Paul would hold himself tied by horticultural laws in using such an image as this. Perhaps the very stress of the allegory is in this, that the grafting is *contrary to nature* (παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεκεντρίσθης, v. 24).

This discussion of the passage in the Romans leads us naturally to speak of the cultivation of the olive-tree, its industrial applications, and general characteristics. It grows freely almost everywhere on the shores of the Mediterranean; but, as has been said above, it was peculiarly abundant in Palestine. See Deut. vi. 11, viii. 8, xxviii. 40. Olive-yards are a matter of course in descriptions of the country, like vineyards and corn-fields (Judg. xv. 5; 1 Sam. viii. 14). The kings had very extensive ones (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). Even now the tree is very abundant in the country. Almost every village has its olive-grove. Certain districts may be specified where at various times this tree has been very luxuriant. Of Asher, on the skirts of the Lebanon, it was prophesied that he should "dip his foot in oil" (Deut. xxxiii. 24). The immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem has already been mentioned. In the article on GAZA we have alluded to its large and productive olive-woods in the present day: and

we may refer to Van de Velde's *Syria* (i. 386) for their extent and beauty in the vale of Shechem. The cultivation of the olive-tree had the closest connexion with the domestic life of the Israelites, their trade, and even their public ceremonies and religious worship. A good illustration of the use of olive-oil for food is furnished by 2 Chr. ii. 10, where we are told that Solomon provided Hiram's men with "twenty thousand baths of oil." Compare Ezra iii. 7. Too much of this product was supplied for home consumption: hence we find the country sending it as an export to Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 17), and to Egypt (Hos. xii. 1). This oil was used in coronations: thus it was an emblem of sovereignty (1 Sam. x. 1, xii. 3, 5). It was also mixed with the offerings in sacrifice (Lev. ii. 1, 2, 6, 15). Even in the wilderness very strict directions were given that, in the tabernacle, the Israelites were to have "pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamp to burn always" (Ex. xxvii. 20). For the burning of it in common lamps see Matt. xxv. 3, 4, 8. The use of it on the hair and skin was customary, and indicative of cheerfulness (Ps. xxiii. 5, Matt. vi. 17). It was also employed medicinally in surgical cases (Luke x. 34).[a] See again Mark vi. 13; Jam. v. 14, for its use in combination with prayer on behalf of the sick. [OIL; ANOINT.]

Nor, in enumerating the useful applications of the olive-tree, must we forget the wood, which is hard and solid, with a fine grain, and a pleasing yellowish tint. In Solomon's temple the cherubim were "of olive-tree" (1 K. vi. 23), as also the doors (vers. 31, 32) and the posts (ver. 33). As to the berries (Jam. iii. 12, 2 Esd. xvi. 29), which produce the oil, they were sometimes gathered by shaking the tree (Is. xxiv. 13), sometimes by beating it (Deut. xxiv. 20). Then followed the treading of the fruit (Deut. xxxiii. 24; Mic. vi. 15). Hence the mention of "oil-fats" (Joel ii. 24). Nor must the flower be passed over without notice:

> "Si bene floruerint oleae, nitidissimus annus."
>
> Ov. *Fast.* v. 265.

The wind was dreaded by the cultivator of the olive; for the least ruffling of a breeze is apt to cause the flowers to fall:

> "Florebant oleae: venti nocuere protervi."—*Ibid.* 321.

Thus we see the force of the words of Eliphaz the Temanite: "He shall cast off his flower like the olive" (Job xv. 33). It is needless to add that the locust was a formidable enemy of the olive (Amos iv. 9). It happened not unfrequently that hopes were disappointed, and that "the labour of the olive failed" (Hab. iii. 17). As to the growth of the tree, it thrives best in warm and sunny situations. It is of a moderate height, with knotty gnarled trunks, and a smooth ash-coloured bark. It grows slowly, but it lives to an immense age. Its look is singularly indicative of tenacious vigour: and this is the force of what is said in Scripture of its "greenness," as emblematic of strength and prosperity. The leaves, too, are not deciduous. Those who see olives for the first time are occasionally disappointed by the dusty colour of their foliage; but those who are familiar with them find an inexpressible charm in the rippling changes of these slender grey-green leaves. Mr. Ruskin's pages in the *Stones of Venice* (iii. 175-177) are not at all extravagant.

The literature of this subject is very extensive. All who have written on the trees and plants of Scripture have devoted some space to the olive. One especially deserves to be mentioned, viz., Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 51-57. But, for Biblical illustration, no later work is so useful as the *Hierobotanicon* of Celsius, the friend and patron of Linnaeus.

[J. S. H.]

OLIVES, MOUNT OF (הַר הַזֵּיתִים: τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν: *Mons Olivarum*). The exact expression "the Mount of Olives" occurs in the O. T. in Zech. xiv. 4 only; in the other places of the O. T. in which it is referred to the form employed is the "ascent of[b] the olives" (2 Sam. xv. 30; A. V. inaccurately "the ascent of *Mount* Olivet"), or simply "the Mount" (Neh. viii. 15), "the mount facing Jerusalem" (1 K. xi. 7), or "the mountain which is on the east side of the city" (Ez. xi. 23)

In the N. T. three forms of the word occur: 1 The usual one, "the Mount of Olives" (τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν). 2. By St. Luke twice (xix. 29; xxi. 37); "the mount called Elaiôn" (τὸ ὄ. τὸ καλ. ἐλαιών; Rec. Text, Ἐλαιών, which is followed by the A. V.). 3. Also by St. Luke (Acts i. 12), the "mount called Olivet" (ὄ. τὸ καλ. ἐλαιῶνος).

It is the well-known eminence on the east of Jerusalem, intimately and characteristically connected with some of the gravest and most significant events of the history of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the intervening times, and one of the firmest links by which the two are united; the scene of the flight of David and the triumphal progress of the Son of David, of the idolatry of Solomon, and the agony and betrayal of Christ.

If any thing were wanting to fix the position of the Mount of Olives, it would be amply settled by the account of the first of the events just named, as related in 2 Sam. xv., with the elucidations of the LXX. and Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 9). David's object was to place the Jordan between himself and Absalom. He therefore flies by the road called "the road of the wilderness" (xv. 23). This leads him across the Kidron, past the well-known olive-tree[c] which marked the path, up the toilsome ascent of the mount—elsewhere exactly described as facing Jerusalem on the east (1 K. xi. 7; Ez. xi. 23; Mk. xiii. 3)—to the summit,[d] where was a consecrated spot at which he was accustomed to worship God.[e] At this spot he again performed his devo-

[a] All these subjects admit of very full illustration from Greek and Roman writers. And if this were not a Biblical article, we should dwell upon other classical associations of the tree which supplied the victor's wreath at the Olympic games, and a twig of which is the familiar mark on the coins of Athens. See Judith xv. 13.

[b] מַעֲלֵה הַזֵּיתִים: ἀνάβασις τῶν ἐλαιῶν: *clivus olivarum*. The names applied to the mount in the Targums are as follows:—טוּר זֵיתָא or זֵיתִיא (2 Sam. xv. 30, 2 K. xxiii. 13, Ez. xi. 23, Zech. xiv. 4), ט' מִשְׁחָא (Cant. viii. 3; and Gen. viii. 11, Pseudojon. only). The latter is the name employed in the Mishna (*Parah*, c. 3). Its meaning is "oil" or "ointment." The modern Arabic name for the whole ridge seems to be *Jebel es-Zeitûn*, i. e. Mount of Olives, or *Jebel Tûr*, the mount of the mount, meaning, the important mount.

[c] The allusion to this tree, which survives in the LXX of ver. 18, has vanished from the present Hebrew text.

[d] The mention of the summit marks the road to have been that over the present Mount of the Ascension. The southern road keeps below the summit the whole way.

[e] The expression of the text denotes that this was a known and frequented spot for devotion. The Talmudists say that it was the place at which the Ark and Tabernacle were first caught sight of in approaching Jerusalem over the Mount. Spots from which a sanctuary is visible are still considered in the East as themselves sacred (See

tions—it must have seemed for the last time—and took his farewell of the city, "with many tears, as one who had lost his kingdom." He then turned the summit, and after passing Bahurim, probably about where Bethany now stands, continued the descent through the "dry and thirsty[f] land" until he arrived "weary" at the bank of the river (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, §2-6; 2 Sam. xvi. 14, xvii. 21, 22).

This, which is the earliest mention[g] of the Mount of Olives, is also a complete introduction to it. It stands forth, with every feature complete, almost as if in a picture. Its nearness to Jerusalem—the ravine at its foot—the olive-tree at its base—the steep road through the trees[h] to the summit—the remarkable view from thence of Zion and the city, spread opposite and almost seeming to rise towards the spectator—the very "stones and dust"[i] of the rugged and sultry descent—all are caught, nothing essential is omitted.

The remaining references to it in the Old Testament are but slight. The "high places" which Solomon constructed for the gods of his numerous wives, were in the mount "facing Jerusalem" (1 K. xi. 7)—an expression which applies to the Mount of Olives only, as indeed all commentators apply it. Modern tradition (see below) has, after some hesitation, fixed the site of these sanctuaries on the most southern of the four summits into which the whole range of the mount is divided, and therefore far removed from that principal summit over which David took his way. But there is nothing in the O. T. to countenance this, or to forbid our believing that Solomon adhered to the spot already consecrated in the time of his father. The reverence which in our days attaches to the spot on the very top of the principal summit, is probably only changed in its object from what it was in the time of the kingdom of Judah.

During the next four hundred years we have only the brief notice of Josiah's iconoclasms at this spot. Ahaz and Manasseh had no doubt maintained and enlarged the original erections of Solomon. These Josiah demolished. He "defiled" the high places, broke to pieces the uncouth and obscene symbols which deformed them, cut down the images, or possibly the actual groves, of Ashtaroth, and effectually disqualified them for worship by filling up the cavities with human bones (2 K. xxiii. 13, 14). Another two hundred years and we find a further mention of it—this time in a thoroughly different connexion. It is now the great repository for the vegetation of the district, planted thick with olive, and the bushy myrtle, and the feathery palm. "Go out" of the city "into the mount"—was the command of Ezra for the celebration of the first anniversary of the Feast of Tabernacles after the Return from Babylon—"and fetch olive branches and 'oil-tree' branches, and myrtle-boughs, and palm-leaves, and branches of thick trees to make booths, as it is written" (Neh. viii. 15).

The cultivated and umbrageous character which is implied in this description, as well as in the name of the mount, it retained till the N. T. times. Caphnatha, Bethphage, Bethany, all names of places on the mount, and all derived from some fruit or vegetation, are probably of late origin, certainly of late mention. True, the "palm-branches" borne by the crowd who flocked out of Jerusalem to welcome the "Prophet of Nazareth," were obtained from the city (John xii. 13)—not impossibly from the gardens of the Temple (Ps. xcii. 12, 13); but the boughs which they strewed on the ground before Him, were cut or torn down from the fig or olive trees which shadowed the road round the hill.

At this point in the history it will be convenient to describe the situation and appearance of the Mount of Olives. It is not so much a "mount" as a ridge, of rather more than a mile in length, running in general direction north and south; covering the whole eastern side of the city, and screening it from the bare, waste, uncultivated country—the "wilderness"—which lies beyond it, and fills up the space between the Mount of Olives and the Dead Sea. At its north end the ridge bends round to the west, so as to form an enclosure to the city on that side also. But there is this difference, that whereas on the north a space of nearly a mile of tolerably level surface intervenes between the walls of the city and the rising ground, on the east the mount is close to the walls, parted only by that which from the city itself seems no parting at all—the narrow ravine of the Kidron. You descend from the Golden Gateway, or the Gate of St. Stephen, by a sudden and steep declivity, and no sooner is the bed of the valley reached than you again commence the ascent of Olivet. So great is the effect of this proximity, that, partly from that, and partly from the extreme clearness of the air, a spectator from the western part of Jerusalem imagines Olivet to rise immediately from the side of the Haram area (Porter, *Handb.* 103*a*; also Stanley, *S. & P.* 186).

It is this portion which is the real Mount of Olives of the history. The northern part—in all probability Nob,[k] Mizpeh, and Scopus—is, though geologically continuous, a distinct mountain; and the so-called Mount of Evil Counsel, directly south of the Coenaculum, is too distant and too completely isolated by the trench of the Kidron to claim the name. We will therefore confine ourselves to this portion. In general height it is not very much above the city: 300 feet higher than the Temple mount,[m] hardly more than 100 above the so-called

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the citations in Lightfoot on Luke xxiv. 50; and compare MIZPEH, ii. 389, *note*.) It is worthy of remark that the expression is "where they worshipped God," not Jehovah: as if it were one of the old sanctuaries of Elohim, like Bethel or Moreh.

[f] Ps. lxiii.—by its title and by constant tradition—is referred to this day. The word rendered "thirsty" in ver. 1 is the same as that rendered "weary" in 2 Sam. xvi. 14—עָיֵף.

[g] The author of the Targum Pseudojonathan introduces it still earlier. According to him, the olive-leaf which the dove brought back to Noah was plucked from it.

[h] It must be remembered that the mount had not yet acquired its now familiar name. All that is said is that David "ascended by the ascent of the olives."

[i] At Bahurim, while David and his men kept the road Shimei scrambled along the slope of the overhanging hill above, even with him, and threw stones at him, and *covered him with dust* (xvi. 13).

[k] See MIZPEH, vol. ii. 389.

[m] The following are the elevations of the neighbourhood (above the Mediterranean), according to Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 179):—

Mount of Olives (Church of Ascension)	2724 ft.
"Zion" (the Coenaculum)	2537 "
"Moriah" (*Haram* area)	2429 "
N.W. corner of city	2810 "
Valley of Kidron (Gethsemane)	2281 "
Do. (*Bir eyub*)	1994 "
Bethany	1803 "
Jordan	1209 "

Zion. But this is to some extent made up for by the close proximity which exaggerates its height, especially on the side next to it.

The word "ridge" has been used above as the only one available for an eminence of some length and even height, but that word is hardly accurate. There is nothing "ridge-like" in the appearance of the Mount of Olives, or of any other of the lime-stone hills of this district of Palestine; all is rounded, swelling, and regular in form. At a distance its outline is almost horizontal, gradually sloping away at its southern end: but when approached, and especially when seen from below the eastern wall of Jerusalem, it divides itself into three, or rather perhaps four, independent summits or eminences. Proceeding from N. to S. these occur in the following order:—Galilee, or Viri Galilaei; Mount of the Ascension; Prophets, subordinate to the last, and almost a part of it; Mount of Offence.

1. Of these the central one, distinguished by the minaret and domes of the Church of the Ascension, is in every way the most important. The church, and the tiny hamlet of wretched hovels which surround it,—the *Kefr et-Tûr*—are planted slightly on the Jordan side of the actual top, but not so far as to hinder their being seen from all parts of the western environs of the mountain, or, in their turn, commanding the view of the deepest recesses of the Kidron Valley (Porter, *Handb.* 103). Three paths lead from the valley to the summit. The first—a continuation of the path which descends from the St. Stephen's Gate to the tomb of the Virgin—passes under the north wall of the enclosure of Gethsemane, and follows the line of the depression between the centre and the northern hill. The second parts from the first about 50 yards beyond Gethsemane, and striking off to the right up the very breast of the hill, surmounts the projection on which is the traditional spot of the Lamentation over Jerusalem, and thence proceeds directly upwards to the village. This is rather shorter than the former; but, on the other hand, it is much steeper, and the ascent extremely toilsome and difficult. The third leaves the other two at the N.E. corner of Gethsemane, and making a considerable detour to the south, visits the so-called "Tombs of the Prophets," and, following a very slight depression which occurs at that part of the mount, arrives in its turn at the village.

Of these three paths the first, from the fact that it follows the natural shape of the ground, is, unquestionably, older than the others, which deviate in pursuit of certain artificial objects. Every consideration is in favour of its being the road taken by David in his flight. It is, with equal probability, that usually taken by our Lord and His disciples in their morning and evening transit between Jerusalem and Bethany, and that also by which the Apostles returned to Jerusalem after the Ascension. If the "Tombs of the Prophets" existed before the destruction of Jerusalem (and if they are the Peræon of Josephus they did), then the third road is next in antiquity. The second—having probably been made for the convenience of reaching a spot the reputation of which is comparatively modern—must be the most recent.

The central hill, which we are now considering,

purports to contain the sites of some of the most sacred and impressive events of Christian history. During the middle ages most of these were protected by an edifice of some sort; and to judge from the reports of the early travellers, the mount must at one time have been thickly covered with churches and convents. The following is a complete list of these, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain them.

1. Commencing at the Western foot, and going gradually up the Hill.*

°*Tomb of the Virgin: containing also those of Joseph, Joachim, and Anna.

Gethsemane: containing

Olive garden.

*Cavern of Christ's Prayer and Agony. (A Church here in the time of Jerome and Willibald.)

Rock on which the 3 disciples slept.

*Place of the capture of Christ. (A Church in the time of Bernard the Wise.)

Spot from which the Virgin witnessed the stoning of St. Stephen.

Do. at which her girdle dropped during her Assumption.

Do. of our Lord's Lamentation over Jerusalem, Luke xix. 41. (A Church here formerly, called *Dominus flevit*; Surius, in Mislin, ii. 476.)

Do. on which He first said the Lord's Prayer, or wrote it on the stone with His finger (Saewulf, *E. Tr.* 42). A splendid Church here formerly. Maundeville seems to give this as the spot where the Beatitudes were pronounced (*E. Tr.* 177).

Do. at which the woman taken in adultery was brought to Him (Bernard the Wise, *E. Tr.* 28).

*Tombs of the Prophets (Matt. xxiii. 29): containing, according to the Jews, those of Haggai and Zechariah.

Cave in which the Apostles composed the Creed: called also Church of St. Mark or of the 12 Apostles.

Spot at which Christ discoursed of the Judgment to come (Matt. xxiv. 3).

Cave of St. Pelagia: according to the Jews, sepulchre of Huldah the Prophetess.

*Place of the Ascension. (Church, with subsequently a large Augustine convent attached.)

Spot at which the Virgin was warned of her death by an angel. In the valley between the Ascension and Viri Galilaei (Maundeville, 177, and so Doubdan); but Maundrell (*E. Tr.* 470) places it close to the cave of Pelagia.

Viri Galilaei. Spot from which the Apostles watched the Ascension: or at which Christ first appeared to the 3 Maries after His Resurrection (Tobler, 76 *note*).

2. On the East side, descending from the Church of the Ascension to Bethany.

The field in which stood the fruitless fig-tree.

Bethphage.

Bethany: House of Lazarus. (A Church there in Jerome's time; *Lib. de Situ*, &c. "Bethania.")

*Tomb of Lazarus.

*Stone on which Christ was sitting when Martha and Mary came to Him.

* The above catalogue has been compiled from Quaresmius, Doubdan, and Mislin. The last of these works, with great pretension to accuracy, is very inaccurate. Collateral references to other works are occasionally given.

° Plenary Indulgence is accorded by the Church of Rome to those who recite the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria at the spots marked thus (*).

The majority of these sacred spots now command little or no attention; but three still remain, sufficiently sacred—if authentic—to consecrate any place. These are: 1. Gethsemane, at the foot of the mount. 2. The place of the Lamentation of our Saviour over Jerusalem, half-way up: and 3. The spot from which He ascended, on the summit.

(1.) Of these, Gethsemane is the only one which has any claim to be authentic. Its claims, however, are considerable; they are spoken of elsewhere.

(2.) The first person who attached the Ascension of Christ to the Mount of Olives seems to have been the Empress Helena (A.D. 325). Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii. §43) states that she erected as a memorial of that event a sacred house[p] of assembly on the highest part of the mount, where there was a cave which a sure tradition (λόγος ἀληθής) testified to be that in which the Saviour had imparted mysteries to His disciples. But neither this account, nor that of the same author (Euseb. *Demonst. Evang.* vi. 18) when the cave is again mentioned, do more than name the Mount of Olives, generally, as the place from which Christ ascended: they fix no definite spot thereon. Nor does the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, who arrived shortly after the building of the church (A.D. 333), know anything of the exact spot. He names the Mount of Olives as the place where our Lord used to teach His disciples; mentions that a basilica of Constantine stood there . . . he carefully points out the Mount of Transfiguration in the neighbourhood (!) but is silent on the Ascension. From this time to that of Arculf (A.D. 700) we have no information, except the casual reference of Jerome (A.D. 390), cited below. In that immense interval of 370 years, the basilica of Constantine or Helena had given way to the round church of Modestus (Tobler, 92 note), and the tradition had become firmly established. The church was open to the sky "because of the passage of the Lord's body," and on the ground in the centre were the prints of His feet in the dust (*pulvere*). The cave or spot hallowed by His preaching to His disciples appears to have been moved off to the north of Bethany (*Early Travels*, 6).

Since that day many changes in detail have occurred: the "dust" has given way to stone, in which the print of first one, then two feet, was recognized,[q] one of which by a strange fate is said now to rest in the Mosk of the Aksa.[r] The buildings too have gone through alterations, additions, and finally losses, which has reduced them to their present condition:—a mosk with a paved and unroofed court of irregular shape adjoining, round which are ranged the altars of various Christian churches. In the centre is the miraculous stone surmounted by a cupola and screened by a Moslim Kibleh or praying-place,[s] with an altar attached, on which the Christians are permitted once a year to say mass (Williams, *H. C.* ii. 445). But through all these changes the locality of the Ascension has remained constantly the same.

The tradition no doubt arose from the fact of Helena's having erected her memorial church on the summit of the hill. It has been pointed out that she does not appear to have had any intention of fixing on a precise spot; she desired to erect a memorial of the Ascension, and this she did on the summit of the Mount of Olives, partly no doubt because of its conspicuous situation, but mainly because of the existence there of the sacred cavern in which our Lord had taught.[t] It took nearly three centuries to harden and narrow this general recognition of the connexion of the Mount of Olives with Christ, into a lying invention in contradiction of the Gospel narrative of the Ascension. For a contradiction it undoubtedly is. Two accounts of the Ascension exist, both by the same author—the one, Luke xxiv. 50, 51, the other, Acts i. 6-11. The former only of these names the place at which our Lord ascended. That place was not the summit of the Mount, but Bethany—"He led them out as far as to Bethany"—on the eastern slopes of the Mount nearly a mile beyond the traditional spot.[u] The narrative of the Acts does not name the scene of the occurrence, but it states that after it had taken place the Apostles "returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey." It was their natural, their only route; but St. Luke is writing for Gentiles ignorant of the localities, and therefore he not only names Olivet, but adds the general information that it—that is, the summit and main part of the mount—was a sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem. The specification of the distance no more applies to Bethany on the further side of the mount than to Gethsemane on the nearer.

And if, leaving the evidence, we consider the relative fitness of the two spots for such an event—and compare the retired and wooded slopes around Bethany, so intimately connected with the last period of His life and with the friends who relieved the dreadful pressure of that period, and to whom He was attached by such binding ties, with an open public spot visible from every part of the city, and indeed for miles in every direction—we shall have no difficulty in deciding which is the more appropriate scene for the last act in the earthly sojourn of One who always shunned publicity even before His death, and whose communications after His resurrection were confined to His disciples, and marked by a singular privacy and reserve.

(3.) The third of the three traditionary spots mentioned—that of the Lamentation over Jerusalem (Luke xix. 41-44)—is not more happily chosen than

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[p] ἱερὸν οἶκον ἐκκλησίας. This church was surmounted by a conspicuous gilt cross, the glitter of which was visible far and wide. Jerome refers to it several times. See especially *Epitaph. Paulae*, "crux rutilans," and his comment on Zeph. i. 15.

[q] Even the toes were made out by some (Tobler, p. 108, *note*).

[r] The "Chapel of the foot of Isa" is at the south end of the main aisle of the Aksa, almost under the dome. Attached to its northern side is the Pulpit. At the time of Ali Bey's visit (ii. 218, and plate lxxi.) it was called *Sidna Aisa*, Lord Jesus; but he says nothing of the footmark.

[s] See the plan of the edifice, in its present condition, on the margin of Sig. Pierotti's map, 1861. Other plans are given in Quaresmius, ii. 318, and B. Amico, No. 34. Arculf's sketch is in Tobler (*Siloahquelle*, &c.).

[t] Since writing this, the writer has observed that Mr. Stanley has taken the same view, almost in the same words. (See *S. & P.* ch. xiv. 454.)

[u] The Mount of Olives seems to be used for Bethany also in Luke xxi. 37, compared with Matt. xxi. 17, xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3. The morning walk from Bethany did not at any rate terminate with the day after His arrival at Jerusalem. (See Mark xi. 20.) One mode of reconciling the two narratives—which do not need reconciling—is to say that the district of Bethany extended to the summit of the mount. But "Bethany" in the *N. T.* is not a district but a village; and it was "as far as" that well-known place that "He led them forth."

that of the Ascension. It is on a mamelon or protuberance which projects from the slope of the breast of the hill, about 300 yards above Gethsemane. The sacred narrative requires a spot on the road from Bethany, at which the city or temple should suddenly come into view: but this is one which can only be reached by a walk of several hundred yards over the breast of the hill, *with the temple and city full in sight the whole time*. It is also pretty evident that the path which now passes the spot, is subsequent in date to the fixing of the spot. As already remarked, the natural road lies up the valley between this hill and that to the north, and no one, unless with the special object of a visit to this spot, would take this very inconvenient path. The inappropriateness of this place has been noticed by many; but Mr. Stanley was the first who gave it its death-blow, by pointing out the true spot to take its place. In a well-known passage of *Sinai and Palestine* (190-193), he shows that the road of our Lord's "Triumphal entry" must have been, not the short and steep path over the summit used by small parties of pedestrians, but the longer and easier route round the southern shoulder of the southern of the three divisions of the mount, which has the peculiarity of presenting two successive views of Jerusalem: the first its south-west portion—the modern Zion; the second, after an interval, the buildings on the Temple mount, answering to the two points in the narrative—the Hosanna of the multitude, the weeping of Christ.

2. We have spoken of the central and principal portion of the mount. Next to it on the southern side, separated from it by a slight depression, up which the path mentioned above as the third takes its course, is a hill which appears neither to possess, nor to have possessed, any independent name. It is remarkable only for the fact that it contains the "singular catacomb" known as the "Tombs of the Prophets," probably in allusion to the words of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 29). Of the origin, and even of the history, of this cavern hardly anything is known. It is possible that it is the "rock called Peristereon," named by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 12, §2) in describing the course of Titus's great wall[x] of circumvallation, though there is not much to be said for that view (see Rob. iii. 254 *note*). To the earlier pilgrims it does not appear to have been known; at least their descriptions hardly apply to its present size or condition. Mr. Stanley (*S. & P.* 453) is inclined to identify it with the cave mentioned by Eusebius as that in which our Lord taught His disciples, and also with that which is mentioned by Arculf and Bernard as containing "the four tables" of our Lord (*Early Travels*, 4 and 28). The first is not improbable, but the cave of Arculf and Bernard seems to have been down in the valley not far from the tomb of the Virgin, and on the spot of the betrayal (*E. T.* 28), therefore close to Gethsemane.

[x] The wall seems to have crossed the Kidron from about the present St. Stephen's Gate to the mount on the opposite side. It then "turned south and encompassed the mount as far as the rock called the dovecot (ἄχρι τῆς Περιστερεῶνος καλουμένης πέτρας), and the other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley of Siloam." Peristereon may be used as a synonym for *columbarium*, a late Latin word for an excavated cemetery; and there is perhaps some analogy between it and the *Wady Hammâm*, or Valley of Pigeons, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, the rocky sides of which abound in caves and perforations. Or it may be one of those half-Hebrew, half-Greek appellations, which there is reason to believe Josephus bestows on some of the localities of Palestine, and which have yet to be investigated. Tischendorf (*Travels in the East*, 176) is wrong in saying that Josephus "always calls it the Dovecot." He mentions it only this once

3. The most southern portion of the Mount of Olives is that usually known as the "Mount of Offence" *Mons Offensionis*, though by the Arabs called *Baten el Hawa*, "the bag of the wind." It rises next to that last mentioned; and in the hollow between the two, more marked than the depression between the more northern portions, runs the road from Bethany, which was without doubt the road of Christ's entry to Jerusalem.

The title Mount of Offence,[y] or of Scandal, was bestowed on the supposition that it is the "Mount of Corruption,"[z] on which Solomon erected the high places for the gods of his foreign wives (2 K. xxiii. 13; 1 K. xi. 7). This tradition appears to be of a recent date. It is not mentioned in the Jewish travellers, Benjamin, hap-Parchi, or Petachia, and the first appearance of the name or the tradition as attached to that locality among Christian writers, appears to be in John of Wirtzburg (Tobler, 80 note) and Brocardus (*Descriptio Ter. S.* cap. ix.) both of the 13th century. At that time the northern summit was believed to have been the site of the altar of Chemosh (Brocardus), the southern one that of Molech only (Thietmar, *Peregr.* xi. 2).

The southern summit is considerably lower than the centre one, and, as already remarked, it is much more definitely separated from the surrounding portions of the mountain than the others are. It is also sterner and more repulsive in its form. On the south it is bounded by the *Wady en-Nar*, the continuation of the Kidron, curving round eastward on its dreary course to S. Saba and the Dead Sea. From this barren ravine the Mount of Offence rears its rugged sides by acclivities barer and steeper than any in the northern portion of the mount, and its top presents a bald and desolate surface, contrasting greatly with the cultivation of the other summits, and which not improbably, as in the case of Mount Ebal, suggested the name which it now bears. On the steep ledges of its western face clings the ill-favoured village of *Silwân*, a few dilapidated towers rather than houses, their gray bleared walls hardly to be distinguished from the rock to which they adhere, and inhabited by a tribe as mean and repulsive as their habitations. [SILOAM.]

Crossing to the back or eastern side of this mountain, on a half-isolated promontory or spur which overlooks the road of our Lord's progress from Bethany, are found tanks and foundations and other remains, which are maintained by Dr. Barclay (*City*, &c. 66) to be those of Bethphage (see also Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, 322).

4. The only one of the four summits remaining to be considered is that on the north of the "Mount of Ascension"—the *Karem es-Seyad*, or Vineyard of the Sportsman; or, as it is called by the modern Latin and Greek Christians, the Viri Galilaei. This is a hill of exactly the same character as the Mount

Dovecot." He mentions it only this once

[y] In German, *Berg des Aergernisses*.

[z] הַר הַמַּשְׁחִית. This seems to be connected etymologically in some way with the name by which the mount is occasionally rendered in the Targums—טוּר מְשִׁחָא (Jonathan, Cant. viii. 9; Pseudojon. Gen. viii. 11). One is probably a play on the other.

Mr. Stanley (*S. & P.* 188, *note*) argues that the Mount of Corruption was the northern hill (Viri Galilaei), because the three sanctuaries were south of it, and therefore on the other three summits.

of the Ascension, and so nearly its equal in height that few travellers agree as to which is the more lofty. The summits of the two are about 400 yards apart. It stands directly opposite the N.E. corner of Jerusalem, and is approached by the path between it and the Mount of Ascension, which strikes at the top into a cross path leading to *el-Isawiyeh* and *Anata*. The Arabic name well reflects the fruitful character of the hill, on which there are several vineyards, besides much cultivation of other kinds. The Christian name is due to the singular tradition, that here the two angels addressed the Apostles after our Lord's ascension—"Ye men of Galilee!" This idea, which is so incompatible, on account of the distance, even with the traditional spot of the Ascension, is of late existence and inexplicable origin. The first name by which we encounter this hill is simply "Galilee," ἡ Γαλιλαία, (Perdiccas, cir. A.D. 1250, in Reland, *Pal.* cap. lii.). Brocardus (A.D. 1280) describes the mountain as the site of Solomon's altar to Chemosh (*Descr.* cap. ix.), but evidently knows of no name for it, and connects it with no Christian event. This name may, as is conjectured (Quaresmius ii. 319, and Reland, 341), have originated in its being the custom of the Apostles, or of the Galilaeans generally, when they came up to Jerusalem, to take up their quarters there; or it may be the echo or distortion of an ancient name of the spot, possibly the Geliloth of Josh. xviii. 17—one of the landmarks of the south boundary of Benjamin, which has often puzzled the topographer. But, whatever its origin, it came at last to be considered as the actual Galilee of northern Palestine, the place at which our Lord appointed to meet His disciples after His resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 10), the scene of the miracle of Cana (Reland, 338). This transference, at once so extraordinary and so instructive, arose from the same desire, combined with the same astounding want of the critical faculty, which enabled the pilgrims of the middle ages to see without perplexity the scene of the Transfiguration (Bourdeaux Pilgr.), of the Beatitudes (Maundeville, *E. T.* 177), and of the Ascension, all crowded together on the single summit of the central hill of Olivet. It testified to the same feeling which has brought together the scene of Jacob's vision at Bethel, of the sacrifice of Isaac on Moriah, and of David's offering in the threshing-floor of Araunah, on one hill; and which to this day has crowded within the walls of one church of moderate size all the events connected with the death and resurrection of Christ.

In the 8th century the place of the angels was represented by two columns[a] in the Church of the Ascension itself (Willibald, *E. Tr.* 19). So it remained with some trifling difference, at the time of Saewulf's visit (A.D. 1102), but there was then also a chapel in existence—apparently on the northern summit—purporting to stand where Christ made His first appearance after the Resurrection, and called "Galilee." So it continued at Maundeville's visit (1322). In 1580 the two pillars were still shown in the Church of the Ascension (Radzivil), but in the 16th century (Tobler, 75) the tradition had relinquished its ancient and more appropriate seat, and thenceforth became attached to the northern summit, where Maundrell (A.D. 1697) encountered it (*E. T.* 471), and where it even now retains some hold, the

name *Kalilea* being occasionally applied to it by the Arabs. (See Pococke and Scholz, in Tobler, 72.) An ancient tower connected with the tradition was in course of demolition during Maundrell's visit, "a Turk having bought the field in which it stood."

The presence of the crowd of churches and other edifices implied in the foregoing description must have rendered the Mount of Olives, during the early and middle ages of Christianity, entirely unlike what it was in the time of the Jewish kingdom or of our Lord. Except the high places on the summit the only buildings then to be seen were probably the walls of the vineyards and gardens, and the towers and presses which were their invariable accompaniment. But though the churches are nearly all demolished there must be a considerable difference between the aspect of the mountain now and in those days when it received its name from the abundance of its olive-groves. It does not now stand so preeminent in this respect among the hills in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. "It is only in the deeper and more secluded slope leading up to the northernmost summit that these venerable trees spread into anything like a forest." The cedars commemorated by the Talmud (Lightfoot, ii. 305), and the date-palms implied in the name Bethany, have fared still worse: there is not one of either to be found within many miles. This change is no doubt due to natural causes, variations of climate, &c.; but the check was not improbably given by the ravages committed by the army of Titus, who are stated by Josephus to have stripped the country round Jerusalem for miles and miles of every stick or shrub for the banks constructed during the siege. No olive or cedar, however sacred to Jew or Christian, would at such a time escape the axes of the Roman sappers, and, remembering how under similar circumstances every root and fibre of the smallest shrubs were dug up for fuel by the camp-followers of our army at Sebastopol, it would be wrong to deceive ourselves by the belief that any of the trees now existing are likely to be the same or even descendants of those which were standing before that time.

Except at such rare occasions as the passage of the caravan of pilgrims to the Jordan, there must also be a great contrast between the silence and loneliness which now pervades the mount, and the busy scene which it presented in later Jewish times. Bethphage and Bethany are constantly referred to in the Jewish authors as places of much resort for business and pleasure. The two large cedars already mentioned had below them shops for the sale of pigeons and other necessaries for worshippers in the Temple, and appear to have driven an enormous trade (see the citations in Lightfoot, ii. 39, 305). Two religious ceremonies performed there must also have done much to increase the numbers who resorted to the mount. The appearance of the new moon was probably watched for, certainly proclaimed, from the summit—the long torches waving to and fro in the moonless night till answered from the peak of *Kurn Surtabeh*; and an occasion to which the Jews attached so much weight would be sure to attract a concourse. The second ceremony referred to was burning of the Red Heifer.[b] This solemn ceremonial was enacted on the central mount, and in a spot so carefully specified that it would

[a] These columns appear to have been seen as late as A.D. 1580 by Radzivil (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 127, note).

[b] There seems to be some doubt whether this was an annual ceremony. Jerome (*Epitaph. Paulae*, §12) distinctly says so; but the Rabbis assert that from Moses to the Captivity it was performed but once; from the Captivity to the Destruction eight times (Lightfoot, ii. 306).

seem not difficult to fix it. It was due east of the sanctuary, and at such an elevation on the mount that the officiating priest, as he slew the animal and sprinkled her blood, could see the façade of the sanctuary through the east gate of the Temple. To this spot a viaduct was constructed across the valley on a double row of arches, so as to raise it far above all possible proximity with graves or other defilements (see citations in Lightfoot, ii. 39). The depth of the valley is such at this place (about 350 feet from the line of the south wall of the present *Haram* area) that this viaduct must have been an important and conspicuous work. It was probably demolished by the Jews themselves on the approach of Titus, or even earlier, when Pompey led his army by Jericho and over the Mount of Olives. This would account satisfactorily for its not being alluded to by Josephus. During the siege the 10th legion had its fortified camp and batteries on the top of the mount, and the first, and some of the fiercest, encounters of the siege took place here.

"The lasting glory of the Mount of Olives," it has been well said, "belongs not to the Old Dispensation, but to the New. Its very barrenness of interest in earlier times sets forth the abundance of those associations which it derives from the closing scenes of the sacred history. Nothing, perhaps, brings before us more strikingly the contrast of Jewish and Christian feeling, the abrupt and inharmonious termination of the Jewish dispensation—if we exclude the culminating point of the Gospel history—than to contrast the blank which Olivet presents to the Jewish pilgrims of the middle ages, only dignified by the sacrifice of 'the red heifer;' and the vision too great for words, which it offers to the Christian traveller of all times, as the most detailed and the most authentic abiding-place of Jesus Christ. By one of those strange coincidences, whether accidental or borrowed, which occasionally appear in the Rabbinical writings, it is said in the Midrash,[c] that the Shechinah, or Presence of God, after having finally retired from Jerusalem, 'dwelt' three years and a half on the Mount of Olives, to see whether the Jewish people would or would not repent, calling, 'Return to me, O my sons, and I will return to you;' 'Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call upon Him while He is near;' and then, when all was in vain, returned to its own place. Whether or not this story has a direct allusion to the ministrations of Christ, it is a true expression of His relation respectively to Jerusalem and to Olivet. It is useless to seek for traces of His presence in the streets of the since ten times captured city. It is impossible not to find them in the free space of the Mount of Olives" (Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 189).

A monograph on the Mount of Olives, exhausting every source of information, and giving the fullest references, will be found in Tobler's *Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, St. Gallen, 1852. The ecclesiastical traditions are in Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, ii. 277-340, &c. Doubdan's account (*Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1657) is excellent and his plates very correct. The passages relating to the mount in Mr. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* (p. 185-195, 452-454) are full of instruction and beauty, and in fixing the spot of our Lord's lamentation over Jerusalem he has certainly made one of the most important discoveries ever made in relation to this interesting locality. [G.]

OLIVET (2 Sam. xv. 30; Acts i. 12), probably derived from the Vulgate, *mons qui vocatur Oliveti* in the latter of these two passages. [See OLIVES, MOUNT OF.]

OLYMPAS (Ὀλυμπᾶς: *Olympias*), a Christian at Rome (Rom. xvi. 15), perhaps of the household of Philologus. It is stated by Pseudo-Hippolytus that he was one of the seventy disciples, and underwent martyrdom at Rome: and Baronius ventures to give A.D. 69 as the date of his death. [W. T. B.]

OLYMPIUS (Ὀλυμπίος: *Olympius*). One of the chief epithets of the Greek deity Zeus, so called from Mount Olympus in Thessaly, the abode of the gods (2 Macc. vi. 2). [See JUPITER, vol. i. p. 1175.]

OMAE'RUS (Ἰσμαῆρος: *Abramus*). AMRAM of the sons of Bani (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 34). The Syriac seems to have read "Ishmael."

O'MAR (אוֹמָר: Ὄμαρ; Alex. Ὠμάν in Gen. xxxvi. 11: *Omar*). Son of Eliphaz the firstborn of Esau, and "duke" or phylarch of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15; 1 Chr. i. 36). The name is supposed to survive in that of the tribe of *Amir* Arabs east of the Jordan. Bunsen asserts that Omar was the ancestor of the *Bne 'Hammer* in northern Edom (*Bibelwerk*, Gen. xxxvi. 11), but the names are essentially different.

O'MEGA (ὦ). The last letter of the Greek alphabet, as Alpha is the first. It is used metaphorically to denote the end of anything: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending ... the first and the last" (Rev. i. 8, 11). The symbol אֵת, which contains the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet, is, according to Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* p. 244), "among the Cabalists often put mystically for the beginning and end, like A and Ω in the Apocalypse." Schoettgen (*Hor. Heb.* p. 1086) quotes from the *Jalkut Rubeni* on Gen. i. 1, to the effect that in אֵת are comprehended all letters, and that it is the name of the Shechinah.

OMER. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

OM'RI (עָמְרִי, *i. e.* עָמְרִיָה, probably "servant of Jehovah" (Gesenius): Ἀμβρι, LXX.; Ἀμαρῖνος, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, 5: *Amri*), 1. originally "captain of the host" to ELAH, was afterwards himself king of Israel, and founder of the third dynasty. When Elah was murdered by Zimri at Tirzah, then capital of the northern kingdom, Omri was engaged in the siege of Gibbethon, situated in the tribe of Dan, which had been occupied by the Philistines, who had retained it, in spite of the efforts to take it made by Nadab, Jeroboam's son and successor. As soon as the army heard of Elah's death, they proclaimed Omri king. Thereupon he broke up the siege of Gibbethon, and attacked Tirzah, where Zimri was holding his court as king of Israel. The city was taken, and Zimri perished in the flames of the palace, after a reign of seven days. [ZIMRI.] Omri, however, was not allowed to establish his dynasty without a struggle against Tibni, whom "half the people" (1 K. xvi. 21) desired to raise to the throne, and

[c] Rabbi Janna, in the *Midrash Tehillim*, quoted by Lightfoot, ii. 39. Can this statement have originated in the mysterious passage, Ez. xi. 23, in which the glory of Jehovah is said to have left Jerusalem and taken its stand on the Mount of Olives—the mountain on the east side of the city?

who was bravely assisted by his brother Joram.[a] The civil war lasted four years (cf. 1 K. xvi. 15, with 23). After the defeat and death of Tibni and Joram, Omri reigned for six years in Tirzah, although the palace there was destroyed; but at the end of that time, in spite of the proverbial beauty of the site (Cant. vi. 4), he transferred his residence, probably from the proved inability of Tirzah to stand a siege, to the mountain Shomron, better known by its Greek name Samaria, which he bought for two talents of silver from a rich man, otherwise unknown, called Shemer. It is situated about six miles from Shechem, the most ancient of Hebrew capitals; and its position, according to Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.*, p. 240), "combined, in a union not elsewhere found in Palestine, strength, fertility, and beauty." Bethel, however, remained the religious metropolis of the kingdom, and the calf-worship of Jeroboam was maintained with increased determination and disregard of God's law (1 K. xvi. 26). At Samaria Omri reigned for six years more. He seems to have been a vigorous and unscrupulous ruler, anxious to strengthen his dynasty by intercourse and alliances with foreign states. Thus he made a treaty with Benhadad I., king of Damascus, though on very unfavourable conditions, surrendering to him some frontier cities (1 K. xx. 34), and among them probably Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 3), and admitting into Samaria a resident Syrian embassy, which is described by the expression "he made streets in Samaria" for Benhadad. (See the phrase more fully explained under AHAB.) As a part of the same system, he united his son in marriage to the daughter of a principal Phoenician prince, which led to the introduction into Israel of Baal-worship, and all its attendant calamities and crimes. This worldly and irreligious policy is denounced by Micah (vi. 16) under the name of the "statutes of Omri," which appear to be contrasted with the Lord's precepts to His people, "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." It achieved, however, a temporary success, for Omri left his kingdom in peace to his son Ahab; and his family, unlike the ephemeral dynasties which had preceded him, gave four kings to Israel, and occupied the throne for about half a century, till it was overthrown by the great reaction against Baal-worship under Jehu. The probable date of Omri's accession (*i. e.* of the deaths of Elah and Zimri) was B.C. 935; of Tibni's defeat and the beginning of Omri's sole reign B.C. 931, and of his death B.C. 919. [G. E. L. C.]

2. (Ἀμαριά.) One of the sons of Becher the son of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 8).

3. (Ἀμρί.) A descendant of Pharez the son of Judah (1 Chr. ix. 4).

4. (Ἀμβρί; Alex. Ἀμαρί.) Son of Michael, and chief of the tribe of Issachar in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 18).

ON (אוֹן: Αὐν; Alex. Αὐνάν: *Hon*). The son of Peleth, and one of the chiefs of the tribe of Reuben who took part with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in their revolt against Moses (Num. xvi. 1). His name does not again appear in the narrative of the conspiracy, nor is he alluded to when reference is made to the final catastrophe. Possibly he repented; and indeed there is a Rabbinical tradition to the effect that he was prevailed upon by his wife to withdraw from his accomplices. Abendana's note is, "behold On is not mentioned again, for he was separated from their company after Moses spake with them. And our Rabbis of blessed memory said that his wife saved him." Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 2, §2) omits the name of On, but retains that of his father in the form Φαλαοῦς, thus apparently identifying Peleth with Phallu, the son of Reuben. [W. A. W.]

ON (אוֹן, אֹן, אָוֶן: Ὤν, Ἡλιούπολις: *Heliopolis*), a town of Lower Egypt, which is mentioned in the Bible under at least two names, BETH-SHEMESH, בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ (Jer. xliii. 13), corresponding to the ancient Egyptian sacred name HA-RA, "the abode of the sun," and that above, corresponding to the common name AN, and perhaps also spoken of as Ir-ha-heres, עִיר הַהֶרֶס, or הַחֶרֶס—, the second part being, in this case, either the Egyptian sacred name, or else the Hebrew חֶרֶס, but we prefer to read "a city of destruction." [IR-HA-HERES.] The two names were known to the translator or translators of Exodus in the LXX. where On is explained to be Heliopolis (Ὢν ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλιούπολις, i. 11); but in Jeremiah this version seems to treat Beth-Shemesh as the name of a temple (τοὺς στύλους Ἡλιουπόλεως, τοὺς ἐν Ὤν, xliii. 13, LXX. l. 13). The Coptic version gives ϢⲚ as the equivalent of the names in the LXX., but whether as an Egyptian word or such a word Hebraicised can scarcely be determined.[b]

The ancient Egyptian common name is written AN, or AN-T, and perhaps ANU; but the essential part of the word is AN, and probably no more was pronounced. There were two towns called AN; Heliopolis, distinguished as the northern, AN-MEHEET, and Hermonthis, in Upper Egypt, as the southern, AN-RES (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. pp. 254, 255, Nos. 1217 *a*, *b*, 1218, 870, 1225). As to the meaning, we can say nothing certain. Cyril, who, as bishop of Alexandria, should be listened to on such a question, says that On signified the sun (Ὢν δέ ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος, *ad Hos.* p. 145), and the Coptic ⲞⲨⲰⲒⲚⲒ (M), ⲞⲨⲈⲒⲚ, ⲞⲨⲞⲈⲒⲚ (S), "light," has therefore been compared (see La Croze, *Lex.* pp. 71, 189), but the hieroglyphic form is UBEN, "shining," which has no connection with AN.

Heliopolis was situate on the east side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, just below the point of the Delta, and about twenty miles north-east of Memphis. It was before the Roman time the capital of the Heliopolite Nome, which was included in Lower Egypt. Now, its site is above the point of the Delta, which is the junction of the Phatnitic, or Damietta branch and the Bolbitine, or Rosetta, and about ten miles to the north-east of Cairo. The oldest monument of the town is the obelisk, which

[a] The LXX. read in 1 K. xvi. 22, καὶ ἀπέθανε Θαβνὶ καὶ Ἰωρὰμ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ. Ewald pronounces this an "offenbar ächter Zusatz."

[b] The latter is perhaps more probable, as the letter we represent by A is not commonly changed into the Coptic Ϣ, unless indeed one hieroglyphic form of the name should be read ANU, in which case the last vowel might have been transposed, and the first incorporated with it. Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.* i. 254) supposes AN and ON to be the same, "as the Egyptian A often had a sound intermediate between *a* and *o*." But this does not admit of the change of the *a* vowel to the long vowel *ω*, from which it was as distinct as from the other long vowel ΗΙ, respectively like א and ע ו, and י

was set up late in the reign of Sesertesen I., head of the 12th dynasty, dating B.C. cir. 2050. According to Manetho, the bull Mnevis was first worshipped here in the reign of Kaiechôs, second king of the 2nd dynasty (B.C. cir. 2400). In the earliest times it must have been subject to the 1st dynasty so long as their sole rule lasted, which was perhaps for no more than the reigns of Menes (B.C. cir. 2717) and Athothis: it doubtless next came under the government of the Memphites, of the 3rd (B.C. cir. 2640), 4th and 6th dynasties: it then passed into the hands of the Diospolites of the 12th dynasty, and the Shepherds of the 15th; but whether the former or the latter held it first, or it was contested between them, we cannot as yet determine. During the long period of anarchy that followed the rule of the 12th dynasty, when Lower Egypt was subject to the Shepherd kings, Heliopolis must have been under the government of the strangers. With the accession of the 18th dynasty, it was probably recovered by the Egyptians, during the war which Aahmes, or Amosis, head of that line, waged with the Shepherds, and thenceforward held by them, though perhaps more than once occupied by invaders (comp. Chabas, *Papyrus Magique Harris*), before the Assyrians conquered Egypt. Its position, near the eastern frontier, must have made it always a post of especial importance. [No-Amon.]

The chief object of worship at Heliopolis was the sun, under the forms RA, the sun simply, whence the sacred name of the place, HA-RA, "the abode of the sun," and ATUM, the setting sun, or sun of the nether world. Probably its chief temple was dedicated to both. SHU, the son of Atum, and TAFNET, his daughter, were also here worshipped, as well as the bull Mnevis, sacred to RA, Osiris, Isis, and the Phoenix, BENNU, probably represented by a living bird of the crane kind. (On the mythology see Brugsch, pp. 254 seqq.) The temple of the sun, described by Strabo (xvii. pp. 805, 806), is now only represented by the single beautiful obelisk, which is of red granite, 68 feet 2 inches high above the pedestal, and bears a dedication, showing that it was sculptured in or after his 30th year (cir. 2050) by Sesertesen I., first king of the 12th dynasty (B.C. cir. 2080-2045). There were probably far more than a usual number of obelisks before the gates of this temple, on the evidence of ancient writers, and the inscriptions of some yet remaining elsewhere, and no doubt the reason was that these monuments were sacred to the sun. Heliopolis was anciently famous for its learning, and Eudoxus and Plato studied under its priests; but, from the extent of the mounds, it seems to have been always a small town.

The first mention of this place in the Bible is in the history of Joseph, to whom we read Pharaoh gave "to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On" (Gen. xli. 45, comp. ver. 50, and xlvi. 20). Joseph was probably governor of Egypt under a king of the 15th dynasty, of which Memphis was, at least for a time, the capital. In this case he would doubtless have lived for part of the year at Memphis, and therefore near to Heliopolis. The name of Asenath's father was appropriate to a Heliopolite, and especially to a priest of that place (though according to some he may have been a prince), for it means "Belonging to Ra," or "the sun." The name of Joseph's master Potiphar is the same, but with a slight difference in the Hebrew orthography. According to the LXX. version, On was one of the cities built for Pharaoh by the oppressed Israelites, for it mentions three "strong cities" instead of the two "treasure cities" of the Heb., adding On to Pithom and Raamses (Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τῷ Φαραώ, τήν τε Πειθὼ, καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ, καὶ Ὤν, ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλιούπολις, Ex. i. 11). If it be intended that these cities were founded by the labour of the people, the addition is probably a mistake, although Heliopolis may have been ruined and rebuilt; but it is possible that they were merely fortified, probably as places for keeping stores. Heliopolis lay at no great distance from the land of Goshen and from Raamses, and probably Pithom also.

Isaiah has been supposed to speak of On when he prophecies that one of the five cities in Egypt that should speak the language of Canaan, should be called Ir-ha-heres, which may mean the City of the Sun, whether we take "heres" to be a Hebrew or an Egyptian word; but the reading "a city of destruction" seems preferable, and we have no evidence that there was any large Jewish settlement at Heliopolis, although there may have been at one time from its nearness to the town of Onias. [Ir-ha-heres; Onias.] Jeremiah speaks of On under the name Beth-shemesh, "the house of the sun," where he predicts of Nebuchadnezzar, "He shall break also the pillars [? מצבות, but, perhaps, statues, comp. Idol, i. 850*a*] of Beth-shemesh, that [is] in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire" (xliii. 13). By the word we have rendered "pillars," obelisks are reasonably supposed to be meant, for the number of which before the temple of the sun Heliopolis must have been famous, and perhaps by "the houses of the gods," the temples of this place are intended, as their being burnt would be a proof of the powerlessness of Ra and Atum, both forms of the sun, Shu the god of light, and Tafnet a fire-goddess, to save their dwellings from the very element over which they were supposed to rule.—Perhaps it was on account of the many false gods of Heliopolis, that, in Ezekiel, On is written Aven, by a change in the punctuation, if we can here depend on the Masoretic text, and so made to signify "vanity," and especially the vanity of idolatry. The prophet foretells, "The young men of Aven and of Pi-be-seth shall fall by the sword: and these [cities] shall go into captivity" (xxx. 17). Pi-beseth or Bubastis is doubtless spoken of with Heliopolis as in the same part of Egypt, and so to be involved in a common calamity at the same time when the land should be invaded.

After the age of the prophets we hear no more in Scripture of Heliopolis. Local tradition, however, points it out as a place where Our Lord and the Virgin came, when Joseph brought them into Egypt, and a very ancient sycamore is shown as a tree beneath which they rested. The Jewish settlements in this part of Egypt, and especially the town of Onias, which was probably only twelve miles distant from Heliopolis in a northerly direction, but a little to the eastward (*Modern Egypt and Thebes*, i. 297, 298), then flourished, and were nearer to Palestine than the heathen towns like Alexandria, in which there was any large Jewish population, so that there is much probability in this tradition. And, perhaps, Heliopolis itself may have had a Jewish quarter, although we do not know it to have been the Ir-ha-heres of Isaiah. [R. S. P.]

O'NAM (אוֹנָם: Ὠμάρ, Ὠνάν; Alex. Ὠμάς, Ὠνάμ: *Onam*). 1. One of the sons of Shobal the son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 23; 1 Chr. i. 40). Some Hebrew MSS. read "Onan."

2. (Ὀζόμ; Alex. Οὔνομα.) The son of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah (1 Chr. ii. 26, 28).

O'NAN (אוֹנָן: Αὐνάν: *Onan*). The second son of Judah by the Canaanitess, "the daughter of Shua" (Gen. xxxviii. 4; 1 Chr. ii. 3). On the death of Er the first-born, it was the duty of Onan, according to the custom which then existed and was afterwards established by a definite law (Deut. xxv. 5-10), continuing to the latest period of Jewish history (Mark xii. 19), to marry his brother's widow and perpetuate his race. But he found means to prevent the consequences of marriage, "and what he did was evil in the eyes of Jehovah, and He slew him also," as He had slain his elder brother (Gen. xxxviii. 9). His death took place before the family of Jacob went down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 12; Num. xxvi. 19). [W. A. W.]

ONE'SIMUS (Ὀνήσιμος: *Onesimus*) is the name of the servant or slave in whose behalf Paul wrote the Epistle to Philemon. He was a native, or certainly an inhabitant of Colossae, since Paul in writing to the Church there speaks of him (Col. iv. 9) as ὅς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν, "one of you." This expression confirms the presumption which his Greek name affords, that he was a Gentile, and not a Jew, as some have argued from μάλιστα ἐμοί in Phil. 16. Slaves were numerous in Phrygia, and the name itself of Phrygian was almost synonymous with that of slave. Hence it happened that in writing to the Colossians (iii. 22–iv. 1) Paul had occasion to instruct them concerning the duties of masters and servants to each other. Onesimus was one of this unfortunate class of persons, as is evident both from the manifest implication in οὐκέτι ὡς δοῦλον in Phil. 16, and from the general tenor of the epistle. There appears to have been no difference of opinion on this point among the ancient commentators, and there is none of any critical weight among the modern. The man escaped from his master and fled to Rome, where in the midst of its vast population he could hope to be concealed, and to baffle the efforts which were so often made in such cases for retaking the fugitive. (Walter, *Die Geschichte des Röm. Rechts*, ii. 63 sq.) It must have been to Rome that he directed his way, and not to Cesarea, as some contend; for the latter view stands connected with an indefensible opinion respecting the place whence the letter was written (see Neander's *Pflanzung*, ii. s. 506). Whether Onesimus had any other motive for the flight than the natural love of liberty, we have not the means of deciding. It has been very generally supposed that he had committed some offence, as theft or embezzlement, and feared the punishment of his guilt. But as the ground of that opinion we must know the meaning of ἠδίκησε in Phil. 18, which is uncertain, not to say inconsistent with any such imputation (see Notes in the *Epistle to Philemon*, by the American Bible Union, p. 60). Commentators at all events go entirely beyond the evidence when they assert (as Conybeare, *Life and Epistles of Paul*, ii. p. 467) that he belonged to the dregs of society, that he robbed his master, and confessed the sin to Paul. Though it may be doubted whether Onesimus heard the gospel for the first time at Rome, it is beyond question that he was led to embrace the gospel there through the apostle's instrumentality. The language in ver. 10 of the letter (ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου) is explicit on this point. As there were believers in Phrygia when the apostle passed through that region on his third missionary tour (Acts xviii. 23), and as Onesimus belonged to a Christian household (Phil. 2), it is not improbable that he knew something of the Christian doctrine before he went to Rome. How long a time elapsed between his escape and conversion, we cannot decide; for πρὸς ὥραν in the 15th verse, to which appeal has been made, is purely a relative expression, and will not justify any inference as to the interval in question.

After his conversion, the most happy and friendly relations sprung up between the teacher and the disciple. The situation of the apostle as a captive and an indefatigable labourer for the promotion of the gospel (Acts xxviii. 30, 31) must have made him keenly alive to the sympathies of Christian friendship and dependent upon others for various services of a personal nature, important to his efficiency as a minister of the word. Onesimus appears to have supplied this twofold want in an eminent degree. We see from the letter that he won entirely the apostle's heart, and made himself so useful to him in various private ways, or evinced such a capacity to be so (for he may have gone back to Colossae soon after his conversion), that Paul wished to have him remain constantly with him. Whether he desired his presence as a personal attendant or as a minister of the gospel, is not certain from ἵνα διακονῇ μοι in ver. 13 of the Epistle. Be this as it may, Paul's attachment to him as a disciple, as a personal friend, and as a helper to him in his bonds, was such that he yielded him up only in obedience to that spirit of self-denial, and that sensitive regard for the feelings or the rights of others, of which his conduct on this occasion displayed so noble an example.

There is but little to add to this account, when we pass beyond the limits of the New Testament. The traditionary notices which have come down to us, are too few and too late to amount to much as historical testimony. Some of the later fathers assert that Onesimus was set free, and was subsequently ordained Bishop of Beroea in Macedonia (*Constit. Apost.* 7, 46). The person of the same name mentioned as Bishop of Ephesus in the first epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians (Hefele, *Patrum Apost. Opp.*, p. 152) was a different person (see Winer, *Realw.* ii. 175). It is related also that Onesimus finally made his way to Rome again, and ended his days there as a martyr during the persecution under Nero. [H. B. H.]

ONESIPH'ORUS (Ὀνησίφορος) is named twice only in the N. T., viz., 2 Tim. i. 16-18, and iv. 19. In the former passage Paul mentions him in terms of grateful love, as having a noble courage and generosity in his behalf, amid his trials as a prisoner at Rome, when others from whom he expected better things had deserted him (2 Tim. iv. 16); and in the latter passage he singles out "the household of Onesiphorus" as worthy of a special greeting. It has been made a question whether this friend of the apostle was still living when the letter to Timothy was written, because in both instances Paul speaks of "the household" (in 2 Tim. i. 16, δῴη ἔλεος ὁ κύριος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, and not separately of Onesiphorus himself. If we infer that he was *not* living, then we have in 2 Tim. i. 18, almost an instance of the apostolic sanction of the practice of praying for the dead. But the probability is that other members of the family were also active Christians; and as Paul wished to remember them at the same time

he grouped them together under the comprehensive τὸν Ὀν. οἶκον (2 Tim. iv. 19), and thus delicately recognised the common merit, as a sort of family distinction. The mention of Stephanas in 1 Cor. xvi. 17, shows that we need not exclude him from the Στεφανᾶ οἶκον in 1 Cor. i. 16. It is evident from 2 Tim. i. 18 (ὅσα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διηκόνησε), that Onesiphorus had his home at Ephesus; though if we restrict the salutation near the close of the Epistle (iv. 19) to his family, he himself may possibly have been with Paul at Rome when the latter wrote to Timothy. Nothing authentic is known of him beyond these notices. According to a tradition in Fabricius (*Lux Evang.* p. 117), quoted by Winer (*Realw.* ii. 175), he became bishop of Corone in Messenia. [H. B. H.]

ONIA'RES (Ὀνιάρης), a name introduced into the Greek and Syriac texts of 1 Macc. xii. 20 by a very old corruption. The true reading is preserved in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, §10) and the Vulgate, (Ὀνίᾳ Ἀρεῖος, *Oniae Arius*), and is given in the margin of the A. V.

ONI'AS (Ὀνίας: *Onias*), the name of five high priests, of whom only two (1 and 3) are mentioned in the A. V., but an account of all is here given to prevent confusion. 1. The son and successor of Jaddua, who entered on the office about the time of the death of Alexander the Great, c. B.C. 330-309, or, according to Eusebius, 300. (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, §7). According to Josephus he was father of Simon the Just (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2, §4; Ecclus. l. 1). [Ecclesiasticus, vol. i. p. 479b; Simon.]

2. The son of Simon the Just (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, 1). He was a minor at the time of his father's death (c. B.C. 290), and the high-priesthood was occupied in succession by his uncles Eleazar and Manasseh to his exclusion. He entered on the office at last c. B.C. 240, and his conduct threatened to precipitate the rupture with Egypt, which afterwards opened the way for Syrian oppression. Onias, from avarice, it is said—a vice which was likely to be increased by his long exclusion from power—neglected for several years to remit to Ptol. Euergetes the customary annual tribute of 20 talents. The king claimed the arrears with threats of violence in case his demands were not satisfied. Onias still refused to discharge the debt, more, as it appears, from self-will than with any prospect of successful resistance. The evil consequences of this obstinacy were, however, averted by the policy of his nephew Joseph, the son of Tobias, who visited Ptolemy, urged the imbecility of Onias, won the favour of the king, and entered into a contract for farming the tribute, which he carried out with success. Onias retained the high-priesthood till his death, c. B.C. 226, when he was succeeded by his son Simon II. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4).

3. The son of Simon II., who succeeded his father in the high-priesthood, c. B.C. 198. In the interval which had elapsed since the government of his grandfather the Jews had transferred their allegiance to the Syrian monarchy (Dan. xi. 14), and for a time enjoyed tranquil prosperity. Internal dissensions furnished an occasion for the first act of oppression. Seleucus Philopator was informed by Simon, governor of the Temple, of the riches contained in the sacred treasury, and he made an attempt to seize them by force. At the prayer of Onias, according to the tradition (2 Macc. iii.), the sacrilege was averted; but the high-priest was obliged to appeal to the king himself for support against the machinations of Simon. Not long afterwards Seleucus died (B.C. 175), and Onias found himself supplanted in the favour of Antiochus Epiphanes by his brother Jason, who received the high-priesthood from the king. Jason, in turn, was displaced by his youngest brother Menelaus, who procured the murder of Onias (c. B.C. 171), in anger at the reproof which he had received from him for his sacrilege (2 Macc. iv. 32-38). But though his righteous zeal was thus fervent, the punishment which Antiochus inflicted on his murderer was a tribute to his "sober and modest behaviour" (2 Macc. iv. 37) after his deposition from his office. [Andronicus, vol. i. p. 67.]

It was probably during the government of Onias III. that the communication between the Spartans and Jews took place (1 Macc. xii. 19-23; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, §10). [Spartans.] How powerful an impression he made upon his contemporaries is seen from the remarkable account of the dream of Judas Maccabaeus before his great victory (2 Macc. xv. 12-16).

4. The youngest brother of Onias III., who bore the same name, which he afterwards exchanged for Menelaus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). [Menelaus.]

5. The son of Onias III., who sought a refuge in Egypt from the sedition and sacrilege which disgraced Jerusalem. The immediate occasion of his flight was the triumph of "the sons of Tobias," gained by the interference of Antiochus Epiphanes. Onias, to whom the high-priesthood belonged by right, appears to have supported throughout the alliance with Egypt (Jos. *B. J.* i. 1, §1), and receiving the protection of Ptol. Philometor, he endeavoured to give a unity to the Helleuistic Jews, which seemed impossible for the Jews in Palestine. With this object he founded the Temple at Leontopolis [On], which occupies a position in the history of the development of Judaism of which the importance is commonly overlooked: but the discussion of this attempt to consolidate Hellenism belongs to another place, though the connexion of the attempt itself with Jewish history could not be wholly overlooked (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3; *B. J.* i. 1, §1, vii. 10, §2; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 405 ff.; Herzfeld, *Gesch.* ii. 460 ff., 557 ff.). [B. F. W.]

The City of Onias, the Region of Onias, the city in which stood the temple built by Onias, and the region of the Jewish settlements in Egypt. Ptolemy mentions the city as the capital of the Heliopolite nome: Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός, καὶ μητρόπολις Ὀνίου (iv. 5, §53); where the reading Ἡλίου is not admissible, since Heliopolis is afterwards mentioned, and its different position distinctly laid down (§54). Josephus speaks of "the region of Onias," Ὀνίου χώρα (*Ant.* xiv. 8, §1; *B. J.* i. 9 §4; comp. vii. 10, §2), and mentions a place there situate called "the Camp of the Jews," Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον (*Ant.* xiv. 8, §2, *B. J.* l. c.). In the spurious letters given by him in the account of the foundation of the temple of Onias, it is made to have been at Leontopolis in the Heliopolite nome, and called a strong place of Bubastis (*Ant.* xiii. 3, §§1, 2); and when speaking of its closing by the Romans, he says that it was in a region 180 stadia from Memphis, in the Heliopolite nome, where Onias had founded a castle (lit. watch-post, φρούριον, *B. J.* vii. 10, §§2, 3, 4). Leontopolis was not in the Heliopolite nome, but in Ptolemy's time was the capital of the Leontopolite (iv. 5, §51), and the mention of it is altogether a blunder. There is probably also a confusion as to the city Bubastis;

unless, indeed, the temple which Onias adopted and restored were one of the Egyptian goddess of that name.

The site of the city of Onias is to be looked for in some one of those to the northward of Heliopolis which are called Tel-el-Yahood, "the Mound of the Jews," or Tel-el-Yahoodeeyeh, "the Jewish Mound." Sir Gardner Wilkinson thinks that there is little doubt that it is one which stands in the cultivated land near Shibbeen, to the northward of Heliopolis, in a direction a little to the east, at a distance of twelve miles. "Its mounds are of very great height." He remarks that the distance from Memphis (29 miles) is greater than that given by Josephus; but the inaccuracy is not extreme. Another mound of the same name, standing on the edge of the desert, a short distance to the south of Belbays, and 24 miles from Heliopolis, would, he thinks, correspond to the Vicus Judaeorum of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*. (See *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, i. pp. 297-300).

During the writer's residence in Egypt, 1842-1849, excavations were made in the mound supposed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson to mark the site of the city of Onias. We believe, writing only from memory, that no result was obtained but the discovery of portions of pavement very much resembling the Assyrian pavements now in the British Museum.

From the account of Josephus, and the name given to one of them, "the Camp of the Jews," these settlements appear to have been of a half-military nature. The chief of them seems to have been a strong place; and the same is apparently the case with another, that just mentioned, from the circumstances of the history even more than from its name. This name, though recalling the "Camp" where Psammetichus I. established his Greek mercenaries [MIGDOL], does not prove it was a military settlement, as the "Camp of the Tyrians" in Memphis (Her. ii. 112) was perhaps in its name a reminiscence of the Shepherd occupation, for there stood there a temple of "the Foreign Venus," of which the age seems to be shewn by a tablet of Amenoph II. (B.C. cir. 1400) in the quarries opposite the city in which Ashtoreth is worshipped, or else it may have been a merchant-settlement. We may also compare the Coptic name of El-Geezeh, opposite Cairo, ⲫⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲟⲓ, which has been ingeniously conjectured to record the position of a Persian camp. The easternmost part of Lower Egypt, be it remembered, was always chosen for great military settlements, in order to protect the country from the incursions of her enemies beyond that frontier. Here the first Shepherd king Salatis placed an enormous garrison in the stronghold Avaris, the Zoan of the Bible (Manetho, ap. Jos. c. Ap. i. 14). Here foreign mercenaries of the Saïte kings of the 26th dynasty were settled; where also the greatest body of the Egyptian soldiers had the lands allotted to them, all being established in the Delta (Her. ii. 164-166). Probably the Jewish settlements were established for the same purpose, more especially as the hatred of their inhabitants towards the kings of Syria would promise their opposing the strongest resistance in case of an invasion.

The history of the Jewish cities of Egypt is a very obscure portion of that of the Hebrew nation. We know little more than the story of the foundation and overthrow of one of them, though we may infer that they were populous and politically important. It seems at first sight remarkable that we have no trace of any literature of these settlements; but as it would have been preserved to us by either the Jews of Palestine or those of Alexandria, both of whom must have looked upon the worshippers at the temple of Onias as schismatics, it could scarcely have been expected to have come down to us. [R. S. P.]

ONIONS (בְּצָלִים, *betsâlim*: τὰ κρόμμυα: *caepe*). There is no doubt as to the meaning of the Hebrew word, which occurs only in Num xi. 5, as one of the good things of Egypt of which the Israelites regretted the loss. Onions have been from time immemorial a favourite article of food amongst the Egyptians. (See Her. ii. 125; Plin. xxxvi. 12.) The onions of Egypt are much milder in flavour and less pungent than those of this country. Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 290) says, "Whoever has tasted onions in Egypt must allow that none can be had better in any other part in the universe. here they are sweet; in other countries they are nauseous and strong.....They eat them roasted, cut into four pieces, with some bits of roasted meat which the Turks in Egypt call *kebab*; and with this dish they are so delighted that I have heard them wish they might enjoy it in Paradise. They likewise make a soup of them." [W. H.]

ONO (אוֹנוֹ, and once אֹנוֹ: in Chron. Αδά, Alex. Αδαμ; elsewhere Ωνῶν[a] and Ωνώ, Alex. Ωνω: *Ono*). One of the towns of Benjamin. It does not appear in the catalogues of the Book of Joshua, but is first found in 1 Chr. viii. 12, where Shamed or Shamer is said to have built Ono and Lod with their "daughter villages." It was therefore probably annexed by the Benjamites subsequently to their original settlement,[b] like Aijalon, which was allotted to Dan, but is found afterwards in the hands of the Benjamites (1 Chr. viii. 13). The men of Lod, Hadid, and Ono, to the number of 725 (or Neh. 721) returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37; see also 1 Esdr. v. 22). [ONUS.]

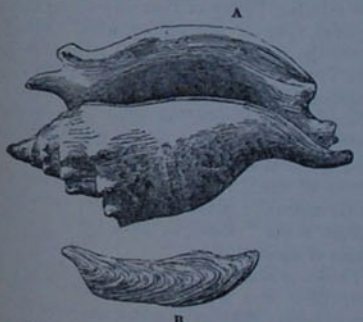
A plain was attached to the town, and bore its name—*Bikath-Ono*, "the plain of Ono" (Neh. vi. 2), perhaps identical with the "valley of craftsmen" (Neh. xi. 36). By Eusebius and Jerome it is not named. The Rabbis frequently mention it, but without any indication of its position further than that it was three miles from Lod. (See the citations from the Talmud in Lightfoot, *Chor. Decad on S. Mark*, ch. ix. §3.) A village called *Kefr 'Ana* is enumerated by Robinson among the places in the districts of *Ramleh* and *Lydd* (*B. R.* 1st ed. App. 120, 121). This village, almost due N. of *Lydd*, is suggested by Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 337) as identical with Ono. Against the identification however are, the difference in the names—the modern one containing the *Ain*;—and the distance from Lydda, which instead of being 3 milliaria is fully 5, being more than 4 English miles according to Van de Velde's map. Winer remarks that *Beit Unia* is more suitable as far as its orthography is concerned; but on the other hand *Beit Unia* is much too far distant from *Lŭdd* to meet the requirements of the passages quoted above. [G.]

[a] In Neh. vi. 2 the Vat. MS., according to Mai, reads ἐν πεδίῳ ἐν ᾧ . . .

[b] The tradition of the Talmudists is that it was left intact by Joshua, but burnt during the war of Gibeah (Judg. xx. 48), and that 1 Chr. viii. 12 describes its restoration. (See Targum on this latter passage.)

ONUS (Ὠνούς: om. in Vulg.). The form in which the name ONO appears in 1 Esd. v. 22.

ONYCHA (שְׁחֶלֶת,[a] *shechéleth*: ὄνυξ: *onyx*) according to many of the old versions denotes the operculum of some species of *Strombus*, a genus of gasteropodous Mollusca. The Hebrew word, which appears to be derived from a root which means "to shell or peel off," occurs only in Ex. xxx. 34, as one of the ingredients of the sacred perfume; in Eccles. xxiv. 15, Wisdom is compared to the pleasant odour yielded by "galbanum, onyx, and sweet storax." There can be little doubt that the ὄνυξ of Dioscorides (ii. 10), and the *onyx* of Pliny (xxxii. 10), are identical with the operculum of a *Strombus*, perhaps *S. lentiginosus*. There is frequent mention of the *onyx* in the writings of Arabian authors, and it would appear from them that the operculum of several kinds of Strombus were prized as perfumes. The following is Dioscorides' description of the ὄνυξ: "The onyx is the operculum of a shell-fish resembling the *purpura*, which is found in India in the nard-producing lakes; it is odorous, because the shell-fish feed on the nard, and is collected after the heat has dried up the marshes: that is the best kind which comes from the Red Sea, and is whitish and shining; the Babylonian kind is dark and smaller than the other; both have a sweet odour when burnt, something like castoreum." It is not easy to see what Dioscorides can mean by "nard-producing lakes." The ὄνυξ, "nail," or "claw," seems to point to the operculum of the *Strombidae*, which is of a claw shape and serrated, whence the Arabs call the mollusc "the devil's claw;"



A. *Strombus Dianae.* B. *The Operculum.*

the *Unguis odoratus*, or *Blatta byzantina*,—for under both these terms apparently the devil claw (*Teufelsklau* of the Germans, see Winer, *Realw.* s. v.) is alluded to in old English writers on Materia Medica—has by some been supposed no longer to exist. Dr. Lister laments its loss, believing it to have been a good medicine "from its strong aromatic smell." Dr. Gray of the British Museum, who has favoured us with some remarks on this subject, says that the opercula of the different kinds of *Strombidae* agree with the figures of *Blatta byzantina* and *Unguis odoratus* in the old books; with regard to the odour he writes—"The horny operculum when burnt all emit an odour which some may call sweet according to their fancy." Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 797) believes some kind of bdellium is intended; but there can be no doubt that the ὄνυξ of the LXX. denotes the operculum of some one or more species of Strombus. For further information on this subject see Rumph (*Amboinische Raritäten-Kammer*, cap. xvii. p. 48, the German ed. Vienna, 1766), and compare also Sprengel (*Comment. ad* Dioscor. ii. 10); Forskål (*Desc. Anim.* 143, 21, "Unguis odoratus"), *Philos. Transac.* (xvii. 641); Johnston (*Introd. to Conchol.* p. 77); and Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. שְׁחֶלֶת).[b] [W. H.]

ONYX (שֹׁהַם, *shôham*: ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος, σμάραγδος, σάρδιος, σάπφειρος, βηρύλλιον, ὄνυξ; Aq. σαρδόνυξ; Symm. and Theod. ὄνυξ and ὄνυξ: *onychinus* (*lapis*), *sardonychus*, *onyx*). The A. V. uniformly renders the Hebrew *shôham* by "onyx;" the Vulgate too is consistent with itself, the *sardonyx* (Job xxviii. 16) being merely a variety of the *onyx*; but the testimonies of ancient interpreters generally are, as Gesenius has remarked, diverse and ambiguous. The *shôham* stone is mentioned (Gen. ii. 12) as a product of the land of Havilah. Two of these stones, upon which were engraven the names of the children of Israel, six on either stone, adorned the shoulders of the high-priest's ephod (Ex. xxviii. 9-12), and were to be worn as "stones of memorial" (see Kalisch on Ex. *l. c.*). A *shôham* was also the second stone in the fourth row of the sacerdotal breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 20). *Shôham* stones were collected by David for adorning the Temple (1 Chr. xxix. 2). In Job xxviii. 16, it is said that wisdom "cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the [a]precious *shôham* or the sapphire." The *shôham* is mentioned as one of the treasures of the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). There is nothing in the contexts of the several passages where the Hebrew term occurs to help us to determine its signification. Braun (*De Vest. sac. Heb.* p. 727) has endeavoured to shew that the sardonyx is the stone indicated, and his remarks are well worthy of careful perusal. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5, and

[a] שחל, an unused root, *i. q.* سحل; whence probably our word "shell," "scale." (See Gesenius, *s. v.*)

[b] Since the above was written, we have been favoured with a communication from Mr. Daniel Hanbury, on the subject of the *Blatta Byzantina* of old Pharmacological writers, as well as with specimens of the substance itself, which it appears is still found in the bazaars of the East, though not now in much demand. Mr. Hanbury procured some specimens in Damascus in October (1860), and a friend of his bought some in Alexandria a few months previously. The article appears to be always mixed with the opercula of some species of *Murex*. As regards the perfume ascribed to this substance, it does not appear to us, from a specimen we burnt, to deserve the character of the excellent odour which has been ascribed to it, though it is not without an aromatic scent. See a figure of the true *B. Byzant.* in Matthiolus' *Comment. in Dioscor.* (ii. 8), where there is a long discussion on the subject; also a fig. of *Blatta Byzantina* and the operculum of *Fusus* in Pomet's *Histoire des Drogues*, 1694, part 2, p. 97. "Mansfield Parkyns," writes Mr. Hanbury, "in his *Life in Abyssinia* (vol. i. p. 419), mentions among the exports from Massowah, a certain article called *Doofu*, which he states is the *operculum* of a shell, and that it is used in Nubia as a perfume, being burnt with sandal-wood. This bit of information is quite confirmatory of Forskål's statement concerning the *Dofr el afrit*—(Is not Parkyns's "Doofu" meant for *dofr*, ضفر?)—namely, "e Mochha per Scés. Arabes etiam afferunt. Nigritis fumigatorium est."

[a] The Rev. C. W. King writes to us that "a large, perfect sardonyx is still precious. A dealer tells me he saw this summer (1861) in Paris one valued at 1000*l.*, not engraved."

B. J. v. 5, §7) expressly states that the shoulder-stones of the high-priest were formed of two large sardonyxes, an onyx being, in his description, the second stone in the fourth row of the breastplate. Some writers believe that the "beryl" is intended, and the authority of the LXX. and other versions has been adduced in proof of this interpretation; but a glance at the head of this article will shew that the LXX. is most inconsistent, and that nothing can, in consequence, be learnt from it. Of those who identify the *shôham* with the beryl are Bellermann (*Die Urim und Thummim*, p. 64), Winer (*Bib. Realwoert.* i. 333), and Rosenmüller (*The Mineralogy of the Bible*, p. 40, *Bib. Cab.*). Other interpretations of *shôham* have been proposed, but all are mere conjectures. Braun traces *shôham* to the Arabic *sachma*, "blackness": "Of such a colour," says he, "are the Arabian sardonyxes, which have a black ground-colour." This agrees essentially with Mr. King's remarks (*Antique Gems*, p. 9): "The Arabian species," he says, "were formed of black or blue strata, covered by one of opaque white; over which again was a third of a vermilion colour." But Gesenius and Fürst refer the Hebrew word to the Arabic *saham*, "to be pale." The different kinds of onyx and sardonyx,[b] however, are so variable in colour, that either of these definitions is suitable. They all form excellent materials for the engraver's art. The balance of authority is, we think, in favour of some variety of the onyx. We are content to retain the rendering of the A. V., supported as it is by the Vulgate and the express statement of so high an authority as Josephus,[c] till better proofs in support of the claims of some other stone be forthcoming. As to the "onyx" of Ecclus. xxiv. 15, see ONYCHA. [W. H.]

OPHEL (הָעֹפֶל, always with the def. article: Ὀπέλ, ὁ Ὤφλ; Alex. ὁ Οφλα: *Ophel*). A part of ancient Jerusalem. The name is derived by the lexicographers from a root of similar sound, which has the force of a swelling or tumour (Gesenius, *Thes.*; Fürst, *Hdwb.* ii. 169b). It does not come forward till a late period of Old Test. history. In 2 Chr. xxvii. 3, Jotham is said to have built much "on the wall of Ophel." Manasseh, amongst his other defensive works, "compassed about Ophel" (*Ibid.* xxxiii. 14). From the catalogue of Nehemiah's repairs to the wall of Jerusalem, it appears to have been near the "water-gate" (Neh. iii. 26) and the "great tower that lieth out" (ver. 27). Lastly, the former of these two passages, and Neh. xi. 21, shew that Ophel was the residence of the Levites. It is not again mentioned, though its omission in the account of the route round the walls at the sanctification of the second Temple, Neh. xii. 31-40, is singular.

In the passages of his history parallel to those quoted above, Josephus either passes it over altogether, or else refers to it in merely general terms—"very large towers" (*Ant.* ix. 11, §2), "very high towers" (x. 3, §2). But in his account of the last days of Jerusalem he mentions it four times as Ophla (ὁ Ὀφλᾶ, accompanying it as in the Hebrew with the article). The first of these (*B. J.* ii. 17, §9) tells nothing as to its position; but from the other three we can gather something. (1.) The old wall of Jerusalem ran above the spring of Siloam and the pool of Solomon, and on reaching the place called Ophla, joined the eastern porch of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 4, §2). (2.) "John held the Temple and the places round it, not a little in extent,—both the Ophla and the valley called Kedron" (*Ib.* v. 6, §1). (3.) After the capture of the Temple, and before Titus had taken the upper city (the modern Zion) from the Jews, his soldiers burnt the whole of the lower city, lying in the valley between the two, "and the place called the Ophla" (*Ib.* vi. 6, §3).

From this it appears that Ophel was outside the south wall of the Temple, and that it lay between the central valley of the city, which debouches above the spring of Siloam, on the one hand, and the east portico of the Temple on the other. The east portico, it should be remembered, was not on the line of the east wall of the present *haram*, but 330 feet further west, on the line of the solid wall which forms the termination of the vaults in the eastern corner. [See JERUSALEM, vol. i. p. 1020; and the Plan, 1022.] This situation agrees with the mention of the "water-gate" in Neh. iii. 26, and the statement of xi. 21, that it was the residence of the Levites. Possibly the "great tower that lieth out," in the former of these may be the "tower of Eder"—mentioned with "Ophel of the daughter of Zion," by Micah (iv. 8), or that named in an obscure passage of Isaiah—"Ophel and watch tower" (xxxii. 14; A. V. inaccurately "forts and towers").

Ophel, then, in accordance with the probable root of the name, was the swelling declivity by which the Mount of the Temple slopes off on its southern side into the Valley of Hinnom—a long narrowish rounded spur or promontory, which intervenes between the mouth of the central valley of Jerusalem (the Tyropoeon) and the Kidron, or Valley of Jehoshaphat. Halfway down it on its eastern face is the "Fount of the Virgin," so called; and at its foot the lower outlet of the same spring—the Pool of Siloam. How much of this declivity was covered with the houses of the Levites, or with the suburb which would naturally gather round them, and where the "great tower" stood we have not at present the means of ascertaining.[a]

Professor Stanley (*Sermons on the Apostolic Age*, 329, 330) has ingeniously conjectured that the name Oblias (Ὠβλίας)—which was one of the titles by which St. James the Less was distinguished from other Jacobs of the time, and which is explained by Hegesippos (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23) as meaning "bulwark (περιοχή) of the people,"—was in its original form Ophli-am[b] (עָפְלִיעָם). In this connexion it is a singular coincidence that St. James was martyred by being thrown from the corner of the Temple, at, or close to, the very spot which is named by Josephus as the boundary of Ophel. [JAMES, vol. i. 924, 5; EN-ROGEL, 558*a*.] Ewald, however (*Geschichte*, vi. 204 *note*), restores the name as חֹבְלִיעָם, as if from חֶבֶל, a fence or boundary. [CHEBEL.] This has in its favour the fact that it more closely

[b] The onyx has two strata, the sardonyx three.

[c] "Who speaks from actual observation: he expressly notices the fine quality of these two pieces of sardonyx."—[C. W. KING.]

[a] Fürst (*Hdwb.* ii. 169) states, without a word that could lead a reader to suspect that there was any doubt on the point, that Ophel is identical with Millo. It may be so, only there is not a particle of evidence for or against it.

[b] Some of the MSS. of Eusebius have the name Oblaam (Ὠβλεάμ), preserving the termination, though they corrupt the former part of the word.

agrees in signification with περιοχή than Ophel does.

The Ophel which appears to have been the residence of Elisha at the time of Naaman's visit to him (2 K. v. 24; A. V. "the tower") was of course a different place from that spoken of above. The narrative would seem to imply that it was not far from Samaria; but this is not certain. The LXX. and Vulg. must have read אֹפֶל, "darkness," for they give τὸ σκοτεινόν and *vesperi* respectively. [G.]

OPHIR (אוֹפִיר, אוֹפִר: Ὀυφείρ: *Ophir*). **1.** The eleventh in order of the sons of Joktan, coming immediately after Sheba (Gen. x. 29; 1 Chr. i. 23). So many important names in the genealogical table in the 10th chapter of Genesis—such as Sidon, Canaan, Asshur, Aram (Syria), Mizraim (the two Egypts, Upper and Lower), Sheba, Caphtorim, and Philistim (the Philistines)—represent the name of some city, country, or people, that it is reasonable to infer that the same is the case with all the names in the table. It frequently happens that a father and his sons in the genealogy represent districts geographically contiguous to each other; yet this is not an invariable rule, for in the case of Tarshish the son of Javan (ver. 10), and of Nimrod the son of Cush, whose kingdom was Babel or Babylon (ver. 11), a son was conceived as a distant colony or offshoot. But there is one marked peculiarity in the sons of Joktan, which is common to them with the Canaanites alone, that precise geographical limits are assigned to their settlements. Thus it is said (ver. 19) that the border of the Canaanites was "from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest, unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha:" and in like manner (ver. 29, 30) that the dwelling of the sons of Joktan was "from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar a mountain of the east." The peculiar wording of these geographical limits, and the fact that the well-known towns which define the border of the Canaanites are mentioned so nearly in the same manner, forbid the supposition that Mesha and Sephar belonged to very distant countries, or were comparatively unknown: and as many of the sons of Joktan—such as Sheba, Hazarmaveth, Almodad, and others—are by common consent admitted to represent settlements in Arabia, it is an obvious inference that *all* the settlements corresponding to the names of the other sons are to be sought for in the same peninsula alone. Hence, as Ophir is one of those sons, it may be regarded as a fixed point in discussions concerning the place Ophir mentioned in the book of Kings, that the author of the 10th chapter of Genesis regarded Ophir the son of Joktan as corresponding to some city, region, or tribe in *Arabia*.

Etymology.—There is, seemingly, no sufficient reason to doubt that the word Ophir is Semitic, although, as is the case with numerous proper names known to be of Hebrew origin, the precise word does not occur as a common name in the Bible. See the words from אפר and עפר in Gesenius's *Thesaurus*, and compare Ἀφαρ, the metropolis of the Sabaeans in the Periplus, attributed to Arrian. Gesenius suggests that it means a "fruitful region," if it is Semitic. Baron von Wrede, who explored Hadhramaut in Arabia in 1843 (*Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, vol. xiv. p. 110), made a small vocabulary of Himyaritic words in the vernacular tongue, and amongst these he gives *ofir* as signifying *red*. He says that the Mahra people call themselves the tribes of the red country (*ofir*), and call the Red Sea, *bahr ofir*. If this were so, it might have somewhat of the same relation to *aphar*, "dust" or "dry ground" (א and ע being interchangeable), that *adom*, "red," has to *adamah*, "the ground." Still it is unsafe to accept the use of a word of this kind on the authority of any one traveller, however accurate; and the supposed existence and meaning of a word *ofir* is recommended for special inquiry to any future traveller in the same district.

2. (Σουφίρ and Σωφίρ; *Ophira*, 1 K. ix. 28, x. 11; 2 Chr. viii. 18, ix. 10: in 1 K. ix. 28 the translation of the LXX. is εἰς Σωφιρὰ, though the ending in the original merely denotes motion towards Ophir, and is no part of the name.) A seaport or region from which the Hebrews in the time of Solomon obtained gold, in vessels which went thither in conjunction with Tyrian ships from Ezion-geber, near Elath, on that branch of the Red Sea which is now called the Gulf of Akabah. The gold was proverbial for its fineness, so that "gold of Ophir" is several times used as an expression for fine gold (Ps. xlv. 10; Job xxviii. 16; Is. xiii. 12; 1 Chr. xxix. 4); and in one passage (Job xxii. 24) the word "Ophir" by itself is used for gold of Ophir, and for gold generally. In Jer. x. 9 and Dan. x. 5 it is thought by Gesenius and others that Ophir is intended by the word "Uphaz"—there being a very trifling difference between the words in Hebrew when written without the vowel-points. In addition to gold, the vessels brought from Ophir almug-wood and precious stones.

The precise geographical situation of Ophir has long been a subject of doubt and discussion. Calmet (*Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. "Ophir") regarded it as in Armenia; Sir Walter Raleigh (*History of the World*, book i. ch. 8) thought it was one of the Molucca Islands; and Arias Montanus (Bochart, *Phaleg*, Pref. and ch. 9), led by the similarity of the word Parvaim, supposed to be identical with Ophir (2 Chr. iii. 6), found it in Peru.[a] But these countries, as well as Iberia and Phrygia, cannot now be viewed as affording matter for serious discussion on this point, and the three opinions which have found supporters in our own time were formerly represented, amongst other writers, by Huet (*Sur le Commerce et la Navigation des Anciens*, p. 59), by Bruce (*Travels*, book ii. c. 4), and by the historian Robertson (*Disquisition respecting Ancient India*, sect. 1), who placed Ophir in Africa; by Vitringa (*Geograph. Sacra*, p. 114) and Reland (*Dissertatio de Ophir*), who placed it in India; and by Michaelis (*Spicilegium*, ii. 184), Niebuhr, the traveller (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 253), Gossellin (*Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, ii. 99), and Vincent (*History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, ii. 265-270), who

[a] This strange idea of one of the most learned Spaniards of his time (b. 1527, A.D., d. 1598) accounts for the following passage in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, Act. ii. Sc. 1:

"Come on, sir; now you set your foot on shore
In Novo Orbe.—Here's the rich Peru;
And there within, sir, are the golden mines,
Great Solomon's Ophir."

Arias Montanus fancied that Parvaim meant, in the dual number, two Perus; one Peru Proper, and the other New Spain (פַּרְוַיִם פרו).

placed it in Arabia. Of other distinguished geographical writers, Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 27) admitted two Ophirs, one in Arabia and one in India, *i. e.* at Ceylon; while D'Anville (*Dissertation sur le Pays d'Ophir, Mémoires de Littérature*, xxx. 83), equally admitting two, placed one in Arabia and one in Africa. In our own days the discussion has been continued by Gesenius, who in articles on Ophir in his *Thesaurus* (p. 141), and in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopaedie* (*s. v.*) stated that the question lay between India and Arabia, assigned the reasons to be urged in favour of each of these countries, but declared the arguments for each to be so equally balanced that he refrained from expressing any opinion of his own on the subject. M. Quatremère, however, in a paper on Ophir which was printed in 1842 in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, again insisted on the claims of Africa (*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, t. xv. ii. 362); and in his valuable work on Ceylon (part vii. chap. 1) Sir J. Emerson Tennant adopts the opinion, sanctioned by Josephus, that Malacca was Ophir. Otherwise the two countries which have divided the opinions of the learned have been India and Arabia—Lassen, Ritter, Bertheau (*Exeget. Handbuch*, 2 Chr. viii. 18), Thenius (*Exeget. Handbuch*, 1 K. x. 22), and Ewald (*Geschichte*, iii. 347, 2nd ed.) being in favour of India, while Winer (*Realw.* s. v.), Fürst (*Hebr. und Chald. Handw.* s. v.), Knobel (*Völkertafel der Genesis*, p. 190), Forster (*Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 161-167), Crawfurd (*Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, s. v.), and Kalisch (*Commentary on Genesis*, chap. "The Genealogy of Nations") are in favour of Arabia. The fullest treatise on the question is that of Ritter, who in his *Erdkunde*, vol. xiv., published in 1848, devoted 80 octavo pages to the discussion (pp. 351-431), and adopted the opinion of Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* i. 529) that Ophir was situated at the mouth of the Indus.

Some general idea of the arguments which may be advanced in favour of each of the three countries may be derived from the following statement. In favour of Arabia, there are these considerations:—1st. The 10th chapter of Genesis ver. 29, contains what is equivalent to an intimation of the author's opinion, that Ophir was in Arabia. [OPHIR 1.] 2ndly. Three places in Arabia may be pointed out, the names of which agree sufficiently with the word Ophir: viz., Aphar, called by Ptolemy Sapphara, now Zafár or Saphar, which, according to the Periplus ascribed to Arrian, was the metropolis of the Sabaeans, and was distant twelve days' journey from the emporium Muza on the Red Sea; Doffir, a city mentioned by Niebuhr the traveller (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 219), as a considerable town of Yemen, and capital of Bellad Hadsje, situated to the north of Loheià, and 15 leagues from the sea; and Zafar or Zafári [ARABIA, p. 92] (Sepher, Dhafar) now Dofar, a city on the southern coast of Arabia, visited in the 14th century by Ibn Batuta, the Arabian traveller, and stated by him to be a month's journey by land from Aden, and a month's voyage, when the wind was fair, from the Indian shores (Lee's *Translation*, p. 57). 3rdly. In antiquity, Arabia was represented as a country producing gold by four writers at least: viz., by the geographer Agatharchides, who lived in the 2nd century before Christ (in Photius 250, and Hudson's *Geograph. Minores*, i. 60); by the geographer Artemidorus, who lived a little later, and whose account has been preserved, and, as it were, adopted by the geographer Strabo (xiv. 18); by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 50, iii. 44); and by Pliny the Elder (vi. 32). 4thly. Eupolemus, a Greek historian, who lived before the Christian aera, and who, besides other writings, wrote a work respecting the kings of Judaea, expressly states, as quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* ix. 30), that Ophir was an island with gold mines in the Erythraean Sea (**Οὐρφῆ**, comp. **Οὐφειρ**, the LXX. Translation in Gen. x. 29), and that David sent miners thither in vessels which he caused to be built at Aeziongeber = Elath. Now it is true that the name of the Erythraean Sea was deemed to include the Persian Gulf, as well as the Red Sea, but it was always regarded as closely connected with the shores of Arabia, and cannot be shown to have been extended to India. 5thly. On the supposition that, notwithstanding all the ancient authorities on the subject, gold really never existed either in Arabia, or in any island along its coasts, Ophir was an Arabian emporium, into which gold was brought as an article of commerce, and was exported into Judaea. There is not a single passage in the Bible inconsistent with this supposition; and there is something like a direct intimation that Ophir was in Arabia.

While such is a general view of the arguments for Arabia, the following considerations are urged in behalf of India. 1st. Sofir is the Coptic word for India; and Sophir, or Sophira is the word used for the place Ophir by the Septuagint translators, and likewise by Josephus. And Josephus positively states that it was a part of India (*Ant.* viii. 6, §4), though he places it in the Golden Chersonese, which was the Malay peninsula, and belonged, geographically, not to India proper, but to India beyond the Ganges. Moreover, in three passages of the Bible where the Septuagint has **Σωφιρά** or **Σουφίρ**, 1 K. ix. 28, x. 11; Is. xiii. 12, Arabian translators have used the word *India*. 2ndly. All the three imports from Ophir, gold, precious stones, and almug wood, are essentially Indian. Gold is found in the sources of the Indus and the Cabool River before their juncture at Attock; in the Himalaya mountains, and is a portion of the Deccan, especially at Cochin. India has in all ages been celebrated for its precious stones of all kinds. And sandal-wood, which the best modern Hebrew scholars regard as the almug-wood of the Bible, is almost exclusively, or at any rate pre-eminently, a product of the coast of Malabar. 3rdly. Assuming that the ivory, peacocks, and apes, which were brought to Ezion-geber once in three years by the navy of Tharshish in conjunction with the navy of Hiram (1 K. x. 22), were brought from Ophir, they also collectively point to India rather than Arabia. Moreover, etymologically, not one of these words in the Hebrew is of Hebrew or Semitic origin; one being connected with Sanscrit, another with the Tamil, and another with the Malay language. [TARSHISH.] 4thly. Two places in India may be specified, agreeing to a certain extent in name with Ophir; one at the mouths of the Indus, where Indian writers placed a people named the Abhíra, agreeing with the name **Σαβείρια** of the geographer Ptolemy; and the other, the **Σουπάρα** of Ptolemy, the **Σοππάρα** of Arrian's Periplus, where the town of Goa is now situated, on the western coast of India.

Lastly, the following pleas have been urged in behalf of Africa. 1st. Of the three countries, Africa, Arabia, and India, Africa is the only one which can be seriously regarded as containing districts which have supplied gold in any

great quantity. Although, as a statistical fact, gold has been found in parts of India, the quantity is so small, that India has never supplied gold to the commerce of the world; and in modern times no gold at all, nor any vestiges of exhausted mines have been found in Arabia. 2ndly. On the western coast of Africa, near Mozambique, there is a port called by the Arabians Sofala, which, as the liquids *l* and are *r* are easily interchanged, was probably the Ophir of the Ancients. When the Portuguese, in A.D. 1500, first reached it by the Cape of Good Hope, it was the emporium of the gold district in the interior; and two Arabian vessels laden with gold were actually off Sofala[b] at the time (see *Cadamusto*, cap. 58). 3rdly. On the supposition that the passage, 1 K. x. 22, applies to Ophir, Sofala has still stronger claims in preference to India. Peacocks, indeed, would not have been brought from it; but the peacock is too delicate a bird for a long voyage in small vessels, and the word *tukkiyim*, probably signified "parrots." At the same time, ivory and apes might have been supplied in abundance from the district of which Sofala was the emporium. On the other hand, if Ophir had been in India, other Indian productions might have been expected in the list of imports; such as shawls, silk, rich tissues of cotton, perfumes, pepper, and cinnamon. 4thly. On the same supposition respecting 1 K. x. 22, it can, according to the traveller Bruce, be proved by the laws of the monsoons in the Indian Ocean, that Ophir was at Sofala; inasmuch as the voyage to Sofala from Ezion-geber would have been performed exactly in three years; it could not have been accomplished in less time, and it would not have required more (vol. i. p. 440).

From the above statement of the different views which have been held respecting the situation of Ophir, the suspicion will naturally suggest itself that no positive conclusion can be arrived at on the subject. And this seems to be true, in this sense, that the Bible in all its direct notices of Ophir as a place does not supply sufficient data for an independent opinion on this disputed point. At the same time, it is an inference in the highest degree probable, that the author of the 10th chapter of Genesis regarded Ophir as in Arabia; and, in the absence of conclusive proof that he was mistaken, it seems most reasonable to acquiesce in his opinion.

To illustrate this view of the question it is desirable to examine closely all the passages in the historical books which mention Ophir by name. These are only five in number: three in the Books of Kings, and two in the Books of Chronicles. The latter were probably copied from the former; and, at any rate, do not contain any additional information; so that it is sufficient to give a reference to them, 2 Chron. viii. 18, ix. 10. The three passages in the Books of Kings, however, being short, will be set out at length. The first passage is as follows: it is in the history of the reign of Solomon. "And king Solomon made a navy ships at Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon," 1 K. ix. 26-29. The next passage is in the succeeding chapter, and refers to the same reign. "And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug-trees and precious stones," 1 K. x. 11. The third passage relates to the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and is as follows: "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they went not: for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber," 1 K. xxii. 48. In addition to these three passages, the following verse on the Book of Kings has very frequently been referred to Ophir: "For the king (*i. e.* Solomon) had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks," 1 K. x. 22. But there is not sufficient evidence to show that the fleet mentioned in this verse was identical with the fleet mentioned in 1 K. ix. 26-29, and 1 K. x. 11, as bringing gold, almug-trees, and precious stones from Ophir; and if, notwithstanding, the identity of the two is admitted as a probable conjecture, there is not the slightest evidence that the fleet went *only* to Ophir, and that therefore the silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks must have come from Ophir. Indeed, the direct contrary might be inferred, even on the hypothesis of the identity of the two fleets, inasmuch as the actual mention of Ophir is distinctly confined to the imports of gold, almug-trees, and precious stones, and the compiler might seem carefully to have distinguished between it and the country from which silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks were imported. Hence, without referring farther to the passage in 1 K. x. 22, we are thrown back, for the purpose of ascertaining the situation of Ophir, to the three passages from the Book of Kings which were first set forth. And if those three passages are carefully examined, it will be seen that all the information given respecting Ophir is, that it was a place or region, accessible by sea from Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, from which imports of gold, almug-trees, and precious stones were brought back by the Tyrian and Hebrew sailors. No data whatever are given as to the distance of Ophir from Ezion-geber; no information direct or indirect, or even the slightest hint, is afforded for determining whether Ophir was the name of a town, or the name of a district; whether it was an emporium only, or the country which actually produced the three articles of traffic. Bearing in mind the possibility of its being an emporium, there is no reason why it may not have been either in Arabia, or on the Persian coast, or in India, or in Africa; but there is not sufficient evidence for deciding in favour of one of these suggestions rather than of the others.

Under these circumstances it is well to revert to the 10th chapter of Genesis. It has been shown [OPHIR 1] to be reasonably certain that the author of that chapter regarded Ophir as the name of some city, region, or tribe in Arabia. And it is almost equally certain that the Ophir of Genesis is the Ophir of the Book of Kings. There is no mention, either in the Bible or elsewhere, of any other Ophir;

[b] Mr. Grove has pointed out a passage in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, xi. 399-401, favouring this Sofala:—

"Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm
Of Congo and Angola farthest south."

Milton followed a passage in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, page 1022 of the 2nd volume, published in 1625; and all the modern geographical names in vv. 387-411 are in Purchas.

and the idea of there having been *two* Ophirs, evidently arose from a perception of the obvious meaning of the 10th chapter of Genesis, on the one hand, coupled with the erroneous opinion on the other, that the Ophir of the Book of Kings *could not* have been in Arabia. Now, whatever uncertainty may exist as to the time when the 10th chapter of Genesis was written (Knobel, *Völkertafel der Genesis*, p. 4, and Hartmann's *Forschungen über die 5 Bücher Moses*, p. 584), the author of it wrote while Hebrew was yet a living language; there is no statement in any part of the Bible inconsistent with his opinion; and the most ancient writer who can be opposed to him as an authority, lived, under any hypothesis, many centuries after his death. Hence the *burden of proof* lies on any one who denies Ophir to have been in Arabia.

But all that can be advanced against Arabia falls very short of such proof. In weighing the evidence on this point, the assumption that ivory, peacocks, and apes were imported from Ophir must be dismissed from consideration. In one view of the subject, and accepting the statement in 2 Chr. ix. 21, they might have connexion with Tarshish [TARSHISH]; but they have a very slight bearing on the position of Ophir. Hence it is not here necessary to discuss the law of monsoons in the Indian Ocean; though it may be said in passing that the facts on which the supposed law is founded, which seemed so cogent that they induced the historian Robertson to place Ophir in Africa (*Disquisition on India*, sect. 2), have been pointedly denied by Mr. Salt in his *Voyage to Abyssinia* (p. 103). Moreover, the resemblance of names of places in India and Africa to Ophir, cannot reasonably be insisted on; for there is an equally great resemblance in the names of some places in Arabia. And in reference to Africa, especially, the place there imagined to be Ophir, viz., *Sofala*, has been shown to be merely an Arabic word, corresponding to the Hebrew Shephêlah, which signifies a plain or low country (Jer. xxxii. 44; Josh. xi. 16; the Σεφήλα of the Maccabees, 1 Macc. xii. 38; see Gesenius, *Lex.* s. v.). Again, the use of Sofir as the Coptic word for Ophir cannot be regarded as of much importance, it having been pointed out by Reland that there is no proof of its use except in late Coptic, and that thus its adoption may have been the mere consequence of the erroneous views which Josephus represented, instead of being a confirmation of them. Similar remarks apply to the Biblical versions by the Arabic translators. The opinion of Josephus himself would have been entitled to much consideration in the absence of all other evidence on the subject; but he lived about a thousand years after the only voyages to Ophir of which any record has been preserved, and his authority cannot be compared to that of the 10th chapter of Genesis. Again, he seems inconsistent with himself; for in *Ant.* ix. 1, §4, he translates the Ophir of 1 K. xxii. 49, and the Tarshish of 2 Chr. xx. 36, as *Pontus* and Thrace. It is likewise some deduction from the weight of his opinion, that it is contrary to the opinion of Eupolemus, who was an earlier writer; though he too lived at so great a distance of time from the reign of Solomon that he is by no means a decisive authority. Moreover, imagination may have acted on Josephus to place Ophir in the Golden Chersonese, which to the ancients was, as it were the extreme east; as it acted on Arias Montanus to place it in Peru, in the far more improbable and distant west. All the foregoing objections having been rejected from the discussion, it remains to notice those which are based on the assertion that sandal-wood (assumed to be the same as almug-wood), precious stones, and gold, are not productions of Arabia. And the following observations tend to show that such objections are not conclusive.

1st. In the Periplus attributed to Arrian, sandal-wood (ξύλα σαντάλινα) is mentioned as one of the imports into Omana, an emporium on the Persian Gulf; and it is thus proved, if any proof is requisite, that a sea-port would not necessarily be in India, because sandal-wood was obtained from it. But independently of this circumstance, the reasons advanced in favour of almug-wood being the same as sandal-wood, though admissible as a conjecture, seem too weak to justify the founding any argument on them. In 2 Chr. ii. 8, Solomon is represented as writing to Hiram, king of Tyre, in these words: "Send me also cedar-trees, fir-trees, and algum-trees out of Lebanon; for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon," a passage evidently written under the belief that almug-trees grew in Lebanon. It has been suggested that this was a mistake—but this is a point which cannot be assumed without distinct evidence to render it probable. The LXX. translator of the Book of Kings, 1 K. x. 12, translates almug-wood by ξύλα πελεκητὰ, or ἀπελεκητὰ, which gives no information as to the nature of the wood; and the LXX. translator of the Chronicles renders it by ξύλα πεύκινα, which strictly means *fir-wood* (compare Ennius's translation of *Medea*, v. 4), and which, at the utmost, can only be extended to any wood of resinous trees. The Vulgate translation is "thyina," *i. e.* wood made of thya (θύον, θυία), a tree which Theophrastus mentions as having supplied peculiarly durable timber for the roofs of temples; which he says is like the wild cypress; and which is classed by him as an evergreen with the pine, the fir, the juniper, the yew-tree, and the cedar (*Histor. Plant.* v. 3, §7, i. 9, §3). It is stated both by Buxtorf and Gesenius (*s. v.*) that the Rabbins understood by the word, *corals*—which is certainly a most improbable meaning—and that in the 3rd century, almug in the Mishnah (*Kelim* 13, 6) was used for coral in the singular number. In the 13th century, Kimchi, it is said, proposed the meaning of Brazil wood. And it was not till last century that, for the first time, the suggestion was made that almug-wood was the same as sandal-wood. This suggestion came from Celsius, the Swedish botanist, in his Hierobotanicon; who at the same time recounted thirteen meanings proposed by others. Now, as all that has been handed down of the uses of almug-wood is, that the king made of it a prop[c] or support for the House of the Lord and the king's house; and harps also and psalteries for singers (1 K. x. 12), it is hard to conceive how the greatest botanical genius that ever lived can now do more than make a guess more or less probable, at the meaning of the word.

Since the time of Celsius, the meaning of "sup-

[c] The general meaning of מִסְעָד, a prop or support, is certain though its special meaning in 1 K. x. 12 seems irrecoverably lost. It is translated "pillars" in the A. V., and ὑποστηρίγματα in the LXX. In the corresponding passage of 2 Chr. ix. 11, the word is מְסִלּוֹת, the plural meaning of which is *highways*; and which is translated in the A. V. *terraces*, and in the LXX. ἀναβάσεις, ascents or *stairs*. See Her. i. 181

dal wood" has been defended by Sanscrit etymologies. According to Gesenius (*Lexicon*, s. v.), Bohlen proposed, as a derivation for *almuggim*, the Arabic article *Al*, and *mícata*, from simple mica, a name for red sandal-wood. Lassen, in *Indische Alterthumskunde* (vol. i., pt. 1, p. 538), adopting the form *algummim*, says that if the plural ending is taken from it, there remains *valgu*, as one of the Sanscrit names for sandal-wood, which in the language of the Deccan is *valgum*. Perhaps, however, these etymologies cannot lay claim to much value until it is made probable, *independently*, that almug-wood is sandal-wood. It is to be observed that there is a difference of opinion as to whether "al" in *algummim* is an article or part of the noun, and it is not denied by any one that *chandana* is the ordinary Sanscrit word for sandal-wood. Moreover, Mr. Crawfurd, who resided officially many years in the East and is familiar with sandal-wood, says that it is never —now, at least—used for musical instruments, and that it is unfit for pillars, or stairs, balustrades, or bannisters, or balconies. (See also his *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, pp. 310-375.) It is used for incense or perfume, or as fancy wood.

2. As to precious stones, they take up such little room, and can be so easily concealed, if necessary, and conveyed from place to place, that there is no difficulty in supposing they came from Ophir, simply as from an emporium, even admitting that there were no precious stones in Arabia. But it has already been observed [ARABIA, i. p. 91*b*] that the Arabian peninsula produces the emerald and onyx stone; and it has been well pointed out by Mr. Crawfurd that it is impossible to identify precious stones under so general a name with any particular country. Certainly it cannot be shown that the Jews of Solomon's time included under that name the diamond, for which India is peculiarly renowned.

3. As to gold, far too great stress seems to have been laid on the negative fact that no gold nor trace of gold-mines has been discovered in Arabia. Negative evidence of this kind, in which Ritter[d] has placed so much reliance (vol. xiv. p. 408), is by no means conclusive. Sir Roderick Murchison and Sir Charles Lyell concur in stating that, although no rock is known to exist in Arabia from which gold is obtained at the present day, yet the peninsula has not undergone a sufficient geological examination to warrant the conclusion that gold did not exist there formerly or that it may not yet be discovered there. Under these circumstances there is no sufficient reason to reject the accounts of the ancient writers who have been already adduced as witnesses for the former existence of gold in Arabia. It is true that Artemidorus and Diodorus Siculus may merely have relied on the authority of Agatharchides, but it is important to remark that Agatharchides lived in Egypt and was guardian to one of the young Ptolemies during his minority, so that he must have been familiar with the general nature of the commerce between Egypt and Arabia. Although he may have been inaccurate in details, it is not lightly to be admitted that he was altogether mistaken in supposing that Arabia produced any gold at all. And it is in his favour that two of his statements have unexpectedly received confirmation in our own time: 1st, respecting gold-mines in Egypt, the position of which in the Bisharee Desert was ascertained by Mr. Linant and Mr. Bonomi (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ch. ix.); and 2nd, as to the existence of nuggets of pure gold, some of the size of an olive-stone, some of a medlar, and some of a chestnut. The latter statement was discredited by Michaelis (*Spicilegium*, p. 287, "Nec credo ullibi massas auri non experti castaneae nucis magnitudine reperiri"), but it has been shown to be not incredible by the result of the gold discoveries in California and Australia.

If, however, negative evidence is allowed to outweigh on this subject the authority of Agatharchides, Artemidorus, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and, it may be added, Strabo, all of whom may possibly have been mistaken, there is still nothing to prevent Ophir having been an Arabian emporium for gold (Winer, *Realw.* s. v. "Ophir"). The Periplus, attributed to Arrian, gives an account of several Arabian emporia. In the Red Sea, for example, was the Emporium Muza, only twelve days distant from Aphar the metropolis of the Sabaeans and the Homerites. It is expressly stated that this port had commercial relations with Barygaza, *i. e.* Beroach, on the west coast of India, and that it was always full of Arabs, either shipowners or sailors. Again, where the British town of Aden is now situated, there was another emporium, with an excellent harbour, called Arabia Felix (to be carefully distinguished from the district so called), which received its name of Felix, according to the author of the Periplus, from its being the depôt for the merchandize both of the Indians and Egyptians at a time when vessels did not sail direct from India to Egypt, and when merchants from Egypt did not dare to venture farther eastward towards India. At Zafár or Zafári, likewise, already referred to as a town in Hadramaüt, there was an emporium in the middle ages, and there may have been one in the time of Solomon. And on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf was the emporium of Gerrha, mentioned by Strabo (xvi. p. 766), which seems to have had commercial intercourse with Babylon both by caravans and by barges. Its exports and imports are not specified, but there is no reason why the articles of commerce to be obtained there should have been very different from those at Omana on the opposite side of the gulf, the exports from which were purple cloth, wine, dates, slaves, and *gold*, while the imports were brass, sandal-wood, horn, and ebony. In fact, whatever other difficulties may exist in relation to Ophir, no difficulty arises from any absence of emporia along the Arabian coast, suited to the size of vessels and the state of navigation in early times.

There do not, however, appear to be sufficient data for determining in favour of any one emporium or of any one locality rather than another in Arabia as having been the Ophir of Solomon. Mr. Forster (*Geography of Arabia*, i. 167) relies

[d] Bearing this in mind, it is remarkable that Ritter should have accepted Lassen's conjecture respecting the position of Ophir at the mouths of the Indus. Attock is distant from the sea 942 miles by the Indus, and 648 in a straight line; and the upper part of the Indus is about 860 miles long above Attock (Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*). Hence gold would be so distant from the mouths of the Indus, that none could be obtained thence, except from an emporium situated there.

on an Ofor or Ofir, in Sale and D'Anville's maps, as the name of a city and district in the mountains of Oman; but he does not quote any ancient writer or modern traveller as an authority for the existence of such an Ofir, though this may perhaps be reasonably required before importance is attached, in a disputed point of this kind, to a name on a map. Niebuhr the traveller (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 253) says that Ophir was probably the principal port of the kingdom of the Sabaeans, that it was situated between Aden and Dafar (or Zafar), and that perhaps even it was Cane. Gosselin, on the other hand, thinks it was Doffir, the city of Yemen already adverted to; and in reference to the obvious objection (which applies equally to the metropolis Aphar) that it is at some distance from the sea, he says that during the long period which has elapsed since the time of Solomon, sands have encroached on the coast of Loheia, and that Ophir may have been regarded as a port, although vessels did not actually reach it (*Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, l. c.). Dean Vincent agrees with Gosselin in confining Ophir to Sabaea, partly because in Gen. x. Ophir is mentioned in connexion with sons of Joktan who have their residence in Arabia Felix, and partly because, in 1 K. ix., the voyage to Ophir seems related as if it were in consequence of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem (*History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, l. c.). But the opinion that Jobab and Havilah represent parts of Arabia Felix would by no means command universal assent; and although the Book of Kings certainly suggests the inference that there was some *connexion* between the visit of the Queen of Sheba and the voyage to Ophir, this would be consistent with Ophir being either contiguous to Sabaea, or situated on any point of the southern or eastern coasts of Arabia; as in either of these cases it would have been politic in Solomon to conciliate the good will of the Sabaeans, who occupied a long tract of the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and who might possibly have commanded the Straits of Babelmandel. On the whole, though there is reason to believe that Ophir was in Arabia, there does not seem to be adequate information to enable us to point out the precise locality which once bore that name.

In conclusion it may be observed that objections against Ophir being in Arabia, grounded on the fact that no gold has been discovered in Arabia in the present day, seem decisively answered by the parallel case of Sheba. In the 72nd Psalm, v. 15, "gold of Sheba," translated in the English Psalter "gold of Arabia," is spoken of just as "gold of Ophir" is spoken of in other passages of the O. T., and in Ezekiel's account of the trade with Tyre (xxvii. 22), it is stated "the merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices and with *all precious stones, and gold*," just as in 1 K. x., precious stones and gold are said to have been brought from Ophir by the navy of Solomon and of Hiram. (Compare Plin. vi. 28; Horace, *Od.* i. 29, 1, ii. 12, 24, iii. 24, 2; *Epist.* i. 7, 36; and Judg. viii. 24.) Now, of two things one is true. Either the gold of Sheba and the precious stones sold to the Tyrians by the merchants of Sheba were the natural productions of Sheba, and in this case—as the Sheba here spoken of was confessedly in Arabia—the assertion that Arabia did not produce gold falls to the ground; or the merchants of Sheba obtained precious stones and gold in such quantities by trade, that they became noted for supplying them to the Tyrians and Jews without curious inquiry by the Jews as to the precise locality whence these commodities were originally derived. And exactly similar remarks may apply to Ophir. The resemblance seems complete. In answer to objections against the obvious meaning of the tenth chapter of Genesis, the alternatives may be stated as follows. Either Ophir, although in Arabia, produced gold and precious stones; or, if it shall be hereafter proved in the progress of geological investigation that this could not have been the case, Ophir furnished gold and precious stones *as an emporium*, although the Jews were not careful to ascertain and record the fact. [E. T.]

OPH'NI (הָעֻפְנִי, with the def. article—"the Ophnite:" LXX. both MSS. omit: *Ophnî*). A town of Benjamin, mentioned in Josh. xviii. 24 only apparently in the north-eastern portion of the tribe. Its name may perhaps imply that, like others of the towns of this region, it was originally founded by some non-Israelite tribe—the Ophnites—who in that case have left but this one slight trace of their existence. [See note to vol. i. p. 188.] In the biblical history of Palestine Ophni plays no part, but it is doubtless the Gophna of Josephus, a place which at the time of Vespasian's invasion was apparently so important as to be second only to Jerusalem (*B. J.* iii. 3, §5). It was probably the Gufnith, Gufna, or Beth-gufnin of the Talmud (Schwarz, 126), which still survives in the modern *Jifna* or *Jufna*, 2½ miles north-west of Bethel (Reland, *Pal.* 816; Rob. *B. R.* ii. 264). The change from the *Ain*, with which Ophni begins, to G, is common enough in the LXX. (Comp. Gomorrah, Athaliah, &c.) [G.]

OPH'RAH (עָפְרָה). The name of two places in the central part of Palestine.

1. (In Judges, Ἐφραθά; Alex. Αφρα; in Sam. Γοφέρα: *Ophra*, in Sam. *Aphra*.) In the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23). It is named between hap-Parah and Chephar ha-Ammonai, but as the position of neither of these places is known, we do not thereby obtain any clue to that of Ophrah. It appears to be mentioned again (1 Sam. xiii. 17) in describing the routes taken by the spoilers who issued from the Philistine camp at Michmash. One of these bands of ravagers went due west, on the road to Beth-horon; one towards the "ravine of Zeboim," that is in all probability one of the clefts which lead down to the Jordan valley, and therefore due east; while the third took the road "to Ophrah and the land of Shual"—doubtless north, for south they could not go, owing to the position held by Saul and Jonathan. [GIBEAH, vol. i. p. 690b.] In accordance with this is the statement of Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Aphra"), who places it 5 miles east of Bethel. Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* i. 447) suggests its identity with *et-Taiyibeh*, a small village on the crown of a conical and very conspicuous hill, 4 miles E.N.E. of *Beitîn* (Bethel), on the ground that no other ancient place occurred to him as suitable, and that the situation accords with the notice of Jerome. In the absence of any similarity in the name, and of any more conclusive evidence, it is impossible absolutely to adopt this identification.

Ophrah is probably the same place with that which is mentioned under the slightly different form

of EPHRAIN (or Ephron) and EPHRAIM. [See vol. i. p. 569a.] It may also have given its name to the district or government of APHEREMA (1 Macc. xi. 34).

2. (Ἐφραβᾶ; and so Alex., excepting ix. 5, Ἐφραμ: *Ephra.*) More fully OPHRAH OF THE ABI-EZRITES, the native place of Gideon (Judg. vi. 11); the scene of his exploits against Baal (ver. 24); his residence after his accession to power (ix. 5), and the place of his burial in the family sepulchre (viii. 32). In Ophrah also he deposited the ephod which he made or enriched with the ornaments taken from the Ishmaelite followers of Zebah and Zalmunnah (viii. 27), and so great was the attraction of that object, that the town must then have been a place of great pilgrimage and resort. The indications in the narrative of the position of Ophrah are but slight. It was probably in Manasseh (vi. 15), and not far distant from Shechem (ix. 1, 5). Van de Velde (*Memoir*) suggests a site called *Erfai*, a mile south of *Akrabeh*, about 8 miles from *Nablus*, and Schwarz (158) "the village Erafa, north of Sanur," by which he probably intends Arabeh. The former of them has the disadvantage of being altogether out of the territory of Manasseh. Of the latter, nothing either for or against can be said.

Ophrah possibly derives its name from Epher, who was one of the heads of the families of Manasseh in its Gileadite portion (1 Chr. v. 24), and who appears to have migrated to the west of Jordan with Abi-ezer and Shechem (Num. xxvi. 30; Josh. xvii. 2). [ABI-EZER; EPHER, vol. i. 560a; MANASSEH, p. 220a.] [G.]

OPH'RAH (עָפְרָה: Γοφερά; Alex. Γοφορά: *Ophra*). The son of Meonothai (1 Chr. iv. 14). By the phrase "Meonothai begat Ophrah," it is uncertain whether we are to understand that they were father and son, or that Meonothai was the founder of Ophrah.

ORATOR. 1. The A. V. rendering for *lachash*, a whisper, or incantation, joined with *nebôn*, skilful,[a] Is. iii. 3, A. V. "eloquent orator," marg. "skilful of speech." The phrase appears to refer to pretended skill in magic, comp. Ps. lviii. 5. [DIVINATION.]

2. The title[b] applied to Tertullus, who appeared as the advocate or *patronus* of the Jewish accusers of St. Paul before Felix, Acts xxiv. 1. The Latin language was used, and Roman forms observed in provincial judicial proceedings, as, to cite an obviously parallel case, Norman-French was for so many ages the language of English law proceedings. The trial of St. Paul at Caesarea was distinctly one of a Roman citizen; and thus the advocate spoke as a Roman lawyer, and probably in the Latin language (see Acts xxv. 9, 10; Val. Max. ii. 2, 2; Cic. *pro Celio*, c. 30; *Brutus*, c. 37, 38, 41, where the qualifications of an advocate are described: Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Travels of St. Paul*, vol. i. 3, ii. 348). [H. W. P.]

ORCHARD. [GARDEN, vol. i. p. 651a.]

O'REB (עֹרֵב; in its second occurrence only, עוֹרֵב: Ὀρήβ, Ὠρήβ; Alex. Ωρηβ: *Oreb*). The "raven or 'crow," the companion of Zeeb, the "wolf." One of the chieftains of the Midianite host which invaded Israel, and was defeated and driven back by Gideon. The title given to them (שָׂרֵי, A. V. "princes") distinguishes them from Zebah and Zalmunna, the other two chieftains, who are called "kings" (מלכי), and were evidently superior in rank to Oreb and Zeeb. They were killed, not by Gideon himself, or the people under his immediate conduct, but by the men of Ephraim, who rose at his entreaty and intercepted the flying horde at the fords of the Jordan. This was the second Act of this great Tragedy. It is but slightly touched upon in the narrative of Judges, but the terms in which Isaiah refers to it (x. 26) are such as to imply that it was a truly awful slaughter. He places it in the same rank with the two most tremendous disasters recorded in the whole of the history of Israel—the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and of the army of Sennacherib. Nor is Isaiah alone among the poets of Israel in his reference to this great event. While it is the terrific slaughter of the Midianites which points his allusion, their discomfiture and flight are prominent in that of the author of Ps. lxxxiii. In imagery both obvious and vivid to every native of the gusty hills and plains of Palestine, though to us comparatively unintelligible, the Psalmist describes them as driven over the uplands of Gilead like the clouds of chaff blown from the threshing-floors; chased away like the spherical masses of dry weeds[c] which course over the plains of Esdraelon and Philistia—flying with the dreadful hurry and confusion of the flames, that rush and leap from tree to tree and hill to hill when the wooded mountains of a tropical country are by chance ignited (Ps. lxxxiii. 13, 14). The slaughter was concentrated round the rock at which Oreb fell, and which was long known by his name (Judg. vii. 25; Is. x. 26). This spot appears to have been on the east of Jordan, from whence the heads of the two chiefs were brought to Gideon to encourage him to further pursuit after the fugitive Zebah and Zalmunna.

This is a remarkable instance of the value of the incidental notices of the later books of the Bible in confirming or filling up the rapid and often necessarily slight outlines of the formal history. No reader of the relation in Judges would suppose that the death of Oreb and Zeeb had been accompanied by any slaughter of their followers. In the subsequent pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna the "host" is especially mentioned, but in this case the chiefs alone are named. This the notices of Isaiah and the Psalmist, who evidently referred to facts with which their hearers were familiar, fortunately enable us to supply. Similarly in the narrative of the exodus of Israel from Egypt, as given in the Pentateuch, there is no mention whatever of the tempest, the thunder and lightning, and the earthquake, which from the incidental allusions of Ps. lxxvii. 16-18 we know accompanied that event, and which are also stated fully by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 16, §3). We are thus reminded of a truth perhaps too often overlooked,

[a] נָבוֹן לָחַשׁ; συνετὸς ἀκροατής; Vulg. and Symm. *prudens eloquii mystici*; Aquila, συνετὸς ψιθυρισμῷ; Theodot. συνετὸς ἐπωδῇ. See Ges. pp. 202, 754.

[b] ῥήτωρ, *orator*.

[c] See a good passage on this by Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, ch. xxxvi.), describing the flight before the wind of the dry plants of the wild artichoke. He gives also a striking Arab imprecation in reference to it, which recalls in a remarkable way the words of the Psalm quoted above:—"May you be whirled like the *'akkûb* before the wind, until you are caught in the thorns or plunged into the sea!"

that the occurrences preserved in the Scriptures are not the only ones which happened in connexion with the various events of the Sacred history: a consideration which should dispose us not to reject too hastily the supplements to the Bible narrative furnished by Josephus, or by the additions and corrections of the Septuagint, and even those facts which are reflected, in a distorted form it is true, but still often with considerable remains of their original shape and character, in the legends of the Jewish, Mahometan, and Christian East. [G.]

O'REB (*Oreb*), *i. e.* Mount Horeb (2 Esd. ii. 33). [HOREB.]

O'REB, THE ROCK (צוּר עוֹרֵב: in Judges Σούρ, Alex. Σουρειν; in Is. τόπος θλίψεως in both MSS.: *Petra Oreb*, and *Horeb*). The "raven's crag," the spot at which the Midianite chieftain Oreb, with thousands of his countrymen, fell by the hand of the Ephraimites, and which probably acquired its name therefrom. It is mentioned in Judg. vii. 25;[a] Is. x. 26. It seems plain from the terms of Judg. vii. 25 and viii. 1 that the rock Oreb and the winepress Zeeb were on the east side[b] of Jordan. Perhaps the place called *'Orbo* (ערבו), which in the *Bereshith Rabba* (Reland, *Pal.* 913) is stated to have been in the neighbourhood of Bethshean, may have some connexion with it. Rabbi Judah (*Ber. Rabba*, ib.) was of opinion that the *Orebim* ("ravens") who ministered to Elijah were no ravens, but the people of this Orbo or of the rock Oreb,[c] an idea upon which even St. Jerome himself does not look with entire disfavour (*Comm. in* Is. xv. 7), and which has met in later times with some supporters. The present defective state of our knowledge of the regions east of the Jordan renders it impossible to pronounce whether the name is still surviving. [G.]

O'REN (אֹרֶן: Ἀράμ; Alex. Ἀράν: *Aram*). One of the sons of Jerahmeel the firstborn of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 25).

ORGAN (עוּגָב, Gen. iv. 21, Job xxi. 12; עָנָב, Job xxx. 31, Ps. cl. 4). The Hebrew word *'ûgâb* or *'uggâb*, thus rendered in our version, probably denotes a pipe or perforated wind-instrument, as the root of the word indicates.[d] In Gen. iv. 21 it appears to be a general term for all wind-instruments, opposed to *cinnôr* (A. V. "harp"), which denotes all stringed instruments. In Job xxi. 12 are enumerated the three kinds of musical instruments which are possible, under the general terms of the timbrel, harp, and *organ*. The *'ûgâb* is here distinguished from the timbrel and harp, as in Job xxx. 31, compared with Ps. cl. 4. Our translators adopted their rendering, "organ," from the Vulgate, which has uniformly *organum*, that is, the double or multiple pipe. The renderings of the LXX. are various: κιθάρα in Gen. iv. 21, ψαλμός in Job, and ὄργανον in Ps. cl. 4. The Chaldee in every case has אַבוּבָא, *abbûbâ*, which signifies "a pipe," and is the rendering of the Hebrew word so translated in our version of Is. xxx. 29, Jer. xlviii. 36. Joel Bril, in his 2nd preface to the Psalms in Mendelssohn's Bible, adopts the opinion of those who identify it with the Pandean pipes, or syrinx, an instrument of unquestionably ancient origin, and common in the East. It was a favourite with the shepherds in the time of Homer (*Il.* xviii. 526), and its invention was attributed to various deities: to Pallas Athene by Pindar (*Pyth.* xii. 12-14), to Pan by Pliny (vii. 57; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 32; Tibull. ii. 5, 30), by others to Marsyas or Silenus (Athen. iv. 184). In the last-quoted passage it is said that Hermes first made the syrinx with one reed, while Silenus, or, according to others, two Medes, Scuthes and Rhonakes, invented that with many reeds, and Marsyas fastened them with wax. The reeds were of unequal length but equal thickness, generally seven in number (Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 36), but sometimes nine (Theocr. *Id.* viii.). Those in use among the Turks sometimes numbered fourteen or fifteen (Calmet, *Diss. in Mus. Inst. Hebr.*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxxii. p. 790). Russell describes those he met with in Aleppo. "The syrinx, or Pan's pipe, is still a pastoral instrument in Syria; it is known also in the city, but very few of the performers can sound it tolerably well. The higher notes are clear and pleasing, but the longer reeds are apt, like the dervis's flute, to make a hissing sound, though blown by a good player. The number of reeds of which the syrinx is composed varies in different instruments, from five to twenty-three" (*Aleppo*, b. ii. c. 2, vol. i. p. 155, 2nd ed.).

If the root of the word *'ûgâb* above given be correct, a stringed instrument is out of the question, and it is therefore only necessary to mention the opinion of the author of *Shiltê Haggibborîm* (Ugol. vol. xxxii.), that it is the same as the Italian *viola da gamba*, which was somewhat similar in form to the modern violin, and was played upon with a bow of horsehair, the chief difference being that it had six strings of gut instead of four. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.*, No. 1184) identifies the *'ûgâb* with the psaltery.

Winer (*Realw.* art. "Musikalische Instrumente") says that in the Hebrew version of the book of Daniel *'ûgâb* is used as the equivalent of סוּמְפֹנְיָה *sûmponyâh* (Gr. συμφωνία), rendered "dulcimer" in our version. [W. A. W.]

ORI'ON (כְּסִיל: Ὕσπερος, Job ix. 9; Ἄρκτος, Job xxxviii. 31: *Orion*, *Arcturus*, in Job xxxviii. 31). That the constellation known to the Hebrews by the name *cesîl* is the same as that which the Greeks called *orion*, and the Arabs "the giant," there seems little reason to doubt, though the ancient versions vary in their renderings. In Job ix. 9 the order of the words has evidently been transposed. In the LXX. it appears to have been thus,—*cîmâh*, *cesîl*, *'âsh*: the Vulgate retains the words as they stand in the Hebrew; while the Peshito Syriac read *cîmâh*, *'âsh*, *cesîl*, rendering the last-mentioned word ܓܒܪ, *gaboro*, "the giant," as in Job xxxviii. 31. In Am. v. 8 there is again a difficulty in the Syriac version, which represents *cesîl* by ܚܣܝܐ, *'Iyûthô*, by which *'âsh* in Job ix. 9 and *'aîsh* in Job xxxviii. 32 (A. V. "Arcturus") are translated. Again, in Job xxxviii. 32, *'âsh* is represented by Ἕσπερος in the LXX., which raises a question whether the order of the words which the translators had before them in Job ix. 9 was not, as in the Syr., *cîmâh*, *'âsh*, *cesîl*; in which

[a] The word "upon" in the Auth. version of this passage is not correct. The preposition is בְּ = "in" or "at."

[b] Such is the conclusion of Reland (*Pal.* 915, 'Oreb').

[c] Manasseh ben-Israel, *Conciliator*, on Lev. xi. 15.

[d] עָנַב, to blow, or breathe.

ence the last would be represented by Ἀρκτοῦρος, which was the rendering adopted by Jerome from his Hebrew teacher (*Comm. in Jes.* xiii. 10). But no known manuscript authority supports any such variation from the received Hebrew text.

The "giant" of Oriental astronomy was Nimrod, the mighty hunter, who was fabled to have been bound in the sky for his impiety. The two dogs and the hare, which are among the constellations in the neighbourhood of Orion, make his train complete. There is possibly an allusion to this belief in "the bands of *cesil*" (Job xxxviii. 31), with which Gesenius (*Jes.* i. 458) compares Prov. vii. 22. In the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 36) Nimrod is said to have been "a giant, the founder of Babylon, who, the Persians say, was deified and placed among the stars of heaven, whom they call Orion" (comp. Cedrenus, p. 14). The name *cesîl*, literally "a fool," and then "an impious, godless man," is supposed to be appropriate to Nimrod, who, according to tradition, was a rebel against God in building the tower of Babel, and is called by the Arab historians "the mocker." All this, however, is the invention of a later period, and is based upon a false etymology of Nimrod's name, and an attempt to adapt the word *cesîl* to a Hebrew derivation. Some Jewish writers, the Rabbis Isaac Israel and Jonah among them, identified the Hebrew *cesîl* with the Arabic *sohail*, by which was understood either Sirius or Canopus. The words of R. Jonah (Abulwalid), as quoted by Kimchi (*Lex. Heb.* s. v.), are—"*Cesîl* is the large star called in Arabic *Sohail*, and the stars combined with it are called after its name, *cesîlim*." The name *Sohail*, "foolish," was derived from the supposed influence of the star in causing folly in men, and was probably an additional reason for identifying it with *cesîl*. These conjectures proceed, first, upon the supposition that the word is Hebrew in its origin, and, secondly, that, if this be the case, it is connected with the root of *cesîl*, "a fool;" whereas it is more probably derived from a root signifying firmness or strength, and so would denote the "strong one," the giant of the Syrians and Arabs. A full account of the various theories which have been framed on the subject will be found in Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.*, No. 1192.

[W. A. W.]

ORNAMENTS, PERSONAL. The number, variety, and weight of the ornaments ordinarily worn upon the person forms one of the characteristic features of Oriental costume, both in ancient and modern times. The monuments of ancient Egypt exhibit the hands of ladies loaded with rings, earrings of very great size, anklets, armlets, bracelets of the most varied character, and frequently inlaid with precious stones or enamel, handsome and richly ornamented necklaces, either of gold or of beads, and chains of various kinds (Wilkinson, ii. 335-341). The modern Egyptians retain to the full the same taste, and vie with their progenitors in the number and beauty of their ornaments (Lane, vol. iii. Appendix A.). Nor is the display confined, as with us, to the upper classes: we are told that even "most of the women of the lower orders wear a variety of trumpery ornaments, such as ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, &c., and sometimes a nose-ring" (Lane, i. 78). There is sufficient evidence in the Bible that the inhabitants of Palestine were equally devoted to finery. In the Old Testament, Isaiah (iii. 18-23) supplies us with a detailed description of the articles with which the luxurious women of his day were decorated, and the picture is filled up by incidental notices in other places: in the New Testament the apostles lead us to infer the prevalence of the same habit when they recommend the women to adorn themselves, "not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but with good works" (1 Tim. ii. 9, 10), even with "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price" (1 Pet. iii. 4). Ornaments were most lavishly displayed at festivities, whether of a public (Hos. ii. 13) or a private character, particularly on the occasion of a wedding (Is. lxi. 10; Jer. ii. 32). In times of public mourning they were, on the other hand, laid aside (Ex. xxxiii. 4-6).

With regard to the particular articles noticed in the Old Testament, it is sometimes difficult to explain their form or use, as the name is the only source of information open to us. Much illustration may, however, be gleaned both from the monuments of Egypt and Assyria, and from the statements of modern travellers; and we are in all respects in a better position to explain the meaning of the Hebrew terms, than were the learned men of the Reformation era. We propose, therefore, to review the passages in which the personal ornaments are described, substituting, where necessary, for the readings of the A. V. the more correct sense in italics, and referring for more detailed descriptions of the articles to the various heads under which they may be found. The notices which occur in the early books of the Bible, imply the weight and abundance of the ornaments worn at that period. Eliezer decorated Rebekah with "a golden *nose-ring*[a] of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets[b] for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold" (Gen. xxiv. 22); and he afterwards added "*trinkets*[c] of silver and *trinkets*[c] of gold" (verse 53). Earrings[d] were worn by Jacob's wives, apparently as charms, for they are mentioned in connexion with idols:—"they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods, which were in their hand, and their earrings which were in their ears" (Gen. xxxv. 4). The ornaments worn by the patriarch Judah were a "signet,"[e] which was suspended by a *string*[f] round the neck, and a "staff" (Gen. xxxviii. 18): the staff itself was probably ornamented, and thus the practice of the Israelites would be exactly similar to that of the Babylonians, who, according to

[a] Nezem (נֶזֶם); A. V. "ear-ring." The term is used both for "ear-ring" and "nose-ring." That it was the former in the present case appears from ver. 47: "I put the nose-*ring* upon her *face*" (עַל־אַפָּהּ). The term is etymologically more appropriate to the nose-ring than to the ear-ring. [EAR-RING; NOSE-RING.]

[b] Tâmîd (צָמִיד), a particular kind of bracelet, so named from a root signifying "to fasten." [BRACELET.]

[c] Cêlî (כְּלִי); A. V. "jewels." The word signifies generally "articles." They may have been either vessels or personal ornaments: we think the latter sense more adapted to this passage.

[d] The word *nezem* is again used, but with the addition of בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם, "in their ears."

[e] *Chôthâm* (חוֹתָם). [SEAL.]

[f] *Pâthîl* (פְּתִיל); A. V. "bracelets." The signet is still worn, suspended by a string, in parts of Arabia. (Robinson i. 36.)

Herodotus (i. 195), "each carried a seal, and a walking-stick, carved at the top into the form of an apple, a rose, an eagle, or something similar." The first notice of the ring occurs in reference to Joseph: when he was made ruler of Egypt, Pharaoh "took off his *signet*-ring[g] from his hand and put it upon Joseph's hand, and put a gold chain[h] about his neck" (Gen. xli. 42), the latter being probably a "simple gold chain in imitation of string, to which a stone scarabaeus, set in the same precious metal, was appended" (Wilkinson, ii. 339). The number of personal ornaments worn by the Egyptians, particularly by the females, is incidentally noticed in Ex. iii. 22:—"Every woman shall *ask* (A. V. "borrow") of her neighbour *trinkets*[i] of silver and *trinkets*[i] of gold . . . and ye shall spoil the Egyptians:" in Ex. xi. 2 the order is extended to the males, and from this time we may perhaps date the more frequent use of trinkets among men; for, while it is said in the former passage:—"ye shall put them upon your *sons* and upon your daughters," we find subsequent notices of earrings being worn at all events by young men (Ex. xxxii. 2), and again of offerings both from *men* and women of "*nose-rings*,[j] and ear-rings, and rings, and *necklaces*,[k] all articles of gold" (Ex. xxxv. 22). The profusion of those ornaments was such as to supply sufficient gold for making the sacred utensils for the tabernacle, while the laver of brass was constructed out of the brazen *mirrors*[l] which the women carried about with them (Ex. xxxviii. 8). The Midianites appear to have been as prodigal as the Egyptians in the use of ornaments: for the Israelites are described as having captured "*trinkets* of gold, *armlets*,[m] and bracelets, rings, earrings,[n] and necklaces," the value of which amounted to 16,750 shekels (Num. xxxi. 50, 52). Equally valuable were the ornaments obtained from the same people after their defeat by Gideon: "the weight of the golden *nose-rings*[p] was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside *collars*[q] and ear-pendants[r] (Judg. viii. 26).

The poetical portions of the O. T. contain numerous references to the ornaments worn by the Israelites in the time of their highest prosperity. The appearance of the bride is thus described in the book of the Canticles:—"Thy cheeks are comely with *beads*,[s] thy neck with *perforated*[t] (*pearls*); we will make thee *beads* of gold with studs of silver" (i. 10, 11). Her neck rising tall and stately "like the tower of David builded for an armoury," was decorated with various ornaments hanging like the "thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men, on the walls of the armoury" (iv. 4): her hair falling gracefully over her neck is described figuratively as a "chain"[u] (iv. 9): and "the *roundings*" (not as in the A. V. "the joints") of her thighs are likened to the *pendant*[v] of an earring, which tapers gradually downwards (vii. 1). So again we read of the bridegroom:—"his eyes are . . . fitly set,"[w] as though they were gems filling the sockets of rings (v. 12): "his hands are *as* gold rings[x] set with the beryl," *i. e.* (as explained by Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 287) the fingers when curved are like gold rings, and the nails dyed with henna resemble gems. Lastly, the yearning

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[g] *Tabba'ath* (טַבַּעַת). The signet-ring in this, as in other cases (Esth. iii. 10, viii. 2; 1 Macc. vi. 15), was not merely an ornament, but the symbol of authority.

[h] *Rābîd* (רָבִיד). The term is also applied to a chain worn by a woman (Ez. xvi. 11).

[i] *Celi.* See note [e] above.

[j] *Chāch* (חָח); A. V. "bracelets." The meaning of the term is rather doubtful, some authorities preferring the sense "buckle." In other passages the same word signifies the ring placed through the nose of an animal, such as a bull, to lead him by.

[k] *Cûmāz* (כּוּמָז); A. V. "tablets." It means a necklace formed of perforated gold drops strung together. [NECKLACE.]

[l] *Marôth* (מַרְאוֹת); A. V. "looking-glasses." The use of polished mirrors is alluded to in Job xxxvii. 18. [MIRROR.]

[m] *Ets 'ādāh* (אֲצַעָדָה); A. V. "chains." A cognate term, used in Is. iii. 20, means "step-chain;" but the word is used both here and in 2 Sam. i. 10 without reference to its etymological sense. [ARMLET.]

[n] *'Āgîl* (עָגִיל); a *circular* ear-ring, of a solid character.

[o] *Cûmāz*; A. V. "tablets." See note [k] above.

[p] *Nezem*; A. V. "ear-rings." See note [a] above. The term is here undefined; but, as ear-rings are subsequently noticed in the verse, we think it probable that the nose-ring is intended.

[q] *Saharônîm* (שַׁהֲרֹנִים); A. V. "ornaments." The word specifies *moon-shaped* disks of metal, strung on a cord, and placed round the necks either of men or of camels. Compare ver. 21. [CHAIN.]

[r] *Netiphôth* (נְטִיפוֹת); A. V. "collars" or "sweet-jewels." The etymological sense of the word is *pendants*, which were no doubt attached to ear-rings.

[s] *Tôrim* (תּוֹרִים); A. V. "rows." The term means, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1499), *rows* of pearls or beads; but, as the etymological sense is connected with *circle*, it may rather mean the individual beads, which might be strung together, and so make a row, encircling the cheeks. In the next verse the same word is rendered in the A. V. "borders." The sense must, however, be the same in both verses, and the point of contrast may perchance consist in the difference of the material, the beads in ver. 10 being of some ordinary metal, while those in ver. 11 were to be of gold.

[t] *Charûzim* (חֲרוּזִים); A. V. "chains." The word would apply to any perforated articles, such as beads, pearls, coral, &c.

[u] *'Anāk* (עָנָק). In the A. V. it is supposed to be literally a chain: and hence some critics explain the word attached to it, צַוְּרֹנֶיךָ, as meaning a "collar," instead of a "neck." The latter, which is the correct sense, may be retained by treating *anāk* as metaphorically applied to a pendant lock of hair.

[v] *Chalâim* (חֲלָאִים); A. V. "jewels." Gesenius understands the term as referring to a necklace, and renders this passage, "the roundings of thy hips are like the knobs or bosses of a necklace." The two notions of *rounded* and *polished* may be combined in the word in this case. A cognate term is used in Hos. ii. 13, and is rendered in the A. V. "jewels."

[w] The words in the original literally mean *sitting in fulness*; and the previous reference to "rivers of waters" would rather lead us to adopt a rendering in harmony with that image, as is done in the LXX. and the Vulgate, καθήμεναι ἐπὶ πλησώματα ὑδάτων, *juxta fluenta plenissima.*

[x] The term here rendered "rings," *gelîlîm* (גְּלִילִים), is nowhere else found in this sense, at all events as a personal ornament. Its etymological sense implies something *rounded*, and therefore the word admits of being rendered "staffs;" in which case a comparison would be instituted between the outstretched fingers and the handsomely decorated staff, of which we have already spoken (Hitzig *in loc.*)

after close affection is expressed thus:—"Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm," whether that the seal itself was the most valuable personal ornament worn by a man, as in Jer. xxii. 24; Hag. ii. 23, or whether perchance the close contiguity of the seal to the wax on which it is impressed may not rather be intended (Cant. viii. 6). We may further notice the imagery employed in the Proverbs to describe the effects of wisdom in beautifying the character; in reference to the terms used we need only explain that the "ornament" of the A. V. in i. 9, iv. 9, is more specifically a *wreath*[y] or *garland*; the "chains" of i. 9, the *drops*[z] of which the necklace was formed; the "jewel of gold in a swine's snout" of xi. 22, a *nose-ring*;[a] the "jewel" of xx. 15, a *trinket*, and the "ornament" of xxv. 12, an *ear-pendant*.[b]

The passage of Isaiah (iii. 18-23), to which we have already referred, may be rendered as follows:—(18) "In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their *anklets*,[c] and their *lace caps*,[d] and their *necklaces*;[e] (19) the *ear-pendants*,[f] and the *bracelets*,[g] and the *light veils*;[h] (20) the *turbans*,[i] and the *step-chains*,[j] and the *girdles*,[k] and the *scent-bottles*,[l] and the *amulets*;[m] (21) the rings and *nose-rings*;[n] (22) the *state-dresses*[o] and the *cloaks*, and the *shawls*, and the *purses*;[p] (23) the *mirrors*,[q] and the fine linen *shirts*, and the *turbans*,[r] and the *light dresses*."[s]

The following extracts from the Mishna (*Sabb.* cap. vi.) illustrate the subject of this article, it being premised that the object of the enquiry was to ascertain what constituted a proper article of dress, and what might be regarded by rabbinical refinement as a burden:—"A woman must not go out (on the Sabbath) with linen or woollen laces, nor with the straps on her head: nor with a frontlet and pendants thereto, unless sewn to her cap: nor with a golden tower (*i. e.* an ornament in the shape of a tower): nor with a tight gold chain: nor with nose-rings: nor with finger-rings on which there is no seal: nor with a needle without an eye (§ 1): nor with a needle that has an eye: nor with a finger-ring that has a seal on it: nor with a diadem: nor with a smelling-bottle or balm-flask (§ 3). A man is not to go out . . . with an amulet, unless it be by a distinguished sage (§ 2): knee-buckles are clean and a man may go out with them: step-chains are liable to become unclean, and a man must not go out with them" (§ 4). [W. L. B.]

OR'NAN (אָרְנָן: 'Ορνᾶ[u]: *Ornan*). The form in which the name of the Jebusite king, who in the older record of the Book of Samuel is called Araunah, Aranyah, Ha-avarnah, or Haornah, is given in Chronicles (1 Chr. xxi. 15, 18, 20-25, 28; 2 Chr. iii. 1). This extraordinary variety of form is a strong corroboration to the statement that Ornan was a non-Israelite. [ARAUNAH; JEBUSITE, vol. i. 937*b*.]

In some of the Greek versions of Origen's Hexapla collected by Bahrdt, the threshing-floor of Ornan ('Ερνὰ τοῦ 'Ιεβουσαίου) is named for that of Nachon in 2 Sam. vi. 6. [G.]

OR'PAH (עָרְפָּה: 'Ορφά: *Orpha*). A Moabite woman, wife of Chilion son of Naomi, and thereby sister-in-law to RUTH. On the death of their husbands Orpah accompanied her sister-in-law and her mother-in-law on the road to Bethlehem. But here her resolution failed her. The offer which Naomi made to the two younger women that they should return "each to their own mother's house," after a slight hesitation, she embraced. "Orpah kissed her mother-in-law," and went back "to her people and to her gods," leaving to the unconscious Ruth the glory, which she might have rivalled, of being the mother of the most illustrious house of that or any nation. [G.]

ORTHO'SIAS ('Ορθωσιάς; Alex. 'Ορθωσία: *Orthosias*). Tryphon, when besieged by Antiochus Sidetes in Dora, fled by ship to Orthosias (1 Macc.

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[y] *Livyâh* (לִוְיָה).

[z] See note [a] above.

[a] The word is *nezem*. See note [n] above.

[b] *Châlî*. See note [f] above.

[c] *'Acâsîm* (עֲכָסִים); A. V. "tinkling ornaments about their feet." The effect of the anklet is described in ver. 16 "making a tinkling with their feet." [ANKLET.]

[d] *Shebîsîm* (שְׁבִיסִים); A. V. "cauls" or "net works." The term has been otherwise explained as ornaments shaped like the sun, and worn as a necklace. [HAIR.]

[e] *Saharônîm*; A. V. "round tires like the moon." See note [x] above.

[f] *Netîphôth*; A. V. "chains" or "sweet balls." See note [z] above.

[g] *Shêrôth* (שֵׁרוֹת). The word refers to the construction of the bracelet by *intertwining* cords or metal rods.

[h] *Re'âlôth* (רְעָלוֹת); A. V. "mufflers" or "spangled ornaments." The word describes the *tremulous* motion of the veil. [VEIL.]

[i] *Peêrîm* (פְּאֵרִים); A. V. "bonnets." The *peër* may mean more specifically the decoration in front of the turban. [HEADDRESS.]

[j] *Tse'âdôth* (צְעָדוֹת); A. V. "ornaments of the legs." See note [m] above. The effect of the step-chain is to give a "mincing" gait, as described in ver. 16.

[k] *Kishshurîm* (קִשֻּׁרִים); A. V. "head-bands." It probably means a handsomely decorated girdle. [GIRDLE.] It formed part of a bride's attire (Jer. ii. 32).

[l] *Bottê hannephesh* (בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ); A. V. "tablets," or "houses of the soul," the latter being the literal rendering of the words. The scent-bottle was either attached to the girdle or suspended from the neck.

[m] *Lechâshîm* (לְחָשִׁים); A. V. "ear-rings." The meaning of this term is extremely doubtful: it is derived from a root signifying "to whisper;" and hence is applied to the mutterings of serpent charmers, and in a secondary sense to amulets. They may have been in the form of ear-rings, as already stated. The etymological meaning might otherwise make it applicable to describe light, *rustling* robes (Saalchütz, *Archäol.* i. 30).

[n] A. V. "nose-jewels."

[o] For this and the two following terms see DRESS.

[p] *Charîtîm* (חֲרִיטִים); A. V. "crisping-pins." Compare 2 K. v. 23. According to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 519), the purse is so named from its round, conical form.

[q] *Gilyônîm* (גִּלְיֹנִים); A. V. "glasses." The term is not the same as was before used; nor is its sense well ascertained. It has been otherwise understood as describing a transparent material like gauze. See DRESS.

[r] A. V. "hoods." [HEADDRESS.]

[s] A. V. "vails." [DRESS.]

[u] Declined 'Ορνᾷ, 'Ορνᾶν, in the Vat. MS. (Mai); but in the Alex. MS. constantly Ορνα. In the Targum on Chronicles the name is given in four different forms:—usually אֲרַוְנָן, but also אֲרְנוֹן, אָרְנָן, אֲרַוְנָן, and אֲרוֹנָן. See the edition of Beck (*Aug. Vind.* 1680).

xv. 37). Orthosia is described by Pliny (v. 17) as north of Tripolis, and south of the river Eleutherus, near which it was situated (Strabo, xvi. p. 753). It was the northern boundary of Phoenice, and distant 1130 stadia from the Orontes (id. p. 760). Shaw (*Trav.* p. 270, 271, 2nd ed.) identifies the Eleutherus with the modern Nahr el-Bârid, on the north bank of which, corresponding to the description of Strabo (p. 753), he found "ruins of a considerable city, whose adjacent district pays yearly to the Bashaws of Tripoly a tax of fifty dollars by the name of *Or-tosa*. In Peutinger's Table, also, Orthosia is placed thirty miles to the south of Antaradus, and twelve miles to the north of Tripoly. The situation of it likewise is further illustrated by a medal of Antoninus Pius, struck at Orthosia; upon the reverse of which we have the goddess Astarte treading upon a river. For this city was built upon a rising ground on the northern banks of the river, within half a furlong of the sea, and, as the rugged eminences of Mount Libanus lie at a small distance in a parallel with the shore, Orthosia must have been a place of the greatest importance, as it would have hereby the entire command of the road (the only one there is) betwixt Phoenice and the maritime parts of Syria." On the other hand, Mr. Porter, who identifies the Eleutherus with the modern Nahr el-Kebîr, describes the ruins of Orthosia as on the south bank of the Nahr el-Bârid, "the cold river" (*Handbk.* p. 593), thus agreeing with the accounts of Ptolemy and Pliny. The statement of Strabo is not sufficiently precise to allow the inference that he considered Orthosia north of the Eleutherus. But if the ruins on the south bank of the Nahr el-Bârid be really those of Orthosia, it seems an objection to the identification of the Eleutherus with the Nahr el-Kebîr; for Strabo at one time makes Orthosia (xiv. p. 670), and at another the neighbouring river Eleutherus (*ὁ πλησίον ποταμός*), the boundary of Phoenice on the north. This could hardly have been the case if the Eleutherus were 3¾ hours, or nearly twelve miles, from Orthosia.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, §2), Tryphon fled to Apamea, while in a fragment of Charax, quoted by Grimm (*Kurzgef. Handb.*) from Müller's *Frag. Graec. Hist.* iii. p. 644, fr. 14, he is said to have taken refuge at Ptolemais. Grimm reconciles these statements by supposing that Tryphon fled first to Orthosia, then to Ptolemais, and lastly to Apamea, where he was slain. [W. A. W.]

OSAI'AS (Ὡσαΐας: om. in Vulg.). A corruption of JESHAIAH (1 Esd. viii. 48; comp. Ezr. viii. 19).

OSE'A (*Osee*). HOSHEA the son of Elah, king of Israel (2 Esd. xiii. 40).

OSE'AS (*Osee*). The prophet Hosea (2 Esd. i. 39).

OSHE'A (הוֹשֵׁעַ, *i. e.* Hoshea; Samar. יהושע: Αὐσή: *Osee*). The original name of Joshua the son of Nun (Num. xiii. 8), which on some occasion not stated—but which we may with reason conjecture to have been his resistance to the factious conduct of the spies—received from Moses (ver. 16) the addition of the great name of Jehovah, so lately revealed to the nation (Ex. vi. 3), and thus from "Help" became "Help of Jehovah." The Samaritan Codex has Jehoshua in both places, and therefore misses the point of the change.

The original form of the name recurs in Deut. xxxii. 44, though there the A. V. (with more accuracy than here) has Hoshea.

Probably no name in the whole Bible appears in so many forms as that of this great personage, in the original five, and in the A. V. no less than seven—Oshea, Hoshea, Jehoshua, Jehoshuah, Joshua, Jeshua, Jesus; and if we add Hosea (also identical with Oshea) and Osea, nine. [G.]

OSPRAY (עָזְנִיָּה, *oznîyyâh*: ἁλιαίετος: *haliaeetus*). The Hebrew word occurs only in Lev. xi. 13, and Deut. xiv. 12, as the name of some unclean bird which the law of Moses disallowed as food to the Israelites. The old versions and many commentators are in favour of this interpretation; but Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 774) has endeavoured, though on no reasonable grounds, to prove that the bird denoted by the Hebrew term is identical with the *melanaeetus* (*μελαναίετος*) of Aristotle, the *Valeria aquila* of Pliny. There is, however, some difficulty in identifying the *haliaeetus* of Aristotle and Pliny, on account of some statements these writers make with respect to the habits of this bird. The general description they give would suit either the osprey (*Pandion haliaeetus*) or the white-tailed eagle

Pandion haliaetus.

(*Haliaeetus albicilla*). The following passage, however, of Pliny (x. 3), points to the osprey: "The *haliaetus* poises itself aloft, and the moment it catches sight of a fish in the sea below pounces headlong upon it, and cleaving the water with its

Circaetus gallicus.

breast, carries off its booty." With this may be compared the description of a modern naturalist, Dr. Richardson: "When looking out for its prey it sails with great ease and elegance, in undulating lines at a considerable altitude above the water, from whence it precipitates itself upon its quarry, and bears it off in its claws." Again, both Aristotle and Pliny speak of the diving habits of the *haliaeetus*. The ospray often plunges entirely under the water in pursuit of fish. The ospray belongs to the family *Falconidae*, order *Raptatores*. It has a wide geographical range, and is occasionally seen in Egypt; but as it is rather a northern bird, the Heb. word may refer, as Mr. Tristram suggests to us, either to the *Aquila naevia*, or *A. nacvioïdes*, or more probably still to the very abundant *Circaëtus gallicus* which feeds upon reptilia. [W. H.]

OSSIFRAGE (פֶּרֶס, *peres*: γρύψ: *gryps*). There is much to be said in favour of this translation of the A. V. The word occurs, as the name of an unclean bird, in Lev. xi. 13, and in the parallel passage of Deut. xiv. 12. (For other renderings of *peres* see Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 770.) The Arabic version has *okab*, which Bochart renders μελανάετος, "the black eagle." [OSPRAY.] This word, however, is in all probability generic, and is used to denote any bird of the eagle kind, for in the vernacular Arabic of Algeria *okab* is "the generic

Gypaetus barbatus.

name used by the Arabs to express any of the large kinds of the *Falconidae*." (See Loche's *Catalogue des Oiseaux observés en Algérie*, p. 37.) There is nothing conclusive to be gathered from the γρύψ of the LXX. and the *gryps* of the Vulgate, which is the name of a fabulous animal. Etymologically the word points to some rapacious bird with an eminently "hooked beak;" and certainly the ossifrage has the hooked beak characteristic of the order *Raptatores* in a very marked degree. If much weight is to be allowed to etymology, the *peres*[a] of the Hebrew Scriptures may well be represented by the ossifrage, or bone-breaker; for *peres* in Hebrew means "the breaker." And the ossifrage (*Gypaëtus barbatus*) is well deserving of his name in a more literal manner, it will appear, than Colonel H. Smith (Kitto's *Cyc.* art. "Peres") is willing to allow; for not only does he push kids and lambs, and even men, off the rocks, but he takes the bones of animals which other birds of prey have denuded of the flesh high up into the air, and lets them fall upon a stone in order to crack them, and render them more digestible even for his enormous powers of deglutition. (See Mr. Simpson's very interesting account of the *Lammergeyer* in *Ibis*, ii. 282.) The *Lammergeyer*, or bearded vulture, as it is sometimes called, is one of the largest of the birds of prey. It is not uncommon in the East; and Mr. Tristram several times observed this bird "sailing over the high mountain-passes west of the Jordan" (*Ibis*, i. 23). The English word ossifrage has been applied to some of the *Falconidae*; but the *ossifraga* of the Latins evidently points to the *Lammergeyer*, one of the *Vulturidae*. [W. H.]

OSTRICH. There can be no doubt that the Hebrew words *bath haya'anâh*, *yâ'ên*, and *rânân*, denote this bird of the desert.

1. *Bath haya'anâh* (בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה: στρουθός, στρουθίον, σειρήν: *struthio*) occurs in Lev. xi. 16, Deut. xiv. 15, in the list of unclean birds; and in other passages of Scripture. The A.V. erroneously renders the Hebrew expression, which signifies either "daughter of greediness" or "daughter of shouting," by "owl," or, as in the margin, by "daughter of owl." In Job xxx. 29, Is. xxxiv. 13, and xliii. 20, the margin of the A. V. correctly reads "ostriches." Bochart considers that *bath haya'anâh* denotes the female ostrich only, and that *tachmâs*, the following word in the Hebrew text, is to be restricted to the male bird. In all probability, however, this latter word is intended to signify a bird of another genus. [NIGHT-HAWK.] There is considerable difference of opinion with regard to the etymology of the Hebrew word *ya'anâh*. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 811) derives it from a root[b] meaning to "cry out" (see also Maurer, *Comment. in V. T. ad Thren.* iv. 3); and this is the interpretation of old commentators generally. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. יַעֲנָה) refers the word to a root which signifies "to be greedy or voracious;"[c] and demurs to the explanation given by Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 1127), and by Rosenmüller (*Not. ad Hieroz.* ii. 829, and *Schol. ad Lev.* xi. 16), who trace the Hebrew word *ya'anâh* to one which in Arabic denotes "hard and sterile land:"[d] *bath haya'anâh* accordingly would mean "daughter of the desert." Without entering into the merits of these various explanations, it will be enough to mention that any one of them is well suited to the habits of the ostrich. This bird, as is well known, will swallow almost any substance, pieces of iron, large stones, &c. &c.; this it does probably in order to assist the triturating action of the gizzard: so that the Oriental expression of "daughter of voracity" is

[a] פֶּרֶס, from פָּרַס, "to break," "to crash."

[b] עָנָה "to cry out."

[c] יָעַן.

[d] وعنة, *terra dura et sterilis.*

eminently characteristic of the ostrich.[e] With regard to the two other derivations of the Hebrew word, we may add that the cry of the ostrich is said sometimes to resemble the lion, so that the Hottentots of S. Africa are deceived by it; and that its particular haunts are the parched and desolate tracts of sandy deserts.

The loud crying of the ostrich seems to be referred to in Mic. i. 8: "I will wail and howl . . . . I will make a mourning as the ostriches" (see also Job xxx. 29). The other passages where *bath haya-'anâh* occurs point to the desolate places which are the natural habitat of these birds.

2. *Yâ'ên* (יָעֵן) occurs only in the plural number יְעֵנִים, *ye'ênîm* (LXX. στρουθίον, *struthio*), in Lam. iv. 3, where the context shews that the ostrich is intended: "The daughter of my people is become cruel like the ostriches in the wilderness." This is important, as shewing that the other word (1), which is merely the feminine form of this one, with the addition of *bath*, "daughter," clearly points to the ostrich as its correct translation, even if all the old versions were not agreed upon the matter. For remarks on Lam. iv. 3, see below.

3. *Rânân* (רָנַן). The plural form (רְנָנִים, *renânîm*: LXX. πτερύμενοι: *struthio*) alone occurs in Job xxxix. 13; where, however, it is clear from the whole passage (13-18) that ostriches are intended by the word. The A. V. renders *renânîm* by "peacocks," a translation which has not found favour with commentators; as "peacocks," for which there is a different Hebrew name,[f] were probably not known to the people of Arabia or Syria before the time of Solomon. [PEACOCKS.] The "ostrich" of the A. V. in Job xxxix. 13 is the representative of the Hebrew *nôtseh*, "featners." The Hebrew *renânîm* appears to be derived from the root *rânan*,[g] "to wail," or to "utter a stridulous sound," in allusion to this bird's nocturnal cries. Gesenius compares the Arabic *zimar*, "a female ostrich," from the root *zamar*, "to sing."

The following short account of the nidification of the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) will perhaps elucidate those passages of Scripture which ascribe cruelty to this bird in neglecting her eggs or young. Ostriches are polygamous: the hens lay their eggs promiscuously in one nest, which is merely a hole scratched in the sand; the eggs are then covered over to the depth of about a foot, and are, in the case of those birds which are found within the tropics, generally left for the greater part of the day to the heat of the sun, the parent-birds taking their turns at incubation during the night. But in those countries which have not a tropical sun ostriches frequently incubate during the day, the male taking his turn at night, and watching over the eggs with great care and affection, as is evidenced by the fact that jackals and other of the smaller *carnivora* are occasionally found dead near the nest, having been killed by the ostrich in defence of the eggs or young. "As a further proof of the affection of the ostrich for its young" (we quote from Shaw's *Zoology*, xi. 426), "it is related by Thunberg that he once rode past a place where a female was sitting on her nest, when the bird sprang up and pursued him, evidently with a view to prevent his noticing her eggs or young." The habit of the ostrich leaving its eggs to be matured by the sun's heat is usually appealed to in order to confirm the Scriptural account, "she leaveth her eggs to the earth," but, as has been remarked above, this is probably the case only with the tropical birds: the ostriches with which the Jews were acquainted were, it is likely, birds of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa: but, even if they were acquainted with the habits of the tropical ostriches, how can it be said that "she forgetteth that the foot may crush" the eggs when they are covered a foot deep or more in sand?[h] We believe the true explanation of this

Ostrich.

passage is to be found in the fact that the ostrich deposits some of her eggs not in the nest, but around it; these lie about on the surface of the sand, to all appearance forsaken; they are, however, designed for the nourishment of the young birds, according to Levaillant and Bonjainville (Cuvier, *An. King.* by Griffiths and others, viii. 432). Are not these the eggs "that the foot may crush," and may not hence be traced the cruelty which Scripture attributes to the ostrich? We have had occasion to remark in a former article [ANT], that the language of Scripture is adapted to the opinions commonly held by the people of the East: for how otherwise can we explain, for instance, the passages which ascribe to the hare or to the coney the habit of chewing the cud? And this remark will hold good in the passage of Job which speaks of the ostrich being without understanding. It is a general belief amongst the Arabs that the ostrich is a very stupid bird: indeed they have a proverb, "Stupid as an ostrich;" and Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 865) has given us five points on which this bird is supposed to deserve its character. They may be briefly stated thus:—(1) Because it will swallow iron, stones,

[e] Mr. Tristram, who has paid considerable attention to the habits of the ostrich, has kindly read over this article; he says, "the necessity for swallowing stones, &c., may be understood from the favourite food of the tame ostriches I have seen being the date-stone, the hardest of vegetable substances."

[f] תַּכְּיִם.

[g] רָנַן.

[h] See Tristram (*Ibis*, ii. 74): "Two Arabs began to dig with their hands, and presently brought up four fine fresh eggs from the depth of about a foot under the warm sand."

&c.; (2) Because when it is hunted it thrusts its head into a bush and imagines the hunter does not see it;[a] (3) Because it allows itself to be deceived and captured in the manner described by Strabo (xvi. 772, ed. Kramer); (4) Because it neglects its eggs;[1] (5) Because it has a small head and few brains. Such is the opinion the Arabs have expressed with regard to the ostrich; a bird, however, which by no means deserves such a character, as travellers have frequently testified. "So wary is the bird," says Mr. Tristram (*Ibis*, ii. 73), "and so open are the vast plains over which it roams, that no ambuscades or artifices can be employed, and the vulgar resource of dogged perseverance is the only mode of pursuit."

Dr. Shaw (*Travels*, ii. 345) relates as an instance of want of sagacity in the ostrich, that he "saw one swallow several leaden bullets, scorching hot from the mould." We may add that not unfrequently the stones and other substances which ostriches swallow prove fatal to them. In this one respect, perhaps, there is some foundation for the character of stupidity attributed to them.

The ostrich was forbidden to be used as food by the Levitical law, but the African Arabs, says Mr. Tristram, eat its flesh, which is good and sweet. Ostrich's brains were among the dainties that were placed on the supper-tables of the ancient Romans. The fat of the ostrich is sometimes used in medicine for the cure of palsy and rheumatism (Pococke, *Trav.* i. 209). Burckhardt (*Syria*, Append. p. 664) says that ostriches breed in the Dhahy. They are found, and seem formerly to have been more abundant than now, in Arabia.

The ostrich is the largest of all known birds, and perhaps the swiftest of all cursorial animals. The capture of an ostrich is often made at the sacrifice of the lives of two horses (*Ibis*, ii. 73). Its strength is enormous. The wings are useless for flight, but when the bird is pursued they are extended and act as sails before the wind. The ostrich's feathers so much prized are the long white plumes of the wings. The best come to us from Barbary and the west coast of Africa. The ostrich belongs to the family *Struthionidae*, order *Cursores*. [W. H.]

OTH'NI (עָתְנִי: Ὀθνί; Alex. Γοθνί: *Othni*). Son of Shemaiah, the firstborn of Obed-edom, one of the "able men for strength for the service" of the tabernacle in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 7). The name is said by Gesenius to be derived from an obsolete word, *'Othen*, "a lion."

OTH'NIEL (עָתְנִיאֵל, "lion of God," cf. Othni, 1 Chr. xxvi. 7: Γοθονιήλ: *Othoniel*), son of Kenaz, and younger brother of Caleb, Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13, iii. 9; 1 Chr. iv. 13. But these passages all leave it doubtful whether Kenaz was his father, or, as is more probable, the more remote ancestor and head of the tribe, whose descendants were called Kenezites, Num. xxxii. 12, &c., or sons of Kenaz. If Jephunneh was Caleb's father, then probably he was father of Othniel also. [CALEB.] The first mention of Othniel is on occasion of the taking of Kirjath-Sepher, or Debir, as it was afterwards called. Debir was included in the mountainous territory near Hebron, within the border of Judah, assigned to Caleb the Kenezite (Josh. xiv. 12-14); and in order to stimulate the valour of the assailants, Caleb promised to give his daughter Achsah to whosoever should assault and take the city. Othniel won the prize, and received with his wife in addition to her previous dowry the upper and nether springs in the immediate neighbourhood. These springs are identified by Van de Velde, after Stewart, with a spring which rises on the summit of a hill on the north of Wady Dilbeh (2 hours S.W. from Hebron), and is brought down by an aqueduct to the foot of the hill. (For other views see DEBIR). The next mention of Othniel is in Judg. iii. 9, where he appears as the first judge of Israel after the death of Joshua, and their deliverer from their first servitude. In consequence of their intermarriages with the Canaanites, and their frequent idolatries, the Israelites had been given into the hand of Chushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, for eight years. From this oppressive servitude they were delivered by Othniel. "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he judged Israel, and went out to war: and the Lord delivered Chushan-Rishathaim king of Mesopotamia into his hand; and his hand prevailed against Chushan-Rishathaim. And the land had rest forty years. And Othniel the son of Kenaz died."

This with his genealogy, 1 Chr. iv. 13, 14, which assigns him a son, Hathath, whose posterity, according to Judith vi. 15, continued till the time of Holofernes, is all that we know of Othniel. But two questions of some interest arise concerning him, the one his exact relationship to Caleb; the other the time and duration of his judgeship.

(1) As regards his relationship to Caleb, the doubt arises from the uncertainty whether the words in Judg. iii. 9, "Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother," indicate that Othniel himself, or that Kenaz, was the brother of Caleb. The most natural rendering, according to the canon of R. Moses ben Nachman, on Num. x. 29, that in constructions of this kind such designations belong to the principal person in the preceding sentence, makes Othniel to be Caleb's brother. And this is favoured by the probability that Kenaz, was not Othniel's father, but the father and head of the tribe, as we learn that Kenaz was, from the designation of Caleb as "the Kenezite," or "son of Kenaz." Jerome also so translates it, "Othniel filius Cenez, frater Caleb junior;" and so did the LXX. originally, because even in those copies which now have ἀδελφοῦ, they still retain νεώτερος in the acc. case. Nor is the objection, which influences most of the Jewish commentators to understand that Kenaz was Caleb's brother, and Othniel his nephew, of any weight. For the marriage of an uncle with his niece is not expressly prohibited by the Levitical law (Lev. xviii. 12, xx. 19); and even if it had been, Caleb and Othniel as men of foreign extraction would have been less amenable to it, and more likely to follow the custom of their own tribe. On the other hand it must be acknowledged that the canon above quoted does not hold universally. Even in the very passage, Num. x. 29, on which the canon is adduced, it is extremely doubtful whether the designation "the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law," does not apply to Reuel rather than to Hobab, seeing that Reuel, and not Hobab, was father to Moses' wife (Ex. ii. 18). In

[a] This is an old conceit: see Pliny (x. 1), and the remark of Diodorus Siculus (ii. 50) thereon.

[1] Ostriches are very shy birds, and will, if their nest is discovered, frequently forsake the eggs. Surely this is a mark rather of sagacity than stupidity.

Jer. xxxii. 7, in the phrase "Hanameel the son of Shallum thine uncle," the words "thine uncle" certainly belong to Shallum, not to Hanameel, as appears from ver. 8, 9. And in 2 Chr. xxxv. 3, 4; Neh. xiii. 28, the designations "King of Israel," and "high-priest," belong respectively to David, and to Eliashib. The chronological difficulties as to Othniel's judgeship would also be mitigated considerably if he were nephew and not brother to Caleb, as in this case he might well be 25, whereas in the other he could not be under 40 years of age, at the time of his marriage with Achsah. Still the evidence, candidly weighed, preponderates strongly in favour of the opinion that Othniel was Caleb's brother.

(2) And this leads to the second question suggested above, viz. the time of Othniel's judgeship. Supposing Caleb to be about the same age as Joshua, as Num. xiii. 6, 8; Josh. xiv. 10, suggest, we should have to reckon about 25 years from Othniel's marriage with Achsah till the death of Joshua at the age of 110 years (85+25=110). And if we take Africanus's allowance of 30 years for the elders after Joshua, in whose lifetime "the people served the Lord" (Judg. ii. 7), and then allow 8 years for Chushan-Rishathaim's dominion, and 40 years of rest under Othniel's judgeship, and suppose Othniel to have been 40 years old at his marriage, we obtain (40+25+30+8+40=) 143 years as Othniel's age at his death. This we are quite sure cannot be right. Nor does any escape from the difficulty very readily offer itself. It is in fact a part of that larger chronological difficulty which affects the whole interval between the exodus and the building of Solomon's temple, where the dates and formal notes of time indicate a period more than twice as long as that derived from the genealogies and other ordinary calculations from the length of human life, and general historical probability. In the case before us one would guess an interval of not more than 25 years between Othniel's marriage and his victory over Chushan-Rishathaim.

In endeavouring to bring these conflicting statements into harmony, the first thing that occurs to one is, that if Joshua lived to the age of 110 years, *i. e.* full 30 years after the entrance into Canaan, supposing him to have been 40 when he went as a spy, he must have outlived all the elder men of the generation which took possession of Canaan, and that 10 or 12 years more must have seen the last of the survivors. Then again, it is not necessary to suppose that Othniel lived through the whole 80 years of rest, nor is it possible to avoid suspecting that these long periods of 40 and 80 years are due to some influences which have disturbed the true computation of time. If these dates are discarded, and we judge only by ordinary probabilities, we shall suppose Othniel to have survived Joshua not more than 20, or at the outside, 30 years. Nor, however unsatisfactory this may be, does it seem possible, with only our present materials, to arrive at any more definite result. It must suffice to know the difficulties and wait patiently for the solution, should it ever be vouchsafed to us. [A. C. H.]

OTHONI'AS ('Οθονίας: *Zochias*). A corruption of the name MATTANIAH in Ezr. x. 27 (1 Esd. ix. 28).

OVEN (תַּנּוּר: κλίβανος). The Eastern oven is of two kinds—fixed and portable. The former is found only in towns, where regular bakers are employed (Hos. vii. 4). The latter is adapted to the nomad state, and is the article generally intended by the Hebrew term *tannûr*. It consists of a large jar made of clay, about three feet high, and widening towards the bottom, with a hole for the extraction of the ashes (Niebuhr, *Desc. de l'Arab.* p. 46). Occasionally, however, it is not an actual jar, but an erection of clay in the form of a jar, built on the floor of the house (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 350). Each household possessed such an article (Ex. viii. 3); and it was only in times of extreme dearth that the same oven sufficed for several families (Lev. xxvi. 26). It was heated with dry twigs and grass (Matt. vi. 30); and the loaves were placed both inside and outside of it. It was also used for roasting meat (Mishna, *Taan.* 3, §8). The heat of the oven furnished Hebrew writers with an image of rapid and violent destruction (Ps. xxi. 9; Hos. vii. 7; Mal. iv. 1). [W. L. B.]

Egyptian Oven.

OWL, the representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *bath haya'anâh*, *yanshûph*, *côs*, *kippôz*, and *lîlith*.

1. *Bath haya'anâh* (בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה). [OSTRICH.]

2. *Yanshûph*, or *yanshôph* (יַנְשׁוּף, יַנְשׁוֹף: ἶβις, γλαύξ: * *ibis*), occurs in Lev. xi. 17, Deut. xiv. 16, as the name of some unclean bird, and in Is. xxxiv. 11, in the description of desolate Edom, "the *yanshôph* and the raven shall dwell in it." The A. V. translates *yanshûph* by "owl," or "great owl." The Chaldee and Syriac are in favour of some kind of owl; and perhaps the etymology of the word points to a nocturnal bird. Bochart is satisfied that an "owl" is meant, and supposes the bird is so called from the Hebrew for "twilight" (*Hieroz.* iii. 29). For other conjectures see Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 24-29). The LXX. and Vulg. read ἶβις (*ibis*), i. e. the *Ibis religiosa*, the sacred bird of Egypt. Col. H. Smith suggests that the night heron (*Ardea nycticorax*, Lin.) is perhaps intended, and objects to the Ibis on the ground that so rare a bird, and one totally unknown in Palestine could not be the *yanshûph* of the Pentateuch; there is, however, no occasion to suppose that the *yanshûph* was ever seen in Palestine; the Levitical law was given soon after the Israelites left Egypt, and it is only natural to suppose that several of the unclean animals were Egyptian, some might never have been seen or heard

* It is important to observe, in reference to the LXX. renderings of the Hebrew names of the different unclean birds, &c., that the verses of Deut. xiv. are some of them evidently transposed (see Michaelis, *Supp.* i. p. 1240, and note): the order as given in Lev. xi. is, therefore, to be taken as the standard.

of in Palestine; the *yanshûph* is mentioned as a bird of Edom (Is. *l. c.*), and the Ibis might have formerly been seen there; the old Greek and Latin writers are in error when they state that this bird never leaves Egypt; Cuvier says it is found throughout the extent of Africa, and latterly Dr. Heuglin met with it on the coast of Abyssinia (*List of Birds collected in the Red Sea; Ibis*, i. p. 347). The Coptic version renders *yanshûph* by "Hppen," from which it is believed the Greek and Latin word *Ibis* is derived (see Jablonski's *Opusc.* i. 93, ed. te Water). On the whole the evidence is inconclusive, though it is in favour of the *Ibis religiosa*, and probably the other Egyptian species (*I. falcinellus*) may be included under the term. See on the subject of the Ibis of the ancients Savigny's *Histoire naturelle et mythologique de l'Ibis* (Paris, 1805, 8vo.); and Cuvier's *Mémoire sur l'Ibis des Anciens Egyptiens* (*Ann. Mus.* iv. p. 116.)

Ibis religiosa.

3. *Côs* (כּוֹס: νυκτικόραξ, ἐρωδιός: *bubo, herodius, nycticorax*), the name of an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 16); it occurs again in Ps. cii. 6. There is good reason for believing that the A. V. is correct in its rendering of "owl" or "little owl." Most of the old versions and paraphrases are in favour of some species of "owl" as the proper translation of *Côs*; Bochart is inclined to think that we should understand the pelican (*Hieroz.* iii. 17), the Hebrew *Côs* meaning a "cup," or "pouch;" the pelican being so called from its membranous bill-pouch. He compares the Latin *trua*, "a pelican," from *trua*, "a scoop" or "ladle." But the ancient versions are against this theory, and there does not seem to be much doubt that *Kaath* is the Hebrew name for the pelican. The passage in Ps. cii. 6, "I am like a pelican of the wilderness, I am like a *Côs* of ruined places," points decidedly to some kind of owl. Michaelis, who has devoted great attention to the elucidation of this word, has aptly compared one of the Arabic names for the owl, *um elcharab* ("mother of ruins"), in reference to the expression in the psalm last quoted (comp. *Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 1236, and Rosenmüller, *Not. ad Hieroz.* l. c.). Thus the context of the passage in the Psalm where the Hebrew word occurs, as well as the authority of the old versions, goes far to prove that an *owl* is intended by it. The νυκτικόραξ of the LXX. is no doubt a general term to denote the different species of *horned owl* known in Egypt and Palestine; for Aristotle (*H. An.* viii. 14, §6) tells us that νυκτικόραξ is identical with ὄτος, evidently, from his description, one of the horned owls, perhaps either the *Otus vulgaris*, or the *O. brachyotos*. The owl

Otus ascalaphus.

we figure is the *Otus ascalaphus*, the Egyptian and Asiatic representative of our great horned owl (*Bubo maximus*). Mr. Tristram says it swarms among the ruins of Thebes, and that he has been informed it is also very abundant at Petra and Baalbec; it is the great owl of all Eastern ruins, and may well therefore be the "*Côs* of ruined places."

4. *Kippôz* (קִפּוֹד: ἐχῖνος: *ericius*) occurs only in Is. xxxiv. 15: "There (*i. e.* in Edom) the *kippôz* shall make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow." It is a hopeless affair to attempt to identify the animal denoted by this word; the LXX. and Vulg. give "hedgehog," reading no doubt *kippôd* instead of *kippôz*, which variation six Hebrew MSS. exhibit (Michaelis, *Supp.* p. 2199). Various conjectures have been made with respect to the bird which ought to represent the Hebrew word, most of which, however, may be passed over as unworthy of consideration. We cannot think with Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 194, &c.) that a darting serpent is intended (the ἀκοντίας of Nicander and Aelian, and the *jaculus* of Lucan), for the whole context (Is. xxxiv. 15) seems to point to some *bird*, and it is certainly stretching the words very far to apply them to any kind of serpent. Bochart's argument rests entirely on the fact that the cognate Arabic, *kipphaz*, is used by Avicenna to denote some darting tree-serpent; but this theory, although supported by Gesenius, Fürst, Rosenmüller, and other high authorities, must be rejected as entirely at variance with the plain and literal meaning of the prophet's words; though incubation by reptiles was denied by Cuvier, and does not obtain amongst the various orders and families of this class as a general rule, yet some few excepted instances are on record, but "the gathering under the shadow" clearly must be understood of the act of a bird fostering her young under her wings; the *kippôz*, moreover, is men-

tioned in the same verse with "vultures" (kites), so that there can be no doubt that some bird is intended.

Scops aldrovan.

Deodati, according to Bochart, conjectures the "Scops owl," being led apparently to this interpretation on somewhat strained etymological grounds. See on this subject Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 197; and for the supposed connexion of σκώψ with σκώπτω, see Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* xv. 28; Pliny, x. 49; Eustathius, on *Odys.* v. 66; and Jacobs' annotations to Aelian, *l. c.* We are content to believe that *kippóz* may denote some species of owl, and to retain the reading of the A. V. till other evidence be forthcoming. The woodcut represents the *Athene meridionalis*, the commonest owl in Palestine. Mount Olivet is one of its favourite resorts (*Ibis*, i. 26). Another common species of owl is the *Scops zorca*; it is often to be seen inhabiting the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem (see Tristram, in *Ibis*, i. 26).

Athene meridionalis

5. *Lilith* (לִילִית: ὀνοκένταυροι; Aq. Λιλίθ; Symm. Λαμία: *lamia*). The A. V. renders this word by "screech owl" in the text of Is. xxx. 14, and by "night-monster" in the margin. The *lilith* is mentioned in connexion with the desolation that was to mark Edom. According to the Rabbins the *lilith* was a nocturnal spectre in the form of a beautiful woman that carried off children at night and destroyed them (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 829; Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v. לִילִית; Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald et Talm.* p. 1140). With the *lilith* may be compared the *ghule* of the Arabian fables. The old versions support the opinion of Bochart that a spectre is intended. As to the ὀνοκένταυροι of the LXX., and the *lamia* of the Vulgate translations of Isaiah, see the *Hieroz.* iii, 832, and Gesenius (*Jesaia*, i. 915-920). Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1443) observes on this word, "in the poetical description of desolation we borrow images even from fables." If, however, some animal be denoted by the Hebrew term, the screech-owl (*strix flammea*) may well be supposed to represent it, for this bird is found in the Bible lands (see *Ibis*, i. 26, 46), and is, as is well known, a frequent inhabiter of ruined places. The statement of Irby and Mangles relative to Petra illustrates the passage in Isaiah under consideration:—"The screaming of eagles, hawks, and owls, which were soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one approaching their lonely habitation, added much to the singularity of the scene." (See also Stephens, *Incid. of Trav.* ii. 76). [W. H.]

OX (Ὤξ: *Idox*), an ancestor of Judith (Jud. viii. 1). [B. F. W.]

OX, the representative in the A. V. of several Hebrew words, the most important of which have been already noticed. [BULL; BULLOCK.]

We propose in this article to give a general review of what relates to the ox tribe (*Bovidae*), so far as the subject has a Biblical interest. It will be convenient to consider (1) the ox in an economic point of view, and (2) its natural history.

(1.) There was no animal in the rural economy of the Israelites, or indeed in that of the ancient Orientals generally, that was held in higher esteem than the ox; and deservedly so, for the ox was the animal upon whose patient labours depended all the ordinary operations of farming. Ploughing with horses was a thing never thought of in those days. Asses, indeed, were used for this purpose [ASS]; but it was the ox upon whom devolved for the most part this important service. The pre-eminent value of the ox to "a nation of husbandmen like the Israelites," to use an expression of Michaelis in his article on this subject, will be at once evident from the Scriptural account of the various uses to which it was applied. Oxen were used for ploughing (Deut. xxii. 10; 1 Sam. xiv. 14; 1 K. xix. 19; Job i. 14; Am. vi. 12, &c.); for treading out corn (Deut. xxv. 4; Hos. x. 11; Mic. iv. 13; 1 Cor. ix. 9; 1 Tim. v. 18) [AGRICULTURE]; for draught purposes, when they were generally yoked in pairs (Num. vii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 7; 2 Sam. vi. 6); as beasts of burden (1 Chr. xii. 40); their flesh was eaten (Deut. xiv. 4; 1 K. i. 9, iv. 23, xix. 21; Is. xxii. 13; Prov. xv. 17; Neh. v. 18); they were used in the sacrifices [SACRIFICES]; they supplied milk, butter, &c. (Deut. xxxii. 14; Is. vii. 22; 2 Sam. xvii. 29) [BUTTER, MILK].

Connected with the importance of oxen in the rural economy of the Jews is the strict code of laws which was mercifully enacted by God for their protection and preservation. The ox that threshed the corn was by no means to be muzzled; he was to enjoy rest on the Sabbath as well as his master (Ex. xxiii. 12; Deut. v. 14); nor was this only, as Michaelis has observed, on the people's account because beasts can perform no work without man's

assistance, but it was for the good of the beasts "that thine ox and thine ass may rest."

The law which prohibited the slaughter of any clean animal, excepting as "an offering unto the Lord before the tabernacle," during the time that the Israelites abode in the wilderness (Lev. xvii. 1-6), although expressly designed to keep the people from idolatry, no doubt contributed to the preservation of their oxen and sheep, which they were not allowed to kill excepting in public. There can be little doubt that during the forty years' wanderings oxen and sheep were rarely used as food, whence it was *flesh* that they so often lusted after. (See Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 169.)

It is not easy to determine whether the ancient Hebrews were in the habit of castrating their animals or not. The passage in Lev. xxii. 24 may be read two ways, either as the A. V. renders it, or thus, "Ye shall not offer to the Lord that which is bruised," &c., "neither shall ye make it so in your land." Le Clerc believed that it would have been impossible to have used an uncastrated ox for agricultural purposes on account of the danger. Michaelis, on the other hand, who cites the express testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §40), argues that castration was wholly forbidden, and refers to the authority of Niebuhr (*Descr. de l'Arab.*, p. 81), who mentions the fact that Europeans use stallions for cavalry purposes. In the East it is well known horses are as a rule not castrated. Michaelis observes (art. 168), with truth, that where people are accustomed to the management of uncastrated animals, it is far from being so dangerous as we from our experience are apt to imagine.

It seems clear from Prov. xv. 17, and 1 K. iv. 23, that cattle were sometimes stall-fed [FOOD], though as a general rule it is probable that they fed in the plains or on the hills of Palestine. That the Egyptians stall-fed oxen is evident from the representations on the monuments (see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 27, ii. 49, ed. 1854). The cattle that grazed at large in the open country would no doubt often become fierce and wild, for it is to be remembered that in primitive times the lion and other wild beasts of prey roamed about Palestine. Hence, no doubt, the laws with regard to "goring," and the expression of "being *wont* to push with his horns" in time past (Ex. xxi. 28, &c.); hence the force of the Psalmist's complaint of his enemies, "Many bulls have compassed me, the mighty ones of Bashan have beset me round" (Ps. xxii. 13). The habit of surrounding objects which excite their suspicion is very characteristic of half-wild cattle. See Mr. Culley's observations on the Chillingham wild cattle, in Bell's *British Quadrupeds* (p. 424).

(2.) The monuments of Egypt exhibit representations of a long-horned breed of oxen, a short-horned, a polled, and what appears to be a variety of the zebu (*Bos Indicus*, Lin.). Some have identified this latter with the *Bos Dante* (the *Bos Elegans et parvus Africanus* of Belon). The Abyssinian breed is depicted on the monuments at Thebes (see *Anc. Egypt.* i. 385), drawing a *plaustrum* or car. [CART.] These cattle are "white and black in clouds, low in the legs, with the horns hanging loose, forming small horny hooks nearly of equal thickness to the point, turning freely either way, and hanging against the cheeks" (see Hamilton Smith in Griffiths' *Anim. King.* iv. 425). The drawings on Egyptian monuments shew that the cattle of ancient Egypt were fine handsome animals: doubtless these may be taken as a sample of the cattle of Palestine in ancient times. "The cattle of Egypt," says Col. H. Smith (Kitto's *Cyc.* art. 'Ox'), a high authority on the *Ruminantia*, "continued to be remarkable for beauty for some ages after the Moslem conquest, for Abdollatiph the historian extols their bulk and proportions, and in particular mentions the Alchisiah breed for the abundance of the milk it furnished, and for the beauty of its curved horns." (See figures of Egyptian cattle under AGRICULTURE.) There are now fine cattle in Egypt; but the Palestine cattle appear to have deteriorated, in size at least, since Biblical times. "Herds of cattle," says Schubert (*Oriental Christian Spectator*, April, 1853), "are seldom to be seen; the bullock of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is small and insignificant; beef and veal are but rare dainties. Yet the bullock thrives better, and is more frequently seen, in the upper valley of the Jordan, also on Mount Tabor and near Nazareth, but particularly east of the Jordan on the road from Jacob's-bridge to Damascus." See also Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 322), who observes (p. 335) that danger from being gored has not ceased "among the half-wild droves that range over the luxuriant pastures in certain parts of the country."

The buffalo (*Bubalus Buffalus*) is not uncommon in Palestine; the Arabs call it *jámûs*. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 306) notices buffaloes "around the lake el-Hûleh as being mingled with the neat cattle, and applied in general to the same uses. They are a shy, ill-looking, ill-tempered animal." These animals love to wallow and lie for hours in water or mud, with barely the nostrils above the surface. It is doubtful whether the domestic buffalo was known to the ancient people of Syria, Egypt, &c.; the animal under consideration is the *bhainsa* or tame buffalo of India; and although now common in the West, Col. H. Smith is of opinion that it was not known in the Bible lands till after the Arabian conquest of Persia (A.D. 651). Robinson's remark, therefore, that the buffalo doubtless existed anciently in Palestine in a wild state, must be received with caution. [See further remarks on this subject under UNICORN.]

The A. V. gives "wild ox" in Deut. xiv. 5, and "wild bull" in Is. li. 20, as the representatives of the Hebrew word *teô* or *tô*.

Teô or *tô'* (תְּאוֹ, תּוֹא: ὄρυξ, σευταλίον[a]; Aq., Symm., and Theod., ὄρυξ: *oryx*). Among the beasts that were to be eaten mention is made of the *teô* (Deut. *l. c.*); again, in Isaiah "they lie at the head of all the streets like a *tô* in the nets." The most important ancient versions point to the oryx (*Oryx leucoryx*) as the animal denoted by the Hebrew words. Were it not for the fact that another Heb. name (*yachmur*) seems to stand for this animal,[b] we should have no hesitation in referring the *teô* to the antelope above named. Col. H. Smith suggests that the antelope he calls the Nubian Oryx (*Oryx Tao*), may be the animal intended; this, however, is probably only a variety of the other. Oedmann (*Verm. Samm.* p. iv. 23) thinks the Bubule (*Alcephalus Bubalis*) may be the *tô*; this is the *Bekker-el-wash* of N. Africa mentioned by Shaw (*Trav.* i. 310, 8vo ed.). The point must be left undetermined. [See FALLOW DEER, Appendix.] [W. H.]

[a] As to this word, see Schleusner, *Lex. in LXX.* s. v.

[b] *Yachmur*, in the vernacular Arabic of N. Africa, is one of the names for the oryx.

OX-GOAD. [GOAD.]

O'ZEM (אֹצֶם, *i. e.* Otsem). The name of two persons of the tribe of Judah.

1. (Ἀσόμ: *Assom.*) The sixth son of Jesse, the next eldest above David (1 Chr. ii. 15). His name is not again mentioned in the Bible, nor do the Jewish traditions appear to contain anything concerning him.

2. (Ἀσάν;* Alex. Ασομ: *Asom.*) Son of Jerahmeel, a chief man in the great family of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 25). [G.]

OZI'AS (Ὀζίας: *Ozias*). 1. The son of Micha of the tribe of Simeon, one of the "governors" of Bethulia, in the history of Judith (Jud. vi. 15, vii. 23, viii. 10, 28, 35). [B. F. W.]

2. Uzzi, one of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Esd. ii. 2); also called SAVIAS (1 Esd. viii. 2).

3. UZZIAH, King of Judah (Matt. i. 8, 9).

O'ZIEL (Ὀζιήλ: *Ozias*), an ancestor of Judith (Jud. viii. 1). The name occurs frequently in O. T. under the form UZZIEL. [B. F. W.]

OZ'NI (אֶזְנִי: Ἀζενί; Alex. Ἀζαινί: *Ozni*). One of the sons of Gad (Num. xxvi. 16), called EZBON in Gen. xlvi. 16, and founder of the family of the

OZ'NITES (אֶזְנִי: δῆμος ὁ Ἀζενί; Alex. ὁ. ὁ Αζαινί: *familia Oznitarum*), Num. xxvi. 16.

OZO'RA (Ἐζωρά). "The sons of Machnadebai," in Ezr. x. 40, is corrupted into "the sons of Ozora" (1 Esd. ix. 34).

P

PA'ARAI (פַּעֲרַי: Φαραεί: *Pharaï*). In the list of 2 Sam. xxiii. 35, "Paarai the Arbite" is one of David's mighty men. In 1 Chr. xi. 37, he is called "Naarai the son of Ezbai," and this in Kennicott's opinion is the true reading (*Diss.* p. 209-211). The Vat. MS. omits the first letter of the name, and reads the other three with the following word, thus, οὐραιοερχί. The Peshito-Syriac has "Gari of Arub," which makes it probable that "Naarai" is the true reading, and that the Syriac translators mistook נ for ג.

PA'DAN (פָּדָן: Μεσοποταμία τῆς Συρίας: *Mesopotamia*). Padan-Aram (Gen. xlviii. 7).

PA'DAN-A'RAM (פַּדַּן־אֲרָם: ἡ Μεσοποταμία Συρίας, Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 6, 7, xxxiii. 18; ἡ M. Gen. xxviii. 2, 5, xxxi. 18; M. τῆς Συρ. Gen. xxxv. 9, 26, xlvi. 15; Alex. ἡ M. Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 5, 7, xxxi. 18; ἡ M. Συρ. Gen. xxviii. 2, xxxiii. 18· *Mesopotamia*, Gen. xxv. 20, xxxi. 18; *M. Syriae*, Gen. xxviii. 2, 5, 6, xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 9, 26, xlvi. 15; *Syria*, Gen. xxvi. 15). By this name, more properly *Paddan-Aram*, which signifies "the table-land of Aram" according to Fürst and Gesenius, the Hebrews designated the tract of country which they otherwise called Aram-naharaim, "Aram of the two rivers," the Greek Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10), and "the field (A. V. 'country') of Aram" (Hos. xii. 12). The term was perhaps more especially applied to that portion which bordered on the Euphrates, to distinguish it from the mountainous districts in the N. and N.E. of Mesopotamia. Rashi's note on Gen. xxv. 20 is curious. "Because there were two Arams, Aram-naharaim and Aram Zobah, he (the writer) calls it Paddan-Aram: the expression 'yoke of oxen' is in the Targums פַּדַּן תּוֹרִין, *paddan tôrin*; and some interpret Paddan-Aram as 'field of Aram,' because in the language of the Ishmaelites they call a field *paddan*" (Ar. فدان). In Syr. ܦܕܢ, *pâdân*, is used for a "plain" or "field;" and both this and the Arabic word are probably from the root פד, فد, *fadda*, "to plough," which seems akin to *fid* in *fidit*, from *findere*. If this etymology be true *Paddan-Aram* is the arable land of Syria; "either an upland vale in the hills, or a fertile district immediately at their feet" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 129 note). *Paddan*, the ploughed land, would then correspond with the Lat. *arvum*, and is analogous to Eng. *field*, the *felled* land, from which the trees have been cleared.

Padan-Aram plays an important part in the early history of the Hebrews. The family of their founder had settled there, and were long looked upon as the aristocracy of the race, with whom alone the legitimate descendants of Abraham might intermarry, and thus preserve the purity of their blood. Thither Abraham sent his faithful steward (Gen. xxiv. 10), after the news had reached him in his southern home at Beersheba that children had been born to his brother Nahor. From this family alone, the offspring of Nahor and Milcah, Abraham's brother and niece, could a wife be sought for Isaac, the heir of promise (Gen. xxv. 20), and Jacob the inheritor of his blessing (Gen. xxviii.).

It is elsewhere called PADAN simply (Gen. xlviii. 7). [W. A. W.]

PA'DON (פָּדוֹן: Φαδών: *Phadon*). The ancestor of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 44; Neh. vii. 47). He is called PHALEAS in 1 Esdr. v. 29.

PAG'IEL (פַּגְעִיאֵל: Φαγεήλ; Alex. φαγαήλ: *Phegiel*). The son of Ocran, and chief of the tribe of Asher at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 13, ii. 27, vii. 72, 77, x. 26).

PAHATH-MOAB (פַּחַת מוֹאָב: Φαὰθ Μωάβ: *Phahath-Moab*, "governor of Moab"). Head of one of the chief houses of the tribe of Judah. Of the individual, or the occasion of his receiving so singular a name, nothing is known certainly, either as to the time time when he lived, or the particular family to which he belonged. But as we read in 1 Chr. iv. 22, of a family of Shilonites, of the tribe of Judah, who in very early times "had dominion in Moab," it may be conjectured that this was the origin of the name. It is perhaps a slight corroboration of this conjecture that as we find in Ezr. ii. 6, that the sons of Pahath-Moab had among their number "children of Joab," so also in 1 Chr. iv. we find these families who had dominion in Moab very much mixed with the sons of Caleb, among whom, in 1 Chr. ii. 54, iv. 14, we find the house

* The word following this — אֲחִיָּה — A. V. Ahijah, Vulg. *Achia*, is in the LXX. rendered ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.

of Joab.[a] It may further be conjectured that this dominion of the sons of Shelah in Moab, had some connexion with the migration of Elimelech and his sons into the country of Moab, as mentioned in the book of Ruth; nor should the close resemblance of the names עָפְרָה (Ophrah), 1 Chr. iv. 14, and עָרְפָּה (Orpah), Ruth i. 4, be overlooked. Jerome, indeed, following doubtless his Hebrew master, gives a mystical interpretation to the names in 1 Chr. iv. 22, and translates the strange word *Jashubi-lehem*, "they returned to Leem" (Bethlehem). And the author of *Quaest. Heb. in Lib. Paralip.* (printed in Jerome's works) follows up this opening, and makes JOKIM (qui stare fecit solem) to mean ELIAKIM, and the men of Chozeba (viri mendacii), Joash and Saraph (*securus* et *incendens*), to mean Mahlon and Chilion, who took wives (בָּעֳלוּ) in Moab, and returned (*i. e.* Ruth and Naomi did) to the plentiful bread of Bethlehem (*house of bread*); interpretations which are so far worth noticing, as they point to ancient traditions connecting the migration of Elimelech and his sons with the Jewish dominion in Moab mentioned in 1 Chr. iv. 21.[b] However, as regards the name Pahath-Moab, this early and obscure connexion of the families of Shelah the son of Judah with Moab seems to supply a not improbable origin for the name itself, and to throw some glimmering upon the association of the children of Joshua and Joab with the sons of Pahath-Moab. That this family was of high rank in the tribe of Judah we learn from their appearing *fourth* in order in the two lists, Ezr. ii. 6; Neh. vii. 11, and from their chief having signed *second*, among the lay princes, in Neh. x. 14. It was also the most numerous (2818) of all the families specified, except the Benjamite house of Senaah (Neh. vii. 38). The name of the chief of the house of Pahath-Moab, in Nehemiah's time, was Hashub; and, in exact accordance with the numbers of his family, we find him repairing *two* portions of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 11, 23). It may also be noticed as slightly confirming the view of Pahath-Moab being a Shilonite family, that whereas in 1 Chr. ix. 5-7, Neh. xi. 5-7, we find the Benjamite families in close juxta-position with the Shilonites, so in the building of the wall, where each family built the portion over against their own habitation, we find Benjamin and Hashub the Pahath-Moabite coupled together (Neh. iii. 23). The only other notices of the family are found in Ezr. viii. 4, where 200 of its males are said to have accompanied Elihoenai, the son of Zerahiah, when he came up with Ezra from Babylon; and in Ezr. x. 30, where eight of the sons of Pahath-Moab are named as having taken strange wives in the time of Ezra's government.

[A. C. H.]

PAINT [as a cosmetic]. The use of cosmetic dyes has prevailed in all ages in Eastern countries. We have abundant evidence of the practice of painting the eyes both in ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 342) and in Assyria (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 328); and in modern times no usage is more general. It does not appear, however, to have been by any means universal among the Hebrews. The notices of it are few; and in each instance it seems to have been used as a meretricious art, unworthy of a woman of high character. Thus Jezebel "put her eyes in painting" (2 K. ix. 30, margin); Jeremiah says of the harlot city, "Though thou rentest thy eyes with painting" (Jer. iv. 30); and Ezekiel again makes it a characteristic of a harlot (Ez. xxiii. 40; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, §10). The expressions used in these passages are worthy of observation, as referring to the mode in which the process was effected. It is thus described by Chandler (*Travels*, ii. 140): "A girl, closing one of her eyes, took the two lashes between the forefinger and thumb of the left hand, pulled them forward, and then thrusting in at the external corner a bodkin which had been immersed in the soot, and extracting it again, the particles before adhering to it remained within, and were presently ranged round the organ." The eyes were thus literally "put in paint," and were "rent" open in the process. A broad line was also drawn round the eye, as represented in the accompanying cut. The effect was

"Eye ornamented with Kohl, as represented in ancient paintings." (Lane, p. 37, new ed.)

an apparent enlargement of the eye; and the expression in Jer. iv. 30 has been by some understood in this sense (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1239), which is without doubt admissible, and would harmonize with the observations of other writers (Juv. ii. 94, "obliquâ *producit* acu;" Plin. *Ep.* vi. 2). The term used for the application of the dye was *kâkhal*,[c] "to smear;" and Rabbinical writers described the paint itself under a cognate term (Mishn. *Sabb.* 8, §3). These words still survive in *kohl*,[d] the modern Oriental name for the powder used. The Bible gives no indication of the substance out of which the dye was formed. If any conclusion were deducible from the evident affinity between the Hebrew *pûk*,[e] the Greek φῦκος, and the Latin *fucus*, it would be to the effect that the dye was of a vegetable kind. Such a dye is at the present day produced from the henna plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), and is extensively applied to the hands and the hair (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 109, 110). But the old versions (the LXX., Chaldee, Syriac, &c.) agree in pronouncing the dye to have been produced from antimony, the very name of which (στίβι, *stibium*) probably owed its currency in the ancient world to this circumstance, the name itself and the application of the substance having both emanated from Egypt.[f] Antimony is still used for the purpose in Arabia (Burckhardt's *Travels*, i. 376), and in Persia (Morier's *Second Journey*, p. 61), though lead is also used in the latter country (Russell, i. 366): but in Egypt the *kohl* is a soot produced by burning either a kind of frankincense or the shells of almonds (Lane, i. 61). The dye-stuff was moistened with oil, and kept in

[a] The resemblance between *Laadah* (לַעֲדָה, 1 Chr. iv. 21), one of the sons of Shelah, and *Laadan* (לַעְדָּן), an ancestor of Joshua (1 Chr. vii. 26), may be noted in connexion with the mention of Joshua, Ezr. ii. 6.

[b] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, may also be noticed in this connexion.

[c] כָּחַל.

[d] The Hebrew verb has even been introduced into the Spanish version: "Alcoholaste tuos ojos" (Gesen. *Thes* p. 676).

[e] פּוּךְ.

[f] This mineral was imported into Egypt for the purpose. One of the pictures at *Beni Hassan* represents the arrival of a party of traders in stibium. The powder made from antimony has been always supposed to have a beneficial effect on the eyesight (Plin. xxxiii. 34; Russell, i. 111; Lane, i. 61).

a small jar, which we may infer to have been made of horn, from the proper name, Keren-happuch, "horn for paint" (Job xlii. 14). The probe with which it was applied was made either of wood, silver, or ivory, and had a blunted point. Both the probe and the jar have frequently been discovered in Egyptian tombs (Wilkinson, ii. 343). In addition to the passages referring to eye-paint already quoted from the Bible, we may notice probable allusions to the practice in Prov. vi. 25, Ecclus. xxvi. 9, and Is. iii. 16, the term rendered "wanton" in the last passage bearing the radical sense of painted. The contrast between the black paint and the white of the eye led to the transfer of the term *pûk* to describe the variegated stones used in the string-courses of a handsome building (1 Chr. xxix. 2; A. V. "glistering stones," lit. stones of eye-*paint*); and again the dark cement in which marble or other bright stones were imbedded (Is. liv. 11; A. V. "I will lay thy stones with fair colours"). Whether the custom of staining the hands and feet, particularly the nails, now so prevalent in the East, was known to the Hebrews, is doubtful. The plant, *henna*, which is used for that purpose, was certainly known (Cant. i. 14; A. V. "camphire"), and the expressions in Cant. v. 14 may possibly refer to the custom.

[W. L. B.]

Ancient Vessel and Probe for Kohl.

PAI. [PAU.]

PALACE. There are few tasks more difficult or puzzling than the attempt to restore an ancient building of which we possess nothing but two verbal descriptions, and these difficulties are very much enhanced when one account is written in a language like Hebrew, the scientific terms in which are, from our ignorance, capable of the widest latitude of interpretation; and the other, though written in a language of which we have a more definite knowledge, was composed by a person who never could have seen the buildings he was describing.

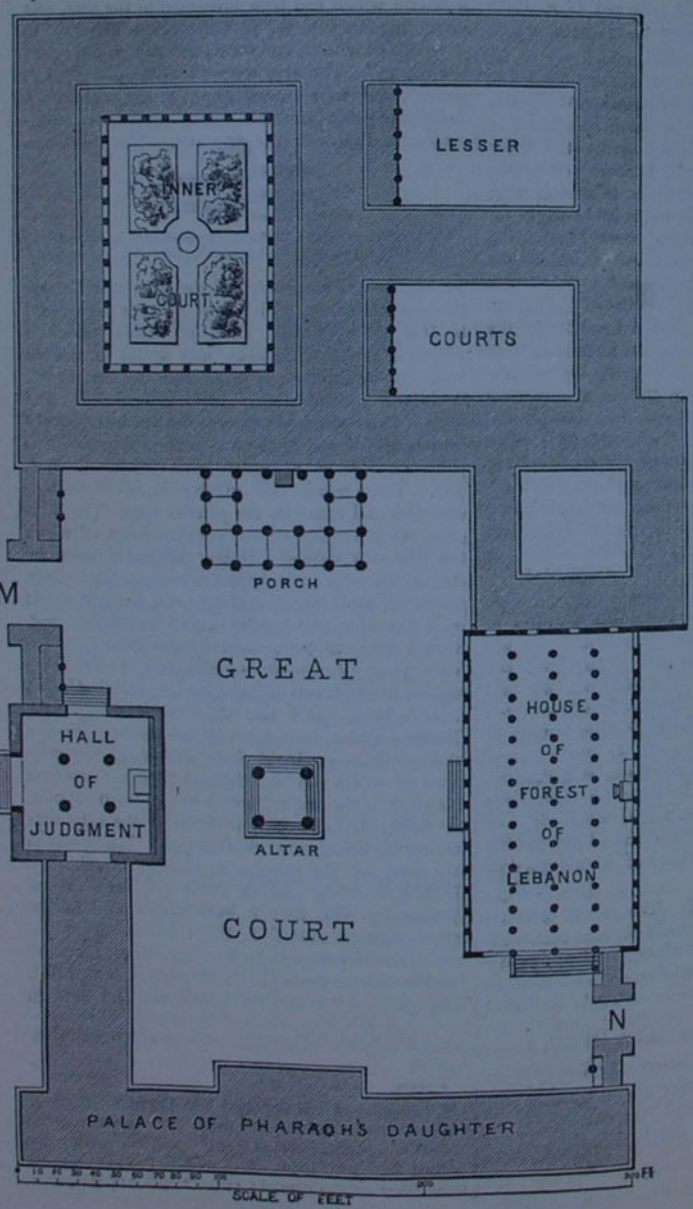


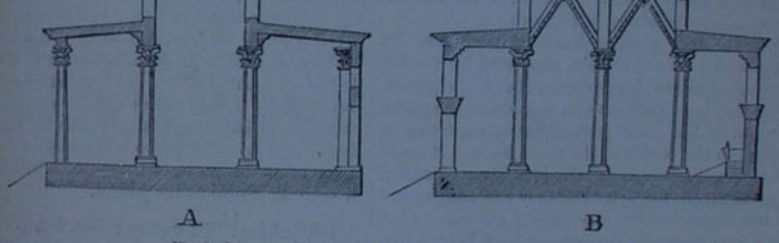
Fig. 1. Diagram Plan of Solomon's Palace.

Notwithstanding this, the palace which Solomon occupied himself in erecting during the thirteen years after he had finished the Temple is a building of such world-wide notoriety, that it cannot be without interest to the Biblical student that those who have made a special study of the subject, and who are familiar with the arrangements of Eastern palaces, should submit their ideas on the subject; and it is also important that our knowledge on this, as on all other matters connected with the Bible, should be brought down to the latest date. Almost all the restorations of this celebrated edifice which are found in earlier editions of the Bible are what may be called Vitruvian, viz. based on the principles of Classical architecture, which were the only ones known to their authors. During the earlier part of this century attempts were made to introduce the principles of Egyptian design into these restorations, but with even less success. The Jews

ancient Egypt and all that it contained, and everything they did, or even thought, was antagonistic to the arts and feelings of that land of bondage. On the other hand, the exhumation of the palaces of Nineveh, and the more careful examination of those at Persepolis, have thrown a flood of light on the subject. Many expressions which before were entirely unintelligible are now clear and easily understood, and, if we cannot yet explain everything, we know at least where to look for analogies, and what was the character, even if we cannot predicate the exact form, of the buildings in question.

The site of the Palace of Solomon was almost certainly in the city itself, on the brow opposite to the Temple, and overlooking it and the whole city of David. It is impossible, of course, to be at all certain what was either the form or the exact disposition of such a palace, but, as we have the dimensions of the three principal buildings given in the book of Kings, and confirmed by Josephus, we may, by taking these as a scale, ascertain pretty nearly that the building covered somewhere about 150,000 or 160,000 square feet. Less would not suffice for the accommodation specified, and more would not be justified, either from the accounts we have, or the dimensions of the city in which it was situated. Whether it was a square of 400 feet each way, or an oblong of about 550 feet by 300, as represented in the annexed diagram, must always be more or less a matter of conjecture. The form here adopted seems to suit better not only the exigencies of the site, but the known disposition of the parts.

The principal building situated within the Palace was, as in all Eastern palaces, the great hall of state and audience; here called the "House of the Forest of Lebanon." Its dimensions were 100 cubits, or 150 feet long, by half that, or 75 feet in width. According to the Bible (1 K. vii. 2) it had "*four* rows of cedar pillars with cedar beams upon the pillars;" but it is added in the next verse that "it was covered with cedar above the beams that lay on 45 pillars, 15 in a row." This would be easily explicable if the description stopped there, and so Josephus took it. He evidently considered the hall, as he afterwards described the Stoa basilica of the Temple, as consisting of four rows of columns, three standing free, but the fourth built into the outer wall (*Ant.* xi. 5); and his expression that the ceiling of the palace hall was in the Corinthian manner (*Ant.* vii. 5. §2) does not mean that it was of that *order*, which was not then invented, but after the fashion of what was called in his day a Corinthian oecus, viz. a hall with a clerestory. If we, like Josephus, are contented with these indications, the section of the hall was



A B

Fig. 2. Diagram Sections of the House of Cedars of Lebanon.

certainly as shown in fig. A. But the Bible goes on to say (ver. 4) that "there were windows in three rows, and light was against light in three ranks," and in the next verse it repeats, "and light was against light in three ranks." Josephus escapes the difficulty by saying it was lighted by "θυρώμασι τριγλύφοις," or by windows in three divisions, which might be taken as an extremely probable description if the Bible were not so very specific regarding it; and we must therefore adopt some such arrangement as that shown in fig. B. Though other arrangements might be suggested, on the whole it appears probable that this is the one nearest the truth; as it admits of a clerestory, to which Josephus evidently refers, and shows the three rows of columns which the Bible description requires. Besides the clerestory there was probably a range of openings under the cornice of the walls, and then a range of open doorways, which would thus make the three openings required by the Bible description. In a hotter climate the first arrangement (fig. A) would be the more probable; but on a site so exposed and occasionally so cold as Jerusalem, it is scarcely likely that the great hall of the Palace was permanently open even on one side.

Another difficulty in attempting to restore this hall arises from the number of pillars being unequal ("15 in a row"), and if we adopt the last theory (fig. B), we have a row of columns in the centre both ways. The probability is that it was closed, as shown in the plan, by a wall at one end, which would give 15 spaces to the 15 pillars, and so provide a central space in the longer dimension of the hall in which the throne might have been placed. If the first theory be adopted, the throne may have stood either at the end, or in the centre of the longer side, but, judging from what we know of the arrangement of Eastern palaces, we may be almost certain that the latter is the correct position.

Next in importance to the building just described is the hall or porch of judgment (ver. 7), which Josephus distinctly tells us (*Ant.* vii. 5, §1) was situated opposite to the centre of the longer side of the great hall: an indication which may be admitted with less hesitation, as such a position is identical with that of a similar hall at Persepolis, and with the probable position of one at Khorsabad.

Its dimensions were 50 cubits, or 75 feet square (Josephus says 30 in one direction at least), and its disposition can easily be understood by comparing the descriptions we have with the remains of the Assyrian and Persian examples. It must have been supported by four pillars in the centre, and had

three entrances; the principal opening from the street and facing the judgment-seat, a second from the court-yard of the Palace, by which the councillors and officers of state might come in, and a third from the Palace, reserved for the king and his household as shown in the plan (fig. 1, N).

The third edifice is merely called "the Porch." Its dimensions were 50 by 30 cubits, or 75 feet by 45. Josephus does not describe its architecture; and we are unable to understand the description contained in the Bible, owing apparently to our ignorance of the synonyms of the Hebrew architectural terms. Its use, however, cannot be considered as doubtful, as it was an indispensable adjunct to an Eastern palace. It was the ordinary place of business of the palace, and the reception-room—the Guesten Hall—where the king received ordinary visitors, and sat, except on great state occasions, to transact the business of the kingdom.

Behind this, we are told, was the inner court, adorned with gardens and fountains, and surrounded by cloisters for shade; and besides this were other courts for the residence of the attendants and guards, and in Solomon's case, for the three hundred women of his hareem: all of which are shown in the plan with more clearness than can be conveyed by a verbal description.

Apart from this palace, but attached, as Josephus tells us, to the Hall of Judgment, was the palace of Pharaoh's daughter—too proud and important a personage to be grouped with the ladies of the hareem, and requiring a residence of her own.

There is still another building mentioned by Josephus, as a *naos* or temple, supported by massive columns, and situated opposite the Hall of Judgment. It may thus have been outside, in front of the palace in the city; but more probably was, as shown in the plan, in the centre of the great court. It could not have been a temple in the ordinary acceptation of the term, as the Jews had only one temple, and that was situated on the other side of the valley; but it may have been an altar covered by a baldachino. This would equally meet the exigencies of the description as well as the probabilities of the case; and so it has been represented in the plan (fig. 1).

If the site and disposition of the Palace were as above indicated, it would require two great portals; one leading from the city to the great court, shown at M; the other to the Temple and the king's garden, at N. This last was probably situated where the stairs then were which led up to the City of David, and where the bridge afterwards joined the Temple to the city and palace.

The recent discoveries at Nineveh have enabled us to understand many of the architectural details of this palace, which before they were made were nearly wholly inexplicable. We are told, for instance, that the walls of the halls of the palace were wainscotted with three tiers of stone, apparently versicoloured marbles, hewn and polished, and surmounted by a fourth course, elaborately carved with representations of leafage and flowers. Above this the walls were plastered and ornamented with coloured arabesques. At Nineveh the walls were, like these, wainscotted to a height of about eight feet, but with alabaster, a peculiar product of the country, and these were separated from the painted space above by an architectural band; the real difference being that the Assyrians revelled in sculptural representations of men and animals, as we now know from the sculptures brought home, as well as from the passage in Ezekiel (xxiii. 14) where he describes "men pourtrayed on the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion," &c. These modes of decoration were forbidden to the Jews by the second commandment, given to them in consequence of their residence in Egypt and their consequent tendency to that multiform idolatry. Some difference may also be due to the fact that the soft alabaster, though admirably suited to basi-relief, was not suited for sharp deeply-cut foliage sculpture, like that described by Josephus; while, at the same time, the hard material used by the Jews might induce them to limit their ornamentation to one band only. It is probable, however, that a considerable amount of colour was used in the decoration of these palaces, not only from the constant reference to gold and gilding in Solomon's buildings, and because that as a colour could hardly be used alone, but also from such passages as the following:—"Build me a wide house and large"—or throughaired—"chambers, and cutteth out windows; and it is cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion" (Jer. xxii. 14). It may also be added, that in the East all buildings, with scarcely an exception, are adorned with colour internally, generally the three primitive colours used in all their intensity, but so balanced as to produce the most harmonious results.

Although incidental mention is made of other palaces at Jerusalem and elsewhere, they are all of subsequent ages, and built under the influence of Roman art, and therefore not so interesting to the Biblical student as this. Besides, none of them are anywhere so described as to enable their disposition or details to be made out with the same degree of clearness, and no instruction would be conveyed by merely reiterating the rhetorical flourishes in which Josephus indulges when describing them; and no other palace is described in the Bible itself so as to render its elucidation indispensable in such an article as the present. [J. F.]

PA'LAL (פָּלָל: Φαλάχ; Alex. Φαλάξ: *Phalal*). The son of Uzai, who assisted in restoring the walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 25).

PALESTI'NA and PALESTINE. These two forms occur in the A. V. but four times in all, always in poetical passages: the first, in Ex. xv. 14, and Is. xiv. 29, 31; the second, Joel iii. 4. In each case the Hebrew is פְּלֶשֶׁת, *Pelésheth*, a word found, besides the above, only in Ps. lx. 8, lxxxiii. 7, lxxxvii. 4, and cviii. 9, in all which our translators have rendered it by "Philistia" or "Philistines." The LXX. has in Ex. Φυλιστιείμ, but in Is. and Joel ἀλλόφυλοι; the Vulg. in Ex. *Philisthiim*, in Is. *Philisthaea*, in Joel *Palaesthini*. The apparent ambiguity in the different renderings of the A. V. is in reality no ambiguity at all, for at the date of that translation "Palestine" was synonymous with "Philistia." Thus Milton, with his usual accuracy in such points, mentions Dagon as

> "dreaded through the coast
> Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
> And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds":—
> (*Par. Lost*, i. 464)

and again as

> "That twice-battered god of Palestine":—
> (*Hymn on Nat.* 197)

—where if any proof be wanted that his meaning is restricted to Philistia, it will be found in the fact

that he has previously connected other deities with the other parts of the Holy Land. See also, still more decisively, *Samson Ag.* 144, 1098.[a] But even without such evidence, the passages themselves show how our translators understood the word. Thus in Ex. xv. 14, "Palestine," Edom, Moab, and Canaan are mentioned as the nations alarmed at the approach of Israel. In Is. xiv. 29, 31, the prophet warns "Palestine" not to rejoice at the death of king Ahaz, who had subdued it. In Joel iii. 4, Phoenicia and "Palestine" are upbraided with cruelties practised on Judah and Jerusalem.

Palestine, then, in the Authorised Version, really means nothing but Philistia. The original Hebrew word *Pelesheth*, which, as shown above, is elsewhere translated Philistia, to the Hebrews signified merely the long and broad strip of maritime plain inhabited by their encroaching neighbours. We shall see that they never applied the name to the whole country. An inscription of Iva-lush, king of Assyria (probably the Pul of Scripture), as deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson, names "Palaztu on the Western Sea," and distinguishes it from Tyre, Damascus, Samaria, and Edom (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 467). In the same restricted sense it was probably employed—if employed at all—by the ancient Egyptians, in whose records at Karnak the name *Pulusatu* has been deciphered in close connexion with that of the *Shairutana* or *Sharu*, possibly the Sidonians or Syrians (Birch, doubtfully, in Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 407 *note*). Nor does it appear that at first it signified more to the Greeks. As lying next the sea, and as being also the high road from Egypt to Phoenicia and the richer regions north of it, the Philistine plain became sooner known to the western world than the country further inland, and was called by them Syria Palaestina — Συρίη Παλαιστίνη — Philistine Syria. This name is first found in Herodotus (i. 105; ii. 104; iii. 5; vii. 89); and there can be little doubt that on each occasion he is speaking of the coast, and the coast[b] only. (See also the testimony of Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §2.) From thence it was gradually extended to the country further inland, till in the Roman and later Greek authors, both heathen and Christian, it becomes the usual appellation for the whole country of the Jews, both west and east of Jordan. (See the citations of Reland, *Pal.* chaps. vii. viii.) Nor was its use confined to heathen writers: it even obtained among the Jews themselves. Josephus generally uses the name for the country and nation of the Philistines (*Ant.* xi. 5, §10; vi. 1, §1, &c.), but on one or two occasions he employs it in the wider sense (*Ant.* i. 6, §4; viii. 10, §3; *c. Ap.* i. 22). So does Philo, *De Abrah.* and *De Vita Mosis*. It is even found in such thoroughly Jewish works as the Talmudic treatises *Bereshith Rabba* and *Echa Rabbathi* (Reland, 39); and it is worthy of notice how much the feeling of the nation must have degenerated before they could apply to the Promised Land the name of its bitterest enemies—the "uncircumcised Philistines."

Jerome (cir. A.D. 400) adheres to the ancient meaning of Palaestina, which he restricts to Philistia (see *Ep. ad Dardanum*, §4: *Comm. in Esaiam* xiv. 29; *in Amos* i. 6).[c] So also does Procopius of Gaza (cir. A.D. 510) in a curious passage on Gerar, in his comment on 2 Chr. xiv. 13.

The word is now so commonly employed in our more familiar language to designate the whole country of Israel, that, although biblically a misnomer, it has been chosen here as the most convenient heading under which to give a general description of THE HOLY LAND, embracing those points which have not been treated under the separate headings of cities or tribes.

This description will most conveniently divide itself into two sections:—

I. The Names applied to the country of Israel in the Bible and elsewhere.

II. The Land: its situation, aspect, climate, physical characteristics, in connexion with its history; its structure, botany, and natural history.[d]

The history of the country is so fully given under its various headings throughout the work, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate it here.

I. THE NAMES.

PALESTINE, then, is designated in the Bible by more than one name:—

1. During the Patriarchal period, the Conquest, and the age of the Judges, and also where those early periods are referred to in the later literature (as Ps. cv. 11; and Joseph. *Ant.* i. 7; 8; 20; v. 1, &c.), it is spoken of as "Canaan," or more frequently "the Land of Canaan," meaning thereby the country west of the Jordan, as opposed to "the Land of Gilead" on the east. [CANAAN, LAND OF, vol. i. 246.] Other designations, during the same

[a] *Paradise Lost* was written between 1660 and 1670. Shakspere, on the other hand, uses the word in its modern sense in two passages, *King John*, Act ii. Sc. 1, and *Othello*, Act iv. Sc. 3: the date of the former of these plays is 1596, that of the latter 1602. But Shakspere and Milton wrote for different audiences; and the language of the one would be as modern (for the time) as that of the other was classical and antique. That the name was changing its meaning from the restricted to the general sense just attainable from two Indexes "of the Hardest Wordes," appended to successive editions of Sylvester's Du Bartas (1605 and 1608), in one of which it is explained as "Judea, the Holy Land, first called Canaan," and in the other "the Land of the Philistines." Fuller, in his 'Pisgah-sight of Palestine' (1650), of course uses it in the largest sense; but it is somewhat remarkable that he says nothing whatever of the signification of the name. In France the original narrow signification has been retained. Thus in chap. xxxi. of Volney's *Travels* treats of "Palestine, *i. e.* the plain which terminates the country of Syria on the west," and "comprehends the whole country between the Mediterranean on the west, the mountains on the east, and two lines, one drawn by Khan Younes, and the other between Kaisaria and the rivulet of Yafa." It is thus used repeatedly by Napoleon I. in his despatches and correspondence. See *Corresp. de Nap.* Nos. 4020, 4035, &c.

[b] In the second of these passages, he seems to extend it as far north as *Beirût*—If the sculptures of the *Nahr el Kelb* are the *stelae* of Sesostris.

[c] In his *Epit. Paulae* (§8) he extends the region of the Philistines as far north as Dor, close under Mount Carmel. We have seen above that Herodotus extends Palestine to *Beirût*. Caesarea was anciently entitled C. Palaestinae, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name, and it would seem to be even still called *Kaisariyeh Felistin* by the Arabs (see note to Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 387, July 15; also Schultens, *Index. Geogr.* 'Caesarea'). Ramleh, 10 miles east of Jaffa, retained in the time of hap-Parchi the same affix (see Asher's B. of Tudela, ii. 439). He identifies the latter with Gath.

[d] The reader will observe that the botany and natural history have been treated by Dr. Hooker and the Rev. W. Houghton (pp. 681; 687). The paper of the former distinguished botanist derives a peculiar value from the fact that he has visited Palestine.

early period, are "the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. xl. 15 only—a natural phrase in the mouth of Joseph); the "land of the Hittites" (Josh. i. 4): a remarkable expression, occurring here only in the Bible, though frequently used in the Egyptian records of Rameses II., in which *Cheta* or *Chita* appears to denote the whole country of Lower and Middle Syria. (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschrift.* ii. 21, &c.) The name *Ta-netr* (*i. e.* Holy Land), which is found in the inscriptions of Rameses II. and Thothmes III., is believed by M. Brugsch to refer to Palestine (*Ibid.* 17). But this is contested by M. de Rougé (*Revue Archéologique*, Sept. 1861, p. 216). The Phoenicians appear to have applied the title Holy Land to their own country, and possibly also to Palestine at a very early date (Brugsch, 17). If this can be substantiated, it opens a new view to the Biblical student, inasmuch as it would seem to imply that the country had a reputation for sanctity before its connexion with the Hebrews.

2. During the Monarchy the name usually, though not frequently, employed, is "Land of Israel" (אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל; 1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 K. v. 2, 4, vi. 23; 1 Chr. xxii. 2; 2 Chr. ii. 17). Of course this must not be confounded with the same appellation as applied to the northern kingdom only (2 Chr. xxx. 25; Ez. xxvii. 17). It is Ezekiel's favourite expression, though he commonly alters its form slightly, substituting אַדְמַת for אֶרֶץ. The pious and loyal aspirations of Hosea find vent in the expression "land of Jehovah" (Hos. ix. 3; comp. Is. lxii. 4, &c., and indeed Lev. xxv. 23, &c.). In Zechariah it is "the Holy land" (Zech. ii. 12); and in Daniel "the glorious land" (Dan. xi. 41). In Amos (ii. 10) alone it is "the land of the Amorite;" perhaps with a glance at Deut. i. 7. Occasionally it appears to be mentioned simply as "The Land;" as in Ruth i. 1; Jer. xxii. 27; 1 Macc. xiv. 4; Luke iv. 25, and perhaps even xxiii. 44. The later Jewish writers are fond of this title, of which several examples will be found in Reland, *Pal.* chap. v.

3. Between the Captivity and the time of our Lord the name "Judaea" had extended itself from the southern portion to the whole of the country,[e] even that beyond Jordan (Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14, §1; xii. 4, §11). In the book of Judith it is applied to the portion between the plain of Esdraelon and Samaria (xi. 19), as it is in Luke xxiii. 5; though it is also used in the stricter sense of Judaea proper (John iv. 3, vii. 1), that is, the most southern of the three main divisions west of Jordan. In this narrower sense it is employed throughout 1 Macc. (see especially ix. 50, x. 30, 38, xi. 34).

In the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 9) we find Palestine spoken of as "the land of promise;" and in 2 Esdr. xiv. 31, it is called "the land of Sion."

4. The Roman division of the country hardly coincided with the biblical one, and it does not appear that the Romans had any distinct name for that which we understand by Palestine. The province of Syria, established by Pompey, of which Scaurus was the first governor (quaestor propraetore) in 62 B.C., seems to have embraced the whole seaboard from the Bay of Issus (*Iskanderún*) to Egypt, as far back as it was habitable, that is, up to the desert which forms the background to the whole district. "Judaea" in their phrase appears to have signified so much of this country as intervened between Idumaea on the south, and the territories of the numerous free cities, on the north and west, which were established with the establishment of the province—such as Scythopolis, Sebaste, Joppa, Azotus, &c. (*Dict. of Geography*, ii. 1077). The district east of the Jordan, lying between it and the desert—at least so much of it as was not covered by the lands of Pella, Gadara, Canatha, Philadelphia, and other free towns—was called Peraea.

5. Soon after the Christian era, we find the name Palaestina in possession of the country. Ptolemy (A.D. 161) thus applies it (*Geogr.* v. 16). "The arbitrary divisions of Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia, settled at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th cent. (see the quotations from the *Cod. Theodos.* in Reland, p. 205), are still observed in the documents of the Eastern Church" (*Dict. of Geog.* ii. 533*a*). Palaestina Tertia, of which Petra was the capital, was however out of the biblical limits; and the portions of Peraea not comprised in Pal. Secunda were counted as in Arabia.

6. Josephus usually employs the ancient name "Canaan" in reference to the events of the earlier history, but when speaking of the country in reference to his own time styles it Judaea (*Ant.* i. 6, §2, &c.); though as that was the Roman name for the southern province, it is sometimes (*e. g. B. J.* i. 1, §1; iii. 3, §5*b*) difficult to ascertain whether he is using it in its wider or narrower[f] sense. In the narrower sense he certainly does often employ it (*e. g. Ant.* v. 1, §22; *B. J.* iii. 3, §4, 5*a*). Nicolaus of Damascus applies the name to the whole country (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 7, §2).

The Talmudists and other Jewish writers use the title of the "Land of Israel." As the Greeks styled all other nations but their own Barbarian, so the Rabbis divide the whole world into two parts—the Land of Israel, and the regions outside it.[g]

7. The name most frequently used throughout the middle ages, and down to our own time, is *Terra Sancta*—the Holy Land. In the long list of Travels and Treatises given by Ritter (*Erdkunde, Jordan*, 31-55), Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 534-555), and Bonar (*Land of Promise*, 517-535), it predominates far beyond any other appellation. Quaresmius, in his *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae* (i. 9, 10), after enumerating the various names above mentioned, concludes by adducing seven reasons why that which he has embodied in the title of his own work, "though of later date than the rest, yet in excellency and dignity surpasses them all;" closing with the words of Pope Urban II. addressed to the Council of Clermont:—*Quam terram merito Sanctam diximus, in quâ non est etiam passus pedis quem non illustraverit et sanctificaverit vel corpus vel vestigium Salvatoris, vel gloriosa praesentia Sanctae Dei genitricis, vel amplectendus Apostolorum consortium, vel martyrum ebibendus sanguis effusus.*

[e] An indication of this is discovered by Reland (*Pal.* 32), as early as the time of Solomon, in the terms of 2 Chr. ix. 11; but there is nothing to imply that "Judah" in that passage means more than the actual territory of the tribe.

[f] This very ambiguity is a sign (notwithstanding all that Josephus says of the population and importance of Galilee) that the southern province was by far the most important part of the country. It conferred its name on the whole.

[g] See the citations in Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Israelitae Eretz"; and the Itineraries of Benjamin Parchi; Isaac ben Chelo, in Carmoly; &c.

II. The Land.

The Holy Land is not in size or physical characteristics proportioned to its moral and historical position, as the theatre of the most momentous events in the world's history. It is but a strip of country, about the size of Wales, less than 140 miles[h] in length, and barely 40[i] in average breadth, on the very frontier of the East, hemmed in between the Mediterranean Sea on the one hand, and the enormous trench of the Jordan-valley on the other, by which it is effectually cut off from the mainland of Asia behind it. On the north it is shut in by the high ranges of Lebanon and anti-Lebanon, and by the chasm of the Litâny,[j] which runs at their feet and forms the main drain of their southern slopes. On the south it is no less enclosed by the arid and inhospitable deserts of the upper part of the peninsula of Sinai, whose undulating wastes melt imperceptibly into the southern hills of Judæa.

1. Its position on the Map of the World—as the world was when the Holy Land first made its appearance in history—is a remarkable one.

(1.) It is on the very outpost—on the extremest western edge of the East, pushed forward, as it were, by the huge continent of Asia, which almost seems to have rejected and cut off from communication with itself this tiny strip, by the broad and impassable desert interposed between it and the vast tracts of Mesopotamia and Arabia in its rear. On the shore of the Mediterranean it stands, as if it had advanced as far as possible towards the West—towards that New World which in the fulness of time it was so mightily to affect; separated therefrom by that which, when the time arrived, proved to be no barrier, but the readiest medium of communication—the wide waters of the "Great Sea." Thus it was open to all the gradual influences of the rising communities of the West, while it was saved from the retrogression and decrepitude which have ultimately been the doom of all purely Eastern States whose connexions were limited to the East[k] only. And when at last its ruin was effected, and the nation of Israel driven from its home, it transferred without obstacle the result of its long training to those regions of the West with which by virtue of its position it was in ready communication.

(2.) There was however one channel, and but one, by which it could reach and be reached by the great Oriental empires. The only road by which the two great rivals of the ancient world could approach one another—by which alone Egypt could get to Assyria, and Assyria to Egypt—lay along the broad flat strip of coast which formed the maritime portion of the Holy Land, and thence by the Plain of the Lebanon to the Euphrates. True, this road did not, as we shall see, lie actually through the country, but at the foot of the highlands which virtually composed the Holy Land; still the proximity was too close not to be full of danger; and though the catastrophe was postponed for many centuries, yet, when it actually arrived, it arrived through this channel.

(3.) After this the Holy Land became (like the Netherlands in Europe) the convenient arena on which in successive ages the hostile powers who contended for the empire of the East, fought their battles. Here the Seleucidæ routed, or were routed by, the Ptolemies; here the Romans vanquished the Parthians, the Persians, and the Jews themselves; and here the armies of France, England, and Germany, fought the hosts of Saladin.

2. It is essentially a mountainous country. Not that it contains independent mountain chains, as in Greece for example, dividing one region from another, with extensive valleys or plains between and among them—but that every part of the highland is in greater or less undulation. From its station in the north, the range of Lebanon pushes forth before it a multitude of hills and eminences, which crowd one another more or less thickly[l] over the face of the country to its extreme south limit. But it is not only a mountainous country. It contains in combination with its mountains a remarkable arrangement of plains, such as few other countries can show, which indeed form its chief peculiarity, and have had an equal, if not a more important, bearing on its history than the mountains themselves. The mass of hills which occupies the centre of the country is bordered or framed on both sides, east and west, by a broad belt of lowland, sunk deep below its own level. The slopes or cliffs which form, as it were, the retaining walls of this depression, are furrowed and cleft by the torrent beds which discharge the waters of the hills, and form the means of communication between the upper and lower level. On the west this lowland interposes between the mountains and the sea, and is the Plain of Philistia and of Sharon. On the east it is the broad bottom of the Jordan valley, deep down in which rushes the one river of Palestine to its grave in the Dead Sea.

3. Such is the first general impression of the physiognomy of the Holy Land. It is a physiognomy compounded of the three main features already named—the plains, the highland hills, and the torrent beds: features which are marked in the words of its earliest describers (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 16, xii. 8), and which must be comprehended by every one who wishes to understand

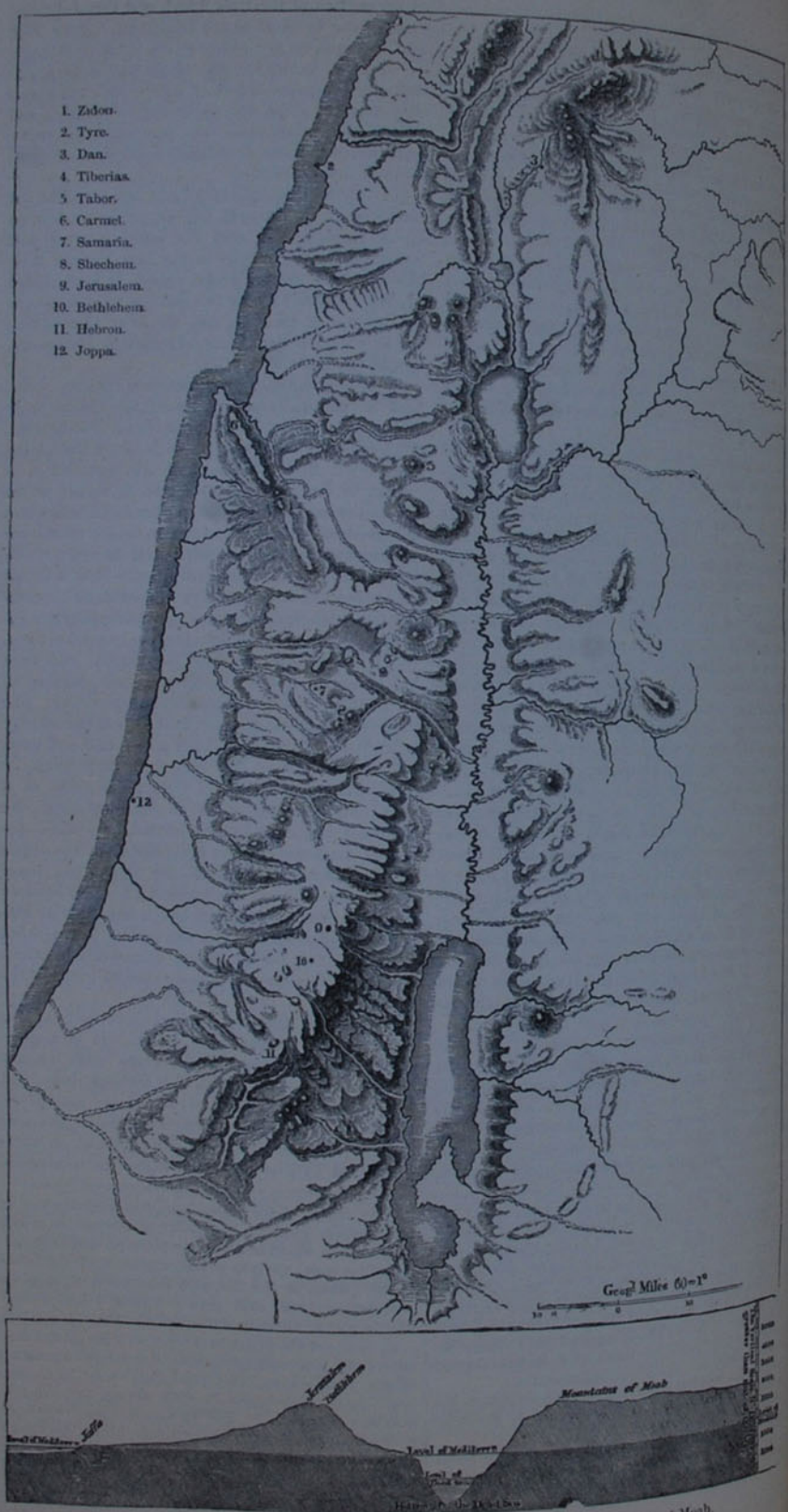
[h] The latitude of *Banias*, the ancient Dan, is 33° 16′, and that of Beersheba 31° 16′; thus the distance between these two points—the one at the north, the other at the south—is 2 degrees, 120 geogr. or 139 English miles.

[i] The breadth of the country at Gaza, from the shore of the Mediterranean to that of the Dead Sea, is 48 geogr. miles, while at the latitude of the *Litâny* from the coast to the Jordan it is 20. The average of the breadths between these two parallels, taken at each half degree, gives 34 geogr. miles, or just 40 English miles.

[j] The latitude of the Litâny (or *Kasîmiyeh*) differs but slightly from that of *Banias*. Its mouth is given by Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 59) at 33° 20′.

[k] The contrast between East and West, and the position of the Holy Land as on the confines of each, is happily given in a passage in *Eothen* (chap. 28)

[l] The district of the Surrey hills about Caterham, in its most regular portions, if denuded of most of its wood, turf, and soil, would be not unlike many parts of Palestine So are (or were) the hills of Roxburghshire on the banks of the Tweed, as the following description of them by Washington Irving will shew:—"From a hill which" like Gerizim or Olivet "commanded an extensive prospect . . . . . I gazed about me for a time with surprise, I may almost say with disappointment. I beheld a succession of grey waving hills, line beyond line, as far as my eye could reach, monotonous in their aspect, and entirely destitute of trees . . . . . The far-famed Tweed appeared a naked stream flowing between bare hills. And yet" (what is even more applicable to the Holy Land) "such had been the magic web thrown over the whole, that it had a greater charm than the richest scenery in England."



MAP OF PALESTINE, with section of the country from Jaffa to the mountains of Moab.

the country, and the intimate connexion existing between its structure and its history. In the accompanying sketch-map an attempt has been made to exhibit these features with greater distinctness than is usual, or perhaps possible, in maps containing more detail.

On a nearer view we shall discover some traits not observed at first, which add sensibly to the expression of this interesting countenance. About halfway up the coast the maritime plain is suddenly interrupted by a long ridge thrown out from the central mass, rising considerably[m] above the general level, and terminating in a bold promontory on the very edge of the Mediterranean. This ridge is Mount Carmel. On its upper side, the plain, as if to compensate for its temporary displacement, invades the centre of the country and forms an undulating hollow right across it from the Mediterranean to the Jordan valley. This central lowland, which divides with its broad depression the mountains of Ephraim from the mountains of Galilee, is the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, the great battle-field of Palestine. North of Carmel the lowland resumes its position by the sea-side till it is again interrupted and finally put an end to by the northern mountains which push their way out to the sea, ending in the white promontory of the *Ras Nakhûra*. Above this is the ancient Phoenicia—a succession of headlands sweeping down to the ocean, and leaving but few intervals of beach. Behind Phoenicia—north of Esdraelon, and enclosed between it, the Litâny, and the upper valley of the Jordan—is a continuation of the mountain district, not differing materially in structure or character from that to the south, but rising gradually in occasional elevation until it reaches the main ranges of Lebanon and anti-Lebanon (or Hermon), as from their lofty heights they overlook the whole land below them, of which they are indeed the parents.

4. The country thus roughly portrayed, and which, as before stated, is less than 140 miles in length, and not more than 40 in average breadth, is to all intents and purposes the whole Land of Israel. The northern portion is Galilee; the centre, Samaria; the south, Judaea. This is the Land of Canaan which was bestowed on Abraham; the covenanted home of his descendants. The two tribes and a half remained on the uplands beyond Jordan, instead of advancing to take their portion with the rest within its circumvallation of defence; but that act appears to have formed no part of the original plan. It arose out of an accidental circumstance,—the abundance of cattle which they had acquired during their stay in Egypt, or during the transit through the wilderness,—and its result was, that the tribes in question soon ceased to have any close connexion with the others, or to form any virtual part of the nation. But even this definition might without impropriety be further circumscribed; for during the greater part of the O. T. times the chief events of the history were confined to the district south of Esdraelon, which contained the cities of Hebron, Jerusalem, Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria, the Mount of Olives, and the Mount Carmel. The battles of the Conquest and the early struggles of the era of the Judges once passed, Galilee subsided into obscurity and unimportance till the time of Christ.

5. Small as the Holy Land is on the map, and when contrasted either with modern states or with the two enormous ancient empires of Egypt and Assyria between which it lay, it seems even smaller to the traveller as he pursues his way through it. The long solid purple wall of the Moab and Gilead mountains, which is always in sight, and forms the background to almost every view to the eastward, is perpetually reminding him that the confines of the country in that direction are close at hand. There are numerous eminences in the highlands which command the view of both frontiers at the same time—the eastern mountains of Gilead with the Jordan at their feet on the one hand, on the other the Western Sea,[n] with its line of white sand and its blue expanse. Hermon, the apex of the country on the north, is said to have been seen from the southern end of the Dead Sea: it is certainly plain enough, from many a point nearer the centre. It is startling to find that from the top of the hills of Neby Samwil, Bethel, Tabor, Gerizim, or Safed, the eye can embrace at one glance, and almost without turning the head, such opposite points as the Lake of Galilee and the Bay of Akka, the farthest mountains of the Hauran and the long ridge of Carmel, the ravine of the Jabbok, or the green windings of Jordan, and the sand-hills of Jaffa. The impression thus produced is materially assisted by the transparent clearness of the air and the exceeding brightness of the light, by which objects that in our duller atmosphere would be invisible from each other or thrown into dim distance are made distinctly visible, and thus appear to be much nearer together than they really are.

6. The highland district, thus surrounded and intersected by its broad lowland plains, preserves from north to south a remarkably even and horizontal profile. Its average height may be taken as 1500 to 1800 feet above the Mediterranean. It can hardly be denominated a plateau, yet so evenly is the general level preserved, and so thickly do the hills stand behind and between one another, that, when seen from the coast or the western part of the maritime plain, it has quite the appearance of a wall, standing in the background of the rich district between it and the observer—a district which from its gentle undulations, and its being so nearly on a level with the eye, appears almost immeasurable in extent. This general monotony of profile is, however, accentuated at intervals by certain centres of elevation. These occur in a line almost due north and south, but lying somewhat east of the axis of the country. Beginning from the south, they are Hebron,[o] 3029 feet above the Mediterranean; Jerusalem 2610, and Mount of Olives 2724, with *Neby Samwîl* on the north 2650; Bethel, 2400; *Sinjil*, 2685; Ebal and Gerizim 2700; "Little Hermon" and Tabor (on the north side of the Plain of Esdraelon) 1900; Safed 2775; *Jebel Jurmuk* 4000. Between these elevated points runs the watershed[p] of the country, sending off on either hand—to the Jordan valley on the east and the Mediterranean on the west, and be it remem-

[m] The main ridge of Carmel is between 1700 and 1800 feet high. The hills of Samaria immediately to the S.E. of it are only about 1100 feet (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 177, 8).

[n] The same word is used in Hebrew for "sea" and for "west."

[o] The altitudes are those given by Van de Velde, after much comparison and investigation, in his *Memoir* (pp. 170-183).

[p] For the watershed see Ritter, *Erdkunde, Jordan*, 474-480. His heights have been somewhat modified by more recent observations, for which see Van de Velde's *Memoir*

bered east and west[q] only—the long tortuous arms of its many torrent beds. But though keeping north and south as its general direction, the line of the watershed is, as might be expected from the prevalent equality of level of these highlands, and the absence of anything like ridge or saddle, very irregular, the heads of the valleys on the one side often passing and "overlapping" those of the other. Thus in the territory of the ancient Benjamin, the heads of the great Wadys *Fuwar* (or *Suweinit*) and *Mutyah* (or *Kelt*)—the two main channels by which the torrents of the winter rains hurry down from the bald hills of this district into the valley of the Jordan—are at *Bireh* and *Beitîn* respectively, while the great Wady *Belât*, which enters the Mediterranean at *Nahr Aujeh* a few miles above Jaffa, stretches its long arms as far as, and even farther than, *Taiyibeh*, nearly four miles to the east of either *Bireh* or *Beitîn*. Thus also in the more northern district of Mount Ephraim around Nablus, the ramifications of that extensive system of valleys which combine to form the Wady *Ferrah*—one of the main feeders of the central Jordan—interlace and cross by many miles those of the Wady *Shair*, whose principal arm is the Valley of *Nablus*, and which pours its waters into the Mediterranean at Nahr *Falaik*.

7. The valleys on the two sides of the watershed differ considerably in character. Those on the east—owing to the extraordinary depth of the Jordan valley into which they plunge, and also to the fact already mentioned, that the watershed lies rather on that side of the highlands, thus making the fall more abrupt—are extremely steep and rugged. This is the case during the whole length of the southern and middle portions of the country. The precipitous descent between Olivet and Jericho, with which all travellers in the Holy Land are acquainted, is a type, and by no means an unfair type, of the eastern passes, from *Zuweirah* and *Ain-jidi* on the south to Wady *Bidan* on the north. It is only when the junction between the Plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan Valley is reached, that the slopes become gradual and the ground fit for the manœuvres of anything but detached bodies of foot soldiers. But, rugged and difficult as they are, they form the only access to the upper country from this side, and every man or body of men who reached the territory of Judah, Benjamin, or Ephraim from the Jordan Valley, must have climbed one or other of them.[r] The Ammonites and Moabites, who at some remote date left such lasting traces of their presence in the names of Chephar ha-Ammonai and Michmash, and the Israelites pressing forward to the relief of Gibeon and the slaughter of Beth-horon, doubtless entered alike through the great *Wady Fuwar* already spoken of. The Moabites, Edomites, and Mehunim swarmed up to their attack on Judah through the crevices of *Ain-jidi* (2 Chr. xx. 12, 16). The pass of Adummim was in the days of our Lord—what it still is—the regular route between Jericho and Jerusalem. By it Pompey advanced with his army when he took the city.

8. The western valleys are more gradual in their slope. The level of the external plain on this side is higher, and therefore the fall less, while at the same time the distance to be traversed is much greater. Thus the length of the *Wady Beit-yibeh* to the point at which it emerges on the plain of Sharon, may be taken as 20 to 25 miles, with a total difference of level during that distance of perhaps 1800 feet, while the Wady *el-Aujeh*, which falls from the other side of *Taiyibeh* into the Jordan, has a distance of barely 10 miles to reach the Jordan-valley, at the same time falling not less than 2800 feet.

Here again the valleys are the only means of communication between the lowland and the highland. From Jaffa and the central part of the plain there are two of these roads "going up to Jerusalem": the one to the right by *Ramleh* and the *Wady Aly*; the other to the left by Lydda, and thence by the Bethhorons, or the *Wady Suleiman*, and Gibeon. The former of these is modern, but the latter is the scene of many a famous incident in the ancient history. Over its long acclivities the Canaanites were driven by Joshua to their native plains; the Philistines ascended to Michmash and Geba, and fled back past Ajalon; the Syrian force was stopped and hurled back by Judas; the Roman legions of Cestius Gallus were chased pell-mell to their strongholds at Antipatris.

9. Further south, the communications between the mountains of Judah and the lowland of Philistia are hitherto comparatively unexplored. They were doubtless the scene of many a foray and repulse during the lifetime of Samson and the struggles of the Danites, but there is no record of their having been used for the passage of any important force either in ancient or modern times. North of Jaffa the passes are few. One of them, by the Wady *Belât*, led from Antipatris to Gophna. By this route St. Paul was probably conveyed away from Jerusalem. Another leads from the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal near *Kefr Saba*, to *Nablus*.—These western valleys, though easier than those on the eastern side, are of such a nature as to present great difficulties to the passage of any large force encumbered by baggage. In fact these mountain passes really formed the security of Israel, and if she had been wise enough to settle her own intestinal quarrels without reference to foreigners, the nation might, humanly speaking, have stood to the present hour. The height, and consequent strength, which was the frequent boast of the Prophets and Psalmists in regard to Jerusalem, was no less true of the whole country, rising as it does on all

[q] Except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Plain of Esdraelon, and in the extreme north—where the drainage, instead of being to the Mediterranean or the Jordan, is to the Litâny—the statement in the text is strictly accurate.

[r] Nothing can afford so strong a testimony to the really unmilitary genius of the Canaanites, and subsequently, in their turn, of the Jews also, as the way in which they suffered their conquerors again and again to advance through these defiles, where their destruction might so easily have been effected. They always retired at once, and, shutting themselves up in their strongholds, awaited the attack there. From Jericho, Hebron, Jerusalem, to Sillistria, the story is one and the same,—the dislike of Orientals to fight in the open field, and their power of determined resistance when entrenched behind fortifications.

[s] Richard I., when intending to attack Jerusalem, moved from Ascalon to Blanche Garde (*Safer*, or *Tell es Safieh*), on the edge of the mountains of Judæa; and then, instead of taking a direct route to the Holy City through the passes of the mountains, turned northwards over the plain and took the road from Ramleh to Bettenuble (*Nuba*), that is, the ordinary approach from Jaffa to Jerusalem; a circuit of at least four days. (See Vinisauf, v. 18, in *Chron. of Crusades*. 294.)

sides from plains so much below it in level. The armies of Egypt and Assyria, as they traced and retraced their path between Pelusium and Carchemish, must have looked at the long wall of heights which closed in the broad level roadway they were pursuing, as belonging to a country with which they had no concern. It was to them a natural mountain fastness, the approach to which was beset with difficulties, while its bare and soilless hills were hardly worth the trouble of conquering, in comparison with the rich green plains of the Euphrates and the Nile, or even with the boundless cornfield through which they were marching. This may be fairly inferred from various notices in Scripture and in contemporary history. The Egyptian kings, from Rameses II. and Thothmes III. to Pharaoh Necho, were in the constant habit[t] of pursuing this route during their expeditions against the Chatti, or Hittites, in the north of Syria; and the two last-named monarchs[u] fought battles at Megiddo, without, as far as we[x] know, having taken the trouble to penetrate into the interior of the country. The Pharaoh who was Solomon's contemporary came up the Philistine plain as far as Gezer (probably about *Ramleh*), and besieged and destroyed it, without leaving any impression of uneasiness in the annals of Israel. Later in the monarchy, Psammetichus besieged Ashdod in the Philistine plain for the extraordinary period of twenty-nine years (Herod. ii. 157); during a portion of that time an Assyrian army probably occupied part of the same[y] district, endeavouring to relieve the town. The battles must have been frequent; and yet the only reference to these events in the Bible is the mention of the Assyrian general by Isaiah (xx. 1), in so casual a manner as to lead irresistibly to the conclusion that neither Egyptians nor Assyrians had come up into the highland. This is illustrated by Napoleon's campaign in Palestine. He entered it from Egypt by *El-Arish*, and after overrunning the whole of the lowland, and taking Gaza, Jaffa, Ramleh, and the other places on the plain, he writes to the sheikhs of Nablus and Jerusalem, announcing that he has no intention of making war against them (*Corresp. de Nap.* No. 4020, "19 Ventose, 1799"). To use his own words, the highland country "did not lie within his base of operations;" and it would have been a waste of time, or worse, to ascend thither.

In the later days of the Jewish nation, and during the Crusades, Jerusalem became the great object of contest; and then the battlefield of the country, which had originally been Esdraelon, was transferred to the maritime plain at the foot of the passes communicating most directly with the capital. Here Judas Maccabaeus achieved some of his greatest triumphs; and here some of Herod's most decisive actions were fought; and Blanchegarde, Ascalon, Jaffa, and Beitnuba (the Bettenuble of the Crusading historian), still shine with the brightest rays of the valour of Richard the First.

10. When the highlands of the country are more closely examined, a considerable difference will be found to exist in the natural condition and appearance of their different portions. The south, as being nearer the arid desert, and farther removed from the drainage of the mountains, is drier and less productive than the north. The tract below Hebron, which forms the link between the hills of Judah and the desert, was known to the ancient Hebrews by a term originally derived from its dryness (*Negeb*). This was THE SOUTH country. It contained the territory which Caleb bestowed on his daughter, and which he had afterwards to endow specially with the "upper and lower springs" of a less parched locality (Josh. xv. 19). Here lived Nabal, so chary of his "water" (1 Sam. xxv. 11); and here may well have been the scene of the composition of the 63rd Psalm[z]—the "dry and thirsty land where no water is." As the traveller advances north of this tract there is an improvement; but perhaps no country equally cultivated is more monotonous, bare, or uninviting in its aspect, than a great part of the highlands of Judah and Benjamin during the largest portion of the year. The spring covers even those bald grey rocks with verdure and colour, and fills the ravines with torrents of rushing water; but in summer and autumn the look of the country from Hebron up to Bethel is very dreary and desolate. The flowers, which for a few weeks give so brilliant[a] and varied a hue to whole districts, wither and vanish before the first fierce rays of the sun of summer: they are "to-day in the field—to-morrow cast into the oven." Rounded[b] hills of moderate height fill up the view on every side, their coarse grey[c] stone continually discovering itself through the thin coating of soil, and hardly distinguishable from the remains of the ancient terraces which run round them with the regularity of contour lines, or from the confused heaps of ruin which occupy the site of former village or fortress. On some of the hills the terraces have been repaired or reconstructed, and these contain plantations of olives or figs, sometimes with and sometimes without vineyards, surrounded by rough stone walls, and with the watch-towers at the corners, so familiar to us from the parables of the Old and New Testaments. Others have a shaggy covering of oak bushes in clumps. There are traditions that in former times the road between Bethlehem and Hebron was lined with large trees; but all that now remains of them are the large oak-roots which are embedded in the rocky soil, and are dug up by the peasants for fuel (Miss Beaufort, ii. 124). The valleys of denudation which divide these monotonous hills are also planted with figs or olives, but oftener cultivated with corn or *dourra*, the long reedlike stalks of which remain on the stony ground till the next seed time,

[t] Rawlinson, note to Herod. ii. §157.

[u] For Thothmes' engagement at Megiddo, see De Rougé's interpretation of his monuments recently discovered at Thebes, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 384, &c. For Pharaoh Necho, see 2 K. xxiii. 29.

[x] The identification of Megiddo, coinciding as it does with the statements of the Bible, is tolerably certain; but at present as much can hardly be said of the other names in these lists. Not only does the agreement of the names appear doubtful, but the lists, as now deciphered, present an amount of confusion—places in the north being jumbled up with those in the south, &c.—which raises a constant suspicion.

[y] Is. xx. 1, as explained by Gesenius, and by Rawlinson (ii. 242, note).

[z] This Psalm is also referred to the hot and waterless road of the deep descent to Jericho and the Jordan. See OLIVES, MOUNT OF, p. 624 *a*.

[a] Stanley (*S. & P.* 139)—not prone to exaggerate colour (comp. 87, "Petra")—speaks of it as "a blaze of scarlet."

[b] "Rounded swelling masses like huge bubbles," says Mr. Seddon the painter (p. 122). "Each one uglier than its neighbour" (Miss Beaufort, ii. 97). See also the description of Russegger the geologist, in Ritter, *Jordan*, 495.

[c] "Often looking as if burnt in the kiln" (Anderson 175).

and give a singularly dry and slovenly look to the fields. The general absence of fences in the valleys does not render them less desolate to an English eye, and where a fence is now and then encountered, it is either a stone wall trodden down and dilapidated, or a hedge of the prickly-pear cactus, gaunt, irregular, and ugly, without being picturesque. Often the track rises and falls for miles together over the edges of the white strata upturned into almost a vertical[d] position; or over sheets of bare rock spread out like flagstones,[e] and marked with fissures which have all the regularity of artificial joints; or along narrow channels, through which the feet of centuries of travellers have with difficulty retained their hold on the steep declivities; or down flights of irregular steps hewn or worn in the solid rock of the ravine, and strewed thick with innumerable loose[f] stones. Even the grey villages—always on the top or near the top of the hills—do but add to the dreariness of the scene by the forlorn look which their flat roofs and absence of windows present to a European eye, and by the poverty and ruin so universal among them. At Jerusalem this reaches its climax, and in the leaden ashy hue which overspreads, for the major part of the year, much of the landscape immediately contiguous to the city, and which may well be owing to the débris[g] of its successive demolitions, there is something unspeakably affecting. The solitude which reigns throughout most of these hills and valleys is also very striking. "For miles and miles there is often no appearance of life except the occasional goatherd on the hill-side, or gathering of women at the wells."[h]

To the west and north-west of the highlands, where the sea breezes are felt, there is considerably more vegetation. The *Wady es-Sumt* derives its name from the acacias which line its sides. In the same neighbourhood olives abound, and give the country "almost a wooded appearance" (Rob. ii. 21, 22). The dark grateful foliage of the *butm*, or terebinth, is frequent; and one of these trees, perhaps the largest in Palestine, stands a few minutes' ride from the ancient Socho (ib. 222). About ten miles north of this, near the site of the ancient Kirjath-jearim, the "city of forests," are some thickets of pine (*snôber*) and laurel (*kebkâb*), which Tobler compares with European woods (*3tte Wanderung*, 178).

11. Hitherto we have spoken of the central and northern portions of Judaea. Its eastern portion—a tract some 9 or 10 miles in width by about 35 in length—which intervenes between the centre and the abrupt descent to the Dead Sea, is far more wild and desolate, and that not for a portion of the year only, but throughout it.[i] This must have been always what it is now—an uninhabited desert, because uninhabitable; "a bare arid wilderness; an endless succession of shapeless yellow and ash-coloured hills, without grass or shrubs, without water, and almost[k] without life,"—even without ruins, with the rare exceptions of Masada, and a solitary watch-tower or two.

12. No descriptive sketch of this part of the country can be complete which does not allude to the caverns, characteristic of all limestone districts, but here existing in astonishing numbers. Every hill and ravine is pierced with them, some very large and of curious formation—perhaps partly natural, partly artificial—others mere grottos. Many of them are connected with most important and interesting events of the ancient history of the country. Especially is this true of the district now under consideration. Machpelah, Makkedah, Adullam, Engedi, names inseparably connected with the lives, adventures, and deaths of Abraham, Joshua, David, and other Old Testament worthies, are all within the small circle of the territory of Judaea. Moreover, there is perhaps hardly one of these caverns, however small, which has not at some time or other furnished a hiding-place to some ancient Hebrew from the sweeping incursions of Philistine or Amalekite. For the bearing which the present treatment of many of the caverns has on the modern religious aspect of Palestine, and for the remarkable symbol which they furnish of the life of Israel, the reader must be referred to a striking passage in *Sinai and Palestine* (ch. ii. x. 3). [CAVE.]

13. The bareness and dryness which prevails more or less in Judaea is owing partly to the absence of wood (see below), partly to its proximity to the desert, and partly to a scarcity of water, arising from its distance from the Lebanon. The abundant springs which form so delightful a feature of the country further north, and many of which continue to flow even after the hottest summers, are here very rarely met with after the rainy season is over, and their place is but poorly supplied by the wells, themselves but few in number, bored down into the white rock of the universal substratum, and with mouths so narrow and so carefully closed that they may be easily passed without notice by travellers unaccustomed to the country.[m] [WELLS.]

14. But to this discouraging aspect there are happily some important exceptions. The valley of *Urtâs*, south of Bethlehem, contains springs which in abundance and excellence rival even those of *Nablus*; the huge "Pools of Solomon" are enough to supply a district for many miles round them; and the cultivation now going on in that neighbourhood shows what might be done with a soil which requires only irrigation and a moderate amount of labour to evoke a boundless produce. At Bethlehem and *Mar Elyâs*, too, and in the neighbourhood of the Convent of the Cross, and especially near Hebron, there are excellent examples of what can be done with vineyards, and plantations of olives and fig-

[d] As at *Beit-ur* (Beth-horon).

[e] As south of *Beitin* (Bethel), and many other places.

[f] As in the *Wady Aly*, 7 miles west of Jerusalem. See Beaumont's description of this route in his *Diary of a Journey*, &c. i. 192.

[g] See JERUSALEM, vol. i. p. 988 *a*. The same remark will be found in Seddon's *Memoir*, 198.

[h] Stanley, *S. & P.* 117.

[i] Even on the 8th January, De Saulcy found no water.

[k] Van de Velde, *Syria & Pal.* ii. 99; and see the same still more forcibly stated on p. 101; and a graphic description by Miss Beaufort, ii. 102, 103; 127, 128. The character of the upper part of the district, to the S.E. of the Mount of Olives, is well seized by Mr. Seddon: "A wilderness of mountain-tops, in some places tossed up like waves of mud, in others wrinkled over with ravines, like models made of *crumpled brown paper*, the nearer ones whitish, strewed with rocks and bushes" (*Memoir*, 204).

[m] There is no adequate provision here or elsewhere in Palestine (except perhaps in Jerusalem) for catching and preserving the water which falls in the heavy rains of winter and spring: a provision easily made, and found to answer admirably in countries similarly circumstanced, such as Malta and Bermuda, where the rains furnish almost the whole water supply

trees. And it must not be forgotten that during the limited time when the plains and bottoms are covered with waving crops of green or golden corn, and when the naked rocks are shrouded in that brilliant covering of flowers to which allusion has already been made, the appearance of things must be far more inviting than it is during that greater portion of the year which elapses after the harvest, and which, as being the more habitual aspect of the scene, has been dwelt upon above.

15. It is obvious that in the ancient days of the nation, when Judah and Benjamin possessed the teeming population indicated in the Bible, the condition and aspect of the country must have been very different. Of this there are not wanting sure evidences. There is no country in which the ruined towns bear so large a proportion to those still existing. Hardly a hill-top of the many within sight that is not covered with vestiges of some fortress or city.[n] That this numerous population knew how most effectually to cultivate their rocky territory, is shewn by the remains of their ancient terraces, which constantly meet the eye, the only mode of husbanding so scanty a coating of soil, and preventing its being washed by the torrents into the valleys. These frequent remains enable the traveller to form an idea of the look of the landscape when they were kept up. But, besides this, forests appear to have stood in many parts of Judaea[o] until the repeated invasions and sieges caused their fall, and the wretched government of the Turks prevented their reinstatement; and all this vegetation must have reacted on the moisture of the climate, and, by preserving the water in many a ravine and natural reservoir where now it is rapidly dried by the fierce sun of the early summer, must have influenced materially the look and the resources of the country.

16. Advancing northwards from Judaea the country becomes gradually more open and pleasant. Plains of good soil occur between the hills, at first small,[p] but afterwards comparatively large. In some cases (such as the *Mukhna*, which stretches away from the feet of Gerizim for several miles to the south and east) these would be remarkable anywhere. The hills assume here a more varied aspect than in the southern districts, springs are more abundant and more permanent, until at last, when the district of the *Jebel Nablûs* is reached — the ancient Mount Ephraim—the traveller encounters an atmosphere and an amount of vegetation and water which, if not so transcendently lovely as the representations of enthusiastic travellers would make it, is yet greatly superior to anything he has met with in Judaea, and even sufficient to recall much of the scenery of the West.

17. Perhaps the Springs are the only objects which in themselves, and apart from their associations, really strike an English traveller with astonishment and admiration. Such glorious fountains as those of *Ain-jalûd* or the *Ras el-Mukâtta*, where a great body of the clearest water wells silently but swiftly out from deep blue recesses worn in the foot of a low cliff of limestone rock, and at once forms a considerable stream—or as that of *Tell el-Kady*, eddying forth from the base of a lovely wooded mound into a wide, deep, and limpid pool—or those of *Banias* and *Fijih*, where a large river leaps headlong foaming and roaring from its cave—or even as that of *Jenîn*, bubbling upwards from the level ground—are very rarely to be met with out of irregular, rocky, mountainous countries, and being such unusual sights can hardly be looked on by the traveller without surprise and emotion. But, added to this their natural impressiveness, there is the consideration of the prominent part which so many of these springs have played in the history. Even the caverns are not more characteristic of Palestine, or oftener mentioned in the accounts both of the great national crises and of more ordinary transactions. It is sufficient here to name En-hakkore, En-gedi, Gihon, and, in this particular district, the spring of Harod, the fountain of Jezreel, En-dor, and En-gannim, reserving a fuller treatment of the subject for the special head of SPRINGS.

18. The valleys which lead down from the upper level in this district to the valley of the Jordan, and the mountains through which they descend, are also a great improvement on those which form the eastern portion of Judah, and even of Benjamin. The valleys are (as already remarked) less precipitous, because the level from which they start in their descent is lower, while that of the Jordan valley is higher; and they have lost that savage character which distinguishes the naked clefts of the Wadys *Suweinit* and *Kelt*, of the *Ain-jûdy* or *Zuweirah*, and have become wider and shallower, swelling out here and there into basins, and containing much land under cultivation more or less regular. Fine streams run through many of these valleys, in which a considerable body of water is found even after the hottest and longest summers, their banks hidden by a thick shrubbery of oleanders and other flowering trees,—truly a delicious sight, and one most rarely seen to the south of Jerusalem, or within many miles to the north of it. The mountains, though bare of wood and but partially cultivated, have none of that arid, worn look which renders those east of Hebron, and even those between Mukhmas and Jericho, so repulsive. In fact the eastern district of the *Jebel Nablus* contains some of the most fertile and valuable spots in Palestine.[q]

19. Hardly less rich is the extensive region which lies north-west of the city of *Nablus*, between it and Carmel, in which the mountains gradually break down into the Plain of Sharon. This has been very imperfectly explored, but it is spoken of as extremely fertile—huge fields of corn, with occasional tracts of wood, recalling the county of Kent[r]—but mostly a continued expanse of sloping downs.

20. But with all its richness, and all its advance on the southern part of the country, there is a strange dearth of natural wood about this central district. Olive-trees are indeed to be found everywhere, but they are artificially cultivated for their fruit, and the olive is not a tree which adds to the look of a landscape. A few caroobs are also met with in such richer spots as the valley of *Nablus*. But of all natural non-fruit-bearing trees there is a singular dearth. It is this which makes the wooded sides of Carmel and the parklike scenery of the adjacent slopes and plains so remarkable. True, when compared with European timber, the trees are but small, but their abundance is in strong contrast with the absolute dearth of

[n] Stanley, *S. & P.* 117, where the lessons to be gathered from these ruins of so many successive nations and races are admirably drawn out.

[o] For a list of these, see FOREST.

[p] That at the northern foot of Neby Samwil, out of which rise the gentle hills which bear the ruins of Gibeon, Neballat, &c., is perhaps the first of these in the advance from south to north.

[q] Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 304.

[r] Lord Lindsay (Bohn's ed.), p. 256.

wood in the neighbouring mountains. Carmel is always mentioned by the ancient prophets and poets as remarkable for its luxuriance; and, as there is no reason to believe that it has changed its character, we have, in the expressions referred to, pretty conclusive evidence that the look of the adjoining district of Ephraim was not very different then from what it is now.

21. No sooner, however, is the Plain of Esdraelon passed, than a considerable improvement is perceptible. The low hills which spread down from the mountains of Galilee, and form the barrier between the plains of Akka and Esdraelon, are covered with timber, of moderate size, it is true, but of thick vigorous growth, and pleasant to the eye. Eastward of these hills rises the round mass of Tabor, dark with its copses of oak, and set off by contrast with the bare slopes of *Jebel ed-Duhy* (the so-called "Little Hermon") and the white hills of Nazareth. North of Tabor and Nazareth is the plain of *el-Buttauf*, an upland tract hitherto very imperfectly described, but apparently of a similar nature to Esdraelon, though much more elevated. It runs from east to west, in which direction it is perhaps ten miles long, by two miles wide at its broadest part. It is described as extremely fertile, and abounding in vegetation. Beyond this the amount of natural growth increases at every step, until towards the north the country becomes what even in the West would be considered as well timbered. The centre part—the watershed between the upper end of the Jordan valley on the one hand, and the Mediterranean on the other, is a succession of swelling hills, covered with oak and terebinth, its occasional ravines thickly clothed in addition with maple, arbutus, sumach, and other trees. So abundant is the timber that large quantities of it are regularly carried to the sea-coast at Tyre, and there shipped as fuel to the towns on the coast (Rob. ii. 450). The general level of the country is not quite equal to that of Judaea and Samaria, but on the other hand there are points which reach a greater elevation than anything in the south, such as the prominent group of *Jebel Jurmuk*, and perhaps *Tibnin*—and which have all the greater effect from the surrounding country being lower. *Tibnin* lies about the centre of the district, and as far north as this the valleys run east and west of the watershed, but above it they run northwards into the Litâny, which cleaves the country from east to west, and forms the northern border of the district, and indeed of the Holy Land itself.

22. The notices of this romantic district in the Bible are but scanty; in fact till the date of the New Testament, when it had acquired the name of Galilee, it may be said, for all purposes of history, to be hardly mentioned. And even in the New Testament times the interest is confined to a very small portion—the south and south-west corner containing Nazareth, Cana, and Nain, on the confines of Esdraelon, Capernaum, Tiberias, and Gennesareth, on the margin of the Lake.[s]

In the great Roman conquest, or rather destruction, of Galilee, which preceded the fall of Jerusalem, the contest penetrated but a short distance into the interior. Jotapata and Giscala—neither of them more than 12 miles from the Lake—are the farthest points to which we know of the struggle extending in that wooded and impenetrable district. One of the earliest accounts we possess describes it as a land "quiet and secure" (Judg. xviii. 27). There is no thoroughfare through it, nor any inducement to make one. May there not be, retired in the recesses of these woody hills and intricate valleys, many a village whose inhabitants have lived on from age to age undisturbed by the invasions and depopulations with which Israelites, Assyrians, Romans, and Moslems have successively visited the more open and accessible parts of the country?

23. From the present appearance of this district we may, with some allowances, perhaps gain an idea of what the more southern portions of the central highlands were during the earlier periods in the history. There is little material difference in the natural conditions of the two regions. Galilee is slightly nearer the springs and the cool breezes of the snow-covered Lebanon, and further distant from the hot siroccos of the southern deserts, and the volcanic nature of a portion of its soil is more favourable to vegetation than the chalk of Judaea; but these circumstances, though they would tell to a certain degree, would not produce any very marked differences in the appearance of the country provided other conditions were alike. It therefore seems fair to believe that the hills of Shechem, Bethel, and Hebron, when Abram first wandered over them, were not very inferior to those of the *Belad Besharah* or the *Belad el-Buttauf*. The timber was probably smaller, but the oak-groves[t] of Moreh, Mamre, Tabor,[u] must have consisted of large trees; and the narrative implies that the "forests" or "woods" of Hareth, Ziph, and Bethel were more than mere scrub.

24. The causes of the present bareness of the face of the country are two, which indeed can hardly be separated. The first is the destruction of the timber in that long series of sieges and invasions which began with the invasion of Shishak (B.C. circa 970) and has not yet come to an end. This, by depriving the soil and the streams of shelter from the burning sun, at once made, as it invariably does, the climate more arid than before, and doubtless diminished the rainfall. The second is the decay of the terraces necessary to retain the soil on the steep slopes of the round hills. This decay is owing to the general unsettlement and insecurity which have been the lot of this poor little country almost ever since the Babylonian conquest. The terraces once gone, there was nothing to prevent the soil which they supported being washed away by the heavy rains of winter; and it is hopeless to look for a renewal of the wood, or for any real improvement in the general face of the country, until they have been first re-established. This cannot happen to any extent until a just and firm government shall give confidence to the inhabitants.

25. Few things are a more constant source of surprise to the stranger in the Holy Land than the manner in which the hill tops are, throughout, selected for habitation. A town in a valley is a rare exception. On the other hand scarce a single eminence of the multitude always in sight but is

[s] The associations of Mt. Tabor, dim as they are, belong to the Old Testament: for there can be very little doubt that it was no more the scene of the Transfiguration than the Mount of Olives was. [See vol. ii. 626a.]

[t] In the Authorised Version rendered inaccurately "plain."

[u] Tabor (1 Sam. x. 3) has no connexion with the mount of the same name.

crowned with a city or village,[v] inhabited or in ruins, often as placed as if not accessibility but inaccessibility had been the object of its builders.[x] And indeed such was their object. These groups of naked forlorn structures, piled irregularly one over the other on the curve of the hill-top, their rectangular outline, flat roofs, and blank walls, suggestive to the Western mind rather of fastness than of peaceful habitation, surrounded by filthy heaps of the rubbish of centuries, approached only by the narrow winding path, worn white, on the grey or brown breast of the hill—are the lineal descendants, if indeed they do not sometimes contain the actual remains, of the "fenced cities, great and walled up to heaven," which are so frequently mentioned in the records of the Israelite conquest. They bear witness now, no less surely than they did even in that early age, and as they have done through all the ravages and conquests of thirty centuries, to the insecurity of the country—to the continual risk of sudden plunder and destruction incurred by those rash enough to take up their dwelling in the plain. Another and hardly less valid reason for the practice is furnished in the terms of our Lord's well known apologue,—namely, the treacherous nature of the loose alluvial "sand" of the plain under the sudden rush of the winter torrents from the neighbouring hills, as compared with the safety and firm foundation attainable by building on the naked "rock" of the hills themselves (Matt. vii. 24-27).

26. These hill-towns were not what gave the Israelites their main difficulty in the occupation of the country. Wherever strength of arm and fleetness of foot availed, there those hardy warriors, fierce as lions, sudden and swift as eagles, sure-footed and fleet as the wild deer on the hills (1 Chr. xii. 8; 2 Sam. i. 23, ii. 18), easily conquered. It was in the plains, where the horses and chariots of the Canaanites and Philistines had space to manoeuvre, that they failed in dislodging the aborigines. "Judah drave out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron . . . neither could Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean . . . nor Megiddo," in the plain of Esdraelon . . . "nor could Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer," on the maritime plain near Ramleh . . . "nor could Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho" . . . "and the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down into the valley" (Judg. i. 19-35). Thus in this case the ordinary conditions of conquest were reversed—the conquerors took the hills, the conquered kept the plains. To a people so exclusive as the Jews there must have been a constant satisfaction in the elevation and inaccessibility of their highland regions. This is evident in every page of their literature, which is tinged throughout with a highland colouring. The "mountains" were to "bring peace," the "little hills, justice to the people:" when plenty came, the corn was to flourish on the "top of the mountains" (Ps. lxxii. 3, 16). In like manner the mountains were to be joyful before Jehovah when He came to judge His people (xcviii. 8). What gave its keenest sting to the Babylonian conquest, was the consideration that the "mountains of Israel," the "ancient high places," were become a "prey and a derision;" while, on the other hand, one of the most joyful circumstances of the restoration is, that the mountains "shall yield their fruit as before, and be settled after their old estates" (Ezek. xxxvi. 1, 8, 11). But it is needless to multiply instances of this which pervades the writings of the psalmists and prophets in a truly remarkable manner, and must be familiar to every student of the Bible. (See the citations in *Sinai & Pal.* ch. ii. viii.) Nor was it unacknowledged by the surrounding heathen. We have their own testimony that in their estimation Jehovah was the "God of the mountains" (1 K. xx. 28), and they showed their appreciation of the fact by fighting (as already noticed), when possible, in the lowlands. The contrast is strongly brought out in the repeated expression of the psalmists. "Some," like the Canaanites and Philistines of the lowlands, "put their trust in chariots and some in horses; but we"—we mountaineers, from our "sanctuary" on the heights of "Zion"—"will remember the name of Jehovah our God," "the God of Jacob our father," the shepherd-warrior, whose only weapons were sword and bow—the God who is now a high fortress for us—"at whose command both chariot and horse are fallen," "who burneth the chariots in the fire" (Ps. xx. 1, 7, xlvi. 7-11, lxxvi. 2, 6).

27. But the hills were occupied by other edifices besides the "fenced cities." The tiny white domes which stand perched here and there on the summits of the eminences, and mark the holy ground in which some Mahometan saint is resting—sometimes standing alone, sometimes near the village, in either case surrounded with a rude inclosure, and overshadowed with the grateful shade and pleasant colour of terebinth or caroob—these are the successors of the "high places" or sanctuaries so constantly denounced by the prophets, and which were set up "on every high hill and under every green tree" (Jer. ii. 20; Ez. vi. 13).

28. From the mountainous structure of the Holy Land and the extraordinary variations in the level of its different districts, arises a further peculiarity most interesting and most characteristic—namely, the extensive views of the country which can be obtained from various commanding points. The number of *panoramas* which present themselves to the traveller in Palestine is truly remarkable. To speak of the west of Jordan only, for east of it all is at present more or less unknown—the prospects from the height of *Beni naim*,[y] near Hebron, from the Mount of Olives, from Neby Samwil, from Bethel, from Gerizim or Ebal, from Jenîn, Carmel, Tabor, Safed, the Castle of Banias, the *Kubbet en Nasr* above Damascus—are known to many travellers. Their peculiar charm resides in their wide extent, the number of spots historically remarkable which are visible at once, the limpid clearness of the air, which brings the most distant objects comparatively close, and the consideration that in many cases the feet must be standing on the same ground, and the

[v] The same thing may be observed, though not with the same exclusive regularity, in Provence, a country which, in its natural and artificial features, presents many a likeness to Palestine.

[x] Two such may be named as types of the rest,—*Kuriyet Jîlt* (perhaps an ancient Gath or Gitta), perched on one of the western spurs of the *Jebel Nablus*, and descried high up beside the road from *Jaffa* to *Nablus*; and *Wezr* or *Mazr*, on the absolute top of the lofty peaked hill, at the foot of which the spring of *Jalûd* wells forth.

[y] Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 490.

eyes resting on the same spots which have been stood upon and gazed at by the most famous patriarchs, prophets, and heroes, of all the successive ages in the eventful history of the country. We can stand where Abram and Lot stood looking down from Bethel into the Jordan valley, when Lot chose to go to Sodom and the great destiny of the Hebrew people was fixed for ever;[z] or with Abraham on the height near Hebron gazing over the gulf towards Sodom at the vast column of smoke as it towered aloft tinged with the rising sun, and wondering whether his kinsman had escaped; or with Gaal the son of Ebed on Gerizim when he watched the armed men steal along like the shadow of the mountains on the plain of the Mukhna; or with Deborah and Barak on Mount Tabor when they saw the hosts of the Canaanites marshalling to their doom on the undulations of Esdraelon; or with Elisha on Carmel looking across the same wide space towards Shunem, and recognizing the bereaved mother as she urged her course over the flat before him; or, in later times, with Mohammed on the heights above Damascus, when he put by an earthly for a heavenly paradise; or with Richard Cœur de Lion on Neby Samwil when he refused to look at the towers of the Holy City, in the deliverance of which he could take no part. These we can see; but the most famous and the most extensive of all we cannot see. The view of Balaam from Pisgah, and the view of Moses from the same spot, we cannot realize, because the locality of Pisgah is not yet accessible.

These views are a feature in which Palestine is perhaps approached by no other country, certainly by no country whose history is at all equal in importance to the world. Great as is their charm when viewed as mere landscapes, their deep and abiding interest lies in their intimate connexion with the history and the remarkable manner in which they corroborate its statements. By its constant reference to localities—mountain, rock, plain, river, tree—the Bible seems to invite examination; and, indeed, it is only by such examination that we can appreciate its minute accuracy and realize how far its plain matter of fact statements of actual occurrences, to actual persons, in actual places—how far these raise its records above the unreal and unconnected rhapsodies, and the vain repetitions, of the sacred books of other religions.[a]

29. A few words must be said in general description of the maritime lowland, which it will be remembered intervenes between the sea and the highlands, and of which detailed accounts will be found under the heads of its great divisions.

This region, only slightly elevated above the level of the Mediterranean, extends without interruption from *el-Arish*, south of Gaza, to Mount Carmel. It naturally divides itself into two portions, each of about half its length:—the lower one the wider; the upper one the narrower. The lower half is the Plain of the Philistines—Philistia, or, as the Hebrews called it, the *Shefelah* or Lowland. [SEPHELA.] The upper half is the Sharon or Saron of the Old and New Testaments, the "Forest country" of Josephus and the LXX. (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 13, §3; LXX. Is. lxv. 10). [SHARON.] Viewed from the sea this maritime region appears as a long low coast of white or cream-coloured sand, its slight undulations rising occasionally into mounds or cliffs, which in one or two places, such as *Jaffa* and *Um-Lakhf*, almost aspire to the dignity of headlands. Over these white undulations, in the farthest background, stretches the faint blue level line of the highlands of Judaea and Samaria.

30. Such is its appearance from without. But from within, when traversed, or overlooked from some point on those blue hills, such as *Beit-nettif*, the prospect is very different.

The Philistine Plain is on an average fifteen or sixteen miles in width from the coast to the first beginning of the belt of hills, which forms the gradual approach to the highland of the mountains of Judah. This district of inferior hills contains many places which have been identified with those named in the lists of the conquest as being in the Plain, and it was therefore probably attached originally to the plain, and not to the highland. It is described by modern travellers as a beautiful open country, consisting of low calcareous hills rising from the alluvial soil of broad arable valleys, covered with inhabited villages and deserted ruins, and clothed with much natural shrubbery and with large plantations of olives in a high state of cultivation; the whole gradually broadening down into the wide expanse of the plain[b] itself. The Plain is in many parts almost a dead level, in others gently undulating in long waves; here and there low mounds or hillocks, each crowned with its village, and more rarely still a hill overtopping the rest, like *Tell es-Safieh* or *Ajlûn*, the seat of some fortress of Jewish or Crusading times. The larger towns, as Gaza and Ashdod, which stand near the shore, are surrounded with huge groves of olive, sycamore, and palm, as in the days of King David (1 Chr. xxvii. 28)—some of them among the most extensive in the country. The whole plain appears to consist of a brown loamy soil, light, but rich, and almost without a stone. This is noted as its characteristic in a remarkable expression of one of the leaders in the Maccabean wars, a great part of which were fought in this locality (1 Macc. x. 73). It is to this absence of stone that the disappearance of its ancient towns and villages—so much more complete than in other parts of the country—is to be traced. The common material is brick, made, after the Egyptian fashion, of the sandy loam of the plain mixed with stubble, and this has been washed away in almost all cases by the rains of successive centuries (Thomson, 563). It is now, as it was when the Philistines possessed it, one enormous cornfield; an ocean of wheat covers the wide expanse between the hills and the sand dunes of the sea-shore, without interruption of any kind—no break or hedge, hardly even a single olive-tree (Thomson, 552; Van de Velde, ii. 175). Its fertility is marvellous; for the prodigious crops which it raises are produced, and probably have been produced almost year by year for the last 40 centuries, without any of the appliances which we find

[z] Stanley, *S. & P.* 218, 9.

[a] Nothing can be more instructive than to compare (in regard to this one only of the many points in which they differ) the Bible with the Koran. So little ascertainable connexion has the Koran with the life or career of Mohammed, that it seems impossible to arrange it with any certainty in the order, real or ostensible, of its composition. With the Bible, on the other hand, each book belongs to a certain period. It describes the persons of that period; the places under the names which they then bore, and with many a note of identity by which they can often be still recognized; so that it may be said, almost without exaggeration, to be the best Handbook to Palestine.

[b] Robinson, *B. Rs.* ii. 15, 20, 29, 32, 228

necessary for success—with no manure beyond that naturally supplied by the washing down of the hill-torrents—without irrigation, without succession of crops, and with only the rudest method of husbandry. No wonder that the Jews struggled hard to get, and the Philistines to keep such a prize: no wonder that the hosts of Egypt and Assyria were content to traverse and re-traverse a region where their supplies of corn were so [c] abundant and so easily obtained.

The southern part of the Philistine Plain, in the neighbourhood of *Beit Jibrin*, appears to have been covered, as late as the sixth century, with a forest, called the Forest of Gerar; but of this no traces are known now to exist (Procopius of Gaza, *Scholia* on 2 Chr. xiv.).

31. The Plain of Sharon is much narrower than Philistia. It is about ten miles wide from the sea to the foot of the mountains, which are here of a more abrupt character than those of Philistia, and without the intermediate hilly region there occurring. At the same time it is more undulating and irregular than the former, and crossed by streams from the central hills, some of them of considerable size, and containing water during the whole year. Owing to the general level of the surface and to the accumulation of sand on the shore, several of these streams spread out into wide marshes, which might without difficulty be turned to purposes of irrigation, but in their present neglected state form large boggy places. The soil is extremely rich, varying from bright red to deep black, and producing enormous crops of weeds or grain, as the case may be. Here and there, on the margins of the streams or the borders of the marshes, are large tracts of rank meadow, where many a herd of camels or cattle may be seen feeding, as the royal herds did in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 29). At its northern end Sharon is narrowed by the low hills which gather round the western flanks of Carmel, and gradually encroach upon it until it terminates entirely against the shoulder of the mountain itself, leaving only a narrow beach at the foot of the promontory by which to communicate with the plain on the north.

32. The tract of white sand already mentioned as forming the shore line of the whole coast, is gradually encroaching on this magnificent region. In the south it has buried Askelon, and in the north between Caesarea and Jaffa the dunes are said to be as much as three miles wide and 300 feet high. The obstruction which is thus caused to the outflow of the streams has been already noticed. All along the edge of Sharon there are pools and marshes due to it. In some places the sand is covered by a stunted growth of maritime pines, the descendants of the forests which at the Christian era gave its name to this portion of the Plain, and which seem to have existed as late as the second crusade (Vinisauf in *Chron. of Crus.*). It is probable, for the reasons already stated, that the Jews never permanently occupied more than a small portion of this rich and favoured region. Its principal towns were, it is true, allotted to the different tribes (Josh. xv. 45-47; xvi. 3, Gezer; xvii. 11, Dor, &c.); but this was in anticipation of the intended conquest (xiii. 3-6). The five cities of the Philistines remained in their possession (1 Sam. v., xxi 10, xxvii.); and the district was regarded as one independent of and apart from Israel (xxvii. 2; 1 K. ii. 39; 2 K. viii. 2, 3). In like manner Dor remained in the hands of the Canaanites (Judg. i. 27), and Gezer in the hands of the Philistines till taken from them in Solomon's time by his father-in-law (1 K. ix. 16). We find that towards the end of the monarchy the tribe of Benjamin was in possession of Lydd, Jmzu, Ono, and other places in the plain (Neh. xi. 34; 2 Chr. xxviii. 18); but it was only by a gradual process of extension from their native hills, in the rough ground of which they were safe from the attack of cavalry and chariots. But, though the Jews never had any hold on the region, it had its own population, and towns probably not inferior to any in Syria. Both Gaza and Askelon had regular ports (*majumas*); and there is evidence to show that they were very important and very large long before the fall of the Jewish monarchy (Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, 27-29). Ashdod, though on the open plain, resisted for 29 years the attack of the whole Egyptian force: a similar attack to that which reduced Jerusalem without a blow (2 Chr. xii.), and was sufficient on another occasion to destroy it after a siege of a year and a half, even when fortified by the works of a score of successive monarchs (2 K. xxv. 1-3).

33. In the Roman times this region was considered the pride of the country (*B. J.* i. 29, §9), and some of the most important cities of the province stood in it—Caesarea, Antipatris, Diospolis. The one ancient port of the Jews, the "beautiful" city of Joppa, occupied a position central between the Shefelah and Sharon. Roads led from these various cities to each other, to Jerusalem, Neapolis, and Sebaste in the interior, and to Ptolemais and Gaza on the north and south. The commerce of Damascus, and, beyond Damascus, of Persia and India, passed this way to Egypt, Rome, and the infant colonies of the west; and that traffic and the constant movement of troops backwards and forwards must have made this plain one of the busiest and most populous regions of Syria at the time of Christ. *Now*, Caesarea is a wave-washed ruin; Antipatris has vanished both in name and substance; Diospolis has shaken off the appellation which it bore in the days of its prosperity, and is a mere village, remarkable only for the ruin of its fine mediaeval church, and for the palm-grove which shrouds it from view. Joppa alone maintains a dull life, surviving solely because it is the nearest point at which the sea-going travellers from the West can approach Jerusalem. For a few miles above Jaffa cultivation is still carried on, but the fear of the Bedouins who roam (as they always have [d] roamed) over parts of the plain, plundering all passers-by, and extorting black mail from the wretched peasants, has desolated a large district, and effectually prevents it being used any longer as the route for travellers from south to north; while in the portions which are free from this scourge, the teeming soil itself is doomed to unproductiveness through the folly and iniquity of its Turkish rulers, whose exactions have driven, and are driving, its industrious and patient inhabitants to remoter parts of the land.[e]

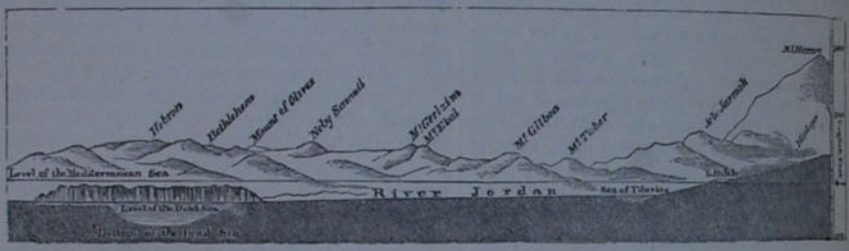
[c] *Le grenier de la Syrie* (Duc de Raguse, *Voyage*).

[d] The Bedouins from beyond Jordan, whom Gideon repulsed, destroyed the earth "as far as Gaza;" *i. e.* they filled the plain of Esdraelon, and overflowed into Sharon, and thence southwards to the richest prize of the day.

[e] This district, called the *Sahel Athlit*, between the sea and the western flanks of Carmel, has been within a very few years reduced from being one of the most thriving and productive regions of the country, as well as one of the most profitable to the government, to desolation and desertion, by these wicked exactions. The taxes are paid in kind; and the officers who gather them demand so much

34 The characteristics already described are hardly peculiar to Palestine. Her hilly surface and general height, her rocky ground and thin soil, her torrent beds wide and dry for the greater part of the year, even her belt of maritime lowland—these she shares with other lands, though it would perhaps be difficult to find them united elsewhere. But there is one feature, as yet only alluded to, in which she stands alone. This feature is the Jordan—the one River of the country.

35. Properly to comprehend this, we must cast our eyes for a few moments north and south, outside the narrow limits of the Holy Land. From top to bottom—from north to south—from Antioch to Akaba at the tip of the eastern horn of the Red Sea, Syria is cleft by a deep and narrow trench running parallel with the coast of the Mediterranean, and dividing, as if by a fosse or ditch, the central range of maritime highlands from those further east.[f] At two points only in its length is the trench interrupted:—by the range of Lebanon and Hermon, and by the high ground south of the Dead Sea. Of the three compartments thus formed, the northern is the valley of the Orontes; the southern is the Wady el-Arabah, while the central one is the valley of the Jordan. The Arabah of the Hebrews, the Aulôn of the Greeks, and the *Ghor* of the Arabs. Whether this remarkable fissure in the surface of the earth originally ran without interruption from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and was afterwards (though still at a time long anterior to the historic period) broken by the protrusion or elevation of the two tracts just named, cannot be ascertained in the present state of our geological knowledge of this region. The central of its three divisions is the only one with which we have at present to do; it is also the most remarkable of the three. The river is elsewhere described in detail [JORDAN]; but it and the valley through which it rushes down its extraordinary descent—and which seems as it were to enclose and conceal it during the whole of its course—must be here briefly characterized as essential to a correct comprehension of the country of which they form the external barrier, dividing Galilee, Ephraim, and Judah from Bashan, Gilead, and Moab, respectively.



Profile-Section of the Holy Land from the Dead Sea to Mount Hermon, along the line of the Jordan.

36. To speak first of the Valley. It begins with the river at its remotest springs of Hasbeiya on the N.W. side of Hermon, and accompanies it to the lower end of the Dead Sea, a length of about 150 miles. During the whole of this distance its course is straight, and its direction nearly due north and south. The springs of Hasbeiya are 1700 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and the northern end of the Dead Sea is 1317 feet below it, so that between these two points the valley falls with more or less regularity through a height of more than 3000 feet. But though the *river* disappears at this point, the *valley* still continues its descent below the waters of the Dead Sea till it reaches a further depth of 1308 feet. So that the bottom of this extraordinary crevasse is actually more than 2600 feet below the surface of the ocean.[g] Even that portion which extends down to the brink of the lake and is open to observation, is without a parallel in any other part of the world. It is obvious that the road by which these depths are reached from the Mount of Olives or Hebron must be very steep and abrupt. But this is not its real peculiarity. Equally great and sudden descents may be found in our own or other mountainous countries. That which distinguishes this from all others is the fact that it is made into the very bowels of the earth. The traveller who stands on the shore of the Dead Sea has reached a point nearly as far below the surface of the ocean as the miners in the lowest levels of the deepest mines of Cornwall.

37. In width the valley varies. In its upper and shallower portion, as between Banias and the lake of Hûleh, it is about five miles across; the enclosing mountains of moderate height, though tolerably vertical in character; the floor almost an absolute flat, with the mysterious river hidden from sight in an impenetrable jungle of reeds and marsh vegetation.

Between the Hûleh and the Sea of Galilee, as far as we have any information, it contracts, and becomes more of an ordinary ravine or glen.

It is in its third and lower portion that the valley assumes its more definite and regular character. During the greater part of this portion, it is about seven miles wide from the one wall to the other. The eastern mountains preserve their straight line of direction, and their massive horizontal wall-like aspect, during almost the whole

grain for their own perquisites as to leave the peasant barely enough for the next sowing. In addition to this, as long as any people remain in a district they are liable for the whole of the tax at which the district is rated. No wonder that under such pressure the inhabitants of the *Sahel Athlit* have almost all emigrated to Egypt, where the system is better, and better administered.

[f] So remarkable is this depression, that it is adopted by the great geographer Ritter as the base of his description of Syria.

[g] Deep as it now is, the Dead Sea was once doubtless far deeper, for the sediment brought into it by the Jordan must be gradually accumulating. No data, however, exist by which to judge of the rate of this accumulation.

[h] North of the Wady Zurka their character alters. They lose the vertical wall-like appearance, so striking at Jericho, and become more broken and sloping. The writer had an excellent view of the mountains behind Beisan from the Burj at Zerin in Oct. 1861. Zerin, though distant, is sufficiently high to command a prospect into the interior of the mountains. Thus viewed, their wall-like character had entirely vanished. There appeared instead, an infinity of separate summits, fully as irregular and multitudinous as any district west of Jordan. Before

distance. Here and there they are cloven by the most mysterious rents, through which the Hieromax, the *Wady Zurka*, and other streams force their way down to the Jordan. The western mountains are more irregular in height, their slopes less vertical, and their general line is interrupted by projecting outposts such as *Tell Fasail*, and *Kurn Sûrtabeh*. North of Jericho they recede in a kind of wide amphitheatre, and the valley becomes twelve miles broad, a breadth which it thenceforward retains to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. What the real bottom of this cavity may be, or at what depth below the surface, is not yet known, but that which meets the eye is a level or gently undulating surface of light sandy soil, about Jericho brilliant white, about Beisan dark and reddish, crossed at intervals by the torrents of the Western highlands which have ploughed their zigzag course deep down into its soft substance, and even in autumn betray the presence of moisture by the bright green of the thorn-bushes which flourish in and around their channels, and cluster in greater profusion round the springheads at the foot of the mountains. Formerly palms abounded on both sides[i] of the Jordan at its lower end, but none now exist there. Passing through this vegetation, such as it is, the traveller emerges on a plain of bare sand furrowed out in innumerable channels by the rain-streams, all running eastward towards the river, which lies there in the distance, though invisible. Gradually these channels increase in number and depth till they form steep cones or mounds of sand of brilliant white, 50 to 100 feet high, their lower part loose, but their upper portion indurated by the action of the rains and the tremendous heat of the sun.[j] Here and there these cones are marshalled in a tolerably regular line, like gigantic tents, and form the bank of a terrace overlooking a flat considerably lower in level than that already traversed. After crossing this lower flat for some distance, another descent, of a few feet only, is made into a thick growth of dwarf shrubs: and when this has been pursued until the traveller has well nigh lost all patience, he suddenly arrives on the edge of a "hole" filled with thick trees and shrubs, whose tops rise to a level with his feet. Through the thicket comes the welcome sound of rushing waters. This is the Jordan.[k]

38. Buried as it is thus between such lofty ranges, and shielded from every breeze, the climate of the Jordan valley is extremely hot and relaxing. Its enervating influence is shown by the inhabitants of Jericho, who are a small feeble exhausted race, dependent for the cultivation of their lands on the hardier peasants of the highland villages (Rob. i. 550), and to this day prone to the vices which are often developed by tropical climates, and which brought destruction on Sodom and Gomorrah. But the circumstances which are unfavourable to morals are most favourable to fertility. Whether there was any great amount of cultivation and habitation in this region in the times of the Israelites the Bible does not say; but in post-biblical times there is no doubt on the point. The palms of Jericho, and of Abila (opposite Jericho on the other side of the river), and the extensive balsam and rose gardens of the former place, are spoken of by Josephus, who calls the whole district a "divine spot" (*θεῖον χωρίον*, *B. J.* iv. 8, §3; see vol. i. 976).[m] Beth-shan was a proverb among the Rabbis for its fertility. Succoth was the site of Jacob's first settlement west of the Jordan; and therefore was probably then, as it still is, an eligible spot. In later times indigo and sugar appear to have been grown near Jericho and elsewhere;[n] aqueducts are still partially standing, of Christian or Saracenic arches; and there are remains, all over the plain between Jericho and the river, of former residences or towns and of systems of irrigation (Ritter, *Jordan*, 503, 512). Phasaelis, a few miles further north, was built by Herod the Great; and there were other towns either in or closely bordering on the plain. At present this part is almost entirely desert, and cultivation is confined to the upper portion, between *Sakut* and *Beisan*. There indeed it is conducted on a grand scale; and the traveller as he journeys along the road which leads over the foot of the western mountains, overlooks an immense extent of the richest land, abundantly watered, and covered with corn and other grain.[o] Here, too, as at Jericho, the cultivation is conducted principally by the inhabitants of the villages on the western mountains.

39. All the irrigation necessary for the towns, or for the cultivation which formerly existed, or still exists, in the *Ghôr*, is obtained from the torrents and springs of the western mountains. For all purposes to which a river is ordinarily applied, the Jordan is useless. So rapid that its course is one continued cataract; so crooked, that in the whole of its lower and main course, it has hardly half a mile straight; so broken with rapids and other impediments, that

gradually in height as they receded eastward. Is this the case with this locality only? or would the whole region east of the Jordan prove equally broken, if viewed sufficiently near? Prof. Stanley hints that such may be the case (*S. & P.* 320). Certainly the hills of Judah and Samaria appear as much a "wall" as those east of Jordan, when viewed from the sea-coast.

[i] Jericho was the city of palm-trees (2 Chr. xxviii. 15); and Josephus mentions the palms of Abila, on the eastern side of the river, as the scene of Moses' last address. "The whole shore of the Dead Sea," says Mr. Poole, "is strewed with palms" (*Geogr. Society's Journal*, 1856). Dr. Anderson (192) describes a large grove as standing on the lower margin of the sea between Wady Mojeb (Arnon) and Zurka Main (Callirhoe).

[j] The writer is here speaking from his own observation of the lower part. A similar description is given by Lynch of the upper part (*Official Report*, April 13; Van de Velde, *Reisen*, 125).

[k] The lines which have given many a young mind its first and most lasting impression of the Jordan and its surrounding scenery, are not more accurate than many other versions of Scripture scenes and facts:—

"Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood
Stand dressed in living green:
So to the Jews old Canaan stood,
While Jordan *rolled* between."

[l] Besides Gilgal, the tribe of Benjamin had four cities or settlements in the neighbourhood of Jericho (Josh. xviii. 21). The rebuilding of the last-named town in Ahab's reign probably indicates an increase in the prosperity of the district.

[m] This seems to have been the *περίχωρος*, or "region round about" Jordan, mentioned in the Gospels, and possibly answering to the *Ciccar* of the ancient Hebrews. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 284, 488.)

[n] The word *sukkar* (sugar) is found in the names of places near Tiberias below Sebbeh (Masada), and near Gaza, as well as at Jericho. All these are in the depressed regions. For the indigo, see Poole (*Geogr. Journal*, xxvi. 57).

[o] Robinson, iii. 314; and from the writer's own observation.

no boat can swim for more than the same distance continuously; so deep below the surface of the adjacent country that it is invisible, and can only with difficulty be approached; resolutely refusing all communication with the ocean and, ending in a lake, the peculiar conditions of which render navigation impossible—with all these characteristics the Jordan, in any sense which we attach to the word "river," is no river at all:—alike useless for irrigation and navigation, it is in fact, what its Arabic name signifies, nothing but a "great watering place" (*Sheriat el-Khebir*).

40. But though the Jordan is so unlike a river in the Western sense of the term, it is far less so than the other streams of the Holy Land. It is at least perennial, while, with few exceptions, they are mere winter torrents, rushing and foaming during the continuance of the rain, and quickly drying up after the commencement of summer: "What time they wax warm they vanish; when it is hot they are consumed out of their place .... they go to nothing and perish" (Job vi. 15). For fully half the year, these "rivers" or "brooks," as our version of the Bible renders the special term (*nachal*) which designates them in the original, are often mere dry lanes of hot white or grey stones; or if their water still continues to run, it is a tiny rill, working its way through heaps of parched boulders in the centre of a broad flat tract of loose stones, often only traceable by the thin line of verdure which springs up along its course. Those who have travelled in Provence or Granada in the summer will have no difficulty in recognising this description, and in comprehending how the use of such terms as "river" or "brook" must mislead those who can only read the exact and vivid narrative of the Bible through the medium of the Authorised Version.

This subject will be more fully described, and a list of the few perennial streams of the Holy Land given under RIVER.

41. How far the Valley of the Jordan was employed by the ancient inhabitants of the Holy Land as a medium of communication between the northern and southern parts of the country we can only conjecture. Though not the shortest route between Galilee and Judaea, it would yet, as far as the levels and form of the ground are concerned, be the most practicable for large bodies; though these advantages would be seriously counterbalanced by the sultry heat of its climate, as compared with the fresher air of the more difficult road over the highlands.

The ancient notices of this route are very scanty.

(1.) From 2 Chr. xxviii. 15, we find that the captives taken from Judah by the army of the northern kingdom were sent back from Samaria to Jerusalem by way of Jericho. The route pursued was probably by *Nablus* across the *Mukhna*, and by Wady *Ferrah* or *Fasail* into the Jordan valley. Why this road was taken is a mystery, since it is not stated or implied that the captives were accompanied by any heavy baggage which would make it difficult to travel over the central route. It would seem, however, to have been the usual road from the north to Jerusalem (comp. Luke xvii. 11 with xix. 1), as if there were some impediment to passing through the region immediately north of the city.

(2.) Pompey brought his army and siege-train from Damascus to Jerusalem (B.C. 40), past Scythopolis and Pella, and thence by Koreae (possibly the present *Kerawa* at the foot of the Wady Ferrah) to Jericho (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, §4; *B. J.* i. 6, §5).

(3.) Vespasian marched from Emmaus, on the edge of the plain of Sharon, not far east of Bondel, past Neapolis (*Nablus*), down the Wady *Ferrah* or *Fasail* to Koreae, and thence to Jericho (*B. J.* iv. 8, §1); the same route as that of the captive Jordaeans in No. 1.

(4.) Antoninus Martyr (cir. A.D. 600), and possibly Willibald[p] (A.D. 722) followed this route to Jerusalem.

(5.) Baldwin I. is said to have journeyed from Jericho to Tiberias with a caravan of pilgrims.

(6.) In our own times the whole length of the valley has been traversed by De Bertou, and by Dr. Anderson, who accompanied the American Expedition as geologist, but apparently by few if any other travellers.

42. Monotonous and uninviting as much of the Holy Land will appear from the above description to English readers, accustomed to the constant verdure, the succession of flowers, lasting almost throughout the year, the ample streams and the varied surface of our own country—we must remember that its aspect to the Israelites after that weary march of forty years through the desert, and even by the side of the brightest recollections of Egypt that they could conjure up, must have been very different. After the "great and terrible wilderness" with its "fiery serpents," its "scorpions," "drought," and "rocks of flint"—the slow and sultry march all day in the dust of that enormous procession—the eager looking forward to the well at which the encampment was to be pitched—the crowding, the fighting, the clamour, the bitter disappointment round the modicum of water when at last the desired spot was reached—the "light bread"[q] so long "loathed"—the rare treat of animal food when the quails descended, or an approach to the sea permitted the "fish"[r] to be caught; after this daily struggle for a painful existence, how grateful must have been the rest afforded by the Land of Promise!—how delicious the shade, scanty though it were, of the hills and ravines, the gushing springs and green plains, even the mere wells and cisterns, the vineyards and olive-yards and "fruit trees" in abundance," the cattle, sheep, and goats, covering the country with their long black lines, the bees swarming round their pendant combs[t] in rock or wood! Moreover they entered the country at the time of the Passover,[u] when it was arrayed in the full glory and freshness of its brief springtide before the scorching sun of summer had had time to wither its flowers and embrown its verdure. Taking all these circumstances into account, and allowing for the bold metaphors[x] of oriental speech—so different from our cold depreciating expressions—it is impossible not to feel that those way-worn travellers could have chosen no fitter words to express what their new country was to them than those which they so often employ in the accounts of the conquest—"a land flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands."

[p] Willibald omits his route between Caesarea (? C. Philippi = *Banias*) and the monastery of St. John the Baptist near Jericho. He is always assumed to have come down the valley.

[q] Num. xxi. 5.

[r] Neh. ix. 25.

[s] Num. xi. 22.

[t] 1 Sam. xiv. 26.

[u] Josh. v. 10, 11.

[x] See some useful remarks on the use of similar language by the natives of the East at the present day, in reference to spots inadequate to such expressions in *The Jews in the East*, by Beaton and Frankl (ii. 358).

43. Again, the variations of the seasons may appear to us slight, and the atmosphere dry and hot; but after the monotonous climate of Egypt, where rain is a rare phenomenon, and where the difference between summer and winter is hardly perceptible, the "rain of heaven" must have been a most grateful novelty in its two seasons, the former and the latter—the occasional snow and ice of the winters of Palestine, and the burst of returning spring, must have had double the effect which they would produce on those accustomed to such changes. Nor is the change only a relative one; there is a real difference—due partly to the higher latitude of Palestine, partly to its proximity to the sea—between the sultry atmosphere of the Egyptian valley and the invigorating sea-breezes which blow over the hills of Ephraim and Judah.

44. The contrast with Egypt would tell also in another way. In place of the huge everflowing river whose only variation was from low to high, and from high to low again, and which lay at the lowest level of that level country, so that all irrigation had to be done by artificial labour—"a land where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it with thy foot like a garden of herbs"—in place of this, they were to find themselves in a land of constant and considerable undulation, where the water, either of gushing spring, or deep well, or flowing stream, could be procured at the most varied elevations, requiring only to be judiciously husbanded and skilfully conducted to find its own way through field or garden, whether terraced on the hill-sides or extended in the broad bottoms.[y] But such change was not compulsory. Those who preferred the climate and the mode of cultivation of Egypt could resort to the lowland plains or the Jordan valley, where the temperature is more constant and many degrees higher than on the more elevated districts of the country, where the breezes never penetrate, where the light fertile soil recalls, as it did in the earliest[z] times, that of Egypt, and where the Jordan in its lowness of level presents at least one point of resemblance to the Nile.

45. In truth, on closer consideration, it will be seen that, beneath the apparent monotony, there is a variety in the Holy Land really remarkable. There is the variety due to the difference of level between the different parts of the country. There is the variety of climate and of natural appearances, proceeding, partly from those very differences of level, and partly from the proximity of the snow-capped Hermon and Lebanon on the north and of the torrid desert on the south; and which approximate the climate, in many respects, to that of regions much further north. There is also the variety which is inevitably produced by the presence of the sea—"the eternal freshness and liveliness of ocean."

46. Each of these is continually reflected in the Hebrew literature. The contrast between the highlands and lowlands is more than implied in the habitual forms of expression, "going *up*" to Judah, Jerusalem, Hebron; "going *down*" to Jericho, Capernaum, Lydda, Caesarea, Gaza, and Egypt. More than this, the difference is marked unmistakeably in the topographical terms which so abound in, and are so peculiar to, this literature. "The mountain of Judah," "the mountain of Israel," "the mountain of Naphtali," are the names by which the three great divisions of the highlands are designated. The predominant names for the towns of the same district—Gibeah, Geba, Gaba, Gibeon (meaning "hill"); Ramah, Ramathaim (the "brow" of an eminence); Mizpeh, Zophim, Zephathah (all modifications of a root signifying a wide prospect)—all reflect the elevation of the region in which they were situated. On the other hand, the great lowland districts have each their peculiar name. The southern part of the maritime plain is "the Shefelah;" the northern, "Sharon;" the Valley of the Jordan, "ha-Arâbah;" names which are never interchanged, and never confounded with the terms (such as *emek*, *nachal*, *gai*) employed for the ravines, torrent-beds, and small valleys of the highlands.[b]

47. The differences in climate are no less often mentioned. The Psalmists, Prophets, and[c] historical Books, are full of allusions to the fierce heat of the midday sun and the dryness of summer; no less than to the various accompaniments of winter—the rain, snow, frost, ice, and fogs, which are experienced at Jerusalem and other places in the upper country quite sufficiently to make every one familiar with them. Even the sharp alternations between the heat of the days and the coldness of the nights, which strike every traveller in Palestine, are mentioned.[d] The Israelites practised no commerce by sea; and, with the single exception of Joppa, not only possessed no harbour along the whole length of their coast, but had no word by which to denote one. But that their poets knew and appreciated the phenomena of the sea is plain from such expressions as are constantly recurring in their works—"the great and wide sea," its "ships," its "monsters," its roaring and dashing "waves," its "depths," its "sand," its mariners, the perils of its navigation.

It is unnecessary here to show how materially the Bible has gained in its hold on Western nations by these vivid reflections of a country so much more like those of the West than are most oriental regions. but of the fact there can be no doubt, and it has been admirably brought out by Professor Stanley in *Sinai and Palestine*, chap. ii. sect. vii.

[y] The view taken above, that the beauty of the Promised Land was greatly enhanced to the Israelites by its contrast with the scenes they had previously passed through, is corroborated by the fact that such laudatory expressions as "the land flowing with milk and honey," "the glory of all lands," &c., occur, with rare exceptions, in those parts of the Bible only which purport to have been composed just before their entrance, and that in the few cases of their employment by the Prophets (Jer. xi. 5, xxii. 22; Ez. xx. 6, 15) there is always an allusion to "Egypt," "the iron furnace," the passing of the Red Sea, or the wilderness, to point the contrast.

[z] Gen. xiii. 10. All Bey (ii. 209) says that the maritime plain, from Khan Younes to Jaffa, is "of rich soil, similar to the slime of the Nile." Other points of resemblance are mentioned by Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 22, 34, 35, 238), and Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. 36). The plain of Gennesareth still "recalls the Valley of the Nile" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 374). The papyrus is said to grow there (Buchanan, *Cler. Furlough*, 392).

[a] The same expressions are still used by the Arabs of the *Nejd* with reference to Syria and their own country (Wallin, *Geogr. Soc. Journal*, xxiv. 174).

[b] It is impossible to trace these correspondences and distinctions in the English Bible, our translators not having always rendered the same Hebrew by the same English word. But the corrections will be found in the Appendix to Professor Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*.

[c] Ps. xix. 6, xxxii. 4; Is. iv. 6, xxv. 5; Gen. xviii. 1; 1 Sam. xi. 9; Neh. vii. 3.

[d] Jer. xxxvi. 30. Gen. xxxi. 40 refers—unless the recent speculations of Mr. Beke should prove true—to Mesopotamia.

48 In the preceding description allusion has been made to many of the characteristic features of the Holy Land. But it is impossible to close this account without mentioning a defect which is even more characteristic—its lack of monuments and personal relics of the nation who possessed it for so many centuries, and gave it its claim to our veneration and affection. When compared with other nations of equal antiquity—Egypt, Greece, Assyria—the contrast is truly remarkable. In Egypt and Greece, and also in Assyria, as far as our knowledge at present extends, we find a series of buildings, reaching down from the most remote and mysterious antiquity, a chain, of which hardly a link is wanting, and which records the progress of the people in civilisation, art, and religion, as certainly as the buildings of the mediaeval architects do that of the various nations of modern Europe. We possess also a multitude of objects of use and ornament, belonging to those nations, truly astonishing in number, and pertaining to every station, office, and act in their official, religious, and domestic life. But in Palestine it is not too much to say that there does not exist a single edifice, or part of an edifice, of which we can be sure that it is of a date anterior to the Christian era. Excavated tombs, cisterns, flights of stairs, which are encountered everywhere, are of course out of the question. They may be—some of them, such as the tombs of Hinnom and Shiloh, probably are—of very great age, older than anything else in the country. But there is no evidence either way, and as far as the history of art is concerned nothing would be gained if their age were ascertained. The only ancient buildings of which we can speak with certainty are those which were erected by the Greeks or Romans during their occupation of the country. Not that these buildings have not a certain individuality which separates them from any mere Greek or Roman building in Greece or Rome. But the fact is certain, that not one of them was built while the Israelites were masters of the country, and before the date at which Western nations began to get a footing in Palestine. And as with the buildings so with other memorials. With one exception, the museums of Europe do not possess a single piece of pottery or metal work, a single weapon or household utensil, an ornament or a piece of armour, of Israelite make, which can give us the least conception of the manners or outward appliances of the nation before the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The coins form the single exception. A few rare specimens still exist, the oldest of them attributed—though even that is matter of dispute—to the Maccabees, and their rudeness and insignificance furnish a stronger evidence than even their absence could imply, of the total want of art among the Israelites.

It may be said that Palestine is now only in the same condition with Assyria before the recent researches brought so much to light. But the two cases are not parallel. The soil of Babylonia is a loose loam or sand, of the description best fitted for covering up and preserving the relics of former ages. On the other hand, the greater part of the Holy Land is hard and rocky, and the soil lies in the valleys and lowlands, where the cities were only very rarely built. If any store of Jewish relics were remaining embedded or hidden in suitable ground—as for example, in the loose mass of debris which coats the slopes around Jerusalem—we should expect occasionally to find articles which might be recognised as Jewish. This was the case in Assyria. Long before the mounds were explored, Rich brought home many fragments of inscriptions, bricks, and engraved stones, which were picked up on the surface, and were evidently the productions of some nation whose art was not then known. But in Palestine the only objects hitherto discovered have all belonged to the West—coins or arms of the Greeks or Romans.

The buildings already mentioned as being Jewish in character, though carried out with foreign details, are the following:—

The tombs of the Kings and of the Judges: the buildings known as the tombs of Absalom, Zechariah, St. James, and Jehoshaphat; the monoliths at Siloam;—all in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem: the ruined synagogues at Meiron and Kefr Bir'im. But there are two edifices which seem to bear a character of their own, and do not so clearly betray the style of the West. These are, the enclosure round the sacred cave at Hebron; and portions of the western, southern, and eastern walls of the *Haram* at Jerusalem, with the vaulted passage below the *Aksa*. Of the former it is impossible to speak in the present state of our knowledge. The latter will be more fully noticed under the head of TEMPLE; it is sufficient here to name one or two considerations which seem to bear against their being of older date than Herod. (1.) Herod is distinctly said by Josephus to have removed the old foundations, and laid others in their stead, enclosing double the original area (*Ant.* xv. 11, §3; *B. J.* i. 21, §1). (2.) The part of the wall which all acknowledge to be the oldest contains the springing of an arch. This and the vaulted passage can hardly be assigned to builders earlier than the time of the Romans. (3.) The masonry of these magnificent stones (absurdly called the "bevel"), on which so much stress has been laid, is not exclusively Jewish or even Eastern. It is found at Persepolis; it is also found at Cnidus and throughout Asia Minor, and at Athens; not of stones of such enormous size as those at Jerusalem, but similar in their workmanship.

M. Renan, in his recent report of his proceedings in Phoenicia, has named two circumstances which must have had a great effect in suppressing art or architecture amongst the ancient Israelites, while their very existence proves that the people had no genius in that direction. These are (1) the prohibition of sculptured representations of living creatures, and (2) the command not to build a temple anywhere but at Jerusalem. The hewing or polishing of building-stones was even forbidden. "What," he asks, "would Greece have been, if it had been illegal to build any temples but at Delphi or Eleusis? In ten centuries the Jews had only three temples to build, and of these certainly two were erected under the guidance of foreigners. The existence of synagogues dates from the time of the Maccabees, and the Jews then naturally employed the Greek style of architecture, which at that time reigned universally."

In fact the Israelites never lost the feeling of the traditions of their early pastoral nomad life. Long after the nation had been settled in the country, the cry of those earlier days, "To your tents, O Israel!" was heard in periods of excitement.[e] The prophets, sick of the luxury of the cities, are constantly recalling[f] the "tents" of that simpler,

[e] 2 Sam. xx. 1; 1 K. xii. 16 (that the words are not a mere formula of the historian is proved by their occurrence in 2 Chr. x. 16); 2 K. xiv. 12.

[f] Jer. xxx. 8; Zech. xii. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 55, &c.

less artificial life; and the Temple of Solomon, nay even perhaps of Zerubbabel, was spoken of to the last as the "tent[s] of the Lord of hosts," the "place where David had pitched[h] his tent." It is a remarkable fact, that eminent as Jews have been in other departments of art, science,[i] and affairs, no Jewish architect, painter, or sculptor has ever achieved any signal success.

THE GEOLOGY.—Of the geological structure of Palestine it has been said with truth that our information is but imperfect and indistinct, and that much time must elapse, and many a cherished hypothesis be sacrificed, before a satisfactory explanation can be arrived at of its more remarkable phenomena.

It is not intended to attempt here more than a very cursory sketch, addressed to the general and non-scientific reader. The geologist must be referred to the original works from which these remarks have been compiled.

1. The main sources of our knowledge are (1) the observations contained in the Travels of Russegger, an Austrian geologist and mining engineer who visited this amongst other countries of the East in 1836-8 (*Reisen in Griechenland*, &c., 4 vols., Stuttgard, 1841-49, with *Atlas*); (2) the Report of H. J. Anderson, M.D., an American geologist, formerly Professor in Columbia Coll., New York, who accompanied Captain Lynch in his exploration of the Jordan and the Dead Sea (*Geol. Reconnaissance*, in Lynch's *Official Report*, 4to., 1852, pp. 75-207); and (3) the Diary of Mr. H. Poole, who visited Palestine on a mission for the British government in 1836 (*Journal of Geogr. Society*, vol. xxvi. pp. 55-70). Neither of these contains anything approaching a complete investigation, either as to extent or to detail of observations. Russegger travelled from Sinai to Hebron and Jerusalem. He explored carefully the route between the latter place and the Dead Sea. He then proceeded to Jaffa by the ordinary road; and from thence to Beyrût and the Lebanon by Nazareth, Tiberias, Cana, Akka, Tyre, and Sidon. Thus he left the Dead Sea in its most interesting portions, the Jordan Valley, the central highlands, and the important district of the Upper Jordan, untouched. His work is accompanied by two sections: from the Mount of Olives to the Jordan, and from Tabor to the Lake of Tiberias. His observations, though clearly and attractively given, and evidently those of a practised observer, are too short and cursory for the subject. The general notice of his journey is in vol. iii. 76-157; the scientific observations, tables, &c., are contained between 161 and 291. Dr. Anderson visited the south-western portion of the Lebanon between Beyrut and Banias, Galilee, the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan; made the circuit of the Dead Sea; and explored the district between that Lake and Jerusalem. His account is evidently drawn up with great pains, and is far more elaborate than that of Russegger. He gives full analyses of the different rocks which he examined, and very good lithographs of fossils; but unfortunately his work is deformed by a very unreadable style. Mr. Poole's journey was confined to the western and south-eastern portions of the Dead Sea, the Jordan, the country between the latter and Jerusalem, and the beaten track of the central highlands from Hebron to Nablus.

2. From the reports of these observers it appears that the Holy Land is a much-disturbed mountainous tract of limestone of the secondary period (jurassic and cretaceous); the southern offshoot of the chain of Lebanon; elevated considerably above the sea level; with partial interruptions from tertiary and basaltic deposits. It is part of a vast mass of limestone, stretching in every direction except west, far beyond the limits of the Holy Land. The whole of Syria is cleft from north to south by a straight crevasse of moderate width, but extending in the southern portion of its centre division to a truly remarkable depth ([k] 2625 ft.) below the sea level. This crevasse, which contains the principal watercourse of the country, is also the most exceptional feature of its geology. Such fissures are not uncommon in limestone formations; but no other is known of such a length and of so extraordinary a depth, and so open throughout its greatest extent. It may have been volcanic in its origin; the result of an upheaval from beneath, which has tilted the limestone back on each side, leaving this huge split in the strata; the volcanic force having stopped short at that point in the operation, without intruding any volcanic rocks into the fissure. This idea is supported by the crater-like form of the basins of the Lake of Tiberias and of the Dead Sea (Russ. 206, 7), and by many other tokens of volcanic action, past and present, which are encountered in and around those Lakes, and along the whole extent of the Valley. Or it may have been excavated by the gradual action of the ocean during the immense periods of geological operation. The latter appears to be the opinion of Dr. Anderson (79, 140, 205); but further examination is necessary before a positive opinion can be pronounced. The ranges of the hills of the surface take the direction nearly due north and south, though frequently thrown from their main bearing and much broken up into detached masses. The lesser watercourses run chiefly east and west of the central highlands.

3. The Limestone consists of two strata, or rather groups of strata. The upper one, which usually meets the eye, over the whole country from Hebron to Hermon, is a tolerably solid stone, varying in colour from white to reddish brown, with very few fossils, inclining to crystalline structure, and abounding in caverns. Its general surface has been formed into gently rounded hills, crowded more or less thickly together, separated by narrow valleys of denudation occasionally spreading into small plains. The strata are not well defined, and although sometimes level[m] (in which case they lend themselves to the formation of terraces), are more often violently disarranged.[n] Remarkable instances of such contortions are to be found on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, where the beds are seen pressed and twisted into every variety of form.

It is hardly necessary to say that these contortions, as well as the general form of the surface, are due to forces not now in action, but are part of the general configuration of the country, as it was left after the last of that succession of immersions below, and upheavals from, the ocean, by which

[g] Ps. lxxxiv. 1, xliii. 3, lxxvi. 2; Judith ix. 8.

[h] Is. xxix. 1, xvi. 5.

[i] See the well-known passage in *Coningsby*, bk. iv. ch. 15.

[k] The surface of the Dead Sea is 1317 ft. below the Mediterranean, and its depth 1308 ft.

[m] As at the twin hills of *el-Jib*, the ancient Gibeon, below *Neby Samuel*.

[n] As on the road between the upper and lower *Beit-ur* about five miles from *el-Jib*.

its present form was given it, long prior to the historic period. There is no ground for believing that the broad geological features of this or any part of the country are appreciably altered from what they were at the earliest times of the Bible history. The evidences of later action are, however, often visible, as for instance where the atmosphere and the rains have furrowed the face of the limestone cliffs with long and deep vertical channels, often causing the most fantastic forms (And. 89, 111; Poole, 56).

4. This limestone is often found crowned with chalk, rich in flints, the remains of a deposit which probably once covered a great portion of the country, but has only partially survived subsequent immersions. In many districts the coarse flint or chert which originally belonged to the chalk is found in great profusion. It is called in the country chalcedony (Poole, 57).

On the heights which border the western side of the Dead Sea, this chalk is found in greater abundance and more undisturbed, and contains numerous springs of salt and sulphurous water.

5. Near Jerusalem the mass of the ordinary limestone is often mingled with large bodies of dolomite (magnesian limestone), a hardish semi-crystalline rock, reddish white or brown, with glistening surface and pearly lustre, often containing pores and small cellular cavities lined with oxide of iron or minute crystals of bitter spar. It is not stratified; but it is a question whether it has not been produced among the ordinary limestone by some subsequent chemical agency. Most of the caverns near Jerusalem occur in this rock, though in other parts of the country they are found in the more friable chalky limestone.[o] So much for the upper stratum.

6. The lower stratum is in two divisions or series of beds—the upper, dusky in colour, contorted and cavernous like that just described, but more ferruginous—the lower one dark grey, compact and solid, and characterised by abundant fossils of *cidaris*, an extinct echinus, the spines of which are the well-known "olives" of the convents. This last-named rock appears to form the substratum of the whole country, east as well as west of the Jordan.

The ravine by which the traveller descends from the summit of the Mount of Olives (2700 feet above the Mediterranean) to Jericho (900 below it) cuts through the strata already mentioned, and affords an unrivalled opportunity for examining them. The lower formation differs entirely in character from the upper. Instead of smooth, commonplace, swelling, outlines, everything here is rugged, pointed, and abrupt. Huge fissures, the work of the earthquakes of ages, cleave the rock in all directions—they are to be found as much as 1000 feet deep by not more than 30 or 40 feet wide, and with almost vertical sides.[p] One of them, near the ruined khan at which travellers usually halt, presents a most interesting and characteristic section of the strata (Russegger, 247-251, &c.).

7. After the limestone had received the general form which its surface still retains, but at a time far anterior to any historic period, it was pierced and broken by large eruptions of lava pushed up from beneath, which has broken up and overflowed the stratified beds, and now appears in the form of basalt or trap.

8. On the west of Jordan these volcanic rocks have been hitherto found only north of the mountains of Samaria. They are first encountered on the south-western side of the Plain of Esdraelon (Russ. 258): then they are lost sight of till the opposite side of the plain is reached, being probably hidden below the deep rich soil, except a few points here and there on the surface. Beyond this they abound over a district which may be said to be contained between Delâta on the north, Tiberias on the east, Tabor on the south, and Turan on the west. There seem to have been two centres of eruption: one, and that the most ancient (And. 129, 134), at or about the *Kurn Hattîn* (the traditional Mount of Beatitudes), whence the stream flowed over the declivities of the limestone towards the lake (Russ. 259, 260). This mass of basalt forms the cliffs at the back of Tiberias, and to its disintegration is due the black soil, so extremely productive, of the *Ard el Hamma* and the Plain of Genesareth, which lie, the one on the south, the other on the north, of the ridge of *Hattîn*. The other—the more recent—was more to the north, in the neighbourhood of Safed, where three of the ancient craters still exist, converted into the reservoirs or lakes of el Jish, Taitebe, and Delâta (And. 128, 9; Calman, in Kitto's *Phys. Geog.* 119).

The basalt of Tiberias is fully described by Dr. Anderson. It is dark iron-grey in tint, cellular, but firm in texture, amygdaloidal, the cells filled with carbonate of lime, olivine and augite, with a specific gravity of 2·6 to 2·9. It is often columnar in its more developed portions, as, for instance, on the cliffs behind the town. Here the junctions of the two formations may be seen; the base of the cliffs being limestone, while the crown and brow are massive basalt (124, 135, 136).

The lava of Delâta and the northern centre differs considerably from that of Tiberias, and is pronounced by Dr. Anderson to be of later date. It is found of various colours, from black-brown to reddish-grey, very porous in texture, and contains much pumice and scoriae; polygonal columns are seen at *el Jish*, where the neighbouring cretaceous beds are contorted in an unusual manner (And. 128, 129, 130).

A third variety is found at a spur of the hills of Galilee, projecting into the Ard el Hûleh below Kedes, and referred to by Dr. Anderson as Tell el Haiyeh; but of this rock he gives no description, and declines to assign it any chronological position (134).

9. The volcanic action which in pre-historic times projected this basalt, has left its later traces in the ancient records of the country, and is even still active in the form of earthquakes. Not to speak of passages in the poetical books of the Bible, which can hardly have been suggested except by such awful catastrophes, there is at least one distinct allusion to them, viz. that of Zechariah (xiv. 5) to an earthquake in the reign of Uzziah, which is corroborated by Josephus, who adds that it injured the Temple, and brought down a large mass of rock from the Mount of Olives (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4).

"Syria and Palestine," says Sir Charles Lyell (*Principles*, 8th ed. p. 340), "abound in volcanic appearances; and very extensive areas have been shaken at different periods, with great destruction of cities and loss of lives. Continued mention is made

[o] See the description of the caverns of *Beit Jibrîn* and *Deir Dubban* in Rob. ii. 23, 51-3; and Van de Velde, ii. 152

[p] Similar rents were cleft in the rock of *el-Jish* by the earthquake of 1837 (Calman, in Kitto, *Ph. Geog.* 154).

[q] Is. xxiv. 17-20, Amos ix. 6, &c. &c.

in history of the ravages committed by earthquakes in Sidon, Tyre, Beyrût, Laodicea, and Antioch." The same author (p. 342) mentions the remarkable fact that "from the 13th to the 17th centuries there was an almost entire cessation of earthquakes in Syria and Judaea; and that, during the interval of quiescence, the Archipelago, together with part of Asia Minor, Southern Italy and Sicily suffered greatly from earthquakes and volcanic eruptions." Since they have again begun to be active in Syria, the most remarkable earthquakes have been those which destroyed Aleppo in 1616 and 1822 (for this see Wolff, *Travels*, ch. 9), Antioch in 1737, and Tiberias and Safed in 1837[r] (Thomson, ch. 19). A list of those which are known to have affected the Holy Land is given by Dr. Pusey in his *Commentary* on Amos iv. 11. See also the Index to Kitter, vol. viii. p. 1953.

The rocks between Jerusalem and Jericho show many an evidence of these convulsions, as we have already remarked. Two earthquakes only are recorded as having affected Jerusalem itself—that in the reign of Uzziah already mentioned, and that at the time of the crucifixion, when "the rocks were rent and the rocky tombs torn open" (Matt. xxvii. 51). Slight[s] shocks are still occasionally felt there (*e.g.* Poole, 56), but the general exemption of that city from any injury by earthquakes, except in these two cases, is really remarkable. The ancient Jewish writers were aware of it, and appealed to the fact as a proof of the favour of Jehovah to His chosen city (Ps. xlvi. 1, 2).

10. But in addition to earthquakes, the hot salt and fetid springs which are found at Tiberias, Callirhoe, and other spots along the valley of the Jordan, and round the basins of its lakes,[t] and the rock-salt, nitre, and sulphur of the Dead Sea are all evidences of volcanic or plutonic action. Von Buch in his letter to Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 525), goes so far as to cite the bitumen of the Dead Sea as a further token of it. The hot springs of Tiberias were observed to flow more copiously, and to increase in temperature, at the time of the earthquake of 1837 (Thomson, ch. 19, 26).

11. In the Jordan Valley the basalt is frequently encountered. Here, as before, it is deposited on the limestone, which forms the substratum of the whole country. It is visible from time to time on the banks and in the bed of the river; but so covered with deposits of tufa, conglomerate, and alluvium, as not to be traceable without difficulty (And. 136-152). On the western side of the lower Jordan and Dead Sea no volcanic formations have been found (And. 81, 133; Russ. 205, 251); nor do they appear on its eastern shore till the Wady Zurka Maîn is approached, and then only in erratic fragments (And. 191). At Wady Hemârah, north of the last-mentioned stream, the igneous rocks first make their appearance *in situ* near the level of the water (194).

12. It is on the east of the Jordan that the most extensive and remarkable developments of igneous rocks are found. Over a large portion of the surface from Damascus to the latitude of the south of the Dead Sea, and even beyond that, they occur in the greatest abundance all over the surface. The limestone, however, still underlies the whole. These extraordinary formations render this region geologically the most remarkable part of all Syria. In some districts, such as the *Lejah* (the ancient Argob or Trachonitis), the *Sufâ* and the *Harrâh*, it presents appearances and characteristics which are perhaps unique on the earth's surface. These regions are yet but very imperfectly known, but travellers are beginning to visit them, and we shall possibly be in possession ere long of the results of further investigation. A portion of them, has been recently described in great detail[u] by Mr. Wetzstein, Prussian consul at Damascus. They lie, however, beyond the boundary of the Holy Land proper, and the reader must therefore be referred for these discoveries to the head of TRACHONITIS.

13. The tertiary and alluvial beds remain to be noticed. These are chiefly remarkable in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, as forming the floor of the valley, and as existing along the course, and accumulated at the mouths, of the torrents which deliver their tributary streams into the river, and into the still deeper caldron of the Dead Sea. They appear to be all of later date than the igneous rocks described, though even this cannot be considered as certain.

14. The floor of the Jordan valley is described by Dr. Anderson (140) as exhibiting throughout more or less distinctly the traces of two independent[x] terraces. The upper one is much the broader of the two. It extends back to the face of the limestone mountains which form the walls of the valley on east and west. He regards this as older than the river, though of course formed after the removal of the material from between the walls. Its upper and accessible portions consist of a mass of detritus brought down by the ravines of the walls, always chalky, sometimes "an actual chalk;" usually bare of vegetation (And. 143), though not uniformly so (Rob. iii. 315).

Below this, varying in depth from 50 to 150 feet, is the second terrace, which reaches to the channe. of the Jordan, and, in Dr. Anderson's opinion, has

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[r] Four-fifths of the population of Safed, and one-fourth of that of Tiberias, were killed on this occasion.

[s] Even the tremendous earthquake of May 20, 1202, only did Jerusalem a very slight damage (Abdul-latiff, in Kitto, *Phys. Geogr.* 148).

[t] It may be convenient to give a list of the hot or brackish springs of Palestine, as far as they can be collected. It will be observed that they are all in or about the Jordan Valley. Beginning at the north:—

Ain Eyûb, and Ain Tâbighah, N.E. of Lake of Tiberias: slightly warm, too brackish to be drinkable. (Rob. ii. 405.)

Ain el-Bârideh, on shore of Lake, S. of Mejdel: 80 Fahr., slightly brackish. (Rob. ii. 396.)

Tiberias: 144° Fahr.; salt, bitter, sulphureous.

Amateh, in the Wady Mandhur: very hot, slightly sulphureous. (Burckhardt, May 6.)

Wady Malih (Salt Valley), in the Ghôr near Sakût: 120° Fahr.; very salt, fetid. (Rob. iii. 308.)

Below Ain-Feshkah: fetid and brackish. (Lynch Apr. 18.)

One day N. of Ain-Jidy: 80° Fahr.: salt. (Poole, 67.)

Between Wady Mahras and W. Khusheibeh, S. of Ain-Jidy: brackish. (Anderson, 177.)

Wady Muhariyat, 45' E. of Usdûm: salt, containing small fish. (Ritter, *Jordan*, 736; Poole, 61.)

Wady el-Ahsy, S.E. end of Dead Sea: hot. (Burckhardt Aug. 7.)

Wady Beni-Hamed, near Rabba, E. side of Dead Sea. (Ritter, *Syrien*, 1223.)

Wady Zerka Maîn (Callirhoë), E. side of Dead Sea: very hot, very slightly sulphureous. (Seetzen, Jan. 18; Irby, June 8.)

[u] *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860; with map and woodcuts.

[x] Compare Robinson's diary of his journey across the Jordan near Sakût (iii. 313).

been excavated by the river itself before it had shrunk to its present limits, when it filled the whole space between the eastern and western faces of the upper terrace. The inner side of both upper and lower terraces is furrowed out into conical knolls, by the torrents of the rains descending to the lower level. These cones often attain the magnitude of hills, and are ranged along the edge of the terraces with curious regularity. They display convenient sections, which show sometimes a tertiary limestone or marl, sometimes quaternary deposits of sands, gravels, variegated clays, or unstratified detritus. The lower terrace bears a good deal of vegetation, oleander, agnus castus, &c. The alluvial deposits have in some places been swept entirely away, for Dr. Anderson speaks of crossing the upturned edges of nearly vertical strata of limestone, with neighbouring beds contorted in a very violent manner (148). This was a few miles N. of Jericho.

All along the channel of the river are found mounds and low cliffs of conglomerates, and breccias of various ages, and more various composition. Rolled boulders and pebbles of flinty sandstone or chert, which have descended from the upper hills, are found in the cross ravines; and tufas, both calcareous and siliceous, abound on the terraces (And. 147).

15. Round the margin of the Dead Sea the tertiary beds assume larger and more important proportions than by the course of the river. The marls, gypsites, and conglomerates continue along the base of the western cliff as far as the Wady Sebbeh, where they attain their greatest development. South of this they form a sterile waste of brilliant white marl and bitter salt flakes, ploughed by the rain-torrents from the heights into pinnacles and obelisks (180).

At the south-eastern corner of the sea, sandstones begin to display themselves in great profusion, and extend northward beyond Wady Zurka Main (189). Their full development takes place at the mouth of the Wady Mojeb, where the beds are from 100 to 400 feet in height. They are deposited on the limestone, and have been themselves gradually worn through by the waters of the ravine. There are many varieties, differing in colour, composition, and date. Dr. A. enumerates several of these (190, 196), and states instances of the red sandstone having been filled up, after excavation, by nonconforming beds of yellow sandstone of a much later date, which in its turn has been hollowed out, the hollows being now occupied by detritus of a stream long since extinct.

Russegger mentions having found a tertiary breccia overlying the chalk on the south of Carmel, composed of fragments of chalk and flint, cemented by lime (257).

16. The rich alluvial soil of the wide plains which form the maritime portion of the Holy Land, and also that of Esdraelon, Gennesareth, and other similar plains, will complete our sketch of the geology. The former of these districts is a region of from eight to twelve miles in width, intervening between the central highlands and the sea. It is formed of washings from those highlands, brought down by the heavy rains which fall in the winter months, and which, though they rarely remain as permanent streams, yet last long enough to spread this fertilising manure over the face of the country. The soil is a light loamy sand, red in some places, and deep black in others. The substratum is rarely seen, but it appears to be the same limestone which composes the central mountains. The actual coast is formed of a very recent sandstone full of marine shells, often those of existing species (Russ. 256, 7), which is disintegrated by the waves and thrown on the shore as sand,[y] where it forms a tract of considerable width and height. This sand in many places stops the outflow of the streams, and sends them back on to the plain, where they overflow and form marshes, which with proper treatment might afford most important assistance to the fertility of this already fertile district.

17. The plain of Gennesareth is under similar conditions, except that its outer edge is bounded by the lake instead of the ocean. Its superiority in fertility to the maritime land is probably due to the abundance of running water which it contains all the year round, and to the rich soil produced from the decay of the volcanic rocks on the steep heights which immediately enclose it.

18. The plain of Esdraelon lies between two ranges of highland, with a third (the hills separating it from the plain of Akka), at its north-west end. It is watered by some of the finest springs of Palestine, the streams from which traverse it both east and west of the central water-shed, and contain water or mud, moisture and marsh, even during the hottest months of the year. The soil of this plain is also volcanic, though not so purely so as that of Gennesareth.

19. Bitumen or asphaltum, called by the Arabs *hummar* (the slime of Gen. xi. 3), is only met with in the valley of Jordan. At Hasbeiya, the most remote of the sources of the river, it is obtained from pits or wells which are sunk through a mass of bituminous earth to a depth of about 180 feet (And. 115, 116). It is also found in small fragments on the shore of the Dead Sea, and occasionally, though rarely, very large masses of it are discovered floating in the water (Rob. i. 518). This appears to have been more frequently the case in ancient times (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 8, §4; Diod. Sic. ii. 48). [SLIME.] The Arabs report that it proceeds from a source in one of the precipices on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea (Rob. i. 517) opposite *Ain-jidi* (Russ. 253); but this is not corroborated by the observations of Lynch's party, of Mr. Poole, or of Dr. Robinson, who examined the eastern shore from the western side with special reference thereto. It is more probable that the bituminous limestone in the neighbourhood of Neby Musa exists in strata of great thickness, and that the bitumen escapes from its lower beds into the Dead Sea, and there accumulates until by some accident it is detached, and rises to the surface.

20. Sulphur is found on the W. and S. and S.E. portions of the shore of the Dead Sea (Rob. i. 512). In many spots the air smells strongly of sulphurous acid and sulphuretted hydrogen gas (And. 176; Poole, 66; Beaufort, ii. 113), a sulphurous crust is spread over the surface of the beach, and lumps of sulphur are found in the sea (Rob. i. 512). Poole (63) speaks of "sulphur hills" on the peninsula at the S.E. end of the sea (see And. 187).

Nitre is rare. Mr. Poole did not discover any, though he made special search for it. Irby and

[y] The statement in the text is from Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. 33). But the writer has learned that in the opinion of Capt. Mansell, R. N. [than whom no one has had more opportunity of judging), the sand of the whole coast of Syria has been brought up from Egypt by the S.S.W. wind. This is also stated by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 9, §6).

Maugles, Seetzen and Robinson, however, mention having seen it (Rob. i. 513).

Rock-salt abounds in large masses. The salt mound of *Kashm Usdum* at the southern end of the Dead Sea is an enormous pile, 5 miles long by 2½ broad, and some hundred feet in height (And. 181). Its inferior portion consists entirely of rock-salt, and the upper part of sulphate of lime and salt, often with a large admixture of alumina. [G.]

THE BOTANY.—The Botany of Syria and Palestine differs but little from that of Asia Minor, which is one of the most rich and varied on the globe. What differences it presents are due to a slight admixture of Persian forms on the eastern frontier, of Arabian and Egyptian on the southern, and of Arabian and Indian tropical plants in the low torrid depression of the Jordan and Dead Sea. These latter, which number perhaps a hundred different kinds, are anomalous features in the otherwise Levantine landscape of Syria. On the other hand, Palestine forms the southern and eastern limit of the Asia-Minor flora, and contains a multitude of trees, shrubs, and herbs that advance no further south and east. Of these the pine, oak, elder, bramble, dog-rose, and hawthorn are conspicuous examples; their southern migration being checked by the drought and heat of the regions beyond the hilly country of Judea. Owing, however, to the geographical position and the mountainous character of Asia Minor and Syria, the main features of their flora are essentially Mediterranean-European, and not Asiatic. A vast proportion of the commoner arboreous and frutescent plants are identical with those of Spain, Algeria, Italy, and Greece; and as they belong to the same genera as do British, Germanic, and Scandinavian plants, there are ample means of instituting such a comparison between the Syrian flora and that familiar to us as any intelligent non-botanical observer can follow and understand.

As elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean regions, Syria and Palestine were evidently once thickly covered with forests, which on the lower hills and plains have been either entirely removed, or else reduced to the condition of brushwood and copse; but which still abound on the mountains, and along certain parts of the sea-coast. The low grounds, plains, and rocky hills are carpeted with herbaceous plants, that appear in rapid succession from before Christmas till June, when they disappear; and the brown alluvial or white calcareous soil, being then exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, gives an aspect of forbidding sterility to the most productive regions. Lastly, the lofty regions of the mountains are stony, dry, swardless, and swampless, with few alpine or arctic plants, mosses, lichens, or ferns; thus presenting a most unfavourable contrast to the Swiss, Scandinavian, and British mountain floras at analogous elevations.

To a traveller from England, it is difficult to say whether the familiar or the foreign forms predominate. Of trees he recognizes the oak, pine, walnut, maple, juniper, alder, poplar, willow, ash, dwarf elder, plane, ivy, arbutus, rhamnus, almond, plum, pear, and hawthorn, all elements of his own forest scenery and plantations; but misses the beech, chestnut, lime, holly, birch, larch, and spruce; while he sees for the first time such southern forms as Pride of India (*Melia*), carob, sycamore, fig, jujube, pistachio, styrax, olive, phyllyrnea, vitex, elæagnus, celtis, many new kinds of oak, the palm, castor oil, and various tall tropical grasses.

Of cultivated English fruits he sees the vine, apple, pear, apricot, quince, plum, mulberry, and fig; but misses the gooseberry, raspberry, strawberry, currant, cherry, and other northern kinds, which are as it were replaced by such southern and subtropical fruits as the date, pomegranate, cordia myxa (*sebastan* of the Arabs), orange, shaddock, lime, banana, almond, prickly pear, and pistachio-nut.

Amongst cereals and vegetables the English traveller finds wheat, barley, peas, potatos, many varieties of cabbage, carrots, lettuces, endive, and mustard; and misses oats, rye, and the extensive fields of turnip, beet, mangold-wurzel, and fodder grasses, with which he is familiar in England. On the other hand, he sees for the first time the cotton, millet, rice, sorghum, sesamum, sugar-cane, maize, egg-apple, ochra, or *Abelmeoschus esculentus*, *Corchorus olitorius*, various beans and lentils, as *Lablab vulgaris*, *Phaseolus mungos*, and *Cicer arietinum*; melons, gourds, pumpkins, cumin, coriander, fennel, anise, sweet potato, tobacco, yam, colocasia, and other subtropical and tropical field and garden crops.

The flora of Syria, so far as it is known, may be roughly classed under three principal Botanical regions, corresponding with the physical characters of the country. These are (1), the western or seaboard half of Syria and Palestine, including the lower valleys of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the plain of Coele-Syria, Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. (2) The desert or eastern half, which includes the east flanks of the Anti-Lebanon, the plain of Damascus, the Jordan and Dead Sea valley. (3) The middle and upper mountain regions of Mount Casius, and of Lebanon above 3400 feet, and of the Anti-Lebanon above 4000 feet. Nothing whatever is known botanically of the regions to the eastward, viz. the Hauran, Lejah, Gilead, Ammon, and Moab; countries extending eastward into Mesopotamia, the flora of which is Persian, and south to Idumea, where the purely Arabian flora begins.

These Botanical regions present no definite boundary line. A vast number of plants, and especially of herbs, are common to all except the loftiest parts of Lebanon and the driest spots of the eastern district, and in no latitude is there a sharp line of demarcation between them. But though the change is gradual from the dry and semi-tropical eastern flora to the moister and cooler western, or from the latter to the cold temperate one of the Lebanon, there is a great and decided difference between the floras of three such localities as the Lebanon at 5000 feet, Jerusalem, and Jericho; or between the tops of Lebanon, of Carmel, and of any of the hills bounding the Jordan; for in the first locality we are most strongly reminded of northern Europe, in the second of Spain, and in the third of western India or Persia.

1. *Western Syria and Palestine.*—The flora throughout this district is made up of such a multitude of different families and genera of plants, that it is not easy to characterise it by the mention of a few. Amongst trees, oaks are by far the most prevalent, and are the only ones that form continuous woods, except the *Pinus maritima* and *P. Halepensis* (Aleppo Pine); the former of which extends in forests here and there along the shore, and the latter crests the spurs of the Lebanon, Carmel, and a few other ranges as far south as Hebron. The most prevalent oak is the *Quercus pseudo-coccifera*, a plant scarcely different from the common *Q. coccifera* of the western Mediterranean, and which it strongly resembles in form, habit, and evergreen foliage. It is called holly by many travellers, and

Quercus Ilex by others, both very different trees. *Q. pseudo-coccifera* is perhaps the commonest plant in all Syria and Palestine, covering as a low dense bush many square miles of hilly country everywhere, but rarely or never growing in the plains. It seldom becomes a large tree, except in the valleys of the Lebanon, or where, as in the case of the famous oak of Mamre, it is allowed to attain its full size. It ascends about 5000 feet on the mountains, but does not descend into the middle and lower valley of the Jordan; nor is it seen on the east slopes of the Anti-Lebanon, and scarcely to the eastward of Jerusalem; it may indeed have been removed by man from these regions, when the effect of its removal would be to dry the soil and climate, and prevent its re-establishment. Even around Jerusalem it is rare, though its roots are said to exist in abundance in the soil. The only other oaks that are common are the *Q. infectoria* (a gall oak), and *Q. Aegilops*. The *Q. infectoria* is a small deciduous-leaved tree, found here and there in Galilee, Samaria, and on the Lebanon; it is very conspicuous from the numbers of bright chesnut-coloured shining viscid galls which it bears, and which are sometimes exported to England, but which are a poor substitute for the true Aleppo galls. *Q. Aegilops* again is the Valonia oak; a low, very stout-trunked sturdy tree, common in Galilee, and especially on Tabor and Carmel, where it grows in scattered groups, giving a park-like appearance to the landscape. It bears acorns of a very large size, whose cups, which are covered with long recurved spines, are exported to Europe as Valonia, and are used, like the galls of *Q. infectoria*, in the operation of dyeing. This, I am inclined to believe, is the oak of Bashan, both on account of its sturdy habit and thick trunk, and also because a fine piece of the wood of this tree was sent from Bashan to the Kew Museum by Mr. Cyril Graham. The other oaks of Syria are chiefly confined to the mountains, and will be noticed in their proper place.

The trees of the genus *Pistacia* rank next in abundance to the Oak,—and of these there are three species in Syria, two wild and most abundant, but the third, *P. vera*, which yields the well-known pistachio nut, very rare, and chiefly seen in cultivation about Aleppo, but also in Beyrout and near Jerusalem. The wild species are the *P. Lentiscus* and *P. Terebinthus*, both very common: the *P. Lentiscus* rarely exceeds the size of a low bush, which is conspicuous for its dark evergreen leaves and numberless small red berries; the other grows larger, but seldom forms a fair-sized tree.

The Carob or Locust-tree, *Ceratonia Siliqua*, ranks perhaps next in abundance to the foregoing trees. It never grows in clumps or forms woods, but appears as an isolated, rounded or oblong, very dense-foliaged tree, branching from near the base, of a bright lucid green hue, affording the best shade. Its singular flowers are produced from its thick branches in autumn, and are succeeded by the large pendulous pods, called St. John's Bread, and extensively exported from the Levant to England for feeding cattle.

The oriental Plane is far from uncommon, and though generally cultivated, it is to all appearance wild in the valleys of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The great plane of Damascus is a well-known object to travellers; the girth of its trunk was nearly 40 feet, but it is now a mere wreck.

The Sycamore-fig is common in the neighbourhood of towns, and attains a large size; its wood is much used, especially in Egypt, where the mummy cases were formerly made of it. Poplars, especially the aspen and white poplar, are extremely common by streams; the latter is generally trimmed for firewood, so as to resemble the Lombardy poplar. The Walnut is more common in Syria than in Palestine, and in both countries is generally confined to gardens and orchards. Of large native shrubs or small trees almost universally spread over this district are, *Arbutus Andrachne*, which is common in the hilly country from Hebron northward; *Crataegus Aronia*, which grows equally on dry rocky exposures, as on the Mount of Olives, and in cool mountain valleys; it yields a large yellow or red haw that is abundantly sold in the markets. Cypresses are common about villages, and especially near all religious establishments, often attaining a considerable size, but I am not aware of their being indigenous to Syria. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, Christ's Thorn—often called jujute—the Nubk of the Arabs, is most common on dry open plains, as that of Jericho, where it is either a scrambling briar, a stunted shrub, or rarely even a middling-sized tree with pendulous branches: it is familiar to the traveller from its sharp hooks, white undersides to the three-nerved leaves, and globular yellow sweetish fruit with a large woody stone. The *Paliurus aculeatus*, also called Christ's Thorn, resembles it a good deal, but is much less common; it abounds in the Anti-Lebanon, where it is used for hedges, and may be recognised by its curved prickles and curious dry fruit, with a broad flat wing at the top. *Styrax officinalis*, which used to yield the famous Storax, abounds in all parts of the country where hilly, sometimes, as on the east end of Carmel and on Tabor, becoming a very large bush branching from the ground, but never assuming the form of a tree: it may be known by its small downy leaves, white flowers like orange blossoms, and round yellow fruit, pendulous from slender stalks, like cherries. The flesh of the berry, which is quite uneatable, is of a semi-transparent hue, and contains one or more large, chesnut-coloured seeds. *Tamarisk* is common, but seldom attains a large size, and has nothing to recommend it to notice. *Oleander* claims a separate notice, from its great beauty and abundance; lining the banks of the streams and lakes in gravelly places, and bearing a profusion of blossoms. Other still smaller but familiar shrubs are *Phillyraea*, *Rhamnus alaternus*, and others of that genus, *Rhus Coriaria*, several leguminous shrubs, as *Anagyris foetida*, *Calycotome* and *Genista*; *Cotoneaster*, the common bramble, dog-rose, and hawthorn, *Elaeagnus*, wild olive, *Lycium Europaeum*, *Vitex agnus-castus*, sweet bay (*Laurus nobilis*), *Ephedra*, *Clematis*, Gum-Cistus, and the caper plant: these nearly complete the list of the commoner shrubs and trees of the western district, which attain a height of four feet or more, and are almost universally met with, especially in the hilly country.

Of planted trees and large shrubs, the first in importance is the Vine, which is most abundantly cultivated all over the country, and produces, as in the time of the Canaanites, enormous bunches of grapes. This is especially the case in the southern districts; those of Eshcol being still particularly famous. Stephen Schultz states that at a village near Ptolemais (Acre) he supped under a large vine, the stem of which measured a foot and a half in diameter, its height being 30 feet; and that the whole plant, supported on trellis, covered an area 50 feet either way. The bunches of grapes

weighed 10–12 lbs., and the berries were like small plums. Mariti relates that no vines can vie for produce with those of Judea, of which a bunch cannot be carried far without destroying the fruit; and we have ourselves heard that the bunches produced near Hebron are sometimes so long that, when attached to a stick which is supported on the shoulders of two men, the tip of the bunch trails on the ground.

Next to the vine, or even in some respects its superior in importance, ranks the Olive, which nowhere grows in greater luxuriance and abundance than in Palestine, where the olive orchards form a prominent feature throughout the landscape, and have done so from time immemorial. The olive-tree is in no respects a handsome or picturesque object; its bark is grey and rugged; its foliage is in colour an ashy, or at best a dusky green, and affords little shade; its wood is useless as timber, its flowers are inconspicuous, and its fruit uninviting to the eye or palate; so that, even where most abundant and productive, the olive scarcely relieves the aspect of the dry soil, and deceives the superficial observer as to the fertility of Palestine. Indeed it is mainly owing to these peculiarities of the olive-tree, and to the deciduous character of the foliage of the fig and vine, that the impression is so prevalent amongst northern travellers, that the Holy Land is in point of productiveness not what it was in former times; for to the native of northern Europe especially, the idea of fertility is inseparable from that of verdure. The article OLIVE must be referred to for details of this tree, which is perhaps most skilfully and carefully cultivated in the neighbourhood of Hebron, where for many miles the roads run between stone walls enclosing magnificent olive orchards, apparently tended with as much neatness, care, and skill as the best fruit gardens in England. The terraced olive-yards around Sebastieh must also strike the most casual observer, as admirable specimens of careful cultivation.

The Fig forms another most important crop in Syria and Palestine, and one which is apparently greatly increasing in extent. As with the olive and mulberry, the fig-trees, where best cultivated, are symmetrically planted in fields, whose soil is freed from stones, and kept as scrupulously clean of weeds as it can be in a semi-tropical climate. As is well known, the fig bears two or three crops in the year: Josephus says that it bears for ten months out of the twelve. The early figs, which ripen about June, are reckoned especially good. The summer figs again ripen in August, and a third crop appears still later when the leaves are shed; these are occasionally gathered as late as January. The figs are dried by the natives, and are chiefly purchased by the Arabs of the eastern deserts. The Sycamore-fig, previously noticed, has much smaller and very inferior fruit.

The quince, apple, almond, walnut, peach, and apricot, are all most abundant field or orchard crops, often planted in lines, rows, or quincunx order, with the olive, mulberry, or fig; but they are by no means so abundant as these latter. The pomegranate grows everywhere as a bush; but, like the orange, *Elaeagnus*, and other less common plants, is more often seen in gardens than in fields. The fruit ripens in August, and is kept throughout the winter. Three kinds are cultivated—the acid, sweet, and insipid—and all are used in preparing sherbets; while the bark and fruit rind of all are used for dyeing and as medicine, owing to their astringent properties.

The Banana is only found near the Mediterranean; it ripens its fruit as far north as Beyrout, and occasionally even at Tripoli, but more constantly at Sidon and Jaffa; only one kind is commonly cultivated, but it is excellent. Dates are not frequent: they are most common at Caiffa and Jaffa, where the fruit ripens, but there are now no groves of this tree anywhere but in Southern Palestine, such as once existed in the valley of the Jordan, near the assumed site of Jericho. Of that well-known grove no tree is standing; one log of date-palm, now lying in a stream near the locality, is perhaps the last remains of that ancient race, though that they were once abundant in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dead Sea is obvious from the remark of Mr. Poole, that some part of the shore of that sea is strewn with their trunks. [See p. 675 note.] Wild dwarf dates, rarely producing fruit, grow by the shores of the Lake of Tiberias and near Caiffa; but whether they are truly indigenous date-palms, or *crab-dates* produced from seedlings of the cultivated form, is not known.

The *Opuntia*, or Prickly Pear, is most abundant throughout Syria, and though a native of the New World, has here, as elsewhere throughout the dry, hot regions of the eastern hemisphere, established its claim to be regarded as a permanent and rapidly-increasing denizen. It is in general use for hedging, and its well-known fruit is extensively eaten by all classes. I am not aware that the cochineal insect has ever been introduced into Syria, where there can, however, be little doubt but that it might be successfully cultivated.

Of dye-stuffs the *Carthamus* (Safflower) and Indigo are both cultivated; and of Textiles, Flax, Hemp, and Cotton.

The Carob, or St. John's Bread (*Ceratonia Siliqua*), has already been mentioned amongst the conspicuous trees: the sweetish pulp of the pods is used for sherbets, and abundantly eaten; the pods are used for cattle-feeding, and the leaves and bark for tanning.

The Cistus or Rock-rose, two or three species of which are abundant throughout the hilly districts of Palestine, is the shrub from which in former times Gum-Labdanum was collected in the islands of Candia and Cyprus.

With regard to the rich and varied herbaceous vegetation of West Syria and Palestine, it is difficult to afford any idea of its nature to the English non-botanical reader, except by comparing it with the British; which I shall first do, and then detail its most prominent botanical features.

The plants contained in this botanical region probably number not less than 2000 or 2500, of which perhaps 500 are British wild flowers; amongst the most conspicuous of these British ones are the *Ranunculus aquatilis, arvensis*, and *Ficaria*; the yellow water-lily, *Papaver Rhoeas* and *hybridum*, and several Fumitories; fully 20 cruciferous plants, including *Draba verna*, water-cress, *Turritis glabra, Sisymbrium Irio, Capsella Bursa-pastoris, Cakile maritima, Lepidium Draba*, charlock, mustard (often growing 8 to 9 feet high), two mignionettes (*Reseda alba* and *lutea*), *Silene inflata*, various species of *Cerastium, Spergula, Stellaria* and *Arenaria*, mallows, *Geranium molle, rotundifolium, lucidum, dissectum*, and *Robertianum, Erodium moschatum*, and *cicutarium*. Also many species of *Leguminosae*, especially of *Medicago, Trifolium*,

Melilotus, *Lotus*, *Ononis*, *Ervum*, *Vicia* and *Lathyrus*. Of *Rosaceae* the common bramble and dog-rose. *Lythrum Salicaria*, *Epilobium hirsutum*, *Bryonia dioica*, *Saxifraga tridactylites*, *Galium verum*, *Rubia peregrina*, *Asperula arvensis*. Various *Umbelliferae* and *Compositae*, including the daisy, wormwood, groundsel, dandelion, chicory, sowthistle, and many others. Blue and white pimpernel, *Cyclamen Europaeum*, *Samolus Valerandi*, *Erica vagans*, Borage, *Veronica Anagallis*, *Beccabunga*, *agrestis*, *triphyllos*, and *Chamaedrys*, *Lathraea squamaria*, Vervain, *Lamium amplexicaule*, mint, horehound, *Prunella*, *Statice Limonium*, many *Chenopodiaceae*, *Polygonum* and *Rumex*, Pellitory, *Mercurialis*, *Euphorbias*, nettles, box, elm, several willows and poplars, common duck-weed and pond-weed, *Orchis morio*, *Crocus aureus*, butcher's-broom, black Bryony, autumnal Squill, and many rushes, sedges, and grasses.

The most abundant natural families of plants in West Syria and Palestine are—(1) *Leguminosae*, (2) *Compositae*, (3) *Labiatae*, (4) *Cruciferae*; after which come (5) *Umbelliferae*, (6) *Caryophylleae*, (7) *Borragineae*, (8) *Scrophularineae*, (9) *Gramineae*, and (10) *Liliaceae*.

(1.) *Leguminosae* abound in all situations, especially the genera *Trifolium*, *Trigonella*, *Medicago*, *Lotus*, *Vicia*, and *Orobus*, in the richer soils, and *Astragalus* in enormous profusion in the drier and more barren districts. The latter genus is indeed the largest in the whole country, upwards of fifty species belonging to it being enumerated, either as confined to Syria, or common to it and the neighbouring countries. Amongst them are the gum-bearing *Astragali*, which are, however, almost confined to the upper mountain regions. Of the shrubby *Leguminosae* there are a few species of *Genista*, *Cytisus*, *Ononis*, *Retama*, *Anagyris*, *Calycotome*, *Coronilla*, and *Acacia*. One species, the *Ceratonia*, is arboreous.

(2.) *Compositae*.—No family of plants more strikes the observer than the *Compositae*, from the vast abundance of thistles and centauries, and other sprig-plants of the same tribe, which swarm alike over the richest plains and most stony hills, often towering high above all other herbaceous vegetation. By the unobservant traveller these are often supposed to indicate sterility of soil, instead of the contrary, which they for the most part really do, for they are nowhere so tall, rank, or luxuriant as on the most productive soils. It is beyond the limits of this article to detail the botanical peculiarities of this vegetation, and we can only mention the genera *Centaurea*, *Echinops*, *Onopordum*, *Cirsium*, *Cynara*, and *Carduus*, as being eminently conspicuous for their numbers or size. The tribe *Cichoreae* are scarcely less numerous, whilst those of *Gnaphalieae*, *Asteroideae*, and *Senecionideae*, so common in more northern latitudes, are here comparatively rare.

(3.) *Labiatae* form a prominent feature everywhere, and one all the more obtrusive from the fragrance of many of the genera. Thus the lovely hills of Galilee and Samaria are inseparably linked in the memory with the odoriferous herbage of marjoram, thymes, lavenders, calaminths, sages, and teucriums; of all which there are many species, as also there are of *Sideritis*, *Phlomis*, *Stachys*, *Ballota*, *Nepeta*, and *Mentha*.

(4.) Of *Cruciferae* there is little to remark: its species are generally weed-like, and present no marked feature in the landscape. Among the most noticeable are the gigantic mustard, previously mentioned, which does not differ from the common mustard. *Sinapis nigra*, save in size, and the Jericho *tatica hierochuntica*, or rose of Jericho, an Egyptian and Arabian plant, which is said to grow in the Jordan and Dead Sea valleys.

(5.) *Umbelliferae* present little to remark on, save the abundance of fennels and *Bupleurums*: the order is exceedingly numerous both in species and individuals, which often form a large proportion of the tall rank herbage at the edges of copse-wood and in damp hollows. The grey and spiny *Eryngium*, so abundant on all the arid hills, belongs to this order.

(6.) *Caryophylleae* also are not a very conspicuous order, though so numerous that the abundance of pinks, *Silene* and *Saponaria*, is a marked feature to the eye of the botanist.

(7.) The *Borragineae* are for the most part annual weeds, but some notable exceptions are found in the *Echiums*, *Anchusas*, and *Onosmas*, which are among the most beautiful plants of the country.

(8.) Of *Scrophularineae* the principal genera are *Scrophularia*, *Veronica*, *Linaria*, and *Verbascum* (Mulleins): the latter is by far the most abundant, and many of the species are quite gigantic.

(9.) *Grasses*, though very numerous in species, seldom afford a sward as in moister and colder regions; the pasture of England having for its Oriental equivalent the herbs and herbaceous tips of the low shrubby plants which cover the country, and on which all herbivorous animals love to browse. The *Arundo Donax*, *Saccharum Aegyptiacum*, and *Erianthus Ravennae*, are all conspicuous for their gigantic size and silky plumes of flowers of singular grace and beauty.

(10.) *Liliaceae*.—The variety and beauty of this order in Syria is perhaps nowhere exceeded, and especially of the bulb-bearing genera, as tulips, fritillaries, squills, gageas, &c. The *Urginea Scilla*, (medicinal squill) abounds everywhere, throwing up a tall stalk beset with white flowers at its upper half; and the little purple autumnal squill is one of the commonest plants in the country, springing up in October and November in the most arid situations imaginable.

Of other natural orders worthy of notice, for one reason or another, are *Violaceae*, for the paucity of its species; *Geraniaceae*, which are very numerous and beautiful; *Rutaceae*, which are common, and very strong-scented when bruised. *Rosaceae* are not so abundant as in more northern climates, but are represented by one remarkable plant, *Poterium spinosum*, which covers whole tracts of arid, hilly country, much as the ling does in Britain. *Cruciferae* and *Saxifrageae* are also not so plentiful as in cooler regions. *Dipsaceae* are very abundant, especially the genera *Knautia*, *Scabiosa*, *Cephalaria*, and *Pterocephalus*. *Campanulaceae* are common, and *Lobeliaceae* rare. *Primulaceae* and *Ericaceae* are both rare, though one or two species are not uncommon. There are very few *Gentianeae*, but many *Convolvuli*. Of *Solaneae*, *Mandragora*, *Solanum*, and *Hyoscyamus* are very common, also *Physalis*, *Capsicum*, and *Lycopersicum*, all probably escapes from cultivation. *Plumbagineae* contain a good many *Statices*, and the blue-flowered *Plumbago Europaea* is a very common weed. *Chenopodiaceae* are very numerous, especially the woody *Atriplices* and *Chenopodia* and some shrubby *Salsolas*. *Polygonae* are very common indeed, especially the smaller species of *Polygonum* itself. *Aristolochieae* present several species. *Euphorbiaceae*. The herbaceous genus *Euphorbia* is vastly abundant

especially in fields: upwards of fifty Syrian species are known. *Crozophora*, *Andrachne*, and *Ricinus*, all sonorous types, are also common. *Urticeae* present the common European nettles, *Mercurialis*, and Pellitory. *Moreae*, the common and sycamore figs, and the black and white mulberries. *Aroideae* are very common, and many of them are handsome, having deep-purple lurid spathes, which rise out of the ground before the leaves.

Of *Balanophorae*, the curious *Cynomorium coccineum*, or "Fungus Melitensis," used as a styptic during the Crusades by the Knights of Malta, is found in the valleys of Lebanon near the sea. *Naiadeae*, as in other dry countries, are scarce. *Orchideae* contain about thirty to forty kinds, chiefly South European species of *Orchis*, *Ophrys*, *Spiranthes*, and *Serapias*.

Amaryllideae present *Pancratium*, *Sternbergia*, *Iridorion*, and *Narcissus*. *Irideae* has many species of *Iris* and *Crocus*, besides *Moraea*, *Gladiolus*, *Trichonema*, and *Romulea*. *Dioscoreae*, *Tamus communis*. *Smilaceae*, several *Asparagi*, *Smilax*, and *Ruscus aculeatus*. *Melanthaceae* contain many *Colchicums*, besides *Merendera* and *Erythrostictus*. *Juncae* contain none but the commoner British rushes and luzulas. *Cyperaceae* are remarkably poor in species; the genus *Carex*, so abundant in Europe, is especially rare, not half a dozen species being enumerated.

Ferns are extremely scarce, owing to the dryness of the climate, and most of the species belong to the Lebanon flora. The common lowland ones are *Adiantum capillus-veneris*, *Cheilanthes fragrans*, *Gymnogramma leptophylla*, *Ceterach officinarum*, *Pteris lanceolata*, and *Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum*. *Selaginella denticulata* is also found.

One of the most memorable plants of this region, and indeed in the whole world, is the celebrated Papyrus of the ancients (*Papyrus antiquorum*), which is said once to have grown on the banks of the lower Nile, but which is nowhere found now in Africa north of the tropics. The only other known habitat beside Syria and tropical Africa is one spot in the island of Sicily. The Papyrus is a noble plant, forming tufts of tall stout 3-angled green smooth stems, 6 to 10 feet high, each surmounted by a mop of pendulous threads: it abounds in some marshes by the Lake of Tiberias, and is also said to grow near Caiffa and elsewhere in Syria. It is certainly the most remarkable plant in the country.

Of other Cryptogamic plants little is known. Mosses, lichens, and *Hepaticae* are not generally common, though doubtless many species are to be found in the winter and spring months. The marine Algae are supposed to be the same as in the rest of the Mediterranean, and of *Fungi* we have no knowledge at all.

Cucurbitaceae, though not included under any of the above heads, are a very frequent order in Syria. Besides the immense crops of melons, gourds, and pumpkins, the colocynth apple, which yields the famous drug, is common in some parts, while even more so is the Squirting Cucumber (*Ecbalium elaterium*).

Of plants that contribute largely to that showy character for which the herbage of Palestine is famous, may be mentioned *Adonis*, *Ranunculus Asiaticus*, and others; *Anemone coronaria*, poppies, *Glaucium*, *Matthiola*, *Malcolmia*, *Alyssum*, *Bivonaea*, *Helianthemum*, *Cistus*, the caper plant, many pinks, *Silene*, *Saponaria*, and *Gypsophila*; various Phlozes, mallows, *Lavatera* *Hypericum*; many geraniums, *Erodiums*, and *Leguminosae*, and *Labiatae* far too numerous to individualize; *Scabiosa*, *Cephalaria*, chrysanthemums, *Pyrethrum*, *Inulas*, *Achilleas*, *Calendulas*, *Centaureas*, *Tragopogons*, *Scorzoneras*, and *Crepis*; many noble *Campanulas*, cyclamens, *Convolvuli*, *Anchusas*, *Onosmas*, and *Echiums*, *Acanthus*, *Verbascums* (most conspicuously), *Veronicas*, *Celsias*, *Hyoscyamus*; many *Arums* in autumn, orchis and *Ophrys* in spring; *Narcissus*, *Tazetta*, irises, *Pancratiums*, *Sternbergia*, *Gladiolus*; many beautiful crocuses and colchicums, squills, *Tulipa oculus-solis*, *Gageas*, fritillaries, *Alliums*, Star of Bethlehem, *Muscaris*, white lily, *Hyacinthus orientalis*, *Bellevalias*, and *Asphodeli*.

With such gay and delicate flowers as these, in numberless combinations, the ground is almost carpeted during spring and early summer; and as in similar hot and dry, but still temperate climates, as the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, they often colour the whole landscape, from their lavish abundance.

II. *Botany of Eastern Syria and Palestine.*—Little or nothing being known of the flora of the range of mountains east of the Jordan and Syrian desert, we must confine our notice to the valley of the Jordan, that of the Dead Sea, and the country about Damascus.

Nowhere can a better locality be found for showing the contrast between the vegetation of the eastern and western districts of Syria than in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. To the west and south of that city the valleys are full of the dwarf oak, two kinds of *Pistacia*, besides *Smilax*, *Arbutus*, rose, Aleppo Pine, *Rhamnus*, *Phyllyraea*, bramble, and *Crataegus Aronia*. Of these the last alone is found on the Mount of Olives, beyond which, eastward to the Dead Sea, not one of these plants appears, nor are they replaced by any analogous ones. For the first few miles the olive groves continue, and here and there a carob and lentisk or sycamore recurs, but beyond Bethany these are scarcely seen. Naked rocks, or white chalky rounded hills, with bare open valleys, succeed, wholly destitute of copse, and sprinkled with sterile-looking shrubs of *Salsolas*, *Capparideae*, *Zygophyllum*, rues, *Fagonia*, *Polygonum*, *Zizyphus*, tamarisks, alhagi, and *Artemisia*. Herbaceous plants are still abundant, but do not form the continuous sward that they do in Judea. Amongst these, *Boragineae*, *Alsineae*, *Fagonia*, *Polygonum*, *Crozophora*, *Euphorbias*, and *Leguminosae* are the most frequent.

On descending 1000 feet below the level of the sea to the valley of the Jordan, the subtropical and desert vegetation of Arabia and West Asia is encountered in full force. Many plants wholly foreign to the western district suddenly appear, and the flora is that of the whole dry country as far east as the Paniab. The commonest plant is the *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, or *nubk* of the Arabs, forming bushes or small trees. Scarcely less abundant, and as large, is the *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, whose fruit yields the oil called *zuk* by the Arabs, which is reputed to possess healing properties, and which may possibly be alluded to as Balm of Gilead. Tamarisks are most abundant, together with *Rhus* (*Syriaca*?), conspicuous for the bright green of its few small leaves, and its exact resemblance in foliage, bark, and habit to the true Balm of Gilead, the *Amyris Gileadensis* of Arabia. Other most abundant shrubs are *Ochradenus baccatus*, a tall, branching, almost leafless plant, with small white berries

and the twiggy, leafless broom called *Retama*. *Acacia Farnesiana* is very abundant, and celebrated for the delicious fragrance of its yellow flowers. It is chiefly upon it that the superb misletoe, *Loranthus Acaciae*, grows, whose scarlet flowers are brilliant ornaments to the desert during winter, giving the appearance of flame to the bushes. *Capparis spinosa*, the common caper-plant, flourishes everywhere in the Jordan valley, forming clumps in the very arid rocky bottoms, which are conspicuous for their pale-blue hue, when seen from a distance. *Alhagi maurorum* is extremely common; as is the prickly *Solanum Sodomaeum*, with purple flowers and globular yellow fruits, commonly known as the Dead Sea apple.

On the banks of the Jordan itself the arboreous and shrubby vegetation chiefly consists of *Populus Euphratica* (a plant found all over Central Asia, but not known west of the Jordan), tamarisk, *Osyris alba*, *Periploca*, *Acacia vera*, *Prosopis Stephaniana*, *Arundo Donax*, *Lycium*, and *Capparis spinosa*. As the ground becomes saline, *Atriplex Halimus* and large *Statices* (sea-pinks) appear in vast abundance, with very many succulent shrubby *Salsolas*, *Salicornias*, *Suaedas*, and other allied plants to the number of at least a dozen, many of which are typical of the salt depressions of the Caspian and Central Asia.

Other very tropical plants of this region are *Zygophyllum coccineum*, *Boerhavia*, *Indigofera*; several *Astragali*, *Cassias*, *Gymnocarpum*, and *Nitraria*. At the same time thoroughly European forms are common, especially in wet places; as dock, mint, *Veronica Anagallis*, and *Sium*. One remote and little-visited spot in this region is particularly celebrated for the tropical character of its vegetation. This is the small valley of Engedi (Ain-jidi), which is on the west shore of the Dead Sea, and where alone, it is said, the following tropical plants grow:—*Sida mutica* and *Asiatica*, *Calotropis procera* (whose bladdery fruits, full of the silky coma of the seeds, have even been assumed to be the Apple of Sodom), *Amberboa*, *Batatas littoralis*, *Aerva Javanica*, *Pluchea Dioscoridis*.

It is here that the *Salvadora Persica*, supposed by some to be the mustard-tree of Scripture, grows: it is a small tree, found as far south as Abyssinia or Aden, and eastward to the peninsula of India, but is unknown west or north of the Dead Sea. The late Dr. Royle—unaware, no doubt, how scarce and local it was, and arguing from the pungent taste of its bark, which is used as horse-radish in India—supposed that this tree was that alluded to in the parable of the mustard-tree; but not only is the pungent nature of the bark not generally known to the natives of Syria, but the plant itself is so scarce, local, and little known, that Jesus Christ could never have made it the subject of a parable that would reach the understanding of His hearers.

The shores immediately around the Dead Sea present abundance of vegetation, though almost wholly of a saline character. *Juncus maritimus* is very common in large clumps, and a yellow-flowered groundsel-like plant, *Inula crithmoides* (also common on the rocky shores of Tyre, Sidon, &c.), *Spergularia maritima*, *Atriplex Halimus*, *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, several shrubby *Suaedas* and *Salicornias*, *Tamarix*, and a prickly-leaved grass (*Festuca*), all grow more or less close to the edge of the water; while of non-saline plants the Solanum *Sodomaeum*, *Tamarix*, *Centaurea*, and immense brakes of *Arundo Donax* may be seen all around.

The most singular effect is however experienced in the re-ascent from the Dead Sea to the hills on the N.W. shore, which presents first a sudden steep rise, and then a series of vast water-worn terraces at the same level as the Mediterranean. During this ascent such familiar plants of the latter region are successively met with as *Poterium spinosum*, *Anchusa*, pink, *Hypericum*, *Inula viscosa*, &c.; but no trees are seen till the longitude of Jerusalem is approached.

III. *Flora of the Middle and Upper Mountain Regions of Syria.*—The oak forms the prevalent arboreous vegetation of this region below 5000 feet. The *Quercus pseudo-coccifera* and *infectoria* is not seen much above 3000 feet, nor the Valonia oak at so great an elevation; but above these heights some magnificent species occur, including the *Quercus Cerris* of the South of Europe, the *Q. Ehrenbergii*, or *castaneaefolia*, *Q. Toza*, *Q. Libani*, and *Q. mannifera*, Lindl., which is perhaps not distinct from some of the forms of *Q. Robur*, or sessiliflora.[a]

At the same elevations junipers become common, but the species have not been satisfactorily made out. The *Juniperus communis* is found, but is not so common as the tall, straight, black kind (*J. excelsa*, or *foetidissima*). On Mount Casius the *J. drupacea* grows, remarkable for its large plum-like fruit; and *J. Sabina*, *phoenicia*, and *oxycedrus*, are all said to inhabit Syria. But the most remarkable plant of the upper region is certainly the cedar; for which we must refer the reader to the article CEDAR.[a]

Lastly, the flora of the upper temperate and alpine Syrian mountains demands some notice. As before remarked, no part of the Lebanon presents a vegetation at all similar, or even analogous, to that of the Alps of Europe, India, or North America. This is partly owing to the heat and extreme dryness of the climate during a considerable part of the year, to the sudden desiccating influence of the desert winds, and to the sterile nature of the dry limestone soil on the highest summits of Lebanon, Hermon, and the Anti-Lebanon; but perhaps still more to a warm period having succeeded to that cold one during which the glaciers were formed (whose former presence is attested by the moraines in the cedar valley and elsewhere), and which may have obliterated almost every trace of the glacial flora. Hence it happens that far more boreal plants may be gathered on the Himalaya at 10-15,000 ft. elevation, than at the analogous heights on Lebanon of 8-10,000 ft.; and that whilst fully 300 plants belonging to the Arctic circle inhabit the ranges of North India, not half that number are found on the Lebanon, though those mountains are in a far higher latitude.

At the elevation of 4000 feet on the Lebanon many plants of the middle and northern latitudes of Europe commence, amongst which the most conspicuous are hawthorn, dwarf elder, dog-rose, ivy, butcher's broom, a variety of the berberry, honeysuckle, maple, and jasmine. A little higher, at 5-7000 ft., occur *Cotoneaster*, *Rhododendron ponticum*, primrose, *Daphne Oleoides*, several other roses, *Poterium*, *Juniperus communis*, *foetidissima* (or *excelsa*), and cedar. Still higher, at 7-10,000 ft.

[a] For some notices of the oaks of Syria, see *Transactions of the Linn. Society*, xxiii. 381, and plates 36 38.

[a] See also Dr. Hooker's paper 'On the Cedars of Lebanon,' &c., in the *Nat. Hist. Review*, No. 5; with 3 plates

there is no shrubby vegetation, properly so called. What shrubs there are form small, rounded, harsh, prickly bushes, and belong to genera, or forms of genera, that are almost peculiar to the dry mountain regions of the Levant and Persia, and West Asia generally. Of these *Astragali* are by far the most numerous, including the *A. Tragacantha*, which yields the famous gum in the greatest abundance; and next to them a curious tribe of *Statices* called *Acantholimon*, whose rigid, pungent leaves spread like stars over the whole surface of the plant; and, lastly, a small white chenopodiaceous plant called *Noaea*. These are the prevalent forms up to the very summit of Lebanon, growing in globular masses on the rounded flank of Dhar-el-Khodib itself, 10,200 ft. above the sea.

At the elevation of 8-9000 ft. the beautiful silvery *Vicia canescens* forms large tufts of pale blue, where scarcely anything else will grow.

The herbaceous plants of 7-10,000 ft. altitude are still chiefly Levantine forms of *Campanula*, *Ranunculus*, *Corydalis*, *Draba*, *Silene*, *Arenaria*, *Saponaria*, *Geranium*, *Erodium*, several *Umbellifers*, *Galium*, *Eriyeron*, *Scorzonera*, *Taraxacum*, *Androsace*, *Scrophularia*, *Nepeta*, *Sideritis*, *Asphodeline*, *Crocus*, *Ornithogalum*; and a few grasses and sedges. No gentians, heaths, *Primulas*, saxifrages, anemones, or other alpine favourites, are found.

The most boreal forms, which are confined to the clefts of rocks, or the vicinity of patches of snow above 9000 ft., are *Drabas*, *Arenaria*, one small *Potentilla*, a *Festuca*, an *Arabis* like *alpina*, and the *Oxyria reniformis*, the only decidedly Arctic type in the whole country, and probably the only characteristic plant remaining of the flora which inhabited the Lebanon during the glacial period. It is, however, extremely rare, and only found nestling under stones, and in deep clefts of rocks, on the very summit, and near the patches of snow on Dhar-el-Khodib.

No doubt Cryptogamic plants are sufficiently numerous in this region, but none have been collected, except ferns, amongst which are *Cystopteris fragilis*, *Polypodium vulgare*, *Nephrodium pallidum*, and *Polystichum angulare*. [J. D. H.]

Zoology.—Much information is still needed on this subject before we can possibly determine with any degree of certainty the fauna of Palestine; indeed, the complaint of Linneus in 1747, that "we are less acquainted with the Natural History of Palestine than with that of the remotest parts of India," is almost as just now as it was when the remark was made. "There is perhaps," writes a recent visitor to the Holy Land, "no country frequented by travellers whose fauna is so little known as that of Palestine" (*Ibis*, i. 22); indeed, the complaint is general amongst zoologists.

It will be sufficient in this article to give a general survey of the fauna of Palestine, as the reader will find more particular information in the several articles which treat of the various animals under their respective names.

Mammalia.—The *Cheiroptera* (bats) are probably represented in Palestine by the species which are known to occur in Egypt and Syria, but we want precise information on this point. [Bat.] Of the *Insectivora* we find hedgehogs (*Erinaceus Europeus*) and moles (*Talpa vulgaris*, *T. cœca* (?)), which are recorded to occur in great numbers and to commit much damage (Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 120): doubtless the family of *Soricidae* (Shrews) is also represented, but we lack information. Of the *Carnivora* are still seen, in the Lebanon, the Syrian bear (*Ursus Syriacus*),[a] and the panther (*Leopardus varius*), which occupies the central mountains of the land. Jackals and foxes are common; the hyena and wolf are also occasionally observed; the badger (*Meles taxus*) is also said to occur in Palestine;[b] the lion is no longer a resident in Palestine or Syria, though in Biblical times this animal must have been by no means uncommon, being frequently mentioned in Scripture. [Lion.] The late Dr. Roth informed Mr. Tristram that bones of the lion had recently been found among the gravel on the banks of the Jordan not far south of the Sea of Galilee. A species of squirrel (*Sciurus Syriacus*), which the Arabs term *Orkidaun*, "the leaper," has been noticed by Hemprich and Ehrenberg on the lower and middle parts of Lebanon; two kinds of hare, *Lepus Syriacus*, and *L. Aegyptius*; rats and mice, which are said to abound, but to be partly kept down by the tame Persian cats; the jerboa (*Dipus Aegyptius*); the porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*); the short-tailed field-mouse (*Arvicola agrestis*), a most injurious animal to the husbandman, and doubtless other species of *Castoridae*, may be considered as the representatives of the *Rodentia*. Of the *Pachydermata*, the wild boar (*Sus scrofa*), which is frequently met with on Tabor and little Hermon, appears to be the only living wild example. The Syrian hyrax appears to be now but rarely seen. [Coney, Appendix A.]

There does not appear to be at present any wild ox in Palestine, though it is very probable that in Biblical times some kind of Urus or Bison roamed about the hills of Bashan and Lebanon. [Unicorn.] Dr. Thomson states that wild goats (Ibex?) are still (see 1 Sam. xxiv. 2) frequently seen in the rocks of Engedi. Mr. Tristram possesses a specimen of *Capra Aegagrus*, the Persian ibex, obtained by him a little to the south of Hebron. The gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*) occurs not unfrequently in the Holy Land, and is the antelope of the country. We want information as to other species of antelopes found in Palestine: probably the variety named, by Hemprich and Ehrenberg, *Antilope Arabica*, and perhaps the *Gazella Isabellina* belong to the fauna. The Arabs hunt the gazelles with greyhound and falcon; the fallow-deer (*Dama vulgaris*) is said to be not unfrequently observed.

Of domestic animals we need only mention the Arabian or one-humped camel, asses, and mules, and horses, all which are in general use. The buffalo (*Bubalus buffalo*) is common, and is on account of its strength much used for ploughing and draught purposes. The ox of the country is small and unsightly in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, but in the richer pastures of the upper part of the country, the cattle, though small, are not unsightly, the head being very like that of an Alderney; the common

[a] There is some little doubt whether the brown bear (*U. Arctos*) may not occasionally be found in Palestine. See Schubert (*Reise in das Morgenland*).

[b] Col. H. Smith, in Kitto's *Cyc.*, art. 'Badger,' denies that the badger occurs in Palestine, and says it has not yet been found out of Europe. This animal, however, is certainly an inhabitant of certain parts of Asia; and it is mentioned, together with wolves, jackals, porcupines, &c., by Mr. H. Poole as abounding at Hebron (see *Geograph. Journal* for 1856, p. 58).

sheep of Palestine is the broad-tail (*Ovis laticaudatus*), with its varieties [SHEEP]; goats are extremely common everywhere.

Aves.—Palestine abounds in numerous kinds of birds. Vultures, eagles, falcons, kites, owls of different kinds, represent the *Raptorial* order. Of the smaller birds may be mentioned, amongst others, the *Merops Persicus*, the *Upupa Epops*, the *Sitta Syriaca* or Dalmatian nuthatch, several kinds of *Silviadae*, the *Cinnyris osea*, or Palestine sunbird, the *Ixos xanthopygos*, Palestine nightingale,—the finest songster in the country, which long before sunrise pours forth its sweet notes from the thick jungle which fringes the Jordan; the *Amydrus Tristramii*, or glossy starling, discovered by Mr. Tristram in the gorge of the Kedron not far from the Dead Sea, "the roll of whose music, something like that of the organ-bird of Australia, makes the rocks resound"—this is a bird of much interest, inasmuch as it belongs to a purely African group not before met with in Asia; the sly and wary *Crateropus chalybeus*, in the open wooded district near Jericho; the jay of Palestine (*Garrulus melanocephalus*); kingfishers (*Ceryle rudis*, and perhaps *Alcedo ispida*) abound about the Lake of Tiberias and in the streams above the Huleh; the raven, and carrion crow; the *Pastor roseus*, or locust-bird [see LOCUST]; the common cuckoo; several kinds of doves; sandgrouse (*Pterocles*), partridges, francolins, quails, the great bustard, storks, both the black and white kinds, seen often in flocks of some hundreds; herons, curlews, pelicans, sea-swallows (*Sterna*), gulls, &c. &c. For the ornithology of the Holy Land the reader is referred to Hemprich and Ehrenberg's *Symbolae Physicae* (Berlin, 1820-25), and to Mr. Tristram's paper in the *Ibis*, i. 22.

Reptilia.—Several kinds of lizards (*Saura*) occur. The *Lacerta stellio*, Lin., which the Arabs call *Hardun*, and the Turks kill, as they think it mimics them saying their prayers, is very common in ruined walls. The *Waran el hard* (*Psammosaurus scincus*) is very common in the deserts. The common Greek tortoise (*Testudo Graeca*) Dr. Wilson observed at the sources of the Jordan; fresh-water tortoises (probably *Emys Caspica*) are found abundantly in the upper part of the country in the streams of Esdraelon and of the higher Jordan valley, and in the lakes. The chameleon (*Chameleo vulgaris*) is common; the crocodile does not occur in Palestine; the *Monitor Niloticus* has doubtless been confounded with it. In the south of Palestine especially reptiles of various kinds abound; besides those already mentioned, a large *Acanthodactylus* frequents old buildings; a large species of *Uromastix*, at least two species of Gecko (*Tarentola*), a *Gongylus* (*ocellatus?*), several other *Acanthodactyli* and *Seps tridactylus* have been observed. Of *Ophidians*, there is more than one species of *Echidna*; a *Naia*, several *Tropidonoti*, a *Coronella*, a *Coluber* (*trivirgatus?*) occur; and on the southern frontier of the land the desert form *Cerastes Hasselquistii* has been observed. Of the *Batrachia* we have little information beyond that supplied by Kitto, viz. that frogs (*Rana esculenta*) abound in the marshy pools of Palestine; that they are of a large size, but are not eaten by the inhabitants. The tree-frog (*Hyla*) and toad (*Bufo*) are also very common.

Pisces.—Fish were supplied to the inhabitants of Palestine both from the Mediterranean and from the inland lakes, especially from the Lake of Tiberias. The men of Tyre brought fish and sold on the Sabbath to the people of Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 16). The principal kinds which are caught off the shores of the Mediterranean are supplied by the families *Sparidae*, *Percidae*, *Scomberidae*, *Raiidae*, and *Pleuronectidae*. The Sea of Galilee has been always celebrated for its fish. Burckhardt (Syria, 332) says the most common species are the *Bunny* (*Cyprinus lepidotus*), frequent in all the fresh waters of Palestine and Syria, and a fish called *Musht*, which he describes as being a foot long and 5 inches broad, with a flat body like the sole. The *Binny* is a species of barbel; it is the *Barbus Binni* of Cuv. and Valenc., and is said by Bruce to attain sometimes to a weight of 70 lbs.; it is common in the Nile, and is said to occur in all the fresh waters of Syria; the *Mesht* is undoubtedly a species of *Chromis*, one of the *Labridae*, and is perhaps identical with the *C. Niloticus*, which is frequently represented on Egyptian monuments. The fish of this lake are, according to old tradition, nearly identical with the fish of the Nile; but we sadly want accurate information on this point. As to the fishes of Egypt and Syria, see Rüppell, E., *Neue Fische des Nils*, in Verhandl. *Senckenberg. Gesellsch.* Frankf., and Heckel, J., *Die Fische Syriens*, in Russegger, *Reise nach Egypten und Klein Asien*. There does not appear to be any separate work published on the fishes of the Holy Land.

Concerning the other divisions of the animal kingdom we have little information. *Mollusca* are numerous; indeed in few areas of similar extent could so large a number of land molluscs be found; Mr. Tristram collected casually, and without search, upwards of 100 species in a few weeks. The land shells may be classified in four groups. In the north of the country the prevailing type is that of the Greek and Turkish mountain region, numerous species of the genus *Clausilia*, and of opaque *Bulimi* and *Pupae* predominating. On the coast and in the plains the common shells of the East Mediterranean basin abound, e. g. *Helix Pisana*, *H. Syriaca*, &c. In the south, in the hill country of Judea, occurs a very interesting group, chiefly confined to the genus *Helix*, three subdivisions of which may be typified by *H. Boissieri*, *H. Seetzena*, *H. tuberculosa*, respectively calling by their thick, calcareous, lustreless coverings the prevalent types of Egypt, Arabia, and Sahara. In the valley of the Jordan the prevailing group is a subdivision of the genus *Bulimus*, rounded, semi-pellucid, and lustrous, very numerous in species, which are for the most part peculiar to this district. The reader will find a list of *Mollusca* found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the *Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist.* vi. No. 34. p. 512. The following remark of a resident in Jerusalem may be mentioned. "No shells are found in the Dead Sea or on its margin except the bleached specimens of *Melanopsis*, *Neritinae*, and various *Unionidae*, which have been washed down by the Jordan, and afterwards cast on shore. In fact, so intense is the bitterness and quality of its waters that no mollusc (nor, so far as I know, any other living creature) can exist in it."[c]

[c] This statement with regard to the total absence of organic life in the Dead Sea is confirmed by almost every traveller, and there can be no doubt as to its general accuracy. It is, however, but right to state that Mr. H. Poole discovered some small fish in a brine-spring, about 100 yds. distant from, and 30 ft. above the level of the Dead Sea, which he was inclined to think had been produced from fish *in* the sea (see *Geograph. Journal* for 1865).

These may be typified by *B. Jordani* and *B. Aleppensis*. Of the *Crustacea* we know scarcely anything. Lord Lindsay observed large numbers of a small crab in the sands near Akaba. Hasselquist (*Trav.* 238) speaks of a "running crab" seen by him on the coasts of Syria and Egypt. Dr. Baird has recently (*An. and Mag. N. H.* viii. No. 45, p. 209) described an interesting form of *Entomostracous Crustacean*, which he terms *Branchipus Eximius*, reared from mud sent him from a pool near Jerusalem. Five other species of this group are described by Dr. Baird in the *An. and Mag. N. H.* for Oct. 1859. With regard to the *insects*, a number of beetles may be seen figured in the *Symbolae Physicae*.

The *Lepidoptera* of Palestine are as numerous and varied as might have been expected in a land of flowers. All the common butterflies of southern Europe, or nearly allied congeners, are plentiful in the cultivated plains and on the hill-sides. Numerous species of *Polyommatus* and *Lycaena*, *Thecla ilicis* and *acaciae*; many kinds of *Pontia*, the lovely *Anthocaris Eupheno* abounds on the lower hills in spring, as does *Parnassius Apollinus*; more than one species of *Thais* occurs; the genera *Argynnis* and *Melitaea* are abundantly represented, not so *Hipparchia*, owing probably to the comparative dryness of the soil. *Libythea* (*Celtis*?) is found, and the gorgeous genus *Vanessa* is very common in all suitable localities; the almost cosmopolitan *Cynthia Cardui* and *Vanessa Atalanta*, *V. L. album*, and *V. Antiopa*, may be mentioned; *Papilio Alexanor* and some others of the same species flit over the plains of Sharon, and the caterpillar of the magnificent *Sphinx Nerii* feeds in swarms on the oleanders by the banks of the Jordan. Bees are common. [BEE.] At least three species of scorpions have been distinguished. Spiders are common. The *Abu Hanakein*, noticed as occurring at Sinai by Burckhardt, which appears to be some species of *Galeodes*, one of the Solpugidae, probably may be found in Palestine. Locusts occasionally visit Palestine and do infinite damage. Ants are numerous; some species are described in the *Journal of the Linnean Society*, vi. No. 21, which were collected by Mr. Hanbury in the autumn of 1860. Of the *Annelida* we have no information; while of the whole sub-kingdoms of *Coelenterata* and *Protozoa* we are completely ignorant.

It has been remarked that in its physical character Palestine presents on a small scale an epitome of the natural features of all regions, mountainous and desert, northern and tropical, maritime and inland, pastoral, arable, and volcanic. This fact, which has rendered the allusions in the Scriptures so varied as to afford familiar illustrations to the people of every climate, has had its natural effect on the zoology of the country. In no other district, not even on the southern slopes of the Himalayah, are the typical fauna of so many distinct regions and zones brought into such close juxtaposition. The bear of the snowy heights of Lebanon and the gazelle of the desert may be hunted within two days' journey of each other; sometimes even the ostrich approaches the southern borders of the land; the wolf of the north and the leopard of the tropics howl within hearing of the same bivouac; while the falcons, the linnets, and buntings, recall the familiar inhabitants of our English fields, the sparkling little sunbird (*Cinnyris osea*), and the grackle of the glen (*Amydrus Tristramii*) introduce us at once to the most brilliant types of the bird life of Asia and S. Africa.

Within a walk of Bethlehem, the common frog of England, the chameleon, and the gecko of Africa, may be found almost in company; and descending to the lower forms of animal life, while the northern valleys are prolific in *Clausiliae* and other genera of molluscs common to Europe, the valley of the Jordan presents types of its own, and the hill country of Judaea produces the same type of Helices as is found in Egypt and the African Sahara. So in insects, while the familiar forms of the butterflies of Southern Europe are represented on the plain of Sharon, the Apollo butterfly of the Alps is recalled on Mount Olivet by the exquisite *Parnassius Apollinus* hovering over the same plants as the sparkling *Thais medicaste* and the *Libythea* (*Celtis*?), northern representatives of sub-tropical lepidoptera.

If the many travellers who year by year visit the Holy Land would pay some attention to its zoology, by bringing home collections and by investigations in the country, we should soon hope to have a fair knowledge of the fauna of a land which in this respect has been so much neglected, and should doubtless gain much towards the elucidation of many passages of Holy Scripture. [W. H. and H. B. TRISTRAM.]

THE CLIMATE.—No materials exist for an accurate account of the Climate of the very different regions of Palestine. Besides the casual notices of travellers (often unscientific persons), the following observations are all that we possess:—

(1.) Average monthly temperatures at Jerusalem, taken between June 1851, and Jan. 1855 inclusive, by Dr. R. G. Barclay, of Beyrout and Jerusalem, and published by him in a paper 'On the State of Medical Science in Syria,' in the *N. American Medico-Chirurgical Review* (Philadelphia), vol. i. 705-718.[d]

(2.) A set of observations of temperature, 206 in all, extending from Nov. 19, 1838, to Jan. 16, 1839, taken at Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth, and Beyrout, by Russegger, and given in his work (*Reisen*, iii. 170-185).

(3.) The writer is indebted to his friend Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S., for a table shewing the mean temperature of the air at Jerusalem for each month, from May, 1843, to May, 1844[e]; and at Beyrout, from April, 1842, to May, 1845.

These fish have been identified by Sir J. Richardson with *Cyprinodon Hammonis*, Cuv. et Val. xvii. 169; see *Proceed. of Zoolog. Soc.* for 1856, p. 371. Mr. Tristram observes that he found in the Sahara *Cyprinodon dispar* in hot salt-springs where the water was shallow, but that these fish are never found in deep pools or lakes. Mr. Poole observed also a number of aquatic birds diving frequently in the Dead Sea, and thence concluded, justly, Sir J. Richardson thinks, "that they must have found something edible there." It would, moreover, be an interesting question to determine whether some species of *Artemia* (brine-shrimp) may not exist in the shallow pools at the extreme south end of the Salt LAKE. In the open tanks at Lymington myriads of these transparent little brine-shrimps (they are about half an inch in length) are seen swimming actively about in water every pint of which contains as much as a quarter of a pound of salt!

[d] These observations are inserted in Dr. Barclay's work (*City of the Great King*, 428), and are accompanied by his comments, the result of a residence of several years in Jerusalem (see also pp. 48-56).

[e] There is considerable variation in the above three sets

(4.) Register of the fall of rain at Jerusalem from 1846 to 1849, and 1850 to 1854, by Dr. R. G. Barclay (as above).

1. *Temperature.*—The results of these observations at Jerusalem may be stated generally as follows. January is the coldest month, and July and August the hottest, though June and September are nearly as warm. In the first-named month the average temperature is 49°·1 Fahr., and greatest cold 28°; in July and August the average is 78°·4; with greatest heat 92° in the shade and 143° in the sun. The extreme range in a single year was 52°; the mean annual temperature 65°·6. Though varying so much during the different seasons, the climate is on the whole pretty uniform from year to year. Thus the thermometric variation in the same latitude on the west coast of North America is nearly twice as great. The isothermal line of mean annual temperature of Jerusalem passes through California and Florida (to the north of Mobile), and Dr. Barclay remarks that in temperature and the periodicity of the seasons there is a close analogy between Palestine and the former state. The isothermal line also passes through Gibraltar, and near Madeira and the Bermudas. The heat, though extreme during the four midsummer months, is much alleviated by a sea-breeze from the N.W., which blows with great regularity from 10 A.M. till 10 P.M.; and from this and other unexplained causes the heat is rarely oppressive, except during the occasional presence of the Khamsîn or sirocco, and is said to be much more bearable than even in many parts of the western world[f] which are deemed tropical. The Khamsîn blows during February, March, and April (Wildenbruch). It is most oppressive when it comes from the east, bearing the heat and sand of the desert with it, and during its continuance darkening the air and filling everything with fine dust (Miss Beaufort, ii. 223).

During January and February snow often falls to the depth of a foot or more, though it may not make its appearance for several years together. In 1854-5 it remained on the ground for a fortnight.[g]

of observations, as will be seen from the following comparative table of the mean temperatures of Jerusalem:—

Month.	(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
Jan.	49·4		47·7
Feb.	54·4		53·7
March	55·7		60·
April	61·4		54·7
May	73·8		66·8
June	75·2		71·7
July	79·1		77·3
Aug.	79·3		72·6
Sept.	77·	(Mean of 67 obs. from Nov. 19 to Dec. 5.)	72·2
Oct.	74·2		68·4
Nov.	63·8		58·9
Dec.	54·5	62·	47·4
Mean for the year	66·5		62·6

It is understood that a regular series of observations, with standard Barometer, Thermometer, and Rain-guage, was made for 10 years by the late Dr. M'Gowan of the Hospital, Jerusalem, but the record of them has unfortunately been mislaid.

f Barclay, 48; Rob. *B. R.* i. 430; also Schwarz, 327.

g *Jewish Intelligencer*, 1856, p. 137, note.

Nor is this of late occurrence only, but is recorded by Shaw in 1722. In 1818 it was between two and three feet deep.[h] In 1754 a heavy fall took place, and twenty-five persons are said to have been frozen to death at Nazareth.[i] Snow is repeatedly mentioned in the poetical books of the Bible, and must therefore have been known at that time (Ps. lxviii. 14, cxlvii. 16; Is. lv. 10, &c.). But in the narrative it only appears twice (1 Macc. xiii. 22; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20).

Thin ice is occasionally found on pools or cisterns of water; and pieces of ground out of the reach of the sun's rays remain sometimes slightly frozen for several days. But this is a rare occurrence, and no injury is done to the vegetation by frost, nor do the plants require shelter during winter (Barclay).

Observations made at Jerusalem are not applicable to the whole of the highland, as is obvious from Russegger's at Nazareth. These show as the result of fifty-five observations, extending from Dec. 15 to 26: highest temp. 58·5°, lowest 46°, mean 53°, all considerably lower than those taken at Jerusalem a fortnight before.

2. *Rain.*—The result of Dr. Barclay's observations is to show that the greatest fall of rain at Jerusalem in a single year was 85 inches,[k] and the smallest 44, the mean being 61·6 inches. The greatest fall in any one month (Dec. 1850) was 33·8, and the greatest in three months (Dec. 1850, Jan. and Feb. 1851) 72·4. These figures will be best appreciated by recollecting that the average rain-fall of London during the whole year is only 25 inches, and that in the wettest parts of the country, such as Cumberland and Devon, it rarely exceeds 60 inches.

As in the time of our Saviour (Luke xii. 54), the rains come chiefly from the S. or S.W. They commence at the end of October or beginning of November, and continue with greater or less constancy till the end of February or middle of March, and occasionally, though rarely, till the end of April. It is not a heavy continuous rain, so much as a succession of severe showers or storms with intervening periods of fine bright weather, permitting the grain crops to grow and ripen. And although the season is not divided by any entire cessation of rain for a lengthened interval, as some represent, yet there appears to be a diminution in the fall for a few weeks in December and January, after which it begins again, and continues during February and till the conclusion of the season. On the uplands the barley-harvest (which precedes the wheat) should begin about the last week of May, so that it is preceded by five or six weeks of summer weather. Any falling-off in the rain during the winter or spring is very prejudicial to the harvest; and, as in the days of the prophet Amos, nothing could so surely occasion the greatest distress or be so fearful a threat as a drought three months before harvest (Amos iv. 7).

There is much difference of opinion as to whether the former and the latter rain of Scripture are represented by the beginning and end of the present rainy season, separated by the slight interval more

h "I *Elle hoch*," Scholz, quoted by Von Raumer, 76.

i S. Schulz, quoted by Von Raumer. Schwarz, 324.

k Here again there is a considerable discrepancy, as Mr. Poole (*Geogr. Journal*, xxvi. 57) states that M'Gowan had registered the greatest quantity in one year at 108 inches.

noned above (*e. g.* Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, 33), or whether, as Dr. Barclay (*City*, &c. 54) and others affirm, the latter rain took place after the harvest, about midsummer, and has been withheld as a punishment for the sins of the nation. This will be best discussed under RAIN.

Between April and November there is, with the rarest exceptions, an uninterrupted succession of fine weather, and skies without a cloud. Thus the year divides itself into two, and only two, seasons—as indeed we see it constantly divided in the Bible —"winter and summer," "cold and heat," "seed-time and harvest."

During the summer the dews are very heavy, and often saturate the traveller's tent as if a shower had passed over it. The nights, especially towards sunrise, are very cold, and thick fogs or mists are common all over the country. Thunder-storms of great violence are frequent during the winter months.

3. So much for the climate of Jerusalem and the highland generally. In the lowland districts, on the other hand, the heat is much greater and more oppressive,[m] owing to the quantity of vapour in the atmosphere, the absence of any breeze, the sandy nature of the soil, and the manner in which the heat is confined and reflected by the enclosing heights; perhaps also to the internal heat of the earth, due to the depth below the sea level of the greater part of the Jordan valley, and the remains of volcanic agency, which we have already shown to be still in existence in this very depressed region [p. 681 *a*]. No indication of these conditions is discoverable in the Bible, but Josephus was aware of them (*B. J.* iv. 8, §3), and states that the neighbourhood of Jericho was so much warmer than the upper country that linen clothing was worn there even when Judaea was covered with snow. This is not quite confirmed by the experience of modern travellers, but it appears that when the winter is at its severest on the highlands, and both eastern and western mountains are white with snow, no frost visits the depths of the Jordan valley, and the greatest cold experienced is produced by the driving rain of tempests (Seetzen, Jan. 9, ii. 300). The vegetation already mentioned as formerly or at present existing in the district—palms, indigo, sugar—testifies to its tropical heat. The harvest in the Ghor is fully a month in advance of that on the highlands, and the fields of wheat are still green on the latter when the grain is being threshed in the former (Rob. *B. R.* i. 431, 551, ii. 314). Thus Burckhardt on May 5 found the barley of the district between Tiberias and Beisan nearly all harvested, while on the upland plains of the Hauran, from which he had just descended, the harvest was not to commence for fifteen days. In this fervid and moist atmosphere irrigation alone is necessary to ensure abundant crops of the finest grain (Rob. i. 550).

4. The climate of the maritime lowland exhibits many of the characteristics of that of the Jordan valley,[n] but, being much more elevated, and exposed on its western side to the sea-breezes, is not so oppressively hot. Russegger's observations at Jaffa (Dec. 7 to 12) indicate only a slight advance in temperature on that of Jerusalem. But Mr. Glaisher's observations at Beyrout (mentioned above) show on the other hand that the temperature there is considerably higher, the Jan. being 54°, July 82°, and the mean for the year 69·3. The situation of Beyrout (which indeed is out of the confines of the Holy Land) is such as to render its climate very sultry. This district retains much tropical vegetation; all along the coast from Gaza to Beyrout, and inland as far as Ramleh and Lydd, the date-palm flourishes and fruits abundantly, and the orange, sycamore fig, pomegranate, and banana grow luxuriantly at Jaffa and other places. Here also the harvest is in advance of that of the mountainous districts (Thomson, *Land and Book*, 543). In the lower portions of this extensive plain frost and snow are as little known as they are in the Ghor. But the heights, even in summer, are often very chilly,[o] and the sunrise is frequently obscured by a dense low fog (Thomson, 490, 542; Rob. ii. 19). North of Carmel slight frosts are occasionally experienced.

In the winter months however the climate of these regions is very similar to that of the south of France or the maritime districts of the north of Italy. Napoleon, writing from Gaza on the "*8th Ventose* (26 Feb.) 1799," says, "Nous sommes ici dans l'eau et la boue jusqu'aux genoux. Il fait ici le même froid et le même temps qu'à Paris dans cette saison" (*Corr. de Napoléon*, No. 3993). Berthier to Marmont, from the same place (29 Dec 1798), says, "Nous trouvons ici un pays qui ressemble à la Provence et le climat à celui d'Europe" (*Mém. du Duc de Raguse*, ii. 56).

A register of the weather and vegetation of the twelve months in Palestine, referring especially to the coast region, is given by Colonel von Wildenbruch in *Geogr. Society's Journal*, xx. 232. A good deal of similar information will be found in a tabular form on Petermann's Physical Map of Palestine in the *Biblical Atlas* of the Tract Society.

The permanence of the climate of Palestine, on the ground that the same vegetation which anciently flourished there still exists, is ingeniously maintained in a paper on *The Climate of Palestine in Modern compared to Ancient Times* in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* for April, 1862. Reference is therein made to a paper on the same subject by Schouw in vol. viii. of the same periodical, p. 311.

[m] At 5 P.M. on the 25th Nov. Russegger's thermometer at Jerusalem shewed a temp. of 62·8; but when he arrived at Jericho at 5·30 P.M. on the 27th it had risen to 75. At 7·30 the following morning it was 63·5, against 56° at Jerusalem on the 25th; and at noon, at the Jordan, it had risen to 81. At Marsaba, at 11 A.M. of the 29th, it was 66; and on returning to Jerusalem on the 1st Dec. it again fell to an average of 61. An observation recorded by Dr. Robinson (iii. 310) at *Sakût* (Succoth), in the central part of the Jordan valley, on May 14, 1852, in the shade, and close to a spring, gives 92°, which is the very highest reading recorded at Jerusalem in July: later on the same day it was 93°, in a strong N.W. wind (314). On May 13, 1852, at Jericho, it was 91° in the shade and the breeze. Dr. Anderson (184) found it 106° Fahr. "through the first half of the night" at the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea. In a paper on the 'Climate of Palestine,' &c., in the *Edinburgh New Philos. Journal* for April, 1862, published while this sheet was passing through the press, the mean annual temperature of Jericho is stated as 72° Fahr., but without giving any authority.

[n] Robinson (ii. 223), on June 8, 1838, found the thermometer 83° Fahr. before sunrise, at *Beit Nettif*, on the lower hills overlooking the plain of Philistia.

[o] Chilly nights, succeeding scorching days, have formed a characteristic of the East ever since the days of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 40; Jer. xxxvi. 30).

LITERATURE.—The list of works on the Holy Land is of prodigious extent. Dr. Robinson, in the Appendix to his *Biblical Researches*, enumerates no less than 183; to which Bonar (*Land of Promise*) adds a large number: and even then the list is far from complete. Of course every traveller sees some things which none of his predecessors saw, and therefore none should be neglected by the student anxious thoroughly to investigate the nature and customs of the Holy Land; but the following works will be found to contain nearly all necessary information:—[P]

1. Josephus.—Invaluable, both for its own sake, and as an accompaniment and elucidation of the Bible narrative. Josephus had a very intimate knowledge of the country. He possessed both the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, and knew them well; and there are many places in his works which show that he knew how to compare the various books together, and combine their scattered notices in one narrative, in a manner more like the processes of modern criticism than of ancient record. He possessed also the works of several ancient historians, who survive only through the fragments he has preserved. And it is evident that he had in addition other nameless sources of information, now lost to us, which often supplement the Scripture history in a very important manner. These and other things in the writings of Josephus have yet to be investigated. Two tracts by Tuch (*Quaestiones de F. Josephi libris*, &c., Leipzig, 1859), on geographical points, are worth attention.

2. The *Onomasticon* (usually so called) of Eusebius and Jerome. A tract of Eusebius († 340), "concerning the names of places in the Sacred Scriptures;" translated, freely and with many additions, by Jerome († 420), and included in his works as *Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum*. The original arrangement is according to the Books of Scripture, but it was thrown into one general alphabetical order by Bonfrere (1631, &c.); and finally edited by J. Clericus, Amst. 1707, &c. This tract contains notices (often very valuable, often absolutely absurd) of the situation of many ancient places of Palestine, as far as they were known to the two men who in their day were probably best acquainted with the subject. In connexion with it, see Jerome's *Ep. ad Eustochium*; *Epit. Paulae*—an itinerary through a large part of the Holy Land. Others of Jerome's Epistles, and his Commentaries, are full of information on the country.

3. The most important of the early travellers—from Arculf (A.D. 700) to Maundrell (1697)—are contained in *Early Travels in Palestine*, a volume published by Bohn. The shape is convenient, but the translation is not always to be implicitly relied on.

4. Reland.—*H. Relandi Palaestina ex Monumentis Veteribus illustrata*, 1714. A treatise on the Holy Land in three books: 1. The country; 2. The distances; 3. The places; with maps (excellent for their date), prints of coins and inscriptions. Reland exhausts all the information obtainable on his subject down to his own date (he often quotes Maundrell, 1703). His learning is immense, he is extremely accurate, always ingenious, and not wanting in humour. But honesty and strong sound sense are his characteristics. A sentence of his own might be his motto: "Conjecturae, quibus non delectamur" (p. 139), or "Ego all[illegible]" (671).

5. Benjamin of Tudela.—*Travels of Rabbi Benjamin* (in Europe, Asia, and Africa) from 1160–73. The best edition is that of A. Asher, 2 vols. 1840-1. The part relating to Palestine is contained in pp. 61-87. The editor's notes contain some curious information; but their most valuable part (ii. 397-445) is a translation of extracts from the work of Esthori B. Mose hap-Parchi on Palestine (A.D. 1314-22). These passages—notices of places and identifications—are very valuable, more so than those of Benjamin. The original work, *Caftor va-Pherach*, "knop and flower," has been reprinted in Hebrew, by Edelmann, Berlin, 1852. Other Itineraries of Jews have been translated and published by Carmoly (Brux. 1847), but they are of less value than the two already named.

6. Abulfeda.—The chief Moslem accounts of the Holy Land are those of Edrisi (cir. 1150), and Abulfeda (cir. 1300), translated under the titles of *Tabula Syriae*, and *Descr. Arabiae*. Extracts from these and from the great work of Yakoot are given by Schultens in an *Index Geographicus* appended to his edition of Bohaeddin's *Life of Saladin*, folio, 1755. Yakoot has yet to be explored, and no doubt he contains a mass of valuable information.

7. Quaresmius.—*Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, &c. Ant. 1639, 2 vols. folio. The work of a Latin monk who lived in the Holy Land for more than twelve years, and rose to be Principal and Commissary Apostolic of the country. It is divided into eight books: the first three, general dissertations; the remainder "peregrinations" through the Holy Land, with historical accounts, and identifications (often incorrect), and elaborate accounts of the Latin traditions attaching to each spot, and of the ecclesiastical establishments, military orders, &c. of the time. It has a copious index.—Similar information is given by the Abbé Mislin (*Les Saints Lieux*, Paris, 1858, 3 vols. 8vo); but with less elaboration than Quaresmius, and in too hostile a vein towards Lamartine and other travellers.

8. The great burst of modern travel in the Holy Land began with Seetzen and Burckhardt. Seetzen resided in Palestine from 1805 to 1807, during which time he travelled on both E. and W. of Jordan. He was the first to visit the Hauran, the Ghor, and the mountains of Ajlun: he travelled completely round the Dead Sea, besides exploring the east side a second time. As an experienced man of science, Seetzen was charged with collecting antiquities and natural objects for the Oriental Museum at Gotha; and his diaries contain inscriptions, and notices of flora and fauna, &c. They have been published in 3 vols., with a 4th vol. of notes (but without an index), by Kruse (Berlin, 1854-9). The Palestine journeys are contained in vols. 1 and 2. His Letters, founded on these diaries, and giving their results, are in Zach's *Monatl. Corresp.* vols. 17, 18, 26, 27.

9. Burckhardt.—*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 4to, 1822. With the exception of an excursion of twelve days to Safed and Nazareth, Burckhardt's journeys S. of Damascus were confined to the east of the Jordan. These regions he explored and described more completely than Seetzen, or any later traveller till Wetzstein (1861), and even his researches do not extend over so wide an area. Burckhardt made two tours in the Hauran, in one

[P] A list of all the works on Palestine which have any pretensions to importance, with full critical remarks, is given by Ritter at the commencement of the 2nd division of his viiith volume (*Jordan*).

of which he penetrated—first of Europeans—into the mysterious Leja. The southern portions of the Transjordanic country he traversed in his journey from Damascus to Petra and Sinai. The fulness of the notes which he contrived to keep under the very difficult circumstances in which he travelled is astonishing. They contain a multitude of inscriptions, long catalogues of names, plans of sites, &c. The strength of his memory is shown not only by these notes but by his constant references to books, from which he was completely cut off. His diaries are interspersed with lengthened accounts of the various districts, and the manners and customs, commerce, &c., of their inhabitants. Burckhardt's accuracy is universally praised. No doubt justly. But it should be remembered that on the E. of Jordan no means of testing him as yet exist; while in other places his descriptions have been found imperfect or at variance with facts.—The volume contains an excellent preface by Col. Leake, but is very defective from the want of an index. This is partially supplied in the German translation (Weimar, 1823-4, 2 vols. 8vo), which has the advantage of having been edited and annotated by Gesenius.

10. Irby and Mangles.—*Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land* (in 1817-18). Hardly worth special notice except for the portions which relate their route on the east of Jordan, especially about Kerek and the country of Moab and Ammon, which are very well told, and with an air of simple faithfulness. These portions are contained in chapters vi. and viii. The work is published in the *Home and Col. Library*, 1847.

11. Robinson.—(1.) *Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c., in* 1838: 1st ed. 1841, 3 vols. 8vo; 2nd ed. 1856, 2 vols. 8vo. (2.) *Later Bib. Res. in* 1852, 8vo, 1856. Dr. Robinson's is the most important work on the Holy Land since Reland. His knowledge of the subject and its literature is very great, his common sense excellent, his qualifications as an investigator and a describer remarkable. He had the rare advantage of being accompanied on both occasions by Dr. Eli Smith, long resident in Syria, and perfectly versed in both classical and vernacular Arabic. Thus he was enabled to identify a host of ancient sites, which are mostly discussed at great length, and with full references to the authorities. The drawbacks to his work are a want of knowledge of architectural art, and a certain dogmatism, which occasionally passes into contempt for those who differ with him. He too uniformly disregards tradition, an extreme fully as bad as its opposite in a country like the East.

The first edition has a most valuable Appendix, containing lists of the Arabic names of modern places in the country, which in the second edition are omitted. Both series are furnished with indexes, but those of Geography and Antiquities might be extended with advantage.

12. Wilson.—*The Lands of the Bible visited, &c.*, 1847, 2 vols. 8vo. Dr. Wilson traversed the Holy Land twice, but without going out of the usual routes. He paid much attention to the topography, and keeps a constant eye on the reports of his predecessor Dr. Robinson. His book cannot be neglected with safety by any student of the country; but it is chiefly valuable for its careful and detailed accounts of the religious bodies of the East, especially the Jews and Samaritans. His Indian labours having accustomed him to Arabic, he was able to converse freely with all the people he met, and his inquiries were generally made in the direction just named. His notice of the Samaritans is unusually full and accurate, and illustrated by copies and translations of documents, and information not elsewhere given.

13. Schwarz.—*A Descriptive Geography, &c., of Palestine*, Philad. 1850, 8vo. A translation of a work originally published in Hebrew (*Sepher Tebuoth*, Jerusalem, 5605, A.D. 1845) by Rabbi Joseph Schwarz. Taking as his basis the catalogues of Joshua, Chronicles, &c., and the numerous topographical notices of the Rabbinical books, he proceeds systematically through the country, suggesting identifications, and often giving curious and valuable information. The American translation is almost useless for want of an index. This is in some measure supplied in the German version, *Das heilige Land*, &c., Frankfurt a. M. 1852.

14. De Saulcy.—*Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, &c., 1853, 2 vols. 8vo., with *Atlas* of Maps and Plates, Lists of Plants and Insects. Interesting rather from the unusual route taken by the author, the boldness of his theories, and the atlas of admirably engraved maps and plates which accompanies the text, than for its own merits. Like many French works it has no index. Translated:—*Narrative of a Journey*, &c., 2 vols. 8vo, 1854.—See *The Dead Sea*, by Rev. A. A. Isaacs, 1857. Also a valuable Letter by "A Pilgrim," in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 9, 1854.

15. Lynch.—*Official Report of the United States Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the Jordan*, 4to., Baltimore, 1852. Contains the daily Record of the Expedition, and separate Reports on the Ornithology, Botany, and Geology. The last of these Reports is more particularly described at p. 679.

16. Stanley.—*Sinai and Palestine*, 1853, 8vo. Professor Stanley's work differs from those of his predecessors. Like them he made a lengthened journey in the country, is intimately acquainted with all the authorities, ancient and modern, and has himself made some of the most brilliant identifications of the historical sites. But his great object seems to have been not so much to make fresh discoveries, as to apply those already made, the structure of the country and the peculiarities of the scenery, to the elucidation of the history. This he has done with a power and a delicacy truly remarkable. To the sentiment and eloquence of Lamartine, the genial freshness of Miss Martineau, and the sound judgment of Robinson, he adds a reverent appreciation of the subject, and a care for the smallest details of the picture, which no one else has yet displayed, and which render his descriptions a most valuable commentary on the Bible narrative. The work contains an Appendix on the Topographical Terms of the Bible, of importance to students of the English version of the Scriptures.

See also a paper on 'Sacred Geography' by Professor Stanley in the *Quarterly Review*, No. clxxviii.

17. Tobler.—*Bethlehem*, 1849: *Topographie von Jerusalem u. seine Umgebungen*, 1854. These works are models of patient industry and research. They contain *everything* that has been said by everybody on the subject, and are truly valuable storehouses for those who are unable to refer to the originals. His *Dritte Wanderung*, 8vo, 1859, describes a district but little known, viz. part of Philistia and the country between Hebron and Ramleh, and thus possesses, in addition to the merits above

[a] For examples of this see Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 328; 428; 474; 494; Stanley, *Sinai & Pal.* 61, 72.

named, that of novelty. It contains a sketch-map of the latter district, which corrects former maps in some important points.

18. Van de Velde.—*Syria and Palestine*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1854. Contains the narrative of the author's journeys while engaged in preparing his large *Map of the Holy Land* (1858), the best map yet published. A condensed edition of this work, omitting the purely personal details too frequently introduced, would be useful. Van de Velde's *Memoir*, 8vo, 1858, gives elevations, latitudes and longitudes, routes, and much very excellent information. His *Pays d'Israel*, 100 coloured lithographs from original sketches, are accurate and admirably executed, and many of the views are unique.

19. Ritter.—*Die Vergleichende Erdkunde*, &c. The six volumes of Ritter's great geographical work which relate to the peninsula of Sinai, the Holy Land, and Syria, and form together *Band* viii. They may be conveniently designated by the following names, which the writer has adopted in his other articles:—1. Sinai. 2. Jordan. 3. Syria (Index). 4. Palestine. 5. Lebanon. 6. Damascus (Index).

20. Of more recent works the following may be noticed:—Porter: *Five Years in Damascus, the Hauran*, &c., 2 vols. 8vo. 1855: *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, 1858.—Bonar, *The Land of Promise*, 1858.—Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1859. The fruit of twenty-five years' residence in the Holy Land, by a shrewd and intelligent observer.—Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die beiden Trachonen*, 1860, with woodcuts, a plate of inscriptions, and a map of the district by Kiepert. The first attempt at a real exploration of those extraordinary regions east of the Jordan, which were partially visited by Burckhardt, and recently by Cyril Graham (*Cambridge Essays*, 1858; *Trans. R. S. Lit.* 1860, &c.).—Drew, *Scripture Lands in Connexion with their History*, 1860.

Two works by ladies claim especial notice. *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, by Miss E. A. Beaufort, 2 vols. 1861. The 2nd vol. contains the record of six months' travel and residence in the Holy Land, and is full of keen and delicate observation, caught with the eye of an artist, and characteristically recorded.—*Domestic Life in Palestine*, by Miss Rogers (1862), is, what its name purports, an account of a visit of several years to the Holy Land, during which, owing to her brother's position, the author had opportunities of seeing at leisure the interiors of many unsophisticated Arab and Jewish households, in places out of the ordinary track, such as few Englishwomen ever before enjoyed, and certainly none have recorded. These she has described with great skill and fidelity, and with an abstinence from descriptions of matters out of her proper path or at second-hand which is truly admirable.

It still remains, however, for some one to do for Syria what Mr. Lane has so faultlessly accomplished for Egypt, the more to be desired because the time is fast passing, and Syria is becoming every day more leavened by the West.

Views.—Two extensive collections of Views of the Holy Land exist—those of Bartlett and of Roberts. Pictorially beautiful as these plates are, they are not so useful to the student as the very accurate views of William Tipping, Esq., published in Traill's *Josephus*), some of which have been inserted in the article JERUSALEM. There are some instructive views taken from photographs, in the last edition of Keith's *Land of Israel*. Photographs have been published by Frith, Robertson, Rev. G. W. Bridges, and others.

Maps.—Mr. Van de Velde's map, already mentioned, has superseded all its predecessors, but much still remains to be done in districts out of the track usually pursued by travellers. On the east of Jordan, Kiepert's map (in Wetzstein's *Hauran*) is as yet the only trustworthy document. The new Admiralty surveys of the coast are understood to be rapidly approaching completion, and will leave nothing to be desired.

Of works on Jerusalem the following may be named:—

Williams.—*The Holy City*: 2nd ed. 2 vols. 8vo. 1849. Contains a detailed history of Jerusalem, an account of the modern town, and an essay on the architectural history of the Church of the Sepulchre by Professor Willis. Mr. Williams in most if not all cases supports tradition.

Barclay.—*The City of the Great King*: Philad. 1858. An account of Jerusalem as it was, is, and will be. Dr. B. had some peculiar opportunities of investigating the subterranean passages of the city and the Haram area, and his book contains many valuable notices. His large Map of *Jerusalem and Environs*, though badly engraved, is accurate and useful, giving the form of the ground very well.

Fergusson.—*The Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, &c., 1847, with 7 plates. Treats of the Temple and the walls of ancient Jerusalem, and the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and is full of the most original and ingenious views, expressed in the boldest language. From architectural arguments the author maintains the so-called Mosk of Omar to be the real Holy Sepulchre. He also shows that the Temple, instead of occupying the whole of the Haran area, was confined to its south-western corner. His arguments have never been answered or even fairly discussed. The remarks of some of his critics are, however, dealt with by Mr. F. in a pamphlet, *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*, 1861. See also vol. i. of this Dictionary, pp. 1017-1035.

Thrupp.—*Ancient Jerusalem, a new Investigation*, &c., 1855.

A good *resumé* of the controversy on the Holy Sepulchre is given in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, No. viii., and Suppl.

Maps.—Besides Dr. Barclay's, already mentioned, Mr. Van de Velde has published a very clear and correct map (1858). So also has Signor Pierotti (1861). The latter contains a great deal of information, and shows plans of the churches, &c., in the neighbourhood of the city.

Photographs have been taken by Salzmann, whose plates are accompanied by a treatise, *Jérusalem Etude*, &c. (Paris, 1856): also by Frith (Virtue, 1858), Robertson, and others. [G.]

PAL'LU (פַּלּוּא: Φαλλούς: *Phallu*). The second son of Reuben, father of Eliab and founder of the family of the PALLUITES (Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 5, 8; 1 Chr. v. 3). In the A. V. of Gen. xlvi. 9, he is called PHALLU, and Josephus appears to identify him with Peleth in Num. xvi. 1, whom he calls Φαλλοῦς. [See ON.]

PAL'LUITES, THE (הַפַּלּוּאִי: ὁ Φαλλοί, Alex. ὁ Φαλλουεί: *Phalluitae*). The descendants of Pallu the son of Reuben (Num. xxvi. 5).

PALMER-WORM (גָּזָם, *gâzâm*: κάμπη, *eruca*) occurs Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Am. iv. 9. Bochart

(*Hieroz.* iii. 253) has endeavoured to show that *gâzâm* denotes some species of locust; it has already been shown that the ten Hebrew names to which Bochart assigns the meaning of different kinds of locusts cannot possibly apply to so many, as not more than two or three destructive species of locust are known in the Bible lands. [LOCUST; CATERPILLAR.] The derivation of the Hebrew word from a root which means "to cut off," is as applicable to several kinds of insects, whether in their perfect or larva condition, as it is to a locust; accordingly we prefer to follow the LXX. and Vulg., which are consistent with each other in the rendering of the Hebrew word in the three passages where it is found. The κάμπη of Aristotle (*Anim. Hist.* ii. 17, 4, 5, 6) evidently denotes a caterpillar, so called from its "bending itself" up (κάμπτω) to move, as the caterpillars called geometric, or else from the habit some caterpillars have of "coiling" themselves up when handled. The *Eruca* of the Vulg. is the κάμπη of the Greeks, as is evident from the express assertion of Columella (*De Re Rust.* xi. 3, 63, *Script. R. R.* ed. Schneider). The Chaldee and Syriac understand some locust larva by the Hebrew word. Oedmann (*Verm. Samm.* fasc. ii. c. vi. p. 116) is of the same opinion. Tychsen (*Comment. de locustis*, &c., p. 88) identifies the *gâzâm* with the *Gryllus cristatus*, Lin., a South African species. Michaelis (*Supp.* p. 220) follows the LXX. and Vulg. We cannot agree with Mr. Denham (Kitto's *Cycl.*, art. "Locust") that the depredations ascribed to the *gâzâm* in Amos better agree with the characteristics of the locust than of a caterpillar, of which various kinds are occasionally the cause of much damage to fruit-trees, the fig and the olive, &c. [W. H.]

PALM-TREE (תָּמָר: φοίνιξ). Under this generic term many species are botanically included; but we have here only to do with the Date-palm, the *Phoenix Dactylifera* of Linnaeus. It grew very abundantly (more abundantly than now) in many parts of the Levant. On this subject generally it is enough to refer to Ritter's monograph ('Ueber die geographische Verbreitung der Dattelpalme') in his *Erdkunde*, and also published separately.

While this tree was abundant generally in the Levant, it was regarded by the ancients as peculiarly characteristic of Palestine and the neighbouring regions. (Συρία, ὅπου φοίνικες οἱ καρποφόροι, Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2, §22. Judaea inclyta est palmis, Plin. *N. H.* xiii. 4. Palmetis [Judaeis] proceritas et decor, Tac. *Hist.* v. 6. Compare Strabo xvii. 800, 818; Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8; Paus. ix. 19, §5). The following places may be enumerated from the Bible as having some connexion with the palm-tree, either in the derivation of the name, or in the mention of the tree as growing on the spot.

(1.) At ELIM, one of the stations of the Israelites between Egypt and Sinai, it is expressly stated that there were "twelve wells (fountains) of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees" (Ex. xv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 9). The word "fountains" of the latter passage is more correct than the "wells" of the former: it is more in harmony too with the habits of the tree; for, as Theophrastus says (*l. c.*), the palm ἐπιζητεῖ μᾶλλον τὸ ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ. There are still palm-trees and fountains in *Wady Ghârândel*, which is generally identified with Elim (Rob. *Bib. Res.* i. 69).

(2.) Next, it should be observed that ELATH (Deut. ii. 8; 1 K. ix. 26; 2 K. xiv. 22, xvi. 6; 2 Chr. viii 17, xxvi. 2) is another plural form of the same word, and may likewise mean "the palm-trees." See Prof. Stanley's remarks (*S. and P.* pp. 20, 84, 519), and compare Reland (*Palaest.* p. 930). This place was in Edom (probably *Akaba*); and we are reminded here of the "Idumaeae palmae" of Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 12) and Martial (x. 50).

(3.) No place in Scripture is so closely associated with the subject before us as JERICHO. Its rich palm-groves are connected with two very different periods,—with that of Moses and Joshua on the one hand, and that of the Evangelists on the other. As to the former, the mention of "Jericho, the city of palm-trees" (Deut. xxxiv. 3), gives a peculiar vividness to the Lawgiver's last view from Pisgah: and even after the narrative of the conquest, we have the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law, again associated with "the city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16). So Jericho is described in the account of the Moabite invasion after the death of Othniel (Judg. iii. 13); and, long after, we find the same phrase applied to it in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 15). What the extent of these palm-groves may have been in the desolate period of Jericho we cannot tell; but they were renowned in the time of the Gospels and Josephus. The Jewish historian mentions the luxuriance of these trees again and again; not only in allusion to the time of Moses (*Ant.* iv. 6, §1), but in the account of the Roman campaign under Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §1; *B. J.* i. 6, §6), the proceedings of Antony and Cleopatra (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2), and the war of Vespasian (*B. J.* iv. 8, §2, 3). Herod the Great did much for Jericho, and took great interest in its palm-groves. Hence Horace's "Herodis palmeta pinguia" (*Ep.* ii. 2, 184), which seems almost to have been a proverbial expression. Nor is this the only Heathen testimony to the same fact. Strabo describes this immediate neighbourhood as πλεονάζον τῷ φοίνικι, ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων ἑκατόν (xvi. 763), and Pliny says "Hiericuntem palmetis consitam" (*H. N.* v. 14), and adds elsewhere that, while palm-trees grow well in other parts in Judaea, "Hiericunte maxime" (xiii. 4). See also Galen, *De Aliment. facult.* ii., and Justin. xxxvi. 3. Shaw (*Trav.* p. 371, folio) speaks of several of these trees still remaining at Jericho in his time.

(4.) The name of HAZEZON-TAMAR, "the felling of the palm-tree," is clear in its derivation. This place is mentioned in the history both of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 7) and of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xx. 2). In the second of these passages it is expressly identified with Engedi, which was on the western edge of the Dead Sea; and here we can adduce, as a valuable illustration of what is before us, the language of the Apocrypha, "I was exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi" (Eccl. xxiv. 14). Here again, too, we can quote alike Josephus (γενναῖαι ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνιξ ὁ κάλλιστος, *Ant.* ix. 1, §2) and Pliny (Engadda oppidum secundum ab Hierosolymis, fertilitate palmetorumque nemoribus, *H. N.* v. 17).

(5.) Another place having the same element in its name, and doubtless the same characteristic in its scenery, was BAAL-TAMAR (Judg. xx. 33), the Βηθθαμάρ of Eusebius. Its position was near Gibeah of Benjamin: and it could not be far from Deborah's famous palm-tree (Judg. iv. 5); if indeed it was not identical with it, as is suggested by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 146).

(6.) We must next mention the TAMAR, "the

palm," which is set before us in the vision of Ezekiel (xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28) as a point from which the southern border of the land is to be measured eastwards and westwards. Robinson identifies it with the Θαμαρώ of Ptolemy (v. 16), and thinks its site may be at *el-Milh*, between Hebron and *Wady Musa* (*Bib. Res.* ii. 198, 202). It seems from Jerome to have been in his day a Roman fortress.

(7.) There is little doubt that Solomon's TADMOR, afterwards the famous Palmyra, on another desert frontier far to the N.E. of Tamar, is primarily the same word; and that, as Gibbon says (*Decline and Fall*, ii. 38), "the name, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm-trees, which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region." In fact, while the undoubted reading in 2 Chr. viii. 4 is תַּדְמוֹר, the best text in 1 K. ix. 18 is תָּמָר. See Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, §1. The springs which he mentions there make the palm-trees almost a matter of course.

(8.) Nor again are the places of the N. T. without their associations with this characteristic tree of Palestine. BETHANY means "the house of dates;" and thus we are reminded that the palm grew in the neighbourhood of the Mount of Olives. This helps our realisation of Our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem, when the people "took *branches* of *palm-trees* and went forth to meet Him" (John xii. 13). This again carries our thoughts backwards to the time when the Feast of Tabernacles was first kept after the captivity, when the proclamation was given that they should "go forth *unto the mount* and fetch *palm-branches*" (Neh. viii. 15)—the only branches, it may be observed (those of the willow excepted), which are specified by name in the original institution of the festival (Lev. xxiii. 40). From this Gospel incident comes *Palm Sunday* (Dominica in Ramis Palmarum), which is observed with much ceremony in some countries where true palms can be had. Even in northern latitudes (in Yorkshire, for instance) the country people use a substitute which comes into flower just before Easter:—

> "And willow branches hallow,
> That they palmes do use to call."

(9.) The word Phoenicia (Φοινίκη), which occurs twice in the N. T. (Acts xi. 19, xv. 3) is in all probability derived from the Greek word (φοῖνιξ) for a palm. Sidonius mentions palms as a product of Phoenicia (*Paneg. Majorian.* 44). See also Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 4, Athen. i. 21. Thus we may imagine the same natural objects in connexion with St. Paul's journeys along the coast to the north of Palestine, as with the wanderings of the Israelites through the desert on the south.

(10.) Lastly, Phoenix in the island of Crete, the harbour which St. Paul was prevented by the storm from reaching (Acts xxvii. 12), has doubtless the same derivation. Both Theophrastus and Pliny say that palm-trees are indigenous in this island. See Hoeck's *Kreta*, i. 38, 388. [PHENICE.]

From the passages where there is a literal reference to the palm-tree, we may pass to the emblematical uses of it in Scripture. Under this head may be classed the following:—

(1.) The striking appearance of the tree, its uprightness and beauty, would naturally suggest the giving of its name occasionally to women. As we find in the *Odyssey* (vi. 163) Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinous, compared to a palm, so in Cant. vii. 7 we have the same comparison: "Thy stature is like to a palm-tree." In the O. T. three women

named Tamar are mentioned: Judah's daughter-in-law (Gen. xxxviii. 6), Absalom's sister (2 Sam. xiii. 1), and Absalom's daughter (2 Sam. xiv. 27). The beauty of the two last is expressly mentioned.

(2.) We have notices of the employment of this form in decorative art, both in the real temple of Solomon and in the visionary temple of Ezekiel. In the former case we are told (2 Chr. iii. 5) of this decoration in general terms, and elsewhere more specifically that it was applied to the walls (1 K. vi. 29), to the doors (vi. 32, 35), and to the "bases" (vii. 36). So in the prophet's vision we find palm-trees on the posts of the gates (Ez. xl. 16, 22, 26, 31, 34, 37), and also on the walls and the doors (xli. 18-20, 25, 26). This work seems to have been in relief. We do not stay to inquire whether it had any symbolical meanings. It was a natural and doubtless customary kind of ornamentation in Eastern architecture. Thus we are told by Herodotus (ii. 169) of the hall of a temple at Sais in Egypt, which was ἠσκημένη στύλοισι φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μιμεομένοισι: and we are familiar now with the same sort of decoration in Assyrian buildings (Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 137, 396, 401). The image of such rigid and motionless forms may possibly have been before the mind of Jeremiah when he said of the idols of the heathen (x. 4, 5), "They fasten it with nails and with hammers, that it move not: they are upright as the palm-tree, but speak not."

Palm-Tree (*Phœnix Dactylifera*.)

(3.) With a tree so abundant in Judaea, and so marked in its growth and appearance, as the palm, it seems rather remarkable that it does not appear more frequently in the imagery of the O. T. There is, however, in the Psalms (xcii. 12) the familiar comparison, "The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree," which suggests a world of illustration, whether respect be had to the orderly and regular aspect of the tree, its fruitfulness, the perpetual greenness of its foliage, or the height at which the foliage grows, as far as possible from earth and as

near as possible to heaven. Perhaps no point is more worthy of mention, if we wish to pursue the comparison, than the elasticity of the fibre of the palm, and its determined growth upwards, even when loaded with weights ("nititur in pondus palmæ"). Such particulars of resemblance to the righteous man were variously dwelt on by the early Christian writers. Some instances are given by Celsius in his *Hierobotanicon* (Upsal, 1747), ii. 522-547. One, which he does not give, is worthy of quotation:—"Well is the life of the righteous likened to a palm, in that the palm below is rough to the touch, and in a manner enveloped in dry bark, but above it is adorned with fruit, fair even to the eye; below, it is compressed by the enfoldings of its bark; above, it is spread out in amplitude of beautiful greenness. For so is the life of the elect, despised below, beautiful above. Down below it is, as it were, enfolded in many barks, in that it is straitened by innumerable afflictions; but on high it is expanded into a foliage, as it were, of beautiful greenness by the amplitude of the rewarding" (St. Gregory, *Mor. on Job* xix. 49).

(4.) The passage in Rev. vii. 9, where the glorified of all nations are described as "clothed with white robes and palms in their hands," might seem to us a purely classical image, drawn (like many of St. Paul's images) from the Greek games, the victors in which carried palms in their hands. But we seem to trace here a Jewish element also, when we consider three passages in the Apocrypha. In 1 Macc. xiii. 51 Simon Maccabaeus, after the surrender of the tower at Jerusalem, is described as entering it with music and thanksgiving "and branches of palm-trees." In 2 Macc. x. 7 it is said that when Judas Maccabaeus had recovered the Temple and the city "they bare branches and palms, and sang psalms also unto Him that had given them good success." In 2 Macc. xiv. 4 Demetrius is presented "with a crown of gold and a palm." Here we see the palm-branches used by Jews in token of victory and peace. (Such indeed is the case in the Gospel narrative, John xii. 13.)

There is a fourth passage in the Apocrypha, as commonly published in English, which approximates closely to the imagery of the Apocalypse. "I asked the angel, What are these? He answered and said unto me, These be they which have put off the mortal clothing, and now they are crowned and receive palms. Then said I unto the angel, What young person is it that crowneth them and giveth them palms in their hands? So he answered and said unto me, It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world" (2 Esd. ii. 44-47). This is clearly the approximation not of anticipation, but of an imitator. Whatever may be determined concerning the date of the rest of the book, this portion of it is clearly subsequent to the Christian era. [ESDRAS, THE SECOND BOOK OF.]

As to the industrial and domestic uses of the palm, it is well known that they are very numerous: but there is no clear allusion to them in the Bible. That the ancient Orientals, however, made use of wine and honey obtained from the Palm-tree is evident from Herodotus (i. 193, ii. 86), Strabo (xvi. ch. 14, ed. Kram.), and Pliny (*N. H.* xiii. 4). It is indeed possible that the honey mentioned in some places may be palm-sugar. (In 2 Chr. xxxi. 5 the margin has "dates.") There may also in Cant. vii. 8, "I will go up to the palm-tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof," be a reference to climbing for the fruit. The LXX. have ἀναβήσομαι ἐν τῷ φοίνικι, κρατήσω τῶν ὑψέων αὐτοῦ. So in ii. 3 and elsewhere (*e. g.* Ps. i. 3) the fruit of the palm may be intended: but this cannot be proved.[a] [SUGAR; WINE.]

Group of Dates.

It is curious that this tree, once so abundant in Judaea, is now comparatively rare, except in the Philistine plain, and in the old Phoenicia about *Beyrout*. A few years ago there was just one palm-tree at Jericho: but that is now gone. Old trunks are washed up in the Dead Sea. It would almost seem as though we might take the history of this tree in Palestine as emblematical of that of the people whose home was once in that land. The well-known coin of Vespasian representing the palm-tree with the legend "Judaea capta," is figured in vol. ii. p. 438. [J. S. H.]

PALSY. [MEDICINE, p. 304.]

PAL'TI (פַּלְטִי: Φαλτι: *Phalti*). The son of Raphu; a Benjamite who was one of the twelve spies (Num. xiii. 9).

PAL'TIEL (פַּלְטִיאֵל: Φαλτιήλ: *Phaltiel*). The son of Azzan and prince of the tribe of Issachar

[a] The palm-tree being dioecious—that is to say, the stamens and pistils (male and female parts) being on different trees—it is evident that no edible fruit can be produced unless fertilisation is effected either by insects or by some artificial means. That the mode of impregnating the female plant with the pollen of the male (ὀλυνθάζειν τοὺς φοίνικας) was known to the ancients, is evident from Theophrastus (*H. P.* ii. 9), and Herodotus, who states that the Babylonians adopted a similar plan. The modern Arabs of Barbary, Persia, &c., take care to hang clusters of male flowers on female trees. The ancient Egyptians probably did the same. A cake of preserved dates was found by Sir G. Wilkinson at Thebes (ii. 181, ed. 1854). It is certainly curious there is no distinct mention of dates in the Bible, though we cannot doubt that the ancient Hebrews used the fruit, and were probably acquainted with the art of fertilising the flowers of the female plant

(Num xxxiv. 26). He was one of the twelve appointed to divide the land of Canaan among the tribes west of Jordan.

PALTITE, THE (הַפַּלְטִי: ὁ Κελωθί; Alex. ὁ φελλωνεί: *de Phalti*). Helez "the Paltite" is named in 2 Sam. xxiii. 26 among David's mighty men. In 1 Chr. xi. 27, he is called "the Pelonite," and such seems to have been the reading followed by the Alex. MS. in 2 Sam. The Peshito-Syriac, however, supports the Hebrew, "Cholots of Pelat." But in 1 Chr. xxvii. 10, "Helez the Pelonite" of the tribe of Ephraim is again mentioned as captain of 24,000 men of David's army for the seventh month, and the balance of evidence therefore inclines to "Pelonite" as the true reading. The variation arose from a confusion between the letters נ and ט. In the Syriac of 1 Chr. both readings are combined, and Helez is described as "of Paltôn."

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία), one of the coast-regions in the south of Asia Minor, having CILICIA on the east, and LYCIA on the west. It seems in early times to have been less considerable than either of these contiguous districts; for in the Persian war, while Cilicia contributed a hundred ships and Lycia fifty, Pamphylia sent only thirty (Herod. vii. 91, 92). The name probably then embraced little more than the crescent of comparatively level ground between Taurus and the sea. To the north, along the heights of Taurus itself, was the region of PISIDIA. The Roman organization of the country, however, gave a wider range to the term Pamphylia. In St. Paul's time it was not only a regular province, but the Emperor Claudius had united Lycia with it (Dio Cass. lx. 17), and probably also a good part of Pisidia. However, in the N. T., the three terms are used as distinct. It was in Pamphylia that St. Paul first entered Asia Minor, after preaching the Gospel in Cyprus. He and Barnabas sailed up the river Cestrus to PERGA (Acts xiii. 13). Here they were abandoned by their subordinate companion John-Mark; a circumstance which is alluded to again with much feeling, and with a pointed mention of the place where the separation occurred (Acts xv. 38). It might be the pain of this separation which induced Paul and Barnabas to leave Perga without delay. They did however preach the Gospel there on their return from the interior (Acts xiv. 24, 25). We may conclude, from Acts ii. 10, that there were many Jews in the province; and possibly Perga had a synagogue. The two missionaries finally left Pamphylia by its chief seaport, ATTALIA. We do not know that St. Paul was ever in this district again: but many years afterwards he sailed near its coast, passing through "the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia" on his way to a town of Lycia (Acts xxvii. 5). We notice here the accurate order of these geographical terms, as in the above-mentioned land-journey we observe how Pisidia and Pamphylia occur in their true relations, both in going and returning (εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας, xiii. 13, 14; διελθόντες τὴν Πισιδίαν ἦλθον εἰς Παμφυλίαν, xiv. 24).

[J. S. H.]

PAN. Of the six words so rendered in A. V., two, *machbath*[b] and *masrêth*, seem to imply a shallow pan or plate, such as is used by Bedouins and Syrians for baking or dressing rapidly their cakes of meal, such as were used in legal oblations: the others, especially *sir*, a deeper vessel or caldron for boiling meat, placed during the process on three stones (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 58; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* p. 46; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 181). [CALDRON.]

[H. W. P.]

PANNAG (פַּנַּג), an article of commerce exported from Palestine to Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 17), the nature of which is a pure matter of conjecture, as the term occurs nowhere else. In comparing the passage in Ezekiel with Gen. xliii. 11, where the most valued productions of Palestine are enumerated, the omission of tragacanth and ladanum (A. V. "spices and myrrh") in the former is very observable, and leads to the supposition that pannag represents some of the spices grown in that country. The LXX. in rendering it κασία, favours this opinion, though it is evident that cassia cannot be the particular spice intended (see ver. 19). Hitzig observes that a similar term occurs in Sanscrit (*pannaga*) for an aromatic plant. The Syriac version, on the other hand, understands by it "millet" (*panicum miliaceum*); and this view is favoured by the expression in the book of Sohar, quoted by Gesenius (*s. v.*), which speaks of "bread of pannag:" though this again is not decisive, for the pannag may equally well have been some flavouring substance, as seems to be implied in the doubtful equivalent[c] given in the Targum. [W. L. B.]

PAPER. [WRITING.]

PAPHOS (Πάφος), a town at the west end of CYPRUS, connected by a road with SALAMIS at the east end. Paul and Barnabas travelled, on their first missionary expedition, "through the isle," from the latter place to the former (Acts xiii. 6).

What took place at Paphos was briefly as follows. The two missionaries found SERGIUS PAULUS, the proconsul of the island, residing here, and were enabled to produce a considerable effect on his intelligent and candid mind. This influence was resisted by ELYMAS (or Bar-Jesus), one of those Oriental "sorcerers," whose mischievous power was so great at this period, even among the educated classes. Miraculous sanction was given to the Apostles, and Elymas was struck with blindness. The proconsul's faith having been thus confirmed, and doubtless a Christian Church having been founded in Paphos, Barnabas and Saul crossed over to the continent and landed in PAMPHYLIA (ver. 13). It is observable that it is at this point that the latter becomes the more prominent of the two, and that his name henceforward is Paul, and not Saul (Σαῦλος, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, ver. 9). How far this was connected with the proconsul's name, must be discussed elsewhere.

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[a] 1. כִּיּוֹר, or כִּיר; λέβης ὁ μέγας; *lebes* (1 Sam. ii. 14); elsewhere "laver" and "hearth," *i. e.* a brazier or pan for fire (Zech. xii. 6).

[b] 2. מַחֲבַת, from חָבַת, "bake" (Gen. 444), τήγανον, *sartago* (Lev. ii. 5), where it follows מַרְחֶשֶׁת, ἰσχάρα, *craticula*, "frying-pan," and is therefore distinct from it.

3. מַשְׂרֵת; τήγανον; "a baking-pan" (2 Sam. xiii. 9), See. 1343.

4. סִיר; λέβης; *olla*; from סִיר, "boil," joined (2 K. iv. 38) with *gĕdôlâh*, "great," *i. e.* the great kettle or caldron.

5. פָּרוּר; χύτρα; *olla*.

6. צַלָּחוֹת, plur.; λέβητες; *ollae* (2 Chr. xxxv. 13). In Prov. xix. 24, "dish."

[c] קוֹלְיָא.

The great characteristic of Paphos was the worship of Aphrodite or Venus, who was here fabled to have risen from the sea (Hom. *Od.* viii. 362). Her temple, however, was at "Old Paphos," now called *Kubklia*. The harbour and the chief town were at "New Paphos," at some little distance. The place is still called *Baffa*. The road between the two was often filled with gay and profligate processions (Strabo, xiv. p. 683); strangers came constantly to visit the shrine (Athen. xv. 18); and the hold which these local superstitions had upon the higher minds at this very period is well exemplified by the pilgrimage of Titus (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 2, 3) shortly before the Jewish war.

For notices of such scanty remains as are found at Paphos we must refer to Pococke (*Disc. of the East*, ii. 325-328), and especially Ross (*Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos u. Cyprus*, 180-192). Extracts also are given in *Life and Epp. of St. Paul* (2nd ed. i. 190, 191) from the MS. notes of Captain Graves, R.N., who recently surveyed the island of Cyprus. For all that relates to the harbour the Admiralty Chart should be consulted. [J. S. H.]

PAPYRUS. [REED.]

PARABLE (מָשָׁל, *mâshâl*: παραβολή: *parabola*). The distinction between the Parable and one cognate form of teaching has been discussed under FABLE. Something remains to be said (1) as to the word, (2) as to the Parables of the Gospels, (3) as to the laws of their interpretation.

I. The word παραβολή does not of itself imply a narrative. The juxta-position of two things, differing in most points, but agreeing in some, is sufficient to bring the comparison thus produced within the etymology of the word. The παραβολή of Greek rhetoric need not be more than the simplest argument from analogy. "You would not choose pilots or athletes by lot; why then should you choose statesmen?" (Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 20). In Hellenistic Greek, however, it acquired a wider meaning, co-extensive with that of the Hebrew *mâshâl*, for which the LXX. writers with hardly an exception, make it the equivalent.[a] That word (= *similitude*), as was natural in the language of a people who had never reduced rhetoric to an art, had a large range of application, and was applied sometimes to the shortest proverbs (1 Sam. x. 12, xxiv. 13; 2 Chr. vii. 20), sometimes to dark prophetic utterances (Num. xxiii. 7, 18, xxiv. 3; Ez. xx. 49), sometimes to enigmatic maxims (Ps. lxxviii. 2; Prov. i. 6), or metaphors expanded into a narrative (Ez. xii. 22). In Ecclesiasticus the word occurs with a striking frequency, and, as will be seen hereafter, its use by the son of Sirach throws light on the position occupied by parables in Our Lord's teaching. In the N. T. itself the word is used with a like latitude. While attached most frequently to the illustrations which have given it a special meaning, it is also applied to a short saying like, "Physician, heal thyself" (Luke iv. 23), to a mere comparison without a narrative (Matt. xxiv. 32), to the figurative character of the Levitical ordinances (Heb. ix. 9), or of single facts in patriarchal history (Heb. xi. 19).[b] The later history of the word is not without interest. Naturalized in Latin, chiefly through the Vulgate or earlier versions, it loses gradually the original idea of figurative speech, and is used for speech of any kind. Mediaeval Latin gives us the strange form of *parabolare*, and the descendants of the technical Greek word in the Romance languages are *parler, parole, parola, palabras* (Diez. *Roman. Wörterb. s. v.* parola).

II. As a form of teaching, the Parable, as has been shown, differs from the Fable, (1) in excluding brute or inanimate creatures passing out of the laws of their nature, and speaking or acting like men, (2) in its higher ethical significance. It differs, it may be added, from the Mythus, in being the result of a conscious deliberate choice, not the growth of an unconscious realism, personifying attributes, appearing, no one knows how, in popular belief. It differs from the Allegory, in that the latter, with its direct personification of ideas or attributes, and the names which designate them, involves really no comparison. The virtues and vices of mankind appear, as in a drama, in their own character and costume. The allegory is self-interpreting. The parable demands attention, insight, sometimes an actual explanation. It differs lastly from the Proverb, in that it must include a similitude of some kind, while the proverb may assert, without a similitude, some wide generalization of experience. So far as proverbs go beyond this, and state what they affirm in a figurative form, they may be described as condensed parables, and parables as expanded proverbs (comp. Trench *on Parables*, ch. i.; and Grotius *on Matt.* xiii.).

To understand the relation of the parables of the Gospels to our Lord's teaching, we must go back to the use made of them by previous or contemporary teachers. We have sufficient evidence that they were frequently employed by them. They appear frequently in the Gemara and Midrash (comp. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. in Matt.* xiii. 3; Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 216), and are ascribed to Hillel, Shammai, and other great Rabbis of the two preceding centuries.[c] The panegyric passed upon the great Rabbi Meir, that after his death men ceased to speak parables, implies that, up to that time, there had been a succession of teachers more or less distinguished for them (*Sota*, fol. 49, in Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 87; Lightfoot, *l. c.*). Later Jewish writers have seen in this employment of parables a condescension to the ignorance of the great mass of mankind, who cannot be taught otherwise. For them, as for women or children, parables are the natural and fit method of instruction (Maimonides, *Porta Mosis*, p. 84, in Wetstein, *on Matt.* xiii.), and the same view is taken by Jerome as accounting for the common use of parables in Syria and Palestine (Hieron. *in Matt.* xviii. 23). It may be questioned, however, whether this represents the use made of them by the Rabbis of Our Lord's time. The language

[a] The word παροιμία is used by the LXX. in Prov. i. 1, xxv. 1, xxvi. 7; Eccles. vi. 37, &c., and in some other passages by Symmachus. The same word, it will be remembered, is used throughout by St. John, instead of παραβολή.

[b] It should be mentioned that another meaning has been given by some interpreters to παραβολή in this passage, but it is believed, on insufficient grounds.

[c] Some interesting examples of these may be seen in Trench's *Parables*, ch. iv. Others, presenting some striking superficial resemblances to those of the Pearl of Great Price, the Labourers, the Lost Piece of Money, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, may be seen in Wetstein's notes to those parables. The conclusion from them is, that there was at least a generic resemblance between the outward form of our Lord's teaching and that of the Rabbis of Jerusalem.

of the Son of Sirach confines them to the scribe who devotes himself to study. They are at once his glory and his reward (Ecclus. xxxix. 2, 3). Of all who eat bread by the sweat of their brow, of the great mass of men in cities and country, it is written that "they shall not be found where parables are spoken" (Ibid. xxxviii. 33). For these therefore it is probable that the scribes and teachers of the law had simply rules and precepts, often perhaps burdensome and oppressive (Matt. xxiii. 3, 4), formulae of prayer (Luke xi. 1), appointed times of fasting and hours of devotion (Mark ii. 18). They, with whom they would not even eat (comp. Wetstein and Lampe *on John* vii. 49), cared little to give even as much as this to the "people of the earth," whom they scorned as "knowing not the law," a brute herd for whom they could have no sympathy. For their own scholars they had, according to their individual character and power of thought, the casuistry with which the Mishna is for the most part filled, or the parables which here and there give tokens of some deeper insight. The parable was made the instrument for teaching the young disciple to discern the treasures of wisdom of which the "accursed" multitude were ignorant. The teaching of Our Lord at the commencement of His ministry was, in every way, the opposite of this. The Sermon on the Mount may be taken as the type of the "words of Grace" which he spake, "not as the scribes." Beatitudes, laws, promises were uttered distinctly, not indeed without similitudes, but with similitudes that explained themselves. So for some months He taught in the synagogues and on the sea-shore of Galilee, as He had before taught in Jerusalem, and as yet without a parable. But then there comes a change. The direct teaching was met with scorn, unbelief, hardness, and He seems for a time to abandon it for that which took the form of parables. The question of the disciples (Matt. xiii. 10) implies that they were astonished. Their Master was no longer proclaiming the Gospel of the kingdom as before. He was falling back into one at least of the forms of Rabbinic teaching (comp. Schoettgen's *Hor. Heb.* ii., *Christus Rabbinorum Summus*). He was speaking to the multitude in the parables and dark sayings which the Rabbis reserved for their chosen disciples. Here for them were two grounds of wonder. Here, for us, is the key to the explanation which He gave, that He had chosen this form of teaching because the people were spiritually blind and deaf (Matt. xiii. 13), and in order that they might remain so (Mark iv. 12). Two interpretations have been given of these words. (1.) Spiritual truths, it has been said, are in themselves hard and uninviting. Men needed to be won to them by that which was more attractive. The parable was an instrument of education for those who were children in age or character. For this reason it was chosen by the Divine Teacher as fables and stories, "adminicula imbecillitatis" (Seneca, *Epist.* 59), have been chosen by human teachers (Chrysost. *Hom. in Joann.* 34). (2.) Others again have seen in this use of parables something of a penal character. Men have set themselves against the truth, and therefore it is hid from their eyes, presented to them in forms in which it is not easy for them to recognise it. To the inner circle of the chosen it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God. To those who are without, all these things are done in parables.—Neither view is wholly satisfactory. Each contains a partial truth. All experience shows (1) that parables do attract, and, when once understood, are sure to be remembered, (2) that men may listen to them and see that they have a meaning, and yet never care to ask what that meaning is. Their worth, as instruments of teaching, lies in their being at once a test of character, and in their presenting each form of character with that which, as a penalty or blessing, is adapted to it. They withdraw the light from those who love darkness. They protect the truth which they enshrine from the mockery of the scoffer. They leave something even with the careless which may be interpreted and understood afterwards. They reveal, on the other hand, the seekers after truth. These ask the meaning of the parable, will not rest till the teacher has explained it, are led step by step to the laws of interpretation, so that they can "understand all parables," and then pass on into the higher region in which parables are no longer necessary, but all things are spoken plainly. In this way the parable did its work, found out the fit hearers and led them on. And it is to be remembered also that even after this self-imposed law of reserve and reticence, the teaching of Christ presented a marvellous contrast to the narrow exclusiveness of the Scribes. The mode of education was changed, but the work of teaching or educating was not for a moment given up, and the aptest scholars were found in those whom the received system would have altogether shut out.

From the time indicated by Matt. xiii., accordingly, parables enter largely into our Lord's recorded teaching. Each parable of those which we read in the Gospels may have been repeated more than once with greater or less variation (as *e. g.* those of the Pounds and the Talents, Matt. xxv. 14; Luke xix. 12; of the Supper, in Matt. xxii. 2, and Luke xiv. 16). Everything leads us to believe that there were many others of which we have no record (Matt. xiii. 34; Mark iv. 33). In those which remain it is possible to trace something like an order.[d]

(A.) There is the group with which the new mode of teaching is ushered in, and which have for their subject the laws of the Divine Kingdom, in its growth, its nature, its consummation. Under this head we have—

1. The Sower (Matt. xiii.; Mark iv.; Luke viii.).
2. The Wheat and the Tares (Matt. xiii.).
3. The Mustard-Seed (Matt. xiii.; Mark iv.).
4. The Seed cast into the Ground (Mark iv.).
5. The Leaven (Matt. xiii.).
6. The Hid Treasure (Matt. xiii.).
7. The Pearl of Great Price (Matt. xiii.).
8. The Net cast into the Sea (Matt. xiii.).

(B.) After this there is an interval of some months of which we know comparatively little. Either there was a return to the more direct teaching, or else these were repeated, or others like them spoken. When the next parables meet us they are of a different type and occupy a different position. They occur chiefly in the interval between the mission of the seventy and the last approach to Jerusalem. They are drawn from the life of men rather than from the world of nature. Often they occur, not, as in Matt. xiii., in discourses to the multitude,

[d] The number of parables in the Gospels will of course depend on the range given to the application of the name. Thus Mr. Greswell reckons twenty-seven; Dean Trench, thirty. By others, the number has been extended to forty

but to answers to the questions of the disciples or other inquirers. They are such as these—

9. The Two Debtors (Luke vii.).
10. The Merciless Servant (Matt. xviii.).
11. The Good Samaritan (Luke x.).
12. The Friend at Midnight (Luke xi.).
13. The Rich Fool (Luke xii.).
14. The Wedding Feast (Luke xii.).
15. The Fig-Tree (Luke xiii.).
16. The Great Supper (Luke xiv.).
17. The Lost Sheep (Matt. xviii.; Luke xv.).
18. The Lost Piece of Money (Luke xv.).
19. The Prodigal Son (Luke xv.).
20. The Unjust Steward (Luke xvi.).
21. The Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke xvi.).
22. The Unjust Judge (Luke xviii.).
23. The Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii.).
24. The Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx.).

(C.) Towards the close of Our Lord's ministry, immediately before and after the entry into Jerusalem, the parables assume a new character. They are again theocratic, but the phase of the Divine Kingdom, on which they chiefly dwell, is that of its final consummation. They are prophetic, in part, of the rejection of Israel, in part of the great retribution of the coming of the Lord. They are to the earlier parables what the prophecy of Matt. xxiv. is to the Sermon on the Mount. To this class we may refer—

25. The Pounds (Luke xix.).
26. The Two Sons (Matt. xxi.).
27. The Vineyard let out to Husbandmen (Matt. xxi.; Mark xii.; Luke xx.).
28. The Marriage-Feast (Matt. xxii.).
29. The Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. xxv.).
30. The Talents (Matt. xxv.).
31. The Sheep and the Goats (Matt. xxv.).

It is characteristic of the several Gospels that the greater part of the parables of the first and third groups belong to St. Matthew, emphatically the Evangelist of the kingdom. Those of the second are found for the most part in St. Luke. They are such as we might expect to meet with in the Gospel which dwells most on the sympathy of Christ for all men. St. Mark, as giving vivid recollections of the acts rather than the teaching of Christ is the scantiest of the three synoptic Gospels. It is not less characteristic that there are no parables properly so called in St. John. It is as if he, sooner than any other, had passed into the higher stage of knowledge in which parables were no longer necessary, and therefore dwelt less on them. That which his spirit appropriated most readily were the words of eternal life, figurative it might be in form, abounding in bold analogies, but not in any single instance taking the form of a narrative.*

Lastly it is to be noticed, partly as a witness to the truth of the four Gospels, partly as a line of demarcation between them and all counterfeits, that the apocryphal Gospels contain no parables. Human invention could imagine miracles (though these too in the spurious Gospels are stripped of all that gives them majesty and significance), but the parables of the Gospels were inimitable and unapproachable by any writers of that or the succeeding age. They possess a life and power which stamp them as with the "image and superscription" of the Son of Man. Even the total absence of any allusion to them in the written or spoken teaching of the Apostles shows how little their minds set afterwards in that direction, how little likely they were to do more than testify what they had actually heard.†

III. Lastly, there is the law of interpretation. It has been urged by some writers, by none with greater force or clearness than by Chrysostom (*Hom. in Matt.* 64), that there is a scope or purpose for each parable, and that our aim must be to discern this, not to find a special significance in each circumstance or incident. The rest, it is said, may be dealt with as the drapery which the parable needs for its grace and completeness, but which is not essential. It may be questioned, however, whether this canon of interpretation is likely to lead us to the full meaning of this portion of Our Lord's teaching. True as it doubtless is, that there was in each parable a leading thought to be learnt partly from the parable itself, partly from the occasion of its utterance, and that all else gathers round that thought as a centre, it must be remembered that in the great patterns of interpretation which He himself has given us, there is more than this. Not only the sower and the seed and the several soils have their counterparts in the spiritual life, but the birds of the air, the thorns, the scorching heat, have each of them a significance. The explanation of the wheat and the tares, given with less fulness, an outline as it were, which the advancing scholars would be able to fill up, is equally specific. It may be inferred from these two instances that we are, at least, justified in looking for a meaning even in the seeming accessories of a parable. If the opposite mode of interpreting should seem likely to lead us, as it has led many, to strange and forced analogies, and an arbitrary dogmatism, the safeguard may be found in our recollecting that in assigning such meanings we are but as scholars guessing at the mind of a teacher whose words are higher than our thoughts, recognizing the analogies which may have been, but which were not necessarily those which he recognized. No such interpretation can claim anything like authority. The very form of the teaching makes it probable that there may be, in any case, more than one legitimate explanation. The outward fact in nature, or in social life, may correspond to spiritual facts at once in God's government of the world, and in the history of the individual soul. A parable may be at once ethical, and in the highest sense of the term prophetic. There is thus a wide field open to the discernment of the interpreter. There are also restraints upon the mere fertility of his imagination. (1.) The analogies must be real, not arbitrary. (2.) The parables are to be considered as parts of a whole, and the interpretation of one is not to over-ride or encroach upon the lessons taught

* See an ingenious classification of the parables of each Gospel, according to their subject-matter, in Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, ch. vii., and Appendix F.

† The existence of Rabbinic parables, presenting a superficial resemblance to those of the Gospel, is no real exception to this statement. Whether we believe them to have had an independent origin, and so to be fair specimens of the *genus* of this form of teaching among the Jews, or to have been (as chronologically they might have been) borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, from those of Christ, there is still in the latter a distinctive power, and purity, which place the others almost beyond the range of comparison, except as to outward form.

by others. (3.) The direct teaching of Christ presents the standard to which all *our* interpretations are to be referred, and by which they are to be measured. (Comp. Dean Trench *on the Parables*, Introductory Remarks; to which one who has once read it cannot but be more indebted than any mere references can indicate; Stier, *Words of the Lord Jesus, on Matt.* xiii. 11). [E. H. P.]

PARADISE (פַּרְדֵּס, *Pardês*: παράδεισος: *Paradisus*). Questions as to the nature and locality of Paradise as identical with the garden of Gen. ii. and iii. have been already discussed under EDEN. It remains to trace the history of the word and the associations connected with it, as it appears in the later books of the O. T. and in the language of Christ and His Apostles.

The word itself, though it appears in the above form in Song of Sol. iv. 13, Eccles. ii. 5, Neh. ii. 8, may be classed, with hardly a doubt, as of Aryan rather than of Semitic origin. It first appears in Greek as coming straight from Persia (Xen. *ut inf.*). Greek lexicographers classify it as a Persian word (Julius Pollux, *Onomast.* ix. 3). Modern philologists accept the same conclusion with hardly a dissentient voice (Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, ii. 1, p. 153). Gesenius (*s. v.*) traces it a step further, and connects it with the Sanscrit *para-déça* = high, well-tilled land, and applied to an ornamental garden attached to a house. Other Sanscrit scholars, however, assert that the meaning of *para-deça* in classical Sanscrit is "foreign country," and although they admit that it may also mean "the best or most excellent country," they look on this as an instance of casual coincidence rather than derivation.[a] Other etymologies, more fanciful and far-fetched, have been suggested—(1.) from παρά and δεύω, giving as a meaning, the "well-watered ground" (Suidas, *s. v.*); (2.) from παρά and δεῖσα, a barbarous word, supposed to signify a plant, or collection of plants (Joann. Damasc. in Suidas, *l. c.*); (3) from פרה דשא, to bring forth herbs; (4) פרה הרס, to bring forth myrrh (Ludwig, *de raptu Pauli in Parad.* in Menthen's *Thesaur. Theolog.* 1702.)

On the assumption that the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes were written in the time of Solomon, the occurrence of the foreign word may be accounted for either (1.) on the hypothesis of later forms having crept into the text in the process of transcription, or (2.) on that of the word having found its way into the language of Israel at the time when its civilization took a new flight under the Son of David, and the king borrowed from the customs of central Asia that which made the royal park or garden part of the glory of the kingdom. In Neh. ii. 8, as might be expected, the word is used in a connexion which points it out as distinctly Persian. The account given of the hanging gardens of Babylon, in like manner, indicates Media as the original seat both of the word and of the thing. Nebuchadnezzar constructed them, terrace upon terrace, that he might reproduce in the plains of Mesopotamia the scenery with which the Median princess he had married had been familiar in her native country; and this was the origin of the κρεμαστὸς παράδεισος (Berosus, in Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19). In Xenophon the word occurs frequently, and we get vivid pictures of the scene which it implied. A wide open park, enclosed against injury, yet with its natural beauty unspoiled, with stately forest trees, many of them bearing fruit, watered by clear streams, on whose banks roved large herds of antelopes or sheep—this was the scenery which connected itself in the mind of the Greek traveller with the word παράδεισος, and for which his own language supplied no precise equivalent. (Comp. *Anab.* i. 2, §7, 4, §9; ii. 4, §14; *Hellen.* iv. 1, §15; *Cyrop.* i. 3, §14; *Oeconom.* 4, §13.) Through the writings of Xenophon, and through the general admixture of Orientalisms in the later Greek after the conquests of Alexander, the word gained a recognized place, and the LXX. writers chose it for a new use which gave it a higher worth and secured for it a more perennial life. The garden of Eden became ὁ παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς (Gen. ii. 15; iii. 23; Joel ii. 3). They used the same word whenever there was any allusion, however remote, to the fair region which had been the first blissful home of man. The valley of the Jordan, in their version, is the paradise of God (Gen. xiii. 10). There is no tree in the paradise of God equal to that which in the prophet's vision symbolises the glory of Assyria (Ez. xxxi. 1-9). The imagery of this chapter furnishes a more vivid picture of the scenery of a παράδεισος than we find elsewhere. The prophet to whom "the word of the Lord came" by the river of Chebar may well have seen what he describes so clearly. Elsewhere, however, as in the translation of the three passages in which *pardes* occurs in the Hebrew, it is used in a more general sense. (Comp. Is. i. 30; Num. xxv. 6; Jer. xxix. 5; Susann. ver. 4.)

It was natural, however, that this higher meaning should become the exclusive one, and be associated with new thoughts. Paradise, with no other word to qualify it, was the bright region which man had lost, which was guarded by the flaming sword. Soon a new hope sprang up. Over and above all questions as to where the primeval garden had been, there came the belief that it did not belong entirely to the past. There was a paradise still into which man might hope to enter. It is a matter of some interest to ascertain with what associations the word was connected in the minds of the Jews of Palestine and other countries at the time of our Lord's teaching, what sense therefore we may attach to it in the writings of the N.T.

In this as in other instances we may distinguish three modes of thought, each with marked characteristics, yet often blended together in different proportions, and melting one into the other by hardly perceptible degrees. Each has its counterpart in the teaching of Christian theologians. The language of the N.T. stands apart from and above all. (1.) To the Idealist school of Alexandria, of which Philo is the representative, paradise was anything more than a symbol and an allegory. Traces of this way of looking at it had appeared previously in the teaching of the Son of Sirach. The four rivers of Eden are figures of the wide streams of Wisdom, and she is as the brook which becomes a river and waters the paradise of God (Ecclus. xxiv. 25-30). This, however, was compatible with the recognition of Gen. ii. as speaking of a fact. To Philo the thought of the fact was unendurable. The primeval history spoke of no garden such as

[a] Professor Monier Williams allows the writer to say that he is of this opinion. Comp. also Buschmann, in Humboldt's *Cosmos*, ii. note 230, and Kneb u. Gruber *Encyclop.* s. v.

men plant and water. Spiritual perfection (ἀρετή) was the only paradise. The trees that grew in it were the thoughts of the spiritual man. The fruits which they bore were life and knowledge and immortality. The four rivers flowing from one source are the four virtues of the later Platonists, each derived from the same source of goodness (Philo, *de Alleg.* i.). It is obvious that a system of interpretation such as this was not likely to become popular. It was confined to a single school, possibly to a single teacher. It has little or nothing corresponding to it in the N.T.

(2.) The Rabbinic schools of Palestine presented a phase of thought the very opposite of that of the Alexandrian writer. They had their descriptions, definite and detailed, a complete topography of the unseen world. Paradise, the garden of Eden, existed still, and they discussed the question of its locality. The answers were not always consistent with each other. It was far off in the distant East, further than the foot of man had trod. It was a region of the world of the dead, of Sheol, in the heart of the earth. Gehenna was on one side, with its flames and torments. Paradise on the other, the intermediate home of the blessed. (Comp. Wetstein, Grotius, and Schoettgen *on Luc.* xxiii.) The patriarchs were there, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, ready to receive their faithful descendants into their bosoms (Joseph. *de Macc.* c. 13). The highest place of honour at the feast of the blessed souls was Abraham's bosom (Luke xvi. 23), on which the new heir of immortality reclined as the favoured and honoured guest. Or, again, paradise was neither on the earth, nor within it, but above it, in the third heaven, or in some higher orb. [HEAVEN.] Or there were two paradises, the upper and the lower—one in heaven, for those who had attained the heights of holiness—one in earth, for those who had lived but decently (Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. in Apoc.* ii. 7), and the heavenly paradise was sixty times as large as the whole lower earth (Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt. Judenth.* ii. p. 297). Each had seven palaces, and in each palace were its appropriate dwellers (*ib.* p. 302). As the righteous dead entered paradise, angels stripped them of their grave-clothes, arrayed them in new robes of glory, and placed on their heads diadems of gold and pearls (*ib.* p. 310). There was no night there. Its pavement was of precious stones. Plants of healing power and wondrous fragrance grew on the banks of its streams (*ib.* p. 313). From this lower paradise the souls of the dead rose on sabbaths and on feast-days to the higher (*ib.* 318), where every day there was the presence of Jehovah holding council with His saints (*ib.* p. 320). (Comp. also Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. in Luc.* xxiii.)

(3.) Out of the discussions and theories of the Rabbis, there grew a broad popular belief, fixed in the hearts of men, accepted without discussion, blending with their best hopes. Their prayer for the dying or the dead was that his soul might rest in paradise, in the garden of Eden (Maimonides, Porta Mosis, quoted by Wetstein *in Luc.* xxiii.; Taylor, *Funeral Sermon on Sir G. Dalston*). The belief of the Essenes, as reported by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 8, §11), may be accepted as a fair representation of the thoughts of those who, like them, were not trained in the Rabbinical schools, living in a simple and more child-like faith. To them accordingly paradise was a far-off land, a region where there was no scorching heat, no consuming cold, where the soft west-wind from the ocean blew for evermore. The visions of the 2nd book of Esdras, though not without an admixture of Christian thoughts and phrases, may be looked upon as representing this phase of feeling. There also we have the picture of a fair garden, streams of milk and honey, twelve trees laden with divers fruits, mighty mountains whereon grow lilies and roses (ii. 19)—a place into which the wicked shall not enter.

It is with this popular belief, rather than with that of either school of Jewish thought, that the language of the N.T. connects itself. In this, as in other instances, it is made the starting-point for an education which leads men to rise from it to higher thoughts. The old word is kept, and is raised to a new dignity or power. It is significant, indeed, that the word "paradise" nowhere occurs in the public teaching of our Lord, or in His intercourse with His own disciples. Connected as it had been with the thoughts of a sensuous happiness, it was not the fittest or the best word for those whom He was training to rise out of sensuous thoughts to the higher regions of the spiritual life. For them, accordingly, the kingdom of Heaven, the kingdom of God, are the words most dwelt on. The blessedness of the pure in heart is that they shall see God. If language borrowed from their common speech is used at other times, if they hear of the marriage-supper and the new wine, it is not till they have been taught to understand parables and to separate the figure from the reality. With the thief dying on the cross the case was different. We can assume nothing in the robber-outlaw but the most rudimentary forms of popular belief. We may well believe that the word used here, and here only, in the whole course of the Gospel history, had a special fitness for him. His reverence, sympathy, repentance, hope, uttered themselves in the prayer, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom!" What were the thoughts of the sufferer as to that kingdom we do not know. Unless they were supernaturally raised above the level which the disciples had reached by slow and painful steps, they must have been mingled with visions of an earthly glory, of pomp, and victory, and triumph. The answer to his prayer gave him what he needed most, the assurance of immediate rest and peace. The word Paradise spoke to him, as to other Jews, of repose, shelter, joy—the greatest contrast possible to the thirst, and agony, and shame of the hours upon the cross. Rudimentary as his previous thoughts of it might be, this was the word fittest for the education of his spirit.

There is a like significance in the general absence of the word from the language of the Epistles. Here also it is found nowhere in the direct teaching. It occurs only in passages that are apocalyptic, and therefore almost of necessity symbolic. St. Paul speaks of one, apparently of himself, as having been "caught up into paradise," as having there heard things that might not be uttered (2 Cor. xii. 3).[b]

[b] For the questions (1) whether the *raptus* of St. Paul was corporeal or incorporeal, (2) whether the third heaven is to be identified with or distinguished from paradise, (3) whether this was the upper or the lower paradise of the Jewish schools, comp. Meyer, Wordsworth, Alford, *in loc.*; August. *de Gen. ad litt.* xii.; Ludwig, *Diss. de raptu Pauli*, in Menthen's *Thesaurus*. Interpreted by the current Jewish belief of the period, we

In the message to the first of the Seven Churches of Asia, "the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God," appears as the reward of him that overcometh, the symbol of an eternal blessedness. (Comp. Dean Trench, *Comm. on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*, in loc.) The thing, though not the word, appears in the closing visions of Rev. xxii.

(4.) The eager curiosity which prompts men to press on into the things behind the veil, has led them to construct hypotheses more or less definite as to the intermediate state, and these have affected the thoughts which Christian writers have connected with the word paradise. Patristic and later interpreters follow, as has been noticed, in the footsteps of the Jewish schools. To Origen and others of a like spiritual insight, paradise is but a synonym for a region of life and immortality—one and the same with the third heaven (Jerome, *Ep. ad Joh. Hieros.* in Wordsworth on 2 Cor. xii.). So far as it is a place, it is as a school in which the souls of men are trained and learn to judge rightly of the things they have done and seen on earth (Origen, *de Princ.* ii. 12). The sermon of Basil, *de Paradiso*, gives an eloquent representation of the common belief of Christians who were neither mystical nor speculative. Minds at once logical and sensuous ask questions as to the locality, and the answers are wildly conjectural. It is not in Hades, and is therefore different from Abraham's bosom (Tertull. *de Idol.* c. 13). It is above and beyond the world, separated from it by a wall of fire (Tertull. *Apol.* c. 47). It is the "refrigerium" for all faithful souls, where they have the vision of saints, and angels, and of Christ himself (Just. M. *Respons. ad Orthodox.* 75 and 85), or for those only who are entitled, as martyrs, fresh from the baptism of blood, to a special reward above their fellows (Tertull. *de Anim.* c. 55).[c] It is in the fourth heaven (Clem. Alex. *Fragm.* §51). It is in some unknown region of the earth, where the seas and skies meet, higher than any earthly mountain (Joann. Damasc. *de Orthod. Fid.* ii. 11), and had thus escaped the waters of the Flood (P. Lombard, *Sentent.* ii. 17, E.). It has been identified with the φυλακή of 1 Pet. iii. 19, and the spirits in it are those of the antediluvian races who repented before the great destruction overtook them (Bishop Horsley, *Sermons*, xx.). (Comp. an elaborate note in Thilo, *Codex Apocryph. N. T.* p. 754.) The word enters largely, as might be expected, into the apocryphal literature of the early Church. Where the true Gospels are most reticent, the mythical are most exuberant. The Gospel of Nicodemus, in narrating Christ's victory over Hades (the "harrowing of hell" of our early English mysteries), tells how, till then, Enoch and Elijah had been its sole inhabitants[d]—how the penitent robber was there with his cross on the night of the crucifixion—how the souls of the patriarchs were led thither by Christ, and were received by the archangel Michael, as he kept watch with the flaming swords at the gate. In the apocryphal *Acta Philippi* (Tischendorf, *Act. Apost.* p. 89), the Apostle is sentenced to remain for forty days outside the circle of paradise, because he had given way to anger and cursed the people of Hierapolis for their unbelief.

(5.) The later history of the word presents some facts of interest. Accepting in this, as in other instances, the mythical elements of Eastern Christianity, the creed of Islam presented to its followers the hope of a sensuous paradise, and the Persian word was transplanted through it into the languages spoken by them.[e] In the West it passes through some strange transformations, and descends to baser uses. The thought that men on entering the Church of Christ returned to the blessedness which Adam had forfeited, was symbolized in the church architecture of the fourth century. The narthex, or *atrium*, in which were assembled those who, not being *fideles* in full communion, were not admitted into the interior of the building, was known as the "Paradise" of the church (Alt, *Cultus*, p. 591). Athanasius, it has been said, speaks scornfully of Arianism as creeping into this paradise,[f] implying that it addressed itself to the ignorant and untaught. In the West we trace a change of form, and one singular change of application. Paradiso becomes in some Italian dialects Paraviso, and this passes into the French *parvis*,[g] denoting the western porch of a church, or the open space in front of it (Ducange, s. v. 'Parvisus'; Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb.* p. 703). In the church this space was occupied, as we have seen, by the lower classes of the people. The word was transferred from the place of worship to the place of amusement, and, though the position was entirely different, was applied to the highest and cheapest gallery of a French theatre (Alt, *Cultus*, l. c.). By some, however, this use of the word is connected only with the extreme height of the gallery, just as "chemin de Paradis" is a proverbial phrase for any specially arduous undertaking (Bescherelles, *Dictionnaire Français*). [E. H. P.]

PA'RAH (הַפָּרָה, with the def. article: Φαρά; Alex. Ἀφαρ: *Aphpharа*), one of the cities in the territory allotted to Benjamin, named only in the lists of the conquest (Josh. xviii. 23). It occurs in the first of the two groups into which the towns of Benjamin are divided, which seems to contain those of the northern and eastern portions of the tribe, between Jericho, Bethel, and Geba; the towns of the south, from Gibeon to Jerusalem, being enumerated in the second group.

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may refer the "*third heaven*" to a vision of the Divine Glory; "*paradise*," to a vision of the fellowship of the righteous dead, waiting in calmness and peace for their final resurrection.

[c] A special treatise by Tertullian, *de Paradiso*, is unfortunately lost.

[d] One trace of this belief is found in the Vulg. of Ecclus. xliv. 16, "translatus est *in paradisum*," in the absence of any corresponding word in the Greek text.

[e] Thus it occurs in the Koran in the form *firdaus*; and the name of the Persian poet Ferdusi is probably derived from it (Humboldt's *Cosmos*, ii. note 230).

[f] The passage quoted by Alt is from *Orat. c. Arian. II.* (vol. i. p. 307, Colon. 1686): Καὶ βιαζεται πάλιν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ingenious as his conjecture is, it may be questioned whether the sarcasm which he finds in the words is not the creation of his own imagination. There seems no ground for referring the word paradise to any section of the Church, but rather to the Church as a whole (comp. August. *de Gen. ad litt.* xii.). The Arians were to it what the serpent had been to the earlier paradise.

[g] This word will be familiar to many readers from the "Responsiones in *Parviso*" of the Oxford system of examination, however little they may previously have connected that place with their thoughts of paradise. By others, however, Parvisum (or -sus) is derived "a parvis pueris ibi edoctis" (*Menage, Orig. de la Langue Franç.* s. v. 'Parvis').

In the *Onomasticon* ("Aphra") it is specified by Jerome only,—the text of Eusebius being wanting—as five miles east of Bethel. No traces of the name have yet been found in that position; but the name *Fârah* exists further to the S.E. attached to the *Wady Fârah*, one of the southern branches of the great *Wady Suweinit*, and to a site of ruins at the junction of the same with the main valley.

This identification, first suggested by Dr. Robinson (i. 439), is supported by Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 339) and Schwarz (126). The drawback mentioned by Dr. R., namely, that the Arabic word (="mouse") differs in signification from the Hebrew ("the cow") is not of much force, since it is the habit of modern names to cling to similarity of sound with the ancient names, rather than of signification. (Compare *Beit-ur*; *el Aal*, &c.)

A view of *Wady Fârah* is given by Barclay (*City*, &c. 558), who proposes it for AENON. [G.]

PA'RAN, EL-PA'RAN (אֵיל פָּארָן, פָּארָן: Φαράν, LXX. and Joseph.).

1. It is shown under KADESH that the name Paran corresponds probably in general outline with the desert *Et-Tih*. The Sinaitic desert, including the wedge of metamorphic rocks, granite, syenite, and porphyry, set, as it were, in a superficial margin of old red sandstone, forms nearly a scalene triangle, with its apex southwards, and having its base or upper edge not a straight, but concave crescent line—the ridge, in short, of the *Et-Tih* range of mountains, extending about 120 miles from east to west, with a slight dip, the curve of the aforesaid crescent southwards. Speaking generally, the wilderness of Sinai (Num. x. 12, xii. 16), in which the marchstations of Taberah and Hazeroth, if the latter [HAZEROTH] be identical with *Hŭdherâ*, are probably included towards its N.E. limit, may be said to lie S. of the *Et-Tih* range, the wilderness of Paran N. of it, and the one to end where the other begins. That of Paran is a stretch of chalky formation, the chalk being covered with coarse gravel, mixed with black flint and drifting sand. The surface of this extensive desert tract is a slope ascending towards the north, and in it appear to rise (by Rosegger's map, from which most of the previous description is taken) three chalky ridges, as it were, terraces of mountainous formation, all to the W. of a line drawn from *Ras Mohammed* to *Kŭlat-el-Arish* on the Mediterranean. The caravan-route from Cairo to *Akaba* crosses the *Et-Tih* desert in a line from W. to E., a little S. In this wide tract, which extends northwards to join the "wilderness of Beersheba" (Gen. xxi. 21, cf. 14), and eastward probably to the wilderness of Zin [KADESH] on the Edomitish border, Ishmael dwelt, and there probably his posterity originally multiplied. Ascending northwards from it on a meridian to the E. of Beersheba, we should reach Maon and Carmel, or that southern portion of the territory of Judah, W. of the Dead Sea, known as "the South," where the waste changes gradually into an uninhabited pasture-land, at least in spring and autumn, and in which, under the name of "Paran," Nabal fed his flocks (1 Sam. xxv. 1). Between the wilderness of Paran and that of Zin no strict demarcation exists in the narrative, nor do the natural features of the region, so far as yet ascertained, yield a well-defined boundary. The name of Paran seems, as in the story of Ishmael, to have predominated towards the western extremity of the northern desert frontier of *Et-Tih*, and in Num. xxxiv. 4 the wilderness of Zin, not Paran, is spoken of as the southern border of the land or of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 3). If by the Paran region we understand "that great and terrible wilderness" so emphatically described as the haunt of noxious creatures and the terror of the wayfarer (Deut. i. 19, viii. 15), then we might see how the adjacent tracts, which still must be called "wilderness," might, either as having less repulsive features, or because they lay near to some settled country, have a special nomenclature of their own. For the latter reason the wildernesses of Zin, eastward towards Edom and Mount Seir, and of Shur, westward towards Egypt, might be thus distinguished; for the former reason that of Sin and Sinai. It would not be inconsistent with the rules of Scriptural nomenclature, if we suppose these accessory wilds to be sometimes included under the general name of "wilderness of Paran;" and to this extent we may perhaps modify the previous general statement that S. of the *Et-Tih* range is the wilderness of Sinai, and N. of it that of Paran. Still, construed strictly, the wildernesses of Paran and Zin would seem to lie as already approximately laid down. [KADESH.] If, however, as previously hinted, they may in another view be regarded as overlapping, we can more easily understand how Chedorlaomer, when he "smote" the peoples S. of the Dead Sea, returned round its south-western curve to the El-Paran, or "terebinth-tree of Paran," viewed as indicating a locality in connexion with the wilderness of Paran, and yet close, apparently, to that Dead Sea border (Gen. xiv. 6).

Was there, then, a Paran proper, or definite spot to which the name was applied? From Deut. i. 1 it should seem there must have been. This is confirmed by 1 K. xi. 18, from which we further learn the fact of its being an inhabited region; and the position required by the context here is one between Midian and Egypt. If we are to reconcile these passages by the aid of the personal history of Moses, it seems certain that the local Midian of the Sinaitic peninsula must have lain near the Mount Horeb itself (Ex. iii. 1, xviii. 1-5). The site of the "Paran" of Hadad the Edomite must then have lain to the N.W. or Egyptian side of Horeb. This brings us, if we assume any principal mountain, except *Serbâl*[a] of the whole Sinaitic group, to be "*the* Mount of God," so close to the *Wady Feiran* that the similarity of name,[b] supported by the recently expressed opinion of eminent geographers, may be taken as establishing substantial identity. Ritter (vol. xiv. p. 740-1) and Stanley (p. 39-41) both consider that Rephidim is to be found in *Wady Feiran*, and no other place in the whole peninsula seems, from its local advantages, to have been so likely to form an *entrepôt* in Solomon's time between Edom and Egypt. Burckhardt (*Syria*, &c. 602) describes this wady as narrowing in one spot to 100 paces, and adds that the high mountains adjacent, and the thick woods which clothe it, contribute with the bad water to make it unhealthy, but that it is, for productiveness, the finest valley[c]

[a] For the reasons why *Serbâl* should not be accepted, see SINAI.

[b] Gesen. s. v. פָּארָן, says the wilderness so called, "between Midian and Egypt, bears this name at the present day." No maps now in use give any closer approximation to the ancient name than *Feiran*.

[c] Compare, however, the same traveller's statement of the claims of a coast wady at *Tŭr*, on the Gulf of Suez

in the whole peninsula, containing four miles of gardens and date-groves. Yet he thinks it was *not* the Paran of Scripture. Professor Stanley, on the contrary, seems to speak on this point with greater confidence in the affirmative than perhaps on any other question connected with the Exodus. See especially his remarks (39-41) regarding the local term "hill" of Ex. xvii. 9, 10, which he considers to be satisfied by an eminence adjacent to the *Wady Feiran*. The vegetable manna[d] of the tamarisk grows wild there (Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. p. 75), as does the *colocynth*, &c. (Robinson, i. 121-4). What could have led Winer (*s. v.* Paran) to place El-Paran near Elath, it is not easy to say, especially as he gives no authority.

2. "Mount" Paran occurs only in two poetic passages (Deut. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 3), in one of which Sinai and Seir appear as local accessories, in the other Teman and (ver. 7) Cushan and Midian. We need hardly pause to inquire in what sense Seir can be brought into one local view with Sinai. It is clear from a third poetic passage, in which Paran does not appear (Judg. v. 4, 5), but which contains "Seir," more literally determined by "Edom," still in the same local connexion with "Sinai," that the Hebrew found no difficulty in viewing the greater scenes of God's manifestation in the Exodus as historically and morally,[e] if not locally connected. At any rate Mount Paran here may with as good a right be claimed for the Sinaitic as for the Edomitish side of the difficulty. And the distance, after all, from Horeb to Mount Seir was probably one of ten days or less (Deut. i. 2). It is not unlikely that if the *Wady Feiran* be the Paran proper, the name "Mount" Paran may have been either assigned to the special member (the north-western) of the Sinaitic mountain-group which lies adjacent to that wady,[f] or to the whole Sinaitic cluster. That special member is the five-peaked ridge of *Serbâl*. If this view for the site of Paran is correct, the Israelites must have proceeded from their encampment by the sea (Num. xxxiii. 10), probably *Tuyîbéh* [WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING], by the "middle" route of the three indicated by Stanley (p. 38-9). [H. H.]

PAR'BAR (חַפַּרְבַּר, with the definite article: [a] διαδεχομένους: *cellulae*). A word occurring in Hebrew and A. V. only in 1 Chr. xxvi. 18, but there found twice: "At the Parbar westward four (Levites) at the causeway two at the Parbar." From this passage, and also from the context, it would seem that Parbar was some place on the west side of the Temple enclosure, the same side with the causeway and the gate Shallecheth. The latter was close to the causeway—perhaps on it, as the *Bab Silsilis* now is—and we know from its remains that the causeway was at the extreme north of the western wall. Parbar therefore must have been south of Shallecheth.

As to the meaning of the name, the Rabbis generally agree[b] in translating it "the outside place," while modern authorities take it as equivalent to the *parvârim*[c] in 2 K. xxiii. 11 (A. V. "suburbs"), a word almost identical with *parbar*, and used by the early Jewish interpreters as the equivalent of *migrâshim*, the precincts (A. V. "suburbs") of the Levitical cities. Accepting this interpretation, there is no difficulty in identifying the Parbar with the suburb (τὸ προάστειον) mentioned by Josephus in describing Herod's Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5), as lying in the deep valley which separated the west wall of the Temple from the city opposite it; in other words, the southern end of the Tyropoeon, which intervenes between the Wailing Place and the (so-called) Zion. The two gates in the original wall were in Herod's Temple increased to four.

It does not follow (as some have assumed) that Parbar was identical with the "suburbs" of 2 K. xxiii. 11, though the words denoting each may have the same signification. For it seems most consonant with probability to suppose that the "horses of the Sun" would be kept on the eastern side of the Temple mount, in full view of the rising rays of the god as they shot over the Mount of Olives, and not in a deep valley on its western side.

Parbar is possibly an ancient Jebusite name, which perpetuated itself after the Israelite conquest of the city, as many a Danish and Saxon name has been perpetuated, and still exists, only slightly disguised, in the city of London. [G.]

PARCHMENT. [WRITING.]

PARLOUR.[d] A word in English usage meaning the common room of the family, and hence probably in A. V. denoting the king's audience-chamber, so used in reference to Eglon (Judg. iii. 20-25; Richardson, *Eng. Dict.*). [HOUSE, vol. i. p. 838.] [H. W. P.]

PARMASH'TA (פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא: Μαρμασιμά; Alex. Μαρμασιμνά: *Phermesta*). One of the ten sons of Haman slain by the Jews in Shushan (Esth. ix. 9).

PAR'MENAS (Παρμενᾶς). One of the seven deacons, "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," selected by the whole body of the disciples to superintend the ministration of their alms to the widows and necessitous poor. Parmenas is placed sixth on the list of those who were ordained

(Burckhardt, *Arab.* ii. 362; comp. Wellsted, ii. 9), "receiving all the waters which flow down from the higher range of Sinai to the sea" (Stanley, p. 19).

[d] The *Tamarix Gallica mannifera* of Ehrenberg, the *Tarfa* of the Arabs (Robinson, i. 115).

[e] The language in the three passages, Deut. xxxiii. 2, Hab. iii., Judg. v. 4, 5, is as strikingly similar as is the purport and spirit of all the three. All describe a spiritual presence manifested by natural convulsions attendant; and all are confirmed by Ps. lxviii. 7, 8, in which Sinai alone is named. We may almost regard this lofty rhapsody as a commonplace of the inspired song of triumph, in which the seer seems to leave earth so far beneath him that the preciseness of geographic detail is lost to his view.

[f] Out of the *Wady Feiran*, in an easterly direction, runs the *Wady Sheikh*, which conducts the traveller directly to the "modern Horeb." See Kiepert's map.

[a] What Hebrew word the LXX. read here is not clear.

[b] See the Targum of the passage; also Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. פַּרְבַּר; and the references in Lightfoot, *Prospect of Temple*, chap. v.

[c] Gesenius, *Thes.* 1123 *a*; Fürst, *Handwb.* ii. 225 *b*, &c. Gesenius connects *parvarim* with a similar Persian word, meaning a building open on all sides to the sun and air.

[d] 1. חֶדֶר; ἀποθήκη; *cubiculum*; once only "parlour," in 1 Chr. xxviii. 11; elsewhere usually "chamber," a with-drawing room (Ges. 448).

2. לִשְׁכָּה; κατάλυμα; *triclinium*; usually "chamber."

3. עֲלִיָּה, with art. in each instance where A. V. has "parlour;" τὸ ὑπερῷον; *coenaculum*; usually "chamber." It denotes an upper chamber in 2 Sam. xviii. 33; 2 K. xxiii. 12

by the laying on of the hands of the Apostles to this special function (Acts vi. 5). His name occurs but this once in Scripture; and ecclesiastical history records nothing of him save the tradition that he suffered martyrdom at Philippi in the reign of Trajan (Baron. ii. 55). In the Calendar of the Byzantine Church he and Prochorus are commemorated on July 28th. [E. H—s.]

PAR'NACH (פַּרְנָךְ: Φαρνάχ: *Pharnach*). Father or ancestor of Elizaphan prince of the tribe of Zebulun (Num. xxxiv. 25).

PA'ROSH (פַּרְעֹשׁ: Φάρες; Alex. φορές in Ezr. ii. 3, elsewhere Φόρος: *Pharos*). The descendants of Parosh, in number 2172, returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 3; Neh. vii. 8). Another detachment of 150 males, with Zechariah at their head, accompanied Ezra (Ezr. viii. 3). Seven of the family had married foreign wives (Ezr. x. 25). They assisted in the building of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 25), and signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 14). In the last-quoted passage the name Parosh is clearly that of a family, and not of an individual.

PARSHANDA'THA (פַּרְשַׁנְדָּתָא: Φαρσανδάτης; Alex. Φαρσανεστάν: *Pharsandatha*). The eldest of Haman's ten sons who were slain by the Jews in Shushan (Esth. ix. 7). Fürst (*Handwb.*) renders it into old Persian *frashnadata*, "given by prayer," and compares the proper name Παρσώνδης, which occurs in Diod. ii. 33.

PARTHIANS (Πάρθοι; *Parthi*) occurs only in Acts ii. 9, where it designates Jews settled in Parthia. Parthia Proper was the region stretching along the southern flank of the mountains which separate the great Persian desert from the desert of Kharesm. It lay south of Hyrcania, east of Media, and north of Sagartia. The country was pleasant, and fairly fertile, watered by a number of small streams flowing from the mountains, and absorbed after a longer or a shorter course by the sands. It is now known as the *Atak* or "skirt," and is still a valuable part of Persia, though supporting only a scanty population. In ancient times it seems to have been densely peopled; and the ruins of many large and apparently handsome cities attest its former prosperity. (See Fraser's *Khorassan*, p. 345.)

The ancient Parthians are called a "Scythic" race (Strab. xi. 9, §2; Justin, xli. 1-4; Arrian, *Fr.* 1); and probably belonged to the great Turanian family. Various stories are told of their origin. Moses of Chorene calls them the descendants of Abraham by Keturah (*Hist. Armen.* ii. 65); while John of Malala relates that they were Scythians whom the Egyptian king Sesostris brought with him on his return from Scythia, and settled in a region of Persia (*Hist. Univ.* p. 26; compare Arrian, *l. s. c.*). Really, nothing is known of them till about the time of Darius Hystaspis, when they are found in the district which so long retained their name, and appear as faithful subjects of the Persian monarchs. We may fairly presume that they were added to the empire by Cyrus, about B.C. 550; for that monarch seems to have been the conqueror of all the north-eastern provinces. Herodotus speaks of them as contained in the 16th satrapy of Darius, where they were joined with the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, and the Arians, or people of Herat (Herod. iii. 93). He also mentions that they served in the army which Xerxes led into Greece, under the same leader as the Chorasmians (vii. 66). They carried bows and arrows, and short spears, but were not at this time held in much repute as soldiers. In the final struggle between the Greeks and Persians they remained faithful to the latter, serving at Arbela (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8), but offering only a weak resistance to Alexander when, on his way to Bactria, he entered their country (ib. 25). In the division of Alexander's dominions they fell to the share of Eumenes, and Parthia for some while was counted among the territories of the Seleucidae. About B.C. 256, however, they ventured upon a revolt, and under Arsaces (whom Strabo calls "a king of the Dahae," but who was more probably a native leader) they succeeded in establishing their independence. This was the beginning of the great Parthian empire, which may be regarded as rising out of the ruins of the Persian, and as taking its place during the centuries when the Roman power was at its height.

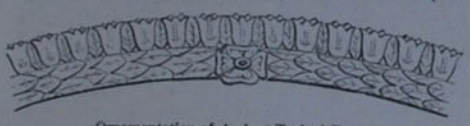
Parthia, in the mind of the writer of the Acts, would designate this empire, which extended from India to the Tigris, and from the Chorasmian desert to the shores of the Southern Ocean. Hence the prominent position of the name Parthians in the list of those present at Pentecost. Parthia was a power almost rivalling Rome—the only existing power which had tried its strength against Rome and not been worsted in the encounter. By the defeat and destruction of Crassus near Carrhae (the Scriptural Harran) the Parthians acquired that character for military prowess which attaches to them in the best writers of the Roman classical period. (See Hor. *Od.* ii. 13; *Sat.* ii. 1, 15; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 31; Ov. *Art. Am.* i. 209, &c.) Their armies were composed of clouds of horsemen, who were all riders of extraordinary expertness; their chief weapon was the bow. They shot their arrows with wonderful precision while their horses were in full career, and were proverbially remarkable for the injury they inflicted with these weapons on an enemy who attempted to follow them in their flight. From the time of Crassus to that of Trajan they were an enemy whom Rome especially dreaded, and whose ravages she was content to repel without revenging. The warlike successor of Nerva had the boldness to attack them; and his expedition, which was well conceived and vigorously conducted, deprived them of a considerable portion of their territories. In the next reign, that of Hadrian, the Parthians recovered these losses; but their military strength was now upon the decline; and in A.D. 226, the last of the Arsacidae was forced to yield his kingdom to the revolted Persians, who, under Artaxerxes, son of Sassan, succeeded in re-establishing their empire. The Parthian dominion thus lasted for nearly five centuries, commencing in the third century before, and terminating in the third century after, our era.

It has already been stated that the Parthians were a Turanian race. Their success is to be regarded as the subversion of a tolerably advanced civilisation by a comparative barbarism—the substitution of Tatar coarseness for Arian polish and refinement. They aimed indeed at adopting the art and civilisation of those whom they conquered; but their imitation was a poor travestie, and there is something ludicrously grotesque in most of their more ambitious efforts. At the same time, they occasionally exhibit a certain amount of skill and

taste, more especially where they followed Greek models. Their architecture was better than their sculpture. The famous ruins of Ctesiphon have a grandeur of effect which strikes every traveller;

Figure of Fame, surmounting the Arch at Tackt-i-Bostan. (Sir R. K. Porter's *Travels*, vol. ii. fol. 62.)

and the Parthian constructions at Akkerkuf, El Hammam, &c., are among the most remarkable of Oriental remains. Nor was grandeur of general effect the only merit of their buildings. There is sometimes a beauty and delicacy in their ornamentation which is almost worthy the Greeks. (For



Ornamentation of Arch at Tackt-i-Bostan.

specimens of Parthian sculpture and architecture, see the *Travels* of Sir R. K. Porter, vol. i. plates 19-24; vol. ii. plates 62-66 and 82, &c. For the general history of the nation, see Heeren's *Manual of Ancient History*, pp. 229-305, Eng. Tr.; and the article PARTHIA in *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*.) [G. R.]

PARTRIDGE (קֹרֵא, *kôrê*: πέρδιξ, νυκτικόραξ: *perdix*) occurs only 1 Sam. xxvi. 20, where David compares himself to a hunted *Kôrê* upon the mountains, and in Jer. xvii. 11, where it is said, "As a *Kôrê* sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not; so he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool." The translation of *Kôrê* by "partridge" is supported by many of the old versions, the Hebrew name, as is generally supposed, having reference to the "call" of the cock bird; compare the German *Rebhuhn* from *rufen*, "to call."[a] Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 632) has attempted to show that *Kôrê* denotes some species of "snipe," or "woodcock" (*rusticola*?); he refers the Hebrew word to the Arabic *Karia*, which he believes, but upon very insufficient ground, to be the name of some one of these birds. Oedmann (*Verm. Samm.* ii. 57) identifies the *Karia* of Arabic writers with the *Merops apiaster* (the Bee-eater); this explanation has deservedly found favour with no commentators. What the *Karia* of the Arabs may be we have been unable to determine; but the *Kôrê* there can be no doubt denotes a partridge. The "hunting this bird upon the mountains"[b] (1 Sam. xxvi. 20) entirely agrees with the habits of two well-known species of partridge, viz., *Caccabis saxatilis* (the Greek partridge) and *Ammoperdix Heyii*. The specific name of the former is partly indicative of the localities it frequents, viz., rocky and hilly ground covered with brushwood.

Ammoperdix Heyii.

It will be seen by the marginal reading that the passage in Jeremiah may bear the following interpretation:—As the *Kôrê* "gathereth young which she hath not brought forth." This rendering is supported by the LXX. and Vulg., and is that which Maurer (*Comment. in Jer.* l. c.), Rosenmüller (*Sch. in Jer.* l. c.), Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.), Winer (*Realwb.* "Rebhuhn"), and scholars generally, adopt. In order to meet the requirements of this latter interpretation, it has been asserted that the partridge is in the habit of stealing the eggs from the nests of its congeners and of sitting upon them, and that when the young are hatched they forsake their false parent; hence, it is said, the meaning of the simile: the man who has become rich by dishonest means loses his riches, as the fictitious partridge her stolen brood (see Jerome *in Jerem.* l. c.). It is perhaps almost needless to remark that this is a mere fable, in which, however, the ancient Orientals may have believed. There is a passage in the Arabian naturalist Damîr, quoted by Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 638), which shows that in his time this opinion was held with regard to some kind of partridge.[c] The explanation of the rendering of the text of the A. V. is obviously as follows. Partridges were often "hunted" in ancient times as they are at present, either by hawking or by being driven from place to place till they be-

[a] "Perdix enim nomen suum hebraicum קרא habet a rocando, quemadmodum eadem avis Germanis dicitur Rephuhn a röpen, i. e. rufen, vocare" (Rosenmüll. *Schol. in Jer.* xvii. 11). Mr. Tristram says that *Kore* would be an admirable imitation of the call-note of *Caccabis saxatilis*.

[b] "The partridge of the mountains I suspect to be *Ammoperdix Heyii*, familiar as it must have been to David when he camped by the cave of Adullam—a bird more difficult by far to be induced to take wing than *C. saxatilis*" (H. B. Tristram).

[c] Partridges, like gallinaceous birds generally, may occasionally lay their eggs in the nests of other birds of the same species: it is hardly likely, however, that this fact should have attracted the attention of the ancients; neither can it alone be sufficient to explain the simile.

come fatigued, when they are knocked down by the clubs or *zerecattys* of the Arabs (see Shaw's *Trav.* i. 425, 8vo.). Thus, nests were no doubt constantly disturbed, and many destroyed: as, therefore, is a partridge which is driven from her eggs, so is he that enricheth himself by unjust means—"he shall leave them in the midst of his days." The expression in Ecclus. xi. 30, "like as a partridge taken

Caccabis saxatilis.

(and kept) in a cage," clearly refers, as Shaw (*Trav.* l. c.) has observed, to "a decoy partridge," and the Greek πέρδιξ θηρευτής should have been so translated, as is evident both from the context and the Greek words;[d] compare Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* ix. 9, § 3 and 4. Besides the two species of partridge named above, the *Caccabis chukar*—the red-leg of India and Persia, which Mr. Tristram regards as distinct from the Greek partridge—is found about the Jordan. Our common partridge (*Perdix cinerea*), as well as the Barbary (*C. petrosa*) and red-leg (*C. rufa*), do not occur in Palestine. There are three or four species of the genus *Pterocles* (Sand-grouse) and *Francolinus* found in the Bible lands, but they do not appear to be noticed by any distinct term. [QUAIL.]

[W. H.]

PARU'AH (פָּרוּעָה: Φουασούδ; Alex. φαρρζοῦ: *Pharue*). The father of Jehoshaphat, Solomon's commissariat officer in Issachar (1 K. iv. 17).

PARVA'IM (פַּרְוַיִם: Φαρουίμ), the name of a place or country whence the gold was procured for the decoration of Solomon's Temple (2 Chr. iii. 6). The name occurs but once in the Bible, and there without any particulars that assist to its identification. We may notice the conjectures of Hitzig (on Dan. x. 5), that the name is derived from the Sanscrit *paru*, "hill," and betokens the δίδυμα ὄρη in Arabia, mentioned by Ptolemy (vi. 7, §11); of Knobel (*Völkert.* p. 191), that it is an abbreviated form of Sepharvaim, which stands in the Syriac version and the Targum of Jonathan for the Sephar of Gen. x. 30; and of Wilford (quoted by Gesenius, *Thes.* ii. 1125), that it is derived from the Sanscrit *pûrva*, "eastern," and is a general term for the East. Bochart's identification of it with Taprobane is etymologically incorrect.

[W. L. B.]

PA'SACH (פָּסַךְ: Φασέκ; Alex. Φεσηχί: *Phasech*). Son of Japhlet of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 33), and one of the chiefs of his tribe.

[d] Mr. Tristram tells us the *Caccabis saxatilis* makes an admirable decoy, becoming very tame and clever. He brought one home with him from Cyprus.

PAS-DAM'MIM (הַפַּס דַּמִּים: Φασοδομῆ; Alex. Φασοδομιν: *Aphesdomim*). The form under which in 1 Chr. xi. 13 the name appears, which in 1 Sam. xvii. 1 is given more at length as EPHES-DAMMIM. The lexicographers do not decide which is the earlier or corrector of the two. Gesenius (*Thes.* 139) takes them to be identical in meaning. It will be observed that in the original of Pas-dammim, the definite article has taken the place of the first letter of the other form. In the parallel narrative of 2 Sam. xxiii., the name appears to be corrupted[a] to *charpham* (חַרְפָם), in the A. V. rendered "there." The present text of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §4) gives it as Arasamos (Ἀράσαμος).

The chief interest attaching to the appearance of the name in this passage of Chronicles is the evidence it affords that the place was the scene of repeated encounters between Israel and the Philistines, unless indeed we treat 1 Chr. xi. 13 (and the parallel passage, 2 Sam. xxiii. 11) as an independent account of the occurrence related in 1 Sam. xvii.—which hardly seems possible.

A ruined site bearing the name of *Damûn* or *Chirbet Damoun*, lies near the road from Jerusalem to *Beit Jibrîn* (Van de Velde, *S. & P.* ii. 193; Tobler, *3tte Wand.* 201), about three miles E. of *Shuweikeh* (Socho). This Van de Velde proposes to identify with Pas-dammim. [G.]

PASE'AH (פָּסֵחַ: Βεσσηέ; Alex. Φεσσή: *Phesse*). 1. Son of Eshton, in an obscure fragment of the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 12). He and his brethren are described as "the men of Rechah," which in the Targum of R. Joseph is rendered "the men of the great Sanhedrin."

2. (Φασή Ezr., Φασέκ Neh.: *Phasea*). The "sons of Paseah" were among the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 49). In the A. V. of Neh. vii. 51, the name is written PHASEAH. Jehoiada, a member of the family, assisted in rebuilding the old gate of the city under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 6).

PA'SHUR (פַּשְׁחוּר: Πασχώρ: *Phassur*), of uncertain etymology, although Jer. xx. 3 seems to allude to the meaning of it: comp. Ruth i. 20; and see Gesen. *s. v.*

1. Name of one of the families of priests of the chief house of Malchijah (Jer. xxi. 1, xxxviii. 1; 1 Chr. ix. 12, xxiv. 9; Neh. xi. 12). In the time of Nehemiah this family appears to have become a chief house, and its head the head of a course (Ezr. ii. 38; Neh. vii. 41, x. 3); and, if the text can be relied upon, a comparison of Neh. x. 3 with xii. 2 would indicate that the time of their return from Babylon was subsequent to the days of Zerubbabel and Jeshua. The individual from whom the family was named was probably Pashur the son of Malchiah, who in the reign of Zedekiah was one of the chief princes of the court (Jer. xxxviii. 1). He was sent, with others, by Zedekiah to Jeremiah at the time when Nebuchadnezzar was preparing his attack upon Jerusalem, to inquire what would be the issue, and received a reply full of forebodings of disaster (Jer. xxi.). Again somewhat later, when the temporary raising of the siege of Jerusalem by the advance of Pharaoh Hophra's army from Egypt, had inspired hopes in king and people that Jere-

[a] This is carefully examined by Kennicott (*Dissertation*, p. 137, &c.).

miah's predictions would be falsified, Pashur joined with several other chief men in petitioning the king that Jeremiah might be put to death as a traitor, who weakened the hands of the patriotic party by his exhortations to surrender, and his prophecies of defeat, and he proceeded, with the other princes, actually to cast the prophet into the dry well where he nearly perished (Jer. xxxviii.). Nothing more is known of Pashur. His descendant Adaiah seems to have returned with Zerubbabel (1 Chr. ix. 12), or whenever the census there quoted was taken.

2. Another person of this name, also a priest, and "chief governor of the house of the Lord," is mentioned in Jer. xx. 1. He is described as "the son of Immer," who was the head of the 16th course of priests (1 Chr. xxiv. 14), and probably the same as Amariah, Neh. x. 3, xii. 2, &c. In the reign of Jehoiakim he showed himself as hostile to Jeremiah as his namesake the son of Malchiah did afterwards, and put him in the stocks by the gate of Benjamin, for prophesying evil against Jerusalem, and left him there all night. For this indignity to God's prophet, Pashur was told by Jeremiah that his name was changed to Magor-missabib (*Terror on every side*), and that he and all his house should be carried captives to Babylon and there die (Jer. xx. 1-6). From the expression in v. 6, it should seem that Pashur the son of Immer acted the part of a prophet as well as that of priest.

3. Father of Gedaliah (Jer. xxxviii. 1). [A.C.H.]

PASSAGE.[a] Used in plur. (Jer. xxii. 20), probably to denote the mountain region of Abarim, on the east side of Jordan [ABARIM] (Raumer, *Pal.* p. 62; Ges. p. 987; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 204, and App. p. 503). It also denotes a river-ford or a mountain gorge or pass. [MICHMASH.] [H. W. P.]

[a] 1. עֵבֶר; τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης.

2. מַעֲבָר; διάβασις; *vadum* (Gen. xxxii. 22); also a gorge (1 Sam. xiii. 23).

3. מַעְבְּרָה; φάραγξ; *transcensus* (Is. x. 29). "A ford" (Is. xvi. 2).

[b] This is evidently the word פֶּסְחָא, the Aramaean form of פֶּסַח, put into Greek letters. Some have taken the meaning of פֶּסַח, the root of פֶּסַח, to be that of "passing through," and have referred its application here to the passage of the Red Sea. Hence the Vulgate has rendered פֶּסַח by *transitus*, Philo (*De Vit. Mosis*, lib. iii. c. 29) by διαβατήρια, and Gregory of Nazianzus by διάβασις. Augustine takes the same view of the word; as do also Von Bohlen and a few other modern critics. Jerome applies *transitus* both to the *passing over* of the destroyer and the *passing through* the Red Sea (in Matt. xxvi.). But the true sense of the Hebrew substantive is plainly indicated in Ex. xii. 27; and the best authorities are agreed that פֶּסַח never expresses "passing through," but that its primary meaning is "leaping over." Hence the verb is regularly used with the preposition עַל. But since, when we jump or step over anything, we do not tread upon it, the word has a secondary meaning, "to spare," or "to show mercy" (comp. Is. xxxi. 5, with Ex. xii. 27). The LXX. have therefore used σκεπάζειν in Ex. xii. 13; and Onkelos has rendered זֶבַח־פֶּסַח, "the sacrifice of the Passover," by דִּבְחָא חַיְיָא, "the sacrifice of mercy." Josephus rightly explains πάσχα by ὑπερβασία. In the same purport, agree Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, several of the Fathers, and the best modern critics. Our own translators, by using the word "Passover," have made clear Ex. xii. 12, 23, and other passages, which are not intelligible in the LXX. nor in several other versions. (See Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 627; Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 236; Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.; Suicer, sub πάσχα; Drusius, *Notæ Majores*, in Ex. xii. 27; Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 291.)

The explanation of πάσχα which hinges on the notion that it is derived from πάσχω needs no refutation, but is not without interest, as it appears to have given rise to the very common use of the word *passion*, as denoting the death of Our Lord. It was held by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and a few others. Chrysostom appears to avail himself of it for a paronomasia (*Hom. V. ad 1 Tim.*), as in another place he formally states the true meaning ὑπέρβασις ἐστι καθ' ἑρμηνείαν τὸ πάσχα. Gregory of Nazianzus seems to do the same (*Orat.* xlii.), since he elsewhere (as is stated above) explains πάσχα as = διάβασις. See Suicer, *sub voce*. Augustine, who took this latter view, has a passage which is worth quoting: "Pascha, fratres, non sicut quidam existimant, Graecum nomen est, sed Hebraeum: opportunissime tamen occurrit in hoc nomine quaedam congruentia utrarumque linguarum. Quia enim *pati* Graece πάσχειν dicitur, ideo Pascha *passio* putata est, velut hoc nomen a passione sit appellatum; in sua vero lingua, hoc est in Hebraea, Pascha *transitus* dicitur: propterea tunc primum Pascha celebravit populus Dei, quando ex Egypto fugientes, rubrum mare transierunt. Nunc ergo figura illa prophetica in veritate completa est, cum sicut ovis ad immolandum ducitur Christus, cujus sanguine illitis postibus nostris, id est, cujus signo crucis signatis frontibus nostris, a perditione hujus seculi tanquam a captivitate vel interemptione Aegyptia liberamur; et agimus saluberrimum transitum, cum a diabolo transimus ad Christum, et ab isto instabili seculo ad ejus fundatissimum regnum, Col. i. 13" (*In Joan. Tract.* 18.).

[c] There are five distinct statutes on the Passover in the 12th and 13th chapters of Exodus (xii. 2-4, 5-20, 21-28, 42-51; xiii. 1-10).

PASSOVER (חַג הַפֶּסַח, פֶּסַח: τὸ πάσχα: *phase, id est transitus*: also, חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, הַמַּצּוֹת, τὰ ἄζυμα; in N. T. ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων: *azyma, festum azymorum*), the first of the three great annual Festivals of the Israelites, celebrated in the month Nisan, from the 14th to the 21st.

The following are the principal passages in the Pentateuch relating to the Passover: Ex. xii. 1-51, in which there is a full account of its original institution and first observance in Egypt, Ex. xiii. 3-10, in which the unleavened bread is spoken of in connexion with the sanctification of the first-born, but there is no mention of the paschal lamb: Ex. xxiii. 14-19, where, under the name of the feast of unleavened bread, it is first connected with the other two great annual festivals, and also with the sabbath, and in which the paschal lamb is styled "My sacrifice"; Ex. xxxiv. 18-26, in which the festival is brought into the same connexion, with immediate reference to the redemption of the first-born, and in which the words of Ex. xiii. 18, regarding the paschal lamb, are repeated; Lev. xxiii. 4-14, where it is mentioned in the same connexion, the days of holy convocation are especially noticed, and the enactment is prospectively given respecting the offering of the first sheaf of harvest, with the offerings which were to accompany it, when the Israelites possessed the promised land; Num. ix. 1-14, in which the Divine word repeats the command for the observance of the Passover at the commencement of the second year after the Exodus, and in which the observance of the Passover in the second month, for those who could not participate in it at the regular time, is instituted; Num. xxviii. 16-25, where directions are given for

the offerings which were to be made on each of the seven days of the festival; Deut. xvi. 1-6, where the command is prospectively given that the Passover, and the other great festivals, should be observed in the place which the Lord might choose in the land of promise, and where there appears to be an allusion to the Chagigah, or voluntary peace-offerings (see p. 717*b*).

I. Institution and first Celebration of the Passover.

When the chosen people were about to be brought out of Egypt, the word of the Lord came to Moses and Aaron, commanding them to instruct all the congregation of Israel to prepare for their departure by a solemn religious ordinance. On the tenth day of the month Abib, which had then commenced, the head of each family was to select from the flock either a lamb or a kid, a male of the first year, without blemish. If his family was too small to eat the whole of the lamb, he was permitted to invite his nearest neighbour to join the party. On the fourteenth day of the month, he[d] was to kill his lamb while the sun was setting.[e] He was then to take the blood in a basin, and with a sprig of hyssop to sprinkle it on the two side-posts and the lintel of the door of the house. The lamb was then thoroughly roasted, whole. It was expressly forbidden that it should be boiled, or that a bone of it should be broken. Unleavened bread and bitter herbs were to be eaten with the flesh. No male who was uncircumcised was to join the company. Each one was to have his loins girt, to hold a staff in his hand, and to have shoes on his feet. He was to eat in haste, and it would seem that he was to stand during the meal. The number of the party was to be calculated as nearly as possible, so that all the flesh of the lamb might be eaten; but if any portion of it happened to remain, it was to be burned in the morning. No morsel of it was to be carried out of the house.

The legislator was further directed to inform the people of God's purpose to smite the first-born of the Egyptians, to declare that the Passover was to be to them an ordinance for ever, to give them directions respecting the order and duration of the festival in future times, and to enjoin upon them to teach their children its meaning, from generation to generation.

When the message was delivered to the people, they bowed their heads in worship. The lambs were selected, on the fourteenth they were slain and the blood sprinkled, and in the following evening, after the fifteenth day of the month had commenced, the first paschal meal was eaten. At midnight the first-born of the Egyptians were smitten, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the firstlings of the cattle.[f] The king and his people were now urgent that the Israelites should start immediately, and readily bestowed on them supplies for the journey. In such haste did the Israelites depart, on that very day (Num. xxxiii. 3), that they packed up their kneading-troughs containing the dough prepared for the morrow's provision, which was not yet leavened.

Such were the occurrences connected with the institution of the Passover, as they are related in Ex. xii. It would seem that the law for the consecration of the first-born was passed in immediate connexion with them (Ex. xiii. 1, 13, 15, 16).

II. Observance of the Passover in later times.

1. In the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Exodus, there are not only distinct references to the observance of the festival in future ages (*e. g.* xii. 2, 14, 17, 24-27, 42, xiii. 2, 5, 8-10); but there are several injunctions which were evidently not intended for the first passover, and which indeed could not possibly have been observed. The Israelites, for example, could not have kept the next day, the 15th of Nisan, on which they commenced their march (Ex. xii. 51; Num. xxxiii. 3), as a day of holy convocation according to Ex. xii. 16. [Festivals, vol. i. p. 617.]

In the later notices of the festival in the books of the law, there are particulars added which appear as modifications of the original institution. Of this kind are the directions for offering the Omer, or first sheaf of harvest (Lev. xxiii. 10-14), the instructions respecting the special sacrifices which were to be offered each day of the festival week (Num xxviii. 16-25), and the command that the paschal lambs should be slain at the national sanctuary, and that the blood should be sprinkled on the altar, instead of the lintels and door-posts of the houses (Deut. xvi. 1-6).

Hence it is not without reason that the Jewish writers have laid great stress on the distinction between "the Egyptian Passover" and "the perpetual Passover." The distinction is noticed in the Mishna (*Pesachim*, ix. 5). The peculiarities of the Egyptian passover which are there pointed out are, the selection of the lamb on the 10th day of the month, the sprinkling of the blood on the lintels and door-posts, the use of hyssop in sprinkling, the haste in which the meal was to be eaten, and the restriction of the abstinence from unleavened bread to a single day. Elias of Byzantium[g] adds, that there was no command to burn the fat on the altar, that the pure and impure all partook of the paschal meal contrary to the law afterwards given (Num. xviii. 11), that both men and women were then required to partake, but subsequently the command was given only to men (Ex. xxiii. 17; Deut. xvi 16), that neither the Hallel nor any other hymn was sung, as was required in later times in accordance with Is. xxx. 29, that there were no days of holy convocation, and that the lambs were not slain in the consecrated place.[h]

2. The following was the general order of the b-

[a] The words translated in A. V. "the whole assembly of the congregation" (Ex. xii. 6), evidently mean *every man of the congregation*. They are well rendered by Vitringa (*Observat. Sac.* ii. 3, §9), "universa Israelitarum multitudo nemine excepto." The word קָהָל, though it primarily denotes an assembly, must here signify no more than a complete number of persons, not necessarily assembled together.

[b] See note [k], p. 714.

[c] Michaelis and Kurtz consider that this visitation was directed against the sacred animals, "the gods of Egypt," mentioned in Ex. xii 12.

[g] Quoted by Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 406. For other Jewish authorities, see Otho's *Lexicon*, s. v. Pascha.

[h] Another Jewish authority (*Tosiphta in Pesachim*, quoted by Otho) adds that the rule that no one who partook of the lamb should go out of the house until the morning (Ex. xii. 22) was observed only on this one occasion; a point of interest, as bearing on the question relating to our Lord's last supper. See p. 719*a*.

servances of the Passover in later times according to the direct evidence of Scripture:—On the 14th of Nisan, every trace of leaven was put away from the houses, and on the same day every male Israelite not labouring under any bodily infirmity or ceremonial impurity, was commanded to appear before the Lord at the national sanctuary with an offering of money in proportion to his means (Ex. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 16, 17).[i] Devout women sometimes attended, as is proved by the instances of Hannah and Mary (1 Sam. i. 7; Luke ii. 41, 42). As the sun was setting,[k] the lambs were slain, and the fat and blood given to the priests (2 Chr. xxxv. 5, 6; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 9, §3). In accordance with the original institution in Egypt, the lamb was then roasted whole, and eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; no portion of it was to be left until the morning. The same night, after the 15th of Nisan had commenced, the fat was burned by the priest and the blood sprinkled on the altar (2 Chr. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11). On the 15th, the night being passed, there was a holy convocation, and during that day no work might be done, except the preparation of necessary food (Ex. xii. 16). On this and the six following days an offering in addition to the daily sacrifice was made of two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with meat-offerings, for a burnt-offering, and a goat for a sin-offering (Num. xxviii. 19-23). On the 16th of the month, "the morrow after the sabbath" (*i. e.* after the day of holy convocation), the first sheaf of harvest was offered and waved by the priest before the Lord, and a male lamb was offered as a burnt sacrifice with a meat and drink-offering. Nothing necessarily distinguished the four following days of the festival, except the additional burnt and sin-offerings, and the restraint from some kinds of labour. [FESTIVALS.] On the seventh day, the 21st of Nisan, there was a holy convocation, and the day appears to have been one of peculiar solemnity.[l] As at all the festivals, cheerfulness was to prevail during the whole week, and all care was to be laid aside (Deut. xxvii. 7; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, Art. 197). [PENTECOST].

3. (*a.*) *The Paschal Lamb.*—After the first Passover in Egypt there is no trace of the lamb having been selected before it was wanted. In later times, we are certain that it was sometimes not provided before the 14th of the month (Luke xxii. 7-9; Mark xiv. 12-16). The law formally allowed the alternative of a kid (Ex. xii. 5), but a lamb was preferred,[m] and was probably nearly always chosen. It was to be faultless and a male, in accordance with the established estimate of animal perfection (see Mal. i. 14). Either the head of the family, or any other person who was not ceremonially unclean (2 Chr. xxx. 17), took it into the court of the Temple on his shoulders. According to some authorities, the lamb might, if circumstances should render it desirable, be slain at any time in the afternoon, even before the evening sacrifice, if the blood was kept stirred, so as to prevent it from coagulating, until the time came for sprinkling it (*Pesachim*, v. 3).

The Mishna gives a particular account of the arrangement which was made in the court of the Temple (*Pesachim*, v. 6-8). Those who were to kill the lamb entered successively in three divisions. When the first division had entered, the gates were closed and the trumpets were sounded three times. The priests stood in two rows, each row extending from the altar to the place where the people were assembled. The priests of one row held basins of silver, and those of the other basins of gold. Each Israelite[n] then slew his lamb in order, and the priest who was nearest to him received the blood

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[i] This offering was common to all the feasts. According to the Mishna (*Chagigah*, i. 2), part of it was appropriated for burnt-offerings, and the rest for the Chagigah.

[k] "Between the two evenings," בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם (Ex. xii. 6; Lev. xxiii. 5; Num. ix. 3, 5). The phrase also occurs in reference to the time of offering the evening sacrifice (Ex. xxix. 39, 41; Num. xxviii. 4), and in other connexions (Ex. xvi. 12, xxx. 8). Its precise meaning is doubtful. The Karaites and Samaritans, with whom Aben Ezra (on Ex. xii. 6) agrees, consider it as the interval between sunset and dark. This appears to be in accordance with Deut. xvi. 6, where the paschal lamb is commanded to be slain "at the going down of the sun." But the Pharisees and Rabbinists held that the first evening commenced when the sun began to decline (δείλη πρωία), and that the second evening began with the setting sun (δείλη ὀψία). Josephus says that the lambs were slain from the ninth hour till the eleventh, *i. e.* between three and five o'clock (*B. J.* vi. 9, §3); the Mishna seems to countenance this (*Pesachim*, v. 3); and Maimonides, who says they were killed immediately after the evening sacrifice. A third notion has been held by Jarchi and Kimchi, that the two evenings are the time immediately before and immediately after sunset, so that the point of time at which the sun sets divides them. Gesenius, Bähr, Winer, and most other critics, hold the first opinion, and regard the phrase as equivalent with בָּעֶרֶב (Deut. xvi. 6). See Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 1065; Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 614; Hupfeld, *De Festis Hebraeorum*, p. 15; Rosenmüller *in Exod.* xii. 6; Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 68.

[l] The seventh day of the Passover, and the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles (see John vii. 37), had a character of their own, distinguishing them from the first days of the feasts and from all other days of holy convocation, with the exception of the day of Pentecost. [PENTECOST.] This is indicated in regard to the Passover in Deut. xvi. 8. "Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly (עֲצֶרֶת) to the Lord." See also Ex. xiii. 6: "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord." The word עֲצֶרֶת is used in like manner for the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 36), where it is associated with מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ, "a holy convocation;" Num. xxix. 35; 2 Chr. vii. 9; Neh. viii. 18). Our translators have in each case rendered it "solemn assembly," but have explained it in the margin by "restraint." The LXX. have ἐξόδιον. Michaelis and Iken imagined the primary idea of the word to be *restraint from labour*. Gesenius shows that this is a mistake, and proves the word to mean *assembly* or *congregation*. Its root is undoubtedly עָצַר, *to shut up*, or *constrain*. Hence Bähr (*Symbolik*, ii. 619) reasonably argues, from the occurrence of the word in the passages above referred to, that its strict meaning is that of the *closing assembly*; which is of course quite consistent with its being sometimes used for a solemn assembly in a more general sense, and with its application to the day of Pentecost.

[m] The Chaldee interpreters render שֶׂה, which means *one of the flock*, whether sheep or goat, by אִמַּר, *a lamb*; and Theodoret no doubt represents the Jewish traditional usage when he says, ἵνα ὁ μὲν πρόβατον ἴγνωμεν θύσῃ τοῦτο· ὁ δὲ σπανίζων προβάτου τὸν ἔριφον (on Ex. xii.).

[n] Undoubtedly the usual practice was for the head of the family to slay his own lamb; but on particular occasions (as in the great observances of the Passover by Hezekiah, Josiah, and Ezra) the slaughter of the lambs was committed to the Levites. See p. 718b.

in his basin, which he handed to the next priest, who gave his empty basin in return. A succession of full basins was thus passed towards the altar, and a succession of empty ones towards the people. The priest who stood next the altar threw the blood out towards the base in a single jet. When the first division had performed their work, the second came in, and then the third. The lambs were skinned, and the viscera taken out with the internal fat. The fat was carefully separated and collected in the large dish, and the viscera were washed and replaced on the body of the lamb, like those of the burnt sacrifices (Lev. i. 9, iii. 3-5; comp. *Pesachim*, vi. 1). Maimonides says that the tail was put with the fat (*Nid. in Pes.* v. 10). While this was going on the Hallel was sung, and repeated a second, or even a third time, if the process was not finished. As it grew dark, the people went home to roast their lambs. The fat was burned on the altar, with incense, that same evening.[o] When the 14th of Nisan fell on the sabbath, all these things were done in the same manner; but the court of the Temple, instead of being carefully cleansed as on other occasions, was merely flooded by opening a sluice.

A spit made of the wood of the pomegranate was thrust lengthwise through the lamb (*Pesachim*, vi. 1). According to Justin Martyr, a second spit, or skewer, was put transversely through the shoulders, so as to form the figure of a cross.[p] The oven was of earthenware, and appears to have been in shape something like a bee-hive with an opening in the side to admit fuel. The lamb was carefully so placed as not to touch the side of the oven, lest the cooking should be effected in part by hot earthenware, and not entirely by fire, according to Ex. xii. 9; 2 Chr. xxxv. 13. If any one concerned in the process broke a bone of the lamb so as to infringe the command in Ex. xii. 46, he was subject to the punishment of forty stripes. The flesh was to be roasted thoroughly[q] (Ex. xii. 9). No portion of it was allowed to be carried out of the house, and if any of it was not eaten at the meal, it was burned, along with the bones and tendons, in the morning of the 16th of Nisan; or, if that day happened to be the sabbath, on the 17th.

As the paschal lamb could be legally slain, and the blood and fat offered, only in the national sanctuary (Deut. xvi. 2), it of course ceased to be offered by the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. The spring festival of the modern Jews strictly consists only of the feast of unleavened bread.[r]

(*b.*) *The Unleavened Bread.*—There is no reason to doubt that the unleavened bread eaten in the Passover and that used on other religious occasions were of the same nature. It might be made of wheat, spelt, barley, oats, or rye, but not of rice or millet (*Pesachim*, ii. 5). It appears to have been usually made of the finest wheat flour[s] (Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xviii. p. 397). The greatest care was taken that it should be made in perfectly clean vessels and with all possible expedition, lest the process of fermentation should be allowed to commence in the slightest degree (*Pesachim*, iii. 2-5). It was probably formed into dry, thin biscuits, not unlike those used by the modern Jews.

The command to eat unleavened bread during

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[o] The remarkable passage in which this is commanded, which occurs Ex. xxiii. 17, 18, 19, and is repeated Ex. xxxiv. 25, 26, appears to be a sort of proverbial caution respecting the three great feasts. "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread: neither shall the fat of my sacrifice remain until the morning. The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." The references to the Passover and Pentecost are plain enough. That which is supposed to refer to Tabernacles (which is also found Deut. xiv. 21), "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk," is explained by Abarbanel, and in a Karaite MS. spoken of by Cudworth, as bearing on a custom of boiling a kid in the milk of its dam as a charm, and sprinkling fields and orchards with the milk to render them fertile (Cudworth, *True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, pp. 36, 37; Spencer, *Leg. Heb.* ii. 8. For other interpretations of the passage, see Rosenmüller, in Exod. xxiii. 19). [IDOLATRY; vol. i. 859 *b*.]

[p] The statement is in the Dialogue with Trypho, c. 40:—Καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν πρόβατον ἐκεῖνο ὀπτὸν ὅλον γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ σταυροῦ, δι' οὗ πάσχειν ἔμελλεν ὁ Χριστός, σύμβολον ἦν. τὸ γὰρ ὀπτώμενον πρόβατον σχηματίζεται ὡσεὶ τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀπτᾶται. εἷς γὰρ ὀρθὸς ὀβελίσκος διαπερονᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτω μερῶν μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ εἷς πάλιν κατὰ τὸ μεταφρενον, ᾧ προσαρτῶνται καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ προβάτου.

As Justin was a native of Flavia Neapolis, it is a striking fact that the modern Samaritans roast their paschal lambs in nearly the same manner at this day. Mr. George Grove, who visited Nablous in 1861, in a letter to the writer of this article, says, "The lambs (they require six for the community now) are roasted all together by stuffing them vertically, head downwards, into an oven which is like a small well, about three feet diameter, and four or five feet deep, roughly steaned, in which a fire has been kept up for several hours. After the lambs are thrust in, the top of the hole is covered with bushes and earth, to confine the heat till they are done. Each lamb has a stake or spit run through him to draw him up by; and, to prevent the spit from tearing away through the roast meat with the weight, a cross piece is put through the lower end of it." A similar account is given in Miss Rogers' *Domestic Life in Palestine*. Vitringa, Bochart, and Hottinger have taken the statement of Justin as representing the ancient Jewish usage; and, with him, regard the crossed spits as a prophetic type of the cross of our Lord. But it would seem more probable that the transverse spit was a mere matter of convenience, and was perhaps never in use among the Jews. The Rabbinical traditions relate that the lamb was called *Galeatus*, "qui quum totus assabatur, cum capite, cruribus, et intestinis, pedes autem et intestina ad latera ligabantur inter assandum, agnus ita quasi armatum repraesentaverit, qui galea in capite et ense in latere est munitus" (Otho, *Lex. Rab* p. 503)

[q] The word נא, in A. V. "raw," is rendered "alive" by Onkelos and Jonathan. In 1 Sam. ii. 15, it plainly means *raw*. But Jarchi, Abenezra, and other Jewish authorities, understand it as *half-dressed* (Rosenmüller, *in loc.*).

[r] There are many curious particulars in the mode in which the modern Jews observe this festival to be found in Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xviii. xix.; Picart, *Cérémonies Religieuses*, vol. i.; Mill, *The British Jews* (London, 1853); Stauben, *Scènes de la vie Juive en Alsace* (Paris, 1860). The following appear to be the most interesting:—A shoulder of lamb, thoroughly roasted, is placed on the table to take the place of the paschal lamb, with a hard boiled egg as a symbol of wholeness. Besides the sweet sauce, to remind them of the sort of work carried on by their fathers in Egypt (see p. 716 *a*), there is sometimes a vessel of salt and water, to represent the Red Sea, into which they dip the bitter herbs. But the most remarkable usages are those connected with the expectation of the coming of Elijah. A cup of wine is poured out for him, and stands all night upon the table. Just before the filling of the cups of the guests the fourth time, there is an interval of dead silence, and the door of the room is opened for some minutes to admit the prophet.

[s] Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 391) and Hüffman (quoted by Winer) conjecture the original unleavened bread of the Passover to have been of barley, in connexion with the commencement of barley harvest.

the seven days of the festival, under the penalty of being cut off from the people, is given with marked emphasis, as well as that to put away all leaven from the house during the festival (Ex. xii. 15, 19, 20, xiii. 7). But the rabbinists say that the house was carefully cleansed and every corner searched for any fragment of leavened bread in the evening before the 14th of Nisan, though leavened bread might be eaten till the sixth hour of that day, when all that remained was to be burned (*Pesachim*, i. 1, 4;[t] and citation in Lightfoot, *Temple Serv.*, xii. §1).

(*c.*) *The Bitter Herbs and the Sauce.*—According to *Pesachim* (ii. 6) the bitter herbs (מְרֹרִים; πικρίδες; *lactucae agrestes*, Ex. xii. 8) might be endive, chicory, wild lettuce, or nettles. These plants were important articles of food to the ancient Egyptians (as is noticed by Pliny), and they are said to constitute nearly half that of the modern Egyptians. According to Niebuhr they are still eaten at the Passover by the Jews in the East. They were used in former times either fresh or dried, and a portion of them is said to have been eaten before the unleavened bread (*Pesach.* x. 3).

The sauce into which the herbs, the bread, and the meat were dipped as they were eaten (John xiii. 26; Matt. xxvi. 23) is not mentioned in the Pentateuch. It is called in the Mishna חֲרוֹסֶת. According to Bartenora it consisted of only vinegar and water; but others describe it as a mixture of vinegar, figs, dates, almonds, and spice. The same sauce was used on ordinary occasions thickened with a little flour; but the rabbinists forbad this at the Passover, lest the flour should occasion a slight degree of fermentation. Some say that it was beaten up to the consistence of mortar or clay, in order to commemorate the toils of the Israelites in Egypt in laying bricks (Buxtorf, *Lex. Tal.* col. 831; *Pesachim*, ii. 8, x. 3, with the notes of Bartenora, Maimonides, and Surenhusius).

(*d.*) *The Four Cups of Wine.*—There is no mention of wine in connexion with the Passover in the Pentateuch; but the Mishna strictly enjoins that there should never be less than four cups of it provided at the paschal meal even of the poorest Israelite (*Pes.* x. 1). The wine was usually red, and it was mixed with water as it was drunk (*Pes.* vii. 13, with Bartenora's note; and Otho's *Lex.* p. 507). The cups were handed round in succession at specified intervals in the meal (see p. 717*a*). Two of them appear to be distinctly mentioned Luke xxii. 17, 20. "The cup of blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16) was probably the latter one of these, and is generally considered to have been the third of the series, after which a grace was said; though a comparison of Luke xxii. 20 (where it is called "the cup after supper") with *Pes.* x. 7, and the designation כּוֹס הַלֵּל, "*cup of the Hallel*," might rather suggest that it was the fourth and last cup. Schoettgen, however, is inclined to doubt whether there is any reference, in either of the passages of the N. T., to the formal ordering of the cups of the Passover, and proves that the name "cup of blessing" (כּוֹס שֶׁל בְּרָכָה) was applied in a general way to any cup which was drunk with thanksgiving, and that the expression was often used metaphorically, *e. g.* Ps. cxvi. 13 (*Hor. Heb.* in 1 Cor. x. 16. See also Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 380).

The wine drunk at the meal was not restricted to the four cups, but none could be taken during the interval between the third and fourth cups (*Pes.* x. 7).

(*e.*) *The Hallel.*—The service of praise sung at the Passover is not mentioned in the Law. The name is contracted from הַלְלוּיָהּ (*Hallelujah*). It consisted of the series of Psalms from cxiii. to cxviii. The first portion, comprising Ps. cxiii. and cxiv., was sung in the early part of the meal, and the second part after the fourth cup of wine. This is supposed to have been the "hymn" sung by our Lord and his Apostles (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Buxtorf, *Lex. Tal.* s. v. הלל, and *Syn. Jud.* p. 48; Otho, *Lex.* p. 271; Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 374).

(*f.*) *Mode and Order of the Paschal Meal.*—Adopting as much from Jewish tradition as is not inconsistent or improbable, the following appears to have been the usual custom. All work, except that belonging to a few trades connected with daily life, was suspended for some hours before the evening of the 14th of Nisan. There was, however, a difference in this respect. The Galilaeans desisted from work the whole day; the Jews of the south only after the middle of the tenth hour, that is, half-past three o'clock. It was not lawful to eat any ordinary food after mid-day. The reason assigned for this was, that the paschal supper might be eaten with the enjoyment furnished by a good appetite (*Pes.* iv. 1-3, x. 1, with Maimonides' note). But it is also stated that this preliminary fasting was especially incumbent on the eldest son, and that it was intended to commemorate the deliverance of the first-born in Egypt. This was probably only a fancy of later times (Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* xviii. p. 401).

No male was admitted to the table unless he was circumcised, even if he was of the seed of Israel (Ex. xii. 48). Neither, according to the letter of the law, was any one of either sex admitted who was ceremonially unclean[u] (Num. ix. 6; Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 9, §3). But this rule was on special occasions liberally applied. In the case of Hezekiah's Passover (2 Chr. xxx.) we find that a greater degree of legal purity was required to slaughter the lambs than to eat them, and that numbers partook "otherwise than it was written," who were not "cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary." The Rabbinists expressly state that women were permitted, though not commanded, to partake (*Pes.* viii. 1; *Chagigah*, i. 1; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 9, §3), in accordance with the instances in Scripture which have been mentioned of Hannah and Mary (p. 714*a*). But the Karaites, in more recent times, excluded all but full-grown men. It was customary for the number of a party to be not less than ten (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 9, §3). It was perhaps generally under twenty, but it might be as many as a hundred, if each one could have a piece of the lamb as large as an olive (*Pes.* viii. 7).

When the meal was prepared, the family was placed round the table, the paterfamilias taking a place of honour, probably somewhat raised above the rest. There is no reason to doubt that the

[t] Other particulars of the precautions which were taken are given in *Pesachim*, and also by Maimonides, in his treatise *De Fermentato et Azymo*, a compendium of which is given by Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 404.

[u] Certain precautions to avoid pollution were taken a month before the Passover. Amongst these was the annual whitewashing of the sepulchres (cf. Matt. xxiii. 27) (Reland, *Ant.* iv. 2, 6). In John xi. 55, we find some Jews coming up to Jerusalem to purify themselves a week before the feast.

ancient Hebrews sat, as they were accustomed to do at their ordinary meals (see Otho, *Lex.* p. 7). But when the custom of reclining at table had become general, that posture appears to have been enjoined, on the ground of its supposed significance. The Mishna says that the meanest Israelite should recline at the Passover "like a king, with the ease becoming a free man" (*Pes.* x. 1, with Maimonides' note). He was to keep in mind that when his ancestors stood at the feast in Egypt they took the posture of slaves (R. Levi; quoted by Otho, p. 504). Our Lord and His Apostles conformed to the usual custom of their time, and reclined (Luke xxii. 14, &c.).

When the party was arranged, the first cup of wine was filled, and a blessing was asked by the head of the family on the feast, as well as a special one on the cup. The bitter herbs were then placed on the table, and a portion of them eaten, either with or without the sauce. The unleavened bread was handed round next, and afterwards the lamb was placed on the table in front of the head of the family (*Pes.* x. 3). Before the lamb was eaten, the second cup of wine was filled, and the son, in accordance with Ex. xii. 26, asked his father the meaning of the feast. In reply, an account was given of the sufferings of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their deliverance, with a particular explanation of Deut. xxvi. 5, and the first part of the Hallel (Ps. cxiii., cxiv.) was sung. This being gone through, the lamb was carved and eaten. The third cup of wine was poured out and drunk, and soon afterwards the fourth. The second part of the Hallel (Ps. cxv. to cxviii.) was then sung (*Pes.* x. 5-9). A fifth wine-cup appears to have been occasionally produced, but perhaps only in later times. What was termed the greater Hallel (Ps. cxx. to cxxviii.) was sung on such occasions (Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xviii.). The meal being ended, it was unlawful for anything to be introduced in the way of dessert.

The Israelites who lived in the country appear to have been accommodated at the feast by the inhabitants of Jerusalem in their houses, so far as there was room for them (Luke xxii. 10-12; Matt. xxvi. 18). It is said that the guests left in return for their entertainment the skin of the lamb, the oven, and other vessels which they had used. Those who could not be received into the city encamped without the walls in tents, as the pilgrims now do at Mecca. The number of these must have been very great, if we may trust the computation of Josephus that they who partook of the Passover amounted, in the reign of Nero, to above 2,700,000 (*B. J.* vi. 9, §3[x]). It is not wonderful that seditions were apt to break out in such a vast multitude so brought together (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9, §2; *B. J.* i. 3, &c.; comp. Matt. xxvi. 5; Luke xiii. 1). After the paschal meal, such of the Israelites from the country as were so disposed left Jerusalem, and observed the remainder of the festival at their respective homes (Deut. xvi. 7). But see Lightfoot, on *Luke* ii. 43.

(*g.*) *The first Sheaf of Harvest.*—The offering of the Omer, or sheaf (עֹמֶר; τὰ δράγματα; *manipulus Ephicrorum*) is mentioned nowhere in the law except Lev. xxiii. 10-14. It is there commanded that when the Israelites might reach the land of promise, they should bring, on the 16th of the month, "the morrow after the sabbath" (*i. e.* the day of holy convocation [PENTECOST, §1 note]) the first sheaf of the harvest to the priest, to be waved by him before the Lord. A lamb, with a meat-offering and a drink-offering, was to be offered at the same time. Until this ceremony was performed, no bread, parched corn, or green ears, were to be eaten of the new crop (see Josh. v. 11, 12).[y] It was from the day of this offering that the fifty days began to be counted to the day of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 15). The sheaf was of barley, as being the grain which was first ripe (2 Kings iv. 42). Josephus relates (*Ant.* iii. 10, §5) that the barley was ground, and that ten handfuls of the meal were brought to the altar, one handful being cast into the fire and the remainder given to the priests. The Mishna adds several particulars, and, amongst others, that men were formally sent by the Sanhedrim to cut the barley in some field near Jerusalem; and that, after the meal had been sifted thirteen times, it was mingled with oil and incense[z] (*Menachoth*, x. 2-6).

(*h.*) *The Chagigah.*—The daily sacrifices are enumerated in the Pentateuch only in Num. xxviii. 19-25, but reference is made to them Lev. xxiii. 8. Besides these public offerings (which are mentioned, p. 714*a*), there was another sort of sacrifice connected with the Passover, as well as with the other great festivals, called in the Talmud חֲגִיגָה (*Chagigah*, i. e. "festivity"). It was a voluntary peace-offering made by private individuals. The victim might be taken either from the flock or the herd. It might be either male or female, but it must be without blemish. The offerer laid his hand upon its head and slew it at the door of the sanctuary. The blood was sprinkled on the altar, and the fat of the inside, with the kidneys, was burned by the priest. The breast was given to the priest as a wave-offering, and the right shoulder as a heave-offering (Lev. iii. 1-5, vii. 29-34). What remained of the victim might be eaten by the offerer and his guests on the day on which it was slain, and on the day following; but if any portion was left till the third day, it was burned (Lev. vii. 16-18; *Pesach.* vi. 4). The connexion of these free-will-peace-offerings with the festivals, appears to be indicated Num. x. 10; Deut. xiv. 26; 2 Chr. xxx. 22, and they are included under the term Passover in Deut. xvi. 2—"Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God, of the flock and of the herd." Onkelos here understands the command to sacrifice from the flock, to refer to the paschal lamb; and that to sacrifice from the herd, to the Chagigah. But it seems more probable that both the flock and the herd refer to the Chagigah, as there is a specific command respecting the paschal lamb in vers. 5-7. (See De Muis' *note* in the *Crit. Sac.*; and Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on John xviii. 28.) There are evidently similar references, 2 Chr. xxx. 22-24, and 2 Chr. xxxv. 7. Hezekiah and his princes gave away at the great Passover which he celebrated, two thousand bullocks and seventeen thousand sheep; and Josiah, on a similar occasion, is said to have supplied the people at his own cost with lambs "for the Passover offerings," besides three thousand oxen. From these passages and others, it may be seen that the eating of the Chagigah was an occasion of social festivity

[x] He states that the number of lambs slain in a single Passover was 256,500. It is difficult to imagine how they could all have been slain, and their blood sprinkled, as described in the Mishna. See p. 714*b*.

[y] On this text, see PENTECOST.

[z] There is no mention of the Omer in *Pesachim*.

connected with the festivals, and especially with the Passover. The principal day for sacrificing the Passover Chagigah, was the 15th of Nisan, the first day of holy convocation, unless it happened to be the weekly sabbath. The paschal lamb might be slain on the sabbath, but not the Chagigah. With this exception, the Chagigah might be offered on any day of the festival, and on some occasions a Chagigah victim was slain on the 14th, especially when the paschal lamb was likely to prove too small to serve as meat for the party (*Pesach.* iv. 4, x. 3; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, c. xii.; Reland, *Ant.* iv. c. ii. §2).

That the Chagigah might be boiled, as well as roasted, is proved by 2 Chr. xxxv. 13, "And they roasted the passover with fire according to the ordinance: but the other holy offerings sod they in pots, and in caldrons, and in pans, and divided them speedily among the people."

(*i.*) *Release of Prisoners.*—It is a question whether the release of a prisoner at the Passover (Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6; Luke xxiii. 17; John xviii. 39) was a custom of Roman origin resembling what took place at the lectisternium (Liv. v. 13); and, in later times, on the birthday of an emperor; or whether it was an old Hebrew usage belonging to the festival, which Pilate allowed the Jews to retain. Grotius argues in favour of the former notion (On Matt. xxvii. 15). But others (Hottinger, Schoettgen, Winer) consider that the words of St. John—ἔστι δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῖν—render it most probable that the custom was essentially Hebrew. Schoettgen thinks that there is an allusion to it in *Pesachim* (viii. 6), where it is permitted that a lamb should be slain on the 14th of Nisan for the special use of one in prison to whom a release had been promised. The subject is discussed at length by Hottinger, in his tract *De Ritu dimittendi Reum in Festo Paschatis*, in the *Thesaurus Novus Theologico-Philologicus*.

(*k.*) *The Second, or Little Passover.*—When the Passover was celebrated the second year, in the wilderness, certain men were prevented from keeping it, owing to their being defiled by contact with a dead body. Being thus prevented from obeying the Divine command, they came anxiously to Moses to inquire what they should do. He was accordingly instructed to institute a second Passover, to be observed on the 14th of the following month, for the benefit of any who had been hindered from keeping the regular one in Nisan (Num. ix. 11). The Talmudists called this the Little Passover (פֶּסַח קָטָן). It was distinguished, according to them, from the Greater Passover by the rites lasting only one day, instead of seven days, by it not being required that the Hallel should be sung during the meal, but only when the lamb was slaughtered, and by it not being necessary for leaven to be put out of the houses (*Pesach.* ix. 3; Buxt. *Lex. Tal.* col. 1766).

(*l.*) *Observances of the Passover recorded in Scripture.*—Of these seven are of chief historical importance.

1. The first Passover in Egypt (Ex. xii.).
2. The first kept in the desert (Num. ix.).

There is no notice of the observance of any other Passover in the desert; and Hupfeld, Keil, and others have concluded that none took place between this one and that at Gilgal. The neglect of circumcision may render this probable. But Calvin imagines that a special permission was given to the people to continue the ordinance of the Passover. (See Keil on Joshua v. 10.)

3. That celebrated by Joshua at Gilgal immediately after the circumcision of the people, when the manna ceased (Josh. v.).

4. That which Hezekiah observed on the occasion of his restoring the national worship (2 Chr. xxx.). Owing to the impurity of a considerable proportion of the priests in the month Nisan, this Passover was not held till the second month, the proper time for the Little Passover. The postponement was determined by a decree of the congregation. By the same authority, the festival was repeated through a second seven days to serve the need of the vast multitude who wished to attend it. To meet the case of the probable impurity of a great number of the people, the Levites were commanded to slaughter the lambs, and the king prayed that the Lord would pardon every one who was penitent, though his legal pollution might be upon him.

5. The Passover of Josiah in the eighteenth year of his reign (2 Chr. xxxv.). On this occasion, as in the Passover of Hezekiah, the Levites appear to have slain the lambs (ver. 6), and it is expressly stated that they flayed them.

6. That celebrated by Ezra after the return from Babylon (Ezr. vi.). On this occasion, also, the Levites slew the lambs, and for the same reason as they did in Hezekiah's Passover.

7. The last Passover of our Lord's life.

III. The Last Supper.

1 Whether or not the meal at which our Lord instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist was the paschal supper according to the law, is a question of great difficulty. No point in the Gospel history has been more disputed. If we had nothing to guide us but the three first Gospels, no doubt of the kind could well be raised, though the narratives may not be free from difficulties in themselves. We find them speaking, in accordance with Jewish usage, of the day of the supper as that on which "the Passover must be killed," and as "the first day of unleavened bread"[a] (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7). Each relates that the use of the guest-chamber was secured in the manner usual with those who came from a distance to keep the festival. Each states that "they made ready the Passover," and that, when the evening was come, our Lord, taking the place of the head of the family, sat down with the twelve. He Himself distinctly calls the meal "this Passover" (Luke xxii. 15, 16). After a thanksgiving, he passes round the first cup of wine (Luke xxii. 17), and, when the supper is ended, the usual "cup of blessing" (comp. Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 25). A hymn is then sung (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26), which it is reasonable to suppose was the last part of the Hallel.

If it be granted that the supper was eaten on the

[a] Josephus in like manner calls the 14th of Nisan the first day of unleavened bread (*B. J.* v. 3, §1); and he speaks of the festival of the Passover as lasting eight days (*Ant.* ii. 15, §1). But he elsewhere calls the 15th of Nisan "the commencement of the feast of unleavened bread." (*Ant.* iii. 10, §5.) Either mode of speaking was evidently allowable: in one case regarding it as a matter of fact that the eating of unleavened bread began on the 14th; and in the other, distinguishing the feast of unleavened bread, lasting from the first day of holy convocation to the concluding one, from the paschal meal.

evening of the 14th of Nisan, the apprehension, trial, and crucifixion of our Lord, must have occurred on Friday the 15th, the day of holy convocation, which was the first of the seven days of the Passover week. The weekly sabbath on which He lay in the tomb was the 16th, and the Sunday of the resurrection was the 17th.

But on the other hand, if we had no information but that which is to be gathered from St. John's Gospel, we could not hesitate to infer that the evening of the supper was that of the 13th of Nisan, the day preceding that of the paschal meal. It appears to be spoken of as occurring before the feast of the Passover (xiii. 1, 2). Some of the disciples suppose, that Christ told Judas, while they were at supper, to buy what they "had need of against the feast" (xiii. 29). In the night which follows the supper, the Jews will not enter the praetorium lest they should be defiled and so not able to "eat the Passover" (xviii. 28). When our Lord is before Pilate, about to be led out to crucifixion, we are told that it was "the preparation of the Passover" (xix. 14). After the crucifixion, the Jews are solicitous, "because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day, for that Sabbath day was a high day" (xix. 31).

If we admit, in accordance with the first view of these passages, that the last supper was on the 13th of Nisan, our Lord must have been crucified on the 14th, the day on which the paschal lamb was slain and eaten, He lay in the grave on the 15th (which was a "high day" or double sabbath, because the weekly sabbath coincided with the day of holy convocation), and the Sunday of the resurrection was the 16th.

It is alleged that this view of the case is strengthened by certain facts in the narratives of the synoptical gospels, as well as that of St. John, compared with the law and with what we know of Jewish customs in later times. If the meal was the paschal supper, the law of Ex. xii. 22, that none "shall go out of the door of his house until the morning," must have been broken, not only by Judas (John xiii. 30), but by our Lord and the other disciples (Luke xxii. 39).[b] In like manner it is said that the law for the observance of the 15th, the day of holy convocation with which the paschal week commenced (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 35 &c.), and some express enactments in the Talmud regarding legal proceedings and particular details, such as the carrying of spices, must have been infringed by the Jewish rulers in the apprehending of Christ, in His trials before the High-priest and the Sanhedrim, and in His crucifixion; and also by Simon of Cyrene, who was coming out of the country (Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26), by Joseph who bought fine linen (Mark xv. 46), by the women who bought spices (Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiii. 56), and by Nicodemus who brought to the tomb a hundred pounds weight of a mixture of myrrh and aloes (John xix. 39). The same objection is considered to lie against the supposition that the disciples could have imagined, on the evening of the Passover, that our Lord was giving directions to Judas respecting the purchase of anything or the giving of alms to the poor. The latter act (except under very special conditions) would have been as much opposed to rabbinical maxims as the former.[c]

It is further urged that the expressions of our Lord, "My time is at hand" (Matt. xxvi. 18), and "*this* passover" (Luke xxii. 15), as well as St. Paul's designating it as "the same night that He was betrayed," instead of *the night of the passover* (1 Cor. xi. 23), and his identifying Christ as our slain paschal lamb (1 Cor. v. 7), seem to point to the time of the supper as being peculiar, and to the time of the crucifixion as being the same as that of the killing of the lamb (Neander and Lücke).

It is not surprising that some modern critics should have given up as hopeless the task of reconciling this difficulty. Several have rejected the narrative of St. John (Bretschneider, Weisse), but a greater number (especially De Wette, Usteri, Ewald, Meyer, and Theile) have taken an opposite course, and have been content with the notion that the three first Evangelists made a mistake and confounded the meal with the Passover.

2. The reconciliations which have been attempted fall under three principal heads:—

i. Those which regard the supper at which our Lord washed the feet of His disciples (John xiii.), as having been a distinct meal eaten one or more days before the regular Passover, of which our Lord partook in due course according to the synoptical narratives.

ii. Those in which it is endeavoured to establish that the meal was eaten on the 13th, and that our Lord was crucified on the evening of the true paschal supper.

iii. Those in which the most obvious view of the first three narratives is defended, and in which it is attempted to explain the apparent contradictions in St. John, and the difficulties in reference to the law.

(i.) The first method has the advantage of furnishing the most ready way of accounting for St. John's silence on the institution of the Holy Communion. It has been adopted by Maldonat,[d] Lightfoot, and Bengel, and more recently by Kaiser.[e] Lightfoot identifies the supper of John xiii. with the one in the house of Simon the leper at Bethany two days before the Passover, when Mary poured the ointment on the head of our Saviour (Matt. xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3); and quaintly remarks, "While they are grumbling at the anointing of His head, He does not scruple to wash their feet."[f] Bengel supposes that it was eaten only the evening before the Passover.[g]

But any explanation founded on the supposition of two meals appears to be rendered untenable by the context. The fact that all four Evangelists introduce in the same connexion the foretelling of the treachery of Judas with the dipping of the sop, and of the denials of St. Peter and the going out to the Mount of Olives, can hardly leave a doubt that they are speaking of the same meal. Besides this, the explanation does not touch the greatest difficulties, which are those connected with "the day of preparation."

[b] It has been stated (p. 713 note[h]) that, according to Jewish authorities, this law was disused in later times. But even if this were not the case, it does not seem that there can be much difficulty in adopting the arrangement of Greswell's *Harmony*, that the party did not leave the house to go over the brook till after midnight.

[c] Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvii. 1.

[d] On John xiii. 1.

[e] *Chronologie und Harmonie der vier Ev.* Mentioned by Tischendorf, *Synop. Evang.* p. xlv.

[f] *Ex. Heb.*, on John xiii. 2, and Matt. xxvi. 6. Also, 'Gleanings from Exodus,' No. XIX.

[g] On Matt. xxvi. 17, and John xviii. 28.

(ii.) The current of opinion [h] in modern times has set in favour of taking the more obvious interpretation of the passages in St. John, that the supper was eaten on the 13th, and that Our Lord was crucified on the 14th. It must, however, be admitted that most of those who advocate this view in some degree ignore the difficulties which it raises in any respectful interpretation of the synoptical narratives. Tittmann (*Meletemata*, p. 476) simply remarks that ἡ πρώτη τῶν ἀζύμων (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12) should be explained as προτέρα τῶν ἀζύμων. Dean Alford, while he believes that the narrative of St. John "absolutely excludes such a supposition as that our Lord and His disciples ate the usual Passover," acknowledges the difficulty and dismisses it (on Matt. xxvi. 17).

Those who thus hold that the supper was eaten on the 13th day of the month have devised various ways of accounting for the circumstance, of which the following are the most important. It will be observed that in the first three the supper is regarded as a true paschal supper, eaten a day before the usual time; and in the other two, as a meal of a peculiar kind.

(*a.*) It is assumed that a party of the Jews, probably the Sadducees and those who inclined towards them, used to eat the Passover one day before the rest, and that our Lord approved of their practice. But there is not a shadow of historical evidence of the existence of any party which might have held such a notion until the controversy between the Rabbinists and the Karaites arose, which was not much before the eighth century.[i]

(*b.*) It has been conjectured that the great body of the Jews had gone wrong in calculating the true Passover-day, placing it a day too late, and that our Lord ate the Passover on what was really the 14th, but what commonly passed as the 13th. This was the opinion of Beza, Bucer, Calovius, and Scaliger. It is favoured by Stier. But it is utterly unsupported by historical testimony.

(*c.*) Calvin supposed that on this occasion, though our Lord thought it right to adhere to the true legal time, the Jews ate the Passover on the 15th instead of the 14th, in order to escape from the burden of two days of strict observance (the day of holy convocation and the weekly sabbath) coming together.[k] But that no practice of this kind could have existed so early as our Lord's time is satisfactorily proved in Cocceius' note to *Sanhedrim*, i. §2.[l]

(*d.*) Grotius [m] thought that the meal was a πάσχα μνημονευτικόν (like the paschal feast of the modern Jews, and such as might have been observed during the Babylonian captivity), not a πάσχα θύσιμον. But there is no reason to believe that such a mere commemorative rite was ever observed till after the destruction of the Temple.

(*e.*) A view which has been received with favour far more generally than either of the preceding is, that the Last Supper was instituted by Christ for the occasion, in order that He might Himself suffer on the proper evening on which the paschal lamb was slain. Neander says, "He foresaw that He would have to leave His disciples before the Jewish Passover, and determined to give a peculiar meaning to His last meal with them, and to place it in a peculiar relation to the Passover of the Old Covenant, the place of which was to be taken by the meal of the New Covenant" (*Life of Christ*, §265).[n] This view is substantially the same as that held by Clement, Origen, Erasmus, Calmet, Kuinoel, Winer, Alford.[o]

Erasmus (Paraphrase on John xiii. 1, xviii. 28, Luke xxii. 7) and others have called it an "anticipatory Passover," with the intention, no doubt, to help on a reconciliation between St. John and the other Evangelists. But if this view is to stand, it seems better, in a formal treatment of the subject, not to call it a Passover at all. The difference between it and the Hebrew rite must have been essential. Even if a lamb was eaten in the supper, it can hardly be imagined that the priests would have performed the essential acts of sprinkling the blood and offering the fat on any day besides the legal one (see Maimonides quoted by Otho, *Lex.* p. 501). It could not therefore have been a true paschal sacrifice.

(iii.) They who take the facts as they appear to lie on the surface of the synoptical narratives [p] start from a simpler point. They have nothing unexpected in the occurrences to account for, but they have to show that the passages in St. John may be fairly interpreted in such a manner as not to interfere with their own conclusion, and to meet the objections suggested by the laws relating to the observance of the festival. We shall give in succession, as briefly as we can, what appear to be their best explanations of the passages in question.

(*a.*) John xiii. 1, 2. Does πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς limit the time only of the proposition in the first verse, or is the limitation to be carried on to verse 2, so as to refer to the supper? In the latter case, for which De Wette and others say there is "a logical necessity," εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς must refer more directly to the manifestation of His love which He was about to give to His disciples in washing their feet; and the natural conclusion is, that the meal was one eaten before the paschal supper. Bochart, however, contends that πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς is equivalent to ἐν τῷ προεορτίῳ, "quod ita praecedit festum, ut tamen sit pars festi." Stier agrees with him. Others take πάσχα to mean the

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[h] Lücke, Ideler, Tittmann, Bleek, De Wette, Neander, Tischendorf, Winer, Ebrard, Alford, Ellicott; of earlier critics, Erasmus, Grotius, Suicer, Carpzov.

[i] Iken (*Dissertationes*, vol. ii. diss. 10 and 12), forgetting the late date of the Karaite controversy, supposed that our Lord might have followed them in taking the day which, according to their custom, was calculated from the first appearance of the moon. Carpzov (*App. Crit.* p. 430) advocates the same notion, without naming the Karaites. Ebrard conjectures that some of the poorer Galilaeans may have submitted to eat the Passover a day too early to suit the convenience of the priests, who were overdone with the labour of sprinkling the blood and (as he strangely imagines) of slaughtering the lambs.

Harm. in Matt. xxvi. 17, ii. 305, edit. Tholuck.

Surenhusius' *Mishna*, iv. 209.

[m] On Matt. xxvi. 19, and John xiii. 1.

[n] Assuming this view to be correct, may not the change in the day made by Our Lord have some analogy to the change of the weekly day of rest from the seventh to the first day?

[o] Dean Ellicott regards the meal as "a paschal supper" eaten twenty-four hours before that of the other Jews, "within what were popularly considered the limits of the festival," and would understand the expression in Ex. xii. 6, "between the two evenings," as denoting the time between the evenings of the 13th and 14th of the month. But see note [k] p. 714. A somewhat similar explanation is given in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for Oct. 1861.

[p] Lightfoot, Bochart, Reland, Schoettgen, Tholuck, Olshausen, Stier, Lange, Hengstenberg, Robinson, Davidson, Fairbairn.

seven days of unleavened bread as not including the eating of the lamb, and justify this limitation by St. Luke xxii. 1 (ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα). See note [t], p. 723. But not a few of those who take this side of the main question (Olshausen, Wieseler, Tholuck, and others) regard the first verse as complete in itself; understanding its purport to be that "Before the Passover, in the prospect of his departure, the Saviour's love was actively called forth towards his followers, and He gave proof of his love to the last." Tholuck remarks that the expression δείπνου γενομένου (Tischendorf reads γινομένου), "while supper was going on" (not as in the A. V., "supper being ended") is very abrupt if we refer it to anything except the passover. The Evangelist would then rather have used some such expression as, καὶ ἐτοίμασαν αὐτῷ δεῖπνον; and he considers that this view is confirmed by xxi. 20, where this supper is spoken of as if it was something familiarly known and not peculiar in its character—ὃς καὶ ἀνέκεισεν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ. On the whole, Neander himself admits that nothing can safely be inferred from John xiii. 1, 2, in favour of the supper having taken place on the 13th.

(*b.*) John xiii. 29. It is urged that the things of which they had "need against the feast," might have been the provisions for the Chagigah, perhaps with what else was required for the seven days of unleavened bread. The usual day for sacrificing the Chagigah was the 15th, which was then commencing (see p. 718, *a.*). But there is another difficulty, in the disciples thinking it likely either that purchases could be made, or that alms could be given to the poor, on a day of holy convocation. This is of course a difficulty of the same kind as that which meets us in the purchases actually made by the women, by Joseph and Nicodemus. Now, it must be admitted, that we have no proof that the strict Rabbinical maxims which have been appealed to on this point existed in the time of our Saviour, and that it is highly probable that the letter of the law in regard to trading was habitually relaxed in the case of what was required for religious rites, or for burials. There was plainly a distinction recognized between a day of holy convocation and the Sabbath in the Mosaic law itself, in respect to the obtaining and preparation of food, under which head the Chagigah might come (Ex. xii. 16); and in the Mishna the same distinction is clearly maintained (*Yom Tob*, v. 2, and *Megilla*, i. 5). It also appears that the School of Hillel allowed more liberty in certain particulars on festivals and fasts in the night than in the day time.[q] And it is expressly stated in the Mishna, that on the Sabbath itself, wine, oil, and bread, could be obtained by leaving a cloak (טַלִּית),[r] as a pledge, and when the 14th of Nisan fell on a Sabbath the paschal lamb could be obtained in like manner (*Sabbath*, xxiii. 1). Alms also could be given to the poor under certain conditions (*Sabbath*, i. 1).

(*c.*) John xviii. 28. The Jews refused to enter the praetorium, lest they should be defiled and so disqualified from eating the Passover. Neander and others deny that this passage can possibly refer to anything but the paschal supper. But it is alleged that the words ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα, may either be taken in a general sense as meaning "that they might go on keeping the passover,"[s] or that τὸ πάσχα may be understood specifically to denote the Chagigah. That it might be so used is rendered probable by Luke xxii. 1; and the Hebrew word which it represents (פֶּסַח), evidently refers equally to the victims for the Chagigah and the paschal lamb (Deut. xvi. 2), where it is commanded that the Passover should be sacrificed "of the flock and the herd."[t] In the plural it is used in the same manner (2 Chr. xxxv. 7, 9). It is moreover to be kept in view that the Passover might be eaten by those who had incurred a degree of legal impurity, and that this was not the case in respect to the Chagigah.[u] Joseph appears not to have participated in the scruple of the other rulers, as he entered the praetorium to beg the body of Jesus (Mark xv. 43). Lightfoot (*Ex. Heb.* in loc.) goes so far as to draw an argument in favour of the 14th being the day of the supper from the very text in question. He says that the slight defilement incurred by entering a Gentile house, had the Jews merely intended to eat the supper in the evening, might have been done away in good time by mere ablution; but that as the festival had actually commenced, and they were probably just about to eat the Chagigah, they could not resort even to such a simple mode of purification.[x]

(*d.*) John xix. 14. "The preparation of the Passover" at first sight would seem as if it must be *the preparation for the Passover* on the 14th, a time set apart for making ready for the paschal week and for the paschal supper in particular. It is naturally so understood by those who advocate the notion that the last supper was eaten on the 13th. But they who take the opposite view affirm that, though there was a regular "preparation" for the Sabbath, there is no mention of any "preparation" for the festivals (Bochart, Reland, Tholuck, Hengstenberg). The word παρασκευή is expressly explained by προσάββατον (Mark xv. 42: Lachmann reads πρὸς σάββατον.) It seems to be essentially connected with the Sabbath itself (John xix. 31).[y] There is no mention whatever of the preparation for the Sabbath in the Old Testament, but it is mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 6, §2), and it would seem from him that the time of preparation formally commenced at the ninth hour of the sixth day of the week. The προσάββατον is

[q] *Pesachim*, iv. 5. The special application of the licence is rather obscure. See Bartenora's note. Comp. also *Pesach*, vi. 2.

[r] This word may mean an outer garment of any form. But it is more frequently used to denote the fringed scarf worn by every Jew in the service of the synagogue (Buxt. Lex. Talm. col. 877).

[s] St. Augustine says, "O impia coecitas! Habitaculo ridiculos contaminarentur alieno, et non contaminarentur sedere proprio? Alienigenae judicis praetorio contaminari timebant, et fratris innocentis sanguine non timebant. Plus enim agere coeperant azymorum: quibus diebus consuetudo illis erat in alienigenae habitaculum intrare" (Tract. cxiv. *in Joan.* xviii. 2).

[t] See p. 717 *b.*, and Schoettgen on John xviii. 28.

[u] See 2 Chr. xxx. 17; also *Pesachim*, vii. 4, with Maimonides' note.

[x] Dr. Fairbairn takes the expression, "that they might eat the Passover," in its limited sense, and supposes that these Jews, in their determined hatred, were willing to put off the meal to the verge of, or even beyond, the legal time (*Herm. Manual*, p. 341).

[y] It cannot, however, be denied that the days of holy convocation are sometimes designated in the O. T. simply as sabbaths (Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 11, 32). It is therefore not quite impossible that the language of the Gospels considered by itself, might refer to them. [PENTECOST.]

named in Judith viii. 6 as one of the times on which devout Jews suspended their fasts. It was called by the Rabbis עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת, *quia est* ערב שבתא (Buxt. *Lex. Talm.* col. 1659). The phrase in John xix. 14 may thus be understood as the preparation of the Sabbath which fell in the Passover week. This mode of taking the expression seems to be justified by Ignatius, who calls the Sabbath which occurred in the festival σάββατον τοῦ πάσχα (*Ep. ad Phil.* 13), and by Socrates, who calls it σάββατον τῆς ἑορτῆς (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 22). If these arguments are admitted, the day of the preparation mentioned in the Gospels might have fallen on the day of holy convocation, the 15th of Nisan.

(*e.*) John xix. 31. "That Sabbath day was a high day"—ἡμέρα μεγάλη. Any Sabbath occurring in the Passover week might have been considered "a high day," as deriving an accession of dignity from the festival. But it is assumed by those who fix the supper on the 13th that the term was applied, owing to the 15th being "a double sabbath," from the coincidence of the day of holy convocation with the weekly festival. Those, on the other hand, who identify the supper with the paschal meal, contend that the special dignity of the day resulted from its being that on which the Omer was offered, and from which were reckoned the fifty days to Pentecost. One explanation of the term seems to be as good as the other.

(*f.*) The difficulty of supposing that our Lord's apprehension, trial, and crucifixion took place on the day of holy convocation has been strongly urged.[z] If many of the rabbinical maxims for the observance of such days which have been handed down to us were then in force, these occurrences certainly could not have taken place. But the statements which refer to Jewish usage in regard to legal proceedings on sacred days are very inconsistent with each other. Some of them make the difficulty equally great whether we suppose the trial to have taken place on the 14th or the 15th. In others, there are exceptions permitted which seem to go far to meet the case before us. For example, the Mishna forbids that a capital offender should be examined in the night, or on the day, before the Sabbath or a feast-day (*Sanhedrim*, iv. 1). This law is modified by the glosses of the Gemara.[a] But if it had been recognised in its obvious meaning by the Jewish rulers, they would have outraged it in as great a degree on the preceding day (*i. e.* the 14th) as on the day of holy convocation before the Sabbath. It was also forbidden to administer justice on a high feast-day, or to carry arms (*Yom Tob*, v. 2). But these prohibitions are expressly distinguished from unconditional precepts, and are reckoned amongst those which may be set aside by circumstances. The members of the Sanhedrim were forbidden to eat any food on the same day after condemning a criminal.[b] Yet we find them intending to "eat the Passover" (John xviii. 28) after pronouncing the sentence (Matt. xxvi. 65, 66).

It was, however, expressly permitted that the Sanhedrim might assemble on the Sabbath as well as on feast-days, not indeed in their usual chamber, but in a place near the court of the women.[c] And there is a remarkable passage in the Mishna in which it is commanded that an elder not submitting to the voice of the Sanhedrim should be kept at Jerusalem till one of the three great festivals, and then executed, in accordance with Deut. xvii. 12, 13 (*Sanhedrim*, x. 4). Nothing is said to lead us to infer that the execution could not take place on one of the days of holy convocation. It is, however, hardly necessary to refer to this, or any similar authority, in respect to the crucifixion, which was carried out in conformity with the sentence of the Roman procurator, not that of the Sanhedrim.

But we have better proof than either the Mishna or the Gemara can afford that the Jews did not hesitate, in the time of the Roman domination, to carry arms and to apprehend a prisoner on a solemn feast-day. We find them at the feast of Tabernacles, on the "great day of the feast," sending out officers to take our Lord, and rebuking them for not bringing Him (John vii. 32-45). St. Peter also was seized during the Passover (Acts xii. 3, 4). And, again, the reason alleged by the rulers for not apprehending Jesus was, not the sanctity of the festival, but the fear of an uproar among the multitude which was assembled (Matt. xxvi. 5).

On the whole, notwithstanding the express declaration of the Law and of the Mishna that the days of holy convocation were to be observed precisely as the Sabbath, except in the preparation of food, it is highly probable that considerable licence was allowed in regard to them, as we have already observed. It is very evident that the festival times were characterised by a free and jubilant character which did not belong, in the same degree, to the Sabbath, and which was plainly not restricted to the days which fell between the days of holy convocation (Lev. xxiii. 40; Deut. xii. 7, xiv. 26: see p. 714). It should also be observed that while the law of the Sabbath was enforced on strangers dwelling amongst the Israelites, such was not the case with the law of the Festivals. A greater freedom of action in cases of urgent need would naturally follow, and it is not difficult to suppose that the women who "rested on the Sabbath-day according to the commandment" had prepared the spices and linen for the intombment on the day of holy convocation. To say nothing of the way in which the question might be affected by the much greater licence permitted by the school of Hillel than by the school of Shammai, in all matters of this kind, it is remarkable that we find, on the Sabbath-day itself, not only Joseph (Mark xv. 43), but the chief priests and Pharisees coming to Pilate, and, as it would seem, entering the praetorium (Matt. xxvii. 62).

3. There is a strange story preserved in the Gemara (*Sanhedrim*, vi. 2) that Our Lord having vainly endeavoured during forty days to find an advocate, was sentenced, and, on the 14th of Nisan, stoned, and afterwards hanged. As we know that the

[z] Especially by Greswell (*Dissert.* iii. 156).

[a] See the notes of Coccelus in Surenhusius, iv. 226.

[b] Bab. Gem. *Sanhedrim*, quoted by Lightfoot on Matt. xxvii. 1. The application of this to the point in hand will, however, hinge on the way in which we understand it not to have been lawful for the Jews to put any man to death (John xviii. 31), and therefore to pronounce sentence in the legal sense. If we suppose that the Roman government had not deprived them of the power of life and death, it may have been to avoid breaking their law, as expressed in *Sanhedrim*, iv. 1, that they wished to throw the matter on the procurator. See Biscoe, *Lectures on the Acts*, p. 164; Scaliger's note in the *Critici Sacri* on John xviii. 31; Lightfoot, *Ex. Heb.*, Matt. xxvi. 3, and John xviii. 31, where the evidence is given which is in favour of the Jews having resigned the right of capital punishment forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

[c] Gem. *Sanhedrim*.

difficulty of the Gospel narratives had been perceived long before this statement could have been written, and as the two opposite opinions on the chief question were both current, the writer might easily have taken up one or the other. The statement cannot be regarded as worth anything in the way of evidence.[d]

Not much use can be made in the controversy of the testimonies of the Fathers. But few of them attempted to consider the question critically. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 23, 24) has recorded the traditions which were in favour of St. John having kept Easter on the 14th of the month. It has been thought that those traditions rather help the conclusion that the supper was on the 14th. But the question on which Eusebius brings them to bear is simply whether the Christian festival should be observed on the 14th, the day ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγόρευτο, on whatever day of the week it might fall, or on the Sunday of the resurrection. It seems that nothing whatever can be safely inferred from them respecting the day of the month of the supper or the crucifixion. Clement of Alexandria and Origen appeal to the Gospel of St. John as deciding in favour of the 13th. Chrysostom expresses himself doubtfully between the two. St. Augustin was in favour of the 14th.[e]

4. It must be admitted that the narrative of St. John, as far as the mere succession of events is concerned, bears consistent testimony in favour of the last supper having been eaten on the evening before the Passover. That testimony, however, does not appear to be so distinct, and so incapable of a second interpretation, as that of the synoptical Gospels, in favour of the meal having been the paschal supper itself, at the legal time (see especially Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 1, 12; Luke xxii. 7). Whether the explanations of the passages in St. John, and of the difficulties resulting from the nature of the occurrences related, compared with the enactments of the Jewish law, be considered satisfactory or not, due weight should be given to the antecedent probability that the meal was no other than the regular Passover, and that the reasonableness of the contrary view cannot be maintained without some artificial theory, having no proper foundation either in Scripture or ancient testimony of any kind.

IV. Meaning of the Passover.

1. Each of the three great festivals contained a reference to the annual course of nature. Two, at least, of them—the first and the last—also commemorated events in the history of the chosen people. The coincidence of the times of their observance with the most marked periods in the process of gathering in the fruits of the earth, has not unnaturally suggested the notion that their agricultural significance is the more ancient; that in fact they were originally harvest feasts observed by the patriarchs, and that their historical meaning was superadded in later times (Ewald, Hupfeld[f]).

It must be admitted that the relation to the natural year expressed in the Passover was less marked than that in Pentecost or Tabernacles, while its historical import was deeper and more pointed. It seems hardly possible to study the history of the Passover with candour and attention, as it stands in the Scriptures, without being driven to the conclusion that it was, at the very first, essentially the commemoration of a great historical fact. That part of its ceremonies which has a direct agricultural reference—the offering of the Omer—holds a very subordinate place.

But as regards the whole of the feasts, it is not very easy to imagine that the rites which belonged to them connected with the harvest, were of patriarchal origin. Such rites were adapted for the religion of an agricultural people, not for that of shepherds like the patriarchs. It would seem, therefore, that we gain but little by speculating on the simple impression conveyed in the Pentateuch, that the feasts were ordained by Moses in their integrity, and that they were arranged with a view to the religious wants of the people when they were to be settled in the Land of Promise.

2. The deliverance from Egypt was regarded as the starting-point of the Hebrew nation. The Israelites were then raised from the condition of bondmen under a foreign tyrant to that of a free people owing allegiance to no one but Jehovah. "Ye have seen," said the Lord, "what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings and brought you unto myself" (Ex. xix. 4). The prophet in a later age spoke of the event as *a creation* and *a redemption* of the nation. God declares Himself to be "the creator of Israel," in immediate connexion with evident allusions to His having brought them out of Egypt; such as His having made "a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters," and His having overthrown "the chariot and horse, the army and the power" (Is.

[d] Other Rabbinical authorities countenance the statement that Christ was executed on the 14th of the month (see Jost, *Judenth.* i. 404). But this seems to be a case in which, for the reason stated above numbers do not add to the weight of the testimony.

[e] Numerous Patristic authorities are stated by Maldonat on Matt. xxvi.

[f] Hupfeld has devised an arrangement of the passages in the Pentateuch bearing on the Passover so as to show, according to this theory, their relative antiquity. The order is as follows:—(1) Ex. xxiii. 14-17; (2) Ex. xxxiv. 18-26; (3) Ex. xiii. 3-10; (4) Ex. xii. 15-20; (5) Ex. xii. 1-14; (6) Ex. xii. 43-50; (7) Num. ix. 10-14.

The view of Baur, that the Passover was an astronomical festival and the lamb a symbol of the sign Aries, and that of Von Bohlen, that it resembled the sun-feast of the Persians, are well exposed by Bähr (*Symbolik*). Our own Spencer has endeavoured in his usual manner to show that many details of the festival were derived from heathen sources, though he admits the originality of the whole.

It may seem at first sight as if some countenance were given to the notion that the feast of unleavened bread was originally a distinct festival from the Passover, by such passages as Lev. xxiii. 5, 6: "In the fourteenth day of the first month at even is the Lord's Passover; and on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord: seven days ye must eat unleavened bread" (see also Num. xxviii. 16, 17). Josephus in like manner speaks of the feast of unleavened bread as "following the Passover" (*Ant.* iii. 10, §5). But such language may mean no more than the distinction between the paschal supper and the seven days of unleavened bread, which is so obviously implied in the fact that the eating of unleavened bread was observed by the country Jews who were at home, though they could not partake of the paschal lamb without going to Jerusalem. Every member of the household had to abstain from leavened bread, but some only went up to the paschal meal. (See Maimon. *De Fermentato et Azymo*, vi. 1.) It is evident that the common usage, in later times at least, was to employ, as equivalent terms, *the feast of the Passover*, and *the feast of unleavened bread* (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 1; Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 2, §1; *B. J.* ii. 1, §3). See note [s], p. 718.

xliii. 1, 15-17). The Exodus was thus looked upon as the birth of the nation; the Passover was its annual birth-day feast. Nearly all the rites of the festival, if explained in the most natural manner, appear to point to this as its primary meaning. It was the yearly memorial of the dedication of the people to Him who had saved their first-born from the destroyer, in order that they might be made holy to Himself. This was the lesson which they were to teach to their children throughout all generations. When the young Hebrew asked his father regarding the paschal lamb, "What is this?" the answer prescribed was, "By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage: and it came to pass when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both the first-born of man and the first-born of beast; therefore I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the womb, being males; but all the first-born of my children I redeem" (Ex. xiii. 14, 15). Hence, in the periods of great national restoration in the times of Joshua, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Ezra, the Passover was observed in a special manner, to remind the people of their true position, and to mark their renewal of the covenant which their fathers had made.

3. (*a*.) The paschal lamb must of course be regarded as the leading feature in the ceremonial of the festival. Some Protestant divines during the last two centuries (Calov, Carpzov), laying great stress on the fact that nothing is said in the law respecting either the imposition of the hands of the priest on the head of the lamb, or the bestowing of any portion of the flesh on the priest, have denied that it was a sacrifice in the proper sense of the word. They appear to have been tempted to take this view, in order to deprive the Romanists of an analogical argument bearing on the Romish doctrine of the Lord's Supper. They affirmed that the lamb was *sacramentum*, not *sacrificium*. But most of their contemporaries (Cudworth, Bochart, Vitringa), and nearly all modern critics, have held that it was in the strictest sense a sacrifice. The chief characteristics of a sacrifice are all distinctly ascribed to it. It was offered in the holy place (Deut. xvi. 5, 6); the blood was sprinkled on the altar, and the fat was burned (2 Chr. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11). Philo and Josephus commonly call it *θῦμα* or *θυσία*. The language of Ex. xii. 27, xxiii. 18, Num. ix. 7, Deut. xvi. 2, 5, together with 1 Cor. v. 7, would seem to decide the question beyond the reach of doubt.

As the original institution of the Passover in Egypt preceded the establishment of the priesthood and the regulation of the service of the tabernacle, it necessarily fell short in several particulars of the observance of the festival according to the fully developed ceremonial law (see II. 1). The head of the family slew the lamb in his own house, not in the holy place: the blood was sprinkled on the doorway, not on the altar. But when the law was perfected, certain particulars were altered in order to assimilate the Passover to the accustomed order of religious service. It has been conjectured that the imposition of the hands of the priest was one of these particulars, though it is not recorded (Kurtz). But whether this was the case or not, the other changes which have been stated seem to be abundantly sufficient for the argument. It can hardly be doubted that the paschal lamb was regarded as the great annual peace-offering of the family, a thank-offering for the existence and preservation of the nation (Ex. xiii. 14-16), the typical sacrifice of the elected and reconciled children of the promise. It was peculiarly the Lord's own sacrifice (Ex. xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25). It was more ancient than the written law, and called to mind that covenant on which the law was based. It retained in a special manner the expression of the sacredness of the whole people, and of the divine mission of the head of every family,[g] according to the spirit of the old patriarchal priesthood. No part of the victim was given to the priest as in other peace-offerings, because the father was the priest himself. The custom, handed on from age to age, thus guarded from superstition the idea of a priesthood placed in the members of a single tribe, while it visibly set forth the promise which was connected with the deliverance of the people from Egypt, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex. xix. 6).[h] In this way it became a testimony in favour of domestic worship. In the historical fact that the blood in later times sprinkled on the altar, had at first had its divinely appointed place on the lintels and door-posts,[i] it was declared that the national altar itself represented the sanctity which belonged to the house of every Israelite, not that only which belonged to the nation as a whole.

A question, perhaps not a wise one, has been raised regarding the purpose of the sprinkling of the blood on the lintels and door-posts. Some have considered that it was meant as a mark to guide the destroying angel. Others suppose that it was merely a sign to confirm the faith of the Israelites in their safety and deliverance.[k] Surely neither of these views can stand alone. The sprinkling must have been an act of faith and obedience which God accepted with favour. "Through faith (we are told) Moses kept the Passover and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the first-born should touch them" (Heb. xi. 28). Whatever else it may have been, it was certainly an essential part of a sacrament, of an "effectual sign of grace and of God's good will," expressing the mutual relation into which the covenant had brought the Creator and the creature. That it also denoted the purification of the children of Israel from the abominations of the Egyptians, and so had the accustomed significance of the sprinkling of blood under the law (Heb. ix. 22), is evidently in entire consistency with this view.

No satisfactory reason has been assigned for the command to choose the lamb four days before the

[g] The fact which has been noticed, II. 3. (*f*), is remarkable in this connexion, that those who had not incurred a degree of impurity sufficient to disqualify them from eating the paschal lamb, were yet not pure enough to take the priestly part in slaying it.

[h] Philo, speaking of the Passover, says, *σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἱεράται, τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἑκάστου τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θυσίας ἀναγόντος τότε καὶ χειρουργοῦντος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἅπας λεὼς ἠγερθεὶ καὶ φαιδρὸς ἦν, ἑκάστου νομίζοντος ἱερωσύνῃ τετιμῆσθαι.*—*De Vit. Mosis*, iii. 29, vol. iv. p. 250, edit. Tauch.

[i] As regards the mere place of sprinkling in the first Passover, on the reason of which there has been some speculation, Bähr reasonably supposes that the lintels and door-posts were selected as the parts of the house most obvious to passers-by, and to which inscriptions of different kinds were often attached. Comp. Deut. vi. 9.

[k] Especially Bochart and Bähr. The former says, "Hoc signum Deo non datum sed Hebraeis ut eo confirmati de liberatione certi sint."

paschal supper. Kurtz (following Hofmann) fancies that the four days signified the four centuries of Egyptian bondage. As in later times, the rule appears not to have been observed (see p. 714, *b.*), the reason of it was probably of a temporary nature.

That the lamb was to be roasted and not boiled, has been supposed to commemorate the haste of the departure of the Israelites.[m] Spencer observes on the other hand that, as they had their cooking vessels with them, one mode would have been as expeditious as the other. Some think that, like the dress and the posture in which the first Passover was to be eaten, it was intended to remind the people that they were now no longer to regard themselves as settled down in a home, but as a host upon the march, roasting being the proper military mode of dressing meat. Kurtz conjectures that the lamb was to be roasted with fire, the purifying element, because the meat was thus left pure, without the mixture even of the water, which would have entered into it in boiling. The meat in its purity would thus correspond in signification with the unleavened bread (see II. 3 (*b.*)).

It is not difficult to determine the reason of the command, "not a bone of him shall be broken." The lamb was to be a symbol of unity; the unity of the family, the unity of the nation, the unity of God with His people whom He had taken into covenant with Himself. While the flesh was divided into portions, so that each member of the family could partake, the skeleton was left one and entire to remind them of the bonds which united them. Thus the words of the law are applied to the body of our Saviour, as the type of that still higher unity of which He was Himself to be the author and centre (John xix. 36).

The same significance may evidently be attached to the prohibition that no part of the meat should be kept for another meal, or carried to another house. The paschal meal in each house was to be one, whole and entire.

(*b.*) The unleavened bread ranks next in importance to the paschal lamb. The notion has been very generally held, or taken for granted, both by Christian and Jewish writers of all ages, that it was intended to remind the Israelites of the unleavened cakes which they were obliged to eat in their hasty flight (Ex. xii. 34, 39). But there is not the least intimation to this effect in the sacred narrative. On the contrary, the command was given to Moses and Aaron that unleavened bread should be eaten with the lamb before the circumstance occurred upon which this explanation is based. Comp. Ex. xii. 8 with xii. 39.

It has been considered by some (Ewald, Winer, and the modern Jews) that the unleavened bread and the bitter herbs alike owe their meaning to their being regarded as unpalatable food. The expression "bread of affliction," לֶחֶם עֹנִי (Deut. xvi. 3), is regarded as equivalent to *fasting-bread*, and on this ground Ewald ascribes something of the character of a fast to the Passover. But this seems to be wholly inconsistent with the pervading joyous nature of the festival. The *bread of affliction* may mean bread which, in present gladness, commemorated, either in itself, or in common with the other elements of the feast, the past affliction of the people (Bähr, Kurtz, Hofmann). It should not be forgotten that unleavened bread was not peculiar to the Passover. The ordinary "meat-offering" was unleavened (Lev. ii. 4, 5, vii. 12, x. 12 &c.), and so was the shewbread (Lev. xxiv. 5-9). The use of unleavened bread in the consecration of the priests (Ex. xxix. 23), and in the offering of the Nazarite (Num. vi. 19), is interesting in relation to the Passover, as being apparently connected with the consecration of the person. On the whole, we are warranted in concluding that unleavened bread had a peculiar sacrificial character, according to the law, and it can hardly be supposed that a particular kind of food should have been offered to the Lord because it was insipid or unpalatable.[n]

It seems more reasonable to accept St. Paul's reference to the subject (1 Cor. v. 6-8) as furnishing the true meaning of the symbol. Fermentation is decomposition, a dissolution of unity. This must be more obvious to ordinary eyes where the leaven in common use is a piece of sour dough, instead of the expedients at present employed in this country to make bread light. The pure dry biscuit, as distinguished from bread thus leavened, would be an apt emblem of unchanged duration, and, in its freedom from foreign mixture, of purity also.[o] If this was the accepted meaning among the Jews, "the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" must have been a clear and familiar expression to St. Paul's Jewish readers. Bähr conceives that as the blood of the lamb figured the act of purifying, the getting rid of the corruptions of Egypt, the unleavened bread signified the abiding state of consecrated holiness.

(*c.*) The bitter herbs are generally understood by the Jewish writers to signify the bitter sufferings which the Israelites had endured[p] (Ex. i. 14). But it has been remarked by Abenezra that these herbs are a good and wholesome accompaniment for meat, and are now, and appear to have been in ancient times, commonly so eaten (see p. 716).

(*d.*) The offering of the Omer, though it is obviously that part of the festival which is immediately connected with the course of the seasons, bore a distinct analogy to its historical significance. It may have denoted a deliverance from winter, as the lamb signified deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, which might well be considered as a winter in the history of the nation.[q] Again, the consecra-

[m] So Bähr and most of the Jewish authorities.

[n] Hupfeld imagines that bread without leaven, being the simplest result of cooked grain, characterised the old agricultural festival which existed before the sacrifice of the lamb was instituted.

[o] The root מָצַץ signifies "to make dry." Kurtz thinks that dryness rather than *sweetness* is the idea in מַצּוֹת. But sweet in this connexion has the sense of *uncorrupted*, or *incorruptible*, and hence is easily connected with dryness. Perhaps our authorized version has lost something in expressiveness by substituting the term "unleavened bread" for the "sweet bread" of the older versions, which still holds its place in 1 Esd. i. 19.

[p] מְרִיר istud comedimus quia amaritudine affecerunt Aegyptii vitam patrum nostrorum in Aegypto.—Maimon. *in Pesachim*, viii. 4.

[q] This application of the rite perhaps derives some support from the form in which the ordinary first-fruit offering was presented in the Temple. [First Fruits.] The call of Jacob ("a Syrian ready to perish"), and the deliverance of his children from Egypt, with their settlement in the land that flowed with milk and honey, were then related (Deut. xxvi. 5-10). It is worthy of notice that, according to *Pesachim*, an exposition of this passage was an important part of the reply which the father gave to his son's inquiry during the paschal supper.

The account of the procession in offering the first-fruits

tion of the first-fruits, the first-born of the soil, is an easy type of the consecration of the first-born of the Israelites. This seems to be countenanced by Ex. xiii. 2-4, where the sanctification of the first-born, and the unleavened bread which figured it, seem to be emphatically connected with the time of year, Abib, *the month of green ears*.[r]

4. No other shadow of good things to come contained in the Law can vie with the festival of the Passover in expressiveness and completeness. Hence we are so often reminded of it, more or less distinctly, in the ritual and language of the Church. Its outline, considered in reference to the great deliverance of the Israelites which it commemorated, and many of its minute details, have been appropriated as current expressions of the truths which God has revealed to us in the fulness of times in sending His Son upon earth.

It is not surprising that ecclesiastical writers should have pushed the comparison too far, and exercised their fancy in the application of trifling or accidental particulars either to the facts of Our Lord's life or to truths connected with it.[s] But, keeping within the limits of sober interpretation indicated by Scripture itself, the application is singularly full and edifying. The deliverance of Israel according to the flesh from the bondage of Egypt was always so regarded and described by the prophets as to render it a most apt type of the deliverance of the spiritual Israel from the bondage of sin into the glorious liberty with which Christ has made us free (see IV. 2). The blood of the first paschal lambs sprinkled on the doorways of the houses has ever been regarded as the best defined foreshadowing of that blood which has redeemed, saved, and sanctified us (Heb. xi. 28). The lamb itself, sacrificed by the worshipper without the intervention of a priest, and its flesh being eaten without reserve as a meal, exhibits the most perfect of peace-offerings, the closest type of the atoning Sacrifice who died for us and has made our peace with God (Is. liii. 7; John i. 29; cf. the expression "my sacrifice," Ex. xxxiv. 25, also Ex. xii. 27; Acts viii. 32; 1 Cor. v. 7; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19). The ceremonial law, and the functions of the priest in later times, were indeed recognised in the sacrificial rite of the Passover; but the previous existence of the rite showed that they were not essential for the personal approach of the worshipper to God (see IV. 3 (*a*.); Is. lxi. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9). The unleavened bread is recognised as the figure of the state of sanctification which is the true element of the believer in Christ[t] (1 Cor. v. 8). The haste with which the meal was eaten, and the girt-up loins, the staves and the sandals, are fit emblems of the life of the Christian pilgrim, ever hastening away from the world towards his heavenly destination[u] (Luke xii. 35; 1 Pet. i. 13, ii. 11; Eph. v. 15; Heb. xi. 13).

It has been well observed by Kurtz (on Ex. xii. 38), that at the very crisis when the distinction between Israel and the nations of the world was most clearly brought out (Ex. xi. 7), a "mixed multitude" went out from Egypt with them (Ex. xii. 38), and that provision was then made for all who were willing to join the chosen seed and participate with them in their spiritual advantages (Ex. xii. 44). Thus, at the very starting-point of national separation, was foreshadowed the calling in of the Gentiles to that covenant in which all nations of the earth were to be blessed.

The offering of the Omer, in its higher signification as a symbol of the first-born, has been already noticed (IV. 3. (*d*)). But its meaning found full expression only in that First-born of all-creation, who, having died and risen again, became "the First-fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20). As the first of the first-fruits, no other offering of the sort seems so likely as the Omer to have immediately suggested the expressions used, Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16; Jam. i. 18; Rev. xiv. 4.

The crowning application of the paschal rites to the truths of which they were the shadowy promises appears to be that which is afforded by the fact that our Lord's death occurred during the festival. According to the Divine purpose, the true Lamb of God was slain at nearly the same time as "the Lord's Passover," in obedience to the letter of the law. It does not seem needful that, in order to give point to this coincidence, we should (as some have done) draw from it an *à priori* argument in favour of our Lord's crucifixion having taken place on the 14th of Nisan (see III. 2. ii.). It is enough to know that our own Holy Week and

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in the Mishna (*Bikurim*), with the probable reference to the subject in Is. xxx. 29, can hardly have anything to do with the Passover. The connexion appears to have been suggested by the tradition mentioned by Abenezra, that the army of Sennacherib was smitten on the night of the Passover. Regarding this tradition, Vitringa says, "Non recipio, nec sperno" (*In Isaiam* xxx. 29).

[r] See Gesenius, *Thes.* In the LXX it is called μὴν τῶν νέων, *sc.* καρπῶν. If *Nisan* is a Semitic word, Gesenius thinks that it means *the month of flowers*, in agreement with a passage in Macarius (*Hom.* xvii.) in which it is called μὴν τῶν ἀνθῶν. But he seems inclined to favour an explanation of the word suggested by a Zend root, according to which it would signify *the month of New Year's day*.

[s] The crossed spits on which Justin Martyr laid stress are noticed, II. 3. (*a*). The subject is expanded by Vitringa, *Observat. Sac.* ii. 10. The time of the new moon, at which the festival was held, has been taken as a type of the brightness of the appearing of the Messiah; the lengthening of the days at that season of the year as figuring the ever-increasing light and warmth of the Redeemer's kingdom; the advanced hour of the day at which the supper was eaten, as a representation of the fulness of times; the roasting of the lamb, as the effect of God's wrath against sin; the thorough cooking of the lamb, as a lesson that Christian doctrine should be well arranged and digested; the prohibition that any part of the flesh should remain till the morning, as a foreshowing of the haste in which the body of Christ was removed from the cross; the unfermented bread, as the emblem of a humble spirit, while fermented bread was the figure of a heart puffed up with pride and vanity. (See Suicer, sub πάσχα.) In the like spirit, Justin Martyr and Lactantius take up the charge against the Jews of corrupting the O. T., with a view to deprive the Passover of its clearness as a witness for Christ. They specifically allege that the following passage has been omitted in the copies of the book of Ezra:—"Et dixit Esdras ad populum: Hoc pascha salvator noster est, et refugium nostrum. Cogitate et ascendat in cor vestrum, quoniam habemus humiliare eum in signo: et post haec sperabimus in eum, ne deseratur hic locus in aeternum tempus." (Just. Mart. *Dialog. cum Tryp.*; Lact. *Inst.* iv. 18.) It has been conjectured that the words may have been inserted between vers. 20 and 21 in Ezr. vi. But they have been all but universally regarded as spurious.

[t] The use which the Fathers made of this may be seen in Suicer, *s. v.* ἄζυμος.

[u] See Theodoret, *Interrog. XXIV. in Exod.* There is an eloquent passage on the same subject in Greg. Naz. *Orat XLII.*

Easter stand as the anniversary of the same great facts as were foreshown in those events of which the yearly Passover was a commemoration.

As compared with the other festivals, the Passover was remarkably distinguished by a single victim essentially its own, sacrificed in a very peculiar manner.[x] In this respect, as well as in the place it held in the ecclesiastical year, it had a formal dignity and character of its own. It was the representative festival of the year, and in this unique position it stood in a certain relation to circumcision as the second sacrament of the Hebrew Church (Ex. xii. 44). We may see this in what occurred at Gilgal, when Joshua, in renewing the Divine covenant, celebrated the Passover immediately after the circumcision of the people. But the nature of the relation in which these two rites stood to each other did not become fully developed until its types were fulfilled, and the Lord's Supper took its place as the sacramental feast of the elect people of God.[y] Hupfeld well observes: "En pulcherrima mysteriorum nostrorum exempla: circumcisio quidem baptismatis, scilicet signum gratiae divinae et foederis cum Deo pacti, quo ad sanctitatem populi sacri vocamur; Paschalis vero agnus et ritus, continuatae quippe gratiae divinae et servati foederis cum Deo signum et pignus, quo sacra et cum Deo et cum coeteris populi sacri membris communio atque renovatur et alitur, coenae Christi sacrae typus aptissimus!"

LITERATURE. — Mishna, *Pesachim*, with the notes in Surenhusius; Bähr, *Symbolik*, b. iv. c. 3; Hupfeld, *De Fest. Hebr.*; Bochart, *De Agno Paschali* (vol. i. of the *Hierozoicon*); Ugolini, *De Libibus in Coen. Dom. ex Pasch. illustr.* (vol. xvii. of the *Thesaurus*); Maimonides, *De Fermentato et Azymo*; Rosenmüller, *Scholia in* Ex. xii., &c.; Otho, *Lex. Rab. s. Pascha*; Carpzov, *App. Crit.*; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, and *Hor. Hebr. on* Matt. xxvi., *John* xiii., &c.; Vitringa, *Obs. Sac.* lib. ii. 3, 10; Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 3; Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* ii. 4; Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, ii. 288 sqq. (Clark's edit.); Hottinger, *De Ritu dimittendi Reum in Fest. Pasch.* (*Thes. Nov. Theologico-Philolog.* vol. ii.); Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* xviii.; Cudworth, *True Notion of the Lord's Supper.*

More especially on the question respecting the Lord's Supper, Robinson, *Harmony of the Gospels*, and *Bibliotheca Sacra* for Aug. 1845; Tholuck, on John xiii.; Stier, on John xii.; Kuinoel, on Matt. xxvi.; Neander, *Life of Christ*, §265; Greswell, *Harm. Evang.* and *Dissertations*; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synops. der vier Evang.*; Tischendorf, *Syn. Evang.* p. xlv.; Bleek, *Dissert. ueber den Monatstag des Todes Christi* (*Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, 1846); Frischmuth, *Dissertatio*, &c. (*Thes. Theol. Philolog.*); Harenberg, *Demonstratio*, &c. (*Thes. Novus Theol. Phil.* vol. ii.). Tholuck praises, Eude, *Demonstratio quod Chr. in Coen. σταυρωσίμῳ agnum paschalem non comederit*, Lips. 1742. Ellicott, *Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, p. 320; Fairbairn, *Hermeneutical Manual*, ii. 9; Davidson, *Introduction to N. T.* i. 102. [S. C.]

PAT'ARA (Πάταρα: the noun is plural), a Lycian city of some considerable note. One of its characteristics in the heathen world was that it was devoted to the worship of Apollo, and was the seat of a famous oracle (Hor. *Od.* iii. 4, 64). Fellows says that the coins of all the district around show the ascendancy of this divinity. Patara was situated on the south-western shore of Lycia, not far from the left bank of the river Xanthus. The coast here is very mountainous and bold. Immediately opposite is the island of RHODES. Patara was practically the seaport of the city of Xanthus, which was ten miles distant (Appian, *B. C.* iv. 81). These notices of its position and maritime importance introduce us to the single mention of the place in the Bible (Acts xxi. 1, 2). St. Paul was on his way to Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey. He had just come from Rhodes (v. 1); and at Patara he found a ship, which was on the point of going to Phoenicia (v. 2), and in which he completed his voyage (v. 3). This illustrates the mercantile connexion of Patara with both the eastern and western parts of the Levant. A good parallel to the Apostle's voyage is to be found in Liv. xxxvii. 16. There was no time for him to preach the Gospel here, but still Patara has a place in ecclesiastical history, having been the seat of a bishop (*Hierocl.* p. 684). The old name remains on the spot, and there are still considerable ruins, especially a theatre, some baths, and a triple arch which was one of the gates of the city. But sand-hills are gradually concealing these ruins, and have blocked up the harbour. For fuller details we must refer to Beaufort's *Karamania*, the *Ionian Antiquities* published by the Dilettanti Society, Fellows' *Lycia and Asia Minor*, and the *Travels in Asia Minor* by Spratt and Forbes. [LYCIA; MYRA.] [J. S. H.]

PATHE'US (Παθαῖος; Alex. Φαθαῖος: *Facteus*). The same as PETHAHIAH the Levite (1 Esdr. ix. 23; comp. Ezr. x. 23).

PATH'ROS (פַּתְרוֹם: Παθούρης, Φαθωρῆς: *Phetros, Phatures, Phathures*), gent. noun PATHRUSIM (פַּתְרֻסִים: Πατροσωνιείμ: *Phetrusim*), a part of Egypt, and a Mizraite tribe. That Pathros was in Egypt admits of no question: we have to attempt to decide its position more nearly. In the list of the Mizraites, the Pathrusim occur after the Naphtuhim, and before the Casluhim; the latter being followed by the notice of the Philistines, and by the Caphtorim (Gen. x. 13, 14; 1 Chr. i. 12). Isaiah prophesies the return of the Jews "from Mizraim, and from Pathros, and from Cush" (xi. 11). Jeremiah predicts their ruin to "all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros" (xliv. 1), and their reply is given, after this introduction, "Then all the men which knew that their wives had burned incense unto other gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah"

[x] The only parallel case to this, in the whole range of the public religious observances of the law, seems to be that of the scapegoat of the day of atonement.

[y] It is worthy of remark that the modern Jews distinguish these two rites above all others, as being immediately connected with the grand fulfilment of the promises made to their fathers. Though they refer to the coming of Elijah in their ordinary grace at meals, it is only on these occasions that their expectation of the harbinger of the Messiah is expressed by formal observances. When a child is circumcised, an empty chair is placed at hand for the prophet to occupy. At the paschal meal, a cup of wine is poured out for him; and at an appointed moment the door of the room is solemnly set open for him to enter. (See note [r], p. 715.)

(15). Ezekiel speaks of the return of the captive Egyptians to "the land of Pathros, into the land of their birth" (xxix. 14), and mentions it with Egyptian cities, Noph preceding it, and Zoan, No, Sin, Noph again, Aven (On), Pi-beseth, and Tehaphnehes following it (xxx. 13-18). From the place of the Pathrusim in the list of the Mizraites, they might be supposed to have settled in Lower Egypt, or the more northern part of Upper Egypt. Four only of the Mizraite tribes or peoples can be probably assigned to Egypt, the last four, the Philistines being considered not to be one of these, but merely a colony: these are the Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim. The first were either settled in Lower Egypt, or just beyond its western border; and the last in Upper Egypt, about Coptos. It seems, if the order be geographical, as there is reason to suppose, that it is to be inferred that the Pathrusim were seated in Lower Egypt, or not much above it, unless there be any transposition; but that some change has been made is probable from the parenthetic notice of the Philistines following the Casluhim, whereas it appears from other passages that it should rather follow the Caphtorim. If the original order were Pathrusim, Caphtorim, Casluhim, then the first might have settled in the highest part of Upper Egypt, and the other two below them. The mention in Isaiah would lead us to suppose that Pathros was Upper Egypt, if there were any sound reason for the idea that Mizraim or Mazor is ever used for Lower Egypt, which we think there is not. Rödiger's conjecture that Pathros included part of Nubia is too daring to be followed (*Encyclop. Germ.* sect. iii. tom. xiii. p. 312), although there is some slender support for it. The occurrences in Jeremiah seem to favour the idea that Pathros was part of Lower Egypt, or the whole of that region; for although it is mentioned in the prophecy against the Jews as a region where they dwelt after Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph, as though to the south, yet we are told that the prophet was answered by the Jews "that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros," as though Pathros were the region in which these cities were. We have, moreover, no distinct evidence that Jeremiah ever went into Upper Egypt. On the other hand, it may be replied that the cities mentioned are so far apart, that either the prophet must have preached to the Jews in them in succession, or else have addressed letters or messages to them (comp. xxix.). The notice by Ezekiel of Pathros as the land of the birth of the Egyptians seems to favour the idea that it was part of or all Upper Egypt, as the Thebaïs was probably inhabited before the rest of the country (comp. *Hdt.* ii. 15); an opinion supported by the tradition that the people of Egypt came from Ethiopia, and by the 1st dynasty's being of Thinite kings.

Pathros has been connected with the Pathyrite nome, the Phaturite of Pliny (*H. N.* v. 9, §47), in which Thebes was situate. The first form occurs in a Greek papyrus written in Egypt (Παθυρίτης τῆς Θηβαΐδος, Papyr. Anast. vid. Reuvens, *Lettres à M. Letronne,* 3 let. p. 4, 30, ap. Parthey, *Vocab.* s. v.). This identification may be as old as the LXX.; and the Coptic version, which reads ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲑⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ, ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ, does not contradict it. The discovery of the Egyptian name of the town after which the nome was called puts the inquiry on a safer basis. It is written HA-HAT-HER, "The Abode of Hat-her," the Egyptian Venus. It may perhaps have sometimes been written P-HA-HAT-HER, in which case the P-H and T-H would have coalesced in the Hebrew form, as did T-H in Caphtor. [Caphtor.] Such etymologies for the word Pathros as ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-ⲣⲏⲥ "that which is southern," and for the form in the LXX., ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ, "the southern (region)" (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.), must be abandoned.

On the evidence here brought forward, it seems reasonable to consider Pathros to be part of Upper Egypt, and to trace its name in that of the Pathyrite nome. But this is only a very conjectural identification, which future discoveries may overthrow. It is spoken of with cities in such a manner that we may suppose it was but a small district, and (if we have rightly identified it), that when it occurs Thebes is especially intended. This would account for its distinctive mention. [R. S. P.]

PATHRU'SIM. [Pathros.]

PAT'MOS (Πάτμος, Rev. i. 9). Two recent and copious accounts, one by a German, the other by a French, traveller, furnish us with very full information regarding this island. Ross visited it in 1841, and describes it at length (*Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres*, ii. 123-139). Guérin, some years later, spent a month there, and enters into more detail, especially as regards ecclesiastical antiquities and traditions (*Description de l'Ile de Patmos et de l'Ile de Samos*, Paris, 1856, pp. 1-120). Among the older travellers who have visited Patmos we may especially mention Tournefort and Pococke. See also Walpole's *Turkey*, ii. 43.

The aspect of tne island is peculiarly rugged and bare. And such a scene of banishment for St. John in the reign of Domitian is quite in harmony with what we read of the custom of the period. It was the common practice to send exiles to the most rocky and desolate islands ("in asperrima insularum"). See Suet. *Tit.* 8; Juv. *Sat.* i. 73. Such a scene too was suitable (if we may presume to say so) to the sublime and awful Revelation which the Apostle received there. It is possible indeed that there was more greenness in Patmos formerly than now. Its name in the Middle Ages was *Palmosa*. But this has now almost entirely given place to the old classical name; and there is just one palm-tree in the island, in a valley which is called "the Saint's Garden" (ὁ κῆπος τοῦ Ὁσίου). Here and there are a few poor olives, about a score of cypresses, and other trees in the same scanty proportion.

Patmos is divided into two nearly equal parts, a northern and a southern, by a very narrow isthmus, where, on the east side, are the harbour and the town. On the hill to the south, crowning a commanding height, is the celebrated monastery, which bears the name of "John the Divine." Halfway up the ascent is the cave or grotto where tradition says that St. John received the Revelation, and which is still called τὸ σπήλαιον τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως. A view of it (said by Ross to be not very accurate) will be found in Choiseul-Gouffier, i. pl. 57. Both Ross and Guérin give a very full, and a very melancholy, account of the library of the monastery. There were in it formerly 600 MSS. There are now 240, of which Guérin gives a catalogue. Two ought to be mentioned here, which profess to furnish, under the title of αἱ περίοδοι τοῦ Θεολόγου, an account of St. John after the ascension of our Lord.

One of them is attributed to Prochorus, an alleged disciple of St. John; the other is an abridgment of the same by Nicetas, archbishop of Thessalonica. Various places in the island are incorporated in the legend, and this is one of its chief points of interest. There is a published Latin translation in the *Biblioth. Maxima Patrum* (1677, tom. ii.), but with curious modifications, one great object of which is to disengage St. John's martyrdom from Ephesus (where the legend places it), and to fix it in Rome.

We have only to add that Patmos is one of the Sporades, and is in that part of the Aegean which is called the Icarian Sea. It must have been conspicuous on the right when St. Paul was sailing (Acts xx. 15, xxi. 1) from SAMOS to COS. [J. S. H.]

PATRIARCHS. The name πατριάρχης is applied in the N. T. to Abraham (Heb. vii. 4), to the sons of Jacob (Acts vii. 8, 9), and to David (Acts ii. 29); and is apparently intended to be equivalent to the phrase רֹאשׁ בֵּית אָבוֹת, the "head" or "prince of a tribe," so often found in the O. T. It is used in this sense by the LXX. in 1 Chr. xxiv. 31, xxvii. 22; 2 Chr. xxiii. 20, xxvi. 12. In common usage the title of patriarch is assigned especially to those whose lives are recorded in Scripture previous to the time of Moses. By the "patriarchal system" is meant that state of society which developed itself naturally out of family relations, before the formation of nations properly so called, and the establishment of regular government: and by the "patriarchal dispensation" the communion into which God was pleased to enter with the families of Seth, Noah, and Abraham, before the call of the chosen people.

The patriarchal times are naturally divided into the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian periods.

1. In the former the Scripture record contains little except the list of the line from Seth, through Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, and Lamech, to Noah; with the ages of each at their periods of generation and at their deaths. [CHRONOLOGY.] To some extent parallel to this, is given the line of Cain; Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, Methusael, Lamech, and the sons of Lamech, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain. To the latter line are attributed the first signs of material civilization, the building of cities, the division of classes, and the knowledge of mechanical arts; while the only moral record of their history obscurely speaks of violence and bloodshed. [LAMECH.] In the former line the one distinction is their knowledge of the true God (with the constant recollection of the promised "seed of the woman") which is seen in its fullest perfection in Enoch and Noah; and the only allusion to their occupation (Gen. v. 29) seems to show that they continued a pastoral and agricultural race. The entire corruption, even of the chosen family of Seth, is traced (in Gen. vi. 1-4) to the union between "the sons of God" and "the daughters of men" (Heb. "of Adam"). This union is generally explained by the ancient commentators of a contact with supernatural powers of evil in the persons of fallen angels; most modern interpretation refers it to intermarriage between the lines of Seth and Cain. The latter is intended to avoid the difficulties attaching to the comprehension of the former view, which nevertheless is undoubtedly far more accordant with the usage of the phrase "sons of God" in the O. T. (comp. Job i. 6, xxxviii. 7), and with the language of the passage in Genesis itself. (See Maitland's *Eruvin*, Essay vi.)

One of the main questions raised as to the antediluvian period turns on the longevity assigned to the patriarchs. With the single exception of Enoch (whose departure from the earth at 365 years of age is exceptional in every sense), their ages vary from 777 (Lamech) to 969 (Methuselah). It is to be observed that this longevity disappears gradually after the Flood. To Shem are assigned 600 years; and thence the ages diminish down to Terah (205 years), Abraham (175), Isaac (180), Jacob (147), and Joseph (110).[a]

This statement of ages is clear and definite. To suppose, with some, that the name of each patriarch denotes a clan or family, and his age its duration, or, with others, that the word שָׁנָה (because it properly signifies "iteration") may, in spite of its known and invariable usage for "year," denote a lunar revolution instead of a solar one (*i. e.* a month instead of a year) in this passage, appears to be a mere evasion of difficulty.[b] It must either be accepted, as a plain statement of fact, or regarded as purely fabulous, like the legendary assignment of immense ages to the early Indian or Babylonian or Egyptian kings.

The latter alternative is adopted without scruple by many of the German commentators, some of whom attempt to find such significance in the patriarchal names as to make them personify natural powers or human qualities, like the gods and demigods of mythology. It belongs of course to the mythical view of Scripture, destroying its claim, in any sense, to authority and special inspiration.

In the acceptance of the literal meaning, it is not easy to say how much difficulty is involved. With our scanty knowledge of what is really meant by "dying of old age," with the certainty that very great effects are produced on the duration of life, both of men and animals, by even slight changes of habits and circumstances, it is impossible to say what might be *a priori* probable in this respect in the antediluvian period, or to determine under what conditions the process of continual decay and reconstruction, which sustains animal life, might be indefinitely prolonged. The constant attribution in all legends of great age to primeval men is at least as likely to be a distortion of fact, as a mere invention of fancy. But even if the difficulty were greater than it is, it seems impossible to conceive that a book, given by Inspiration of God to be a treasure for all ages, could be permitted to contain a statement of plain facts, given undoubtingly, and with an elaborate show of accuracy, and yet purely and gratuitously fabulous, in no sense bearing on its great religious subject. If the Divine origin of Scripture be believed, its authority must be accepted in this, as in other cases; and the list of the ages

[a] The Hebrew text is here taken throughout: for the variations in the LXX. and the Samaritan Pentateuch, see CHRONOLOGY.

[b] It is likely enough that the year (as in so many ancient calendars) may be a lunar year of 354 or 355 days, or even a year of 10 months: but this makes no real difference. It is possible that there may be some corruption in the text, which may affect the numbers given; but the longevity of the patriarchs is noticed and commented upon, as a well-known fact, by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3, §9).

of the patriarchs be held to be (what it certainly claims to be) a statement of real facts.

2. It is in the post-diluvian periods that more is gathered as to the nature of the patriarchal history.

It is at first general in its scope. The "Covenant" given to Noah is one, free from all condition, and fraught with natural blessings, extending to all alike; the one great command (against bloodshed) which marks it, is based on a deep and universal ground; the fulfilment of the blessing, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth," is expressly connected, first with an attempt to set up an universal kingdom round a local centre, and then (in Gen. x.) with the formation of the various nations by conquest or settlement, and with the peopling of all the world. But the history soon narrows itself to that of a single tribe or family, and afterwards touches the general history of the ancient world and its empires, only so far as it bears upon this.

It is in this last stage that the principle of the patriarchal dispensation is most clearly seen. It is based on the sacredness of family ties and paternal authority. This authority, as the only one which is natural and original, is inevitably the foundation of the earliest form of society, and is probably seen most perfectly in wandering tribes, where it is not affected by local attachments and by the acquisition of wealth. It is one, from the nature of the case, limited in its scope, depending more on its sacredness than its power, and giving room for much exercise of freedom; and, as it extends from the family to the tribe, it must become less stringent and less concentrated, in proportion to its wider diffusion. In Scripture this authority is consecrated by an ultimate reference to God, as the God of the patriarch, the Father (that is) both of him and his children. Not, of course, that the idea of God's Fatherhood carried with it the knowledge of man's personal communion with His nature (which is revealed by the Incarnation); it rather implied faith in His protection, and a free and loving obedience to His authority, with the hope (more or less assured) of some greater blessing from Him in the coming of the promised seed. At the same time, this faith was not allowed to degenerate, as it was prone to do, into an appropriation of God, as the mere tutelary God of the tribe. The Lord, it is true, suffers Himself to be called "the God of Shem, of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob;" but He also reveals Himself (and that emphatically, as though it were His peculiar title) as the "God Almighty" (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11); He is addressed as the "Judge of all the earth" (xviii. 25), and as such is known to have intercourse with Pharaoh and Abimelech (xii. 17, xx. 3-8), to hallow the priesthood of Melchizedek (xiv. 18-20), and to execute wrath on Sodom and Gomorrah. All this would confirm what the generality of the covenant with Noah, and of the promise of blessing to "all nations" in Abraham's seed must have distinctly taught, that the chosen family were, not substitutes, but representatives, of all mankind, and that God's relation to them was only a clearer and more perfect type of that in which He stood to all.

Still the distinction and preservation of the chosen family, and the maintenance of the paternal authority, are the special purposes, which give a key to the meaning of the history, and of the institutions recorded. For this the birthright (probably carrying with it the priesthood) was reserved to the first-born, belonging to him by inheritance, yet not assured to him till he received his father's blessing; for this the sanctity of marriage was jealously and even cruelly guarded, as in Gen. xxxiv. 7, 13, 31 (Dinah), and in xxxviii. 24 (Tamar's); from the licence of the world without; and all intermarriage with idolaters was considered as treason to the family and the God of Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1, 6-9). Natural obedience and affection are the earthly virtues especially brought out in the history, and the sins dwelt upon (from the irreverence of Ham to the selling of Joseph), are all such as offend against these.

The type of character formed under it, is one imperfect in intellectual and spiritual growth, because not yet tried by the subtler temptations, or forced to contemplate the deeper questions of life; but it is one remarkably simple, affectionate, and free, such as would grow up under a natural authority, derived from God and centering in Him, yet allowing, under its unquestioned sacredness, a familiarity and freedom of intercourse with Him, which is strongly contrasted with the stern and awful character of the Mosaic dispensation. To contemplate it from a Christian point of view is like looking back on the unconscious freedom and innocence of childhood, with that deeper insight and strength of character which are gained by the experience of manhood. We see in it the germs of the future, of the future revelation of God, and the future trials and development of man.

It is on this fact that the typical interpretation of its history depends, an interpretation sanctioned directly by the example of St. Paul (Gal. iv. 21-31; Heb. vii. 1-17), indirectly supported by other passages of Scripture (Matt. xxiv. 37-39; Luke xvii. 28-32; Rom. ix. 10-13, &c.), and instinctively adopted by all who have studied the history itself.

Even in the brief outline of the ante-diluvian period, we may recognize the main features of the history of the world, the division of mankind into the two great classes, the struggle between the power of evil and good, the apparent triumph of the evil, and its destruction in the final judgment. In the post-diluvian history of the chosen family, is seen the distinction of the true believers, possessors of a special covenant, special revelation, and special privileges, from the world without. In it is therefore shadowed out the history of the Jewish Nation and Christian Church, as regards the freedom of their covenant, the gradual unfolding of their revelation, and the peculiar blessings and temptations which belong to their distinctive position.

It is but natural that the unfolding of the characters of the patriarchs under this dispensation should have a typical interest. Abraham, as the type of a faith, both brave and patient, gradually and continuously growing under the education of various trials, stands contrasted with the lower character of Jacob, in whom the same faith is seen, tainted with deceit and selfishness, and needing therefore to be purged by disappointment and suffering. Isaac in the passive gentleness and submissiveness, which characterizes his whole life, and is seen especially in his willingness to be sacrificed by the hand of his father, and Joseph, in the more active spirit of love, in which he rejoiced to save

his family and to forgive those who had persecuted and sold him, set forth the perfect spirit of sonship, and are seen to be types especially of Him, in whom alone that spirit dwelt in all fulness.

This typical character in the hands of the mythical school is, of course, made an argument against the historical reality of the whole; those who recognise an unity of principle in God's dispensations at all times, will be prepared to find, even in their earliest and simplest form, the same features which are more fully developed in their later periods. [A. B.]

PATROBAS (Πατροβᾶς: *Patrobas*). A Christian at Rome to whom St. Paul sends his salutation (Rom. xvi. 14). According to late and uncertain tradition, he was one of the 70 disciples, became bishop of Puteoli (Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De LXX. Apostolis*), and suffered martyrdom together with Philologus on Nov. 4th (Estius). Like many other names mentioned in Rom. xvi., this was borne by at least one member of the emperor's household (Suet. *Galba*, 20; Martial, *Ep.* ii. 32, 3). Probably the name is a contraction, like others of the same termination, and stands for Πατρόβιος (see Wolf, *Cur. Philolog.*). [W. T. B.]

PATROCLUS (Πάτροκλος: *Patroclus*), the father of Nicanor, the famous adversary of Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc. viii. 9).

PAÜ (פָּעוּ, but in 1 Chr. i. 50, PAI, פָּעִי, though some copies agree with the reading in Gen.: Φογώρ: *Phau*), the capital of Hadar, king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 39). Its position is unknown. The only name that bears any resemblance to it is *Phaiara*, a ruined place in Idumaea mentioned by Seetzen. [W. L. B.]

PAUL (Παῦλος: *Paulus*), the Apostle of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles.

Original Authorities.—Nearly all the original materials for the Life of St. Paul are contained in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Pauline Epistles. Out of a comparison of these authorities the biographer of St. Paul has to construct his account of the really important period of the Apostle's life. The early traditions of the Church appear to have left almost untouched the space of time for which we possess those sacred and abundant sources of knowledge; and they aim only at supplying a few particulars in the biography beyond the points at which the narrative of the Acts begins and terminates.

The history and the Epistles lie side by side, and are to all appearance quite independent of one another. It was not the purpose of the historian to write a life of St. Paul, even as much as the received name of his book would seem to imply. The book called the Acts of the Apostles is an account of the beginnings of the kingdom of Christ on the earth. The large space which St. Paul occupies in it is due to the important part which he bore in spreading that kingdom. As to the Epistles, nothing can be plainer than that they were written without reference to the history; and there is no attempt in the Canon to combine them so as to form what we should call in modern phrase the Apostle's "Life and Letters." What amount of agreement, and what amount of discrepancy, may be observed between these independent authorities, is a question of the greatest interest and importance, and one upon which various opinions are entertained. The most adverse and extreme criticism is ably represented by Dr. Baur of Tübingen,[a] who finds so much opposition between what he holds to be the few authentic Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, that he pronounces the history to be an interested fiction. But his criticism is the very caricature of captiousness. We have but to imagine it applied to any history and letters of acknowledged authenticity, and we feel irresistibly how arbitrary and unhistorical it is. Putting aside this extreme view, it is not to be denied that difficulties are to be met with in reconciling completely the Acts and the received Epistles of St. Paul. What the solutions of such difficulties may be, whether there are any direct contradictions, how far the apparent differences may be due to the purpose of the respective writers, by what arrangement all the facts presented to us may best be dove-tailed together,—these are the various questions which have given so much occupation to the critics and expositors of St. Paul, and upon some of which it seems to be yet impossible to arrive at a decisive conclusion.

We shall assume the Acts of the Apostles to be a genuine and authentic work of St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul, and shall speak of the Epistles at the places which we believe them to occupy in the history

Prominent points in the Life.—It may be well to state beforehand a few of the principal occurrences upon which the great work done by St. Paul in the world is seen to depend, and which therefore serve as landmarks in his life. Foremost of all is his *Conversion*. This was the main root of his whole life, outward and inward. Next after this, we may specify his *Labours at Antioch*. From these we pass to the *First Missionary Journey*, in the eastern part of Asia Minor, in which St. Paul first assumed the character of the Apostle of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles. *The Visit to Jerusalem*, for the sake of settling the question of the relation of Gentile converts to the Jewish law, was a critical point, both in the history of the Church and of the Apostle. *The introduction of the Gospel into Europe*, with the memorable visits to Philippi, Athens, and Corinth, was the boldest step in the carrying out of St. Paul's mission. A third great missionary journey, chiefly characterized by a long *stay at Ephesus*, is further interesting from its connexion with four leading Epistles. This was immediately followed by the *apprehension of St. Paul at Jerusalem*, and *his imprisonment at Caesarea*. And the last event of which we have a full narrative is the *Voyage to Rome*.

The relation of these events to external chronology will be considered at the end of the article.

Saul of Tarsus, before his Conversion.—Up to the time of his going forth as an avowed preacher of Christ *to the Gentiles*, the Apostle was known by the name of Saul. This was the Jewish name which he received from his Jewish parents. But though a Hebrew of the Hebrews, he was born in a Gentile city. Of his parents we know nothing,[b]

[a] In his *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, Stuttgart, 1845.

[b] The story mentioned by Jerome (*Script. Eccl. Cat.* 'Paulus') that St. Paul's parents lived at Gischala in Galilee, and that, having been born there, the infant Saul emigrated with his parents to Tarsus upon the taking of that city by the Romans, is inconsistent with the fact that Gischala was not taken until a much later time, and

except that his father was of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. iii. 5), and a Pharisee (Acts xxiii. 6), that he had acquired by some means the Roman franchise ("I was free born," Acts xxii. 28), and that he was settled in Tarsus. "I am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city" (Acts xxi. 39). Our attention seems to be specially called to this birthplace and early home of Saul by the repeated mention of it in connexion with his name. Here he must have learnt to use the Greek language with freedom and mastery in both speaking and writing; and the general tone and atmosphere of a cultivated community cannot have been without their effect upon his highly susceptible nature. At Tarsus also he learnt that trade of σκηνοποιός (Acts xviii. 3), at which he afterwards occasionally wrought with his own hands. There was a goat's-hair cloth called *Cilicium*, manufactured in Cilicia, and largely used for tents. Saul's trade was probably that of making tents of this haircloth. It does not follow that the family were in the necessitous condition which such manual labour commonly implies; for it was a wholesome custom amongst the Jews, to teach every child some trade, though there might be little prospect of his depending upon it for his living.

When St. Paul makes his defence before his countrymen at Jerusalem (Acts xxii.), he tells them that though born in Tarsus, he had been "brought up" (ἀνατεθραμμένος) in Jerusalem. He must, therefore, have been yet a boy, when he was removed, in all probability for the sake of his education, to the Holy City of his fathers. We may imagine him arriving there, perhaps at some age[c] between 10 and 15, already a Hellenist, speaking Greek and familiar with the Greek version of the Scriptures, possessing, besides the knowledge of his trade, the elements of Gentile learning,—to be taught at Jerusalem "according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers." He learnt, he says, "at the feet of Gamaliel." He who was to resist so stoutly the usurpations of the law, had for his teacher one of the most eminent of all the doctors of the law. [GAMALIEL.] It is singular, that on the occasion of his well-known intervention in the Apostolical history, the master's counsels of toleration are in marked contrast to the persecuting zeal so soon displayed by the pupil. The temper of Gamaliel himself was moderate and candid, and he was personally free from bigotry; but his teaching was that of the strictest of the Pharisees, and bore its natural fruit when lodged in the ardent and thorough-going nature of Saul. Other fruits, besides that of a zeal which persecuted the Church, may no doubt be referred to the time when Saul sat at the feet of Gamaliel. A thorough training in the Scriptures and in the traditions of the elders under an acute and accomplished master, must have done much to exercise the mind of Saul, and to make him feel at home in the subjects in which he was afterwards to be so intensely interested. And we are not at all bound to suppose that, because his zeal for the law was strong enough to set him upon persecuting the believers in Jesus, he had therefore experienced none of the doubts and struggles which, according to his subsequent testimony, it was the nature of the law to produce. On the contrary, we can scarcely imagine these as absent from the spiritual life of Saul as he passed from boyhood to manhood. Earnest persecutors are, oftener than not, men who have been tormented by inward struggles and perplexities. The pupil of Gamaliel may have been crushing a multitude of conflicts in his own mind when he threw himself into the holy work of extirpating the new heresy.

Saul was yet "a young man" (νεανίας, Acts vii. 58), when the Church experienced that sudden expansion which was connected with the ordaining of the Seven appointed to serve tables, and with the special power and inspiration of Stephen. Amongst those who disputed with Stephen were some "of them of Cilicia." We naturally think of Saul as having been one of these, when we find him afterwards keeping the clothes of those suborned witnesses who, according to the law (Deut. xvii. 7), were the first to cast stones at Stephen. "Saul," says the sacred writer, significantly, "was consenting unto his death." The angelic glory that shone from Stephen's face, and the Divine truth of his words, failing to subdue the spirit of religious hatred now burning in Saul's breast, must have embittered and aggravated its rage. Saul was passing through a terrible crisis for a man of his nature. But he was not one to be moved from his stern purpose by the native refinement and tenderness which he must have been stifling within him. He was the most unwearied and unrelenting of persecutors. "As for Saul, he made havoc of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison" (Acts viii. 3).

Saul's Conversion.—The persecutor was to be converted. What the nature of that conversion was, we are now to observe.—Having undertaken to follow up the believers "unto strange cities," Saul naturally turned his thoughts to Damascus, expecting to find, amongst the numerous Jewish residents of that populous city, some adherents of "the way" (τῆς ὁδοῦ), and trusting, we must presume, to be allowed by the connivance of the governor to apprehend them. What befell him as he journeyed thither, is related in detail three times in the Acts, first by the historian in his own person, then in the two addresses made by St. Paul at Jerusalem and before Agrippa. These three narratives are not repetitions of one another: there are differences between them which some critics choose to consider irreconcilable. Considering that the same author is responsible for all the accounts, we gain nothing, of course, for the authenticity of their statements by bringing them into agreement; but it seems pretty clear that the author himself could not have been conscious of any contradictions in the narratives. He can scarcely have had any motive for placing side by side inconsistent reports of St. Paul's conversion; and that he should have admitted inconsistencies on such a matter through mere carelessness, is hardly credible. Of the three narratives, that of the historian himself must claim to be the most purely

with the Apostle's own statement that he was born at Tarsus (Acts xxii. 3).

[c] His words in the speech before Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 4, 5), according to the received text, refer exclusively to his life at Jerusalem. But if we read, with the better authorities, ἔν τε Ἱερ. for ἐν Ἱερ. he may be speaking of the life he led "amongst his own people" at Tarsus or elsewhere, *as well as* of his residence at Jerusalem.

historical: St. Paul's subsequent accounts were likely to be affected by the purpose for which he introduced them. St. Luke's statement is to be read in Acts ix. 3-19, where, however, the words "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," included in the Vulgate and English version, ought to be omitted. The sudden light from heaven; the voice of Jesus speaking with authority to His persecutor; Saul struck to the ground, blinded, overcome; the three days' suspense; the coming of Ananias as a messenger of the Lord; and Saul's baptism;—these were the leading features, in the eyes of the historian, of the great event, and in these we must look for the chief significance of the conversion.

Let us now compare the historical relation with those which we have in St. Paul's speeches (Acts xxii. and xxvi.). The reader will do well to consider each in its place. But we have here to deal with the bare facts of agreement or difference. With regard to the light, the speeches add to what St. Luke tells us that the phenomenon occurred at mid-day, and that the light shone round, and was visible to, Saul's companions as well as himself. The 2nd speech says, that at the shining of this light, the whole company ("we all") fell to the ground. This is not *contradicted* by what is said, ix. 7, "the men which journeyed with him stood speechless," for there is no emphasis on "stood," nor is the standing antithetical to Saul's falling down. We have but to suppose the others rising before Saul, or standing still afterwards in greater perplexity, through not seeing or hearing what Saul saw and heard, to reconcile the narratives without forcing either. After the question, "Why persecutest thou me?" the 2nd speech adds, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads." Then both the speeches supply a question and answer—"I answered, who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus (of Nazareth), whom thou persecutest." In the direction to go into Damascus and await orders there, the 1st speech agrees with Acts ix. But whereas according to that chapter the men with Saul "heard the voice," in the 1st speech it is said "they heard not the voice of him that spake to me." It seems reasonable to conclude from the two passages, that the men actually heard sounds, but not, like Saul, an articulate voice. With regard to the visit of Ananias, there is no collision between the 9th chapter and the 1st speech, the latter only attributing additional words to Ananias. The 2nd speech ceases to give details of the conversion after the words, "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But rise and stand on thy feet." St. Paul adds, from the mouth of Jesus, an exposition of the purpose for which He had appeared to him. It is easy to say that in ascribing these words to Jesus, St. Paul as his professed reporter is violating the order and sequence of the earlier accounts. But, if we bear in mind the nature and purpose of St. Paul's address before Agrippa, we shall surely not suppose that he is violating the strict truth, when he adds to the words which Jesus spoke to him at the moment of the light and the sound, without interposing any reference to a later occasion, that fuller exposition of the meaning of the crisis through which he was passing, which he was not to receive till afterwards. What Saul actually heard from Jesus on the way as he journeyed, was afterwards interpreted, to the mind of Saul, into those definite expressions.

For we must not forget that, whatever we hold as to the external nature of the phenomena we are considering, the whole transaction was essentially, in any case, a *spiritual* communication. That the Lord Jesus manifested Himself as a Living Person to the man Saul, and spoke to him so that His very words could be understood, is the substantial fact declared to us. The purport of the three narratives is that an actual conversation took place between Saul and the Lord Jesus. It is remarkable that in none of them is Saul said to have *seen* Jesus. The grounds for believing that he did are the two expressions of Ananias (Acts ix. 17), "The Lord Jesus, who appeared unto thee in the way," and (Acts xxii. 14) "That thou shouldest see the Just One," and the statement of St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 8), "Last of all He was seen of me also." Comparing these passages with the narratives, we conclude, either that Saul had an instantaneous vision of Jesus as the flash of light blinded him, or that the "seeing" was that apprehension of His presence which would go with a real conversation. *How* it was that Saul "saw" and "heard" we are quite unable to determine. That the light, and the sound or voice, were both different from any ordinary phenomena with which Saul and his companions were familiar, is unquestionably implied in the narrative. It is also implied that they were specially significant to Saul, and not to those with him. We gather therefore that there were real outward phenomena, through which Saul was made inwardly sensible of a Presence revealed to him alone.

Externally there was a flash of light. Spiritually "the light of the gospel of the glory of the Christ, who is the image of God," shone upon Saul, and convicted the darkness of the heart which had shut out Love and knew not the glory of the Cross. Externally Saul fell to the ground. Spiritually he was prostrated by shame, when he knew whom he had been persecuting. Externally sounds issued out of heaven. Spiritually the Crucified said to Saul, with tender remonstrance, "I am Jesus, why persecutest thou me?" Whether audibly to his companions, or audibly to the Lord Jesus only, Saul confessed himself in the spirit the servant of Him whose name he had hated. He gave himself up, without being able to see his way, to the disposal of Him whom he now knew to have vindicated His claim over him by the very sacrifice which formerly he had despised. The Pharisee was converted, once for all, into a disciple of Jesus the Crucified.

The only mention in the Epistles of St. Paul of the outward phenomena attending his conversion is that in 1 Cor. xv. 8, "Last of all He was seen of me also." But there is one important passage in which he speaks distinctly of his conversion itself. Dr. Baur (*Paulus*, p. 64), with his readiness to find out discrepancies, insists that this passage represents quite a different process from that recorded in the Acts. It is manifestly not a repetition of what we have been reading and considering, but it is in the most perfect harmony with it. In the Epistle to the Galatians (i. 15, 16) St. Paul has these words: "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by His grace, *to reveal His Son in me*, that I might preach Him among the heathen . . ." (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί). What words could express more exactly than these the spiritual experience which occurred to Saul on the way to Damascus? The manifestation of Jesus as the Son

of God is clearly the main point in the narrative. This manifestation was brought about through a removal of the veils of prejudice and ignorance which blinded the eyes of Saul to a Crucified Deliverer, conquering through sacrifice. And, whatever part the senses may have played in the transaction, the essence of it in any case must have been Saul's inward vision of a spiritual Lord close to his spirit, from whom he could not escape, whose every command he was henceforth to obey in the Spirit.

It would be groundless to assume that the new convictions of that mid-day immediately cleared and settled themselves in Saul's mind. It is sufficient to say that he was then *converted*, or turned round. For a while, no doubt, his inward state was one of awe and expectation. He was being "led by the hand" spiritually by his Master, as well as bodily by his companions. Thus entering Damascus as a servant of the Lord Jesus, he sought the house of one whom he had, perhaps, intended to persecute. Judas may have been known to his guest as a disciple of the Lord. Certainly the fame of Saul's coming had preceded him; and Ananias, "a devout man according to the law," but a believer in Jesus, when directed by the Lord to visit him, wonders at what he is told concerning the notorious persecutor. He obeys, however; and going to Saul in the name of "the Lord Jesus, who had appeared to him in the way," he puts his hands on him that he may receive his sight and be filled with the Holy Ghost. Thereupon Saul's eyes are immediately purged, and his sight is restored. "The same hour," says St. Paul (Acts xxii. 13), "I looked up upon him. And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know His will, and see the Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of His mouth. For thou shalt be His witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard." Every word in this address strikes some chord which we hear sounded again and again in St. Paul's Epistles. The new convert is not, as it is so common to say, converted from Judaism to Christianity—*the God of the Jewish fathers chooses* him. He is chosen *to know God's will*. That will is manifested *in the Righteous One*. Him Saul *sees and hears*, in order that he may be *a witness of Him* to all men. The eternal will of the God of Abraham; that will revealed in a Righteous Son of God; the testimony concerning Him, a Gospel to mankind:—these are the essentially Pauline principles which are declared in all the teaching of the Apostle, and illustrated in all his actions.

After the recovery of his sight, Saul received the washing away of his sins in baptism. He then broke his three days' fast, and was strengthened: an image, again, of the strengthening of his faint and hungering spirit through a participation in the Divine life of the Church at Damascus. He was at once received into the fellowship of the disciples, and began without delay the work to which Ananias had designated him; and to the astonishment of all his hearers he proclaimed Jesus in the synagogues, declaring him to be the Son of God. This was the natural sequel to his conversion: he was to proclaim Jesus the Crucified, first to the Jews as their own Christ, afterwards to the world as the Son of the Living God.

The narrative in the Acts tells us simply that he was occupied in this work, with increasing vigour, for "many days," up to the time when imminent danger drove him from Damascus. From the Epistle to the Galatians (i. 17, 18) we learn that the many days were at least a good part of "three years," and that Saul, not thinking it necessary to procure authority to preach from the Apostles that were before him, went after his conversion into Arabia, and returned from thence to Damascus. We know nothing whatever of this visit to Arabia—to what district Saul went, how long he stayed, or for what purpose he went there. From the antithetical way in which it is opposed to a visit to the Apostles at Jerusalem, we infer that it took place before he deliberately committed himself to the task of proclaiming Jesus as the Christ; and also, with some probability, that he was seeking seclusion, in order that, by conferring "not with flesh and blood," but with the Lord in the Spirit, he might receive more deeply into his mind the commission given him at his conversion. That Saul did not spend the greater portion of the "three years" at Damascus seems probable, for these two reasons: (1) that the anger of the Jews was not likely to have borne with two or three years of such a life as Saul's now was without growing to a height; and (2) that the disciples at Jerusalem would not have been likely to mistrust Saul as they did, if they had heard of him as preaching Jesus at Damascus for the same considerable period. But it does not follow that Saul was in Arabia all the time he was not disputing at Damascus. For all that we know to the contrary he may have gone to Antioch or Tarsus or anywhere else, or he may have remained silent at Damascus for some time after returning from Arabia.

Now that we have arrived at Saul's departure from Damascus, we are again upon historical ground, and have the double evidence of St. Luke in the Acts, and of the Apostle in his 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians. According to the former, the Jews lay in wait for Saul, intending to kill him, and watched the gates of the city that he might not escape from them. Knowing this, the disciples took him by night and let him down in a basket from the wall. According to St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 32) it was the ethnarch under Aretas the king who watched for him, desiring to apprehend him. There is no difficulty in reconciling the two statements. We might similarly say that our Lord was put to death either by the Jews or by the Roman governor. There is more difficulty in ascertaining how an officer of king Aretas should be governing in Damascus, and why he should lend himself to the designs of the Jews. But we learn from secular history that the affairs of Damascus were, at the time, in such an unsettled state as to make the narrative not improbable. [ARETAS.] Having escaped from Damascus, Saul betook himself to Jerusalem, and there "assayed to join himself to the disciples; but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple." In this natural but trying difficulty Saul was befriended by one whose name was henceforth closely associated with his. *Barnabas* became his sponsor to the Apostles and Church at Jerusalem, assuring them—from some personal knowledge, we must presume—of the facts of Saul's conversion and subsequent behaviour at Damascus. It is noticeable that the *seeing* and *hearing* are still the leading features in the conversion, and the name of Jesus in the preaching. Barnabas declared how "Saul had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how that he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus. He-

nabas's introduction removed the fears of the Apostles, and Paul "was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem." His Hellenistical education made him, like Stephen, a successful disputant against the "Grecians;" and it is not strange that the former persecutor was singled out from the other believers as the object of a murderous hostility. He was therefore again urged to flee; and by way of Cæsarea betook himself to his native city Tarsus.

In the Epistle to the Galatians St. Paul adds certain particulars, in which only a perverse and captious criticism could see anything contradictory to the facts just related. He tells us that his motive for going up to Jerusalem rather than anywhere else was that he might see Peter; that he abode with him fifteen days; that the only Apostles he saw were Peter and James the Lord's brother; and that afterwards he came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, remaining unknown by face, though well-known for his conversion, to the churches in Judæa which were in Christ. St. Paul's object in referring to this connexion of his with those who were Apostles before him, was to show that he had never accepted his apostleship as a commission from them. On this point the narrative in the Acts entirely agrees with St. Paul's own earnest asseverations in his Epistles. He received his commission from the Lord Jesus, and also mediately through Ananias. This commission included a special designation to preach Christ to the Gentiles. Upon the latter designation he did not act, until circumstances opened the way for it. But he at once began to proclaim Jesus as the Christ to his own countrymen. Barnabas introduced him to the Apostles, not as seeking their sanction, but as having seen and heard the Lord Jesus, and as having boldly spoken already in His name. Probably at first, Saul's independence as an Apostle of Christ was not distinctly thought of, either by himself or by the elder Apostles. It was not till afterwards that it became so important; and then the reality of it appeared plainly from a reference to the beginning of his Apostolic work.

St. Paul at Antioch.—While Saul was at Tarsus, a movement was going on at Antioch, which raised that city to an importance second only to that of Jerusalem itself in the early history of the Church. In the life of the Apostle of the Gentiles Antioch claims a most conspicuous place. It was there that the Preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles first took root, and from thence that it was afterwards propagated. Its geographical position, its political and commercial importance, and the presence of a large and powerful Jewish element in its population, were the more obvious characteristics which adapted it for such a use. There came to Antioch, when the persecution which arose about Stephen scattered upon their different routes the disciples who had been assembled at Jerusalem, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, eager to tell all who would hear them the good news concerning the Lord Jesus. Until Antioch was reached, the word was spoken "to none but unto Jews only" (Acts xi. 19). But there the Gentiles also (οἱ Ἕλληνες)—not, as in the A. V., "the Grecians,"—were amongst the hearers of the word. A great number believed; and when this was reported at Jerusalem, Barnabas was sent on a special mission to Antioch.

As the work grew under his hands, and "much people was added unto the Lord," Barnabas felt the need of help, and went himself to Tarsus to seek Saul. Possibly at Damascus, certainly at Jerusalem, he had been a witness of Saul's energy and devotedness, and skill in disputation. He had been drawn to him by the bond of a most brotherly affection. He therefore longed for him as a helper, and succeeded in bringing him to Antioch. There they laboured together unremittingly for "a whole year," mixing with the constant assemblies of the believers, and "teaching much people." All this time, as St. Luke would give us to understand, Saul was subordinate to Barnabas. Until "Saul" became "Paul," we read of "Barnabas and Saul" (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, xiii. 2, 7). Afterwards the order changes to "Paul and Barnabas." It seems reasonable to conclude that there was no marked peculiarity in the teaching of Saul during the Antioch period. He held and taught, in common with the other Jewish believers, the simple faith in Jesus the Christ, crucified and raised from the dead. Nor did he ever afterwards depart from the simplicity of this faith. But new circumstances stirred up new questions; and then it was to Saul of Tarsus that it was given to see, more clearly than any others saw, those new applications of the old truth, those deep and world-wide relations of it, with which his work was to be permanently associated. In the mean time, according to the usual method of the Divine government, facts were silently growing, which were to suggest and occasion the future developments of faith and practice, and of these facts the most conspicuous was the unprecedented accession of Gentile proselytes at Antioch.

An opportunity soon occurred, of which Barnabas and Saul joyfully availed themselves, for proving the affection of these new disciples towards their brethren at Jerusalem, and for knitting the two communities together in the bonds of practical fellowship. A manifest impulse from the Holy Spirit began this work. There came "prophets" from Jerusalem to Antioch: "and there stood up one of them, named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world." The "prophets" who now arrived may have been the Simeon and Lucius and Manaen, mentioned in xiii. 1., besides Agabus and others. The prediction of the dearth need not have been purposeless; it would naturally have a direct reference to the needs of the poorer brethren and the duty of the richer. It is obvious that the fulfilment followed closely upon the intimation of the coming famine. For the disciples at Antioch determined to send contributions immediately to Jerusalem; and the gift was conveyed to the elders of that Church by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. The time of this dearth is vaguely designated in the Acts as the reign of Claudius. It is ascertained from Josephus's history, that a severe famine did actually prevail in Judæa, and especially at Jerusalem, at the very time fixed by the event recorded in Acts xii., the death of Herod Agrippa. This was in A.D. 44. [AGABUS.]

It could not have been necessary for the mere safe conduct of the contribution that Barnabas and Saul should go in person to Jerusalem. We are bound to see in the relations between the Mother-Church and that of Antioch, of which this visit is illustrative, examples of the deep feeling of the necessity of union which dwelt in the heart of the early Church. The Apostles did not go forth to teach a system, but to enlarge a body. The Spirit which directed and furthered their labours was

essentially the Spirit of fellowship. By this Spirit Saul of Tarsus was being practically trained in strict co-operation with his elders in the Church. The habits which he learnt now were to aid in guarding him at a later time from supposing that the independence which he was bound to claim, should involve the slightest breach or loosening of the bonds of the universal brotherhood.

Having discharged their errand, Barnabas and Saul returned to Antioch, bringing with them another helper, John surnamed Mark, sister's son to Barnabas. The work of prophesying and teaching was resumed. Several of the oldest and most honoured of the believers in Jesus were expounding the way of God and organizing the Church in that busy metropolis. Travellers were incessantly passing to and fro. Antioch was in constant communication with Cilicia, with Cyprus, with all the neighbouring countries. The question must have forced itself upon hundreds of the "Christians" at Antioch, "What is the meaning of this faith of ours, of this baptism, of this incorporation, of this kingdom of the Son of God, *for the world?* The Gospel is not for Judaea alone: here are we called by it at Antioch. Is it meant to stop here?" The Church was pregnant with a great movement, and the time of her delivery was at hand. We forget the whole method of the Divine work in the nurture of the Church, if we ascribe to the impulses of the Holy Ghost any theatrical suddenness, and disconnect them from the thoughts which were brooding in the minds of the disciples. At every point we find both circumstances and inward reasonings preparing the crisis. Something of direct expectation seems to be implied in what is said of the leaders of the Church at Antioch, that they were "ministering to the Lord, and fasting," when the Holy Ghost spoke to them. Without doubt they knew it for a seal set upon previous surmises, when the voice came clearly to the general mind, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." That "work" was partially known already to the Christians of Antioch: who could be so fit for it as the two brothers in the faith and in mutual affection, the son of exhortation, and the highly accomplished and undaunted convert who had from the first been called "a chosen vessel, to bear the name of the Lord before the Gentiles, and kings, and the people of Israel?"

When we look back, from the higher ground of St. Paul's apostolic activity, to the years that passed between his conversion and the first missionary journey, we cannot observe without reverence the patient humility with which Saul waited for his Master's time. He did not say for once only, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Obedience to Christ was thenceforth his ruling principle. Submitting, as he believed, to his Lord's direction, he was content to work for a long time as the subordinate colleague of his seniors in the faith. He was thus the better prepared, when the call came, to act with the authority which that call conferred upon him. He left Antioch, however, still the second to Barnabas. Everything was done with orderly gravity in the sending forth of the two missionaries. Their brethren, after fasting and prayer, laid their hands on them, and so they departed.

The first Missionary Journey.—Much must have been hid from Barnabas and Saul as to the issues of the journey on which they embarked. But one thing was clear to them, that *they were sent forth to speak the word of God.* They did not go in their own name or for their own purposes: they were instruments for uttering what the Eternal God Himself was saying to men. We shall find in the history a perfectly definite representation of what St. Paul announced and taught as he journeyed from city to city. But the first characteristic feature of his teaching was the absolute conviction that he was only the bearer of a Heavenly message. It is idle to discuss St. Paul's character or views without recognising this fact. We are compelled to think of him as of a man who was capable of cherishing such a conviction with perfect assurance. We are bound to bear in mind the unspeakable influence which that conviction must have exerted upon his nature. The writer of the Acts proceeds upon the same assumption. He tells us that as soon as Barnabas and Saul reached Cyprus, they began to "announce the word of God."

The second fact to be observed is, that for the present they delivered their message in the synagogues of the Jews only. They trod the old path till they should be drawn out of it. But when they had gone through the island, from Salamis to Paphos, they were called upon to explain their doctrine to an eminent Gentile, Sergius Paulus, the proconsul. This Roman officer, like so many of his countrymen, had already come under the influence of Jewish teaching; but it was in the corrupt form of magical pretensions, which throve so luxuriantly upon the godless credulity of that age. A Jew, named Barjesus, or Elymas, a magus and false prophet, had attached himself to the governor, and had no doubt interested his mind, for he was an intelligent man, with what he had told him of the history and hopes of the Jews. [ELYMAS] Accordingly, when Sergius Paulus heard of the strange teachers who were announcing to the Jews the advent of their true Messiah, he wished to see them and sent for them. The impostor, instinctively hating the Apostles, and seeing his influence over the proconsul in danger of perishing, did what he could to withstand them. Then Saul, "who is also called Paul," denouncing Elymas in remarkable terms, declared against him God's sentence of temporary blindness. The blindness immediately falls upon him; and the proconsul, moved by the scene and persuaded by the teaching of the Apostle, becomes a believer.

There is a singular parallelism in several points between the history of St. Paul and that of St. Peter in the Acts. Baur presents it in a highly effective form (*Paulus*, p. 91 &c.), to support his theory of the composition of this book; and this is one of the services which he has incidentally rendered to the full understanding of the early history of the Church. Thus St. Paul's discomfiture of Elymas reminds us of St. Peter's denunciation of Simon Magus. The two incidents bring strongly before us one of the great adverse elements with which the Gospel had to contend in that age. Everywhere there were counterfeits of the spiritual powers which the Apostles claimed and put forth. It was necessary for the preachers of Christ—not so much to prove themselves stronger than the magicians and soothsayers, as to guard against being confounded with them. One distinguishing mark of the true servants of the Spirit would be that of *not trading* upon their spiritual powers (Acts viii. 20). Another would be that of shunning every